



Cash, Uncertainty and Crises

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1. Introduction/Motivation

- Sufficient supply of money without any inflationary or deflationary pressure necessary for well-functioning economy
- ➤ Is there a difference between **private** money (deposits) and **public** money (cash)?
- ➤ Is there a difference between **normal** times and times of **crisis** and **uncertainty**?

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The USP's of cash

- ✓ anonymity in use,
- ✓ safe haven in crisis periods,
- central bank money and therefore mostly trustworthy,
- ✓ no need for further involvement of service providers,
- √ offline payment medium,
- ✓ can be used for both small and large payments,
- √ simple, convenient and quick,
- ✓ definitive and final payment,
- √ financial and payments inclusion,
- ✓ overview and control of spending,
- ✓ relatively secure against counterfeiting,
- ✓ cash is much more than payments.

There is **no perfect**digital/
electronic **substitute for cash!**

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From microeconomics to macroeconomics: Consequences of a monetary contraction

1. Lessons from the Great Depression (1929 – 1933)





Stock market crash in 1929

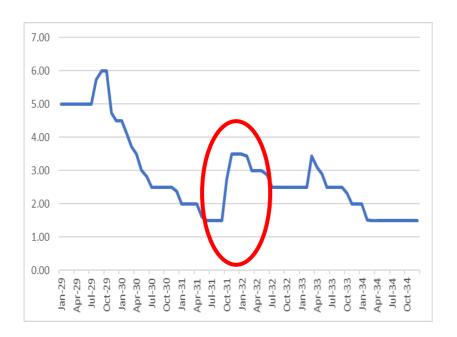
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Passive monetary policy by the FED contributed heavily to the Great Depression (Friedman & Schwartz 1963):

Federal Reserve Discount Rates New York in %



Interest rate increase during the crisis!

Reserves of US commercial banks with the FED in USD bn



Liquidity provision for US banks: **Too little, too late**

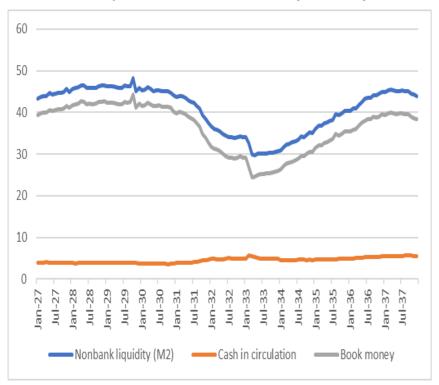
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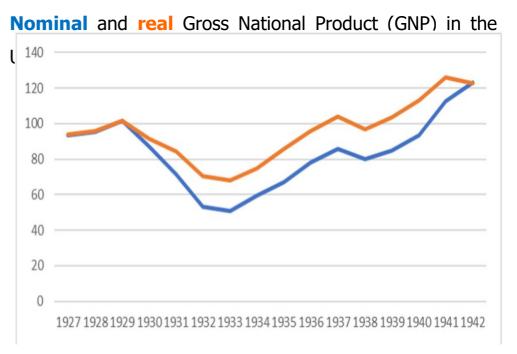




Devastating consequences for US money stock and real economy!

Nonbank liquidity (M2), book money and cash held by nonbanks in the US (USD bn)





US money stock declined by 33%

Real GNP declined by 33%

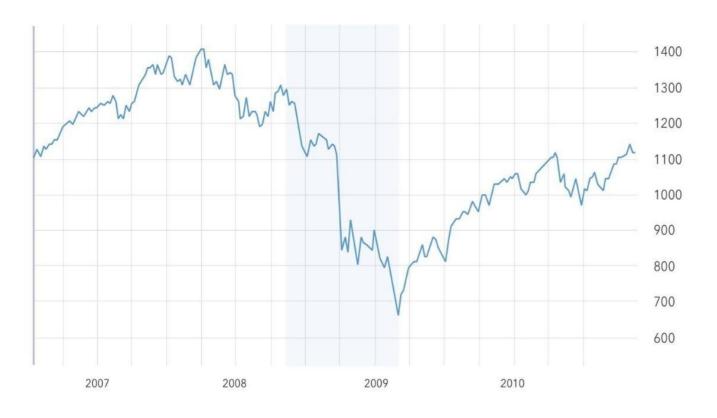
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2. Great Recession 2008/9 – major mistakes not repeated





Stock market crash in 2008

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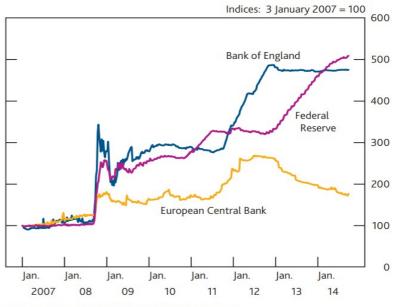


Active monetary policy worldwide contributed heavily to the quick economic recovery process

Central bank interest rates (%) in major currency areas



Growth in central bank balance sheets in the US, Euro area and UK



Sources: Bank of England, ECB and US Federal Reserve.

Deep and quick cuts in interest rates

Ample liquidity provision for banks worldwide

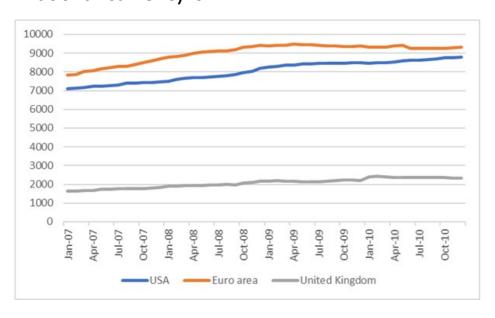
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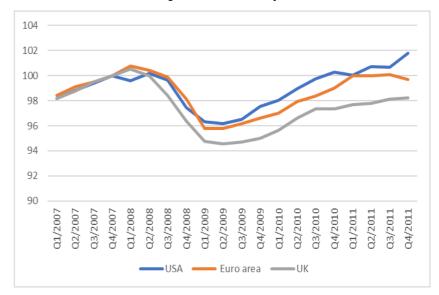


Money stock continued to increase and accelerated the economic recovery

Nonbank liquidity for different currency areas in national currency bn



Real GDP in major currency areas



Money stock did not decrease in major currency areas

Real GDP declined only by roughly 5% in US, Euro area and UK

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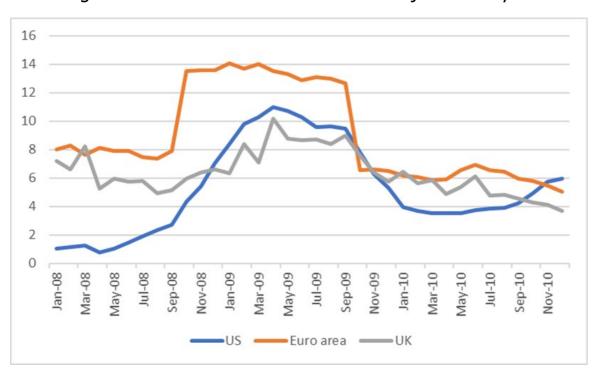




On the stabilizing role of cash

How did the central banks avoid a decrease in the money stock in the economy?

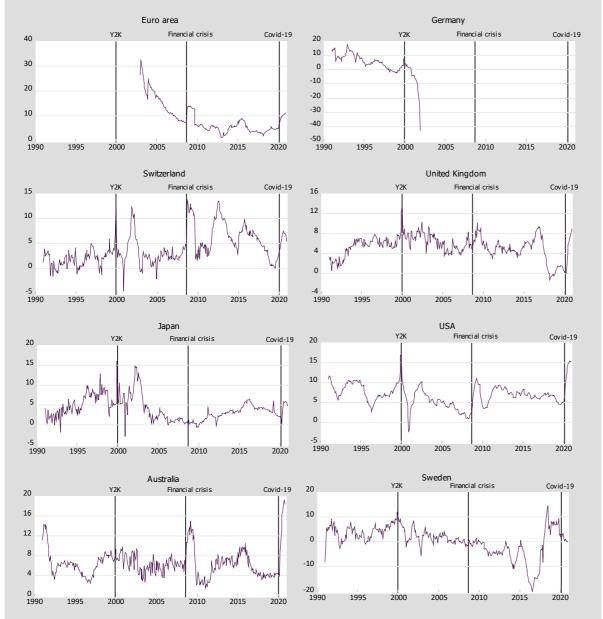
Annual growth rates of cash in circulation in major currency areas in %



Central banks provided cash in a perfectly elastic way!

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A strategy that always works in times of crisis!

Cash demand in various times of crisis and in different currency areas

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Domestic demand for small and large denominations during selected crises

			Small bank	note deno	minatior	is		
	Euro area	USA	Switzerland	Japan	UK	Sweden	Australia	Germany
Y2K	n.a.	0.11	0.03	0.02	0.02	-	-	0.02
Fin	0.03	-	-	-	0.02	-0.02	0.05	n.a.
Cov	0.04	0.03	0.01	-	-	-	0.04	n.a.
		•	Large bankı	note deno	mination	IS		
	Euro area	USA	Switzerland	Japan	UK	Sweden	Australia	Germany
Y2K	n.a.	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.02	-
Fin	0.05	0.02	0.04	-	0.04	-	0.01	n.a.
Cov	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.02	n.a.

Increased cash demand in times of

- technological crises (Y2K),
- financial crises (Fin),
 and
- natural disasters (Cov)

Source: Rösl/Seitz (2022)

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Domestic demand for **domestic cash** in times of uncertainty

		Domestic demand for	r domestic cash as a	
Types of unc	ertainty	means of payment	store-of-value	
Uncertainty of infrastructure		+	++	
Confidence crisis of financial system		+	++	
Natural disasters		++	+	
Political uncertainty		+	++	
Inflationary	considerable	++		
crises	hyper			

Literature survey and case studies show enormous heterogeneity in domestic demand for domestic cash during periods of uncertainty

Notes: ++ = strong increase in demand; + = perceptible increase in demand; - = strong decrease in demand

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Importing stability – domestic demand for foreign cash

		Domestic demand for foreign cash as a			
Types of unce	ertainty	means of payment	store-of-value		
Digital infrast uncertainty	ructure	0	0		
Confidence crisis of financial system		+	++		
Natural disasters		0	+		
Political uncertainty		+	++		
Inflationary	considerable	+	27		
crises	hyper	++	++		

Notes: ++ = strong increase in demand; + = perceptible increase in demand; 0 = demand not affected/negligible; - = perceptible decrease in demand; -- = strong decrease in demand

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In times of uncertainty, foreign cash stabilizes domestic...

- inflation
- economic growth
- payment infrastructure
- savings (especially of the poor)

Channels

- ✓ private travel,
- √ cash remittances,
- ✓ international banknote shipments

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Implications for cash supply

- Governments should ensure a proper cash infrastructure
- Central banks should stockpile sufficient cash in its vaults to meet even an unexpected demand in times of uncertainty
- Central banks should always be able and willing to provide cash in a perfectly elastic way
- Cash has to be broadly available in normal times
- However, sustainability concerns necessitate a reduction of the environmental impact of the whole cash cycle and banknotes should remain longer in circulation
- Central banks should also be willing to meet foreign demand for domestic cash
- > **Seigniorage** from foreign cash demand is **well earned** due to stability export

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Summary and conclusions

- A stable and sufficient money supply is of utmost importance for a well-functioning economy
- ➤ Cash has its own **unique characteristics** which gain importance especially during times of uncertainty and crises
- ➤ Cash always stabilizes and leads to a more resilient economy, but the type of crisis determines if this role is exerted by domestic or foreign cash
- Cash acts as a public insurance the central banks pay out if the overall situation becomes dire
- Consequently, an efficient payment mix necessarily includes cash
- Undisputed task of central banks: ensure that cash remains in circulation and functions properly in **normal times**
- > Supply-side driven problems for the cash cycle should be avoided
- Worldwide uncertainty has increased in tendency in the last two decades and will stay at elevated levels in the future
- Cash is part of successful crisis management as it is the physical form of the safest asset in a currency area

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Thank you very much for your attention!

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