Macroeconomic Inequality from Reagan to Trump

For five decades, rising US income and wealth inequality has been driven by wage repression and production realignments benefitting the top one percent of households. In this inaugural book for Cambridge Studies in New Economic Thinking, Professor Lance Taylor takes an innovative approach to measuring inequality, providing the first and only full integration of distributional and macro level data for the US. While work by Thomas Piketty and colleagues pursues integration from the income side, Professor Taylor uses data of distributions by size of income and wealth combined with the cost and demand sides, flows of funds, and full balance sheet accounting of real capital and financial claims. This blends measures of inequality with national income and product accounts to show the relationship between productivity and wages at the industry sector level. Taylor assesses the scope and nature of various interventions to reduce income and wealth inequalities using his simulation model, disentangling wage growth and productivity while challenging mainstream models.

LANCE TAYLOR is the Arnhold Professor Emeritus of International Cooperation and Development and was director of the Center for Economic Policy Analysis at the New School for Social Research.

Studies in New Economic Thinking

The 2008 financial crisis pointed to problems in economic theory that require more than just big data to solve. INET's series in New Economic Thinking exists to ensure that innovative work that advances economics and better integrates it with other social sciences and the study of history and institutions can reach a broad audience in a timely way.

Macroeconomic Inequality from Reagan to Trump

Market Power, Wage Repression, Asset Price Inflation, and Industrial Decline

LANCE TAYLOR

New School for Social Research, New York (with contributions from Özlem Ömer)



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108494632 DOI: 10.1017/9781108854443

© Lance Taylor 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Names: Taylor, Lance, 1940– author.

Title: Macroeconomic inequality from Reagan to Trump : market power, wage repression, asset price inflation, and industrial decline / Lance Taylor, New School for Social Research, New York, with contributions from Özlem Ömer. Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Series: Studies in new economic thinking | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019057853 (print) | LCCN 2019057854 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108494632 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108854443 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Income distribution – United States – History – 20th century. | Income distribution – United States – History – 21st century. | Macroeconomics – United States – History – 20th century. | Macroeconomics – United States – History – 21st century. | United States – Economic conditions – 1945–

Classification: LCC HC110.I5 T39 2020 (print) | LCC HC110.I5 (ebook) | DDC 339.20973–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019057853 LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019057854

ISBN 978-1-108-49463-2 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-79610-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

	List of Figures	page viii
	List of Tables	xi
	Acknowledgments	xii
	Introduction	1
	Findings from the Data	2
	Simulation Results	3
	Productivity and Wage Repression	4
	Political Economy	6
	Other Perspectives	7
1	Decades of Income Inequality	10
	The Data	11
	Inequality in Income	13
	Trends in Income Distribution	14
	Palma Ratios and Income Distribution across the Three	
	Groups	15
	Lagging Real Wages	16
	High-Income Households	17
	Middle Class and Low-Income Households	19
	Complications with Saving	21
	Uses of Incomes	22
	Social vs. Market Forces	24
2	Macroeconomic Income Distribution	26
2	Social Accounting Matrices and National Accounts	26
	Demand and Costs	28 28
	Incomes, Transfers, and Spending	28 29
	Squeeze on the Middle Class	29 30
	Squeeze on the minute Class	30

v

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-49463-2 — Macroeconomic Inequality from Reagan to Trump
Lance Taylor
Frontmatter
More Information

vi contents

	Profits, Finance, and Wealth	32
	The Role of Financial Transfers	35
	Accounting for Wealth	37
	Flows of Funds in the Data	38
	Social vs. Market Forces	39
	Appendix	40
3	"Capital," Capital Gains, Capitalization, and Wealth	42
	Cambridge Controversy	42
	Capital and Wealth	44
	Perpetual Inventory	46
	Bringing in Equity	47
	Asset Price of K	50
	Capitalization and Interest Rates	51
	Determination of q	52
	Data on Wealth	54
	Social vs. Market Forces	56
4	Sectoral Stagnation, Flat Productivity, and Lagging Real	
	Wages	58
	(COAUTHOR ÖZLEM ÖMER)	
	The Role of Productivity	58
	Increasing Imbalances	59
	Dual Economy	63
	Productivity Growth	66
	Employment Growth	70
	Profit Share Growth	72
	Terms of Trade	73
	Stagnant and Dynamic Sectors	75
	Social vs. Market Forces	78
5	Institutions and Models for Maldistribution	79
	Explaining the Findings about Wages	79
	Rising Profits	81

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-49463-2 — Macroeconomic Inequality from Reagan to Trump Lance Taylor Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

contents vii

	Wealth Inequality	83
	Implications of Duality	86
	Modeling Macroeconomic Inequality	87
	Effects of Distribution on Aggregate Demand	88
	Effects of Output and Employment on Distribution	89
	Mainstream Dynamics of Capital	91
	More Plausible Growth Dynamics	93
	Cyclical Distribution and Demand Dynamics	96
	Valuation Ratio and Interest Rate	97
	Macroeconomic Forces	99
	Appendix: einige kleine Algebra	101
6	Possible Future Prospects	106
	(COAUTHOR ÖZLEM ÖMER)	
	Modeling Possible Prospects	106
	Short-Term Policy Perspectives	107
	Real Wages, Productivity, and Growth	111
	Trends in Wealth	116
	Wealth Fund	117
	A Redistributive Package	118
	Comparative Statics vs. Dynamics	121
	References	122
	Index	128

Figures

I.1	Real wage and productivity growth rates	
	and profit share	page 5
I.2	Wage and price inflation rates	6
1.1	Income levels per household (logarithmic scale)	11
1.2	Palma ratios for top 1 percent vs. 61 st to 99 th	
	percentile households and lower 60 percent (a) Base	d
	on total income per household (Yh) (b) Based	
	on disposable income per household (DYh)	15
1.3	Real GDP and real labor compensation per	
	household over time	16
1.4	Indexes of labor compensation	17
1.5	Real per household incomes, top 1 percent	18
1.6	Real per household incomes, 61–99 percent	20
1.7	Real per household incomes, bottom 60 percent	20
1.8	Uses of real per household incomes, top 1 percent	23
1.9	Uses of real per household incomes, 61–99	
	percent	23
1.10	Uses of real per household incomes, bottom 60	
	percent	24
2.1	Macro level SAM for 2014	27
2.2	SAM for 2014 with three household groups (trillion	s
	of dollars)	31
2.3	Shares of profits and households in primary	
	income	32
2.4	Household shares of secondary income plus capital	
	gains	32
2.5	Rudimentary SAM for households and business	
	(in symbols)	33

viii

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-49463-2 — Macroeconomic Inequality from Reagan to Trump Lance Taylor Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

list of figures ix

2.6	Household fiscal and financial transfers (a) Top 1	
	percent (b) Middle class (c) Bottom 60 percent	36
2.7	Rudimentary wealth accounting matrix for households	
	and business (in symbols)	37
3.1	US output/capital ratio, profit share, and profit rate	
	(a) Based on total capital stock (b) Based on business	
	capital Stock	45
3.2	Rudimentary wealth accounting with capital from	
	perpetual inventory (in symbols)	47
3.3	Business saving and holding losses	49
3.4	Rudimentary wealth accounting with capital	
	computed with a valuation a ratio $q = P_e E / P K$	
	(in symbols)	50
3.5	Determination of business sector valuation	
	ratio q	53
3.6	Net profit rate <i>r</i> [*] , real lending rate <i>j</i> , and Tobin's	
	q under the Greenspan-Bernanke-Yellen-Powell	
	"put"	54
3.7	US distribution of wealth, 2014	55
4.1	Productivity growth vs. product wage growth	
	1990–2016 (real estate and computer products sectors	
	are not included)	60
4.2	Productivity levels vs. productivity growth rates,	
	1990–2016	60
4.3	Productivity levels $\left(\frac{Sectoral Real Value Added}{Number of Employees}\right)$	68
4.4	Decomposition of labor productivity growth (based	
	on double-deflated output levels)	69
4.5a	Employment share decomposition	71
4.5b	Employment share growth (demand	
	growth + productivity growth from Figure 4.4)	71
4.6	Profit share growth decomposition	73

X LIST OF FIGURES

4.7	Effects of an upward shift of productivity growth	
	when the dynamic sector is not strongly	
	profit-led	77
5.1	Determination of the profit share π and capital	
	utilization <i>u</i> . The dashed line shows the effect of	
	an upward drift in the profit share.	90
5.2	Dynamics of the capitalists' wealth share Z around a	
	Pasinetti steady state at \overline{Z}	94
5.3	Cyclical dynamics of the profit share π and capital	
	utilization <i>u</i>	96
5.4	Dynamics of the valuation ratio q and the real	
	interest rate <i>j</i>	98
6.1	Macroeconomic impacts of policy shifts (level	
	changes and percentage changes)	108
6.2	Distributional impacts of policy changes	109
6.3	Wage scenarios with 1.4 percent productivity	
	growth	112
6.4	Medium run wage scenarios	114
6.5	Palma ratios for combined effects of real wage	
	growth for nonrich households and downward	
	trends in financial and proprietors' incomes	
	for the top 1 percent	115
6.6	Tax capital gains by 50 percent to build the wealth	
	fund and transfer 2 percent of wealth fund assets	
	to bottom 60 percent	119
6.7	Palma and wealth ratios from combined distributive	
	policies and a wealth fund with a 50 percent tax	
	on capital gains which transfers 2 percent of its assets	
	to the bottom 60 percent of households	120

Tables

4.1	Summary data for the sectors	page 61
4.2a	Total household incomes by source and stagnant	
	and dynamic sectors (trillions of 2014 dollars)	65
4.2b	Mean incomes per household by source and stagnant	
	and dynamic sectors (thousands of 2014 dollars)	65

Acknowledgments

The Institute for New Economic Thinking (INET) generously supported the work that went into this book through a series of grants to the Schwartz Center for Economic Policy Analysis at the New School for Social Research. Duncan Foley, Nelson Barbosa, Armon Rezai, Thomas Ferguson, and three referees provided numerous comments (most heeded, some not). Barbosa took the lead in restating the NIPA accounts in the form of a SAM. The heavy lifting was done by New School grad students including Rezai, Laura Carvalho, Rishabh Kumar, and especially Özlem Ömer who made major contributions to Chapters 4 and 6. I am grateful to them all, to the staff of the Schwartz Center and the New School Department of Economics, and to Thomas Ferguson at INET.