

# **Natural and Neutral Real Interest Rates: Past and Future by Maury Obstfeld**

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## Paper's Summary

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  - Capital flows and financial conditions affect real rates but monetary policy only focuses on short-run equilibrium in the goods market
4. Future prediction: **Back to low real rates** since main drivers have not changed
  - Demography favoring high savings, low investment
  - Low productivity growth
  - Corporate market power
  - Safe asset demand

# A High Stake Game w/High Uncertainty

- Blanchard-Summers'84: High real rates
- Summers'15: Low real rates—Secular Stagnation
- Blanchard'23, IMF'23, Eggertson'23: Go back to secular stagnation
- Summers'23: No more secular stagnation
- Rogoff-Rossi-Schmekzing'22: ↓ since early 14th century; all of the above are blips

Obstfeld: Past data can help but **future prediction is risky** since shocks change; structural drivers and shocks can interact with long transitional dynamics

## Drivers of the decline across time

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# Definitions

Measured Real Rate:  $r$  = real risk free rate + real risk premium

**Natural Rate**:  $\bar{r}$  = long-run S-I equilibrium real rate with no rigidity

**Neutral Rate**:  $r^*$  = real rate at potential output,  $Y^*$ —no inflation/deflation

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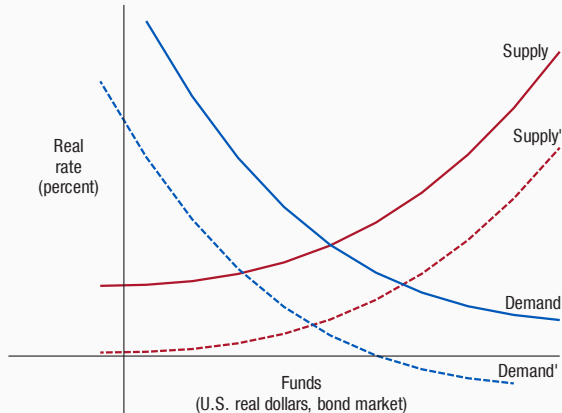
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- Directly observable real rates: yields on inflation-indexed bonds (better proxy for safe rate)
- Approximate real rates: Nominal rates – inflation expectations (might also have risk premia)—short vs long rates

⇒ The paper provides an extensive array of data on measured rates

# Framework: Saving and Investment—Loanable Funds Market w/Shifts in Demand and Supply for Funds



# Existing Explanations for ↓ in Real Rates

## 1. Closed Economy

- Investment ↓ via low price of K—Summers view
- Too low policy rates for too long for AEs—BIS view

## 2. Open economy—Savings/financial crises based

- Saving glut, China, demographics—Bernanke view
- Deleveraging after financial crises (global debt cycles)—Reinhart-Rogoff view
- Savings increase + financial crisis leading fluctuations in wealth—Gourinchas-Rey-Sauzet view

## 3. US-centric: Other Government Savings/Safe US Assets—Caballero-Farhi-Gourinchas; Gorton-Metrick; Krishnamurthy and Vissing-Jorgensen

# Savings Increase: Centers on China/Asia

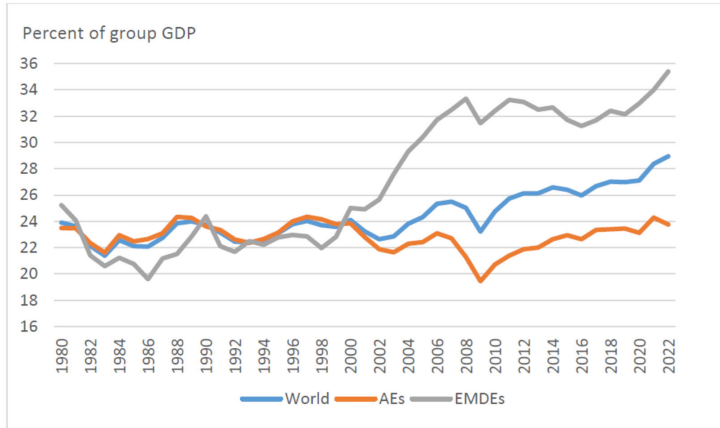
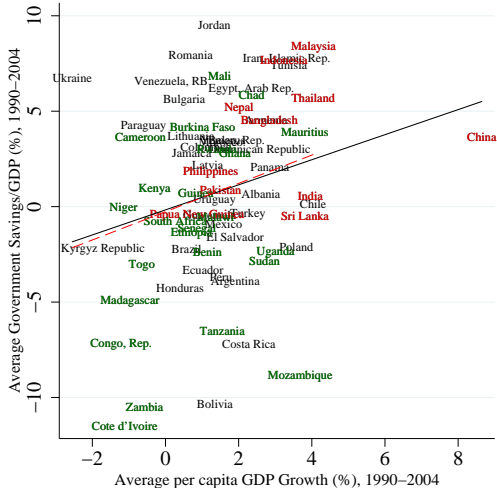


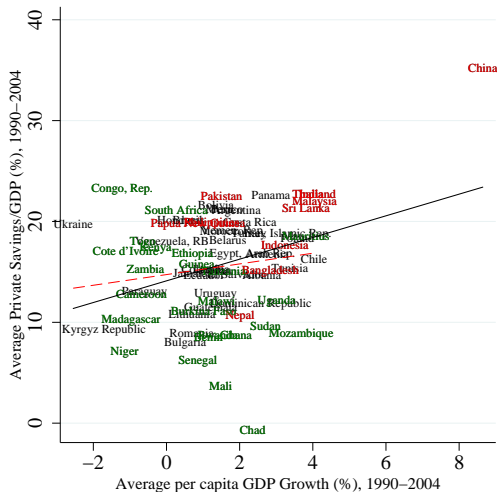
Figure 11: Gross saving according to country group

## Role of Public Savings—Alfaro, Kalemli-Ozcan, Volosovych, 2014 JEEA



Legend:  
Red dash line – Developing Countries excluding China  
Red letters – Developing Countries in Asia  
Green letters – Developing Countries in Africa

# No Role for EM Private Saving



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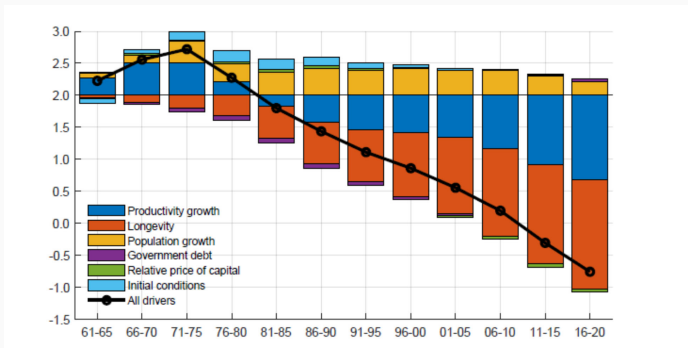
# Three Phases with Different Explanations

1. Mid-1990s—early-2000s: **Global S** > **Global I**: China (government S), baby-boomers in AE (private S)
2. Early-2000s—late-2000s: Easy monetary policy and financial conditions  
⇒ not clear if **global S** > < **global I** since this is a period of widening global imbalances
3. GFC: 2008—2018: **Global S** > **Global I**: High uncertainty, debt de-leveraging (low investment/low growth), high demand for safe assets



# Structural: Most important drivers are demographics and productivity growth

From: Cesa-Bianchi, Harrison, Sadeji: "Drivers of Global  $R^*$ "



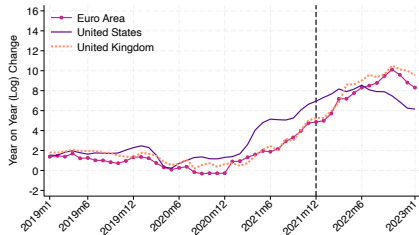
**Current Inflation: Is this a Blip?**  
**Depends on Supply Shocks in a**  
**Fragmented World**

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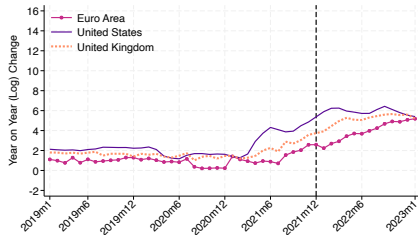
# Why disinflation is slow? Why labor market is resilient?

## A sectoral demand-supply imbalance story

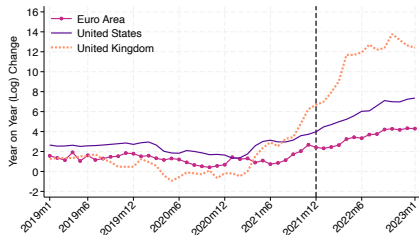
(a) Headline



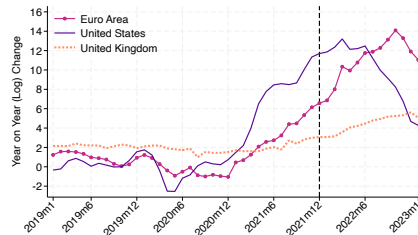
(b) Core



(c) Services

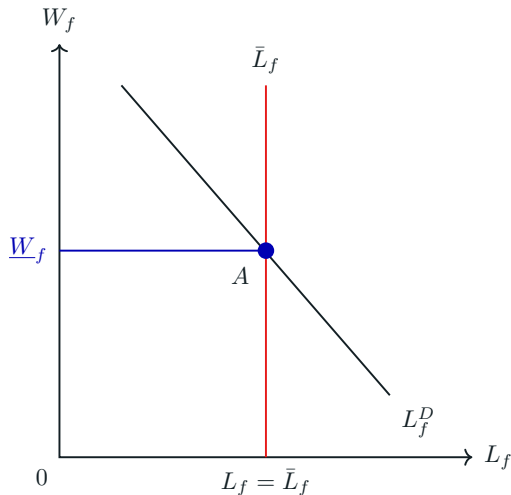


(d) Goods



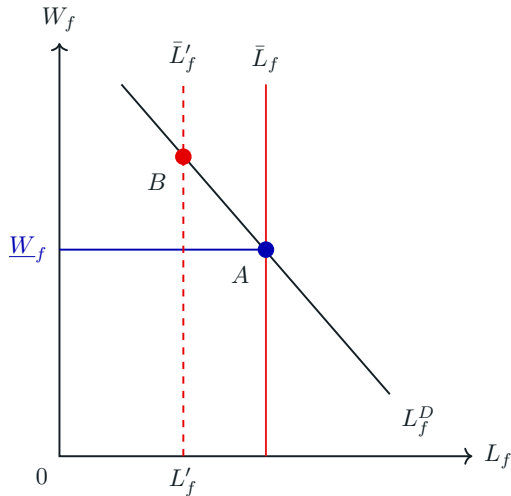
# Segmented Labor Markets, Labor Supply Shock and Inflation

- $\bar{L}_f$ : Potential labor. Decrease due to workers getting sick, shutdowns, great resignation.



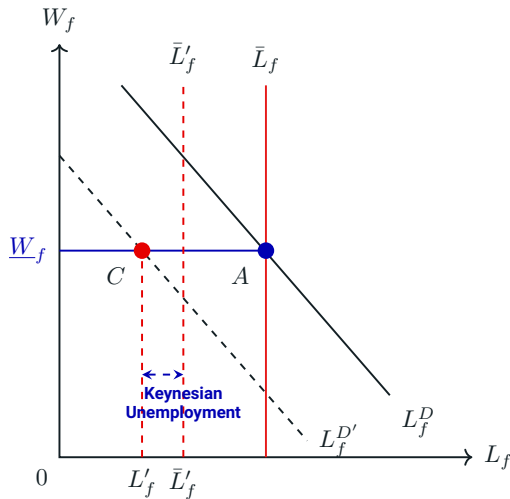
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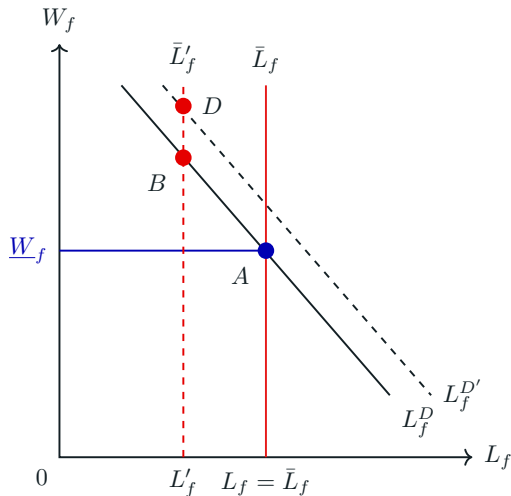
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  - ▶ Demand effects+downward wage rigidity  $\Rightarrow$  workers employed might be lower than *potential*
- During recovery – point D: heterogeneous across sectors, may not be back to 2019, still inflationary)

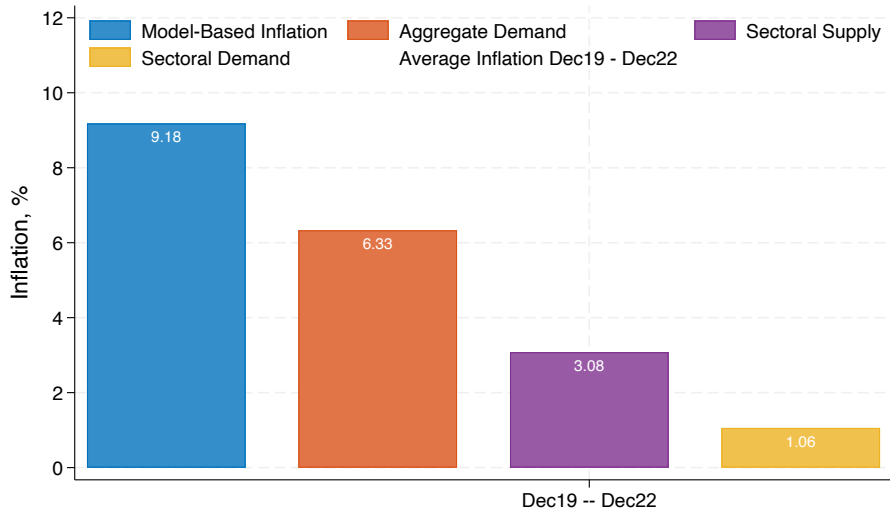


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# Sources of US Inflation: diGiovanni, Kalemli-Ozcan, SilvaYildirim



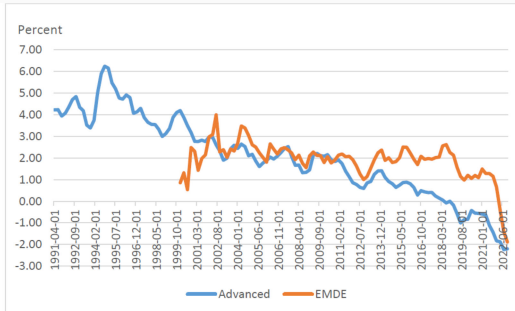


## Implications for Monetary Policy

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## What else can we learn from EM-AE Difference? A striking figure

- Periods of better monetary policy making, credible inflation targeting, real rates coincide
- When nominal rates driven to ZLB with QE in AE, EM stayed constant, why?  
⇒ Opposing forces: capital inflows ( $\downarrow$  risky rates) and tight monetary policy ( $\uparrow$  safe rate)



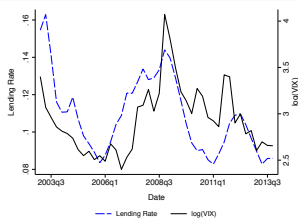
## Link between policy credibility and $r^*$

- Inflation targeting is done with **nominal rates** by referencing to  $r^*$
  - But credibility of inflation targeting affects  $r^*$
  - Global financial factors that are connected to policy credibility are absent from models estimating  $r^*$
  - A key issue both for AE and EM
    - ⇒ Extensive evidence for EM; capital flows are driven by risk sentiments/policy uncertainty
    - ⇒  $r^*$  can go  $\uparrow, \downarrow$  depending on what monetary policy does
- ⇒ **Nominal rates relate more to global factors than  $r^*$ .**

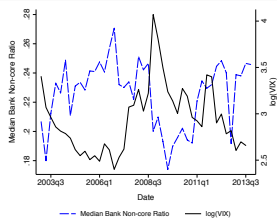
# Capital Flow Facts in EM: Bank intermediated, risk-sensitive

From: diGiovanni, Kalemli-Ozcan, Ulu, Baskaya, RESTUD'21: International Spillovers and Local Credit Cycles

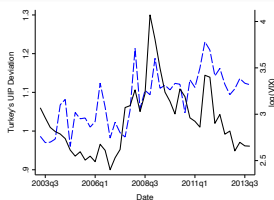
(a) GFC and Lending Rates ( $\rho = 0.52$ )



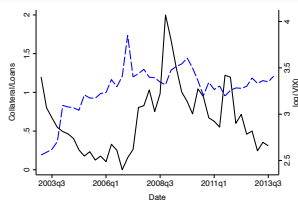
(b) GFC and Non-Core Liabilities ( $\rho = -0.51$ )



(c) GFC and UIP ( $\rho = 0.61$ )



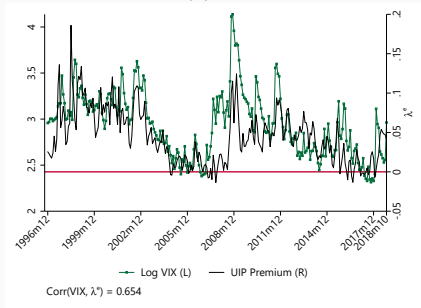
(d) GFC and Collateral ( $\rho = 0.01$ )



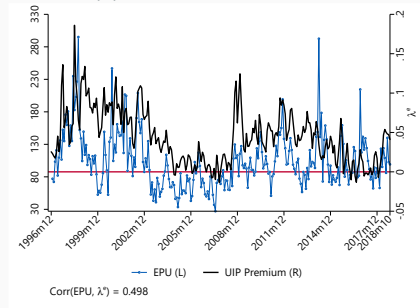
# Risk premia/arbitrage deviations correlate with risk sentiment, news, uncertainty

From: Kalemli-Ozcan and Varela, 2019: 5 Facts of the UIP Premium

(a) VIX



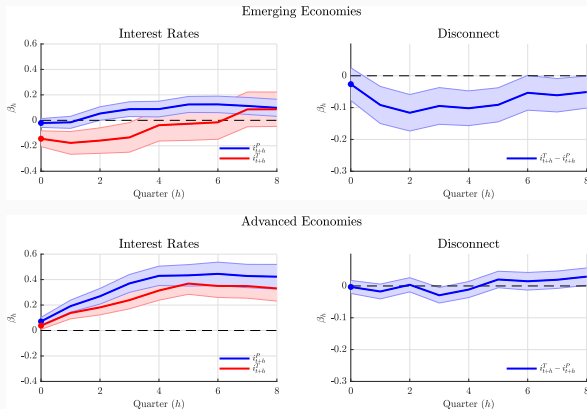
(b) News based Uncertainty



# Result is ineffective MP: A disconnect between policy and market Rates

From: De Leo, Gopinath, Kalemli-Ozcan: Monetary Policy Cyclical in EM

$$i_{t+h}^j = \alpha_h^j + \beta_h^j \Delta gdp_t + \gamma_h^j i_{t-1}^j + \epsilon_{t+h}^j$$



## Takeaways

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- Great paper! Most comprehensive on this topic to-date, must read!
  - Importance of global factors
  - Without a change in demographics (fertility increase to counter aging) and low productivity growth combined with higher uncertainty and a possible fragmentation, low real rates are here to stay
- ⇒ Difficult days ahead for monetary policy making