

Institute for
Fiscal Studies

Public economics: Inequality and Poverty

Chris Belfield

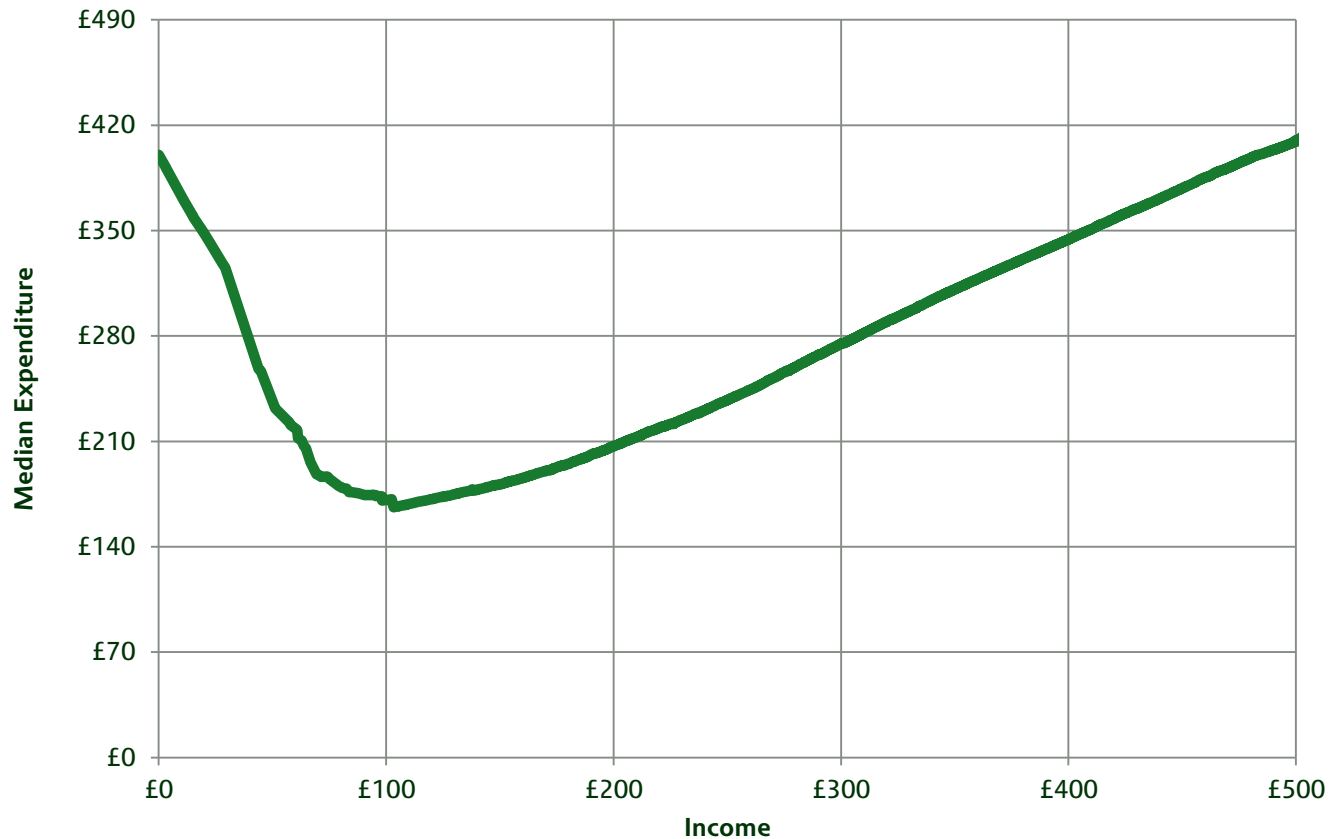
Overview

- Measuring living standards
 - Why do we use income?
 - Accounting for inflation and family composition
- Income Inequality
 - The UK income distribution
 - Measures of income inequality
 - Income inequality across and within ages
- Income Poverty
 - Measuring income poverty
 - How do we treat housing costs?
- Summary

Why income?

- Economic analysis tends to focus on income inequality and income poverty
 - not because income is the only thing that matters...
 - ...but because it is arguably the best measure of living standards we've got
- Consumption may be conceptually a better indicator of living standards
 - Income snapshots can be misleading
 - But it is difficult to measure...

Those with the lowest incomes do not have the lowest consumption...

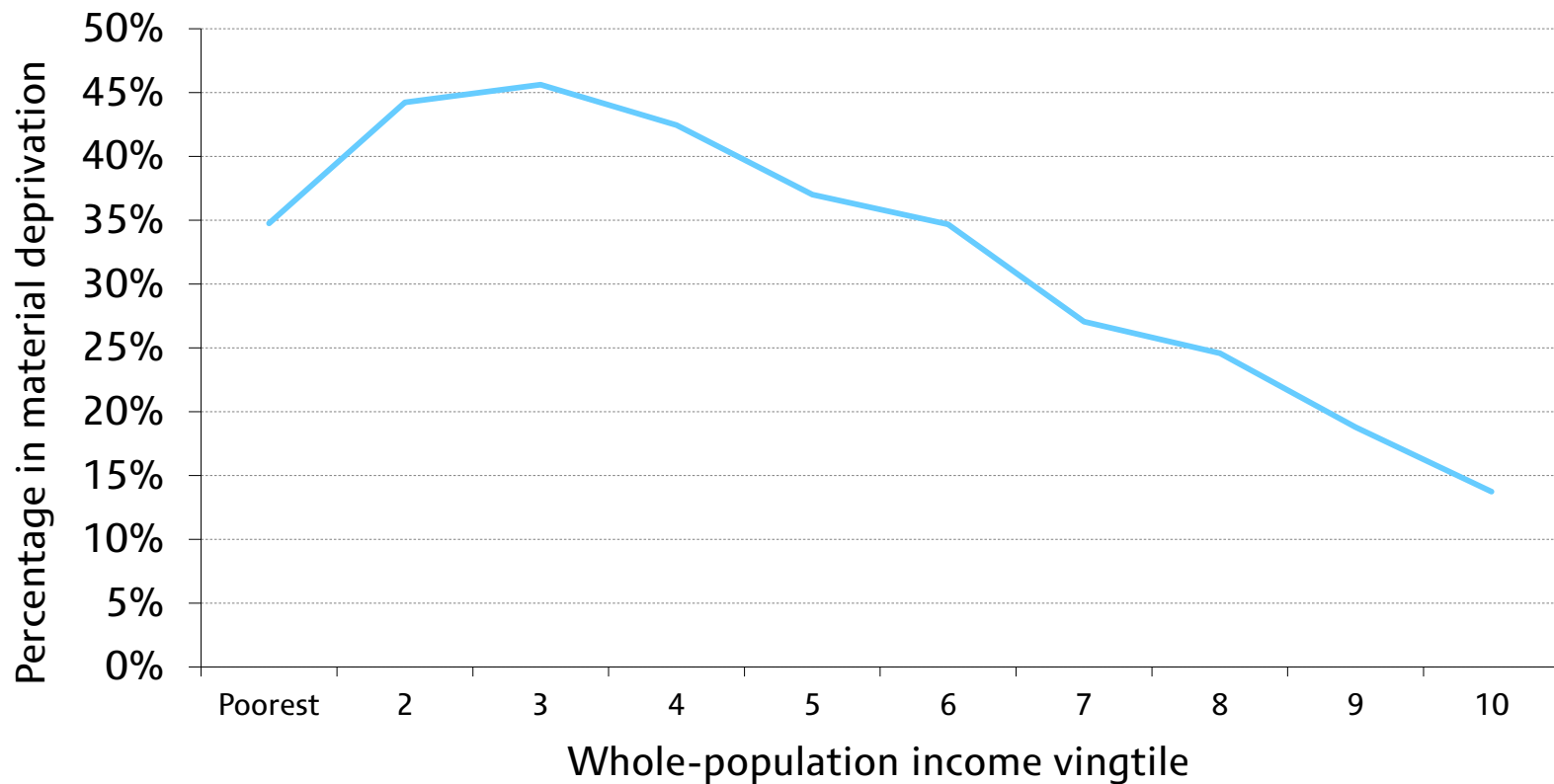


Source: Brewer and O'Dea (2012)

Material Deprivation

- We can also look at another measure of hardship – material deprivation
- This is an indicator of families being unable to afford certain items
 - e.g a warm winter coat or to save £10 a month
- The answers to these questions are used to create a “deprivation score” out of 100
 - If more than 25 then classed as materially deprived
- Items that the majority of the population can afford are given more weight

... Nor are they most likely to be materially deprived



Source: Figure 5.7 of *Living Standards, Poverty and Inequality: 2015*

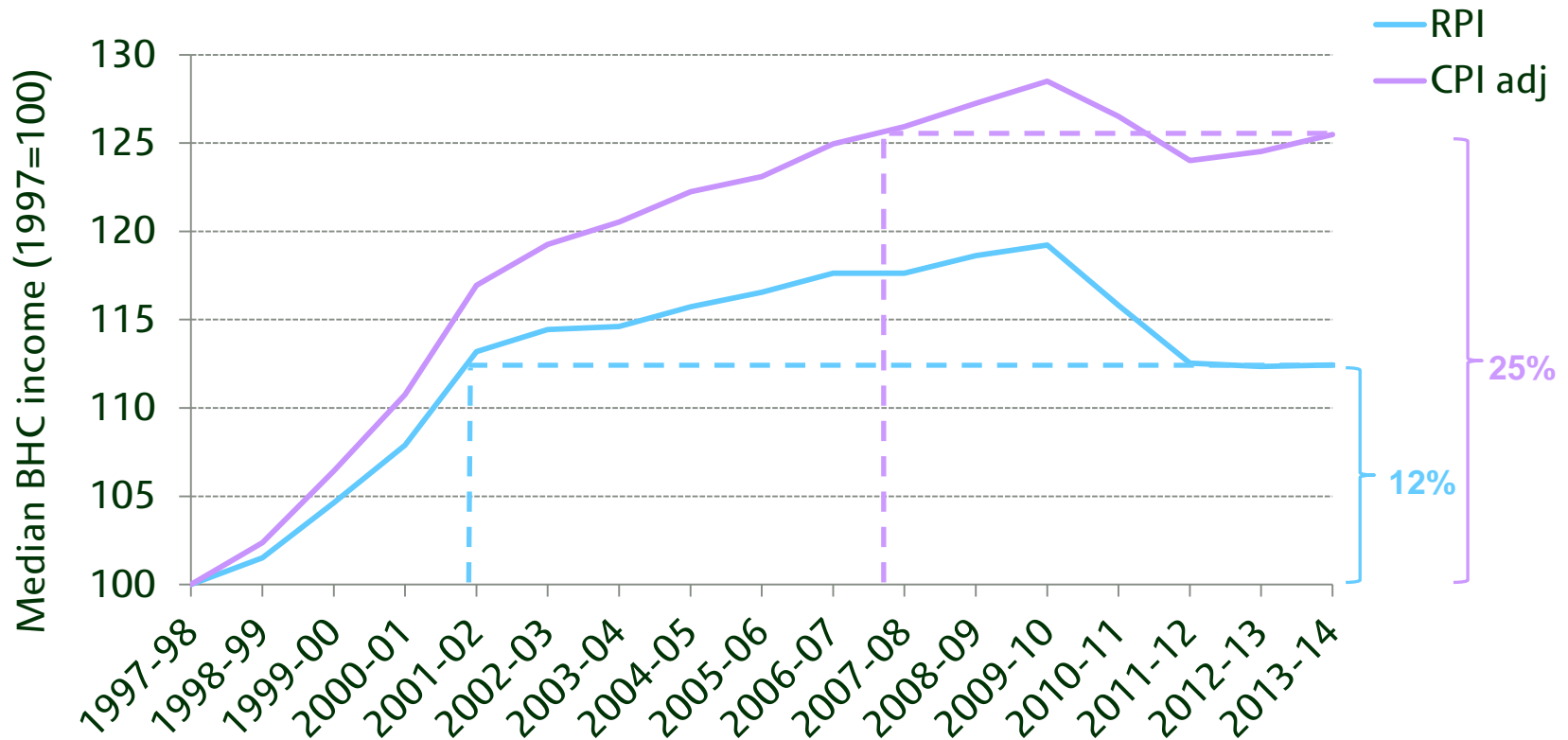
Measurement of income

- Income as measured by government in “Households Below Average Income” (HBAI)
- Based on Family Resources Survey (from 1994-5 onwards)
 - 20,000 households across the UK
 - Subject to sampling error
- Income is measured net of direct taxes and benefits
- Measured at the household level (implicitly assumes income sharing)
- Adjusted for inflation

RPI and its problems

- In the official statistics RPI is used to account for inflation over time
- However recently RPI has been thought to overstate inflation due to a “formula effect”
 - Given the same price changes the RPI methodology will measure inflation to be around 1% higher than CPI
- It has been declassified as an official statistic
- An alternatives include RPIJ and CPIH...
- ...but we use a variant of CPI we constructed ourselves

Adjusting for inflation

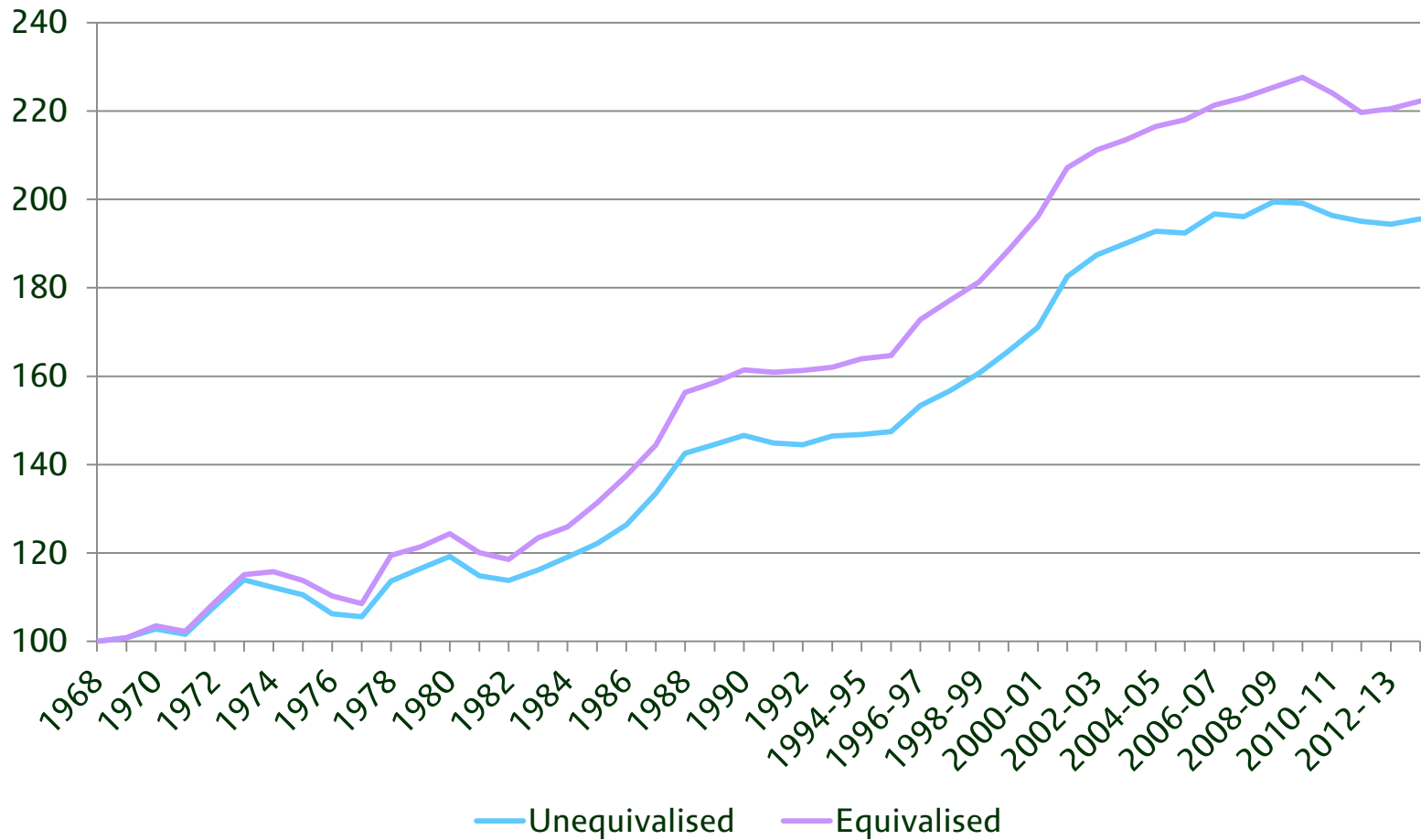


Notes: The RPI line is in fact RPI minus council tax, the inflation measure currently used to adjust HBAI incomes

Measurement of income

- Income as measured by government in “Households Below Average Income” (HBAI)
- Based on Family Resources Survey (from 1994-5 onwards)
 - 25,000 households across the UK
 - Subject to sampling error
- Income is measured net of direct taxes and benefits
- Measured at the household level (implicitly assumes income sharing)
- Adjusted for inflation
- Adjusted for household size (equivalised)

Adjusting for household size

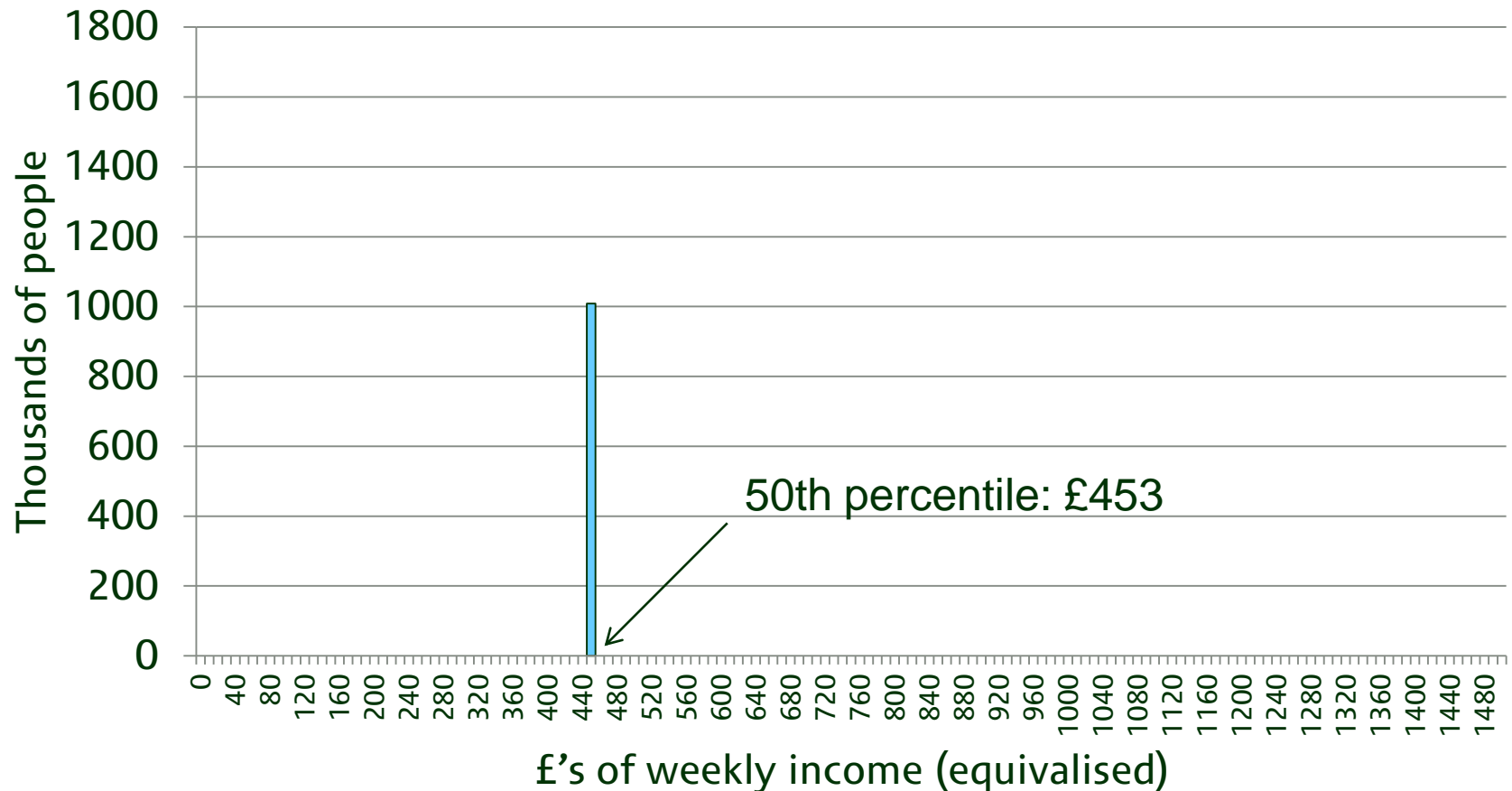


Source: FRS data years 1968 to 2013-14

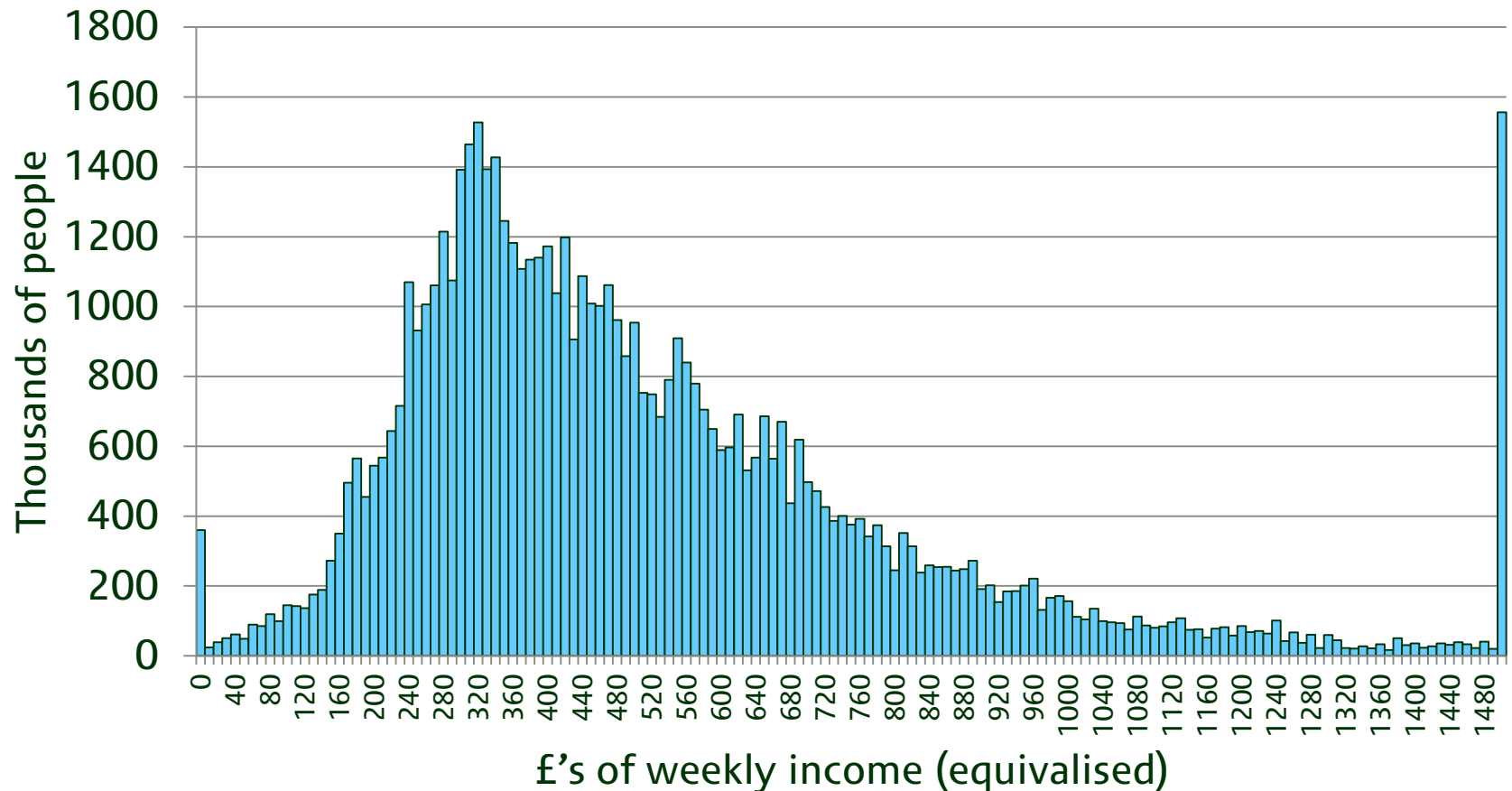
Income inequality



The UK income distribution in 2013–14

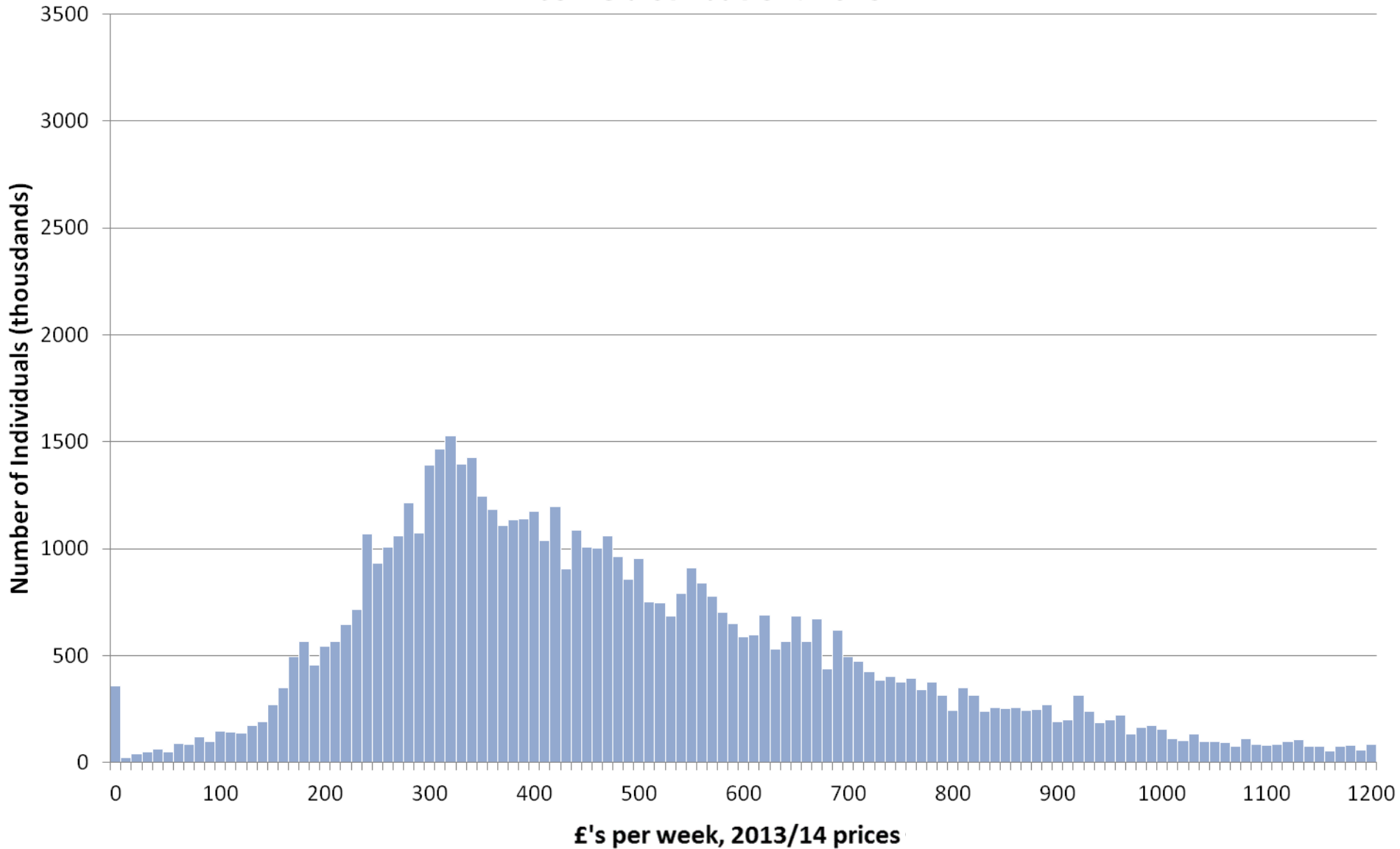


The UK income distribution in 2013–14

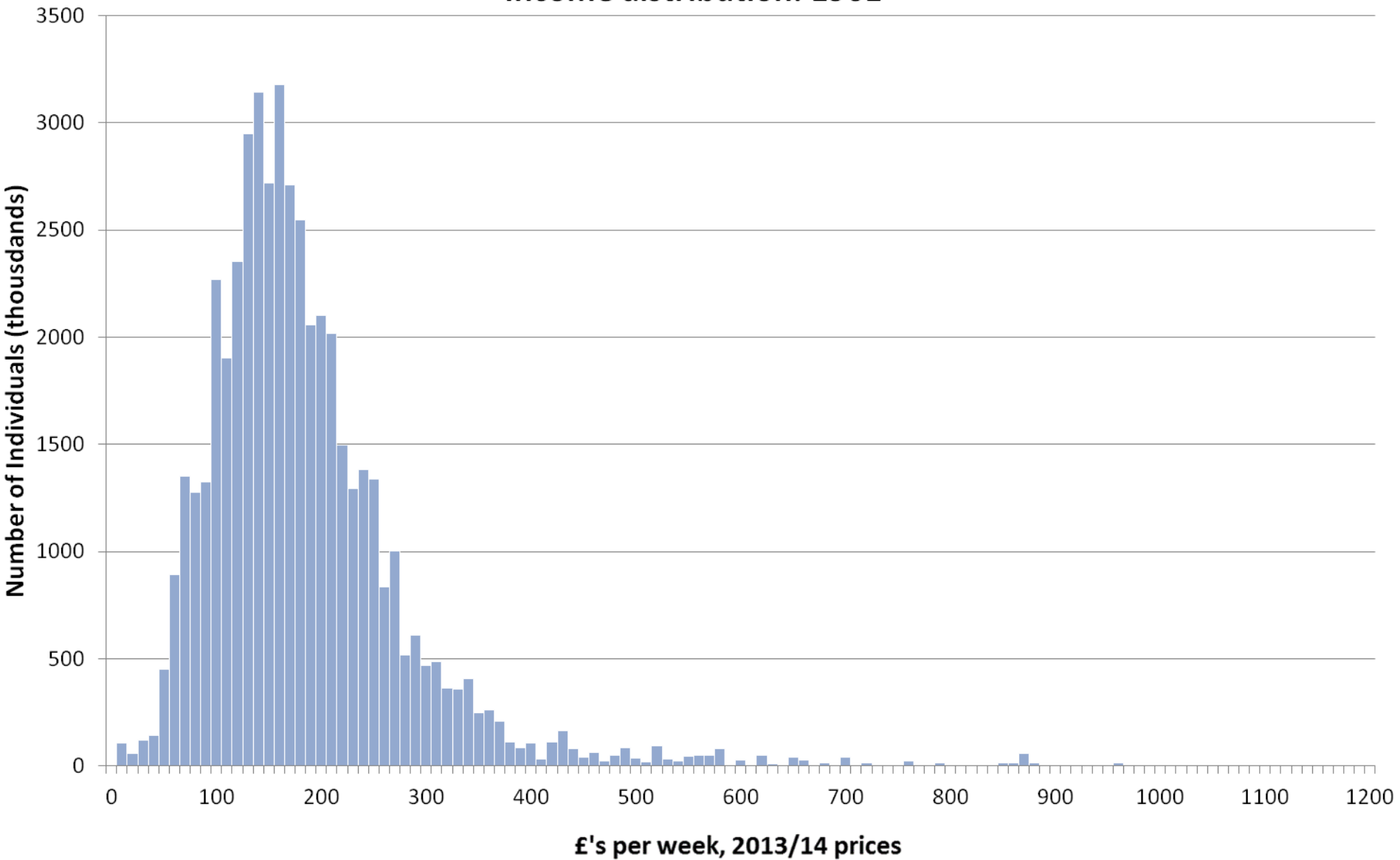


Source: Figure 3.1 of *Living Standards, Poverty and Inequality: 2014*

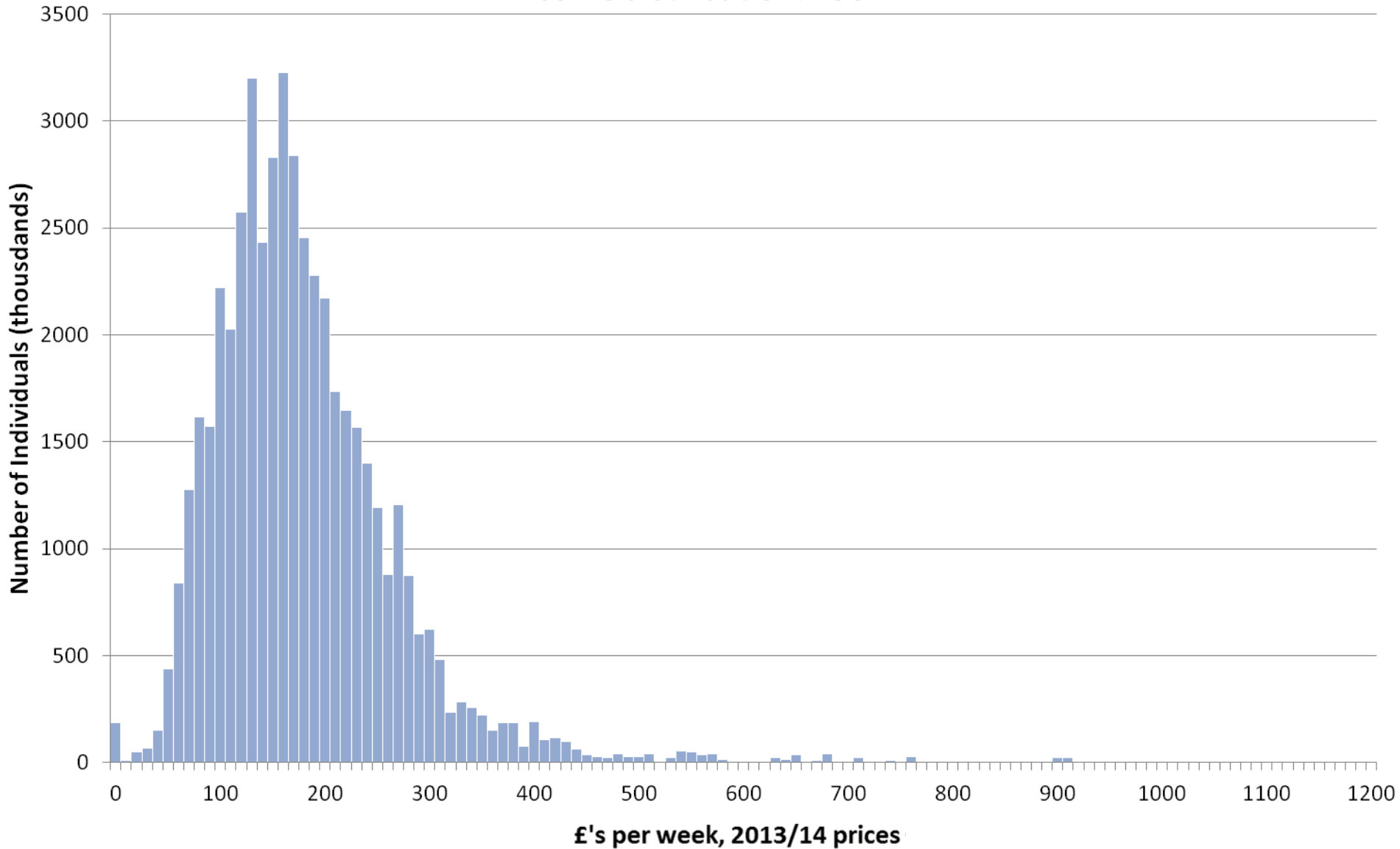
Income distribution: 2013



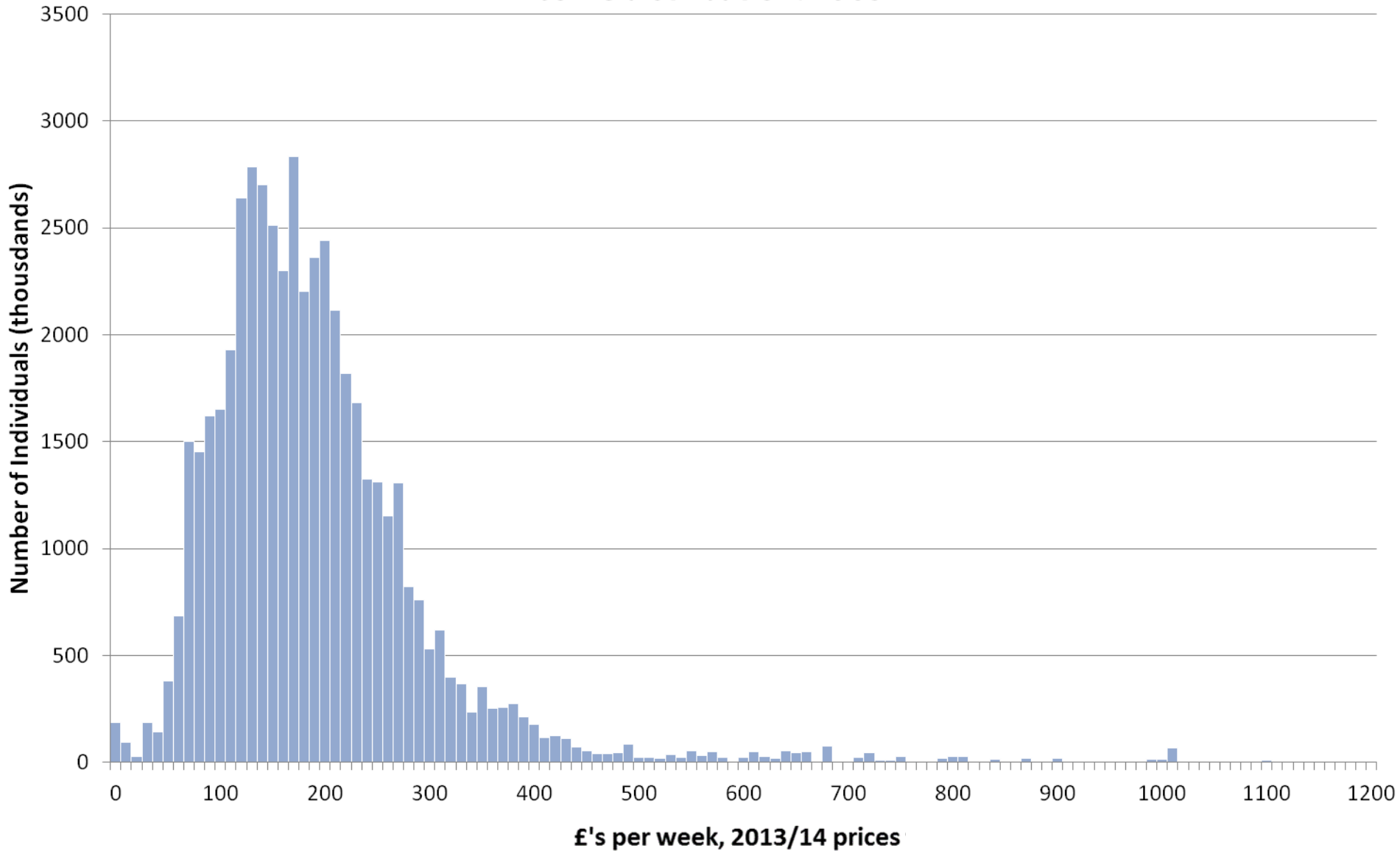
Income distribution: 1961



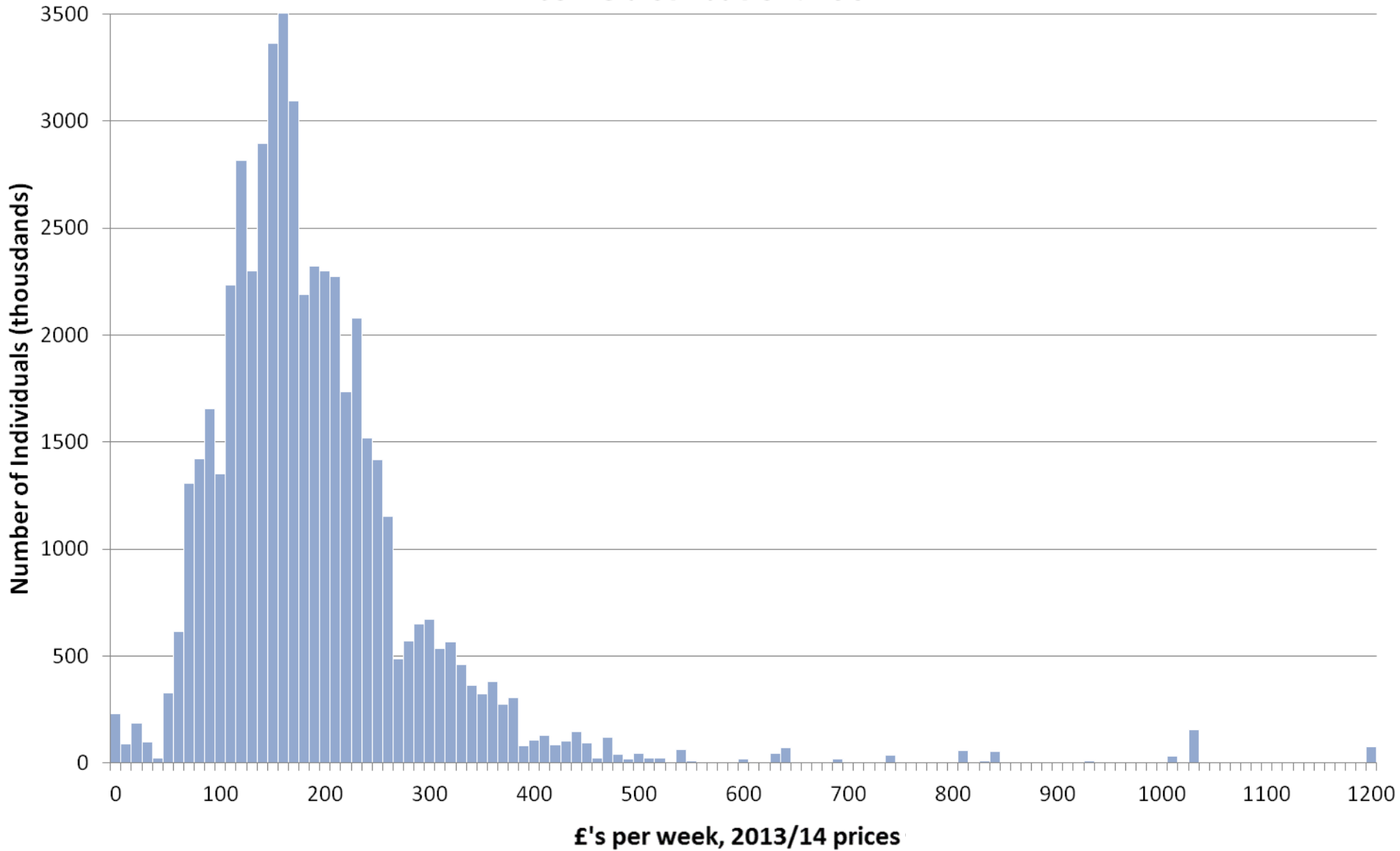
Income distribution: 1962



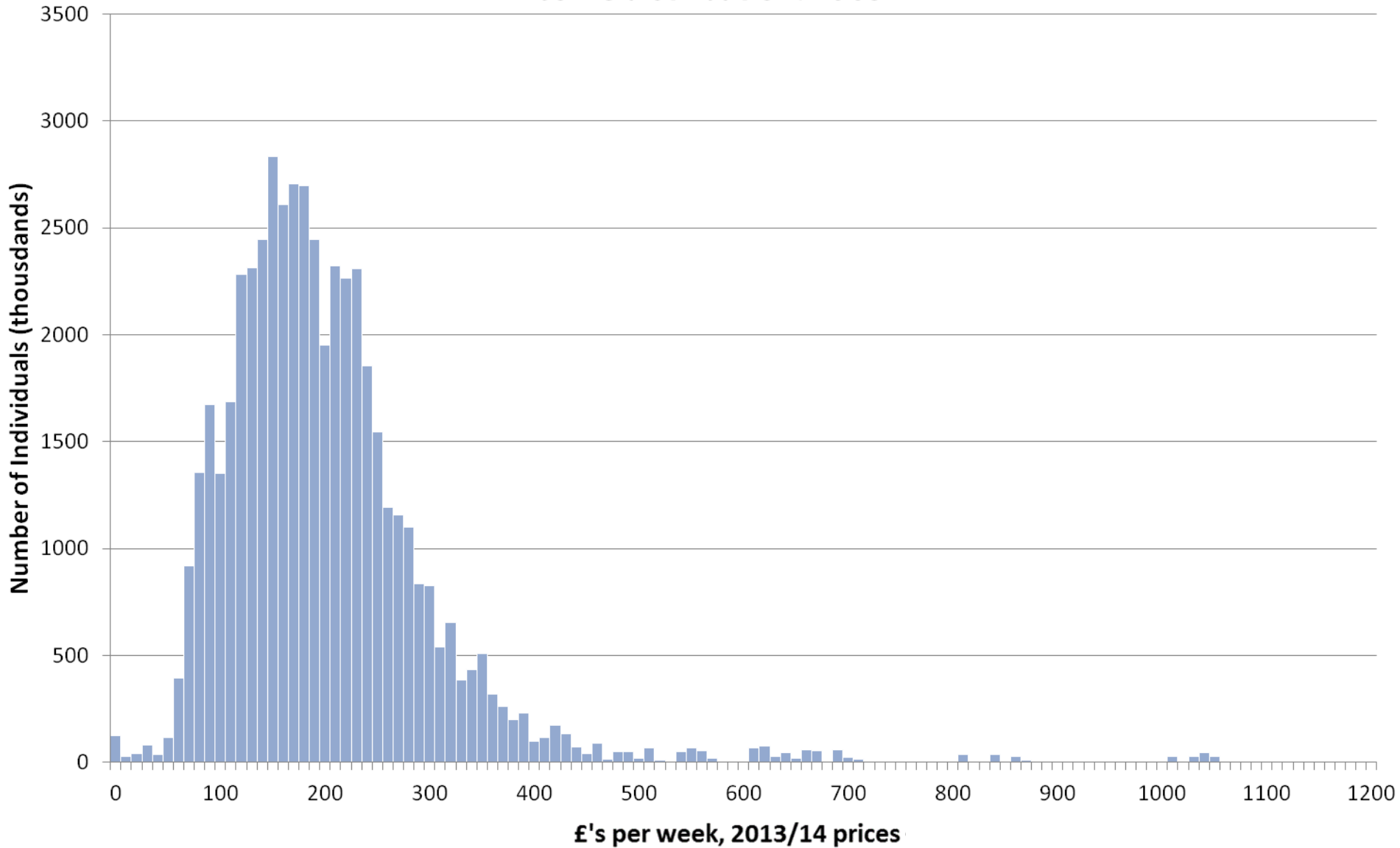
Income distribution: 1963



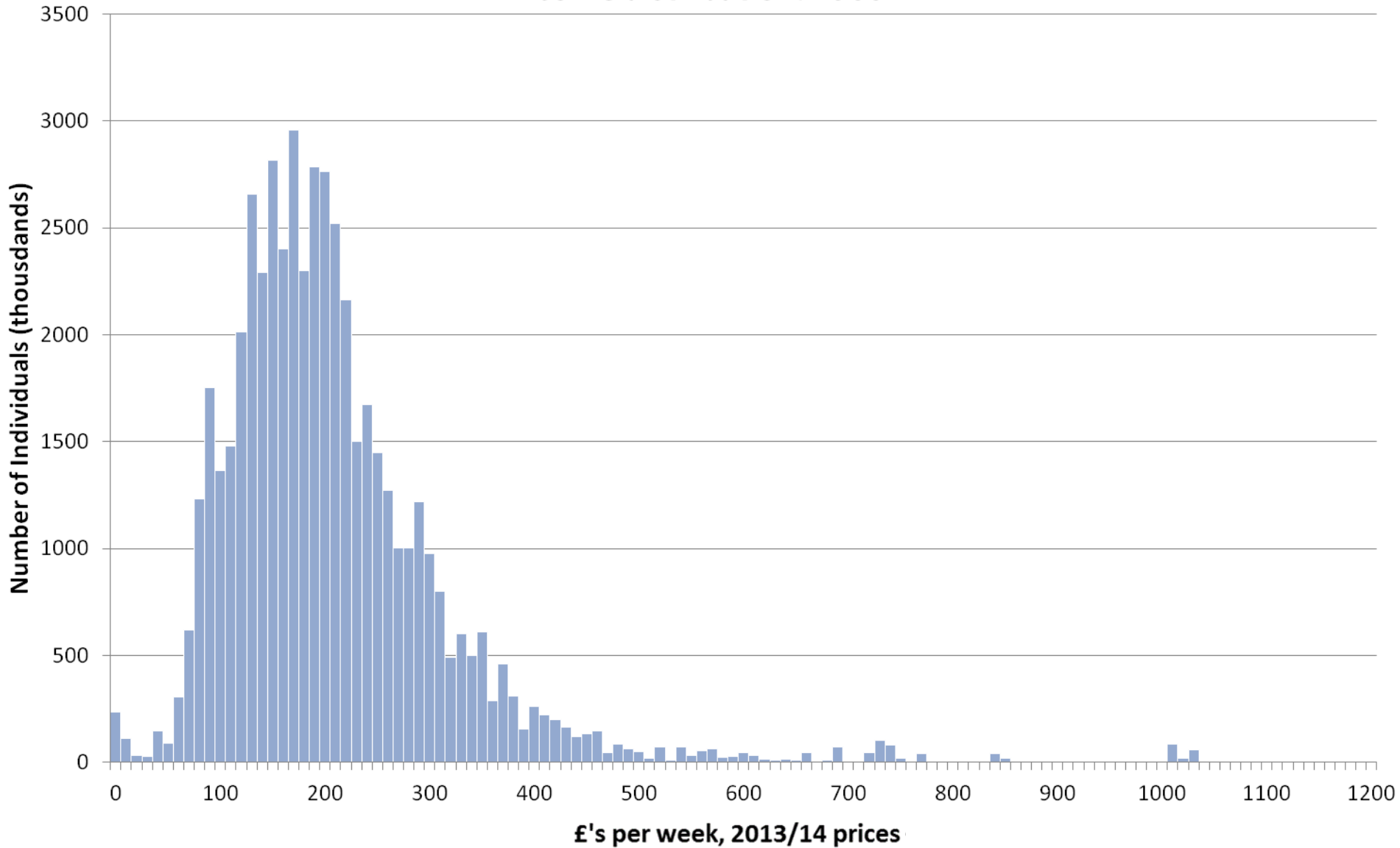
Income distribution: 1964



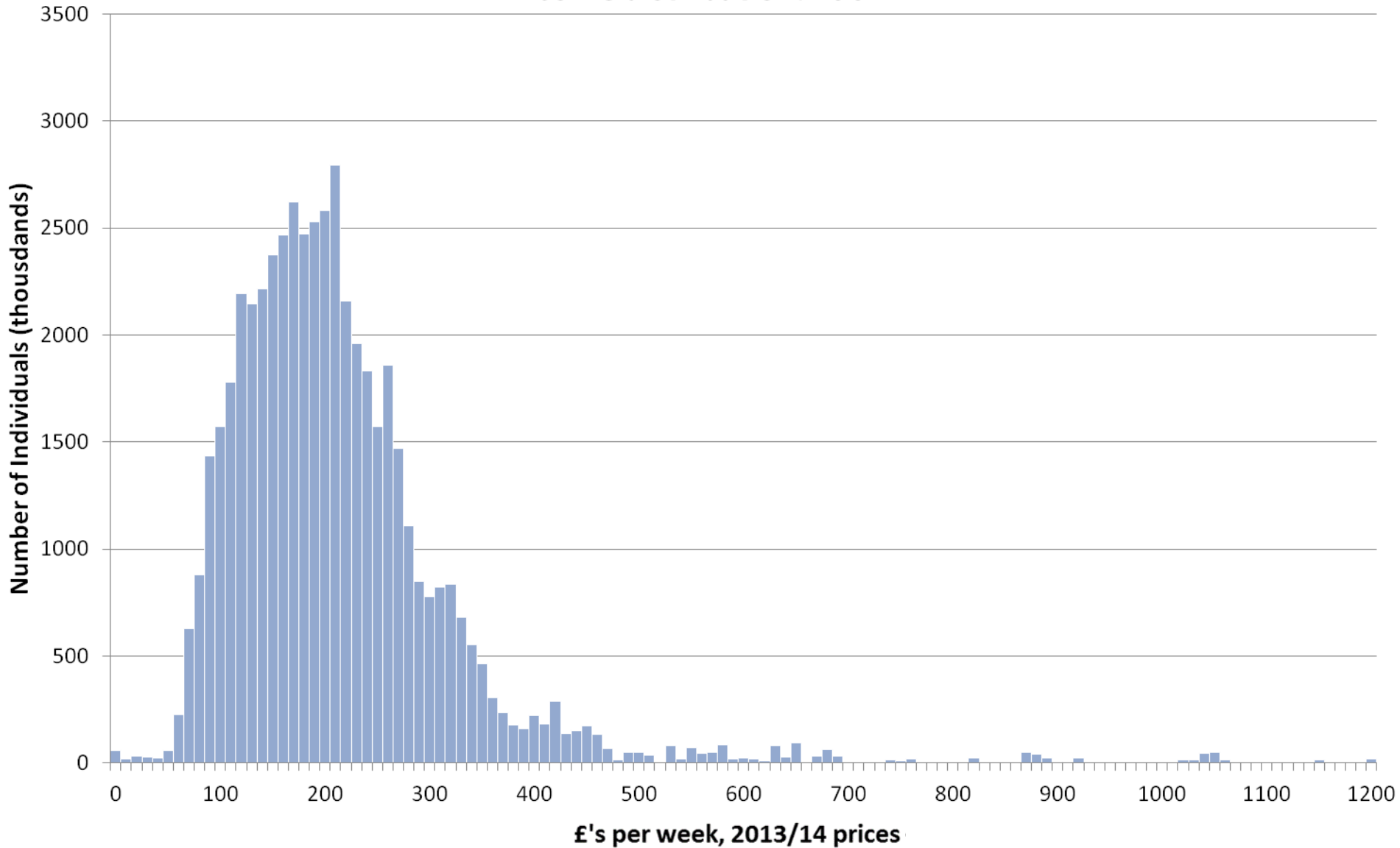
Income distribution: 1965



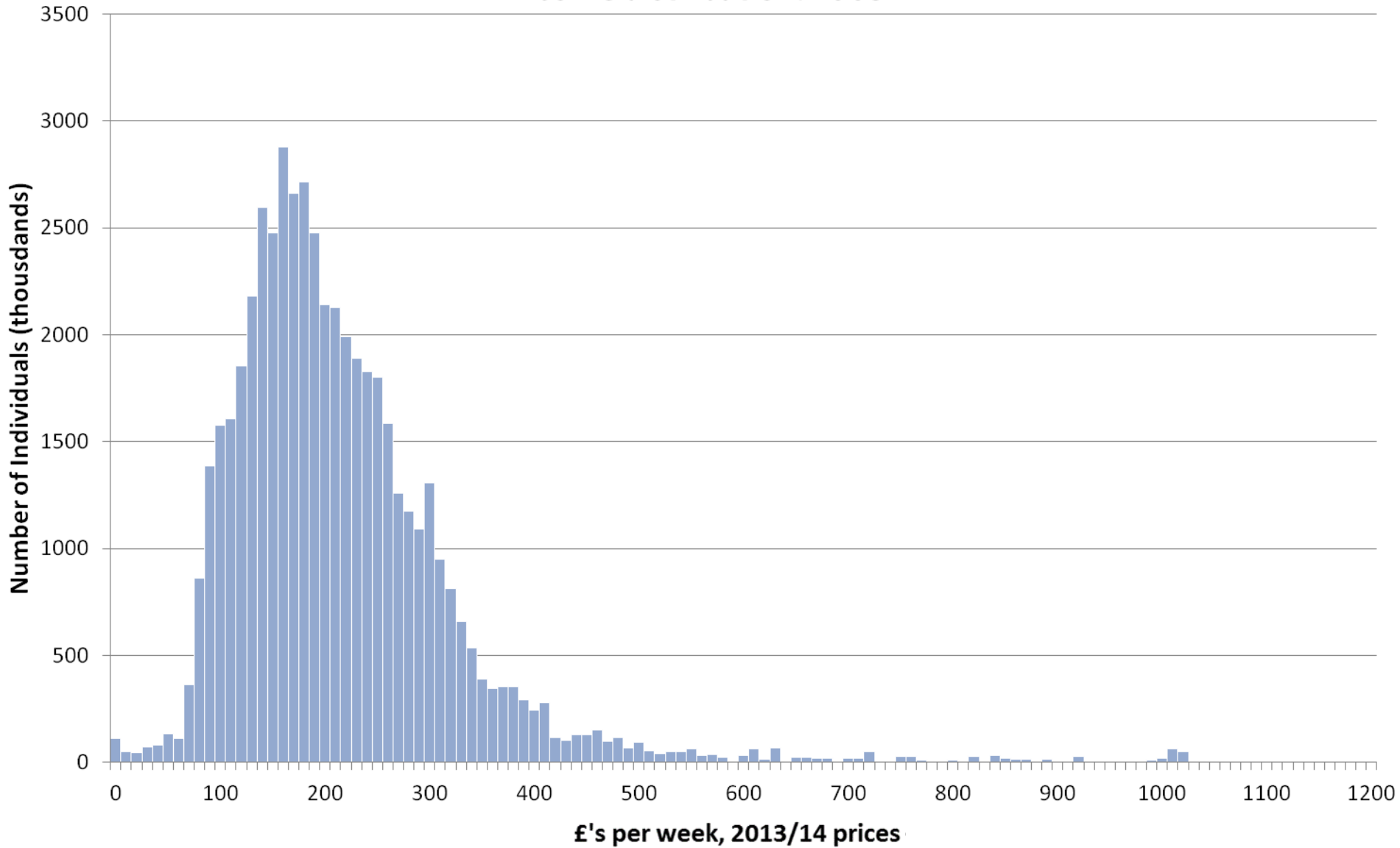
Income distribution: 1966



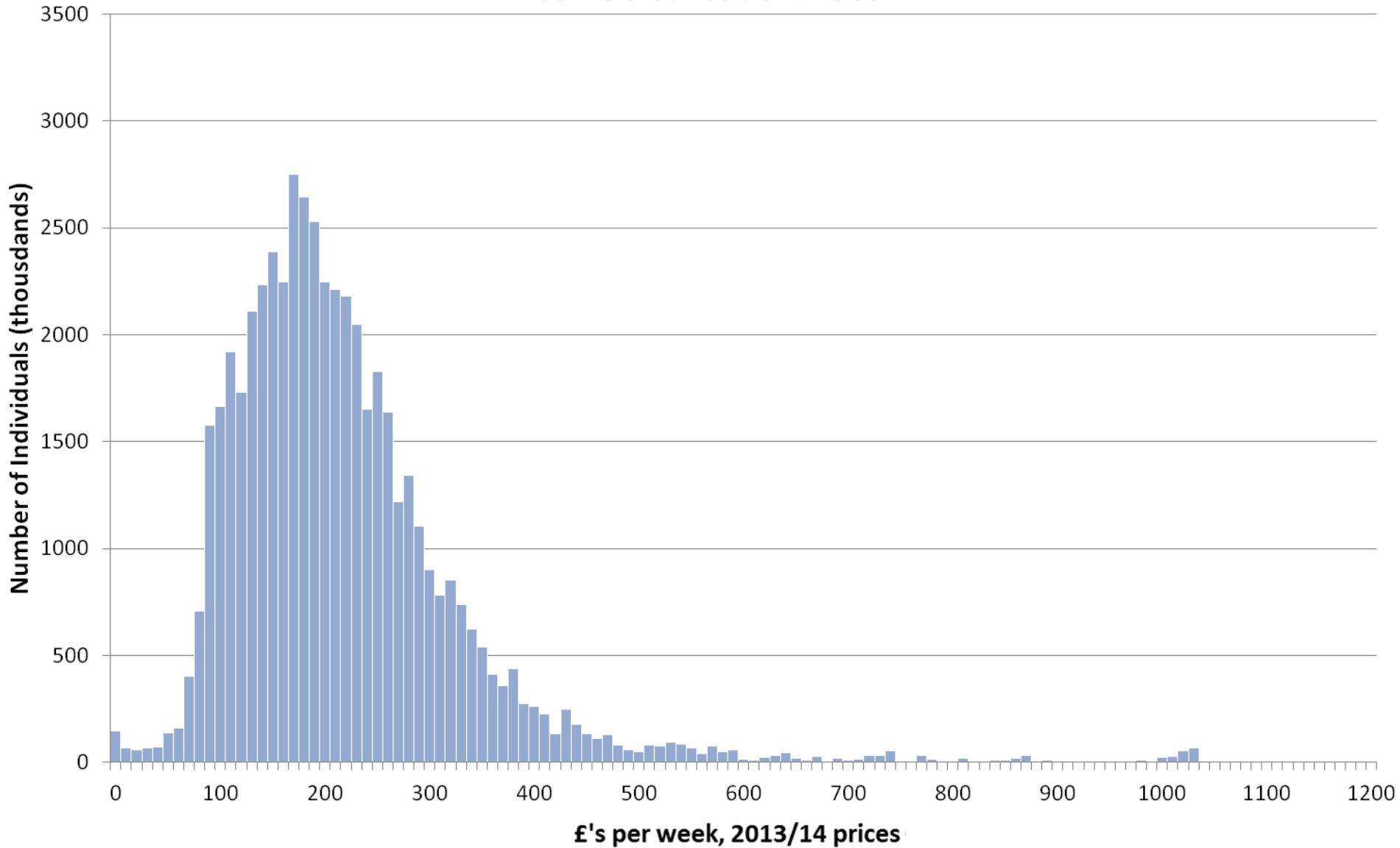
Income distribution: 1967



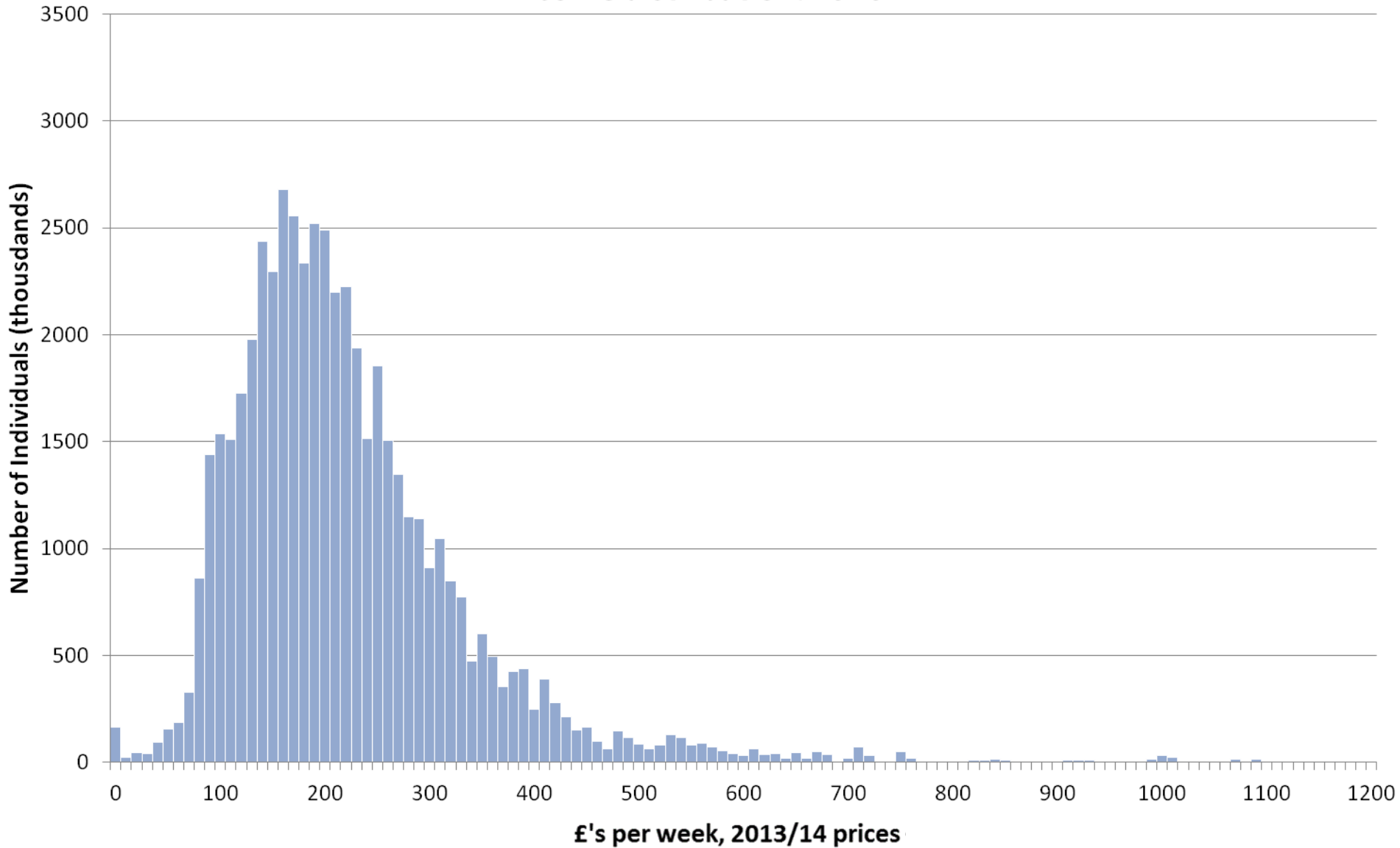
Income distribution: 1968



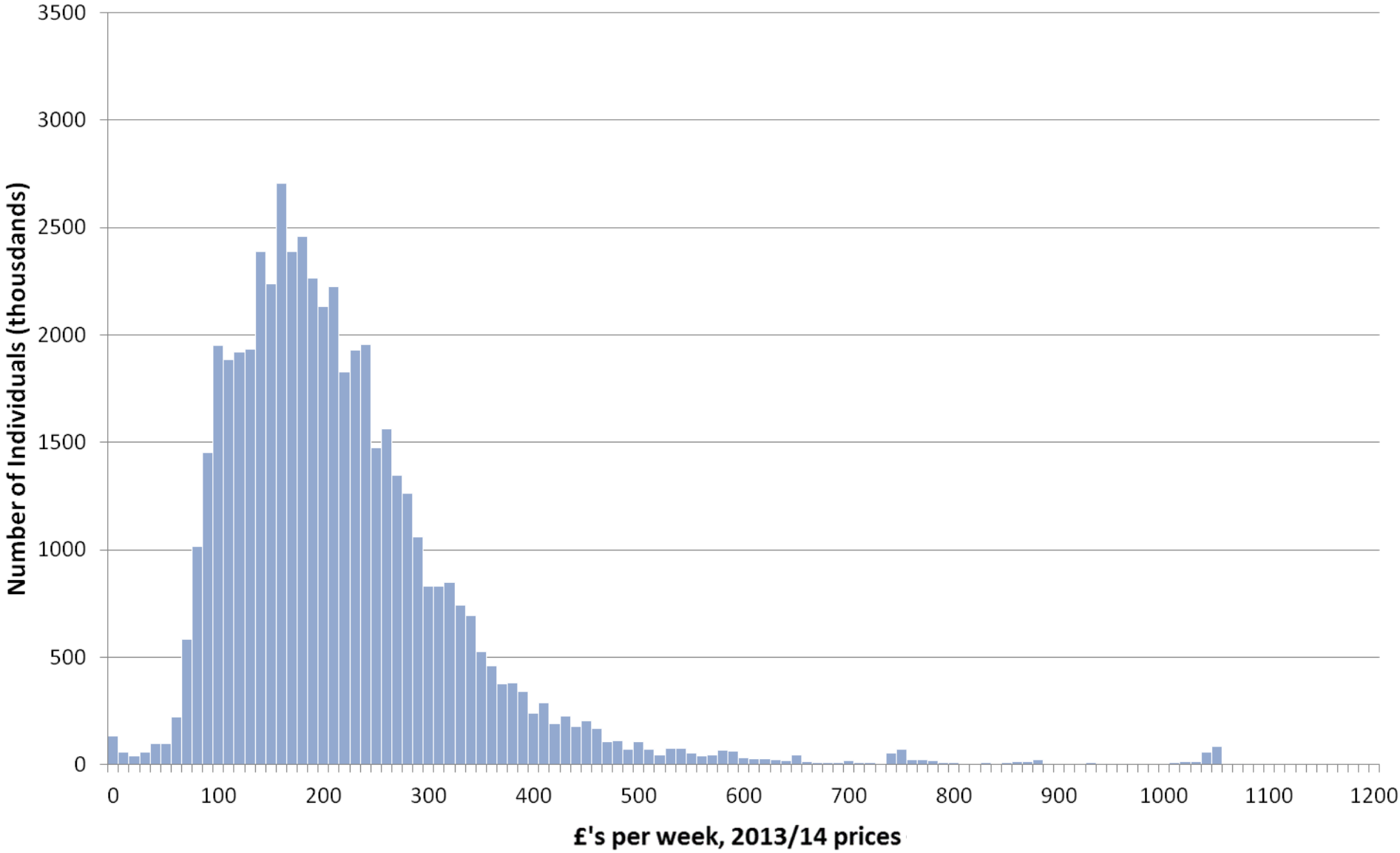
Income distribution: 1969



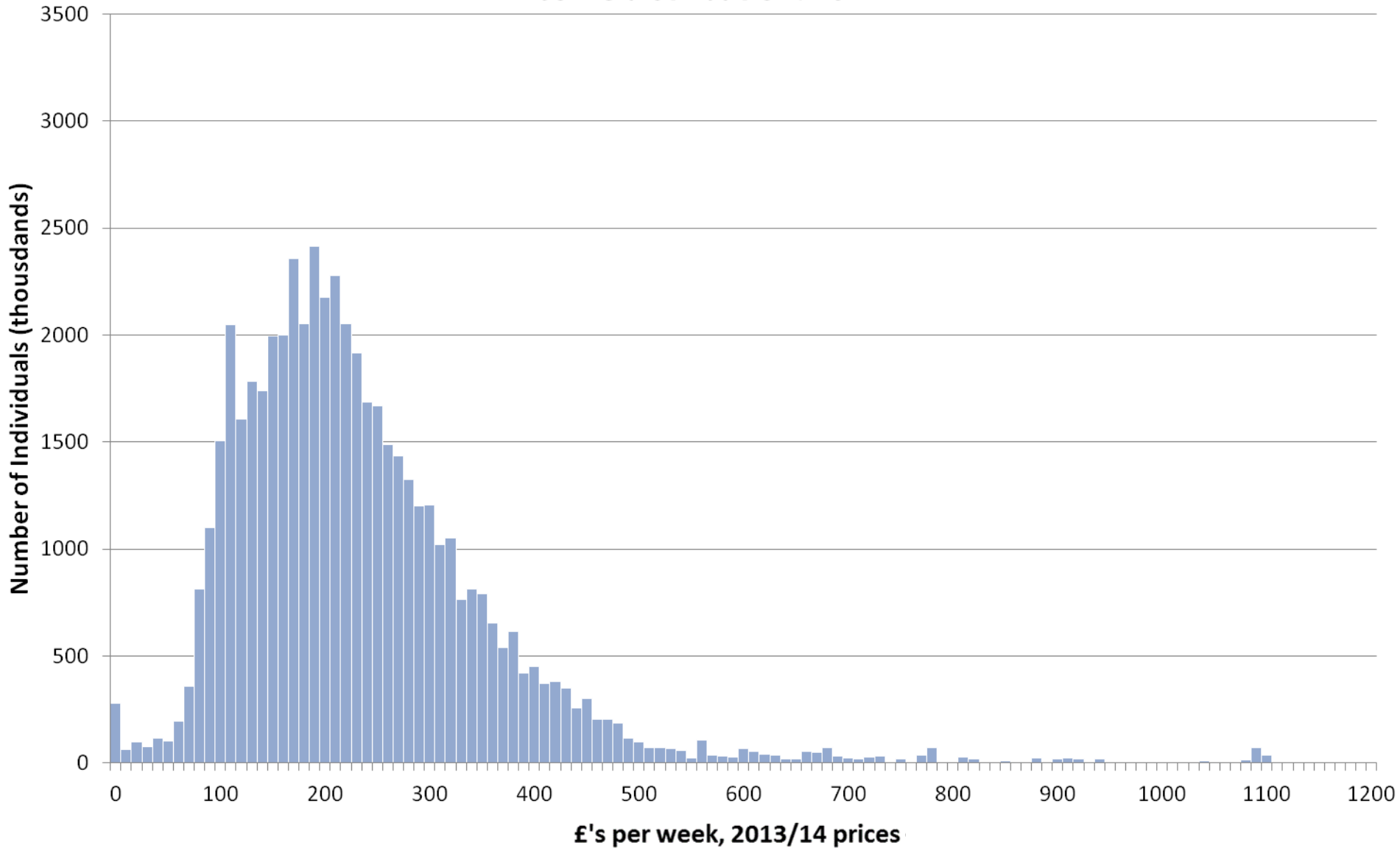
Income distribution: 1970



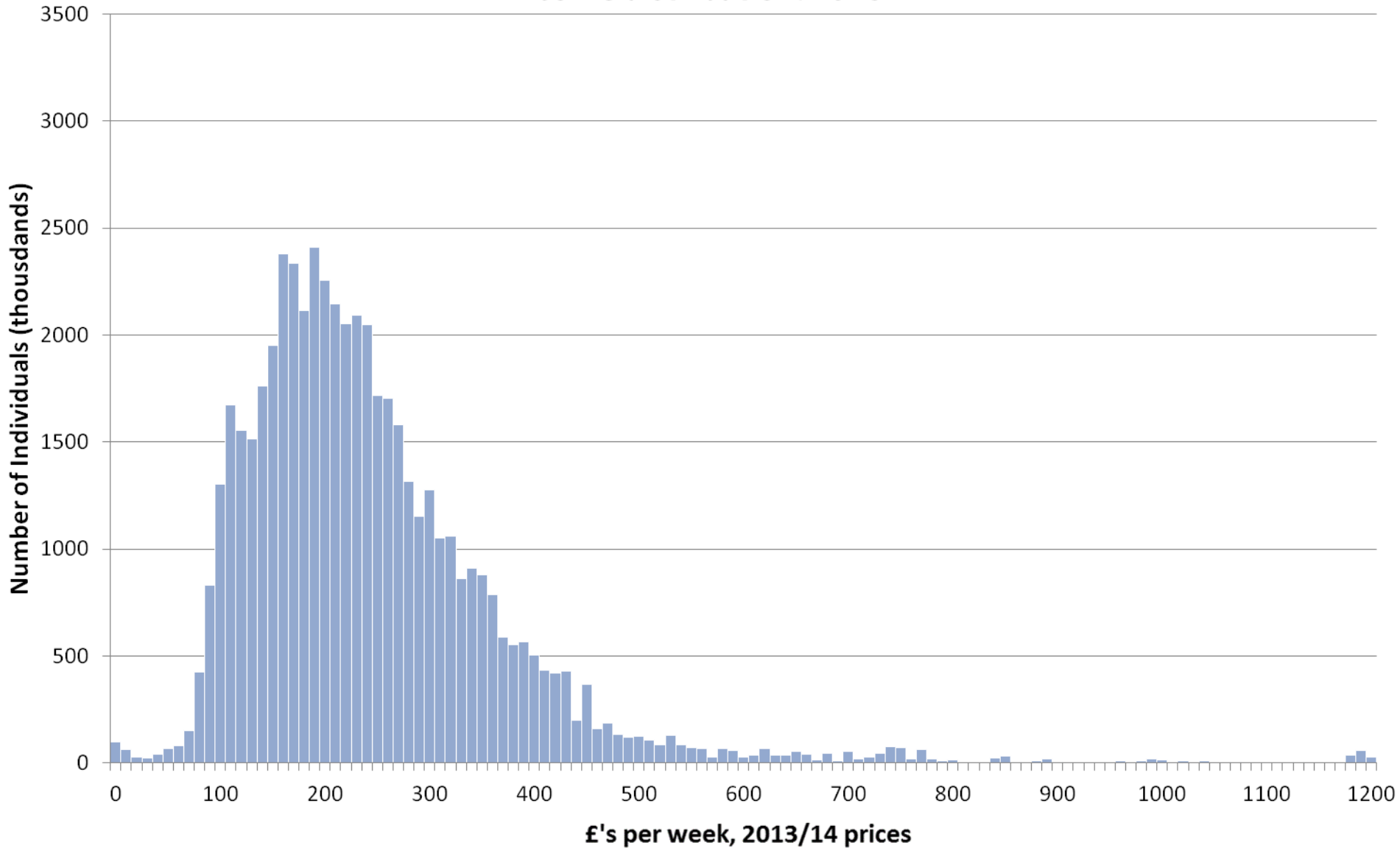
Income distribution: 1971



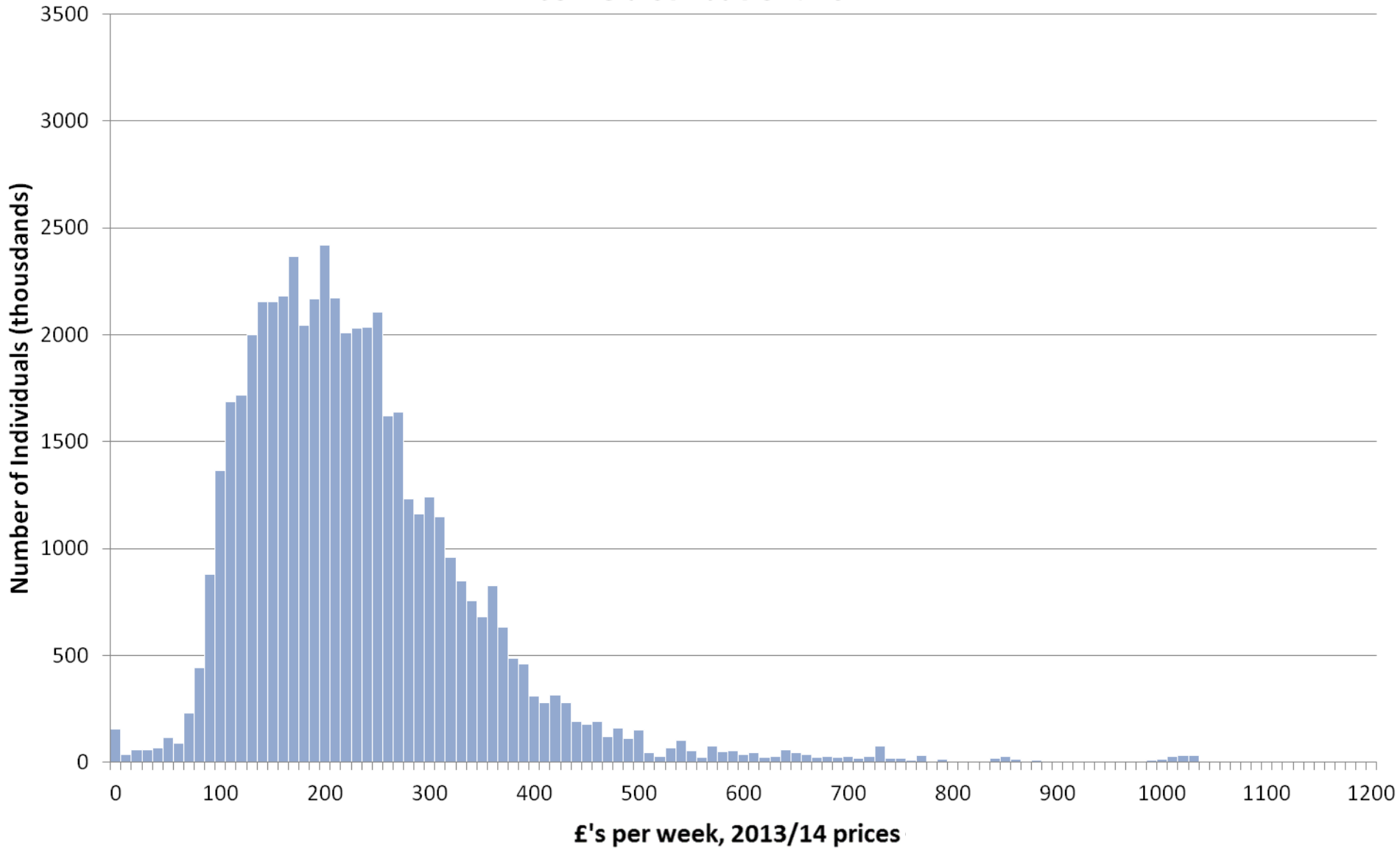
Income distribution: 1972



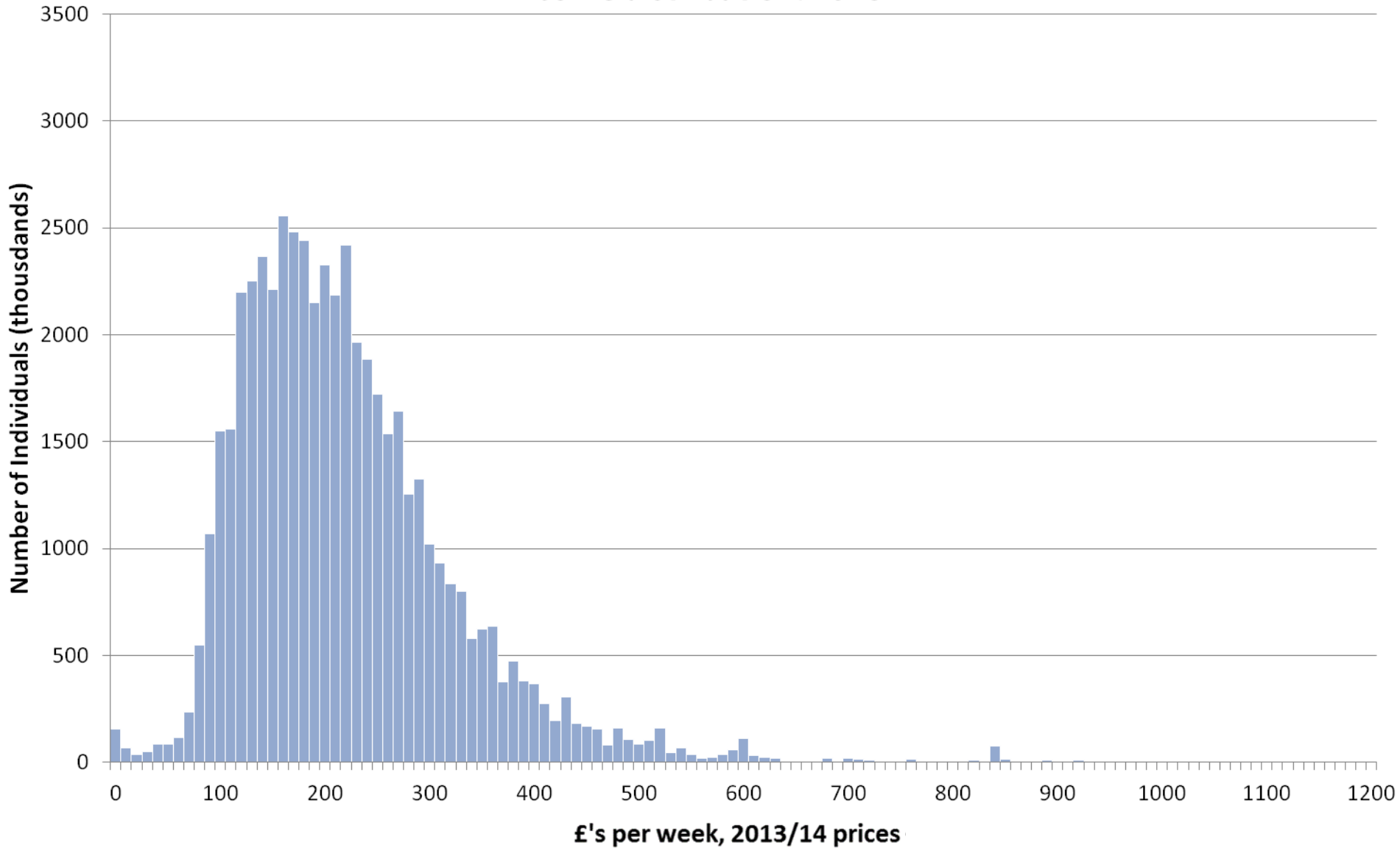
Income distribution: 1973



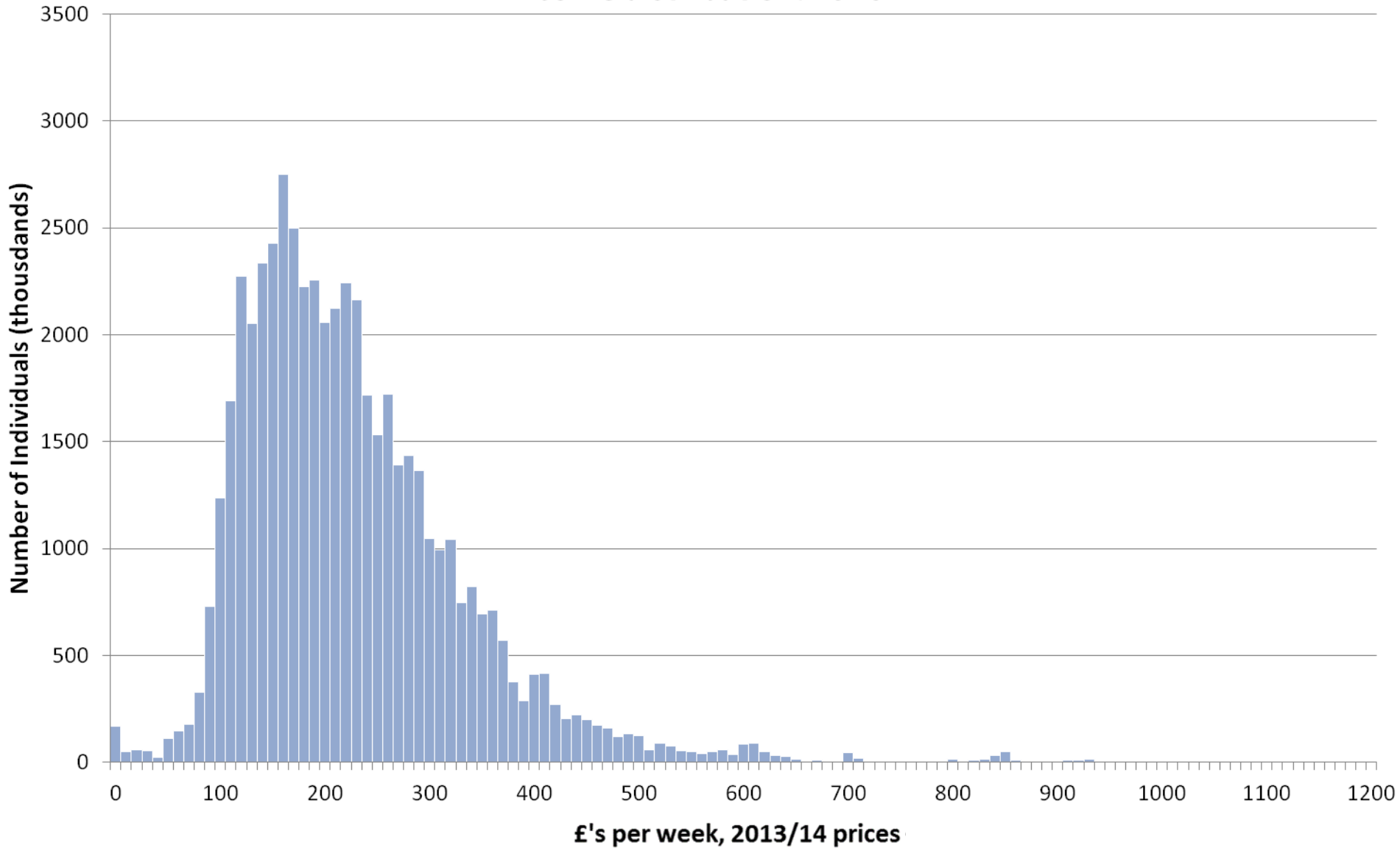
Income distribution: 1974



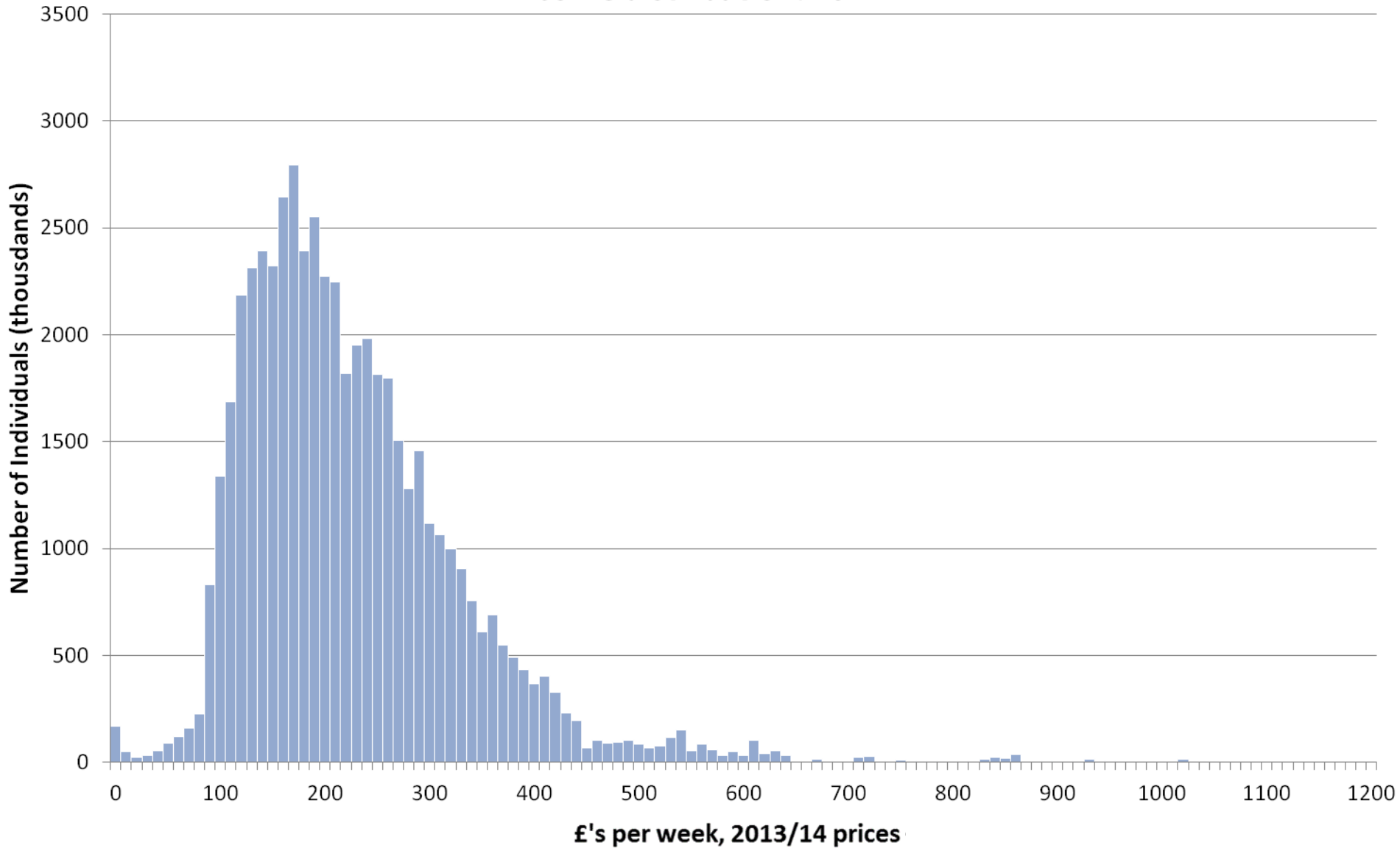
Income distribution: 1975



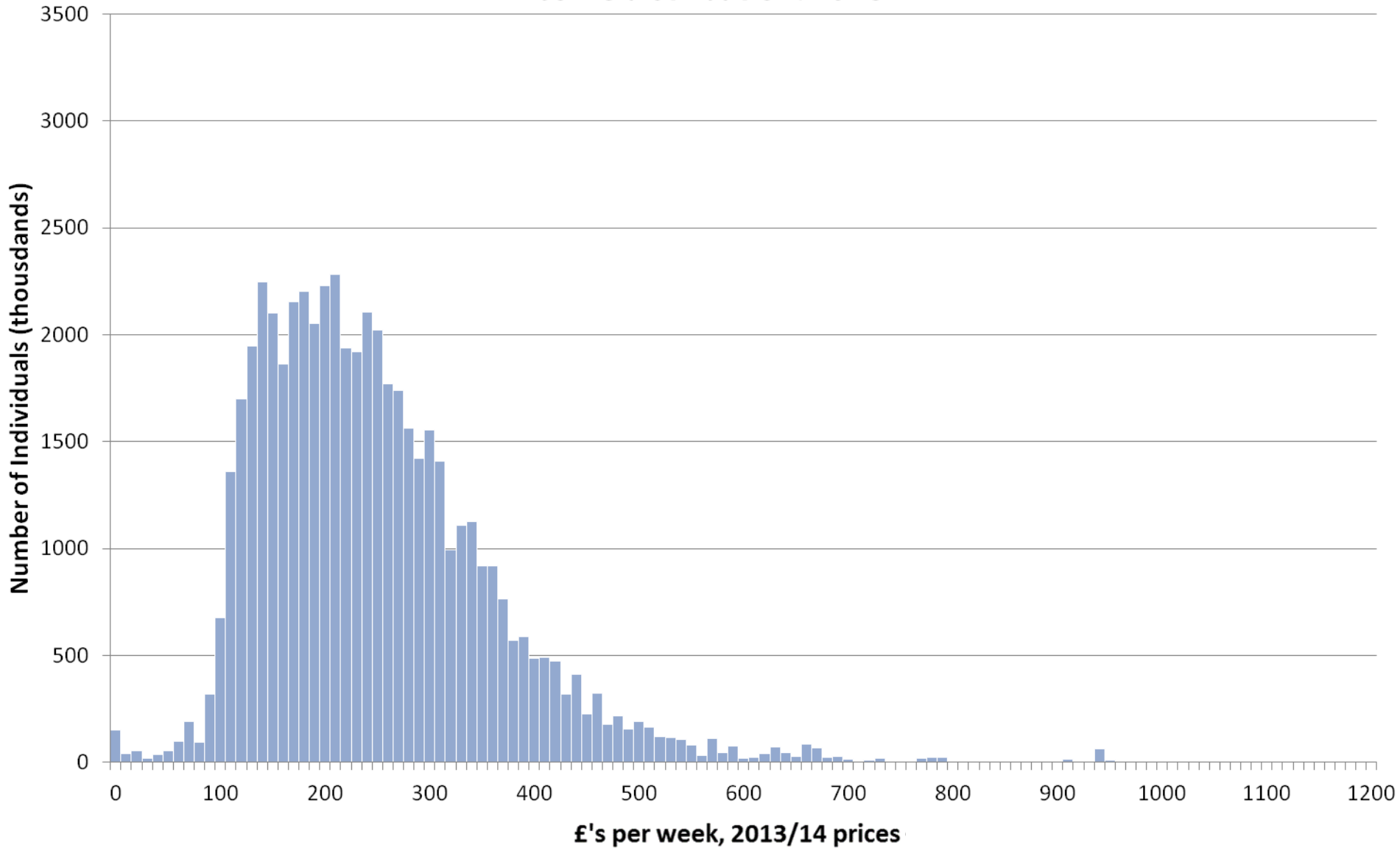
Income distribution: 1976



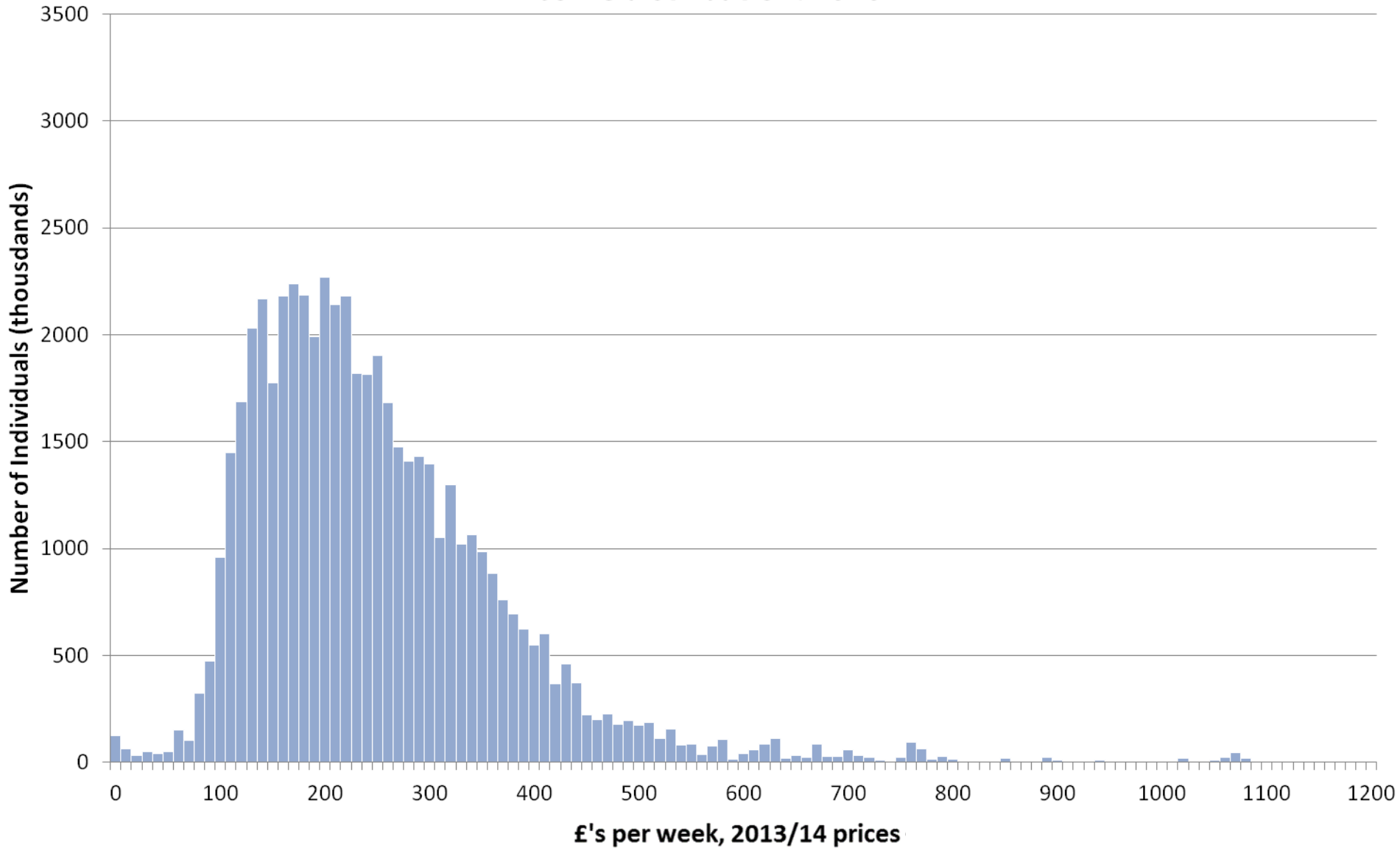
Income distribution: 1977



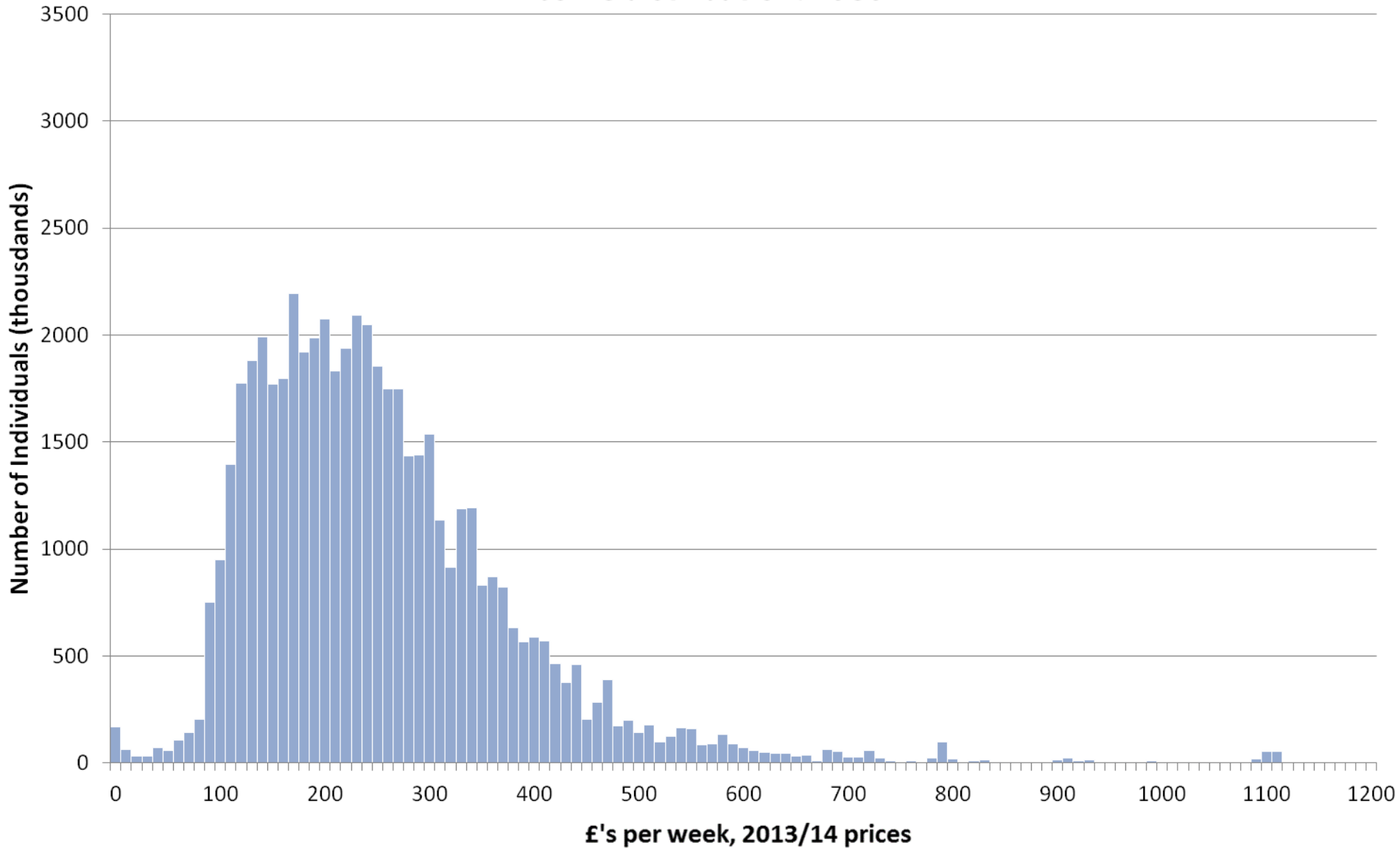
Income distribution: 1978



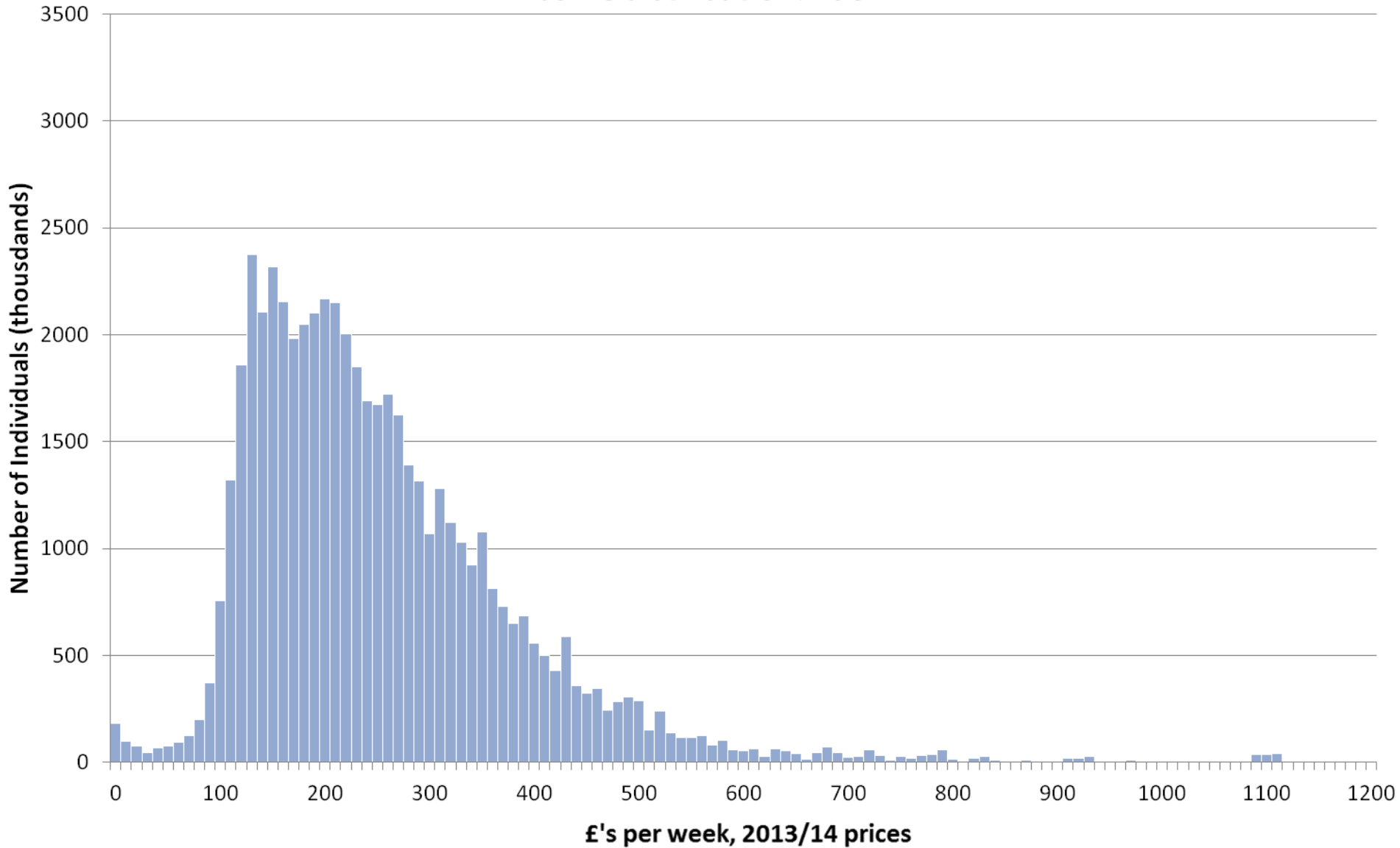
Income distribution: 1979



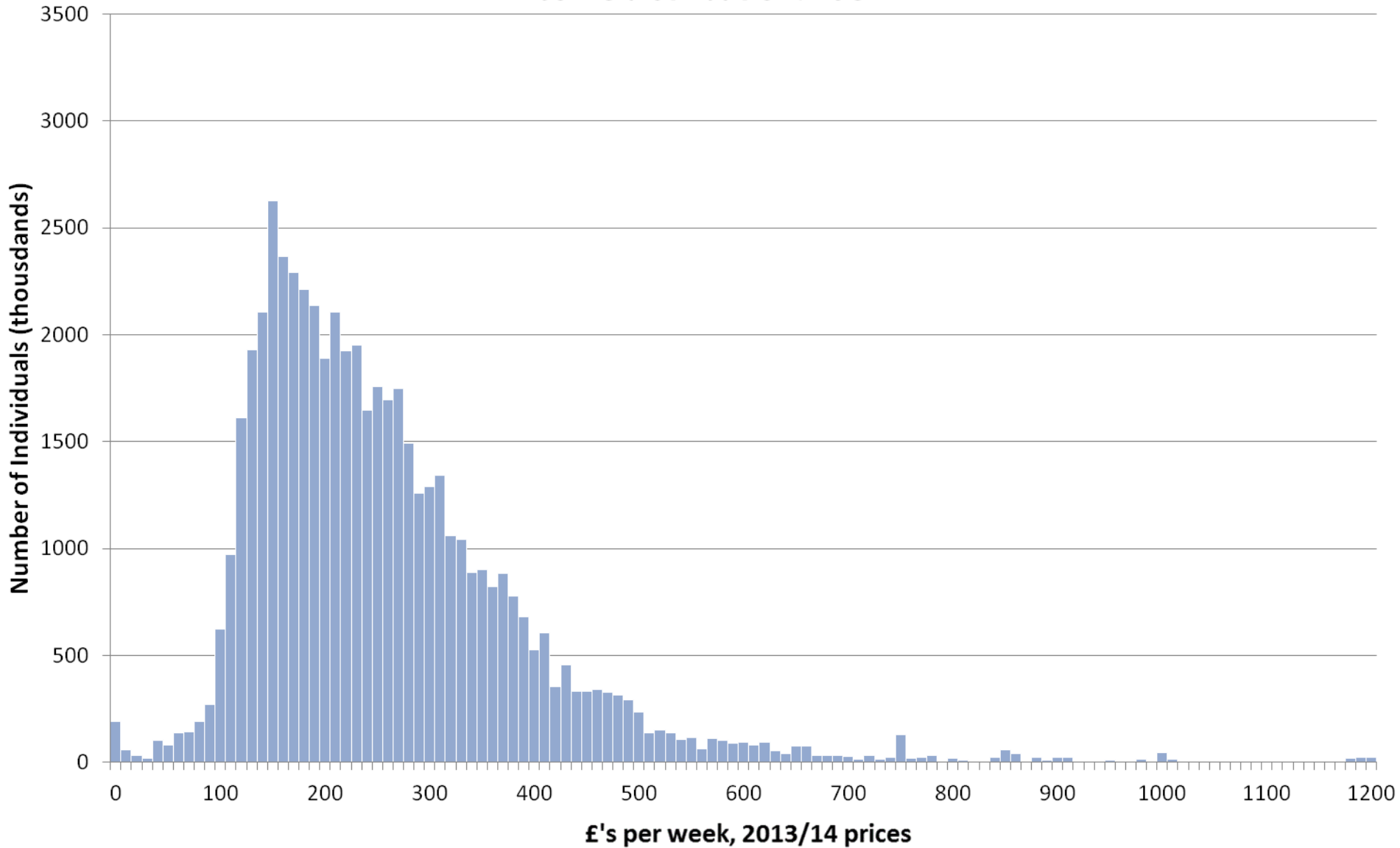
Income distribution: 1980



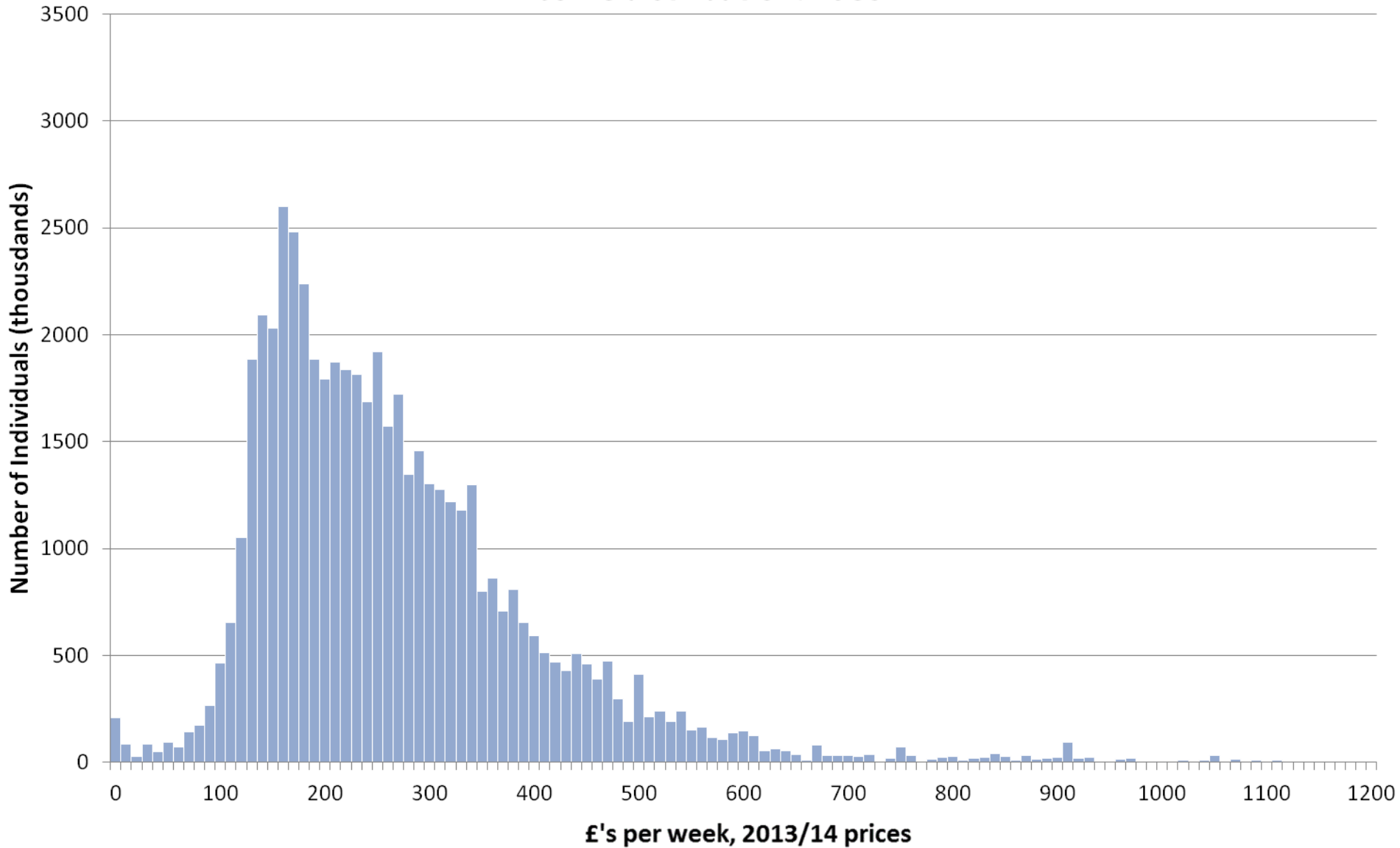
Income distribution: 1981



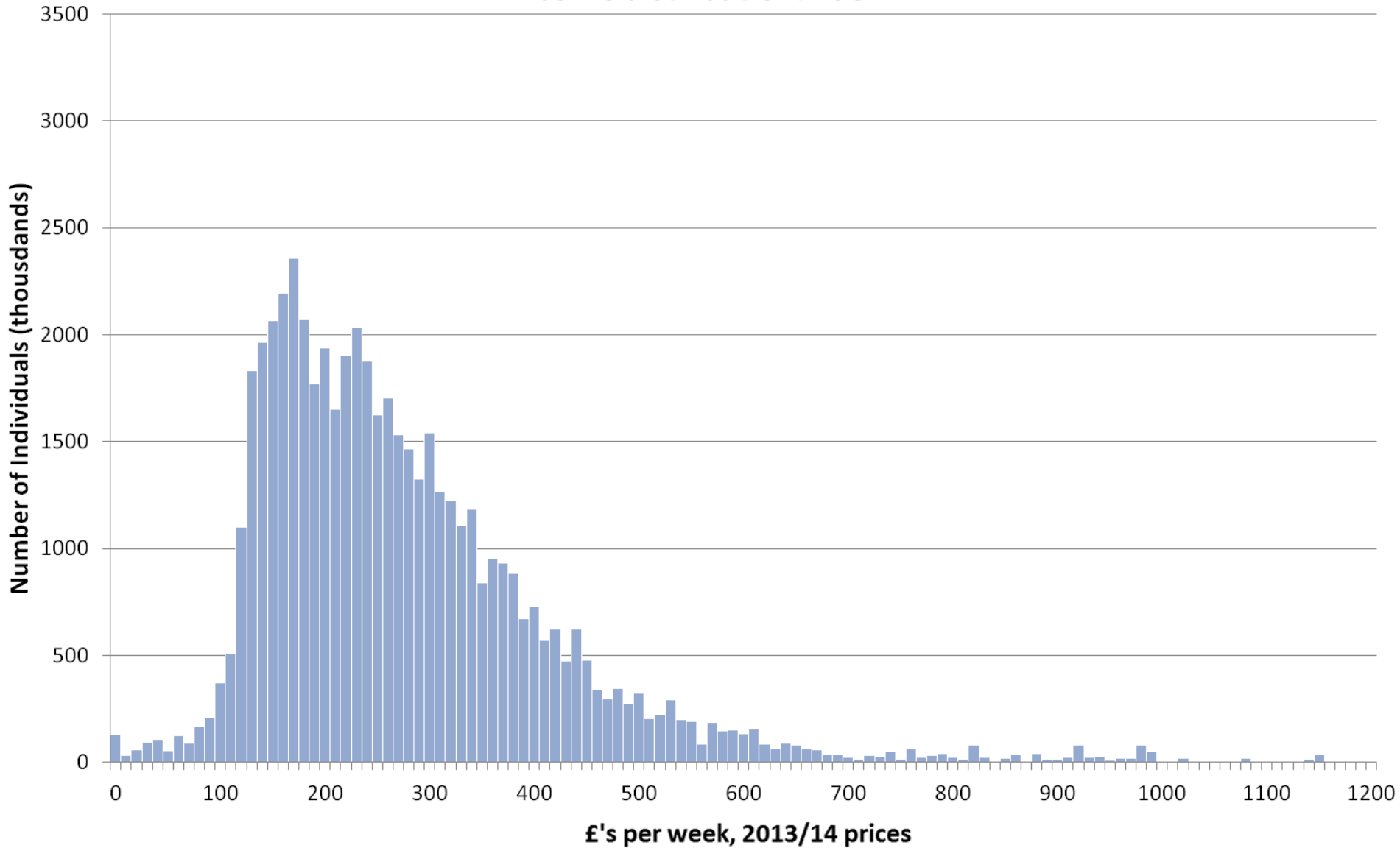
Income distribution: 1982



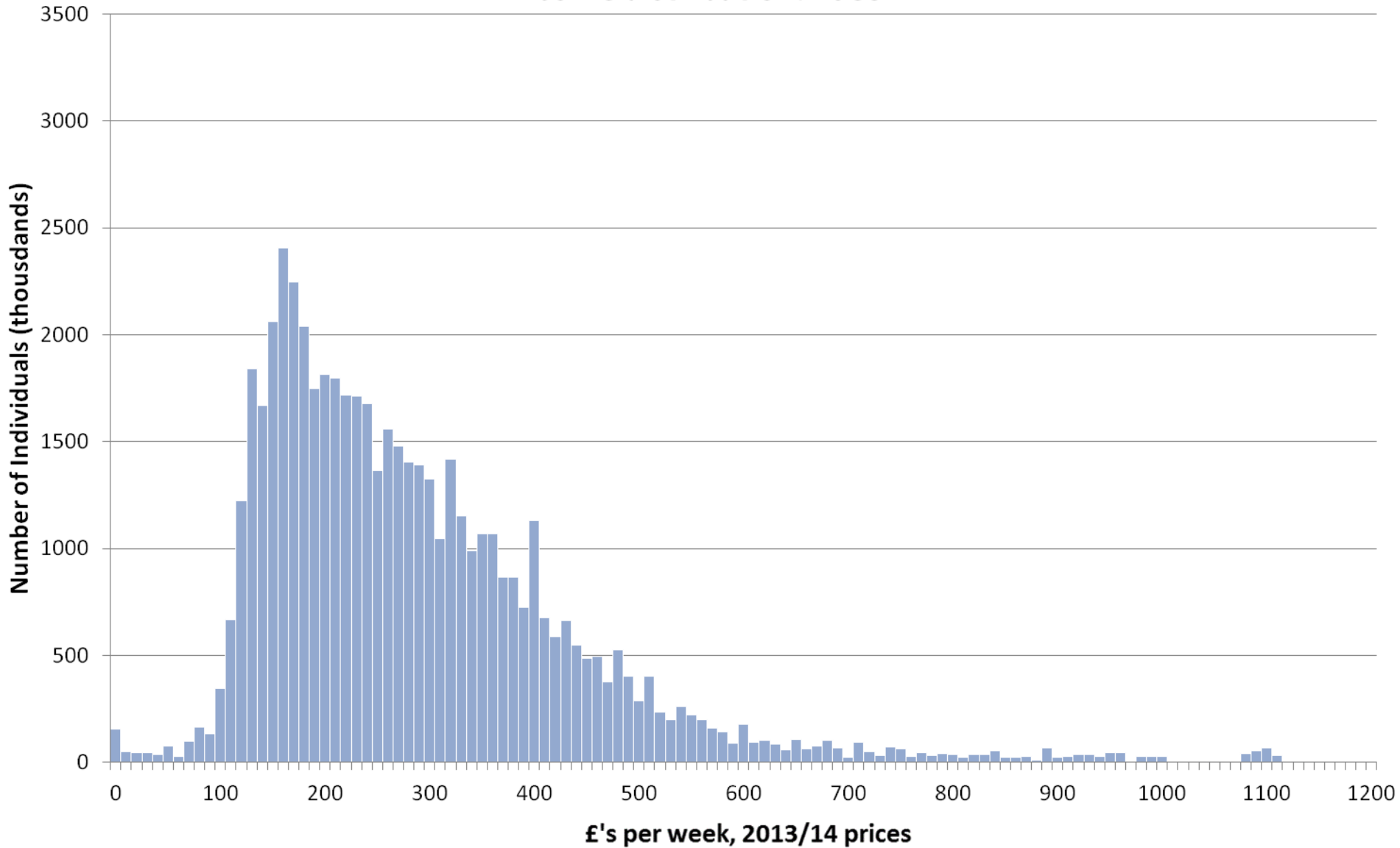
Income distribution: 1983



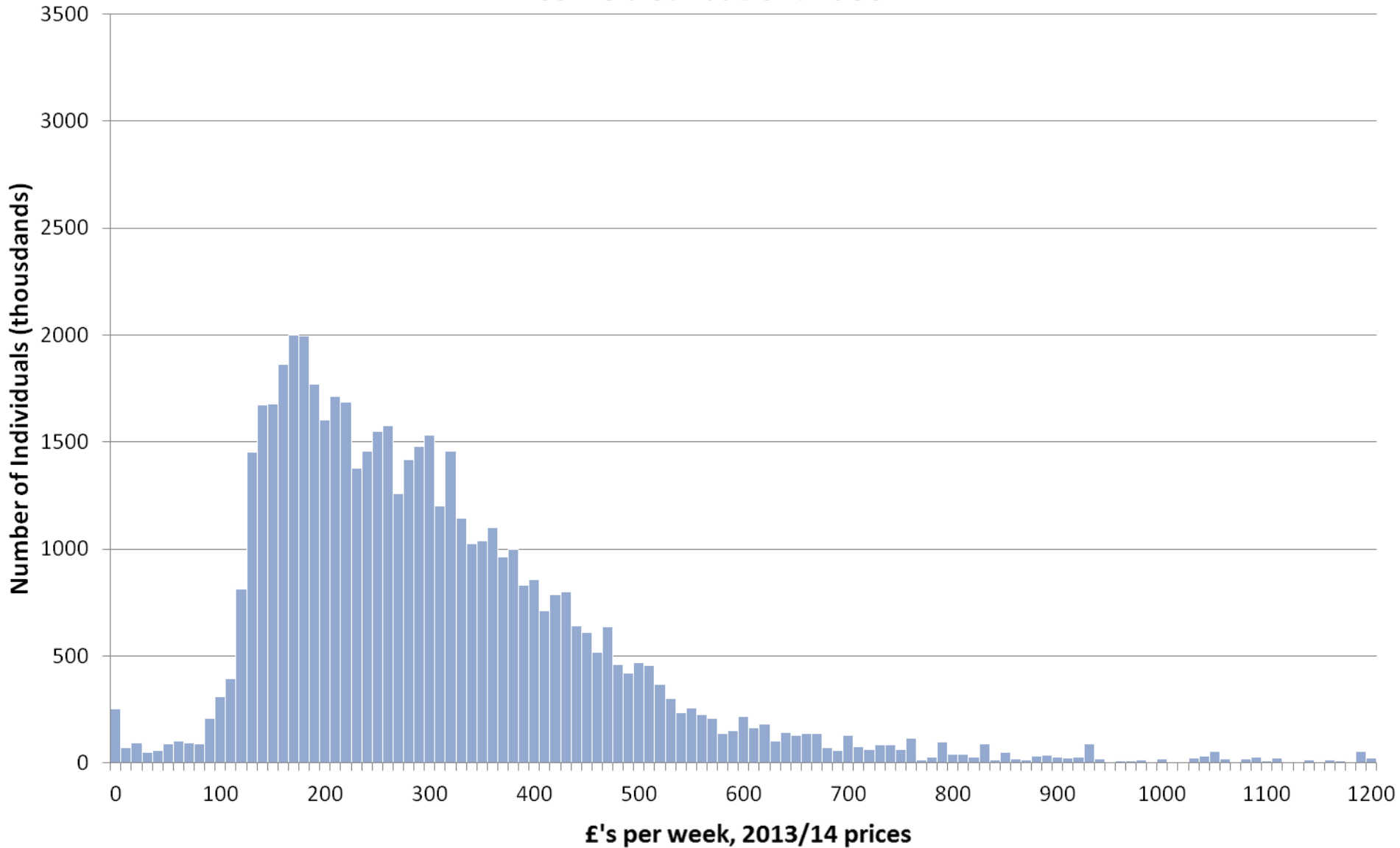
Income distribution: 1984



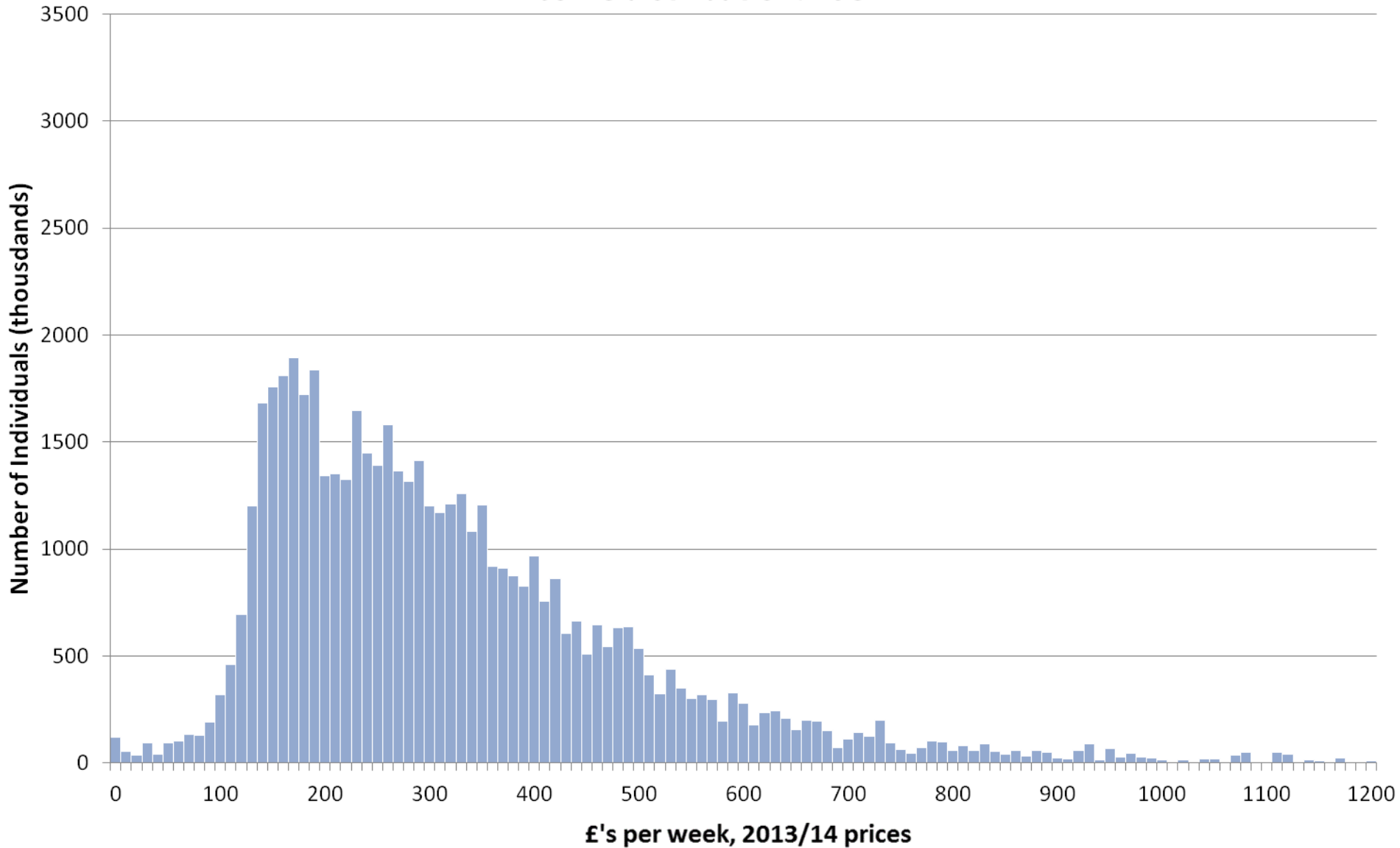
Income distribution: 1985



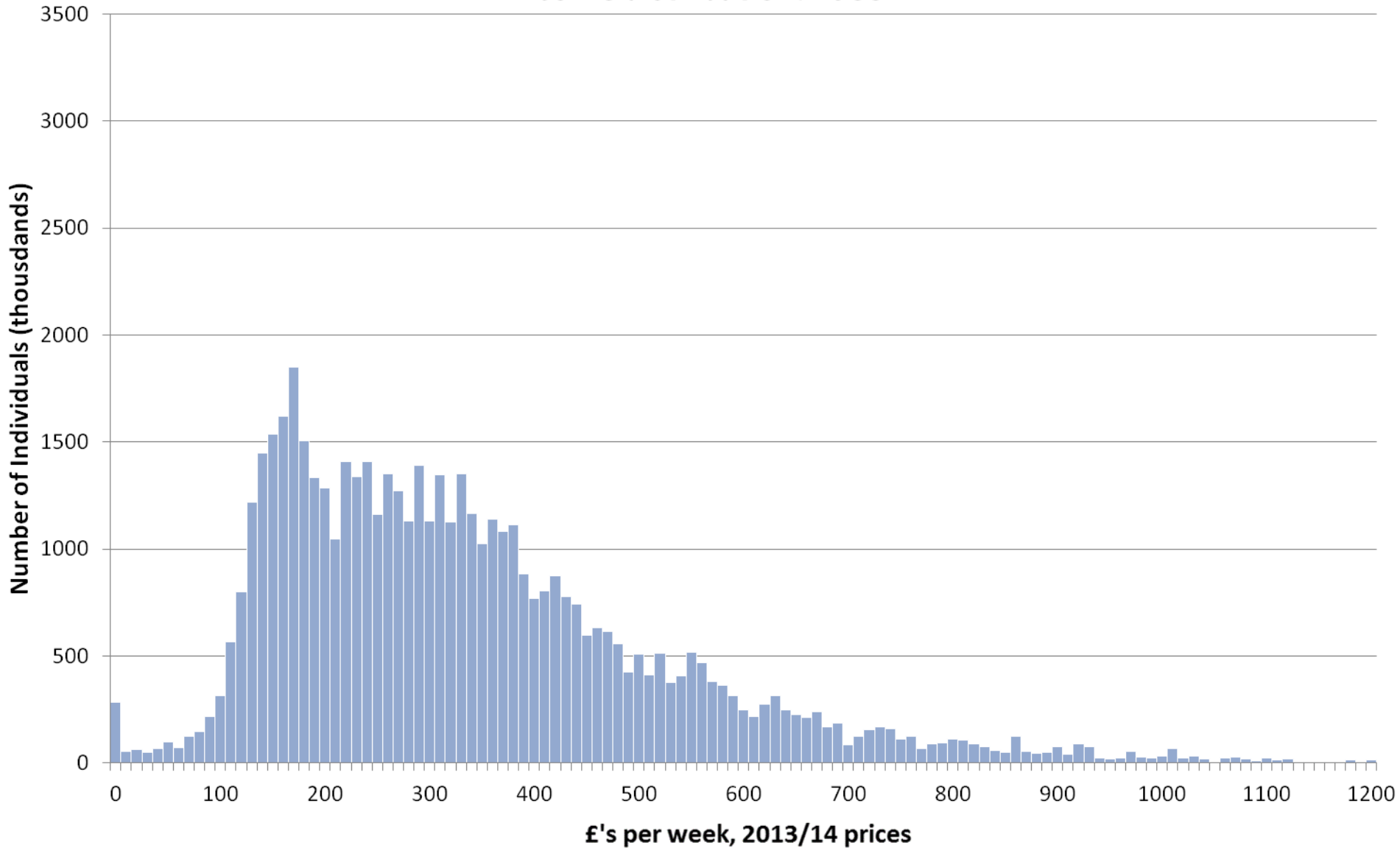
Income distribution: 1986



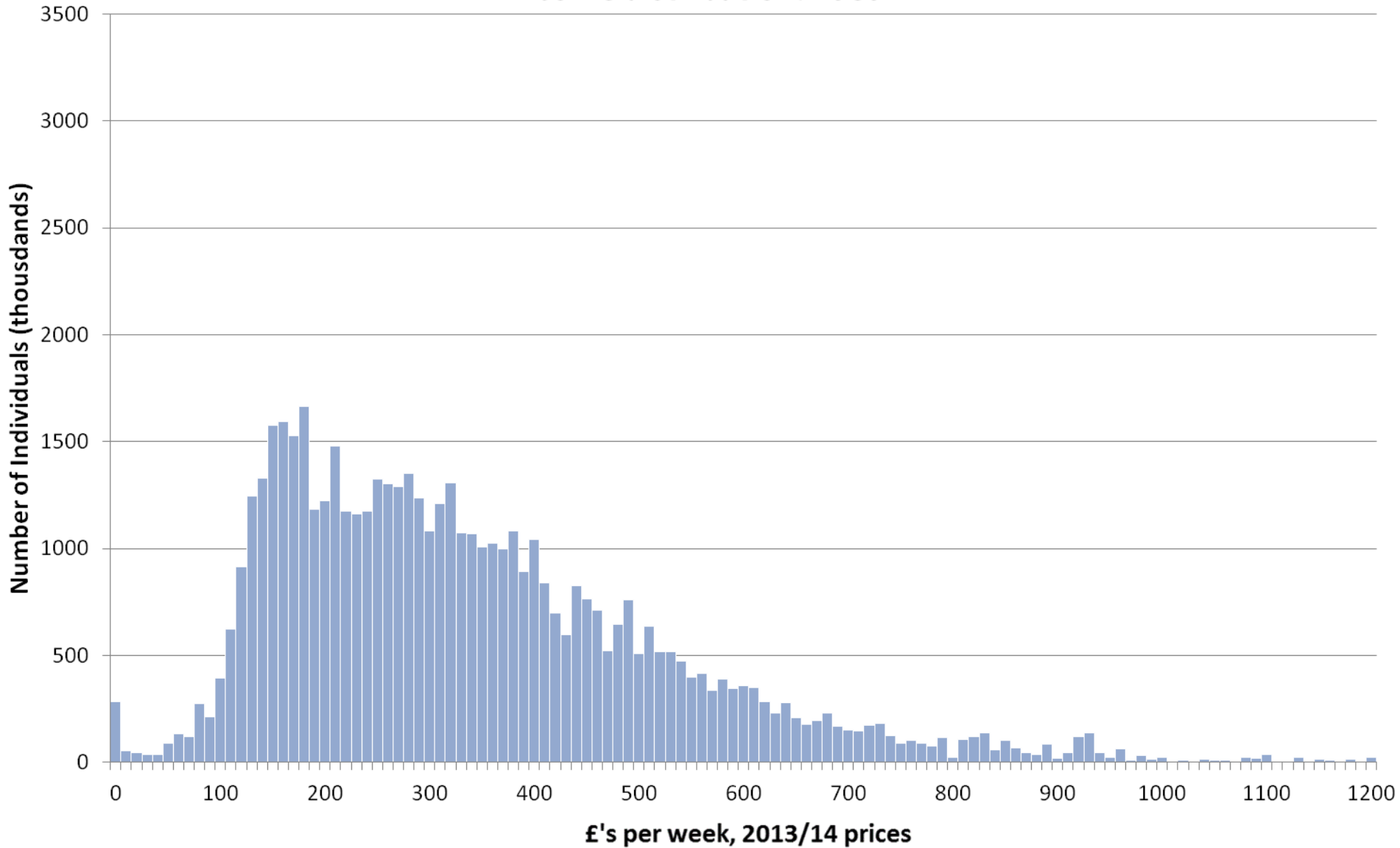
Income distribution: 1987



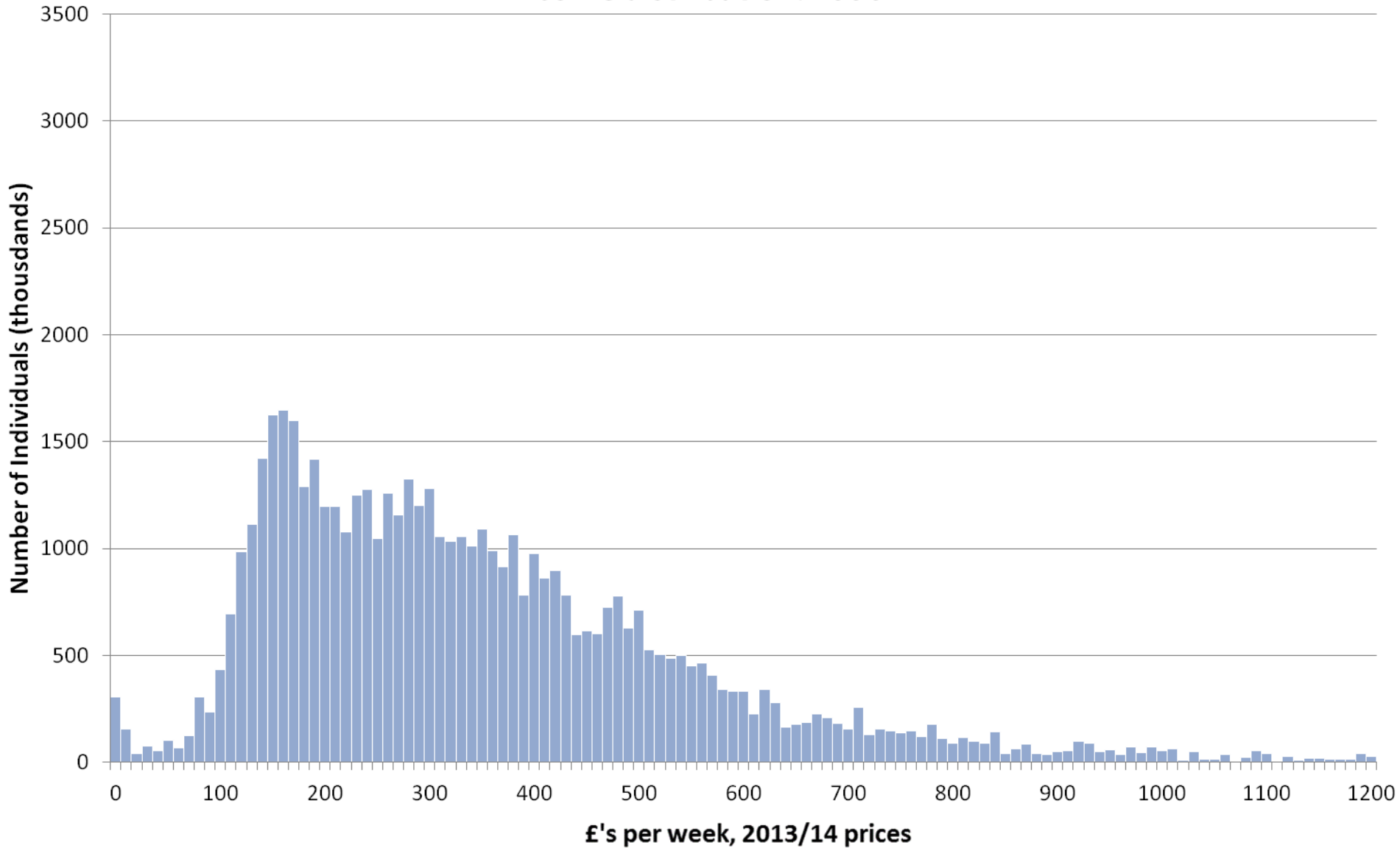
Income distribution: 1988



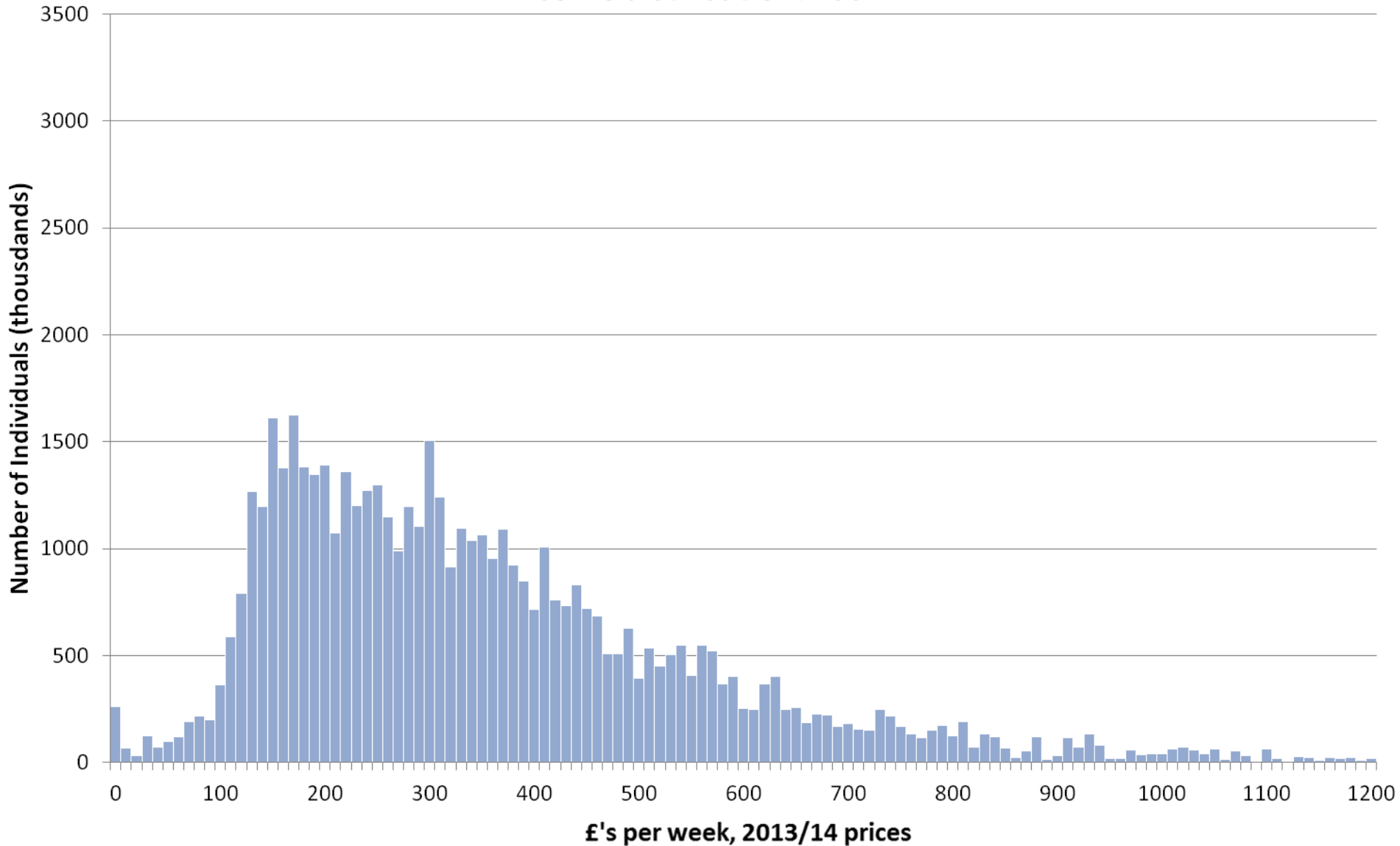
Income distribution: 1989



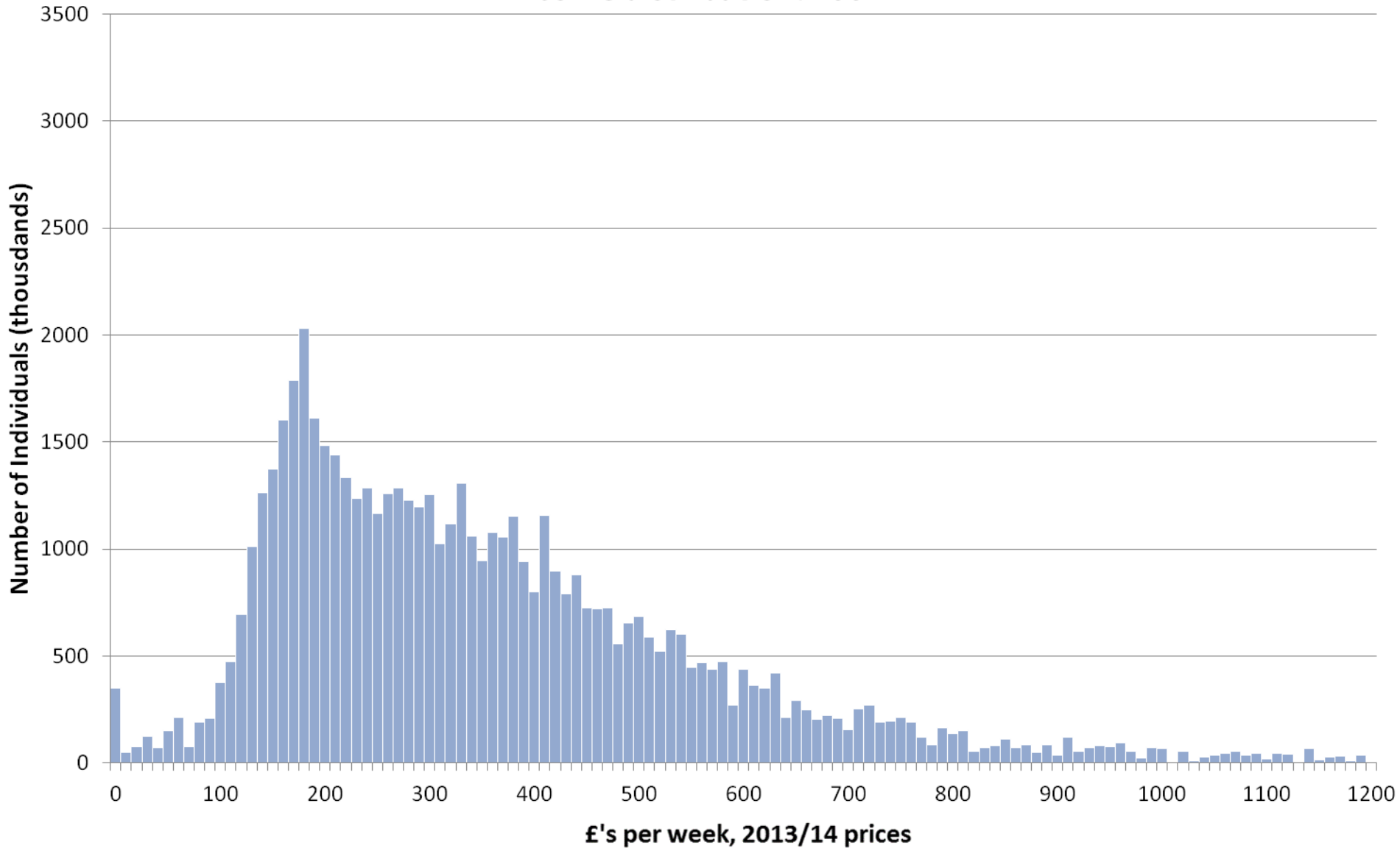
Income distribution: 1990



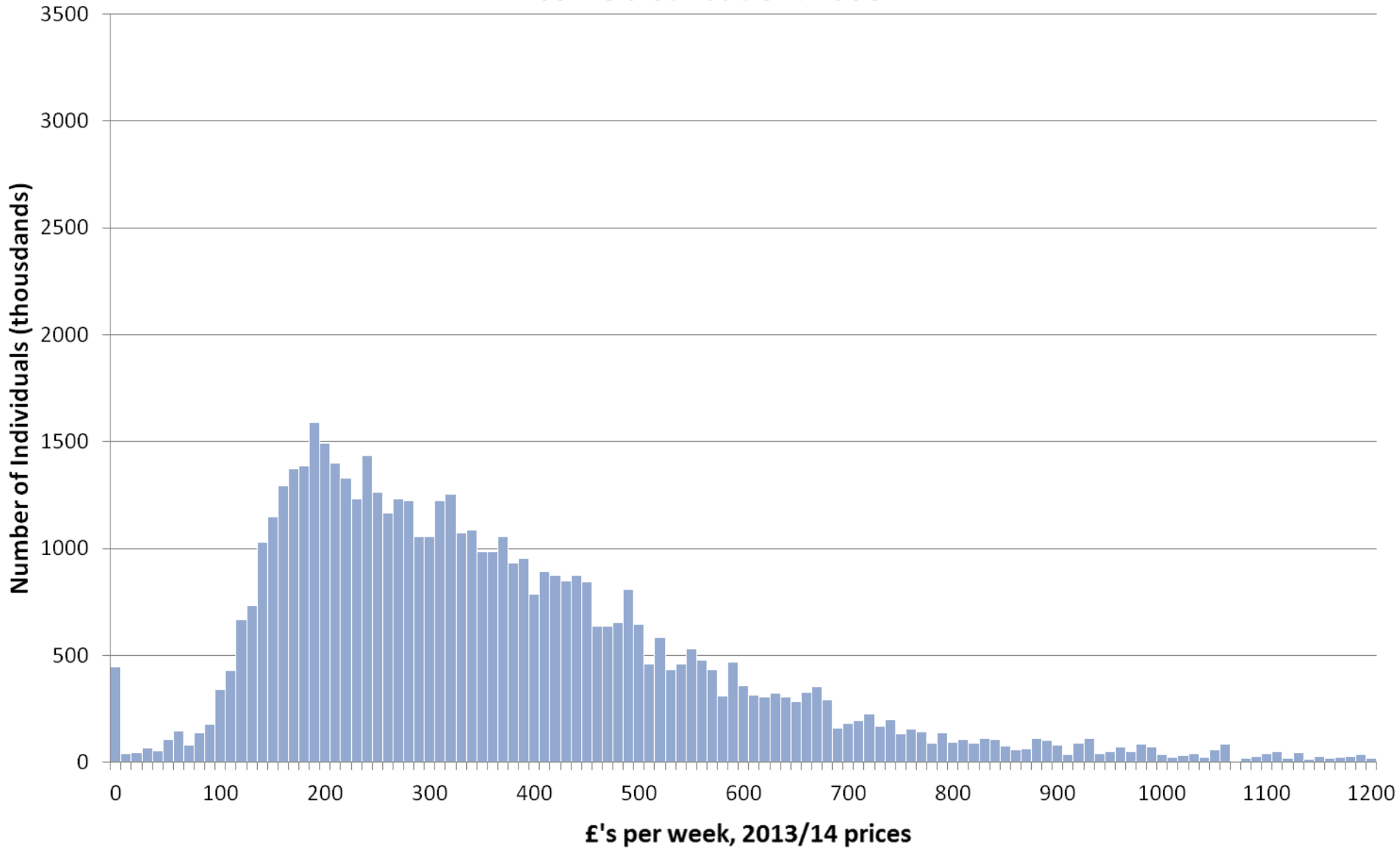
Income distribution: 1991



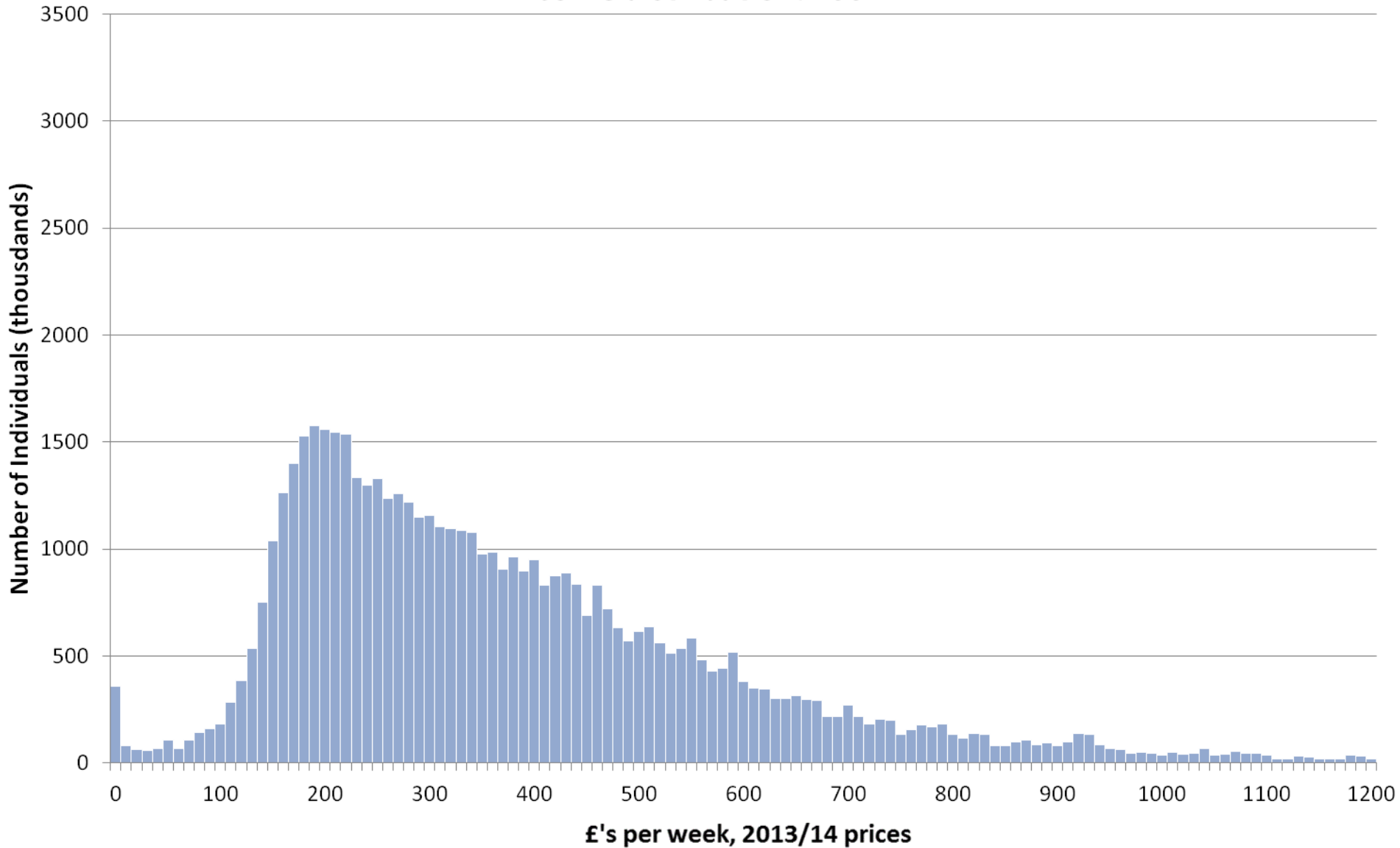
Income distribution: 1992



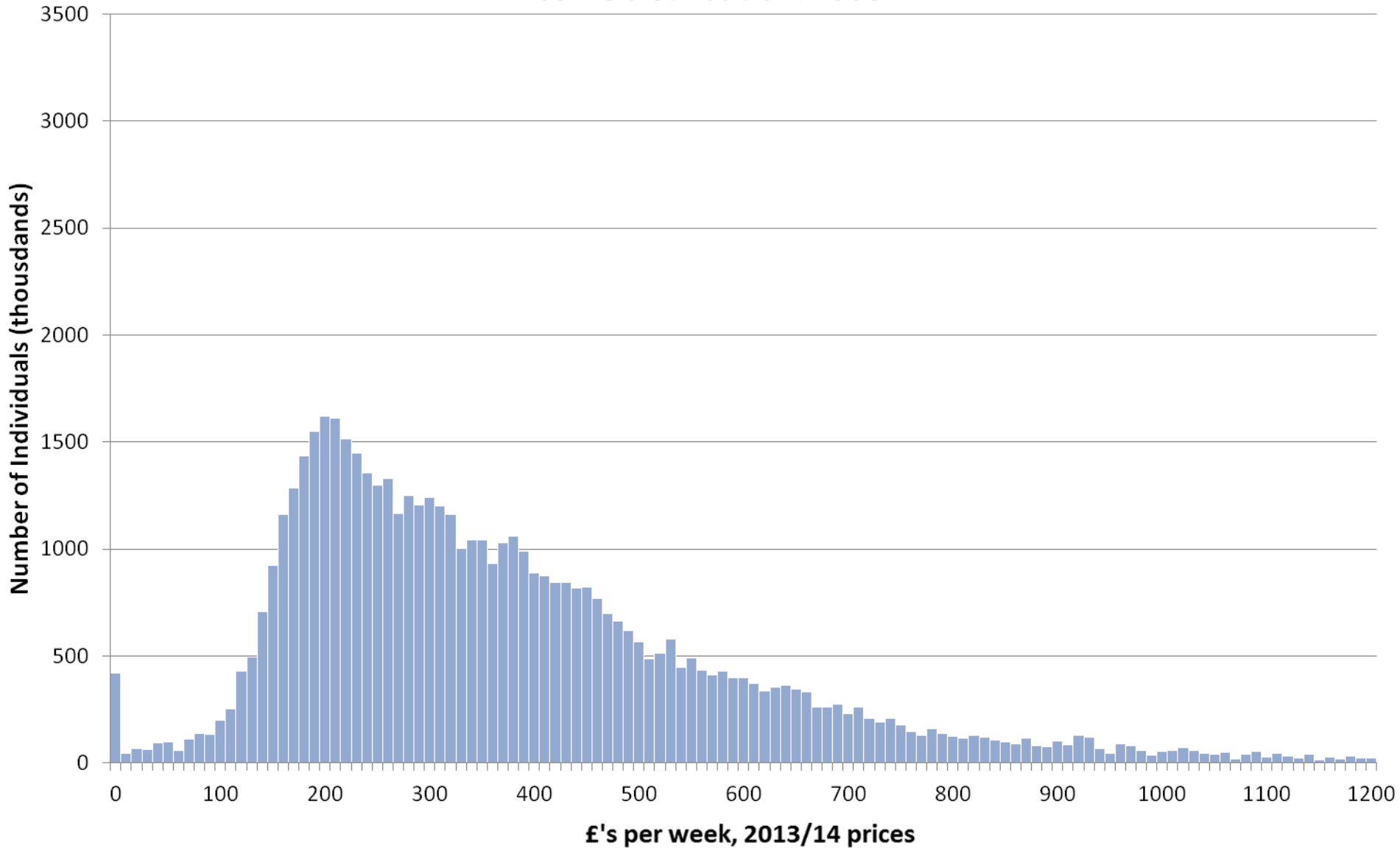
Income distribution: 1993



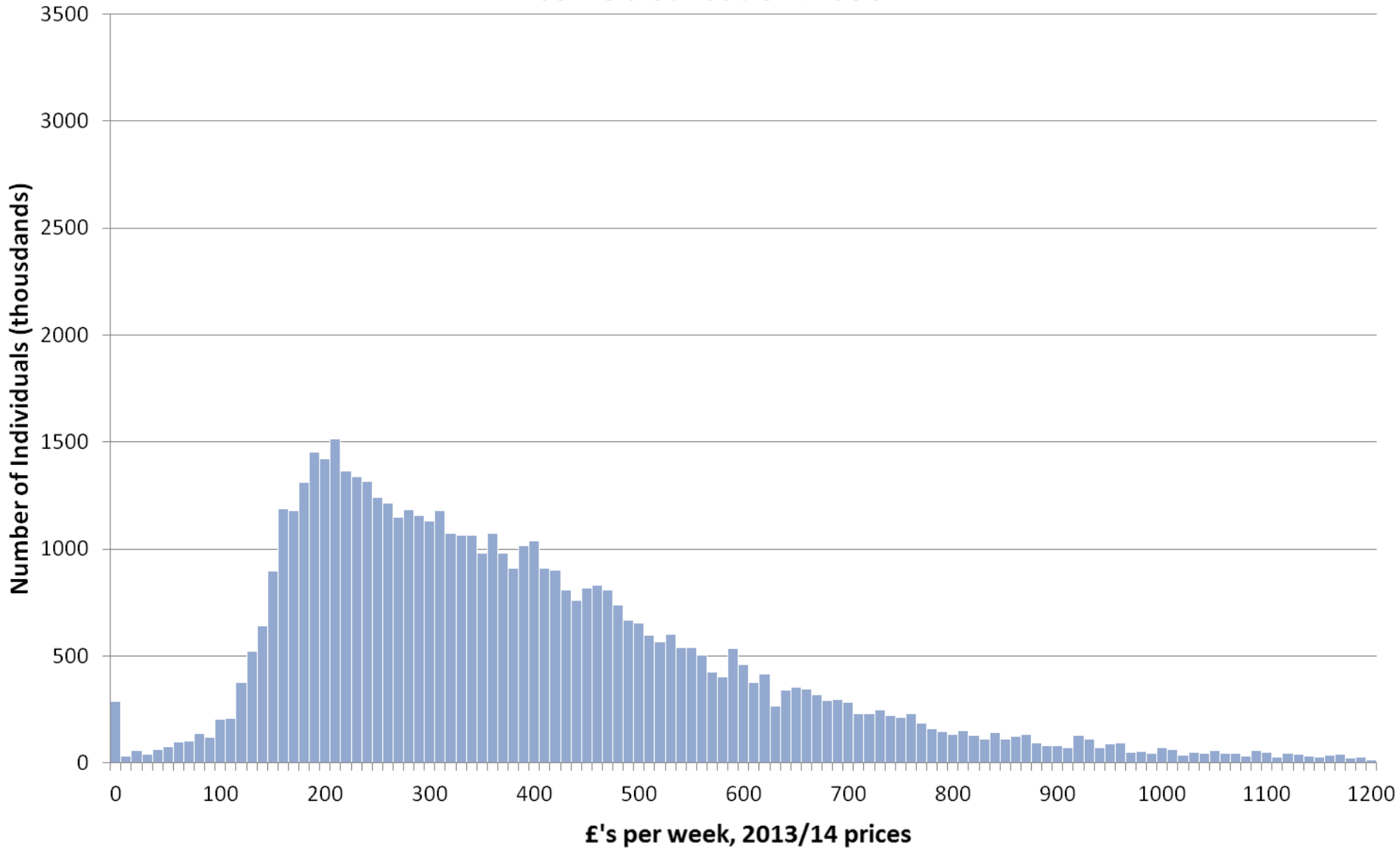
Income distribution: 1994



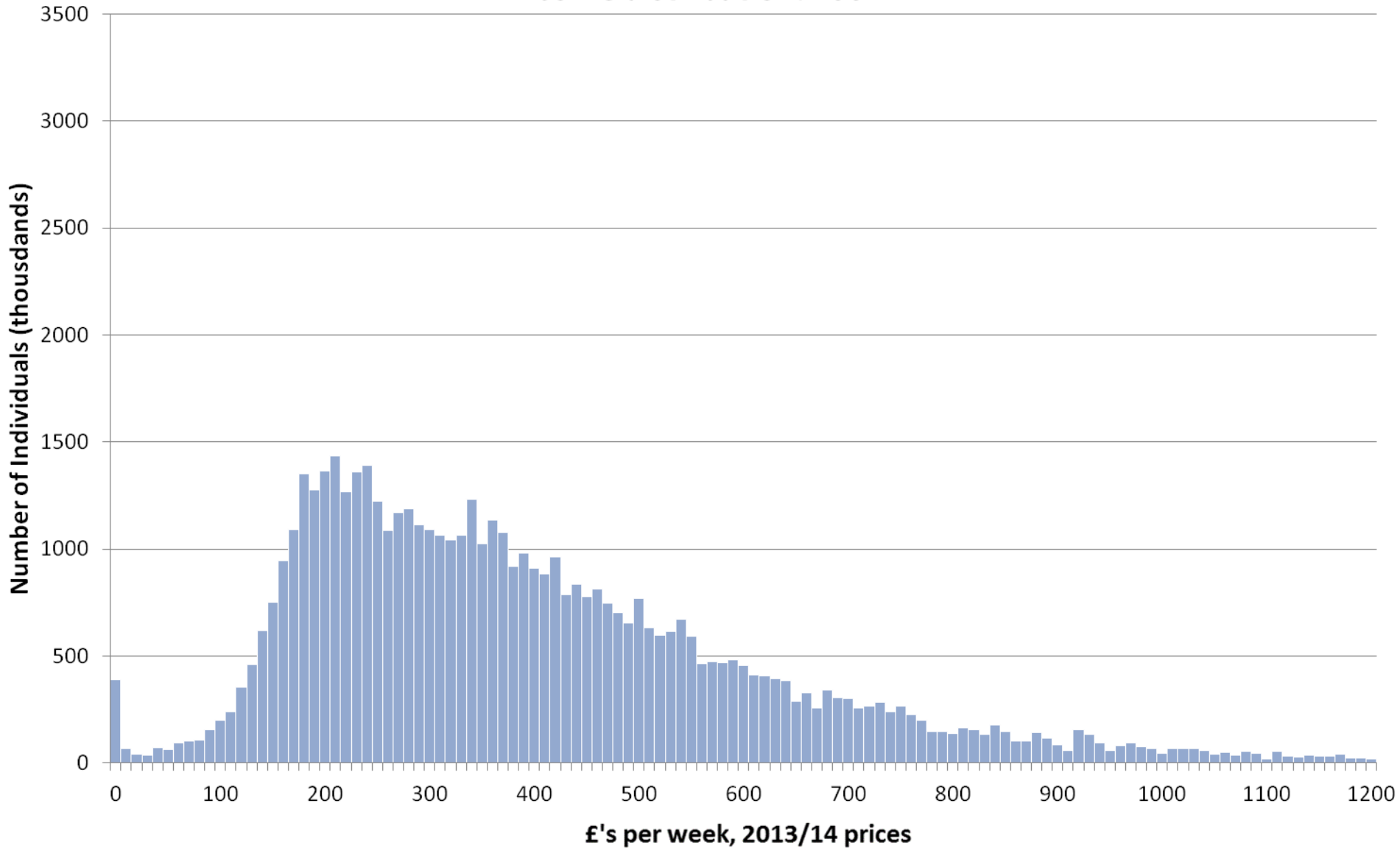
Income distribution: 1995



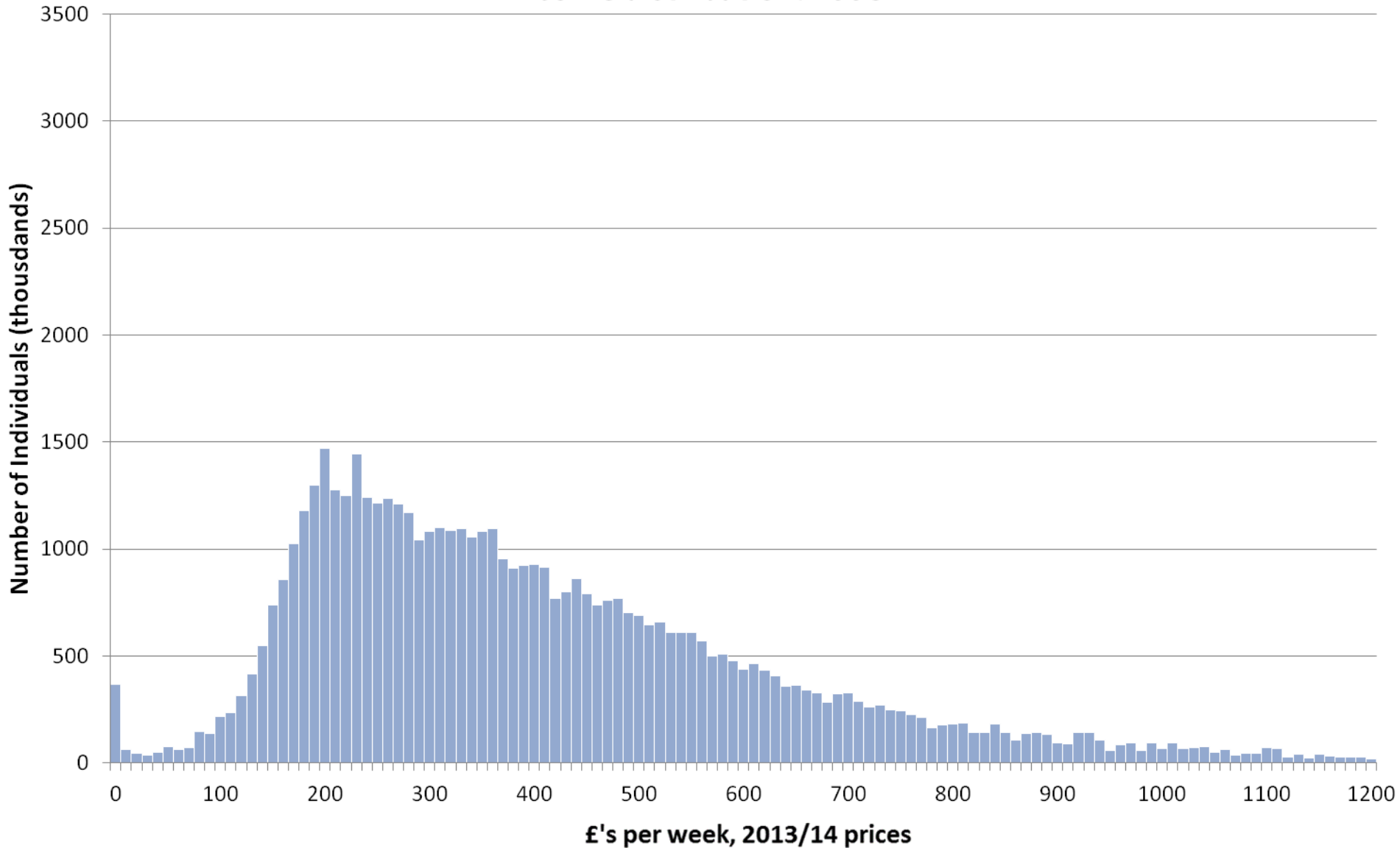
Income distribution: 1996



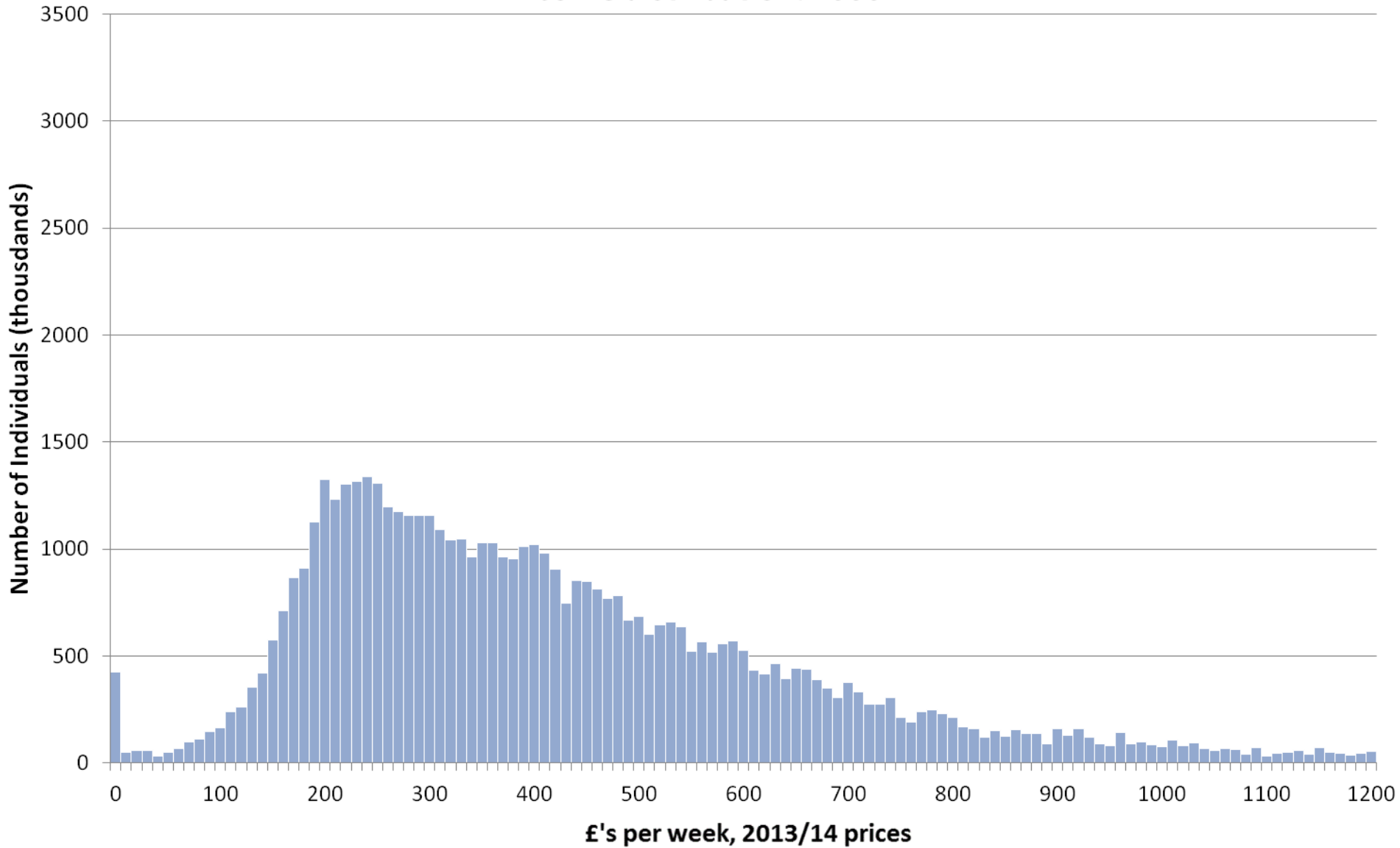
Income distribution: 1997



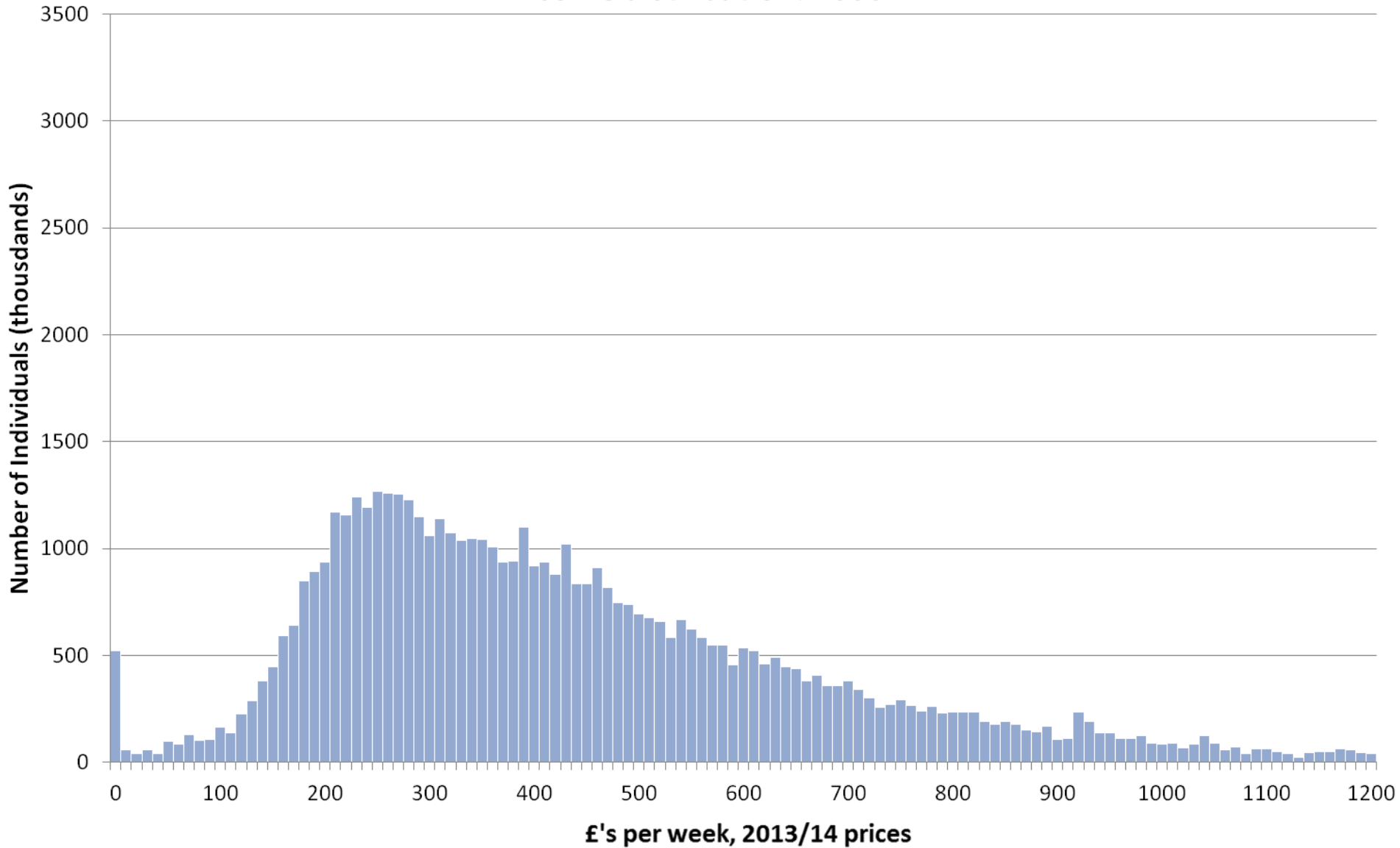
Income distribution: 1998



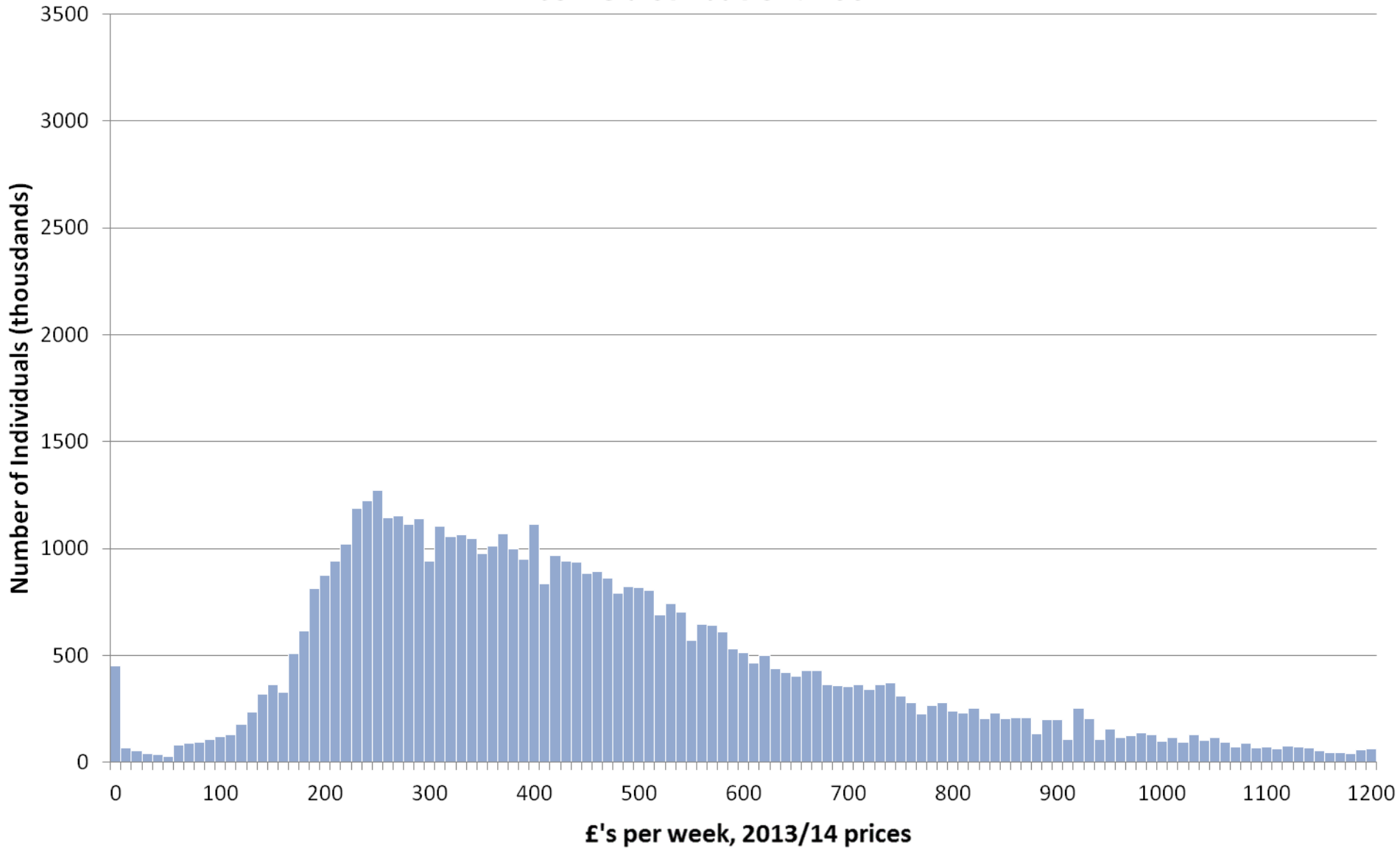
Income distribution: 1999



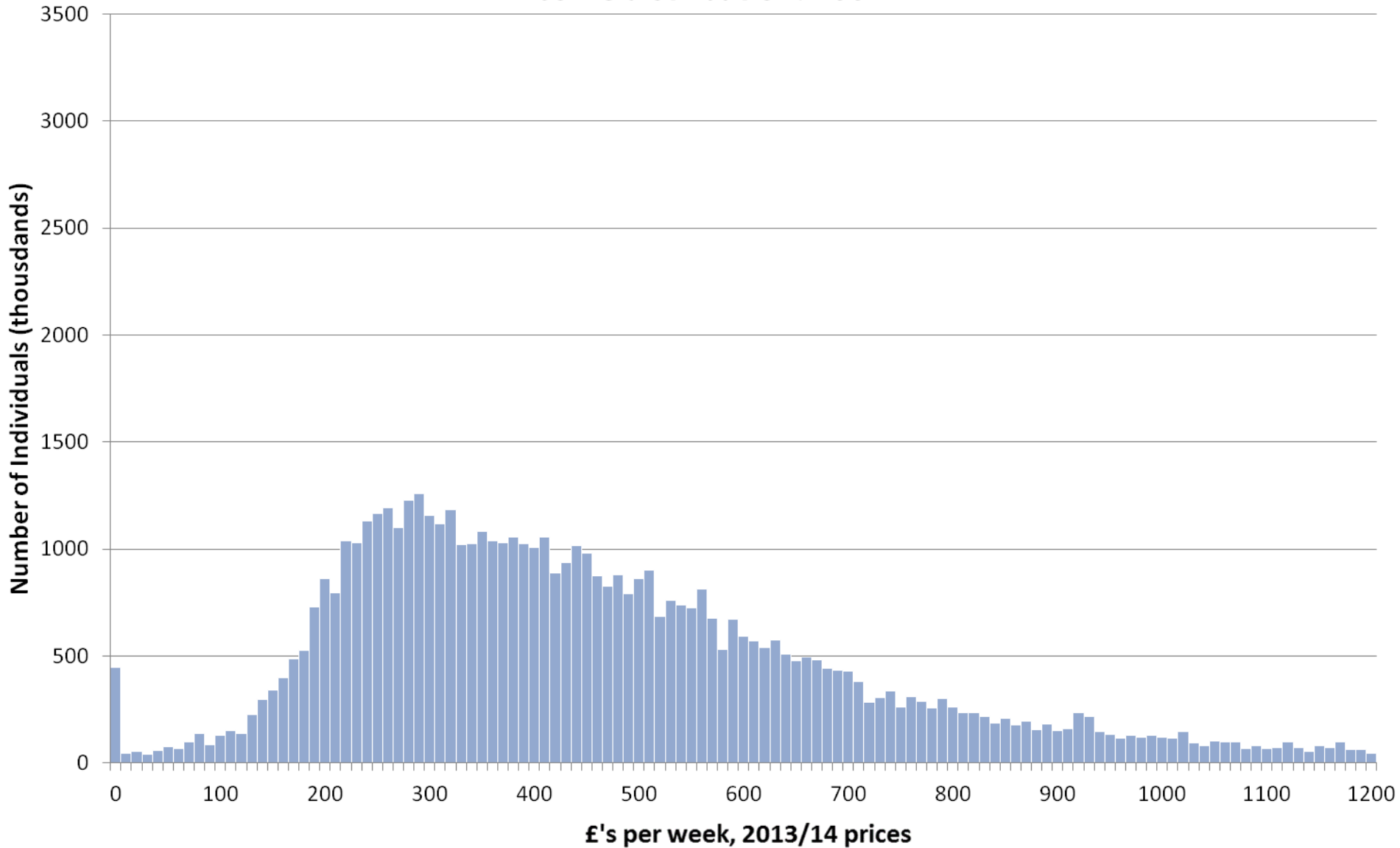
Income distribution: 2000



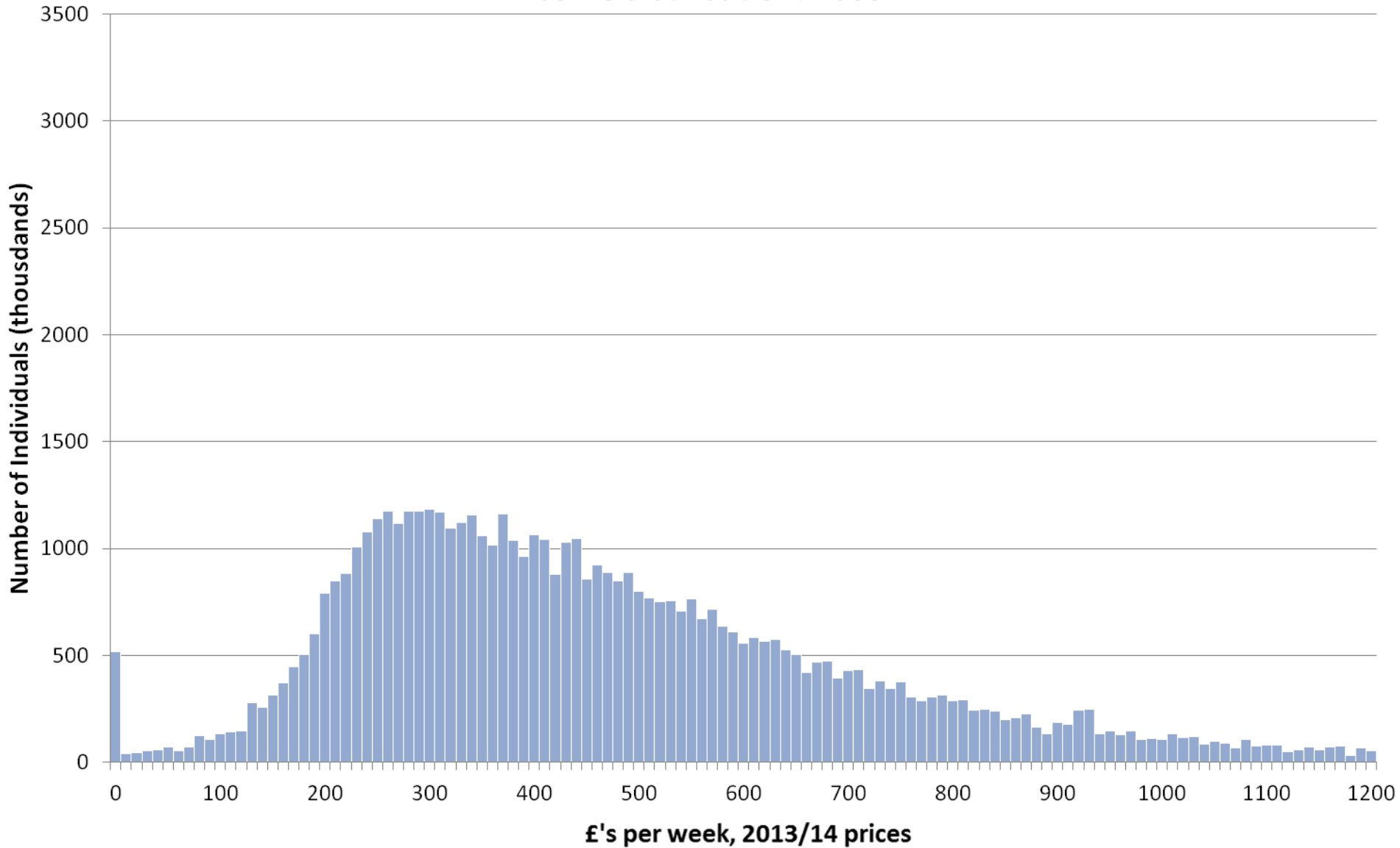
Income distribution: 2001



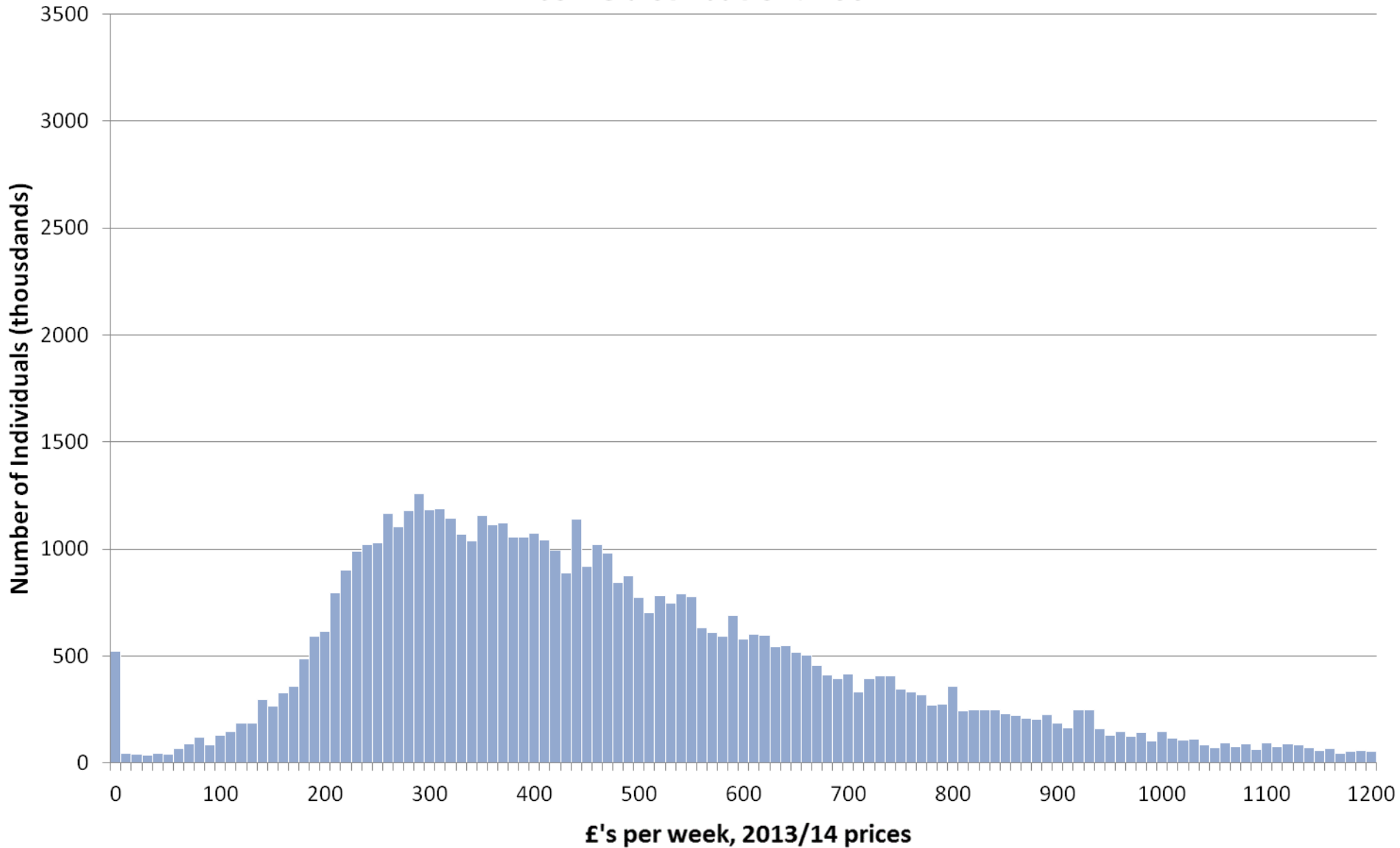
Income distribution: 2002



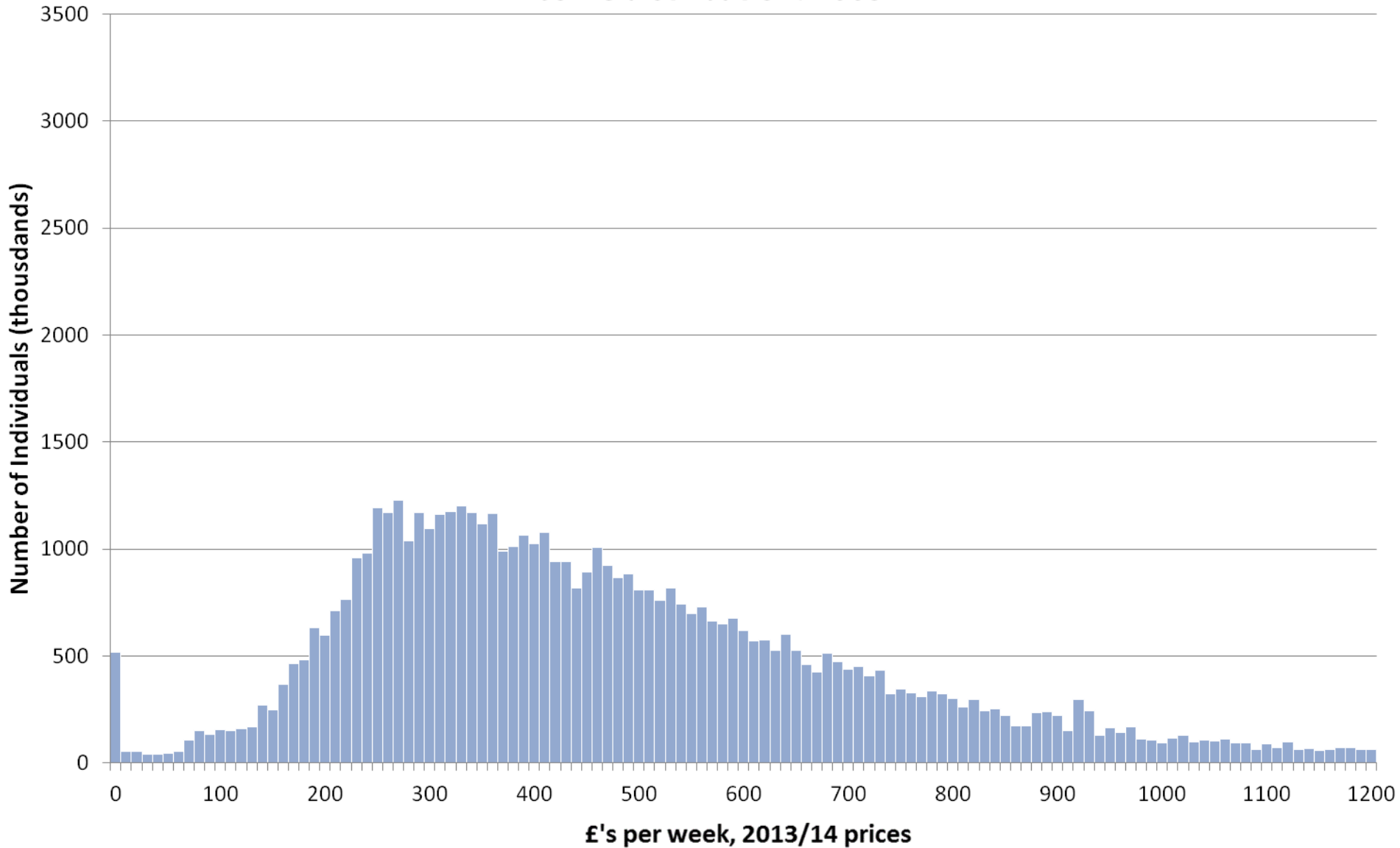
Income distribution: 2003



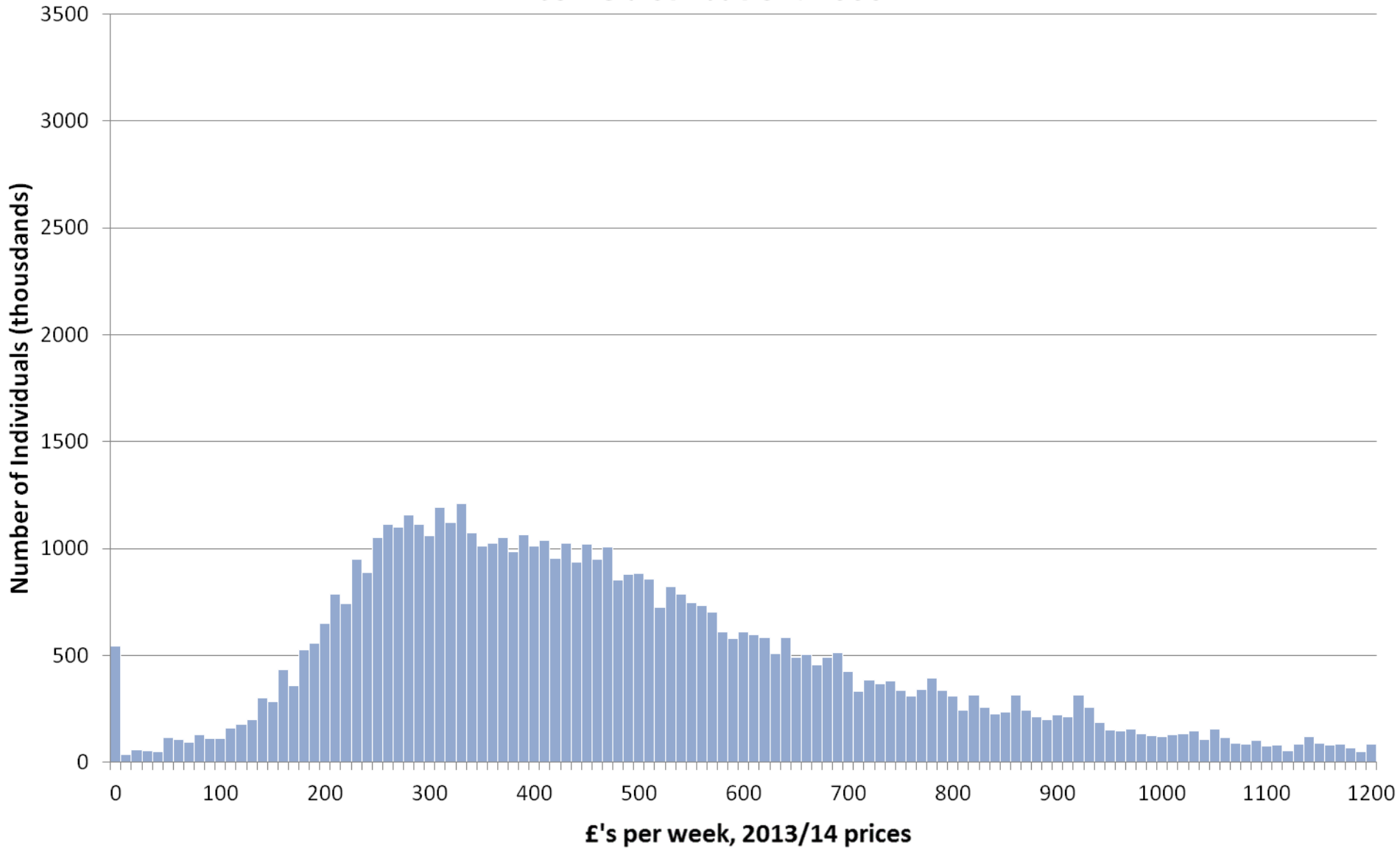
Income distribution: 2004



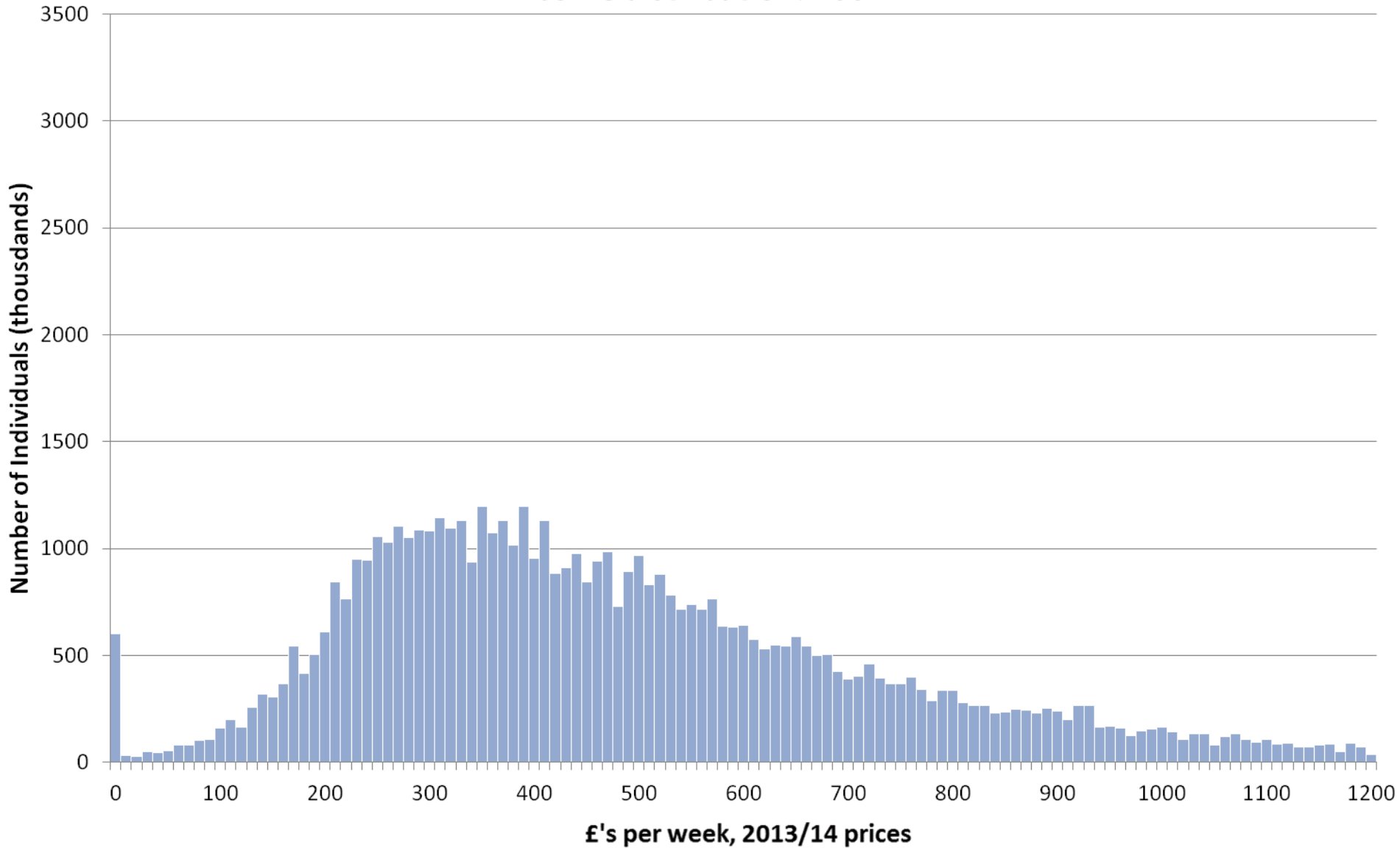
Income distribution: 2005



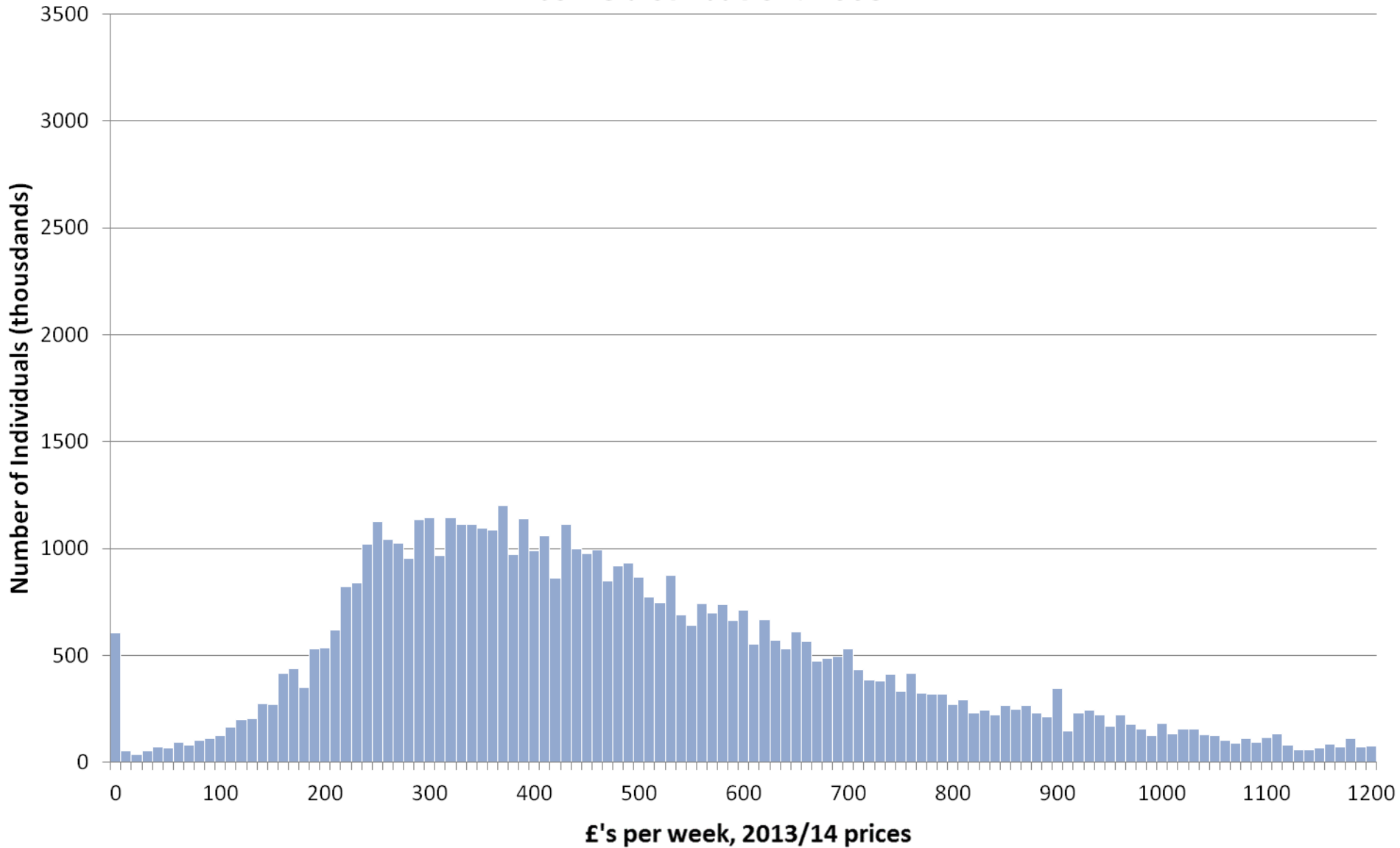
Income distribution: 2006



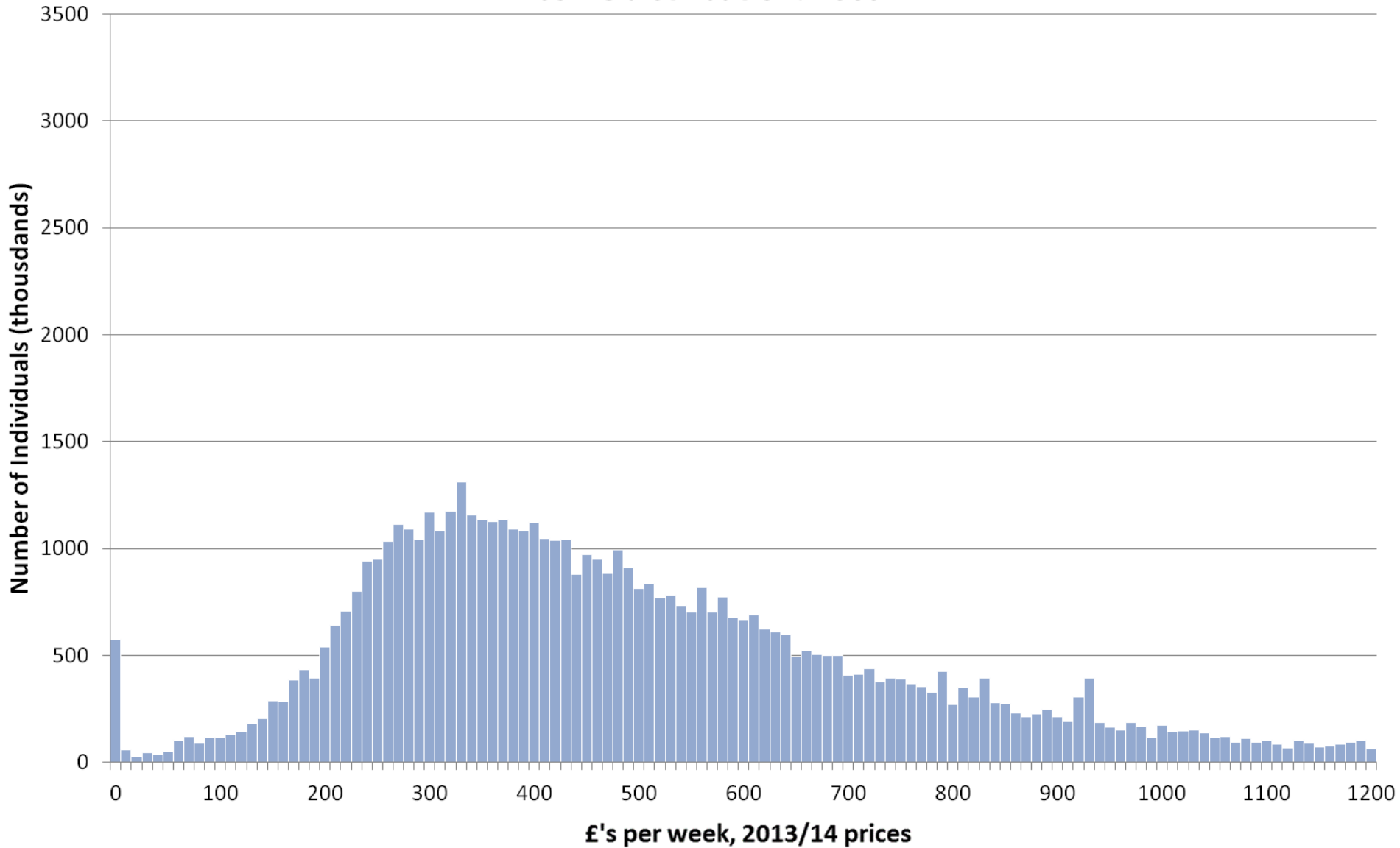
Income distribution: 2007



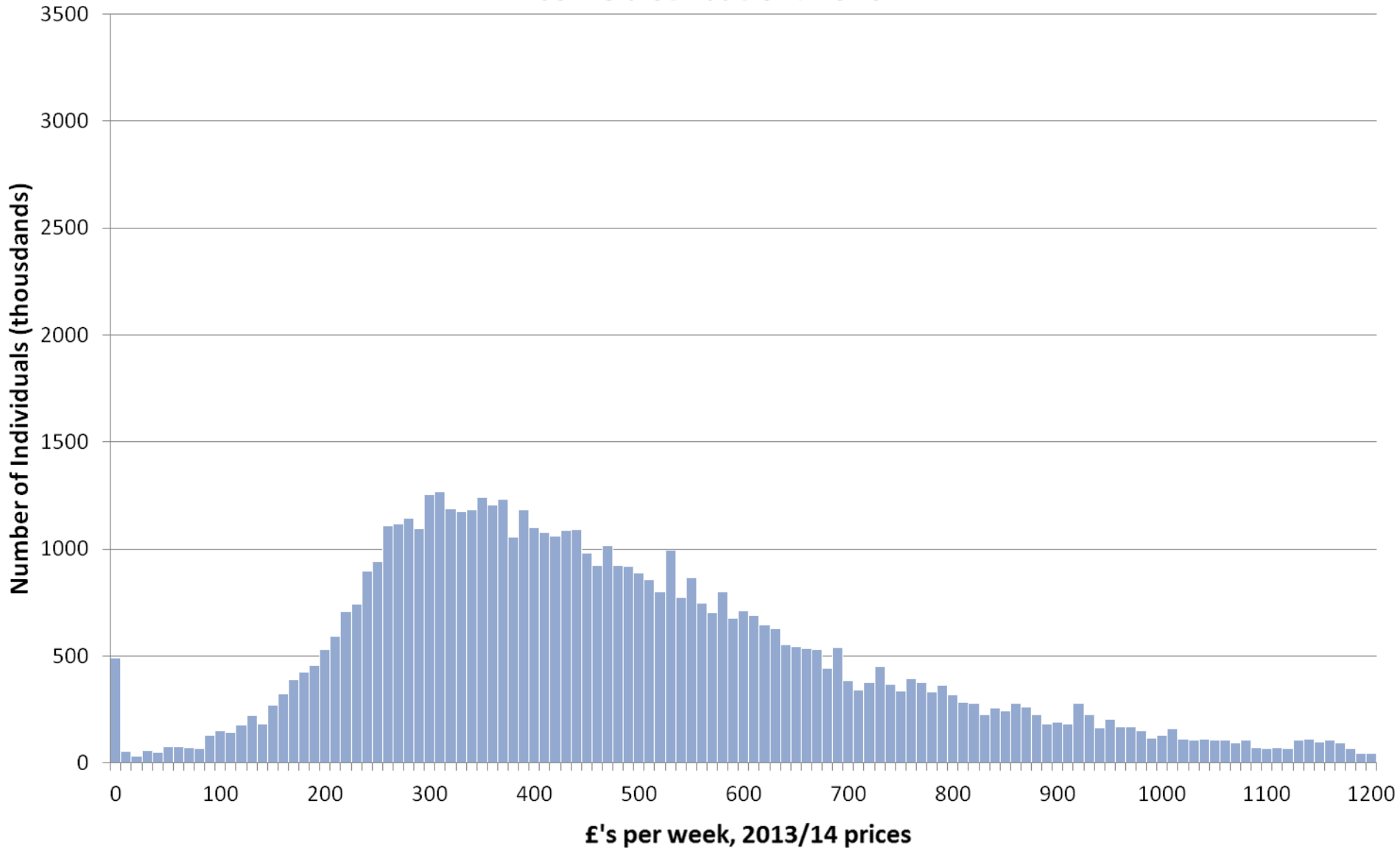
Income distribution: 2008



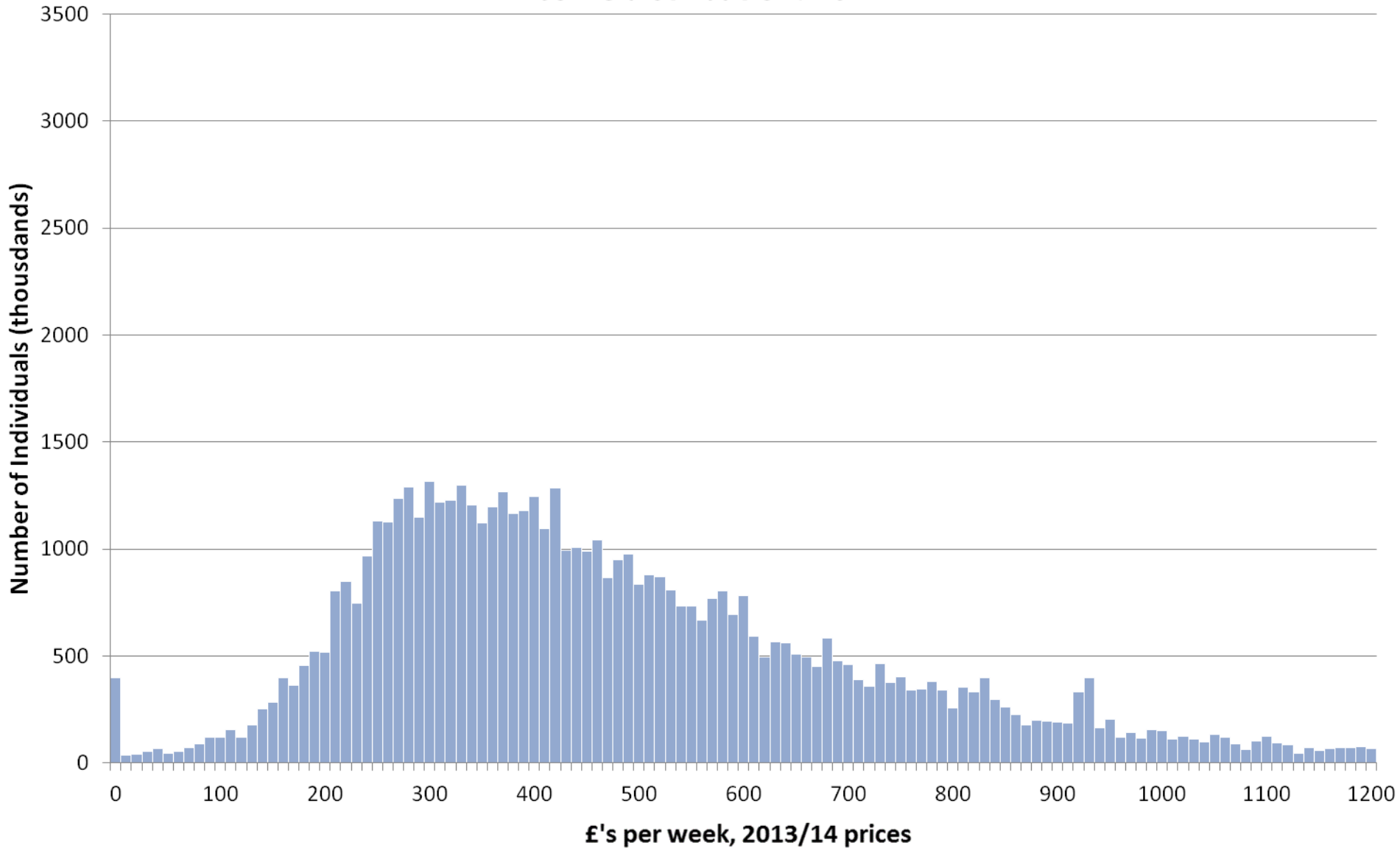
Income distribution: 2009



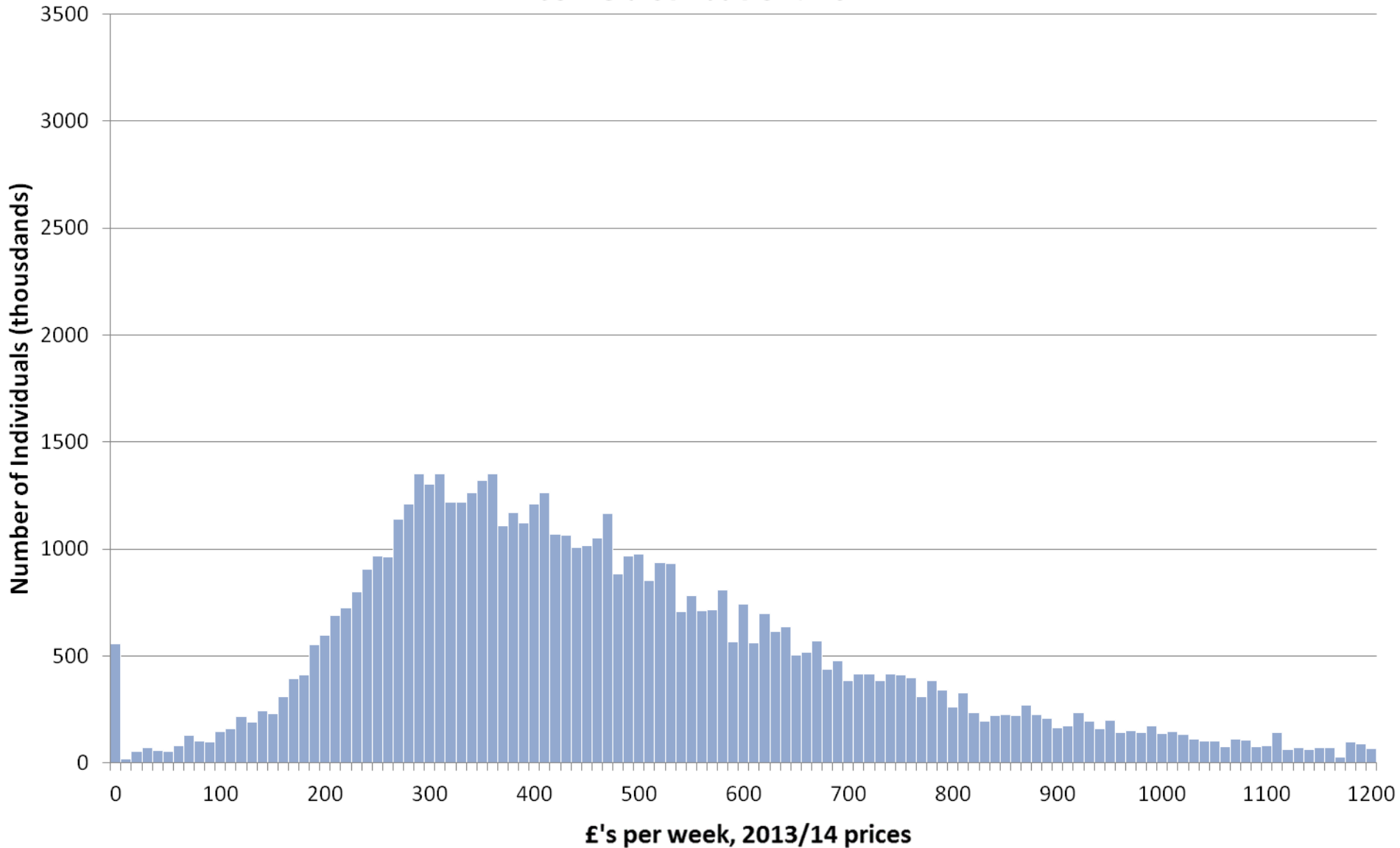
Income distribution: 2010



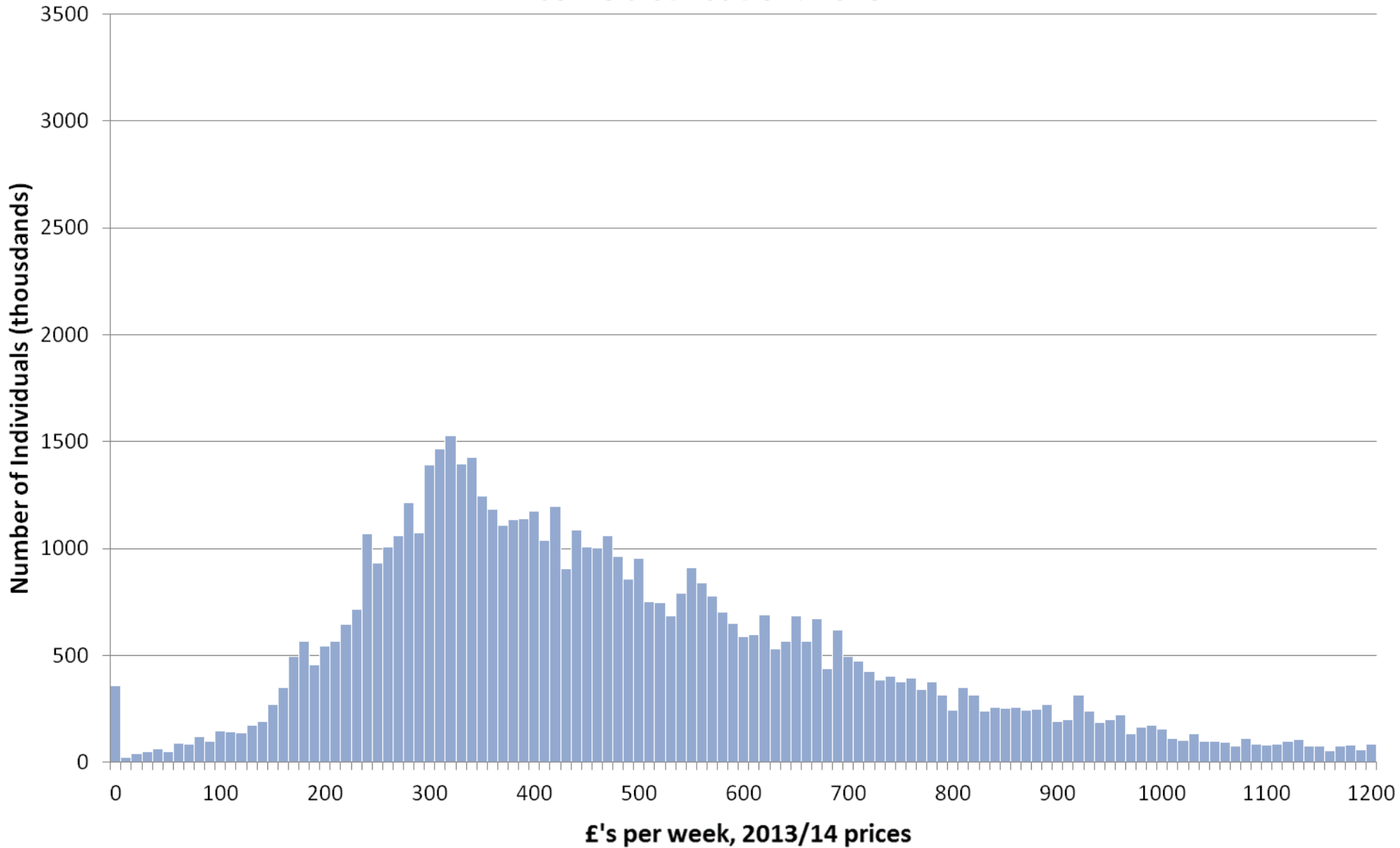
Income distribution: 2011



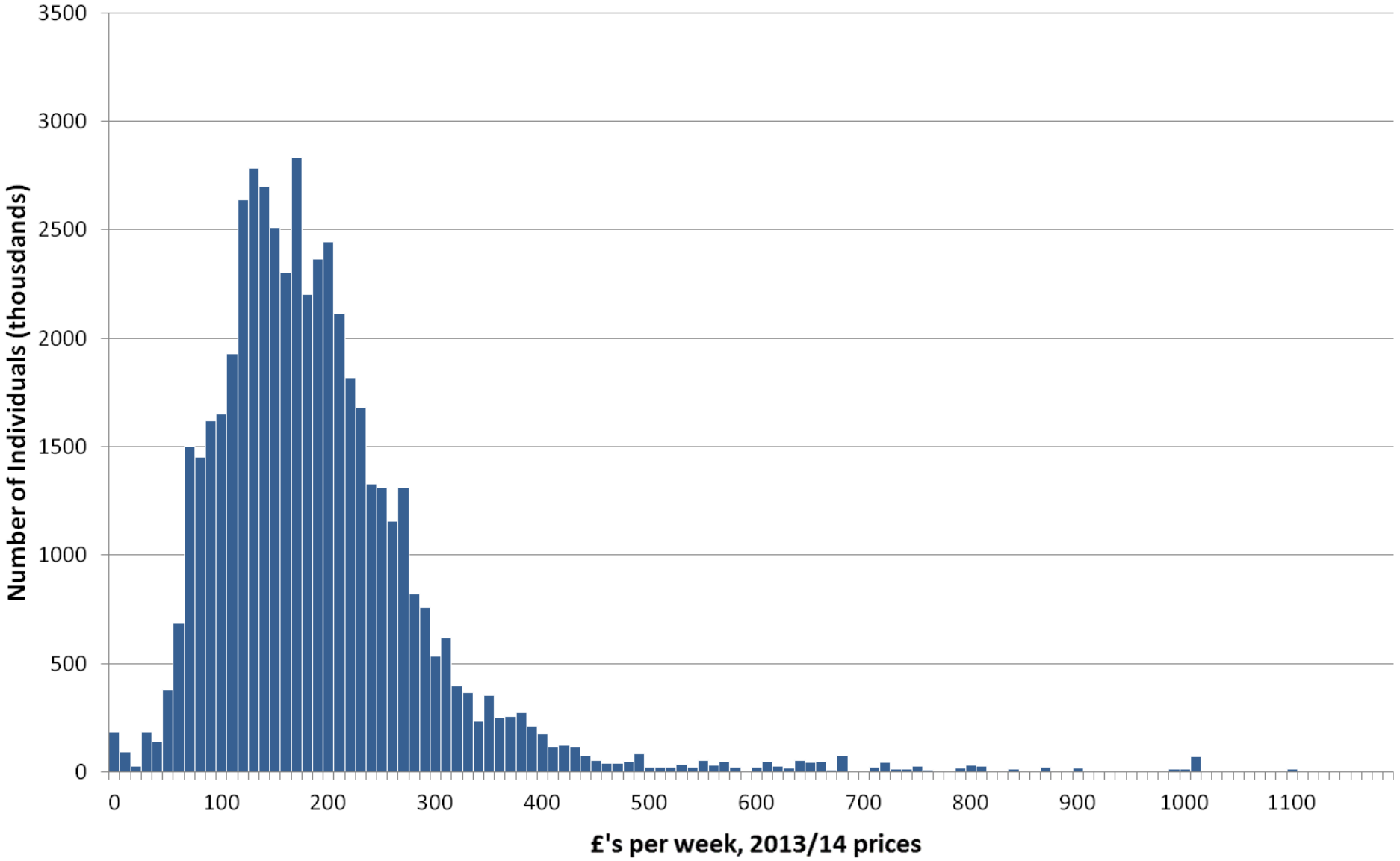
Income distribution: 2012



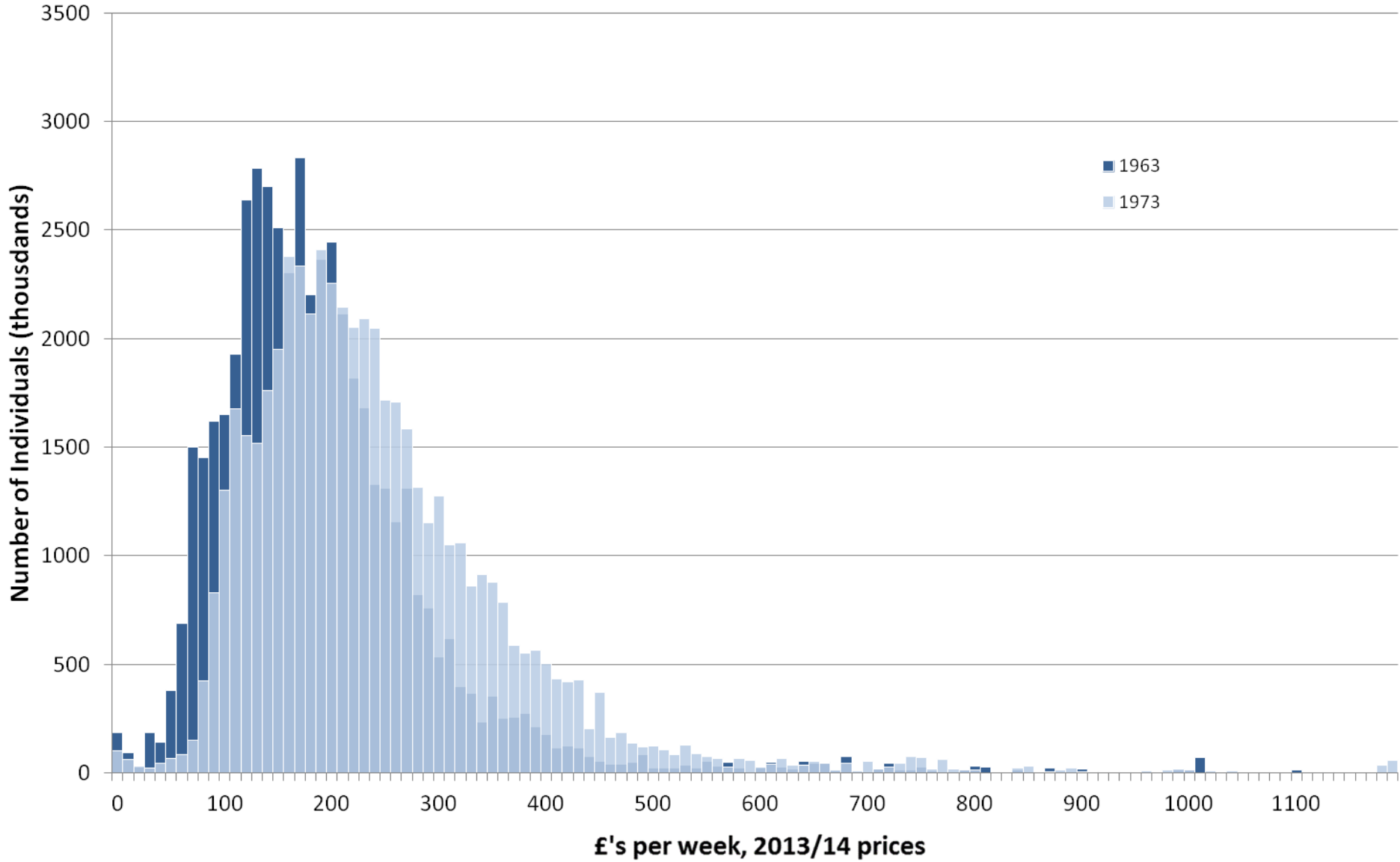
Income distribution: 2013



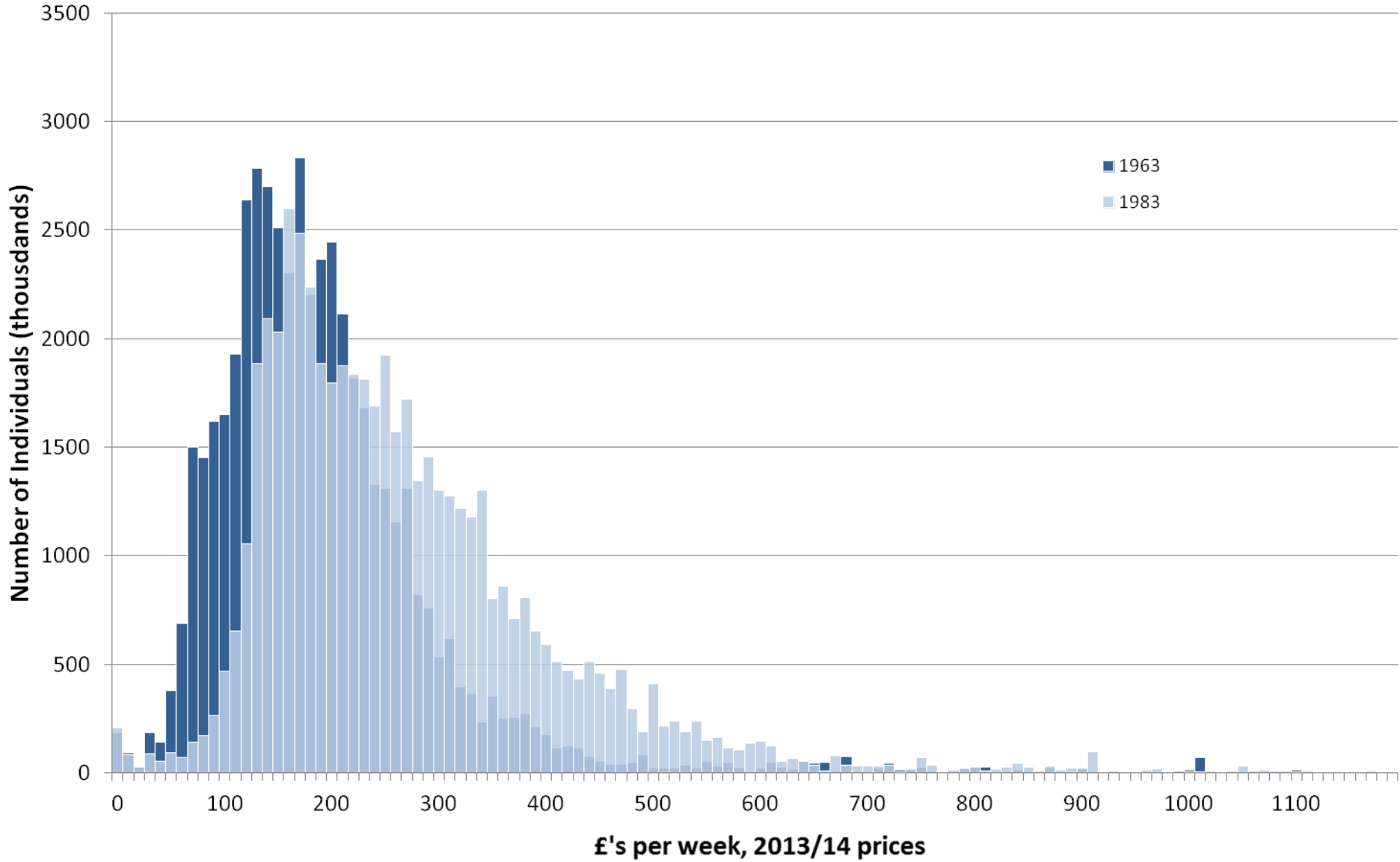
Income distribution: 1963



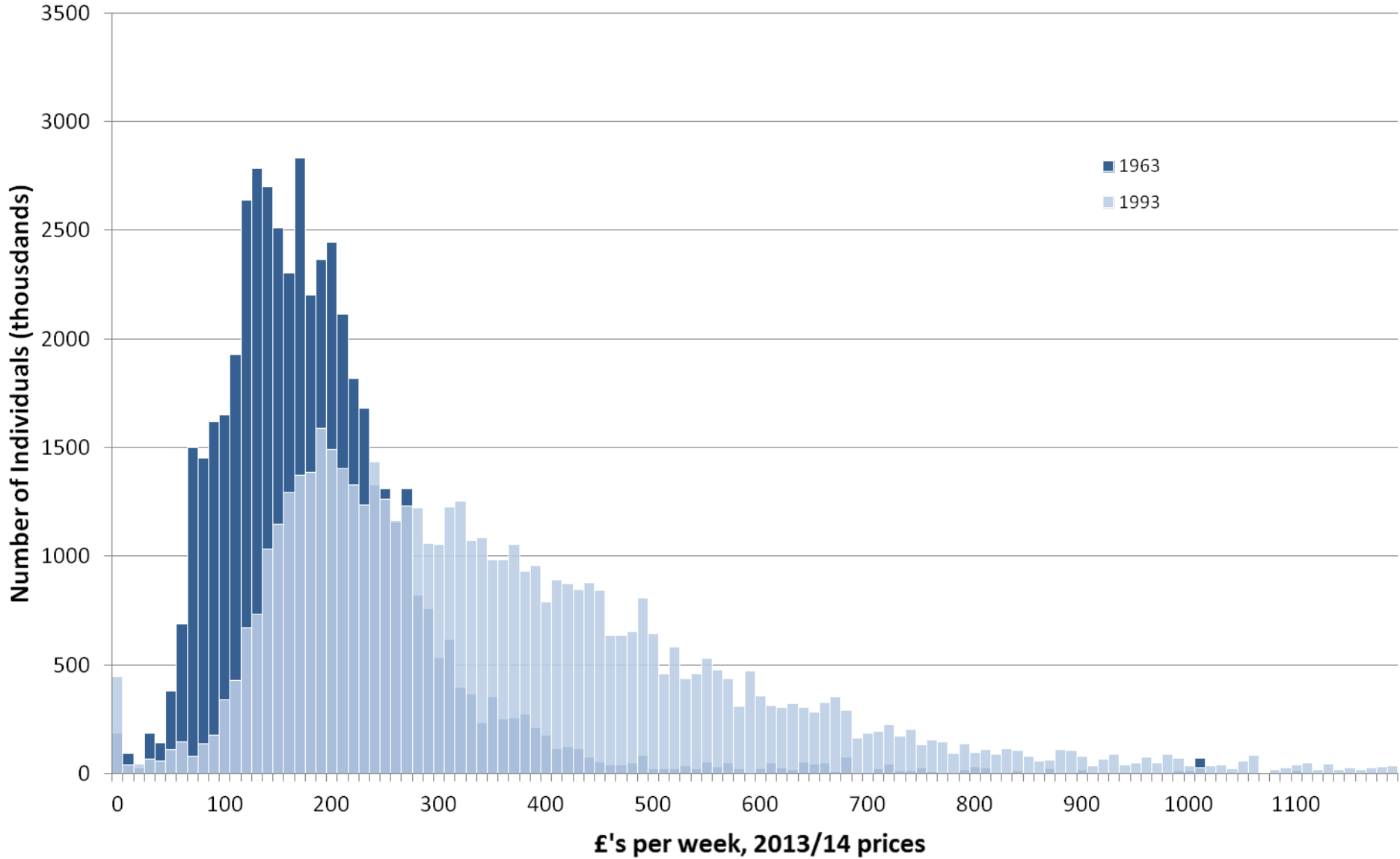
Income distribution: 1963 - 1973



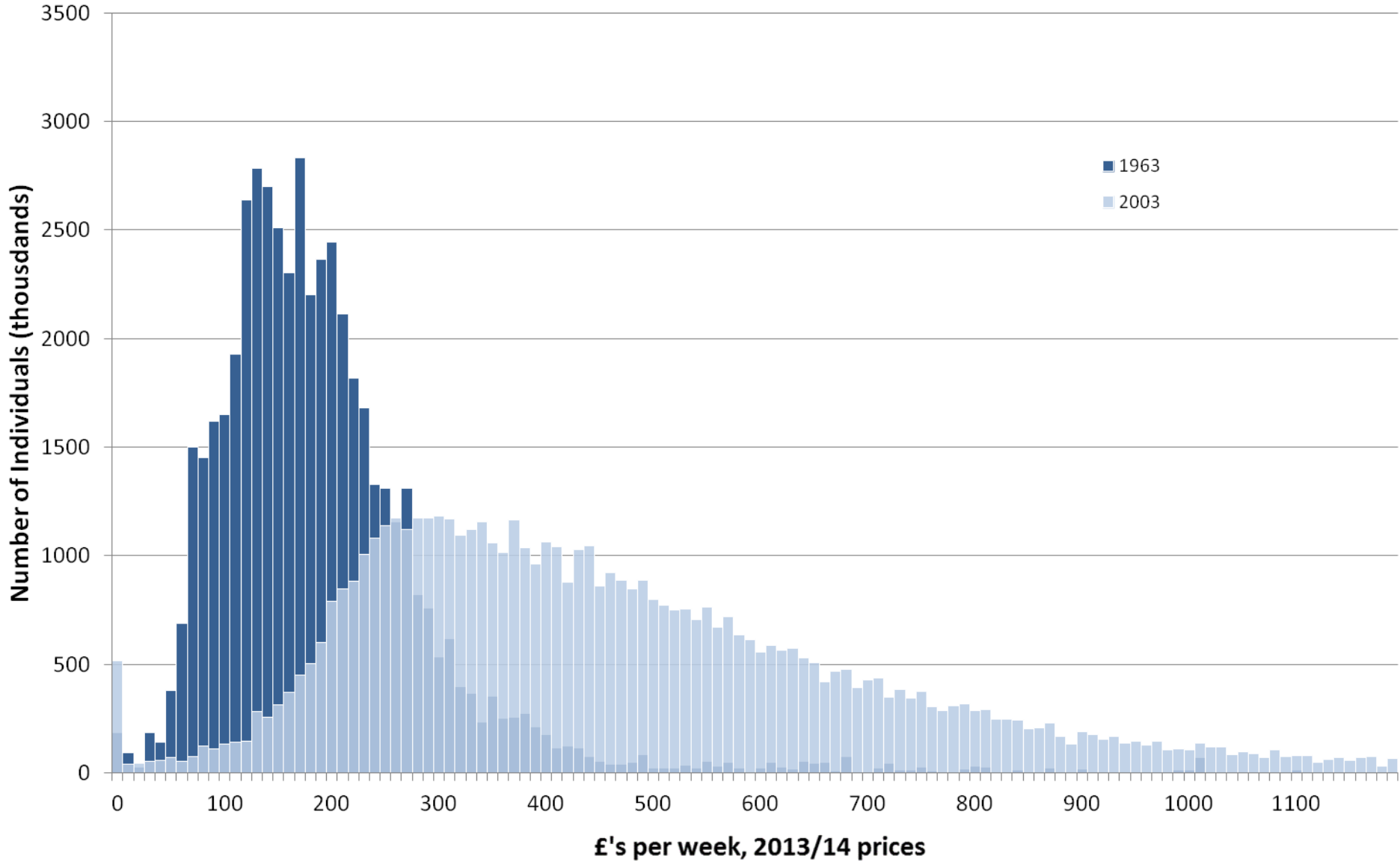
Income distribution: 1963 - 1983



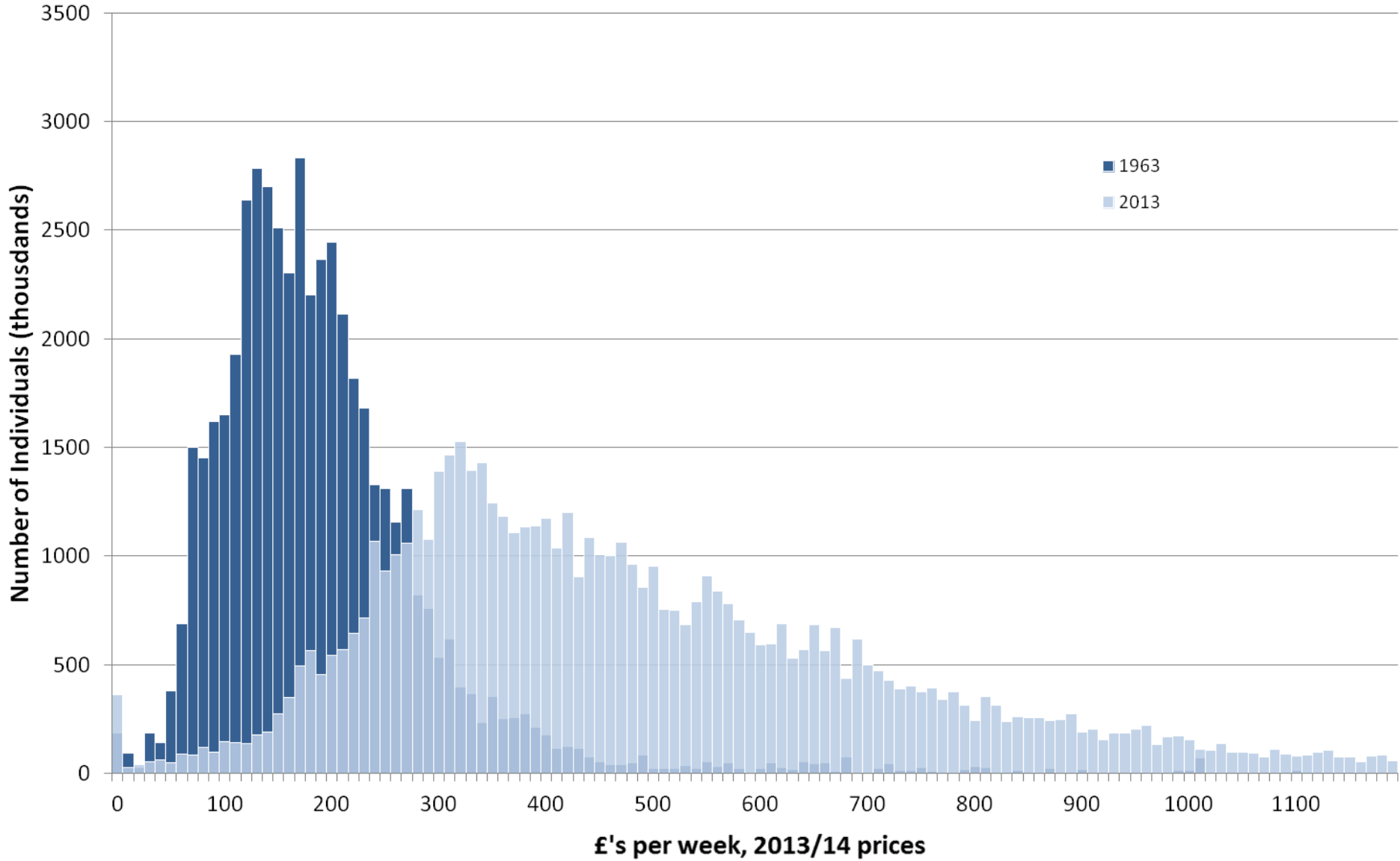
Income distribution: 1963 - 1993



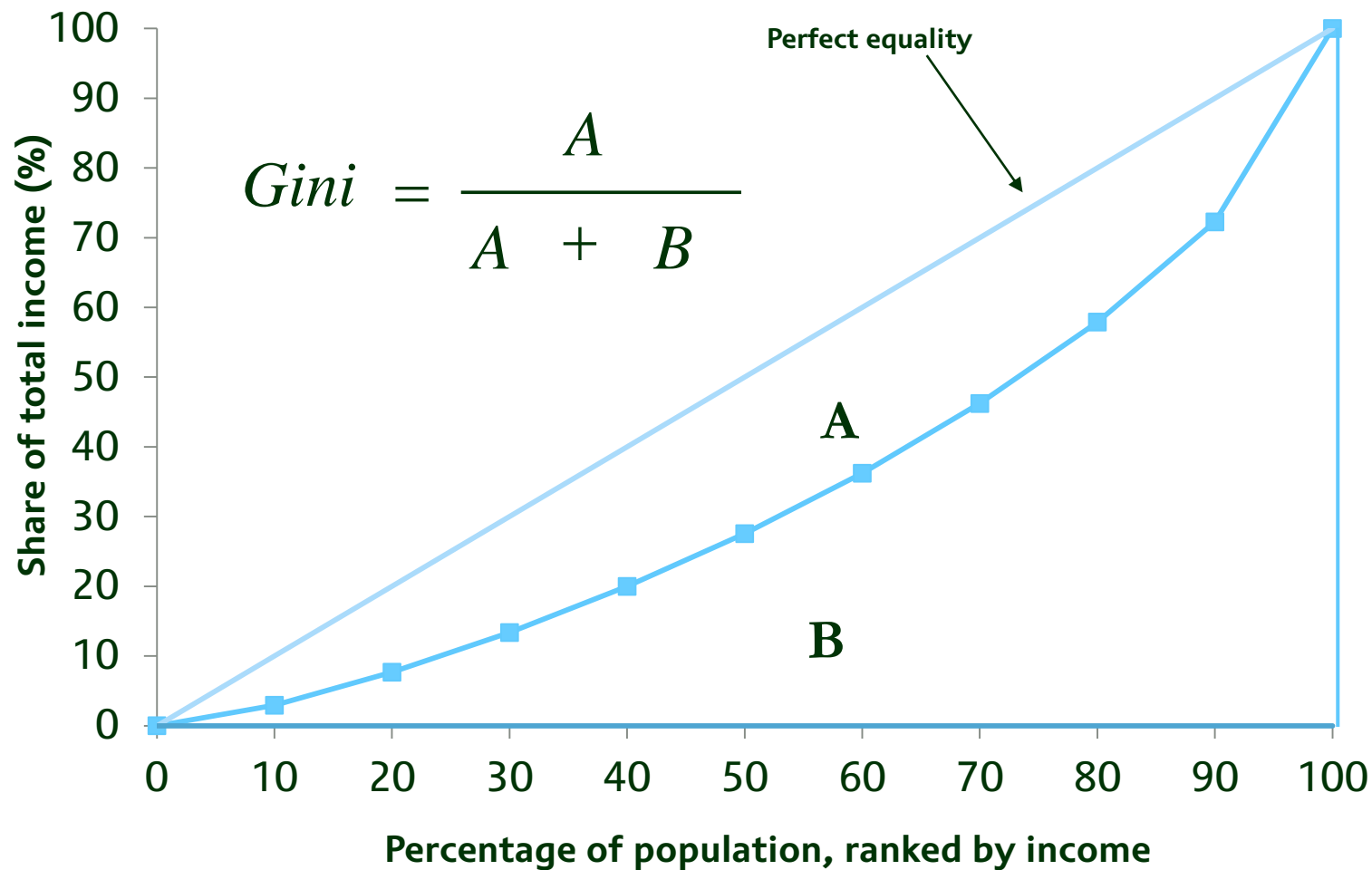
Income distribution: 1963 - 2003



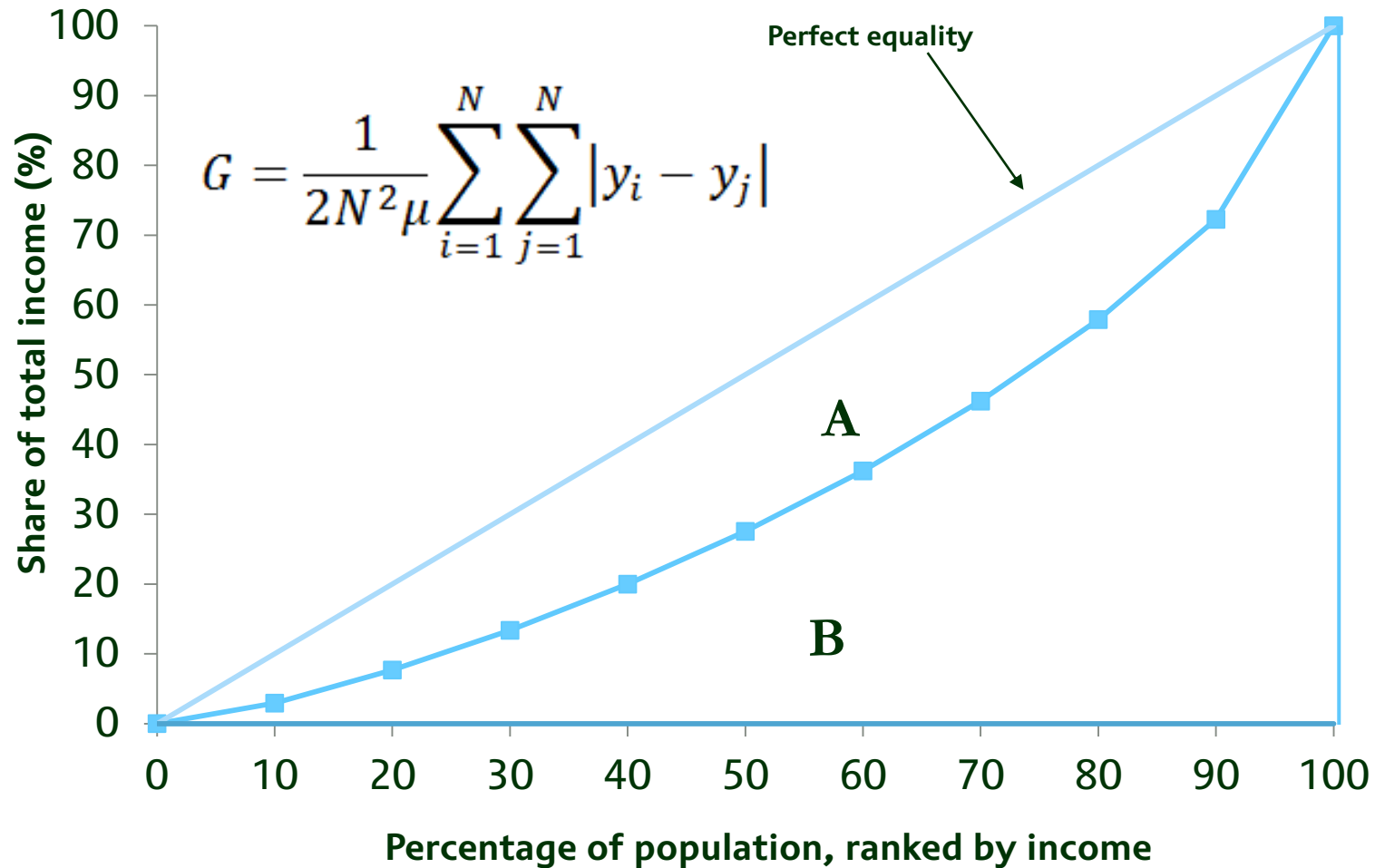
Income distribution: 1963 - 2013



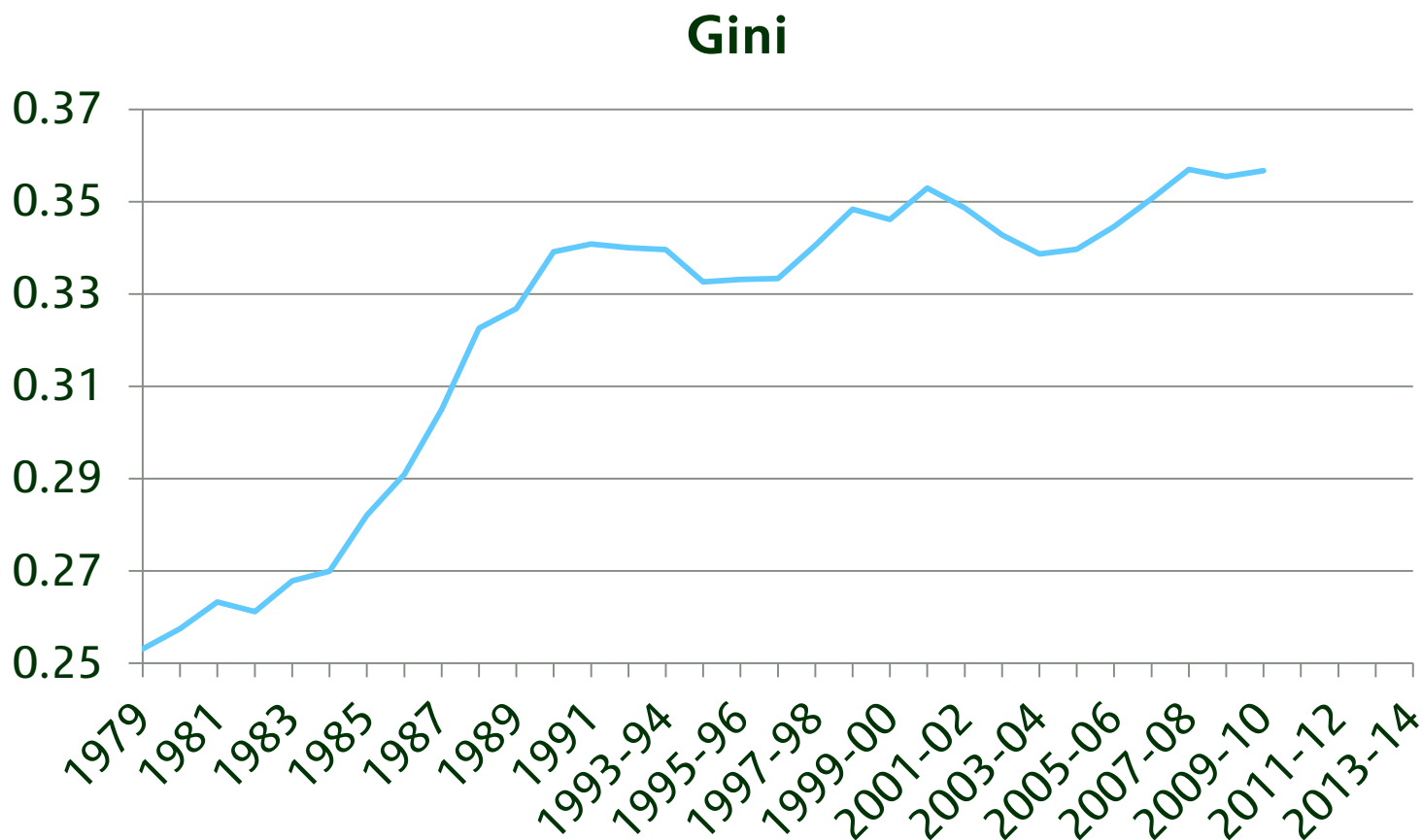
Measuring income inequality: the Gini coefficient



Measuring income inequality: the Gini coefficient



Gini coefficient: 1979 to 2009–10



Why did income inequality rise?

- Lots of explanations
 - Skills-biased technological changes [see Acemoglu (2002), Machin (2001) and Goldin and Katz (2008)]
 - Labour market institutions: weaker trade unions and a decline of collective bargaining (Goodman and Shephard 2002)

Why did income inequality rise?

- Quantile regression and Chamblain (1994)

Quantile regression

- OLS minimises the SQUARED errors:

$$\min_b \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n (y_i - x_i b)^2$$

- Median regression minimises ABSOLUTE errors:

$$\min_b E [|Y - Xb|].$$

- Quantile regression minimises the CHECK function:

$$\min_b E [\tau (Y - Xb) \cdot 1 [Y - Xb \geq 0] - (1 - \tau) (Y - Xb) \cdot 1 [Y - Xb < 0] | x]$$

Why did income inequality rise?

- Quantile regression and Chamberlain (1994)

$$\ln(Wages_i) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Trade_Union_i + X_i' \beta_j + u_i$$

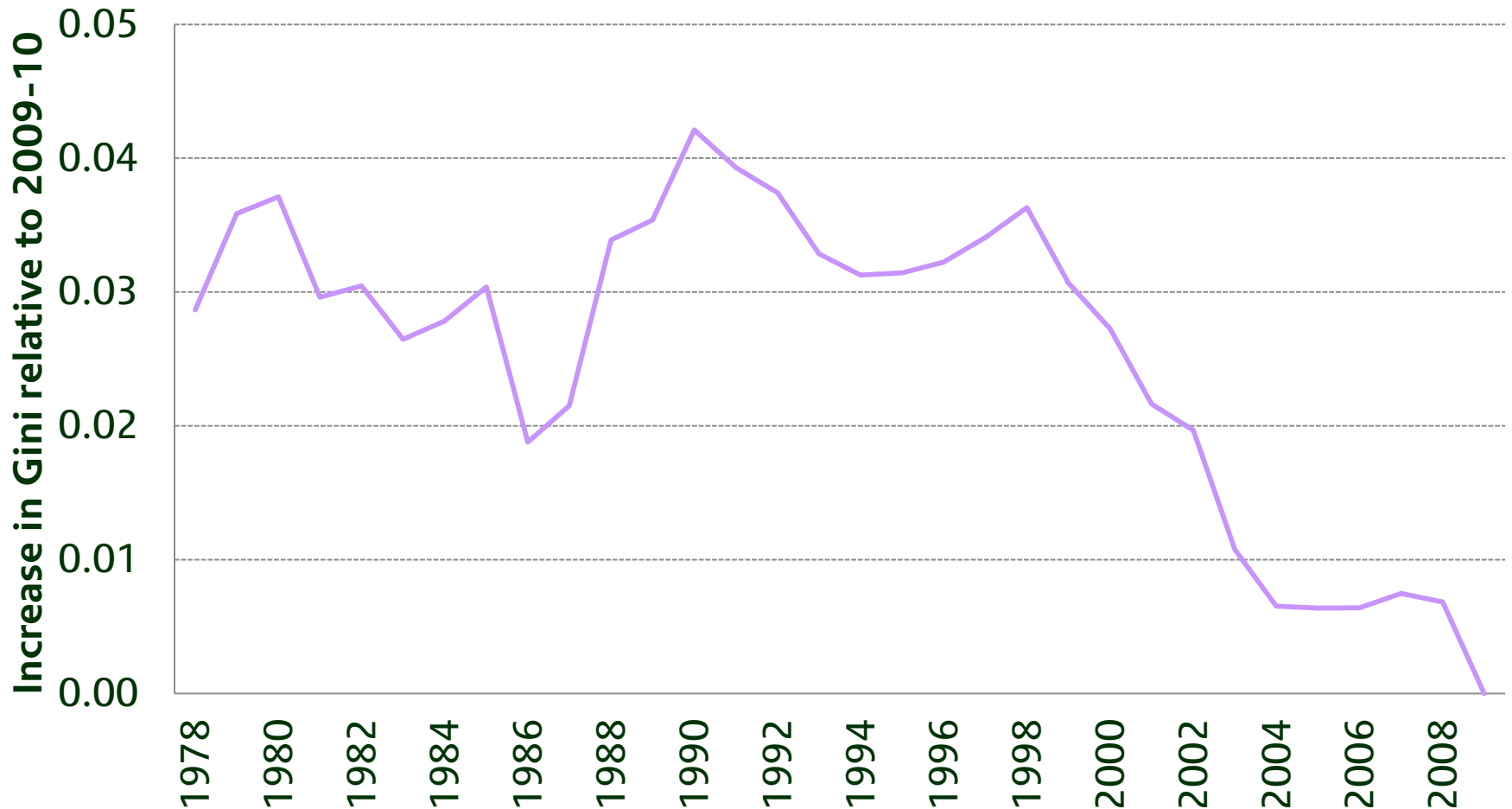
| Sector | 0.1 | 0.25 | 0.5 | 0.75 | 0.9 | OLS |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Manufacturing | 0.281 (0.12) | 0.249 (0.12) | 0.169 (0.11) | 0.075 (0.1) | -0.003 (0.11) | 0.158 (0.14) |
| Non-manufacturing | 0.47 (0.14) | 0.406 (0.14) | 0.333 (0.13) | 0.248 (0.16) | 0.184 (0.18) | 0.327 (0.16) |

Why did income inequality rise?

- Lots of explanations
 - Skills-biased technological changes [see Acemoglu (2002), Machin (2001) and Goldin and Katz (2008)]
 - Labour market institutions: weaker trade unions and a decline of collective bargaining (Goodman and Shephard 2002)
 - More inequality in employment status across households (Gregg and Wadsworth, 2008)
 - Changes in the tax and benefit system

Replacing tax/benefit system with those from previous years (UK)

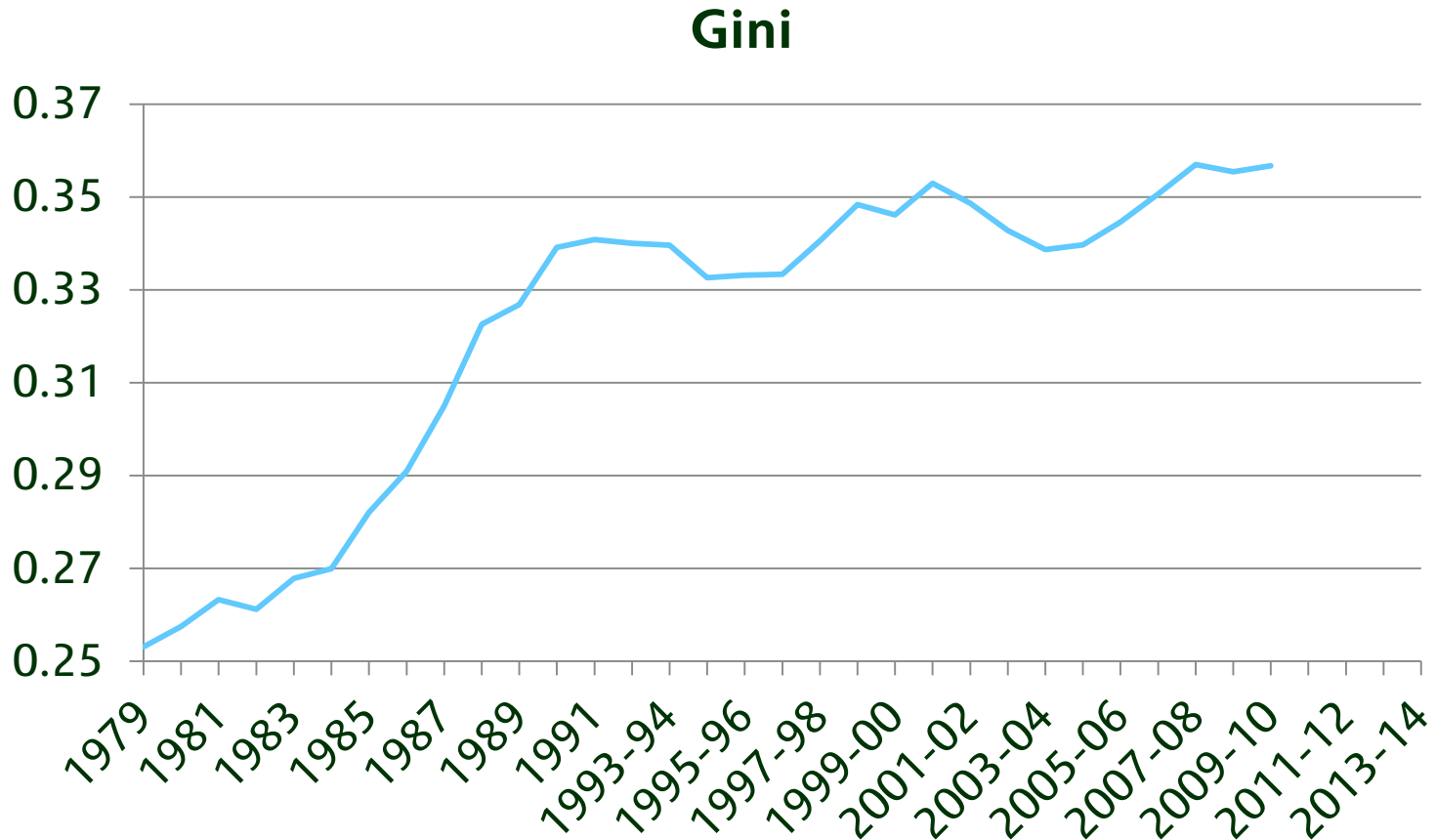
Increase in Gini relative to 2009-10



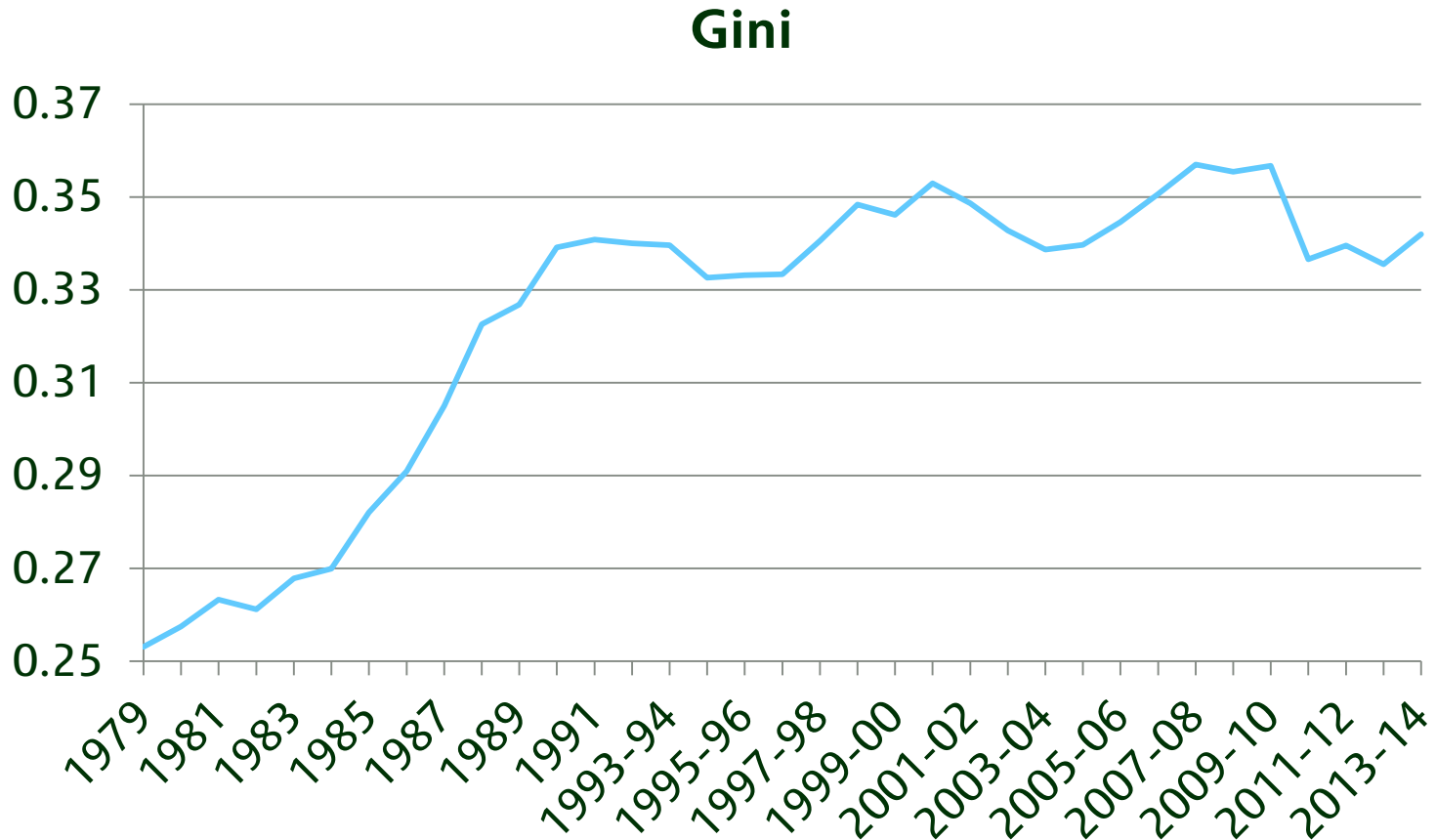
Source: Adam and Browne (2010).

Note: Tax and benefit systems from previous years have been uprated in line with the Retail Prices Index. Years up to and including 1992 are calendar years; thereafter, years refer to financial years.

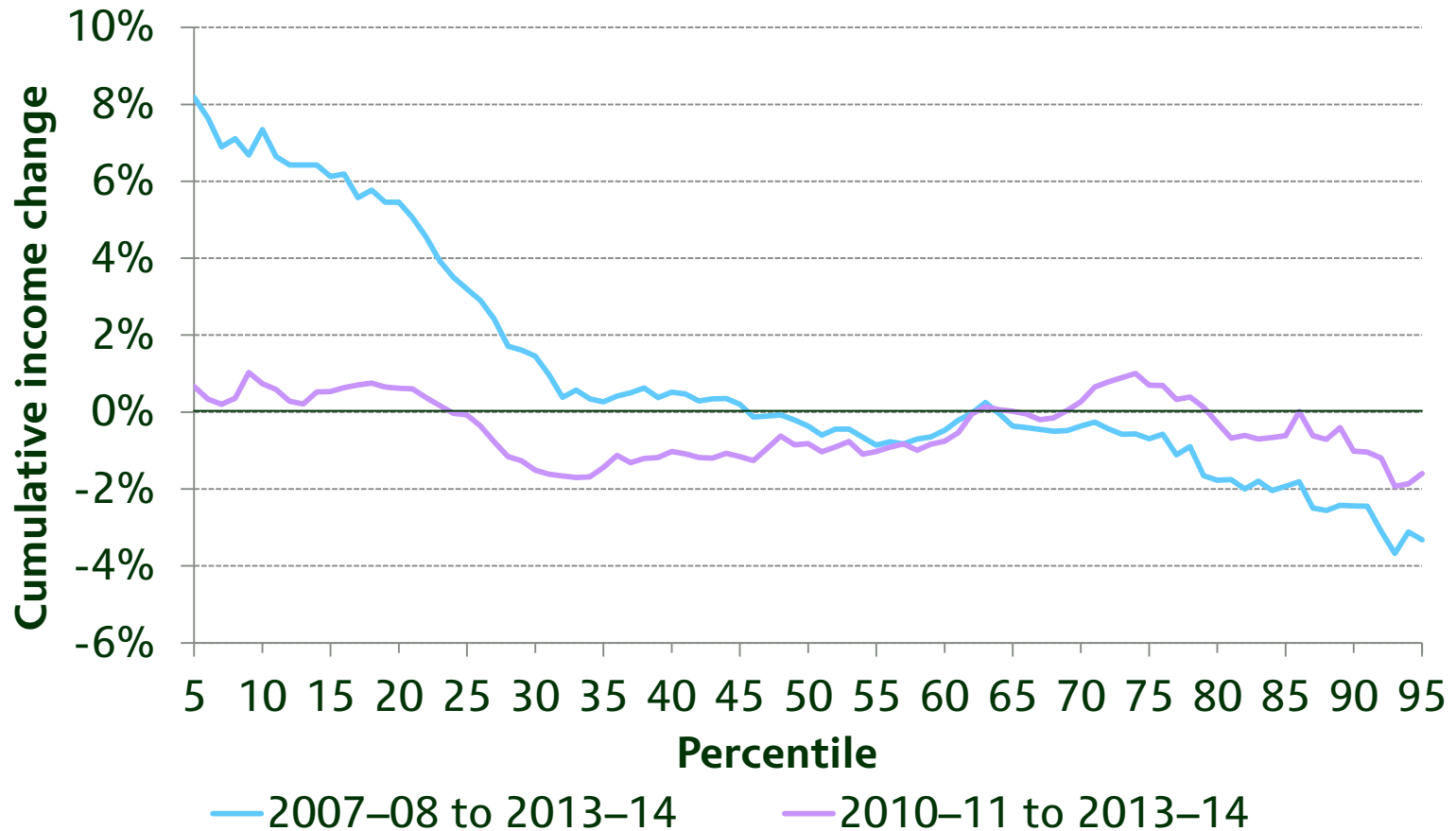
Gini coefficient: 1979 to 2013–14



Gini coefficient: 1979 to 2013–14

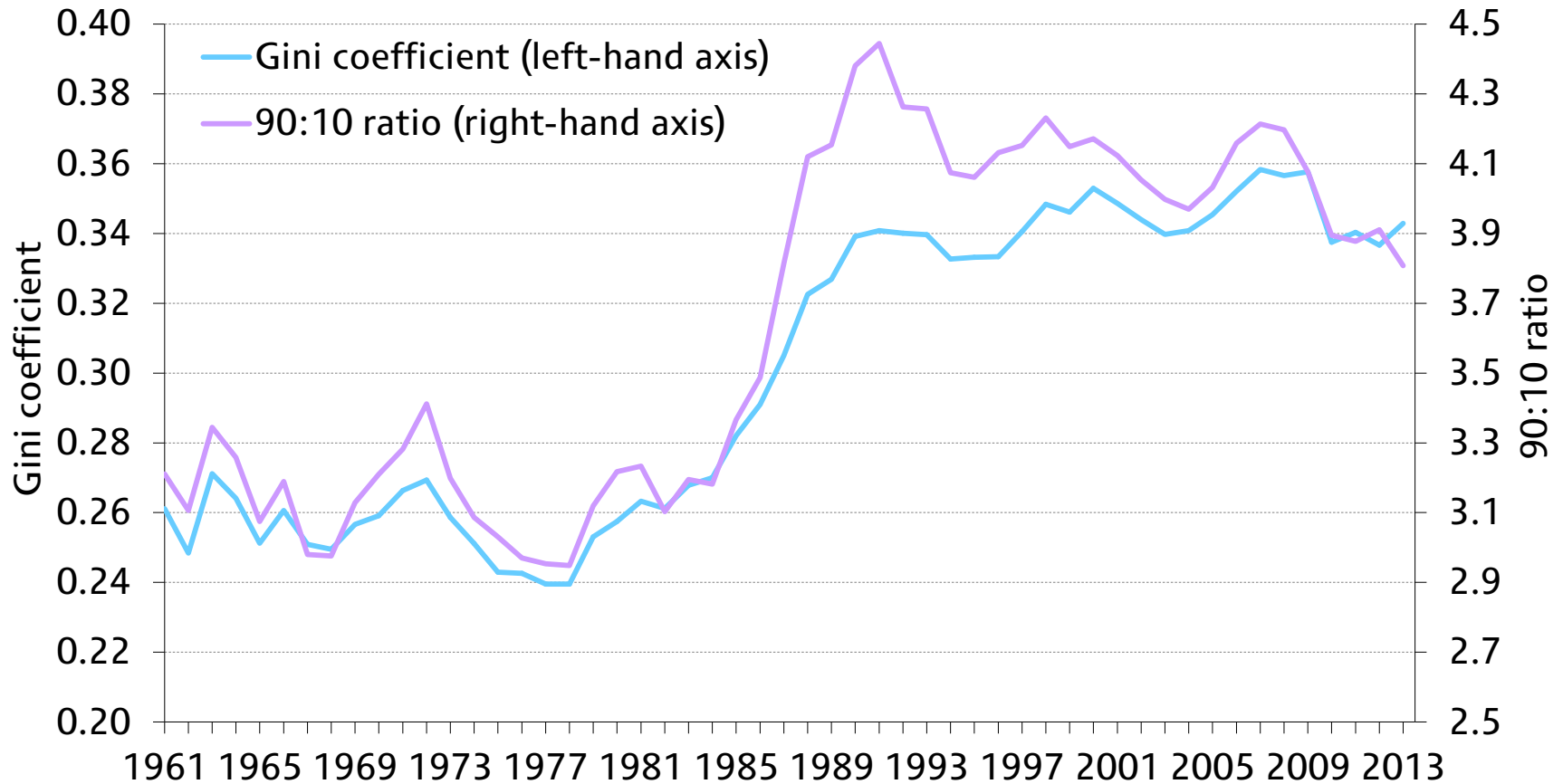


Real income growth by percentile point

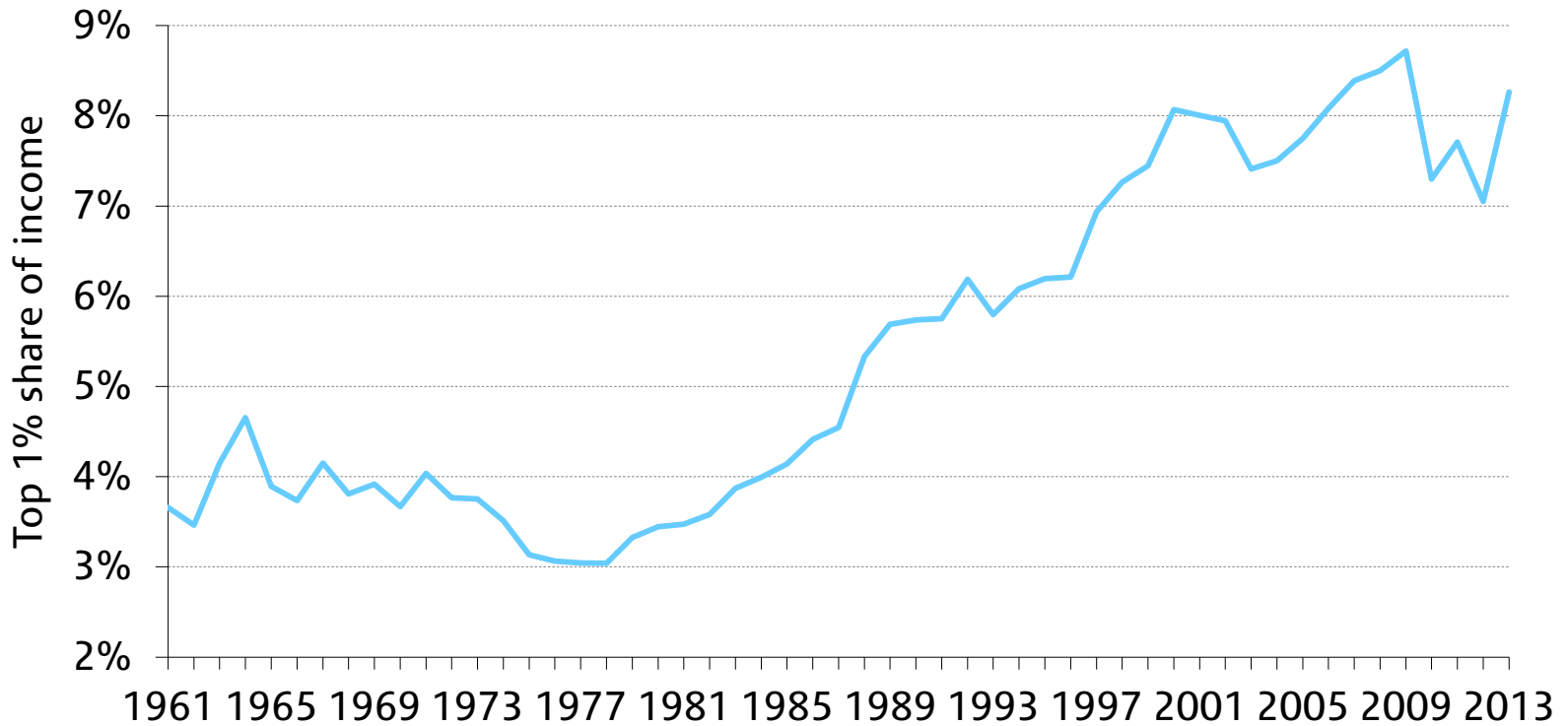


Source: Figure 3.2 of *Living Standards, Poverty and Inequality: 2014*

Comparing to the 90:10 differential



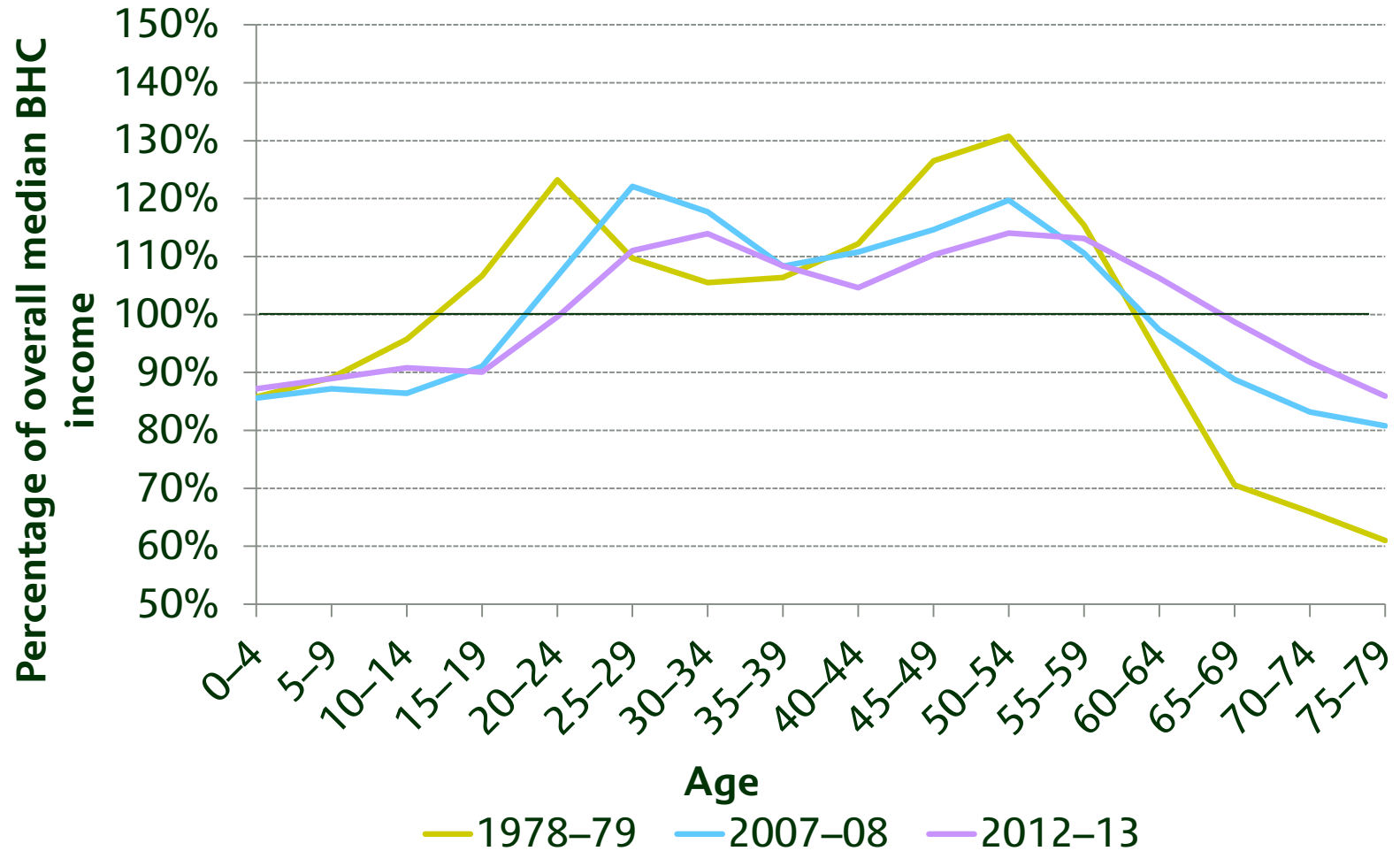
Income share of top 1%



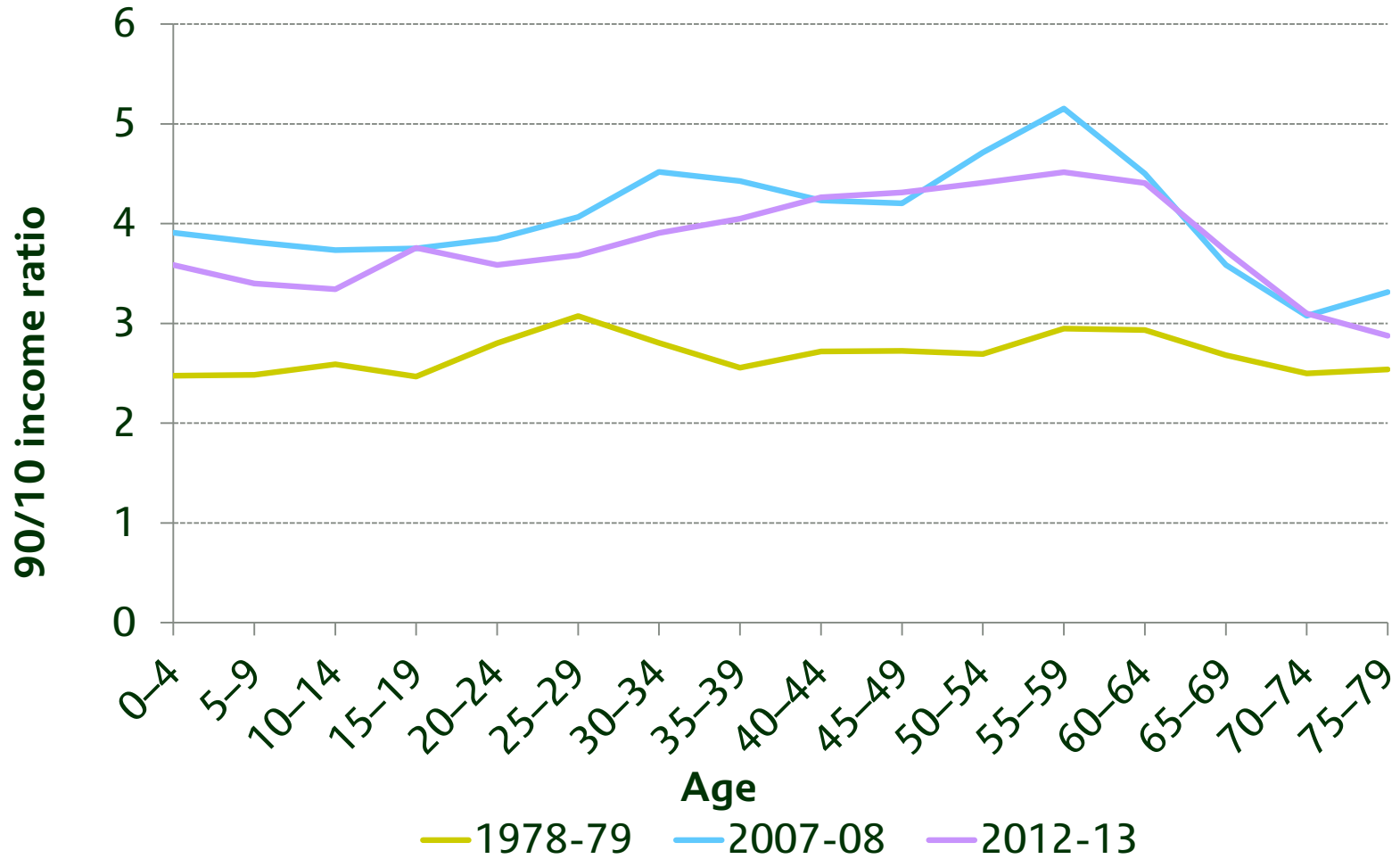
Inequality by age

- So far we have only discussed inequality in the whole income distribution
- This conflates two types of inequality we might be interested in:
 - Inequality across ages
 - Inequality between people of the same age
- This is important as we might care more about inequality in total lifetime resources than income differences between working age individuals and pensioners

Inequality across ages



Inequality within ages



Inequality by age

- Between 1978-79 and 2007-08 inequality between ages fell as pensioners become relatively less poor
- At the same time inequality within age rose
- Looking at inequality in the whole income distribution conflates these two effects
- Since 2007-08 the fall in inequality has been the result of falls in inequality both within and between ages

Poverty



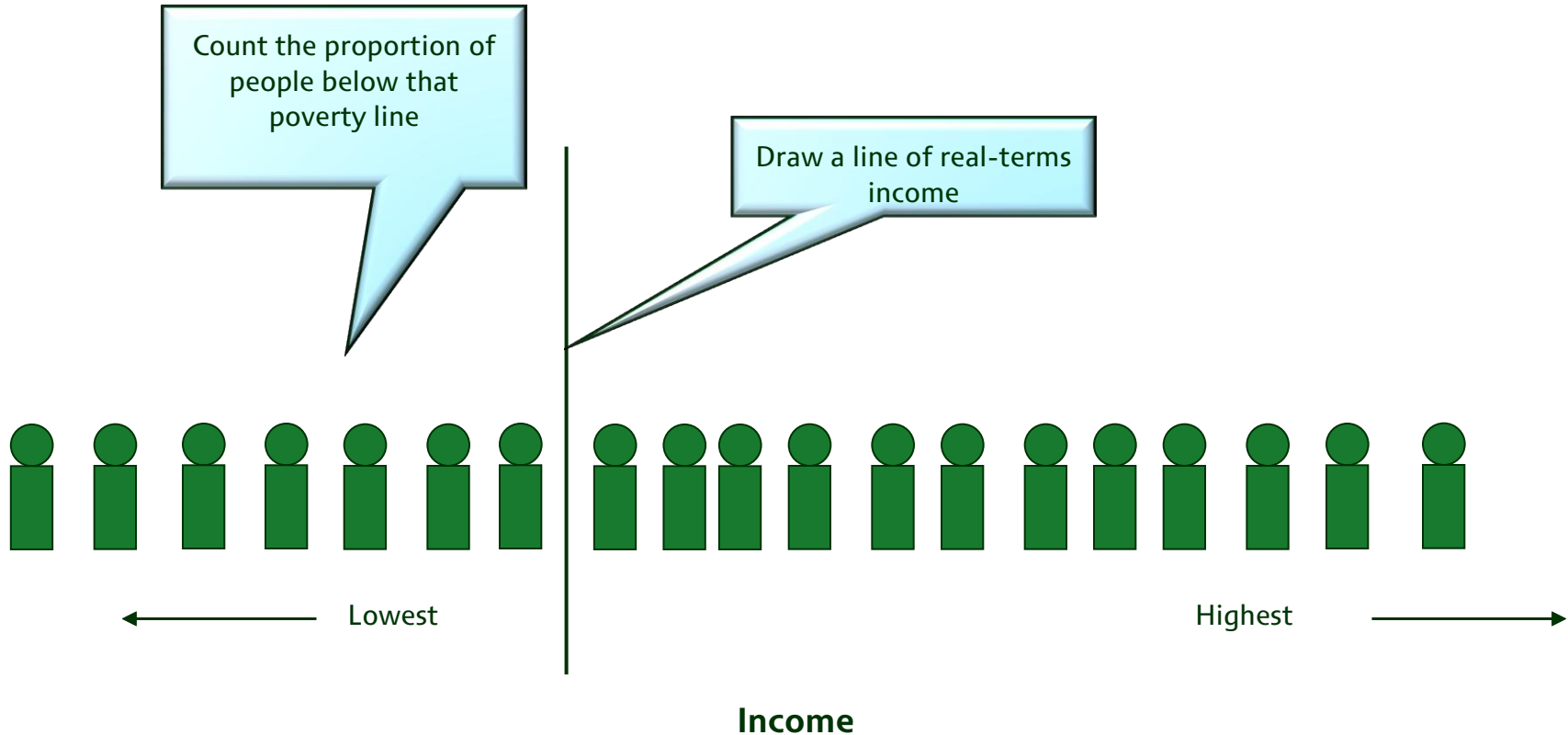
What is poverty?

- Destitution, relative deprivation, capability or functioning in society, livelihood sustainability?
 - What can we measure?
- Economists have tended to define poverty as having income below a certain “poverty line”
- One alternative is a “poverty gap” measure
 - weights people according to how far they are below the poverty line
 - but the data towards the bottom of the income distribution is not good enough

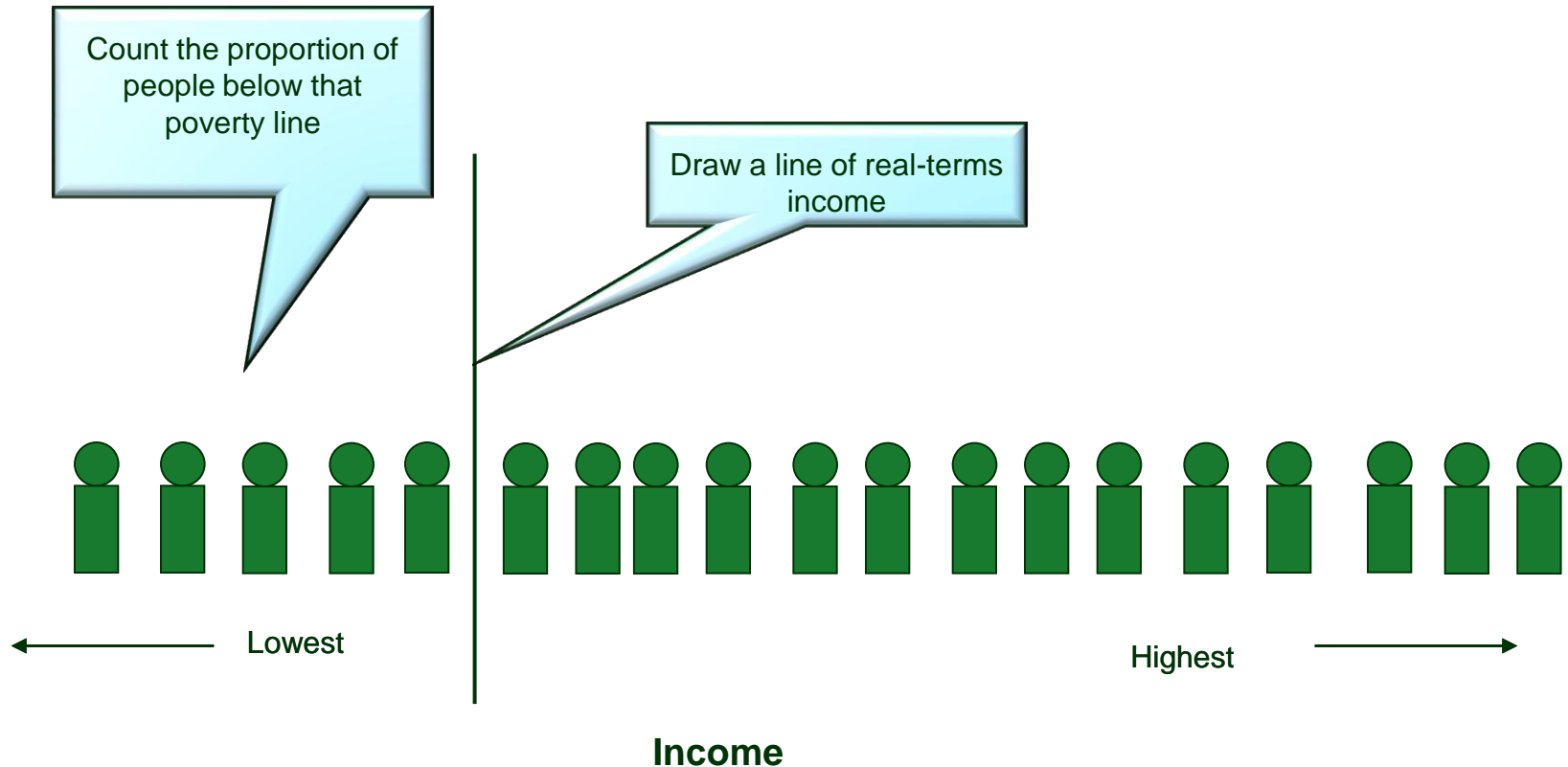
Poverty lines

- 2 types of poverty lines are used
1. Absolute Poverty lines
 - Defined as a certain level of real-terms income
 - Example: \$1 a day poverty line (in 1990 prices) (Ravallion et al 1991), US government basket of goods and services
 - However in the UK we typically use a 60% of 2010/11 median income

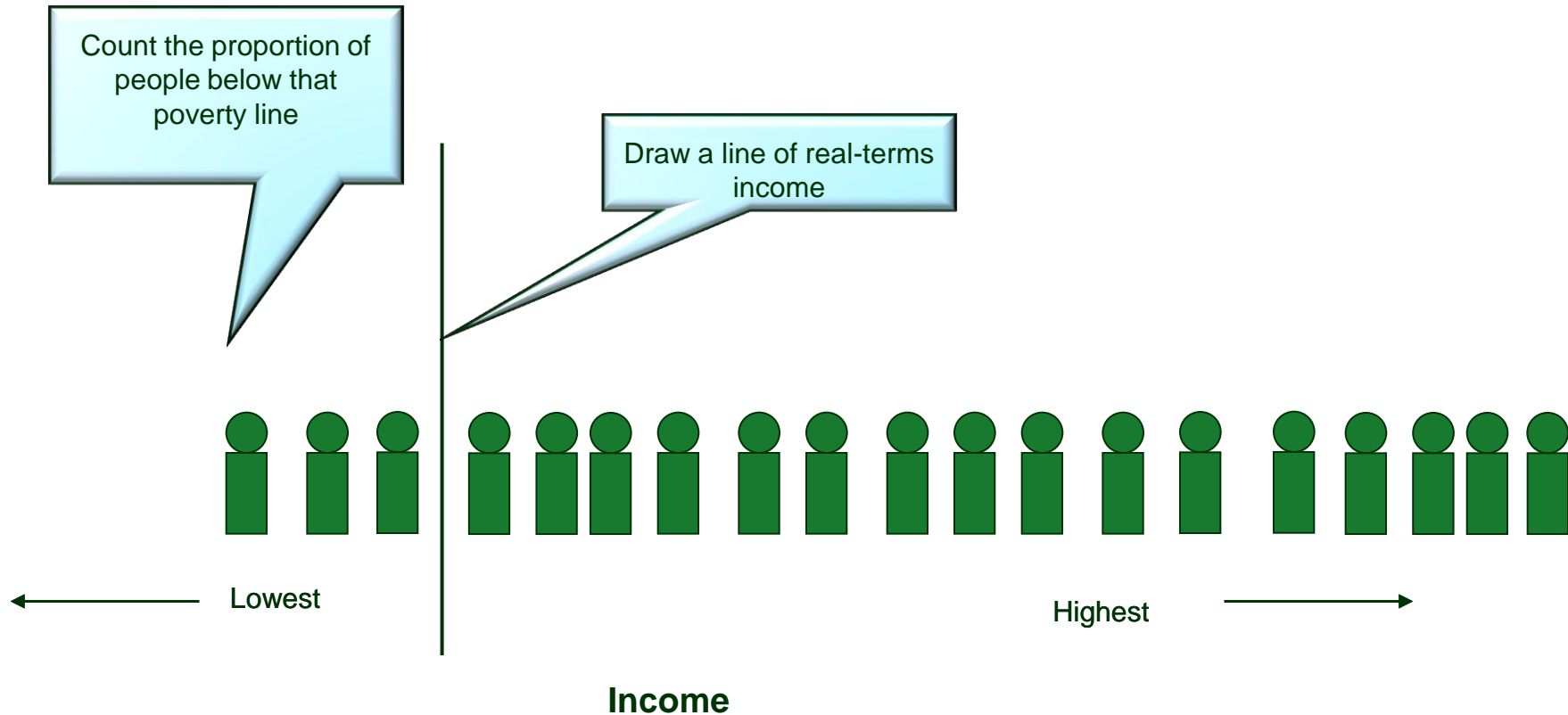
Calculating absolute poverty



Absolute poverty over time



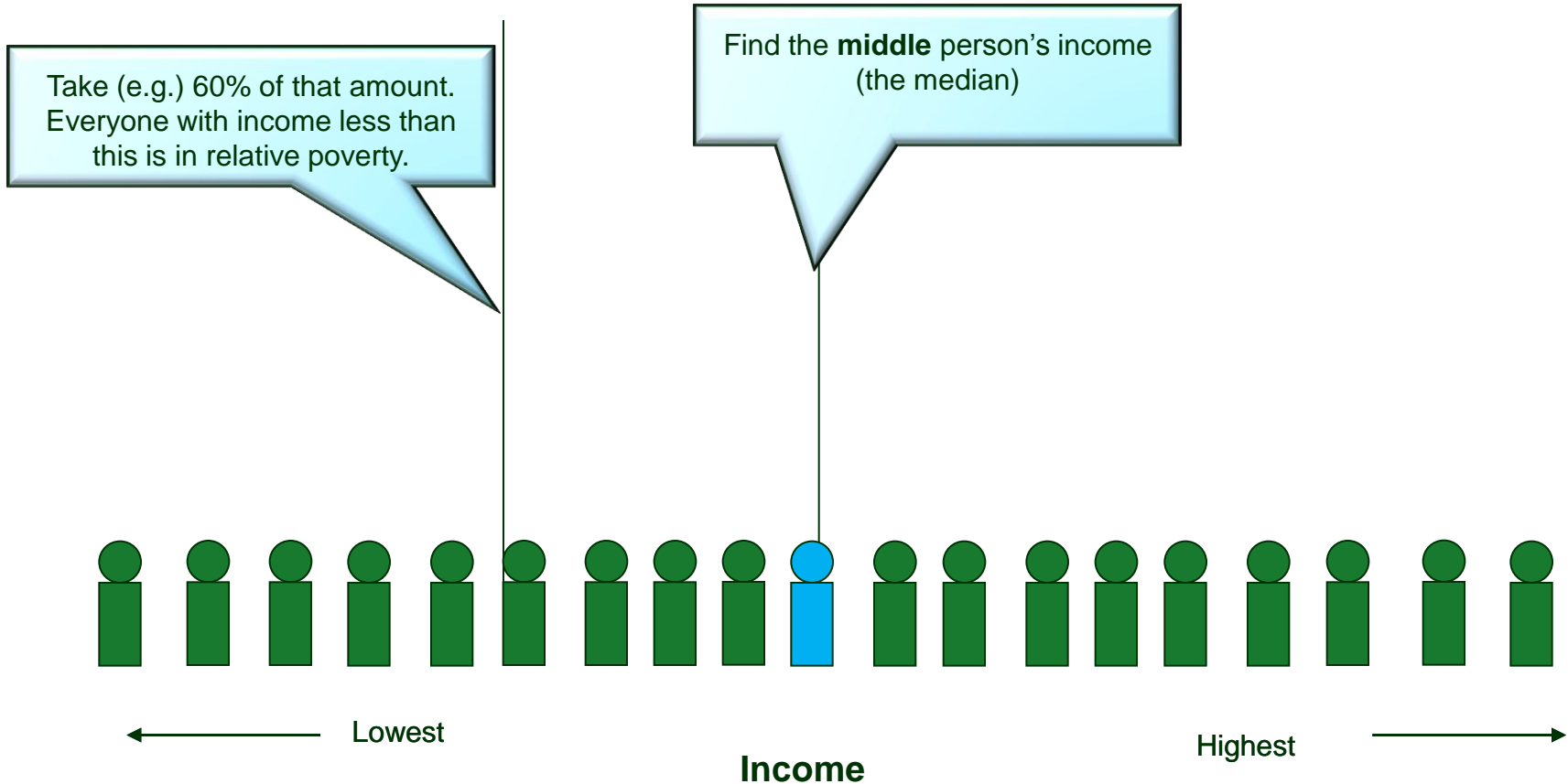
Absolute poverty over time



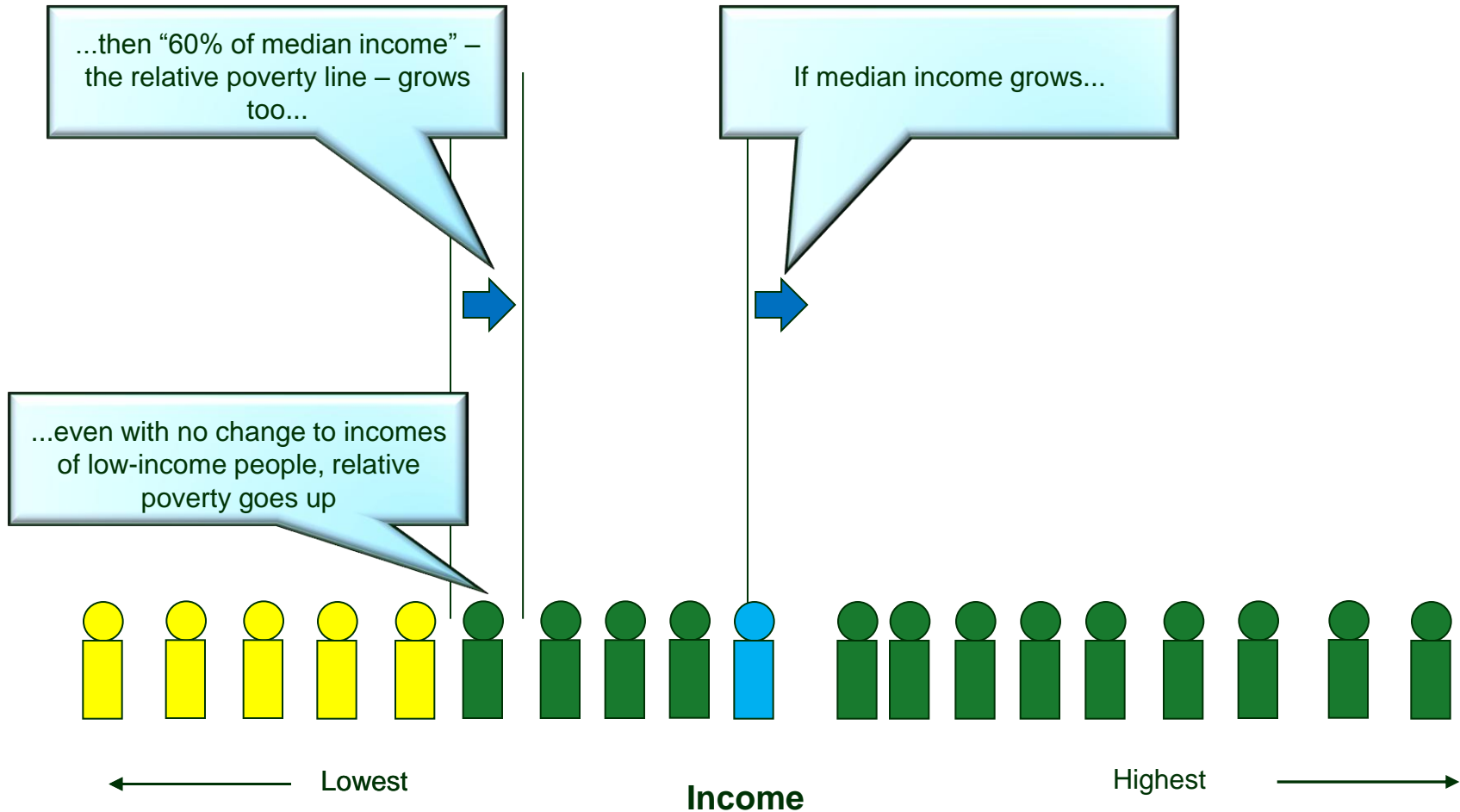
Poverty lines

- 2 kinds of poverty lines are used
 1. Absolute Poverty lines
 - Defined as a certain level of real-terms income
 - Example: \$1 a day poverty line (in 1990 prices) (Ravallion et al 1991)
 - However in the UK we typically use a 60% of 2010/11 median income
 2. Relative Poverty lines
 - Defined as a certain percentage of median income in the country
 - UK government ~~uses~~ **used** 60% of median income for **old** child poverty targets

Calculating relative poverty



Relative poverty over time – a moving target



Why look at relative **and** absolute poverty?

- Relative poverty is really a measure of inequality between the middle and the bottom of the income distribution
 - Particularly problematic when median income is falling
- Absolute poverty lines become irrelevant in the long run
 - Often moved on an ad hoc basis eg. 2010 baseline for 2020 child poverty targets
- Changes in absolute poverty perhaps more significant in the short run, with changes in relative poverty more significant in the long run

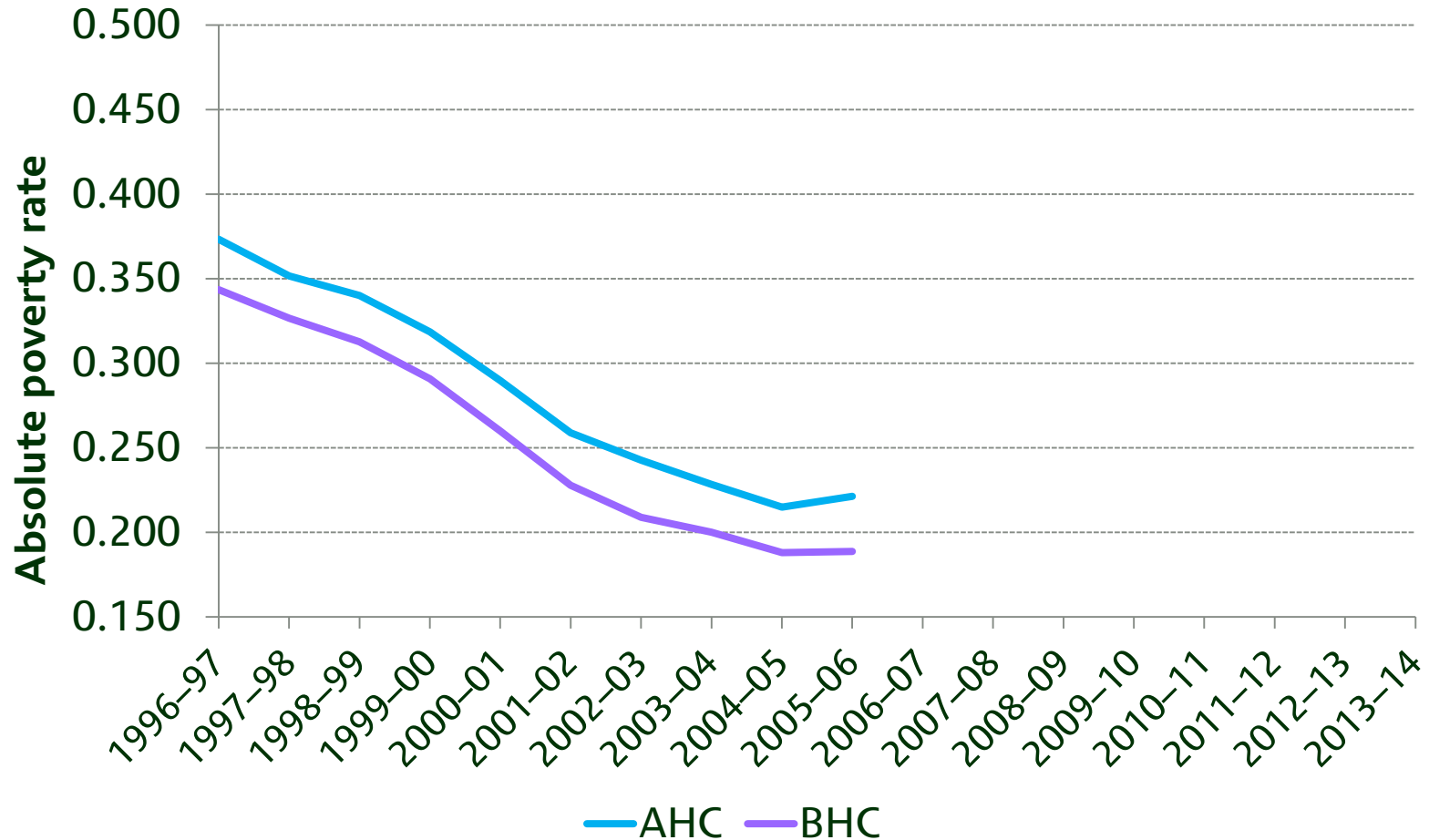
Measuring poverty – Housing costs

- We typically create two alternative measures of household income
 - Before Housing Costs (BHC)
 - After Housing Costs (AHC)
- We could use either to create a measure of poverty
- Which is better depends on how we think about spending on housing
 - BHC income treats housing costs like any other form of consumption
 - AHC income treats housing as a fixed cost that households have little or no choice over
- It can also depend on other factors that are driving housing cost changes

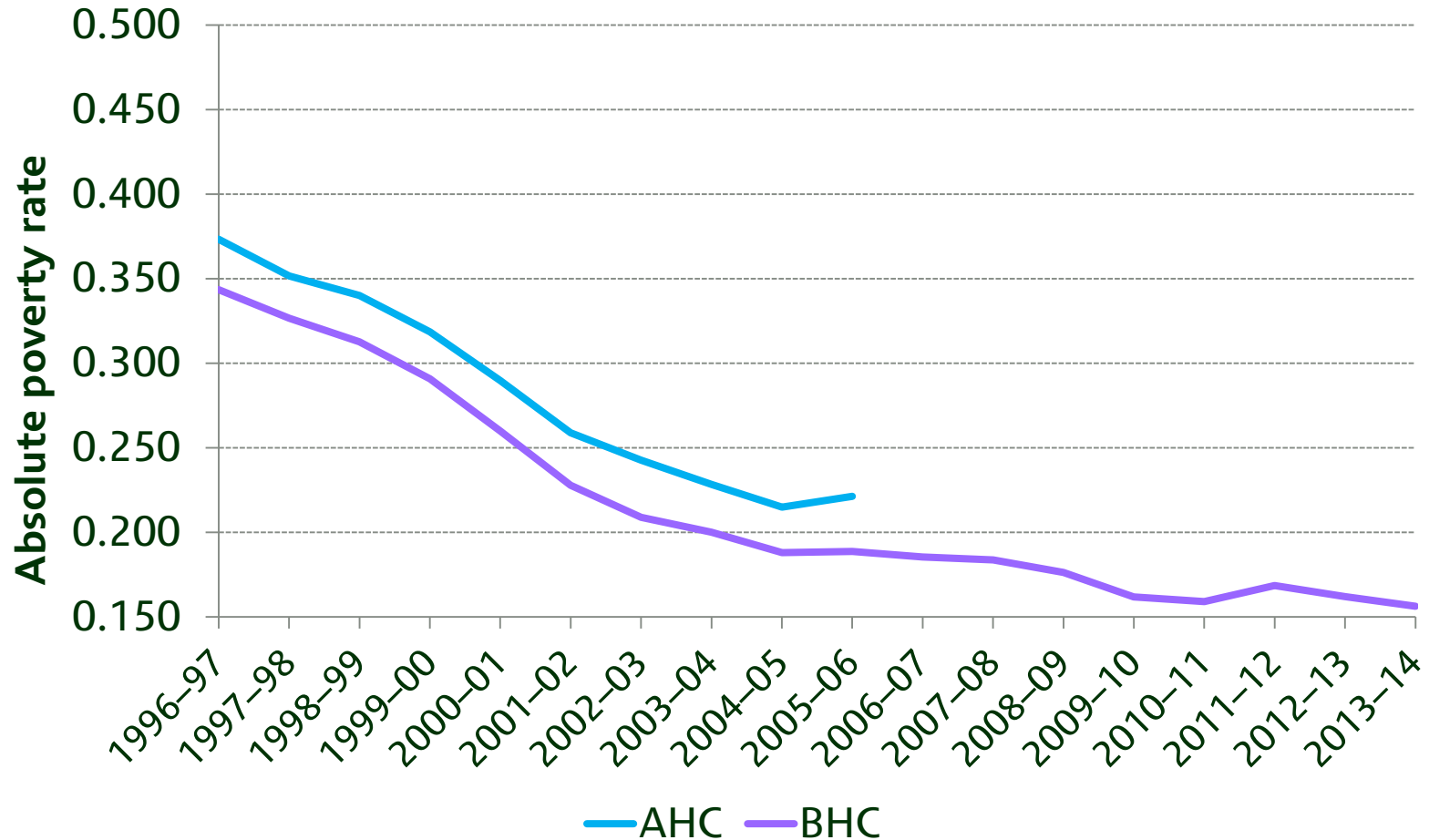
Measuring poverty – Housing costs

- Before looking at recent trends it is important to understand how the two income measures are calculated over time.
- BHC incomes are spent on basket of goods that includes housing, therefore housing costs are included in the inflation measure.
 - This means that the average trend in housing costs is removed as it forms part of inflation, but variation in individuals' housing costs from the mean will not be removed
- AHC incomes are, by definition, not spent on housing. Therefore a different measure of inflation excluding housing costs is used
 - All variation in housing costs is removed

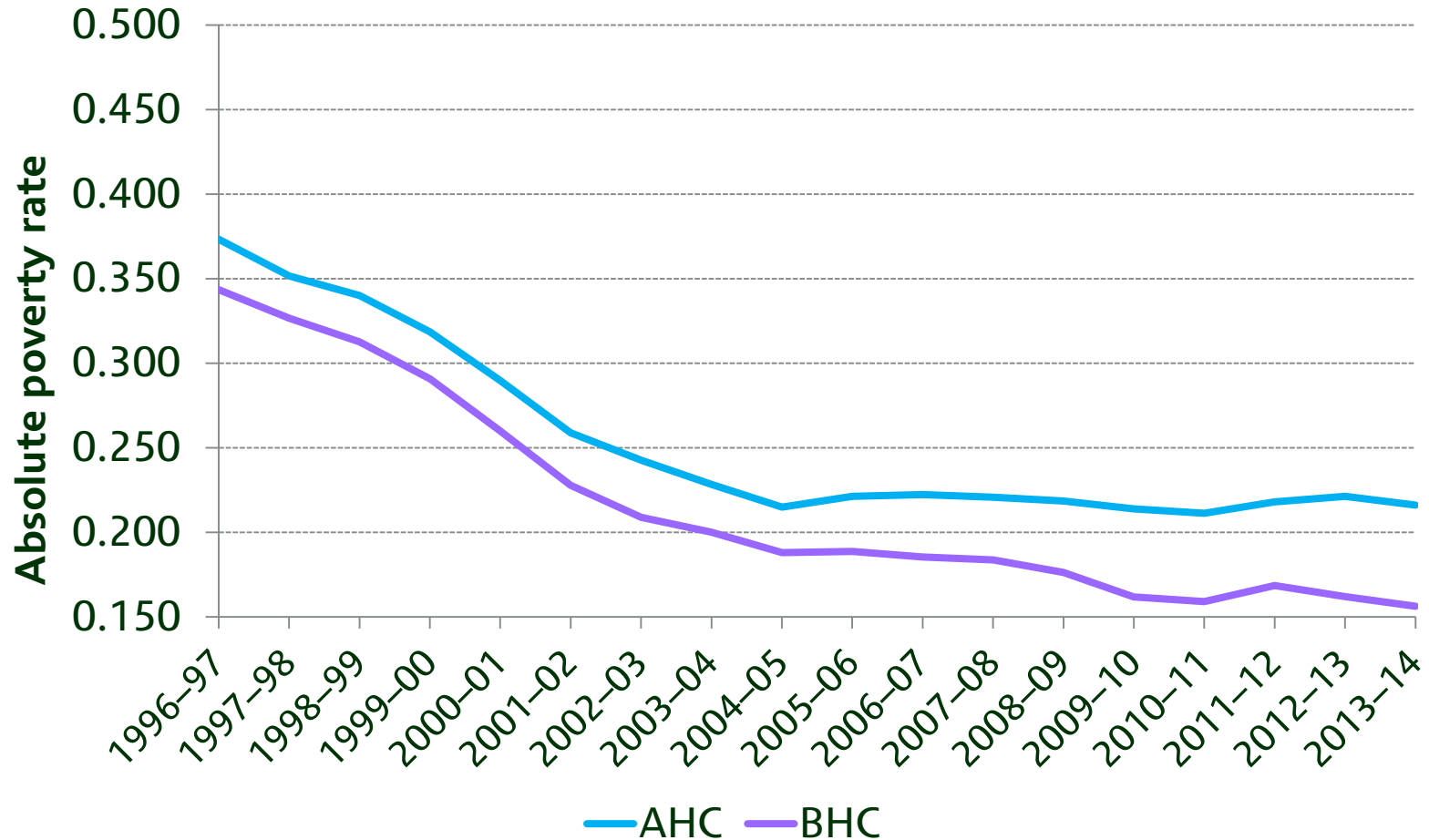
Measuring poverty – Housing costs



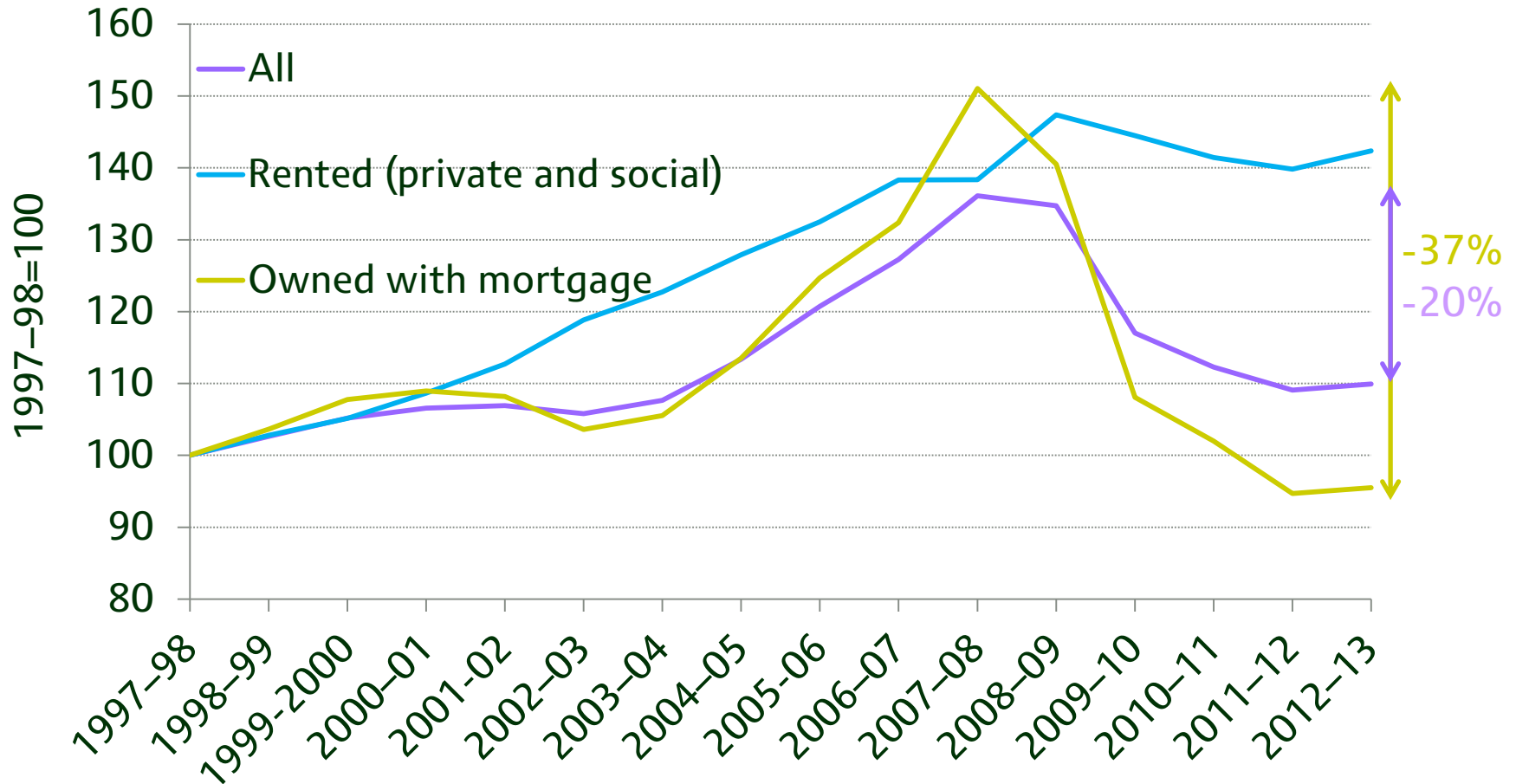
Measuring poverty – Housing costs



Measuring poverty – Housing costs



Real mean housing costs by tenure



Source: Figure 2.7 of *Living Standards, Poverty and Inequality: 2014*

Summary

- When using measures of living standards it is important to **correctly** account for inflation and household composition
- Income inequality rose quickly across the distribution in the 1980s and fell during the recession
- Poverty can be defined according to an absolute or relative income measure
- AHC poverty may be a better measure of changes in recent years

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Extra slides

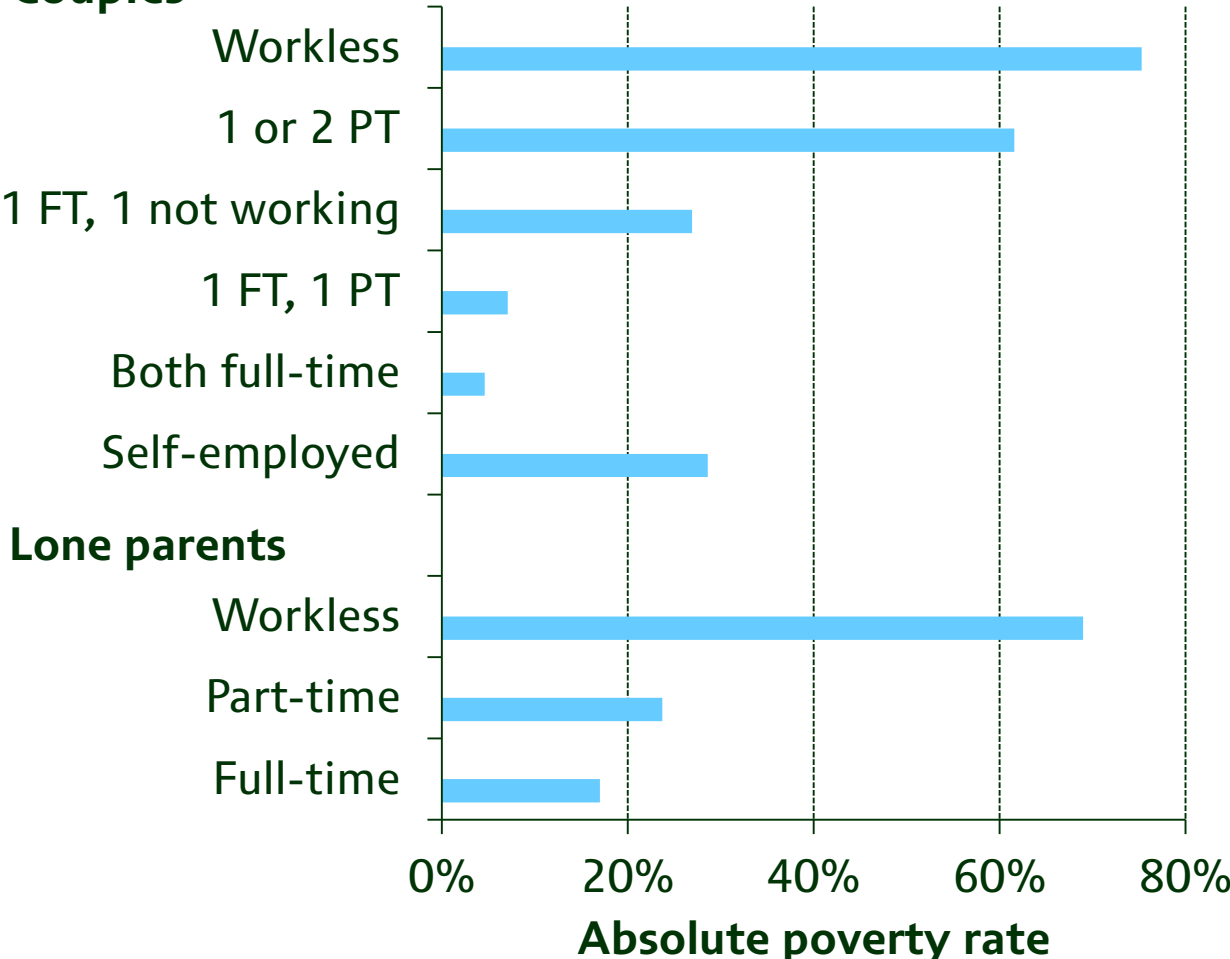
Relationship between work status and poverty

- Between 2009–10 and 2013–14 there were contrasting labour market trends
 - The employment rate recovered (increased by 3.2ppt in the HBAI data)
 - But real earnings fell
- How has this impacted poverty?
 - Child poverty was broadly unchanged Between 2009–10 and 2013–14
 - However during this period the proportion of children living in workless families from 18% to 16%

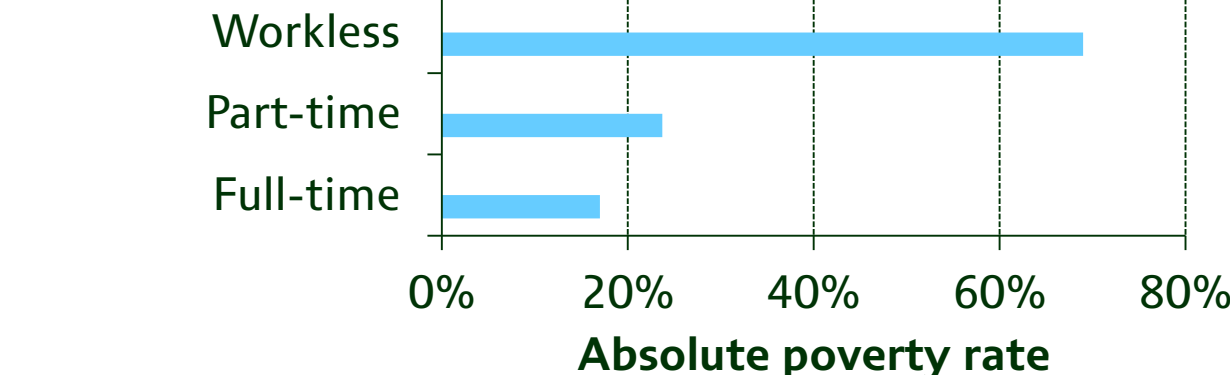
Child poverty by parental work status

Source: Table 4.5 of *Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015*

Couples



Lone parents



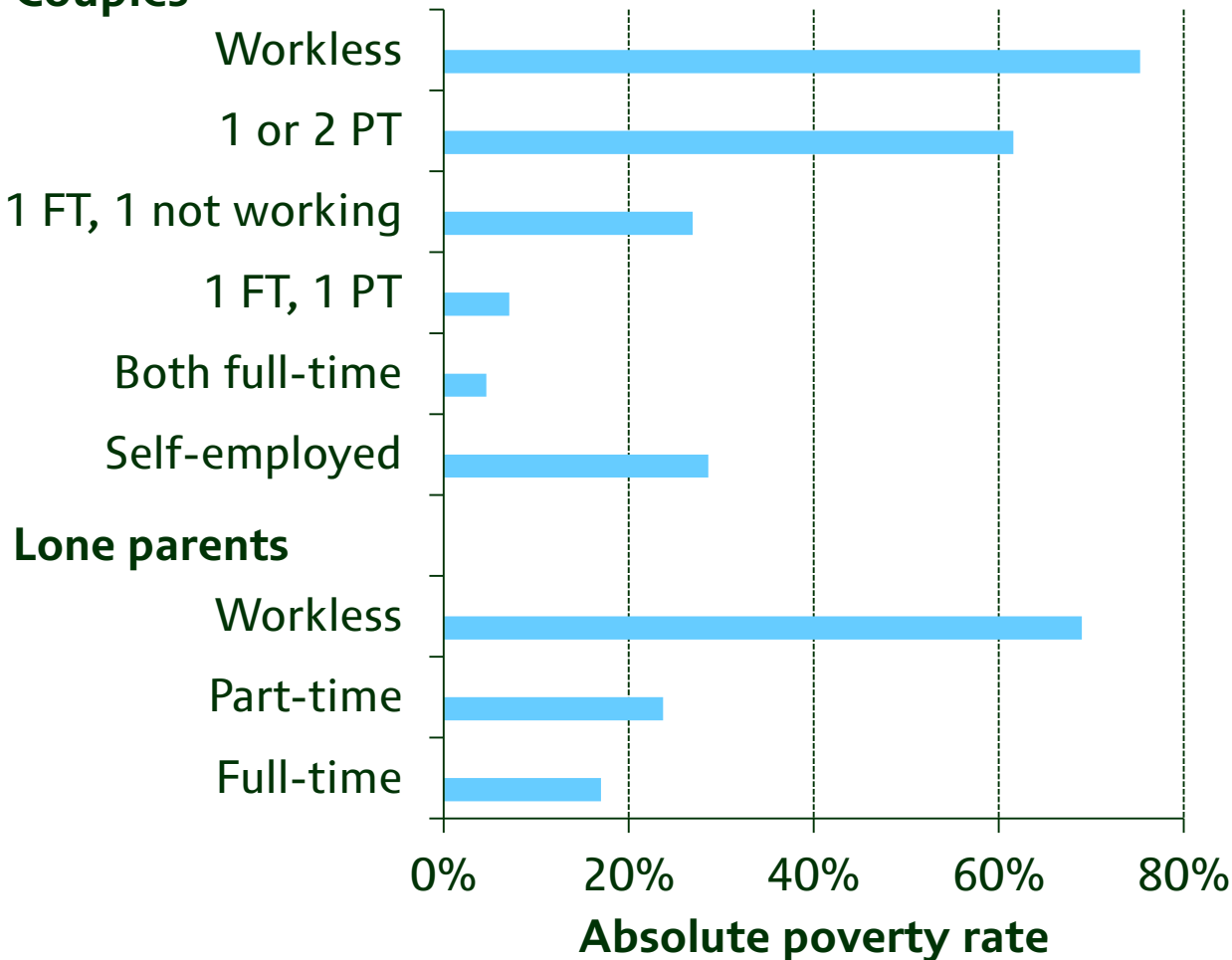
| Proportion of child population in 2009-10 | |
|---|-------|
| Workless | 6.9% |
| 1 or 2 PT | 4.7% |
| 1 FT, 1 not working | 16.9% |
| 1 FT, 1 PT | 20.8% |
| Both full-time | 15.8% |
| Self-employed | 11.6% |
| | |
| Workless | 11.4% |
| Part-time | 6.1% |
| Full-time | 5.7% |

2013-14 2009-10

Child poverty by parental work status

Source: Table 4.5 of *Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015*

Couples



■ 2013-14 ■ 2009-10

| Proportion of child population in 2009-10 | Change between 2009-10 and 2013-14 |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 6.9% | -1.2ppt |
| 4.7% | -0.4ppt |
| 16.9% | -0.6ppt |
| 20.8% | +0.1ppt |
| 15.8% | +1.2ppt |
| 11.6% | +0.6ppt |
| | |
| 11.4% | -0.8ppt |
| 6.1% | +0.9ppt |
| 5.7% | +0.2ppt |

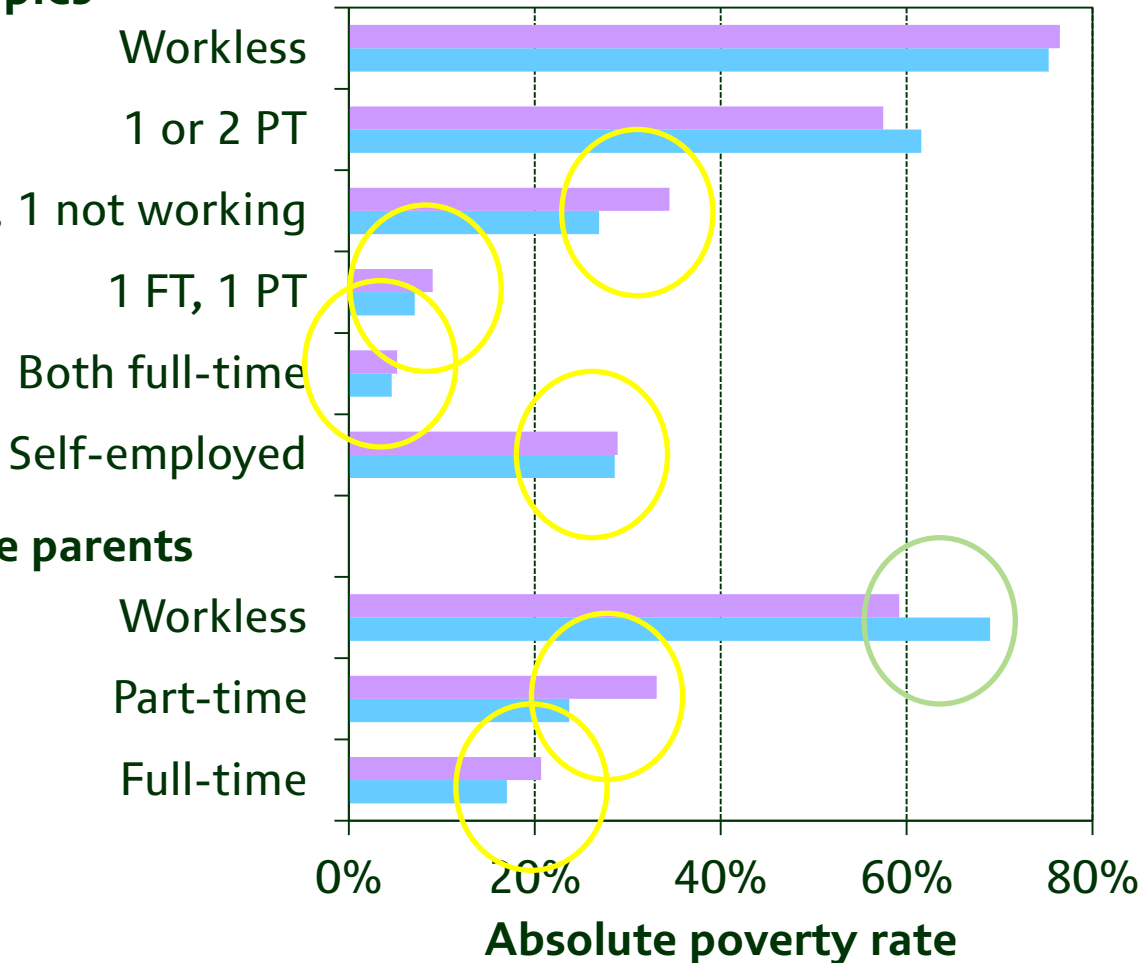
Child poverty by parental work status

- These changes acted to reduce the child poverty rate by more the 1ppt
- However at the same time there were increases in the poverty rate in working families

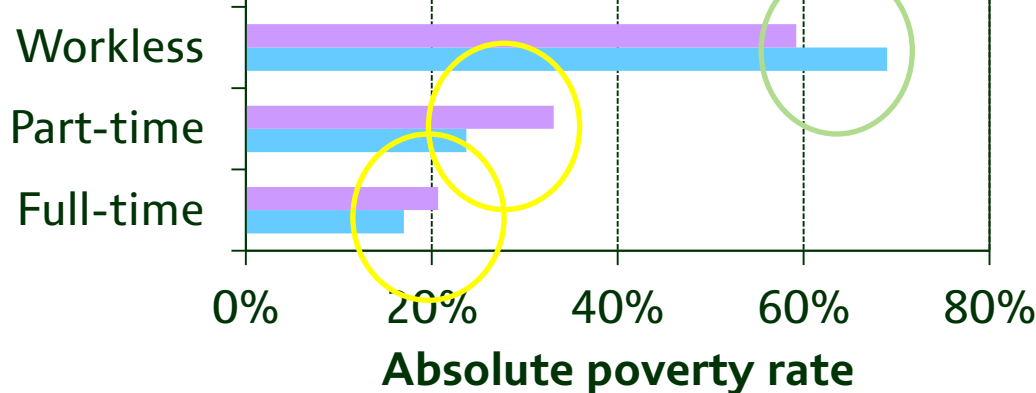
Child poverty by parental work status

Source: Table 4.5 of *Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015*

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| 11.6% | +0.6ppt |
| | |
| 11.4% | -0.8ppt |
| 6.1% | +0.9ppt |
| 5.7% | +0.2ppt |

Why was child poverty flat between 2009–10 and 2013–14

1. Employment growth reduced the proportion of children living in workless families
 2. Fall in child poverty rate among workless lone parents
 3. Rise in in-work poverty
- In 2009–10 54% of children in poverty lived in working families, by 2013–14 this had risen to 63%