

Macroeconomics

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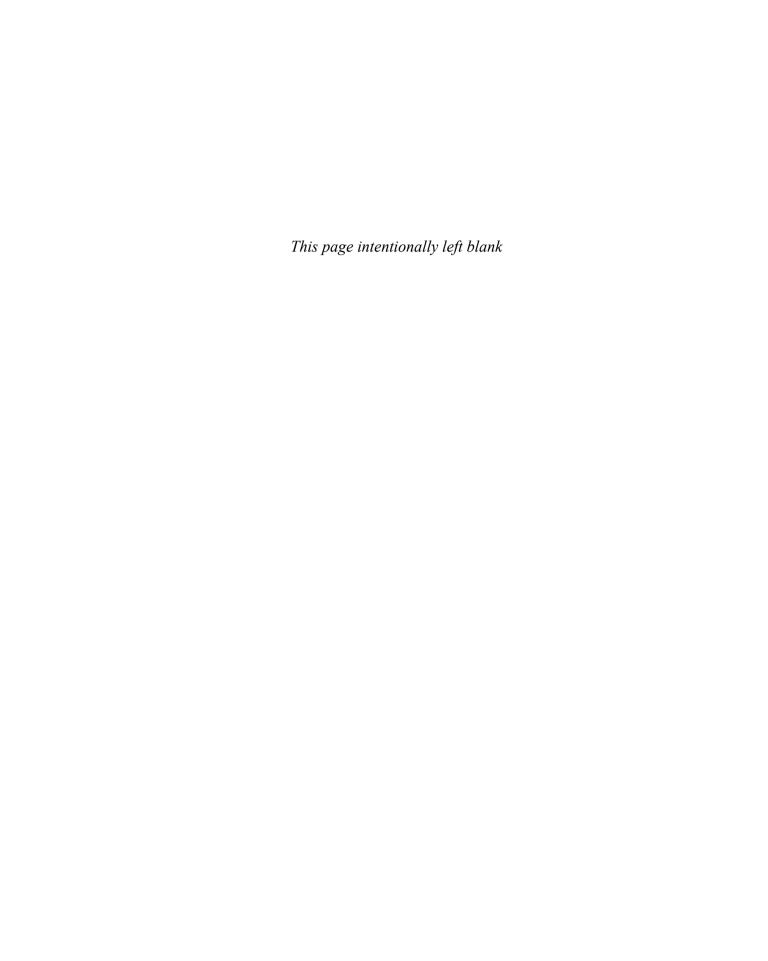
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Symbols Used in This Book

A	productivity	W	nominal wage
B	government debt	Y	total income or output
BASE	monetary base	$\overline{\overline{Y}}$	full-employment output
C	consumption		
CA	current account balance	a	individual wealth or assets
CU	currency in circulation	c	individual consumption; consumption
DEP	bank deposits		per worker
E	worker effort	cu	currency-deposit ratio
G	government purchases	d	depreciation rate
I	investment	e	real exchange rate
INT	net interest payments	\overline{e}_{nom}	nominal exchange rate
K	capital stock	g	growth rate of GDP
KA	capital account balance	e_{nom}	official value of nominal exchange rate
M	money supply	i	nominal interest rate
MC	marginal cost	i^m	nominal interest rate on money
MPK	marginal product of capital	k	capital–labour ratio
MPN	marginal product of labour	n	growth rate of labour force
MRPN	marginal revenue product of labour	p_K	price of capital goods
N	employment, labour	γ	expected real interest rate
\overline{N}	full-employment level of employment	r^w	world real interest rate
NFP	net factor payments	r_{a-t}	expected after-tax real interest rate
NM	non-monetary assets	res	reserve-deposit ratio
NX	net exports	s	individual saving; saving rate
P	price level	t	income tax rate
P^e	expected price level	u	unemployment rate
PVLC	present value of lifetime consumption	\overline{u}	natural unemployment rate
PVLR	present value of lifetime resources	uc	user cost of capital
R	real seignorage revenue	w	real wage
RES	bank reserves	y	individual labour income; output per
S	national saving		worker
S_{pvt}	private saving	π	inflation rate
S_{govt}	government saving	$\boldsymbol{\pi}^e$	expected inflation rate
T	taxes	$\mathbf{\eta}_Y$	income elasticity of money demand
TR	transfers	au	effective tax rate
V	velocity		

PREFACE

I became involved in the writing of this textbook for two reasons. One is that, although writing a textbook is hard, it can also be rewarding. It is a wonderful feeling to receive notes from students and instructors telling me that they felt they learned a lot from the book and that it changed or clarified how they understand macroeconomic events. The second reason is that, as an instructor, I found existing textbooks either were too advanced and narrow in presentation, or cast ideas and concepts in a way that was so simple that they inaccurately represented the issues students were observing in the real world on a daily basis. I wanted a textbook that did a better job of balancing the need for theoretical rigour with the need to explain events as they were observed in reality. The opportunity to modify the U.S. edition of *Macroeconomics* to better describe and evaluate macroeconomic events in ways relevant to Canadian students gave me the chance to be involved in the writing of the textbook I wanted to teach from.

NEW AND UPDATED COVERAGE

What is taught in intermediate economics courses—and how it is taught—has changed substantially in recent years. Previous editions of *Macroeconomics* played a major role in these developments. The eighth Canadian edition tightens its focus on the critical issues of macroeconomics, and introduces changes to better fit with how instructors teach intermediate macroeconomics.

Key changes with this edition include:

- The Fiscal Policy Multiplier. New with this edition we include, in Chapter 12, a detailed discussion of the size of the fiscal policy multiplier. This issue has gained considerable attention in part because, in a very low interest rate environment, monetary policy loses some of its ability to influence real outcome. Many governments have responded by emphasizing the use of fiscal policy as a way of stimulating a stagnating economy. This new discussion draws on multiplier calculations in the appendix to Chapter 12 to examine under what conditions one might expect the fiscal policy multiplier to be large or small.
- The Laffer Curve. With this edition, Chapter 15 now includes a discussion of the Laffer Curve, the relationship between tax revenue and tax rates. Our discussion explains the logic of the Laffer Curve and also directs attention to recent empirical work that tests whether, in fact, tax rates could be lowered as a way of increasing tax revenue.
- Measuring GDP. New approaches taken by Statistics Canada to measure GDP required a significant revision of Chapter 2. The new approach used to measure GDP by summing incomes is explained and is illustrated with recent data taken from the national accounts.

In addition, this edition has updated existing discussions of the effects of oil price shocks, the measures and consequences of government debt, the changing nature of foreign investment, the lessons learned from the 2007–2009

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financial crisis for the regulation of the financial sector, and much more. In short, the eighth Canadian edition of *Macroeconomics* is tighter, more focused, and better designed to support instructors in making the most effective presentation of the macroeconomic models emphasized in intermediate macroeconomics courses.

FEATURES

In the eighth Canadian edition of *Macroeconomics*, we have added—and subtracted—material to keep the text focused and up-to-date while building on the strengths that underlie the book's lasting appeal, including:

Real-world applications. A perennial challenge for instructors is to help students make active use of the economic ideas developed in the text. The rich variety of applications in this book shows by example how economic concepts can be put to work in explaining real-world issues, such as increasing wage inequality, the productivity slowdown, sources of international financial crises, and alternative approaches to making monetary policy. The eighth Canadian edition has updated the best applications of previous editions but has also removed applications that are less relevant and of less interest to current students.

The ultimate test of a model or theory is its practical relevance. We dedicate a significant portion of each chapter to showing how the theory can be applied to real events and issues. Thus, we present additional information and topics designed to enhance students' understanding of the economic theories presented in that chapter in boxes entitled "A Closer Look" or "Applications." Examples include changes to housing prices on consumption spending (Chapter 4), comparing Canadian and foreign levels of direct investment (Chapter 5), and discussing the issues and complications involved in measuring the size of government debt (Chapter 15). Throughout the book we have provided the source of all data we presented in graphs and tables. Providing this information enables instructors and students to update tables and figures and to find their own data series to answer questions related to those discussed in the text.

- **Broad modern coverage.** From its conception, *Macroeconomics* has responded to students' desires to investigate and understand a wider range of macroeconomic issues than permitted by the course's traditional emphasis on short-run fluctuations and stabilization policy. This book provides a modern treatment of these traditional topics but also gives in-depth coverage of other important macro issues, such as the determinants of long-run economic growth, international trade and capital flows, labour markets, and the political and institutional framework of policymaking. This comprehensive coverage also makes the book a useful tool for instructors with differing views about course coverage and topic sequence.
- Reliance on a set of core economic ideas. Although we cover a wide range of topics, we avoid developing a new model or theory for each issue. Instead, we emphasize the broad applicability of a set of core economic ideas (such as the production function, the trade-off between consuming today and saving for tomorrow, and supply-demand analysis). Using these core ideas, we build a theoretical framework that encompasses all the macroeconomic analyses presented in the book: long-run and short-run, open economy and closed economy, and classical and Keynesian.

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A balanced presentation. Macroeconomics is full of controversies, many of
which arise from the split between classicals and Keynesians (of the old, new,
and neo- varieties). Sometimes, the controversies overshadow the broad common ground shared by the two schools. We emphasize that common ground.

First, we pay greater attention to long-run issues (on which classicals and Keynesians have less disagreement). Second, we develop the classical and Keynesian analyses of short-run fluctuations within a single overall framework, in which we show that the two approaches differ principally in their assumptions about how quickly wages and prices adjust. Where differences in viewpoint remain—for example, in the search versus efficiency-wage interpretations of unemployment—we present and critique both perspectives. This balanced approach exposes students to all the best ideas in modern macroeconomics. At the same time, an instructor of either classical or Keynesian inclinations can easily base a course on this book.

• Innovative pedagogy. The eighth Canadian edition, like its predecessors, provides useful tools to help students study, understand, and retain the material. Described in more detail later in the Preface, these tools include Summary tables, Key Diagrams, Key Terms, and Key Equations to aid students in organizing their study; and three types of problems for practice and to develop understanding.

A FLEXIBLE ORGANIZATION

The basic structure of the text is unchanged from previous editions. In Part I (Chapters 1 and 2), we introduce the field of macroeconomics and discuss issues of measurement. In Part II (Chapters 3–7), we focus on long-run issues, including productivity, saving, investment, growth, and inflation. We devote Part III (Chapters 8–12) to the study of short-run economic fluctuations and stabilization policy. Finally, although we discuss macroeconomic policy throughout the book, in Part IV (Chapters 13–15) we look at issues and institutions of policymaking in greater detail. In the Appendix at the end of the book, we review useful algebraic and graphical tools.

We recognize that instructors have different preferences about what to include in their courses and that their choices may be constrained by their students' backgrounds and the length of the term. The text is designed to be flexible in accommodating these different needs. In planning how to use *Macroeconomics* in your course, you might find the following suggestions useful:

- *Core chapters*. We recommend that every course include these six chapters:
 - Chapter 1 Introduction to Macroeconomics
 - Chapter 2 The Measurement and Structure of the Canadian Economy
 - Chapter 3 Productivity, Output, and Employment
 - Chapter 4 Consumption, Saving, and Investment
 - Chapter 7 The Asset Market, Money, and Prices
 - Chapter 9 The IS–LM–FE Model: A General Framework for Macroeconomic Analysis

Chapters 1 and 2 provide an introduction to macroeconomics, including national income accounting. The next four chapters on the list make up the XVIII PREFACE

analytical core of the book: Chapter 3 introduces the labour market, Chapters 3 and 4 together develop the goods market, and Chapter 7 discusses the asset market. Chapter 9 combines the three markets into a general equilibrium model usable for short-run analysis (in either classical or Keynesian mode).

To a syllabus containing the above six chapters, the instructor can add various combinations of other chapters according to the course focus. The following are some possible choices:

- International macroeconomic issues. Most instructors will want to add two open-economy chapters to the six chapters listed. Chapter 5 discusses saving, investment, and the trade balance in both small and large open economies with full employment. Chapter 10 discusses exchange-rate determination and macroeconomic policy in an open-economy model in which short-run deviations from full employment are possible. Each of these chapters directly follows its closed-economy partner.
- **Short-run, fixed price focus.** Instructors who prefer to emphasize short-run issues (business cycle fluctuations and stabilization policy) within the context of a fixed price model can omit Chapter 6 without loss of continuity. They could also go directly from Chapters 1 and 2 to Chapters 8 and 9, which introduce business cycles and the *IS-LM-FE* framework. Although the presentation in Chapters 8 and 9 is self-contained, it will be helpful for instructors who skip Chapters 3–7 to provide some background and motivation for the various behavioural relationships and equilibrium conditions.
- **Short-run, flexible price focus.** Instructors who want to build on the short-run model can deepen their analysis by adding Chapters 11 and 12. In these chapters the role of price expectations is introduced into the classical and the Keynesian models, allowing for examination of the implications of rational expectations for stabilization policies.
- Classical emphasis. For instructors who want to teach the course with a modern classical emphasis, Chapter 11 provides a self-contained presentation of classical business cycle theory. Other material of interest includes the Friedman–Phelps interpretation of the Phillips curve (Chapter 13), the role of credibility in monetary policy (Chapter 14), and Ricardian equivalence with multiple generations (Chapter 15).
- **Keynesian emphasis.** Instructors who prefer a Keynesian emphasis can omit Chapter 11 (classical business cycle analysis); however, they will find it useful to first present those sections of Chapter 11 that introduce and discuss the implications of the theory of rational expectations. As noted, if a short-run focus is preferred, Chapter 5 (full-employment analysis of the open economy) and Chapter 6 (long-term economic growth) may also be omitted without loss of continuity.

LEARNING AIDS

The text contains many features aimed at helping students understand, apply, and retain important concepts:

• **Detailed, colour graphs.** The book is liberally illustrated with *data graphs*, which emphasize the empirical relevance of theory, and *analytical graphs*,

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which guide students through the development of model and theory in a well-paced, step-by-step manner. Both types of graphs include descriptive captions that summarize the details of events shown in the graph. Our use of colour in analytical graphs is demonstrated in Figure 3.9, which shows the effects of a shifting curve on a set of endogenous variables. Note that the original curve is in black, and its new position is in teal, with arrows indicating the direction of the shift. A teal "shock box" indicates the reason for the shift, and a grey "result box" lists the main effects of the shock on endogenous variables. We consistently use these and similar conventions to make it easier for students to gain a clear understanding of the analysis.

- **Key Diagrams.** Key Diagrams, a unique study feature found at the end of selected chapters, are self-contained descriptions of the most important analytical graphs in the book (see the list in the Contents for their locations). For each Key Diagram we present the graph (the production function, Chapter 3, or the *IS-LM-FE* diagram, Chapter 9, for example) and define and describe its elements in words and equations. We then present an analysis of what the graph reveals and discuss the factors that shift the curves in the graph.
- **Summary tables.** Throughout the book summary tables compile the main results of analyses. These summary tables reduce the amount of time the student must spend learning and writing results, allowing a greater concentration on understanding and applying these results.
- End-of-chapter review materials. To facilitate review, at the end of each
 chapter the student will find a chapter summary, covering the chapter's main
 points; a list of key terms, with page references; an annotated list of key equations; and review questions for self-testing.
- **End-of-chapter problems.** An extensive set of problems for practice and review (more than 160 in all) includes *numerical problems*, which have explicit numerical solutions and are especially useful for checking students' understanding of basic relationships and concepts; and *analytical problems*, which ask students to use or extend theories qualitatively. Answers are provided in the Instructor's Manual.
- **Review of useful analytical tools.** Although we use no mathematics beyond high school algebra, some students will find helpful a review of the main analytical tools used in the book. The Appendix (at the end of the text) succinctly discusses functions of one and several variables, graphs, slopes, exponents, and formulas for finding the growth rates of products and ratios.
- **Glossary.** The Glossary at the end of the text includes definitions of all key terms (set in boldface in the chapters and listed at the end of each chapter) and refers the student to the page on which the term is fully defined and discussed.

SUPPLEMENTS

The following instructor supplements are available for downloading from a password-protected section of Pearson Canada's online catalogue (http://catalogue.pearsoned.ca). Navigate to your book's catalogue page to view a list of those supplements that are available. See your local sales representative for details and access.

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- Instructor's Manual: This manual contains valuable resources including teaching notes, suggested topics for class discussion, and solutions to all endof-chapter problems.
- Computerized Test Bank: Pearson's computerized test banks allow instructors to filter and select questions to create quizzes, tests, or homework.
 Instructors can revise questions or add their own, and may be able to choose print or online options. These questions are also available in Microsoft Word format.
- **PowerPoint Presentations:** PowerPoint presentations offer an outline of the key points for each chapter.
- *Image Library:* This image library consists of all figures from the text.

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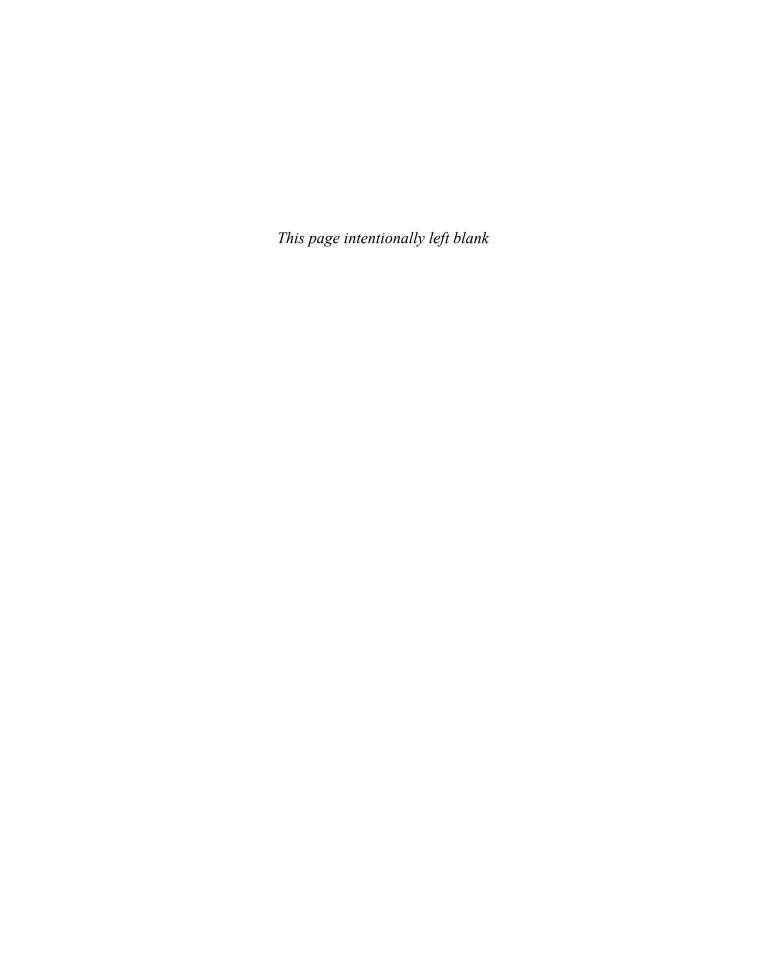
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Philadelphia A.B.A.
Princeton B.S.B.
Calgary R.D.K.



Chapter 1

Introduction to Macroeconomics

1.1 What Macroeconomics Is About

Macroeconomics is the study of the structure and performance of national economies and of the policies that governments use to try to affect economic performance. The issues that macroeconomists address include the following:

- What determines a nation's long-run economic growth? In 1870, income per capita in Norway was smaller than in Argentina. But today, income per capita is more than twice as high in Norway as in Argentina. Why do some nations' economies grow quickly, providing their citizens with rapidly improving living standards, while other nations' economies are relatively stagnant?
- What causes a nation's economic activity to fluctuate? After 17 years of strong economic growth, the Canadian economy began to falter in 2008. By the end of 2009, output in Canada had fallen by 2% from its level at the end of 2007. Even if they grow on average, why do economies sometimes experience sharp short-run fluctuations, lurching between periods of prosperity and periods of hard times?
- What causes unemployment? During the 1930s, one-fifth of the workforce in Canada was unemployed. A decade later, during World War II, less than 2% of the workforce was unemployed. Why does unemployment sometimes reach very high levels? Why, even during times of relative prosperity, is a significant fraction of the workforce unemployed?
- What causes prices to rise? The rate of inflation in Canada crept steadily upward during the 1970s, and reached 11% per year in the early 1980s before dropping to 3% per year in the mid-1980s, and to less than 2% per year in the early 1990s. Germany's inflation experience has been much more extreme: Although Germany has earned a reputation for low inflation in recent decades, following its defeat in World War I, it experienced an 18-month period (July 1922–December 1923) during which prices rose by a factor of several billion! What causes inflation, and what can be done about it?

- How does being part of a global economic system affect nations' economies? According to many observers, economic growth in Canada in the 1990s was boosted by rapid growth abroad, which added to the demand for Canadian products. On the other hand, in 2007 a crisis began to develop in the U.S. financial market that would quickly impact the Canadian economy by threatening the stability of Canadian financial institutions and causing a significant fall in Canadian exports. How do economic links between nations, such as international trade and borrowing, affect the performance of individual economies and the world economy as a whole?
- Can government policies be used to improve a nation's economic performance? Governments raise a great deal of revenue by taxing individuals and firms. We as citizens have deemed it appropriate that the government spend that revenue on goods and services. These include national defence, police, and education. How do government decisions about how to raise revenue—for example, by income taxes versus by borrowing—affect the overall economy? How do government spending choices—for example, on infrastructure as opposed to income support for the elderly—affect the economy? How should economic policy be conducted in order to keep the economy as prosperous and stable as possible?

Macroeconomics seeks to offer answers to such questions, which are of great practical importance and are constantly debated by politicians, the press, and the public. In the rest of this section, we consider these key macroeconomic issues in more detail.

LONG-RUN ECONOMIC GROWTH

If you've ever travelled in a developing country, you probably couldn't help but observe the difference in living standards relative to those of such countries as Canada. The problems of inadequate food, shelter, and health care experienced by the poorest citizens of rich nations often represent the average situation for the people of a developing country. From a macroeconomic perspective, the difference between rich nations and developing nations may be summarized by saying that rich nations have, at some point in their history, experienced extended periods of rapid economic growth but that poorer nations either have never experienced sustained growth or have had periods of growth offset by periods of economic decline.

In part, the long-term growth of the Canadian economy is the result of a rising population, which has meant a steady increase in the number of available workers. But another significant factor is the increase in the amount of output that can be produced with a given amount of labour. The amount of output produced per unit of labour input—for example, per worker or per hour of work—is called **average labour productivity**. Average labour productivity, defined in this case as output per employed worker, has changed a great deal over time. In 2016, for example, the average Canadian worker produced nearly six times as much output as the average worker in 1921, despite working fewer hours over the course of the year. Because today's typical worker is so much more productive, Canadians enjoy a significantly higher standard of living than would have been possible 96 years ago.

The rates of growth of output and, particularly, of output per worker ultimately determine whether a nation will be rich or poor; therefore, understanding what

determines growth is one of the most important goals of macroeconomics. Unfortunately, explaining why economies grow is not easy. Why, for example, did resource-poor Japan and South Korea experience growth rates that transformed them in a generation or two from war-torn nations to industrial powers, whereas several resource-rich nations of Latin America and Africa have had erratic or even negative growth in recent years? Although macroeconomists have nothing close to a complete answer to the question of what determines rates of economic growth, they do have some ideas to offer. In Chapter 6, we will present a model that economists use to try to better understand why over the course of many decades some economies grow faster than others. As rising output is closely correlated with improved living standards, it is small wonder that this area of study has been a focus of macroeconomists for a long time. ¹

BUSINESS CYCLES

The history of Canadian output is one of steady growth when measured over the long term but growth that is sometimes interrupted by short periods of slower (and sometimes negative) growth and short periods of more rapid growth. These periods of slower than normal and faster than normal growth are known by economists as *business cycles*: short, but sometimes sharp, contractions and expansions in economic activity.²

The most volatile period in the history of Canadian output was between 1914 and 1945, a period marked by two world wars and the two deepest recessions in Canadian history, the second of which was so severe that it is known as the Great Depression. During the Great Depression the unemployment rate in Canada exceeded 20%, a level of unemployment not experienced since. But even relatively mild downturns in the economy, known as recessions, mean hard economic times for many people. Not surprisingly, recessions are a major concern for politicians; after all, almost every politician wants to be re-elected, and his or her chances are better if the country's economy is expanding rather than contracting.

Macroeconomists put a lot of effort into trying to determine what causes business cycles and deciding what can or should be done about them. In Chapter 8 we describe the features of business cycles in Canada, and in Chapters 9–12 we compare different macroeconomic explanations for cyclical fluctuations. Using those explanations as a guide, we also evaluate the policy options that are available for mitigating the negative effects of the business cycle.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND PRICE INSTABILITY

The hard economic times suffered by people over the course of a business cycle are felt in many ways, both personal and economic. At a macroeconomic level, the economic costs are often measured by two key variables: unemployment and price instability.

 $^{^{1}}$ In Chapters 6 and 8 we will look at data describing Canada's economic growth over more than a century. In Chapter 8 we will also look at data describing average labour productivity over the past half-century.

² A more exact definition is given in Chapter 8, where we also provide the dates when contractions and expansions have started and ended in Canada.

By an increase in **unemployment** we mean an increase in the number of people who are available and actively seeking employment but who are unable to find a job. Finding oneself unable to earn a living and support one's family is an obvious and serious hardship. Less obvious, perhaps, is the hardship suffered when the economy experiences volatility in the rate of growth in prices. Price instability can take either of two forms. **Inflation** is an ongoing increase in the prices of goods and services. **Deflation** is an ongoing decrease in prices. Canadians who lived through the high rates of inflation (in excess of 10% per year) during the 1970s and an older generation who lived during the Great Depression and saw prices (and wages) fall by 6% per year know that there are significant costs to be borne. So policymakers continually guard against the threat of prolonged periods of deflation, such as Japan has experienced since the 1990s, and the opposite threat of runaway inflation, such as that observed in recent years in countries like Zimbabwe, where prices have risen so quickly that economists have labelled it "hyperinflation."

We look closely at the determinants of unemployment and inflation, and the relationship between the two, in Chapter 13. To better our understanding of inflation, in Chapter 7 we examine the role of money and the crucial role of financial institutions in the economy.

THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY

Today, every major economy is an **open economy**, or one that has extensive trading and financial relationships with other national economies. (A **closed economy** does not interact economically with the rest of the world.) Macroeconomists study patterns of international trade and borrowing to better understand the links among national economies. For example, an important topic in macroeconomics is how international trade and borrowing relationships can help transmit business cycles from country to country.

The Canadian economy has always been heavily dependent on international trade in goods and services. Being able to sell goods abroad (that is, to **export**) is an advantage to Canadian manufacturers, as they are able to grow far larger than they would were they dependent on selling only to the relatively small Canadian market. Being able to buy goods from other countries (to **import**) is a great advantage for Canadian consumers, who are as a result able to choose from the best the world has to offer. Imagine how much poorer Canadians would be without the ability to purchase fresh fruit imported from Mexico during the winter months, or how much poorer Canadian wheat farmers would be without the ability to grow amounts of wheat far in excess of Canadian needs and export the rest of their crop to other countries.

The value of goods and services that Canadian firms export and the value of goods and services Canadians import need not be the same. When the value of exports exceeds the value of imports, a **trade surplus** exists. When the opposite occurs, when value of imports exceeds the value of exports, a **trade deficit** exists. An important influence on the trade balance is the **exchange rate**. The exchange rate is the number of Canadian dollars that can be purchased with one unit of foreign currency. Although exchange rates are quoted between many currencies, the Canada—U.S. exchange rate is the most important to Canada because of the very large volume of trade between the two countries.

The development of the Canadian economy has been heavily influenced by the free flow of financial capital across international borders. During the 1870s, when Canada was building intercontinental railways and the infrastructure of a new country, and again during the 1950s and 1960s, when the Canadian economy was growing quickly thanks to external demand for our natural resources, it was the savings of foreigners that was funding these investments. More recently, Canadian savers have benefited from being able to invest in fast-growing countries such as China and India.

The long-term impact of international trade and the inflow and outflow of financial capital on the Canadian economy is the focus of Chapter 5. The role of trade and financial flows (including the crucial role played by exchange rates) in the Canadian business cycle is the subject of Chapter 10.

MACROECONOMIC POLICY

A nation's economic performance depends on many factors, including its natural and human resources, its capital stock (buildings and machines), its technology, and the economic choices made by its citizens, both individually and collectively. Another important factor affecting economic performance is the set of macroeconomic policies pursued by the government.

Macroeconomic policies attempt to affect the performance of the economy as a whole. The two major types of macroeconomic policies are fiscal policy and monetary policy. **Fiscal policy**, which is determined at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels, concerns government spending and taxation. **Monetary policy**, which is under the control of a government institution known as the central bank, affects short-term interest rates and the growth rate of the nation's money supply. In Canada, the central bank is the Bank of Canada.

The fiscal policy choices made by governments play a huge role in our daily lives. These choices determine, for example, the level and type of taxes we pay. As well, these choices matter for determining who pays these taxes: What share of taxes is paid by high-income Canadians and what share, if any, is paid by those with low incomes? Fiscal policy choices also matter for funding health care, education, and social assistance. Finally, fiscal policy choices involve decisions about the size of government deficits (the imbalance between government spending and revenues) and debt (the accumulation of annual budget imbalances). Fiscal policy choices—along with the constraint put on those choices by the reluctance of Canadians to pay taxes and the critical importance of interest rates for indebted governments—are the focus of Chapter 15. Fiscal policy choices are central to our discussion in Chapters 9–12 as well because these choices may matter for how our governments respond to the business cycle.

The choices made by the Bank of Canada with respect to monetary policy are also important to our daily lives. The interest rate paid on a student loan, car loan, or mortgage is determined by monetary policy. So too is the rate of return earned on savings toward retirement. The crucial role of monetary policy choices in ensuring the stability of financial institutions—and so protecting the savings of households—was highlighted during the world financial crisis of 2007–2009. For reasons like these, most macroeconomists agree that monetary policy plays a pivotal role in determining the success of a modern industrialized economy such as Canada's. Developing an understanding of monetary policy is the focus of Chapters 7 and 14. And, like fiscal policy, monetary policy choices are central to our discussion in Chapters 9–12 because these choices may matter for how our governments respond to the business cycle.

AGGREGATION

Macroeconomics is one of two broad areas within the field of economics, the other being microeconomics. Macroeconomics and microeconomics have many basic economic ideas and methods in common; the difference between them is the level at which the economy is studied. Microeconomists focus on individual consumers, workers, and firms, each of whom is too small to have an impact on the national economy. Macroeconomists ignore the fine distinctions among the many different kinds of goods, firms, and markets that exist in the economy and, instead, focus on national totals. For example, in their analyses, macroeconomists don't care whether consumers are buying an iPhone or a Samsung Galaxy, beef or chicken, Pepsi or Coke. Instead, they add consumer expenditures on all goods and services to get an overall total called aggregate consumption. The process of summing individual economic variables to obtain economywide totals is called **aggregation**. The use of aggregation and the emphasis on aggregate quantities, such as aggregate consumption, aggregate investment, and aggregate output, are the primary factors that distinguish macroeconomics from microeconomics.

1.2 WHAT MACROECONOMISTS DO

How do macroeconomists use their skills, and what do they do with all the data they gather and the theories they develop? Besides teaching economics, macroeconomists engage in a wide variety of activities, including forecasting, macroeconomic analysis, and basic research.

MACROECONOMIC FORECASTING

Many people believe that economists spend most of their time trying to forecast the performance of the economy. In fact, except for a relatively small number of forecasting specialists, forecasting is a minor part of what macroeconomists do. One reason macroeconomists don't emphasize forecasting is that on the whole, they're not terribly good at it! Although short-range forecasters have some success, long-range forecasting is difficult, not only because our understanding of how the economy works is imperfect but also because of the impossibility of taking into account all the factors—many of them not strictly economic—that might affect future economic trends. Here are some questions that a forecaster, in trying to project the course of the economy, might have to try to answer: What oil price will the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) decide on at its next meeting? Will there be a severe drought in agricultural regions, with adverse effects on food quantities and prices? When will new technologies that are being developed come to market? Because answers to such questions are highly uncertain, macroeconomic forecasters rarely offer a single prediction. Instead, they usually combine a "most likely" forecast with "optimistic" and "pessimistic" alternative scenarios.

Does the fact that macroeconomics can't be used to make highly accurate forecasts of economic activity mean that it's a pointless field of study? Some people may think so, but that's really an unreasonable standard. Meteorology is an example of a field in which forecasting is difficult (will it *definitely* be nice this weekend?) but in which there is also a lot of useful knowledge (meteorologists helped discover the depletion of the earth's ozone layer and pointed out its dangers). Similarly, cardiologists cannot usually predict if or when a patient will have a heart attack—they can only talk about probabilities. Like meteorologists and doctors, economists deal with a system whose complexity makes gaining a thorough understanding difficult and forecasting the system's behaviour even more difficult. Rather than predicting what will happen, most macroeconomists are engaged in analyzing and interpreting events as they happen (macroeconomic analysis) or in trying to understand the structure of the economy in general (macroeconomic research).

MACROECONOMIC ANALYSIS

Macroeconomic analysts monitor the economy and think about the implications of current economic events. Many analysts are employed in the private sector, such as in banks or large corporations. Private sector analysts try to determine how general economic trends will affect their employers' financial investments, their opportunities for expansion, the demand for their products, and so on.

The public sector, which in Canada includes the federal, provincial, and municipal governments, the Bank of Canada, and international agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, also employs many macroeconomic analysts. The main function of public sector analysts is to assist in policymaking—for example, by writing reports that assess various macroeconomic problems and by identifying and evaluating possible policy options. Among Canadian policymakers, the officials who set monetary policy may call on the aid of economists employed by the Bank of Canada, and federal and provincial cabinets have the advice of the professional staffs of numerous departments and agencies. Economic policymakers also often go outside the government to seek the advice of macroeconomists from business or academia.

If a country has many well-trained macroeconomic analysts, as is true in Canada, does that mean its macroeconomic policies will always be intelligent and farsighted? The answer, unfortunately, is no. Because of the complexity of the economy, macroeconomic policy analysis, like macroeconomic forecasting, is often difficult and uncertain. Perhaps even more important, though, *politicians, not economists, usually make economic policy*. Politicians are typically less concerned with the abstract desirability of a policy than with the policy's immediate effects on their constituents. Thus, in recent years, international talks intended to reduce trade barriers have sometimes failed because the governments of many developed countries found it politically inadvisable to reduce high subsidy payments to their farmers—despite economists' nearly universal opposition to both trade barriers and farm price support payments.

Although the technical advice provided by macroeconomic analysts isn't the sole basis on which macroeconomic policy is made, such advice is probably necessary for making good policy decisions, especially if dramatic changes are being considered. In recent years, for example, a number of countries in Eastern Europe have undertaken significant and successful reforms of their economies, reforms that have been guided by the advice of macroeconomic analysts to open markets to trade, to minimize tax rates and inflation, and so on. In Venezuela and Zimbabwe, on the other hand, radical changes have been introduced despite those changes being universally dismissed by macroeconomic analysts as harmful to those nations' economies.

MACROECONOMIC RESEARCH

Macroeconomic research takes an amazing variety of forms, from abstract mathematical analysis to psychological experimentation to massive number-crunching projects in which supercomputers are used to process large amounts of economic data. Nevertheless, the goal of all macroeconomic research is to make general statements about how the economy works. The general insights about the economy gained from successful research form the basis for the analyses of specific economic problems, policies, or situations.

How is macroeconomic research carried out? As in many other fields, macroeconomic research proceeds primarily through the formulation and testing of theories. An **economic theory** is a set of ideas about the economy that has been organized in a logical framework. Most economic theories are developed in terms of an **economic model**, which is a simplified description of some aspect of the economy, usually expressed in mathematical form. Economists evaluate an economic model or theory by applying four criteria:

- 1. Are its assumptions reasonable and realistic?
- **2.** Is it understandable and manageable enough to be used in studying real problems?
- **3.** Does it have implications that can be tested by **empirical analysis**? That is, can its implications be evaluated by comparing them with data obtained in the real world?
- **4.** When the implications and the data are compared, are the implications of the theory consistent with the data?

For a theory or model—of any type, not just economic—to be useful, the answer to each of these questions must be yes. Unfortunately, though, economists may not always agree in their evaluation of a particular model, which means that controversies about the best way to model a given economic situation sometimes persist.

We present a summary of the main steps in developing and testing an economic theory or model in A Closer Look 1.1 (p. 9).

At the heart of any economic theory are descriptions of how our economic *actors*—households, firms, and government—make the choices they do. For example, what prompts members of a household to offer to work a certain number of hours per day but not more or less than that, and what motivates a firm to hire additional workers? These are questions we examine in Chapter 3. How does a change in income, interest rates, or wealth influence the decision of how many goods and services to purchase? What does this mean for saving? Why does a firm choose to invest in new machinery or factories? These questions are the focus of Chapter 4. What motivates government to raise or lower taxes and how does the Bank of Canada respond to increases in inflation? Chapters 14 and 15 look at these important issues.

Having developed an economic theory that summarizes how economic actors are predicted to respond to changes in their economic environment, a macroeconomist is able to conduct experiments. For the most part, macroeconomists are not allowed to run experiments in the manner of physicists or chemists. That is, we're not allowed to conduct experiments on our "subjects" because they are human beings and companies as opposed to the molecules and atoms that are the subject

A CLOSER LOOK 1.1

DEVELOPING AND TESTING AN ECONOMIC THEORY

To illustrate the process of developing and testing an economic theory, suppose that we want to develop a theory that explains the routes people take when they commute from home to work and back. Such a theory would be useful, for example, to a traffic planner who is concerned about how a proposed housing development will affect traffic patterns. Here are the steps we would take:

STEP 1. State the research question.

EXAMPLE: What determines traffic flows in the city during rush hours?

STEP 2. Make provisional assumptions that describe the economic setting and the behaviour of the economic factors. These assumptions should be simple yet capture the most important aspects of the problem.

EXAMPLE: The setting is described by the map of the city. The assumption about behaviour is that commuters choose routes that minimize driving time.

STEP 3. Work out the implications of the theory. **EXAMPLE:** Use the map of the city to plot a route that minimizes driving time between home and place of work.

STEP 4. Conduct an empirical analysis to compare the implications of the theory with the data.

EXAMPLE: Conduct a survey of commuters to identify (1) home locations, (2) work locations, and (3) routes taken to work. Then, see whether the routes predicted by the model are generally the same as those reported in the commuter survey.

STEP 5. Evaluate the results of your comparisons.

If the theory fits the data well: Use the theory to predict what would happen if the economic setting or economic policies change.

EXAMPLE: Use the minimum-driving-time assumption to evaluate the traffic effects of a new housing development by figuring out which routes the residents of the development are likely to take.

If the theory fits the data poorly: Start from scratch with a new model. Repeat steps 2–5.

EXAMPLE: Change the provisional behavioural assumption to the following: Commuters choose the route that minimizes the distance they must drive (not the time they spend driving).

If the theory fits the data moderately well: Either make do with a partially successful theory or modify the model with additional assumptions and then repeat steps 3–5.

EXAMPLE: A possible modification of the minimum-driving-time assumption is that commuters will choose more scenic over less scenic routes, if driving time is not increased by more than, a certain number of minutes. To test the model with this modified assumption, you must determine which routes are more scenic (those that pass a lake) and which are less scenic (those that pass a garbage dump).

of experiments in physics and chemistry. 3 Instead, macroeconomists conduct their experiments using their economic models. In fact, we'll be conducting many such experiments in this book.

The experiments conducted by macroeconomists are called **comparative static experiments**. They are conducted in the following way. *First*, the economic model is assumed to be in **equilibrium**. That is to say, we begin by

³ Having said that, microeconomists are sometimes allowed to run experiments on humans. From 1974 to 1979 economists were let loose to run an experiment (called MINCOME) in which the residents of the town of Dauphin, Manitoba, were given the opportunity to participate in an economic experiment: a family with no income would receive a payment equal to 60% of a measure of poverty. The aim of the experiment was to determine how this unconditional income might affect people's decision about how much to work and how it might affect poverty levels. For an interesting discussion and analysis of this experiment, see Evelyn Forget, "The Town with No Poverty: The Health Effects of a Canadian Guaranteed Annual Income Field Experiment," Canadian Public Policy, Volume 37, No. 3, September 2011, pp. 283–305.