Exorbitant Privilege Gained and Lost: Fiscal Implications

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Exorbitant Privilege

- Gourinchas, Rey, and Sauzet (2019): "Being the hegemon confers a specific ability to issue large amounts of nominally safe liabilities (dollar securities), which are happily absorbed by the rest of the world. Thus, the view is that, in case of a deficit, the United States does not have to take restrictive measures, so that the dollar is not an impartial means of international exchange. This is the essence of the exorbitant privilege."
- Our paper: How do we weigh this exorbitant privilege with the concerns about fiscal sustainability in the U.S.?

Our Paper

- We study three centuries of fiscal history and estimate the fiscal backing of the Dutch, U.K., and U.S. government debt.
 - There is a unique hegemon who dominates the supply of safe assets.
 - When a country plays this role, its government debt enjoys a lower yield relative to other sovereign debt—convenience yields.
 - We conduct a fiscal valuation exercise.
 - The hegemon issues more government debt than what is warranted by its own fiscal fundamentals, even after we account for seigniorage revenues
 - When the hegemon's relative fundamentals deteriorate, this extra fiscal capacity is eventually withdrawn—exorbitant privilege lost.

More Concretely

- ▶ U.K. had quasi-monopoly as world's safe asset supplier in 19th century
 - London was the world's financial center and gilts accounted for more than 1/2 of the world's traded securities in 1815.
 - ▶ Gilts traded at much lower yields (Hall, Payne, Sargent, and Szőke, 2021).
 - In the two centuries before WW-I, only 3/4 of U.K. debt was backed by future surpluses.
- During the Interbellum years, U.K. in fiscal crisis:
 - The U.K. abandoned the gold standard at the start of WW-I, briefly returned to it in 1925, only to permanently abandon it in 1931.
 - Financial repression during and after WW-I; Restructuring of U.K. loans.
 - Gilts started trading at higher yields than foreign bonds.
- After WW-II, the U.K. yielded its leading position to the U.S.
 - The U.K. debt no longer earned convenience yields,
 - Debt has always been more than fully backed by our estimate of government surpluses.

In Contrast

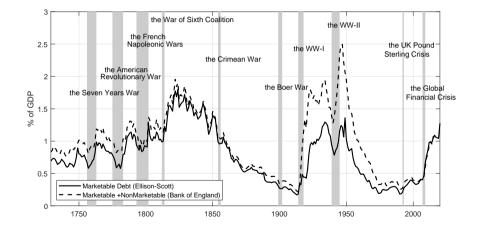
- ▶ Before WW-I, the U.S. had to finance its debt at a much higher rate relative to the U.K.
 - ▶ The U.S. government debt was more than fully backed by its primary surpluses.
- ▶ After WW-II, the U.S. became the world's safe asset issuer.
 - ▶ Its debt enjoyed a significant convenience yield relative to other bonds.
 - The market value of its debt well exceeded its fiscal backing.

Related Literature

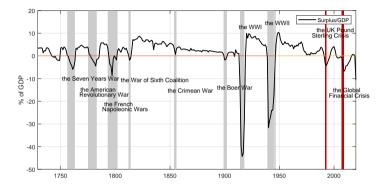
- Fiscal capacity of the government (Bassetto and Cui, 2018; Blanchard, 2019; Furman and Summers, 2020; Mehrotra and Sergeyev, 2021; Mian, Straub, and Sufi, 2021; Brunnermeier, Merkel, and Sannikov, 2022; Liu, Schmid, and Yaron, 2020; Reis, 2021) Jiang et al. (19,20,21,22,23a,23b)
- Special role of the dollar as the reserve currency and the U.S. as the world's safe asset supplier (see Gourinchas and Rey, 2007; Caballero, Farhi, and Gourinchas, 2008; Caballero and Krishnamurthy, 2009; Maggiori, 2017; He, Krishnamurthy, and Milbradt, 2018; Farhi and Maggiori, 2018; Gopinath and Stein, 2018; Krishnamurthy and Lustig, 2019; Choi, Kirpalani, and Perez, 2022; Mukhin, 2022)
- Special role for Treasurys providing insurance: (Bassetto and Cui, 2018; Chien and Wen, 2019; Angeletos, Collard, and Dellas, 2020; Brunnermeier, Merkel, and Sannikov, 2022; Reis, 2021)
- U.S. Treasurys are expensive relative to other bonds (Krishnamurthy and Vissing-Jorgensen, 2012; Bai and Collin-Dufresne, 2019; Fleckenstein, Longstaff, and Lustig, 2014; Du, Im, and Schreger, 2018; Jiang, Krishnamurthy, and Lustig, 2021; Koijen and Yogo, 2019; Di Tella, Hébert, Kurlat, and Wang, 2023)

U.K. Market Value of Debt/GDP





U.K. Primary Surpluses

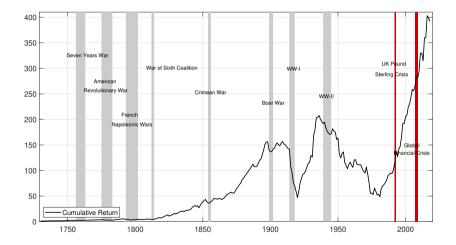


Pre-WWI: Barro-Gallatin tax smoothing for wars (Barro, 1979; Aiyagari, Marcet, Sargent, and Seppälä, 2002)

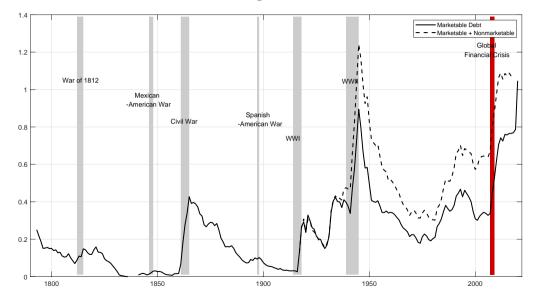
- Consistent primary surpluses in peacetime and temporary, large deficits in wartime
- ▶ Primary surpluses are 2.38% on average and acyclical w.r.t. business cycles



U.K. Cumulative Real Return: 1729 – 2020



The Market Value of Outstanding Debt to GDP in U.S.



Measuring Fiscal Backing

Pricing the Entire Government Bond Portfolio

- Government debt is backed by current and future primary surpluses
 - Government budget constraint:

$$D_t = \sum_{h=0}^{H} Q_{t-1}^{h+1} P_t^h = T_t - G_t + \sum_{h=1}^{H} Q_t^h P_t^h$$

Iterate forward on budget constraint + impose no-arbitrage:

$$D_t = \mathbb{E}_t \left[\sum_{j=0}^T M_{t,t+j} (T_{t+j} - G_{t+j}) \right] + \mathbb{E}_t \left[M_{t,t+T} D_{t+T} \right]$$

Define Fiscal Backing (FB) as the present value of primary surpluses

$$FB_t = \mathbb{E}_t \left[\sum_{j=0}^{\infty} M_{t,t+j} T_{t+j} \right] - \mathbb{E}_t \left[\sum_{j=0}^{\infty} M_{t,t+j} G_{t+j} \right] = P_t^T - P_t^G$$

► $FB = D_t$ under TVC $\mathbb{E}_t [M_{t,t+T} D_{t+T}] \to 0$ as $T \to \infty$

Campbell-Shillerized Measurement of Fiscal Backing

Fiscal backing = PV(Surpluses)

$$FB_t = P_t^T - P_t^G = T_t \exp(pd_t^T) - G_t \exp(pd_t^G),$$

where $pd_t^T = \log(P_t^T/T_t)$ and $pd_t^G = \log(P_t^G/G_t)$.

Log-linearize the tax and spending claim return equations and iterate forward (Jiang, Lustig, Van Nieuwerburgh, and Xiaolan, 2019):

$$pd_t^T = \frac{\kappa_0^T}{1 - \rho_T} + \mathbb{E}_t \left[\sum_{j=1}^{\infty} \rho_T^{j-1} \Delta \log T_{t+j} \right] - \mathbb{E}_t \left[\sum_{j=1}^{\infty} \rho_T^{j-1} r_{t+j}^T \right],$$

$$pd_t^G = \frac{\kappa_0^G}{1 - \rho_G} + \mathbb{E}_t \left[\sum_{j=1}^{\infty} \rho_G^{j-1} \Delta \log G_{t+j} \right] - \mathbb{E}_t \left[\sum_{j=1}^{\infty} \rho_G^{j-1} r_{t+j}^G \right],$$

where ρ_T , ρ_G , κ_0^T , κ_0^G depend on the mean of their respective log p/d ratios

Measuring Fiscal Backing at Steady State

Steady-state *FB*/*Y*: $\frac{FB}{Y} = \frac{T}{Y} \exp(pd_0^T) - \frac{G}{Y} \exp(pd_0^G),$ $pd_0^T = -\frac{(y_0^{\$}(1) + yspr_0^{\$} + rp_0^T) - (x_0 + \pi_0)}{1 - \rho_T} + \frac{\kappa_0^T}{1 - \rho_T},$ $pd_0^G = -\frac{(y_0^{\$}(1) + yspr_0^{\$} + rp_0^G) - (x_0 + \pi_0)}{1 - \rho_G} + \frac{\kappa_0^G}{1 - \rho_G}.$

Determinants:

- 1. Steady-state surplus: (T G)/Y
- 2. *Discount rate component* of pd_0 : the short rate $(y_0^{\$}(1))$, the yield spread $(yspr_0^{\$})$, and the risk premium (rp_0^i)
- 3. *Cash flow component* of pd_0 : GDP growth $(x_0 + \pi_0)$, since *T* and *G* are co-integrated with output

Upper Bound on Steady-State Fiscal Backing

- We expect $rp_0^T \ge rp_0^Y \ge rp_0^G$. Why?
 - At business cycle frequency, spending/GDP is counter-cyclical and tax/GDP is pro-cyclical: $\beta(T_{t+1}) \ge \beta(Y_{t+1}) \ge \beta(G_{t+1})$. More so after WW-II.

► In long run, tax and spending are cointegrated with output: $\beta(T_{t+\infty}) = \beta(Y_{t+\infty}) = \beta(G_{t+\infty}).$

• Assuming $rp_0^T = rp_0^Y = rp_0^G$ then delivers an **upper bound** on Fiscal Backing:

$$\frac{FB}{Y} \leq \underbrace{\frac{1}{(y_0^{\$}(1) + yspr_0^{\$} + rp_0^Y) - (x_0 + \pi_0)}}_{\exp(pd_0^Y)} \left(\frac{T}{Y} - \frac{G}{Y}\right) \equiv \frac{FB^{UB}}{Y}$$

- 1. Countries with higher GDP growth x_0 and lower real rates $y_0^{\$}(1) \pi_0$ have higher pd_0^{Y} and FB (Blanchard, 2019)
- 2. Countries with higher risk premium rp_0^{γ} and slope of the yield curve $yspr_0^{\$}$ have lower pd_0^{γ} and FB

Measuring the GDP Risk Premium

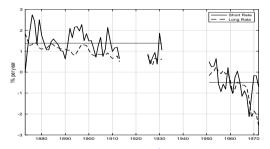
- Risk premium on GDP claim is risk premium on total wealth portfolio
- Total wealth return commonly proxied as the unlevered stock return
- ▶ Implementation: leverage is 0.46 in U.K. and 0.56 in U.S.

	equity	corporate	LT bond	unlevered equity	unlevered equity
	RP vs Rf	bond RP vs Rf	vs Rf	RP vs. Rf	RP vs. LT bond
	United Kingdom				
1870-2020	5.64%	1.45%	0.96%	3.68%	2.73%
1946-2020	7.89%	2.27%	1.53%	5.42%	3.88%
			United	States	
1870-2020	6.33%	1.35%	0.69%	3.51%	2.82%
1946-2020	7.56%	1.79%	1.45%	4.49%	3.80%

• Based on this evidence, we fix GDP risk premium vs. LT bond, rp_0^Y , at 3% per year

What About Convenience Yields?

- Measure convenience yields from CIP violations in govt. bond markets (see Jiang, Krishnamurthy, and Lustig, 2021)
- During gold standard, no FX movement, interest rate differentials are violations of CIP



Average of 15 countries on gold standard vs. U.K. Source: Jordà-Schularick-Taylor Macrohistory database.

• Gilts earned a convenience yield λ_0 of 100 basis points per year in 1873–1931

Upper Bound on Fiscal Backing at Steady State

 With seigniorage revenue from convenience yields (Jiang, Lustig, Van Nieuwerburgh, and Xiaolan, 2019),

$$D_t = \mathbb{E}_t \left[\sum_{j=0}^{\infty} M_{t,t+j} T_{t+j} \right] + \mathbb{E}_t \left[\sum_{j=0}^{\infty} M_{t,t+j} D_{t+j} (1 - e^{-\lambda_{t+j}}) \right] - \mathbb{E}_t \left[\sum_{j=0}^{\infty} M_{t,t+j} G_{t+j} \right]$$

Upper bound

$$\frac{FB}{Y} \leq \frac{1}{(y_0^{\$}(1) + yspr_0^{\$} + rp_0^Y) - (x_0 + \pi_0)} \left(\frac{T}{Y} + \frac{Seign}{Y} - \frac{G}{Y}\right)$$

Seigniorage revenue $Seign = \lambda \times D$: convenience yield times debt outstanding

▶ U.K. seigniorage revenue averages 0.34% of GDP for 1729–1946

Steady-State Fiscal Backing Pre-WW-I

	UK:1729-1914	US: 1793-1914
<i>x</i> ₀	1.58	4.08
π_0	0.16	0.77
$y_0^{\$}$	4.88	4.50
$\exp(pd_0^Y)$	20.68	39.06
<i>s</i> ₀	2.38	0.46
λ_0	0.69	0
Seign./ Y	0.29	0
FB/Y	55.73	17.79
D/Y	86.45	11.91
FB/D	64.46	149.30

Quantity dimension of exorbitant privilege

Dynamic Measure of Fiscal Backing

- Allow for dynamics in (i) expected tax revenue and spending growth rates, and (ii) in the expected return on the GDP claim
- Dynamics of Fiscal Backing governed by:

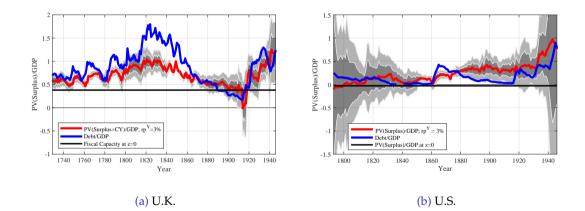
$$\begin{aligned} \frac{FB_t}{Y_t} &= \frac{T_t}{Y_t} \exp(CF_t^T - DR_t^T) - \frac{G_t}{Y_t} \exp(CF_t^G - DR_t^G) \\ CF_t^T &= \mathbb{E}_t \left[\sum_{j=1}^{\infty} \rho_T^{j-1} \Delta \log T_{t+j} \right], \qquad DR_t^T = \mathbb{E}_t \left[\sum_{j=1}^{\infty} \rho_T^{j-1} r_{t+j}^T \right] \end{aligned}$$

Use VAR to construct cash flow and discount rate terms

$$\boldsymbol{z}_t = \boldsymbol{\Psi} \boldsymbol{z}_{t-1} + \boldsymbol{u}_t,$$

- State z_t includes inflation, short rate, yield spread, real GDP growth, stock dividend/GDP growth and level, stock p/d ratio, tax/GDP growth and level, spending/GDP growth and level
- Impose cointegration between spending, taxes and output
- ▶ Regime shift: we estimate separate VARs for pre-WW-II and post-WW-II samples.

U.K. and U.S. Fiscal Backing Pre-WW-II



 Robustness: consolidation of colonial government balance sheets strengthened our conclusion. UK Commonwealth

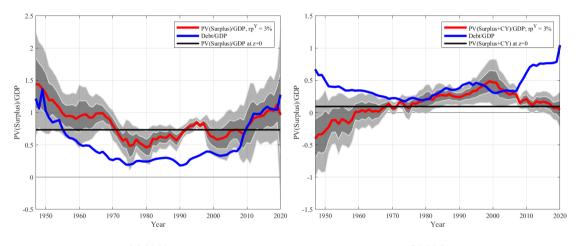
Average Fiscal Backing Pre-WW-I and Pre-WW-II

Table: Pre-WW-I

Table: Pre-WW-II

	UK:1729-1914	US: 1793-1914		UK:1729-1946	US: 1793-194
$\exp(pd_0^Y)$	20.68	39.06	$\exp(pd_0^Y)$	22.22	49.17
<i>s</i> ₀	2.38	1.97	<i>s</i> ₀	1.22	3.41
λ_0	0.69	0	λ_0	1.00	0
Seign./ Y	0.29	0	Seign./Y	0.34	0
FB/Y	60.18	20.18	FB/Y	64.29	23.61
D/Y	86.45	11.91	D/Y	87.06	16.53
FB/D	69.61	169.36	FB/D	73.84	142.87
$\rho(FB/Y,D/Y)$	0.78	0.13	$\rho(FB/Y,D/Y)$	0.82	0.62

U.K. and U.S. Fiscal Backing: Post-WW-II



(a) U.K.

(b) U.S.

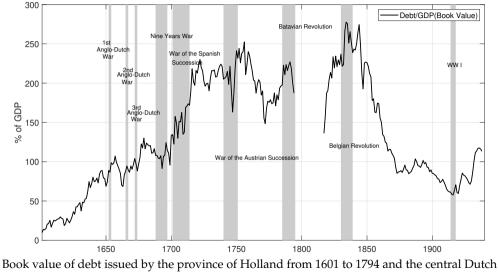
U.S. and U.K. Fiscal Backing After WW-II

	UK:1947-2020	US: 1947-2020	
λ_0	0	0.56	
Seign./Y	0	0.11	
	Steady-state at $z = 0$		
FB/Y	73.31	9.40	
FB/D	137.24	22.93	
	Sample Averages		
FB/Y	82.12	13.20	
D/Y	53.42	40.99	
FB/D	153.73	32.20	
$\rho(FB/Y,D/Y)$	0.80	-0.17	

Privilege Gained and Lost: The Dutch Experience

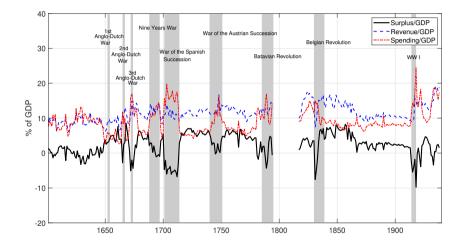
- The provincial governments of the Dutch Republic had local monopoly as safe asset suppliers in 17th and part of 18th century
 - Financial revolution: Dutch provinces issue bonds, tapping into new investor base of emerging upper class (C't Hart, 1993; Schultz and Weingast, 2003)
 - Amsterdam was the world's financial center. Dutch Florin was reserve currency
 - Political participation by debtholders: more fiscal discipline (North and Weingast, 1989)
 - > Yields on annuities issued by Holland 1.5% lower than those on British consols
- After 1815, fiscal crisis in the Netherlands
 - Wars lost
 - Debt overhang and restructuring
 - World's financial center moved to London

The Book Value of Outstanding Debt to GDP



government over the sample period from 1817–1914.

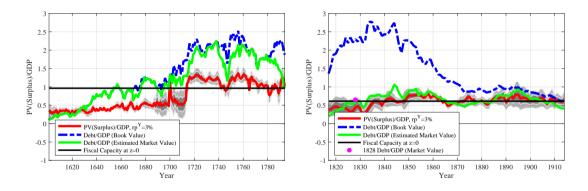
Dutch Fiscal Cash Flows



The Dutch Experience: 17th/18th Century vs. 19th Century

	1601 – 1794 Province of Holland	1817 – 1914 The Netherlands	
)			
λ_0	1.5	0	
Seign./ Y	2.38	0	
	Steady-state at $z = 0$		
FB/Y	61.58	61.06	
	Sample Averages		
FB/Y	71.19	60.53	
D/Y	118.89	65.72	
FB/D	59.88	92.10	
$\rho(FB/Y,D/Y)$	0.94	0.64	

The Dutch Experience



(a) Holland

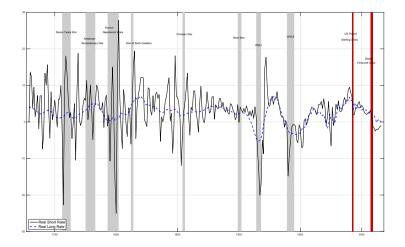
(b) Netherlands

Market value of debt falling after 1800. Debt restructuring after 1815.

Conclusion

- Investors concentrate extra fiscal backing in the world's safe asset supplier beyond what is warranted by its fundamentals and convenience yields.
- When the safe asset supplier's relative fundamentals deteriorate, that extra fiscal backing is withdrawn by bond investors who then focus only on the country's fundamentals.
- Implications for today's hegemon

U.K. Real Rates: 1729 – 2020



U.K. Commonwealth

Figure: Fiscal Capacity: Consolidating Colonial Government Finance

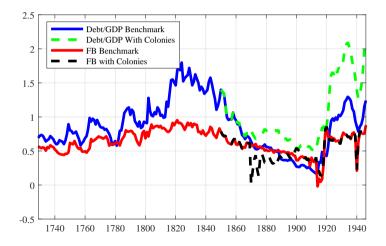
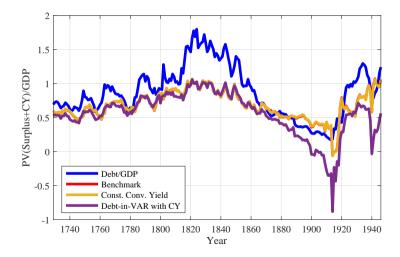


Figure: Fiscal Capacity with Convenience Yields: U.K. 1729 – 1946



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