

# US Macro: Where we were, where we are, and where we're headed

Jared Bernstein  
Council of Economic Advisers  
2/8/23  
Brookings Institution

# Summary

- Where we were: Lessons from the previous cycle
- Pandemic economics
- The rise and partial fall of inflation
- Where we are
  - Which sacrifice ratio slope are we on?
  - Inflation and nominal wages both slowing amidst very tight labor markets
- Current transition, ideally to steady, stable growth
  - Tailwinds
  - Headwinds
- Are there some overarching lessons to take from this history?

# Previous expansion: From star-driven to data-driven

- Insights from the pre-pandemic cycle
  - $u^*$ --lowest unemployment rate consistent with stable inflation—unknowable within policy-relevant confidence intervals
  - $y^*$ --same; “if you build it they will come” theory of NILF → LF
  - inflation: persistent downside misses
- Conclusions
  - Flat price Phillips curve
  - “Secular stagnation”
    - Demand shortfalls

# Where we were: The pandemic economy

- **Fiscal policy hit back harder than ever**
  - “Shots in arms and checks in pockets”
- Shifts in consumer preferences
- Supply chain disruptions
- Inflationary pressures take off.

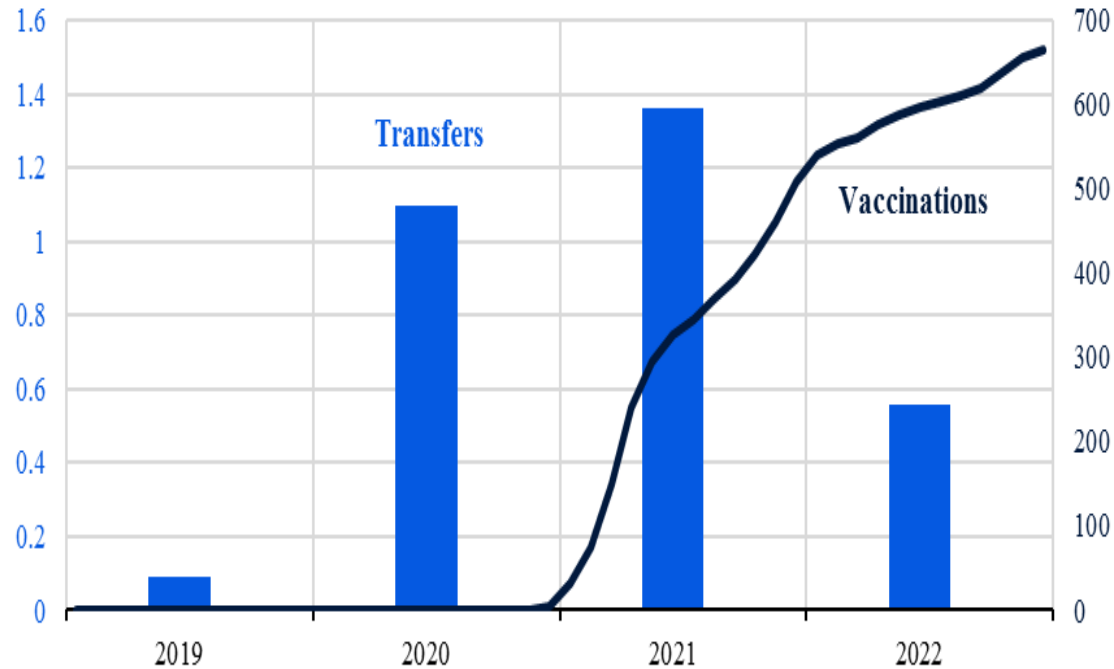
**Strong demand (esp for goods) + disrupted supply (+ expectations) = higher inflation**

- The “T” word (transitory): Far too “temporally ambiguous.”

## Vaccinations and government transfer receipts, 2019-2022

*Government transfer receipts, difference from 2011-2018 trend (trillions of dollars)*

*Cumulative vaccination doses administered (millions)*



Source: CDC, BEA, CEA calculations.

Period	Episode of Fiscal Expansion	Average Annual Support (percentage of GDP)
1941-43	World War II mobilization	13.0
2020-21	COVID-19 pandemic	9.2
2008-9	Great Recession	5.5
1949-50	1949 Recession / Korean War	4.9
2001-4	2001 Recession and aftermath	4.7

Sources: Office of Management and Budget; CEA calculations.

Note: This table shows the average annual increase in the primary deficit-to-GDP ratio, relative to the final year before the expansion (it includes both new and expanded programs).

# Where we were: The pandemic economy

- Fiscal policy hit back harder than ever
  - “Shots in arms and checks in pockets”
- **Shifts in consumer preferences**
- Supply chain disruptions
- Inflationary pressures take off.

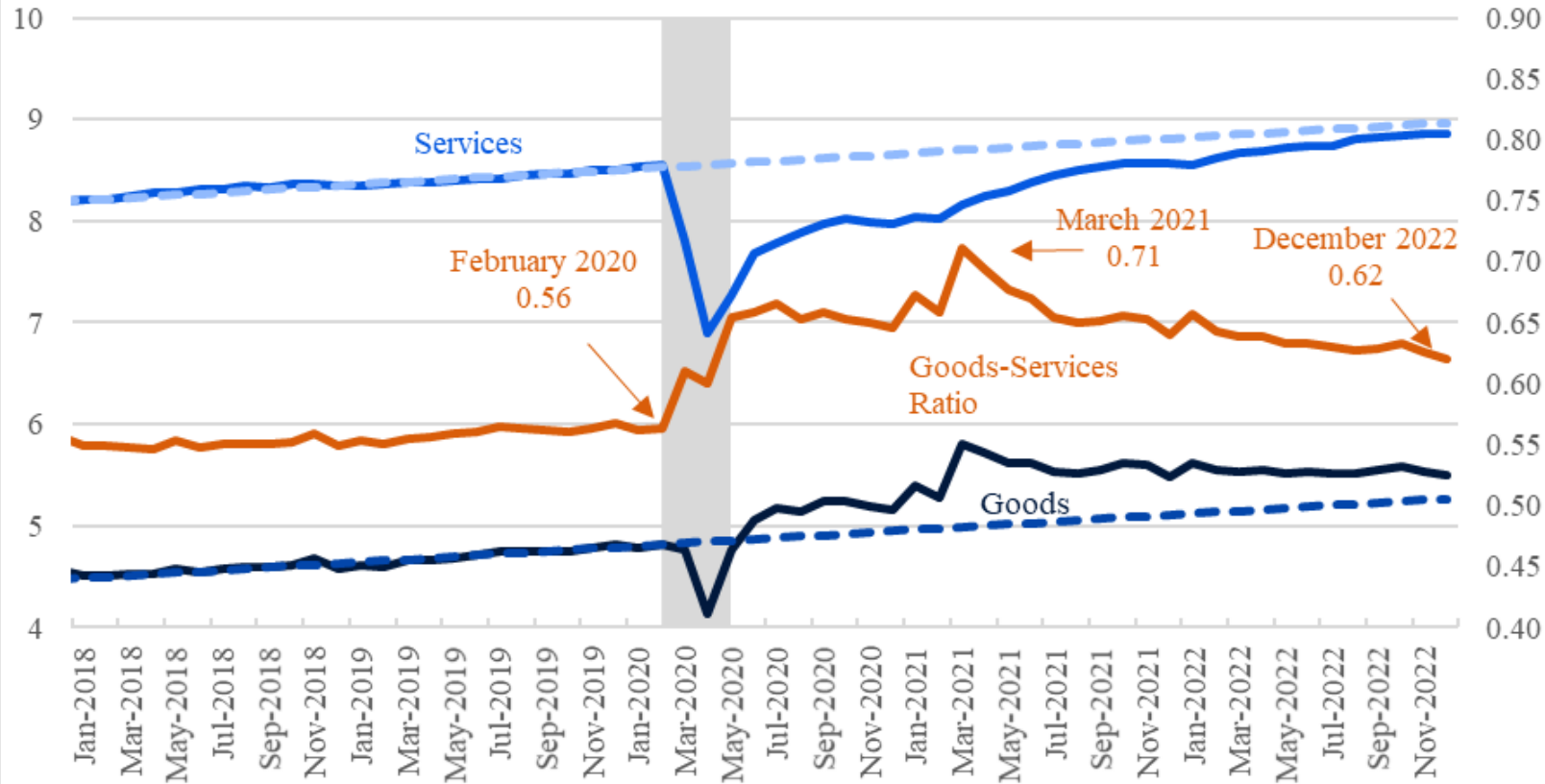
**Strong demand (esp for goods) + disrupted supply (+ expectations) = higher inflation**

- The “T” word (transitory): Far too “temporally ambiguous.”

## Real Consumption of Goods and Services, 2018-22

Real personal consumption expenditures (SAAR, trillions chained 2012 dollars)

Ratio of real goods consumption to real services consumption



Sources: BEA; CEA Calculations.

Note: Dotted lines denote 2015-2019 trend.

# Where we were: The pandemic economy

- Fiscal policy hit back harder than ever
  - “Shots in arms and checks in pockets”
- Shifts in consumer preferences
- **Supply chain disruptions**
- Inflationary pressures take off.

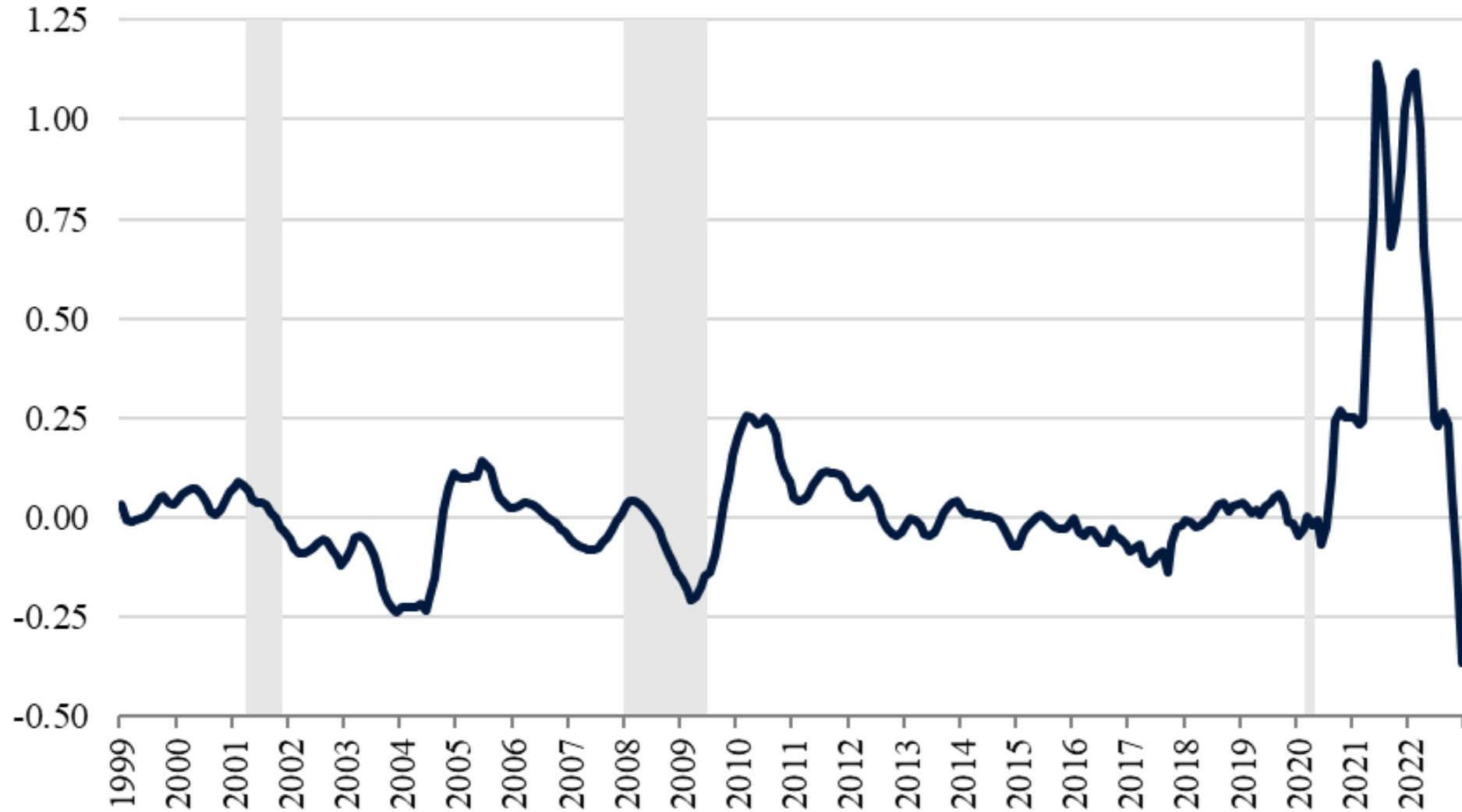
**Strong demand (esp for goods) + disrupted supply (+ expectations) = higher inflation**

- The “T” word (transitory): Far too “temporally ambiguous.”



## Used Vehicle Contribution to CPI Inflation, 1999–2022

*Percentage point contribution, year-on-year*

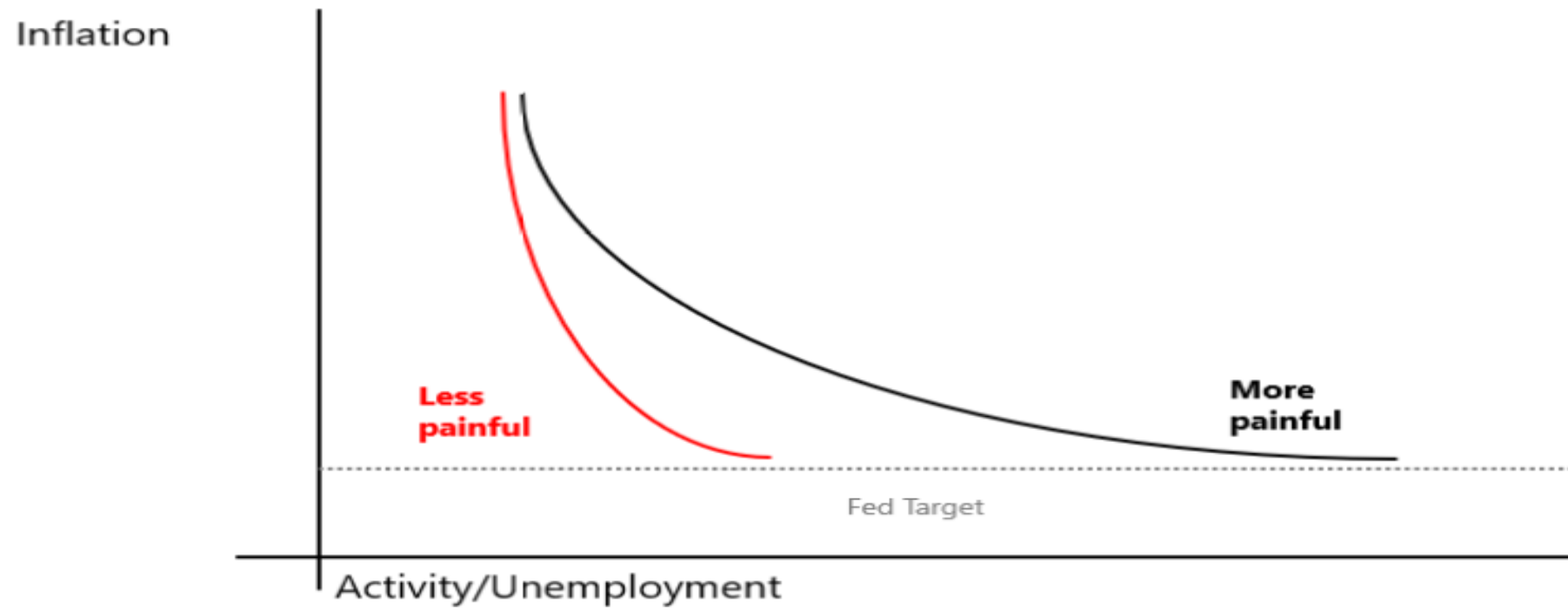


Sources: BLS, CEA Calculations.

Note: Gray bars indicate recessions.

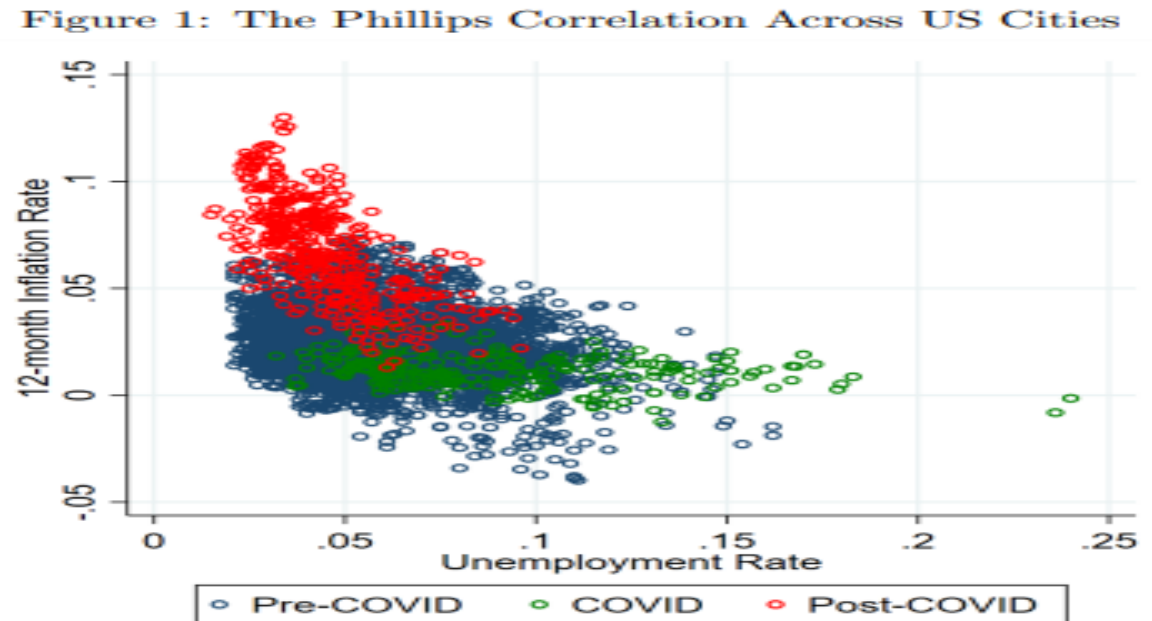
# Where we are

## Sacrifice ratio



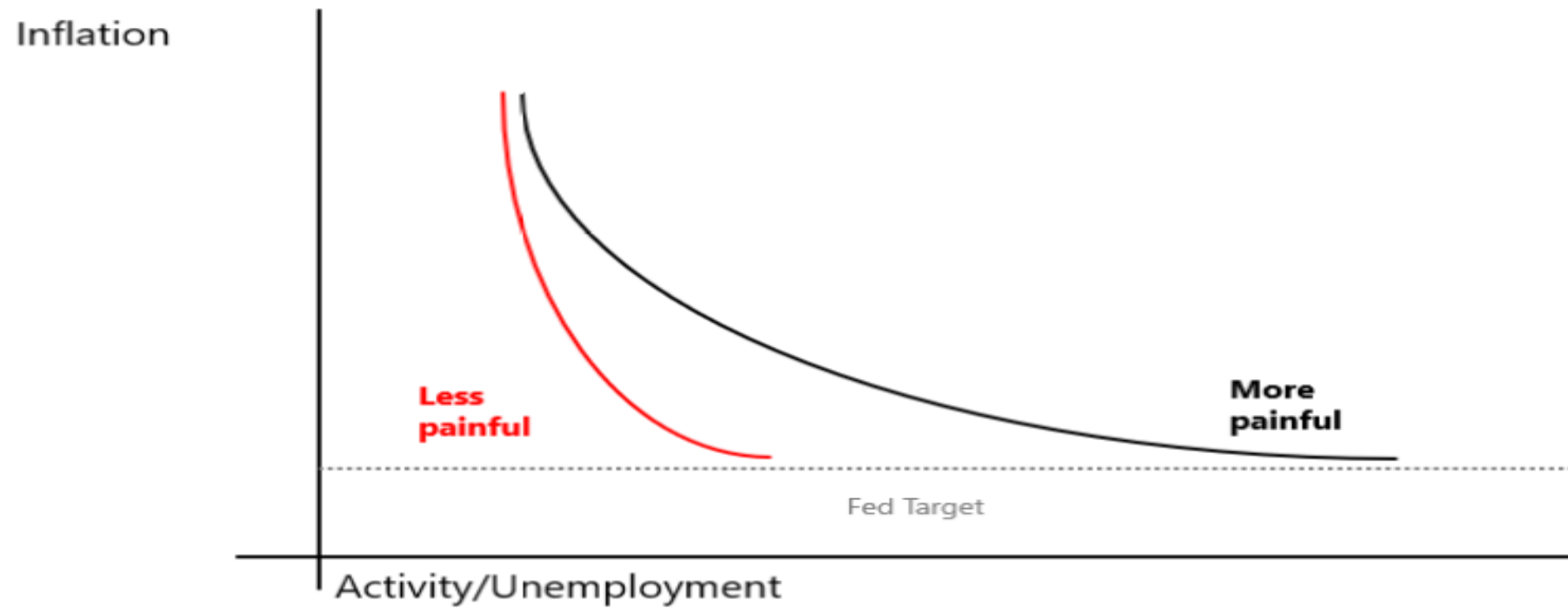
# Pause: Are non-linearities a characteristic of pandemic economics?

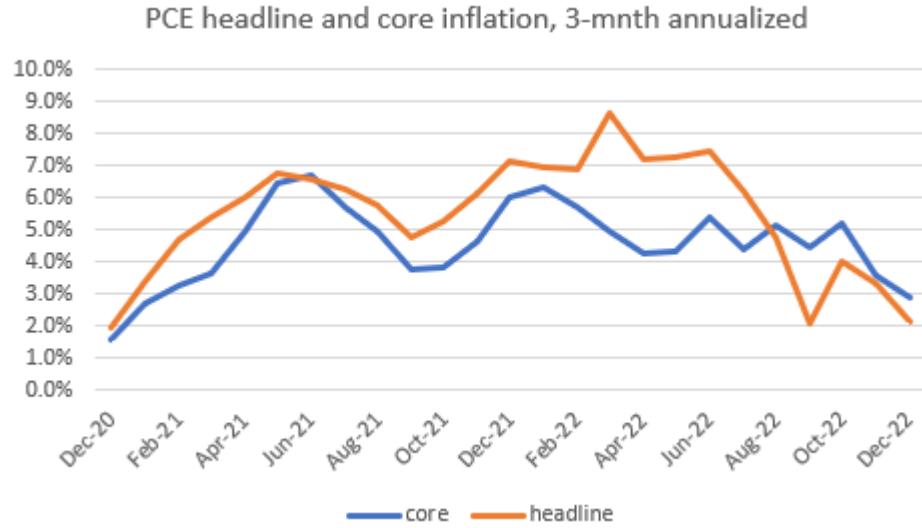
- Joint shocks on supply/demand side, with strong demand proceeding supply-side adjustment.
  - “Dwell times!”
- Sudden capacity constraints drive shifts to vertical parts of curves
- Gagnon, Forbes, Cerrato & Gitti,
  - see figure → (slope=-0.85)



# Where we are

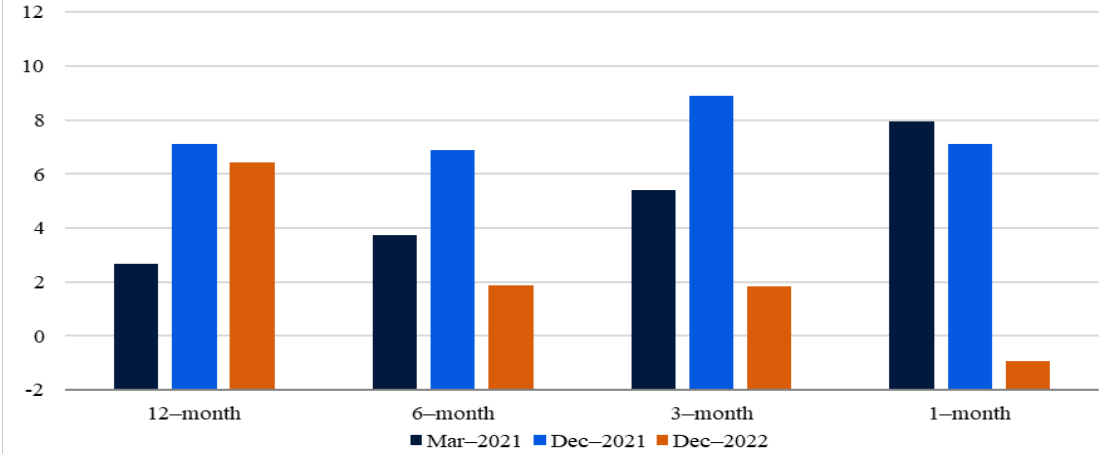
## Sacrifice ratio





### Annualized Headline CPI Inflation, March 2021, December 2021, and December 2022

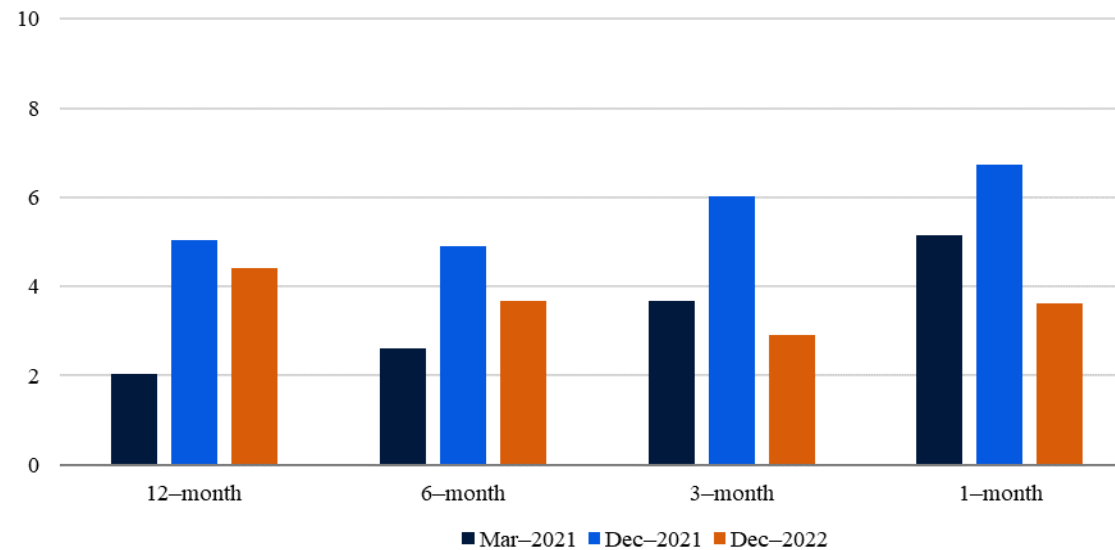
Percent change, annualized



Source: BLS, CEA calculations.

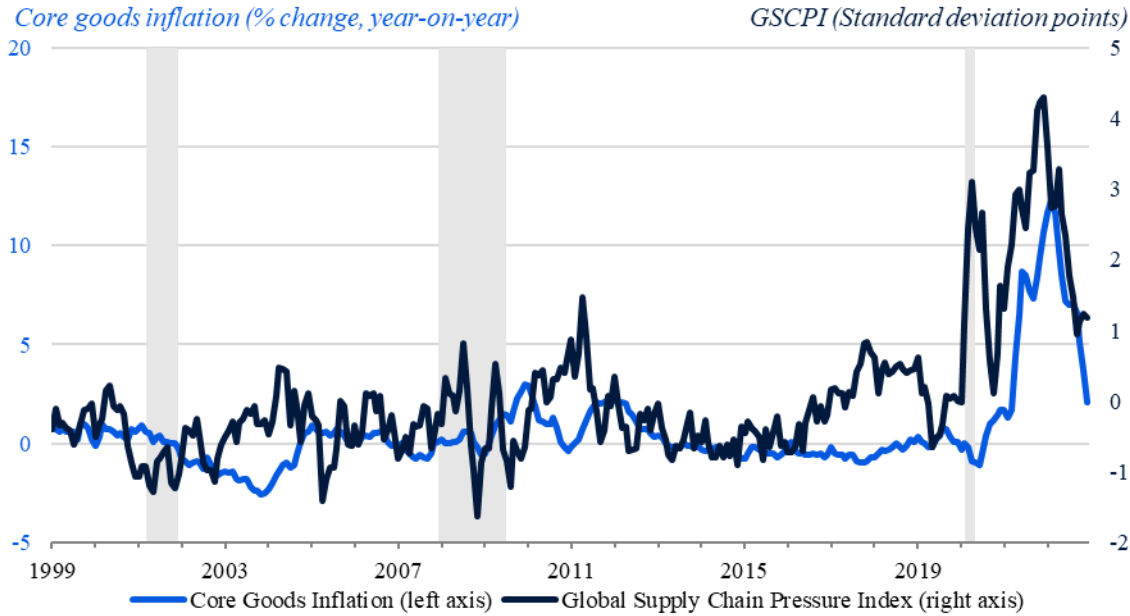
### Annualized Core PCE Price Index Inflation, March 2021, December 2021, and December 2022

Percent change, annualized



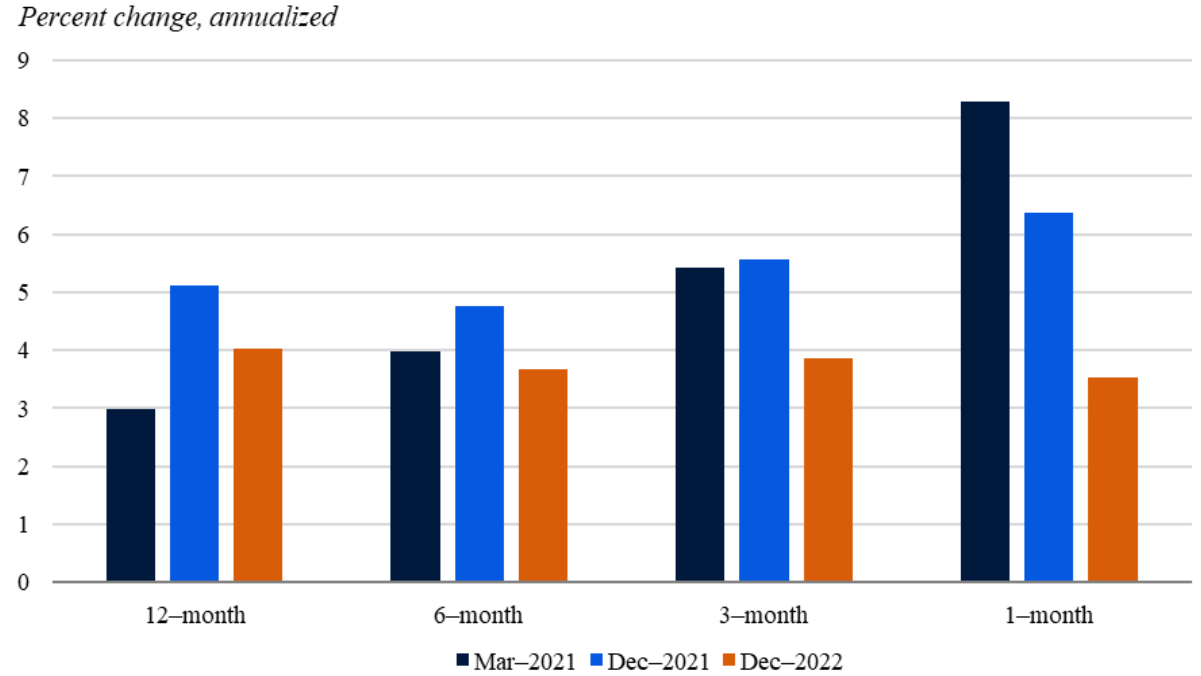
Sources: BEA, CEA calculations.

## Core Goods Inflation and Global Supply Chain Pressure Index, 1999-2022



Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics; Federal Reserve Bank of New York.  
 Note: Shaded periods indicate recessions. Core goods inflation is from the CPI.

## Annualized PCE Core Services Excluding Housing, March 2021, December 2021, and December 2022



Source: BEA, CEA calculations.

**Figure 1. NHS AHE Wage Growth**

Percent, year-on-year



Source: BLS, CEA analysis.

**Out-of-Sample RMSE Forecasting NHS PCE Inflation**

2020 Q1-2022 Q3

<b>NHS AHE PNS</b>	<b>1.304</b>
ECI Private Wages & Salaries	1.466
ECI Private Services, Wages & Salaries	1.471
Atlanta Fed WGT	1.471
AHE PNS, official	1.521

**Forecasting Model**

$$\Delta_4 \text{Log}(NHS_t) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \Delta_4 \text{Log}(Wage_{t-4}) + \beta_2 * PTR_{t-4} + \beta_3 * RPIM_{t-4} + \varepsilon$$

Where  $\Delta_4$  is the four-quarter difference

Wage = one of the five wage measures tested, NHS = PCE Core Services ex Housing price index, PTR = 10-year SPF PCE expectations, RPIM = Relative import prices in core PCE

Sample: 1997 Q4 - 2019 Q4

Source: CEA analysis of BLS, BEA data

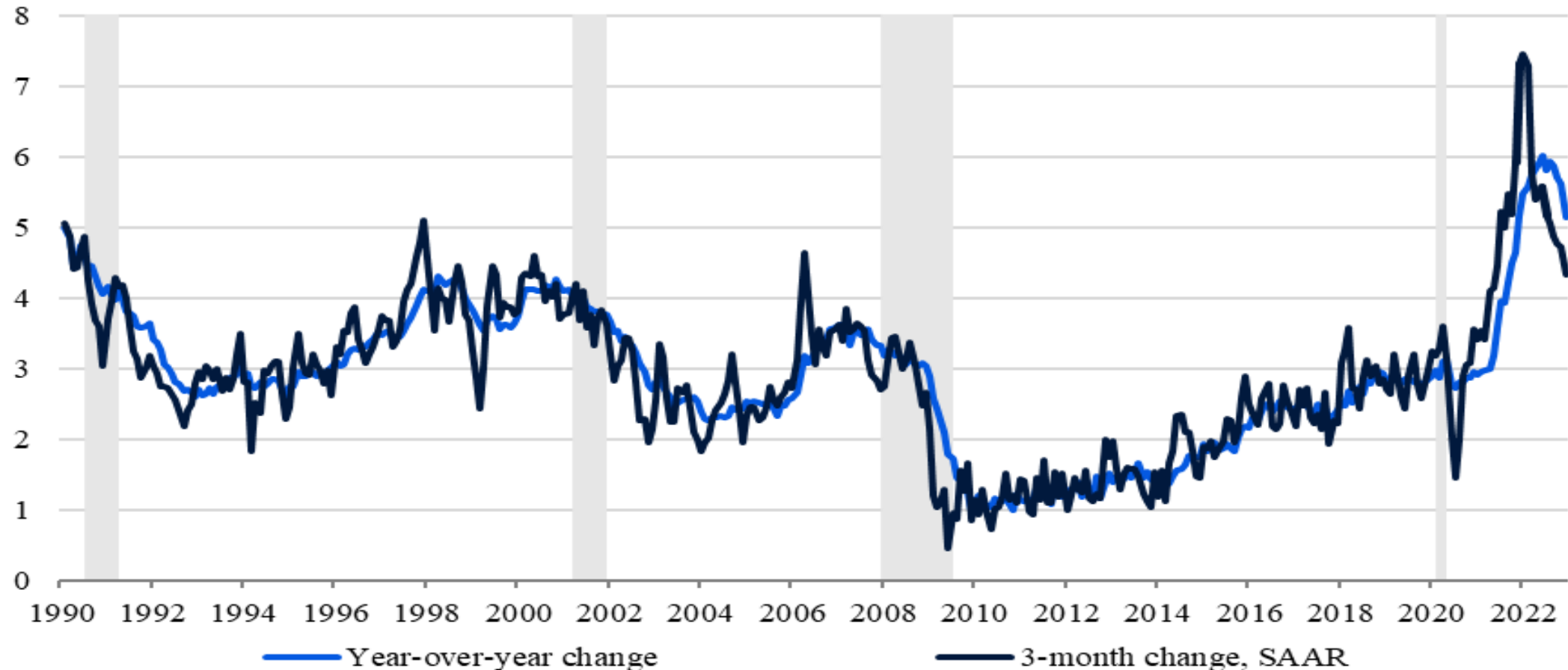
# Riddle me this: Why is nominal wage growth slowing if $u < u^*$ ?

- $u$  isn't  $< u^*$ ?
  - $V/U$  sure seems to be  $\gg (V/U)^*$
  - Some softening in labor demand?
- Wage growth is not slowing: easier to defend *pre-Dec-ECI* release
- Labor share: Bivens: labor share still low
  - Rising labor share, lower markups, source of non-infl wage gains.
  - Brainard: “The compression of these markups as supply constraints ease, inventories rise, and demand cools could contribute to disinflationary pressures.”
- Consistent w Bidenomics.
- Expectations: Jorda et al (2022), higher pass through from inflation expectations in pandemic economy.
  - Near-term expectations data support this hypothesis.
    - Such expectations tend to reflect retail gas price movements.



## Common Wage Growth Factors, 1990-2022

*Compositionally-adjusted measures (percent)*



Sources: Federal Reserve Board of Atlanta, Bureau of Labor Statistics, CEA calculations.

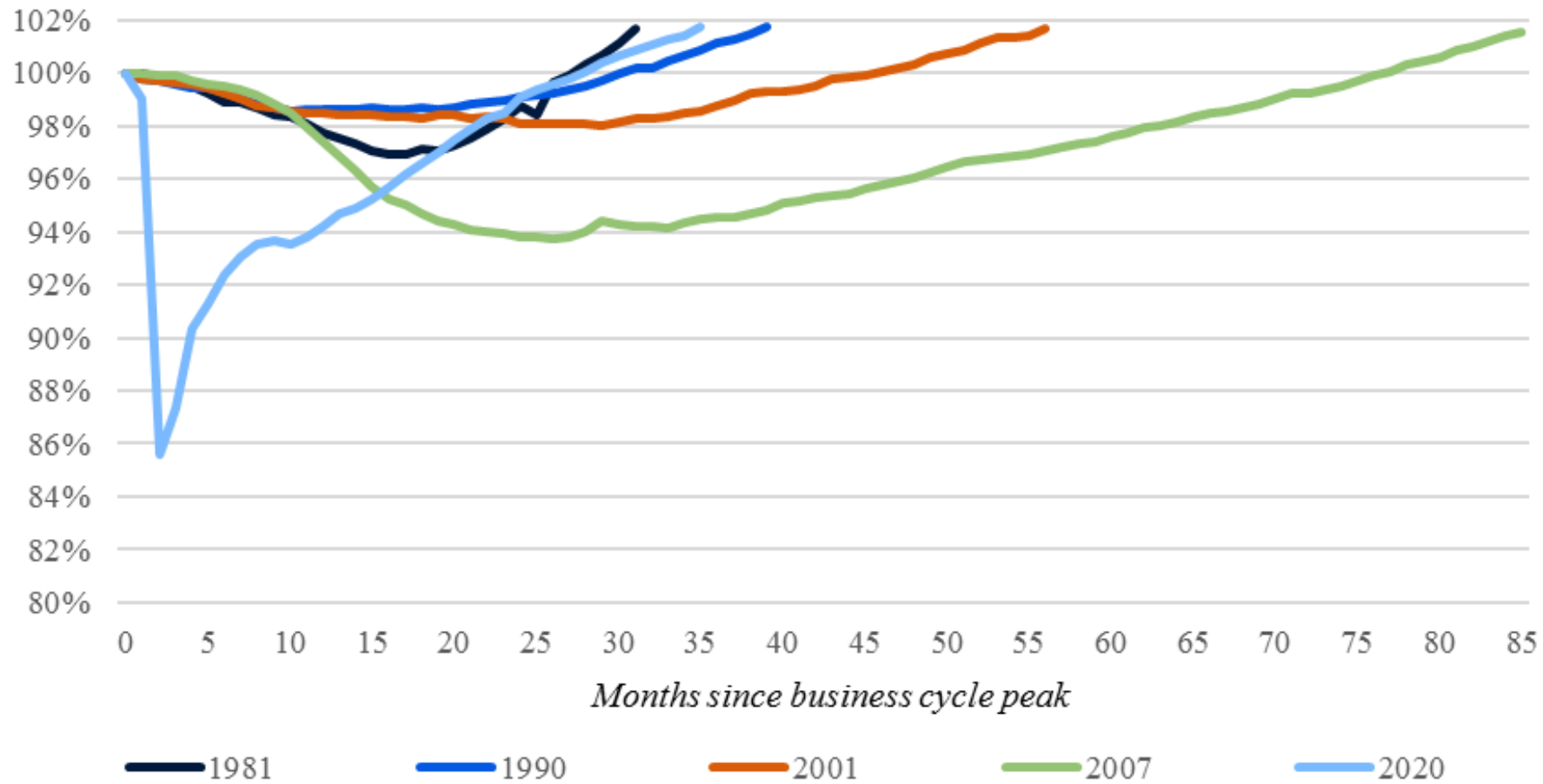
Note: First principal component of Atlanta Fed WGT, compositionally-adjusted AHE, and ECI private wages and salaries ex. incentive pay. Projected onto ECI average & standard deviation.

# Riddle me this: Why is nominal wage growth slowing if $u < u^*$ ?

- $u$  isn't  $< u^*$ ?
  - $V/U$  sure seems to be  $\gg (V/U)^*$
  - Some softening in labor demand?
- Wage growth is not slowing: easier to defend *pre-Dec* ECI release
- Labor share: Bivens: labor share still low
  - Rising labor share, lower markups, source of non-infl wage gains.
  - Brainard: “The compression of these markups as supply constraints ease, inventories rise, and demand cools could contribute to disinflationary pressures.”
- Consistent w Bidenomics
- Expectations: Jorda et al (2022), higher pass through from inflation expectations in pandemic economy
  - Near-term expectations data support this hypothesis.
    - Such expectations tend to reflect retail gas price movements.

## Jobs relative to business cycle peak, 1981-2023

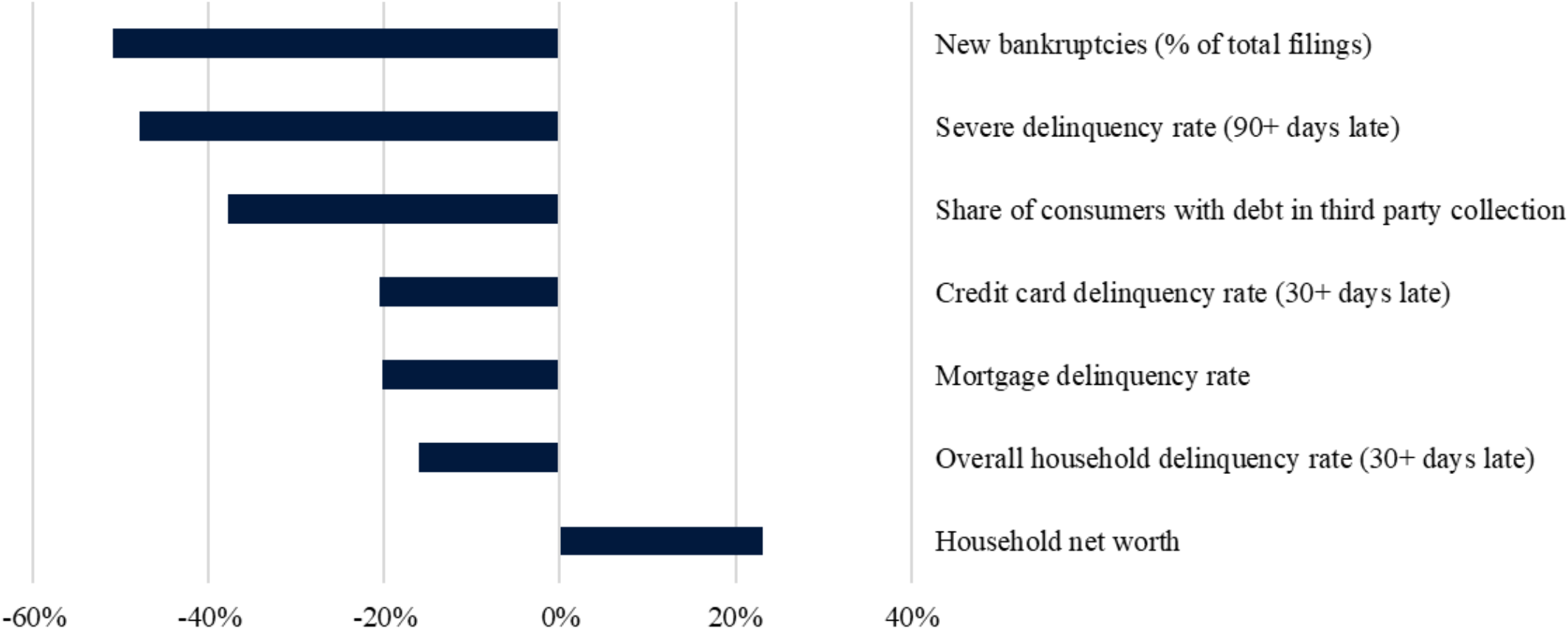
*Nonfarm payroll employment (peak month = 100)*



Source: BLS, CEA calculations

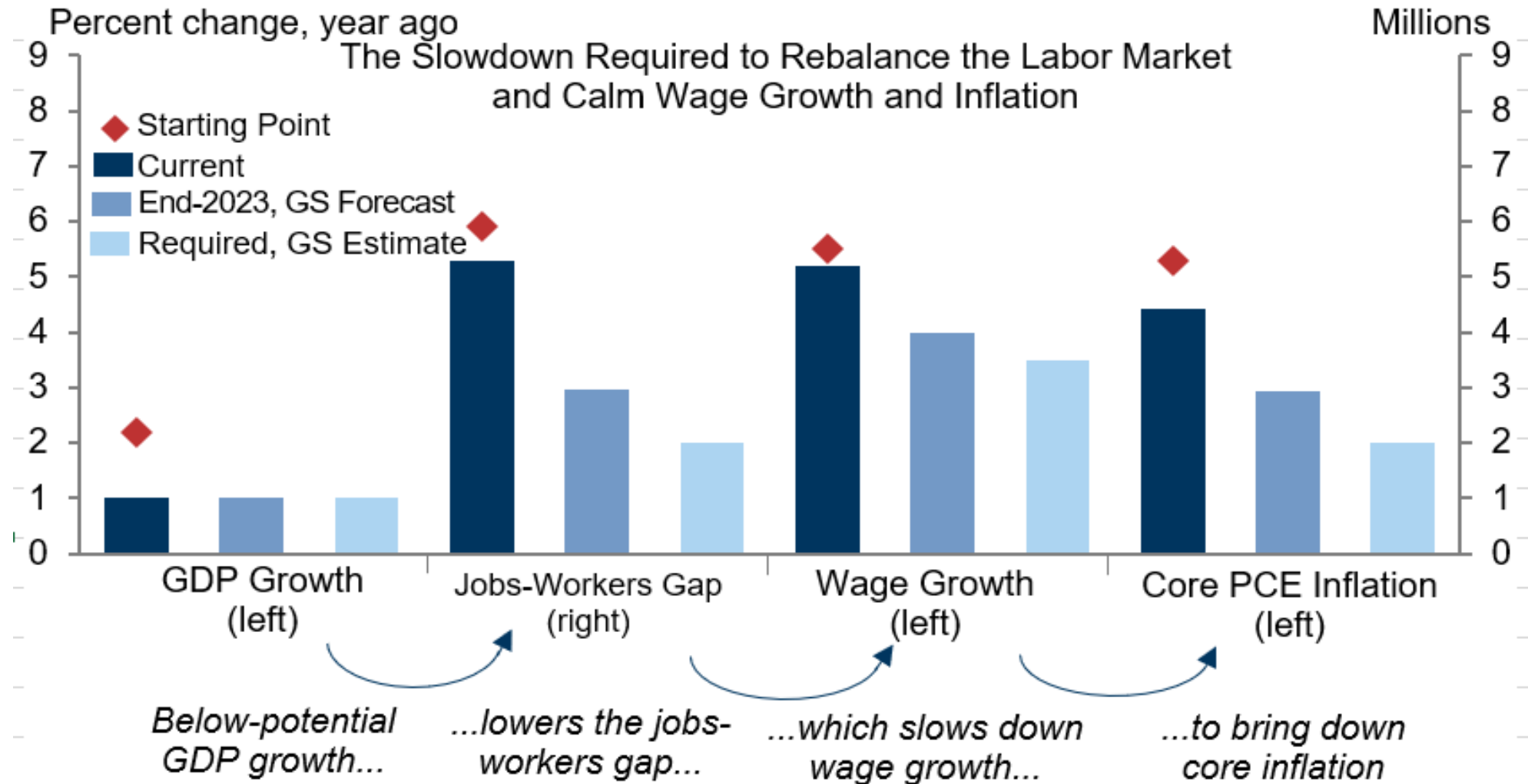
# Household Finance Indicators, 2019Q4-2022Q3

*Percent change from 2019Q4*



Source: Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Federal Reserve Board of Governors, CEA calculations.

# Goldman Sachs Flow Model

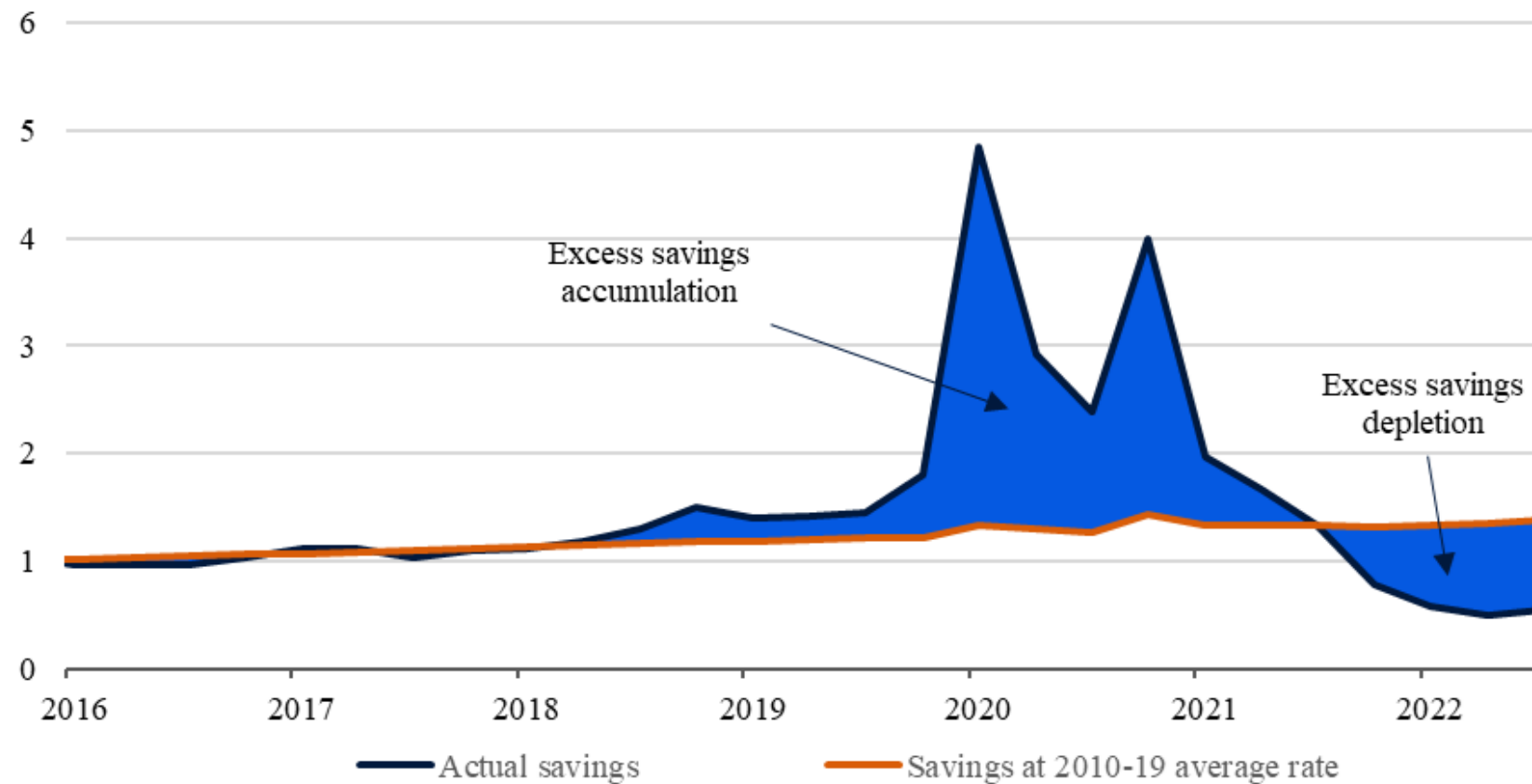


# Where we're headed

- Challenges to transition
  - Fiscal/monetary overshoots; financial conditions
  - High sacrifice ratio
  - Unforeseen shocks (e.g., energy/China, political “own goals”)
  - Wage-price dynamics
- Tailwinds to transition
  - Strongest job market in decades
  - Balance sheets
  - Energy price declines
  - Inflationary pressures improving, expectations channel
  - Learned fiscal and monetary policy

## Excess Savings, 2016-22

Dollars (trillions)



Sources: BEA; CEA calculations.

Note: The average saving rate from 2010 to 2019 was 7.3 percent.

# Concluding...

- Strong fiscal and monetary responses to the pandemic shock were highly effective.
  - Sui generis pandemic econ: supply AND demand shocks.
- CI! (countercyclical infrastructure; UI, IRS)
- Bidenomics in '23 and beyond: The inclusive, bottom-up, middle-out, invest-in-America agenda that you heard about last night!

