# The Ongoing Recession: How Long and How Deep?

Robert J. Gordon Northwestern University and NBER BAC Meeting October 22, 2008

## No Debate About Recession

(1) So Why Hasn't the Recession been "Officially Declared?" Let's ask someone on the NBER BCDC (2) Background: Distinguish between Wall Street and Main Street - Wall Street Meltdown: Fingers of Blame – Main Street: Producing GDP and Earning Income

### Common Features to All Graphs

- Vertical bars indicate previous recessions
- All changes are over six months for monthly data or two quarters for quarterly data

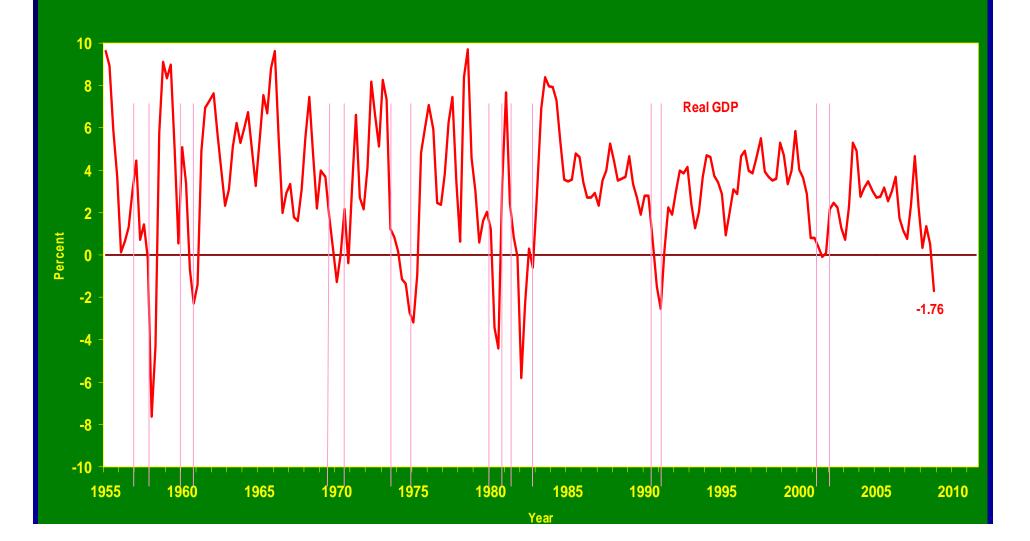
All data are the latest releases

Latest numerical observation is listed on each chart

### First Chart: Real GDP, Two-Quarter Change Since 1955

- Includes 2008:Q3 and Q4
- Focus on
  - The "Great Moderation" Starting in 1984
    - Recessions Less Frequent
    - Recessions Less Severe
- Where will this recession rank?
- Already clear: worse than 1990-91, would be a stretch for it to be as bad as 1981-82 when unemployment peaked at 10.5 %

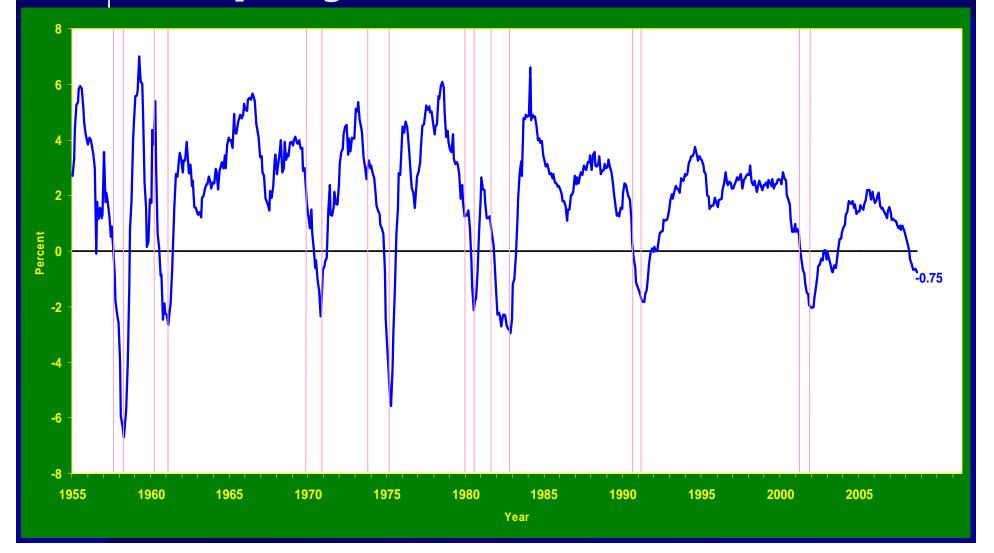
# Current Quarter 2008:Q4 in Perspective since 1955



# The Business-Cycle Dating Problem

- Real GDP Growth was Positive in 2008:Q2, +2.8 %
- Current Projections are -0.6 for Q3 and -2.8 for Q4
- NBER BCDC Doesn't Anticipate Data
- Casual Recession Definition vs. Actual BCDC Procedure
  - New Role of Monthly GDP
  - Peak? Where between December 07 and June 08?
- Payroll Employment Declined Starting Jan 08, Real GDP in 2008:Q3 ("Monthly GDP" declined starting in July 08)

## 6-month AAGR Payroll Employment, 1/55 – 9/08

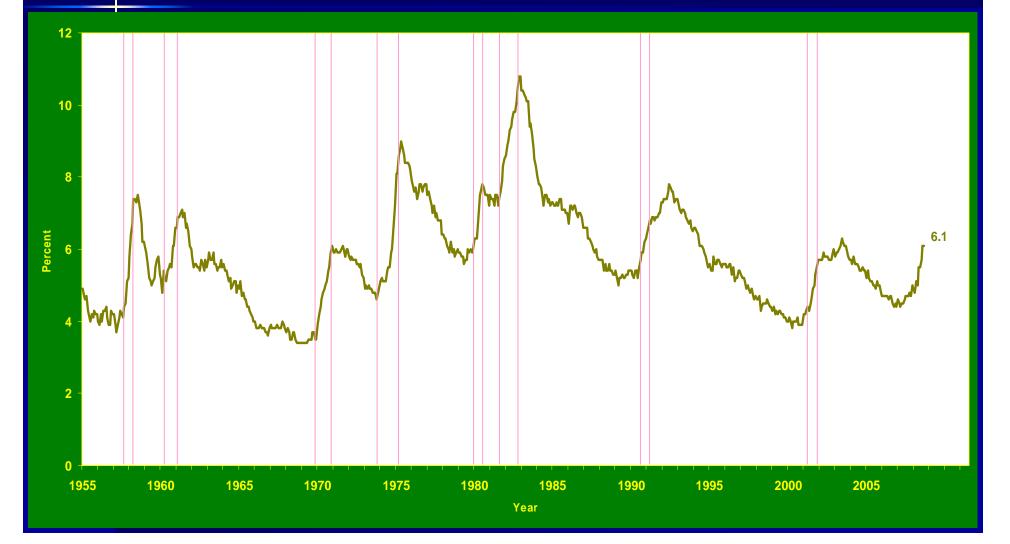


#### **Precedents for Recession**

Never a negative 6-month change in payroll employment without a recession being declared

Same for a one-percentage-point increase in the unemployment rate (see next slide)

## Unemployment Rate Since 1955, Monthly



## Conclusion so Far: Yes, We're in a Recession

What Caused it?

- What Can be Done to Minimize its Impact
- Here's Where Main Street vs. Wall Street Comes in
- Trouble Started in 2001-2002

# Federal Funds Rate: Too Low for Too Long



## Seeds of Disaster Were Planted

- Adjusted for Inflation, Federal Funds Rate was Negative throughout 2002-04
- Auto Sales Exploded with Zero-Rate Loans in late 2001. Throughout 2001-2006 Auto Sales were Borrowed from the Future
- But the Real Problem was in Housing

### The Case Against the Fed

Asymmetric Approach to Asset Bubbles

 Stock Market dot.com boom in late 1990s
 Housing price bubble in 2001-06

 Fail to Raise Rates to Stop Bubble
 But then Slash Rates when Bubble Bursts
 This biased Monetary Policy Fuelled

Risk-Taking and Credit Excess

Results: Housing and Consumption were Artificially High

Housing: Cheap credit pushed up

 Prices of Existing and New Homes
 Quantity of New Construction

 Consumer Spending Fueled by

 Low interest rates on mortgages, consumer credit
 Housing equity withdrawal

## Housing and the "Great Moderation"

- 1985-2001 Housing construction was relatively stable after pre-1985 boom-bust cycles
- This helped to contribute to Great Moderation
- Conventional Wisdom: Financial Deregulation in 1978-80 made boom-bust cycles obsolete.
- But they didn't count on Alan Greenspan

## Housing Starts, 1960:Q1 – 2008:Q3



# Second Indictment Against the Fed

- Along with other Financial Regulators they were Asleep at the Wheel
- Failed to Appreciate the Scale of Risks Being Built up by "Shadow Banking System"
  - Credit swaps, derivatives
  - Originator of mortgages sells to Wall Street, repackaged in bundles of securities
- Fed made no attempt to create coordinated Federal regulation of new financial market instruments and especially predatory brokers

### Result: Bubble Ended with Foreclosures and Collapse of House Prices

- Foreclosures Ruin Lives and Blight Neighborhoods
- Declining House Prices Lead to
  - Personal Bankruptcy
  - Tainted credit ratings preventing future borrowing and spending
  - Negative equity
  - Inability to move in response to family changes and new jobs

# Already by Fall 2006 the Economy was in Trouble

Household Saving Rate had been Pushed to Zero

- Wealth Effect on stock prices and housing
- Newly important mechanism of equity withdrawal further boosted consumption

Late 2006, house prices peaked and in retrospect appear to have been at least 30 percent overvalued

### My Fall 2006 Macro Students Heard Dire Predictions

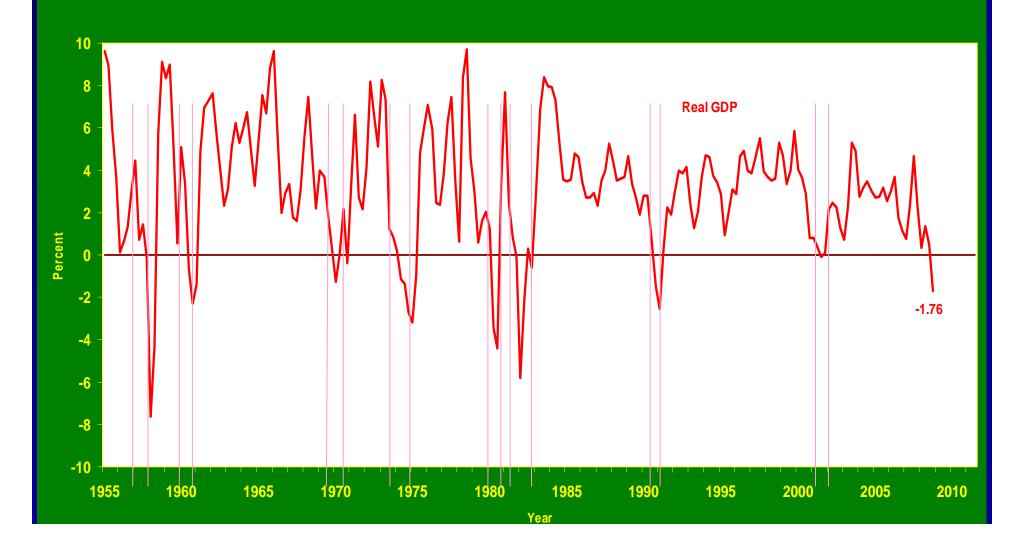
House Prices would fall
 End of Equity Withdrawal
 End of Car buying boom

 Special trouble for Detroit Big-3

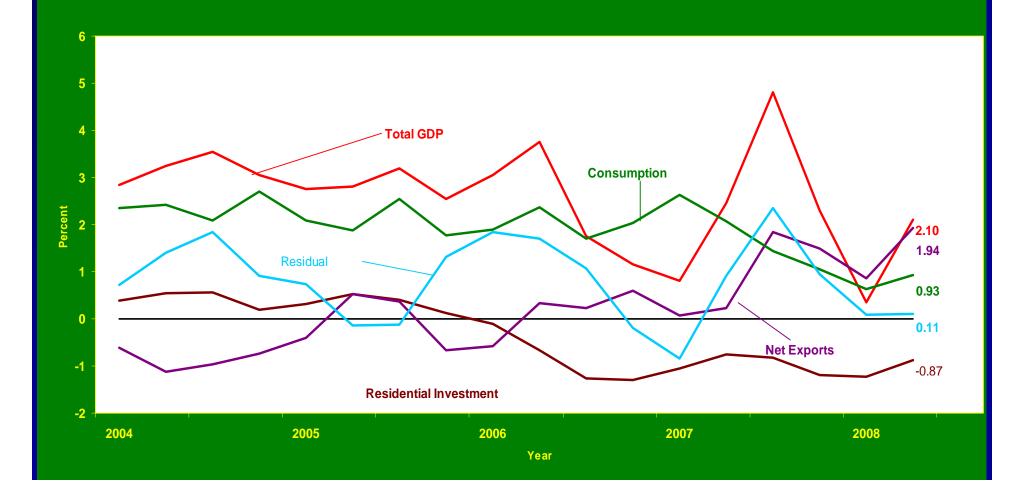
 Higher Oil Prices cut Household Buying Power

Real Wages Declining

# The Big Surprise: Real GDP Kept Growing, How?



### Contributions to Real GDP Growth by Component since 2004 to 2008:Q2



### The Plot Thickens: Crisis Spreads from Main St to Wall St

- Flood of money from big emerging markets economies, esp. China
  - Emerging markets Central Banks now hold > \$5 Trillion in Reserves
- Pushed Down US Long-term Interest Rates
- Fueled continuation of US boom despite Fed's tightening of Federal Funds Rate
- Ever spiraling "leveraging" as debt piled upon debt

## 2004-2007: Ten-year Bond Rate Barely Responded

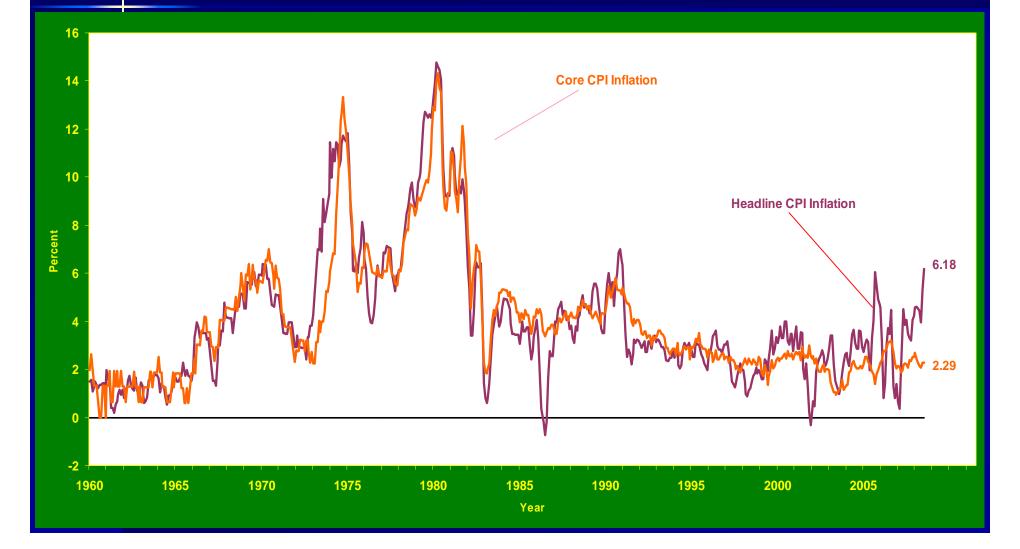


### A Further Consequence: Commodity Price Inflation

Consumer Buying Power further Diminished by Higher Oil and Food Prices

- Demand from India and China
- Misguided Ethanol Legislation Boosted Corn Prices
- Classic Dilemma for Central Banks: fight recession or inflation?

### CPI Headline and Core Inflation, 1960:Q1-2008:Q2



# Wall St Summary: "Six Fingers of Blame"

- #1: Households borrowed recklessly
- #2: Predatory lenders, half of mortgages outside regulated banking system
- #3: Regulators ignored debt explosion and toxic securitization
- #4: Stupid investors ignored risk
- #5: Investment bankers who dreamed up exotic securities
- #6: Rating Agencies (like hiring students to pay professors to grade their papers)

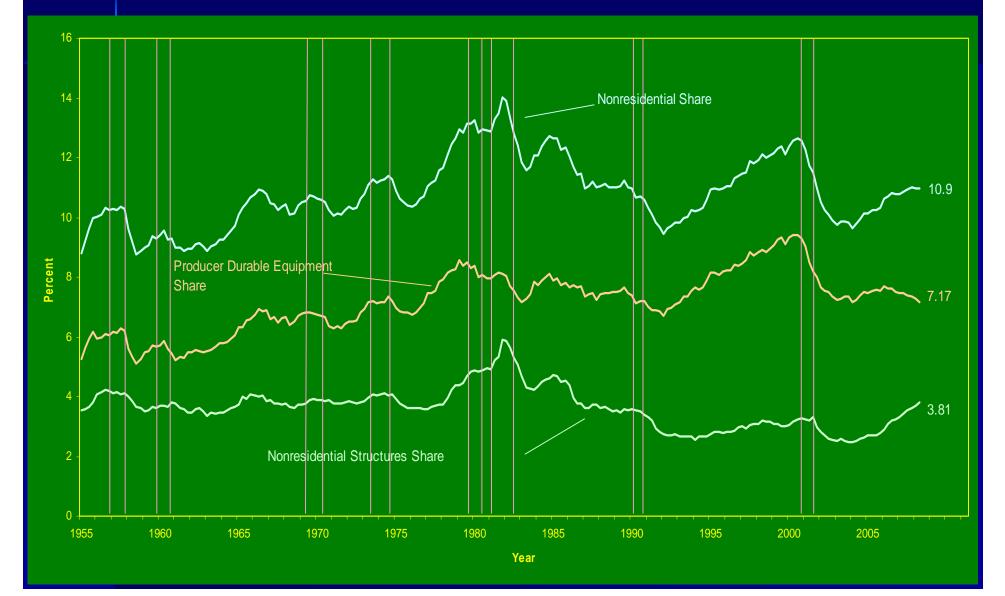
### The Recession: How Deep and How Long?

Housing Starts: How Low can they go?
 Business Investment, key driver of economic weakness in 2001-02

 Nonresidential construction boom: A repeat of the 1920s. Look at downtown Chicago.

 Consumption: the Perfect Storm
 End of Export Boom?

### Business Investment share of Nominal GDP



### Predictions

Suddenly Intermediate Macro Textbooks Become Relevant

Multiplier effect, the "slow-motion train wreck"

 No limit to power of monetary and fiscal policy working together

How Did Great Depression End? Money-fueled Fiscal Deficits

# The Lucky U.S. Compared to Europe

- One Government, compared to 27 in EU
- No Maastricht Treaty Restrictions on Fiscal Deficits as in Euro Area
- Unified Administration and Congress after January 20
- Wise Economists Understand that a \$2 Trillion Deficit can Cure a Lot of Problems
  - Recession, state-local finance, infrastructure, medical care
- Debt-GDP Ratio now 40%, 1945 110%
- "A Trillion Here, A Trillion There" . . . .

## Keynesian Demand Policies Ruled in 1940-45, They can Do So Again

