

# More unequal we stand? Inequality in the United States from the Great Recession to the COVID pandemic

*Jonathan Heathcote, Fabrizio Perri*  
Minneapolis FED

*Gianluca Violante*  
Princeton University

*Lichen Zhang*  
University of Hong Kong

Macroeconomics of Inequality Conference

November 2022



FEDERAL  
RESERVE  
BANK of  
ST. LOUIS



# Objective

- Heathcote, Perri Violante (RED, 2010) document dynamics of several dimensions of inequality in the United States from 1967 to 2006, using publicly available surveys
- Document dynamics of dimensions of inequality in the United States over past 15 years (which include Great Recession and COVID)
- Provide empirical references to the micro-macro literature

## Organizing device: household budget constraint

$$c + a' = a + \sum_{i=1}^N w_i h_i + U + T^G - \tau$$

- $w_i$  individual wage
- $w_i h_i$  individual earnings (labor supply)
- $\sum_{i=1}^N w_i h_i$  hh earnings (pooling)
- $\sum_{i=1}^N w_i h_i + U$  hh market income (unearned income)
- $\sum_{i=1}^N w_i h_i + U + T^G$  hh pretax income (govt transfers)
- $\sum_{i=1}^N w_i h_i + T^G + U - \tau$  hh disposable income (taxes)
- $a'$  end of period wealth (capital gains, saving)
- $c$  consumption expenditures

# Five Surveys

1. **Current Population Survey (March CPS), 1967-2021**
  - repeated cross-section (+short panel),  $\simeq 60,000$  households per year: income
2. **American Community Survey (ACS), 2000-2020**
  - repeated cross-section,  $\simeq 1\text{m}$  households per year: income

# Five Surveys

1. **Current Population Survey (March CPS), 1967-2021**
  - repeated cross-section (+short panel),  $\simeq 60,000$  households per year: income
2. **American Community Survey (ACS), 2000-2020**
  - repeated cross-section,  $\simeq 1\text{m}$  households per year: income
3. **Consumer Expenditure Survey (CEX), 1980-2021**
  - rotating short panel:  $\simeq 15,000$  households: income, consumption, wealth

# Five Surveys

1. **Current Population Survey (March CPS), 1967-2021**
  - repeated cross-section (+short panel),  $\simeq 60,000$  households per year: income
2. **American Community Survey (ACS), 2000-2020**
  - repeated cross-section,  $\simeq 1\text{m}$  households per year: income
3. **Consumer Expenditure Survey (CEX), 1980-2021**
  - rotating short panel:  $\simeq 15,000$  households: income, consumption, wealth
4. **Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), 67-96, 98(2)18**
  - long panel,  $\simeq 6000$  households: income, consumption, wealth
5. **Survey of Consumer Finance (SCF), 1988(3)2018**
  - repeated cross section,  $\simeq 4000$  households: income and wealth

# Sample selection

## 1. Sample A

- “Clean” version of raw data: drop households with members that have incomplete or implausible info (i.e. wage below 1/2 the minimum)
- used for [population-level](#) statistics (comparison with NIPA)

# Sample selection

## 1. Sample A

- “Clean” version of raw data: drop households with members that have incomplete or implausible info (i.e. wage below 1/2 the minimum)
- used for **population-level** statistics (comparison with NIPA)

## 2. Sample B

- Households in **A** with at least one member age 25-60
- used for **household-level** (earnings, income, consumption) statistics



# Sample selection

## 1. Sample A

- “Clean” version of raw data: drop households with members that have incomplete or implausible info (i.e. wage below 1/2 the minimum)
- used for **population-level** statistics (comparison with NIPA)

## 2. Sample B

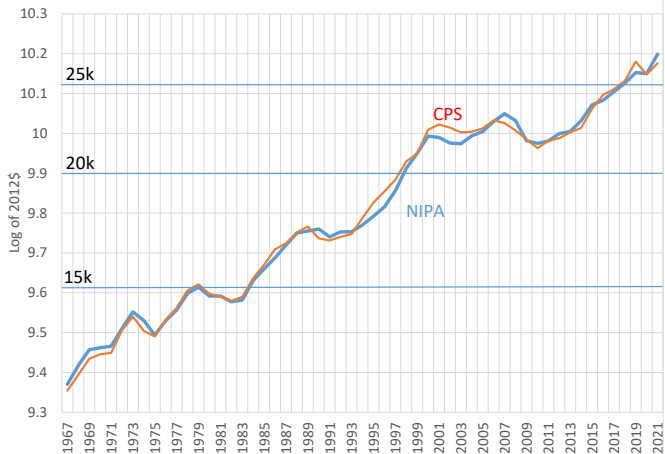
- Households in **A** with at least one member age 25-60
- used for **household-level** (earnings, income, consumption) statistics

## 3. Sample C

- individuals from households **B**, age 25-60 who work at least 260 hours per year
- used for **individual-level** (wages, hours) statistics

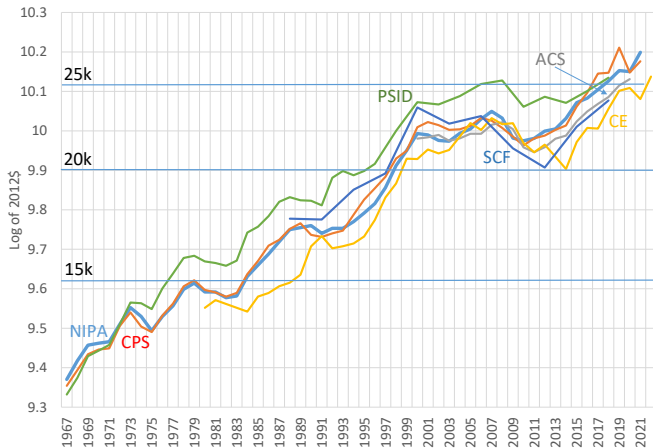
## Macro facts in micro data (DNA)

# Wage and salary income pc, sample A



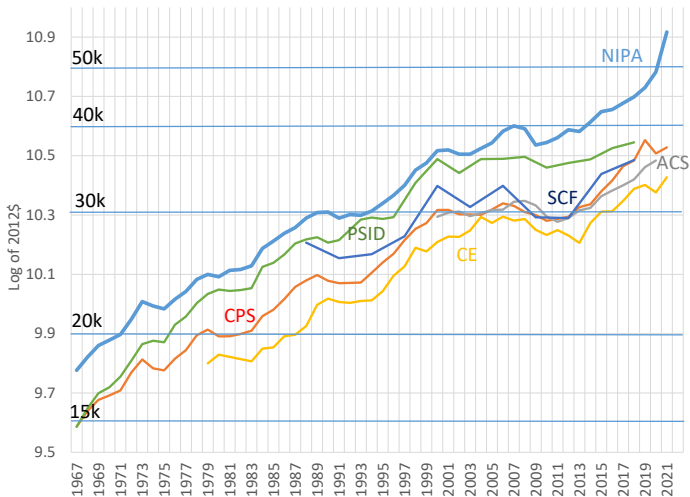
- March CPS matches NIPA well

# Wage and salary income pc, sample A



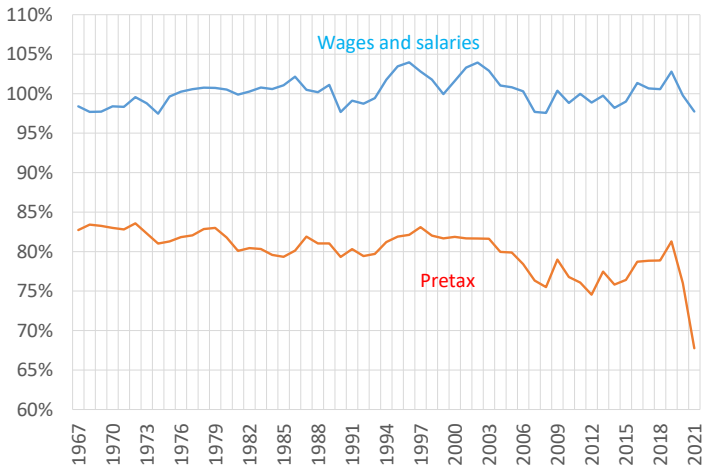
- March CPS matches NIPA well
- Broad agreement with NIPA for other surveys
- In PSID & CE more persistent Great Recession

# Pretax (personal) income pc, sample A



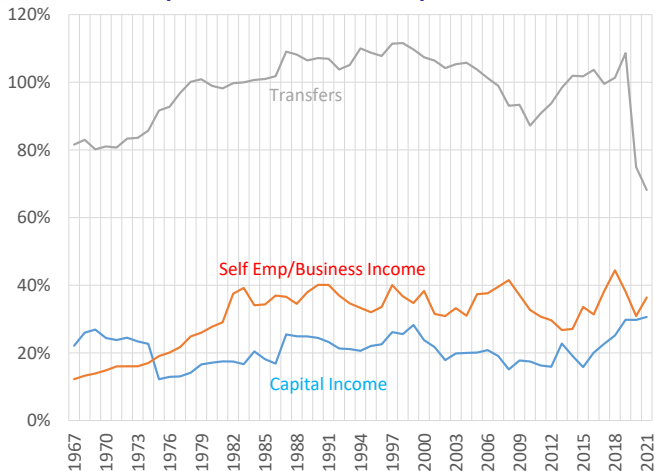
Pretax Income includes: earnings, business income, capital income, transfers, FICA

## Gaps between NIPA and surveys (CPS)



- NIPA pretax income 20% larger than CPS pretax
- Gap larger in GR and COVID

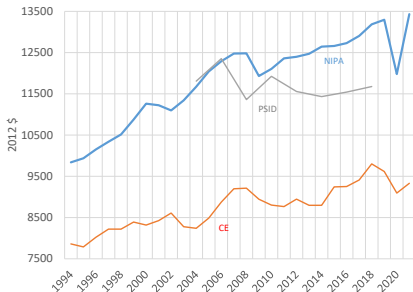
# Components of the pretax income Gap



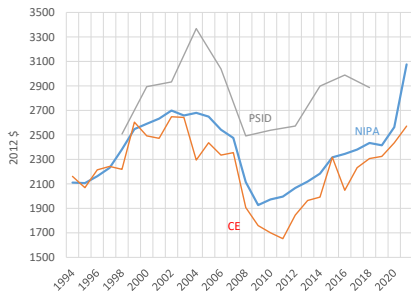
- gap in transfers small on average, large in recessions
- gap in capital and business income always large
- later assess inequality impact of gaps

# Consumption expenditures pc, sample A

## Non Durables



## Durables

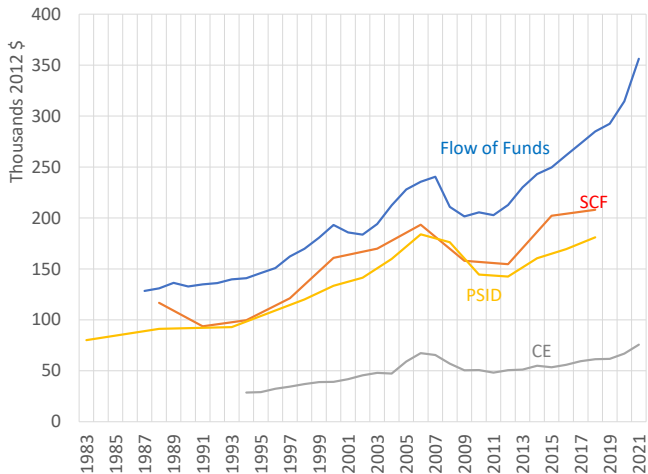


Non health, non housing

- recent years allow evaluation of PSID v/s CE
- CE better matches NIPA growth in recent years and closer to NIPA than PSID
- both capture cyclical variations (COVID?)



# Household net worth pc, sample A

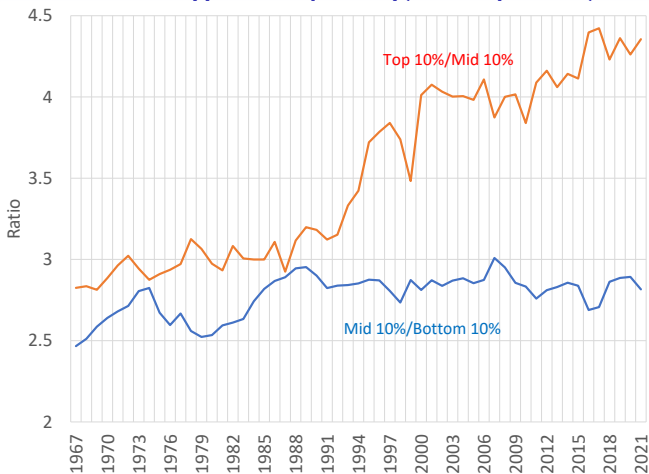


- gap between surveys and FoF
- PSID  $\approx$  SCF except during equity booms
- CE wealth very low

## Inequality dynamics roadmap

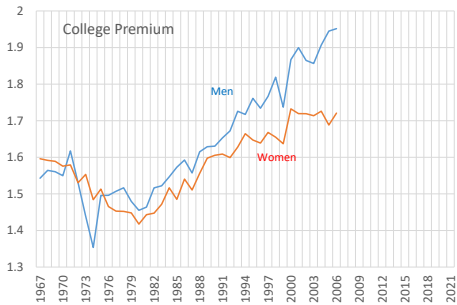
- individual wages →
- individual earnings →
- HH earnings/income →
- HH expenditures and wealth

## Wage inequality, sample C, CPS

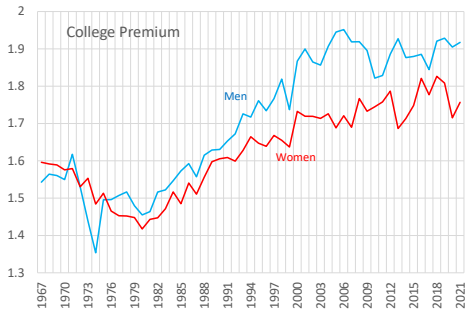


- not cyclical
- flat at the bottom
- post GR: keeps increasing at the top

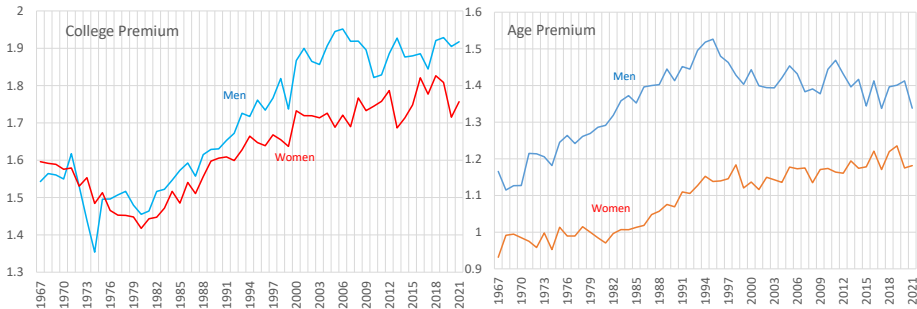
# Wage premia



# Wage premia

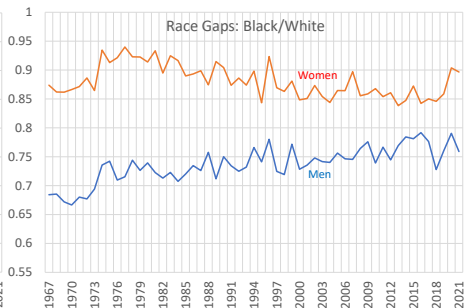
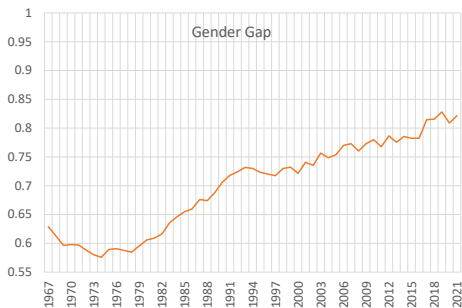


# Wage premia



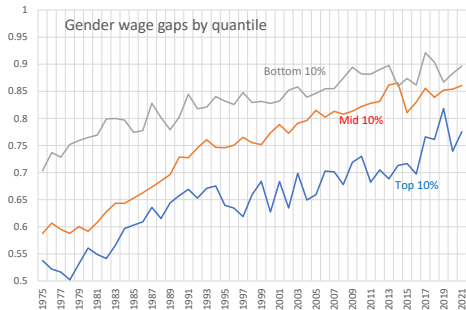
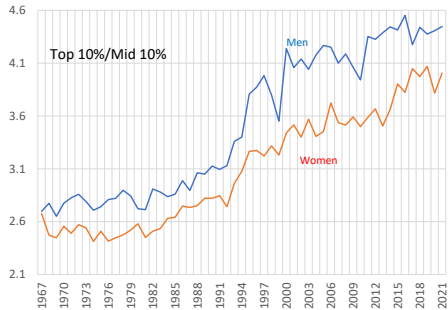
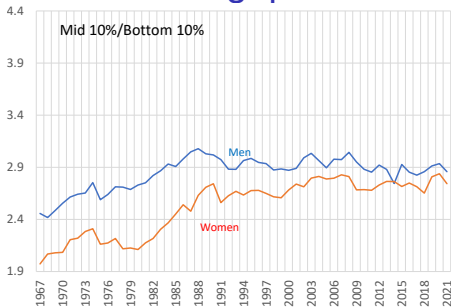
- post GR: end of the rise in college premium

# Wage gaps



- post GR: further closing (at slower pace) of gender gap
- little change in race gap

# Gender gaps across the wage distribution

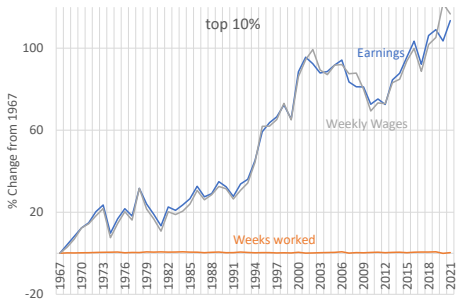
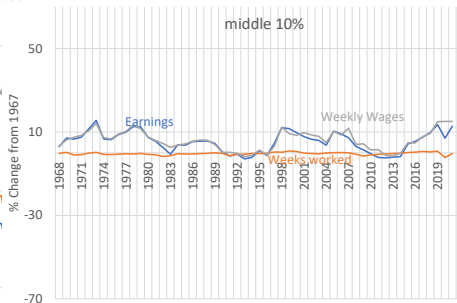
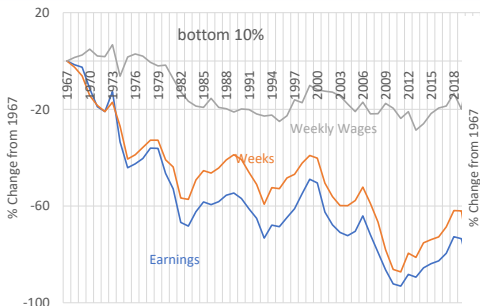


over past 15 years

- increase in inequality at top both for men and women
- largest gender gap at the top



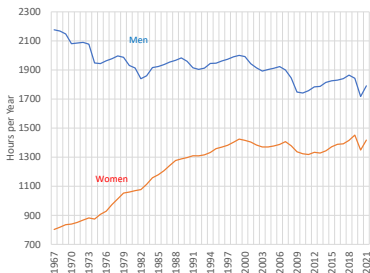
# Measures of men earnings: sample B



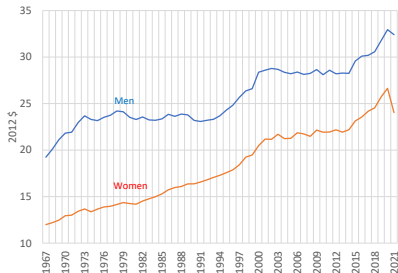
- men earnings inequality increase both at the top and bottom
- top: only secular driven by wages
- bottom: cyclical and secular, driven by hours

# Earnings Gender Gaps

## Hours (sample B)



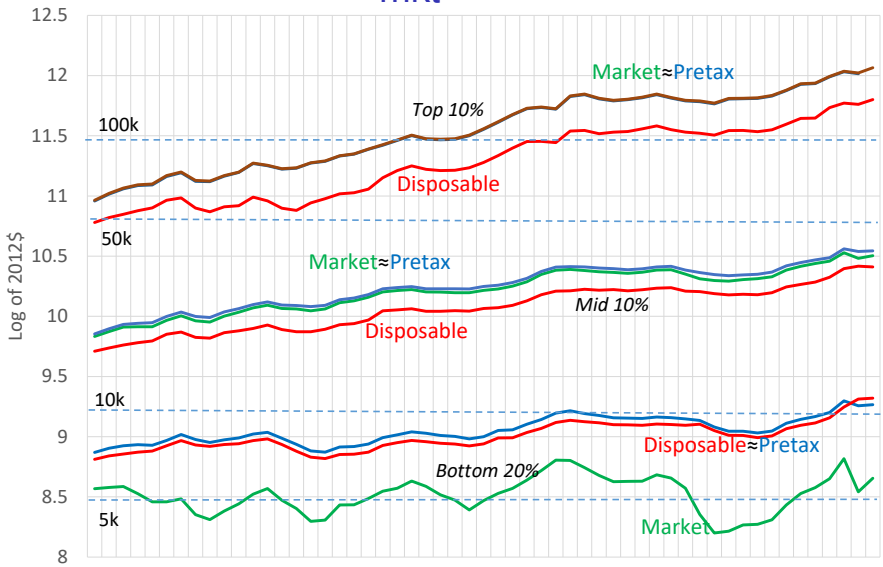
## Wages (sample C)



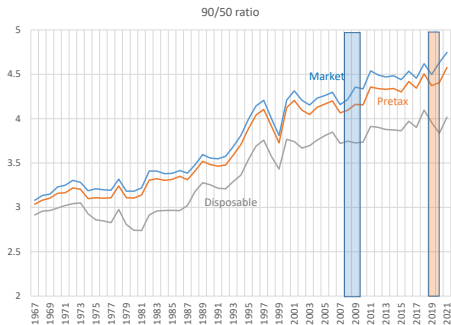
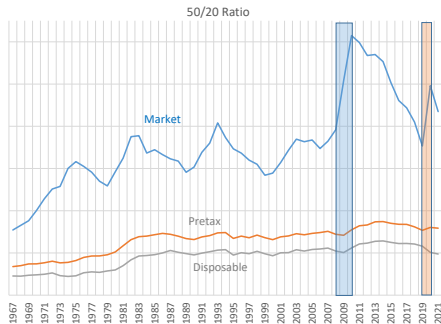
- 1967-1997: women faster wage and hours growth: great earnings equalization
- 1997-2020: hours equalization over, wage equalization slower
- Gender gap in hours AND wages around 25%

## From individuals to households

# Measures of household income: Sample B, CPS, by mkt



# Household inequality: Sample B



- Great Recession drove an increase in inequality, which has reversed at the bottom, not at the top
- COVID recession unprecedented redistribution

## Main takeaways

- Market income of bottom 20% of households still at 1967 level (after the GR boost and boom)

## Main takeaways

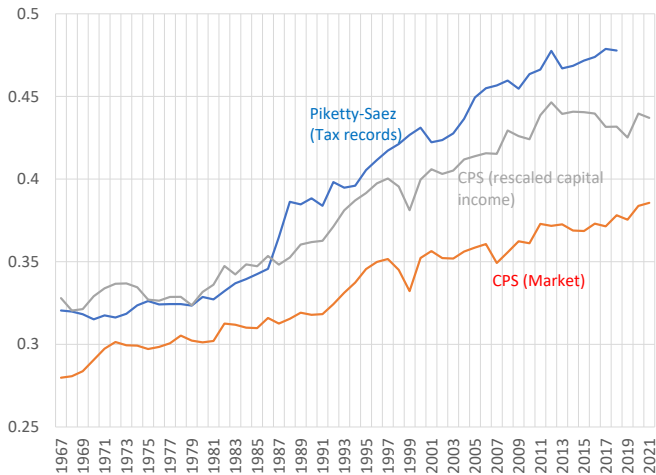
- Market income of bottom 20% of households still at 1967 level (after the GR boost and boom)
- Tax and transfers greatly affect trend and cycle of bottom 20%, and reduce income at the top
- Over past 15 years disposable income of the top keeps diverging
- COVID historically large redistribution

# Assessing the impact of missing income in CPS

- CPS might miss substantial fraction of capital and business income and, during COVID, transfers
- assess inequality impact by rescaling CPS figures by the avge NIPA/CPS ratio in income category
- rescaling is not uniform across households because many households report 0

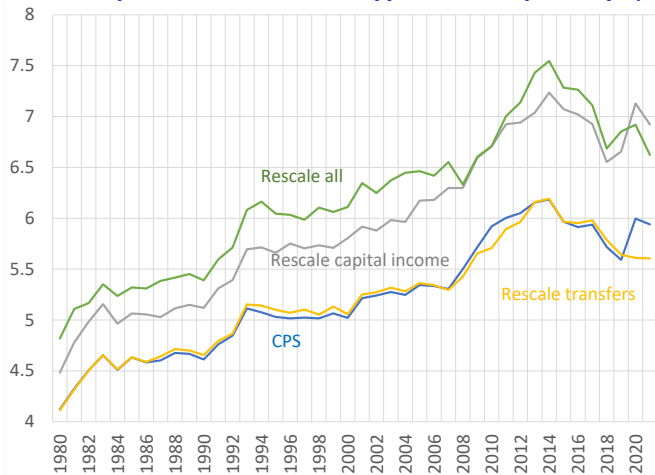


## Check: Share of top 10%



- Rescaling capital income has significant impact on both level and trend of inequality at the top

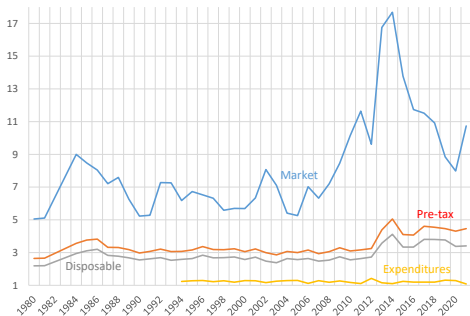
## Impact of rescaling on inequality (90/20)



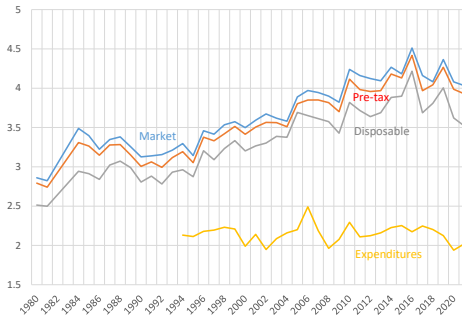
- missing capital inc underestimates ineq. level & growth
- missing transfers overestimates ineq. in covid
- overall ineq. trend over past 15 years not much affected

# Household Expenditure Inequality: Sample B, CE

50/20 by Market Income



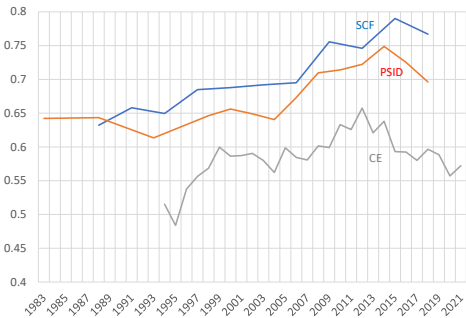
90/50 by Market Income



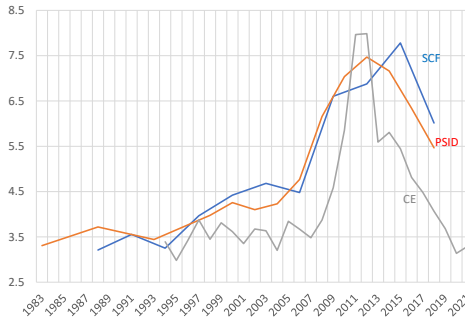
- Dynamics of income inequality in CE very similar to CPS
- Still no increase in expenditure inequality
- Same results using PSID expenditures

# Wealth Inequality: Sample B

Top 10% share

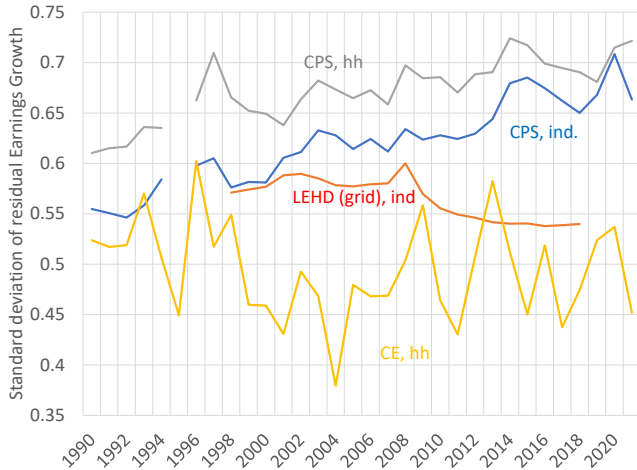


Mean/median



- Dynamics of wealth inequality driven by house and stock prices (Kuhn et al. 2020)
- In recent years (still missing COVID data in SCF and PSID) wealth inequality declining (raising home prices?)

# Earnings Volatility



## Lessons from U.S. Survey data over the past 15 years

- The rate of increase in income inequality has moderated, however inequality at the top still increasing
- Growth of college premium and gender/race equalization have stopped

## Lessons from U.S. Survey data over the past 15 years

- The rate of increase in income inequality has moderated, however inequality at the top still increasing
- Growth of college premium and gender/race equalization have stopped
- Bottom 20% of market income distribution in 2021 still at 1967 level (after GR rollercoaster)

## Lessons from U.S. Survey data over the past 15 years

- The rate of increase in income inequality has moderated, however inequality at the top still increasing
- Growth of college premium and gender/race equalization have stopped
- Bottom 20% of market income distribution in 2021 still at 1967 level (after GR rollercoaster)
- Great recession: increase in income inequality, that over the recovery reversed at the bottom but not at the top



## Lessons from U.S. Survey data over the past 15 years

- The rate of increase in income inequality has moderated, however inequality at the top still increasing
- Growth of college premium and gender/race equalization have stopped
- Bottom 20% of market income distribution in 2021 still at 1967 level (after GR rollercoaster)
- Great recession: increase in income inequality, that over the recovery reversed at the bottom but not at the top
- COVID: historically different, first recession when disposable income inequality declined

## Lessons from U.S. Survey data over the past 15 years

- The rate of increase in income inequality has moderated, however inequality at the top still increasing
- Growth of college premium and gender/race equalization have stopped
- Bottom 20% of market income distribution in 2021 still at 1967 level (after GR rollercoaster)
- Great recession: increase in income inequality, that over the recovery reversed at the bottom but not at the top
- COVID: historically different, first recession when disposable income inequality declined
- Consumption expenditure inequality still flat throughout
- Wealth inequality increase around great recession, declines after