# De l'état social-national à l'état social-global Réflexions autour du travail, de la migration et de l'égalité

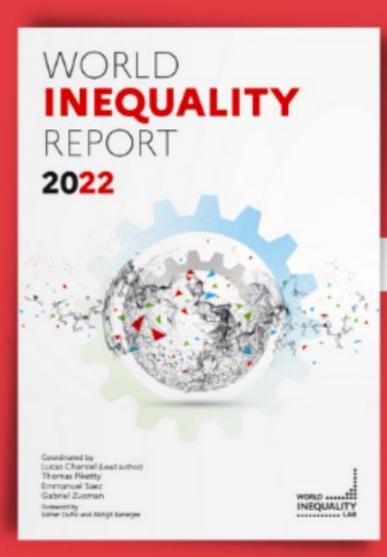
Thomas Piketty

Paris, Institut Convergence Migration, 5 juin 2023

- Modèle économique standard à deux facteurs: la mobilité des facteurs (travail et/ou capital) permet d'égaliser les revenus entre pays riches et pauvres
- En pratique, ce discours a surtout servi à justifier l'hyper-mobilité du capital 1980-2020, avec à la clé la montée des inégalités au Nord comme au Sud, la fragilisation de l'Etat social et le développement de courants politiques antimigrants
- Modèle beaucoup trop mécanique et déterministe: la migration met en jeu des trajectoires très diverses et ne se réduit pas à un inévitable affrontement entre gagnants et perdants

• Une plus grande ouverture migratoire est possible, à condition de reprendre le fil de l'histoire de l'égalité et de la construction de l'Etat social, avec à la clé l'indispensable passage de l'Etat social-national (centré sur les Etats-nations du Nord) à l'Etat social-global (ou social-fédéral) et une transformation structurelle du système économique et fiscal international.

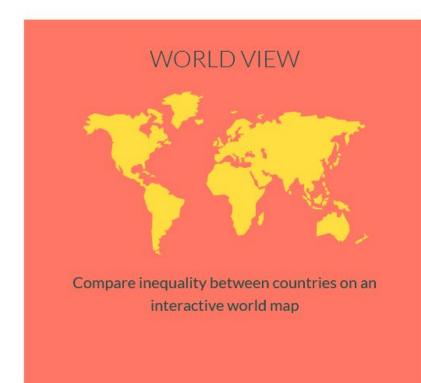
• Cette conférence: retour sur quelques leçons de l'histoire des inégalités. Rôle central des crises: le défi climatique et la concurrence géopolitique peuvent contribuer à remettre en cause le système actuel. Mais rien ne remplacera les mobilisations sociales et politiques appuyées sur des plateformes de transformation socioéconomique profonde.

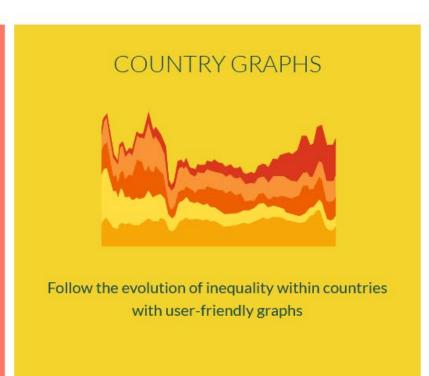


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WORLD

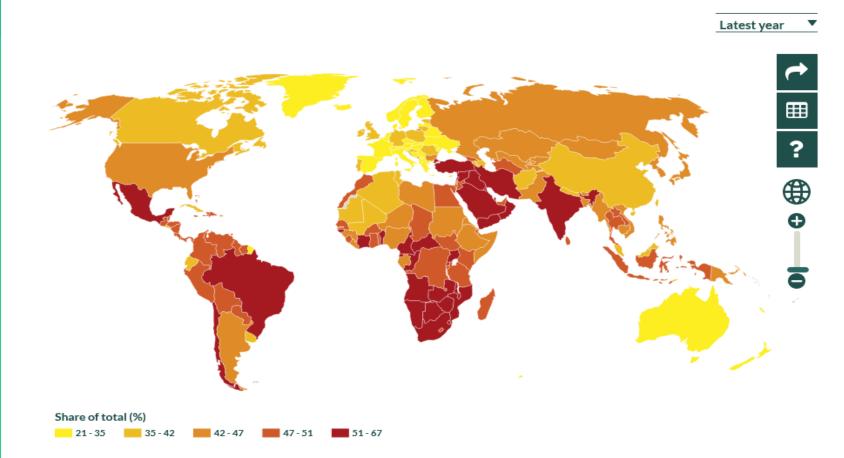
### **COUNTRY & REGION KEY INDICATORS AVERAGE INCOME** Per adult national income Per adult GDP **INCOME INEQUALITY** Top 10% share Bottom 50% share Top 1% share **AVERAGE WEALTH** Per adult national wealth Wealth-income ratio **WEALTH INEQUALITY** Top 10% share Bottom 50% share Top 1% share CARBON INEQUALITY [NEW] Top 10% carbon emitters **GENDER INEQUALITY [NEW]**

Female labor income share

MORE INDICATORS

#### Top 10% national income share





WORLD

#### **COUNTRY & REGION KEY INDICATORS AVERAGE INCOME** Per adult national income Per adult GDP **INCOME INEQUALITY** Top 10% share Bottom 50% share Top 1% share **AVERAGE WEALTH** Per adult national wealth Wealth-income ratio **WEALTH INEQUALITY** Top 10% share Bottom 50% share Top 1% share **CARBON INEQUALITY [NEW]** Top 10% carbon emitters **GENDER INEQUALITY [NEW]** Female labor income share MORE INDICATORS

#### Bottom 50% national income share



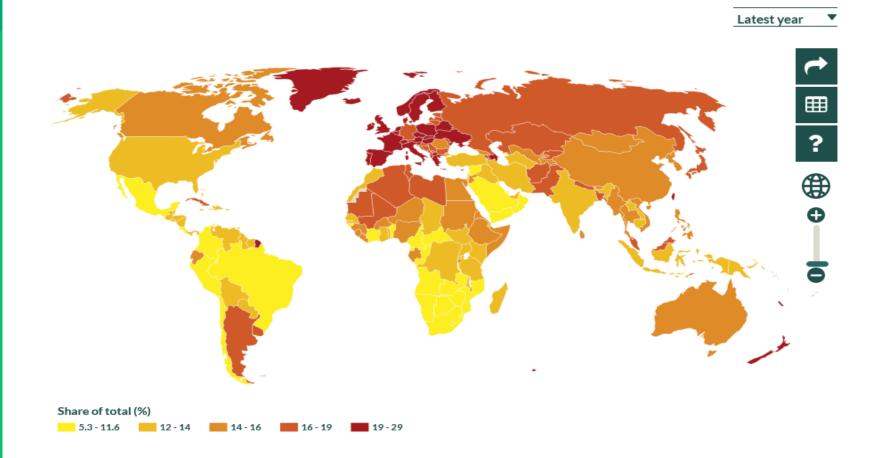
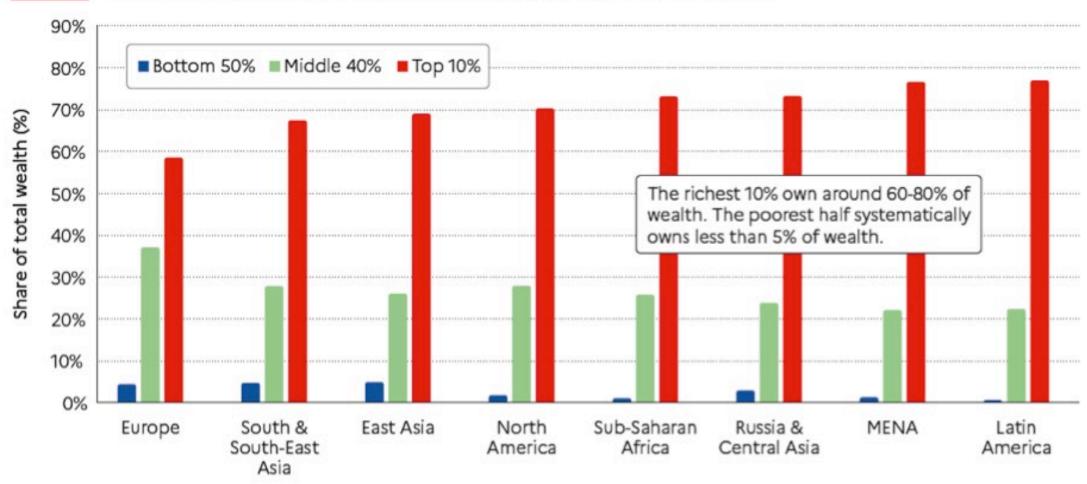


Figure 4 The extreme concentration of capital: wealth inequality across the world, 2021



**Interpretation:** The Top 10% in Latin America captures 77% of total household wealth, versus 22% for the Middle 40% and 1% for the Bottom 50%. In Europe, the Top 10% owns 58% of total wealth, versus 38% for the Middle 40% and 4% for the Bottom 50%. **Sources and series:** wir2022.wid.world/methodology.

Figure 13 Female labor income share across the world, 1990-2020 70% 60% Gender parity 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% Asia China Russia & Sub-Saharan Latin MENA North Western

Interpretation: The female labour income share rose from 34% to 38% in North America between 1990 and 2020. Sources and series: wir2022.wid.world/methodology and Neef and Robilliard (2021).

2005

America

2010

Africa

2015-2020

Europe

America

=2000

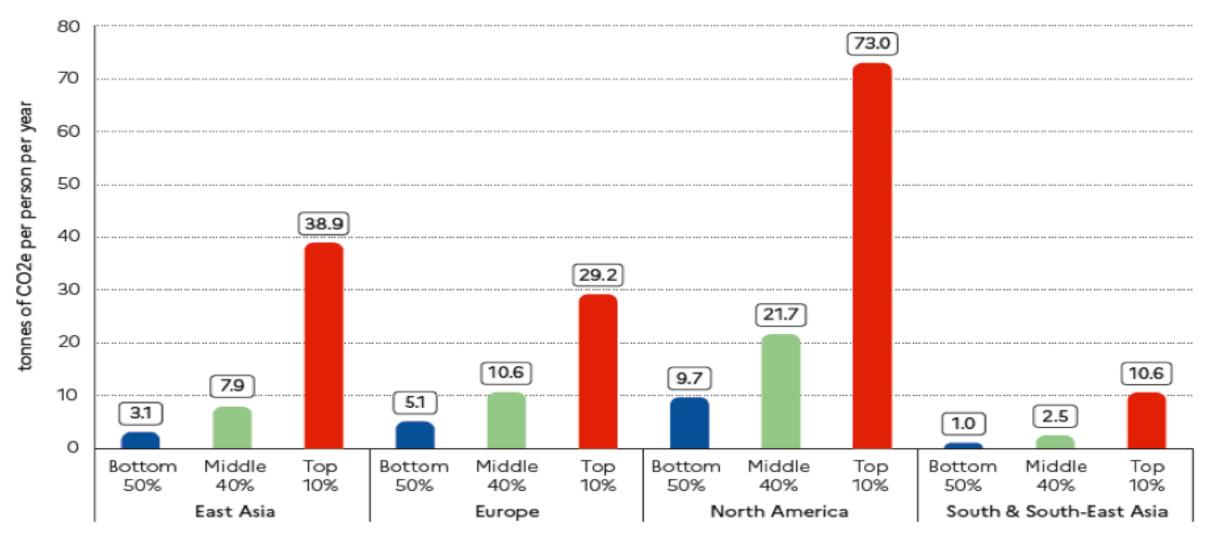
Central Asia

1995

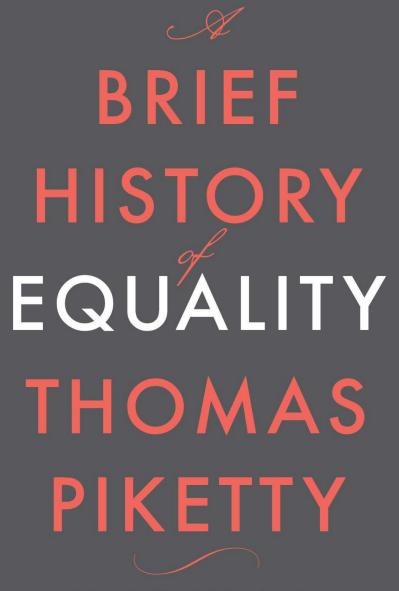
**1990** 

(excl. China)

Figure 15 Per capita emissions across the world, 2019



Interpretation: Personal carbon footprints include emissions from domestic consumption, public and private investments as well as imports and exports of carbon embedded in goods and services traded with the rest of the world. Modeled estimates based on the systematic combination of tax data, household surveys and input-output tables. Emissions split equally within households. Sources and series: wir2022.wid.world/methodology and Chancel (2021).



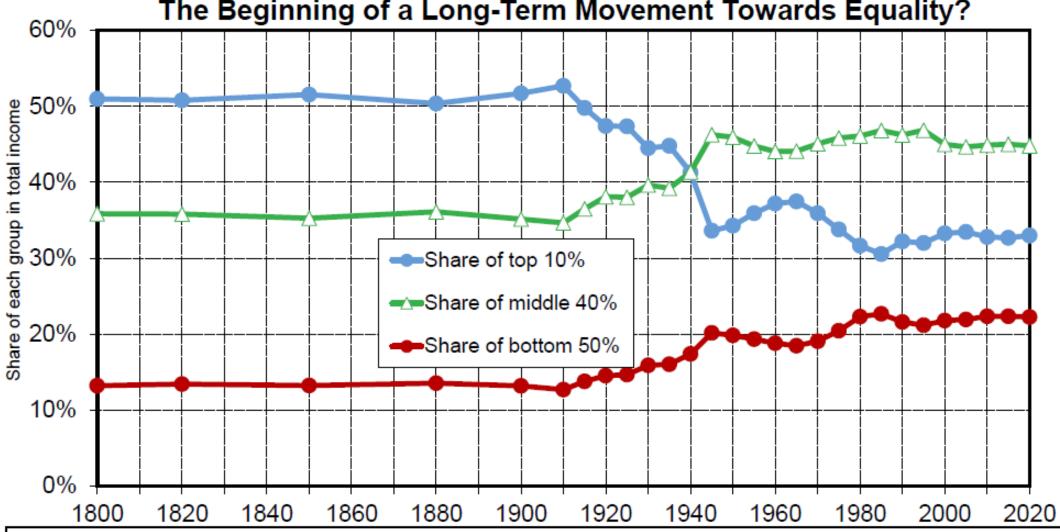
Author of the New York Times Bestsellers

Capital and Ideology and Capital in the Twenty-First Century

# Contents of « A Brief History of Equality »

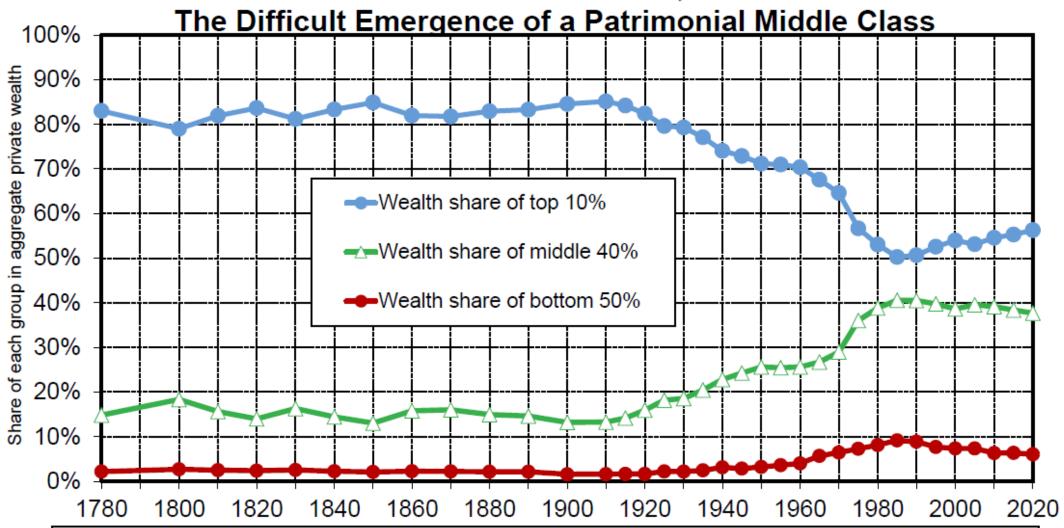
- Chapter 1. The Movement toward Equality: The First Milestones
- Chapter 2. The Slow Deconcentration of Power and Property
- Chapter 3. The Heritage of Slavery and Colonialism
- Chapter 4. The Question of Reparations
- Chapter 5. Revolution, Status, and Class
- Chapter 6. The "Great Redistribution": 1914–1980
- Chapter 7. Democracy, Socialism, and Progressive Taxation
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# Income Distribution in France, 1800-2020: The Beginning of a Long-Term Movement Towards Equality?

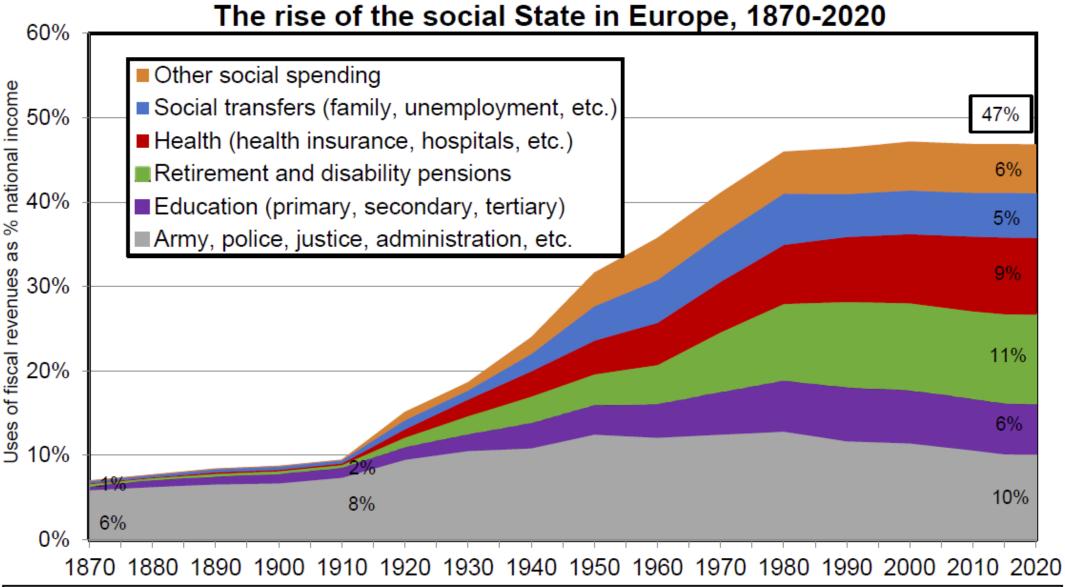


Interpretation. The share of the top 10% highest incomes in total income (including capital income - rent, dividends, interest, profits - & labour income - wages, self-employment income, pensions, unemployment benefits) was about 50% in France from the 1780s to the 1910s. The fall in the concentration of income started after World War 1 and occured to the benefit of the "lower classes" (the bottom 50% lowest incomes) and the "middle classes" (the next 40%), at the expense of the "upper classes" (the top 10%). Sources and series: see piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality (figure 7)

### Wealth Distribution in France, 1780-2020:



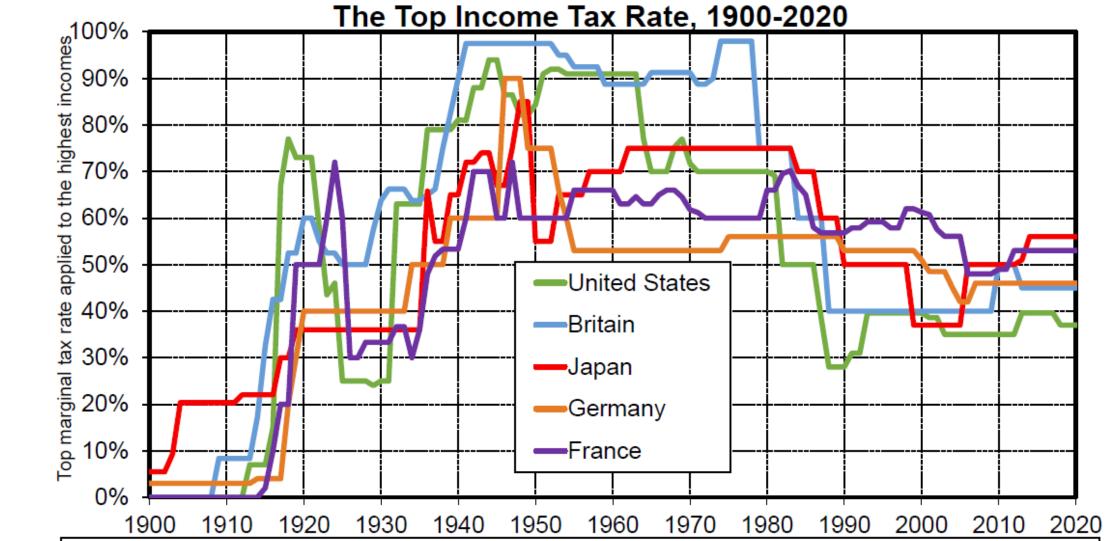
Interpretation. The share of top 10% wealth holders in aggregate private wealth (real estate, business and financial assets, net of debt) was around 80%-90% in France between 1780 and 1910. The decline in wealth concentration begins with World War I and stops in the 1980s. It benefited mostly to the "patrimonial middle class" (the middle 40%), which is defined here as the intermediate group between the top 10% and the bottom 50% of the wealth distribution. Sources and series: see piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality (figure 6)



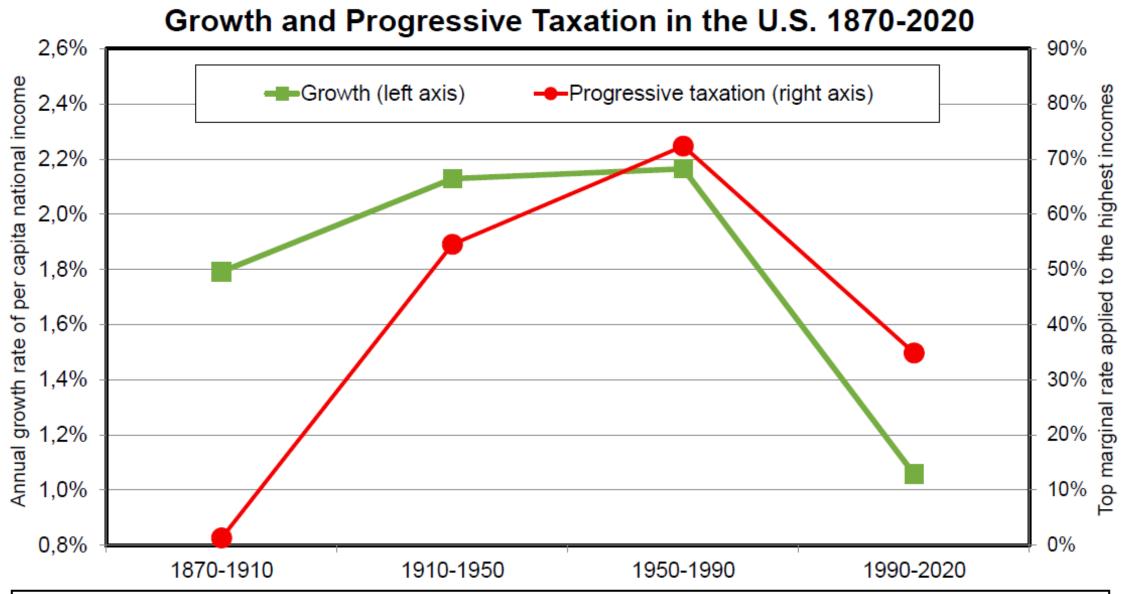
**Interpretation.** In 2020, fiscal revenues represented 47% of national income on average in Western Europe et were used as follows: 10% of national income for regalian expenditure (army, police, justice, general administration, basic infrastructure: roads, etc.); 6% for education; 11% for pensions; 9% for health; 5% for social transfers (other than pensions); 6% for other social spending (housing, etc.). Before 1914, regalian expenditure absorbed almost all fiscal revenues.

Note. The evolution depicted here is the average of Germany, France, Britain and Sweden. Sources and séries: see piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality (figure 19)

The Invention of Progressive Taxation: The Top Income Tax Rate, 1900-2020

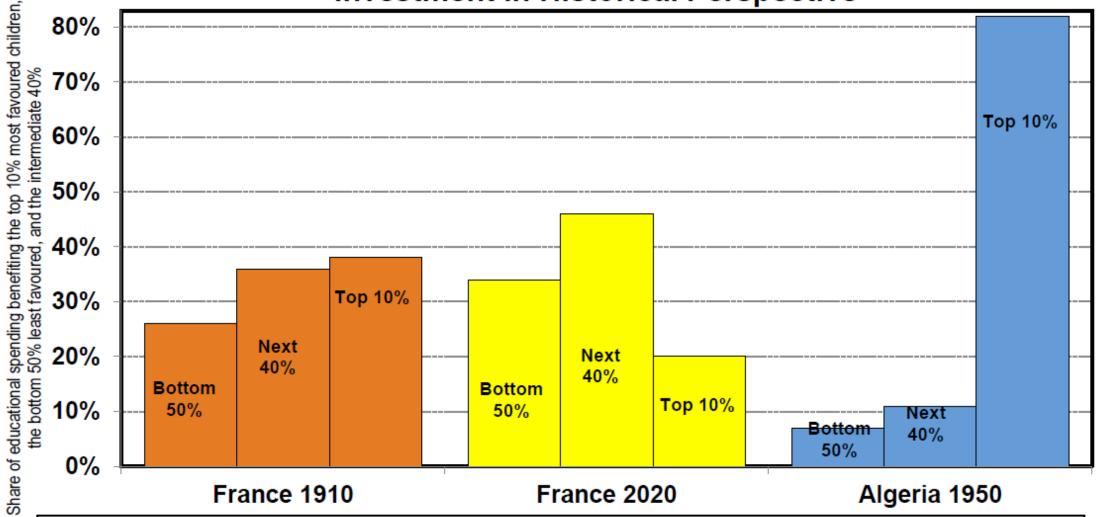


Interpretation. The marginal income tax rate applied to the highest incomes was on average 23% in the U.S. from 1900 to 1932, 81% from 1932 to 1980 and 39% from 1980 to 2018. Over these same periods, the top rate was equal to 30%, 89% and 46% in Britain, 26%, 68% and 53% in Japan, 18%, 58% and 50% in Germany, and 23%, 60% and 57% in France. Progressive taxation peaked in mid-century, especially in the U.S. and in Britain. Sources and series: see piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality (figure 20)

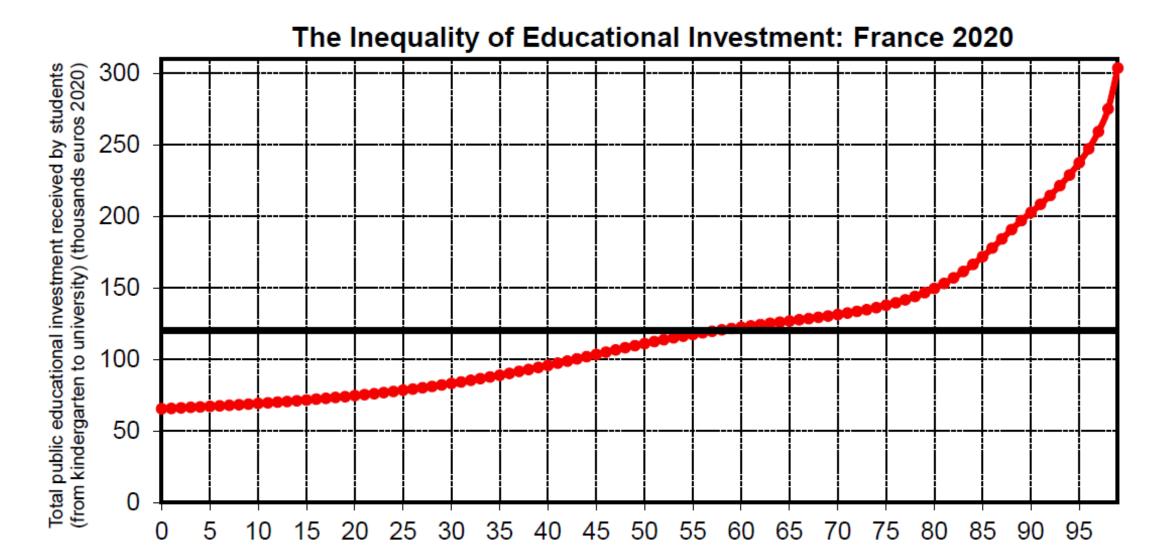


**Interpretation**. in the U.S., the growth rate of per capita national income dropped from 2,2% per year between 1950 and 1990 to 1,1% between 1990 and 2020, while the top marginal tax rate applied to the highest incomes dropped from 72% to 35% over the same period. The promised resurgence of growth following the cut in top tax rates did not occur. **Sources and series**: see piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality (figure 23)

## Colonies for the Colonizers: The Inequality of Educational Investment in Historical Perspective



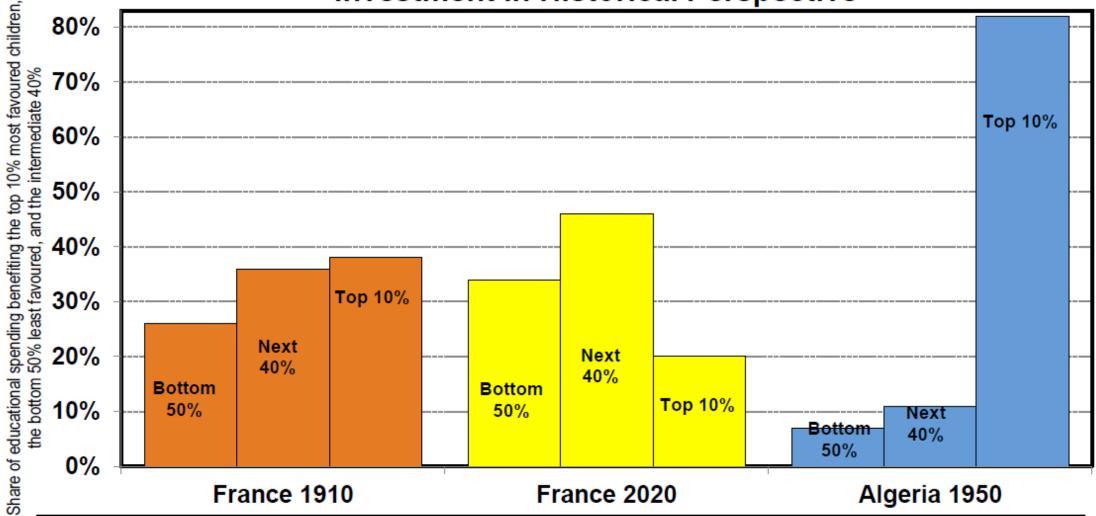
**Interpretation**. In Algeria in 1950, the 10% the most favoured (the settlers) benefited from 82% of total educational spending. By comparison, the share of total educational spending benefiting the top 10% of the population which benefited from the highest educational investement (i.e. those children which did the longest and most expensive studies) was 38% in France in 1930 and 20% in 2020 (which is still twice as much as their population share). **Sources and series**: voir piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality (figure 14).



Interpretation. Total public educational investment received during their studies (from kindergarten to university) by the students of the cohort reaching 20-year-old in 2020 will be about 120 k€ (i.e. approximately 15 years of studies for an average cost of 8000€ per year). Within this generation, the 10% of students receiving the smallest educational investment receive about 65-70 k€, while the 10% receiving the most receive between 200 k€ and 300 k€. Note: average costs per year of study in the French educational system in 2015-2020 rank from 5-6 k€ in kindergarten-primary to 8-10 k€ in secondary, 9-10 k€ in universities and 15-16 k€ in preparatory classes to grandes ecoles (etlite tracks). Sources and series: see piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality (figure 32)

Percentile of the distribution of total educational investment received (within a cohort)

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