

Wealth, Inequality & Taxation
T. Piketty, IMF 27-09-2012
Supplementary slides

OXFORD

TOP INCOMES
OVER THE
20TH
CENTURY

*A Contrast Between Continental European
and English-Speaking Countries*

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TOP INCOMES
GLOBAL
PERSPECTIVE

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Table 1. Top Percentile Share and Average Income Growth in the US

	Average Income Real Annual Growth	Top 1% Incomes Real Annual Growth	Bottom 99% Incomes Real Annual Growth	Fraction of total growth captured by top 1%
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Period				
1976-2007	1.2%	4.4%	0.6%	58%
Clinton Expansion				
1993-2000	4.0%	10.3%	2.7%	45%
Bush Expansion				
2002-2007	3.0%	10.1%	1.3%	65%

Computations based on family market income including realized capital gains (before individual taxes).

Incomes are deflated using the Consumer Price Index (and using the CPI-U-RS before 1992).

Column (4) reports the fraction of total real family income growth captured by the top 1%.

For example, from 2002 to 2007, average real family incomes grew by 3.0% annually but 65% of that growth accrued to the top 1% while only 35% of that growth accrued to the bottom 99% of US families.

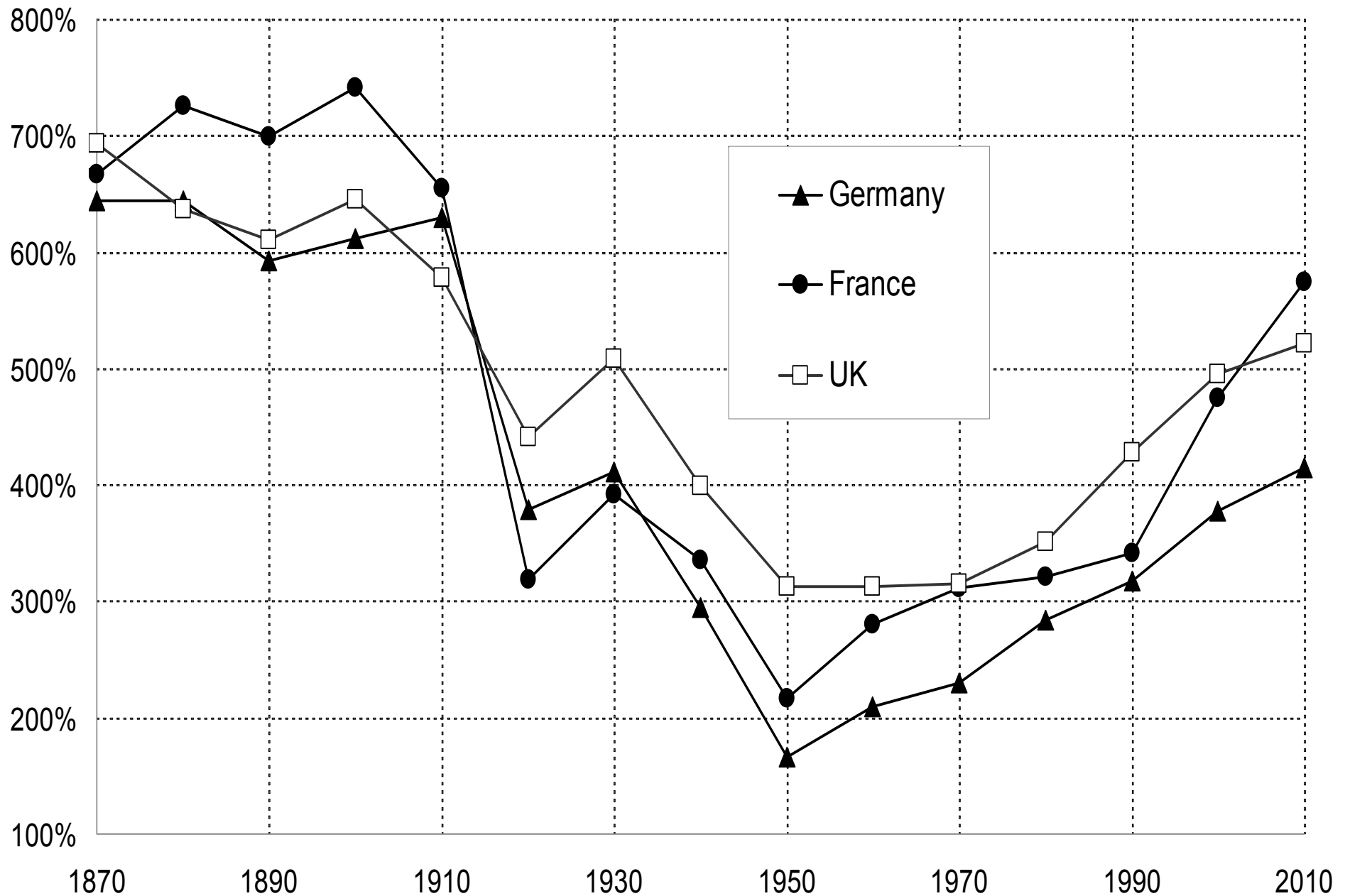
Source: Piketty and Saez (2003), series updated to 2007 in August 2009 using final IRS tax statistics.

Decomposition results: 1870-2010

- Annual series for US, Germany, France, UK, 1870-2010
- Additive vs multiplicative decomposition of wealth accumulation equation into volume vs price effects
- Private saving (personal + corporate) vs personal
- Private wealth vs national wealth accumulation
- Domestic vs foreign wealth accumulation

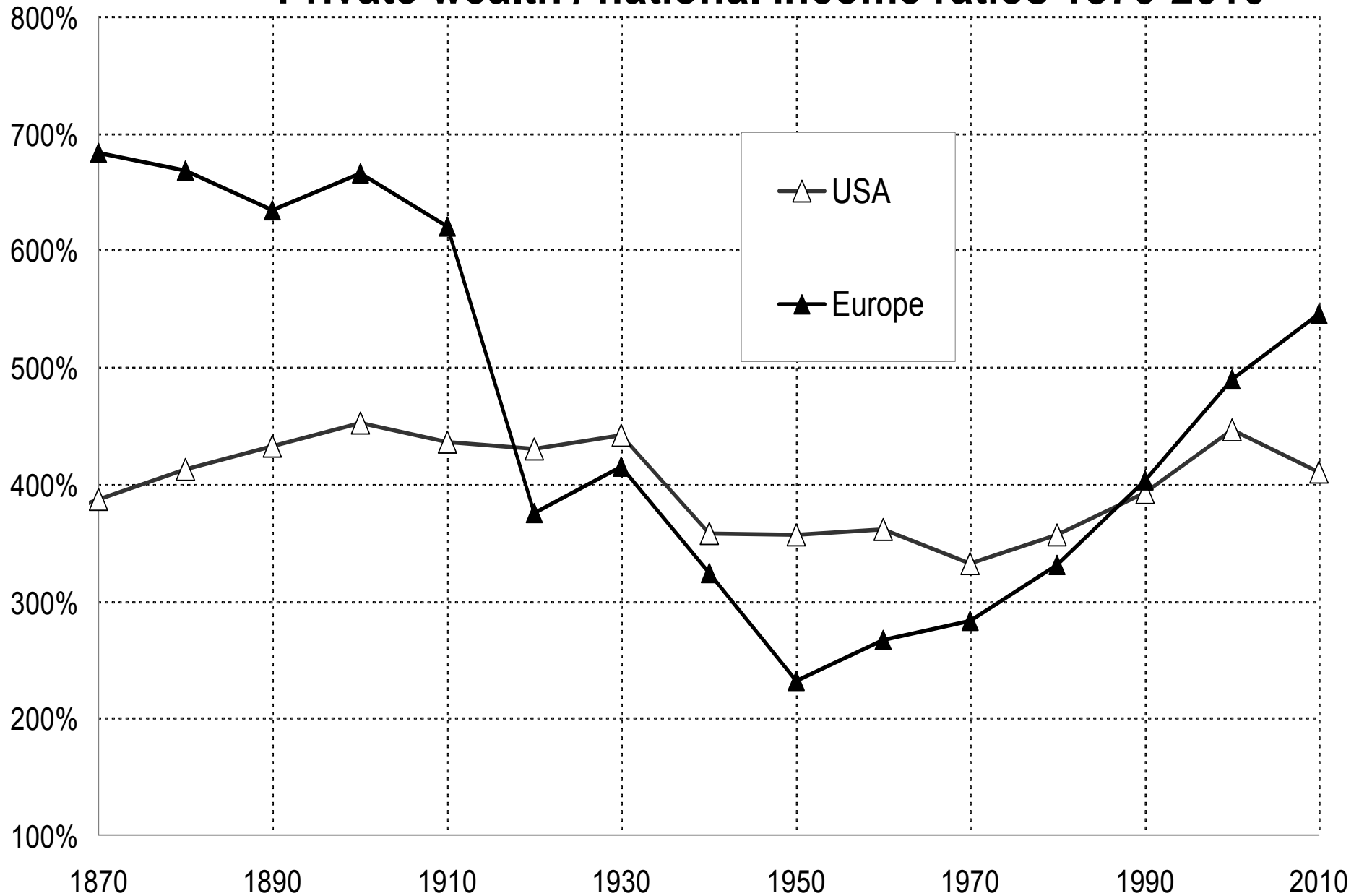
- **Main conclusion:** over the entire 1910-2010 period, capital gains wash out; i.e. 1910-1950 fall in relative asset price compensated by 1950-2010 (except in Germany, where asset prices seem abnormally low: stakeholder effect?)
- In the long run (1870-2010 or 1910-2010), changes in wealth-income ratios are well accounted for by $\beta = s/g$

Private wealth / national income ratios in Europe, 1870-2010



Authors' computations using country national accounts. Private wealth = non-financial assets + financial assets - financial liabilities (household & non-profit sectors)

Private wealth / national income ratios 1870-2010



Authors' computations using country national accounts. Private wealth = non-financial assets + financial assets - financial liabilities (household & non-profit sectors)

Table 20: Growth rate vs private saving rate in rich countries, 1870-2010

	Real growth rate of national income	Population growth rate	Real growth rate of per capita national income	Net private saving rate (personal + corporate) (%) (% national income)
U.S.	3.4%	1.5%	1.9%	8.3%
Germany	2.3%	0.5%	1.7%	12.1%
France	2.1%	0.4%	1.7%	10.6%
U.K.	1.9%	0.5%	1.4%	6.7%

Accumulation of private wealth in France, 1870-2010 (multiplicative decomposition)

	Private wealth-national income ratios		Real growth rate of private wealth	Savings-induced wealth growth rate (incl. war destructions)	Capital-gains-induced wealth growth rate
	β_t	β_{t+n}	g_w	$g_{ws} = s/\beta$	q
1870-2010	667%	575%	2.0%	2.4% 121%	-0.4% -21%
1870-1910	667%	766%	1.5%	1.2% 81%	0.3% 19%
1910-2010	766%	575%	2.2%	2.9% 132%	-0.7% -32%
1910-1950	766%	192%	-2.0%	0.9% -47%	-2.9% 147%
1950-1980	192%	321%	6.3%	5.4% 86%	0.9% 14%
1980-2010	321%	575%	3.8%	3.0% 81%	0.7% 19%

Accumulation of private wealth in the U.K., 1870-2010 (multiplicative decomposition)

	Private wealth-national income ratios		Real growth rate of private wealth	Savings-induced wealth growth rate	Capital-gains-induced wealth growth rate
	β_t	β_{t+n}	g_w	$g_{ws} = s/\beta$	q
1870-2010	690%	522%	1.7%	1.5% 85%	0.3% 15%
1870-1910	690%	678%	1.8%	1.6% 85%	0.3% 15%
1910-2010	678%	522%	1.7%	1.4% 85%	0.3% 15%
1910-1950	678%	355%	-0.2%	0.6% -314%	-0.8% 414%
1950-1980	355%	309%	1.6%	2.2% 134%	-0.6% -34%
1980-2010	309%	522%	4.4%	1.7% 40%	2.6% 60%

Accumulation of private wealth in the U.S., 1870-2010 (multiplicative decomposition)

	Private wealth-national income ratios		Real growth rate of private wealth	Savings-induced wealth growth rate	Capital-gains-induced wealth growth rate
	β_t	β_{t+n}	g_w	$g_{ws} = s/\beta$	q
1870-2010	386%	410%	3.4%	2.9% 84%	0.6% 16%
1870-1910	386%	446%	4.3%	2.9% 67%	1.4% 33%
1910-2010	446%	410%	3.1%	2.9% 93%	0.2% 7%
1910-1950	446%	365%	2.7%	2.6% 95%	0.1% 5%
1950-1980	365%	355%	3.4%	3.8% 110%	-0.4% -10%
1980-2010	355%	410%	3.3%	2.3% 72%	0.9% 28%

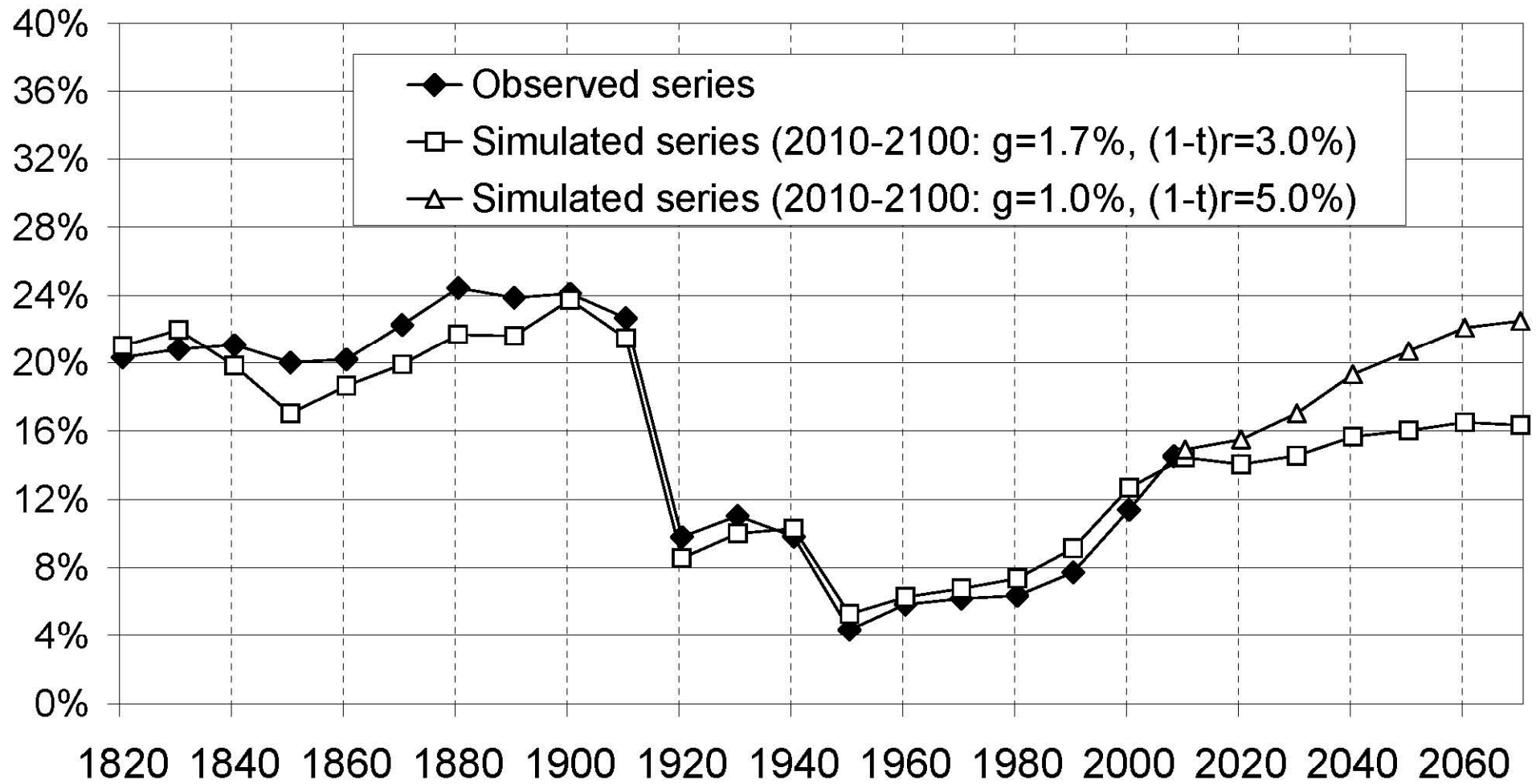
Accumulation of private wealth in Germany, 1870-2010 (multiplicative decomposition)

	Private wealth-national income ratios		Real growth rate of private wealth	Savings-induced wealth growth rate	Capital-gains-induced wealth growth rate
	β_t	β_{t+n}	g_w	$g_{ws} = s/\beta$	q
1870-2010	704%	415%	2.1%	3.5% 163%	-1.3% -63%
1870-1910	704%	608%	2.1%	2.3% 109%	-0.2% -9%
1910-2010	608%	415%	2.1%	3.9% 184%	-1.8% -84%
1910-1950	608%	181%	-1.8%	1.4% -79%	-3.2% 179%
1950-1980	181%	253%	6.1%	7.7% 123%	-1.5% -23%
1980-2010	253%	415%	3.4%	3.7% 107%	-0.2% -7%

Accumulation of national wealth in Germany, 1870-2010 (multiplicative decomposition)

	Market-value national wealth- national income ratios		Real growth rate of national wealth	Savings-induced wealth growth rate (incl. war destructions)	Capital-gains- induced wealth growth rate
	β_t	β_{t+n}	g_w	$g_{ws} = s/\beta$	q
1870-2010	759%	418%	2.0%	2.2% 110%	-0.2% -10%
1870-1910	759%	638%	2.1%	2.2% 108%	-0.2% -8%
1910-2010	638%	418%	2.0%	2.3% 111%	-0.2% -11%
1910-1950	638%	236%	-1.3%	-1.2% 95%	-0.1% 5%
1950-1980	236%	328%	6.1%	6.8% 111%	-0.7% -11%
1980-2010	328%	418%	2.6%	2.5% 99%	0.0% 1%

**Figure 9: Observed vs simulated inheritance flow B/Y,
France 1820-2100**



Back to distributional analysis: macro ratios determine who is the dominant social class

- 19^c: top successors dominate top labor earners
→ rentier society (Balzac, Jane Austen, etc.)
- For cohorts born in 1910s-1950s, inheritance did not matter too much → labor-based, meritocratic society
- But for cohorts born in the 1970s-1980s & after, inheritance matters a lot
→ 21^c class structure will be intermediate between 19^c rentier society than to 20^c meritocratic society – and possibly closer to the former
- The rise of human capital & meritocracy was an illusion .. especially with a labor-based tax system

Figure 15: Cohort fraction inheriting more than bottom 50% lifetime labor resources (cohorts born in 1820-2020)

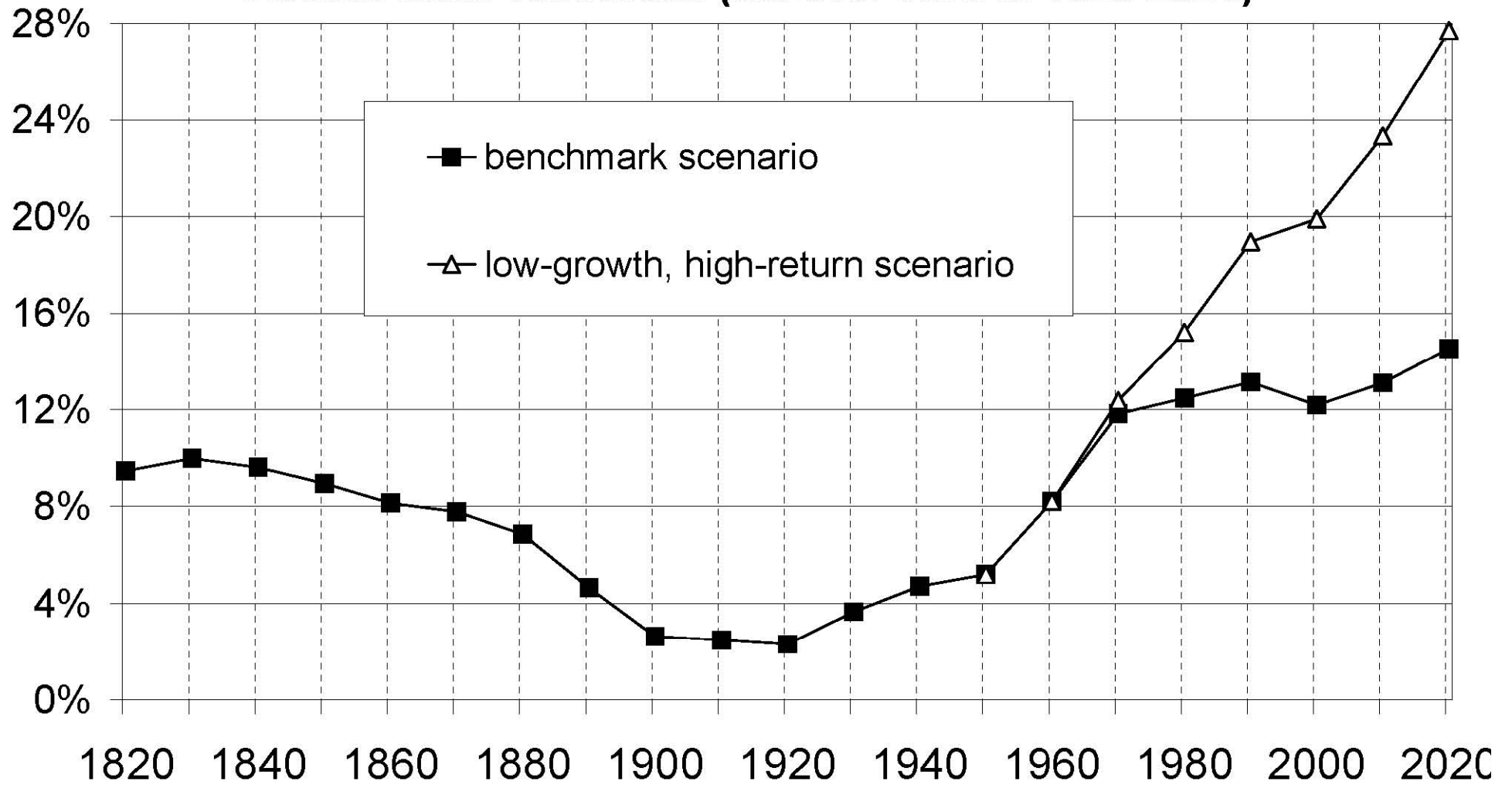
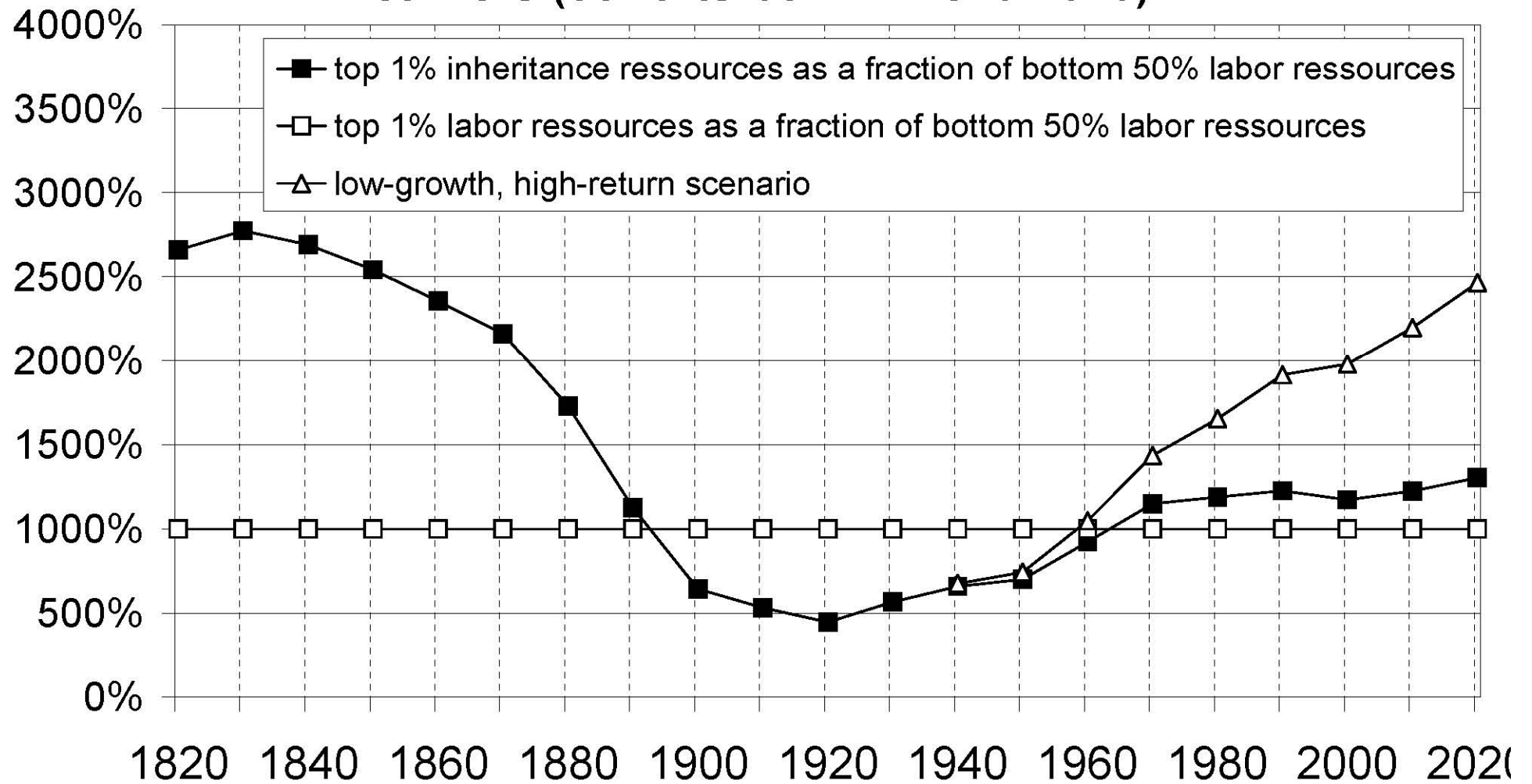


Figure 14: Top 1% successors vs top 1% labor income earners (cohorts born in 1820-2020)



What have we learned?

- A world with g low & $r > g$ is gloomy for workers with zero initial wealth... especially if global tax competition drives capital taxes to 0%... especially if top labor incomes take a rising share of aggregate labor income
- A world with $g = 1-2\%$ (=long-run world technological frontier?) is not very different from a world with $g = 0\%$ (Marx-Ricardo)
- From a r -vs- g viewpoint, 21^c maybe not too different from 19^c – but still better than Ancien Regime... except that nobody tried to depict AR as meritocratic...

The meritocratic illusion

Democracies rely on meritocratic values: in order to reconcile the principle of political equality with observed socio-economic inequalities, they need to justify inequality by merit and/or common utility

- **But effective meritocracy does not come naturally from technical progress & market forces; it requires specific policies & institutions**
- Two (quasi-)illusions: (1) human K didn't replace financial K (2) war of ages didn't replace war of classes
- « Meritocratic extremism » : the rise of working rich & the return of inherited wealth can seem contradictory; but they go hand in hand in 21^c discourse: in the US, working rich are viewed as the only cure against the return of inheritance – except of course for bottom 90% workers...

- **More competitive & efficient markets won't help to curb divergence forces:**
 - (1) Competition and greed fuel the grabbing hand mechanism; with imperfect information, competitive forces not enough to get pay = marginal product; **only confiscatory top rates can calm down top incomes**
 - (2) The more efficient the markets, the sharper the capital vs labor distinction; with highly developed k markets, any dull successor can get a high rate of return
 - **$r > g$ = nothing to do with market imperfections**
 - Standard model: $r = \delta + \sigma g > g$ (Golden rule)
- The important point about capitalism is that r is large ($r > g$ → tax capital, otherwise society is dominated by rentiers), volatile and unpredictable (→ financial crisis)

The future of global inequality

- **Around 1900-1910:** Europe owned the rest of the world; net foreign wealth of UK or France >100% of their national income (>50% of the rest-of-the-world capital stock)
- **Around 2050:** will the same process happen again, but with China instead of Europe?
→ this is the issue explored in Piketty-Zucman, « Will China Own the World? Essay on the Dynamics of the World Wealth Distribution, 2010-2050 », WP PSE 2011
- **Bottom line:** international inequalities even less meritocratic than domestic inequalities; e.g. oil price level has nothing to do with merit; the fact that Greece pays interest rate $r=10\%$ on its public debt has nothing to do with merit; the price system has nothing to do with merit...

- Assume global convergence in per capita output Y & in capital intensity K/Y
 - With large differences in population & fully integrated K markets & high world rate of return r (low K taxes)
- Then moderate differences in savings rate (say, $s=20\%$ in China vs $s=10\%$ in Europe+US, due to bigger pay-as-you-go pensions in Old World, traumatized by past financial crashes)
- can generate very large net foreign asset positions
- under these assumptions, China might own a large part of the world by 2050

- Likely policy response in the West: K controls, public ownership of domestic firms, etc.
- **But this is not the most likely scenario:** a more plausible scenario is that global billionaires (located in all countries... and particularly in tax havens) will own a rising share of global wealth
- A lot depends on the net-of-tax global rate of return r on large diversified portfolios
- If $r=5\%-6\%$ in 2010-2050 (=what we observe in 1980-2010 for large Forbes fortunes, or Abu Dhabi sovereign fund, or Harvard endowment), then global divergence is very likely

- Both scenarios can happen
 - But the « global billionaires own the world » scenario is more likely than the « China own the world » scenario
 - And it is also a lot harder to cope with: we'll need a lot of international policy coordination; without a global crackdown on tax havens & a coordinated world wealth tax on the global rich, individual countries & regions will keep competing to attract billionaires, thereby exacerbating the trend
- Free, untaxed world K markets can easily lead to major imbalances & global disasters

Figure 13: The share of inheritance in lifetime resources received by cohorts born in 1820-2020

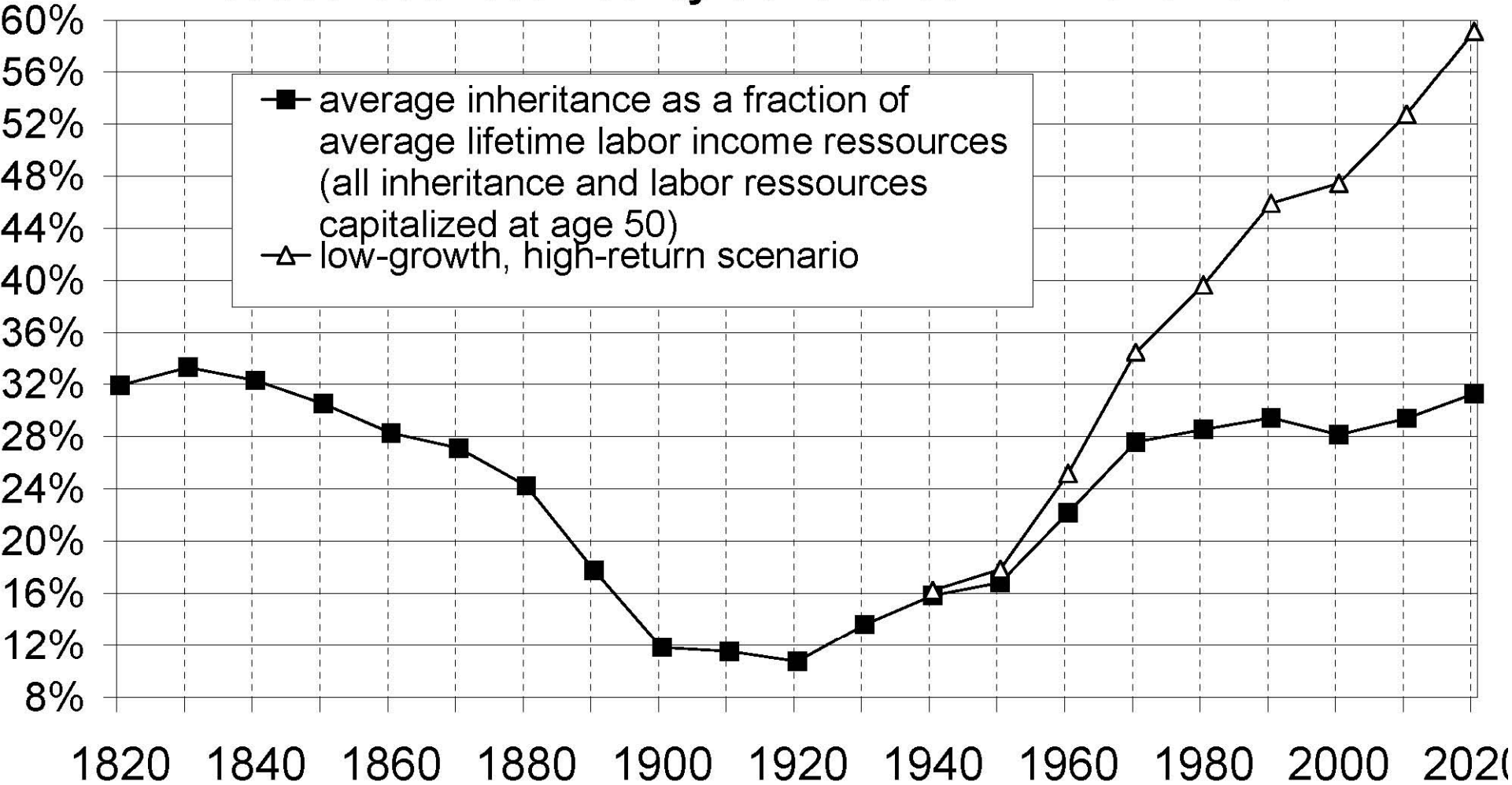
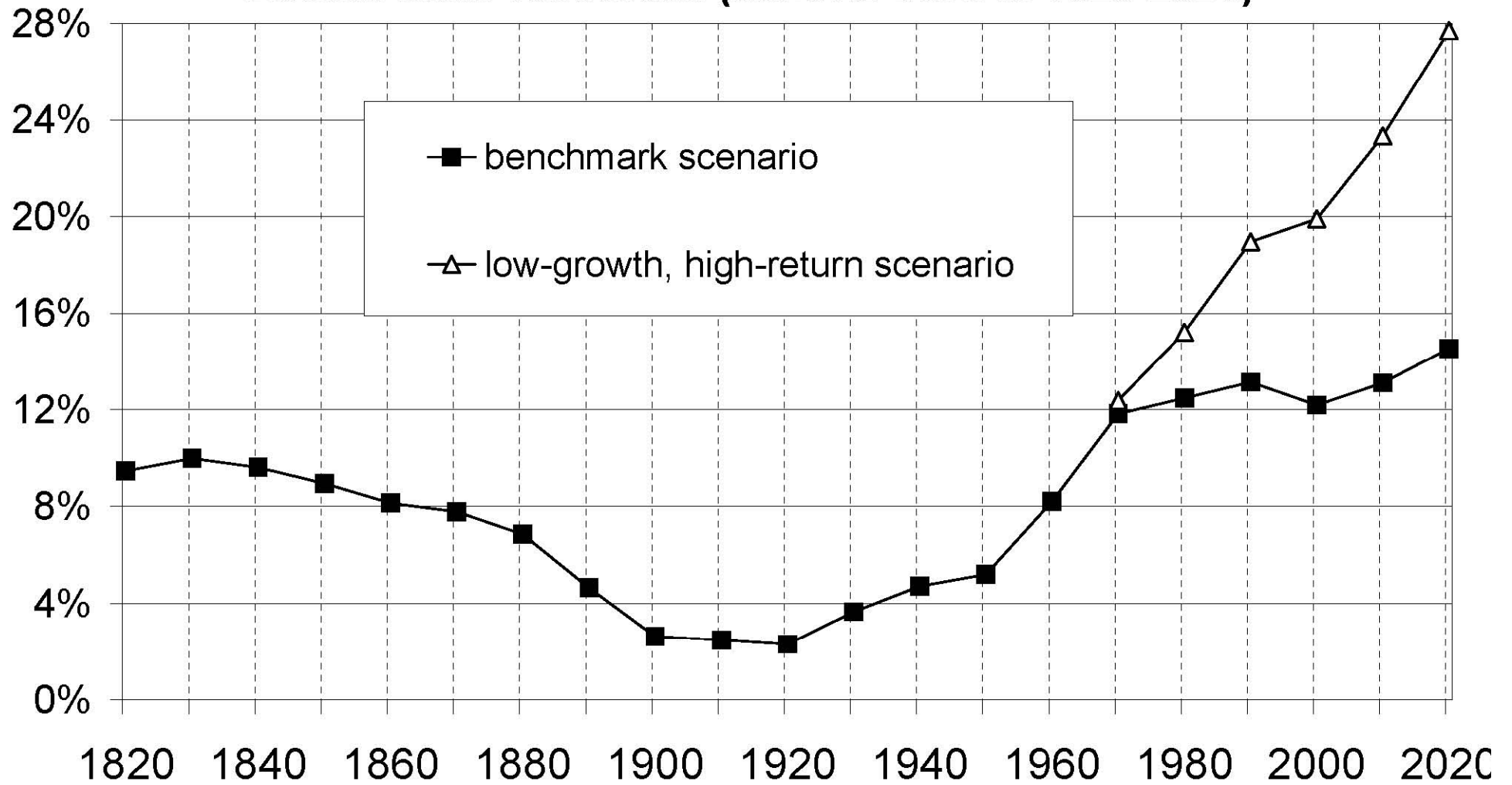


Figure 17: Cohort fraction inheriting more than bottom 50% lifetime labor resources (cohorts born in 1820-2020)



Computing inheritance flows: simple macro arithmetic

$$B_t/Y_t = \mu_t m_t W_t/Y_t$$

- W_t/Y_t = aggregate wealth/income ratio
 - m_t = aggregate mortality rate
 - μ_t = ratio between average wealth of decedents and average wealth of the living (= age-wealth profile)
- The U-shaped pattern of inheritance is the product of three U-shaped effects

Table 1: Accumulation of private wealth in France, 1820-2009

	Real growth rate of national income g	Real growth rate of private wealth g_w	Savings-induced wealth growth rate $g_{ws} = s/\beta$	Capital-gains-induced wealth growth rate q	<i>Memo:</i> <i>Consumer price inflation</i> p
1820-2009	1.8%	1.8%	2.1%	-0.3%	4.4%
1820-1913	1.0%	1.3%	1.4%	-0.1%	0.5%
1913-2009	2.6%	2.4%	2.9%	-0.4%	8.3%
1913-1949	1.3%	-1.7%	0.9%	-2.6%	13.9%
1949-1979	5.2%	6.2%	5.4%	0.8%	6.4%
1979-2009	1.7%	3.8%	2.8%	1.0%	3.6%

Figure 3: Mortality rate in France, 1820-2100

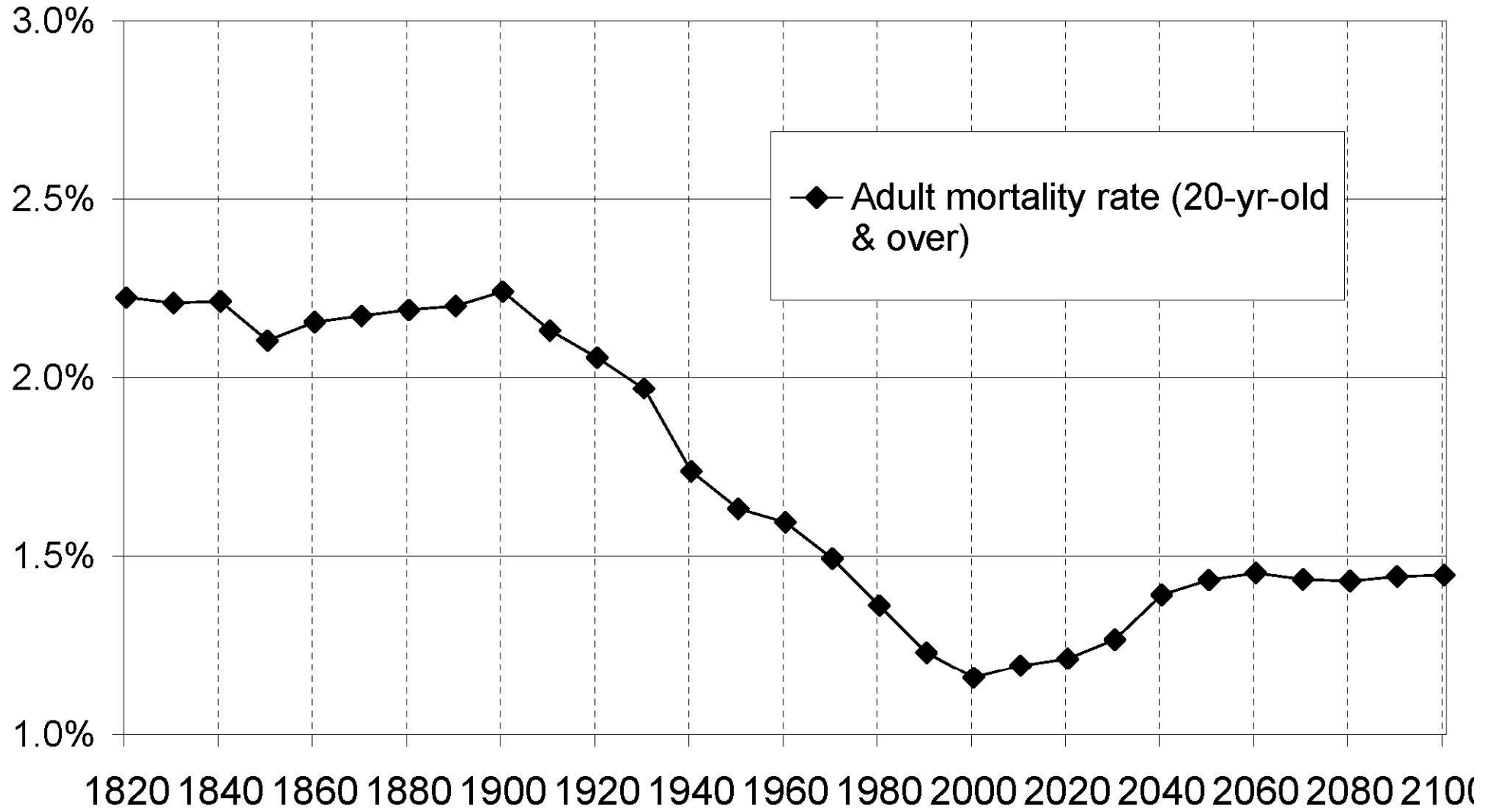


Figure 4: The ratio between average wealth of decedents and average wealth of the living France 1820-2008

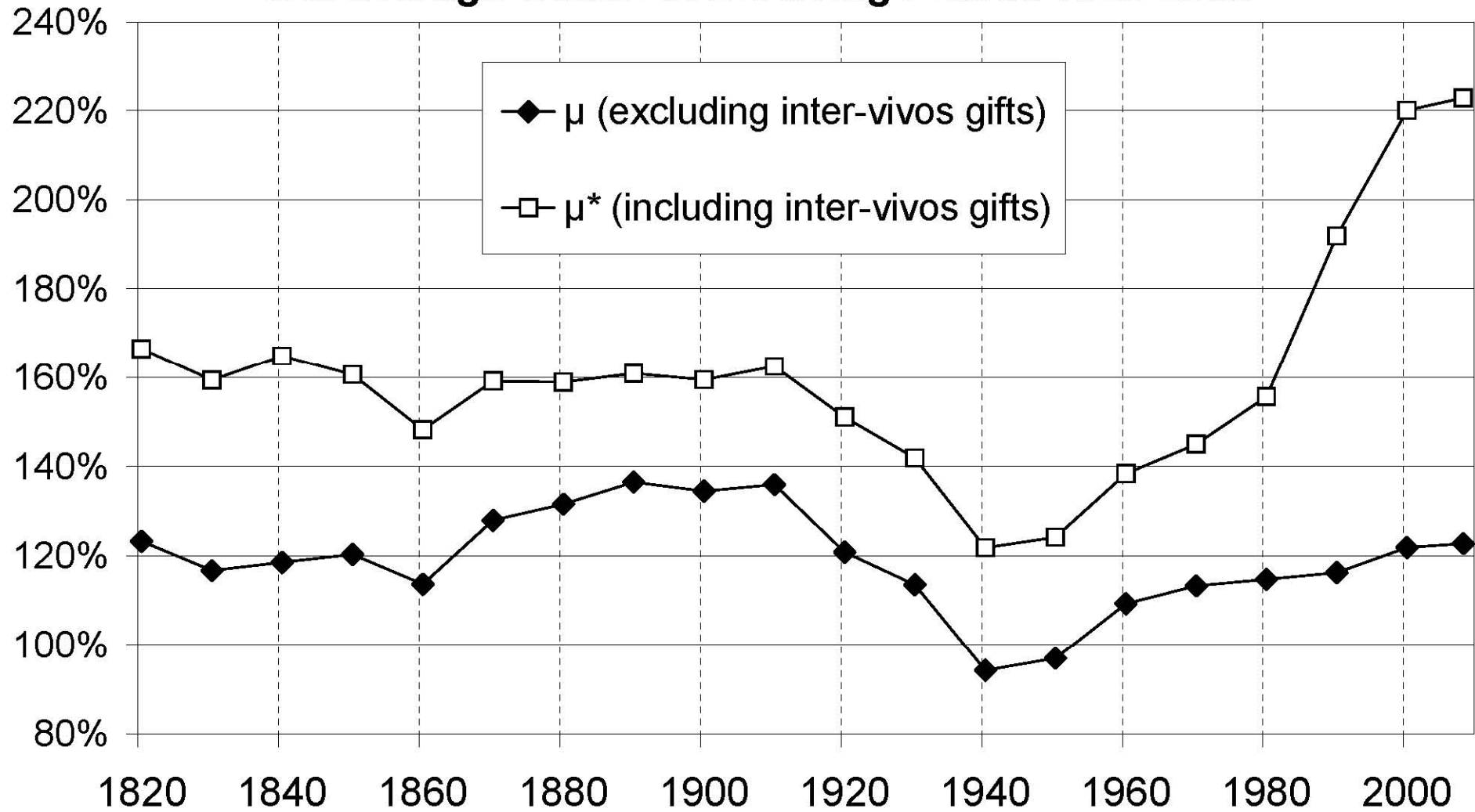
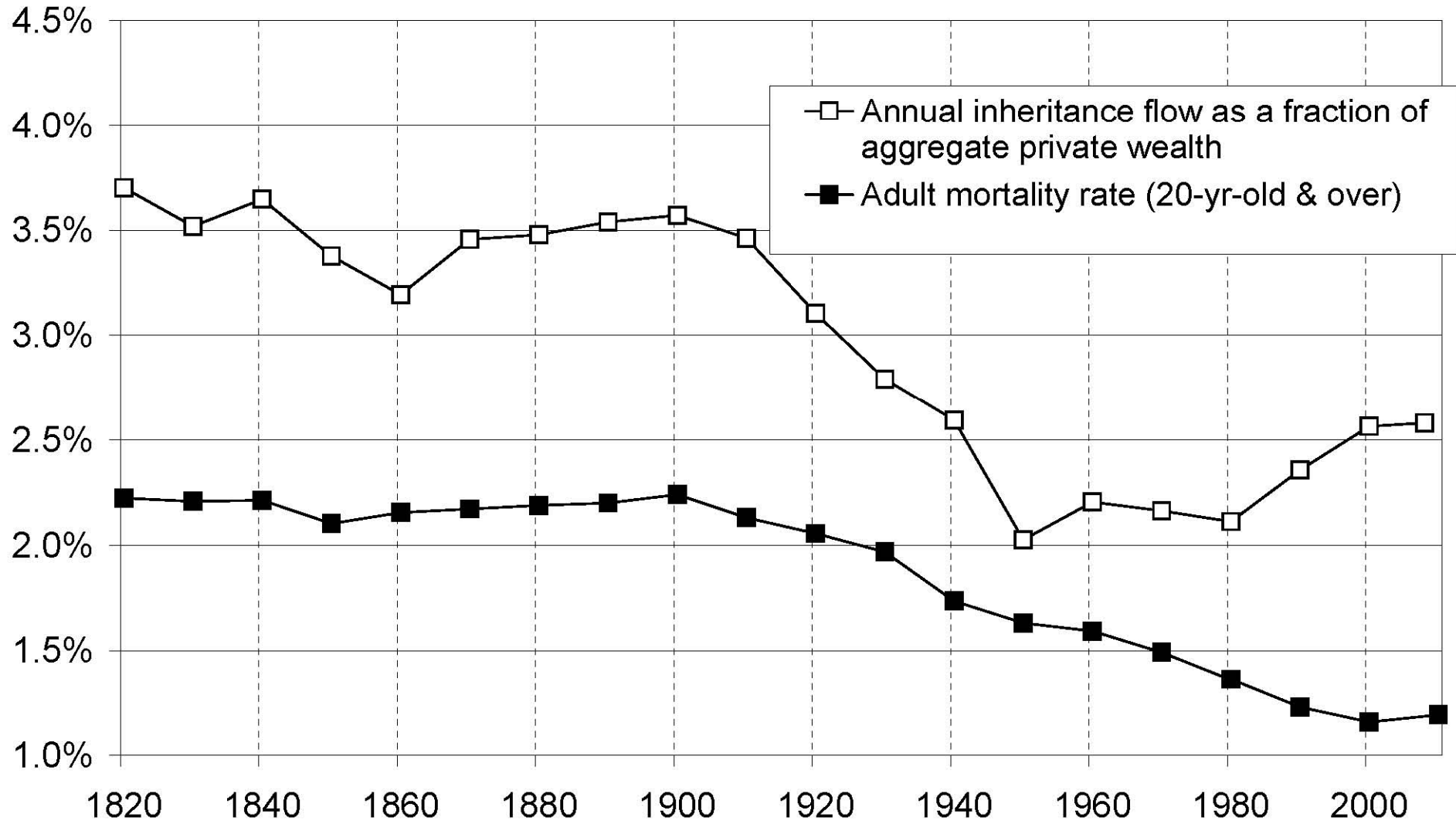


Figure 5: Inheritance flow vs mortality rate in France, 1820-2008



Steady-state inheritance flows

- Standard models: $r = \theta + \sigma g = \alpha g/s (>g)$
- Everybody becomes adult at age A , has one kid at age H , inherits at age I , and dies at age $D \rightarrow I = D-H, m = 1/(D-A)$
- Dynastic or class saving: $\mu = (D-A)/H$
 $\rightarrow b_y = \mu m \beta = \beta/H$
- **Proposition:** As $g \rightarrow 0, b_y \rightarrow \beta/H$

**Figure 6: Steady-state cross-sectional age-wealth profile
in the class savings model ($s_L=0$, $s_K>0$)**

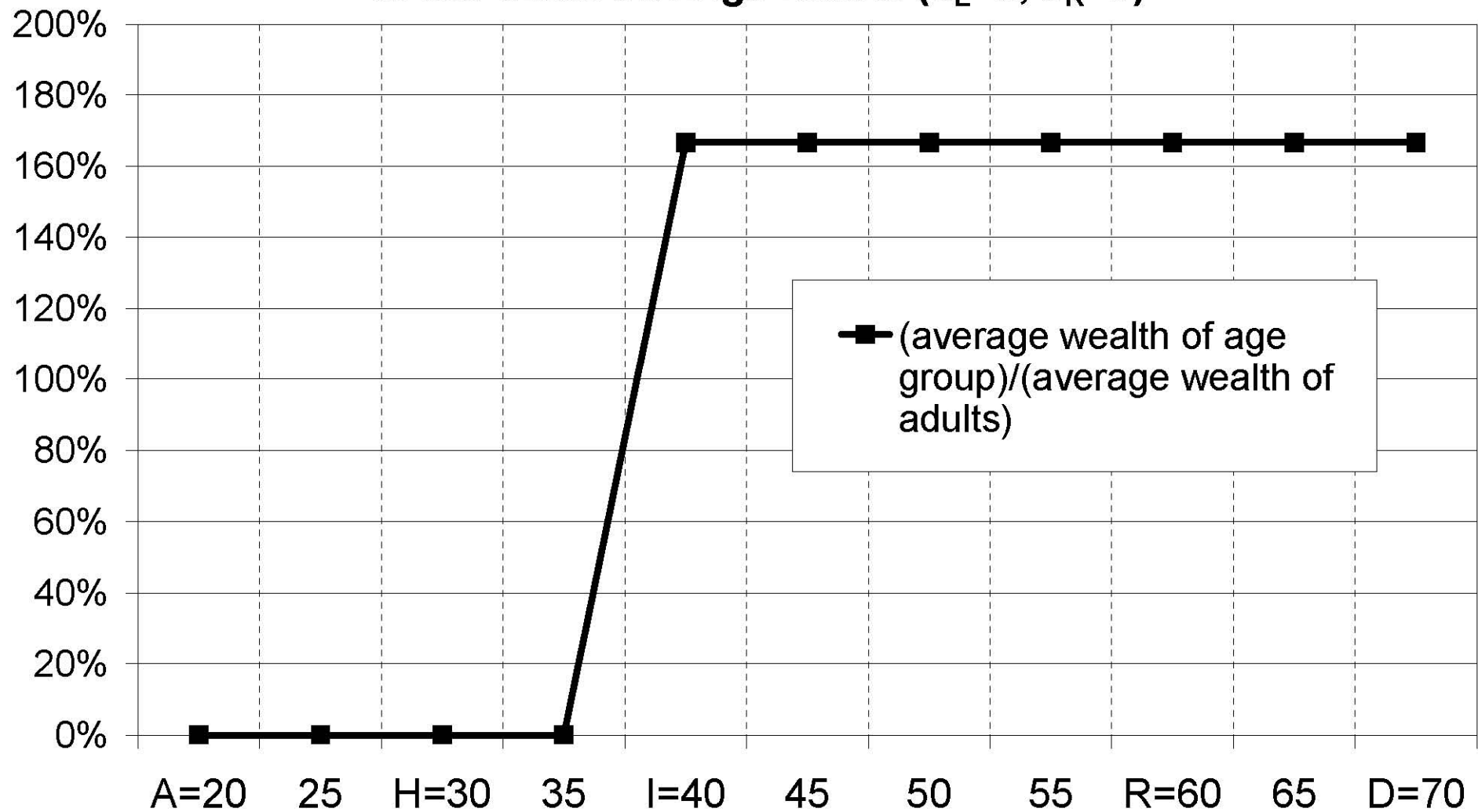


Figure 7: Steady-state cross-sectional age-wealth profile in the class savings model with demographic noise

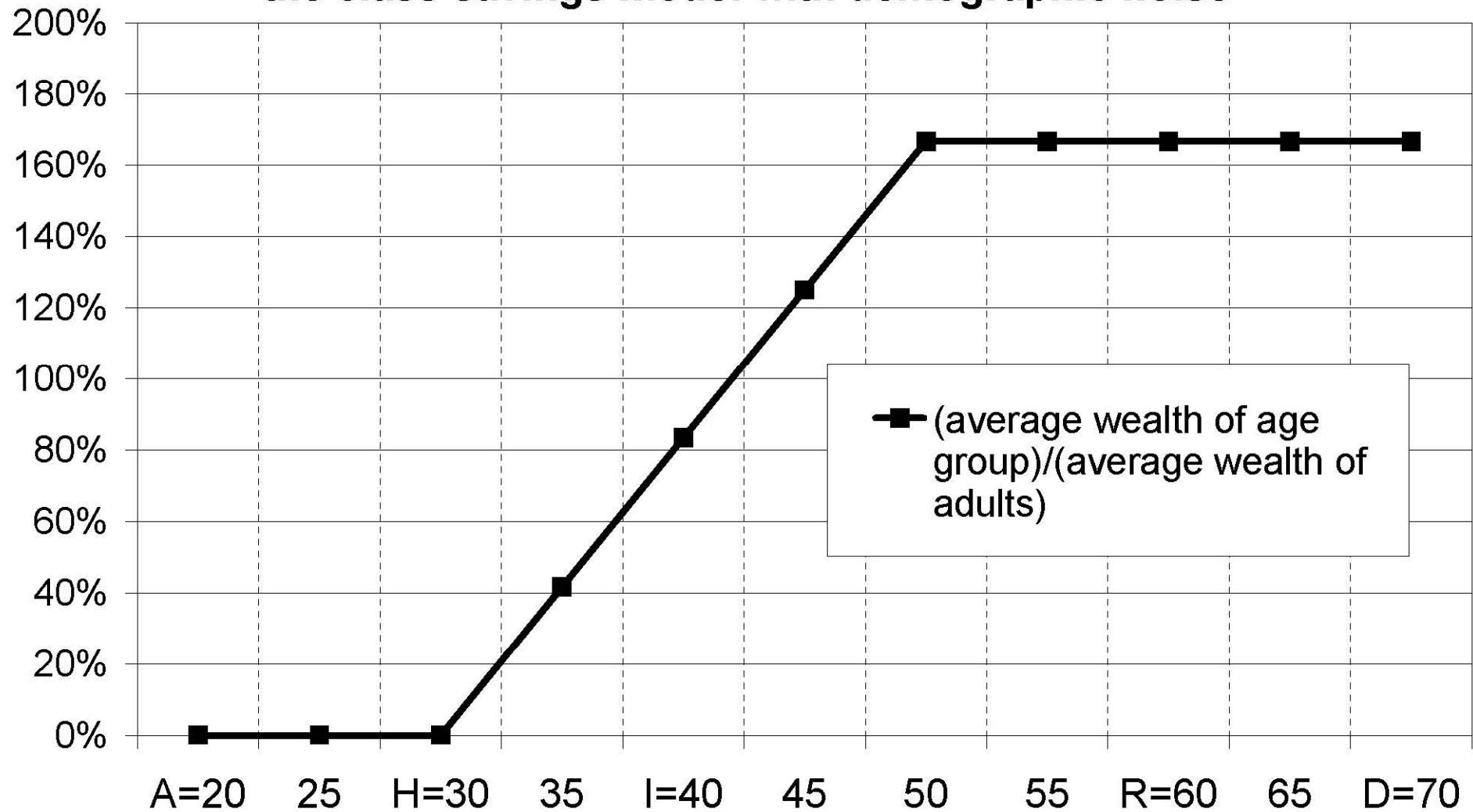


Figure 8: Private savings rate in France 1820-2008

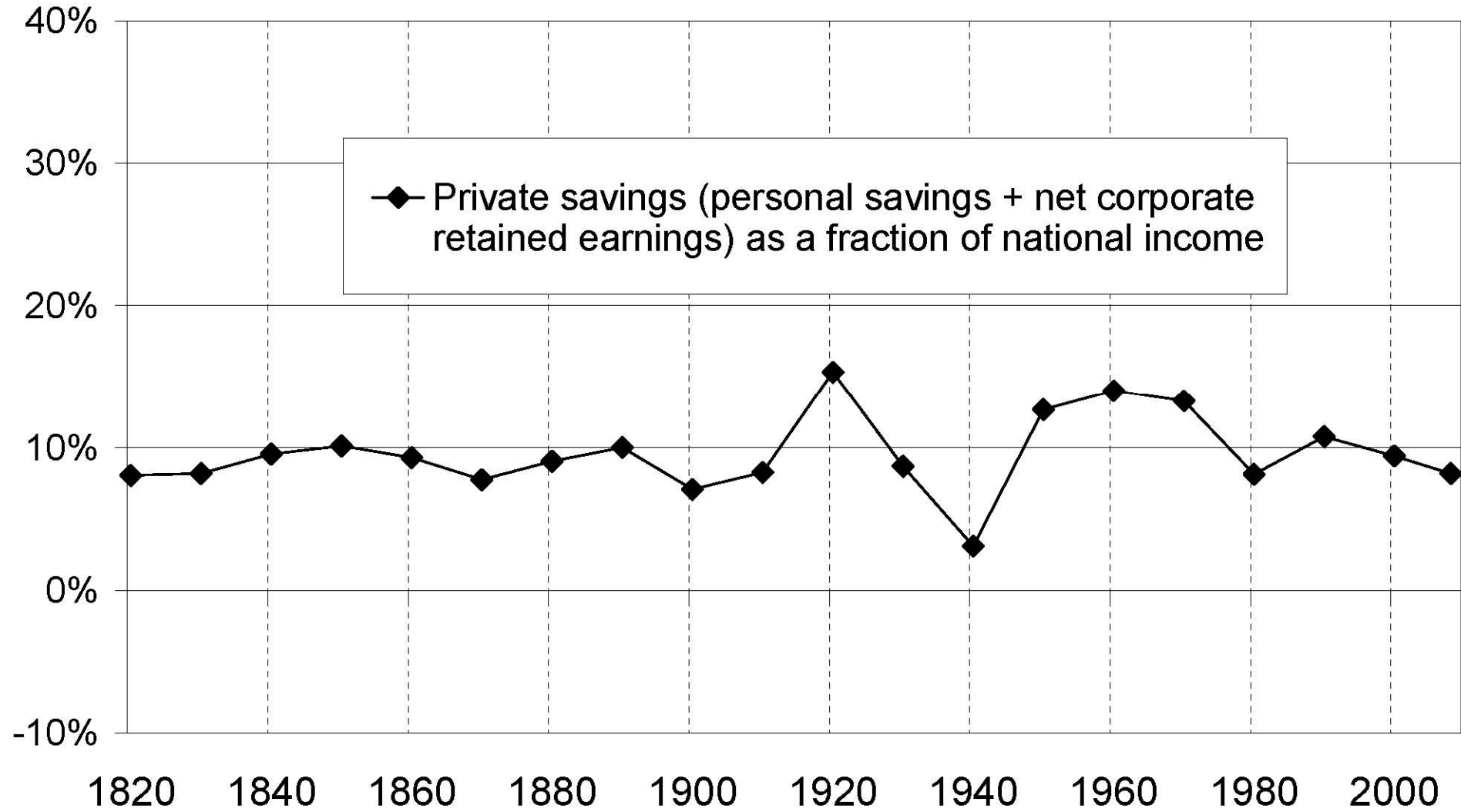


Figure 10: Labor & capital shares in national income, France 1820-2008

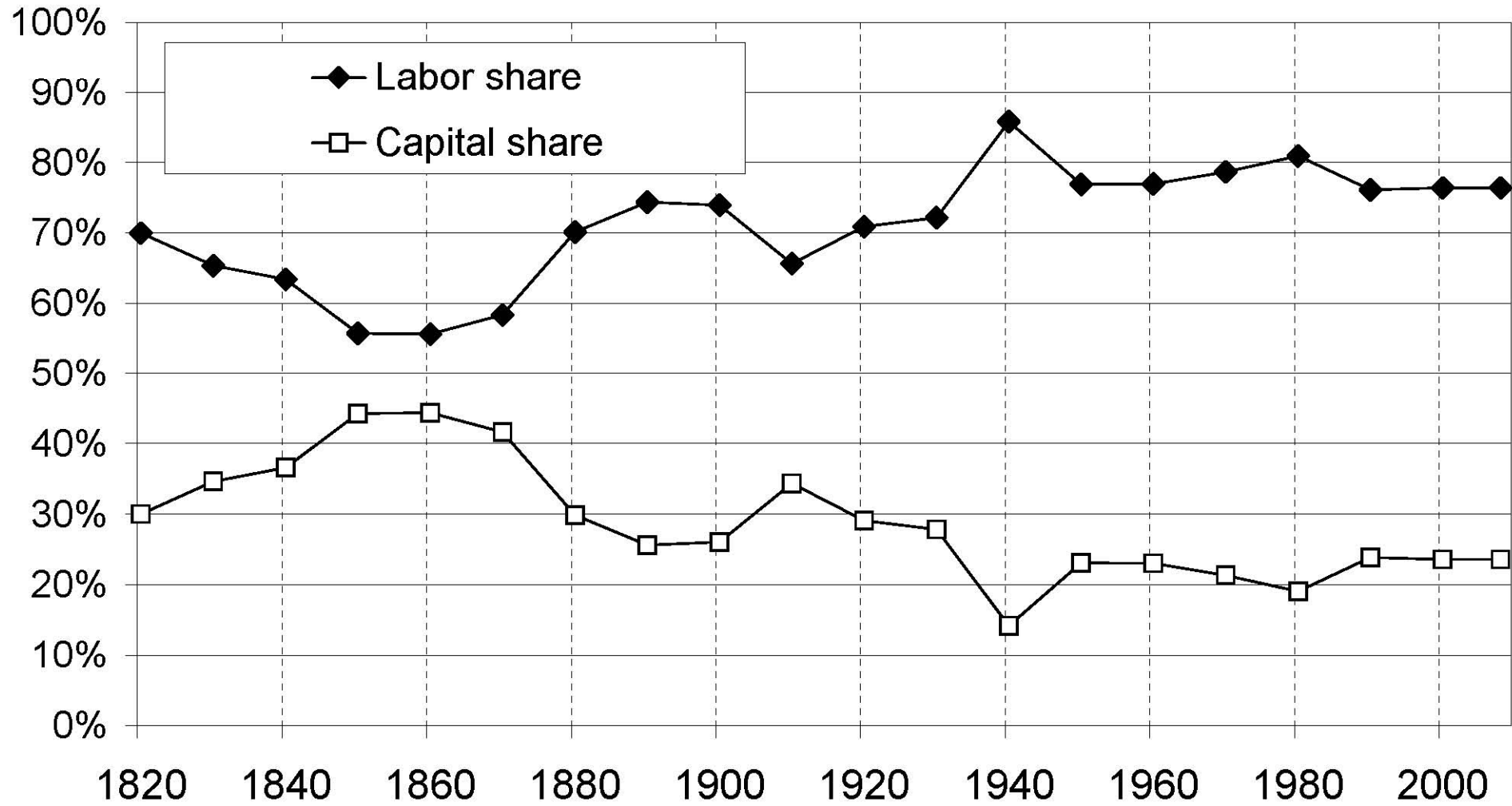


Figure 11: Rate of return vs growth rate France 1820-1913

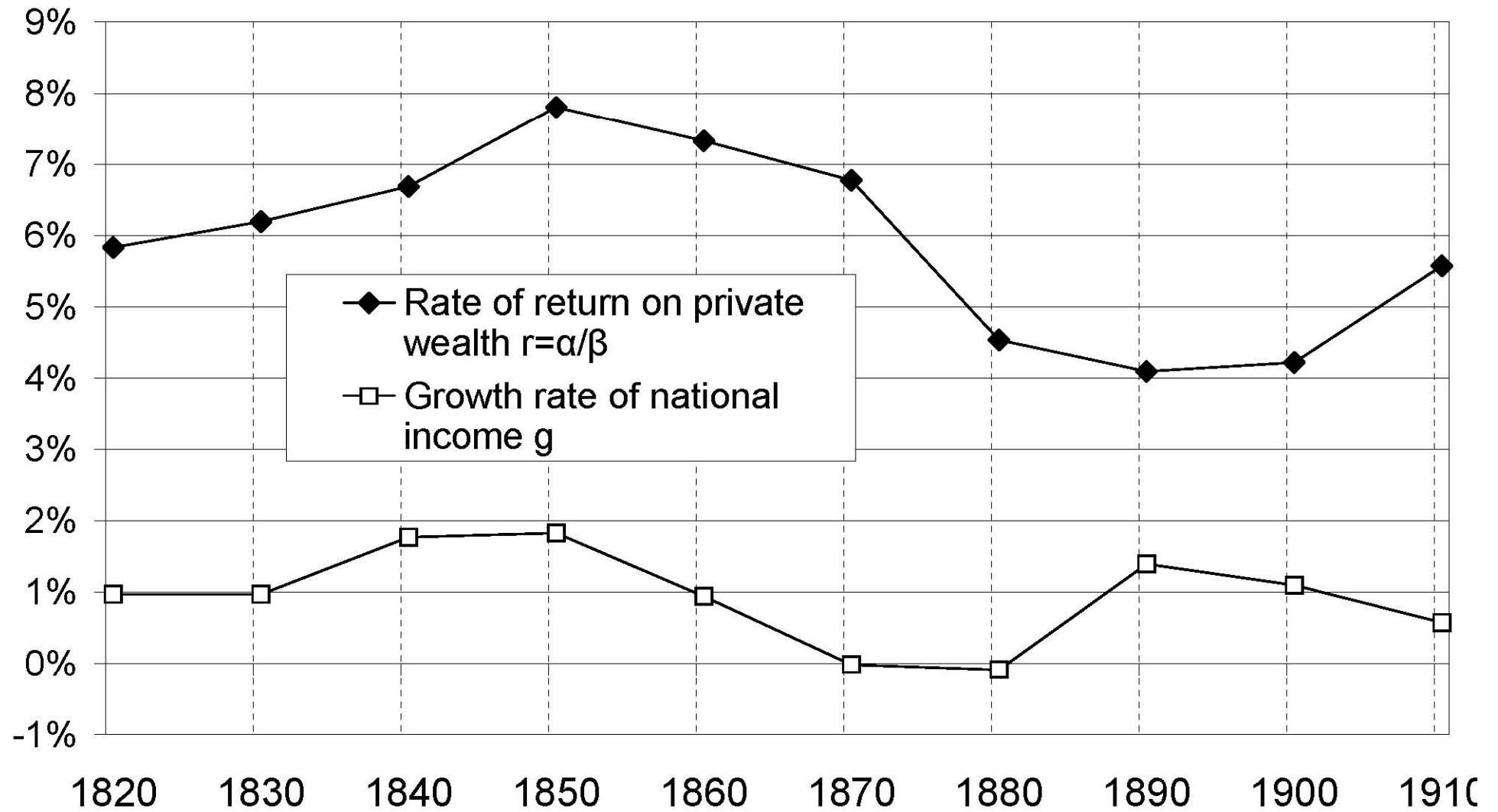


Figure 12: Capital share vs savings rate France 1820-1913

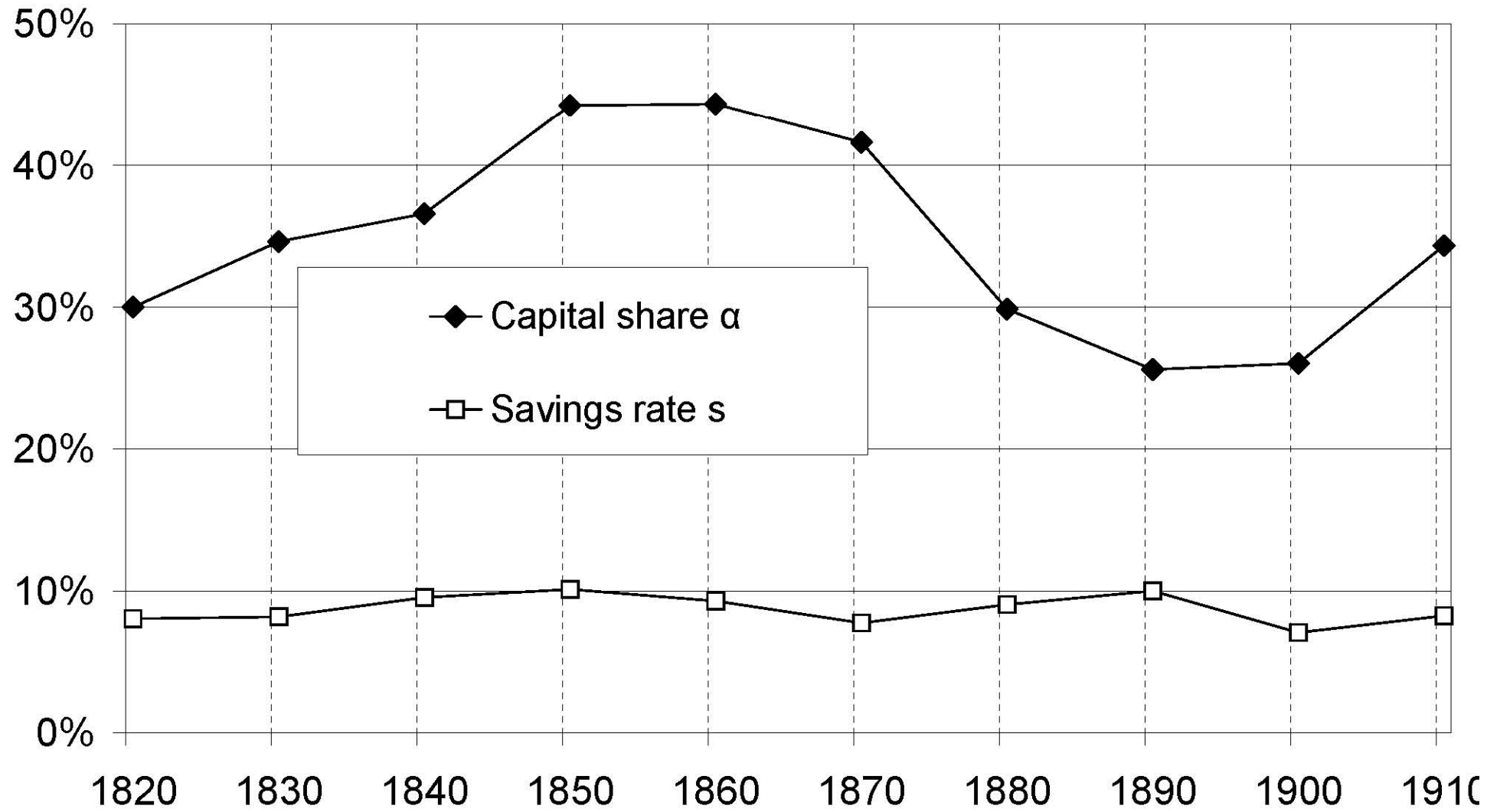


Figure 18: The share of non-capitalized inheritance in aggregate wealth accumulation , France 1850-2100

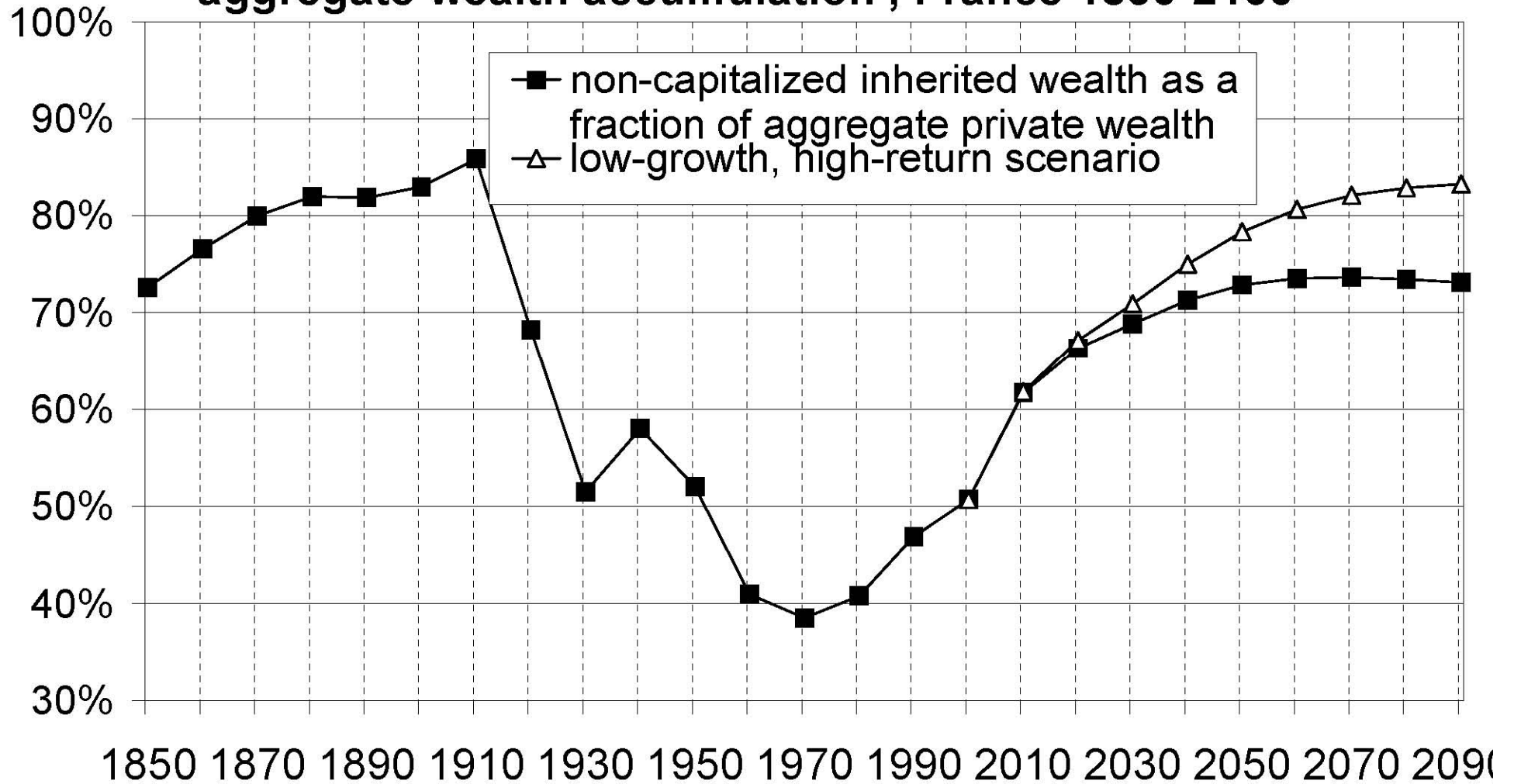


Figure 19: The share of capitalized inheritance in aggregate wealth accumulation , France 1900-2100

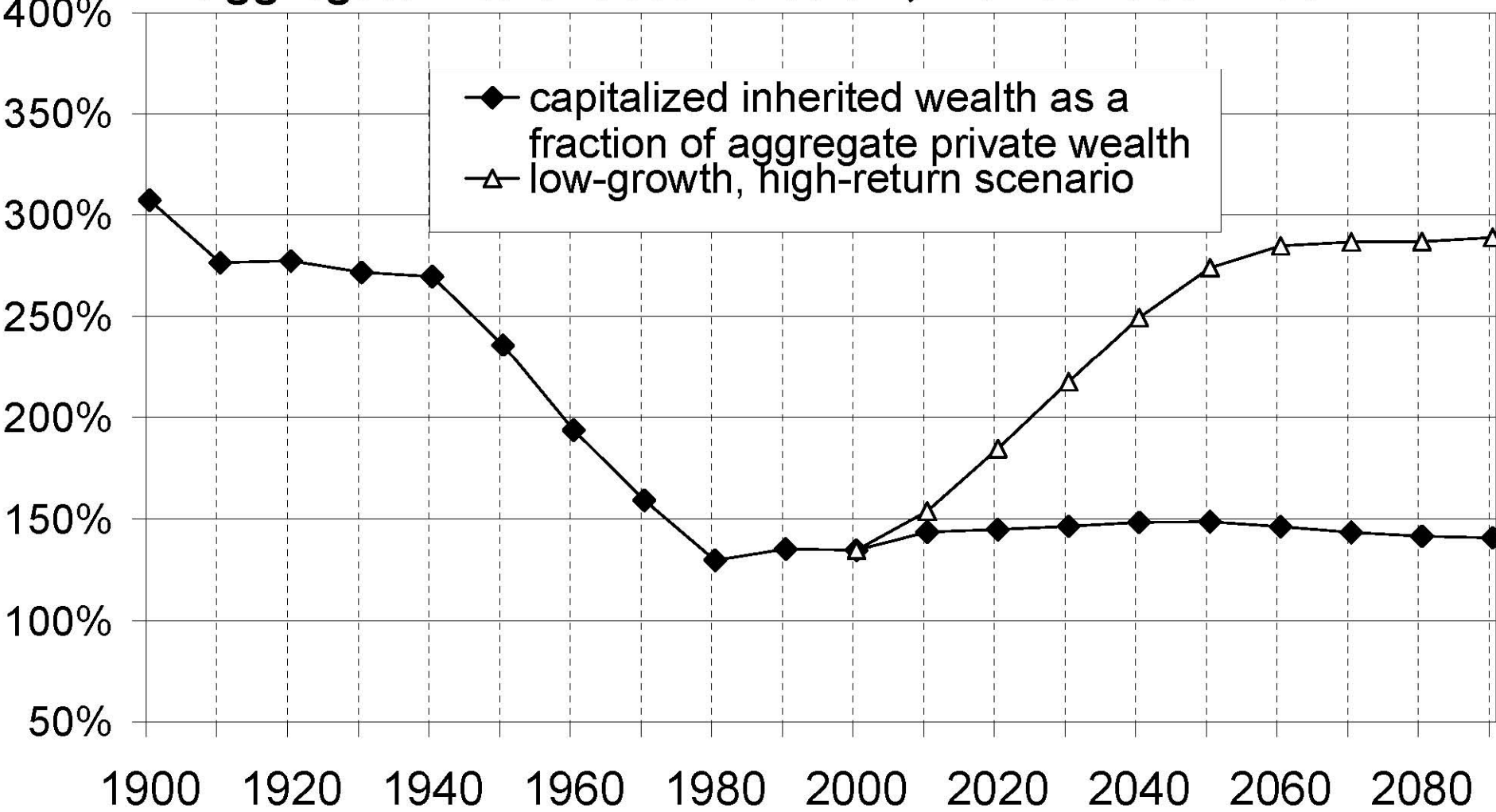


Table 2: Rates of return vs growth rates in France, 1820-2009

	Growth rate of national income g	Rate of return on private wealth $r = \alpha/\beta$	Capital tax rate τ_K	After-tax rate of return $r_d = (1-\tau_K)\alpha/\beta$	Real rate of capital gains q	Rate of capital destruct. (wars) d	After-tax real rate of return (incl. k gains & losses) $r_d = (1-\tau_K)\alpha/\beta + q + d$
1820-2009	1.8%	6.8%	19%	5.4%	-0.1%	-0.3%	5.0%
1820-1913	1.0%	5.9%	8%	5.4%	-0.1%	0.0%	5.3%
1913-2009	2.6%	7.8%	31%	5.4%	-0.1%	-0.7%	4.6%
1913-1949	1.3%	7.9%	21%	6.4%	-2.6%	-2.0%	1.8%
1949-1979	5.2%	9.0%	34%	6.0%	0.8%	0.0%	6.8%
1979-2009	1.7%	6.9%	39%	4.3%	1.0%	0.0%	5.3%