

# **Global Inequality & Redistribution: Education, Reparations & Political Clevages**

Thomas Piketty

Delhi, December 14 2024

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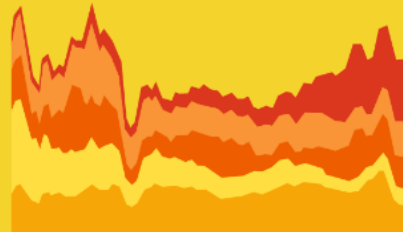
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## WORLD VIEW



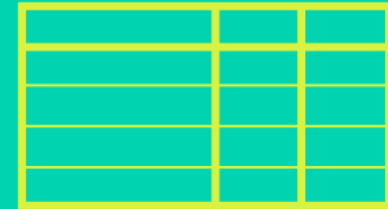
Compare inequality between countries on an interactive world map

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**2022**



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Gabriel Zucman  
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Gauthier Durif and Abigail Kinsey

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*A*  
BRIEF  
HISTORY  
*of*  
EQUALITY  
THOMAS  
PIKETTY

*Author of the New York Times Bestsellers  
Capital and Ideology and Capital in the Twenty-First Century*

# INCOME AND WEALTH INEQUALITY IN INDIA, 1922-2023: THE RISE OF THE BILLIONAIRE RAJ

NITIN KUMAR BHARTI  
LUCAS CHANCEL  
THOMAS PIKETTY  
ANMOL SOMANCHI

WORKING PAPER N°2024/09

MARCH 2024



# TOWARDS TAX JUSTICE AND WEALTH REDISTRIBUTION IN INDIA: PROPOSALS BASED ON LATEST INEQUALITY ESTIMATES

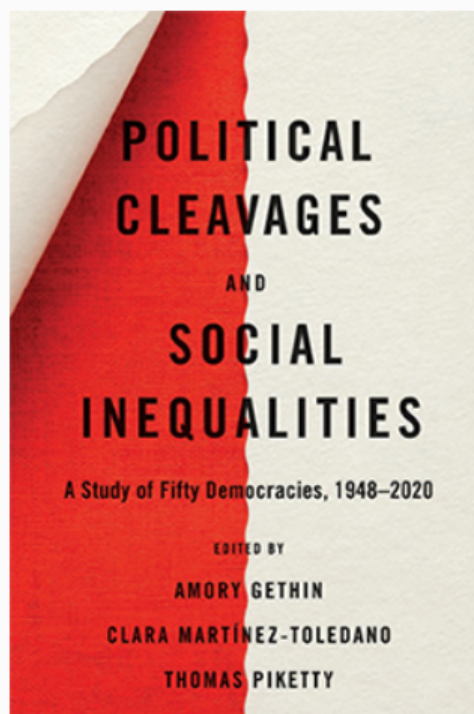
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LUCAS CHANCEL  
THOMAS PIKETTY  
ANMOL SOMANCHI

ISSUE BRIEF N°2024/01

MAY 2024



## THE BOOK

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Who votes for whom and why? Why has growing inequality in many parts of the world not led to renewed class-based conflicts, and seems instead to have come with the emergence of new divides over identity and integration? News analysts, scholars, and citizens interested in exploring those questions inevitably lack relevant data, in particular the kinds of data that establish historical and international context. *Political Cleavages and Social Inequalities* provides the missing empirical background, collecting and examining a treasure trove of information on the dynamics of polarization in modern democracies.

The chapters draw on a unique set of surveys conducted between 1948 and 2020 in fifty countries on five continents, analyzing the links between voters' political preferences and socioeconomic characteristics, such as income, education, wealth, occupation, religion, ethnicity, age, and gender. This analysis sheds new light on how political movements succeed in coalescing multiple interests and identities in contemporary democracies. It also helps us understand the conditions under which conflicts over inequality become politically salient, as well as the similarities and constraints of voters supporting ethnonationalist politicians like Narendra Modi, Jair Bolsonaro, Marine Le Pen, and Donald Trump.

WORLD

BY COUNTRY ▼

DATA

WORLD  
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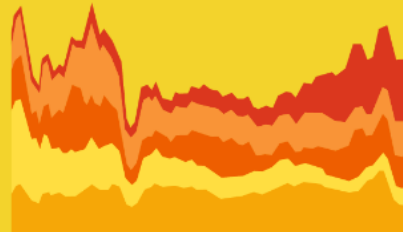
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## WORLD VIEW



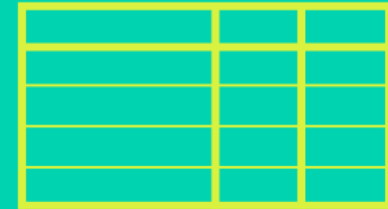
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KEY INDICATORS ▾

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]

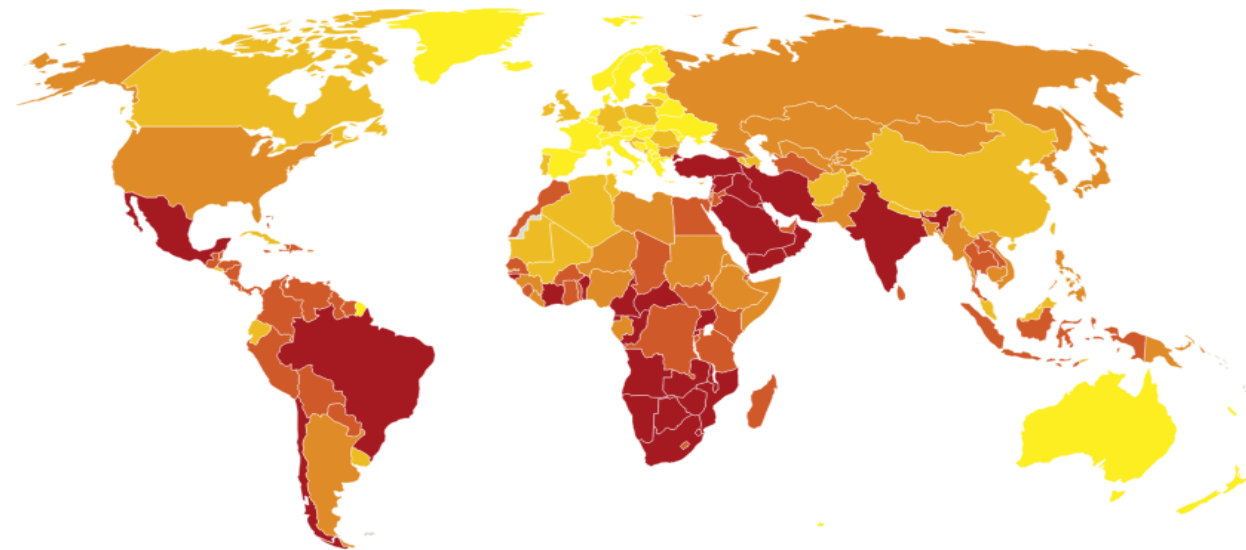
- Female labor income share

MORE INDICATORS >

## Top 10% national income share

Region View Country View

Latest year ▾



- 
- 
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KEY INDICATORS ▾

AVERAGE INCOME

- Per adult national income
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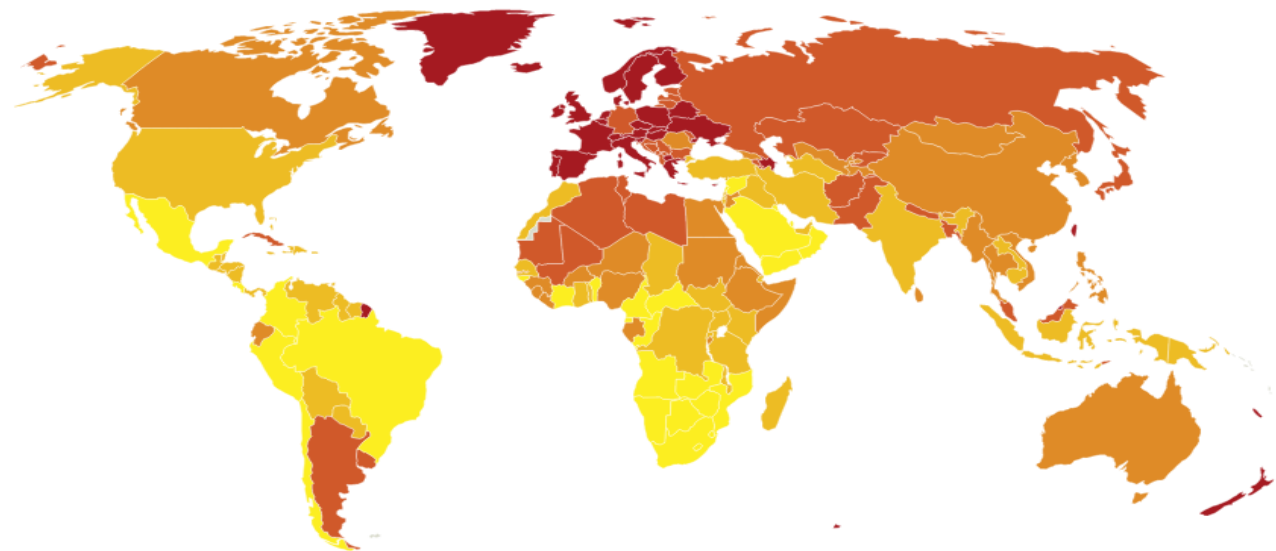
- Female labor income share

MORE INDICATORS >

## Bottom 50% national income share

Region View Country View

Latest year ▾

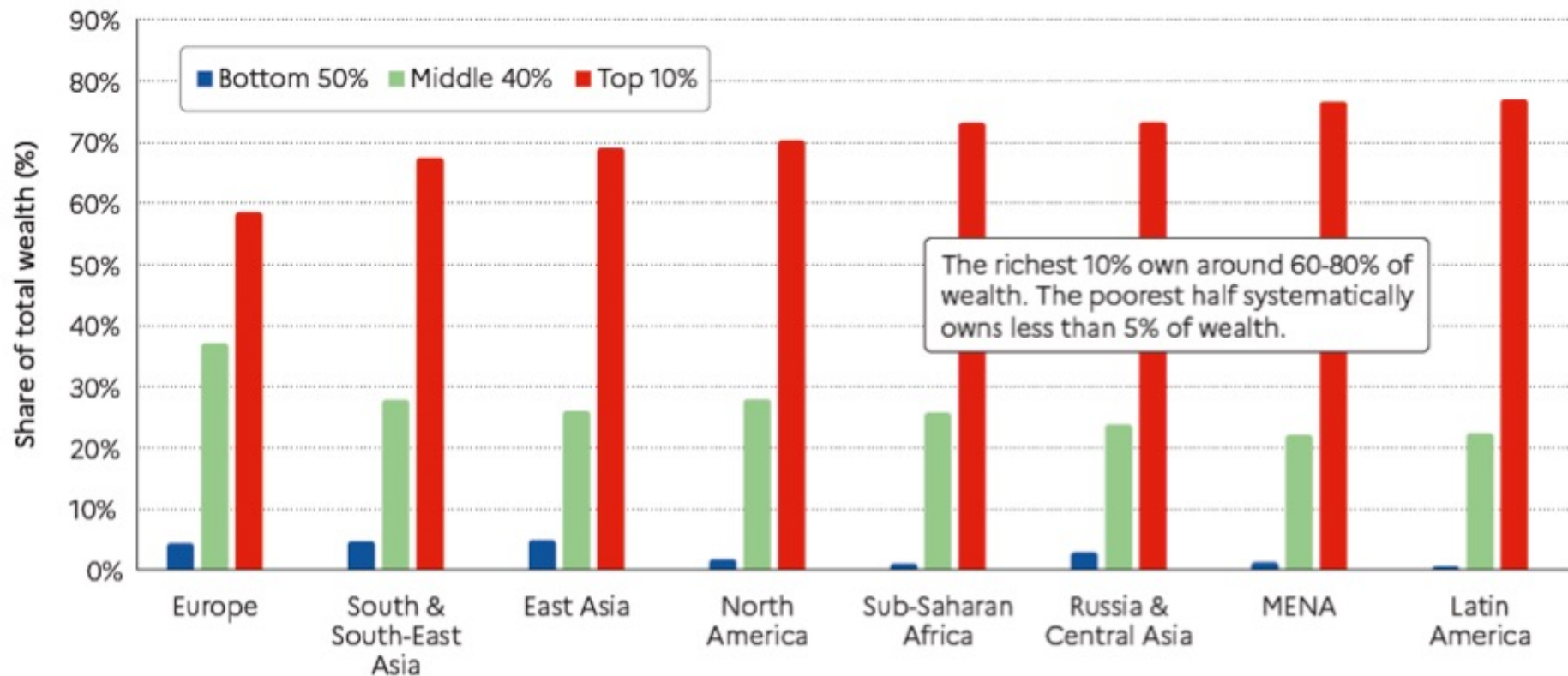


Share of total (%)



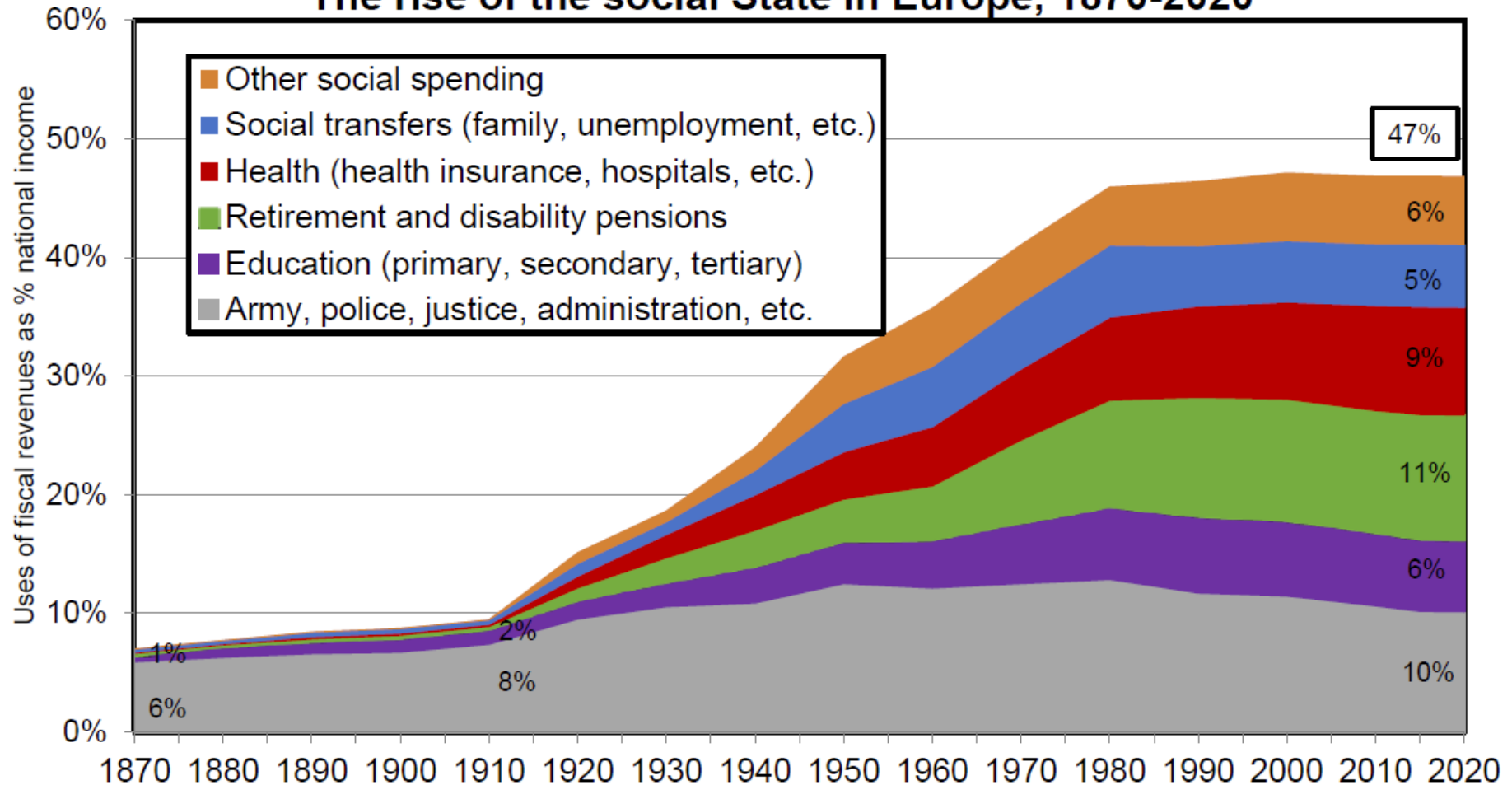
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**Figure 4** The extreme concentration of capital: wealth inequality across the world, 2021



**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](https://www.wid.world/methodology).

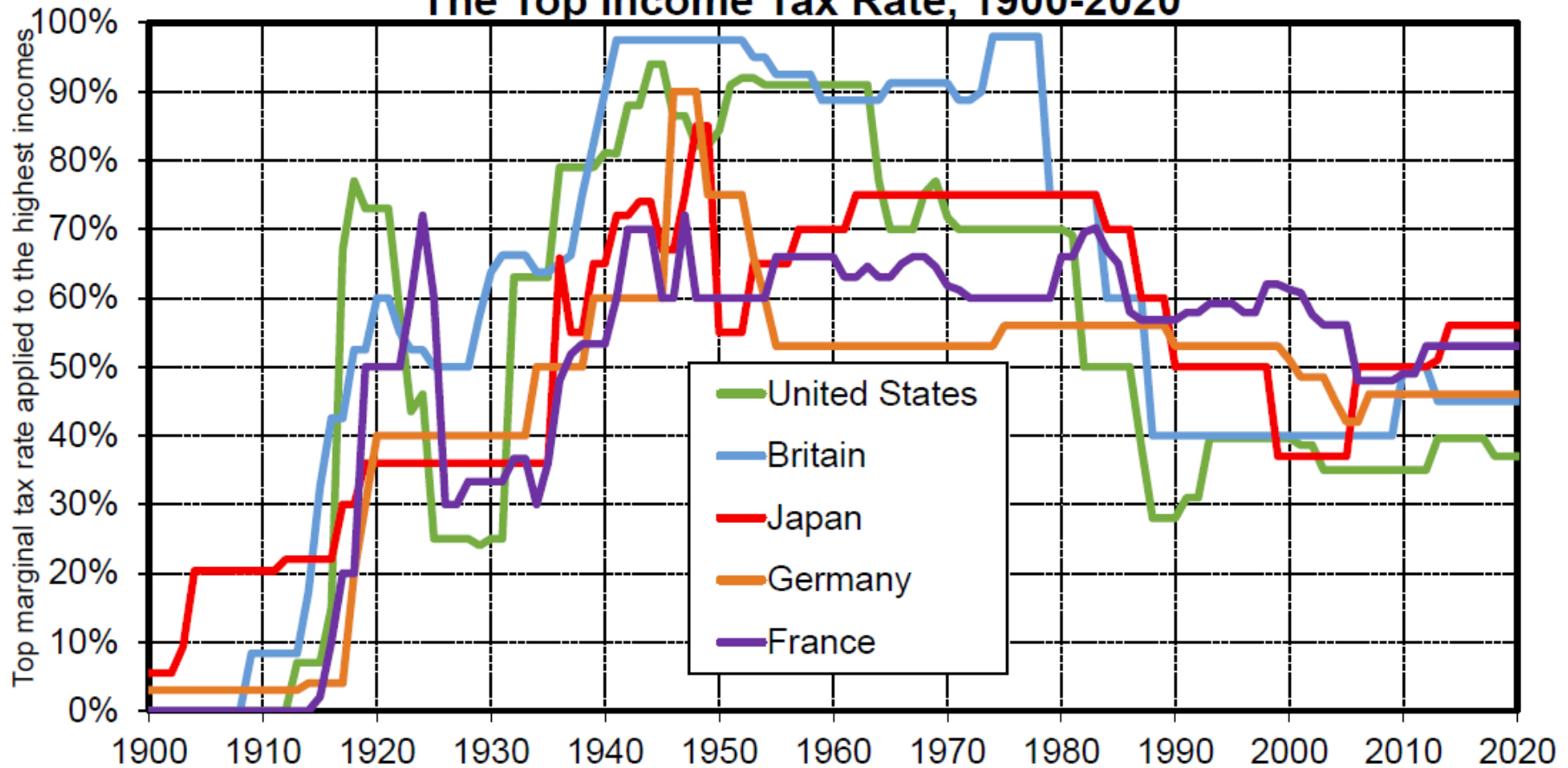
## The rise of the social State in Europe, 1870-2020



**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.

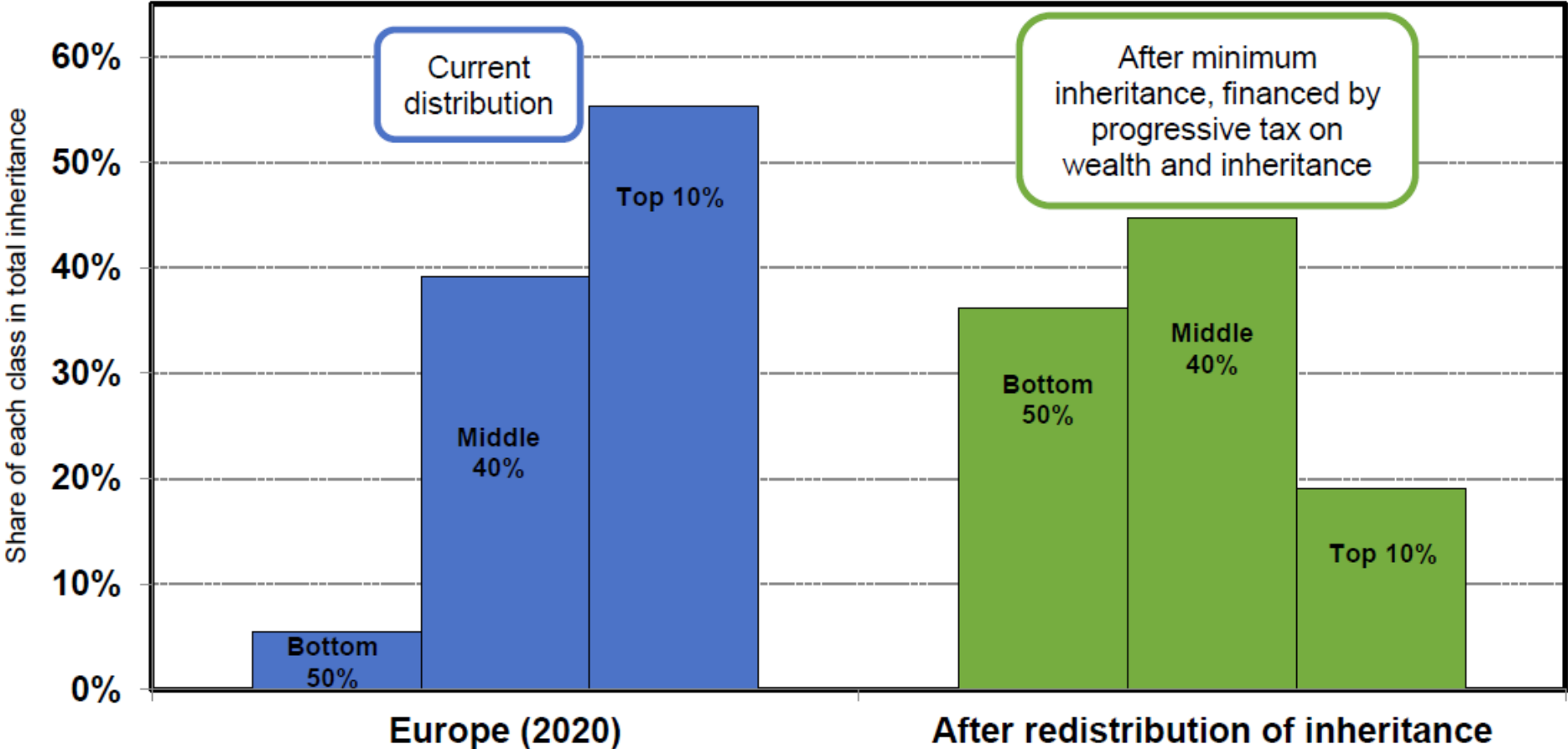
**Note.** The evolution depicted here is the average of Germany, France, Britain and Sweden. **Sources and séries:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality) (figure 19)

## 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](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality) (figure 20)

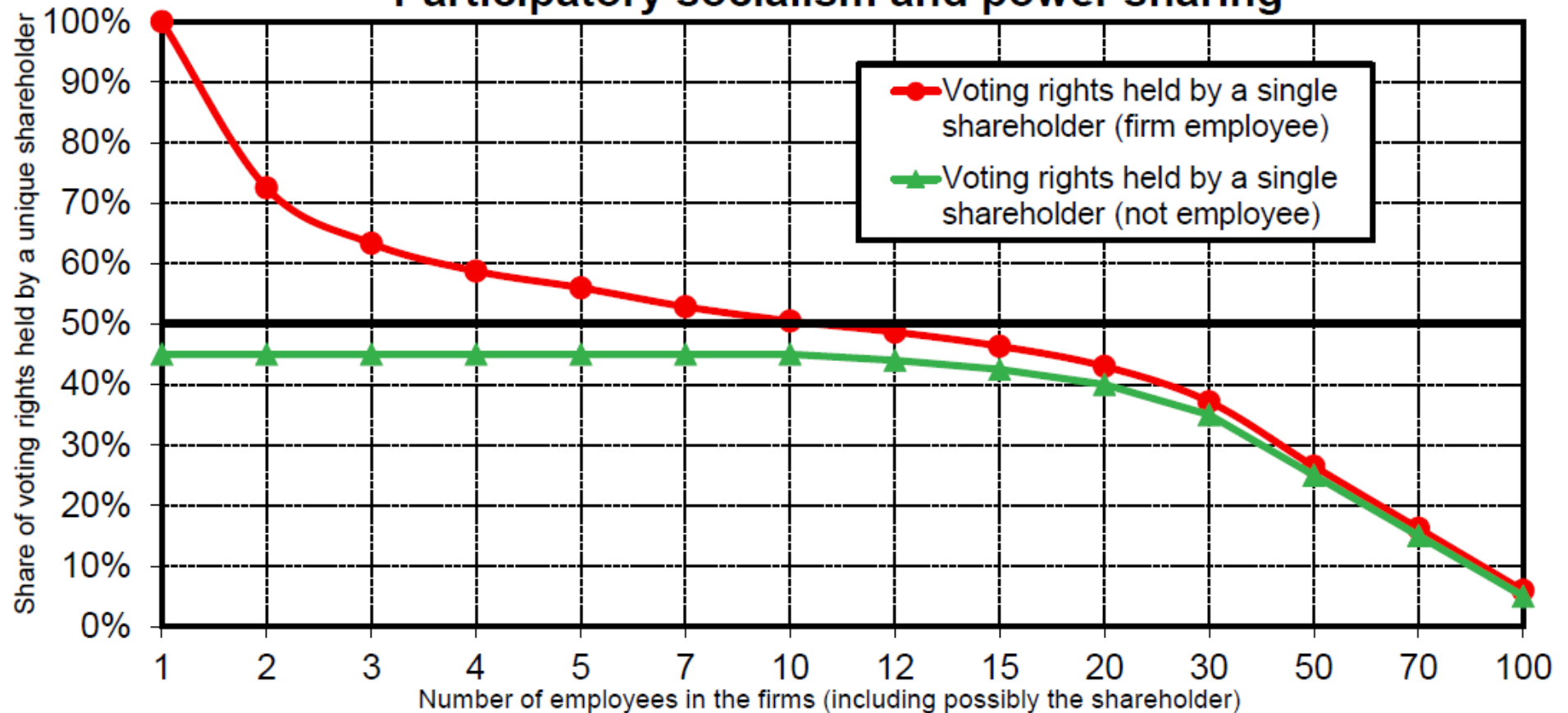
# The Redistribution of Inheritance



**Interpretation.** The share of the poorest 50% in total inheritance is 6% in Europe in 2020, vs 39% for the next 40% and 55% for the richest 10%. After implementation of inheritance for all (minimum inheritance equal to 60% of average wealth, allocated at 25-year-old), financed by a progressive tax on wealth and inheritance, this share would be equal to 36% (vs 45% and 19%).

**Note:** Europe: average Britain-France-Sweden. **Sources and series:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality) (figure 30)

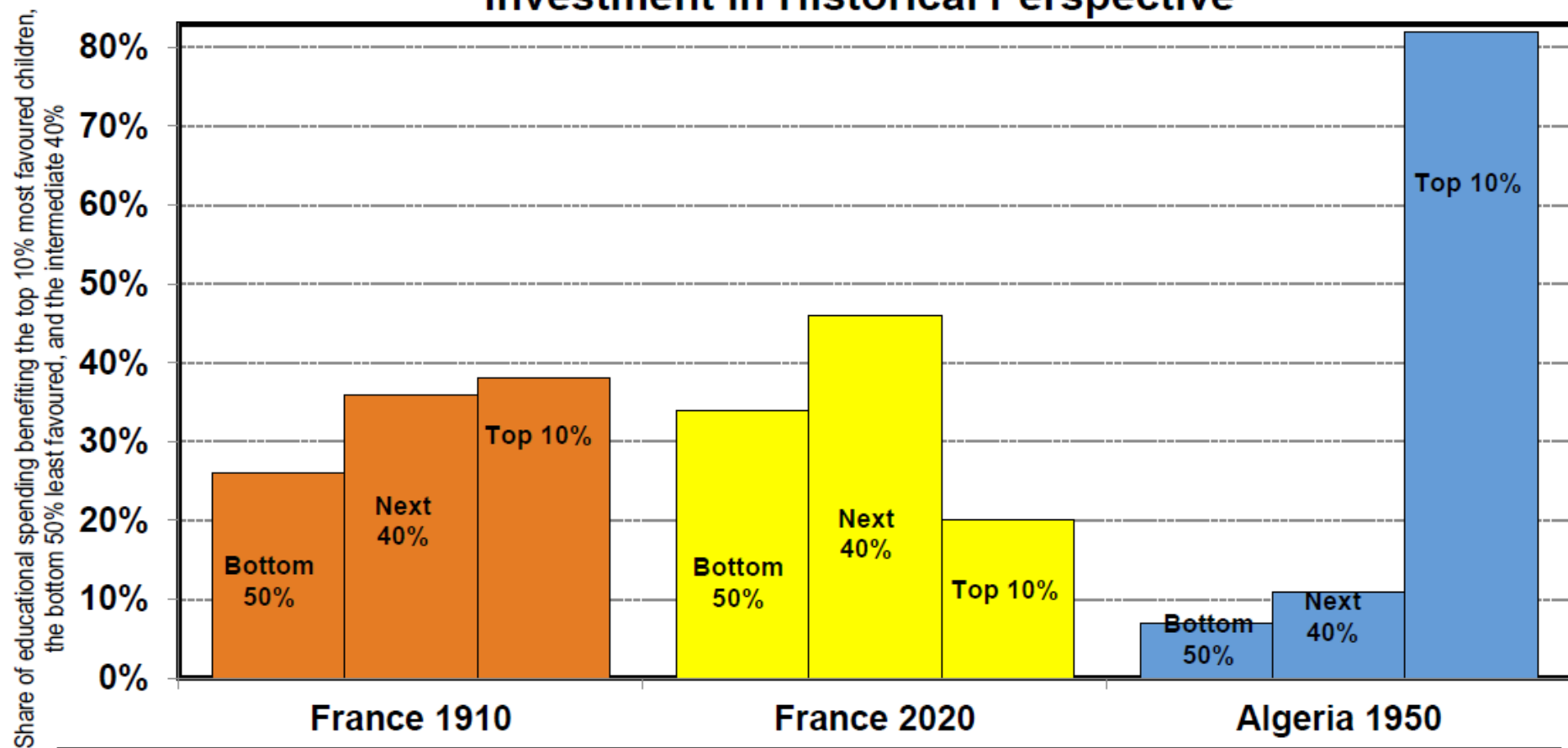
## Participatory socialism and power sharing



**Reading.** In the system of participatory socialism, a single shareholder holding 100% of the firm's capital stock holds 73% of voting rights if the firm has 2 employees (including himself), 51% if the firm has 10 employees (including himself), and loses the majority beyond 10 employees (including himself). A single shareholder who is not a firm employee holds 45% of the voting rights if the firm has less than 10 employees; this share then declines linearly and reaches 5% with 100 employees. **Note:** The parameters used here are the following: (i) employees (whether or not they are also shareholders) hold 50% of voting rights; (ii) within the 50% of voting rights going to shareholders, no single shareholder can hold more than 90% of them (i.e. 45% of voting rights) in a firm with less than 10 employees; this fraction declines linearly to 10% (i.e. 5% of voting rights) in firms with more than 90 employees (shareholder voting rights that are not allocated are reallocated to employees). **Sources and series:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality) (figure 18)

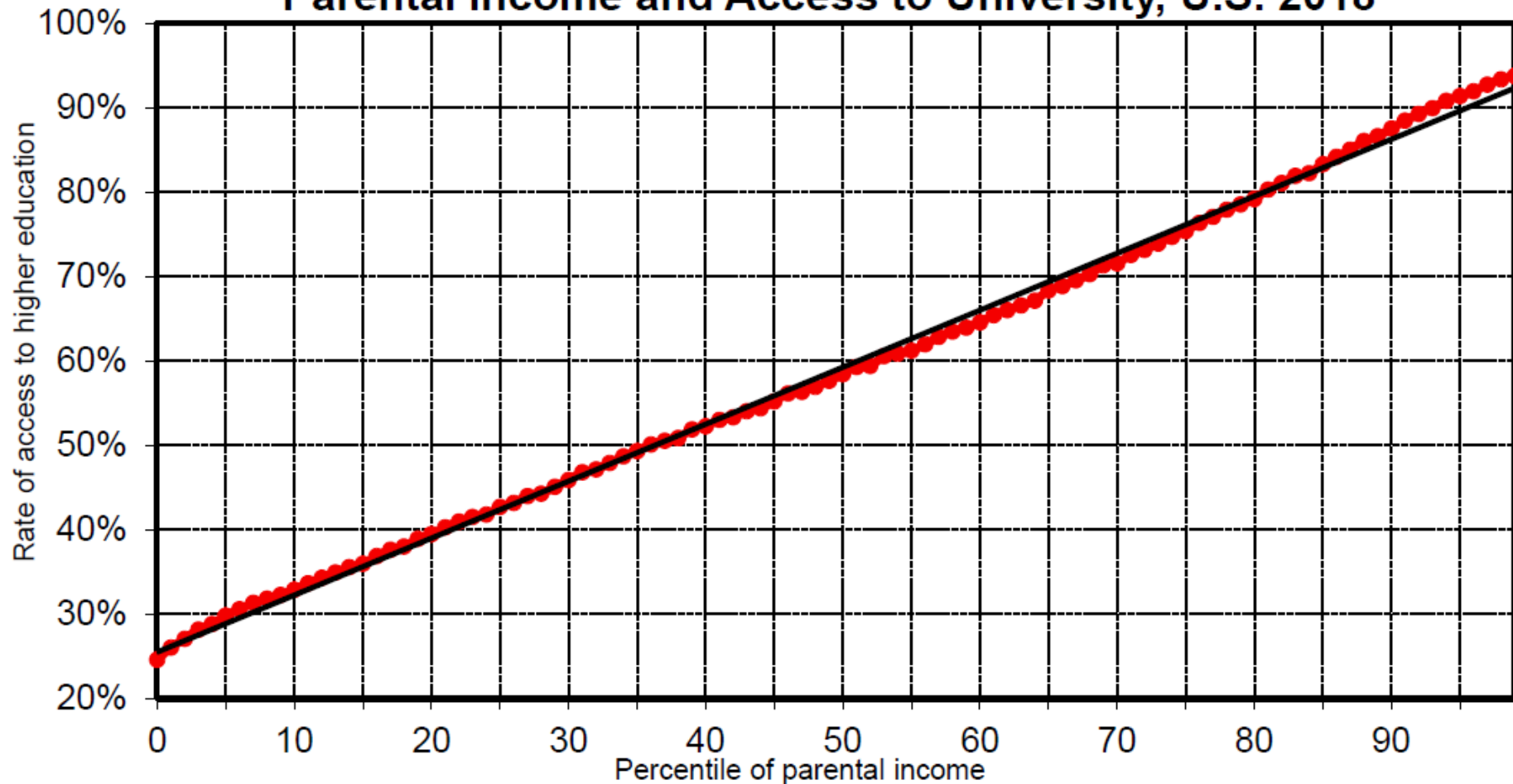


## Colonies for the Colonizers: The Inequality of Educational Investment in Historical Perspective



**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 investment (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](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality) (figure 14).

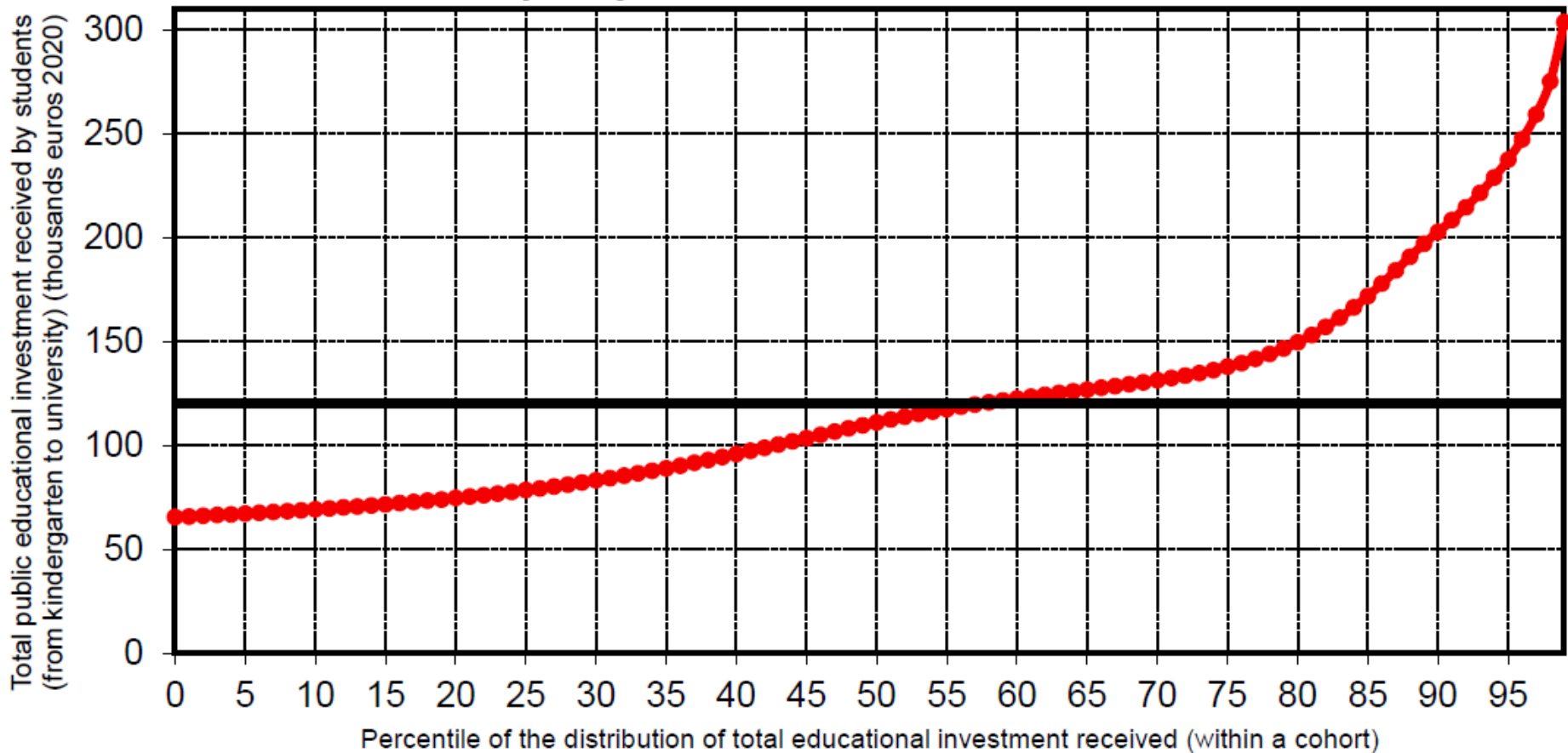
## Parental Income and Access to University, U.S. 2018



**Interpretation.** In 2018, the rate of access to higher education (percentage of individuals aged 19-21 enrolled in a university, college or any other institution of higher education) was barely 30% among the bottom 10% poorest children in the United States, and over 90% among the top 10% richest children. **Sources and series:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality) (figure 31).

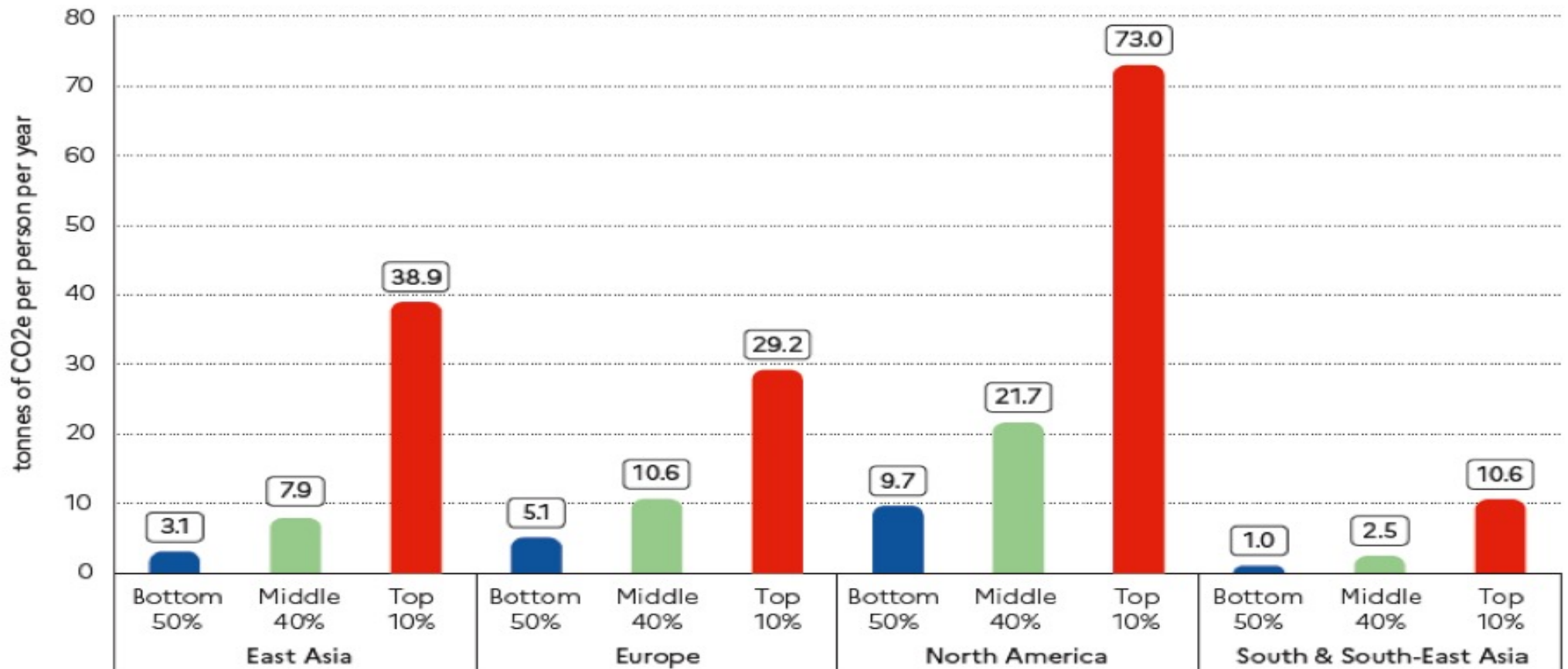


## The Inequality of Educational Investment: France 2020



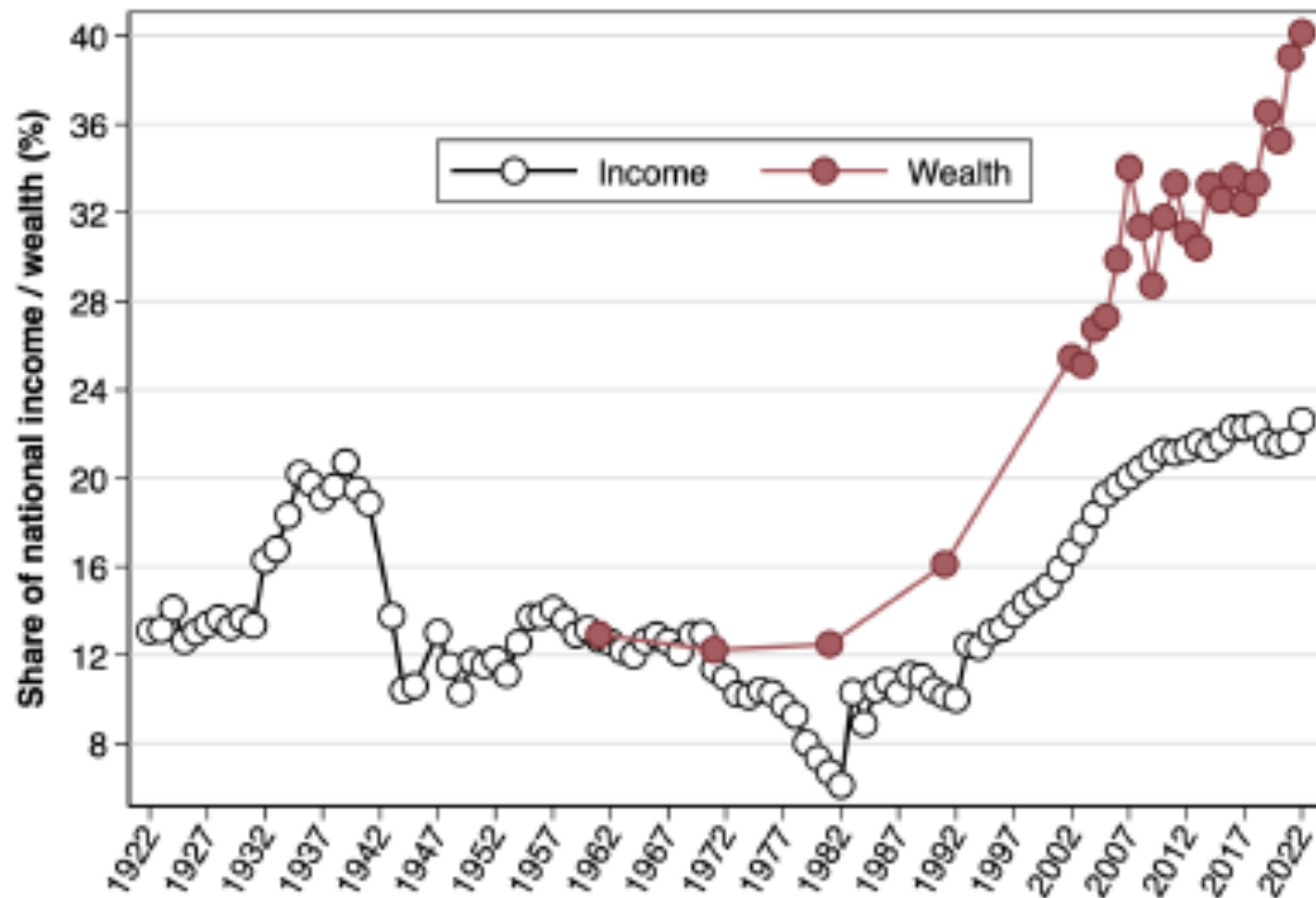
**Interpretation.** Total public educational investment received during their studies (from kindergarten to university) by the students of the cohort reaching 20-year-old in 2020 will be about 120 k€ (i.e. approximately 15 years of studies for an average cost of 8000€ per year). Within this generation, 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 écoles* (elite tracks). **Sources and series:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/equality) (figure 32)

**Figure 15** Per capita emissions across the world, 2019

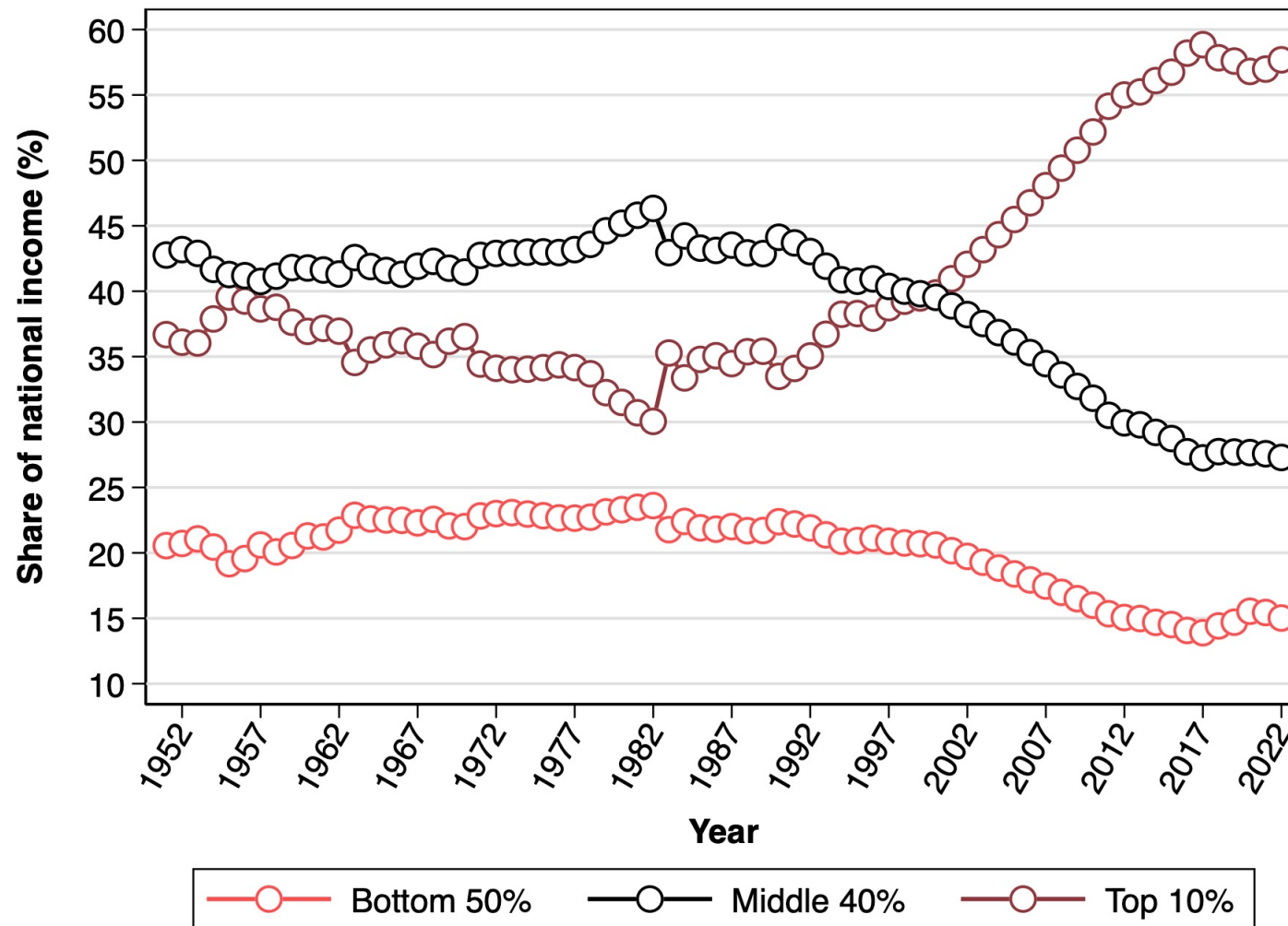


**Interpretation:** Personal carbon footprints include emissions from domestic consumption, public and private investments as well as imports and exports of carbon embedded in goods and services traded with the rest of the world. Modeled estimates based on the systematic combination of tax data, household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

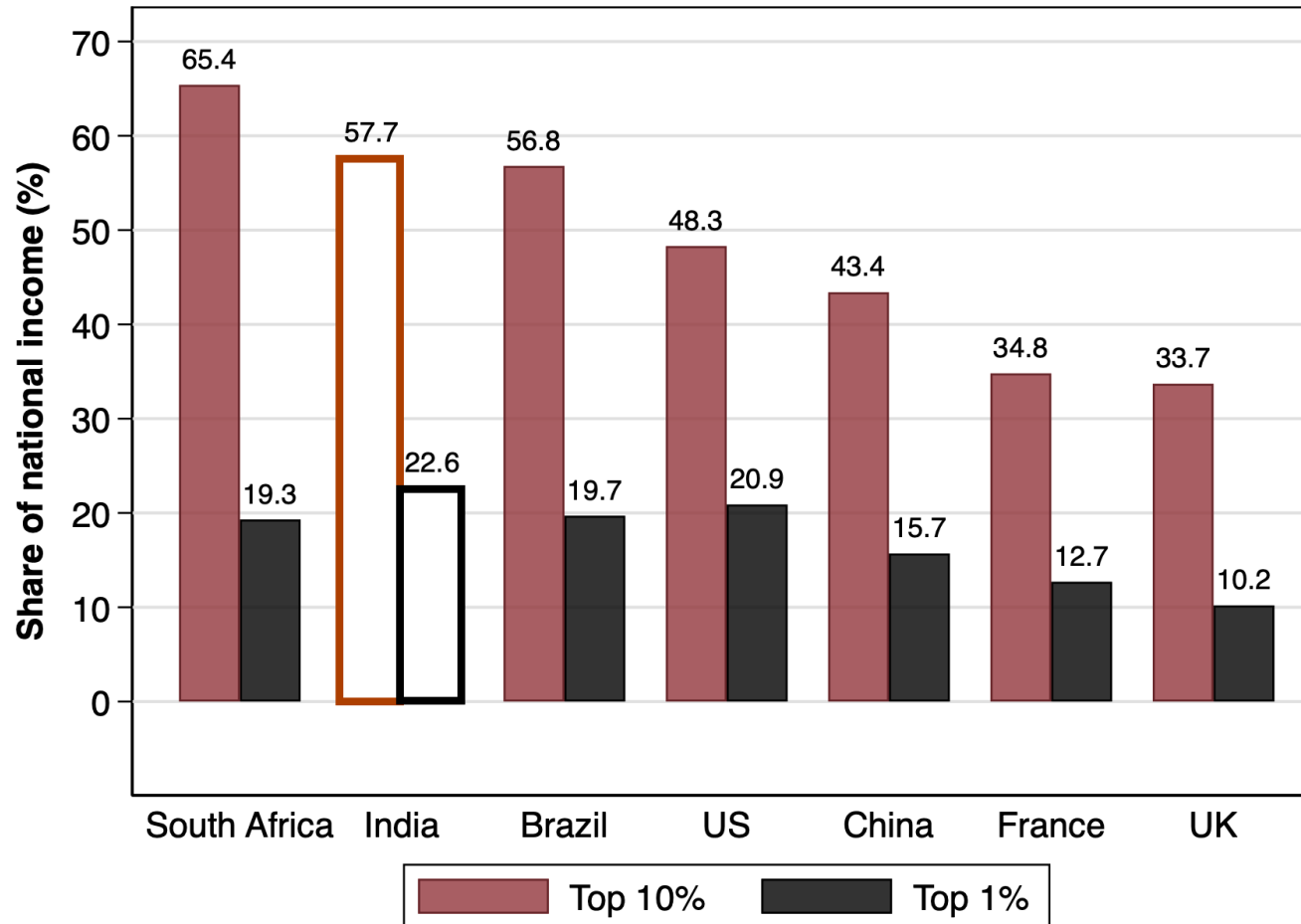
# The Rise of Extreme Inequality in India: Top 1% Shares



# Long-Run Income Inequality in India, 1951-2022



# Top Income Shares in Global Perspective, 2022-2023



# Tax Justice Proposals for India

	<b>Baseline</b>	<b>Moderate</b>	<b>Ambitious</b>
<i>Wealth tax</i>	2% on net wealth > 10 crores	2% on net wealth > 10 crores 4% on net wealth > 100 crores	3% on net wealth > 10 crores 5% on net wealth > 100 crores
<i>Inheritance tax</i>	33% on estates > 10 crores	33% on estates > 10 crores 45% on estates > 100 crores	45% on estates > 10 crores 55% on estates > 100 crores
<b>Adults affected</b>	<b>Top 0.04 %</b>	<b>Top 0.04 %</b>	<b>Top 0.04 %</b>
<b>Annual tax revenues as a % of GDP (2022-23)</b>			
<i>Wealth tax</i>	2.45	4.23	5.46
<i>Inheritance tax</i>	0.28	0.36	0.62
<b>Total package</b>	<b>2.73</b>	<b>4.59</b>	<b>6.08</b>

# Tax Revenues as a percentage of key public expenditures, 2022-2023

	Baseline	Moderate	Ambitious
<b>Health</b>	130%	218%	289%
<b>Education</b>	94%	158%	210%
<b>Health + Education</b>	55%	92%	122%

**Note:** (1) The table presents the potential revenues from the proposed tax justice packages as a percentage of government (Centre and States) expenditures on health and education. (2) Both tax revenues and government expenditures pertain to 2022-23.

# Key question: the political economy of redistribution

**What do we know about the interaction between political cleavages and socioeconomic inequality and its evolution over time?**

On-going research program using post-electoral surveys:

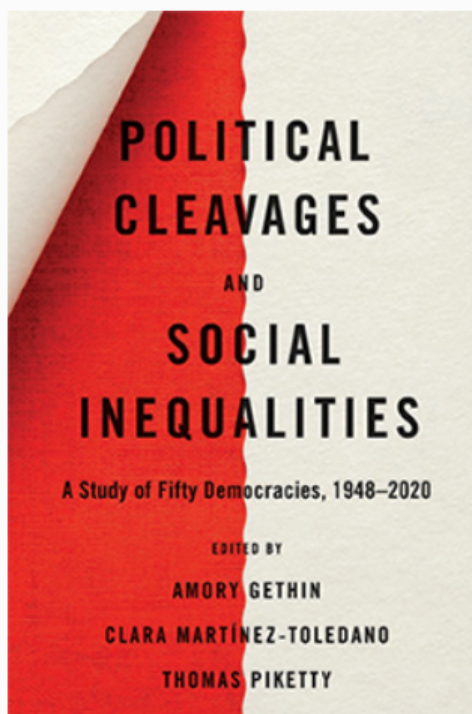
See [World Political Cleavages and Inequality Database](https://www.wpid.world/), WPID.world

See also [Brahmin Left vs Merchant Right: Changing Political Cleavages in 21 Western Electoral Democracies, 1948-2020](#) (with A. Gethin, C. Martinez-Toledano, QJE 2022)

→ this research program offers interesting comparative perspectives on the changing effects of income, wealth, education, gender, etc., on political attitudes, but unfortunately with a limited time span (post-WW2) and limited sample sizes



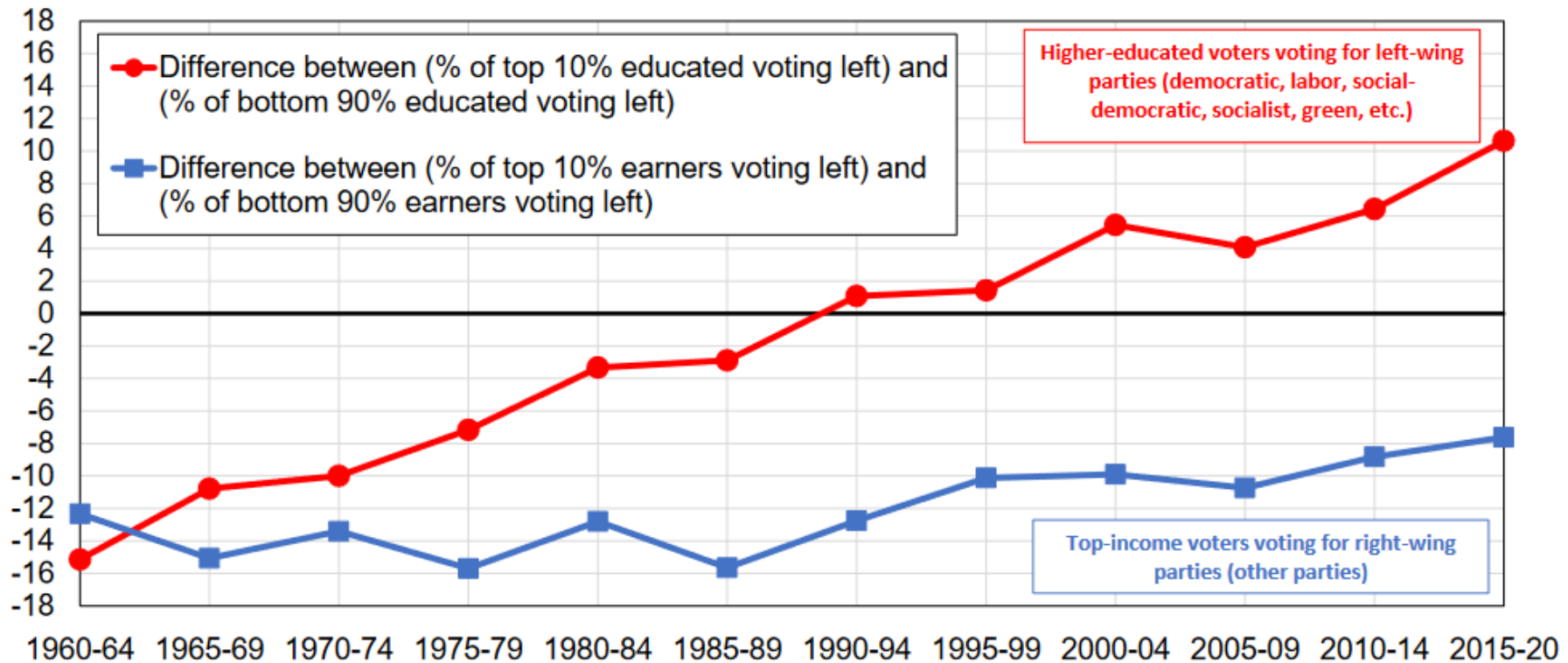
## THE BOOK

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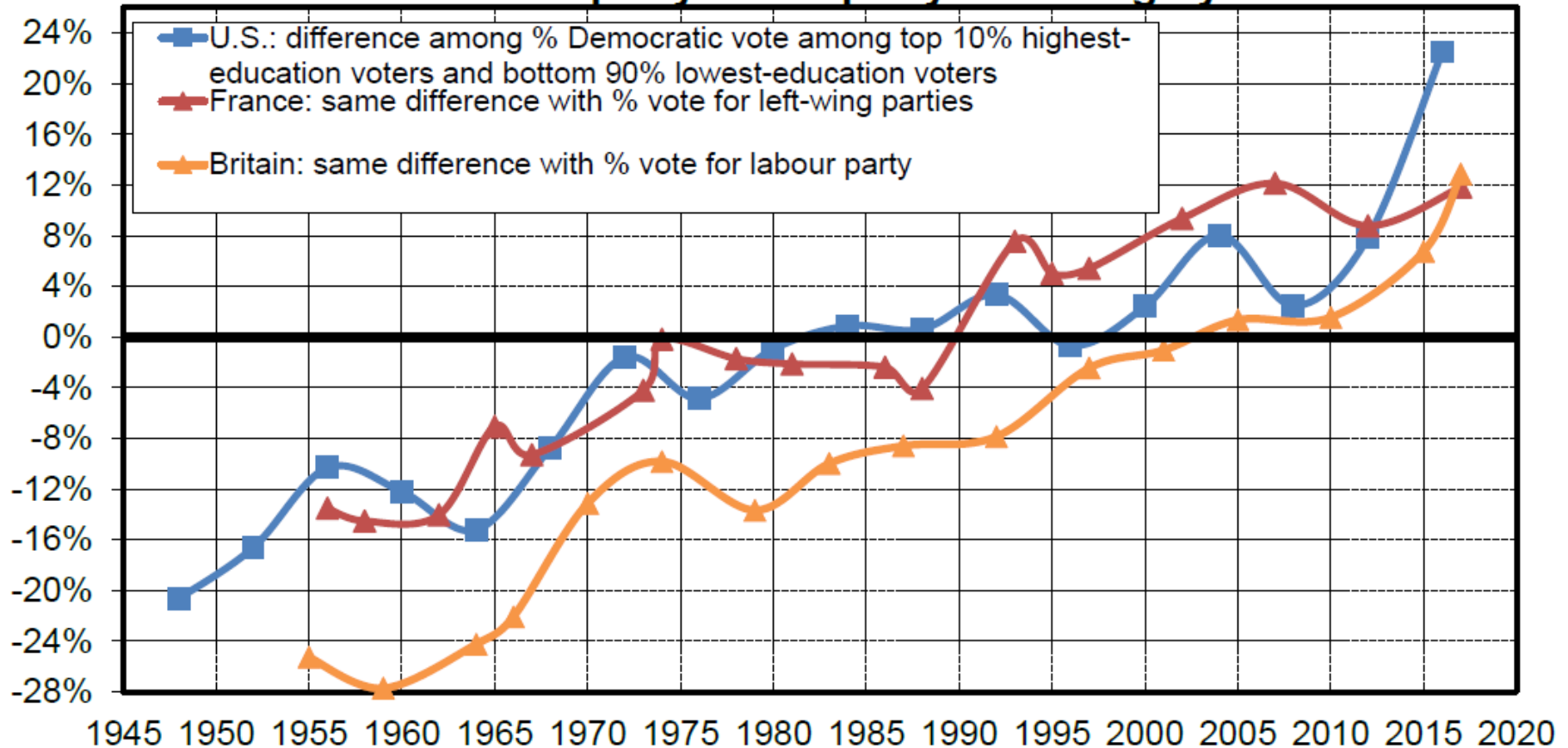
**Figure 1 - The emergence of multi-elite party systems in Western democracies**



**Source:** authors' computations using the World Political Cleavages and Inequality Database.

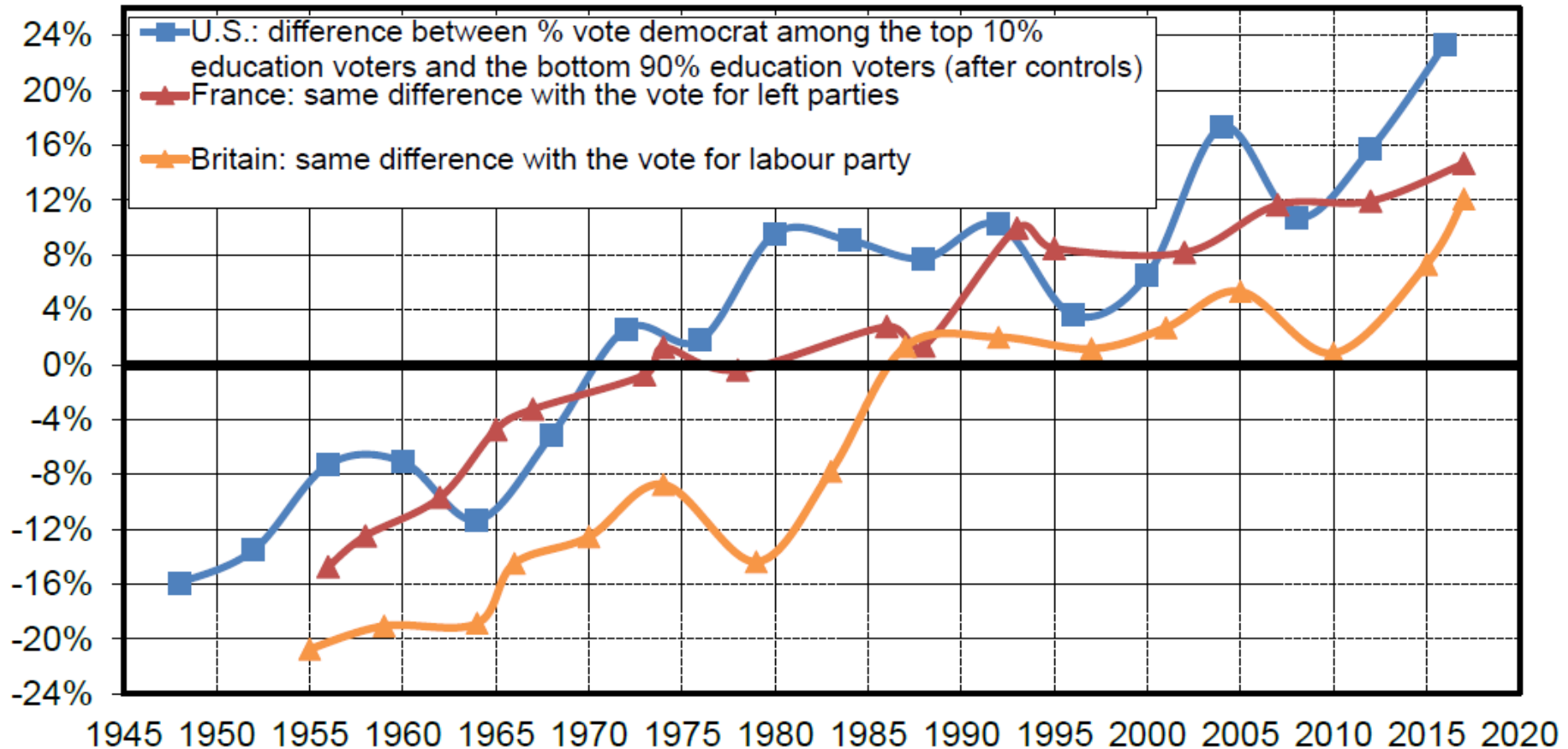
**Note:** in the 1960s, both higher-educated and high-income voters were less likely to vote for left-wing (democratic / labor / social-democratic / socialist / green) parties than lower-educated and low-income voters by more than 10 percentage points. The left vote has gradually become associated with higher education voters, giving rising to a "multi-elite party system". Figures correspond to five-year averages for Australia, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the US. Estimates control for income/education, age, gender, religion, church attendance, rural/urban, region, race/ethnicity, employment status, and marital status (in country-years for which these variables are available).

## The electoral left in Europe & the US, 1945-2020: from the workers' party to the party of the highly educated



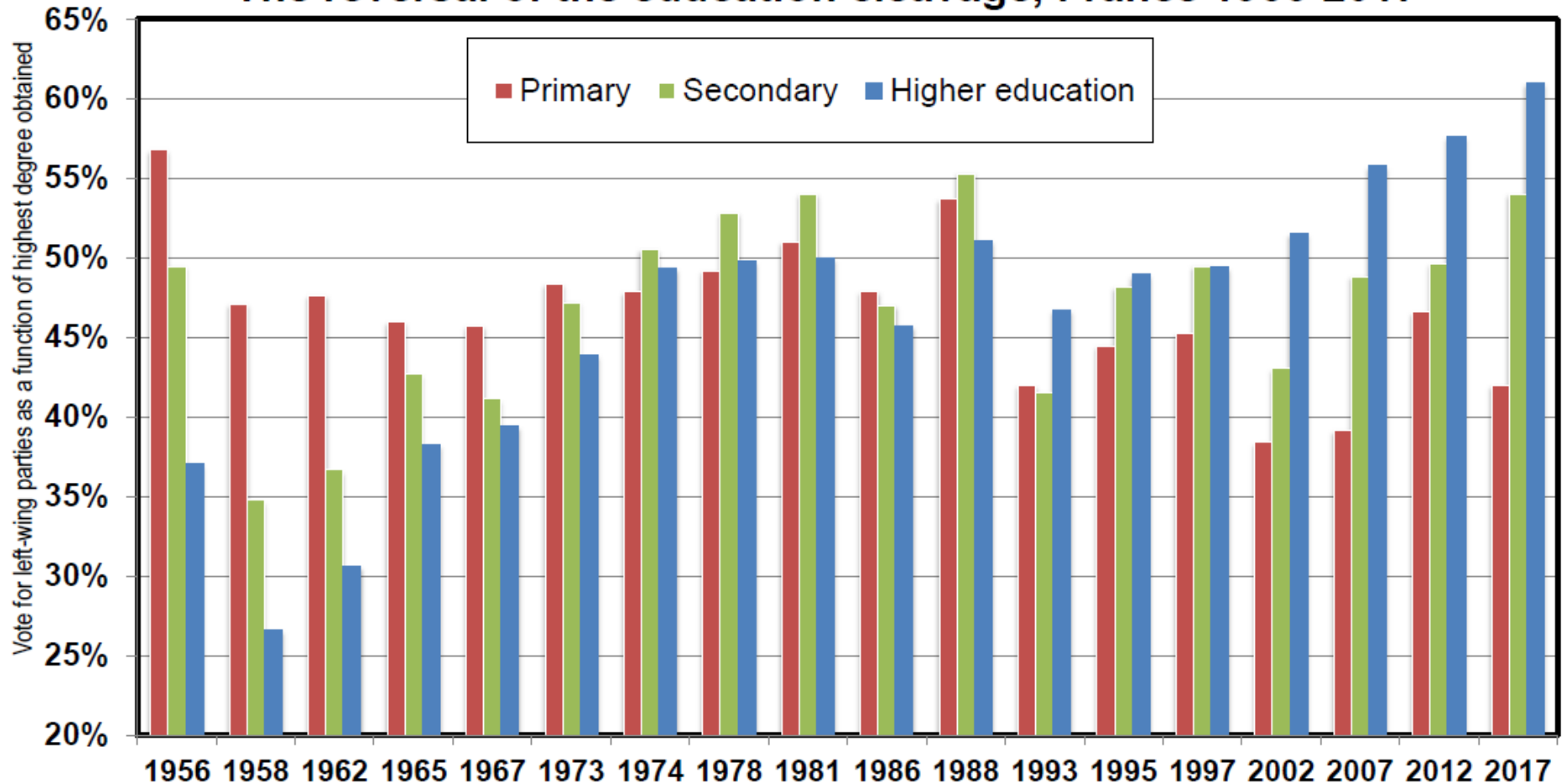
**Interpretation.** During the 1950-1970 period, the vote for the democratic party in the U.S., left-wing parties in France (socialists-communists-radicals-greens) in France and the labour party in Britain was associated with the voters with the lowest educational diplomas; in the 1990-2010 period it became associated with the voters with the highest education diplomas. The British evolution is slightly lagging behind the French and U.S. evolutions but goes in the same direction. **Sources and series:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology) (figure 15.13)

## Electoral left in Europe and the U.S. 1945-2020: from the workers' party to the party of the highly educated



**Interpretation.** In the 1950-1970 period, the vote for the democrats in the U.S., left-wing parties (socialists-communists-radicals-greens) in France and the labour party in Britain was associated to voters with the lowest education; in the 1990-2010 period, it became associated to the voters with the highest education degrees. **Sources and series:** see piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology (figure 14.2).

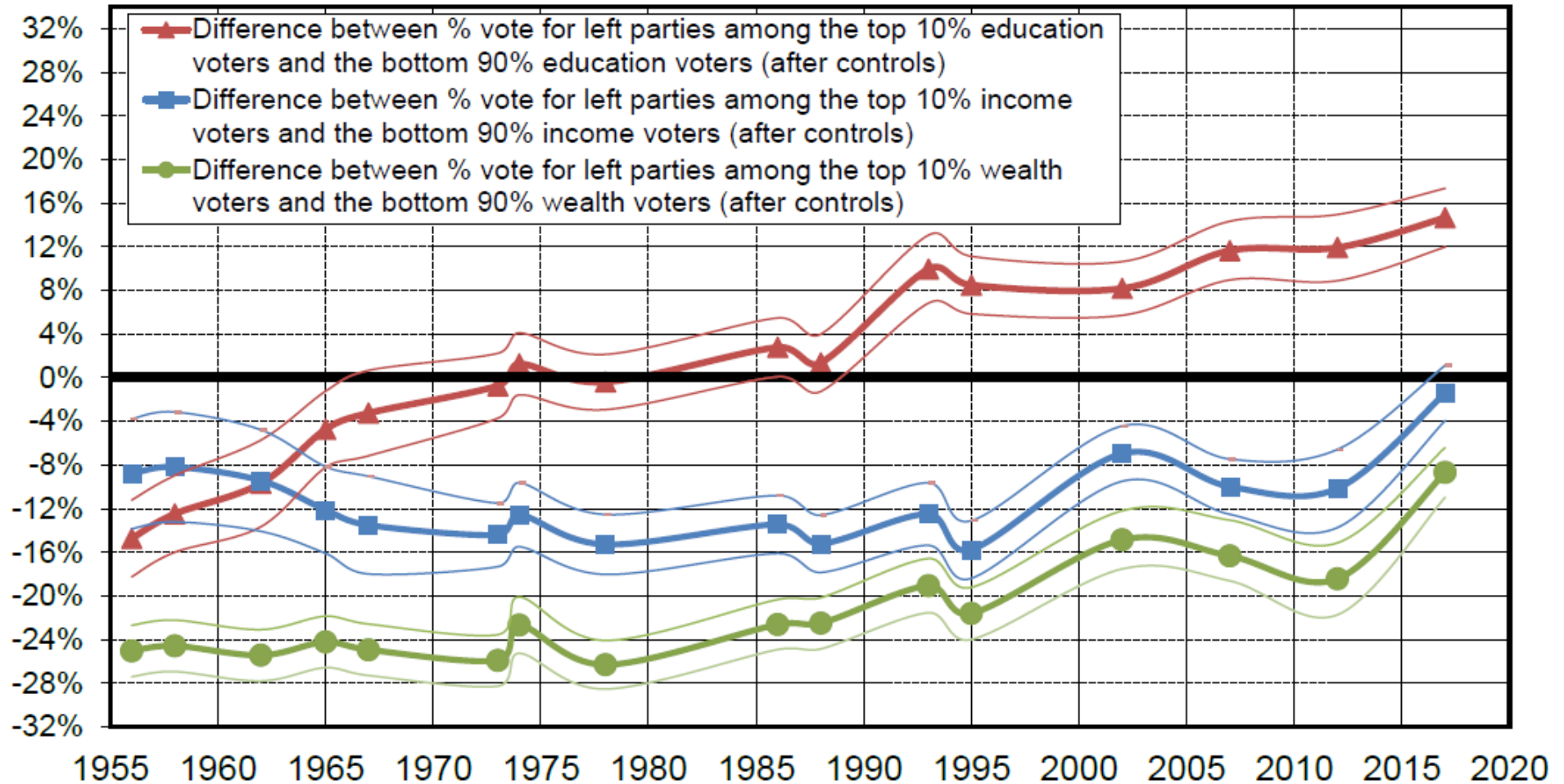
## The reversal of the education cleavage, France 1956-2017



**Interpretation.** During the 1950s and 1960s, the vote for left-wing parties (socialists-communists-radicals-greens) was highest among voters with no degree (except primary education degrees), then fell among secondary and higher education degree holders. In the 2000s and 2010s, the pattern is completely reversed. **Sources and series:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology) (figure 14.10).

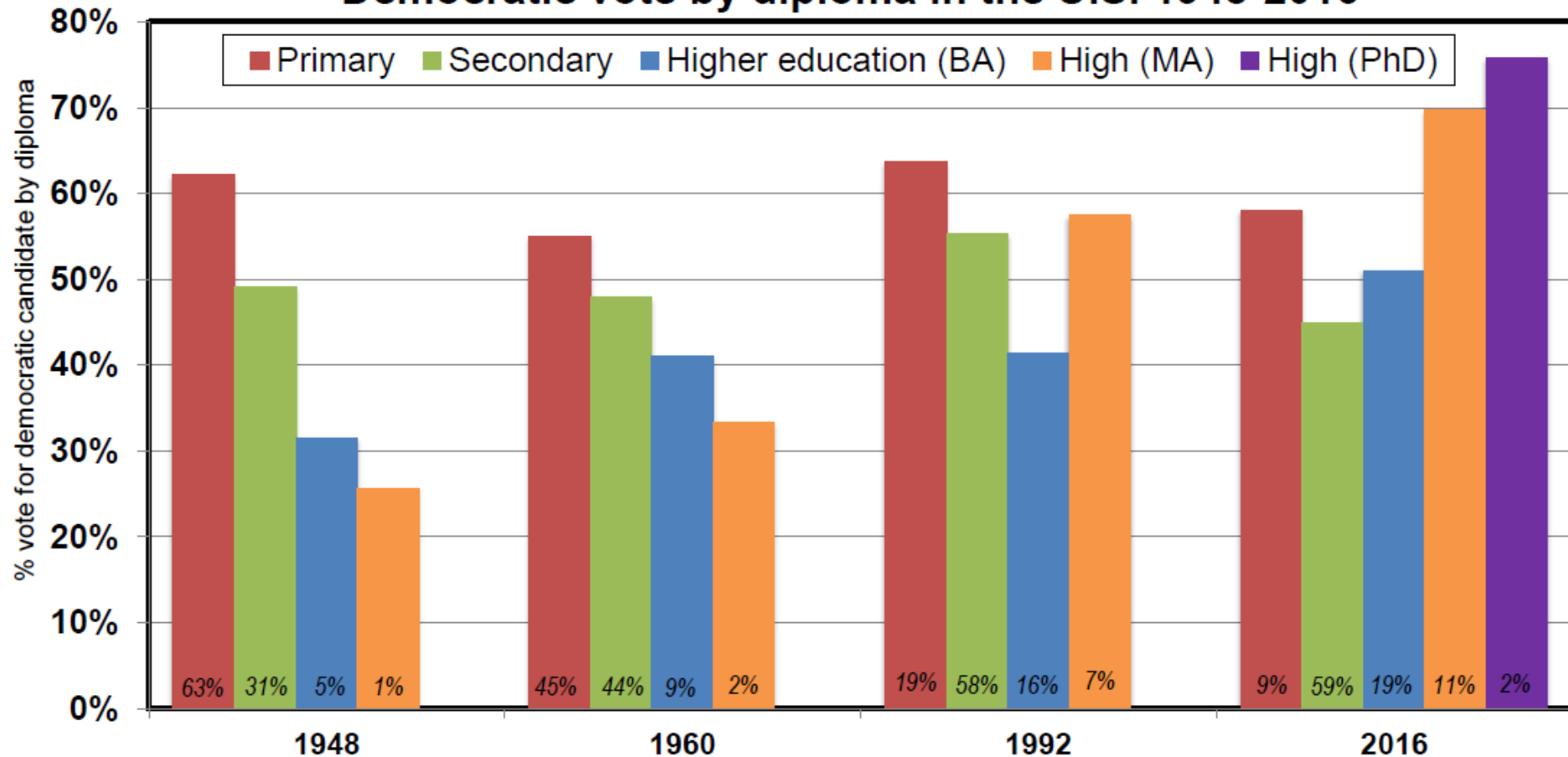


## Social cleavages & political conflict in France 1955-2020



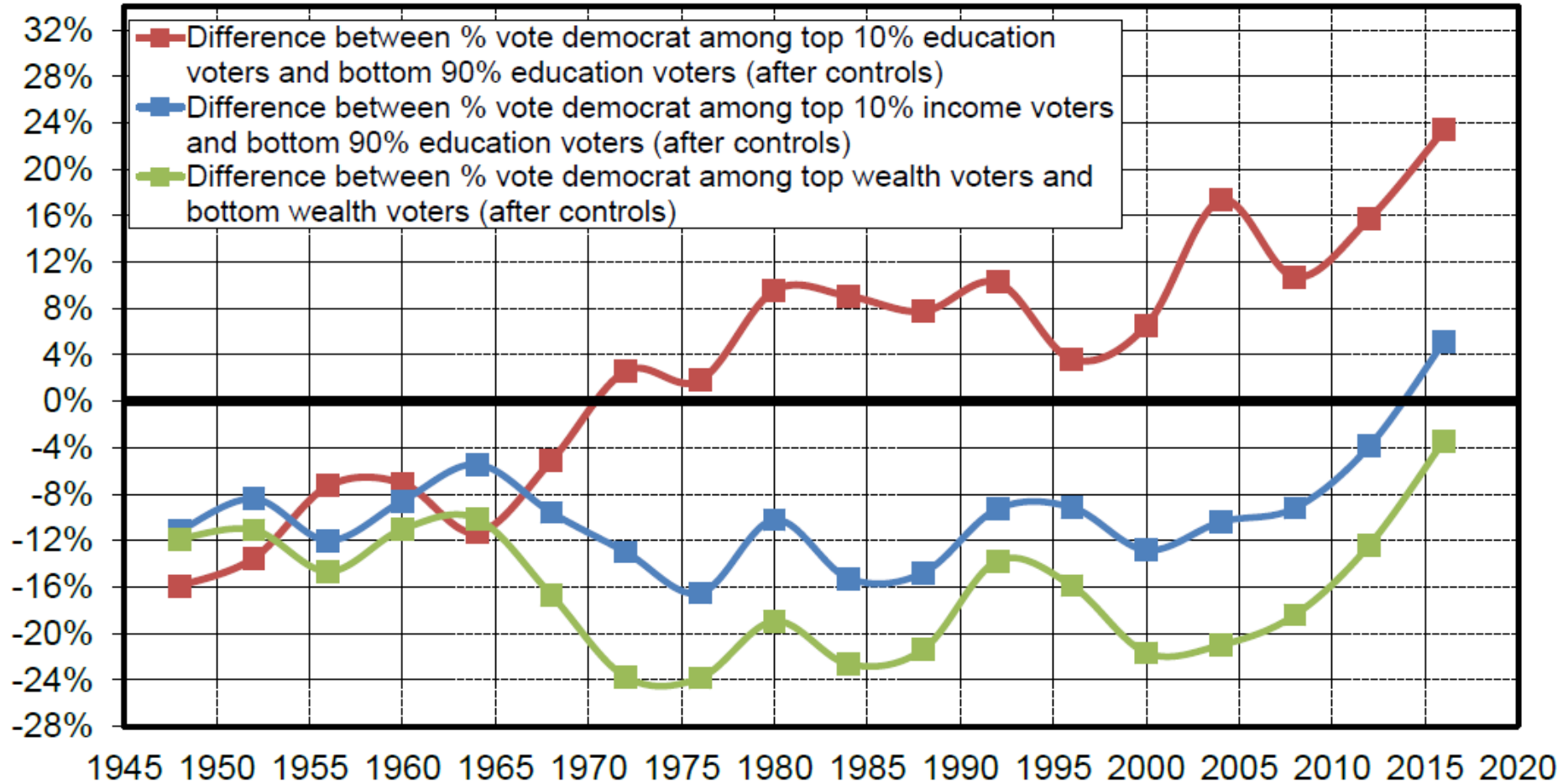
**Interpretation.** In the 1950-1970 period, the vote for left-wing parties (socialists-communists-radicals-greens) was associated to voters with the lowest education degrees and the lowest levels of income and wealth; in the 1990-2010 period, it became associated to the voters with the highest education degrees. **Note:** fine lines indicate 90% confidence intervals. **Sources and series:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology) (ffigure 14.1).

## Democratic vote by diploma in the U.S. 1948-2016



**Interpretation.** In 1948, the democratic candidate (Truman) obtained 62% of the vote among voters with primary education (no high school diploma) (63% of the electorate at the time) and 26% among voters with advanced higher education diplomas (1% of the electorate). In 2016, the democratic candidate (Clinton) obtained 45% of the vote among voters with secondary education (56% of the electorate) and 75% among those holding a PhD (2% of the electorate). Like in France, we see a full reversal of the educational cleavage between 1948 and 2016. **Note:** BA : bachelor degree or equivalent. MA: master & other advanced degrees (law/medical school). PhD: doctorate. **Sources and series:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology) (figure 15.2).

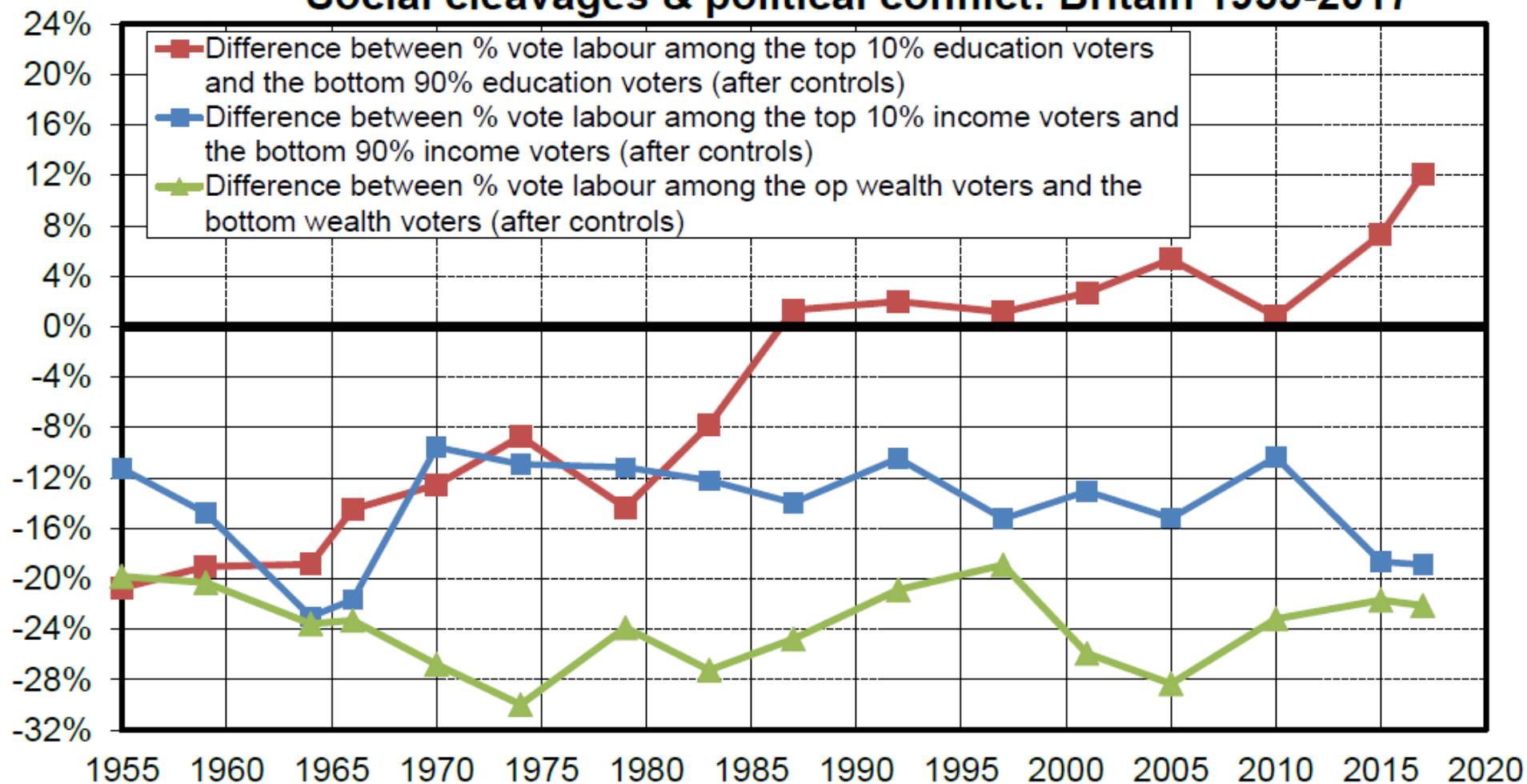
## Social cleavages and political conflict: U.S. 1948-2016



**Interpretation.** During the 1950-1970 period, the democratic vote was associated to voters with the lowest levels of education and the lowest levels of income and wealth. In the 1980-2010 period it became associated to the voters with the highest diplomas. In the 2010-2020 period, it is maybe close to become associated with the highest income and wealth voters. **Sources and series:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology) (figure 15.6).

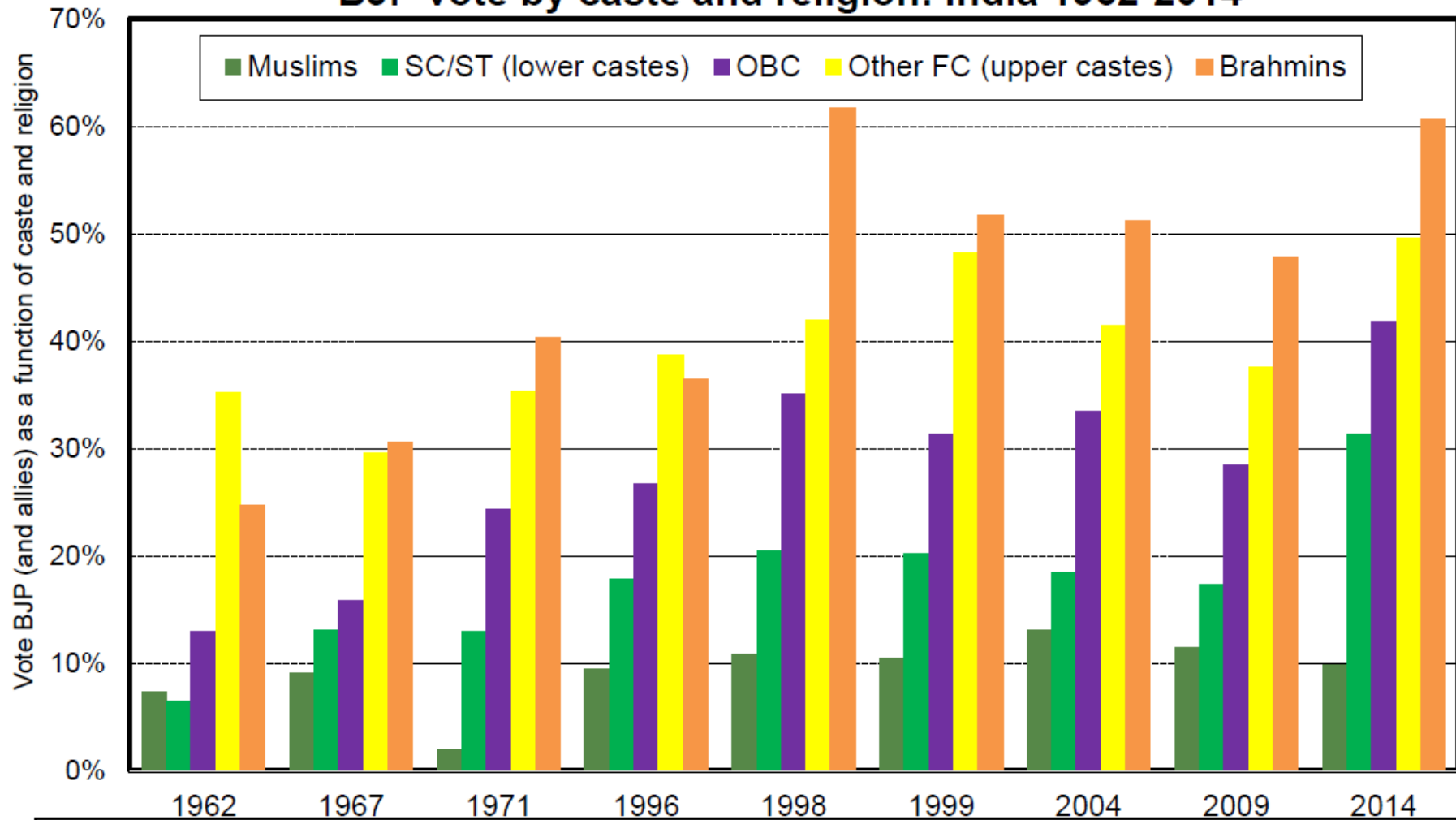


## Social cleavages & political conflict: Britain 1955-2017



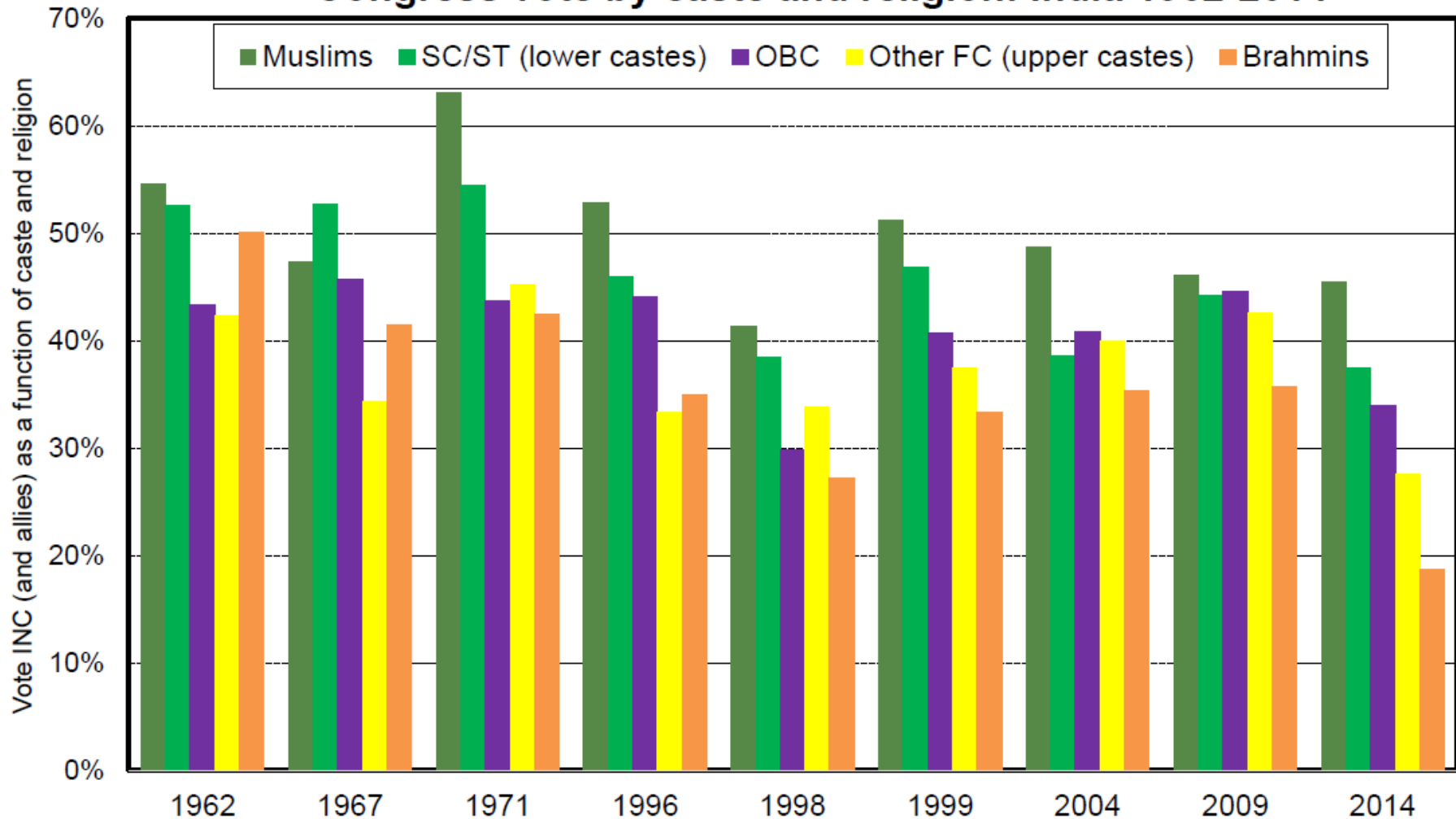
**Interpretation.** The labour vote was associated during the 1950-1980 period to the voters with the highest diplomas and levels of income and wealth; since the 1990s, it became associated to the highest education degrees. **Sources and series:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology) (figure 15.15).

## BJP vote by caste and religion: India 1962-2014



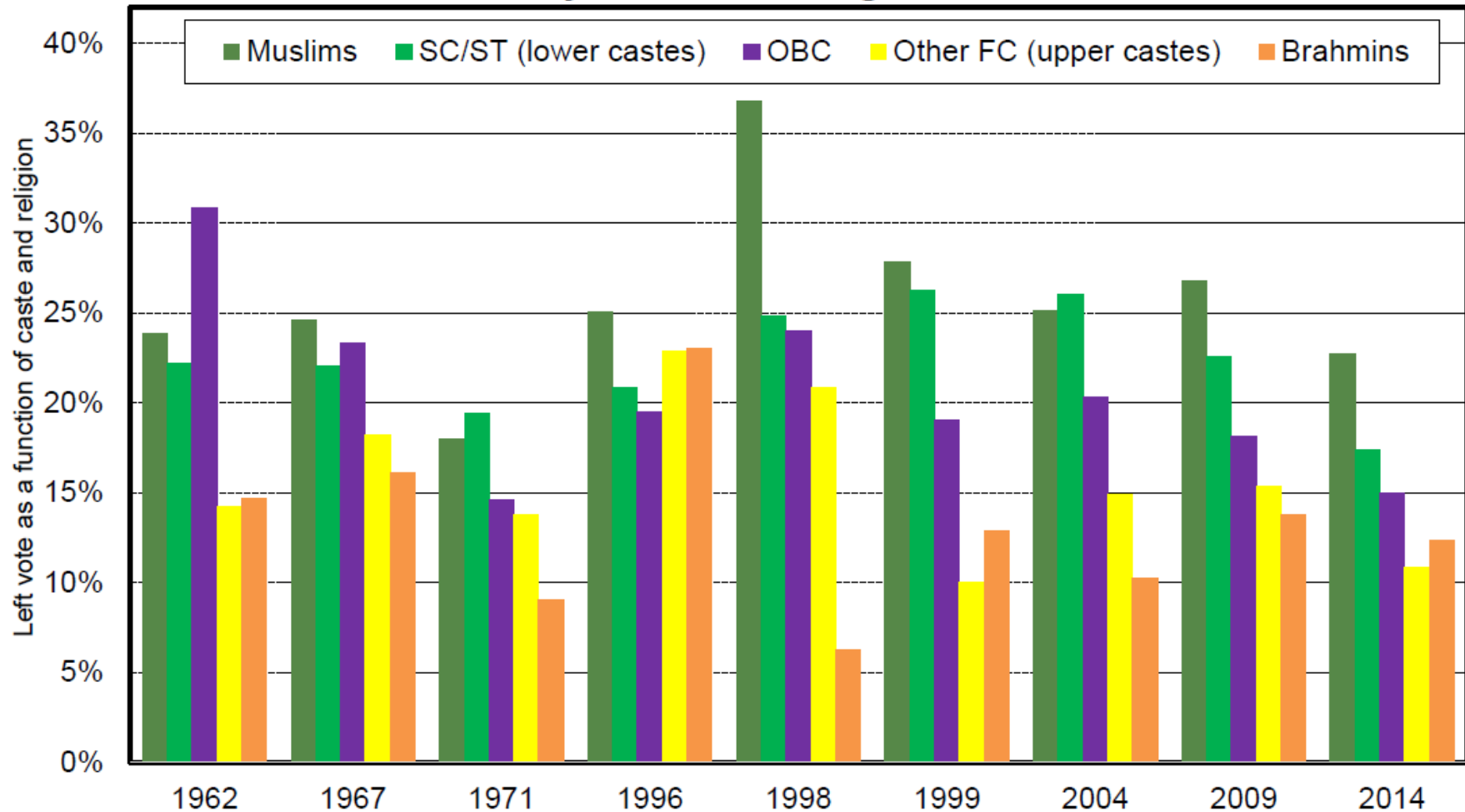
**Interpretation.** In 2014, 10% of muslim voters voted for the BJP (hindus nationalists) and allied parties, vs 31% among SC/ST (scheduled castes/ scheduled tribes, lower castes), 42% among OBC (other backward classes, intermediate castes), 49% among other FC (forward castes, upper castes except brahmins) and 61% among brahmins. **Sources and series:** see piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology (figure 16.8).

## Congress vote by caste and religion: India 1962-2014



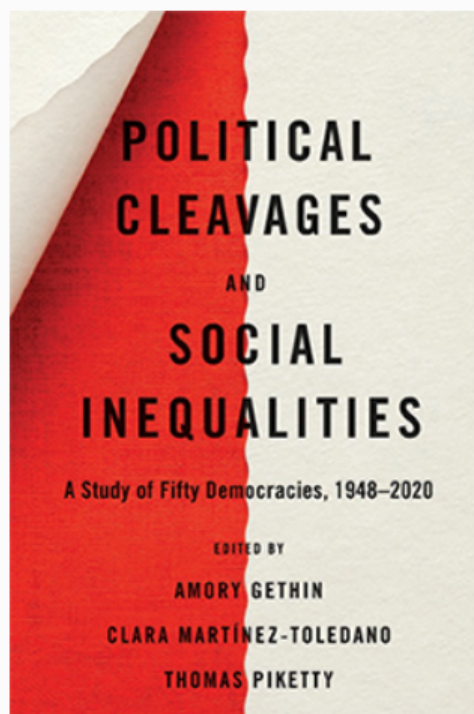
**Interpretation.** In 2014, 45% of muslim voters voted for the Congress (Indian National Congress) and allied parties, vs 38% among SC/ST (scheduled castes/ scheduled tribes, lower castes), 34% among OBC (other backward classes, intermediate castes), 27% among other FC (forward castes, upper castes except brahmins) and 18% among brahmins. **Sources and series:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology) (figure 16.9).

## Left vote by caste and religion: India 1962-2014



**Interpretation.** In 2014, 23% of muslim voters voted for the left and center-left parties (SP, BSP, CPI, etc.), vs 17% among SC/ST (scheduled castes/ scheduled tribes, lower castes), 15% among OBC (other backward classes, intermediate castes), 11% among other FC (forward castes, upper castes except brahmins) and 12% among brahmins. **Sources and series:** see [piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology) (figure 16.10).

## THE BOOK

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Who votes for whom and why? Why has growing inequality in many parts of the world not led to renewed class-based conflicts, and seems instead to have come with the emergence of new divides over identity and integration? News analysts, scholars, and citizens interested in exploring those questions inevitably lack relevant data, in particular the kinds of data that establish historical and international context. *Political Cleavages and Social Inequalities* provides the missing empirical background, collecting and examining a treasure trove of information on the dynamics of polarization in modern democracies.

The chapters draw on a unique set of surveys conducted between 1948 and 2020 in fifty countries on five continents, analyzing the links between voters' political preferences and socioeconomic characteristics, such as income, education, wealth, occupation, religion, ethnicity, age, and gender. This analysis sheds new light on how political movements succeed in coalescing multiple interests and identities in contemporary democracies. It also helps us understand the conditions under which conflicts over inequality become politically salient, as well as the similarities and constraints of voters supporting ethnonationalist politicians like Narendra Modi, Jair Bolsonaro, Marine Le Pen, and Donald Trump.

- Unfortunately, these post-electoral surveys have limited sample size. In addition, there exists no survey at all before the 1940s-1950s
- In order to study longer time periods, and also in order to provide more detailed decompositions of socioeconomic cleavages vs territorial cleavages, one needs to use other data sources: local-level election results matched with local-level census & fiscal data
- In order to illustrate this point, I will present some results from « **A History of Political Conflict – Elections and Social Inequalities in France 1789-2022** » (Seuil 2023, forthcoming Harvard University Press 2024)

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**UNE  
HISTOIRE  
DU CONFLIT  
POLITIQUE**

ÉCOHISTOIRES

Élections et inégalités sociales en France  
1789-2022



**A History of Political Conflict:  
Elections and Social Inequalities in France,  
1789-2022**

(Le Seuil, 2023)

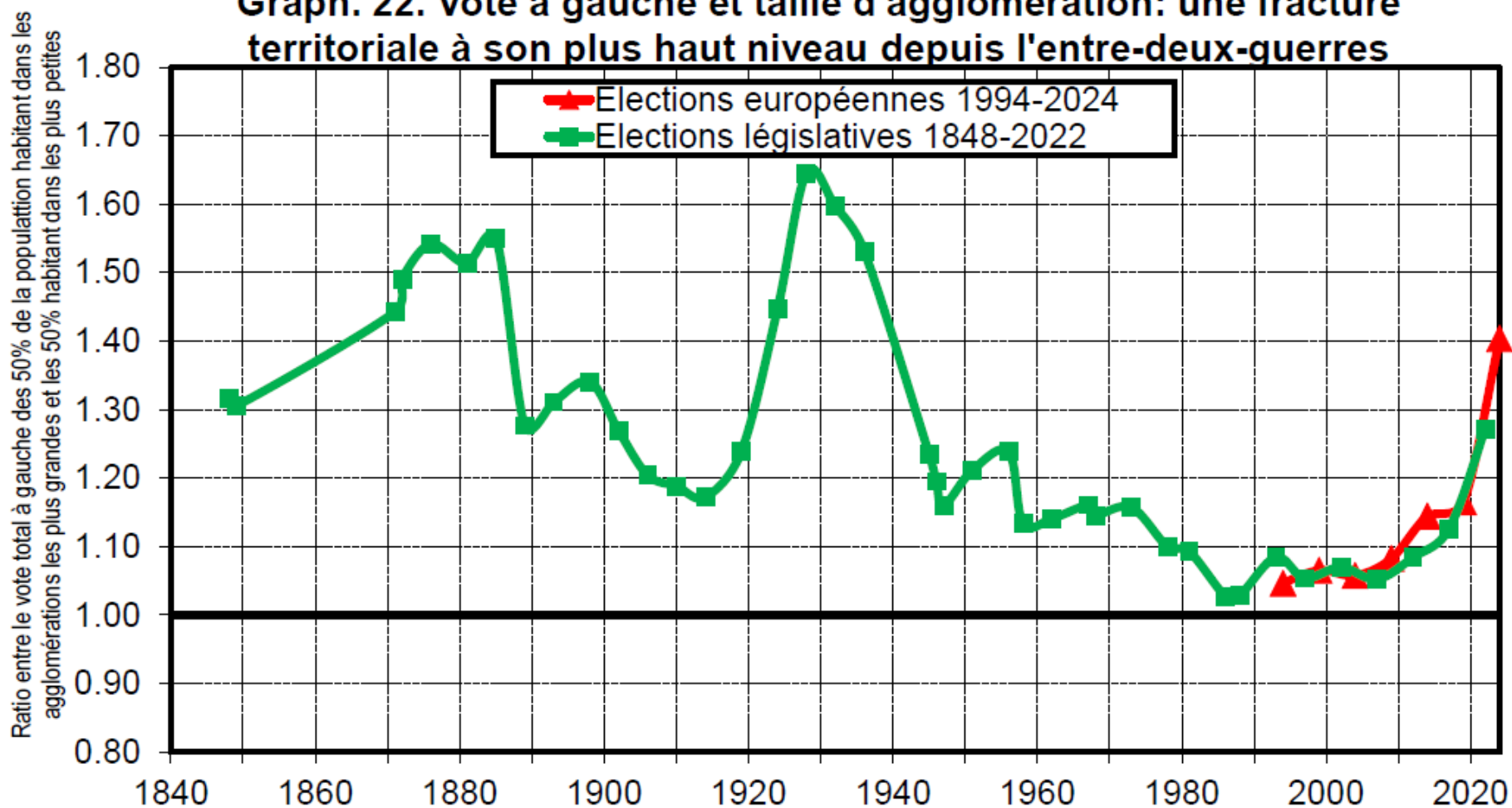
(forthcoming, Harvard U Press, 2025)

# Who votes for whom, and why?

- Exhaustive **digitization of electoral and socio-economic data** spanning more than two centuries for all 36,000 French municipalities.
  - **Electoral data:**
    - All legislative elections from 1848 to 2022.
    - All presidential elections from 1848 to 2022.
    - Referendums of 1793, 1795, 1946, 1992 & 2005.
  - **Socio-economic data:**
    - Size of municipality and conurbation.
    - Industry, profession, education, etc.
    - Level of ownership, property values, average income, etc.
- Comparison of the structure of electorates over the long run.
- **Key finding: multidimensionality of inequality** (income, wealth, education, gender, ethnicity, urban/rural, etc.) **makes it difficult to build redistributive coalitions... but not impossible**

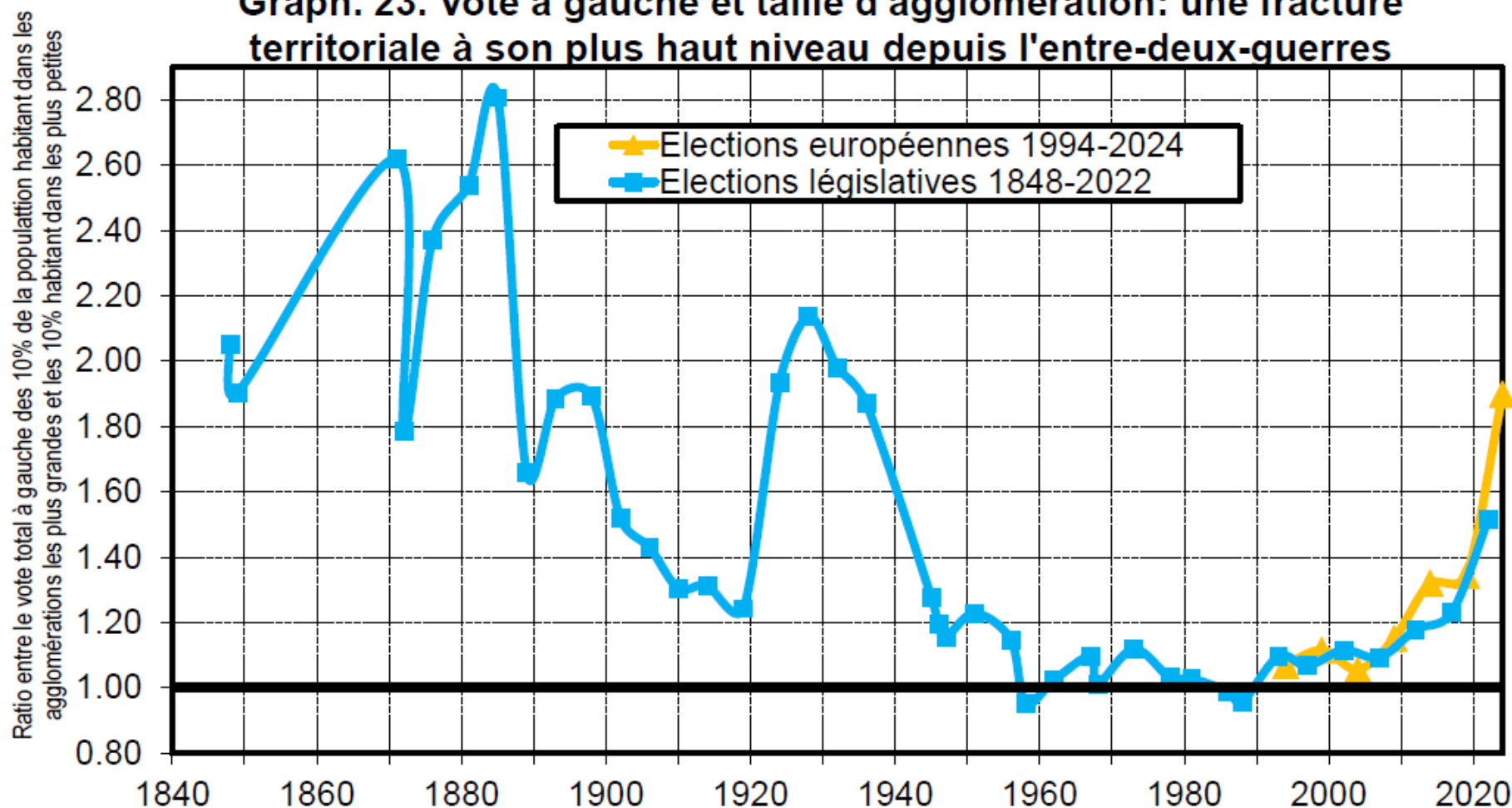


**Graph. 22. Vote à gauche et taille d'agglomération: une fracture territoriale à son plus haut niveau depuis l'entre-deux-guerres**



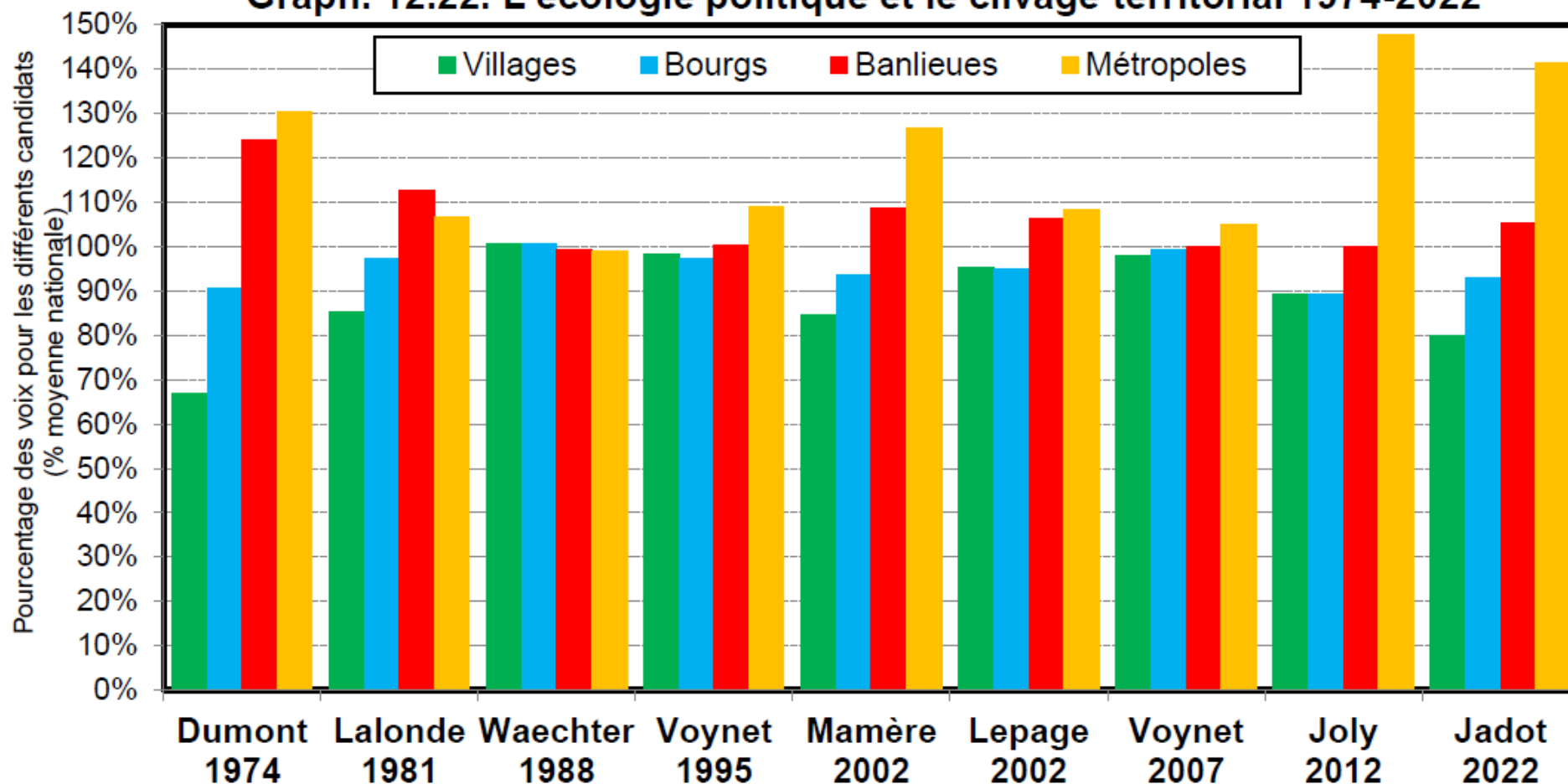
**Lecture.** La fracture territoriale, telle que mesurée par le ratio entre le vote à gauche au sein des 50% de la population la plus urbaine et la plus rurale (au sens de la taille d'agglomération), s'est envolée entre 1994 et 2024, pour les élections européennes comme pour les scrutins législatifs, avec une accélération de la hausse lors du scrutin européen de 2024. Elle atteint désormais un niveau d'ampleur inédite depuis l'entre-deux-guerres et à la fin du 19e siècle. **Sources et séries:** voir [unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr](http://unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr)

**Graph. 23. Vote à gauche et taille d'agglomération: une fracture territoriale à son plus haut niveau depuis l'entre-deux-guerres**



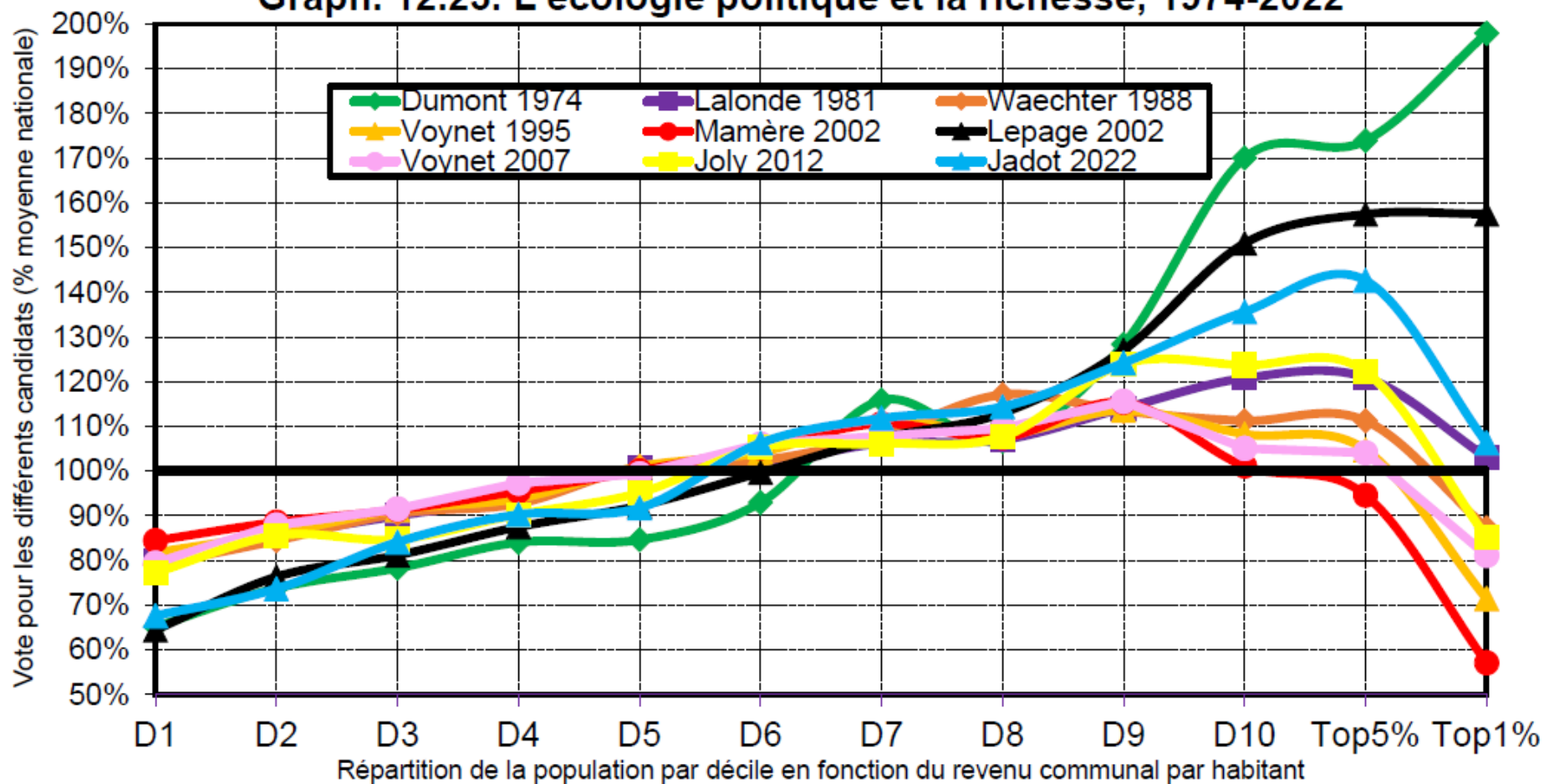
**Lecture.** La fracture territoriale, telle que mesurée par le ratio entre le vote à gauche au sein des 10% de la population la plus urbaine et la plus rurale (au sens de la taille d'agglomération), s'est envolée entre 1994 et 2024, pour les élections européennes comme pour les scrutins législatifs, avec une accélération de la hausse lors du scrutin européen de 2024. Elle atteint désormais un niveau d'une ampleur inédite depuis l'entre-deux-guerres et à la fin du 19e siècle. **Sources et séries:** voir [unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr](http://unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr)

**Graph. 12.22. L'écologie politique et le clivage territorial 1974-2022**



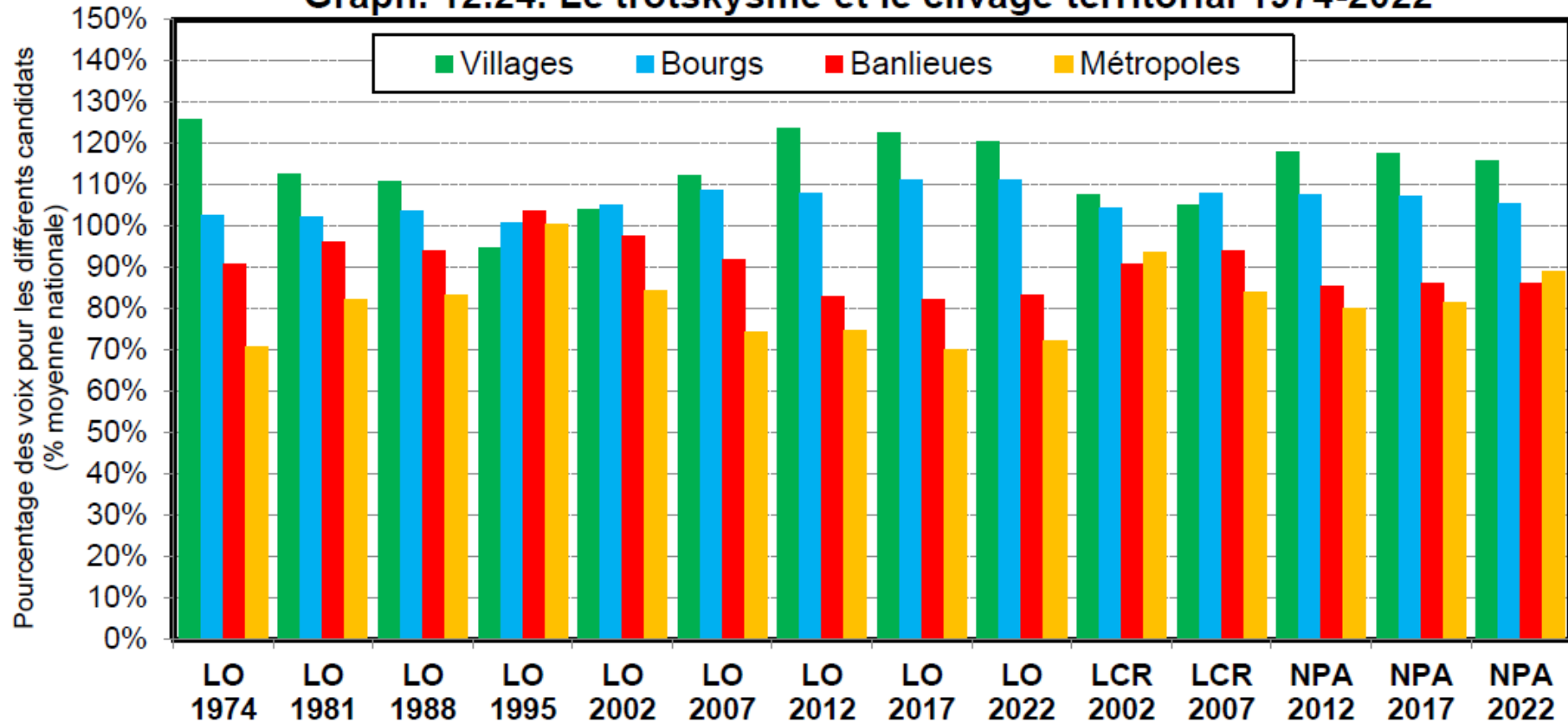
**Lecture.** Les représentants de l'écologie politique aux scrutins présidentiels menés de 1974 à 2022, qu'il s'agisse de Dumont (1% des voix), Lalonde (4%), Waechter (4%), Voynet (3%), Mamère (5%), Lepage (2%), Voynet (2%) ou Jadot (5%), ont presque toujours réalisé des scores plus élevés dans les métropoles et les banlieues que dans les bourgs et les villages, avec même une accélération de cette tendance en fin de période. Sources et séries : voir [unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr](http://unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr)

**Graph. 12.23. L'écologie politique et la richesse, 1974-2022**



**Lecture.** Lors de l'élection présidentielle de 1974, le vote Dumont est une fonction fortement croissante du revenu moyen de la commune, tout au long de la répartition. Par la suite, le vote pour les candidats écologiques est généralement une fonction croissante du revenu communal, sauf pour les communes les plus riches. **Note :** les résultats indiqués ici sont après contrôle pour la taille d'agglomération et de commune. **Sources et séries :** voir [unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr](http://unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr)

**Graph. 12.24. Le trotskysme et le clivage territorial 1974-2022**

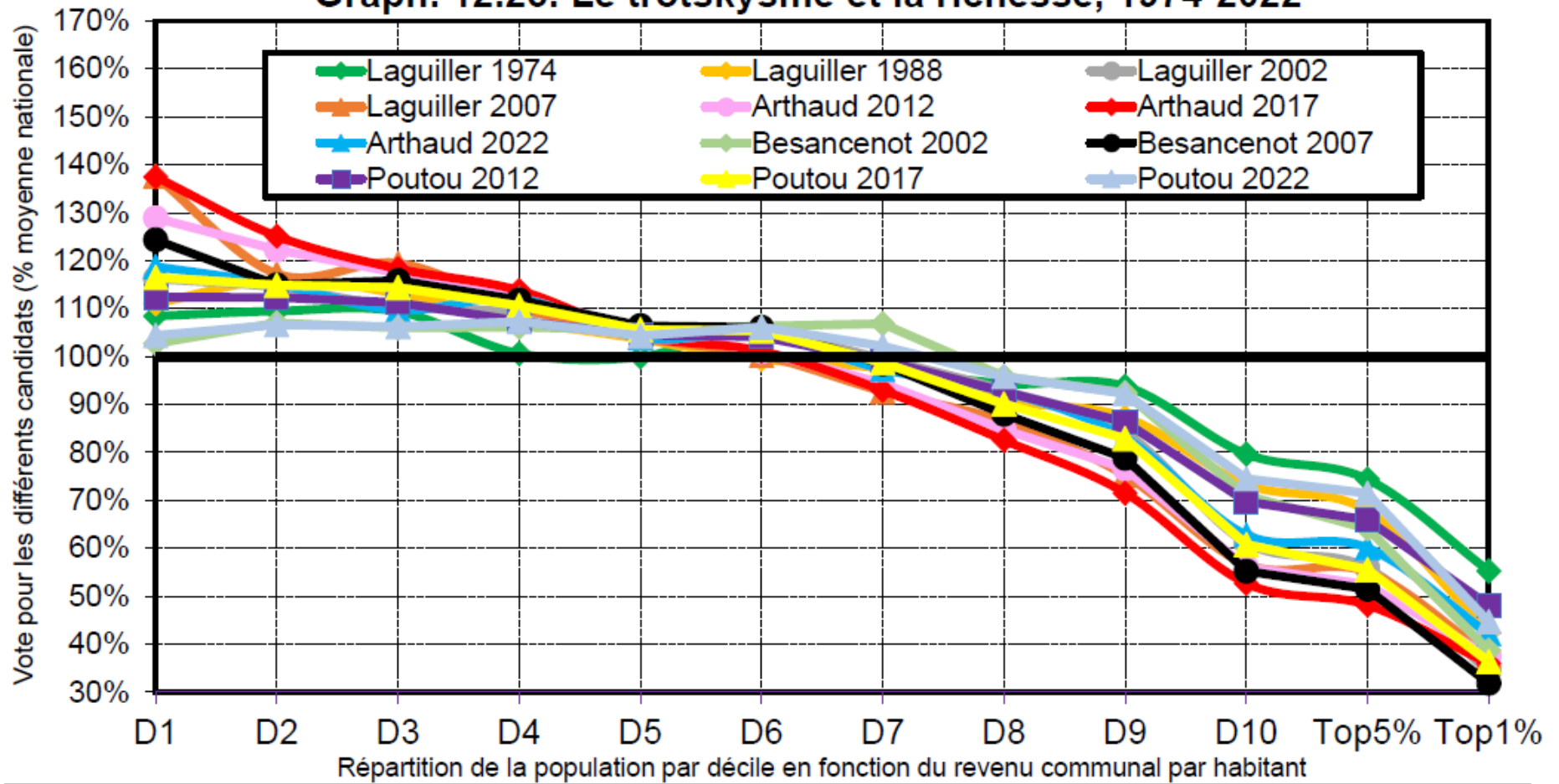


**Lecture.** Le parti trotskyste LO a été représenté aux élections présidentielles par Arlette Laguiller en 1974 (2% des voix), 1981 (2%), 1988 (2%), 1995 (5%), 2002 (6%) et 2007 (1%), et par Nathalie Arthaud en 2012 (1%), 2017 (1%) et 2022 (1%). La LCR a été représentée par Olivier Besancenot en 2002 (5%) et 2007 (4%) et le NPA par Philippe Poutou en 2012 (1%), 2017 (1%) et 2022 (1%). Le vote LO, LCR et NPA a été systématiquement plus fort dans les villages et bourgs que dans les banlieues et métropoles pour l'ensemble de ces élections, sauf lors de la première percée de LO en 1995.

**Sources et séries :** voir [unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr](http://unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr)

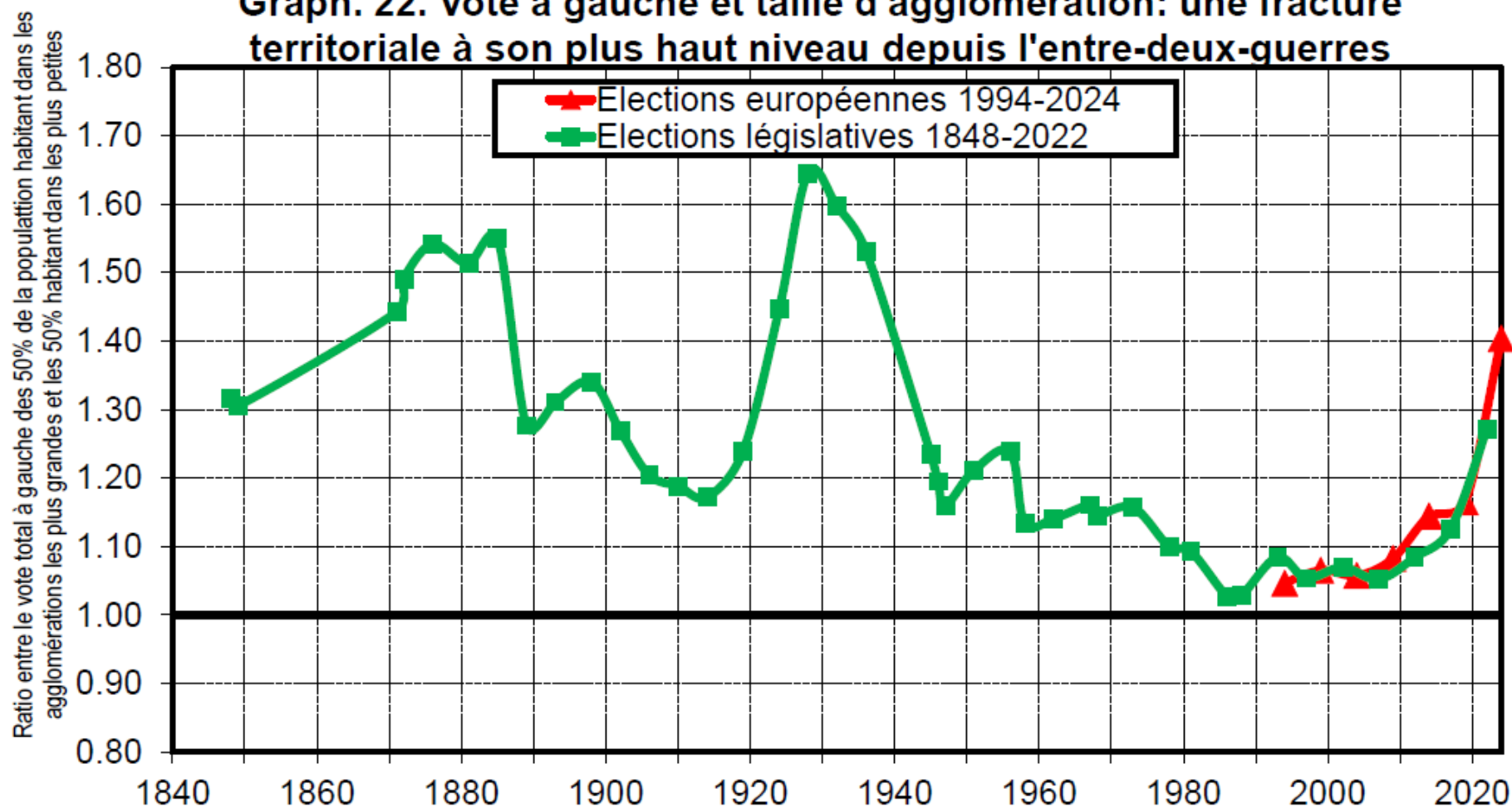


**Graph. 12.25. Le trotskysme et la richesse, 1974-2022**



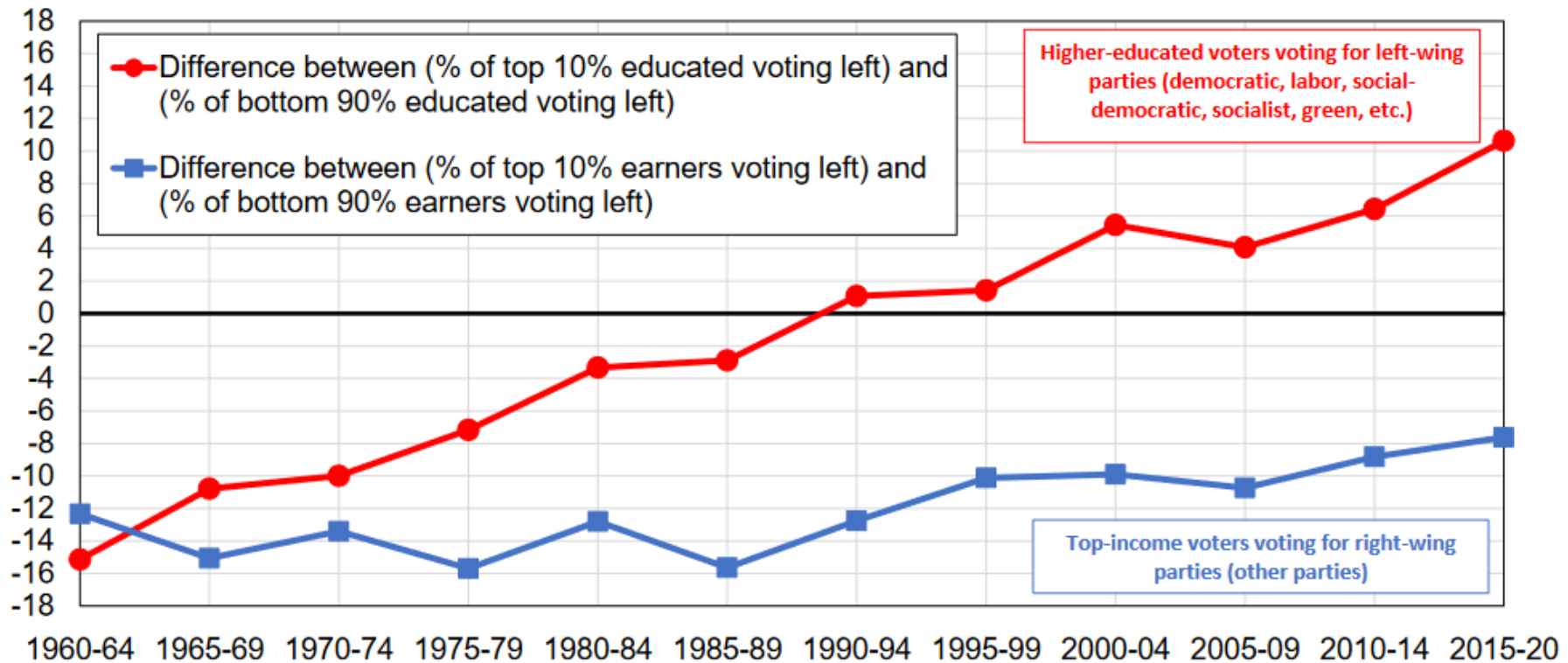
**Lecture.** Des élections présidentielles de 1974 à celles de 2022, les candidats trotskystes ont systématiquement un profil de vote fortement décroissant en fonction de la richesse communale, qu'il s'agisse des candidats LO (Arlette Laguiller ou Nathalie Arthaud) ou des candidats LCR (Olivier Besancenot) ou NPA (Philippe Poutou). **Note :** les résultats indiqués ici sont après contrôle pour la taille d'agglomération et de commune. **Sources et séries :** voir [unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr](http://unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr)

**Graph. 22. Vote à gauche et taille d'agglomération: une fracture territoriale à son plus haut niveau depuis l'entre-deux-guerres**



**Lecture.** La fracture territoriale, telle que mesurée par le ratio entre le vote à gauche au sein des 50% de la population la plus urbaine et la plus rurale (au sens de la taille d'agglomération), s'est envolée entre 1994 et 2024, pour les élections européennes comme pour les scrutins législatifs, avec une accélération de la hausse lors du scrutin européen de 2024. Elle atteint désormais un niveau d'ampleur inédite depuis l'entre-deux-guerres et à la fin du 19e siècle. **Sources et séries:** voir [unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr](http://unehistoireduconflitpolitique.fr)

**Figure 1 - The emergence of multi-elite party systems in Western democracies**



**Source:** authors' computations using the World Political Cleavages and Inequality Database.

**Note:** in the 1960s, both higher-educated and high-income voters were less likely to vote for left-wing (democratic / labor / social-democratic / socialist / green) parties than lower-educated and low-income voters by more than 10 percentage points. The left vote has gradually become associated with higher education voters, giving rising to a "multi-elite party system". Figures correspond to five-year averages for Australia, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the US. Estimates control for income/education, age, gender, religion, church attendance, rural/urban, region, race/ethnicity, employment status, and marital status (in country-years for which these variables are available).