



BILLIONAIRE BONANZA 2018

**INHERITED WEALTH DYNASTIES
IN THE 21st-CENTURY UNITED
STATES**

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The **Institute for Policy Studies** (www.IPS-dc.org) is a multi-issue research center founded in 1963. The **Program on Inequality and the Common Good** was founded in 2006 to draw attention to the growing dangers of concentrated wealth and power, and to advocate policies and practices to reverse extreme inequalities in income, wealth, and opportunity. The **Inequality.org** website (<http://inequality.org/>) provides an online portal into all things related to the income and wealth gaps that so divide us. **Subscribe to our weekly newsletter at Inequality.org or follow us on Twitter and Facebook: @inequalityorg**

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“Of all forms of tyranny, the least attractive and the most vulgar is the tyranny of mere wealth, the tyranny of a plutocracy.”

Theodore Roosevelt, 1913.

Key Findings

Wealth in the United States is concentrating into fewer and fewer hands, a trend we tracked in two previous *Billionaire Bonanza* reports in 2015 and 2017. This year's edition focuses primarily on “dynastic” wealth that has passed from one generation to another within families. Our analysis is based on the *Forbes* magazine list of the 400 wealthiest individuals in the United States and the Federal Reserve Survey of Consumer Finances.

- Three dynastic wealth families—the Waltons, the Kochs, and the Mars—have seen their wealth increase **nearly 6,000** percent since 1982. Meanwhile, median household wealth over the same period went down by 3 percent.
- These three wealth dynasties own a combined fortune of \$348.7 billion. That's more than four million times the median wealth of U.S. families.
- The dynastic wealth of the Walton family grew from \$690 million in 1982 (or \$1.81 billion in 2018 dollars) to \$169.7 billion in 2018, a mind-numbing increase of 9,257 percent.
- Three individuals—Jeff Bezos, Bill Gates, and Warren Buffett—still own more wealth than the bottom half of the country combined.
- A third of the members of the Forbes 400 own fortunes derived from companies that were founded by earlier generations.
- The 15 wealthiest multi-generational dynastic families on the Forbes 400 own a combined \$618 billion. Their parents or other ancestors founded all of the companies from which their wealth is derived.
- The Forbes 400 combined own \$2.89 trillion dollars, more than the combined wealth of the bottom 64 percent of the United States. It's also more than the GDP of Britain, the 5th-largest economy in the world. Just 45 individuals own half of this wealth.
- The median family in the United States owns just over \$80,000 in household wealth. The richest person in the United States (and the world), Jeff Bezos, has accumulated a fortune nearly 2 million times that amount.
- The Bezos fortune expanded by \$78.5 billion just in the last year to \$160 billion. Even at the recently increased wage of \$15/hour, a full-time Amazon worker would need to toil for 2.5 million years to generate this much money.

Recommendations

Some dynastic families use their wealth and power to rig the political rules and preserve and expand their private wealth dynasties. While a number of solutions are required to reverse the gross wealth inequality outlined in this report, this report highlights two bold and innovative proposals to directly address the problem of dynastic wealth.

1. **Wealth tax:** A direct tax on wealth paid by the wealthiest one tenth of one percent could generate significant revenue to be reinvested in creating and restoring opportunities for low wealth households to prosper. A 1 percent annual tax on the wealthiest 0.1 percent of households, those with wealth over \$20 million, would generate an estimated \$1.899 trillion in revenue over the next decade.
2. **Inheritance tax:** The federal estate tax has been significantly weakened, most recently through the 2017 Trump-Republican tax cut. Taxing inherited wealth as income would help break up current and future wealth dynasties.

In order to successfully implement these policies, the U.S. must take leadership in advancing rules and global treaties that discourage aggressive wealth hiding and tax avoidance.

The Forbes 400 and the Rest of Us

“The central issue is we’re developing into a plutocracy. We’ve got an enormous number of enormously rich people that have convinced themselves that they’re rich because they’re smart and constructive. And they don’t like government, and they don’t like to pay taxes.”

—Paul Volker, former Chairman of the Federal Reserve¹

In this report, we analyze the grand fortunes of the wealthiest individuals and families and compare their wealth to the absence of wealth at and near the nation’s economic bottom. Our findings show a deeply unbalanced economy. We focus on the Forbes 400, an annual list of the wealthiest people in the country compiled by *Forbes* magazine, with a special focus on 15 dynastically wealthy families.

To understand the wealth of the rest of the country, we focus on the latest edition of the triannual Federal Reserve Survey of Consumer Finances, with survey data from 2016 adjusted for inflation to 2018 dollars. For household wealth figures, we use the “net worth” figure reported by the Fed, and we subtract automobiles and other “durable goods” such as electronics, furniture, and household appliances, from this figure.

As we have noted in our previous *Billionaire Bonanza* reports, subtracting durable goods from net worth offers us a more accurate depiction of household wealth as these items are not easily sellable and neither appreciate nor hold constant their value. As New York University economist Edward Wolff points out, the family car’s “resale value typically far understates the value of their consumption services to the household.” For more on this, see our previous reports as well as the work of Professor Wolff.²

The Forbes 400

A recent exposé in the *New York Times* revealed that President Donald Trump is not the self-made billionaire businessman he claims to be.³ Trump has repeatedly claimed that he received only a \$1 million loan from his father. It turns out his father actually transferred more than \$400 million in assets to the future president, an enormous fortune that has grown steadily over time. This story is indicative of many extremely wealthy families whose true fortune comes from the intergenerational transfer of immense wealth.

Members Forbes 400 span the spectrum of inheritance with some inheriting their full fortune while others started their life in impoverished families. Most of the list exist

somewhere in between with the privileges and benefits that come from intergenerational transfers of wealth. *Forbes* quantifies this distinction listing 64 members as inheriting their full fortune and 67 members inheriting a smaller fortune they grew. The rest, 269 members, are listed as “self-made.”

In the next section we examine the dynastic wealth families that make up the Forbes 400, including the immense political power they wield and the impact of this concentration. The Forbes 400 has grown over time with the price of admission steadily increasing alongside the total combined wealth. In 1982, a wealthy individual needed \$75 million to enter the Forbes 400 list. The minimum wealth necessary in 2018: \$2.1 billion. As a result, 204 U.S. billionaires did not make it onto the list.⁴ The 1982 price of admission amounted, in today’s dollars, to \$200 million, less than a tenth of the wealth of today’s poorest Forbes 400 members.

In 1982, the combined wealth of the Forbes 400 totaled \$92 billion, or about \$242 billion in today’s dollars. That’s less than the combined wealth of just the top three wealthiest people on the *Forbes* list today. The combined wealth of the entire top 400 today adds up to \$2.89 trillion, more than the GDP of Great Britain, the fifth-largest economy in the world. **Half of this wealth comes from 45 individuals.** The average wealth on the 2018 Forbes list is \$7.2 billion, up 7.5 percent from 2017.

Three individuals—Jeff Bezos, Bill Gates, and Warren Buffett—still own more wealth the bottom half of the country combined, a fact we noted in our 2017 report, [*Billionaire Bonanza 2017: The Forbes 400 and the Rest of Us*](#). Of these three, Jeff Bezos saw his wealth skyrocket the most, by \$78.5 billion to \$160 billion. That’s nearly 2 million times median U.S. family wealth.

Three dynastic wealth families — the Waltons, Kochs, and Mars — own a combined \$348.7 billion.

That’s more than the combined wealth of 4 million typical American families.

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The Rest of Us

The wealth of the rest of the country has not kept pace with the billionaire class. Median household wealth remains stagnant at about \$80,000. The proportion of households with zero or negative wealth is nearly one in five, about 19 percent. These families living without wealth survive without any buffer from economic calamity. Four in ten families could not come up with \$400 if they needed it in an emergency, according to a recent study from the Federal Reserve.⁵

Median household wealth in the United States has gone down three percent since 1983 despite massive increases in economic growth and productivity.

Median household wealth in 1983 was about \$84,000 in 2018 dollars. Fast forward to today, median household wealth has dropped to less than \$82,000, a drop of three percent.⁶ In other words, despite massive economic growth over the past three decades, the typical median family saw their wealth go down, not up. Median wealth did rise considerably to a peak of \$124,000 in 2007, but these

gains were completely wiped out by the Great Recession beginning in 2008 and have not recovered.

This data comes from the New York University economist Edward Wolff's treatment of the Federal Reserve's triannual Survey of Consumer Finance (SCF), which became uniform in 1983. The proportion of families with zero wealth went up from 1 in 6 to 1 in 5 from 1983 to 2016, the longest period for which we have consistent data. The average wealth of the bottom 40 percent went from positive \$6,900 in 1983 to negative \$8,900 in 2016.⁷

Wealth disparities exist strongly along racial lines, a point we've examined in detail in previous reports, [The Road to Zero Wealth: How the Racial Wealth Divide is Hollowing Out America's Middle Class](#) released in 2017 and [The Ever-Growing Gap: Without Change, African-American and Latino Families Won't Match White Wealth for Centuries](#) released in 2016. In *The Road to Zero Wealth*, we pointed out, along with our co-authors from Prosperity Now, that between 1983 and 2013, the wealth of median Black and Latino households decreased by 75% (from \$6,800 to \$1,700) and 50% (from \$4,000 to \$2,000), respectively. Meanwhile median White household wealth rose by 14% (from \$102,200 to \$116,800). If these trends of the past 30 years continue, median Black household wealth is on a path to hit zero by 2053 and median Latino household wealth is projected to hit zero twenty years later by 2073. In sharp contrast, median White household wealth would climb to \$137,000 by 2053 and \$147,000 by 2073.⁸

As we pointed out in our last edition of *Billionaire Bonanza*, one in five U.S households, over 19 percent, have zero or negative net worth. “Underwater households” make up an even higher share of households of color. Over 30 percent of black households and 27 percent of Latino households have zero or negative net worth to fall back on.⁹

Beyond the Forbes 400: Wealth and Income Trends

Wealth has concentrated into fewer and fewer hands over the past several decades. Credit Suisse looked at the number of high net worth individuals in the United States in 2018. They found 14.5 million have between \$1-5 million, 1.86 million have \$5-10 million, 900,000 have \$10-50 million, 50,000 have \$50-100 million, 19,000 have \$100-500 million and 1,100 have more than \$500 million.¹⁰ It’s worth noting these are individuals, not families or households.

According to a new report from the Swiss bank UBS, the world now has a total of 2,158 billionaires, with 179 billionaires newly minted in just the last year. Their combined wealth rose by a bewildering \$1.4 trillion in the last year to a total of \$8.9 trillion, an increase of 20 percent. The United States is home to the most billionaires—585 in 2018—up from 563 in 2017.¹¹

Putting these figures in context, Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman looked at the composition of wealth in the United States over time.¹² They found that the top 1 percent is a group of 1.6 million families with at least \$3.9 million. The top 1 percent owns 42 percent of the nation’s total wealth. The top 0.1 percent is a group of 160,000 with at least \$20.6 million. The top 0.1 percent own 22 percent of the nation’s total wealth. The top 0.01 percent is a group of just 16,000 families that own at least \$111 million. They own 11 percent of the nation’s wealth.

The bottom 90 percent of households own 23 percent, about the same amount of wealth as the top 0.1 percent. Saez and Zucman note that over the 20th century, the bottom 90 percent went from owning about 20 percent of the nation’s wealth in the late 1920s, to a high of 35% in the mid-1980s, and back down to 23 percent in 2012.¹³ Put differently, wealth shifted from the rich to the rest of us in the middle of the 20th century and then back to the rich over the next three decades.

Looking at income tells a similar story. The average pretax income of the bottom 50 percent was \$16,000 in 1980, adjusting for inflation to 2014 dollars according to a separate study by Piketty, Saez, and Zucman.¹⁴ By 2014 it was \$16,200. In other words, flatline. Meanwhile, incomes ballooned at the top.

The higher up the economic spectrum the more spectacular was the income growth over this period. For the top 10 percent, incomes doubled. For the top 1 percent, they tripled from \$420,000 to about \$1.3 million. For the top 0.1 percent, they quadrupled. This was true for both pre- and post-tax income.

In aggregate, 8 percent of the nation's total overall income went from the bottom 50 percent of the country to the top one percent over this period. Whereas in 1980, the bottom 50 percent earned 20 percent of total income and the top 1 percent earned 12 percent, by 2014 this dynamic had reversed.

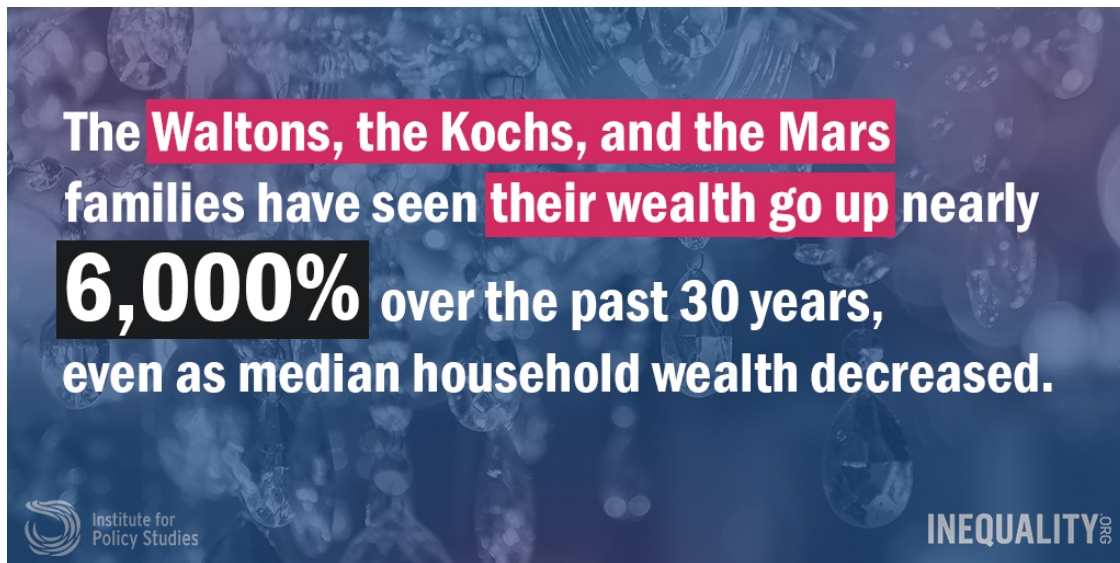
Notably, the previous three decades, 1946 to 1980, had seen the opposite dynamic. The overall population and in particular the bottom 50 percent saw their incomes double. During that period the income share of the top 1 percent and the top 0.1 percent went up by about 50 percent. As Piketty et al. put it, "The top 1% income share is now almost twice as large as the bottom 50% share, a group that is by definition 50 times more numerous. In 1980, top 1% adults earned on average 27 times more than bottom 50% adults before tax, while they earn 81 times more today."¹⁵

Multi-Generational Wealth Dynasties

Thomas Piketty warned that the U.S. is devolving into a "patrimonial capitalism" where in the coming years the heirs of today's billionaires will dominate our politics, culture, economy, and philanthropic sector. As wealth concentrates in fewer hands, so does the power to shape the rules governing the economy.

During the first U.S. "Gilded Age," from the late 19th Century until World War I in 1916, we witnessed the emergence of dynastic wealth families, such as the Rockefellers, Mellons, Carnegies, and DuPonts. The public understood the dangers these fortunes posed to our democratic institutions and pressed for policies, such as the federal estate tax, to put a brake on these great accretions of wealth.

A century of family growth, progressive taxation, and philanthropic activity has dispersed these great fortunes. Only a handful of heirs to these original Gilded Age fortunes rank among the Forbes 400 today. But current public policies have reduced taxes and goosed stock values, buoying some of these older wealth dynasties as well.



Now several decades into the second Gilded Age, dynastic wealth families once again appear in force on the Forbes 400 list. And like previous dynasties, a segment of these families use their considerable wealth and power to rig the rules of the economy to protect and expand their wealth and power.

Seven of the 20 wealthiest members of the Forbes 400 inherited their wealth from previous generations, often through companies founded by their ancestors. These include: **Charles and David Koch** of Koch Industries as well as **Jim, Alice, and S. Robson Walton** of Walmart and **Jacqueline and John Mars** of the Mars candy empire.

Of the 400 wealthiest people in the United States, 136 derive their wealth from companies started by an earlier generation.

We looked at the fifteen wealthiest families with multiple members on the Forbes 400. Each of these family's wealth comes from companies started by an earlier generation, either a parent or more distant ancestor. Each of them also represents a wealth dynasty passing generation to generation free from interruption.

See Appendix Table 1 for a breakdown of these 15 families, which include the seven Waltons of Walmart, two Koch brothers of Koch Industries (the second-largest privately held U.S. corporation), and six Mars of Mars Candy. It also includes nine descendants of the Cargill agribusiness fortune, five heirs of Cox media group, five members of the Edward "Ned" Johnson's family of Fidelity Investments, nine Pritzkers of the hotel family, four Duncans of oil fortune fame, four descendants of cosmetic giant Estée Lauder, and five descendants of the S.C. Johnson cleaning products fortune. Finally, the list is rounded off by three Ziffs, heirs of the publishing giant, four Bass's of the oil and

investment family, four Goldmans of the real estate empire started by their father, three Strykers of the medical equipment giant, and two Cathys of Chick-Fil-A.

These 15 families combine for over \$618 billion in total wealth. Notably, the companies from which all 15 of these families derive their wealth were started by earlier generations—a parent, grandparent, or more distant relative. In fact, **136 out of the 400 members of the Forbes 400 derive their wealth from companies started by an earlier generation.** That's 34 percent, or about a third, of the entire list.

A large number of modern wealth dynasties have been on the Forbes 400 list since it was first published in 1982. The three wealthiest families — the Mars candy family, the Waltons, and the Koch brothers — have witnessed meteoric growth in their family wealth. In 1982, the combined wealth of these three families was \$2.22 billion, or \$7.65 billion in 2018 dollars. In 2018, the combined wealth of these three families is \$348.7 billion, an increase of nearly 6,000 percent adjusted for inflation. **The wealth of the Walton family grew from \$690 million in 1982 (or \$1.81 billion in 2018 dollars) to \$167.7 billion in 2018, an increase of 9,257 percent.**

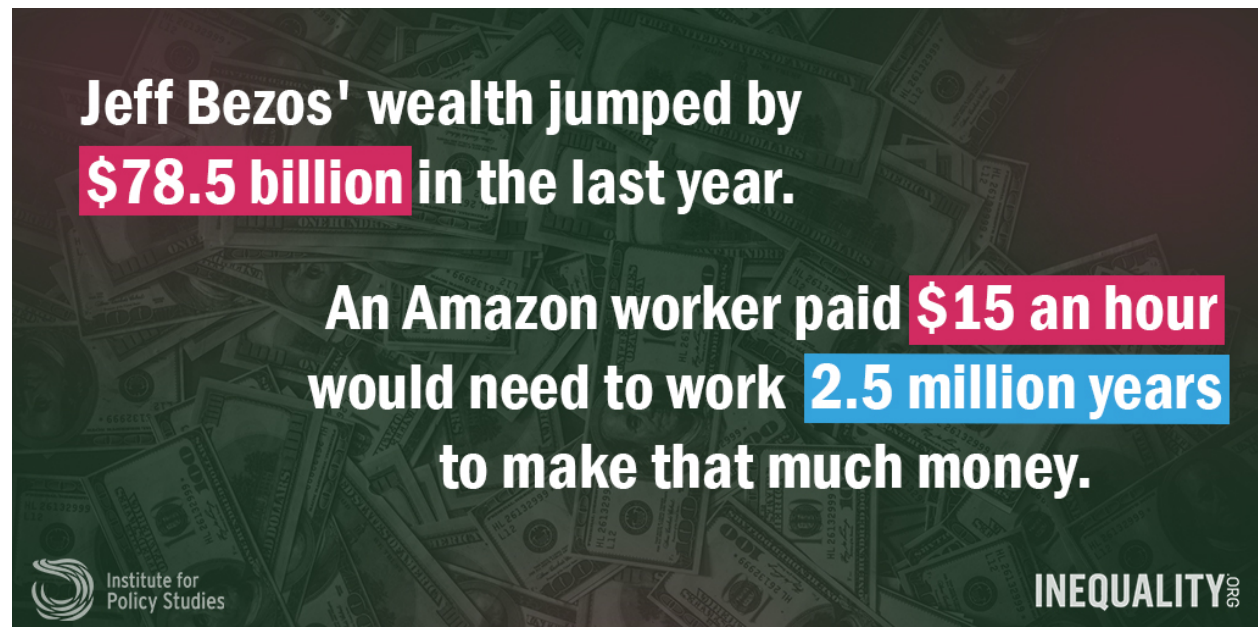
Top Three Wealth Dynasties

	1982 Wealth	1982 Wealth, Adjusted for Inflation to 2018 Dollars	2018 Total Family Wealth	Percent Increase
Waltons	\$690 Million	\$1.81 Billion	\$169.7 Billion	9,257%
Kochs	\$532 Million	\$1.40 Billion	\$107 Billion	7,552%
Mars	\$1 Billion	\$2.63 Billion	\$72 Billion	2,638%
Total	\$2.22 Billion	\$5.84 Billion	\$348.70 Billion	5,869%

**Figures come from 1982 and 2018 Forbes 400 Lists respectively. Inflation adjusted using Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (CPI-U)*

The Forbes 400 does not capture all wealthy dynastic families in the United States. Some of the individual family members have less than the \$2.1 billion in personal wealth needed to make the list. *Forbes* attempted to capture a picture of the 25 wealthiest families in the United States in 2016, listing a number of families such as the DuPonts and Buschs whose fortunes exceed some of the families on this list.¹⁶

There are also wealthier individual members of the Forbes 400 than these wealthy dynasties. No individual is richer than Jeff Bezos of Amazon. Bezos is the wealthiest person in the world, with a fortune of \$160 billion. His fortune rose by nearly double in just a year rising by \$78.5 billion. To put that rise in context, consider that even at the recently increased company-wide wage floor of \$15/hour, **a full-time Amazon worker would need to toil for 2.5 million years to generate this much money.** It's too early to know whether his four children will turn the Bezos family into a wealth dynasty.



Jeff Bezos' wealth jumped by \$78.5 billion in the last year.

An Amazon worker paid \$15 an hour would need to work 2.5 million years to make that much money.

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Wealth Dynasty Watch

Here are more wealth dynasties to keep an eye on in the coming years:

- Hank and Doug Meijer (#68 with combined \$7.3 billion) inherited the Thrifty Acres grocery chain founded by their father and grandfather in 1934.
- Tamara Gustavson (#150 with \$4.6 billion) is the daughter of B. Wayne Hughes (#280 with \$2.9 billion), cofounder of Public Storage, the world's largest self-storage company.
- Gary Rollins (#153 with \$4.5 billion) and Randall Rollins (#163 with \$4.4 billion), with wealth from Rollins Inc., the pest-control conglomerate that includes Orkin.
- Ross Perot (#172 with \$4.2 billion) and Ross Perot Jr. (#354 with \$2.3 billion).
- Alejandro and Andres Santo Domingo (both at #190 with \$3.9 billion each), heirs to the beer fortune Anheuser Busch InBev.
- Riley Bechtel (#259 with \$3.1 billion) and Stephen Bechtel, Jr. (#251 with \$3.1 billion) and Stephen's grandson Brendan are three generations of the construction and engineering giant.
- Mary Alice Dorrance Malone (#259 with \$3.1 billion), along with brother Bennett Dorrance (#316 with \$2.6 billion), are heirs to the Campbell Soup fortune, started by their grandfather.
- Ray Lee Hunt (#127 with \$5.3 billion) is the richest of oil wildcatter H.L. Hunt's 15 children. Ray Lee's son Hunter helped diversify into electric power.
- Richard and Robert Sands (\$3.1 B each at #259) are heirs of Constellation Brands, the food and beverage giant founded by their father, Marvin, in 1945.
- Lynsi Snyder (#271 with \$3 billion) is heiress to the 70-year-old In-N-Out burger chain.
- Gap co-founder Doris Fisher (#302 with \$2.7 billion) and son John Fisher (#298 with \$2.8 billion) are big funders of the charter school movement.

Alternatives to Wealth Hoarding Dynasties

There is nothing inevitable about dynastic wealth. In fact, grand fortunes are often dispersed by the time the great-grandchildren come around — hence the old adage, “shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations.” This is in part a result of the dispersal and diminishment of wealth over multiple generations. The passage of both a progressive income tax and estate tax, with the approval of the 16th amendment to the U.S. constitution, led to the break-up and dispersal of many dynastic fortunes after World War I.

Only when families aggressively intervene to arrest this cycle does wealth continue to grow over multiple generations, even as the number of heirs increases. There is now ample evidence that some billionaire families are engaged in aggressive practices to preserve dynastic wealth. These include using their wealth to lobby for tax cuts and public policies that will further enrich their enterprises. In the early 2000s, the Mars, Walton, and Gallo wine families actively lobbied for abolition of the federal estate tax.¹⁷ The Koch brothers have organized their famous donor network to lobby for tax cuts and to rollback regulation of the energy industry, the source of their wealth.

Others aggressively use “dynasty protection techniques” to hide wealth and transfer it to heirs. They hire armies of tax accountants, wealth managers and trust lawyers to create trusts, shell corporations, and offshore accounts to move money around a dodge taxation and accountability. Casino magnate Sheldon Adelson, number 15 on the Forbes 400 list, has used complicated trust mechanisms to pass on \$7.9 billion to his children while avoiding \$2.8 billion in gift and estate taxation.¹⁸ Adelson recently broke spending records on mid-term elections, with more than \$100 million in campaign donations.¹⁹

There are also plenty of examples of wealthy families who choose not to aggressively preserve wealth and pass it on to next generations. Andrew Carnegie chose to give his legacy to libraries and knowledge institutions. He energetically opposed the idea of inherited wealth, testifying in favor of a robust federal inheritance tax. In *The Road To Business Success*, Carnegie wrote, “The vast majority of the sons of rich men are unable to resist the temptations to which wealth subjects them, and sink to unworthy lives. I would almost as soon leave a young man a curse, as burden him with the almighty dollar.”

Duty-Free Shop billionaire Chuck Feeney dispersed his wealth to charities over his lifetime, providing a compelling case for “giving while living.” We now know that by

the time Feeney appeared on the *Forbes* 400 list, he had already signed over the bulk of his wealth to several charitable foundations.²⁰

Warren Buffett, the third-wealthiest person on the *Forbes* list, has pledged his entire fortune to charity and taxes. Instead of lobbying for tax cuts, Buffett testified before Congress in favor of expanded estate taxation. “Dynastic wealth, the enemy of a meritocracy, is on the rise,” Buffett told the committee. “Equality of opportunity has been on the decline. A progressive and meaningful estate tax is needed to curb the movement of a democracy toward plutocracy.”²¹ None of Buffett’s descendants will ever appear on the *Forbes* 400 list in future generations.

Investor George Soros would have been number 18 on the *Forbes* list with \$26.3 billion if he had not donated over \$18 billion to his foundation. According to *Forbes*, Soros has given a way a greater percentage of his net worth than anyone on the list.²²

Policy Interventions

Addressing rising wealth inequality will require public policy directed to address this growing social problem. Many such proposals are commonly debated publicly, like raising wages for low-wage employees and increasing educational opportunities for children from low-income families. Less often discussed is how to address the other end of the wealth inequality framework—the growing concentration of wealth at the top.

The United States has a proud tradition of breaking up concentrated wealth, a stated goal of many politicians and social reformers through the nation’s history. Look no further than Theodore Roosevelt, who once said, “Of all forms of tyranny, the least attractive and the most vulgar is the tyranny of mere wealth, the tyranny of a plutocracy.”²³

Today’s extreme wealth inequality, perhaps greater than any time in United States history, requires bold policy solutions. One such solution is a direct tax on the wealth of the top 0.1 percent. The Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy in a forthcoming report estimated that a nominal 1 percent tax on the wealthiest 0.1 percent, those with assets over \$20 million, would raise \$1.899 trillion over ten years.

Another policy solution focuses directly on inherited fortunes by extending the nation’s income tax to include extremely large inheritances. Boston College Law Professor Ray Madoff notes that inherited wealth remains the only form of untaxed wealth accumulation in the country. This has been justified by some due to the existence of the

federal estate tax, a nominal levy on the intergenerational transfer of immense fortunes. However, this tax has become riddled with loopholes put in place by the wealthy's army of lobbyists and exploited by their attorneys and accountants.

It's time to tax inheritances as ordinary income. Lily Batchelder, NYU law professor, has put forward a framework on how to implement just such a tax.²⁴ Batchelder points out that inheritances represent roughly four out of ten dollars of all household wealth and bequests add up to approximately \$500 billion per year.

Batchelder proposes applying the income tax to inheritances with a surcharge of 15 percent, equal to the maximum payroll tax rate. With a \$2.1 million lifetime exemption, meaning you could inherit \$2.1 million tax free, she estimates the inheritance tax could generate about \$200 billion over ten years. Reducing the exemption level slightly to \$1.25 million would increase the expected revenue from this tax to \$670 billion over ten years.

These are just two of the many potential policy interventions that could address rising wealth inequality if properly implemented. These two were selected as innovative and bold solutions to this pressing problem and are not intended to be exclusive ideas about how to address this critical problem.

Conclusion

The growing concentration of wealth has grown over time and will take time to dismantle. Although few people may witness directly the impact of this concentration, Senator Bernie Sanders' 2016 presidential bid, the Occupy Wall Street movement, and other campaigns in recent years have gone a long way towards raising awareness of the depth and breadth of wealth inequality in the United States. Public support for addressing wealth inequality through taxation is high, and while the 2017 Republican reform moved the tax code in the opposite direction, pressure will likely continue to build for actions to address this growing crisis.

Appendix

Table 1- Family Wealth Dynasties

Family	Forbes 400 Rank	Name	\$ Billions
Walton	11	Jim Walton	45.20
Walton	12	Alice Walton	44.90
Walton	12	S. Robson Walton	44.90
Walton	32	Lukas Walton	15.30
Walton	70	Christy Walton	7.20
Walton	83	Ann Walton Kroenke	6.50
Walton	109	Nancy Walton Laurie	5.70
Walton		Total:	169.70
Koch	7	Charles Koch	53.50
Koch	7	David Koch	53.50
Koch		Total:	107
Mars	18	Jacqueline Mars	24.00
Mars	18	John Mars	24.00
Mars	98	Marijke Mars	6.00
Mars	98	Pamela Mars	6.00
Mars	98	Valerie Mars	6.00
Mars	98	Victoria Mars	6.00
Mars		Total:	72.00
Cargill-MacMillan	64	Pauline MacMillan Keinath	7.80
Cargill-MacMillan	85	Whitney MacMillan	6.30
Cargill-MacMillan	136	Gwendolyn Sontheim Meyer	4.90
Cargill-MacMillan	153	Austen Cargill, II.	4.50
Cargill-MacMillan	153	James Cargill, II.	4.50
Cargill-MacMillan	153	Marianne Liebmann	4.50
Cargill-MacMillan	383	Alexandra Daitch	2.10

Cargill-MacMillan	383	Sarah MacMillan	2.10
Cargill-MacMillan	383	Lucy Stitzer	2.10
Cargill-MacMillan		Total:	38.80
E. Johnson	28	Abigail Johnson	17.30
E. Johnson	57	Edward Johnson, III.	8.60
E. Johnson	134	Charles Johnson	5.00
E. Johnson	190	Edward Johnson, IV.	3.90
E. Johnson	190	Elizabeth Johnson	3.90
E. Johnson		Total:	38.70
Cox	52	Jim Kennedy	9.30
Cox	52	Blair Parry-Okeden	9.30
Cox	88	James Chambers	6.20
Cox	88	Katharine Rayner	6.20
Cox	88	Margaretta Taylor	6.20
Cox		Total:	37.20
Pritzker	133	Karen Pritzker	5.10
Pritzker	172	Thomas Pritzker	4.20
Pritzker	239	Anthony Pritzker	3.30
Pritzker	251	J.B. Pritzker	3.20
Pritzker	251	Jean (Gigi) Pritzker	3.20
Pritzker	302	Penny Pritzker	2.70
Pritzker	328	John Pritzker	2.50
Pritzker	344	Daniel Pritzker	2.40
Pritzker		Total:	26.60
Duncan	88	Dannine Avara	6.20
Duncan	88	Scott Duncan	6.20
Duncan	88	Milane Frantz	6.20
Duncan	88	Randa Williams	6.20
Duncan		Total:	24.80
Lauder	35	Leonard Lauder	13.40
Lauder	190	Ronald Lauder	3.90

Lauder	280	Jane Lauder	2.90
Lauder	368	Aerin Lauder	2.20
Lauder		Total:	22.40
S.C. Johnson	172	Rupert Johnson, Jr.	4.20
S.C. Johnson	223	H. Fisk Johnson	3.50
S.C. Johnson	223	S. Curtis Johnson	3.50
S.C. Johnson	223	Helen Johnson-Leipold	3.50
S.C. Johnson	223	Winifred Johnson-Marquart	3.50
S.C. Johnson		Total:	18.20
Ziff	143	Daniel Ziff	4.80
Ziff	143	Dirk Ziff	4.80
Ziff	143	Robert Ziff	4.80
Ziff		Total:	14.40
Bass	134	Robert Bass	5.00
Bass	232	Sid Bass	3.40
Bass	328	Lee Bass	2.50
Bass	344	Edward Bass	2.40
Bass		Total:	13.30
Goldman	239	Allan Goldman	3.30
Goldman	239	Amy Goldman Fowler	3.30
Goldman	239	Jane Goldman	3.30
Goldman	239	Diane Kemper	3.30
Goldman		Total:	13.20
Stryker	114	Ronda Stryker	5.60
Stryker	251	Jon Stryker	3.20
Stryker	354	Pat Stryker	2.30
Stryker		Total:	11.10
Cathy	118	Bubba Cathy	5.50
Cathy	118	Dan Cathy	5.50
Cathy		Total:	11
Top 15 Families		Top 15 Total:	\$618 Billion

End Notes

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