# The Rise and Fall of the U.S. Welfare State

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## Introduction

The growth of welfare states is one of the hallmarks of modern capitalist democracies. European welfare states began with pension and social insurance programs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and then grew into comprehensive systems of social support between the 1930s and the 1950s. By contrast, the U.S. state only began its excursions into social insurance and public assistance during the Great Depression of the 1930s, and was typically much less comprehensive in the postwar period (Skocpol 1987). Nonetheless, in the postwar period the welfare role of the state grew rapidly throughout the advanced capitalist world, as evidenced by significant rates of increase in state expenditure and taxation, particularly for social expenditures. But in thinking about the financing of the welfare state, it is misleading to focus on the rise in social expenditures alone, because taxes rose equally sharply (OECD 1985, 16-17). Thus when considering the impact on worker incomes, it is more appropriate to look at the net social wage: social benefit expenditures received by workers minus taxes paid by them. When this is positive, it represents a net addition to workers' wages, a net transfer from the state to workers; but when it is negative, it represents a net tax on workers, which is a net transfer in the other direction.

One of our principal findings is that over the

postwar period from 1952 to 1997, the net social wage as a percentage of employee compensation is very modest indeed: it seldom fluctuates beyond ±4 percent, and its average is a mere 0.6 percent (Figure 29. 3, p. 253). In effect, social wage flows largely recirculate income among wage and salary earners as a whole. And even here, the redistributive effect within the working population appears quite limited in most countries (OECD 1985, ch. 7, section B, 203).

Year-to-year movements of the net social wage are strongly affected by the level of unemployment, since this affects government expenditures on welfare, unemployment insurance, and so on, and the taxes paid by workers. And unemployment in turn depends on the long waves of accelerated growth and slowdown that are characteristic of capitalist economies. Thus when in the United States the long boom of 1947-1968 gave way to a subsequent long phase of slowdown and stagnation from 1969 to 1989, the resulting rise in structural unemployment in the latter phase triggered automatic rises in government spending and simultaneous declines in tax revenues. Combined with the increased defense spending in this period, the average government budget deficit rose almost sixfold as a percentage of GDP.

The Right was able to take advantage of the structural fiscal disequilibrium and mushrooming government debt of this period by focusing an attack on the welfare state. Public assistance and unemployment benefits were sharply restricted, and unions were systematically undermined. Union membership declined rapidly during this period, real wages fell, worker concessions and givebacks became commonplace, and the number of people in low-wage jobs rose sharply (Rosenberg 1987). On the other hand, military spending was maintained even as social spending was slashed, and corporate taxes were lowered.

These policies had their desired effect. The Reagan—Bush era ushered in a dramatic rise in profits beginning in 1982. The subsequent neoliberal Clinton era from 1992 to the present has proved equally profit-friendly, though as we shall see, the attack on labor was moderated once favorable conditions for a new round of the accumulation of capital had been restored (Albelda 1999, 15; Mishel et al. 1999).

## Measuring the Social Wage

At the most abstract level, the net national product may be thought of as being divided into a portion that goes to labor, and a remainder, the surplus product, which is appropriated by capital. But at a more concrete level of analysis, it becomes essential to examine the role of the state in modifying this division of the net product. Capitalist accumulation depends on the level of profits, while the standard of living of workers depends on their access to consumption, healthcare, education, and so forth. The modern welfare state intervenes by extracting taxes from both sides while simultaneously redirecting expenditures back toward them.

Our primary focus is on the extent to which the state's involvement in taxation and expenditures serves to redistribute a portion of the nation's surplus product to, or from, the working class. In keeping with our focus on class, we define the category of "working population" as consisting

of those members of the population not having ownership of capital as a principal income source. Our task is to assess the impact of government activities on the income and consumption of this population by properly accounting for both the expenditures directed toward them and the taxes deducted out of their income stream.

In accounting for after-tax income, it is important to note that there are two traditional methods The first, which concerns the observed incidence of taxes, is to calculate the income workers actually obtain after the deduction of all taxes flowing out of gross wages. This is the measure with which we are concerned. But in economic analysis, it is also common to try and estimate the income that workers might hypothetically obtain in the absence of some particular taxes. This latter measure of tax-shifting incidence is adopted by Miller (1988, 1989), for instance, and many others. Both are relevant, but they ask rather different questions (Shaikh and Tonak 1987, 193, note 8). Were we to extend our study to the second methodology, our conclusions on the paucity of the net social wage would be strengthened, because the resulting (counterfactual) measure of the net social wage would be considerably more negative, and quite similar to those reported in Miller.1

On the side of government labor benefits, we count all social welfare expenditures (health, education, welfare, housing, transportation, parks and recreation, transfer payments to workers, etc.), but exclude other government spending (transfer payments to businesses, expenditures for general administration, defense, etc.).<sup>2</sup> This is in sharp contrast to conventional methodology, which tends to treat all government expenditure as a direct social benefit, so that an increase in military spending is viewed as essentially equivalent to an increase in social welfare expenditures.

On the side of taxes we count all those that are levied directly on the working population (income taxes, (sales ously, incider their estive be shifting But it it to additionally incider to additionally incider their estive be shifting but it it to additionally incider to additionally incident additionally incident add

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taxes, Social Security taxes, property and other taxes), but exclude those levied on businesses (sales taxes, profit taxes, etc.). As noted previously, our primary concern is with the observed incidence of taxes, not with a comparison between their existing levels and the hypothetical alternative benchmark. This latter, counterfactual "taxshifting" question is important in its own right. But it is a different question than the one we seek to address here.

A further issue arises because one set of social expenditures (E<sub>1</sub>) and taxes (T<sub>1</sub>) is entirely associated with workers, while another set (E2, T<sub>2</sub>) encompass both workers and nonworkers. To address this, we assume that workers receive a portion of the latter set in proportion to the share of labor income in personal income (LS). The net difference between overall social expenditures received by labor and taxes paid by labor is the net social wage (NSW). Finally, we compare this net social wage to total employee compensation (EC), which is the total cost to capitalists of hiring workers (Tonak 1984).4 This is the gross wage of workers, and is made up of wages, salaries, employers contributions for social insurance, and other labor income.

$$NSW = NSW_1 + NSW_2$$
  
=  $(E_1 - T_1) + (E_2 - T_2)*LS$   
= the net social wage.

E<sub>1</sub> = government expenditures on labor training and services, housing and community services, income support, Social Security, and welfare (except the small items called military disability and military retirement, which we treat as a cost of war);

E<sub>2</sub> = government expenditures on education, health, and hospitals, recreational and cultural activities, energy, natural resources, passenger transportation, and postal service;

 $T_1 = \text{total}$  (employee and employer) Social Security taxes;

T<sub>2</sub> = personal income taxes, motor vehicle licenses, personal property taxes (primarily on homes), and other taxes and nontaxes (a very small category, which includes passport fees, fines, etc.);

LS = the labor share = the share of wages and salaries in total personal income.

The preceding derivation allows us to see that changes in the measure of the labor share affect only a part of measure of the net social wage. 5 Table 29.1 provides a detailed derivation of the net social wage, and depicts the typical magnitudes involved, for 1964. All further detail is provided in the data appendix, for 1952-1997. It is worth remarking that, as in Table 29.1, NSW<sub>1</sub> is positive, and NSW<sub>2</sub> is negative (and is therefore a net labor tax) throughout the postwar period. In effect, direct income support for labor always exceeds direct (Social Security) taxes deducted for this, while general expenditures on health, education, and so forth, always fall short of the general taxes on income and property (see the Appendix). Over the whole period, the portion of the net labor tax that arises from the latter virtually cancels out the labor benefit represented by the former.

Figure 29.1 demonstrates that, as in all advanced countries, U.S. total labor benefits and total labor taxes rise hand-in-hand over the postwar period. This underscores the importance of looking at both sides of the balance in addressing the social wage issue.

Figure 29.2 looks at the same two measures expressed relative to total employee compensation. Three things are evident here. First, although both the benefit ratio and tax ratio rise over time, the former initially rises more rapidly than the latter during the boom period 1952–1969, as real ben-

Table 29.1

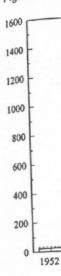
The Estimation of Social Wage(1964) (in billions of dollars)

Expenditures	Total	Labor
Expenditure Group I Total: Entirely Allocated to Labor = E,	34.08	34.08
Income support, Social Security, and welfare (excluding military1	29.88	29.88
Housing and community services	3.50	3.50
Labor and training services	0.70	0.70
Expenditure Group Partially Allocated to Labor = E, x LS		36.07
Expenditure Group II Total = E,	50.02	
Education	28.20	28.20
Health and hospitals	5.10	3.57
Recreational and cultural activities	1.20	0.84
Energy	1.40	0.98
Natural resources	2.10	1.47
Postal service	1.10	0.77
Passenger transportation = transportation x GCONS	10.92	7.64
Transportation	15.60	
Gas consumption of passenger cars = GCONS <sup>2</sup>	0.70	
$E_1 + E_2 \times LS = Total benefits and income received by labor$		70.15
Taxes		
Tax Group Paid Entirely by Labor = T,	30.08	30.08
Contributions for social insurance	30.08	30.08
Tax Group II Labor Total: Partially Allocated to Labor = T2 x LS		43.57
Tax Group II Total = T <sub>2</sub>	60.43	
Total income taxes = federal + state and local income taxes	49.83	35.93
Federal income taxes	45.83	33.04
State & local income taxes	4.00	2.88
Other taxes and nontaxes <sup>3</sup>	1.10	0.79
Motor vehicle and licenses	1.10	0.79
Personal property taxes	8.40	6.06
Other personal property taxes	0.70	0.50
Tax on owner-occupied nonfarm housing	7.50	5.41
Tax on owner-occupied farm housing	0.20	0.14
$T_1 + (T_2 \times LS) = Total taxes paid by labor$		73.65
$NSW_1 = E_1 - T_1$		4.01
$NSW_2 = (E_2 - T_2) \times LS$		-7.50
Net total social wage = NSW <sub>1</sub> + NSW <sub>2</sub>		-3.49

Source: National Income and Product Accounts of the U.S. statistical tables.

<sup>3</sup>This is the sum of federal nontaxes, state and local other taxes and nontaxes.

Figure 29.1

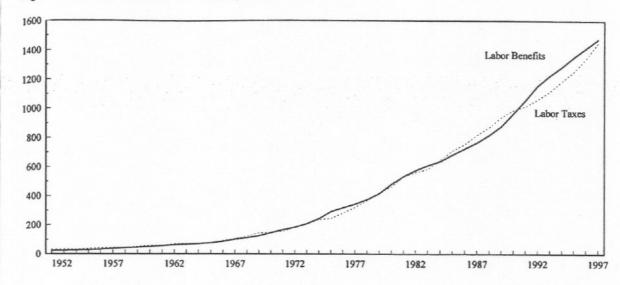


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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This excludes military "retirement" and "disability."

<sup>2</sup> These shares are calculated using information from various volumes of *U.S. Statistical Abstracts* (e.g., Table 1107 in 1979).

Figure 29.1 Labor Benefits and Taxes (in billions of \$)



efits are raised and coverage extended. However, as the boom runs out in the late sixties, from 1969 to 1975, the unemployment rate more than doubles (from 3.6 percent to 8.5 percent), poverty deepens, and the consequent rise in payments for unemployment and welfare causes the benefit ratio to accelerate and the tax ratio to decelerate—thus automatically expanding both the net social wage and the overall government deficit.

After 1975 the unemployment rate drops somewhat, and with it, the benefit ratio. But even though unemployment and poverty remain high relative to the averages in the boom phase, it is in this period that the counterattack by capital and the state begins. Under Reagan and Bush in particular, this assault succeeds in dismantling the social safety net and undermines workers' organizations. The already low unionization rate in the United States drops sharply, restricted eligibility requirements for welfare prevent any increase in the numbers of people being aided, total real benefits actually decrease, and the purchasing power of the average benefit declines substantially (Amott 1987,

51). Thus when the unemployment rate rises sharply in the early part of the Reagan—Bush era, the benefit ratio barely fluctuates, and even falls below the tax ratio for the first time in 14 years.

The sharp rise in real profits in the Reagan—Bush era eventually restores growth and lowers unemployment—albeit at reduced real wages and worsened working conditions for most workers. The rise of the benefit ratio and the more modest fall in the tax ratio at the end of this period is merely the familiar reflex of the rise in the unemployment rate. It is interesting to note, however, that in the subsequent Clinton era the tax ratio rises as unemployment falls, as one would expect, but the benefit ratio remains stable instead of falling. This would seem to indicate that the noncyclical base of the benefit ratio was raised under Clinton.

Figure 29.2 also shows that the Reagan—Bush era restores the negative net social wage of the early half of the postwar period, except in periods of peak unemployment. Once again, the exception, albeit a modest one, comes in the Clinton era, where the benefit ratio does not fall when un-

35.93 33.04 2.88 0.79 0.79 6.06 0.50 5.41

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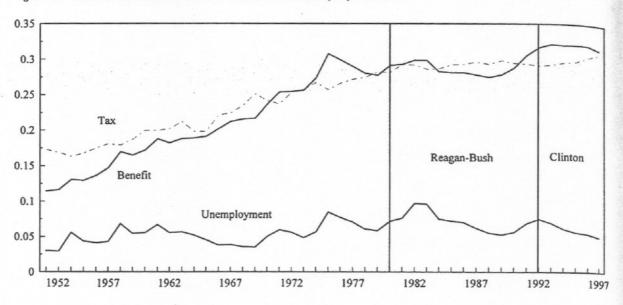
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107 in 1979).

Figure 29.2 Labor Benefit and Tax Ratios and the Unemployment Rate



employment falls, so that the net social wage remains positive. But of course the tax ratio is rising (as increased employment pushes people back into higher tax brackets), and by 1997 the two ratios are virtually the same.

Figure 29.3 combines the preceding benefit and tax ratios into the net social wage ratio, which is the net social wage as a fraction of employee compensation. The three phases identified earlier are immediately evident. In the boom period from 1952 to 1969 the net social wage ratio is negative, although the security afforded by stable growth allows workers to improve their relative strength and gradually reduce the extent of their subsidy to capital. The second phase from 1969 to 1975 marks the onset of the economic crisis in which the sharp rise in unemployment and poverty drags the benefit ratio upward and raises the net social wage ratio. However, in the Reagan era the counterattack by capital and the state initiates a dramatic secular decline in the base levels of the net social wage, and this swamps any built-in rise in the face

of the highest unemployment rates since the Great Depression. It is only then, starting from this new level, that the next increase in unemployment under Bush (1988–1992) gives rise to an automatic-stabilizer rise in the net social wage. As the unemployment rate declines in the Clinton years, the net social wage ratio follows suit, but not to as great an extent. As we noted earlier, this is because the base benefit ratio seems to have been raised in this period. Finally, it is interesting to note that over the whole period from 1952 to 1997, the average net social wage ratio is 0.6 percent—virtually zero!

Figure 29.4 looks at the impact of the net social wage in terms of the average real wage per worker (real employee compensation per fulltime equivalent worker). From this point of view, the true real wage is the sum of the net social wage and the observed (apparent) wage, both in constant-dollar terms. Several things are striking. In keeping with the relatively small size of the net social wage ratio, the true wage is seldom

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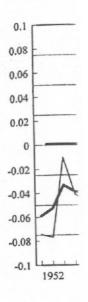


Figure 29.4 A

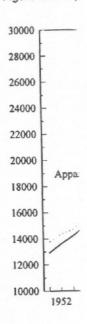


Figure 29.3 Net Social Wage Ratio (net social wage/employee compensation)

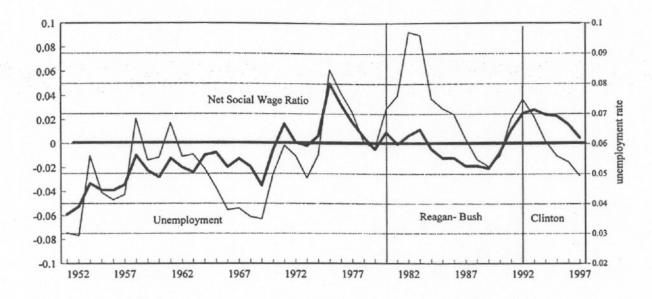
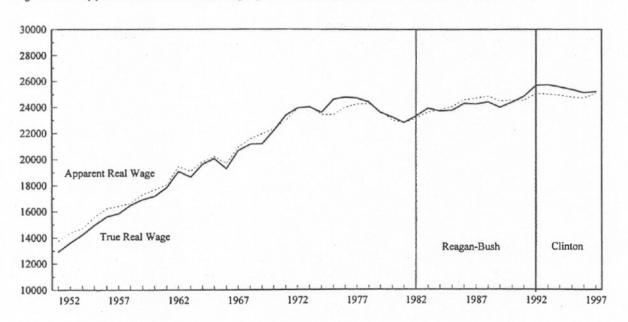


Figure 29.4 Apparent and True Real Wage (per full-time equivalent worker, 1982 dollars)



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ne net sowage per per fullt of view, net social e, both in are strikll size of s seldom very different from the apparent one. Indeed, the former is frequently below the latter, particularly in the boom phase from 1952 to 1969, although this deficiency narrows over time. As the boom gives way to stagnation and decline after 1969, both measures of the real wage decelerate, and in the late 1970s to the early 1980s they even fall. Although they rise modestly for a while thereafter, they once again stagnate in the Clinton era. Overall, their post-1969 average rate of growth remains much lower than that in the pre-1969 boom phase. The legacy of the concerted attack on labor benefits and supports is clearly evident in all of this.

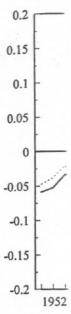
Figure 29.4 reminds us of the fact that in spite of the great development of the welfare state, the actual basis of the average standard of living of workers remains the real wage they are able to garner from their employers. Its steady rise in the boom phase, and its stagnation and decline in the subsequent crisis phase, forcibly remind us of the important role that class struggle, and the size of the reserve army of labor, continue to play in this age-old saga.

Finally, Figure 29.5 looks at the net social wage in relation to the total government budget deficit; both scaled by expressing them as a fraction of employee compensation. Note that a government deficit (an excess of expenditures over receipts) is plotted here as a positive number, to make it consistent with the sign convention used for the social wage. Thus a negative budget deficit is a budget surplus, that is, a net tax receipt, while a negative net social wage is a net tax payment. It is quite striking to then observe that until the Reagan-Bush era, the two variables behave in very similar ways. In the boom phase from 1952 to 1969, the net tax on labor (the negative social wage) accounts for a substantial part of overall total government surpluses. On the other hand, in the crisis phase from 1969 to 1980, the net benefit to labor (positive net social wage) is the substantial cause of the reduced budget surpluses and subsequent deficits. It is Reagan and Bush who break this nexus by simultaneously expanding the relative budget deficit and also slashing the net social wage. Since the net social wage is negative for most of this period, it cannot be said to have any part in the corresponding budget deficits. On the contrary, precisely because it is negative, we can say that during this interval the net tax imposed on labor made the deficit smaller than it would have been otherwise. It was the greatly expanded defense expenditures that account for the increased total government deficit in this period. In fact, the net tax on labor actually covers almost 16 percent of defense expenditures between 1987 and 1989.7 Clinton, by phasing out budget deficits and also the net social wage, effectively restores the historic relation between the two.

## **Summary and Conclusions**

The postwar history of advanced capitalist countries is marked by a tremendous extension in the role of the state. In particular, the great expansion in government spending on social programs has given rise to the notion of the modern capitalist state as a welfare state. But while this may be true, it does not follow that the welfare state is a net provider of goods and services, as some have tended to claim. On the contrary, when one accounts for the parallel rise in taxation that is an equally characteristic feature of the modern state, then something surprising emerges. By and large, it is the taxes of the working population that essentially pay for the corresponding state expenditures on health, education, Social Security, unemployment, public assistance, housing, and a host of other social programs. Over the whole postwar period, which is effectively the last half of the twentieth century, the average net balance between





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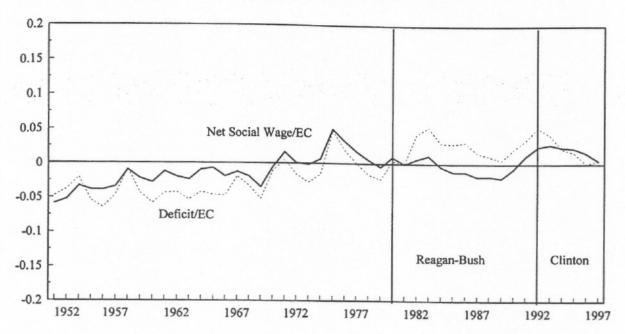
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taxes directly paid of employee compensation and the social expenditures directly received by the corresponding population is a mere 0.6 percent of total employee compensation. It is, in other words, effectively zero.

We call the concept that we deploy to make this comparison the net social wage. It is the difference between social benefit expenditures (health, education, welfare, housing, transportation, parks and recreation, transfer payments to workers, etc.) and taxes levied directly on the working population (the labor share of income taxes, Social Security taxes, property and other taxes, etc.).

We find that the net social wage fluctuates within fairly narrow boundaries, largely between ±4 percent of employee compensation (Figure 29.3), and over the whole period from 1952 to 1997 its average is essentially zero. But from year to year, its variations are substantially driven by

variations in the rate of unemployment. This is because a rise in the relative number of unemployed people induces increased relative state expenditures on income maintenance and unemployment compensation, while the corresponding drop in the relative number of employed people reduces relative tax receipts (Figure 29.3). This very same mechanism increases the relative budget deficit when the unemployment rate rises. For this reason, fluctuations in the net social wage also tend to be highly correlated with the budget deficit (Figure 29.5).

But there is more to the matter than the issue of cyclical fluctuations. The level and trend of the net social wage are also of great importance. And here, it is striking that during the long boom of 1952–1969, the net social wage was actually negative—that is, there was a net tax imposed on labor during this period. But because it was a boom pe-

riod with low unemployment and steadily rising real wages, benefits per worker rose more rapidly than did taxes, and over time the benefits received by labor became more and more consistent with their taxes.

All this began to unravel when the long boom ended. By the early 1970s the unemployment rate began to rise sharply, and it continued to trend upward until 1983. This period of economic privation was attended by increasingly sharp attacks on the welfare state, on unions, and on other institutions that supported the working population. Real employee compensation per worker began to fall in the mid-1970s, and its growth remained anemic afterward. And as the welfare state was dismantled, real benefits per worker were slashed, absolutely and relative to taxes, particularly in the Reagan-Bush era of 1980-1992. Thus even though unemployment reached record highs in that period, the net social wage actually fell, and even became negative. Workers were living at a reduced standard of living and yet paying a net tax—in the very period touted as one of "tax-cutting" for the benefit of working people. The rhetoric and reality of the times could not have been more discrepant. It is a particular irony that the net tax on labor helped substantially offset the greatly expanded defense expenditures of this period.

A critical result of this attack on labor, and its associated support for capital, is that it served to restore the conditions of accumulation: profitability began to rise sharply after 1982, and has continued up ever since. The ensuing rise in the U.S. rate of accumulation eventually began to offset the continued displacement of labor from "downsizing," and by the 1980s the trend of unemployment reversed itself (Figure 29.2).

Clinton's neoliberal regime has benefited greatly from these events (one might say it survived only because of them) and has shown little inclination to change the structures in place. As unemployment fell in the 1990s, the net social wage fell in typical correspondence with it. But since it seems not to have fallen quite to the same extent, there is some evidence that the noncyclical base of benefits was raised somewhat in Clinton era. In any case, by 1997 the net social wage had essentially come back down to zero.

Our study demonstrates that the net transfers effected by the U.S. welfare state have a very limited impact on the standard of living of workers. It is striking to note that the real wage of workers adjusted for the net social wage is not very different from the unadjusted real wage, that is, from real employee compensation per worker (Figure 29.4). Thus in spite of the welfare state, the real basis of the standard of living of workers remains the wage they are able to win from their employers. Its steady rise over the boom phase, followed by its stagnation and decline in the subsequent crisis phase, forcibly remind us that class struggle and the reserve army of labor continue to play a central role—as ever—in its determination.

### Notes

1. On the side of social expenditures, if we were to count veteran's benefits and services and military retirements and disability (both of which we exclude as costs of war), and on the side of taxes shift 50 percent of business taxes (corporate income taxes and indirect business taxes) to the labor account, our resulting estimates of the net social wage would fall between Miller's estimates of the SSA and O'Connor methodologies (Miller 1989, 85, Table 3).

2. The excluded expenditures consist of two kinds: (1) central executive, legislative and judicial activities, international affairs, space, national defense, civilian safety, veteran benefits, and agriculture, which are the general expenses of reproducing and maintaining the system itself (what Marx calls the faux frais of capitalist society [Marx 1977, 446]); and (2) those such as economic development, regulation and services, net interest, and others and unallocables, which represent expenditures directed mainly toward small businesses, related administrative activities, and interest payments to the highest income brackets. All of this group is therefore excluded from labor income and consumption.

3. The excluded taxes also consist of two kinds: direct

and indirect the former ser clusively on wealth, both

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and indirect business taxes, and estate and gift taxes. Since the former set is levied on business, and the latter almost exclusively on those with substantial nonlabor income and wealth, both are excluded from the labor account.

4. Within Marxian terminology this is the same as (nominal) variable capital if we abstract from the distinction between productive and unproductive labor. At a more concrete level, variable capital is the total employee compensation of productive labor alone. Strictly speaking, we should remove the incomes of corporate officers and managers from employee compensation, and add in a wage equivalent for self-employed people. But since these two corrections appear to be offsetting, we ignore them in the present study.

5. As indicated in note 4, detailed estimates of the labor share that exclude corporate officers and other management salaries, and that add in the wage equivalent of most self-employed persons, would not significantly change the labor share. A variation in the labor share, in turn, would only af-

fect NSW,

6. When the unemployment rate rises, employee compensation falls and total benefits rise (since there are more people receiving them). Thus the benefit ratio, the ratio of benefits to employee compensation, rises. On the side of taxes, if all people paid the same tax rate, total taxes would go down, but the tax ratio would remain unchanged. But in point of fact, a reduction of employee compensation moves people into lower tax brackets, and so the tax ratio actually falls (modestly) when the unemployment rate rises. These patterns are evident in Figure 29.2.

7. Data on the combined budget deficit and labor subsidy can be derived from the appendix. Data on defense expenditures are available from various years of BEA, Survey of Cur-

rent Business.

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# Appendix: Estimation of Net Social Wage\*

	1952	1953	1954
DERIVATION OF LABOR SHARES Labor Share=LS=EC/TPI	0.711	0.718	0.708
Employee Compensation=EC=Apparent Wage	196.35	210.42	209.37
Total Personal Income=TPI	275.98	292.90	295.73
Total I of South Theories 111			275.13
EXPENDITURES			
Total Benefits and Income Received by Labor=E1+(E2 x LS)	22.46	24.48	27.28
Expenditure Group I Total: Entirely Allocated to Labor=E1	9.69	10.73	12.80
Income Support, Social Security and Welfare (exluding Military)	7.69	8.83	10.90
Housing and Community Services	1.70	1.70	1.60
Labor and Training Services	0.30	0.20	0.30
Expenditure Group II Total=E2 x LS	12.78	13.75	14.49
Group II Total=E2	17.96	19.14	20.46
Education	8.90	9.90	11.20
Health and Hospitals	2.30	2.40	2.40
Recreational and Cultural Activities	0.30	0.40	0.40
Energy	0.40	0.30	0.30
Natural Resources	1.20	1.30	1.10
Postal Service	0.90	0.70	0.50
Passenger Transportation=Transportation*GCONS	3.96	4.14	4.56
Transporation	6.60	6.90	7.60
Gas Consumption of Passenger Cars=GCONS	0.60	0.60	0.60
TAXES			
Total Taxes Paid by Labor=T1+(T2 x LS)	34.00	35.54	34.24
Tax Group I Labor Total: Paid Entirely by Labor=T1	9.33	9.55	10.63
Contributions for Social Insurance	9.33	9.55	10.63
T. C. III. L. T. I. D. J. H. All	24.67	26.00	22.61
Tax Group II Labor Total: Partially Allocated to Labor=T2 x LS	24.67 34.68	25.99 36.18	23.61 33.35
Tax Group II Total=T2 Total Income Taxes=Federal+State&Local Income Taxes	31.13	32.28	29.15
Federal Income Taxes	30.13	31.28	28.05
State & Local Income Taxes	1.00	1.00	1.10
Other Taxes and Non-taxes	0.55	0.60	0.70
Motor Vehicle and Licenses	0.50	0.50	0.70
Personal Property Taxes = Other + Nonfarm & Farm Owner Occupied	2.50	2.80	3.00
Other Personal Property Taxes	0.30	0.30	0.30
Tax on Owner Occupied Non-farm Housing	2.10	2.40	2.60
Tax on Owner Occupied Farm Housing	0.10	0.10	0.10
NSW1=E1-T1	0.36	1.18	2.17
NSW2=(E2-T2) x LS	-11.89	-12.24	-9.13
NET TOTAL SOCIAL WAGE=NSW1+NSW2	-11.53	-11.06	-6.95
	-		
DATA FOR FIGURES			
Unemployment Rate	0.030	0.029	0.056
Labor Tax Ratio = Labor Taxes/EC	0.17	0.17	0.16
Labor Benefit Ratio = Labor Benefits/EC	0.11	0.12	0.13
Net Social Wage Ratio = Net Social Wage/EC	-0.06	-0.05	-0.033
Apparent Real Wage per FEE= EC/(CPI*FEE) (in 1982-\$)	13748	14365	14729
True Real Wage per FEE = (EC + Net Social Wage)/(CPI*FEE) (in 1982-\$)	12941	13610	14239
CPI	26.58	26.78	26.87
Full-Time Equivalent Employees (FEE; thousands)	53741	54690	52909
Total Government Surplus or Deficit/EC (with changed sign)	-0.05	-0.04	-0.02
Total Government Surplus or Deficit (Federal, State and Local)	9.32	7.92	4.28

0.71 225.5 317.2

> 29.2 13.3 11.6 1.4 0.3

> 15.8 22.2 12.6 2.1 0.2 1.0 0.6 4.2 8.

25. 36. 31. 30. 1. 0. 3. 0. 3. 0.

196	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955
0.72	0.720	0.749	0.711	0.719	0.713	0.701	0.717	0.719	0.712
370.9	345.52	342.42	305.56	296.66	281.24	259.76	257.76	244.74	225.92
514.4	480.05	456.95	429.95	412.53	394.35	370.33	359.65	340.55	317.28
70.1	65.09	62.44	57.35	50.98	46.35	44.03	37.83	33.29	29.20
34.0	32.29	31.15	29.35	25.26	23.53	22.60	18.26	15.40	13.35
29.8	28.69	27.25	25.95	22.26	20.63	19.80	15.76	13.10	11.65
3.5	3.00	3.30	2.90	2.60	2.50	2.50	2.20	2.00	1.40
0.7	0.60	0.60	0.50	0.40	0.40	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.30
36.0	32.80	31.29	28.00	25.72	22.82	21.44	19.57	17.89	15.85
50.0	45.57	41.76	39.40	35.77	32.00	30.56	27.30	24.90	22.26
28.2	25.40	22.90	21.30	19.40	17.50	16.80	15.00	13.80	12.60
5.1	4.70	4.30	4.10	3.80	3.60	3.30	3.10	2.80	2.50
1.2	1.10	1.00	1.00	0.90	0.80	0.70	0.60	0.50	0.50
1.4	0.90	1.00	1.10	0.80	0.70	0.70	0.50	0.40	0.20
2.1	2.00	1.80	1.70	1.50	1.50	1.50	1.40	1.20	1.00
1.1	0.90	1.10	1.10	0.90	0.70	0.90	0.70	0.80	0.60
10.9	10.57	9.66	9.10	8.47	7.20	6.66	6.00	5.40	4.86
15.6	15.10	13.80	13.00	12.10	12.00	11.10	10.00	9.00	8.10
0.7	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.60
	0	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
73.6	73.38	69.27	61.08	59.26	52.63	46.52	46.62	42.82	37.93
30.0	28.53	25.38	22.90	21.90	18.78	15.93	15.50	13.50	12.03
30.0	28.53	25.38	22.90	21.90	18.78	15.93	15.50	13.50	12.03
43.5	44.86	43.89	38.18	37.36	33.86	30.60	31.12	29.32	25.90
60.4	62.33	58.58	53.73	51.95	47.48	43.62	43.43	40.80	36.38
49.8	52.43	49.58	45.43	44.25	40.58	37.23	37.63	35.43	31.70
45.8	49.03	46.38	42.63	41.75	38.38	35.43	35.93	33.83	30.40
4.0	3.40	3.20	2.80	2.50	2.20	1.80	1.70	1.60	1.30
1.1	1.00	1.00	0.80	0.70	0.60	0.80	0.80	0.78	0.68
1.1	1.10	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.90	0.80	0.70	0.70	0.60
8.4	7.80	7.00	6.50	6.00	5.40	4.80	4.30	3.90	3.40
0.7	0.70	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.50	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.30
7.5	6.90	6.20	5.70	5.20	4.70	4.40	3.90	3.50	3.00
0.2	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
4.0	3.77	5.77	6.45	3.36	4.75	6.67	2.76	1.90	1.33
-7.5	-12.06	-12.60	-10.18	-11.64	-11.04	-9.16	-11.56	-11.43	-10.05
-3.4	-8.29	-6.83	-3.73	-8.28	-6.28	-2.49	-8.80	-9.53	-8.72
0.05	0.056	0.056	0.067	0.055	0.055	0.068	0.043	0.041	0.044
0.2	0.21	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.19	0.18	0.18	0.17	0.17
0.1	0.19	0.18	0.19	0.17	0.16	0.17	0.15	0.14	0.13
-0.00	-0.024	-0.020	-0.012	-0.028	-0.022	-0.010	-0.034	-0.039	-0.039
1982	19119	19475	18064	17674	17309	16645	16412	16233	15569
1964	18660	19086	17844	17181	16923	16485	15852	15601	14968
31.0	30.64	30.25	29.88	29.59	29.17	28.88	28.12	27.19	26.81
6027	58979	58125	56604	56724	55708	54047	55857	55445	54126
-0.0	-0.05	-0.04	-0.04	-0.06	-0.04	-0.01	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05
15.5	18.38	14.50	13.27	17.30	12.20	2.05	11.90	15.77	12.25

1954

0.708 209.37 295.73

27.28

12.80 10.90 1.60 0.30

14.49 20.46 11.20 2.40 0.40 0.30 1.10 0.50 4.56 7.60 0.60

34.24 10.63 10.63

23.61 33.35 29.15 28.05

1.10 0.70 0.50 3.00 0.30 2.60

0.10

2.17 -9.13 -6.95

0.056 0.16 0.13

-0.033 14729 14239

26.87 52909 -0.02 4.28

DERIVATION OF LABOR SHARES	1965	1966	1967	1968
Labor Share=LS=ECTPI	0.718	0.698	0.731	0.73-
Employee Compensation=EC=Apparent Wage	399.82	422.95	475.52	524.72
Total Personal Income=TPI	556.73	605.75	650.73	714.55
EXPENDITURES				
Total Benefits and Income Received by Labor=E1+(E2 x LS)	76.54	85.60	100.96	113.29
Expenditure Group I Total: Entirely Allocated to Labor=E1	37.31	42.09	50.43	58.63
Income Support, Social Security and Welfare (exluding Military)	32.71 3.70	36.99	44.43	51.83 5.20
Housing and Community Services Labor and Training Services	0.90	4.00 1.10	4.40 1.60	1.60
Dated and Training Services	0.50	1.10	1.00	1.00
Expenditure Group II Total=E2 x LS	39.23	43.51	50.53	54.66
Group II Total=E2	54.62	62.31	69.15	74.44
Education	31.30	36.60	41.30	45.20
Health and Hospitals	5.50	6.00	6.50	7.30
Recreational and Cultural Activities	1.20	1.30	1.50	1.80
Energy	1.40	1.30	1.70	1.60
Natural Resources	2.40	2.80	3.00	2.50
Postal Service	1.20	1.50	1.50	1.20 14.84
Passenger Transportation=Transportation*GCONS Transporation	11.62 16.60	12.81 18.30	13.65 19.50	21.20
Gas Consumption of Passenger Cars=GCONS	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70
				7
TAXES				
Total Taxes Paid by Labor=T1+(T2 x LS)	79.48	93.78	106.88	123.37
Tax Group I Labor Total: Paid Entirely by Labor=T1	31.60	40.58	45.55	50.45
Contributions for Social Insurance	31.60	40.58	45.55	50.45
Tax Group II Labor Total: Partially Allocated to Labor=T2 x LS	47.88	53.20	61.33	72.92
Tax Group II Total=T2	66.68	76.20	83.93	99,30
Total Income Taxes=Federal+State&Local Income Taxes	55.28	63.80	70.23	83.98
Federal Income Taxes	50.88	58.40	64.13	76.18
State & Local Income Taxes	4.40	5.40	6.10	7.80
Other Taxes and Non-taxes	1.10	1.20	1.50	1.53
Motor Vehicle and Licenses	1.20	1.40	1.40	1.60
Personal Property Taxes = Other + Nonfarm & Farm Owner Occupied	9.10	9.80	10.80	12.20
Other Personal Property Taxes	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.80
Tax on Owner Occupied Non-farm Housing	8.20	8.90	9.90	11.20
Tax on Owner Occupied Farm Housing	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20
NSW1=E1-T1	5.71	1.52	4.88	8.18
NSW2=(E2-T2) x LS	-8.66	-9.70	-10.80	-18.26
NET TOTAL SOCIAL WAGE=NSW1+NSW2	-2.95	-8.18	-5.92	-10.08
DATA FOR EICURES				-
DATA FOR FIGURES	0.045	0.020	0.020	0.024
Unemployment Rate Labor Tax Ratio = Labor Taxes/EC	0.045	0.038	0.038	0.036
Labor Benefit Ratio = Labor Benefits/EC	0.20	0.22	0.22	0.24 0.22
Net Social Wage Ratio = Net Social Wage/EC	-0.007	-0.019	-0.012	-0.019
Apparent Real Wage per FEE= EC/(CPI*FEE) (in 1982-\$)	20226	19692	20950	21584
True Real Wage per FEE = (EC + Net Social Wage)(CPI*FEE) (in 1982-\$)	20077	19311	20689	21169
CPI	31.55	32.50	33.38	34.79
Full-Time Equivalent Employees (FEE; thousands)		32.50 66086	33.38 68007	34.79 69875
	31.55			

8 0.731										
/8 U./31	0.734	0.742	0.738	0.733	0.735	0.734	0.734	0.721	0.727	0.732
5 475.52	524.72	578.26	618.12	660.05	726.79	813.08	892.42	951.27	1061.54	1182.86
5 650.73	714.55	779.28	837.10	900.20	988.85	1107.55	1215.93	1319.00	1459.38	1616.10
0 100.96	113.29	125.29	146.44	167.66	185.07	208.57	244.38	292.84	317.85	343.32
9 50.43	58.63	64.56	77.56	92.55	103.76	119.43	142.68	177.82	194.85	209.85
9 44.43	51.83	57.76	70.06	83.45	93.56	108.33	129.88	163.32	178.46	192.45
0 4.40	5.20	5.10	5.70	6.60	7.40	8.40	10.10	11.50	12.70	13.20
1.60	1.60	1.70	1.80	2.50	2.80	-2.70	2.70	3.00	3.70	4.20
50.53	54.66	60.73	68.88	75.11	81.30	89.14	101.70	115.02	122.99	133.47
69.15	74.44	81.84	93.28	102.44	110.62	121.42	138.57	159.48	169.09	182.35
41.30	45.20	50.00	56.60	62.70	68.50	75.50	84.20	96.10	104.80	112.40
6.50	7.30	8.40	9.80	10.80	12.00	13.40	15.10	16.90	17.50	19.10
1.50	1.80	2.20	2.40	2.70	2.80	3.20	4.00	4.80	5.10	5.30
1.70	1.60	1.80	2.00	2.00	2.20	2.20	3.40	4.30	5.30	6.90
3.00	2.50	2.50	3.00	3.20	3.50	3.50	4.20	4.90	5.00	5.40
1.50	1.20	1.40	2.40	2.70	2.30	2.90	3.10	4.90	3.60	4.20
13.65	14.84	15.54	17.08	18.34	19.32	20.72	24.57	27.58	27.79	29.05
19.50	21.20	22.20	24.40	26.20	27.60	29.60	35.10	39.40	39.70	41.50
0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70
106.88	123.37	145.45	149.65	156.71	184.18	209.85	238.48	245.01	282.77	321.92
45.55	50.45	57.78	62.00	69.60	79.55	97.88	111.65	121.05	137.75	155.38
45.55	50.45	57.78	62.00	69.60	79.55	97.88	111.65	121.05	137.75	155.38
61.33	72.92	87.67	87.65	87.11	104.63	111.97	126.83	123.96	145.02	166.55
83.93	99.30	118.15	118.70	118.80	142.35	152.53	172.80	171.88	199.38	227.55
70.23	83.98	100.88	99.40	97.70	119.50	128.00	146.40	142.88	167.15	192.15
64.13	76.18	91.08	88.50	85.30	102.30	109.10	126.00	120.38	140.85	161.75
6.10	7.80	9.80	10.90	12.40	17.20	18.90	20.40	22.50	26.30	30.40
1.50	1.53	1.78	1.90	2.10	2.45	2.53	2.90	3.40	4.03	4.50
1.40	1.60	1.90	2.10	2.20	2.40	2.60	2.70	2.80	3.10	3.30
10.80	12.20	13.60	15.30	16.80	18.00	19.40	20.80	22.80	25.10	27.60
0.70	0.80	0.80	0.80	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.90
9.90	11.20	12.60	14.30	15.70	16.90	18.30	19.60	21.60	23.90	26.40
0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.30
4.88	8.18	6.78	15.56	22.95	24.21	21.56	31.03	56.77	57.10	54.48
-10.80	-18.26	-26.94	-18.77	-12.00	-23.32	-22.84	-25.12	-8.94	-22.03	-33.08
-5.92	-10.08	-20.16	-3.21	10.95	0.89	-1.28	5.91	47.83	35.08	21.39
	-									-
0.038	0.036	0.035	0.050	0.060	0.056	0.049	0.056	0.085	0.077	0.071
0.22	0.24	0.25	0.24	0.24	0.25	0.26	0.27	0.26	0.27	0.27
0.21	0.22	0.22	0.24	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.27	0.31	0.30	0.29
-0.012	-0.019	-0.035	-0.005	0.017	0.001	-0.002	0.007	0.050	0.033	0.018
20950	21584	21973	22337	23008	23913	24064	23451	23439	23985	24259
20689	21169	21207	22221	23389	23943	24026	23607	24618	24778	24698
33.38	34.79	36.68	38.84	40.48	41.81	44.43	49.32	53.83	56.93	60.62
68007	69875	71740	71245	70865	72695	76058	77163	75401	77737	80440
-0.02	-0.03	-0.05	-0.01	0.01	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	0.05	0.02	0.00
4144	17.22	29.85	6.68	-3.63	11.63	22.22	13.55	-46.28	-21.28	-1.52

	1978	1979	1980
DERIVATION OF LABOR SHARES			
Labor Share=LS=EC/TPI	0.733	0.731	0.721
Employee Compensation=EC=Apparent Wage	1338.46	1503.25	1653.89
Total Personal Income=TPI	1825.90	2055.85	2292.98
EXPENDITURES			
Total Benefits and Income Received by Labor=E1+(E2 x LS)	375.57	417.60	482.38
Expenditure Group I Total: Entirely Allocated to Labor=E1	228.72	256.10	304.83
Income Support, Social Security and Welfare (exluding Military)	207.12	231.40	275.83
Housing and Community Services	15.90	18.50	22.10
Labor and Training Services	5.70	6.20	6.90
Expenditure Group II Total=E2 x LS	146.86	161.50	177.55
Group II Total=E2	200.34	220.87	246.16
Education	121.10	133.80	147.60
Health and Hospitals	21.00	22.40	25.80
Recreational and Cultural Activities	6.00	6.50	7.10
Energy	10.20	9.60	9.80
Natural Resources	6.00 3.70	7.30 4.10	8.20 5.80
Postal Service Passenger Transportation=Transportation*GCONS	32.34	37.17	41.86
Transportation Transportation GCONS	46.20	53.10	59.80
Gas Consumption of Passenger Cars=GCONS	0.70	0.70	0.70
TAXES			
Total Taxes Paid by Labor=T1+(T2 x LS)	367.85	424.12	466.18
Tax Group I Labor Total: Paid Entirely by Labor=T1	177.03	204.23	225.00
Contributions for Social Insurance	177.03	204.23	225.00
Tax Group II Labor Total: Partially Allocated to Labor=T2 x LS	190.83	219.89	241.18
Tax Group II Total=T2	260.33	300.73	334.38
Total Income Taxes=Federal+State&Local Income Taxes	223.43	262.23	292.08
Federal Income Taxes	188.43	224.03	249.48
State & Local Income Taxes	35.00	38.20	42.60
Other Taxes and Non-taxes	5.00	5.50	6.30
Motor Vehicle and Licenses	3.60	3.70	4.00
Personal Property Taxes = Other + Nonfarm & Farm Owner Occupied Other Personal Property Taxes	28.30	29.30 1.10	32.00 1.20
Tax on Owner Occupied Non-farm Housing	27.00	27.90	30.50
Tax on Owner Occupied Farm Housing	0.30	0.30	0.30
NSW1=E1-T1	51.69	51.87	79.83
NSW1=E1-11 NSW2=(E2-T2) x LS	-43.97	-58.39	-63.63
NET TOTAL SOCIAL WAGE=NSW1+NSW2	7.72	-6.52	16.20
	-		
DATA FOR FIGURES			
Unemployment Rate	0.061	0.059	0.072
Labor Tax Ratio = Labor Taxes/EC	0.27	0.28	0.28
Labor Benefit Ratio = Labor Benefits/EC	0.28	0.28	0.29
Net Social Wage Ratio = Net Social Wage/EC	0.006	-0.004	0.010
Apparent Real Wage per FEE= EC/(CPI*FEE) (in 1982-\$)	24264	23714	23007
True Real Wage per FEE = (EC + Net Social Wage)/(CPI*FEE) (in 1982-\$)	24404	23611	23232 82.38
CPI Full-Time Equivalent Employees (FEE; thousands)	65.24 84551	72.58 87335	82.38
Total Government Surplus or Deficit/EC (with changed sign)	-0.02	-0.02	0.00
Total Government Surplus of Deficit (Federal, State and Local)	20.95	33.85	-6.62
Total Continues of Deliver (1 contain owns and Down)	20.70	00.00	0.02

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0.6 0 -0.4 22: 22: 90 886 0 -2

1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
	0.712	0.708	0.706	0.703	0.705	0.707	0.711	0.712	0.701	0.699
0.721	1827.80	1927.60	2044.22	2257.01	2425.01	2572.45	2757.72	2973.90	3151.65	3352.75
553.89 292.98	2568.50	2724.10	2894.40	3211.40	3440.85	3639.55	3877.80	4178.85	4496.40	4796.23
292.98										
402.29	535.44	576.37	610.20	638.57	683.04	724.88	767.70	817.91	877.60	966.21
482.38	344.29	378.61	402.41	415.79	444.08	470.17	495.16	527.56	571.40	633.98
304.83 275.83	314.09	348.61	373.61	385.09	409.78	433.67	455.06	485.96	528.00	587.9
22.10	23.50	24.00	22.90	25.00	28.20	30.20	33.80	35.10	36.70	39.1
6.90	6.70	6.00	5.90	5.70	6.10	6.30	6.30	6.50	6.70	6.9
	191.15	197.76	207.79	222.78	238.96	254.70	272.54	290.35	306.19	332.2
177.55	268.61	279.48	294.21	316.99	339.06	360.36	383.23	407.99	436.84	475.2
246.16	159.40	169.50	179.80	194.90	212.00	229.10	244.20	262.60	285.50	308.3
147.60 25.80	27.20	27.40	27.90	30.00	32.00	33.70	36.40	39.80	42.50	46.6
7.10	7.60	7.90	8.20	9.30	9.80	10.70	11.20	12.10	13.20	14.7
9.80	15.10	13.10	10.10	10.20	8.30	6.80	5.60	4.40	3.60	4.6
8.20	9.20	9.40	11.00	10.80	11.80	11.90	12.40	13.10	14.20	14.7
5.80	5.10	5.00	5.90	6.70	6.50	6.00	7.70	6.90	7.00	9.1
41.86	45.01	47.18	51.31	55.09 78.70	58.66	62.16 88.80	65.73 93.90	69.09 98.70	70.84	77.2 110.4
59.80	64.30 0.70	67.40 0.70	73.30 0.70	0.70	83.80 0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	101.20 0.70	0.7
0.70		0.70								
	535.72	562.87	585.24	648.00	710.66	754.73	818.25	871.77	941.20	988.9
466.18	261.63	280.63	301.93	345.53	375.95	402.00	423.33	462.80	491.20	518.5
225.00 225.00	261.63	280.63	301.93	345.53	375.95	402.00	423.33	462.80	491.20	518.5
	274.10	282.25	283.32	302.47	334.71	352.73	394.92	408.97	450.00	470.4
241.18	385.18	398.88	401.15	430.38	474.93	499.05	555.33	574.68	642.00	673.0
334.38	337.98	346.95	345.08	369.38	408.78	428.10	480.13	495.48	554.63	579.0
292.08	290.08	295.05	286.78	301.88	336.68	350.70	394.13	405.58	453.23	472.7
249.48	47.90	51.90	58.30	67.50	72.10	77.40	86.00	89.90	101.40	106.3
42.60	7.50	8.43	9.48	10.80	12.15	13.45	14.50	15.70	17.28	19.0
6.30 4.00	4.20	4.60	4.90	5.30	5.90	6.30	6.80	7.10	7.60	7.9
32.00	35.50	38.90	41.70	44.90	48.10	51.20	53.90	56.40	62.50	67.1
1.20	1.30	1.40	1.50	1.60	1.90	2.00	2.30	2.40	2.70	2.9
30.50	33.90 0.30	37.20 0.30	39.80 0.40	42.90 0.40	45.80 0.40	48.70 0.50	51.10 0.50	53.40 0.60	59.20 0.60	63.6
0.30				70.26	60.12	60.17	71.04	(17)	80.20	
79.83	82.66 -82.95	97.99 -84.49	100.49 -75.53	70.26 -79.69	68.13 -95.75	68.17 -98.03	71.84	64.76 -118.62	80.20 -143.80	115.4 -138.2
-63.63	-0.29	13.50	24.96	-9.43	-27.62	-29.85	-50.55	-53.86	-63.60	-22.7
16.20										
	0.076	0.097	0.096	0.075	0.072	0.070	0.062	0.055	0.053	0.05
0.072	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.30	0.29	0.30	0.2
0.28	0.29	0.30	0.30	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.2
0.29	-0.000	0.007	0.012	-0.004	-0.011	-0.012	-0.018	-0.018	-0.020	-0.00
0.010	22825	23143	23637	23791	24035	24561	24681	24847	24470	2454
23007	22822	23305	23926	23691	23761	24275	24229	24397	23976	2437
23232	90.93	96.53	99.58	103.93	107.60	109.69	113.72	118.35	124.03	130.7
82.38	88062	86281	86844	91279	93769	95485	98256	101131	103848	10447
5 87260 2 0.00	0.00	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.0
2 0.00	-2.37	-83.40	-109.52	-69.13	-71.93	-82.60	-45.10	-35.35	-18.30	-74.5

#### DERIVATION OF LABOR SHARES

Labor Share=LS=EC/TPI Employee Compensation=EC=Apparent Wage

Total Personal Income=TPI

#### **EXPENDITURES**

Total Benefits and Income Received by Labor=E1+(E2 x LS)

Expenditure Group I Total: Entirely Allocated to Labor=E1

Income Support, Social Security and Welfare (exluding Military)

Housing and Community Services

Labor and Training Services

#### Expenditure Group II Total=E2 x LS

Group II Total=E2

Education

Health and Hospitals

Recreational and Cultural Activities

Energy

Natural Resources

Postal Service

Passenger Transportation=Transportation\*GCONS

Transporation

Gas Consumption of Passenger Cars=GCONS

#### TAXES

Total Taxes Paid by Labor=T1+(T2 x LS)

Tax Group I Labor Total: Paid Entirely by Labor=T1

Contributions for Social Insurance

#### Tax Group II Labor Total: Partially Allocated to Labor=T2 x LS

Tax Group II Total=T2

Total Income Taxes=Federal+State&Local Income Taxes

Federal Income Taxes

State & Local Income Taxes

Other Taxes and Non-taxes

Motor Vehicle and Licenses

Personal Property Taxes = Other + Nonfarm & Farm Owner Occupied

Other Personal Property Taxes
Tax on Owner Occupied Non-farm Housing

Tax on Owner Occupied Farm Housing

### NSW1=E1-T1

NSW2=(E2-T2) x LS

NET TOTAL SOCIAL WAGE=NSW1+NSW2

## DATA FOR FIGURES

Unemployment Rate

Labor Tax Ratio = Labor Taxes/EC

Labor Benefit Ratio = Labor Benefits/EC

Net Social Wage Ratio = Net Social Wage/EC
Apparent Real Wage per FEE= EC/(CPI\*FEE) (in 1982-\$)

True Real Wage per FEE = (EC + Net Social Wage)/(CPI\*FEE) (in 1982-\$) CPI

Full-Time Equivalent Employees (FEE; thousands)

Total Government Surplus or Deficit/EC (with changed sign)

Total Government Surplus or Deficit (Federal, State and Local)

\* Source: National Income and Product Accounts of the U.S., Statistical Tables (all figures in billions of dollars except real wages per FEE)

1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
0.696	0.694	0.696	0.697	0.693	0.686	0.691
3457.91	3644.94	3814.87	4012.00	4208.87	4409.05	4687.23
4965.65	5255.65	5481.05	5757.93	6072.08	6425.20	6784.03
1056.96	1155.46	1226.40	1285.13	1350.98	1413.09	1476.31
711.29	793.87	849.74	891.62	943.66	996.82	1035.77
663.79	743.57	798.94	838.82	885.26	936.32	973.57
40.30	42.20	42.40	44.50	50.00	52.10	53.70
7.20	8.10	8.40	8.30	8.40	8.40	8.50
345.68	361.59	376.66	393.51	407.32	416.27	440.54
496.40	521.38	541.17	564.76	587.64	606.62	637.61
324.70	336.80	349.80	365.90	387.60	405.60	427.50
48.30	48.80	48.80	50.20	48.50	47.60	49.00
15.20	15.90	16.40	16.90	18.60	19.00	20.10
3.50	9.20	10.50	6.30	6.10	2.50	1.30
15.70	17.10	18.50	19.90	21.50	22.80	22.20
8.50	7.90	7.50	9.80	7.20	6.50	8.80
80.50	85.68	89.67	95.76	98.14	102.62	108.71
115.00	122.40	128.10	136.80	140.20	146.60	155.30
0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70
1015.88	1062.34	1117.13	1186.74	1252.69	1340.89	1451.57
543.50	571.43	596.03	630.50	658.90	687.98	726.95
543.50	571.43	596.03	630.50	658.90	687.98	726.95
472.38	490.91	521.10	556.24	593.79	652.91	724.62
678.35	707.85	748.70	798.30	856.65	951.48	1048.78
574.78	596.23	632.33	676.50	729.40	818.80	910.10
464.38	478.13	508.13	545.30	589.00	666.90	745.80
110.40	118.10	124.20	131.20	140.40	151.90	164.30
22.98	26.23	27.58	29.40	31.95	34.58	37.18
8.30	8.80	8.90	9.50	9.90	10.00	10.60
72.30	76.60	79.90	82.90	85.40	88.10	90.90
3.10	3.30 72.70	3.40 75.80	3.60 78.50	3.80 80.70	4.00 83.20	4.10 85.90
68.60 0.60	0.60	0.70	0.80	0.90	0.90	0.90
167.79	222.45	253.72	261.12	284.76	308.85	308.82
-126.70	-129.32	-144.44	-162.73	-186.46	-236.64	-284.08
41.08	93.12	109.27	98.39	98.30	72.20	24.74
0.069	0.075	0.069	0.061	0.056	0.054	0.049
0.29	0.29	0.29	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.31
0.31	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.31
0.012	0.026	0.029	0.025	0.023	0.016	0.005
24532	25050	25004	24932	24762	24698	25041
24823	25690	25721	25543	25341	25103	25174
136.27	140.41	144.56	148.34	152.48	156.97	160.63
103441	103631	105541	108478	111468	113729	116532
0.03	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.01
-120.18	-194.60	-163.23	-89.85	-71.38	-5.08	78.97

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