# Long-run evolution of global income inequality and its political meaning

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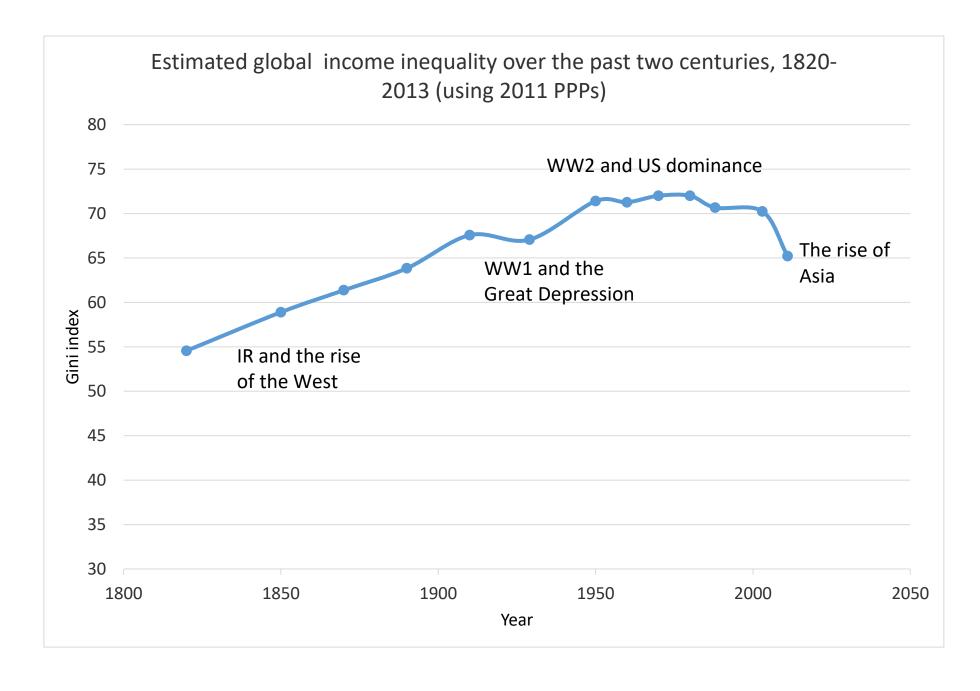
Graduate Center, City University of New York, and London School of Economics

Moscow, 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference on the Global Economy, Higher School of Economics

### Structure of the talk

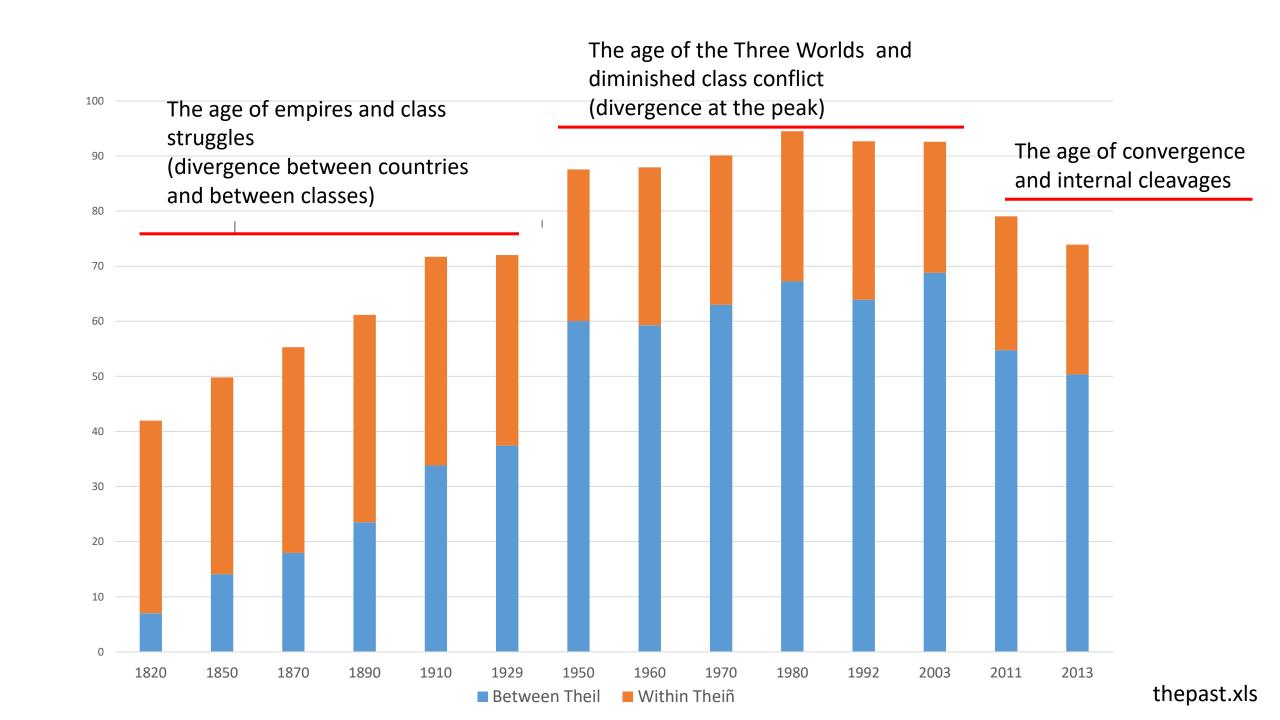
- Uniqueness of the current period: Capitalism rules alone + the reemergence of Asia (bringing the distribution of economic activity within Eurasia to the way it was around 1500)
- Changes between 1988 and 2008, and then...
- ...changes after the 2008 Financial Crisis
- The main inequality trends in the West and China
- Some possible future developments

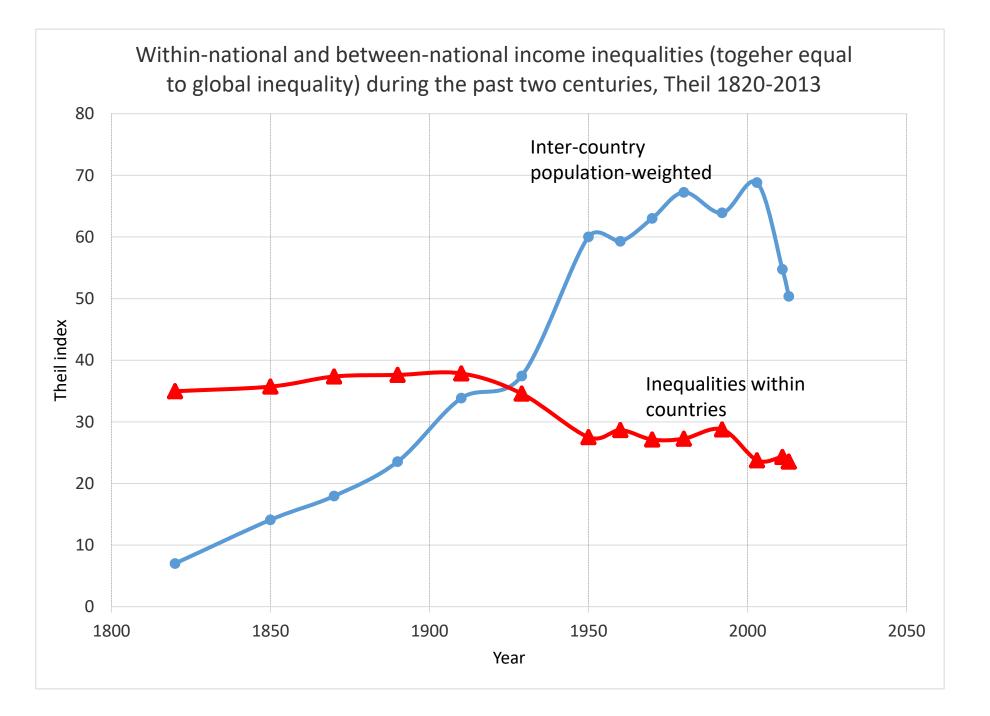
## Long run



La longue durée: From Karl Marx to Frantz Fanon and back to Marx?

The definition of the three long-run periods ("ages) from the Industrial Revolution until today





### The peak of the three worlds

#### Senghor:

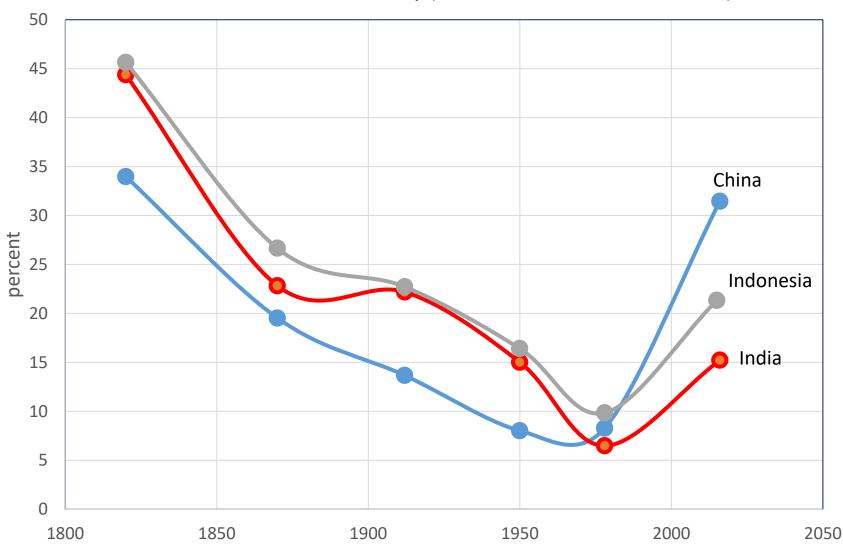
"The social problem today is less a class struggle within a nation than a global struggle between the 'have nations' (including the Soviet Union) and the proletarian nations (including the Chinese People's Republic)"

Quoted in Samuel Moyn, Not Enough (p. 104)

## The averages

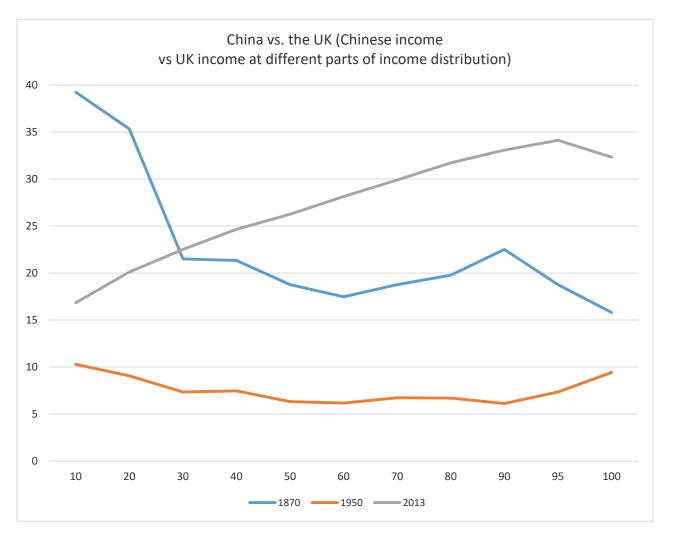
### Resurgent Asia

China's and India's GDP per capita as percent of British GDPpc from the Industrial Revolution to today (Indonesia vs. the Netherlands)

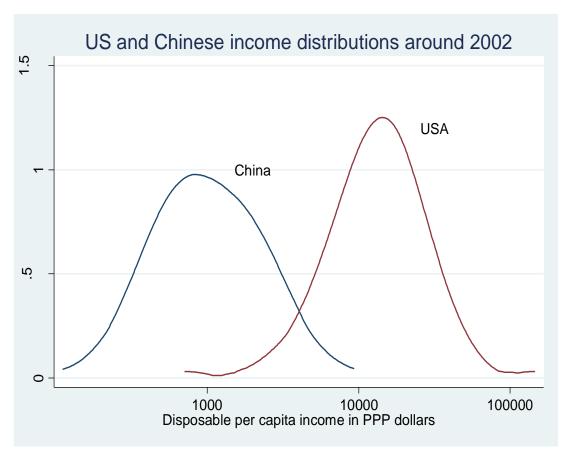


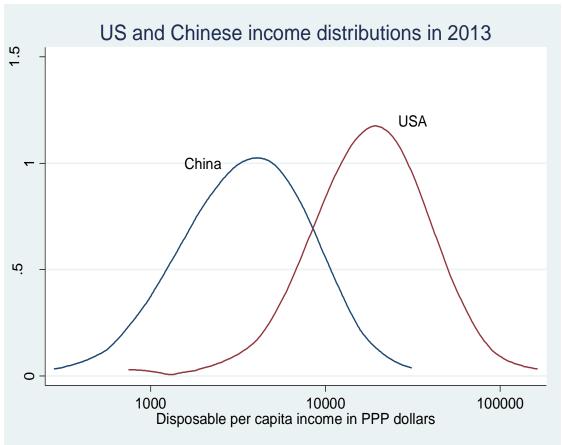
Heterogeneity: going beyond the averages

# The poor, the middle class and the rich in China and the UK in historical perspective



# Going beyond the averages: Convergence of Chinese incomes





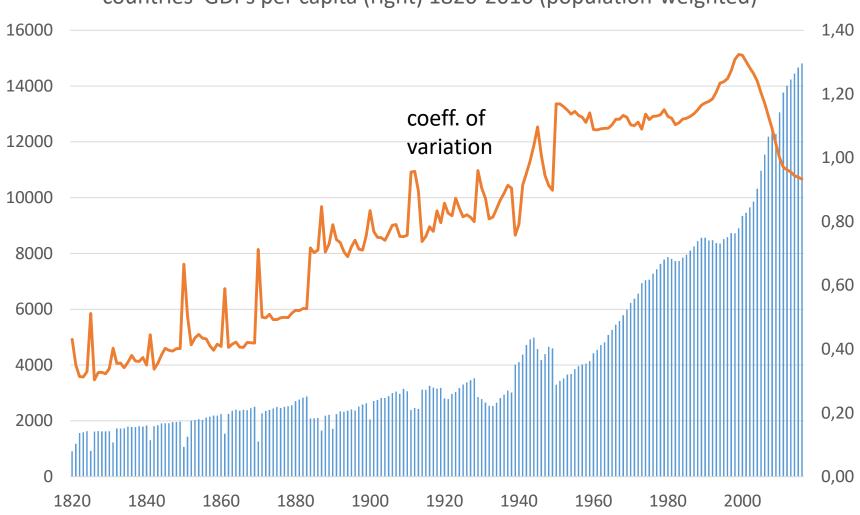
23% of Chinese population within US income range

70% of Chinese population within US income range

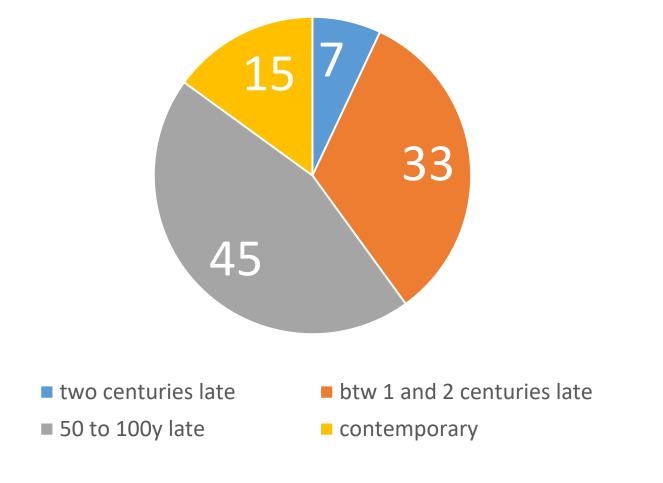
Another heterogeneity: Is the world getting better?

### Is the world getting better? Yes.

World GDP per capita (left) and coefficient of variation of countries' GDPs per capita (right) 1820-2016 (population-weighted)



Or perhaps not so much: 7% of people in the world live below the income level of the most advanced county in 1820; 33% below that of a century ago..



40% of people in the world live in a different century.

Past thirty years in the world:

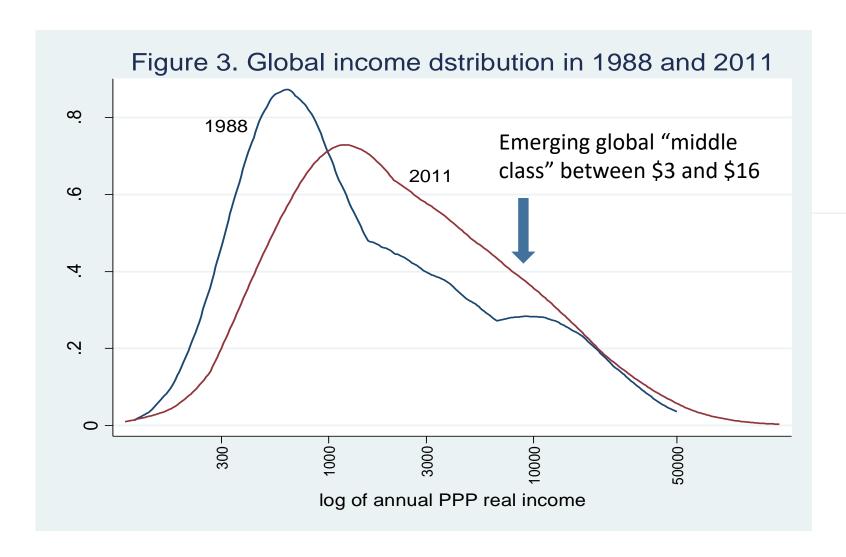
the greatest reshuffle of individual income positions since the Industrial Revolution

## The watershed years, 1978-91

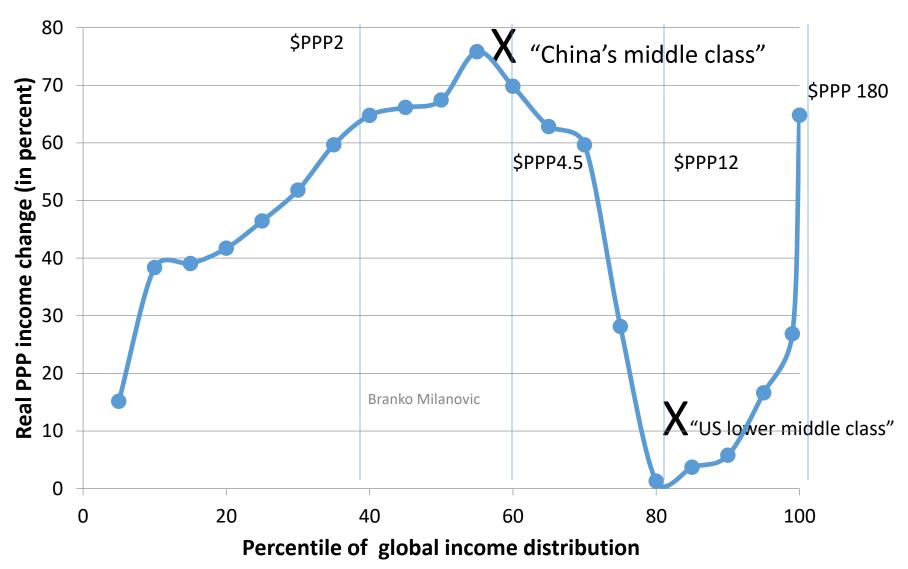
- 1978: Deng: responsibility system: quasi privatization of land
- 1979: Thatcher: privatizations etc.
- 1980: Reagan: deregulation etc.
- 1983: Mitterrand changes course
- Mid-1980s: Gonzalez invents (avant la lettre) the "new labor"
- 1985: Gorbachev begins to dismantle planned economy
- 1991: India liberalizes

Within approximatively a decade, W Europe, USA, China, Russia/Eastern Europe, India (60% of the world population) started living under a very different system than before.

### The emergence of the "global middle/median class"



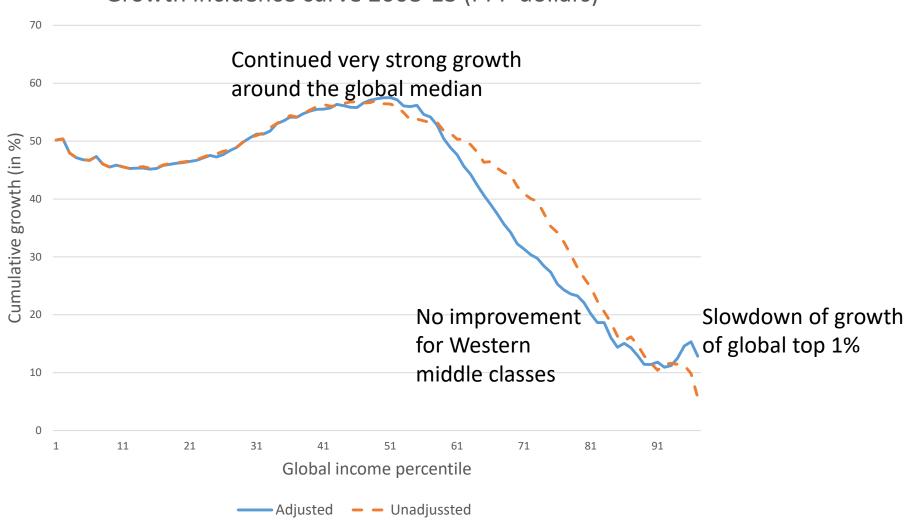
# Real income growth at various percentiles of global income distribution, 1988-2008 (in 2005 PPPs)



### After the financial crisis

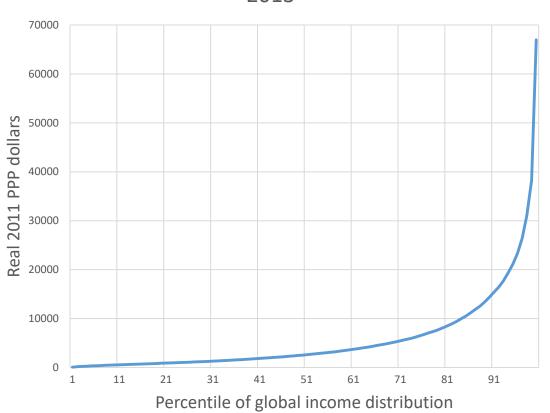
### After the crisis: 2008-13

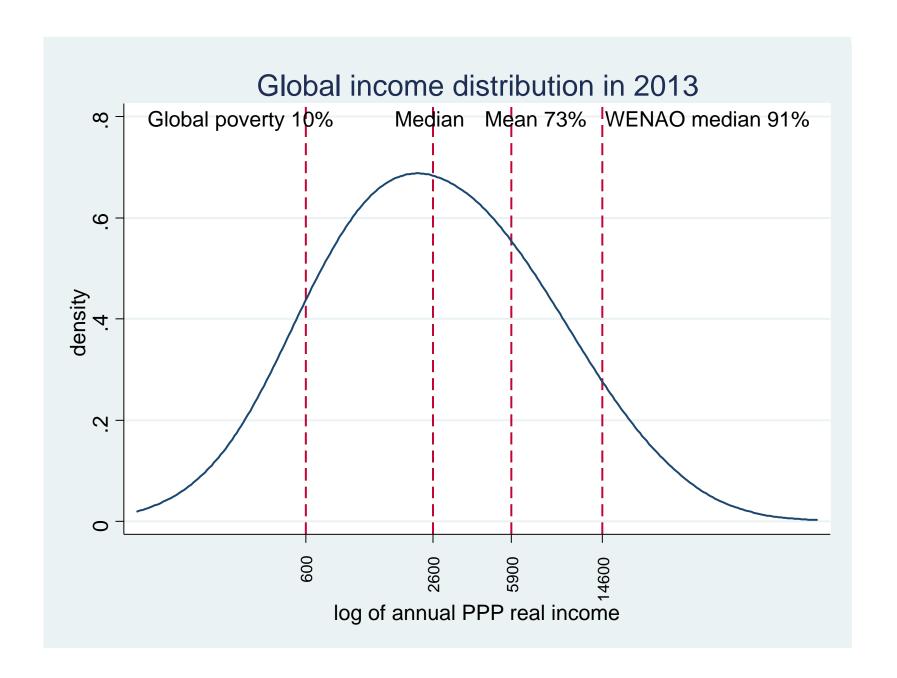
Growth incidence curve 2008-13 (PPP dollars)



# Absolute income gains are (not surprisingly) extremely unequal (in PPP dollars)

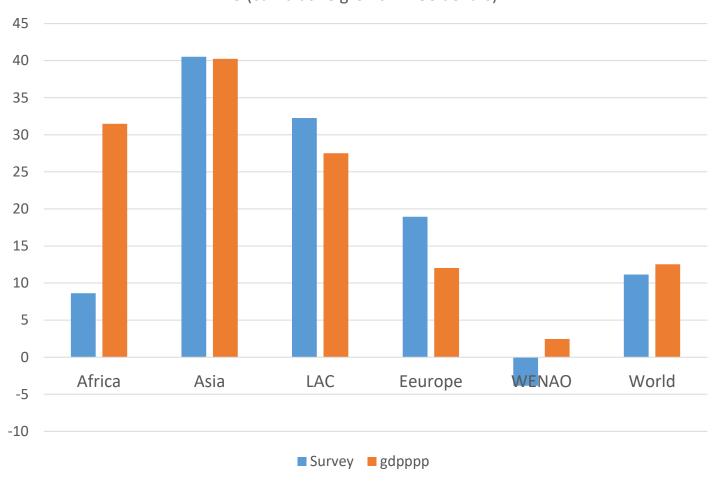
Absolute income increase between 2008 and 2013





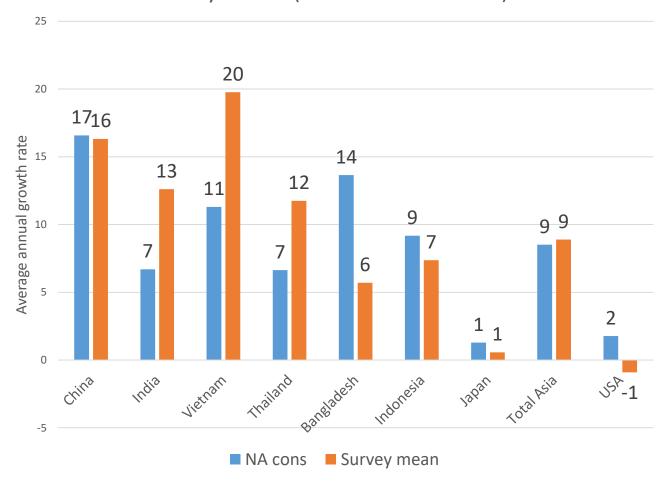
## Continued catch-up of Asia....

Increase in average per capita income according to surveys and NA, 2008-13 (cumulative growth in US dollars)

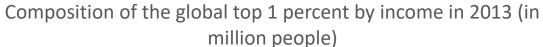


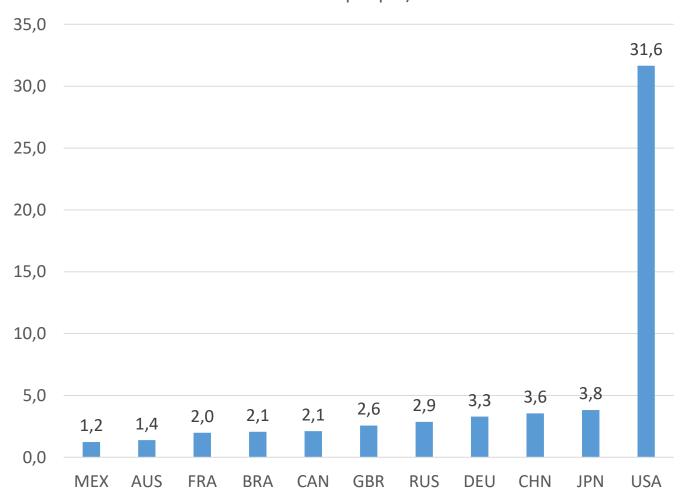
## ....and especially of less rich Asian countries

Annual growth rates of consumption per capita and survey means (all in nominal dollars)

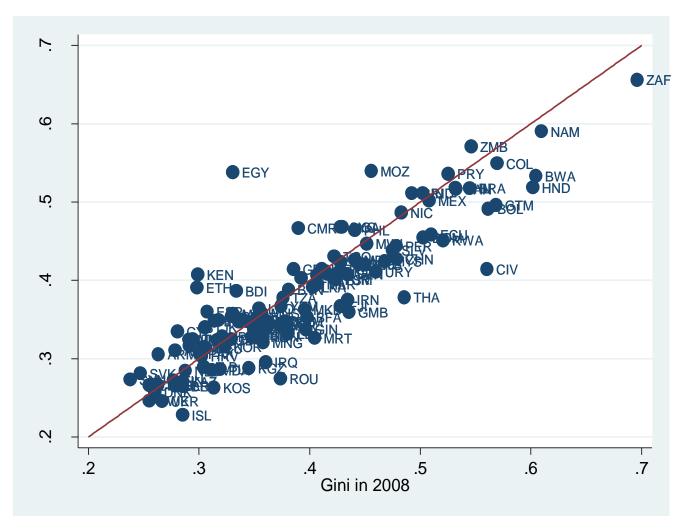


## Composition of the global top 1 percent

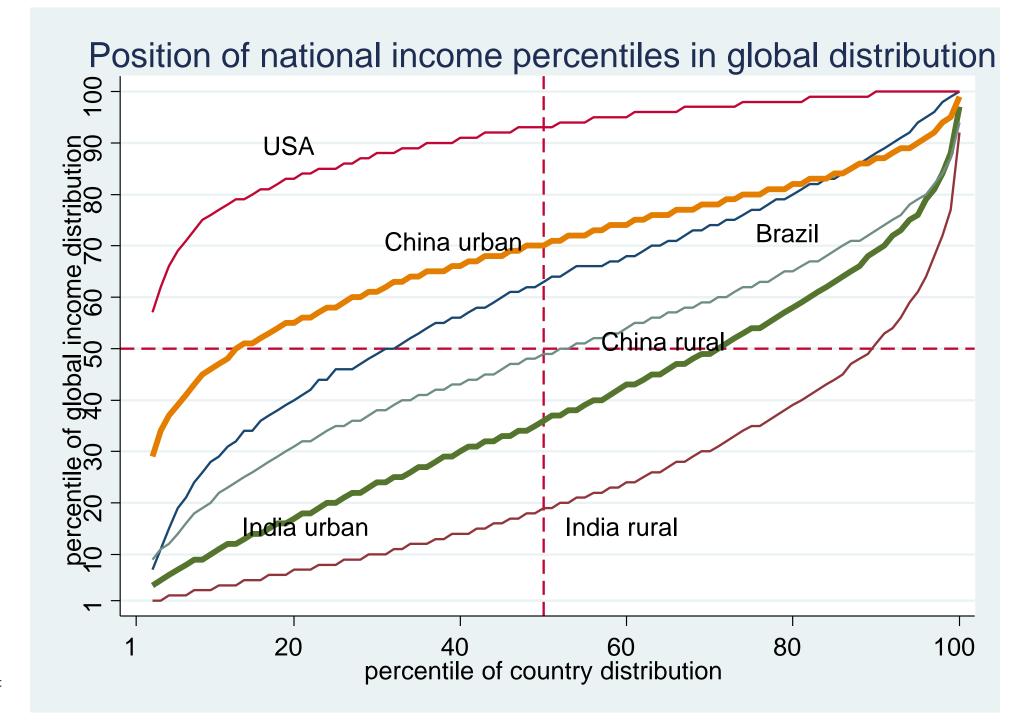




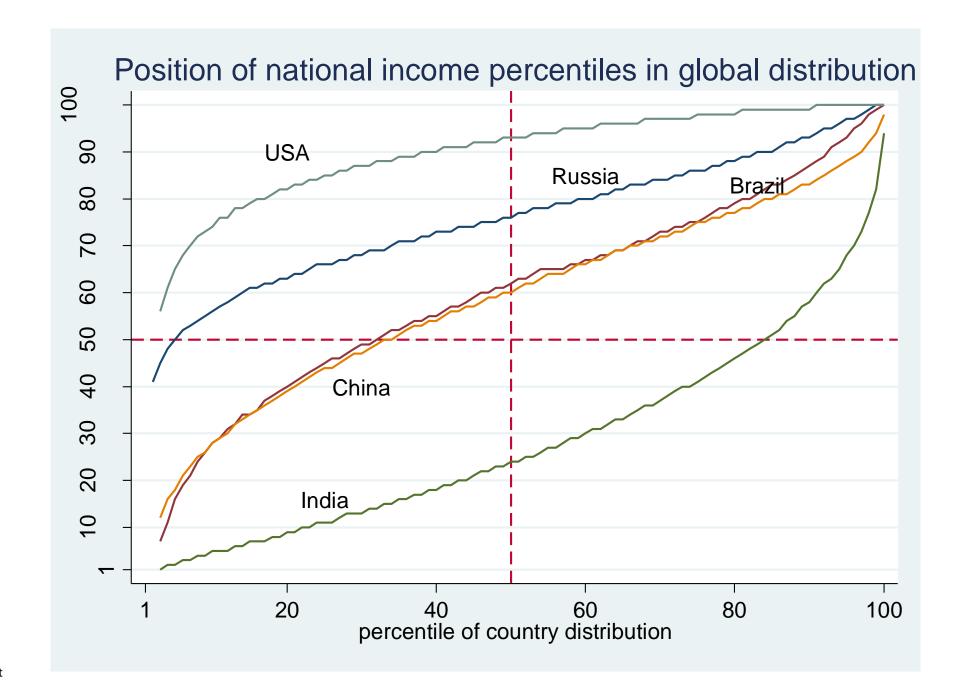
# There was no marked movement toward greater or lower within-national inequality



Year 2013-14



Year 2013-14

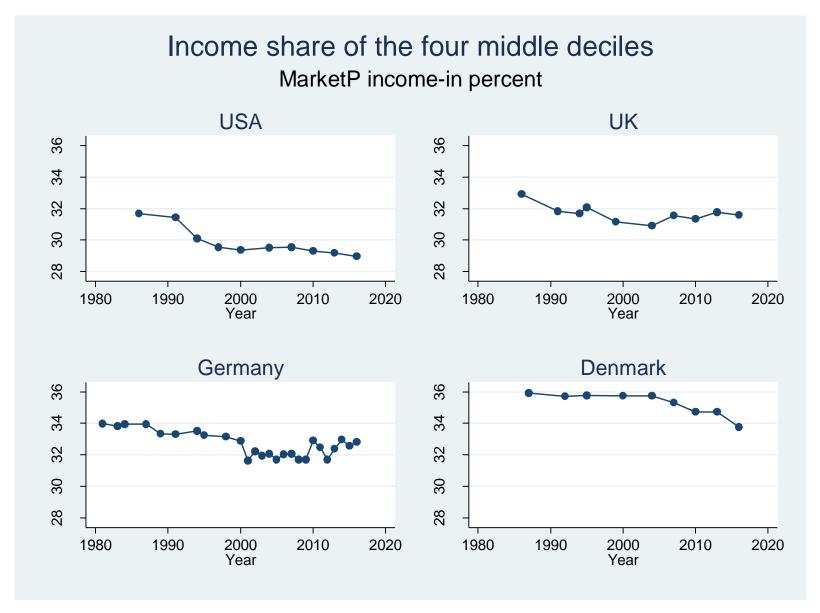


### The most important probable future developments

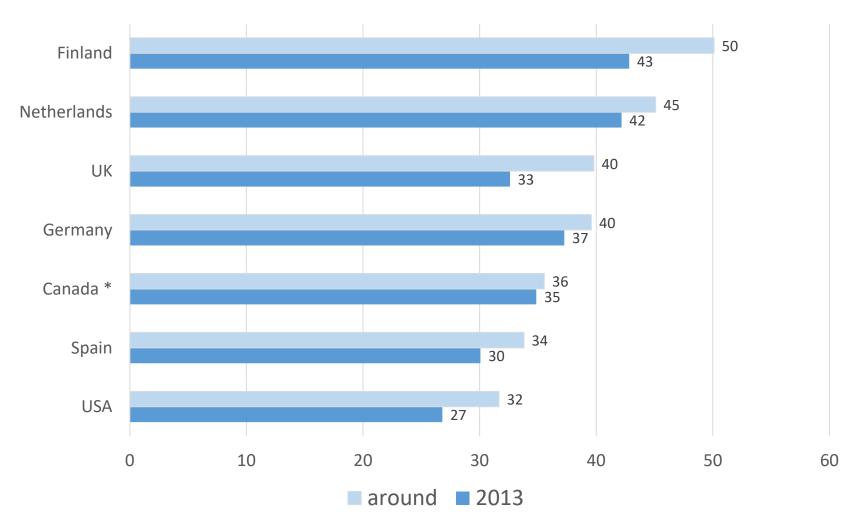
- For the first time in two centuries, Western lower middle classes will not be in the global top quintile.
- Global top percentiles will be increasing populated by Asians. The change will be substantial and sudden because of Asian population size. Important psychologically because the entire modern period was a period of Western income (and wealth cum military) dominance. Effect on consumption patterns.
- Rich Atlantic and Pacific coasts will leave most of the Eurasian landmass (Russia and Central Asia) relatively poor and with low population density. A long-run problem for Russia.
- Huge and possibly increasing Europe-Africa gaps will "feed" migration pressure for a long time. Europe needs to find a solution for that. If China's BRI helps Africa grow, an unlikely partnership between Europe and China is possible.
- Ironic statement: Europe is too rich for its own good, Russia too poor.

The past thirty years in the West

### Shrinkage in the size of the western middle classes



## Percentage of population considered middle class in early 1980s and 2013



The middle class defined as population with income between +/-25% of national median income (all in per capita basis; disposable income; LIS data)