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The Equivocal Economy

by Patrick J. O'Keefe, Director of Economic Research

dolescents often rely on "yeah-but" equivocations to explain the complexities of reality. (For example: "Yeah-but I wouldn't have been late if I wasn't stopped for speeding.")

In light of the erratic behavior of the economy since the end of the "Great Recession" we should name the rebound the "Yeah-But Recovery" ("YBR") as in: "Yeah-but it's not as bad as it was," and "Yeah-but it's not as good as it should be."

Federal Reserve Chair Ben Bernanke best summarized the implications of the YBR when he testified that "the economic outlook remains unusually uncertain."

This has been a YBR from the start. Its beginning wasn't announced until 15 months after the event by the National Bureau of Economic Research ("NBER"), in what was tantamount to a yeah-but release (cf., http://www.nber.org/cycles/sept2010.html).

In making its determinations, the NBER examines a range of "measures that refer to the total economy," including Gross Domestic Product ("GDP"), data on incomes and wholesale/retail sales, and indicators of output. Its determinations are not based on a "fixed formula;" but are, instead, an informed judgment of when the shift from contraction to growth (or vice versa) occurred.



So now, some 30 months after the recession "officially" ended, has the economy yet **recovered**, based on the NBER's criteria? That is: has it returned to pre-recession levels?

The answer is a resoundingly equivocal: "Yeah-but...."

On the broadest measure of activity, real GDP (i.e., total output adjusted for inflation), the economy ended 2011 (chart 1) just above where it stood at the end of 2007. So if GDP were the only measure of the economy's health, we would declare its recovery to be complete... if only by a cat's whisker.

Yeah-but on other key indicators the economy either: remains below prerecession levels [e.g., employment conditions (chart 2) and industrial production (chart 3); or, like retail sales (chart 4), has surpassed them only because of inflation (chart 5)].

Yeah-but aren't after-tax incomes, even when adjusted for inflation almost \$1 trillion more than prior to the downturn? Yeah-but not because more workers are earning more, but largely because income transfers are up and taxes down (chart 6).



Indeed, wage and salary disbursements (chart 7) (i.e., dollars in paychecks) were only 57.4% of after-tax incomes in 2011, essentially unchanged from 2010's record low (57.3%).

When adjusted for inflation, however, disbursements (chart 8) are 4.2% below where they were in December 2007. That is to say: working households' purchasing power has yet to recover.

The yeah-but character of the recovery has contributed to its sluggish pace and stutter-step progress. Early on, it restrained household confidence (chart 9); and then, mid-2011, caused it to falter.

Since then, however, the consumer's outlook has improved robustly as job growth (chart 10) began to accelerate. During the six months through January, confidence rose more than in any other six-month period since March 1991. Yet, despite that, it remains weak.

Similarly, after sliding downward for much of 2011, business confidence *(chart 11)* rose smartly in the final quarter. The outlook is for activity to improve at least through the summer.

Which brings us to the outlook for the remainder of the year, beginning with the question: does heightened confidence among businesses and households imply that the economy is shifting from a yeah-but to a no-but recovery? The answer is: Yeah-but, equivocally.

One reason for equivocation is that U.S. exports will slow due to the financial turmoil and recession in the Eurozone and slower growth in emerging economies. Another is the drag arising from fiscal consolidation domestically. Yeah-but what about consumer spending, which comprises about 70% of GDP? Won't rising employment translate into more spending by households?

Yeah-but over the past year consumer spending has increased more rapidly than after-tax incomes, while savings have declined. And households have become much more judicious in their use of credit (chart 12): keeping credit-card balances low, while borrowing for cars and student loans. Consumer spending will grow, but only in line with nominal after-tax incomes.

And despite the improvements in employment, incomes, and sentiment, there is little prospect of a rebound in housing activity. Instead, given that homeowner equity is less than one-half its 2007 peak, housing will continue to constrain consumer spending.

Yeah-but with corporate profits (chart 13) at record levels and businesses feeling optimistic, won't they invest more?

Yeah-but a considerable share of those profits were earned outside of the U.S. and would be subject to additional taxes before they could be spent or invested domestically. Nevertheless,

some increase is expected in business investments in plant, equipment, software, and inventory, which have been a mainstay of the recovery (chart 14). But in absolute dollars, the boost will be limited.

Outlook

The view here has long been—and remains—that the economy would recover only slowly from the 2007-2008 recession and the coincident meltdowns in the financial and housing sectors.

Over the past few months, several indicators—most notably those relating to labor markets—have seen a modest increase in momentum. That is certainly positive and looks likely to continue into the second half of the year.

Yeah-but, what lies beyond the fourth quarter, when national elections occur and the temporary fixes that pass for Federal fiscal policy expire? There we stand with Mr. Bernanke: "the economic outlook remains unusually uncertain." But, we do so equivocally. ■

Accompanying charts appear on the following pages.



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