

COVID-19 and Small Business Failures

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COVID-19 Crisis

- COVID-19 is unprecedented in its complexity and severity.
- Crisis will trigger many business failures.
- Small businesses are especially at risk for failure.
- Lack of real-time data on failures complicates policy enactment and evaluation.

These Papers:

1. What is the impact of COVID-19 on SME failures in a wide range of countries?
2. What is the cost/effectiveness of government interventions aimed at saving firms?

Outline of Approach

- **Challenge:** To identify a liquidity shortage, need firm cashflow under COVID-19.

$$\text{cash} + CF_{\text{COVID}} < \text{financial expenses}$$

- **Approach:** Combine data with model to estimate CF_{COVID}
 - Representative firm-level financial data (ORBIS) from 17 countries.

$$CF_{\text{COVID}} = PY_{2018} \widehat{PY}_{\text{COVID}} - COGS_{2018} \widehat{COGS}_{\text{COVID}} - \text{Fixed Costs} - \text{Taxes}$$

- Firm cost-minimizes over labor and materials given supply and demand shocks calibrated at sectoral level (4-digit).

Results

1. Absent interventions, failure rates rise by 9.2 pct pts (upper bound estimate).
2. Resulting NPLs lower the CET-1 ratio by 2.16 pct pts to 12.0%.
3. Targeted interventions: save 9.2% of SMEs and 4.75% of employment at a cost of 0.8% of GDP.
4. Blanket subsidies: save up to 8.7% of SMEs, preserve 4.7% of employment, but cost 5.8% of GDP.
5. Firms saved in 2020 are unlikely to fail in 2021. Biggest risk is credit tightening in 2021.

Limitations

1. **Liquidity, not insolvency, criterion:**
 - Distinction matters for firms with access to credit markets (SME access limited).
 - Insolvency defined as negative equity; difficult to establish for private firms.
2. **Assume perfectly rigid prices:** output is demand driven.
3. **Static, partial equilibrium exercise:** no state variable; estimate first-round effect.
4. **No amplification via input-output matrix:** important and left for future work.
5. **Calibration of shocks:** may not be independent of each other/policy interventions.

Literature: Rapidly Growing in 2020

- Labor market, demand, supply, and reallocation (Barrero, Bloom and Davis; Coibion, Gorodnichenko and Weber; Dingel and Neimann; Mongey, Pilossoph and Weinberg; Guerrieri, Lorenzoni, Straub and Werning; Krueger, Uhlig and Xie)
- Business solvency and policy response: (Acharya and Steffen; Brunnermeier and Krishnamurthy; Carletti, Oliviero, Pagano, Pelizzon and Subrahmanyam; Core and De Marco; Elenev, Landvoight and van Nieuwerburgh; Granja, Makridis, Yannelis and Zwick; Greenwald, Hanson, Stein, Sunderam, and Zwick; Joaquim and Netto; Krainer and Paul; Greenwood, Iverson and Thesmar; Jones, Philippon and Venkateswaran; Schivardi and Romano)

Contribution

1. Infer COVID-19 impact from structural model combined with firm-level data.
2. Assess sources of heterogeneity in failure rates and the effects of gov't support.

Methodology

Model Details I: Supply & Demand

- **Supply:** firms produce output (y_{is}) using idiosyncratic productivity (z_{is}), fixed factors (k_{is}), materials (m_{is}), and effective labor ($A_s n_{is}$):

$$y_{is} = z_{is} k_{is}^{\alpha_s} (A_s n_{is})^{\beta_s} m_{is}^{\gamma_s}.$$

- **Demand:** firms within sectors sell differentiated varieties (nested CES demand structure)

$$d_{is} = \xi_s^\eta \left(\frac{p_{is}}{P_s} \right)^{-\rho_s} \left(\frac{P_s}{P} \right)^{-\eta} D$$

- **Hat algebra:** change in demand from normal (d_{is}) to COVID-19 (d'_{is}) times:

$$\hat{d}_{is} \equiv \frac{d'_{is}}{d_{is}} = \frac{\hat{\xi}_s^\eta}{\sum_\sigma \hat{\xi}_\sigma^\eta / S} \widehat{PD} = \tilde{\xi}_s^\eta \widehat{PD}, \text{ where } \sum_s \tilde{\xi}_s^\eta / S = 1$$

Model Details II: Firm Decisions

$$\begin{aligned} \min_{m', n'} \quad & wn' + p_m m' \\ & zk^{\alpha_s} (\hat{A}_s n')^{\beta_s} m'^{\gamma_s} \geq d' \quad : \text{produce to meet demand} \\ & n' \leq \hat{x}_s n \quad : \text{labor constraint} \end{aligned}$$

- When labor is not constrained:

$$\frac{n'}{n} = \hat{n} = \hat{m} = \left(\frac{\tilde{\xi}_s^\eta \widehat{PD}}{\xi_s} \right)^{1/(\beta_s + \gamma_s)} \hat{A}_s^{-\beta_s/(\beta_s + \gamma_s)} \equiv \hat{x}_s^*$$

- When labor is constrained:

$$\hat{n} = \hat{x}_s < \hat{x}_s^* \quad ; \quad \hat{m} = \hat{x}_s \left(\frac{\hat{x}_s^*}{\hat{x}_s} \right)^{(\beta_s + \gamma_s)/\gamma_s} > \hat{x}_s^*$$

Model Details III: Failures

- Define operating cashflow:

$$CF_{is} = p_{is}y_{is} - wn_{is} - p_m m_{is} - F_{is} - T_{is}$$

- Construct change in cashflows (predicted minus observed):
 - When labor is not constrained, change in cashflow (COVID/non-COVID):

$$CF_{is}^{\text{covid}} - CF_{is} = p_{is}y_{is}(\tilde{\xi}_s^\eta \widehat{PD} - 1) - (wn_{is} + p_m m_{is})(\hat{\chi}_s^* - 1)$$

- When labor is constrained,

$$CF_{is}^{\text{covid}} - CF_{is} = p_{is}y_{is}(\tilde{\xi}_s^\eta \widehat{PD} - 1) - wn_{is}(\hat{\chi}_s - 1) - p_m m_{is} \left(\hat{\chi}_s^{*(\beta_s + \gamma_s)/\gamma_s} \hat{\chi}_s^{-\beta_s/\gamma_s} - 1 \right)$$

- Businesses failures defined by liquidity criterion:

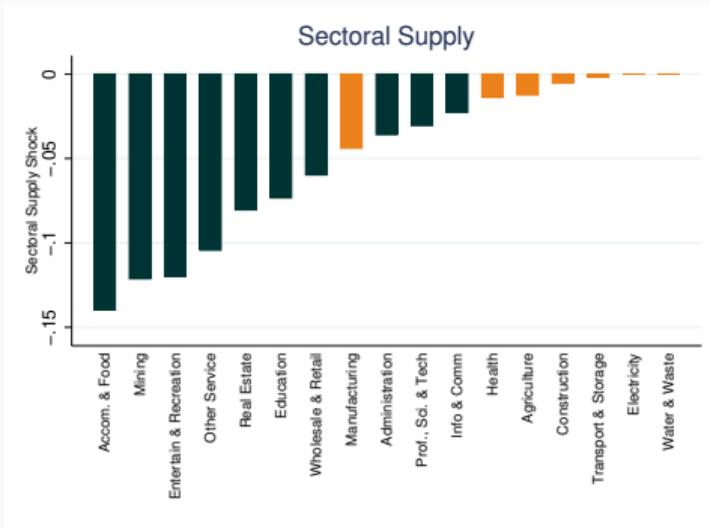
$$\text{cash}_{is} + CF_{is}^{\text{covid}} < \text{financial expenses}_{is}$$

Taking the Model to the Data

Methodology – Shocks

- **Labor Utilization Constraint:** $n'_{is}/n_{is} \leq \hat{x}_s$
 - Essential sectors: $\hat{x}_s = \infty$.
 - All non-essential workers assumed to be remote workers
 - **Data:** Evaluate feasibility of remote work (Dingel and Neiman 2020, O*NET).
- **Productivity shock:** Shifting to remote work ($\hat{A}_s \leq 1$)
 - Adjust productivity of remote workers down by 20%
 - **Data:** Use ACS for existing shares of remote workers
- Demand: $d'_{is}/d_{is} = \tilde{\xi}_s^\eta \widehat{PD}$
 - **Sectoral demand shock:** $\tilde{\xi}_s^\eta$ (restaurants $\tilde{\xi}_s^\eta < 1$ vs. online grocery $\tilde{\xi}_s^\eta \geq 1$).
Data: Evaluate reliance on face-to-face interaction (O*NET)
 - **Aggregate demand shock:** \widehat{PD}
Data: Use quarterly GDP growth forecasts (IMF, WEO).
- All sectoral shocks defined at the 4-digit NACE sector level.

Sectoral Supply & Demand Shocks



- Labor restrictions (left) are most severe in service sectors and mining.
- Demand (right) in customer-oriented sectors falls relative to essential sectors (orange).

Firm-level Data

- **ORBIS from BvD-Moody's for 17 countries:** Belgium, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Korea, Poland, Romania, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, and the United Kingdom.
- **Coverage** averages 50% of aggregate revenue and 48% of SME revenue; exceeds 40% of aggregate SME revenue for 13 countries (high quality). table
- **Focus on small businesses (SMEs):** account for 53% of employment, 50% of wages, 50% of revenue, and 46% of total assets. figure
- **Balance sheet and income statement variables (2018):** Sales, wages, intermediate input costs, cash, cashflow, financial expenses employment.

Baseline Failure Rates

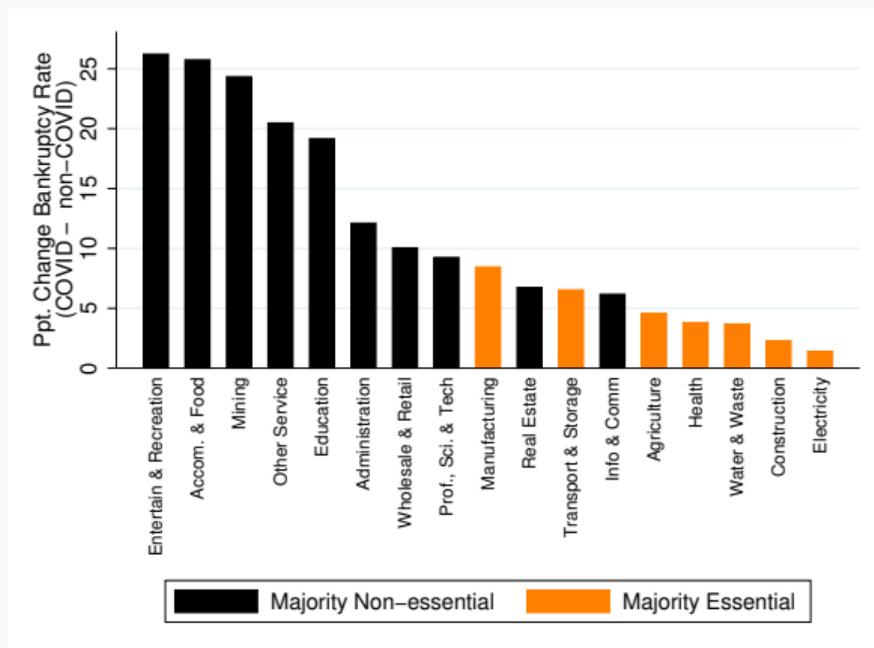
Aggregate SME Failure Rate (%)

| | (1) Non-COVID | (2) COVID | (3) Δ |
|---------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| High coverage | 9.60 | 18.81 | 9.21 |
| All | 9.43 | 18.58 | 9.15 |

Baseline scenario: Single 8 week lockdown

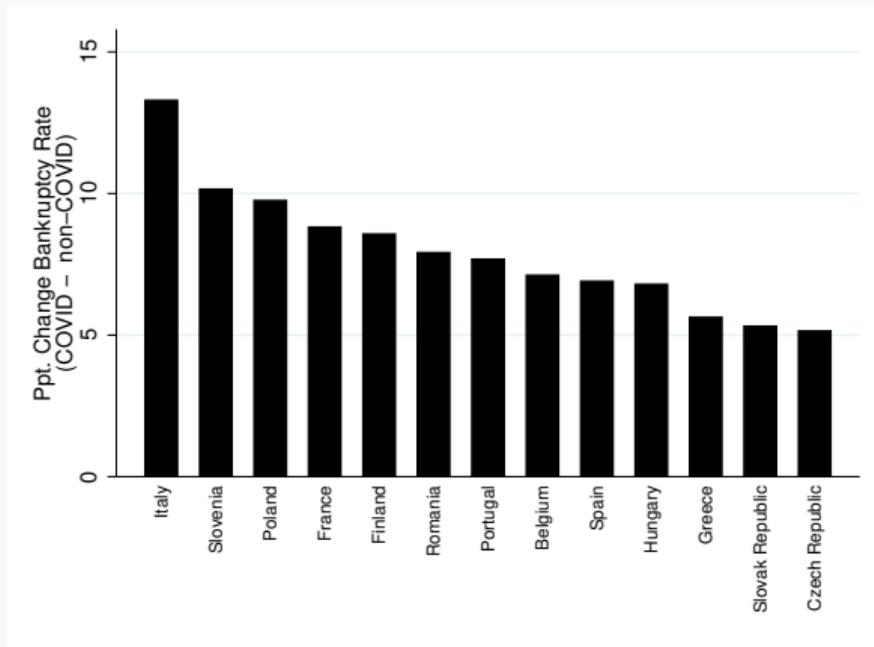
- No government fiscal support.
- Run our cash flow equation and assess failure weekly
- The table reports the cumulative failure rate at the end of 2020.
- Aggregate failure rates mask heterogeneity across sectors and countries.
- Electricity has a “ Δ ” of 2 pp. vs Accomodation and Food Services of 25 pp.!

Sectoral Heterogeneity in Failure Rates (COVID - non-COVID)



- COVID impact ranges from 2 pct. pt. (Electricity) to 25 pct. pt. (Accommodation & Food Service) difference in failure rates. [full table](#) [weekly evolution](#) [shocks decomposition](#)

Country Heterogeneity in Failure Rates (COVID - non-COVID)



- COVID impact ranges from 5.4 pct. pt. (Czech Republic) to 12.8 pct pt. (Italy) difference in failure rates. [full table](#) [weekly evolution](#)

Country-level COVID Risk to the Banking Sector

| | CET1 ratio (risk-weighted) | Δ CET1R |
|---------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Average | 14.14% | -2.16 pct. pts. |

- Data availability limits analysis to Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Spain.
- **Little systemic risk from SME failures under COVID:**
 - CET1 ratio declines 2.16 pct. pts. from initial level of 14.1%
 - Initial level in 2018 more than double what it was in 2009.
 - EBA's 2018 adverse scenario stress test generated a 4 pct. pt. decline in CET1 ratio.

Government Interventions

Government Interventions

- **Variety of interventions implemented:** subsidies (JobKeeper (AUS), Solidarity Fund (FRA)); guaranteed loans (EBA (CAN), PPP (USA))
- **Benchmark Policies:**
 - **All firm bail-out:** Can give all SMEs that fail just enough cash to avoid failure.
 - **Targeted bail-out:** Focus on SMEs that only fail due to COVID (ie: survive non-COVID).
- **Untargeted Policies:**
 - **Waive Financial Expenses:** SMEs Don't have to pay interest during 2020 (from after lockdown begins).
 - **Labor Subsidy:** During the 8 week lockdown, SMEs receive lump sum 100% of weekly 2018 wages.
 - **Euro Area Loan Guarantee:** In 2020 SMEs receive loan equal to $\frac{8}{52} \max\{\frac{1}{4}\text{Revenue}_{2018}, 2\text{Labor Costs}_{2018}\}$ (repayment discussed later).
- See paper for more policy related results. [More](#)

The Effects and Costs of Various Policy Options

| | Firms Saved (% Firms) | Jobs Saved (% Employed) | Wages Saved (% GDP) | Loans Saved (% Loans) | Policy Cost (% GDP) |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| All Firms Bailed Out | -18.81 | 8.28 | 2.09 | 20.95 | 2.11 |
| Targeted Bailouts | -9.21 | 4.75 | 1.15 | 8.42 | 0.78 |
| Financial Expenses Waived | -1.31 | 0.54 | 0.14 | 4.59 | 1.29 |
| Labor Subsidy | -5.76 | 3.39 | 0.78 | 3.37 | 2.38 |
| Euro Area Loan Guarantee | -8.72 | 4.71 | 1.10 | 5.87 | 5.84 |

- Targeted Bailouts generates large “Fiscal-Bankruptcy Multiplier”: $1.15/0.78 = 1.47$

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- Multiplier smaller for blanket policies:
- Waiving Financial Expenses fairly ineffective ($0.14/1.29=0.11$)
- Labor Subsidy effective but costly ($1.78/2.38 = 0.34$). Same for Loan Guarantee (0.19)

Which SMEs get Relief: “Survivors”, “Ghosts” and “Viable” SMEs

| | Firms that Survive COVID (Strong) | | Firms Fail Regardless of COVID (Ghost) | | Firms Fail Only in COVID Scenario (Viable) | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|--|----------------------|--|----------------------|
| | Jobs Saved (% Emp) | Policy Costs (% GDP) | Jobs Saved (% Emp) | Policy Costs (% GDP) | Jobs Saved (% Emp) | Policy Costs (% GDP) |
| Labor Subsidy | 0.00 | 1.94 | 0.88 | 0.19 | 2.51 | 0.24 |
| Euro Area Loan Guarantee | 0.00 | 4.71 | 1.29 | 0.44 | 3.42 | 0.65 |

- Transfers to “strong firms” (1.9-4.7% of GDP) and “ghosts” (0.19-0.44%) cause of low multiplier.
- Claw-back of relief via additional policies (ex: future excess profit tax) could help reclaim misallocated resources.

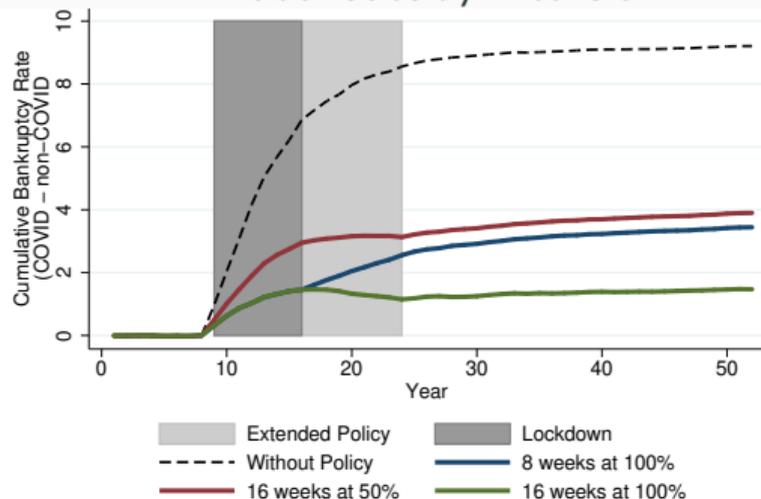
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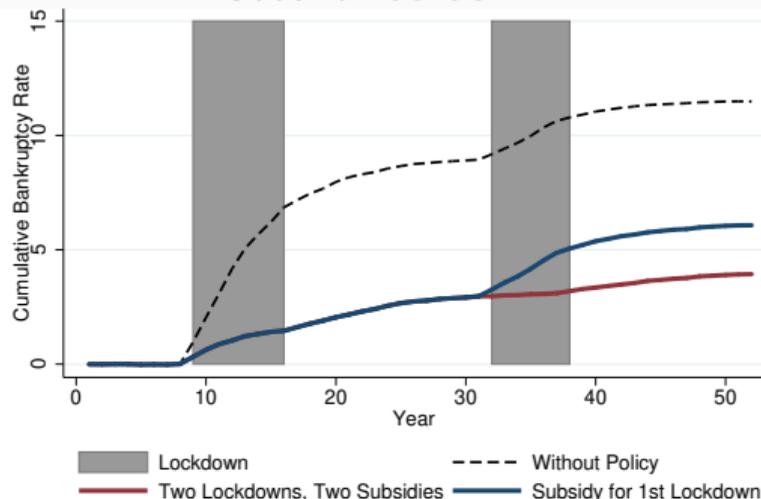
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- Claw-back of relief via additional policies (ex: future excess profit tax) could help reclaim misallocated resources.
- 1/4 of jobs saved are at “ghost firms” – unlikely to be sustainable.

Continued Relief Critical

Labor Subsidy Extension



Second Lockdown



- **One lockdown:** 8-week support lowers failure rates by 65% (5.61 pct. pts).
 - Additional 8 weeks of support lowers failure rates by additional 60%.
 - **Timing:** Makes small difference - better to get the magnitude right.
- **Two lockdowns:** Absent policy support, 2nd lockdown raises failure rates by 3 pct. pts.
 - Providing additional labor subsidy almost eliminates the effect of 2nd lockdown.

More Realistic Scenario

- In many countries there were 2 lockdowns and very generous policy support.
- We introduce a second 6 week lockdown and **the loan guarantee policy** based on:

$$Payment_i = \frac{14}{52} \max \left\{ \frac{1}{4} \text{Revenue}_{i,2018}, 2 \cdot \text{Wage Costs}_{i,2018} \right\}$$

- Bankruptcy Rates in 2020 become:

| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
|---------------|-----------|----------|----------------|
| | Non-COVID | COVID-19 | COVID + Policy |
| High coverage | 9.60 | 19.44 | 9.57 |

- Natural Question: Given how many firms saved in 2020, what happens in 2021?

What About 2021?

Questions:

- Was policy too generous and only delaying failures (is there a “time bomb”)?
- Does requiring repayment of policy support matter?
- How does financial market functioning matter?

Scenarios:

- What to do regarding repayment of policy-supported loans?
 1. **Policy Repaid:** 20% of policy repaid in 2021 (5 year loan)
- Financial Market Freezes
 2. **Financial Market Freeze:** 1) + No rollover of short term debt.

2021 Results

| Scenario | COVID-non-COVID Failure Rates | | | % of Firms Saved in 2021 (pp.) | Policy-Related Costs (% 2018 GDP) | Non-performing Loans (% SME Loans) |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| | Overall (pp.) | Strong 2020 (pp.) | Saved 2020 (pp.) | | | |
| (1) Policy Principal Repaid | 1.88 | -0.77 | 2.65 | 10.61 | 0.26 | 3.71 |
| (2) No Rollover | 8.44 | 4.14 | 4.30 | 12.62 | 1.00 | 29.97 |

Outstanding loans at end of 2020: 9.32% of GDP.

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- No time bomb in 2021 even if policy repaid over 5 years if nothing goes wrong.
- Any “time bomb” of failures depends on financial market panic.
- Failing firms in financial stress look strong from the perspective of 2020.
- In 2020 no systemic risk for banks (CET1 ratio falls 2 pp). In 2021, there is a tail risk.

Main Lessons

- COVID-19 poses significant risk for SMEs: raises failure rates by 9.2%
- Targeted bailouts, if feasible, would save SMEs at a modest fiscal cost (0.8% of GDP).
- Blanket policies are less efficient; warrants claw back of funds disbursed to “Strong Firms”.
- In 2021, key risk to manage: financial market panic.

Thank You

Appendix

Model Details: Demand

- Nested CES demand structure:

$$D = \left[\sum_s \xi_s \mathcal{N}_s D_s^{(\eta-1)/\eta} \right]^{\eta/(\eta-1)} ; \quad D_s = \left(\frac{1}{\mathcal{N}_s} \int_0^{\mathcal{N}_s} d_{is}^{(\rho_s-1)/\rho_s} di \right)^{\rho_s/(\rho_s-1)}$$

with η cross sector elasticity and ρ_s cross variety elasticity. \mathcal{N}_s : mass of firms in s .
 ξ_s : sectoral demand shock.

- P_s sectoral (per unit of expenditure) and P overall price index:

$$P_s = \left(\frac{1}{\mathcal{N}_s} \int_0^{\mathcal{N}_s} p_{is}^{1-\rho_s} di \right)^{1/(1-\rho_s)} ; \quad P = \left(\sum_s \xi_s^\eta \mathcal{N}_s P_s^{1-\eta} \right)^{1/(1-\eta)}$$

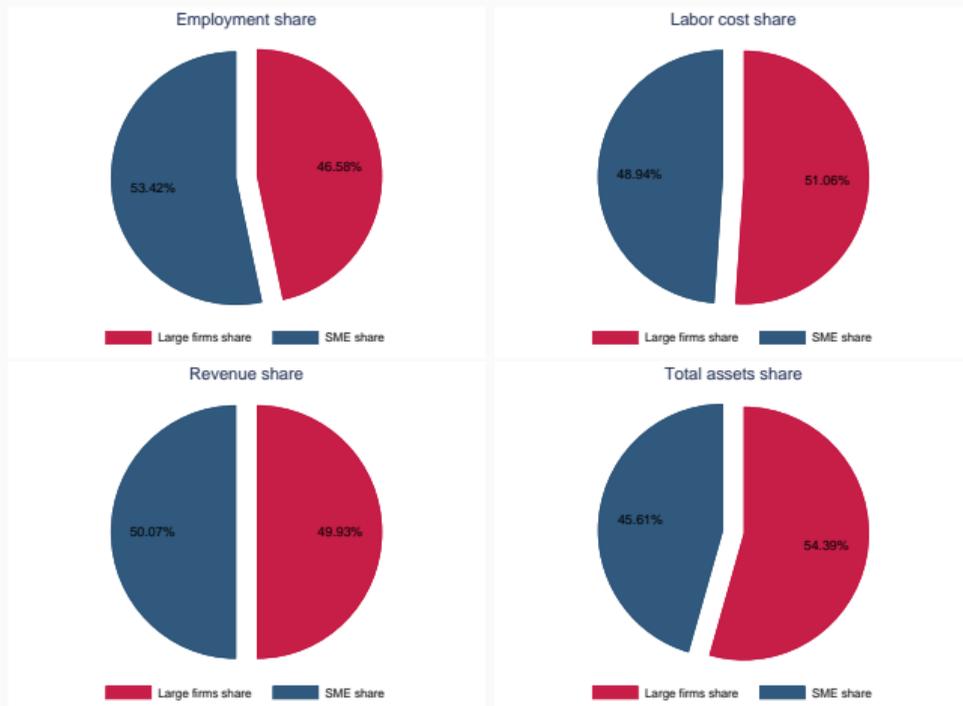
- Assume price stickiness: p_{is} and P_s are constant.

Firm-level Data: Coverage (% of OECD Revenue)

| | All | SMEs |
|-----------------|------|------|
| Belgium | 60.4 | 52.1 |
| Czech Republic | 63.4 | 62.8 |
| Finland | 66.0 | 68.3 |
| France | 46.3 | 46.3 |
| Germany | 27.2 | 17.7 |
| Greece | 48.0 | 48.1 |
| Hungary | 63.9 | 48.7 |
| Italy | 63.5 | 75.8 |
| Japan | 42.5 | . |
| Korea | 61.9 | 34.0 |
| Poland | 47.5 | 44.5 |
| Portugal | 63.2 | 72.9 |
| Romania | 60.6 | 40.0 |
| Slovak Republic | 52.0 | 73.2 |
| Slovenia | 49.3 | 61.0 |
| Spain | 58.4 | 69.9 |
| United Kingdom | 49.2 | 41.4 |

- Countries in grey have SME coverage below 40% (Germany) or lack data for aggregation (UK). [return](#)

Firm-level Data: Economic Contribution of SMEs (Orbis)



- SMEs account for 50% of emp., wages, and rev. and 46% of total assets. [return](#)

Benchmarking our Exercise

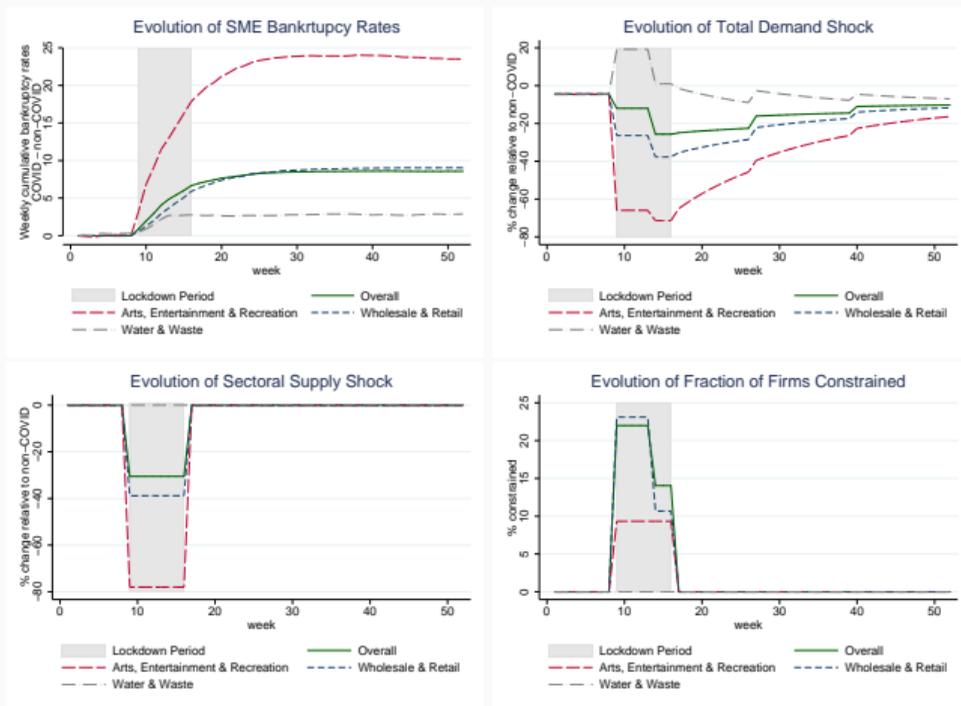
| | (1) OECD | (2) Orbis (All) |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------------|
| Belgium | 3.0 | 8.8 |
| Czech Republic | 7.9 | 8.3 |
| Finland | 5.4 | 9.5 |
| France | 4.7 | 8.7 |
| Germany | 6.7 | 11.5 |
| Greece | 4.1 | 8.4 |
| Hungary | 8.8 | 9.4 |
| Italy | 6.7 | 9.2 |
| Portugal | 11.5 | 12.5 |
| Romania | 8.6 | 13.1 |
| Slovak Republic | 10.0 | 10.3 |
| Slovenia | 3.9 | 7.5 |
| Spain | 7.4 | 8.7 |
| United Kingdom | 13.8 | 11.2 |

Sectoral Heterogeneity in Failure Rates (COVID - non-COVID)

| | (1) Non-COVID | (2) COVID-19 | (3) Δ |
|--------------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Agriculture | 9.44 | 13.52 | 4.08 |
| Mining | 12.50 | 36.03 | 23.54 |
| Manufacturing | 8.48 | 16.73 | 8.25 |
| Electric, Gas & Air Con | 9.35 | 11.31 | 1.96 |
| Water & Waste | 6.72 | 9.65 | 2.93 |
| Construction | 7.97 | 10.19 | 2.21 |
| Wholesale & Retail | 9.12 | 18.21 | 9.10 |
| Transport & Storage | 7.64 | 13.28 | 5.63 |
| Accom. & Food Service | 13.15 | 38.59 | 25.44 |
| Info. & Comms | 10.00 | 15.92 | 5.92 |
| Real Estate | 11.61 | 17.38 | 5.76 |
| Prof., Sci., & Technical | 10.24 | 18.85 | 8.60 |
| Administration | 8.32 | 19.39 | 11.06 |
| Education | 10.86 | 30.04 | 19.18 |
| Health & Social Work | 7.74 | 11.22 | 3.48 |
| Arts, Ent., & Recreation | 12.95 | 36.55 | 23.60 |
| Other Services | 12.80 | 31.42 | 18.62 |

- Table reports sector-level failure rates (COVID and non-COVID) and difference (COVID - non-COVID). [return](#)

Weekly Evolution of Baseline Failure Rates (Sectors)



- Total demand and sectoral supply shocks drive sectoral heterogeneity. [return](#)

Impact of Shocks on Sector Failure Rates

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|--------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|----------|
| | \widehat{PC} | \widehat{PC}, \hat{x}_s | $\widehat{PC}_{\xi_s}^{\tilde{\eta}}$ | $\widehat{PC}_{\xi_s}^{\tilde{\eta}}, \hat{x}_s$ | Baseline |
| Accom. & Food Service | 0.07 | 75.04 | 9.20 | 20.04 | 25.44 |
| Arts, Ent., & Recreation | 1.92 | 51.04 | 18.92 | 21.27 | 23.60 |
| Wholesale & Retail | 1.65 | 4.83 | 8.84 | 8.73 | 9.10 |
| Manufacturing | 1.00 | 6.11 | 0.95 | 6.56 | 8.25 |
| Info. & Comms | 2.12 | 3.56 | 4.99 | 4.99 | 5.92 |
| Health & Social Work | 1.85 | 12.16 | 3.14 | 3.14 | 3.48 |
| Average | 2.02 | 11.78 | 6.19 | 7.75 | 8.63 |

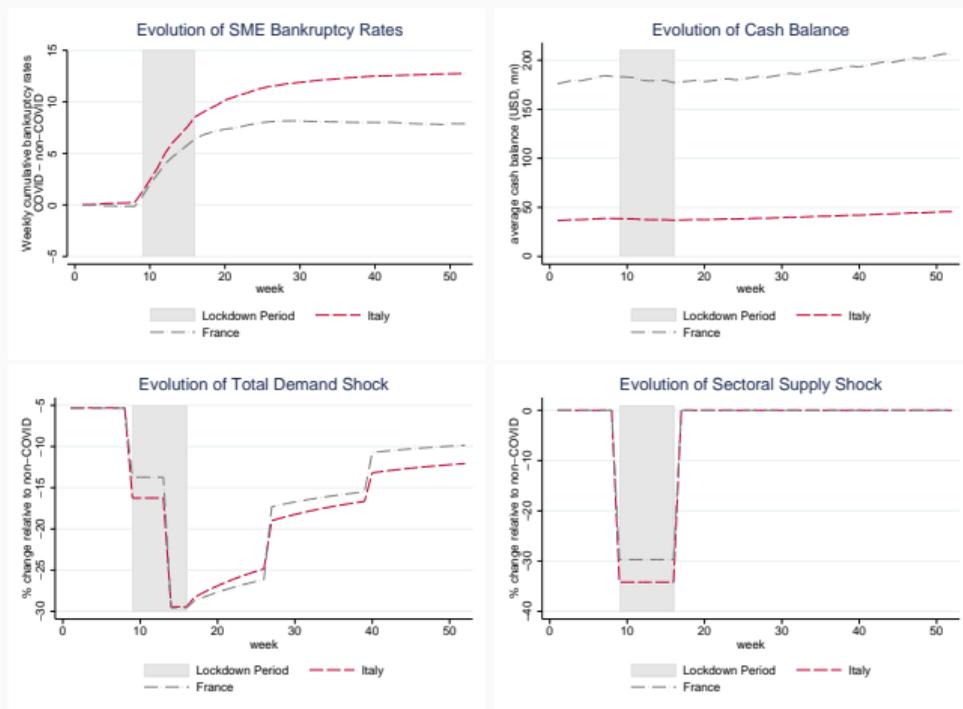
- Sectoral supply and demand matter most for failure rates.
- Supply shocks increase labor constrained firms, raising failure rates.
- Sectoral demand shocks raise failure rates, and mitigate impact of sectoral supply shocks. [return](#)

Country Heterogeneity in Failure Rates (COVID - non-COVID)

| | Non-COVID | COVID | Δ |
|-----------------|-----------|-------|----------|
| Belgium | 7.75 | 14.18 | 6.42 |
| Czech Republic | 8.24 | 13.59 | 5.35 |
| Finland | 8.35 | 16.91 | 8.56 |
| France | 9.03 | 16.94 | 7.91 |
| Greece | 10.43 | 16.37 | 5.94 |
| Hungary | 8.22 | 14.01 | 5.79 |
| Italy | 9.91 | 22.68 | 12.77 |
| Japan | 3.78 | 9.94 | 6.16 |
| Korea | 12.89 | 27.20 | 14.31 |
| Poland | 11.68 | 20.45 | 8.77 |
| Portugal | 12.21 | 19.65 | 7.44 |
| Romania | 15.77 | 23.18 | 7.41 |
| Slovak Republic | 10.41 | 16.05 | 5.64 |
| Slovenia | 7.25 | 15.95 | 8.71 |
| Spain | 8.98 | 15.50 | 6.52 |

- Table reports country-level failure rates (COVID and non-COVID) and difference (COVID - non-COVID). [return](#)

Weekly Evolution of Baseline Failure Rates (Countries)



- Differences in the financial vulnerability of firms contribute to cross-country differences in failure rates. [return](#)

Alternative Scenarios

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|--------------|----------|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | Baseline | Mothballing | End of 2020 Bankruptcy Criterion | Quadratic Labor Adjustment Costs |
| High Quality | 8.75 | 7.03 | 5.90 | 6.21 |
| All | 8.63 | 7.65 | 6.21 | 6.64 |

- Mothballing lowers failure rates by about 1 pct. pt.
- Evaluating bankruptcy criterion at end of 2020 lowers failure rates by 2-3 pct. pts.
- Allowing convex costs of labor inputs above \hat{x}_S lowers failure rates by 2-2.5 pct. pts.

return

- **Model Extensions:** Details
 - **Mothballing:** Allow firms to shut down if too costly to operate.
 - Can re-open at any time during 2020.
 - Avoids failures in cases with small demand shocks but strict workplace restrictions.
 - **Labor Adjustment Costs:** Firms allowed to increase labor utilization above constraint: \hat{x}_S .
 - Must pay a quadratic cost to do so.
 - i.e. $\text{cost}(\hat{n}) \propto \hat{n}^2 \mathbb{1}_{\hat{n} > \hat{x}_S}$ and $\text{cost}(\hat{x}_S) = 0$.
 - Alternative way to meet demand than increased materials usage.
 - **Annual Failure Assessment:** Assess failure condition at the end of 2020.
 - Effectively allows firms to borrow within 2020 to smooth cashflow.
 - Each extension lower bankruptcy rates by between 1-3 pct. pts.