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# Inequality in Europe in the long run perspective (1300-1850): evidence from real wages

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# Research question

How did workers fare in relative terms in pre-industrial Europe?

# Measuring inequality



Standard measures of inequality:

- Gini coefficients (Milanovic, Lindert and Williamson 2011)
- Shares of top incomes (Atkinson et al 2011, Piketty and Saez 2014)
- Wealth/GDP ratios (Piketty and Zucman 2014)
- Factor shares - > distributional national accounts (Lindert-Williamson 2018, Piketty et al 2016 Bengtsson and Waldenstrom forthcoming)

# Pre-industrial inequality



- Conventional wisdom is that pre-industrial societies were highly unequal, within the constraints of low GDP per capita
- Based on estimates of Gini coefficient inferred from
  - Social tables (Milanovic, Lindert and Williamson 2011, Allen forthcoming)
  - Tax records (Alfani and Ryckbosch 2016, Reis 2017)

# Proxies for factor shares



- Factor shares proxied by ratio of (indexes of) wage/GDP (Williamson 1997) or wage/rent (O'Rourke and Williamson 2005)
- Ca 20% observations in data-base van Zanden et al (2014)
- But comparable only in time, not across countries

# Our contribution



- Introducing a new framework for computing labour shares
  - comparable across countries and time
  - fully decomposable in the major drivers of inequality (wages, labour participation, working days, etc)
- Estimating shares for unskilled labour (including women) and return to human capital from the Middle Ages to the Industrial Revolution for 5 major countries

# Computing the labour share ( $\alpha$ ) 1/3

From identity

$$W^N * L = \alpha * Y^N$$

With some manipulations (Angeles 2008),  
baseline definition

$$\alpha = w/y * L/N * (d/365)$$

Where  $w$  daily real wages,  $y$  yearly GDP per capita,  $L$  number workers,  $N$  population,  $d$  number days worked

# Computing the labour share ( $\alpha$ ), 2/3

Expanded version

$$\alpha = w^M/y * [\beta + \gamma - \gamma \beta] * \mu/2 * (\delta_M + \delta_F) * (d/365)$$

Where  $w^M$  male real wage,  $\beta$  share males on workforce,  $\gamma$  ratio female/male wage,  $\mu$  the share of working-age cohorts on total population, and  $\delta$  is the activity rate



# Computing the labour share ( $\alpha$ ), 3/3

If  $w^M$  male wage of unskilled workers, share is return to pure labour

Possible separate estimate of return to human capital as

$$\alpha_{HC} = w^M/y * \mu/2 * \delta_M * \eta * \xi * (d/365)$$

Where  $\eta$  share of skilled workers and  $\xi$  skill premium, so that total labour share

$$\alpha_{TOT} = \alpha + \alpha_{HC}$$

# The wages ( $w$ )



- Real wages expressed in terms of Welfare Ratios (WR) –i.e. the number of bare-bone baskets which a male breadwinner can buy (Allen 2001)
- Bare-bone basket must provide 1,940 calories (and other nutrients) at minimum cost
- Household assumed to be two adults and two children= 3.15 baskets per day, including rent

# Bare-bone baskets (kg.)

Item	USA	England and Wales	Holland	France	Centre-North Italy
Oats		155	155	155	
Maize	165				165
Rice					
Butter	3	3	3	3	3
Oil					
Meat	5	5	5	5	5
Beans	20	20	20	20	20

# The wages, 2/2



To compute  $w/y$ , we convert the cost of a (bare-bones) basket in local prices ( $WR_{it}$ ) into 2011 dollars (as Maddison GDP series)

$$w_{it} = DC_{\$2011} * 365 * 3 * WR_{it}$$

Three alternatives for coefficient  $DC_{\$2011}$

1. Market exchange rates (tradables)
2. ICP PPP (all goods)
3. Barebone PPPs (selected goods, with prices World Bank - ICP)

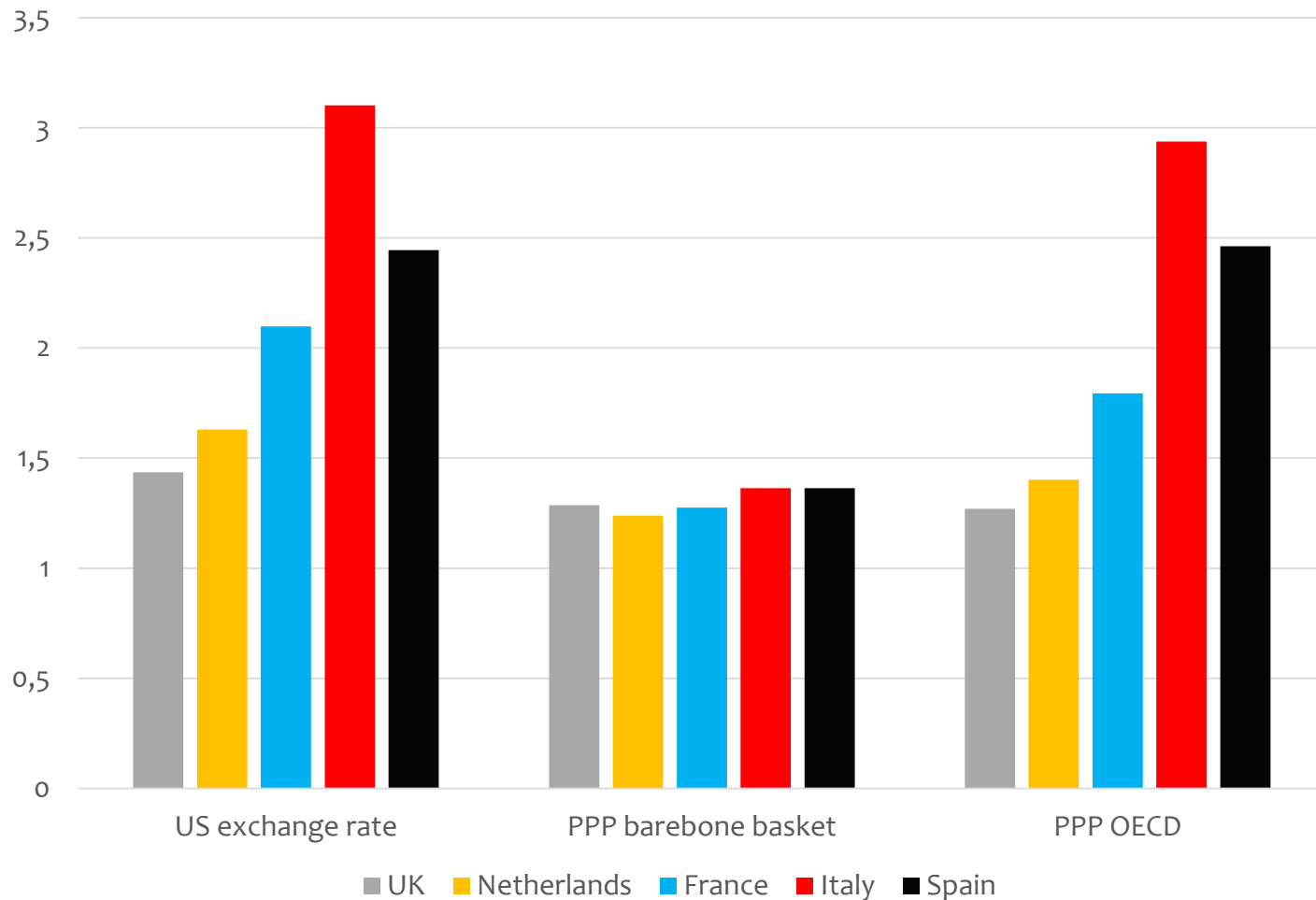
# Converting welfare ratios: bare-bones PPPs



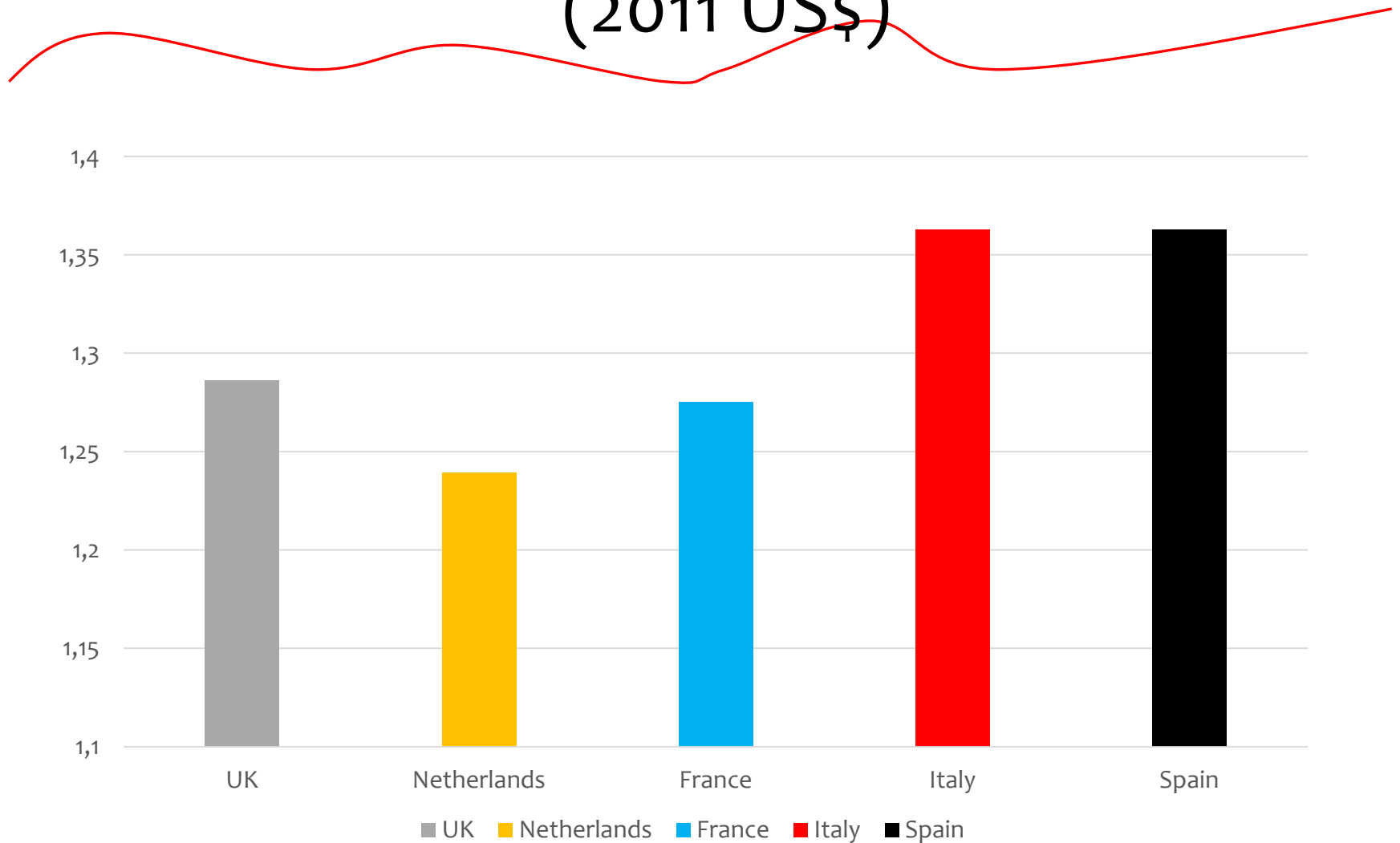
The formula (Geary-Khamis dollars):

$$P_{jk}^F = \left[ \frac{\mathbf{p}'_k \mathbf{q}_j}{\mathbf{p}'_j \mathbf{q}_j} \times \frac{\mathbf{p}'_k \mathbf{q}_k}{\mathbf{p}'_j \mathbf{q}_k} \right]^{\frac{1}{2}}$$

# Daily costs of bare-bone baskets (2011 US\$)



# Daily costs of PPP bare-bone baskets (2011 US\$)



# Wages and GDP data



Sample for five European countries in early modern period:

	<b>GDP</b>	<b>wages</b>
<b>England and Wales (1301-1850)</b>	Maddison (Broadberry et al)	Allen [London]
<b>Holland (1432-1807)</b>	Maddison (van Luewen and van Zanden)	Allen [Amsterdam]
<b>France (1301-1850)</b>	Maddison (Ridolfi)	Ridolfi [Paris]
<b>Centre-North Italy (1326-1850)</b>	Maddison (Malanima)	Allen [Milan/Florence]
<b>Spain (1413-1787)</b>	Prados de la Escosura	Allen [Valencia]

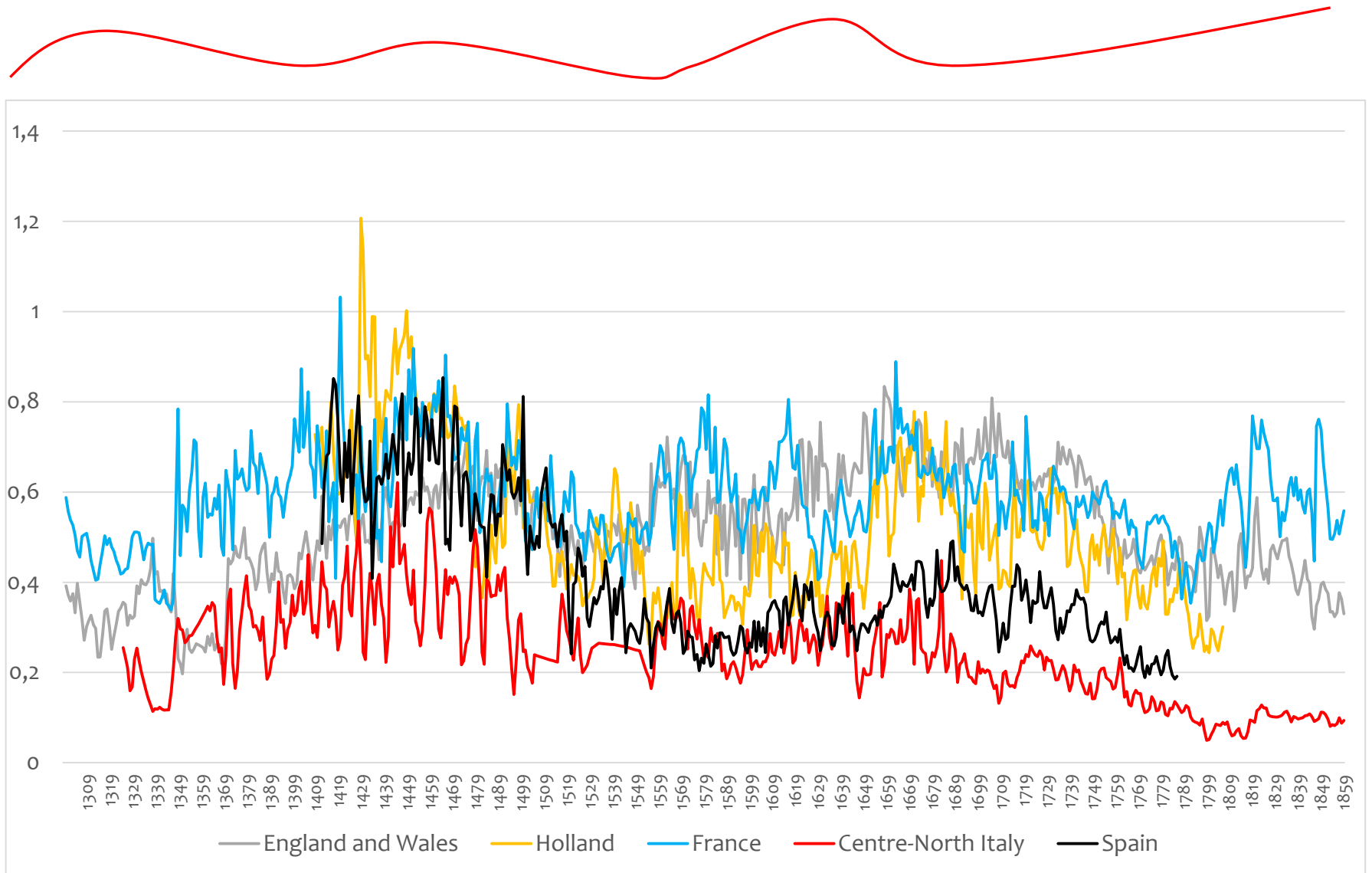


# Four series of labour share

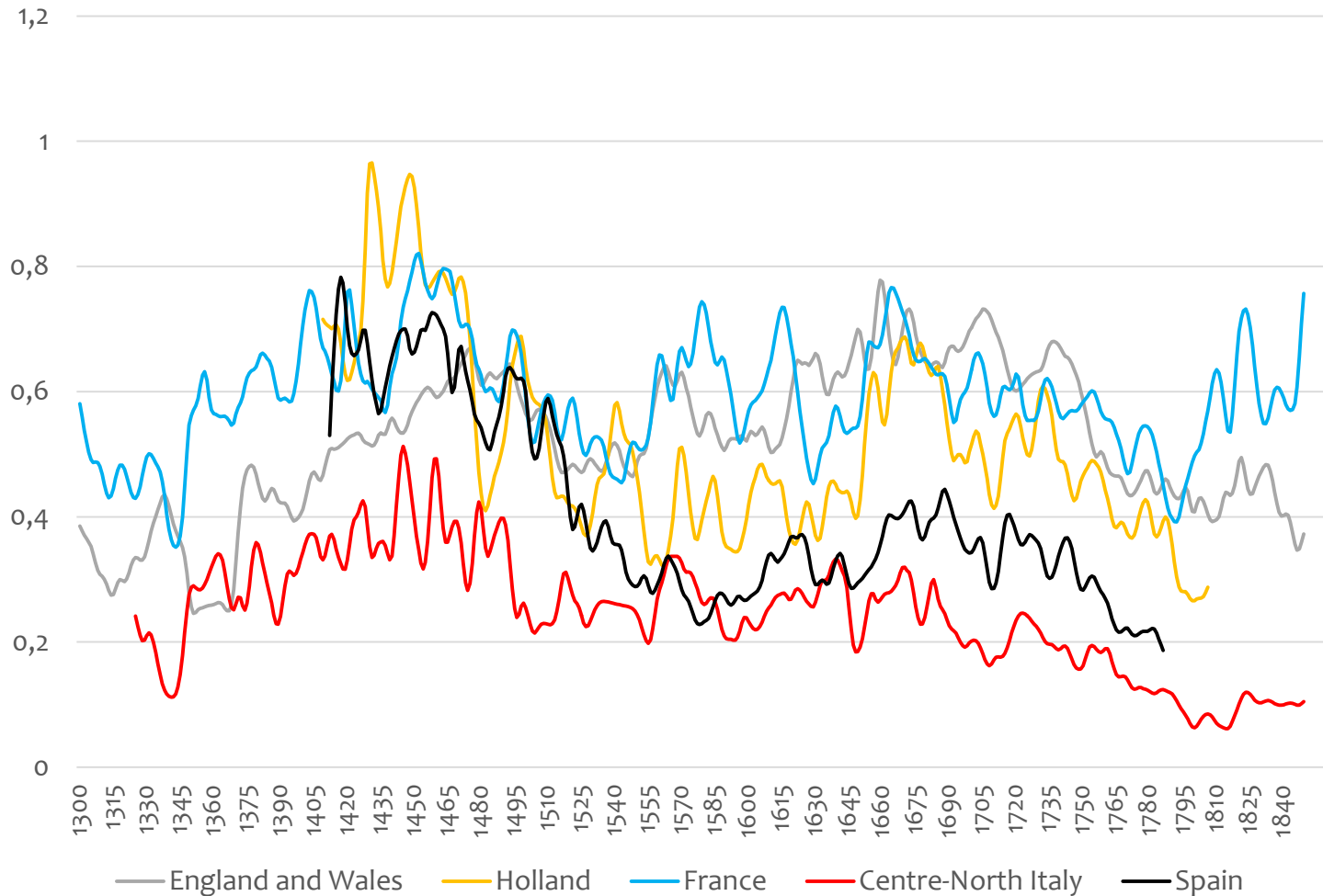


- **Baseline (labour)**
- Lower bound: women did not work
- Upper bound: women paid as much as men
- Total (including return to human capital)

# Labour share 1301-1850 (baseline)



# Labour share 1301-1850 (baseline) HP filtered



## A new history of European inequality (1300-1850)?



- 1300-1350: sizeable decline before the Black Death
- 1350-1450: Black Death upswing
- 1450-1550: Black Death backlash
- 1550-1650: small divergence (a silent “golden age” for English and French workers?)
- 1650-1750: small divergence continued (the Dutch poor join the club)
- 1750-1850 the Age of Revolutions (generalized worsening, but post revolutionary France)

# The proximate causes: levels (1413-1787)



	England	Holland	France	Italy	Spain
<b>Wages</b>	<b>0.19</b>	0.30	0.06	<b>-0.33</b>	-0.22
<b>GDP</b>	-0.14	<b>0.46</b>	<b>-0.28</b>	0.29	<b>-0.32</b>
<b>Days</b>	-0.08	0.06	0.00	0.05	-0.03
<b>Participation</b>	0.04	0.20	0.01	0.01	-0.27
<b>Gender wage gap</b>	-0.05	-0.01	-0.07	0.04	0.09

# The proximate causes: change (England)

	W	Y	participation	Working days	Gender wage gap
1305-1450	<b>0.61</b>	0.23	0.00	0.01	-0.04
1450-1550	<b>-0.37</b>	0.00	-0.02	0.30	-0.07
1550-1650	0.04	-0.02	0.07	<b>0.18</b>	0.01
1650-1750	0.31	<b>0.53</b>	0.09	0.01	0.02
1750-1850	0.02	<b>0.48</b>	-0.11	0.15	-0.09

Cell in bold indicates the main driver of change in the sub-period

# The proximate causes: change (**Summary**)



	England	Holland	France	Italy	Spain
Initial year-1450	w	w	w	w	w
1450-1550	w	w	w	w	w
1550-1650	d	y	w	w	w
1650-1750	y	w	w	w	w
1750-Final year	y	w	y	w	w

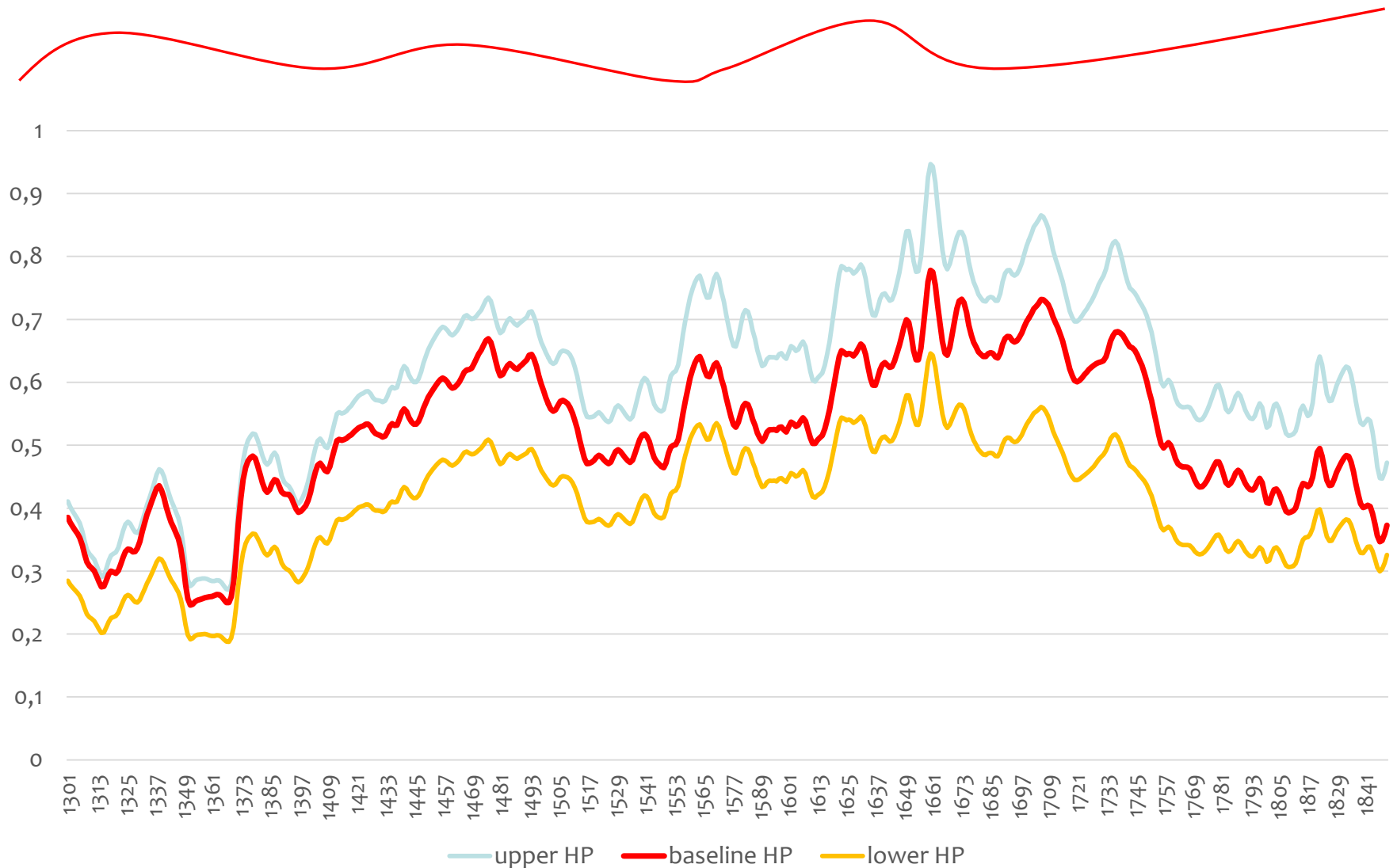
# The differences



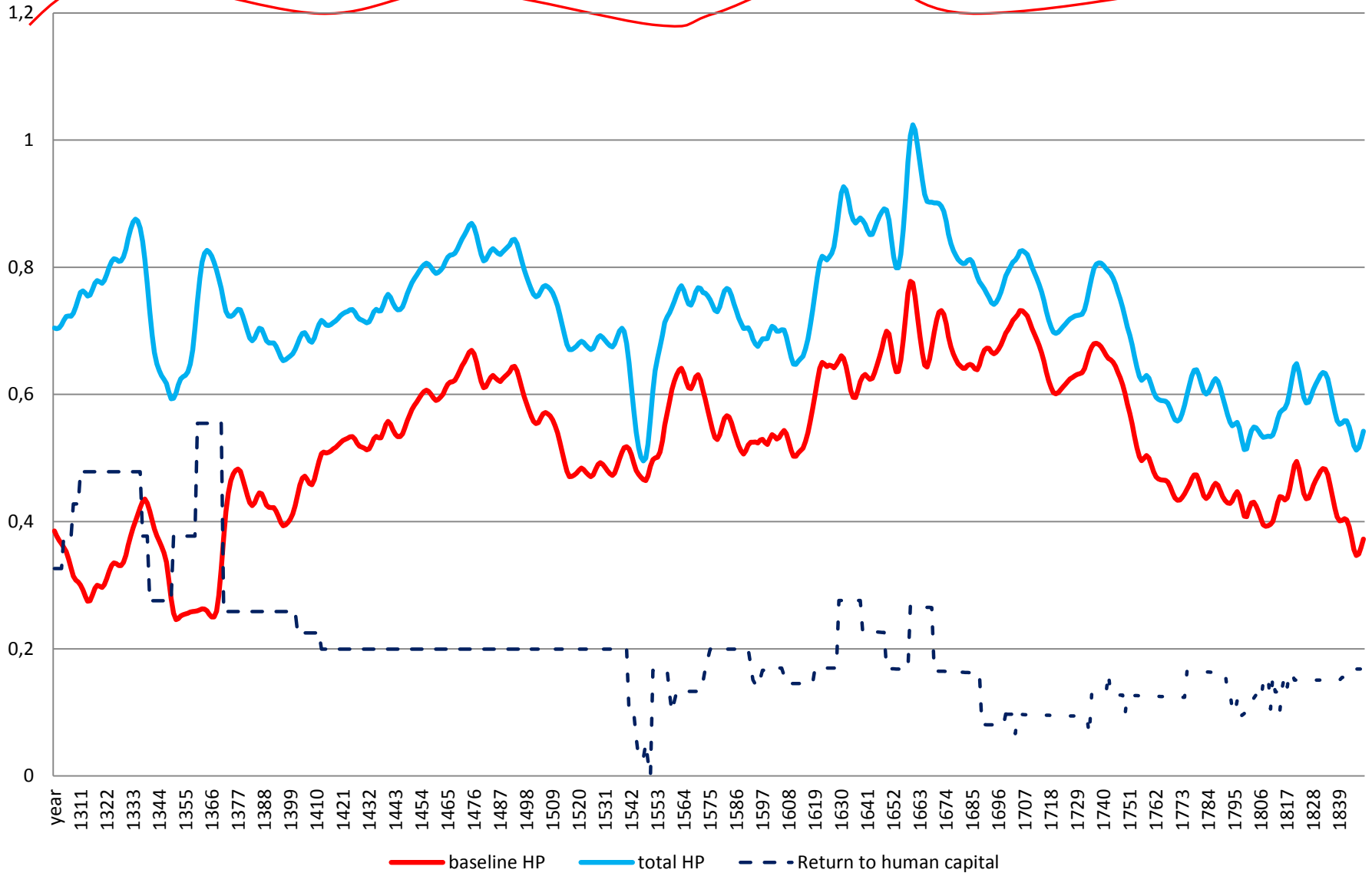
- Wages and GDP determine both levels and trends of  $\alpha$ , with one only exception - the increase in working days England 1550-1650 (an early Industrious Revolution?)
- Caveat: the coefficients for participation, days ( $d$ ) and gender wage gap ( $\gamma$ ) are sometimes assumed fixed for lack of data, and thus their contribution to changes might be underestimated



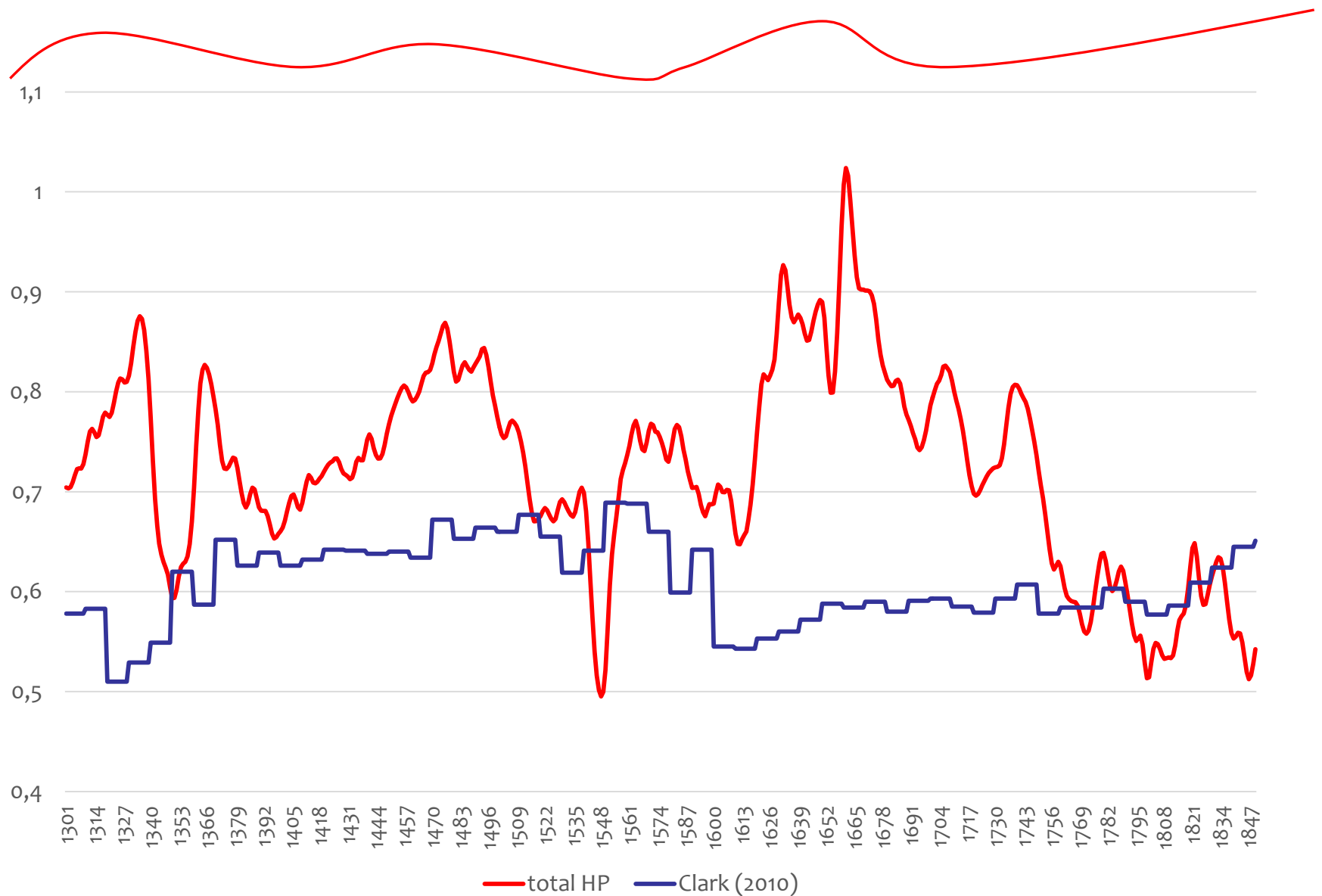
# England and Wales 1/3, robustness checks



# England and Wales 2/3, return to human capital



# England and Wales 3/3, a comparison with Clark (2010)



# Conclusions, 1/2



- New method for computing shares of labour and human capital on GDP as a measure of inequality
- Contrary to conventional wisdom of a uniformly unequal pre-industrial society, we find significant differences in time and across countries

# Conclusions, 2/2



## In particular

- Inequality always higher in Mediterranean countries than Northern ones (and France)
- Malthusian cycle around the Black Death (1300-1550)
- Further increase gap between Northern countries and Mediterranean ones (1550-1650)
- Generalized rise of inequality (post 1750) but in France after the Revolution

# Decomposition of yearly growth rates of the labour share (%): **Holland**

	<b>W</b>	<b>Y</b>	<b>L/N</b>	<b>Working days</b>	<b>Female adjustment</b>
<b>1415-1450</b>	<b>1.16</b>	0.41	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>1450-1550</b>	<b>-0.46</b>	0.18	-0.01	0.00	0.00
<b>1550-1650</b>	0.05	<b>0.35</b>	0.13	0.18	-0.01
<b>1650-1750</b>	<b>0.05</b>	0.04	-0.03	0.00	0.00
<b>1750-1802</b>	<b>-0.80</b>	0.13	-0.02	0.00	-0.01

Cell in bold indicates the main driver of change in the sub-period

# Decomposition of yearly growth rates of the labour share (%): **France**

	<b>W</b>	<b>Y</b>	<b>L/N</b>	<b>Working days</b>	<b>Female adjustment</b>
<b>1306-1450</b>	<b>0.39</b>	0.06	0.00	-0.03	0.00
<b>1450-1550</b>	<b>-0.62</b>	-0.19	-0.02	0.00	0.00
<b>1550-1650</b>	<b>0.16</b>	0.11	0.04	0.04	0.00
<b>1650-1750</b>	<b>-0.06</b>	-0.01	0.00	0.07	0.00
<b>1750-1850</b>	0.39	<b>0.41</b>	-0.02	0.09	0.00

Cell in bold indicates the main driver of change in the sub-period

# Decomposition of yearly growth rates of the labour share (%): **Italy**

	<b>W</b>	<b>Y</b>	<b>L/N</b>	<b>Working days</b>	<b>Female adjustment</b>
<b>1326-1450</b>	<b>0.55</b>	0.05	0.00	0.11	0.00
<b>1450-1550</b>	<b>-0.75</b>	-0.10	-0.02	0.10	0.00
<b>1550-1650</b>	<b>-0.23</b>	-0.06	0.07	0.02	0.00
<b>1650-1750</b>	<b>-0.14</b>	0.09	-0.02	-0.01	0.00
<b>1750-1850</b>	<b>-0.50</b>	-0.05	-0.02	-0.08	0.00

Cell in bold indicates the main driver of change in the sub-period



# Decomposition of yearly growth rates of the labour share (%): **Spain**

	<b>W</b>	<b>Y</b>	<b>L/N</b>	<b>Working days</b>	<b>Female adjustment</b>
<b>1413-1450</b>	<b>0.03</b>	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>1450-1550</b>	<b>-0.74</b>	0.07	-0.02	0.00	0.00
<b>1550-1650</b>	<b>-0.18</b>	-0.10	0.07	0.00	0.00
<b>1650-1750</b>	<b>0.10</b>	0.04	-0.02	0.00	0.00
<b>1750-1787</b>	<b>-0.93</b>	0.15	-0.09	0.00	0.00

Cell in bold indicates the main driver of change in the sub-period