

# Weak ties, empirical deficits and an update the Kalecki-Minsky agenda. Comments on post-Keynesian

macroeconomics ten years after the crisi

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#### outline

- Political background
- State of mainstream econ/NK
- State of PKE
- Progress report on Kalecki-Minsky research
  - Pseudo-Goodwin cycles
  - Size of financial effects vs distributional effects
  - Endogenous cycles
  - Inequality and household debt
  - Unemployment hysteresis
- Wrapping up

#### Political background

- Worst financial and economic crisis in two generations
- ... but the crisis did not turn into a great depression (except in Greece)
- Because of massive gov't fiscal interventions and QE
- But instead resulted in 'lost decade'
- And in Europe to a divergence of economic performance.
- Deflation of political hegemony of neoliberalism, while it stays firmly in power.
- Political discontent has moved to the right (Trump, Brexit, AfD, Salvini, Orban ...)
- The left has for the most part been unable to present a credible alternative
  - Greek tragedy of Syriza:
  - Pasokification of German and Austrian social democracy, despite comparatively swift economic recovery.
  - Glimmer of hope in a new anti-establishment social democracy (Sanders, Corbyn), but not in in power and economic policy not sufficiently clear
- Mazower (1998) *Dark Continent. Europe's Twentieth Century* suggests that dominant liberalism may be the exception; Fascist, liberal and radical left here to stay?
  - Implications for PKE?

#### Mainstream econ: New Keynesian Econ

- Accept need for microfoundations of macro, but reject market clearing
- Takes market-clearing equilibrium as reference point
- In 1990s (Mankiw and Romer 1991): bewildering variety of partial equilibrium models sticky prices, staggered wage setting, credit rationing, financial accelerator, efficiency wages, NAIRU, multiple equilibria, noise trader models...
- In 2000s variety of NK models turns into NK-DSGE (ok, maybe ZLB)
- 'even if...' model turned into THE benchmark model

#### Recently, in the mainstream

- Theoretical stagnation: modifying NK DSGE
- lots of interesting empirical 'NK' work, to some extent reinventing PK wheels, but empirically more advanced
  - de Long and Summers 2012 on fiscal policy
  - Blanchard et al 2016 on hysteresis
  - Piketty, Saez on inequality
  - Mian and Sufi on macro economics with micro data
  - Haldane, Borio on financial instability
  - Cecchetti and Kharroubi 2012 on financial development
  - Jorda et al 2013 JMCB on debt and recessions
  - Ostry et al 2014 on inequality and growth
- Saltwater-sweetwater divide has broken up again in the USA (Romer 2016...)
- But in Europe not much (Wren Lewis, de Grauwe, Bofinger ...)

#### Where is PKE?

- PK has a well defined core
  - principle of effective demand,
  - fundamental uncertainty, animal spirits, liquidity preference
  - Endogenous money creation
  - Endogenous financial instability,
  - independent investment function in the long run,
  - class-specific saving propensities -> allows for wage-led demand regimes
  - hysteresis (natural rate endogeneity) in the long period...
- Note: that's different from other heterodox streams that are often more heterogenous (Ecological Econ, Feminist Econ, Marxism...)
- It has set of journals and network of associations and conferences
- But is marginalised by the mainstream and has little impact on policy making

#### PKE: what has changed since 2008?

- Marginalisation has <u>not</u> changed much since the Financial Crisis 2008
- Essentially no opening of economics as an academic discipline in terms of hiring; mainstream journals still closed to PKE (in particular in macro)
- Austerity at universities has narrowed room for heterodox econs (in UK: only funding for 3\* and 4\* research => essentially no hetecon in REF2014/Econ; Stockhammer, Dammerer and Kapur 2017)
- Some increased interest by policy institutions (BoE, ILO...), but ultimately marginal
- Some increased interest by progressive parties, but no substantial impact on policy
- Today's PK generation has few personal links to leading mainstream economists (different for previous cohort)

### Strong/weak ties: PKE a coherent paradigm or a ghetto?

- Granovetter (1973): 'the strength of weak ties'
- Strong ties are often within networks; strong ties "breed local cohesion, lead to overall fragmentation" (p. 1378); bridge to other networks are usually weak ties
- Illustrates importance of weak ties (rather than of strong ties) with respect to job search and the ability of different ethnic communities to organised here against community damaging building projects
- In this terminology PKE has a lot of strong ties, but few weak ties
- Kapeller and Dobusch (2012): citation analysis: most heterodox streams references their own stream and mainstream (who doesn't cite them), but not other hetecons

#### Some openings

- Agent-based modelling (ABM) has gone macro.
  - Started out with microeconomic, mostly on innovation
  - Keynes meet Schumpeter (Dosi et al 2010, 2013, 2017 ....): it'a actually closer to Kalecki meet Schumpeter (wage-led demand, little on animal spirits...)
  - Caiani et al 2016, Seppecher et al 2017)
- PK Ecological Macroeconomics (a niche program) is gaining a critical mass (Hardt and O'Neill 2017, Dafermos et al 2017, Taylor et al 2018, Kemp-Benedict 2018, Nasqi and Stockhammer 2018)
- Feminist Econ and PKE (Braunstein, van Staveren and Tavani 2011, Onaran et al 2019)
- Growing interest in IPE (International Political Economy) and CPE (Comparative Political Economy) in PK
  - Baccaro and Pontussen (2016) suggest founding CPE (VoC) in PK demand regimes rather than supply side institutions
  - Blyth and Mathijs (2017) regard lack of macroeconomics as a major shortcoming of IPE
  - Financialisation and financial instability have become important topics in Socio-Economics/economic sociology (van der Zwan 2014) and human geography

#### PKE and other hetecon streams

	relation	Interaction	Topics
Feminist Econ	complementary	Modest	Growth models with gendered labour markets
Ecological Econ	Complementary	Growing	Growth with demand and resource constraints
ABM/Evolutionar y	Complementary	Growing	ABM macro, endoge tech change
Marxist Econ	Complementary/c ompeting	ongoing	Wage vs profit-led growth
Institutionalist	Complementary	modest	
Socio-Economics (economic sociology)	Complementary	Ongoing	Finance and financialisation
International Political Economy	Complementary	Modest	Growth regimes and political alliances

#### Kalecki-Minsky modelling

- Demand driven
- Allows for wage-led demand
- Financial instability
- Hysteresis/path-dependency
- Personal as well as function distribution
- Wealth distribution

#### Pseudo-Goodwin cycles

- Stockhammer and Michell (2017) demonstrate that pseudo-Goodwin cycles can arise in a Minsky model with a wage-led demand regime
- Pseudo-Goodwin cycle: looks like a Goodwin cycle (cycle in profit share/output space), but isn't. Goodwin cycle requires profit-led demand and counter-cyclical profit share (industrial reserve army distribution function)
- Assume a Minsky model, where cycles stem from the interaction of debt and demand. Add an industrial reserve army distribution function.
- Pseudo-Goodwin cycles also arise in wage-led Minsky model
- Any business cycle mechanism (that is independent of distribution) can generate pseudo-Goodwin cycles if paired with a reserve army distribution function.

## Model M3: Pseudo-Goodwin model with wage-led demand effect

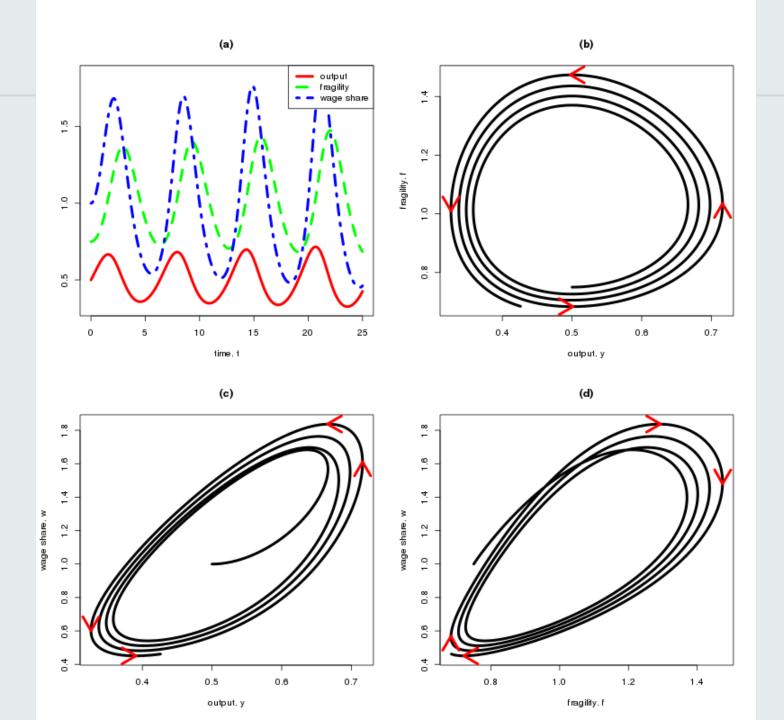
 Minsky cycle with reserve army effect and wage-led demand equation.

$$\dot{f} = f(-1 + py)$$

$$\dot{y} = y(1 - f + sw)$$

$$\dot{w} = w(-c + ry - w)$$

f...financial variable (leverage ratio), y...output, w...wage share



#### implications

- Pseudo-Goodwin cycles can arise in wage-led economy
- Any business cycle mechanism (that is independent of distribution) can generate pseudo-Goodwin cycles if paired with a reserve army distribution function.
- (endogeneous) business cycle analysis: need to test heterodox business cycle arguments against each other, possibility of observational equivalence
- Interaction of business cycle mechanisms?

#### Bhaduri-Marglin model with financial variables

- Extending the Bhaduri-Marglin model to include financial variables (HHD, business debt, property prices, share prices)
- Stockhammer and Wildauer (2016): panel for 16 OECD countries 1980-2013.
  - Financial effects on demand stronger than distribution effects.
  - Negative effects of debt on investment, often positive effects on consumption.
- Stockhammer, Rabinovich and Reddy (2018): similar model for 4 countries with long historical series (1855-2014) based on Piketty Zucman, financial variable: Piketty's 'private wealth'
  - Domestically wage-led demand regimes, typically small effects
  - Varying, but at times substantial financial effects
  - In US, UK: pos effect of PW on consumption, neg on investment
  - In DE, FRA: no effect of PW on consumption, some pos effect on inv

#### Endogeneous financial cycles

- Families of Minsky models (Nikolaidi and Stockhammer 2018):
  - debt cycle model, speculative asset price models (momentum trader models)
  - HH debt vs business debt
  - A lot theoretical advances, only a handful of empirical studies.
- Mainstream literature on cycles
  - Univariate filtering (Drehman et al 2012, Borio 2014, Aikman et al 2015)
  - DSGE with exogeneous shocks, establish whether shock gets amplified
- In contrast, here: cycles resulting from interaction of a real (GDP) and a financial variable
- Stockhammer, Calvert Jump, Cavallero and Kohler (2018): use minimalist (2D) Minsky model to test for endogenous cycles (oscillations): 7 major OECD economies (1970-2014)

#### A simple financial-real interaction model

$$y_t = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 y_{t-1} + \alpha_2 f_{t-1} \tag{1}$$

$$f_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 y_{t-1} + \beta_2 f_{t-1} \tag{2}$$

$$J = \begin{bmatrix} \alpha_1 & \alpha_2 \\ \beta_1 & \beta_2 \end{bmatrix} \tag{3}$$

- Cycles occur if the eigenvalues of (3) are complex conjugates
- Requires  $Tr(J)^2 4Det(J) < 0$
- Necessary condition for oscillations:  $\alpha_2\beta_1 < 0$
- Moreover, complex eigenvalues  $(\lambda = h \pm \Omega i)$  of the VARs yield the implied cycle length (L):

$$L = \frac{2\pi}{\arccos(\frac{h}{\sqrt{h^2 + \Omega^2}})} \tag{8}$$

#### Testing real-financial interaction cycles

	Expected signs and the two necessary conditions hold	Avg cycle length	notes
Interest rate	4 of 7	5.5 yrs	
NFCD	6 of 7	11 yrs (based on 5)	
HHD	0 of 7		Results not robust; in baseline 4 anti- Minsky cycles

#### Findings on real-financial interaction cycles

- Strongest evidence for NFCD
- Empirical support for cycle models with interaction between real economy and business debt (Asada 2001; Fazzari et al. 2008)
- Partial empirical support for models with interaction between real economy and interest rates (Foley 1987; Jarsulic 1989; Fazzari et al. 2008)
- No contradiction, but different frequencies
- No evidence for HHD GDP cycles
- Implication for research on financial cycles: aggregate debt measures may conceal different cycle frequencies
- Note: don't test asset price interaction cycles

#### Inequality and household debt

- Argument that rising inequality has been a main cause of rising household debt (van Treeck 2014, Kapeller and Schutz 2014, Kumhof et al 2015, Stockhammer 2015),
- (at least) two mechanisms:
- Consumption cascades: upward-looking consumption norms, the middle classes and poor copy the behaviour of the rich,
- Poor driven into debt as they try to maintain living standards in the face of falling real wages
- Note: both regard rising debt as driven by consumption behaviour
- In models:  $\Delta HHD = C YD$

#### What drives Household debt?

increasing interest in household debt (D) since financial crisis most research about *effects* of D, much less on *determinants* arguments in the literature:

- 1. income inequality and expenditure cascades (Frank et al. 2014). Prominent in recent hetecon macro (Behringer and van Treeck 2013, Kapeller and Schütz 2014)
- 2. real estate prices: Minskyian households (Bezemer et al 2014, Ryoo 2015)
- 3. low interest rates: deviations from 'sound' monetary policy (Taylor)
- 4. financial deregulation

Stockhammer and Wildauer (2018): test these hypotheses: *is debt consumption-driven or asset transaction-driven?* Panel of 11 OECD countries, 1980-2011; similar: Moore and Stockhammer (2019)

#### working hypotheses

|--|

	Hypothesis Theoretical Argument		Predicted signs
1	expenditure cascades hypothesis (ECH)	Households make consumption decisions with respect to richer peers. Consumption decisions drive debt	$\frac{\partial D}{\partial Q} > 0$
2	housing boom hypothesis (HBH)	Debt is driven by asset transactions. Rising asset prices lead to higher debt due to re-enforcing optimism about future price increases.	$\frac{\partial D}{\partial PP} > 0$
3	financial deregulation hypothesis (FDH)	Deregulation of the financial industry lifts lending restrictions and allows households to take on more debt.	$\frac{\partial D}{\partial CRED} > 0$
4	low interest rate hypothesis (LIH)	Loose monetary policy in the form of low interest rates encourages household borrowing.	$\frac{\partial D}{\partial R} < 0$

D is household debt, Q is a measure of income inequality, CRED stands for credit regulation, R is a real interest rate and PP indicates property prices.

Table 4: Household debt, baseline specifications

(2)

(1)

	(+)	\ <del>-</del> /	(5)	\ '/	
	DFE	PMG	DFE	PMG	
y <sup>D</sup>	0.984***	0.888***	0.954***	0.687***	
	(0.22)	(0.11)	(0.23)	(0.07)	Error correction models
рр	0.414***	0.570***	0.426***	0.622***	with Pooled Mean Grou
	(0.14)	(0.07)	(0.15)	(0.04)	and Dynamic Fixed Effe
Top1	-0.674	0.454			estimators.
	(1.89)	(0.75)			Dependent variable: Δ l
Gini			-0.169	3.438***	Stars indicate statistical
			(1.07)	(0.49)	significance: * p<0.1, **
R	-3.712**	-0.601	-3.703**	-0.421	*** p<0.01. Standard e
	(1.50)	(0.58)	(1.49)	(0.40)	brackets.
OLD	0.34	0.977	0.27	5.996***	The bottom three lines
	(1.74)	(1.31)	(1.88)	(1.01)	report p-values of hypot
cred	0.790***	0.710***	0.780***	0.439***	
	(0.28)	(0.16)	(0.28)	(0.08)	$H_0$ : $r = I(1)$ is the hypothesis and the residuals contain a
		SR			the residuals contain a
error	-0.061***	-0.066***	-0.059***	-0.075**	and $H_0$ : $eta_{\mathcal{Y}^D}=1$ and $H$
correction	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	are the hypotheses that
N	362	374	371	374	run elasticities for dispo
H0: res=I(1)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	income and property pr
H0: Y <sup>D</sup> =1	0.94	0.32	0.84	0.00	equal to 1.
H0: PP=1	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	

(3)

(4)

#### Findings

- support for housing boom hypothesis
  - positive and statistically highly significant effect of PP on D
  - highly robust across specifications
  - Effect larger in countries with more developed financial sector (split sample according to priv credit/GDP)
- no support for expenditure cascades hypothesis
  - Negative effect of Top1 on D
- (modest) effects of interest rate and financial regulation
- $\rightarrow$  property prices key for household debt dynamics. Debt is asset transaction-driven, not consumption driven

#### Consumption cascades. A critique

- Upward-looking status comparisons popular in recent PKE
- Attractive: behavioural econ elements
- Micro evidence for other regarding spending behaviour
- But focuses on demand for credit; downplays banks' lending decision
- Problem: regards increase in HH debt as driven by consumption.
- That misses that most debt is mortgage debt
- Alternative: debt as asset transaction driven
- Criticism of consumption cascades as a macroeconomic story of the precrisis period, not of behavioural story
- Implication for political economy of crisis: middle class lending rather than the poor

#### The NAIRU and Hysteresis

- In mainstream a topic in 1980s (Blanchard and Summers 1986), then went out of fashion
- Some empirical studies, but most of them test for a unit root in unemployment e.g. Stanley 2004
- Returned after crisis Blanchard et al 2015, Blanchard 2018; Cerra and Saxena (2008)
- One important long-term effect of the NAIRU debates is that EC, OECD,
   IMF rountinely publish NAIRU estimates
- These are bases for potential output estimates and thus the 'structural deficit'
- These are based on the assumption of an exogenous NAIRU = no hysteresis.

#### **European Commission NAWRU**

$$\begin{split} &U_t = UN_t + UC_t \\ &UN_t = \mu_{t-1} + UN_{t-1} + \epsilon_t^N \\ &\mu_t = \mu_{t-1} + \epsilon_t^\mu \\ &UC_t = \phi_1 UC_{t-1} + \phi_2 UC_{t-2} + \epsilon_t^C \end{split}$$

$$w_t = f(tot, pr, ws, UC_t)$$

 $U_t$  ...unemployment rate,  $UC_t$  ...cyclical unemployment rate,  $UN_t^N$  ...NAIRU, w...wages, tot...terms of trade, pr...lab pdy, ws...wage share

- The natural rate is a unit root process with a time varying drift
- cyclical rate follows an exogenous autoregressive process
- augmented with a wage Phillips curve, These vary by country

#### Calvert Jump and Stockhammer (in progress)

#### Building on Jaeger and Parkinson (1994):

$$\begin{split} &U_t = UN_t + UC_t \\ &UC_t = \phi_1 UC_{t-1} + \phi_2 UC_{t-2} + \epsilon_t^C \\ &UN_t = UN_{t-1} + \alpha UC_{t-1} + \epsilon_t^N \\ &\Delta p_t = \beta UC_t + \epsilon_t^p \end{split}$$

 $U_t$ ...unemployment rate,  $UC_t$ .... cyclical unemployment rate,  $UN_t$ ... NAIRU, p...CPI

- (1) estimate the model an unobserved components model using a Kalman filter: point estimates for hysteresis >>0, but large confidence intervals
- (2) estimate an unobserved components model using Bayesian maximum likelihood
- Estimation period 1960-2017, data: AMECO

#### Results for **u**

	Prior mean	Posterior mean	90% highest posterior density
Germany	0.3	0.44	[0.00 0.71]
France	0.3	0.73	[0.11 1.33]
UK	0.3	0.72	[0.12 1.32]

- Calvert Jump and Stockhammer (in progress)
- estimate a unobserved components model using Bayesian maximum likelihood
- Estimation period 1960-2017, data: AMECO
- prior density of alpha skewed towards 0

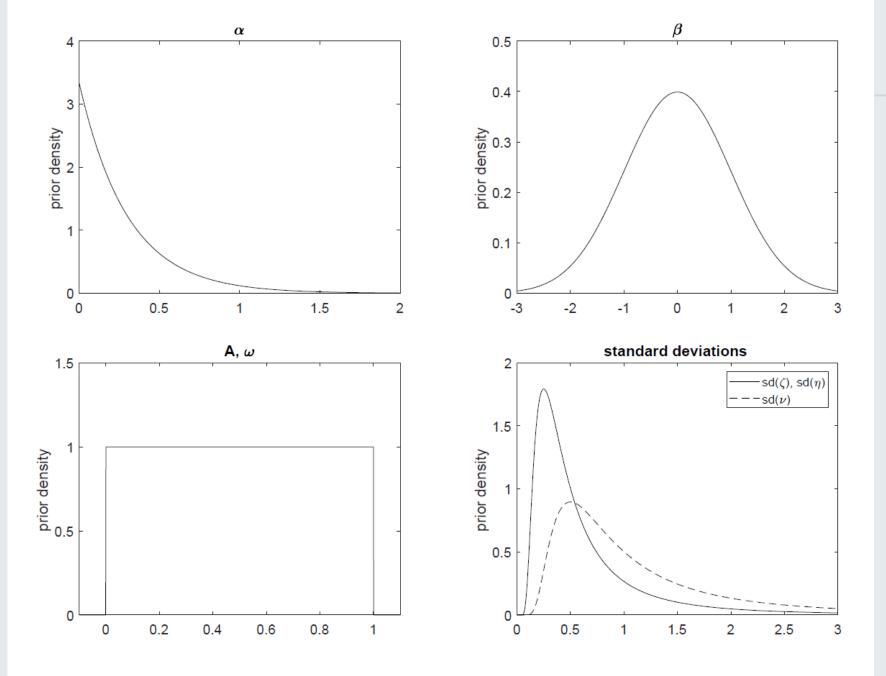


Figure 1: Prior densities for  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , A,  $\omega$ , and the shock standard deviations.

#### Hysteresis, path dependence

- Strong evidence that demand shocks/recession have impact on growth path (Blanchard et al 2016)
- Standard argument in PKE Palley (1996), Leon-Ledesma and Thrilwall (2002), Dutt (2006), Fazzari et al (2018)
- Much of this is about endogeneous productivity growth
- Strong implications for economic policy
- NAIRU is endogeneous. Need to calculate NAIRU allowing for hysteresis

#### Concluding: PK and NK

- PKs is intellectually established, but effectively marginalised. We need to reach out (other hetecons, other social sciences, policy makers, mainstream econ)
- Depressing that Global Financial Crisis has changed little in the marginalisation of PK (and other hetecons)
- NK has re-invented several PK wheels (credit rationing, endogenous money, debt cycles, NAIRU, hysteresis); the lack of acknowledgement may be unpleasant, but knowledge is public good ... what can we learn from them?
- NK has accepted the microfounded terrain of neoclassical econ, which has resulted in a fertile research program
- DSGE is not the most attractive part of NK research
- PKs should confront their implicit micro assumptions -> heterogeneous agents and incomplete markets -> ABM, de Grauwe and Macchiarelli 2015

#### Outlook

- **The strength of weak ties**: cooperate with (and cite!) other hetecons (ABM, Ecol Econ, Fem Econ ...)
- Let's Revive 'Political Economy' engage with social sciences
  - When and why die PKs switch from Political Economy to PKE?
  - What do PKs analytically say about the state and govt intervention
  - Attempt to define a new field: Political Economy
- **Long Live Sisyphos!** have to try to talk to mainstream econ, even if they don't listen.
  - Need for empirical analysis
- Economists have hitherto only interpreted [modelled] the world differently ... have to be relevant for economic policy (=for states and govts) and for social movements

#### PK vision

- Heterogeneous agents: class and other social groups (workers vs capital owners, fundamentalists vs momentum traders, different investment strategies
- Independent investment function; demand shocks are primarily investment shocks
- Endogenous instability of financial markets
- Labour market: wage bargaining with endogenous NAIRU => hysteresis

#### PK current research areas

- 1950-60s growth theory, capital controversies
- 1970s shift to monetary issues: endogenous money; financial instability; medium term growth models
- wage-led/profit-led growth;
- balance of payment constraint growth models
- Financial instability and Minsky models
- Stock-flow consistent (SFC) modelling (large scale macro model with fully specified financial balances and stocks)
- Interaction with other hetecon streams: social sciences; ABM; complexity theory; ecological econ

#### Interest rate-GDP cycles

Country	Sample	$\alpha_2\beta_1 < 0$ ?	Cycle length
AUS	1973-2014	yes	4 yrs
CAN	1973-2015	yes	-
DEU	1973-2015	yes	$4 \ 1/2 \ yrs$
FIN	1972-2015	no	-
FRA	1973-2015	yes	-
GBR	1981-2015	yes	6 yrs
USA	1973-2014	yes	7 yrs

Average cycle length: 5 1/2 yrs

#### Non-financial corporate debt-GDP cycles

Country	Sample	$\alpha_2\beta_1 < 0$ ?	Cycle length
AUS	1979-2014	yes	15 yrs
CAN	1972-2015	yes	13 yrs
DEU	1973-2015	yes	7 yrs
FIN	1972-2015	no	13 yrs
FRA	1979-2015	yes	181 yrs
GBR	1978-2015	yes	9 yrs
USA	1973-2014	yes	9 yrs

Average cycle length (excl. FRA): 11 yrs

#### Household debt-GDP cycles

Country	Sample	$lpha_2eta_1<$ 0 ?	Cycle length
AUS	1979-2014	no	-
CAN	1973-2015	yes (anti-Minsky)	18 yrs
DEU	1972-2015	yes (anti-Minsky)	49 yrs
FIN	1974-2015	yes (anti-Minsky)	26 yrs
FRA	1980-2015	yes (anti-Minsky)	26 yrs
GBR	1974-2015	no	18 yrs
USA	1974-2014	no	19 yrs

Average cycle length: 26 yrs