

The Political Economy of Macroprudential Policies and Capital Flows

Javier Bianchi ¹ Carlos Bolivar ² César Sosa-Padilla ³

¹Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis

²University of Minnesota and Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis

³University of Notre Dame and NBER

The views expressed herein are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis or the Federal Reserve System.

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Q. What is the role of political economy considerations in shaping the financial and regulatory cycle?

Today

- We extend a standard open-economy model of financial crises and pecuniary externalities with political economy frictions
 - Two parties/policymakers alternate in power
 - Responsible party, r : sets macroprudential policy optimally
 - Irresponsible party, i : never uses macroprudential policy
- Analytical characterization and quantitative analysis of how political turnover affects optimal policy
- Evaluate empirical literature on macroprudential policy through the lens of our model

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Key insight. Political economy frictions lead the responsible policymaker to set a more aggressive macroprudential policy.

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With political frictions

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- Crises preceded by low regulation

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Connect to empirical lit on effectiveness of macropru policy

- We show OLS is biased & propose IV spec. using political frictions

Model

Main ingredients

Dynamic small open-economy model with tradable and non-tradable goods

- Households
 - * Face a borrow. constraint linked to income
 - * Access to a regulated international market w/ a tax τ_t
 - * Choose debt based on expectations of current and future regulations
- Responsible party (r)
 - * Benevolent and uses macroprudential policy
 - * Take into account they would remain in power with exogenous prob. Γ_r
- Irresponsible party (i)
 - * Sets taxes equal to zero

Households

Preferences:

$$\mathbb{E}_0 \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \left(\prod_{j=0}^t \beta_j \right) u(c_t)$$

$$c = \left[\omega (c^T)^{\frac{\gamma-1}{\gamma}} + (1-\omega) (c^N)^{\frac{\gamma-1}{\gamma}} \right]^{\frac{\gamma}{\gamma-1}}, \quad \beta_t = \bar{\beta}(1 + \iota_t)$$

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Budget constraint:

$$p_t^N c_t^N + c_t^T + \frac{1}{R(1 + \tau_t)} b_{t+1} = p_t^N y_t^N + y_t^T + b_t + T_t$$

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Credit constraint:

$$b_{t+1} \geq -\kappa(y_t^T + p_t^N y_t^N)$$

Optimality conditions

- Static FOC:

$$p_t^N = \frac{1 - \omega}{\omega} \left(\frac{c_t^T}{c_t^N} \right)^{1/\gamma}$$

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$$p_t^N = \frac{1 - \omega}{\omega} \left(\frac{c_t^T}{c_t^N} \right)^{1/\gamma}$$

- Euler equation:

$$\begin{aligned} u_T(c_t^T, y_t^N) &= \beta R(1 + \tau_t) \mathbb{E}[u_T(c_{t+1}^T, c_{t+1}^N)] + \mu_t^H \\ 0 &= \mu_t^H (b_{t+1} + \kappa(y_t^T + p_t^N y_t^N)) \end{aligned}$$

Government - Political process

- Voters derive diff. utility from r vs. i in office
 - * Fixed utility if r in office: $\bar{\nu}$
 - * Stochastic utility if i in office: $\nu_t = \lambda\chi_t + (1 - \lambda)\varrho_t$
where $\chi_t \sim AR(1)$, $\varrho_t \sim i.i.d$ and $\lambda \in [0, 1]$

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- The election rule for the government g_t is

$$g_t = \begin{cases} r & \text{if } \nu_t < \bar{\nu}, \\ i & \text{otherwise.} \end{cases}$$

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- We map the political process to a Markov chain, where

$$\Gamma = \begin{bmatrix} \Gamma_r & 1 - \Gamma_r \\ 1 - \Gamma_i & \Gamma_i \end{bmatrix}$$

Government - Political process

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Government - Budget Constraint

Budget constraint:

$$T_t = -\frac{\tau_t}{1 + \tau_t} \frac{B_{t+1}}{R}$$

Recall: irresponsible sets $\tau_t = 0$ for all t

- Implementability constraints:

$$p_t^N = \frac{1 - \omega}{\omega} \left(\frac{c_t^T}{c_t^N} \right)^{1/\gamma}$$

$$\begin{aligned} u_T(c_t^T, y_t^N) &= \beta R(1 + \tau_t) \mathbb{E}[u_T(c_{t+1}^T, c_{t+1}^N)] + \mu_t^H \\ 0 &= \mu_t^H (B_{t+1} + \kappa(y_t^T + p_t^N y_t^N)) \end{aligned}$$

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- Resource constraints:

$$\begin{aligned} c_t^N &= y_t^N \\ c_t^T &= y_t^T + B_t - \frac{B_{t+1}}{R} \end{aligned}$$

Normative Analysis

- Constrained-efficient allocations – Bianchi (2011)
- Political game
- Exogenous states
 - * Economic state $s \equiv \{y^T, \beta\}$
 - * Political state g

Constrained efficient: planner's problem

$$V^{SP}(s, B) = \max_{c^T, B'} u(c^T, y^N) + \beta \mathbb{E} V^{SP}(s', B')$$

$$c^T + \frac{B'}{R} = y^T + B \quad (\lambda)$$

$$B' \geq -\kappa(\mathcal{P}^N(c^T)y^N + y^T) \quad (\mu_{SP})$$

where $\mathcal{P}^N(c^T) = \frac{1-\omega}{\omega} \left(\frac{c^T}{y^N}\right)^{1/\gamma}$

The planner internalizes the effect on prices.

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- Euler eq. for the SP, when the constraint is not binding in t :

$$u_T(c^T, y^N) = \beta R \mathbb{E}[u_T(c^{T'}, y^N)] + \beta R \mathbb{E} \left[\mu'_{SP} \frac{\partial \mathcal{P}^N(c^{T'})}{\partial c^{T'}} \kappa y^N \right]$$

Political Game - Responsible government

$$V^r(s, r, B) = \max_{c^T, B', \tau} u(c^T, y^N) + \beta \left[\Gamma_r \mathbb{E} V^r(s', r, B') + (1 - \Gamma_r) \mathbb{E} V^r(s', i, B') \right]$$

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subject to

$$c^T + \frac{B'}{R} = y^T + B$$

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$$u_T(c^T, y^N) = \beta R \mathbb{E} \left[\Gamma_r u_T(c^T(s', r, B'), y^N) + (1 - \Gamma_r) u_T(c^T(s', i, B'), y^N) \right] (1 + \tau) + \mu^H$$

$$0 = \mu^H \left(B' + \kappa \left[y^T + \frac{1-\omega}{\omega} \left(\frac{c^T}{y^N} \right)^{1/\gamma} y^N \right] \right)$$

Political Game - Irresponsible government

$$V^i(s, i, B) = u(c^T, y^N) + \beta \left[\Gamma_i \mathbb{E} V^i(s', i, B') + (1 - \Gamma_i) \mathbb{E} V^i(s', r, B') \right]$$

subject to

$$c^T + \frac{B'}{R} = y^T + B$$

$$B' \geq -\kappa \left[y^T + \frac{1-\omega}{\omega} \left(\frac{c^T}{y^N} \right)^{1/\gamma} y^N \right]$$

$$u_T(c^T, y^N) = \beta R \mathbb{E} \left[\Gamma_i u_T(c^T(s', i, B'), y^N) + (1 - \Gamma_i) u_T(c^T(s', r, B'), y^N) \right] + \mu^H$$

$$0 = \mu^H \left(B' + \kappa \left[y^T + \frac{1-\omega}{\omega} \left(\frac{c^T}{y^N} \right)^{1/\gamma} y^N \right] \right)$$

Using a Generalized Euler Equation we can show that:

A. Macprudential Policy is **always active**

Proposition 1. *Let μ_t^r be the Lagrange multiplier on the borrowing constraint, and let τ_t be the tax that solves the problem of the responsible government. Assume there exist $\mu_{t+h}^r(s_{t+h}, g_{t+h}, B_{t+h}) \neq 0$ for any $h > 0$. Then $\tau_t > 0$.*

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B. Macroprudential policy is **more aggressive**

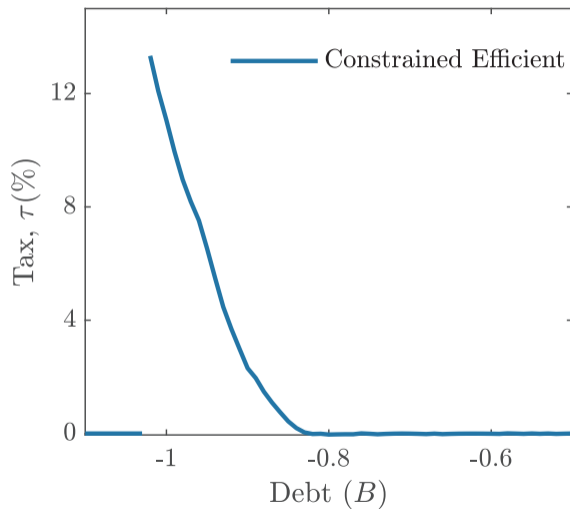
Proposition 2. *Define τ_t^{SP} denote the tax debt function of the constrained efficient problem. Assume there exist $\mu_{t+h}^r(s_{t+h}, g_{t+h}, B_{t+h}) \neq 0$ for at least one $h > 0$. Then $\tau_t > \tau_t^{SP}$.*

Numerical Results

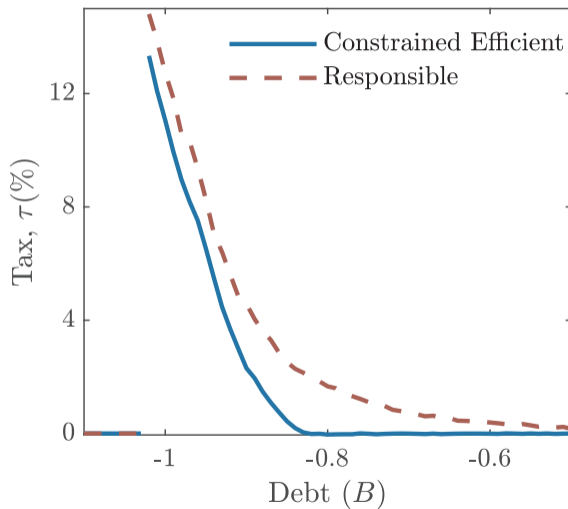
Calibration

	Value	Source
Interest rate	$R = 1.04$	Bianchi (2011)
Risk aversion	$\sigma = 2$	Bianchi (2011)
Elasticity of substitution	$\gamma = 0.83$	Bianchi (2011)
Weight on tradable in CES	$\omega = 0.45$	Trad. Output Share
Stochastic structure	$\rho = 0.46$	Argentinean economy
Credit coefficient	$\kappa = 0.32$	Frequency of crises
Mean of discount factor	$\bar{\beta} = 0.904$	Average NFA-GDP ratio
Stochastic part of discount factor	$[-0.05 \ 0.05]$	Uniform distribution
Reelection Prob. Responsible gov.	$\Gamma_r = 0.22$	Mean in data
Reelection Prob. Irresponsible gov.	$\Gamma_i = 0.78$	Mean in data

Quantitative Results: Tax Policy

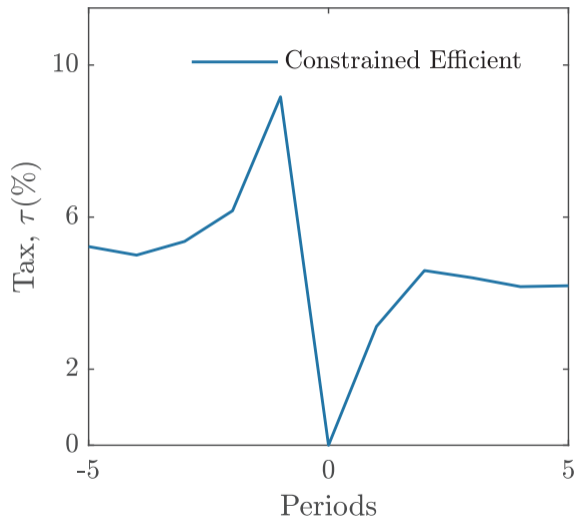


Quantitative Results: Tax Policy



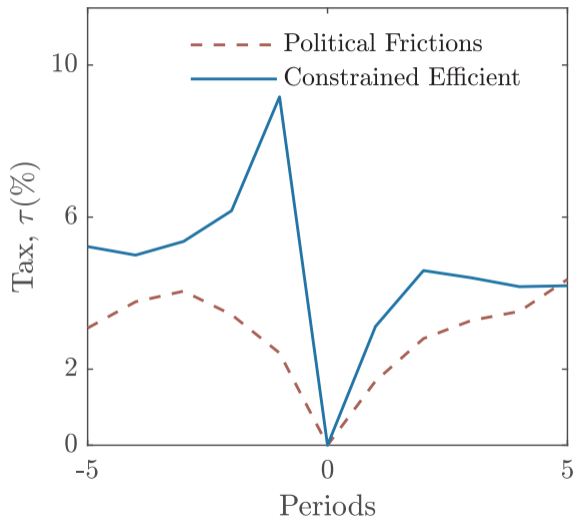
More aggressive macroprudential policy than the constrained-efficient

Tax on Borrowing around Crises



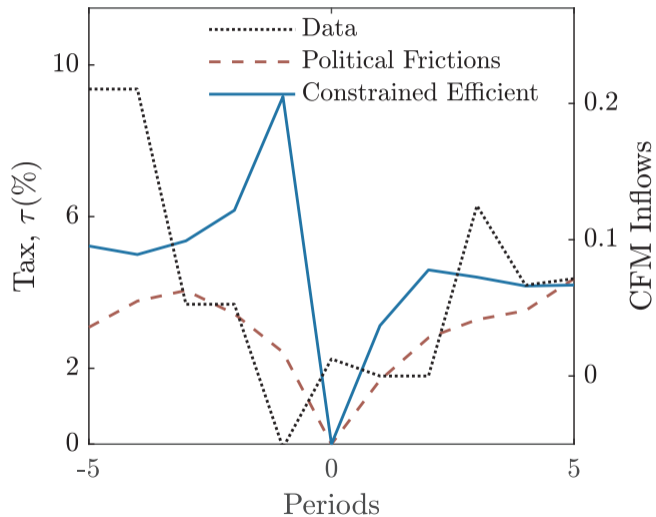
Without pol. frictions \rightarrow more regulation before a typical crisis

Tax on Borrowing around Crises



With pol. frictions → less regulation before a typical crisis

Tax on Borrowing around Crises



Compared to the constrained efficient

- Capital controls are higher
- ... but sudden stops are more frequent (5.3% vs 2.2%)

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Not surprisingly, welfare costs are not trivial

- They average 1.4%
- Increasing in debt, higher for low y^T

Connection with Empirical Literature

Econometric Analysis

Assume we are interested in estimating the effect of macroprudential policy on the current account

$$\underbrace{CA_t}_{B_{t+1}-B_t} = \delta_0 + \delta_\tau \tau_t + \delta_b B_t + \delta_y y_t^T + \epsilon_t \quad s.t \quad \mathbb{E}[\epsilon_t] = 0$$

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Our model features two key structural relationships:

$$B_{t+1} = \Upsilon_0 + \Upsilon_b B_t + \Upsilon_\tau \tau_t + \Upsilon_y y_t^T + \Upsilon_\beta \beta_t + \Upsilon_g g_t + o_t$$
$$\tau_t = \gamma_0 + \gamma_b B_t + \gamma_y y_t^T + \gamma_\beta \beta_t + \gamma_g g_t + u_t$$

OLS is Biased

The mapping between the error term of the regression model and the structural relations is:

$$\begin{aligned}\delta_0 &= \Upsilon_0 + \Upsilon_\beta \bar{\beta} + \mathbb{E}[o_t] \\ \epsilon_t &= (o_t - \mathbb{E}[o_t]) + \Upsilon_\beta \bar{\beta} \iota_{i,t}\end{aligned}$$

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Recall: $\tau_t = \gamma_0 + \gamma_b B_t + \gamma_y y_t^T + \gamma_\beta \hat{\beta}(1 + \iota_{i,t}) + \gamma_g g_t + u_t$

Then: $\text{cov}(\tau_t, \epsilon_{i,t}) \neq 0$

OLS is Biased

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Proposition 3. *Given $\Upsilon_\beta < 0$ and $\gamma_\beta > 0$, let $\hat{\delta}_\tau$ be the OLS estimation of δ_τ . Then the OLS estimator is biased. That is: $\mathbb{E}[\hat{\delta}_\tau - \delta_\tau] < 0$.*

Instrumental Variable Approach

Recall political shock structure:

- * Stoch. utility if irresponsible in office: $\nu_t = \lambda\chi_t + (1 - \lambda)\varrho_t$
where $\chi_t \sim AR(1)$, $\varrho_t \sim i.i.d$ and $\lambda \in [0, 1]$

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Instrumental Variable Approach

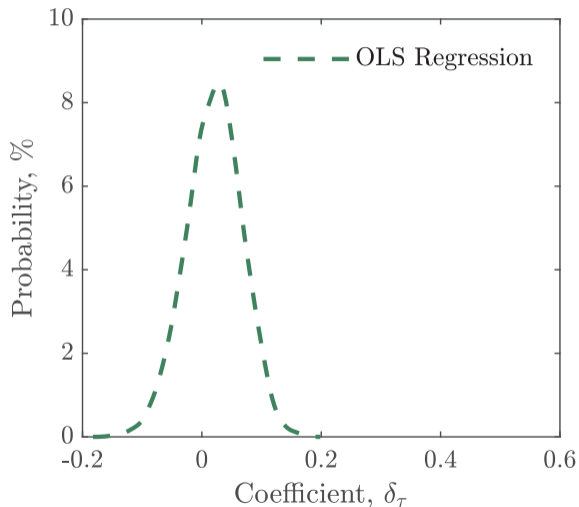
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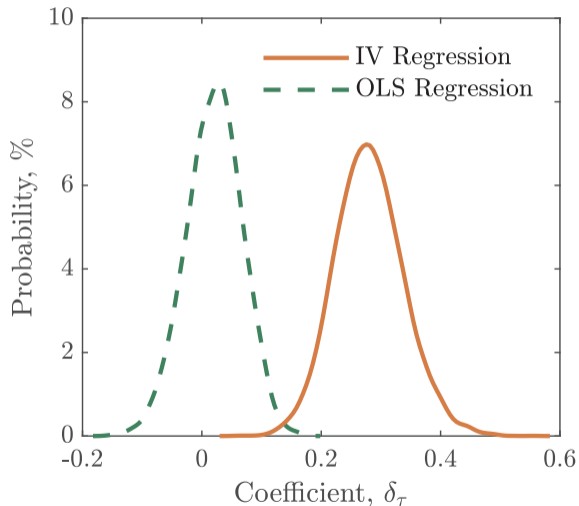
If $\lambda = 0$ we can use the identity of the incumbent (g_t) as instrument

Monte Carlo Simulations

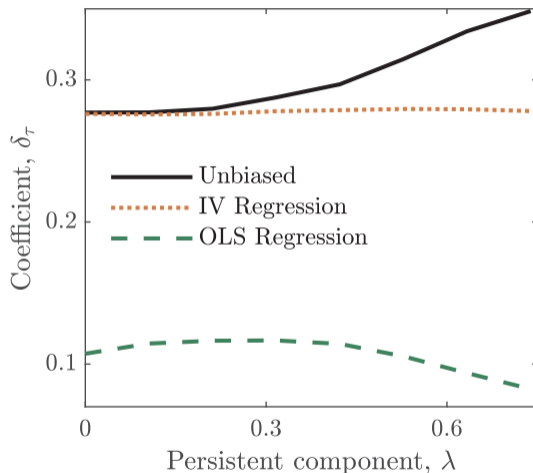


$\hat{\delta}_\tau$ can be either negative or positive using model-based OLS regressions

Monte Carlo Simulations



All the regressions estimated w/ IV give a positive effect



When the political process is persistent, IV is biased but better than OLS

An Empirical Estimation of this Econometric Model

$$CA_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \alpha_\tau \tau_{i,t} + \alpha_X X_{i,t} + \epsilon_{i,t}$$

- We use quarterly data for 36 countries. Time: 2008q1 – 2019q1
- From Binici and Das (2021): index of Capital Flow Mgmt tools (inflows)
- Include macro controls from IFS

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- Include macro controls from IFS
- Instrument macroprudential policy
 - * Political Orientation, from Database of Political Institutions (IADB)
 - * Populism, from Global Populisms Data (Stanford)
 - * Instrument = $\text{Populist}_{it} \times \text{Left}_{it}$

An Empirical Estimation of this Econometric Model

$$CA_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \alpha_\tau \tau_{i,t} + \alpha_X X_{i,t} + \epsilon_{i,t}$$

	OLS	IV
Capital controls, τ	0.02 (0.017)	1.63** (0.80)
Obs.	786	590
No. of countries	18	14

Conclusions

- Explored the role of political frictions in the design of macropru policy
- Responsible government chooses a stronger macropru policy
 - * Capital flow taxes are positive all the time
 - * Crises preceded by low regulation (as in data)
 - * Welfare losses from pol. frictions are non-trivial (esp. in low-income states)
- Link with the empirical literature
 - * Propose a way to deal w/ endogeneity of macropru taxes

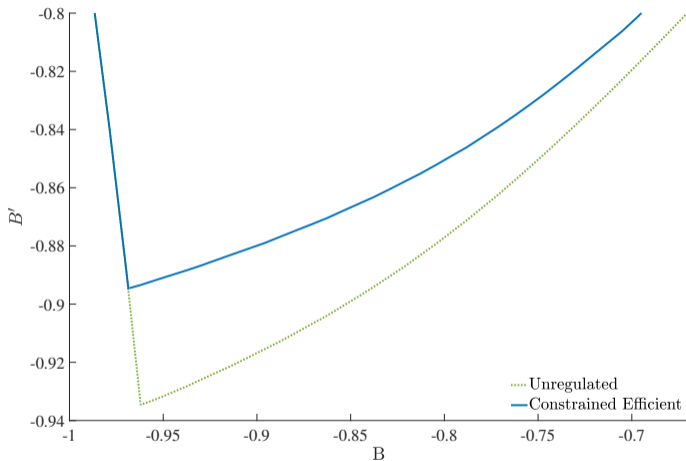
THANKS!

Definition 1. (Competitive Equilibrium) Given initial assets b_0 , sequences of an exogenous process $\{g_t \in \{i, j\}, y_t^T, y_t^N\}_{t=0}^\infty$ and a sequence of government policies $\{\tau_t(i), \tau_t(j), T_t(i), T_t(j)\}_{t=0}^\infty$; a *competitive equilibrium* is a sequence of household allocations $\{c_t^T, c_t^N, b_t\}_{t=0}^\infty$, and a sequence of prices $\{p_t^N\}_{t=0}^\infty$ such that: (i) households solve their optimization problem, (ii) all market clears.

Lemma 1 (GEE). Let $\mu_t^r(s)$ be the Lagrange multiplier on the borrowing constraint. The Generalized Euler Equation (GEE) for the responsible party satisfies:

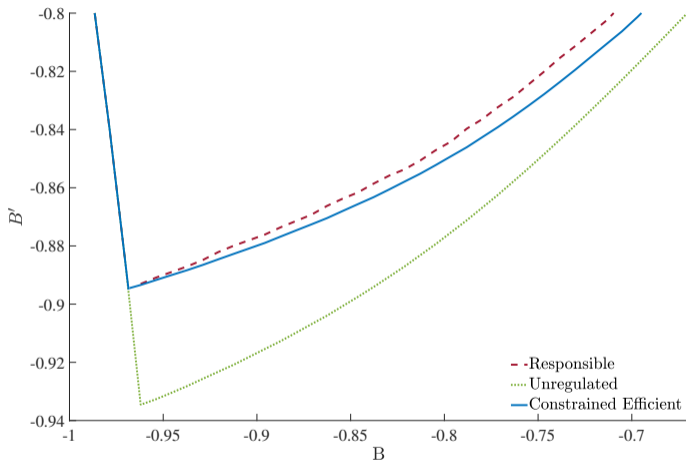
$$\begin{aligned}
 u_T(c_t^T, c_t^N) = & \beta_t R \left[\Gamma_r \mathbb{E} \left(u_T(c_t^T, c_t^N) + \frac{\partial \mathcal{P}_t^N}{\partial c_t^T} \kappa \mu_{t+1}^r \right) + (1 - \Gamma_r) \left[\sum_{n=1}^{\infty} (\Gamma_i)^n \prod_{j=t}^{t+n} \beta_j \left(\frac{\partial \mathcal{B}}{\partial B} \right) \right. \right. \\
 & \left. \left. \left[\mathbb{E} \left(u_T(c_{j+1}^T, c_{j+1}^N) \left(1 - \frac{1}{R} \frac{\partial \mathcal{B}}{\partial B} \right) \right) + (1 - \Gamma_i) \mathbb{E}_r \left(u_T(c_{j+1}^T, c_{j+1}^N) + \frac{\partial \mathcal{P}_{j+1}^N}{\partial c_{j+1}^T} \kappa \mu_{j+1}^r \right) + \right. \right. \right. \\
 & \left. \left. \left. \frac{\partial \mathcal{P}_j^N}{\partial c_j^T} \kappa \mu_j^r \right] \right] + \mu_t^r \left(1 - \frac{\partial \mathcal{P}_t^N}{\partial c_t^T} \frac{\kappa}{R_t} \right) \right]
 \end{aligned}$$

Policy functions



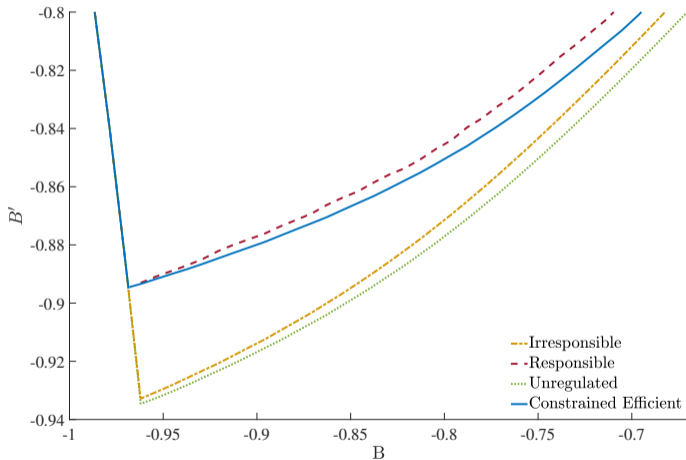
Households take more debt in an unregulated economy.

Policy functions



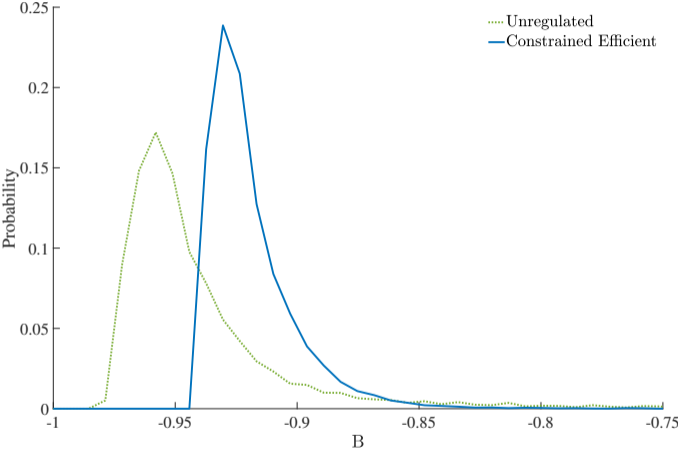
Households take even less debt under a responsible government

Policy functions

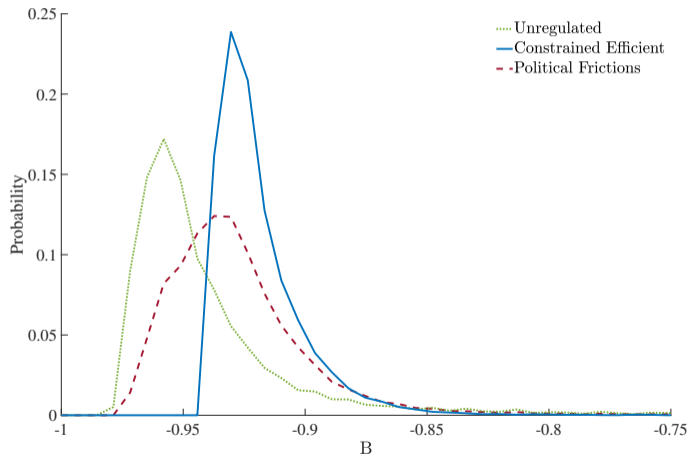


They take less debt under an irresponsible government than in an unregulated economy.

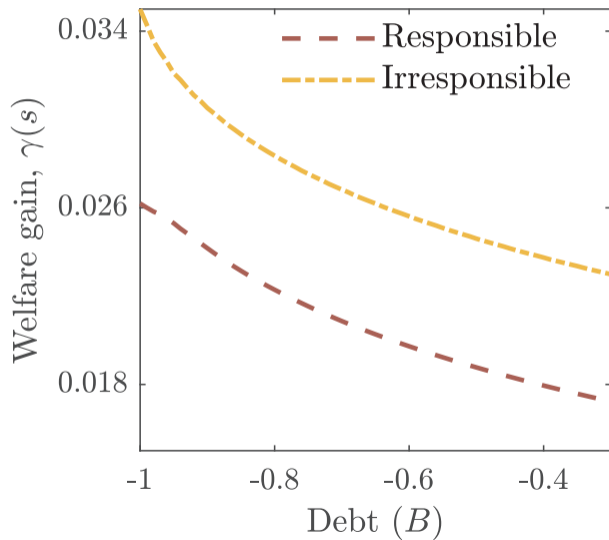
Macropudential policy loses effectiveness

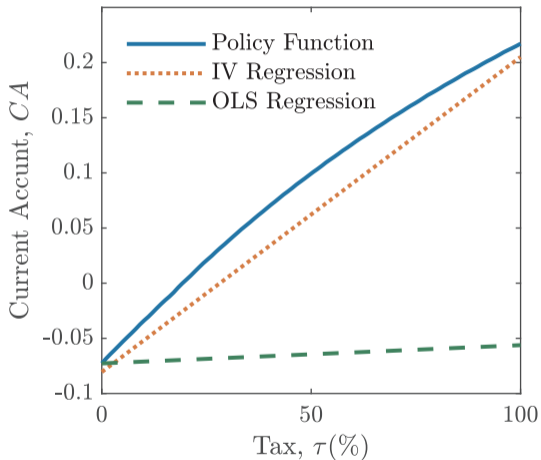


Macropudential policy loses effectiveness



Welfare Cost of Political Frictions (low y^T)





Mean prediction errors are lower using IV