

DR PIKETTY ON WEALTH AND CAPITAL: FINANCE VERSUS ACCUMULATION

Jo Michell¹
PKSG Annual Workshop, SOAS

29 May 2015

¹ jo.michell@uwe.ac.uk, Department of Accounting, Economics and Finance,
University of the West of England, Coldharbour Lane, Bristol, BS16 1QY.

PIKETTY'S CAPITAL



$$R > G = \text{☹}$$



PIKETTY'S CAPITAL

“a magnificent, sweeping meditation on inequality”; “the most important economics book of the year—and maybe of the decade.” (Krugman)

“a new and powerful contribution to an old topic: as long as the rate of return exceeds the rate of growth, the income and wealth of the rich will grow faster than the typical income from work” (Solow)

“a modern surge in inequality has new economists wondering, as Marx and Ricardo did, which forces may be stopping the fruits of capitalism from being more widely distributed. ‘Capital in the Twenty-First Century’ ... is an authoritative guide to the question.” (Economist)

PIKETTY'S CAPITAL

- ▶ Rising inequality of wealth and income in advanced economies since 1970s
- ▶ Piketty attributes this to rising capital/income ratio
- ▶ Implication is strong capital investment
- ▶ Piketty presents data on capital/income ratios and saving rates
- ▶ These series mainly measure price effects
- ▶ Causality of rising wealth/income \rightarrow rising profits/income is incorrect
- ▶ Piketty confuses financial saving with capital accumulation
- ▶ Only financial mechanisms can generate the results claimed

FUNCTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

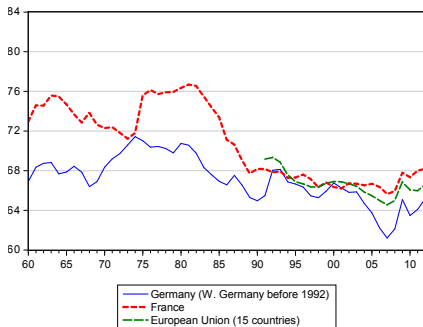
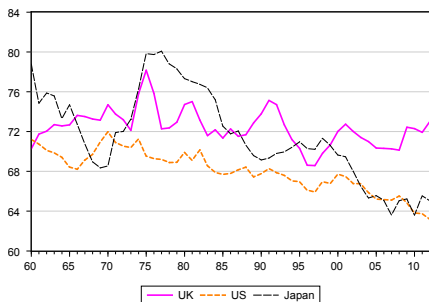
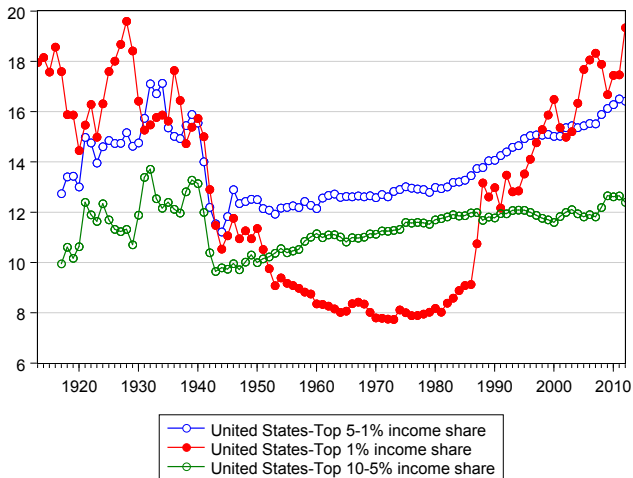


FIGURE: Adjusted wage share as % of GDP at current factor cost, 1960–2012 (2013–14 predicted)

PERSONAL INCOME DISTRIBUTION



Source: Alvarado, Atkinson, Piketty & Saez (2013)

PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM

First Law of Capitalism: capital income equals rate of profit times capital/output ratio

$$\alpha = r \cdot \beta$$

Second Law of Capitalism: capital/output ratio determined by saving rate and growth rate (both exogenous)

$$\beta = s/g$$

Fundamental force for divergence: rate of profit exceeds growth of output

$$r > g$$

PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM

First Law of Capitalism: capital income equals rate of profit times capital/output ratio

$$\frac{\Pi}{Y} = r \cdot \frac{K}{Y}$$

Second Law of Capitalism: capital/output ratio determined by saving rate and growth rate (both exogenous)

$$\frac{K}{Y} = s/g$$

Fundamental force for divergence: rate of profit exceeds growth of output

$$r > g$$

PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM

First Law of Capitalism: rate of profit equals ratio of profits to capital expenditure

$$r = \frac{\Pi}{K}$$

Second Law of Capitalism: capital/output ratio determined by saving rate and growth rate (both exogenous)

$$\frac{K}{Y} = s/g$$

Fundamental force for divergence: rate of profit exceeds growth of output

$$r > g$$

PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM

First Law of Capitalism: rate of profit equals ratio of profits to capital expenditure

$$r = \frac{\Pi}{K}$$

Second Law of Capitalism: Harrod-Domar-Solow equation

$$g = \frac{sY}{K}$$

Fundamental force for divergence: rate of profit exceeds growth of output

$$r > g$$

PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM

- ▶ Assume growth g is determined by exogenous population growth and technological change

PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM

- ▶ Assume growth g is determined by exogenous population growth and technological change
- ▶ Saving rate s and depreciation rate determine capital accumulation, thus K/Y ratio and K/L ratio

PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM

- ▶ Assume growth g is determined by exogenous population growth and technological change
- ▶ Saving rate s and depreciation rate determine capital accumulation, thus K/Y ratio and K/L ratio
- ▶ Aggregate CES production function with $\sigma > 1$ determines return on capital r

PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM

- ▶ Assume growth g is determined by exogenous population growth and technological change
- ▶ Saving rate s and depreciation rate determine capital accumulation, thus K/Y ratio and K/L ratio
- ▶ Aggregate CES production function with $\sigma > 1$ determines return on capital r
- ▶ “First Law of Capitalism” determines division of income between wages and profits

PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM

- ▶ Assume growth g is determined by exogenous population growth and technological change
- ▶ Saving rate s and depreciation rate determine capital accumulation, thus K/Y ratio and K/L ratio
- ▶ Aggregate CES production function with $\sigma > 1$ determines return on capital r
- ▶ “First Law of Capitalism” determines division of income between wages and profits
- ▶ When $r > g$, personal wealth distribution will become more unequal

PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM

- ▶ Assume growth g is determined by exogenous population growth and technological change
- ▶ Saving rate s and depreciation rate determine capital accumulation, thus K/Y ratio and K/L ratio
- ▶ Aggregate CES production function with $\sigma > 1$ determines return on capital r
- ▶ “First Law of Capitalism” determines division of income between wages and profits
- ▶ When $r > g$, personal wealth distribution will become more unequal
- ▶ **Growing inequality caused by high s and low g**
→ rising K/Y and Π/Y

PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM

- ▶ Assume growth g is determined by exogenous population growth and technological change
- ▶ Saving rate s and depreciation rate determine capital accumulation, thus K/Y ratio and K/L ratio
- ▶ Aggregate CES production function with $\sigma > 1$ determines return on capital r
- ▶ “First Law of Capitalism” determines division of income between wages and profits
- ▶ When $r > g$, personal wealth distribution will become more unequal
- ▶ **Growing inequality caused by high s and low g**
→ **rising K/Y and Π/Y**
- ▶ A crisis of **overaccumulation?**

SECOND LAW: SOLOW GROWTH MODEL

When the formula $\beta = s/g$ was explicitly introduced for the first time by the economists Roy Harrod and Evsey Domar in the late 1930s, it was common to invert it as $g = s/\beta$

SECOND LAW: SOLOW GROWTH MODEL

When the formula $\beta = s/g$ was explicitly introduced for the first time by the economists Roy Harrod and Evsey Domar in the late 1930s, it was common to invert it as $g = s/\beta$

*Even more important was **Solow's** introduction in 1956 of a **production function with substitutable factors**, which made it possible to invert the formula and write $\beta = s/g$.*

– Piketty (2014)

ELASTICITY OF K/L SUBSTITUTION

The interesting question is not whether the marginal productivity of capital decreases when the stock of capital increases (this is obvious) but how fast it decreases (p. 216)

ELASTICITY OF K/L SUBSTITUTION

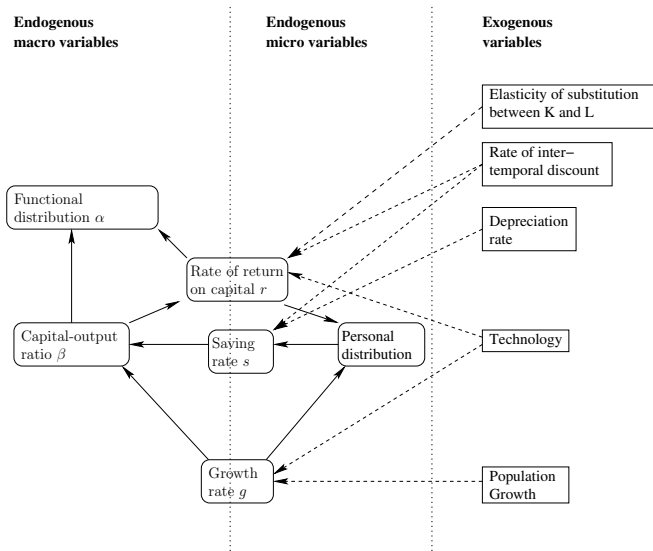
The interesting question is not whether the marginal productivity of capital decreases when the stock of capital increases (this is obvious) but how fast it decreases (p. 216)

*Over a very long period of time, the elasticity of substitution between capital and labour seems to have been greater than one . . . **Intuitively this corresponds to a situation in which there are many different uses for capital in the long run.** . . . On the basis of historical data, one can estimate an elasticity between 1.3 and 1.6 . . . on the basis of historical experience the most likely outcome is . . . that the **accumulation effect** will outweigh the decrease in the return on capital (p. 221)*

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE FOR DIVERGENCE: $r > g$

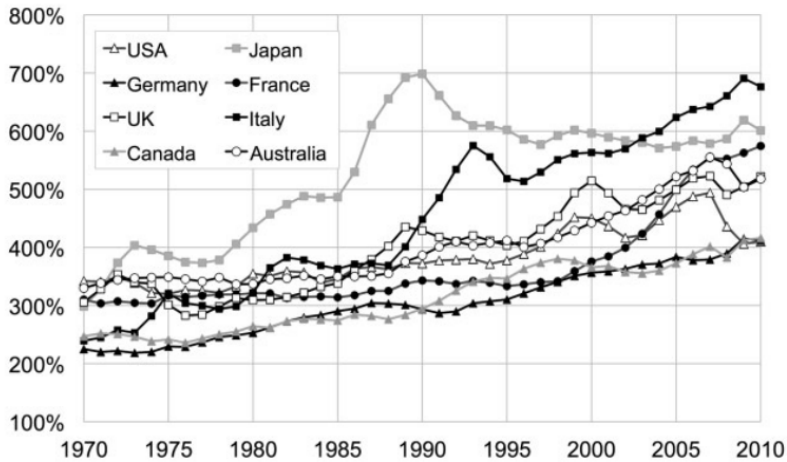
*This fundamental inequality . . . will play a crucial role in this book. In a sense it sums up the overall logic of my conclusions. When the rate of return on capital significantly exceeds the growth rate of the economy . . . then it logically follows that inherited wealth grows faster than output and income. **People with inherited wealth only need save a portion of their income from capital to that capital grow more quickly than the economy as a whole.***

PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM



Piketty in a nutshell
Source: Michell (2014)

PRIVATE CAPITAL/INCOME RATIOS



DEFINITION OF CAPITAL

- ▶ Two definitions of capital (Hodgson, 2014)
 - ▶ A physical factor of production
 - ▶ ‘... a fund of money to be invested by a person or firm in some enterprise. It can also refer to the money value of tangible and intangible assets owned by the person or firm’ (Hodgson, p. 1070)
- ▶ Piketty: ‘I use the words “capital” and “wealth” interchangeably as if they were perfectly synonymous’ (p. 47)
- ▶ ‘no need for the c-word if the w-word means the same’ (Hodgson, p. 1064)

DIGRESSION: THE CAPITAL CONTROVERSIES

- ▶ No way to ‘measure’ physical quantity of heterogenous capital other than at market prices
- ▶ In Solow aggregate production function, quantity of capital determines price—equals marginal productivity
- ▶ ‘the problem is not the *measurement* of “capital” but its *meaning* . . . capital hires labour but labour does not hire capital.’ (Harcourt 1976, p. 29)

CAPITAL CONTROVERSIES

*Controversy continued, however, in the 1950s and 1960s between economists based primarily in Cambridge, Massachusetts (including Solow and Samuelson, who defended the production function with substitutable factors) and economists working in Cambridge, England (including Joan Robinson, Nicholas Kaldor, and Luigi Pasinetti), who (not without a certain confusion at times) saw in Solow's model a claim that growth is always perfectly balanced, thus negating the importance Keynes had attributed to short-term fluctuations. **It was not until the 1970s that Solow's so-called neoclassical growth model definitively carried the day.***

– Piketty (2014)

THREE DEFINITIONS OF CAPITAL

- ▶ Physical quantity of factor of production.
- ▶ Market value of factor of production.
- ▶ Financial wealth—claims on other agents.
 - ▶ Measured at current prices
 - ▶ In flow terms: accumulation of financial claims, *matched by issuance of liabilities elsewhere*
 - ▶ *Not* equivalent to macroeconomic saving

Financial investment is a transfer of assets, not a use of income. Buying [financial assets] transfers liquidity from one economic agent to another . . . macroeconomically, financial investment cannot substitute for physical investment

– Stockhammer (2000)

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE FOR
DIVERGENCE: $r > g$

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE FOR DIVERGENCE: $r > g$

People with inherited wealth only need save a portion of their income from capital to that capital grow more quickly than the economy as a whole.

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

- ▶ Fallacy of composition: in SSBG, $r > g$ *requires* consumption out of capital income (or dis-saving out of wages).

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

- ▶ Fallacy of composition: in SSBG, $r > g$ *requires* consumption out of capital income (or dis-saving out of wages).
- ▶ In SSBG: $g = sY/K = I/K$

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

- ▶ Fallacy of composition: in SSBG, $r > g$ *requires* consumption out of capital income (or dis-saving out of wages).
- ▶ In SSBG: $g = sY/K = I/K$
- ▶ Assume a closed economy without government.

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

- ▶ Fallacy of composition: in SSBG, $r > g$ requires consumption out of capital income (or dis-saving out of wages).
- ▶ In SSBG: $g = sY/K = I/K$
- ▶ Assume a closed economy without government.

$$Y = \Pi + W = I + C$$

$$\Pi = I + C_c + (C_w - W)$$

$$\frac{\Pi}{K} = \frac{I}{K} + \frac{C_c - S_w}{K}$$

$$r = g + \frac{C_c - S_w}{K}$$

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

- ▶ Fallacy of composition: in SSBG, $r > g$ requires consumption out of capital income (or dis-saving out of wages).
- ▶ In SSBG: $g = sY/K = I/K$
- ▶ Assume a closed economy without government.

$$Y = \Pi + W = I + C$$

$$\Pi = I + C_c + (C_w - W)$$

$$\frac{\Pi}{K} = \frac{I}{K} + \frac{C_c - S_w}{K}$$

$$r = g + \frac{C_c - S_w}{K}$$

- ▶ $r > g$ requires $C_c > S_w$.

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

- ▶ Fallacy of composition: in SSBG, $r > g$ *requires* consumption out of capital income (or dis-saving out of wages).
- ▶ In SSBG: $g = sY/K = I/K$
- ▶ Assume a closed economy without government.

$$Y = \Pi + W = I + C$$

$$\Pi = I + C_c + (C_w - W)$$

$$\frac{\Pi}{K} = \frac{I}{K} + \frac{C_c - S_w}{K}$$

$$r = g + \frac{C_c - S_w}{K}$$

- ▶ $r > g$ **requires** $C_c > S_w$.
- ▶ If workers consume income and ‘people with inherited wealth’ save **all** income, then $r=g$.

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

- ▶ Can be extended to open economy with government sector: $r > g \rightarrow C_c + (G - T) + (X - M) > S_w$.

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

- ▶ Can be extended to open economy with government sector: $r > g \rightarrow C_c + (G - T) + (X - M) > S_w$.
- ▶ Rate of profit can be maintained by export surplus, government deficit or borrowing for consumption by workers

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

- ▶ Can be extended to open economy with government sector: $r > g \rightarrow C_c + (G - T) + (X - M) > S_w$.
- ▶ Rate of profit can be maintained by export surplus, government deficit or borrowing for consumption by workers
- ▶ Rosa Luxemburg's profit realisation through external surplus

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

- ▶ Can be extended to open economy with government sector: $r > g \rightarrow C_c + (G - T) + (X - M) > S_w$.
- ▶ Rate of profit can be maintained by export surplus, government deficit or borrowing for consumption by workers
- ▶ Rosa Luxemburg's profit realisation through external surplus
- ▶ Kalecki's 'internal exports'

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

Outside steady-state growth:

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

Outside steady-state growth:

$$\left(\frac{\dot{K}}{Y}\right) > 0 \rightarrow \frac{\dot{K}}{Y} > \frac{K}{Y}g$$
$$\Pi > Kg$$
$$r > g$$

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

Outside steady-state growth:

$$\begin{aligned}\left(\frac{\dot{K}}{Y}\right) > 0 &\rightarrow \frac{\dot{K}}{Y} > \frac{K}{Y}g \\ \Pi &> Kg \\ r &> g\end{aligned}$$

- ▶ if rising K/Y ratio then $r > g$ possible.

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

Outside steady-state growth:

$$\left(\frac{\dot{K}}{Y}\right) > 0 \rightarrow \frac{\dot{K}}{Y} > \frac{K}{Y}g$$
$$\Pi > Kg$$
$$r > g$$

- ▶ if rising K/Y ratio then $r > g$ possible.
- ▶ **Is K/Y rising?** (crisis of overaccumulation?)

FUNDAMENTAL FORCE $r > g$

Outside steady-state growth:

$$\begin{aligned}\left(\frac{\dot{K}}{Y}\right) > 0 &\rightarrow \frac{\dot{K}}{Y} > \frac{K}{Y}g \\ &\quad \Pi > Kg \\ &\quad r > g\end{aligned}$$

- ▶ if rising K/Y ratio then $r > g$ possible.
- ▶ **Is K/Y rising?** (crisis of overaccumulation?)
Difficult to measure!

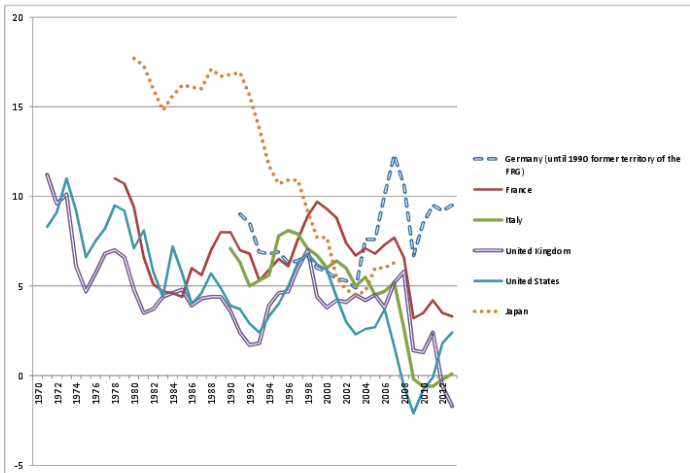


FIGURE: Net saving, per cent of GDP

DEFINITION OF WEALTH AND CAPITAL

- ▶ National wealth can be measured at *market value* or *book value*
 - ▶ *'market value national wealth', ... The capital stock of corporations is included in national wealth through the equity holdings of households and the government.*
 - ▶ *'book-value national wealth', sums all the nonfinancial assets ... of all domestic sectors and adds the net foreign asset position.*
- ▶ Piketty uses **market value national wealth**

The main reason is that corporate tangible assets seem to be systematically over-estimated in national balance sheets.

MEASURING K/Y : MACROECONOMIC BALANCE SHEET

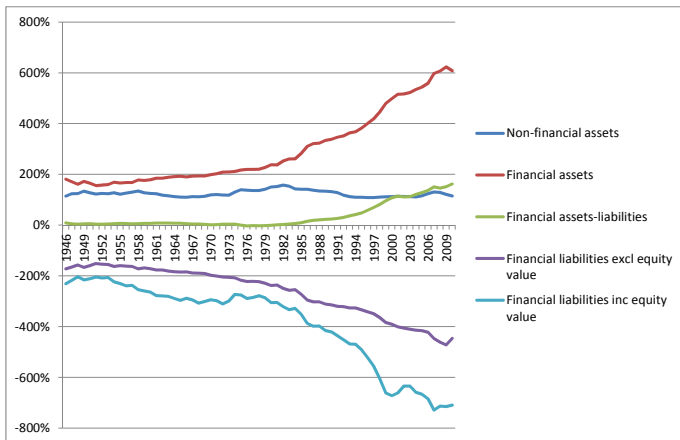
	Households		Non-fin Firms		Fin Firms		Row		Total
	A	L	A	L	A	L	A	L	
Cptl	$H.p_h$		$K.p_k$						$H.p_h + K.p_k$
Fin	$A_h.p_a$	$L_h.p_l$	$A_f.p_a$	$L_f.p_l$	$A_b.p_a$	$L_b.p_l$	$A_b.p_a$	$L_b.p_l$	0
Eq	$e.p_e$		$e_{nf}.p_{enf}$		$e_f.p_{ef}$				0
Tot	NW_h		NW_f		0		0		$H.p_h + K.p_k - (A_b.p_a - L_b.p_l)$

TABLE: Macroeconomic balance sheet.

$$Capital_{piketty} = H.p_h + A_h.p_a - L_h.p_l + e.p_e$$

$$Capital_{michell} = H.p_h + K.p_k - A_b.p_a - L_b.p_l$$

CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET OF US CORPORATE SECTOR



Consolidated balance sheet of corporate non-financial sector

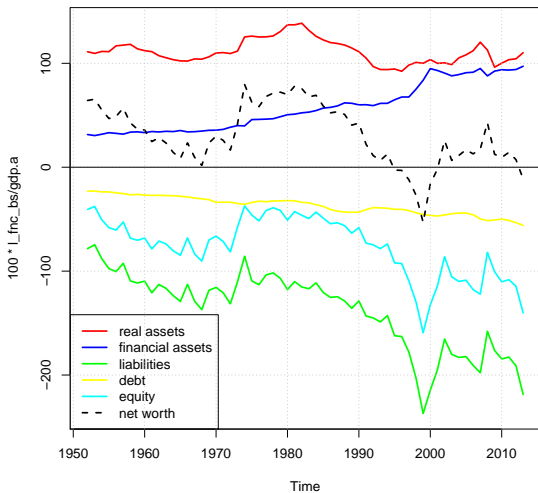


FIGURE: Non-financial firms' balance sheet – US

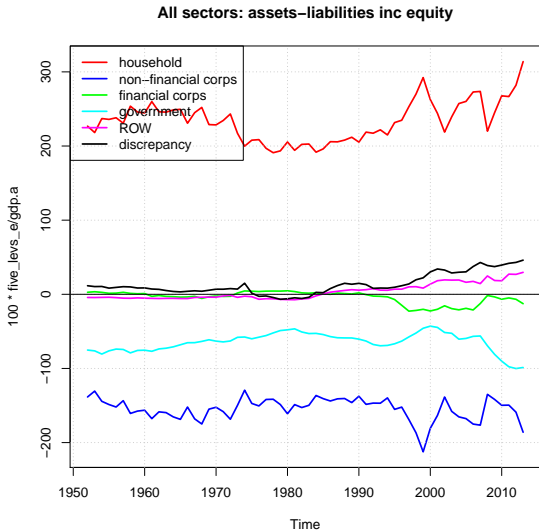
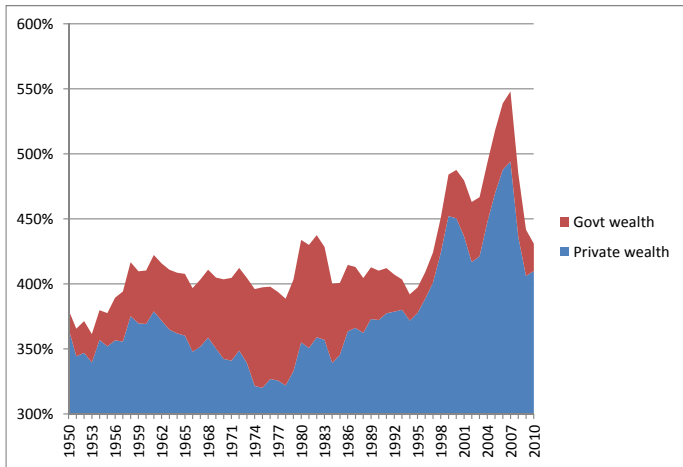


FIGURE: Aggregate net financial positions (stock) – US

PRIVATE VS. PUBLIC WEALTH - US



US PRIVATE SECTOR WEALTH ACCUMULATION

- ▶ House prices.
- ▶ Equity prices.
- ▶ Statistical discrepancy.
- ▶ Transfer of net assets from public to private sector.

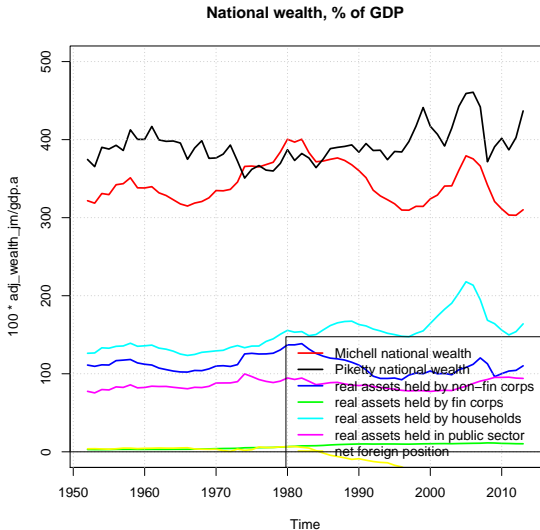
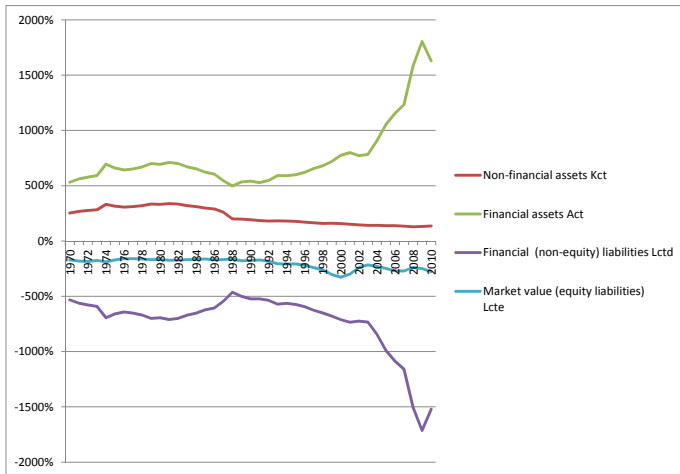


FIGURE: Piketty's K/Y and corrected K/Y – US

CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET OF UK CORPORATE SECTOR



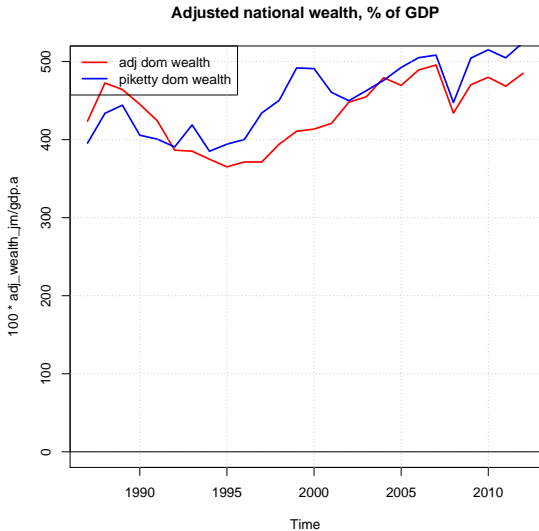


FIGURE: Piketty's K/Y and corrected K/Y – UK

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

- ▶ Piketty claims inequality (functional *and* personal) driven by accumulation of real assets — **positive sum game**

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

- ▶ Piketty claims inequality (functional *and* personal) driven by accumulation of real assets — **positive sum game**
- ▶ Measure of private wealth is faulty—driven by price changes accumulation of financial claims and redistribution from public to private sector.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

- ▶ Piketty claims inequality (functional *and* personal) driven by accumulation of real assets — **positive sum game**
- ▶ Measure of private wealth is faulty—driven by price changes accumulation of financial claims and redistribution from public to private sector.
- ▶ Net saving falling since 1970s, now negative in many countries

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

- ▶ Piketty claims inequality (functional *and* personal) driven by accumulation of real assets — **positive sum game**
- ▶ Measure of private wealth is faulty—driven by price changes accumulation of financial claims and redistribution from public to private sector.
- ▶ Net saving falling since 1970s, now negative in many countries
- ▶ K/Y falling (US) or flat (UK) since 70s.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

- ▶ Piketty claims inequality (functional *and* personal) driven by accumulation of real assets — **positive sum game**
- ▶ Measure of private wealth is faulty—driven by price changes accumulation of financial claims and redistribution from public to private sector.
- ▶ Net saving falling since 1970s, now negative in many countries
- ▶ K/Y falling (US) or flat (UK) since 70s.
- ▶ ‘Fundamental force’ $r > g$ based on fallacy of composition

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

- ▶ Piketty claims inequality (functional *and* personal) driven by accumulation of real assets — **positive sum game**
- ▶ Measure of private wealth is faulty—driven by price changes accumulation of financial claims and redistribution from public to private sector.
- ▶ Net saving falling since 1970s, now negative in many countries
- ▶ K/Y falling (US) or flat (UK) since 70s.
- ▶ ‘Fundamental force’ $r > g$ based on fallacy of composition
- ▶ Rise in private wealth **zero-sum game**—requires **financial** mechanism.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

- ▶ Piketty claims inequality (functional *and* personal) driven by accumulation of real assets — **positive sum game**
- ▶ Measure of private wealth is faulty—driven by price changes accumulation of financial claims and redistribution from public to private sector.
- ▶ Net saving falling since 1970s, now negative in many countries
- ▶ K/Y falling (US) or flat (UK) since 70s.
- ▶ ‘Fundamental force’ $r > g$ based on fallacy of composition
- ▶ Rise in private wealth **zero-sum game**—requires **financial** mechanism.
- ▶ Piketty cannot explanation falling wage share.