# Inequality: what do we know, and why do we care?

## **Monday 8th November 16:00 - 17:00**



Economic and Social Research Council



## IIIIFS

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# Inequality: what do we know, and why do we care?

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## **Lecture outline**



#### Part 1:

#### What do we mean by inequality?

Inequalities in what? Between whom?

**Part 2:** 

#### Why do we care about it?

- What arguments are made for / against intervention?
- What can economic research tell us?

#### Part 3:

#### How can we measure inequality? What do we know about it?

There are many measures, which give us different insights about inequality



# What do we mean by inequality?

Inequality: what do we know, and why do we care?

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#### In what?

- Earnings
- Disposable income
- Wealth
- Health/ well-being
- Opportunity
- ....

#### Between whom?

- Between-group inequality
- Interpersonal / interhousehold inequality
- Over what population?







- Black people in UK were over 4x more likely to die from Coronavirus than white people, adjusting for age (ONS, 2021a)
- At beginning of 2020, 9% of children in the UK did not have access to a computer at home (Ofcom, 2020)
- The wealthiest 10% in the UK own almost 45% of the wealth<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Author's calculations using WAS

## A controversial topic...





# Inequality: cause for concern?

See Satz and White (2021) 'What is wrong with inequality?'

Inequality: what do we know, and why do we care?

## Why might we not want to reduce inequality?



#### **Meritocracy / Fairness of inequality**

- Inequality due to unequal rewards for unequal contributions?
  - E.g. Some people choose to work more than others

#### Equity-efficiency trade-off (e.g. Okun, 1975)

- Redistributive measures may reduce efficiency wedges between prices
- Inequalities might motivate innovation / entrepreneurship
- Though other measures to reduce inequality may increase efficiency

## Why care about inequality? Why should government intervene reduce it?

- Because of its causes?
  - Historical injustice
  - Market failure
- Because of its consequences?
  - Preferences for equality / impact on welfare
  - Political-economy arguments

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## Reasons for intervention – causes I "IIIFS

#### Historical injustice

- Discrimination, colonialism
  - E.g. discrimination in housing market against African-Americans in 20<sup>th</sup> century -> wealth inequality today (Satz and White, 2021)
- Possible policy responses:
  - Redistribution, reparations
  - Positive discrimination
- Equity-efficiency trade-off?

## Reasons for intervention – causes II ,IIIFS

#### Market failure

- Market power
  - Monopoly / oligopoly (e.g. De Loecker et al 2017)
  - Monopsony power in labour market (e.g. Abel et al 2018)
- Imperfect information
  - Some risks cannot be insured privately, e.g. unemployment or health shocks
- Possible policy responses:
  - Target underlying market imperfections
  - Minimum wages, collective bargaining, mandatory health insurance
  - Redistribution

## Reasons for intervention – consequences I Welfare



- Inequality may be harmful to welfare
  - May be pure preferences for equality equality entering the utility function (e.g. Fehr and Schmidt, 1999)

$$u_i(x_i, \tilde{x}_J) = x_i - \frac{\alpha_i}{n-1} \sum_{j \neq i} \max\{x_j - x_i, 0\} - \frac{\beta_i}{n-1} \sum_{j \neq i} \max\{x_i - x_j, 0\}$$

- Can examine with polling / experiments (e.g. Stantcheva 2021)
- Or inequality may transform people's capability for wellbeing (e.g. Sen 1983)
- In these ways inequality might be considered an externality.
- Increase fairness and efficiency by intervention?

## **Reasons for intervention – consequences II**



#### **Political influence**

Inequality in certain resources causes unequal influence in the democratic process

E.g.

- relationship between party donations and House of Lords membership (The 2018 Democratic Audit)
- richer people might find it easier to run for office

#### More inequality

 Today's inequality of outcome might -> tomorrow's inequality of opportunity

#### 



## **Measuring inequality**

Inequality: what do we know, and why do we care?

## **Between-group inequalities**



- Can simply compare outcomes for different groups,
  - E.g. Compare Covid mortality rates of black people and white people (amongst a specific age group)
- Might run a regression to deal with multiple dimensions of inequality
  - E.g. Covid mortality example from earlier, ONS (2020) used\*

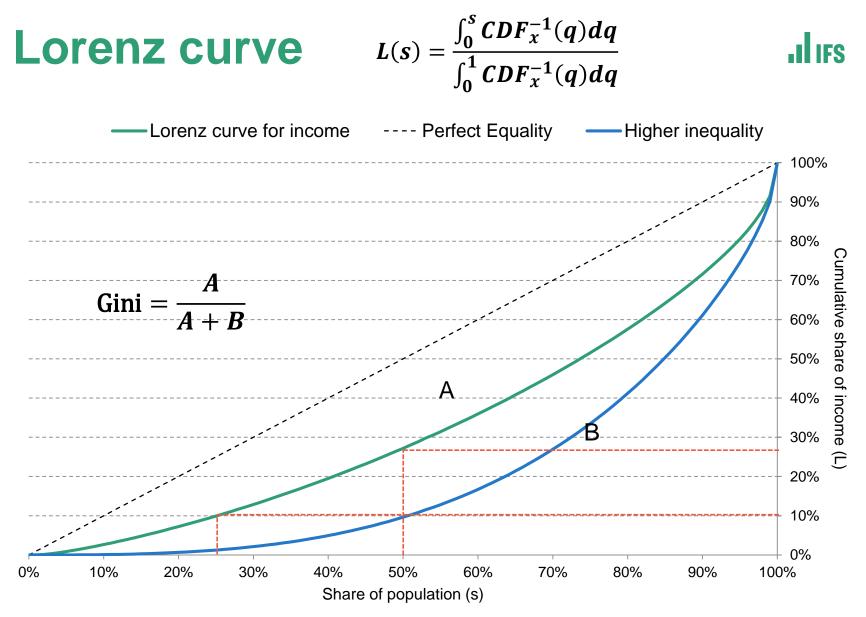
$$p_i = S(\alpha + \sum_j \beta_j e_{j,i} + \sum_k \gamma_k x_{k,i})$$

*e<sub>i</sub>* are ethnicity dummies

 x<sub>k</sub> are controls for age, region, rural/urban, deprivation, household composition, socio-economic status, education and health

\* 
$$S(x) = e^{x}/(e^{x} + 1)$$
  
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Source: Author's calculations using HBAI

Note: Income here is household income, net of taxes and benefits, equivalised for household size Inequality: what do we know, and why do we care?

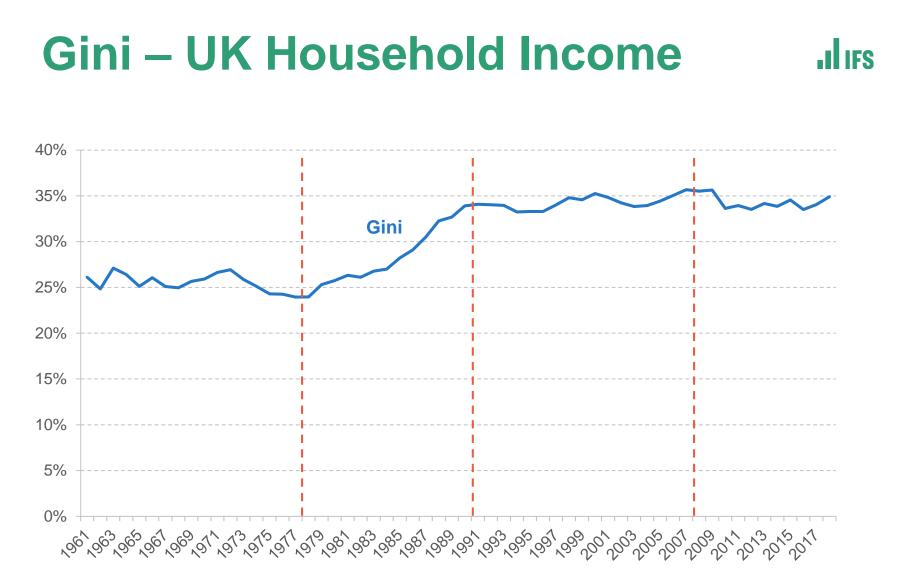
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## **Gini coefficient**



$$\bullet G = \frac{A}{A+B} = \frac{\sum_i \sum_j |x_i - x_j|}{2n^2 \bar{x}}$$

- Takes account of the whole income distribution
- But only a summary measure
  - Sensitive to extremes
  - Complicated to estimate



Source: Author's calculations using HBAI

Note: Income here is household income, net of taxes and benefits, equivalised for household size







Source: Author's calculations using HBAI

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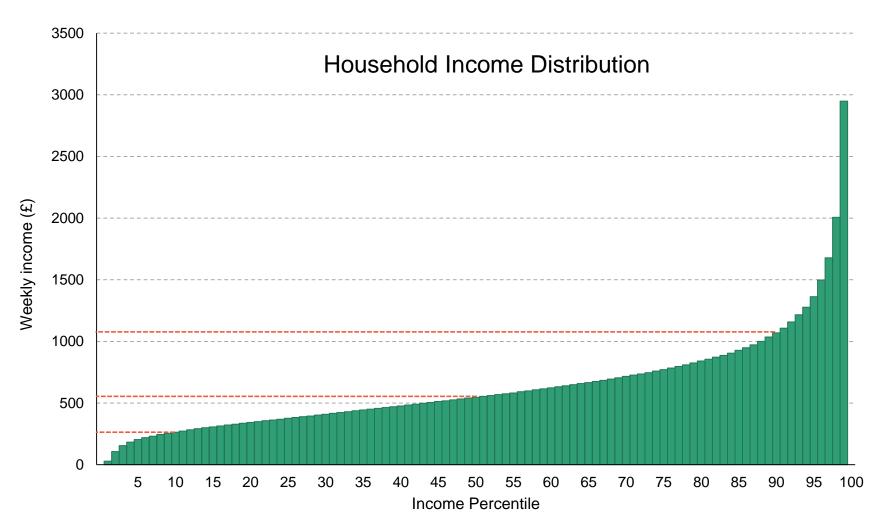
## Income Shares and Percentile Ratios

- Income shares (e.g. Top 1%'s share of income)
  - Good for understanding inequality "at the top"
  - Focus on a specific part of the distribution
  - Again, difficult to estimate from survey data

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## **Percentile Ratios**





Source: Author's calculations using HBAI

Note: Income here is household income, net of taxes and benefits, equivalised for household size Inequality: what do we know, and why do we care?

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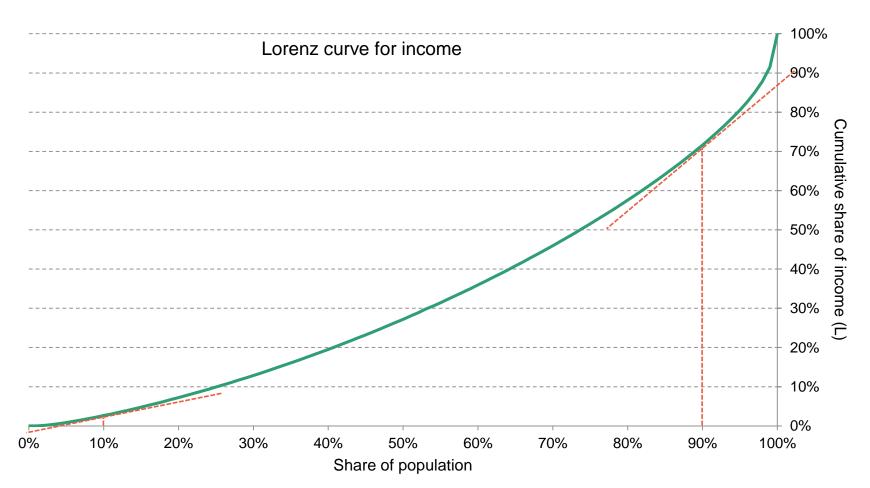
## Income Shares and Percentile Ratios

- Income shares (e.g. Top 1%'s share of income)
  - Good for understanding inequality "at the top"
  - Focus on a specific part of the distribution
  - Again, difficult to estimate from survey data
- Percentile ratios (e.g. 90:10, 50:10)
  - Summarise inequality at different parts of income distribution
  - Usually used to focus on the middle of the distribution

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## **Percentile Ratios**





Source: Author's calculations using HBAI

Note: Income here is household income, net taxes and benefits, equivalised for household size Inequality: what do we know, and why do we care?

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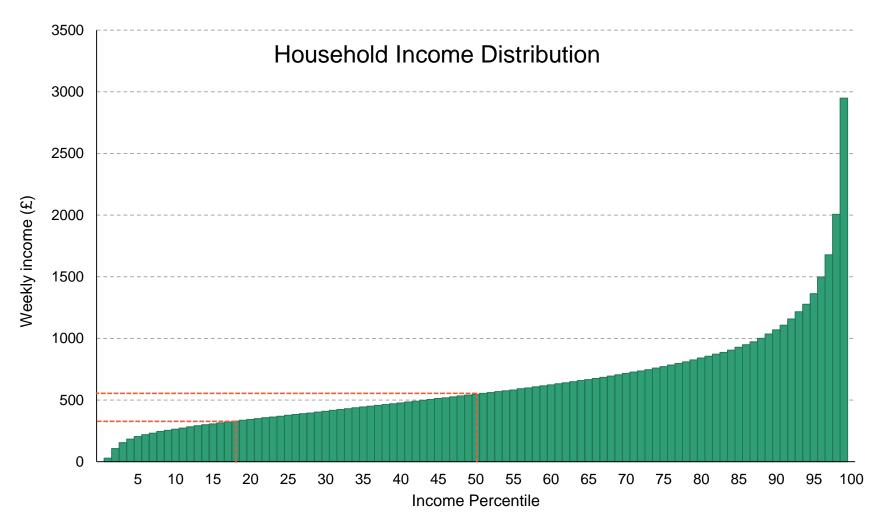


Source: Bourquin et al (upcoming)

Note: Income is measured as total household income net of taxes and benefits and is adjusted for household size.







Source: Author's calculations using HBAI

Note: Income here is household income, net taxes and benefits, equivalised for household size Inequality: what do we know, and why do we care?

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## **Relative Poverty II**



- Fraction living below 60% of contemporaneous median income
  - Before or after subtracting housing costs
- Summary measure of lower end inequality
- Gets at idea that sufficiency for an individual's standard of living defined relative to rest of population
- But 60% is an arbitrary cut-off

## **Relative Poverty III**





Source: Author's calculations using HBAI Note: Income here is household income after deducing housing costs, net taxes and benefits, equivalised for household size

## Various measures of inequality

- Between groups
  - Simple cross-tabulation
  - Regression
- Interpersonal / interhousehold
  - Gini coefficient
  - Top X% share
  - Percentile ratios
  - Relative poverty
- Different measures give us different insights, but on all measures income inequality in the UK has increased in the last 60 years

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## Conclusions

Inequality: what do we know, and why do we care?

## Conclusions



People are concerned about a huge range of inequalities

- A range of arguments for and against reducing inequality, most contingent on claims about inequalities' causes / consequences
- There are many ways of measuring inequality, and different measures give different insights into how inequalities have changed
- Over the last 60 years, income inequality has increased in the UK
  - But not since the financial crisis on most measures
  - Apart from at the very top, this was mostly in the 1980s

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# Extra resources and references

Inequality: what do we know, and why do we care?

## Inequalities in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: the IFS Deaton Review





How are different kinds of inequality related, which matter most, what are the big forces that combine to create them, and what is the right mix of policies to tackle them?

- An interdisciplinary panel of world leaders in economics, sociology, demography, philosophy, political science and epidemiology chaired by Nobel Laureate Sir Angus Deaton
- Initial research found online
- https://www.ifs.org.uk/inequality/

## **Some interesting resources**



#### Your household's income: Where do you fit in?

https://www.ifs.org.uk/tools\_and\_resources/where\_do\_you\_fit\_in

Richard Blundell and Xiaowei Xu. Covid-19: the impacts of the pandemic on inequality (60mins)

https://www.ifs.org.uk/publications/14878

How "economic despair" affects high school graduation rates for America's poorest students (2 mins) https://youtu.be/wIHjPRho4A4

David Autor – Did China eat America's jobs? (40 mins) http://freakonomics.com/podcast/china-eat-americas-jobs/

Ezra Klein and Matt Yglesias discuss US inequality and the rise in market power (50 mins) https://www.vox.com/podcasts/2017/8/24/16189890/weeds-useconomy-inequality-trump

## **Some interesting resources**



#### Global data sources:

Gapminder (world income distributions) https://www.gapminder.org/

World Inequality Database (income shares, 90:10 ratios) https://wid.world/

Chartbook of Economic Inequality (disposable income) https://www.chartbookofeconomicinequality.com/

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A Sen (1983), 'Poor, Relatively Speaking', Oxford Economic Papers 35(2):153-169

S Stantcheva (2021), 'Perceptions and preferences for redistribution', IFS Deaton Review Chapter

#### DATA:

Households Below Average Income (DWP)

Wealth and Assets Survey (ONS)

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