Institute for Fiscal Studies



Living standards and income inequality Jonathan Cribb 16th July 2015





Where do we get our data?

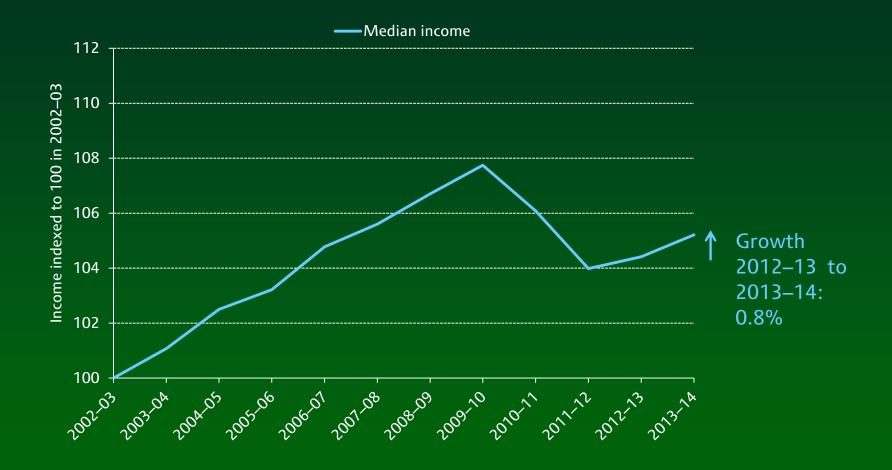
- Family Resources Survey and predecessors from 1961 to 2013–14
 - Currently a sample of around 20,000 households
 - Subject to sampling error
- Figures using data prior to 2002–03 refer to Great Britain not UK
 - Northern Ireland not included in the data until 2002–03
- We use the same definition of income as measured in "Households Below Average Income" which is produced by the Department for Work and Pensions



What do we mean by "income"?

- HBAI income is measured net of direct taxes and benefits and is measured at the household level
- Adjusted to account for household size and structure ("equivalised")
 - Cash amounts are equivalents for a childless couple
- Measure income both before and after housing costs have been deducted ("BHC" and "AHC")
- Adjusted for inflation to allow comparisons over time
 - Use variants of the Consumer Price Index, which we have constructed (available on the IFS website)
 - Differs from the Retail Price Index used in DWP's official statistics
 - RPI known to significantly overstate inflation





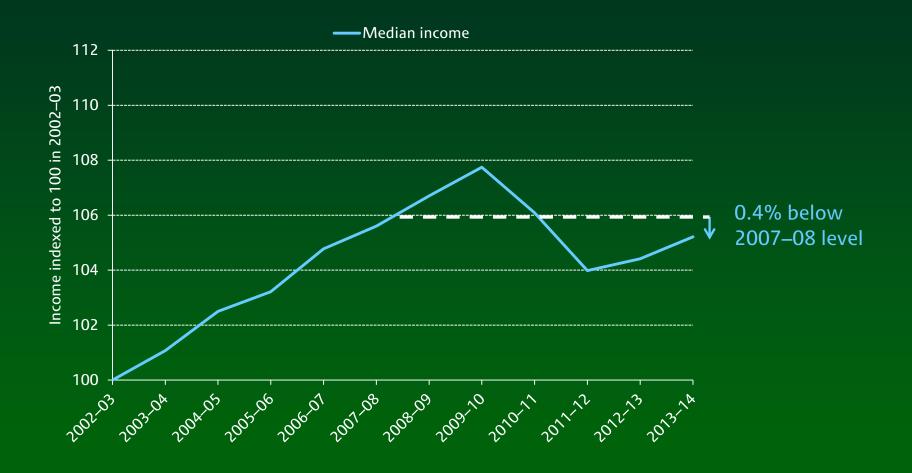
Source: Table 2.1 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



Explaining growth in median income in 2013-14

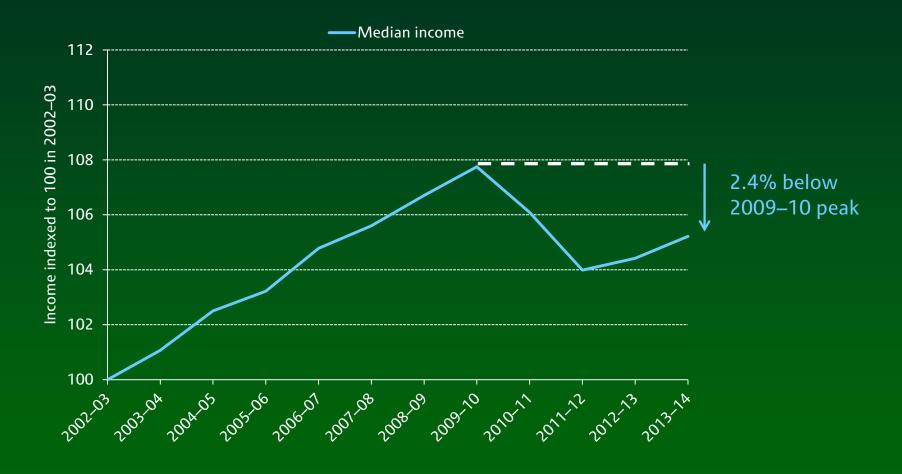
- Income growth in latest year driven by recovering labour market
 - Strong growth in employment (stronger than recorded in LFS)
 - Flat real earnings of employees
 - Also: large rise in income tax personal allowance
 - However: cuts to working-age benefits and tax credits





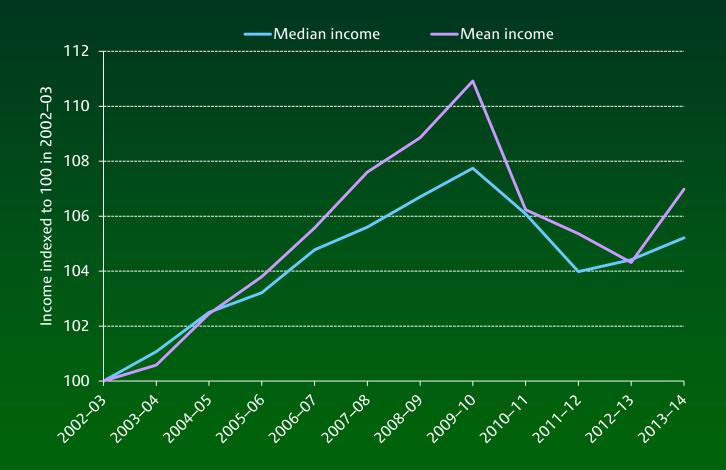
Source: Table 2.1 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015





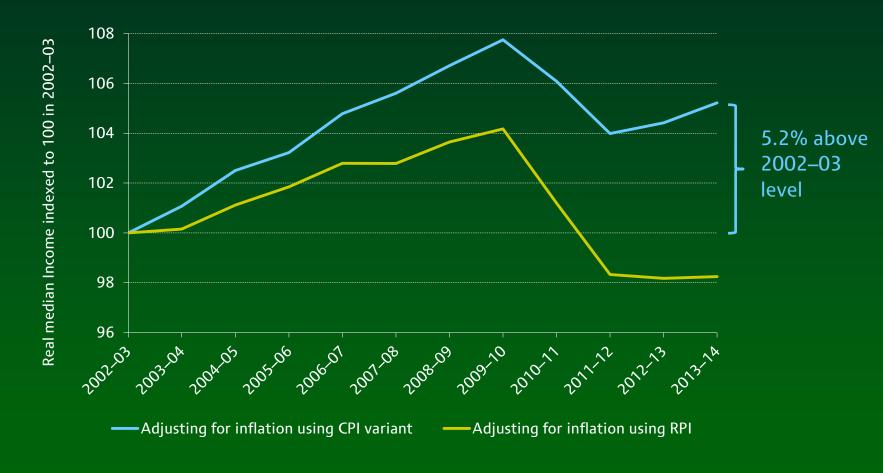
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Adjusting for inflation: CPI vs RPI

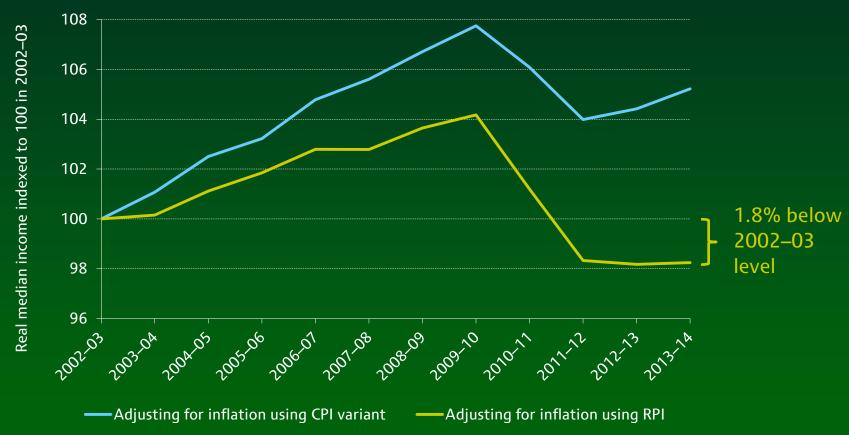


Source: Fig 2.2 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



Adjusting for inflation: CPI vs RPI

Real median BHC household income since 2002–03 (UK)



Source: Fig 2.2 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



Comparing income growth to previous recessions



Source: Fig 2.4 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



Comparing periods of falling incomes

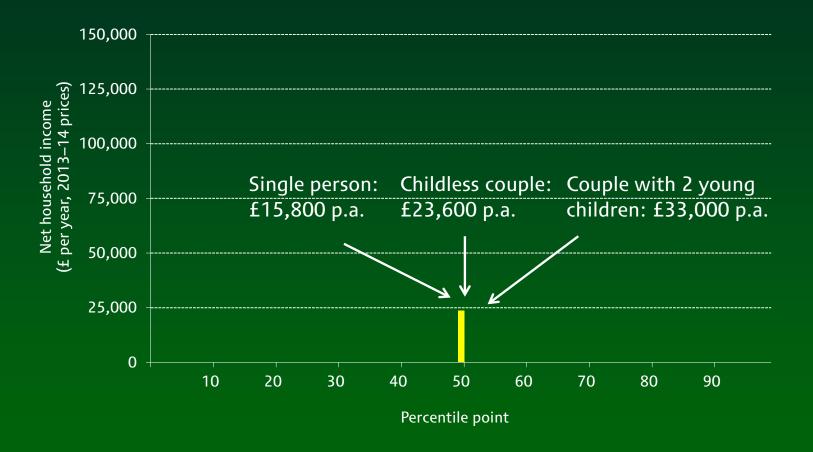
- Profile of changes in living standards very different to previous recessions
- In 2013–14, median income 4 years after peak around same level as 7 years before (2006–07)
 - Compared to between 13% and 17% higher for previous 3 recessions



Income inequality



The UK income distribution in 2013–14



Source: Fig 3.1 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



The UK income distribution in 2013–14

Expressed as equivalent living standards for a childless couple

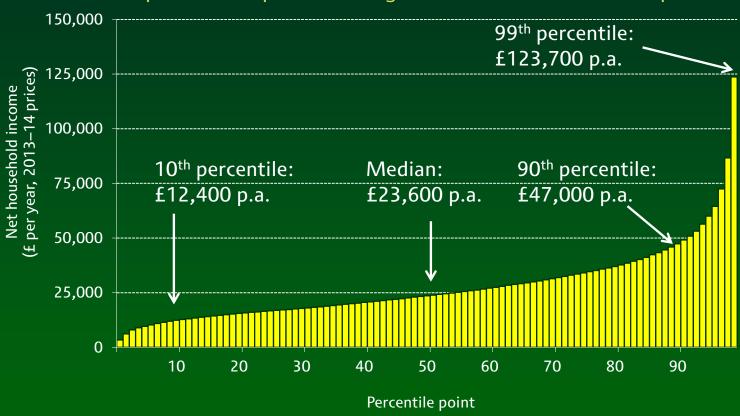


Source: Fig 3.1 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



The UK income distribution in 2013–14

Expressed as equivalent living standards for a childless couple

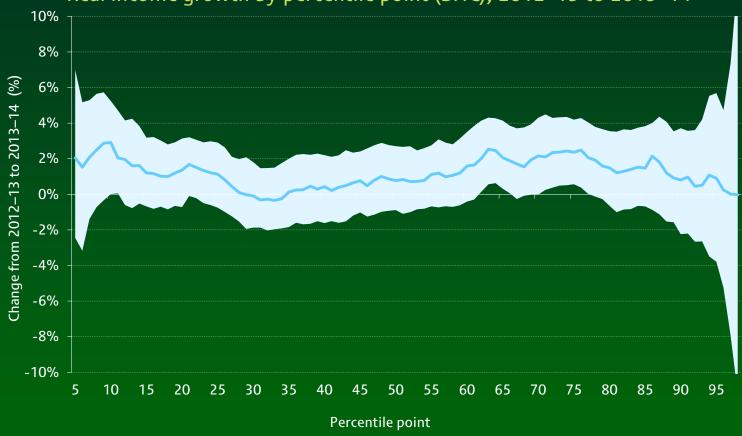


Source: Fig 3.1 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



Inequality broadly unchanged in 2013–14





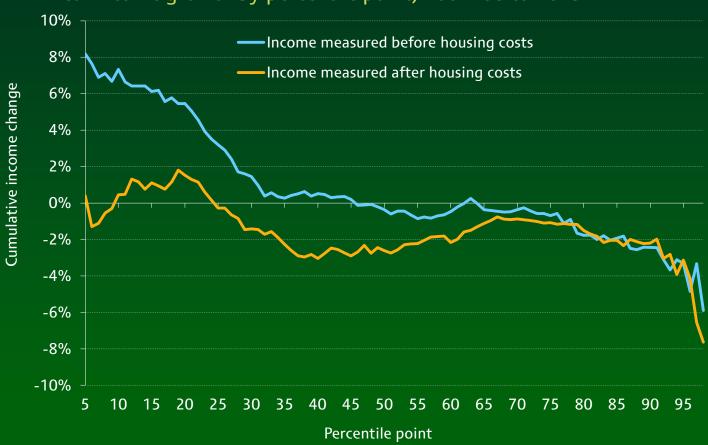
Source: Fig 3.2 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015

Note: Shaded area represents 95% confidence intervals



Inequality is lower than pre-recession levels

Real income growth by percentile point, 2007–08 to 2013–14



Source: Fig 3.9 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



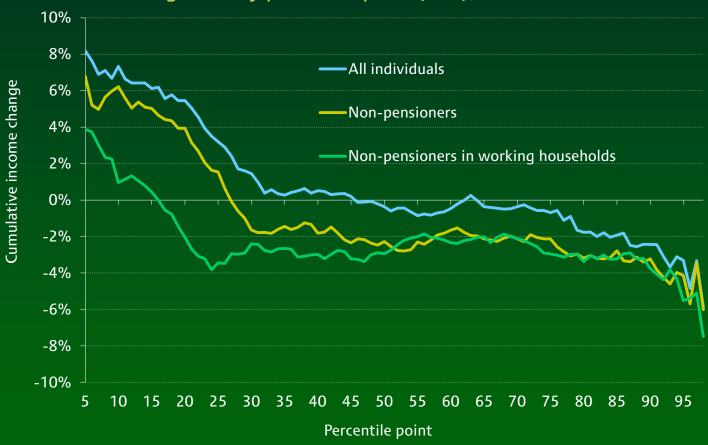
Trends in inequality since 2007–08

- Inequality is lower than prior to recession measured BHC
- Significantly smaller falls in inequality when measured AHC
 - Poorer households did not benefit as much from falling mortgage interest rates



Explaining recent falls in inequality

Real income growth by percentile point (BHC), 2007–08 to 2013–14



Source: Fig 3.9 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



Why did inequality fall for working households?

Real income growth by percentile point (BHC), 2007–08 to 2013–14



Source: Fig 3.9 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



Why did inequality fall for working households?

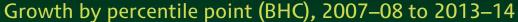
Real income growth by percentile point (BHC), 2007–08 to 2013–14

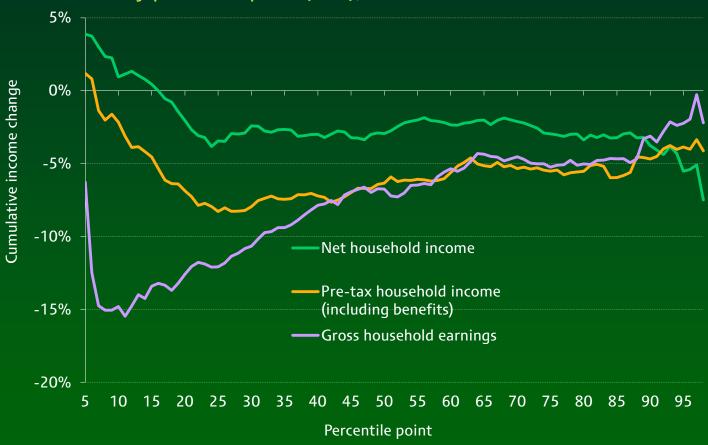


Source: Fig 3.10 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



Why did inequality fall for working households?





Source: Fig 3.10 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



Trends in inequality since 2007–08

- Falling inequality for working non-pensioners despite inequalityincreasing trends in gross households earnings
 - Benefits are a more important income source for low-earning households than for higher-earning households



Gini coefficient and 90/10 ratio, 1961 to 2013–14



Source: Fig 3.4 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



The 1% income share 1961 to 2013–14 (GB)



Source: Fig 3.5 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



Longer run trends in inequality

- But changes in inequality are also much larger than seen recently
- Changes in overall measures of inequality can mask important trends
 - From 1990 to 2007–08 Gini coefficient rose 2 ppt
 - This was driven by rises in inequality at the top of the distribution
 - But inequality fell across most of the distribution (90/10 ratio fell)



Longer run trends in inequality

- Why has inequality fallen since 1990 over most of the distribution?
- In part, due to increases in incomes of some relatively poor groups:
 - Pensioners
 - Non-pensioners in workless households



Incomes of pensioners catching up with the rest...

Median income of pensioners relative to that of non-pensioners, 1979 to 2013–14



Source: Fig 3.6 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015



Smaller improvement in relative position of workless households

Median income of non-pensioners in workless households relative to those in working households, 1979 to 2013–14



Source: Fig 3.6 of Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty in the UK: 2015

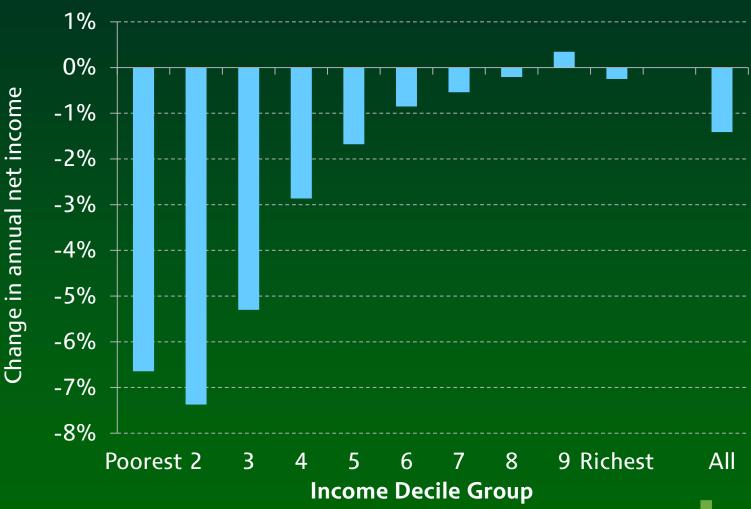


Prospects for living standards and inequality

- Expect to see continued (probably accelerated) growth in median income in 2014–15 HBAI data
 - Rising employment rate (1.2ppt increase in 2014–15)
 - Rapid fall in inflation (to 1.0% in 2014–15) prevents fall in real value of most benefits
 - Modest real earnings growth (0.4% according to AWE)
- Higher real earnings likely to lead to rising living standards (and inequality) over next few years
 - Earnings are more important income source for richer households
- Announced tax and benefit changes will act to increase inequality over the parliament



Impact of tax and benefit reforms between April 2015 and April 2019 (including universal credit)



Note: Assumes full take-up of means-tested benefits and tax credits. Source: A. Hood (2015) 'Benefit changes and distributional analysis' IFS Post-Summer Budget 2015 Analysis



Conclusion

- Modest median income growth in 2013–14
 - Median income around pre-crisis level, but well below 2009–10 peak
- Overall measures of inequality since 1990 mask different underlying trends
 - Rising inequality at the top from 1990 to 2007–08
 - Falling inequality across most of the distribution since 1990 (and particularly since 2007–08)
 - Driven in part by improving relative position of pensioners and workless households

