

THE SIZE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONAL WEALTH
IN FRANCE (1977):
A FIRST ATTEMPT AT THE
ESTATE DUTY METHOD

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This paper reports upon the first official application of the estate multiplier method of estimating the wealth distribution to French data. It is based upon a sample of estate duty returns filed during the period September–December 1977. The sampling rate was 5 percent for estates under one million francs, and 100 percent for estates over this level, giving a total of 5031 records. The data available did not permit a breakdown by type of asset. It did, however, permit classification of estates by age, sex, and occupation of decedent. Experiments were conducted using five different sets of mortality multipliers. The set of mortality multipliers judged most appropriate leads to an estimate of aggregate net wealth that is 77 percent of that given in the national balance sheet of the national accounts. Comparison of the distributions of wealth derived in these estimates suggest that the figures are consistent with those found in other countries.

INTRODUCTION

The size distribution of wealth is of great economic and political concern, and one of the best methods with which to obtain reliable estimates is the so-called estate duty method. As is known, to apply this method, data on estate duty and mortality rates are needed. These data are often available in developed countries, and the first attempts to compute estimates of the wealth distribution from the data on estate duty are very old. Surprisingly enough, this method has never been used with French data, whilst the first usage in Britain is more than fifty years old.¹ Another major study was published in the mid-thirties by Daniels and Campion (1936), and new interest in the topic appears after the war with studies by Langley (1950 and 1951), Lydall and Tipping (1961), and more recently, by Lyons (1974) for Ireland, Smith (1974) for the United States, and Atkinson (1975) for Britain.

In France, a great deal of interest has been devoted to balance sheets of the household sector (see Benedetti, Consolo and Fouquet, 1979), which are now fully consistent with the flow accounts. As far as size distribution is concerned, however, the only estimates come from sample surveys which were made in 1975, 1977 and 1980 (see Strauss-Kahn, 1979). We should also mention the work done

¹By Sir Henry Clay in 1925, quoted by Atkinson and Harrison (1974).

by the Centre de Recherche sur les Revenus et les Coûts. In this study each asset has been estimated separately, in each case using the most appropriate source of data. The main drawback is of course, the impossibility of aggregating those data to rebuild a size distribution of wealth.

Knowledge about the size distribution of wealth may be fruitful in various ways. One of them is the simulation of the impact of different patterns of capital taxes or inheritance taxes. One of the reasons for using estimates based on the estate duty method for making tax simulations is that the assumption can presumably be made that tax avoidance or tax evasion from the undervaluation of assets will be the same under both the new and the old system.

This paper will propose utilization of the estate duty method for French data, in two sections. In section I, we rapidly recapitulate the method and present the data. Section II is devoted to the results including a reconciliation with balance sheet aggregates and some comparisons with earlier French work on sample surveys and with results from other countries.

I. METHOD AND DATA

The estate duty method is well known and has often been described (see, for example, Atkinson and Harrison, 1978); we shall simply make some remarks on the drawbacks of the method. Then we shall discuss the data used.

The method rests on the assumption that the deceased of one given period are a random and representative sample of the living population. Knowing the wealth of the deceased and using mortality rates as sampling rates, the wealth of the people who are alive can be computed.

This process includes well known problems:

- (i) The sample often neglects very rich persons if no such person dies during the period.
- (ii) Delays appear between death and declaration.
- (iii) Some kinds of wealth may not be liable to estate duty.
- (iv) Tax avoidance or evasion makes estate duty statistics less reliable than they should be.
- (v) The social class, marital status or other characteristics are sometimes neglected.

Despite these drawbacks the method appears one of the most reliable and its weaknesses have been as much as possible taken into account in the data collection. Let us turn to these data, paying special attention to three kinds of problems: sampling (points (i) and (ii)), measure of wealth ((iii) and (iv)) and mortality multipliers ((v)).

I.1 *The Sample*

The sample we use was drawn by the Direction Générale des Impôts from the records of estate duty. These records were chosen between September 1 and December 31, 1977 on the following bases: the sampling rate was 5 percent for estates under one million francs and 100 percent for estates over this level. This

method gives us 5,031 individual records (1,056 for “large” estates and 3,975 for “small” estates).

Thus, the problem labelled (i) occurs in a rather special way. During the sampling period, all large estates have been included in the sample and this allows us to compute better estimates of the top of the distribution than can usually be made with a sample of this size (or even of a bigger size). But on the other hand, it was not possible to ask the Direction Générale des Impôts to make this effort for a whole year. Thus the data have been collected for only four months, and although these four months are not directly connected with the month of the deaths, an error might occur in converting figures to an annual basis by using sampling rates of $\frac{1}{3}$ for large estates and $\frac{1}{60}$ for small ones.

The 5,031 estate duty records concern deaths which may have occurred at different periods (see Table A in the appendix). The value of assets is that of the year of death, and to obtain estimates in 1977 francs, we use the price index of household balance sheets as computed from the National Accounts. This revaluation is somewhat arbitrary and to limit its effects, we exclude from the sample the deaths which occurred prior to 1971. They represent 1.8 percent of small estates and 1.2 percent of large ones. The different weights have consequently been corrected. The ex-post sampling rates are given in Table B.

Since 1964, no statistics have been published on estate duty by the Direction Générale des Impôts, so we were unable to check the quality of our sample with aggregate data on estates. We can only compare the number of tax returns with the number of deaths. On an average, 240 thousand records are dealt with each year by the administration, whilst 520 thousand individuals die each year (as an average over a period of twenty years). Thus, the frequency of estates liable to estate duty is about 46 percent, and Table C and Chart 1 in the appendix give this frequency in different groups.

Table C shows that the frequency of estates liable to estate duty is somewhat higher for males (49 percent) than for females (42 percent). It is also higher for married people, because when one of the spouses dies, the marriage then comes to an end.

The probability of liability for estate duty is also highly related to occupation.² Seven deaths out of ten lead to estate duty for the self-employed, and only two out of ten for blue collar workers.

Finally, the frequency of a declaration increases with age until 75 for males and 65 for females. It decreases afterwards.

1.2 *The Bequest*

The information on wealth is rather poor in these data. No data are available on the structure of wealth and we can only study the amounts bequeathed. For this special sample, the specific assets which are generally mentioned, but not valued because they are exempt from tax, have been estimated for each individual

²When possible, retired people have been classified in their occupational group prior to retirement. Thus, the line “retired” includes people whose former occupation is unknown. We have re-allocated 123,000 of them out of 283,000 deaths of retired people in one year.

unit by the administration. Thus the list of included assets is:

- real estate
- corporate stocks
- bonds (corporate and state)
- deposits
- cash
- loans.

In fact, all assets except real estate are under-valued. Some appear infrequently, namely, deposits and cash.

Net worth smaller than 10,000 francs is not liable to estate duty. Moreover, there is an exemption level of 175,000 francs for the spouse and each child and ancestor. Thus, large parts of personal wealth may be bequeathed without being recorded. We will take the example of a household with 700,000 francs net worth without real estate, the parents being married under the “régime de communauté” (which means that there is no individual ownership, everything in the household belongs to both parents). When one of the two parents dies, the other becomes the sole owner of 350,000 frs. If the household had two children, each of them will receive 175,000 francs free of estate tax. Legally, the heirs have to declare the bequests to the administration even if no tax is paid. But in practice, they often neglect to do so. When the wealth includes real estate a declaration is generally made, but when there is no real estate and no tax to be paid, presumably nothing will appear in the statistics.

We will now turn to the amount bequeathed. The estimate of the total value of recorded bequests for 1977 is 56.4 billion francs (32.7 for males and 23.7 for females). Despite the poor coverage of wealth already noted (prevalence of real estate, probable disappearance of anonymous bonds and stocks which are considerable only amongst the wealthiest) the concentration of bequests is very high. The top 5 percent of bequests liable to estate duty represents 33 percent of the total value. In contrast one half of the bequests amounts to only 10 percent of the total.

Tables D and E give the amount bequeathed by age, sex and occupational groups. The average estate in 1977 is 230,000 francs. The average amount of estates increases with age until 50, and remains constant afterwards (see Table D). The average amount of estates differs greatly by occupational group. The ratio between the wealth of a blue collar worker (when it is liable to estate duty) and the wealth of a top executive equals 5. And we must keep in mind that this ratio is computed on the recorded estates. When this calculation is made between the average worker and the average executive taking the frequency of bequest into account, this ratio increases to 14.

1.3 The Mortality Multipliers

It has been argued that the use of general population mortality rates is somewhat misleading because the probability of death is not the same in different social classes at the same age. We used five sets of mortality multipliers in order to check the susceptibility of the estimates to this parameter. The first set relates to general population mortality ratios by sex and age group cells, estimated over

the period 1955–71. The second set has the same definition but is estimated over the period 1966–71. The third set of mortality ratios provides rates by occupational groups instead of general population mortality rates. This solution seems to us to be the most appropriate one, despite the interesting criticism made by Revell (1967). It is worth noting that it is not obvious that the use of social class mortality multipliers will increase inequality of the estimated distribution as might first be thought. Atkinson and Harrison (1975) have shown that the problem is complex and no conclusion can be drawn *a priori* on the influence of these multipliers on the measure of inequality. The fourth set of mortality multipliers takes into account the most recent information on general mortality, social class disparities and differences related to marital status. To have an upper limit, we also used for all deceased mortality multipliers corresponding to married women. Appendix Chart 2 provides some of the mortality laws which have been used and, as can be seen, the differences between occupational groups may be considerable.

II. RESULTS

In the first section below we compare the total amount of wealth we can estimate with aggregate figures from the National Accounts. The second section provides detailed information on the distribution of wealth, and in the third section we study the wealthiest portion of the population. Finally, in the last section, we make some comparisons with a previous French study based on a sample survey and with estimates for other countries.

II.1 *Reconciliation with Aggregate Data*

Our different estimates of net worth range from 2,260 billion francs to 3,390 billion francs, depending on the mortality multipliers used (see Table 1). The number of wealth owners is 12.3 million and 19.2 million respectively.

As can be seen, the estimate of the total amount of household wealth is dependent on the set of mortality multipliers used. As is known, the use of general population mortality multipliers overestimates the mortality of the wealthiest and accordingly, underestimates their wealth.

TABLE I
DIFFERENT ESTIMATIONS OF TOTAL PERSONAL WEALTH

	Number of Wealth-Owners in Millions	Gross Wealth	Net Wealth
		In billion 1977 frs.	
A. General mortality rates 1955–71	12.3	2,390	2,260
B. General mortality rates 1966–71	13.1	2,530	2,400
C. Social class mortality rates 1955–71	16.1	3,120	2,930
D. Social class disparity of 1955–71 applied to average rates of 1966–71	17.1	3,290	3,090
E. General female mortality rates	19.2	3,590	3,390
National Accounts		4,570	4,010

If for net wealth we consider the 3,090 figure, which corresponds to the most appropriate set of mortality multipliers, the ratio to the figures given by the National Accounts (4,010 billion francs) is 0.77. This is consistent with the values given by Revell (1967) who suggests a ratio between 0.66 and 0.77 for Britain.

This excess wealth of 920 billion francs can be allocated in various ways. A first solution is to allocate it proportionally to all wealth owners. Of course, this will not modify the inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient or the share of the top holders. Another possibility is to allocate some part of the excess to those who are not covered by the estate duty statistics. What we did, to obtain a lower limit to the concentration, was to allocate to everybody at least the exemption level, i.e. 10,000 francs. This correction has been done starting from the distribution labelled (D) in Table 1. This new distribution is denoted the "adjusted distribution."

II.2. *The Distribution of Wealth Amongst Individuals*

The concentration of wealth is given by Table 2 for different sets of mortality multipliers.

This concentration appears to be rather high, even for a distribution amongst individuals. The use of social class mortality rates leads to a lower concentration than the use of general population mortality rates, and the difference is not insignificant. The share of the top 1 percent decreases from 22.9 percent to 19.1 percent. Using the "adjusted distribution," the concentration is even lower. Looking at these figures it must be kept in mind that a part (less than 200 billion francs) of the "missing" 920 billion, has been allocated to zero wealth people. Re-allocating the rest (720 billion) proportionally to everyone leads to an intermediate situation between columns 2 and 3 of Table 2.

TABLE 2
CONCENTRATION OF PERSONAL NET WEALTH

Top x %	Share of total wealth (in %) owned by		
	General Mortality Rates 1966-71 (see B/Table 1)	Social Class Mortality Rates (see D/Table 1)	Social Class Mortality Rates "Adjusted Data"
1	22.9	19.1	18.5
2	33.3	28.4	27.1
3	41.7	35.8	33.7
5	53.4	46.6	45.0
10	73.2	65.5	61.7
20	92.8	85.9	81.0
Gini	0.85	0.81	0.78

Tables 3 and 4 provide some information about the average amounts of wealth by sex, occupational group, age and marital status. In scrutinizing these tables, it should be kept in mind that to insure consistency with the aggregate data from the National Accounts, all figures have been multiplied by 1.3, i.e. all

TABLE 3
AVERAGE AMOUNT OF NET WEALTH (HOLDERS ONLY) BY SEX
AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
(Francs)

Occupational Groups	Males	Females	All
Unknown	262,200	398,500	341,300
Unoccupied	260,300	265,900	264,000
Retired	260,000	246,500	253,800
Farmers	321,900	334,900	324,400
Self-employed	363,600	338,000	359,500
Top Executives	367,100	276,400	333,800
Executives	155,000	385,000	267,300
White-collar	136,400	120,000	125,800
Blue-collar	97,900	197,300	107,400
All	251,600	249,000	250,400

TABLE 4
AVERAGE AMOUNT OF NET WEALTH BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS
(Francs)

	Males		Females		All	
	Holders Only	Holders and Non-Holders	Holders Only	Holders and Non-Holders	Holders Only	Holders and Non-Holders
Single	184,200	134,400	157,300	124,300	172,100	130,800
Divorced	264,600	108,400	747,100	127,000	460,900	124,400
Married	282,400	124,300	261,300	86,200	273,400	106,600
Widowed	165,000	170,100	312,300	146,800	301,900	150,900
All	251,700	128,310	248,950	104,520	250,380	115,180

missing wealth has been allocated proportionally to the distribution corresponding to column 2 in Table 2.

The size distribution of net wealth is given in Table 5. Again, for this distribution, all missing wealth has been allocated to wealth owners in proportion to their wealth. This explains why such a large number of persons belong to the first class (less than 50,000 francs).

II.3. *Who Are The Richest?*

Two wealth thresholds have been determined: 600,000 francs, which represents about five times the average inheritance per individual and 1,300,000 francs. An effort was made to study the characteristics of the population with an inheritance above these levels. It includes 1.6 million individuals in the first case, i.e. 4.3 percent of the approximate total population, and 300,000 individuals in the second threshold, i.e. 0.8 percent of the total population. These returns are represented by 1,474 and 1,114 observations, respectively, which provide the possibility of studying them in certain detail.

TABLE 5
SIZE DISTRIBUTION OF NET WEALTH

Size Class (in thousands of francs)	Number of Persons (thousands)	%
<50	25,031	67.8
50-100	3,065	8.3
100-150	1,760	4.8
150-200	1,332	3.6
200-250	1,292	3.5
250-300	1,295	3.5
300-500	1,250	3.4
500-700	670	1.8
700-1,000	630	1.7
1,000-1,500	349	0.95
1,500-2,000	110	0.30
2,000-3,000	70.2	0.19
3,000-4,500	26.9	0.07
4,500-9,000	15.3	0.04
9,000-18,000	2.8	0.01
>18,000	0.7	—
	36,900	100

Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9 give the distribution of these two populations following different variables. It is established that the very wealthy constitute a population that is a little more feminine than the average: 59 percent of people with a fortune above 1.3 million in 1977 were women (against 53 percent of the owners and 52 percent of the population).

This is also a population relatively older than the average (once those less than 40 years old, who are not significant and whose importance decreases considerably, moreover, in the high inheritances, are excluded). In view of the number of individuals in the categories "profession not declared," "no profession" or "retired," it is difficult to study the wealthiest by their social category. However, the analysis of the population structure by social category shows that at the 600,000 francs threshold, the executives, the employees and the labourers disappear. Automatically, this disappearance leads to a growth in the other groups,

TABLE 6
THE WEALTHIEST BY SEX

	Net Wealth over 0.6 Million fr.			Net Wealth over 1.3 Million fr.		
	Number (in thousands)	% of Sample	% of Total Population	Number (in thousands)	% of Sample	% of Total Population
Males	861	53.0	4.9	183	59.4	1.0
Females	704	47.0	4.0	125	40.6	0.6
All	1,625	100	4.4	308	100	0.8

TABLE 7
THE WEALTHIEST BY AGE

Age	Net Wealth over 0.6 Million fr.			Net Wealth over 1.3 Million fr.		
	Number (in thousands)	% of Sample	% of Total Population	Number (in thousands)	% of Sample	% of Total Population
<40	(371)	(22.8)	(2.5)	(25)	(8.1)	(0.2)
40-59	702	43.2	5.7	159	51.6	1.3
60-69	277	17.0	6.3	64	20.8	1.6
70-79	200	12.3	5.5	42	13.6	1.2
80-89	67	4.6	5.0	16	5.8	1.2
Over 90	8		4.8	2		1.2
All	1,625	100	4.4	308	100	0.8

TABLE 8
THE WEALTHIEST BY MARITAL STATUS

	Net Wealth over 0.6 Million			Net Wealth over 1.3 Million		
	Number (in thousands)	% of Sample	% of Females	Number (in thousands)	% of Sample	% of Females
Single	427	26.3	36	27	8.9	62
Divorced	59	3.6	76	30	9.8	95
Married	374	53.8	39	211	68.6	23
Widowed	266	16.3	83	39	12.7	81
All	1,625	100	53	308	100	59

TABLE 9
THE WEALTHIEST BY OCCUPATION

	Net Wealth over 0.6 Million			Net Wealth over 1.3 Million		
	Number (in thousands)	% of Sample	% of Females	Number (in thousands)	% of Sample	% of Females
Unknown	63	3.9	81	28	9.1	69
Unoccupied	586	36.1	51	83	26.8	94
Retired	142	8.7	40	20	6.5	23
Farmers	191	11.7	—	30	9.9	—
Self-employed	275	16.9	23	92	29.9	3
Top Executives	147	9.0	n.s.	35	11.3	n.s.
Executives	174	10.7	n.s.	11	3.5	n.s.
White collar	16	1.0	n.s.	2	0.7	n.s.
Blue collar	31	1.9	n.s.	7	2.2	n.s.
All	1,625	100	53	308	100	59

but it is interesting to note that farmers become particularly numerous above 600,000 frs., but decrease above 1.30 million francs. From this threshold, the independents and the top executives hold the biggest fortunes.

II.4. Concentration of Wealth Amongst Households

For many uses the distribution of wealth is needed by households rather than by individuals. In particular, this will be the case for tax simulations when the taxable unit is the household. To obtain a household distribution starting from an individual distribution is sometimes a difficult task, which needs certain assumptions on the marital patterns of the population. At one extreme, it can be supposed that men with wealth marry women with the same wealth, so that the household will have a wealth of $2w$. On the other hand, the assumption can be made that those men marry women without any wealth, in which case, the wealth of the household will remain as w . Of course, it is the same when the man has no wealth, and the woman has (for discussion of this problem, see Atkinson and Harrison (1978)).

In Table 10, the first column gives an estimate of the upper level of the wealth distribution by households according to assumption (A1), that everybody is married, and that spouses always have the same level of wealth. Column 2 provides an estimate following the assumption that wealth owners always marry people with no wealth (A2). A more sophisticated assumption can be made, namely, in the original sample, single, divorced and widowed people are taken into account as households and married people are grouped together according to the same assumption as for column 1. The results are given in column 3 (A3), and column 4 recalls the individual distribution.

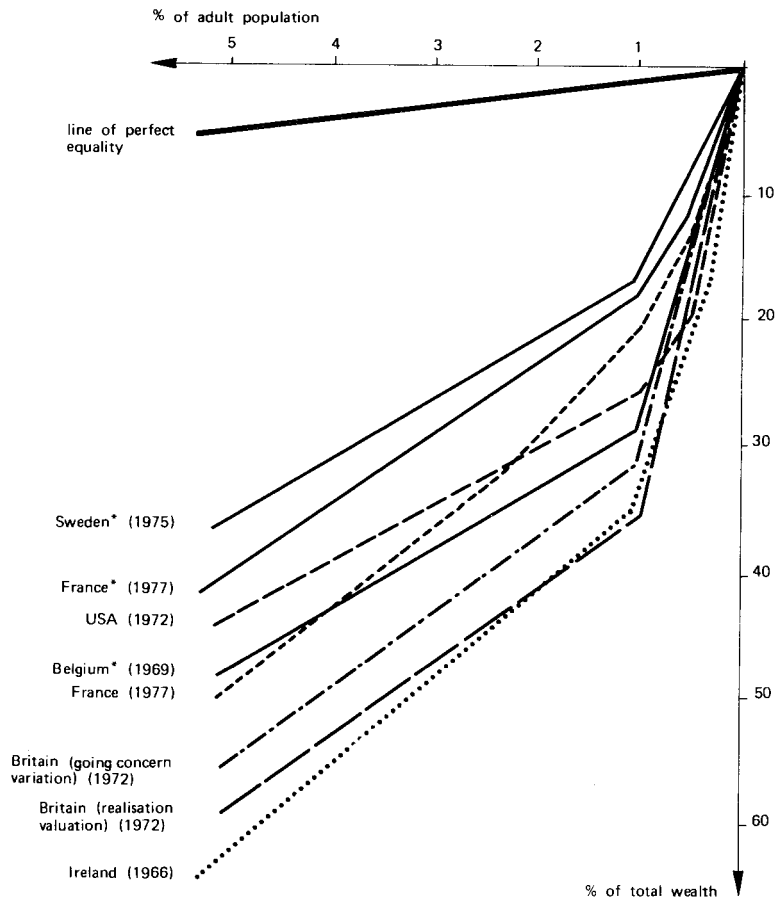
TABLE 10
CONCENTRATION OF HOUSEHOLD WEALTH: PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
WEALTH HELD
(By x percent of households)

Top %	A1	A2	A3	Individuals
0.5	13.0	8.8	11.9	13.2
1	18.7	12.9	17.2	19.2
5	45.5	31.3	39.3	46.6

II.5. Some Elements of International Comparison

To compare international distributions of wealth would need more than one paragraph and some authors have devoted complete papers to this subject (see for example, Spånt 1982). The difficulties come notably from differences in the assets covered by the study, the method of estimation and even the wealth holding unit. Thus the comparisons which are provided below are only illustrative, and no precise conclusions should be drawn from them, but the classification, even if not very specific, is not necessarily wrong. The Irish data are from Lyons (1974), the Belgian data are from Walravens and Praet (forthcoming), the United States data from Smith (1982), the Swedish from Spånt (1979) and the British data from Atkinson and Harrison (1978).

Chart 1 shows that France appears to be amongst the average for the distribution of wealth of individuals, as well as for the distribution of households.



*households

Chart 1. Concentration of Wealth in Various Countries
 — (solid lines): household distribution
 ---, ····, -·-·-, ···· (dotted lines): distribution per person

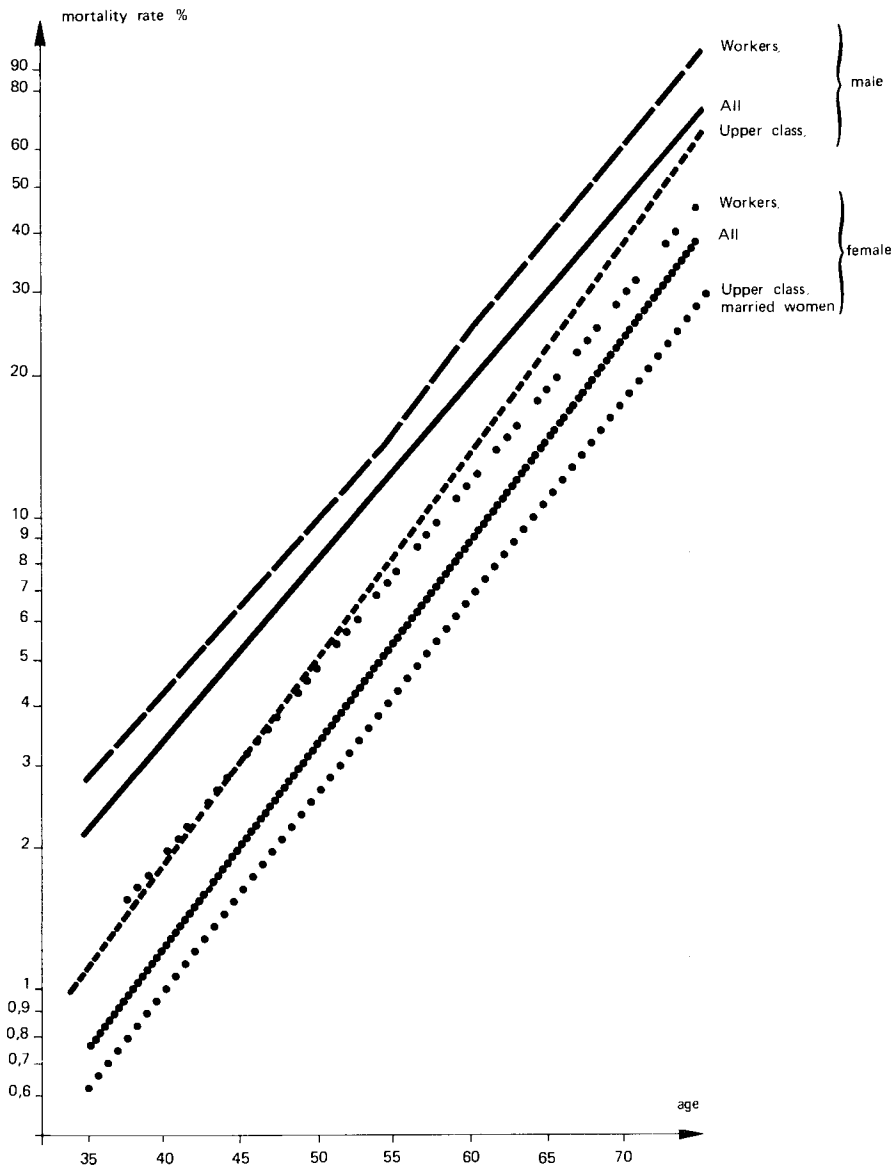


Chart 2. Mortality Multipliers

At one extreme, Sweden seems to be a more equal country, whilst, at the other end, Britain and Ireland appear as the most unequal.

In Sweden, the top 1 percent of households own about 16 percent of total personal wealth whilst in France the top 1 percent of households own 17.2 percent. If we turn to individuals, the top 1 percent own 20 percent in France and about 33 percent in Britain or Ireland.

The different curves on the chart show two kinds of shapes, the first one corresponds to Sweden, the United States and Belgium, and the second to France, Britain and Ireland. In the first case, the distribution amongst people belonging to the second, third, fourth and fifth percentile seems to be more equal than in the second case.

IV. CONCLUSION

In this first attempt to apply the estate duty method to French data, we estimate a wealth concentration which seems to be close to the average, and it should be noted that this concentration is typically higher than the one estimated from previous household sample surveys, which showed the top 1 percent of households only owning 13.0 percent (see Babeau and Strauss-Kahn 1977) of total wealth, whilst we estimate here a share of 17.2 percent.

As far as estimates of aggregate amounts are concerned, the estate duty method leads to an undervaluation of 23 percent when compared with the National Accounts aggregate results. This undervaluation shows that the results should be used with caution, but on the other hand, they seem to be particularly well adapted to tax simulation insofar as this undervaluation partly reflects tax evasion.

APPENDIX ON THE DATA

TABLE A
NUMBER OF ESTATE TAX RETURNS
(In the 1977 sample by date of death, and price index used for revaluation)

Year	Large estates		Small estates		Price
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
<1971	19	1.8	49	1.2	0
1971	9	0.9	31	0.8	0.550
1972	14	1.3	35	0.9	0.603
1973	31	2.9	76	1.9	0.665
1974	50	4.7	122	3.1	0.729
1975	122	11.6	319	8.0	0.818
1976	392	37.6	1,028	25.9	0.917
1977	419	39.7	2,311	58.1	1
All	1,056	100	3,975	100	

TABLE B
SAMPLING RATES

Age Group	<i>Ex post</i> Sampling Rates by Age and Sex (One unit in the sample for x units in the population)	Number of Units in the Sample
<i>A/ All</i>		
20-29	127,000	39
30-39	49,000	55
40-49	15,000	159
50-59	6,500	436
60-69	2,100	917
70-79	910	1,706
80-89	440	1,336
90 and over	190	311
All (over 20)	3,400	4,959
<i>B/ Males</i>		
20-29	102,000	28
30-39	35,000	33
40-49	13,000	108
50-59	5,500	310
60-69	1,700	621
70-79	700	1,035
80-89	300	567
90 and over	130	109
All (over 20)	3,200	2,811
<i>C/ Females</i>		
20-29	188,000	11
30-39	70,000	22
40-49	21,000	51
50-59	9,000	126
60-69	3,100	296
70-79	1,300	671
80-89	550	769
90 and over	250	202
All (over 20)	3,700	2,148

TABLE C
FREQUENCY OF ESTATES LIABLE TO ESTATE DUTY

	Males	Females	All
A. By sex and marital status (in %)			
Single	31	35	35
Widowed or divorced	47	42	43
Married	53	45	51
All	49	42	46
B. By sex and occupational groups (in %)			
Farmers	44	14	10
Wage earners on farms	11	nss	10
Self employed	82	41	71
Top executives	54	90	57
Executives	47	61	51
White-collar workers	40	21	34
Blue-collar workers	21	11	19
Unoccupied	36	48	46
Retired	67	43	57
All	49	42	46

TABLE D
AVERAGE ESTATE BY AGE, MARITAL STATUS AND SEX
(In 1977 francs)

	Males	Females	All
<i>Age</i>			
<30	89,500	64,500	82,700
30-39	136,700	201,800	175,800
40-49	191,600	240,100	206,200
50-59	208,700	272,800	225,800
60-69	246,100	238,600	243,600
70-79	255,500	217,100	239,800
80-89	258,400	215,400	233,500
90 and over	286,400	227,400	246,800
<i>Marital status</i>			
Single	146,900	165,000	155,300
Divorced	232,400	282,600	257,200
Widowed	227,400	224,800	225,600
Married	263,000	239,600	257,600
All	243,300	223,500	234,600

TABLE E
AVERAGE ESTATE BY SEX AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
(In 1977 francs)

Occupational Groups	Average Estate			Percentage of Deceased having an Estate (2)	Average per Person (3) = $\frac{(1) \times (2)}{100}$	Disparity (blue-collar = 1) (4) = (3)/20.300
	Males	Females	All (1)			
Unknown	292,700	270,400	278,500	37	103,000	5
Unoccupied	202,900	233,000	228,600	46	105,100	5
Retired	210,900	179,300	201,200	57	114,700	5.5
Farmers	284,200	275,600	282,900	33	93,400	4.5
Self-employed	483,300	297,400	453,600	71	322,000	16
Top executives	531,600	303,700	497,700	57	283,700	14
Executives	149,900	319,000	202,000	51	103,000	5
White collar	110,700	137,400	115,600	34	39,300	2
Blue collar	103,400	138,400	107,000	19	20,300	1
All	243,300	223,500	231,600	46	107,900	5.5

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