

Topics in Economics

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Sciences Po, CNRS & CEPR

November 2025

On Inequality and Redistribution

- History of Modern Macroeconomics

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

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 - Second-generation models: account for inequality
 - Macro shocks \Rightarrow inequality, welfare

On Inequality and Redistribution

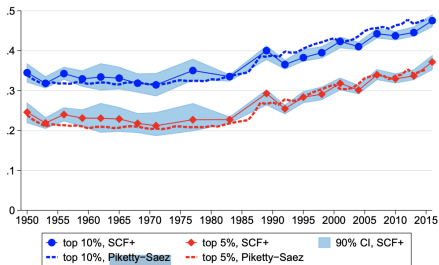
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 - Third-generation models: business cycles, HANK
 - Amplification, inequality \Rightarrow macro

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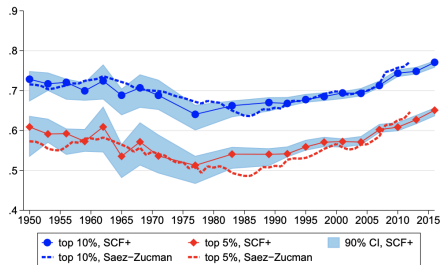
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 - **First-generation** models: dynamic models with rational expectations
 - Equilibrium, solve, calibrate with a **representative agent**
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- This class: **On inequality and the welfare state**
 - Long run, business cycles

Rising Income and Wealth Inequality

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



(a) Income

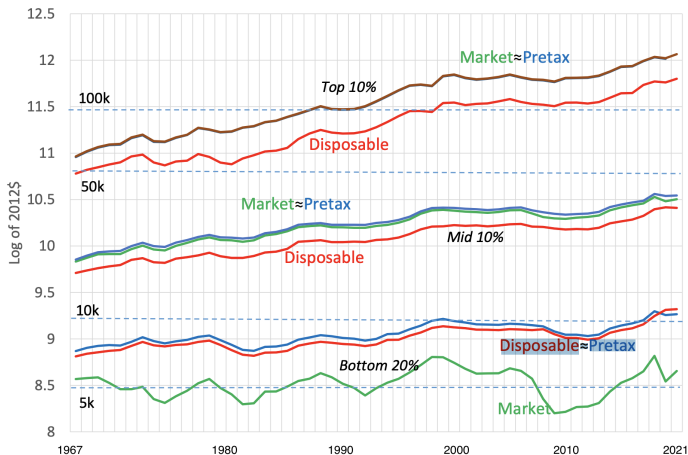


(b) Wealth

- 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

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 - 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 Redistributive Effects of Wealth Taxation”*
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- 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”*
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■ 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

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 - Chamley (1986), Judd (1985)

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 - Rich distribution of wealth and income, OLG structure: age dynamics

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- 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)
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- 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

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

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

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– 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 $w_{10}^j \approx 3215$

– ...

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

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 - *“Type dependence”*
 - **Correlation** of wealth and returns
 - *“Scale dependence”*

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- 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**

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- 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.

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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.

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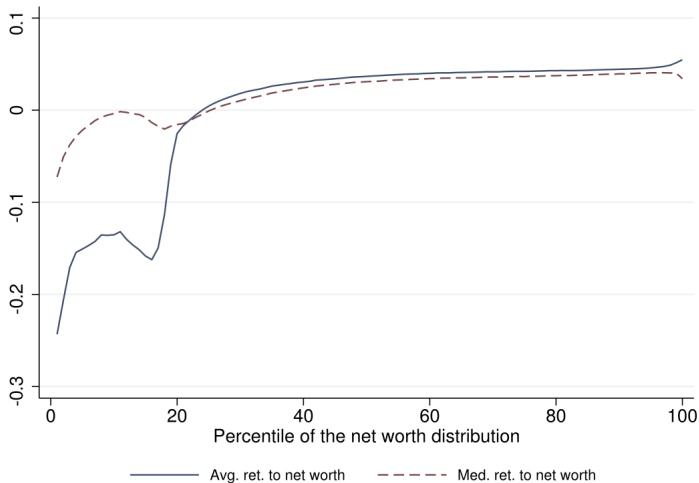
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Heterogeneous Capital Returns

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?

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 - Exposure to risk?
 - *“Rich Pickings? Risk, Return, and Skill in Household Wealth”*
Bach, Calvet and Soldini, AER (2020)

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- 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?

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- 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)

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 - 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**: $r^a = 0 < r^b = 0.2$

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“Use it or lose it!” Three channels

In a dynamic general-equilibrium model

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 - Capital reallocates toward more productive entrepreneurs
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 - More productive entrepreneurs will save more
3. “Price” channel
 - Wages and interest rates will adjust

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 - Portfolio choice
 - Choose how much to invest in own technology (“entrepreneurship”)
- ⇒ No occupation decision, intensive margin

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- Social security: $y^R(\kappa, e) = \phi(\kappa, e)\bar{E}$ when $h > R$

- Entrepreneurial ability z_{ih}
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- Stochastic transition downwards

- 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 $\mu = 0.9$
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- **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

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- **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

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

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- **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

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- 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
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 - Lower r , higher **wages**, large **welfare gains**: +6.8%! (2020 calibration)

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A Wealth Tax

- Why does capital increase? Three channels

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A Wealth Tax

- Why does capital increase? Three channels
 - “Use-it-or-loose-it” [fixing prices & decision rules to benchmark] $K \uparrow$
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- All three channels are approximately of the same magnitude!

Main Experiment

A Wealth Tax

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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) **lose**
- 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%

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- Transitions

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Taking Stock 1/2

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 - Some individuals are better than other in investing in good projects
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 - Side comment: Why are we all using US data?

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Taking Stock 2/2

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

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- Implementability?
- What if high returns reflect **rents**? Gaillard and Wangner (2024)

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 - Many papers: on who becomes rich, who gives what to their kids, housing, . . .

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- *“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)

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

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 - “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

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- **Accounting** . . . complemented with models!

Methodology

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

Methodology

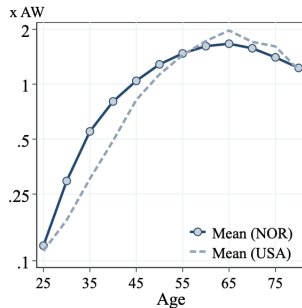
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 - Inheritance severely undervalued
 - Value of equity owned excludes intangibles

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

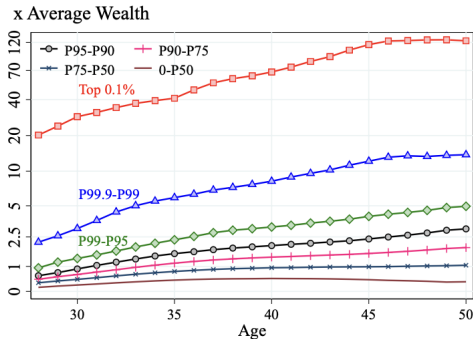


Backwards Life-Cycle Profiles

■ The Rich Started Rich

- Top-0.1% 50-54y have **125 AW**
≈ **\$55 million**
- In their late 20s have already **20 AW**
≈ \$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 $BW_{\geq P99.9}^{50-54}$ households					
21.4%	7.4%	5.9%	13.0%	23.2%	29.2%

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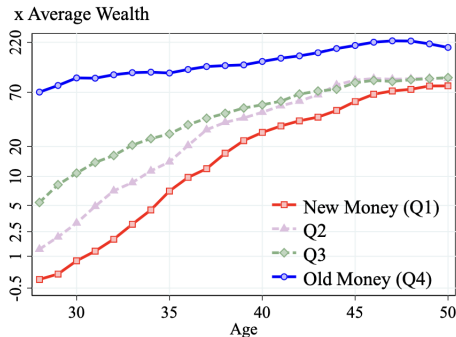
- 1/3 of the wealthiest at age 50 started in the top-0.1%
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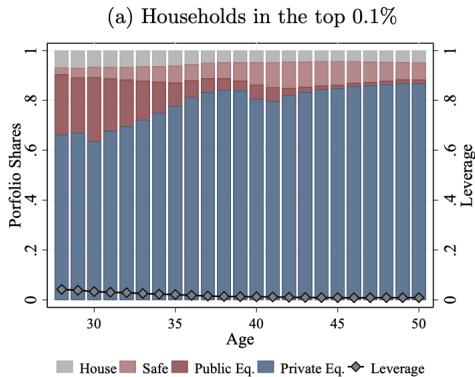
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 \Rightarrow "Old Money"
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Portfolio Compositions

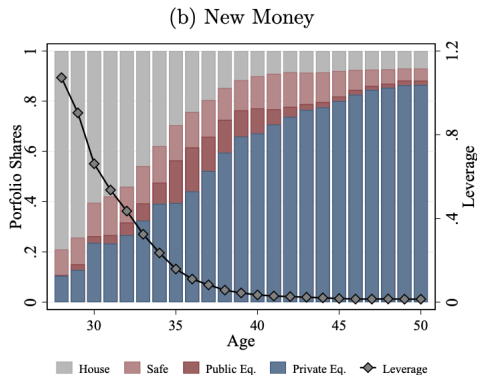
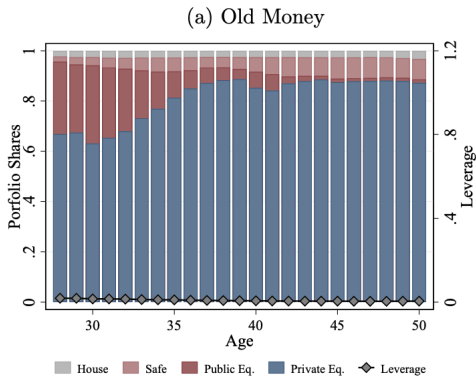
The Rich Hold Equity



- 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

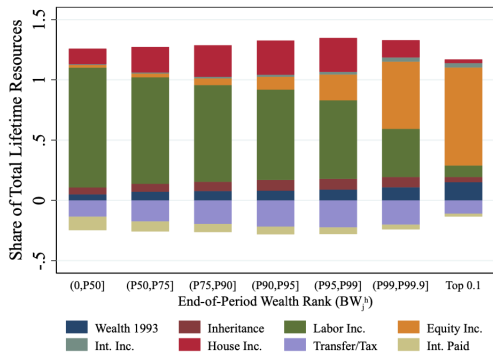
■ Accounting equation

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

Sources of Income

Income of the Rich is Equity Returns

Figure 6 – DECOMPOSITION OF TOTAL LIFETIME RESOURCES



■ Accounting equation

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Why are the Wealthiest so Wealthy?

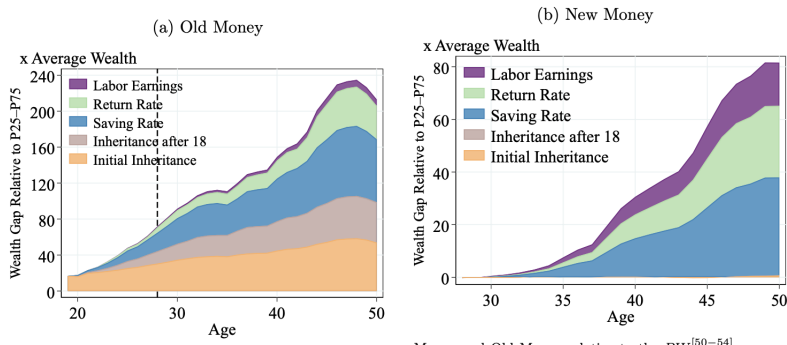
- **End wealth** can differ because of: inheritances, labor earnings, return rates & saving rates
- Accounting: **Shapley-Owen decomposition**
 - Simulate the counterfactual evolution of wealth **factor by factor**

Why are the Wealthiest so Wealthy? Inheritances!



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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”
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 - $\approx 40\%$ comes from inheritances
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- 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?

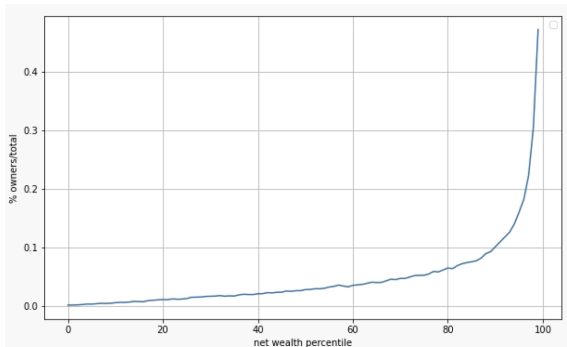
- Going forward: testing alternative models of wealth accumulation

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”*

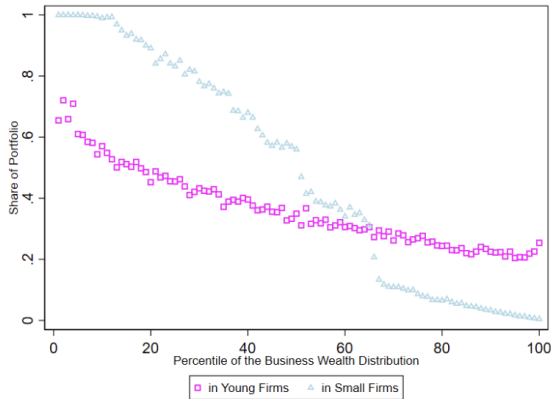
Private Businesses and Wealth Accumulation

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



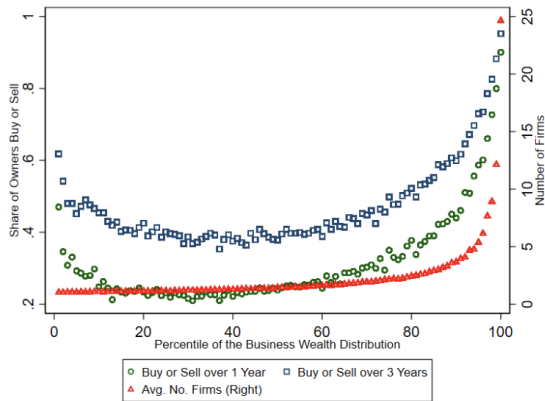
Private Businesses and Wealth Accumulation

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



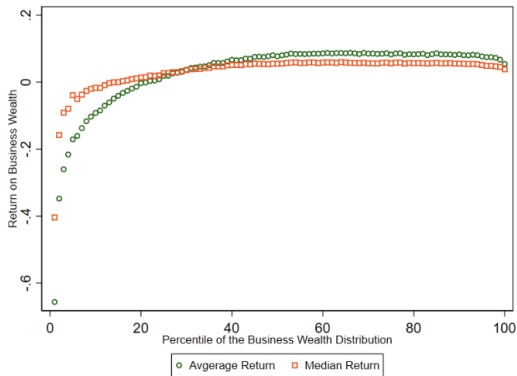
Private Businesses and Wealth Accumulation

- 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



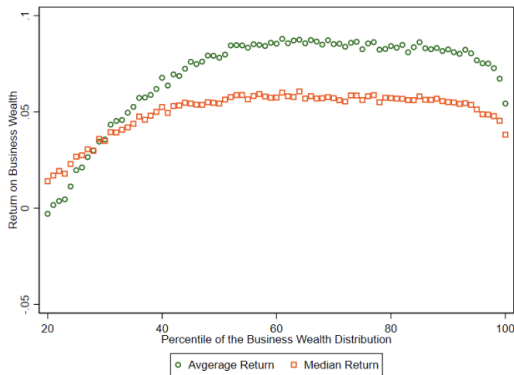
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 - Yes! Up to the 50th percentile



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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

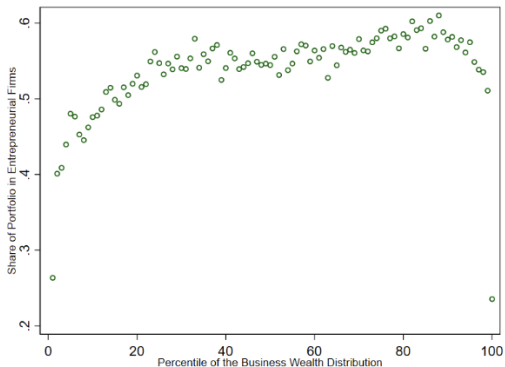
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 - Entrepreneur-owners have 42% of business wealth, investor-owners have 58%

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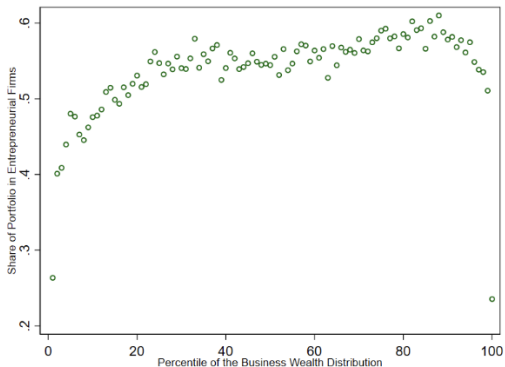
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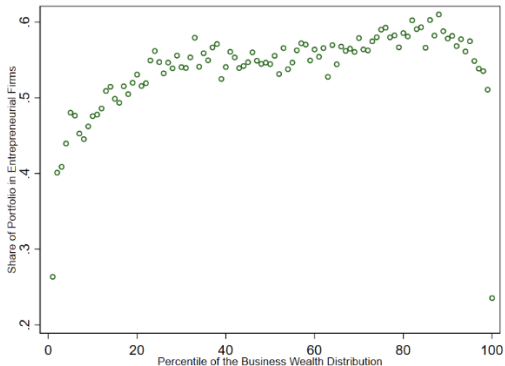


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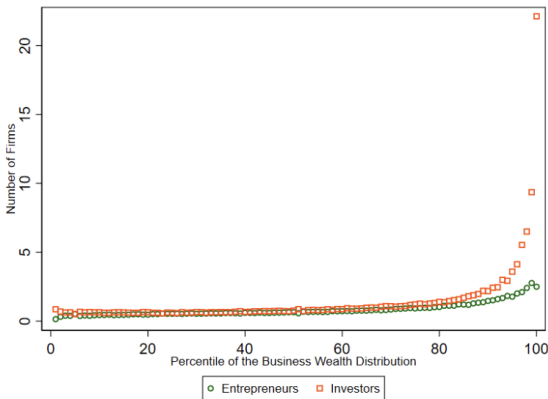
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- **Except at the very top**



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- 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

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 - Deductions
 - Long-run capital gains are partly exempted

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- Tax credits: EITC, CTC, ...

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■ 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

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- **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
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 - 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

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 - 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

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■ More progressivity in **average** rates

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

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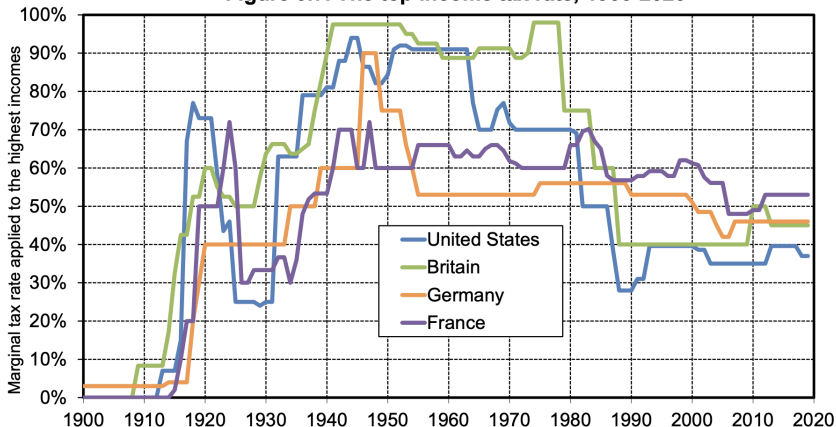
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The U.S. Tax-and-Transfer System: Trends Over Time

- 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**

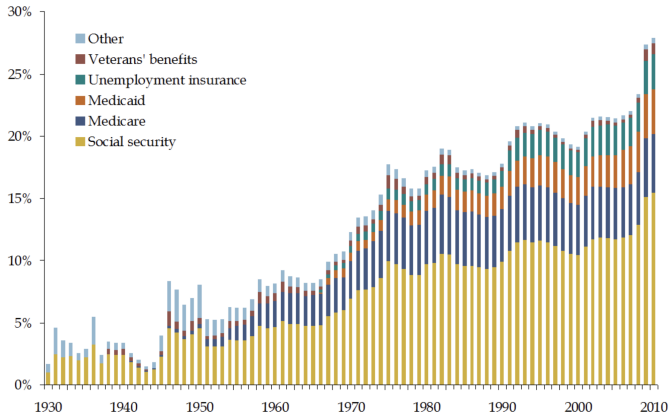
Social security + Medicare

— For the **poor**

Health-related: Medicaid

Source: BEA, Econmpic (??)

Transfer Payments as a Percent of GDP



Average Progressivity Has Increased Over Time

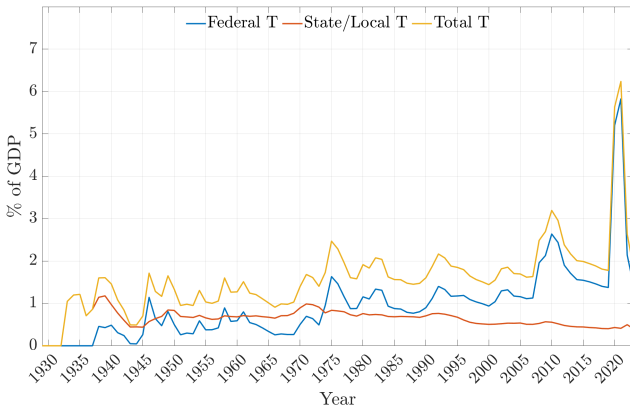
■ Narrow definition of transfers

— 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

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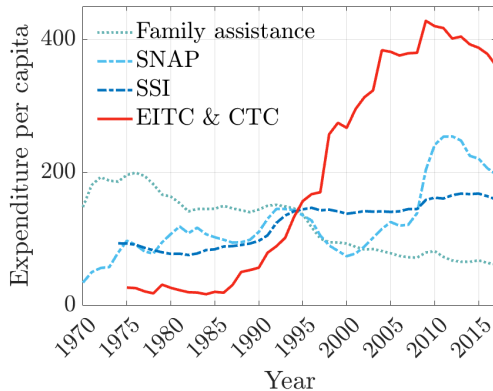
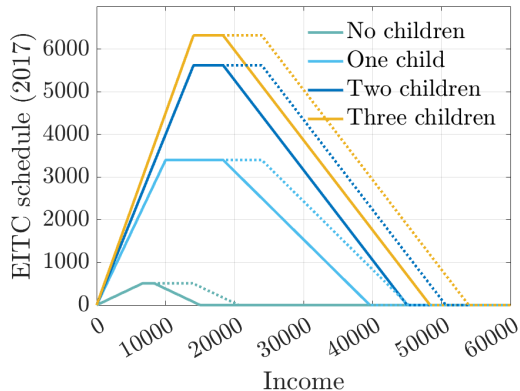
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 - Dispersion in **income**
 - To **incentivize labor supply and savings**
 - How to implement that?
 - Large transfers, high but flat taxes work pretty well
 - Ferriere, Gruebener, Navarro and Vardishvili (2023)

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!

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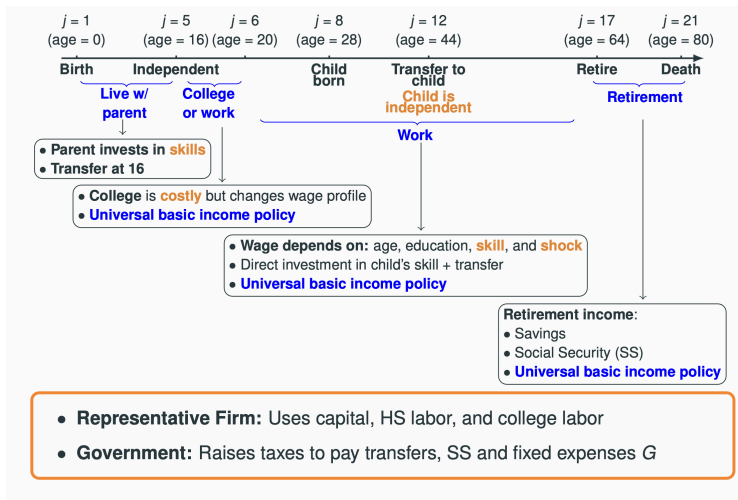
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- Distortionary taxes to fund UBI

The Model



The Model



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

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

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

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

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

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

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■ 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:
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- 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