



The IRA Investor Profile

# Traditional IRA Investors' Activity, 2023

March 2026

## The IRA Investor Database™

The Investment Company Institute maintains an account-level database on millions of individual retirement account (IRA) investors. The aim of this database is to increase public understanding of this important segment of the US retirement market by expanding on the existing household surveys and Internal Revenue Service (IRS) tax data on IRA investors. By tapping account-level records, research drawn from the database can provide important insights into IRA investor demographics, activities, and asset allocation decisions. The database is designed to shed light on key determinants of IRA contribution, conversion, rollover, and withdrawal activity and the types of assets that investors hold in these accounts.

For all reports drawing on this database, visit [www.ici.org/research-iras/the-ira-investor-database](http://www.ici.org/research-iras/the-ira-investor-database).

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A complete set of data tables containing the figures discussed in this report is located in a Microsoft Excel file located at [www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx](http://www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx).

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The Investment Company Institute (ICI) is the leading association representing regulated investment funds. ICI's mission is to strengthen the foundation of the asset management industry for the ultimate benefit of the long-term individual investor. Its members include mutual funds, exchange-traded funds (ETFs), closed-end funds, and unit investment trusts (UITs) in the United States, and UCITS and similar funds offered to investors in other jurisdictions. ICI also represents its members in their capacity as investment advisers to collective investment trusts (CITs) and retail separately managed accounts (SMAs). ICI has offices in Washington DC, Brussels, and London.

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# Table of Contents

## 1 Executive Summary

- 1 IRAs Are a Key Component of the US Retirement System
- 1 Few Traditional IRA Investors Make Contributions
- 1 New Traditional IRAs Often Are Created by Rollovers
- 1 Withdrawal Activity Is Concentrated Among the Oldest Traditional IRA Investors
- 2 Equity Holdings Figure Prominently in Traditional IRAs

## 3 Introduction

- 3 The Role of IRAs in US Retirement Planning
- 3 Sources of IRA Data
- 3 The IRA Investor Database™
- 4 Research Agenda for This Report

## 5 Chapter 1: Traditional IRA Investors' Contribution Activity in 2023

- 5 Contributions to Traditional IRAs
- 6 Traditional IRA Contribution Amounts in 2023 by Investor Age
- 7 Older Traditional IRA Contributors Were More Likely to Contribute at the Limit in 2023
- 7 Persistence in Contribution Activity Among Traditional IRA Investors From 2022 to 2023
- 7 Contributions at the Limit Tend to Persist

## 8 Chapter 2: Traditional IRA Investors' Rollover Activity in 2023

- 8 More Than Half of Traditional IRA Investors Have Made Rollovers at Some Time
- 8 Rollovers Often Were the Source of New Traditional IRAs in 2023
- 9 Traditional IRA Rollover Activity in 2023 by Investor Age
- 10 Rollovers Tend to Have a Strong Positive Impact on Traditional IRA Balances

## 11 Chapter 3: Traditional IRA Investors' Withdrawal Activity in 2023

- 11 Traditional IRA Withdrawal Activity
- 13 Many Traditional IRA Investors Determine Withdrawal Amounts Using RMD Rules

## 14 Chapter 4: Traditional IRA Investors' Balances at Year-End 2023

- 14 Distribution of Traditional IRA Balances by Size in 2023

## 16 Chapter 5: Snapshots of Investments in Traditional IRAs at Year-End 2013 and Year-End 2023

- 16 Investments in Traditional IRAs in 2023
- 17 Snapshots of Allocation to Equity Holdings Between 2013 and 2023
- 18 Default Rollover Rules Likely Affect Equity Exposure in Smaller Traditional IRAs

## 19 Notes

## 22 References

## Executive Summary

### IRAs Are a Key Component of the US Retirement System

With \$14.1 trillion in assets at year-end 2024, traditional individual retirement accounts (IRAs) are a key component of the US retirement system. Congress created traditional IRAs to provide a contributory retirement savings vehicle (originally for individuals not covered by retirement plans at work) and as a place to roll over accumulations from employer-sponsored retirement plans. Millions of diverse individuals are managing their traditional IRAs, and policymakers are interested in understanding how traditional IRA investors manage their IRAs over time.

This report analyzes a snapshot of all traditional IRA investors present in the IRA Investor Database in 2023.

### Few Traditional IRA Investors Make Contributions

In any given year, few traditional IRA investors make contributions to their traditional IRAs. Several factors likely explain this tendency, including meeting savings needs through employer-sponsored retirement plans, rules limiting the ability to make deductible contributions, making Roth contributions instead, and confusion about IRA rules. In tax year 2023, 7.9% of traditional IRA investors contributed to their traditional IRAs, and nearly half of traditional IRA investors who did so contributed at the legal limit. Traditional IRA investors who make contributions tend to do so persistently.

### New Traditional IRAs Often Are Created by Rollovers

Rollovers are the predominant way investors open traditional IRAs. In 2023, about 77% of new traditional IRAs received rollovers exclusively. Because rollovers generally occur after job change or retirement, which is a sporadic event for most people, in any given year fewer than one in 10 traditional IRA investors made rollovers. In the aggregate, the data for rollover activity indicate that about 60% of traditional IRA investors have had a rollover at some point. Traditional IRAs with recent rollovers tend to have larger balances than those without rollovers, particularly among older traditional IRA investors.

### Withdrawal Activity Is Concentrated Among the Oldest Traditional IRA Investors

Withdrawal activity is rare among younger traditional IRA investors, and overall, fewer than one-quarter of traditional IRA investors took withdrawals in 2023. Of these, nearly nine in 10 were taken by traditional IRA investors aged 60 or older who can take penalty-free distributions, and more than six in 10 were taken by investors at their required minimum distribution (RMD) age or older for whom annual distributions generally are required.<sup>1</sup> Withdrawal activity tends to edge up as more traditional IRA investors age into RMD status. Many older traditional IRA investors use RMD rules to determine how much to withdraw from their accounts.

## Equity Holdings Figure Prominently in Traditional IRAs

IRAs hold a range of investments, and the largest share of traditional IRA assets is invested in equities and equity funds, both in aggregate and across investor age groups. The pattern of investment holdings in traditional IRAs tended to vary with investor age, typically as expected across the life cycle. For the most part, younger traditional IRA investors tended to have a higher proportion of their accounts invested in equity holdings—equities, equity funds, and the equity portion of balanced funds—compared with older investors. Equity holdings typically decline as investors age; investors younger than 30, who were more concentrated in money market holdings and less concentrated in equity holdings than expected, were the exception. This result may be driven in part by the large number of small accounts among this age group. Such small accounts may represent automatic rollovers from employer-sponsored plans and may be invested in default money market and cash investments.

# Introduction

## The Role of IRAs in US Retirement Planning

The Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA) created IRAs—tax-deferred accounts for retirement savings.<sup>2</sup> More than fifty years later, IRAs have become a significant component of US households' retirement assets. All told, 57.9 million, or 43.8%, of US households owned one or more types of IRAs in mid-2024.<sup>3</sup> Households held \$17.0 trillion in IRAs at year-end 2024, accounting for 38% of the \$44.2 trillion in total US retirement assets and for about 13% of US households' total financial assets.<sup>4</sup> Traditional IRAs, the first type of IRA created, are the most common type.<sup>5</sup>

IRAs play two roles in household retirement planning: (1) as a contributory savings vehicle and (2) to preserve and consolidate retirement accumulations from employer-sponsored plans through rollovers. Because of the important role that IRAs play in US retirement planning, policymakers and researchers seek to understand how individuals use IRAs. Whether funded by contributions, rollovers, or both, IRAs are managed by individuals, and asset allocation plays an important role in the returns and variation in returns that IRA investors experience. Thus, policymakers and researchers are also interested in understanding the asset allocation of IRA balances across investors. In addition, policymakers want to know how people manage these accounts, including whether there is significant withdrawal of assets prior to retirement and how individuals tap their IRAs throughout retirement.<sup>6</sup>

## Sources of IRA Data

Researchers have relied primarily on household surveys and Internal Revenue Service (IRS) tax data to examine policy questions about IRAs. Several household surveys for analyzing households' retirement savings are publicly available;<sup>7</sup> in addition, ICI conducts two annual household surveys that provide information on IRA-owning households.<sup>8,9</sup> Though household surveys provide a comprehensive picture of households' finances and activities and can provide insights into the reasoning behind decisions, they can suffer from data problems due to inaccurate respondent recall, which often limits the level of detail that can be obtained on specific financial assets or activities. The IRS collects a rich array of information about IRAs such as contributions, assets, rollovers into IRAs, conversions, and withdrawals from a variety of tax returns (e.g., Form 1040) and information returns (e.g., Form 5498 and Form 1099-R). The Statistics of Income Division of the IRS publishes tabulations of these data and research reports.<sup>10</sup> The tax data, however, do not have information about the types of assets that investors hold in their IRAs.

## The IRA Investor Database™

To augment the existing survey information and tax data for IRAs, the Investment Company Institute (ICI) embarked on a data collection effort—the IRA Investor Database—to examine administrative, or recordkept, data on IRAs. To date, this collection effort has gathered data on IRAs from 2007 through 2023. The IRA Investor Database contains account-level information from a wide range of mutual fund and insurance companies, which provided data for more than 11.8 million IRA investors in 2023. The database, which contains information about IRA asset levels, investments, contributions, rollovers, conversions, and withdrawals, provides a more complete picture of account-level holdings and activity for IRA investors. Throughout this report, the term “IRA investor” refers to a unique IRA investor at a given data provider.<sup>11</sup> For year-end 2023, the IRA Investor Database has 6.6 million traditional IRA investors (Figure A.2).

## Research Agenda for This Report

This report focuses on a snapshot of traditional IRA investors at year-end 2023. Chapter 1 discusses how contribution activity varied by investor age in 2023, exploring which traditional IRA investors had contributions and how many of them contributed at the limit. Chapter 2 notes that the vast majority of new traditional IRAs opened in 2023 were opened with rollovers and examines rollover activity by investor age. Chapter 3 explores withdrawal activity, which varies significantly with investor age, including in reaction to rules governing withdrawals. Few traditional IRA investors younger than 60 take withdrawals; traditional IRA investors taking withdrawals tend to be older and often take out the RMD amount. Chapter 4 reports variation in traditional IRA balances by investor age. Chapter 5 compares snapshots of the asset allocation of traditional IRA balances among cross sections of traditional IRA investors at year-end 2013 and year-end 2023. Because some of the variation in asset allocation appears to be related to traditional IRA balance size, the asset allocation of balances of \$5,000 or less are compared with the asset allocation of balances of more than \$5,000. Smaller balances often have high allocations to money market funds or other cash instruments, which in part may reflect default investment rules for certain rollovers.

Figures referenced in this report are available in a Microsoft Excel file located at [www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx](http://www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx).

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# Chapter 1: Traditional IRA Investors' Contribution Activity in 2023

From their inception, traditional IRAs were designed so that investors could accumulate retirement assets either by rolling over balances from employer-sponsored retirement plans (to help workers consolidate and preserve these assets) or through contributions.<sup>12</sup> In the early and mid-1980s, after Congress eased the restrictions on contributions to IRAs, many more individuals made contributions.<sup>13</sup> However, since 1986, after Congress tightened the tax rules for making IRA contributions, many fewer IRA investors have contributed to these accounts. This chapter analyzes the contribution activity of traditional IRA investors, primarily focusing on variation in contribution activity in tax year 2023 by investor age.

Figures referenced in this chapter are available in a Microsoft Excel file located at [www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx](http://www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx).

## Contributions to Traditional IRAs

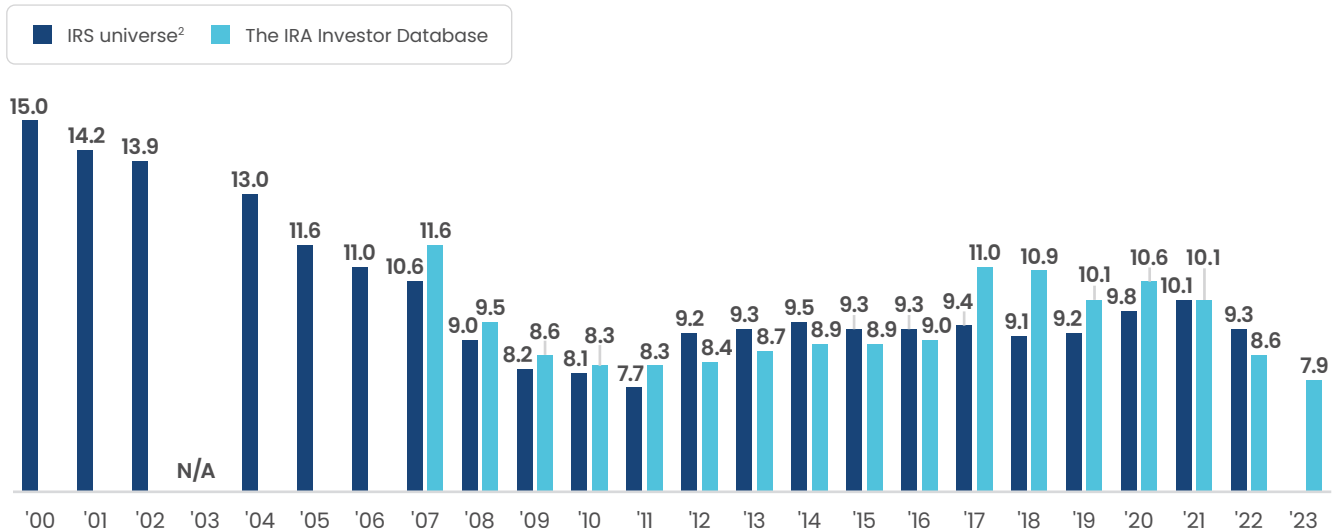
Over the past decade, about one in 10 traditional IRA investors made contributions in any given year. For example, 8.7% of traditional IRA investors made contributions in tax year 2013, and in tax year 2023, 7.9% of traditional IRA investors contributed to their traditional IRAs (Figure 1.1). This low level of activity likely results from several factors. Some traditional IRA investors may find that saving through their employer-sponsored retirement plans meets their savings needs. In addition, for some traditional IRA investors, the availability of employer-sponsored retirement plans may curtail their ability to make deductible contributions to their traditional IRAs.<sup>14</sup> As more people make rollovers into traditional IRAs, it becomes increasingly likely that the availability of employer-sponsored plans is curbing IRA contribution activity. Some other traditional IRA investors may prefer to direct savings into their Roth IRAs.<sup>15</sup> In addition, some evidence shows that confusion about IRA rules may prevent some individuals from contributing to IRAs.<sup>16</sup> Difficulty in determining eligibility for a tax-deductible contribution may deter some individuals from making any contribution. For other individuals, the primary focus of current household saving may not be for retirement. Households may be focused on saving for other more immediate goals, such as saving for emergencies, education, or housing.<sup>17</sup>

Younger traditional IRA investors were somewhat more likely to contribute to their traditional IRAs than were older investors (Figure A.2). In part, the lower incidence of contribution activity among older investors results from a higher percentage of older investors having traditional IRAs, and the fact that many of these investors created the traditional IRAs to hold rollovers. Smaller percentages of younger investors have traditional IRAs, and younger investors are somewhat more likely to create them with a contribution. The highest level of contribution activity in tax year 2023, 9.3%, was observed among traditional IRA investors aged 35 to 39. Nevertheless, around 9% of traditional IRA investors in their 40s and early 50s contributed to their traditional IRAs. Traditional IRA investors aged 65 or older, who are more likely to be approaching or in retirement and focusing on drawing down their assets, had the lowest incidences of contribution activity.

**FIGURE 1.1**

**Traditional IRA Contribution Rates**

Percentage of traditional IRA investors aged 18 to 69 with contributions<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> This group is traditional IRA investors (aged 18 to 69) who made contributions to their traditional IRAs in the tax year indicated.

<sup>2</sup> In the IRS universe, data are for traditional IRA investors of all ages.

N/A = not available

Note: Contributions include both deductible and nondeductible traditional IRA contribution amounts.

Sources: The IRA Investor Database™ and Internal Revenue Service Statistics of Income Division

**Traditional IRA Contribution Amounts in 2023 by Investor Age**

Even though older IRA investors are less likely to make contributions, they tend to make larger contributions than do younger investors. Among traditional IRA contributors aged 25 to 29, the median contribution amount was \$3,760 in tax year 2023 (Figure A.3). For contributors aged 30 to 49, the median contribution amount was \$6,000. Among contributors aged 55 to 64, the median contribution amount was \$7,000.

Although nearly half of traditional IRA contributors contributed the maximum amount in tax year 2023, the amounts investors contributed varied widely. For example, while 26.1% of contributors contributed less than \$2,000, another 21.2% contributed \$6,500 (the 2023 contribution limit), and 28.6% made at least some portion of a catch-up contribution—contributing more than \$6,500, up to the maximum of \$7,500 (Figure A.4). Overall, 46.3% of all traditional IRA contributors contributed the maximum amount allowed by law, including catch-up contributions for traditional IRA investors aged 50 or older. In fact, 46.7% of traditional IRA investors aged 50 to 69 made the full age-allowed contribution of \$7,500 in tax year 2023. These estimates are the lower bounds on the percentage of traditional IRA contributors at the limit with respect to deductible contributions. Some individuals may have been constrained in their deductible contribution amount and may not have elected to make a total contribution that would reach the limit. It is not possible to determine how many such individuals are in the database.

## Older Traditional IRA Contributors Were More Likely to Contribute at the Limit in 2023

Nearly half of all traditional IRA contributors contributed at the limit in tax year 2023, but older traditional IRA contributors were more likely to do so. For example, 36.5% of traditional IRA contributors aged 25 to 29 and 45.8% of traditional IRA contributors aged 30 to 34 contributed at the \$6,500 limit in tax year 2023 (Figure A.5). Among contributors aged 65 or older, about half contributed the full \$7,500 limit, including catch-up contributions. Overall, 49.7% of traditional IRA contributors in tax year 2023 contributed at least \$6,500 to their traditional IRAs.

## Persistence in Contribution Activity Among Traditional IRA Investors From 2022 to 2023

In the IRA Investor Database for 2023, there are 6.1 million traditional IRA investors aged 19 or older who also had traditional IRAs at the same financial services firm in the 2022 database (Figure A.6). The tracking of the same IRA investors over time makes it possible to analyze persistence in contribution activity. The persistence in both the decision to contribute at all and the decision to contribute at the age-allowed limit is very high. This reinforces a key insight about IRA contributors that emerges from the earlier analysis: for traditional IRA investors who make contributions in a given year, the IRA is likely a key saving vehicle. The overall persistence in traditional IRA contribution activity between 2022 and 2023 is 64%, which means that nearly two-thirds of traditional IRA investors who contributed in tax year 2022 also contributed in tax year 2023.

## Contributions at the Limit Tend to Persist

A majority of traditional IRA investors who contributed at the full legal limit in 2022 continued to contribute in 2023 and again did so at the limit, even as the contribution limits increased in 2023. Among traditional IRA investors aged 19 or older in 2023 with account balances in both 2022 and 2023, 7.2% contributed to their traditional IRAs in 2022, with 3.6% reaching the limit (Figure A.6). Among those contributing at the limit in 2022, 61% contributed again in 2023, with 49.6% continuing to contribute at the limit. Among those contributing less than the limit in 2022, 67% contributed again in 2023, with 60.9% continuing to contribute less than the limit and 6.1% increasing their contributions up to the full limit. This includes IRA investors turning 50 who would have to recognize their eligibility for catch-up contributions in moving to the limit in 2023.

## Chapter 2: Traditional IRA Investors' Rollover Activity in 2023

Congress created traditional IRAs to provide eligible workers with: (1) a contributory retirement account, originally for those without employer-sponsored pension plans; and (2) a rollover vehicle to preserve pension assets at job change or retirement.<sup>18</sup> Although contribution activity expanded between 1982 and 1986, when there were no income limits restricting traditional IRA contributions,<sup>19</sup> in more recent years rollovers have been the key inflows into traditional IRAs (Figure A.26). This chapter analyzes the rollover activity of traditional IRA investors, primarily focusing on variation in rollover activity in 2023 by investor age. Rollovers can provide a significant boost to traditional IRA balances, given the higher contribution limits into employer-sponsored plans and the ability of workers to accumulate significant balances over their careers. This chapter also explores the variation in traditional IRA balances in 2023 by the presence of recent rollovers.

Figures referenced in this chapter are available in a Microsoft Excel file located at [www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx](http://www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx).

### More Than Half of Traditional IRA Investors Have Made Rollovers at Some Time

Like contribution activity, rollovers among traditional IRA investors are relatively infrequent in any given year. However, unlike contributions—where there appears to be some persistence among traditional IRA investors from year to year—different groups of people tend to have rollovers from year to year. About one in 10 traditional IRA investors aged 18 to 74 had a rollover in any year between 2007 and 2022 (Figure 2.1). However, among traditional IRA investors with an account balance at year-end 2023, about 60% had a rollover at some point between 2007 and 2023.<sup>20</sup>

This increase in rollover incidence when expanding the period of observation is consistent with expectations based on labor market dynamics and the work life cycle. In any given year, a certain number of workers with employer-sponsored retirement plan coverage will separate from their employers, and when they do, it is possible that separation will generate a rollover event. Because separating from one's employer is not an annual event for most workers and not all workers roll over money from their employer plan into a traditional IRA after job separation, rollovers to traditional IRAs by a given individual will tend to be sporadic.

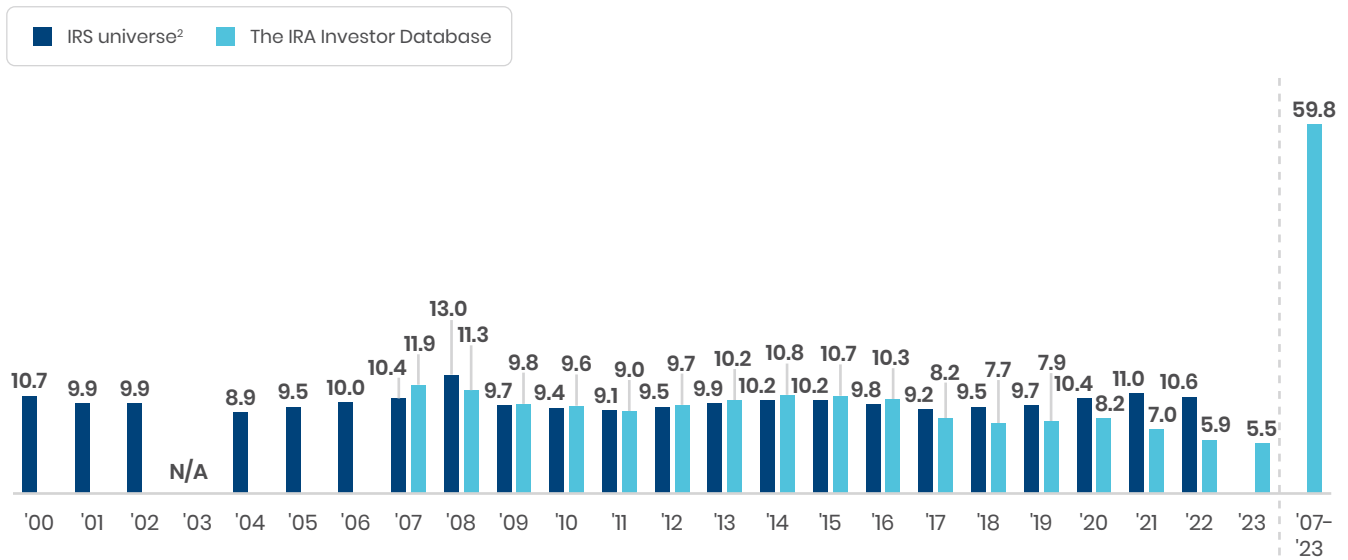
### Rollovers Often Were the Source of New Traditional IRAs in 2023

Although traditional IRAs can be opened with either rollovers or contributions, rollovers tend to be the most common source for new traditional IRAs. In 2023, 43.2% of new traditional IRAs in the IRA Investor Database were opened only with a rollover (Figure A.7). Another 4.8% were opened with both a rollover and a contribution, and 8.2% were opened only with a contribution. The remaining new traditional IRAs were transfers from one financial services firm to another and thus were unlikely to represent new IRAs. If these transfer accounts are excluded, 77% of new traditional IRAs in 2023 were opened exclusively with rollovers.

**FIGURE 2.1**

**Many Traditional IRA Investors Have Made Rollovers**

Percentage of traditional IRA investors aged 18 to 74 with rollovers<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> This group is traditional IRA investors aged 18 to 74 who had rollovers into their traditional IRAs in the year or years indicated.

<sup>2</sup> In the IRS universe, data are for traditional IRA investors of all ages.

N/A = not available

Note: Rollovers made prior to 2007, as well as rollovers made prior to a change in financial services providers, cannot be identified in the database.

Sources: The IRA Investor Database™ and Internal Revenue Service Statistics of Income Division

**Traditional IRA Rollover Activity in 2023 by Investor Age**

Although younger traditional IRA investors were more likely to have rollovers in 2023, rollovers were distributed across all age groups. Indeed, nearly half of the rollovers in 2023 were made by investors aged 45 to 70 (Figure A.8). Younger investors were more likely to have rollovers, with 27.3% of traditional IRA investors aged 18 to 24 having rollovers in 2023, compared with 0.9% of traditional IRA investors aged 75 or older. In fact, the only exception to the general pattern of declining rollover incidence as age increases is among investors aged 60 to 64. While 4.1% of traditional IRA investors aged 55 to 59 had rollovers in 2023, 4.4% of traditional IRA investors aged 60 to 64 had rollovers in 2023, likely due in part to investors in this age group retiring and making rollovers into IRAs.<sup>21</sup> Overall, 4.8% of traditional IRA investors aged 18 or older had rollovers in 2023.

For the bulk of younger investors with rollovers, the rollover event opened a new account. Indeed, for almost all traditional IRA investors aged 18 to 24 with rollovers in 2023, the rollover opened a new traditional IRA (Figure A.8). Still, even among traditional IRA investors aged 75 or older with rollovers in 2023, 32.2% opened new accounts with those rollovers. This pattern also helps explain the higher rollover incidence among younger traditional IRA investors. Because the rollover is often the event that opens the IRA for younger investors, they are less likely to own an IRA if they did not have a rollover, whereas older investors are more likely to have already opened an IRA.

Rollover amounts tend to rise with investor age, reflecting the longer horizon older investors have had to build retirement plan accumulations.<sup>22</sup> The median rollover amount was \$1,790 among traditional IRA investors aged 18 to 24 in 2023, \$81,070 for those aged 65 to 69, and \$51,200 for those aged 75 or older (Figure A.9). Although traditional IRA investors aged 45 to 70 accounted for nearly half of rollovers, 73% of the money rolled over in 2023 came from this group. In fact, traditional IRA investors aged 60 to 64 accounted for almost one-quarter of all rollover money, reflecting their high average rollover amounts as well as the large number of rollovers that came from this age group.

### **Rollovers Tend to Have a Strong Positive Impact on Traditional IRA Balances**

Because of the higher contribution limits for employer-sponsored retirement plans, and the steady buildup of assets that can occur in these plans over the course of a career, rollovers into traditional IRAs appear to have a substantial, positive impact on the size of account balances. The impact of recent rollovers can be seen most clearly among older traditional IRA investors. For example, among traditional IRA investors aged 65 to 69 with rollovers between 2007 and 2023, the median traditional IRA balance at year-end 2023 was \$106,630, compared with \$73,550 for those without rollovers (Figure A.10). Household survey data also find a substantial positive effect of rollovers on traditional IRA balances.<sup>23</sup>

## Chapter 3: Traditional IRA Investors' Withdrawal Activity in 2023

IRA investors can decide when and how to draw down the assets they hold inside their traditional IRAs, although IRS penalties, taxes, or distribution requirements may apply. This chapter first briefly reviews the distribution, or withdrawal, rules governing traditional IRAs. It also analyzes the withdrawal activity of traditional IRA investors, primarily focusing on variation in withdrawal activity in 2023 by investor age. Finally, withdrawal amounts are analyzed in the context of RMD rules.

Figures referenced in this chapter are available in a Microsoft Excel file located at [www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx](http://www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx).

### Traditional IRA Withdrawal Activity

Many complex distribution rules govern investors' access to traditional IRAs, involving the investor's age, the investor's spouse's age (if married), whether the IRA is inherited, and exceptions for certain distributions. For investors younger than 59½, distributions from traditional IRAs generally are subject to income tax as well as a 10% penalty. However, there are some exceptions to the penalty, including distributions for the purchase of a first home (up to \$10,000) or certain qualified higher-education expenses.<sup>24</sup> In addition, individuals with inherited traditional IRAs may be required to take distributions and are able to take distributions without penalty. Given the possibility of penalty in most cases, there is little traditional IRA investor withdrawal activity prior to age 59½.<sup>25</sup> Taxpayers older than 59½ but younger than the required minimum distribution (RMD) age may take withdrawals without penalty but generally are not required to do so. Traditional IRA investors typically have to take RMDs from their IRAs once they reach a certain age. In recent years, policymakers have changed the RMD age. The RMD age was 70½ for decades through tax year 2019; then in 2019, the Setting Every Community Up for Retirement Enhancement Act (SECURE Act) increased the age for required minimum distributions from 70½ to 72 for individuals who did not reach age 70½ in 2019.<sup>26</sup> SECURE 2.0, passed at the end of 2022, raised the RMD age again, to 73 years of age.<sup>27</sup> It should be noted that policymakers can adjust these rules. For example, in response to declines in the stock market and related financial market volatility, policymakers suspended RMDs in 2009 and 2020.<sup>28</sup>

The percentage of traditional IRA investors taking distributions from their traditional IRAs in any given year has risen somewhat since 2007. Analysis of traditional IRA investors in 2007 and 2008 shows that about 18% of traditional IRA investors had distributions (Figure A.11). The percentage taking distributions dropped to 13.9% in 2009 (due at least in part to the suspension of RMDs), before rising to 25.1% in 2019. Some of this increase is attributable to the changing age composition of investors in the IRA Investor Database. As the population grows older and more investors move into their sixties and seventies, where withdrawal activity is not penalized and in many instances is required, the overall withdrawal rate is likely to increase. The percentage taking distributions fell to 20.3% in 2020, likely due, to some extent, to the suspension of RMDs from traditional IRAs. The percentage taking distributions was 23.1% in 2023.

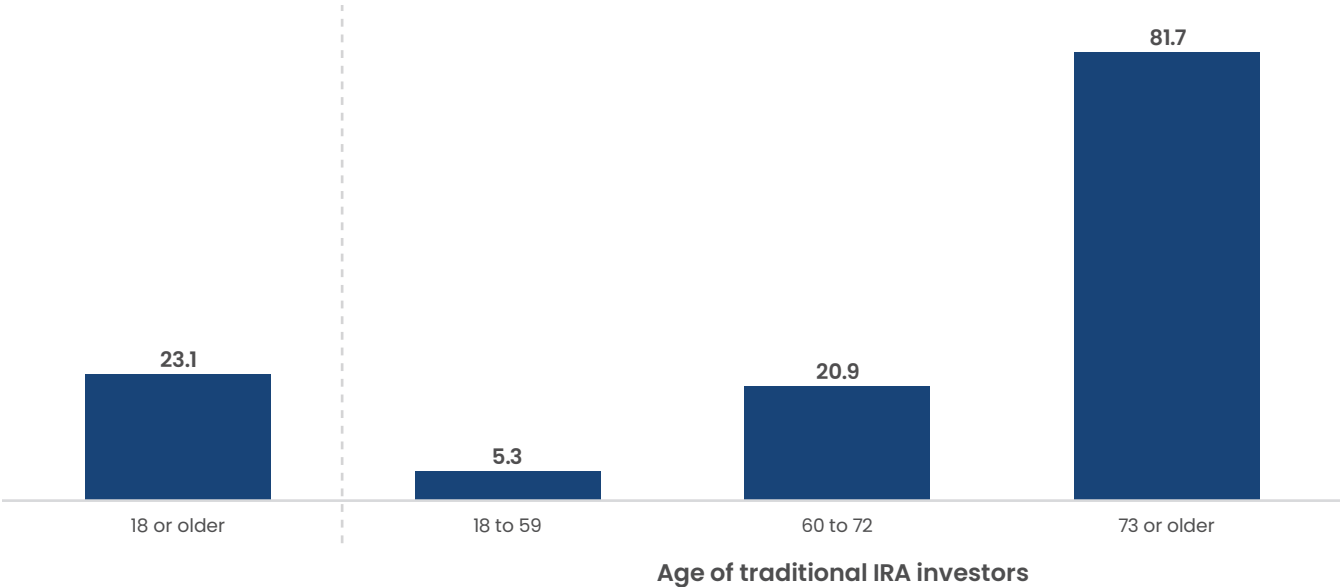
Withdrawal activity is highly concentrated among older traditional IRA investors. Investors aged 73 or older in 2023, who typically have RMDs, were much more likely to withdraw money than younger investors (Figure 3.1). Traditional IRA withdrawal activity is much lower among younger investors for whom penalties often apply. Nevertheless, a slight uptick in their low levels of withdrawal activity is apparent in the wake of the financial

crisis. On average, about 7% of traditional IRA investors aged 18 to 59 took withdrawals in 2007, 2008, or 2009 (Figure A.11). Withdrawal activity for this age group ticked up to 8.5% in 2010 and was about 8% in each year between 2011 and 2016. Withdrawal activity then edged down to 6.5% in 2017 before increasing to 7.0% in 2018. Withdrawal activity then fell to 6.8% in 2019 and 6.0% in 2020. It has since trended down to 5.0% in 2022 and 5.3% in 2023. A similar pattern is discernable among traditional IRA investors aged 60 to the RMD age, who may withdraw without penalty. In 2007 and 2008, about 18% of this age group took withdrawals; in each year between 2010 and 2019, it was about one in five. Withdrawal activity among traditional IRA investors aged 60 to the RMD age then edged down to 18.7% in 2020. Just over a fifth of this age group took a withdrawal in 2023. The pattern of withdrawal activity for the traditional IRA investors the RMD age or older mainly reflects the suspension of RMDs in 2009 and 2020.<sup>29</sup>

Although traditional IRA investors across all age groups withdrew money from their traditional IRAs in 2023, withdrawal activity is concentrated among older traditional IRA investors. In the IRA Investor Database, 23.1% of traditional IRA investors took withdrawals from their traditional IRAs in 2023, and this varied considerably by age (Figure 3.1). For example, 81.7% of traditional IRA investors aged 73 or older took withdrawals in 2023, compared with 20.9% of traditional IRA investors aged 60 to 72 and 5.3% of traditional IRA investors aged 18 to 59. In fact, the majority of traditional IRA withdrawals are taken by investors aged 60 or older, for whom penalties generally do not apply to the distributions and RMDs often apply. Indeed, while traditional IRA investors aged 60 or older only accounted for 47.2% of traditional IRA investors in the IRA Investor Database, they accounted for 87.9% of the traditional IRA investors with withdrawals in 2023 (Figure A.12).

**FIGURE 3.1**  
**Traditional IRA Withdrawal Rates**

Percentage of traditional IRA investors with withdrawals, 2023



Note: The sample is 6.6 million traditional IRA investors aged 18 or older in 2023.  
Source: The IRA Investor Database™

Traditional IRA withdrawal amounts varied with investor age and were largest for investors aged 60 to 72, who can withdraw without penalty but generally are not required to take withdrawals. In 2023, the median distribution among traditional IRA investors aged 25 to 29 with withdrawals was \$3,770. This number rose with age, peaking at \$13,200 for investors aged 65 to 69 (Figure A.13). For investors aged 70 to 72 taking withdrawals, the median withdrawal amount was \$12,990; it was \$7,400 for investors aged 73 or older.

### Many Traditional IRA Investors Determine Withdrawal Amounts Using RMD Rules

According to household survey results, traditional IRA-owning households with withdrawals often indicate that they calculated the withdrawal amount to meet the RMD rule.<sup>30</sup> Traditional IRA investors in the IRA Investor Database also often use the RMD rule to determine their withdrawal amounts. It is possible to identify withdrawal amounts that fulfill the RMD by using the IRS distribution tables. Among investors who (1) had traditional IRAs at year-end 2022 and year-end 2023, (2) were aged 73 or older at year-end 2023, and (3) took withdrawals in 2023, 52.5% took exactly the RMD amount based on the Uniform Lifetime table published by the IRS (self RMD); 2.1% appear to have used the Joint and Last Survivor Expectancy table (joint RMD); and another 0.4% appear to be taking distributions from an inherited IRA (inherited RMD) (Figure A.14). Additionally, 35.6% of these older traditional IRA investors with withdrawals took more than the self RMD amount and 9.4% took less than that amount.

Traditional IRA withdrawal activity also varies with the size of the traditional IRA balance. Traditional IRA investors with larger balances tend to be more likely to withdraw (Figure A.15), although they tend to withdraw a smaller portion of their balances (Figure A.16).

## Chapter 4: Traditional IRA Investors' Balances at Year-End 2023

The amounts accumulated in traditional IRAs depend on contributions, rollovers, withdrawals, and investment returns, which are based on the asset allocation selected by the IRA investors.<sup>31</sup> Contribution, rollover, and withdrawal activities in traditional IRAs are governed by Internal Revenue Code regulations. Traditional IRA investors have access to a wide range of investment options in the retail financial services market.<sup>32</sup> This chapter analyzes the variation in traditional IRA balances in 2023 by balance size.

Figures referenced in this chapter are available in a Microsoft Excel file located at [www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx](http://www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx).

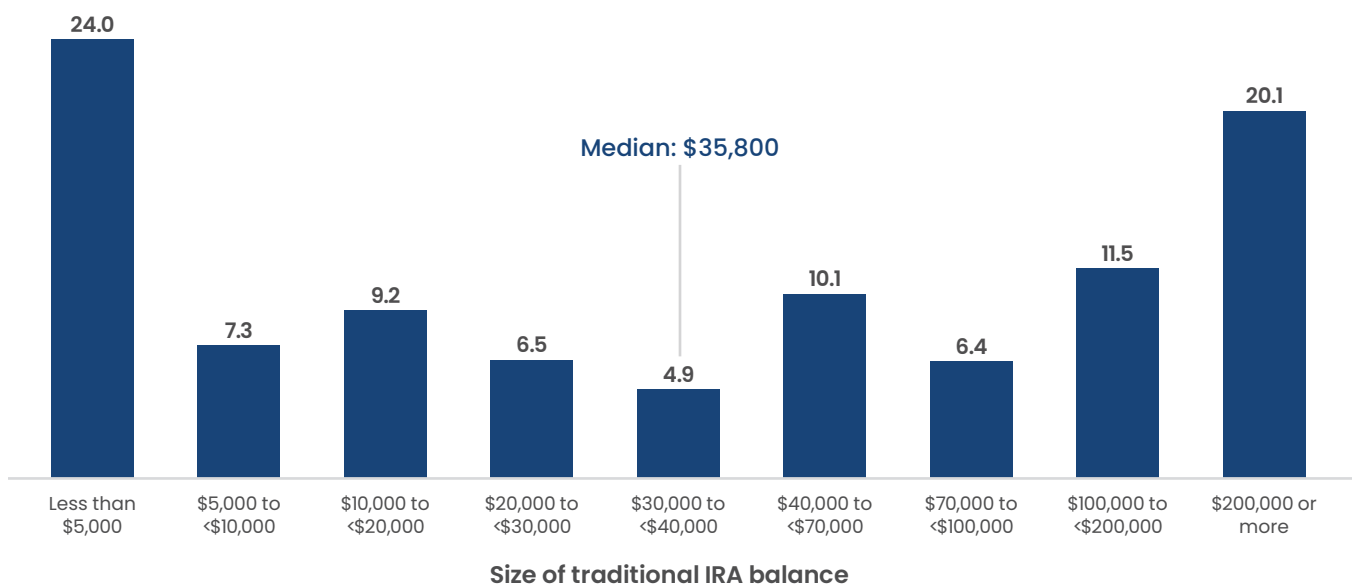
### Distribution of Traditional IRA Balances by Size in 2023

Some of the variation in traditional IRA balances is explained by different job histories and participation in employer-sponsored retirement plans. Traditional IRA investors can accumulate assets inside their IRAs through contributions, rollovers, and asset appreciation. Although contributions and asset appreciation generally cause relatively small changes in traditional IRA balances in any given year, rollover events are often larger because they can contain many years of contributions to employer-sponsored retirement plans at higher legal limits than those for IRAs.<sup>33</sup> Because of this, as well as differing contribution and withdrawal activity and asset allocation, there is a wide distribution of the resulting traditional IRA balance amounts. While 24.0% of traditional IRA investors had balances of less than \$5,000, 31.6% had account balances of \$100,000 or more (Figure 4.1).

**FIGURE 4.1**

#### Distribution of Traditional IRA Balances by Size

Percentage of traditional IRA investors by size of traditional IRA balance, year-end 2023



Note: The sample is 6.6 million traditional IRA investors aged 18 or older in 2023.

Source: The IRA Investor Database™

The range of traditional IRA balances is most pronounced by age. Younger traditional IRA investors were more likely to have smaller balances than older traditional IRA investors in 2023 (Figures A.17 and A.18). For example, although 72.2% of traditional IRA investors aged 25 to 29 had balances of less than \$5,000, that percentage fell for each successive age group, reaching a low of 5.7% for traditional IRA investors aged 75 or older (Figure A.17). On the other end, while a negligible number (1.2%) of traditional IRA investors aged 25 to 29 had balances of \$100,000 or more, this percentage rose with age, reaching its peak at 51.0% of traditional IRA investors aged 70 to 74. The percentage of traditional IRA investors with balances of \$100,000 or more fell to 50.5% for investors aged 75 or older, likely due in part to the cumulative effect of RMDs and the higher RMD percentages required for older investors.<sup>34</sup>

## Chapter 5: Snapshots of Investments in Traditional IRAs at Year-End 2013 and Year-End 2023

IRA investors decide how to allocate their IRA assets to investments such as individual securities (e.g., stocks and bonds), mutual funds, exchange-traded funds (ETFs), closed-end funds, annuities, deposits, and other investments. This chapter analyzes the average dollar-weighted asset allocation of traditional IRA balances at year-end 2023 by investor age. Snapshots of traditional IRA asset allocations at year-end 2023 are compared with the asset allocation at year-end 2013. In addition, snapshots of individual traditional IRA investors' concentrations in equity holdings—that is, the percentage of individual traditional IRA balances invested in equities, equity funds, and the equity portion of balanced funds—between year-end 2013 and year-end 2023 are compared. Finally, this chapter analyzes the concentration of equity holdings in traditional IRAs with low balances (\$5,000 or less) because account size appears to figure into traditional IRA investors' asset allocations.

Figures referenced in this chapter are available in a Microsoft Excel file located at [www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx](http://www.ici.org/files/2026/tax-year-2023-rpt-ira-traditional-data.xlsx).

### Investments in Traditional IRAs in 2023

On average, equities and equity funds represent the largest investment category among traditional IRA investors. At year-end 2023, on average, equities and equity funds were 61.4% of traditional IRA assets held by individuals aged 18 or older (Figure 5.1). Balanced (or hybrid) funds, which invest in a mix of equities and fixed-income securities and include target date funds,<sup>35</sup> were the next largest component, accounting for 20.8% of traditional IRA assets. Another 12.6% of traditional IRA assets were held in bonds and bond funds, and 4.5% were in money market funds.

At year-end 2023, 73.6% of traditional IRA assets were invested in equity holdings, meaning equities, equity funds, and the equity portion of balanced funds (Figures A.19 and A.20). With the exception of the youngest groups of traditional IRA investors, the age pattern of allocation to equity holdings was as expected by financial theory and other research: older investors tend to have lower shares in equity holdings. Younger traditional IRA investors generally had allocated more of their assets to target date funds, compared with older traditional IRA investors. At year-end 2023, 13.9% of the traditional IRA assets held by investors aged 18 to 29 were invested in target date funds, on average, rising to 22.3% of assets for investors aged 30 to 39. The percentage of traditional IRA assets invested in target date funds fell to a low of 5.3% of the assets held by those aged 70 or older. This pattern of target date fund use was expected because target date funds are relatively new investment products and younger investors are more likely to have been introduced to them either in 401(k) plans or recently opened IRAs.

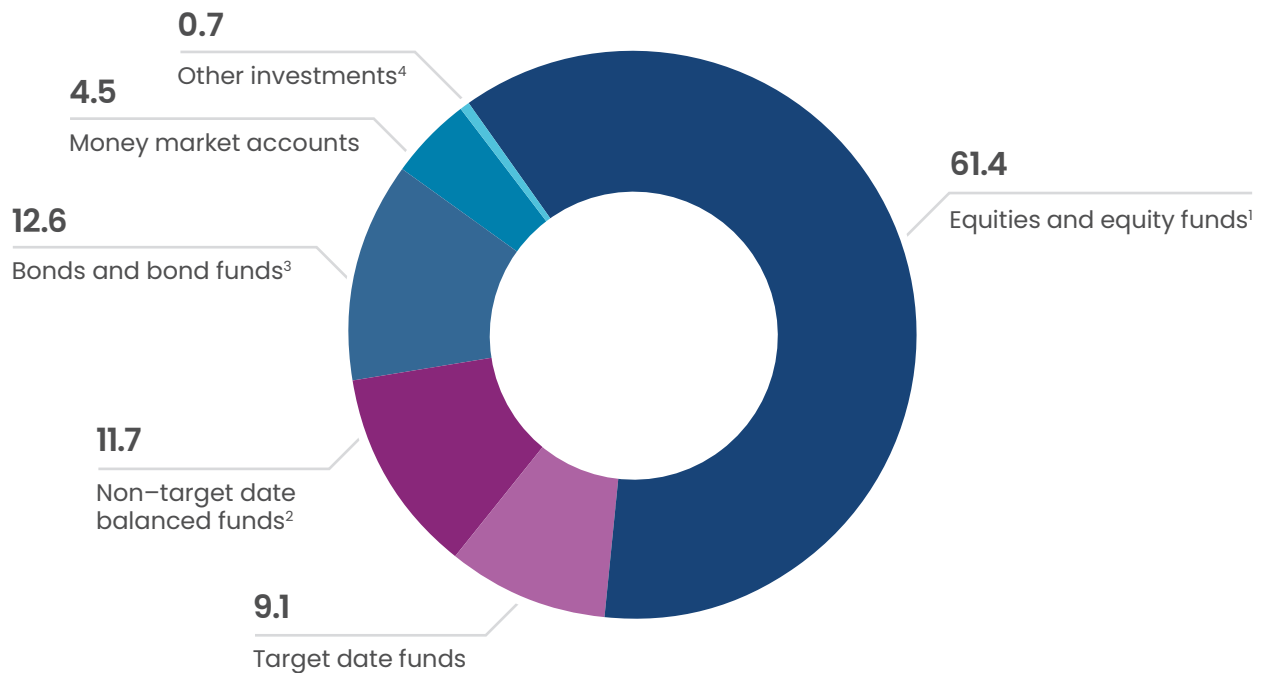
At year-end 2023, target date funds were 9.1% of traditional IRA assets (Figures 5.1, A.19, and A.20) and 14.7% of traditional IRA investors in the IRA Investor Database owned target date funds. Among traditional IRA investors who owned target date funds, most owned one target date fund, and the bulk of the remainder owned two (Figure A.21).

Older traditional IRA investors had higher allocations to bonds and bond funds in their traditional IRAs than younger investors (Figures A.19 and A.20), which follows the typical age-based pattern of bond investing seen in other research.<sup>36</sup>

**FIGURE 5.1**

**Equity Holdings Figure Prominently in Traditional IRA Investments**

Percentage of traditional IRA balances, year-end 2023



<sup>1</sup> Equity funds include equity mutual funds, equity closed-end funds, and equity ETFs.

<sup>2</sup> Balanced funds invest in a mix of equities and fixed-income securities.

<sup>3</sup> Bond funds include bond mutual funds, bond closed-end funds, and bond ETFs.

<sup>4</sup> Other investments include certificates of deposit and unidentifiable assets.

Note: The sample is 6.6 million traditional IRA investors aged 18 or older in 2023. Percentages are dollar-weighted averages.

Source: The IRA Investor Database™

**Snapshots of Allocation to Equity Holdings Between 2013 and 2023**

At year-end 2023, the percentage of traditional IRA balances invested in equity holdings (equities, equity funds, and the equity portion of balanced funds) was higher than the level at year-end 2013. At year-end 2013, 64.0% of traditional IRA balances held by investors aged 18 or older were invested, on average, in equity holdings (Figure A.22). At year-end 2023, that share was 73.6%. Equity holdings increased among traditional IRA investors in all age groups. For example, 72.3% of traditional IRA balances for investors aged 30 to 39 were invested in equity holdings at year-end 2013. This share increased to 87.1% at year-end 2023. This increase among younger investors was most pronounced in the category of the equity portion of target date funds, with the share of traditional IRA balances allocated to the equity portion of target date funds for investors aged 30 to 39 increasing from 15.1% at year-end 2013 to 19.9% at year-end 2023. This analysis looks at dollar-weighted averages, and some of the change reflects the relative performance of equity holdings over the period.

In addition to observing how traditional IRA balances are invested in aggregate, another way to explore the changes in allocation to equity holdings is by looking at the distribution of the shares in equity holdings held by individual investors. Looking at the data this way shows that the increase in the share of balances invested in equity holdings is perhaps partly a move toward more diversified portfolios. For example, at year-end 2013, 20.6% of traditional IRA investors had no equity holdings, compared with 22.8% in 2023 (Figure A.23). In addition, at year-end 2013, 30.7% of traditional IRA investors had some equity holdings, but allocated no more than 80% of their account balances to equity holdings. This share rose to 37.4% by year-end 2023. Most of this increase was balanced by a decrease in 100% allocations to equity holdings. At year-end 2013, 28.4% of traditional IRA investors had a 100% allocation to equity holdings. That share declined to 19.8% by year-end 2023.

## Default Rollover Rules Likely Affect Equity Exposure in Smaller Traditional IRAs

Many factors likely affected equity ownership inside traditional IRAs between 2013 and 2023, including the fluctuations in equity values over that period. The asset allocations in smaller traditional IRAs appear to have their own set of forces at play. For example, default rules governing rollovers from employer-sponsored retirement plans appear to have had a noticeable impact. Since 2005, employer-sponsored retirement plans that cash out balances of \$5,000 or less when the employee separates from employment generally are required to roll over any account that is more than \$1,000, but no more than \$5,000, into an IRA unless the plan participant affirmatively chooses otherwise.<sup>37</sup> The money must be invested in “an investment product designed to preserve principal and provide a reasonable rate of return.” Typical examples include money market funds, certificates of deposit (CDs), and interest-bearing savings accounts. Small accounts also may be more likely to be invested in money market funds because of the economics of managing such small amounts. Furthermore, some younger traditional IRA investors may have shorter-term goals for the money (e.g., education or home purchase) and desire liquidity in their traditional IRA balances. Financial uncertainty shortly after the financial crisis may have increased some investors’ demand for liquidity.<sup>38</sup>

Because of the special rules and forces that apply to smaller account balances, it is important to analyze traditional IRA asset allocation by age while controlling for the size of the account balance. The default rollover rules appear to affect the share allocated to equity holdings in traditional IRAs with balances of \$5,000 or less. For example, although 22.8% of traditional IRA investors owned no equity holdings at year-end 2023 (Figure A.23), 63.3% of investors with account balances of \$5,000 or less had no equity holdings (Figure A.24). In contrast, among investors with account balances of more than \$5,000, only 7.1% owned no equity holdings at year-end 2023 (Figure A.25).

The share of smaller traditional IRAs with no exposure to equity holdings increased between 2013 and 2023, while the share of larger traditional IRAs with no equity exposure decreased. At year-end 2013, 60.9% of traditional IRAs with balances of \$5,000 or less owned no equity holdings (Figure A.24). By year-end 2023, that share had increased to 63.3%. For traditional IRAs with more than \$5,000, the share with no equity holdings decreased, from 11.8% at year-end 2013 to 7.1% at year-end 2023 (Figure A.25).

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The RMD age was 70½ through tax year 2019. In 2019, the Setting Every Community Up for Retirement Enhancement Act (SECURE Act) increased the age for RMDs from 70½ to 72 for individuals who did not reach age 70½ in 2019. The RMD age was 72 (for those not already 70½ in 2019) for tax years 2020 through 2022. SECURE 2.0, passed at the end of 2022, raised the RMD age again, to 73 years of age for tax year 2023.
- <sup>2</sup> For a history of IRAs, see Holden et al. 2005. For a discussion of the changing role of IRAs, see Sabelhaus and Schrass 2009.
- <sup>3</sup> For additional discussion of IRA-owning households, see Holden and Schrass 2025.
- <sup>4</sup> ICI reports total IRA and total retirement market assets on a quarterly basis. For additional information on the US retirement market through 2025:Q4, see Investment Company Institute 2026. The Federal Reserve Board reports US households' financial assets on a quarterly basis (see US Federal Reserve Board 2026); at year-end 2024, household financial assets were \$130.4 trillion. Figure A.1 reports year-end 2023 data.
- <sup>5</sup> See Holden and Schrass 2025 and Investment Company Institute 2026.
- <sup>6</sup> At retirement, defined contribution (DC) plan account owners often choose to roll over their balances to IRAs. See Sabelhaus, Bogdan, and Holden 2008 and Clark 2025.
- <sup>7</sup> One of the frequently analyzed household surveys is the Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF), which is administered by the Federal Reserve Board. The SCF is a triennial interview survey of US families sponsored by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and the US Department of Treasury. For a full description of the SCF and recent SCF data, see [www.federalreserve.gov/econres/scfindex.htm](http://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/scfindex.htm). Researchers interested in the behavior of older households use another publicly available household survey, the Health and Retirement Study (HRS), which is administered by the University of Michigan. For an extensive bibliography of papers using HRS data, see <https://hrs.isr.umich.edu/publications/biblio>. The Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), which is administered by the US Census Bureau, is another commonly used household survey. For a complete description, see [www.census.gov/sipp](http://www.census.gov/sipp).
- <sup>8</sup> ICI conducts the Annual Mutual Fund Shareholder Tracking Survey each year to gather information on the demographic and financial characteristics of US households. The 2024 survey was conducted from May to June 2024 and was fielded on the KnowledgePanel®, a probability based online panel designed to be representative of the US population. The KnowledgePanel® is designed and administered by Ipsos. Ipsos is one of the largest market research and polling companies globally, operating in 90 markets and employing over 18,000 people. The Annual Mutual Fund Shareholder Tracking Survey sample for 2024 included 9,011 US households, of which 43.8% owned IRAs. The standard error for the 2024 sample of households is ± 1.0 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. For the 2024 survey results, see Holden, Schrass, and Bogdan 2024. For reporting of 2024 IRA incidence, see Holden and Schrass 2025. For 2025 Annual Mutual Fund Shareholder Tracking Survey results, see Holden, Schrass, and Bogdan 2025.
- <sup>9</sup> ICI conducts the IRA Owners Survey each year to gather information on the characteristics and activities of IRA-owning households in the United States. The 2024 survey was conducted in June 2024 using the KnowledgePanel®, a probability-based online panel designed to be representative of the US population. The KnowledgePanel® was designed and administered by Ipsos, an online consumer research company. The 2024 sample of IRA owners included 3,222 representative US households owning traditional IRAs or Roth IRAs. All surveys were conducted online with the member of the household aged 18 or older who was the sole or co-decisionmaker most knowledgeable about the household's savings and investments. The standard error for the total sample is ± 1.7 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. In 2024, households owning traditional or Roth IRAs were surveyed, and thus households only owning employer-sponsored IRAs (SEP IRAs, SAR-SEP IRAs, and SIMPLE IRAs) or Coverdell education savings accounts (formerly called education IRAs) are not included. For results from the 2024 survey, see Holden and Schrass 2025.

- <sup>10</sup> For the latest tabulations, see Internal Revenue Service, Statistics of Income Division 2026.
- <sup>11</sup> It is possible to track the same individuals over time within the same data provider, but not to link individuals across providers. Therefore, some IRA investors may be counted more than once if they own IRAs across multiple service providers. For additional detail on the variables collected and the data collection methodology, see Holden and Bass 2012.
- <sup>12</sup> For a history of IRA contribution activity, see Holden et al. 2005.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup> See Internal Revenue Service 2024a for the rules governing IRA contribution eligibility in tax year 2023. In 2019, the SECURE Act removed the age restriction for traditional IRA contributions starting in tax year 2020.
- <sup>15</sup> For example, in 2020, contribution rates among traditional IRA investors aged 18 to 69 increased from 10.6% to 16.5% if contributions to Roth IRAs at the same financial services firm were included.
- <sup>16</sup> See discussion and references in Holden et al. 2005.
- <sup>17</sup> Analysis of Survey of Consumer Finances data shows that younger and lower-income households were less likely to cite retirement as the primary reason they save. These households were more likely to be focused primarily on saving to fund education, to purchase a house, to fund other purchases, or to have cash on hand for an unexpected need. The tendency of younger workers to focus less on retirement savings is consistent with economic models of life-cycle consumption, which predict that most workers will delay saving for retirement until later in their working careers. For more information, see Brady and Bass 2021.
- <sup>18</sup> See Holden et al. 2005 and Sabelhaus and Schrass 2009.
- <sup>19</sup> See Holden et al. 2005.
- <sup>20</sup> This statistic undercounts the percentage of traditional IRA investors in 2020 with rollovers in their traditional IRAs because some will have rolled over money prior to 2007 and those rollovers cannot be identified in the database. In addition, rollovers made at a prior financial services firm cannot be identified in the database.
- <sup>21</sup> In 2024, 46% of households owning traditional IRAs that included rollovers responded that retirement was one of the reasons they chose to roll over the money (see Holden and Schrass 2025).
- <sup>22</sup> The EBRI/ICI 401(k) database finds that 401(k) balances tend to rise with investor age and job tenure. See Holden, Bass, and Copeland 2024.
- <sup>23</sup> See Holden and Schrass 2025.
- <sup>24</sup> For more information, see Internal Revenue Service 2024b. Distributions also can result from recharacterization of contributions, but historically, these amounts have been negligible.
- <sup>25</sup> For analysis of withdrawal activity among traditional IRA-owning households, see Holden and Schrass 2025. Regression analysis in Holden and Reid 2008 suggests that the additional 10% tax puts a damper on withdrawal activity.
- <sup>26</sup> For tax years prior to 2020, the IRS rules indicated that a traditional IRA investor must commence RMDs by April 1 following the calendar year in which the investor turns 70½. For tax year 2020, the SECURE Act raised the RMD age to 72 for individuals reaching age 70½ after December 31, 2019 (i.e., it was 70½ for individuals born before July 1, 1949, or 72 for individuals born on July 1, 1949, or later). For additional details, see Internal Revenue Service 2021b.
- <sup>27</sup> As explained in IRS Publication 590-b for tax year 2023: Individuals who reach age 72 after December 31, 2022, may delay receiving their required minimum distributions until April 1 of the year following the year in which they reach age 73. See Internal Revenue Service 2024b.
- <sup>28</sup> In 2008, the Worker, Retiree, and Employer Recovery Act suspended RMDs from traditional IRAs and other retirement accounts for tax year 2009. In 2020, the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security (CARES) Act suspended RMDs from traditional IRAs and other retirement accounts for tax year 2020. For more

information, see Joint Committee on Taxation 2009 and Internal Revenue Service 2021b.

- <sup>29</sup> There is evidence that some IRA investors taking withdrawals do not need the money for current consumption. Holden and Schrass 2025 finds that 40% of retired traditional IRA-owning households taking distributions reinvested the money into another account. Among the 40% that reported reinvesting or saving the amount of the traditional IRA withdrawal into another account, 90% reported withdrawing the amount based on the RMD. Other research based on a survey of affluent retiree households finds that about 78% of wealthier retiree households made a withdrawal from their financial accounts, yet only seven in 10 households used withdrawals for spending (see Madamba and Utkus 2016).
- <sup>30</sup> For more information, see Holden and Schrass 2025. For information on retirement plan participants' reactions to the RMD suspension of 2009, see Brown, Poterba, and Richardson 2014. For a discussion of how RMD rules affect traditional IRA withdrawals, see Mortenson, Schramm, and Whitten 2016.
- <sup>31</sup> Conversion activity also can affect traditional IRA balances. Generally, there are low levels of conversions, although lifting the income limits on Roth conversion activity in 2010 with special tax treatment in that year increased conversion activity. See Bryant and Gober 2013 and Investment Company Institute 2026.
- <sup>32</sup> See Internal Revenue Service 2024a for investment restrictions. Traditional IRA investors can generally select from the full range of mutual funds, exchange-traded funds (ETFs), closed-end funds, stocks, bonds, and bank products.
- <sup>33</sup> The ICI IRA Owners Survey finds that households with rollovers in their traditional IRAs tend to have higher balances, on average, than those without rollovers. For additional detail, see Holden and Schrass 2025. The IRA Investor Database also finds this result (Figure A.10).

- <sup>34</sup> Because RMD amounts are based on average life expectancy, older RMD-aged traditional IRA investors generally must withdraw a larger percentage of their account balances than younger RMD-aged investors. For example, while unmarried 73-year-old traditional IRA investors would have been required to withdraw 3.8% of their balances in 2023, that number was 5.0% for 80-year-olds, and 8.2% for 90-year-olds. For more information, see Internal Revenue Service 2024b.
- <sup>35</sup> A target date fund pursues a long-term investment strategy, using a mix of asset classes, or asset allocation, that the fund provider adjusts to become less focused on growth and more focused on income as the fund approaches and passes the target date, which is usually mentioned in the fund's name. The asset allocation path that the target date fund follows to shift its focus from growth to income is typically referred to as the glide path. Because discussions of asset allocation usually focus on the percentage of the portfolio invested in equities, the glide path generally reflects the declining percentage of equities in the portfolio as it approaches and passes the target date. The target date generally is the date at which the typical investor for whom that fund is designed would reach retirement age and stop making new investments in the fund. For additional information on target date funds, see ICI's Target Retirement Date Funds Resource Hub at [www.ici.org/resource-hubs/target-retirement-date-funds](http://www.ici.org/resource-hubs/target-retirement-date-funds).
- <sup>36</sup> For discussion of how US households' investments change over the life cycle, see Sabelhaus, Bogdan, and Schrass 2008. For the pattern of equity versus bond investing across Roth IRA investors by age, see Schrass and Holden 2024. For the pattern of equity versus bond investing across 401(k) participants by age, see Holden, Bass, and Copeland 2024.
- <sup>37</sup> For more information on the rules governing automatic rollovers, see US Department of Labor 2004.
- <sup>38</sup> Household survey results from this period indicate that households' willingness to take financial risk declined in the wake of the financial crisis. See Tables 11 and 12 in Holden, Schrass, and Bogdan 2025.

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