Lectures on Economic Inequality

Warwick, Summer 2017, Slides 3

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- Overview: Convergence and Divergence
- Inequality and Divergence: Economic Factors, Part 1
- Inequality and Divergence: Psychological Factors
- Inequality, Polarization and Conflict
- Uneven Growth and Conflict

Aspirations and Inequality

- Two-way interaction:
- Aspirations \rightarrow inspiration or frustration
- \rightarrow economic investment
- \rightarrow collective action
- Such actions shape growth and distribution.
- **Society** \rightarrow aspirations
- Aspirations are shaped by the lives of others around us.

Aspirations Appadurai (2004), Ray (1998, 2006), Genicot-Ray (2015)

- A set of reference points to evaluate personal outcomes.
- Fundamentally social as well as personal:

$$a = \Psi(y, F),$$

where F = social distribution, y = personal characteristics.

• Our Leading Example.

y = personal income or wealth.

F = the ambient distribution of income or wealth

a = expressed in same units as wealth of one's children, or future self.

- More generally, aspirations are multidimensional:
- income, dignity, good health, recognition
- political power, or the urge to dominate others on religious or ethnic grounds.
- So are the social influences on aspirations:
- the influence of peers or near-peers (Lewis 1958, Das Gupta 1994)
- sources of information (Wilson 1987)
- religion, caste, ethnicity (Munshi and Myaux 2001)
- statistical considerations (Munshi 1999)

How Aspirations Map Into Preferences

In our leading example:

$$u(c) + w_0(z) + w_1(e)$$

- where $e = \max\{z a, 0\}$, and z = child's wealth.
- w_0 intrinsic utility; w_1 aspirational utility.
- Increasing, smooth, strictly concave.









Higher aspirations always bad for happiness in the short-run:



Restrictions on the Aspiration Formation Function

$$a = \Psi(y, F)$$

- Assume that Ψ is:
- **[regular]** $\Psi(y, F)$ is continuous in (y, F), nondecreasing in y.
- $\label{eq:constraint} \begin{tabular}{ll} \mbox{[range-bound]} \min\{y,\min F\} \leq \Psi(y,F) \leq \max\{y,\max F\}. \end{tabular}$
- [scale-invariant] $\lambda \Psi(y, F) = \Psi(\lambda y, F^{\lambda})$ for $\lambda > 0$. $[F^{\lambda}(\lambda y) = F(y).]$
- $\label{eq:socially monotone} \ [\text{socially monotone}] \ \Psi(y,F') > \Psi(y,F) \ \text{when} \ F' \ \text{strictly FOSD} \ F.$

Aspirations and Distribution: Individual Incentives

- Start with F_t .
- Then $a_t = \Psi(y, F_t)$ for every $y \in \text{Supp } F_t$.
- At income y, choose $z \in [0, f(y)]$ to max

$$u(y-k(z)) + w_0(z) + w_1(\max\{z-a_t,0\})$$

where $k(z) \equiv f^{-1}(z)$.

- F_{t+1} new distribution.
- From F_0 , recursively generates equilibrium sequence $\{F_t\}$:
- Proposition 0. An equilibrium (trivially) exists.

Tiny Digression: Benchmark Without Aspirations

• Choose $z \in [0, f(y)]$ to max

$$u\left(y-k(z)\right)+w_0\left(z\right)$$

Steady state condition:

$$d(y) \equiv -\frac{u'(y - k(y))}{f'(k(y))} + w'_0(y) = 0$$

Assumption: d(y) > 0 for some y and strictly decreasing if $d(y) \le 0$.

(at most one, strictly positive steady state y^* in benchmark model)



An aspiration *a* is satisfied if optimum is no less than *a*.

It is frustrated if optimum strictly smaller than a.

- When is an aspiration satisfied, and when is it frustrated?
- useful partial equilibrium exercise, aspirations "exogenous."
- rise of television, advertising or the internet
- change in the income distribution
- Proposition 1. Fix current wealth.

There is a unique threshold value of aspirations below which aspirations are satisfied, and above which they are frustrated.

As long as aspirations are satisfied, chosen wealth grows with aspirations. Once aspirations are frustrated, chosen wealth becomes insensitive to aspirations.



On Frustration





If aspirations are frustrated, no inspirational role either:

• "The French found their position all the more intolerable as it became better." de Tocqueville, 1856

Lowered aspirations of low income students reduces school dropout Kearney-Levine, 2014, for the US; Goux-Gurgand-Maurin, 2014, for France

A Variant: Aspirations-Wealth Ratios and Investment

- Introducing the canonical linear model:
- Linear production: $f(k) = \rho k$.
- Constant-elasticity utility:

$$u(c) = c^{1-\sigma}, w_0(z) = \delta z^{1-\sigma}, \text{ and } w_1(e) = \delta \pi e^{1-\sigma}$$

Investment choice: Given (y, a), pick z to maximize

$$\left(y - \frac{z}{\rho}\right)^{1-\sigma} + \delta \left[z^{1-\sigma} + \pi \left(\max\{z - a, 0\}\right)^{1-\sigma}\right].$$

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$$u(c) = c^{1-\sigma}, w_0(z) = \delta z^{1-\sigma}, \text{ and } w_1(e) = \delta \pi e^{1-\sigma}$$

Investment choice: Given a/y, pick z/y to maximize

$$\left(1-\frac{z/y}{\rho}\right)^{1-\sigma}+\delta\left[(z/y)^{1-\sigma}+\pi\left(\max\left\{\frac{z}{y}-\frac{a}{y},0\right\}\right)^{1-\sigma}\right].$$

(dividing through by *y*)

Investment choice:

Aspirations ratio: $r \equiv a/y$. Choose growth $g \equiv z/y$ to max

$$\left(1-\frac{g}{\rho}\right)^{1-\sigma}+\delta\left[g^{1-\sigma}+\pi\left(\max\left\{g-r,0\right\}\right)^{1-\sigma}\right].$$

• Failed aspiration; solution \underline{g} independent of r:

$$\left(1 - \frac{\underline{g}}{\rho}\right)^{-\sigma} = \delta \rho \underline{g}^{-\sigma}$$

Satisfied aspiration; solution g(r) depends on r:

$$\left(1 - \frac{g(r)}{\rho}\right)^{-\sigma} = \delta\rho \left[g(r)^{-\sigma} + \pi \left(g(r) - r\right)^{-\sigma}\right]$$

Proposition 2.

There is a unique ratio r^* such that for $r \equiv a/y > r^*$, wealth grows at rate \underline{g} , and for all $r \equiv a/y < r^*$, wealth grows at rate g(r).

- $g(r) \uparrow \text{ in } r$, but larger and bounded away from \underline{g} in r.
- Moreover, we can link y to a/y:
- Proposition 3.
- Assume scale invariance and social monotonicity. Then for each *F*:
- $\label{eq:relation} \mbox{ The aspirations ratio } r(y,F) \equiv \Psi(y,F)/y \mbox{ is decreasing in } y.$



Society-Wide Evolution of Aspirations and Incomes

- Recall our recursive equilibrium notion:
- Wealth distribution F_t at date t; $a_t = \Psi(y, F_t)$.
- Each person with wealth y chooses continuation z.
- z is tomorrow's wealth, and F_{t+1} is new distribution.
- From F_0 , recursively generate F_t and $a_t = \Psi(y, F_t)$ for all y and t.
- Questions:
- Persistent or growing inequality, or convergence?
- Connections between initial distribution and subsequent growth.

Steady States

- Distribution F^* concentrated on strictly positive incomes:
- $\{F^*, F^*, F^*, \ldots\}$ equilibrium from F^* .
- Natural setting: incomes in compact support, as in Solow model.
- Proposition 4.
- There is no steady state with perfect equality.
- Argument.
- Perfect equality implies concentration of y and a at same point.
- Contradiction: everyone wants to move away from y = a.
- Related to symmetry-breaking.

Clustering in Steady State

- Proposition 5.
- Assume range-bound, scale-invariant and socially monotone aspirations.
- Then steady states must all be bimodal.
- Two-point distribution F^* . (y_ℓ, y_h, p) :
- $y_{\ell} < y_h$, and p is population weight on y_{ℓ} .
- Aspirations satisfy $a_i = \Psi(y_i, F^*)$ for $i = \ell, h$.
- a_{ℓ} is a failed aspiration, so $d(y_{\ell}) = 0$.
- And a_h is a satisfied aspiration, so $d(y_h) + w'_1(y_h a_h) = 0$.

Remarks on Clustering

• Of course, convergence to degenerate poles is an artifact (akin to single steady-state income in Solow model.)

With stochastic shocks (e.g., Brock-Mirman 1972): smoothly dispersed.





Multimodality in the Literature

- **[US]** Pittau-Zelli 2004, Sala-i-Martin 2006, Zhu 2005
- [world] convergence clubs

Durlauf-Johnson 1995, Quah 1993, 1996, Durlauf-Quah, 1999

- Quah uses the term "twin peaks."
- Bimodality also a feature of polarized distributions

Esteban-Ray 1994, Wolfson 1994.

Aspirations, Inequality and Endogenous Growth

- Return to canonical linear model:
- constant-elasticity utility, linear production.
- Recall aspirations ratio r = a/y.
- And recall Proposition 3: there is r^* such that:
- if aspirations too high $(r > r^*)$, grow at \underline{g}
- otherwise (if $r \leq r^*$), grow at g(r).

Ultimate Equality | Perpetually Widening Inequality

Proposition 6. Assume aspirations are range-bound, scale-invariant and socially monotone. Let F_0 be initial distribution of with compact support. Then there are just two possibilities:

I. Convergence to Perfect Equality. There is $g^* > 1$ such that y_t/g^{*t} converges to a single point independent of $y_0 \in \text{Supp } F_0$; or

II. Persistent Divergence. F_t "separates" into two components defined by threshold $y^* \in \text{int Range } F_0$:

• If $y < y^*$, income grows forever after at g.

If $y > y^*$, income has asymptotic growth $\bar{g} > \underline{g}$, with $\bar{g} - 1 > 0$, and y_t/\bar{g}^t has the same limit independent of y_0 , as long as y_0 exceeds y^* .

■ $g < \bar{g} \le g^*$: equality exhibits faster growth.

In Case II, relative inequality never settles, it perpetually widens.

Social Monotonicity and the Inequality Proposition

- Social monotonicity \Rightarrow If $y_1 < y_2$, then $r(y_1, F) > r(y_2, F)$.
- The argument for the equality-inequality proposition hinges on this.
- **Example**. Aspirations = conditional mean above income.





The Proposition Without Social Monotonicity

Example 1. Balanced Growth with Unbounded Distribution.

Aspirations = conditional mean above income.

• Observation. There are balanced growth paths with all incomes satisfied and nondegenerate inequality. The accompanying income distribution must be Pareto.

$$F\left(\frac{y}{[1+g]^t}\right) \equiv F(w) = 1 - (A/w)^{r/(r-1)}$$

for all $w \ge A$ and (A, r) such that $r \in (1, r^*]$.

Everyone has the same aspirations ratios.

The Proposition Without Social Monotonicity

- **Example 2.** Balanced Growth with Compact Distribution.
- Aspirations determined by incomes in some range around own incomes:
- For some $\beta > 0$, $\Psi(y, F)$ is insensitive to $y' \notin [y(1 \beta), y(1 + \beta)]$.

• Observation. Beginning with any distribution with compact support, the income distribution converges to a set of isolated income clusters, each growing at a factor strictly larger than g.

- Balanced growth even under distributions with bounded support ...
- ... but at the expense of assuming the possibility of *total* isolation.

The Proposition Without Social Monotonicity

- **Example 3**. Infinite Crossings.
- Distribution with just three mass points $y^1 > y^2 > y^3$.
- The poorest at y^3 don't "see" the rich, but are inspired by y^2 , grow at \overline{g}
- The middle class "see" only the rich, but are frustrated by them, grow at g
- The rich just "see" themselves, grow at g
- Assume $y^2g = y^3g$ and $y^3\overline{g} = y^2g$:
- Then balanced growth with 2 and 3 perennially crossing.

Extension of Equality-Inequality Proposition

- Minimally monotone aspirations:
- Distribution F and $y \in \text{Supp } F$,
- F' weakly FOSD F, but F'(y) = F(y) (no crossings over y "from below.")
- $\quad \Rightarrow \Psi(y,F') \geq \Psi(y,F).$

Extension of Equality-Inequality Proposition

Proposition 7. Assume aspirations are range-bound, scale-invariant and minimally monotone. Let F_0 be initial distribution with compact support. Then just three possibilities:

I. Convergence to Perfect Equality. There is $g^* > 1$ such that y_t/g^{*t} converges to a single point independent of $y_0 \in \text{Supp } F_0$; or

II. Persistent Divergence. Over time, F_t "separates" into two components:

Frustrated individuals converging to a positive limit measure. Their incomes grow at rate g - 1.

Satisfied individuals with common asymptotic growth factor $\bar{g} > \underline{g}$, with $\bar{g} - 1 > 0$. y_t/\bar{g}^t converges to the same limit irrespective of y_0 .

III. Infinite Crossings. Income ranks cross and re-cross ad infinitum:

Compatible with constant or increasing inequality (but not convergence).

Summary So Far

- A theory of aspirations formation.
- Emphasizes the social foundations of individual aspirations
- Relates those aspirations to investment and growth.
- Such behavior can be aggregated, thus closing the model.
- Central feature: aspirations can both incentivize and frustrate.
- This approach is tractable and may be useful in other contexts.

Aspirations and Distribution: Collective Action

- Two reactions to social change:
- Individual investment (or disinvestment)
- Collective action
- Collective action of two kinds:
- For promoting the self-interest of "my group"
- For attacking "other groups."
- Groups?
- Based on class, religion, ethnicity, immigrant status ...

Aspirations and Groups

Consider two groups, h and m. For any person i in group h (say):

$$a_h(i) = \Psi_h(y(i), \mu_h, \mu_m).$$

- where y(i) is own characteristic, and μ_j is mean for group j.
- **Example** [conformity]: only μ_j matters for person in *j*.
- Munshi and Myaux (2006) on fertility norms in Bangladesh.
- **Example** [rivalry]: only μ_{-j} matters for person in *j*.
- Mitra and Ray (2014) on religious violence in India.

Rivalry and Collective Action

$$a_j(i) = \Psi_h(y(i), \mu_{-j}).$$

- A fundamental asymmetry:
- Individual action to improve own lot ...
- Collective action to reduce aspirations and envy.
- And only possible with cross-group aspirations (targeting).

Rivalry and Collective Action

 $a_j(i) = \Psi_h(y(i), \mu_{-j}).$

- Budget constraint: y = k + ty + c
- t: fraction time spent in violence, collectively chosen, reduces μ_{-j} .
- k investment, privately chosen by individual, z = f(k) as before.
- Proposition 8.
- An increase in rival income increases violence directed against rival group.
- An increase in own income reduces violence directed against rival group.
- In both cases, the effect on individual investments is ambiguous.

Distribution and Conflict: Hindu-Muslim Violence

- Recurrent episodes of religious violence
- Partition era of the 1940s, and earlier
- Continuing through the second half of the twentieth century.
- \sim 1,200 riots, 7,000 deaths, 30,000 injuries over 1950–2000.

Some Ethnographic Literature

- Thakore (1993) on Bombay riots [land]
- Das (2000) on Calcutta riots [land]
- Rajgopal (1987), Khan (1992) on Bhiwandi and Meerut riots [textiles]
- Engineer (1994), Khan (1991) on Jabbalpur, Kanpur, Moradabad [*bidis*, brassware]
- Upadhyaya (1992) on Varanasi riots [sari dealers]
- Wilkinson (2004) on Varanasi [wholesale silk]
- Field et al (2009) on Ahmedabad [housing]

Example: Engineer (1987) on Meerut riots:

"If [religious zeal] is coupled with economic prosperity, as has happened in Meerut, it has a multiplying effect on the Hindu psyche. The ferocity with which business establishments have been destroyed in Meerut bears testimony to this observation. Entire rows of shops belonging to Muslims ... were reduced to ashes."

- And yet...
- Wilkinson (2004):

"Despite the disparate impact of riots on Hindus and Muslims, however, little hard evidence suggests that Hindu merchants and financial interests are fomenting anti-Muslim riots for economic gain..."

Horowitz (2001, p. 211):

"The role that commercial competition is said to play is said to be a covert, behindthe-scenes role, which makes proof or disproof very difficult."

Data

Three-period panel at the regional level; 55 regions.

Conflict data. Varshney-Wilkinson (TOI 1950-1995)

our extension (TOI 1996-2000).

■ Income data. National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) consumer expenditure data.

Rounds 38 (1983), 43 (1987-8) and 50 (1993-94).

• Controls. Various sources, in particular Reports of the Election Commission of India.

For more details, see later Supplement on Conflict, and Mitra-Ray (2014, JPE)





Summary

- Preferences are fundamentally social constructions.
- (A truism, but economists are often blind to truisms)
- **Core idea:** interactive model of aspirations and development.
- The same direction of change can be inspiring, then frustrating.
- Two applications:
- The evolution of economic inequality
- Uneven growth and conflict
- Ongoing work with Joan Esteban, Eugenio Rojas, Raimundo Undurraga:
- Aspirations and mobility in polarized societies.