

Topics in Economics

Axelle Ferriere

Sciences Po, CNRS & CEPR

November 2025

On Inequality and Redistribution

- History of Modern Macroeconomics

On Inequality and Redistribution

■ History of Modern Macroeconomics

- First-generation models: dynamic models with rational expectations
 - Equilibrium, solve, calibrate with a representative agent

On Inequality and Redistribution

■ History of Modern Macroeconomics

- First-generation models: dynamic models with rational expectations
 - Equilibrium, solve, calibrate with a representative agent
- Second-generation models: account for inequality
 - Macro shocks \Rightarrow inequality, welfare

On Inequality and Redistribution

■ History of Modern Macroeconomics

- First-generation models: dynamic models with rational expectations
 - Equilibrium, solve, calibrate with a representative agent
- Second-generation models: account for inequality
 - Macro shocks \Rightarrow inequality, welfare
- Third-generation models: business cycles, HANK
 - Amplification, inequality \Rightarrow macro

On Inequality and Redistribution

■ History of Modern Macroeconomics

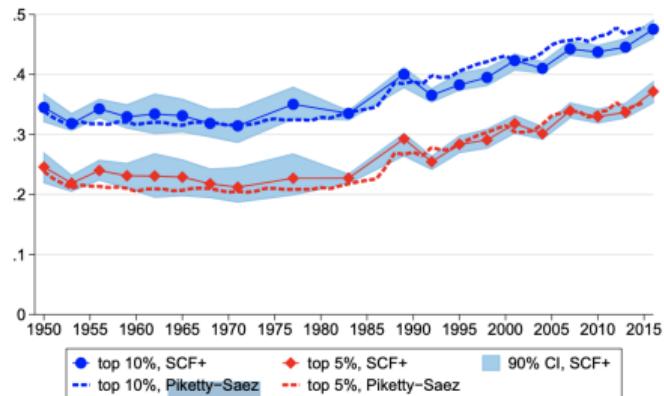
- First-generation models: dynamic models with rational expectations
 - Equilibrium, solve, calibrate with a representative agent
- Second-generation models: account for inequality
 - Macro shocks \Rightarrow inequality, welfare
- Third-generation models: business cycles, HANK
 - Amplification, inequality \Rightarrow macro

■ This class: On inequality and the welfare state

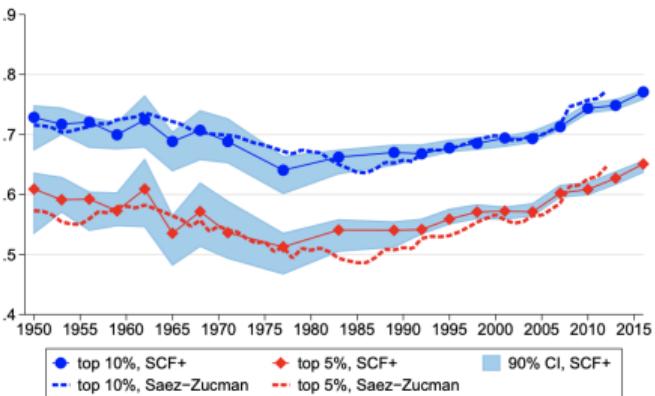
- Long run, business cycles

Rising Income and Wealth Inequality

Figure 5: Top 5% and top 10% income and wealth shares



(a) Income

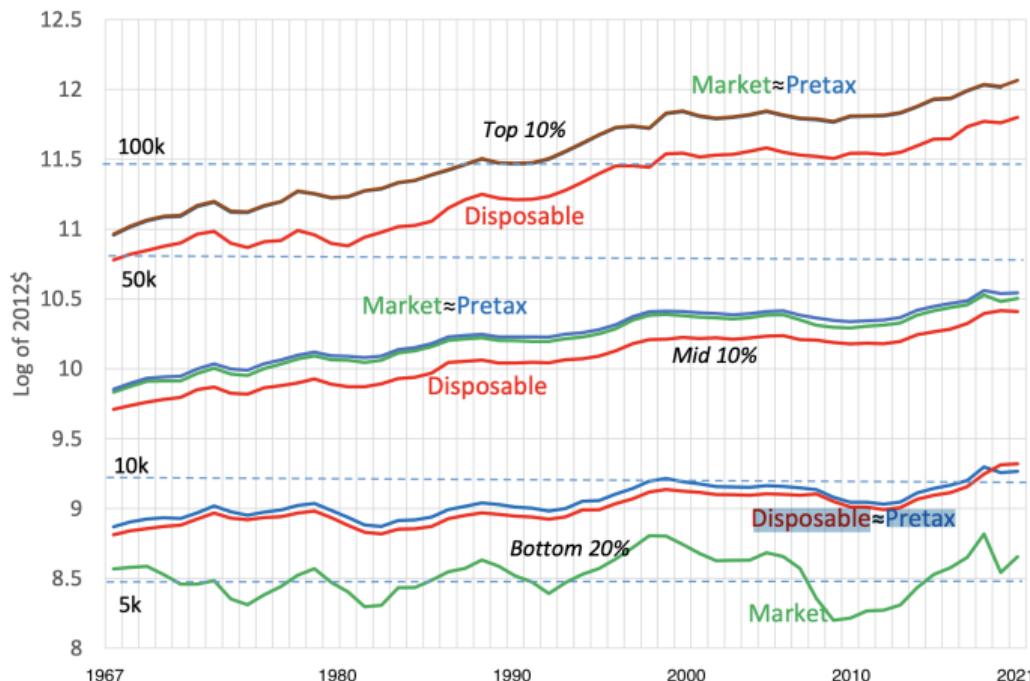


(b) Wealth

- Top-income and -wealth shares have increased (SCF+, United States)

Kuhn, Schularick and Stein (2020)

No Income Growth for the Poor



- Household income has been flat for 5 decades at the bottom (CPS, United States)
Heathcote, Violante, Perri and Zhang (2023)

On Inequality and Redistribution

- **On the welfare state:** Two main questions

On Inequality and Redistribution

■ On the welfare state: Two main questions

- Should we tax **wealth**? Or capital income?
 - “*Heterogeneity and Persistence in Returns to Wealth*”
A. Fagereng, L. Guiso, D. Malacrino and L. Pistaferri, *Econometrica* 2020
 - “*Use It or Lose It: Efficiency and Redistributional Effects of Wealth Taxation*”
F. Guvenen, G. Kambourov, B. Kuruscu, S. Ocampo and D. Chen, *QJE* 2023

On Inequality and Redistribution

■ On the welfare state: Two main questions

- Should we tax **wealth**? Or capital income?
 - “*Heterogeneity and Persistence in Returns to Wealth*”
A. Fagereng, L. Guiso, D. Malacrino and L. Pistaferri, *Econometrica* 2020
 - “*Use It or Lose It: Efficiency and Redistributional Effects of Wealth Taxation*”
F. Guvenen, G. Kambourov, B. Kuruscu, S. Ocampo and D. Chen, *QJE* 2023
- Should we implement a **Universal Basic Income**?
 - Some data on long-run trends of the welfare state in the United States
National Accounts, Moffitt, my own work
 - “*Universal Basic Income: A Dynamic Assessment*”
D. Daruich and R. Fernandez, *AER* 2024

On Inequality and Redistribution

■ On the welfare state: Two main questions

- Should we tax **wealth**? Or capital income?
 - “*Heterogeneity and Persistence in Returns to Wealth*”
A. Fagereng, L. Guiso, D. Malacrino and L. Pistaferri, *Econometrica* 2020
 - “*Use It or Lose It: Efficiency and Redistributional Effects of Wealth Taxation*”
F. Guvenen, G. Kambourov, B. Kuruscu, S. Ocampo and D. Chen, *QJE* 2023
- Should we implement a **Universal Basic Income**?
 - Some data on long-run trends of the welfare state in the United States
National Accounts, Moffitt, my own work
 - “*Universal Basic Income: A Dynamic Assessment*”
D. Daruich and R. Fernandez, *AER* 2024

■ On business cycles: Should we use fiscal policy to dampen recessions?

- **Targeted** instruments? Ferriere and Navarro, *IMFER* 2025

Capital Income Taxes

History of Capital Income Taxes

- First-generation models: Capital taxes should be 0
 - Chamley (1986), Judd (1985)

History of Capital Income Taxes

- First-generation models: Capital taxes should be 0
 - Chamley (1986), Judd (1985)
 - In the long run, with one representative agent
 - Intuition: rolling over the Euler equation for ever

History of Capital Income Taxes

- First-generation models: Capital taxes should be 0
 - Chamley (1986), Judd (1985)
 - In the long run, with one representative agent
 - Intuition: rolling over the Euler equation for ever

- Second-generation models: Capital taxes should be... 34%
 - Conesa, Kitao and Krueger (2008)

History of Capital Income Taxes

- First-generation models: Capital taxes should be 0

- Chamley (1986), Judd (1985)
 - In the long run, with one representative agent
 - Intuition: rolling over the Euler equation for ever

- Second-generation models: Capital taxes should be... 34%

- Conesa, Kitao and Krueger (2008)
 - Incomplete markets with borrowing constraints, heterogeneous labor income
 - Rich distribution of wealth and income, OLG structure: age dynamics

History of Capital Income Taxes

- First-generation models: Capital taxes should be 0
 - Chamley (1986), Judd (1985)
 - In the long run, with one representative agent
 - Intuition: rolling over the Euler equation for ever
- Second-generation models: Capital taxes should be... 34%
 - Conesa, Kitao and Krueger (2008)
 - Incomplete markets with borrowing constraints, heterogeneous labor income
 - Rich distribution of wealth and income, OLG structure: age dynamics
- Why do people accumulate so much wealth?

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Theory

- New theoretical literature in the early 2010s: **heterogeneous capital returns**
 - Benhabib, Bisin, and Zhu (2011), Benhabib, Bisin, and Luo (2019)
 - Gabaix, Lasry, Lions, and Moll (2016)

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Theory

- New theoretical literature in the early 2010s: **heterogeneous capital returns**
 - Benhabib, Bisin, and Zhu (2011), Benhabib, Bisin, and Luo (2019)
 - Gabaix, Lasry, Lions, and Moll (2016)
- Heterogeneity in capital returns can generate **fat tails** in wealth distribution
 - Very simple idea: labor income is additive, capital income is multiplicative

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Theory

- New theoretical literature in the early 2010s: **heterogeneous capital returns**
 - Benhabib, Bisin, and Zhu (2011), Benhabib, Bisin, and Luo (2019)
 - Gabaix, Lasry, Lions, and Moll (2016)
- Heterogeneity in capital returns can generate **fat tails** in wealth distribution
 - Very simple idea: labor income is additive, capital income is multiplicative
- A simple example with Bob and Jane
 - Bob and Jane start with a stock of wealth $w_0 = 100$ (consume $c = 0$)
 - Bob earns $y_\ell^b = 110$ and makes 10% of returns on wealth
 - Jane earns $y_\ell^j = 100$ and makes 20% of returns on wealth

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Theory

■ A simple example with Bob and Jane (cont.)

– In year 1, Bob has $w_1 = w_0 + y_\ell^b + r^b \times w_0 = 100 + 110 + 10 \times 100 = 220$

Jane has $w_1 = w_0 + y_\ell^j + r^j \times w_0 = 100 + 100 + 20 \times 100 = 220$

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Theory

■ A simple example with Bob and Jane (cont.)

– In **year 1**, Bob has $w_1 = w_0 + y_\ell^b + r^b \times w_0 = 100 + 110 + 10 \times 100 = 220$

Jane has $w_1 = w_0 + y_\ell^j + r^j \times w_0 = 100 + 100 + 20 \times 100 = 220$

– In **year 2**, Bob has $w_2^b = w_1 + y_\ell^b + r^b \times w_1 = 220 + 110 + 10 \times 220 = 352$

Jane has $w_2^j = w_1 + y_\ell^j + r^j \times w_1 = 220 + 100 + 20 \times 220 = 364$

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Theory

■ A simple example with Bob and Jane (cont.)

– In year 1, Bob has $w_1 = w_0 + y_\ell^b + r^b \times w_0 = 100 + 110 + 10 \times 100 = 220$

Jane has $w_1 = w_0 + y_\ell^j + r^j \times w_0 = 100 + 100 + 20 \times 100 = 220$

– In year 2, Bob has $w_2^b = w_1 + y_\ell^b + r^b \times w_1 = 220 + 110 + 10 \times 220 = 352$

Jane has $w_2^j = w_1 + y_\ell^j + r^j \times w_1 = 220 + 100 + 20 \times 220 = 364$

– ...

– In year 5, Bob has $w_5^b = 832$, Jane has $w_5^j = 992$

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Theory

■ A simple example with Bob and Jane (cont.)

- In **year 1**, Bob has $w_1 = w_0 + y_\ell^b + r^b \times w_0 = 100 + 110 + 10 \times 100 = 220$
Jane has $w_1 = w_0 + y_\ell^j + r^j \times w_0 = 100 + 100 + 20 \times 100 = 220$
- In **year 2**, Bob has $w_2^b = w_1 + y_\ell^b + r^b \times w_1 = 220 + 110 + 10 \times 220 = 352$
Jane has $w_2^j = w_1 + y_\ell^j + r^j \times w_1 = 220 + 100 + 20 \times 220 = 364$
- ...
- In year 5, Bob has $w_5^b = 832$, Jane has $w_5^j = 992$
- In year 10, Bob has $w_{10}^b \approx 2012$, Jane has $w_{10}^j \approx 3215$
- ...

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Theory

- Needed ingredients for capital returns to generate (a lot of) wealth inequality
 - **Persistent** idiosyncratic returns (even across generations)
 - “*Type dependence*”

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Theory

- Needed ingredients for capital returns to generate (a lot of) wealth inequality
 - Persistent idiosyncratic returns (even across generations)
 - “*Type dependence*”
 - Correlation of wealth and returns
 - “*Scale dependence*”

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Theory

- Needed ingredients for capital returns to generate (a lot of) wealth inequality
 - Persistent idiosyncratic returns (even across generations)
 - “*Type dependence*”
 - Correlation of wealth and returns
 - “*Scale dependence*”
- Plausible in the data?

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Data

Fagereng, Guiso, Malacrino, and Pistaferri (2020)

- Norwegian administrative data
 - Individual tax records 2005-2015
 - Labor and capital **income**
 - **Asset holdings and liabilities**

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Data

Fagereng, Guiso, Malacrino, and Pistaferri (2020)

- Norwegian administrative data
 - Individual tax records 2005-2015
 - Labor and capital **income**
 - **Asset holdings and liabilities**
 - Data on deposits and loans
 - Housing transactions registry
 - Private business balance sheet

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Data

Fagereng, Guiso, Malacrino, and Pistaferri (2020)

- Norwegian administrative data
 - Individual tax records 2005-2015
 - Labor and capital **income**
 - **Asset holdings and liabilities**
 - Data on deposits and loans
 - Housing transactions registry
 - Private business balance sheet
- Compute individual returns to wealth
 - 33 millions of observations (pooling all years)

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Data

- Large heterogeneity in portfolios

Heterogeneous Capital Returns

Data

- Large heterogeneity in portfolios
- Very heterogeneous returns on wealth
 - Large **heterogeneity overall**
 - Large heterogeneity **across assets**
 - Large heterogeneity **within classes of assets**
 - Large **scale dependence**: from net worth-10th to -90th percentile
 - Strong **persistence** across generations

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Portfolio Compositions

TABLE 1A
PORTFOLIO COMPOSITION OF NET WORTH, BY SELECTED FRACTILES^a

	Gross Wealth Shares				Leverage Ratios			Gross Wealth (Logs)
	Safe	Risky	Housing	Private Equity	Consumer Debt	Student Debt	Long-Term Debt	
Bottom 10%	0.51	0.03	0.43	0.02	0.50	2.47	9.08	10.73
10–20%	0.78	0.03	0.18	0.01	0.42	3.08	3.39	9.06
20–50%	0.31	0.02	0.66	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.40	11.89
50–90%	0.11	0.02	0.86	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.21	13.42
90–95%	0.12	0.02	0.81	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.12	14.12
95–99%	0.13	0.03	0.73	0.11	0.00	0.00	0.10	14.55
99–99.9%	0.15	0.04	0.44	0.36	0.00	0.00	0.07	15.41
99.9–99.99%	0.14	0.04	0.11	0.71	0.00	0.00	0.04	16.94
Top 0.01%	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.85	0.00	0.00	0.02	18.78

^aThe table reports the share of gross wealth in safe assets (cash/deposits, bonds, outstanding claims and receivables), risky assets (foreign assets, mutual funds, directly held listed stocks), housing, private business wealth, consumer debt, student debt, and long-term debt (mortgages and personal loans) for Norwegian taxpayers against selected fractiles of the net worth distribution. Debt leverage values are winsorized at the top 1%. In the last column, we report the logarithm of real gross wealth. Data are for 2005–2015.

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Portfolio Compositions

TABLE 1A
PORTFOLIO COMPOSITION OF NET WORTH, BY SELECTED FRACTILES^a

	Gross Wealth Shares				Leverage Ratios			Gross Wealth (Logs)
	Safe	Risky	Housing	Private Equity	Consumer Debt	Student Debt	Long-Term Debt	
Bottom 10%	0.51	0.03	0.43	0.02	0.50	2.47	9.08	10.73
10–20%	0.78	0.03	0.18	0.01	0.42	3.08	3.39	9.06
20–50%	0.31	0.02	0.66	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.40	11.89
50–90%	0.11	0.02	0.86	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.21	13.42
90–95%	0.12	0.02	0.81	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.12	14.12
95–99%	0.13	0.03	0.73	0.11	0.00	0.00	0.10	14.55
99–99.9%	0.15	0.04	0.44	0.36	0.00	0.00	0.07	15.41
99.9–99.99%	0.14	0.04	0.11	0.71	0.00	0.00	0.04	16.94
Top 0.01%	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.85	0.00	0.00	0.02	18.78

^aThe table reports the share of gross wealth in safe assets (cash/deposits, bonds, outstanding claims and receivables), risky assets (foreign assets, mutual funds, directly held listed stocks), housing, private business wealth, consumer debt, student debt, and long-term debt (mortgages and personal loans) for Norwegian taxpayers against selected fractiles of the net worth distribution. Debt leverage values are winsorized at the top 1%. In the last column, we report the logarithm of real gross wealth. Data are for 2005–2015.

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Portfolio Compositions

TABLE 1A
PORTFOLIO COMPOSITION OF NET WORTH, BY SELECTED FRACTILES^a

	Gross Wealth Shares				Leverage Ratios			Gross Wealth (Logs)
	Safe	Risky	Housing	Private Equity	Consumer Debt	Student Debt	Long-Term Debt	
Bottom 10%	0.51	0.03	0.43	0.02	0.50	2.47	9.08	10.73
10–20%	0.78	0.03	0.18	0.01	0.42	3.08	3.39	9.06
20–50%	0.31	0.02	0.66	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.40	11.89
50–90%	0.11	0.02	0.86	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.21	13.42
90–95%	0.12	0.02	0.81	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.12	14.12
95–99%	0.13	0.03	0.73	0.11	0.00	0.00	0.10	14.55
99–99.9%	0.15	0.04	0.44	0.36	0.00	0.00	0.07	15.41
99.9–99.99%	0.14	0.04	0.11	0.71	0.00	0.00	0.04	16.94
Top 0.01%	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.85	0.00	0.00	0.02	18.78

^aThe table reports the share of gross wealth in safe assets (cash/deposits, bonds, outstanding claims and receivables), risky assets (foreign assets, mutual funds, directly held listed stocks), housing, private business wealth, consumer debt, student debt, and long-term debt (mortgages and personal loans) for Norwegian taxpayers against selected fractiles of the net worth distribution. Debt leverage values are winsorized at the top 1%. In the last column, we report the logarithm of real gross wealth. Data are for 2005–2015.

Heterogeneous Capital Returns

Heterogeneous Returns

TABLE 3
RETURNS TO WEALTH: SUMMARY STATISTICS^a

Wealth Component	Mean	St. Dev.	Skewness	Kurtosis	P10	Median	P90
Net worth (before tax)	0.0379	0.0859	-0.79	47.75	-0.0308	0.0321	0.1109
Net worth (after tax)	0.0365	0.0781	-0.71	36.88	-0.0283	0.0316	0.1067
Net worth (before tax, unweighted)	0.0004	0.2205	-6.73	68.46	-0.0600	0.0230	0.1037
Net worth (after tax, unweighted)	0.0155	0.1546	-5.28	56.42	-0.0449	0.0247	0.1040
Financial wealth	0.0105	0.0596	-1.78	22.17	-0.0171	0.0084	0.0530
Safe fin. assets	0.0078	0.0188	4.38	53.52	-0.0106	0.0059	0.0268
Risky fin. assets	0.0425	0.2473	-0.08	6.22	-0.2443	0.0418	0.3037
Non-financial wealth	0.0511	0.0786	1.80	15.47	-0.0215	0.0429	0.1275
Housing	0.0485	0.0653	0.73	9.95	-0.0209	0.0441	0.1165
Private equity	0.1040	0.5169	18.01	836.79	-0.0531	0.0052	0.3616
Debt	0.0236	0.0216	2.51	29.50	0.0030	0.0215	0.0461
Long-term debt	0.0230	0.0209	3.54	56.92	0.0038	0.0209	0.0446
Consumer debt	0.0961	0.1086	4.60	82.60	-0.0124	0.0741	0.2119
Student debt	0.0078	0.0260	0.68	4.14	-0.0213	0.0074	0.0399

^aThe table reports summary statistics for various measures of real returns to wealth, pooling data for 2005–2015. Except when noted, all returns are value-weighted.

Heterogeneous Capital Returns

Heterogeneous Returns

TABLE 3
RETURNS TO WEALTH: SUMMARY STATISTICS^a

Wealth Component	Mean	St. Dev.	Skewness	Kurtosis	P10	Median	P90
Net worth (before tax)	0.0379	0.0859	-0.79	47.75	-0.0308	0.0321	0.1109
Net worth (after tax)	0.0365	0.0781	-0.71	36.88	-0.0283	0.0316	0.1067
Net worth (before tax, unweighted)	0.0004	0.2205	-6.73	68.46	-0.0600	0.0230	0.1037
Net worth (after tax, unweighted)	0.0155	0.1546	-5.28	56.42	-0.0449	0.0247	0.1040
Financial wealth	0.0105	0.0596	-1.78	22.17	-0.0171	0.0084	0.0530
Safe fin. assets	0.0078	0.0188	4.38	53.52	-0.0106	0.0059	0.0268
Risky fin. assets	0.0425	0.2473	-0.08	6.22	-0.2443	0.0418	0.3037
Non-financial wealth	0.0511	0.0786	1.80	15.47	-0.0215	0.0429	0.1275
Housing	0.0485	0.0653	0.73	9.95	-0.0209	0.0441	0.1165
Private equity	0.1040	0.5169	18.01	836.79	-0.0531	0.0052	0.3616
Debt	0.0236	0.0216	2.51	29.50	0.0030	0.0215	0.0461
Long-term debt	0.0230	0.0209	3.54	56.92	0.0038	0.0209	0.0446
Consumer debt	0.0961	0.1086	4.60	82.60	-0.0124	0.0741	0.2119
Student debt	0.0078	0.0260	0.68	4.14	-0.0213	0.0074	0.0399

^aThe table reports summary statistics for various measures of real returns to wealth, pooling data for 2005–2015. Except when noted, all returns are value-weighted.

Heterogeneous Capital Returns

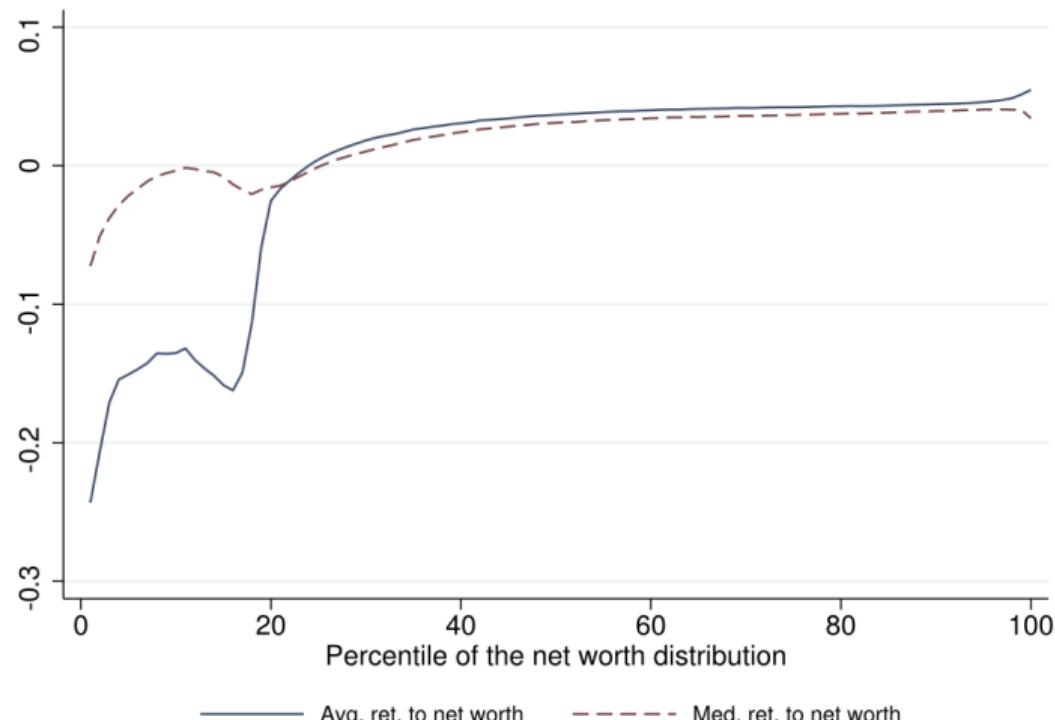
Heterogeneous Returns

TABLE 3
RETURNS TO WEALTH: SUMMARY STATISTICS^a

Wealth Component	Mean	St. Dev.	Skewness	Kurtosis	P10	Median	P90
Net worth (before tax)	0.0379	0.0859	-0.79	47.75	-0.0308	0.0321	0.1109
Net worth (after tax)	0.0365	0.0781	-0.71	36.88	-0.0283	0.0316	0.1067
Net worth (before tax, unweighted)	0.0004	0.2205	-6.73	68.46	-0.0600	0.0230	0.1037
Net worth (after tax, unweighted)	0.0155	0.1546	-5.28	56.42	-0.0449	0.0247	0.1040
Financial wealth	0.0105	0.0596	-1.78	22.17	-0.0171	0.0084	0.0530
Safe fin. assets	0.0078	0.0188	4.38	53.52	-0.0106	0.0059	0.0268
Risky fin. assets	0.0425	0.2473	-0.08	6.22	-0.2443	0.0418	0.3037
Non-financial wealth	0.0511	0.0786	1.80	15.47	-0.0215	0.0429	0.1275
Housing	0.0485	0.0653	0.73	9.95	-0.0209	0.0441	0.1165
Private equity	0.1040	0.5169	18.01	836.79	-0.0531	0.0052	0.3616
Debt	0.0236	0.0216	2.51	29.50	0.0030	0.0215	0.0461
Long-term debt	0.0230	0.0209	3.54	56.92	0.0038	0.0209	0.0446
Consumer debt	0.0961	0.1086	4.60	82.60	-0.0124	0.0741	0.2119
Student debt	0.0078	0.0260	0.68	4.14	-0.0213	0.0074	0.0399

^aThe table reports summary statistics for various measures of real returns to wealth, pooling data for 2005–2015. Except when noted, all returns are value-weighted.

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Scale Dependence



Panel A: Average and median return to net worth

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Scale and Type Dependence

- What explains heterogeneous capital returns within a class of assets?

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Scale and Type Dependence

- What explains heterogeneous capital returns within a class of assets?
 - Fixed cost to access some investments? Scale?

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Scale and Type Dependence

- What explains heterogeneous capital returns within a class of assets?
 - Fixed cost to access some investments? Scale?
 - Capacity to pick better investments? Types?

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Scale and Type Dependence

- What explains heterogeneous capital returns within a class of assets?
 - Fixed cost to access some investments? Scale?
 - Capacity to pick better investments? Types?
 - Exposure to risk?
 - *"Rich Pickings? Risk, Return, and Skill in Household Wealth"*
Bach, Calvet and Soldini, AER (2020)

Heterogeneous Capital Returns Scale and Type Dependence

- What explains heterogeneous capital returns within a class of assets?
 - Fixed cost to access some investments? Scale?
 - Capacity to pick better investments? Types?
 - Exposure to risk?
 - *"Rich Pickings? Risk, Return, and Skill in Household Wealth"*
Bach, Calvet and Soldini, AER (2020)

- Active literature
 - *"Why Are the Wealthiest So Wealthy?"*
Salgado, Halvorsen, Ozkan and Hubmer, R&R Econometrica (2024)
 - Many other papers looking at ...

Implications for Taxation

- New question for taxation: should we tax capital income? Or the stock of capital?
 - Should we tax capital or wealth?

Implications for Taxation

- New question for taxation: should we tax capital income? Or the stock of capital?
 - Should we tax capital or wealth?
- Under **homogenous returns**, **taxing capital = taxing wealth**

$$(1 + r(1 - \tau_k))a_i = (1 - \tau_a)(1 + r)a_i$$

- τ_k is a tax on capital income
- τ_a is a tax on the stock of capital (wealth)

Implications for Taxation

- New question for taxation: should we tax capital income? Or the stock of capital?
 - Should we tax capital or wealth?
- Under **homogenous returns**, **taxing capital = taxing wealth**

$$(1 + r(1 - \tau_k))a_i = (1 - \tau_a)(1 + r)a_i$$

- τ_k is a tax on capital income
- τ_a is a tax on the stock of capital (wealth)
 - Equivalent as long as $\tau_a = \tau_k r / (1 + r)$

Implications for Taxation

- New question for taxation: should we tax capital income? Or the stock of capital?
 - Should we tax capital or wealth?
- Under **homogenous returns**, **taxing capital = taxing wealth**

$$(1 + r(1 - \tau_k))a_i = (1 - \tau_a)(1 + r)a_i$$

- τ_k is a tax on capital income
- τ_a is a tax on the stock of capital (wealth)
 - Equivalent as long as $\tau_a = \tau_k r / (1 + r)$

- What if returns are **heterogeneous**?

$$(1 + r_i(1 - \tau_k))a_i \text{ vs. } (1 - \tau_a)(1 + r_i)a_i$$

“Use it or lose it!”

Guvenen et al. (2023)

- Assume two agents, a and b ,
 - Same wealth $k = \$1000$; but **different returns**: $r^a = 0 < r^b = 0.2$

“Use it or lose it!”

Guvenen et al. (2023)

- Assume two agents, a and b ,
 - Same wealth $k = \$1000$; but **different returns**: $r^a = 0 < r^b = 0.2$
- Policy 1: $\tau^k = 10\%$ on capital income
 - Agent a pays \$0
 - Agent b pays $10\% \times 20\% \times 1000 = \20

“Use it or lose it!”

Guvenen et al. (2023)

- Assume two agents, a and b ,
 - Same wealth $k = \$1000$; but **different returns**: $r^a = 0 < r^b = 0.2$
- Policy 1: $\tau^k = 10\%$ on capital income
 - Agent a pays \$0
 - Agent b pays $10\% \times 20\% \times 1000 = \20
- (**Revenue-neutral**) policy 2: $\tau^a = 0.91\%$ tax rate on wealth
 - Agent a pays $0.91\% \times 1000 = \$9.10$
 - Agent b pays $0.91\% \times (1000 + 200) = \10.90

“Use it or lose it!”

Guvenen et al. (2023)

- Assume two agents, a and b ,
 - Same wealth $k = \$1000$; but **different returns**: $r^a = 0 < r^b = 0.2$
- Policy 1: $\tau^k = 10\%$ on capital income
 - Agent a pays \$0
 - Agent b pays $10\% \times 20\% \times 1000 = \20
- (**Revenue-neutral**) policy 2: $\tau^a = 0.91\%$ tax rate on wealth
 - Agent a pays $0.91\% \times 1000 = \$9.10$
 - Agent b pays $0.91\% \times (1000 + 200) = \10.90
- A **wealth** tax shifts the tax burden **away** from the **more productive** hh

“Use it or lose it!”

Guvenen et al. (2023)

- Assume two agents, a and b ,
 - Same wealth $k = \$1000$; but **different returns**: $r^a = 0 < r^b = 0.2$
- Policy 1: $\tau^k = 10\%$ on capital income
 - Agent a pays \$0
 - Agent b pays $10\% \times 20\% \times 1000 = \20
- (**Revenue-neutral**) policy 2: $\tau^a = 0.91\%$ tax rate on wealth
 - Agent a pays $0.91\% \times 1000 = \$9.10$
 - Agent b pays $0.91\% \times (1000 + 200) = \10.90
- A **wealth** tax shifts the tax burden **away** from the **more productive** hh
 - Good for efficiency

“Use it or lose it!”

Guvenen et al. (2023)

- Assume two agents, a and b ,
 - Same wealth $k = \$1000$; but **different returns**: $r^a = 0 < r^b = 0.2$
- Policy 1: $\tau^k = 10\%$ on capital income
 - Agent a pays \$0
 - Agent b pays $10\% \times 20\% \times 1000 = \20
- (**Revenue-neutral**) policy 2: $\tau^a = 0.91\%$ tax rate on wealth
 - Agent a pays $0.91\% \times 1000 = \$9.10$
 - Agent b pays $0.91\% \times (1000 + 200) = \10.90
- A **wealth** tax shifts the tax burden **away** from the **more productive** hh
 - Good for efficiency, bad for redistribution?

“Use it or lose it!” Three channels

In a dynamic general-equilibrium model

1. “Use-it-or-lose-it” channel
 - Capital reallocates toward more productive entrepreneurs

“Use it or lose it!”

Three channels

In a dynamic general-equilibrium model

1. “Use-it-or-lose-it” channel
 - Capital reallocates toward more productive entrepreneurs
2. “Behavior response” channel
 - More productive entrepreneurs will save more

“Use it or lose it!”

Three channels

In a dynamic general-equilibrium model

1. “Use-it-or-lose-it” channel
 - Capital reallocates toward more productive entrepreneurs
2. “Behavior response” channel
 - More productive entrepreneurs will save more
3. “Price” channel
 - Wages and interest rates will adjust

Environment Demographics

- Overlapping generations (OLG) model
 - Age h , live up to H years
 - Wealth inheritance

Environment Demographics

- Overlapping generations (OLG) model
 - Age h , live up to H years
 - Wealth inheritance
- Households make three decisions
 - Endogenous **labor** until retirement R

Environment Demographics

- Overlapping generations (OLG) model

- Age h , live up to H years
 - Wealth inheritance

- Households make three decisions

- Endogenous **labor** until retirement R
 - **Consumption**-savings decision

Environment Demographics

- Overlapping generations (OLG) model
 - Age h , live up to H years
 - Wealth inheritance
- Households make three decisions
 - Endogenous **labor** until retirement R
 - **Consumption**-savings decision
 - **Portfolio** choice
 - Choose how much to invest in own technology (“**entrepreneurship**”)

=> No occupation decision, intensive margin

Environment Households

- Labor productivity w_{ih} s.t. $\log w_{ih} = \kappa_i + g(h) + e_{ih}$

- Labor **productivity** w_{ih} s.t. $\log w_{ih} = \kappa_i + g(h) + e_{ih}$

- Type: κ_i imperfectly inherited from parents
 - Age-profile $g(h)$
 - Idiosyncratic shock: e_{ih} follows an AR(1)

Environment Households

- Labor productivity w_{ih} s.t. $\log w_{ih} = \kappa_i + g(h) + e_{ih}$
 - Type: κ_i imperfectly inherited from parents
 - Age-profile $g(h)$
 - Idiosyncratic shock: e_{ih} follows an AR(1)
- Social security: $y^R(\kappa, e) = \phi(\kappa, e)\bar{E}$ when $h > R$

Environment Households

- Entrepreneurial ability z_{ih}
 - Type: \bar{z}_i imperfectly inherited from parents

Environment Households

■ Entrepreneurial ability z_{ih}

- Type: \bar{z}_i imperfectly inherited from parents
- Stochastic process $\mathbb{I}_{ih} \in \{\mathcal{H}, \mathcal{L}, 0\}$

$$z_{ih} = \begin{cases} (\bar{z}_i)^\lambda & \text{if } \mathbb{I}_{ih} = \mathcal{H} \\ \bar{z}_i & \text{if } \mathbb{I}_{ih} = \mathcal{L} \\ 0 & \text{if } \mathbb{I}_{ih} = 0 \end{cases} \quad \text{with } \lambda > 1 : \text{“fast-lane” entrepreneurs}$$

■ Entrepreneurial ability z_{ih}

- Type: \bar{z}_i imperfectly inherited from parents
- Stochastic process $\mathbb{I}_{ih} \in \{\mathcal{H}, \mathcal{L}, 0\}$

$$z_{ih} = \begin{cases} (\bar{z}_i)^\lambda & \text{if } \mathbb{I}_{ih} = \mathcal{H} \\ \bar{z}_i & \text{if } \mathbb{I}_{ih} = \mathcal{L} \\ 0 & \text{if } \mathbb{I}_{ih} = 0 \end{cases} \quad \text{with } \lambda > 1 : \text{"fast-lane" entrepreneurs}$$

- Stochastic transition **downwards**

Environment Production

- Final good: $Y = Q^\alpha L^{1-\alpha}$
 - Aggregate labor L , with $\alpha = 0.4$
 - Intermediates: $Q = (\int x_{ih}^\mu)^{\frac{1}{\mu}}$, with $\mu = 0.9$
 - Competitive sector

Environment Production

- Final good: $Y = Q^\alpha L^{1-\alpha}$
 - Aggregate labor L , with $\alpha = 0.4$
 - Intermediates: $Q = \left(\int x_{ih}^\mu\right)^{\frac{1}{\mu}}$, with $\mu = 0.9$
 - Competitive sector
- Intermediate goods: $x_{ih} = z_{ih} k_{ih}$
 - Intermediates: $Q = \left(\int (z_{ih} k_{ih})^\mu\right)^{\frac{1}{\mu}}$
 - Price $p_{ih} = \alpha x_{ih}^{\mu-1} Q^{\alpha-\mu} L^{1-\alpha}$

Environment Household entrepreneurial problem

- **Bond market:** individuals can lend and borrow at rate r

Environment Household entrepreneurial problem

- **Bond market:** individuals can lend and borrow at rate r
- **Entrepreneurial choice:** Choose **capital** to max profits

$$\pi(a, z) = \max_{k \leq \nu(z)a} p(zk)zk - (r + \delta)k$$

- **Financial friction** which generates misallocation
- Invests more if z is higher and if a is higher

Environment Household entrepreneurial problem

- **Bond market:** individuals can lend and borrow at rate r

- **Entrepreneurial choice:** Choose **capital** to max profits

$$\pi(a, z) = \max_{k \leq \nu(z)a} p(zk)zk - (r + \delta)k$$

- **Financial friction** which generates misallocation
- Invests more if z is higher and if a is higher

- **After-tax wealth**

$$\begin{aligned}\Pi(a, z; \tau) &= a + (ra + \pi(a, z) \times (1 - \tau_k)) \\ &= a \times (1 - \tau_a) + (ra + \pi(a, z))\end{aligned}$$

Environment Household dynamic problem

- Choose how much to **work** (when $h \leq R$), **consume**, and **save** in assets

$$V_h(a, \bar{z}, \mathcal{I}, e, \kappa) = \max_{c, n, a'} u(c, n) + \beta s_{h+1} \mathbb{E} [V_{h+1}(a', \bar{z}, \mathcal{I}', e', \kappa)]$$

Environment Household dynamic problem

- Choose how much to **work** (when $h \leq R$), **consume**, and **save** in assets

$$V_h(a, \bar{z}, \mathcal{I}, e, \kappa) = \max_{c, n, a'} u(c, n) + \beta s_{h+1} \mathbb{E} [V_{h+1}(a', \bar{z}, \mathcal{I}', e', \kappa)]$$

such that

Environment Household dynamic problem

- Choose how much to **work** (when $h \leq R$), **consume**, and **save** in assets

$$V_h(a, \bar{z}, \mathcal{I}, e, \kappa) = \max_{c, n, a'} u(c, n) + \beta s_{h+1} \mathbb{E} [V_{h+1}(a', \bar{z}, \mathcal{I}', e', \kappa)]$$

such that

$$(1 + \tau_c)c + a' = (1 - \tau_\ell)\bar{w}w(\kappa, e)n + \Pi(a, z; \tau)$$

Environment Household dynamic problem

- Choose how much to **work** (when $h \leq R$), **consume**, and **save** in assets

$$V_h(a, \bar{z}, \mathcal{I}, e, \kappa) = \max_{c, n, a'} u(c, n) + \beta s_{h+1} \mathbb{E} [V_{h+1}(a', \bar{z}, \mathcal{I}', e', \kappa)]$$

such that

$$\begin{aligned}(1 + \tau_c)c + a' &= (1 - \tau_\ell)\bar{w}w(\kappa, e)n + \Pi(a, z; \tau) \\ a' &\geq \underline{a}\end{aligned}$$

Environment Household dynamic problem

- Choose how much to **work** (when $h \leq R$), **consume**, and **save** in assets

$$V_h(a, \bar{z}, \mathcal{I}, e, \kappa) = \max_{c, n, a'} u(c, n) + \beta s_{h+1} \mathbb{E} [V_{h+1}(a', \bar{z}, \mathcal{I}', e', \kappa)]$$

such that

$$\begin{aligned} (1 + \tau_c)c + a' &= (1 - \tau_\ell)\bar{w}w(\kappa, e)n + \Pi(a, z; \tau) \\ a' &\geq \underline{a} \end{aligned}$$

- **Equilibrium:** $\int a = \int k$

Calibration

- Standard earnings risk
- Dynamics of entrepreneurship to match fast wealth growth of super wealthy (Forbes 400)
- Collateral constraint: $\nu(z) = 1 + \varphi(\bar{z} - \bar{z}_0)$, with φ to match business debt/GDP

Calibration

- Standard earnings risk
- Dynamics of entrepreneurship to match fast wealth growth of super wealthy (Forbes 400)
- Collateral constraint: $\nu(z) = 1 + \varphi(\bar{z} - \bar{z}_0)$, with φ to match business debt/GDP
- Taxes: $\tau_k = 25\%$, $\tau_\ell = 22.4\%$, $\tau_c = 7.5\%$, $\tau_a = 0\%$

Calibration

⇒ Generates high **wealth inequality!**

	top-50	top-10	top-1	top-0.5	top-0.1
Data (SCF+)	0.99	0.75	0.36	0.27	0.14
Model	0.97	0.66	0.36	0.31	0.23

- Model : 50% households with no business income, 7% earn majority of income from business (“entrepreneur”)

Main Experiment A Wealth Tax

- Suddenly and unexpectedly . . . steady-state comparison
- Set $\tau_k = 0$, balance budget with a wealth tax
 - Wealth tax $\tau_a = 1.13\%$

Main Experiment A Wealth Tax

- Suddenly and unexpectedly . . . steady-state comparison
- Set $\tau_k = 0$, balance budget with a wealth tax
 - Wealth tax $\tau_a = 1.13\%$
- New economy features
 - Larger K : +20% → agents save more

Main Experiment A Wealth Tax

- Suddenly and unexpectedly . . . steady-state comparison
- Set $\tau_k = 0$, balance budget with a wealth tax
 - Wealth tax $\tau_a = 1.13\%$
- New economy features
 - Larger K : +20% → agents save more
 - Larger Q : +25% → less misallocation

Main Experiment A Wealth Tax

- Suddenly and unexpectedly . . . steady-state comparison
- Set $\tau_k = 0$, balance budget with a wealth tax
 - Wealth tax $\tau_a = 1.13\%$
- New economy features
 - Larger K : +20% → agents save more
 - Larger Q : +25% → less misallocation
 - Larger Y and C : +10%

Main Experiment A Wealth Tax

- Suddenly and unexpectedly . . . steady-state comparison
- Set $\tau_k = 0$, balance budget with a wealth tax
 - Wealth tax $\tau_a = 1.13\%$
- New economy features
 - Larger K : +20% → agents save more
 - Larger Q : +25% → less misallocation
 - Larger Y and C : +10%
 - Lower r , higher wages, large welfare gains: +6.8%! (2020 calibration)

Main Experiment A Wealth Tax

- Why does capital increase? Three channels

Main Experiment A Wealth Tax

- Why does capital increase? Three channels
 - “Use-it-or-lose-it” [fixing prices & decision rules to benchmark] $K \uparrow$
 - GE effects [with prices of new equilibrium] $K \downarrow$
 - Behavioral responses [with new decision rules] $K \uparrow$

Main Experiment A Wealth Tax

- Why does capital increase? Three channels
 - “Use-it-or-lose-it” [fixing prices & decision rules to benchmark] $K \uparrow$
 - GE effects [with prices of new equilibrium] $K \downarrow$
 - Behavioral responses [with new decision rules] $K \uparrow$
- All three channels are approximately of the same magnitude!

Main Experiment A Wealth Tax

- Who wins from the reform?

Main Experiment A Wealth Tax

- Who wins from the reform?
- Welfare gains by age and entrepreneurial ability

TABLE IX – Welfare Gain/Loss by Age Group and Entrepreneurial Ability

Age groups:	<i>Entrepreneurial Ability Groups (\bar{z}_i Percentiles)</i>					
	0–40	40–80	80–90	90–99	99–99.9	99.9+
	<i>RN Reform</i>					
20	7.0	7.3	7.9	8.9	10.6	11.7
21–34	6.5	6.3	6.3	6.6	7.0	6.8
35–49	5.1	4.4	3.9	3.3	1.7	0.1
50–64	2.3	1.8	1.4	0.8	-0.6	-1.8
65+	-0.2	-0.3	-0.4	-0.6	-1.2	-1.8

- The high-wealth/low- z (= the old) loose
- The young benefit... from $\tau_k = 0$ (high z), from higher w (low a)

Optimal Taxation

Capital and Wealth Taxes

Optimize steady-state fiscal system

- Optimal wealth tax:

- $\tau_a \approx 3\%$, $\tau_\ell \approx 14\%$
 - Much larger welfare gains: + 8.7%

Optimal Taxation

Capital and Wealth Taxes

Optimize steady-state fiscal system

- Optimal **wealth** tax:

- $\tau_a \approx 3\%$, $\tau_\ell \approx 14\%$
- Much larger welfare gains: + 8.7%

- Optimal **capital** tax

- $\tau_k = -14\% (!)$, $\tau_\ell = 31\%$
- Welfare gains: +5.1%

Optimal Taxation

Capital and Wealth Taxes

Optimize steady-state fiscal system

- Optimal **wealth** tax:

- $\tau_a \approx 3\%$, $\tau_\ell \approx 14\%$
- Much larger welfare gains: + 8.7%

- Optimal **capital** tax

- $\tau_k = -14\% (!)$, $\tau_\ell = 31\%$
- Welfare gains: +5.1%

- Transitions

Taxing Capital? Taking Stock 1/2

- Should we tax capital income?

Taxing Capital? Taking Stock 1/2

- Should we tax capital income?
 - No! $\tau_k = 0$ to reach optimal stock of capital
 - More capital \Rightarrow more output and consumption

Taxing Capital? Taking Stock 1/2

■ Should we tax capital income?

- No! $\tau_k = 0$ to reach optimal stock of capital
 - More capital \Rightarrow more output and consumption
- Yes! $\tau_k = 34\%$ when there is (also) inequality in labor income
 - When some households are rich and poor and face a borrowing constraint
 - When the young work and save “too much” to accumulate for retirement

Taxing Capital? Taking Stock 1/2

■ Should we tax capital income?

- No! $\tau_k = 0$ to reach optimal stock of capital
 - More capital \Rightarrow more output and consumption
- Yes! $\tau_k = 34\%$ when there is (also) inequality in labor income
 - When some households are rich and poor and face a borrowing constraint
 - When the young work and save “too much” to accumulate for retirement
- No! $\tau_k = -14\%$! When there is (also) inequality in capital income
 - Some individuals are better than other in investing in good projects
 - Better allocation of capital

Taxing Capital? Taking Stock 1/2

- Should we tax capital income?
 - No! $\tau_k = 0$ to reach optimal stock of capital
 - More capital \Rightarrow more output and consumption
 - Yes! $\tau_k = 34\%$ when there is (also) inequality in labor income
 - When some households are rich and poor and face a borrowing constraint
 - When the young work and save “too much” to accumulate for retirement
 - No! $\tau_k = -14\%$! When there is (also) inequality in capital income
 - Some individuals are better than other in investing in good projects
 - Better allocation of capital
 - Side comment: Why are we all using US data?

Taxing Capital? Taking Stock 2/2

- With heterogeneous capital returns, positive wealth tax
 - Mostly for efficiency reasons! Reallocation
 - Does it decrease wealth inequality? Not necessarily

Taxing Capital? Taking Stock 2/2

- With heterogeneous capital returns, positive wealth tax
 - Mostly for efficiency reasons! Reallocation
 - Does it decrease wealth inequality? Not necessarily
- Implementability?

Taxing Capital? Taking Stock 2/2

- With heterogeneous capital returns, positive wealth tax
 - Mostly for **efficiency** reasons! **Reallocation**
 - Does it decrease wealth inequality? Not necessarily
- Implementability?
- What if high returns reflect **rents**? Gaillard and Wangner (2024)

Going Forward Data

- What else can we study with the admin Norwegian dataset?
 - Many papers: on who becomes rich, who gives what to their kids, housing, ...

Going Forward Data

- What else can we study with the admin Norwegian dataset?
 - Many papers: on who becomes rich, who gives what to their kids, housing, ...
- *"Why Are the Wealthiest So Wealthy? New Longitudinal Empirical Evidence and Implications for Theories of Wealth Inequality"*
Ozkan, Hubmer, Salgado, Halvorsen, R&R *Econometrica* (2024)

Empirical Approach

- Study lifecycle dynamics of wealth accumulation
 - 1993-2015 Norwegian panel data on wealth and income

Empirical Approach

- Study lifecycle dynamics of wealth accumulation
 - 1993-2015 Norwegian panel data on wealth and income
- Backwards approach
 - How many of the wealthiest at age 50 were already wealthy at age 25?
 - “Old Money” vs. “New Money”
 - Where does the wealth of the wealthiest at age 50 come from?
 - Labor income, capital returns, saving rates, inheritances, initial wealth?
- Complementary frontwards approach

Empirical Approach

- Study lifecycle dynamics of wealth accumulation
 - 1993-2015 Norwegian panel data on wealth and income
- Backwards approach
 - How many of the wealthiest at age 50 were already wealthy at age 25?
 - “Old Money” vs. “New Money”
 - Where does the wealth of the wealthiest at age 50 come from?
 - Labor income, capital returns, saving rates, inheritances, initial wealth?
- Complementary frontwards approach
- Accounting ... complemented with models!

Methodology

- Build measures of net wealth and capital returns
 - Follow Fagereng et al. (2020)

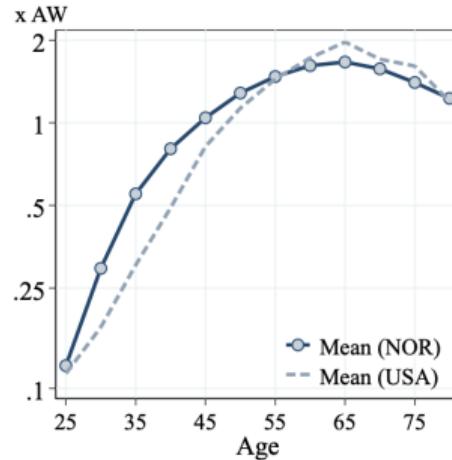
Methodology

- Build measures of net wealth and capital returns
 - Follow Fagereng et al. (2020)
 - **Indirect** ownership for retained earnings (7 layers)
 - **Inheritance** severely undervalued
 - Value of **equity** owned excludes intangibles

Methodology

- Build measures of net wealth and capital returns
 - Follow Fagereng et al. (2020)
 - **Indirect** ownership for retained earnings (7 layers)
 - **Inheritance** severely undervalued
 - Value of **equity** owned excludes intangibles
- Average wealth (AW) $\approx \$437,000$ in 2015
 - Life-cycle similar to the US

FIGURE 3 – WEALTH DIST
(A) Average Net Worth

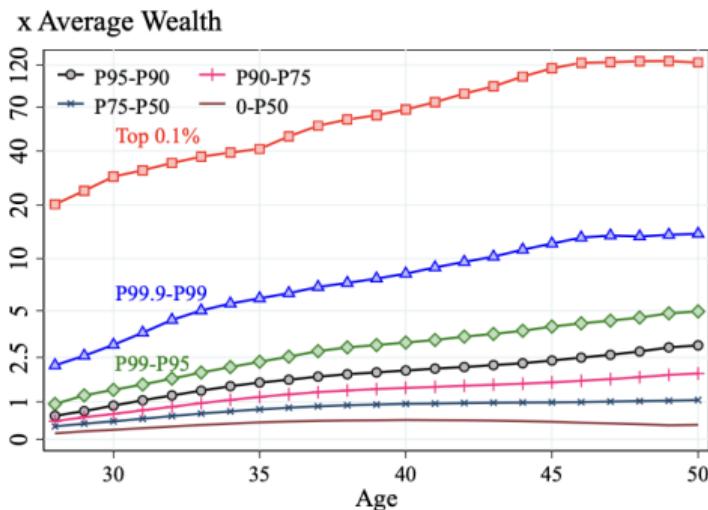


Backwards Life-Cycle Profiles

■ The Rich Started Rich

- Top-0.1% 50-54y have **125 AW**
 $\approx \$55$ million
- In their late 20s have already **20 AW**
 $\approx \$9$ million
- Higher within-cohort inequality earlier in life

(a) Backward-Looking Wealth Profile



Backwards Life-Cycle Profiles

$< P75$	$[P75, P90)$	$[P90, P95)$	$[P95, P99)$	$[P99, P99.9)$	$\geq P99.9$
A. 1994 Wealth Quantile for $BW_{>P99.9}^{50-54}$ households					
21.4%	7.4%	5.9%	13.0%	23.2%	29.2%

■ The Rich Started Rich

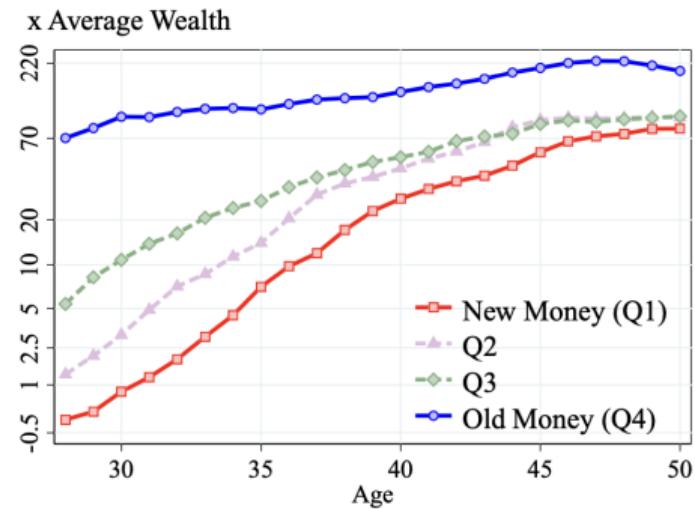
- **1/3** of the wealthiest at age 50 started in the top-0.1%
⇒ “Old Money”
- **1/5** started with **very little wealth**
⇒ “New Money”

Backwards Life-Cycle Profiles

$< P75$	$[P75, P90)$	$[P90, P95)$	$[P95, P99)$	$[P99, P99.9)$	$\geq P99.9$
A. 1994 Wealth Quantile for $BW_{\geq P99.9}^{50-54}$ households					
21.4%	7.4%	5.9%	13.0%	23.2%	29.2%

The Rich Started Rich

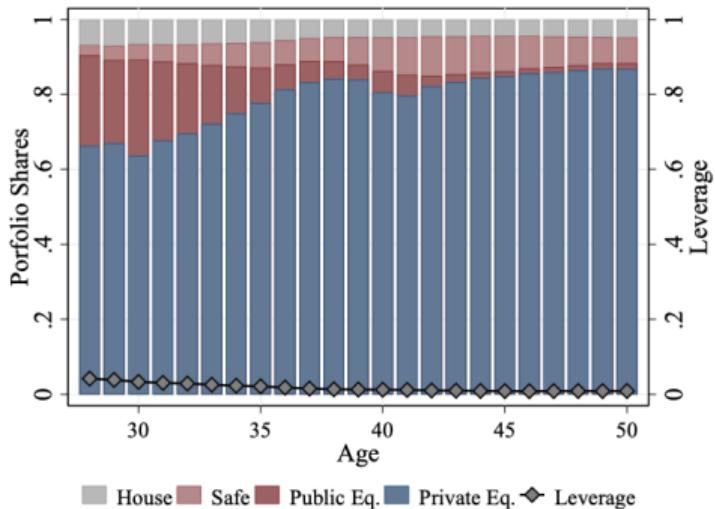
- **1/3** of the wealthiest at age 50 started in the top-0.1%
⇒ “Old Money”
- **1/5** started with **very little wealth**
⇒ “New Money”



Portfolio Compositions

The Rich Hold Equity

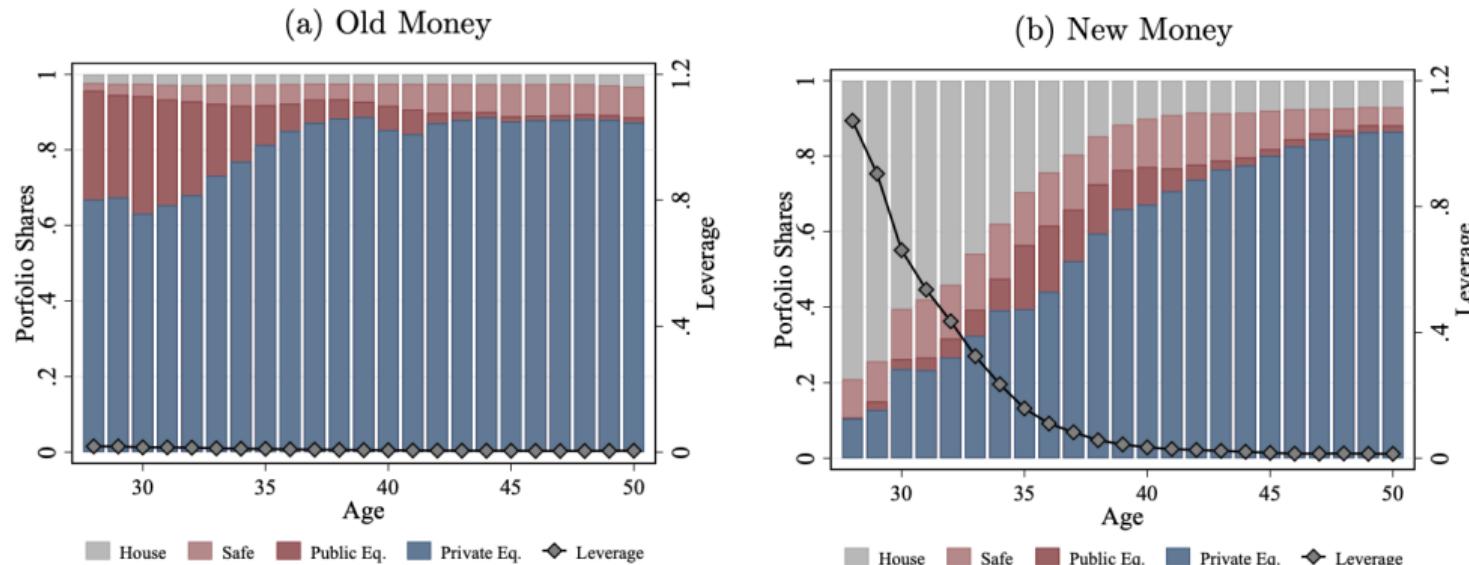
(a) Households in the top 0.1%



- Public + Private equity always above 80%, with little leverage

Portfolio Compositions

The Rich Hold Equity



- Public + Private equity always above 80%, with little leverage

- **Old Money:** even less housing at younger ages
 - **New money:** leveraged at younger ages

Sources of Income

Income of the Rich is Equity Returns

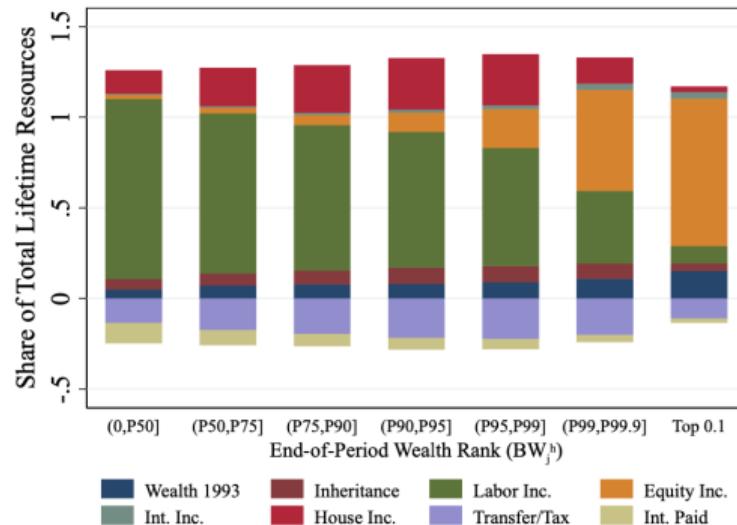
■ Accounting equation

$$W_{i,\tau} = W_{i,1993} + \sum_{t=1994}^{\tau} [L_{i,t} + H_{i,t} + R_{i,t}^E + R_{i,t}^S + R_{i,t}^H + T_{i,t} - I_{i,t}^L] - \sum_{t=1994}^{\tau} C_{i,t}$$

Sources of Income

Income of the Rich is Equity Returns

Figure 6 – DECOMPOSITION OF TOTAL LIFETIME RESOURCES



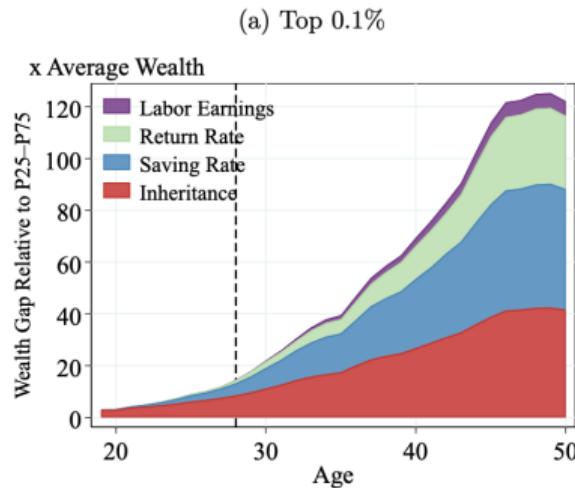
■ Accounting equation

$$W_{i,\tau} = W_{i,1993} + \sum_{t=1994}^{\tau} [L_{i,t} + H_{i,t} + R_{i,t}^E + R_{i,t}^S + R_{i,t}^H + T_{i,t} - I_{i,t}^L] - \sum_{t=1994}^{\tau} C_{i,t}$$

Why are the Wealthiest so Wealthy?

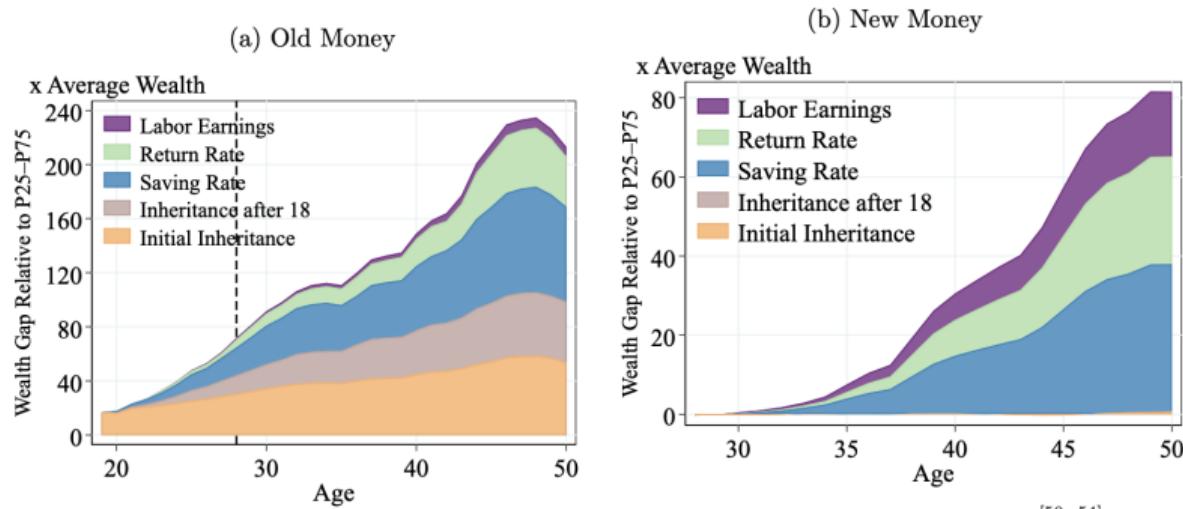
- End wealth can differ because of: inheritances, labor earnings, return rates & saving rates
- Accounting: Shapley-Owen decomposition
 - Simulate the counterfactual evolution of wealth factor by factor

Why are the Wealthiest so Wealthy? Inheritances!



- End wealth can differ because of: inheritances, labor earnings, return rates & saving rates
- Accounting: Shapley-Owen decomposition
 - Simulate the counterfactual evolution of wealth factor by factor

Why are the Wealthiest so Wealthy?



- End wealth can differ because of: inheritances, labor earnings, return rates & saving rates
- Accounting: Shapley-Owen decomposition
 - Simulate the counterfactual evolution of wealth factor by factor

Why are the Wealthiest so Wealthy?

Taking Stock

- A third is “Old-Money”

- $\approx 40\%$ comes from inheritances
 - Returns on equity and saving rates

- A fifth is “New-Money”

- No inheritance, more labor income, mostly returns on equity and saving rates

Why are the Wealthiest so Wealthy?

Taking Stock

- A third is “Old-Money”

- $\approx 40\%$ comes from inheritances
 - Returns on equity and saving rates

- A fifth is “New-Money”

- No inheritance, more labor income, mostly returns on equity and saving rates

- How many individuals?...

- Norway: 5 million individuals ... Age 50 – 54 $\approx 250,000$?
 - Top 0.1% of 50 – 54 ≈ 250 individuals
 - Old Money ≈ 75 individuals, New-Money ≈ 50 individuals?

Why are the Wealthiest so Wealthy?

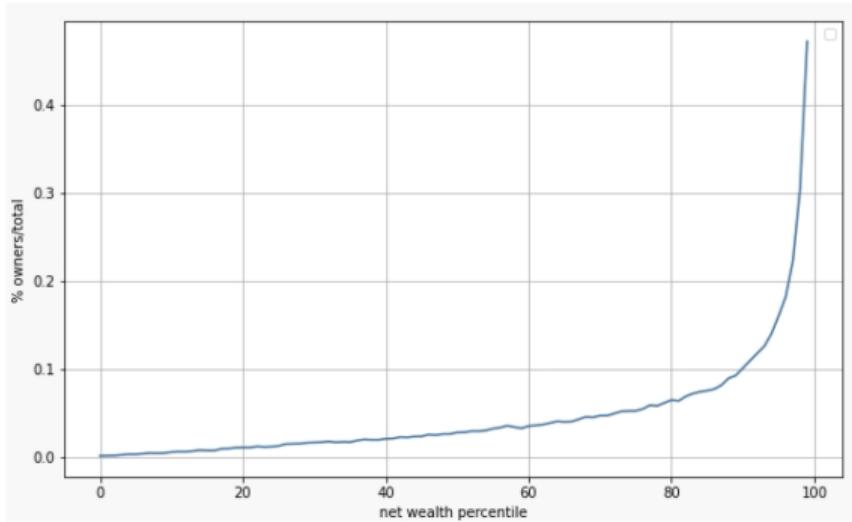
- Going forward: testing alternative models of wealth accumulation

Why are the Wealthiest so Wealthy?

- Going forward: testing alternative models of wealth accumulation
- Going forward: Bacher, Ferriere, Irarrazabal, Lizarraga and Zheng (2025)
 - Same data
 - Focus on **private limited liability companies**
 - **Entrepreneurs or investors? "When money meet skills"**

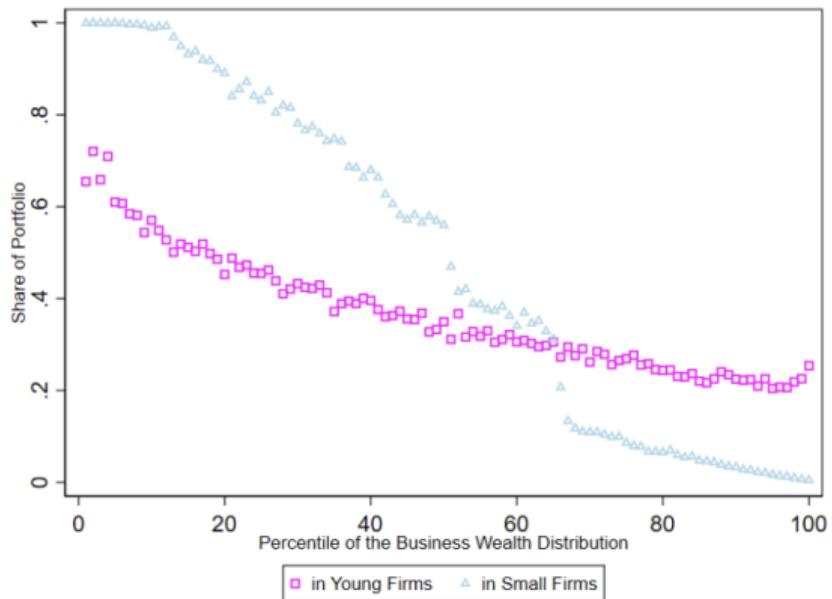
Private Businesses and Wealth Accumulation

- Where are private business owners **situated** in the net wealth distribution?
 - In the top of the distribution



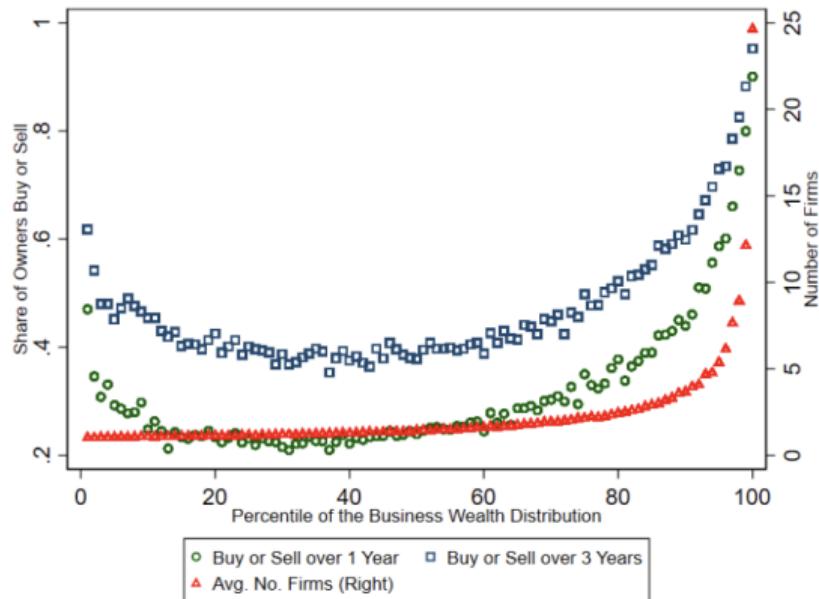
Private Businesses and Wealth Accumulation

- Where are private business owners situated in the net wealth distribution?
- What kind of firms do they owe?
 - Heterogeneity



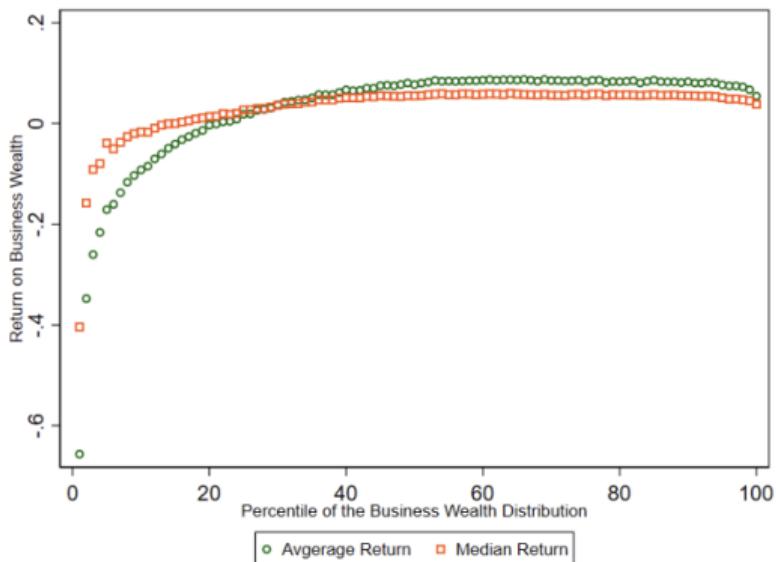
Private Businesses and Wealth Accumulation

- Where are private business owners situated in the net wealth distribution?
- What kind of firms do they owe?
- How many firms do they owe?
 - Mostly one



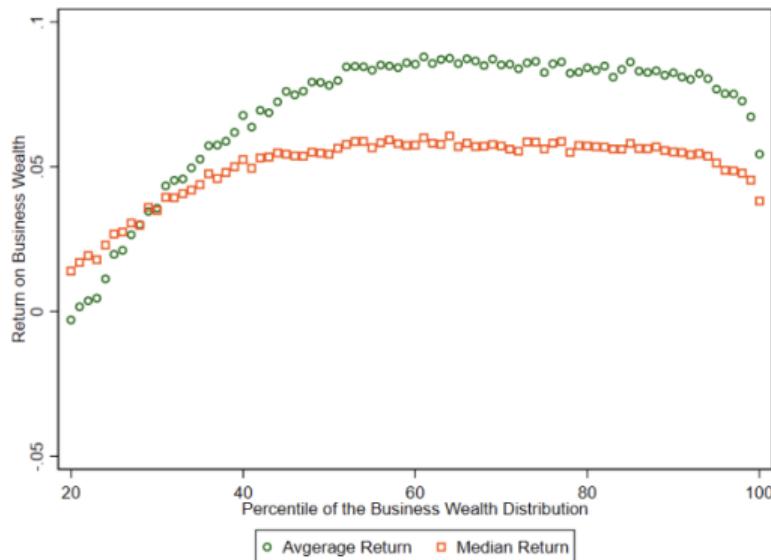
Private Businesses and Wealth Accumulation

- Where are private business owners situated in the net wealth distribution?
- What kind of firms do they owe?
- How many firms do they owe?
- Scale dependence?
 - Yes! Up to the 50th percentile



Private Businesses and Wealth Accumulation

- Where are private business owners situated in the net wealth distribution?
- What kind of firms do they owe?
- How many firms do they owe?
- Scale dependence?
 - Yes! Up to the 50th percentile



Investors or Entrepreneurs

- Empirical distinction bw **entrepreneurs** & investors

- Owners who also supply **skill**
 - Owners who only supply **money**

- Role Database

- Entrepreneurs if have a Role and some shares
 - Multiple layers

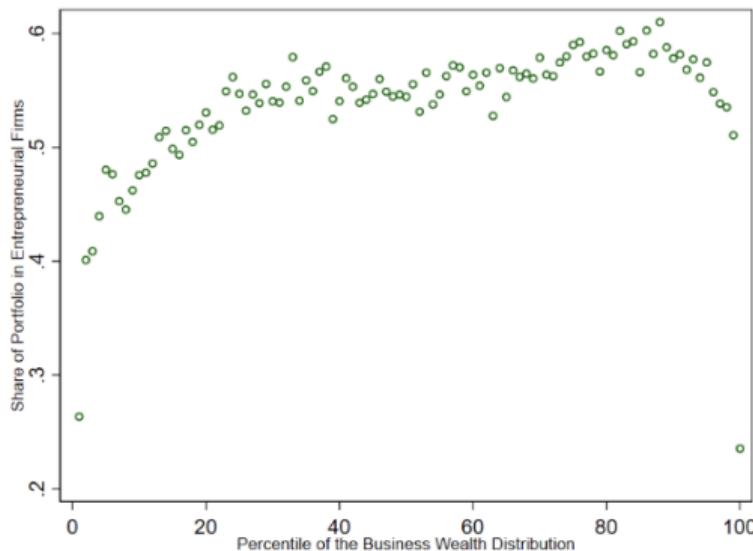
Investors or Entrepreneurs

- Entrepreneurs? If Manager or board chair **and** have large shares
 - Entrepreneur-owners have **42%** of business wealth, investor-owners have **58%**

Investors or Entrepreneurs

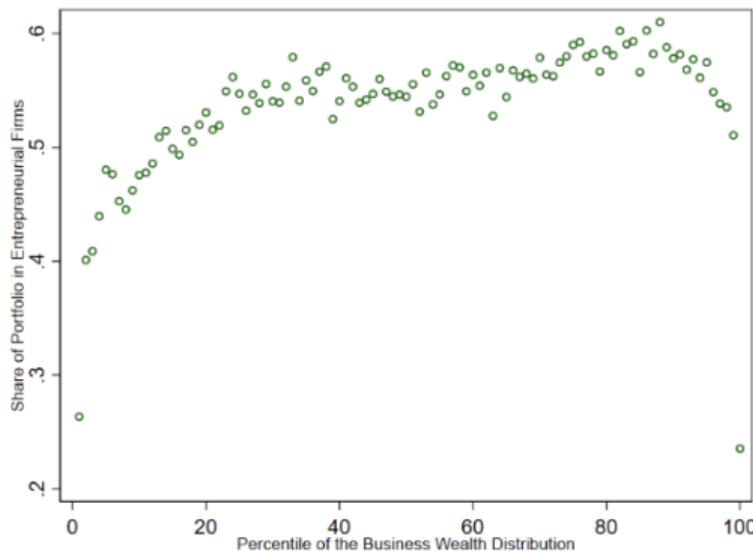
- Entrepreneurs? If Manager or board chair **and** have large shares
 - Entrepreneur-owners have **42%** of business wealth, investor-owners have **58%**

- Majority of business wealth held in entrepreneurial projects



Investors or Entrepreneurs

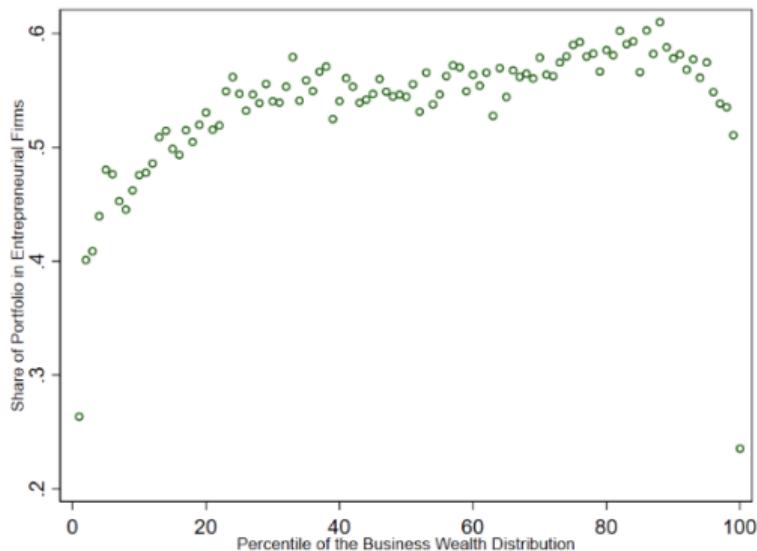
- Entrepreneurs? If Manager or board chair **and** have large shares
 - Entrepreneur-owners have **42%** of business wealth, investor-owners have **58%**
- Majority of business wealth held in entrepreneurial projects
 - Except at the bottom



Investors or Entrepreneurs

- Entrepreneurs? If Manager or board chair **and** have large shares
 - Entrepreneur-owners have **42%** of business wealth, investor-owners have **58%**

- Majority of business wealth held in entrepreneurial projects
 - Except at the bottom
 - Except at the very top



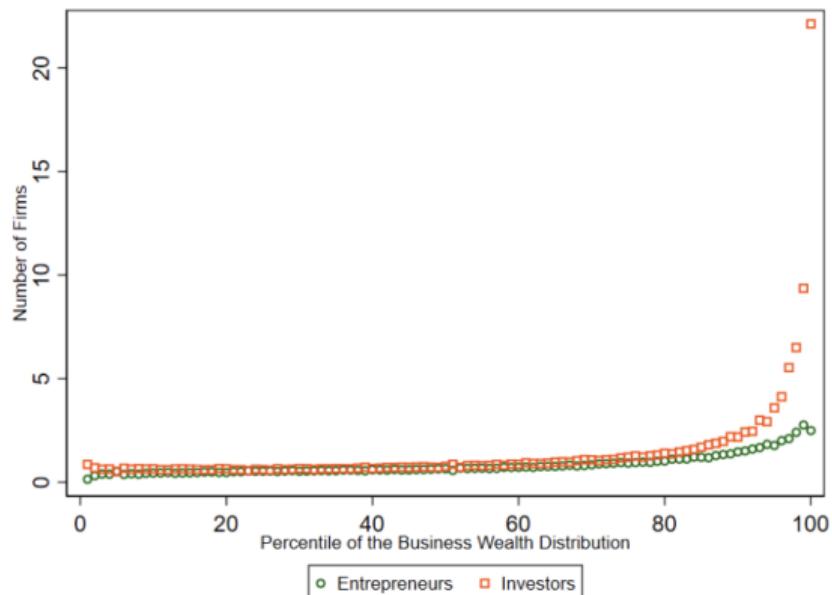
Investors or Entrepreneurs

- Entrepreneurs? If Manager or board chair **and** have large shares
 - Entrepreneur-owners have **42%** of business wealth, investor-owners have **58%**

- Majority of business wealth held in entrepreneurial projects

- Except at the bottom
 - Except at the very top

- Top: Serial investors



Investors or Entrepreneurs

- Which investment has **higher returns**? As entrepreneur or investor?
- How do you **make it to the very top**? As entrepreneur or investor?

Investors or Entrepreneurs

- Which investment has **higher returns**? As entrepreneur or investor?
- How do you **make it to the very top**? As entrepreneur or investor?
- Who can invest in private businesses?
- Should we tax differently entrepreneurs and investors?

Transfers

On Inequality and Redistribution

- Broad topic 2: Transfers
- Focus on the **bottom** of the income distribution

On Inequality and Redistribution

- Broad topic 2: Transfers
- Focus on the **bottom** of the income distribution
- Brief **description** of the **tax-and-transfer (*t&T*) system** in the US
- **Universal Basic Income** in models calibrated to the US

The U.S. Tax-and-Transfer System

- Personal income taxes
 - Progressive taxes (brackets) on labor and capital income taxes

The U.S. Tax-and-Transfer System

- Personal income taxes

- Progressive taxes (brackets) on labor and capital income taxes
 - Deductions
 - Long-run capital gains are partly exempted

The U.S. Tax-and-Transfer System

- Personal income taxes

- Progressive taxes (brackets) on labor and capital income taxes
 - Deductions
 - Long-run capital gains are partly exempted

- Fiscal rebates

- Tax credits: EITC, CTC, ...

The U.S. Tax-and-Transfer System

- Personal income taxes

- Progressive taxes (brackets) on labor and capital income taxes
 - Deductions
 - Long-run capital gains are partly exempted

- Fiscal rebates

- Tax credits: EITC, CTC, ... means-tested, partially refundable

The U.S. Tax-and-Transfer System

■ Personal income taxes

- Progressive taxes (brackets) on labor and capital income taxes
 - Deductions
 - Long-run capital gains are partly exempted

■ Fiscal rebates

- Tax credits: EITC, CTC, ... means-tested, partially refundable
- Transfers: SNAP, TANF, ...

The U.S. Tax-and-Transfer System

■ Personal income taxes

- Progressive taxes (brackets) on labor and capital income taxes
 - Deductions
 - Long-run capital gains are partly exempted

■ Fiscal rebates

- Tax credits: EITC, CTC, ... means-tested, partially refundable
- Transfers: SNAP, TANF, ... complex eligibility conditions

The U.S. Tax-and-Transfer System

■ Personal income taxes

- Progressive taxes (brackets) on labor and capital income taxes
 - Deductions
 - Long-run capital gains are partly exempted

■ Fiscal rebates

- Tax credits: EITC, CTC, ... means-tested, partially refundable
- Transfers: SNAP, TANF, ... complex eligibility conditions

■ Non-monetary transfers: spending on education, childcare, ...

Taxes or Transfers?

- Three examples of taxes and transfers
 - My pre- t & T income is $y = \$10$

Taxes or Transfers?

- Three examples of taxes and transfers
 - My pre- t & T income is $y = \$10$
 - World A. I pay a tax of \$1 and receive a transfer of \$2
 - After- t & T income $\hat{y} = y - 1 + 2 = \$11$
 - World B. I pay a tax of \$0 and receive a transfer of \$1
 - After- t & T income $\hat{y} = y - 0 + 1 = \$11$
 - World C. I pay a tax of \$2 and receive a refundable tax credit of \$3, and no transfer
 - After- t & T income $\hat{y} = y - (2 - 3) = \11

Taxes or Transfers?

- Three examples of taxes and transfers
 - My pre- $t\&T$ income is $y = \$10$
 - World A. I pay a tax of \$1 and receive a transfer of \$2
 - After- $t\&T$ income $\hat{y} = y - 1 + 2 = \$11$
 - World B. I pay a tax of \$0 and receive a transfer of \$1
 - After- $t\&T$ income $\hat{y} = y - 0 + 1 = \$11$
 - World C. I pay a tax of \$2 and receive a refundable tax credit of \$3, and no transfer
 - After- $t\&T$ income $\hat{y} = y - (2 - 3) = \11
- Always consider the joint distribution of taxes and transfers
 - In data, in models!

Marginal or Average Progressivity? 1/2

- Three examples of taxes and transfers, revisited
 - Bob makes pre-tax income of \$10, Jane makes \$20

Marginal or Average Progressivity? 1/2

- Three examples of taxes and transfers, revisited
 - Bob makes pre-tax income of \$10, Jane makes \$20
 - **World 1.** Uniform flat taxes of 20% rebated to both hh
 - After- $t\&T$ income is $\hat{y} = (1 - 20\%) \times y + T$, T from government budget constraint

Marginal or Average Progressivity? 1/2

- Three examples of taxes and transfers, revisited
 - Bob makes pre-tax income of \$10, Jane makes \$20
 - **World 1.** Uniform flat taxes of 20% rebated to both hh
 - After- $t\&T$ income is $\hat{y} = (1 - 20\%) \times y + T$, T from government budget constraint
 - Bob has: $\hat{y}^b = (1 - 20\%) \times \$10 + \$3 = \11
 - Jane has: $\hat{y}^j = (1 - 20\%) \times \$20 + \$3 = \19

Marginal or Average Progressivity? 1/2

- Three examples of taxes and transfers, revisited
 - Bob makes pre-tax income of \$10, Jane makes \$20
 - **World 1.** Uniform flat taxes of 20% rebated to both hh
 - After- $t\&T$ income is $\hat{y} = (1 - 20\%) \times y + T$, T from government budget constraint
 - Bob has: $\hat{y}^b = (1 - 20\%) \times \$10 + \$3 = \11
 - Jane has: $\hat{y}^j = (1 - 20\%) \times \$20 + \$3 = \19
 - Bob's **average** $t\&T$ rate is **-10%**, Jane's **average** $t\&T$ rate is **5%**
 - Bob and Jane's **marginal** rate is **20%**
 - ⇒ **Progressivity** in average rates, **no progressivity** in marginal rates!

Marginal or Average Progressivity? 2/2

- More progressivity in **marginal** rates
 - **World 2.** Tax of 0% when $y < \$15$, tax of 10% when $y > \$15$, rebated to both hh

Marginal or Average Progressivity? 2/2

- More progressivity in **marginal** rates

- **World 2.** Tax of 0% when $y < \$15$, tax of 10% when $y > \$15$, rebated to both hh
 - Bob has: $\hat{y}^b = (1 - 0\%) \times \$10 + \$1 = \11 , average $t\&T$ rate is **-10%**
 - Jane has: $\hat{y}^j = (1 - 10\%) \times \$20 + \$1 = \19 , average $t\&T$ rate is **5%**

Marginal or Average Progressivity? 2/2

- More progressivity in **marginal** rates
 - **World 2.** Tax of 0% when $y < \$15$, tax of 10% when $y > \$15$, rebated to both hh
 - Bob has: $\hat{y}^b = (1 - 0\%) \times \$10 + \$1 = \11 , average $t\&T$ rate is **-10%**
 - Jane has: $\hat{y}^j = (1 - 10\%) \times \$20 + \$1 = \19 , average $t\&T$ rate is **5%**
 - ⇒ Same progressivity as W1 in average rates, **more progressivity** in marginal

Marginal or Average Progressivity? 2/2

■ More progressivity in **marginal** rates

- **World 2.** Tax of 0% when $y < \$15$, tax of 10% when $y > \$15$, rebated to both hh
 - Bob has: $\hat{y}^b = (1 - 0\%) \times \$10 + \$1 = \11 , average $t\&T$ rate is **-10%**
 - Jane has: $\hat{y}^j = (1 - 10\%) \times \$20 + \$1 = \19 , average $t\&T$ rate is **5%**
- ⇒ Same progressivity as W1 in average rates, **more progressivity** in marginal

■ More progressivity in **average** rates

- **World 3.** Uniform flat taxes of 30% rebated to both hh

Marginal or Average Progressivity? 2/2

■ More progressivity in **marginal** rates

- **World 2.** Tax of 0% when $y < \$15$, tax of 10% when $y > \$15$, rebated to both hh

- Bob has: $\hat{y}^b = (1 - 0\%) \times \$10 + \$1 = \11 , average $t\&T$ rate is **-10%**

- Jane has: $\hat{y}^b = (1 - 10\%) \times \$20 + \$1 = \19 , average $t\&T$ rate is **5%**

⇒ Same progressivity as W1 in average rates, **more progressivity** in marginal

■ More progressivity in **average** rates

- **World 3.** Uniform flat taxes of 30% rebated to both hh

- Bob has: $\hat{y}^b = (1 - 30\%) \times \$10 + \$4.5 = \11.5 , average $t\&T$ rate is **-15%**

- Jane has: $\hat{y}^b = (1 - 30\%) \times \$20 + \$4.5 = \18.5 , average $t\&T$ rate is **7.5%**

Marginal or Average Progressivity? 2/2

■ More progressivity in **marginal** rates

– **World 2.** Tax of 0% when $y < \$15$, tax of 10% when $y > \$15$, rebated to both hh

• Bob has: $\hat{y}^b = (1 - 0\%) \times \$10 + \$1 = \11 , average $t\&T$ rate is **-10%**

• Jane has: $\hat{y}^j = (1 - 10\%) \times \$20 + \$1 = \19 , average $t\&T$ rate is **5%**

⇒ Same progressivity as W1 in average rates, **more progressivity** in marginal

■ More progressivity in **average** rates

– **World 3.** Uniform flat taxes of 30% rebated to both hh

• Bob has: $\hat{y}^b = (1 - 30\%) \times \$10 + \$4.5 = \11.5 , average $t\&T$ rate is **-15%**

• Jane has: $\hat{y}^j = (1 - 30\%) \times \$20 + \$4.5 = \18.5 , average $t\&T$ rate is **7.5%**

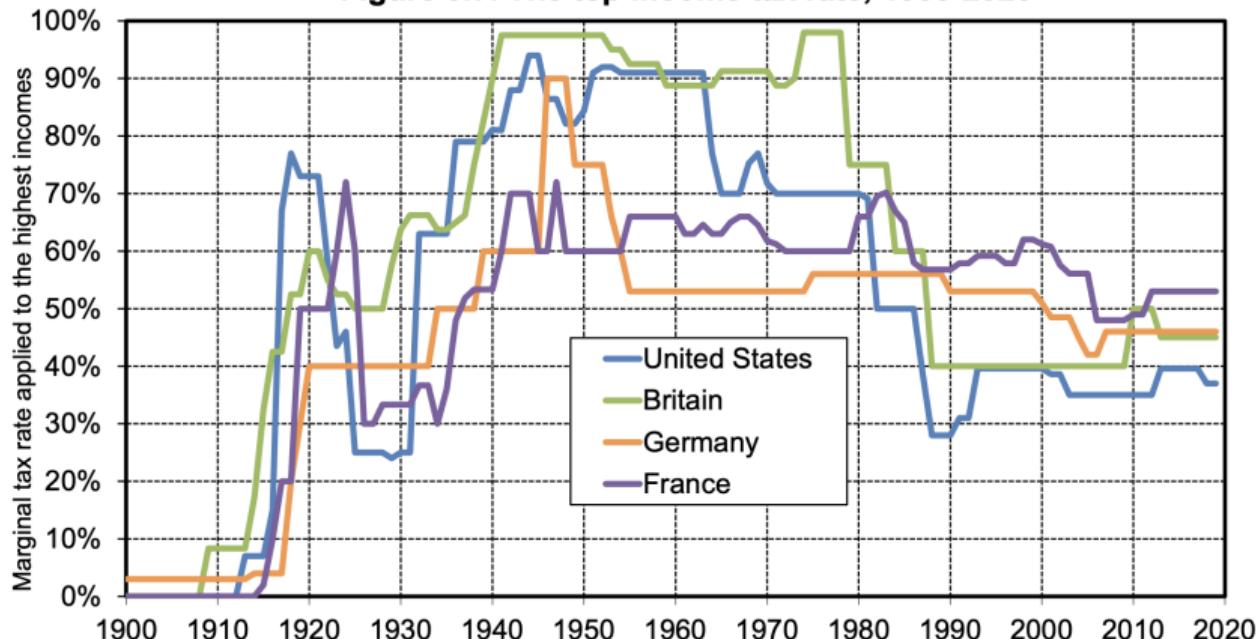
– Same progressivity as W1 in **marginal** rates, **more progressivity** in **average**

The U.S. Tax-and-Transfer System: Trends Over Time

- Marginal progressivity has decreased over time
- Average progressivity has increased over time
- In-work benefits have become much larger

Marginal Progressivity Has Decreased Over Time

Figure 0.7. The top income tax rate, 1900-2020



Interpretation. The top marginal tax rate applied to the highest incomes averaged 23% in the United States from 1900 to 1932, 81% from 1932 to 1980, and 39% from 1980 to 2018. Over these same periods, the top rate was 30%, 89% and 46% in Britain, 18%, 58% and 50% in Germany, and 23%, 60% and 57% in France. Fiscal progressivity was at its highest level in the middle of the century, especially in the United States and in Britain. **Sources and series:** see piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideology.

Average Progressivity Has Increased Over Time

- Broad definition of transfers

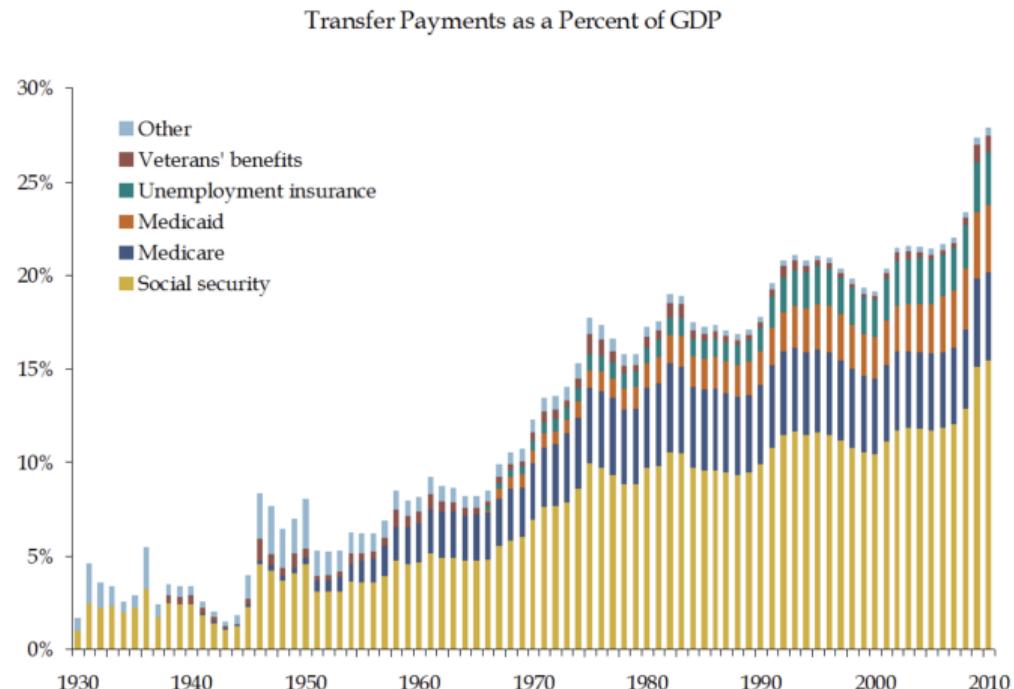
- For the old

- Social security + Medicare

- For the poor

- Health-related: Medicaid

Source: BEA, Economic (?)



Average Progressivity Has Increased Over Time

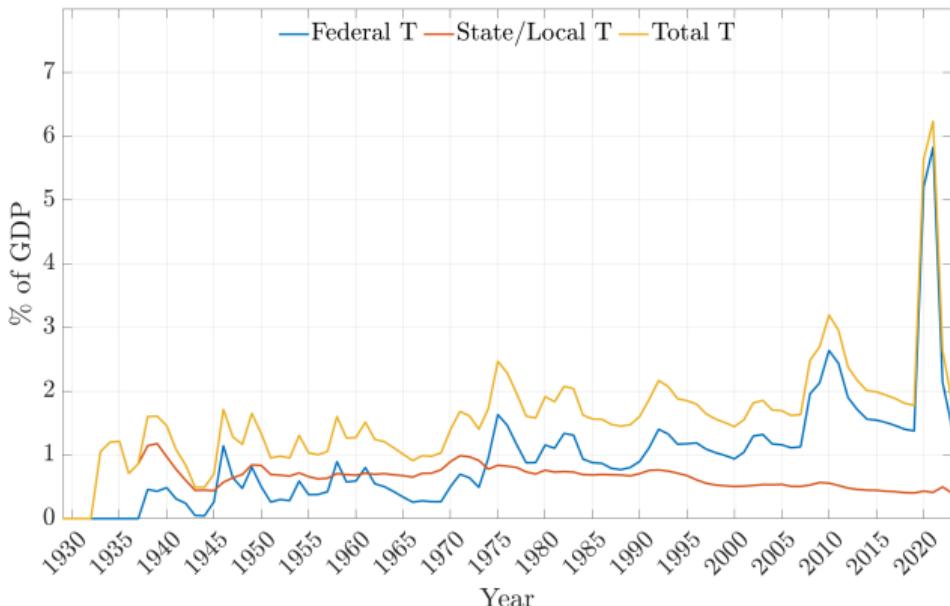
- Narrow definition of transfers

- **Federal:**

- UI benefits, workers' compensation, food stamps, SSI, refundable tax credits

- **State/local:**

- Temporary disability insurance, workers' compensation, family assistance, SSI, general assistance energy assistance, other assistance



Source: NIPA Tables

Optimal Tax-and-Transfer System

- What do models say about optimal progressivity?
 - Workhorse models of taxation: an **efficiency-redistribution** trade-off

Optimal Tax-and-Transfer System

- What do models say about optimal progressivity?
 - Workhorse models of taxation: an **efficiency-redistribution** trade-off
 - **Redistribution** calls for **large average** progressivity
 - Dispersion in **consumption**
 - **Utilitarian** government

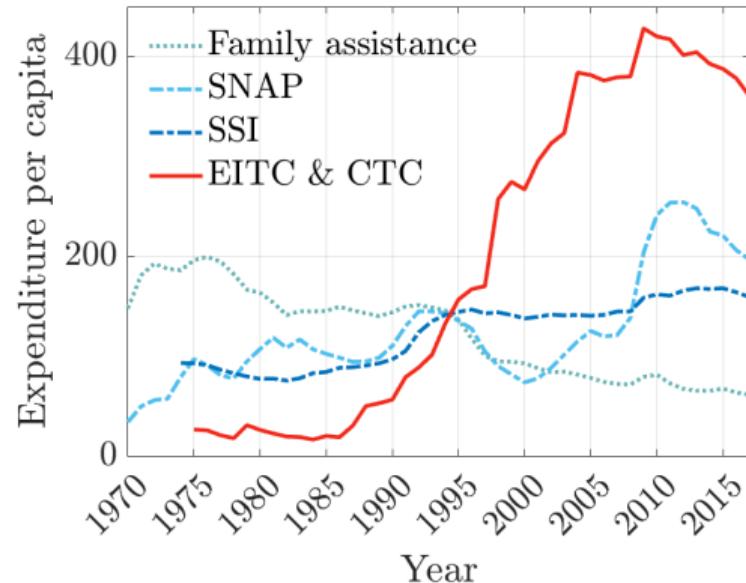
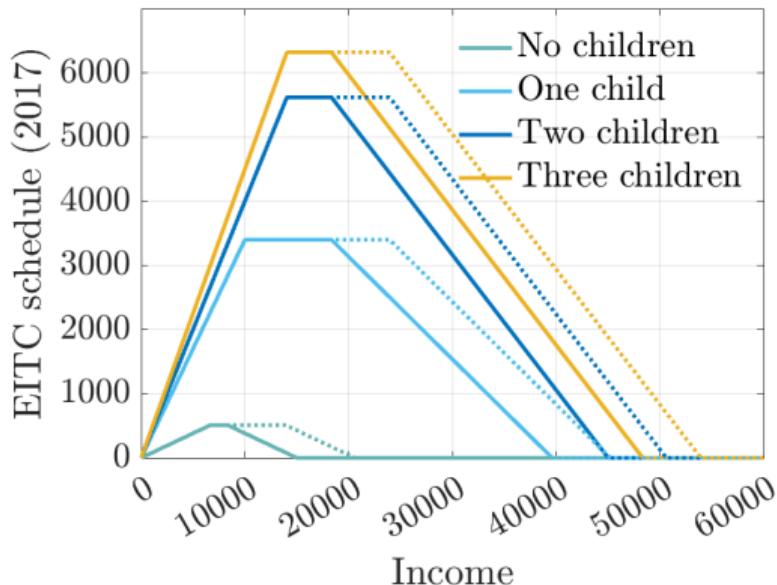
Optimal Tax-and-Transfer System

- What do models say about optimal progressivity?
 - Workhorse models of taxation: an **efficiency-redistribution** trade-off
 - **Redistribution** calls for **large average** progressivity
 - Dispersion in **consumption**
 - **Utilitarian** government
 - **Efficiency** calls for **small marginal** progressivity
 - Dispersion in **income**
 - To **incentivize labor supply and savings**

Optimal Tax-and-Transfer System

- What do models say about optimal progressivity?
 - Workhorse models of taxation: an **efficiency-redistribution** trade-off
 - **Redistribution** calls for **large average** progressivity
 - Dispersion in **consumption**
 - **Utilitarian** government
 - **Efficiency** calls for **small marginal** progressivity
 - Dispersion in **income**
 - To **incentivize labor supply and savings**
 - How to implement that?
 - Large transfers, high but flat taxes work pretty well
 - Ferriere, Gruebener, Navarro and Vardishvili (2023)

In-Work Benefits Have Become More Important



- Source: IRS and NIPA, my own computations

Have We Gone Too Far?

- In-work benefits are good for incentives...
 - but don't provide income support to the very poor

Have We Gone Too Far?

- In-work benefits are good for incentives...
 - but don't provide income support to the very poor
- Should we rather implement a Universal Basic Income?
- Daruich and Fernandez (2024)

A Rich Quantitative Model to Evaluate UBI

- **Objective** of the paper:

- Use a general equilibrium overlapping generations (GE-OLG) model
- Analyze long-term UBI effects on welfare, inequality, and intergenerational mobility
 - Much cheaper than a real experimentation!

A Rich Quantitative Model to Evaluate UBI

- Objective of the paper:

- Use a general equilibrium overlapping generations (GE-OLG) model
- Analyze long-term UBI effects on welfare, inequality, and intergenerational mobility
 - Much cheaper than a real experimentation!

- Key ingredients

- GE life-cycle Aiyagari model with uninsurable wage shocks and capital accumulation

A Rich Quantitative Model to Evaluate UBI

- Objective of the paper:

- Use a general equilibrium overlapping generations (GE-OLG) model
- Analyze long-term UBI effects on welfare, inequality, and intergenerational mobility
 - Much cheaper than a real experimentation!

- Key ingredients

- GE life-cycle Aiyagari model with uninsurable wage shocks and capital accumulation
- Borrowing constraints, precautionary and life-cycle savings

A Rich Quantitative Model to Evaluate UBI

- Objective of the paper:

- Use a general equilibrium overlapping generations (GE-OLG) model
- Analyze long-term UBI effects on welfare, inequality, and intergenerational mobility
 - Much cheaper than a real experimentation!

- Key ingredients

- GE life-cycle Aiyagari model with uninsurable wage shocks and capital accumulation
- Borrowing constraints, precautionary and life-cycle savings
- Endogenous education function of parental investments in child skills and intervivo transfers

A Rich Quantitative Model to Evaluate UBI

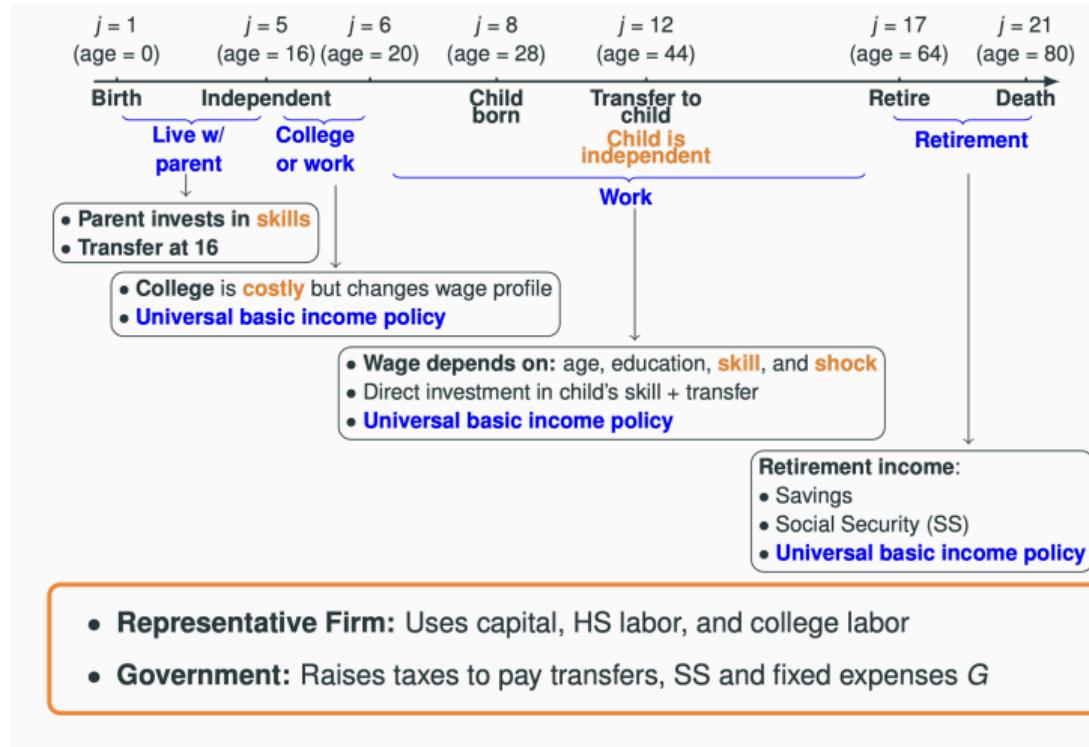
- Objective of the paper:

- Use a general equilibrium overlapping generations (GE-OLG) model
- Analyze long-term UBI effects on welfare, inequality, and intergenerational mobility
 - Much cheaper than a real experimentation!

- Key ingredients

- GE life-cycle Aiyagari model with uninsurable wage shocks and capital accumulation
- Borrowing constraints, precautionary and life-cycle savings
- Endogenous education function of parental investments in child skills and intervivo transfers
- Distortionary taxes to fund UBI

The Model



The Model



$$V_j(a, \theta, e, \eta, \theta'_k) = \max_{c, a', h, m} u(c, h) + \beta \mathbb{E} [V_{j+1}(a', \theta, e, \eta', \theta'_k)]$$

$$c + a' + m = y + a(1+r) - T(y, a, c)$$

$$y = w_e h E_{e,j}(\theta, \eta) , \quad a' \geq \underline{a}_{e,j} , \quad 0 \leq h \leq 1, \quad \eta' \sim \Gamma_{e,j}(\eta)$$

$$\underbrace{\theta'_k}_{\text{Next period child's skills}} = \left[\alpha_{1j} \underbrace{\theta_k^{\rho_j}}_{\text{Current child's skills}} + \alpha_{2j} \underbrace{\theta_k^{\rho_j}}_{\text{Parent's skills}} + \alpha_{3j} \underbrace{|^{\rho_j}}_{\text{Parental investments}} \right]^{1/\rho_j} \exp(\nu), \nu \sim N(0, \sigma_{j,\nu})$$

$$I = \bar{A} \underbrace{m}_{\text{Money}} \quad m \geq 0$$

Main Forces

■ Why UBI Could Be Good?

- Reduces **inequality** by providing unconditional transfers to all
- Improves **intergenerational mobility**
 - Low-income households can invest more in their kids' skills
 - Kids from low-income families can go to college more

Main Forces

■ Why UBI Could Be Good?

- Reduces **inequality** by providing unconditional transfers to all
- Improves **intergenerational mobility**
 - Low-income households can invest more in their kids' skills
 - Kids from low-income families can go to college more

■ Why UBI Could Be Bad?

- Higher transfers and associated higher taxes both contribute to...
 - Lower labor supply, lower savings and capital stock
 - Lower parental investments in child skills, lower college enrollment
 - Lower output and consumption!

General Equilibrium Results

- Impact of UBI of $\approx \$1,000/\text{month}$ per adult:
 - Labor supply, education, and capital stock decline
 - Higher mobility and lower inequality

General Equilibrium Results

- Impact of UBI of $\approx \$1,000/\text{month per adult}$:
 - Labor supply, education, and capital stock decline
 - Higher mobility and lower inequality
- Overall, large welfare losses
- Decomposition
 - Effects of higher taxes vs. higher transfers
 - Endogenous response of capital vs. skills
 - General equilibrium
 - Current cohorts vs. newborns

What Next?

- Richer household heterogeneity
- EITC vs. transfers that phase-out but do not phase-in