Econ 133 – Global Inequality and Growth Trends in inequality between countries

Gabriel Zucman zucman@berkeley.edu

Roadmap

- 1. The dynamics of between-country inequality since 1980
- 2. A very long run perspective
- 3. The future of inequality between countries

1 Between-country inequality since **1980**

1.1 Basic orders of magnitude for today

Average per adult monthly income, globally = \$1,740 (in PPP, ie adjusted for differences in prices: see next lecture)

- North America: $$5,490 (3 \times \text{global average})$
- EU: \$3,420 (2 \times global average)
- China: \$1,520 (90% of global average)
- India: \$750 (45% of global average)
- \bullet Sub-Saharan Africa: \$560 (30% of global average = 1/10 of North America)

1.2 Changes in shares of global income

Today:

- \bullet China = 19% of global income
- North America = 17%
- \bullet EU = 17%

In 1980:

- China = 3% of global income
- North America = 20%
- EU = 28%





B. The rise of per adult real national income, 1978-2015 (2015 yuans)

National income divided by adult population. National income = GDP - capital depreciation + net foreign income.



Average income in China and Latin America relative to the global average, 1950–2016

Source: WID.world (2017). See wir2018.wid.world for data series and notes.



Average income in Africa and Asia relative to the global average, 1950–2016

Source: WID.world (2017). See wir2018.wid.world for data series and notes.

Gabriel Zucman



Average national income per adult in Russia and Western Europe, 1980-2016

Source: Novokmet, Piketty and Zucman (2017). See wir2018.wid.world for data series and notes.

Gabriel Zucman

1.3 Explaining convergence

- Openness: diffusion of technology, know-how, trade (specialization)
- Limited evidence for role of foreign capital flows
 - Helps convergence in output but not income
 - $-\operatorname{Most}$ growth success stories rely on dom. rather than foreign inv
- Domestic investment: education, health, etc. (strong correlation between tax/GDP ratio and income per capita)

2 Between-country inequality in the long run

Two phases in between-country income inequality 1700-2015:

- Divergence between Western and other countries during 19th century & until mid-20th century
- Convergence since 1980s



2.1 Data sources on long-run population and output

Maddison project database: http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/

Recent decades: World Bank World Development Indicators: http://data.worldbank.org

Population projections: United Nations World Population Prospects: esa.un.org/wpp

2.2 Explaining divergence

Huge literature on long-run developments and why some countries are richer than others?

- Smith: market institutions, property rights
- Marx: primitive accumulation
- Weber: protestant ethics

Here emphasize some recent important work

1. Armed trade and colonial domination \rightarrow allow West to escape ecological constraint (Pomeranz, 2000)

- 1750-1800 Western Europe & China at similar levels of development
- But massive deforestation in 18th century: from 1500 to 1800, share of forested land goes from 30-40% to 5-10% in Europe
- \bullet Trade and colonial domination \rightarrow escape from Malthusian trap
- \bullet Key role of colonization of America & armed trade \rightarrow how Europe prevails in Asian trade over China

- 2. European domination over global textile manuf (Beckert, 2004).
 - Cotton = key 19th century commodity, the Industrial Revolution's "launching pad"
 - European domination over textile: violence at every stage
 - West appropriates land in America, sends slaves from Africa to produce raw cotton, bans Indian textiles

 \rightarrow 1750-1850: Europe controls global textile manufacturing

- Key role of slavery: huge acceleration of slave trade 1780–1860
- Only after abolition of slavery in US does Indian cotton rise again

- 3. Size of political communities & conflict
 - Europe: smaller polities \rightarrow more competition between small states, military (and financial) innovation
 - China: larger polity, less military innovation during 17c-19c
 - See, e.g., Rosenthal and Wong (2011)

3 The future of between country inequality

- Today, Europe + North America = about 50% of world GDP (as in 1860)
- At some point during 21th century: down to 20-30% (= share of Europe + America in world population = convergence)
- \bullet When exactly? Nobody knows. Convergence \approx 2040 in East Asia, and \approx 2090 in South Asia and Africa?

3.1 The future of global growth

Conceptual framework: The standard growth model

- $\bullet \; Y = F(K,L)$ with constant returns to scale
- e.g., Cobb-Douglas: $Y = K^{\alpha}L^{1-\alpha}$
- Steady-state growth path = everything grows at rate g: $Y_t = Y_0 e^{gt}$, $K_t = K_0 e^{gt}$ and $L_t = L_0 e^{gt}$
- Growth of $L_t = N_t \times P_t$ can be decomposed into growth of employed population $N_t = N_0 e^{nt}$ and of productivity $P_t = P_0 e^{ht}$
- i.e., g = n + h = population growth + productivity growth
- $\bullet~n$ comes from fertility decisions, health, etc.

- \bullet h comes from education, innovation, etc.
- \bullet Over 1700-2018, at the global level g =1.6% and n =0.8%
- \bullet Productivity growth h always slow for countries at world technological frontier
- \bullet Once global convergence over, h might be low everywhere
- Population growth n seems to $\rightarrow 0$
- So in very long run, maybe $n \approx 0\%$ and $h \approx 1-1.5\%$
- Some economists even less optimistic: long-run g < 1%?



before returning to American levels. Sources: Piketty (2014) see piketty.pse.ens.fr/capital21c

The growth rate of world population from Antiquity to 2100

The growth rate of world population was above 1% per year from 1950 to 2012 and should return toward 0% by the end of the 21st century. Sources: Piketty (2014), see piketty.pse.ens.fr/capital21c.

The growth rate of world output from Antiquity until 2100

The growth rate of world output surpassed 4% from 1950 to 1990. If the convergence process goes on it will drop below 2% by 2050. Sources: Piketty (2014), see piketty.pse.ens.fr/capital21c.

Gabriel Zucman

References

Beckert, Sven, Empire of Cotton: A Global History, Alfred A. Knopf, 2004.

Pomeranz, Kenneth, *The Great Divergence: China and Europe in the Making of the Modern World Economy,* Princeton University Press, 2000.

Piketty, Thomas, Li Yang, and Gabriel Zucman, "Capital Accumulation, Private Property and Rising Inequality in China 1978-2015," *American Economic Review*, 2019 (web)

Rosenthal, Jean-Laurent and R. Bin Wong, *Before and Beyond Divergence: The Politics of Economic Change in China and Europe,* Harvard University Press, 2011.

World Inequality Report 2018, https://wir2018.wid.world