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2025 Update: Introducing the THIA: Total Haig-Simons U.S. Household Income, Consumption, and Wealth Accounts, 1960–2023

Roth, Steve and Bezemer, Dirk

University of Groningen

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Introducing the THIAs: Total Haig-Simons U.S. Household Income, Consumption, and Wealth Accounts

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This paper presents the Total Haig-Simons U.S. Household Income Accounts (THIAs), an open-access data set providing balance-sheet-complete measures of income, saving, and wealth accumulation for U.S. households from 1960 to 2023, with prototype distributional estimates for all measures by income quintile since 2000. By integrating NIPA income and saving measures with accrued Holding Gains and Other Volume Changes from the Integrated Macroeconomic Accounts (IMAs), the THIAs construct integrated Haig-Simons income series for use by researchers. Distributional analysis reveals that 86% of Total saving over the past quarter century accrued to the top 20% of households, driven by disproportionate exposure to asset-price appreciation and significantly lower propensities to consume. The data set enables researchers to examine inequality dynamics through a fully integrated income-consumption-wealth lens, addressing researchers' methodological calls for integrated "3D" national accounts.

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Abbreviations used: [CEX](#): Consumer Expenditure Survey. [DFA](#): Distributional Financial Accounts. [DINA](#): Distributional National Accounts. [DPCEA](#): Distribution of Personal Consumption Expenditure Accounts. [DPIA](#): Distribution of Personal Income accounts. [FA](#): Federal Reserve Financial Accounts (F, L, and B tables). [IMA](#): Integrated Macroeconomic Accounts. [NIPA](#): National Income and Product Accounts. [OECD](#): Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. [SCF](#): Survey of Consumer Finances. [SNA](#): System of National Accounts. [WID](#): World Inequality Database.

Section One: Introduction

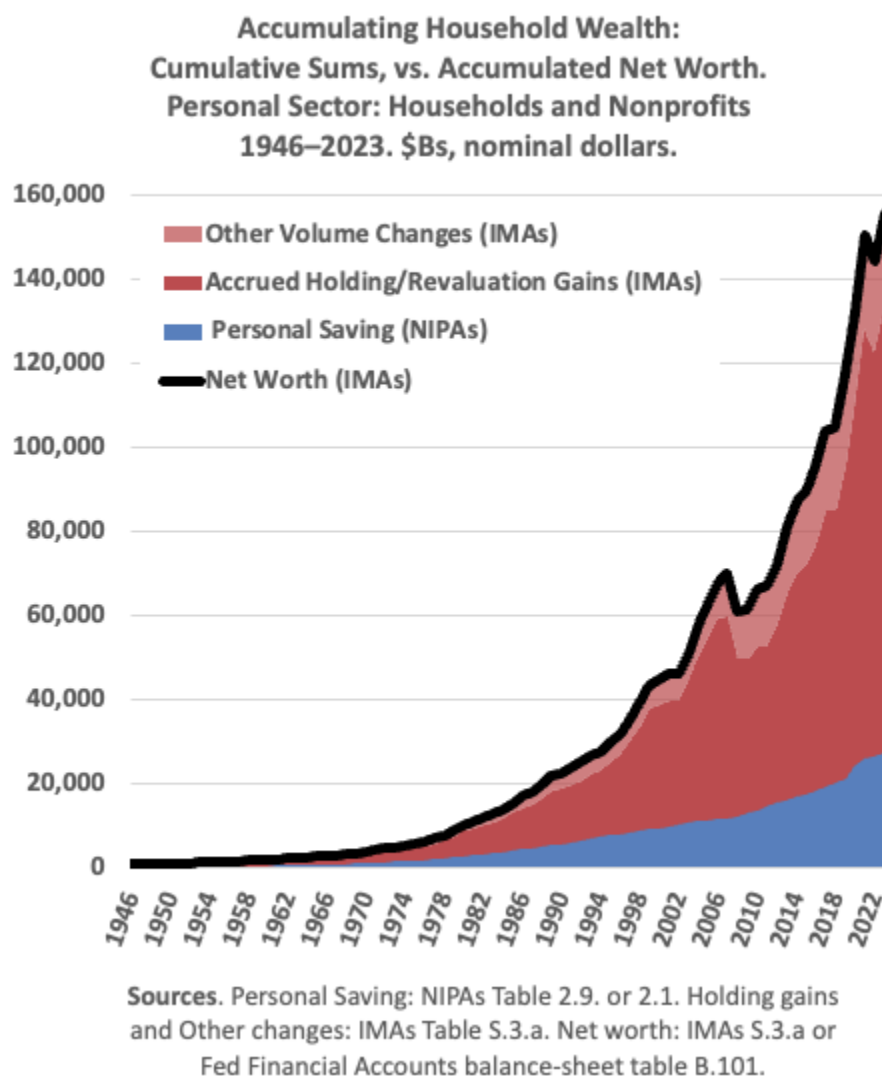
A dominant economic fact of the past half century is the extreme and increasing concentration of U.S. wealth into the hands of ever-fewer people, families, and dynasties, and the corporations they own as shareholders — with the accompanying concentration of economic and political power, influence, and control. The post-1980 era has been a complete reversal of the unprecedented and epochal six-decade wealth dispersal from the 1930s to the late 1970s.¹

That steep, decades-long rise in wealth inequality has focused researcher’s attention on the topic, and produced new and better measures. But what are the causes or sources of that trend? An analytical problem arises in answering that question, due to a striking omission in academic research: the absence of an “integrated,” balance-sheet-complete accounting of household wealth accumulation, and concentration — where household wealth “comes from.” The BEA’s NIPAs, which almost every inequality researcher relies on, do not include balance sheets, and their income and saving measures don’t explain the changes in wealth (Figure 1). NIPA Saving does not explain household “savings.”² If cumulative NIPA Saving did represent households’ total wealth accumulation, households’ 2023 net worth would be \$29T, versus the observed measure of \$155T.

¹ Saez and Zucman 2020 Figure 26 is a representative example showing this “U-shaped” trend from 1917 through 2019. Image, and source data, are here: gabriel-zucman.eu/files/SaezZucman2020JEPData.xlsx, Figure F1b and DataF1-F2(Wealth). An updated version by this papers’ authors using data from Blanchet, Saez, and Zucman’s realtimeinequality.org through 2023 is available at wealth-economics.com/S_Zucman_JEP_2000_rti_thru_2023.xlsx. Note that all three plotted wealth measures in these figures exclude durables holdings and federal-employee pension entitlements, so are comparable. (The unadjusted “raw” DFA wealth series, also provided in the SZ spreadsheet, includes those additional measures, and results in a notably smaller top-1% share.)

² This plural “savings” usage, implying a stock measure as in the vernacular “your retirement savings,” is widely used but is not a technical economic term of art. There is no measure labeled “savings” in any national accounts — just assets and net worth.

Figure 1. Sources of U.S. household-sector net worth accumulation. The red and pink sections comprise property income, return on assets, that's not included in NIPA measures and that is necessary to explain total asset/net worth accumulation.



The additional measures that are necessary to complete the balance-sheet-integrated accounting (red and pink areas in Figure 1) have been available to researchers at least since the 2006 release of the Integrated Macroeconomic Accounts (or IMAs — a cooperative effort of the BEA and the Federal Reserve that conforms to the U.N. System of National Accounts). The IMAs make it possible to assemble measures of balance-sheet-complete “Haig-Simons” income (Section Two and Appendix A), which in turn is necessary to calculate balance-sheet-complete accumulation: “Haig-Simons saving” (all three colored area in Figure 1, combined).

Haig-Simons income is typically defined as consumption spending plus change in net worth. As displayed in Figure 1 and discussed throughout this paper, that measure is equal to NIPA income plus accrued holding gains (and other volume changes). It is referred to as “Total income” herein.

Wealth concentration results from differential accumulation by different groups, notably from greater accumulation by higher-income and higher-wealth groups. This raises an analytical problem absent a complete measure of wealth accumulation/saving. The large additional (red) measures in Figure 1, for instance, need to be allocated to different groups in order to form a complete distributional picture of the causes and sources of the different groups' wealth accumulation. This problem has given rise to a long-standing call by researchers for a published Total or Haig-Simons income series (Section Two) — including distributional breakouts of those measures.

The present paper's main contribution is to address that analytical problem by providing a fully-documented and replicable open-access data set and workbook of Haig-Simons income and its constituent measures, for the US since 1960 (with prototype distributional breakouts of all measures by income quintile, 2000–2023). See Figures 2 and 3. This data set is here dubbed the Total Household Income Accounts, or THIA's.³

The paper is organized as follows. Section Two explores the history of Haig-Simons income accounting and literature, and its relationship to recent calls for integrated “3D” measures of income, consumption spending, and wealth. Section Three presents the THIA's, and explains its key departures from NIPA-only accounting treatments. Section Four presents the THIA's' distributional breakouts of all measures, by income quintiles. Section Five displays the very different “story” of wealth accumulation over recent decades that's made visible by the THIA's' balance-sheet-complete construction. Section Six concludes and makes suggestions for further research. The appendices address Haig-Simons income theory more deeply, provide a detailed explanation of the THIA's' construction and derivations, and offer insights and suggestions for improving the THIA's' distributional measures.

Section Two: Haig-Simons Income, Integration, and “Inequality in 3D”

Haig-Simons Income has a long history.⁴ For decades, economists studying income, wealth and inequality have referred to it as the “preferred” income measure, and expressed wishes for a published Haig-Simons data series, as two recent research teams note:

“The most comprehensive concept of income and consumption is drawn from the suggestions of Haig and Simons, where income represents the capacity to consume without drawing down net worth. Economists have used the following

³ The full workbook and replication file for this effort is available at XXXXX)

⁴ Robbins' footnote 7 nicely encapsulates Haig and Simons' definitions: “Haig (1921) wrote that income is ‘the money value of the net accretion to one's economic power between two points of time’, and Simons (1938) wrote that income is ‘the algebraic sum of (1) the market value of the rights exercised in consumption and (2) the change in the value of the store of property rights between the beginning and end of the period in question.’”

equation as the working definition of Haig-Simons: Income (Y) equals consumption (C) plus the change in net worth (ΔNW). No studies use this definition to the fullest extent, because no household survey has the necessary variables to create a full measure of Haig-Simons income. ([Fisher et. al. 2020](#) p. 7)

“A long-standing preferred measure of economists is the Haig-Simons concept of economic income, sometimes described as equaling consumption plus the change in net worth and including these income sources. A key feature of this definition of income is the inclusion of annual accrued capital gains or losses. ... While the Haig-Simons approach is often considered the preferred measure by economists, actually estimating the distribution of accrued gains is necessarily imprecise because micro data rarely have all the information needed. ([Auten 2022](#) p. 2)

[Atkinson, Piketty, and Saez 2011](#) p. 34 likewise refers to “a ‘preferred’ definition of income, such as the Haig-Simons comprehensive definition, which includes such items as...accruing capital gains and losses.” [Saez and Zucman 2019](#) focus on this measure as well, though not by that name; they call it “true economic income.”⁵

Earlier research on the topic is extensive and longstanding. Hicks 1946 (*Value and Capital*) is an important touchstone. It devotes a chapter to H-S income, though not by that name (Chapter 14, “Income”). H-S income is necessary and inherent to Hicks’ sustainable-consumption constraint (and Hyman Minsky’s “survival constraint”): “the amount which [households] can consume without impoverishing themselves.”⁶ (Without running out of assets to spend, that is.) The 2008 SNA guide (p. 160) echoes Hicks’ words almost verbatim.

The OECD (a) handbook (p. 29) discusses H-S income and concludes, “Although it is not part of the income definition as defined by the SNA, it would provide more insight into the economic situation of various household groups.” As the THIAs demonstrate, it also provides a complete accounting explanation of household wealth accumulation, which in turn makes possible an accounting-complete understanding of differential, concentrated wealth accumulation (Section Five).

Previous efforts to assemble H-S income series include Eisner 1989, Robbins 2018, Bricker et. al. 2020, and Larrimore et. al, 2021. They use different methodologies and

⁵ Eight usages in the paper. One example, emphasis added: “As long as Bezos, Buffett, and Zuckerberg do not sell their stock, their realized income is going to be minuscule relative to their wealth and *true economic income*.”

⁶ Minsky/Simons: See [Mehrling 1999](#), p. 139: “the most basic constraint on the behavior of every economic agent is the ‘survival constraint’ (Minsky, 1954, p.157) which requires that cash outflow not exceed cash inflow.” The THIAs consider all assets, not just households’ quite small (~10%) proportion of “cash” assets. See also Bezemer, 2021, p 391 ff, and Neilson, 2019, pp 45–49.

data sources so are difficult to compare or re-create, especially absent downloadable data sets, replication files, and detailed accounting derivations.

Economists' desire for such an integrated understanding, and acknowledgment of its ongoing absence or incompleteness, is epitomized most recently in the title of a 2024 report from The U.S. National Academies' Committee on National Statistics: *Creating an Integrated System of Data and Statistics on Household Income, Consumption, and Wealth: Time to Build* (Smeeding et. al. 2024). The envisioned system is rooted in a fundamental accounting identity (here simplified): Income minus Consumption Spending = Wealth Accumulation. $I - C = \Delta W$. (Smeeding 2024, "Conclusion 2-1," p. 3, and pp. 65-66.) It's the "ICW" approach, nicely characterized in the title of [Fisher 2021](#): "Inequality in 3D."⁷

The report's subtitle, "Time to build," is appropriate in view of the long buildout of fully accounting-integrated U.S. national accounts. In the late 1980s/early 1990s the Federal Reserve started developing annual balance sheets for the households & nonprofits (personal) sector and two other "real" sectors (not including financial institutions, government, or rest-of-world). Integrated "stock-flow consistent" or -coherent (SFC) accounting (and understanding) is impossible without these balance sheets; they *are* the stock measures. The NIPAs, for instance, don't have balance sheets. The accounting identities for their flow measures terminate at Saving, a "dangling" measure; the NIPAs provide no accounting-identity relationship between that measure and (changes in) balance-sheet assets/net worth.⁸ And as displayed in Figure 1, NIPA Saving does not equal the change in assets or net worth: $I - C = S \neq \Delta W$.

The major "integration" breakthrough came in 2006, when the Federal Reserve and the Bureau of Economic Analysis jointly started publishing the aptly titled *Integrated Macroeconomic Accounts* — the IMAs, based on and largely conforming to the U.N. System of National Accounts' (SNA, 2008) framework and requirements. The IMAs provide a fully integrated flows-and-stocks accounting table including balance sheets, for each domestic sector (notably the Personal sector, households plus nonprofits), plus rest-of-world.⁹ They also include clearly presented measures of sectors' accrued holding or (re)valuation gains broken out by asset category, and Other Volume changes, that are

⁷ Garner et al (August 2023) Appendix B provides an excellent historical and international overview of that emerging "3D" approach, and the literature and research institutions engaging it.

⁸ The Fed's Flow of Funds (FOF) [Table F.6](#), "Derivation of Measures of Personal Saving," provides reconciliation of the measures of "Personal saving, FOF concept (FOF)," "Personal saving, NIPA concept (FOF)," and "Personal saving, NIPA concept (NIPA)," but it is a challenging construction even for national-accounting adepts. And it still does not consider or include the "missing" income and saving represented in the red and pink sections of Figure 1 or the "red box" highlighted in Figure 2.

⁹ Annual releases, with coverage from 1960. Quarterly tables, also back to 1960, were released in 2012. Coverage of Financial sub-sectors was also added in 2012, with balance sheet and revaluation measures back to 1960; coverage of financial subsector flow or "transaction" measures extends back to 2001.

absent in the NIPAs. These additional measures and balance sheets make it possible to assemble total Haig-Simons income series as displayed in Figure 2.¹⁰

The Smeeding report addresses the history and import of Haig-Simons income at multiple points, notably including (p. 33):

“The critical factor in comparing trends in inequality across all three dimensions in a balanced way is to use the Haig-Simons budget identity to ensure that the definitions are consistent.”

The report also mentions the IMAs (p. 52): “Changes in wealth enter the national accounting via the Integrated Macroeconomic Accounts.”

The THIAs incorporate both of these insights: they integrate the standard NIPA income accounting with the additional “changes in wealth” measures from the IMAs, to derive total Haig-Simons income. They then subtract “uses” (taxes, consumption spending, etc.) to derive Haig-Simons saving, which equals ΔNW .

Section Three: Total Household Income Data, 1960-2023

The main contribution of this paper and the accompanying [Excel workbook](#)¹¹ is to provide an open-access data set based on Haig-Simons income (and saving) and its constituent components and derivations, for use by other researchers (Figure 2). It currently covers 64 years, 1960-2023. All THIA measures are for the households-only sector, excluding nonprofit institutions serving households (NPISHes).¹² All measures are in nominal dollars (\$Bs); inflation-adjusted series are easily derived from these (see footnote 15).

¹⁰ Curiously, the IMAs have been little-used in research. This is well-demonstrated by the limited and mostly old hits in searches of [Google](#), [Google Scholar](#), [Google Trends](#), and [IDEAS/RePEc](#). The BEA has [stopped publishing the IMAs](#) on its site “due to budget constraints,” though the tables and data series are still published at the end of the Fed’s quarterly Z.1 report (as the “S” tables, for SNA) and are still [available on FRED](#). Even there, though, some aggregate IMA series have recently been labeled “discontinued” and are not updated on FRED (e.g. total nonfinancial assets), even though their component sub-measures (real-estate assets, durables, etc.) continue to be published and are easily summed to the aggregate measure. Perplexingly, these measures *are* still published in the Z.1 “S” tables.

¹¹ XXX URL of downloadable workbook XXX

¹² In 2019, national accountants “de-consolidated” the consolidated personal sector (often referred to in shorthand as the household sector) into its component sectors, households and NPISHes. See NIPA Table 2.9’s separate measures: personal, household, and NPISH (coverage back to 1992), the DPIAs (coverage from 2000), plus the FA balance-sheet tables B.101h and B.101.n and the households-only DFAs (coverage from 1989). Measures for earlier years are adjusted in the THIAs from the available personal-sector measures to households-only estimates as necessary, as explained in Appendix A and displayed in the spreadsheet itself. The choice of sector for the THIAs was driven by the DFAs’ distributional tables, which only provide household (not personal-sector) measures. The THIAs distributional results, discussed below, rely heavily on the DFAs’ distributional balance-sheet measures, so the THIAs cannot currently be assembled for the personal sector.

Figure 2. The Total Household Income Accounts, detail displaying 2019-2023. Columns extend back to 1960. The red box highlights this paper's focus: income not included in NIPA measures of income or saving.

Total Household Income Accounts, Sources and Uses	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	Sum 2000-23	% of Total income
<i>Billions, nominal dollars. Household-only measures, ex-NPISH</i>							
Start-of-period net worth	99,520	110,982	124,574	142,948	136,967		
Start-of-period assets	114,514	126,429	140,542	160,474	155,613		
Start-of-period liabilities	14,994	15,446	15,968	17,526	18,647		
Sources: Total income. Labor + Total return on assets + transfers	28,229	30,122	37,312	15,021	32,657	424,357	100%
Labor Compensation (earned income)	11,447	11,596	12,557	13,437	14,190	216,412	51%
Plus: Primary property income, return on assets ("yield")	5,127	5,179	5,695	6,139	6,675	93,505	22%
Proprietors' net income (profits)	1,556	1,594	1,815	1,874	1,949	30,006	7%
Rental net income (profits) including imputed owner-occupier rental profits	679	728	762	859	977	11,357	3%
Interest	1,578	1,487	1,458	1,611	1,864	30,827	7%
Dividends	1,314	1,370	1,660	1,795	1,885	21,316	5%
Equals: Primary market income	16,573	16,775	18,252	19,575	20,865	309,918	73%
Plus: Additional property/ownership income, return on assets	9,870	10,596	15,940	-7,030	9,266	81,091	19%
Other Changes in Volume	921	389	18	-850	448	9,436	2.2%
Accumulation of durable goods (net of consumption of fixed capital, durables)	236	282	475	368	330	5,285	1.2%
Disaster losses	14	14	-6	-16	14	27	0.0%
Other (other) volume changes	671	93	-450	-1,202	104	4,124	1.0%
Accrued holding gains/asset (re)valuation	8,949	10,207	15,922	-6,180	8,819	71,655	17%
On financial assets	7548	7295	9607	-9605	7281	42,690	10%
On nonfinancial assets	1,401	2,913	6,315	3,425	1,537	28,965	7%
Memo: Total property income, Primary + Additional. Total return on assets	14,996	15,775	21,635	-891	15,941	174,596	41%
Equals: Total market income. Earned labor income + total property income.	26,443	27,371	34,193	12,545	30,131	391,008	92%
Plus: Net Transfer income	1,787	2,751	3,120	2,475	2,526	33,348	8%
Gross social benefits and other transfers received	3,211	4,201	4,679	4,180	4,342	60,026	14%
Government social benefits	3,064	4,061	4,490	3,956	4,116	57,173	13%
From business (net)	32	18	58	89	85	739	0.2%
From nonprofits	115	122	132	135	141	2,113	0.5%
(Less) Household contributions for gov. social insurance	1,425	1,450	1,560	1,705	1,817	26,677	6%
Memo: Household income (labor + primary property + net transfers)	18,360	19,526	21,372	22,051	23,390	343,266	81%
Less: Uses	16,767	16,531	18,939	21,002	21,875	317,863	75%
Household Taxes	2,199	2,245	2,705	3,245	2,856	41,238	10%
Household Outlays	14,568	14,285	16,233	17,757	19,019	276,625	65%
Consumption expenditures	14,020	13,744	15,673	17,154	18,269	265,835	63%
Consumer (non-mortgage) Interest paid	341	288	278	334	493	6,425	1.5%
Adjustment for personal vs HH: net HH transfers to nonprofits	207	254	283	268	257	4,365	1.0%
Equals: Total saving. Change in net worth. Sources - uses.	11,463	13,592	18,374	-5,981	10,782	106,494	25%
Memo: Household saving (HH inc - taxes - outlays)	1,593	2,996	2,434	1,049	1,516	25,403	6%
Plus: Assets accumulated from net new borrowing	452	522	1,557	1,121	501	12,726	3%
Equals: Change in assets	11,915	14,114	19,931	-4,860	11,283	119,220	28%
Minus: Liabilities accumulated from net new borrowing	452	522	1,557	1,121	501	12,726	3%
Equals: Change in net worth	11,463	13,592	18,374	-5,981	10,782	106,494	25%
End-of-period net worth	110,982	124,574	142,948	136,967	147,749		
End-of-period assets	126,429	140,542	160,474	155,613	166,896		
End-of-period liabilities	15,446	15,968	17,526	18,647	19,147		

81% of Total Income in the THIA is NIPA Household Income. The red box in Figure 2 highlights Additional Property Income tallied from the IMAs (19%). That measure is dominated by accrued holding gains accumulated by households (17%), redounding to their balance sheets over years, decades, lifetimes, generations, and dynasties.

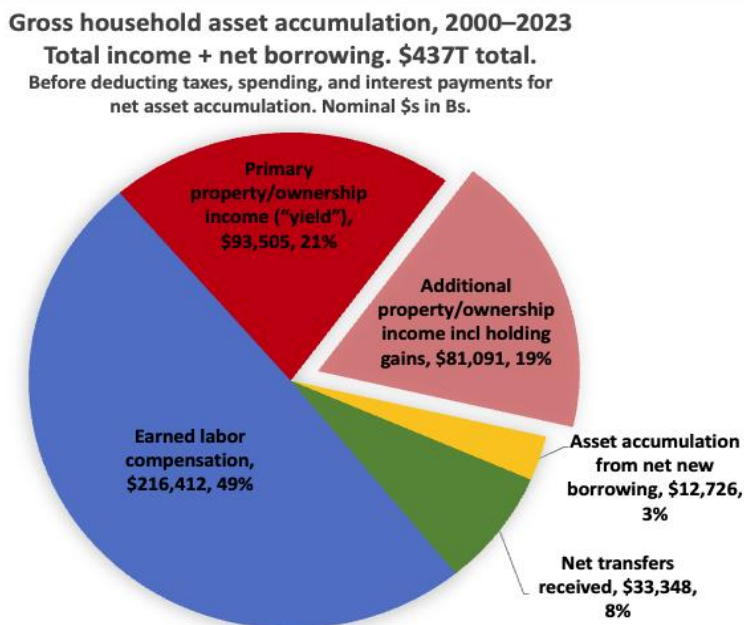
The THIA's table structure is derived from and based on the IMAs' structure, with some reorganization and re-labeling of measures in an effort to make the "integrated" sources, uses, and level changes, and their accounting-identity relationships, straightforwardly understandable to the general public or a typical businessperson as well as academic researchers. The THIA's depart from the IMAs' structure by including Additional Property Income in Total Property Income (and hence in Total income), consistent with the income definition in the academic literature on Haig-Simons income.

Total Property Income represents asset-holders' *total* returns on assets including holding gains — not just the “yield” from interest, dividends, etc. tallied in NIPA income. From 2000–2023, Additional Property Income comprises 46% of Total Property Income, return on assets, vs. 54% from yield. With the inclusion of taxes, outlays (consumption spending and consumer-interest payments), and borrowing, the THIAs are balance-sheet-complete.

That feature makes it possible to cross-check and validate the THIA's calculated, year-by-ensuing-year wealth changes and ending balance sheets (which are the starting balance sheets for the next year) against *observed* balance sheets from the Fed's Table B.101.h (which matches the DFA balance-sheet measures). Despite necessary THIA adjustments to account for household- vs personal-sector measures, the THIA's end-of-2023 assets, calculated over 64 years, match observed 2023 household balance-sheet assets with a discrepancy of only 0.7%.

Figure 3 illustrates the sources of new household assets over 24 years. (It includes the relatively small quantity of new assets accumulated through borrowing, even though borrowing is not part of income.¹³) The detached pink pie-slice highlights the magnitude of Additional Property income, which is not included in NIPA income or saving.

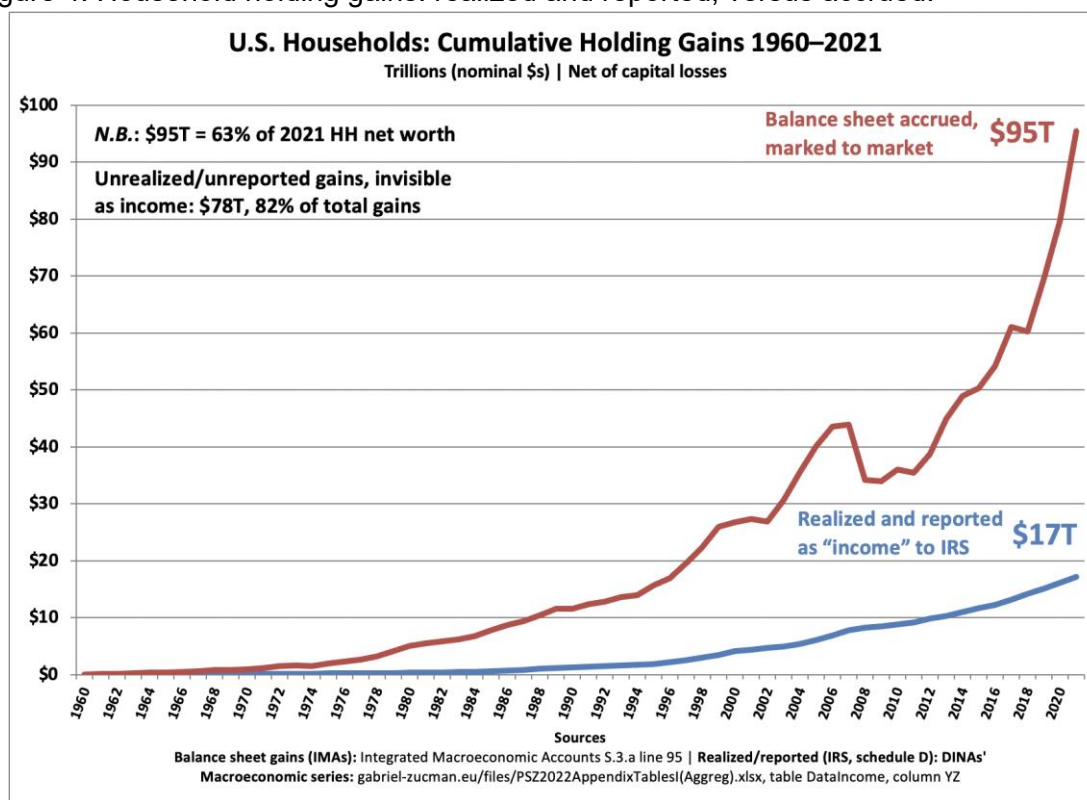
Figure 3. Household-sector income and borrowing, including Additional Property/Ownership Income. The red and pink slices combined are total return on owners' assets, total property income.



¹³ The bottom rows of the THIA table, below Total Saving, tally households' balance-sheet changes due to *net* new borrowing — new borrowing minus loan payoffs. New borrowing adds assets and liabilities in equal measure, so it increases household assets but has no effect on net worth.

Some widely-used data sets provide alternate measures of income that do include households' *realized* holding gains. (See discussion in Appendix A: Haig-Simons Income theory.) These measures cannot account for households' observed wealth accumulation because a large percentage of accrued holding gains are never "realized" or reported for tax purposes. (And likewise, they don't appear in the tax "administrative data" that constitutes an important basis for those data sets.) Figure 4 illustrates the magnitude of the gap between realized/reported gains and the accrued holding gains tallied in the IMAs. 82% of accrued holding gains are never realized and reported.

Figure 4. Household holding gains: realized and reported, versus accrued.



Accrued gains which are not realized nevertheless redound to household balance sheets as asset accumulation. Significantly, given holding gains' volatility (and thus their frequent treatment as "not real wealth" or "windfall" gains), over 62 years there has been only one significant drawdown in Figure 4's cumulative accrued series, in 2008: down \$9.7T, a 13.7% decline.¹⁴ Asset-holders recovered from that drawdown in only five years (in

¹⁴ Given this rather large reality, it is worth revisiting the BEA FAQ, "Why do the NIPAs exclude capital gains from income and saving?" [bea.gov/help/faq/67](https://www.bea.gov/help/faq/67) Because asset prices are so volatile, the THIA's total-income measures are not a useful measure of current, "this-period" production — the *ultima thule* of the GDP accounting construct. But they're arguably a valid market *correction* of firms' past production measures. In this logic, current asset markets think the country's unconsumed long-lived (productive) goods/"fixed capital" produced in the past (tangible and non-), are worth more, relative to their sales prices when they were produced, purchased, and posted as assets to balance sheets.

nominal terms).¹⁵ Accrued holding gains of the household sector are not just temporary up-and-down fluctuations.

Section Four: Distributional Wealth and Income Measures, 2000-2023

The THIA's also provide distributional breakouts for all of its income and outlay categories and subcategories, by income quintile, 2000-2023 (Figure 5).¹⁶ These measures must be considered as prototypes and proofs of concept. The top-20% and bottom-80% breakouts cross-check very well against observed distributional balance sheets (DFAs), so this paper focuses on those measures. The lower quintiles are more problematic (see Section zz). The 24-year period 2000-2023 is also used frequently in this paper as a convenient sample of recent decades' aggregate and average measures and ratios.

Figure 5. A detail from the top of the THIA table (displayed columns are for 2019–2023) with Proprietors' and Rental income measures "expanded" to display the distributional breakouts by income quintile provided for all measures in the table. The "All HHs (cross

¹⁵ To touch on inflation-adjustment: the CPI index increased by 82% from 2000 through 2023. (PCE index: 67%.) Market-price changes for households' assets, calculable in the THIA's, grew much faster. Nominal revaluation/holding gains over the same period were 129% of 2000 holdings for financial assets, 181% for nonfinancial assets, 146% for all assets combined. BEA Table 5.10 lines 54 ff (covering produced assets only, fixed assets and inventories), labels the first — nominal gains *attributable* to general inflation — as "neutral" nominal gains, and the remainder as "real" nominal gains. Table footnote 12: "Neutral holding gains are the gains derived from holding an asset if the price of an asset changed in the same proportion as the general price level. The chain-type price index for gross domestic purchases is used as a measure for the general price level."

¹⁶ Income quintiles are used because they are directly provided by, or can be reasonably assembled for, all the source data sets. They provide both a broader and more granular bottom-to-top view than in the DINAs, where both income- and wealth-percentile breakouts are given for the bottom 50%, next 40%, and above. The DFAs' wealth-percentile breakouts also use that form, but their income-percentile breakouts are by quintiles (plus top 1%). Both the DPIAs and CEX provide income decile/quintile breakouts. See Appendix C for discussion of income quintiles' comparability across sources. It would be preferable to analyze all of these breakouts by percentiles of Total Income instead, but the necessary quintile breakouts (household income and spending by Total Income quintiles) are not available from national agencies (CEX, DPIAs, or DFAs, for instance) or private researchers. Assembling such breakouts could importantly contribute to the THIA's "integration" of distributional measures.

check)” rows are an error-checking convenience for users who are revising or updating the table.

9	Sources: Total income. Labor + Total return on assets + transfers	28,229	30,122	37,312	15,021	32,657
17	Labor Compensation (earned income)	11,447	11,596	12,557	13,437	14,190
25	Plus: Primary property income, return on assets (“yield”)	5,127	5,179	5,695	6,139	6,675
33	Proprietors’ net income (profits)	1,556	1,594	1,815	1,874	1,949
34	All HHs (cross check)	1,556	1,592	1,817	1,874	1,951
35	Top 20%	1,379	1,439	1,653	1,685	1,729
36	60-80%	112	108	109	126	138
37	40-60%	47	37	40	47	57
38	20-40%	16	13	16	17	21
39	Bottom 20%	3	-5	-2	0	6
40	Bottom 80%	177	153	163	189	222
41	Rental net income (profits) including imputed owner-occupier rental profits	679	728	762	859	977
42	All HHs (cross check)	679	727	763	859	977
43	Top 20%	309	325	350	395	440
44	60-80%	136	152	156	171	197
45	40-60%	106	114	117	133	156
46	20-40%	85	89	90	105	123
47	Bottom 20%	43	47	50	55	61
48	Bottom 80%	370	403	413	464	537
49	Interest	1,578	1,487	1,458	1,611	1,864
57	Dividends	1,314	1,370	1,660	1,795	1,885
65	Equals: Primary market income. Labor + primary property	16,573	16,775	18,252	19,575	20,865

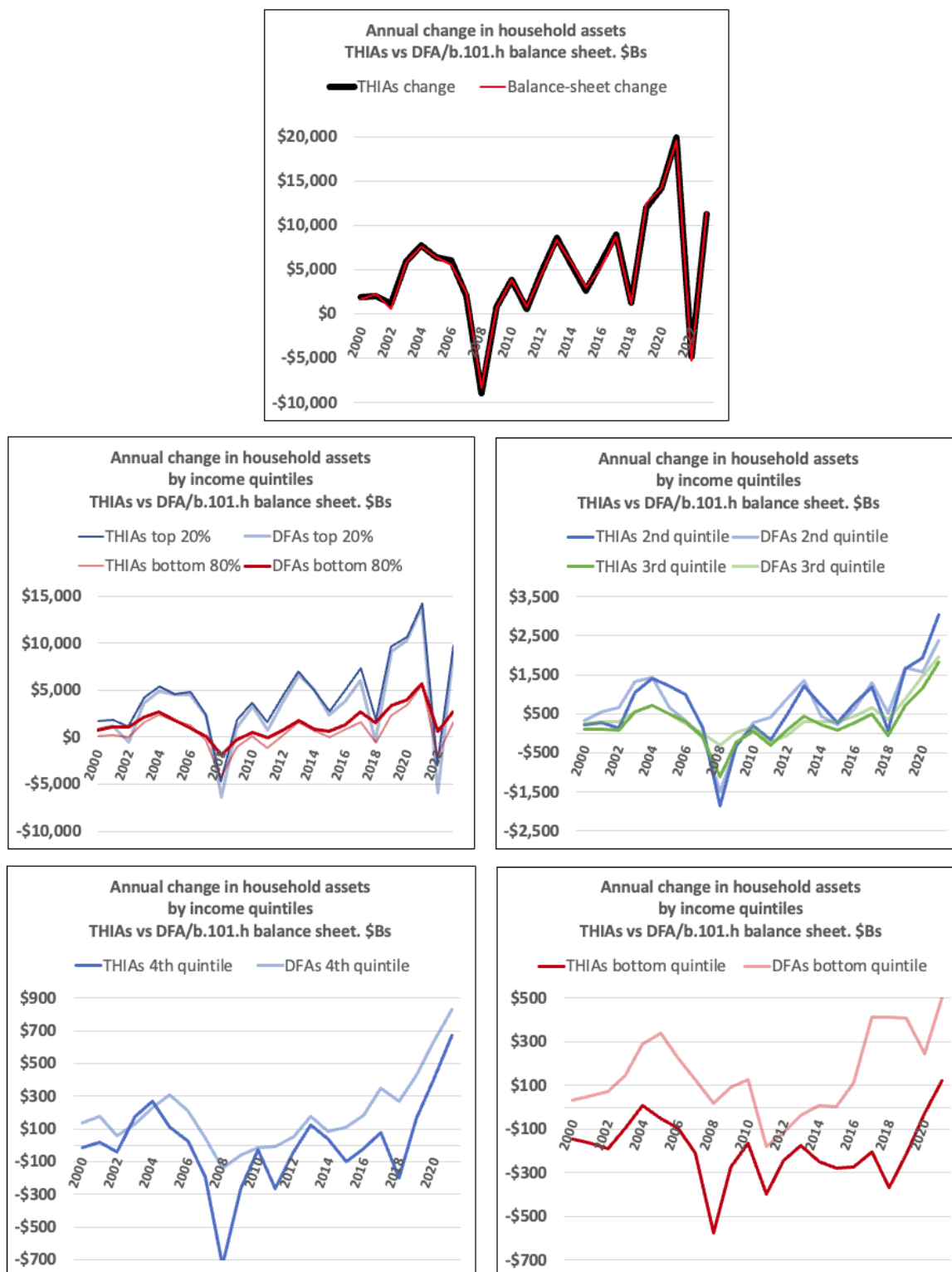
The THIA’s distributional breakouts are only possible because of major BEA and Fed data releases since 2019. In that year the Federal Reserve released the quarterly Distributional Financial Accounts (balance-sheet measures), with coverage back to 1989.¹⁷ They provide distributional breakouts by income quintiles, and by wealth percentiles, plus age, generation, education, and race. The DFAs’ income-quintile breakouts are what make it possible to cross-check and validate the THIA’s distributional flow results against distributional balance sheets.

Given economists’ longtime focus on income as opposed to wealth measures, it’s surprising to find that the BEA’s Distribution of Personal [and Household] Income Accounts were developed much later. The first prototype efforts were released in December 2020, with annual improved and expanded December releases since then. Since 81% of the THIA’s Total income consists of NIPA household income, these DPIA breakouts were necessary to derive the THIA’s distributional results.

The THIA’s balance-sheet-complete accounting again offers an important advantage: the calculated wealth changes *for each income quintile* can be cross-checked and validated against the DFAs’ observed balance-sheet changes for each quintile (Figure 6).

¹⁷ The DFAs are household-sector accounts, excluding NPISHes. So in the same year, deconsolidated balance sheets were launched — FA Tables B.101.h and B.1010n — along with deconsolidated flow/transaction tables for the household and nonprofit sectors (NIPA Table 2.9). All these tables stand out for being very well integrated across agencies and approaches.

Figure 6. The THIA's calculated changes in quintiles' assets versus observed balance-sheet asset changes. Note graphs' Y-axis differences.



The THIA's aggregate all-households measures match DFA measures quite closely. Lower quintiles show (much) greater discrepancies and annual variation. The bottom-

80% and top-20% series are quite solid, and thus are the main distributional measures examined in Section Five. Lower quintiles display larger discrepancies. The bottom-20% series, especially, shows large *qualitative* discrepancies, including persistent differences in sign. It's worth noting, however, that the bottom quintile's discrepancies are quite small in dollar terms (note the Y axis), relative to aggregates.

Even for the more-solid bottom-80 and top-20 series, some particular years show notable percentage discrepancies between the THIA's calculated asset changes, and observed balance-sheet changes. These are especially notable in 2002, 2008, 2018 — years with large equity-market drawdowns, especially end-of-year, and in adjacent years.¹⁸ One possible explanation for those discrepancies is the DFAs' necessary interpolation of SCF measures for years (and quarters) between the triennial SCF surveys, and extrapolation in recent years. Whatever the causes, the THIA (and DFA) series require careful use when examining periods shorter than five or ten years.

The THIA's construction makes it possible for researchers to improve this prototype distributional effort by adding to or replacing any of the underlying data series with alternative series constructed from other data sources, or the same sources with alternative adjustments and/or quintile allocations. Some suggestions are discussed in Appendixes zz and zz.

Section Five. The Wealth-Concentration Story: Key Takeaways from the THIA's

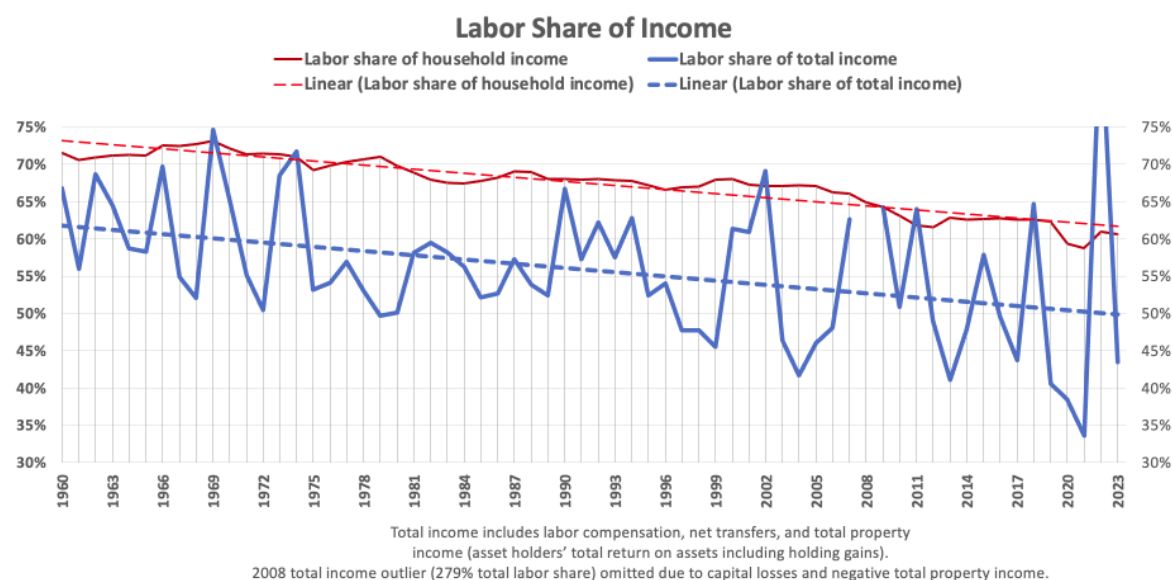
The Total Haig-Simons income and saving measures in the THIA's paint a more integrated, complete, and sometimes quite surprising picture of U.S. inequality, and past decades' wealth accumulation and concentration. Total property income including holding gains figures much more prominently, with less focus on (smaller) changes in labor income. The focus in this section is on household *asset* accumulation. Liabilities only equal about 15% of household assets, and they change very slowly with net new borrowing. Over the period 2000 through 2023, borrowing has explained only 3% of gross asset accumulation (Figure 3).

Five key insights are highlighted here. First, the labor-income share of Total income is much smaller and has been declining faster than the labor share of Household income. Second, total income is much larger and total-income *growth* is much faster for the top 20% than for the bottom 80% — much more so than is true for household income growth. Third, the top quintile is turning over/depleting less of its income and assets in spending, compared to the bottom 80%. Fourth, the bottom-80's household saving is persistently negative, but its total saving is positive due to additional asset accumulation from holding gains (plus borrowing, to a much lesser extent). Fifth, as a result of the preceding, 86% of the Total saving since 2000 redounded to the top 20%, and that quintile's share of total assets — wealth concentration — increased accordingly.

¹⁸ Given the large equity drawdown in December 2018, this suggests inaccurate allocation of holding losses from that event to income quintiles. Late-2008 drawdowns were also largely in equity markets; real-estate declines spanned the period 2007 to 2011.

Labor shares of income. Labor's share of Total income is much smaller than its traditionally-measured share of Household income (Figure 7).^{19, 20} The labor share of Total income also shows greater and faster decline, from ~63% to ~50% over 64 years. During covid, labor's share of Total income dropped to as low as 34% (2021). But even in 2019 it had dropped to a record-low 40%.

Figure 7. Labor compensation as a percent of Household and Total income.



Workers are capturing an ever-smaller share of the Total household-sector wealth-accumulation “pie” over time, while asset holders are capturing bigger slices. The total income approach provides a much more complete and comprehensive answer to the question posed, for instance, in the title of Fixler (2019) : “How households share in an economy’s growth” — which addresses Personal income only.

Unearned income. The obverse of earned labor income is unearned income, from property/ownership plus transfers. Unearned Household income is split 74%/26% between asset holders and transfer recipients. For unearned Total income, the split is 85%/15%.

¹⁹ For comparison, The BLS “labor share of nonfarm business output” measure [averages 59%](#) over the period. The [Penn World Tables’ U.S. labor share of GDP](#) averages 60%. These both reflect “national income”-based accounting, ex-holding gains.

²⁰ Various accounting treatments quite reasonably try to re-allocate a portion of “mixed income” of “active” property owners and “proprietors” (variously defined) from property to labor income. See e.g. [Saez and Zucman 2020](#): “We allocate 50% of partnership mixed income to capital (vs. 50% to labor) and 20% of sole proprietorship income to capital.” These re-allocations to the labor income of owners *qua* working “entrepreneurs” only shift the aggregate labor share by one or two percentage points. The THIA’s don’t essay such adjustments, just relying on the labor-compensation measure and leaving adjustments to the discretion of individual researchers.

Income growth and distribution. Turning to distributional measures by income quintiles, total income is much greater than household income for all quintiles (Figure 8).²¹ Household income *growth* was about the same for the top 20% and bottom 80%. Total income growth has been faster than for the Household measure, for both groups — but much more so for the top 20% (Table 2). The holding-gains portion of Total income has redounded to all quintiles, but especially to the top quintile that owns 85% of equity shares, 75% of financial assets, 54% of nonfinancial assets, and 68% of total assets.

Figure 8. Income quintiles' Total and Household income.

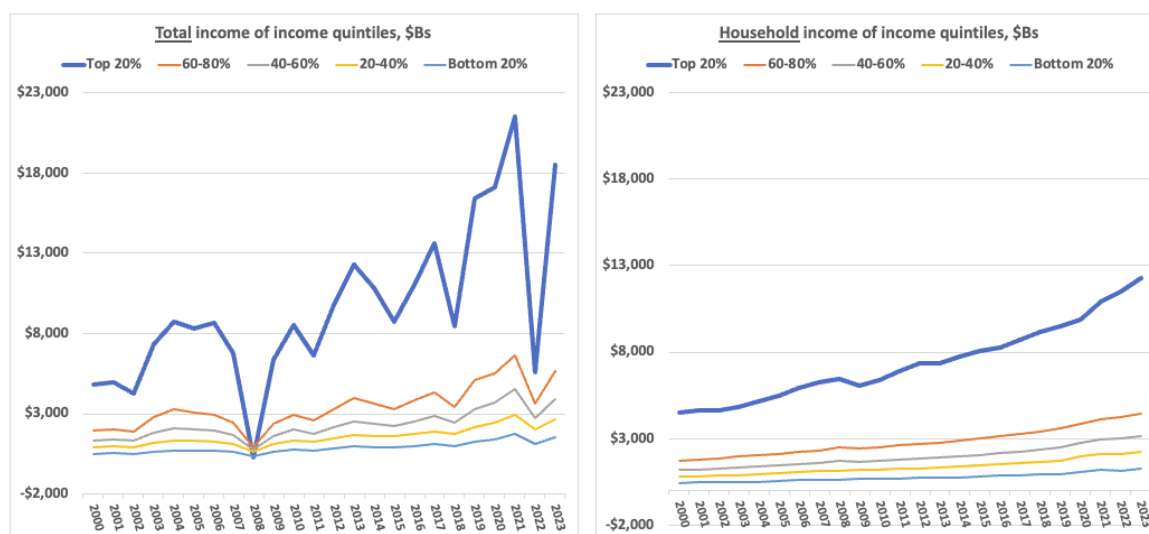


Table 2. The distribution of 2000-2023 income growth: Total income versus Household income.

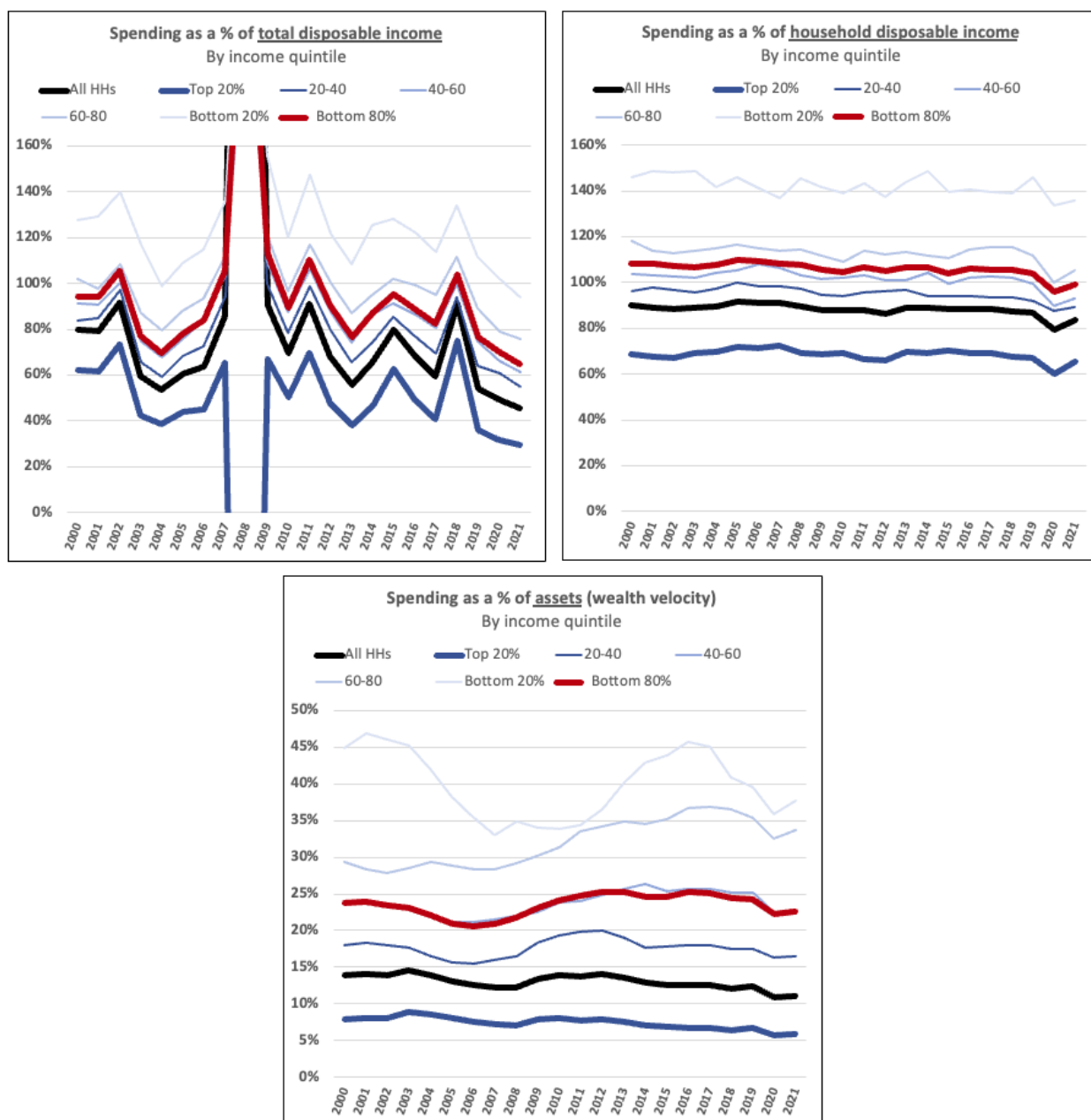
	Top 20%	Bottom 80%
Household income growth	+146%	+152%
Total income growth	+350%	+230%

Spending propensities and saving rates. The THIA's distributional spending breakouts also provide novel pictures of annual propensity-to-spend ratios (the inverse of propensity to save) relative to Household income, Total income, and total assets (Figure 9). While *marginal*-propensity equations and curves have been widely studied, the THIA's annual distributional propensity-to-spend ratio data series have previously required bespoke construction by researchers.²²

²¹ Even the bottom quintile's total income is significantly higher than its household income, and the DFAs show even greater bottom-quintile net asset accumulation than the THIA's (Figure zz). So this result does not appear to be just an artifact of the THIA's calculations.

²² [Fisher et. al. 2020](#) Table 1, for instance, constructed from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) *en route* to calculating marginal propensities, derives annual propensity to consume/spend out of income in 1999 and 2013, for all income and wealth quintiles.

Figure 9. Income quintiles' propensity to spend: annual spending relative to income and wealth.



Households show declining propensities to spend over the period in all three ratios, especially relative to total income. Examining spending as a percent of assets (“wealth velocity”), the top 20% especially stands out; it only turned over 6% of its assets in spending in 2023, down from a series high of 9% in 2003/2004 — a 33% decline in that ratio. By contrast, the bottom-80% ratio was basically unchanged: about 23% for the period (36% for the bottom 40%), 4–6 times greater than the top 20% ratio.²³ Even as the

²³ Wealth velocity is the conceptual inverse of Piketty’s wealth:national-income ratio, β . The fairly consistent wealth-velocity ratios across the period, with some trending, suggest that predictive growth models might benefit from including a wealth term in their consumption functions, combined with the traditional Keynesian income term. “Author” [2021b](#) presents a long-term economic growth model based on income quintiles’ historical wealth-velocity measures. (Wealth

top-20%'s total income share increased, it has been depleting its assets more slowly via spending.²⁴

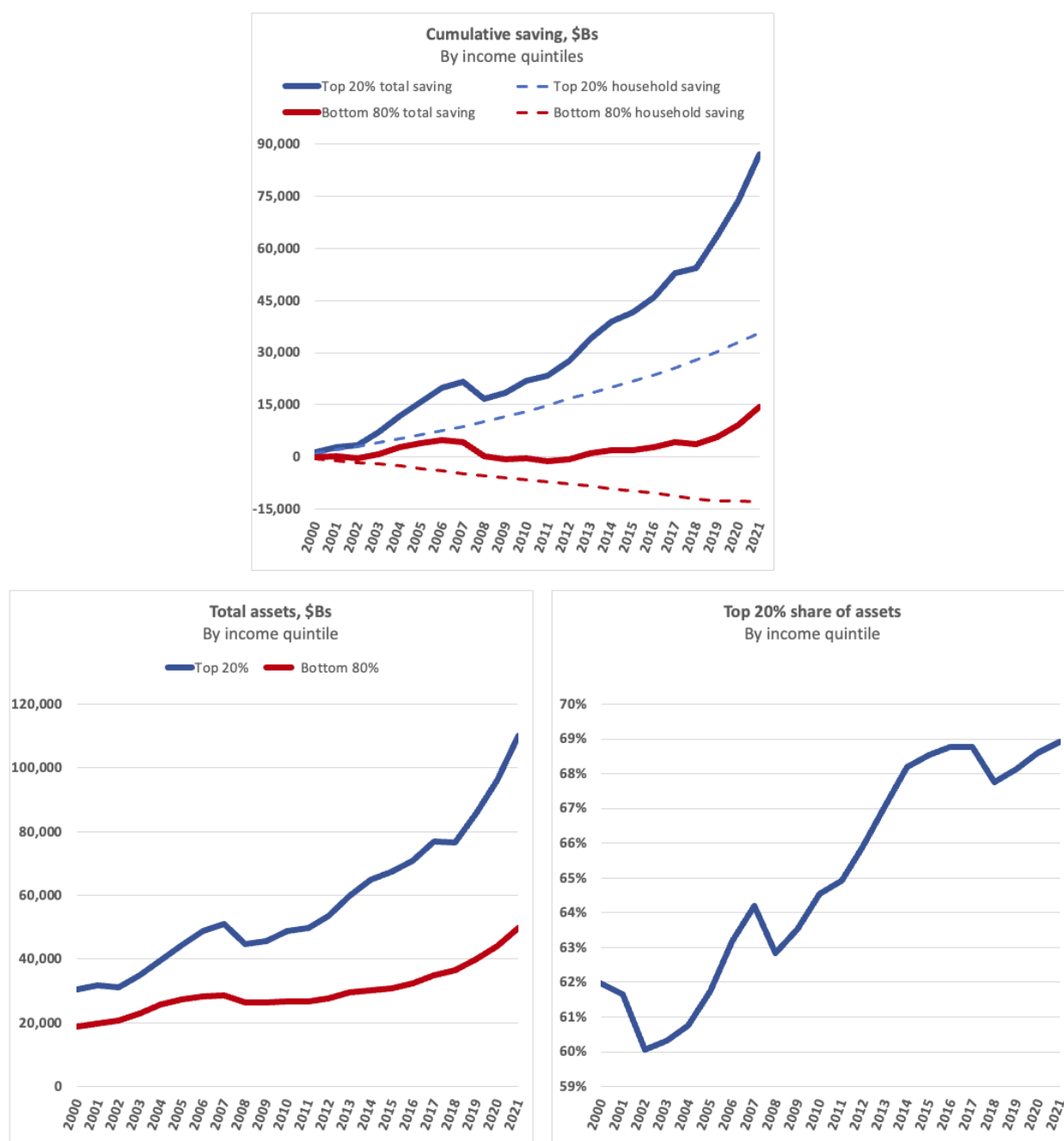
Saving and wealth accumulation. The increased total-income concentration detailed above, into more-concentrated property vs. labor income and into the top quintile, combined with declining top-20% spending propensity, explains the dominant stylized economic fact in the U.S. over recent decades that's highlighted in this paper's first paragraph: extreme and increasing concentration of wealth into the top income (and wealth) percentiles (Figure 10).²⁵

velocity is distinct from the "velocity of 'money,'" which only encompasses "M2": currency and deposit assets that comprise about 10% of household assets, 13% of financial assets.)

²⁴ Perhaps the most surprising result in dollar terms: the bottom 80% persistently spends more than its household disposable income, with a -8% average household saving rate. By that standard measure, the bottom 80% perennially dissaves; the top 20% does all the saving (see Figure 10). It seems these spending deficits should very quickly encounter a straightforward version of Minsky's survival constraint or Hicks' sustainable-consumption constraint: If a household spends down all its assets (so it has none), it can't spend (see footnote 6). By contrast, the bottom 80% does *not* spend all of its *total* income; the household-saving deficit is "funded" primarily by lower quintiles' own holding gains. Borrowing provides additional funding, but the funding from gains is an order of magnitude larger ("Author" [2023](#)).

²⁵ There has been much discussion and debate about "upper tail" income concentration, into the top 1% and above, notably of late between, [Auten/Splinter Smith et. al.](#), and [Piketty/Saez/Zucman](#). Auten/Splinter, for instance, incorporates realized gains (only), and concludes that their series demonstrates slower/smaller increases in wealth concentration vs PSZ. Larrimore et al. 2021 uses accrued gains, and finds that the top 1% share is several percentage points higher than Auten/Splinter. These top-tail share measures are quite extreme and so the discussions are important, but they are narrow and extremely technical versus the THIA's broader and better-sampled top-20% measures.

Figure 10. The distribution of saving and asset accumulation, and resulting asset shares. Household saving (dotted lines) shown for comparison.



Over 24 years, 86% of Total saving has redounded to the top quintile (which has more asset holders), so it has accumulated assets at a much higher rate than the bottom 80% (more workers). Measures based only on NIPA household income or GNI, and their household- or national-saving remainders/residuals, cannot account for this observed rise in wealth and wealth concentration.

Section Six: Conclusion

The magnitude of the Total or Haig Simons-based income and saving measures detailed in the THIAs, extending to trillions of dollars in single years and even in single quarters, dwarfs widely employed “headline” measures that are based on Personal, Household, National, or even just labor income. The Total-income measures tell a multi-decadal story of household wealth accumulation and concentration that’s much more dependent on property income, and that’s not visible through the incomplete lens of NIPA income and saving measures. These Haig-Simons measures are also necessary to constructing “integrated” or “3D” distributional views of income, consumption, and wealth.

Economists have expressed the desire for these “preferred” balance-sheet-complete Haig-Simons measures for decades, and the means to assemble them from the national accounts has been available since the mid 2000s. Releases of distributional measures starting in 2019 allow the THIAs to present breakouts of Total income and saving by income quintiles, presented in tractable form for use by other researchers. Those distributional breakouts could be expanded by researchers to encompass other distributional “dimensions” — wealth, age, education, race, etc. — for a more comprehensive set of “integrated” distributional accounts.

The THIAs’ presentation in well-documented spreadsheet form makes all the accounting identities and derivations therein explicit and visible, allowing detailed critique and discussion by researchers. The spreadsheet itself constitutes a complete replication file, including the ability for researchers to update and revise the underlying data and derivations.

Appendix A. Haig-Simons Income Theory

The accounting derivation of Haig-Simons (H-S) income is quite straightforward conceptually:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{H-S income} &= \text{Consumption expenditures} + \text{change in net worth} \\ &= \text{Household income} + \text{accrued holding gains from asset-price (re)valuation changes} \end{aligned}$$

In practice, based on national accounts’ methods and derivations, it’s also necessary to add small “other changes in volume” measures along with holding gains, as the IMAs do, to match observed changes in balance-sheet assets and net worth. Subtracting taxes and outlays then yields “H-S saving,” here called “Total” saving, which is equal to change in net worth. Table zz explains the construction of H-S income starting from household income, with two different approaches to ordering and labeling.

Table 2: Two ways of presenting and labeling the Haig-Simons accounting construction

(Δ = “change in”).

Household income + Accrued holding gains and other changes in volume = Total income, H-S income - Taxes and outlays = Δ Net worth (total saving) + Assets accumulated from net new borrowing = Δ Assets - Liabilities accumulated from net new borrowing = Δ Net worth, Total saving	Household income + Accrued holding gains and other changes in volume = Total income, H-S income + Assets accumulated from net new borrowing = Gross asset accumulation - Taxes and outlays = Net asset accumulation, Δ Assets - Liabilities accumulated from net new borrowing = Δ Net worth, Total saving
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Note: Outlays = Consumption expenditures plus consumer-interest payments

It is crucial to recognize that holding gains do not represent a transaction “flow” from any other sector. Unlike transactions that involve explicit transfers between accounts (credits and debits), the appreciation of asset-market prices does not generate corresponding liabilities on the balance sheets of households or any other economic agents. Instead, these gains emerge through mark-to-market revaluations, asset markups, as recorded by brokerage firms and national accounting systems in response to observed changes in market prices. In the absence of new liabilities, such valuation gains contribute to *both* assets and net worth. (This stands in contrast to borrowing, which simultaneously increases both assets and liabilities, leaving net worth unchanged.) Consequently, holding gains/valuation changes are excluded from the Flow/Transaction tables in the Federal Reserve’s Flow of Funds accounts, as these tables solely capture “volume”-based transactions. Instead, such gains are systematically recorded in a separate Revaluation account within the (SNA-based) Integrated Macroeconomic Accounts (IMAs). See Figure 11.²⁶

Whether some holding gains are “realized” by individual asset holders through sale is not material to the accrued Haig-Simons series. Those sales are just dollar-for-dollar asset

²⁶ In what might seem like a trivial terminology change, the Federal Reserve Flow of Funds/Z.1 report acknowledged this reality, explicitly adopting the SNAs’ volume vs. valuation distinction, with a change and explanatory note in the June, 2018 Z.1 release. ([federalreserve.gov/releases/z1/20180607/html/introductory_text.htm](https://www.federalreserve.gov/releases/z1/20180607/html/introductory_text.htm)). Emphasis added: “As of this publication, the term ‘flow’ is being replaced by the term ‘transactions.’ The concept being referred to, which is the acquisition of assets or incurrence of liabilities, is not being changed. The change in terminology is intended to prevent confusion with the broader concept sometimes called ‘economic flow,’ which is the *change in level* from one period to the next and is composed of *transactions*, *revaluations*, and *other changes in volume*. The new terminology brings the Financial Accounts of the United States into better alignment with international guidelines in the System of National Accounts 2008 (SNA2008).” (And thus the IMAs.) The Transactions tables are still labeled as the “F” tables, however: F.101 and etc.

swaps between asset-holders at current market prices — non-cash assets for cash assets. Those sales/swaps are “portfolio churn,” with no effect on the individuals’ or the aggregate current stock of assets.

Subtracting taxes and outlays from total H-S income yields total, comprehensive, or Haig-Simons saving, which equals change in balance-sheet net worth.²⁷ This total-income accounting offers a comprehensive post-facto, backward-looking descriptive accounting model of wealth accumulation, through the lens of the household-sector balance sheet that sits at the top of the national accounting-ownership pyramid.²⁸

Like household income, national income — the core measure for the Distributional National Accounts and the World Inequality Database — does not include holding gains, realized or accrued. (The DINA tables do provide valuable series of realized holding gains, as employed in Figure 4, but only for the purpose of allocating, as opposed to measuring, national income.) National-income series are more internationally comparable, however, given the availability of national accounting measures across countries.

The THIAs are particular to the U.S., and are thus only a potential exemplar for other countries. But the SNA-based structure should be adaptable for details and particularities of other countries as SNA conventions and practices are more widely adopted — especially the clear distinction between volume and (re)valuation measures. To the extent that asset revaluation is measured, valuation and “other changes” measures can be added to existing personal/household income to assemble Haig-Simons total income.²⁹

²⁷ This accounting treatment comports with standard public-corporation financial statements, which include a Consolidated Statement of *Comprehensive* Income. These statements include net income (profits), equivalent to household or national income, and add additional income sources, notably holding gains. An example statement from Berkshire Hathaway is available at wealth-economics.com/BHComplnc.png.

²⁸ Household wealth is the operative measure of “national” wealth. The Household sector sits at the top of the national “accounting-ownership pyramid.” In the words of the OECD DNA expert working group handbook (p. 29), “all forms of income in the economy eventually accrue to resident individuals.” (In sectoral terms, households). Likewise, domestic firms’ equity-share values at current asset-market prices are assets on the household-sector balance sheet. The household sector largely “owns” the firms sector in this accounting sense; the firms sector is like a wholly-owned subsidiary. Firms can own shares in firms, but the household sector ultimately owns the whole firms sector; the ownership buck stops at households. This is an asymmetric, one-way ownership relationship. No other sector owns or can own (equity shares in) households — not since 1865. Likewise NPISHes, for different reasons. Neither sector issues equity shares, or has owners. Similarly, the unmeasurable asset value of household-“owned” government assets (the judiciary system, public schools, roads and highways, et. al.) is at least partially *revealed* in the market value of household balance-sheet assets. That market value would presumably be somewhat smaller if those government institutions didn’t exist.

²⁹ The OECD DNA-EG handbook (OECD a, p. 29) envisions an accounting construction that fully integrates valuation changes, but only in the conditional or subjunctive mood: “[Holding gains are] included in the accumulation accounts in the framework of national accounts (see Figure 2.1) and could be taken into account once distributional information becomes available for the accumulation accounts. Although it is not part of the income definition as defined by the SNA, it would provide more insight into the economic situation of various household groups.” The experimental “Distributional results on household income, consumption and savings” provided at OECD b do not include valuation measures. As this paper seeks to demonstrate, these valuation measures are extremely valuable even if distributional breakouts are not available. [Lane 2015](#) also

Subject to available distributional breakdowns of household income and assets/liabilities, those revaluation measures can also be allocated to percentiles as in the THIA's, to assemble distributional total income series.

Appendix B. Constructing the THIA's

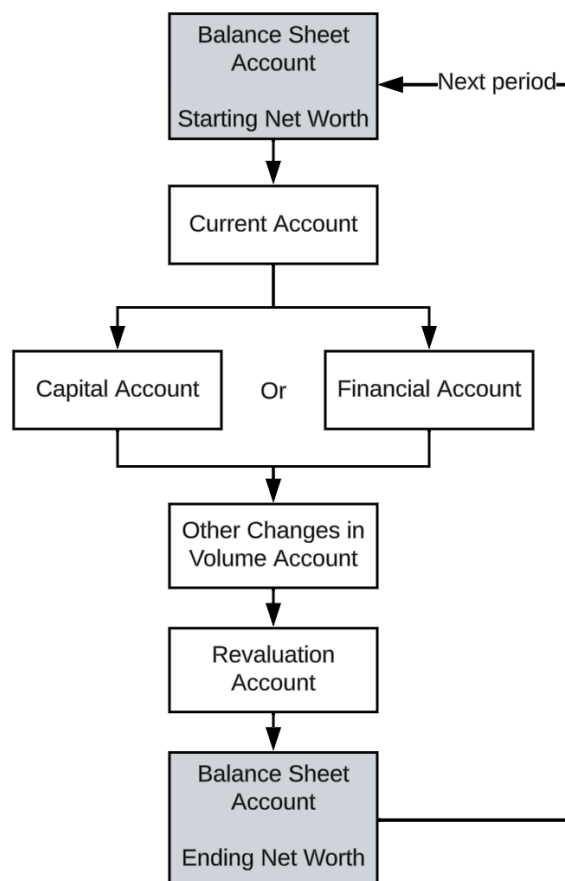
The THIA's methodology in the accompanying Excel workbook serves as a complete replication file. This appendix takes the user step by step through the construction of the THIA's.

The most significant contribution is the THIA's method for allocating holding gains to income quintiles (given holding gains' very large magnitude), which is straightforward and intuitive: holding gains are based on holdings, so they can be allocated to groups based on the groups' asset holdings (by asset category).

The basic THIA *structure* (Figure 2) is based on the IMA/SNAs' balance-sheet-complete presentation (Table [S.3.a](#)), and its derivation of change in net worth (line 96). Figure 11 diagrams its account structure, with alternate pathways through the Capital or Financial account. The THIA's do not engage with the Capital account, only the Financial account. That account comports with balance-sheet changes; the Capital account doesn't (hence the Statistical Discrepancy; see below). There is no engagement with value-added or investment spending (which is called "capital formation" in the IMAs). All of that is replaced with households-only income (and outlay) measures from NIPA Table 2.9 (since 1992), which matches the DPIAs (since 2000) — and pre-1992 from NIPA Table 2.1 (personal sector), adjusted for households-only as detailed below. These Household income measures comprise 81% of the THIA's Total income.

brings H-S thinking to bear on the U.K. and other countries' current account balances (emphasis added): "*In principle*, the stock-flow adjustment term *should* reflect 'valuation effects' (net capital gains on holdings of foreign assets and foreign liabilities due to movements in the market values of assets and liabilities...)." Note that Net International Investment Positions (NIIP) are tallied using assets' current market prices.

Figure 11. The IMAs' account structure, with alternative Capital and Financial accounts.



The reference balance sheet since 1989 is households-only Table b.101.h, which is mirrored in the DFAs.³⁰ The THIA's pre-1989 asset and liability measures adjust available personal-sector balance-sheet measures from B.101 down to households-only based on the average post-1989 household:personal ratio — 94.1% of personal-sector assets are held by the household sector, vs. 5.9% for NPISHes. (These ratios are very consistent over the years since 1989.) Net worth is of course assets minus liabilities.

Detailed Measures

Several of the detailed measures in the THIA's (which sum to the aggregate measures) require individual treatment, and/or adjustment to households-only in earlier years.

³⁰ The de-consolidation of the personal-sector balance-sheet table into B.101.h and B.101.n (since 1989) shows some anomalies. B.101.h assets + b.101.n assets, for instance, \neq B.101 personal-sector assets. Part of this may just be because consolidation does not equal simple summing. But in any case deconsolidated NPISHes end up with some unexplained extra assets. See details and notes at the bottom of those B tables. The THIA's do not attempt to resolve those anomalies, which are very small relative to household assets; they simply employ the DFA/B.101.h measures.

Labor compensation and proprietors' income are both inherently households-only. The NIPA 2.1 personal and 2.9/DPIA households-only measures are equal. So pre-1992 measures from Table 2.1 require no correction.

Rental, interest, and dividend income. Post-1992 Table 2.9 household measures are 2.2% lower than Table 2.1 personal measures. Pre-1992 personal-sector measures are adjusted down accordingly to estimate households-only measures.

Other changes in volume. All of the Other changes measures come directly from the IMAs' Other Changes in Volume account, personal-sector Table S.3.a. These quite small measures (2.5% of total income, combined) are all inherently households-only, requiring no adjustment. They are allocated to quintiles starting in 1989 as detailed below.

Net Accumulation of Consumer Durables. This measure — purchases of new durables less depreciation of existing durables — must be added to balance sheets because durables are an asset category thereon, so the period-to-period holdings changes must be accounted for. Consumption expenditures includes spending on durables (reducing household assets), but in the NIPAs the accumulated assets aren't added back to balance sheets (the NIPAs don't have balance sheets). The IMAs do so via the "Net investment in consumer durable goods" line in the Other Changes account, and the THIA's follow that practice. Durables accumulation is allocated to quintiles based on each quintile's share of durable holdings, from the DFAs.

Disaster losses. A small measure, zero in many years, this is allocated to quintiles based on their shares of real-estate assets.

Other (other) changes in volume. This measure includes "bad debts, accounting changes, data discontinuities," etc. ([Teplin et. al.](#) p. 6). The difficulties of pension-entitlement accounting figure significantly in this measure. It's allocated to quintiles based on their percent holding shares of total assets.

Statistical discrepancy. This measure is *not* included in the THIA's, even though it is included in the IMAs' Other volume measures. This is because it's the discrepancy between the Capital account and Financial account bottom lines, and the THIA's don't engage with the Capital account. Derivations all effectively pass through the Financial account (Figure 11), which comports with balance-sheet changes.³¹

Holding gains/asset (re)valuation. Holding gains total \$72T over 24 years, 17% of total income for the period. The measures come from the IMAs' (personal-sector) Revaluation account, adjusted down to households-only based on the household sector's average share of personal-sector assets, 1989-2021 (94.1%). This measure is quite consistent over that period.

³¹ The net-worth derivation in S.3.a line 96 includes the bottom-line Capital-account net lending/borrowing measure. If it used the Financial-account bottom-line measure instead, it would not be necessary to include the statistical discrepancy in the Other changes account. The Capital account and its statistical discrepancy would effectively just be an addendum note in Table S.3.

Since holding gains are the result of holdings, they're allocated to quintiles based on quintiles' shares of asset holdings, from the DFAs. Different quintiles have quite different asset-portfolio mixes, however (most significantly, equity shares vs real-estate titles), so gains on financial and nonfinancial assets are allocated separately based on quintiles' holding shares of each asset category.³² Some non-systematic testing suggests that the simple financial/nonfinancial split captures the large bulk of variance in percentage gains on assets across asset categories, but since holding gains comprise such a big share of total income, this topic merits further investigation.³³

Transfers. There are numerous very small discrepancies for transfer submeasures between NIPA 2.1 and 2.9/DPIAs; no attempt is made to adjust for those. The THIAs use the Table 2.9/DPIA measures from 1992, and 2.1 measures in previous years. See also below, "Adjustment for personal vs HH: net HH transfers to nonprofits."

Taxes. This measure from the DPIAs/NIPAs is mostly household income taxes. (National accounts' treatments of property and sales taxes, and "taxes on production and imports," are too complex to detail here.) It is inherently households-only; there is no difference between NIPA 2.1 and 2.9/DPIA measures. The THIAs nevertheless use 2.9 household measures starting in 1992, and 2.1 personal measures pre-1992, for consistent treatment.

Consumption expenditures. These outlays comprise 63% of total income over 21 years, so they're quite significant to saving "remainder" measures, and net asset accumulation. NIPA 2.9 household consumption expenditures (HCE) is used starting 1992. In prior years, available PCE measures are adjusted down to households-only, based on the (quite consistent) average HCE/PCE ratio 1992-2021 (97.4%), from NIPA 2.9.

HCE is allocated to income quintiles starting in 1984, based on CEX quintiles' percent shares of spending.³⁴ But an adjustment is needed first. The CEX aggregate expenditure

³² It's tempting to break out gains on assets with more granularity than just financial/nonfinancial. But that immediately engages with the third-largest asset category in the DFAs: pension entitlements (a financial-asset subcategory), for which quintile allocation would be difficult. These measures can be and are variously estimated based on pensioners' tallied entitlements, on pension funds' funding/endowment changes, or even on projections of funds' future inflows. Discussions of those accounting choices continue among national accountants. (The DFAs recently changed its detailed asset categories for these assets. See the more-detailed asset and liability category breakouts in the `dfa-income-levels-detail.csv` and `dfa-income-shares-detail.csv` files, available in the "Full CSV" zip file download at federalreserve.gov/releases/z1/dataviz/dfa/.)

³³ There is some evidence that wealthier households garner higher total returns (which include holding gains) on their asset holdings than lower quintiles, even from the same asset types ([Balloch](#), [Kartashova](#), [Xavier](#)).

³⁴ CEX undercounts consumption spending relative to HCE by roughly 40% (so only its quintile percent-shares are used in the THIAs, to allocate total HCE to income quintiles), and arguably undercounts top-percentiles' spending by even more. But it's "the only dataset with comprehensive and detailed information on household expenditure and its components." ([Attanasio 2016](#)). See BEA, 2019. "Comparing expenditures from the Consumer Expenditure Survey with the Personal Consumer Expenditures: Results of the CE/PCE Concordance." bls.gov/cex/cepceconcordance.htm Spreadsheet: "Summary comparison of aggregate Consumer

measures include households' social security and pension contributions, which are not consumption expenditures in any national-accounting treatment. The magnitude is significant, a quite consistent 10% of total CEX expenditures across the period. Those measures are subtracted from each quintile's expenditures before calculating CEX quintiles' percent shares of spending. Those adjusted CEX percent shares are then used to allocate NIPA HCE by quintile. See Appendix C for details of income-quintile construction/composition in CEX versus other data sources.

Consumer interest paid. This measure is inherently households-only; NIPA 2.1 personal measures match Table 2.9/DPIA household measures. The NIPA 2.9 data is nevertheless used starting 1992 for consistency; previous years are from 2.1. This measure is allocated to quintiles from 1989, based on quintiles' shares of non-mortgage debt outstanding, from the DFAs. (*N.B.* Mortgage interest is "pre-deducted" from income within the derivation of rental profits, for both actual household-sector landlords and imputed owner-occupied landlords "renting to themselves.")

Adjustment for personal vs HH: net HH transfers to nonprofits. This measure corrects for an accounting quirk in the deconsolidation of the personal sector into households and NPISH. In NIPA 2.9, NPISH-to-household transfers are included in household *income*, while household-to-NPISH transfers are tallied in household *outlays*. But the DPIAs don't tally outlays, and unlike household<->business transfers, these two gross flows are not netted out in the income section. The adjustment here adds households' *net* household transfers to NPISHes (net of NPISH transfers to households) to household outlays. This additional outlay equals ~1.0% of total income; it reduces saving, asset accumulation, and ending assets accordingly. The households-to-NPISH measure is only available from NIPA 2.9, so the adjustment is only made starting 1992. It is allocated to quintiles based on their shares of household income.

Assets/liabilities accumulated from net new borrowing. This is simply the annual change in households-only liabilities, taken directly (with quintile breakouts) from the DFAs.³⁵

Appendix C: Improving the THIA's Distributional Measures

In a fully fleshed-out "integrated" distributional accounting system, distribution would be visible across multiple rankings and groupings — by income quintiles as in the THIA's, or

Expenditures (CE) and Personal Consumption Expenditures (PCE)" bls.gov/ce/pce-compare-200916.xlsx. Sabelhaus, John et al., 2013. "Is the Consumer Expenditure Survey Representative by Income?" nber.org/papers/w19589 Bee, Adam, Bruce D. Meyer, and James X. Sullivan. "Micro and Macro Validation of the Consumer Expenditure Survey." 2012 [conference.nber.org/confer/2011/CRIWf11/Bee Meyer Sullivan March2012.pdf](https://conference.nber.org/confer/2011/CRIWf11/Bee_Meyer_Sullivan_March2012.pdf) See also discussion of the new DPCEAs in Appendix C.

³⁵ Borrowing adds assets and liabilities to borrowers' balance sheets in equal measure, for net-zero effect on net worth; loan payoffs, the reverse. National-accounts measures of net household borrowing derive from changes in financial-account liabilities, not from transaction flows; the THIA's use the same method. There are no available measures of households' gross borrowing or loan payoffs. (Which would in any case face the difficulty of loan rollovers and refis; how much of a year's gross borrowing is actually "new" borrowing?)

for instance by wealth percentiles or age, race, and education groups as broken out in the DFAs. The THIAs use (personal/household) income-quintile ranking/breakouts because all the necessary data sets provide such breakouts. These breakouts deliver important insights and understandings, but could be viewed as a proof of concept for a much larger system and structure. This section describes ways that the income-quintile-based THIAs might be improved.

The THIA workbook is assembled so it's relatively straightforward to replace, adjust, or add to the currently employed data sources and series. This section addresses potentially large additions that seem likely to help explain the THIA's remaining distributional quintile discrepancies, especially for bottom quintiles. (See also the methodological income-quintile issues addressed in Appendix C).

Intrasectoral flows across income quintiles. The measures compiled in the THIAs all involve changes in total household-sector assets and liabilities. Transfers and shifts in assets across quintiles *within* the household sector are not considered. (The all-households sector aggregates for such asset shifts should sum to zero because all the changes are *between* quintiles within the sector.)

Gifts, bequests, and inheritances in particular may be considerable; administrative (tax-return) data on these transfers is quite limited and incomplete. A rough estimate based on census deaths by age and DFA wealth by age suggests the magnitudes are quite large, in the ballpark of \$1.7T in 2018, for instance — circa 10% of personal income, annually.³⁶ (Transfers “down the quintiles” from these bequests may be limited, with quite high estimated gains for transferred wealth. [Nolan](#), [Salas-Rojo](#), [Morelli](#). See also [Sabelhaus](#).)

Compositional changes. Households and individuals constantly shift between income quintiles. They may enter the top 20%, for instance, during their prime working years, and often exit that quintile on retirement — bringing their often-considerable assets with them. But the top-20% income “class” remains an object of analytical interest and import. To the extent that these compositional and asset moves are large and systematic in direction, they could appear as significant asset shifts for income quintiles over time. As with inheritance, there is limited data available on these effects.

Since many of these intrasectoral, cross-quintile asset movements are systematically age-related (and thus especially pertinent in the context of a lifetime income hypothesis),

³⁶ [Zucman](#) p. 21 (citing Alvarado et. al.) estimates that 55–65% of U.S. household wealth is inherited. [Alvarado et. al.](#): “There exists substantial uncertainty regarding the relative magnitude of inherited wealth and self-made wealth in aggregate wealth accumulation... The 1980s saw a famous controversy between Modigliani (a strong lifecycle advocate, who argued that the share of inherited wealth was as little as 20–30% of US aggregate wealth) and Kotlikoff–Summers (who instead argued that the inheritance share was as large as 80%, if not larger).” Alvarado does not estimate annual inheritance flows for the U.S. because there's so little estate-tax data to work with. But its estimates of what it calls “moderate inheritance flows (between 5% and 10% of national income)” put a current estimate of \$1.7T near the middle of the likely range. A (\$20,000) [proprietary private report](#) from Cerulli Associates predicts ~\$1.5T a year, 2023–2027.

that adds age as an important fourth dimension to the three dimensions of income, spending, and wealth.³⁷

Holding gains by asset class. Because different quintiles have quite different asset-portfolio mixes, the THIA quintile-allocate holding gains separately for gains on financial and nonfinancial assets. A more granular breakdown of asset classes could potentially allocate gains to quintiles more accurately. Since holding gains comprise 17% of total income, the effects could be significant.

If time series of these additional and different measures could be assembled, they could be straightforwardly “bolted on” to the THIA’s accounting construct (perhaps with some adjustments or additions to the category and subcategory labels and presentation employed in Figure 2). They could potentially explain some portion of the remaining quintile discrepancies displayed in Figure 6.

Appendix D: Comparing the Sources’ Distributional Quintiles

Note: To avoid confusing the THIA workbook, the figures in this appendix are assembled using a separate special-purpose [workbook](#)³⁸ that employs the THIA’s data, plus other data, but is arranged differently.

The THIA’s distributional breakouts by income quintile for 2000-2023 rely on income-quintile measures from multiple sources. This raises an important question: is the composition of those sources’ income quintiles (roughly) equivalent? Do the income quintiles consist of households with the same range and distribution of incomes, etc.? Is it valid, for instance, to combine quintiles’ household income shares based on the DPIAs’ income quintiles, to consumption-spending shares based on CEX income quintiles?

In particular, might quintile mismatches help explain the THIA discrepancies for lower quintiles displayed in Figure 6? (There are no significant discrepancies to explain for aggregate, all-households measures; they match quite precisely over decades.)

This appendix does not attempt to answer this question comprehensively, which would require original analysis of all the sources’ microdata composition, compared across multiple dimensions. Rather, it examines indicative evidence: if two sources’ income quintiles show equal quintile shares of income or consumption spending, for instance, that indicates that the two sources’ quintiles are at least functionally commensurate for those measures, and fit for the purposes served in the THIA — allocating aggregate measures across income quintiles. This section examines quintiles as constructed in four sources: the DPIAS, the SCF (and hence DFAS), CEX, and the [Distribution of Personal](#)

³⁷ Notable recent research efforts in this area include [Morelli](#), [Mian](#), [Horioka](#), [Gindelsky](#), and in particular [Bauluz and Meyer](#) (January 2024). Available age/income/wealth data series are broken out by somewhat arbitrary age groups roughly related to life “stages,” as opposed to equal-sized age-percentile groups. (See age breakouts in the [DFAs](#) and [CEX tables](#), for example.) Because of different age distributions in different populations, this can make age comparisons difficult to interpret and model in relation to income and wealth percentiles.

³⁸ wealth-economics.com/THIAIncomeQuintiles-4-17-24.xlsx

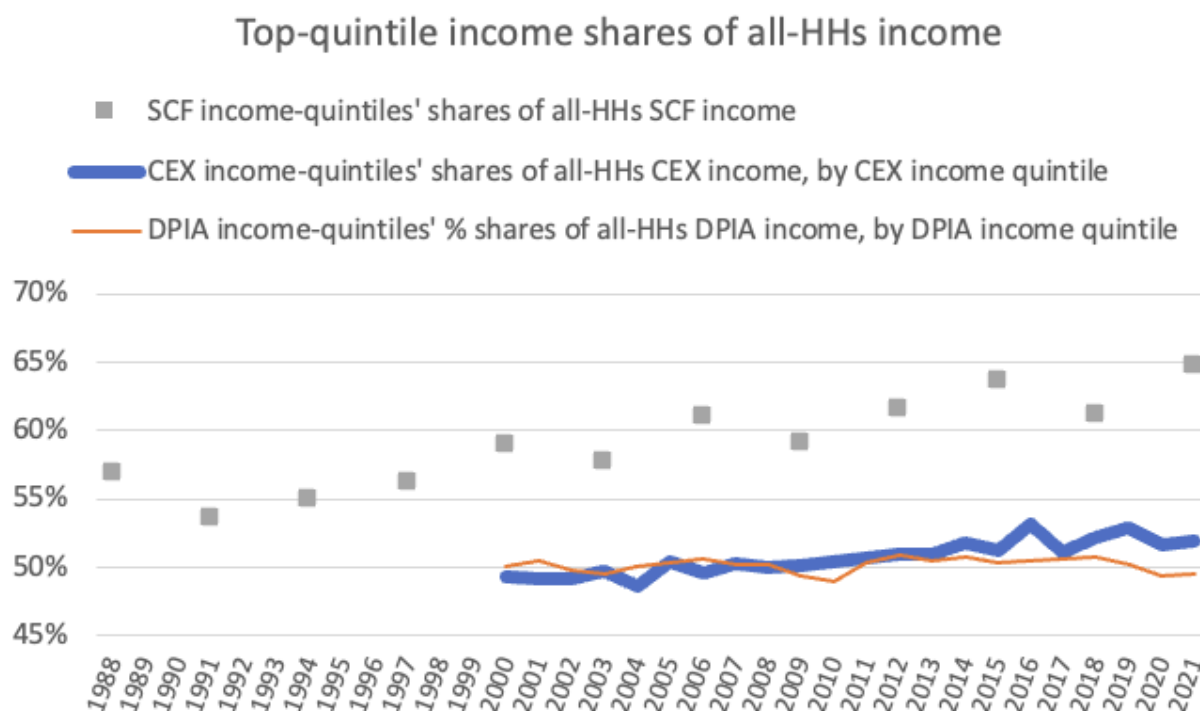
[Consumption Expenditures Accounts](#) or DPCEsA. DPCEA data is not used in the THIA; it is just a comparator here.

The THIA takes all their distributional household-income (and taxes) measures — 79% of total income — directly from the DPIAs. Notably, the DPIAs sort/rank households by their *household-size-equivalized* personal income (dividing each household's personal income by the square root of household members, for sorting purposes) before dividing the ranked households into equal-sized quintile groups. They then calculate (shares of) unequivalized NIPA personal/household income (and subcategory measures) for those constructed quintile groups. The THIA household-income distributional measures come from, so necessarily match, the DPIAs'.

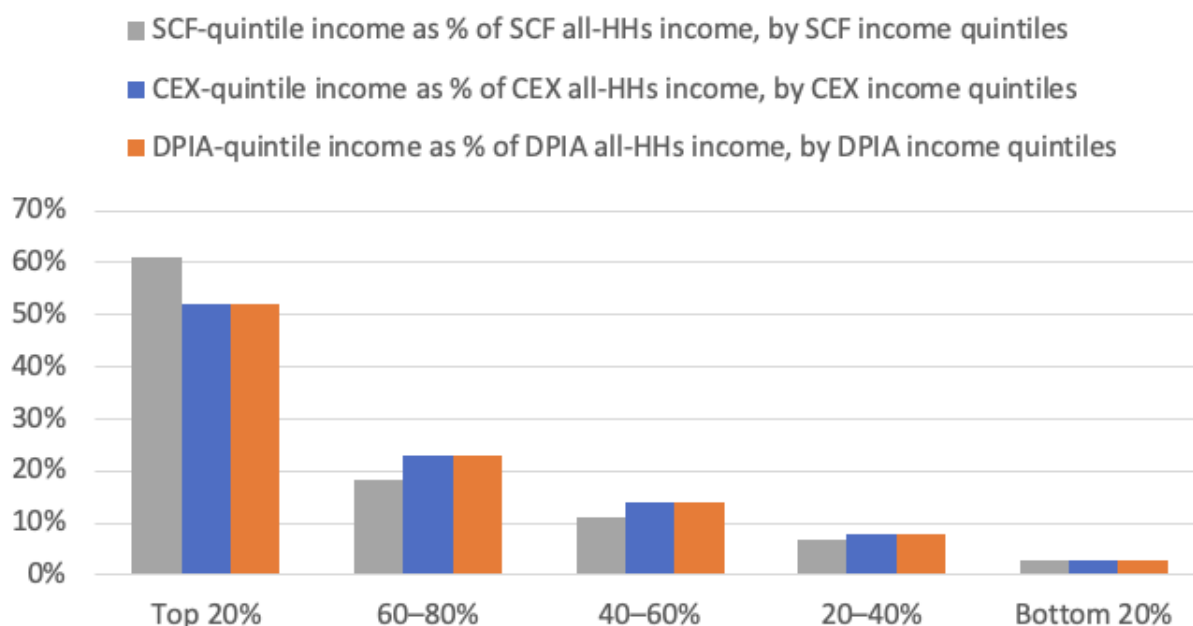
Household consumption expenditures (HCE) is another large measure in the THIA — 61% of total income — and the THIA relies on CEX-constructed income quintiles to allocate NIPA HCE to quintiles. To construct its quintiles, CEX ranks households by its own surveyed income measure (not equivalized), which is quite different from NIPA personal or household income.

Despite the differences between DPIA and CEX quintile treatments, their income-share results for quintiles are almost the same (Figure 12). The second graph displays (pre-covid) 2018 shares for all quintiles. (SCF is the anomalous series in this figure, and is discussed below.)

Figure 12. Comparing quintile's income shares from multiple income-quintile treatments.

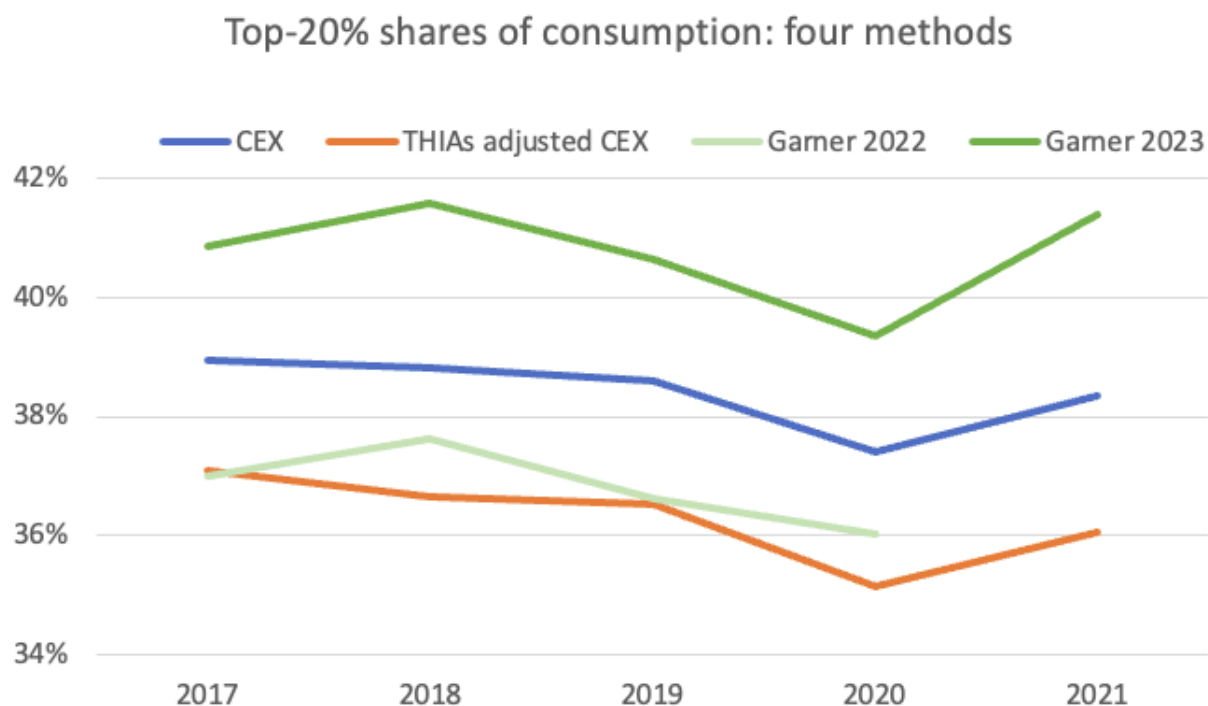


2018 income quintiles' shares of all-HHs income



The THIA's allocate HCE based on those CEX income-quintiles' shares of CEX spending. (After correcting for the CEX mistreatment of Social Security/pension contributions as "spending," detailed in Technical Appendix zz.) CEX calculates its quintile spending shares quite simply: total spending for a quintile, divided by all-households spending. (The THIA's correct the SS/pension "spending" problem prior to this step.) The resulting consumption (spending) shares can be compared to the new DPCEAs' consumption shares. (Figure 13; top quintile only. Other quintiles' series are in the workbook).

Figure 13. Top-quintile shares of consumption (spending) compared.



The DPCEAs (Garner et al 2023, and “Garner” in the graphs here) seek to serve a somewhat different purpose than other projects (“to provide a fuller picture of the well-being of households”), and they use a more complex construction. Firstly, they don’t construct income quintiles, but consumption quintiles, and they focus on (adjusted) consumption rather than consumption spending *per se*. This in itself renders the DPCEA results inapplicable to the THIA’s, which are based on income quintiles. (Consumption distributions are more uniform, less concentrated at the top, than income distributions.) But the comparison still merits scrutiny. The DPCEAs further adjust and augment CEX categories and measures to make them more comparable to PCE’s categories, then sort/rank the resulting households by their household-size equivalized, and adjusted, consumption. So DPCEA quintiles are very different from others examined here — their purpose, construction, measures, and other methodology.

Despite all these differences, at least in the published 2022/23 first-year data, DPCEA quintiles’ shares of consumption were quite close to CEX-quintile shares, and almost identical to the THIA’s SS-corrected CEX shares. The top-quintile share is much higher in the 2023 data, because in that year DPCEA top-5% (hence top-20%) consumption was adjusted upward using pareto adjustment “to mitigate understatement of inequality” arising from the CEX survey sample and etc.

Returning to the SCF income-shares series in Figure 13: these are significant for the THIA’s distributional measures because the DFAs construct their income quintiles based on SCF income, and the THIA’s use the DFA quintiles’ asset-holdings shares to quintile-allocate holding gains — 17% of total income. (Likewise some smaller Other change measures.)

The DFAs may construct more income-concentrated quintiles for two reasons:

1. For sorting/ranking purposes, the DFAs adjust the weights of SCF survey respondents to include the wealth of the Forbes 400, which is unsampled or poorly sampled in the SCF. Since Forbes wealth is big in individual terms but much less so as a percent of total wealth, this seems unlikely to explain (much of) the large income-share differences in Figure 6.
2. The DFAs rank households based on the [SCF “Income” measure](#), which includes holding gains (and other unusual or one-off income) in a year. It also calculates the quintiles’ shares of income based on that measure. (The SCF “Normal Income” measure — more equivalent to the DPIA/CEX measures that don’t include holding gains — only includes the “Value of income the household would expect to receive in a ‘normal’ year.”)

Whatever explains these income-quintile differences, it raises a conundrum in the THIAs. It results in *more* holding gains being allocated to the top quintile in the THIAs (and less to lower quintiles) than a less-concentrated distribution would. But Figure 6 shows exactly the opposite: according to the DFAs, lower quintiles net-accumulate *more* assets than is calculated in the THIAs. Further research is needed. Again, this is only pertinent to the distributional discrepancies; it has no effect on the THIAs’ aggregate, all-households measures.

The comparisons in this appendix suggest that income-quintile methodology differences, different definitions of economic units and measures, and etc., are probably not a large contributor to the quintile discrepancies displayed in Figure 6. The large additional and different measures suggested in Appendix C seem to hold more promise in efforts to track down those discrepancies.

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