Economic Policy and Income Distribution in France Since the 1970s

Presentation for the International Research Meeting in Business and Management 2-3 July, Nice

Luis REYES¹

KEDGE Business School and Université Paris 13

 $^{^1} luis antonio.reyes ortiz @univ-paris 13. fr, \ Luis. Reyes-Ortiz @kedgebs.com,$

1 From the Bretton Woods system to the oil shocks

- 1 From the Bretton Woods system to the oil shocks
- The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary
 - The consequences for households
 - The consequences for firms

- 1 From the Bretton Woods system to the oil shocks
- The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary
 - The consequences for households
 - The consequences for firms
- From the liquidity trap to the crisis

- 1 From the Bretton Woods system to the oil shocks
- The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary
 - The consequences for households
 - The consequences for firms
- From the liquidity trap to the crisis
- 4 Public expenditure and income inequality

- 1 From the Bretton Woods system to the oil shocks
- The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary
 - The consequences for households
 - The consequences for firms
- 3 From the liquidity trap to the crisis
- 4 Public expenditure and income inequality

Bretton Woods broad overview

Bretton Woods broad overview

Bretton Woods broad overview

The Bretton Woods system (1945-1971) was characterized by (among others):

fixed exchange rates,

Bretton Woods broad overview

- fixed exchange rates,
- strong intervention by central banks,

Bretton Woods broad overview

- fixed exchange rates,
- strong intervention by central banks,
- capital controls,

Bretton Woods broad overview

- fixed exchange rates,
- strong intervention by central banks,
- capital controls,
- high inflation,

Bretton Woods broad overview

- fixed exchange rates,
- strong intervention by central banks,
- capital controls,
- high inflation,
- low unemployment rates,

Bretton Woods broad overview

- fixed exchange rates,
- strong intervention by central banks,
- capital controls,
- high inflation,
- low unemployment rates,
- high levels of government expenditure,

Bretton Woods broad overview

- fixed exchange rates,
- strong intervention by central banks,
- capital controls,
- high inflation,
- low unemployment rates,
- high levels of government expenditure,
- low public debt/GDP ratios,

Bretton Woods broad overview

- fixed exchange rates,
- strong intervention by central banks,
- capital controls,
- high inflation,
- low unemployment rates,
- high levels of government expenditure,
- low public debt/GDP ratios,
- and overall social and economic stability, despite some important movements in the sixties.

Not everybody was comfortable with this system

 "What started as a small, short-term credit facility grew to be a large, intermediate-term facility until the US gold window closed in August 1971" (Sandra Kollen, Federal Reserve of Atlanta).

Not everybody was comfortable with this system

- "What started as a small, short-term credit facility grew to be a large, intermediate-term facility until the US gold window closed in August 1971" (Sandra Kollen, Federal Reserve of Atlanta).
- "By the early 1960s, the U.S. dollar's fixed value against gold, under the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates, was seen as overvalued" (IMF).

Not everybody was comfortable with this system

- "What started as a small, short-term credit facility grew to be a large, intermediate-term facility until the US gold window closed in August 1971" (Sandra Kollen, Federal Reserve of Atlanta).
- "By the early 1960s, the U.S. dollar's fixed value against gold, under the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates, was seen as overvalued" (IMF).
- "The principal causes of America's recent trade deterioration are to be found (...) in the high value of the dollar in foreign exchange markets" (Arthur Burns; Foreign Affairs, 1984).

Bretton Woods collapse

 In 1971, Richard Nixon announced the closing of the gold window, abruptly ending the Bretton Woods system.

Bretton Woods collapse

- In 1971, Richard Nixon announced the closing of the gold window, abruptly ending the Bretton Woods system.
- "In September 1971, a month after Nixon's speech, at an OPEC meeting in Beirut, its member states increased oil prices by nearly 9 percent explicitly to compensate for the devaluation of the U.S. currency" (Graetz, 2011).

Bretton Woods collapse

- In 1971, Richard Nixon announced the closing of the gold window, abruptly ending the Bretton Woods system.
- "In September 1971, a month after Nixon's speech, at an OPEC meeting in Beirut, its member states increased oil prices by nearly 9 percent explicitly to compensate for the devaluation of the U.S. currency" (Graetz, 2011).
- Despite some measures implemented to control prices, inflation aggravated.

Bretton Woods collapse

- In 1971, Richard Nixon announced the closing of the gold window, abruptly ending the Bretton Woods system.
- "In September 1971, a month after Nixon's speech, at an OPEC meeting in Beirut, its member states increased oil prices by nearly 9 percent explicitly to compensate for the devaluation of the U.S. currency" (Graetz, 2011).
- Despite some measures implemented to control prices, inflation aggravated.
- The second half of the seventies was characterized by what came to be known as "stagflation".

- 1 From the Bretton Woods system to the oil shocks
- 2 The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary
 - The consequences for households
 - The consequences for firms
- 3 From the liquidity trap to the crisis
- 4 Public expenditure and income inequality

• In 1979, the Fed's newly elected chairman Paul Volcker raised interest rates strongly.

- In 1979, the Fed's newly elected chairman Paul Volcker raised interest rates strongly.
- In order to avoid capital flight, France and several other (mostly western) economies were forced to follow suit.

- In 1979, the Fed's newly elected chairman Paul Volcker raised interest rates strongly.
- In order to avoid capital flight, France and several other (mostly western) economies were forced to follow suit.
- With interest rates at high levels, and despite the celebrated stabilization of inflation, three main consequences emerged:

- In 1979, the Fed's newly elected chairman Paul Volcker raised interest rates strongly.
- In order to avoid capital flight, France and several other (mostly western) economies were forced to follow suit.
- With interest rates at high levels, and despite the celebrated stabilization of inflation, three main consequences emerged:
 - firms shifted their capital structure in favor of equity issuing (in contrast to debt issuing, as was the norm up to then),

- In 1979, the Fed's newly elected chairman Paul Volcker raised interest rates strongly.
- In order to avoid capital flight, France and several other (mostly western) economies were forced to follow suit.
- With interest rates at high levels, and despite the celebrated stabilization of inflation, three main consequences emerged:
 - firms shifted their capital structure in favor of equity issuing (in contrast to debt issuing, as was the norm up to then),
 - 2 as banks perceived this lack of demand for credit, they granted easier access of credit to households, and

- In 1979, the Fed's newly elected chairman Paul Volcker raised interest rates strongly.
- In order to avoid capital flight, France and several other (mostly western) economies were forced to follow suit.
- With interest rates at high levels, and despite the celebrated stabilization of inflation, three main consequences emerged:
 - firms shifted their capital structure in favor of equity issuing (in contrast to debt issuing, as was the norm up to then),
 - 2 as banks perceived this lack of demand for credit, they granted easier access of credit to households, and
 - the debt/GDP ratio of indebted economies (for the most part developing countries) increased drastically, and currency/financial crises became more frequent.

- In 1979, the Fed's newly elected chairman Paul Volcker raised interest rates strongly.
- In order to avoid capital flight, France and several other (mostly western) economies were forced to follow suit.
- With interest rates at high levels, and despite the celebrated stabilization of inflation, three main consequences emerged:
 - firms shifted their capital structure in favor of equity issuing (in contrast to debt issuing, as was the norm up to then),
 - 2 as banks perceived this lack of demand for credit, they granted easier access of credit to households, and
 - the debt/GDP ratio of indebted economies (for the most part developing countries) increased drastically, and currency/financial crises became more frequent.
- In this work, we focus exclusively on the first two.

- 1 From the Bretton Woods system to the oil shocks
- The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary
 - The consequences for households
 - The consequences for firms
- From the liquidity trap to the crisis
- 4 Public expenditure and income inequality

The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary The consequences for households (1)

 With the strong increase of interest rates, and the corresponding fall in the demand for credit by firms, banks granted easier access of credit to households.

The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary The consequences for households (1)

- With the strong increase of interest rates, and the corresponding fall in the demand for credit by firms, banks granted easier access of credit to households.
- With the fall of the real interest rate paid by households, their demand for credit increased strongly.

The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary The consequences for households (1)

- With the strong increase of interest rates, and the corresponding fall in the demand for credit by firms, banks granted easier access of credit to households.
- With the fall of the real interest rate paid by households, their demand for credit increased strongly.
- This in turn implied:

The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary The consequences for households (1)

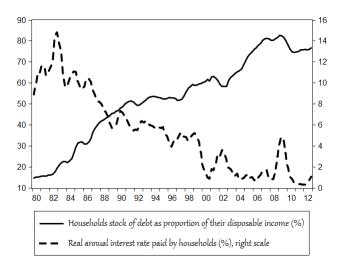
- With the strong increase of interest rates, and the corresponding fall in the demand for credit by firms, banks granted easier access of credit to households.
- With the fall of the real interest rate paid by households, their demand for credit increased strongly.
- This in turn implied:
 - high demand for real estate and correspondingly high property prices (i.e. two major real estate bubbles),

- With the strong increase of interest rates, and the corresponding fall in the demand for credit by firms, banks granted easier access of credit to households.
- With the fall of the real interest rate paid by households, their demand for credit increased strongly.
- This in turn implied:
 - high demand for real estate and correspondingly high property prices (i.e. two major real estate bubbles),
 - rising shares of debt as proportion of disposable income, and all this was coupled with

- With the strong increase of interest rates, and the corresponding fall in the demand for credit by firms, banks granted easier access of credit to households.
- With the fall of the real interest rate paid by households, their demand for credit increased strongly.
- This in turn implied:
 - high demand for real estate and correspondingly high property prices (i.e. two major real estate bubbles),
 - 2 rising shares of debt as proportion of disposable income, and all this was coupled with
 - higher unemployment rates and greater labor market flexibility (higher profit rates at the expense of lower wage/GDP ratios, reduced benefits and higher contributions paid by workers, etc.).

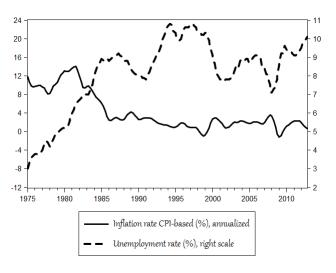
The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary

The consequences for households (2)



The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary

The consequences for households (3)



Outline

- 1 From the Bretton Woods system to the oil shocks
- 2 The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary
 - The consequences for households
 - The consequences for firms
- 3 From the liquidity trap to the crisis
- 4 Public expenditure and income inequality

• Since credit became more expensive (both because interest rates rose and inflation was controlled), firms issued more equities than debt.

- Since credit became more expensive (both because interest rates rose and inflation was controlled), firms issued more equities than debt.
- As a consequence, business executives became more estranged from central bank command and lobbied for deregulation in financial markets.

- Since credit became more expensive (both because interest rates rose and inflation was controlled), firms issued more equities than debt.
- As a consequence, business executives became more estranged from central bank command and lobbied for deregulation in financial markets.
- The economy fell into a liquidity trap.

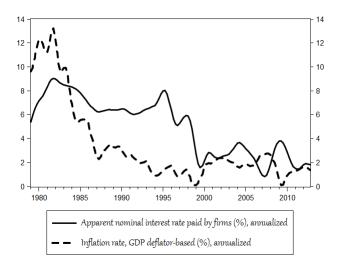
- Since credit became more expensive (both because interest rates rose and inflation was controlled), firms issued more equities than debt.
- As a consequence, business executives became more estranged from central bank command and lobbied for deregulation in financial markets.
- The economy fell into a liquidity trap.
- With major borrowers (i.e. NFCs) demanding less credit, lenders (i.e. banks) had a strong urge in becoming market makers and find customers where there were formerly no potential gains (i.e. households and developing economies), thus creating new sources of instability.

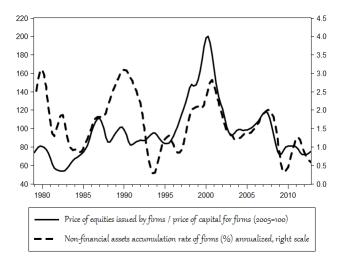
 Since firms were no longer being subject to the pressure of banks to invest in safer-though-less-profitable projects, investment tends to take place in riskier sectors, thus promoting even more risk-taking (i.e. issuing more equities at higher prices).

- Since firms were no longer being subject to the pressure of banks to invest in safer-though-less-profitable projects, investment tends to take place in riskier sectors, thus promoting even more risk-taking (i.e. issuing more equities at higher prices).
- As a consequence, since riskier investment projects tend to be less labor-intensive than less-risky projects, labor demand diminished, thus aggravating (and even perpetuating) the unemployment problem.

- Since firms were no longer being subject to the pressure of banks to invest in safer-though-less-profitable projects, investment tends to take place in riskier sectors, thus promoting even more risk-taking (i.e. issuing more equities at higher prices).
- As a consequence, since riskier investment projects tend to be less labor-intensive than less-risky projects, labor demand diminished, thus aggravating (and even perpetuating) the unemployment problem.
- Given that the nature of riskier projects tends to be unproductive (for instance, advertising), new creation of wealth tends to be slower than it would otherwise be.







Outline

- 1 From the Bretton Woods system to the oil shocks
- The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary
 - The consequences for households
 - The consequences for firms
- 3 From the liquidity trap to the crisis
- 4 Public expenditure and income inequality

The liquidity trap

Period	Correlation coefficient
1979q1-1981q3	0.66
1981q4-1986q2	-0.81
1986q3-1992q2	0.41
1992q3-2000q4	0.79
2001q1-2003q4	-0.91
2004q1-2008q3	0.21
2008q4-2012q4	-0.92
1979q1-2012q4	-0.45

Table: Correlation coefficient between quarterly real interest rate and capital structure of firms, several periods. Source: authors' calculations based on data from *INSEE* and *Banque de France*.

The crisis

 The housing bubble is likely to have been fed by, at least, two major long-term trends:

- The housing bubble is likely to have been fed by, at least, two major long-term trends:
 - the sharp increase in households' indebtedness, and

- The housing bubble is likely to have been fed by, at least, two major long-term trends:
 - 1 the sharp increase in households' indebtedness, and
 - the strong degradation in households' living standards (wage contraction and rise in unemployment, mainly).

- The housing bubble is likely to have been fed by, at least, two major long-term trends:
 - 1 the sharp increase in households' indebtedness, and
 - the strong degradation in households' living standards (wage contraction and rise in unemployment, mainly).
- In turn, throughout the same period the stock-market bubble grew thanks to the bull market that accompanied the massive issuance of equities created by:

- The housing bubble is likely to have been fed by, at least, two major long-term trends:
 - 1 the sharp increase in households' indebtedness, and
 - the strong degradation in households' living standards (wage contraction and rise in unemployment, mainly).
- In turn, throughout the same period the stock-market bubble grew thanks to the bull market that accompanied the massive issuance of equities created by:
 - 1 movements in interest rates, and

- The housing bubble is likely to have been fed by, at least, two major long-term trends:
 - 1 the sharp increase in households' indebtedness, and
 - the strong degradation in households' living standards (wage contraction and rise in unemployment, mainly).
- In turn, throughout the same period the stock-market bubble grew thanks to the bull market that accompanied the massive issuance of equities created by:
 - movements in interest rates, and
 - the falling from grace of credit demand by firms (both of which were mutually reinforcing).

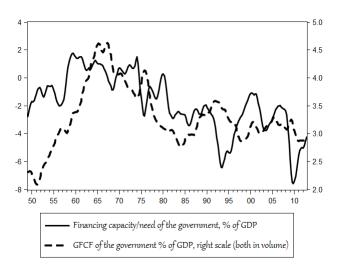
- The housing bubble is likely to have been fed by, at least, two major long-term trends:
 - 1 the sharp increase in households' indebtedness, and
 - the strong degradation in households' living standards (wage contraction and rise in unemployment, mainly).
- In turn, throughout the same period the stock-market bubble grew thanks to the bull market that accompanied the massive issuance of equities created by:
 - movements in interest rates, and
 - 2 the falling from grace of credit demand by firms (both of which were mutually reinforcing).
- With the collapse of Lehman Brothers in the U.S. came the signal of the worldwide bubble burst of both markets.

Outline

- From the Bretton Woods system to the oil shocks
- The end of stagflation, and the beginning of the calvary
 - The consequences for households
 - The consequences for firms
- From the liquidity trap to the crisis
- 4 Public expenditure and income inequality

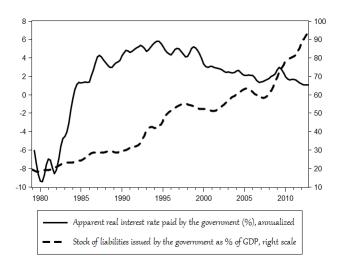
Public expenditure and income inequality

Public expenditure (1)



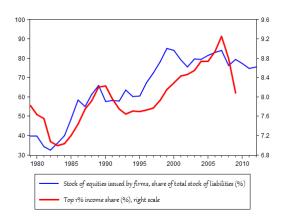
Public expenditure and income inequality

Public expenditure (2)



Public expenditure and income inequality,

Income inequality



Last slide

Thank you for your attention.