



Department of Geography and Environment and Department of Sociology public lecture

Inequality and the 1%: what goes wrong when the rich become too rich

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Suggested hashtag for Twitter users: #LSEinequality



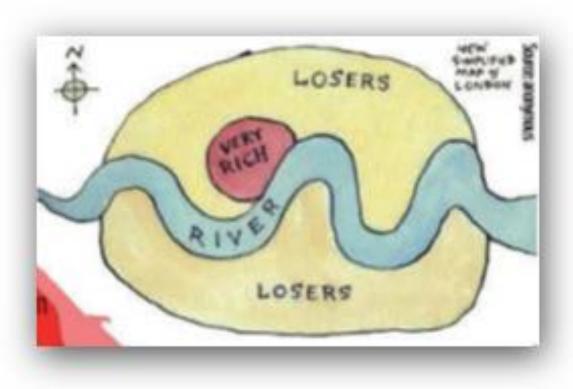


Inequality and the 1%: what goes wrong when the rich become too

rich

Danny Dorling University of Oxford

London School of Economics Lecture, Oct 7th, 2014

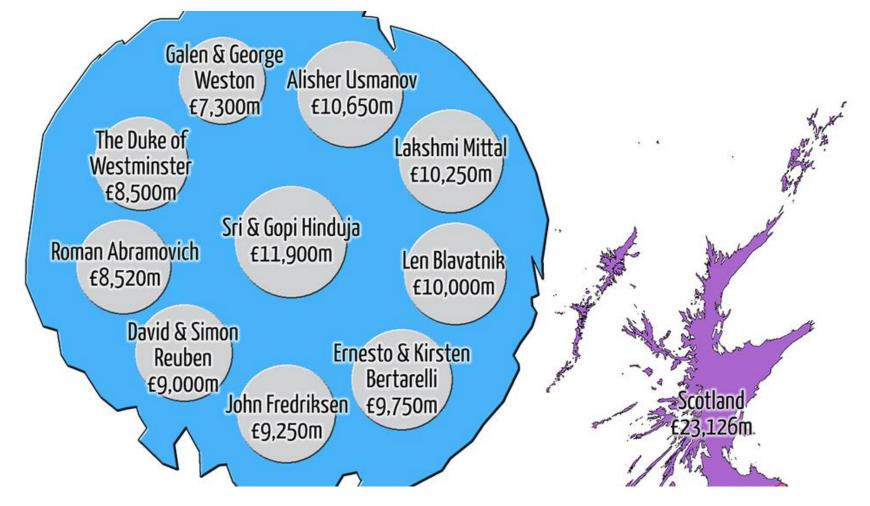


Population Map

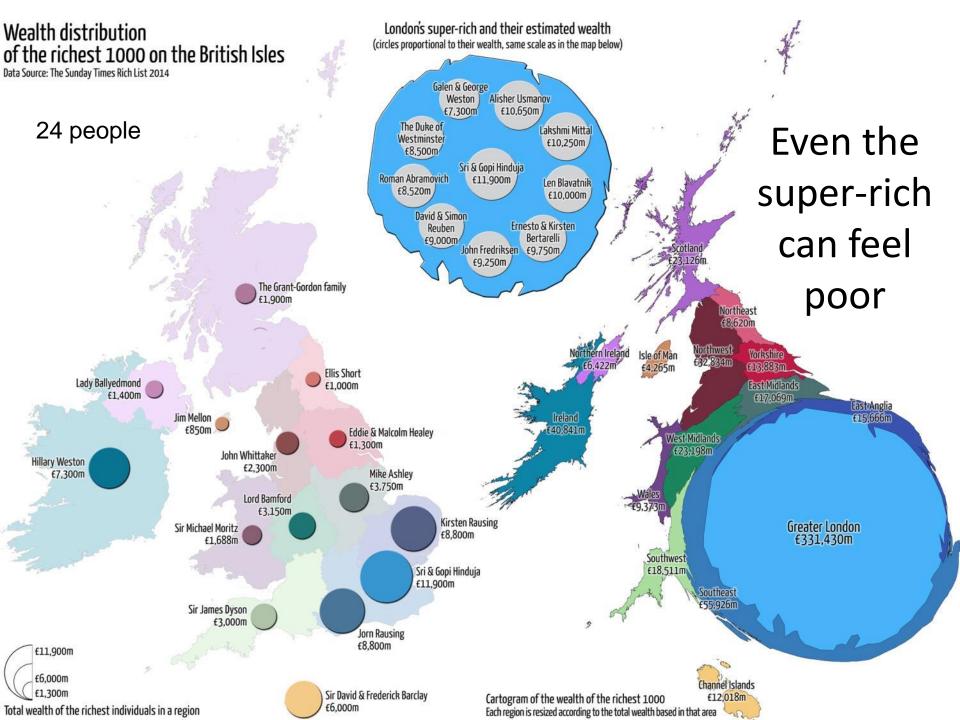


It is widely accepted that high rates of inequality are damaging to society, although some skeptics remain to be convinced. Perhaps it is because the most damaging form of economic inequality now appears to occur when the very richest 1% take more and more, even if the other 99% are becoming more equal. So what exactly is it about inequality that causes most harm?

Now redraw the population map to make area = the wealth of the richest



1000 people most of whom are in London... as are all ten of those who have most



So, how do our 1% compare?

63 million people

1 Sam

24 people

Over 500 million people

OTHER LARGE EU COUNTRIES ARE SIMILAR TO EACH OTHER, NOT UK **Table 1: Summary of Income inequalities in the** five countries 2012 – FOR HOUSEHOLDS 1% CUTOFF Median Ratio Germany €154,000 €36,400 4.2 €189,000 €39,000 France 4.8 €164,000 €33,400 Italy 4.9 €105,000 €22,700 Spain 4.6 €227,000 €36,300 UK 6.3

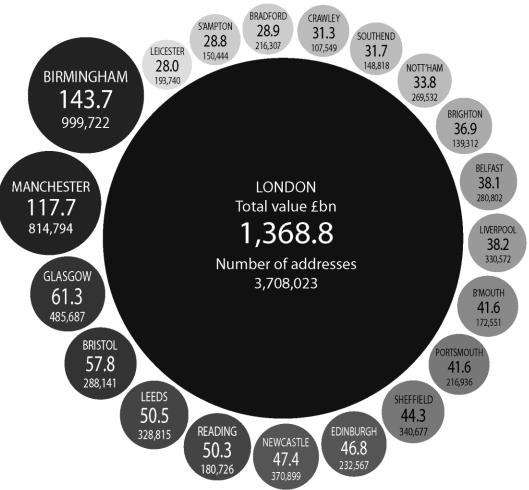
Source: calculations by Author EU-SILK weighted household sample

This is one image of the UK shaped by the supposed value of homes

"Please don't ... 'make me sound like a prat for not knowing how many houses I've got.'

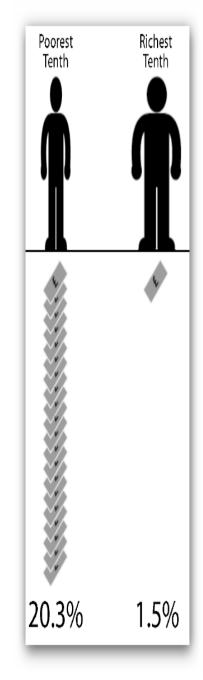
David Cameron, 2009

THIS SLIDE IS TWO YEARS OLD. ADD £200bn to the London circle, based on £3bn of 2013 sales (Q1 to Q3), out of £5bn of UK sales – Scotland is two small circles...

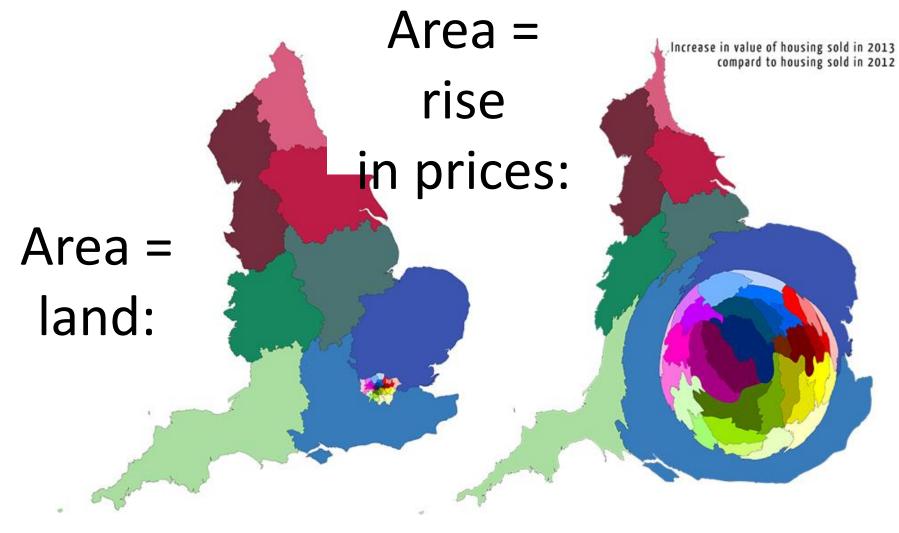


Source: Analysis by Hometrack, areas defined by the State of the Cities Report, reported in: Collinson, P. (2012) House prices: guide to property hotspots, The Guardian, 30th March.

| UK Annual Income | | (£s) Gross HH Income (under-estimated in red) | | | | | | |
|--|---------------|--|------------|--------------|--|--|--|--|
| n | Median | • | 267 | | | | | |
| 8058 | Weighted mean | 43, | 909 | | | | | |
| | 1/10million | 104,386, | 279 | ABOUT 3 HHs | | | | |
| | 1/million | 32,988, | | ABOUT 30 | | | | |
| HHs | | - ,, | | | | | | |
| | 1/100,000 | 10,425 | ,371 | ABOUT 300 | | | | |
| HHs | | | | | | | | |
| | 1/10,000 | 3,294 | ,698 | 3000 HHs | | | | |
| 8 | 1/1000 | 1,041 | ,213 | 30,000 HH | | | | |
| 63 | 1/100 -0.1% | 305 | ,395 | 300,000 | | | | |
| 678 | The top 9% | 116, | ,942 | 2.7 million | | | | |
| 7309 | Bottom 90% | 32 | ,863 | 27 million | | | | |
| 782 | Bottom 10% | 7 | ,671 | 3 million | | | | |
| 8058 | | | | | | | | |
| ALL the One Percent | | 420,648 - mean 1% income | | | | | | |
| | 1%:median | 14 | - ratio of | 1% to median | | | | |
| | 0.1%:10% | 136 | - ratio of | top/bottom | | | | |
| Calculations by Author EU-SILK weighted household sample | | | | | | | | |
| Note: 1/10million is the best off 1 in 10 million households of | | | | | | | | |
| which there are just three in the country. According to the rich | | | | | | | | |
| list they did better than this in 2012 | | | | | | | | |



During 2013 housing prices in London rose by around £40,000 for an average flat or house that was sold as compared to the previous year. This brought the cost of a typical London home sold on the market up to just above £475,000. If this rate of change continues the half million pound price barrier will be breached during 2014.





The Richest 1% receive at least 14 times average household incomes in the UK as compared to 10 times more in France, 8 in Italy, 7 in Germany or 6 in Spain – mean income levels of each group calculated from EU SILC:

Table 3: Summary of Income inequalities in the five countries 2012

| €'s | Germany | France | Italy | Spain | UK |
|---------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1% | 257,067 | 375,063 | 270,099 | 126,285 | 504,778 |
| 9% | 103,060 | 110,521 | 101,336 | 73,826 | 140,331 |
| 90% | 33,466 | 35,776 | 31,362 | 23,558 | 39,436 |
| bottom10% | 67,656 | 10,695 | 6,280 | 3,916 | 9,206 |
| Median | 36,425 | 38,999 | 33,389 | 22,700 | 36,321 |
| Mean | 41,785 | 45,514 | 39,862 | 29,089 | 52,691 |
| Ratio 1%/median 7 | | 10 | 8 | 6 | 14 |
| Ratio 1%/bot.10% 34 | | 35 | 43 | 32 | 55 |

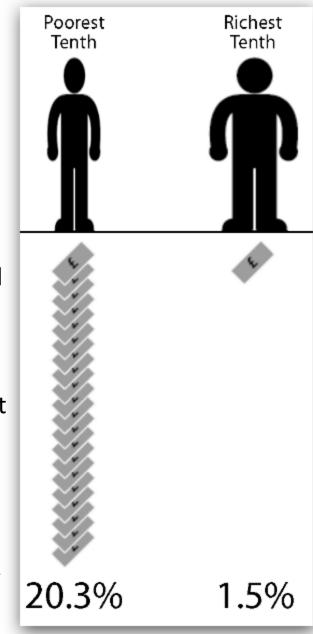
Source: Calculations by Author EU-SILK weighted household sample

Scotland is addressing housing, but in England: the bedroom tax, and tenants losing their rights. My book "All that is Solid" ends:

"In January 2014 the Financial Times released an analysis showing that over the course of just the last five years the equity of mortgage holders in Britain had fallen by £169 billion while that of landlords had risen by a massive £245 billion. There is no surer sign of a housing crisis turning into a disaster than this" ... (the estate agent Savills used geographical mortgage data at postcode level to determine this).

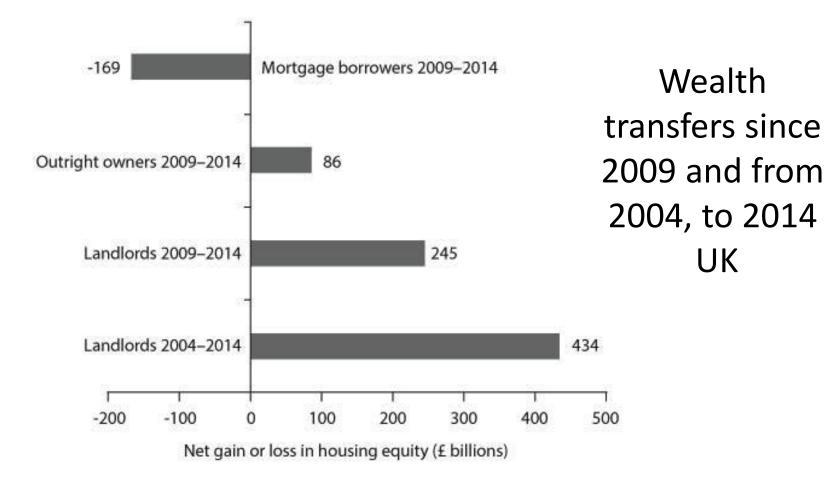
Landlords' total equity has more than doubled from £384bn a decade ago to £818bn today. The total equity of homeowners with mortgages has dropped by £169bn because on average buyers now borrow more.

K. Allen (2014) Personal Communication on "cash buyers versus mortgages, the Savills analysis", January 16th, published as K. Allen, Home buyers left behind in Britain's two-speed housing market, Financial Times, January



Effects of the cuts 2010-16 Oxfam (2012) The Perfect Storm

Figure 4.5: Gains and losses in the UK housing market, 2004/2009 to 2014



Source: Based on research carried out by Savills and reported by Kate Allen in the *Financial Times*, 2014 – K. Allen, Home buyers left behind in Britain's two-speed housing market, January 18th.

The net wealth of the UK has fallen since 2009, but the first three bars above suggest an overall increase in wealth. The growing debt of tenants by partly balance this.

Within the top 10% inequality grows

Table 4: The numbers of bankers paid over €1000,000 in 2012

2,714 in the United Kingdom 212 in Germany 177 in France 109 in Italy 100 in Spain

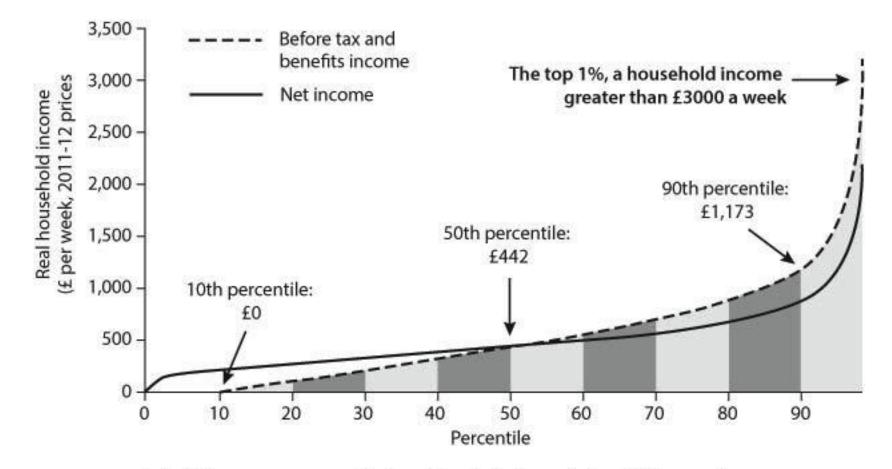
THE

MAN

Source: EBA (2013)

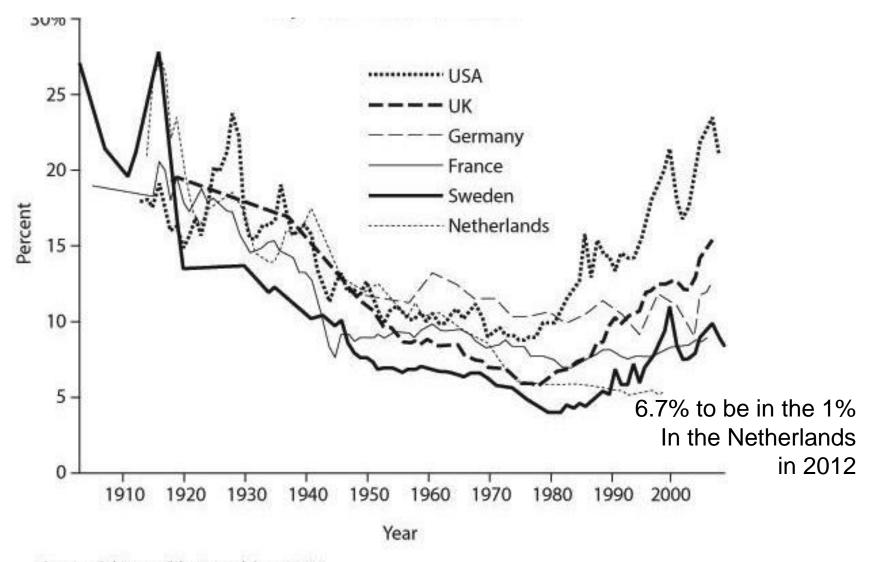
THE MAN AT THE TOP: "Equality of Sacrifice - that's the big idea, friends! Let's all step down one rung!"

£160,000 a year to be in the 1%



Note: All incomes are expressed in terms of equivalent amounts for a childless couple. Source: IFS calculations using the Family Resources Survey 2011-12

Entry cost to top 1% varies by area

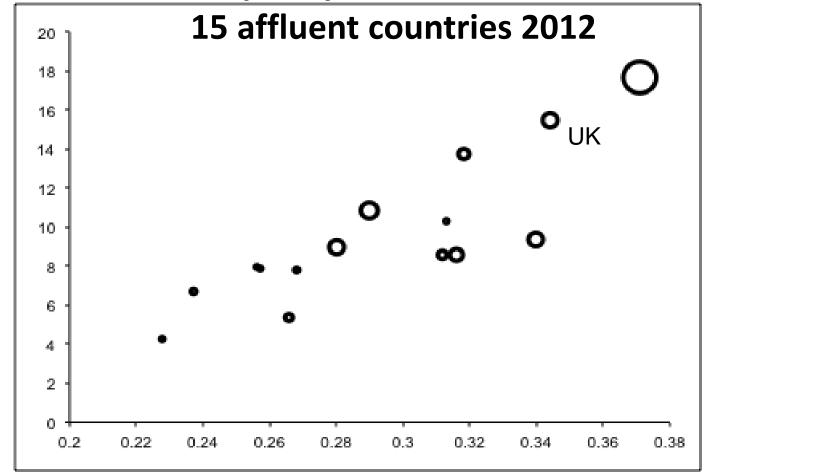


Source: Atkinson, Piketty and Saez, 2012

Higher income inequalities eventually lead to higher wealth inequalities, but there can be a lag of a generation... (the work of Thomas Piketty makes explaining all this far easier).

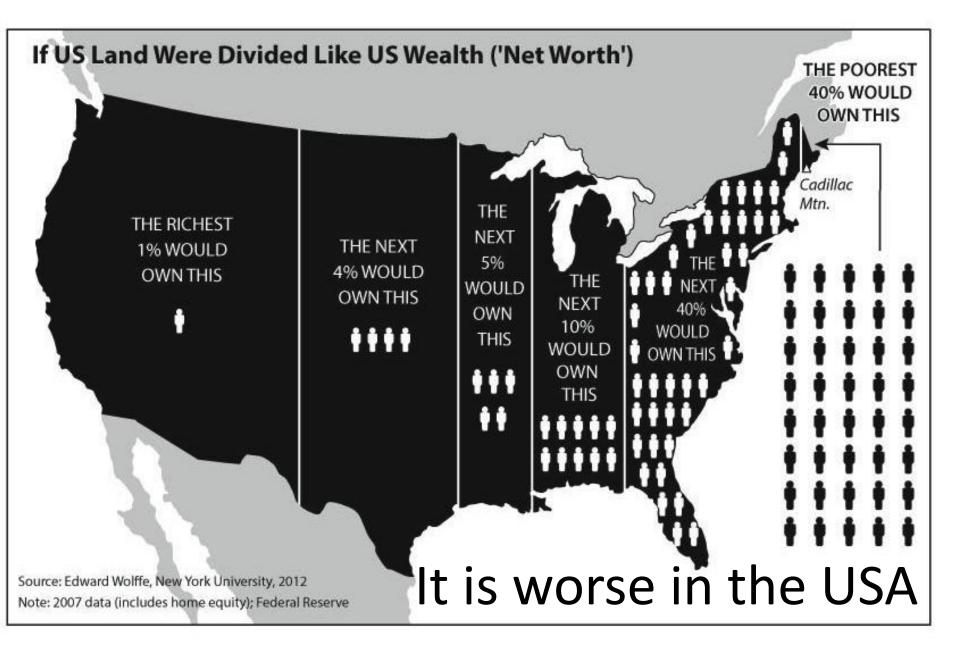


Source: Dorling, D. (2011) Underclass, overclass, ruling class, supernova class. Chapter eight of A. Walker, A. Sinfield and C. Walker, (Eds.) Fighting Poverty, Inequality and Injustice, Bristol: Poverty Press http://www.dannydorling.org/?page_id=2446

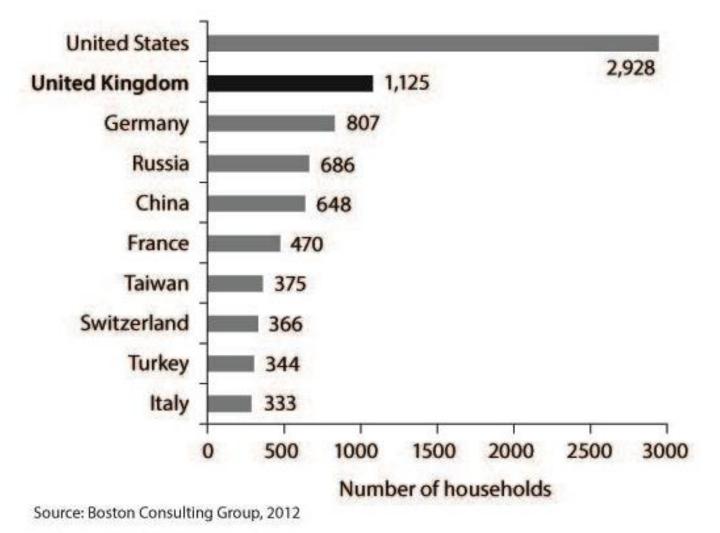


Overall Income Inequality and the income share of the 1%,

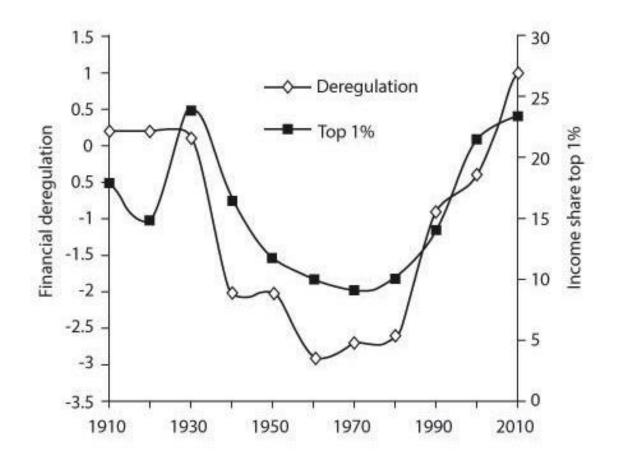
Note: X axis Gini index, Y axis % share of 1%; Circle size: populationSource: Luxembourg income study and Paris top income dataset.



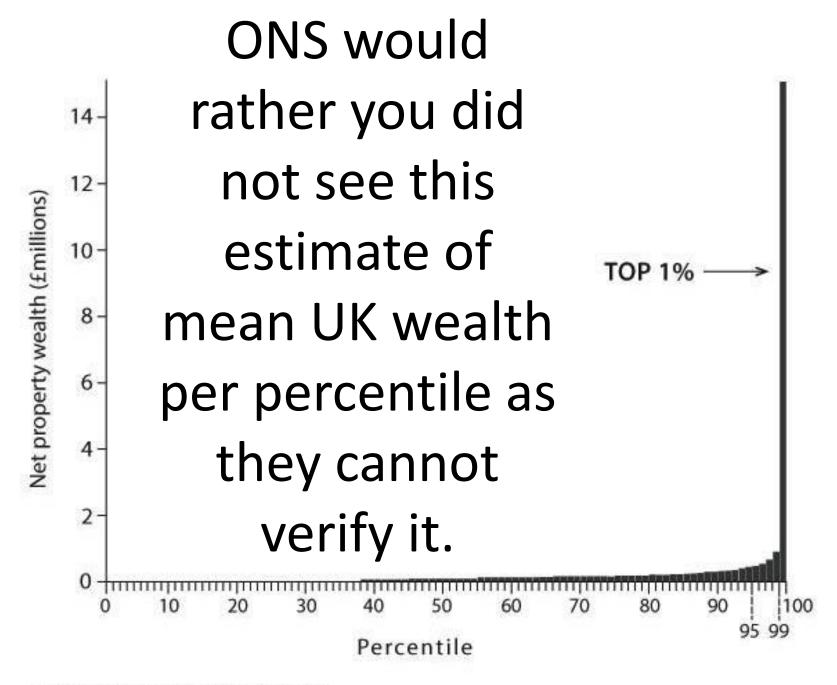
\$100m households by country, 2011, note the UK and USA.



What is the effect of overall inequality on: policy?



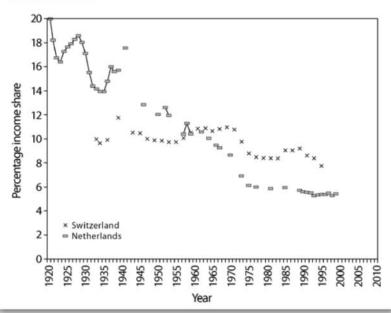
Source: Financial Deregulation, http://www.nber.org/papers/w14644.pdf; Income share: Piketty and Saez (2003, 2012)



Source: George Monbiot and ONS, 2013

We have turned into a country that is rapidly reverting back to its past. By now it is likely that more than a quarter of children in England live in families with a private landlord. But we are not becoming more European:

Income share of the best-off 1%, Netherlands and Switzerland



Households with children in private renting, % in England 1984-2012

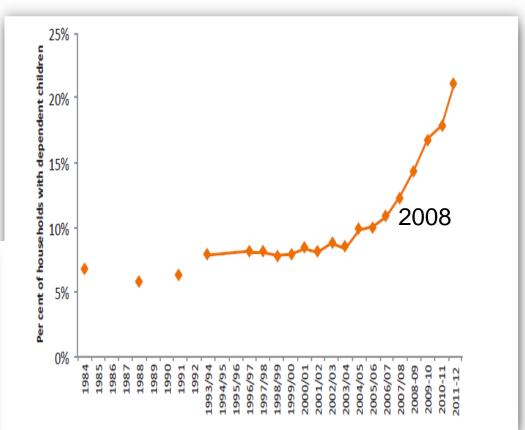
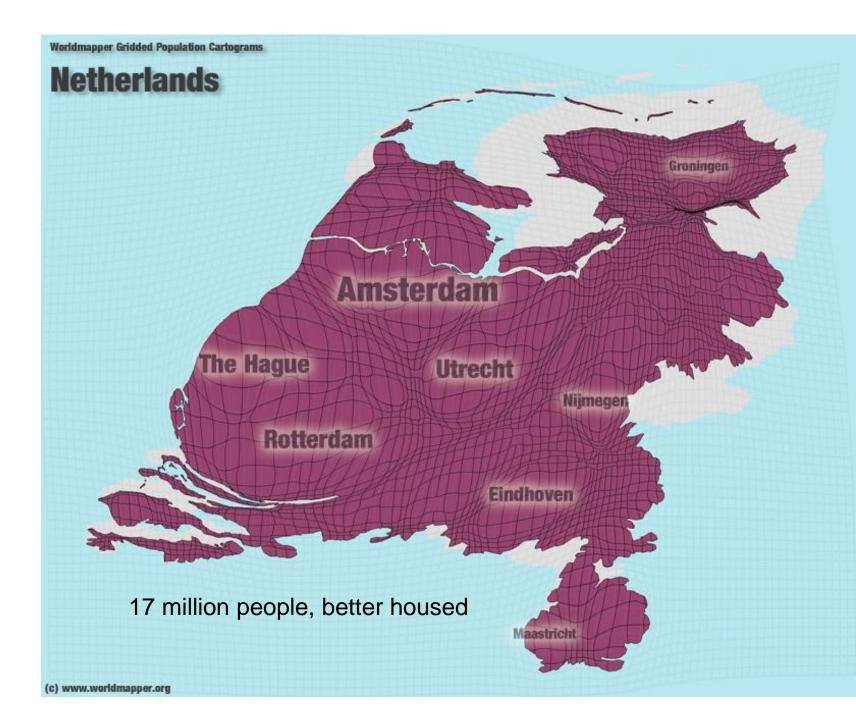


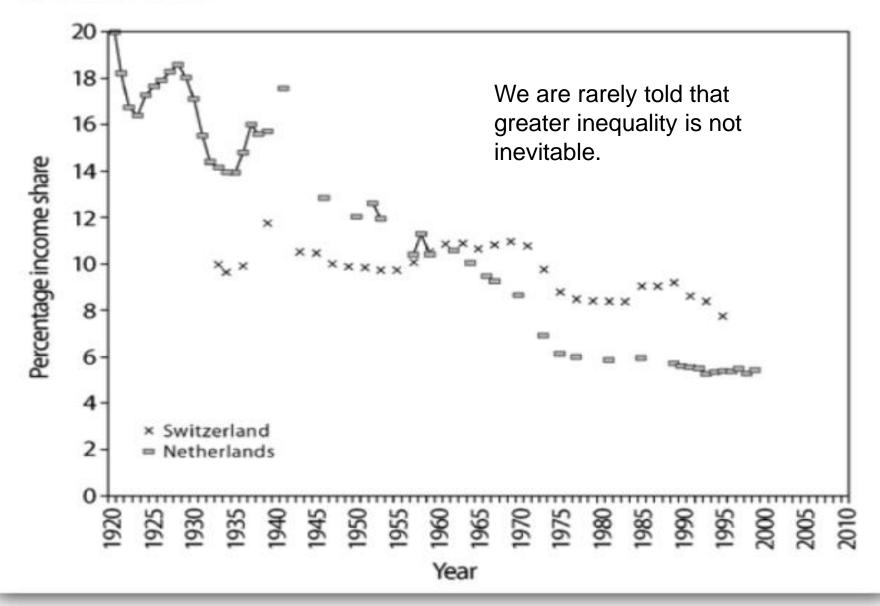
Figure 3.4 of Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission (2013) State of the Nation 2013 October 2013, London: The Stationery Office https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/251213/State_of_the_Nation_2013.pdf

Countries as different as Switzerland and the Netherlands are continuing to reduce inequality, steadily and slowly over time.

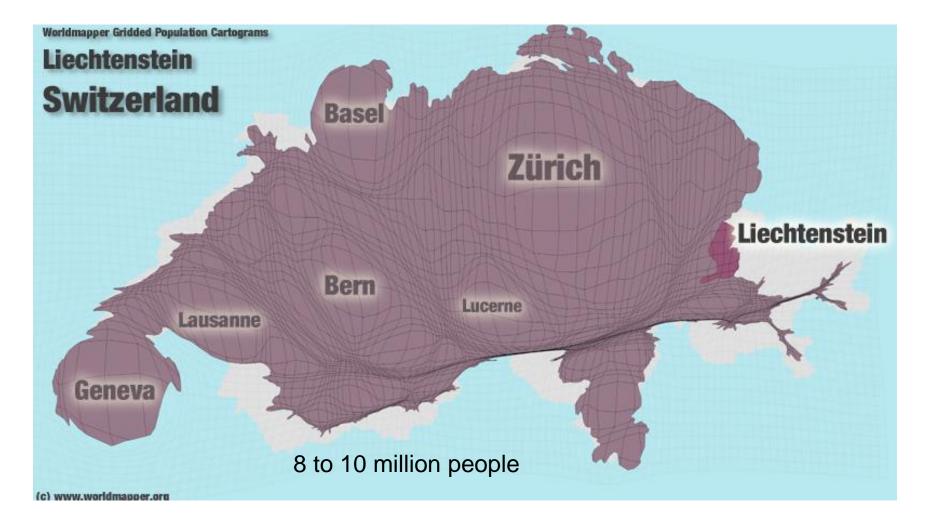
25% Per cent of households with dependent children This graph first appeared in the social mobility and child poverty report of 2013, a publication produced by part of 20% the civil service 15% 10% 5% 0% 1985 1986 1988 1989 1990 1984 1987 1991 2005/06 2007/08 1992 1995/96 1997/98 1998/99 00/6661 2002/03 2003/04 2004/05 2006/07 1996/97 2000/01 2001/02 2008-09 2009-10 1994/95 2010-11 2011-12 1993/9



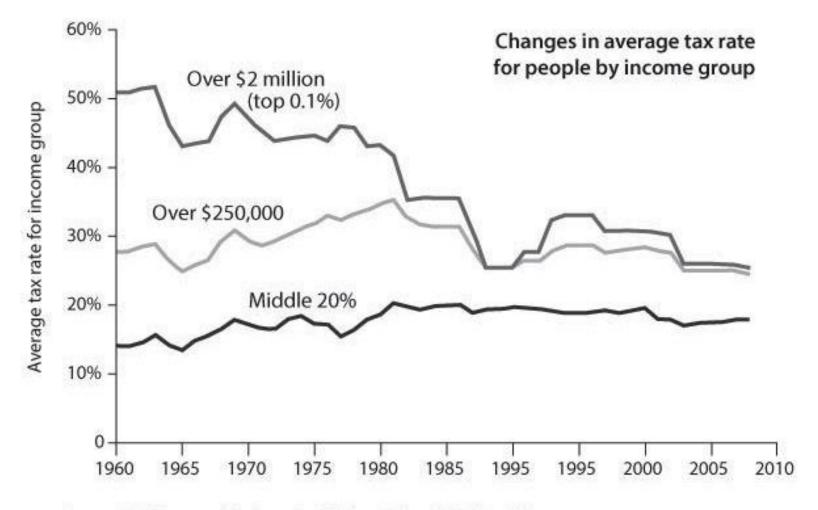
Income share of the best-off 1%, Netherlands and Switzerland



Twice as big as Scotland; still very much tied to Germany, and not a utopia (for migrants especially).

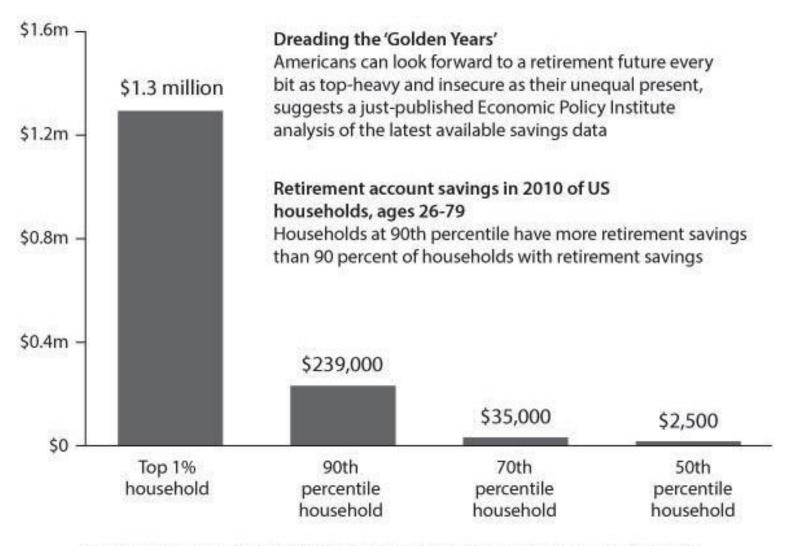


But in large countries the rich cut taxes on themselves, not the rest (USA).



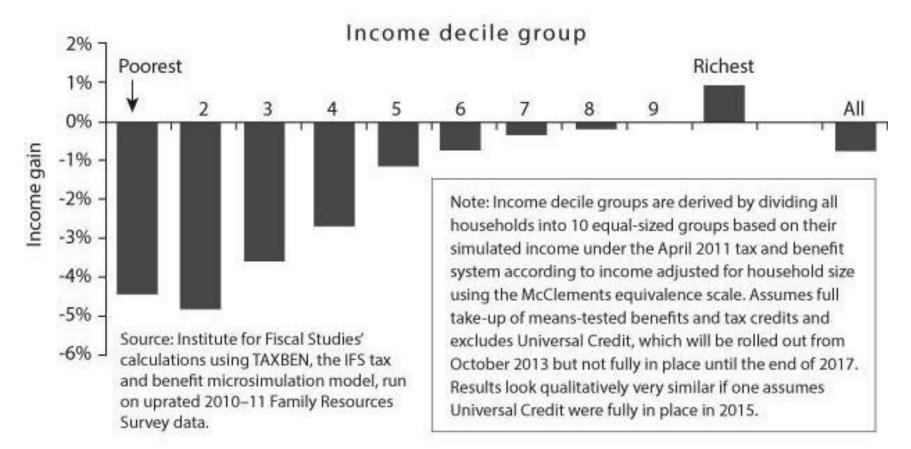
Source: Paul Krugman, 'The Long Run History of Taxes', 12th July 2012

99% should fear retirement in USA



Source: Monique Morrissey and Natalie Sabadish, Economic Policy Institute, How the 401(k) revolution created a few big winners and many losers, September 2013.

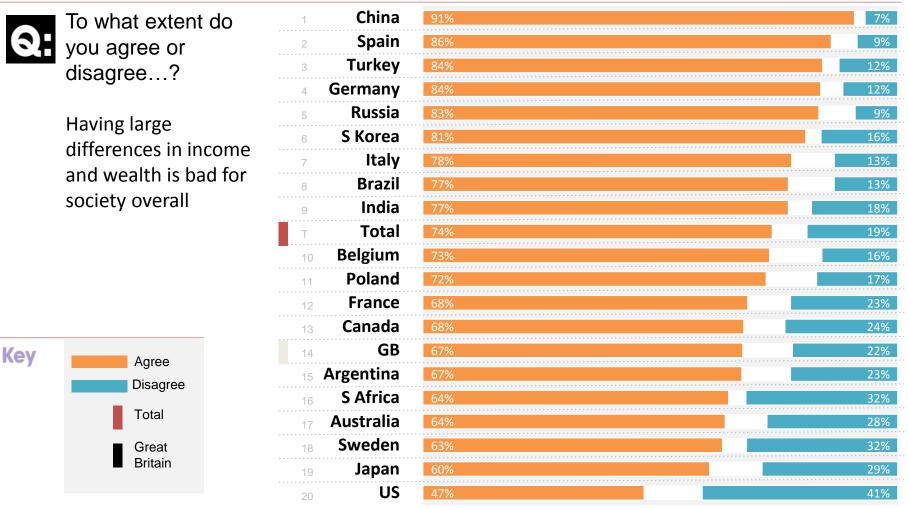
Figure 6.1: Planned UK tax and benefit changes 2012 to 2015/2017



Note: only 1% within the 10% gain, those who's tax is cut to 45% (no c.b.)

World views on Income inequality (Ipsos Mori)

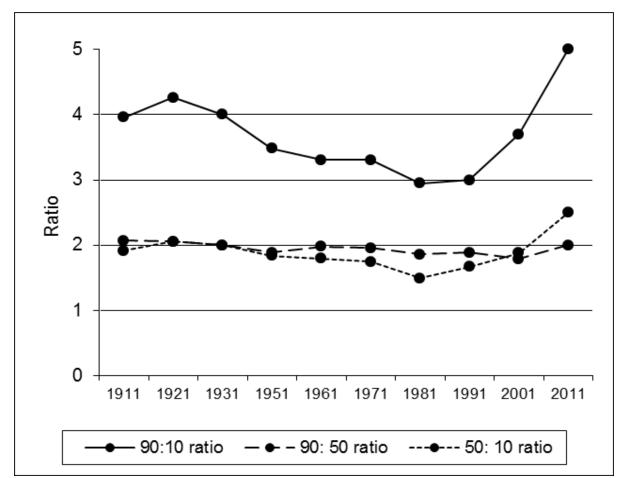
The Global Trends Survey



Base: 16,039 adults across 20 countries (1,000 GB), online, 3-17 Sept 2013

Question 16e Unpublished

It is not too few homes in England and Wales (or Scotland?)



From Figure 6 of:

Relative housing inequality: The decline and return of housing space inequality in England and Wales, 1911-2011

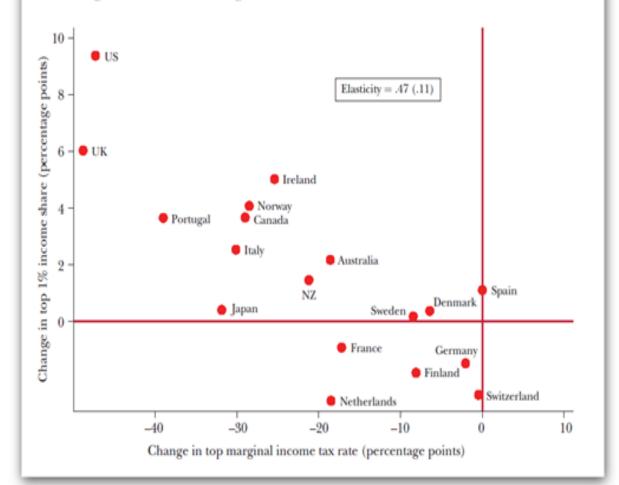
Rebecca Tunstall Director, Centre for Housing Policy, University of York (in press)

Inequality in distribution of rooms per person for people in private households in England and Wales, percentile ratios, 1911-2001

Geographical comparisons show that those countries which reduced top rate taxes the most since 1960s have seen the 1% gain the most since 1960.

Currently the top 1% take 20% in the USA and near to 15% in the UK.

Thomas Piketty's work may well come to form a new consensus Changes in Top Income Shares and Top Marginal Income Tax Rates since 1960 (combining both central and local government income taxes)



This graph shows how government policies rather than global market forces have changed the status quo in different countries since 1960.

Source: Figure 4 in: http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/jep.27.3.3

Conclusion: international context matters

Earlier this year it was reported that just 85 people owned as much as the poorest half of humanity (by Oxfam). Forbes then updates the figure to 67, then to 66 people. We need to know

that we are living, as the old curse suggests, in unusual times.



Figure 2.5: If pounds were pixels - one of many hundreds of images of dissent in 2012.



DOES THAT SEEM RIGHT TO YOU?

Source: http://zoom.it/yE58

Note image created by an anonymous campaigner





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