Principles of Economics

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Wojciech Gerson (1831-1901)

CHAPTER 30

Money Growth and Inflation

In this chapter, look for the answers to these questions

- How does the money supply affect inflation and nominal interest rates?
- Does the money supply affect real variables like real GDP or the real interest rate?
- How is inflation like a tax?
- What are the costs of inflation? How serious are they?

Introduction

 This chapter introduces the quantity theory of money to explain one of the Ten Principles of Economics from Chapter 1:

Prices rise when the govt prints too much money.

 Most economists believe the quantity theory is a good explanation of the long run behavior of inflation.

The Value of Money

- P = the price level
 (e.g., the CPI or GDP deflator)
 P is the price of a basket of goods, measured in money.
- 1/P is the value of \$1, measured in goods.
- Example: basket contains one candy bar.
 - If P = \$2, value of \$1 is 1/2 candy bar
 - If P = \$3, value of \$1 is 1/3 candy bar
- Inflation drives up prices and drives down the value of money.

The Quantity Theory of Money

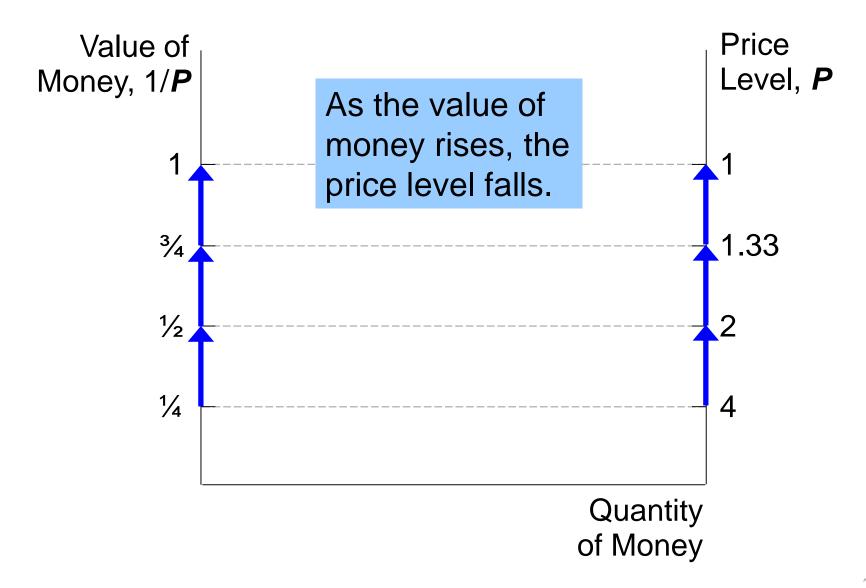
- Developed by 18th century philosopher
 David Hume and the classical economists.
- Advocated more recently by Nobel Prize Laureate Milton Friedman.
- Asserts that the quantity of money determines the value of money.
- We study this theory using two approaches:
 - 1. A supply-demand diagram
 - 2. An equation

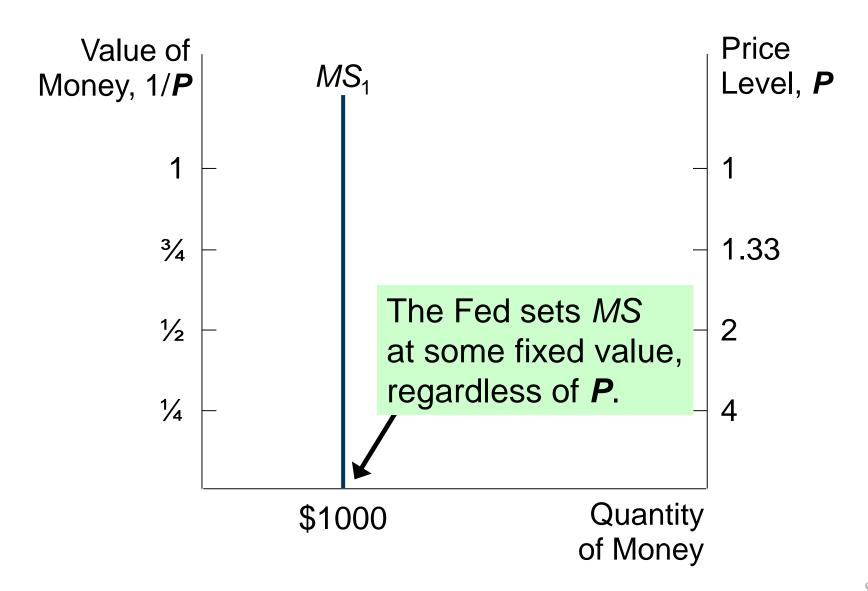
Money Supply (MS)

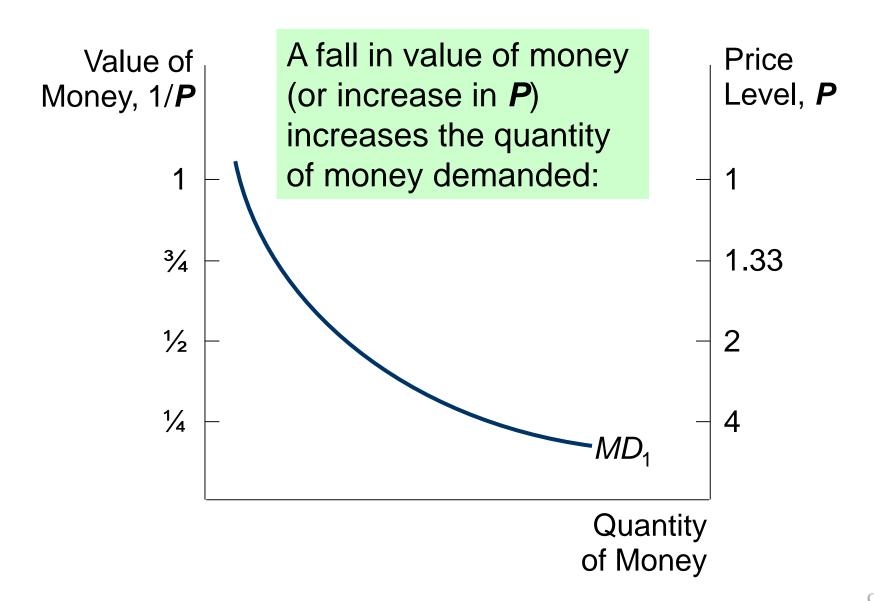
- In the real world, determined by the Fed, the banking system, and consumers.
- In this model, we assume the Fed precisely controls MS and sets it at some fixed amount.

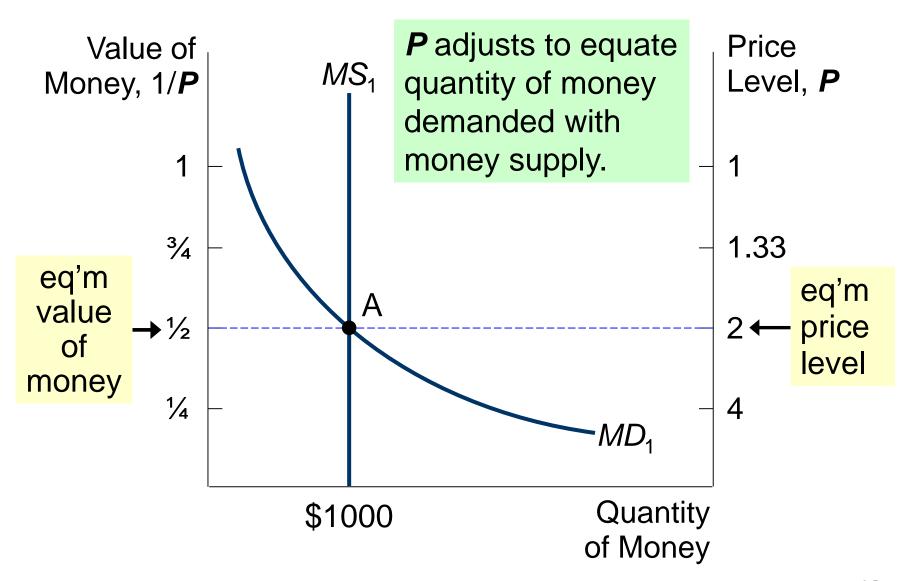
Money Demand (MD)

- Refers to how much wealth people want to hold in liquid form.
- Depends on P:
 An increase in P reduces the value of money, so more money is required to buy g&s.
- Thus, quantity of money demanded is negatively related to the value of money and positively related to *P*, other things equal. (These "other things" include real income, interest rates, availability of ATMs.)

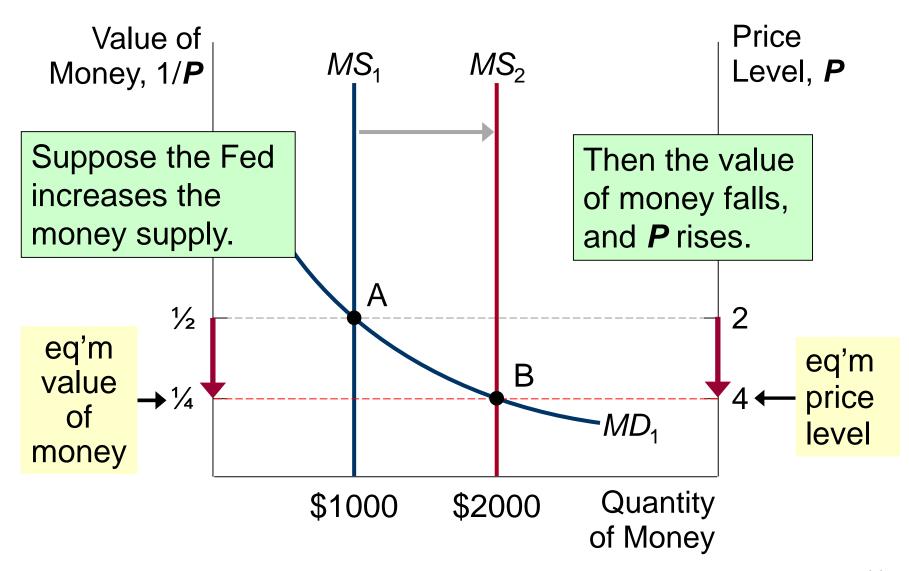








The Effects of a Monetary Injection



A Brief Look at the Adjustment Process

Result from graph: Increasing MS causes **P** to rise.

How does this work? Short version:

- At the initial P, an increase in MS causes an excess supply of money.
- People get rid of their excess money by spending it on g&s or by loaning it to others, who spend it.
 Result: increased demand for goods.
- But supply of goods does not increase, so prices must rise.

(Other things happen in the short run, which we will study in later chapters.)

Real vs. Nominal Variables

Nominal variables are measured in monetary units.

Examples: nominal GDP, nominal interest rate (rate of return measured in \$) nominal wage (\$ per hour worked)

Real variables are measured in physical units.

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Examples: real GDP, real interest rate (measured in output) real wage (measured in output)
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Real vs. Nominal Variables

Prices are normally measured in terms of money.

- Price of a compact disc: \$15/cd
- Price of a pepperoni pizza: \$10/pizza

A **relative price** is the price of one good relative to (divided by) another:

Relative price of CDs in terms of pizza:

$$\frac{\text{price of cd}}{\text{price of pizza}} = \frac{\$15/\text{cd}}{\$10/\text{pizza}} = 1.5 \text{ pizzas per cd}$$

Relative prices are measured in physical units, so they are real variables.

Real vs. Nominal Wage

An important relative price is the real wage:

W = nominal wage = price of labor, e.g., \$15/hour

P = price level = price of g&s, e.g., \$5/unit of output

Real wage is the price of labor relative to the price of output:

$$\frac{W}{P} = \frac{\$15/\text{hour}}{\$5/\text{unit of output}} = 3 \text{ units output per hour}$$

The Classical Dichotomy

- Classical dichotomy: the theoretical separation of nominal and real variables
- Hume and the classical economists suggested that monetary developments affect nominal variables but not real variables.
- If central bank doubles the money supply, Hume & classical thinkers contend:
 - all nominal variables—including prices—will double.
 - all real variables—including relative prices—will remain unchanged.

The Neutrality of Money

- Monetary neutrality: the proposition that changes in the money supply do not affect real variables
- Doubling money supply causes all nominal prices to double; what happens to relative prices?
- Initially, relative price of cd in terms of pizza is

$$\frac{\text{price of cd}}{\text{price of pizza}} = \frac{\$15/\text{cd}}{\$10/\text{pizza}} = 1.5 \text{ pizzas per cd}$$

After nominal prices double,

$$\frac{\text{price of cd}}{\text{price of pizza}} = \frac{\$30/\text{cd}}{\$20/\text{pizza}}$$

The relative price is unchanged.

1.5 pizzas per cd

The Neutrality of Money

- Monetary neutrality: the proposition that changes in the money supply do not affect real variables
- Similarly, the real wage W/P remains unchanged, so
 - quantity of labor supplied does not change
 - quantity of labor demanded does not change
 - total employment of labor does not change
- The same applies to employment of capital and other resources.
- Since employment of all resources is unchanged, total output is also unchanged by the money supply.

The Neutrality of Money

- Most economists believe the classical dichotomy and neutrality of money describe the economy in the long run.
- In later chapters, we will see that monetary changes can have important short-run effects on real variables.

The Velocity of Money

- Velocity of money: the rate at which money changes hands
- Notation:

• Velocity formula: $V = \frac{P \times Y}{M}$

The Velocity of Money

Velocity formula:
$$V = \frac{P \times Y}{M}$$

Example with one good: pizza. In 2012,

$$P \times Y = \text{nominal GDP} = \text{value of pizzas} = $30,000$$

$$M$$
 = money supply = \$10,000

$$V$$
 = velocity = \$30,000/\$10,000 = 3

The average dollar was used in 3 transactions.

ACTIVE LEARNING 1 Exercise

One good: corn.

The economy has enough labor, capital, and land to produce $\mathbf{Y} = 800$ bushels of corn.

V is constant.

In 2008, MS = \$2000, P = \$5/bushel.

Compute nominal GDP and velocity in 2008.

ACTIVE LEARNING 1 Answers

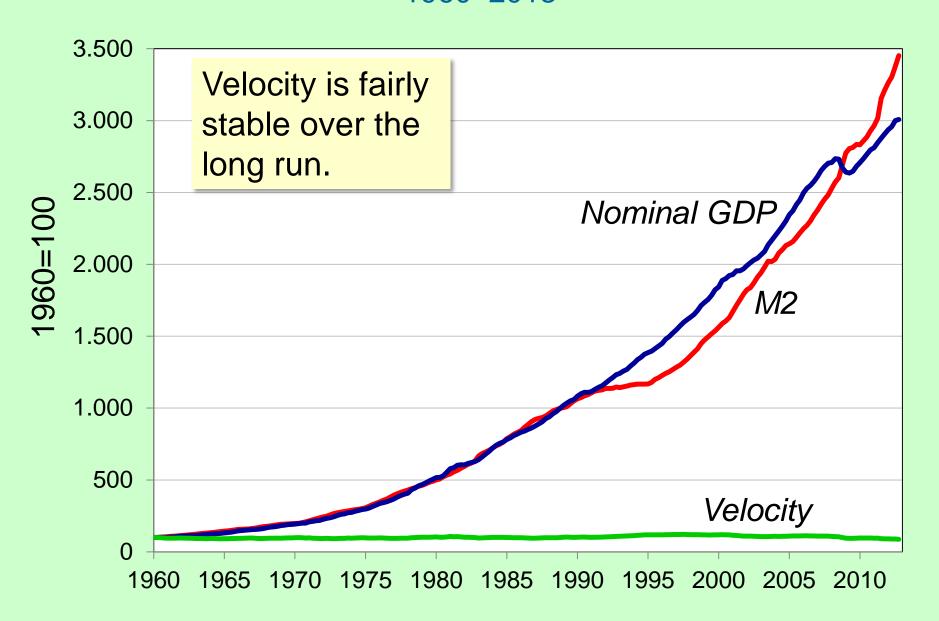
Given: Y = 800, V is constant, MS = \$2000 and P = \$5 in 2008.

Compute nominal GDP and velocity in 2008.

Nominal GDP =
$$P \times Y = \$5 \times 800 = \$4000$$

$$V = \frac{P \times Y}{M} = \frac{\$4000}{\$2000} = \boxed{2}$$

U.S. Nominal GDP, M2, and Velocity 1960–2013



The Quantity Equation

Velocity formula:
$$V = \frac{P \times Y}{M}$$

Multiply both sides of formula by M:

$$M \times V = P \times Y$$

Called the quantity equation

The Quantity Theory in 5 Steps

Start with quantity equation: $\mathbf{M} \times \mathbf{V} = \mathbf{P} \times \mathbf{Y}$

- 1. V is stable.
- 2. So, a change in *M* causes nominal GDP (*P* x *Y*) to change by the same percentage.
- 3. A change in *M* does not affect *Y*: money is neutral, *Y* is determined by technology & resources
- So, P changes by same percentage as P x Y and M.
- 5. Rapid money supply growth causes rapid inflation.

ACTIVE LEARNING 2 Exercise

One good: corn. The economy has enough labor, capital, and land to produce Y = 800 bushels of corn. V is constant. In 2008, MS = \$2000, P = \$5/bushel.

For 2009, the Fed increases MS by 5%, to \$2100.

- a. Compute the 2009 values of nominal GDP and P.
 Compute the inflation rate for 2008–2009.
- **b.** Suppose tech. progress causes **Y** to increase to 824 in 2009. Compute 2008–2009 inflation rate.

ACTIVE LEARNING 2

Answers

Given: Y = 800, V is constant,

MS = \$2000 and P = \$5 in 2008.

For 2009, the Fed increases MS by 5%, to \$2100.

a. Compute the 2009 values of nominal GDP and P. Compute the inflation rate for 2008–2009.

Nominal GDP =
$$P \times Y = M \times V$$
 (Quantity Eq'n)
= \$2100 x 2 = \$4200

$$P = \frac{P \times Y}{Y} = \frac{\$4200}{800} = \$5.25$$

Inflation rate =
$$\frac{$5.25 - 5.00}{5.00} = 5\%$$
 (same as MS!)

ACTIVE LEARNING 2

Answers

Given: Y = 800, V is constant,

MS = \$2000 and P = \$5 in 2008.

For 2009, the Fed increases MS by 5%, to \$2100.

b. Suppose tech. progress causes **Y** to increase 3% in 2009, to 824. Compute 2008–2009 inflation rate.

First, use Quantity Eq'n to compute *P* in 2009:

$$P = \frac{M \times V}{Y} = \frac{\$4200}{824} = \$5.10$$

Inflation rate =
$$\frac{$5.10 - 5.00}{5.00}$$
 = 2%

Summary and lessons about the quantity theory of money

- If real GDP is constant, then inflation rate = money growth rate.
- If real GDP is growing, then inflation rate < money growth rate.
- The bottom line:
 - Economic growth increases # of transactions.
 - Some money growth is needed for these extra transactions.
 - Excessive money growth causes inflation.

Hyperinflation

- Hyperinflation is generally defined as inflation exceeding 50% per month.
- Recall one of the Ten Principles from Chapter 1:
 Prices rise when the government prints too much money.
- Excessive growth in the money supply always causes hyperinflation.

Hyperinflation in Zimbabwe

Large govt budget deficits led to the creation of large quantities of money and high inflation rates.



date	Zim\$ per US\$
Aug 2007	245
Apr 2008	29,401
May 2008	207,209,688
June 2008	4,470,828,401
July 2008	26,421,447,043
Feb 2009	37,410,030
Sept 2009	355

Sign posted in public restroom

The Inflation Tax

- When tax revenue is inadequate and ability to borrow is limited, govt may print money to pay for its spending.
- Almost all hyperinflations start this way.
- The revenue from printing money is the inflation tax: printing money causes inflation, which is like a tax on everyone who holds money.
- In the U.S., the inflation tax today accounts for less than 3% of total revenue.

The Fisher Effect

Rearrange the definition of the real interest rate:

Nominal = Inflation + Real interest rate

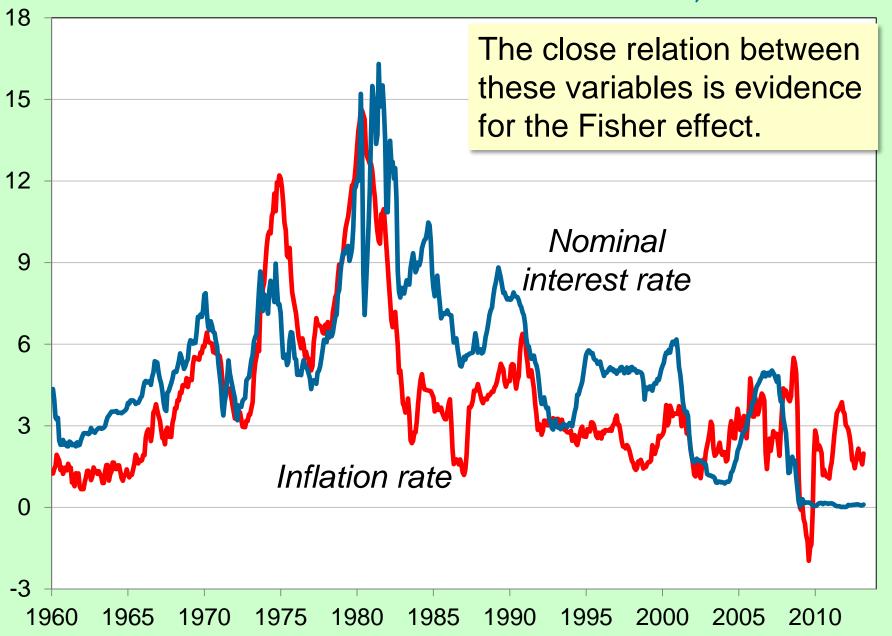
- The real interest rate is determined by saving & investment in the loanable funds market.
- Money supply growth determines inflation rate.
- So, this equation shows how the nominal interest rate is determined.

The Fisher Effect

Nominal = Inflation + Real rate rate

- In the long run, money is neutral:
 a change in the money growth rate affects
 the inflation rate but not the real interest rate.
- So, the nominal interest rate adjusts one-for-one with changes in the inflation rate.
- This relationship is called the Fisher effect after Irving Fisher, who studied it.

U.S. Nominal Interest & Inflation Rates, 1960–2013



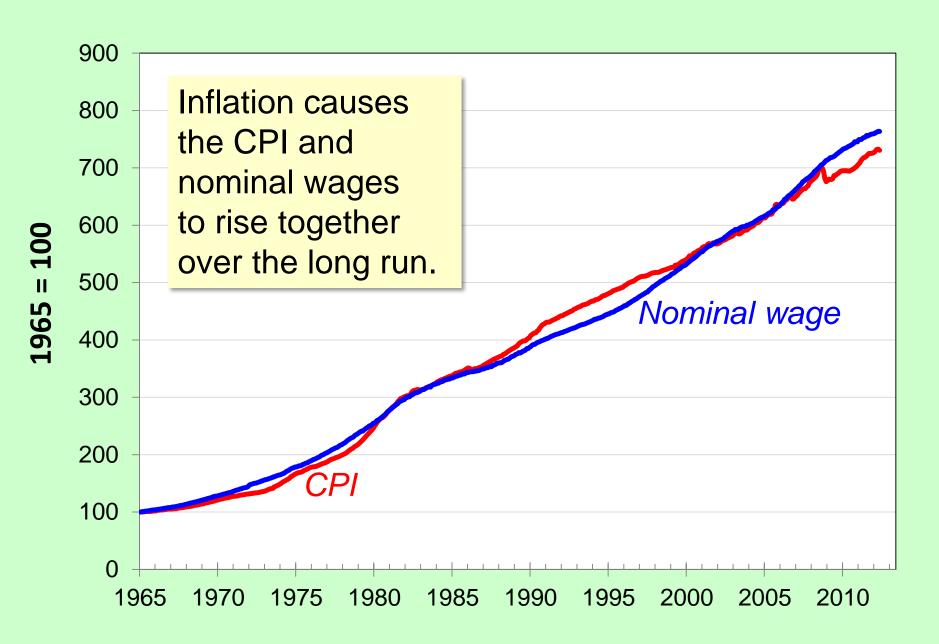
The Fisher Effect & the Inflation Tax

Nominal = Inflation + Real interest rate

- The inflation tax applies to people's holdings of money, not their holdings of wealth.
- The Fisher effect: an increase in inflation causes an equal increase in the nominal interest rate, so the real interest rate (on wealth) is unchanged.

- The inflation fallacy: most people think inflation erodes real incomes.
- But inflation is a general increase in prices
 of the things people buy <u>and</u> the things they sell
 (e.g., their labor).
- In the long run, real incomes are determined by real variables, not the inflation rate.

U.S. Average Hourly Earnings & the CPI



- Shoeleather costs: the resources wasted when inflation encourages people to reduce their money holdings
 - Includes the time and transactions costs of more frequent bank withdrawals
- Menu costs: the costs of changing prices
 - Printing new menus, mailing new catalogs, etc.

- Misallocation of resources from relative-price variability: Firms don't all raise prices at the same time, so relative prices can vary...
 which distorts the allocation of resources.
- Confusion & inconvenience: Inflation changes the yardstick we use to measure transactions.
 Complicates long-range planning and the comparison of dollar amounts over time.

Tax distortions:

Inflation makes nominal income grow faster than real income.

Taxes are based on nominal income, and some are not adjusted for inflation.

So, inflation causes people to pay more taxes even when their real incomes don't increase.

ACTIVE LEARNING 3

Tax distortions

You deposit \$1000 in the bank for one year.

CASE 1: inflation = 0%, nom. interest rate = 10%

CASE 2: inflation = 10%, nom. interest rate = 20%

a. In which case does the real value of your deposit grow the most?

Assume the tax rate is 25%.

- b. In which case do you pay the most taxes?
- c. Compute the after-tax nominal interest rate, then subtract inflation to get the after-tax real interest rate for both cases.

ACTIVE LEARNING 3

Answers

Deposit = \$1000.

CASE 1: inflation = 0%, nom. interest rate = 10%

CASE 2: inflation = 10%, nom. interest rate = 20%

a. In which case does the real value of your deposit grow the most?

In both cases, the real interest rate is 10%, so the real value of the deposit grows 10% (before taxes).

ACTIVE LEARNING 3 Answers

Deposit = \$1000. Tax rate = 25%.

CASE 1: inflation = 0%, nom. interest rate = 10%

CASE 2: inflation = 10%, nom. interest rate = 20%

b. In which case do you pay the most taxes?

CASE 1: interest income = \$100, so you pay \$25 in taxes.

CASE 2: interest income = \$200, so you pay \$50 in taxes.

ACTIVE LEARNING 3

Answers

Deposit = \$1000. Tax rate = 25%.

CASE 1: inflation = 0%, nom. interest rate = 10%

CASE 2: inflation = 10%, nom. interest rate = 20%

c. Compute the after-tax nominal interest rate, then subtract inflation to get the after-tax real interest rate for both cases.

CASE 1: nominal = $0.75 \times 10\% = 7.5\%$

real = 7.5% - 0% = 7.5%

CASE 2: nominal = $0.75 \times 20\% = 15\%$

real = 15% - 10% = 5%

Summary and lessons

Deposit = \$1000. Tax rate = 25%.

CASE 1: inflation = 0%, nom. interest rate = 10%

CASE 2: inflation = 10%, nom. interest rate = 20%

Inflation...

- raises nominal interest rates (Fisher effect)
 but not real interest rates
- increases savers' tax burdens
- lowers the after-tax real interest rate

A Special Cost of Unexpected Inflation

Arbitrary redistributions of wealth
 Higher-than-expected inflation transfers
 purchasing power from creditors to debtors:

Debtors get to repay their debt with dollars that aren't worth as much.

Lower-than-expected inflation transfers purchasing power from debtors to creditors.

High inflation is more variable and less predictable than low inflation.

So, these arbitrary redistributions are frequent when inflation is high.

- All these costs are quite high for economies experiencing hyperinflation.
- For economies with low inflation (< 10% per year), these costs are probably much smaller, though their exact size is open to debate.

CONCLUSION

This chapter explains one of the Ten Principles of economics:

Prices rise when the govt prints too much money.

- We saw that money is neutral in the long run, affecting only nominal variables.
- In later chapters, we will see that money has important effects in the short run on real variables like output and employment.

Summary

- To explain inflation in the long run, economists use the quantity theory of money. According to this theory, the price level depends on the quantity of money, and the inflation rate depends on the money growth rate.
- The classical dichotomy is the division of variables into real and nominal. The neutrality of money is the idea that changes in the money supply affect nominal variables but not real ones. Most economists believe these ideas describe the economy in the long run.

Summary

- The inflation tax is the loss in the real value of people's money holdings when the government causes inflation by printing money.
- The Fisher effect is the one-for-one relation between changes in the inflation rate and changes in the nominal interest rate.
- The costs of inflation include menu costs, shoeleather costs, confusion and inconvenience, distortions in relative prices and the allocation of resources, tax distortions, and arbitrary redistributions of wealth.