# Waging Inequality in America

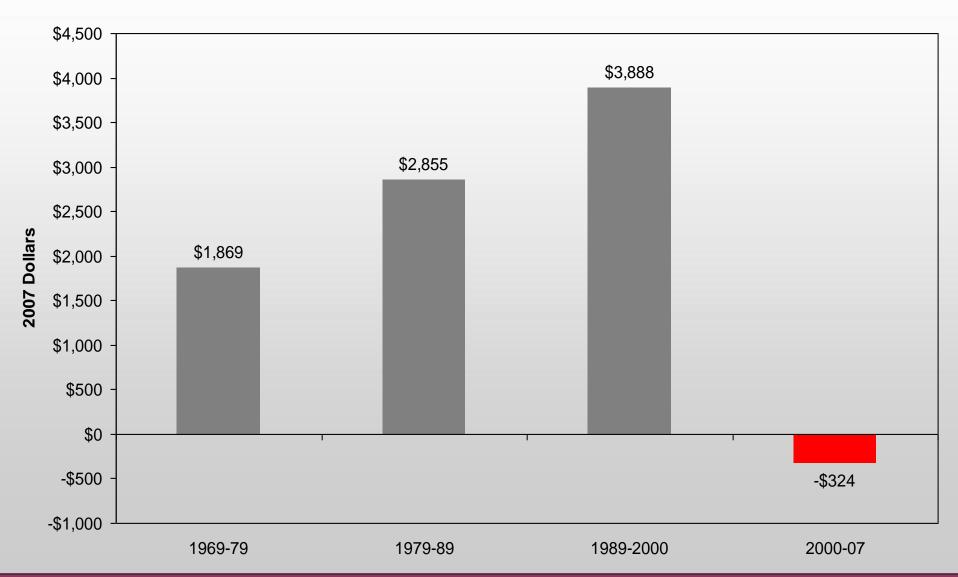
By Lawrence Mishel



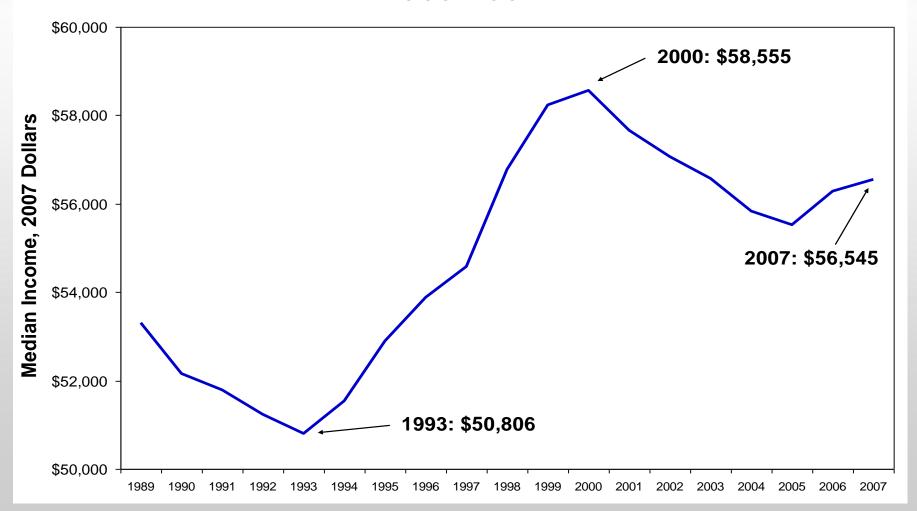
# The Middle Class Income Squeeze: Relentless, Persistent, and Accelerating

#### Family Incomes Did Poorly in the 2000s

Real Median Household Income Growth Across Peak Years

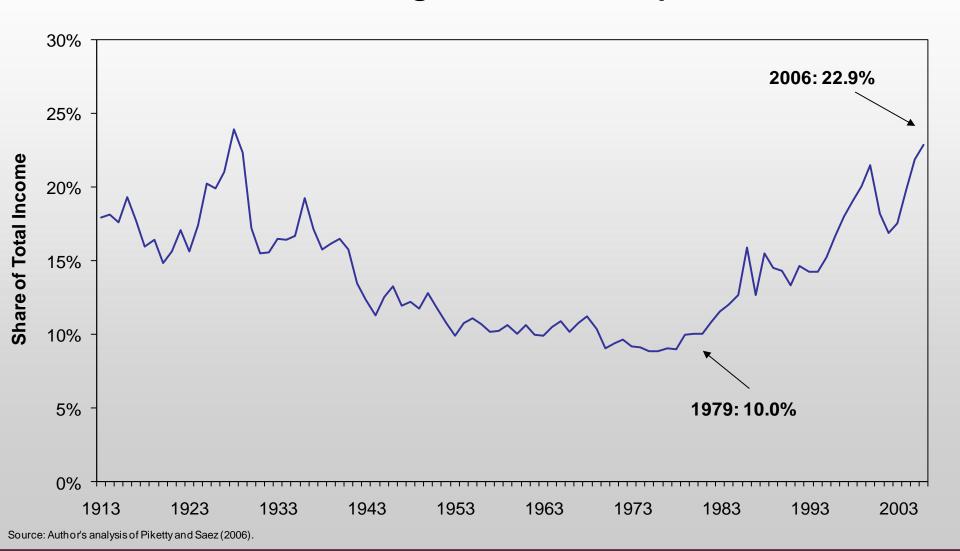


## Real Median Income, Working-Age Households, 1989-2007



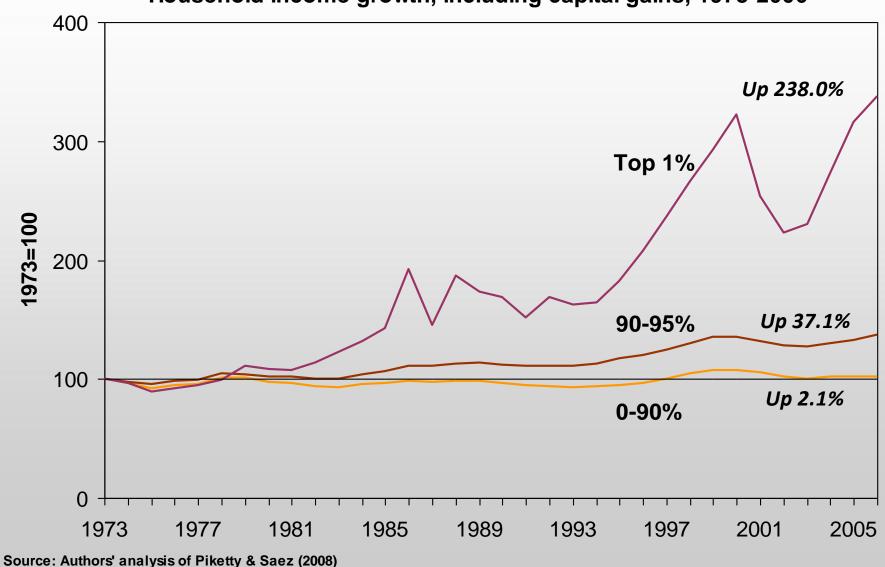
**Source: Analysis of Census data** 

The top 1% has done very well, more than doubling their share of income from 1979 to 2006. The income of the top 1% grew to about 23%, or an average of \$1.3 million per household.



#### Disparate Income Growth

Household income growth, including capital gains, 1973-2006



#### **Unbalanced Income Growth**

Share of income growth by income group, 1989-2006

	Share of
	income growth,
	1989-2006
Top 10 percent	90.9%
Top 1.0%	59.0%
Top 0.1%	35.6%
Remaining top 1%	23.6%
Next 9%	31.9%
Bottom 90 percent	9.1%

Source: Authors' analysis of Pikkety and Saez (2008).

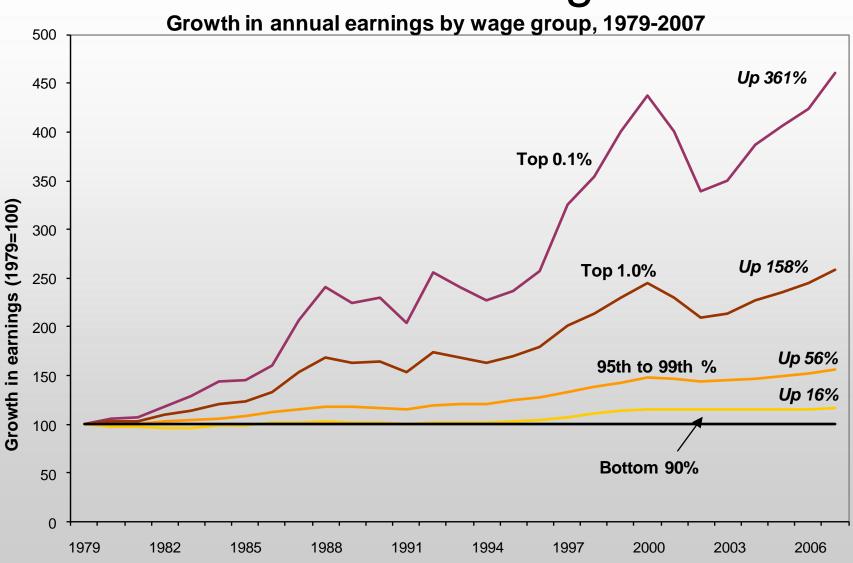
## **Generating Inequality**

Moving upwards to the very top via:

- 1. Wage disparities
- 2. Expanded and concentrated capital income

# Wage Disparities

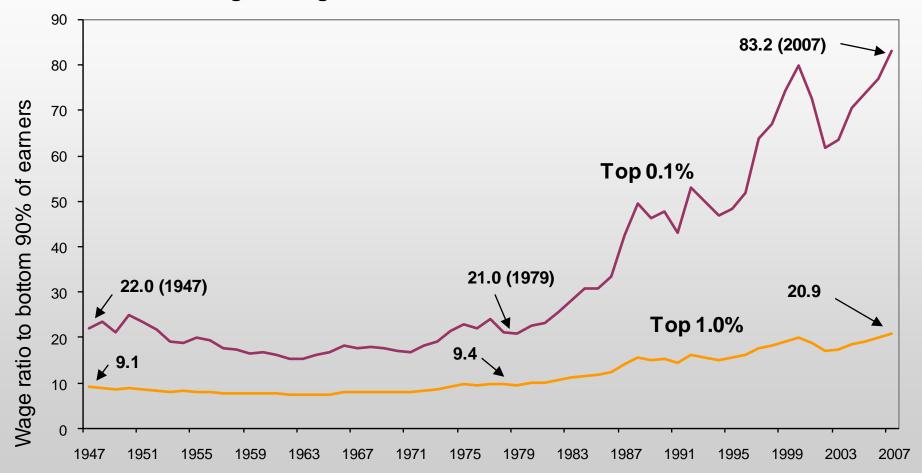
#### Unbalanced Earnings Growth



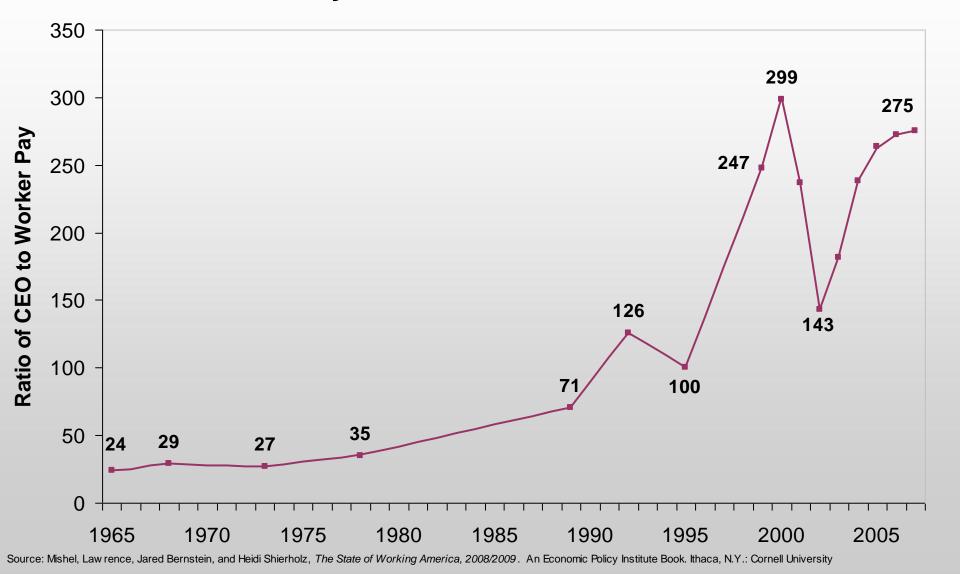
Source: Authors' analysis of Social Security wage data and Kopczuk, Saez and Song (2007).

### Growing Wage Disparities

Ratio of wages of highest earners to those of bottom 90%, 1947-2007



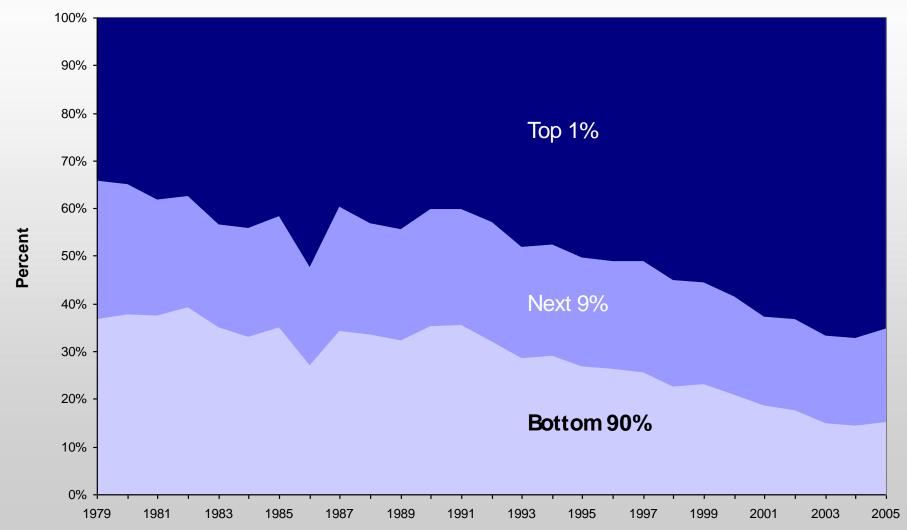
## CEOs made on average 27 times as much as a typical worker in 1973, but they made 275 times as much in 2007.



# Shift To and Among Capital Income

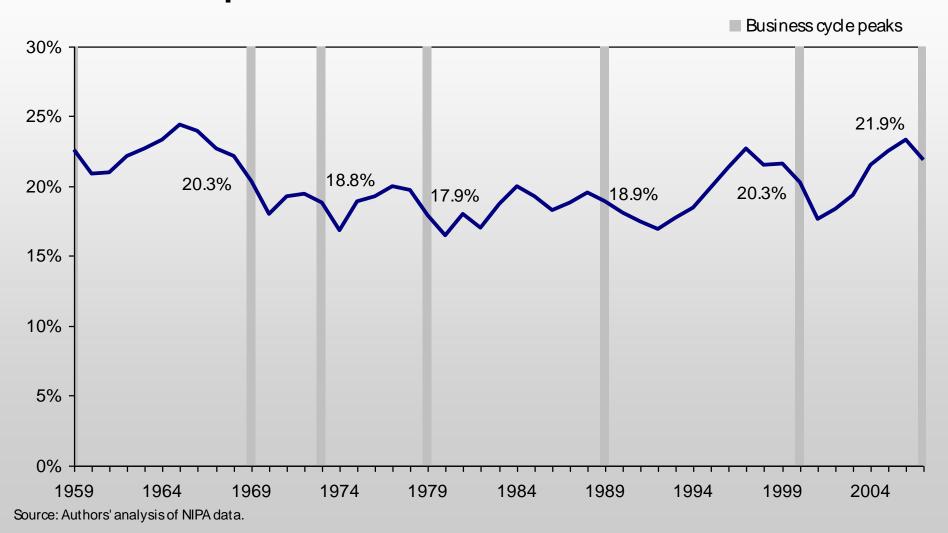
Capital income's share of total income and returns to capital are their highest in any of the last four recoveries

# Capital income has become far more concentrated



Source: Authors' analysis of CBO data.

# Capital shares in the corporate sector, 1959-2007

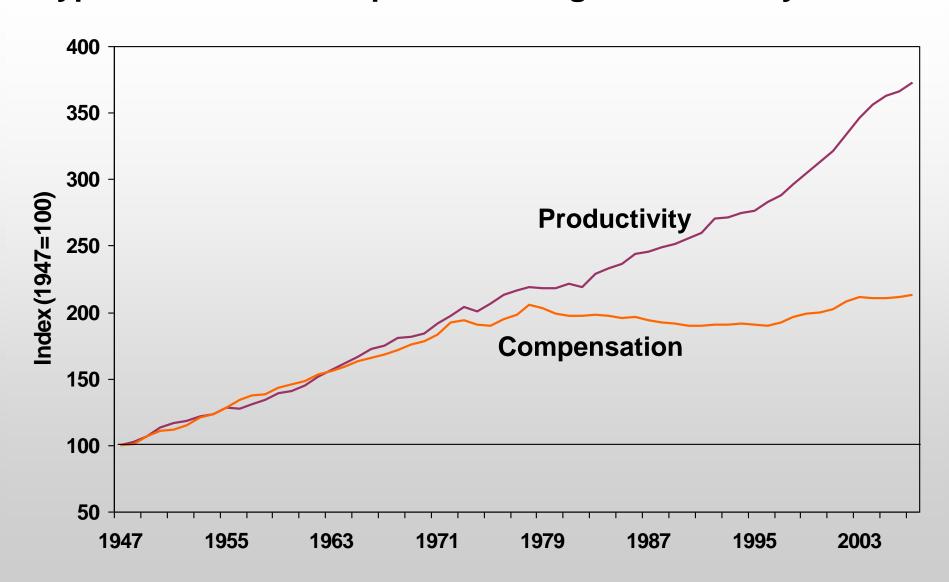


# Consequences of Higher Returns:

- 4.4% lower hourly compensation
- \$206 Billion annual transfer from labor to capital incomes
- Total loss of \$1,500 per worker

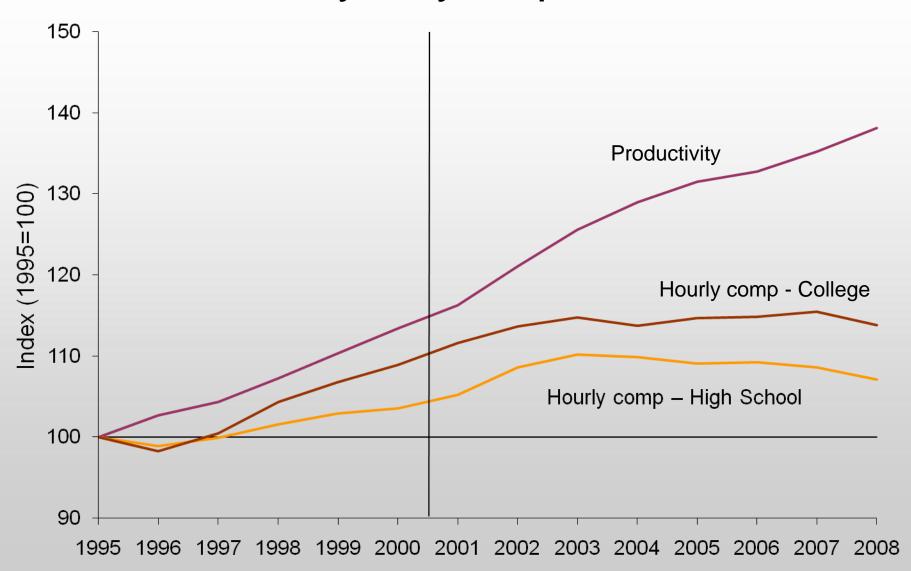
# Productivity/Pay Disconnect

#### **Typical Workers' Compensation Lags Productivity Growth**



Source: Economic Policy Institute

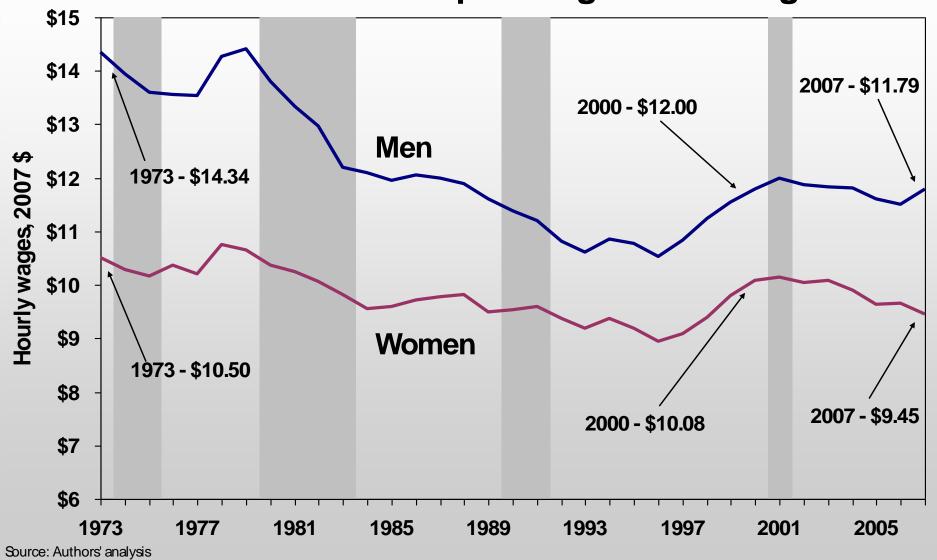
#### Productivity-Pay Gap Since 1995



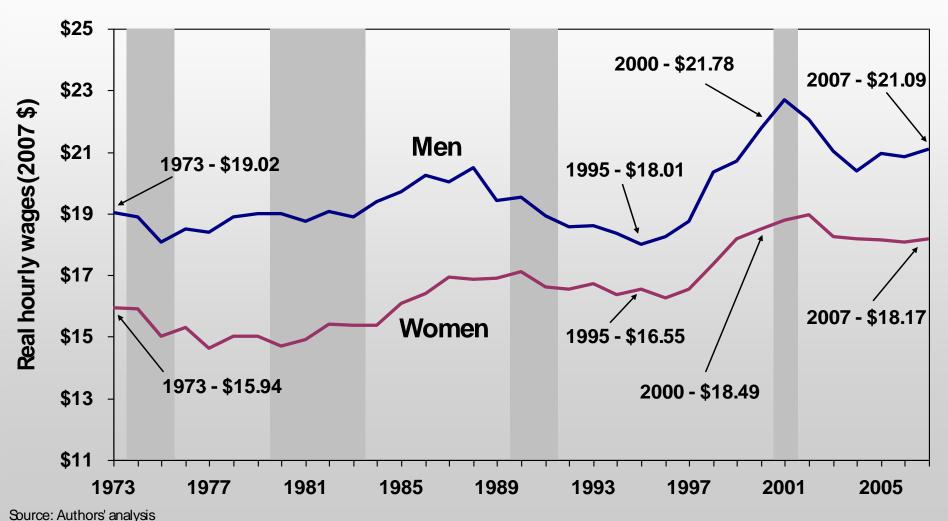
Source: Economic Policy Institute

# MISSING: Good Jobs At Good Wages With Benefits

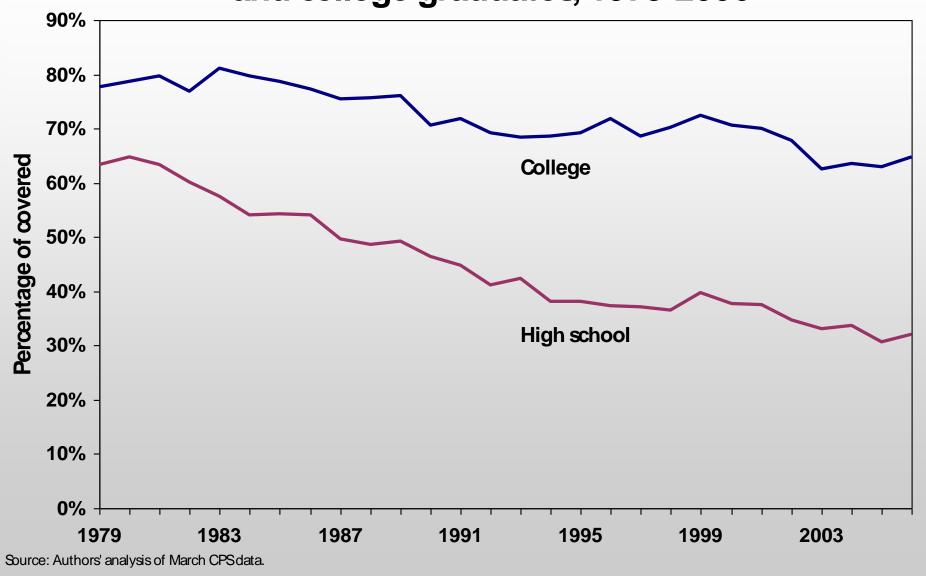
# Young workers with high school degrees start out lower than their peers a generation ago



# Even young college grads are starting out lower than in 2000. The only real gains were made in the late 1990s.



# Health insurance coverage for recent high school and college graduates, 1979-2006



# Laissez-Faire Policies Undercut Good Jobs (mid-Carter onward)

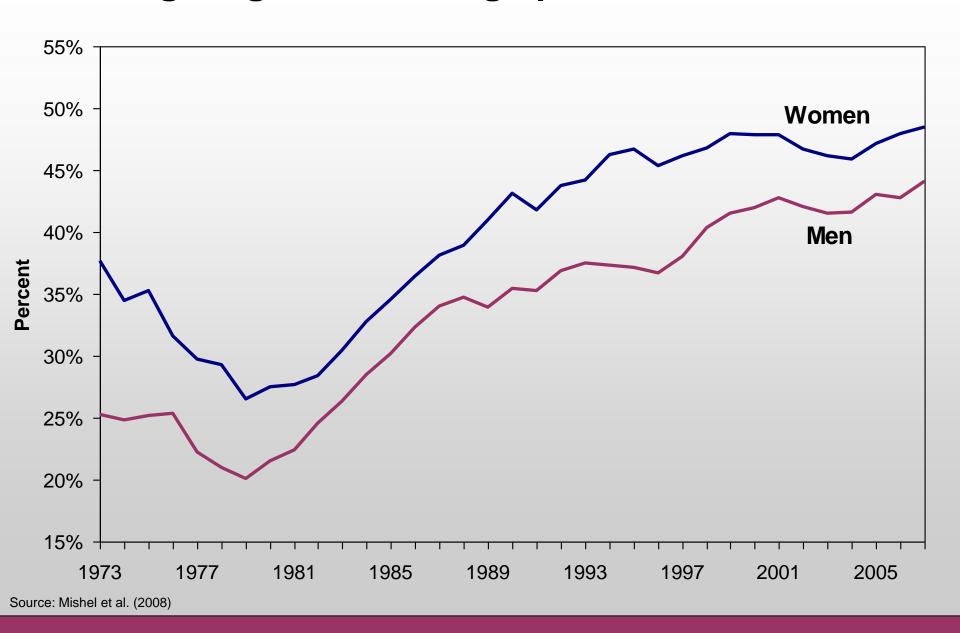
- Industry Deregulation
- Accelerated Globalization
- Privatization in Public Sector
- Weaken Unions
- Lower Minimum Wage and Weaken Labor Standards
- Weaken safety net
- High Unemployment/Underemployment

Good Jobs and High Wages
Seen as the Problem, not the Goal

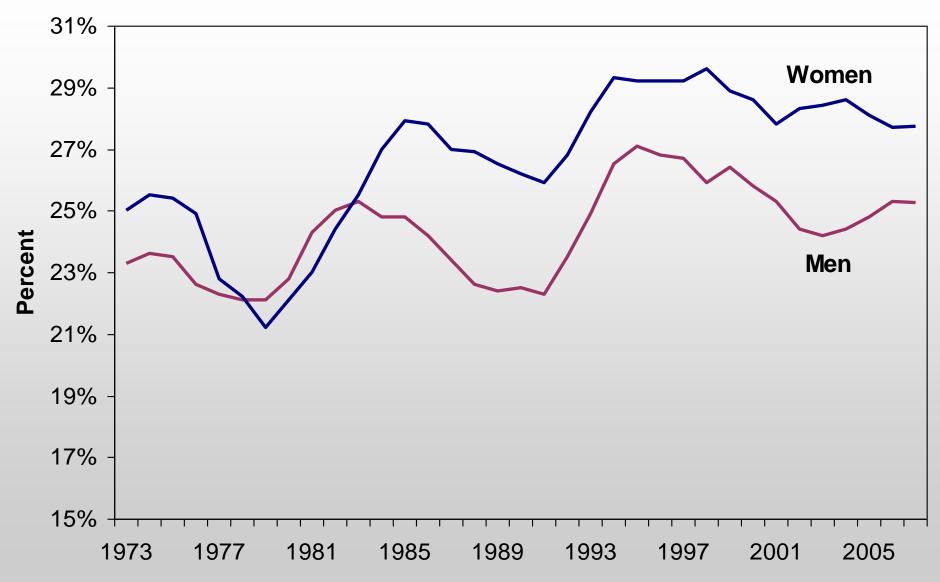
# Two Things that do NOT Explain Wage Inequality:

- Technological Change ('skill biases')
- Skills Mismatch, Insufficient Skills

#### College/high school wage premium, 1973-2007

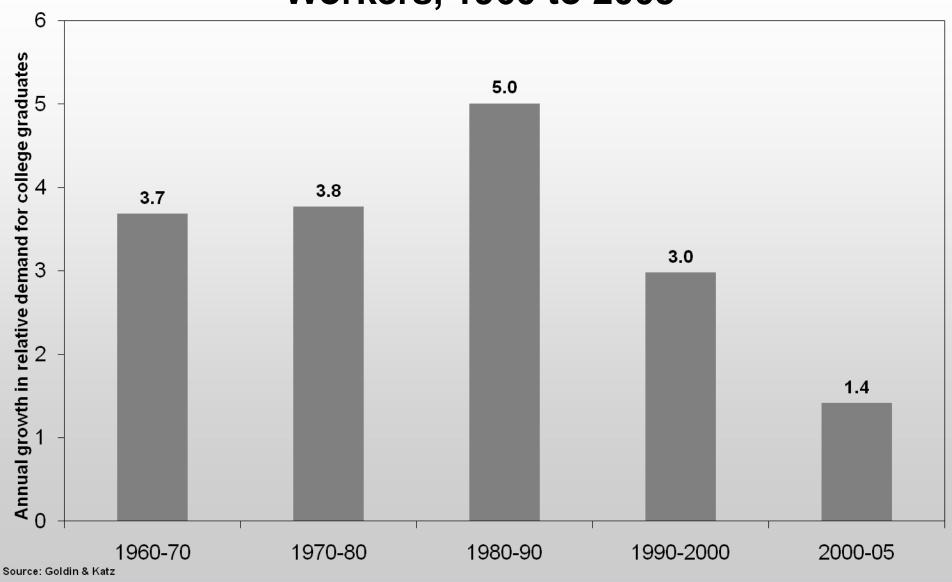


#### High school/less than high school wage premium, 1973-2007



Source: Mishel et al. (2008)

# Changes in the Demand for College Educated Workers, 1960 to 2005



# How? The Bubble Economy

## The Stock Bubble



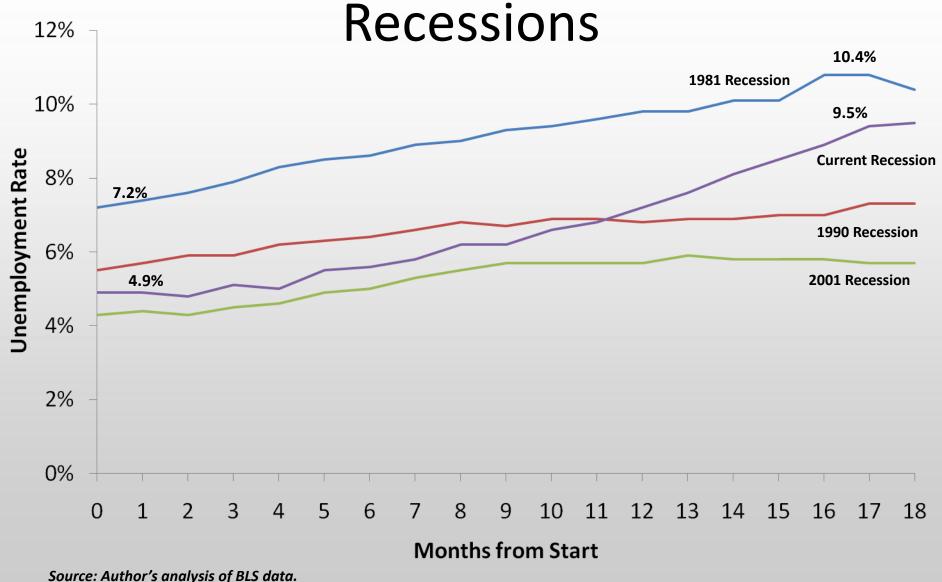
## The Housing Bubble



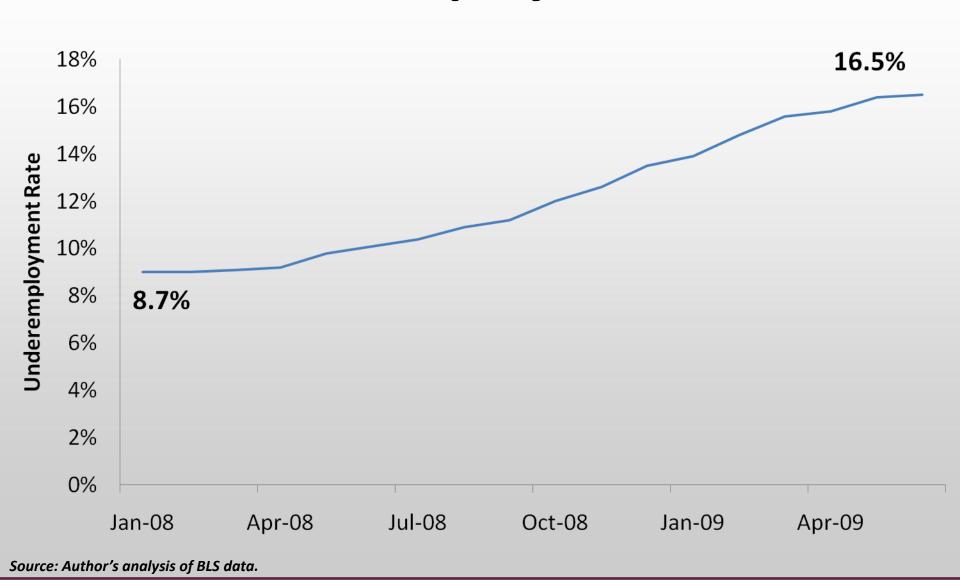
#### And now...



## Unemployment: Current and Prior



#### **Underemployment Rate**

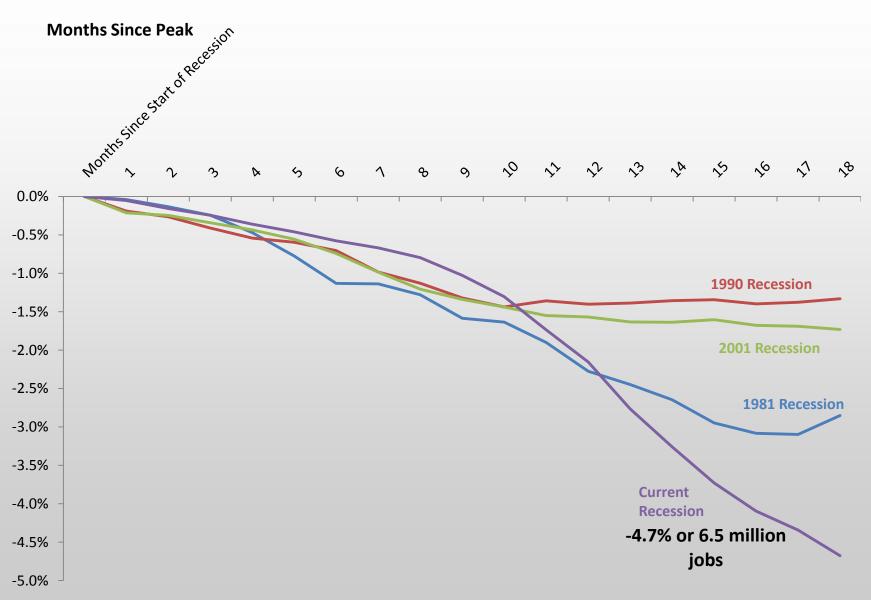


#### Job Seekers per Job Opening

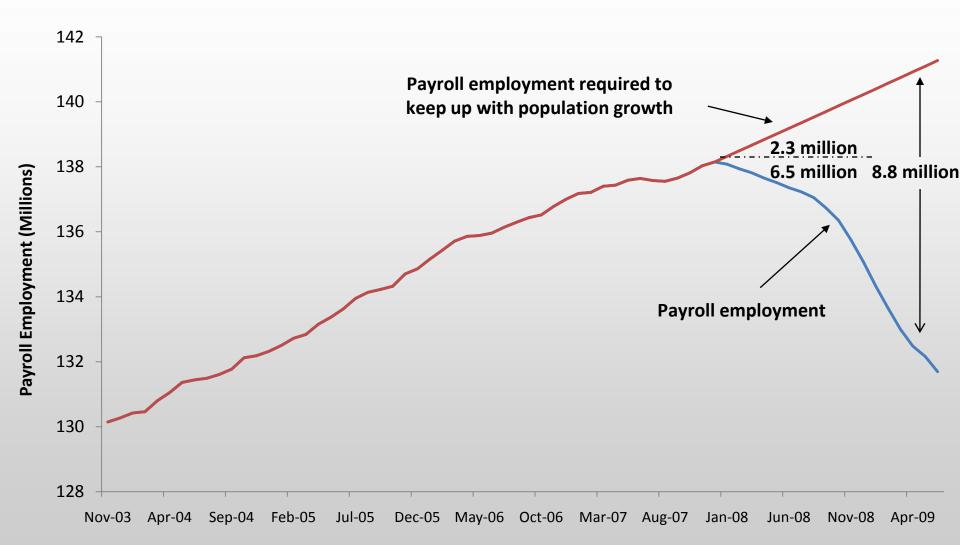


Dec-07 Jan-08 Feb-08 Mar-08 Apr-08 May-08 Jun-08 Jul-08 Aug-08 Sep-08 Oct-08 Nov-08 Dec-08 Jan-09 Feb-09 Mar-09 Apr-09 Source: Author's analysis of BLS data.

#### Job Losses by Recession



# Falling short of our potential



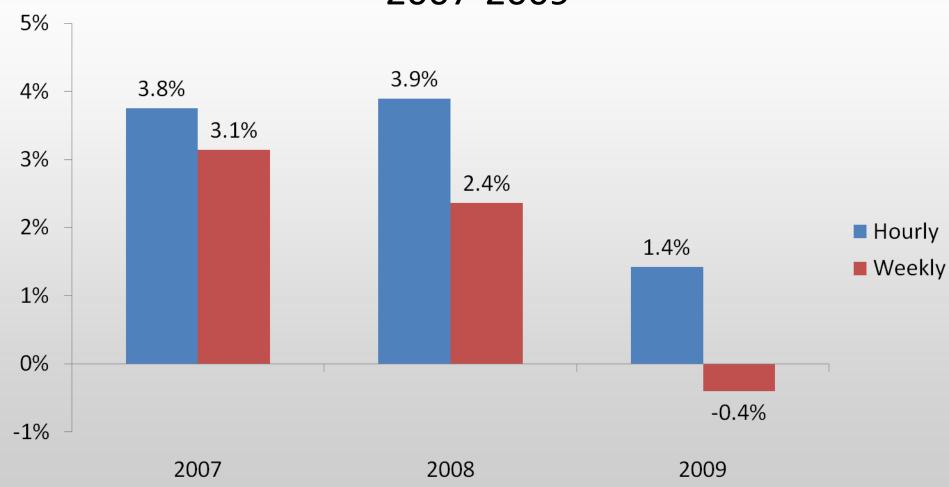
Source: Author's analysis of BLS data.

# Unemployment by Group

	1981 Recession After 18			Cu	Current Recession After 18		
	Start	Months	Change	Start	Months	Change	
Total	7.2%	10.4%	3.2	4.9%	9.5%	4.6	
Black	15.0%	21.2%	6.2	8.9%	14.7%	5.8	
Hispanic	10.0%	15.3%	5.3	6.2%	12.2%	6.0	
High School	5.3%	10.2%	4.9	4.6%	9.8%	5.2	
College or							
more	2.7%	3.6%	0.9	2.1%	4.7%	2.6	
Dive seller	0.00/	1.00/	0.1	C 70/	1.4.00/	7.2	
Blue-collar	8.8%	16.9%	8.1	6.7%	14.0%	7.3	
White-collar	4.2%	6.7%	2.5	3.0%	6.5%	3.5	
willte-collai	4.2/0	0.770	2.5	3.070	0.570	3.3	

Note: 1981 Recession unemployment by education data and unemployment by occupation data not seasonally adjusted.

# Nominal Hourly and Weekly Earnings Growth, 2007-2009

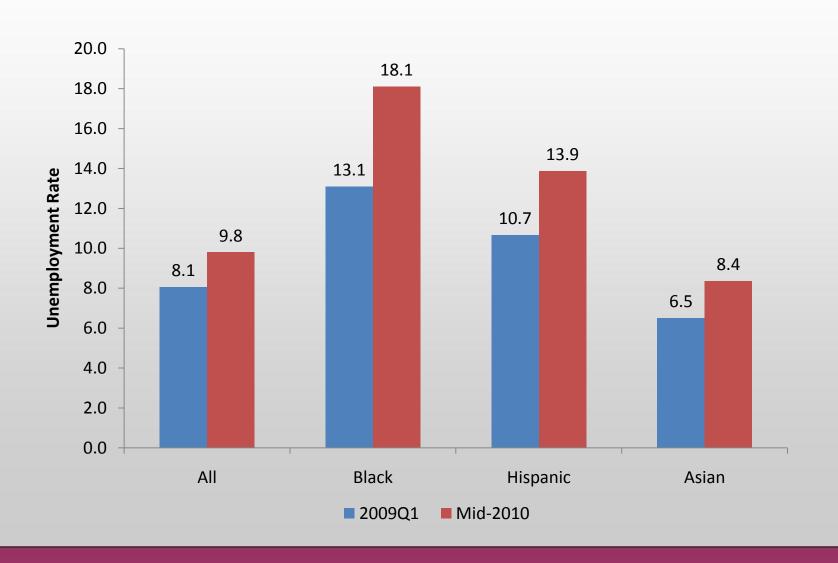


Source: Author's analysis of BLS data.

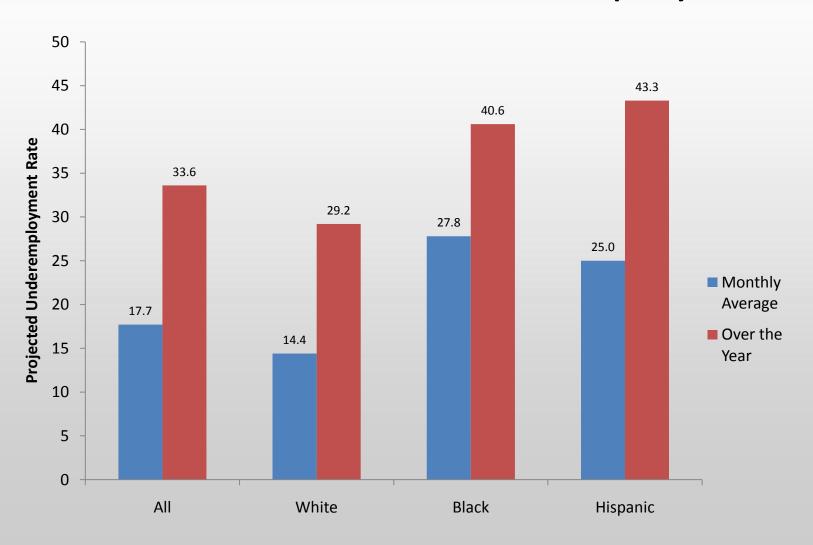
Note: 2007 and 2008 are Dec/Dec changes, 2009 is Jun/Dec

# Where We Are Going

#### **National Unemployment at Peak of 9.8%**

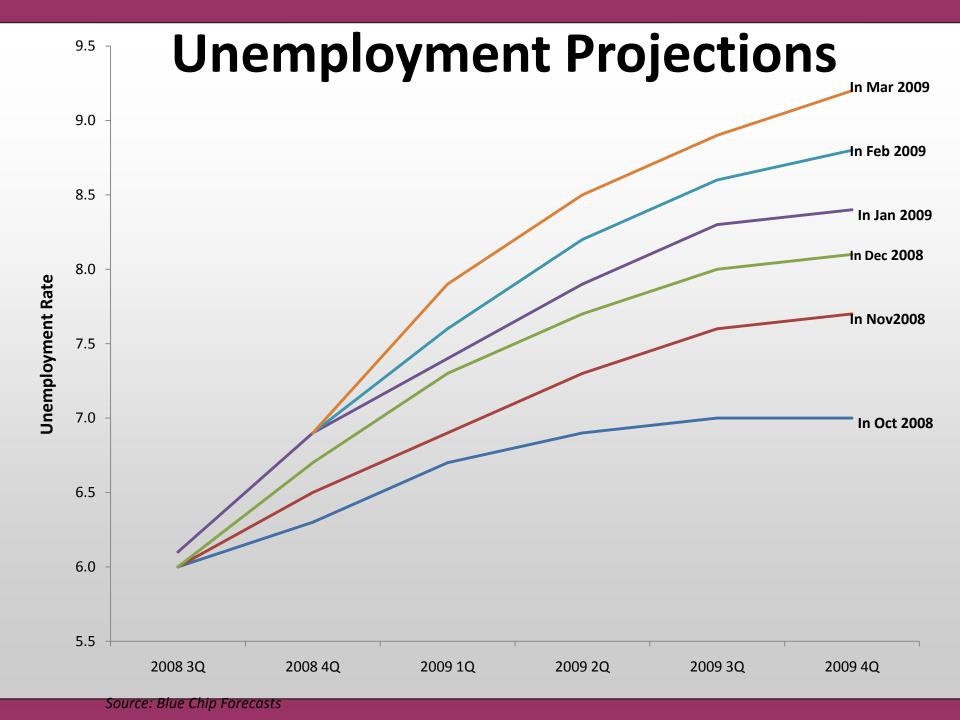


# Underemployment, Monthly Average and Over the Year, at 9.8% unemployment

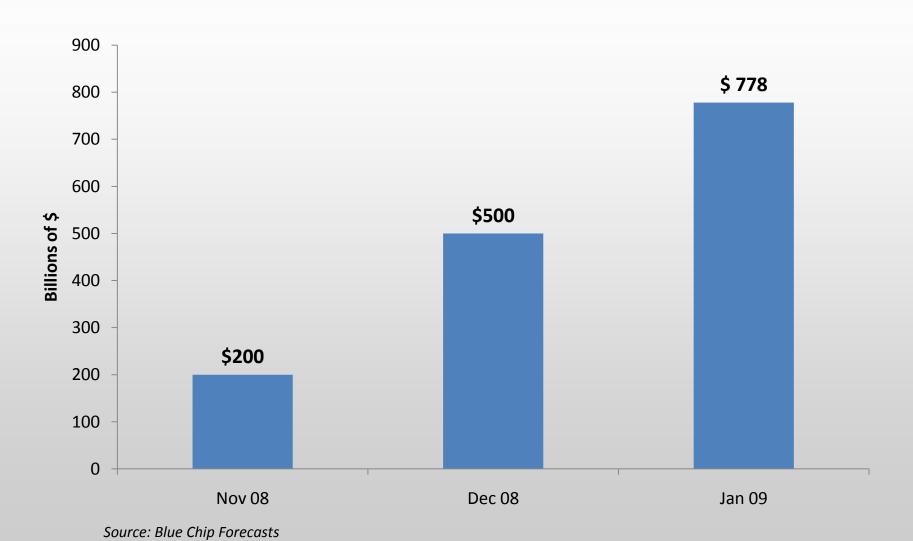


### **High Unemployment Rate Raises Poverty**

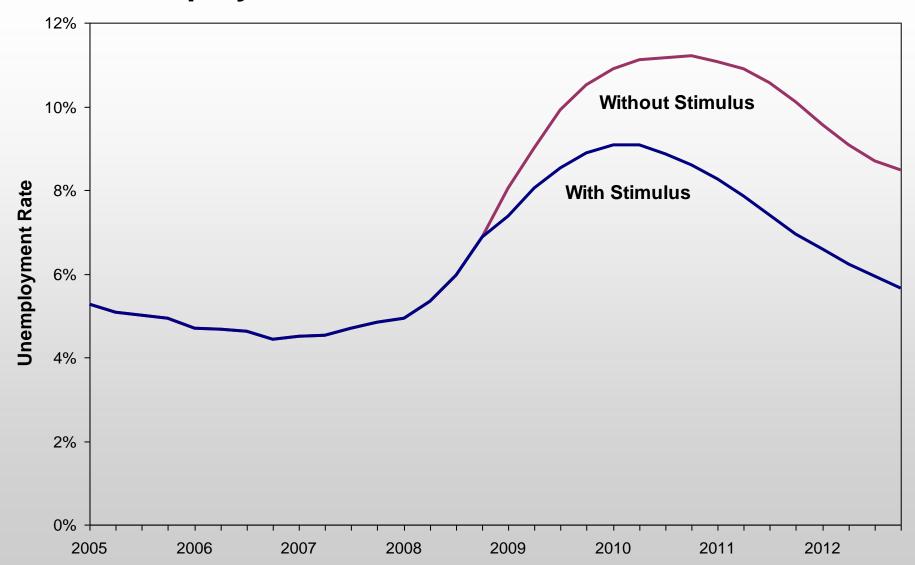
	2007 Poverty rate	Poverty rate as result of higher unemployment	Change in poverty
All	12.5%	14.8%	2.3 pp
Adults (18-64)	10.9	14.5	3.6
All Children	18.0	27.3	9.3
Black Children	34.5	52.3	17.8
Elderly	9.7	9.7	0
Whites	19.5	19.5	0
Blacks	24.5	33.3	8.8
Hispanics	21.5	21.5	0
Single Mothers	37.0	48.3	11.3



#### **Predicted Size of Stimulus**



#### **Unemployment Rate, With and Without Stimulus**



Source: Economy.com forecasts



The Economic Policy Institute initiative for solutions that match the scale of the problems.

# The Agenda for Shared Prosperity

### Facing the Immediate Crisis

- Strong Sustained Recovery
- 1. Public Investment.....
- 2. Social Supports, Targeted Jobs......
- 3. Aid to States.....
  - Financial Reregulation.....
  - Housing......

# The Agenda for Shared Prosperity

**Health Care** 

Retirement

Rewarding Work

Globalization

**Balancing Work and Family** 

Energy: Renewable and Efficient



# The Agenda for Shared Prosperity

**Immigration Reform** 

Race and Ethnicity

**Public Investment** 

Education

Poverty





The Economic Policy Institute initiative for solutions that match the scale of the problems.