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important statistic is the rate of participation of the workforce. This is the percentage of adults in the economy who are employed or unemployed and looking for work. So, using data from Figure 8.2 and Table 8.1, those included in this calculation would be 157 million individuals in the workforce. The rate is calculated by taking the number of people in the workforce, i.e. the number of employees and the number of unemployed, divided by the total adult population and multiplication by 100 in order to obtain a percentage. For February 2015 data, the labour force participation rate is 62.8%. Historically, the participation rate of civilian labor in the United States rose starting in the 1960s as women increasingly entered the workforce, peaking at about 68% at the end of 1999. Since then, the labor force participation rate has been steadily declining. The survey on wages in the institution When the unemployment report is published every month, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) also reports on the number of jobs created – which comes from the survey on salaries in the institution. The wage survey is based on a survey of about 140,000 companies and government agencies across the United States. It generates employment estimates on salaries according to the following criteria: all employees, average weekly hours and average hourly earnings, weekly and overtime hours. One of the criticisms of this research is that it does not count the self-employed. It also makes no distinction between a new, minimum wage, unsought or temporary jobs and full-time jobs with decent L.U. unemployment data collected? The unemployment rate released each month by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics is based on the current Population Survey (CPS), which has been conducted every month since 1940. It is a great concern that this research is representative of the whole country. The country was first divided into 3,137 territories. The U.S. Census Bureau then selects 729 of these areas for research. These 729 areas are then divided into districts of about 300 households, with each district divided into clusters of about four housing units. Every month, Census Bureau employees call about 15,000 clusters with four households, for a total of 60,000 households. Households are interviewed for four consecutive months, then rotated from the survey for eight months and then re-interviewed for the same four months next year, before leaving the sample permanently. Based on this survey, unemployment rates are calculated by the state, industry, urban and rural areas, gender, age, race or ethnicity, and education levels. A wide range of other information is also available. For example, how long have people been unemployed? Did they become unemployed because they quit, or were they fired, or did their employer quit? Is an unemployed person the only person earning wages in the family? The current population survey is a treasure trove of information on employment and unemployment. If you're wondering what the difference is between CPS and EPS, read the following Clear It Up feature. Clear It UpWhat is the difference between CPS and EPS? The current Population Survey (CPS) conducted by the United States Census Bureau measures the percentage of the workforce that is unemployed. The Office of Labor Statistics's Wage Survey (EPS) is a survey on wages that measures the net change in jobs created for the month. Criticism of unemployment measurements is always a complication in measuring the number of unemployed. For example, what about people who don't have jobs and who would be available to work but were discouraged by the lack of available jobs in their area and stopped looking? Such people and their families may be suffering the pain of unemployment. But research counts them as out of the workforce because they are not actively looking for work. Other people who don't report income earned to tax authorities. I can report that they're unemployed when in fact they're working. While unemployment is getting most of the public and media attention, economic researchers at the Bureau of Labor Statistics publish a wide range of surveys and reports that try to measure these types of issues and develop more nuanced and complete view of the job market. It's not exactly hot news that economic statistics are imperfect. However, even imperfect measures such as the unemployment rate can still be quite informative, when interpreted educatedly and sensibly. Link It UpClick here (to learn more about cps for reading FAQs about employment and work. 8.2 | Unemployment patterns End of this section, you will be able to: Explain the historical patterns of unemployment in the US Identify unemployment trends based on demographic value global unemployment Rates Look at how unemployment rates have changed over time and how different groups of people affect unemployment differently. The historic U.S. unemployment rateFigure 8.3 shows a historical pattern of U.S. unemployment since 1948. Figure 8.3 U.S. unemployment rate, 1948-2014 Over time, however, the unemployment rate appears to return to a range of 4 to 6%. There does not appear to be a long-term trend of the rate moving generally higher or generally lower. (Source: www.census.gov/cps) As we look at this data, several patterns stand out: 1. Unemployment rates oscillate over time. During deep recessions in the early 1980s and 2007-2009, unemployment reached roughly 10%. By comparison, during the Great Depression of the 1930s, the unemployment rate reached nearly 25% of the workforce. 2. Unemployment rates in the late 1990s and mid-2000s were fairly low by historical standards. The unemployment rate was below 5% from 1997 to 2000 and close to 5% during almost all of 2006-2007. Previously, unemployment was less than 5% three years in a row three decades earlier, from 1968 to 2011. The unemployment rate never drops all the way to zero. Indeed, it never seems to reach below 3%– and remains so low for only very short periods. (The reasons why this is the case are discussed later in this chapter.) 4. The timing of rising and falling unemployment coincides quite well with the timing of ups and downs in the overall economy. During periods of recession and depression, unemployment is high. During periods of economic growth, unemployment is usually lower. 5. No significant upward or downward trend in unemployment rates is evident. This point is especially worth noting because the U.S. population has nearly quadrupled from 76 million in 1900. Moreover, a higher proportion of U.S. adults are now in the paid workforce as women have entered significant numbers over the past few decades. In 1900, women were awarded the 100m and 100m cents. But despite the increased number of workers, as well as other economic events such as globalization and the continued invention of new technologies, the economy has provided jobs without causing a long-term upward or downward trend in unemployment rates. Unemployment rates according to GroupUnemployment are not evenly distributed across the U.S. population. Figure 8.4 shows unemployment rates spread in different ways: by gender, age and race/ethnicity. Figure 8.4 Unemployment rate by demographic group (a) by gender, 1972-2014 Male unemployment rates tend to be lower than unemployment rates for women, but in recent decades these two rates have been very close, often with the unemployment rate for men slightly higher. (b) by age, 1972-2014 Unemployment rates are highest for the very young and become lower with age. (c) By race and ethnicity, 1972-2014 While unemployment rates for all groups tend to rise and fall together, the unemployment rate for whites has been lower than that of blacks and Hispanics in recent decades. (Source: www.bls.gov) The unemployment rate for women has historically been higher than that of men, perhaps reflecting a historical pattern of women being considered secondary earners. However, by about 1980, the unemployment rate for women was basically the same as for men, as shown in Figure 8.4 (a). During the 2008-2009 recession, the male unemployment rate exceeded the unemployment rate for women. By 2014, this pattern remained, although the gap is narrowing. Link it to this report (for detailed information on the 2008-2009 recession. It also provides some very useful information on unemployment statistics. Younger workers tend to have higher unemployment, while middle-aged workers tend to have lower unemployment, possibly because middle-aged workers feel the responsibility of needing more jobs. Younger workers are easier to move in and out of jobs (both in and out of the workforce). Older workers have extremely low unemployment rates, because those who do not have a job often leave the workforce by retiring, so they are not included in the unemployment statistics. Figure 8.4 (b) shows unemployment rates for the women divided by age. The african american unemployment rate is significantly higher than that for other racial or ethnic groups, which surely reflects to some extent, a pattern of discrimination that limited black labor market opportunities. However, the disparities between white and black and Hispanic unemployment rates narrowed in the 1990s as pay patterns for men is similar. The african american unemployment rate is significantly higher than that for other racial or ethnic groups, which surely reflects to some extent, a pattern of discrimination that limited black labor market opportunities. However, the disparities between white and black and Hispanic unemployment rates narrowed in the 1990s as pay patterns for men is similar. In fact, black and Hispanic unemployment rates were at lowest levels for several decades in the mid-2000s before rising during the recent Great Recession. Finally, those with less education tend to suffer higher unemployment. For example, in February 2015, the unemployment rate for college graduates was 2.7%; for those with a faculty but not a four-year
degree, the unemployment rate was 5.1 %; for high school students without an additional diploma, the unemployment rate was 5.4 %; and for those without a high school diploma, the unemployment rate was 8.4%. This pattern may arise because additional education offers better links to the labour market and higher demand, or it can happen because labour market opportunities for low-skilled workers are less attractive than opportunities for higher skilled workers. Lower wages may make low-skilled workers less motivated to find work. Breaking unemployment in other ways bureau of labor statistics also provides information on the reasons for unemployment, as well as the length of time individuals are unemployed. Table 8.2, for example, shows four reasons for unemployment and the percentages of currently unemployed falling into each category. Table 8.3 shows the length of unemployment. For both, the data are from February 2015 (bls.gov) Table 8.2 Reasons for unemployed, February 2015 Table 8.3 Unemployment Length, February 2015Link It UpWatch this speech (on the impact of droids on the labour market. International unemployment comparisons From an international perspective, the U.S. unemployment rate typically looked a little better than average. Table 8.4 compares unemployment rates for 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 and 2010. Table 8.4 International comparisons of unemployment ratesHow, comparisons of unemployment rates between countries must be treated as each country has slightly different research tools to measure unemployment and different labour markets. For example, Japan's unemployment rates seem quite low, but Japan's economy has been 2016 in slow growth and recession since the late 1980s, and Japan's unemployment rate is probably too risky a picture of its labour market. In Japan, workers who lose their jobs often leave the workforce quickly and are not looking for a new job, in which case they do not count as unemployed. In addition, Japanese companies are often quite reluctant to lay off workers, and so companies have a significant number of workers who are on reduced hours or officially employed, but do very little. This Japanese pattern is perhaps best seen as an unusual method for society to provide support for the unemployed, but a sign of a healthy economy. Link it Up Hear about the Chinese economy in the news all the time. The value of the Chinese yuan against the US dollar is likely to be part of the overnight business report. So why isn't the Chinese economy involved in this debate on international unemployment? The lack of reliable statistics is probably the reason. This article explains why. It is very difficult to compare unemployment rates in the United States and other high-income economies with unemployment rates in Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia. One reason is that statistical agencies in many poorer countries lack the resources and technical capabilities of the U.S. Census Bureau. But the more difficult problem with international comparisons is that in many low-income countries, most workers are not included in the labour market through an employer who pays them regularly. Instead, workers in these countries engage in short-term work, daily activities and bartering. Furthermore, the impact of unemployment varies greatly in high-income and low-income countries. Unemployed workers in developed economies have access to various national programmes such as unemployment insurance, social welfare and food stamps; such schemes barely exist in poorer countries. While unemployment is a serious problem in many low-income countries, it manifests itself in a different way than in high-income countries.8.3 | What causes changes in unemployment during the short runby end of this section, you will be able to: Analyze cyclical unemploymentExplain the relationship between sticky wages and employment using different economic argumentsApply models of supply and demand for unemployment and wages We have seen unemployment vary through time and places. What causes changes in unemployment? There are different answers in the short term and in the long term. Let's take a look at the short term first. Cyclical unemployment seems a plausible assumption that in the short term, from a few months to several years, the amount of hours the average person is willing to work for a particular salary does not change much, so the labour supply curve does not move much. In addition, make a standard ceteris paribus assumption that there is no significant short-term change in the age structure of the workforce, institutions and laws that affect the labour market or other possibly relevant factors. One of the primary determinants of labour demand is the state of the business cycle. When the economy is in a recession, then an industry's demand for workers falls. On the other hand, when the economy is in an expansion, then an industry's demand for workers rises. Variations in unemployment caused by the economy's transition from expansion to recession (or from recession to expansion (i.e. business cycle) are known as cyclical unemployment. From the point of view of supply and demand models of competitive and flexible labour markets, unemployment poses a conundrum. In the labour market supply and demand model, as shown in the 8.5 number, the labour market should move towards equilibrium pay and quantity. By equilibrium pay (We), the amount of equilibrium (Qe) of the workforce supplied by workers should be equal to the amount of labour required by employers. Figure 8.5 Unemployment and balance in the labour market In a flexible wage labour market, the balance will appear on pay We and Qe quantity, where the number of people looking for work (shown by S) is equal to the number of jobs available (shows D). One possibility for unemployment is that unemployed people are those who are not willing to work at the current equilibrium wage, say \$10 an hour, but would be willing to work with a higher salary, like \$20 an hour. The monthly Current Population Survey would count these people as unemployed, because they say they are ready and looking for work (at \$20 an hour). But from the point of view of economists, these people choose to be unemployed. Probably a few people are unemployed because of unrealistic wage expectations, but they do not represent the majority of the unemployed. Instead, unemployed people often have friends or acquaintances of similar skill levels who are employed, and the unemployed would be willing to work in jobs and wages similar to those received by these people. But it seems that the employers of their friends and acquaintances do not hire. In other words, these people are inadvertently unemployed. What causes forced unemployment? Why wages might be sticky downwards if the flexible wage labour market model doesn't describe unemployment well – because it predicts that anyone willing to work on a paycheck that goes can always find work – then it may prove useful to consider economic models where wages are not flexible or adjust only very slowly. In particular, while wage increases can happen with relative ease, wage cuts are few and far between. One reason why wages may be sticky downwards, economists say, includes economic laws and institutions. For low-skilled workers who are paid the minimum wage, it is illegal to reduce their wages. For union workers operating under a multi-year contract with a company, a pay cut can violate a contract and create a labor dispute or strike. However, minimum wages and union contracts are not reason enough to keep wages sticky for the US economy as a whole. out of 150 million workers in the US economy, only around 1.4 million - less than 2% of the total - are paid the minimum wage. Similarly, only about 12% of American workers on wages and salaries represent the union. In other high-income countries, more workers can have their wages set by trade unions or the minimum wage can be set at a level that applies to a higher proportion of workers. But for the United States, these two factors together affect only one-fifth or less of the workforce. Economists looking for reasons why wages might be sticky downwards have focused on factors that can characterize most employment relationships in the economy, not just some. A number of different theories have been proposed, but they share a common theme. One argument is that even non-union employees often work under an implicit contract, which is that the employer will try to prevent wages from falling when the economy is weak or the business is having problems, and the employee will not expect a huge pay increase when the economy or business is strong. This wage-setting behavior acts as a form of insurance: an employee has some protection against falling wages in bad times, but pays that protection with lower wages in good times. Clearly, this type of implicit contract means that companies will hesitate to cut wages, so that workers do not feel betrayed and work less hard or even leave the company. The wage efficiency theory argues that workers' productivity depends on their pay, so employers will often find it worth paying their employees a little more than market conditions might in line. One reason is that employees who are better paid than others will be more productive because they recognize that if they lost their current jobs, they would suffer a drop in pay. As a result, they are motivated to work more and stay with their current employer. In addition, employers know that it is expensive and time-consuming to hire and train new employees, so now they would rather pay workers a little more than lose them and have to hire and train new workers. Thus, by avoiding pay cuts, the employer minimizes the cost of training and hiring new workers, and reaps the benefits of well-motivated employees. In an unfavourable selection of arguments on wage cuts, it is pointed out that the employer reacts to poor business conditions by reducing
the wages of all workers, the most will go to the best workers, those with the best alternatives to employment at other companies. The result is that certain employees are more likely to stay with their employer and others are more likely to leave. This result is also true for the insider-outsider model of the workforce, put simply, argues that those who already work for companies are insiders, while new employees are, at least for a while, outsiders. The company depends on its insiders to lubricate the wheels of the organization, be familiar with routine procedures, train new employees, and so on. But the pay cuts will alienate insiders and hurt the company's productivity and prospects. Finally, the relative argument of wage coordination points out that even if most workers are hypothetically willing to see their own wages fall in bad economic times as long as everyone else experiences such a downturn, there is no obvious way for a decentralised economy to implement such a plan. Instead, workers faced with the prospect of pay cuts will worry that other workers will not have such a pay cut, so pay cuts mean they are worse off both in absolute terms and in relation to others. As a result, workers are fiercely fighting pay cuts. These theories about why wages do not move downwards differ in their logic and implications, and understanding the strengths and weaknesses of each theory is a constant subject of research and controversy among economists. Everyone tends to imply that wages will only decrease very slowly, if at all, even when the economy or business is having difficult times. When wages are inflexible and unlikely to fall, then short- or long-term unemployment may occur. This can be seen as 8.6. Figure 8.6 Sticky wages in the labour market As the wage rate is stuck at W, above balance, the number of jobseekers (Qs) is higher than the number of jobs created (Qd). The result is unemployment, according to the bracket in the number. The interaction between shifts in labour demand and wages sticky downwards is shown at 8.7. Figure 8.7 (a) illustrates a situation where labour demand shifts to the right from D0 to D1. In this case, the pay balance rises from W0 to W1 and the balance of employees' work volumes increases from Q0 to Q1. It doesn't hurt employee morale at all to make wages go up. Figure 8.7 (b) shows a situation where labour demand shifts to the left, from D0 to D1, as it would normally do in a recession. Because wages are sticky downwards, they do not adapt to what would be a new equilibrium wage (Q1), at least not in the short term. Instead, after a shift in the labour demand curve, the same amount of workers are willing to work on that pay as before; however, the amount of workers required in this salary has decreased from the original balance (Q0) to Q2. The gap between the originals the amount (Q0) and the new quantity required of work (Q2) represents workers who would be willing to work on their way out but cannot find work. The gap represents the economic significance of unemployment. Figure 8.7 Wage growth and low unemployment: Where is unemployment in supply and demand? (a) In a labour market where wages can rise, increasing labour demand from D0 to D1 leads to an increase in the amount of labour balance employed from Q0 to Q1 and an increase in wages in balance from W0 to W1. (b) In a labour market where wages do not fall, a fall in labour demand from D0 to D1 leads to a decline in the amount of labour required on the original salary (W0) from Q0 to Q2. These workers will want to work at the prevailing salary (W0), but will not be able to find work. This analysis helps explain a previously recorded link: that unemployment tends to rise in recessions and decline during expansions. The overall state of the economy is pushing the labour demand curve and, combined with wages sticky downwards, unemployment is changing. The rise in unemployment resulting from the recession is cyclical unemployment. Link it UpThe St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank is the best resource for macroeconomic weather series data, known as Federal Reserve Economic Data (FRED). FRED (provides complete datasets on various measures of the unemployment rate, as well as a monthly report by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on the results of household surveys and employment. 8.4 | What causes changes in unemployment over a long period? You will be able to: Explain friction and structural unemploymentAssess relations between the natural employment rate and potential real GDP, productivity and public policy identification of recent patterns in the natural employment ratePropose ways to combat unemploymentCyclic unemployment explains why unemployment rises during the recession and declines during economic expansion. But what explains the remaining levels of unemployment even in good economic times? Why is the unemployment rate never zero? Even when the U.S. economy is growing strongly, the unemployment rate only rarely drops to 4%. However, the decade earlier in this chapter highlights that unemployment rates in many European countries have been extremely high at different times over the past few decades. Why there is a certain level of unemployment even when economies are growing strongly? Why are unemployment rates so high in certain countries? The economic year is bad? 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protracted conflicts between employers and employees. If the inflation-adjusted minimum wage is only rare, minimum wage workers lose purchasing power from their nominal wages, as shown in the 9.6 number. Figure 9.6 U.S. minimum wage inflation After adjusting for inflation, the federal minimum wage fell more than 30% from 1967 to 2010, although the nominal figure climbed from \$1.40 to \$7.25 an hour. By raising the minimum wage between 2008 and 2013, The Hague-based 2009-2012 minimum wage increased by 1. (Sources: chart.htm; One sizable group of people often received a large portion of their income in a form that does not increase over time: pensioners receiving a private company pension. Most pensions are traditionally set at a fixed nominal amount of dollars per year in retirement. This is why pensions are referred to as defined benefit plans. Even if inflation is low, the combination of inflation and fixed income can create a significant problem over time. A person retiring on an fixed income at the age of 65 will find that losing only 1% to 2% of purchasing power per year due to inflation compounds to a significant loss of purchasing power after a decade or two. Fortunately, pensions and other defined benefit retirement plans are increasingly scarier, instead replaced by defined contribution plans, such as 401(k)s and 403(b)s. In these plans, the employer regularly deposits a fixed amount into a worker's retirement account (usually any salary check). The employee often also contributes. The worker invests these funds in a wide range of investment vehicles. These plans have been deferred for tax and are transferable so that if an individual takes up a job with another employer, their 401 (k) comes with them. To the extent that investments generate real rates of return, pensioners do not suffer from the inflation costs of traditional pensioners. However, ordinary people can sometimes benefit from an unintended redistribution of inflation. Think of someone who borrows \$10,000 to buy a car at a fixed interest rate of 9%. If inflation is 3% at the time the loan is made, then the loan must be repaid at a real interest rate of 6%. But if inflation rises to 9%, then the real interest rate on the loan is zero. In this case, the borrower's benefit from inflation is the loss of the lender. A borrower who pays a fixed interest rate, which benefits from inflation, is only the other side of the investor receiving a fixed interest rate, suffering from inflation. The point is that when interest rates are fixed, rising inflation rates tend to penalize financial capital suppliers, which end up being repaid in dollars worth less due to inflation, while financial capital requirements end up better off, as they can repay their loans in dollars that are worth less than originally expected. Unintended redistributions of purchasing power caused by inflation can have a wider impact on society. Broad acceptance of market forces is based on the perception that people's actions have a reasonable link to market outcomes. However, when inflation causes a pensioner who has built up a pension or invested at a fixed interest rate to suffer, while someone borrowing at a fixed interest rate benefits from inflation, it is hard to believe that such an outcome is deserved in any way. Similarly, when homeowners benefit from inflation as the price of their homes rises, while renters suffer because they pay higher rents, it is difficult to see any beneficial incentive effects. One of the reasons inflation dislikes the general public is because it is the sense that economic rewards and penalties make it more arbitrary – and therefore likely to be considered unfair – even dangerous, as the following Clear It Up feature shows. Clear It Uplis there is a link between German hyperinflation and Hitler's rise to power? Germany suffered a severe inflationary episode during its currency, Mark, in the years after World War I, when the Weimar Republic in Germany resorted to printing money to pay its bills. The German hyperinflation of 1923 is a classic example of inflation. A famous story tells that a woman had to carry a wheelbarrow full of cash to the market to buy a loaf of bread. A fact that is true. The hyperinflation of 1923 is a classic example of inflation. A famous story tells that a woman had to carry a wheelbarrow full of cash to the market to buy a loaf of bread. The time when Mark's inflation reached astronomical levels (inflation of 35,974.9% in November 1923 alone, for the annual rate of that month of 4.69 x 10^10. Most people in Germany today probably don't remember these events working. This lack of attention to him may be because his memory is clouded by the more dramatic events that succeeded him (the Nazi seizure of power and World War II). However, to someone who lives through these historical events in a row... [putsch] may have been remembered as vivid evidence of the potential effects of inflation. Blurred Price SignalsPrices are messengers in the market economy, transmitting information about demand and supply conditions. Inflation is smug about these price messages. Inflation means that price signals are perceived more vaguely, such as a radio program received with a lot of static. If static gets serious, it's hard to tell what's going on. In Israel, when inflation accelerated to an annual rate of 500% in 1985, the economy was at an all-time high. Instead, the customer just took the items off the shelf and went to the checkout to find out the price for the day. Obviously, this situation makes comparing prices and shopping for the best deal quite difficult. When levels and price changes become companies and individuals are finding it harder to respond to economic signals. In a world where inflation is at a high rate but bounces up and down to some extent, does the higher price mean that inflation has risen, or that the supply of that good has decreased, or that demand for that good has risen? Should the buyer of goods take higher prices as an economic hint to start replacing other products – or to substitute prices to rise by the same amount? Should the seller of goods take a higher price as a reason for the increase in production – or is the higher price just a sign of general inflation when the prices of all inputs into production are also rising? The true story will eventually become clear, but in a given moment, who can tell? High and variable inflation means that incentives in the economy to adapt in response to price swings are weaker. Markets will adjust to their equilibrium prices and volumes more unpredictably and at a slower pace, and many individual markets will experience a higher chance of surpluses and shortages. Problems of long-term planningInflation can make long-term planning more difficult. In the debate about unintended redistributions, we looked at the case that someone was trying to plan a pension with a pension set nominally and at a high rate of inflation. Similar problems arise for all people trying to save for retirement, as they need to consider what their money will really buy several decades in the future when the rate of future inflation cannot be known for sure. Inflation, especially at moderate or high levels, will pose significant planning problems for businesses as well. A company can make money from inflation – for example, by paying bills and salaries as late as possible so that it can pay inflated dollars, while collecting revenues as soon as possible. The company can also suffer losses from inflation, as in the case of a retail business stock holding too much cash, only to reduce the value of that money with inflation. But when a company spends its time focusing on how to profit from inflation, or at least how to avoid suffering from it, inevitable commodity strikes: less time is spent improving products and services or figuring out how to make existing products and services cheaper. An economy with high inflation rewards companies that have found smart ways to profit from inflation, which are not necessarily companies that excel at productivity, innovation or quality of service. In the short term, low or moderate levels of inflation may not pose major difficulties for business planning, as operating and sales revenue costs can rise at similar rates. However, if inflation varies significantly in the short or medium term, it may make sense for companies to stick to short-term strategies. Evidence whether relatively low inflation rates have reduced productivity is controversial among economists. There is some evidence that inflation, if it can be sustained at moderate levels below 3% a year, does not have to prevent the nation's real economy from growing at a healthy pace. For some countries that have experienced hyperinflation of several thousand percent a year, the annual inflation rate of 20-30% can feel basically the same as zero. However, several economists pointed to the suggestive fact that when US inflation heated up in the early 1970s – to 10% – US productivity growth slowed, and when inflation slowed in the 1980s, productivity rose again shortly afterwards, as shown in 9.7. Figure 9.7 U.S. inflation rate and U.S. labor productivity, 1961-2014 Over the last few decades in the United States, there have been times when rising inflation rates have been closely followed by lower productivity rates and lower inflation rates matched increases in productivity rates. However, as the chart shows, this correlation does not always exist. Does it benefit from inflation? While the economic effects of inflation are primarily negative, two compensation points are worth noting. First, the impact of inflation will be considerably depending on whether it is slowly creeping to 0% to 2% a year, galloping to 10% to 20% a year, or racing to the point of hyperinflation at, say, 100% per month. Hyperinflation can tear the economy and society apart. However, the annual inflation rate of 2% to 4% is far from a
national crisis. Low inflation is also better than deflation that happens with severe recessions. Second, it is sometimes argued that moderate inflation can help the economy by making wages in labour markets more flexible. The unemployment debate highlighted that wages tend to be sticky in moving downwards and that unemployment can result. A little inflation could nibble on real wages and thus help real wages declines if necessary. In this way, even if a moderate or high inflation rate can act as sand in the gears of the economy, perhaps the low inflation rate serves as oil for labour market gears. This argument is controversial. The full analysis should take into account all the effects of inflation. However, it offers another reason to believe that, all things considered, very low inflation rates may not be particularly harmful.9.5 | Indexing and its limitationsExpest this section, you will be able to:Explain the relationship between indexing and inflationIdentify three ways in which the government can control inflation through macroeconomic policyWhere price, wages or interest rates automatically adapt to inflation, it is said to be indexed. Indexed payout increases by the number of indexes it measures A wide range of index arrangements are observed in private markets and government programs. Since the negative effects of inflation depend largely on inflation unexpectedly affecting one part of the economy, but not on another – say, the price hikes that people pay, but not the wages that workers receive – indexing will take some of the sting out of inflation. Indexing in private markets in the 1970s and 1980s, unions typically negotiated pay contracts that had cost-of-living adjustments (COLA) that guaranteed their wages would keep pace with inflation. These contracts are sometimes written as, for example, COLA plus 3%. So if inflation were 5%, wage increases would automatically be 8%, but if inflation rose to 9%, wage increases would automatically be 12%. COAs are a form of indexing that applies to wages. Loans often have built-in inflation adjustments, so if the inflation rate rises by two percentage points, then the interest rate charged on credit also rises by two percentage points. An adjustable rate mortgage (ARM) is a kind of loan used to buy a house where the interest rate varies depending on the inflation rate. Often, a borrower will be able to get a lower interest rate if they are indebted to ARM, compared to a fixed rate loan. This is because with ARM, the lender is protected from the risk that higher inflation will reduce real loan payments, and so some of the interest rate risk premium may be lower accordingly. A number of current or long-term business contracts also have provisions that prices will automatically adjust towards inflation. Sellers love such contracts because they are not locked into a low nominal selling price if inflation proves higher than expected; customers like such contracts because they are not locked into a high purchase price if inflation turns out to be lower than expected. The contract with automatic inflation adjustments in force agrees the actual price to be paid, not the nominal price. Indexing in government programsMeal government programs are indices on inflation. The U.S. Income Tax Act is designed to increase the tax rate on earned marginal income as a person's income rises above certain levels; this is what is meant by the phrase switch to a higher tax bracket. For example, according to the Internal Revenue Service's basic tax plates, in 2014 one person owed 10% of all taxable income of \$0 to 97,505; 15% of all revenues from \$9,076 to \$36,900; 25% of all taxable income from \$36,901 to \$89,350; 28% of all taxable income from \$89,351 to \$186,350; 33% of all taxable income from \$186,351 to \$405,100; 35% of all taxable income from \$405,101 to \$406,750; and 39.6% of all revenues of \$406,751 and up. Due to the many complex provisions in the rest of the tax code, taxes owed by any it cannot be accurately determined based on these numbers, but the numbers illustrate the basic theme that tax rates rise as the marginal dollar of income rises. By the late 1970s, if nominal wages increased along with inflation, people were moved to higher tax brackets and owed much of their income in taxes, even though their real income did not rise. This bracket creep, as it's called, was eliminated by law in 1981. Now, income levels where higher tax rates are activated automatically rise with inflation. This Social Security Program offers two examples of indexing. Since the adoption of the Social Security Indexation Act of 1972, the level of social benefits has been increasing every year along with the consumer price index. Also, Social Security is financed by payroll taxes, which are imposed on income earned up to a certain amount – \$117,000 in 2014. This level of income is adjusted upwards at the inflation rate each year, so that indexable increases in the level of benefits are accompanied by an index increase in the social security tax base. As another example of the government's indexing-it agenda, in 1996, the New York Times Bonds are funds by which the US government issues bonds with inflation adjustments. These bonds are indexed to the Consumer Price Index (CPI). The government promises to pay the real interest rate above any inflation rate. In the case of a person trying to plan in the long term and worried about the risk of inflation, for example, indexed bonds that guarantee a rate of return higher than inflation – regardless of the inflation rate – can be very comforting. Can indexing reduce concerns about inflation? Indexing may seem like an obviously useful step. After all, when individuals, companies and government programs are indices against inflation, then people may worry less about arbitrary redistributions and other effects of inflation. But some of the fiercest opponents of inflation express serious concerns about indexing. They point out that indexing is always partial. Not every employer will provide COAs for workers. Not all companies can assume that costs and revenues will rise in lockstep with general inflation rates. Not all interest rates for borrowers and savers will change to accurately match inflation. However, as partial inflation indexing expands, political opposition to inflation may ease. After all, older people whose social security benefits are protected from inflation or banks their money with adjustable loans, they no longer have so much to worry about whether inflation will heat up. In a world where some people are indexed against inflation and some are not, financially savvy smart businesses and investors may be looking for ways to be protected from inflation, while financially unsophisticated and small businesses may suffer the most from it. Overview of political discussions on inflationThis chapter focused on how inflation is measured, historical experience with inflation, how to adjust nominal variables to real ones, how inflation affects the economy and how indexing works. The causes of inflation have barely been hinted at, and the government's policy to address inflation has not been addressed at all. These questions will be taken in detail in other chapters. However, it is useful to offer an overview here. The cause of inflation can be summarized into one sentence: Too many dollars hunt too few goods. The big rises in inflation at the beginning of the twentieth century came after the wars, which are a time when government spending is very high, but consumers have little time to buy, as manufacturing goes to war efforts. Governments also typically impose price controls during the war. After the war, price controls end and pent-up purchases of electricity ahead, fueling inflation. On the other hand, if too few dollars hunt too much commodities, then inflation will decline or even turn into deflation. Therefore, slowdowns in economic activity, as well as in the Great Recessions and the Great Depression, are usually associated with a decrease in inflation or even direct deflation. The implications of the policy are clear. If inflation is to be avoided, the amount of purchasing power in the economy must grow at about the same rate as commodity production. Macroeconomic policies that the government can use to influence the amount of purchasing power – through taxes, spending and regulation of interest rates and loans – can thus cause inflation to rise or inflation to lower levels. Bring home \$550 million in bread? As we will learn in money and banking, the existence of money provides enormous benefits to the economy. In the truest sense, money is a lubrication that improves the operation of the market. Money facilitates transactions. This allows people to find work by producing one product and then using the money they earned to buy other products they need to live. However, too much money in circulation can lead to inflation. Extreme cases of governments recklessly printing money lead to hyperinflation. Inflation reduces the value of money. Hyperinflation, because money loses value so quickly, ultimately results in people no longer using money. The economy is returning to bartering, or adopting a more stable currency from another country, like U.S. dollars. Meanwhile, the economy is literally crumbling as people leave their jobs and care for because it is not worth the time to work for money that in a few days will be worthless. Only national governments have the power to cause hyperinflation. Hyperinflation usually occurs when the government faces extraordinary spending requirements, which it cannot finance through taxes or borrowing. The only option is to print money – more and more of it. With more money in circulation chasing the same amount (or even fewer) of goods and services, the only result is higher and higher prices until the economy and/or government collapses. This is why economists are generally cautious when they
allow inflation to get out of hand. KEY TERMSAdjustable-rate mortgage (ARM) loan used to buy a house where the interest rate varies with market interest ratesbase year of arbitrary year whose value as an index number is defined as 100; inflation from the base year to other years can easily be seen by comparing the number of indices in the second year with the number of indices in the base year – for example, 100, therefore, if the number of indices for one year is 105, then there was inflation of exactly 5% between that year and the basic yearbasket of goods and services is a hypothetical group of different goods with certain quantities of each, used to measure the value of the basket of goods in each year. Consumer price index (CPI) measures the value of a basket of goods and services in a base year and in subsequent years. It is used to measure inflation. The CPI is calculated by dividing the value of the basket of goods and services in a given year by the value of the basket of goods and services in the base year and multiplying the result by 100. The change in the index number represents the percentage change in the value of the basket of goods and services. The CPI is used to measure inflation. The CPI is calculated by dividing the value of the basket of goods and services in a given year by the value of the basket of goods and services in the base year and multiplying the result by 100. The change in the index number represents the percentage change in the value of the basket of goods and services. The CPI is used to measure inflation. The CPI is calculated by dividing the value of the basket of goods and services in a given year by the value of the basket of goods and services in the base year and multiplying the result by 100. 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