



Course Companion

For AS and A Level Year 1 AQA
Economics: Macroeconomics

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Teacher's Introduction

This resource is designed to supplement and enhance your teaching of the 2015 specification. It has been written to include every aspect of the AQA AS Level Macroeconomics specification, to allow further research and study for keen and interested students. As up to 20% of the specification is quantitative skills, this resource has ensured all the relevant maths is covered (however, as students have a basic GCSE-level understanding).

These notes can be given to students before a lesson, to allow students to read ahead, as a lesson, as a revision tool to strengthen and build on current knowledge, or for students to use through in class to complement lessons. The course companion largely follows the specification order, but has been reordered to follow a logical route that allows students to build on their understanding. The specification order and the course companion order are listed on the next page. However, because the notes are written and structured to each specification topic, the notes can easily be reordered to suit the teacher's wishes.

At the **beginning** of every section is a list of content that the students will cover. This can be used for the lessons that follow and it can also be used as a checklist, either after learning or as a revision tool, to remind students of the content they have studied and ensure they have covered the specification. **Review questions** and **exam-style questions** are provided at the end of each section to consolidate and develop pupils' learning. Answers can be found at the end of the resource.

Each specification point has complete notes with all the relevant diagrams clearly explained, and where possible to help students relate their theoretical knowledge to real-life situations. Examples are defined either at the beginning of a topic or in key-term boxes throughout.

Other boxes include:

Further Your Economic Knowledge: These boxes are designed for students who want to go beyond the specification and learn more about certain topics. The content in these boxes is relevant to the specification, but as it is not essential, they can be used in the exam to gain A* points.

Activity! These boxes include a wide range of interactive or visual activities to support learning and provide materials for reading around the topic. These can be used to break up lessons and cater to different types of learner.

Learn More! These boxes provide links to extra materials such as articles and videos that can be used to read around a topic.

Be careful! These boxes highlight common mistakes that pupils make and explain how to avoid them.

Link Circles: The exam board wants students to be able to make connections across the specification, for example linking negative externalities to the theory of monopolies, which is covered separately. The numbering used relates to the specification number.



A webpage containing all the links listed in this resource is conveniently located on Zig Zag Education's website at zzed.uk/6214

You may find this helpful for accessing the websites rather than typing them in.

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Student's Introduction

Macroeconomics

In the first part of the course we looked at **microeconomics**, which focuses on individuals and firms. It examines the supply and demand of goods and services: how much more will companies charge for a higher price for their goods? How will consumers respond? We looked at decisions made by individual people and firms. Does the demand for apples change if pears become more expensive?

We now turn our attention to **macroeconomics** and take a much broader look at the economy. It examines the economy *as a whole*. Instead of thinking about a firm's output, we think about the output of a country. Supply and demand become *aggregate* supply and *aggregate* demand. We look at each across a whole economy.

In microeconomics we looked at how the government might intervene to correct market failures. Macroeconomics considers the role of the government in the entire economic system. It asks what causes an economy to grow, why growth is important and the tools at the government's disposal.

When looking at an entire economy, we have to extend our analysis to *other* economic issues. We look at open economies and trade with other nations. What's the balance between imports and exports? How does the exchange rate to change?

Macroeconomics might seem more relevant: it considers the big issues such as inflation and unemployment that politicians are invariably talking about on the news. However, it's important to understand the microeconomic principles which underpin a lot of macroeconomic theory.

As well as understanding the theory, though, it's important to be able to relate it to the real world and have familiarity with global economic conditions. Below are a few links for you to explore in more regard:

- The Office for National Statistics – *in particular their Monthly Economic Review and graphs – very useful for the quantitative skills element of the course.*
www.ons.gov.uk
- The Bank of England – *in particular their Inflation Reports and minutes of monetary policy committee (this will be more relevant to the macroeconomics component of the course)*
www.bankofengland.co.uk
- The Economist – *for coverage of politics, international relations and economics. Not all articles are free but a certain number of articles can be accessed for free each month.*
www.economist.com

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3.2.1: The measurement of macroeconomic performance

By the end of this topic, you should understand...

- ✓ **The main objectives of government economic policy**
 - Economic growth
 - Price stability
 - Minimising unemployment
 - Stable balance of payments on the current account
- ✓ **Macroeconomic indicators**
 - Data that is used to measure the performance of an economy
 - The difference between real and nominal values
- ✓ **The use of index numbers**
 - Why index numbers are used
 - How index numbers are calculated
 - Index numbers and the price level
- ✓ **The circular flow of income concept**
 - What national income measures
 - The circular flow of income concept
 - Injections and withdrawals

The objectives of government economic policy

A good way to introduce the macroeconomy – the economy as a whole – is to consider the government's economic policy aims (i.e. the macroeconomic objectives). The government's aim for the economy with the aim of making the population more prosperous and raising living standards and price stability are the keys to this, but policymakers have to account for other factors too. The main objectives of government economic policy; all the concepts here are expanded on in the next section.

Primary objectives:

1. Economic growth

Economic growth refers to the increase in an economy's total output, i.e. the goods and services a country is able to produce. Economic growth indicates more opportunity and a greater standard of living. The government aims for a sustainable level of economic growth. If growth is too high, then the result could be high inflation, which can cause all sorts of problems.

2. Low unemployment

The government wants to have as many people in work as possible. More people in work means the economy can produce more, plus the government has a lower bill for benefits. A small level of unemployment is acceptable; for example, people may be moving between jobs. If unemployment is too high, then firms would find it hard to attract new workers and expand. In the UK, the government keeps unemployment below about 5%. During the recent financial crisis unemployment rose to over 10%.

3. Low and stable rate of inflation

Inflation is a sustained increase in the prices of goods over time. A low rate of inflation is good for the economy. It encourages people to spend money today (since money is not losing value too fast) and it is low enough to mean that borrowing money is affordable (high inflation rates make borrowing expensive). The rate should be stable too; if the rate of inflation is uncertain, it can cause problems for businesses and consumers.

4. Balance of payments current account equilibrium

The 'current account' component of the balance of payments measures a country's trade in goods and services with the rest of the world. A current account deficit means that the value of a country's imports is higher than the value of their exports (this is the case for the UK). A current account surplus means the value of a country's exports is higher than the value of their imports (this is the case for the USA). The government usually aims for a stable current account balance, as persistent deficits can be a problem for the economy (this is discussed in more detail later).

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Other objectives:

5. **Balanced government budget (tax revenue = spending)**

The government budget refers to the levels of government spending compared to the levels of tax revenue.

The government can run a deficit and spend more than it brings in. However, this causes debt levels to rise as the government has to borrow money (by issuing interest paying bonds). This is fine in the short term, but as debt levels rise the government has to spend more and more of its revenue on debt payments which reduces its ability to spend elsewhere. Thus, this takes us back to the concern (in microeconomics). The opportunity cost of spending more on debt repayments is the loss of other goods, for example, as this would help the economy to grow. Accordingly, governments aim for a balanced government budget – or a surplus in good times to ease the pressure during downturns and recessions.

6. **Protect the environment**

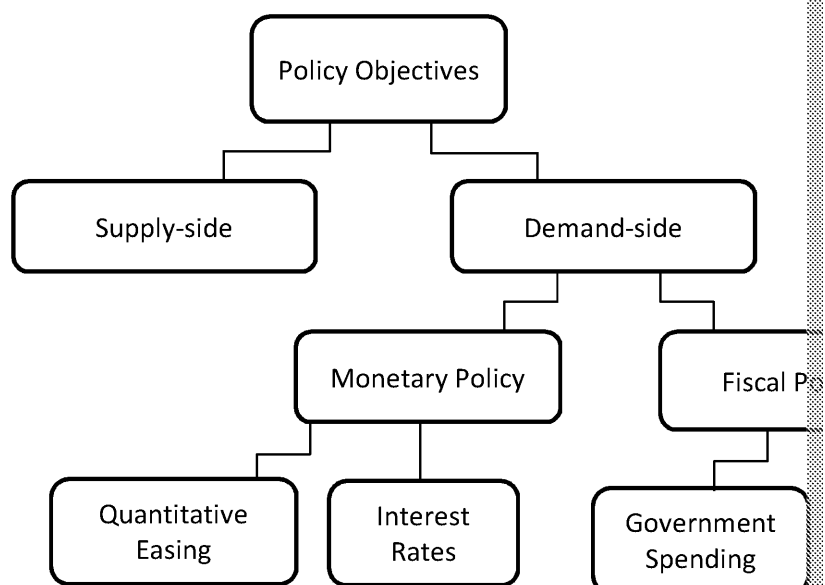
Economic growth is often bad for the environment – generating power from coal and waste enter the water system, green spaces are tarmacked over, and so on. Governments aim to protect the environment – not only for the current population to enjoy, but also for future generations.

7. **Greater income equality**

A government may aim to reduce inequality by taxing the richest at increasing rates and increasing benefits to the poorer members of society. Increasing marginal rates of taxation means that the rate of tax has increased as the income increases. Hence, the richer are taxed at a higher rate. In a more equal society there may be higher aggregate demand for goods and services. This is because everyone has a reasonable amount of disposable income – and this could increase growth.

The main government objectives can be achieved using various policies. Each policy has 'policy instruments'; this means variables that the government can control in order to meet its objectives. These instruments control the economy by influencing aggregate demand or aggregate supply. Aggregate supply is the total amount that producers are willing to supply at a given price level.

Policies that use instruments to influence aggregate supply are called 'supply-side policies'. Policies that use instruments to influence aggregate demand are called 'demand-side policies'. The main demand-side policies are: monetary policy and fiscal policy. These policies are discussed in the subsequent chapters.



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The possibility of conflict

There may be conflicts between macroeconomic objectives, i.e. in the process of im objective is impaired. The most famous trade-off is the one that is shown by the P relationship between inflation and unemployment. These ideas will be covered in companion, but here are some examples of how conflicts might arise:

Economic growth might lead to high inflation; if the economy is thriving it could be leading to higher than desired inflation.

Economic growth might be damaging for the environment, depending on the

Low inflation could be associated with high unemployment, and high inflation with unemployment; this is covered later (see the 'Phillips Curve').

Economic growth could lead to a trade deficit if people end up spending more

How objectives change over time

Shocks

The government may have defined economic policies that are spelled out in Parliament. However, these objectives may change.



A common idea in macroeconomic theory is the impact of *shocks*. In economic theory, a shock is an unpredictable and unexpected event which affects the economy – either negative or positive. A negative shock might be a natural disaster. An example of a positive shock is a technological innovation which increases supply.

Even if governments have rigid economic plans, they often find themselves responding to a crisis. The crisis of 2008 was a large negative shock. Governments that had committed to running a budget surplus (spending more than they received through taxes) suddenly found the need to open the public sector, which deepened the recession further.

Evolving economic theory

Changing economic theory also has an impact on government policy. The discipline of economics is as scientific as possible. However, the main problem is that economists can't hold all other sciences such as chemistry and physics) in order to test just one factor.

For example, it's impossible to estimate the optimum rate of inflation in a purely theoretical way because there are so many other factors which affect the economy, such as unemployment, exchange rates, and so on, which all are changing at the same time. Growth may be highest when inflation is low, but this may be due to the level of government spending at that time – or any of a number of other factors.

In the absence of controlled experiments all we can do is observe economies and develop theories. This means that economic theory is constantly evolving – we are developing more accurate models as we can take into account more factors as the power of computers increases. Similar to the way that scientists use more and more data.

The lack of scientific proof of theories means that often there is a lack of consensus on what the best action for a government is. During the 2015 General Election there was a lot of discussion about the deficit (how much more the government spends than it raises through taxes). Some argued that government spending should be cut to reduce the deficit – while many others argued that it was a problem and cutting spending would cost the economy more than it would gain.

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Macroeconomic indicators

Economists look at various statistics in order to judge economies. These are known as indicators – they indicate how well an economy is performing. Indicators are usually published regularly by government agencies. In the UK the main two are the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and the Bank of England. In this section we will go through the most important macroeconomic indicators.

! The Financial Dashboard is a useful resource. It provides the key, up-to-date information on one page – see <http://www.bankofengland.org/financialdashboard>

The key macroeconomic indicators

- GDP
 - *per capita*
 - *real and nominal*
- Inflation
 - *RPI*
 - *CPI*
- Unemployment
- Productivity
- Balance of payments

QUANTITATIVE SKILLS

The **ONS** publishes monthly reports. Look at the latest issues in the reports on the macroeconomic indicators. Review – interpreting the charts and the quantitative component of the reports.

See <http://www.ons.gov.uk/review/index.html>
Warning: some of this is quite technical

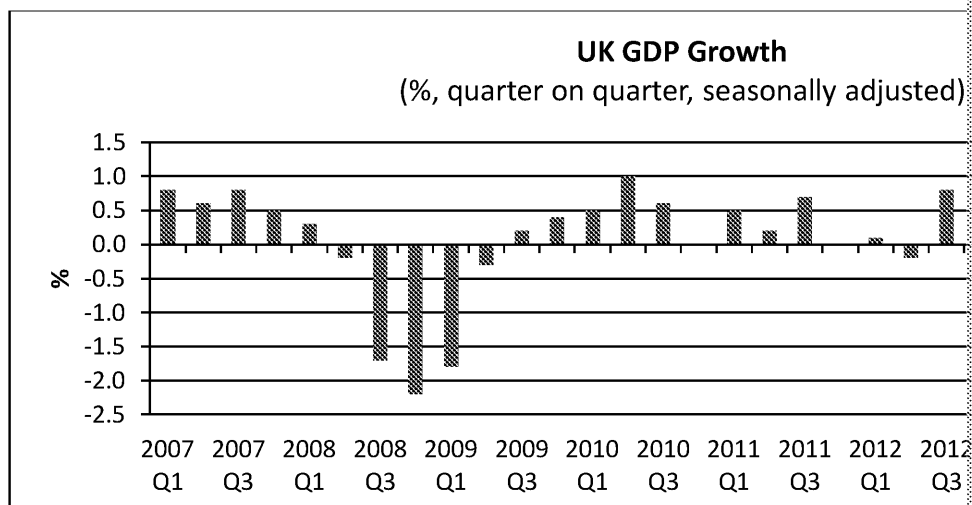
Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the sum market value of all the goods and services produced in one year. It is calculated in one of three ways: income method (adding up incomes from production); expenditure method (adding up all the spending in the economy); and the value of all goods and services in the economy). Every time somebody spends money, the producer has earned that money (income), therefore expenditure should equal income. See the Income diagram in section 3.2.2.1.

! The technical definition of a recession is two consecutive quarters of negative growth. With this definition in mind, consider the chart below. How many recessions has the UK been in since 2007?

Because GDP shows the size of an economy, it also shows the growth (or decline) of an economy. The percentage change in GDP (PPF) shows the maximum potential that an economy can achieve if all its resources were efficiently used and the PPF curve means an economy has a high level of goods and services and is more likely to experience economic growth.

The chart below shows the growth of GDP in the UK between 2007 and 2015. This shows that the change in GDP is calculated every 3 months. For example, the figure of 0.8% that GDP was 0.8% larger in January–March 2007 than in October–December 2006.



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Real GDP

Prices, however, change over time. The price of something is established by the demand – the market equilibrium will change over time, such as for beef or oil. In the horsemeat scandal, which caused a fall in demand and a consequent fall in beef prices in 2015 due to a massive oversupply on the world markets, but prices rose again. This is a problem of measurement, and if this keeps changing it means the unit of measurement is not constant.

The nominal price is the current price of the good at the time of recording. Prices of any nominal values in measurements will also rise over time. This means when comparing the economy has produced from one year to the next, growth will be exaggerated.

For example: an economy producing 50 socks at £1 each will have a nominal GDP of £50. If the price of socks rises to £1.50 but the economy is still only producing 50 socks, the economy's nominal GDP appears to have grown by 50%. However, in reality the economy has not grown at all.

Instead we would rather look at the 'real' change when comparing GDP over time. This is the 'real' value of the goods without the effect of rising prices (inflation). To do this we look at the volume of goods and services produced in a country in one year and give them the value they had in a certain year. The year that is picked is called the 'base year' and it is the measurements are based on.

Real GDP growth is one of the key economic variables that politicians will use to justify economic policies, and which may even make front-page news when growth plunges or the direction of the economy over the last period, giving everyone an indication of the economy heading right now!

Real GDP per capita

The USA is a large country, whereas somewhere like the UK is much smaller. The UK has less labour and fewer resources than the USA and will, therefore, be able to produce far fewer goods and services. Comparing GDP across countries is difficult because the USA has much higher GDP levels than a smaller country, but this does not necessarily mean it is richer. Instead, economists may look at GDP per capita which accounts for the size of the country (total GDP) and divides by the population of the country in order to get a more accurate picture of the standard of living.

$$\frac{\text{GDP}}{\text{Population}} = \text{GDP per capita}$$

Consider the following example;

	GDP	GDP per capita
USA	\$16.77 trillion	\$53,041
UK	\$2.67 trillion	\$41,787

The above example shows that there is a huge difference between the GDPs of the USA and the UK, but the difference between their GDP per capita is much smaller.

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CPI and RPI

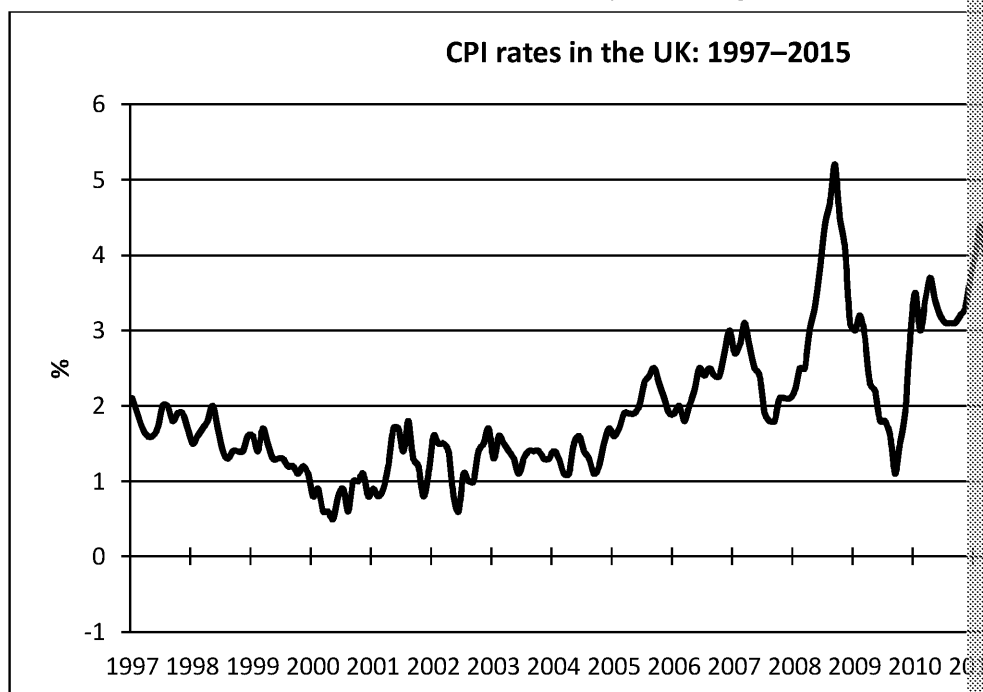
Inflation is another key macroeconomic indicator. The ideal is a stable inflation rate.

Higher inflation rates tend to mean higher interest rates, which makes borrowing for goods and services whether they need them or not because of the anticipation that prices will be higher in the future. This could lead to high personal debt. Deflation, or negative inflation, is forecasted to be cheaper in the future, people won't buy any inessential items at the moment.

Lots of things are linked to inflation, from pensions to train tickets. Accordingly, the level of inflation is a key indicator. There are two main ones used in the UK: **RPI** and **CPI**.

Consumer Price Index (CPI)

The Consumer Price Index (CPI) is the official measure of inflation in the UK. It uses a basket of goods and services (discussed in the next section) to estimate average price changes for all goods and services. The graph below shows how inflation has varied over recent years, using the CPI method:



Note that CPI rates were generally quite stable and close to the 2% target before 2008, then, though, CPI has been much more volatile – reaching highs of over 5% but also falling below 1% in early 2015.

Retail Price Index (RPI)

The Retail Price Index (RPI) is another measure of inflation used in the UK. It was used to measure inflation but has now been replaced by CPI. RPI is calculated slightly differently to CPI. It includes housing costs (whereas CPI does not). RPI is an arithmetic mean. It is calculated by adding up the prices and dividing by the number of items there are in the economy.

Unemployment

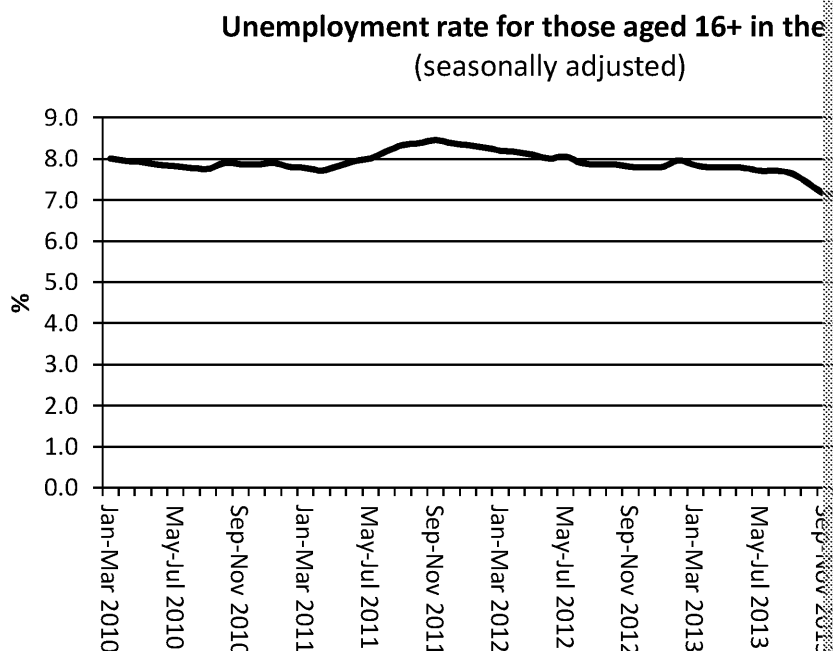
Unemployment is a very important economic indicator. Fewer people in work means a lower productive capacity of a country. More people working means more goods and services produced. Unemployment also means a higher welfare bill for the government as people claim benefits. Aside from the economic costs, unemployment can be very damaging socially.

Unemployment can never be eliminated completely, however. There will always be a natural level of unemployment between jobs. Accordingly, the 'full employment' rate for a country is usually defined as the level of unemployment which takes into account natural joblessness.

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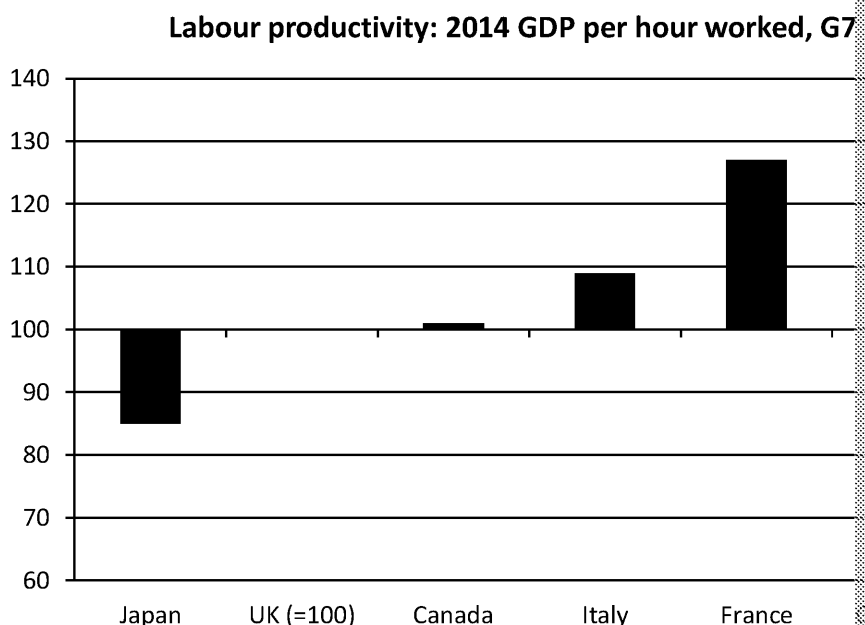
Below is a chart showing the unemployment rate for those aged 16 and above in the UK. It has steadily decreased since the financial crisis and is close to a healthy 5% at the moment. However, there are some concerns that more people are having to work part-time rather than full-time.



Productivity

Productivity measures how well an economy uses its resources to create goods and services. It is measured in units of output per unit of input. Inputs are capital and labour. Productivity is a key indicator of economic growth. Increases in GDP; if the economy uses its resources more efficiently, there is likely to be an increase due to factors such as technology advancements or better skills and education.

A common measure of (labour) productivity is the GDP divided by the total number of hours worked (a bar chart showing how the productivity of the UK compares to the other G7 countries (the USA, Germany, France, Canada, Italy and Japan). The values for the other countries have been normalised to the UK (=100). The UK had higher productivity than Japan in 2014, and similar to Canada, but less than Italy and France.

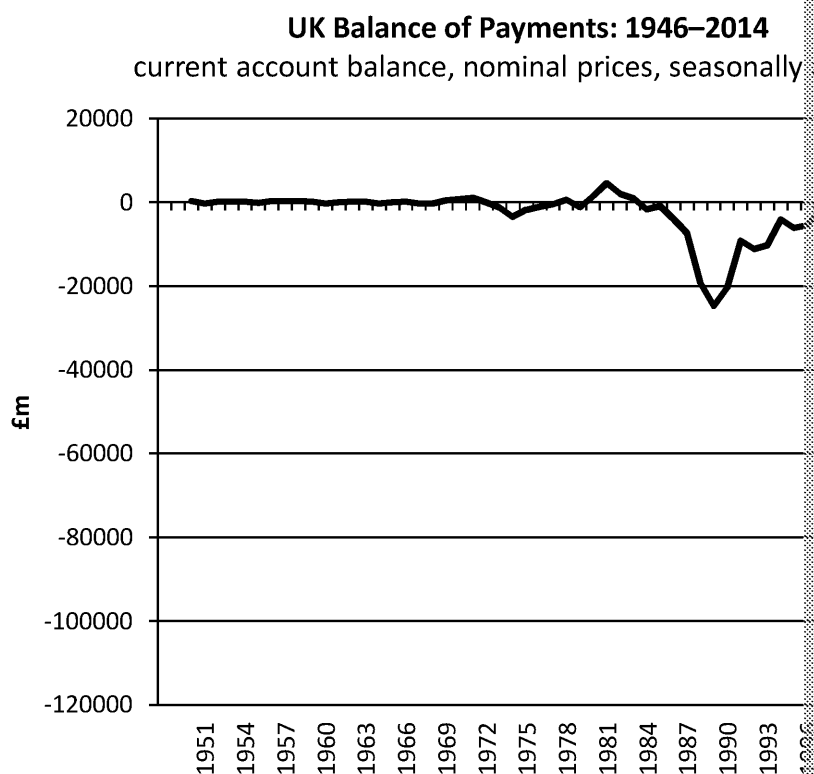


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The balance of payments on the current account

The balance of payments on the current account is another macroeconomic indicator showing the balance of trade and outflows from a country of goods, services and investment. If a country runs a current account deficit, it must run a surplus on its capital and financial accounts. This is because a country's balance of payments (made up of the current, capital and financial accounts) is always balanced (i.e. it is neither positive nor negative). Below is a chart showing the UK's balance of payments on its current account. The values have not been adjusted for inflation. A consistent balance of payments surplus indicates that the country is a creditor (i.e. a lender) to the rest of the world. A consistent balance of payments deficit indicates that the country is a debtor (i.e. a borrower) to the rest of the world. Looking at the balance of payments is a good way of analysing how an economy works in relation to the rest of the world. It shows how much countries export and import, thereby revealing their global competitiveness.



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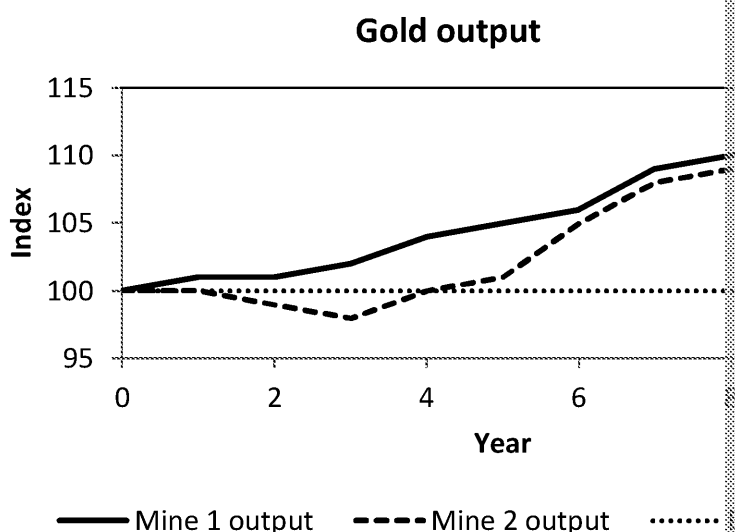


Uses of index numbers

The use of index numbers has already been mentioned in the previous section with both measures of inflation using an index approach.

Economists use index numbers to make comparisons over time. The main idea is that each data point is compared back to an initial 'base'. The base is always shown with an index of 100, and then following data points are adjusted to this value.

It is useful to think about a visual example. Below you will see a line graph showing the output of two gold mines in index form:



First note how the output of each mine starts at 100 at year 0, the base year. This means that both mines had the same output in year 0. Rather, it just shows 100% of their respective starting output. The subsequent changes for each output over time, relative to this starting point, are shown.

We can see that the output for Mine 1 generally increases over time. In year 4 its output has increased 4% relative to the base year.

The output for Mine 2, however, decreases relative to the base year between year 0 and year 3. This tells us that output has decreased by 2% compared to the base year.

Sometimes it is appropriate to use **weights** when calculating index numbers. Imagine we want to create an index combining the output of *both* goldmines. However, Mine 1 produces 80% of the total output and Mine 2 produces 20%. In order to create the collective index we multiply the output for each mine by its respective weight. In this case, we would multiply the output of Mine 1 by 0.8 and the output of Mine 2 by 0.2. The sum of both would represent our overall index.

Index numbers and the price level

CPI is the main measure of inflation and uses an index method. There are far too many goods and services in the UK produced by a variety of suppliers and sold at a variety of outlets to measure all of them. Instead, CPI measures the prices of a representative proportion of aggregate consumption, i.e. CPI measures the price change for 650 goods and services that an average household consumes. These 650 goods/services are referred to as a 'basket of goods'. The Consumer Prices and Food Survey (a successor to the Family Expenditure Survey). This is where households record their expenditure for a month and this is used to determine an average household's basket of goods. The relative and changing price of this basket is used to give the rate of average price change. As preferences change, meaning the basket of goods changes and so the survey is done annually, the basket of goods is revised and up to date.

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The Living Costs and Food Survey has another use as well. Inflation on expensive impact on the economy than inflation on cheaper products. Equally, prices of essential goods such as energy and food, will have a more significant impact on the economy than goods bought too often. For this reason, some goods need greater importance attached to them in the calculation of inflation. 'Weights' are given to items to account for their various impacts. This is done by the Family Expenditure Survey.



Let's use an example to show how an index is calculated to show inflation.

Year	Goods		
	Good name	Price	Items bought as a percentage of total items bought (weight)
2013 (base year)	Good A	£25	10% (0.1)
	Good B	£1.50	65% (0.65)
	Good C	£5.00	15% (0.15)
	Good D	£7.50	10% (0.1)
2014	Good A	£25.50	10% (0.1)
	Good B	£1.60	65% (0.65)
	Good C	£5.50	20% (0.15)
	Good D	£7.50	5% (0.05)
2015	Good A	£26	10% (0.1)
	Good B	£1.60	60% (0.6)
	Good C	£5.50	20% (0.2)
	Good D	£7.50	5% (0.05)
	Good E	£7.00	5% (0.05)
2016	Good A	£27	10% (0.1)
	Good B	£1.60	60% (0.6)
	Good C	£5.60	15% (0.15)
	Good E	£7.50	15% (0.15)

1. First you need to select a base year. There may be particular reasons for a year being chosen but otherwise it can be any. In this example 2013 will be the base year because it has the most data for.
2. From the survey, the goods bought by most households and their weights for each year are selected for the survey. The goods and their weights may change slightly according to price levels in different years.
3. The price level for each year is then found from the representative sample of goods by multiplying the price of each good by its weight and adding them together.

$$\text{Price Level}_{\text{Year}} = (\text{Price}_A \times \text{Weight}_A) + (\text{Price}_B \times \text{Weight}_B) + (\text{Price}_C \times \text{Weight}_C) + (\text{Price}_D \times \text{Weight}_D)$$

$$\text{Price Level}_{2013} = (£25 \times 0.1) + (£1.5 \times 0.65) + (£5 \times 0.15) + (£7.5 \times 0.1) =$$

This is done for all the years and is shown on the table.

4. Then the index value is found by: $\left(\frac{\text{Price Value of Year}}{\text{Price Value of Base Year}} \right) \times 100$.
So the year 2014 would be $\left(\frac{£5.02}{£4.98} \right) \times 100 = 101$.

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5. The base year is always 100 $\left[100 = \left(\frac{\pounds 4.98}{\pounds 4.98}\right) \times 100\right]$. Any index above 100 shows a rise in the price level and therefore inflation, e.g. from 2013 to 2014 (index 101) there was 1% inflation. From 2014 to 2015 (index 108) there was 8% inflation. If the index was 98 then there was 2% deflation.
6. To find the inflation between years, you first find the difference between the index in year B and the base number. Inflation = $\left[\frac{(\text{Index}_B - \text{Index}_A)}{\text{Index}_{\text{Base}}}\right] \times 100$. So the inflation from 2013 to 2015 = $\left[\frac{(108 - 101)}{100}\right] \times 100$.

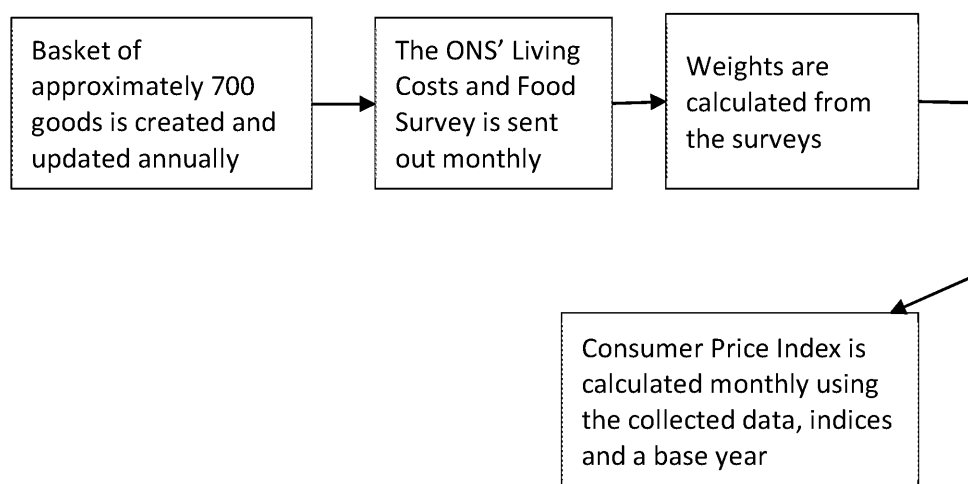
Because the base year is always 100, finding inflation from the base year can be done easily.

Inflation = Difference between two years

Retail Price Index (RPI)

The RPI is another measure of inflation. Both measures use a representative product for household consumption, i.e. the basket of goods, and they both record their prices for a variety of different types of shops and retail outlets (e.g. corner shops, independent stores and large chains). They both calculate indexes to follow and record price change from a base year.

The difference between the two measures is very complicated and does not need to be covered here. CPI uses a geometric average, whereas RPI uses an arithmetic average. But the main difference is that RPI includes housing costs and CPI does not, which means RPI is always higher than CPI.



Limitations of measuring inflation

- Measures do not take into account any improvements in the quality of a product. If there is an increase in the price of a good or service is due to the advancements in the product, then this is not reflected in the inflation measure.
- Temporary shocks can change prices, which, measured as inflation with no effect on the long-term trend.
- Inflation may be different for various households. For example, a greater proportion of the household budget is spent on food for pensioners than most other households. Hence, there will be a greater inflation rate for pensioners – but the RPI measures the 'average' inflation (thus, this may not reflect the inflation in the economy).

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Review questions 1: The measurement of macroeconomics

1. What is a basket of goods?
2. These questions refer to measuring inflation.
 - a) How is inflation measured using the CPI?
 - b) What is another measure of inflation?
 - c) What are the limitations of measuring inflation?
 - d) Using the information in the table below:
 - i) Fill in the missing columns.
 - ii) What is the rate of inflation in Year 1, Year 2 and Year 3?
 - iii) Using inflation, deflation and disinflation, can you describe the changes in the price level?

Year	Goods			
	Good name	Price	Items bought as a percentage of total items bought (weight)	
Year 1 (base year)	Good A	£5.00	20%	0.20
	Good B	£3.00	15%	0.15
	Good C	£0.50	35%	0.35
	Good D	£9.50	30%	0.30
Year 2	Good A	£5.25	21%	0.21
	Good B	£3.50	15%	0.15
	Good C	£0.65	35%	0.35
	Good D	£9.60	29%	0.29
Year 3	Good A	£5.75	21%	0.21
	Good B	£3.75	16%	0.16
	Good C	£0.75	35%	0.35
	Good D	£10.00	28%	0.28
Year 4	Good A	£5.75	18%	0.18
	Good B	£3.75	14%	0.14
	Good C	£0.75	35%	0.35
	Good D	£10.00	27%	0.27
	Good E	£2.00	6%	0.06

3. Why are inflation, economic growth, the balance of payments and unemployment important indicators for economic performance?
4.
 - a) What is GDP?
 - b) How do real and nominal GDP differ?
 - c) How can GDP be adjusted to account for population size?
5. Name and explain three conflicts that might arise in the government's economic policy.

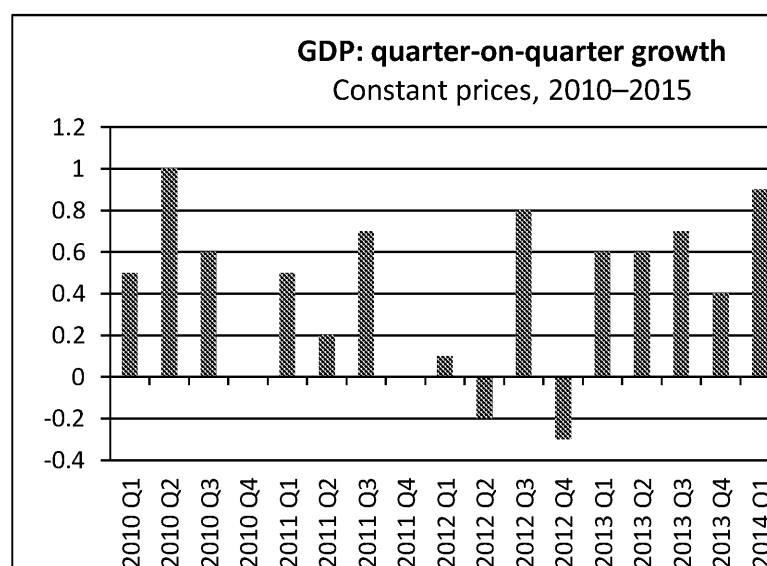
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Exam-style questions 1: The measurement of macroeconomics

- Which **one** of the following is **not** a main objective of the government?
 - Economic growth
 - 0% interest rates
 - Low and stable inflation
 - Low unemployment
- Which **one** of the following is **not** a key macroeconomic indicator?
 - GDP
 - Unemployment
 - ONS
 - CPI
- Which **one** of the following **can** be inferred from the chart below?
 - The UK's economy shrank between Q2 2014 and Q1 2015.
 - Between 2010 and 2015 the UK's economy had consecutive quarters of growth.
 - The highest growth during the period was in 2014.
 - The UK's economy grew overall in 2010.



- Describe the difference between real GDP and nominal GDP.

.....

.....

- Describe the process of creating an index for inflation.

.....

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- Which **one** of the following is correct?
 - The CPI method of recording inflation aggregates price changes for the whole economy.
 - CPI and RPI are identical measures.
 - Some goods are given more importance than others when calculating the index.
 - CPI is always positive.

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3.2.2: How the macroeconomy works: the circular flow of income, aggregate demand and aggregate supply analysis, and related concepts

By the end of this topic, you should understand...

- ✓ **The circular flow of income**
 - National income
 - The circular flow of income concept
 - Injections and withdrawals
- ✓ **Aggregate demand and aggregate supply analysis**
 - The concepts of aggregate demand and aggregate supply
 - Factors that can cause shifts in aggregate demand and aggregate supply
 - AD/AS and macroeconomic equilibrium
 - Demand-side and supply-side shocks
- ✓ **The determinants of aggregate demand**
 - How AD is determined
 - The basic accelerator process
 - The determinants of savings
 - The difference between savings and investments
- ✓ **Aggregate demand and the level of economic activity**
 - The role of AD in influencing economic activity
 - The multiplier process
- ✓ **Determinants of short-run aggregate supply**
 - The main determinants of short-run AS
- ✓ **Determinants of long-run aggregate supply**
 - The main determinants of long-run AS
 - The vertical long-run AS curve

The circular flow of income

National income

In the previous section we talked about GDP, which is a measure of national income. It is the value of all the goods and services that an economy produces in a given year. It is the total income around the economy. Because that income is used to purchase goods and services, it can also be a measure of the total expenditure in an economy or the total amount of output.

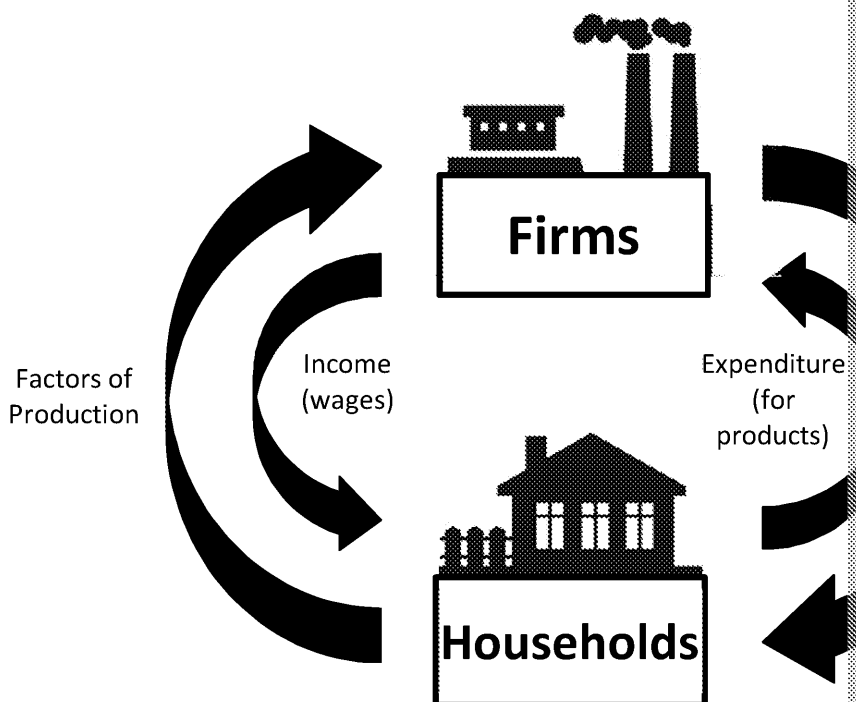
Income is the money that a person receives in exchange for something, e.g. wages from labour or the rent from letting a property. It moves from one agent to another; it is seen as a **flow** of money.

Wealth is the money that a person has stored up from wages or investment returns. It is seen as a **stock** as it is money held in savings accounts or items such as property.

Wealth can create income – the money and items stored can generate a flow of income. For example, if you own a house, it can be considered as wealth – but if you let it to someone else, you will receive a flow of income back from it in the form of rent.

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With this in mind, let's look at the diagram above which shows a circular flow of income in a very simple economy (remember the importance of assumptions covered in the companion). There is no government or interaction with other economies; there is only one firm. By 'household' it is meant a unit of people of any amount, one individual or a family, from where they work (at the firms) and spend their incomes buying the goods and services produced. Firms receive factors of production, such as labour, from households and produce goods and services bought by consumers. Income flows round and round the economy from firms to households and back to firms.

National income, therefore, is a measure of all the output produced by the firms (goods and services) **or** the total amount spent on these goods and services by the households. Therefore the following equation holds when thinking about national income:

$$\text{Income} = \text{Output} = \text{Expenditure}$$

Accordingly, measurements of national income such as GDP can take various approaches: total income, total output *or* total expenditure.

Nominal vs real income

One of the main reasons to measure national income is to allow for comparisons of how the economy compares to last year, the year before that – or even decades ago.

However, as mentioned in the previous section, prices change over time. A pound is worth more today because it could be invested and earn a return. Therefore it's important to distinguish between **real** and **nominal** national income. **Nominal** national income is the sum of the value of goods and services produced that year *at that year's prices*. This means that comparisons with other years of nominal national income growth will look higher than in reality because although prices increase, the levels increase too.

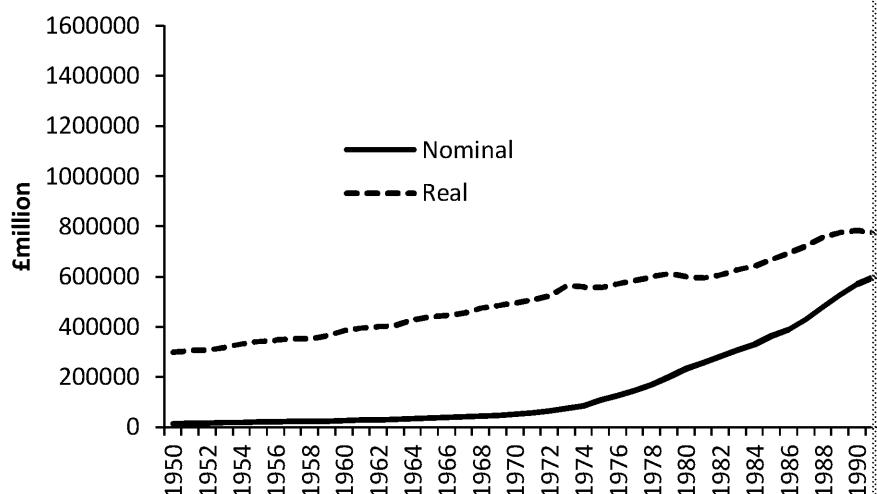
To account for this, economists use **real** national income as a measure of an economy's size. This accounts for rises in price levels by 'deflating' the nominal amounts by the index of prices. This gives a more meaningful comparison of values over time.

Let's look at an example which illustrates these ideas. On the following page is a table from the Bank of England. It shows real and nominal GDP in the UK between 1950 and 2006. The nominal GDP figures are at market prices from each year. The real GDP figures, on the other hand, adjust all figures to 2006 prices. So, in 1950 the national income was about £13,000 million, but in 2006 prices this was about £30,000 million.

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Real vs nominal GDP in the UK
(1950–2009)



As you can see from the chart, the nominal GDP rises much more dramatically than the real GDP. Both are rising at the same time. By looking at real GDP we get a much better picture of the economy. Since 1950, real GDP has grown at an average of 2.6% a year in the UK.

Real national income as an indicator of economic performance

In the previous section we went through why real national income allows for a more accurate picture of an economy's growth than nominal national income. But how effective is real national income as an indicator of economic performance?

Real GDP – the most common measure of real national income – is often criticised for the information that it ignores. However, solely as a measure of income it is an excellent indicator of economic performance.

- It captures how the production of goods and services in an economy has increased over time.
- It shows clearly the economic cycle of expansions and contractions.
- It allows for direct comparison with other countries which can be useful when evaluating different economic policies or regimes.

However, it ignores equality, it only measures creation and not destruction, it does not account for the underground economy (black market where all goods and services are sold illegally) and it does not account for environmental destruction which may occur as a result of economic growth.



Is GDP a perfect measure?

Think about the following:

- If you mow your lawn then GDP is unchanged. Employ a gardener to do it then GDP rises. If your lawnmower breaks and you buy a new one then GDP rises further.
- The production of tobacco products which cause illness and reduce life expectancy.
- A country may be dependent on extracting coal and oil for its growth. GDP rises but future generations will not have access to the resources once they are used up.

In short, real national income is a good indicator of income – as the name suggests – but it does not tell us how well the economy is performing. However, we shouldn't expect too much from it. It provides information about well-being and living standards, and economists should look to these aspects of an economy.



Small differences in growth rates can have big effects on the economy if maintained over time. The UK's average growth rate over the last 50 years is 2.6%. At a constant rate of 2.6% the economy would double in size every 27 years. If this is increased to 3.2% a year then the time to double is 22 years – five years sooner!

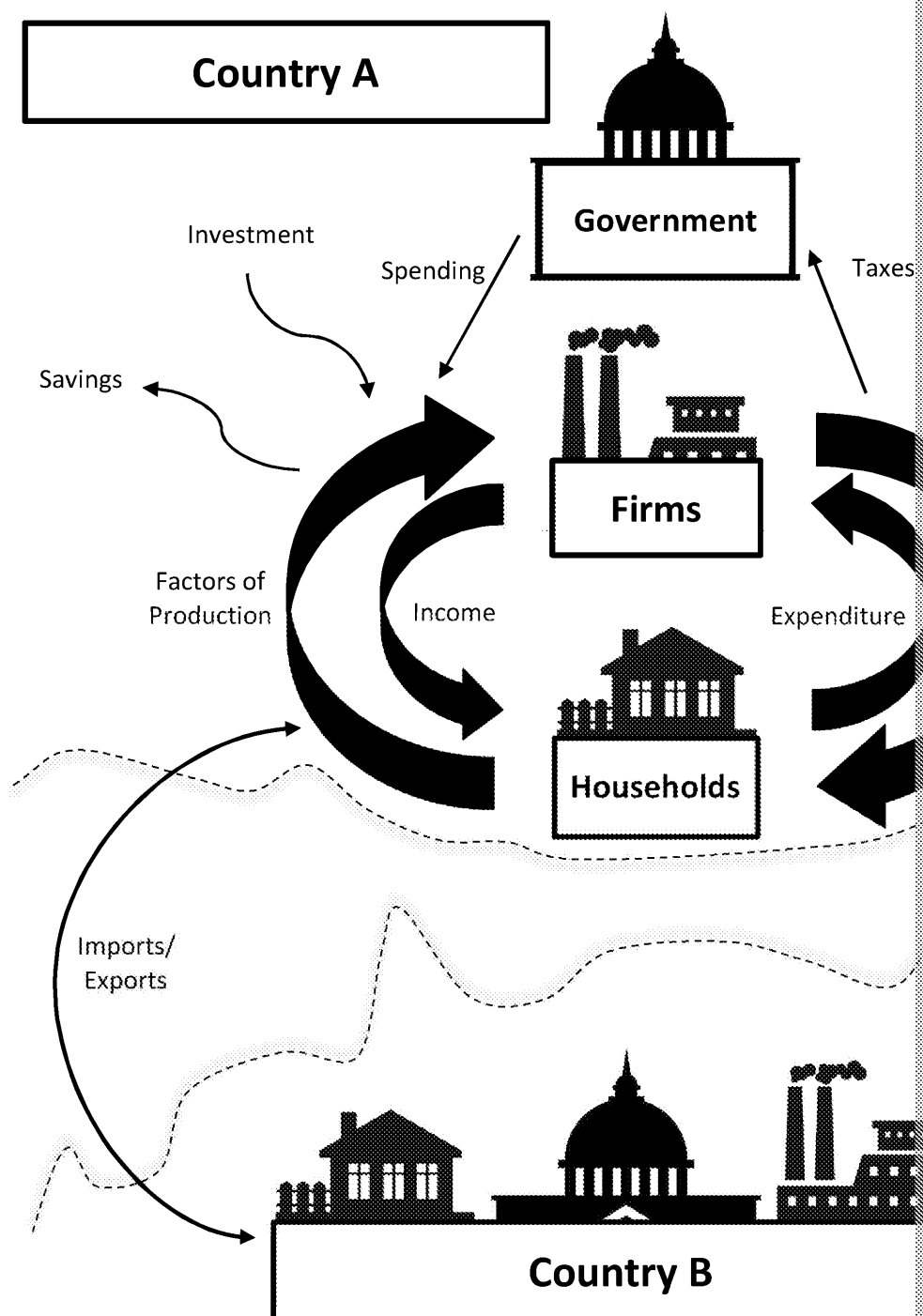
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The circular flow of income

Earlier we introduced a very basic circular flow diagram. This was extremely simple, showing the interactions between households and firms. In reality, there are other economic sectors involved as well. Let's dive in and look at a diagram that shows how **two** economies interact and the flow of income between households, firms and their governments:

A circular flow diagram of two economies with injections



At first glance this diagram might look quite daunting; there's a lot going on! But as we've detailed before, households provide labour – a factor of production – to firms in return for income. The households spend this income on the goods and services produced by other firms. Firms pay money out of the system in the form of taxes, but adds money back in through savings and welfare payments to building roads). Households and firms may invest or save money and exports goods to the other economy which has an identical system.

Full employment income is said to be the maximum level of output that an economy is functioning at full employment (i.e. all those who want to work have jobs).

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Injections and withdrawals

We can group each movement of income in the circular flow diagram into two categories: injections and withdrawals.

Withdrawals are things that economic agents (within the system) do with their incomes that result in a decrease in the circular flow. By taking money out of the circular flow it is no longer going around the system.

Injections are things that outside economic agents do with their incomes that result in an increase in the circular flow. There is now more money going around the system.

Think of the circular flow of income diagram as a circular flow of water. Waters flow in and out of the system. If you take water out of the system, the system will shrink. If you add water to the system, the system will grow. If the total sum of injections is equal to the total sum of withdrawals, then the system will stay the same. If the total sum of injections is bigger than the total sum of withdrawals, then more money will be flowing into the economy and so it will grow. If the total sum of withdrawals is bigger than the total sum of injections, then more money will be flowing out of the economy and so it will shrink.

Injections and withdrawals can be grouped together into opposite pairs:

- **Savings and investments:** Savings are a withdrawal because instead of spending money on goods and services, people may instead put it into a savings account. Investments, however, are injections because they put money into the economy to increase production. The level of savings and investments can be influenced by the rate of interest. If interest rates go up, people are more likely to save because they get more interest from their savings account. If interest rates go up, investment is likely to fall because it costs more to borrow money when they borrow it.
- **Taxes and government spending:** These injections and withdrawals can be grouped together. Taxes are a withdrawal because instead of letting income flow through the economy, a proportion of income is taken out of the system and given to the government. Government spending is an injection as it is the money that the government puts into the economy in the form of public services like schools and roads.
- **Imports and exports:** In reality our economy does interact with other economies. When we buy foreign goods we send money from our economy to the other economy and receive a good from their economy into ours. The good is an imported good, but the money for it is a withdrawal. We may make a good that is bought by an economic agent in another country. In this instance our economy receives money as an injection and our good is exported to their economy.

The effect of injections and withdrawals on national income

The levels of injections and withdrawals can vary and have an effect on national income. Consider the following:

- If the level of injections is higher than the level of withdrawals, national income **rises**. Aggregate demand is higher.
- Inflation will tend to rise as firms find that they approach maximum output and can't produce more to reach the extra demand – and so raise prices.
- Similarly, employment rises as firms seek more workers.
- Higher domestic demand means that imports rise.
- Exports tend to fall following domestic inflation – domestic goods become less competitive abroad.



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Aggregate demand and aggregate supply analysis

You will have covered the idea of demand and supply in the first section of the course. This section looks at the operation of markets on an individual scale. We can take these ideas to the **macroeconomic** level to look at the economy as a *whole*.

That is, we can apply the same principles to the total supply and total demand in the economy, known as **Aggregate Supply (AS) and Aggregate Demand (AD)**. AS and AD curves summarise the total demand and supply curves for each firm that you will have already come across in the micro level of the total economy.

Changes in the price level

Changes in the price level are represented by movements along the aggregate demand curve.

Aggregate demand curve

The aggregate demand curve slopes downwards, just like demand curves at a micro level. However, because we are looking at the economy as a whole the vertical axis is labelled 'price level' rather than just 'price' – this is important when drawing the diagram in your exams. Similarly, the horizontal axis is labelled 'real output' (it could equally be 'real GDP') and describes the output of all goods and services in the economy, as discussed in the previous section.



There are two reasons why the aggregate demand curve slopes downwards.

- **Real-balance effect**
As the price level increases, the purchasing power of people's incomes falls. If people cannot buy as many items with their money, then they will purchase fewer items and aggregate demand in the economy will be lower. Hence, as price level rises, aggregate demand falls.
- **International competitiveness**
As UK prices rise, UK goods will appear more expensive in relation to other countries. Fewer people will demand UK exports, and more domestic consumers will demand goods from abroad. If demand for exports increases and demand for imports decreases, aggregate demand will be lower.

Aggregate supply curve

Aggregate supply is the sum total of all the supply curves for every firm, every market. At the microeconomic level, firms would switch to producing the goods with the greatest profit. At the macroeconomic level, we look at aggregate supply, firms switching from one industry to another, and the overall supply from the economy.

The short-run aggregate supply (SRAS) curve slopes upwards, as shown in the diagram. The distinction between short-run and long-run aggregate supply is important and we will return to it later. Let's start by considering aggregate supply in the short run only.

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Shifts in the AD curve

As mentioned above, changes in the price level cause *movements along* the AD curve. What causes a **shift**? The answer is a change in any relevant factor other than the price level.

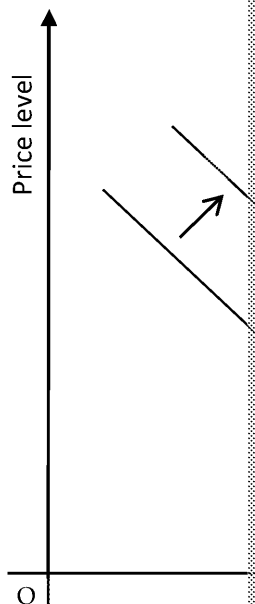
The most important is a change in the **propensity to consume** of the population. If people are confident about the state of the economy and feel wealthy, they will allocate more of their income to consumption rather than saving. They may borrow money to spend on goods and services. This would cause an outward shift in the AD curve – the population is more willing in general to consume and aggregate demand expands.

Increased consumer spending is not due to lower prices – instead it is the result of other non-price-level influences. For example, an increase in house prices may lead to a positive wealth effect, which would encourage consumer spending.

Increased **investment** can also cause the AD curve to shift – for example, if business confidence grows and firms start to raise their investment spending.

Increased **government expenditure** can have a similar effect – an outward shift in the AD curve. If taxation levels are not increased as well (recall the idea of *ceteris paribus*).

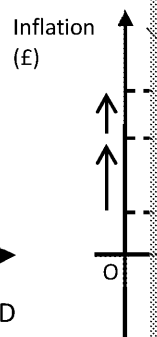
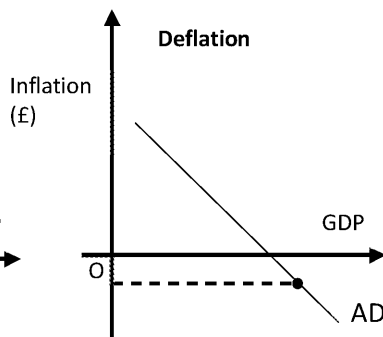
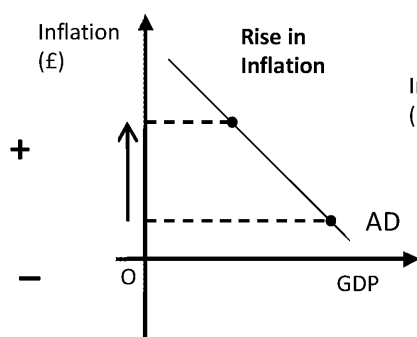
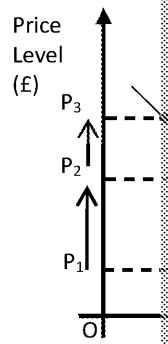
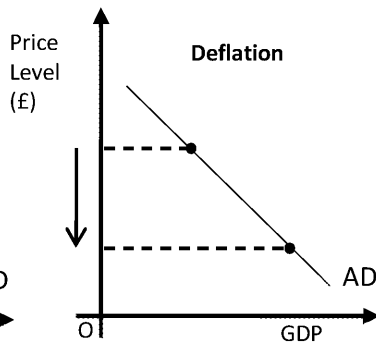
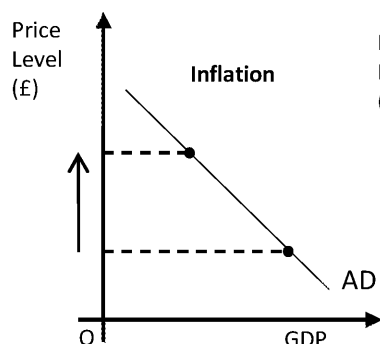
Finally, the balance between **imports and exports** can affect aggregate demand. An increase in net exports will cause AD to shift outward.



Be careful!

If it is labelled 'Price Level', and the equilibrium level rises, this means there is inflation. If the equilibrium level falls, this means there is deflation. Disinflation is when price level rises (inflation) but at a slower rate than previously.

However, if it is labelled 'Inflation', any point on the positive side of the y-axis would show deflation. If the equilibrium point is on the negative side of the y-axis would show deflation.



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Short run and long run

Reminder from Microeconomics Course Companion

Short run: at least one factor of production is fixed, they are not all variable

Long run: all factors of production can be changed

The aggregate supply curve is different depending on the time frame. It's worth thinking about the difference between the short run and the long run before we proceed.

Keynes said that the idea of the *long run* was 'misleading to current affairs' – famously 'in the long run, we are all dead'. Nonetheless, it serves a purpose to us, as economists, to distinguish between the short run and the long run. Let's consider an example:

A fisherman has a fishing rod (capital), a river running through his garden (land and materials) and, of course, himself (labour). The people in his village have recently asked him to increase his supply of fish. The price of fish has increased.

*The fisherman decides to increase his supply of fish. He buys more bait: one factor of production has changed; capital, land and labour are still constant; this is the **short run**.*

*He buys a better fishing rod that allows him to catch bigger fish: another factor of production has changed; labour and land are still constant; this is the **short run**.*

*He buys more fishing rods and asks his children to help him catch more fish: two factors of production have changed (labour has changed and capital has changed again); land is still constant; this is the **short run**.*

*The river also runs through his neighbour's garden. He decides to buy some more land to increase the amount of river that he can fish from. Now, all the factors of production have changed; this is the **long run**.*

Short-run aggregate supply is the total amount of goods and services supplied in the economy in the **short run**. Firms are able to change most of their factors of production to react to price change. **Long-run** aggregate supply is the total amount of goods and services supplied in the economy in the **long run**. Firms are able to change all factors of production to react to price change. If all factors of production can be changed, the economy is able to increase aggregate supply to meet its maximum productive potential. A point on the **long-run** aggregate supply (LRAS) curve means the economy is producing at its maximum productive potential and is at full capacity.



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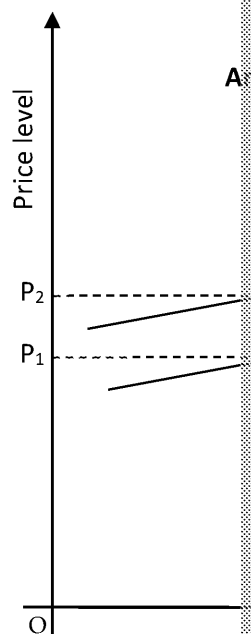
Shifts in the short-run AS curve

In the short run, the aggregate supply curve slopes slightly upwards. It is assumed that wages are constant, but some costs increase as firms expand their output, such as overtime payments to workers.

However, if **wage rates** do increase, the short-run aggregate supply (SRAS) curve does shift. Production is more expensive at any level of output; the SRAS shifts upwards.

An increase in **raw material prices** can cause the SRAS to shift too. For example, a surge in oil prices, often important in the production process for energy and transport, will cause the SRAS to shift upwards.

Finally, **increased taxes** will cause the SRAS to shift upwards if they result in production being more expensive.



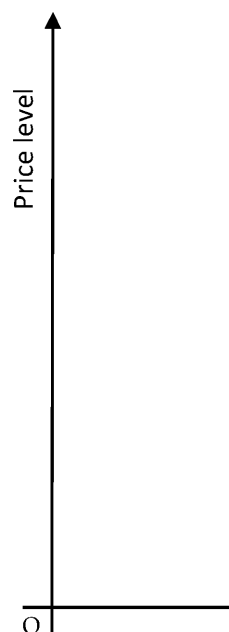
Shifts in the long-run AS curve

In the long run the AS curve takes on a different shape – and is affected by different factors.

The long-run aggregate supply curve (LRAS) is *vertical*. This is because firms can't increase their supply infinitely. Once capacity has been reached (productivity is at its maximum), it can be argued that supply is fixed at a certain output – whatever the price level.

In the long run, it is assumed there is no unemployment. Any worker who wants a job will have one. There is equilibrium between labour supply and labour demanded.

Think back to the microeconomics section of your course. The LRAS is located at an output, Q^* , equal to the output on the boundary of the production possibility frontier (PPF).



The same factors that shift the PPF outward cause the LRAS to move to the right – the potential of the economy. These are:

- **Technological advances** which allow goods and services to be produced more
- **Education or training** which increase human capital (the skill of workers)
- **Investment in capital** which allows for greater production
- **Immigration** may increase productivity as labour force is increased

The productive potential of an economy can decrease too – the LRAS can shift inward. This can happen due to a reduction in capital as worn-out and depreciated machinery is not replaced. It could also be due to a 'brain drain'. This occurs in an economy if skilled and talented workers leave to work abroad.

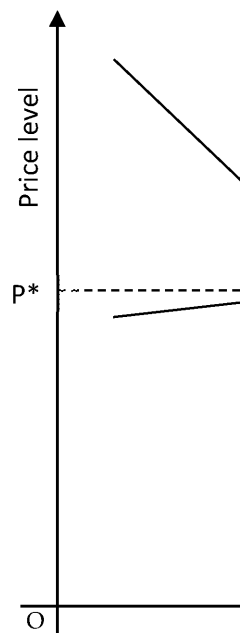
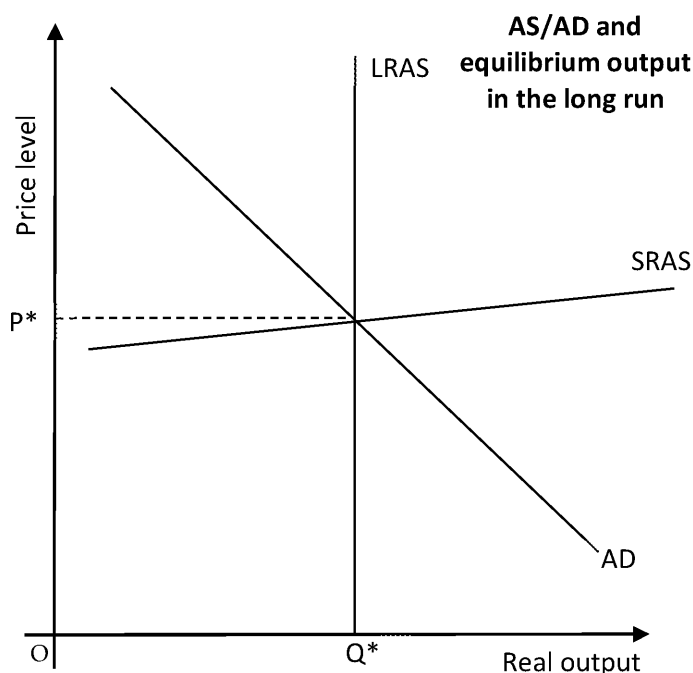
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AD/AS diagrams and macroeconomic equilibrium

The economy is in *macroeconomic equilibrium* when aggregate supply is equal to aggregate demand. This can be a short-run equilibrium (when AD equals SRAS) or a long-run equilibrium (when AD equals LRAS).

In the short run this means that firms and households are content with the price level and do not alter their behaviour in the next time period. In the long run it means that the economy is producing at its potential output.



Shocks and the macroeconomy

Recall our definition of an 'economic shock' from Section 3.2.1: *an unpredicted event that affects the economy – either negatively or positively.*

We can separate economic shocks into two categories: demand-side or supply-side. A demand-side shock affects aggregate demand or aggregate supply respectively. They can also be classified as *negative* shocks (which shift AD or AS backwards) and *positive* shocks (which shift AD or AS forwards).

The table below shows some examples of each. Think about why they can be classified as such.

Demand-side		
Positive	Negative	Positive
Increase in housing prices (wealth effect) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> This will increase consumer spending. 	Decrease in stock prices	Labour immigration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> This will potentially increase the workforce.
Construction boom	Global credit crunch <ul style="list-style-type: none"> This will reduce consumer and business confidence, thereby decreasing spending and investment. 	Increased productivity
Increased disposable income (e.g. tax cut) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> This will increase consumer spending. 	Rise in interest rates <ul style="list-style-type: none"> This will discourage investment as this will increase the cost of borrowing. 	Introduction of production subsidies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> This will increase productivity.

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The determinants of aggregate demand

$$AD = C + I + G + (X - M)$$

The components of AD are consumption (C), investment (I), government spending (G), and exports (X) minus imports (M). Exports minus imports are also known as net exports (NX). These are explained further in each subsequent section. Just like the demand curve, there is a difference between **movements along** and **shifts in** the AD curve. A movement along occurs when you move to a different point on the curve, whereas a shift occurs when the whole curve moves to another position. Shifts occur when the components of AD change.

Each component has a relative importance to aggregate demand. In the UK, consumption makes up 60% of aggregate demand, whereas investment only makes up 15%. For example:

$$\begin{aligned} AD &= C + I + G + (X - M) \\ &= 60\% + 15\% + 24\% + 1\% \end{aligned}$$

An equal change in each of these components would have a disproportionate change in aggregate demand. For example, a 10% change in government spending would have a far bigger effect on aggregate demand than a 10% change in net exports. Let's examine each component in turn.

Consumption (C)

When people buy goods/services, they are demanding goods/services just like when they invest in new capital. Consumption is the total amount of spending by households, individuals and companies. If people go out and consume more goods, this means consumption has increased, which increases aggregate demand and push the AD curve outwards. On the other hand, if consumption falls, aggregate demand falls and the AD curve shifts inwards. Consumption makes up the biggest proportion of aggregate demand, and is the most influential component.

The main influences on the level of consumption

- **Disposable income**

Disposable income is the proportion of their income that people actually have to do with as they please. It is the income left over once taxes have been subtracted and any benefits have been added. People may wish to spend this money on consuming goods. If disposable income increases, people are likely to go off and spend more money. Thus, if incomes increase, it is likely consumption will increase (even if not by a proportional amount), which will push up aggregate demand and push out the AD curve.

- **Marginal propensity to consume**

If incomes increase by £1,000 per annum, consumption will increase but it is unlikely to increase by £1,000. People don't tend to spend all their marginal income (all their extra bit of income). They may wish to save or invest a proportion of their marginal income. The marginal propensity to consume is the amount of their extra income they will use for consumption.

For example: The marginal propensity to consume is 0.3. This means that 30% of any increase in income will be used for increased consumption. For every £1,000 increase in incomes, consumption will increase by £300.

$$\text{Consumption Increase} = \text{Marginal Propensity to Consume} \times \text{Income Increase}$$

Marginal propensity to consume

Propensity to consume

Marginal propensity to consume

Investment means to increase consumption

Investment capacity profits

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- **Interest rates**

In order to buy expensive goods such as houses or cars, people may have to borrow money. Borrowing money is expensive because not only do you have to pay back the money you borrowed, you also have to pay back the interest which can be thought of as the cost of borrowing money. The interest rate determines the extra amount that somebody pays back. If interest rates go up, borrowing money becomes more expensive because you will have to pay back more. Equally, the interest rate affects the return on savings.

Consumption is likely to fall if interest rates go up. This is because it costs more to borrow – effectively, become more expensive. Higher interest rates deter people from buying expensive goods so consumption falls. People will also be more tempted to save rather than spending it, thus reducing consumption. Aggregate demand falls and the AD curve shifts inwards. If interest rates fall, saving becomes less attractive and borrowing becomes cheaper, so aggregate demand goes up, and the AD curve shifts outwards.

The wealth effect also comes into play with interest rates...

- **Wealth effect**

Remember the difference between wealth and income. We've already spoken about income on consumption. Wealth, the stock of money somebody holds, for example, the value of a house. If house prices increase, people feel wealthier because their assets are worth more; they now have more wealth. If people feel wealthier, they are more likely to spend their money. If interest rates decrease and borrowing becomes cheaper, the demand for borrowing increases. People are more able to afford them. This will cause house prices to rise in the future. If people feel wealthier, consumption goes up, aggregate demand goes up and the AD curve shifts outwards.

If interest rates decrease and borrowing becomes cheaper, the demand for borrowing increases. People are more able to afford them. This will cause house prices to rise in the future. If people feel wealthier, consumption goes up, aggregate demand goes up and the AD curve shifts outwards.

- **Consumer confidence**

Consumer confidence refers to the level of confidence people have in the economy. If confidence is low, people have little faith in the economy; they believe the economy is unstable. If they believe the economy is unstable they are more likely to withhold their money and not spend it. If confidence is high, people are more likely to spend their money if the future economy seems uncertain. This means that if consumer confidence is low, and so aggregate demand will fall and the AD curve will shift inwards.

If consumer confidence is high, people believe the economy is doing well and are more likely to spend their money because they believe the economy is stable. This means that if consumer confidence is high, consumption increases, aggregate demand increases and the AD curve is pushed outwards.

Relationship between savings and consumption

There are only two things that a person can do with their income: they can either spend it or save it. That influence consumption can also influence savings. For example, if consumer confidence is low, people are more likely to withhold their money and not spend it. If they believe the economy is unstable they are more likely to withhold their money and not spend it. If confidence is high, people are more likely to spend their money if the future economy seems uncertain. This means that if consumer confidence is low, and so aggregate demand will fall and the AD curve will shift inwards.

The savings ratio is the amount the average household saves in the UK. It is calculated as the amount saved from their disposable income. The UK has a savings ratio of around 5%; this is much lower than China which has a savings ratio of 30–40%.

Investment (I)

Investment is like consumption for firms. Firms invest money either to increase the amount they produce or to replace their old machines. If investment increases, this is an increase in aggregate demand. Aggregate demand increases if investment increases and this will push the AD curve outwards.

Distinction between gross and net investment

Investment is made either to buy more capital and increase production, or to replace worn-out capital (production stays the same). **Gross investment** is the total amount spent on investment in new capital or buy additional capital. **Net investment** is the additional gains of capital after replacing worn-out capital. Imagine a company had 50 machines originally and invested in 10 new machines which were to replace broken machines. They would now have 60 machines; their gross investment would be 10 (25 – 15). If net investment is greater than zero, it shows an expansion and is therefore linked with economic growth.

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The main influences on the level of investment

- **Rate of economic growth**

The level of investment depends on the demand for the good. If people find a product useful, they are likely to spend more. This means the demand for a product will increase. An increase in demand, a firm will undertake net investment in order to increase production. A high rate of economic growth can influence the level of investment because as gross domestic product increases, incomes increase and employment increases, leading to increasing demand for goods and services in order to keep up.

- **Business expectation and confidence: Keynes' animal spirits**

This is similar to consumer confidence. Investing money means firms are uncertain about the future, but the reward is more money in the future, or so is the plan. Firms are less likely to invest if there is low confidence or low expectations of the economy because firms are uncertain about the future and will hold back their spending on investment. If the economy crashes or there is a recession, firms will lose profits and those firms that have invested may be unable to cover their costs. Firms will use their reserves (stored money for future use, usually made up of things such as past profits) to cover their investments. On the other hand, if expectations of the future are high, or if there is confidence in the stability of the economy, then they will feel safer about investing their money. Firms will invest if they need it any time soon and so will continue business with less 'safety-net' money. Firms will expect higher returns in the future.

Keynes coined the term 'animal spirits' to explain economic agents' behaviour. It is a mix of psychology teamed with economics in order to account for irrational behaviour. Firms will take on risky ventures despite logic or maths because of their irrational instinct or confidence. Firms will avoid investing if they are hesitant, even if the maths shows it is a good investment. Firms may be irrational or even reckless; animal spirits attempts to calculate and explain the factors that influence investment decisions firms make.

- **Exports**

There is a variety of factors that increase the level of exports, as will be discussed in more detail later. If demand for exports increases, firms producing exported goods will need to increase production to meet demand. Increasing exports will boost the economy; this will lead to incomes rising and will increase their demand. Firms will have to increase production to meet demand.

- **Interest rates**

Firms may need to borrow money in order to invest. Interest rates determine how much extra money a firm pays back when it borrows money. If interest rates go up, the cost of borrowing increases and firms are less likely to invest. Equally, investing money has an opportunity cost. The return a firm gets from investing needs to outweigh the interest the firm would receive from saving the money. Because interest rates affect the amount of money a firm gains from saving, the effect of interest rates on investment is twofold. If interest rates go up, investing becomes more expensive and its opportunity cost also increases, therefore investment levels fall, aggregate demand falls and the AD curve will shift inwards. Remember the Keynesian marginal efficiency of capital curve!

- **Access to credit**

In order to make an investment, a firm needs money. If a firm does not have enough money, it will need to borrow the money on the condition it will pay it back in the future. This is why interest rates are important; it is the ability to borrow; it is money available to firms. If firms have easy access to credit, they will obtain the funds needed to invest and are therefore more likely to. If there is a credit crunch, interest rates will fall and aggregate demand will shift inwards because firms will find it hard to borrow money and need to invest.

- **Influence of government and regulation**

Because the government has a large influence on the economy and can change the rules, it can determine the outcome of an investment. If the government creates regulations that make a particular investment, firms are less likely to invest. Equally, if governments encourage investment, firms are more likely to invest.

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Government expenditure (G)

Government spending is mostly autonomous, i.e. it is unaffected by other variables such as confidence. Government expenditure is determined by the government.

The main influences on the level of government expenditure

- **Trade cycle**

As the economy goes into recession, people lose their jobs and firms find their revenues falling. This means there is less tax revenue for the government and the injection shrinks. Equally, as people become unemployed, governments spend more on unemployment benefits. There will be a budget deficit as the government spends more than it receives. It is likely to lead to (increasing) government debt as the government borrows to cover its expenditure.

As the economy goes into a boom, there will be more jobs for people, so unemployment will fall and recently employed people will increase their spending. Firms will find their revenues increase. The government will receive more tax revenue as there are more firms and employed workers paying taxes. Equally, less unemployment benefits expenditure. There will be a budget surplus as tax revenue is more than it spends.

EVALUATION

If net trade is in deficit, the level of government expenditure necessarily depends on the level of net trade. If there is a trade deficit, the level of government expenditure will be higher than the level of net trade.

It is better to have a trade deficit than a budget deficit. A trade deficit will decrease the level of government expenditure and lead to a trade surplus.

- **Fiscal policy**

The government can directly change the amount it spends in the economy and the interest rate is determined by monetary policy, the level of taxation and government expenditure is determined by fiscal policy. Both policies are used to control, stabilise and manipulate the economy. If the government decides to change its fiscal approach then the level of government expenditure will change. For example, in the aftermath of the 2007/8 recession, the UK government took a number of measures, i.e. the government cut down on public spending and increased tax revenue.

Net trade (X – M)

Net trade is the sum total of income flowing out of the economy from imports and into the economy from exports. If exports increase and/or imports fall, net trade increases and aggregate demand. If there is more money coming into the economy than leaving (if exports are greater than imports), there is a trade surplus. If imports are greater than exports, there is a trade deficit. The level of net trade and imports bought not only depends on their price, but also the price of foreign goods. If UK goods are cheaper relative to foreign goods, we would say 'UK goods are more competitive'. If the demand for UK exports would increase (as foreign consumers would switch to buy UK goods), the demand for imports would fall (as domestic consumers would switch from foreign goods to UK goods). If exports would increase, imports would decrease, net trade would increase and there would be a trade surplus. Aggregate demand would increase and the AD curve would shift outwards.

The main influences on the (net) trade balance

Just like within the domestic market, prices can play a big factor in the global market. People are more likely to choose the good that is cheaper. The important part to remember about this sentence is: it is the good that appears cheaper *relative* to other goods. There are many things that can affect the relative prices of goods on the global market, as will be discussed in a minute. One assumption we make as economists is that there are no transport costs. A good produced in the USA may be cheaper than a good produced in France, but once the costs of posting have been added, the US good may be more expensive than the French good.

EVALUATION

If taxes decrease, the level of government expenditure will decrease. However, this will depend on the level of net trade. If there is a trade deficit, the level of government expenditure will be higher than the level of net trade.

Instead it is better to have a trade deficit than a budget deficit. A trade deficit will decrease the level of government expenditure and lead to a trade surplus.

NOTE: Fiscal policy can be used to control the level of government expenditure as a trade deficit.

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- **Real income**

Normal goods are goods that are demanded more when incomes rise. Most therefore, as UK real incomes rise, the demand for imports will also rise. This leads to a trade deficit.

- **Exchange rates**

If the pound appreciates, UK goods will appear more expensive in comparison to foreign goods (assuming their currency stays the same; *ceteris paribus*). This means demand for UK goods will fall and demand for foreign goods will rise; demand for UK exports will fall and demand for imports will rise. Exports will decrease, imports will increase and so net trade and aggregate demand will decrease. If exports fall and imports rise this could lead to a trade deficit.

If the pound depreciates, UK goods appear cheaper in relation to foreign goods. The demand for UK exports will rise, and domestic consumers will shift away from buying imports so the demand for imports will fall. Exports rise and imports fall which means net trade rises and aggregate demand does too. This will push the AD curve outwards.

- **State of the world economy**

A recession usually results in falling price level (disinflation and potentially deflation). This means an economy in recession is likely to have more competitive goods. Also, in a recession, incomes fall which leads to falling consumption of both foreign and domestic goods.

If the world economy is in recession, domestic consumers will buy fewer imports (and domestic goods falling) and foreign consumers will buy fewer UK exports. As a result, it is unknown, i.e. whether imports fall more than exports leading to a trade surplus or exports fall more than imports, because exports and imports have fallen, total trade and aggregate demand will fall.

If France is in a recession, but the UK is not, the UK will see exports to France rise as French incomes have fallen. Equally, French goods will probably appear cheaper and demand for French imports will rise. With decreasing exports and increasing imports there is likely to be a trade deficit.

- **Degree of protectionism**

Governments may put in place protectionism in order to protect the domestic market from foreign competition. They do this by distorting the price of UK goods and/or the price of imports.

By giving subsidies, the government can reduce the price of UK goods; demand for UK goods will rise and the demand for imports will fall as domestic consumers switch to buying UK goods. Imports decrease, meaning overall net trade increases and so too does demand.

By taxing imports, governments can increase the price of foreign goods relative to domestic goods and the demand for imports will fall. Exports will remain the same so net trade will increase and aggregate demand will rise.

- **Non-price factors**

The sale of a commodity would depend on its price because it is a homogeneous good. However, some countries may sell heterogeneous goods and therefore the sale of these goods would depend on factors other than the price: 'non-price factors'. One example would be that countries may sell specialised equipment that has been patented. The result of this is that no other country or firm can make it, and therefore the export or import of this good will depend on countries' need to carry out the specialised task the machine is designed for and the machine's ability to do so.

Commodity: Goods that are homogeneous; for example, oil or wheat, are commodities. They are goods that are very similar to one another. A little difference between one farmer's wheat and another farmer's wheat is not significant. This is in contrast to heterogeneous goods in a market. For example, a 'homogeneous good' is a good that can be produced by many different producers. Goods that can be produced by many different producers are considered heterogeneous; for example, a smartphone has a specific tariff, camera specifications, etc.

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Determinants of savings

It is useful to note that factors that affect savings are similar to those that affect consumption. Savings come from our disposable income that is not spent. Therefore, the determinants of savings are income itself, the interest rate, level of inflation, wealth, etc. However, it is also worth noting that in European countries, where average incomes are relatively high, the average propensity to save (total savings divided by total income) is quite low. This implies that income is not as important as other factors.

Activity: Explain how the above factors are likely to affect *your* savings.

The accelerator process

The accelerator process refers to the idea that an increase in national income will lead to an increase in private investment. Investment tends to rise sharply as economies recover from recession – but slow down equally quickly as economies begin to show signs of slowing down.

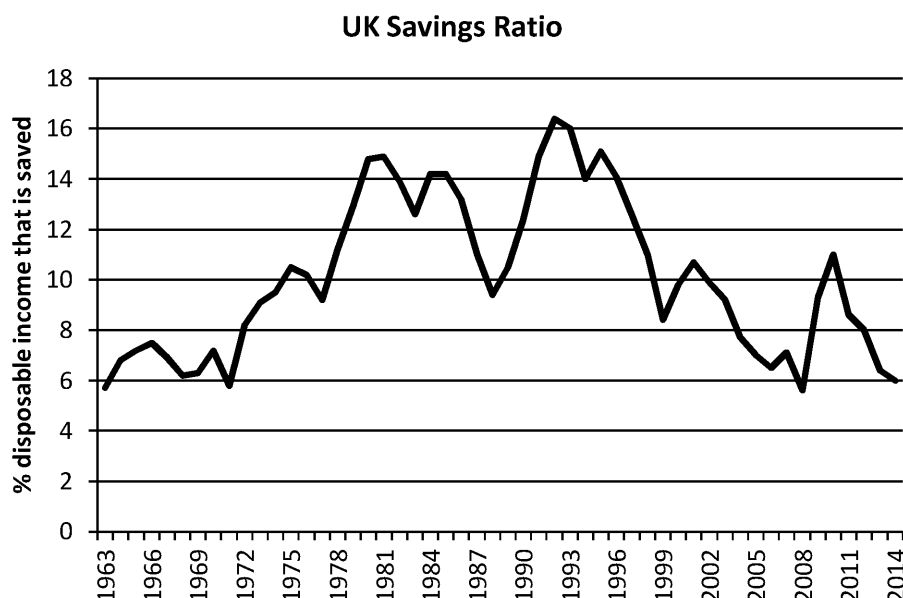
Why does investment rise? An increase in national income signifies a rise in aggregate demand. Firms can either raise their prices following a rise in demand, or they can choose to invest in capital (machinery, etc.) to raise their output and match the new, higher demand. Firms will opt for the latter if they feel that the increase in demand will be sustained. Conversely, a suggestion that growth and demand are falling will cause firms to decrease investment.

Accelerator process: an increase in national income causes a proportionate increase in investment.

Saving vs investment

It's worth quickly underlining the distinction between saving and investment.

Saving is carried out by households. People may want to put money aside in order to accumulate wealth, or to smooth their consumption once their income drops in retirement. Savings can be put in a bank account but may equally be held in cash under a mattress. Saving is a use of disposable income. Below is a chart showing the UK savings ratio (the percentage of disposable income that is saved).



Investment, on the other hand, is an injection into the circular flow of income. It involves the purchase of new capital (e.g. machinery) to either replace existing but worn-out capital, or to expand future output.

However, there is a degree of interdependence between the two. If more people have a greater amount to lend to firms for investment, for example. But a higher consumption rate is lower (households can choose to save or spend their disposable income). If less of their goods and services consumed because people are opting to save, then firms have less demand and may not expand future output.

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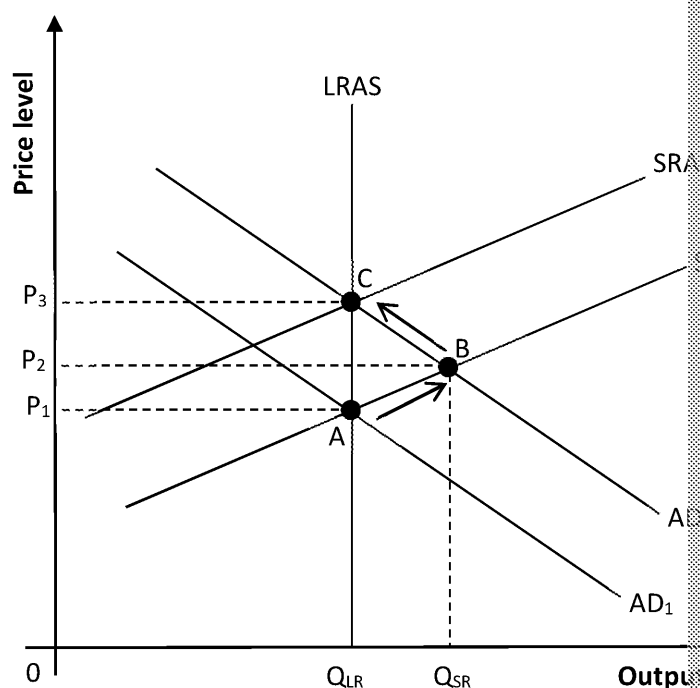
Aggregate demand and the level of economic activity

AD and the level of economic activity

An increase in aggregate demand causes growth in an economy. The AD curve shifts to the right, the price level is reached, and output is higher.

In the long run, an increase in AD will only lead to a greater price level (inflation). The LRAS curve shows the maximum amount of output possible in the economy.

In the short run, however, an outward shift in the AD curve will cause an increase in output. This increase is only sustainable if the LRAS shifts outwards as well.



This is shown in the diagram above. Aggregate demand shifts from AD_1 to AD_2 . The short-run aggregate supply curve is at Q_{SR} and the price to rise to P_2 . Thus, both the price and output will increase in the short run. However, the SRAS will have to shift up to get to the new equilibrium point at point C when the price level reaches its full employment level at LRAS. Thus, an increase in AD causes the price level to rise and the output to increase.

The multiplier process

Let's start with an example to illustrate the idea of the multiplier process:

The government decides to build more colleges and sixth forms to encourage students to go on to higher education. They have £20 million that they give to various building contractors. There is an injection of £20 million into the economy. The economy grows by £20 million. The building contractors then give the money to builders in return for their labour. The income flows from firms to households. The builders will then spend their incomes on bills to buy electricity for their houses. The income then flows from households to firms.

As the money goes round and round, it generates more and more income. The economy grows. The injection and grows. The income then flows around the economy and the economy grows.

The money may be saved instead of spent, or it may be spent on imports instead of domestic goods. If households receive the income, it will be taxed. This means the economy will keep growing. If all the additional income has been withdrawn.

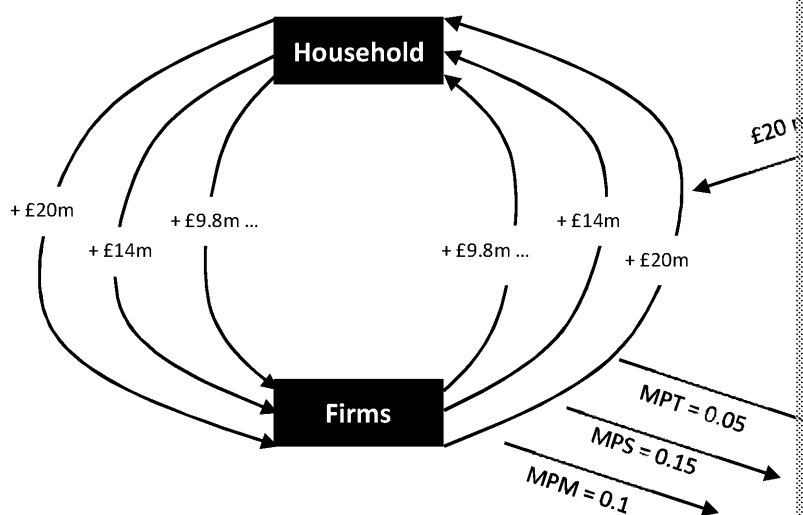
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The size of the multiplier depends on two things: the amount of income that is injected into the economy and the amount of income that is withdrawn each time. If injections are large, the economy will grow by a large amount. If withdrawals are large, the economy won't grow by much each time. This creates the multiplier effect. The multiplier is the ratio between injections and withdrawals and the proportions of each.

A formula for the multiplier can be derived to give policymakers an idea of how much the economy will grow with an injection. Something multiplied by 1 equals the same amount. The multiplier is always less than 1 but by a little less than the original amount because some income has been leaked out of the economy. The multiplier is 1 divided by the amount of income that is likely to be withdrawn. This is shown in the formula below:

$$\text{Multiplier} = \frac{1}{\text{marginal propensity to withdraw}}$$



Marginal propensity to withdraw (MPW) is the proportion of income that will be withdrawn from the economy. The income withdrawn from the economy will be spent differently on each withdrawal. The higher these marginal propensities, the more income is withdrawn from the economy.

Therefore the multiplier will be smaller and the economy won't grow by as much.

The marginal propensity to save (MPS) = the proportion of income that will be leaked out of the economy through saving.

The marginal propensity to tax (MPT) = the proportion of income that will be leaked out of the economy through taxation.

The marginal propensity to import (MPM) = the proportion of income that will be leaked out of the economy through imports.

Above are the marginal propensities for withdrawals. Adding these marginal propensities together gives the marginal propensity to withdraw (MPW = MPS + MPT + MPM). The marginal propensity to consume (MPC) is somewhat the opposite of the marginal propensity to withdraw. MPC is the proportion of income that is spent on consumption of goods and services – the proportion of income that will be spent on consumption of goods and services. If you take away the MPC, then what is left will be the proportion of income that is withdrawn from the economy through either taxing, saving or importing.

Below are the two formulas you need to know for your exam to work out the multiplier. The multiplier is the ratio between injections and withdrawals and the proportions of each. The multiplier is 1 divided by the amount of income that is likely to be withdrawn. This is shown in the formula below:

$$\text{MPW} = 1 - \text{MPC} = \text{MPS} + \text{MPT} + \text{MPM}$$

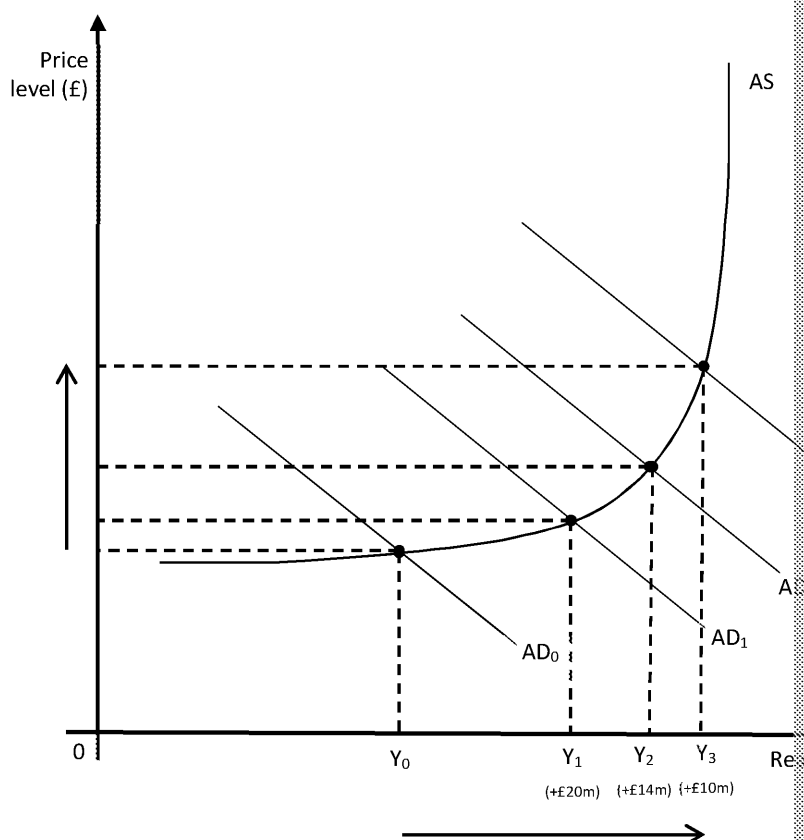
$$\text{Multiplier} = \frac{1}{\text{MPW}} = \frac{1}{(1 - \text{MPC})}$$

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If, in the example given at the beginning, MPT was 0.05, MPS was 0.15 and MPM be 0.3 and the multiplier would be about 3.33. The economy would increase out £20 million injection. £20 million would go round the economy and for every £1 would be saved and 10p would be spent on imports. So 30% of the £20 million would be leaving only £14 million to be circulated round the next time. Then 30% of the £14 million (leaving about only £9.8 million to circulate round the next time. This goes on until all the income has been withdrawn from the economy, production has stopped and the economy would have grown by £66.67 million.

So how does this link with aggregate demand? Every time the income flows around the demand curve is shifted out. Using the same example, the Keynesian AS/AD diagram



The initial £20 million injection pushes the AD curve outwards to AD₁. The economy is now producing £20 million worth of goods. £6 million was withdrawn and the other £14 million is now being spent on domestic goods, so the AD curve is pushed out again to AD₂ where the economy is producing another £14 million. This goes on until all the income has been withdrawn from the economy, production has stopped and the economy has grown by a multiple of 3.33.

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Determinants of short-run aggregate supply

In microeconomics we look at supply; in this topic we look at aggregate supply within the economy. Just like the supply curve there is a difference between movements along the curve and a movement along occurs when you move to a different point on the curve, where the curve moves to another position.

Aggregate supply is the sum total of all the supply curves for every firm, every market. Firms would switch to producing the goods with the greatest price. However, because firms switching from one industry to another makes no difference to the overall supply. Aggregate supply links with microeconomics where the PPF and maximum production are discussed.

There are various schools of thought within economics and some have conflicting views. In this exam you need to be able to differentiate between the Keynesian AS curve and the classical AS curve. The schools have different-shaped AS curves. Firstly, in this topic you need to understand the difference between short-run and long-run aggregate supply.

Factors that influence the short-run aggregate supply (SRAS)

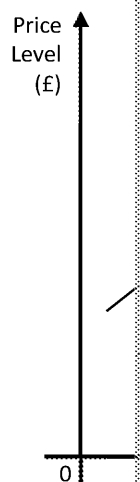
These influences will affect firms in the short run where they can change some of the inputs. The short-run aggregate supply can easily be increased or decreased to react to changes in the economy.

The short-run aggregate supply (SRAS) curve is upward-sloping as it represents the benefit all producers gain by increasing prices.

The SRAS curve can be shifted up or down as shown in the diagram to the right. Shifts in the SRAS curve can be caused by various factors:

Raw materials and energy

If the price of the raw materials used in the production of a good/service increases, the cost of production will increase. Firms will reduce supply at each and every price level. The short-run supply curve would shift inwards if the costs of the raw materials increased.



Energy is an influential cost within the economy because all firms need energy to produce. Factories and offices need electricity to light and heat rooms, and for capital such as computers, for example. If energy prices increase, firms may cut back on supply, and the aggregate supply curve shift inwards.

Exchange rates

The exchange rate will affect the prices of exported goods and goods that are imported. A table-making company may import the timber. If the exchange rate changes so that timber becomes more expensive, aggregate supply will fall as firms will not be able to produce the same quantity at every price level.

Tax rates

The government may change the tax rate on certain goods or add taxes / take away subsidies. A tax will increase the costs of production and reduce aggregate supply.

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Factors that influence the long-run aggregate supply (LRAS)

In the long run all factors of production will be changed. Therefore, only factors that affect the productive potential of the economy affect long-run aggregate supply.

Technological advances

Technological advances tend to mean there is an improvement in technology and more productive capital means output per unit is greater, and therefore the maximum output of the economy is greater and long-run aggregate supply will increase.

Relative productivity

Productivity refers to the amount of output a single unit of a resource could produce. If a worker could produce five units of a good in one working day, but through either training or new equipment the worker could now produce eight units of a good in one working day, the worker's productivity has increased. If the resources in an economy become more productive, i.e. they can produce more output, the economy's long-run aggregate supply will increase.

Education and skills (human capital)

The ability of the workforce is a constant variable and can only really be improved through education, such as school leaving age. If the workforce is more educated or obtains more skills, they will be more productive. A more productive workforce will be able to produce more goods per hour, so the long-run aggregate supply curve will increase.

Attitudes

Similarly, if the workforce has a hard-working attitude – a preference for work over leisure – the long-run aggregate supply will be higher. Similarly, managers can improve the morale of the workers, which will increase output for employers.

Enterprise

The idea of enterprise and entrepreneurship is important when considering the aggregate supply curve. Are people willing to invest their own money to set up a new business? It depends on the state of the economy and expectations of the future. If more people choose to set up their own businesses and they are successful – then AS should shift outwards.

Factor mobility

The demand for various goods and services changes over time. How easily can factors of production – labour or capital – shift to adapt to changing tastes for consumption? If firms can move from one type of good or service to another, the aggregate supply in an economy will increase. This is known as factor mobility *between* economies.

Government regulation

The government can add or remove regulations that will affect the efficiency of firms. For example, if the government increases the level of health and safety in order to protect workers, this could slow down production, making them less efficient, or stop potentially quick but unsafe processes, thereby reducing the quantity of goods produced.

Demographic change and migration

The labour supply available to an economy is often fixed. If all workers are employed, the economy's long-run aggregate supply is fixed. Migration allows the supply of labour to increase or decrease long-run aggregate supply respectively. The age of the population affects the labour supply. Working age is 18 to 65 by UK standards, and so if migration or simply time means more people are of working age, then this will cause little increase to the maximum production. However, if more younger people, either from a previous baby boom or immigration, is likely to increase the labour supply because this has increased the supply of workers.

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Competition policy

If there is greater competition within markets, firms will have to attract more customers 'because their products are cheaper and/or better than their rivals'. This will drive firms to find more efficient ways of producing in order to cut costs to obtain lower prices. Policies that increase competition encourage productivity gains and thereby increase long-run aggregate supply.

LRAS and SRAS curves

Classical economists believe the market will gravitate towards equilibrium at full employment. Some believe this will happen straight away. Some classical economists believe there may be a period where the market will find equilibrium. Friedman is a famous economist from the monetarist school who did not agree with Keynes and amended the classical model as a response.

The classical model can be adapted to include a short-run aggregate supply (SRAS) curve. The economy is in equilibrium when it is temporarily out of equilibrium and not on the LRAS curve. This can happen when demand is under full employment, but also when it is producing above full employment (above Y_e). If demand increases and shifts the AD curve out, then the economy will move along the SRAS curve. More goods are produced to meet this increase of demand (Y_e to Y_1). Production is above full employment, but done temporarily by, for example, paying overtime to workers to encourage them to work longer hours. Overtime pay for 'out-of-hours work' is more expensive and it is unlikely firms will increase their wage expectations and the wage rate will increase. This means the SRAS curve will shift back in until it meets the equilibrium point C on the LRAS curve.



The vertical long-run AS curve

In the long run it is often assumed that the AS curve is vertical. It represents the long-run aggregate supply of the economy. Real supply does not respond at all to change in aggregate demand.

Determinants of / shifts in the short-run AS

In the short run there are various factors that can determine the SRAS curve. These are the price level and production costs. Another important aspect is how much output can be produced by how much firms can increase their output. If there is lots of spare capacity, firms can increase output without seeing a great increase in costs. However, if they are close to capacity then the marginal returns to scale (perhaps they have to pay lots of overtime to increase production) are close to full capacity, the SRAS curve becomes steeper. Any increase in aggregate demand will result in proportionally higher price rises than increases in output.

In the short run, changes in costs will shift the AS curve as follows:

- Money wage rates
 - Labour is a factor of production. If wages increase in real terms the cost of production will rise, shifting the SRAS in.
- Raw material prices
 - A change in raw material prices will cause a shift in the SRAS. One of the most important is oil. If oil prices fall, the SRAS will shift out as firms exploit the cheaper energy to produce more.
- Business taxation
 - A decrease in corporation tax or other tax on businesses will reduce costs and shift the SRAS out.
- Productivity
 - An increase in productivity (either of labour or of capital) will shift the SRAS out as firms can produce more output for each unit of input.

Price
level

↑ P_3
↑ P_2
↑ P_1

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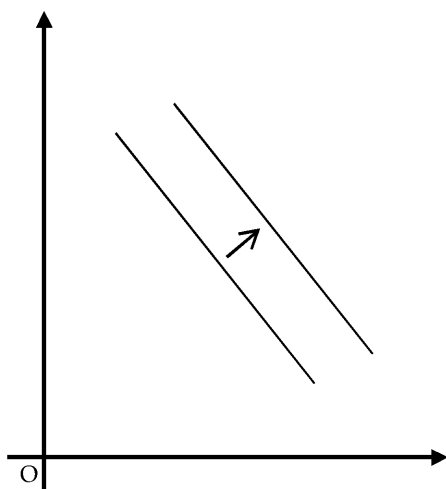


Review questions 2: How the macroeconomy works: the income, aggregate demand / aggregate supply analysis

1. What is the difference between income and wealth?
2. What is the difference between injections and withdrawals? Please provide an example.
3.
 - a) When is a firm in the long run and the short run?
 - b) What factors could affect long-run aggregate supply?
 - c) What factors could affect short-run aggregate supply?
4. Fill in the blanks:

$$AD = C + I + _ + (_ - _)$$

5. Complete this diagram showing aggregate demand by labelling the curves.



- a) What has happened to this curve?
 - b) i) What four main factors can shift the AD curve?
For each factor, give two reasons to explain the shift in the curve.
6. Use a diagram to show how an outward shift in the AD curve will cause inflation. Explain how this is only sustainable if the LRAS shifts too.
 7.
 - a) How do Keynesian and classical assumptions in the labour market differ?
 - b) i) Draw a classical aggregate supply diagram.
ii) Explain what the curves show.
 - c) i) Draw a Keynesian aggregate supply diagram.
ii) Explain what the curves show.
 8. What is meant by growth in money supply?

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Exam-style questions 2: How the macroeconomy works income, aggregate demand / aggregate supply analysis

1. Define the term 'disposable income'.

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2. An individual receives a windfall of £1,600. Their marginal propensity to consume is 0.75. **Calculate** how much of the extra income the individual will use for consumption.

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3. Suppose that the individual chooses to save all of the extra income and the MPC be?

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4. Explain **one** factor that may influence the level of aggregate investment.

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5. Define the term 'aggregate supply'.

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3.2.3: Economic performance

By the end of this topic, you should understand...

- ✓ **Economic growth and the economic cycle**
 - The difference between short-run and long-run growth
 - Supply-side and demand-side determinants of short-run and long-run growth
 - The economic cycle
 - Output gaps
 - Demand-side and supply-side shocks
- ✓ **Employment and unemployment**
 - The main measures of unemployment used in the UK
 - Various types of unemployment
 - Demand-side and supply-side factors
 - Changes in the rest of the world and unemployment in the UK
- ✓ **Inflation and deflation**
 - The concepts of inflation and deflation
 - Demand-pull and cost-push inflation
 - Commodity prices and inflation
 - Changes in other economies and inflation in the UK
- ✓ **The balance of payments on the current account**
 - International trade and the UK
 - The current account, deficits and surpluses
 - Factors that influence the current account balance
- ✓ **Possible conflicts between macroeconomic policy objectives**
 - Output gaps and inflation and unemployment
 - Economic policies and conflicts in the short run and the long run

Economic growth and the economic cycle

Determinants of the growth of real national income

A lot of economic theory is devoted to how and why economies grow. Below is a summary. In a nutshell, anything that increases the number of goods and services in an economy. Factors of production will cause economic growth.

- **Technological advances**

If technology improves, it improves the ability of factors of production. This increases the productive potential and will cause the economy to grow as it can produce more goods and services from the resources available.
- **Education and skills**

This is an investment in human capital and will create a more productive workforce. This will cause the economy to grow and produce more goods and services in the long run.
- **Government regulation**

By changing laws and legislations, a government can affect the efficiency in the economy. It can encourage investment or promote competition and innovation which will improve the economy. It can also create new goods that need fewer inputs. This will allow an economy to produce more goods and services, bringing the potential to grow economically.
- **Demographic and migration**

Migration and changing the demographic of an economy will change the amount of resources available. Generally, populations grow over time and so the economy will generally expand.
- **Investment**

Positive net investment will create economic growth, whereas gross investment just replaces the depreciation of the maximum amount an economy can produce. This highlights the criterion that investment must be growth-related investment. Investment in research and development, hospitals, etc. can help to increase the efficiency in resources.
- **Natural disasters or war**

Natural disasters and war will cause an economy to lose resources as they are taken out of production and instead used for war.

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- **Export-led growth**

For some countries, such as China, the high levels of exports are what fuel the export-led growth. For these countries, international trade is highly important and their foreign trading partners is what boosts their economy; without international trade the economy would not grow.

It is useful to distinguish between different types of economic growth: short-run and long-run.

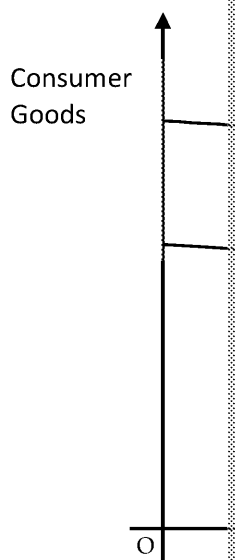
Short-run and long-run growth

In the section on AD and AS curves we have already discussed the distinction between short-run and long-run growth. The same ideas are important when considering economic growth. Recall the distinction between short-run and long-run. Rather, it refers to how much flexibility the decision makers have – in the short run production can be changed.

When referring to growth the decision makers are governments. Often there is a long time to decide to change a policy and the time it comes into effect. For example, suppose a government decides to radically change the education system. This would take months to debate and pass and then seven years for the changes to take effect (the time it takes pupils to go through the system). This can affect growth so the change might be useful – but only in the *long run*.

By contrast, in the short run the government has some flexibility, but not total flexibility. For example, interest rate changes are effective and can be changed quickly (although note that these are no longer set by the government, rather the Bank of England).

Recall the idea of the production possibility frontier (PPF) than was covered in the microeconomics section of the AS course. Long-run growth can be indicated by an outward shift in the PPF. This means that in order to increase production of one type of good (capital or consumer) there does not need to be a trade-off. The curve has shifted out (caused by a factor described above such as technological advance or investment) and the production of both types of good can be increased in equal measure. This is shown in the graph to the right:



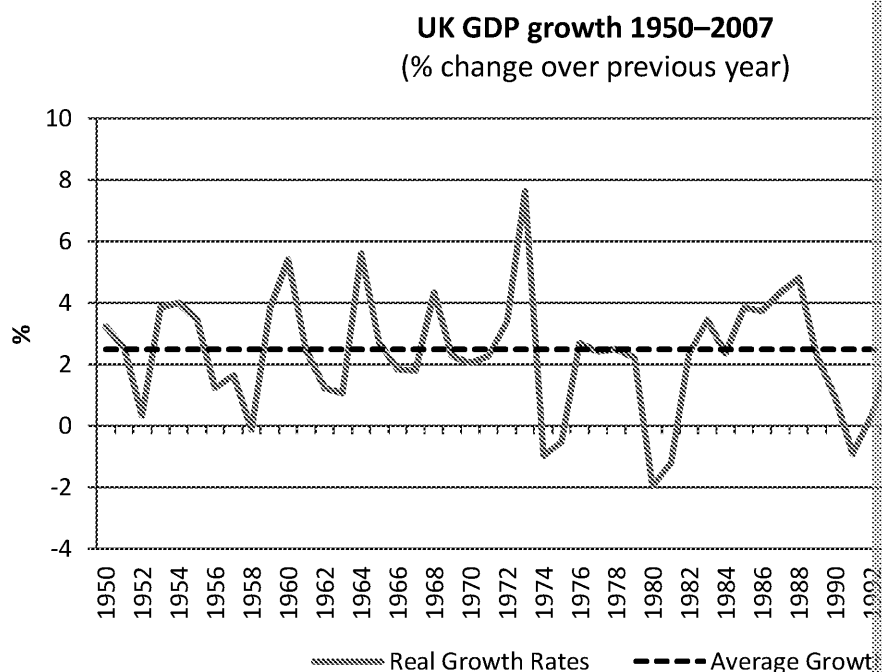
The long-run trend rate of economic growth

In the short run, the economy may experience negative growth. These recessions (see the next section on the Economic Cycle). If you just look at the short-run growth rates you wouldn't see a true representation of the economy's historical growth and performance.

By looking at an average figure for growth over a longer period, we can see the long-run trend rate of economic growth. Below is a chart showing the UK growth rates (percentage change on the previous year) from 1963 and 2007. As you can see, the line is quite volatile with constant peaks and troughs. To calculate the trend growth rate we calculate the average amount – shown by the dotted line. This is indicative of the trend growth over the longer period. **It also suggests the amount we should aim for in the long-run future.**

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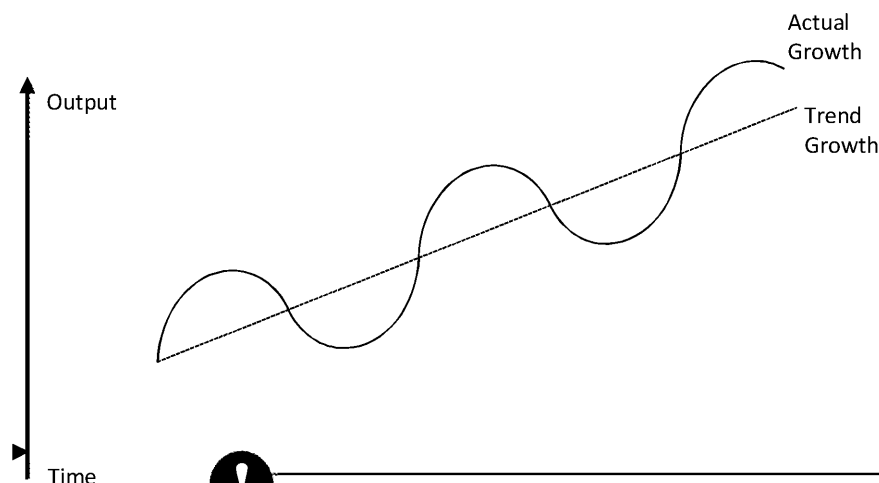
An increasing long-run growth rate means that the productive capacity of the economy is increasing.

The economic cycle

Looking at the graph on the previous page you can see how economic growth tends to peak and fall. This is known as the economic cycle.

The growth rates tend to move around the underlying trend or average. When growth is rising, this is known as a boom period. When growth is falling, this is known as a slowdown. A slowdown is when growth rates are negative for at least two consecutive quarters.

These ideas are shown in the diagram below. Note that this diagram shows the output of the economy on the y-axis, rather than the year-on-year growth rates as in the diagram on the previous page. The trend growth line slopes upwards: the economy is getting bigger in size in real terms.



A lot of recent research is in the area of 'behavioural economics', which suggests that humans are non-rational decision makers. Behavioural theory suggests a cycle of booms and busts. If the economy is performing well, consumers spend more money on goods and services. If the economy is performing poorly, consumers lose confidence and stop purchasing goods – which makes the economy worse as firms see their business fall.

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Economic indicators and the economic cycle

Real GDP

Real GDP rates are the most obvious indicator of the economic cycle. Growth rises when an economy is growing or declining. However, care should be taken: GDP is a while to calculate and is usually revised up or down a few months or even years when more information becomes available.

Unemployment

Unemployment is another good indicator of the economic cycle. During downturns unemployment will increase. During expansionary phases and booms unemployment falls to the natural rate of unemployment. Like GDP figures, though, unemployment rates are a while to collect all the data from surveys and so on (see the next section).

Inflation

The link between inflation and growth isn't clear, but inflation rates tend to be high during booms and fall during recessions.

Investment

Businesses will invest more in capital during boom periods – whether labour (hiring more workers on unemployment) or capital (new factories and machines, etc.). How much businesses invest is a good indicator of where an economy is in the cycle. Business confidence surveys (Confederation of British Industry) are useful in this regard.

Output gaps

In order to follow the trend growth rate, an economy needs to have economic stability. The measures of macroeconomic performance remain steady and there should be no major fluctuations as price, unemployment, growth and balance of payments. The economy should be in a long-run equilibrium. However, in reality it is difficult to keep these variables under control. The economy will swing above and below this trend rate.

	In Recovery	In a Boom	In a Slowdown
Confidence and Expectation	Remain low, but begin to rise	High	Remain high, but begin to fall
Unemployment	Starts to fall	Barely any	Starts to rise
Inflation	Remains low, but begins to rise	High inflation	Disinflation
Exports and Imports		UK prices are high, exports fall and imports rise	
Gov. Spending on Benefits	Begins to fall as employment rises	Low	Begins to rise as people are made redundant
Taxation Revenue	Begins to rise as consumption, investment and job creation increase	High	Begins to fall as people stop spending and investing, incomes fall

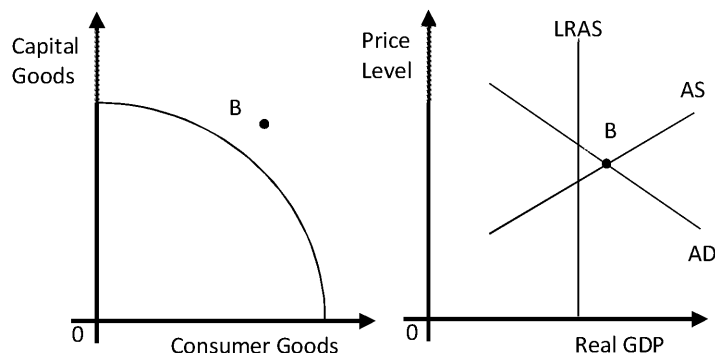
An output gap occurs whenever there is a difference between trend growth and actual growth. We measure these output gaps for a variety of reasons. Firstly, measuring actual growth rates is difficult, as we have already seen. Secondly, trend growth rates are a theoretical concept and, in reality, they are hard to place in real life. Different statistical equations have been constructed to estimate fluctuations in actual growth in order to find the true trend. Some equations attempt to estimate the resources that exist in the country and estimate their productivity in order to find the country's productive potential. However, without physically counting the output of every sector, the estimate can only be an estimate. The economy is too widespread and complex to collect accurate data on.

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Booms: positive output gaps

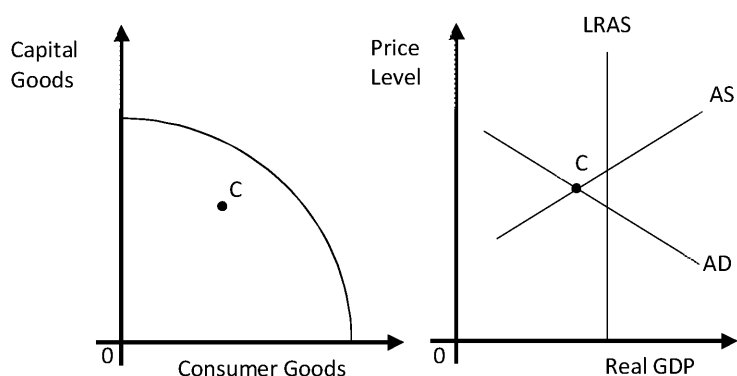
A positive output gap is when the economy is producing above its long-trend growth rate. The economy is producing beyond its PPF, i.e. it is using more resources than it currently has. An economy can do this in the short run by, for example, employing workers who are often associated with high levels of inflation but low levels of unemployment. Resources are being used and there is higher demand from increased incomes.



Recovery

Recessions: negative output gaps

A negative output gap is when the economy is producing below its long-trend growth rate. The economy is producing within its PPF, i.e. there are unemployed resources within the economy with spare capacity. Recessions are often associated with low levels of inflation or deflation. This is because most resources are not being used and confidence is low.



Slowdown

Shocks

Recall that in the first section we defined shocks as **unpredicted and unexpected changes in the economy either negatively or positively**. These don't have to be as sudden as they sound; they can just represent a gradual shift.

Shocks can be categorised as either demand-side or supply-side. A demand-side shock affects the demand for goods or services; a supply-side shock affects the supply of goods or services. Here we focus on demand-side shocks.

Demand-side

- **Asset prices: houses**
For example, if asset prices increase, there will be a positive wealth effect on spending. Spending will increase and the economy would grow.
- **Consumer confidence**
When consumer confidence is high, again spending will increase and the economy would grow.
- **Financial sector**
If banks lower the interest rate, the cost of borrowing will decrease and this will increase spending (as savings will reap a lower return).
- **Inflation**
When inflation goes down, consumers will reduce spending as they will anticipate higher prices. This will decrease aggregate demand and the economy would shrink.
- **Exchange rate**: A stronger pound means that UK exports become less competitive and more expensive. This would lead to a trade deficit. The opposite is true if the pound weakens.

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Supply-side

- **Change in wage levels**
When wages rise, the cost of production increases. Hence, aggregate supply will fall.
- **Green taxes**
When environmental taxes increase, they too increase the cost of production and aggregate supply will have to fall.
- **Subsidies**
Subsidies lower the cost of production, as the government bears some of the cost. This allows aggregate supply to increase.
- **Productivity of labour** (change in human capital)
If the productivity of each worker improves, the firm could use fewer workers. Hence, this too will lower the cost of production and so aggregate supply will increase.
- **Length of the working week**
If the length of the working week is shortened, fewer goods and services will be produced and this will have a direct effect on the aggregate supply.

Human Capital: The knowledge, skills, and experience of a worker, such as a university graduate, are part of human capital. It increases the productivity of a worker and is one of the returns to education.

Employment and unemployment

Unemployment occurs when all those willing and able to work are without jobs. Those who are not seeking employment are *not* counted as being unemployed – e.g. stay-at-home parents.

Underemployment occurs when a job requires less of a worker than the worker is able or willing to do, e.g. part-time or reduced hours when the worker wishes to do more hours, or the requirements of a job are less than the skill set or education level a worker possesses.

Underemployment in an economy can mean the economy is producing within its production possibility frontier (PPF) because, even if all resources are used, they are not used most efficiently. Recent university graduates are often underemployed as financial struggles can cause them to take jobs that are below their skill sets.

ACT
Underemployment is a problem because it means that workers are not using their skills to the full. This can lead to a loss of productivity and a loss of income for the worker. It can also lead to a loss of skills and experience, which can make it harder for the worker to find a job in the future.

Employment does not fall just because unemployment has risen; they are separate variables. For example, if there is an increase in the number of people who are seeking work, then the level of employment has risen but unemployment has remained the same.

Economically Active: People who are willing and able to work whether they are employed or unemployed.

Economically Inactive: People who are of working age (16–64) but are not available for work. This includes those who are unable due to a disability, those who have chosen to stay at home (homemaker) or those who are retired.

Causes of unemployment

- **Structural unemployment**
When the demand for labour is low and doesn't meet the supply of labour, people will find they are unemployed. This can happen in a variety of ways and is caused by the immobility and inflexibility in labour. As economists, we assume the resources in an economy can shift between markets to react to price change. We assume there are no barriers to factor mobility. However, when industries decline, workers are unable to adapt to rising industries because of a mismatch in skills. Structural unemployment can also exist because the supply and demand of labour is distributed unevenly across the country and mismatched.

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- **Frictional unemployment**

While people change from one job to another there is a period of unemployment. It refers to people who are 'between jobs'. Most economists see frictional unemployment as a problem.

- **Seasonal unemployment**

Workers in tourist-reliant industries tend to suffer from seasonal unemployment. They will find they are out of work during certain periods. Generally, seasonal unemployment is high in summer and low in winter.

- **Demand deficiency and cyclical unemployment**

Unemployment occurs when an economy is in recession. Recessions are when there are falling GDP levels. In order to cut back on production and reduce costs, firms will reduce the resources they use; one of these resources is labour, i.e. people will lose their jobs. As a result, unemployment will rise. This is likely to occur whenever demand falls, whether it is due to a fall in demand because firms will restrict supply by making resources redundant (such as labour) when demand levels are low.

- **Real-wage inflexibility**

If the actual wage rate exceeds the market equilibrium wage rate, there will be more people willing to supply labour than people willing to demand it. The excess supply of labour represents unemployed labour.

If the market equilibrium wage rate fell because demand for labour fell, for example, wages may remain at the same point rather than falling. This is because the labour market and wages are 'sticky'. **Sticky wages** are wages that do not change or are slow to change. If wages are sticky and unemployment rises in the economy in general, this happens because people are not willing to accept lower wages because they are lower than their expectations. If the labour market were more flexible, the equilibrium would be reached more closely and unemployment would be reduced.



Further your economic knowledge... natural rate of unemployment

The natural rate of unemployment is the level of unemployment that would exist if the labour market is in equilibrium. Any attempts to decrease unemployment below this level are temporary as the economy will gravitate towards this level in the long run. It includes those who want a job at the wage level and those who are willing and able to work but are not working. This means it includes frictional and structural unemployment – those who are waiting for another job to start or do not fit the current structure.

Inflation will increase if unemployment is less than its natural rate. Equally, deflation will occur if unemployment is greater than its natural rate. For this reason the natural rate is also called the non-accelerating inflation rate of unemployment.

Effects of unemployment

Workers

- Unemployed workers are not receiving an income and will find they are less able to afford services.
- Those who are unemployed for a long period of time will find it harder to accept a new job as they may become redundant.
- Claiming unemployment benefits has a stigma attached to it. Unemployed workers may experience a loss of self-esteem and higher levels of depression.

Consumers

- Consumers will reduce their spending if their income falls.

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Firms

- Falling incomes and falling spending will mean firms will find demand falls for revenue.
- However, if firms did want to increase supply there would be a pool of unused capacity. Firms may flatten their supply curves (make supply more elastic).

The government

- Higher levels of unemployment mean there are more people claiming Jobseeker's Allowance, so government spending will increase.
- Lower employment means fewer people are receiving an income and the government receives less revenue from incomes and national insurance, for example.
- Falling tax revenue and increased government spending will mean the government has a budget expenditure deficit which may lead to higher levels of national debt.

The benefits of employment

If somebody becomes employed, they will gain an income. This increase in income makes it easier to buy the goods and services that they need, which will improve living standards. Firms will be able to purchase the goods that make them happy, which will also increase living standards. In other words, it is that with increased incomes comes increased spending, which will benefit firms and encourage them to produce more goods for their audience to buy their goods.

If more people are earning an income and firms are making more profits from the sale of their goods, the government will gain more revenue from taxes. This in turn will go back into the economy, for example, spending on roads or hospitals. Equally, as employment rises, there is less unemployment, and the government can reduce its spending on unemployment benefits.

If people have jobs, it gives them a chance to improve their skill set and increase their productivity. The worker but the overall economy will benefit from increased human capital because as the economy improves in human capital will improve efficiency and allow the economy to increase its productivity.

Measures of unemployment

There are two main measures of unemployment: ILO unemployment rate and claimant count. These two measures tend to differ by a greater amount when the economy is successful than when the economy is declining.

ILO unemployment rate

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) defines unemployment as 'those who are without work, available for work and seeking work but have not yet found it'. To identify the level of unemployment, the ILO carries out a survey of a sample of households. The survey asks whether people are in or out of work, whether they are seeking or not seeking work. From the sample an estimate of the unemployment rate can be calculated for the economy.

Claimant count

This measures unemployment by counting the number of people who have registered as 'unemployed' and are claiming Jobseeker's Allowance. To be eligible to claim Jobseeker's Allowance, a person must be, of course, out of work but also economically active (i.e. able to work and willing to work). The claimant count is quite a broad measure of unemployment as it counts all those who are claiming Jobseeker's Allowance rather than just a sample of people. However, it is inaccurate at measuring the level of unemployment in the economy because it may include people who are economically inactive, i.e. those who are not seeking work or unwilling to work. The claimant count generally underestimates the level of unemployment because it only counts those who are claiming; there are many who are unemployed but do not claim Jobseeker's Allowance. For many there is a stigma attached to 'being on the dole' and they prefer to look for a new job.

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Migration and employment

Immigration: an inward flow of people (people moving to a country)

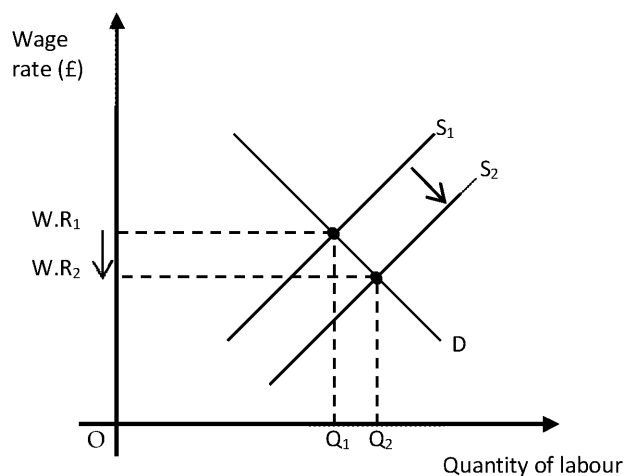
Emigration: an outward flow of people (people moving away from a country)

Migration: movement of people between countries

Net Migration:
immigration
(positive)
have entered
negative
have left

Migration occurs for a variety of reasons and its effects differ depending on these reasons. People may migrate to find work or for a specific job, such as a foreign company headhunting a worker, or to start a new business. Some may migrate to escape oppressive regimes in their home countries. Others may migrate for greater opportunities, such as attending a foreign university.

Those who immigrate to find work but do not find any will not affect employment. Those who have immigrated for a specific job or work will increase employment, but the number of unemployed will not be affected. Immigration can fill shortages in certain industries and increase levels of employment.



It can be argued that immigration increases the labour supply curve, which causes the wage rate of labour to fall. It should be noted that there is a minimum wage in the economy, beyond this level whatever the labour supply.

Effect of migration on the economy

Increased immigration will increase demand in the economy, which will cause the economy to grow and create more jobs. Aggregate demand is discussed earlier in Topic 3.2.2.2. Economic growth can also occur from immigration because the resources available to an economy have increased. If the volume of labour resource available has increased, the economy can increase its maximum productive potential (remember PPFs). Working immigrants will pay income taxes which means the government will have higher tax revenues.

Migration will carry human capital. Countries with high levels of immigration will find there is an influx of skills and education. Economies with high levels of emigration, on the other hand, may find themselves in a 'brain drain' with their most skilled and educated workers leaving to work abroad. Some worry that perfect mobility of labour will damage developing countries by enabling exploitation of their resources as workers emigrate, leaving the country drained of human capital.

Learn More
Read Key
2003 on
<http://www.brain-drain.org>

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Why is unemployment a measure of economic performance?

Low levels of unemployment are generally associated with economic growth because as the economy grows and expands, new industries, markets and firms are created which bring with them more jobs. More jobs means more people are employed and so low levels of unemployment can indicate the economy is expanding.

Unemployment can also indicate high levels of poverty. This is because those with low income. The economy is performing well if there are fewer people in poverty (relative to the population) as more people are able to afford the goods or services they desire.

Most relevantly, unemployment means there are unused resources within an economy. Unused resources indicate the economy is not producing its maximum productive potential and is within its PPF. This means there is room for improvement.

Factors affecting employment

Unemployment has a variety of causes and, therefore, a variety of solutions.

- **Economic environment**
A growing economy will provide more opportunities for employment and vice versa.
- **Technological advancement**
Breakthroughs in technology will replace some workers with machines, but create new jobs for others.
- **Foreign direct investment**
Foreign firms may bring their own workers and their cheaper products may drive local firms out of business. Alternatively, foreign firms could hire local labour and reduce unemployment.

Demand-side

On the demand side, lower demand for goods and services will result in lower sales, which means firms generating less revenue, they might be inclined to make workers redundant or hire fewer workers. Demand-side factors such as consumer confidence, asset prices (wealth effect) and interest rates can cause employment levels to vary.

Supply-side

Supply-side factors can equally affect employment. Government subsidies can encourage firms to hire more workers. If productivity of labour increases (following an increase in technology), firms will hire more workers. An increase in the price of natural resources – if essential for production – might lead to increased unemployment, by contrast.



Further your economic knowledge... the three-day working week

In 1974 the UK government introduced a three-day working week in order to conserve electricity following a strike by coal miners which reduced the output of power. The government wanted to prevent the whole country grinding to a halt and keep businesses ticking over, as well as hospitals and other essential services.

The three-day week remained in operation for about two months and represented a major supply-side shock to the economy.

Learn More
Watch a video about the Labour Market
http://www.bbc.co.uk/2011/01/110120_unemployment_h?v=Qwj...

ACTIVITY

Research the effects of unemployment on the economy. The two links below provide some information.

- <http://thegreatdepression.org/>
- <http://bigmateo0.tripod.com/>

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The rest of the world and employment in the UK

In an increasingly globalised and integrated world, foreign factors have a big impact on the UK economy.

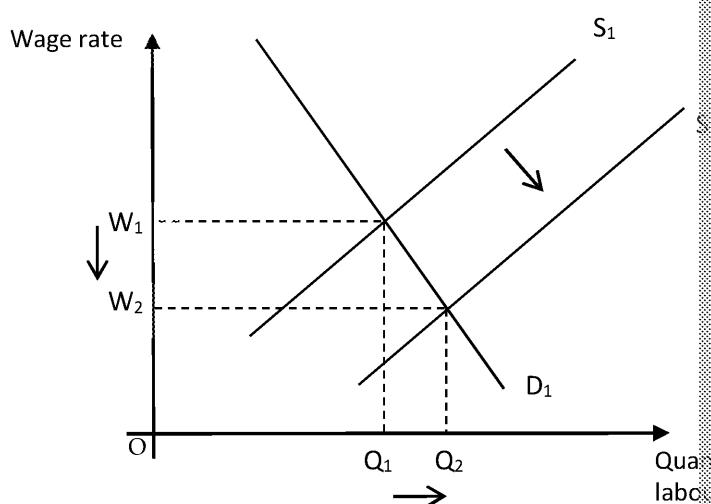
Interconnectedness of the global economy

The UK is very interconnected with the rest of the world. A downturn in fortunes in other countries can impact on confidence here and reduce investment and aggregate demand, and, in turn, reduce output. Uncertainty over the eurozone economies, the USA, China, etc., can all have an effect on the UK, especially export- and import-orientated sectors.

Immigration

Immigration is a politically sensitive issue. It's certainly true that many migrants come to the UK to work in Britain: in March 2015, 3.1 million foreign-born nationals were employed in the UK. Over half a million people immigrated during the preceding year.

The recent trend has been for immigration levels to increase while emigration remains low. This increasing population puts downwards pressure on wages. Think of a basic supply and demand diagram for the labour market.



If the demand for labour stays constant then an increase in labour supply means a lower wage rate. This is bad for native workers who may experience downwards pressure on wages in the short term.

However, in the long term, economists are generally quite positive about immigration. Migrants tend to be young and well motivated, and willing to work. They are also much less likely to claim benefits, and often return to their native country when older. Evidence suggests that immigration can raise aggregate demand, output and employment over the longer term.

ACTIVITY

Consider the effect of a shift in the demand for labour on the wage rate. What happens if there is an increase in demand?

Immigrants may take jobs away from natives – but they also spend on goods and services, which creates jobs. The total amount of work to be shared between more people, but it is a bigger pie to share.

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Inflation and deflation

Inflation

Microeconomics talks about prices for individual goods in the context of individual businesses or markets. However, with macroeconomics the focus is on the 'price level' in the economy – that is, the general level of all the prices for all goods in the economy. Economists are not concerned with the level of the prices in the economy, but instead the rate of change of price level, i.e. by how much the prices have risen or fallen.

Country A's inflation rate was 3% in June, but in July its inflation was 2%. This would be disinflation because the rate has fallen but there is still a rise in general price.

Country B's inflation over a four-year period is shown below...

Year	Inflation
Year 1	2.0%
Year 2	1.4%
Year 3	0.3%
Year 4	-0.6%

For the first three years, country B experienced disinflation. It wasn't until year 4, -0.6%, that the country experienced deflating prices.

Causes of inflation

Inflation has three main causes. However, this will be covered further after you have more information. For those who like a very simplified and quick explanation, see the box below.



Can't wait...?

Remember the supply and demand diagram! If demand or supply change then prices will rise if supply retracts or if demand increases.

Do not use the simple supply and demand diagram when discussing macroeconomic concepts – you will be marked down in the exam! Inflation is a macroeconomic concept – so these changes should be the overall sum change of all the demand curves and the supply curves for all the goods/services in the economy. A micro supply and demand diagram is not appropriate.

Effects of inflation

There is a variety of problems that arise from price changes. Inflation can be associated with economic growth because, often, inflation follows growth. Deflation, therefore, is associated with negative economic growth. However, deflation can also cause negative growth rates. If prices are falling, firms and consumers know that if they wait, they can get a better deal because things will be cheaper. If people stop buying goods or investing their money, the economy will stop expanding (think about the circular flow of income diagram). It is generally believed that inflation should be positive; however, high levels of inflation can still have undesirable effects.

- **Diminishes the value of savings**

Because inflation decreases purchasing power, money kept aside will lose value. This is usually diminished by inflation. High enough interest rates (the money received on savings) can help mitigate the value-diminishing effects of inflation. Money is susceptible to inflation for the same reason.

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- **Shoe-leather costs**

As a consumer, if you know roughly the relative prices of similar goods then a price is acceptable. Firms need knowledge of relative prices in order to judge whether a price is acceptable. Inflation means prices are changing, which makes it difficult to determine a price. This idea of a 'shoe-leather' cost comes from the notion that shoe leather wears out from walking between various shops to gather knowledge of the prices of goods.

Another effect of inflation that wears shoe leather comes from the first point about debit and credit cards. People need cash, i.e. they need to hold cash in its most liquid form (notes), but holding money will lose its value because of inflation. For this reason, people put money in a bank account hoping to reduce the effects of inflation, but they have to travel to the bank to withdraw money. Travelling to and from the bank will wear down shoe leather. (Note that it's not the shoe leather itself that is worn down.)

- **Menu costs**

Changing prices mean firms have to change their labels, print new menus, etc. This is costly, such as on tills, vending machines, etc. This is most relevant to countries with high inflation known as hyperinflation. Zimbabwe is the best-known example of hyperinflation where prices were doubling *every 24 hours*. This meant that firms had to maintain price lists.

- **Disposable income**

If prices rise, the purchasing power of people's income falls. By this, it is meant that money doesn't go as far. Imagine you have £5; it costs £1 for the bus to school, lunch is £1.50 and at the end of the day you still have £2.50 to do with as you please. Maybe you buy a magazine at £2 and buy a 50p bag of crisps. Now inflation is at 20%. The bus to school now costs £1.20, lunch is £1.80 and you still have £2.50 to do with as you please. But the magazine is £2.40 and the crisps are 60p; you are unable to buy them as before. This is of particular concern for those who are on a fixed income. Public sector wages are 'frozen' when the government is trying to cut back. A 'pay freeze' means the same nominal value. In real terms, this equates to a pay cut as prices rise.

- **Distribution of income**

Inflation can alter the distribution of income and can, thereby, add to the income inequality. For example, those who have a fixed income will be affected negatively by inflation as they are only able to buy a lesser quantity of goods and services. This implies that the distribution of income becomes more unequal.

- **Costs of living**

If prices increase, people's costs of living increase. This can be problematic for people living on or close to the poverty line. For workers with low bargaining power and little determination, they may find themselves in a squeeze from rising living costs as prices increase at least with inflation.

- **Discontent**

Periods of high inflation have been known to start riots and revolts. If prices rise faster than wages, people feel worse off.

- **Government taxation**

If the government doesn't raise personal income tax allowance with inflation, the allowance will be greater but the government will receive more tax revenue. Income tax allowance is the amount of income you can earn before being taxed. Equally, if specific taxes on goods aren't increased with inflation, the government will receive less tax revenue than it could.

- **Unemployment**

The New Zealand economist William Phillips found an inverse relationship between inflation and unemployment. He found that as inflation increases, unemployment rates tend to fall.

- **International competitiveness**

As UK prices rise, UK goods will appear more expensive on the global market, *ceteris paribus*. Therefore, inflation can diminish UK competitiveness, as it makes UK goods relatively expensive.

- **Anticipated inflation**

If inflation is anticipated, firms and governments can include it in planning, to adjust for it and mitigate its effects. Unanticipated inflation can throw off plans and which will lead to problems. If inflation is anticipated, people can take steps to protect their savings. Unanticipated inflation can create uncertainty in business planning and investment.

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Further your economic knowledge... *fiscal drag*

When incomes rise, people who were close to a tax-bracket boundary will be in the next bracket. This means more people will be paying the higher income tax and the government will receive more tax revenue without having changed fiscal policy and the tax rate.

Deflation

Deflation, as defined above, is a sustained fall in the general price level.

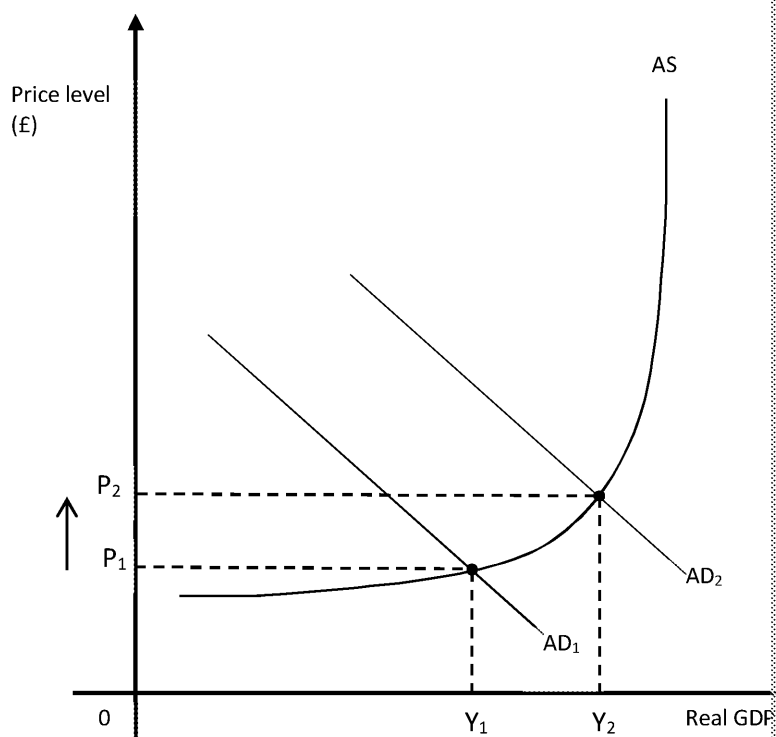
Deflation is generally bad news for an economy. If prices are falling, consumers will delay buying goods and services – why buy now if it will be cheaper in the future? – which means reduced demand and a probable recession. It can also lead to a deflationary spiral as wages and demand fall, leading to lower prices down further with them.

In a few cases a spell of mild deflation does not have to be cause for concern. In 2008, the UK experienced a slight deflation (-0.1%). This was mainly due to falling food prices and oil prices. Consumers were encouraged to consume these to take advantage of possible lower prices in the future so demand was maintained. Some economists presented it as a good thing – because food and petrol were cheap, people had more money in their pockets to spend on other goods and services in the economy.

Demand-pull inflation

Demand-pull inflation occurs when aggregate demand increases and pulls up the price level. In diagram 1 where AD_1 shifts out to AD_2 and prices rise from P_1 to P_2 . This happens when aggregate supply is low, producers will find they are running into shortages. In order to ration the goods, prices are pulled upwards with demand. It is more prominent when the economy is near full employment as most people have an income and can therefore go out and spend it.

Demand-pull inflation occurs when any of the factors of aggregate demand increase. If income rises, maybe because income tax has fallen, consumption will increase and the AD curve shifts right. If confidence and expectations are high, firms and consumers are likely to increase spending, which will push the AD curve outwards and pull up price level.



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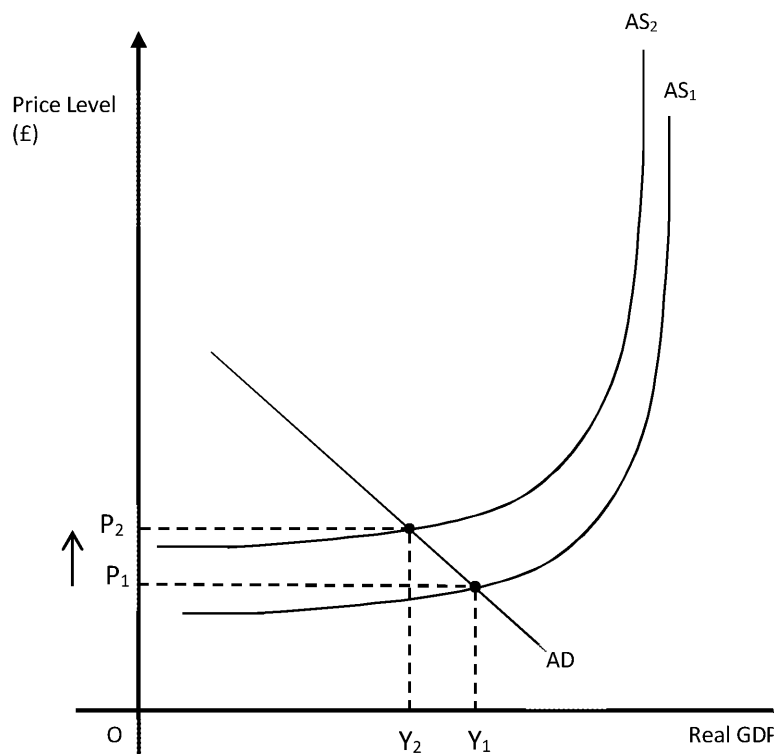
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Cost-push inflation

Cost-push inflation occurs when aggregate supply decreases and the price level increases. This is seen on diagram 2 where AS_1 shifts into AS_2 and prices rise from P_1 to P_2 . This has caused an increase. In order to cover these new costs, firms will push the costs on to the consumer through higher prices.

Cost-push inflation occurs when any of the factors of production increase in cost. Materials such as oil are one of the most common sources of cost-push inflation. Higher interest rates – perhaps due to trade union pressure – which increase firms' costs and push up wages can also cause cost-push inflation if firms have to pass the tax onto consumers.



Inflation and the rest of the world

Commodity prices

As mentioned in the section on deflation, UK inflation was very low – about 0% – and turned slightly negative. This was largely down to a sustained fall in world oil prices. This shows how world commodity prices can affect the price level in the UK.

Other economies

Further, the relationship between other economies and the UK can affect inflation. If import prices rise. This can depend on the exchange rate (a weaker pound makes imports more expensive). The supply of goods and services in other countries (supply might be reduced following a recession, leading to an increase in prices).

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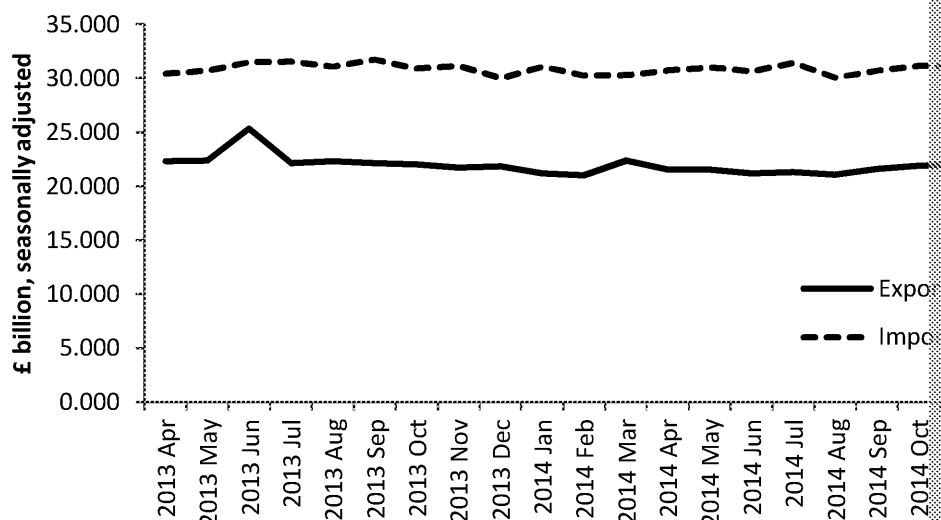


The balance of payments on the current account

International trade and the UK

A lot of the UK's economy is based on international trade. We export a lot, and in below shows the value of the UK's trade in goods (excluding oil) from April 2013 to quite constant and show that we export less than we import. Our main trade partners are the EU, the USA and Switzerland. We export most to the USA and we import most from

Value of UK trade in goods April 2013–April 2015



It's useful to try to measure the financial dealings between economies to give a picture of money going into and out of an economy. In this section we will cover a method used for this called the current account.

The current account

In economics, the so-called current account looks at the following factors:

Trade in goods

This is the trade in visible, tangible goods. In the UK we import mainly machinery, transport goods, chemicals and mineral fuels. Our exports are very similar. When goods enter a country, money flows out to pay for them – imports have a negative impact on the current account, while exports have a positive impact.

Trade in services

Services are invisible and intangible. For example, a guided tour of London given by a UK citizen is an export of a service. A UK citizen hiring a car in Spain is an invisible import of services. The UK economy is dominated by services (about 80% of the economy), with financial services being a major part.

Invisible imports are flows of money abroad, while invisible exports (such as insurance) are flows of money into the economy.

Income flows and transfers

Income may also flow into an economy from interest, dividends and profit generated by UK assets owned by foreign owners. Transfers are also known as secondary income. Income from workers or investment are known as primary income.

There may also be 'remittances' which are payments made by immigrants working in a foreign country to their family in their native country. An American might make a lot of money working in the UK and send some of it back to pay for their child's education in the USA, for example.

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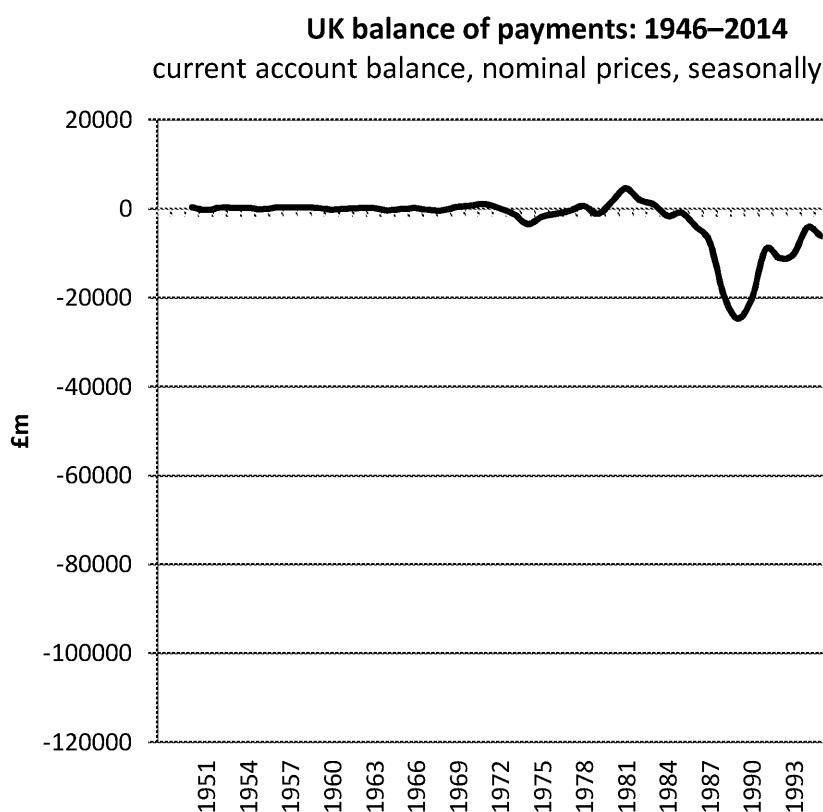
There may also be transfers from the government to international organisations or a contribution of around £8 billion a year to the European Union, for example. It also includes transfers from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The current account balance

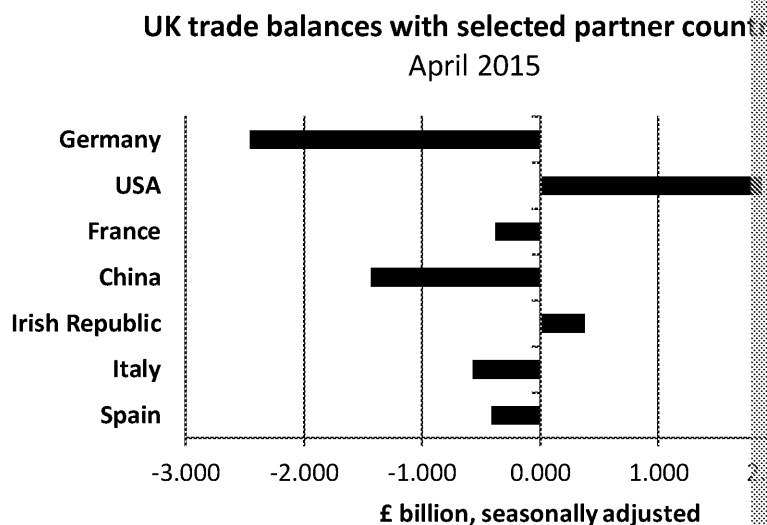
The current account balance is the balance between the imports and exports of goods and services, trade in services, and income flows and transfers).

Exam Tip: There are other components of the balance of payments for an economy (the capital accounts) but you are only required to know about the current account balance.

Below is a chart showing the UK's balance of payments between 1946 and 2014.



Below is a chart showing the UK's trade balances with selected partner countries.



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Current account deficits and surpluses

As shown in the charts above, the UK has a large current account *deficit*. That is, the outflows from the UK are larger than all of the inflows into the current account from abroad. A current account surplus can also occur if countries export more than they import. For example, the UK has a current account surplus with the USA – we export to them more than we import from them. There can be both positive and negative effects on a country's welfare. For example, when imports are higher than exports, there may be emigration of workers to USA; etc.

Factors affecting the current account balance

Various factors can affect the current account balance, including:

Productivity

If labour productivity increases, a fall in the costs of production will lead to lower prices for exports of the good – or reduced imports if it becomes relatively cheaper to produce goods at home.

Inflation

Inflation might lead to higher production costs if it causes workers to demand higher wages. This can make domestic goods become less competitive relative to foreign producers.

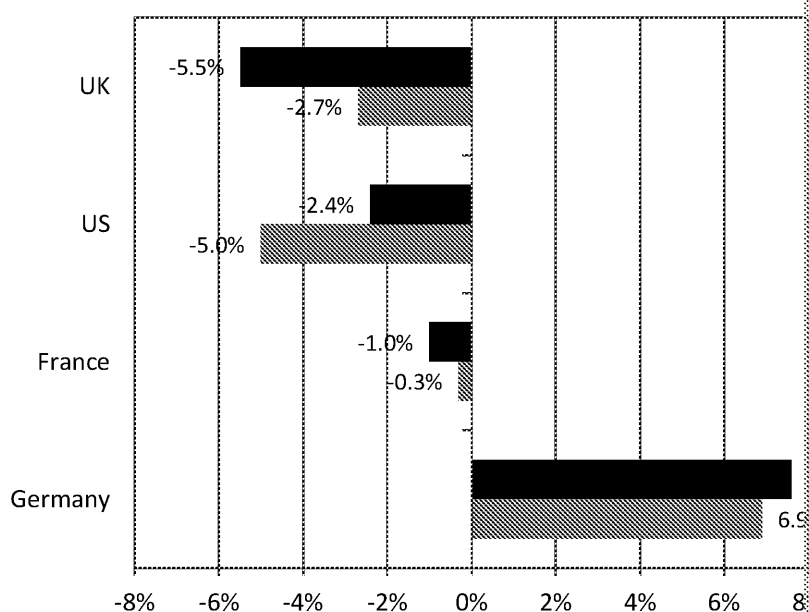
The exchange rate

A rise in the exchange rate will increase imports (as they become relatively cheaper) and reduce exports (as they become relatively more expensive).

Economic activity in other countries

The UK's economy is very interrelated with other economies. A recession in a major trading partner will lead to lower exports to that country. Similarly, a UK recession will lead to lower imports from that country.

Current account balance in the UK and selected countries
(% of nominal GDP)



Source: ONS, Eurostat, US BLS

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Possible conflicts between macroeconomic policy objectives

Conflicts between macroeconomic policy objectives (of economic growth, low unemployment, low inflation, and a balanced current account) can occur, at least in the short term.

Economic growth versus inflation

Economic growth usually results from an increase in aggregate demand. An increase in aggregate demand increases growth but also increases the price level. This is because economic growth increases the number of jobs in the economy and these jobs translate into an increase in demand. This increased demand shifts the aggregate demand curve to the right, and a new equilibrium is restored. Therefore, as an economy grows, it will tend to see growing inflation. To increase growth without increasing prices is to increase aggregate supply; classically, the only way to create economic growth because without moving the LRAS curve (see Chapter 3.2.3), an increase in aggregate demand will only result in price increases in the long run.

Economic growth versus the current account

As the economy grows and people's incomes rise, people will spend more on imports, which will worsen a trade deficit (or improve a surplus). Equally, as the economy grows and the price level rises, exports will appear more expensive in relation to foreign goods. This means exports will fall and imports could create a negative current account (deficit).

Economic growth versus environment

Pollution and environmental degradation is a social cost. Remember negative externalities are a key component of your course. Polluting the environment is not accounted for in the production process, but it generally requires more inputs as they grow, which will use up more of the finite resources. This comes from the increased use of fossil fuels, and with the expansion of new factories, increased consumption of space, which may currently be inhabited by nature. China is a classic example of the conflict between their high rates of economic growth and their low rates of clean air and water. These issues are particularly damaging to the environment during their industrialisation stage and are quickly forgotten with the rapid rise in growth rates, and countries switch to consumption.

Inflation versus unemployment (Phillips curve)



In 1958, Bill Phillips hypothesised a relationship between unemployment and inflation. He believed that if there was high unemployment in an economy (spare resources), then firms could offer relatively low wages as most people would be without an income.

Another way to look at this is in terms of competition; there was very little competition within the labour market as the supply of jobs was low relative to the supply of available workers. On the other hand, when the economy was near full employment, attempting to expand would be more costly because firms would have to offer wages that were much higher than the market equilibrium in order to tempt already employed workers away from their current jobs. So, as unemployment fell, expanding production would become more costly and prices would increase to compensate.

Long-run and short-run Phillips curve

The economy went through a period of stagflation in the 1970s that seemed to disprove the Phillips curve trade-off. Stagflation is when the economy has low growth, and high levels of both inflation and unemployment rather than a compromise between the two. It was instead theorised that expectations had adjusted to the high levels of inflation and these new expectations of inflation were incorporated into wage negotiations. Equally, the strong union power in the UK at the time meant the market was restricted from adjusting to the market equilibrium, resulting in high unemployment (remember the Keynesian idea of sticky wages).

Inflation

0

Inflation

0

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With this idea the theory of the short-run Phillips curve was created. The relationship is true to Phillips' relationship; the curve may simply shift in the short run so that demand shocks result in increasing inflation but at high or low levels. In the long run, however, the relationship is horizontal and therefore the Phillips curve is a straight line. It is believed the long-run equilibrium is at the natural rate of unemployment. The natural rate of unemployment is where supply equals demand, i.e. all those wanting to work are able to find work. There still remains some unemployment, usually voluntary.

Macroeconomic Policy

Fiscal policy conflicts

Increased government spending may help to boost an economy out of a recession but it will be likely to result in increased taxes in the future. This tax increase not only increases the cost of living, but will reduce incentives to work and could worsen income distribution if a regressive tax is implemented. Moreover, indirect taxes tend to be regressive in nature, which means a higher proportion of the income of a low-income person. This means that this creates inequality as the rich become richer and the poor become poorer.

Reducing government spending may mean cutting benefits or reducing investment in infrastructure, which can have a negative impact on the living standards within an economy. After the 2008 financial crisis, the focus shifted to reduce government debt by cutting spending; however, this was unpopular with those who feared losing the NHS and the adverse effect on education quality. Cutting spending can worsen income distribution and put at a disadvantage those who may need the benefits.

Monetary policy conflicts

The Bank of England has independent control over the interest rates in order to manage inflation. Increasing interest rates can be damaging to some people; for example, new home buyers will have to pay a mortgage. This could worsen wealth distribution. Monetary policy can also conflict with fiscal policy. If interest rates are high, this will discourage new start-up businesses and slow down economic growth in the market.

Supply-side policy conflicts

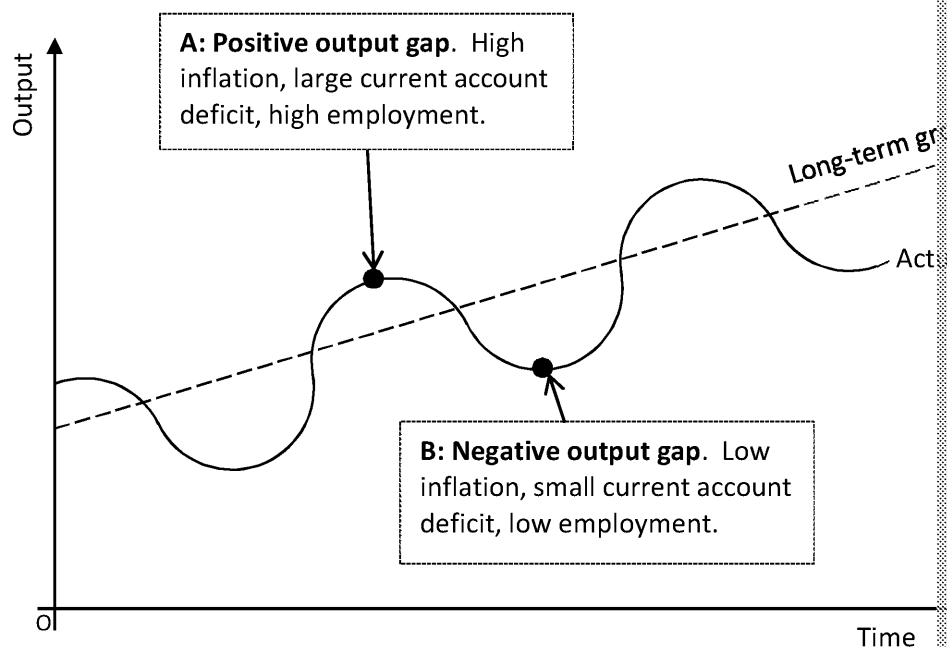
Supply-side policies that improve infrastructure will improve the efficiency of the economy but they are likely to damage the environment. Areas of forests, for example, may be cut down to make way for new roads. Equally, supply-side investments will come out of the government's budget, which may contradict a deflationary fiscal policy.

The business cycle Recall the idea of positive and negative output gaps from section 1. These relate to the business cycle. When an economy is expanding we see point A on the diagram below (high inflation, large current account deficit, high employment). Aggregate demand is expanding and the economy is producing *above* potential output. This causes demand-pull inflation and a current account deficit (the UK is consuming more imports).

When an economy is contracting we see point B (low inflation, small current account deficit). There is falling aggregate demand, slowing inflation and the balance of payments improves.

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What can the government do at point B? If it 'reflates' the economy by loosening monetary policy and introducing fiscal stimuli, growth and unemployment will improve – but inflation will worsen.

By contrast, if the government tightens monetary and fiscal policy then the opposite happens: the current account balance improves, but unemployment increases and growth goes slower.

The long run

In the longer term, all objectives can worsen – or all get better. The long run is a section 3.2.4.3) designed to improve the overall potential output of an economy. It addresses fundamental questions about unemployment, such as how to sort out structural unemployment, how to improve skills and productivity more generally. There will also be questions about the future: the UK has consistently run a deficit on the current account for about 50 years – is this a debt to future generations – and is this fair?

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Review questions 3: Economic performance

1. Provide four factors that cause economic growth.
2. What is the difference between inflation, deflation and disinflation?
3. What is the difference between employment, unemployment and underemployment?
4.
 - a) What are the five main causes of unemployment?
 - b) Can you explain these causes?
5. These questions refer to the measures of unemployment.
 - a) What are the two main measures of unemployment?
 - b) How do these measures attempt to quantify unemployment?
 - c) How accurate are these measures?
6. What is meant when economists say there is a current account deficit?

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Exam-style questions 3: Economic performance

- Which **one** of the following is correct?
 - In the case of constant prices (0% inflation), real GDP will rise faster than nominal GDP.
 - Real GDP is adjusted using the unemployment rate.
 - Nominal GDP adjusts all values relative to a base year.
 - If inflation is positive, nominal GDP will rise faster than real GDP.

- Define the term 'disinflation'.

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- Which of the following statements is not true?
 - In a boom an economy produces above its long-term trend rate of growth.
 - An output gap is the difference between actual growth and the long-term trend rate of growth.
 - In the long term, the trend rate of growth is always 0%.
 - During a recession there is spare capacity in an economy that is not used.

- Name and briefly explain **three** different effects of inflation.

1.....

.....

.....

2.....

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3.....

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- The table below shows the **claimant count** measure of unemployment for England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and the UK as a whole, in March 2015.

	Total level of workforce (thousands)	Claimant count
		Total level (thousands)
England	28,678	625.5
Wales	1,432	44.8
Scotland	2,704	78.1
Northern Ireland	843	43.4
United Kingdom	33,673	791.8

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5a. Define the claimant count measure of unemployment.

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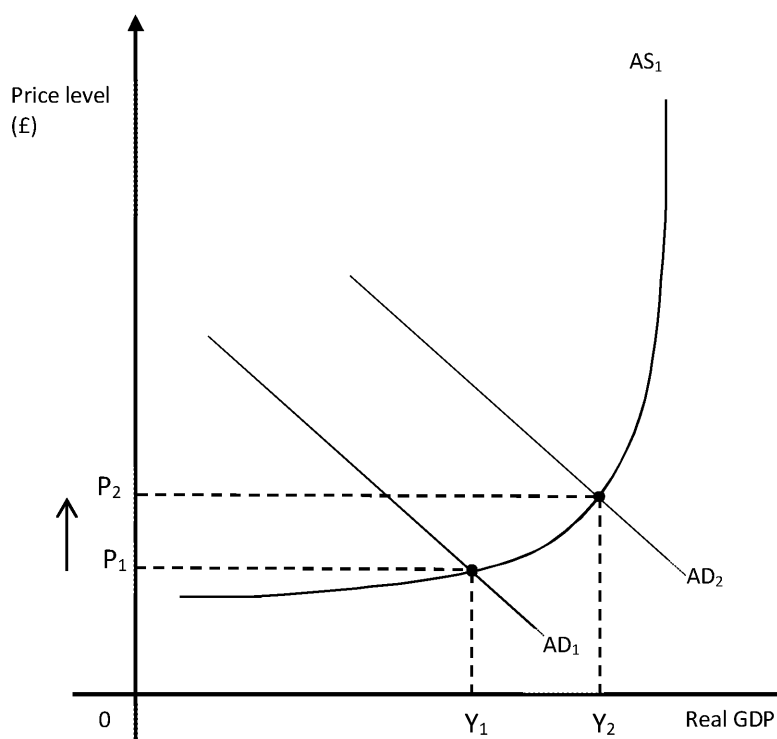
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5b. Which **one** of the following **cannot** be inferred from information in the

- A More people were unemployed in England than in Wales.
- B A higher proportion of people in Northern Ireland were unemployed than in Wales.
- C England has more people in its workforce than Wales, Scotland or Northern Ireland.
- D A higher proportion of Scottish people were unemployed than Welsh people.

6. What type of inflation is shown by the diagram below?

.....



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3.2.4: Macroeconomic po

By the end of this topic, you should understand...

- ✓ **Monetary policy**
 - What is meant by monetary policy
 - The government's monetary policy objectives
 - The UK's Monetary Policy Committee (MPC)
 - Factors considered by the MPC when setting the bank rate
 - The exchange rate and aggregate demand
- ✓ **Fiscal policy**
 - What is meant by fiscal policy
 - The macroeconomic and microeconomic functions of fiscal policy
 - Fiscal policy and aggregate demand and aggregate supply
 - Different types of taxes
 - The budget balance and national debt
- ✓ **Supply-side policies**
 - The difference between supply-side policies and supply-side improvements
 - Examples of supply-side policies

The government has two broad tools it can use to implement the objectives we in this course companion: monetary policy and fiscal policy. Let's look at each in turn.

Monetary policy

Monetary policy is an approach by the government or central bank of an economy controlling monetary variables: interest rates, the supply of money and the credit. Its role is to control inflation and avoid deflation.

Interest rates

Traditionally, the most important monetary policy instrument is the interest rate. Think of interest rates as the cost of borrowing money. By setting the interest rate the central bank can influence the rate of borrowing. When interest rates are high the cost of money goes up and individuals borrow less and consume less. Likewise, firms will invest less in infrastructure if it's expensive to borrow money.

Interest rate manipulations are most important during the boom period of the economic cycle. If the central bank thinks that the economy is close to overheating – when growth rates are above trend and output can't keep up with the rise in aggregate – then it can increase interest rates. This dampens down aggregate demand and reduces the price level.

Similarly, if the economy is in a downturn the central bank can reduce interest rates. This makes the cost of borrowing money cheaper. With more access to credit, consumers should spend more and businesses should invest more. Both will increase aggregate demand and increase growth rates.



The responsibility for monetary policy was passed from the government to the Bank of England in 1997. Gordon Brown as Chancellor of the Exchequer was the first minister.

Previously, there were governments who would set the interest rate for the economy. The rate would rise and fall, and it would increase during the peaks and troughs of the economic cycle, leading to more severe recessions.

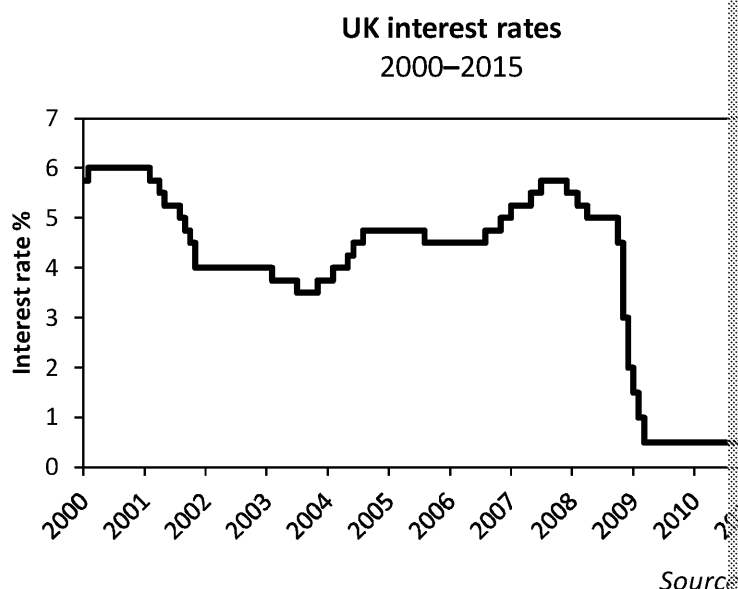
Now the Monetary Policy Committee of the Bank of England (the MPC) is independent. It looks to set the interest rate to achieve the target term growth of 2%.

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Below is a chart showing the interest rates set by the Bank of England between 2000 and 2015.



Quantitative easing

The trouble with setting interest rates is that once they reach close to zero there is little room for further cuts. Look at the chart above which shows the recent history of interest rates in the UK. In late 2008, the MPC slashed interest rates to 0.5% in an attempt to introduce credit and stimulate the economy.

While rates can theoretically decrease to any number (and some countries such as Japan have introduced negative interest rates), 0.5% is the 'effective lower bound'.

ACTIVITY

The Bank of Japan was the first to use a program of quantitative easing in the early 2000s. Research why this was necessary: read about Japan's 'Lost Decade'.

When this failed to boost aggregate demand, the government turned to quantitative easing. Quantitative easing is a way of increasing the money supply, often called 'printing money'. It involves the government purchasing assets – from commercial banks. This increases the money supply and encourages the banks to lend more.

The government's monetary policy objectives

The Bank of England's target rate of inflation is 2%. The target is judged on the basis that inflation *below* the target is seen to be just as bad as inflation above it.

Recall that if aggregate demand exceeds aggregate supply, price levels – inflation – rise. Therefore, the main objective of monetary policy is to keep aggregate supply and aggregate demand roughly at equilibrium.

The main method used by the bank to do this is to change the interest rate. Specifically, the **bank rate**. This is the rate of interest that the Bank of England pays on reserves held by commercial banks. This influences how much these commercial banks, and building societies, want to borrow. This affects the whole economy. If money is cheap to borrow, and the interest rate is low, borrowing goes up. Borrowers tend to spend more than lenders. The opposite is true if the interest rate is high: aggregate demand tends to fall.

There are other effects following a change in the bank rate. First, asset prices tend to rise when the interest rate falls (since they are now relatively more affordable). If shareholders see the value of their assets rise, they respond to the increase in wealth by spending and consuming more.

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The Monetary Policy Committee

The Monetary Policy Committee (MPC) of the Bank of England sets the bank rate, chooses the members – including the Governor and the Chief Economist – and meets once a month. The committee votes independently on what the bank rate should be going forward. The MPC is as transparent as possible and publishes all minutes of its meetings. If the inflation is higher or lower than the 2% target (below 1% or above 3%), the Governor has to write to the Chancellor of the Exchequer explaining the circumstances.

If interest rates are adjusted to increase spending, this feeds through to output and employment.

A loose monetary policy is where the government tries to increase the money supply, for example, by decreasing interest rates, which reduces the cost of borrowing.

A tight monetary policy is where the government tries to decrease the money supply to discourage spending – for example, by increasing interest rates, which increases the cost of borrowing.

ACTIVITY

Read the recent MPC report explaining why the 2% target is appropriate. www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy

Factors considered when setting the bank rate

Changes in the bank rate take a while to come into effect because of time lags. Following a change in the rate it can take up to a year to affect output and up to two years to affect inflation. For this reason it is important for the MPC to set the rate based on the expectations in the future, rather than what it is on the day of their meeting.

The exchange rate

The bank rate can also affect the exchange rate of the pound with the rest of the world, and also our patterns of trade. If interest rates in the UK rise, it means that British assets are more attractive to foreigners. A stronger pound makes UK exports more expensive for foreigners, but imports are cheaper for us.

Exchange rate and changes in macroeconomic policy objectives

An increase in the exchange rate will cause the sterling to appreciate. Hence exports become more expensive, while imports will become cheaper. Hence, as more goods are imported, aggregate demand falls. Moreover, as imports increase, aggregate supply will fall, and the price level, i.e. inflation will fall. However, this would lead to a current account surplus. As imports rises due to a rise in the exchange rate, this may cause local production to fall – resulting in increased unemployment.

Fiscal policy

The word ‘fiscal’ refers to government finance. Fiscal policy, therefore, is decisions about its spending, taxation and the budget balance.

Fiscal policy is used to promote employment, decrease inflation and smooth out the business cycle. Between the Second World War and the 1970s, fiscal policy was used to manage the economy. Since the 1970s it has been used to support monetary policy.

Government spending

Recall that government spending is an injection into the circular flow model. The effect of increasing spending – although this also causes an increase in the price level. How much is in increasing output depends on the size of the multiplier.

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Taxation

The government has to raise enough taxation to pay for the public goods and services it provides, as well as paying debt interest and welfare payments. Taxation is a controversial issue: people don't like losing chunks of their hard-earned income, and there are political and ideological differences in attitudes towards taxation. Some say that lower taxes mean that there are higher incentives to work and produce output if you get to keep more of your income, and this is best for the overall economy. Others argue that taxation should be higher in order for the state to play a bigger role and provide a safety net for the least well-off members of society.

EVALUATION POINT

The Laffer curve is a relationship between the tax rate and tax revenue. It suggests that initially, as the tax rate increases, tax revenue increases. However, after a certain point, further increases in the tax rate causes tax revenue to fall because high tax rates discourage people from working or people may be encouraged to move abroad (known as 'tax avoidance').

The government can change taxation rates to try to influence the level of economic activity. Following the financial crisis of 2008 the government announced a temporary cut in VAT. This was designed to increase consumer spending and raise aggregate demand.

The budget balance

Perhaps the most important element of fiscal policy is the **balance** between government expenditure and income. If the government runs a surplus – it spends less than it brings in – the surplus would be better off spent increasing the output and overall growth rates of the economy. The government can run a deficit during downturns in order to prevent an even further fall in output. Running a deficit means increasing debt and debt interest payments. This reduces the amount the government can spend on public goods and services, as well as passing costs of debt on to future generations.

The concept of **automatic stabilisers** helps smooth the budget balance over the business cycle without any changes in policy from the government. During a boom period, salaries rise and so do tax receipts, swelling the government's coffers. Higher levels of taxation can help prevent overheating. By contrast, during a recession incomes fall and so does the government's tax receipts. This, in turn, means that unemployment benefits should rise so government spending has to increase. This means the government may *automatically* run a surplus during the good times and a deficit during the bad times.

Fiscal policy and AD/AS

Fiscal policy and aggregate demand

Recall that $AD = C + I + G + (X - M)$

Government spending (G) is a component of aggregate demand. An increase in G shifts the AD curve to the right. This raises real output and the price level.

Fiscal policy and aggregate supply

Generally it is believed that fiscal policy has more of an effect on aggregate demand than aggregate supply. However, so-called **supply-side economists** argue that lowering tax rates increase aggregate supply and output.

Also, if the economy has confidence in the government and believes its fiscal policy for the future will be higher. This leads to more investment and, hopefully, higher aggregate supply shifts.

Direct vs indirect taxes

Taxes can be grouped into two categories: direct and indirect.

Direct taxes

Direct taxes are paid directly from the taxpayer to the government or authority. They do not affect consumption choice. Examples include:

- Income Tax
- National Insurance
- Capital Gains Tax
- Council Tax

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Indirect taxes

Indirect taxes are paid by an intermediary (middle person). VAT is added onto most goods by firms, who pay it to the government. However, these firms pass the costs onto the consumer in the form of higher prices. If the government imposes a high levy on new cars, the car salesrooms will pay this amount for each vehicle that they sell. However, they will increase the price of their cars by the same amount, meaning that ultimately the consumer bears the cost of the tax.

Examples of indirect taxes include:

- Expenditure tax (VAT)
- Excise duties (paid in addition to VAT on goods such as fuel and alcohol)
- Customs duties (tariffs)

! VAT is a percentage added to the cost of most goods and services. By contrast, excise duties, which are levied on a specific unit, irrespective of the quantity, such as petrol standing at 45p per litre of fuel, are not a percentage of the cost of the good.

Progressive, proportional and regressive taxes

Taxes can also be grouped according to their level of 'progressiveness'. This is how the average rate of tax paid changes as incomes rise. For a tax to help achieve greater equality, it needs to be progressive.

Progressive

Under a progressive tax regime, people pay a higher **proportion** of their income in taxes as their salary rises. So, somebody earning £1,000 may pay 10% income tax (£100), but somebody earning £100,000 may pay income tax of 30% (£30,000). The average rate of tax (tax/income) rises as income rises.

Q: What is the average rate of tax paid by someone earning £1,000? A: 10% (or 0.10). Is this a progressive tax? A: Yes.

Proportional

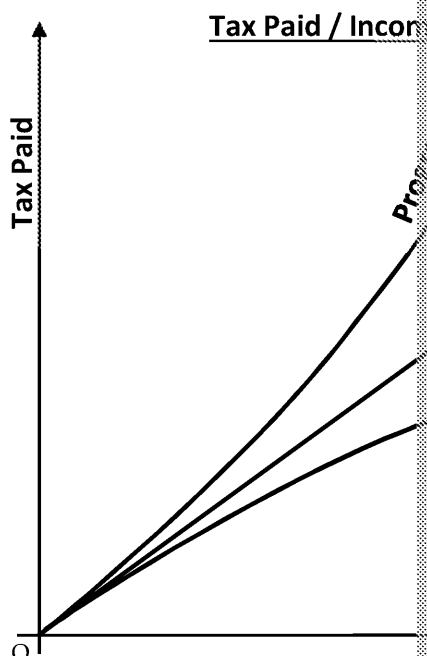
Proportional taxes are constant and do not change with the income level of the taxpayer. They are also known as 'flat taxes' because taxpayers will pay, for example, 10% of their income whether they earn £1,000 (and pay £100) or they earn £100,000 (and pay £10,000).

Regressive

Under a regressive tax regime people pay a smaller **proportion** of their income in taxes as their salary rises. For example, a government may impose an environmental tax on fuel in order to reduce the negative environmental externalities. However, it is generally low-income earners who will purchase old cars because they cannot always afford the new, greener cars. Therefore, low-income earners will pay more in fuel tax.

A lump sum tax is a very regressive tax. The amount paid stays the same no matter the level of income.

The diagram to the right shows a graphical illustration of the three types of tax. Note how the average rate of tax paid rises with income under a progressive tax system, but falls with income for a regressive tax system. Tax/income is constant for proportional taxes.



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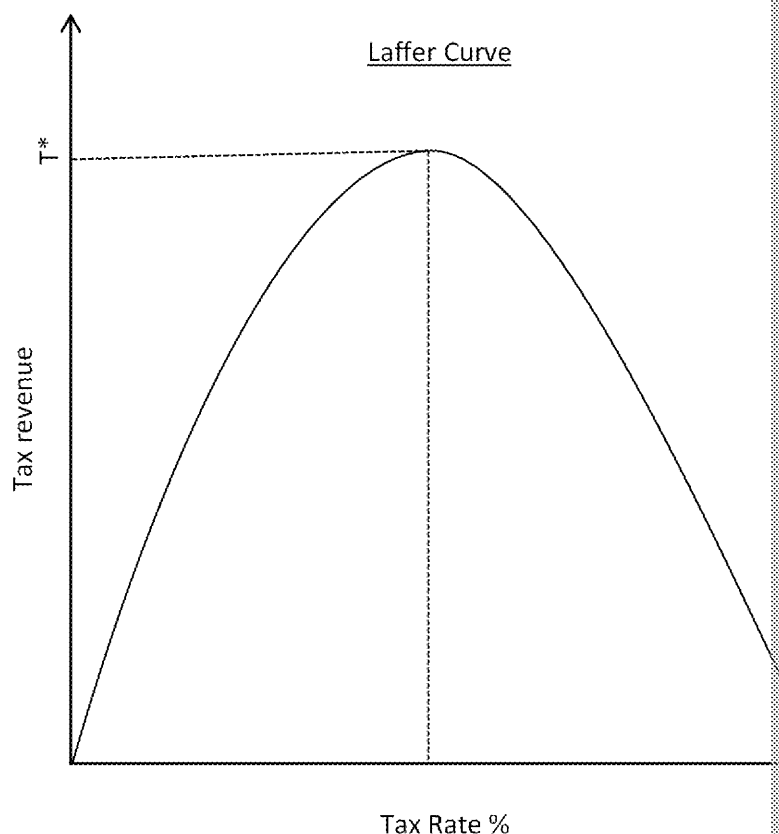




Further your economic knowledge... Can decreasing tax rates increase tax revenues?

Supply-side theory suggests that cutting tax rates can lead to an increase in our tax revenues. The idea is that if income taxes are lower and people keep more of their income, there is an incentive to work harder and for longer hours. Similarly, if business tax rates are lower, there is an incentive to produce more, and invest more in research and development.

The idea can be shown graphically using a *Laffer curve*, named after the economist Arthur Laffer. An example is shown below. Note that no tax revenue is generated at 0% (there is no tax) and 100% (if everything is taxed then nobody will work). The Laffer curve suggests that there must be a certain tax rate that generates the maximum revenue. In this case, the revenue is maximised at a tax rate of 50%.



In reality, the shape of the Laffer curve is unclear. Tax rates aren't changed that often – and they're usually only changed in 'good' or 'bad' times so there are other factors at play, such as inflation and productivity (remember the idea of 'ceteris paribus'). Supply-side economists argue that the curve peaks at a relatively low tax rate.

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The budget balance and the national debt

Debt and deficit in the uk

Note that in the pie chart (see box), 7% of government spending goes on interest. This refers to the interest that the government has to pay to service its debt. To finance spending, the government issues bonds which pay a fixed amount at regular intervals (before returning the initial amount at the end of a defined period). In the UK, government bonds are known as **gilts**.

As discussed in the section on fiscal policy, the government can choose to run a deficit in order to maintain spending and boost aggregate demand. The deficit is financed by issuing government bonds. The recent history of the UK's debt and deficit is shown below in the chart below. Note that there are different y-axes: the deficit is shown on the left-hand axis, and the debt as a percentage of GDP is shown on the right-hand axis. A negative deficit indicates a surplus.

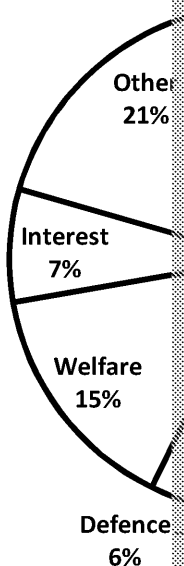
The chart shows how the government has generally run a deficit in recent years. The government debt as a percentage of GDP has risen as a result. There have been exceptional circumstances, of course, with the financial crisis of 2008 requiring the government to borrow more to spend and boost aggregate demand.



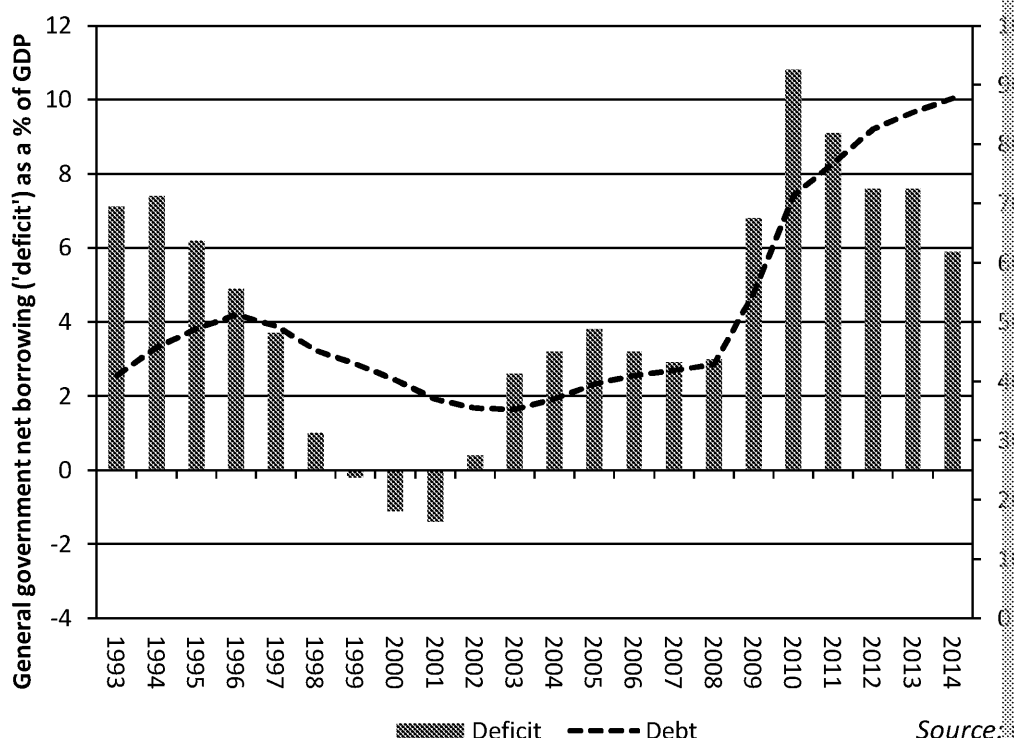
How does the government spend tax revenue?

Below is a chart which shows how the government spends tax revenue on health, education and other areas.

UK Central Government Spending



Debt and deficit in the uk
% of GDP, 1993–2014



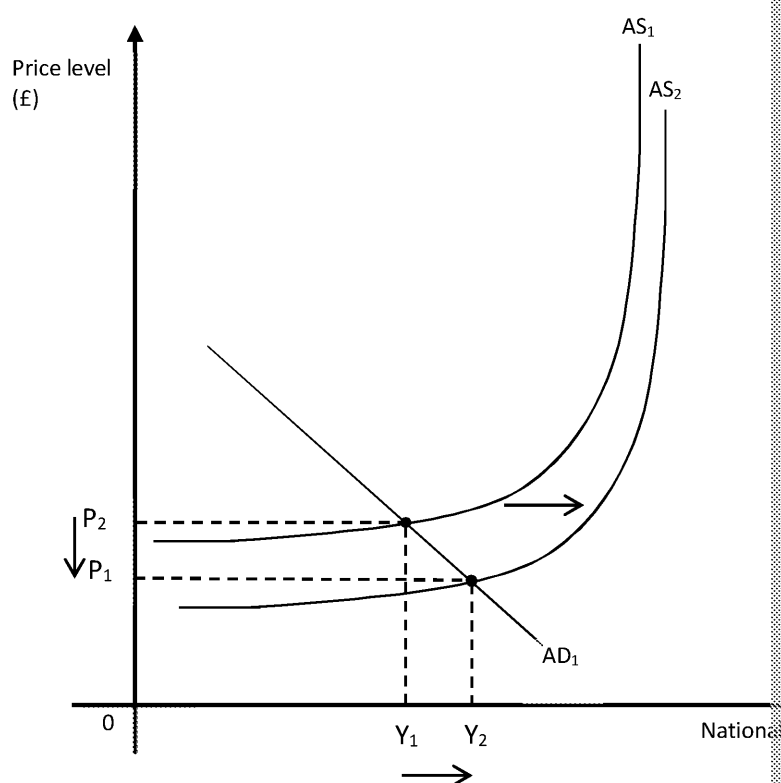
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Supply-side policies

Supply-side policies vs supply-side improvements

Supply-side policies are government policies aimed at increasing the productive capacity of an economy. An example of such a policy may be lowering tax rates, as this creates an incentive for firms to produce more, thereby increasing productivity. There is a wide range of things that affect the aggregate supply curve, but the government has the same level of control over as it does with demand-side policies. The way the government can control aggregate supply is through spending on supply-affecting policies, such as infrastructure, rules and regulations. Below are some conditions that affect aggregate supply and the government may make policies to affect those conditions.



- **Promote competition**

If there are lots of producers in a market, there is more competition between producers and an incentive to find ways to cut production costs because then they can sell at a lower price, thereby gaining more customers. To do this the government could give grants to firms, reduce barriers to entry (obstacles that may prevent a firm from entering a market), or reduce taxes on imports. By reducing taxes on imports, allowing foreign firms to compete within the market. By reducing taxes on imports, allowing foreign firms to compete within the market. By providing subsidies to domestic firms, an economy can increase competition. By reducing taxes on imports, allowing foreign firms to compete within the market. This will boost LRAS because domestic production has not increased, but the competition drives the firms to become more productive. Privatisation can also boost competition. Governments are not worried about cutting costs to boost profits, therefore they aren't very competitive. By giving the private sector, it will increase competition as the new owners will compete against each other.

- **Reform labour market**

Reforming the labour market refers to the quantity and quality of labour and the barriers acting freely within this market. Structural unemployment is a result of barriers to the free-market system. Trade unions are another barrier to the free-market system. Trade unions work to improve the conditions of individual workers by uniting them together as one large body. This gives workers more power in wage and working conditions negotiations. By opening up to immigration, the economy can increase its ability to produce goods. Because this affects the labour market, immigration are supply-side policies. By increasing minimum wage, more workers will be employed.

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by reducing unemployment benefits, this would disincentivise workers from accepting them to work. However, unemployment benefits are there to protect those who are unemployed. There is a trade-off between protection and incentive.

- **Quality of workforce (skills and education)**

If the government invested in schools by, for example, buying new learning resources, they could have a better education system, creating a more productive workforce. Equally, they could provide financial assistance for pupils to continue into further education. For example, the Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA) was granted to students from post-16 onwards but has now been scrapped in England. Investing in training courses for workers will increase the human capital of an economy. This is particularly useful if there are structural changes in the economy that help the mobility of workers between markets.

- **Infrastructure**

Spending on infrastructure means investing to improve the physical conditions or organisation of the economy – for example, investing in transport systems such as railways and roads, or investing in buildings for factories, offices or houses. By improving these factors, society will be happier and the economy will function more smoothly. If there were additional roads, society would be happier; if the roads were smoother and straighter, the lorries could travel faster and more easily.

Learn More!

To see what the government has done for infrastructure, visit <https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/infrastructure>

- **Quality of capital and production processes**

Investment into research and development will create a technological advance. As new machines are invented and more efficient methods of production are created, the aggregate supply curve shifts out because a more productive and efficient economy can produce more output. Net investment will indicate increased capital stock. Greater quantity of capital stock means there is the possibility for more production.

Strengths

- Shifting the aggregate supply curve outwards will not cause inflation as it creates more output at lower prices through competition and improvements to production.
- Increasing aggregate supply is an increase in production, as long as it is meeting demand (movement along the AD curve). This indicates a rate of economic growth where resources are generally improved or increased in the long term.
- Increasing production and economic growth will mean there is job creation, reducing the level of unemployment.
- By improving the productive capacity of an economy and reducing the costs of production, businesses become more competitive in the global market. This will mean exports will increase and the current account deficit will be reduced.

Weaknesses

- Supply-side policies have long time lags. Improving the quality of the workforce can take 13 years, as children start aged 4–5 and finish aged 17–18.
- These policies can be very costly, which would have a negative impact on the economy.
- Although the government can manipulate the economy, the global market has a lot of power and the government has no control over it. The government policy is weak to external shocks.
- Data collection is slow and long-winded. The information provided to government is often inaccurate but also out of date, causing the government to react slowly and inappropriately.

Supply-side improvements may originate in the *private* sector. Any increase in private sector investment will cause a supply-side improvement and often changes in practice by the government.

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Further your economic knowledge... interventionist vs laissez-faire

The government can take one of two broad approaches to markets in the economy: **interventionist** or **laissez-faire**.

Forms of government **intervention** include taxes and subsidies, laws and regulation, and public provision of goods and services. These can all be used to correct *market failure* where the market price mechanism does not allocate resources efficiently (at the wrong price and/or quantity). An example would be when marginal social cost exceeds the marginal private cost, producing a good, perhaps because of pollution. The government could intervene to correct the failure.

The alternative to government intervention is the **laissez-faire** approach. 'Laissez-faire' translated as 'leave alone' or 'let it be'. The idea is that the government should not interfere as possible, if at all, and the 'invisible hand' of the market should allocate resources.

Advocates of the laissez-faire approach don't pretend that the market is perfect or that market failure does not exist. Rather, they suggest that government intervention is *worse*, citing its costs, a reduction in market incentives and a lack of information about the costs of market failure.

The question of how much government intervention is 'optimal' is impossible to answer as it is a normative question and the costs and benefits of each approach are impossible to measure.

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Review questions 4: Macroeconomic policy

1.
 - a) What are the economic objectives of the government?
 - b) Why are these the objectives of the government?
2.
 - a) What are the three macroeconomic policies?
 - b) What are the demand-side policy tools and how can each of these manipulate the economy?
 - c) Who is in charge of the three policies?
3. What is meant by a fiscal deficit and why is this problematic?
4. What is the difference between direct and indirect taxes?
5. What is the role of the Bank of England?
6. 'Supply-side policies are better for the economy than demand-side policies are not used is because the time lags mean politicians won't see results' what extent do you agree with this statement?
7. How does fiscal policy conflict with other policies and the government?
8. How does monetary policy conflict with other policies and the government?
9. How do supply-side policies conflict with other policies and the government?

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Exam-style questions 4: Macroeconomic policy

1. Describe the idea of loose monetary policy and how it can be used to stimulate the economy.

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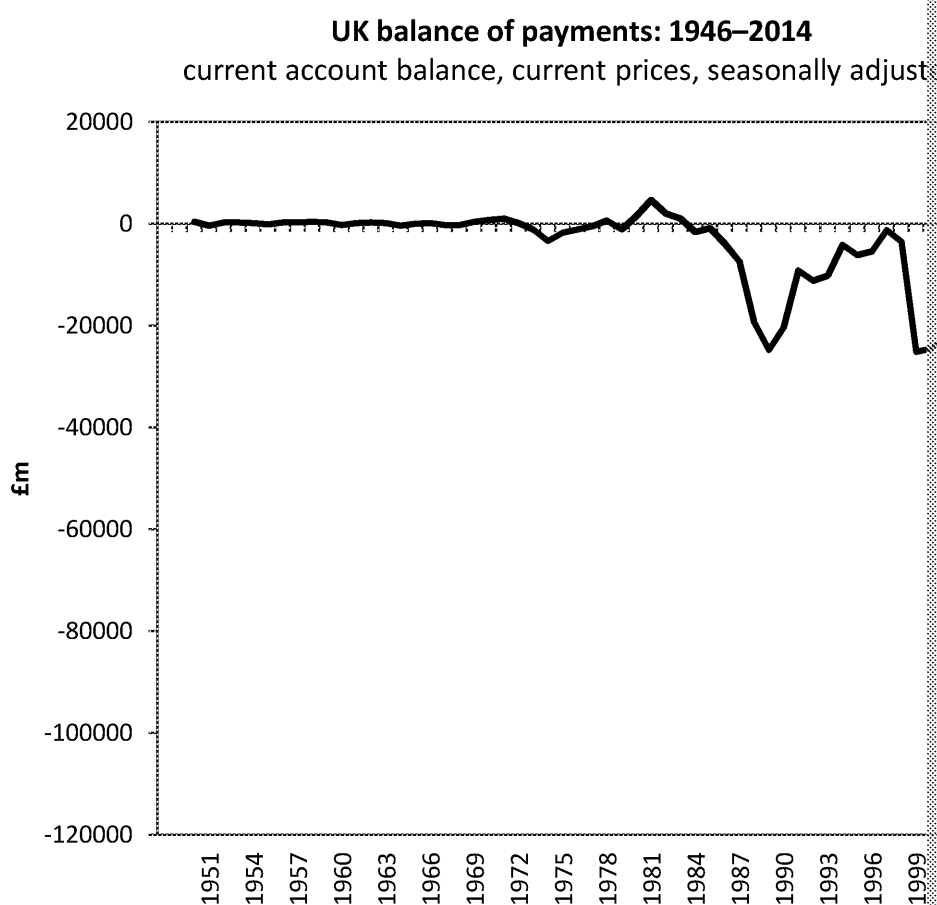
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2. The chart below shows the UK balance of payments on the current account in current prices.



- a) Describe what you can infer from the chart.

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- b) The chart shows data in current prices. What effect might this have on the trend for price levels to rise over time?

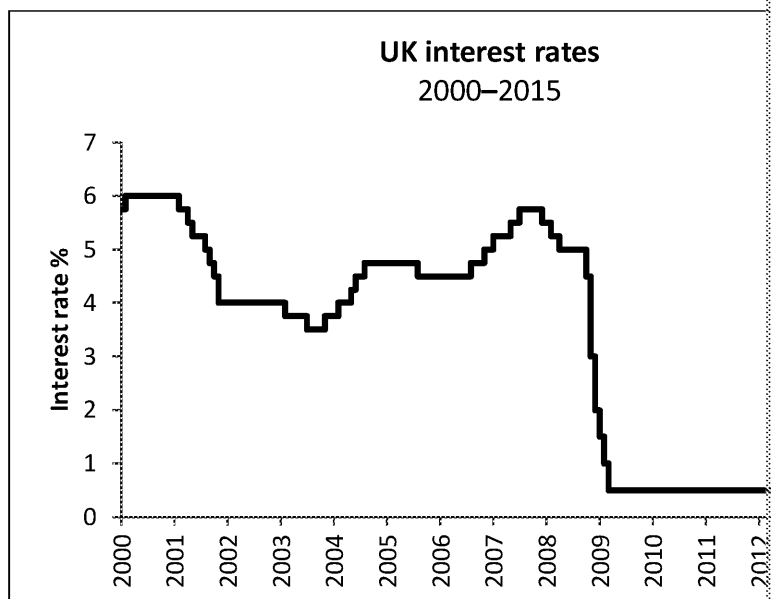
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4. Look at the chart below which shows the interest rates in the UK set by the Monetary Policy Committee (MPC) of the Bank of England between 2000 and 2015.



Source

Describe the main trends shown in the graph.

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5. Explain the difference between direct and indirect taxes.

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Answers to review questions

The measurement of macroeconomic performance

1. What is a basket of goods?

It is a list of items that are bought by the average household.

2. These questions refer to measuring inflation.

a) How is inflation measured using the CPI?

First, a basket of goods is created. Then the ONS sends out the Living Cost Survey to households to calculate the weights and average prices of each good in the basket.

b) What is the other measure of inflation?

Retail Price Index (RPI)

c) What are the limitations of measuring inflation?

Neither CPI nor RPI account for change in quality. If a good has improved, it is likely to cost more, but this is only seen as inflation, and not an improvement. Supply shocks can change prices, which, measured as inflation with no explanation, is a difference between CPI and RPI is that the latter includes things such as mortgage interest payments, council tax, etc.) – and, hence, they give a different picture of which shows neither is accurate. Although they attempt to, CPI and RPI are not perfect for some cohorts. They don't account for cheaper substitutes. Another limitation is that each household may have a different inflation rate. For example, pensioners have a larger proportion of their income on food than most other households. Using data from the Living Cost and Food Survey, a rise in the prices of food will lead to higher inflation for pensioners compared to most other households.

d) Using the information in the table below:

i) Fill in the missing columns.

See table.

ii) What is the rate of inflation in Year 1, Year 2 and Year 3?

Year 1 = 4%, Year 2 = 5%, Year 3 = 4%

iii) Using inflation, deflation and disinflation, can you describe the trend in the table?

In years 1, 2 and 3 there is inflation; in year 4 there is disinflation.

Year	Goods			
	Good name	Price	Items bought as a percentage of total items bought (weights)	
Year 1 (base year)	Good A	£5.00	20%	0.20
	Good B	£3.00	15%	0.15
	Good C	£0.50	35%	0.35
	Good D	£9.50	30%	0.30
Year 2	Good A	£5.25	21%	0.21
	Good B	£3.50	15%	0.15
	Good C	£0.65	35%	0.35
	Good D	£9.60	29%	0.29
Year 3	Good A	£5.75	21%	0.21
	Good B	£3.75	16%	0.16
	Good C	£0.75	35%	0.35
	Good D	£10.00	28%	0.28
Year 4	Good A	£5.75	18%	0.18
	Good B	£3.75	14%	0.14
	Good C	£0.75	35%	0.35
	Good D	£10.00	27%	0.27
	Good E	£2.00	6%	0.06

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3. **Why are inflation, economic growth, the balance of payments and unemployment linked to economic performance?**

- **Inflation:** High levels of inflation are associated with instability.
- **Economic Growth:** Economic growth is linked to a stable and improving economy.
- **Balance of Payments:** A deficit indicates more money is leaving the economy than entering, which is unsustainable.
- **Unemployment:** High levels of unemployment mean resources are not being used in the economy and so it is underperforming. Equally, if people are unemployed, they are not spending money to boost the economy.

4. a) **What is GDP?**

Gross Domestic Product: the total number of goods and services produced in a country.

b) **How do real and nominal GDP differ?**

Real GDP accounts for inflation, whereas nominal GDP is merely the value of goods and services produced in a country.

c) **How can GDP be adjusted to account for population size?**

By dividing the total GDP of a country by the population, GDP can be calculated per person.

5. **Name and explain three other conflicts that might arise in the government's economic policy.**

There is a conflict between economic growth and inflation. Economic growth leads to an increase in aggregate demand. An increase in aggregate demand not only increases the price level. Therefore, as an economy grows, it will tend to see higher inflation. One way to increase growth without increasing prices is to increase aggregate supply. However, many believe this is the only way to create economic growth because without more production, an increase in aggregate demand will only result in price increases in the long run.

There is also a conflict between economic growth and the current account. As people's incomes rise, people will spend more on imports. As imports rise, the current account (or improve a surplus). Equally, as the economy grows and inflation rises, domestic goods become more expensive in relation to foreign goods. This means exports will fall. Falling exports and rising imports create a negative current account (deficit).

Lastly, economic growth also conflicts with the government's environmental policy. The failure of negative externalities. Pollution and environmental degradation is a by-product of economic growth. The environment is not accounted for in the market system. Economies generally grow, which will use up more of the finite resources. With more production, more fossil fuels and with the expansion of new factories, offices, hospitals, etc. come more people, which may currently be inhabited by nature. China is a clear example of the high rates of economic growth and their low rates of clean air and healthy environment. The environmental damage particularly damaging to the environment during their industrialisation stage is quickly forgotten with the rapid rise in growth rates, and countries switch to a service economy of production.

Additionally, there may be conflict between inflation and unemployment. This is the Phillips Curve conflict. The curve shows that if there were high unemployment in an economy, there would be low inflation. This is because firms could offer relatively low wages as most people would be without an income. There is low competition in terms of competition; there was very little competition within the labour market. Wages are low relative to the supply of available workers. On the other hand, when there is low unemployment, attempting to expand would be more costly because firms would have to offer wages much higher than the market equilibrium in order to tempt already employed workers to take current jobs. So, as unemployment falls, expanding production becomes more costly. Firms may choose to increase to compensate.

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How the macroeconomy works: the circular flow of income, demand / aggregate supply analysis, and related concepts

1. What is the difference between income and wealth?

Income is a 'flow' concept and wealth is a 'stock' concept. Income is money that flows into a household, while wealth is money that is saved or stored.

2. What is the difference between injections and withdrawals? Please provide examples.

Injections are sums of money that enter the circular flow model, while withdrawals are sums of money that exit the circular flow model. For example, savings, taxes and imports are withdrawals, while government spending and exports are injections.

3. a) When is a firm in the long run and the short run?

A firm is in the long run when it is able to change all their factors of production. A firm is in the short run when it is unable to change one factor of production.

b) What factors could affect long-run aggregate supply?

Technological advances, relative productivity, worker human capital, government policy, demographic, migration and competition policy. The long-run aggregate supply curve is affected by the long-run effects of short-run investment.

c) What factors could affect short-run aggregate supply?

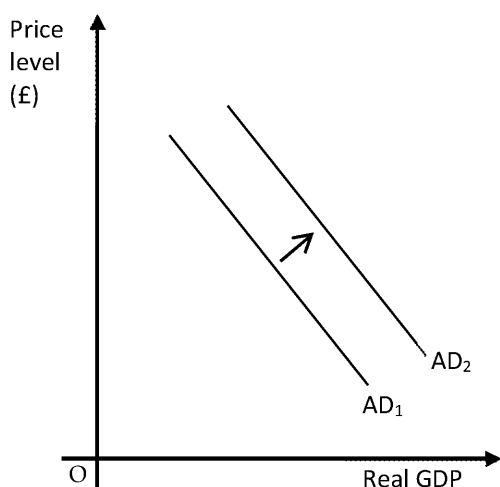
The price of inputs (costs of production); for example, raw materials and labour. Also, tax rates.

4. Fill in the blanks:

$$AD = C + I + G + (X - M)$$

That is, aggregate demand = consumption + investment + government spending + net exports.

5. Complete this diagram showing aggregate demand by labelling the curves.



a) What has happened to this curve?

The curve has shifted to the right, indicating an increase in aggregate demand at every price level.

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b) i) **What four main factors can shift the AD curve?**

Changes in consumption, investment, government spending, net exports

ii) **For each factor, give two reasons to explain the shift in the curve**

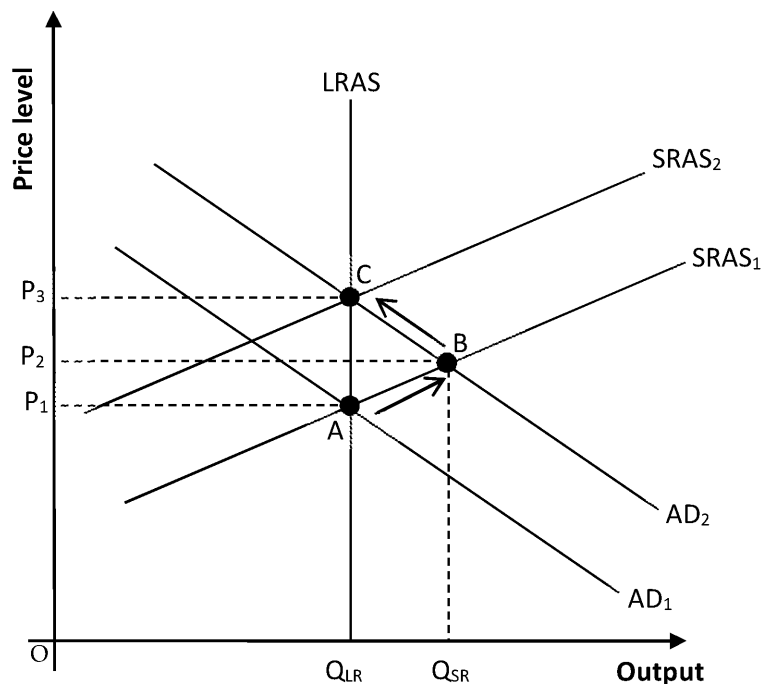
- **Consumption:** (1) If disposable income has increased, people will spend more so will increase consumption. (2) The government might have turned lower the cost of borrowing and reduces the opportunity cost of saving, which will encourage people to spend their money rather than save. (3) Another cause might be a fall in house price. If people's assets increase, people will feel wealthier and will increase their spending. (4) Lastly, if people have high levels of confidence, they will feel happier about spending their money and won't save as much. Therefore, they are more likely to increase their consumption and this will increase aggregate demand (AD) and push the AD curve outwards.
- **Investment:** (1) Increasing economic growth will increase people's income, so consumption is likely to increase and there will be greater demand. In response, firms will invest in expanding their business in order to meet the increased demand. Hence, investment increases with economic growth. (2) If demand has increased, perhaps because the exchange rate has fallen, or because incomes have increased, exporting companies may invest in expanding their production to match their supply with the increased demand; investment will increase. (3) If the government lowers interest rates, the cost of borrowing and the opportunity cost of saving have fallen. This will encourage firms to invest their money. (4) If there is greater access to credit, it will be easier for firms to borrow money and more likely to invest. (5) If the government chooses to create a favourable environment to invest, investment is likely to increase as a response, assuming the policy is implemented correctly.
- **Government Expenditure:** (1) If the economy is in a recession, the government will increase its spending in order to stimulate the economy. (2) If the government changes to an expansionary fiscal policy approach, their spending will increase and this will increase aggregate demand. (3) If the government makes changes in the budget, this will increase aggregate demand.
- **Net Trade:** (1) If UK incomes fall, UK consumers are likely to decrease their consumption of imports. This could lead to a positive net trade, which will increase aggregate demand. (2) If the pound depreciates, UK goods will appear cheaper in relative terms and exports will increase. (3) If UK consumers switch to consuming domestically produced goods, this will increase aggregate demand. (4) If foreign consumers switch to consuming UK goods, this will increase aggregate demand. (5) If there is a world economic recovery, exports will increase as foreign consumers can purchase more goods. (6) If UK consumers will also be more able to purchase imports and this will increase aggregate demand. (7) However, because the aggregate demand curve indicates that exports are greater than imports, this will increase aggregate demand. (8) If the government implements protectionist measures on UK goods, foreign consumption of UK goods will decrease. (9) Increased exports will increase aggregate demand. (10) If the government produces high-quality goods, the relative price will not matter and exports will increase. (11) Consumers will increase their consumption of the UK export basket and this will increase aggregate demand.

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6. Use a diagram to show how an outward shift in the AD curve will cause an increase in the price level and output. This is only sustainable if the LRAS shifts too.



This is the diagram we're after. It shows how in the short term an increase in aggregate demand (to Q_{SR}). At this point two things can happen: either the SRAS or the AD will shift. If the SRAS shifts up, the economy would return to Q_{LR} (but the price level is higher as the equilibrium point moves to C). Conversely, it may be that the AD curve shifts down, in which case equilibrium returns to point A (from point B).

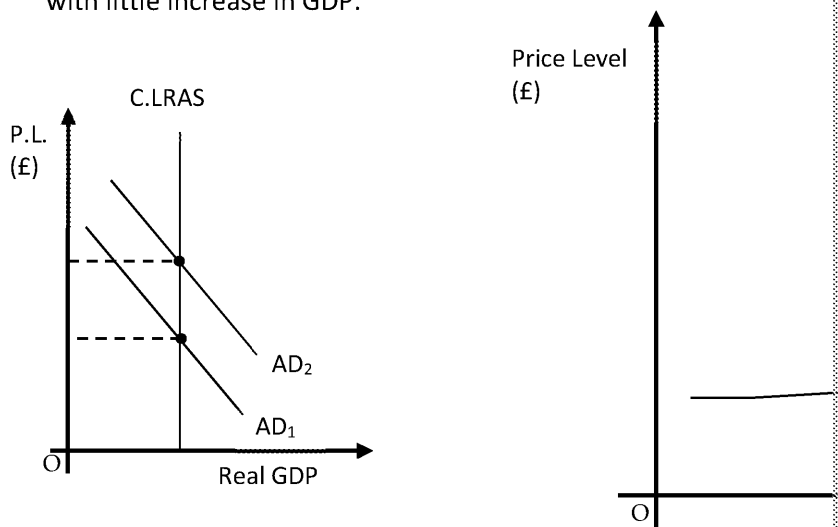
7. a) **How do Keynesian and classical assumptions in the labour market differ?**
Keynesians believe in sticky wages – the idea that wages will not automatically adjust to the same level because of people's wage expectations. Classical economists believe that wages fall to the market equilibrium, even, as some classical economists believed.
- b) i) **Draw a classical aggregate supply diagram.**
See diagram below.
- ii) **Explain what the curves show.**
An increase in aggregate demand will only increase the price level if the short-run aggregate supply does not change.
- c) i) **Draw a Keynesian aggregate supply diagram.**
See diagram below.

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ii) **Explain what the curves show.**

The level of spare capacity in the economy determines where about the flatter end of the AS curve, it is likely to be in a recession with it will be able to increase production with ease. Increasing aggregate demand will increase GDP with very little increase in price level. If the economy is at the steeper end of the AS curve supply is inelastic and it will be costly to increase production. Any increase in aggregate demand at this point will only result in a large increase in price level with little increase in GDP.



8. **What is meant by growth in money supply?**

The phrase 'too much money chasing too few goods' describes the inflationary pressure of a growing money supply. If the amount of money exceeds the number of goods and services, prices will increase because people will have more money to buy goods.

Economic performance

1. **Provide four factors that cause economic growth.**

Technological advances, increasing human capital, government regulation, and immigration, investment

2. **What is the difference between inflation, deflation and disinflation?**

Inflation is a rise in general price level, whereas deflation is a fall in general price level. Disinflation, meaning general price level has increased, but the increase is less than the previous year.

3. **What is the difference between employment, unemployment and underemployment?**

Employment is when somebody has a job, whereas unemployment is when somebody is looking for work but doesn't have a job. Underemployment is when somebody is in employment but working fewer hours than they would like, i.e. they are in part-time work rather than full-time.

4. a) **What are the five main causes of unemployment?**

Structural, frictional, seasonal, demand-deficient and real-wage inflexibility

b) **Can you explain these causes?**

- **Structural:** This occurs when demand and supply of labour do not match. If a worker does not have the skills or a worker does not match the requirements. This is known as geographical mismatch.
- **Frictional:** This occurs as people change jobs.
- **Seasonal:** If people are employed in seasonal work, then when the season ends they are without a job.
- **Demand-deficient:** If the economy is in a recession, firms will cut back on production. There will be little demand for labour.
- **Real-wage inflexibility:** If the actual wage rate is below the market-clearing wage rate, there will be an excess supply of labour.

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5. These questions refer to the measures of unemployment.

a) What are the two main measures of unemployment?

ILO Unemployment Rate and Claimant Count

b) How do these measures attempt to quantify unemployment?

- **ILO Unemployment Rate:** The ILO sends out the Labour Force Survey to people who are in / out of work and who are seeking work. From this an estimated percentage.
- **Claimant Count:** This counts the number of people who are claiming unemployment benefit as a percentage of the working population.

c) How accurate are these measures?

Neither measure is completely accurate as the ILO only calculates the size of the labour force whereas the claimant count only relies on people who try to claim Jobseeker's Allowance. The claimant count generally underestimates the number of people in unemployment as wealthier people who lose their job often do not sign up to receive unemployment benefit.

6. What is meant when economists say there is a current account deficit?

When imports are greater than exports because more money is leaving the country than entering.

Macroeconomic policy

1. a) What are the economic objectives of the government?

Sustainable, positive economic growth; low unemployment; law and stability; balance of payments current account equilibrium; balanced government budget; environmental sustainability; low income inequality.

b) Why are these the objectives of the government?

Sustainable positive economic growth can bring about greater living standards and well-being and help boost the economy through increased incomes, which in turn leads to well-being and a drain on resources so the government aims to keep this low and stable. A current account deficit is unsustainable for an economy and diminishes people's savings and income. Therefore, the government will aim to keep this low and stable so it can anticipate and plan for the price rise. A current account deficit is unsustainable for the economy than entering. The government cannot sustain spending more than it receives and so aims to have a balanced budget. It's a moral imperative for future generations; equally, the UK can be fined by the EU if it doesn't. Income inequality can reduce living standards and some economists argue it can boost economic growth.

2. a) What are the three macroeconomic policies?

Fiscal, monetary and supply-side policies.

b) What are the demand-side policy tools and how can each of these be used to affect the economy?

Fiscal Policy

- **Tax:** Tax is a withdrawal from the circular flow of economy and reduces aggregate demand, affects aggregate demand, inflation and growth.
- **Government Spending:** The government can inject money into the economy to boost growth levels and stimulate an economy out of recession.

Monetary Policy

- **Interest Rates:** The Bank of England is able to set interest rates to influence consumption and investment.
- **Quantitative Easing:** Banks are unlikely to lend to people if they don't have the collateral to lend. Quantitative easing helps liquidity traps and enables greater lending to stimulate consumption and investment.

Supply-side Policy: There is a variety of things a government can implement to increase aggregate supply such as deregulation, reducing income tax or lowering corporation tax.

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c) Who is in charge of the three policies?

The government is in charge of fiscal policy and supply-side policy, while the Bank of England is in charge of monetary policy.

3. What is meant by a fiscal deficit and why is this problematic?

A fiscal deficit means that government debt is increasing. A larger debt means less money for the government to spend providing services and infrastructure.

4. What is the difference between direct and indirect taxes?

Direct taxes are imposed 'directly' on an economic agent, such as a tax on the profits of a company. Indirect taxes are taxes that are paid implicitly and can be avoided, such as a tax on certain goods.

5. What is the role of the Bank of England?

The role of the Bank of England is to maintain price stability.

6. 'Supply-side policies are better for the economy than demand-side policies' – do you agree with this statement?

Unlike demand-side policies, which typically cause inflation, shifting the aggregate demand curve to the left creates downward pressure on prices through competition and improvements to productivity. Supply-side policies are designed to increase economic growth that can be sustained as resources are generally improved. Equally, increasing production and economic growth will mean there is job creation and a reduction in the level of unemployment. By improving the productive capacity of an economy, supply-side policies can increase production, an economy will become more competitive in the global market, exports will increase and this will improve any trade deficit.

However, supply-side policies have long time lags; improving the quality of the education system can take 13 years. Data collection is slow and long-winded. The information provided by governments may not only be inaccurate but also out of date, causing the government to make decisions possibly incorrectly. Further to this, although the government can manipulate the market, it has some influences that the government has no control over. The government cannot control external shocks. Supply-side policies can also be very costly, which would have a negative impact on the government budget.

7. How does fiscal policy conflict with other policies and the government's objectives?

Increased government spending may help to boost an economy out of a recession, but increased spending will be likely to result in increased taxes in the future. This tax increase could be a future fiscal approach, but will reduce incentives to work and could worsen the economy. The impact on how the tax is implemented. Equally, reducing government spending may reduce investment in schools or hospitals. This can have a negative impact on the economy. After the 2008 recession, the government shifted focus to reducing government spending; however, this was met with outrage by the public who feared losing the effect on education quality. Cutting benefits also has the potential to worsen the disadvantage those who may need the benefits for survival. Another negative impact of government spending may be the rise in inflation, which reduces consumers' purchasing power.

8. How does monetary policy conflict with other policies and the government's objectives?

The Bank of England has independent control over the interest rates in order to maintain price stability. Increasing interest rates can be damaging to some people; for example, new houses may be more expensive to pay a mortgage. This could worsen wealth distribution. Monetary policy can also conflict with competition policy. If interest rates are high, this will discourage new start-ups and businesses, reducing competition within the market. The monetary policy is also likely to have an impact on the balance of payments. There will be differing flows of money moving in and out of the country – the balance of trade, exports and, hence, the balance of payments.

9. How do supply-side policies conflict with other policies and the government's objectives?

Supply-side policies that improve infrastructure will improve the efficiency of the economy, but they may also damage the environment. Areas of forests, for example, may be cut down in order to build roads. Equally, supply-side investments will come out of the government's budget, which could lead to a deflationary fiscal policy.

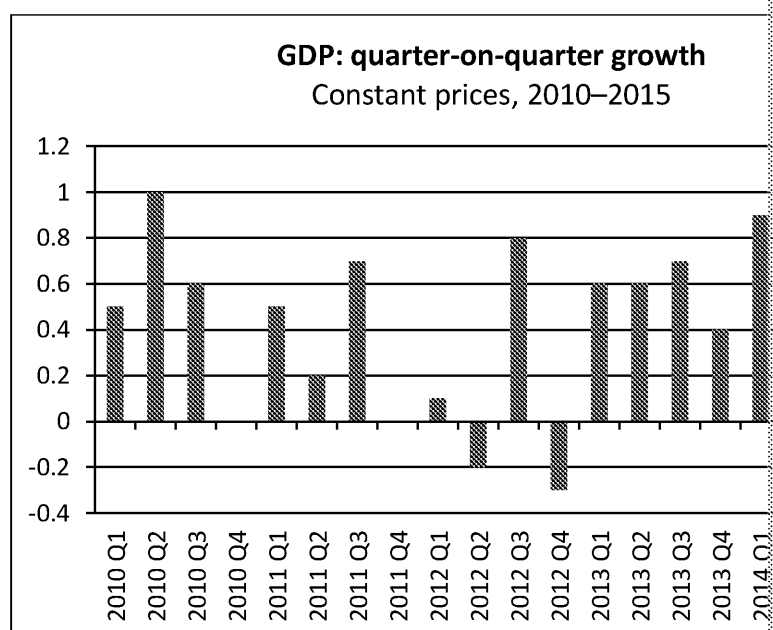
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Answers to exam-style questions

Exam-style questions 1: The measurement of macroeconomic indicators

- Which one of the following is not a main objective of the government?**
B 0% interest rates
Interest rates are used to influence the overall level of economic activity in an economy.
- Which one of the following is not a key macroeconomic indicator?**
C ONS
ONS (the Office for National Statistics) records and publishes many of the key macroeconomic indicators.
- Which one of the following can be inferred from the chart below?**
D The UK's economy grew overall in 2010.
The UK's economy grew overall in 2010 despite the fact that growth was 0% in Q4.



- Describe the difference between real GDP and nominal GDP.**
The key point here is that real GDP adjusts for inflation so that values can be compared over time. Award 1 mark if this is correctly interpreted.
- Describe the process of creating an index for inflation.**
Award 1 mark for each correct point made:
 - Selection of a basket of goods and services which represents the consumption of the average household.
 - Each good is assigned a weighting based on its respective importance.
 - Price increases are multiplied by the weight for each good and summed.
 - Price changes are analysed relative to a base year.
- Which one of the following is correct?**
C Some goods are given more importance than others when calculating GDP.
This refers to the method of assigning goods different weights. Award 1 mark for each correct point made.

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Exam-style questions 2: How the macroeconomy works income, aggregate demand / aggregate supply analysis

- Define the term 'disposable income'.**
Disposable income is the money available to people once taxes have been subtracted. They can choose to save or spend the income. Award 1 mark for a correct answer. At least mentions taxes.
- An individual receives a windfall of £1,600. Their marginal propensity to consume is 0.4. How much of the extra income the individual will use for consumption.**
 *$0.4 \times 1600 = £640$ will be used for consumption.
Award 1 mark for the correct answer.*
- Suppose that the individual chooses to save all of the extra income and not consume. What would their MPC be?**
*In this case MPC would be 0. In the example above it would be £0 out of £1,600.
Award 1 mark for the correct answer.*
- Explain one factor that may influence the level of aggregate investment.**
Factors mentioned in the text include: the rate of economic growth, business confidence, exports, interest rates, access to credit, and government regulation. Award 1 mark for one of these factors and explaining it briefly.
- Define the term 'aggregate supply'.**
The simplest definition is the total amount of output in an economy at every price level of goods and services during a specified time period. Award 1 mark for a correct answer.

Exam-style questions 3: Economic performance

- Which one of the following is correct?**
 A In the case of constant prices (0% inflation), real GDP will rise faster than nominal GDP.
 B Real GDP is adjusted using the unemployment rate.
 C Nominal GDP adjusts all values relative to a base year.
 D If inflation is positive, nominal GDP will rise faster than real GDP.
Answer D is correct: if inflation is positive then nominal GDP will rise faster than real GDP as price levels are rising as well as economic output. Award 1 mark for the correct answer.
- Define the term 'disinflation'.**
Disinflation is a slow-down in the rate of inflation. Prices are still rising (not falling) but at a slower rate. Award 1 mark for the correct interpretation.
- Which of the following statements is not true?**
 A In a boom an economy produces above its long-term trend rate of growth.
 B An output gap is the difference between actual growth and the long-term trend rate of growth.
 C In the long term, the trend rate of growth is always 0%.
 D During a recession there is spare capacity in an economy that is not used.
The answer is C. A recession signifies a negative output gap during which real GDP falls below its long-term trend rate. Award 1 mark for the correct answer.
- Name and briefly explain three different effects of inflation.**
The effects include diminished value of savings, shoe-leather costs, menu costs, and international competition. Award 1 mark for each that is mentioned and explained (3.2.3.3)

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5. The table below shows the claimant count measure of unemployment for Northern Ireland, and the UK as a whole, in March 2015.

	Total level of workforce (thousands)	Claimant count (thousands)	
		Total level	Percentage of workforce
England	28,678	625.5	2.1%
Wales	1,432	44.8	3.1%
Scotland	2,704	78.1	2.8%
Northern Ireland	843	43.4	5.1%
United Kingdom	33,673	791.8	2.3%

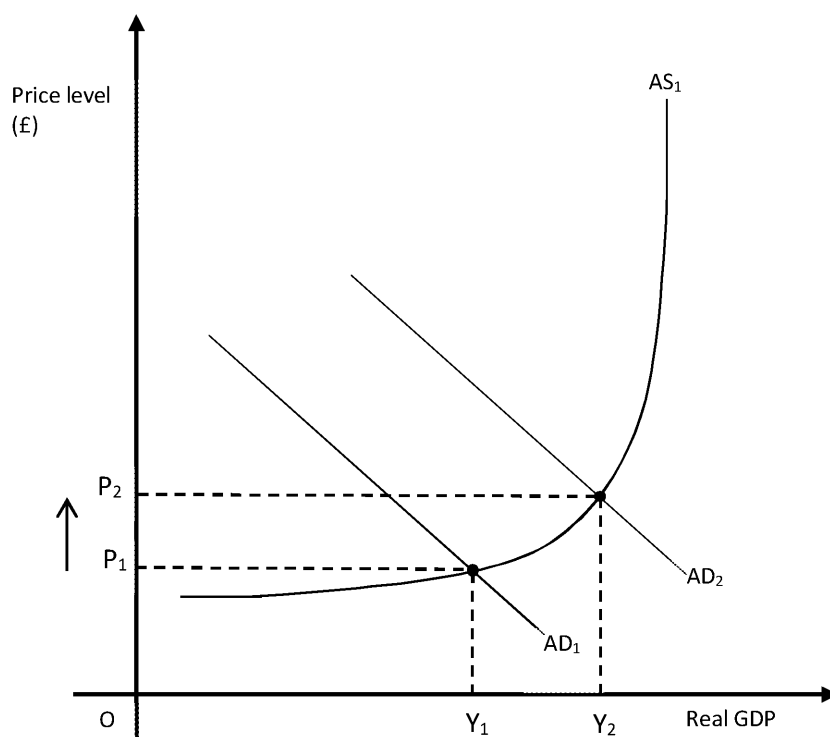
- 5a. Define the claimant count measure of unemployment.

The claimant count measures the number of people claiming unemployment benefit (Jobseeker's Allowance). Award 1 mark for the correct definition.

- 5b. Which one of the following cannot be inferred from information in the table?

D: A higher proportion of Scottish people were unemployed than Welsh people. Award 1 mark for the correct answer.

6. What type of inflation is shown by the diagram below?



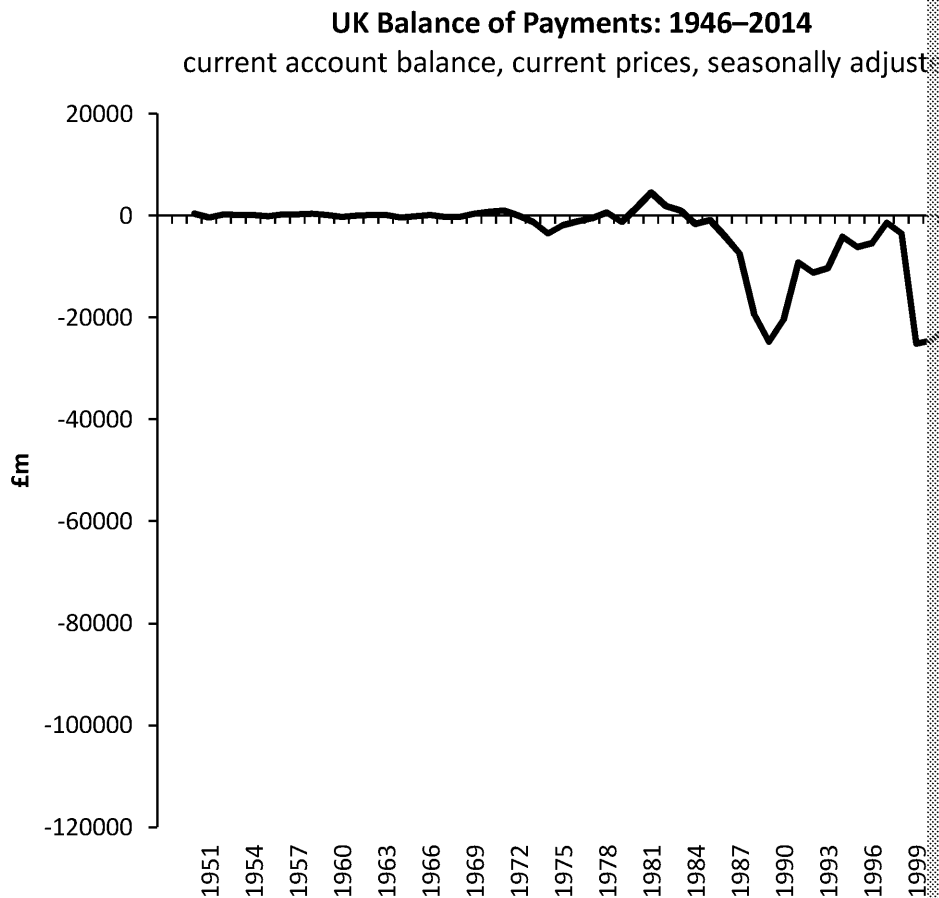
Demand has shifted out and 'pulls' costs upwards. This is demand-pull inflation. Award 1 mark for the correct answer.

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Exam-style questions 4: Macroeconomic policy

1. Describe the idea of loose monetary policy and how it can be used to stimulate the economy. *By decreasing interest rates the central bank hopes to cut borrowing costs, increase disposable incomes and promote spending, thus boosting the economy. If interest rates are near zero (0.5%), it becomes impractical to lower them further and monetary policy becomes ineffective. Award 3 marks for 3 relevant points.*
2. The chart below shows the UK balance of payments on the current account in current prices.



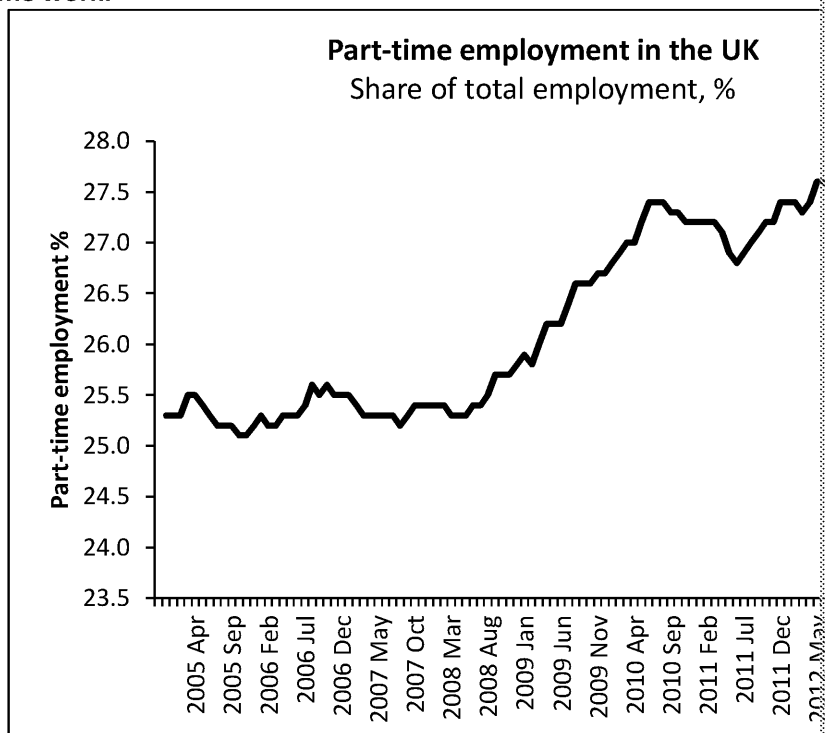
- a) Describe what you can infer from the chart.
The main trend shown is a generally worsening balance of payments on the current account. It was brought back to parity at the end of the 1990s but the deficit has since increased due to the 2008 financial crisis. Award 2 marks for correct interpretation and discussion.
- b) The chart shows data in current prices. What effect might this have on its usefulness for price levels to rise over time?
This means the prices shown are all *nominal*. Therefore, the effect of inflation is not accounted for. The current account deficit shown in the past, therefore, has been overstated. Award 2 marks for a correct interpretation. Be aware of confusion between nominal and real prices. Constant prices have been adjusted for inflation (they are 'real' measures).

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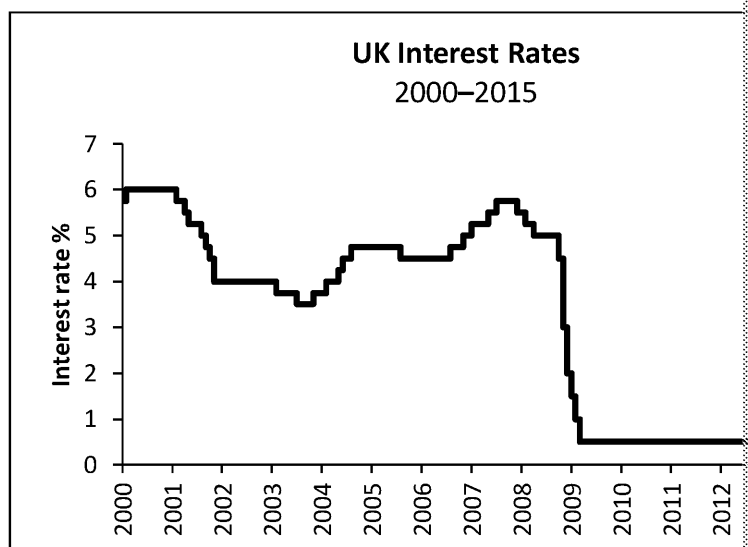
3. The chart below shows the percentage of total people in employment that part-time work.



- a) Which one of the following can be inferred from the chart?

The correct answer is C: part-time work as a share of unemployment relative to total employment during the period shown.

4. Look at the chart below which shows the interest rates in the UK set by the (MPC) of the Bank of England between 2000 and 2015.



Source

Describe the main trends shown in the graph.

The key point is the sharp decline in interest rates following the 2008 financial crisis, with a maintenance of near-zero rates (0.5%). Prior to the crisis rates were higher, peaking at 5.75% in 2008. Award 2 marks for two correct observations.

5. Explain the difference between direct and indirect taxes.

Award 1 mark for a correct definition of each. In the case of a direct tax, the taxpayer can't avoid it. An indirect tax is paid by a middleperson who does not bear the burden of a direct tax is income tax. An example of an indirect tax is VAT.

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Glossary

Accelerator Process	The idea that a small rise in national income can provoke a <i>proportionate</i> increase in investment levels.
Aggregate Demand	Total spending on all goods and services in an economy. AD = C + I + G
Aggregate Supply	Total output in an economy.
Balance of Payments on the Current Account	A measure of the inflows and outflows on the current account.
Budget Balance	The difference between the government's revenue and its spending.
Circular Flow Model	A basic model that describes how goods, services and money flow between the private and public sectors.
Claimant Count	A measure of unemployment: the number of people claiming unemployment benefit.
CPI	The official measure of inflation used by the Office for National Statistics. It measures the cost of housing.
Cyclical Unemployment	Unemployment that is due to the economic cycle. Joblessness during downturns or recessions.
Deflation	This occurs if the price level is falling.
Demand-side Shocks	Unexpected events that change the level of demand – a global financial crisis is an example.
Direct Taxation	A tax that is paid directly by the individual or organisation to the government. It cannot be avoided or shifted to another person or organisation.
Disinflation	This occurs if the rate of inflation is falling.
Economic Growth	This is represented by a rightward shift in the long-run AS curve.
Exchange Rate	The price of one country's currency in terms of another.
Exports	Goods and services that are produced in a country and then sold to other countries. Exports are a component of aggregate demand.
Factor Mobility	The ability to move factors of production (land, labour, capital) from one productive process to another. A determinant of long-run aggregate supply.
Fiscal Policy	The use of taxation and public spending by a government to influence the economy.
Frictional Unemployment	Unemployment due to people being 'between jobs'.
Imports	Goods or services brought into an economy from other economies. Imports are a component of aggregate demand.
Index Numbers	A method used to compare economic figures with an initial base year. The Consumer Price Index (CPI) is a measure of inflation.
Indirect Taxation	Tax that is collected by an intermediary between the consumer and the producer. Various sorts of taxes can be avoided through consumption choice.
Inflation	An increase in the price level of goods and services over a period of time.
Injections	Sources of demand for firms' output that does not arise from household expenditure in the circular flow model; for example, government expenditure, export expenditure.
Interest Rate	The amount paid by borrowers of money to the lenders. An interest rate is the amount that commercial banks pay the central bank to borrow money.
Interventionist	A policy approach that favours governments stepping in to influence the economy's resources by markets. In contrast to the laissez-faire approach.
Investment	An injection into the circular flow of income model. It can include spending on new capital goods, also LRAS.

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Labour Force Survey	A statistical survey used by the government to capture data on unemployment rates.
Laissez-faire	A French term used to describe an economic system without government intervention (such as tariffs or subsidies) in which the powers of the market are left to operate freely.
Macroeconomics	The branch of economics that looks at economies <i>as a whole</i> . It includes aggregate supply and demand, price levels, real growth, and unemployment.
Monetary Policy	Policy that is used by governments or central banks to influence the money supply, cost or supply of money. Measures used include setting interest rates.
Monetary Policy Committee (MPC)	A committee of the Bank of England that has responsibility for setting monetary policy.
National Income	A measure of all the goods and services produced within a country in a given period.
Nominal Income	A measure of income that is not adjusted for changing price levels.
Output Gap	The difference between the <i>actual</i> output of an economy and its <i>potential</i> output. It can be both positive and negative.
Price Stability	A possible objective of government macroeconomic policy: the absence of periods of high inflation or deflation.
Productivity of Labour	A measure of output per worker: how much each worker produces.
Progressive Taxation	Tax rates that increase as income increases. Those earning more pay a higher proportion of their income in taxes than lower earners.
Proportional Taxation	Taxes that are set at a constant rate regardless of total income. Everyone pays the same proportion of their salary in tax as a person earning a different salary.
Real GDP	GDP that has been adjusted for inflation.
Real GDP per Capita	GDP that has been adjusted for inflation <i>and</i> population.
Real Income	Income that has been adjusted for inflation.
Regressive Taxation	Tax rates that decrease as income increases. Those earning more pay a lower proportion of their income in taxes than lower earners.
RPI	A measure of inflation that includes housing costs.
Saving	A withdrawal from the circular flow of income model. It can be calculated as income minus consumption.
Seasonal Unemployment	Unemployment that is caused by variations in demand for labour over the course of a year.
Structural Unemployment	Unemployment that is caused by a mismatch between the skills workers have and the skills demanded in the employment market.
Supply-side Policies	Policies that have the aim of shifting the LRAS to the right.
Supply-side Shocks	Something that brings about a sudden change in aggregate supply, either positively or negatively.
Target Rate of Inflation	2.0%
The Current Account	An account that comprises trade in goods, trade in services, income from abroad, and income to abroad.
The Economic Cycle	A cycle of peaks and troughs in growth experienced by economies over time.
The Multiplier	The extent by which a rise in national income exceeds an increase in government spending.
Trade-off	The idea that something must be sacrificed in order to gain something else.
Unemployment	The percentage of people in an economy who are economically inactive.
Withdrawals	'Leakages' from the circular flow of income model: money that leaves the spending stream of households. For example, saving and import expenditure.

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