

Major Trends Reshaping U.S. Income Distribution (1940s–2020s)

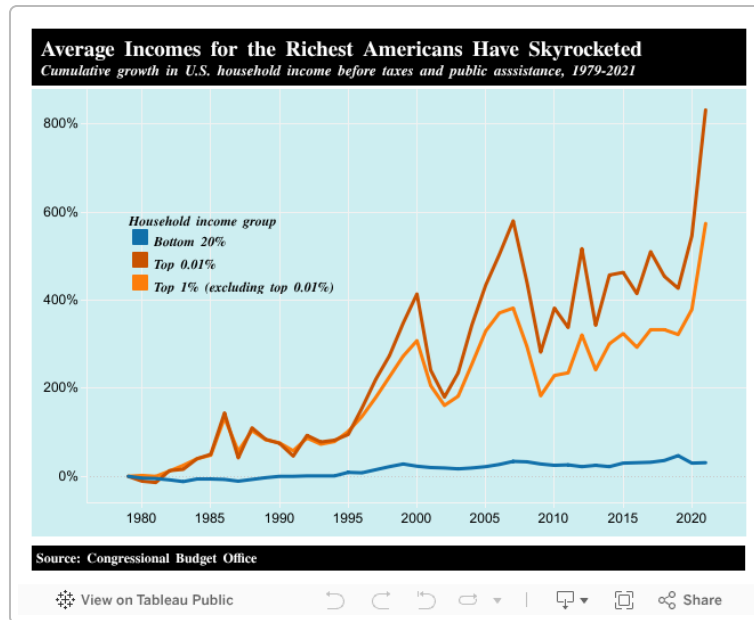
Declining Labor Share of National Income

For much of the 20th century, the share of national income paid out as labor compensation (wages and benefits) was relatively stable. This changed in the late 20th century: the U.S. labor share peaked around 1970 and has trended downward since the 1980s ¹. By the aftermath of the Great Recession (late 2000s), labor's share reached its lowest level of the post-war period ². Empirical comparisons show a drop of roughly 4 percentage points in labor's share of income between the mid-20th century and the 2010s (from about 57.1% in 1948–1987 to ~53.3% in 2010–2012) ³. In practical terms, this means a smaller portion of economic output is going to workers' pay, while a larger portion goes to capital owners (as profits, rent, etc.).

Multiple analyses link this decline to structural economic forces. **Globalization and offshoring** appear to be primary drivers: one detailed study found that rising import competition accounted for about 3.3 out of the 3.9 percentage-point drop in labor's share, as labor-intensive production moved overseas ³. **Technological change** also plays a role, especially in the 21st century – research notes that the labor share's descent steepened around 2000, coinciding with a surge in software and IT investment that displaced certain jobs (particularly routine tasks and middle-skill roles) and put downward pressure on labor income ¹. Notably, this recent tech-driven effect has been more pronounced in service industries and higher-skill occupations, indicating automation and digital tools can even erode labor shares in white-collar domains ¹. Other factors (like the decline of unions or the substitution of capital for labor through automation) have been examined, but evidence suggests they are secondary in explaining the aggregate labor share trend ⁴ ⁵. The net result of these forces is that a **smaller slice of the economic pie is going to workers**, a fundamental shift from the mid-century norm. This trend matters because it underpins many of the other developments in inequality – as labor's share shrinks, the benefits of economic growth accrue more to owners of capital and top executives, widening the distributional gap.

Rising Income Concentration at the Top

Accompanying the decline in labor's overall share has been a **sharp rise in income concentration** – a greater share of income going to those at the very top. Over the past four decades, the **richest Americans have seen far faster income growth** than everyone else ⁶. For example, between 1979 and 2021, the average inflation-adjusted income of the top 0.01% of households skyrocketed by roughly 1,000%, which is **nearly 27 times** the growth rate experienced by the bottom 20% of households ⁶. Put differently, a tiny elite of earners have pulled dramatically ahead of both middle-class and poor Americans. One consequence is that the top 1% of U.S. earners, who in the 1970s received roughly 10% of national income, now capture **over 20% of national income** – about double their share from 50 years ago ⁷ ⁸. This top percentile's slice of the pie has grown by **10 percentage points since 1970** alone ⁷.



Cumulative income growth for different groups in the U.S. (1979–2021). The top 0.01% (ultra-rich) have enjoyed explosive income gains since the 1980s, vastly outpacing the modest growth for the bottom 20% ⁶. This reflects a return to levels of inequality not seen since the 1920s.

Income gains have been **skewed not just to the top 1%, but especially to the ultra-rich** (top 0.1% and 0.01%). By the mid-2000s, measures of U.S. inequality had in fact returned to extremes reminiscent of the **“Gilded Age” of the 1920s** ⁹. As one data point, the ratio between the average income of the top 0.1% and the bottom 90% reached roughly the same level in the late 2000s as it was in the late 1920s ⁹. Meanwhile, those in the bottom half or middle of the distribution have seen much more sluggish gains – for instance, the official poverty rate declined only ~1–2 percentage points over the last several decades, even as the wealthy doubled their share of income ⁷. In sum, the U.S. has experienced a **dramatic upward redistribution**: an outsized portion of economic growth since the 1980s has accrued to top earners, leaving the broad middle class and poor behind. This concentration of income at the top underlies many public concerns (and political debates) about inequality, economic opportunity, and the erosion of the middle class.

Explosion in Executive Compensation

One key driver of the growing top-income shares has been the **surge in executive pay**, especially for CEOs of large corporations. Executive compensation in the U.S. has **skyrocketed since the 1980s**, far outpacing the gains in typical workers’ pay. In 1980, the chief executive of a big public company earned around 40 times the salary of an average worker – a sizable gap, yet one that was still within a relatively modest range ¹⁰. By 2021, this pay gap had exploded to new heights: CEOs of S&P 500 companies were paid roughly **324 times the average U.S. worker’s salary** ¹⁰. (During the late 1990s tech boom, the ratio even briefly hit absurd levels above 500:1, before settling in the 200–400:1 range in recent decades ¹¹ ¹⁰.) In other terms, **CEO compensation grew over 1,000% between 1978 and 2024**, while a typical worker’s compensation rose only about 26% in that same period ¹². This translates into top executives gaining incomes nearly **40 times faster** than ordinary workers over the last few decades. Notably, this divergence accelerated in the

1990s and 2000s, coinciding with weaker unions (discussed below) and changes in corporate governance that tied CEO pay to stock performance.

Several factors help explain this meteoric rise. **Stock-based compensation** became a dominant component of executive pay packages, aligning CEOs' fortunes with share prices. Corporate boards, influenced by the mantra of "pay for performance," increasingly grant CEOs large stock options and awards ¹³. This can create incentives for executives to boost short-term stock metrics – sometimes at the expense of other priorities – because a higher stock price directly fattens their pay. Indeed, one common tactic has been the massive use of **stock buybacks** (corporate repurchases of shares), which can artificially pump up the stock's value and thus the value of executives' stock-based pay ¹⁴. At the same time, **ordinary workers' pay has become decoupled from productivity gains**, and labor's bargaining power has waned, so there's been little upward pressure on median wages ¹⁵ ¹⁶. The result is a widening chasm: in 1980 a CEO might have earned a few dozen times the pay of their employees, but today it is **several hundred times**. Such extreme executive payouts directly contribute to the top-heavy income distribution. A sizable chunk of the gains of economic growth – which in earlier eras might have been spread among employees or reinvested – is now being extracted in the form of executive salaries, bonuses, and stock windfalls, concentrating income at the very top.

Shifts in Corporate Financial Behavior

Changes in how U.S. corporations utilize their profits and prioritize stakeholders have also reshaped income distribution. Over the last 40 years, corporate America has increasingly embraced a **"shareholder value" model**, focusing on maximizing returns to shareholders (and often executive shareholders) sometimes at the cost of other stakeholders like workers. One striking trend is that **corporate profits as a share of GDP have risen substantially**, while the share going to employee compensation has fallen. To illustrate, corporate profits in the U.S. were about 8% of GDP around 1980; in recent years they have climbed to roughly 12–13% of GDP ¹⁷ – effectively **doubling** their slice of the economy. Yet rather than this surplus being broadly shared or invested in expansion, much of it has been paid out to shareholders or used in financial maneuvers. The data bear this out: business capital **investment has been on a long-term downward trend (as a percentage of GDP) since around 1980** ¹⁸. Even as companies' earnings hit record highs, funds are not proportionally flowing into building new factories, innovative R&D, or wage increases for rank-and-file workers. Instead, a significant portion of profits is distributed to shareholders through **dividends and stock buybacks**. In fact, in recent years stock buybacks have reached unprecedented levels – in 2018, for example, S&P 500 firms spent more money buying back their own shares than they spent on all capital expenditures for new investment ¹⁹. Similarly, in 2021, amid a post-pandemic profit boom, companies in the S&P 500 expended a record **\$882 billion on stock buybacks** (while worker wages, adjusted for inflation, actually declined that year) ²⁰.

This corporate behavior represents a broader trend of **financialization** of the economy. Rather than seeing profits as primarily a means to *grow the business* (through investment or developing human capital), management increasingly sees profits as a means to *reward shareholders*. One consequence is that **more income flows to owners of capital** (investors) and less to employees. The impact on inequality is amplified by the fact that stock ownership is heavily skewed toward the wealthy – the top 10% of U.S. households own over 80% of all stock market wealth, and the top 1% alone owns roughly 40% ²¹. Thus, when corporations channel hundreds of billions into buybacks and dividends, those gains largely accrue to the affluent. Researchers have described this as a shift from a "value creation" economy to a "value extraction" economy ²². In other words, corporate strategies now often *extract* value (e.g. by boosting stock prices and cashing

out) instead of broadly *creating* value through productive investment and wage growth. While this has enriched shareholders and executives, it has likely come at the cost of slower productivity growth (due to under-investment) and stagnant incomes for workers ²³. It also means that policy changes like major corporate tax cuts or deregulatory measures – which were justified by promises of spurring investment and wage gains – have often instead simply further **enriched shareholders without boosting broader economic prosperity** ²³. In sum, the financial priorities of corporations have tilted away from workers and long-term growth and toward immediate financial returns, reinforcing the unequal distribution of income.

Decline of Unions and Worker Bargaining Power

Another crucial trend has been the **erosion of labor unions and collective bargaining** in the United States. Unions historically played a significant role in raising workers' pay, improving benefits, and negotiating a more equitable share of company profits for employees. In the mid-20th century, union membership was at its zenith – roughly one-third of U.S. workers (over 30%) belonged to a union in the 1940s and 1950s ¹⁶. This gave labor a strong collective voice in wage setting. However, unionization rates have steadily declined over the past several decades. As of 2022, only about **10% of American workers are union members**, an all-time low density in the modern era ¹⁶. In the private sector, the figures are even more striking – only about ~6% of private-sector workers are unionized (compared to well over 30% in the 1950s), meaning the vast majority of today's workers negotiate employment terms on an individual basis with much less leverage.

This decline in union strength has had **measurable impacts on wages and inequality**. Unionized workers continue to enjoy a pay advantage over their non-union counterparts. For instance, in 2024 the median weekly wage for unionized female workers was about \$1,232, which is \$200+ higher per week than the median for non-union women – a substantial gap even after controlling for job types ²⁴. Unions also tend to set industry-wide standards that boost pay for non-union workers (a spillover effect), and they advocate for policies like higher minimum wages that benefit broader groups. As unions have dwindled, these positive effects have weakened. Research finds **a strong link between union decline and rising inequality** in the U.S. ²⁵. One comprehensive study estimated that deunionization explains a significant portion of the growth in wage inequality since the 1970s, particularly for men ²⁵. The logic is clear: when unions were strong, a larger share of economic gains went to average workers (through collective bargaining contracts that secured better pay and benefits). As unions faded, **worker bargaining power shifted downward**, making it easier for companies to hold down wages even as productivity and profits grew. Indeed, the period of union erosion (1980s–2010s) corresponds to the period when the gap between productivity and typical workers' pay widened dramatically ¹⁵. One analysis by the U.S. Treasury found that in 2022, as union membership hit record lows (~10%), the top 1% earned almost 20% of total income – underscoring how the imbalance of power between labor and capital can translate into a more unequal income distribution ²⁶ ¹⁶. In summary, the **shrinking of unions** has been a key structural change that allowed inequality to rise, by reducing the wage-setting power of middle- and working-class Americans.

Evolution of Tax Structure and Redistributive Policies

Public policy, especially taxation, has also fundamentally influenced U.S. income distribution over time. The **federal tax structure in the mid-20th century was highly progressive**, acting as a leveling force. For example, in the early 1960s the top marginal income tax rate on the richest Americans was an astonishing 91% ²⁷. Throughout the 1950s, that top bracket rate hovered around 90%, even under a Republican president (Eisenhower), reflecting a broad consensus of taxing extreme incomes heavily ²⁷. These high tax

rates (along with robust corporate taxes and estate taxes) helped limit the post-tax accumulation of income at the very top and provided revenue for social investments. Starting in the 1960s and accelerating in the 1980s, however, U.S. tax policy underwent a **dramatic shift toward lower rates for the wealthy and corporations**. President Kennedy proposed cutting the top rate to 70%, which took effect by the mid-1960s ²⁸. Then, in the 1980s, President Reagan's tax reforms slashed the top individual rate from 70% down to 50%, and eventually all the way to just **28% by 1988** ²⁸. Although later decades saw partial reversals (the top rate rose to 31% in 1991 and to ~39.6% in the 1990s under Clinton), the Trump-era Tax Cuts and Jobs Act again lowered the top rate to **37% as of 2018** ²⁹. In short, the current top income tax rates are less than **half** of what they were in the post-war decades. A similar trend occurred in corporate taxation: the federal corporate tax rate was 52% in the 1950s, then 35% for many years pre-2018, and now stands at 21% after the 2017 tax law change. Furthermore, tax laws now **favor income from wealth over income from work** – the top tax rate on long-term capital gains and qualified stock dividends is only 20%, far lower than the top rates on wages and salaries ³⁰. This disproportionately benefits the rich, since higher-income groups derive a much larger share of their total income from investments (capital gains, dividends, business profits) rather than labor ³⁰.

The cumulative effect of these tax policy changes has been to **reduce the redistributive impact of the tax system** and allow top earners to retain much more of their pre-tax income gains. During the era of high top tax rates, very high incomes were partly tamed by taxation (which arguably discouraged excessive executive pay and kept after-tax inequality in check). Today, with much lower rates, the wealthy can accumulate fortunes more quickly. Analyses by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) show that tax and transfer policies do mitigate some inequality, but **far from enough to offset the sweeping concentration of market incomes** at the top ³¹. In fact, repeated tax cuts for top earners have actively contributed to widening after-tax inequality. Between 1979 and 2021, the richest 0.01% saw their after-tax incomes grow by over **1,000%**, compared to about 130% growth for the bottom fifth – a disparity of **7.6-fold** even after accounting for taxes and safety-net transfers ³¹. Analysts attribute this in part to the series of tax cuts for the rich: for instance, the top marginal income tax was 70% in 1979 but only 37% by 2021, meaning the ultra-rich now keep much more of each additional dollar they earn ³¹. As investigative reports have concluded, tax policy has been a **“principal engine of worsening economic inequality”** in modern America, by enabling the wealthy and corporations to retain outsized gains that would previously have been taxed and redistributed ³². It's not just income taxes either – estate and gift taxes that once heavily taxed intergenerational wealth transfers have eroded, and loopholes allow many ultra-wealthy individuals to pay lower effective tax rates than some middle-class families. All of this has weakened the corrective force that the fiscal system can exert on market outcomes.

Importantly, the **intersection of tax changes with the other trends** cannot be ignored: for example, lower corporate taxes and capital gains taxes have incentivized the shift toward shareholder payouts (since investors face less tax on those gains), reinforcing the corporate behavior described above. And lower top marginal rates may have indirectly fueled the explosion of executive pay – when top tax rates were 70–90%, there was less incentive to grant astronomical salaries (much of which would be taxed away), but at today's rates, very high pay packages are more rewarding to their recipients ³³. In essence, tax policy in the last few decades has *amplified* the other inequality-driving trends rather than counteracting them. A more progressive tax structure in mid-century helped **level the playing field**; by contrast, today's tax structure, with its lightly-taxed capital income and comparatively low top rates, tends to **reinforce the concentration of income and wealth** at the top.

Conclusion: Long-Term Structural Shifts vs. One-Time Events

Taken together, these thematic trends paint a comprehensive picture of why income distribution in the U.S. has become more unequal from the late 20th century through the early 21st century. Each trend – a falling labor share, the rise of top incomes, soaring executive pay, shareholder-centric corporate practices, the decline of unions, and a less progressive tax system – has developed over decades. They often **reinforce one another** (for instance, weaker unions lead to a lower labor share and slower wage growth, which boosts corporate profits that then flow to executives and shareholders, further concentrating income). By organizing the analysis around these structural themes rather than by specific decades, we avoid the trap of attributing changes to any single moment in time. The reality is that **long-run forces and policy choices** – globalization, technology, institutional shifts in bargaining power, and political decisions about taxes and regulations – have collectively driven the transformation. Understanding these sustained trends is crucial: it helps policymakers and the public recognize that the growth in inequality is not a short-term anomaly, but rather the result of intentional systems and evolving norms. And it suggests that reversing or mitigating extreme inequality will likely require addressing each of these areas (labor market institutions, corporate governance, tax policy, etc.), rather than expecting the problem to self-correct. In summary, the distributional landscape of the U.S. has been fundamentally reshaped by multi-decade trends, and appreciating those trends in context allows for a more nuanced and accurate discussion of **why economic outcomes today look so different from those in the mid-20th century**.

Sources: Recent economic analyses and data are drawn from the Federal Reserve, Brookings Institution, Inequality.org (Institute for Policy Studies), the Economic Policy Institute, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and other research cited throughout. These include Aum & Shin (St. Louis Fed, 2020) on labor share ¹ ³, Elsby *et al.* (Brookings, 2013) on offshoring's impact ³, Congressional Budget Office data on income distribution ⁷ ⁶, AFL-CIO and IPS data on CEO pay gaps ¹⁰, BLS reports on union membership and wage premiums ¹⁶ ²⁴, and tax history summaries from the Tax Policy Center and analysis by the Center for Public Integrity ²⁸ ³², among others. These sources provide the quantitative underpinning for the trends described above and underscore the broad consensus regarding the direction of change in each area.

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