

Monetary Unions in a Political Economy Model of Fiscal and Monetary Policy Interaction

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Intro

Motivation: Greece's experience in the Eurozone

1. Why did Greece join the Eurozone?
2. How did other Eurozone countries benefit?
3. Why and how Greece issued so much debt
4. *Why this was hidden until a large negative shock*

Model: Two key distortions

- ▶ Political economy governs fiscal decisions in countries
- ▶ Monetary Union doesn't monitor countries

Quick explanation:

- ▶ Greece joins to raise more revenue from nominal bonds
- ▶ Rest benefit from unexpected inflation due to Greek shocks
- ▶ Greek bonds look nominal but revealed to be indexed
- ▶ Tax revenue sufficient to repay bonds only in good times

Model Mechanism: Country

Inside each country:

- ▶ Looks like principal-agent problem
- ▶ Fiscal authority controlled by politics, issues nominal bonds
- ▶ Monetary authority controls price level (decides repayment)

Inflation serves two purposes:

- ▶ Today: Reduces debt burden on fiscal authority
- ▶ Tomorrow: Threat constrains ability of fiscal authority to raise revenue with nominal bonds

Captured Monetary Authority

- ▶ Controlled by politics
- ▶ No constraint
- ▶ Time inconsistency
- ▶ No revenue from bonds
- ▶ No tax smoothing

Independent Monetary Authority

- ▶ Benevolent
- ▶ Constrains coalition
- ▶ No time inconsistency
- ▶ Some revenue from bonds
- ▶ Some tax smoothing

Model Mechanism: Monetary Union

Why join a Monetary Union?

- ▶ Captured monetary authority replaced by independent
- ▶ Monetary Union allows government to issue nominal bonds
- ▶ Bond revenue used for tax smoothing, transfers

What can go wrong?

- ▶ Union doesn't monitor members
- ▶ Members don't report accurately

Inflation constraint on fiscal authority disappears

- ▶ Political fiscal authority can issue debt without constraint
- ▶ Nominal debt without inflation is indexed debt
- ▶ Issues too many bonds; revenue used to reward political party
- ▶ Indexed bonds require high taxes to repay after bad shocks

Literature

Political Economy

- ▶ Barseghyan, Battaglini, and Coate (2013)

Interaction with Nominal Bonds

- ▶ Miller (2015)

Monetary Unions

- ▶ Aguiar, Amador, Farhi, and Gopinath (2014)

Model: Consumer

Consumer:

- ▶ n identical consumers, choose c, l
- ▶ $u(c, g, l) = c + A \log(g) - \frac{l^{1+1/\epsilon}}{\epsilon+1}$
- ▶ $U = \sum_t \beta^t u(c_t, g_t, l_t)$ subject to

$$c + q \left(\frac{B'}{n} \right) \leq w_\theta l (1 - \tau) + \frac{\left(\frac{B}{n} \right)}{P} + T_i$$

- ▶ $w_\theta \in \{w_h, w_l\}$ with probabilities $\pi, 1 - \pi$
- ▶ $q = \beta E_{\theta'} \left[\frac{1}{P} \right]$
- ▶ Indirect utility before transfers is

$$W_\theta(\tau, g) = \frac{\epsilon^\epsilon (w_\theta (1 - \tau))^{\epsilon+1}}{\epsilon + 1} + A \log(g)$$

Model: Government, Firm, Central Bank

Government:

- ▶ Maximizes utility of random m out of n consumers
- ▶ Chooses $g, \tau, B', T_i \geq 0$
- ▶ $\text{Rev}_\theta(\tau) = n\tau w_\theta(\epsilon w_\theta(1 - \tau))^\epsilon$
- ▶ Budget Constraint:

$$g + \sum_i T_i + \frac{B}{P} \leq \text{Rev}_\theta(\tau) + qB'$$

Firm:

- ▶ $z = w_\theta l$
- ▶ $c + g = z$

Central Bank:

- ▶ Chooses P
- ▶ Can be Captured or Independent

Political Distortion

Fiscal authority controlled by voting each period

- ▶ One randomly chosen consumer proposes τ, g, T_i, B'
- ▶ Needs $m > n/2$ votes for approval
- ▶ If proposal isn't approved, new random consumer chosen
- ▶ Continues $T \geq 2$ rounds then dictator appointed

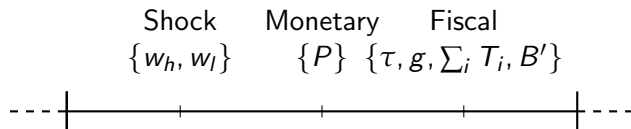
End result

- ▶ Look at Markov perfect equilibrium, first proposal is accepted
- ▶ Equivalent to maximizing the utility of m consumers

Monetary Authority:

- ▶ Captured: controlled by same political coalition
- ▶ Independent: benevolent, maximizes overall welfare

Equilibrium Selection



Central Bank minimizes $|P - 1|$ to produce level of welfare

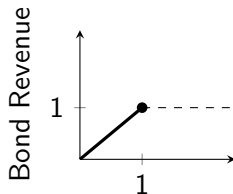
- ▶ Moves price level for strictly positive welfare gain
- ▶ Defaults to $P = 1$ every period if no gains
- ▶ Function solely of bonds chosen in previous period and shock

Government chooses smallest B to produce level of bond revenue

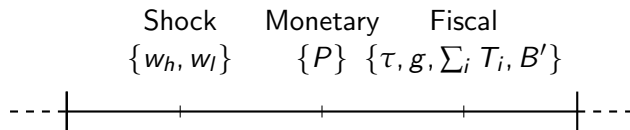
Example:

$$\text{Revenue} = qB = E \left[\frac{1}{P(B)} \right] B$$

$$P(B) = \begin{cases} B, & \text{if } B > 1 \\ 1, & \text{if } B \leq 1 \end{cases}$$



Plan



1. Single Country

- ▶ Fiscal Policy
- ▶ Monetary Policy
 - ▶ Captured Monetary Authority: $B = 0$
 - ▶ Independent Monetary Authority: $B > 0$

2. Monetary Union

- ▶ Perfect Monetary Union
- ▶ Imperfect Monetary Union

Fiscal Policy Overview

Fiscal Planner maximizes the utility of m consumers

$$\max_{\tau, g, B', T_i} W_{\theta}(\tau, g) + \frac{\sum_i T_i}{m} + \beta [\pi v_H(B') + (1 - \pi) v_L(B')]]$$

$$\text{s.t. } g + \sum_i T_i + \frac{B}{p} \leq \text{Rev}_{\theta}(\tau) + qB'$$

If no transfers:

$$\frac{1-\tau}{1-\tau(1+\epsilon)} = \frac{nA}{g}$$

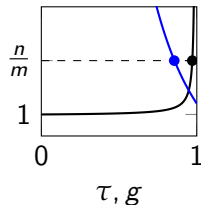
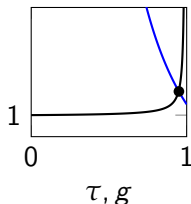
$$\frac{1-\tau}{1-\tau(1+\epsilon)} = -n\beta [\pi v'_H(B') + (1 - \pi) v'_L(B')]$$

If transfers, τ^*, g^*, B'^* are constants:

$$\frac{n}{m} = \frac{1 - \tau^*}{1 - \tau^*(1 + \epsilon)}$$

$$\frac{n}{m} = \frac{nA}{g^*}$$

$$B'^* = \arg \max_{B'} \left[\frac{B'}{m} + \beta [\pi v_H(B') + (1 - \pi) v_L(B')] \right]$$



Fiscal Policy Explanation

Will use revenue from taxes/bonds to

1. Repay bonds
2. After repaying, lower taxes/raise government spending
3. If taxes low enough, increase transfers

C_θ : Level of real bonds $\frac{B}{P}$ below which transfers are positive

$$\blacktriangleright \text{Rev}_\theta(\tau^*) + qB'^* - g^* - \frac{B}{P} > 0$$

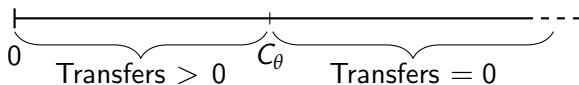
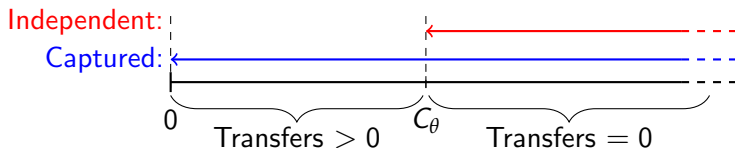


Figure : Transfers as function of level of real bonds

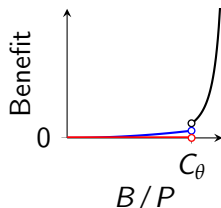
Monetary Policy Overview

Monetary Authority chooses price level P

$$v_{\theta}(B) = \max_P [(\text{Fiscal Problem})]$$



$$\frac{\partial v_{\theta}(B)}{\partial P} = \begin{cases} \left[\frac{\epsilon \tau(\frac{B}{P})}{1 - \tau(\frac{B}{P})(1 + \epsilon)} \right] \frac{B}{nP^2}, & \text{if } B > C_{\theta} \\ 0 \text{ or } \left[\frac{n}{m} - 1 \right] \frac{B}{nP^2}, & \text{if } B < C_{\theta} \end{cases}$$



Increasing the price level P

- ▶ If $\frac{B}{P} > C_{\theta}$: taxes down, public spending up; transfers = 0
- ▶ If $\frac{B}{P} < C_{\theta}$: taxes and public spending constant; transfers up

Fiscal Authority, Independent Monetary Authority

Fiscal Authority always issues C_h

In bad times ($w_\theta = w_l$)

$$P(B) = \begin{cases} \frac{B}{C_l}, & \text{if } B > C_l \\ 1, & \text{if } B \leq C_l \end{cases}$$

Monetary authority reduces
real bond value to C_l

In good times ($w_\theta = w_h$)

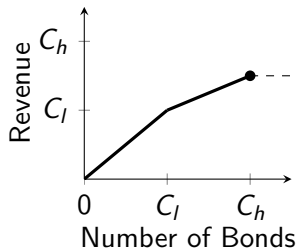
$$P(B) = \begin{cases} \frac{B}{C_h}, & \text{if } B > C_h \\ 1, & \text{if } B \leq C_h \end{cases}$$

Monetary authority reduces
real bond value to C_h

Real bond value will always be C_θ

► Taxes always at lowest: $\tau = \tau^*$

Issue C_h bonds since no risk



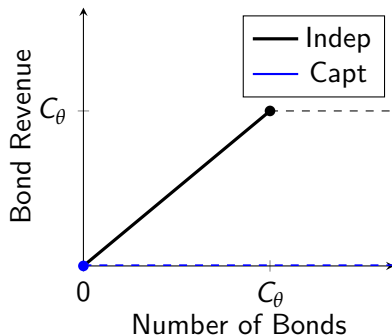
Single Country Equilibrium

Independent Monetary Authority

$$P(B) = \begin{cases} \frac{B}{C_\theta}, & \text{if } B > C_\theta \\ 1, & \text{if } B \leq C_\theta \end{cases}$$

Captured Monetary Authority

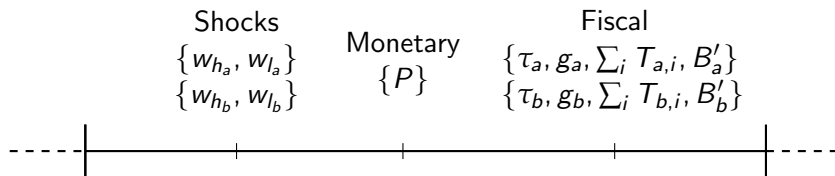
$$P(B) = \begin{cases} \infty, & \text{if } B > 0 \\ 1, & \text{if } B = 0 \end{cases}$$



Independent: $B = C_h$, rely on inflation to repay in bad times

Captured: $B = 0$, will always inflate everything away

Where we are now



1. Single Country

- ▶ Fiscal Policy
- ▶ Monetary Policy
 - ▶ Captured Monetary Authority: $B = 0$
 - ▶ Independent Monetary Authority: $B = C_h$

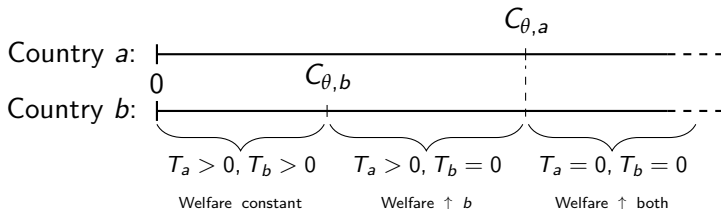
2. Monetary Union: Two countries $\{a, b\}$

- ▶ Perfect Monetary Union: $B \approx C_h$
- ▶ Imperfect Monetary Union: $B > C_h$

Perfect Monetary Union: Monetary Authority

Perfect Monetary Union knows all variables from both countries

$$\begin{aligned} v_{\theta_a, \theta_b}(B_a, B_b) &= v_{\theta_a}(B_a) + v_{\theta_b}(B_b) \\ &= \max_P [(\text{Fiscal Problem})_a + (\text{Fiscal Problem})_b] \end{aligned}$$



Increase P until both countries are at or below their cutoff $C_{\theta, \{a, b\}}$

- On path: identical to independent monetary authority

Perfect Monetary Union: Fiscal Authority

Country a issues bonds:

$$\underbrace{\pi^2 C_{h_a}}_{H,H} + \underbrace{\pi(1-\pi) C_{h_a} \left(\frac{C_{l_b}}{C_{h_b}} \right)}_{H,L} + \underbrace{(1-\pi)\pi C_{l_a}}_{L,H} + \underbrace{(1-\pi)^2 C_{h_a} \left(\min \left[\frac{C_{l_a}}{C_{h_a}}, \frac{C_{l_b}}{C_{h_b}} \right] \right)}_{L,L}$$

On path: Both countries issue amount above

- ▶ Countries issue more bonds than they would individually
- ▶ Count on inflation caused by bad shock in the other
- ▶ Possible transfers in both

Off path: Country a issues too much

- ▶ Monetary authority raises price level
- ▶ Drives country b below cutoff $C_{\theta,b}$
- ▶ No transfers in country a , positive transfers in country b ,

Imperfect Monetary Union: Monetary Authority

Imperfect Monetary Union ignores country b

$$\begin{aligned} v_{\theta_a, \theta_b}(B_a, B_b) &= v_{\theta_a}(B_a) \\ &= \max_P [(\text{Fiscal Problem})_a] \end{aligned}$$

Country B solves $(\text{Fiscal Problem})_b$ knowing price won't change

- ▶ Bonds look nominal, actually are indexed
- ▶ Consumers hold bonds assuming inflation will come

Why would a Monetary Union ignore country b ?

1. Unobservable debt

- ▶ Country doesn't report accurately to monetary authority
- ▶ Then country knows it can issue nominal bonds with impunity

2. Aversion to transfers:

- ▶ Monetary Union assigns negative welfare to transfers
- ▶ Then monetary union won't inflate after learning about (1)

Imperfect Monetary Union: Fiscal Authority

Political coalition in ignored country issues indexed bonds

- ▶ Issues amount of bonds $C_{l,b} < B_b < C_{h,b}$
- ▶ Uses revenue for transfers to itself

Nominal Bonds

- ▶ Bonds repaid in good times, inflation in bad times
- ▶ Tax rate: τ^* in good times, τ^* in bad times

Indexed Bonds

- ▶ Bonds repaid in good and bad times
- ▶ Tax rate: τ^* in good times, $\tau(B_b) > \tau^*$ in bad times

Ignored country is revealed only after a bad shock

Interaction of Distortions:

- ▶ Political coalition in ignored country can issue bonds to gorge today counting on good times (and low taxes) tomorrow.

Conclusions

Why did Greece join the Eurozone?

- ▶ Replace captured monetary authority with independent
- ▶ Able to issue nominal bonds, smooth taxes

How did other Eurozone countries benefit?

- ▶ Shocks to Greece cause unexpected inflation across union
- ▶ Revenue from inflation tax used for transfers

Why and how did Greece issue so much debt?

- ▶ Greece ignored (by choice or not) by Eurozone
- ▶ Revenue used to reward political coalition

Why was the excess debt hidden until a large negative shock?

- ▶ Debt repaid by low taxes in good times, same as nominal
- ▶ Can't rely on inflation tax in bad times, need high taxes