

Progressive policy for a modern Canada

#### The Canada We Want in 2020

**Equality of opportunity** 

The Canada We Want in 2020

## EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

a Canadian dream?

Tuesday, February 26<sup>th</sup> 2013



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The Canada We Want in 2020: Reducing Income Disparities & Polarization



#### About Canada 2020

- Canada 2020 is a leading, independent, progressive think-tank
- Canada 2020's objective is to inform and influence debate, to identify progressive policy solutions and to help redefine federal government for a modern
- Our primary focus is on the role of the federal government



#### The Canada We Want in 2020

- Launches a debate about the role of the federal government in Canada
- Forward-looking project focused on five key challenges
  - Increasing innovation and productivity
  - Rising to meet the Asia challenge
  - Squaring the carbon circle
  - Reducing income disparities and polarization
  - Securing our health system for the future
- Oriented towards policy influence
  - opening book launch: November 2011
  - first series of panels: January-May 2012
  - second series of panels: January-May 2013



#### The income inequality debate

- Active public debate on the extent of inequality, and how much it matters
- How 'badly' Canada is doing
  - relatively
  - absolutely

- in people's perception
  - polls show this to be top public concern but little policy response
- How concerned we should be about increasing inequality at the top
  - Top 1% and 0.1% pulling away
    - Canada 3<sup>rd</sup> in OECD after US and UK in terms of concentration of income at the top 1%





# How does this relate to equality of opportunity?

- Income inequality debate is largely about the equality of outcomes
  - market incomes
  - incomes after taxes and transfers
- Equality of opportunity discussion is about people's chances and the extent to which these are determined by their starting point
  - parents' incomes
  - human capital: education, health status, location



#### And economic mobility?

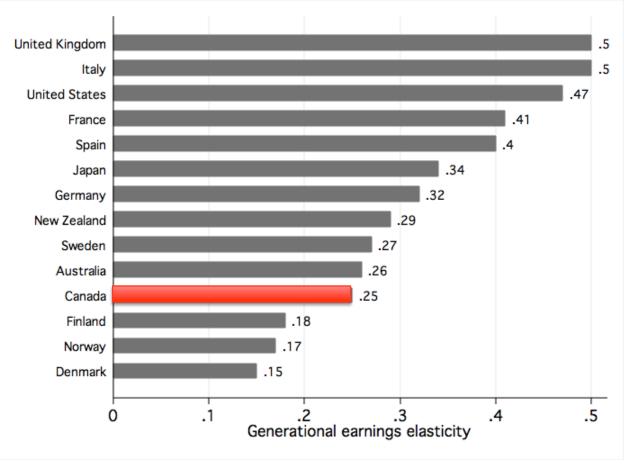
- Economic mobility is a proxy for equality of opportunity
- Typically measured in terms of generational earnings elasticity
  - this shows the extent to which parental advantage (or disadvantage) is passed on to a child
- Absolute mobility
  - are you doing better economically than your parents?
    - recent polling (EKOS 2012) shows a majority of Canadians now believe they will be worse off in a generation
- Relative mobility
  - have you moved up the rungs of the overall distribution ladder, relative to peers?





#### How is Canada doing?

Canada does relatively well on economic mobility



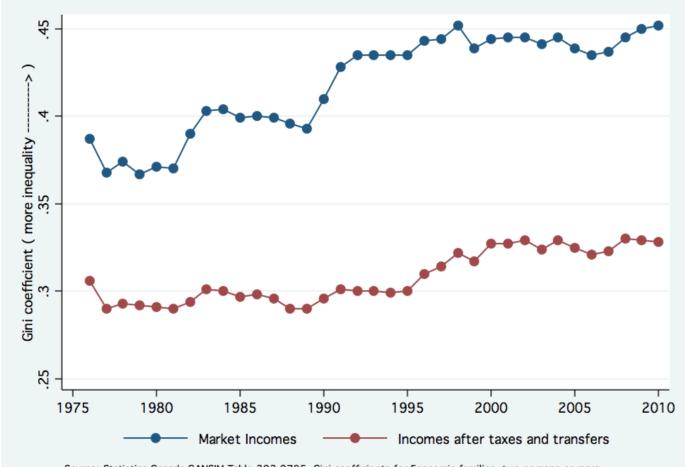
Source: Corak 2011



#### How is Canada doing?

But getting worse on income inequality

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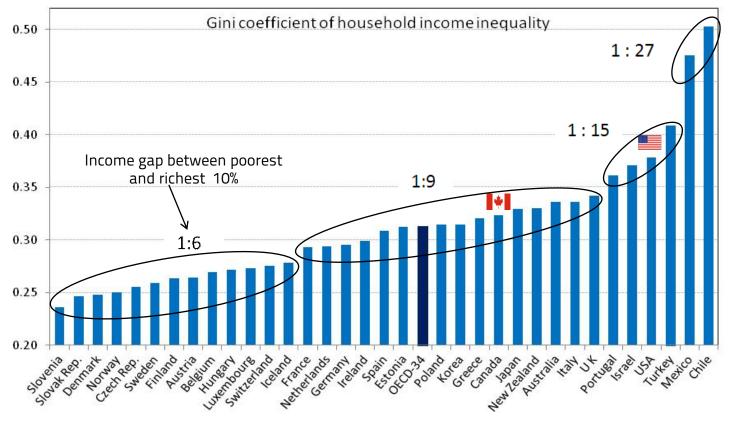


Source: Statistics Canada CANSIM Table 202-0705, Gini coefficients for Economic families, two persons or more



#### How is Canada doing?

Canada is slightly above the OECD average for overall income inequality

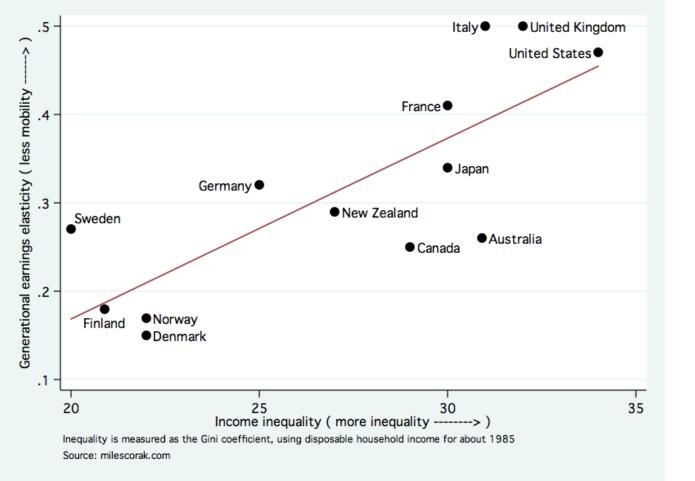


Source: OECD 2011, Divided we Stand

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## Thinking about outcomes and mobility together we get: **the 'Great Gatsby' curve**



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#### What does **the 'Great Gatsby' Curve** tell us?

- That more inequality is generally associated with less mobility
  - though this is not a causal relationship
- That Canada is (or has been) a relative outlier on economic mobility relative to other rich countries with similar levels of inequality

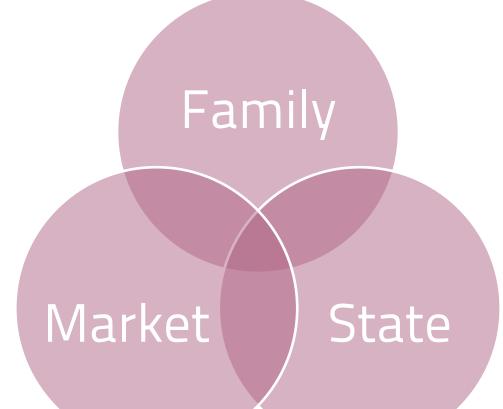


#### Which leads us to question...

- The value we, as a society, place on economic mobility/equality of opportunity
- The basis of differences between countries on this metric
- The role of policy in supporting equality of opportunity



# What matters to equality of opportunity?





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## Family issues

- Family structure
- Family income and labour force participation
- Family propensity and ability to invest time and money in children
- Family attitudes and values





### Market issues

- Increasingly polarized labour markets
  - is 'shared growth' a thing of the past?
- Continued high returns to education, especially for women
  - though not as high in Canada as in the US
  - some convergence since 2000 with Canada's resource boom
- Youth unemployment almost double general unemployment (14% to 7%)
  - over-educated workers crowding out less well-educated workers in more menial jobs
- Shortage of skilled workers
- Significant regional discrepancies in employment opportunities and wages
- Corporate governance weaknesses





## State / policy issues

- Labour market policies
  - working income tax benefit
  - minimum wages
  - childcare policies
  - immigration policy
- Taxation policy

- degree of progressivity in taxation
- tax preferences
- inheritance taxes
- Education and healthcare policy
  - accessibility and quality



## Canada vs. U.S.

What can we learn?

- Canada
  - lower inequality and higher mobility
  - higher minimum wage levels and unionization rates
  - greater value placed on equality of opportunity in Canada despite the notion of the 'American Dream''?
- United States
  - more unequal education and health systems
  - higher returns to education (bigger wage differential for those with more education)
  - wealthy have greater political influence due to campaign financing regulation





## Major policy opportunities?

- Maintain the core public institutions that underlie equality of opportunity
  - healthcare, education, childcare
- Focus on employment
  - promote skill development in non-university sector
  - remove barriers to labour mobility
  - Increase labourforce participation through increasing tax benefits for lowwage earners
- Overhaul taxation system

- more progressive taxation, inheritance taxes, stop corporate tax cuts, remove spurious tax preferences
- Make corporate sector support more transparent



## Key questions for the panel

- To what extent is equality of opportunity threatened by increasing inequality?
- What value do we, and should we, place on improving or maintaining economic mobility in Canada?
- What (federal) policy instruments are most effective in ensuring equality of opportunity?
  - do we target inequality or mobility first?
- How can we get the best out of education?
  - given that the average effect of education is to reinforce differences associated with family background





### What you can do

- Our goal in this project is to increase debate
- We actively encourage feedback on our work
  - submit comments or opinion pieces through our website <u>www.canada2020.ca</u>
  - contact us directly info@canada2020.ca
- Use our materials to host your own events and discussions



#### Acknowledgement

This presentation draws heavily on the work of Dr. Miles Corak from the University of Ottawa, and the background paper prepared by Dr. Corak for our event, **Equality of Opportunity: a Canadian Dream** on February 26, 2013.

Canada 2020 wishes to thank him for his support.







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