Capital in the 21st Century

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- This presentation is based upon Capital in the 21st century (Harvard University Press, March 2014)
- This book studies the global dynamics of income and wealth distribution since 18c in 20+ countries; I use historical data collected over the past 15 years with Atkinson, Saez, Postel-Vinay, Rosenthal, Alvaredo, Zucman, and 30+ others; I try to shift attention from rising income inequality to rising wealth inequality
- The book includes four parts:
 - Part 1. Income and capital
 - Part 2. The dynamics of the capital/income ratio
 - Part 3. The structure of inequalities
 - Part 4. Regulating capital in the 21st century
- In this presentation I will present some results from Parts 2 & 3, focusing upon the long-run evolution of capital/income ratios and wealth concentration (all graphs and series are available on line: see http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/capital21c)

The World Top Incomes Database



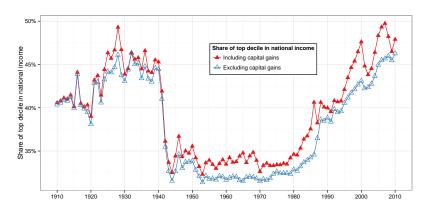
http://topincomes.parisschoolofeconomics.eu

Figure 1.1. Income inequality in the United States, 1910-2012



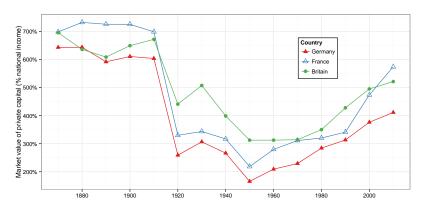
The top decile share in U.S. national income dropped from 45–50% in the 1910s–1920s to less than 35% in the 1950s (this is the 1950 1960 fall documented by Kuznets); it then rose from less than 35% in the 1970s to 45–50% in the 2000s–2010s.

Figure 1.1/8.5. Income inequality in the United States, 1910-2012



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Figure 1.2. The capital-income ratio in Europe, 1870-2012



Aggregate private wealth was worth about 6-7 years of national income in Europe in 1910, between 2 and 3 years in 1950, and between 4 and 6 years in 2010.

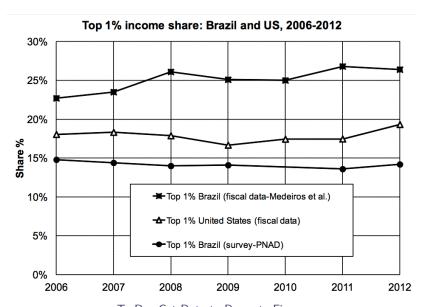
This presentation: three points

- 1. The return of a patrimonial (or wealth-based) society in the Old World (Europe, Japan). Wealth-income ratios seem to be returning to very high levels in low growth countries.
 - Intuition: in a slow-growth society, wealth accumulated in the past can naturally become very important. In the very long run, this can be relevant for the entire world.
- 2. The future of wealth concentration: with high r-g during 21c (r = `net-of-tax' rate of return', g = `growth rate'), then wealth inequality might reach or surpass 19c oligarchic levels; conversely, suitable institutions can allow to democratize wealth.
- 3. Inequality in America ("meritocratic extremism"): is the New World developing a new inequality model that is based upon extreme labor income inequality more than upon wealth inequality? Is it more merit-based, or can it become the worst of all worlds?

Brasil vs Europe-US-Japan

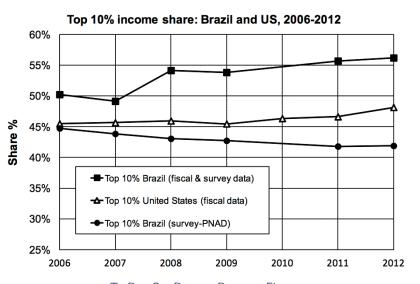
- Top income shares: income inequality is known to be high in Brasil; but it is probably underestimated (problem with household surveys); little access to fiscal data in Brasil
- Wealth-income ratios: probably a strong rise in Brasil (real estate prices), but we do not really know
- Wealth inequality: probably very high, but we do not really know; no access to property tax and inheritance tax statistics
- Like other countries, Brasil needs more transparency about income and wealth; progressive tax on income, inheritance and wealth would be a powerful way to produce information about how the different income and wealth groups are benefiting from growth

Top 1% income share: Brazil and US, 2006–2012



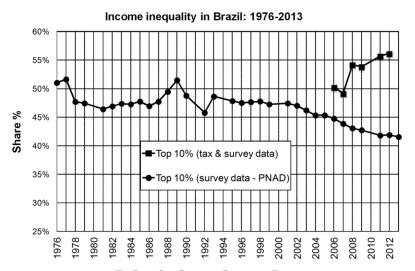
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Top 10% income share: Brazil and US, 2006–2012



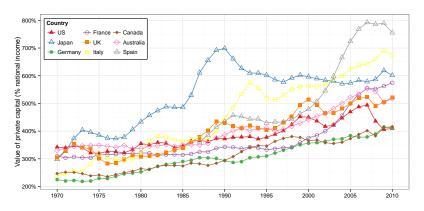
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Income Inequality in Brazil: 1976–2013



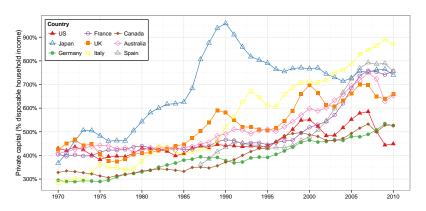
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Figure 5.3: Private capital in rich countries, 1970–2010



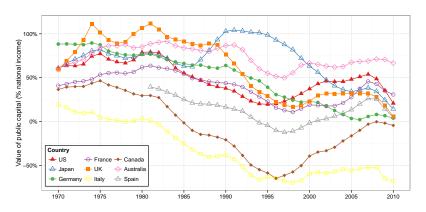
Private capital is worth between 2 and 3.5 years of national income in rich countries in 1970, and between 4 and 7 years of national income in 2010.

Figure 5.4: Private capital in rich countries (ratio), 1970–2010



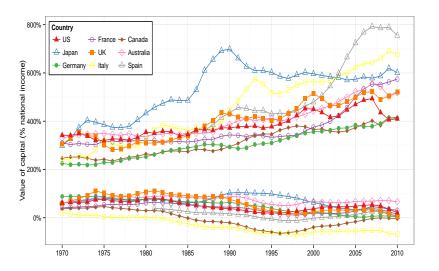
Expressed in years of household disposable income (about 70-80% of national income), the capital/income ratio appears to be larger than when it is expressed in years of national income.

Figure 5.3b: Public capital in rich countries, 1970–2010



In France, Britain, Germany, and the United States, government deficits exceeded public investment by 2-3% of national income on average over the period 1970-2010, compared with more than 6% in Italy.

Figure 5.5: Private and public capital in rich countries, 1970–2010



In Italy, private capital rose from 240% to 680% in national income between 1970 and 2010, while public capital dropped from 20% to -70%.

Table 12.1: The growth rate of top global wealth, 1987–2013

| | Average real growth rate per year (after deduction of inflation) (%) |
|---|--|
| The top $1/(100 \text{ million})$ highest wealth holders ^a | 6.8 |
| The top 1/(20 million) highest wealth holders ^b | 6.4 |
| Average world wealth per adult | 2.1 |
| Average world income per adult | 1.4 |
| World adult population | 1.9 |
| World GDP | 3.3 |

Between 1987 and 2013, the highest global wealth fractiles have grown at 6-7% per year versus 2.1% for average world wealth, and 1.4% for average world income. All growth rates are net of inflation (2.3% per year between 1987 and 2013).

 $^{^{\}rm a}$ About 30 adults out of 3 billion in the 1980s, and 45 adults out of 4.5 billion in 2010.

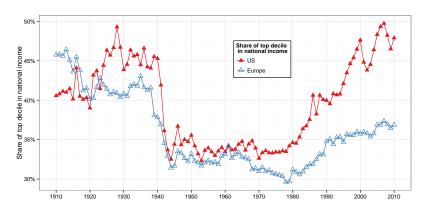
 $^{^{\}rm b}$ About 150 adults out of 3 billion in the 1980s, and 225 adults out of 4.5 billion in the 2010s.

Table 12.2: The return on the capital endowments of U.S. universities, 1980–2010

| | Average real annual rate of return (after deduction of inflation and all administrative costs and financial fees) (%) |
|---|---|
| All universities (850) | 8.2 |
| Harvard, Yale, and Princeton | 10.2 |
| Endowments higher than \$1 billion (60) | 8.8 |
| Endowments between \$500 million and 1 billion (66) | 7.8 |
| Endowments between \$100 and \$500 million (226) | 7.1 |
| Endowments less than \$100 million (498) | 6.2 |

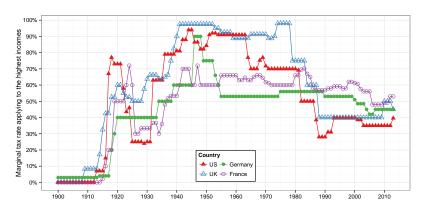
Between 1980 and 2010, U.S. universities earned an average real rate of return of 8.2% on their capital endowments, and more for the greater endowments. All returns are reported net of inflation (2.4% per year between 1980 and 2010) and net of administrative costs and financial fees.

Figure 9.8: Income inequality: Europe vs. United States, 1900–2010



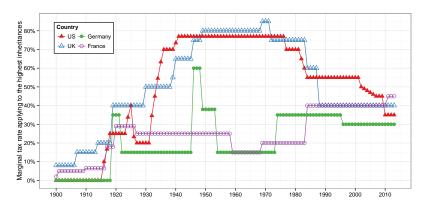
The top decile income share was higher in Europe than in the U.S. in 1900-2010. It is much higher in the U.S. in 2000-2010.

Figure 14.1: Top income tax rates, 1900-2013



The top marginal tax rate of the income tax (applying to the highest incomes) in the U.S. dropped from 70% in 1980 to 28% in 1988.

Figure 14.2: Top inheritance tax rates, 1900–2013



The top marginal tax rate of the inheritance tax (applying to the highest inheritances) in the U.S. dropped from 70% in 1980 to 35% in 2013.

Conclusions

- The history of income and wealth inequality is always political, chaotic and unpredictable; it involves national identities and sharp reversals; nobody can predict the reversals of the future
- Marx: with g=0, $\beta \to \infty$, $r \to 0$: revolution, war
- My conclusions are less apocalyptic: with g>0, at least we have a steady state $\beta=s/g$
- But with g>0 & small, this steady-state can be rather gloomy: it can involve a very large capital-income ratio β and capital share α , as well as extreme wealth concentration due to high r-g
- This has nothing to do with a market imperfection: the more perfect the capital market, the higher r g
- The ideal solution: progressive wealth tax at the global scale, based upon automatic exchange of bank information
- Other solutions involve authoritarian political & capital controls (China, Russia...), or perpetual population growth
 (LIS) or inflation or some mixture of all