

Inequalities: why does it matter for both the demand and supply side?

Özlem Onaran

Professor of Economics, Director of Greenwich Political Economy Centre,
University of Greenwich







Outline

- A Post-Kaleckian Feminist Model: short run and long run
 - Onaran, Oyvat, Fotopoulou 2017
 - Demand and supply side effects of inequality and public spending
- Empirical findings of labour market and fiscal policy mix
 - Obst, Onaran, Nikolaidi 2017
- Income inequality, wealth concentration and the Great Recession
 - Goda, Onaran, Stockhammer 2016
- Frequently asked questions:
 - Long run feasibility and non-linearity of effects?
 - (Wage led growth in the age of globalisation?)
- •Policy relevance?



Post-Kaleckian Feminist Model: short run and long run Onaran, Oyvat, Fotopoulou 2017

Open economy with 2 sectors: "social sector" & the rest of the economy and male and female workers and capital

- Effect of income distribution (wages vs profits and male vs female wage gaps) on consumption, investment, and net exports
- Effect of public spending in physical vs social infrastructure
- →Demand side effect in the short run and long run
- →Long run supply side effect on productivity
 - wages, demand, public spending →productivity↑ → moderates the effect of wages on the profit share
- Demand and productivity affect employment of men and women



What is the effect of a decline in wages on demand and growth?

- Neoclassical/'mainstream'
 - Positive; wages merely as a cost item
- Structuralist/demand-led/Post-Kaleckian general model
 - Dual role of wages: demand & cost
 - Income distribution →demand → aggregate output
- + & effects on aggregate demand
 - consumption: the relative size of the consumption differential out of wage vs. profit income
 - + investment: the sensitivity of investment to profits vs demand
 - + net exports: the sensitivity of net exports to unit labor costs (price elasticity of exports; labour intensity of exports)
 - Long run: rise in productivity moderates the effect of wages on the profit share

Total effect on demand is ambiguous

- +: profit-led demand
- -: wage-led demand



Summary findings (Onaran, Oyvat, Fotopoulou 2017)

- Equality is not only a desirable social goal in itself but may also contribute to economic growth and development via
 - Demand side effects on growth and investment: Short and long run
 - Supply side via effects on productivity: Long run
- Consumption ↑ as equality ↑
 - Not just the level but also composition of consumption may change
 - more income in the hands of women →household spending on children's education and health...↑
 - Social infrastructure=positive function of gender equality
- Private investment↑ as social infrastructure→productivity↑ & demand↑
 - Public + household spending in social infrastructure
- wage share↑ & gender gaps↓→ upward convergence & ↑equality
 - →higher growth in a wage-led economy
 - Wage-led growth = Equality-led growth



Short-term demand vs. long run potential growth and productivity

- Long Run: productivity increases when wages, demand and investment increase.
- Productivity needs investment but increasing profits does not always lead to higher private investment
 - Investment is more sensitive to demand and lower wages ->low demand
 - Investment is not profit-led in many countries (Obst, Onaran, Nikolaidi 2017)
- inequality→lower productivity & potential growth
- Low road labour market policies and low wages also lead to low productivity in LR
- High road labour market policies and high wages → high productivity in LR



Policy mix: public investment, progressive taxation, Increasing equality Obst, Onaran, Nikolaidi 2017

- Multi-country EU15 model
- public investment ↑ by 1% of GDP
- + wage share ↑ by 1%
- + more progressive taxation (tax on capital↑ 1%, tax on labour↓ 1%)
- Demand is wage-led in Europe
 - The impact of wage policies is positive but small
- the overall stimulus becomes much stronger with fiscal expansion.
 - Full employment requires public investment; in particular in the long run after accounting for productivity effect of wages (Onaran, Oyvat, Fotopoulou 2017)
- The effects are stronger if policies are implemented simultaneously in all the EU countries. (also G20 evidence, Onaran and Galanis 2014)
- need for wage and fiscal policy coordination
- \rightarrow 6.7% higher GDP in the EU15, 4.5% higher GDP in the UK,



...Policy mix:

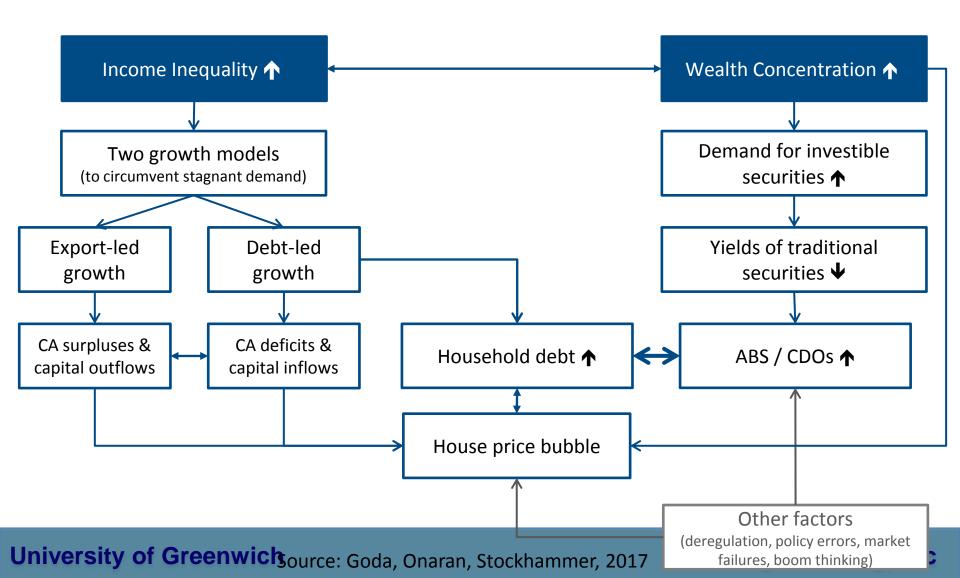
public investment, progressive taxation, Increasing equality Obst, Onaran, Nikolaidi 2017

- Private investment increases by 2.3% as a ratio to GDP in the EU,
 and by 0.9% in the UK
 - Public spending crowds in private investment, it does not crowd out
 - >Demand
 - >improved business environment
- Budget balance improves by 0.9% as a ratio to GDP in the EU, and 0.1% in the UK
- Impact on inflation is very modest
 - a 1%-point rise in the wage share →1.5% †in prices in the EU, and 2%†in prices in the UK

•



Distributional issues at the root of the Great Recession





Long run feasibility, non-linearity of effects, politics? Kalecki on "Political Aspects of Full Employment" 1943

- "the maintenance of full employment would cause social and political changes which would give a new impetus to the opposition of the business leaders. Indeed, under a regime of permanent full employment, the 'sack' would cease to play its role as a 'disciplinary' measure. The social position of the boss would be undermined, and the self-assurance and class-consciousness of the working class would grow. ... It is true that profits would be higher under a regime of full employment than they are on the average under laissezfaire... But 'discipline in the factories' and 'political stability' are more appreciated than profits by business leaders. *Their class instinct* tells them that lasting full employment is unsound from their point of view, and that unemployment is an integral part of the 'normal' capitalist system."
- Will the sensitivity of investment to profits change as employment??
 (Onaran 2016)



In the long run?

- Keynes: "in the long run we are all dead"
 - save capitalism from capitalism itself
- Can policy save capitalism from capitalism itself?
- Marx: profit squeeze? Limits to capitalism?
- Kalecki: Full employment not consistent with capitalism
- Ecological economists (e.g. Victor, Jackson): Limits to growth?
 - Managing with lower growth?
 - shorter working hours?
 - Keynes, 1930, "Economic Possibilities for our Grandchildren":
 "Three-hour shifts or a fifteen-hour week may put off the problem for a great while."
 - Green jobs
- Feminist economics: Care crisis and ecological crisis need purple jobs
- Synthesising Keynes, Kalecki, Marx, Feminism, Ecological Economics
 University of Greenwich
 www.gre.ac.uk/gperc



Policies for the empowerment of the many

- Aims: full employment, equality, ecological sustainability
 - inclusive and sustainable development,
 - Rising share of labour in national income
 - gender equality
 - poverty alleviation
 - decent job creation
- implications for policy in both developed and developing countries
- mobilize all the tools of policy
- a comprehensive mix of
 - fiscal and monetary policy
 - public investment in social and physical infrastructure
 - industrial policy
 - labour market policy
 - Financial regulation and corporate governance



...public investment

- Physical infrastructure: green investment
 - Public transport, renewable energy, housing (building and insulation)
 - Wind, tidal, solar, bio NOT carbon capture, nuclear, fracking
 - Ecological deficit
- Social infrastructure: Purple investment
 - education, health and social care, child care
 - · care deficit
 - Both direct and indirect impact on productivity
 - Educated and healthy workforce
 - Female labour force participation↑
 - » socializing the invisible, unpaid domestic care work
 - Social security →more innovative and productive workers
 - improve pay and working conditions in these industries
 - More jobs with lower Carbon emissions
 - labour intensive services
 - Purple and green are complementary (Ilkkaracan 2013)



A equality-led development strategy for sustainable development

- Labour market policies targeting the top, middle, and bottom of the wage distribution
- Role of the state in institution building
- Pre-distributive policies
 - Increase the bargaining power of labour via
 - reregulating the labour market –no zero hours
 - improving the union legislation,
 - increasing the coverage of collective bargaining
 - Close gender wage gaps
 - sufficiently high minimum wages / living wage
 - regulating high/executive pay by enforcing pay ratios



... policies for an equality-led and sustainable development

- Technological change?
 - Shorter working time in parallel with the growth in productivity with wage compensation for the lower income groups.
 - Compared to the 19th century, we are all working part-time today.
 - More equal countries have shorter working hours. (Schor, 2010)
 - shortening of hours →higher hourly productivity
- shorter working hours → gender equality
 - Shorter hours with wage compensation → a narrowing of gender wage gaps.
 - should address daily care responsibilities, and work-life balance based on gender equality in the division of labour in the household;
 - e.g. daily working hours as opposed to more holidays or longer weekends.



How to finance?

- Progressive tax policy on income and wealth
- Borrowing
 - Borrow to spend in both physical and social infrastructure –redefine fiscal policy rule
- Monetary policy
 - Bank of England can use Quantitative Easing to buy government bonds to finance public investment
- National Investment Bank
- More equality –supports the budget too



Conclusion

- Equitable and sustainable development needs green and purple public investment and pay rise for both women and men and shorter hours!
- Advice:
- Take care of full employment, decent pay for women and men, equality, and ecological sustainability, and the budget will take care of itself.



Wage-led growth in the age of globalization?

- Inconsistency of the Macro vs. Micro rationale
 - Firm vs. aggregate/national
 - National vs. regional/global level
- the limits of strategies of international competitiveness based on wage competition in a highly integrated global economy
- Economic globalization may make small open economies more likely to be profit-led
- But political globalization →race to the bottom in labour share
 - international competitiveness effects are eliminated
 - makes economies more likely to be wage-led
- The world as a whole is wage-led, because we do not trade with Mars
- Globalization is not a barrier to wage-led development policies.
- → importance of wage and fiscal policy coordination
- Avoid beggar thy neighbour policies
- Space for domestic-demand led & more equal growth
 - Alternative to pure export-led growth in the developing countries
- If developed economies do not cooperate: south-south cooperation
- Wage-led development is an option also in a single wage-led economy, but effects are stronger if coordinated



- References:
- Onaran, Ö., Nikolaidi, M. and Obst, T. (2017) "A coordinated mix of public investment and incomes policies for sustainable development in Europe", GPERC Policy Briefs, University of Greenwich, <u>#PB15-2017.</u>
- Obst, T., Onaran, Ö. and Nikolaidi, M. (2017), "The effect of income distribution and fiscal policy on growth, investment, and budget balance: the case of Europe", Greenwich Papers in Political Economy, University of Greenwich, <u>#GPERC43</u>
- Onaran, Oyvat, Fotopoulou 2017, forthcoming, The effect of income distribution and gender equality on growth and employment
- Onaran 2016 "The role of gender equality in an equality-led sustainable development strategy", forthcoming http://gala.gre.ac.uk/14077/1/GPERC26 OnaranF.pdf
- Onaran 2016 "Wage- versus profit- led growth in the context of international interactions and the political aspects of wage-led recovery" ROPE http://gala.gre.ac.uk/14076/1/GPERC25_OnaranF.pdf
- Onaran, Ö. and Galanis, G. "Income distribution and aggregate demand: National and global effects" Environment and Planning A, 46 (10). 2489-2513, 2014
- Onaran, Ö., Goda, T., and Stockhammer, E. (2017) "A Case for Redistribution?
 Income Inequality and Wealth Concentration in the Recent Crisis", Development and Change http://gala.gre.ac.uk/14056/1/GPERC05_Onaran_Goda_StockhammerF.pdf
- Onaran, Ö. (2016), "Secular stagnation and progressive economic policy alternatives", Greenwich Papers in Political Economy, University of Greenwich, <u>#GPERC39</u>