

The Loaded Dice

Inequality, the economy and continuing crisis

Stewart Lansley

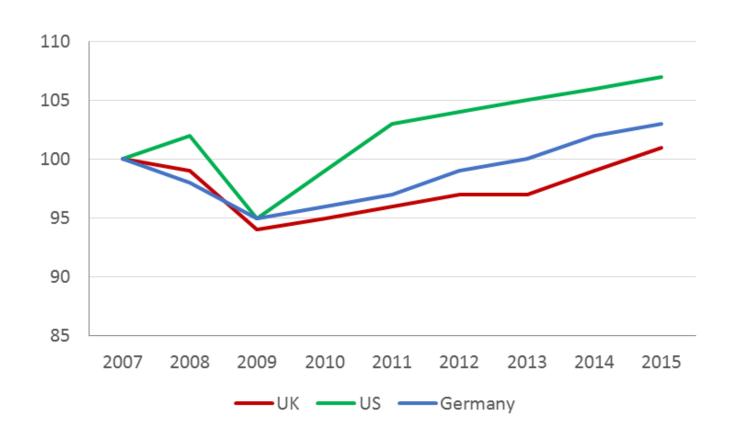
- The state of the economy
- Trends in inequality through the crisis
- How they interact
- The lessons

1

The state of the economy

Trends in real GDP per head, UK

2007=100; 2015 is a forecast

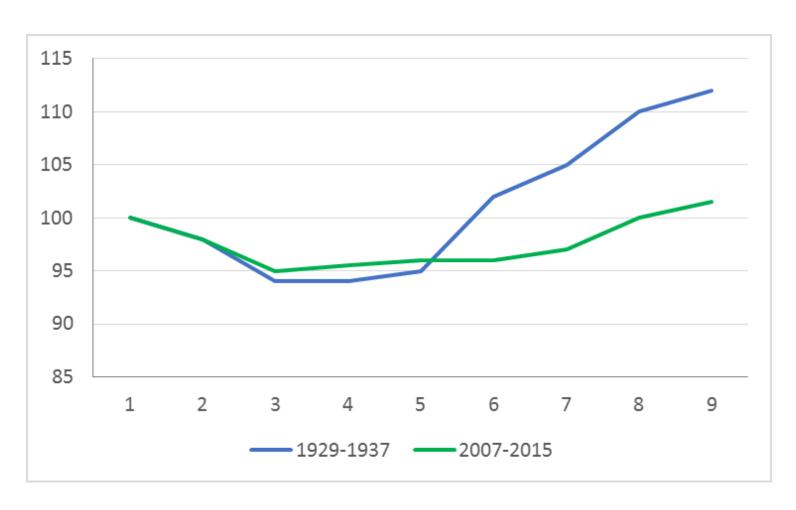


Source: Maddison Project Database

w

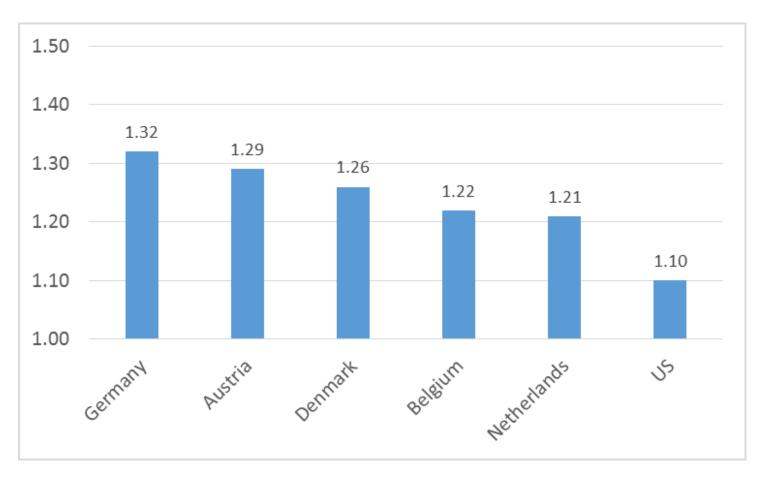
Recovery in Gt Depression v Gt Recession

Real GDP per head, UK



Source: Maddison Project Database

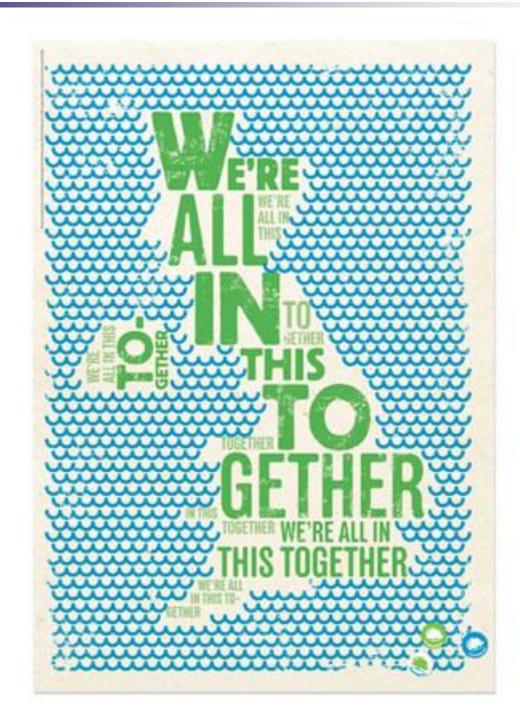




Ratio of poorest fifth by country compared with UK, UK=1

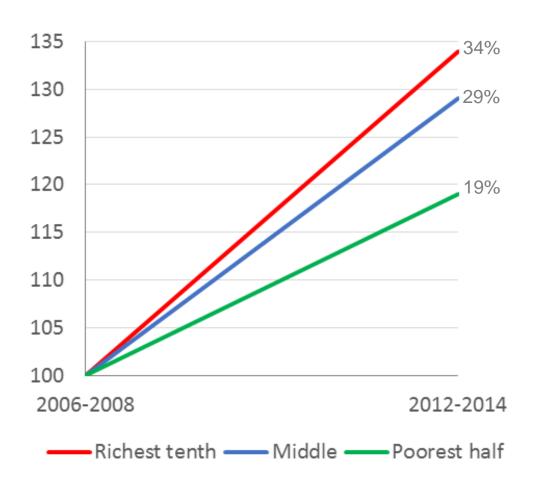
2

Trends in inequality through the crisis



Trends in aggregate wealth, GB

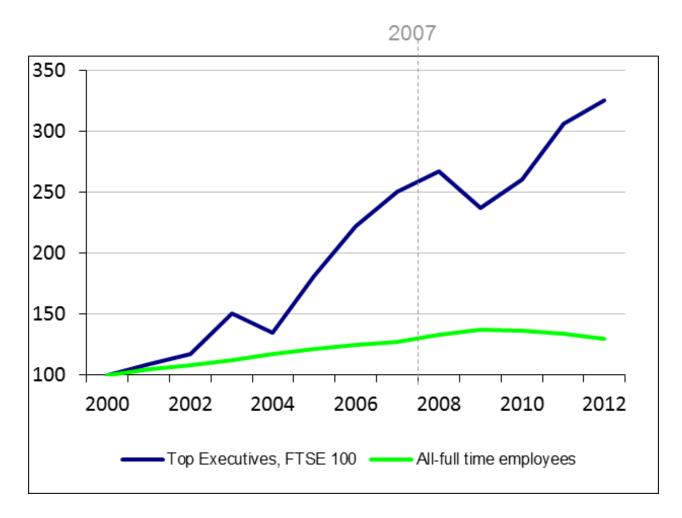
2006-08 to 2012-14



Source: ONS Wealth and Assets Survey

Top executive v mean pay (nominal), 2000-13

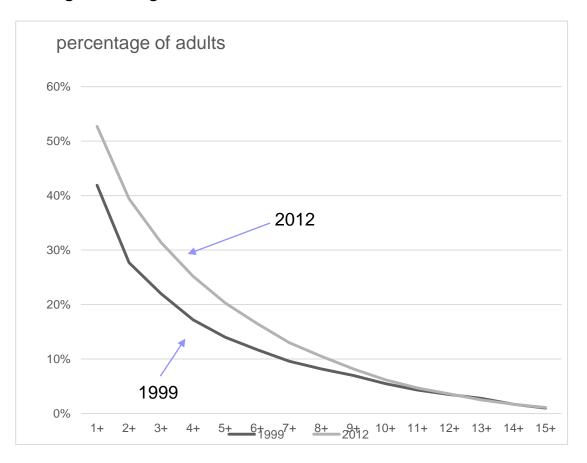
Index: 2000 = 100



Source: Income Data Services

Rising absolute deprivation

Percentage lacking 1999 list of necessities in 2012 and 1999



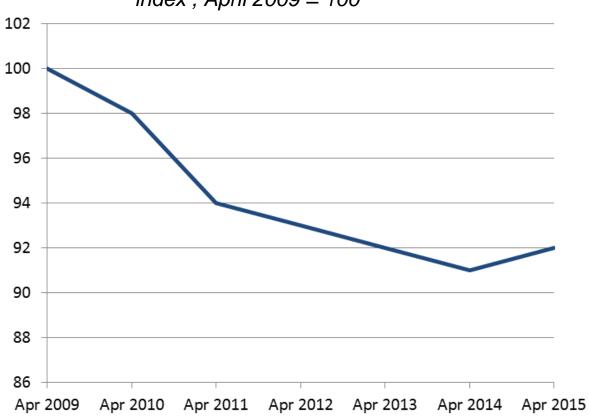
Source: S Lansley, J Mack, Breadline Britain

Why has inequality been rising?

- Wage/job shifts
- State policy
 - Macro-economic policy pro-rich
 - Social policy anti-poor

The wage squeeze

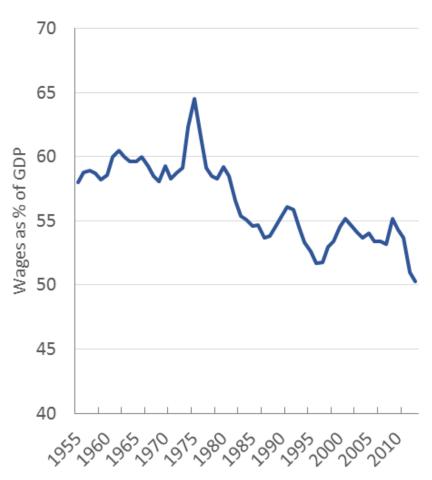
Real hourly median earnings (adjusted by CPI), index, April 2009 = 100



Source: ONS Annual survey of hours and earnings

The falling wage share, UK

share of wages in GDP



Source: ONS National accounts

r,

Jobs

- Unemployment fallen from over 9% to 5.2%
- But quality mixed: of 1.5m net jobs created since 2008:
 - 46% are self-employed (15% on avg)
 - 30% are p/t (22% on avg)

Economic policy pro-rich; social policy anti-poor

- QE
- Low interest rates
- Fiscal austerity
- Tax/benefit changes

3

Inequality and the economy: the interaction



The orthodoxy: inequality is good for the economy

'Equality and Efficiency, The Great Trade-Off.' Arthur Okun, 1975

"Of the tendencies that are harmful to sound economics, the most poisonous is to focus on questions of distribution."

Robert Lucas, 2003



٧

Effect of inequality on economic growth:

'Lower net inequality is robustly correlated with faster and more durable growth ... redistribution appears generally benign in terms of its impact on growth.'

IMF

'In Italy, the UK and the US, the cumulative growth rate would have been six to nine percentage points higher had income disparities not widened... greater equality helped increase GDP per capita in Spain, France and Ireland prior to the crisis.'

OECD

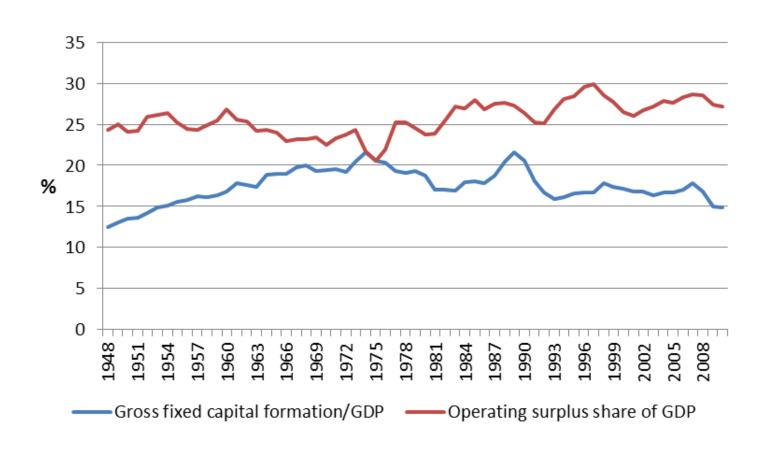
Nearly all large economies are 'wage-led' not 'profit-led'. That is, they experience slower growth when an excessive share of output is colonised by profits, with less going in wages.

ILO

Effect of rising inequality on economy

- Stifles consumer demand
- Cuts investment
- Makes economies more dependent on unsustainable stimulants, including rising debt, that increase the likelihood of crises

The rising profit share and falling investment, 1948-2010



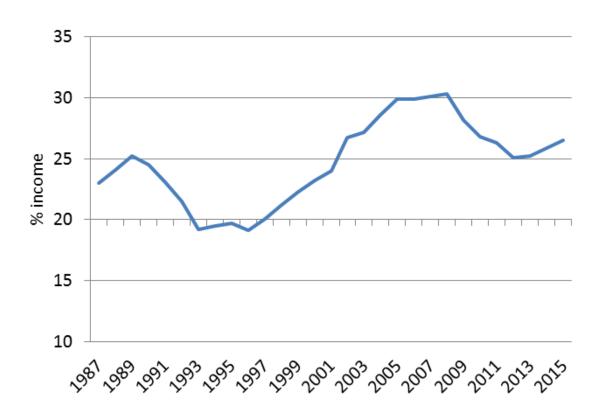
Artificial stimulants

- QE
- Property boom
- Share price boom
- Rise in personal borrowing

'Let them eat credit'

Household unsecured debt as % of income

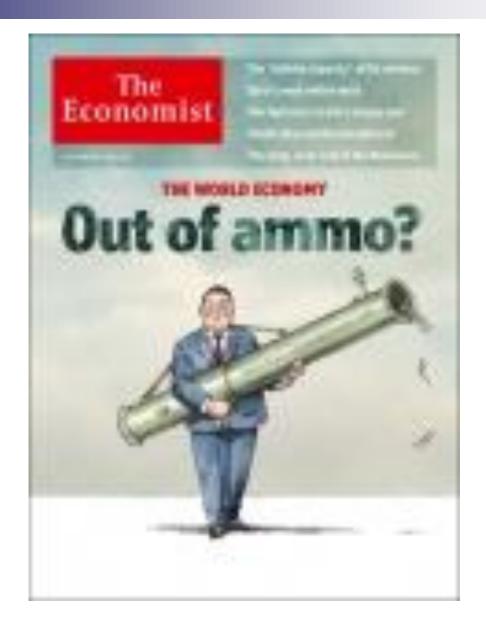
Total loans (excluding mortgages)



Source: Bank of England

4 The lessons

- Structural faults of pre-crash economy still there
- Vicious inequality, demand stifling, debt, crash cycle still at work
- Current policy mix austerity, QE and lack of credit control –
 regressive and made Britain's structural problems worse



Debate:

building an alternative pro-poor, anti-inequality strategy

- rebalance from monetary to fiscal policy
- new forms of credit control that boost investment
- helicopter money/ 'people's QE'
- raise the wage-share
- socialise more economic activity (social wealth funds)
- building a robust income floor (citizen's income scheme)