

August 2017 Housing Commentary



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This report is a free monthly service of Virginia Tech. Past issues can be found at: <http://woodproducts.sbio.vt.edu/housing-report/>

August 2017

Housing Scorecard

	M/M	Y/Y
Housing Starts	▽ 0.8%	△ 1.4%
Single-Family Starts	△ 1.6%	△ 17.1%
Building Permits	△ 5.7%	△ 8.3%
Housing Completions	▽ 10.2%	△ 3.4%
New Single-Family House Sales	▽ 3.4%	▽ 1.2%
Existing House Sales ¹	▽ 1.7%	△ 0.2%
Private Residential Construction Spending	△ 0.4%	△ 11.6%
Single-Family Construction Spending	△ 0.3%	△ 11.1%

M/M = month-over-month; Y/Y = year-over-year

Housing Data

	August	July	Aug. 2016
Total permits*	1,300,000	1,230,000	1,200,000
Single-family permits	800,000	812,000	743,000
Multi-family 2-4 unit permits	36,000	40,000	36,000
Multi-family ≥ 5 unit permits	464,000	378,000	421,000
Total starts	1,180,000	1,190,000	1,164,000
Single-family starts	851,000	838,000	727,000
Multi-family 2-4 unit starts**	6,000	9,000	17,000
Multi-family ≥ 5 unit starts	323,000	343,000	420,000
Total completions	1,075,000	1,197,000	1,040,000
Single-family completions	724,000	835,000	744,000
Multi-family 2-4 unit completions**	3,000	7,000	8,000
Multi-family ≥ 5 unit completions	348,000	355,000	288,000

* All data are presented at a seasonally adjusted annual rate (SAAR).

** US DOC does not report 2-4 multi-family starts and completions directly, this is an estimation.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce-Construction: www.census.gov/construction/nrc/pdf/newresconst.pdf; 09/19/17

Housing Data

	August	July	Aug. 2016
New single-family sales	560,000	580,000	567,000
Median price	\$300,200	\$319,900	\$298,900
Existing sales ^a	5,350,000	5,440,000	5,340,000
Median price	\$253,500	\$258,100	\$240,000
Private Residential Construction	\$520.9 billion	\$518.6 billion	\$466.6 billion
SF construction	\$263.7 billion	\$263.0 billion	\$237.3 billion
MF construction	\$63.3 billion	\$61.8 billion	\$61.0 billion
Improvement construction ^b	\$194.8 billion	\$193.9 billion	\$168.3 billion

^a NAR®

^b The US DOC does not report improvements directly, this is an estimation. All data is SAAR and is reported in nominal US\$.

Sources:

NAR® www.realtor.org/topics/existing-home-sales; 09/20/17

U.S. Department of Commerce-Construction: www.census.gov/construction/nrs/pdf/newressales.pdf; 09/26/17

U.S. Department of Commerce-C30 Construction: www.census.gov/construction/c30/pdf/privsa.pdf; 10/02/17

Conclusions

In August, housing was mixed. Latest numbers show a decrease in total starts in October, but that was driven primarily by volatile multifamily market. Interest rates are heading up as the labor market tightens. Hopefully, the new administration will turn things around, investment has been lagging as has productivity. Without productivity, the economy stagnates, as do incomes, standard of living, and, of course, housing activity. Without housing activity, wood product prices remain weak.

August's housing data are mixed – total starts are down by 0.8% (m/m), yet single family homes starts are up by 1.6% (m/m), permits up by 5.7% (m/m), completions down by 10.2% (m/m), and existing home sales were down by 1.7% from the month before.

With meager economic growth (average growth since 2009 2.1%, slowest recovery since WWII) and with 51% of all worker's in the U.S. making less than \$30,000/year, it's hard to envision a scenario where the U.S. housing market returns to "normal" anytime soon. Slowing economies in China, Brazil, among others, and continuing problems in Europe's banking sector all add up to numerous negative macro-factors endangering a robust housing recovery, in particular:

- 1) A constrained quantity of well-paying jobs being created;
- 2) a tepid economy;
- 3) declining real median annual household incomes;
- 4) strict home loan lending standards – though loosening with new programs
- 5) slow world economy; and
- 6) global uncertainty

July 2017

EU Housing Scorecard

		M/M	Y/Y
Production in Construction ^A	EU 28	△ 0.5% ^s	△ 3.6% ^s
	EU 19	△ 0.2% ^s	△ 3.4% ^s
	Germany	△ 0.5%	△ 4.6%
	France	△ 0.6%	△ 2.2%
	UK	▽ 0.9% ^p	▽ 1.1% ^p
	Spain	▽ 0.2% ^{ps}	△ 3.4% ^p
Building permits (m ² floor) ^A	EU 28	--	--
	EU 19	△ 1.5% ^(o6)	△ 12.7% ^{s(o6)}
	Germany	△ 2.4%	△ 8.9%
	France	△ 4.4% ^s	△ 21.1% ^e
	UK	--	--
	Spain	△ 19.0% ^{s(o6)}	△ 56.7% ^{e(o6)}

M/M = month-over-month; Y/Y = year-over-year

Source: Eurostat (<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/short-term-business-statistics/data/main-tables>;
10/05/17)

^A see <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/short-term-business-statistics/overview/sts-in-brief>

^e estimate ^s Eurostat estimate ^p provisional -- no data available ^(o6) August data

Housing comments – August 2017

- *August starts were down 0.8% to 1.18 million (SAAR) - SF at 851,000 (SAAR) – up 1.6% - MF was 329,000, down 5.8% – MF is typically volatile, and is down 23% YOY. YOY - total starts are up 1.4% while SF up 17.1%. **Making some progress, and 1st time buyers are returning!** But still have problems - lack of supply drives prices higher and out of reach, particularly for 1st time buyers. Typical supply is 6 months – today, it is 4.2 for existing homes and 5.4 for new homes. Additional problems - tight credit, and now, rising rates.*
- *Low rates have not helped housing much – in fact, they have created more problems – i.e., prices rising faster than incomes in the USA, and home ownership is at a 50 year low!*
- **Something to think about – is home ownership still an integral component of the “American Dream”?**
- *Resale market down 1.7% - 5,350,000 (annual rate) – low inventory (4.2 months) driving prices higher – prices up 5.6% YOY*
- ***New home sales were down 3.4% to 556,000 SAAR, down 1.2% YOY***
- *Job creation fell in August - to + 156,000, from 189,000 in July unemployment increased to 4.4%.*
- *GDP grew 3.1% in 2nd Qtr 2017 - getting better, but, longer term prospects are not good without improved productivity and larger workforce. A smarter immigration system is best solution for short term improvement.*

“Biggest problem facing America’s economy – declining public trust In federal government – caused by political system that doesn’t serve the Public interests anymore – it serves private interests of the two political parties.”

Why is this Important? As more people disengage from the political process, we are left with growing apathy, crime, violence, declining quality of life – ultimately this will weaken housing demand as the economy suffers, homeownership falls,

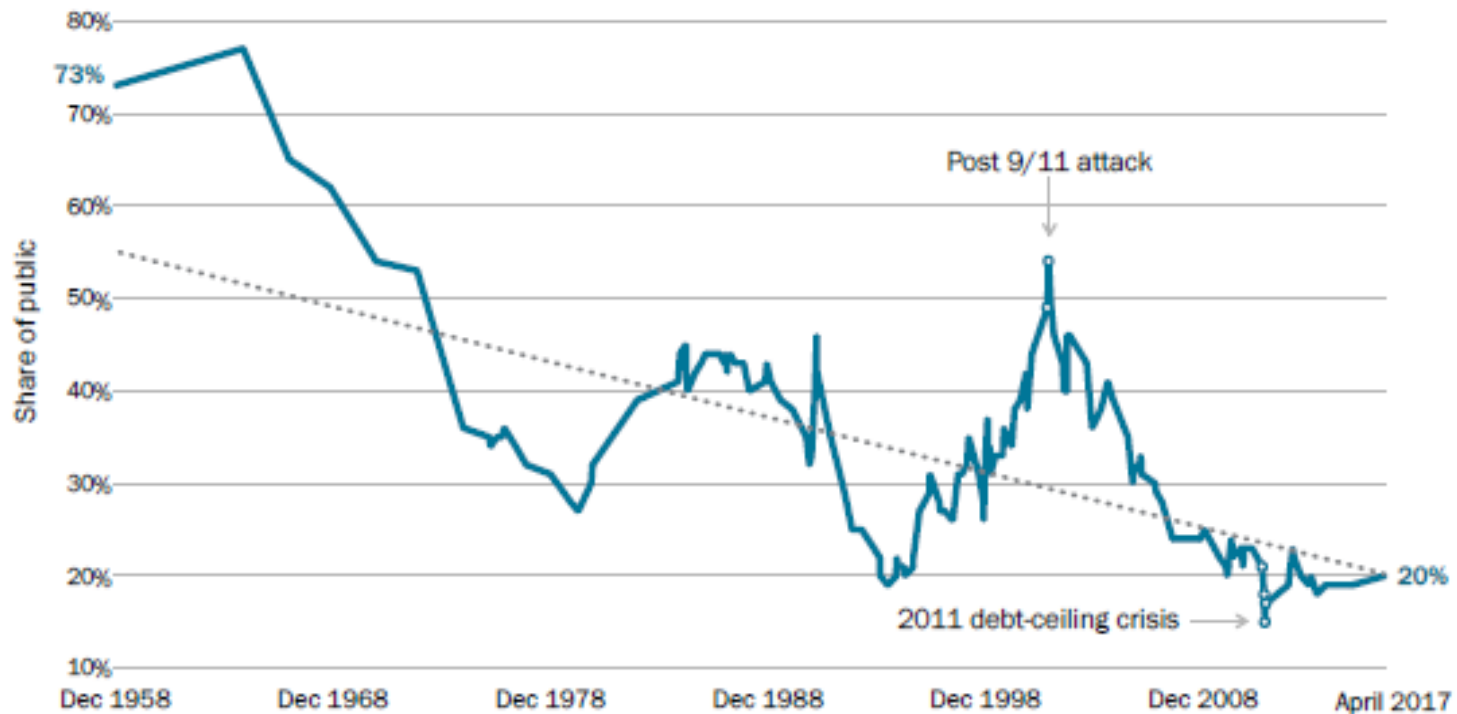
There is no “silver bullet” solution – but, the system can be fixed, but it requires major investment by the citizenry. *My Opinion – we need to elect people who have the guts to shape legislation that is in the best interests of this country. Today, we have very few such people in Congress. This is why we have so little trust in the Federal government. Like so many Americans, I’m disgusted with our sad sack politicians and a political system that serves primarily self interests.*

**From latest Harvard case study by M. Porter, et. al
(<http://www.hbs.edu/competitiveness/Pages/default.aspx>)**

80% of Americans don't trust the federal government according to recent study by M. Porter et. al.

FIGURE 1: DECLINING PUBLIC TRUST IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

As of April 2017, about one in five Americans trust the federal government always or most of the time.

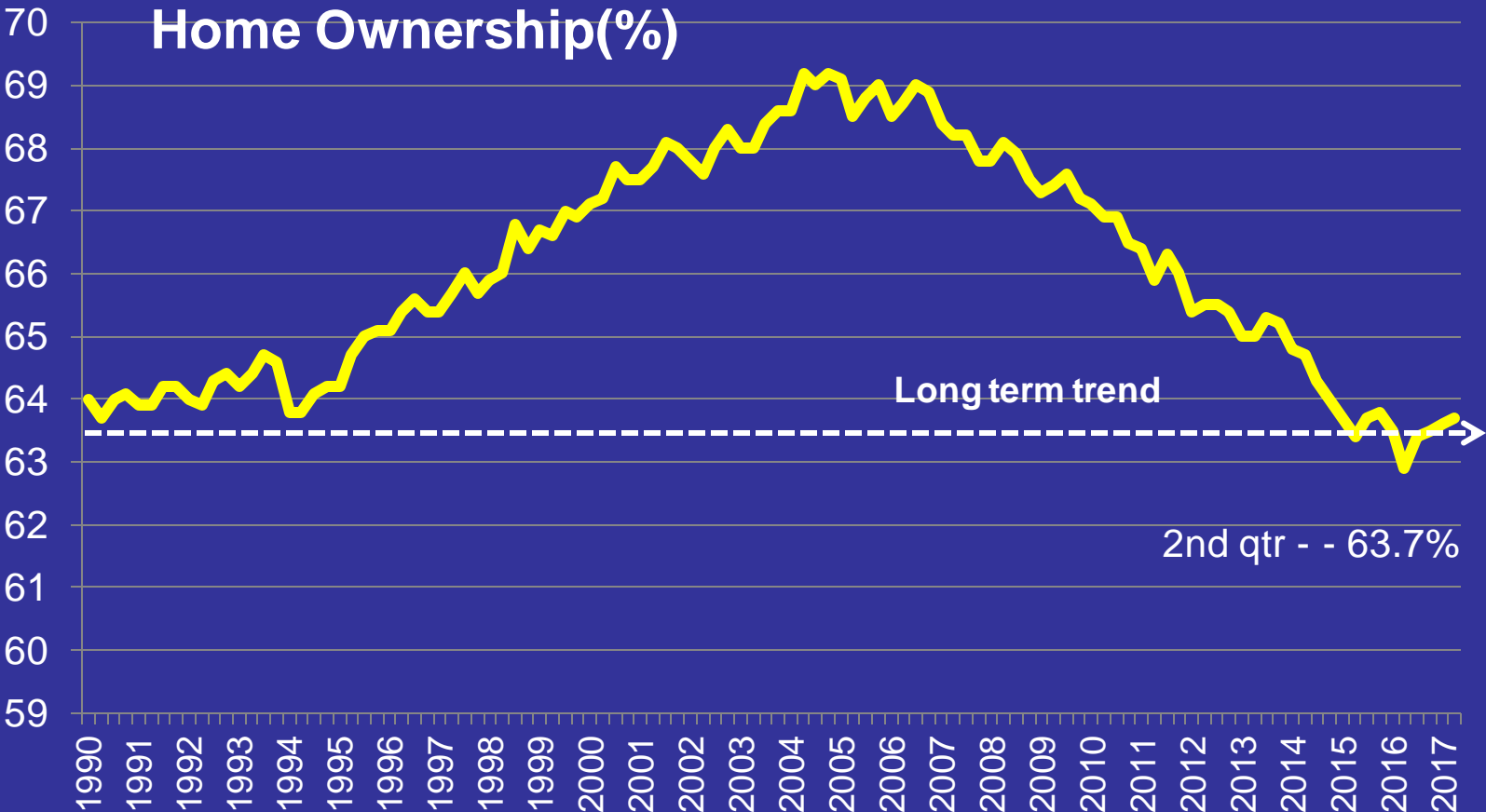


Note: From 1976-2016, data are three-survey moving averages. Post-9/11 markers indicate two surveys in October 2001; debt-ceiling markers indicate four surveys in 2011 after the U.S. hit the debt ceiling in May.

Source: Data from "Public Trust in Government: 1958-2017," Pew Research Center, May 3, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2015/11/23/public-trust-in-government-1958-2015/>, accessed August 2017.

Homeownership – where is it headed?

Falling Homeownership rate – has it bottomed, or just a pause before continuing to fall? Actually, it has returned to its long term trend of 64% following the housing collapse that was driven by “flim flam” mortgages, faulty credit scores, lax regulations, and greedy home buyers believing that house prices could only go up.



Source: Census (<https://www.census.gov/housing/hvs/data/q413ind.html>)

Homeownership – will it continue to be an essential part Of the “American Dream?”

Maybe not: a recent WSJ article discusses the home rental market. The article suggests that homebuilding will remain weak because builders can't find construction workers; land is becoming scarce (due in part to onerous regulations); And many builder have credit issues. **So, supply is restricted (this drives prices up and out of reach for many buyers).**

Demand is weak due to tight lending standards; bad credit For many borrowers, lack of saving by buyers, and demographics are unfavorable.

Conclusion by home rental companies is renting will continue to grow and homeownership will continue to fall.

Time will tell – today's millennial's are not the same as their parents. Many young people are attracted to urban city life (and renting) Due to housing costs, amenities, transportation, job opportunities, i.e., many are shunning the “burbs” !!

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/with-merger-deal-blackstone-starwood-bet-on-being-americas-biggest-home-landlord-1502361000>)

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/chicago-property-market-heats-up-as-food-companies-pile-in-1502794801>)

Single family rental data – 15 million SF homes are rented – and, it is the fastest growing SF market**

Here are some numbers from a study by Cari Smith and Charlie Koch (<http://www.rclco.com/advisory-single-family>)

Total housing stock ~ 117 million – 73 million owner occupied and 43 million rental. This is 2014 data – new data will be available from the American Community Survey later in 2017

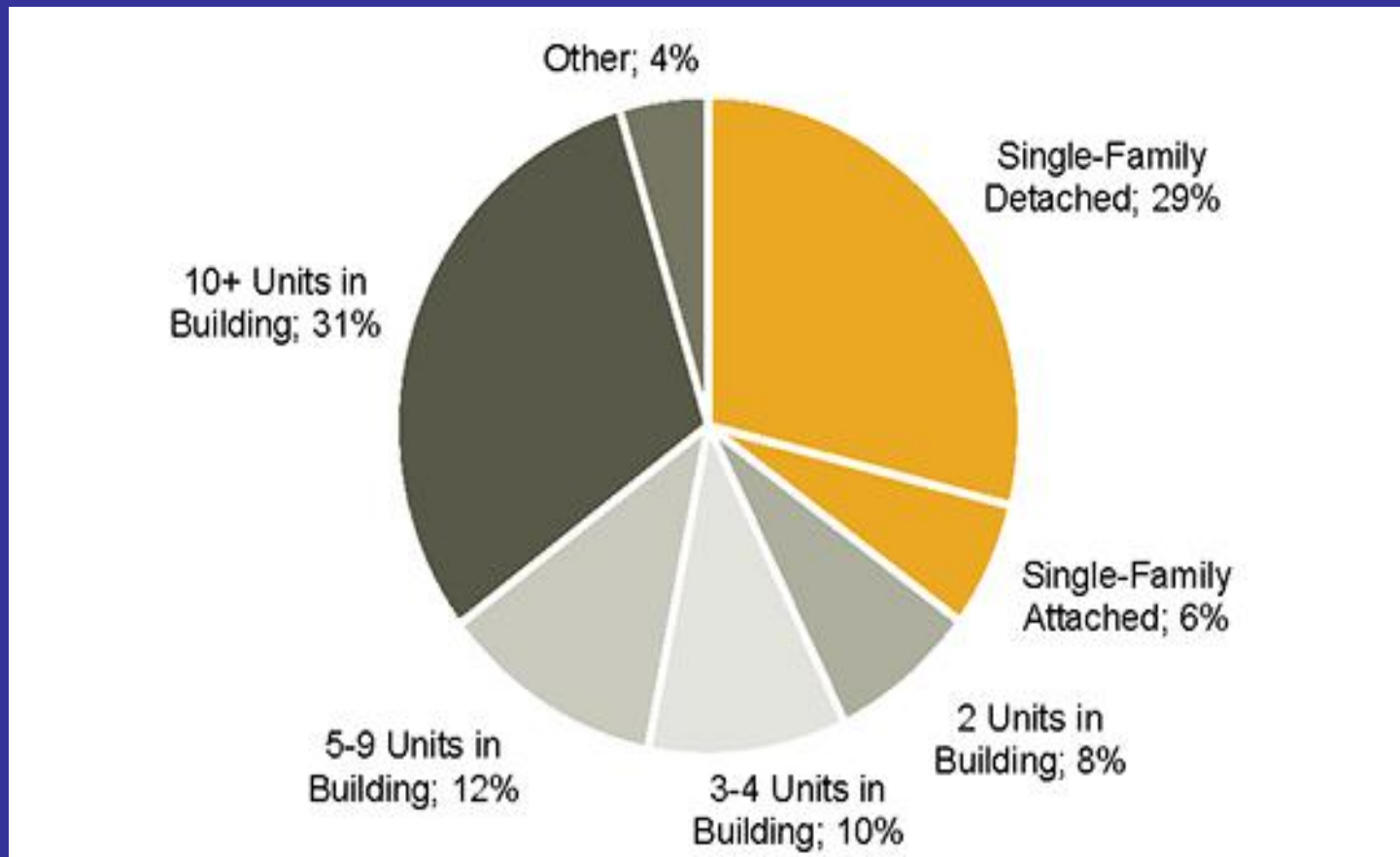
(<https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/news/data-releases/2016/release.html>)

SF detached rental is 29% of rental units, Or 12.5 million, and 6% are SF attached or 2.6 million for a total Of 15.1 million ---

****“Between 2005 and 2014, single-family rentals accounted for 89% of the net increase in occupied single-family stock and 62.5% of the increase in total occupied housing units”**

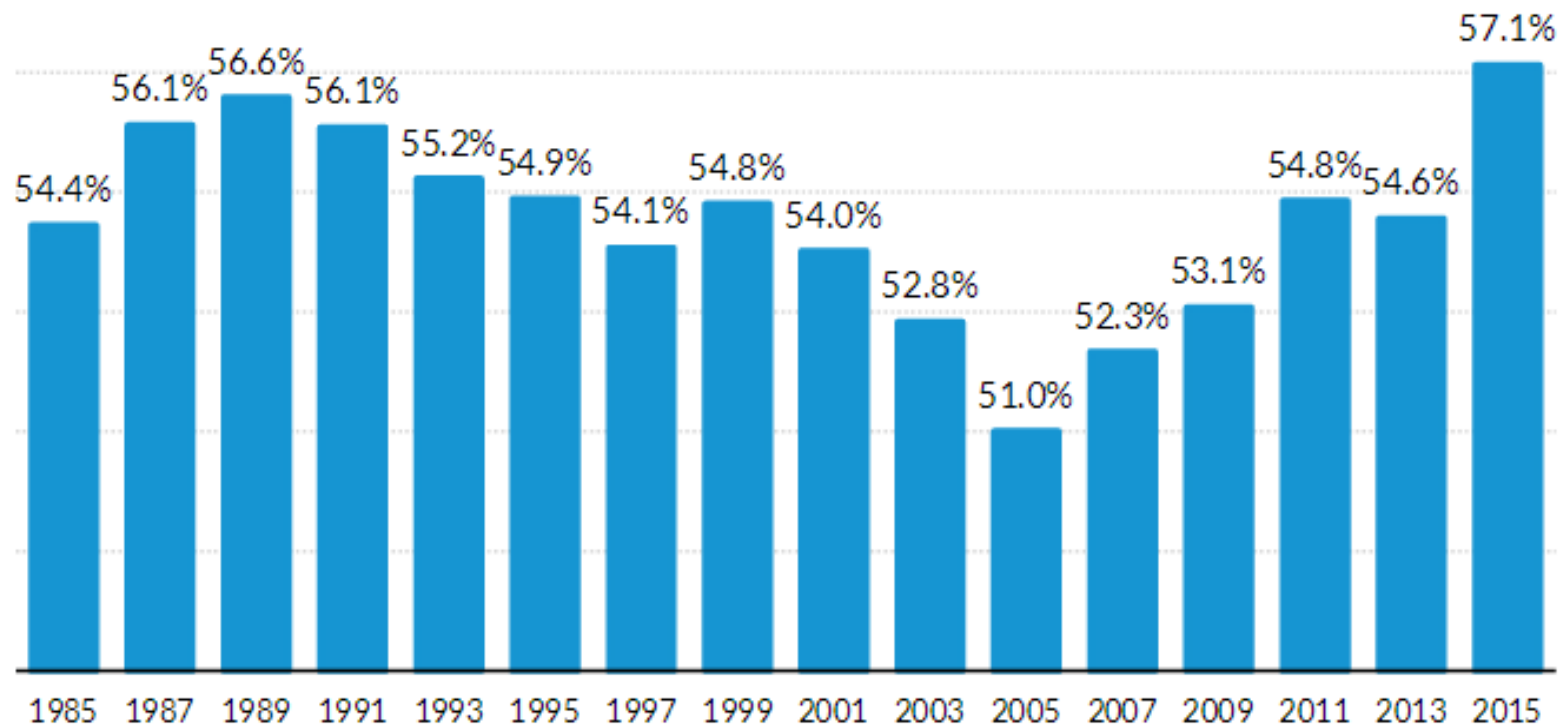
13% of housing stock is single family rental units – 15 million
Total housing units in 2014 was 117 million – 43 million
or 37% were rental units – 35% of rental units were SF
(detached plus attached/townhouses/row homes)

Distribution of rental occupied housing in 2014



From the same American Housing Survey, but using a more generous definition of Single Family (one to four unit properties), SFR are 57% of the rental housing stock (25 million)

Single-Family Rentals as a Share of the Total Rental Housing Stock



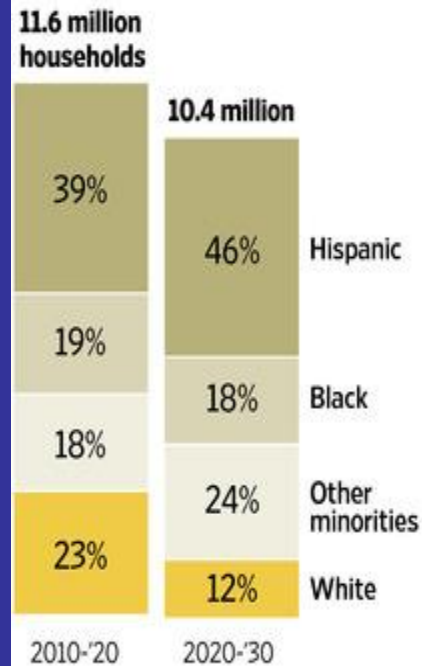
Source: 2015 American Housing Survey.

Note: Single-family includes one- to four-unit properties.

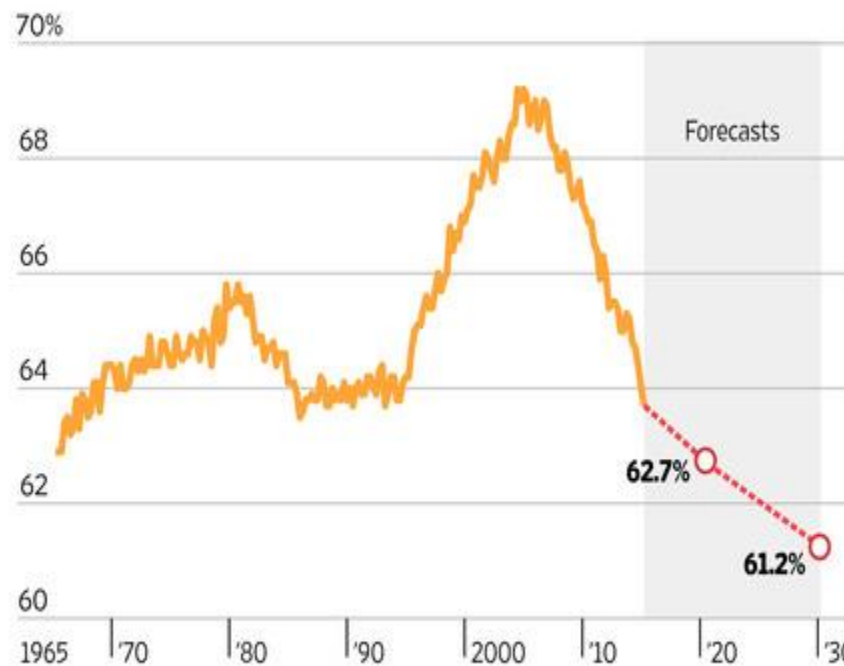
Minorities will account for more household formation growth – 77% this decade and 88% next decade. But, they are less likely to own a home due to lower incomes, and other affordability problems – that means homeownership falls, and renting increases! (Sources: The Urban Institute; Commerce Dept and Harvard Joint Center for Housing Studies)

Home Builders

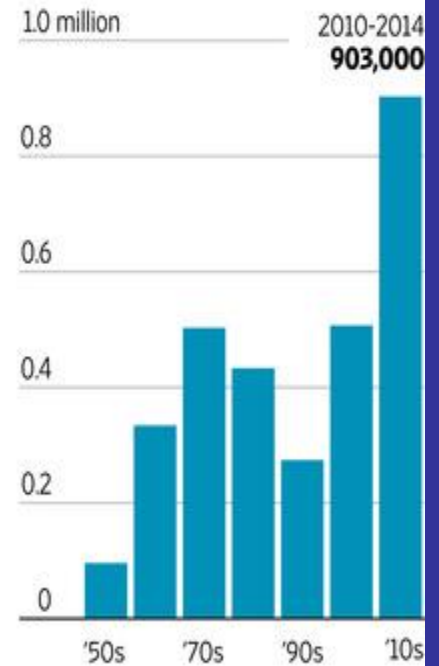
Minorities, who will account for more household-formation growth...
Net new households



...are less likely to own homes, which will drag down the U.S. homeownership rate....



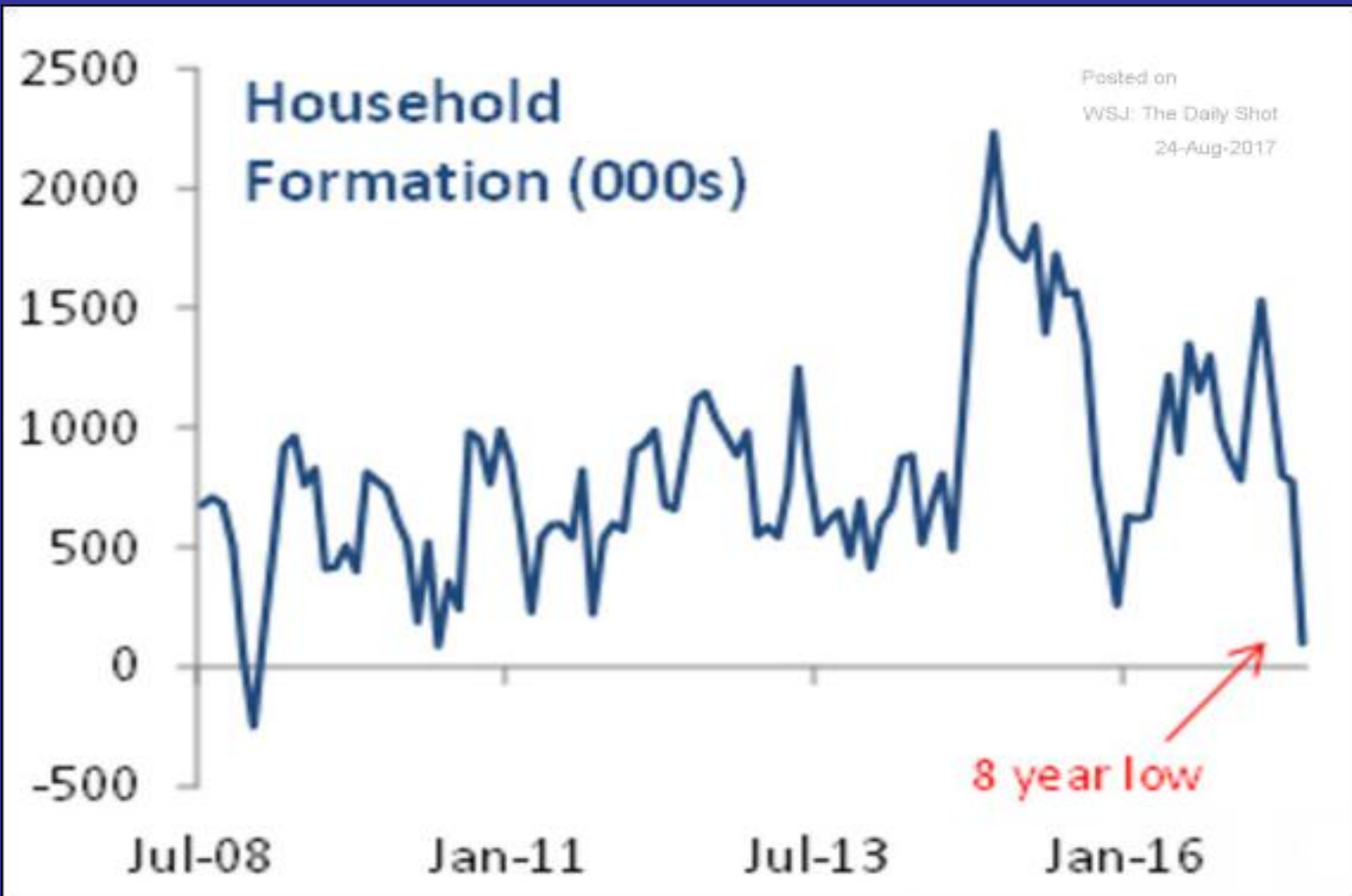
...as rental growth surges. Average annual net growth in renter households



Sources: Urban Institute (household formation, homeownership rate forecasts); Commerce Department (homeownership rate); Harvard Joint Center for Housing Studies (renting households)

Household Formation - - -

Major long term problem for housing industry – poor demographics, aging baby boomers, falling birth rates, all contribute to this problem. Short term fix – smarter immigration policy! BTW, this is similar problem for the economy.. (e.g., falling labor supply, ...)



Immediate problem for housing – too little supply!

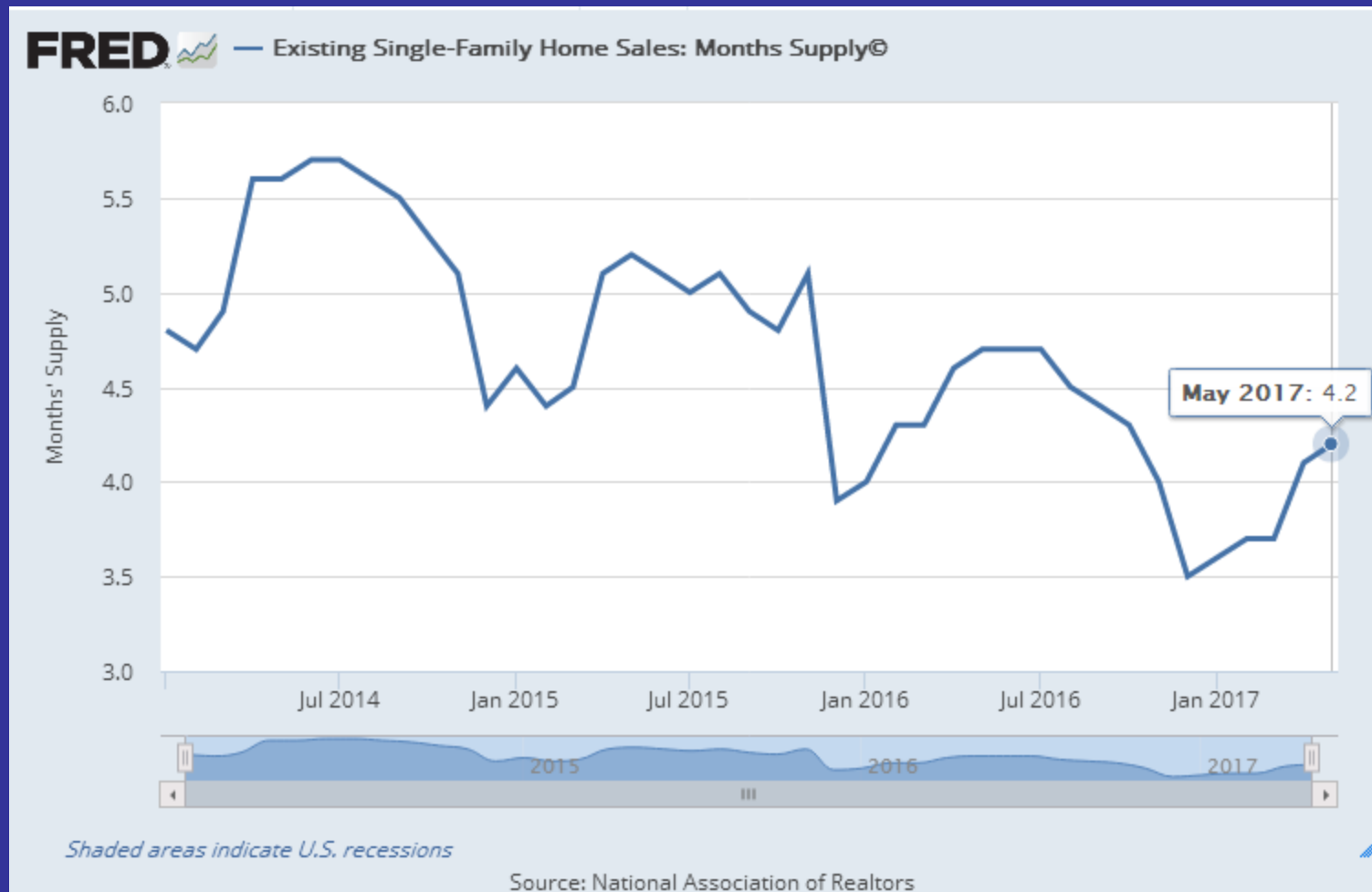
This drives prices higher and out of reach for many buyers, Especially 1st time buyers.

Typically, supply is about 6 months (time it takes to sell existing inventory at current sales rates). Today, existing home inventory is 4.2 months while new home inventory is 5.4 months. Many homeowners are reluctant to list their homes because buying another one is expensive while builders are reluctant to build new homes due to costs, driven partly by labor and land shortages in parts of the country. And, many builders have credit problems.

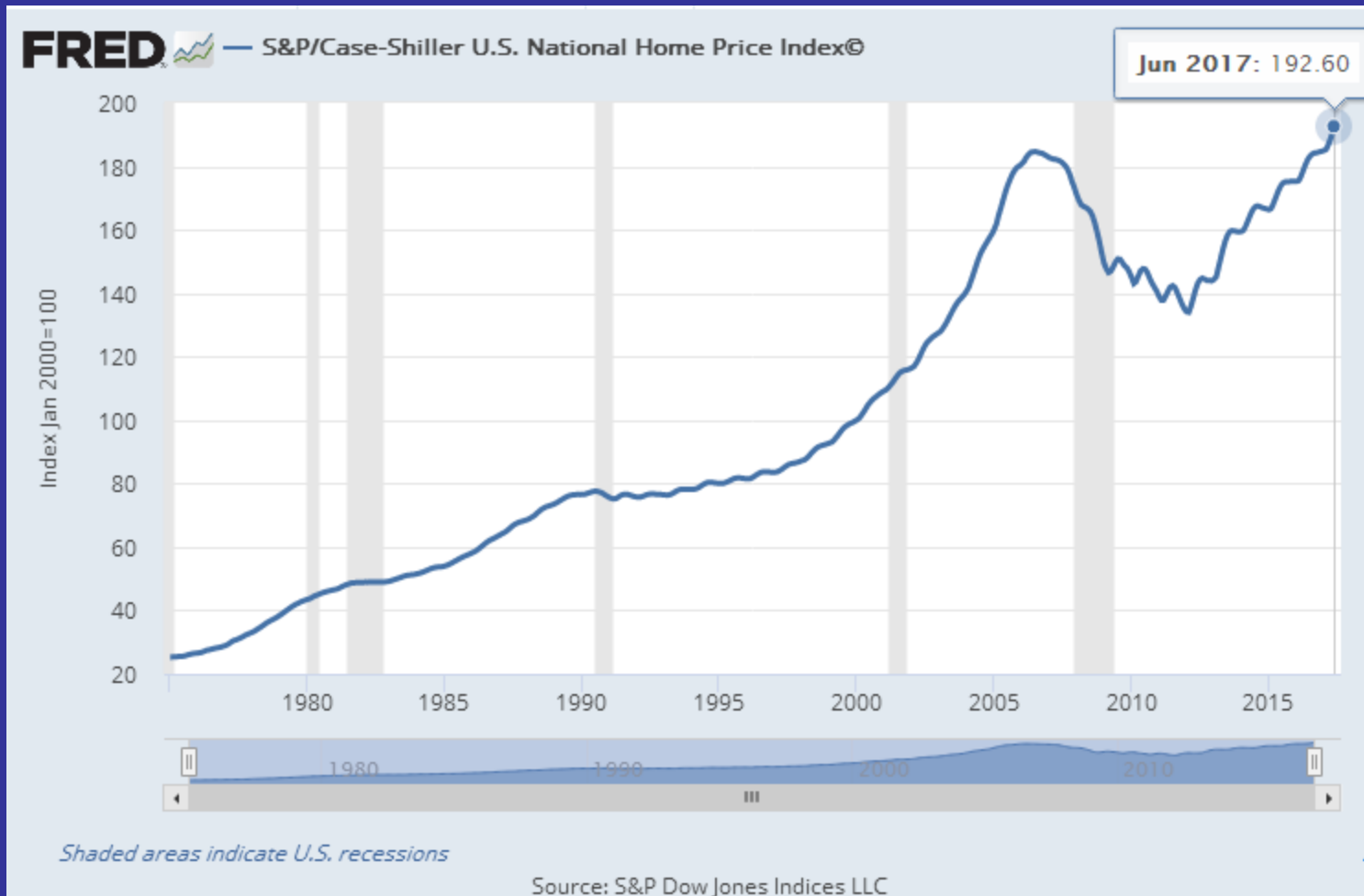
Today, prices are increasing three times as fast as incomes, so this problem is actually getting worse. Also, mortgage rates are increasing, and credit remains tight following new rules in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis. E.g, existing home prices up 6.2% while wages up 2%, annual basis.

Prognosis – housing could remain below par for some time!

Low Existing home inventory (4.2 months) drives prices higher - out of reach of most 1st time buyers.

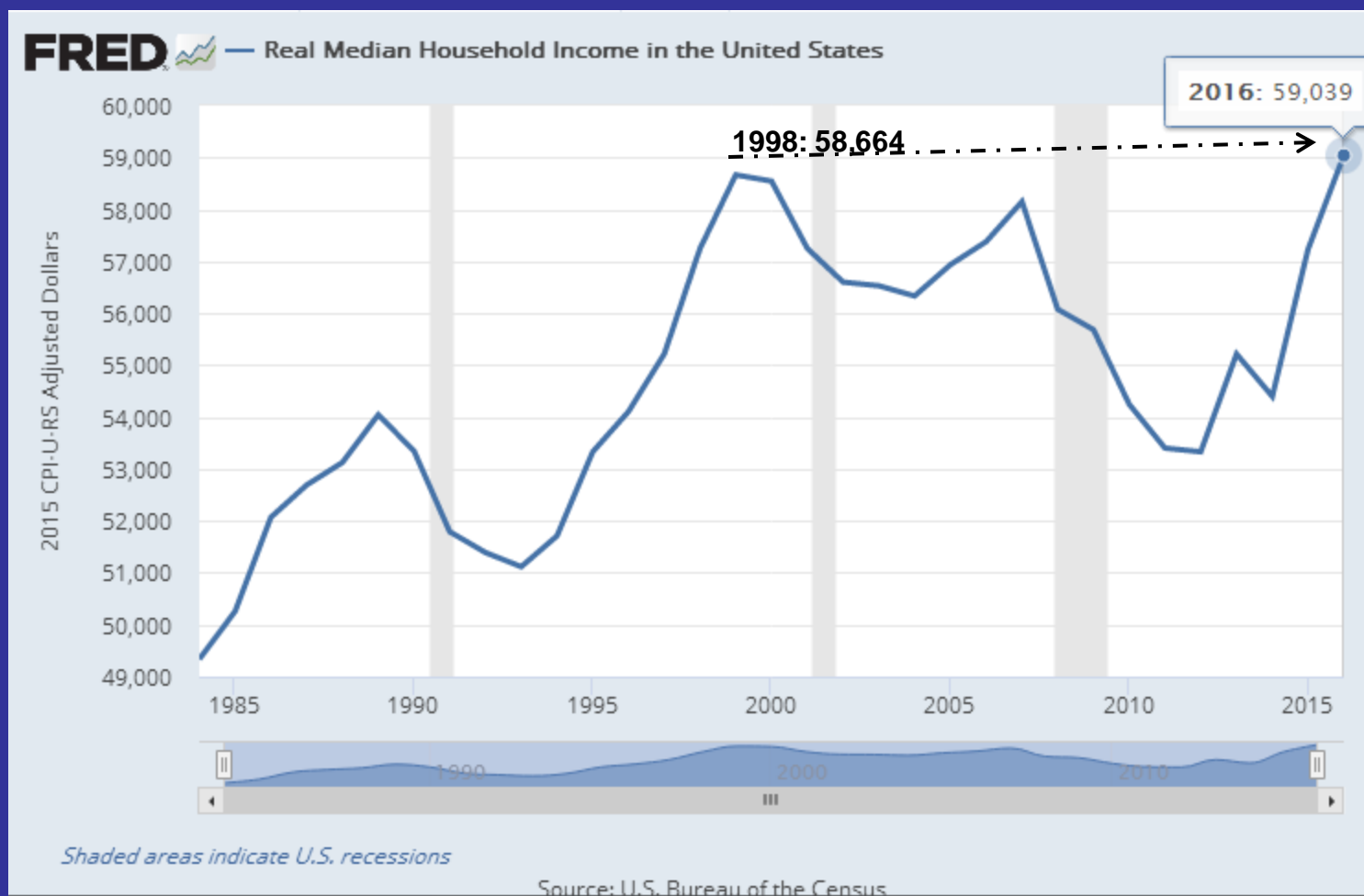


Case Shiller National existing home prices – up 44% in past 5 years – driven primarily by short supply and demand for upscale homes – up 5.9% YOY



(<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/CSUSHPINSA>)

Real Incomes today same as 1998 – i.e., little progress in two decades – unemployment at record low levels, yet wage growth has lagged – **but, it increased 3.2% (real dollars) in 2016 – so, maybe things are turning around?**



(<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/MEHOINUSA672N>)

Weak housing starts contribute to the supply shortage and drive prices higher

Single family starts, Thousand units, SAAR



August 2017 - - 851,000, up 17.1% versus year ago

Source: Census (<http://www.census.gov/const/www/newresconstindex.html>)

GDP – where is it headed?

- **Measurement problems ? Maybe?**
- **Weak productivity growth for sure**
- **Shrinking workforce – no brainer**
- **Lack of inflation despite “free money” for past 8 years suggest weak demand? – or maybe globalization forces are keeping inflation at bay?**

Bottom line – GDP growth has been weak for the past two decades – clearly, we’re not addressing the main problems.

Short term fix – smarter immigration system

Long term – infrastructure spending; tax reform; address debt; fix K-12 education; and maybe we need to consider a 3rd party to deal with our ineffective duopoly – two party system.

Comment on GDP* – we may be underestimating the contribution of technology to GDP. Traditional metrics rely on dollars to measure GDP – however, it is difficult to convert many gains from technology to “dollar equivalents”. E.g., technology often improves quality of life, but how do we put a “dollar value” on this? This affects both dollar value of GDP and productivity. Here is article from “The Economist”
On the subject:

<https://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21697845-gross-domestic-product-gdp-increasingly-poor-measure-prosperity-it-not-even>

Bottom line – we may be underestimating actual GDP measurement and we may be shortchanging productivity. This combination effect would significantly “underestimate current GDP” and our estimate of future GDP growth.

Remember:

GDP growth rate = (labor force growth rate)(productivity growth rate**)**

***The Gross Domestic Product measures the value of economic activity within a country. Strictly defined, GDP is the sum of the market values, or prices, of all final goods and services produced in an economy during a period of time.” (Wikipedia)**

Why we may be underestimating GDP (and productivity) – quotes from The Economist magazine -

<https://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21697845-gross-domestic-product-gdp-increasingly-poor-measure-prosperity-it-not-even>

“These days it seems that a growing fraction of innovation is not measured at all. In a world where houses are Airbnb hotels and private cars are Uber taxis, where a free software upgrade renews old computers, and Facebook and YouTube bring hours of daily entertainment to hundreds of millions at no price at all, many suspect GDP is becoming an ever more misleading measure.” “Also, inflation measurements are flawed (e.g. performance improvement in products and services is not taken into account – we simply record price changes.”

The article is sometimes hard to understand – lots of “economic jargon”. Here is the jest however – most GDP and productivity measurement techniques were developed years ago when production/manufacturing activity was more prevalent in our economy. Today, the service sector is much larger; many products/services are provided free of charge; for other products/services, improvement in quality is not measured. Here is example – a new cell phone may cost more, but it does much more – but, we only measure the increase in cost or price.

Here is good one for housing: following slide

**Here is a good example of “inaccurate measurement”
From housing – (from the Economist article)**

“Some private-sector services are also measured indirectly. Housing services is one. This is straightforward wherever householders rent the property they live in. Rental payments capture both the value of housing services to tenants as well as the income of landlords from providing them. But in places where most people own the home they live in, a large part of the total value of housing services has to be imputed.” I.e., it is Estimated!

OK – what does this mean? For starters, this is important because so many decisions are influenced by statements about GDP and productivity – business decisions; government decisions; Federal Reserve decisions; ... You get the point – so what to do? Take the GDP and productivity measurements with a grain of salt – e.g., if you’re in business, develop your own metrics!

Here is another suggestion on how to fix the economy – a “no brainer” .

GDP = (labor force) (productivity). “Economics 101”

We have an aging work Force and our fertility rate has been falling for decades. That means slow growing labor force. Productivity has been weak for decades too. Yes, we need to invest for the future – R&D; Infrastructure spending; less regulation; fix K-12 system;.... But, we also need immigrants

Solution – develop a smart immigration system that brings in educated, hard working people with technical skills that will support better productivity growth and address our shrinking labor force too.

Yes, we still need to bring in refugees too – that is the mark of a compassionate country. But, the focus today needs to be highly educated, English speaking (doesn't have to be perfect, but workable) people with technical skills and a strong work ethic.

**A more interesting comment on the U.S. economy by Greg Ip
WSJ (<https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-economy-needs-amazons-but-it-mostly-has-ges-1498037403>)**

Innovation is one solution – “we need more companies like Amazon and fewer like GE” notes Mr. Ip

Growth comes from workforce and productivity – can't increase very fast over the long term unless we deal with declining workforce and weak productivity

Growth of the prime working age population has slowed as baby boomers age...

People aged 25 to 54; Annual change, 10-year moving average



Source: Labor Department

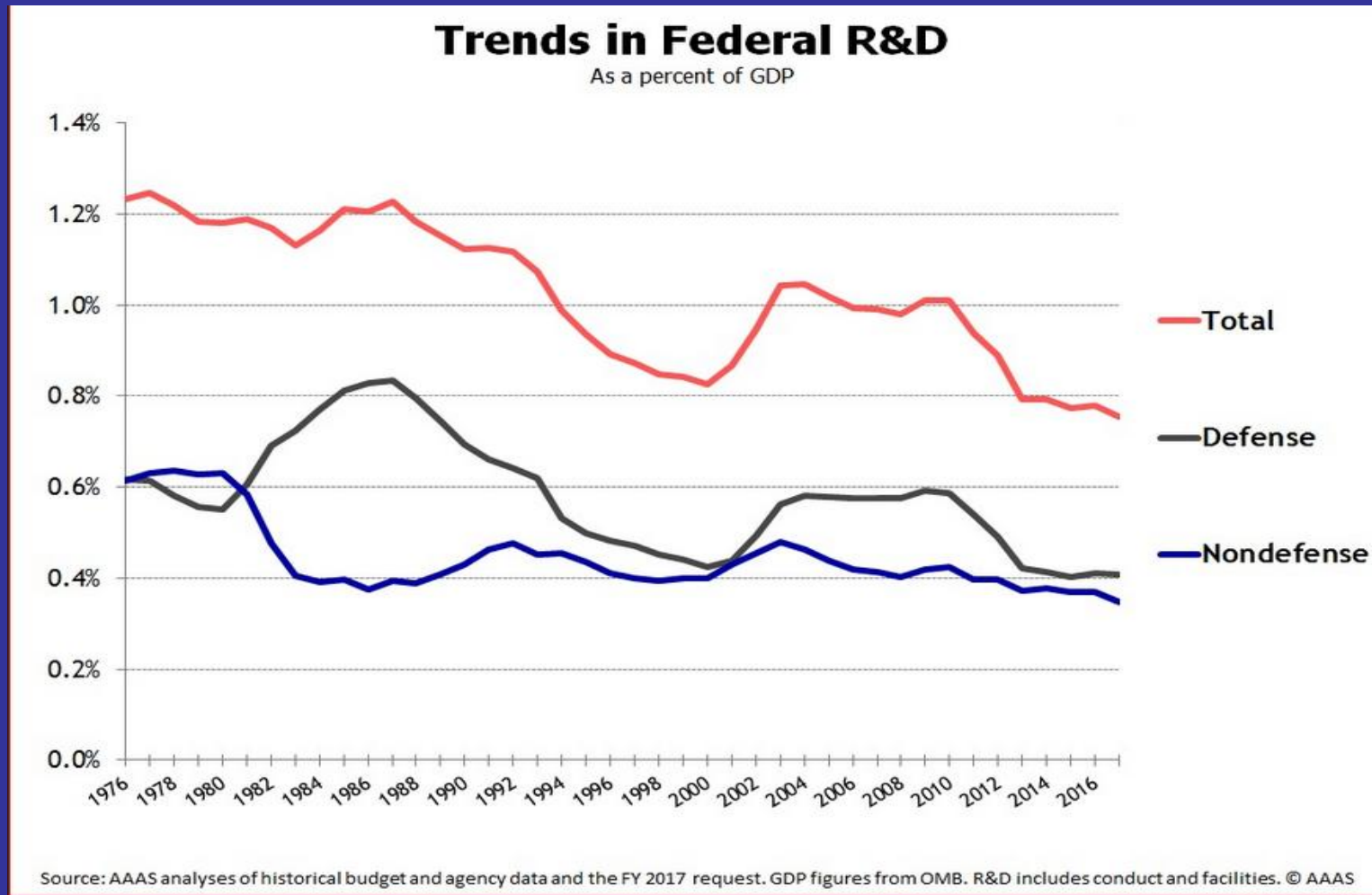
...and productivity growth has fallen off in recent years, reflecting weaker investment and innovation.

Output per hour in the nonfarm business sector; adjusted for inflation; Annual change, 10-year moving average



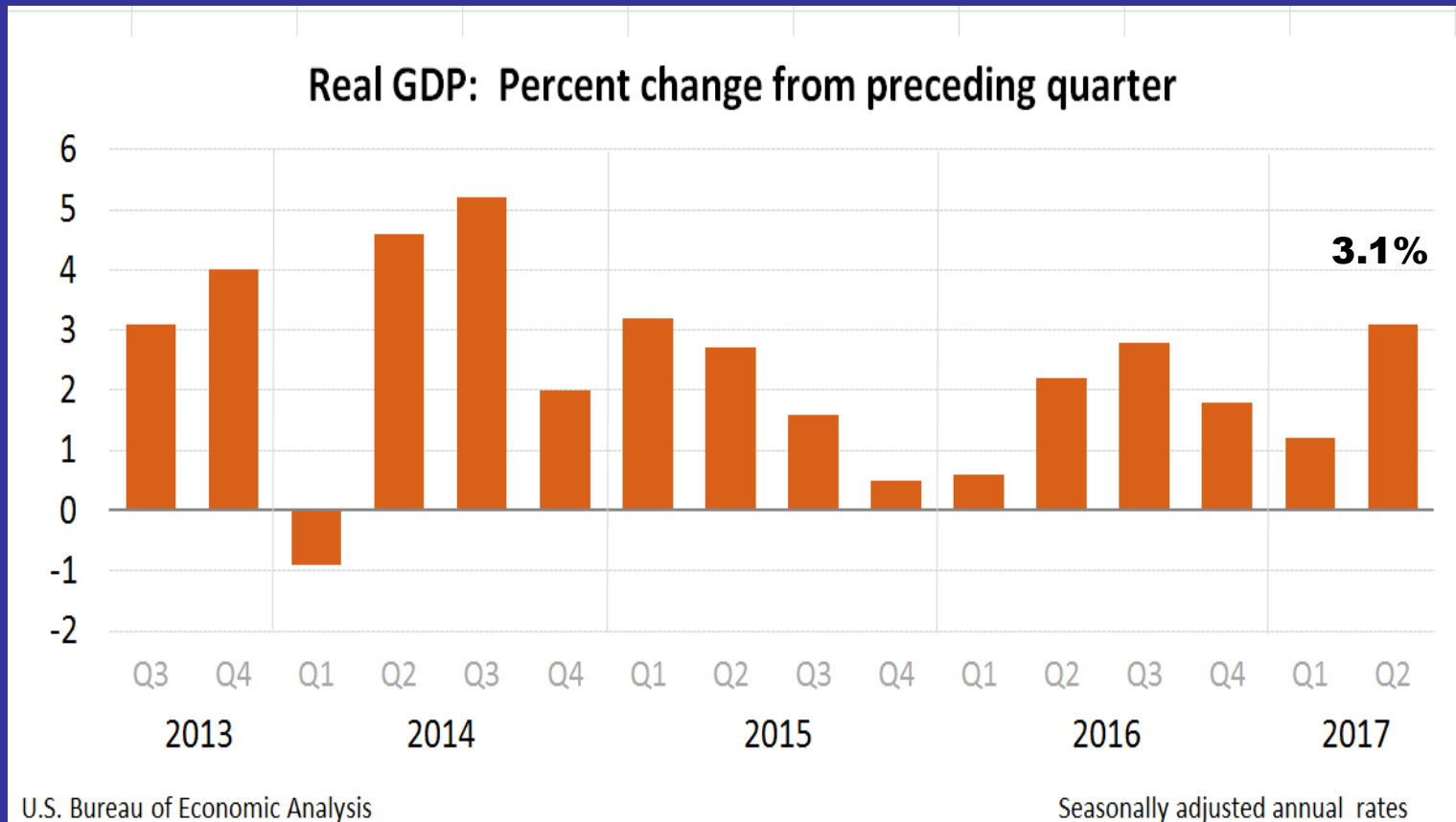
Falling Basic R&D - - funding basic science is declining – big problem that needs fixing

Federal government funds basic research while industries fund applied research – basic research is critical to development of new technology and innovation in science and engineering - critical to economic and job growth and productivity (http://www.wsj.com/articles/the-dividends-of-funding-basic-science-1480982516?mod=rss_opinion_main)



U.S. 2nd Qtr 2017 Economic growth 3.1% - 1.6% for 2016 - terrible performance - the slowest expansion since WWII.

- (1) Slowing world economy (weaker China , European and South American growth)
- (2) **Weaker dollar will support exports and decrease imports – positive impact on manufacturing jobs which is key to income growth in USA – good news!**
- (3) Political stalemate/weak leadership, terrorism, currency wars, growing national debt, ...
- (4) Weak income growth and continuing high “real unemployment”

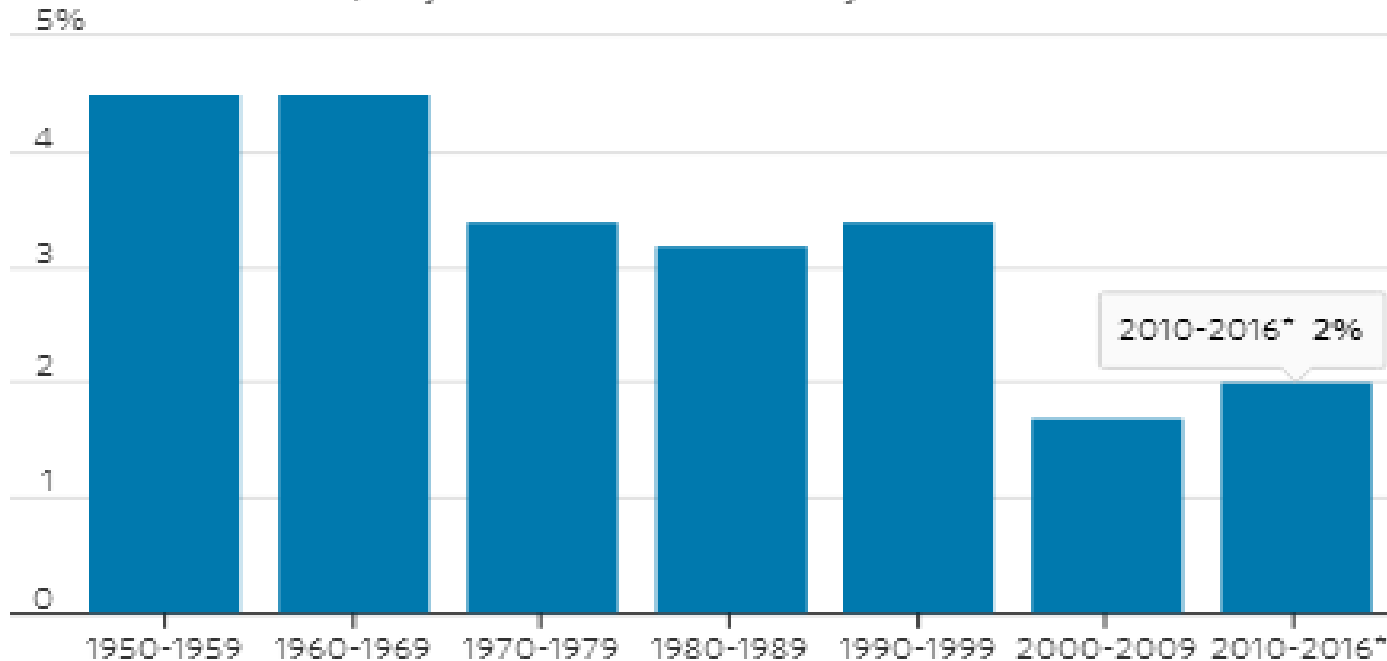


Source: BEA (http://www.bea.gov/newsreleases/national/gdp/gdp_glance.htm)

Economic growth hasn't done much over past 16 years – ineffective political system is one reason. Recent study by Porter, et al. suggests the system operates by special interests for special interests and not for the public at large.

Slowdown

Average change in gross domestic product from prior quarter at an annual rate, adjusted for seasonality and inflation



*Data is through the second quarter of 2016.

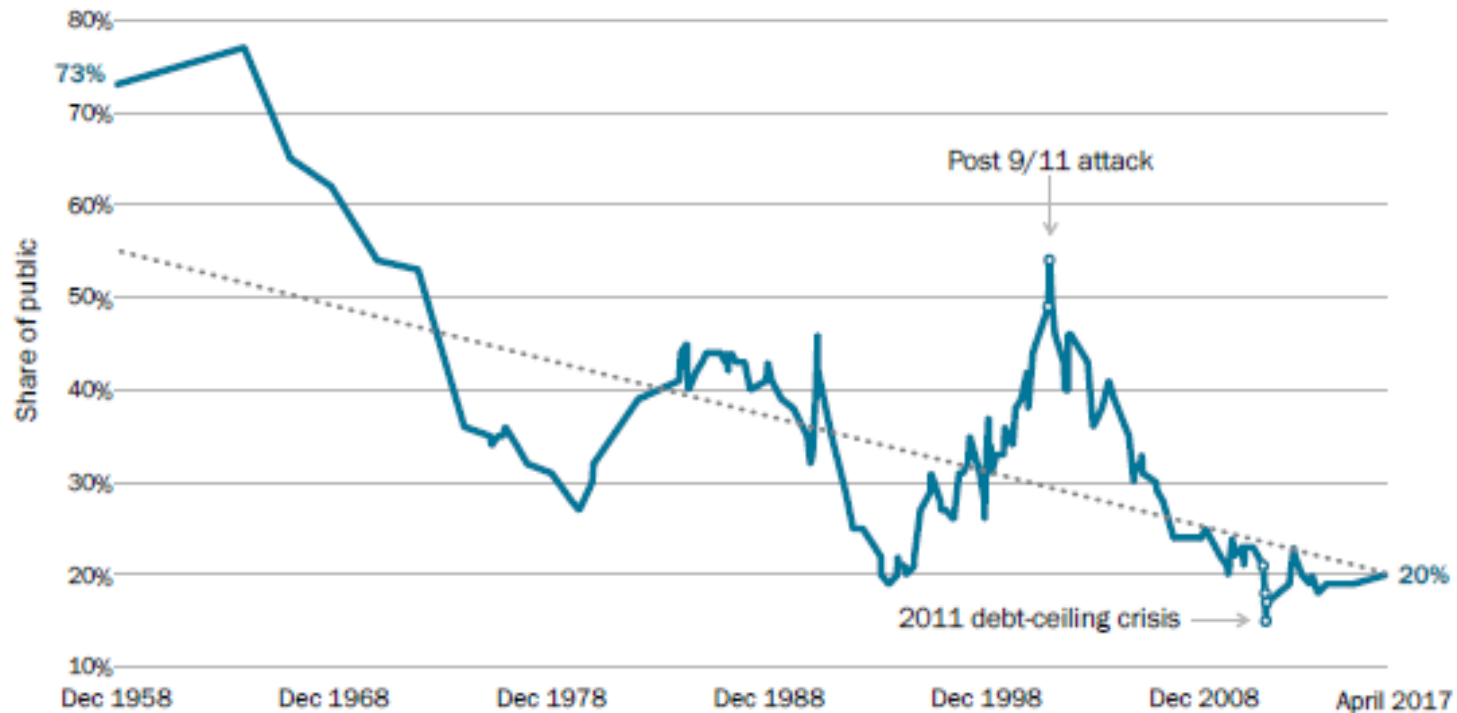
Source: Commerce Department

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Biggest problem facing America's economy – declining public trust in federal government – caused by broken political system. From latest Harvard case study by M. Porter, et al. (<http://www.hbs.edu/competitiveness/Pages/default.aspx>)

FIGURE 1: DECLINING PUBLIC TRUST IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

As of April 2017, about one in five Americans trust the federal government always or most of the time.



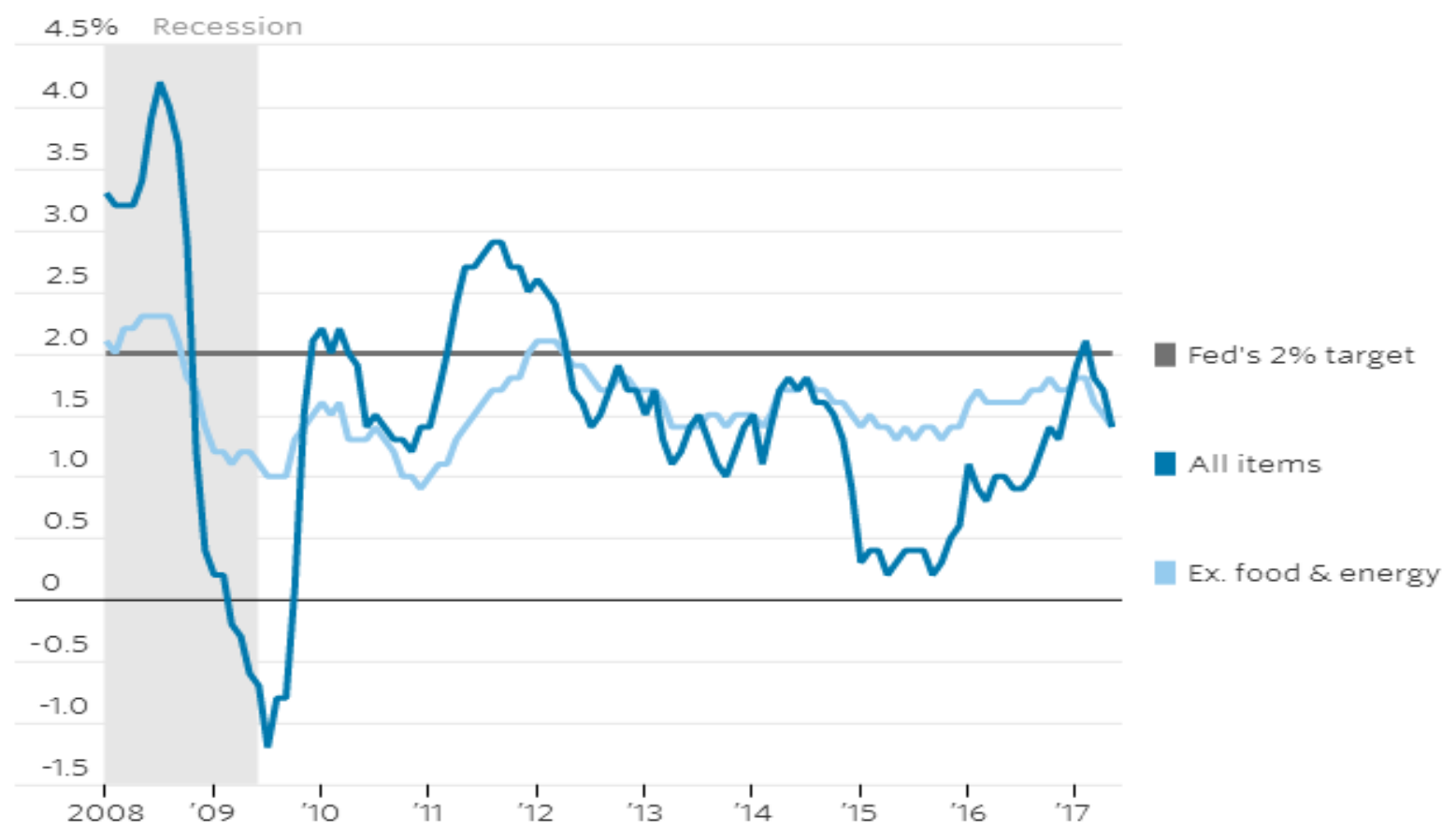
Note: From 1976-2016, data are three-survey moving averages. Post-9/11 markers indicate two surveys in October 2001; debt-ceiling markers indicate four surveys in 2011 after the U.S. hit the debt ceiling in May.

Source: Data from "Public Trust in Government: 1958-2017," Pew Research Center, May 3, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2015/11/23/public-trust-in-government-1958-2015/>, accessed August 2017.

Little U.S. inflation despite “free money” for a decade. Why – weak demand and weak income growth? – **Another possibility – traditional inflation metrics incorrectly measure impact of technology (e.g., cost reduction and/or benefits)** -- i.e., maybe technology is keeping inflation down despite good economic growth? ***Or maybe globalization is the culprit?*** Or a combination of all?

Inflation Gauge

Price index for personal-consumption expenditures, change from year ago



Source: Commerce Department

Low world inflation despite “free money” for 9 years – is this weak demand or we aren’t measuring inflation and GDP correctly? Here is interesting article from “The Economist”

(www.economist.com/news/briefing/21697845-gross-domestic-product-gdp-increasingly-poor-measure-prosperity-it-not-even)

G-20 consumer prices, change from a year earlier



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

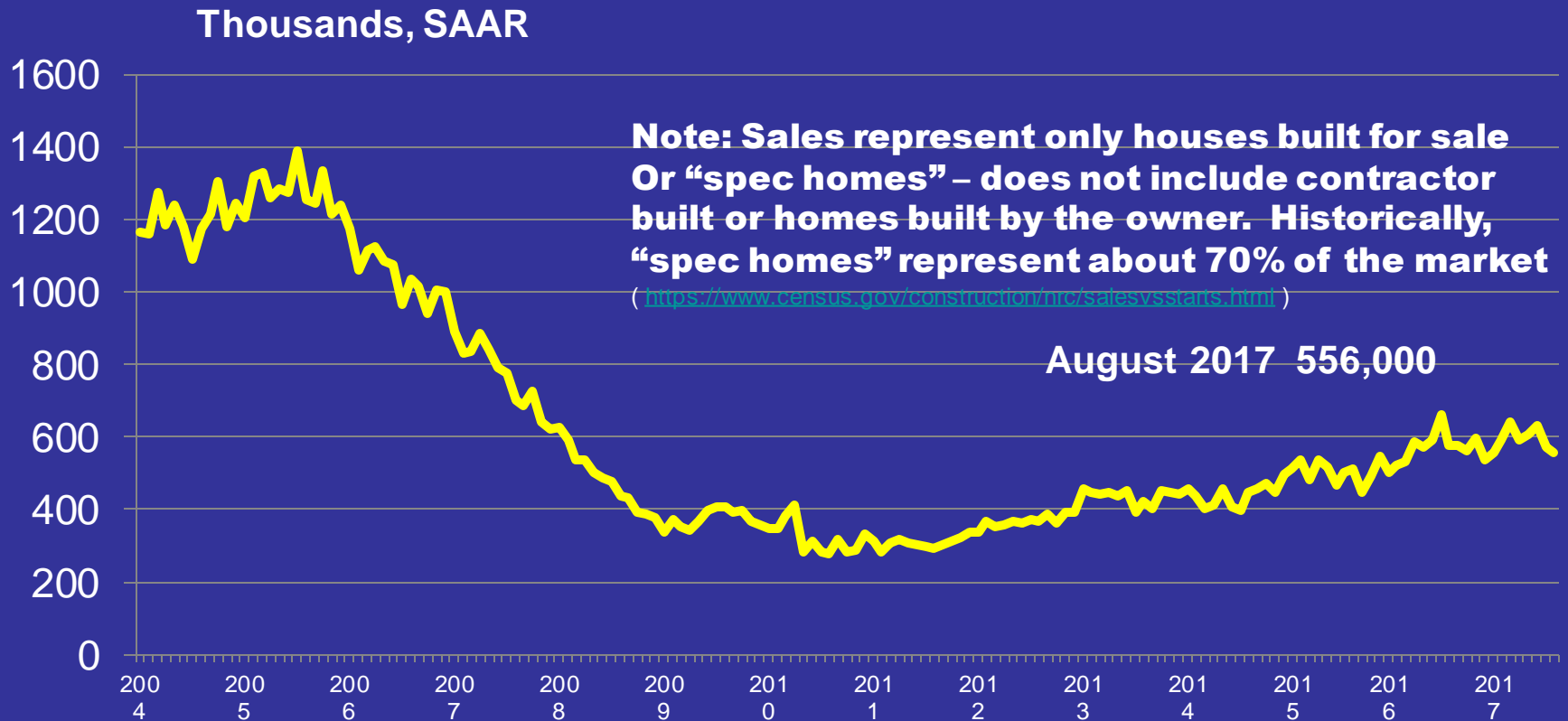
THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

(<https://www.wsj.com/articles/global-inflation-hits-lowest-level-since-2009-1501754403>)

Additional housing comments

New Single Family Home sales are the key statistic to watch for wood products demand – sales drive housing starts – this drives demand for wood products!

Down 1.2% from last year!



Source: Census (<http://www.census.gov/const/www/newressalesindex.html>)

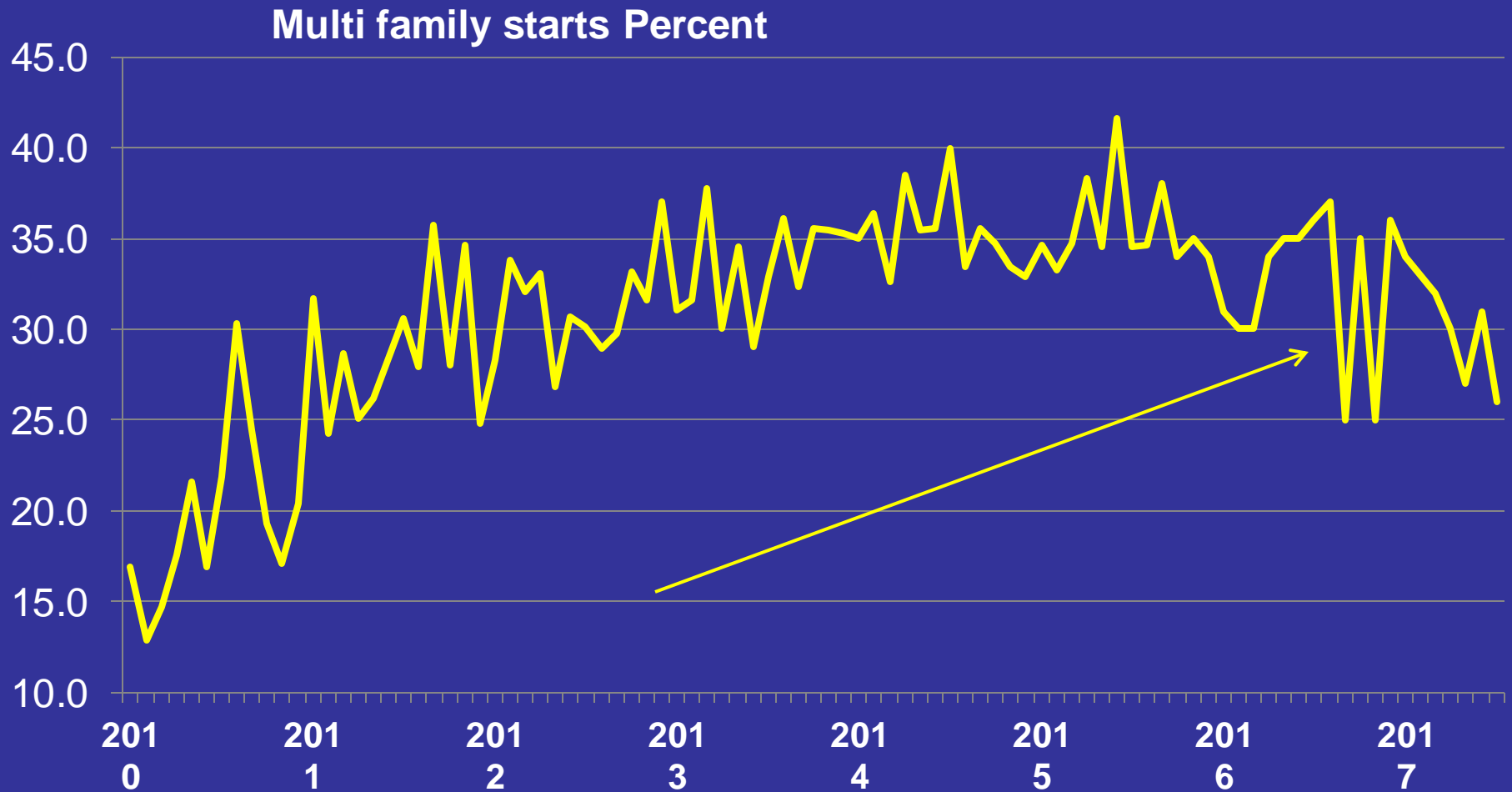
Resale market continues to improve - however, tight Supply (which drives prices), currently at 4.2 months, remains a problem. Healthy market is about 6 months supply. Median prices are up 5.6%, annual basis - 66th consecutive monthly increase, YOY. Here is good report from NAR on 2016 totals (<https://www.nar.realtor/news-releases/2017/01/existing-home-sales-slide-in-december-2016-sales-best-since-2006>)

Single family (incl condos), Monthly, Thousand units, SAAR



Source: NAR (<http://www.realtor.org/news-releases/2015/06/existing-home-sales-bounce-back-strongly-in-may-as-first-time-buyers-return>)

Multi family share of housing starts – upward trend has leveled off, however, single family rentals (SFR) are increasing rapidly. So, the rental market is simply shifting from multi family to SFR?



Source: Census

More News on the labor front

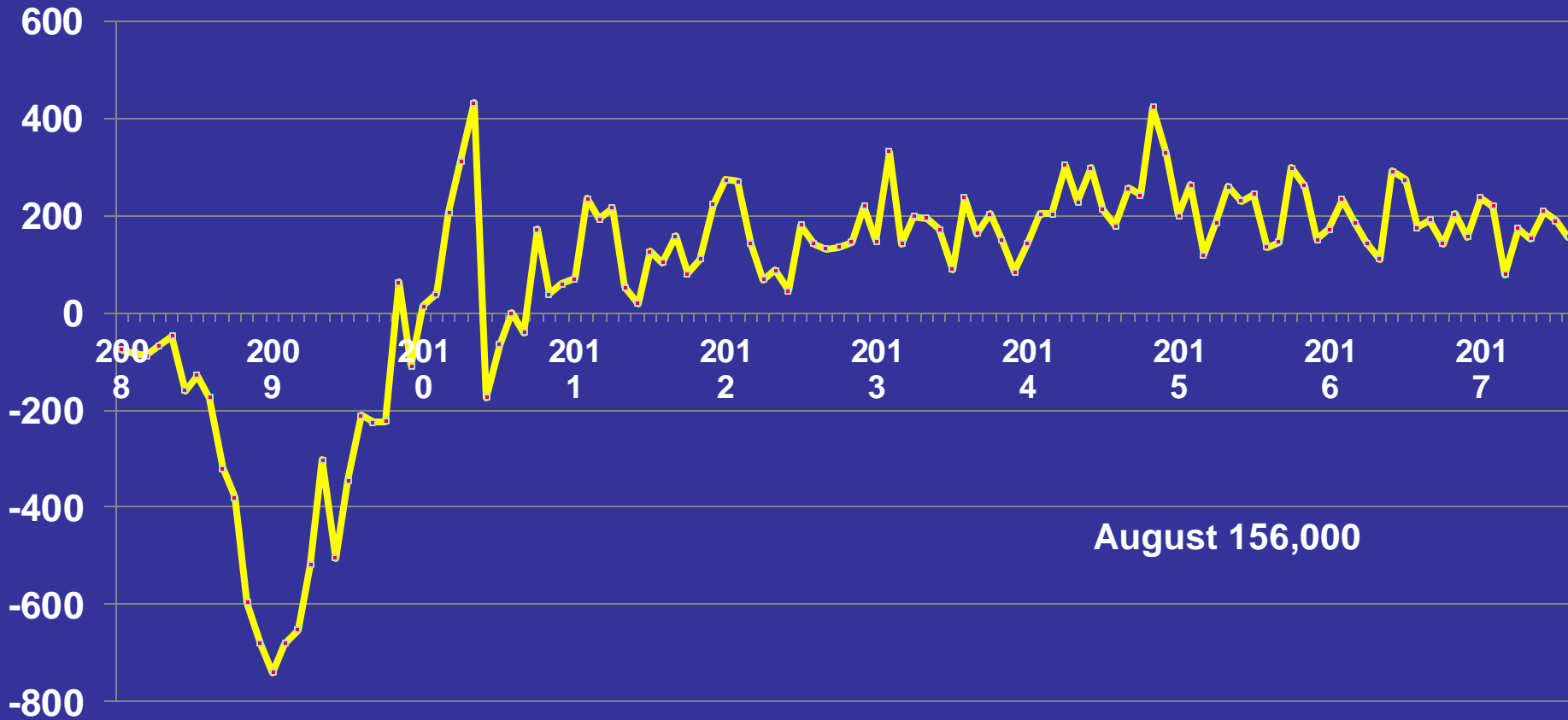
**Unemployment coming down,
but wages are not coming up.
That causes problems with housing
affordability with house prices
increasing faster than incomes!**

**And, there are lots of jobs, but employers
can't find enough qualified workers.
The worker shortage will only get worse as baby boomers
retire, fertility rates plummet, and we continue to restrict
Immigration. Proper Skill set is also missing! Education
needs to be refocused – need more technical training,
Engineers, scientists, and fewer liberal arts majors.**

<https://finance.yahoo.com/news/americas-shortage-workers-get-much-worse-161634414.html>

Employment situation – stuck around 200,000, and many of these jobs are part time with little or no benefits – not conducive to driving housing demand higher - need to encourage innovation and investment in future - that means less government, more research, fix k-12 education, and rebuild crumbling infrastructure.

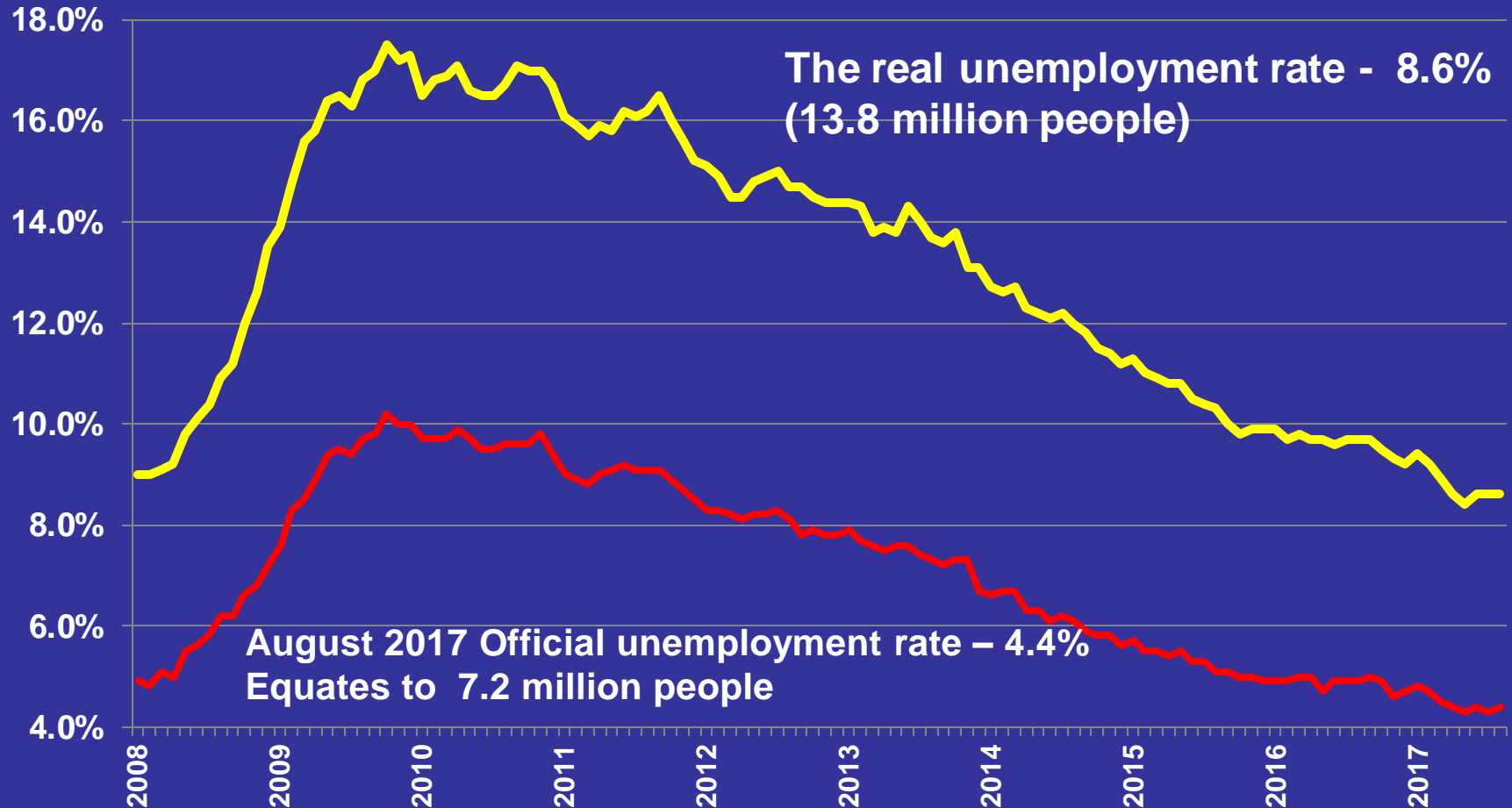
Net change in non farm payrolls – monthly, thousands



August 156,000

Source: U.S. BLS (www.bls.gov)

Unemployment rate keeps coming down – but, 5.3 million remain “underemployed” – working part time, but want full time jobs – another 1.6 million are “marginally attached” including 536,000 discouraged – total = 13.9 million including official 7.3 million unemployed



Labor force participation rate is shrinking – demographics is one reason – another reason – bloated welfare system – 130 million people on some form of welfare (food stamps, long term disability, housing allowances, Medicaid, ...) - - we'll see skilled labor shortages increase over the next decade - we're already seeing construction related shortages with brick layers, masons, electricians, plumbers, etc.

Excellent article (<http://finance.yahoo.com/news/should-i-go-to-a-trade-school-162413337.html#>)

% of civilian adult population, that are working



Some conclusions – housing continues to improve albeit very slowly and this will not change soon for the reasons listed below:

- (1) Economy is improving (slowly) -- **2016 growth was 1.9% while 2017 expected to be about the same.**
- (2) Housing market is improving? - 1st time buyers are returning – 1st Qtr 2017 percentage back to 42%, up from 30% in 2008! Will it continue?
- (3) Productivity a major problem for U.S. economy – real GDP driven by population (number of workers) and real GDP/worker or productivity. During past 7 years, productivity has grown 1.7% annually whereas the average over previous 17 years was 2.4%.
- (4) “QE” not working – bulk of “printed money” hoarded by the banks to shore up capital positions – not being loaned out to the economy - GDP languishes
- (5) Low rates **have created housing bubbles in Canada, Australia, and equity bubbles here in USA - I hope the central banks have a solution?**
- (5) ***Leadership is a serious problem for our country – 2016 elections changed nothing – we’re more divided than ever – little progress on key issues and this probably won’t change until we elect responsible politicians***
- (7) The fed finally increased rates in December, 2016 with two more in 2017. Low rates are not the solution to the weak economy! Innovation, investment, tax reform, is the solution, but that will be challenging with \$20 trillion (and counting) federal debt and 41% of the population on some form of welfare. Many business leaders have lost confidence in where the country is headed so they are not investing.

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