

Good Times Bad Times: The welfare myth of them and us

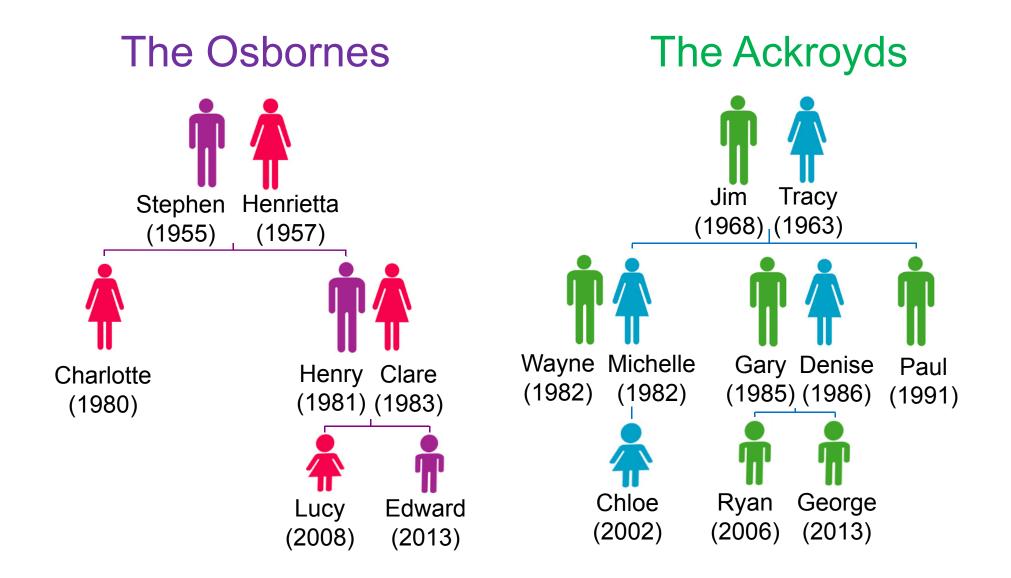
John Hills Bevan Foundation/ WISERD, Cardiff 9 February 2015





CENTRE FOR ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

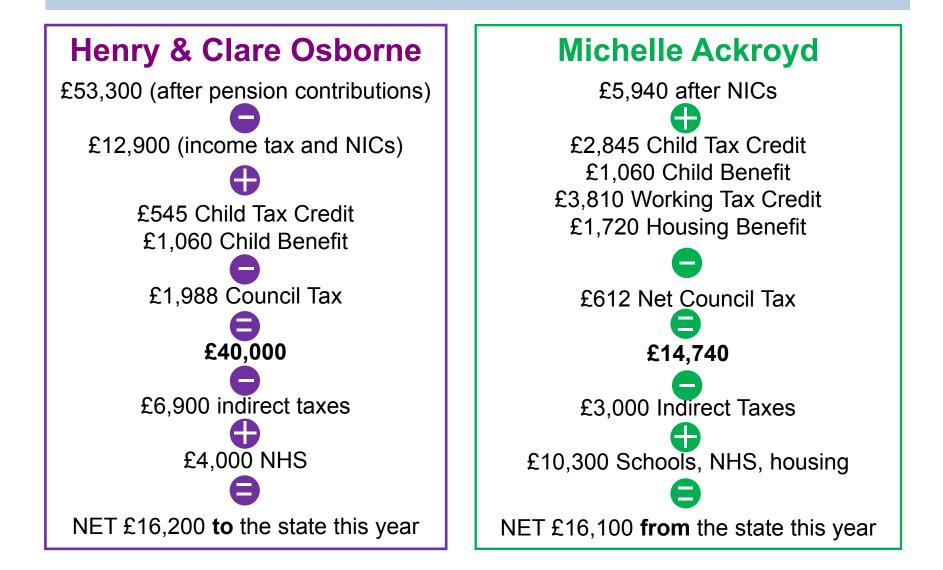
Where are they now? 25 years on



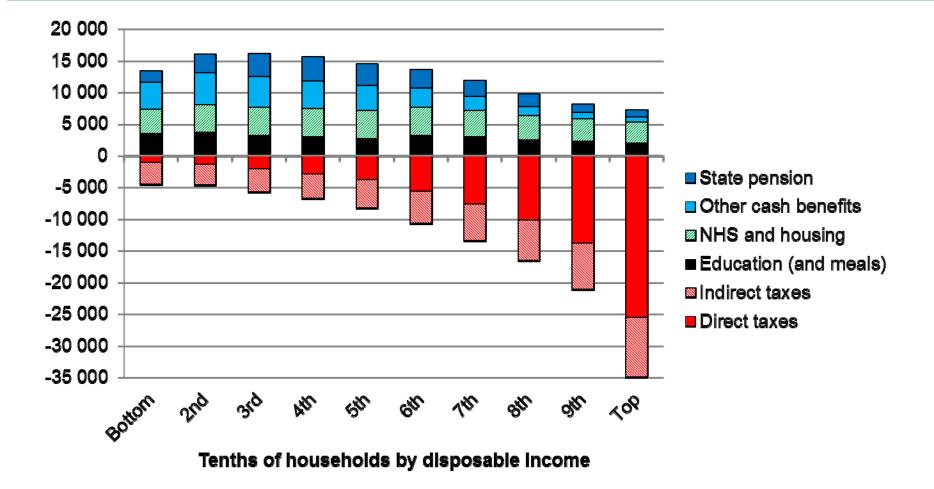
Two nations? Them and us

- '<u>Two</u> groups need to be satisfied with our welfare system. Those who need it – who are old, who are vulnerable, who are disabled, or have lost their job and who <u>we</u> as a compassionate society want to support. And there's a <u>second</u> group. The <u>people who pay</u> for this system: who go out to work, who pay their taxes and expect it to be fair on them too. (George Osborne, Chancellor of the Exchequer, June 2013; emphasis added)
- 'Strivers' vs 'shirkers'
- 'Three generations who have never worked' vs 'hard working families'
- 'Curtains drawn in mid morning' vs 'alarm clock Britain'

Henry, Michelle and the State, 2010

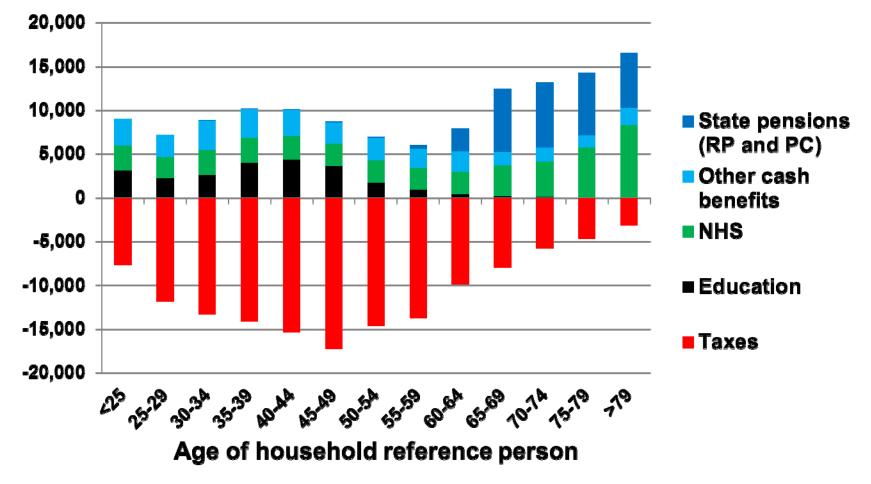


Receipts from the welfare state and taxes by income group (£, 2010-11)



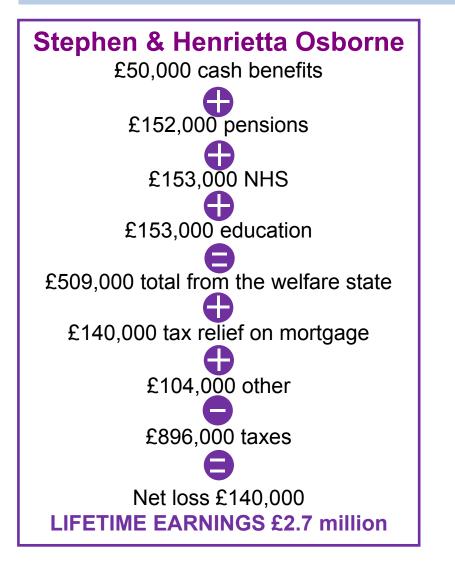
Source: Office for National Statistics (2013)

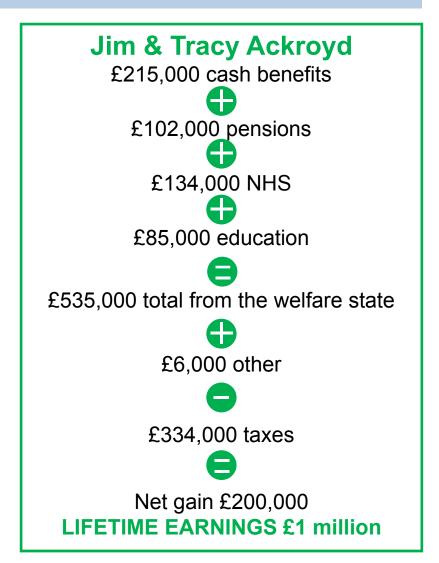
Average receipts and taxes by age, 2005-06 (£/year, not equivalised)



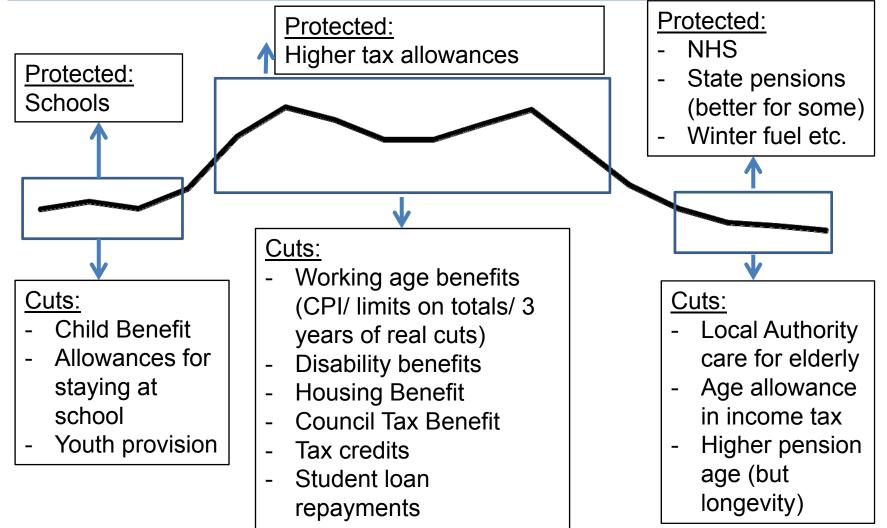
Source: Office for National Statistics from Redistribution of Income series. Taxes are direct and indirect allocated to households.

The long view: The original lifetime sums (adjusted to 2010 earnings terms)

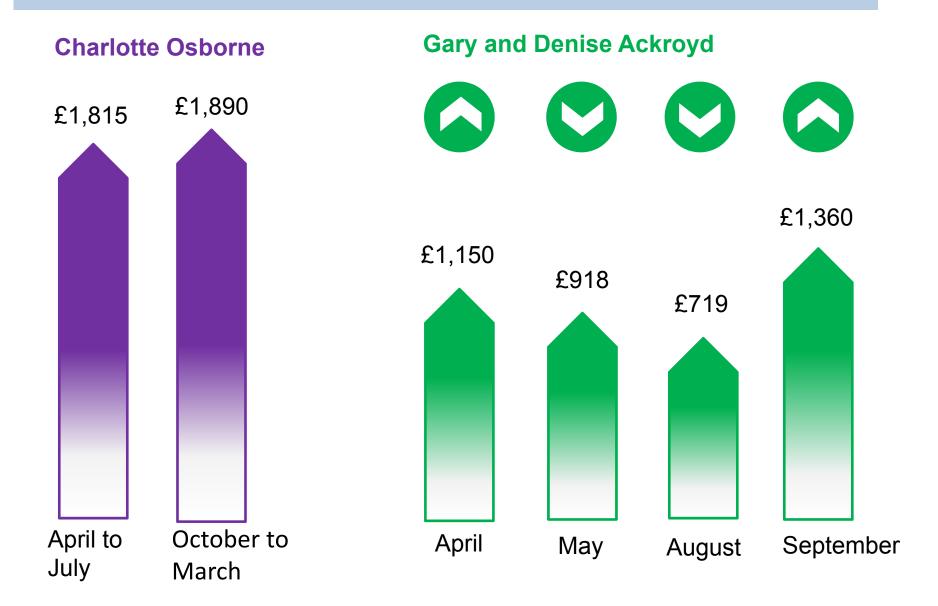




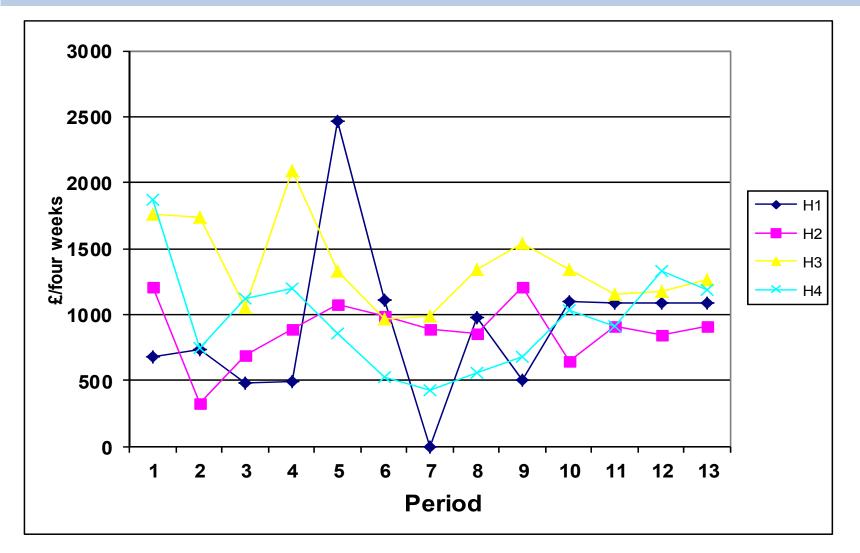
Parts of life-cycle redistribution are in retreat, but others protected



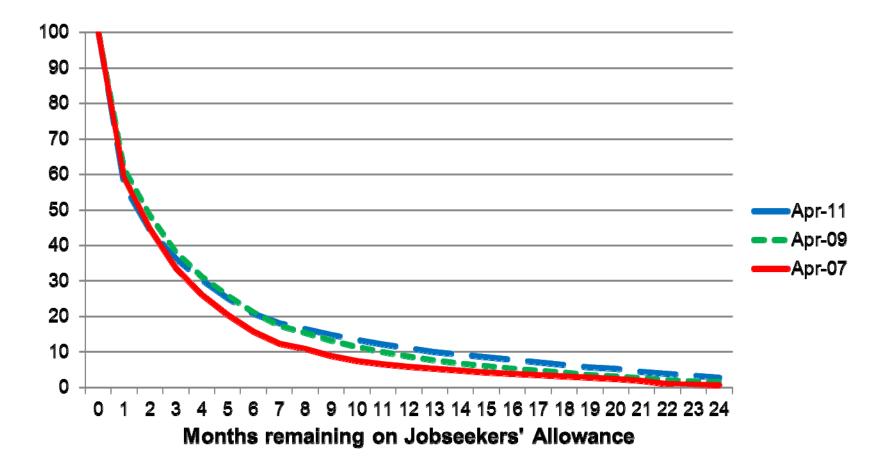
Life is complicated for some...



Tracking incomes over the year: Highly erratic cases (four week periods)



Durations on Jobseekers' Allowance, starting in 2007, 2009, 2011



Source: Data supplied by Department for Work and Pensions.

The next generation: George Ackroyd and Edward Osborne

Edward Osborne		George Ackroyd		
Age	Development and skills	Age	Development and skills	
5	60% up a scale of development	5	33% of the way up a scale of development	
11	83% of students not on Free School Meals (FSM) achieve level 4	11	66% of students on FSM achieve level 4	
16	62% of way up the GCSE national range	16	33% of way up the GCSE national range	
19	58% achieve A Level qualifications who have not been on FSM	19	34% achieve A level qualifications who have had FSM	
HE	55% of least deprived fifth go on to Higher Education	HE	18% of the most deprived fifth go on to higher education	
Private /state school	64% of private A level students go to prestigious universities		24% of state school A level students go to prestigious universities	

Winners and losers from austerity, May 2010 to 2014-15 (vs. CPI indexation)

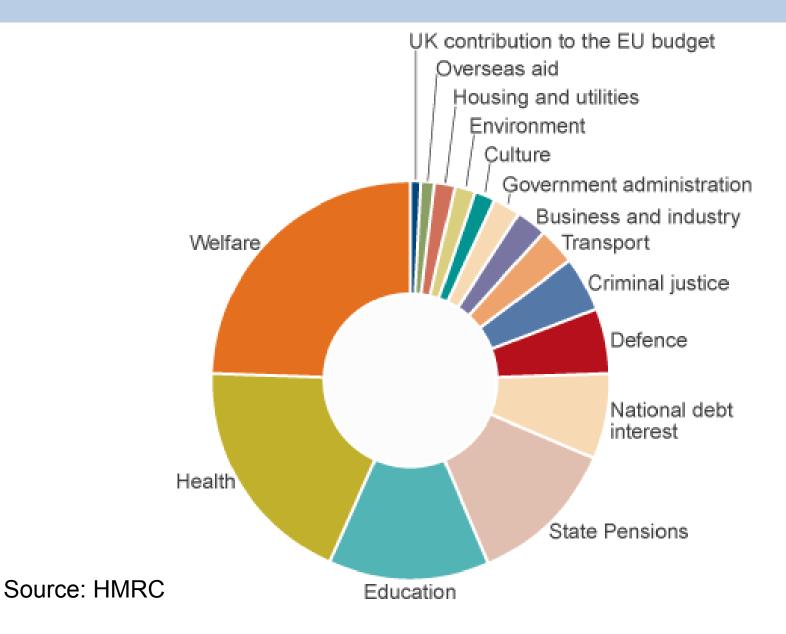
Stephen Osborne	£96,840 annual earnings		Michelle Ackroyd	£123 weekly earnings
	Gain	Loss	Gain	Loss
	£29 total NICs	£926 total income tax		£2.28 Child Benefit
NET £59,241 after PC/TAX			£2.04 Child Tax	
Henrietta £8,608 annual e		earnings	Credit	
Osborne	Gain	Loss		Working Tax Credit £6.61
	£113 total NICs			Housing Benefit £0.94
	£547 total income tax			Net Council Tax £5.09
Stephen and Henrietta Osborne	£297 Council Tax	£698 VAT		VAT at 17.5% £1.42
	TOTAL LOSS	£638 (=£12.20 per week)	TOTAL LOSS	£14.27
Loss of disposable income per year		0.7%	Loss of income after housing costs	6%

LSE/Essex analysis of effects of *direct* tax/ benefit reforms since *May* 2010 (% change)

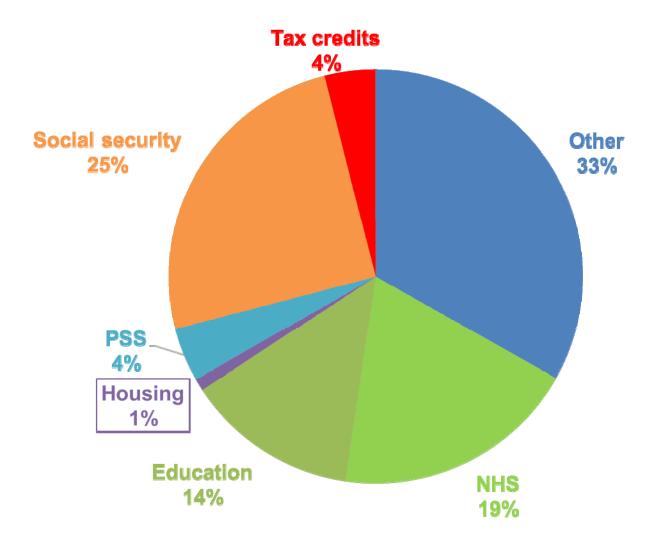


Source: De Agostini, Hills and Sutherland (2014). Changes to 2014-15 compared to CPI-linked base.

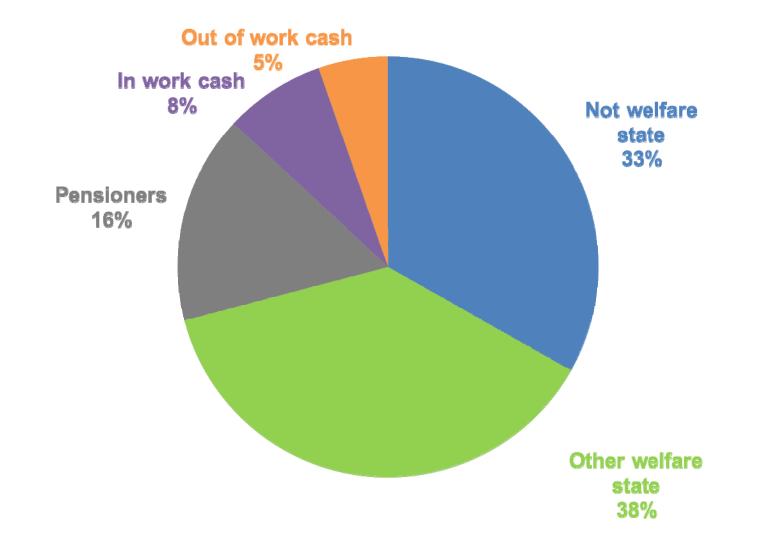
Where your money goes: Treasury view



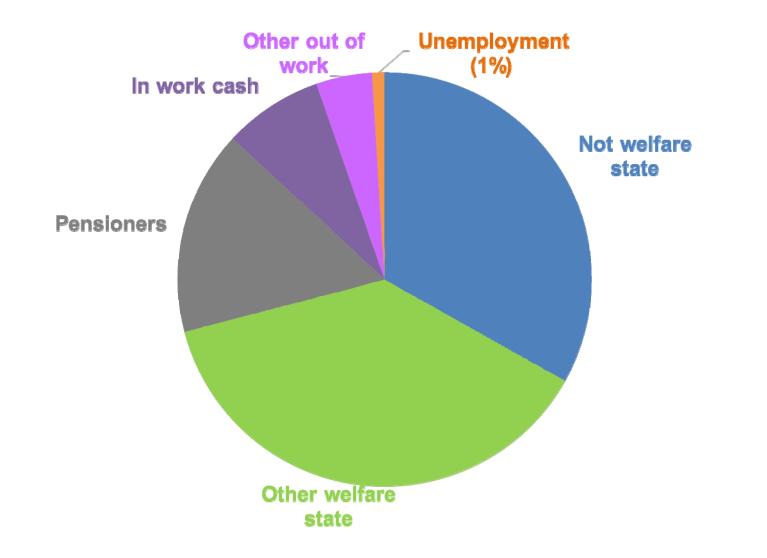
Where my money goes: Another view 1



Where your money goes: Another view 2



Where your money goes: Another view 3



The myths and the consequences

- The median belief is that 40 per cent of the social security and tax credit budget goes on benefits for unemployed people. It is actually 4 per cent. And cash transfers are less than half of all welfare state spending
- All 'welfare' payments to those of working age are less than £1 in £12.50 of what we spend on the welfare state
- And the average belief is that 27% of total benefits are claimed fraudulently. That would be £58 billion.
- This is 50 times DWP's estimates from random probes
- In effect, people think that fraud of unemployment benefits is at least tenth of all social security spending, when it is really one thousandth

Such myths have consequences....



Good Times Bad Times: The welfare myth of them and us

John Hills Bevan Foundation/ WISERD, Cardiff 9 February 2015





CENTRE FOR ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION