The 2016 Election Policy Threesome: Inequality, Trade Shocks, and Monetary Policy

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Democrats Abroad Seminar March, 2016

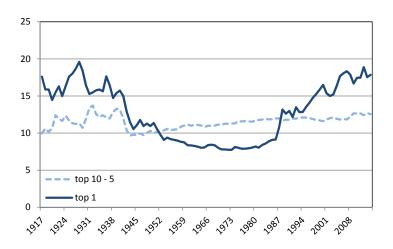
- Inequality. Rise of the 1%.
- Trade. Free trade the enemy?
- Monetary Policy.
- Other main election economic policy issues: clean energy/Immigration/free college education/single payer/minimum wage/infrastructure investment/Social Security – are either far from my specialty, or not so interesting to discuss.

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The Rise of Inequality, the US



*Data from Piketty/Saez World Top Incomes Database

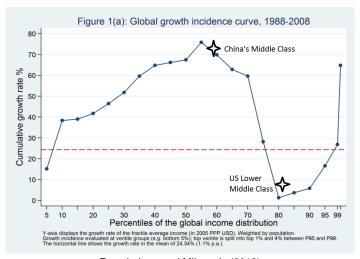
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- Trade Shocks. Rise of China. NAFTA.
- Labor Market Institutions Especially top marginal tax rates, and the mimimum wage
- Others: Education (supply of skilled workers). Increasing rent-seeking/monopolization (Robert Reich)

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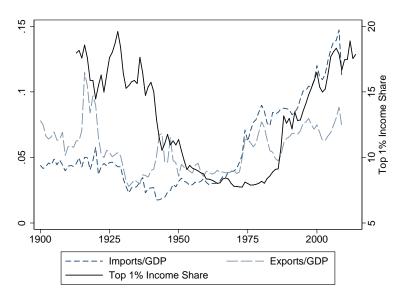
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Paul Krugman's "Chart of the Year" for 2014

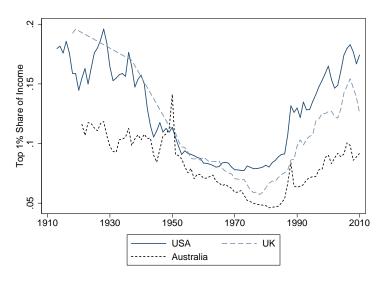


From Lakner and Milanovic (2013)

US, Trade vs. Inequality

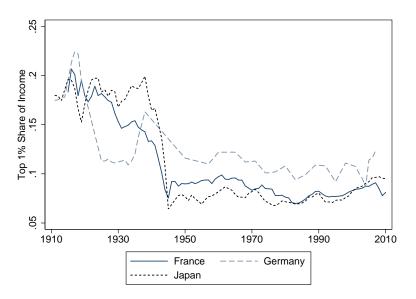


The Rise of Inequality, Anglo Countries

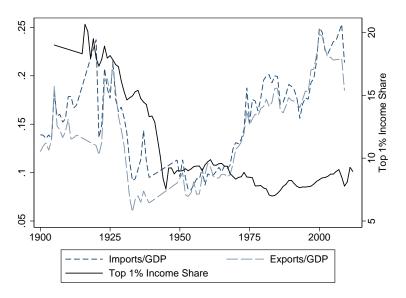


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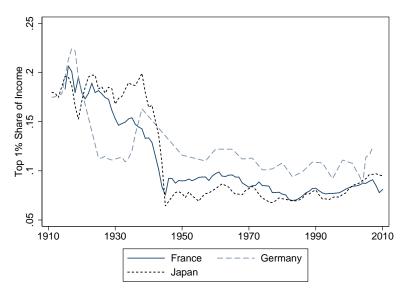
Top 1% Share of Income, Other Countries



France, Trade vs. Inequality



Skill-Biased Technological Change?



Skill-Biased Technological Change? Increasing Returns to College Education?

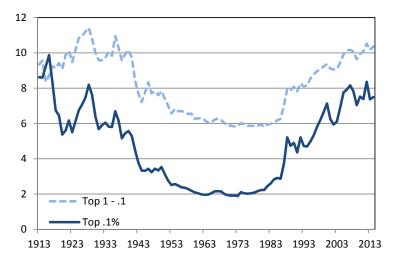
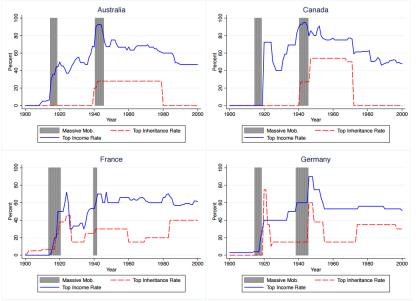
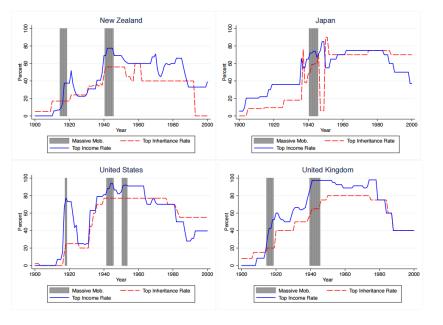
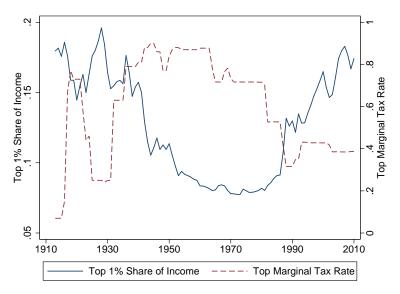


Figure 2: War and Progressive Taxation in the 20th Century, Selected Countries



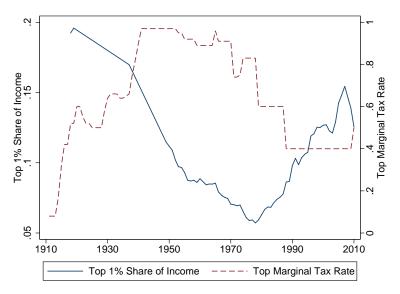


US



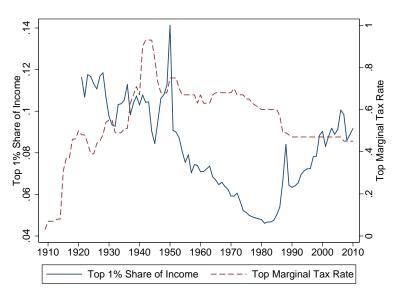


UK

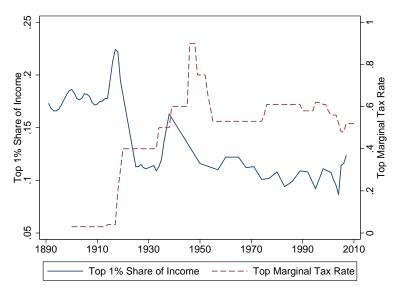




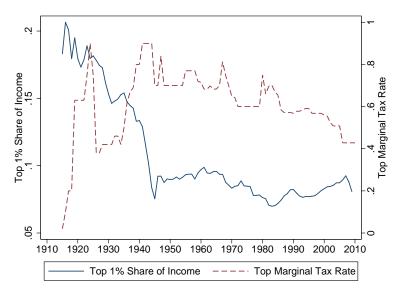
Australia



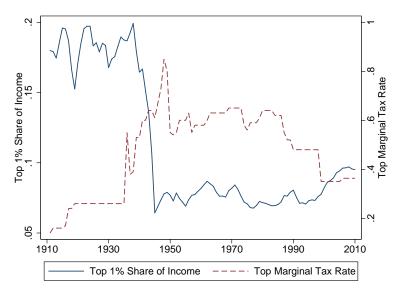
Germany



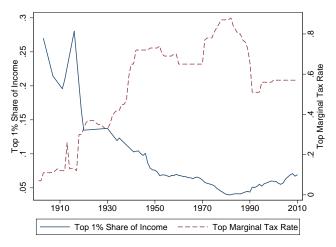
France



Japan



Top Marginal Tax Rates and the Top 1% Share of Income: Sweden



Notes: 1% Share and Top MTR data from the World Top Incomes Database, supplemented with other sources

- Changes in the top marginal tax rate almost certainly drove increases in the Top 1% share of income (Piketty/Saez/Stantcheva 2013, Campbell/Lusher 2016)
 - This operates in part via bargaining, which is why changes in the top MTR affect the trajectory of the top 1% share. Implication: Raise top rates!
 - Caveats likely small impact on labor supply but possibly larger impact on avoidance. Implication: Go after loopholes (carried interest).
 - We also know that trends in CEO pay largely explained by luck (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2001)

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- No Evidence that Trade Liberalization affects the Top 1% Share of Income...
 - Trade Imbalances not correlated
 - Imports/GDP not correlated
 - Trade with China/Developing Countries not correlated
- A caveat: There is some evidence that the Rise of China had compositional effects on Workers (Autor/Dorn/Hanson/Song, 2014) using Social Security data
- CPS MORG data tell a slightly different story manufacturing workers with no college but high wages suffered the most (Campbell, 2016)
- Little Evidence for Skill-Biased Technological Change or Robots.
- No hard evidence for the Reich thesis



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- Progressives' skepticism of FTAs often portrayed as idiocy or pandering to labor unions. Don't you understand comparative advantage?
- Anti-free trade Trump: Just zenophobic?
- Bashing trade is now quite popular on the campaign trail...
 - In Michigan, only 30% of Democratic primary voters believe trade creates US jobs (Clinton won these, 54-44), while 57% believe it takes away jobs (Sanders won these 56-41).

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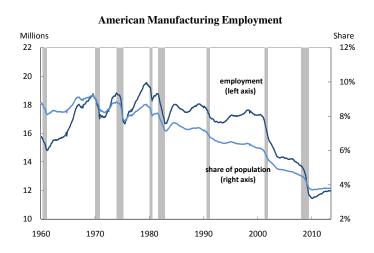
- Is there any truth to the view of voters that free trade has been bad for them?
 - Yes. It may be even worse than Bernie/Trump says...
- And, if so, does this mean that we should try to reverse NAFTA and pNTR with China?
 - No. Though I would try to "make a better deal" with China. I would not touch NAFTA though. Let me explain...

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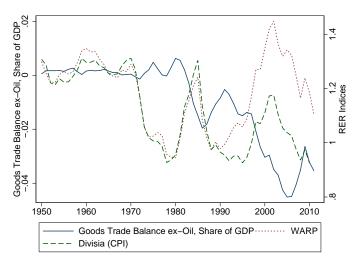
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The Collapse in Manufacturing Employment



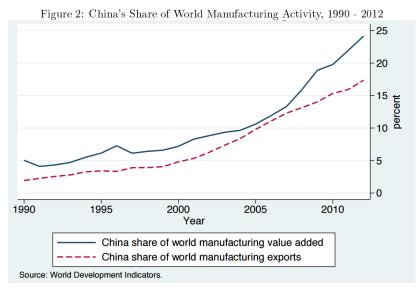
Autor, Dorn, Hanson (2013) and Campbell (2013, 2016) suggest collapse due to trade

Real Exchange Rates and Trade

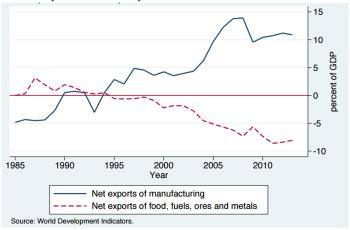


Note: WARP is a measure of the trade-weighted Real Exchange Rate for the US

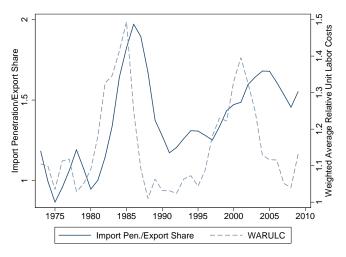
The Rise of China (which has lifted millions of people out of poverty)



A. Exports Minus Imports as a Share of GDP for China

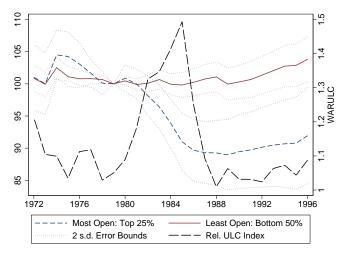


Adverse Trade Shocks: RER Movements



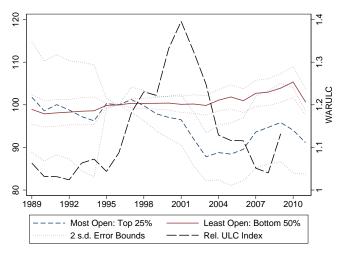
Notes: WARULC = Weighted Average Relative Unit Labor Costs (from Campbell, 2015), Import Penetration = Imports/(Shipments + Imports - Exports); Export Share = Exports/Shipments

Adverse Trade Shocks: RER Movements, Impact on Employment



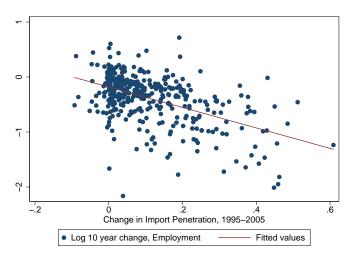
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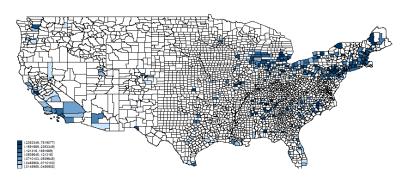
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Exposure to Import Competition and Employment Growth, by Sector



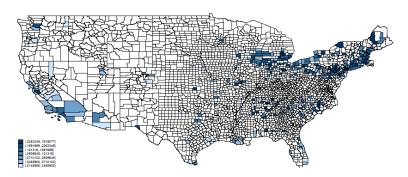
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Manufacturing Jobs Exposed to Import Competition, 1979



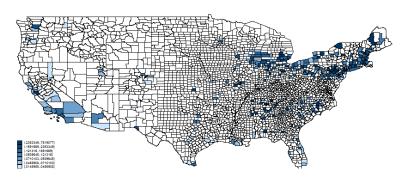
- These areas suffered declines in wages, employment, population, and increases in disability benefits
- The evidence suggests that areas worst hit by import competition never recover

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Estimates of the Total Jobs Lost

| Estimates of Total Jobs Lost Due to Trade Competition | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| | Estimates (Millions) of Total Job Losses due to: | | | | | | | |
| | China, Direct | China, Add IO Linkages | All Shocks, Direct | All Shocks, Add IO Linkages | All Shocks, Add Local Impact | | | |
| Acemoglu/Autor/Dorn/Hanson, 2015 | 0.85 | 1.4 | | | 3.0 | | | |
| Campbell, 2016 | 1.6 | 2.7* | 2.9 | 4.8* | 10.3* | | | |
| Bernie Sanders, Campaign Literature | | | | | 3.0 | | | |

^{*}Indicates that the Campbell direct estimates are combined with the AADH multipliers

- Notes: Acemoglu *et al.* used an extremely conservative methodology to calculate the total jobs lost.
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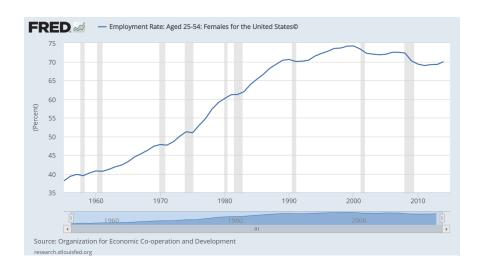
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The Great Employment Sag of the 2000s



Women Lost Ground in the Naughties





- Small trade shocks probably have no aggregate jobs impact. The Fed decides aggregate employment.
- But, rise of China, RER movements, and the Great Reserve Accumulation led to...
- The Collapse in Manufacturing and low interest rates. Fueled the housing bubble.
- Thanks to poor regulation, when the bubble burst, this led to the world financial crisis, the Great Recession, a liquidity trap, and a slow-growth trajectory
- The Federal Reserve (and other central banks), have not been very aggressive about getting the US economy back on its long-run growth path.

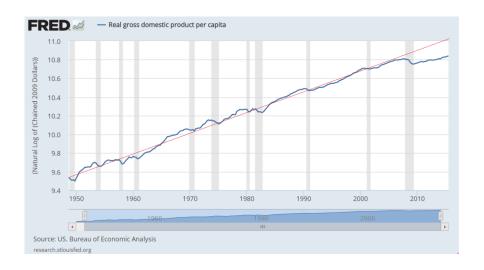
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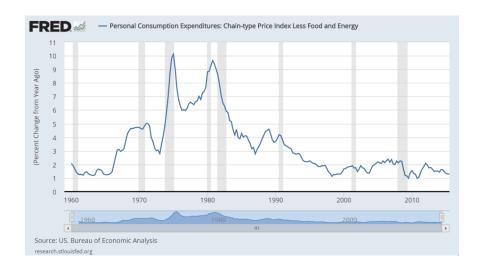
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GDP Below Trend

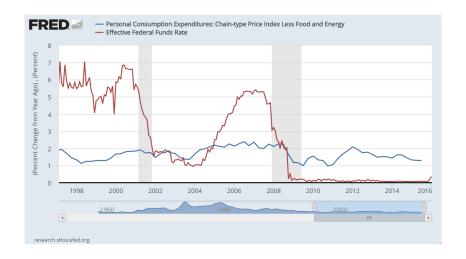




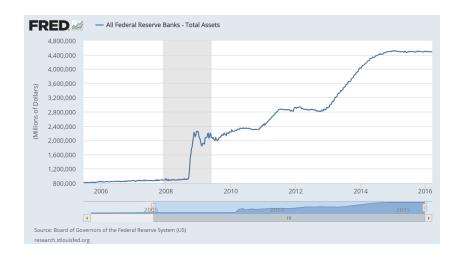
And yet inflation below target...



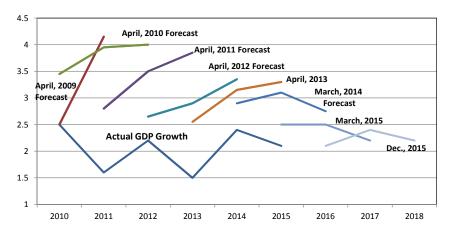
In part because of ZLB, Fed has done little. Tightening without inflation



Fed Total Assets. Two years in between MP changes...



Actual RGDP Growth vs. Fed's Forecasts



The recent tightening has led to another dollar appreciation...



- There was massive harm from trade. But with better regulation/MP, perhaps no aggregate job losses...
- Presidents need to intervene at times to ensure countries don't have a trade advantage. Now the Fed is the culprit...
- Military impact of cutting off trade with China? (Good or bad?)
- Open Democratic activists need to focus on monetary policy.
 - Need better appointees (recent choices, e.g., Lael Brainard, much better than early Obama-admin appointees – Dan Tarullo/Jeremy Stein/Jerome Powell were disasters. How many vacant seats now?)
- Oirca 1998-2007, we should have pressured China hard to devalue. Now, China is actually propping up its own currency.
 - There are still plenty of issues to push China on. Mostly, these are pushing the interests of US corporations in China – pirating, facebook in China, etc.
- Need better trade assistance to regions which have been wrecked by trade shocks. Create tax havens? Outmigration doesn't "help" these areas.



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