

## **Research Note**

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# **Currency Chaos: Managing Effective Demonetization and Currency Swaps**

## **Executive Summary**

Demonetization and currency swaps are highly impactful economic tools used by governments to address diverse policy challenges from inflation to terrorism and illicit economies. However, past experiences have demonstrated that the improper management of these measures can result in currency chaos and unintended consequences.

This policy brief examines lessons learned from failed attempts at managing effective demonetization and currency swaps. Such failures highlight the importance of adequate preparation and planning, seamless exchange mechanisms, consideration of the informal economy, and robust communication and public outreach.

Furthermore, to ensure the relative success of future demonetization efforts, this policy brief provides insights on how to effectively demonetize by adopting a phased implementation approach, ensuring an adequate supply of replacement currency, establishing efficient exchange mechanisms, and prioritizing public awareness and education. By applying these lessons, policymakers can mitigate disruptions and successfully implement demonetization and currency swap measures to achieve their intended goals.

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## Context

Currency chaos can have severe economic and social consequences, leading to instability, inflation, and social unrest. Governments can undertake demonetization and currency swaps as measures to mitigate such risks. However, managing these processes requires careful planning and coordination to avoid chaos and economic disruption. [1]

Currency chaos can occur when a country undergoes a sudden and drastic change in its monetary system, such as demonetization or currency swaps. Demonetization is the process of withdrawing a particular denomination of currency or all currency notes from circulation, often in an effort to curb illegal activities such as counterfeiting or corruption. [2] Currency swaps, on the other hand, involve exchanging one currency for another to stabilize the economy or address currency imbalances.

Both demonetization and currency swaps can have significant impacts on a country's economy, including disruptions to businesses, changes in consumer behavior, and fluctuations in exchange rates. Therefore, effective management of these processes is essential to minimize negative consequences and ensure a smooth transition to the new monetary system.

This policy brief aims to provide recommendations for managing effective demonetization and currency swaps, drawing on lessons learned from past experiences including India, Nigeria and best practices in using currency policy for non-economic objectives.

### **Rationale for Demonetization**

Demonetization is a policy tool used by governments to achieve various economic and non-economic objectives. The main rationale for demonetization is to curb black money, corruption, counterfeit currency, and terrorism financing. It is believed that demonetization can help in reducing the circulation of unaccounted wealth and illegal activities and promote digital transactions.

Additionally, demonetization can also help in increasing tax compliance and formalizing the economy. By removing high-denomination notes from circulation, demonetization can reduce the demand for cash transactions and encourage people to use digital payment methods. This, in turn, can increase the transparency of transactions and make it easier for the government to track money flows.

Demonetization can also have a positive impact on the economy by reducing inflation, increasing liquidity in the banking system, and promoting financial inclusion. [3] When people deposit their cash holdings in banks, it increases the liquidity of the banking system, which can be used for lending to businesses and individuals. Also, demonetization can promote financial inclusion by encouraging people to open bank accounts and participate in the formal economy.

While the theoretical justifications for demonetization exist, they are rarely realized in practice. Despite repeated failures though, countries with few options left to manage criminality or inflation may turn to this option given domestic political concerns as was apparent in India and implicit in Nigeria.

<sup>[1]</sup> https://www.cbn.gov.ng/Out/2022/CCD/Naira\_Redesign.pdf

<sup>[2]</sup> https://theconversation.com/indias-demonetisation-drive-has-boosted-banks-and-start-ups-but-its-still-a-failure-71704 [3] IBID.

## Economic effects of demonetization

Demonetization has been implemented in several countries around the world, with varying degrees of failure. [1] The economic effects of demonetization can vary depending on the context in which it is implemented. In some cases, demonetization can have positive effects on the economy. For example, if a country has a high level of corruption, demonetization can help to reduce the amount of unaccounted money in the system. It can also promote the use of digital payments, which can be more efficient and less prone to fraud.

However, demonetization can also have negative effects. In the short term, it can disrupt economic activity as people struggle to access cash and businesses struggle to adapt to new payment systems as seen in Nigeria and Venezuela. It can also lead to a reduction in consumer spending, which can hurt businesses that rely on consumer demand. The decision to use demonetization should be based on careful consideration of the potential benefits and drawbacks. It should also consider the readiness of the economy to handle the transition, as well as the potential impact on vulnerable populations such as low-income earners. [4]

Demonetization requires people to exchange their old notes for new ones within a specified period. This makes it difficult for people who have accumulated large amounts of cash through illegal means to exchange it without being detected by authorities. They may choose to not exchange their cash, effectively rendering it worthless, or they may face an investigation for hoarding cash. However, it is important to note that demonetization alone is not a foolproof solution to the problem of the black market and money laundering activities. Other measures, such as strengthening anti-money laundering laws, improving law enforcement, and increasing financial transparency, may also be necessary to effectively combat these activities. In 2016, the Indian government demonetized its two largest currency notes (Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000) to combat corruption and black money. The move led to a severe cash crunch, as people rushed to exchange their old notes for new ones. [5]

When demonetization is implemented, the old currency notes that are withdrawn from circulation are typically not replaced on a one-to-one basis. This means that there is a reduction in the overall money supply in the economy. With less money available, there is a reduced demand for goods and services, which can help to reduce inflation. In some cases, demonetization can encourage people to save more money rather than spend it. This is because during the period when old currency notes are being withdrawn, there may be a temporary cash shortage and people may be reluctant to spend their money. This increase in savings can also help to reduce inflation, as it reduces the demand for goods and services.

However, it is important to note that demonetization can also have negative effects on the economy, such as a temporary disruption of economic activity, reduced consumer spending, and potential harm to vulnerable populations. The overall impact of demonetization on inflation will depend on several factors, including the extent to which it is implemented, the effectiveness of the measures put in place to mitigate its negative effects, and the broader economic conditions in the country.

[4] https://groww.in/blog/countries-that-have-tried-demonetization-in-the-past

<sup>[5]</sup> https://www.nber.org/digest/feb19/indias-demonetization-reduced-employment-and-economic-activity

When demonetization is implemented, certain denominations of currency are removed from circulation. This can create a shortage of cash, which can encourage people to adopt digital payment methods instead. Demonetization can raise awareness among the public about the benefits of digital payment systems. With cash being less available, people may become more interested in exploring other payment options, which can lead to greater adoption of digital payment methods.

Governments can promote the adoption of digital payment systems by offering incentives or launching initiatives to encourage their use. For example, in India, the government launched the BHIM app to promote digital payments after demonetization. [6] Demonetization can create an environment that is more conducive to the adoption of digital payment systems.

However, it is important to note that the success of such efforts depends on a range of factors, including the availability and accessibility of digital payment systems, consumer awareness, and education, and the ability of businesses to accept digital payments.

When demonetization is implemented, the old currency notes that are withdrawn from circulation are typically not replaced on a one-to-one basis. This means that there is a temporary shortage of cash in the economy, which can make it difficult for businesses to carry out their operations and for consumers to make purchases. This can lead to a reduction in economic activity. Demonetization can also disrupt supply chains, as businesses may have difficulty obtaining the cash they need to purchase goods and services from their suppliers. This can lead to delays in production and delivery, further reducing economic activity. Demonetization can create a sense of uncertainty among businesses and consumers, as they may be unsure about the impact of the policy and the longerterm implications for the economy. This uncertainty can lead to a reduction in investment and consumer spending, further exacerbating the short-term disruption to economic activity.

While demonetization may have longterm benefits for the economy, the shortterm disruption to economic activity can be significant. Governments must take steps to mitigate these negative effects, such as providing temporary relief measures for businesses and consumers and ensuring the availability of alternative payment options

Demonetization can lead to a reduction in liquidity, which can make it difficult for businesses to access the credit they need to finance their operations. This can lead to a further slowdown in economic activity as businesses may be unable to invest in new projects or expand their operations.

Furthermore, demonetization can create uncertainty among investors, which can lead to a reduction in foreign investment and capital inflows.

This can further slowdown economic activity as businesses may be unable to access the funds they need to grow and expand. For example, when India implemented demonetization in 2016, the country experienced a short-term economic slowdown, with the growth rate of the economy falling from 7.9% in the April-June quarter to 6.1% in the January-March quarter of the following year. [7] This slowdown was attributed to the disruption of economic activity and reduced consumer spending, among other factors.

<sup>[6]</sup> https://www.nber.org/digest/feb19/indias-demonetization-reduced-employment-and-economic-activity

<sup>[7]</sup> https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/5-years-of-demonetisation-how-it-impacted-india/articleshow/87579350.cms

In summary, demonetization can cause an economic slowdown due to the short-term disruption to economic activity, reduced liquidity, and increased uncertainty among investors. Governments must take steps to mitigate these negative effects, such as providing temporary relief measures for businesses and consumers and ensuring the availability of alternative payment options.

Given the potential economic effects, demonetization should only be used in specific circumstances, including However, demonetization should be implemented with caution, as it can have unintended consequences, especially for vulnerable populations such as low-income earners. It should be implemented gradually, with clear communication and support for individuals and businesses to adapt to the changes.

## **Lessons From Failed Demonetizations**

One crucial lesson from failed demonetization and currency swaps is the importance of comprehensive preparation and planning. Insufficient groundwork can lead to widespread chaos and confusion among the public as the Central Bank of Nigeria announced the policy in October 2022 with a deadline of January 2023, which was later extended to February 2023. [8]

Governments must ensure that sufficient time is allocated for logistical preparations, including printing an adequate supply of replacement currency, establishing robust distribution networks, and educating the public about the process and necessary steps to comply. India on November 8, 2016 surprisingly demonetized 86 percent of its currency in circulation in 2016 serves as a case study for inadequate preparation. [9] Holders of the demonetized currency were given until December 31, 2016 to exchange their demonetized bills. The sudden withdrawal of high-value banknotes without an adequate replacement led to severe cash shortages, long queues at banks, and a slump in economic activity.

Therefore, policymakers should prioritize meticulous planning, anticipating possible challenges and devising appropriate strategies to mitigate them.

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Another critical lesson is the need for welldesigned and efficient exchange mechanisms. Failed demonetization and currency swaps often exhibit inadequate provision for exchanging old currency for the new one, resulting in inconvenience and economic disruptions.

Governments should establish easily accessible exchange points, such as banks and authorized agents, and ensure that they are adequately equipped and staffed to handle the anticipated demand. The 2015 demonetization in Zimbabwe serves as an example of flawed exchange mechanisms. [10]

The sudden introduction of new currency began Monday, June 15, 2015, and holders of the currency were given until September 30, 2015, to turn in their money to the nearest bank in exchange for US dollars. The lack of a proper exchange mechanism led to massive queues and delays in obtaining the new currency.

[8] https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/03/02/nigeria-currency-change-naira-demonetization/

[9] Lahiri, Amartya. 2020. "The Great Indian Demonetization." Journal of Economic Perspectives, 34 (1): 55-74.DOI: 10.1257/jep.34.1.55

[10] https://www.polgeonow.com/2015/11/death-of-zimbabwe-dollar-currency-demonetized.html

To prevent such scenarios, policymakers must devise efficient systems that allow for smooth currency exchange, minimizing disruptions to economic activities.

The demonetization efforts in Venezuela in 2016 and 2017 highlight the consequences of neglecting the informal economy. The sudden withdrawal of the 100 bolivars note, which represented a significant portion of the country's cash supply, led to widespread unrest and economic turmoil, and hit vulnerable populations. To avoid exacerbating social inequalities, policymakers must devise inclusive strategies that account for the needs of the informal economy. [11]

Governments must proactively inform the public about the reasons, objectives, and procedures associated with such measures. Timely and clear communication can help build public trust, alleviate anxiety, and minimize misinformation or rumors. The 2022 demonetization in Nigeria provides an example of poor communication.

The sudden demonetization of the 1000 naira note caused panic and confusion among citizens, as the government failed to adequately inform the public about the rationale behind the decision and the procedures to exchange the old notes.

Policymakers must prioritize open and transparent communication, using various channels to reach a broad audience and address concerns effectively. Effective demonetization and currency swaps require meticulous planning, efficient exchange mechanisms and consideration of the informal economy.

Nigeria's case was about 58% compared to India that had 80 percent of workers, 45 percent of GDP, and where majority of firms operate in the informal, unregistered sector. [12] Lessons learned from failed attempts provide valuable insights for policymakers.

## **Managing Effective Demonetizations**

Demonetization is a significant economic policy tool used by governments to address issues such as black money, corruption, and the promotion of a transparent financial system. One crucial lesson from failed demonetization attempts is the importance of a phased implementation approach. Sudden and complete demonetization can result in economic disruptions, cash shortages, and inconvenience to the public. It is advisable to implement demonetization in a gradual manner, where specific denominations or series of banknotes are withdrawn over a predefined period. This allows sufficient time for the public to adapt to the changes and ensures a smooth transition.

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Another critical lesson is the need to ensure an adequate supply of replacement currency during the demonetization process. Insufficient availability of new currency can lead to cash shortages and hamper daily transactions as seen in Nigeria and India, causing public inconvenience. It is essential for policymakers to plan and execute the printing and distribution of replacement currency carefully, considering the estimated demand and ensuring that it is readily available to the public.

<sup>[11]</sup> https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2016/12/15/venezuelas-lunatic-experiment-in-demonstisation

<sup>[12]</sup> https://www.capitaleconomics.com/publications/africa-economics-update/nigeria-and-risks-stemming-demonetisation

To facilitate a successful demonetization process, efficient and accessible exchange mechanisms should be established. Banks and other authorized agents need to be well-prepared with the necessary infrastructure and staff to handle the expected demand for exchanging old currency with the new one. Additionally, alternative channels such as mobile banking, online platforms, and post offices can be leveraged to provide convenient options for currency exchange.

Effective communication and public education play a crucial role in managing demonetization. Governments should prioritize proactive communication strategies to ensure that the public is wellinformed about the objectives, procedures, timelines, and necessary steps associated with demonetization. Comprehensive public awareness campaigns through various channels should be conducted to minimize confusion, address concerns, and guide the public through the process.

To effectively implement demonetization, policymakers should consider a phased implementation approach, ensure an adequate supply of replacement currency, establish efficient exchange mechanisms, and prioritize public awareness and education.

By learning from the lessons of failed demonetization efforts, governments can minimize disruptions, maintain public trust, and maximize the potential benefits of demonetization measures. It is crucial to approach the process with careful planning, stakeholder engagement, and transparent communication to ensure a successful transition.

## Conclusion

Demonetization, when implemented with comprehensive preparation and planning, can help achieve various economic and non-economic objectives such as curbing black money, corruption, counterfeit currency, and terrorism financing, promoting digital transactions, increasing tax compliance, reducing inflation, increasing liquidity in the banking system, and promoting financial inclusion.

However, the decision to use demonetization should be based on careful consideration of the potential benefits and drawbacks, with a focus on the readiness of the economy to handle the transition and the potential impact on vulnerable populations.

Lessons from failed efforts highlight the importance of phased implementation, ensuring an adequate supply of replacement currency, establishing efficient exchange mechanisms, and prioritizing effective communication and public education. Governments should plan the demonetization process carefully, consider the needs of the informal economy, and implement transparent communication strategies to build public trust and minimize disruptions.

By incorporating these lessons and following best practices, policymakers can effectively manage demonetization and currency swaps, mitigating risks of economic chaos and social unrest while maximizing the potential benefits for the economy and society as a whole.