

# Indebted Demand

## and Economic Policy in a Post-Covid World

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Atif Mian, Princeton

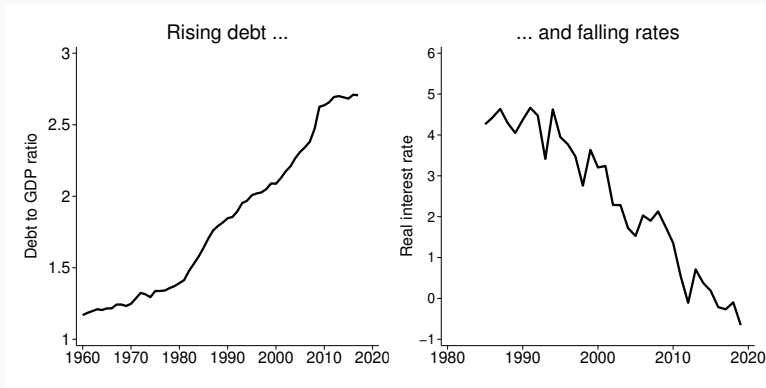
Ludwig Straub, Harvard

Amir Sufi, Chicago Booth

Virtual Macro Seminar

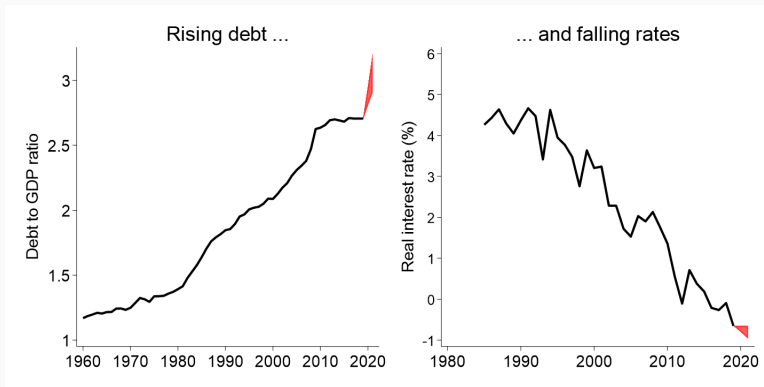
April 2020

## Rise in debt and decline in $r^*$ — especially relevant post-Covid!



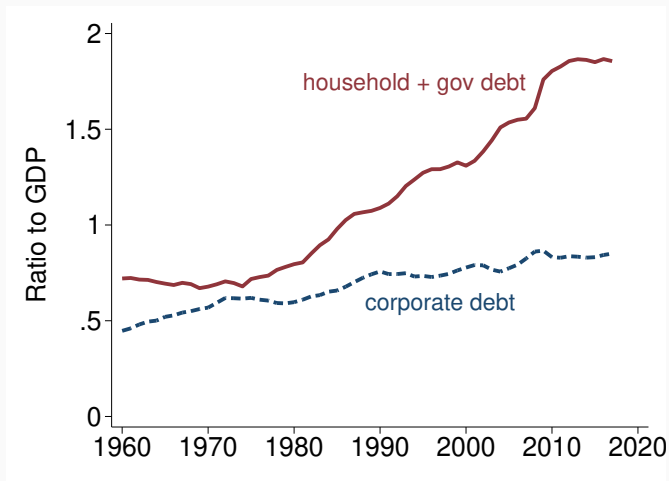
- How did this happen? Do the two plots interact? What are the implications?

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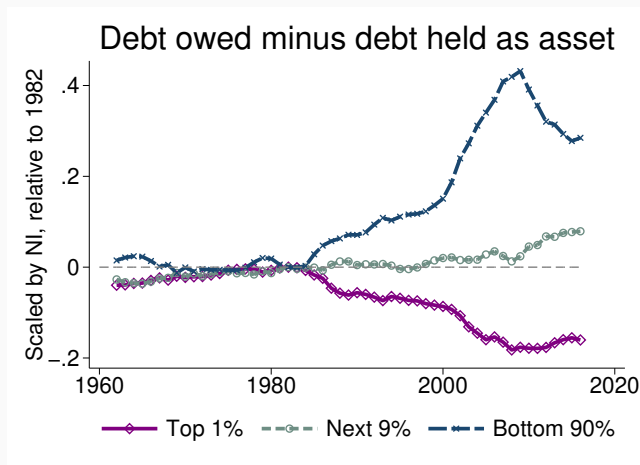


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## Rise in debt driven by households and government



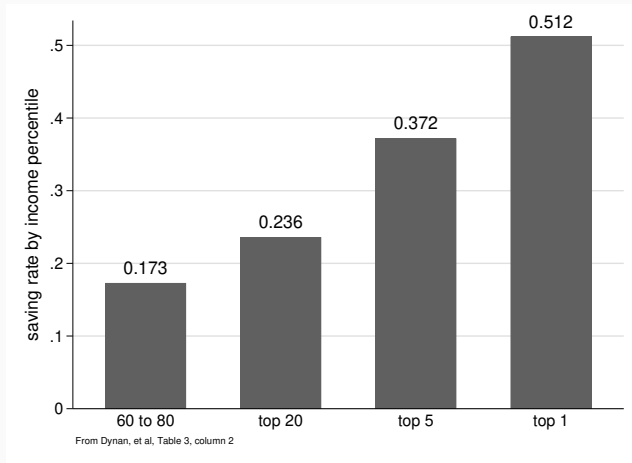
# The rich lend to the non-rich



- “Saving glut of the rich and the rise in household debt”

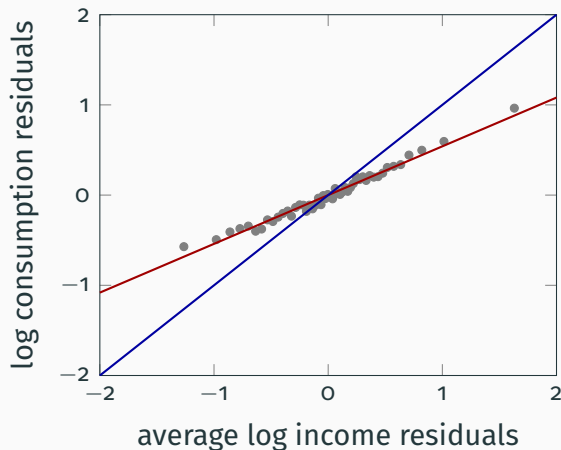
## Why might this matter? — Rich & wealthy save more

- **Dynan Skinner Zeldes (2004)**: saving rates increase in current income



## Why might this matter? — Rich & wealthy save more

- **Straub (2019)**: consumption has elasticity  $< 1$  w.r.t. average income



## Why might this matter? — Rich & wealthy save more

- **Fagereng Holm Moll (2019):** saving rate across the wealth distribution

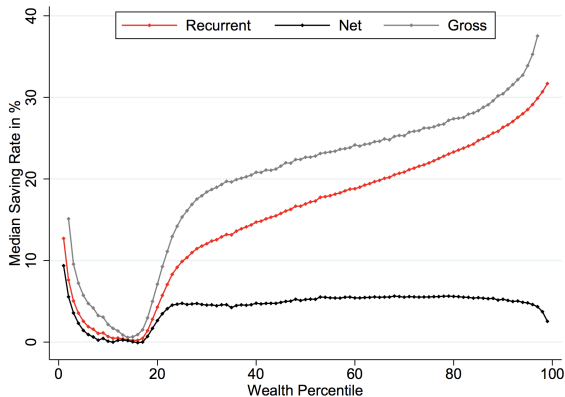


Figure 6: Saving rates across the wealth distribution.



## The indebted demand framework

- Introduce **non-homothetic consumption-saving behavior** into conventional two-agent endowment economy
  - the rich have a higher saving rate

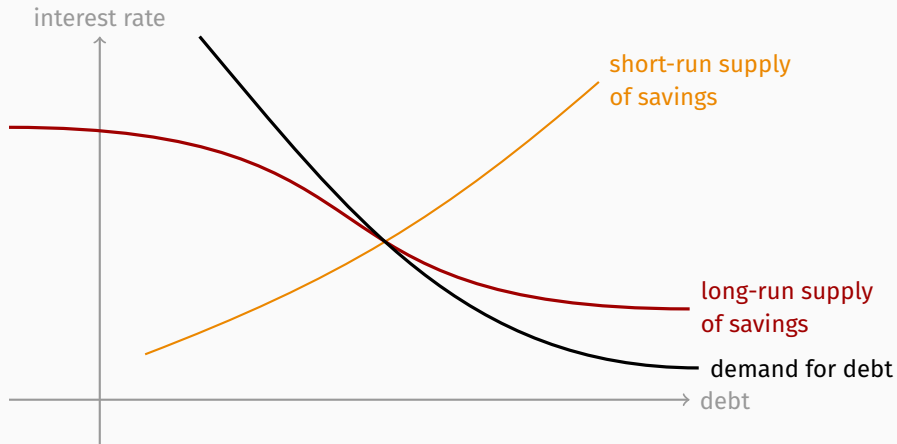
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# The indebted demand framework

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- Main insight: **“Indebted demand”**
  - ≡ shifts & policies that stimulate demand today through debt creation, reduce demand in the future by shifting resources from borrowers to savers
- Implications:
  - **rising inequality depresses  $r$** , amplified by rising debt levels
  - monetary + fiscal policy have **limited ammunition** when they create debt
  - economies can fall into a **“debt trap”** — liquidity trap driven by too much debt
  - once in it, **debt-financed stimulus deepens recession** in the future
  - **redistributive policies help**

At the center of our analysis is a simple diagram



1. **Secular stagnation + theories:** Summers (2013), Rachel Summers (2019), Eggertsson Mehrotra Robbins (2019), Auclert Rognlie (2018), Caballero Farhi (2017), Straub (2019)
2. **Non-homothetic preferences:** Old idea (Böhm-Bawerk, Hobson, Fisher), old models (Schlicht, Bourguignon). New: Uzawa (1968), Carroll (2000), Dynan Skinner Zeldes (2004), De Nardi (2004), Straub (2019), Fagereng Holm Moll Natvik (2019), Benhabib Bisin Luo (2019)
3. **Inequality and debt (theory):** Kumhof Ranciere Winant (2015), Cairo Sim (2018), Illing Ono Schlegl (2018), Rannenberg (2019)
4. **Inequality and debt (empirics):** Cynamon Fazzari (2015), Mian Straub Sufi (2019)
5. **Debt + demand:** Dynan (2012), Mian Sufi (2015), Mian Sufi Verner (2017), Jorda Schularick Taylor (2016), Bhutta and Keys (2016), Di Maggio et al (2017), Beraja Fuster Hurst Vavra (2018), Di Maggio Kermani Palmer (2019), Cloyne Ferreira Surico (2019)
6. **Deleveraging:** Eggertsson Krugman (2012), Guerrieri Lorenzoni (2017)

- 1 Model
- 2 Equilibria & indebted demand
- 3 Inequality & financial liberalization
- 4 Fiscal & monetary policy
- 5 Debt trap
- 6 Indebted demand post-Covid
- 7 Extensions & conclusion

Model

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## Model of indebted demand

- Deterministic  $\infty$ -horizon endowment economy with real assets (“trees”)
- Populated by **two separate dynasties**
- Same preferences, but **different endowments** of trees
  - mass 1 of **borrowers**  $i = b$ : endowment  $\omega^b$
  - mass 1 of **savers**  $i = s$ : endowment  $\omega^s > \omega^b$
  - total endowment  $\omega^b + \omega^s = 1$
- Trees are nontradable, **dynasties trade debt contracts**
- Agents within a dynasty die at rate  $\delta > 0$ , wealth inherited by offspring



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- $v(a)$  = utility from bequest [future consumption, “status” benefits from wealth, artwork, gifts (to relatives or charities), adjustment frictions in illiquid accounts]
- Key object:  $\eta(a) \equiv a v'(a)$  — marginal utility of  $v(a)$  **relative to log**
  - **homothetic model:**  $\eta(a) = \text{const} \Rightarrow v(a) \propto \log a$
  - **non-homothetic model:**  $\eta(a)$  increases in  $a$

## Borrowing constraint & asset market

- Total wealth = **real asset wealth** net of **debt**

$$a_t^i = \omega^i p_t - d_t^i$$

where  $p_t$  = price of a Lucas tree:  $r_t p_t = 1 + \dot{p}_t$

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- steady state:  $d^i \leq p\ell$  [paper: generalize to  $\ell = \ell(\{r_s\}_{s \geq t})$ ]
- Market clearing  $d_t^s + d_t^b = 0$  pins down interest rate  $r_t$
- Focus on **debt of borrowers**:  $d_t \equiv d_t^b$  (**state variable**)



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  - economic growth  $\Rightarrow$  \$28'000 today is like \$200'000 around 1900
  - so ...someone with \$28'000 today should save a ton?!
- In reality, savings preferences probably closer to  $v(a/A)$  or  $v(a/Y)$
- **We work with  $v(a/Y)$** , where so far  $Y = 1$  (total endowment = 1)

## Equilibria & indebted demand

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# Saving supply curves

- Savers' Euler equation

$$\frac{\dot{c}_t^s}{c_t^s} = r_t - \rho - \delta + \delta \frac{c_t^s}{\rho a_t^s} \cdot \eta(a_t^s)$$

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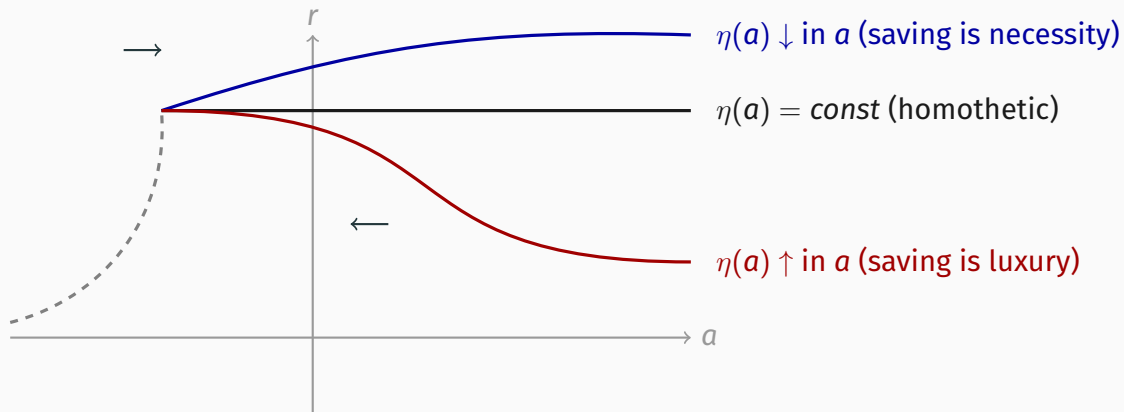
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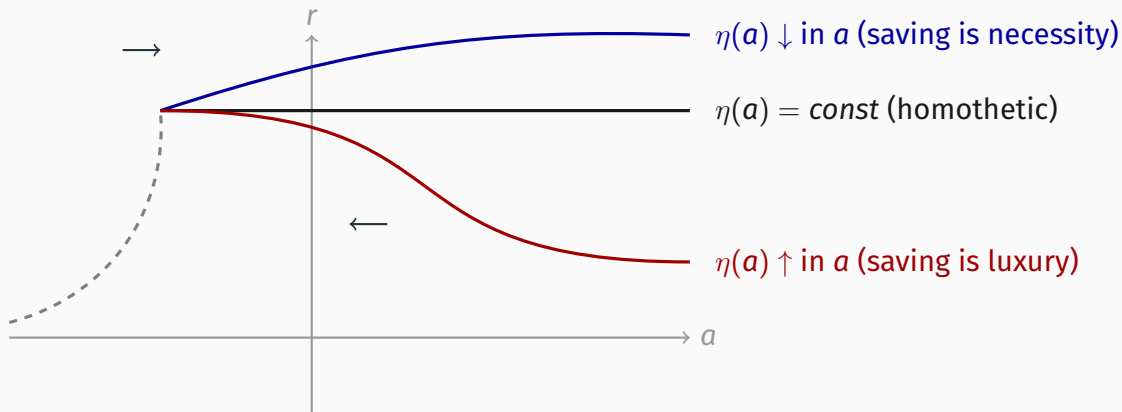
$$r = \rho \cdot \frac{1 + \rho/\delta}{1 + \rho/\delta \cdot \eta(a^s)}$$

- This is a **long-run saving supply curve**:
  - $r$  necessary for which saver keeps wealth constant at  $a^s$
- $\eta(a^s)$  determines the shape of the saving supply curve

## Long-run saving supply curves



## Long-run saving supply curves



- If  $\eta(a^s)$  increasing: **larger wealth**  $a^s$  requires **lower return on wealth**  $r$  for saver to be indifferent about saving!



## Steady state equilibria

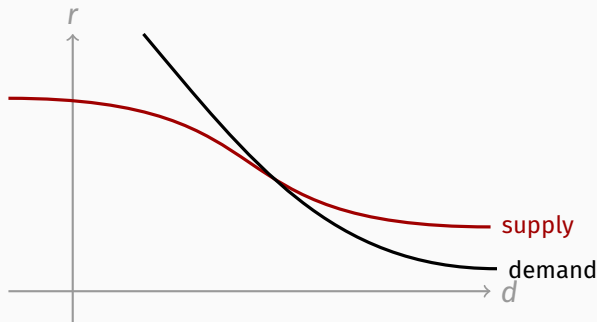
- **Steady state:** intersect long-run **supply curve** with **debt demand curve**

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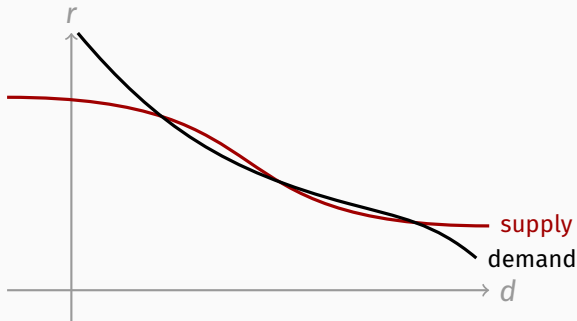
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- $dC < 0$  if  $\eta' > 0$

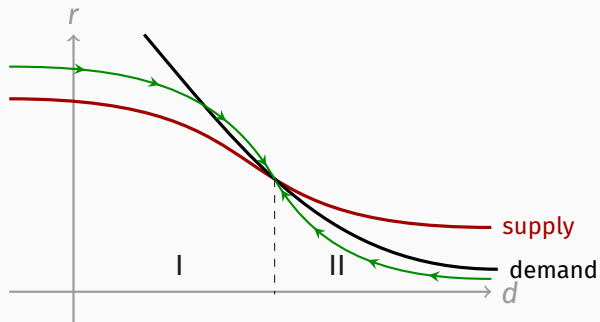
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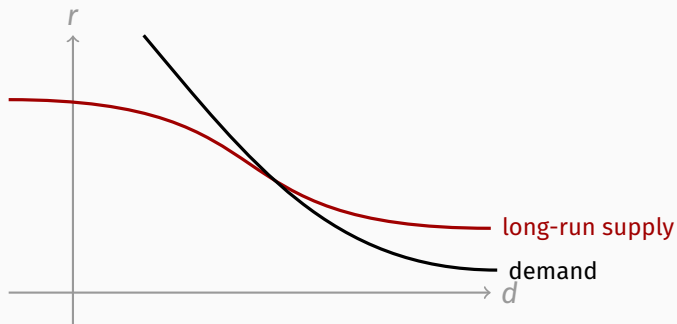
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- $dC < 0$  if  $\eta' > 0$
- Call this phenomenon “**indebted demand**”

# Equilibrium transitions



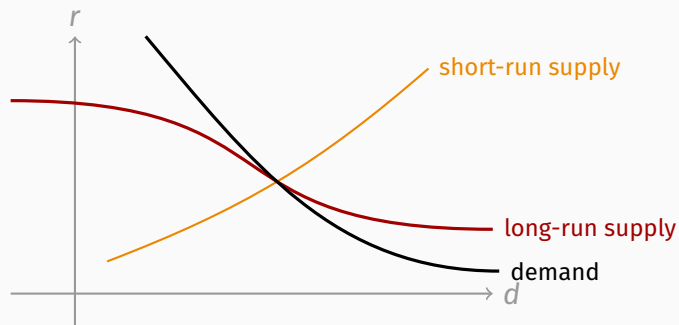
## The indebted demand diagram



- **Saving supply curve** = how low does  $r$  have to be given % resources controlled by savers
- **Debt demand** = how much do borrowers want to borrow given  $r$



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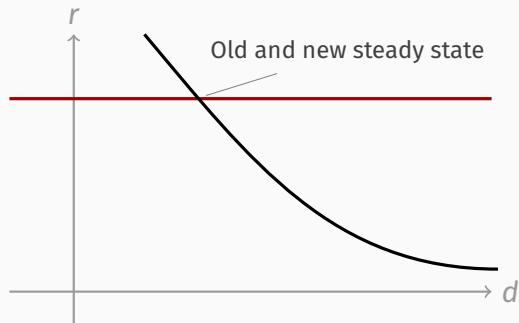


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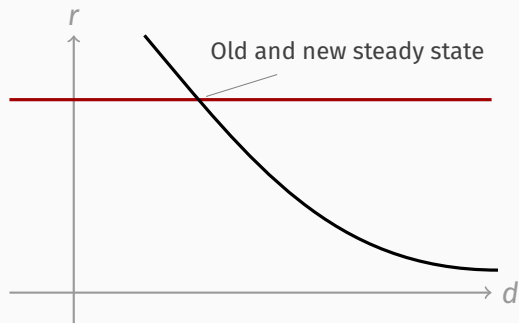
## Inequality & financial liberalization

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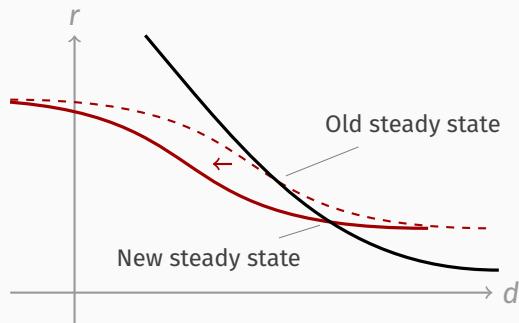
## Homothetic model

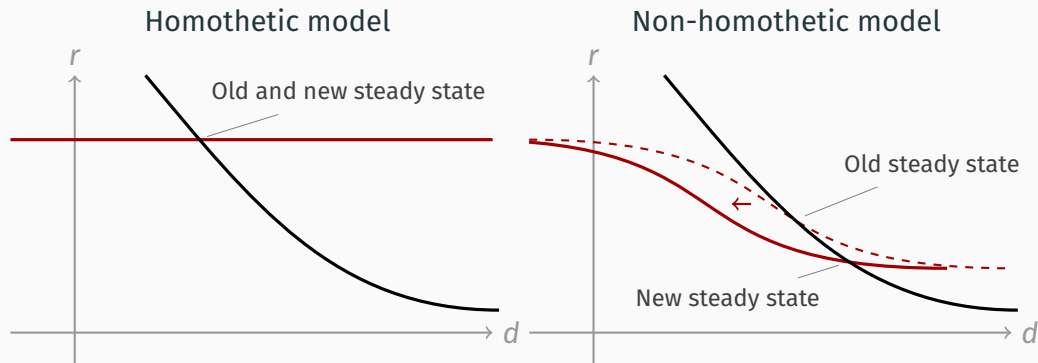


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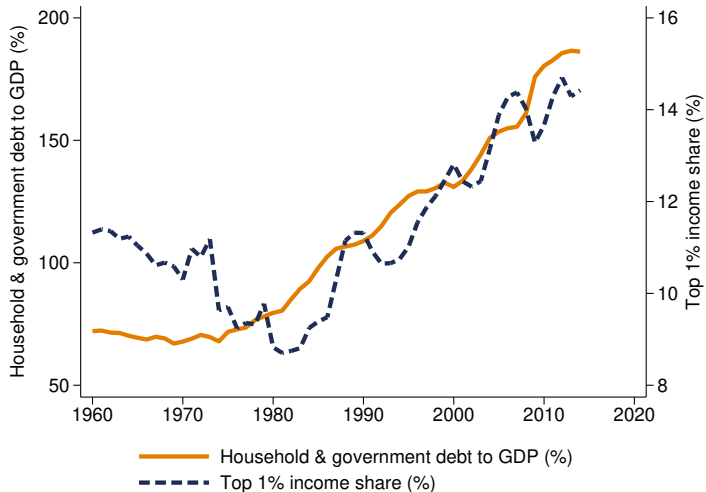
Non-homothetic model





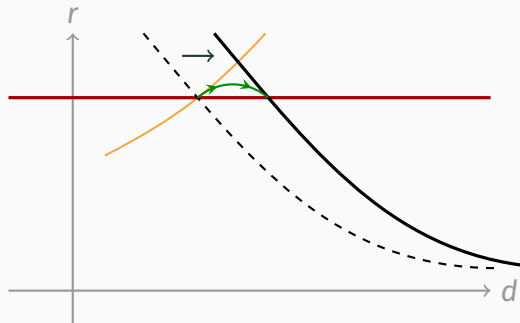
- **Effects** of rising inequality  $\omega^s \uparrow$  in non-homothetic model:
  1. inequality  $\uparrow \Rightarrow$  more saving by the rich  $\Rightarrow r \downarrow \Rightarrow$  debt  $\uparrow$
  2. debt  $\uparrow$  first **raises** demand, pushing against decline in  $r$
  3. high debt eventually **lowers** demand, aggravating decline in  $r$

# Inequality and debt across 14 advanced economies



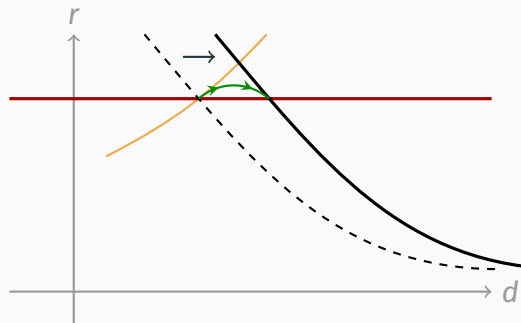
# Financial liberalization: raising pledgability $\ell$

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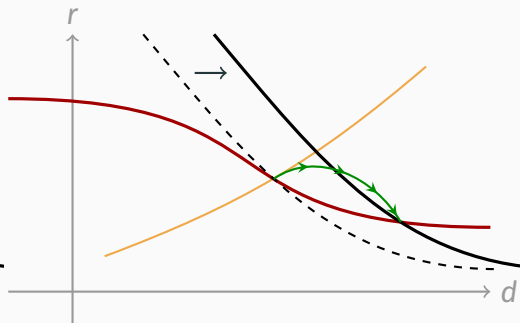


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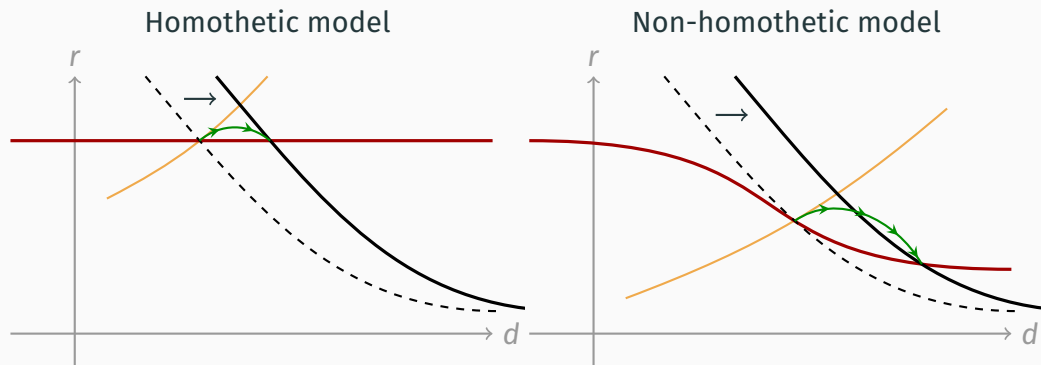


Non-homothetic model





## Financial liberalization: raising pledgability $\ell$



- **Mechanism** in non-homothetic model:

1. **raises debt & demand**, pushing  $r$  up (short-run saving supply slopes up)
  2. ultimately **high debt weighs on demand**, lowering  $r$ , **stimulating further debt!**
- resolves puzzle in literature [e.g. Justiniano Primiceri Tambalotti]

## Fiscal & monetary policy

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## Fiscal policy implications

- Gov't spends  $G_t$ , has debt  $B_t$ , raises income taxes  $\tau_t^s, \tau_t^b$ , subject to

$$G_t + r_t B_t \leq \dot{B}_t + \tau_t^s \omega^s + \tau_t^b \omega^b$$

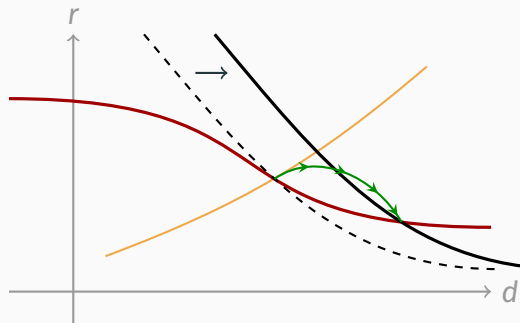
- Total demand for debt now  $d_t + B_t$

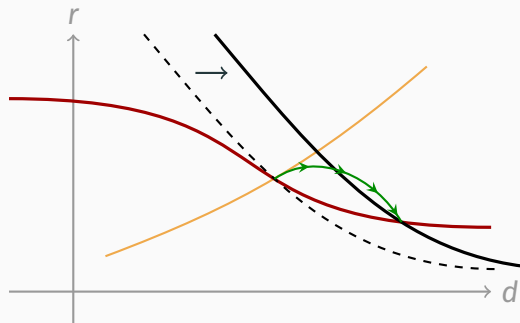
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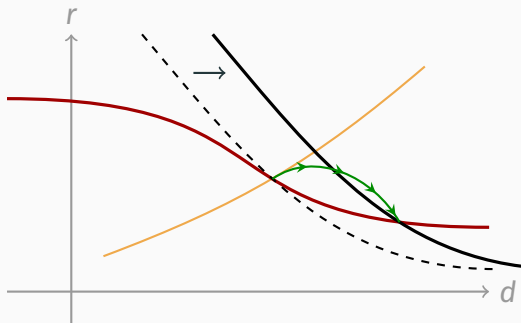
$$G_t + r_t B_t \leq \dot{B}_t + \tau_t^s \omega^s + \tau_t^b \omega^b$$

- Total demand for debt now  $d_t + B_t$
- Result:** In the long run
  - larger gov't debt**  $B \uparrow$ : depresses interest rate  $r \downarrow$ , crowds in household debt  $d \uparrow$
  - tax-financed spending**  $G \uparrow$ : raises  $r \uparrow$ , crowds out  $d \downarrow$
  - fiscal redistribution**  $\tau^s \uparrow, \tau^b \downarrow$ : raises  $r \uparrow$ , crowds out  $d \downarrow$
- With homothetic preferences none of these policies change  $r$  or  $d$  !





- Caveat: this assumed gov't pays same interest rate  $r$
- In many advanced economies, gov't actually pays a lower rate
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- In many advanced economies, gov't actually pays a lower rate
  - e.g. when investors derive other benefits from their debt (safety, convenience)
- In that case, what matters is how those benefits affect savers' investments
  - paper: natural case where things are unchanged

## “Japanification” — how high public debt makes $r$ less likely to rise

Imagine inequality falls exogenously. How much does the interest rate rise?

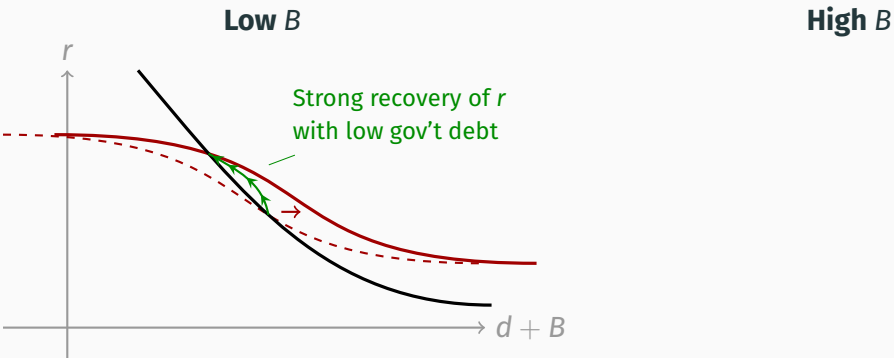
**Low  $B$**

**High  $B$**



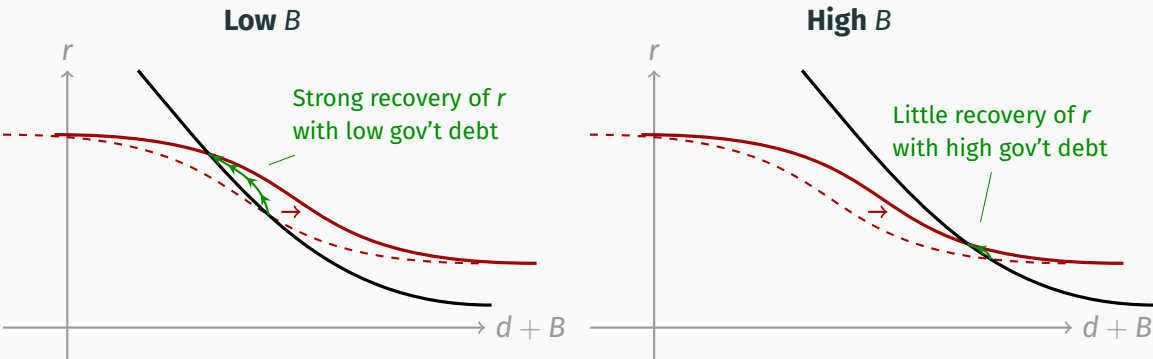
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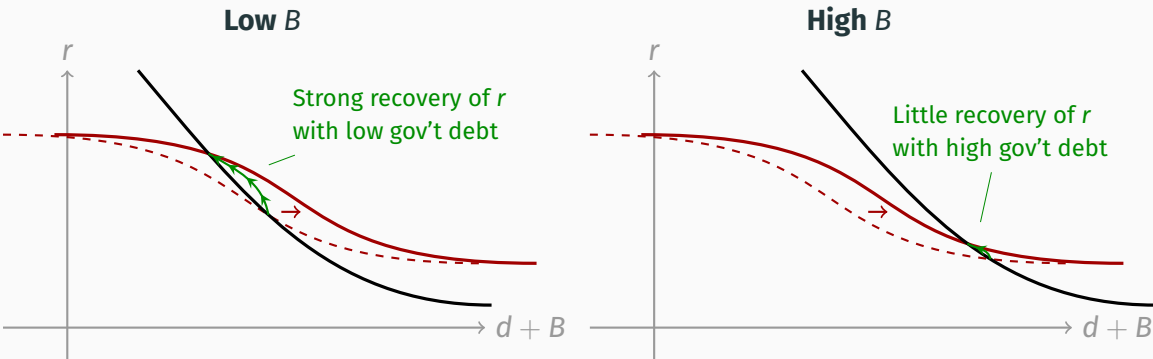
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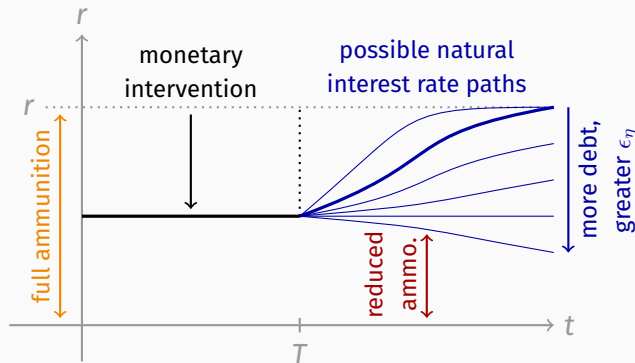


With **higher**  $B$ , any given increase in  $r$  **weighs down more on aggregate demand**

# Monetary policy has limited ammunition when it raises debt

- Can extend our setup to include nominal rigidities (see paper)
- Monetary policy sets path of interest rates  $\{r_t\}$ , output is endogenous

## Main result:



## Debt trap

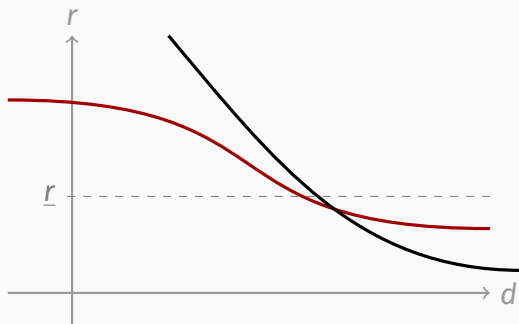
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## Introducing the lower bound

- Consider lower bound  $\underline{r}$  on interest rate  $r$ 
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- What happens if the steady state natural rate falls below  $\underline{r}$ ?



## The debt trap ( $\equiv$ a debt-driven liquidity trap)

- **Result:** if natural rate  $< \underline{r}$ , get **stable** liquidity trap steady state: “**debt trap**”

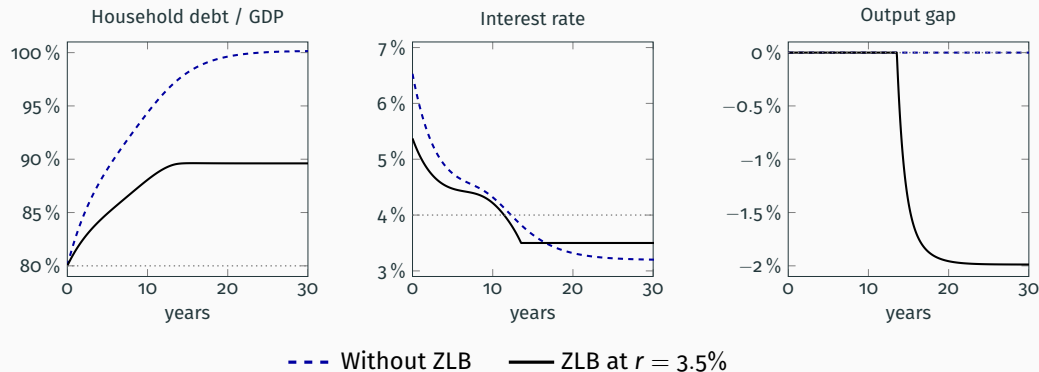
→ **Output persistently below potential**

$$\hat{Y} = Y \frac{\underline{r}}{(1 - \tau^s)\omega^s + \ell} \cdot \left[ \eta^{-1} \left( \frac{\rho}{\underline{r}} (1 + \rho/\delta) - \rho/\delta \right) - B \right] < Y$$

- Liquidity trap more likely if
  - income inequality  $\omega^s$  is high, low taxes on savers  $\tau^s$
  - pledgability  $\ell$  high, gov. debt  $B$  high

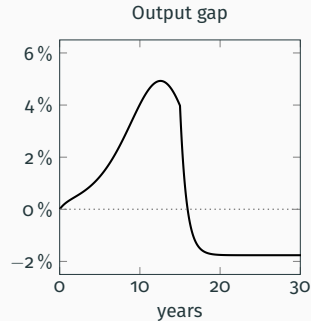
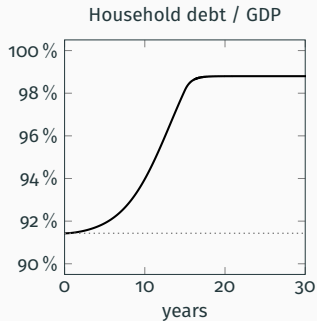
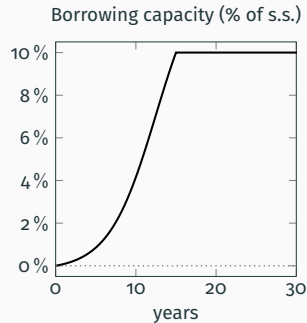


# How does an economy fall into the debt trap? (i) Rising inequality

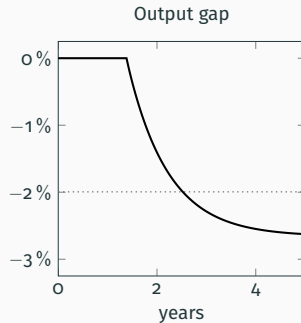
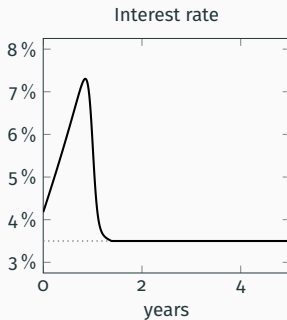
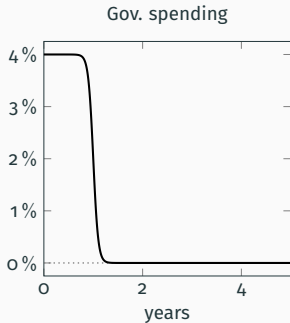


- Anticipation of the liquidity trap **pulls the economy in even faster**

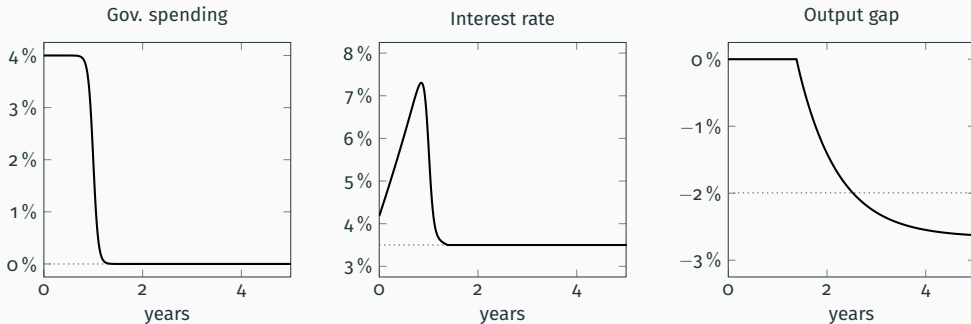
## How does an economy fall into the debt trap? (ii) Credit boom-bust cycle



# Fighting debt with debt? Deficit financing in the liquidity trap



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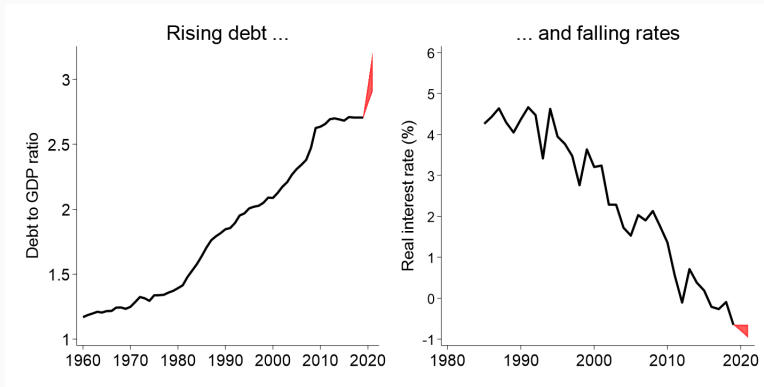


- Here, deficit financing is only **temporary remedy** against a **chronic disease**
  - lessons for Covid crisis?

## Indebted demand post-Covid

---

# Covid shock set to further raise debt



# Modeling Covid in our framework

- Assume agents work in two sectors, “social” and “distant”
- Assume borrowers are over-represented in “social”

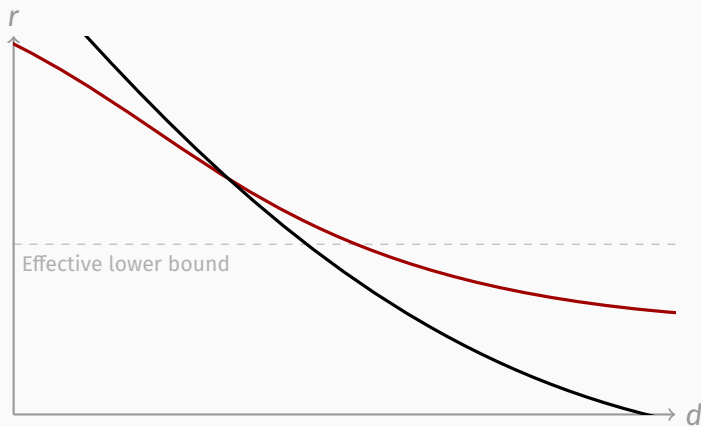
[Dingel-Neiman, Mongey-Weinberg, Leibovici et al]

- Shock:

- potential output falls  $Y \downarrow$  and inequality rises  $\omega^s \uparrow, \omega^b \downarrow$
- assume this induces negative demand shock in “distant” sectors

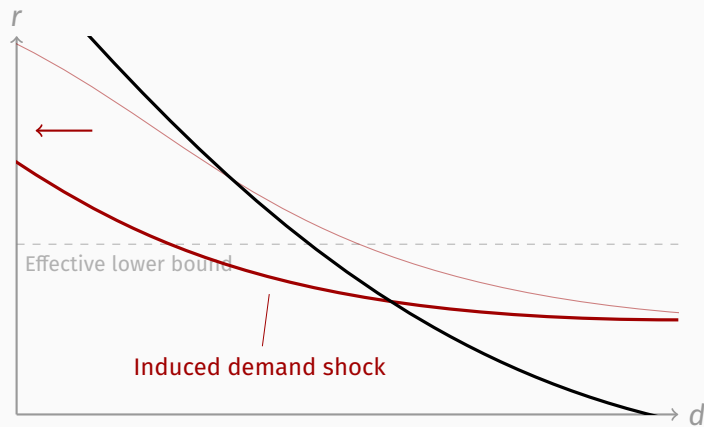
[Guerrieri-Lorenzoni-Straub-Werning]

## Covid in the indebted demand diagram

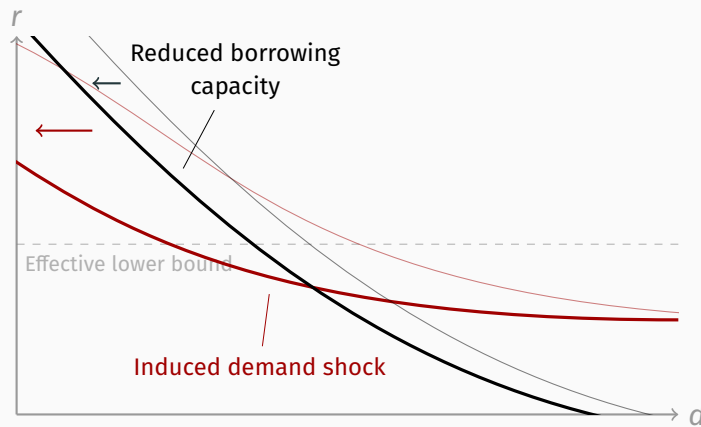




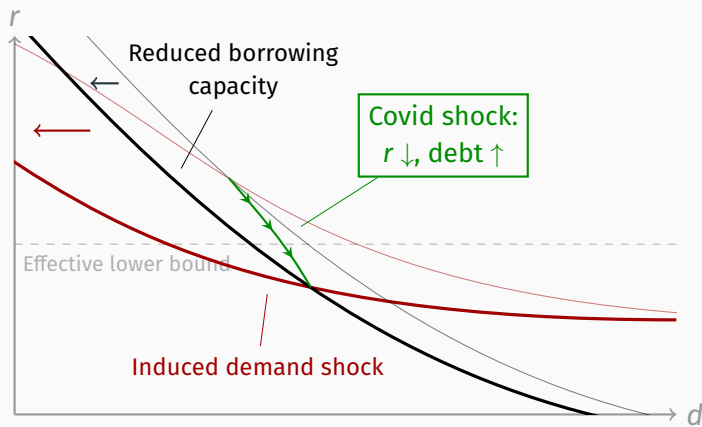
## Covid in the indebted demand diagram



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## Three “archetypes” of policies in response to Covid shock

### (A) Stimulating (non-productive) private debt to buffer the shock

- e.g. Fed's lending facilities via SPV's

→ model as increase in credit limit

### (B) Government funds transfers using public debt, paid for by all taxpayers

- e.g. stimulus checks, UI, grants to businesses

→ model as increase in government debt

### (C) Government funds transfers by taxing (now or later) very progressively

- e.g. Landais-Saez-Zucman, Greenwood-Thesmar

→ model as saver-financed increase in government debt

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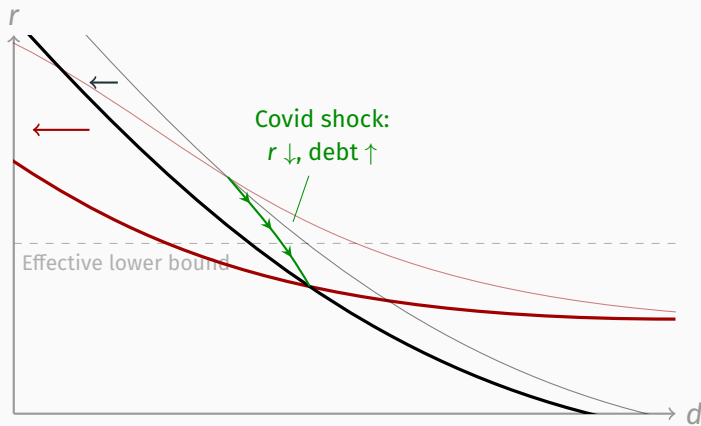
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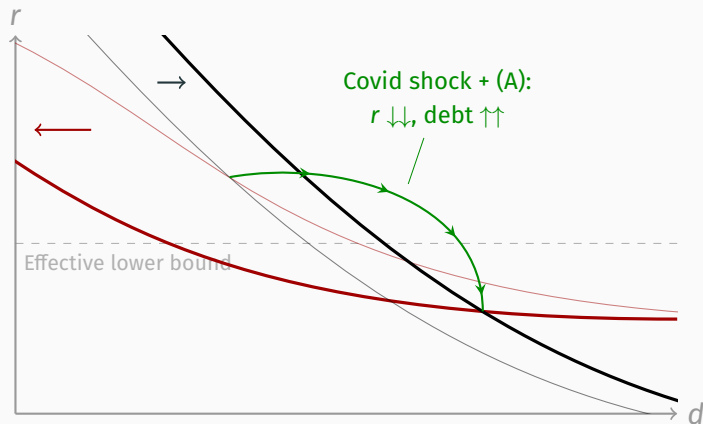
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**Different across (A), (B), (C):** whether there is a **transfer from savers to borrowers**

## Policies in the indebted demand diagram

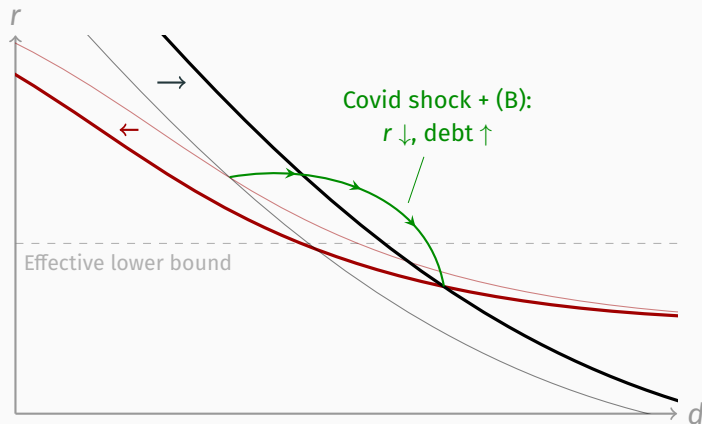


## Policies in the indebted demand diagram



**Policy (A)** — Stagnation post-Covid

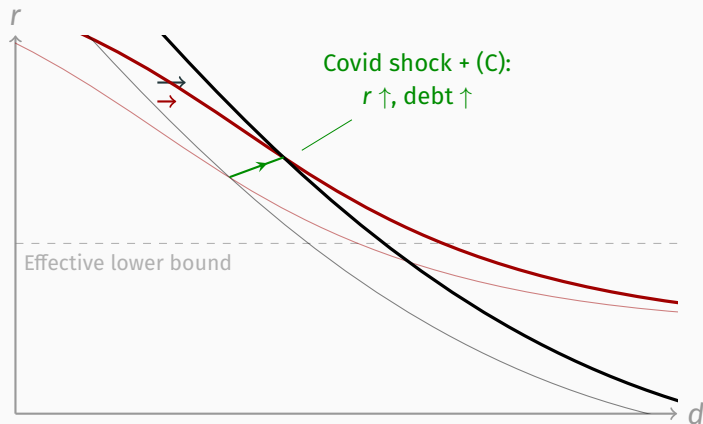
## Policies in the indebted demand diagram



**Policy (B)** — Softer stagnation post-Covid

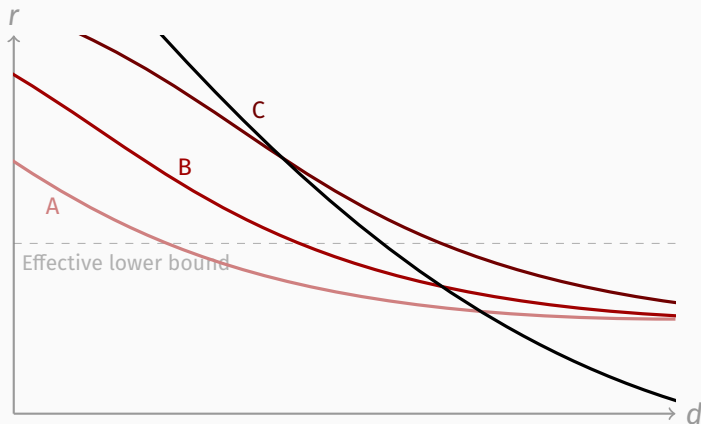


## Policies in the indebted demand diagram



**Policy (C) — No stagnation!**

## Policies in the indebted demand diagram



**Bottom line: Transfers  $>$  Debt**

(long term  $\rightarrow$  address any structural problems leading to greater inequality)

## Extensions & conclusion

---

- Redistribution (e.g. wealth tax) = Pareto improvement in debt trap ▶
- Investment can help, especially if it complements borrowers' labor ▶
- Similar results when there is gov't bond pay lower rate ▶
- Intergenerational mobility helps ▶
- Sufficient statistic exercise ▶

In paper:

- Open economy model
- Uzawa preferences, relative wealth preferences

### **Indebted Demand:**

Demand decreases in  $r \times \text{debt}$

Particularly relevant post-Covid!

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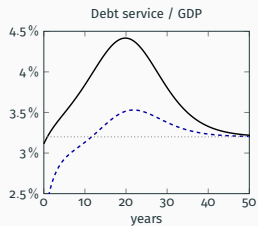
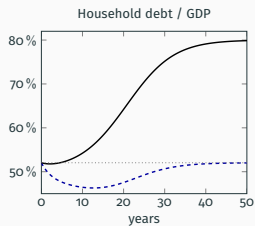
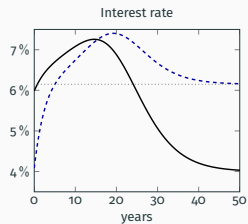
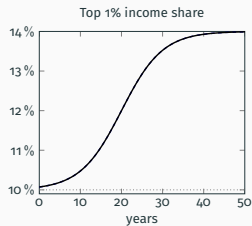
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Particularly relevant post-Covid!



Extra slides

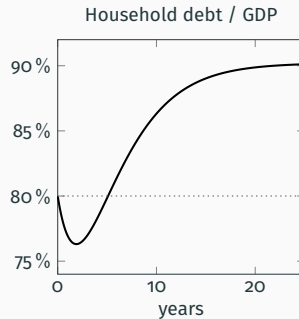
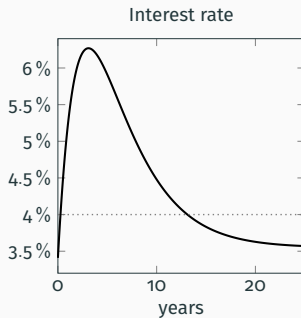
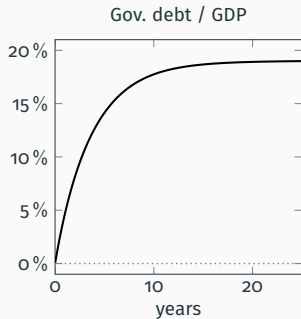
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--- Homothetic model      — Non-homothetic model



# Deficit spending causes indebted (government) demand

[▶ back](#)

But ... what about  $r < g$ ? (here:  $g$  normalized to zero)

▶ back

- Our  $r$  is **return on wealth** so always  $r > g$ . But what if gov't pays  $r^B < g$ ?

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1. **Derivative of debt service cost** of  $(r^B - g)B$  w.r.t.  $B$

$$\frac{\partial(r^B - g)B}{\partial B} = \underbrace{r^B - g}_{<0} + \underbrace{\frac{\partial r^B}{\partial B}}_{>0} \stackrel{?}{\geq} 0$$

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2. Where does the spread  $r - r^B$  come from? Investors really like  $B$ !

- $B$  is **not negative for savers** just because  $(r^B - g)B < 0$
- $B \uparrow$  still makes savers wealthier,  $a^s \uparrow$ , lowering required return on wealth  $r$

- What policy mitigates a debt trap? → **redistribution**
- Example: **wealth tax** of  $\tau^a > 0$  on saver's wealth, redistributed to borrowers
- Saver's budget constraint becomes

$$c_t^s + \dot{a}_t^s = (r_t - \tau^a) a_t^s$$

→ Wealth tax reduces return on wealth at ZLB to  $\underline{r} - \tau^a$ , raising  $\hat{Y}$

- What about welfare?
  - borrower clearly benefits: lower  $r$  + wealth tax transfers + higher incomes
  - **saver also benefits**: greater incomes (& asset prices) *more* than compensate for tax!
- Thus: **Redistribution mitigates debt trap, at no welfare cost!**

- Assume goods are now produced from capital and both agents' labor

$$Y = F(K, L^b, L^s)$$

- $F$  is net-of-depreciation production,  $K$  pinned down by  $F_K = r$
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- Key: savers' income share  $\omega^s = \omega^s(r)$  **now a function of  $r$ !**

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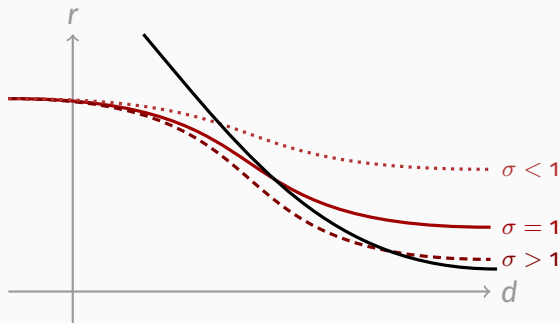
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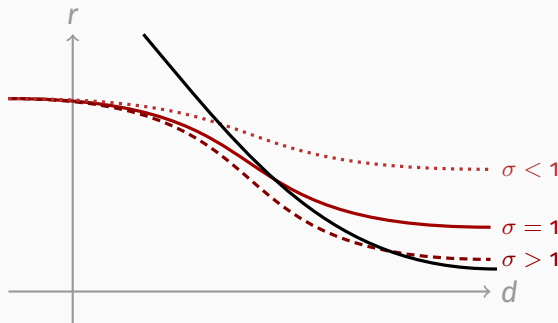
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- $\omega^s(r)$  independent of  $r$  if  $\sigma = 1$  [e.g. Cobb-Douglas]
- $\omega^s(r) \uparrow$  as  $r \downarrow$  iff  $\sigma > 1$  [e.g. capital-skill complementarity, robots]

- **Main result:** Our results are unchanged if  $\sigma = 1$ . Amplified if  $\sigma > 1$ .



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- Related **Q:** Can **corporate debt** also cause **indebted demand**?
  - yes, if  $\sigma > 1$ ! but always **weaker** indebted demand than household debt
  - why? corporate debt **productive**, raising  $Y$ , easier to repay

- Allow for benefits from gov't bonds [cf Krishnamurthy Vissing-Jorgensen (2012)]

$$\log(c_t^s + \xi B_t) + \frac{\delta}{\rho} \cdot v(a_t^s + \xi B_t/r)$$

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$$r^B = r - \xi$$

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- Define **effective wealth** as including benefits  $\xi B_t$  from bonds. In steady state:

$$a^{\text{eff}} \equiv \frac{\omega^s}{r} + d + \underbrace{\frac{r^B B}{r} + \frac{\xi B}{r}}_{=B}$$

- **Savings supply curve unchanged** in effective wealth

$$r = \rho \frac{1 + \rho/\delta}{1 + \rho/\delta \cdot \eta(a^{\text{eff}})}$$

- With probability  $q > 0$ , savers turn into borrowers and vice versa
- Saver-turned-borrowers consume down their wealth instantly
- Borrower-turned-savers get transfer from other savers to raise wealth

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- **Saving supply curve becomes flatter** with  $q$

$$r = \rho \frac{1 + \delta/\rho}{1 + \delta/\rho \cdot \eta(a)} + \underbrace{q\gamma\delta \frac{\delta/\rho \cdot \eta(a)}{1 + \delta/\rho \cdot \eta(a)}}_{\text{contribution of mobility}}$$

- $q \uparrow$  thus **mitigates indebted demand**, especially if high **income inequality**  $\gamma$

$$\gamma \equiv 1 - \frac{\omega^b - \ell}{\omega^s + \ell}$$

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$$c(r(a), a) = r(a)a$$



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$$c(r(a), a) = r(a)a \Rightarrow \underbrace{\frac{c_r}{c}}_{\text{semi-elast. } \epsilon_r \text{ wrt } r} \frac{c}{a} \frac{dr}{d \log a} + \underbrace{c_a}_{MPC^{\text{cap. gains}}} = \frac{dr}{d \log a} + r$$

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- Assume  $\epsilon_r = 0, r \approx 0.06, MPC^{\text{cap. gains}} \approx 0.025$   
[Farhi-Gourio, Di Maggio-Kermani-Majluf, Baker-Nagel-Wurgler, Chodorow-Reich Nenov Simsek]

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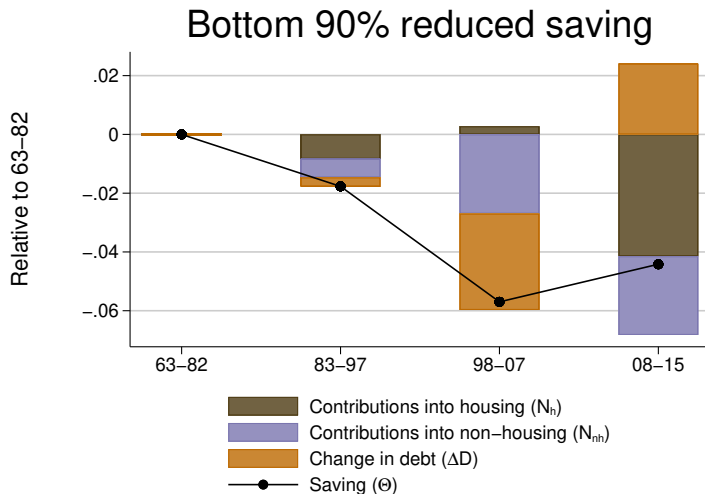
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$$\frac{dr}{d \log a} = -0.035$$

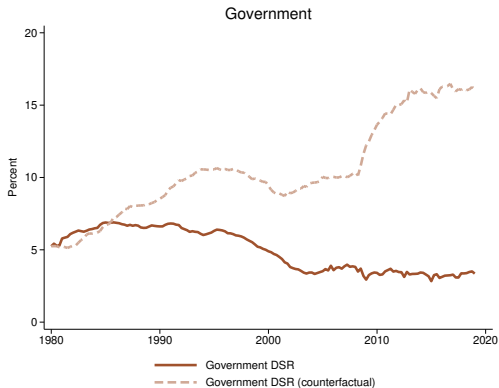
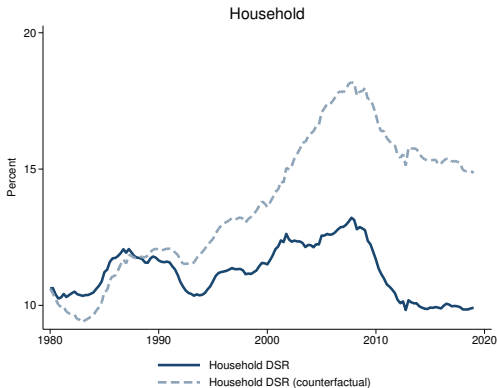
- In words: **if wealth  $\uparrow$  by 10%, required  $r \downarrow$  by 35bps**

## Bottom 90% did not accumulate assets



- Thought experiment: How large is  $dC$  implied by current levels of household & government debt, had interest rates **not** come down?

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- Counterfactual debt service burden, holding  $r$  constant:

$$dC \approx \underbrace{-15\%}_{\text{borrower debt service}} + \underbrace{\frac{MPC^{\text{cap. gains}}}{r} \cdot 15\%}_{\text{partial offset by savers}} = -8\%$$