The Elite London Vortex

LSE International Inequalities Institute, 22 July 2015
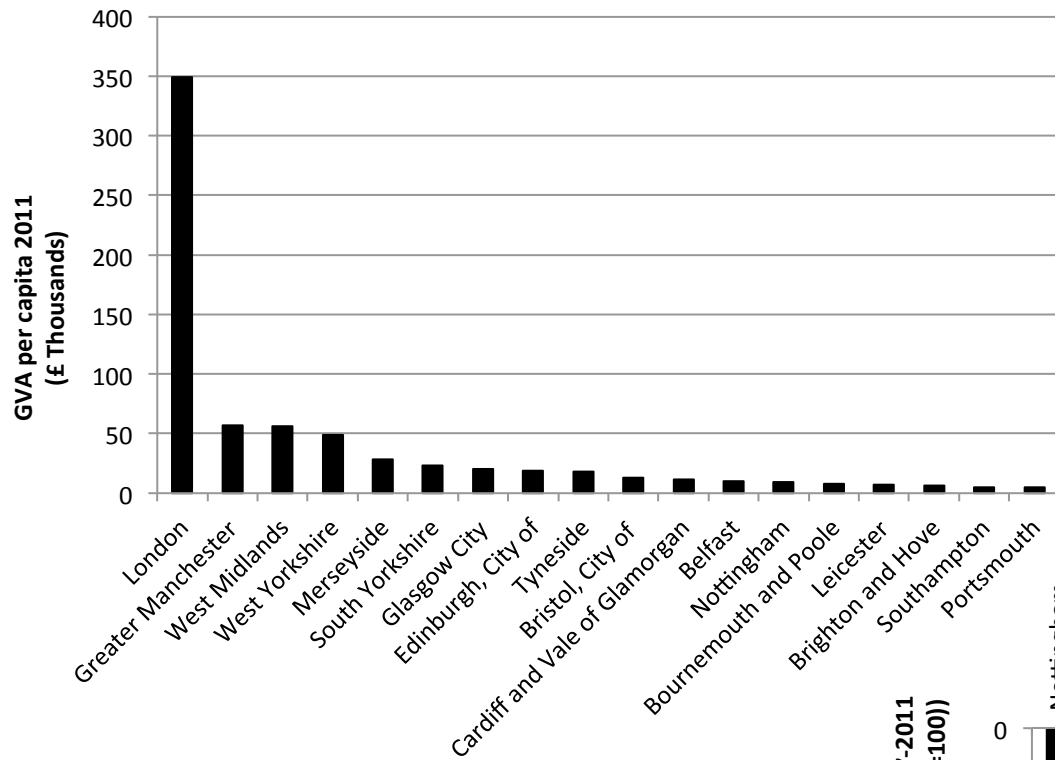
Niall Cunningham[1] & Mike Savage[2]

1. Geography Department, Durham University
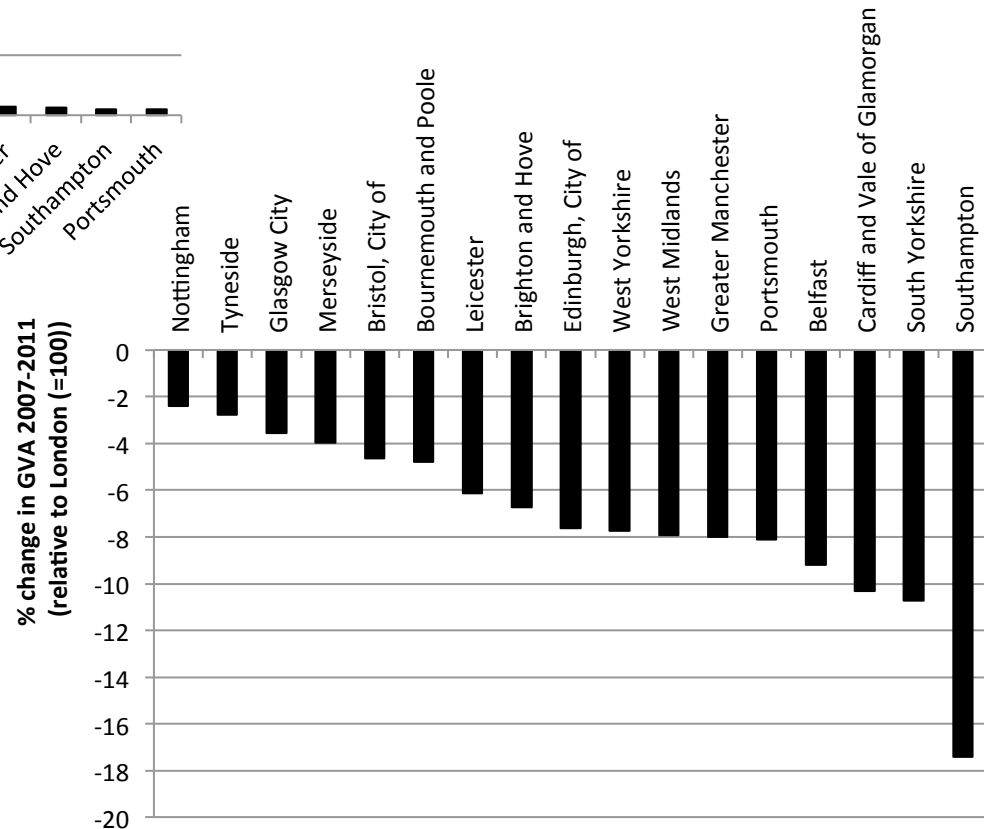2. Sociology Department, London School of Economics

Economic and spatial contexts

Gross Value Added (GVA) by region, 2011

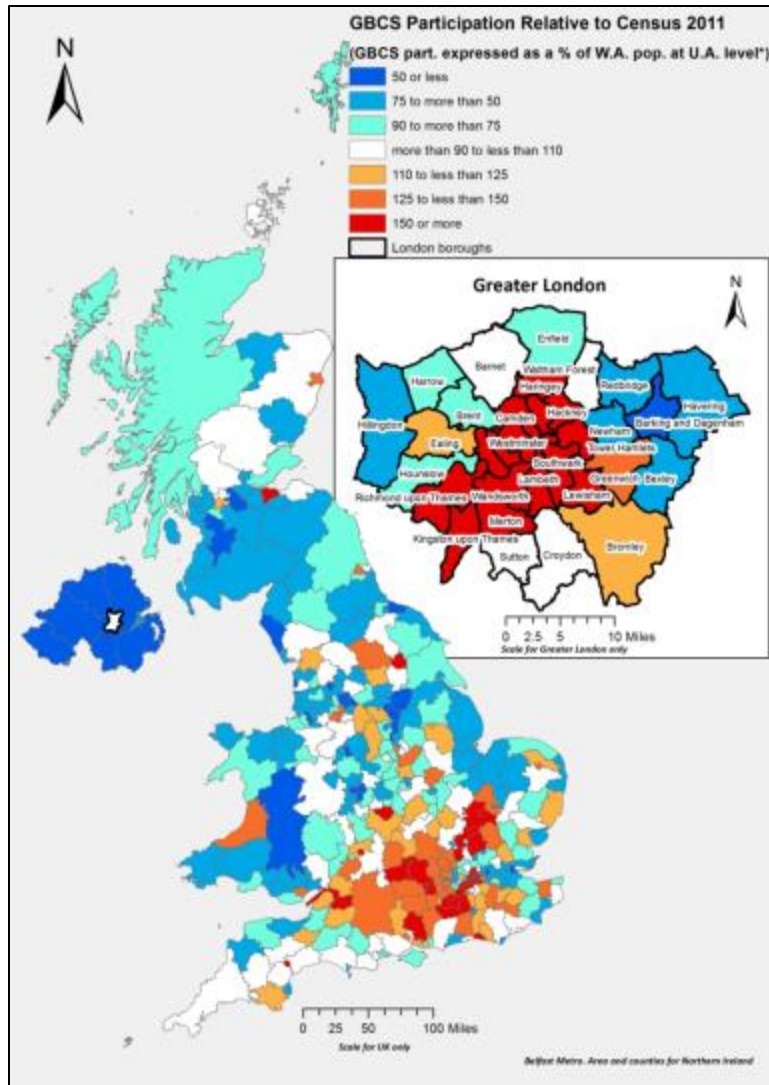(Source: Eurostat: Gross value added at basic prices by NUTS 3 regions (NACE Rev. 2) [nama_r_e3vab95r2])

Percentage change in GVA (2007-2011) relative to London for seventeen major British cities

(Source: Eurostat: Gross value added at basic prices by NUTS 3 regions (NACE Rev. 2) [nama_r_e3vab95r2])

The GBCS: origins, data structure, skew

GBCS Participation Relative to Census 2011
(GBCS part. expressed as a % of W.A. pop. at U.A. level*)

- 50 or less
- 75 to more than 50
- 90 to more than 75
- more than 90 to less than 110
- 110 to less than 125
- 125 to less than 150
- 150 or more
- London boroughs

Greater London

Table 1. Proportions in occupational classes from GBCS web survey and GfK nationally representative surveys.

| Category/group in %	Web sample	National sample	Ratio
Senior manager	13.0	6.3	2.1
Traditional professional	17.9	4.8	3.7
Modern professional	31.5	18.1	1.7
Middle/Junior manager	8.1	6.7	1.2
Intermediate	11.0	14.7	0.7
Technical craft worker	2.4	10.6	0.2
Semi-routine worker	4.9	15.3	0.3
Routine worker	3.2	14.5	0.2
Never worked	7.8	8.3	0.9

- Two waves, c.300,000 respondents
- The GBCS was a self-selecting web survey and not a nationally-representative sample
- It has a pronounced skew in both spatial and social terms
- Spatially, participation was skewed to London and the South East of England
- Socially, participants from higher occupational bands were over-represented in comparison to those from manual backgrounds
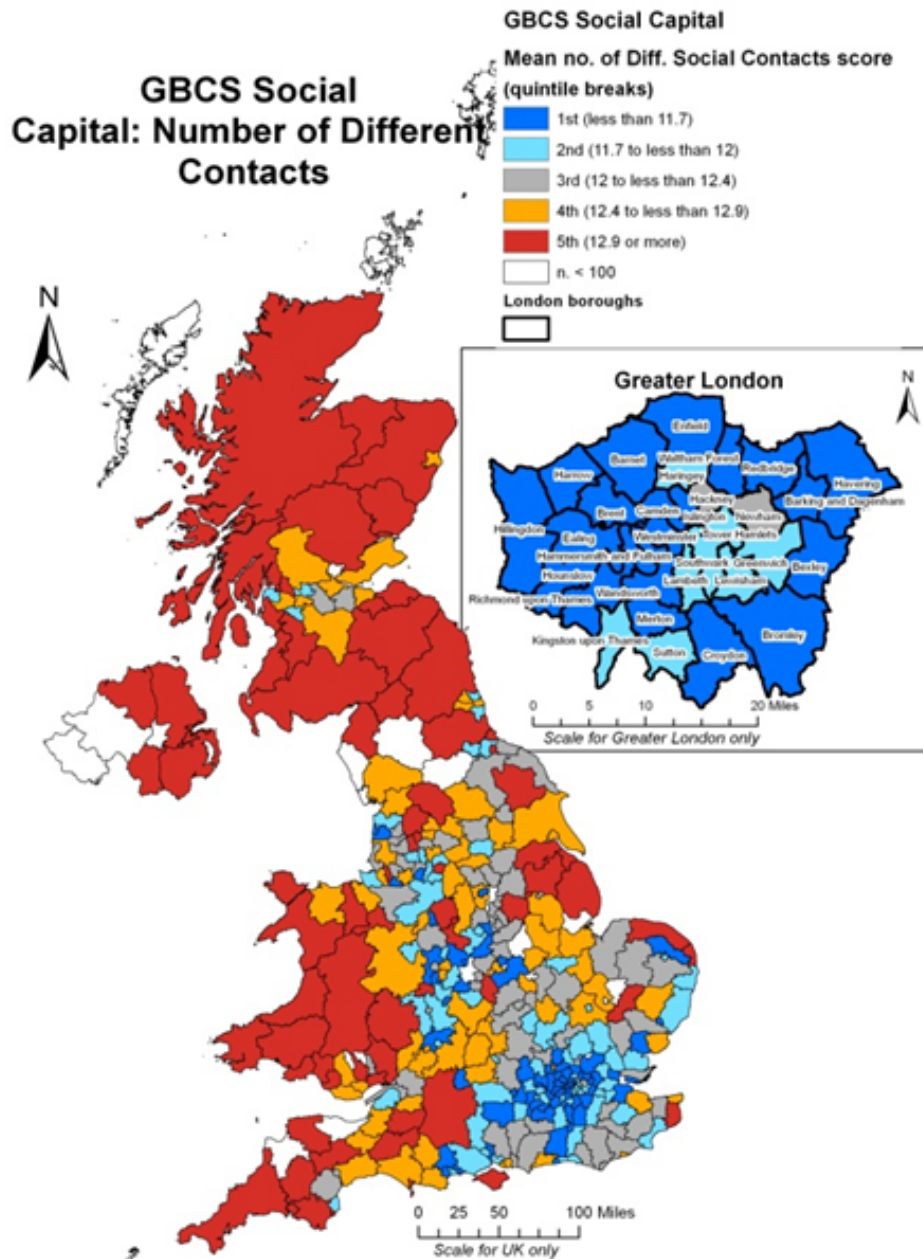
Inequality in the UK: a wider framing
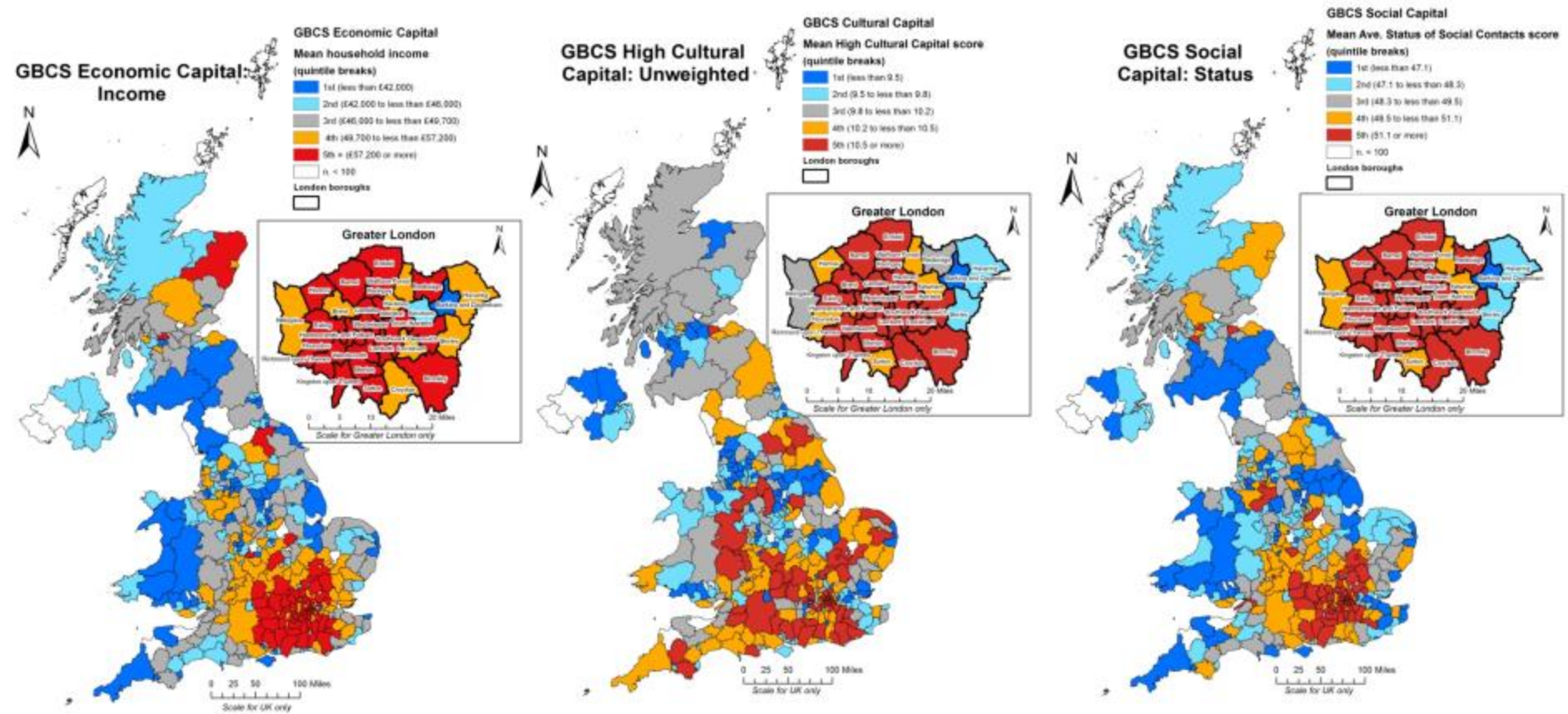
• Approaches to the study of spatial inequality have for reasons of practicality and orthodoxy focussed solely on economic disparities up to now

• The *GBCS* provides the means to explore how inequalities play out not only in the economic, but also social and cultural domains

The metropolitan geography of economic capital
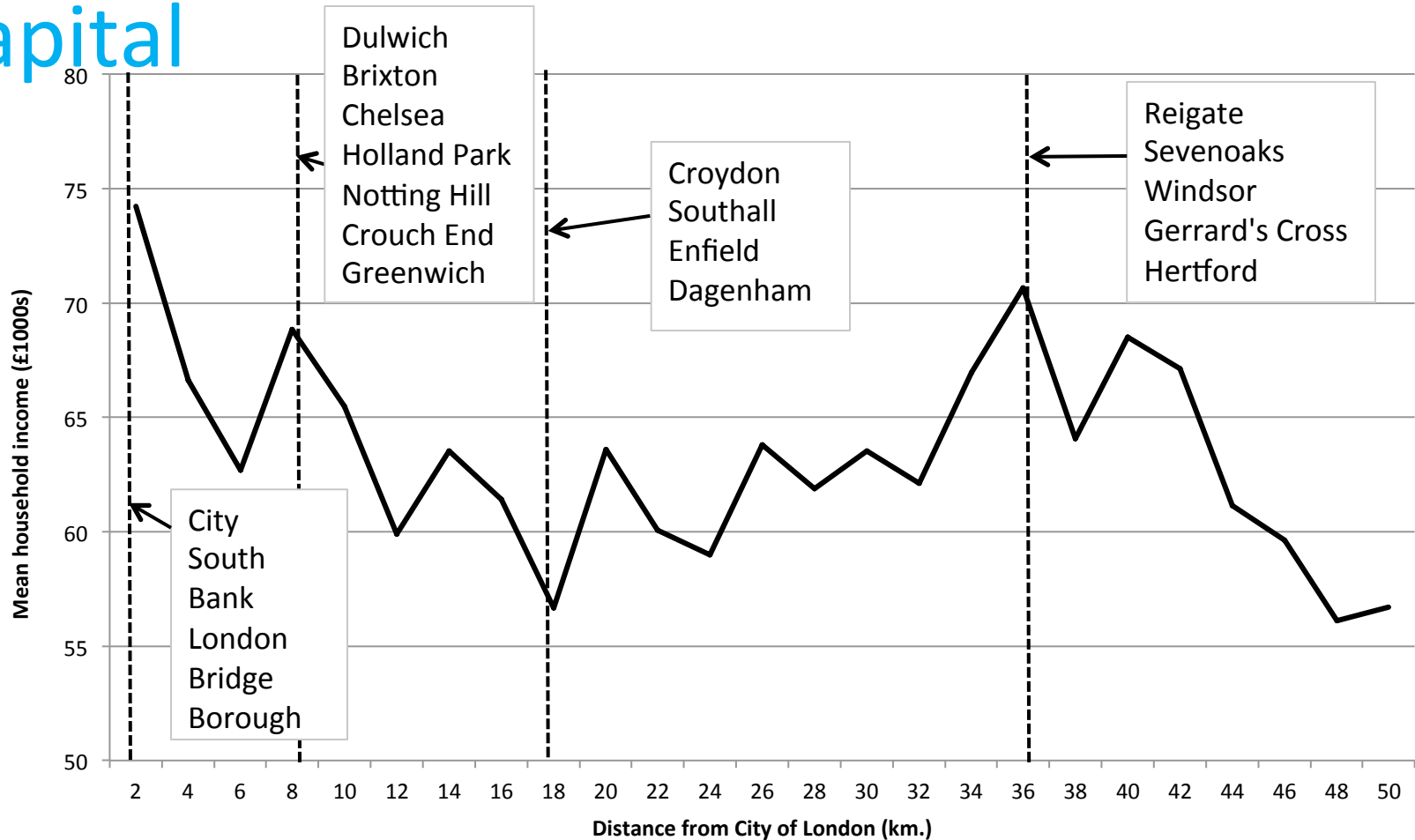
- Concentric zonal analysis of mean household income by 2km bands radiating from the Bank of England, Threadneedle Street.
- Marked variation in mean incomes as we move away from central London

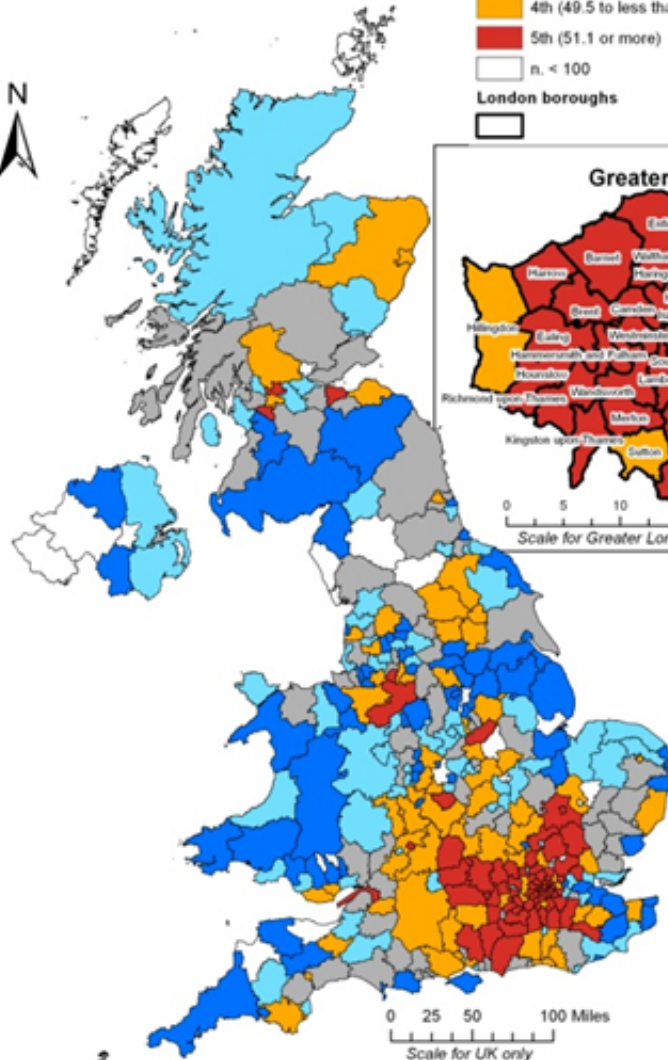# Extending the scope Social capital

GBCS Social Capital: Number of Different Contacts

GBCS Social Capital

Mean no. of Diff. Social Contacts score (quintile breaks)

- 1st (less than 11.7)
- 2nd (11.7 to less than 12)
- 3rd (12 to less than 12.4)
- 4th (12.4 to less than 12.9)
- 5th (12.9 or more)
- n. < 100

London boroughs

Greater London

Scale for Greater London only

0 5 10 20 Miles

0 25 50 100 Miles

Scale for UK only

GBCS Social Capital: Status

GBCS Social Capital

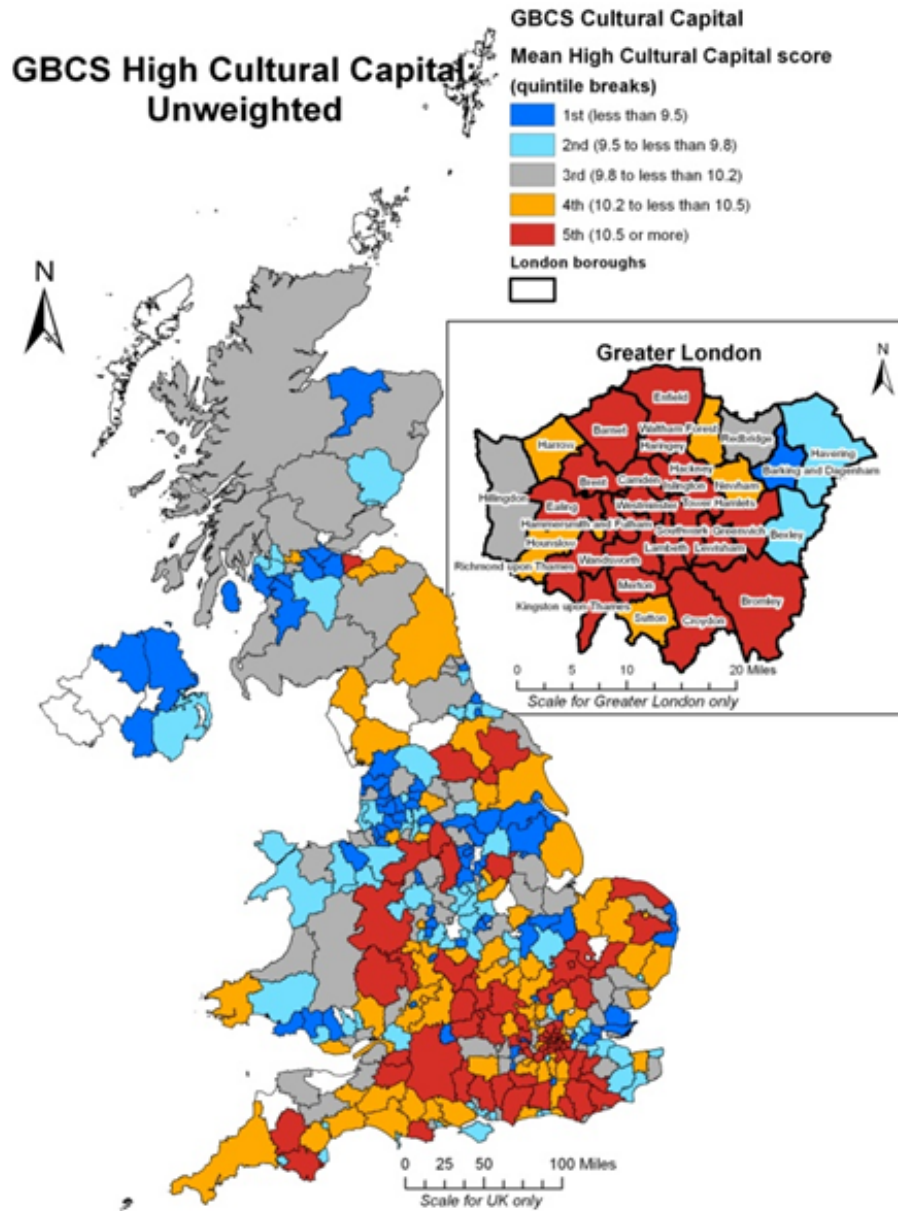**Mean Ave. Status of Social Contacts score**
(quintile breaks)

- 1st (less than 47.1)
- 2nd (47.1 to less than 48.3)
- 3rd (48.3 to less than 49.5)
- 4th (49.5 to less than 51.1)
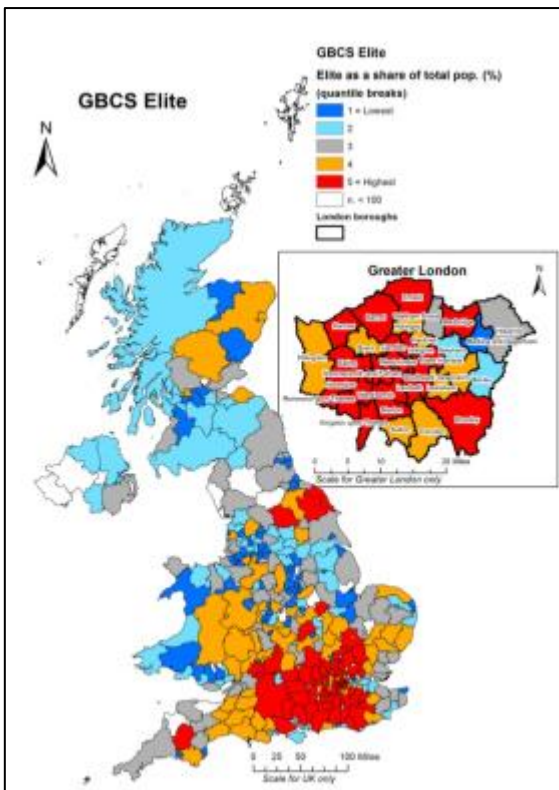- 5th (51.1 or more)
- n. < 100

London boroughs

Greater London

Enfield, Barnet, Waltham Forest, Haringey, Redbridge, Havering, Harrow, Hackney, Barking and Dagenham, Brent, Camden, Islington, Newham, Hillingdon, Ealing, Westminster, Tower Hamlets, Hammersmith and Fulham, Southwark, Greenwich, Bexley, Hounslow, Lambeth, Lewisham, Richmond upon Thames, Wandsworth, Kingston upon Thames, Merton, Bromley, Sutton, Croydon

0 5 10 20 Miles
Scale for Greater London only

0 25 50 100 Miles
Scale for UK only

Extending the scope: Cultural capital

GBCS Emerging Cultural Capital: Unweighted

GBCS Cultural Capital

Mean Emerging Cultural Capital score (quintile breaks)

- 1st (less than 19.2)
- 2nd (19.2 to les than 19.7)
- 3rd (19.7 to less than 20)
- 4th (20 to less than 20.4)
- 5th = (20.4 or more)

London boroughs

Greater London

N

Enfield

Barnet · Waltham Forest · Redbridge · Havering

Harrow · Haringey

Brent · Camden · Islington · Hackney · Newham · Barking and Dagenham

Ealing · Westminster · Tower Hamlets

Hillingdon · Hammersmith and Fulham · Southwark · Greenwich · Bexley

Hounslow · Wandsworth · Lambeth · Lewisham

Richmond upon Thames · Merton

Kingston upon Thames · Wandsworth · Bromley

Sutton · Croydon

0   5   10   20 Miles

Scale for Greater London only

N

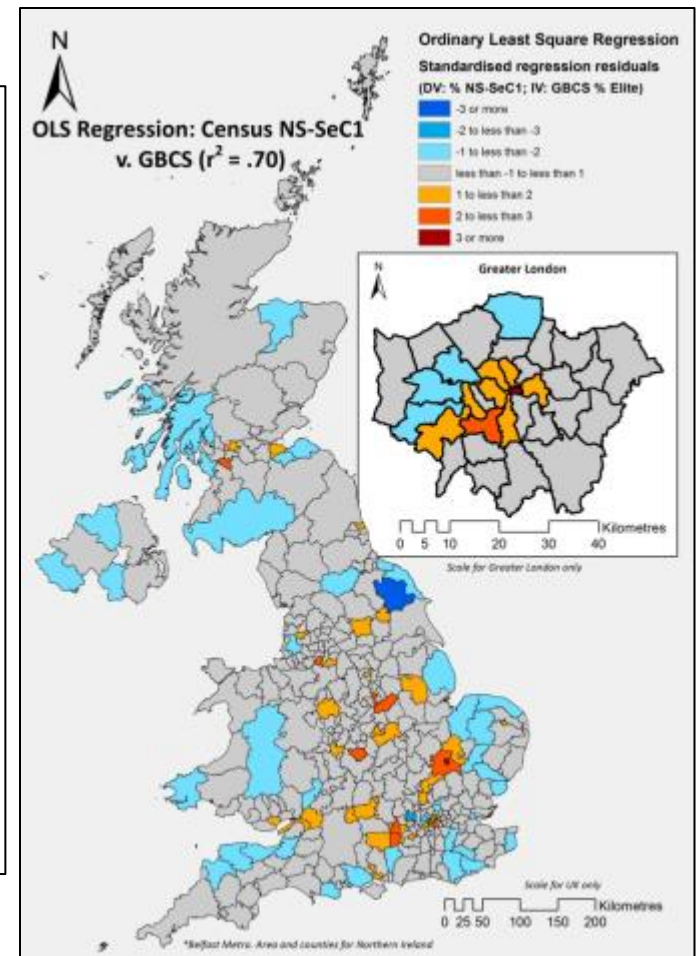0   25   50   100 Miles

Scale for UK only

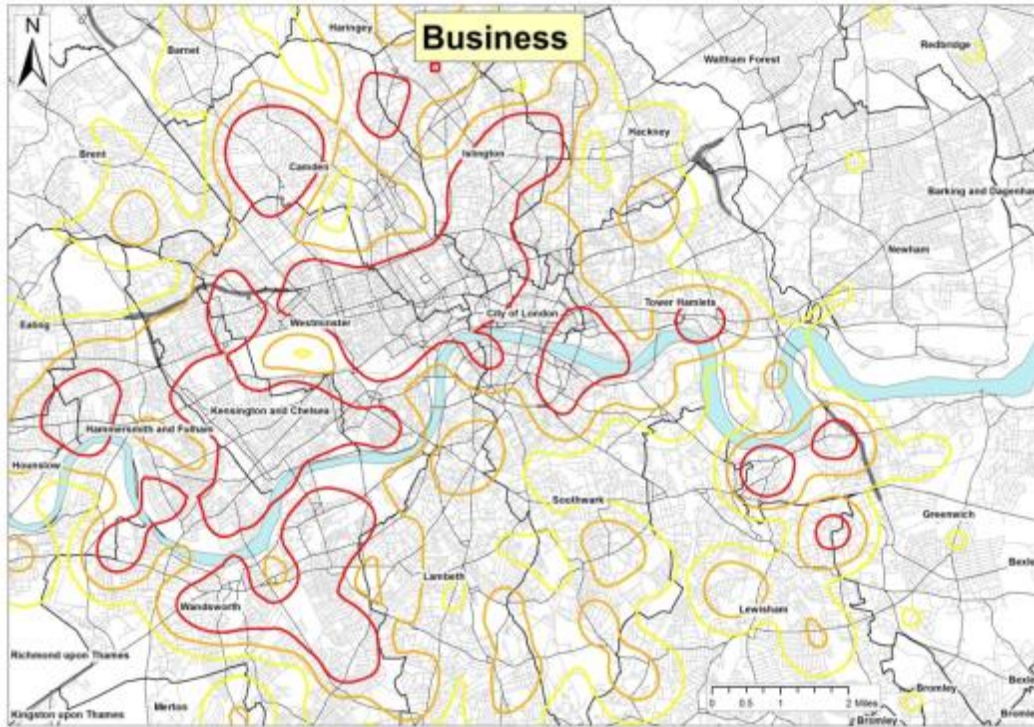# Spatial benchmarking: the *Elite*

Distribution of the GBCS 'Elite'
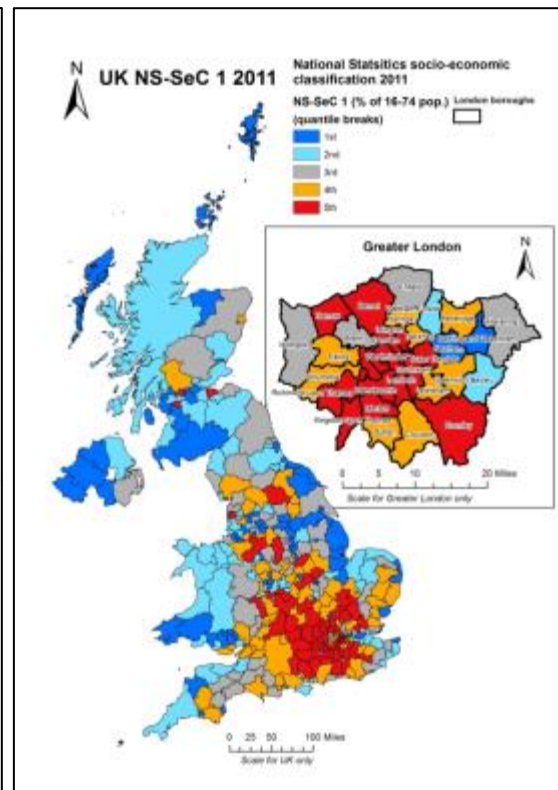
Distribution of the NS-SeC I population, 2011

OLS regression with Elite as predictor and NS-SeC I as dependent variable

The 'Recursive' Elite: London
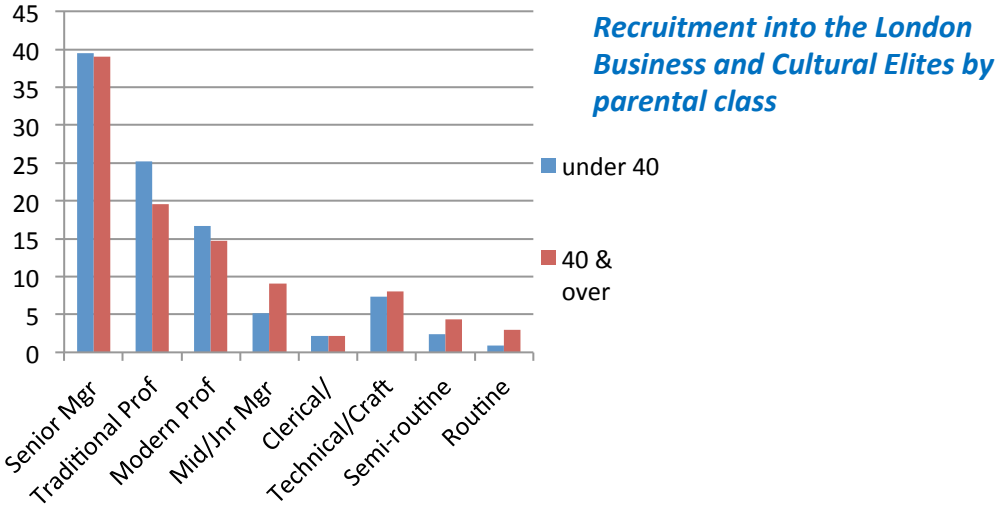

The London 'Business' Elite

• Occupational data on respondents enables us to identify particular sub-groups, or to construct traditional employment aggregate schemas

• These different sub-elites have pronounced geographies, occupying different urban spaces
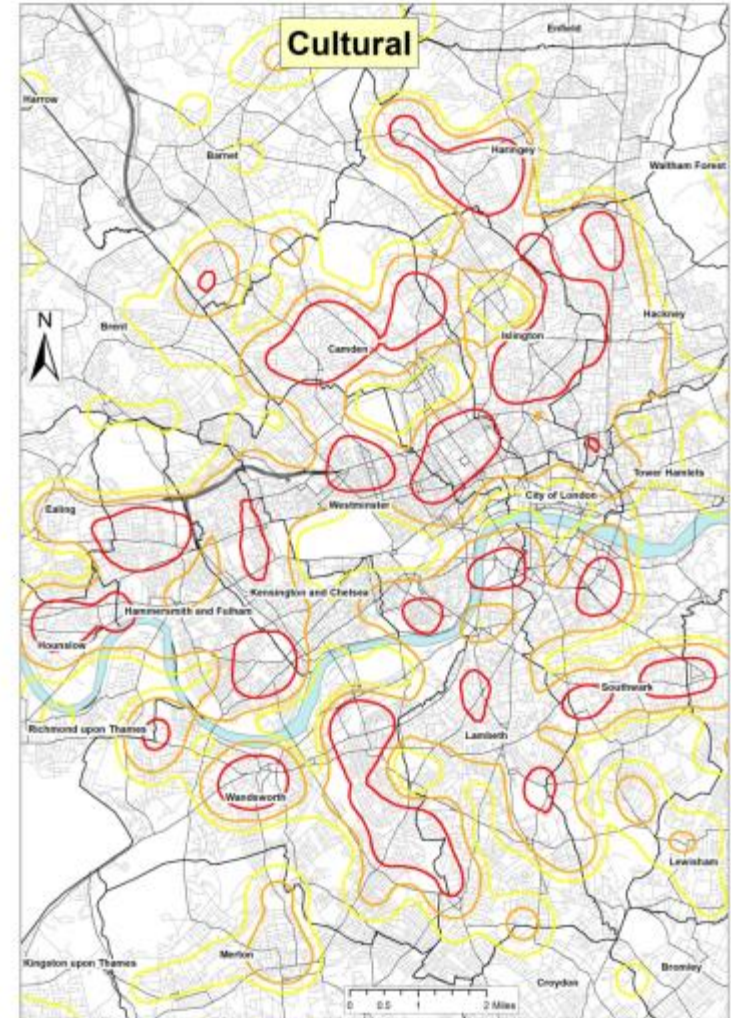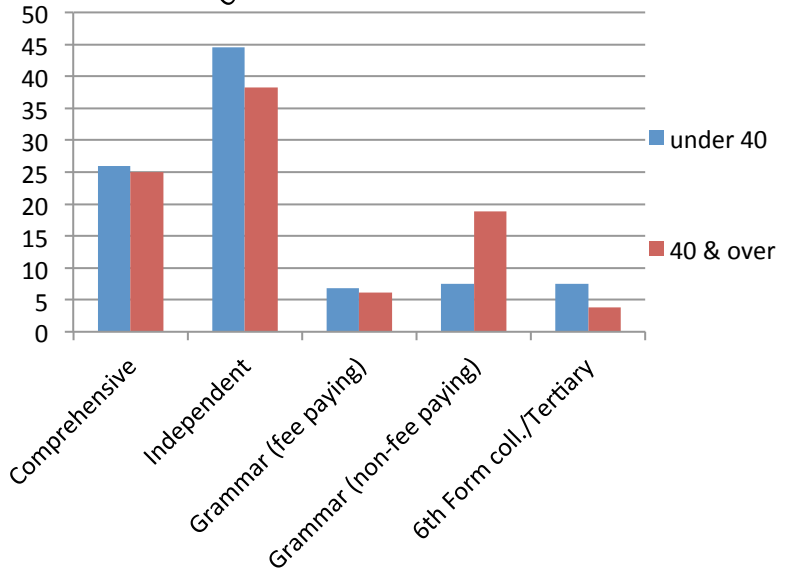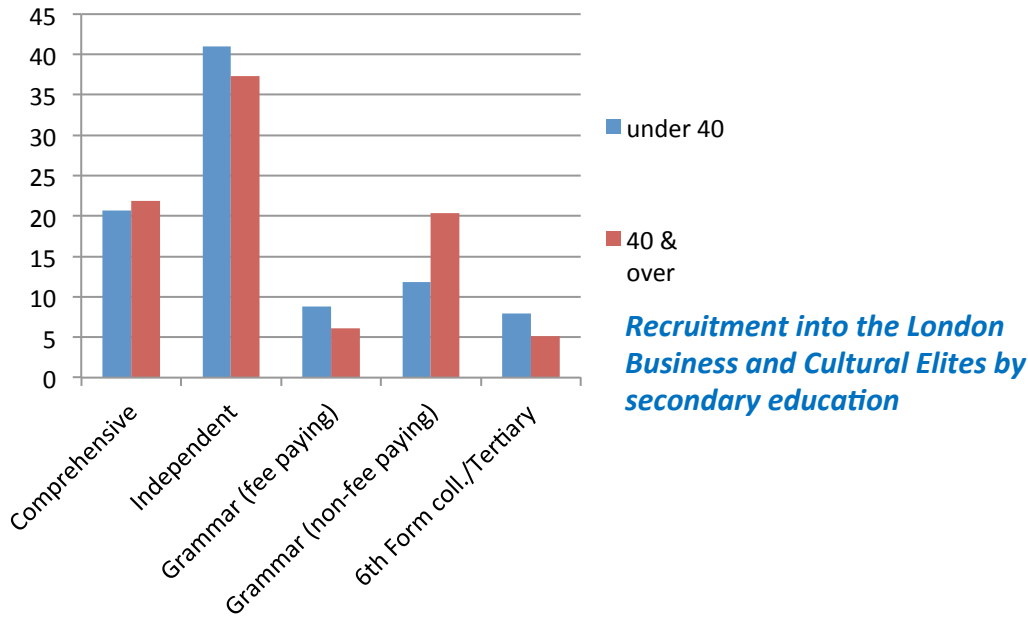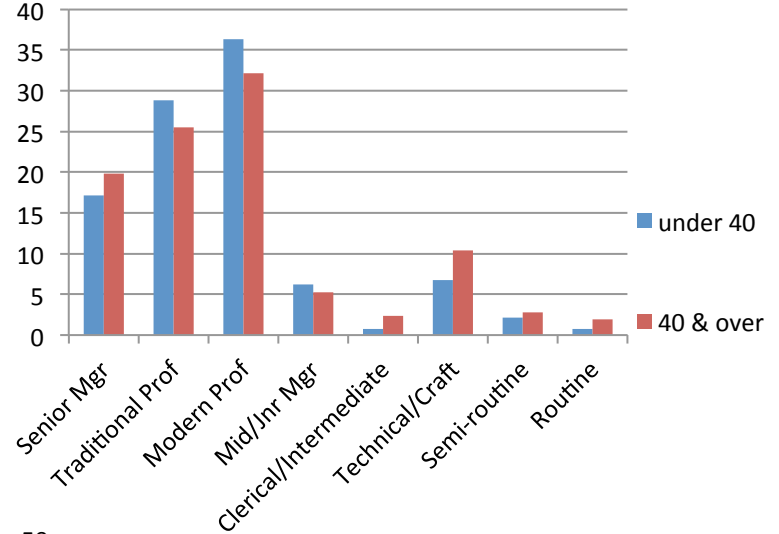
The London 'Cultural' Elite

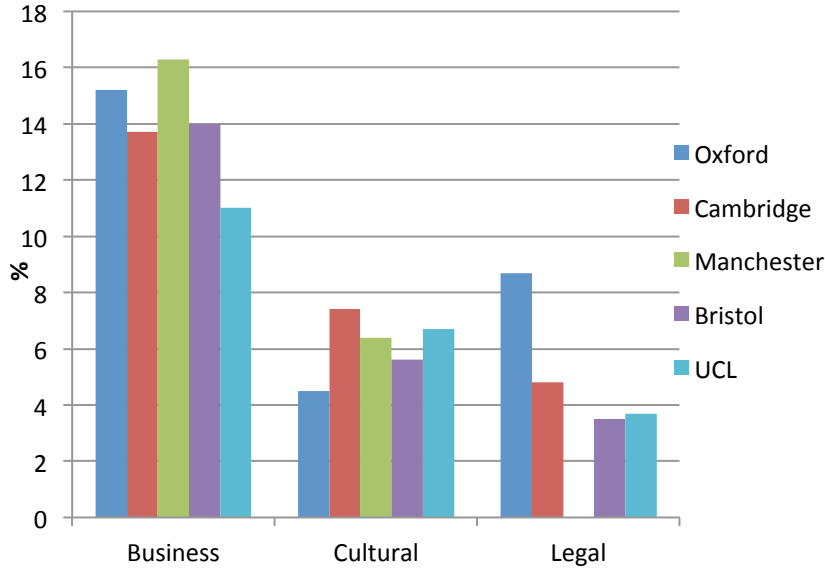# London: Intensifying Elite vortex

Business

Recruitment into the London Business and Cultural Elites by parental class

Cultural

Recruitment into the London Business and Cultural Elites by secondary education

London Sub-Elites and Universities

Relative to Institution

Absolute

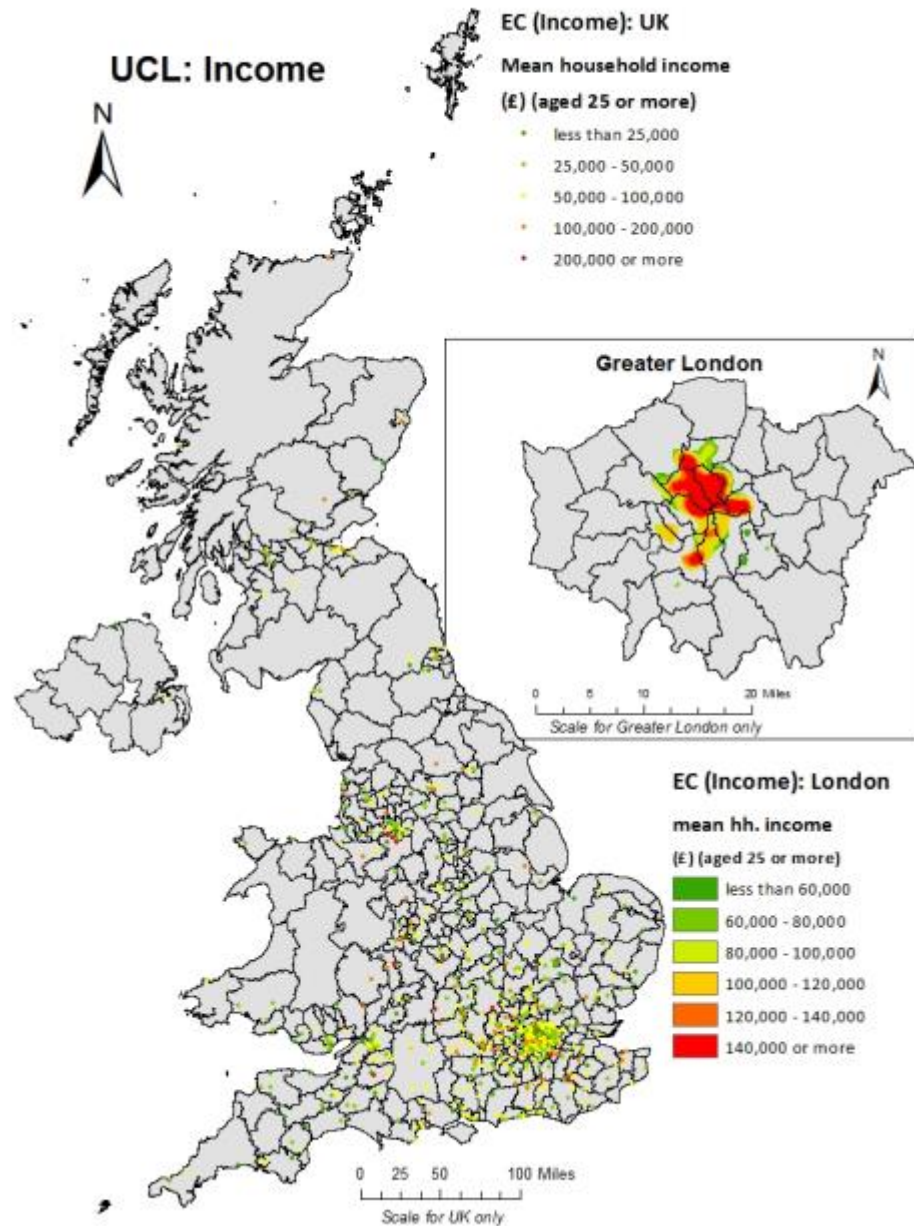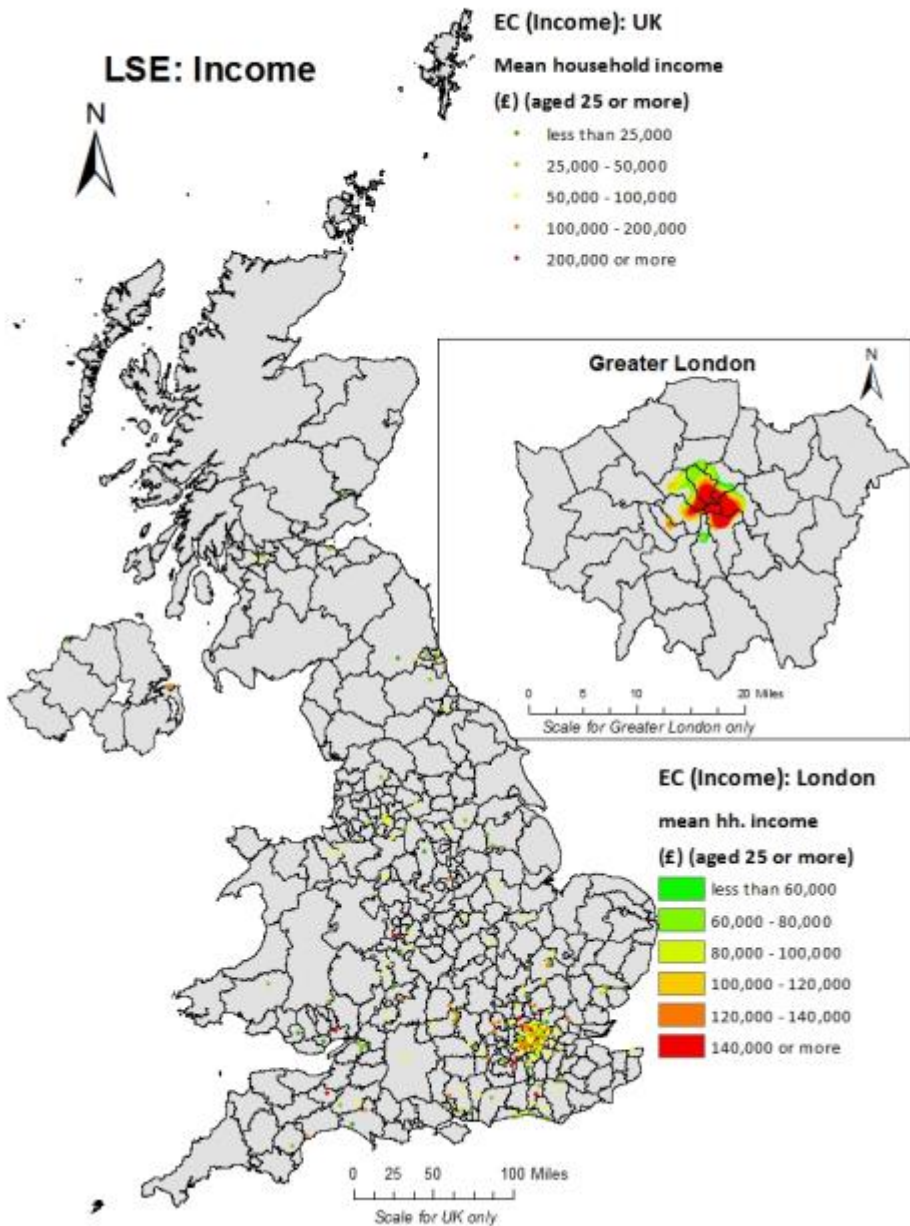Legend: Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Bristol, UCL
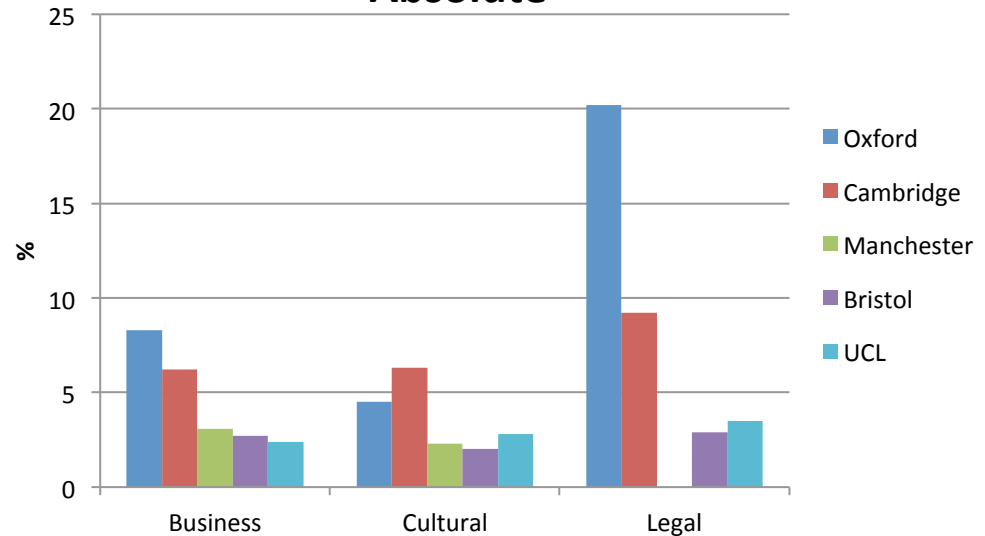
Recruitment into the London Business, Cultural and Legal Elites by university in relative (left) and absolute (terms)

- We can use the GBCS to examine the power of specific HE institutions in providing access to the London Elite and its sub-incarnations
- In both relative and absolute terms Cambridge displays its power in forming the Cultural Elite
- For Oxford and Cambridge, the patterns for Business and Cultural Elite formation are effectively mirror images
- Oxford displays remarkable absolute and relative strength in the formation of the Legal Elite.
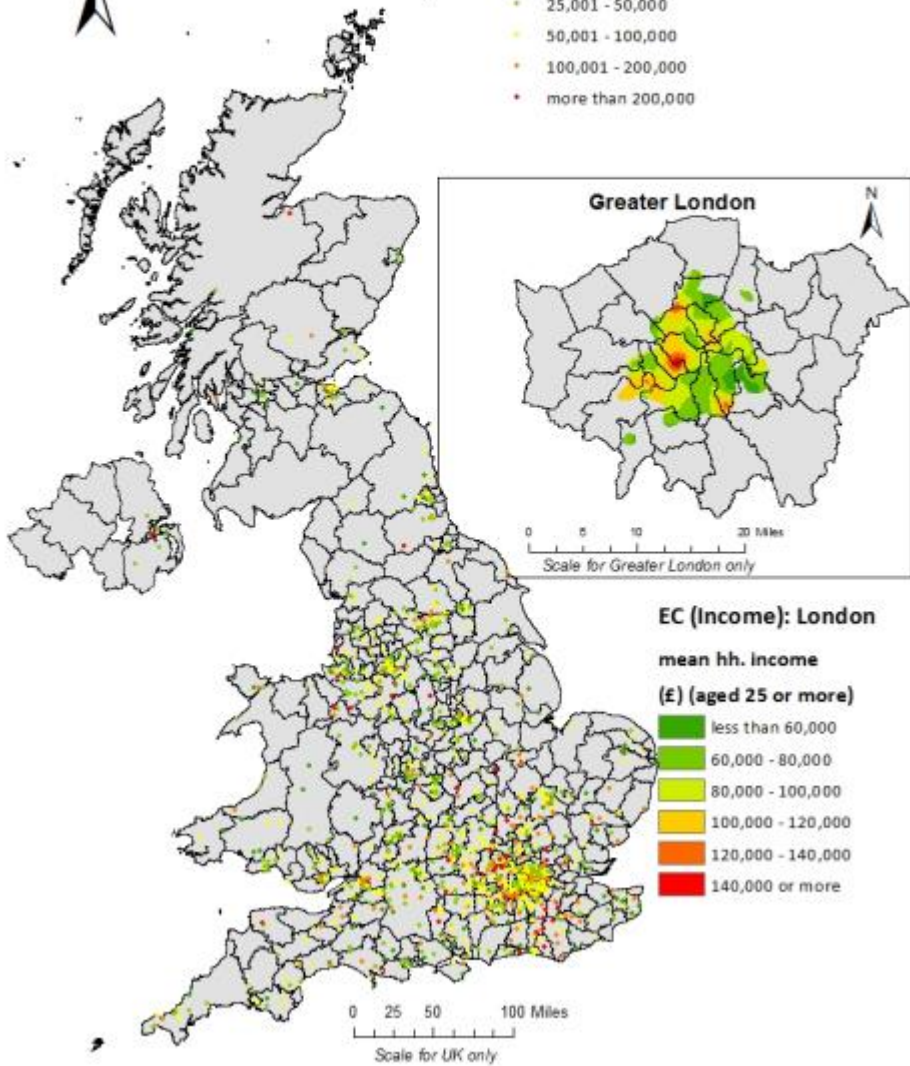
LSE: Income

N

Greater London

N

0   5   10   20 Miles

Scale for Greater London only

EC (Income): London

mean hh. income

(£) (aged 25 or more)

less than 60,000
60,000 - 80,000
80,000 - 100,000
100,000 - 120,000
120,000 - 140,000
140,000 or more

0   25   50   100 Miles

Scale for UK only

UCL: Income

N

EC (Income): UK

Mean household income
(£) (aged 25 or more)

. less than 25,000
. 25,000 - 50,000
. 50,000 - 100,000
. 100,000 - 200,000
. 200,000 or more

Greater London

N

0   5   10   20 Miles

Scale for Greater London only

EC (Income): London

mean hh. income

(£) (aged 25 or more)

less than 60,000
60,000 - 80,000
80,000 - 100,000
100,000 - 120,000
120,000 - 140,000
140,000 or more

0   25   50   100 Miles

Scale for UK only

Cambridge: Income

N

EC (Income): UK

Mean household income
(£) (aged 25 or more)

- 25,000 or less
- 25,001 - 50,000
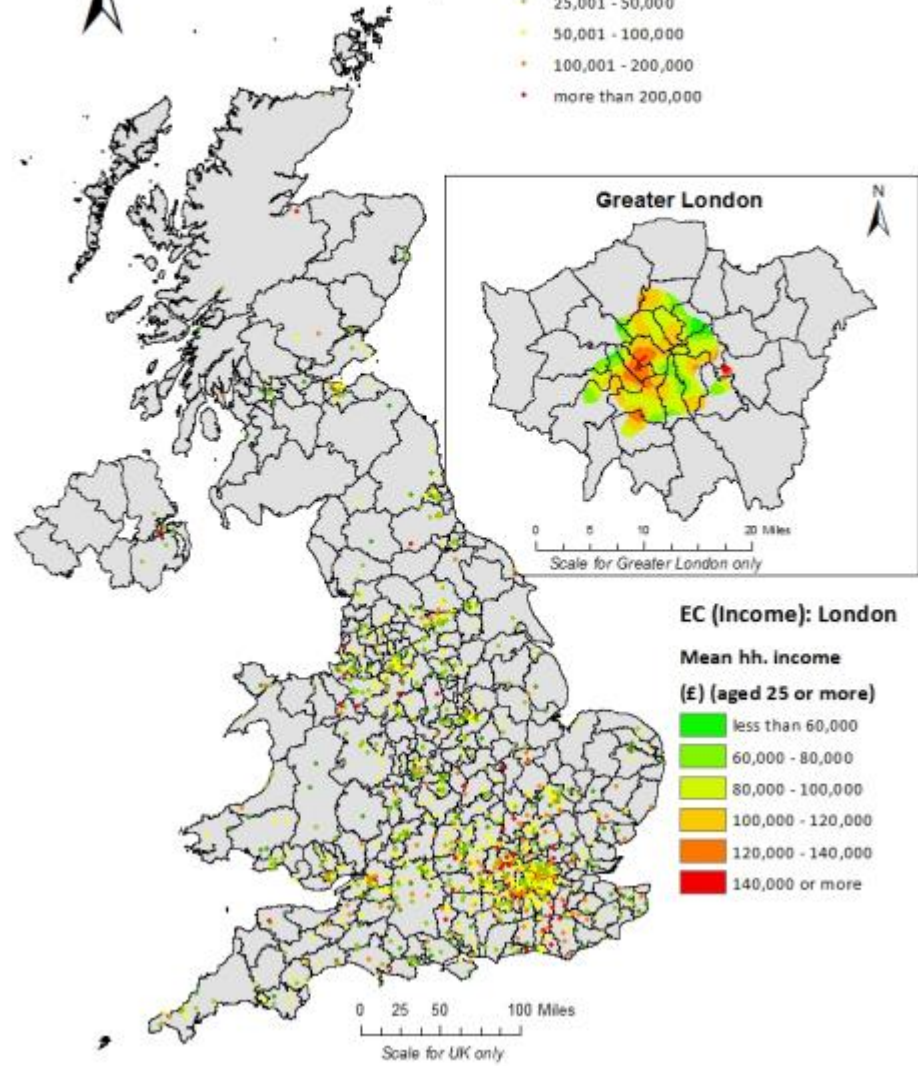- 50,001 - 100,000
- 100,001 - 200,000
- more than 200,000

Greater London

N

0   5   10   20 Miles

Scale for Greater London only

EC (Income): London

mean hh. income
(£) (aged 25 or more)

- less than 60,000
- 60,000 - 80,000
- 80,000 - 100,000
- 100,000 - 120,000
- 120,000 - 140,000
- 140,000 or more

0   25   50   100 Miles

Scale for UK only

Oxford: Income

N

EC (Income): UK

Mean household income
(£) (aged 25 or more)

- 25,000 or less
- 25,001 - 50,000
- 50,001 - 100,000
- 100,001 - 200,000
- more than 200,000

Greater London

N

0   5   10   20 Miles

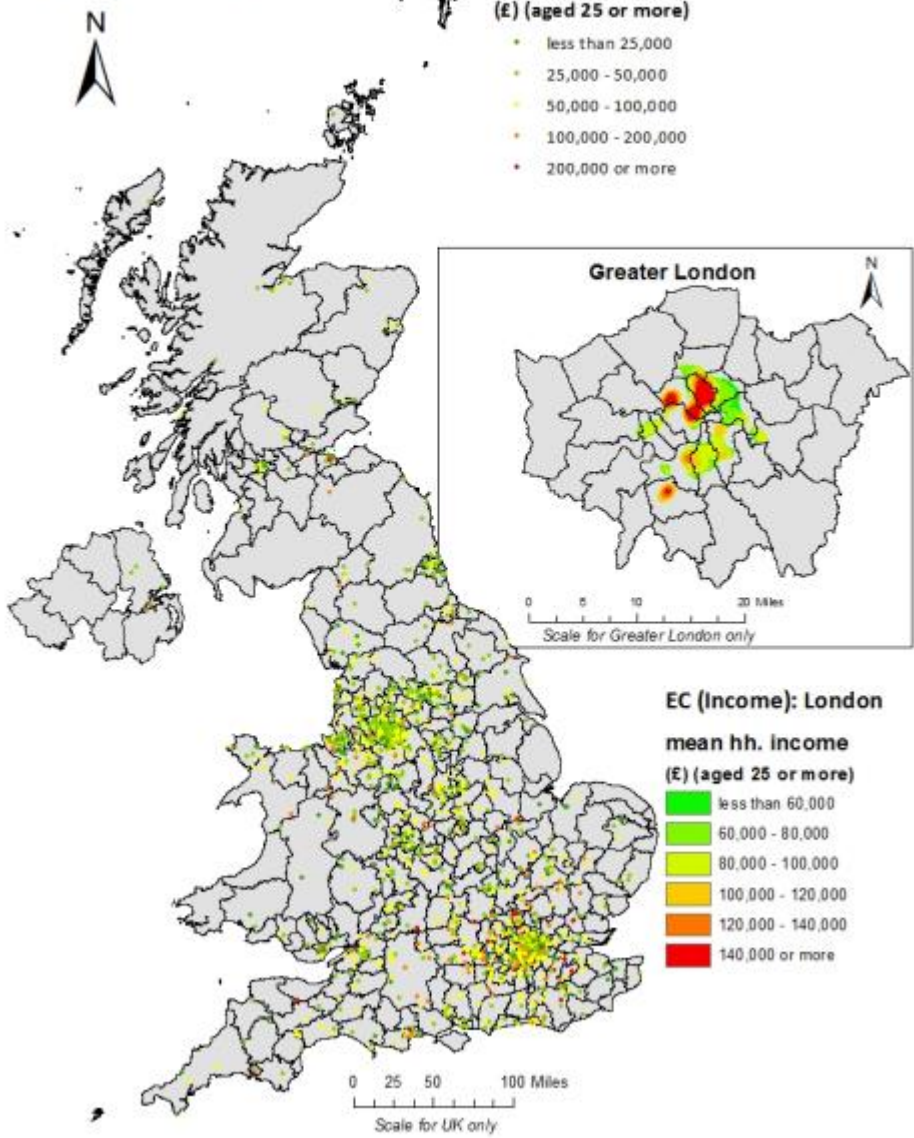*Scale for Greater London only*

EC (Income): London

Mean hh. income
(£) (aged 25 or more)

- less than 60,000
- 60,000 - 80,000
- 80,000 - 100,000
- 100,000 - 120,000
- 120,000 - 140,000
- 140,000 or more

0   25   50   100 Miles

Scale for UK only

Manchester: Income

N

EC (Income): UK

Mean household income
(£) (aged 25 or more)

- less than 25,000
- 25,000 - 50,000
- 50,000 - 100,000
- 100,000 - 200,000
- 200,000 or more

Greater London

N

0   5   10   20 Miles

Scale for Greater London only

EC (Income): London

mean hh. income
(£) (aged 25 or more)

- less than 60,000
- 60,000 - 80,000
- 80,000 - 100,000
- 100,000 - 120,000
- 120,000 - 140,000
- 140,000 or more

0   25   50   100 Miles

Scale for UK only

Sheffield: Income

N

EC (Income): UK

Mean household income
(£) (aged 25 or more)

- less than 25,000
- 25,000 - 50,000
- 50,000 - 100,000
- 100,000 - 200,000
- 200,000 or more

Greater London

N

0   5   10   20 Miles

Scale for Greater London only

EC (Income): London

mean hh. income
(£) (aged 25 or more)

- less than 60,000
- 60,000 - 80,000
- 80,000 - 100,000
- 100,000 - 120,000

0   25   50   100 Miles

Scale for UK only

Goldsmiths: Income

N

Greater London

N

0   5   10   20 Miles
Scale for Greater London only

EC (Income): London

goldinc1p

<VALUE>

- 24,949 - 60,000
- 60,000 - 80,000
- 80,000 - 100,000

0   25   50   100 Miles

Scale for UK only

Durham: Income

N

Greater London

N

0   5   10   20 Miles
Scale for Greater London only

EC (Income): London

durinc1p

<VALUE>

- 56,613 - 60,000
- 60,001 - 80,000
- 80,001 - 100,000
- 100,010 - 120,000
- 120,010 - 140,000
- 140,010 - 2,000,000

0   25   50   100 Miles

Scale for UK only

Conclusions

- We are used to thinking of spatial inequality solely, or at least primarily in economic terms. A Bourdieusian understanding provides a wider framing of inequality and elite formation

- The data available from the GBCS provides the first means of analysing the interplay between economic, social and cultural inequalities in a national, spatially granular way

- The increasing primacy of London within the UK economy is one of the most well-established tropes of contemporary discussion on inequality in the UK, but the GBCS data enables us to further dissect this trend, to draw attention to the increasing intra-stratal inequalities within the middle classes and the intensifying exclusivity of access to the London Elite