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N. GREGORY MANKIW

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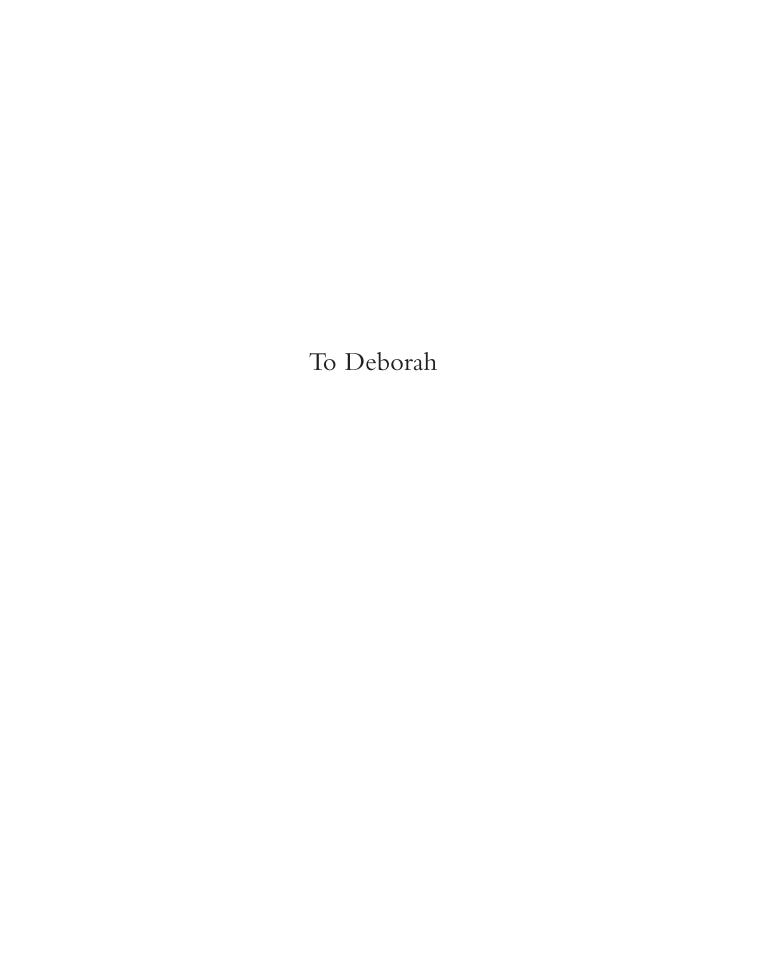
About the Author



N. Gregory Mankiw is the Robert M. Beren Professor of Economics at Harvard University. He began his study of economics at Princeton University, where he received an A.B. in 1980. After earning a Ph.D. in economics from MIT, he began teaching at Harvard in 1985 and was promoted to full professor in 1987. At Harvard, he has taught both undergraduate and graduate courses in macroeconomics. He is also author of the best-selling introductory textbook *Principles of Economics* (Cengage Learning).

Professor Mankiw is a regular participant in academic and policy debates. His research ranges across macroeconomics and includes work on price adjustment, consumer behavior, financial markets, monetary and fiscal policy, and economic growth. In addition to his duties at Harvard, he has been a research associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research, a member of the Brookings Panel on Economic Activity, and an adviser to the Congressional Budget Office and the Federal Reserve Banks of Boston and New York. From 2003 to 2005 he was chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

Professor Mankiw lives in Wellesley, Massachusetts, with his wife, Deborah; children, Catherine, Nicholas, and Peter; and their border terrier, Tobin.



hose branches of politics, or of the laws of social life, on which there exists a collection of facts sufficiently sifted and methodized to form the beginning of a science should be taught ex professo. Among the chief of these is Political Economy, the sources and conditions of wealth and material prosperity for aggregate bodies of human beings. . . .

The same persons who cry down Logic will generally warn you against Political Economy. It is unfeeling, they will tell you. It recognises unpleasant facts. For my part, the most unfeeling thing I know of is the law of gravitation: it breaks the neck of the best and most amiable person without scruple, if he forgets for a single moment to give heed to it. The winds and waves too are very unfeeling. Would you advise those who go to sea to deny the winds and waves—or to make use of them, and find the means of guarding against their dangers? My advice to you is to study the great writers on Political Economy, and hold firmly by whatever in them you find true; and depend upon it that if you are not selfish or hardhearted already, Political Economy will not make you so.

John Stuart Mill, 1867

Brief Contents

Preface x			
Supplemen	ts and Media xxxii		
Part I	tion 1	Chapter 12	Aggregate Demand II: Applying the <i>IS-LM</i> Model 337
Chapter 1	The Science of Macroeconomics 1 The Data of Macroeconomics 17	Chapter 13	The Open Economy Revisited: The Mundell-Fleming Model and the Exchange-Rate Regime 367
Part II		Chapter 14	Aggregate Supply and the Short-Run Tradeoff between Inflation and Unemployment 409
	Theory: The Economy ong Run 47		onemployment tos
	National Income: Where It Comes From and Where It Goes 47	Part V	Macroeconomic
Chapter 4	The Monetary System: What It Is	Theory	
Chapter 5	and How It Works 81 Inflation: Its Causes, Effects, and	Chapter 15	A Dynamic Model of Economic Fluctuations 439
Chapter 6	Social Costs 105 The Open Economy 139	Chapter 16	Understanding Consumer Behavior 475
Chapter 7	Unemployment and the Labor Market 183	Chapter 17	The Theory of Investment 507
Part III		Part VI	Macroscopomic
	Theory: The Economy ery Long Run 211	Policy !	Macroeconomic 531
Chapter 8	Economic Growth I: Capital Accumulation and Population	Chapter 18	Alternative Perspectives on Stabilization Policy 531
	Growth 211	Chapter 19	Government Debt and Budget Deficits 555
Chapter 9	Economic Growth II: Technology, Empirics and Policy 241	Chapter 20	The Financial System: Opportunities and Dangers 581
	Cycle Theory: The y in the Short Run 281	Epilogue:	What We Know, What We Don't 607

Glossary 617

Index 627

Chapter 10 Introduction to Economic

Fluctuations 281

Chapter 11 Aggregate Demand I: Building the *IS-LM* Model 311

Contents

Preface xxiii

Supp	lements and Media xxxii	
Part I Introduction 1		
Cha	pter 1 The Science of Macroeconomics 1	
1-1	What Macroeconomists Study 1 ► CASE STUDY The Historical Performance of the U.S. Economy 3	
1-2	How Economists Think 5 Theory of Model Building 6 FYI Using Functions to Express Relationships Among Variables 9 The Use of Multiple Models 10 Prices: Flexible Versus Sticky 10 Microeconomic Thinking and Macroeconomic Models 11 FYI Nobel Macroeconomists 12	
1-3	How This Book Proceeds 13	
Cha	pter 2 The Data of Macroeconomics 17	
2-1	Measuring the Value of Economic Activity: Gross Domestic Product 18 Income, Expenditure, and the Circular Flow 18 FYI Stocks and Flows 20 Rules for Computing GDP 21 Real GDP Versus Nominal GDP 23 The GDP Deflator 25 Chain-Weighted Measures of Real GDP 25 FYI Two Arithmetic Tricks for Working with Percentage Changes 26 The Components of Expenditure 27 FYI What Is Investment? 28 CASE STUDY GDP and Its Components 28 Other Measures of Income 29 Seasonal Adjustment 31 CASE STUDY The New, Improved GDP of 2013 32	
2-2	Measuring the Cost of Living: The Consumer Price Index 34	

The Price of a Basket of Goods 34

Does the CPI Overstate Inflation? 36

How the CPI Compares to the GDP and PCE Deflators 35

2-4	The Household Survey 38 CASE STUDY Men, Women, and Labor-Force Participation 40 The Establishment Survey 41 Conclusion: From Economic Statistics to Economic Models 42	
Part II Classical Theory: The Economy in the Long Run 47		
Cha	pter 3 National Income: Where It Comes From and Where It Goes 47	
3-1	What Determines the Total Production of Goods and Services? 49 The Factors of Production 49 The Production Function 50 The Supply of Goods and Services 50	
3-2	How Is National Income Distributed to the Factors of Production? 51 Factor Prices 51 The Decisions Facing a Competitive Firm 52 The Firm's Demand for Factors 53 The Division of National Income 56 CASE STUDY The Black Death and Factor Prices 58 The Cobb-Douglas Production Function 58 CASE STUDY Labor Productivity as the Key Determinant of Real Wages 62 The Growing Gap Between Rich and Poor 63	
3-3	What Determines the Demand for Goods and Services? 65 Consumption 65 Investment 67 FYI The Many Different Interest Rates 68 Government Purchases 69	
3-4	What Brings the Supply and Demand for Goods and Services into Equilibrium? 69 Equilibrium in the Market for Goods and Services: The Supply and Demand for the Economy's Output 70 Equilibrium in the Financial Markets: The Supply and Demand for Loanable Funds 71 Changes in Saving: The Effects of Fiscal Policy 73 Changes in Investment Demand 74	
3-5	Conclusion 76	

2-3 Measuring Joblessness: The Unemployment Rate 38

Chapter 4 The Monetary System: What It Is and How It Works 81

4-1	What Is Money?	82	
	The Functions of Mo	ney	82

The Types of Money 83

► CASE STUDY Money in a POW Camp 83

The Development of Fiat Money 84

- ► CASE STUDY Money and Social Conventions on the Island of Yap 84
- ► FYI Bitcoin: The Strange Case of Virtual Money 85

How the Quantity of Money Is Controlled 86

How the Quantity of Money Is Measured 86

► FYI How Do Credit Cards and Debit Cards Fit into the Monetary System? 88

4-2 The Role of Banks in the Monetary System 88

100-Percent-Reserve Banking 89

Fractional-Reserve Banking 89

Bank Capital, Leverage, and Capital Requirements 91

4-3 How Central Banks Influence the Money Supply 93

A Model of the Money Supply 93

The Instruments of Monetary Policy 95

► CASE STUDY Quantitative Easing and the Exploding Monetary Base 97

Problems in Monetary Control 98

► CASE STUDY Bank Failures and the Money Supply in the 1930s 99

4-4 Conclusion 100

Chapter 5 Inflation: Its Causes, Effects, and Social Costs 105

5-1 The Quantity Theory of Money 106

Transactions and the Quantity Equation 106

From Transactions to Income 108

The Money Demand Function and the Quantity Equation 108

The Assumption of Constant Velocity 109

Money, Prices, and Inflation 110

► CASE STUDY Inflation and Money Growth 111

5-2 Seigniorage: The Revenue from Printing Money 113

► CASE STUDY Paying for the American Revolution 113

5-3 Inflation and Interest Rates 114

Two Interest Rates: Real and Nominal 114

The Fisher Effect 115

► CASE STUDY Inflation and Nominal Interest Rates 115

Two Real Interest Rates: Ex Ante and Ex Post 117

► CASE STUDY Nominal Interest Rates in the Nineteenth Century 117

	The Nominal Interest Rate and the Demand for Money 118 The Cost of Holding Money 118
	Future Money and Current Prices 119
5-5	The Social Costs of Inflation 120
	The Layman's View and the Classical Response 120
	► CASE STUDY What Economists and the Public Say About Inflation 121
	The Costs of Expected Inflation 122
	The Costs of Unexpected Inflation 123
	CASE STUDY The Free Silver Movement, the Election of 1896, and The Wizard of Oz 124
	One Benefit of Inflation 125
5-6	Hyperinflation 126
	The Costs of Hyperinflation 126
	The Causes of Hyperinflation 127
	CASE STUDY Hyperinflation in Interwar Germany 128
	CASE STUDY Hyperinflation in Zimbabwe 130
5-7	
	,
App	endix The Cagan Model: How Current and Future Money Affect the Price Level 135
Cha	pter 6 The Open Economy 139
6-1	
0 1	The International Flows of Capital and Goods 140
0 1	The Role of Net Exports 141
0 1	•
0 1	The Role of Net Exports 141
0 1	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142
6-2	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144
	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145
	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145 Capital Mobility and the World Interest Rate 146
	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145
	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145 Capital Mobility and the World Interest Rate 146 Why Assume a Small Open Economy? 146
	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145 Capital Mobility and the World Interest Rate 146 Why Assume a Small Open Economy? 146 The Model 147 How Policies Influence the Trade Balance 148
	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145 Capital Mobility and the World Interest Rate 146 Why Assume a Small Open Economy? 146 The Model 147 How Policies Influence the Trade Balance 148 Evaluating Economic Policy 150
	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145 Capital Mobility and the World Interest Rate 146 Why Assume a Small Open Economy? 146 The Model 147 How Policies Influence the Trade Balance 148 Evaluating Economic Policy 150 CASE STUDY The U.S. Trade Deficit 152
6-2	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145 Capital Mobility and the World Interest Rate 146 Why Assume a Small Open Economy? 146 The Model 147 How Policies Influence the Trade Balance 148 Evaluating Economic Policy 150 CASE STUDY The U.S. Trade Deficit 152 CASE STUDY Why Doesn't Capital Flow to Poor Countries? 154
	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145 Capital Mobility and the World Interest Rate 146 Why Assume a Small Open Economy? 146 The Model 147 How Policies Influence the Trade Balance 148 Evaluating Economic Policy 150 CASE STUDY The U.S. Trade Deficit 152 CASE STUDY Why Doesn't Capital Flow to Poor Countries? 154 Exchange Rates 155
6-2	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145 Capital Mobility and the World Interest Rate 146 Why Assume a Small Open Economy? 146 The Model 147 How Policies Influence the Trade Balance 148 Evaluating Economic Policy 150 CASE STUDY The U.S. Trade Deficit 152 CASE STUDY Why Doesn't Capital Flow to Poor Countries? 154 Exchange Rates 155 Nominal and Real Exchange Rates 155
6-2	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145 Capital Mobility and the World Interest Rate 146 Why Assume a Small Open Economy? 146 The Model 147 How Policies Influence the Trade Balance 148 Evaluating Economic Policy 150 CASE STUDY The U.S. Trade Deficit 152 CASE STUDY Why Doesn't Capital Flow to Poor Countries? 154 Exchange Rates 155 Nominal and Real Exchange Rates 155 The Real Exchange Rate and the Trade Balance 157
6-2	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145 Capital Mobility and the World Interest Rate 146 Why Assume a Small Open Economy? 146 The Model 147 How Policies Influence the Trade Balance 148 Evaluating Economic Policy 150 CASE STUDY The U.S. Trade Deficit 152 CASE STUDY Why Doesn't Capital Flow to Poor Countries? 154 Exchange Rates 155 Nominal and Real Exchange Rates 155 The Real Exchange Rate and the Trade Balance 157 The Determinants of the Real Exchange Rate 157
6-2	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145 Capital Mobility and the World Interest Rate 146 Why Assume a Small Open Economy? 146 The Model 147 How Policies Influence the Trade Balance 148 Evaluating Economic Policy 150 CASE STUDY The U.S. Trade Deficit 152 CASE STUDY Why Doesn't Capital Flow to Poor Countries? 154 Exchange Rates 155 Nominal and Real Exchange Rates 155 The Real Exchange Rate and the Trade Balance 157 The Determinants of the Real Exchange Rate 159 How Policies Influence the Real Exchange Rate 159
6-2	The Role of Net Exports 141 International Capital Flows and the Trade Balance 142 International Flows of Goods and Capital: An Example 144 The Irrelevance of Bilateral Trade Balances 145 Saving and Investment in a Small Open Economy 145 Capital Mobility and the World Interest Rate 146 Why Assume a Small Open Economy? 146 The Model 147 How Policies Influence the Trade Balance 148 Evaluating Economic Policy 150 CASE STUDY The U.S. Trade Deficit 152 CASE STUDY Why Doesn't Capital Flow to Poor Countries? 154 Exchange Rates 155 Nominal and Real Exchange Rates 155 The Real Exchange Rate and the Trade Balance 157 The Determinants of the Real Exchange Rate 157

	► CASE STUDY The Big Mac Around the World 166
6-4	Conclusion: The United States as a Large Open Economy 168
Appe	endix The Large Open Economy 173
Chap	oter 7 Unemployment and the Labor Market 183
7-1	Job Loss, Job Finding, and the Natural Rate of Unemployment 184
7-2	Job Search and Frictional Unemployment 187
	Causes of Frictional Unemployment 187
	Public Policy and Frictional Unemployment 188
	► CASE STUDY Unemployment Insurance and the Rate of Job Finding 189
7-3	Real-Wage Rigidity and Structural Unemployment 189
	Minimum-Wage Laws 190
	► CASE STUDY The Characteristics of Minimum-Wage Workers 192
	Unions and Collective Bargaining 193
	Efficiency Wages 194
	► CASE STUDY Henry Ford's \$5 Workday 195
7-4	Labor-Market Experience: The United States 196
	The Duration of Unemployment 196
	► CASE STUDY The Increase in U.S. Long-Term Unemployment and the Debate Over Unemployment Insurance 197
	Variation in the Unemployment Rate Across Demographic Groups 199
	Transitions Into and Out of the Labor Force 199
	► CASE STUDY The Decline in Labor-Force Participation: 2007 to 2014 201
7-5	Labor-Market Experience: Europe 203
	The Rise in European Unemployment 203
	Unemployment Variation Within Europe 204
	The Rise of European Leisure 205
7-6	Conclusion 207

The Special Case of Purchasing-Power Parity 165

Part III Growth Theory: The Economy in the Very Long Run 211

Chapter 8 Economic Growth I: Capital Accumulation and Population Growth 211

8-1 The Accumulation of Capital 212

The Supply and Demand for Goods 212

Growth in the Capital Stock and the Steady State 215

	Approaching the Steady State: A Numerical Example 217
	► CASE STUDY The Miracle of Japanese and German Growth 219
	How Saving Affects Growth 220
	► CASE STUDY Saving and Investment Around the World 222
8-2	The Golden Rule Level of Capital 223
	Comparing Steady States 224
	Finding the Golden Rule Steady State: A Numerical Example 227
	The Transition to the Golden Rule Steady State 228
8-3	Population Growth 231
	The Steady State With Population Growth 231
	The Effects of Population Growth 233
	► CASE STUDY Population Growth Around the World 234
	Alternative Perspectives on Population Growth 235
8-4	Conclusion 237
Cha	pter 9 Economic Growth II: Technology, Empirics, and
Ond	Policy 241
9-1	Technological Progress in the Solow Model 242
	The Efficiency of Labor 242
	The Steady State With Technological Progress 243
	The Effects of Technological Progress 244
9-2	From Growth Theory to Growth Empirics 245
	Balanced Growth 246
	FYI Economic Possibilities for Our Grandchildren 246
	Convergence 247
	Factor Accumulation Versus Production Efficiency 249
	CASE STUDY Good Management as a Source of Productivity 249
9-3	Policies to Promote Growth 251
	Evaluating the Rate of Saving 251
	Changing the Rate of Saving 253
	Allocating the Economy's Investment 253
	CASE STUDY Industrial Policy in Practice 255
	Establishing the Right Institutions 256
	► CASE STUDY The Colonial Origins of Modern Institutions 257
	Encouraging Technological Progress 258
	► CASE STUDY Is Free Trade Good for Economic Growth? 259
9-4	Beyond the Solow Model: Endogenous Growth Theory 260
	The Basic Model 261
	A Two-Sector Model 262
	The Microeconomics of Research and Development 263
	The Process of Creative Destruction 264
9-5	Conclusion 266

Part IV Business Cycle Theory: The Economy in the Short Run 281

Chapter 10 Introduction to Economic Fluctuations 281

10-1 The Facts About the Business Cycle 282

GDP and Its Components 282

Unemployment and Okun's Law 284

Leading Economic Indicators 287

10-2 Time Horizons in Macroeconomics 289

How the Short Run and the Long Run Differ 289

► CASE STUDY If You Want to Know Why Firms Have Sticky Prices, Ask Them 290

The Model of Aggregate Supply and Aggregate Demand 292

10-3 Aggregate Demand 293

The Quantity Equation as Aggregate Demand 293

Why the Aggregate Demand Curve Slopes Downward 294

Shifts in the Aggregate Demand Curve 295

10-4 Aggregate Supply 296

The Long Run: The Vertical Aggregate Supply Curve 296

The Short Run: The Horizontal Aggregate Supply Curve 296

From the Short Run to the Long Run 299

- ► CASE STUDY A Monetary Lesson from French History 300
- ► **FYI** David Hume on the Real Effects of Money 301

10-5 Stabilization Policy 302

Shocks to Aggregate Demand 302

Shocks to Aggregate Supply 303

 CASE STUDY How OPEC Helped Cause Stagflation in the 1970s and Euphoria in the 1980s 305

10-6 Conclusion 307

Chapter 11 Aggregate Demand I: Building the IS-LM Model 311

11-1 The Goods Market and the IS Curve 313

The Keynesian Cross 313

- ► CASE STUDY Cutting Taxes to Stimulate the Economy: The Kennedy and Bush Tax Cuts 320
- ► CASE STUDY Increasing Government Purchases to Stimulate the Economy: The Obama Stimulus 321
- ► CASE STUDY Using Regional Data to Estimate Multipliers 322

The Interest Rate, Investment, and the IS Curve 324

How Fiscal Policy Shifts the IS Curve 326

11-2 The Money Market and the LM Curve 327

The Theory of Liquidity Preference 327

► CASE STUDY Does a Monetary Tightening Raise or Lower Interest Rates? 330

	Income, Money Demand, and the LM Curve 330
	How Monetary Policy Shifts the <i>LM</i> Curve 332
11-3	Conclusion: The Short-Run Equilibrium 333
Cha	pter 12 Aggregate Demand II: Applying the <i>IS-LM</i> Model 337
12-1	Explaining Fluctuations With the <i>IS-LM</i> Model 338
	How Fiscal Policy Shifts the <i>IS</i> Curve and Changes the Short-Run Equilibrium 338
	How Monetary Policy Shifts the <i>LM</i> Curve and Changes the Short-Run Equilibrium 340
	The Interaction Between Monetary and Fiscal Policy 341
	Shocks in the <i>IS-LM</i> Model 343
	► CASE STUDY The U.S. Recession of 2001 344
	What Is the Fed's Policy Instrument—The Money Supply or the Interest Rate? 345
12-2	IS-LM as a Theory of Aggregate Demand 346
	From the IS-LM Model to the Aggregate Demand Curve 347
	The IS-LM Model in the Short Run and Long Run 349
12-3	The Great Depression 351
	The Spending Hypothesis: Shocks to the IS Curve 351
	The Money Hypothesis: A Shock to the LM Curve 353
	The Money Hypothesis Again: The Effects of Falling Prices 354
	Could the Depression Happen Again? 356
	► CASE STUDY The Financial Crisis and Great Recession of 2008 and 2009 357
	The Liquidity Trap (Also Known as the Zero Lower Bound) 360
12-4	Conclusion 361
Cha	pter 13 The Open Economy Revisited: The Mundell-Fleming Model and the Exchange-Rate Regime 367
13-1	The Mundell-Fleming Model 369
	The Key Assumption: Small Open Economy With Perfect Capital Mobility 369
	The Goods Market and the IS* Curve 370
	The Money Market and the LM* Curve 370
	Putting the Pieces Together 372
13-2	The Small Open Economy Under Floating Exchange Rates 373
	Fiscal Policy 374
	Monetary Policy 375
	Trade Policy 376
13-3	The Small Open Economy Under Fixed Exchange Rates 377
	How a Fixed-Exchange-Rate System Works 378
	CASE STUDY The International Gold Standard 379
	Fiscal Policy 380

	Monetary Policy 381
	► CASE STUDY Devaluation and the Recovery from the Great Depression 382
	Trade Policy 382
	Policy in the Mundell-Fleming Model: A Summary 383
13-4	Interest Rate Differentials 384
	Country Risk and Exchange-Rate Expectations 384
	Differentials in the Mundell-Fleming Model 385
	► CASE STUDY International Financial Crisis: Mexico 1994–1995 387
	► CASE STUDY International Financial Crisis: Asia 1997–1998 388
13-5	Should Exchange Rates Be Floating or Fixed? 389
	Pros and Cons of Different Exchange-Rate Systems 389
	► CASE STUDY The Debate Over the Euro 390
	Speculative Attacks, Currency Boards, and Dollarization 392
	The Impossible Trinity 393
	► CASE STUDY The Chinese Currency Controversy 394
13-6	From the Short Run to the Long Run: The Mundell-Fleming Model with a Changing Price Level 395
13-7	A Concluding Reminder 398
Арре	endix A Short-Run Model of the Large Open Economy 402
Chai	oter 14 Aggregate Supply and the Short-Run Tradeoff
	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409
	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409
	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410
	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411
	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413
	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413
14-1	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415 Implications 416
14-1	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415
14-1	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415 Implications 416 Inflation, Unemployment, and the Phillips Curve 418
14-1	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415 Implications 416 Inflation, Unemployment, and the Phillips Curve 418 Deriving the Phillips Curve from the Aggregate Supply Curve 418
14-1	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415 Implications 416 Inflation, Unemployment, and the Phillips Curve 418 Deriving the Phillips Curve from the Aggregate Supply Curve 418 FYI The History of the Modern Phillips Curve 420
14-1	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415 Implications 416 Inflation, Unemployment, and the Phillips Curve 418 Deriving the Phillips Curve from the Aggregate Supply Curve 418 FYI The History of the Modern Phillips Curve 420 Adaptive Expectations and Inflation Inertia 420
14-1	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415 Implications 416 Inflation, Unemployment, and the Phillips Curve 418 Deriving the Phillips Curve from the Aggregate Supply Curve 418 FYI The History of the Modern Phillips Curve 420 Adaptive Expectations and Inflation Inertia 420 Two Causes of Rising and Falling Inflation 421
14-1	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415 Implications 416 Inflation, Unemployment, and the Phillips Curve 418 Deriving the Phillips Curve from the Aggregate Supply Curve 418 FYI The History of the Modern Phillips Curve 420 Adaptive Expectations and Inflation Inertia 420 Two Causes of Rising and Falling Inflation 421 CASE STUDY Inflation and Unemployment in the United States 421 The Short-Run Tradeoff Between Inflation and Unemployment? 423 FYI How Precise Are Estimates of the Natural Rate of Unemployment? 425
14-1	Between Inflation and Unemployment 409 The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 ▶ CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415 Implications 416 Inflation, Unemployment, and the Phillips Curve 418 Deriving the Phillips Curve from the Aggregate Supply Curve 418 ▶ FYI The History of the Modern Phillips Curve 420 Adaptive Expectations and Inflation Inertia 420 Two Causes of Rising and Falling Inflation 421 ▶ CASE STUDY Inflation and Unemployment in the United States 421 The Short-Run Tradeoff Between Inflation and Unemployment? 423 ▶ FYI How Precise Are Estimates of the Natural Rate of Unemployment? 425 Disinflation and the Sacrifice Ratio 425
14-1	The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415 Implications 416 Inflation, Unemployment, and the Phillips Curve 418 Deriving the Phillips Curve from the Aggregate Supply Curve 418 FYI The History of the Modern Phillips Curve 420 Adaptive Expectations and Inflation Inertia 420 Two Causes of Rising and Falling Inflation 421 CASE STUDY Inflation and Unemployment in the United States 421 The Short-Run Tradeoff Between Inflation and Unemployment? 423 FYI How Precise Are Estimates of the Natural Rate of Unemployment? 425 Disinflation and the Sacrifice Ratio 425 Rational Expectations and the Possibility of Painless Disinflation 426
14-1	The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415 Implications 416 Inflation, Unemployment, and the Phillips Curve 418 Deriving the Phillips Curve from the Aggregate Supply Curve 418 FYI The History of the Modern Phillips Curve 420 Adaptive Expectations and Inflation Inertia 420 Two Causes of Rising and Falling Inflation 421 CASE STUDY Inflation and Unemployment in the United States 421 The Short-Run Tradeoff Between Inflation and Unemployment? 423 FYI How Precise Are Estimates of the Natural Rate of Unemployment? 425 Disinflation and the Sacrifice Ratio 425 Rational Expectations and the Possibility of Painless Disinflation 426 CASE STUDY The Sacrifice Ratio in Practice 428
14-1	The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 ▶ CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415 Implications 416 Inflation, Unemployment, and the Phillips Curve 418 Deriving the Phillips Curve from the Aggregate Supply Curve 418 ▶ FYI The History of the Modern Phillips Curve 420 Adaptive Expectations and Inflation Inertia 420 Two Causes of Rising and Falling Inflation 421 ▶ CASE STUDY Inflation and Unemployment in the United States 421 The Short-Run Tradeoff Between Inflation and Unemployment? 423 ▶ FYI How Precise Are Estimates of the Natural Rate of Unemployment? 425 Disinflation and the Sacrifice Ratio 425 Rational Expectations and the Possibility of Painless Disinflation 426 ▶ CASE STUDY The Sacrifice Ratio in Practice 428 Hysteresis and the Challenge to the Natural-Rate Hypothesis 429
14-1	The Basic Theory of Aggregate Supply 410 The Sticky-Price Model 411 An Alternative Theory: The Imperfect-Information Model 413 CASE STUDY International Differences in the Aggregate Supply Curve 415 Implications 416 Inflation, Unemployment, and the Phillips Curve 418 Deriving the Phillips Curve from the Aggregate Supply Curve 418 FYI The History of the Modern Phillips Curve 420 Adaptive Expectations and Inflation Inertia 420 Two Causes of Rising and Falling Inflation 421 CASE STUDY Inflation and Unemployment in the United States 421 The Short-Run Tradeoff Between Inflation and Unemployment? 423 FYI How Precise Are Estimates of the Natural Rate of Unemployment? 425 Disinflation and the Sacrifice Ratio 425 Rational Expectations and the Possibility of Painless Disinflation 426 CASE STUDY The Sacrifice Ratio in Practice 428

Part V Topics in Macroeconomic Theory 439

Chapter 15 A Dynamic Model of Economic Fluctuations 439

15-1 Elements of the Model 440

Output: The Demand for Goods and Services 440
The Real Interest Rate: The Fisher Equation 442

Inflation: The Phillips Curve 442

Expected Inflation: Adaptive Expectations 443

The Nominal Interest Rate: The Monetary-Policy Rule 444

► CASE STUDY The Taylor Rule 445

15-2 Solving the Model 447

The Long-Run Equilibrium 449

The Dynamic Aggregate Supply Curve 449

The Dynamic Aggregate Demand Curve 451

The Short-Run Equilibrium 453

15-3 Using the Model 454

Long-Run Growth 454

A Shock to Aggregate Supply 455

A Shock to Aggregate Demand 458

FYI The Numerical Calibration and Simulation 458

A Shift in Monetary Policy 460

15-4 Two Applications: Lessons for Monetary Policy 463

The Tradeoff Between Output Variability and Inflation Variability 464

► CASE STUDY Different Mandates, Different Realities: The Fed Versus the ECB 466

The Taylor Principle 467

► CASE STUDY What Caused the Great Inflation? 470

15-5 Conclusion: Toward DSGE Models 471

Chapter 16 Understanding Consumer Behavior 475

16-1 John Maynard Keynes and the Consumption Function 476

Keynes's Conjectures 476

The Early Empirical Successes 477

Secular Stagnation, Simon Kuznets, and the Consumption Puzzle 478

16-2 Irving Fisher and Intertemporal Choice 480

The Intertemporal Budget Constraint 480

► FYI Present Value, or Why a \$1,000,000 Prize Is Worth Only \$623,000 482

Consumer Preferences 483

Optimization 484

How Changes in Income Affect Consumption 485

	How Changes in the Real Interest Rate Affect Consumption 486
162	Constraints on Borrowing 487
16-3	Franco Modigliani and the Life-Cycle Hypothesis 489
	The Hypothesis 490
	Implications 490
16.1	CASE STUDY The Consumption and Saving of the Elderly 493
16-4	Milton Friedman and the Permanent-Income Hypothesis 493
	The Hypothesis 494
	Implications 495
	CASE STUDY The 1964 Tax Cut and the 1968 Tax Surcharge 496
165	CASE STUDY The Tax Rebates of 2008 496
10-5	Robert Hall and the Random-Walk Hypothesis 497
	The Hypothesis 498
	Implications 498
	Case Study Do Predictable Changes in Income Lead to Predictable Changes in Consumption? 499
16-6	David Laibson and the Pull of Instant Gratification 500
	► CASE STUDY How to Get People to Save More 501
16-7	Conclusion 502
Char	oter 17 The Theory of Investment 507
Cila	oter if the friedry of investment 307
	Business Fixed Investment 508
	·
	Business Fixed Investment 508
	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509
	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509 The Cost of Capital 510
	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509 The Cost of Capital 510 The Determinants of Investment 512
	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509 The Cost of Capital 510 The Determinants of Investment 512 Taxes and Investment 514
	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509 The Cost of Capital 510 The Determinants of Investment 512 Taxes and Investment 514 CASE STUDY Inversions and Corporate Tax Reform 515
	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509 The Cost of Capital 510 The Determinants of Investment 512 Taxes and Investment 514 CASE STUDY Inversions and Corporate Tax Reform 515 The Stock Market and Tobin's q 517
	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509 The Cost of Capital 510 The Determinants of Investment 512 Taxes and Investment 514 CASE STUDY Inversions and Corporate Tax Reform 515 The Stock Market and Tobin's q 517 CASE STUDY The Stock Market as an Economic Indicator 518 Alternative Views of the Stock Market: The Efficient Markets Hypothesis Versus
17-1	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509 The Cost of Capital 510 The Determinants of Investment 512 Taxes and Investment 514 CASE STUDY Inversions and Corporate Tax Reform 515 The Stock Market and Tobin's q 517 CASE STUDY The Stock Market as an Economic Indicator 518 Alternative Views of the Stock Market: The Efficient Markets Hypothesis Versus Keynes's Beauty Contest 519
17-1	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509 The Cost of Capital 510 The Determinants of Investment 512 Taxes and Investment 514 ▶ CASE STUDY Inversions and Corporate Tax Reform 515 The Stock Market and Tobin's q 517 ▶ CASE STUDY The Stock Market as an Economic Indicator 518 Alternative Views of the Stock Market: The Efficient Markets Hypothesis Versus Keynes's Beauty Contest 519 Financing Constraints 521
17-1	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509 The Cost of Capital 510 The Determinants of Investment 512 Taxes and Investment 514 CASE STUDY Inversions and Corporate Tax Reform 515 The Stock Market and Tobin's q 517 CASE STUDY The Stock Market as an Economic Indicator 518 Alternative Views of the Stock Market: The Efficient Markets Hypothesis Versus Keynes's Beauty Contest 519 Financing Constraints 521 Residential Investment 522
17-1	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509 The Cost of Capital 510 The Determinants of Investment 512 Taxes and Investment 514 ▶ CASE STUDY Inversions and Corporate Tax Reform 515 The Stock Market and Tobin's q 517 ▶ CASE STUDY The Stock Market as an Economic Indicator 518 Alternative Views of the Stock Market: The Efficient Markets Hypothesis Versus Keynes's Beauty Contest 519 Financing Constraints 521 Residential Investment 522 The Stock Equilibrium and the Flow Supply 522
17-1	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509 The Cost of Capital 510 The Determinants of Investment 512 Taxes and Investment 514 CASE STUDY Inversions and Corporate Tax Reform 515 The Stock Market and Tobin's q 517 CASE STUDY The Stock Market as an Economic Indicator 518 Alternative Views of the Stock Market: The Efficient Markets Hypothesis Versus Keynes's Beauty Contest 519 Financing Constraints 521 Residential Investment 522 The Stock Equilibrium and the Flow Supply 522 Changes in Housing Demand 523 Inventory Investment 526 Reasons for Holding Inventories 526
17-1	Business Fixed Investment 508 The Rental Price of Capital 509 The Cost of Capital 510 The Determinants of Investment 512 Taxes and Investment 514 CASE STUDY Inversions and Corporate Tax Reform 515 The Stock Market and Tobin's q 517 CASE STUDY The Stock Market as an Economic Indicator 518 Alternative Views of the Stock Market: The Efficient Markets Hypothesis Versus Keynes's Beauty Contest 519 Financing Constraints 521 Residential Investment 522 The Stock Equilibrium and the Flow Supply 522 Changes in Housing Demand 523 Inventory Investment 526

Chamber 10. Alternative Devenantives on Stabilization Deliev. F71
Chapter 18 Alternative Perspectives on Stabilization Policy 531
18-1 Should Policy Be Active or Passive? 532 Lags in the Implementation and Effects of Policies 533 The Difficult Job of Economic Forecasting 534 ▶ CASE STUDY Mistakes in Forecasting 535 Ignorance, Expectations, and the Lucas Critique 536 The Historical Record 537
► CASE STUDY Is the Stabilization of the Economy a Figment of the Data? 538 CASE STUDY How Does Policy Uncertainty Affect the Economy? 539
18-2 Should Policy Be Conducted by Rule or by Discretion? 541 Distrust of Policymakers and the Political Process 541 The Time Inconsistency of Discretionary Policy 542 CASE STUDY Alexander Hamilton Versus Time Inconsistency 544 Rules for Monetary Policy 544 CASE STUDY Inflation Targeting: Rule or Constrained Discretion? 545 CASE STUDY Central-Bank Independence 546
18-3 Conclusion: Making Policy in an Uncertain World 548
Appendix Time Inconsistency and the Tradeoff Between Inflation and Unemployment 551
Chapter 19 Government Debt and Budget Deficits 555
19-1 The Size of the Government Debt 556 ► CASE STUDY The Troubling Long-Term Outlook for Fiscal Policy 559
19-2 Problems in Measurement 560 Measurement Problem 1: Inflation 561 Measurement Problem 2: Capital Assets 561 Measurement Problem 3: Uncounted Liabilities 562 Measurement Problem 4: The Business Cycle 563 Summing Up 563
19-3 The Traditional View of Government Debt 564 FYI Taxes and Incentives 566
19-4 The Ricardian View of Government Debt 566 The Basic Logic of Ricardian Equivalence 567 Consumers and Future Taxes 568 ▶ CASE STUDY George H. W. Bush's Withholding Experiment 569 ▶ CASE STUDY Why Do Parents Leave Bequests? 571 Making a Choice 571

► FYI Ricardo on Ricardian Equivalence 572 19-5 Other Perspectives on Government Debt 573 Balanced Budgets Versus Optimal Fiscal Policy 573

Fiscal Effects on Monetary Policy 574 Debt and the Political Process 575 International Dimensions 575 ► CASE STUDY The Benefits of Indexed Bonds 576 19-6 Conclusion 577 Chapter 20 The Financial System: Opportunities and Dangers 581 20-1 What Does the Financial System Do? 582 Financing Investment 582 Sharing Risk 583 Dealing With Asymmetric Information 584 Fostering Economic Growth 586 ► CASE STUDY Microfinance: Professor Yunus's Profound Idea 587 20-2 Financial Crises 588 The Anatomy of a Crisis 588 ► FYI The TED Spread 591 ► CASE STUDY Who Should Be Blamed for the Financial Crisis of 2008–2009? 593 Policy Responses to a Crisis 594 Policies to Prevent Crises 598 ► FYI CoCo Bonds 599 ► CASE STUDY The European Sovereign Debt Crisis 601 20-3 Conclusion 602 Epilogue What We Know, What We Don't 607 The Four Most Important Lessons of Macroeconomics 607 Lesson 1: In the long run, a country's capacity to produce goods and services determines the standard of living of its citizens. 608 Lesson 2: In the short run, aggregate demand influences the amount of goods and services that a country produces. 608 Lesson 3: In the long run, the rate of money growth determines the rate of inflation, but it does not affect the rate of unemployment. 609 Lesson 4: In the short run, policymakers who control monetary and fiscal policy face a tradeoff between inflation and unemployment. 609 The Four Most Important Unresolved Questions of Macroeconomics 610 Question 1: How should policymakers try to promote growth in the economy's natural level of output? 610 Question 2: Should policymakers try to stabilize the economy? If so, how? 611 Question 3: How costly is inflation, and how costly is reducing inflation? 613 Question 4: How big a problem are government budget deficits? 614 Conclusion 615

Glossary 617 Index 627



Preface

n economist must be "mathematician, historian, statesman, philosopher, in some degree . . . as aloof and incorruptible as an artist, yet sometimes as near the earth as a politician." So remarked John Maynard Keynes, the great British economist who, as much as anyone, could be called the father of macroeconomics. No single statement summarizes better what it means to be an economist.

As Keynes's assessment suggests, students who aim to learn economics need to draw on many disparate talents. The job of helping students find and develop these talents falls to instructors and textbook authors. My goal for this textbook is to make macroeconomics understandable, relevant, and (believe it or not) fun. Those of us who have chosen to be professional macroeconomists have done so because we are fascinated by the field. More important, we believe that the study of macroeconomics can illuminate much about the world and that the lessons learned, if properly applied, can make the world a better place. I hope this book conveys not only our profession's accumulated wisdom but also its enthusiasm and sense of purpose.

This Book's Approach

Macroeconomists share a common body of knowledge, but they do not all have the same perspective on how that knowledge is best taught. Let me begin this new edition by recapping my objectives, which together define this book's approach to the field.

First, I try to offer a balance between short-run and long-run issues in macroeconomics. All economists agree that public policies and other events influence the economy over different time horizons. We live in our own short run, but we also live in the long run that our parents bequeathed us. As a result, courses in macroeconomics need to cover both short-run topics, such as the business cycle and stabilization policy, and long-run topics, such as economic growth, the natural rate of unemployment, persistent inflation, and the effects of government debt. Neither time horizon trumps the other.

Second, I integrate the insights of Keynesian and classical theories. Although Keynes's *General Theory* provides the foundation for much of our current understanding of economic fluctuations, it is important to remember that classical economics provides the right answers to many fundamental questions. In this book I incorporate many of the contributions of the classical economists before Keynes and the new classical economists of the past several decades. Substantial coverage is given, for example, to the loanable-funds theory of the interest rate, the quantity theory of money, and the problem of time inconsistency. At the same time, I recognize that many of the ideas of Keynes and the new Keynesians are

necessary for understanding economic fluctuations. Substantial coverage is given also to the *IS–LM* model of aggregate demand, the short-run tradeoff between inflation and unemployment, and modern models of business cycle dynamics.

Third, I present macroeconomics using a variety of simple models. Instead of pretending that there is one model that is complete enough to explain all facets of the economy, I encourage students to learn how to use and compare a set of prominent models. This approach has the pedagogical value that each model can be kept relatively simple and presented within one or two chapters. More important, this approach asks students to think like economists, who always keep various models in mind when analyzing economic events or public policies.

Fourth, I emphasize that macroeconomics is an empirical discipline, motivated and guided by a wide array of experience. This book contains numerous Case Studies that use macroeconomic theory to shed light on real-world data and events. To highlight the broad applicability of the basic theory, I have drawn the Case Studies both from current issues facing the world's economies and from dramatic historical episodes. The Case Studies analyze the policies of Alexander Hamilton, Henry Ford, George Bush (both of them!), and Barack Obama. They teach the reader how to apply economic principles to issues from fourteenth-century Europe, the island of Yap, the land of Oz, and today's newspaper.

What's New in the Ninth Edition?

Economics instructors are vigilant in keeping their lectures up to date as the economic landscape changes. Textbook authors cannot be less so. This book is therefore updated about every three years. In this ninth edition, you will find several kinds of changes.

Most obviously, tables and figures throughout the book have been revised to include the latest available data. College students take courses in economics to understand the world in which they live. It is important, therefore, that the data presented be as current as possible.

The book has also been updated to take into account recent events and economic developments. For example:

- ▶ In 2013, the Bureau of Economic Analysis revised the definition of GDP to include investment in intellectual property products; a new section in Chapter 2 discusses the change.
- ▶ Over the past few years, Bitcoin has arisen as a modern medium of exchange; a new box in Chapter 4 examines this unusual form of money.
- ▶ Between 2007 and 2014, the U.S. economy experienced a large decline in labor-force participation; a new case study in Chapter 7 examines the reasons for this development.
- ▶ In 2014, U.S. policymakers were concerned about the increasing frequency of corporate inversions; a new case study in Chapter 17 discusses the policy debate over inversions and corporate tax reform.

▶ In the wake of the financial crisis of 2008–2009, policymakers are increasingly taking a more macroeconomic perspective on regulating financial institutions; a new section in Chapter 20 discusses macroprudential regulation.

In addition, the book reflects the evolution of macroeconomic thought based on recent research. For example:

- ▶ A new case study in Chapter 9 discusses work by Nicholas Bloom and John Van Reenen on management practices as a source of productivity differences.
- ▶ A new case study in Chapter 11 examines research by Emi Nakamura, Jón Steinsson, and others on the size of the fiscal-policy multipliers.
- ▶ A new case study in Chapter 18 discusses work by Scott Baker, Nicholas Bloom, and Steven Davis on economic policy uncertainty.

Perhaps most important, this edition includes a significant pedagogical innovation. In most of the core chapters, some end-of-chapter problems are identified with this icon: LounchPod. For these problems, students can go to LaunchPad to find a Work It Out tutorial for a similar problem. Because the Work It Out has a similar structure to the in-text problem, it is a resource for students to learn how to tackle the in-text problem. But because the Work It Out has different numbers and thus a different answer, the in-text problem can still be used as assigned homework. The Work It Out tutorials can be found at http://www.macmillanhighered.com/launchpad/mankiw9e.

Finally, very careful readers of this book will notice a subtle change in the use of pronouns. A nagging problem for authors is which pronoun to use for a person of unspecified gender. The traditional "he" sounds sexist to some modern readers, while "he or she" is cumbersome. So, in this edition, I use "she" in odd-numbered chapters and "he" in even-numbered chapters. That will have to do, until we all adopt some more perfect language.

As always, all the changes I made and the many others I considered were evaluated keeping in mind the benefits of brevity. From my own experience as a student, I know that long books are less likely to be read. My goal in this book is to offer the clearest, most up-to-date, most accessible course in macroeconomics in the fewest words possible.

The Arrangement of Topics

My strategy for teaching macroeconomics is first to examine the long run, when prices are flexible, and then to examine the short run, when prices are sticky. This approach has several advantages. First, because the classical dichotomy permits the separation of real and monetary issues, the long-run material is easier for students to understand. Second, when students begin studying short-run fluctuations, they understand fully the long-run equilibrium around which the economy is fluctuating. Third, beginning with market-clearing models clarifies

the link between macroeconomics and microeconomics. Fourth, students learn first the material that is less controversial among macroeconomists. For all these reasons, the strategy of beginning with long-run classical models simplifies the teaching of macroeconomics.

Let's now move from strategy to tactics. What follows is a whirlwind tour of the book.

Part One, Introduction

The introductory material in Part One is brief so that students can get to the core topics quickly. Chapter 1 discusses the broad questions that macroeconomists address and the economist's approach of building models to explain the world. Chapter 2 introduces the key data of macroeconomics, emphasizing gross domestic product, the consumer price index, and the unemployment rate.

Part Two, Classical Theory: The Economy in the Long Run

Part Two examines the long run, over which prices are flexible. Chapter 3 presents the basic classical model of national income. In this model, the factors of production and the production technology determine the level of income, and the marginal products of the factors determine its distribution to households. In addition, the model shows how fiscal policy influences the allocation of the economy's resources among consumption, investment, and government purchases, and it highlights how the real interest rate equilibrates the supply and demand for goods and services.

Money and the price level are introduced next. Chapter 4 examines the monetary system and the tools of monetary policy. Chapter 5 begins the discussion of the effects of monetary policy. Because prices are assumed to be fully flexible, the chapter presents the prominent ideas of classical monetary theory: the quantity theory of money, the inflation tax, the Fisher effect, the social costs of inflation, and the causes and costs of hyperinflation.

The study of open-economy macroeconomics begins in Chapter 6. Maintaining the assumption of full employment, this chapter presents models to explain the trade balance and the exchange rate. Various policy issues are addressed: the relationship between the budget deficit and the trade deficit, the macroeconomic impact of protectionist trade policies, and the effect of monetary policy on the value of a currency in the market for foreign exchange.

Chapter 7 relaxes the assumption of full employment by discussing the dynamics of the labor market and the natural rate of unemployment. It examines various causes of unemployment, including job search, minimum-wage laws, union power, and efficiency wages. It also presents some important facts about patterns of unemployment.

Part Three, Growth Theory: The Economy in the Very Long Run

Part Three makes the classical analysis of the economy dynamic by developing the tools of modern growth theory. Chapter 8 introduces the Solow growth model as a description of how the economy evolves over time. This chapter emphasizes the roles of capital accumulation and population growth. Chapter 9 then adds

technological progress to the Solow model. It uses the model to discuss growth experiences around the world as well as public policies that influence the level and growth of the standard of living. Finally, Chapter 9 introduces students to the modern theories of endogenous growth.

Part Four, Business Cycle Theory: The Economy in the Short Run

Part Four examines the short run when prices are sticky. It begins in Chapter 10 by examining some of the key facts that describe short-run fluctuations in economic activity. The chapter then introduces the model of aggregate supply and aggregate demand as well as the role of stabilization policy. Subsequent chapters refine the ideas introduced in this chapter.

Chapters 11 and 12 look more closely at aggregate demand. Chapter 11 presents the Keynesian cross and the theory of liquidity preference and uses these models as building blocks for developing the *IS–LM* model. Chapter 12 uses the *IS–LM* model to explain economic fluctuations and the aggregate demand curve. It concludes with an extended case study of the Great Depression.

The study of short-run fluctuations continues in Chapter 13, which focuses on aggregate demand in an open economy. This chapter presents the Mundell–Fleming model and shows how monetary and fiscal policies affect the economy under floating and fixed exchange-rate systems. It also discusses the debate over whether exchange rates should be floating or fixed.

Chapter 14 looks more closely at aggregate supply. It examines various approaches to explaining the short-run aggregate supply curve and discusses the short-run tradeoff between inflation and unemployment.

Part Five, Topics in Macroeconomic Theory

After developing basic theories to explain the economy in the long run and in the short run, the book turns to several topics that refine our understanding of the economy. Part Five focuses on theoretical topics, and Part Six focuses on policy topics. These chapters are written to be used flexibly, so instructors can pick and choose which topics to cover. Some of these chapters can also be covered earlier in the course, depending on the instructor's preferences.

Chapter 15 develops a dynamic model of aggregate demand and aggregate supply. It builds on ideas that students have already encountered and uses those ideas as stepping-stones to take the student close to the frontier of knowledge concerning short-run economic fluctuations. The model presented here is a simplified version of modern dynamic, stochastic, general equilibrium (DSGE) models.

The next two chapters analyze more fully some of the microeconomic decisions behind macroeconomic phenomena. Chapter 16 presents the various theories of consumer behavior, including the Keynesian consumption function, Fisher's model of intertemporal choice, Modigliani's life-cycle hypothesis, Friedman's permanent-income hypothesis, Hall's random-walk hypothesis, and Laibson's model of instant gratification. Chapter 17 examines the theory behind the investment function.

Part Six, Topics in Macroeconomic Policy

Once students have solid command of standard macroeconomic models, the book uses these models as the foundation for discussing some of the key debates over economic policy. Chapter 18 considers the debate over how policymakers should respond to short-run economic fluctuations. It emphasizes two broad questions: Should monetary and fiscal policy be active or passive? Should policy be conducted by rule or by discretion? The chapter presents arguments on both sides of these questions.

Chapter 19 focuses on the various debates over government debt and budget deficits. It gives a broad picture about the magnitude of government indebtedness, discusses why measuring budget deficits is not always straightforward, recaps the traditional view of the effects of government debt, presents Ricardian equivalence as an alternative view, and discusses various other perspectives on government debt. As in the previous chapter, students are not handed conclusions but are given the tools to evaluate the alternative viewpoints on their own.

Chapter 20 discusses the financial system and its linkages to the overall economy. It begins by examining what the financial system does: financing investment, sharing risk, dealing with asymmetric information, and fostering economic growth. It then discusses the causes of financial crises, their macroeconomic impact, and the policies that might mitigate their effects and reduce their likelihood.

Epilogue

The book ends with a brief epilogue that reviews the broad lessons about which most macroeconomists agree and discusses some of the most important open questions. Regardless of which chapters an instructor chooses to cover, this capstone chapter can be used to remind students how the many models and themes of macroeconomics relate to one another. Here and throughout the book, I emphasize that despite the disagreements among macroeconomists, there is much that we know about how the economy works.

Alternative Routes Through the Text

Although I have organized the material in the way that I prefer to teach intermediate-level macroeconomics, I understand that other instructors have different preferences. I tried to keep this in mind as I wrote the book so that it would offer a degree of flexibility. Here are a few ways that instructors might consider rearranging the material:

- ▶ Some instructors are eager to cover short-run economic fluctuations. For such a course, I recommend covering Chapters 1 through 5 so that students are grounded in the basics of classical theory and then jumping to Chapters 10, 11, 12, 14, and 15 to cover the model of aggregate demand and aggregate supply.
- ▶ Some instructors are eager to cover long-run economic growth. These instructors can cover Chapters 8 and 9 immediately after Chapter 3.

- ▶ An instructor who wants to defer (or even skip) open-economy macroeconomics can put off Chapters 6 and 13 without loss of continuity.
- ▶ An instructor who wants to emphasize economic policy can skip Chapters 8, 9, 15, 16, and 17 in order to get to Chapters 18, 19, and 20 more quickly.

The successful experiences of hundreds of instructors with previous editions suggest this text complements well a variety of approaches to the field.

Learning Tools

I am pleased that students have found the previous editions of this book user-friendly. I have tried to make this ninth edition even more so. I am most excited about the parallel problems that students can see in LaunchPad's Work It Out feature.

Case Studies

Economics comes to life when it is applied to understanding actual events. Therefore, the numerous Case Studies (many new or revised in this edition) are an important learning tool, integrated closely with the theoretical material presented in each chapter. The frequency with which these Case Studies occur ensures that a student does not have to grapple with an overdose of theory before seeing the theory applied. Students report that the Case Studies are their favorite part of the book.

FYI Boxes

These boxes present ancillary material "for your information." I use these boxes to clarify difficult concepts, to provide additional information about the tools of economics, and to show how economics relates to our daily lives. Several are new or revised in this edition.

Graphs

Understanding graphical analysis is a key part of learning macroeconomics, and I have worked hard to make the figures easy to follow. I often use comment boxes within figures to briefly describe and draw attention to the important points that the figures illustrate. The pedagogical use of color, detailed captions, and comment boxes makes it easier for students to learn and review the material.

Mathematical Notes

I use occasional mathematical footnotes to keep more difficult material out of the body of the text. These notes make an argument more rigorous or present a proof of a mathematical result. They can easily be skipped by those students who have not been introduced to the necessary mathematical tools.

Chapter Summaries

Every chapter ends with a brief, nontechnical summary of its major lessons. Students can use the summaries to place the material in perspective and to review for exams.

Key Concepts

Learning the language of a field is a major part of any course. Within the chapter, each key concept is in **boldface** when it is introduced. At the end of the chapter, the key concepts are listed for review.

Questions for Review

After studying a chapter, students can immediately test their understanding of its basic lessons by answering the Questions for Review.

Problems and Applications

Every chapter includes Problems and Applications designed for homework assignments. Some are numerical applications of the theory in the chapter. Others encourage the student to go beyond the material in the chapter by addressing new issues that are closely related to the chapter topics. In most of the core chapters, a few problems are identified with this icon: LounchPod. For each of these problems, students can find a Work It Out tutorial on LaunchPad for *Macroeconomics*, Ninth Edition: http://www.macmillanhighered.com/launchpad/mankiw9e.

Chapter Appendices

Several chapters include appendices that offer additional material, sometimes at a higher level of mathematical sophistication. These appendices are designed so that instructors can cover certain topics in greater depth if they wish. The appendices can be skipped altogether without loss of continuity.

Glossary

To help students become familiar with the language of macroeconomics, a glossary of more than 250 terms is provided at the back of the book.

International Editions

The English-language version of this book has been used in dozens of countries. To make the book more accessible for students around the world, editions are (or will soon be) available in 15 other languages: Armenian, Chinese, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Spanish, and Ukrainian. In addition, a Canadian adaptation coauthored with William Scarth (McMaster University) and a European adaptation coauthored with Mark Taylor (University of Warwick) are available. Instructors who would like information about these versions of the book should contact Worth Publishers.

Acknowledgments

Since I started writing the first edition of this book, I have benefited from the input of many reviewers and colleagues in the economics profession. Now that the book is in its ninth edition, these people are too numerous to list in their entirety. However, I continue to be grateful for their willingness to have given up their scarce time to help

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George Washington University

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Finally, I would like to thank my three children, Catherine, Nicholas, and Peter. They helped immensely with this revision—both by providing a pleasant distraction and by reminding me that textbooks are written for the next generation.

M. Gregory Mankin

Supplements and Media



Resources for Students and Instructors

http://www.macmillanhighered.com/launchpad/mankiw9e

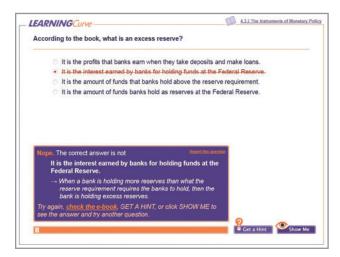
Our new coursespace, LaunchPad, combines an interactive e-Book with high-quality multimedia content and ready-made assessment options, including LearningCurve adaptive quizzing. Prebuilt curated units are easy to assign or adapt with your own material, such as readings, videos, quizzes, and discussion groups. LaunchPad also provides access to a gradebook that provides a clear window on performance for the whole class, for individual students, and for individual assignments.

Worth Publishers has worked closely with Greg Mankiw and a team of talented economics instructors to put together a variety of resources to aid instructors and students. We have been delighted at the positive feedback we have received on these supplements.

For Students



LearningCurve is an adaptive quizzing engine that automatically adjusts questions to a student's mastery level. With LearningCurve activities, each student follows a unique path to understanding the material. The more questions a student answers correctly, the more difficult the questions become. Each question is written specifically for the text and is linked to the relevant e-Book section. LearningCurve also provides a personal study plan for students as well as complete metrics for instructors. Proven to raise student performance, LearningCurve serves as an ideal formative assessment and learning tool. For detailed information, visit http://learningcurveworks.com.



NEW Work It Out Tutorials

New to this edition, these tutorials guide students through the process of applying economic analysis to solve a problem similar to the end-of-chapter problems found in the text. Choice-specific feedback and video explanations provide students with interactive assistance for each step of the problem.

Macro Models

These modules provide simulations of the models presented in the book. Students can change the exogenous variables and see the outcomes in terms of shifting curves and recalculated numerical values of the endogenous variables. Each module contains exercises that instructors can assign as homework.

Fed Chairman Game

Created by the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, this game allows students to become Chairman of the Fed and to make macroeconomic policy decisions based on news events and economic statistics. It gives students a sense of the complex interconnections that influence the economy. It is also fun to play.

Flashcards

Students can test their knowledge of the definitions in the glossary with these virtual flashcards.

For Instructors

Instructor's Resource Manual

Robert G. Murphy (Boston College) has revised the impressive resource manual for instructors. For each chapter of this book, the manual contains notes to the instructor, a detailed lecture outline, additional case studies, and coverage of advanced topics. Instructors can use the manual to prepare their lectures, and they can reproduce whatever pages they choose as handouts for students. Each chapter also contains a Dismal Scientist Activity (www.dismalscientist.com), which challenges students to combine the chapter knowledge with a high-powered business database and analysis service that offers real-time monitoring of the global economy.

Solutions Manual

Nora Underwood (University of Central Florida) has updated the Solutions Manual for all the Questions for Review and Problems and Applications found in the text.

Test Bank

The Test Bank has been revised for the ninth edition so that it now includes over 2,500 multiple-choice questions, numerical problems, and short-answer graphical questions to accompany each chapter of the text. The Test Bank provides a wide range of questions appropriate for assessing students' comprehension, interpretation, analysis, and synthesis skills.

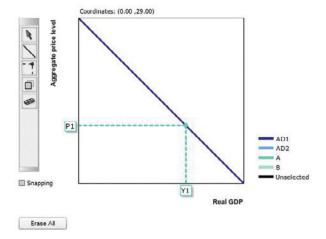
Lecture Slides

Ron Cronovich (Carthage College) has revised his lecture slides of the material in each chapter. They feature animated graphs with careful explanations and additional case studies, data, and helpful notes to the instructor. Designed to be customized or used as they are, they include easy directions for instructors who have little experience with PowerPoint.

Graphing Questions

As a further question bank for instructors building assignments and tests, the electronically gradable graphing problems utilize our own robust graphing engine. In these problems, students will be asked to draw their response to a question, and the software will automatically grade that response. Graphing questions are tagged to appropriate textbook sections and range in difficulty level and skill.

The accompanying graph shows an aggregate demand curve (AD1) with the current level aggregate price level and level of real GDP noted at point A. Suppose there is an increase in the aggregate price level. Modify the graph to reflect this change by drawing a new curve and/or plotting a new point on the aggregate demand curve. Label the new curve AD2 and/or label the new point B.



Practice and Graded Homework Assignments

Each LaunchPad unit contains prebuilt assignments, providing instructors with a curated set of multiple-choice and graphing questions that can be easily assigned for practice or graded assessment.

Additional Online Offerings



Worth/Aplia courses are all available with digital textbooks, interactive assignments, and detailed feedback. With Aplia, you retain complete control of and flexibility for your course. You choose the content you want students to cover, and you decide how to organize it. You decide whether online activities are practice (ungraded or graded). For a preview of Aplia materials and to learn more, visit http://www.aplia.com/economics/

The integrated online version of the Aplia media and the Mankiw text includes the following items:

- ► Extra problem sets (derived from in-chapter questions in the book) suitable for homework and keyed to specific topics from each chapter
- Regularly updated news analyses
- ▶ Real-time online simulations of market interactions
- ▶ Interactive tutorials to assist with math and graphing
- ► Instant online reports that allow instructors to target student trouble areas more efficiently



The Science of Macroeconomics

The whole of science is nothing more than the refinement of everyday thinking.

—Albert Einstein

hen Albert Einstein made the above observation about the nature of science, he was probably referring to physics, chemistry, and other natural sciences. But the statement is equally true when applied to social sciences like economics. As a participant in the economy, and as a citizen in a democracy, you cannot help but think about economic issues as you go about your life or when you enter the voting booth. But if you are like most people, your everyday thinking about economics has probably been casual rather than rigorous (or at least it was before you took your first economics course). The goal of studying economics is to refine that thinking. This book aims to help you in that endeavor, focusing on the part of the field called **macroeconomics**, which studies the forces that influence the economy as a whole.

时 What Macroeconomists Study

Why have some countries experienced rapid growth in incomes over the past century while others have stayed mired in poverty? Why do some countries have high rates of inflation while others maintain stable prices? Why do all countries experience recessions and depressions—recurrent periods of falling incomes and rising unemployment—and how can government policy reduce the frequency and severity of these episodes? Macroeconomics attempts to answer these and many related questions.

To appreciate the importance of macroeconomics, you need only head over to some online news Web site. Every day you can see headlines such as INCOME GROWTH REBOUNDS, FED MOVES TO COMBAT INFLATION, or STOCKS FALL AMID RECESSION FEARS. These macroeconomic events may seem abstract, but they touch all of our lives. Business executives forecasting the demand for their products must guess how fast consumers' incomes will grow. Senior citizens living on fixed incomes wonder how fast prices will rise. Recent college graduates looking for jobs hope that the economy will boom and that firms will be hiring.

Because the state of the economy affects everyone, macroeconomic issues play a central role in national political debates. Voters are aware of how the economy is doing, and they know that government policy can affect the economy in powerful ways. As a result, the popularity of an incumbent president often rises when the economy is doing well and falls when it is doing poorly.

Macroeconomic issues are also central to world politics, and the international news is filled with macroeconomic questions. Was it a good move for much of Europe to adopt a common currency? Should China maintain a fixed exchange rate against the U.S. dollar? Why is the United States running large trade deficits? How can poor nations raise their standards of living? When world leaders meet, these topics are often high on their agenda.

Although the job of making economic policy belongs to world leaders, the job of explaining the workings of the economy as a whole falls to macroeconomists. Toward this end, macroeconomists collect data on incomes, prices, unemployment, and many other variables from different time periods and different countries. They then attempt to formulate general theories to explain these data. Like astronomers studying the evolution of stars or biologists studying the evolution of species, macroeconomists cannot conduct controlled experiments in a laboratory. Instead, they must make use of the data that history gives them. Macroeconomists observe that economies differ across countries and that they change over time. These observations provide both the motivation for developing macroeconomic theories and the data for testing them.

To be sure, macroeconomics is an imperfect science. The macroeconomist's ability to predict the future course of economic events is no better than the meteorologist's ability to predict next month's weather. But, as you will see, macroeconomists know quite a lot about how economies work. This knowledge is useful both for explaining economic events and for formulating economic policy.

Every era has its own economic problems. In the 1970s, Presidents Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter all wrestled in vain with a rising rate of inflation. In the 1980s, inflation subsided, but Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush presided over large federal budget deficits. In the 1990s, with President Bill Clinton in the Oval Office, the economy and stock market enjoyed a remarkable boom, and the federal budget turned from deficit to surplus. As Clinton left office, however, the stock market was in retreat, and the economy was heading into recession. In 2001 President George W. Bush reduced taxes to help end the recession, but the tax cuts contributed to a reemergence of budget deficits.

President Barack Obama moved into the White House in 2009 during a period of heightened economic turbulence. The economy was reeling from a financial crisis, driven by a large drop in housing prices, a steep rise in mortgage defaults, and the bankruptcy or near-bankruptcy of many financial institutions. As the financial crisis spread, it raised the specter of the Great Depression of the 1930s, when in its worst year one out of four Americans who wanted to work could not find a job. In 2008 and 2009, officials in the Treasury, Federal Reserve, and other parts of government acted vigorously to prevent a recurrence of that outcome. And while they succeeded—the unemployment rate peaked at 10 percent—the downturn was nonetheless severe, the subsequent recovery was painfully slow, and the policies enacted left a legacy of greatly expanded government debt.

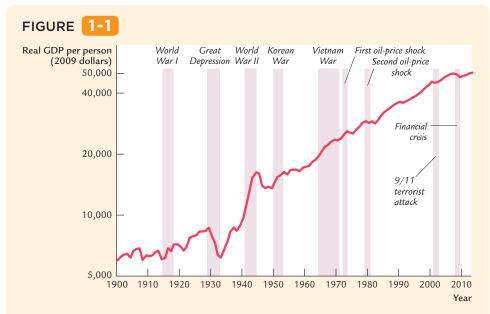
Macroeconomic history is not a simple story, but it provides a rich motivation for macroeconomic theory. While the basic principles of macroeconomics do not change from decade to decade, the macroeconomist must apply these principles with flexibility and creativity to meet changing circumstances.

CASE STUDY

The Historical Performance of the U.S. Economy

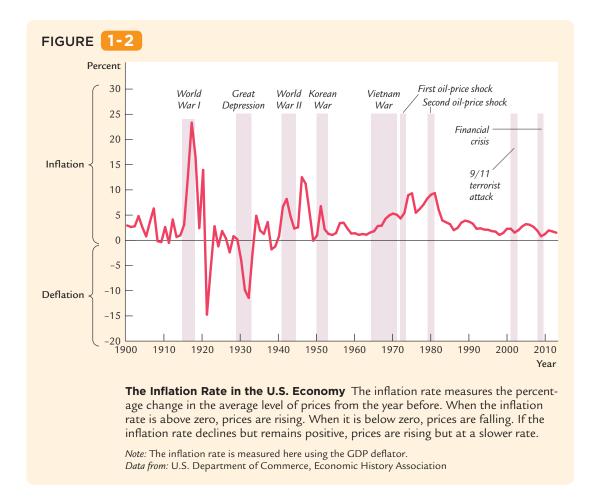
Economists use many types of data to measure the performance of an economy. Three macroeconomic variables are especially important: real gross domestic product (GDP), the inflation rate, and the unemployment rate. Real GDP measures the total income of everyone in the economy (adjusted for the level of prices). The **inflation rate** measures how fast prices are rising. The **unemployment rate** measures the fraction of the labor force that is out of work. Macroeconomists study how these variables are determined, why they change over time, and how they interact with one another.

Figure 1-1 shows real GDP per person in the United States. Two aspects of this figure are noteworthy. First, real GDP grows over time. Real GDP per person



Real GDP per Person in the U.S. Economy Real GDP measures the total income of everyone in the economy, and real GDP per person measures the income of the average person in the economy. This figure shows that real GDP per person tends to grow over time and that this normal growth is sometimes interrupted by periods of declining income, called recessions or depressions.

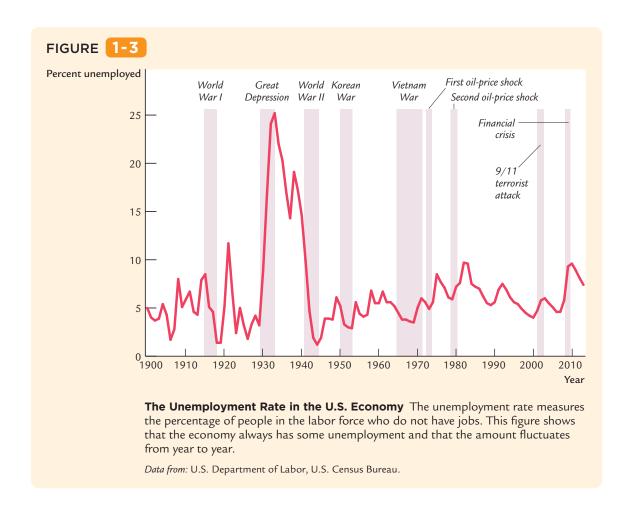
Note: Real GDP is plotted here on a logarithmic scale. On such a scale, equal distances on the vertical axis represent equal percentage changes. Thus, the distance between \$5,000 and \$10,000 (a 100 percent change) is the same as the distance between \$10,000 and \$20,000 (a 100 percent change). Data from: U.S. Department of Commerce, Economic History Association.



today is about eight times higher than it was in 1900. This growth in average income allows us to enjoy a much higher standard of living than our greatgrandparents did. Second, although real GDP rises in most years, this growth is not steady. There are repeated periods during which real GDP falls, the most dramatic instance being the early 1930s. Such periods are called **recessions** if they are mild and **depressions** if they are more severe. Not surprisingly, periods of declining income are associated with substantial economic hardship.

Figure 1-2 shows the U.S. inflation rate. You can see that inflation varies substantially over time. In the first half of the twentieth century, the inflation rate averaged only slightly above zero. Periods of falling prices, called **deflation**, were almost as common as periods of rising prices. By contrast, inflation has been the norm during the past half century. Inflation became most severe during the late 1970s, when prices rose at a rate of almost 10 percent per year. In recent years, the inflation rate has been about 2 percent per year, indicating that prices have been fairly stable.

Figure 1-3 shows the U.S. unemployment rate. Notice that there is always some unemployment in the economy. In addition, although the unemployment rate has no long-term trend, it varies substantially from year to year. Recessions



and depressions are associated with unusually high unemployment. The highest rates of unemployment were reached during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The worst economic downturn since the Great Depression occurred in the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2008–2009, when unemployment rose substantially. Even several years after the crisis, unemployment remained high.

These three figures offer a glimpse at the history of the U.S. economy. In the chapters that follow, we first discuss how these variables are measured and then develop theories to explain how they behave. ■

How Economists Think

Economists often study politically charged issues, but they try to address these issues with a scientist's objectivity. Like any science, economics has its own set of tools—terminology, data, and a way of thinking—that can seem foreign and arcane to the layman. The best way to become familiar with these tools is to practice using them, and this book affords you ample opportunity to do so. To make these tools less forbidding, however, let's discuss a few of them here.

Theory as Model Building

Young children learn much about the world around them by playing with toy versions of real objects. For instance, they often put together models of cars, trains, or planes. These models are far from realistic, but the model-builder learns a lot from them nonetheless. The model illustrates the essence of the real object it is designed to resemble. (In addition, for many children, building models is fun.)

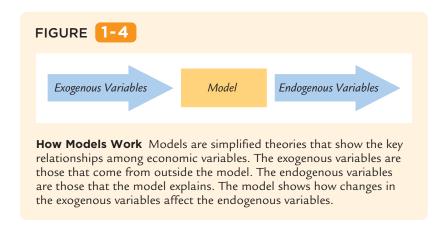
Economists also use **models** to understand the world, but an economist's model is more likely to be made of symbols and equations than plastic and glue. Economists build their "toy economies" to help explain economic variables, such as GDP, inflation, and unemployment. Economic models illustrate, often in mathematical terms, the relationships among the variables. Models are useful because they help us dispense with irrelevant details and focus on underlying connections. (In addition, for many economists, building models is fun.)

Models have two kinds of variables: endogenous variables and exogenous variables. Endogenous variables are those variables that a model tries to explain. **Exogenous variables** are those variables that a model takes as given. The purpose of a model is to show how the exogenous variables affect the endogenous variables. In other words, as Figure 1-4 illustrates, exogenous variables come from outside the model and serve as the model's input, whereas endogenous variables are determined within the model and are the model's output.

To make these ideas more concrete, let's review the most celebrated of all economic models—the model of supply and demand. Imagine that an economist wants to figure out what factors influence the price of pizza and the quantity of pizza sold. She would develop a model that described the behavior of pizza buyers, the behavior of pizza sellers, and their interaction in the market for pizza. For example, the economist supposes that the quantity of pizza demanded by consumers Q^d depends on the price of pizza P and on aggregate income Y. This relationship is expressed in the equation

$$Q^d = D(P, Y),$$

where D() represents the demand function. Similarly, the economist supposes that the quantity of pizza supplied by pizzerias Q^s depends on the price of pizza



P and on the price of materials P_m , such as cheese, tomatoes, flour, and anchovies. This relationship is expressed as

$$Q^s = S(P, P_m),$$

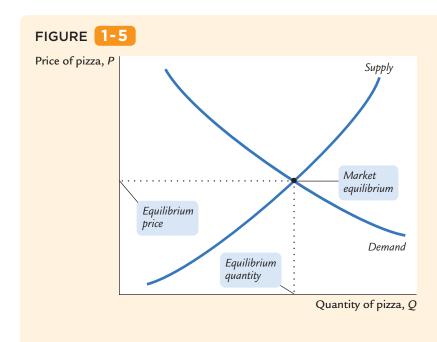
where S() represents the supply function. Finally, the economist assumes that the price of pizza adjusts to bring the quantity supplied and quantity demanded into balance:

$$Q^s = Q^d$$
.

These three equations compose a model of the market for pizza.

The economist illustrates the model with a supply-and-demand diagram, as in Figure 1-5. The demand curve shows the relationship between the quantity of pizza demanded and the price of pizza, holding aggregate income constant. The demand curve slopes downward because a higher price of pizza encourages consumers to buy less pizza and switch to, say, hamburgers and tacos. The supply curve shows the relationship between the quantity of pizza supplied and the price of pizza, holding the price of materials constant. The supply curve slopes upward because a higher price of pizza makes selling pizza more profitable, which encourages pizzerias to produce more of it. The equilibrium for the market is the price and quantity at which the supply and demand curves intersect. At the equilibrium price, consumers choose to buy the amount of pizza that pizzerias choose to produce.

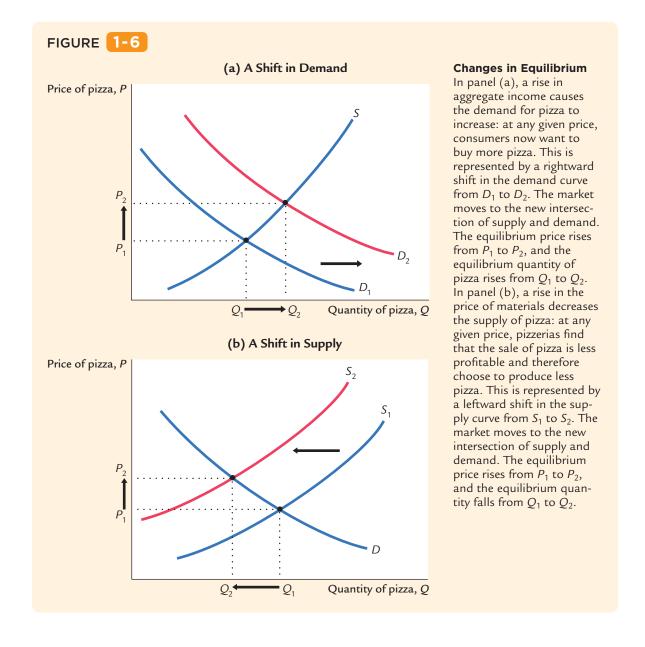
This model of the pizza market has two exogenous variables and two endogenous variables. The exogenous variables are aggregate income and the price of



The Model of Supply and **Demand** The most famous economic model is that of supply and demand for a good or service-in this case, pizza. The demand curve is a downward-sloping curve relating the price of pizza to the quantity of pizza that consumers demand. The supply curve is an upwardsloping curve relating the price of pizza to the quantity of pizza that pizzerias supply. The price of pizza adjusts until the quantity supplied equals the quantity demanded. The point where the two curves cross is the market equilibrium, which shows the equilibrium price of pizza and the equilibrium quantity of pizza.

materials. The model does not attempt to explain them but instead takes them as given (perhaps to be explained by another model). The endogenous variables are the price of pizza and the quantity of pizza exchanged. These are the variables that the model attempts to explain.

The model can be used to show how a change in one of the exogenous variables affects both endogenous variables. For example, if aggregate income increases, then the demand for pizza increases, as in panel (a) of Figure 1-6. The model shows that both the equilibrium price and the equilibrium quantity of pizza rise. Similarly, if the price of materials increases, then the supply of pizza decreases, as in panel (b) of Figure 1-6. The model shows that in this case the equilibrium price of pizza rises and the equilibrium quantity of pizza falls.



Thus, the model shows how changes either in aggregate income or in the price of materials affect price and quantity in the market for pizza.

Like all models, this model of the pizza market makes simplifying assumptions. The model does not take into account, for example, that every pizzeria is in a different location. For each customer, one pizzeria is more convenient than the others, and thus pizzerias have some ability to set their own prices. The model assumes that there is a single price for pizza, but in fact there could be a different price at every pizzeria.

How should we react to the model's lack of realism? Should we discard the simple model of pizza supply and demand? Should we attempt to build a more complex model that allows for diverse pizza prices? The answers to these questions depend on our purpose. If our goal is to explain how the price of cheese affects the average price of pizza and the amount of pizza sold, then the diversity of pizza prices is probably not important. The simple model of the pizza market does a good job of addressing that issue. Yet if our goal is to explain why towns with ten pizzerias have lower pizza prices than towns with only two, the simple model is less useful.

The art in economics lies in judging when a simplifying assumption (such as assuming a single price of pizza) clarifies our thinking and when it misleads us.

Using Functions to Express Relationships Among Variables

All economic models express relationships among economic variables. Often, these relationships are expressed as functions. A function is a mathematical concept that shows how one variable depends on a set of other variables. For example, in the model of the pizza market, we said that the quantity of pizza demanded depends on the price of pizza and on aggregate income. To express this, we use functional notation to write

$$Q^d = D(P, Y).$$

This equation says that the quantity of pizza demanded Q^d is a function of the price of pizza Pand aggregate income Y. In functional notation, the variable preceding the parentheses denotes the function. In this case, D() is the function expressing how the variables in parentheses determine the quantity of pizza demanded.

If we knew more about the pizza market, we could give a numerical formula for the quantity of pizza demanded. For example, we might be able to write

$$Q^d = 60 - 10P + 2Y$$
.

In this case, the demand function is

$$D(P, Y) = 60 - 10P + 2Y.$$

For any price of pizza and aggregate income, this function gives the corresponding quantity of pizza demanded. For example, if aggregate income is \$10 and the price of pizza is \$2, then the quantity of pizza demanded is 60 pies; if the price of pizza rises to \$3, the quantity of pizza demanded falls to 50 pies.

Functional notation allows us to express the general idea that variables are related, even when we do not have enough information to indicate the precise numerical relationship. For example, we might know that the quantity of pizza demanded falls when the price rises from \$2 to \$3, but we might not know by how much it falls. In this case, functional notation is useful: as long as we know that a relationship among the variables exists, we can express that relationship using functional notation.