

# The Economics of the Coronavirus: Lives versus Livelihoods

Professor Alistair McGuire,  
Department of Health Policy, LSE

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# Outline

- Background to the COVID19 infection
- Was the lockdown response worthwhile?
- Longer term economic implications



# The infection

- Coronaviruses family of animal viruses
- Some “jump” to humans
- Covid-19 is one such virus with a broad disease spectrum
- So far 20% of Covid-19 classed as “severe” cases, with death rate 0.7 – 3.4%
- Chinese scientists believe Covid-19 has mutated into 2 strains making vaccine more difficult to develop
- Over 3 million known cases globally (215,000 deaths) (29<sup>th</sup> April)



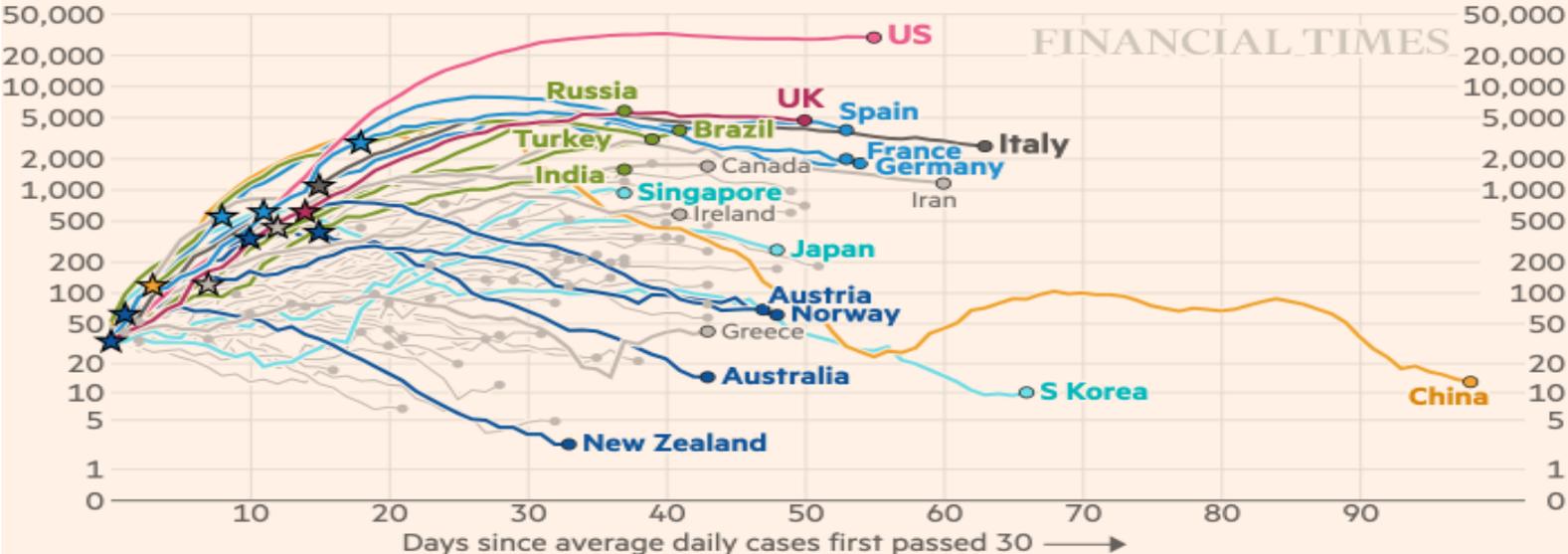
# Dynamics of infections

- $\Delta \text{Infected population} = \beta \cdot \text{Susceptible population} \cdot \text{Infected population} - \gamma \cdot \text{Infected Population}$ 
  - where  $\beta$  (contact rate) and  $\gamma$  (recovery rate)
  - These define the reproduction number:  $R_0 = \beta / \gamma$
- The impact of a lockdown rate can be introduced as  $\theta^2$ 
  - So we now have
- $\Delta \text{Infected population} = \beta \cdot \theta^2 \cdot \text{Susceptible population} \cdot \text{Infected population} - \gamma \cdot \text{Infected Population}$
- A number of things to note here:
  - $R_0$  can be calculated in different ways depending on how "time" is modelled; average duration of exposure; average duration of latent infectious state; delay between infection and diagnosis, etc (all dependent on the modelling of  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  which are rates)
  - $\beta$  is a social & economic parameter reflecting how the population interacts (population density; social integration; age at infection; migration rates; seasonality, etc)
  - So is  $\theta^2$  reflects different "types" of lockdown (harsh versus soft); a power function to represent the "exponential" character of infection
  - Vaccination affects the susceptible population

# The Global Pandemic

Several countries have turned the corner, with numbers of new cases now in decline

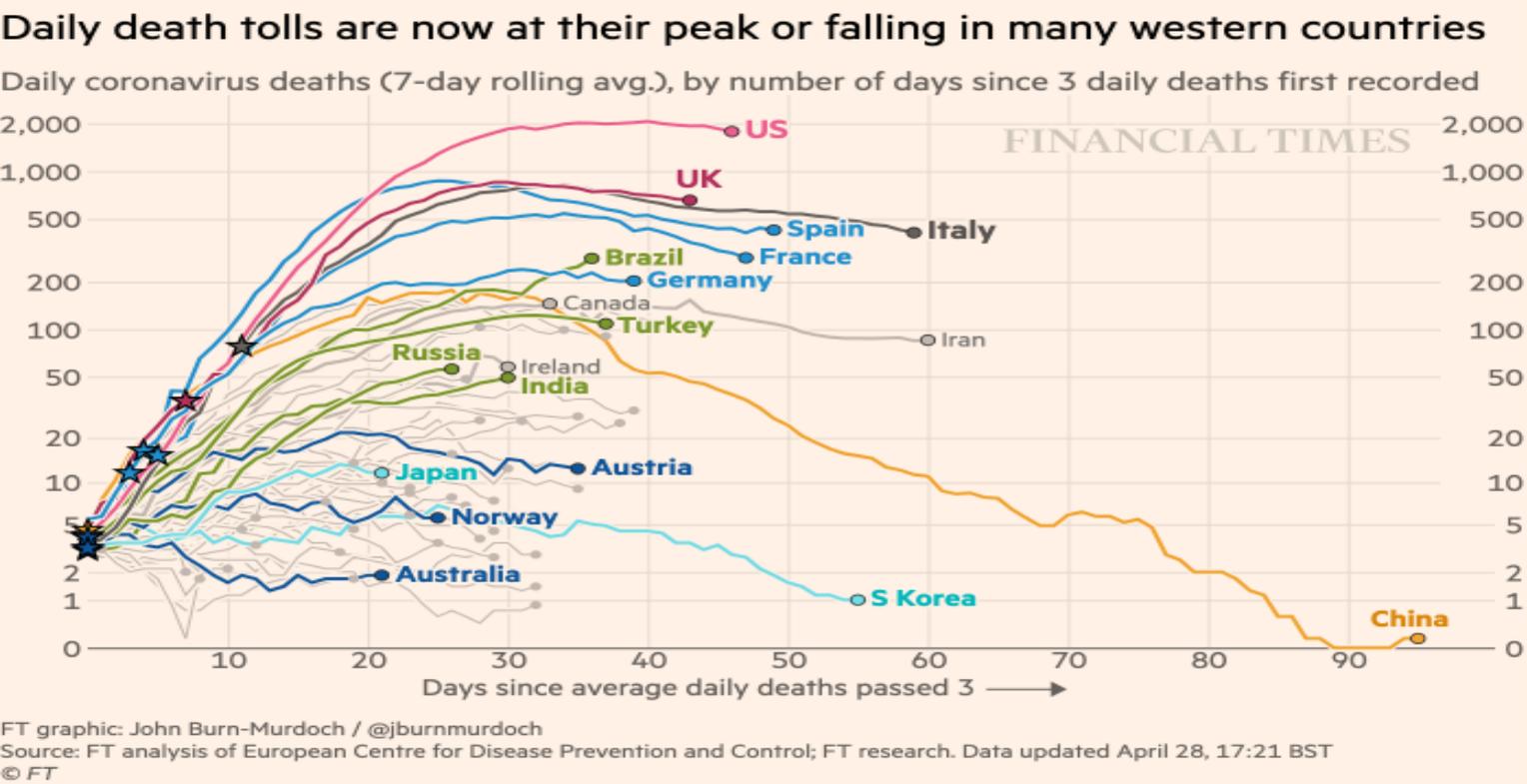
Daily confirmed cases (7-day rolling avg.), by number of days since 30 daily cases first recorded  
Stars represent national lockdowns ★



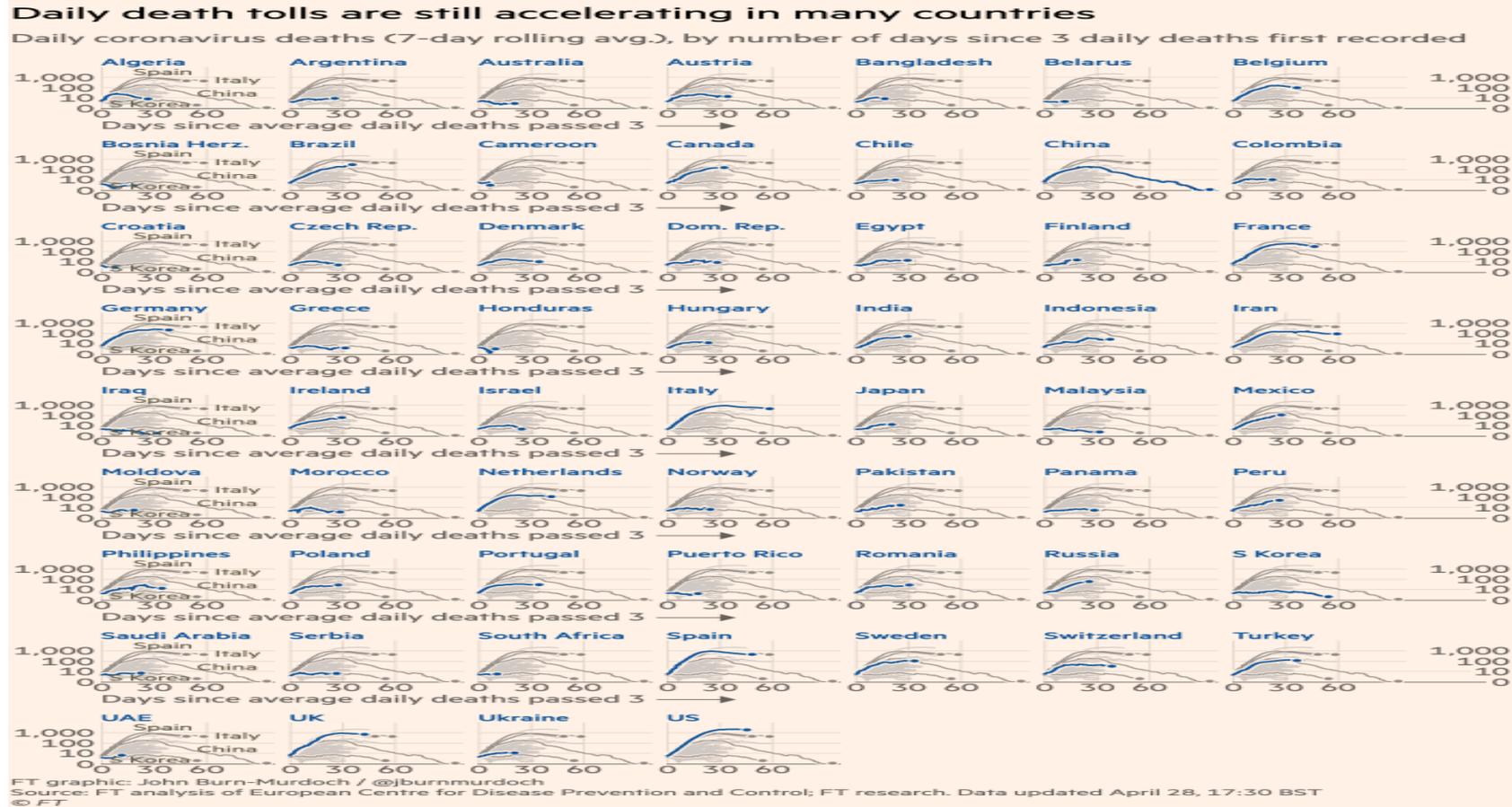
FT graphic: John Burn-Murdoch / @jburnmurdoch  
Source: FT analysis of European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control; FT research. Data updated April 28, 17:12 BST  
© FT



# The Global Pandemic



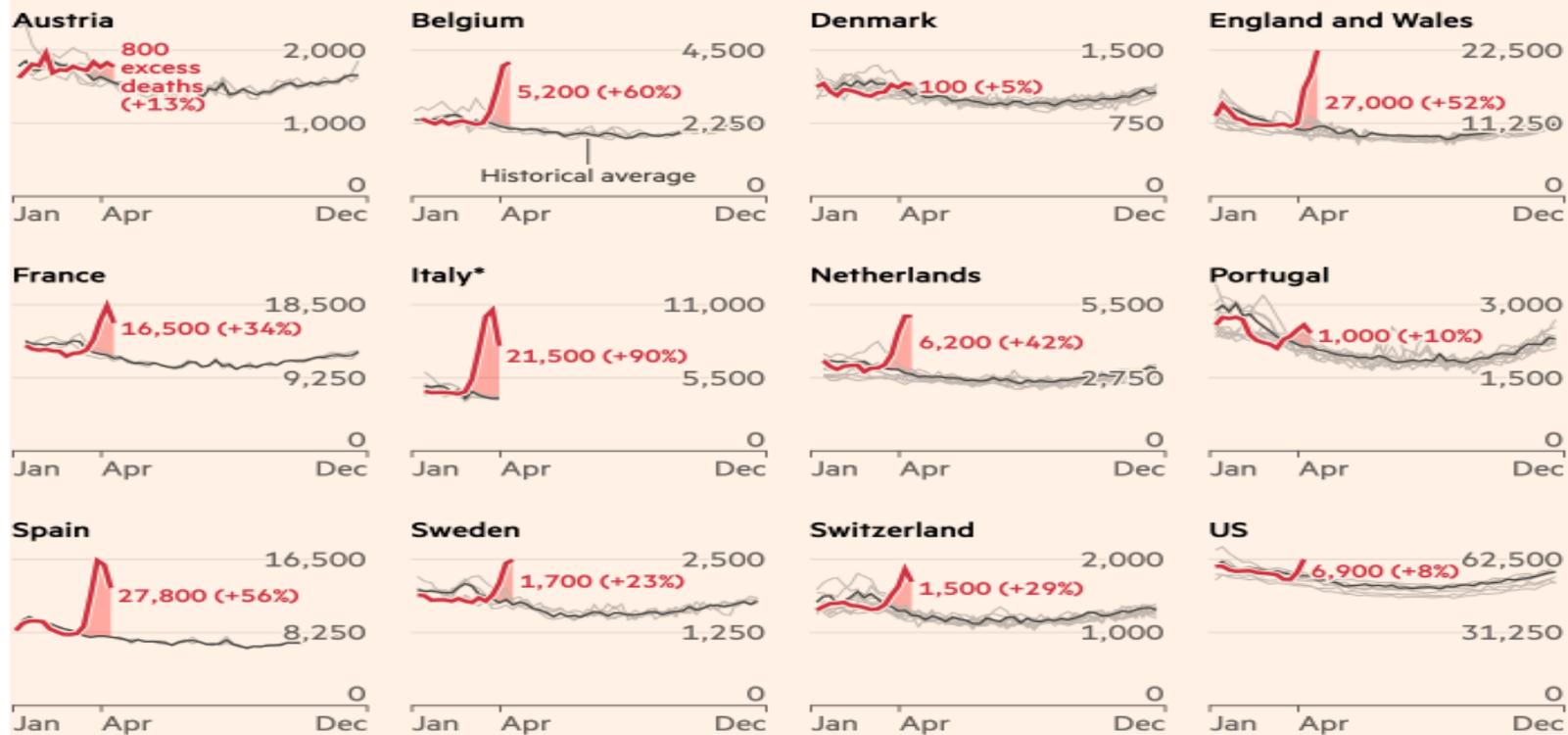
# The Global Pandemic



# The Global Pandemic

Death rates have climbed far above historical averages in many countries that have faced Covid-19 outbreaks

Number of deaths per week from all causes, 2020 vs recent years:



Source: FT analysis of mortality data. Data updated April 28

\*Italian figures are for a subset of the country where data is available

\*\*Combined locations figure is only for weeks where all locations have reported mortality statistics

FT graphic: John Burn-Murdoch / @jburnmurdoch

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# The Global Pandemic

- Some things we do *not* know
  - The precise death rate
    - Testing has not been universal
    - Excess death rate is retrospective
  - The counterfactual of a lockdown
- The full economic impact of the Pandemic
  - But I now want to turn to this...



# Was lockdown worth it?

- Touches on notion of the value of a (statistical) life
- Based on Willingness to Pay for changing the probability of death
- So what is the probability of death from COVID19?
- Difficult to know as we don't know the infection rate within a given population & therefore don't know the true infection fatality rate

# Was lockdown worth it?

- Or do we know?
- Cruise ship Diana Princess was infected
  - 3,711 passengers & crew
  - 705 individuals affected with COVID19
- Approximately a 20% (severe) infection rate
- Case fatality rate approximately 1%
  - Of countries that had carried out 10,000 tests by April 22 (the fatality rate for those who tested positive lies between 0.1% Singapore to 14.6% Belgium; Average 4%)

# Was lockdown worth it? Applying these figures to USA & UK

## USA

- USA population 328.2 million; 20% infected (65.6m); 1% die (0.656m)
- Monetary value of life used by US Environmental Agency in 2016 = \$10m & by US Dept of Transport in 2016 = \$9.6m
- So without lockdown monetary value of lives saved is \$6.56 trillion OR \$6.30 trillion (depending on VoL used)
- Of course with lockdown we still have COVID deaths (50,000) so net saving in lives is 0.655m
- So net **monetary value of lives save is \$6.55 trillion (\$6.29 trillion using lower figure)**

## UK

- UK population 66.65 million; 20% infected (13.33m); 1% die (0.133m)
- Monetary value of life used by UK Dept of Transport in 2016 = £1.8m & by revealed preference = £8.59m (Thomas, 2018)
- So without lockdown monetary value of lives saved is £0.24 trillion or £1.15 trillion (depending on VoL used)
- Of course with lockdown we still have COVID deaths (19,000) so net saving in lives is 0.133m
- So net **monetary value of lives save is £0.24 trillion (£1.14 trillion using higher figure)**

\*Note NO offsets from deaths incurred as health care reallocated to COVID19. Assumes these deaths occur in any case. Also no adjustment for net treatment costs saved due to lockdown.

# Was lockdown worth it? Applying these figures to USA & UK

## USA

- GDP \$21.5 trillion
- Immediate cost of lockdown 25% of GDP (OECD, 2020)
- So \$5.38 trillion\*
- Value of lives saved \$6.55 trillion (or \$6.29 trillion)
- *SO* if economic recovery after lockdown YES, WORTHWHILE
  - More so if GDP fall lower

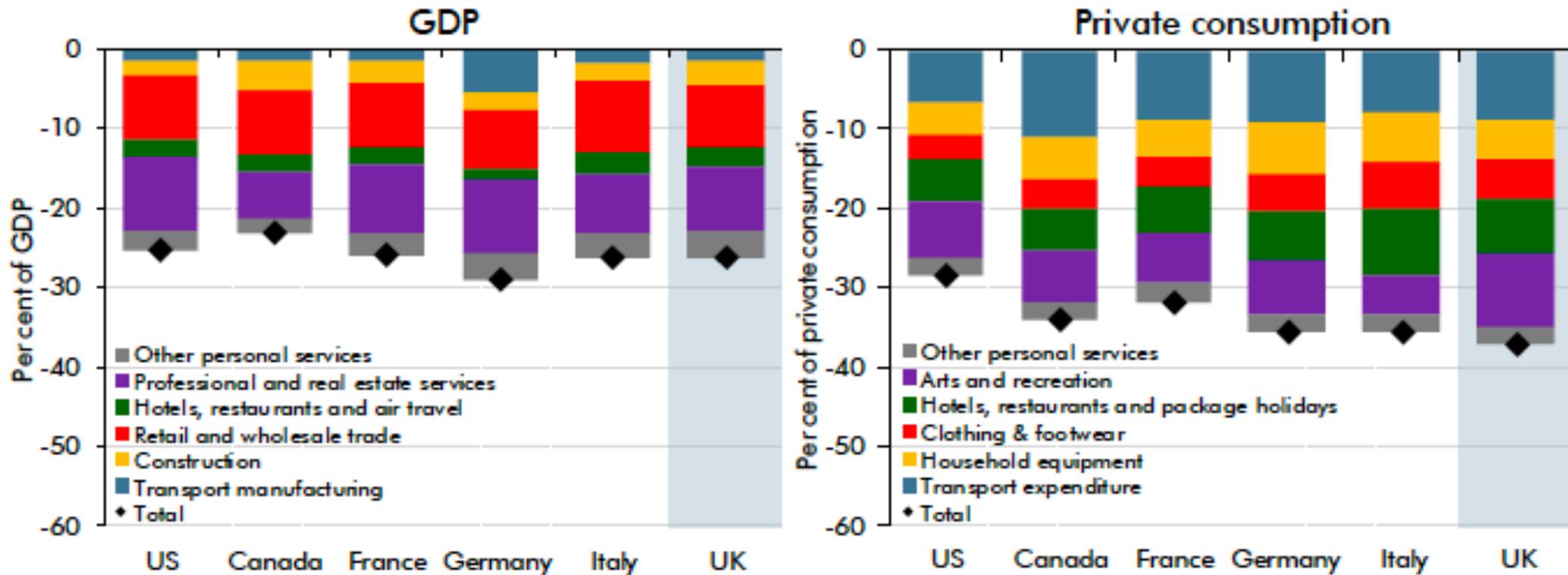
\*\*\*The OECD estimated GDP fall is the immediate impact (probably lasting for 3-4 months). I have deliberately overestimated given ALL the uncertainties

## UK

- GDP \$2.21 trillion
- Immediate cost of lockdown 25% of GDP (OECD, 2020)
- So £0.55 trillion\*
- Value of lives save is £0.24 trillion (£1.14 trillion using higher figure)
- *SO* if economic recovery after lockdown Vol half lost GDP using a VERY LOW figure for VoL & but YES, worthwhile if using higher figure

\*\*\*Obviously if GDP fall is lower, (currently annual fall in UK GDP estimated to be 15%), it is worthwhile. Higher figure taken given high uncertainties

# Saving lives but destroying livelihoods?

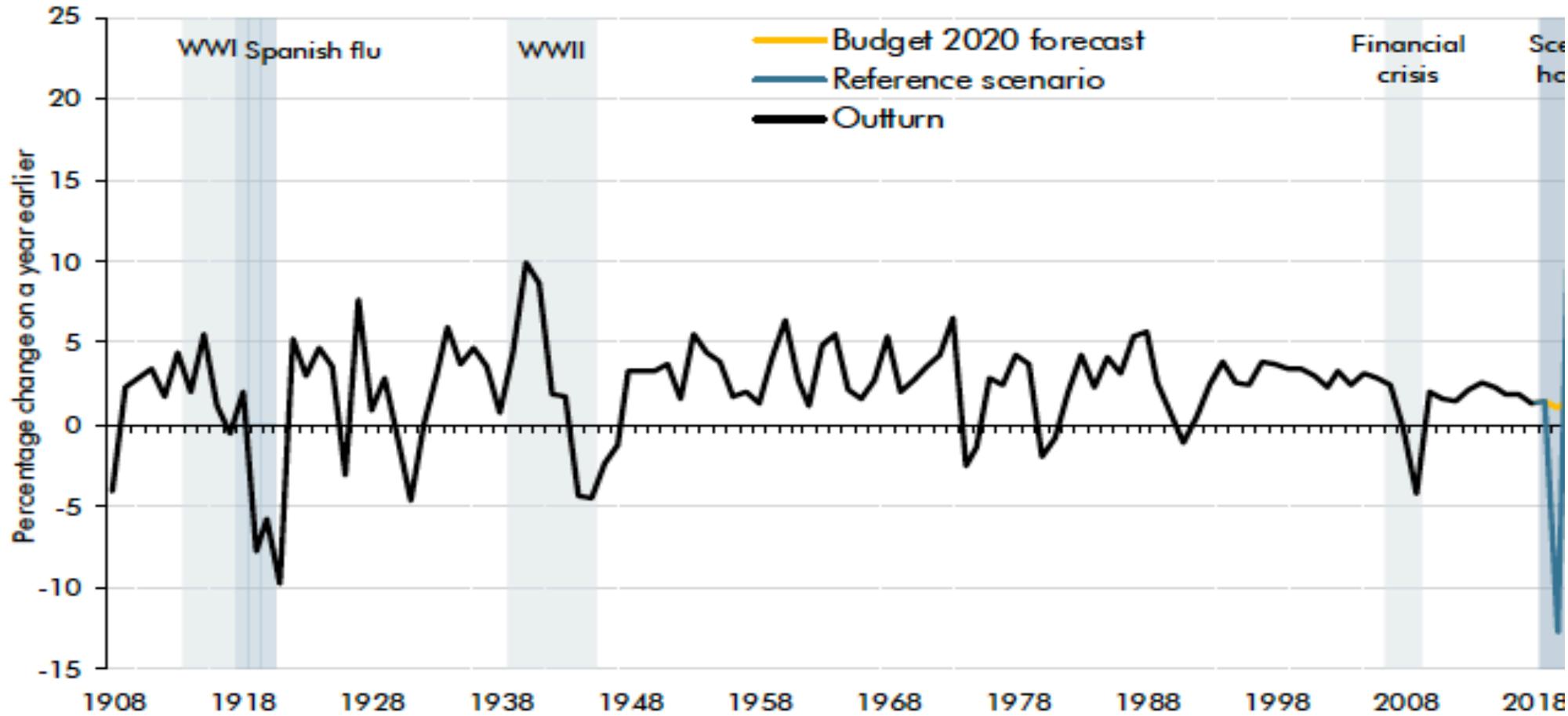


Source: OECD

Direct, immediate effects of lockdown (probably lasting 3 – 4 months)  
Annual impacts liable to be falls of around 15% in GDP  
Interestingly 40% of fall in US consumption in health care sector as providers substitute lucrative elective procedures to COVID19 treatments



# UK fall in GDP: largest in a century



Source: Bank of England, ONS, OBR

# Public sector financial response to COVID19

## Emergency lifelines

So far, countries around the world have used about \$8 trillion to fight the pandemic, with G20 countries taking the lead.

(Announced fiscal measures in G20 economies, % of GDP)



Sources: National authorities; and IMF staff estimates as of April 8, 2020.

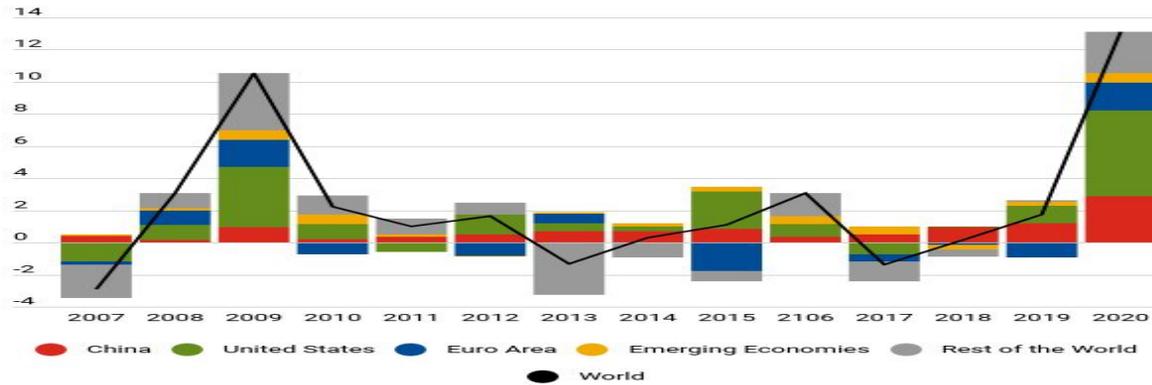
Note: G20 = Group of twenty. G20 aggregates are calculated using PPP-adjusted GDP weights

# Impact on Global Debt and Fiscal Balances

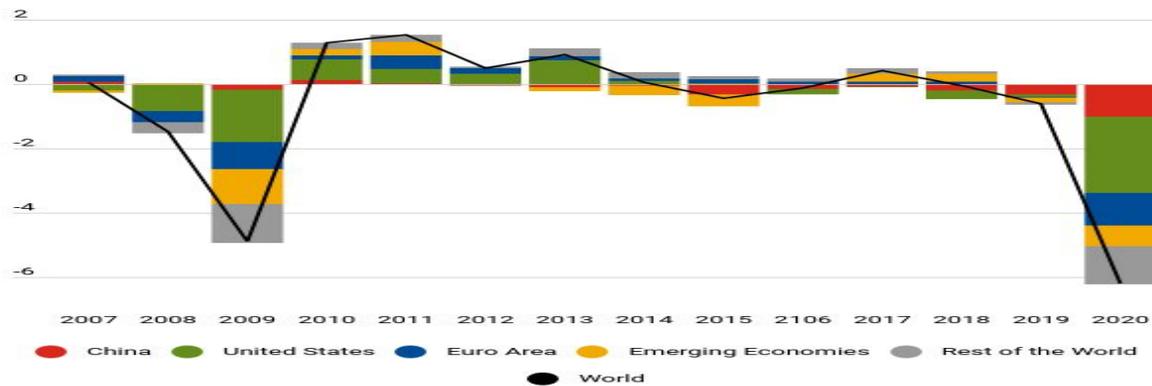
## Fast increasing debt and deficits

COVID-19 and its economic impact will increase fiscal deficits and public debt ratios across countries given higher spending and plunging revenues.

(Contribution to the change in global government debt change, 2007-20, % of GDP)



(Contribution to the change in global government fiscal balances change, 2007-20, % of GDP)



Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook database.



# IMF best case scenarios: Biggest global recession for 90 years; COVID19 adds debt

## Latest World Economic Outlook Growth Projections

The COVID-19 pandemic will severely impact growth across all regions.

(real GDP, annual percent change)	PROJECTIONS		
	2019	2020	2021
<b>World Output</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>-3.0</b>	<b>5.8</b>
<b>Advanced Economies</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>-6.1</b>	<b>4.5</b>
United States	2.3	-5.9	4.7
Euro Area	1.2	-7.5	4.7
Germany	0.6	-7.0	5.2
France	1.3	-7.2	4.5
Italy	0.3	-9.1	4.8
Spain	2.0	-8.0	4.3
Japan	0.7	-5.2	3.0
United Kingdom	1.4	-6.5	4.0
Canada	1.6	-6.2	4.2
Other Advanced Economies	1.7	-4.6	4.5
<b>Emerging Markets and Developing Economies</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>-1.0</b>	<b>6.6</b>
Emerging and Developing Asia	5.5	1.0	8.5
China	6.1	1.2	9.2
India	4.2	1.9	7.4
ASEAN-5	4.8	-0.6	7.8
Emerging and Developing Europe	2.1	-5.2	4.2
Russia	1.3	-5.5	3.5
Latin America and the Caribbean	0.1	-5.2	3.4
Brazil	1.1	-5.3	2.9
Mexico	-0.1	-6.6	3.0
Middle East and Central Asia	1.2	-2.8	4.0
Saudi Arabia	0.3	-2.3	2.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	3.1	-1.6	4.1
Nigeria	2.2	-3.4	2.4
South Africa	0.2	-5.8	4.0
Low-Income Developing Countries	5.1	0.4	5.6

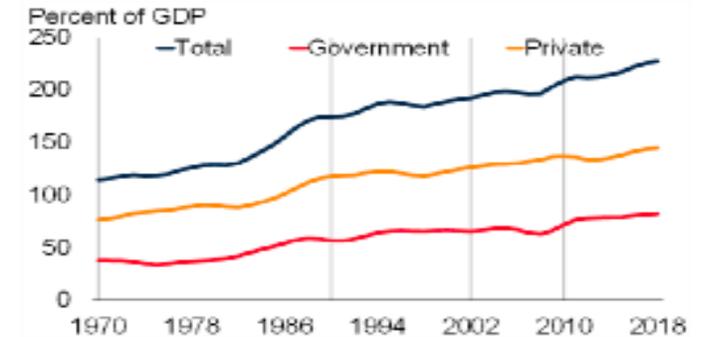
Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook, April 2020

- This is the IMF best case scenario
- Essentially GDP takes an initial “hit” but pent-up demand means it rebounds the following year
- The ✓ scenario
- OECD & UK OBR “best cases” think likewise
- Are there reasons to think this *may not* occur?

# Global debt has been rising for over 40 years

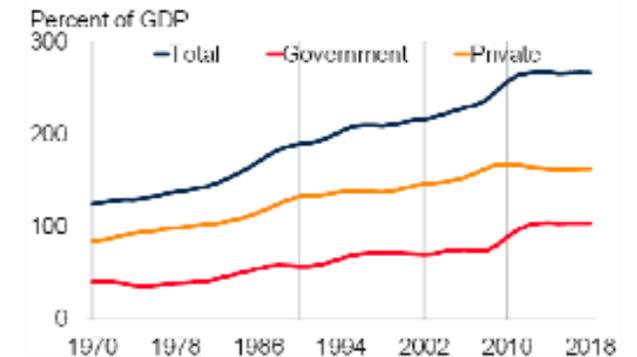
- The COVID19 debt increase is against a background of general growing global debt
- Trending up since the 1970s & now around 230% of world GDP
- Both private (mainly corporate) & public debt
- Public debt particularly important since 2008/9 as growth has slowed

- Global debt



- High Income countries (% gross govt. debt to GDP 2020)

- Japan 250%
- Italy 155%
- USA 131%
- France 115%
- Canada 109%
- UK 95%
- Germany 68%

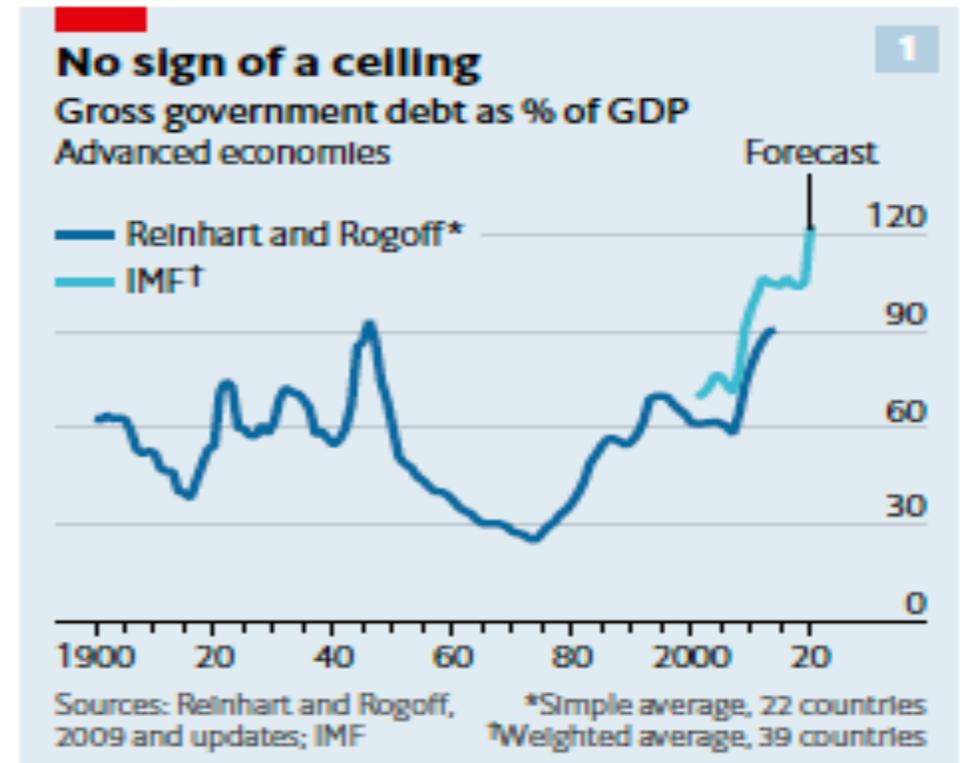


# Two scenarios

- Optimistic rebound
  - Pent up-demand is released
  - Aggregate demand recovers
    - Against a background of continued quantitative easing with low interest rates
    - Tax rates rise with aggregate demand easing debt burden
    - World trade opens again with winners & losers (USA willing to fund debt through increasing deficits; China undertakes spending package (in 2008 China released 17% of its GDP through a stimulus package; Europe sees increasing fiscal expansion as Northern Europe takes on deficits of Southern Europe)
    - Inflation may start (redistributive effects but brings down debt levels)
  - May take time but the global economy gets back to business as usual
- Pessimistic debt growth
  - COVID 19 gives rise to massive cash flow problem for private sector
    - Public sector debt rises to offset this across the board
    - Increases private sector indebtedness
    - Cross the board support funds “marginal” firms who hold increase indebtedness
    - Some go bankrupt; survivors hold more debt
    - Higher public debt as central bank share private debt holdings with the private banks
    - Protectionism affects global economy (USA no longer willing to fund increased consumption through fiscal deficits; China with a growing debt burden and low growth does not intervene with large package; Europe heavily indebted but trying to pursue Northern European low inflationary growth, grows debt)
    - Further quantitative easing does not increase aggregate demand as confidence is shaken
  - As private sector tries to run down debt & public sector debt grows, banks hold more debt
    - Debt grows with continued low interest rates & low growth

# Pessimism

- Debt balances continue to grow, private sector insolvencies grow/low investment with increased protectionism...
- Richer countries may
  - May just print money (quantitative easing)
    - Tripling of US monetary base between 2008 & 2011 had no effect on prices
  - Try Fiscal expansion (global liquidity trap renders monetary policy ineffective)
  - Try to increase tax base (wealth tax, green tax, indirect taxes on conspicuous consumption...)
  - But all this may not generate enough growth to offset growth in debt



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# Pessimism: debt balances growing

## What wages are worth

Average weekly earnings for whole economy, adjusting for CPIH inflation



Source: ONS average weekly earnings dataset EARN01 and Consumer Price Inflation time series dataset MM23



- At a time when real wages have been falling
- Productivity has been sluggish
- Low levels of GDP growth generally
- High level of income inequalities
- Increased taxes will not be enough to offset debt...
- Positive inflation targeting might help
- But generally COVID19 has added to a liquidity trap and debt deflationary pressure

# Longer term Optimism: Changes in the social contract

- Greater fiscal stimulus worldwide especially in infrastructure investment projects
  - Increasing fiscal deficit (e.g. Japan debt to GDP ratio now >200%)
  - Raising of Maastricht 3% budget deficit restriction?
  - Greater role for European Central Bank?
  - Design of bigger rewards for long-term (social) investments?
  - Introduce wealth taxes, green taxes, indirect taxes on conspicuous consumption
  - Globally coordinated monopoly taxes on IT/data processing companies?
- Greater role for international cooperation
  - Reversal of migrant policies to complement global capital flows?
  - Greater role for IMF?
- More labour market assurances (less “gigging”)
  - Company Board participation for workers?
  - 4-day weeks and longer vacations (more enjoyment of relaxing rather than acquiring; accompanied by high green taxes on foreign travel; “staycations” added benefit of reducing reliance on exports )?
  - Rising pensionable age? With buy-back for low income pensioners?



# Longer term Optimism: Changes in the social contract

- Greater investment in health & *social care* sectors
  - More independent, non-political bodies to monitor public sector performance (OBR, but also for health sector, social care sector, etc.) to mitigate short-term political cycles?
  - Change in public sector discount rates?
- Create new public insurance fund (through specific Catastrophe Bond issue) to cover global catastrophes (Pandemics, Global Warming Damage, Earthquakes, etc.)?
  - World Bank initiated a Pandemic Emergency Financing Facility in 2017 as financial help for developing countries
- Also raises issues of how to incentivize pandemic vaccine research?
  - Timing and scale of pandemics uncertain; market failure of demand realization
  - Pre-commit public funding?



# Conclusions

- Change in social contract will have to wait to see if “populist” wave suffers a wipeout
  - Populism & protectionism will exacerbate falls in aggregate demand
- Short- to medium-term responses are falling aggregate demand with higher debt economies
  - Shift to longer term perspectives?
  - Intergenerational effects?



Thank You

KEEP SAFE & WELL