On the Mechanics of Top Wealth Inequality

Fatih Guvenen (Minnesota, Toronto, FRB Minneapolis, NBER) Sergio Ocampo (University of Western Ontario) Serdar Ozkan (FRB St. Louis, Toronto)

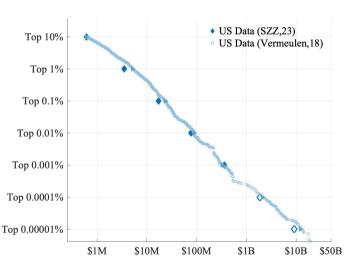
NBER SI - Inequality and Macroeconomics

July 15th, 2025

Wealth is Extremely Concentrated at the Top

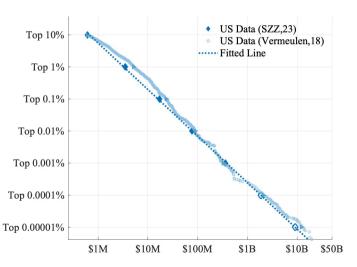
Wealth is Extremely Concentrated at the Top: US

Right Tail: Log Counter-CDF (Pr(w > x)) vs Log Wealth



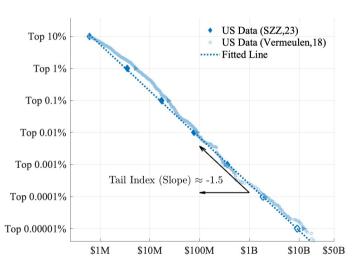
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Shape: A straight line implies a Pareto distribution: $P(w > x) \sim x^{-\alpha}$



Wealth is Extremely Concentrated at the Top: US

Thickness: Slope gives the tail index α



	Pareto T	Pareto Tail Index for Wealth										
	Germany	Austria	Portugal	US	Italy	France	Spain	UK	Belgium	Finland		
Tail Index	1.39	1.46	1.47	~1.50	1.58	1.62	1.69	1.74	1.87	1.88		

Source: Vermuelen (RTW, 2018). Tail indices are estimated from country level surveys merged with Forbes' billionaires list

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 - Matters in practice: Models with thick Pareto tail are harder to solve accurately.

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- ▶ Why care about Pareto? No super rich without Pareto...Even if top 1% share matched
 - Many policy debates are (were!) about taxing 100-millionaires, billionaires, etc.

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- ► Today: Models that feature 1 through 5. How (well) do they generate wealth inequality?
- ▶ Not Today: Stochastic-beta, Heterogeneous risk aversion, Non-homothetic pref., etc.

► Example

(Largely because we already have a good guess about their impact.)

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 - **Solution** Life cycle dynamics of wealth accumulation: Incredibly fast wealth growth in the data

55+% of billionaires have 10,000-fold wealth growth over life cycle

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Compare these **3 frameworks** along **3 dimensions**:

- Income dynamics compared to the data
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 - **3** Life cycle dynamics of wealth accumulation: Incredibly fast wealth growth in the data

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Demographic structure and wealth distribution: Who holds the wealth?

General Framework

I. Preferences and Demographics: 2 Versions

Version 1: CRRA Utility + Warm-Glow Bequests + **Perpetual-Youth** (cons. surv. ϕ)

$$U = \mathbb{E}_0 \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t (\underbrace{\phi}_{\text{Survival prob.}} \times u(c_t) + (1 - \underbrace{\phi}_{\text{Warm-glow beques}}) \times \underbrace{v(b)}_{\text{Warm-glow beques}}$$

$$u(c) = \frac{c^{1-\sigma}}{1-\sigma} \qquad v(b) = \chi \frac{(b+b_0)^{1-\sigma}}{1-\sigma}$$

→ Used for Framework 1: Awesome-State Model

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Version 2: CRRA Utility + Warm-Glow Bequests + Finite Horizon T + Stoch. Death (ϕ_t from data)

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► Perpetual-youth will be critical ...as we will see

► Consumption-savings problem at the core of all 3 frameworks (ignoring bequests)

$$\begin{split} \mathcal{V}_t\left(a_t^i\,;\,\mathbf{Y_t^i}\right) \;&=\; \max_{c_t^i, a_{t+1}^i} \; \left\{ \; U\left(c_t^i\right) \; + \; \beta \phi_{t+1} \mathbb{E}\left[\mathcal{V}_{t+1}\left(a_{t+1}^i\,;\,\mathbf{Y_{t+1}^i}\right) \; |\, \mathbf{Y_t^i}\right] \; \right\} \\ &\text{s.t.} \quad c_t^i \; + \; a_{t+1}^i \; = \; Ra_t^i \; + \; \mathbf{Y_t^i}, \\ &a_t^i \; \geq \; -B_{\min}, \end{split}$$

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 - Generate Pareto tail in wealth (thicker than income!)

Guvenen, Ocampo, Ozkan (2025) Mechanics of Wealth Inequality 7 / 23

III. Return Process: Two Options

- **Fully-fledged model:** Entrepreneurial returns (Guvenen, Kambourov, Kuruscu, Ocampo, Chen, QJE, 2023)
 - Individuals differ in *entrepreneurial ability* z_t^i (permanent + transitory components)
 - Returns from entrepreneurial profits

$$\pi_t^i = \max_{k_t^i \leq \vartheta(\bar{z}^i) \times a_t^i} \mathcal{P} \times \left(\frac{\mathbf{z}_t^i k_t^i}{2} \right)^{\mu} - (R + \delta) k_t^i$$

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Simple benchmark: Markovian returns consistent with wealth inequality facts

$$R_t^i = R \times \exp(z_t^i)$$
 where z_t^i follows a Markov Chain

Later allow for permanent types

		Frameworks			
	Awesome-State	Awesome-State PEER Model Return Hetero			
1. Max <i>T</i>	∞	ϕ_t from data; ages 25-100	ϕ_t from data; ages 25-100		

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4.	Average HH. Earnings		\$60,462		

- ► Earnings correspond to total wages and salaries per household in 2016 (BLS; Census)
- ► Wealth level determined by average returns to wealth

▶ details

Road Map

- **1** Income Dynamics:
 - Income Processes
 - 2 Models vs Data
- Wealth Inequality: Models vs Data
- 3 Demographics and Wealth: Models vs Data

	Stationary Distribution of Income, Y					
	S ₁	s_2	S ₃	S ₄		
Υ	1.00	3.15	9.78	1,061		
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Today: I will focus on Castañeda, Díaz-Giménez, Ríos-Rull (2003) version

We have also studied Kaymak and Poschke (2016); Grinwald, Leombroni, Lustig, Van Nieuwerburgh (2021); Kindermann and Krueger (2022); Boar and Midrigan (2022); etc.

Income Process: 2. PEER Model

Very rich income process with **21 parameters** (Guvenen, Karahan, Ozkan, Song, ECMA, 2021)



Normal mixture persistent + transitory shocks; Non-employment shocks with scarring effects; Shocks are age-income dependent; More!

► Matches 2000+ moments of **nonlinear and non-Gaussian** income dynamics

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PEER-Top: Alternative model with higher income inequality at the top (more on this later!)

Income Process: 3. Return Heterogeneity Model

▶ **Deliberately very standard:** Canonical persistent-plus-transitory income process:

$$\log y_t^i = \alpha^i + g(t) + \eta_t^i;$$

$$\eta_t^i = \rho \eta_{t-1}^i + \varepsilon_t^i .$$

ightharpoonup All random objects are Gaussian (κ^i, ν_t^i)

What Aspects of Income Dynamics to Match?

11 Top incomes: How high are high incomes?

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Income Risk:

► Kurtosis

- How dispersed are income changes?
- What type of risk people face (Upward? Downward?): Skewness

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Income Risk:

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- How <u>dispersed</u> are income changes?
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Other features skipped for today:

Heterogeneous income growth over the life cycle; Income persistence of top earners; Distribution of income changes over longer horizons; Asymmetric Impulse response functions.

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US Data				
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PEER Model	14.8	33.6	65.0
Gaussian-AR	6.6	13.9	27.8

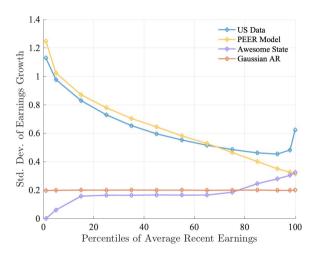
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- ▶ **PEER-TOP:** modified for higher income inequality $\longrightarrow \frac{y^{99.9}}{y^{50}} = 72$; $\frac{y^{99.99}}{y^{50}} = 334$
 - Thick income Pareto tail but wealth results qualitatively unchanged



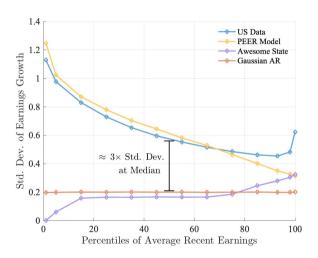
II. Income Risk: Standard Deviation of Income Growth





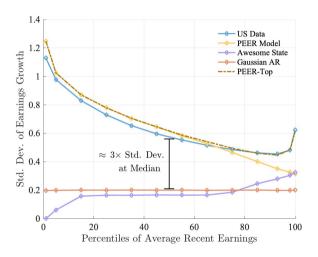
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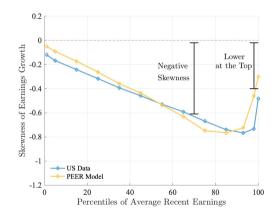
II. Income Risk: Standard Deviation of Income Growth





III. Income Risk: Skewness of Income Growth

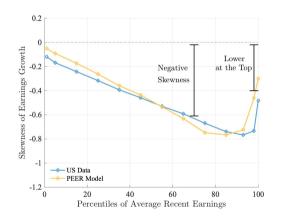


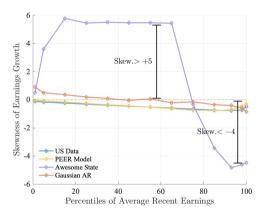


III. Income Risk: Skewness of Income Growth



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Road Map

- 1 Income Dynamics: Models vs Data
 - 1 Income Processes
 - 2 Models vs Data
- **2** Wealth Inequality:
 - Return Heterogeneity
 - 2 Models vs Data
- 3 Demographics and Wealth: Models vs Data

Return Heterogeneity

	Cross-Section		Life-Time			
	Average	p90-p10		Std. Dev.	p99	p99.9
PEER Model & Awesome State	3.0	-		_	_	-
Markovian Returns	12.2					
Entrepreneurial Returns	8.3					
Norway	3.8					
	(Private equity: 10)					

Notes: All statistics are wealth-weighted. Norwegian statistics from Fagereng, Guiso, Malacrino, Pistaferri (ECMA, 2020).

Return Heterogeneity

	Cross-Section		Life-Time				
	Average	p90-p10		Std. Dev.	p99	p99.9	
PEER Model & Awesome State	3.0	-		_	_	-	
Markovian Returns	12.2	23.6		6.7			
Entrepreneurial Returns	8.3	17.3		3.8			
Norway	3.8	14.2		6.0			
	(Private equity: 10)						

Notes: All statistics are wealth-weighted. Norwegian statistics from Fagereng, Guiso, Malacrino, Pistaferri (ECMA, 2020).

Return Heterogeneity

	Cross-Section			Life-Time		
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Markovian Returns	12.2	23.6		6.7	15.6	19.8
Entrepreneurial Returns	8.3	17.3		3.8	11.2	15.8
Norway	3.8	14.2		6.0	11.6	23.4
	(Private equity: 10)					

Notes: All statistics are wealth-weighted. Norwegian statistics from Fagereng, Guiso, Malacrino, Pistaferri (ECMA, 2020).

Return Heterogeneity and Entrepreneurship

	Cross-Section			Life-Time		
	Average	p90-p10		Std. Dev.	p99	p99.9
PEER Model & Awesome State	3.0	-		_	_	-
Markovian Returns	12.2	23.6		6.7	15.6	19.8
Entrepreneurial Returns	8.3	17.3		3.8	11.2	15.8
Norway	3.8	14.2		6.0	11.6	23.4
	(Private equity: 10)					

Notes: All statistics are wealth-weighted. Norwegian statistics from Fagereng, Guiso, Malacrino, Pistaferri (ECMA, 2020).

For Entrepreneurial Returns model:

- ► Entrepreneurship: 10.6% vs 11.5% in US (Model: Entrep. Inc.>50% of Inc.; Data: Cagetti, DeNardi, 2006)
- ► Entrepreneurs hold 80% of wealth among top 1% wealth holders

Guvenen, Ocampo, Ozkan (2025) Mechanics of Wealth Inequality 17/23

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 - **Tail shape** (all the way up to billionaires)

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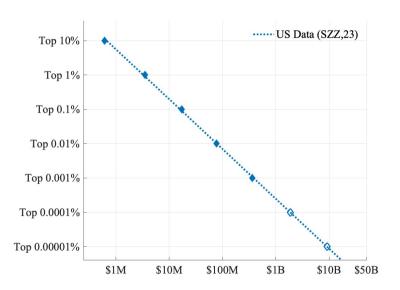
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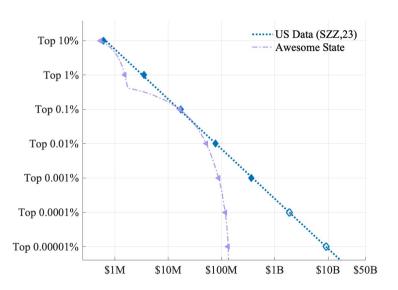


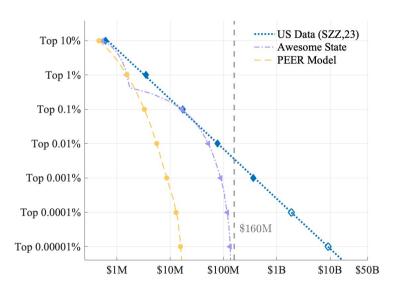
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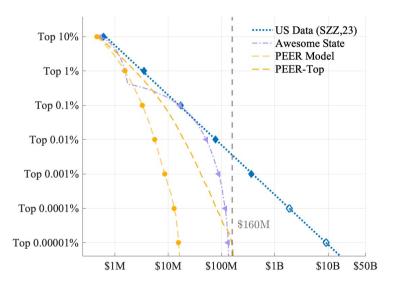
- **Life-cycle wealth dynamics** of super wealthy:
 - 55% of US Forbes billionaires are self-made (see also Hubmer, Halvorsen, Salgado, Ozkan, 2024)
 - \rightarrow **10,000- to 20,000-fold increase in wealth** over 30-40 years.

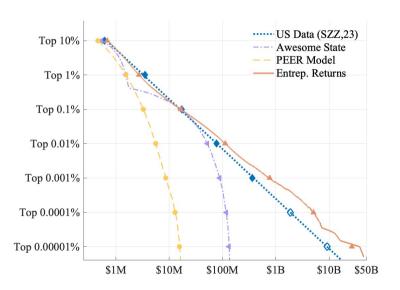






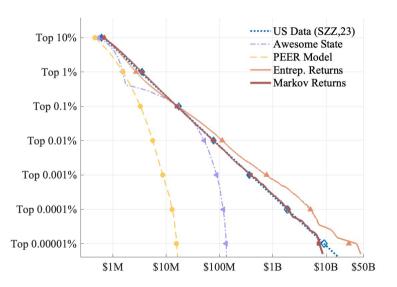








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Wealth Inequality: Gini

			Frai	meworks	
	US Data	Awesome State	PEER Model	Return	Heterogeneity
	Data	State	Modet	Markov	Entrepreneurial
Gini	0.85	0.84	0.72	0.79	0.78
Top 10%	68.6	71.5	54.2	67.3	64.6
Top 1%	33.7	30.0	13.5	31.5	34.9
Top 0.1%	15.7	15.4	2.5	14.8	22.2
Top 0.01%	7.1	3.3	0.4	7.0	13.0
% Self-made	55	0.4	0.0	0.0	57.5

Source: US Data from *Smith, Zidar, Zwick* (QJE, 2023) complemented with Forbes data.

Wealth Inequality: Top Shares

			Frai	meworks	
	US Data	Awesome State	PEER Model	Return	Heterogeneity
	Data	State	Modet	Markov	Entrepreneurial
Gini	0.85	0.84	0.72	0.79	0.78
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Guvenen, Ocampo, Ozkan (2025) Mechanics of Wealth Inequality 20/23

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Guvenen, Ocampo, Ozkan (2025) Mechanics of Wealth Inequality 20/23

Wealth Inequality: Top-Top Shares

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Awesome-state model: only 0.002% above empirical 0.01% wealth threshold.



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Wealth Inequality: Fraction Self-Made

			Fran	meworks	
	US	Awesome	PEER	Return	Heterogeneity
	Data	State	Model	Markov	Entrepreneurial
Gini	0.85	0.84	0.72	0.79	0.78
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Wealth Inequality: Fraction Self-Made

				Framework	(S	
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Top 0.01%	7.1	3.3	0.4	7.0	13.0	9.4
% Self-made	55	0.4	0.0	0.0	57.5	21.3

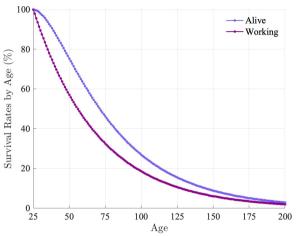
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Road Map

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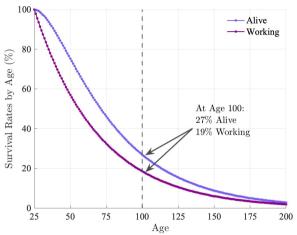
Age Distribution: Awesome-State Model



Notes: Perpetual-youth with constant probability of retiring of 1/45 and constant probability of dying after retirement of 1/15.

Guvenen, Ocampo, Ozkan (2025) Mechanics of Wealth Inequality 20/23

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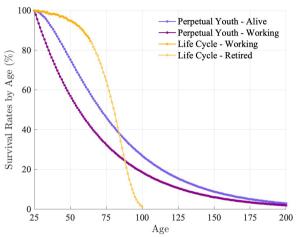


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► US has 97,000 centenarians. **Or 0.029% of population**



Age Distribution: Awesome-State Model vs Life Cycle Models



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Who Holds the Wealth?



Representation of the Very Old in Top 1%

	Awesome	Markov Returns			
Age	Population Share	Wealth Share	Population Share	Wealth Share	
65+	81.1	67.0	43.6	41.3	
85+					
100+					
120+					

Notes: SCF overall wealth shares for 65+, 38%, and 85+, 4.8%. For Markov Returns 65+, 36.6%, and 85+, 2.7%. Among top 1%, 33.2% are 65+ and hold 36.1% of wealth; 5.4% are 85+ and hold 4.6% of wealth.

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100+	61.2	39.1	NA	NA	
120+	39.8	25.0	NA	NA	

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Recap: Comparison of Models' Performance

		Pareto Tail		Overall Inequality	Lyfe Cycle Dynamics
Мо	del:	Shape	Thickness	Gini + Top Shares	Self-made
1.	PEER model	No	No	No	No
2.	Awesome-State model	No	No	Yes	No
3.	Return heterogeneity	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Conclusions

- ► "Awesome-State" Model:
 - Perpetual youth creates highly questionable demographics.
 - ► Centenarians hold 2/5 of top 1% wealth
 - Income process contradicts a large number of facts that are now well established.
 - Model does not generate a Pareto tail, and nobody has more than 150 million in wealth.

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► PEER Model:

- Realistic income + demographics go some way toward creating high wealth inequality
- Minimal effect of top 1% wealth holdings and beyond.

► "Rate of Return Heterogeneity" Model:

- Matches salient features of the wealth distribution with empirically reasonable returns.
- Substantially different & interesting policy implications (than Aiyagari framework).



Limited effect of saving rates with finite lives



Simple wealth accumulation process:

$$w_{h+1} = R \cdot w_h + s \cdot y_h \longrightarrow w_h = R^h w_0 + \sum_{t=0}^{h-1} R^{h-1-t} s y_t$$

- ► Set $w_0 = \$1M$, R = 1.03, and s = 1
- ► High and constant income: $y_h = y$ with $y \in \{p90, p99, p99.9\}$

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Takes over 100 years to accumulate \$1B (even for the earnings-rich!)

Years to		Income	
	p90 (\$108K)	p90 (\$309K)	p99.9 (\$927K)
\$100M	106	78	48
\$1B	183	153	118
\$10B	260	230	195

Limited effect of saving rates with finite lives II

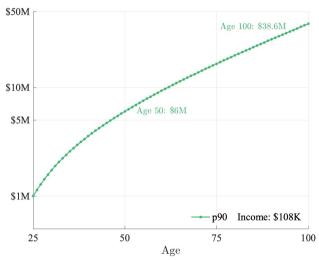


$$W_{h+1} = R \cdot W_h + s \cdot y_h$$
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Limited effect of saving rates with finite lives II



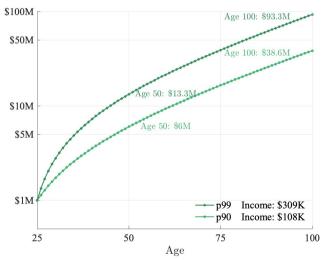
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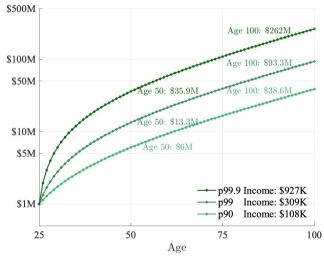
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Labor Income, Returns, and Wealth Levels



▶ We fix average labor income (~\$60K) and the wealth to income ratio (4)

$$4 = \frac{W}{\text{Labor Income} + \text{Capital Income}}$$

- Labor income = Working-Share × Avg. Labor Inc.
- Level of wealth depends on returns to wealth

$$4 = \frac{W}{\mathsf{Labor\ Income}\ +\ R \times W} \longrightarrow W = \frac{4}{1 - 4 \times R} \times \mathsf{Labor\ Income}$$

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	US Data	Awesome State	PEER	Markov Returns
	US Data	R = 3%	R = 3%	R = 12%
Avg. Wealth	\$320K	\$200K	\$170K	\$330K

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	US Data	R = 3%	R = 3%	R = 12%	
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► Wealth concentration results unchanged when matching average wealth



Empirical Benchmark Income Process (Guvenen et al, 2021, ECMA)

Level of earnings:
$$\tilde{Y}_t^i = (1 - \nu_t^i)e^{\left(g(t) + \alpha^i + \theta^i t + z_t^i + \varepsilon_t^i\right)}$$
 (1)

Persistent component:
$$z_t^i = \rho z_{t-1}^i + \eta_t^i$$
, (2)

Innovations to AR(1):
$$\eta_t^i \sim \begin{cases} \mathcal{N}(\mu_{\eta,1}, \sigma_{\eta,1}) & \text{with prob. } \rho_z \\ \mathcal{N}(\mu_{\eta,2}, \sigma_{\eta,2}) & \text{with prob. } 1 - \rho_z \end{cases}$$
 (3)

Initial condition of
$$z_t^i$$
: $z_0^i \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma_{z_0})$ (4)

Transitory shock:
$$\varepsilon_t^i \sim \begin{cases} \mathcal{N}(\mu_{\varepsilon,1}, \sigma_{\varepsilon,1}) & \text{with prob. } p_{\varepsilon} \\ \mathcal{N}(\mu_{\varepsilon,2}, \sigma_{\varepsilon,2}) & \text{with prob. } 1 - p_{\varepsilon} \end{cases}$$
 (5)

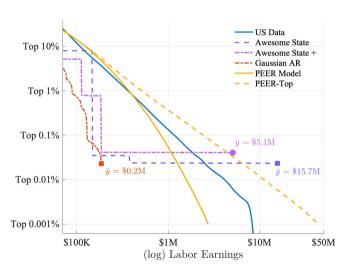
Nonemployment duration:
$$\nu_t^i \sim \begin{cases} 0 & \text{with prob. } 1 - p_{\nu}(t, z_t^i) \\ \min\{1, F_{\text{exp}}(\varphi)\} & \text{with prob. } p_{\nu}(t, z_t^i) \end{cases}$$
 (6)

Prob of Nonemp. shock:
$$p_{\nu}^{i}(t,z_{t})=\frac{e^{\xi_{t}^{i}}}{1+e^{\xi_{t}^{i}}}$$
, where $\xi_{t}^{i}\equiv a+bt+cz_{t}^{i}+dz_{t}^{i}t$. (7)

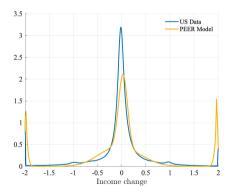
I.A. Income Inequality: Top Tail of Income Distribution



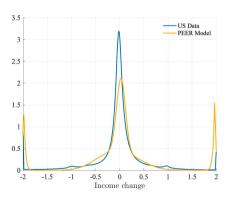
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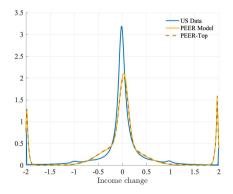




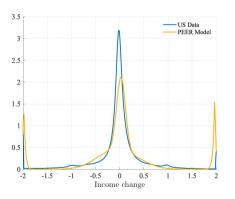


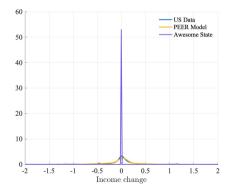




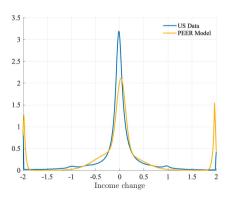


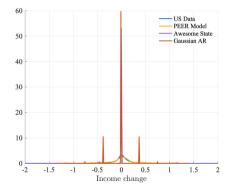






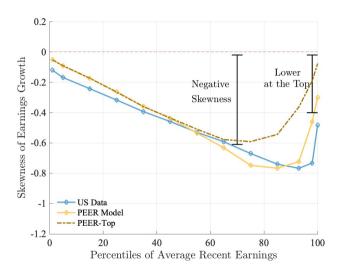






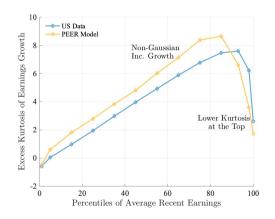
III.A Income Risk: Skewness of Income Growth





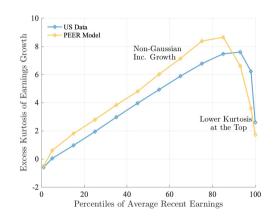
IV. Income Risk: Kurtosis of Income Growth

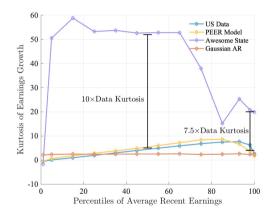




IV. Income Risk: Kurtosis of Income Growth

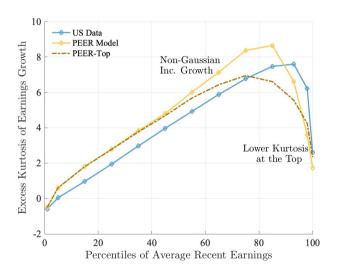






IV.A Income Risk: Kurtosis of Income Growth





Increasing *R* **to Match Wealth Levels**



ightharpoonup Calibrate PEER model with R=11% + Wealth-to-income ratio of 4

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ightharpoonup Calibrate PEER model with R=11% + Wealth-to-income ratio of 4

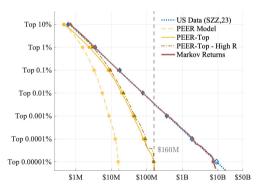
	US Data	PEER	PEER-Top	PEER-Top + $R = 11\%$	Markov Returns
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Increasing *R* **to Match Wealth Levels**



ightharpoonup Calibrate PEER model with R=11% + Wealth-to-income ratio of 4

	US Data	PEER	PEER-Top	PEER-Top + $R = 11\%$	Markov Returns
Avg. Wealth	\$320K	\$170K	\$200K	\$314K	\$330K



Wealth Inequality: PEER Model + PEER Top



	Gini + Top Shares			Top Wealth Thresholds			
	US Data	PEER Model	PEER Top	US Data	PEER Model	PEER Top	
Gini	0.85	0.72	0.79				
Top 10%	68.6	54.2	65.2	0.6	0.5	0.5	
Top 1%	33.7	13.5	24.1	3.5	1.5	2.4	
Top 0.1%	15.7	2.5	6.6	17.2	3.3	8.2	
Top 0.01%	7.1	0.4	1.4	77.8	5.6	19.6	

Source: US Data from *Smith, Zidar, Zwick* (QJE, 2023) complemented with Forbes data.

Where is the Top? Top Percentile Thresholds



Cutoff Values in Millions of US Dollars

	US Data	Frameworks					
Threshold for top	Millions USD	Awesome State	PEER Model	Return Heterogeneity			
				Markov	Entrepreneurial	Markov +	
1%	3.5	1.5	1.5	3.5	2.7	3.4	
0.1%	17.2	16.5	3.2	15.9	16.5	13.4	
0.01%	77.8	51.4	5.6	77.6	112.2	63.2	

Source: US Data from *Smith*, *Zidar*, *Zwick* (QJE, 2023)

Where is the Top? Top Percentile Thresholds



Cutoff Values in Millions of US Dollars

	US Data		Frameworks					
Threshold for top	Millions A USD	Awesome	PEER	Return Heterogeneity				
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Where is the Top? Top Percentile Thresholds



Cutoff Values in Millions of US Dollars

	US Data	Frameworks					
	Millions	Awesome	PEER		Return Heterogene	eity	
Threshold for top	USD	State	Model	Markov	Entrepreneurial	Markov +	
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Millionaires in the Model: Population Above Data Cutoffs



	US Data			Frameworl	KS	
Cutoff (Millions USD)	Pop Share Above Cutoff	Awesome State	PEER Model		ty	
(Mittions 03D)	Above Cuton	State	Model		Entrepreneurial	Markov +
3.52	1.00	0.32	0.08	0.99	0.66	0.95

Source: US Data from *Smith*, *Zidar*, *Zwick* (QJE, 2023).

Millionaires in the Model: Population Above Data Cutoffs



	US Data			Framework	xs .	
Cutoff (Millions USD)	Pop Share Above Cutoff	Awesome State	PEER Model	Return Heterogeneity		
				Markov	Entrepreneurial	Markov +
3.52	1.00	0.32	0.08	0.99	0.66	0.95
17.2	0.10	0.09	0	0.09	0.10	0.07

Source: US Data from *Smith*, *Zidar*, *Zwick* (QJE, 2023).

Millionaires in the Model: Population Above Data Cutoffs



	US Data			Framework	(S	
Cutoff (Millions USD)	Pop Share Above Cutoff	Awesome State	PEER Model	Return Heterogeneity		
				Markov	Entrepreneurial	Markov +
3.52	1.00	0.32	0.08	0.99	0.66	0.95
17.2	0.10	0.09		0.09	0.10	0.07
77.8	0.01	0.002	0	0.010	0.017	0.008

Source: US Data from *Smith, Zidar, Zwick* (QJE, 2023).

Wealth, Capital Income, and Consumption



▶ How concentrated are capital income and consumption relative to wealth?

Wealth, Capital Income, and Consumption



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Lorenz: Consumption is less concentrated than wealth; Capital income is more

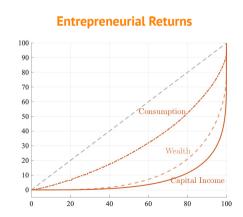
Wealth, Capital Income, and Consumption



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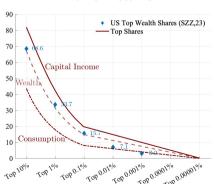


Wealth, Capital Income, and Consumption at the top

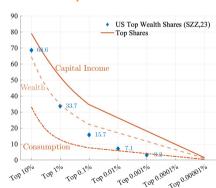


Top Shares: Consumption is less concentrated than wealth; Capital income is more

Markov Returns



Entrepreneurial Returns

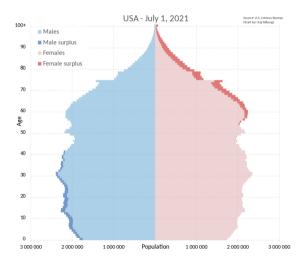


Age Distribution: US Data



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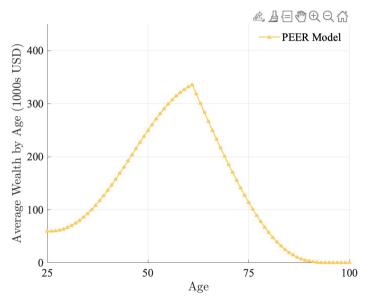
US has 97,000 centenarians. Or 0.029% of population



Average Lifecycle Wealth Profiles

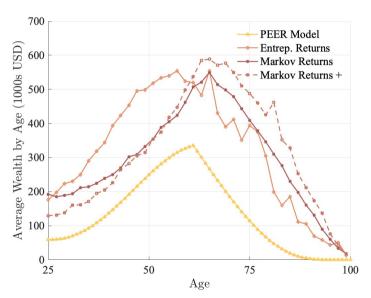


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Average Lifecycle Wealth Profiles





Average Lifecycle Wealth Profiles



