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California and the Nation: A Monetary Policymaker's Perspective

- I. Good afternoon. I'm very pleased to be part of the Milken Institute's "State of the State Conference."
 - A. I plan to give you a somewhat different perspective from most of those you're hearing today.
 - 1. As a monetary policymaker, I try to keep a very close watch on economic conditions in the nine western states in my District.
 - a. And for obvious reasons, developments in California get—and deserve—a lot of my attention.
 - 2. But, because monetary policy works through national credit markets, the Fed's focus is not so much on individual states or regions within states.
 - 3. Rather, my colleagues and I at the Fed use regional analyses to fit together a picture of the national economy's performance.
 - B. With that background in mind,
 - 1. I'd like to start with a brief overview of conditions here in California.
 - 2. Then I'll move on to discuss national economic developments and their implications for monetary policy.
- II. As you know, California's recent economic performance has been impressive, with growth well above that of the rest of the nation.
 - A. A key driver has been the state's high-tech sector.
 - 1. Indeed, California is the nation's leading state for high-tech development and production in a number of ways.

- a. First—employment:
 - (1) High-tech firms in California employ nearly a million workers,
 - (2) about 17 percent of the U.S. high-tech workforce.
- b. Second—venture capital:
 - (1) California's high-tech firms attract about half of all venture capital distributed to high-tech businesses in the U.S.,
 - (2) nearly 21 billion dollars in the first half of this year.
- c. Third—exports:
 - (1) Firms in California account for about one-third of all U.S. exports of high-tech manufactured goods,
 - (2) not to mention the untold number of high-tech services we export.
- B. During the past several years the high-tech sector has expanded at double-digit rates and generated tremendous gains in income and wealth. These gains have
 - 1. powered robust consumer spending,
 - 2. fueled demand for housing, office space, and a variety of business and consumer services,
 - 3. boosted state and local revenues,
 - 4. and helped maintain strong economic conditions in our area,
 - a. despite the Asian financial crisis and associated weakness in manufacturing and exports.
- C. But the boom hasn't resonated through every region of the state.
 - 1. For example, in some areas, especially in the Central Valley,
 - a. unemployment rates remain high,
 - b. and poverty and low income remain a concern.
- D. Moreover, the high-tech boom has brought us a few new challenges.

- 1. For example, not everyone in California has enough education to take full advantage of the new high-wage jobs being created by the high-tech sector.
 - a. This imbalance between the people's skills and our fastest growing employers' needs highlights the importance of education and training as part of our investment.
- 2. The rapid economic growth also has tested the boundaries of our infrastructure.
 - a. As you've heard, with job growth outpacing the supply of new homes,
 - (1) house prices are soaring
 - (2) and many have to live far away from their jobs.
 - b. So
 - (1) commute times are longer
 - (2) and our roadways and public transit systems are reaching capacity.
- E. The good news is that, with the state budget in excellent shape, state and local officials have the resources to begin to address some of these challenges.
- III. When we turn from the California economy to the national economy, we see a lot of similarities.
 - A. This expansion has been remarkably long and strong.
 - B. The unemployment rate is at its lowest level in thirty years.
 - C. And, if we take out the temporary effects of higher oil prices, inflation has remained pretty tame.
 - D. Finally, the changes in U.S. productivity have been truly remarkable.
 - 1. After averaging about 1-1/2 percent per year from the 1970s to about the mid-1990s,
 - 2. productivity has accelerated sharply.

- 3. Over the past four quarters, it hit a phenomenal 5-1/4 percent!
- IV. Clearly, part of the explanation for this extraordinary performance is related to the hightech developments that are driving California's economy.
 - A. Specifically, it's likely that technological advances have been pumping up productivity.
 - 1. This, in turn, has expanded the overall supply of goods and services.
 - 2. As I'll explain later, accelerating productivity also tends to lower inflation for a time,
 - a though it takes action by the Fed to lock in those gains.
 - 3. This "technology shock" explanation makes sense.
 - a After all, since the mid-1990s, firms across the country have been investing heavily in information processing equipment and software.
 - (1) And they'd only be likely to do that if these items were enhancing productivity.
 - b Moreover, we can all think of examples where technological developments have improved the way business is done.
 - B. But a technology shock probably is not the only important force we have to think about—
 - 1. —it's also possible that the booming economy has been driven by a strong demand shock.
 - 2. In other words, people and businesses have been willing and able to get out there and buy a lot of goods and services
 - a —in part because of the incredible gains in the stock market since the mid-1990s that have added so much to overall financial wealth.
 - 3. Normally, when demand is a major player in the economy, the buying surge runs the risk of igniting inflation.
 - a But some important developments in addition to the technology shock held prices in check.

- b First, the prices of imported goods were kept down by a strong dollar and weakness in some of our trading partners abroad.
- c In addition, from late 1997 through early 1999, oil prices were falling.
- 4. From a policy point of view, if demand were the main driving force, then inflation would be looming large on the horizon, and something would need to be done about it
 - a —especially since both import and oil prices are no longer falling.
 - b Moreover, labor and product markets are tight after so many years of rapid expansion in the economy.
 - (1) And this also poses a risk of rising inflation.
- V. While the reasons for raising interest rates in response to a demand shock are obvious, it may be less obvious that the Fed still would have had to do so even if we were dealing mainly with a technology shock.
 - A. Since this is one of the main points I'd like to make today, I'll go through the reasons one by one.
 - B. The first reason has to do with what economists call "equilibrium real interest rates."
 - 1. These are the rates that bring supply and demand in the economy into balance,
 - a so that output equals its potential level—
 - b —in other words, the level that would keep inflation from either rising or falling.
 - 2. When productivity growth settles at a higher level, that also raises the level of those "equilibrium" real interest rates.
 - 3. Here's how it works.
 - a Faster productivity growth increases the profitability of various investment projects that firms might undertake.
 - b This means they'll bid more aggressively for financing.
 - c And that will raise equilibrium real interest rates.

- 4. If the Fed tried to hold real rates at their old levels, we'd be contributing to an inflationary monetary policy.
 - a So, just to maintain our policy stance, we had to raise rates.
- C. The second reason actually argues for tightening the stance of policy. And it has to do with the way a technology shock may boost consumer and business demand.
 - 1. A technology shock implies that incomes will continue to be higher in the future.
 - a If consumers and businesses feel pretty confident about that,
 - b they may increase their spending before the technological improvements actually succeed in expanding capacity.
 - 2. In addition, a technology shock may send stock prices higher by raising expectations about future corporate profits.
 - a This possibility might produce basically the same effect—
 - (1) —that is, people and firms may feel wealthier today and go out spending before the economy's capacity to produce has expanded.
 - b In the U.S., consumer spending has advanced at a phenomenal pace—in part due to wealth effects—
 - c —and as a consequence the personal saving rate is at a record low.
- D. The third reason also argues for policy to be tighter, but in this case it has to do with what happens when the technology shock wears off.
 - 1. As productivity accelerates in response to a technology shock, inflation tends to fall at first.
 - 2. The reason is that increases in labor compensation tend to lag behind increases in productivity growth.
 - a So, for a while, more goods are being produced at the old, lower wages.
 - 3. Eventually, though, the shock wears off,
 - a as the rate of productivity growth stops increasing

- b and wages accelerate to catch up.
- 4. So a technology shock is a "golden opportunity"
 - a —initially, it gives us lower inflation without a slowdown in growth or a rise in unemployment.
 - b And it gives us
 - (1) a higher level of productivity
 - (2) and possibly a permanently faster rate of productivity growth.
 - (3) That would be great, because then living standards would be higher.
- 5. But the key point is this—monetary policy would have to take responsibility for locking in the benefits and keeping inflation at the new lower level.
 - a After all, in the end, inflation is determined by monetary policy, not by productivity growth.
- VI. So, to sum up,
 - A. we know that interest rates had to rise to contain inflationary pressures,
 - 1. regardless of whether the economy was being dominated
 - a by too much demand
 - b or by a technology shock.
 - B. At the same time, we needed to proceed with some caution because,
 - 1. even if we're now enjoying a technology shock,
 - a we can't be sure
 - (1) how long it will last
 - (2) or how big it is.
 - 2. So it's hard to tell

- a when to tighten
- b and by how much.
- C. With this cautious approach, we're paying attention both to pressures for higher future inflation as well as to the news of moderate inflation.
 - 1. So far, overall real GDP growth appears to have slowed moderately in the third quarter.
 - a It's still too soon to tell if it's just a pause
 - b or if growth will settle in at a more sustainable rate.
- D. One thing I am certain of is that we're not about to let this golden opportunity slip through our fingers. The Fed will continue to aim policy at
 - 1. keeping this remarkable expansion on track
 - 2. while consolidating our gains against inflation.

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