### The Economics of Monetary Unions

#### Giovanni Piersanti

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December 2020 1 / 79

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- EMU management  $\rightarrow$  deep roots  $\in$  crisis.

OCA theory

MUs literature ⊂ Optimum Currency Areas (OCA) theory, where: i)
 'Currency Area' is a territory ⊂ regional or national entities with 1 currency, or several currencies with fixed rates; ii)
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- 'New' (monetarist) approach focus more on the benefit side ∈ MU, finding economic, financial and institutional factor driving up trade & B among member States.

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Costs

: countries  $\in$  MU

 Take 2 countries ∈ MU, e.g., Italy (IT) and Germany (DE), and a shock shifting consumers preferences towards DE goods.

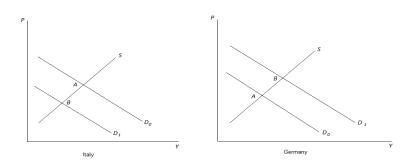
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- Take 2 countries ∈ MU, e.g., Italy (IT) and Germany (DE), and a shock shifting consumers preferences towards DE goods.
- Effects (asymmetric & permanent shock) on aggregate demand (D) 2 countries in Fig. 1.

Costs



#### Figure 1. Asymmetric shock in MU

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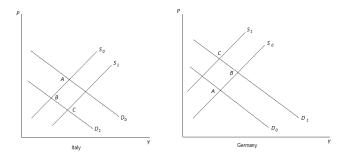
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- If p & w flexible, output (Y) and unemployment (U) changes 2 countries ⇒ (p & w) ↓ IT and ↑ DE; supply (S) IT right-downward and DE left-upward. New equilibrium in C, with opposing changes in (p & D): p ↓ & D ↑ in IT; p ↑ D ↓ in DE (Fig. 2).

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- If L mobility high, workers IT → DE, where D > S, removing pressures on (p & w) 2 countries.

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- ② If *L* mobility high, workers IT  $\longrightarrow$  DE, where *D* > *S*, removing pressures on (*p* & *w*) 2 countries.
  - $\therefore$ , if p & w flexible or L mobility high, automatic adjustment process.

Costs



#### Figure 2. Automatic adjustment

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- If countries ∉ MU, ∃ a number of solution ⇐ exchange rate regime:
- Flexible rate: currency price (rate)  $\Leftarrow$  Forex market (e.g., USA, UK, JP) and countries can use MP (changing *i* or *M*) to counter shocks.
- Fixed rate: currency price ← CB (fixed rate, or restricted currency bands, e.g., Denmark, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo with €; China, South-America, Micronesia States with \$) and counties can change *E* (devaluation/revaluation).

Costs

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### Example

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- **Result**: IT avoids recession (*Y* contraction & *U* increase) and DE inflation.

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Costs

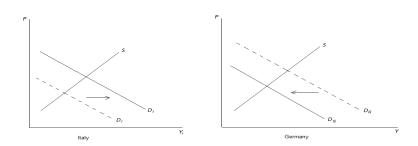


Figure 3. Effects of autonomous monetary policy

10 / 79

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- If so, MUs more advantageous than autonomous State regimes.

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#### Figure 4. Symmetric shock

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Negative symmetric shock on D

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- In MUs money market well integrated, *i* unique and ECB can lower *i* and stimulate *D* in both countries, banning the negative shock effects.
- Unfeasible strategy under asymmetric *shocks*. In such a case, ECB
   —→ dilemma (∵ 1 instrument (*i*) and 2 problems, i.e., recession IT &
   expansion DE): if *i* ↓ to counteract IT recession, inflationary pressure
   DE raises; if *i* ↑ to prevent DE inflation, IT recession worsens.

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- By contrast, MPs coordination in MUs is formally established.
- Implication: under symmetric shocks, MUs emerge as more appealing than autonomous States regimes.

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- Result: countries ∈ MUs cannot guarantee the cash will always be available to pay out bondholders at maturity.
- By contrast, countries ∉ MUs can always warrant debt repayment at maturity, calling upon the CB to act as a Lender of Last Resort (LLR) in sovereign bond markets and provide the required liquidity.

 Unwelcome effect: financial markets got the power → countries ∈ MU towards liquidity and solvency crises.

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liquidity and solvency crises

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- Problems with debt rollover at reasonable rates → IT government to liquidity crisis Bank of Italy (Bol) cannot solve. ECB could, but Italy has no control on the ECB.

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• If liquidity crisis carries on,  $(i \wedge D_I) \uparrow\uparrow$ ,  $\longrightarrow$  IT into insolvency, validating default expectations on  $PD_I$  (self-fulfilling prophecies).

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- **Result**: UK money stock (£) unchanged; part of £ stock reinvested in UK government securities.
- Nevertheless, UK government can always force the Bank of England (BoE) to buy up government securities and get the required liquidity to finance  $DP_{UK}$ .

Costs

• Implication: Markets cannot force stand-alone countries into default.

#### Example

asymmetric shocks and debt dynamics

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- Countries' vulnerability to shifting market sentiments ('animal spirits') downgrades countries ∈ MUs to the status of emerging economies, which issue debt in a foreign currency and are vulnerable to 'sudden stops' in capital inflows → recession, liquidity crisis, debt explosion and insolvency (Calvo, 1988; Eichengreen, Hausmann, Panizza, 2005; Piersanti, 2012, chap. 4).

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#### asymmetric shocks and debt dynamics

# • Let asymmetric shock in Fig. 1 be temporary, $\rightarrow$ recession IT & expansion DE.

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- If markets trust governments (IT & DE), automatic stabilizers government budget  $\rightarrow$  to equilibrium with no costly  $(p \land w)$  adjustments or inter-State migration.
- Changes  $d \iff$  cyclical displacement  $\rightarrow$  lessen recession intensity IT  $(\gg d, \gg D, \therefore < Y \downarrow)$  and expansion DE  $(\ll d, \ll D, < Y \uparrow)$ .

- IT recession  $\implies$   $(Y \land T) \downarrow$ ,  $(U \land d) \uparrow$ ; expansion DE  $\implies$   $(Y \land T) \uparrow$ ,  $(U \land d) \downarrow$ .
- 2 possible scenarios: *a*) good; *b*) bad.
- If markets trust governments (IT & DE), automatic stabilizers government budget → to equilibrium with no costly (p ∧ w) adjustments or inter-State migration.
- Changes  $d \iff$  cyclical displacement  $\rightarrow$  lessen recession intensity IT  $(\gg d, \gg D, \therefore < Y \downarrow)$  and expansion DE  $(\ll d, \ll D, < Y \uparrow)$ .
- Scenario (a) unchanged trust investors willing to hold IT government securities in portfolio, i.e., more IT bonds
   ( ⇐= ≫ d ∧ DP) with no ≫ i (unchanged debt riskiness) to offset
   ≪ DE bonds ( ⇐= ≪ d ∧ PD).

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- **Outcome**: liquidity outflows from IT  $\rightarrow$  DE; interest rate differential (spread) between IT and DE materializes;  $(D\&Y)_{IT} \downarrow$ ,  $(D\&Y)_{DE} \uparrow$ ; fiscal position & recession IT worsen; expected riskiness IT bonds $\uparrow$  and debt rollover hard.

 If uncertainty and distrust keep going, country ←adverse shock forced to cut spending and/or raise taxes (austerity) to ↑ investors' trust. But austerity costly: worsens and extend recession phase and → government stopping service the debt & *default*, validating markets expectations sovereign debt unsustainability.

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- IT bond selling  $\rightarrow$  currency ( $\pm$ ) depreciation and DM appreciation (bond selling for  $\pm$  and DM buying on FX)  $\rightarrow D_{IT} \uparrow \& D_{DE} \downarrow$ , lessening effects of cyclical displacement.

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Monetary unions & fiscal union

OCA theory → 2 solutions for lowering costs ∈ MU: 1) CB role (EU: ECB); 2) Fiscal Union (FU).

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### Example FU insurance mechanism

Let national budgets countries ∈ MU (e.g., IT & DE) be (fully/partly) centralized at EU level (i.e., ∃ EU government: T, G, TR fixed ∀ EZ).

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22 / 79

Monetary unions & fiscal union

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- Implication: in (MU+FU), countries give up sovereignty, but get back protection against markets inherent volatility. These can no more → countries ∈ MU to liquidity crisis & insolvency.
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Financial markets' role

 To day, probability to fulfil EMU with FU minimal: EU budget only 1% of its GDP, whereas national budgets take up 40 - 50% of respective GDP. Unwillingness to go → FU means EMU to be an imperfect (fragile) construction with no insurance mechanism against adverse shock.

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## • Vantages: cutting MH risk; disadvantages: benefits only financial assets holders.

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December 2020 24 / 79

Trade integration & costs

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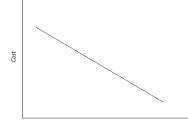
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Trade integration & costs



Trade openness

#### Figure 5. Cost $\in$ MU & trade-openness/GDP

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The Economics of Monetary Unions

December 2020

26 / 79

## Costs-Benefits Monetary Unions Benefits

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- Benefits higher if the common currency take on the global reserve currency status: 3 possible benefits

Higher fiscal revenues: if € used in international transactions, profits ECB↑, distributed (pro rata) EZ governments → ≪ T ∀ G to the benefits of people in EZ. The overall estimated effect, however, small: ~ 0.5% GDP.

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  - Implication: positive relationship between benefits & openness degree countries ∈ MUs (Fig. 6).

Trade integration & benefits



#### Figure 6. Benefits $\in$ MU & trade-openness/GDP

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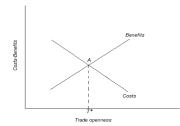
The Economics of Monetary Unions

December 2020

30 / 79

Evaluation

Comparison costs-benefits ∈ MU in Fig. 7, useful to assess EMU as OCA.



#### Figure 7. Costs-Benefits $\in$ MU (% GDP)

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The Economics of Monetary Unions

December 2020 31 / 79

Evaluation

Intersection (A) 2 curves determines critical openness level (T\*) → country ∈ MU: to the left of A, C > B, ∉ MU dominant; to the right of A, B > C ∈ MU dominant.

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- To go deeper into EMU-OCA issue, consider first the trade size within EU (Tab.1)

Evaluation

Country	Ratio	Country	Ratio	Country	Ratio	Country	Ratio
SK	71.7	EE	49.5	DE	24.9	IT	13.7
HU	67.2	LT	42.6	DK	22.0	ES	13.5
CZ	65.8	IR	34.0	PT	19.5	FR	12.4
BE	62.5	LV	31.8	SE	19.1	UK	10.8
NL	61.4	AT	30.4	MT	17.3	EL	6.0
SI	52.7	PL	28.5	FI	16.0	CY	5.1

Tab. 1 Exports intra-EU, 2012 (% GDP). Source: European Commission SK=Slovakia; HU=Hungary; CZ=Czechia; BE=Belgium; NL=Netherlands; SI=Slovenia; EE=Estonia; LT=Lithuania; IR=Ireland; LV=Latvia; AT= Austria; PL=Poland; DE=Germany; DK=Denmark; PT=Portugal; SE= Sweden; MT=Malta; FI=Finland; IT=Italy; ES=Spain; FR=France; UK= United Kingdom; EL=Greece; CY=Cyprus.

Evaluation

 Data show huge differences in openness degree: Slovakia, Hungary, Netherlands, Czech, Belgium, Slovenia, Estonia, Austria, Ireland and Poland with high ratios & positive net benefits; United Kingdom, Greece, Cyprus (including Italy, Spain, and France) with low ratios & net benefits less obvious.

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- There are other parameters driving the MU choice, e.g., degree of flexibility, shock asymmetry.
- ② Countries with low openness degree could choose MUs to raise international reputation. If monetarist minded, costs ⇐= loss monetary autonomy < benefits, → MU choice despite low intra-trade: main reason MU or pegged-rate-regime choice for many countries with high & persistent inflation.

• If 2 main motivation (i.e.,  $\gg$  international credibility &  $\ll$  inflation), criterion 1. more complex.

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- If (p, w) rigid & L less mobile, costs MU high and less advantageous  $\in$  MU  $(A' \rightarrow A)$ .

#### Evaluation

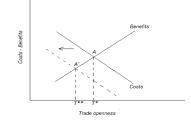


Figure 8. Costs-Benefits and rigidities

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The Economics of Monetary Unions

December 2020 36 / 79

 In addition to flexibility (p, w, L), choice ∈ MU rests on size and frequency asymmetric shocks. If shock (D & S) dissimilar, MU choice costly (cost curve → North-East, Fig. 8).

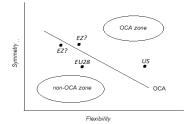
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#### Costs-Benefits Monetary Unions Evaluation

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- Inference ⇐ OCA theory: under strong asymmetry, countries ∈
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- Downward OCA-line denotes the minimum mix symmetry-flexibility for MUs running as OCA (i.e.,  $B \ge C$ ). To the left, flexibility not enough given symmetry (non-OCA zone: C > B); to the right, flexibility suited given symmetry (OCA zone: C < B).

#### Evaluation



#### Figure 9. Relationship flexibility-symmetry in MUs

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The Economics of Monetary Unions

December 2020 38 / 79

Evaluation

Fig. 9 shows (guessed) position countries ∈ MU, e.g., EU28 ⊂ {DE, FR, IT, BE, LU, NL, IR, EL, PT, ES, AT, FI, SK, CY, MT, SI, EE, LV, LT, UK, DK, SE, PL, CZ, HU, BG, RO, HR} trusted non-OCA zone (Eichengreen, 1990; De Grauwe-Heens, 1993; Korhonen-Fidrmuc, 2001; Beine et al., 2003); minimum subset given by {DE, BE, LU, NL, AT, FR} trusted OCA zone; US guessed OCA zone; EZ position uncertain.

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- Remark: EU28 and US (same symmetry but different flexibility) → US (≫ flexibility) above OCA-line, EU28 (≪ flexibility) below OCA-line. Uncertainty EZ position ← divergent analysts' opinions and EZ crisis → view EZ non-OCA zone.

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- Key issue: how move UE28 into OCA zone. Two possible strategies: 1) reduce shock asymmetry; 2) increase flexibility.

Evaluation

Troubles with 1) <= a) factors not quite under policymakers' control (e.g., industrial & regional specialization, resource endowment, etc.); and b) political union powerful tool-shrinkage asymmetric shocks.</li>

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- Strategy 2) → structural reforms goods & labour markets, i.e., policies → ≫ flexibility p, w, L.

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#### Evaluation

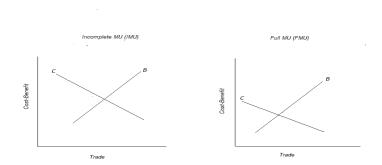


Figure 10. Costs-Benefits complete and incomplete MUs

Evaluation

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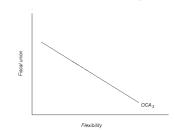
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- Implication: > FU  $\implies$  < needed flexibility  $\in$  MU; conversely, < FU  $\implies$  > flexibility.
- Critical point: flexibility appealing to many economists, CB governors, and firms, but costly for those suffering ≪ w and/or ≫ mobility. Result: > FU can make it less costly ∈ MU for large sections of people.

Evaluation



#### Figure 11. Trade-off FU-Flexibility

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The Economics of Monetary Unions

December 2020 43 / 79

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- Optimal reaction to exogenous shock points to ≫ flexibility (Figs. 1 & 9); optimal reaction to endogenous shock points to ≫ budgetary union (Fig. 10), such as:

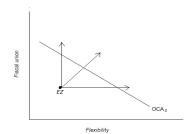
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- if shock exogenous, optimal reaction EZ → OCA zone is on horizontal arrow, i.e., ≫ flexibility (structural reforms goods & labour markets);

**Evaluation** 

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- if shocks endogenous, optimal reaction EZ → OCA is on vertical arrow, i.e., ≫ FU (→ political union).

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Evaluation



#### Figure 12. Policies moving EZ in OCA zone

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The Economics of Monetary Unions

December 2020 45 / 79

Evaluation

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  - Remark: i) flexibility managed by national governments (≫ integration not necessary for ≫ flexibility); ii) fiscal union ⇒ political union, not under control of the single-member country, but the member countries as a whole.
  - **Policy implication**: in EZ, exogenous shocks faced with national strategies, endogenous shocks  $\leftarrow$  EU strategy.

Evaluation

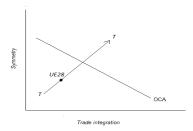
 The obsessed, single-minded EZ commitment to structural reforms for EMU crisis solution ⇒ i) very low (or no) willingness in EU countries to go in the direction of more fiscal & political union; ii) explains persistence & costs EZ crisis (→ asymmetric adjustment core vs. periphery).

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- Combination TT and OCA lines highlights EC hypothesis time evolution costs/benefits in MUs (Fig. 13).

Evaluation



### Figure 13. Evolution symmetry-trade integration in MUs. European Commission theory.

Giovanni Piersanti (Institute)

The Economics of Monetary Unions

December 2020 48 / 79

Evaluation

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- Ratio: MU choice becomes self-fulfilling, making OCA criteria less binding, i.e., costs-benefits ratio changes, reducing C relative to B, raising convenience ∈ MU, ⇐ 'New' OCA theory (Frankel-Rose, 1998) ⊂ new classical theory (Lucas, Friedman).

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- 'New' OCA: a) down-plays costs and plays up benefits ∈ MU (endogeneity monetary & trade integration process: Rose effect ); b) provides the theoretical foundations for the current EMU institution & governance (e.g., Treaty of Maastricht, Treaty on the Functioning of EU); c) explains the single-minded stress on supply side (structural reforms) with no regard to demand side (counter-cyclical fiscal policy).

Evaluation

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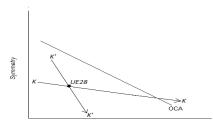
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- Scenario K'K' line ( ⇐ slope > OCA line) → opposite result 'New' OCA-EC prediction: probability EU countries ∈ zona OCA small.

50 / 79

Evaluation



Trade integration

#### Figure 14. Trade integration-symmetry in MUs. Krugman hypothesis

Giovanni Piersanti (Institute)

The Economics of Monetary Unions

December 2020 51 / 79

Evaluation

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Evaluation

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**Evaluation** 

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- Setting up improved trade volume as for (5%, 20%): ⇒ modest movement EZ countries → OCA zone.
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- Is Flexibility labour market increased, particularly after 2010 crisis with employment protection indexes ≪ many EZ countries (e.g., *IR*, *EL*, *PT*, *ES*).

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- $\bullet$  Available empirical evidence on EZ  $\rightarrow$  OCA zona process suggests:
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- Result: empirical support 'New' OCA theory (endogenous process monetary & trade integration) poor: only ≫ flexibility consistent with 'New' theory; integration not consistent; dubious ≫ symmetry. Maybe, sovereign debt crisis 2010 ≫ distance among EZ countries.

52 / 79

Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

Costs-Benefits analysis MUs → partition MUs in full (complete) MU (FMU) and incomplete MU (IMU). FMU ⊆ fiscal union (i.e., MU+FU); IMU ⊉ FU (i.e., member countries retain FP autonomy).

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- Fragility  $\overline{\mathcal{E}}$ -regime  $\iff$  2 basic factors: 1) credibility; 2) foreign reserve stock (FR).

Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

- Costs-Benefits analysis MUs → partition MUs in full (complete) MU (FMU) and incomplete MU (IMU). FMU ⊆ fiscal union (i.e., MU+FU); IMU ⊉ FU (i.e., member countries retain FP autonomy).
- IMU ⇒ a) ≫ costs compared to FMU; b) vulnerability liquidity/debt crises → long-run unsustainability.
- IMU like fixed rate regime (*Ē*): monetary arrangement ⊂ similar constraints on national MPs.
- Special feature *E*-regime is long-run disintegration (e.g. Bretton Woods 1973, ERM 1992-93, Latin America 1994-95, South-East Asia 1997-98, Argentina 2002).
- Fragility  $\overline{\mathcal{E}}$ -regime  $\iff$  2 basic factors: 1) credibility; 2) foreign reserve stock (FR).
- Factor (1) ⇐ partial (or not full) credibility to *E* commitment ⇐ shock unpredictability → to change the fixed parity to fulfil other policy targets (e.g., U<sup>F</sup>, Y<sup>P</sup>, ΔY/Y).

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53 / 79

Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

Factor (2) ⇐ boundedness FR stock (¬∞) to sustain the fixed parity.

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- Correction CA deficit in 2 ways: a) cut D without changing  $(\overline{\mathcal{E}})$  and undermine credibility; b) abandon  $(\overline{\mathcal{E}})$  and loose reputation.

Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

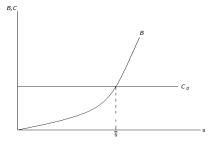
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• Strategy (a)  $\Leftarrow$  restrictive FP  $\rightarrow \gg T$  and/or  $\ll G \rightarrow Y \downarrow$ ,  $U \uparrow$  (recession). Strategy (b)  $\Leftarrow$  devaluation (i.e., parity change)  $\rightarrow \gg X$  and CA improvement with no recession.

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- Choice (a) or (b) conditional on threshold shock size (\$\overline{s}\$) | B = C ⇒ (a) = (b). Incentives option (a) or (b) in Fig. 15.

Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs



#### Figure 15. Costs-Benefits devaluation

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The Economics of Monetary Unions

December 2020 55 / 79

Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

B curve displays relationship between devaluation & shock size (s):
 ≫ s, ≫ C from option (a) (→ recession ⇐= ≪ D) and ≫ B from option (b) (∵ devaluation →≫ X, ≫ D, ≫ Y); C<sub>0</sub> line is devaluation cost (constant) from reputation loss ← parity change; s
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Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

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Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

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 Fig. 15 describes a unique equilibrium scenario where *z* collapse exactly foreseen given *s* (first-generation models). *D* ≤ *z* ≤ *z* ≤ *z* Giovanni Piersanti (Institute)
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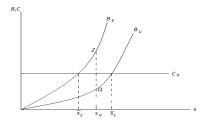
56 / 79

Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

• Scenario more complex (Fig.16) if  $\bar{s}$  not fixed but linked to market devaluation expectations (second-generation models).

Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

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#### Figure 16. Multiple equilibria in Forex market

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Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

• Fig. 16  $\subset$  2 curves B:  $B_U$  curve  $\Leftarrow$  unexpected devaluation hypothesis by markets  $\forall s \leq \bar{s}_1$ ;  $B_E$  curve  $\Leftarrow$  expected devaluation hypothesis by markets.

- Fig. 16 ⊂ 2 curves B: B<sub>U</sub> curve ⇐ unexpected devaluation hypothesis by markets ∀s ≤ s
  <sub>1</sub>; B<sub>E</sub> curve ⇐ expected devaluation hypothesis by markets.
- $B_E$  curve above  $B_U$  curve: expected devaluation  $\rightarrow$  speculators to attack CB (selling national currency to buy foreign currency) to avoid capital losses  $\Leftarrow$  devaluation. CB forced to reduce FR & raise *i* to maintain the parity. *i* increase costly ( $\because \rightarrow Y \downarrow U \uparrow$  (recession); devaluation expectations  $\uparrow$  and *B* curve  $\circlearrowleft$  (i.e.,  $\bar{s}$  shrinks:  $\bar{s}_2 < \bar{s}_1$ ). Conversely, if devaluation not expected, speculators do not run at CB and *B* curve unchanged in  $B_U$ , i.e., devaluation  $\forall \bar{s} > \bar{s}_1$ .

Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

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- Fig. 16 splits s-axis in 3 zones:  $s < \overline{s}_2$ ;  $\overline{s}_2 \le s \le \overline{s}_1$ ;  $s > \overline{s}_1$ .

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Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

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58 / 79

#### Fragility Incomplete MUs Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

•  $s > \bar{s}_1$  zone (severe shock): devaluation sure (B > C); CB under attack (parity not credible); FR stock rapidly depleted; parity  $(\bar{\mathcal{E}})$ abandoned and devaluation expectation validated. Scenario  $s > \bar{s}_1$ bad equilibrium: devaluation inescapable &  $\bar{\mathcal{E}}$  unsustainable and challenged by markets.  $s > \bar{s}_1$  zone  $\equiv hell$ .

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- In Z: devaluation expected & currency under attack; government devalues (B > C); FR↓; devaluation inevitable. Scenario Z consistent with markets expectations and self-fulfilling; economy in bad equilibrium.

Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

s
 *s*<sub>2</sub> ≤ s ≤ s
 *s*<sub>1</sub> zone ≡ *purgatory*: multiple equilibria fully supported by self-fulfilling market expectations.

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- Expectations subject to sudden changes, able to let the economy jump from Q to Z for any s. ∀s<sub>0</sub> ∈ s : s<sub>0</sub> → Q ∨Z, the economy can jump from Q to Z if markets change the country's trustworthiness:
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- Exchange rate flexibility (option 2) restore MP autonomy but: *i*) does not remove the source of speculative attacks (Aghion et al., 2000, 2004; Piersanti, 2012); *ii*) opens the countries to external shock vulnerability (Calvo-Reinhart, 2002; McKinnon-Schnabl, 2002).

Fixed exchange rate regimes as incomplete MUs

Flaws solutions (1) & (2) and scepticism bipolar view → some countries (India, China, Malaysia, Chile) to capital controls; others (Hong Kong, Argentina 1991-2002 → \$, Bulgaria, 1997-2011, Estonia, 1992-2011, Lithuania, 1994-2015 → €) towards higher devaluation costs through *currency board* systems (CBS): hard peg regimes where fixed parity established by law; MB fully backed by the anchor currency; devaluation costs very high. But:

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- EMU/EZ ∈ IMU (FU ⊈ EMU) ⊆ (intrinsic) fragility similar to fixed-rate regimes (Fig. 17).

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December 2020 61 / 79

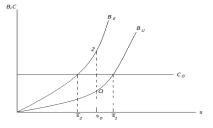


Figure 17. Multiple equilibria in IMUs

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- default  $PD \implies : i)$  both costs (C) ( $\Leftarrow$  reputation loss and hardship with bond and/or debt rollover) and benefits (B) ( $\Leftarrow \ll C$  from restrictive policies (*austerity*)  $\rightarrow \gg T$  and/or  $\ll G$  to reduce  $d \land PD$ ); *ii*) constant costs  $(C_0)$  and benefits increasing with *s*, i.e., > s > B; *iii*) net benefit (B - C) drives government's choice.

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•  $B_U$  curve is default benefit if not expected by markets.  $B_U$  shows shock occurrence very strong  $(s > \bar{s}_1)$  to occasion default (total or partial debt cut, say, 50%). Position  $B_U$  curve given by: •  $B_U$  curve is default benefit if not expected by markets.  $B_U$  shows shock occurrence very strong  $(s > \bar{s}_1)$  to occasion default (total or partial debt cut, say, 50%). Position  $B_U$  curve given by:

**(**) initial level PD:  $> PD > B \forall PD \iff$  default  $\rightarrow B_U \circlearrowleft$ .

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- B<sub>E</sub> curve is default benefit if expected by markets. B<sub>E</sub> above B<sub>U</sub> as default expectation → investors selling governments bonds: i ↑→ (d ∧ PD) ↑ ⇒ ≫ C recession from *austerity* & ≫ B ⇐= defaulting: ∀s, ≫ B → curve B ♂.

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  <sub>2</sub> zone (weak shock, e.g., shock on DE, AT, BE, LU, NL ← debt crisis 2010): net benefit default (B C) < 0; government rules out default option; investors willing to hold PD securities (unexpected default); no-default equilibrium sustainable & government with no liquidity shortage and/or debt rollover hardships.</li>

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- 1) if investors optimistic (default unexpected) equilibrium in Q: net benefit (B - C) < 0; government trusted; investors hold sovereign bonds; liquidity sizeable; no-default equilibrium sustainable &

self-fulfilling: economy in good equilibrium Giovanni Piersanti (Institute) The Economics of Monetary Unions

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- Multiple equilibrium zone in IMUs ⇐ liquidity constraint member countries (≂ fixed-rate regimes). If CB (ECB) buys debt securities providing the required liquidity for debt repayment at maturity (LLR), default unexpected, B<sub>E</sub> and B<sub>U</sub> coincide and multiple equilibria fade away: markets not able to force the government into default ∀s ≤ s<sub>1</sub>.

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- Conversely, if CB does not step in,  $B_E$  above  $B_U$ , and multiple equilibria emerge.
- In bad equilibrium, IMUs ⊂ 2 other negative features: banking crises; lack of automatic stabilizers.

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The Economics of Monetary Unions

December 2020 66 / 79

- **Banking crises**: investors' exit from sovereign bond market  $\implies$ :
  - a) p ↓ & capital losses → banks' balance sheet worsening, being they a major investor in government bonds;
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- Automatic stabilizers: In Z, countries ∈ IMU without automatic stabilizers (AST) against cyclical fluctuations. AST ⇒ recession ≫ d, expansion ≪ d, i.e., countercyclical fiscal policy. By contrast, no-AST ⇒: recession → ≪ T & ≫ d; markets' trust future sustainability PD ↓; liquidity crisis; government forced to austerity policies, i.e. pro-cyclical fiscal policy→ expansion & recession phases to intensify (boom-bust cycle; Eichengreen et al., 2005).

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- Integrate national PDs into a common debt. This ⇒ FU and eradicates IMU fragility by completing the Union (MU+FU=FMU).
  - Option (1) ⇒ high default costs & ⊂ possibility of excluding defaulting countries from MU. Option (2) needed to manage crisis in sovereign bond markets. Option (3) required for MU long-run sustainability.

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- Power LLR role clear from ECB intervention in 2012: OMT & QE policies.

 OMT (*Outright Monetary Transaction*) policy: short-term sovereign bond purchases countries ∈ EMU under severe macroeconomic troubles → EZ spreads ↓ and waned EMU breakup expectations ⇐ spreads explosion. Unfortunately, ECB conditioned OMT to austerity program by applicant countries, deepening the recession phase.

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- Novelty is operation size: [03/2015 09/2016 (60 bln €/month); 10/2016 - 03/2017 (80 bln €/month); 04/2017 - 12/2017 (60 bln €/month); 01/2018 - 06-2018 (15 bln €/month); 11/2019 - 03/2020 (20 bln €/month); from 04/2020 (Pandemic Emergency Purchase Programme =750 bln €~ 60 bln €/month)].

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This → to discern: a) MB from M<sup>s</sup>; b) normal phase from adverse occurrence or crisis.

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(a): when CB purchases government bonds MB (≡ CO + D) ↑. This ⇒ (always) ≫ M<sup>s</sup> & ≫ Δp (Figs. 18 &19). In EZ blatant difference between pre-(2000-08) & post-crisis (2009-13): pre-crisis, MB & M3 ≡ M<sup>s</sup> congruent (m = 100%) & inflation > 2%; post crisis relationship broken down (m ≃ 0) & inflation < 2% (01/2015 = -0.6%, 11/2016 = -0.1, ≪ target 2%).</li>

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- Conclusion: LLR & inflation not related. Milton Friedman (1963) made clear GFC29 sharpened by FED ¬ LLR action. If Δp ↑, CB can ≫ MRR or ≪ MB selling government bonds to banks (open-market operations) and → Δp ↓.

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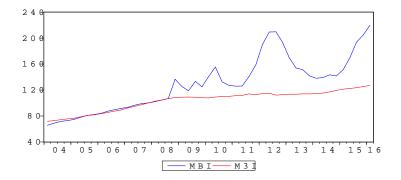
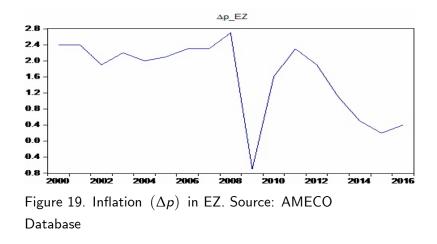


Figure 18 Monetary Base (MB) & money stock (M3) in EZ. (12/2007=100). Source: ECB



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- (d) IMU open to *self-fulfilling* dynamics driven by market sentiments
   → debt crises (*bad equilibrium*). CB LLR role can ward off *bad equilibrium*, avoiding losses and fiscal implications.

#### Changing EMU in FMU ECB role: moral hazard

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- (b) SGP rules too inflexible → tensions among national States & European institution. Inflexibility → sanctions & penalty even in recessions, raising costs & pains of crises and enhancing EU-scepticism.

Fiscal union

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#### Changing EMU in FMU Fiscal union

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  - Solution FU ⇒ surrender sovereignty (total/partial) to European institutions, i.e., political union.
  - Today no (poor) willingness in EU  $\rightarrow$  FU and EMU remains IMU. This does not preclude a small step strategy, signaling the willingness EMU  $\rightarrow$  FMU.

Fiscal & political union

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- Long-run success EZ depends on the strength PU process. PU variable so far missing in EU, but needed to lower: (a) effects of asymmetric shock; (b) structural fragility IMU; (c) bring in firm links among member countries to counteract diverging forces in EZ, i.e., long-run viability EMU.