

Financial Crises

Econ 434 Lecture

Barry W. Ickes

The Pennsylvania State University

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Currency Crises

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The Essential
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- Occur in emerging market economies with fixed rates

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The Essential
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- Occur in emerging market economies with fixed rates
- Why fix rates? Fear of floating and excessive volatility

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- Occur in emerging market economies with fixed rates
- Why fix rates? Fear of floating and excessive volatility
- Fix rates to attract capital

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- Fix rates to attract capital
 - Bretton Woods II

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- Occur in emerging market economies with fixed rates
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 - Bretton Woods II
 - recycling of surpluses to fuel export-led growth in emerging economies

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The Essential
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- Occur in emerging market economies with fixed rates
- Why fix rates? Fear of floating and excessive volatility
- Fix rates to attract capital
 - Bretton Woods II
 - recycling of surpluses to fuel export-led growth in emerging economies
 - But it presents possibility of currency crises that become financial crises

Bretton Woods II

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- China pegs yuan at undervalued rate

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- China pegs yuan at undervalued rate
- Huge supply of excess labor and savings

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- China pegs yuan at undervalued rate
- Huge supply of excess labor and savings
- Bad financial system

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- China pegs yuan at undervalued rate
- Huge supply of excess labor and savings
- Bad financial system
- Export led growth absorbs labor

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- Export led growth absorbs labor
- Holdings of dollars provides collateral to support FDI

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- China pegs yuan at undervalued rate
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- Holdings of dollars provides collateral to support FDI
 - requires ability to sterilize

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- China pegs yuan at undervalued rate
- Huge supply of excess labor and savings
- Bad financial system
- Export led growth absorbs labor
- Holdings of dollars provides collateral to support FDI
 - requires ability to sterilize
- Other emerging markets follow similar strategy

Why study financial crises?

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- Financial crises weaken support for markets

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- Financial crises weaken support for markets
- Fate of globalization

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- Financial crises weaken support for markets
- Fate of globalization
 - crises reduce benefits of open markets induce capital controls

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- Why are financial crises bad?

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- Financial crises weaken support for markets
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 - crises reduce benefits of open markets induce capital controls
- How and whether to reform international financial system?
- Why are financial crises bad?
 - Huge losses in GDP and consumption? Much larger than most Harberger triangles. Loss of capital, physical and human. Bad policies.

Emerging Market Crises

- Several key phenomena that are hard to explain:

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- Several key phenomena that are hard to explain:
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 - Sudden reversal of capital inflows, a large recession, and a collapse in asset prices.

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- The spreading of crises from one country to another in a similar region, cross-country spillovers

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 - *twin crises*.

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 - Currency crises and banking crises are intertwined in emerging markets.

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- One important factor in this is *original sin*
 - Original sin is what transforms currency crises into full-blown banking financial crises.

Crisis Effect on Capital Flows

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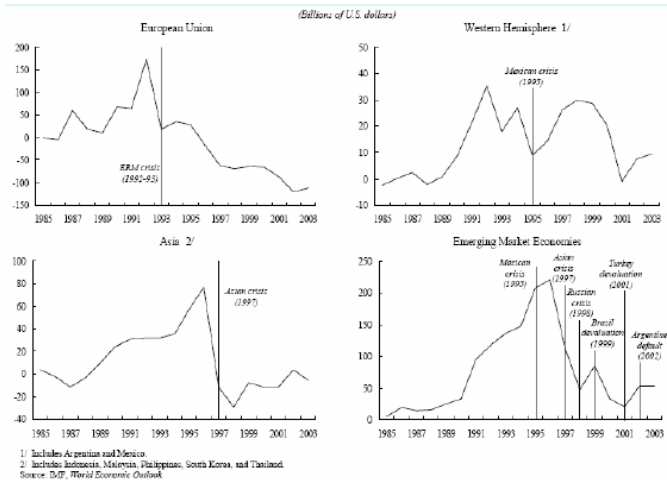
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Crisis Effect on Output

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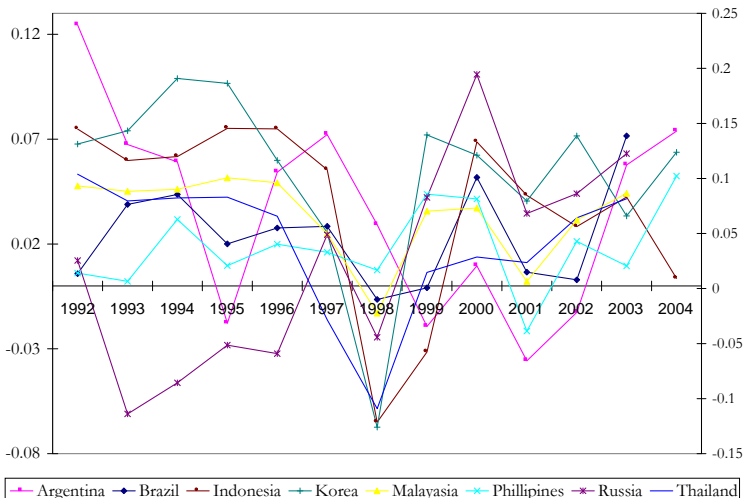


Figure: Growth Rates of per-capita GDP

Argentine Crisis

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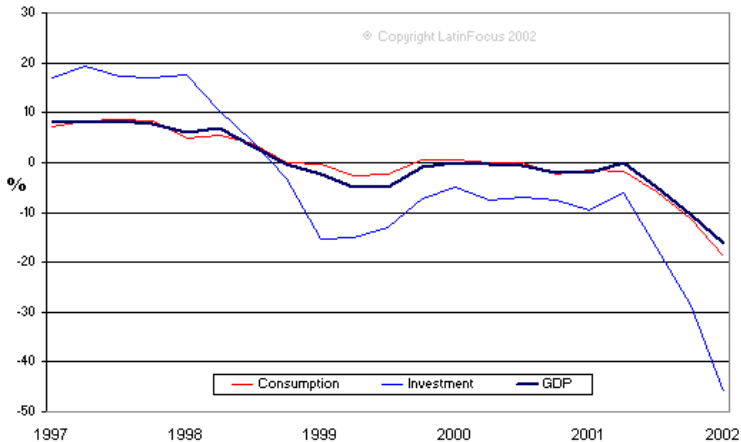
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Argentina Recovery

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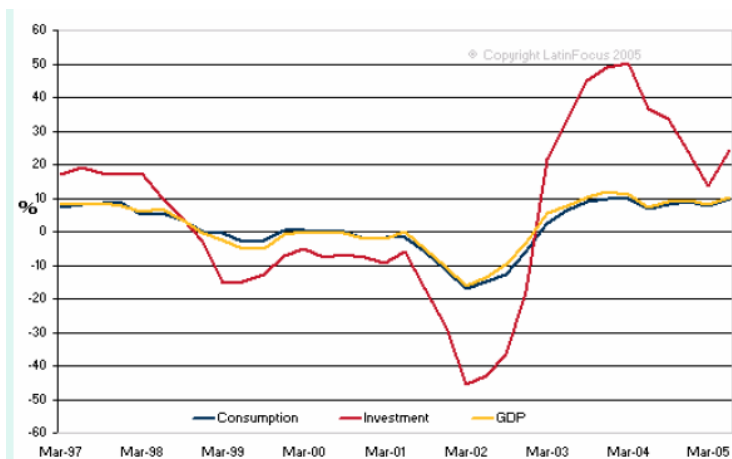
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Political Costs

- There are also political costs.

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Political Costs

- There are also political costs.
- Suppose we use the following definition of a currency crisis:

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Political Costs

- There are also political costs.
- Suppose we use the following definition of a currency crisis:
 - the devaluation must be at least 25% (on a cumulative 12-month basis)

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Political Costs

- There are also political costs.
- Suppose we use the following definition of a currency crisis:
 - the devaluation must be at least 25% (on a cumulative 12-month basis)
 - it must represent an acceleration of at least 10 percentage points, relative to the rate of depreciation in the 12 months before that.

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- Suppose we use the following definition of a currency crisis:
 - the devaluation must be at least 25% (on a cumulative 12-month basis)
 - it must represent an acceleration of at least 10 percentage points, relative to the rate of depreciation in the 12 months before that.
 - it must have been at least three years since the last currency crisis.

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 - it must represent an acceleration of at least 10 percentage points, relative to the rate of depreciation in the 12 months before that.
 - it must have been at least three years since the last currency crisis.
- By this criterion, Frankel examined a sample of 103 developing countries during 1971-2003, found 188 currency crashes. Examine at the six month window after the devaluation.

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 - it must have been at least three years since the last currency crisis.
- By this criterion, Frankel examined a sample of 103 developing countries during 1971-2003, found 188 currency crashes. Examine at the six month window after the devaluation.
 - The chief executive lost office 22.8 % of the time versus 11.6 % of the time otherwise. \implies currency crash doubles the probability of a change in the top leadership within the following 6 months.

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	6-Months Period Following a Devaluation	All Other 6-Month Periods
Change observed	31 (22.0%)	492 (11.5 %)
No change observed	110 (78.0%)	3,792 (88.5%)
Total	141	4,284

Note: "Own turnover"—reference set is only for those developing countries which have experienced currency crash at some point. *P*-value for the difference is **0.002**.

Figure: Devaluations and Regime Changes

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- Why does devaluation carry such big political costs?

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- Why does devaluation carry such big political costs?
 - Suharto weathered 32 years of political, military, ethnic, and environmental challenges, only to succumb to a currency crisis

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 - Is it output effects?

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 - But devaluation should be expansionary. George Bush wants it.

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 - But devaluation should be expansionary. George Bush wants it.
 - Recall the story of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer “singing in the bath” after the 1992 devaluation of the pound.

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 - Suharto weathered 32 years of political, military, ethnic, and environmental challenges, only to succumb to a currency crisis
 - Is it output effects?
 - But devaluation should be expansionary. George Bush wants it.
 - Recall the story of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer “singing in the bath” after the 1992 devaluation of the pound.
- Developing countries are different, however. The question is to explain why. We shall see that a major reason is *original sin*.

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- Cycle of overspending and real appreciation that weakens the current account.

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 - This eventually causes reserves to decline.

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 - Eventually a crisis ensues. Exchange rate is devalued. Not too much else happens.

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 - The big issue is the fall of the real wage. Because finance is repressed there is no chance for balance sheets to get in bad shape.

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 - The finance minister is fired, but not a big crisis in the economy.
 - The big issue is the fall of the real wage. Because finance is repressed there is no chance for balance sheets to get in bad shape.
 - In a world with fixed nominal exchange rates and limited capital mobility, excessive domestic credit creation leads to a trade deficit, the depletion of international reserves and, eventually, a devaluation crisis.

Old Style Crises

- This model is simple, familiar (fig 3) and informative.

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- Moreover, there is an empirical problem.
 - Countries that suffer a collapse often appear to have plenty of reserves left to purchase all of the outstanding monetary base.

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 - One big flaw – while the agents are rational the government is mechanistic – they act like dumb robots losing reserves each period.
- Moreover, there is an empirical problem.
 - Countries that suffer a collapse often appear to have plenty of reserves left to purchase all of the outstanding monetary base.
 - In the UK, for example, foreign reserves were 116% of the monetary base, and in Mexico they were 120%.

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 - Why not use all reserves to purchase the outstanding *MB* and maintain the peg?
 - Obviously, if CB purchased all its outstanding liabilities $M \rightarrow 0$
 - Hence, it is the conflict of internal and external balance all over again. For this reason we need to look to second generation models.

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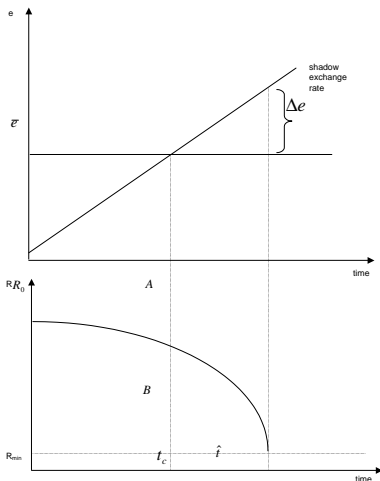


Figure: Time to Collapse

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- First-generation model predict timing, but crises are often unexpected

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- First-generation model predict timing, but crises are often unexpected
- Second-generation models to explain why the occurrence of attack may be uncertain
- Models of multiple equilibria
 - games between governments and speculators

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- In the second generation type models, whether or not an attack occurs is uncertain.

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- In the second generation type models, whether or not an attack occurs is uncertain.
 - There is a "grey zone" in which an attack can occur, but may not. It depends on whether or not the government is willing to take costly enough actions to deter speculators.

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 - We have figure 4, where there is an intermediate zone where a speculative attack may occur.

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 - Prisoner's Dilemma: Investor 2

		Investor 1	
		Stay in	Attack
Stay in	2, 2	-2, 2	
Attack	2, -2	0, 0	

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		Investor 1	
		Stay in	Attack
Investor 2	Stay in	2, 2	-2, 2
	Attack	2, -2	0, 0

- each speculator sells the currency for fear that he will be left "holding the bag" if he is the only one not to sell.

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Figure: Second Generation Models

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- Only matters if the attack is likely to be successful.

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- Only matters if the attack is likely to be successful.
 - If not there are better returns from staying in. What causes the likelihood of attack to increase?

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- Only matters if the attack is likely to be successful.
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 - *It is a rise in the cost of maintaining the peg.*

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- Only matters if the attack is likely to be successful.
 - If not there are better returns from staying in. What causes the likelihood of attack to increase?
 - *It is a rise in the cost of maintaining the peg.*
 - If it becomes too costly for the government to keep raising rates to preserve capital inflows then it may make sense to attack.

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 - *It is a rise in the cost of maintaining the peg.*
 - If it becomes too costly for the government to keep raising rates to preserve capital inflows then it may make sense to attack.
 - Notice that if the domestic banking industry is strong (or unemployment low) then raising interest rates may be feasible.

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 - *It is a rise in the cost of maintaining the peg.*
 - If it becomes too costly for the government to keep raising rates to preserve capital inflows then it may make sense to attack.
 - Notice that if the domestic banking industry is strong (or unemployment low) then raising interest rates may be feasible.
- An important implication is that if all investors can be persuaded to stay in everybody benefits.

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 - Notice that if the domestic banking industry is strong (or unemployment low) then raising interest rates may be feasible.
- An important implication is that if all investors can be persuaded to stay in everybody benefits.
 - This is where the bail-in idea stems from. But this requires coordination.

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- Like Generals, international finance economists fight the last battles.

Third Generation Crises

- Like Generals, international finance economists fight the last battles.
 - The first generation models were a response to the typical crises under Bretton Woods.

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 - No matter how it originates, implied capital flight makes it a question about both. Implied capital flight calls into question reserves.

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 - associated with banking crises, and the economies suffered severe contractions.

Third Generation Crises

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- Third-Generation interprets crises as illustrations of the perils of moral hazard.

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Problem

- Third-Generation interprets crises as illustrations of the perils of moral hazard.
 - Borrowers and lenders are less likely to be careful if they believe they will be bailed out in the event that the project goes badly.

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- Third-Generation interprets crises as illustrations of the perils of moral hazard.
 - Borrowers and lenders are less likely to be careful if they believe they will be bailed out in the event that the project goes badly.
 - model starts from the assumption that government officials have a pot of resources that can potentially be used to bail out political cronies if they get into financial difficulty.

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 - This pot is mainly identified with the central banks' holdings of foreign exchange reserves.

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 - This pot is mainly identified with the central banks' holdings of foreign exchange reserves.
 - Well-connected banks are able to borrow from abroad to finance risky projects – such as real estate development or a new factory in the already-glutted steel industry. They are aware of the risk. But they believe that they will be bailed out by the government if things go badly.

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- How do we make devaluation costly in terms of output?

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- How do we make devaluation costly in terms of output?
- Confidence collapses, but why?

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Currency Mismatch

- How do we make devaluation costly in terms of output?
- Confidence collapses, but why?
- Currency mismatch → banks borrow and lend in different currencies

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Currency Mismatch

- How do we make devaluation costly in terms of output?
- Confidence collapses, but why?
- Currency mismatch \longrightarrow banks borrow and lend in different currencies
 - Consider a simple example: the peso-dollar exchange rate is 5:1,

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Currency Mismatch

- How do we make devaluation costly in terms of output?
- Confidence collapses, but why?
- Currency mismatch → banks borrow and lend in different currencies
 - Consider a simple example: the peso-dollar exchange rate is 5:1,
- a hypothetical bank with 200 million pesos of capital has received 800 million pesos in deposits, and has loaned out all of the 1 billion pesos it has in sound, prudent loans to operating companies.

Assets	Liabilities and Net Worth
Loans: 1,000 million pesos	Deposits: 800 million pesos
	Capital: 200 million pesos

Currency Mismatch

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- Bank borrows in New York at cheaper rates

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- Bank borrows in New York at cheaper rates
 - borrows \$100 million. This will support 500 million pesos in loans, at the current exchange rate.

Currency Mismatch

- Bank borrows in New York at cheaper rates
 - borrows \$100 million. This will support 500 million pesos in loans, at the current exchange rate.
 - Again the bank makes sound loans. The balance sheet:

Assets	Liabilities and Net Worth
Loans: 1,500 million pesos	Deposits: 800 million pesos
	Borrowed 100 million dollars
	Capital: 200 million pesos

Figure: Balance Sheet with Currency Mismatch

Currency Mismatch

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Figure: Balance Sheet with Currency Mismatch

- with $e = 5$, assets and liabilities are balanced. If the loans are sound so is the bank

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- Why is there currency mismatch?

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- Why is there currency mismatch?
 - Borrowing in foreign markets is efficient.

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- Why is there currency mismatch?
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 - provides access to world savings

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Problem

- Why is there currency mismatch?
 - Borrowing in foreign markets is efficient.
 - provides access to world savings
- The cost of borrowing is likely to be lower in this case.
Notice that there are two reasons for this:

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- The cost of borrowing is likely to be lower in this case. Notice that there are two reasons for this:
 - capital is less scarce in the richer countries
 - currency risk premium on domestic borrowing: fear of devaluation → risk premium
- Is there no risk associated with foreign borrowing – currency mismatch.

Currency Mismatch

- Suppose exchange rate increases to $10 - 1$

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Currency Mismatch

- Suppose exchange rate increases to $10 - 1$
- bank's balance sheet is in ruins.

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Currency Mismatch

- Suppose exchange rate increases to 10 – 1
- bank's balance sheet is in ruins.
 - value of its liabilities \uparrow in peso terms.

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- Suppose exchange rate increases to 10 – 1
- bank's balance sheet is in ruins.
 - value of its liabilities \uparrow in peso terms.
 - It still owes \$100 million dollars, but these are now worth P1 billion – peso liabilities have doubled in value.

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Assets	Liabilities and Net Worth
Loans: 1,500 million pesos	Deposits: 800 million pesos
	Borrowed: 100 million dollars
	Capital: -300 million pesos

■ **Figure:** Balance Sheet after Exchange Rate Shock

Currency Mismatch

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■ **Figure:** Balance Sheet after Exchange Rate Shock

- Indeed, the bank's net worth has been wiped out:
 $NW = -P300$ million.

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- How will depositors respond to this shock?

Currency Mismatch

- How will depositors respond to this shock?
 - They will clearly fear for their savings. A run on the bank is likely.

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- If confidence effect is large enough it can outweigh competitiveness effect

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 - IS curve shifts left

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- Original sin limits policy effectiveness

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- Original sin limits policy effectiveness
 - In the case of a shock there exists some combination of expenditure-reducing policies (monetary or fiscal contraction) and expenditure switching policies (devaluation) → external balance (the new balance of payments constraint), without necessarily sacrificing internal balance (i.e., without a recession).

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 - see figure 8

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 - see figure 8
- But in Asian Crisis output fell dramatically. Why? Normal policy tools seemed ineffective
 - Can Original sin (currency mismatch) explain this?
 - Maybe it is just IMF's fault

Conventional Case

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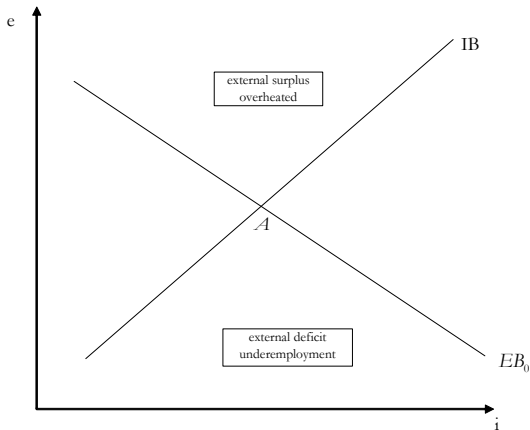


Figure: Conventional Situation

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- Suppose that there is an external shock \longrightarrow BoP deficit.

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- Suppose that there is an external shock \longrightarrow BoP deficit.
 - Foreign investors no longer are happy with the economy, or a shock to demand for our exports.

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- Suppose that there is an external shock \rightarrow BoP deficit.
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 - Hence, the EB curve shifts up to EB_1 in figure 9.

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 - The economy starts at point A , but after the shock this is a point of external imbalance.

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 - The economy starts at point A , but after the shock this is a point of external imbalance.
 - Using exchange-rate policy to achieve external balance moves us along the arrow line till we reach EB_1 .

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 - Using exchange-rate policy to achieve external balance moves us along the arrow line till we reach EB_1 .
 - But now we are no longer in internal balance. depreciation of the currency ($e \uparrow$) causes NX to rise, \implies excess demand for goods. To restore IB we raise interest rates.

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- we converge to point B .

Conventional Response to Shock

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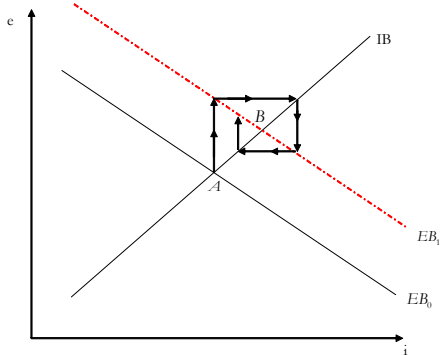


Figure: Adjustment to an external shock in the standard model

Original Sin

- Alters the *IB* relation. Why?

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- Alters the *IB* relation. Why?
 - devaluation worsens balance sheets and depresses bank lending, to such an extent that it offsets any expansionary effect from currency depreciation.

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Original Sin

- Alters the *IB* relation. Why?
 - devaluation worsens balance sheets and depresses bank lending, to such an extent that it offsets any expansionary effect from currency depreciation.
 - *IB* is now negatively sloped

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- Alters the IB relation. Why?
 - devaluation worsens balance sheets and depresses bank lending, to such an extent that it offsets any expansionary effect from currency depreciation.
 - IB is now negatively sloped
 - if we let the currency depreciate we move to point C , away from the new equilibrium B .

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- We would be better off trying to maintain the value of the currency and using higher interest rates to improve external balance

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 - But this may be impossible if there are insufficient reserves to maintain the peg.

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 - if we let the currency depreciate we move to point *C*, away from the new equilibrium *B*.
- We would be better off trying to maintain the value of the currency and using higher interest rates to improve external balance
 - IMF versus Stiglitz
 - But this may be impossible if there are insufficient reserves to maintain the peg.
- Key point: if the *IB* schedule is negatively sloped, if currency collapses we have no good options.

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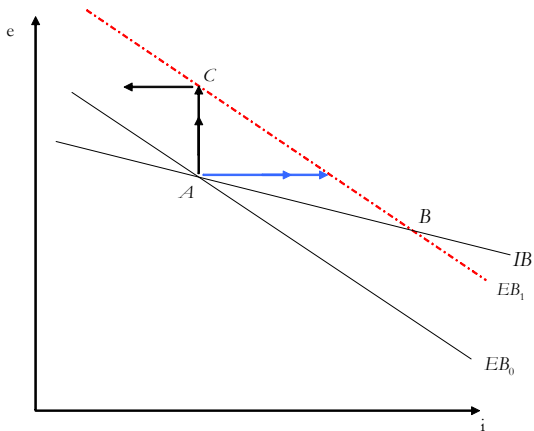


Figure: External Adjustment with Original Sin

Sudden Stops

- It is not speed that kills, but the sudden stop

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Sudden Stops

- It is not speed that kills, but the sudden stop
- Sudden stops lead to sharp reversals in the current account and in consumption and investment.

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The Essential
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Sudden Stops

- It is not speed that kills, but the sudden stop
- Sudden stops lead to sharp reversals in the current account and in consumption and investment.
- The need to switch expenditure requires large changes in the real exchange rate.

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- Sudden stops lead to sharp reversals in the current account and in consumption and investment.
- The need to switch expenditure requires large changes in the real exchange rate.
- This leads to painful consequences, which can include bank failures given the balance sheet consequences of currency mismatch.

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- Sudden stops lead to sharp reversals in the current account and in consumption and investment.
- The need to switch expenditure requires large changes in the real exchange rate.
- This leads to painful consequences, which can include bank failures given the balance sheet consequences of currency mismatch.
 - Notice that it is not the poorest countries that are hurt – they have no access to capital in the first place. Nor is it the rich countries. They do not suffer balance sheet problems when they devalue. Probably because nobody expects them to monetize deficits. It is the intermediate, emerging market economies that suffer most.

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- Punishment is often worse than the crime

Capital Flows to Latin America

billions of dollars (official capital flows in red)

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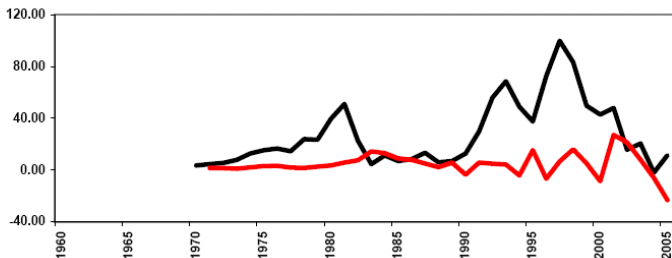
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Notes: Total capital flows is the sum of official and private capital flows to twenty Latin American countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Source: World Economic Outlook, International Monetary Fund.

Moral Hazard

- Prevalence of the third generation type crises that calls for IMF reform due to moral hazard

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 - IMF bailouts encourage countries to undertake policies that make them more likely to suffer speculative attacks.

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 - Moral hazard induces risk taking on the part of governments, and crises are the result.

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 - More to the point, because foreign investors "know" that they will be bailed out in the event of a crisis they do not attach sufficient risk premia to lending to such countries. If investors knew they would not be bailed out they would not make such risky investments.

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 - IMF encourages debtors and bails out creditors

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- Prevalence of the third generation type crises that calls for IMF reform due to moral hazard
 - IMF bailouts encourage countries to undertake policies that make them more likely to suffer speculative attacks.
 - Moral hazard induces risk taking on the part of governments, and crises are the result.
 - More to the point, because foreign investors "know" that they will be bailed out in the event of a crisis they do not attach sufficient risk premia to lending to such countries. If investors knew they would not be bailed out they would not make such risky investments.
 - IMF encourages debtors and bails out creditors
- Meltzer and Barro even called for IMF to be abolished

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 - IMF encourages debtors and bails out creditors
- Meltzer and Barro even called for IMF to be abolished
 - different from the left critique of IMF – that they punish too much

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- Does this story make sense?

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- Does this story make sense?
- if the moral hazard problem was really severe, then all countries could borrow at the same rate.

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- Does this story make sense?
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 - if the market expects creditor bailouts why do yields rise?

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- Moreover financial institutions lost big money in these crises.
 - According to the IIF, private investors lost some \$225 billion during the Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s and some \$100 billion as a result of the 1998 Russian debt default.

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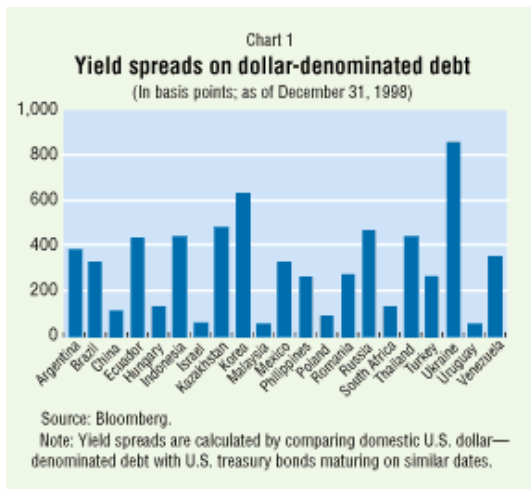


Figure: Interest Spreads on Dollar-Denominated Debt

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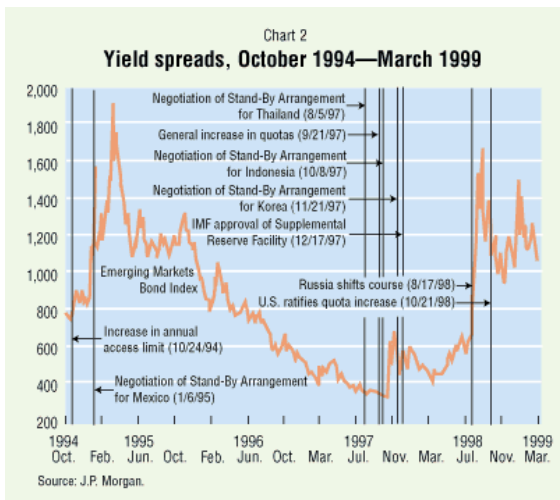


Figure: Emerging Market Yields and Selected Events, 1995-1999

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- Moral hazard story gets the composition of capital flows wrong.

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- Moral hazard story gets the composition of capital flows wrong.
 - The one type of capital flow that is certainly not bailed out is FDI.

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 - this prediction was completely at odds with reality.
 - After the Tequila meltdown, FDI in Latin America boomed while all other capital flows collapsed.
- Prior to Asian Crisis capital flowed in all forms, not just those likely to be bailed out (i.e. portfolio investment)

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- What about debtors?

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- What about debtors?

- Mexico, the presumably lucky recipient of a large bailout, suffered a decline in gross domestic product of 7 percent in one year (1995); the banking system crashed and the costs of the bank cleanup are still being felt today;

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 - In all these countries banks crashed and governments (save Chile) had to leave office

- Are these not sufficient costs to deter reckless borrowing – pretty large deductibles

Essential Problem

- Emerging market economies cannot borrow in their own currencies

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- Emerging market economies cannot borrow in their own currencies
 - makes them vulnerable to shocks, and makes their debt hard to repay precisely when times are tough

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- Emerging market economies cannot borrow in their own currencies
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- when shocks occur economies quickly get in trouble

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- Suppose that creditors and debtors were to efficiently share risk.
 - Then debt repayments would depend on the state of the economy.

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 - Then debt repayments would depend on the state of the economy.
 - When times are good for a debtor they pay more and when times are bad they pay less, but the expected payment is the same.
 - That is the payoffs are based on the probabilities and nature of the states.

Optimal Risk Sharing

- Let π_i be the probability of state i , d_i be the debt repayment in state i , and r the rate of return needed to induce creditors to lend.

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- Let π_i be the probability of state i , d_i be the debt repayment in state i , and r the rate of return needed to induce creditors to lend.
- Suppose that π_1 is the bad state and π_2 is the good state, and let $d_1 < d_2$.

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$$\pi_1 d_1 + \pi_2 d_2 \geq r \quad (1)$$

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- $\sum_i \pi_i d_i \geq r$ in the many state world (as long as all the states are known).
- Of course there may be disagreements about the likelihood of states, but this contract has the virtue of producing the same repayments as a normal debt contract with one big plus – repayment is more likely.

Optimal Risk Sharing

- Optimal debt contract is state contingent

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- Optimal debt contract is state contingent
- Allow debtor to smooth consumption by borrowing more when times are bad

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 - risk premia rise, making debt/gdp grow faster, recessions reinforce this doubly, by reducing tax revenues and slowing growth

Vulnerability

- The vulnerability of EME's is important

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- The vulnerability of EME's is important
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- Rapid deterioration of external situation is common in EME crises

Argentina Real GDP

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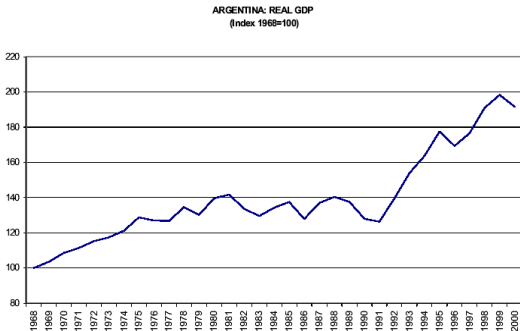


Figure: Argentina's Real GDP

Argentina Real Exchange Rate

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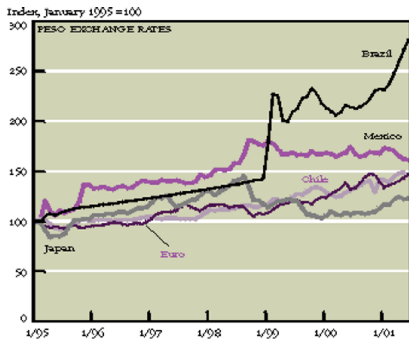
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- Original sin removes insurance

Essential Problem

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 - Negative shock hits emerging economy it must repay in dollars but its income is in pesos (or baht, etc.).

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 - Perhaps but look at Chile. It has very good institutions and policy yet it borrows only in dollars. Same for Asian Tigers.

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- How to create more insurance for emerging economies?

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The Essential
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- How to create more insurance for emerging economies?
- Need to create institutions to cope with original sin

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 - The problem now is that coordination is difficult. One lender can mess it up. So the IMF wants to create a SDRM
- The essential idea is to create an ordered bankruptcy system rather than the competition for the exits.
- crises in emerging markets will keep happening until the focus is put more squarely on the missing or poorly functioning international market and not just in domestic moral failings.