

# SHATTERED NATION

INEQUALITY AND THE  
GEOGRAPHY OF A FAILING STATE



# 1. The Roundabout



Memories are  
a marketing  
opportunity



Jigsaw Puzzles  
From £29.99

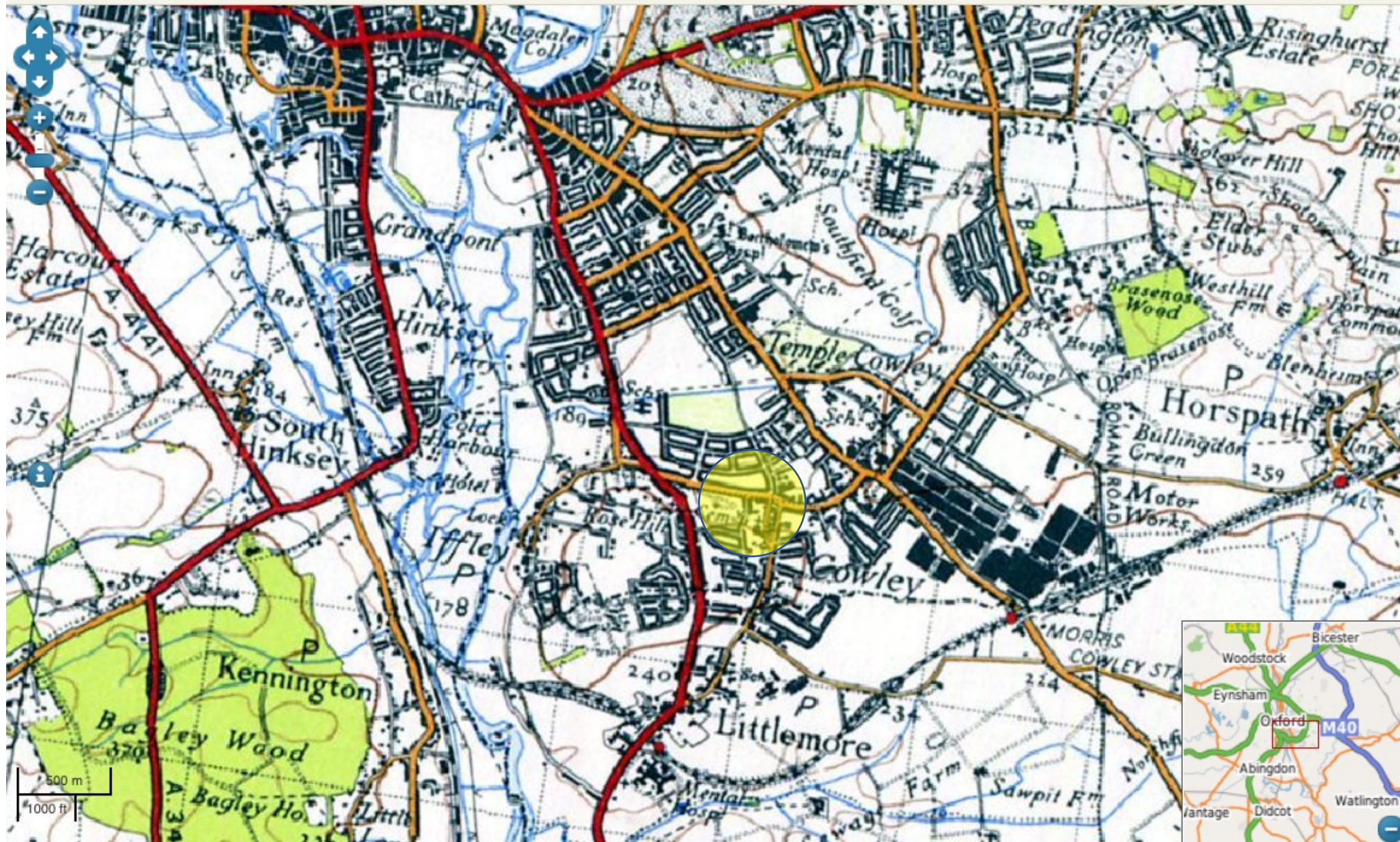


Poster Prints  
From £12.99



For the first few years of my life, I lived in a house on a road between a cemetery and a shopping centre.

British War Office GSGS 4127, Ordnance Survey Popular and New Popular Editions



Currently showing:

Ordnance Survey of Great Britain New Popular Edition, Sheet 158 - Oxford and Newbury

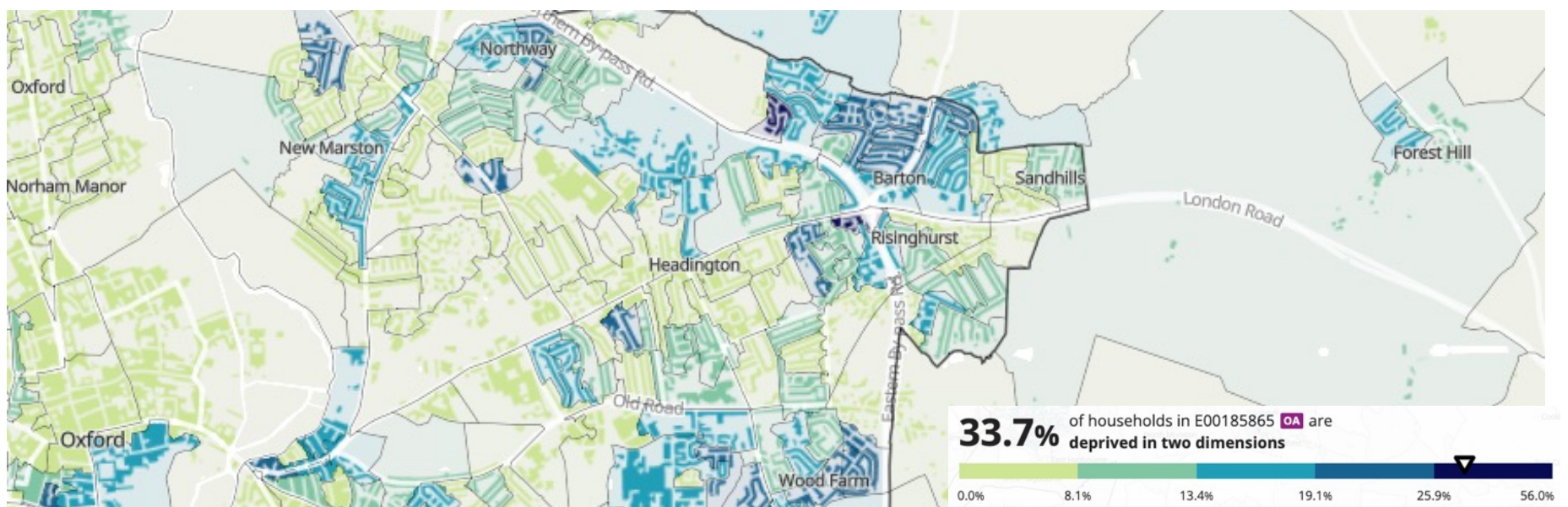
## Oxford & Cowley, mapped between 1916 and 1941

Source: [www.visionofbritain.org.uk/maps/](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/maps/)

Danny Dorling **Shattered Nation** (Verso, 2023)



In the 1970s, which neighbourhood a child lived in mattered far less for their life chances, and which local school you went to was less important.



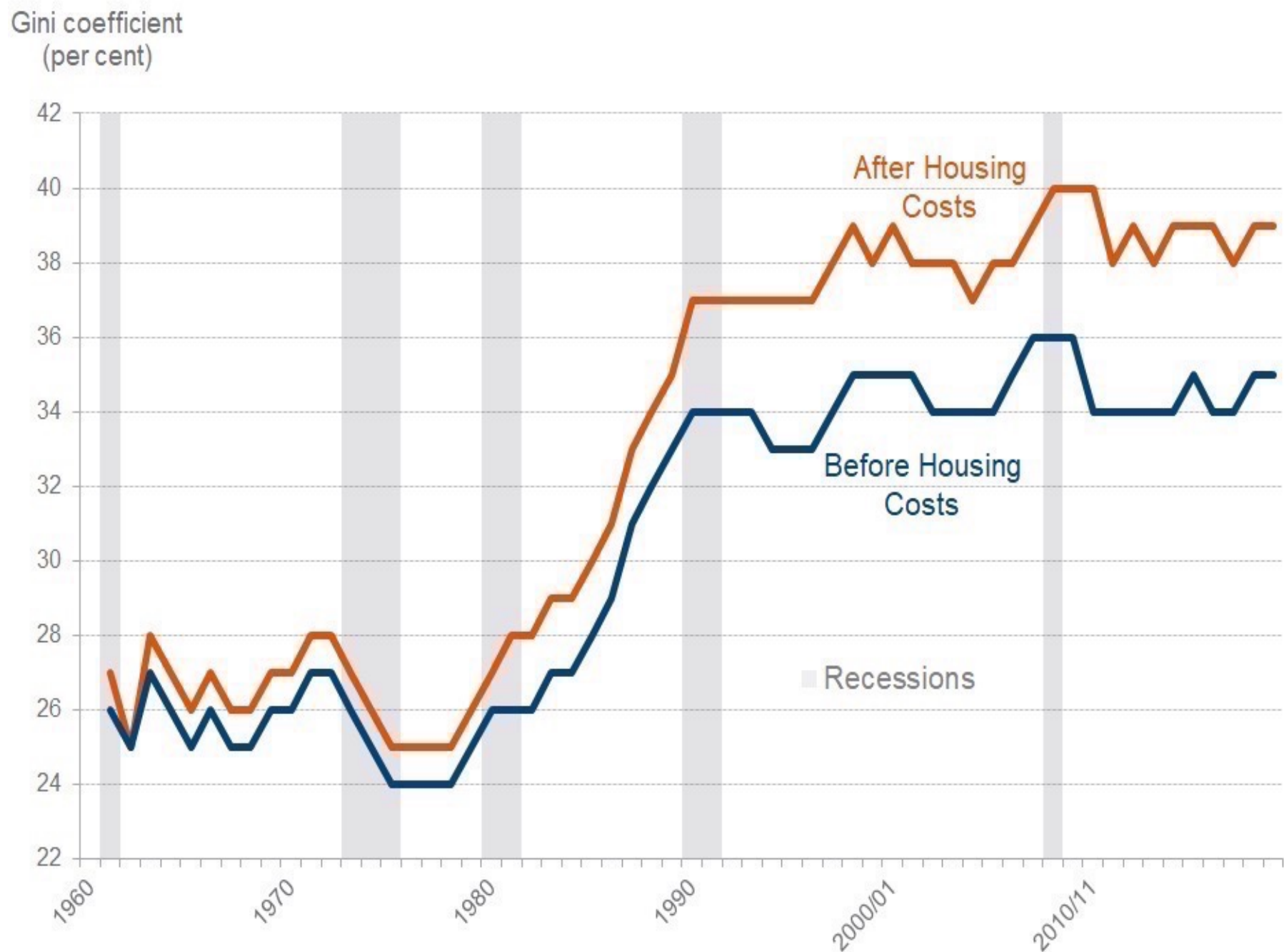
Two deprivation maps, centred on the Green Road Roundabout (Oxford) in 2015 and 2021

Sources <https://vis.oobrien.com/booth/>  
and <https://www.ons.gov.uk/census/maps/choropleth/population/household-deprivation>

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# Income Inequality 1961-2020, Great Britain

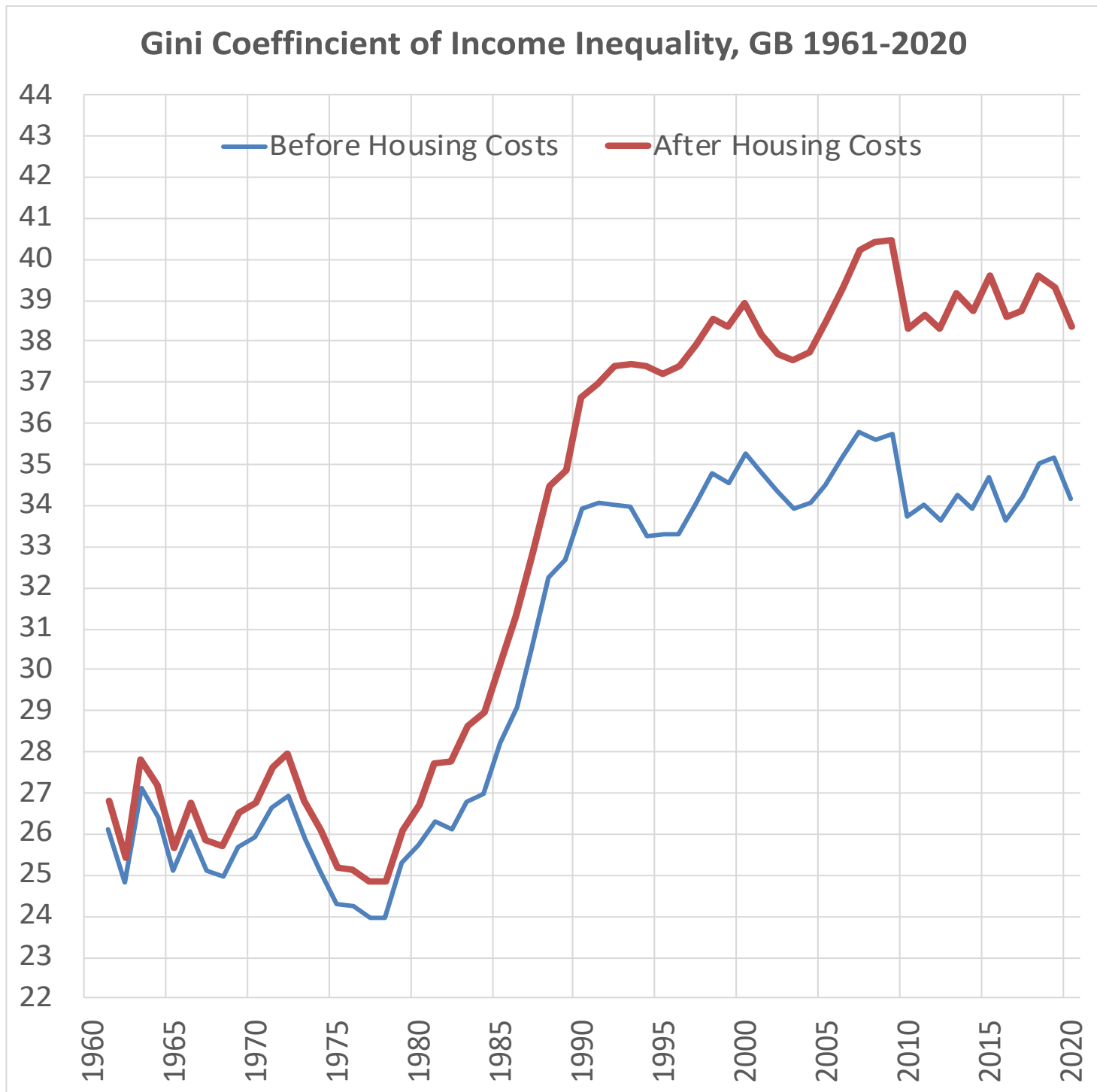


Source: DWP (government) & IFS (Institute for Fiscal Studies) Households below average income: an analysis of the income distribution FYE 1995 to FYE 2020: Section 11 Long-term Trends (data prior to FYE 1995 are not National Statistics).  
Published: 25 March 2021

<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/households-below-average-income-for-financial-years-ending-1995-to-2020/households-below-average-income-an-analysis-of-the-income-distribution-fye-1995-to-fye-2020>



# Income Inequality 1961-2020, Great Britain

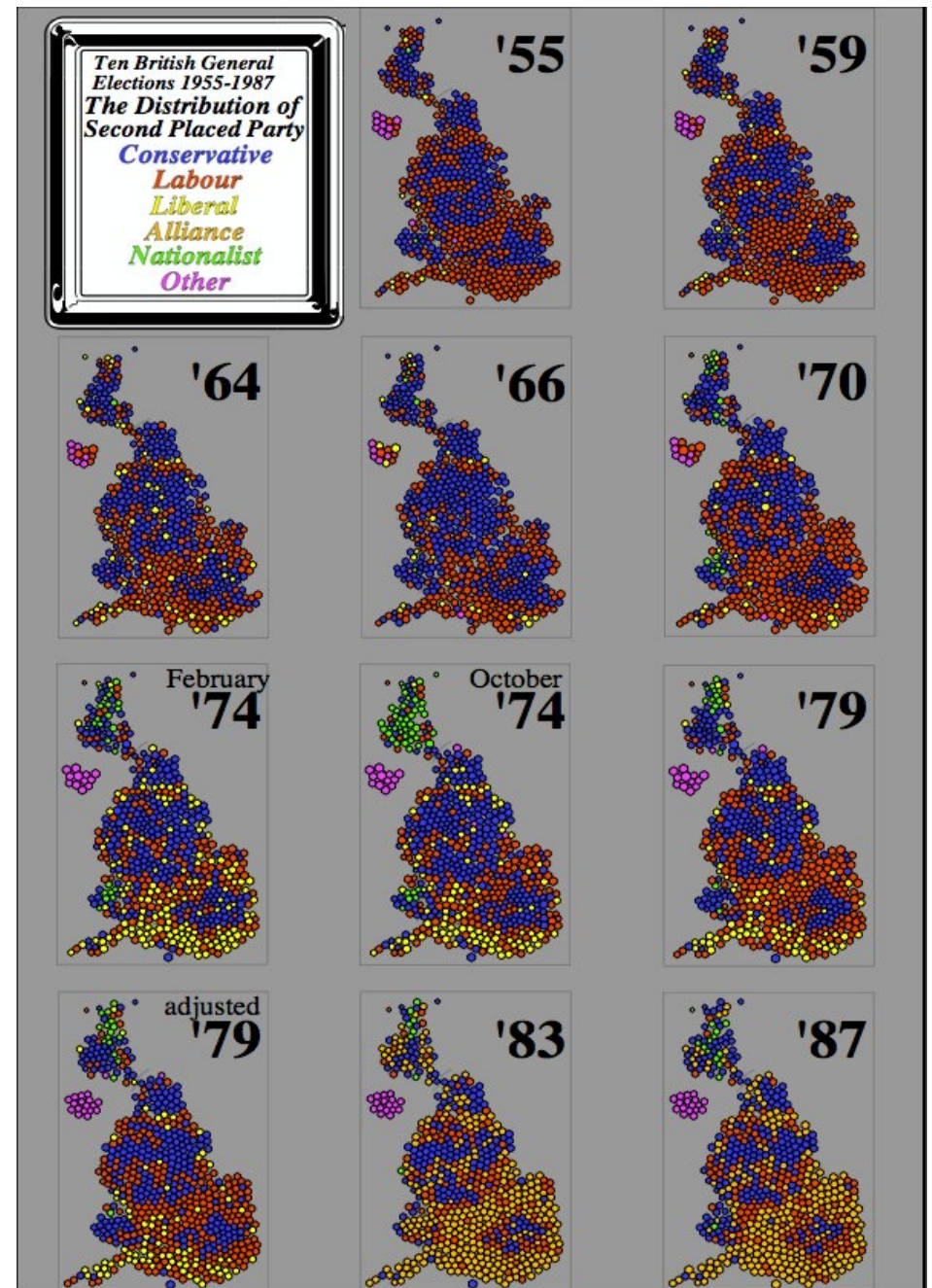
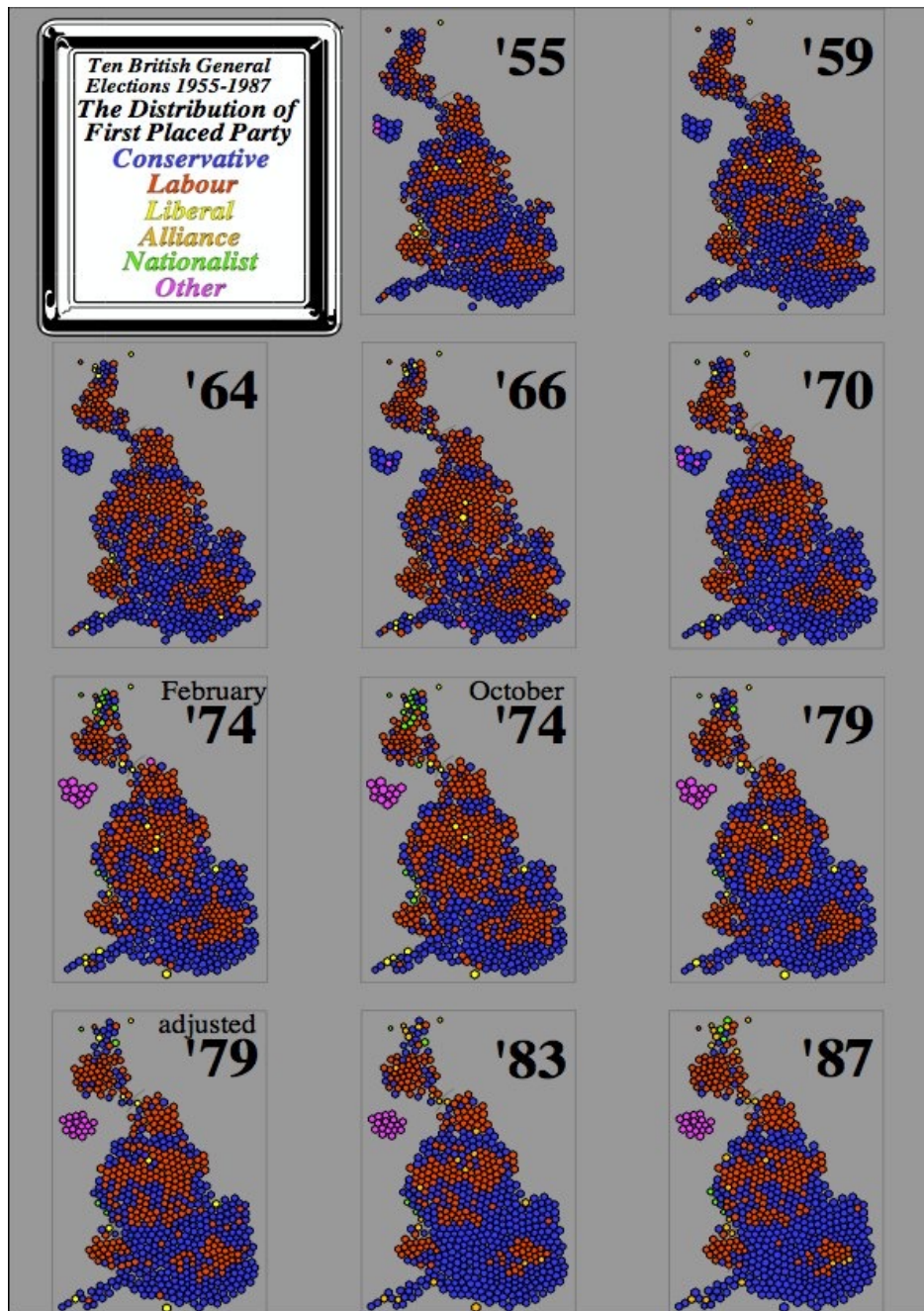


Source: IFS (2022) Living standards, poverty and inequality in the UK, 14 July  
<https://ifs.org.uk/living-standards-poverty-and-inequality-uk>



There were two general elections in 1974.

These were becoming turbulent times...



Source:  
<https://www.dannydorling.org/books/visualisation/Graphics/Pages/Figures.html#110>

Danny Dorling *Shattered Nation* (Verso, 2023)

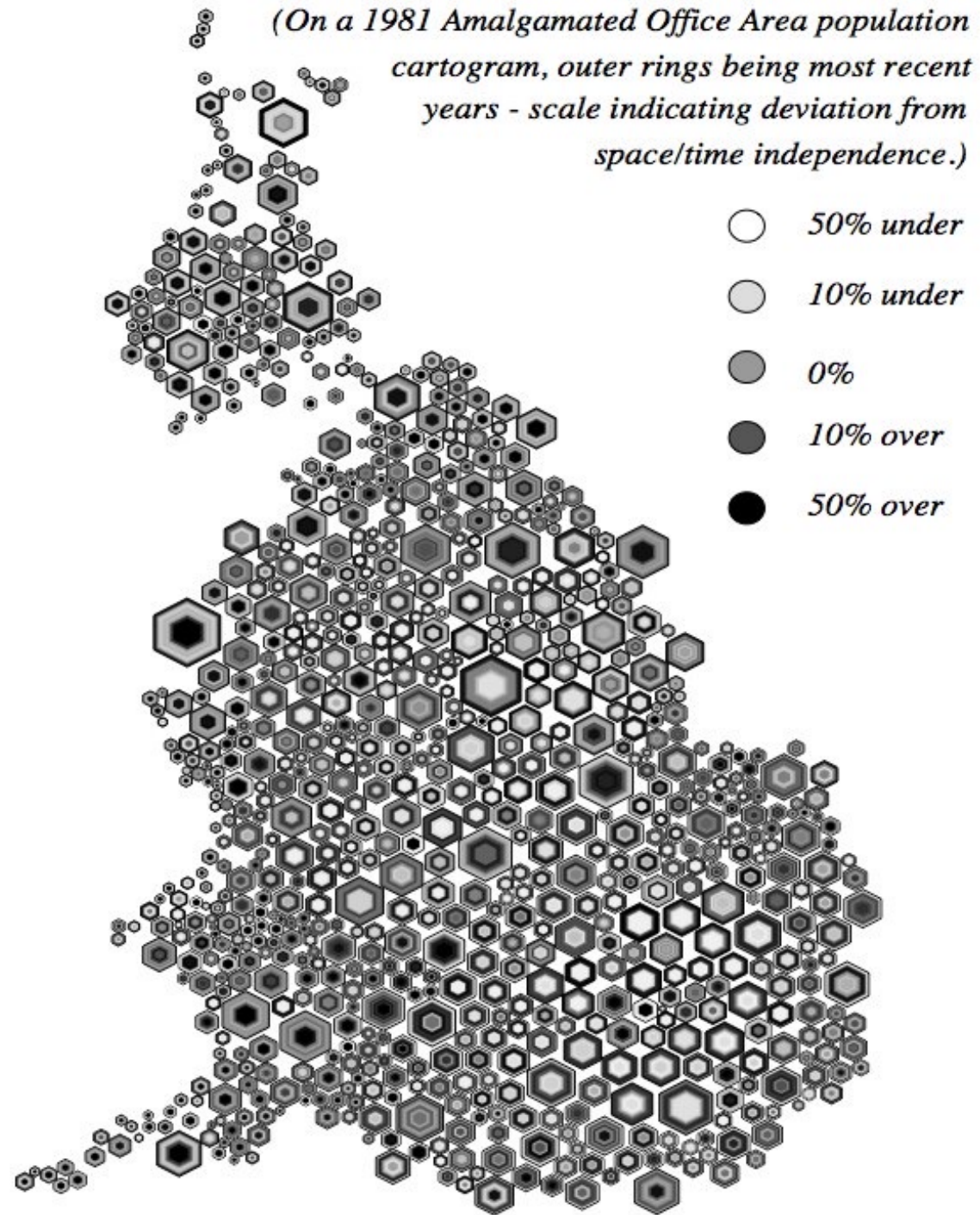
Source:  
<https://www.dannydorling.org/books/visualisation/Graphics/Pages/Figures.html#111>



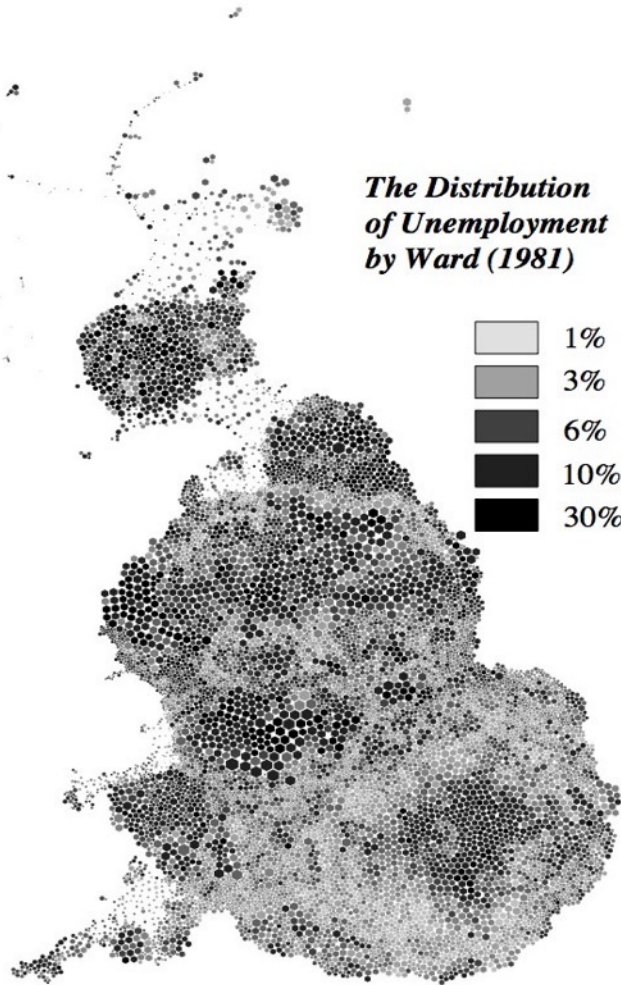
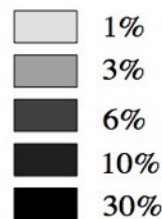
On the Clyde and on the Tyne, people were losing their jobs. But the car factories in the city of Oxford were still employing thousands.

## *The Space/Time Trend of Unemployment in Britain, 1978-1990.*

*(On a 1981 Amalgamated Office Area population cartogram, outer rings being most recent years - scale indicating deviation from space/time independence.)*



*The Distribution of Unemployment by Ward (1981)*

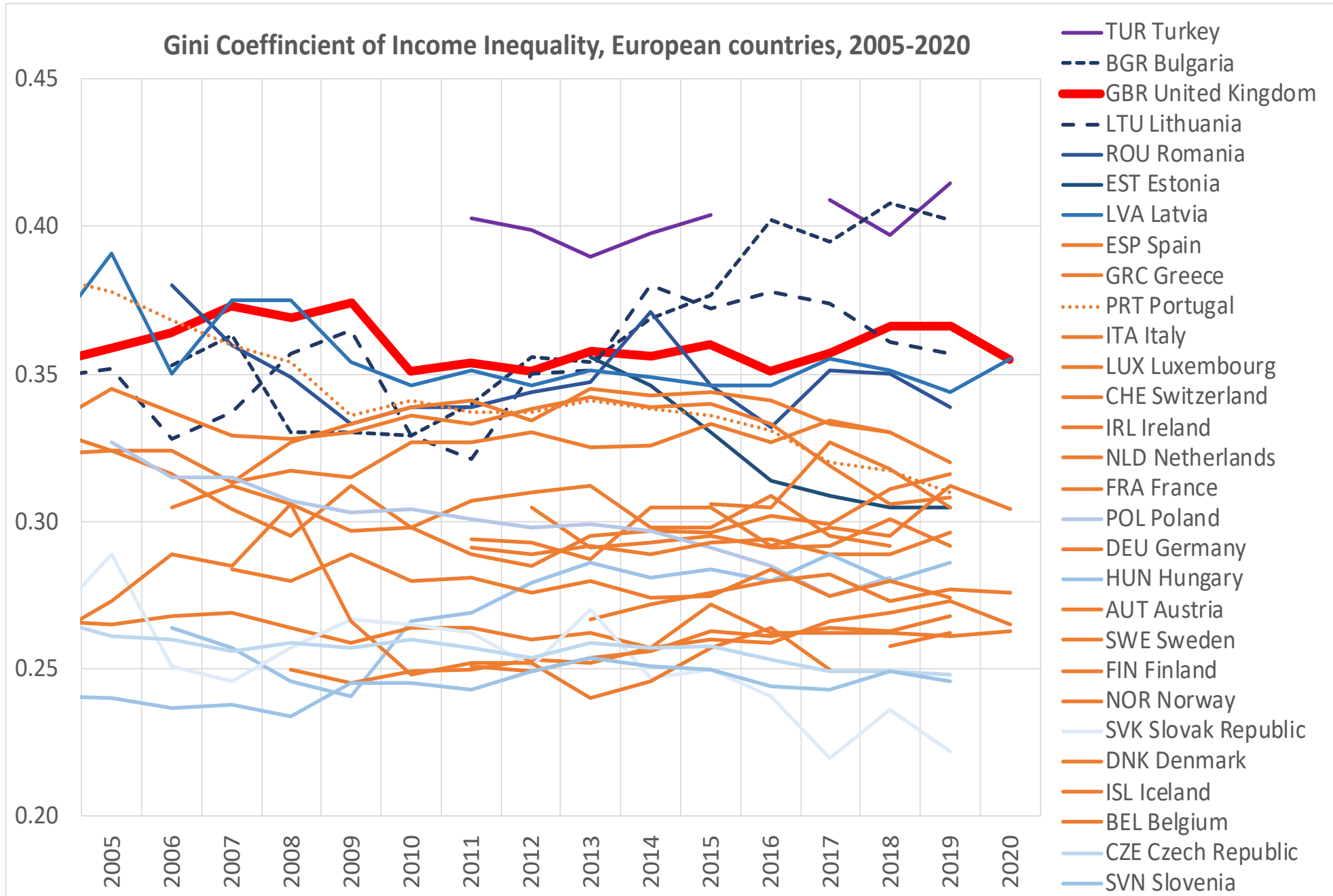


Source:

<https://www.dannydorling.org/books/visualisation/Graphics/Pages/Figures.html#16>



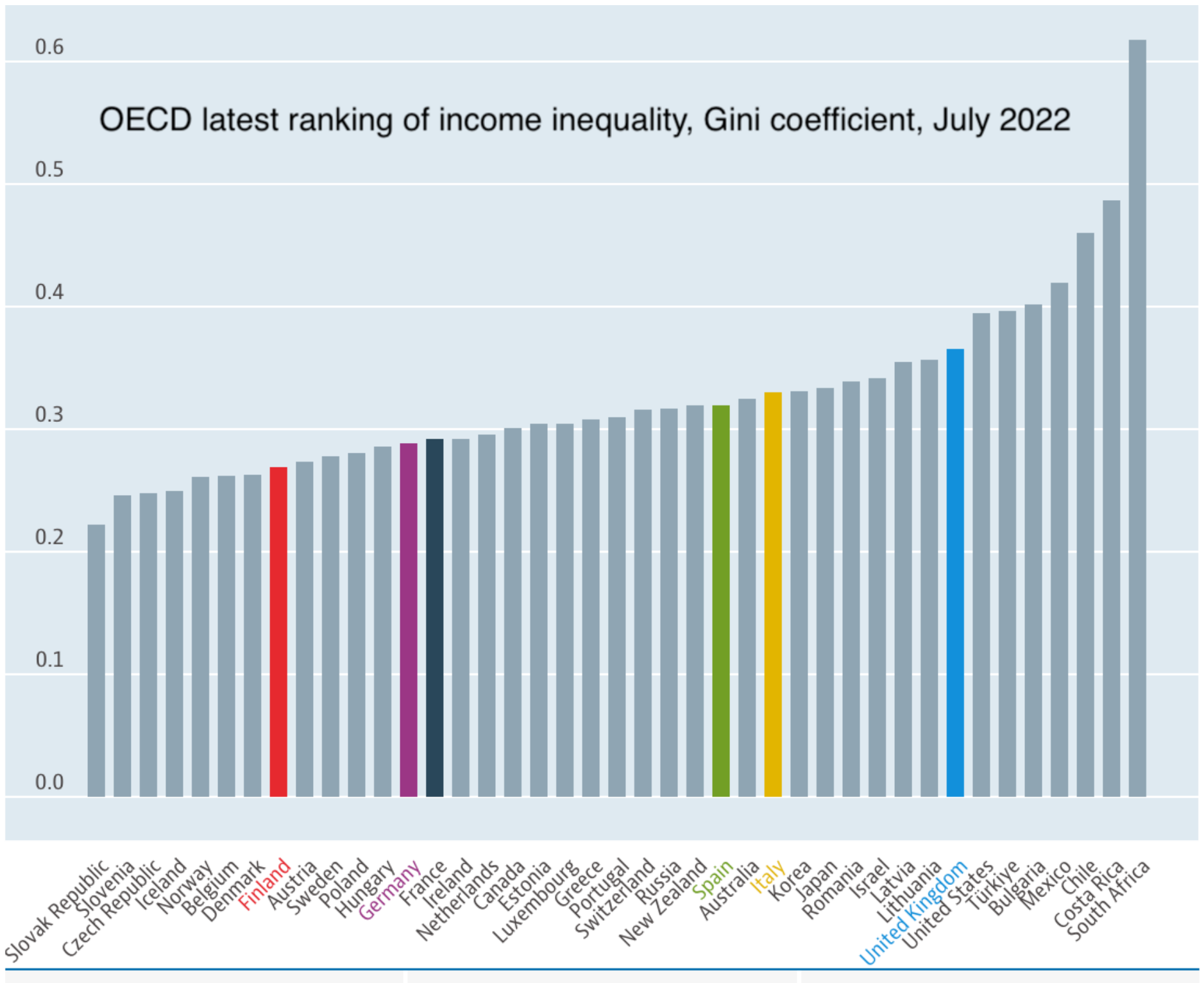
Economic inequality is currently falling in most countries worldwide, including across Europe, where it tends to be lowest already.



Source: OECD estimates of income inequality as of March 2023:  
<https://data.oecd.org/inequality/income-inequality.htm>

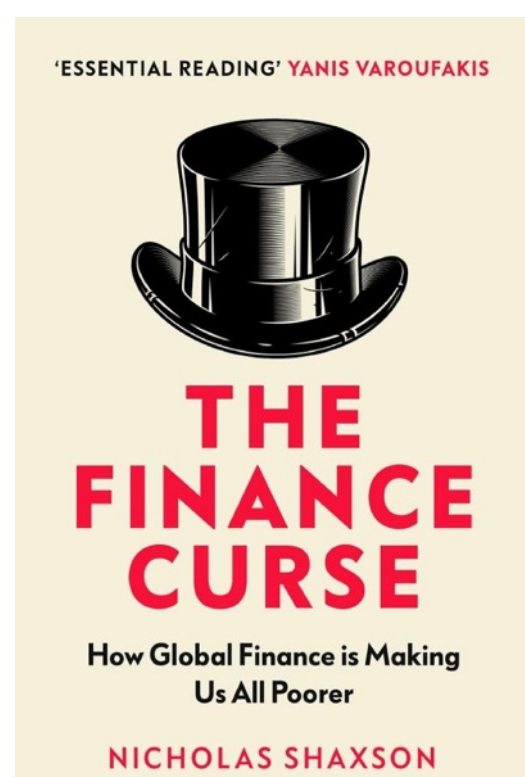
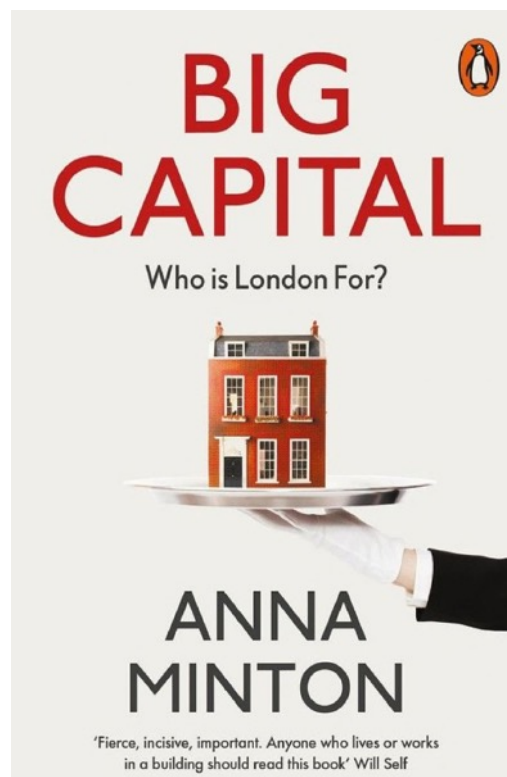
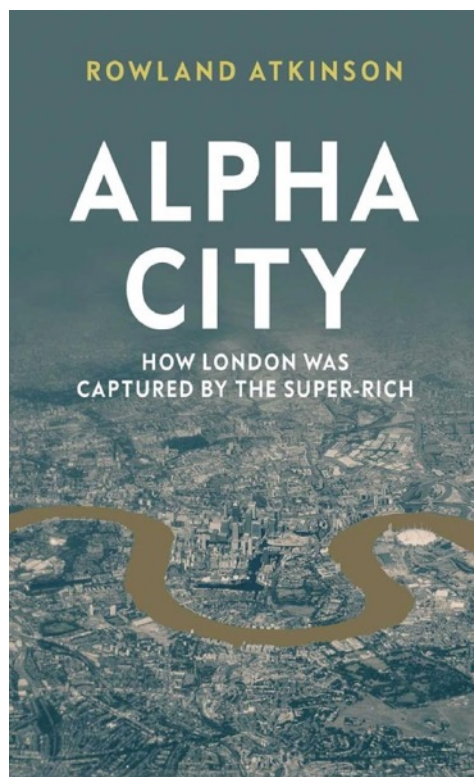
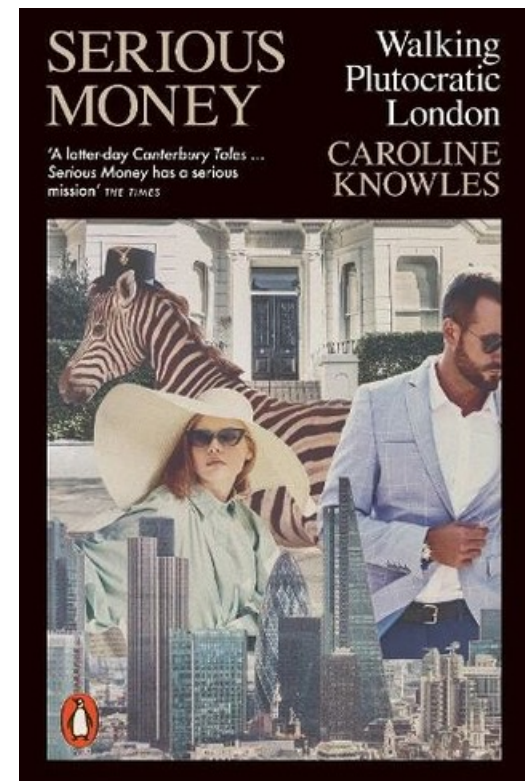
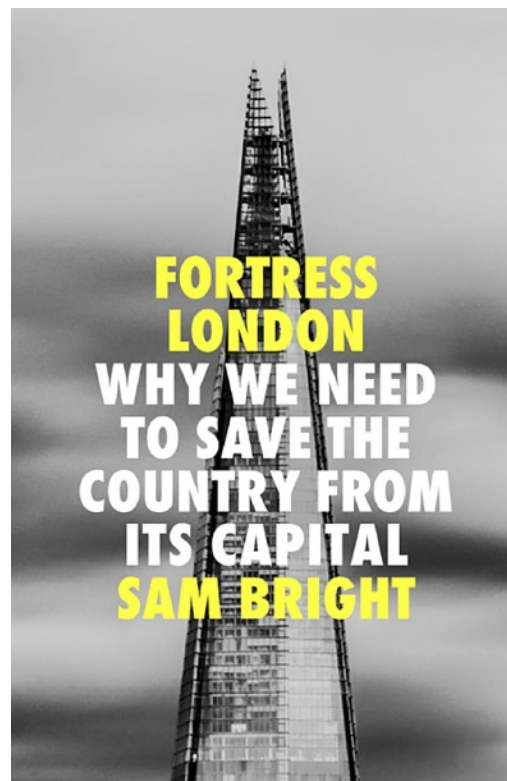
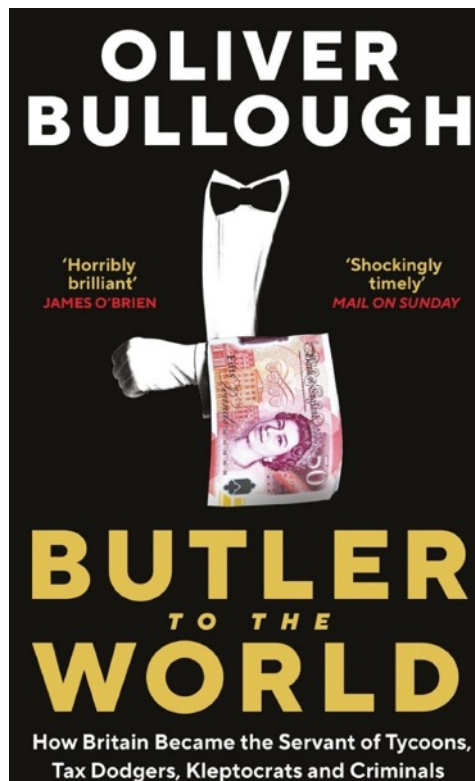


# France and Germany became 'income inequality neighbours' in July 2022.



Source: Danny Dorling (2022)  
A letter from Helsinki, Public Sector Focus, August

Dozens of recent books examine London and the UK's financial services industry.





At a private dinner in Hampshire in 2002, Margaret Thatcher was asked what her greatest achievement had been. She replied: 'Tony Blair and New Labour. We *forced* our opponents to change their minds.'

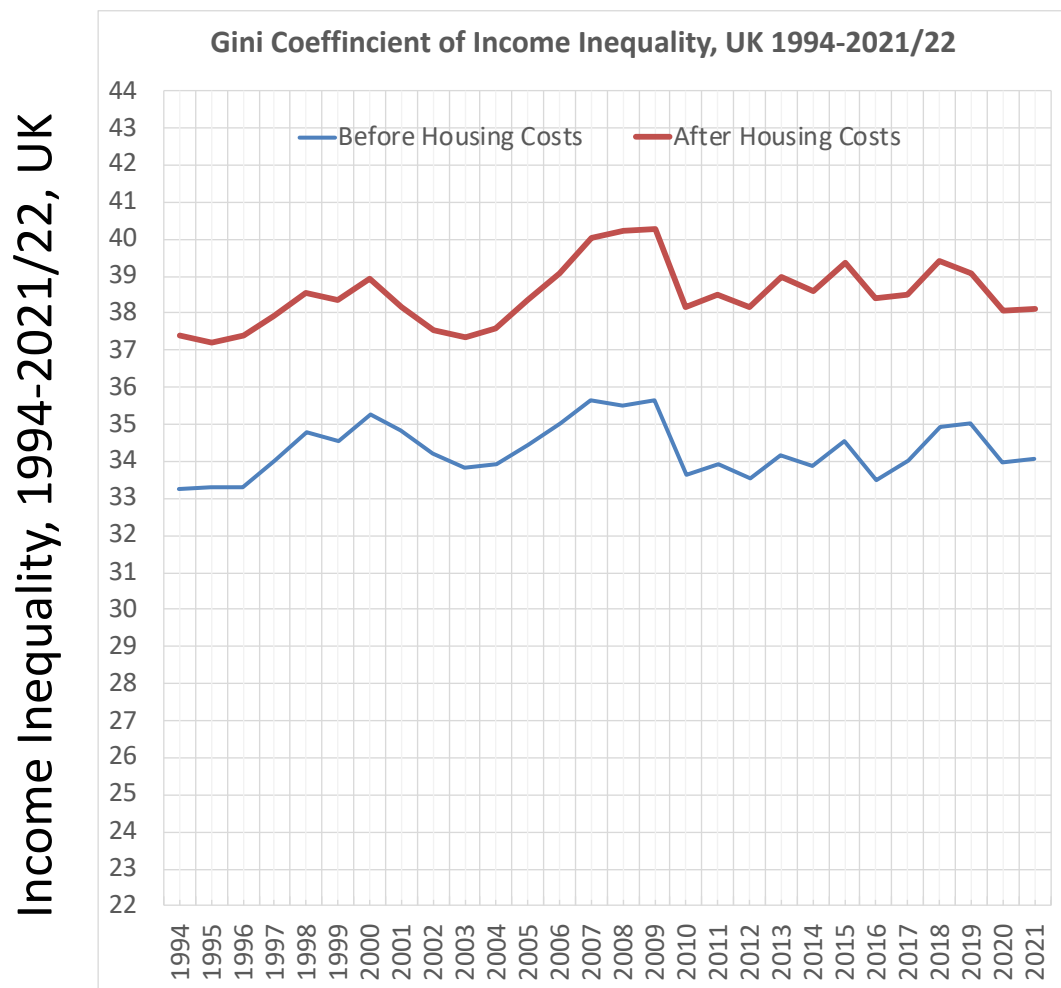


Photo Andrew Parsons/PA wire

Source:

<https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/uk/the-thatcher-years-that-transformed-britain/29181701.html>

Source: DWP: Households Below Average Income (HBAI), data release of 23 March 2023



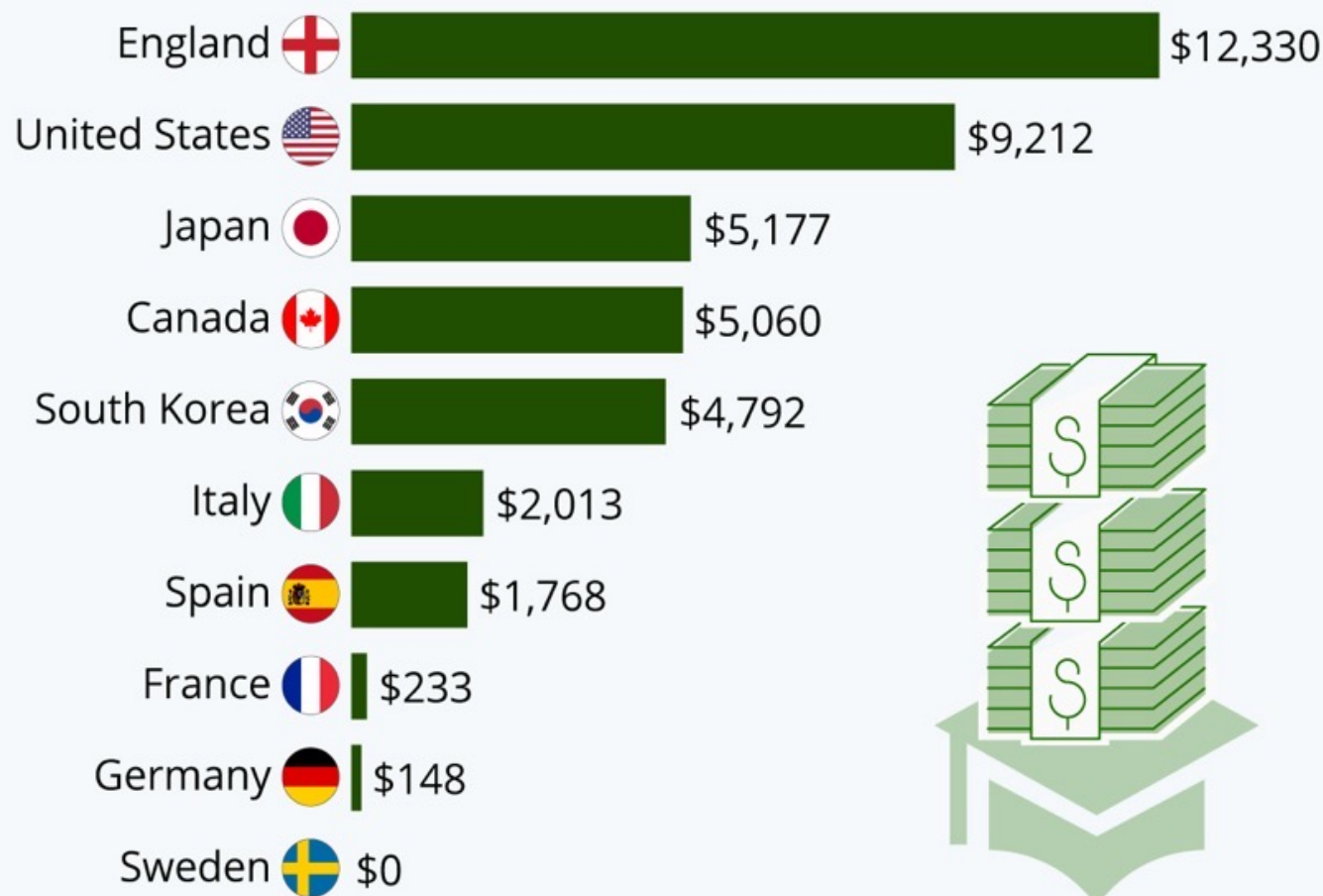
There were no tuition fees for full-time students in the UK from 1962–1998.

New Labour introduced tuition fees of **£1,000** a year in 1998, increasing them to **£3,000** in 2004 (they rose later in Wales, and not as high). In England fees then rose to **£9,000** in 2012, and **£9,250** in 2017. In January 2023 they were frozen at £9,250 for two years.

In Scotland tuition fees are zero (for Scots).

## The World's Highest and Lowest Tuition Fees

Average annual tuition fees charged by public institutions at bachelor level (2019/20)\*



\* or latest available year. Selected countries.  
Equivalent USD converted using PPPs  
Source: OECD



statista

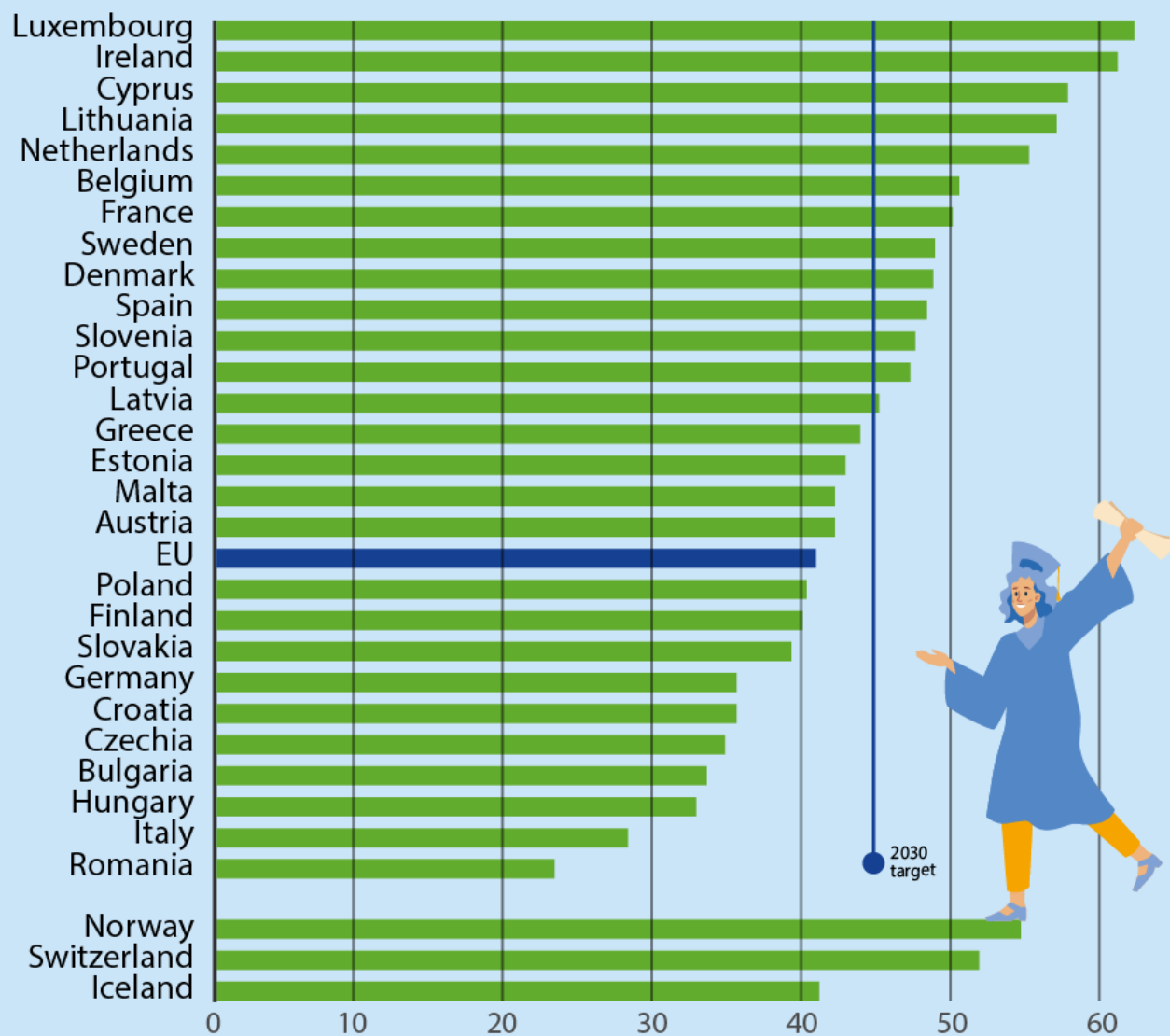
Sources: Martin Armstrong (2022) The World's Highest and Lowest Tuition Fees, Statista, September 17th, <https://www.statista.com/chart/11058/bachelor-tuition-fees-international-comparison/> and <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-64236906>

In 2021, 57% of young people in the UK had been to university by the age of 34, but the proportion is rising as births fall everywhere – worldwide.

In some of the world's wealthiest countries, the majority of young people attend university:

USA: 51%  
Russia: 62%  
Ireland: 63%  
Japan: 65%  
Canada: 66%  
Korea: 69%

### Population aged 25-34 with tertiary educational attainment (ISCED 5-8), 2021 (% of population aged 25-34)



Sources:

<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/-/ddn-20220524-2>  
and <https://data.oecd.org/eduatt/population-with-tertiary-education.htm>

[ec.europa.eu/eurostat](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat) 

Danny Dorling *Shattered Nation* (Verso, 2023)

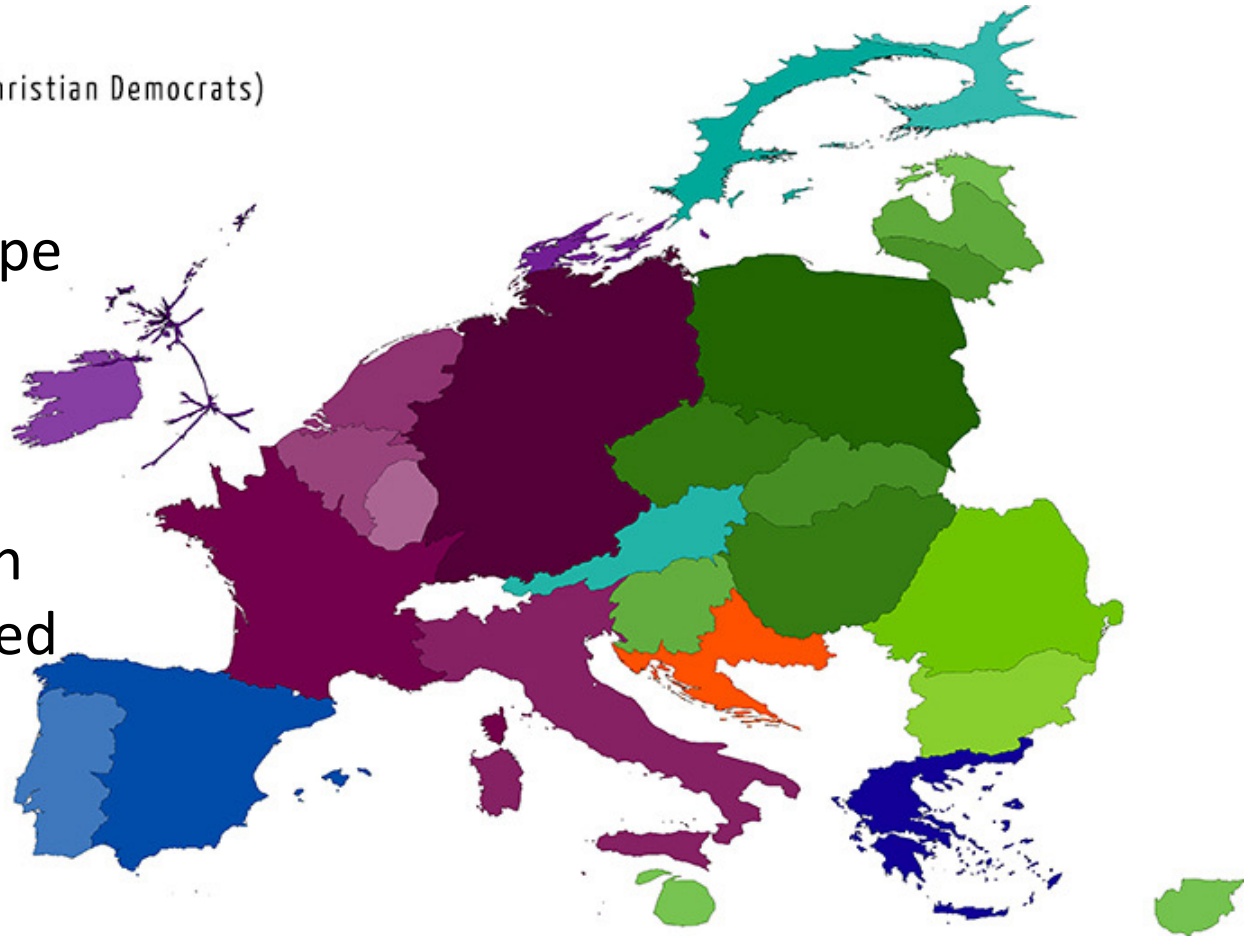


The British Conservative party left the main right-wing group in the European Parliament in 2014, to align with the far-right group instead.

## EPP

Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats)  
Seats: 221 (29.43% of the votes)

This is a map of Europe with the areas of countries drawn in proportion to how many votes European Conservatives received in 2014.



Map created by Benjamin Hennig  
[www.viewsoftheworld.net](http://www.viewsoftheworld.net)

Hennig, B. D., Ballas, D. and Dorling, D. (2014).  
In Focus: European Parliament elections 2014.  
Political Insight 5 (2): 20-21.

Source: <https://www.viewsoftheworld.net/?p=4133>

Britain's 'giant evils' have changed shape since the Beveridge Report in 1942. The new evils are related, but different.



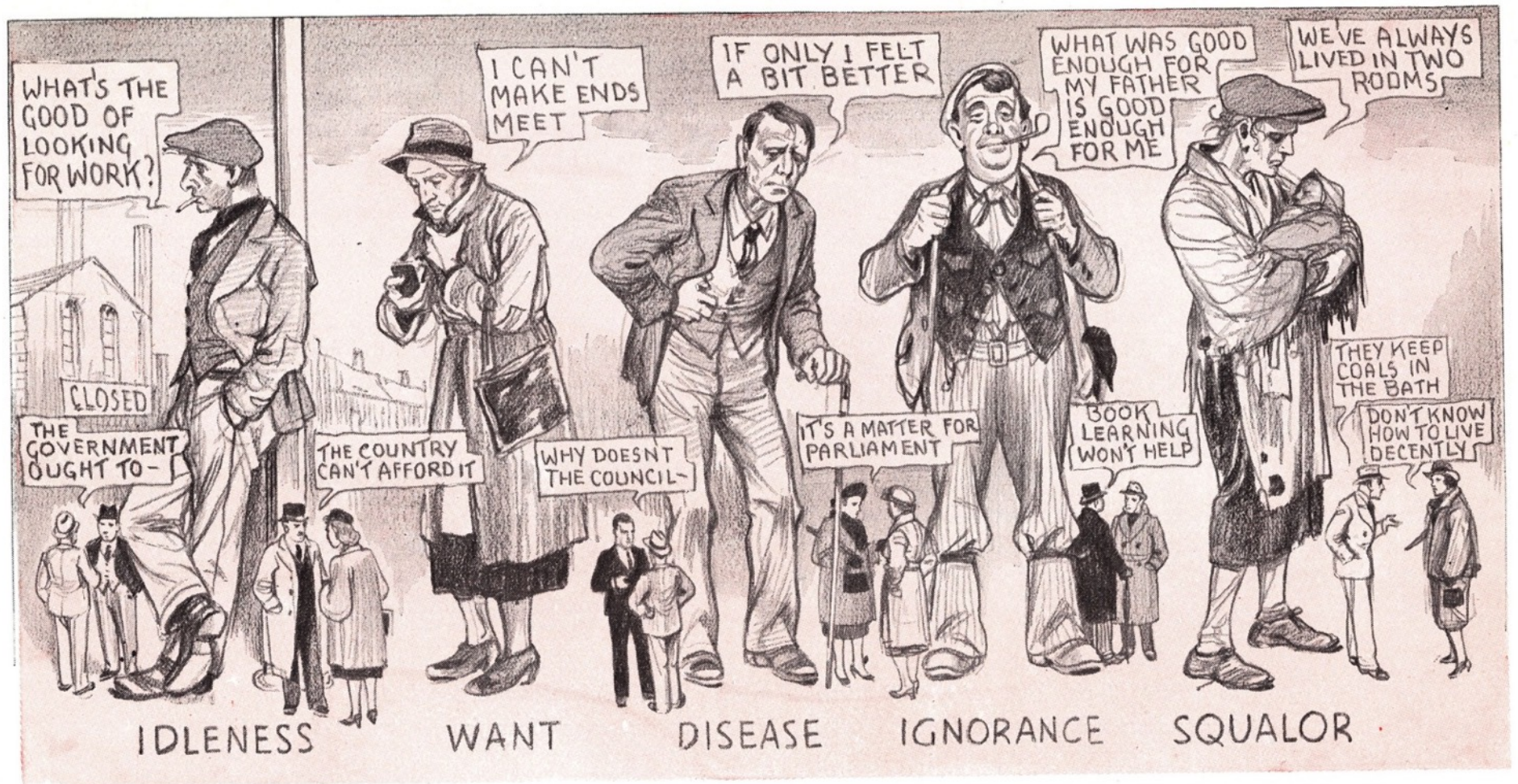
## Five new social evils in 2023

want	→	hunger
squalor	→	precarity
idleness	→	waste
ignorance	→	exploitation
disease	→	fear

Source:  
<https://social-policy.org.uk/50-for-50/no-43-giant-corporations/>



# 'Whataboutery', or reasons for not acting



## THE FIVE GIANTS

When a state begins to fail, attempts are often made to suggest that claims of its shattering are exaggerations. Typically, a list of apparent problems faced by other countries will be produced whenever their people are said to be doing better than the British: 'What about suicide rates in Finland?', 'What about Germany's reliance on Russian gas?', 'What about the rise in "populism" in the US, Brazil, Hungary, Turkey and Russia?' This response is so common that it now has its own label: 'whataboutery'.

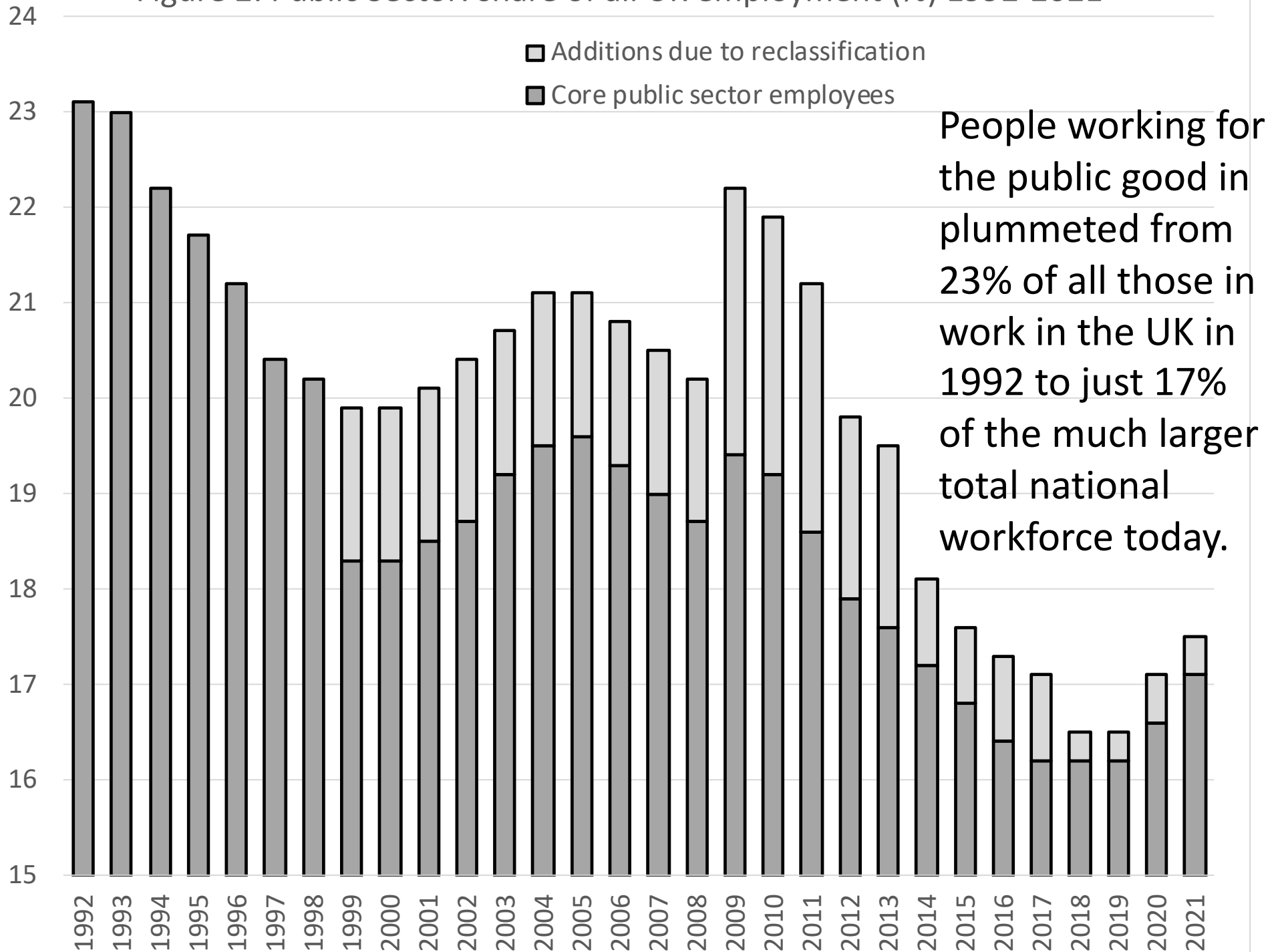
Source:

<https://mylearning.org/resources/the-five-giants-cartoon>

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# UK public sector workers

Figure 2: Public Sector: share of all UK employment (%) 1992-2021

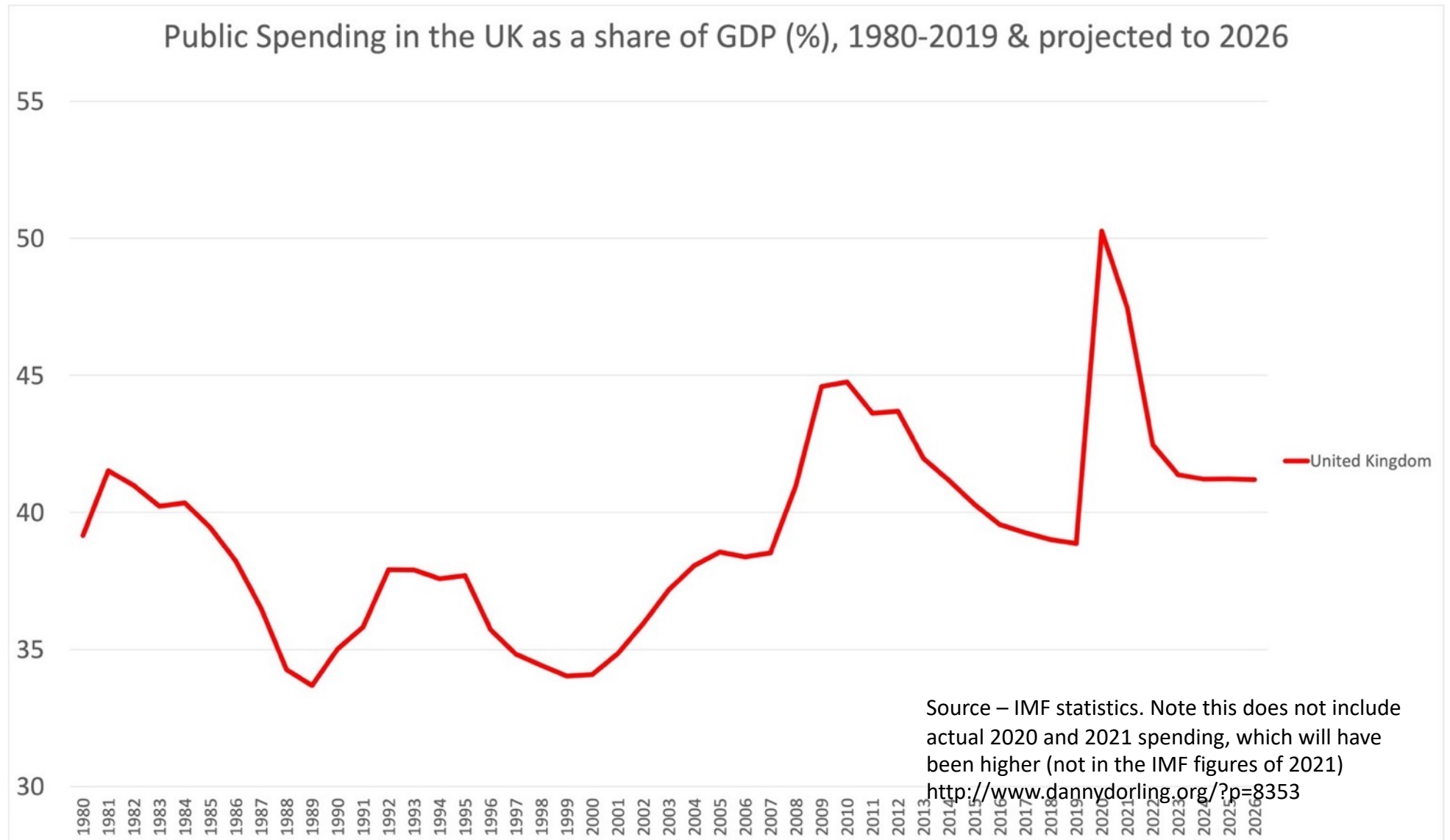


Source:

<https://flickread.com/edition/html/index.php?pdf=60db33a51b897#19>



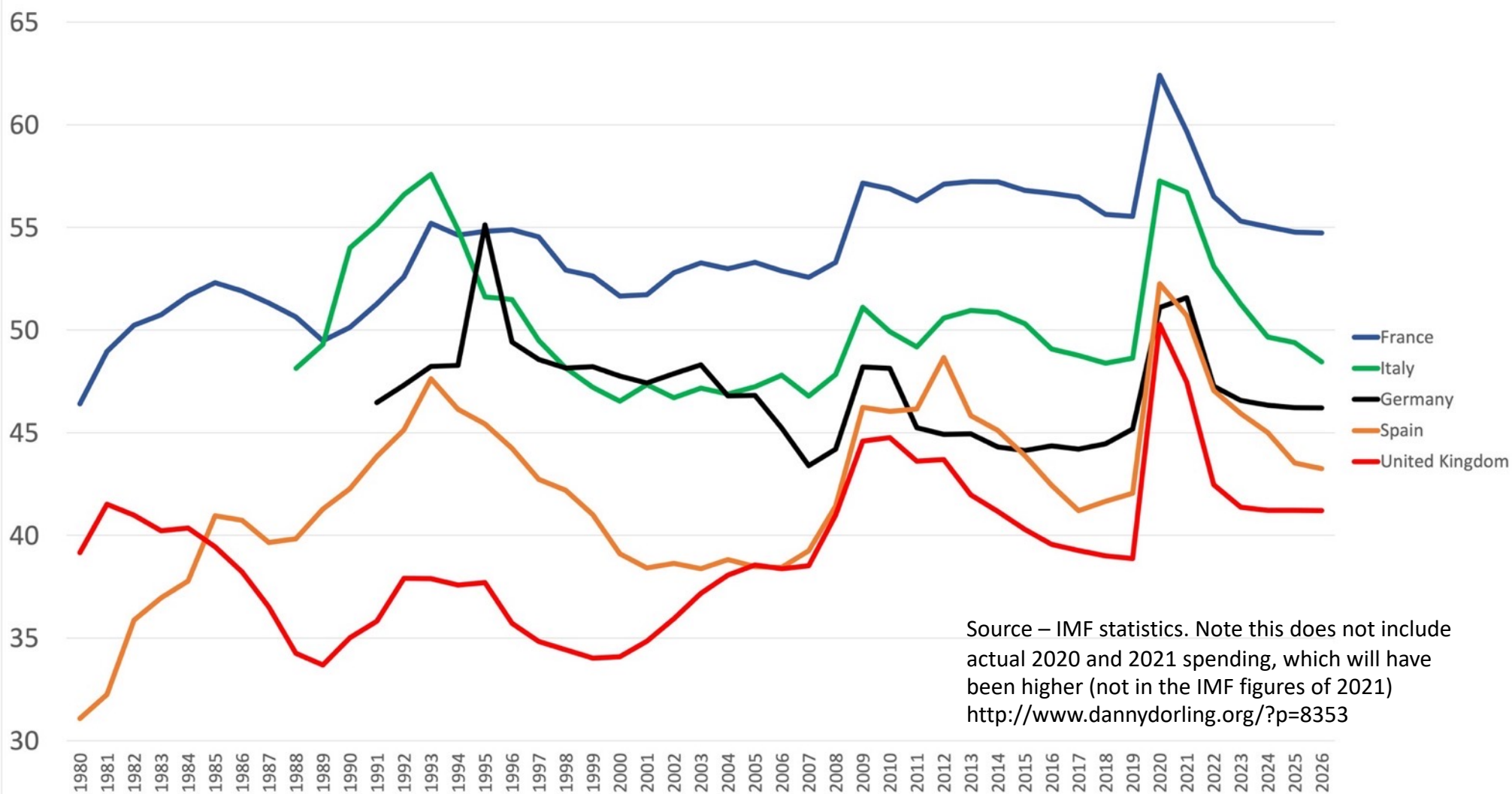
A country's spending statistics are collated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), including what countries plan to spend in the future.



The current UK government has said it intends to spend less than almost everywhere else in Europe, even though it will allocate a higher share of its public monies to its military than any other Western European country, and a huge amount to its debt repayments.

Public spending tends to rise over time as the population ages. But the gap between France and the UK is enormous in size and implications.

Public Spending in 5 affluent European countries as a share of GDP (%)

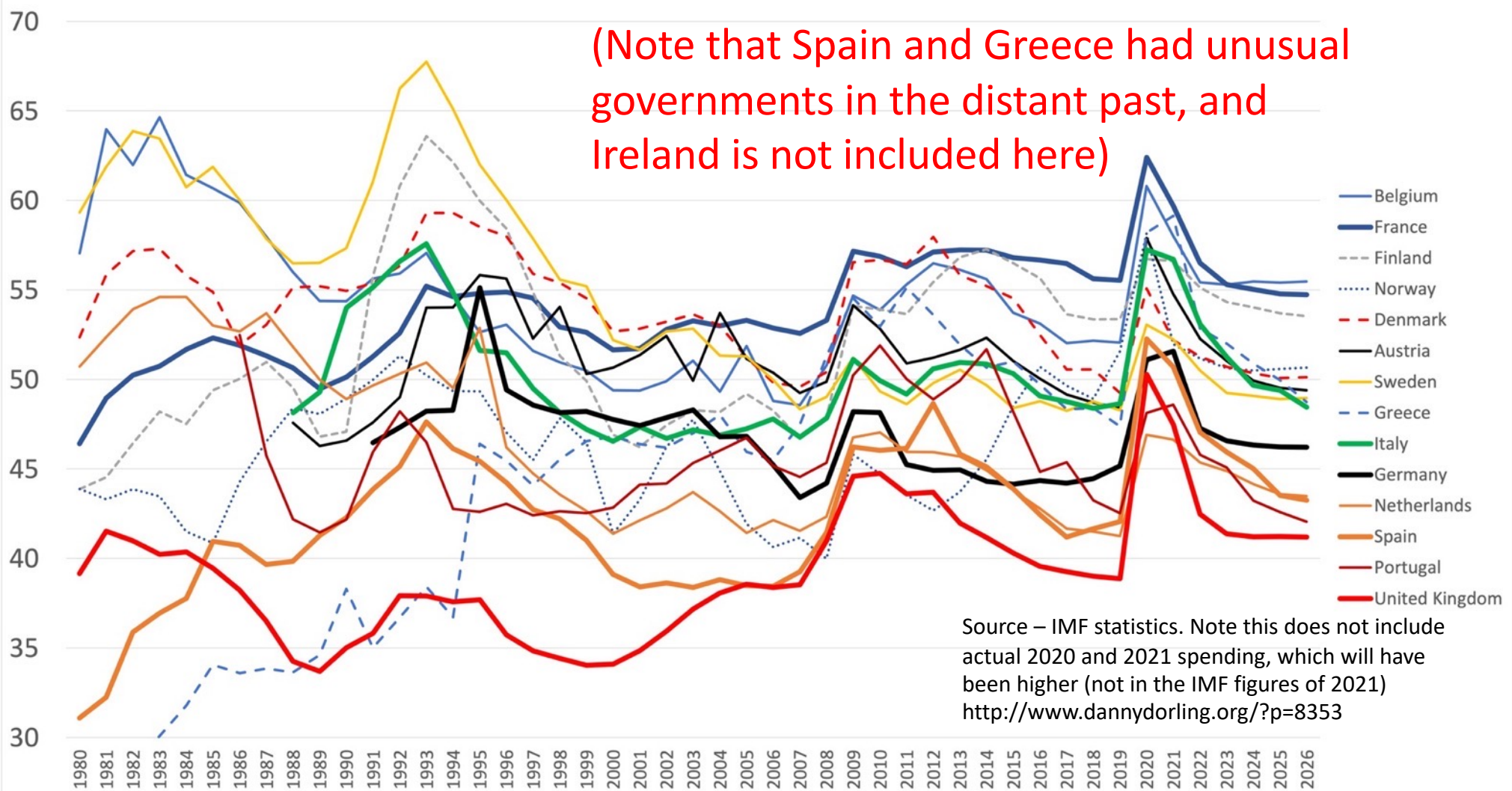


UK public spending as a proportion of GDP has now fallen so far it is below that of Spain in the 1980s, and that of Greece in the 1990s. It was already lower than almost every other Western European nation following the cuts that began in the late 1970s.



In 2023 France and Belgium will spend 55% of their GDP on public services, followed in descending order by Finland, Greece, Austria...

Public Spending in 14 affluent European countries as a share of GDP (%)

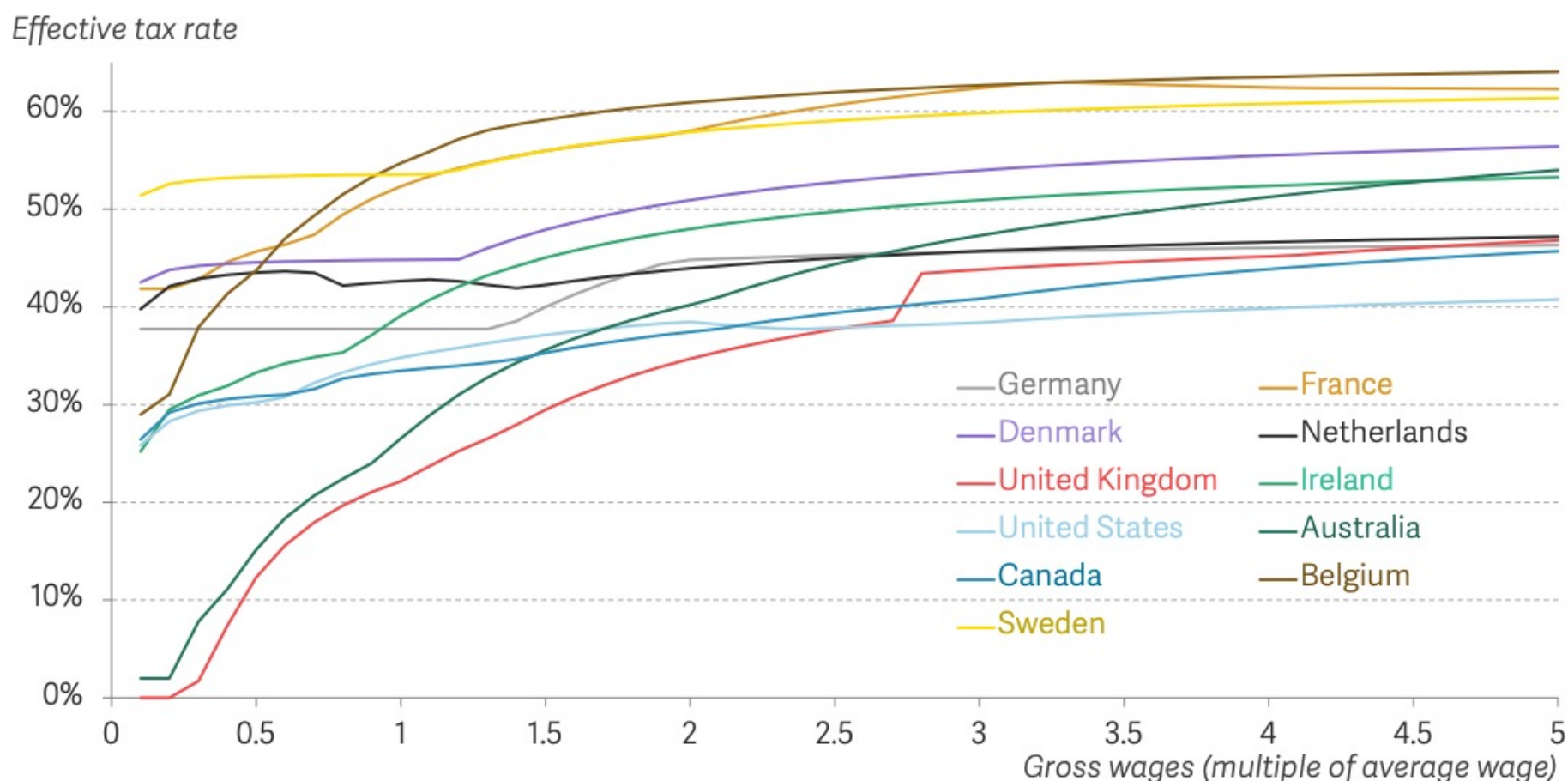


...Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany and Spain, and finally both Portugal and the Netherlands at 45%, with the UK at only 41%. This is two percentage points higher than the 39% spent in 2019, reflecting the rising costs of debt repayment and a further increase in military spending.

# ‘Tax policy choices help determine levels of inequality’ – Resolution Foundation, 2022.

**FIGURE 24: Across the distribution – but especially for low and middle earners – direct taxes are low by international standards**

Effective tax rates by wage level (relative to the average wage) in selected countries, 2020



NOTES: See source for full notes and caveats. Based on the tax systems for single adults without dependants. Includes employer and employee social contributions, and national and state/local income taxes (using the national average).

SOURCE: D Neidle, How much tax do we actually pay on our wages?, Tax Policy Associates, May 2022.

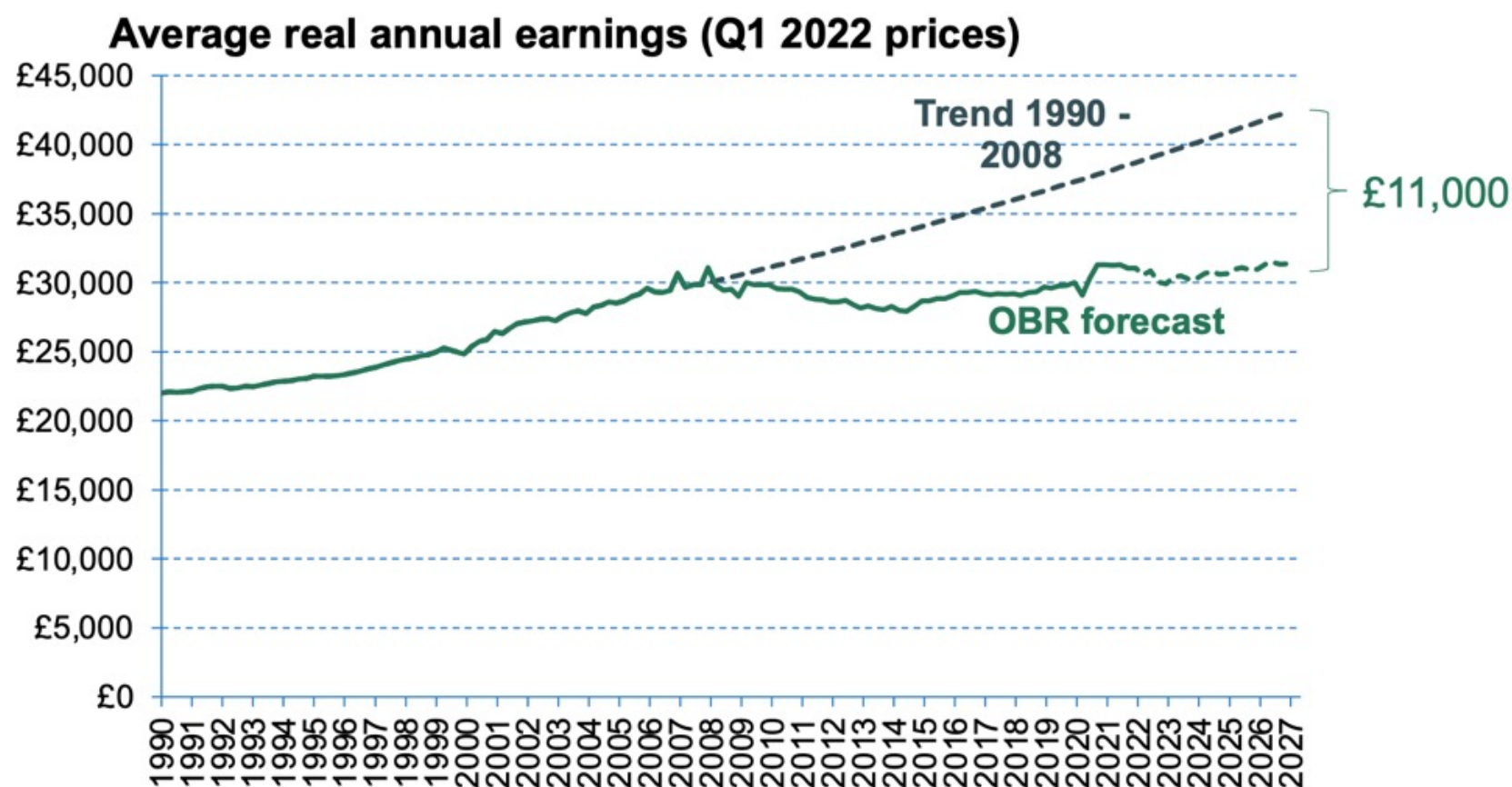
Source:

<https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/publications/the-living-standards-audit-2022/>



Long before the debacle of autumn 2022, the UK had a special problem. Rising inflation then began.

...extending yet further the wait for real earnings to move past 2008 levels



Source: ONS AWE and Historic AWE, OBR

Note: In Q1 2022 prices. Historical series is deflated by CPI with an adjustment for housing costs. Forecast is deflated by OBR's CPI forecast.

The UK's position is even worse than the numbers in this graph suggest, because in recent years its GDP has not risen as much as that of other European countries. Meanwhile the pound has fallen in value.

Source: Dorling, D. (2022) The Trickle Up of Fear, Public Sector Focus, March/April, pp. 12-15, <https://flickread.com/edition/html/index.php?pdf=62668d702a8e0#15>

# Attitudes are changing most quickly among the young, both internationally and within the UK.

March 2018:

Her Excellency Dame Sandra Mason was received in audience by Her Majesty upon her appointment as Governor-General of Barbados.



October 2021:

Prior to becoming a republic and removing Queen Elizabeth II as its head of state, Barbados elected Dame Sandra Mason as its first president.

Sample Size: 1669 adults in GB  
Fieldwork: 16th - 17th May 2022

**YouGov**

	Vote in 2019 GE			EU Ref 2016		Gender		Age				Social Grade		
	Total	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Male	Female	18-24	25-49	50-64	65+	ABC1	C2DE
<b>Weighted Sample</b>	<b>1669</b>	566	414	150	619	661	811	858	182	696	402	389	951	718
Unweighted Sample	1669	553	436	161	673	654	754	915	149	707	416	397	991	678
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Generally speaking, do you think the institution of the monarchy is good or bad for Britain?

	27-28 May '12	16-17 May '22													
Good for Britain	67	56	80	44	51	50	73	54	59	24	49	67	74	58	55
Bad for Britain	9	12	4	22	11	17	6	14	9	16	15	10	6	13	10
Neither good nor bad for Britain	20	22	13	26	30	26	17	24	20	34	24	18	18	22	23
Don't know	4	10	3	9	7	7	5	7	12	26	13	4	2	7	12

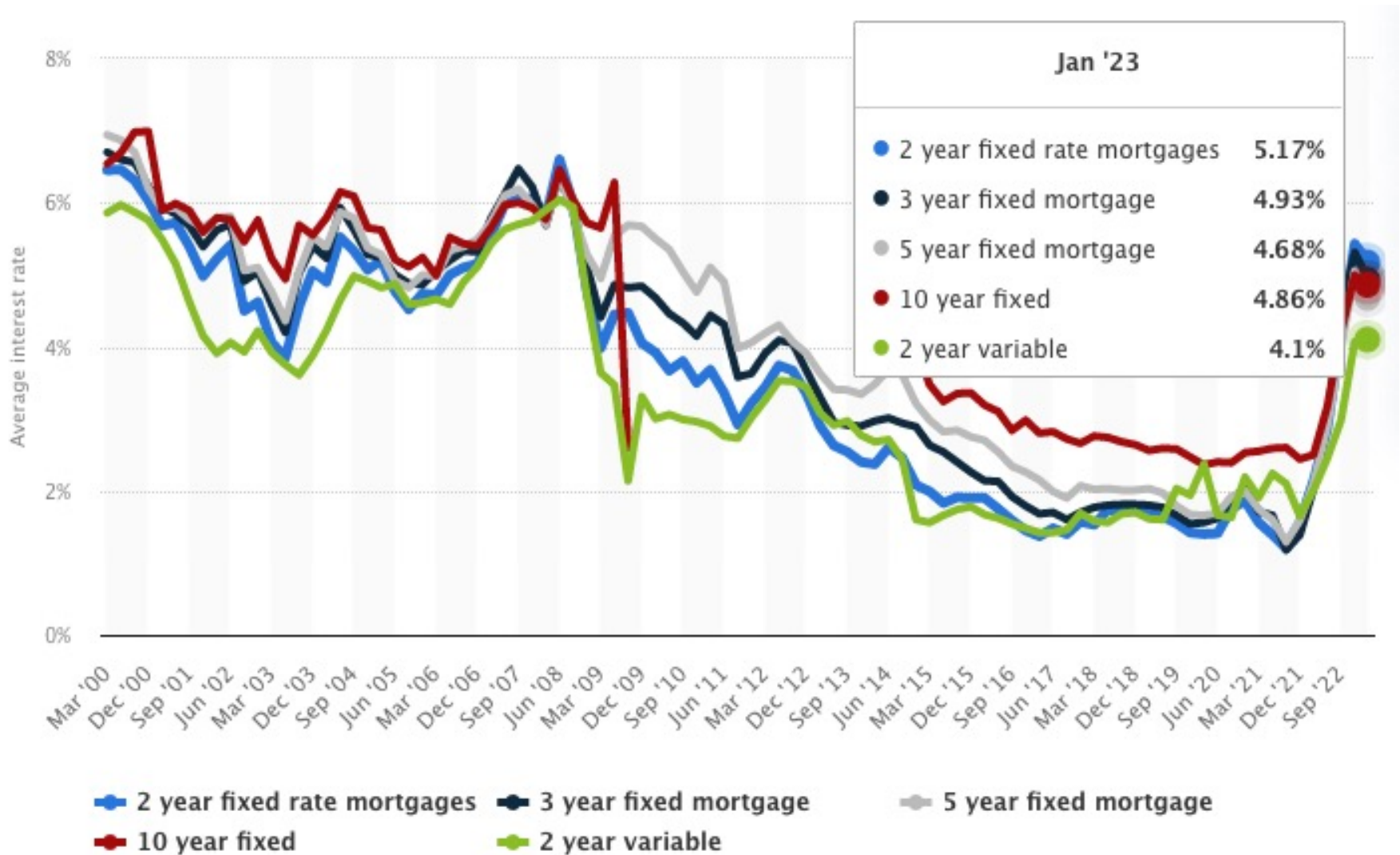
Source:

<https://docs.cdn.yougov.com/tzluoaf4hh/YouGov%20-%20Jubilee%20-%20Views%20of%20the%20Monarchy%20Survey%20Results.pdf>

Photo source: <https://twitter.com/RoyalFamily/status/978993565501140992?s=20>



The crisis of 2022/23, as mortgage rates rose, was very much a middle-class affair, affecting almost everyone who had got on the housing ladder in the current century. It was no longer among the poorest where the (new) pain was most concentrated.



Source:

<https://www.statista.com/statistics/386301/uk-average-mortgage-interest-rates/>

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## 2. Growing Divides



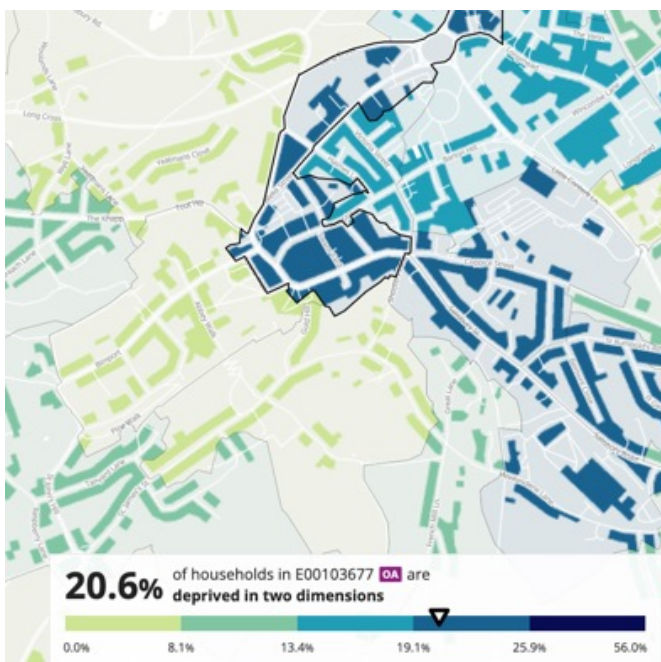
*Illustration by Joseph P. Kelly*



# The Boy on the bike advert, filmed on Gold Hill in 1973.

*“Last upon round will be old ma Bigoty’s place;  
‘twas like taking bread to the top of the world;  
‘twas a grand ride back though. I knew baker  
would have kettle on and doorsteps of Hovis  
ready. There’s wheatgerm in that loaf he’d say.  
Get it inside you boy, and you’ll be going up  
that hill as fast as you come down.”*

Voiceover: “Hovis still has many times more  
wheatgerm than ordinary bread. It’s as good  
for you today as it’s always been.”



A fifth of households at the top of Gold Hill  
were deprived in at least two ways in 2021.

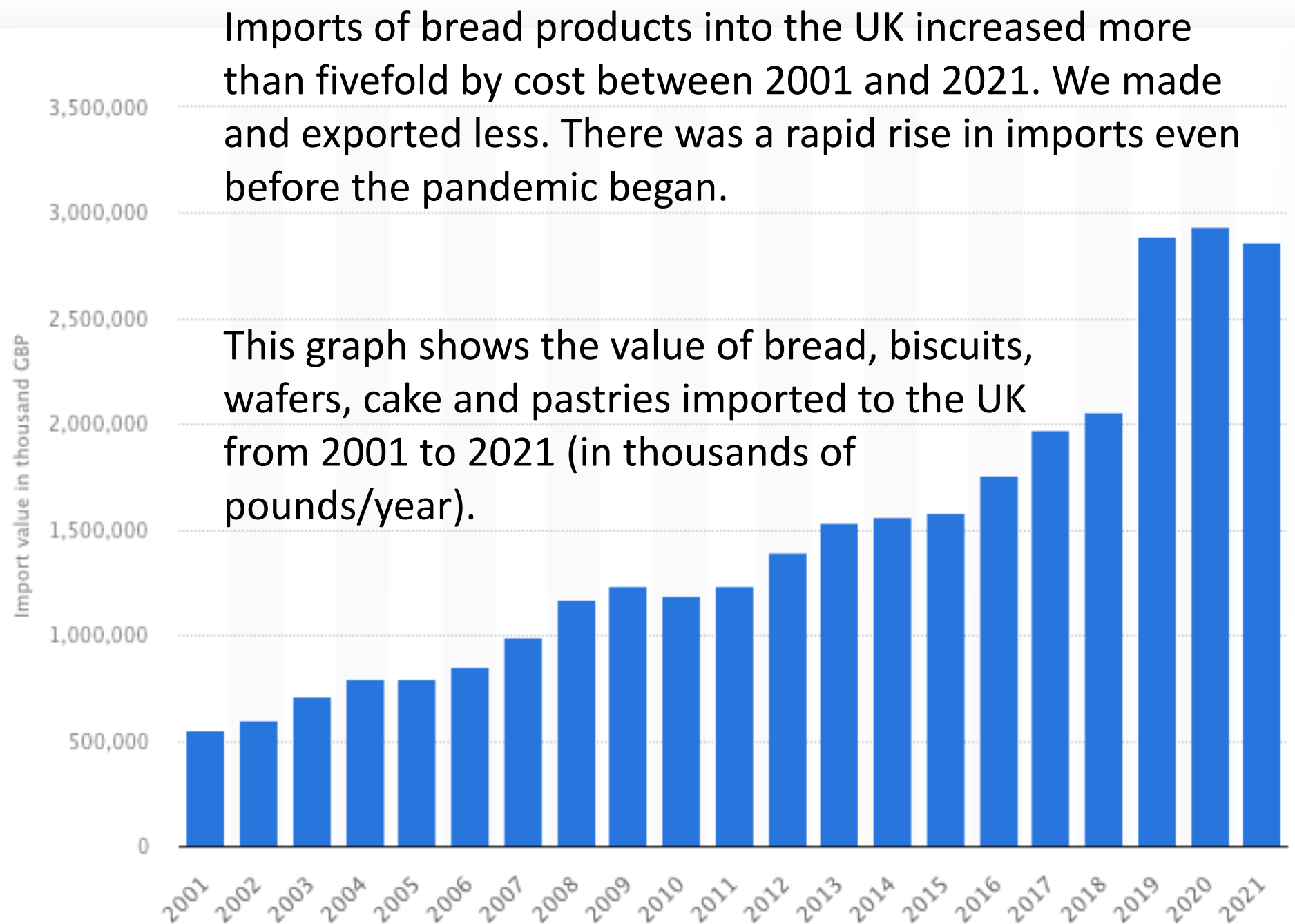
Two out of four possible ways:

- 1) No GCSEs, CSEs or O levels
- 2) Unemployed or long-term sick
- 3) Health is bad, very bad or disabled
- 4) Overcrowded, in a shared dwelling or has no central heating in the home

Source: 2021 census deprivation maps &  
<https://musebycl.io/advertising/ridley-scotts-classic-1973-hovis-ad-boy-bike-has-been-beautifully-remastered>

Danny Dorling **Shattered Nation** (Verso, 2023)

The Hovis advert was about bread. We now make less bread in the UK, and import more of it.



Source: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/520147/bread-biscuits-wafers-cakes-and-pastries-import-value-united-kingdom-uk/>

Contrasts badly with the export figures:

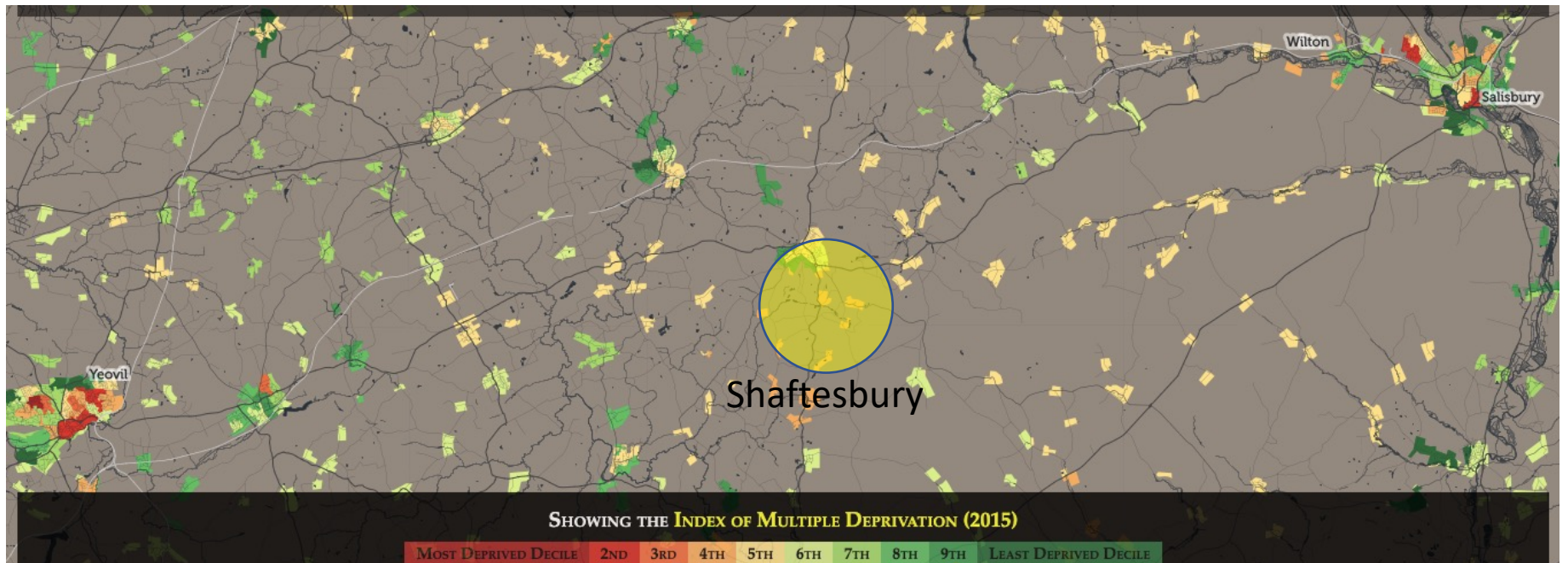
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/859202/volume-of-exports-of-bread-pastry-and-cake-uk-by-country/>



# Gold Hill in Shaftesbury, Dorset, England



Today, Shaftesbury sits amid a more recently socially fractured patchwork of middle-England villages lying between Salisbury and Yeovil; places where the cost of petrol and the energy needed to heat homes have become key issues for most people, although not all, living in these enclaves.



Source: <https://musebycl.io/advertising/ridley-scotts-classic-1973-hovis-ad-boy-bike-has-been-beautifully-remastered>

Photo Source:  
<https://www.visit-dorset.com/listing/gold-hill/124444301/>



# Some things were better in the 1970s.

‘In this photo, from 1976, almost everyone is what we would now call slim. So, what has happened? A sudden loss of willpower, as some rightwing journos claim? No. An obesogenic environment created by junk food manufacturers and their advertisers.’

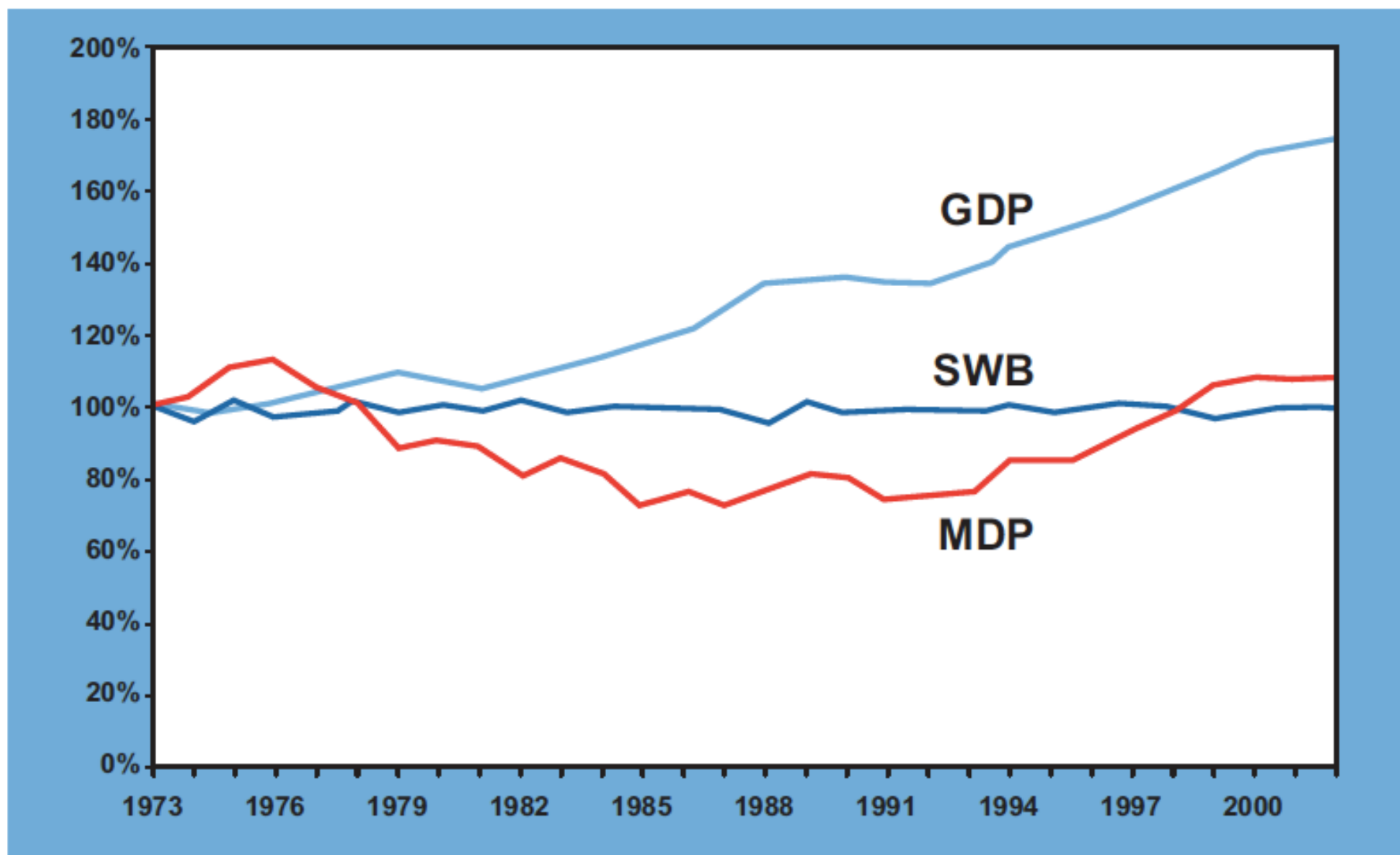
George Monbiot, 26 July 2018



Source: <https://twitter.com/GeorgeMonbiot/status/1022438330611499009>



# Measures of domestic progress (MDB peak 1976)



**Figure 5: SWB, GDP and MDP in the UK: 1973-2002**

‘Measure of Domestic Progress’ (MDP) is an index designed by the New Economics Foundation to reflect our progress towards sustainable development by including economic progress, environmental costs, resource depletion and social factors in a single composite measure.

Source: NEF (2004) Chasing Progress: Beyond measuring economic growth, the New Economics Foundation, [https://neweconomics.org/uploads/files/70e2c4fbed5826b19e\\_dvm6ib0x9.pdf](https://neweconomics.org/uploads/files/70e2c4fbed5826b19e_dvm6ib0x9.pdf)

# Average earnings growth 1964–2021, with RPI inflation stripped out



Real wages rose fastest in the early 1970s. By 2014 they had been falling consistently. The fall had started after the 2008 economic crash, and it was already the case in 2014, almost a decade ago, that this was the longest fall for 50 years.

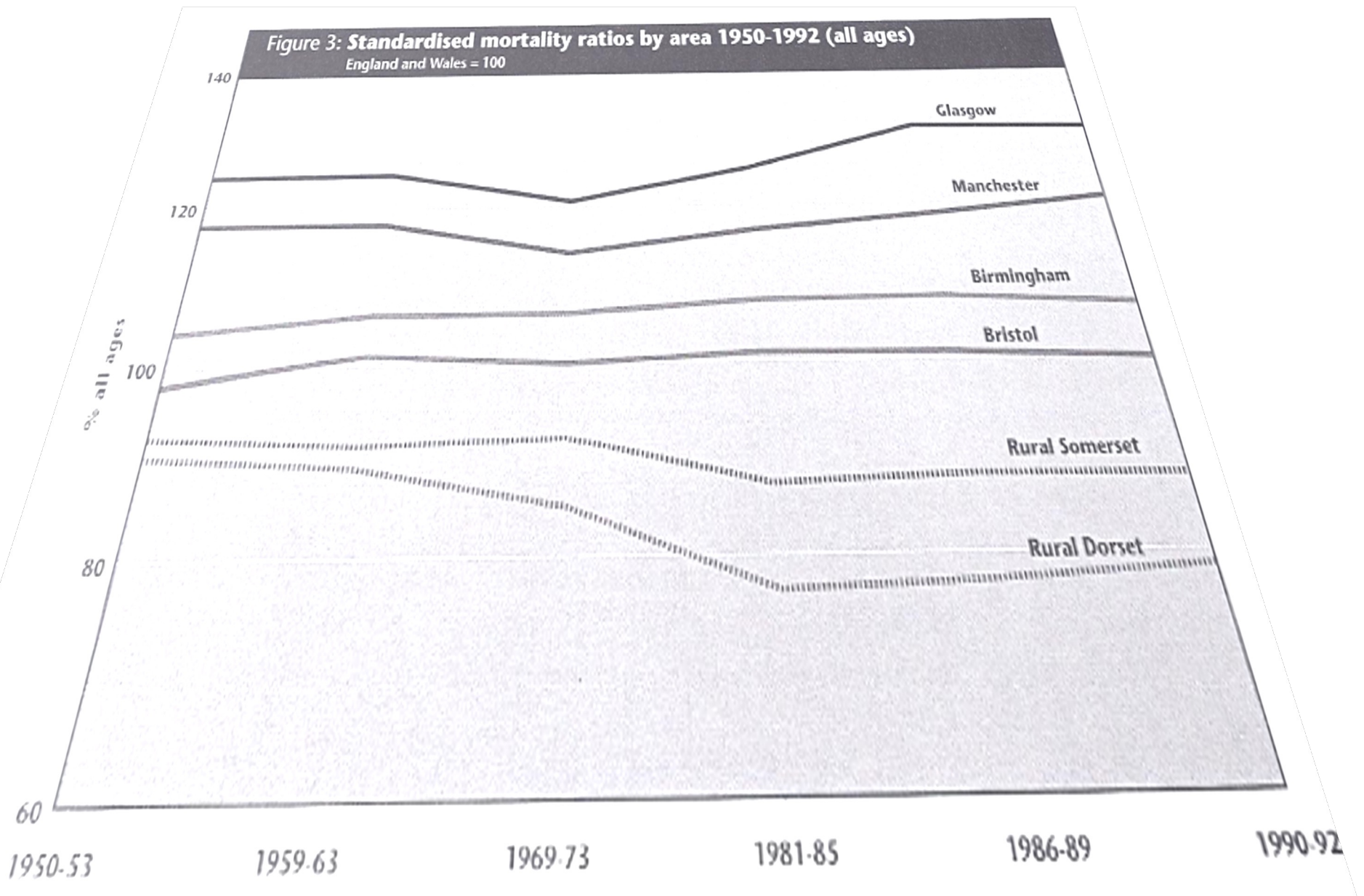
Source: Office for National Statistics.

Real wages have been falling for longest period for at least 50 years, ONS says, The Guardian, 31 January 2014.

<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/jan/31/real-wages-falling-longest-period-ons-record>



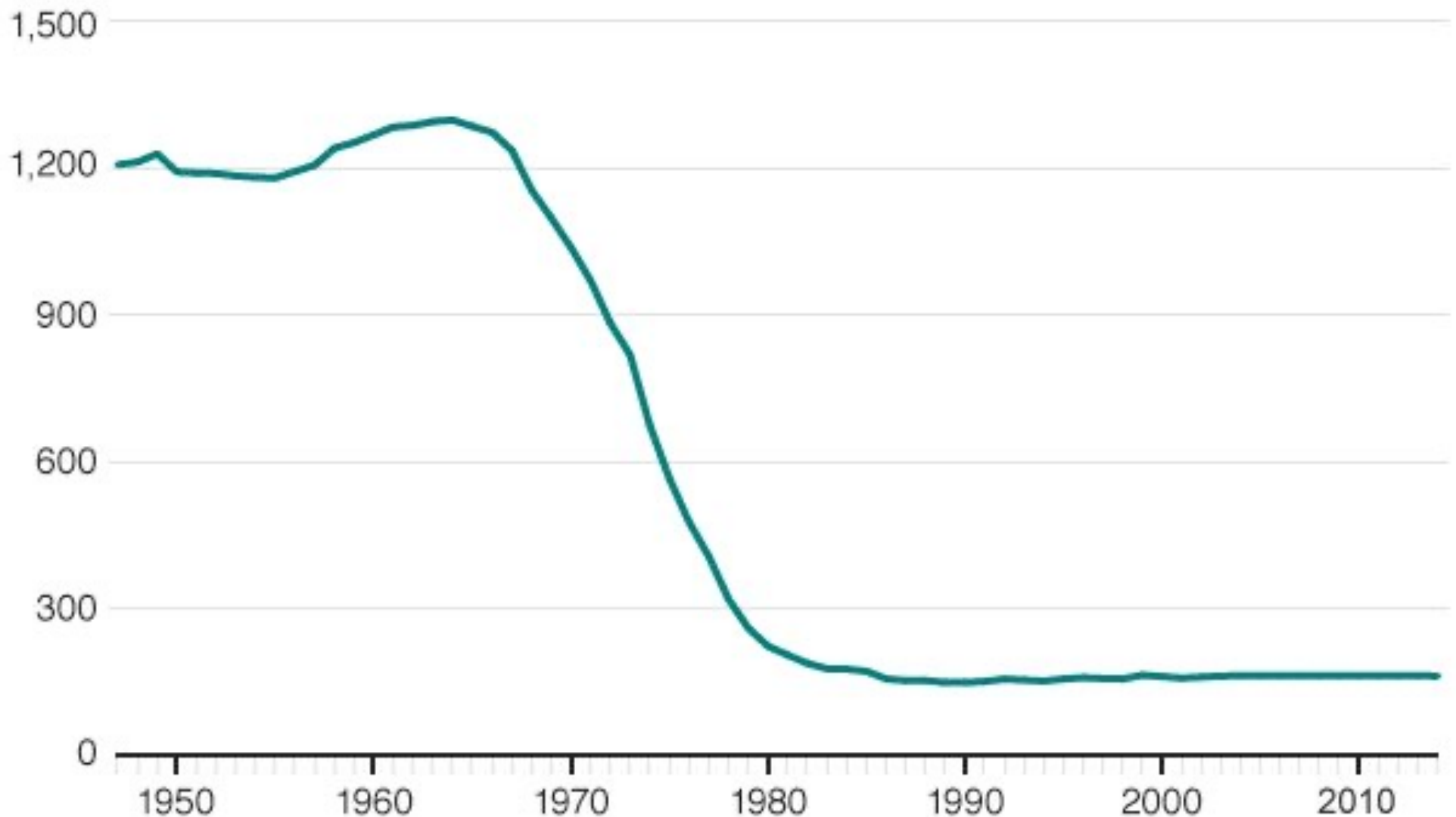
The most important changes in life became the most equitable they had ever been in the years 1969–1973.



Source: Dorling, D. (1997) *Death in Britain: how local mortality rates have changed: 1950s-1990s*, Report published by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

The greatest reduction in the segregation of children by schools began in the late 1960s.

## Number of grammar schools in England and Wales\*



\*There have been no grammar schools in Wales since 1988

Source: House of Commons Library

BBC

Source: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-34538222>

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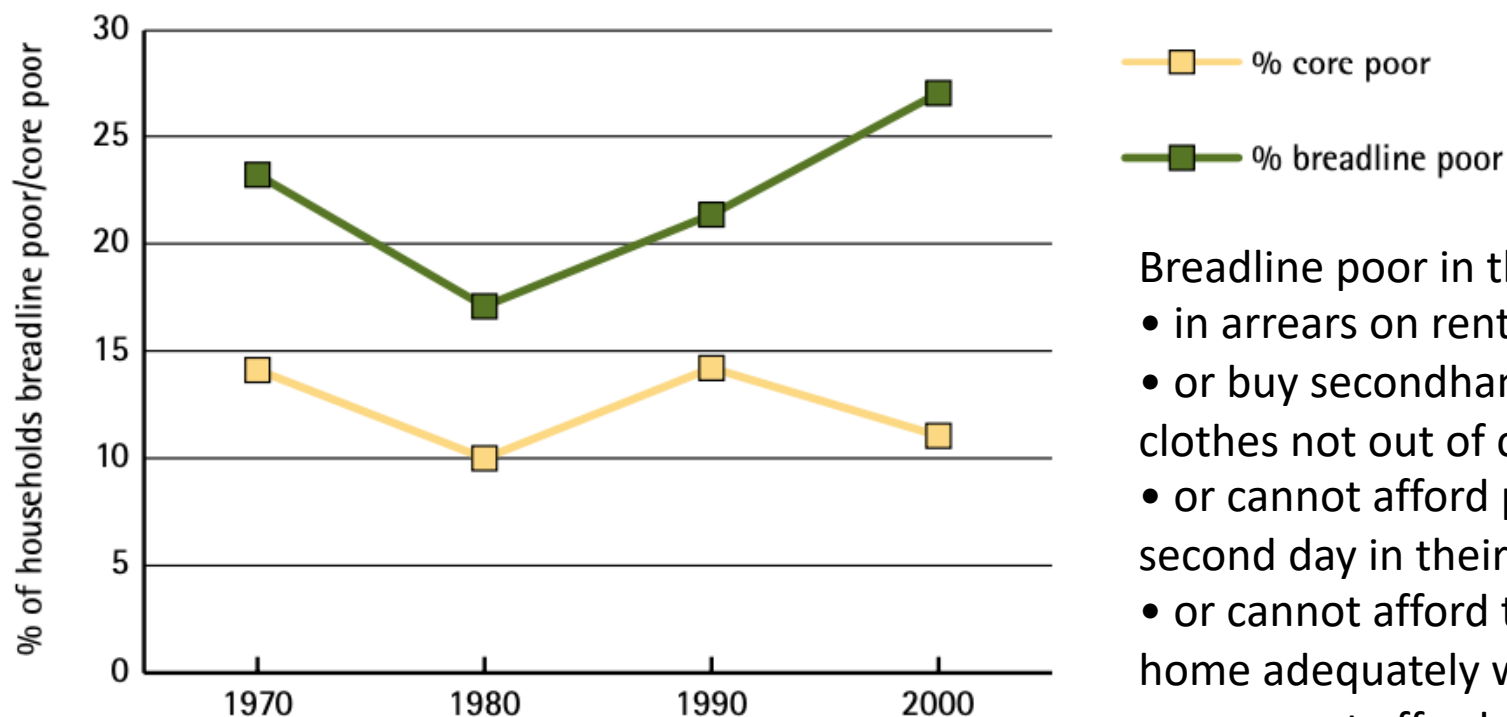


# Poverty was falling in the 1970s across Britain.

‘Core poor’ is used here to describe those households that are simultaneously income poor, deprivation poor (cannot afford the essentials in life) and subjectively poor (people who will say they are poor when asked if they are).

‘Breadline poor’ is not being able to afford the essentials in life, as defined what a majority believe at that point in time. It is what it means to be excluded from participating in the norms of society due to low income.

**Figure 1: Change in % of households in breadline poor and core poor poverty from 1970–2000**



Breadline poor in the year 2000 if:

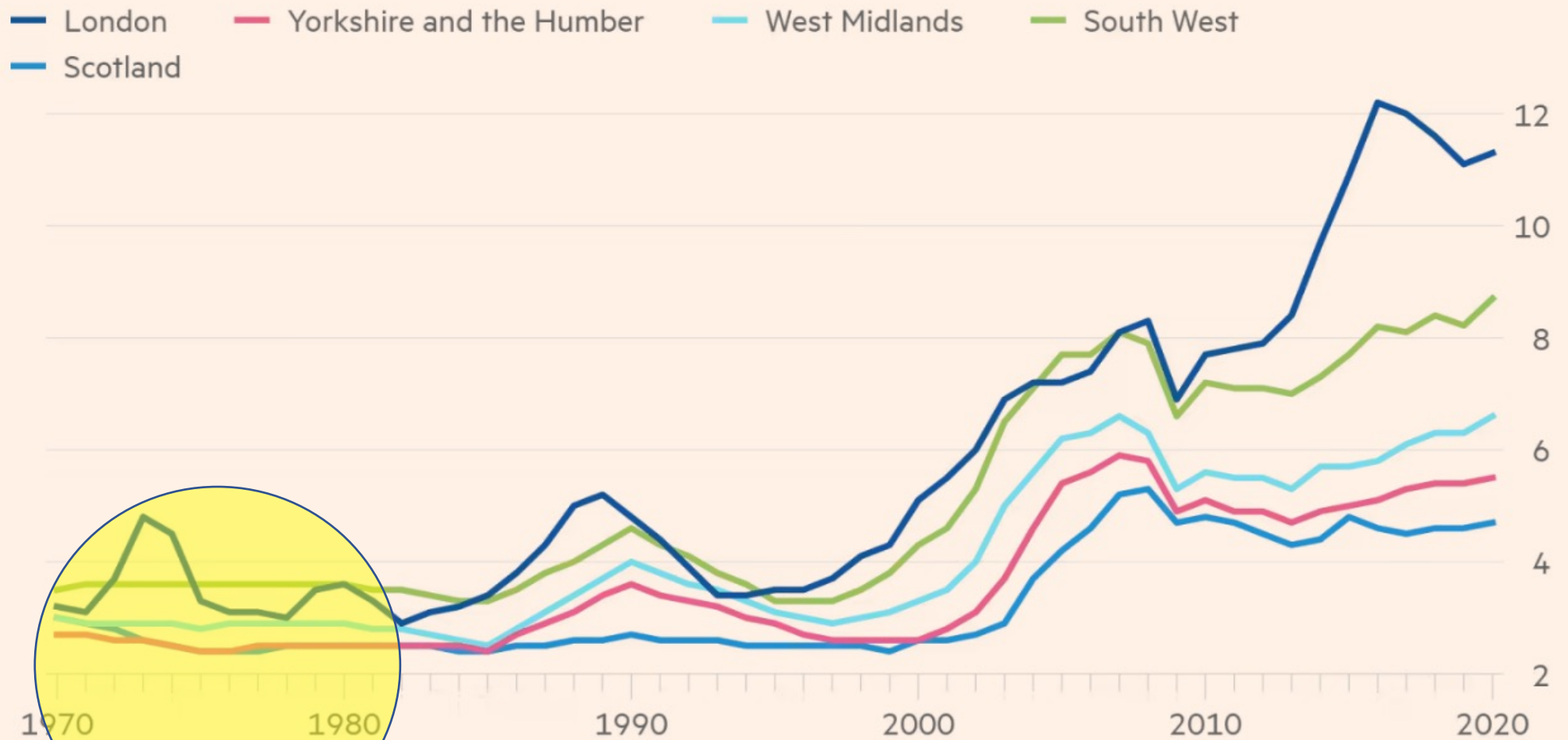
- in arrears on rent/mortgage
- or buy secondhand not new clothes not out of choice
- or cannot afford protein every second day in their food
- or cannot afford to keep their home adequately warm
- or cannot afford a week's annual holiday away from home (other than staying at relatives)
- or cannot afford to have friends or family for a meal once a month due to low income.

Source: <https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/poverty-and-wealth-across-britain-1968-2005>

In the 1970s it was becoming cheaper to purchase a house and regional divides were falling.

## Regional divergence in affordability has soared

House price/earnings ratios for selected UK regions



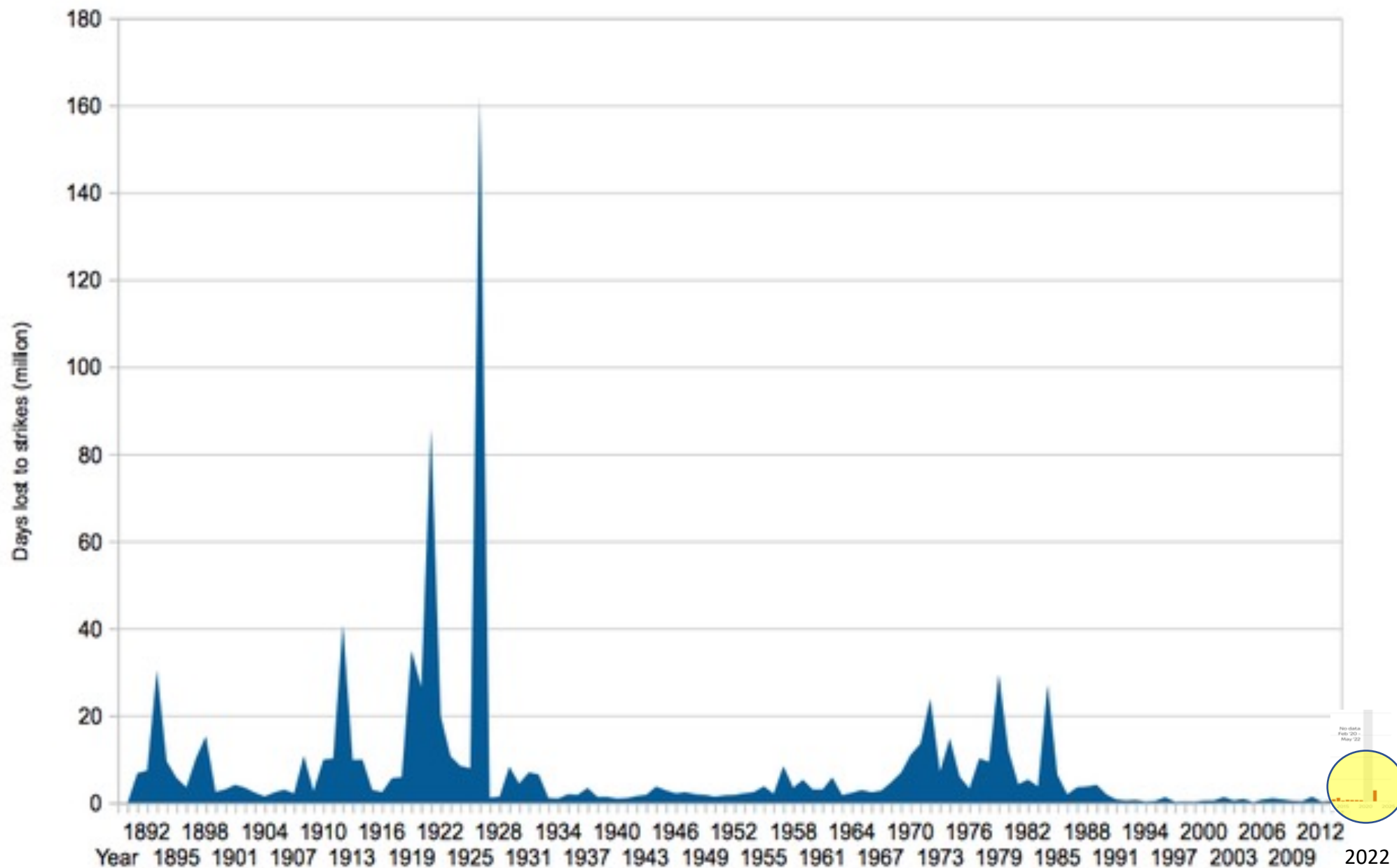
Average house prices compared with male average earnings

Source: Schroders

Source: Martin Wolf, British housing is expensive and its supply must increase, 21 March 2021, <https://www.ft.com/content/75942d5f-6bdf-40fb-b7ce-a48429ab84fc>



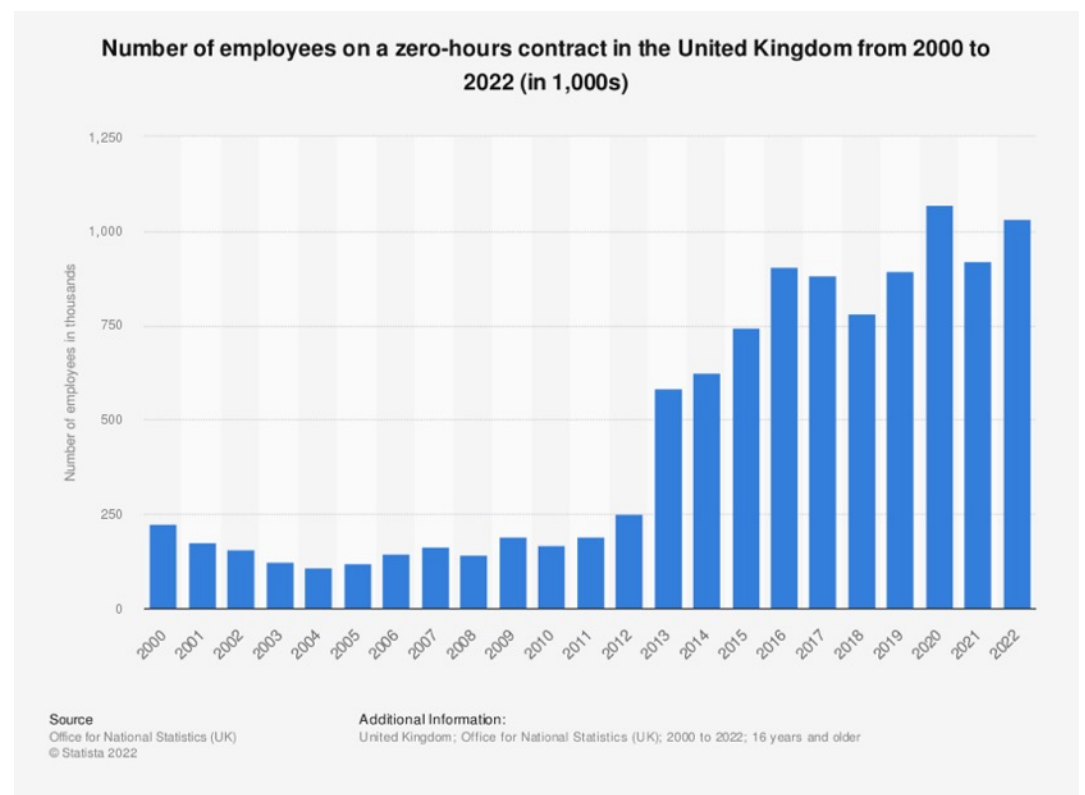
The strikes of the 1920s were successful in contributing to rising equality, both at the time and afterwards. The wave of strikes that began in the 1970s dwindled after defeat of the miners in 1984/85. The wave that began in 2022 is small.



<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/strike-days-rise-77-year-6082845>

<https://news.sky.com/story/number-of-days-lost-to-strike-action-in-2022-highest-since-1989-12810216>

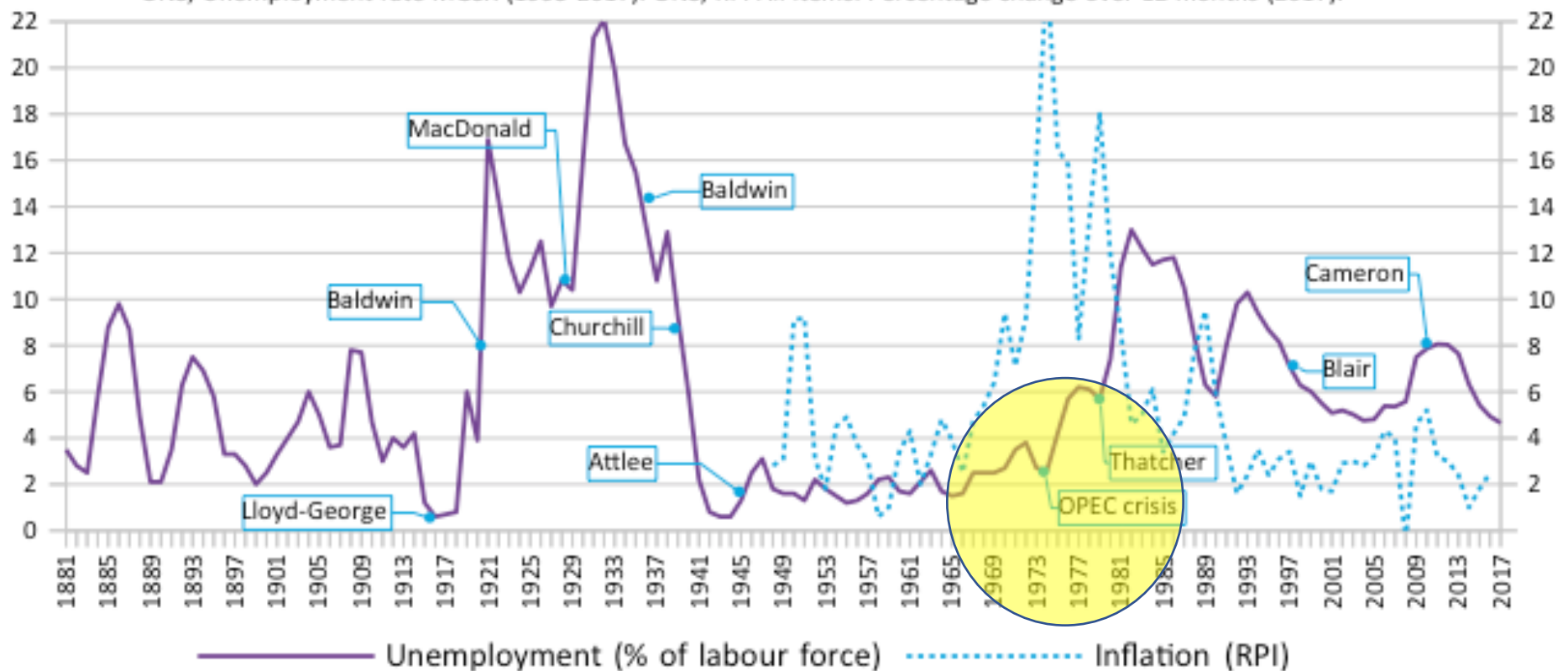
Unemployment 1881–2017, and under-employment 2000–2022. Very rare still in most of the 1970s, but rising in those years.



Source: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/414896/employees-with-zero-hours-contracts-number/>

## UK unemployment 1881-2017 and inflation 1948-2016

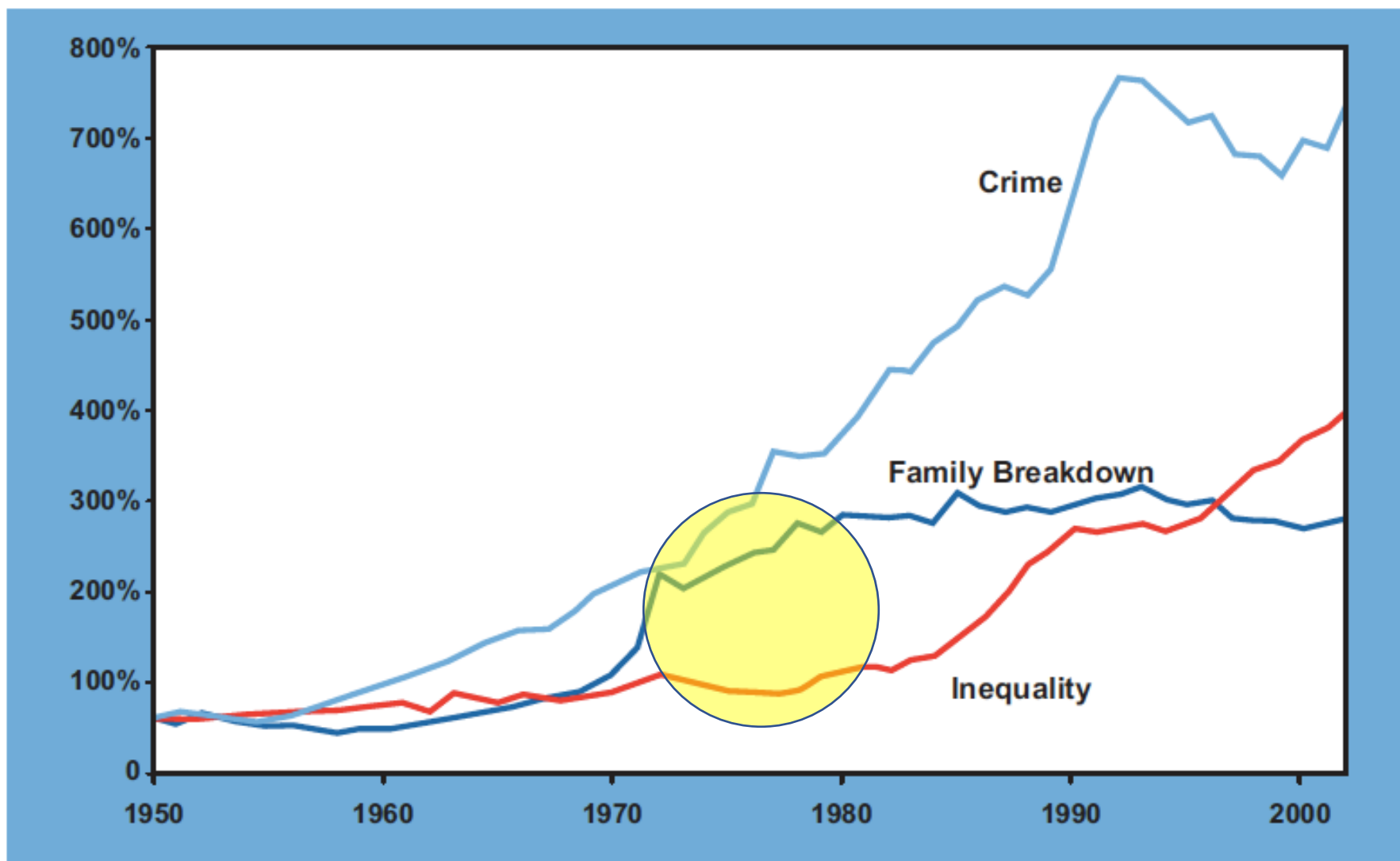
Sources: Denman and McDonald, Unemployment statistics from 1881 to the present day (Jan 1996) Labour Market Trends. ONS, Unemployment rate MGSX (1995-2017). ONS, RPI All Items: Percentage change over 12 months (2017).



Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unemployment\\_in\\_the\\_United\\_Kingdom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unemployment_in_the_United_Kingdom)



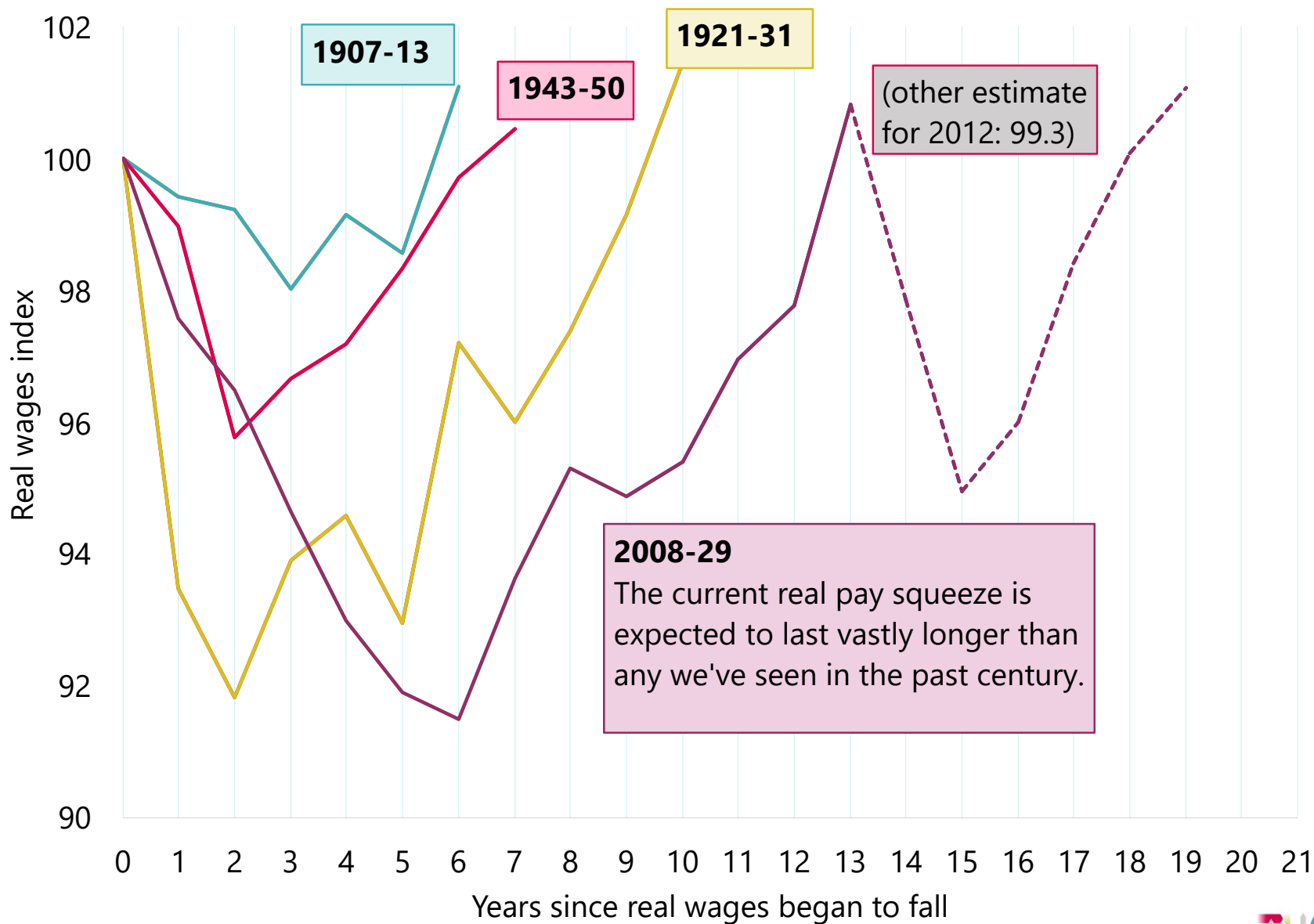
Crime was rising before the 1970s. Divorce was more possible when abortion was legalised, and inequality was falling throughout the 1970s.



Detail from Measure of Domestic Progress (MDP), designed to reflect our progress towards sustainable development by including economic progress, environmental costs, resource depletion and social factors in a single composite measure.

The current UK pay squeeze is unlike any in the past century. It will now probably last longer than 2029, as inflation has risen higher than it predicted in 2022 when this data was released by the TUC.

**How does the current real wage squeeze compare to the previous three?**

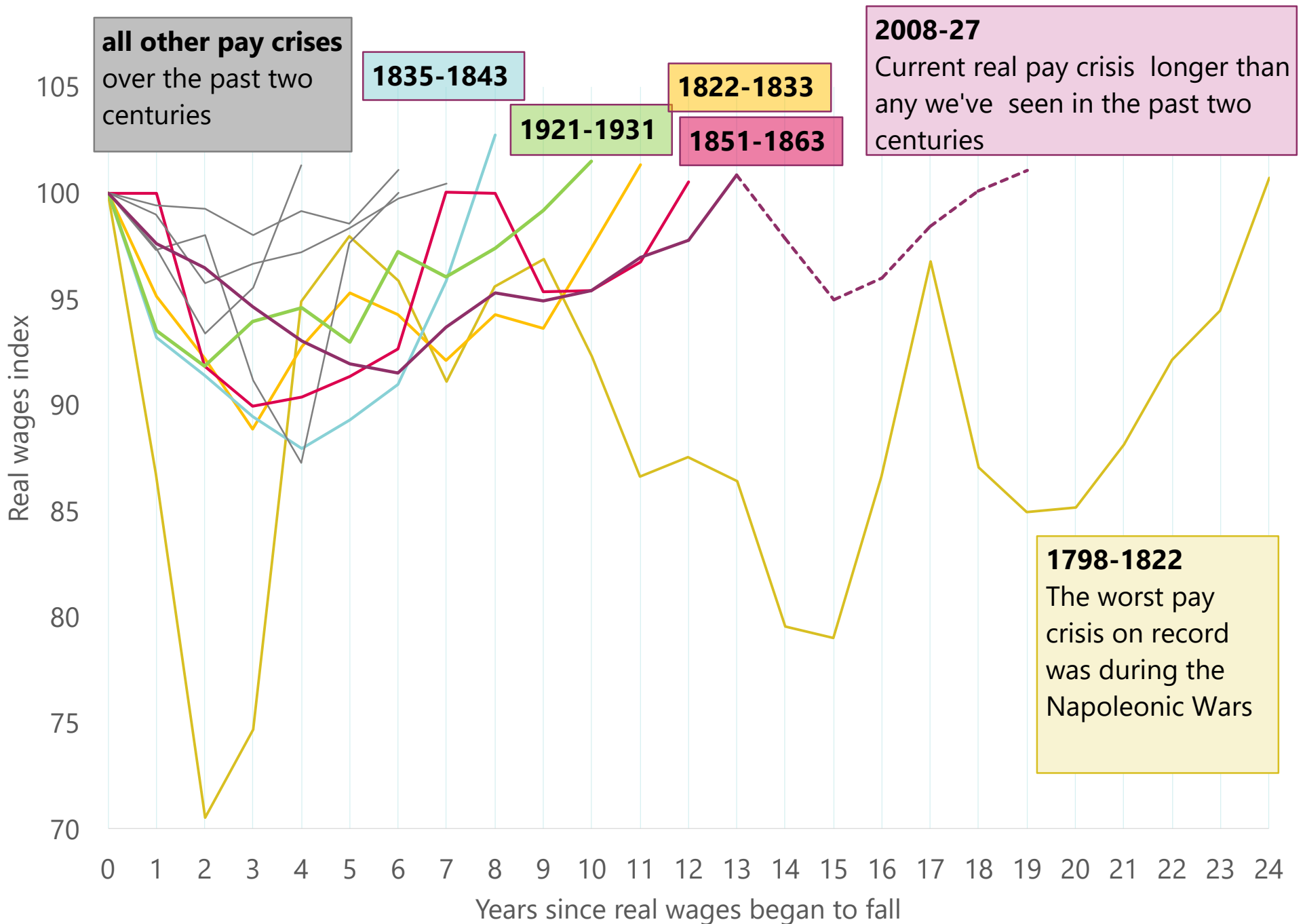


Sources: BoE, ONS, TUC analysis





# People in the UK are now suffering the worst pay squeeze since the Napoleonic wars.



Sources: BoE, ONS, TUC analysis

Source: Dorling, D. (2022) The Trickle Up of Fear, Public Sector Focus, March/April, pp. 12-15, <https://flickread.com/edition/html/index.php?pdf=62668d702a8e0#15>

# The UK's current wage crisis is unlike any other in living memory.

This is set to be the longest and most costly real pay squeeze since 1822



Sources: OBR, ONS, TUC analysis. \*Projection based on OBR forecasts and TUC analysis



Liz Truss was derided for many things during her Conservative Party leadership campaign, including how few sources she relied on when she wrote about the 1970s

‘Cracked open ***Britannia Unchained*** in light of the looming prospect of PM Liz Truss, and boy is this book densely researched’

Source: Chris Haynes, tweeting ironically on 20 July 2022  
<https://twitter.com/chrismwhayes/status/1549785631227772933>

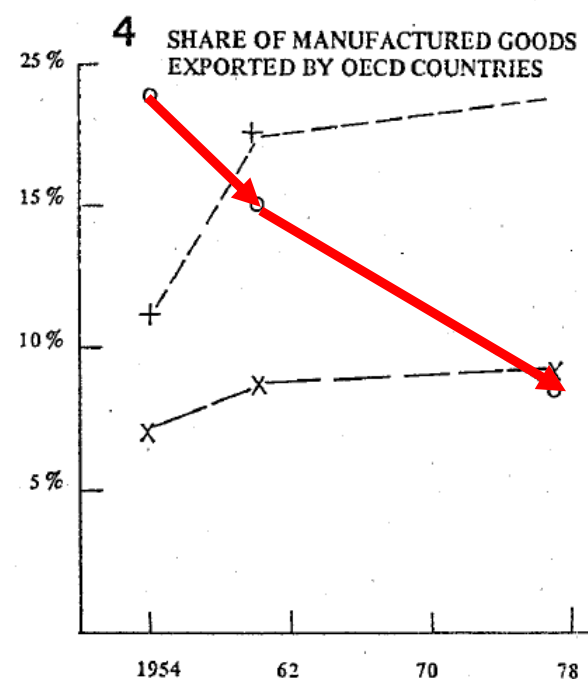
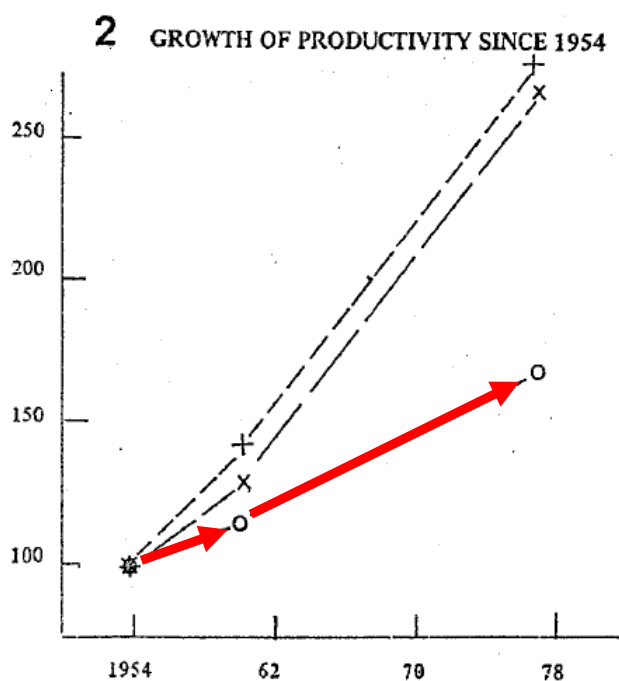
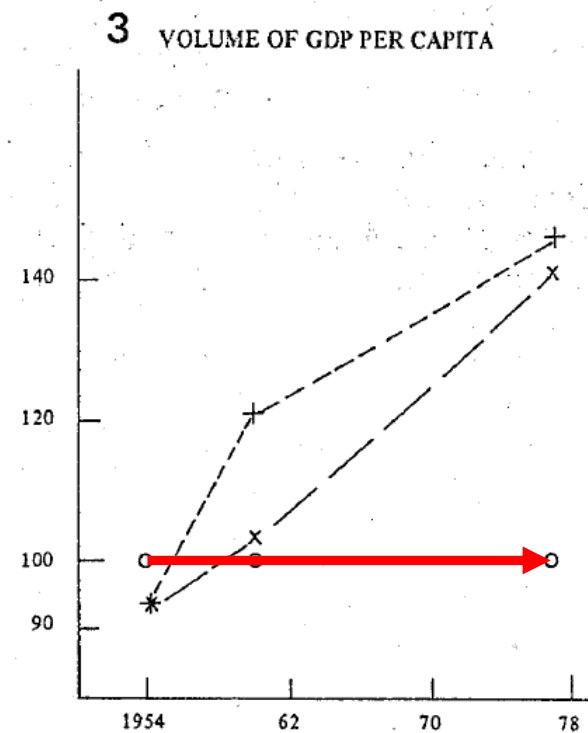
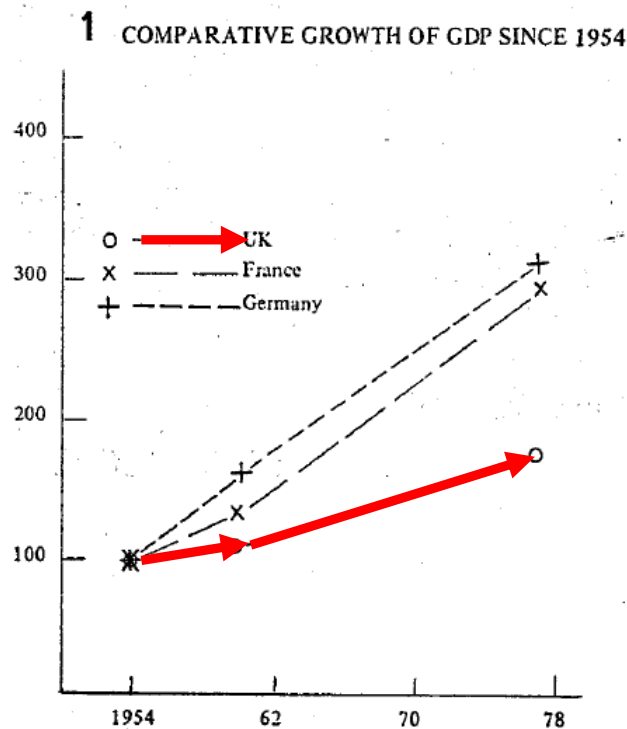
## Chapter 1

1. <http://www.economist.com/node/13315108>
2. <http://www.economist.com/node/13315108>
3. <http://www.economist.com/node/13315108>
4. Nicholas Crafts, *British Relative Economic Decline Revisited* (2011).
5. Nicholas Crafts, ‘British Relative Economic Decline Revisited’, Presentation, 2011.
6. Dominic Sandbrook, *State of Emergency* (2010), p. 57.
7. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk\\_politics/693309.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/693309.stm)
8. Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 127.
9. Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 81.
10. <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748704107104574570122315830890.html>
11. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/5979462/The-rumours-of-Britains-death-have-been-greatly-exaggerated.html>
12. Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 592.
13. Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 593.
14. Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 592.
15. Matt Ridley, *The Rational Optimist* (Fourth Estate, 2010), p. 303.
16. Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 298.
17. Ridley, *The Rational Optimist*, p. 301.
18. Ridley, *The Rational Optimist*, p. 301.
19. [http://www.ejsd.org/public/journal\\_article/10](http://www.ejsd.org/public/journal_article/10)
20. Crafts, ‘British Relative Economic Decline Revisited’, Presentation.
21. <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2009/07/31/forget-the-great-in-britain.html>

The first three references are to: Nicholas Henderson (1979) *Britain’s decline; its causes and consequences*, published in the *Economist*.



# Valedictory despatch by Nicholas Henderson Britain's ambassador in Bonn and Paris, graphs:



Source: Nicholas Henderson (1979) Britain's decline; its causes and consequences (leaked document published in full), The Economist, 2 June, <https://www.economist.com/news/1979/06/02/britains-decline-its-causes-and-consequences> <https://www.margarethatcher.org/document/110961>

1840s England was the richest place on Earth, but life for most people in England was short.

Average age of death for occupational group by location (after [Chadwick, 1842](#)).

<b>Location</b>	<b>Professional Trades</b>	<b>Tradesmen</b>	<b>Labourers</b>
Rutland	52	41	38
Leeds	44	27	19
Liverpool	35	22	15
Manchester	38	20	17
Bolton	34	23	18

Source:  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0277953617307281>

Some 170 years after Victorian misery, UK multiples of mortality risk was widening.

By the start of the twenty-first century, Rutland, which in the nineteenth century was in good health because it was a remote rural area, had become a safe, affluent enclave for the better-off. By 2011, of every 2,174 women aged sixteen to seventy-four in the highest social class in Rutland, one died each year on average. In contrast, in Manchester, men in the same age band but from the lowest social class were **twenty-two times** more likely to die.

Multiples of annual mortality risk all being compared to a women of high status in Rutland 2010-2012:

Location	Men			Women		
	High	Mid	Low	High	Mid	Low
Rutland	2	3	9	1	2	2
Leeds	6	8	14	3	4	7
Liverpool	6	7	14	3	3	6
Manchester	7	8	22	4	4	7
Bolton	6	6	12	3	4	6

Note: The rates are multiples of the rate for women of high social class in Rutland, who had a mortality rate of 46.1 per 100,000 between aged 16 and 74 in the years 2010 to 2012 (or 0.046%); 22 times that is 1.10%.

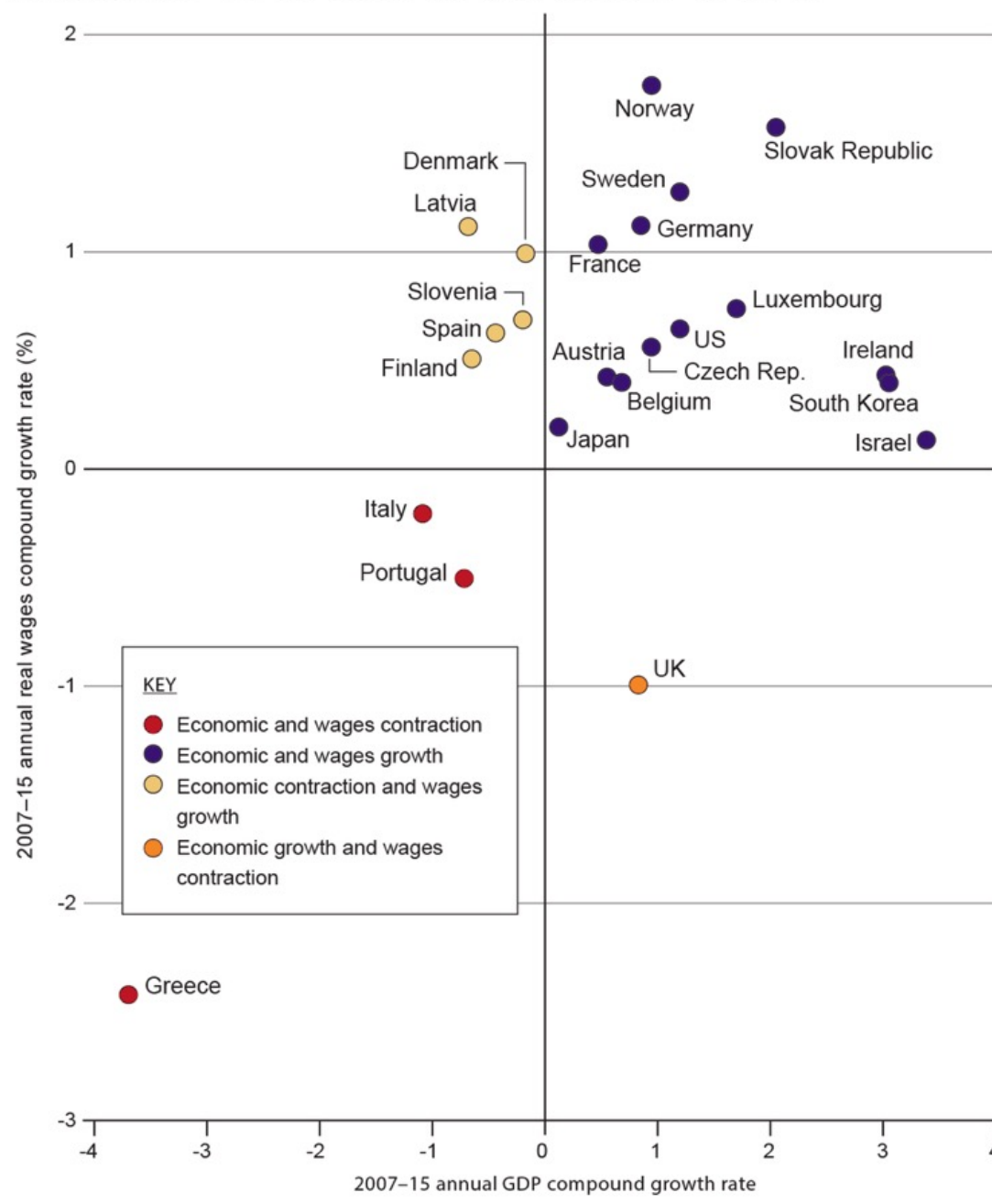
Source: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0277953617307281>



Shattering has occurred in many ways in the UK, but it was mostly silent shattering in the social statistics.

By 2015 the UK had become unique in Europe. The wages of people across the UK were 1% lower in 2015 than in 2007. This put the UK in the company of Italy, Portugal and Greece, which had also seen wages fall in real terms. But these countries had had no choice, as their GDP had fallen. In Britain, what recovery there was, was taken by the bosses and wealthy taking a little more for themselves.

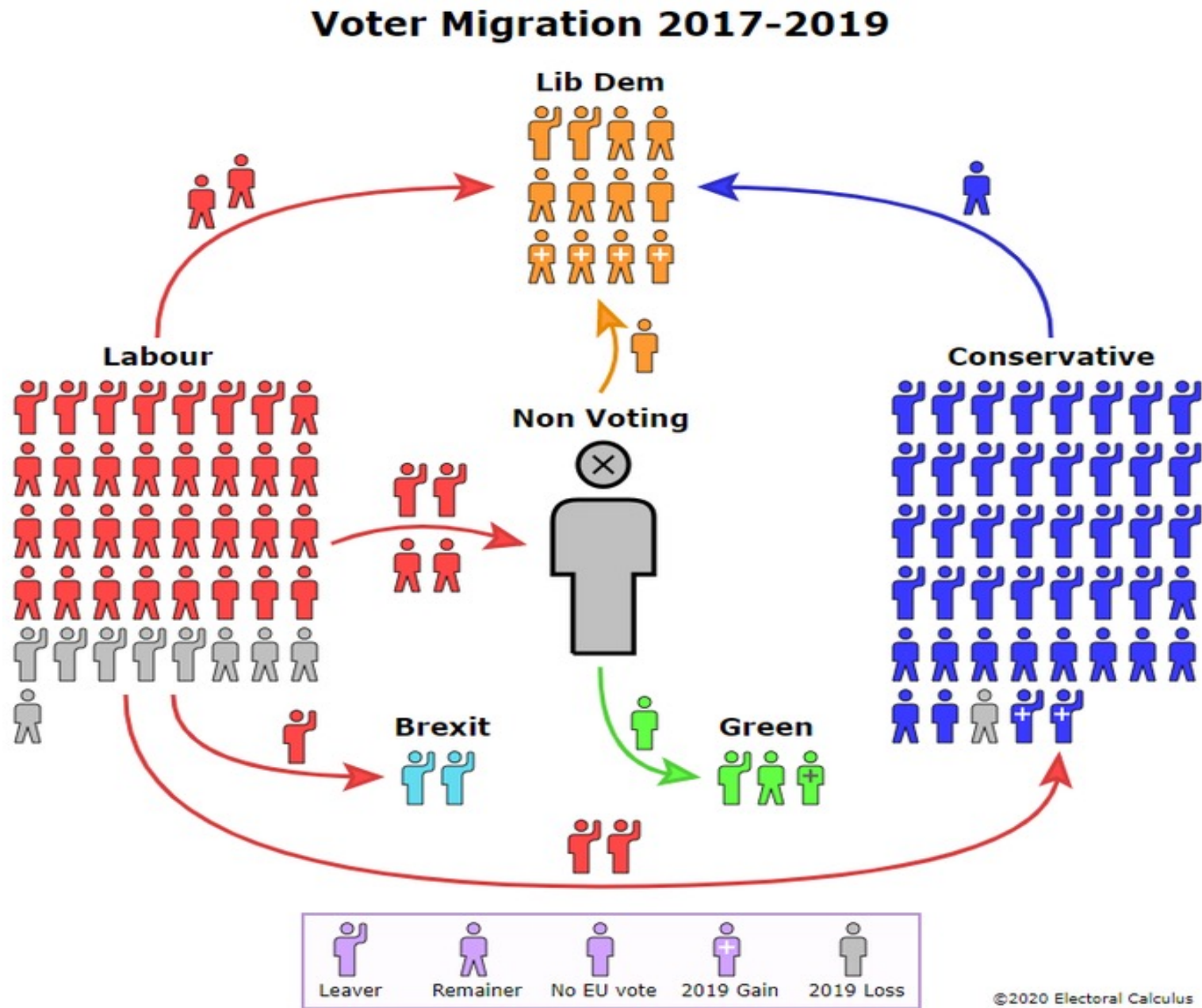
FIGURE 9.1: THE UK WAS ALONE AMONG ADVANCED COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD IN 2015



*How the UK differed from all other affluent countries in 2015: economic growth but falling wages.<sup>11</sup>*

Source:  
<https://www.dannydorling.org/books/rulebritannia/figures/figure-91.html>

Labour lost the 2019 election so badly because 1.2 million people who had voted for the party in 2017 chose not to vote in 2019. It was as simple as that.

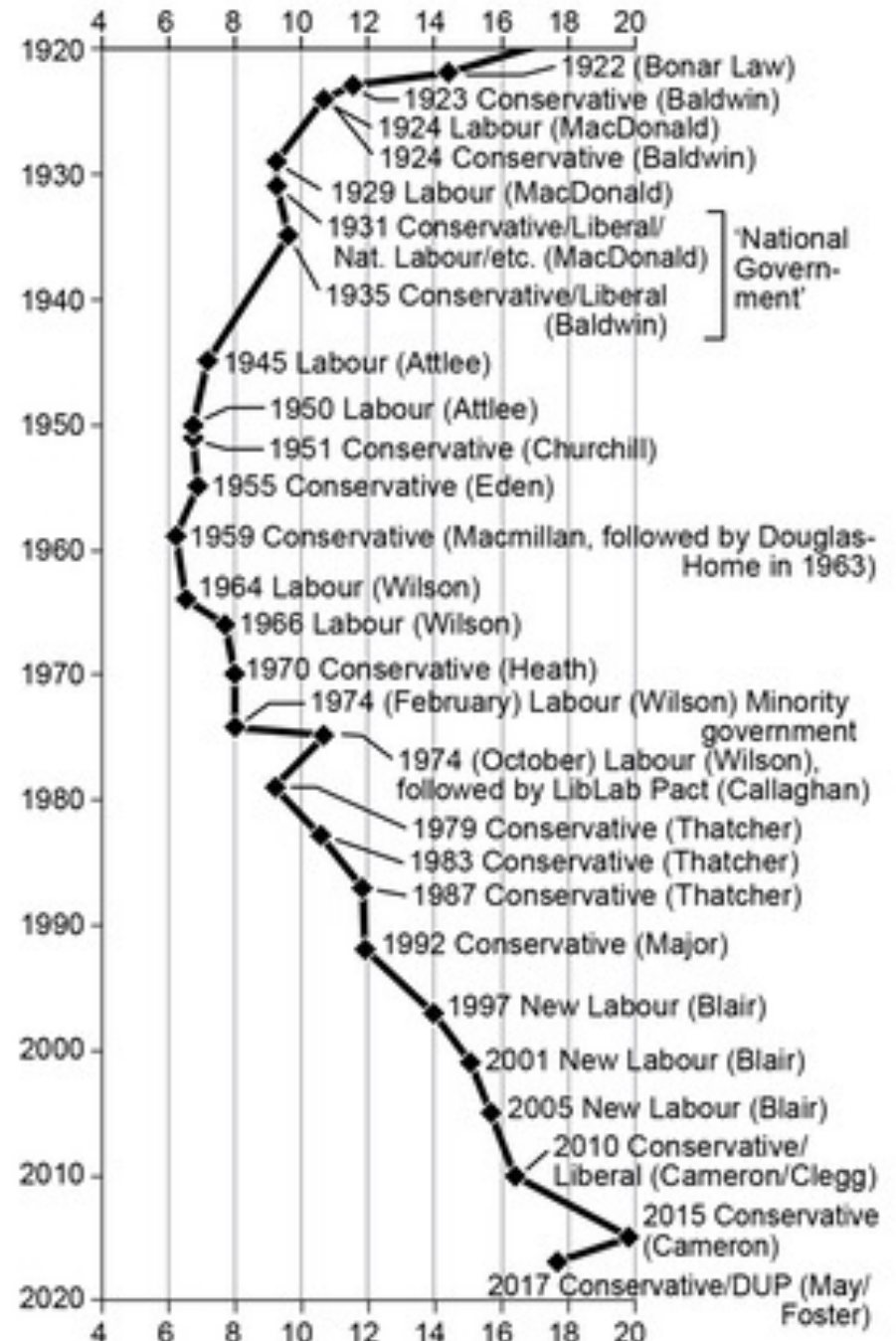


2017 was the sea-change election.

At first it was at the local level that a change in the geographical segregation of voting in Britain was seen, a segregation that had reached its postwar peak in 2015. The segregation that had risen continuously since the 1970s has now begun to fall. The 2017 election was the first to mark the change in direction nationally. There is so much more to see in careful analysis of the data beyond the crude results. The 2017 election was the real sea-change election – the one in which the direction of travel we had been on for decades first measurably altered – when a nation that had become increasingly politically divided by geographical area first became less divided. That was continued in 2019.

Source:  
<https://www.dannydorling.org/books/peak-inequality/figures/figure-2122.html>

**Figure 2.12.2: The Segregation Index of Conservative voters 1920-2017**



How geographically segregated Conservative voters were at each general election: the minimal proportion who would have to move constituency for there to be an even distribution (%). The date of each election is also show alongside the party that won and the surname of its leader(s).

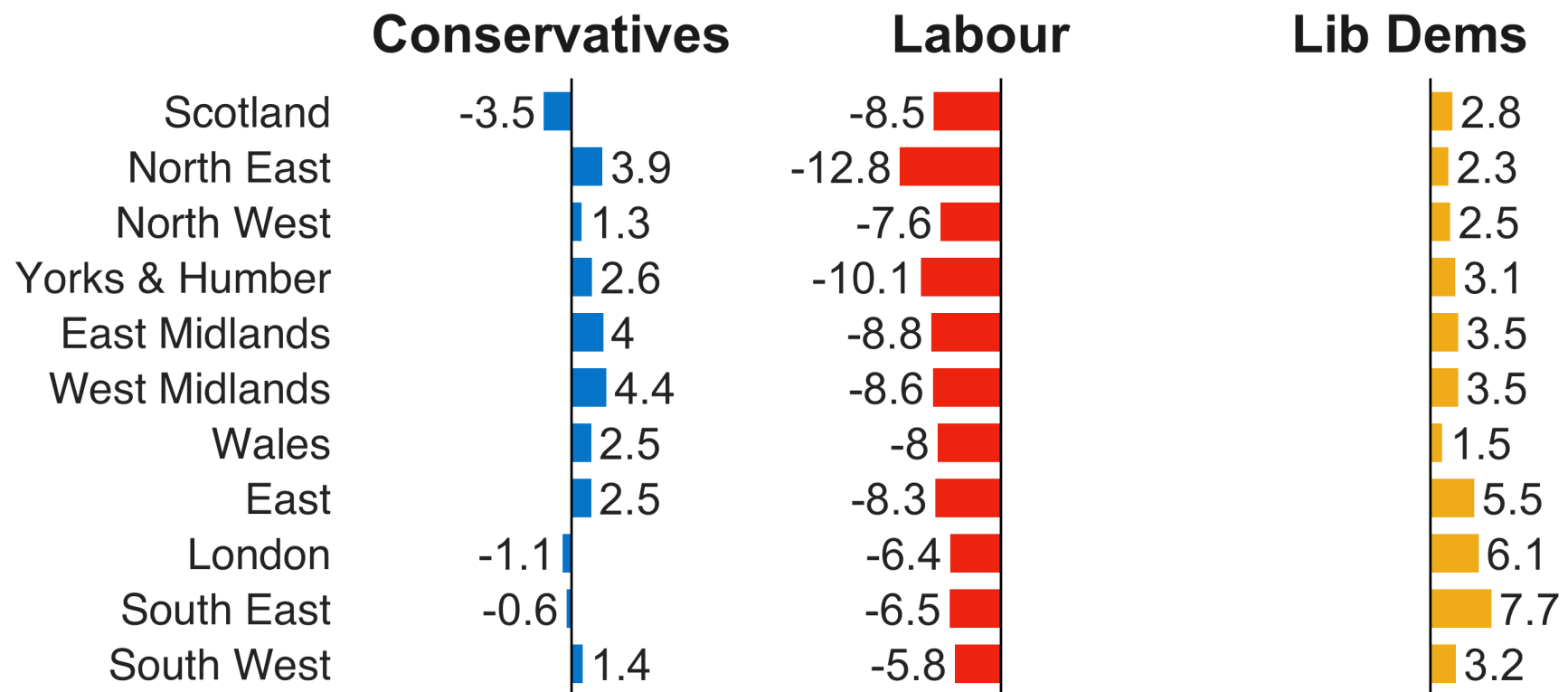


# 2019 was no great mandate for Johnson.

In 2019 the Conservative share of the vote actually shrank in London and the south-east. These were the two regions, along with the south-west, where Labour losses were lowest. However, a rise in popularity for the Liberal Democrats in every region also helped to split the opposition vote and secure the very large Conservative majority.

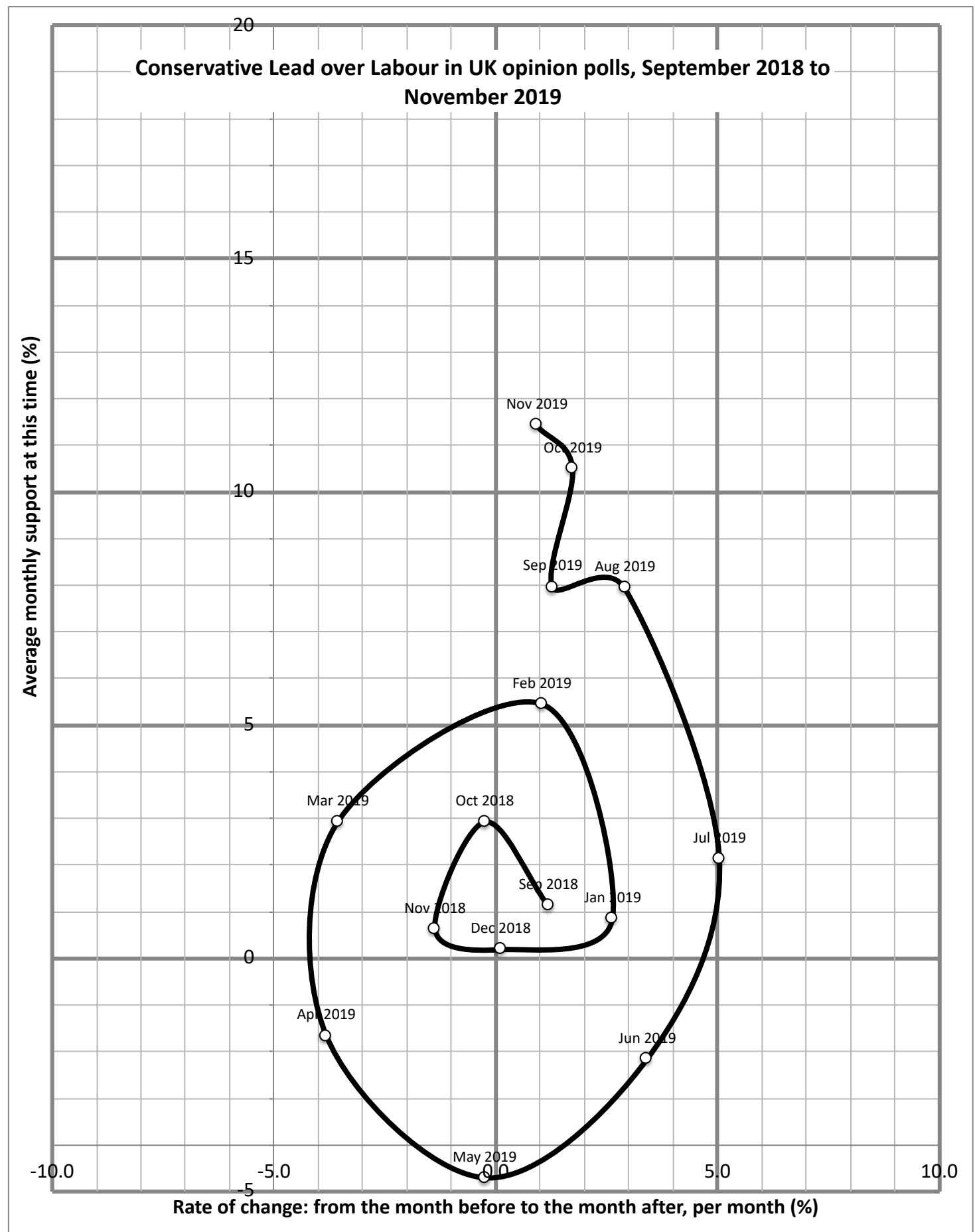
## Conservatives won more votes in the Midlands, while Labour lost votes everywhere

Percentage point change in vote share



After 650 of 650 seats declared

What happened between May 2019 and December 2019?

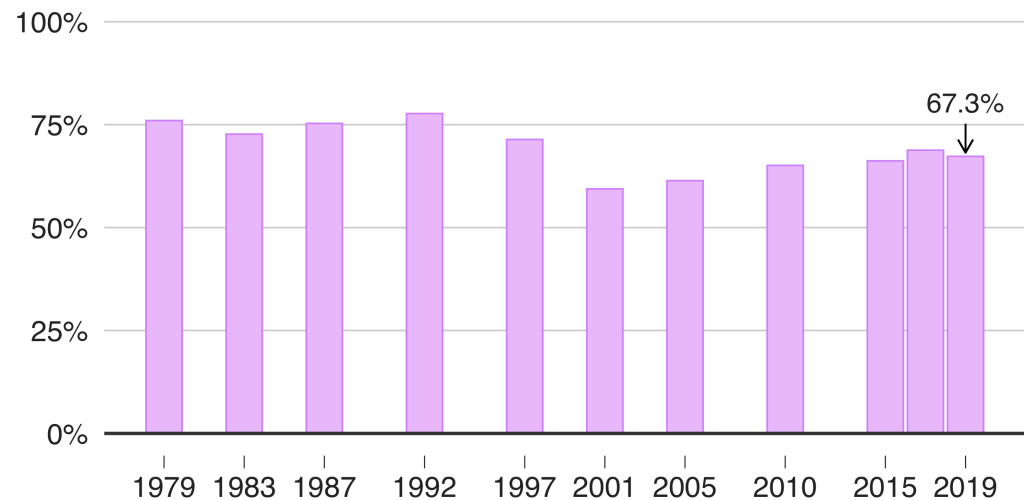


Source: Dorling, D. (2019) Counting words in the manifestos, Public Sector Focus, November/December, p. 14-15, <https://flickread.com/edition/html/index.php?pdf=5dfa4dba6d89e#17>

Lethargy rose,  
but enough of  
the old voted.

## Turnout falls slightly in 2019

General election turnouts, 1979-2019



Source: House of Commons Library

BBC

## The 2019 General election was the Brexit deciding election

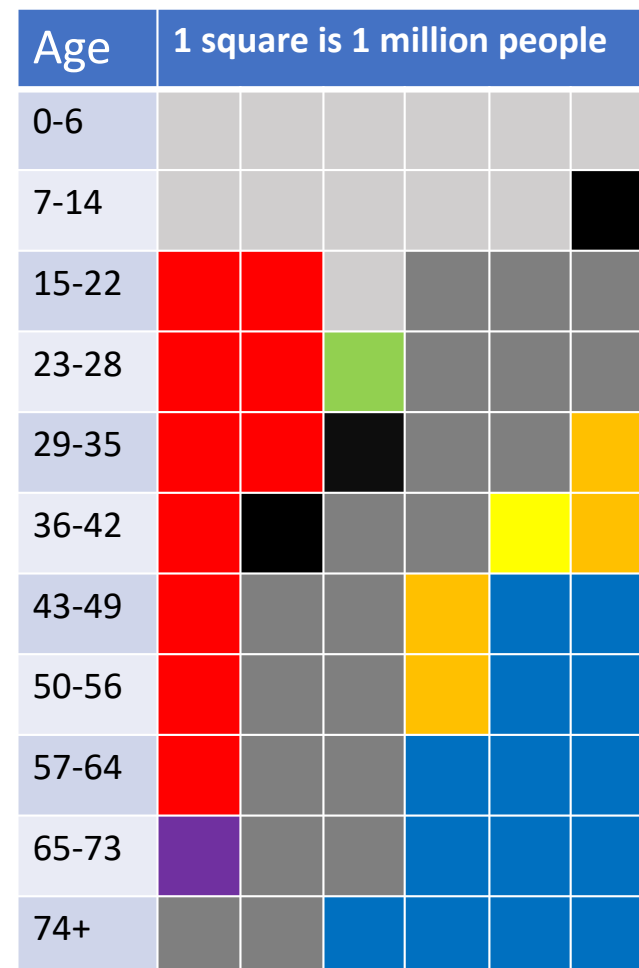
### Of the 66 million people living in the UK

- 20 million did not vote or were eligible but not registered to vote ●
- 14 million voted Conservative (365 seats of 650) ●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●
- 12 million were children (and UK citizens) ●
- 10 million voted Labour (203 seats) ●●●●●●●●●●
- 4 million voted Liberal (11 seats) ●
- 3 million were not UK citizens●
- 1 million voted in Northern Ireland (18 seats) ●
- 1 million voted Scottish National Party (48 seats) ●●
- 1 million voted Green/Plaid or other (5 seats) ●

These 9 groups approximately assigned to 11 equal sized age groups

<https://www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/how-britain-voted-2019-election>

<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/young-cosmopolitans-and-ge2019/>





### 3. Hunger

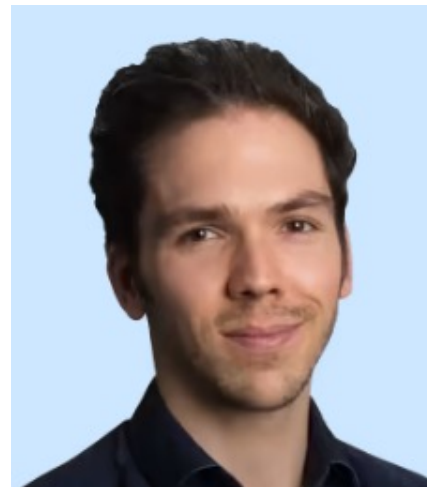


Farmers travelling from old farm to new on Lady Day (25 March), the other three 'quarter days' being Midsummer Day (24 June), Michaelmas (29 September) and Christmas Day (25 December).

In 2022 the International Monetary Fund pointed out that Estonia and the UK were the two countries in Europe where living costs for the poorest 20% of households were set to rise by about twice as much as those for the wealthiest.

In 2023 Stephanie Flanders, head of Bloomberg Economics, explained that in the UK, “The poorest fifth of the population are now much poorer than [in] most of the poorest countries in central and eastern Europe.”

“On present trends, the average Slovenian household will be better off than its British counterpart by 2024.”  
(John Burn-Murdoch, 2022).



Source:

<https://twitter.com/amanpour/status/1621219401713287174?s=20>



# Foodbank form and tulips

‘We are social beings and our survival depends on feeling connected, understood, and cared for. We have to find ways of living together and sharing in order to prosper, and we tell stories to make meaning and sense of our lives.’

Sarah Holyfield  
May 2023

Source:  
<https://sarahholyfield.com/social-being/>

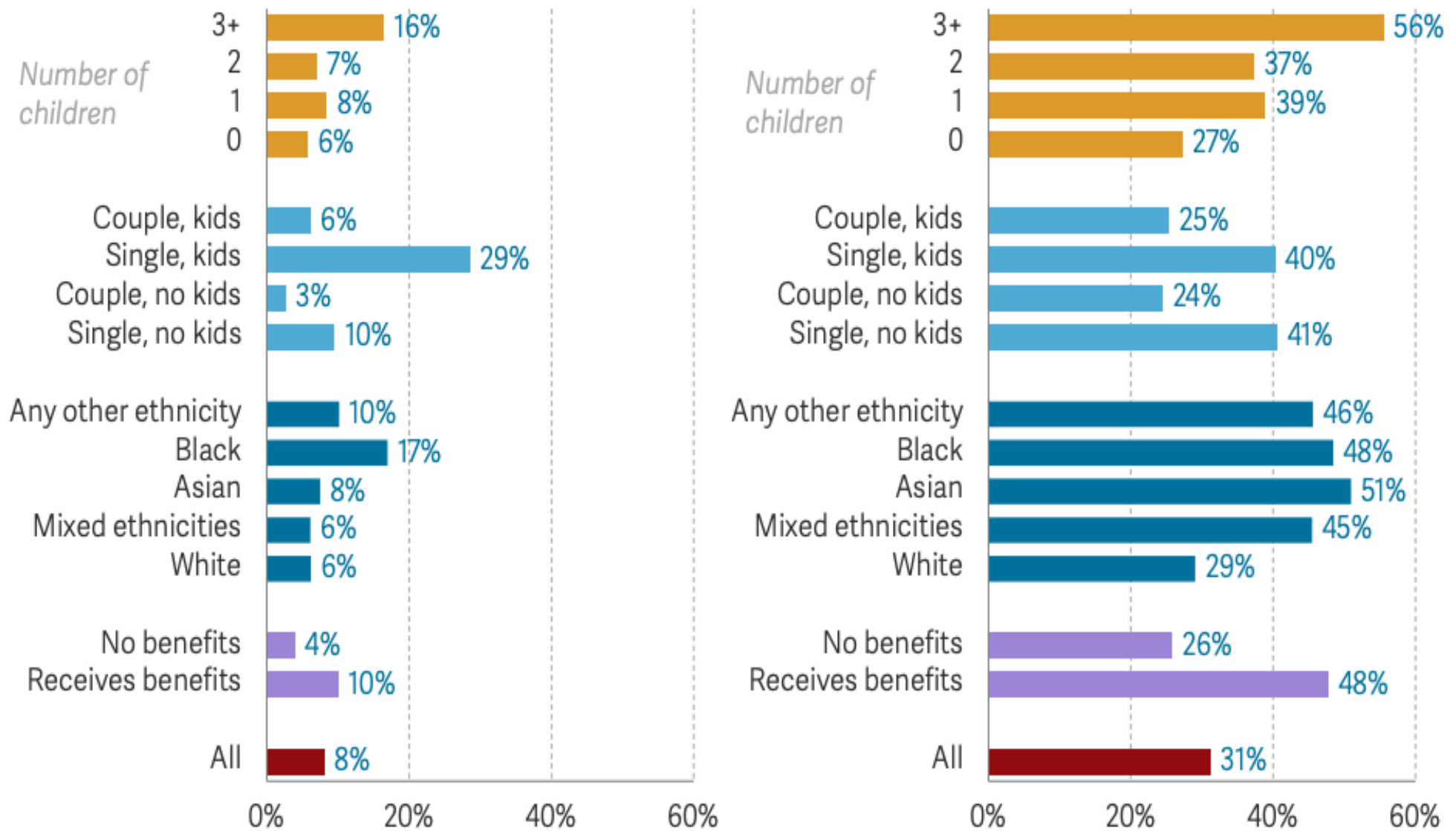




# In the last 30 days, were you ever hungry but didn't eat because there wasn't enough money for food?

FIGURE 7: **Severe and moderate food insecurity is rising sharply**

Percentage of respondents in moderate food insecurity: UK, 2019-20 (left) and 23-30 November 2022 (right)

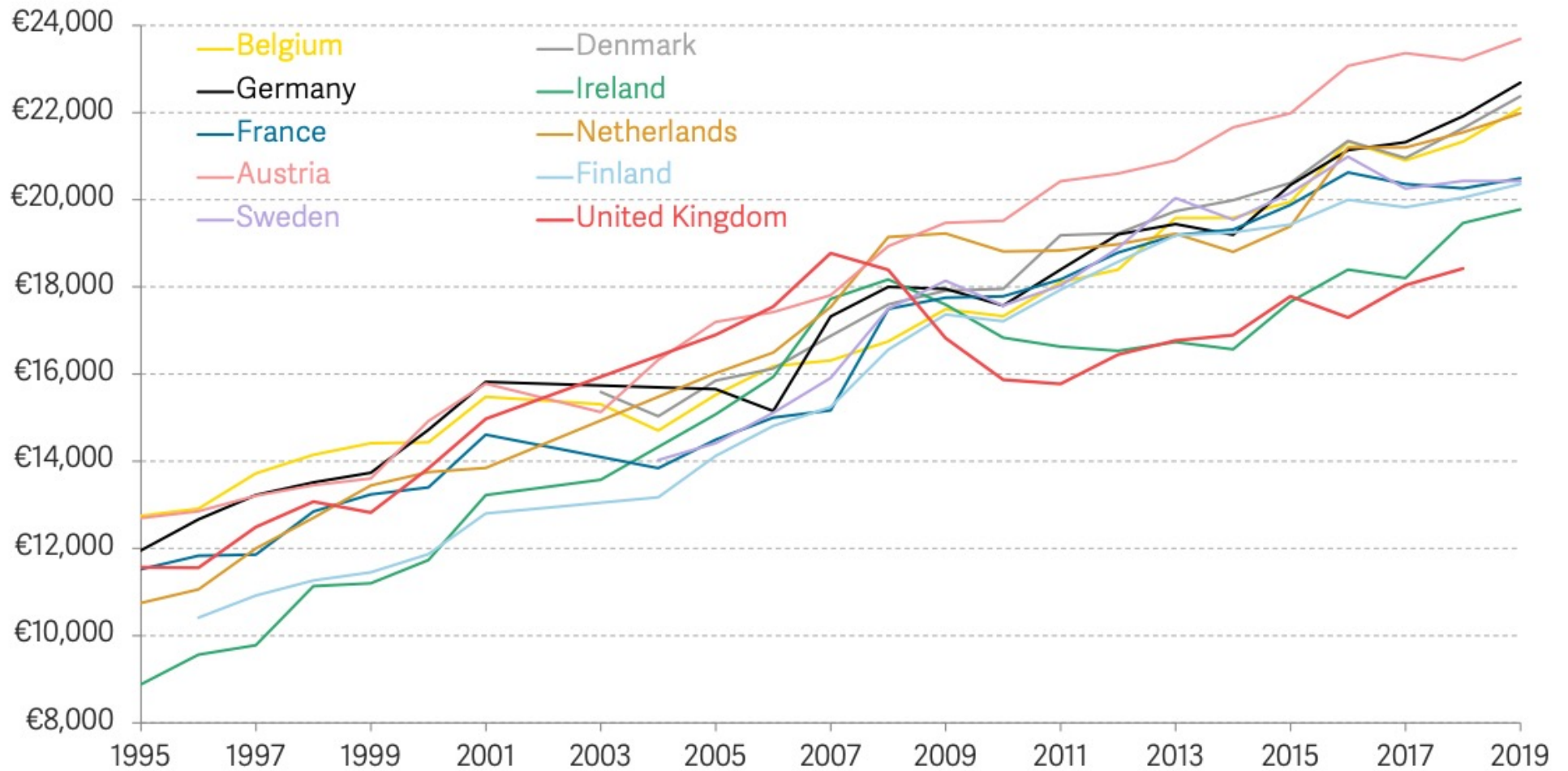


Source: <https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/publications/the-living-standards-outlook-2023/>

# Briefly, the UK was ahead of the pack. But only if the cost of housing was ignored.

FIGURE 4: UK incomes have fallen behind those in neighbouring countries

Median equivalised disposable income, before housing costs, adjusted for purchasing power



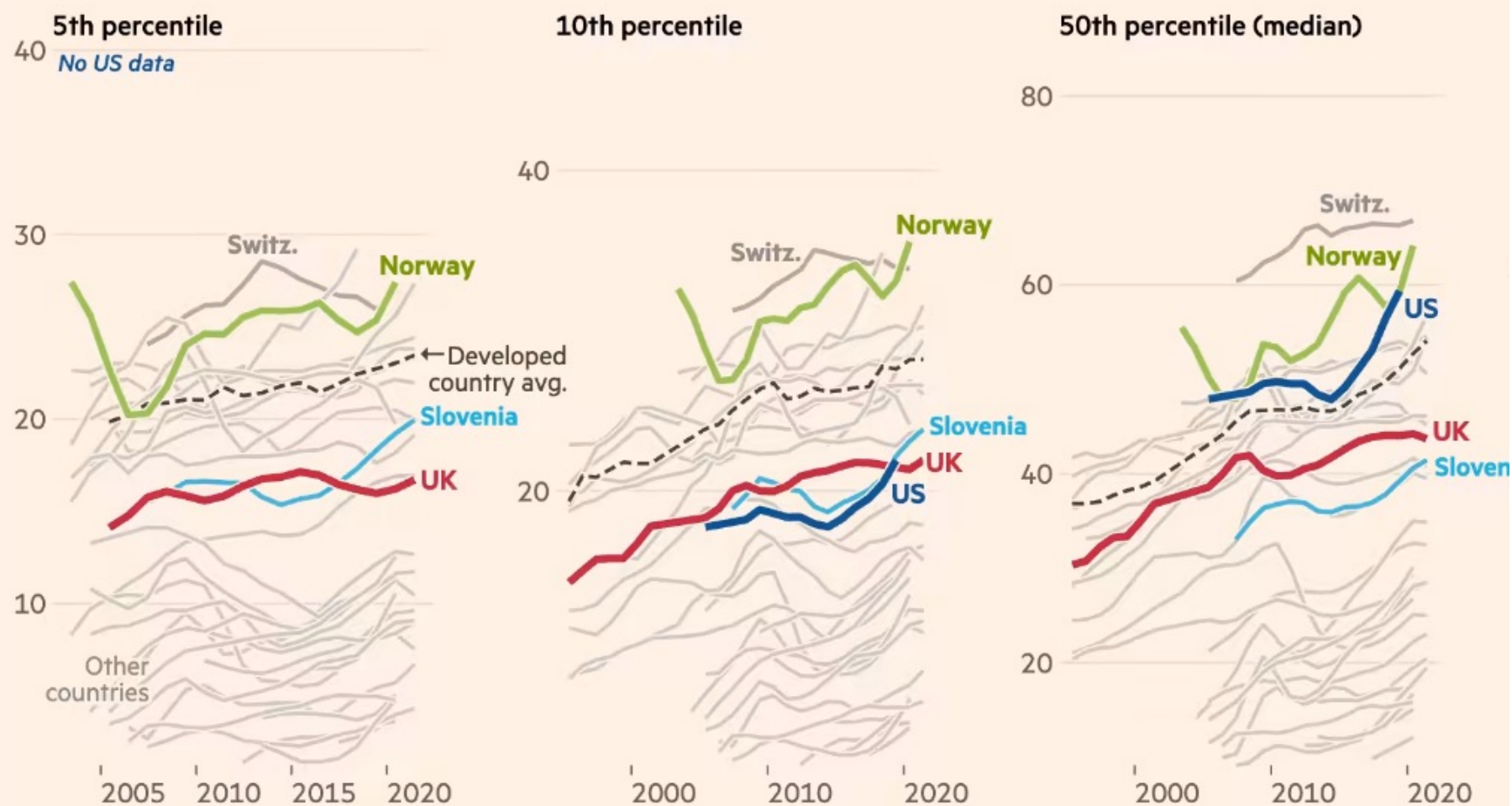
NOTES: Some gaps are interpolated, including all countries in 2002, and UK in 2003 and 2004.  
SOURCE: Eurostat dataset ilc\_di04.

Source: <https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/publications/the-living-standards-audit-2022/>

But the middle UK household was already worse-off than the median individual in comparison to other European countries.

In **Norway**, people right across the income distribution have high living standards. In the **UK** and **US**, the rich fare well but the poorest rank low vs other countries

Disposable household income\* (\$'000, constant 2020 PPPs), by position on income distribution



Sources: FT analysis of data from Eurostat EU-SILC survey, OECD and UK Family Resources Survey  
 \*Household incomes equivalised using modified OECD scale to be representative of a two-adult household  
 FT graphic: John Burn-Murdoch / @jburnmurdoch  
 © FT

“Britain and the US are poor societies with some very rich people.” John Burn-Murdoch, 16/9/2022

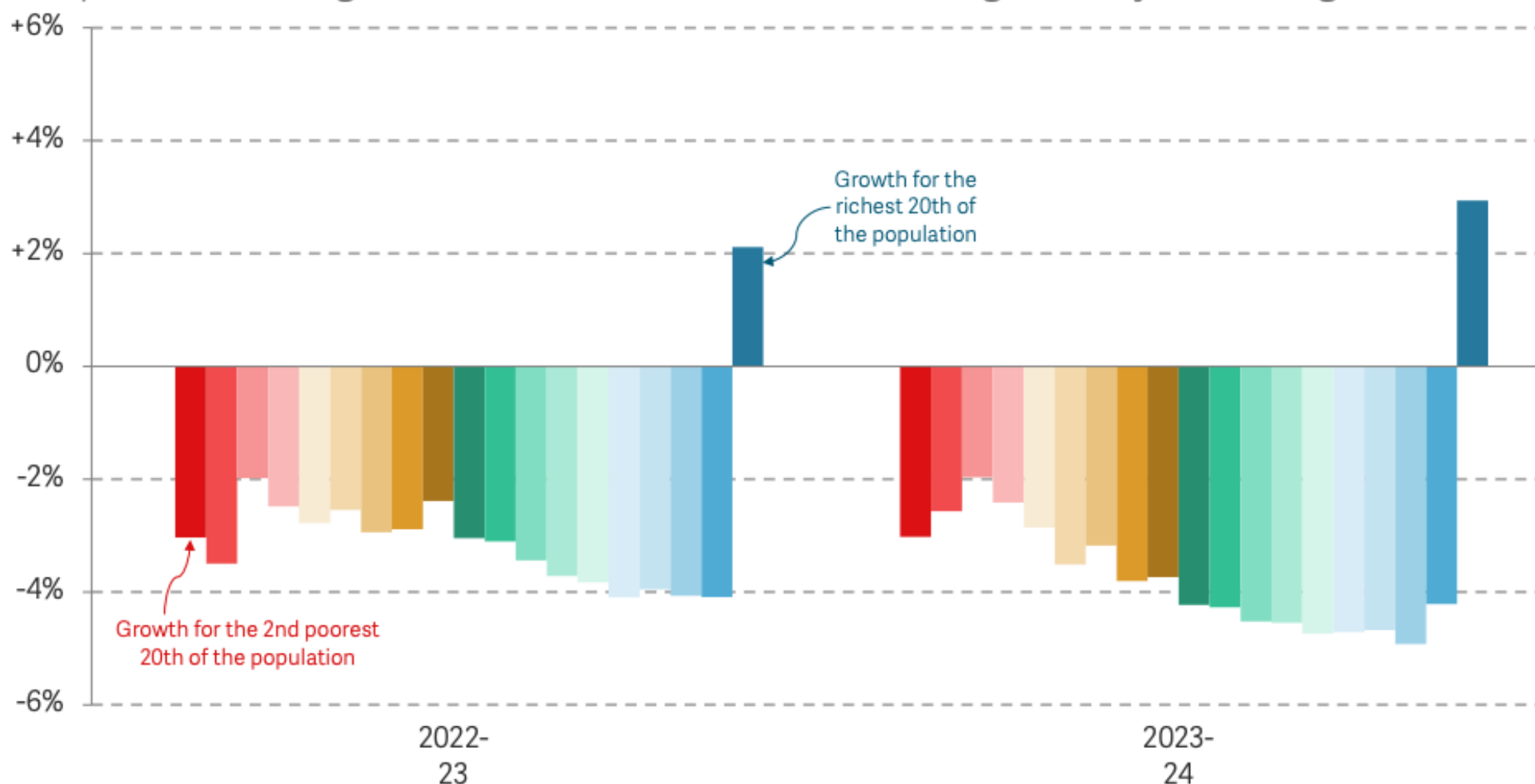
Source: <https://www.ft.com/content/ef265420-45e8-497b-b308-c951baa68945>



‘The only part of the income distribution where incomes grow is in the top 5%, where households benefit from higher interest rates.’ (Resolution Foundation 2023)

FIGURE 32: Low-income households face larger income falls in 2022-23 and 2023-24 when differential inflation is accounted for

Annual real growth in average equivalised household disposable income for non-pensioners using differential inflation rates, after housing costs, by income vigintile: UK



NOTES: We exclude the bottom 5 per cent, due to concerns about the reliability of data for this group.

SOURCE: RF analysis of DWP, Households Below Average Income; and RF projection including use of the IPPR Tax Benefit Model, ONS data, and OBR forecasts.

# Controlling food prices in mainland Europe

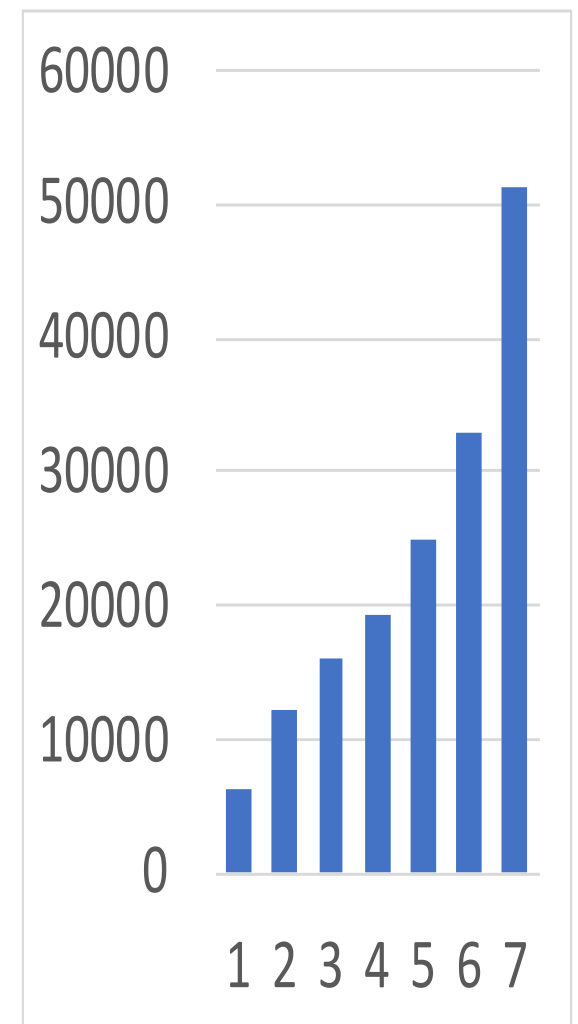
In 2014, a cap was introduced on Greece's beaches to stop greedy proprietors trying to charge more than €1.15 for a cheese toastie. By 2022 price controls on basic foodstuffs had been extended to the food and drinks sold in airports, cinemas, theatres, bus stations, hospitals, clinics, archaeological sites and museums, passenger ships, trains, sports grounds, courts, nursing homes, universities and schools. The items affected included bottled water of any kind, which was capped at half a euro for half a litre. A single Greek coffee was capped at €1.20, French filter coffee at €1.30, an espresso coffee at €1.45, a frappé at €1.30 and English tea at €1.30. Passengers in first class could be charged more. The point of these regulations was to stop exploitation. By 2022 the price of a toastie had risen by 10 cents to €1.25, or €1.45 if it also contained ham.



# Three or four out of every seven UK children live in poverty (£10 a day to live on).

If you divide UK families with children into seven equal-sized groups by income (each containing about 2 million children), then each group has at least 18% more income than the one below it. However, the seventh (the best-off group) has 35% more than the sixth group. The many people across the UK who found a real income fall of 3% in 2022 shocking can probably barely imagine living on an income 18% or 35% below what they live on now.

	£ 'disposable'	/Week	Per Year	per child/day
1	1 <sup>st</sup> seventh	118	6100	3.37
2	2 <sup>nd</sup> seventh	237	12300	6.77
3	3 <sup>rd</sup> seventh	305	15900	8.71
4	Middle Child	371	19300	10.60
5	42 <sup>nd</sup> -29 <sup>th</sup> %tile	476	24800	13.60
6	28 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> %tile	633	32900	18.09
7	14 <sup>th</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> %tile	984	51200	28.11
i	7th percentile	1281	66600	36.49
ii	6th percentile	1381	71800	39.34
iii	5th percentile	1687	87700	48.05
iv	4th percentile	1915	99600	54.58
v	3rd percentile	2327	121000	66.30
vi	2nd percentile	3365	175000	95.89
vii	in top 1%	11956	621700	340.66



Source – analysis of HBAI data and (for the top 7%, tax records) for children born in 2018. Equalized incomes after housing costs, taxes & benefits.





# Top Rank:

The UK has continued to have the most miserly out-of-work benefits for single adults for many decades.

Sources: Olaf van Vliet and Koen Caminada (2012) Unemployment Replacement Rates Dataset Among 34 Welfare States, 1971-2009: An Update, Extension and Modification of the Scruggs' Welfare State Entitlements Data Set

Leiden Law School - Department of Economics, NEUJOBS Special Report No. 2, Table 2, page 7, [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1991214](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1991214) and <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228311401>

Table 2. Net unemployment replacement rates in 34 countries, 2009

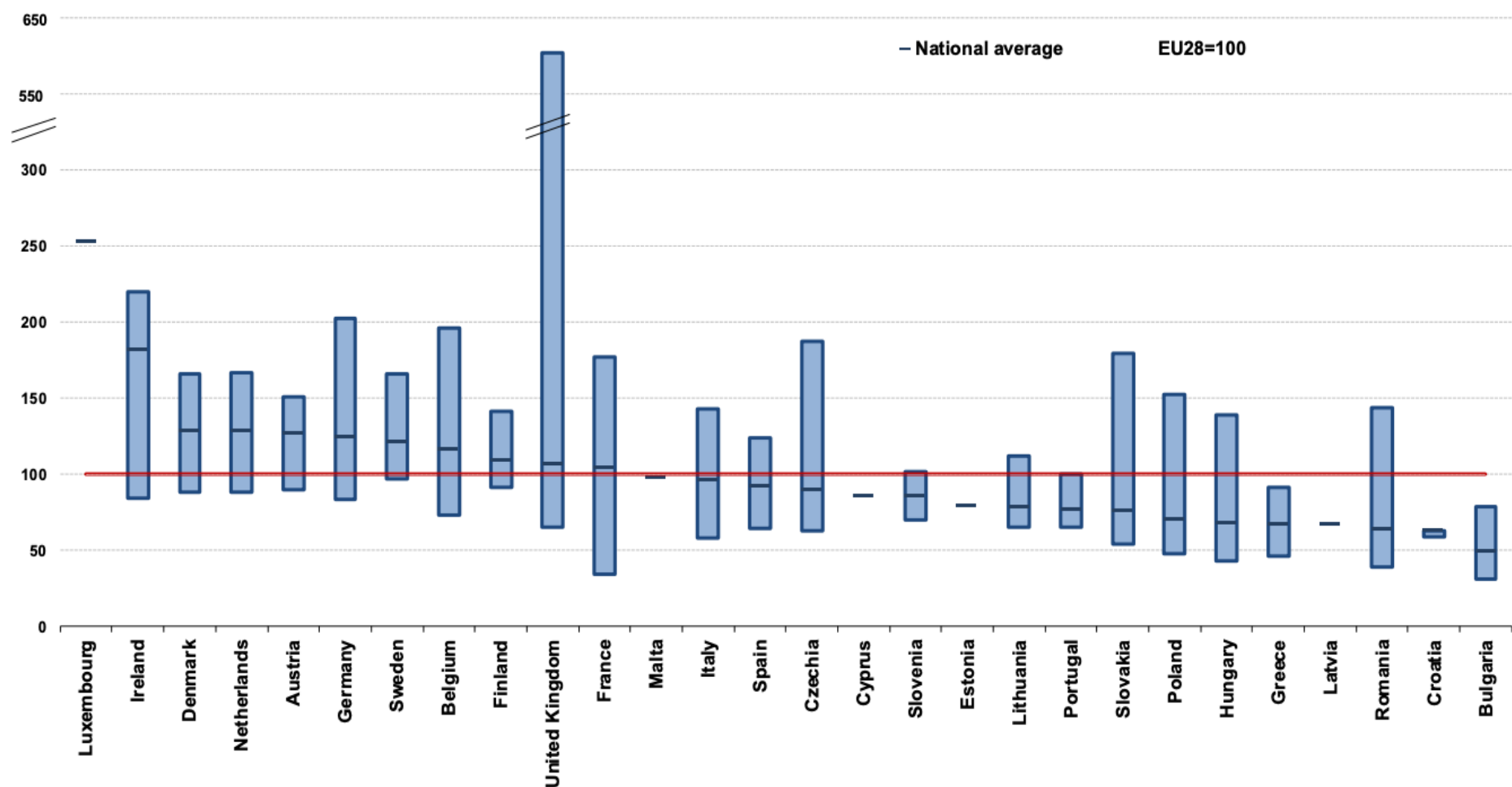
	Single person	One couple earner	Difference
Australia	0.22	0.54	0.31
Austria	0.55	0.68	0.13
Belgium	0.59	0.60	0.01
Bulgaria	0.60	0.66	0.06
Canada	0.59	0.72	0.13
Cyprus (2007)	0.57	0.76	0.19
Czech Republic	0.49	0.52	0.03
Denmark	0.55	0.62	0.07
Estonia	0.45	0.51	0.06
Finland	0.54	0.63	0.09
France	0.69	0.70	0.00
Germany	0.60	0.72	0.12
Greece	0.39	0.44	0.05
Hungary	0.34	0.47	0.13
Ireland	0.36	0.64	0.28
Italy	0.63	0.73	0.10
Japan	0.61	0.56	-0.04
Lithuania	0.51	0.52	0.01
Latvia	0.51	0.47	-0.04
Luxembourg	0.84	0.90	0.07
Malta	0.30	0.49	0.19
Netherlands	0.68	0.72	0.03
New Zealand	0.23	0.47	0.24
Norway	0.67	0.72	0.06
Poland	0.24	0.27	0.03
Portugal	0.78	0.75	-0.03
Romania	0.65	0.68	0.03
Spain	0.49	0.69	0.20
Slovak Republic	0.63	0.57	-0.06
Slovenia	0.65	0.66	0.01
Sweden	0.60	0.64	0.04
Switzerland	0.71	0.83	0.12
<b>United Kingdom</b>	<b>0.17</b>	<b>0.52</b>	<b>0.35</b>
United States	0.57	0.52	-0.05
<b>Mean</b>	<b>0.53</b>	<b>0.61</b>	<b>0.08</b>

# The UK had the widest geographical inequalities of all European Union countries when it was a member.

In 2017, regional GDP per capita, expressed in terms of purchasing power standards, ranged from 31% of the European Union (EU) average in the Bulgarian region of **North-West**, to 626% of the average in **Inner London - West** in the United Kingdom.

As the graph below shows, there is a considerable variation both in the EU and within the Member States. This information is taken from data released by **Eurostat**, the statistical office of the **European Union**.

**Variation of regional GDP per capita within EU Member States in 2017**  
in PPS, EU28 = 100



The bar shows for each Member State the range from the region with the lowest value to that with the highest value.

Source: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-euro-indicators/-/1-26022019-ap>



In 2017, the GDP/capita of Inner West London was €209,900. Those boroughs contained 10.5% of the GDP of the UK and just 1.8% of the population.

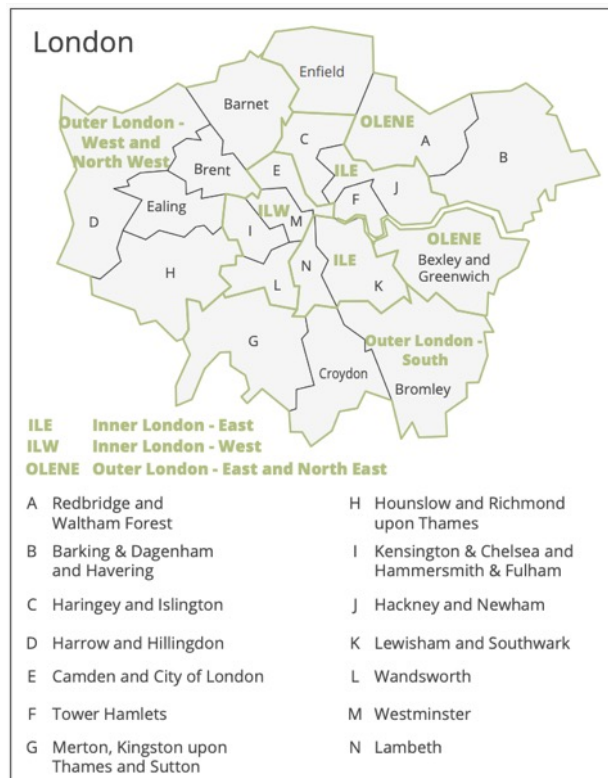
GDP per capita €		GDP/capita inequality in London in 2017, EU data		GDP per capita PPS. EU28=100	
62 800	London	187	PPS =	187	PPS = purchasing power standard
209 900	Inner London - West	626		626	
56 400	Inner London - East	168		168	
24 200	Outer London - East & North East	72		72	
30 000	Outer London - South	89		89	
43 100	Outer London - West & North West	129		129	

## Inner West London:

City of London, Camden, Kensington & Chelsea, Hammersmith & Fulham, and Westminster.

## Outer London E and NE:

Barking & Dagenham, Enfield, Redbridge & Waltham Forest, and Havering.



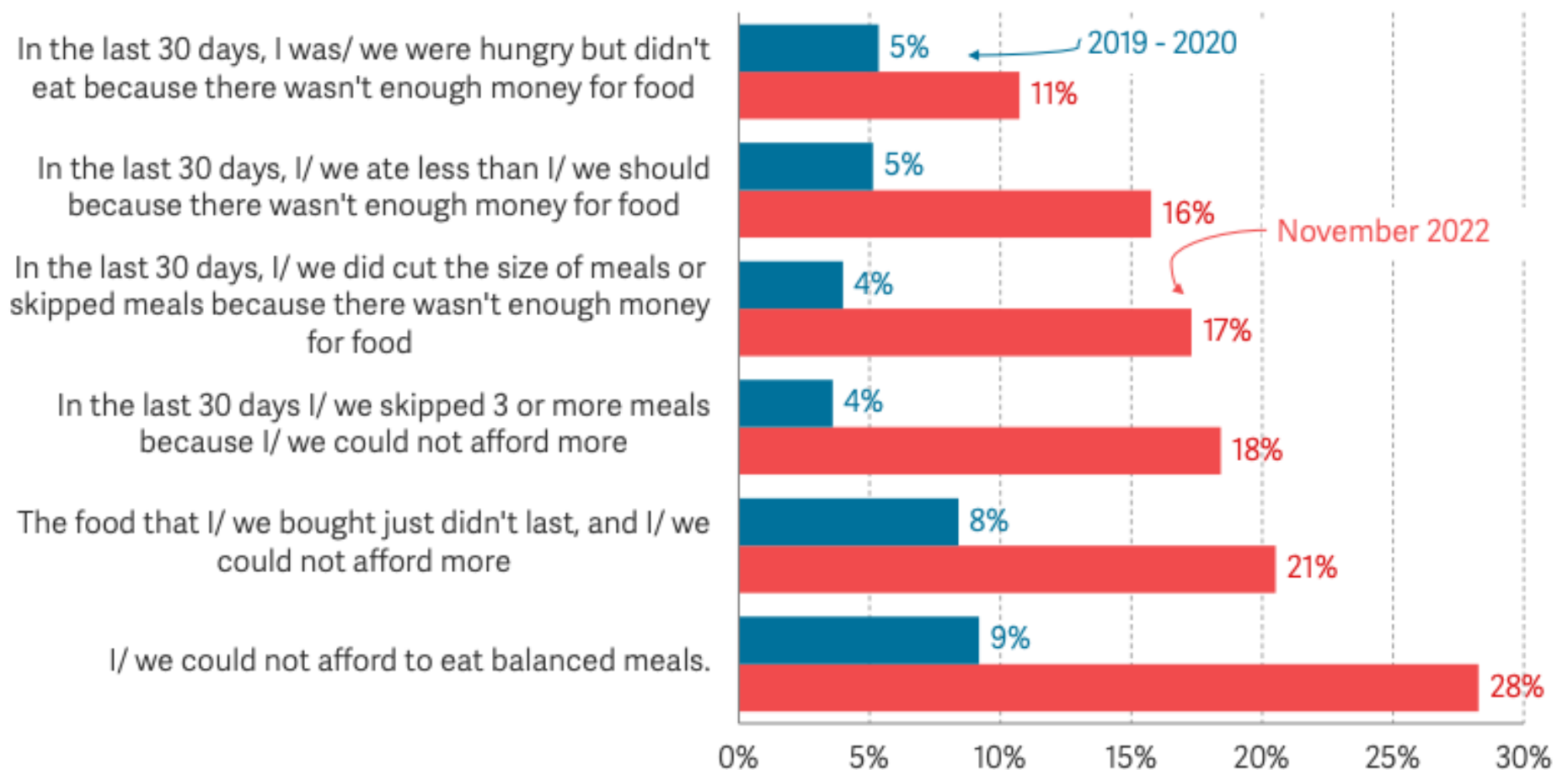
Regional GDP in the European Union, 2017						
Region (NUTS 2016)	GDP € million	Share in national GDP %	GDP per capita €	PPS PPS, EU28=100	GDP per capita PPS, EU28=100	
EU	15 383 066	-	30 000	100	100	
<b>FINLAND</b>	<b>222 661</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>46 666</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>159</b>	
Manner-Suomi	222 661	99.4	46 666	154	159	
Länsi-Suomi	49 804	22.2	36 100	120	127	
Itä-Suomi	86 714	38.7	52 700	176	184	
Etelä-Suomi	42 208	18.9	36 400	121	127	
Pohjois- ja Itä-Suomi	48 935	21.9	33 800	113	118	
<b>Aland</b>	<b>1 393</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>47 100</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>162</b>	
<b>Extracorp*</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>47 200</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>162</b>	
<b>IRELAND</b>	<b>475 224</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>47 200</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>162</b>	
Ógra Síovroie	216 659	45.6	54 600	182	190	
Siobhroie	148 157	31.2	44 700	149	156	
Ósra Meánaivroie	68 923	14.4	40 900	136	143	
<b>Svea Sverige</b>	<b>188 743</b>	<b>39.7</b>	<b>43 400</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>151</b>	
Småland med Öarna	34 724	7.3	40 800	136	143	
Sydvästra	60 836	12.8	40 700	136	143	
Norrsvästra	23 183	4.6	46 500	155	162	
Norra Sverige	69 716	14.7	48 000	160	167	
Norra Mellansverige	32 272	6.8	38 000	127	133	
Mellersta Norrland	14 926	3.1	39 800	133	140	
Östra Norrland	22 518	4.7	43 500	145	151	
<b>Extracorp*</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>43 500</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>151</b>	
<b>UNITED KINGDOM</b>	<b>2 337 971</b>	<b>15.2</b>	<b>35 400</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>124</b>	
North East (England)	68 395	2.9	25 900	86	91	
Tees Valley & Durham	28 039	1.2	23 400	78	83	
Northumbria and Tyne & Wear	40 356	1.7	27 800	93	98	
North West (England)	223 055	9.5	39 700	132	139	
Greater Manchester	85 327	3.6	30 500	102	107	
Lancashire	41 972	1.8	29 200	97	102	
Cheshire	39 739	1.7	42 900	143	149	
Merseyside	41 154	1.8	28 700	95	100	
Yorkshire & the Humber	150 028	6.4	27 600	92	97	
Yorkshire & Northern Lincolnshire	23 912	1.0	25 700	86	91	
North Yorkshire	24 592	1.1	30 000	100	105	
South Yorkshire	33 393	1.4	24 000	80	85	
West Yorkshire	68 133	2.9	29 500	98	103	
<b>East Midlands (England)</b>	<b>133 924</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>28 100</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>99</b>	
Derbyshire & Nottinghamshire	59 918	2.5	27 200	91	96	
Leicestershire, Rutland & Northamptonshire	56 719	2.4	31 100	104	109	
Lincolnshire	17 387	0.7	23 200	77	82	
<b>West Midlands (England)</b>	<b>171 023</b>	<b>7.3</b>	<b>29 200</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>102</b>	
Herefordshire, Worcestershire & Warwickshire	43 911	1.9	32 700	109	114	
Shropshire & Staffordshire	41 474	1.8	26 000	87	92	
<b>West Midlands</b>	<b>85 338</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>29 600</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>104</b>	
<b>East of England</b>	<b>186 317</b>	<b>8.4</b>	<b>31 600</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>110</b>	
East Anglia	78 204	3.3	31 200	104	109	
Bedfordshire & Hertfordshire	67 167	2.9	36 400	121	126	
Essex	50 943	2.2	29 000	97	102	
<b>London</b>	<b>563 948</b>	<b>23.7</b>	<b>62 800</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>218</b>	
Inner London - West	245 180	10.5	209 900	700	725	
Inner London - East	134 082	5.7	56 400	188	196	
Outer London - East & North East	46 197	2.0	24 200	81	85	
Outer London - South	38 719	1.7	26 800	90	94	
Outer London - West & North West	89 582	3.8	43 100	144	150	
<b>South East (England)</b>	<b>343 181</b>	<b>14.7</b>	<b>37 800</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>132</b>	
Berkshire, Buckinghamshire & Oxfordshire	116 150	5.0	48 600	162	169	
Surrey, East & West Sussex	105 006	4.6	36 500	122	127	
Hampshire & Isle of Wight	68 937	2.9	34 400	115	120	
Kent	53 087	2.3	29 000	97	102	
<b>South West (England)</b>	<b>167 838</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>30 200</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>106</b>	
Gloucestershire, Wiltshire & Bristol/Bath area	86 079	3.6	209 900	700	725	
Dorset & Somerset	36 206	1.5	27 300	91	96	
Cornwall & Isles of Scilly	12 769	0.5	20 800	70	74	
Devon	30 783	1.3	26 000	87	92	
<b>Wales</b>	<b>79 897</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>25 600</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>89</b>	
West Wales & The Valleys	43 270	1.9	22 000	73	77	
East Wales	36 628	1.6	31 500	105	110	
<b>Scotland</b>	<b>177 824</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>32 700</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>114</b>	
North Eastern Scotland	23 901	1.0	43 800	146	153	
Highlands & Islands	14 676	0.6	31 200	104	109	
Eastern Scotland	71 977	3.1	36 300	121	126	
West Central Scotland	46 574	2.0	30 300	101	106	
Southern Scotland	20 490	0.9	21 600	72	76	
<b>Northern Ireland</b>	<b>50 938</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>27 200</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>96</b>	
<b>Extracorp*</b>	<b>21 857</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>27 200</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>96</b>	

Source: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-euro-indicators/-/1-26022019-ap>

# Hunger rises, 2019/2020 to November 2022

FIGURE 6: Families are increasingly going hungry

Percentage of respondents reporting being unable to afford sufficient food: UK, 2019-20 and 23-30 November 2022



NOTES: Responses shown for all adults aged 18+. Base (n=10,470). Respondents to those who said 'often true' (10 per cent) and 'sometimes true' (18 per cent) These figures have been analysed independently by the Resolution Foundation.

SOURCE: RF analysis of YouGov, adults age 18+ Cost of Living Crisis November 2022 wave; DWP, Households Below Average Income, HBAI, 2019-20, DWP, Family Resources Survey, FRS, 2019-20.

Source: <https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/publications/the-living-standards-outlook-2023/>

# Trouble ahead

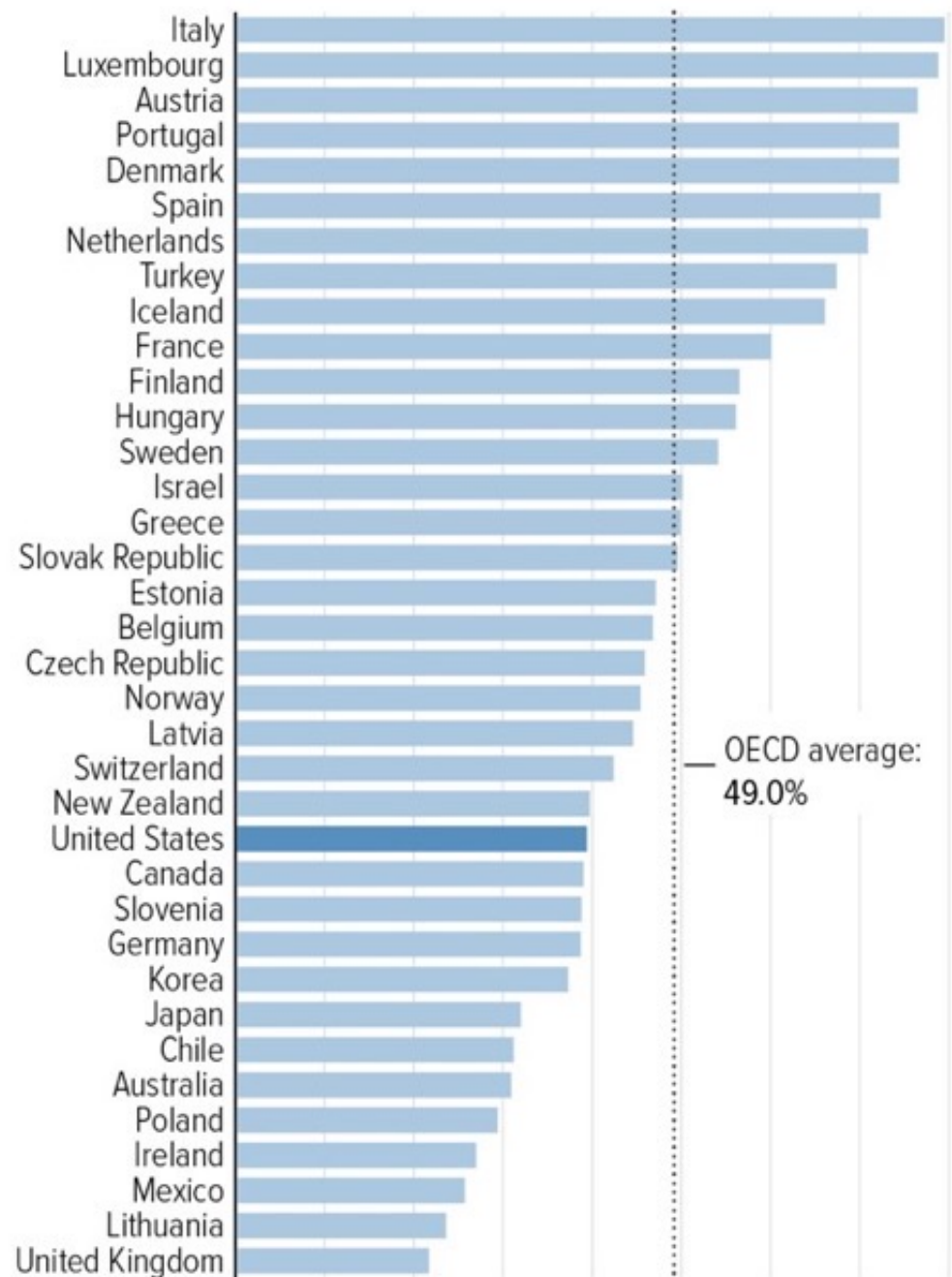
‘Inequality is set to rise every year from 2021-22 onwards. .... This rise in inequality is primarily driven by gains at the top of the distribution from growth in unearned income. After 2023-24, the pattern of income growth ... is unambiguously inequality-increasing. Our forecast is that, by 2027-28, inequality could reach a record high of 40.8%, higher than the previous peak just before the financial crisis.’

## Resolution Foundation

Source: <https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/publications/the-living-standards-outlook-2023/>

## Social Security Benefits Are Lower Than in Many Other Developed Nations

Social Security benefits for average worker as a percentage of earnings



Note: Data depict the gross public-pension benefit (in the U.S. context, Social Security) for an average worker in each country who enters the workforce today and works steadily until full pension age (in the U.S., age 67), as a percent of pre-tax earnings.

Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Pensions at a Glance 2019: Retirement Systems in OECD Countries

CENTER ON BUDGET AND POLICY PRIORITIES | CBPP.ORG

Source: <https://www.cbpp.org/research/social-security/social-security-benefits-are-modest>



## 4. Precarity



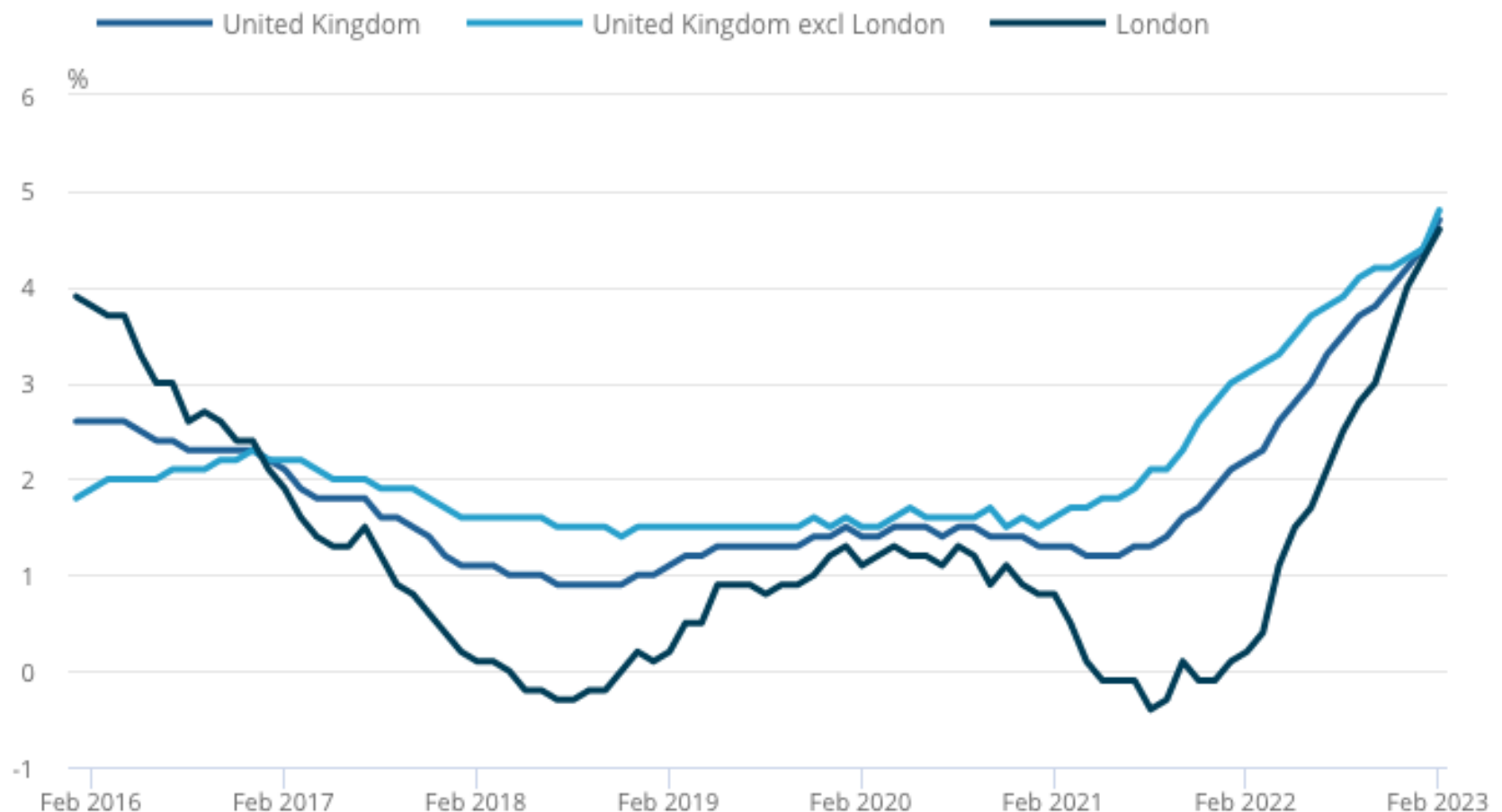
‘The unstoppable fire of freedom’:  
AI painting inspired by Vincent van Gogh

Source: [https://twitter.com/literatura\\_rte/status/1646517825446752257](https://twitter.com/literatura_rte/status/1646517825446752257) Available as a canvas print  
[bit.ly/3GyidzQ](https://bit.ly/3GyidzQ)

# Rapid increase in housing precarity from 2022.

In September 2022, over 1,000 mortgage products were withdrawn from offer in the UK as interest rates surged. In February 2023, ONS reported the largest rise in UK average rents since their time series began (heading to 5%). The cost of new housing per square metre in the UK is highest of any country in Europe. Rates of homelessness and precarity in housing are rising. More homes are revealed to be unfit for human habitation.

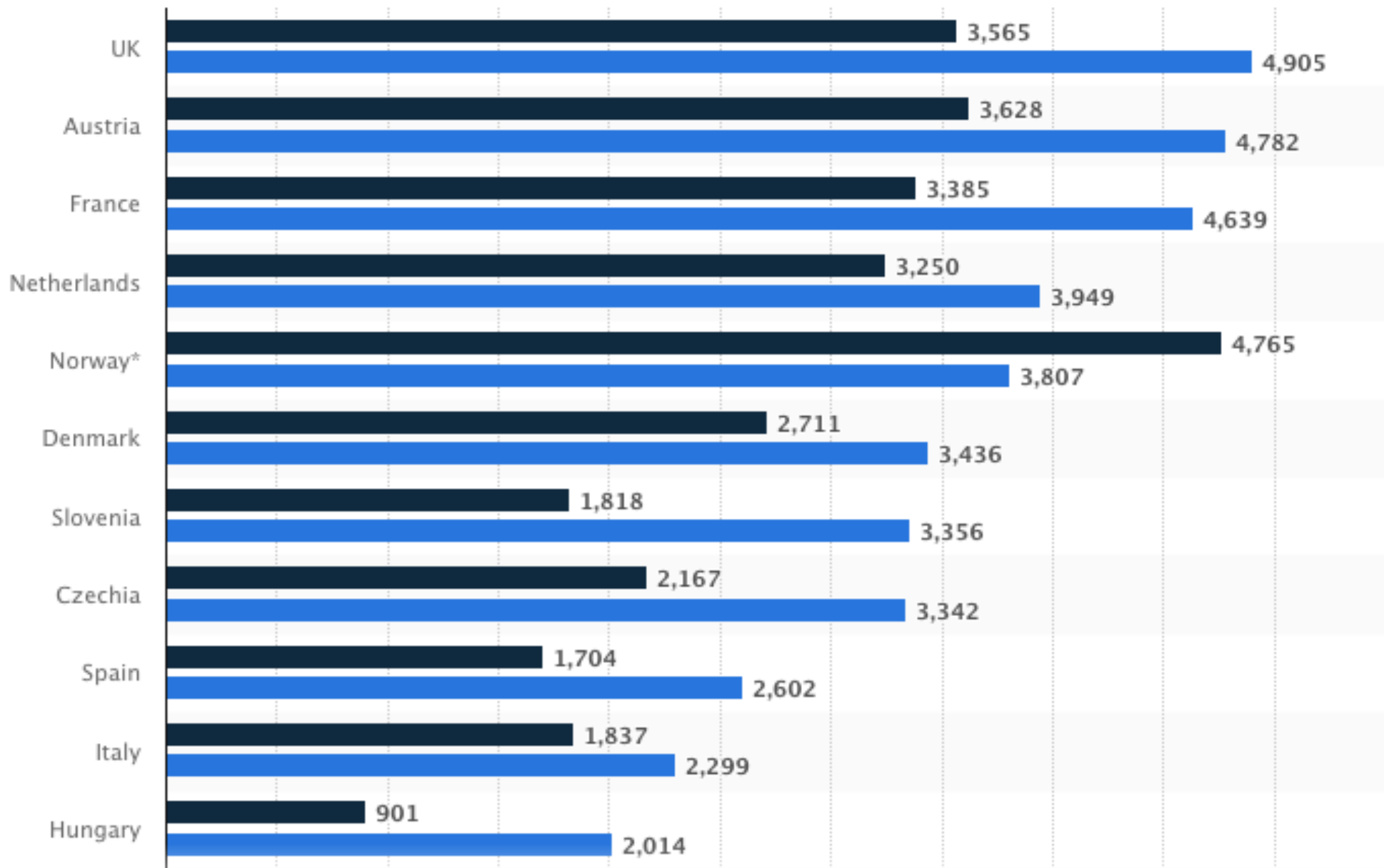
Index of Private Housing Rental Prices percentage change over 12 months,  
UK and London, January 2016 to February 2023



Source: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/inflationandpriceindices/bulletins/indexofprivatehousingrentalprices/february2023>

# By 2021 the price of new homes was already the highest in Europe, but wages were low.

Average sales price of new and existing residential property in Europe in 2021, per country (in euros per square meter).



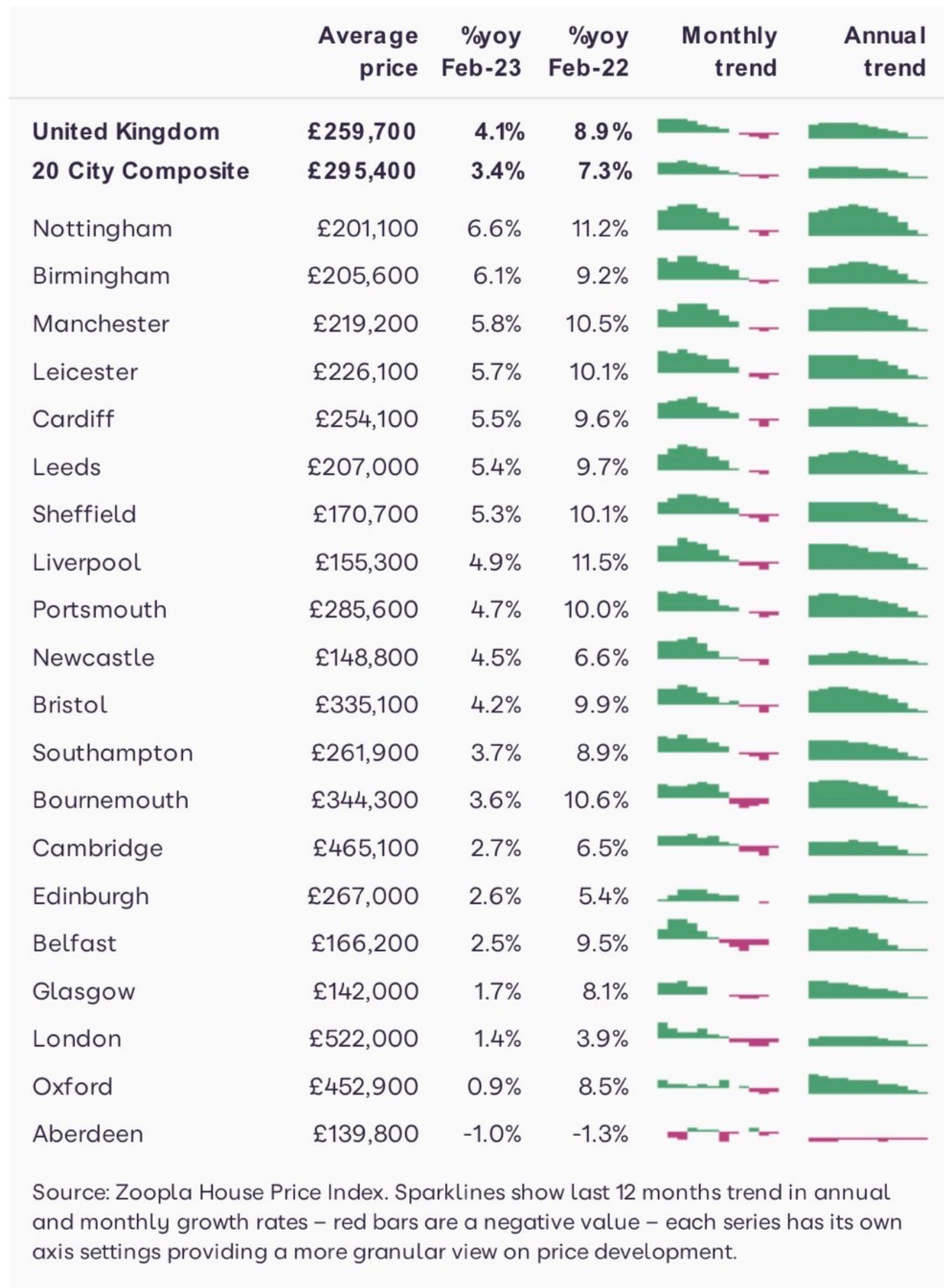
Source:  
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/722905/average-residential-square-meter-prices-in-eu-28-per-country/>



# April 2023 UK house price index

Almost every town  
in the UK begins to  
turn **red** on its  
monthly trend.

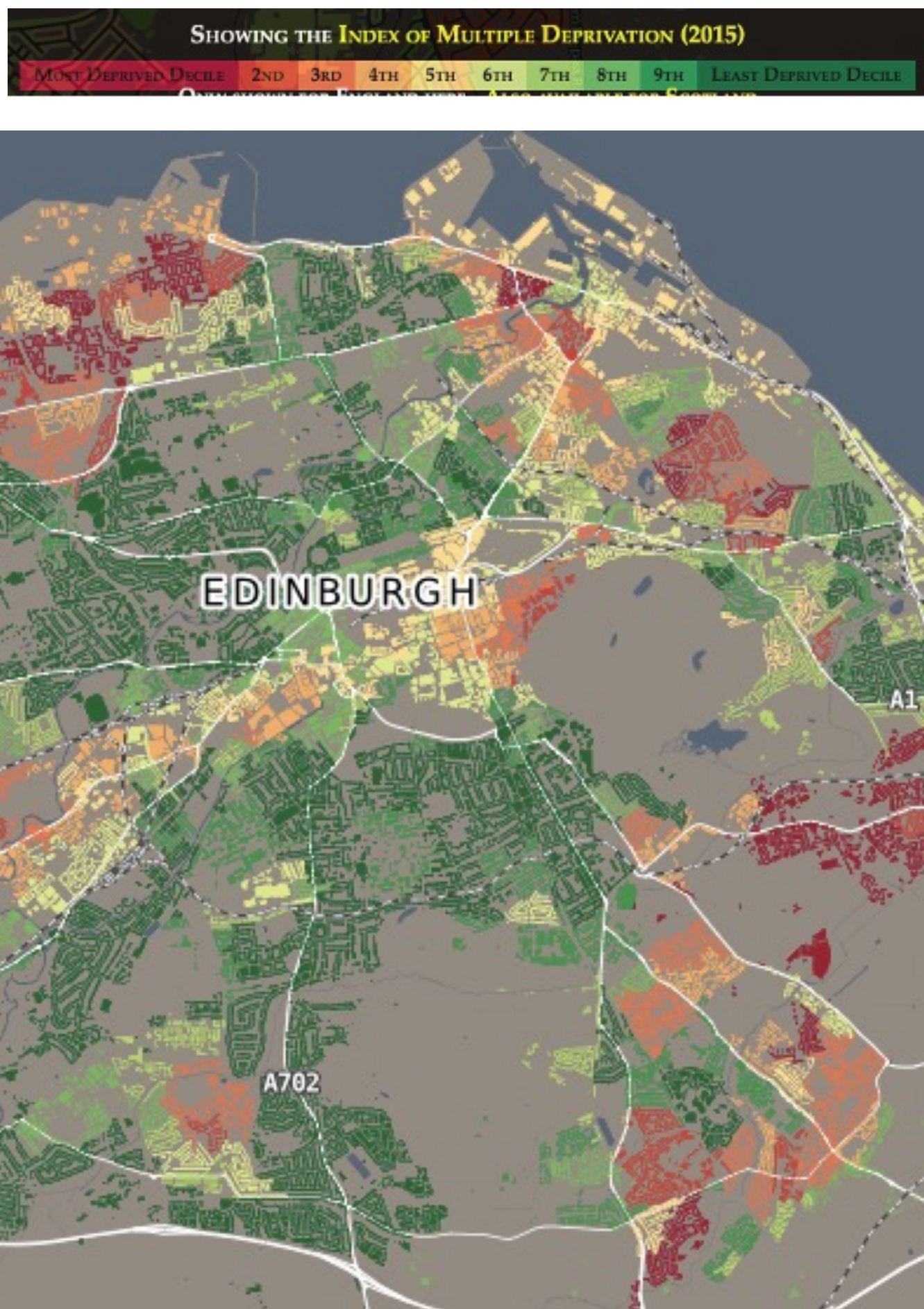
The year before  
had been a boom  
year.



Source:  
[https://twitter.com/emmafildes/  
status/1643851689915457538](https://twitter.com/emmafildes/status/1643851689915457538)

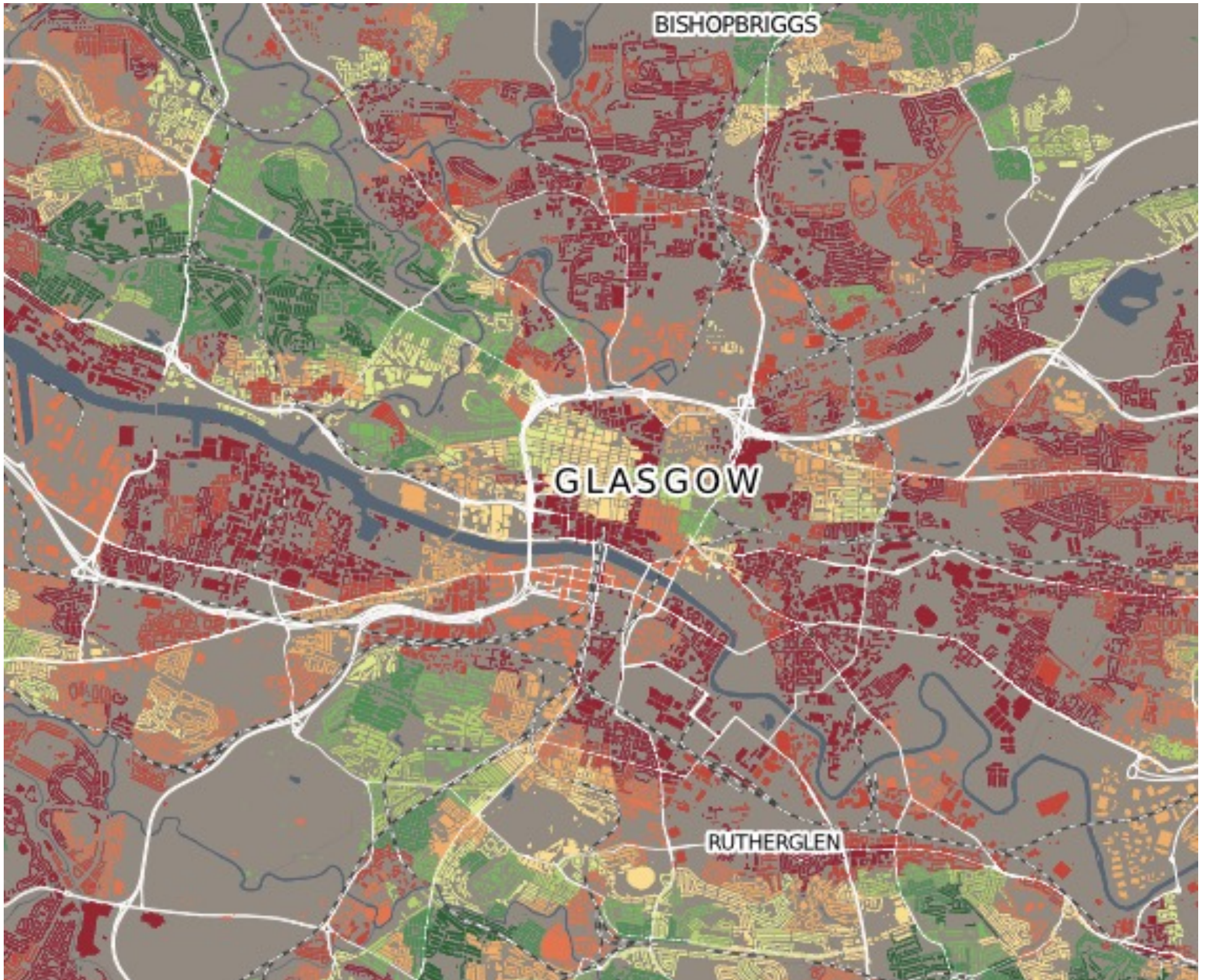
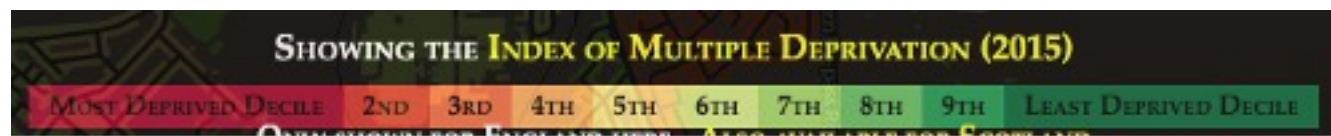


# Capital





# Second City





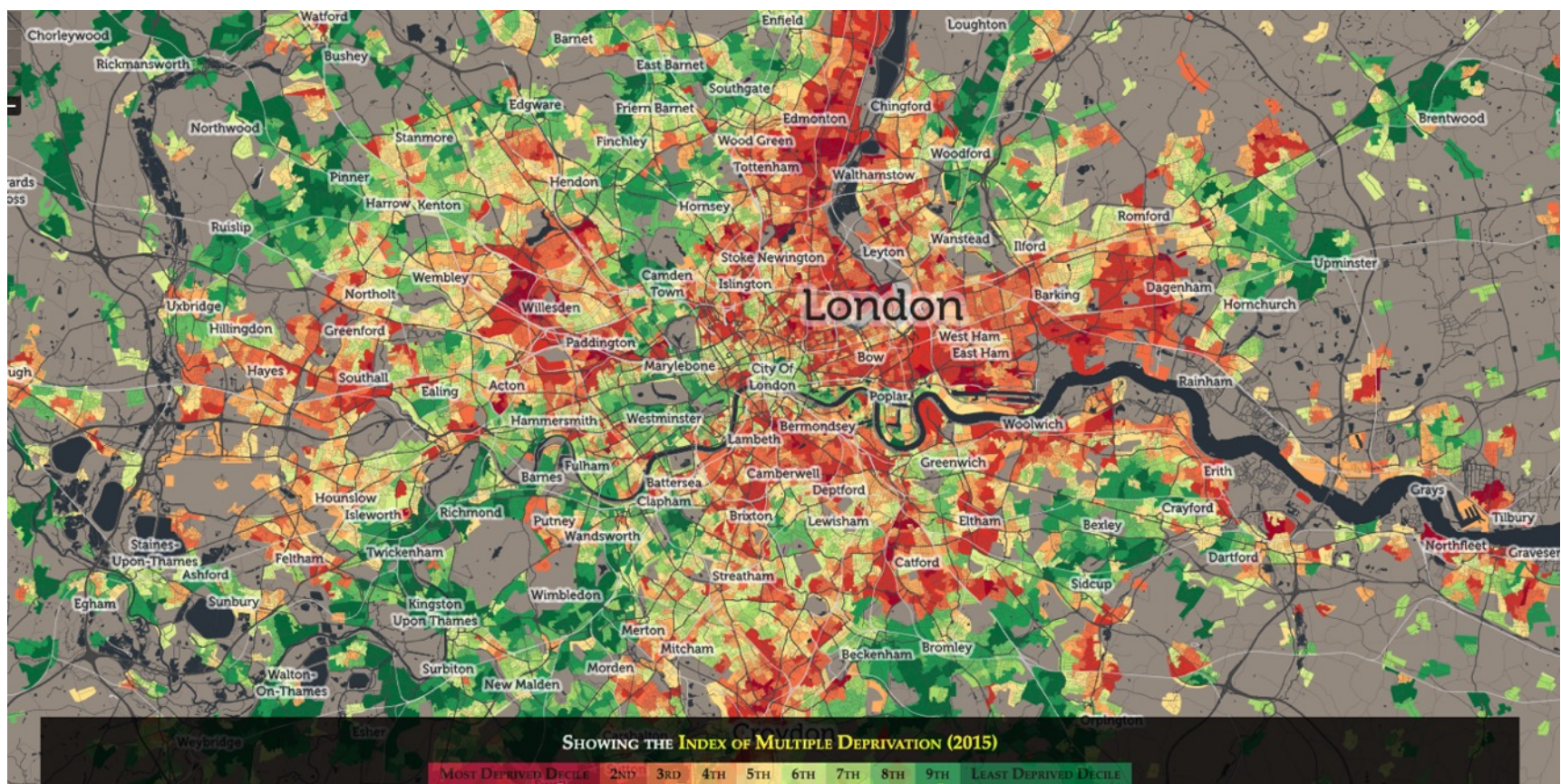
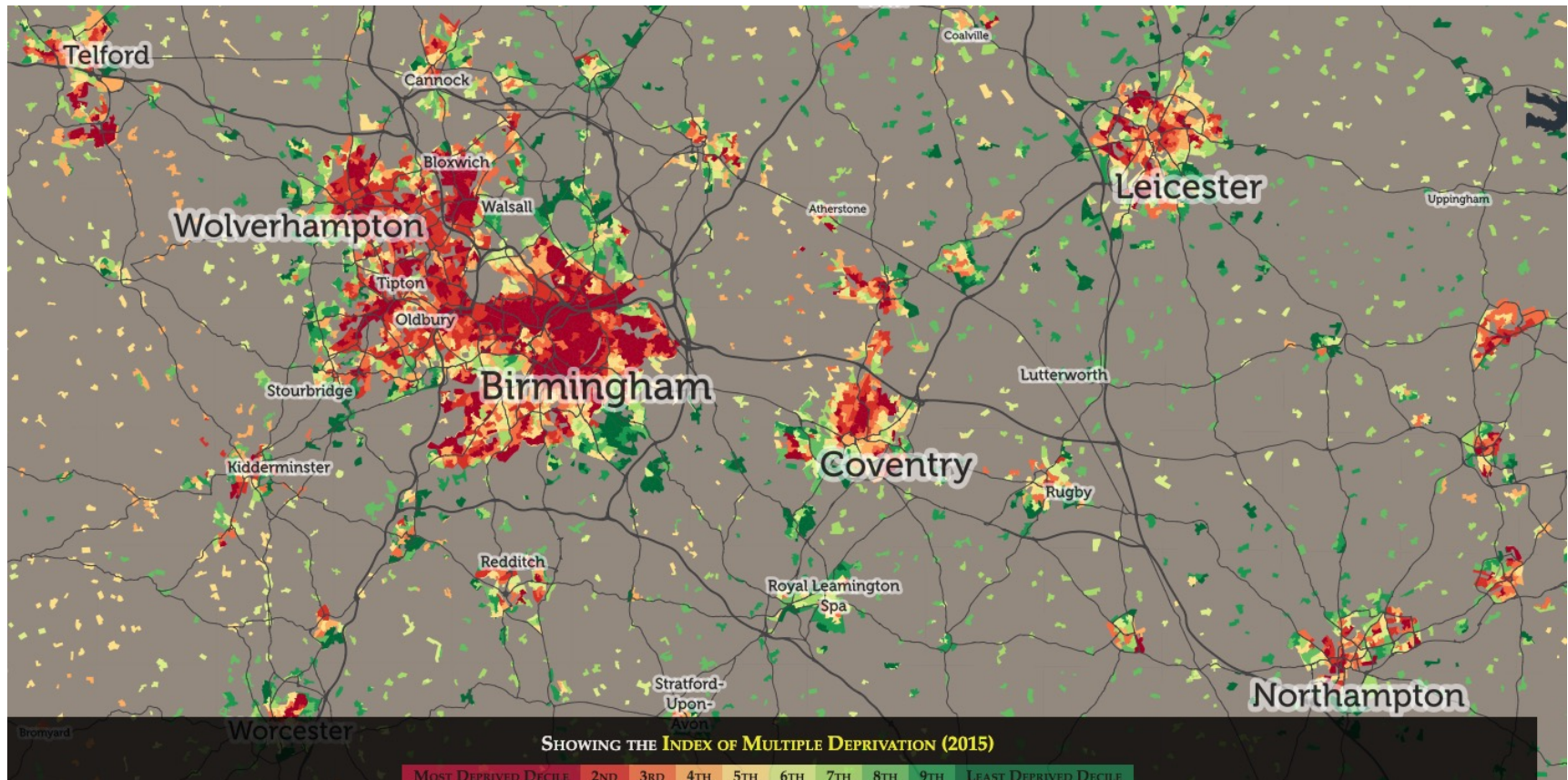
# Tenements 2001



‘Leaking soil pipes have caused the dark patches visible on the walls. Although most of the windows are boarded up, two of the flats are still occupied. These flats were built in the early 1950s and are due for demolition; much of the rest of the street has already been demolished.’



# The Midlands and London

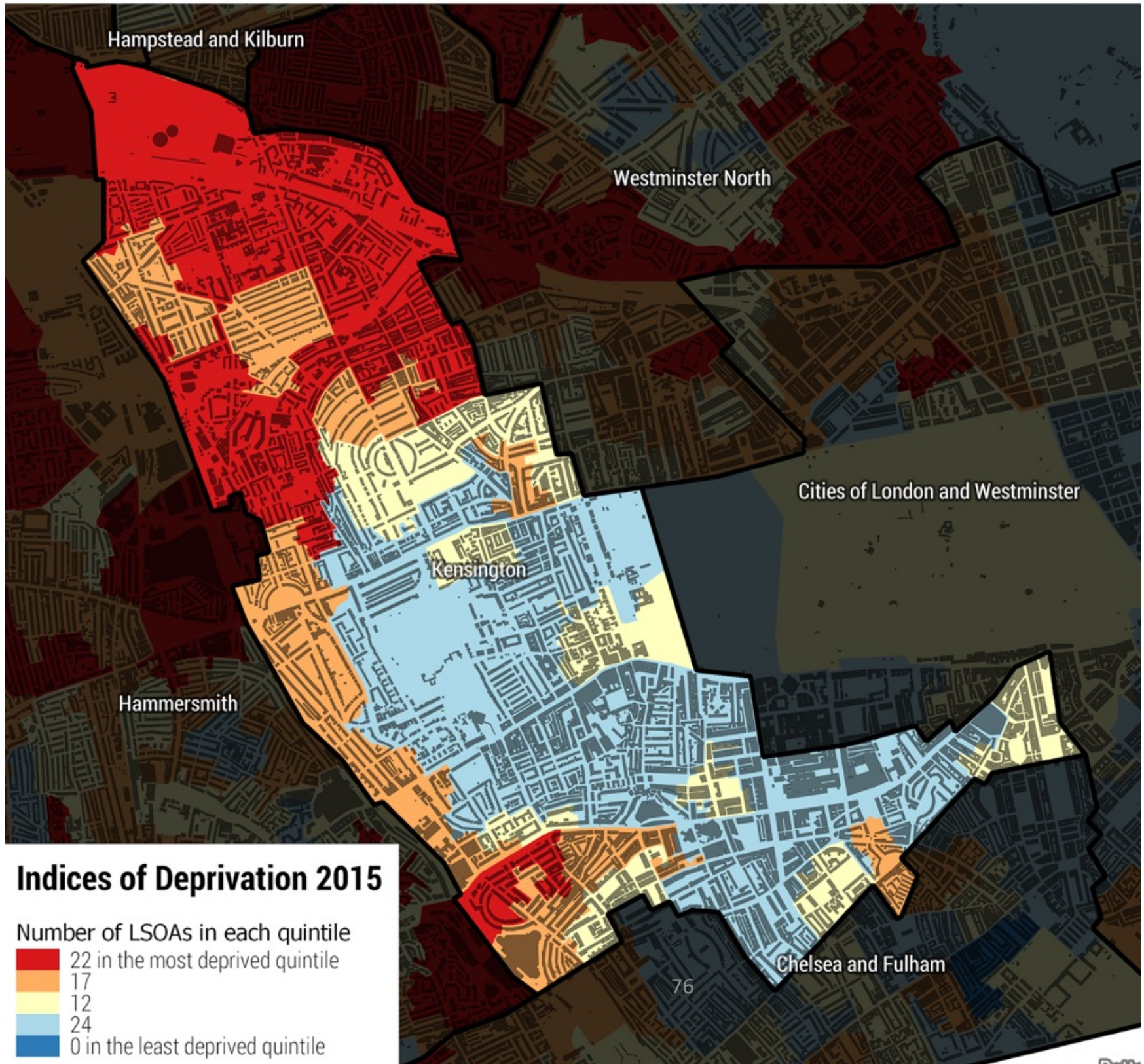




# Kensington

Red - poorer areas    Blue - richer areas

This constituency is ranked 178 out of 533 on the 2015 Indices of Deprivation (where 1 is most deprived).





# Kensington 2017

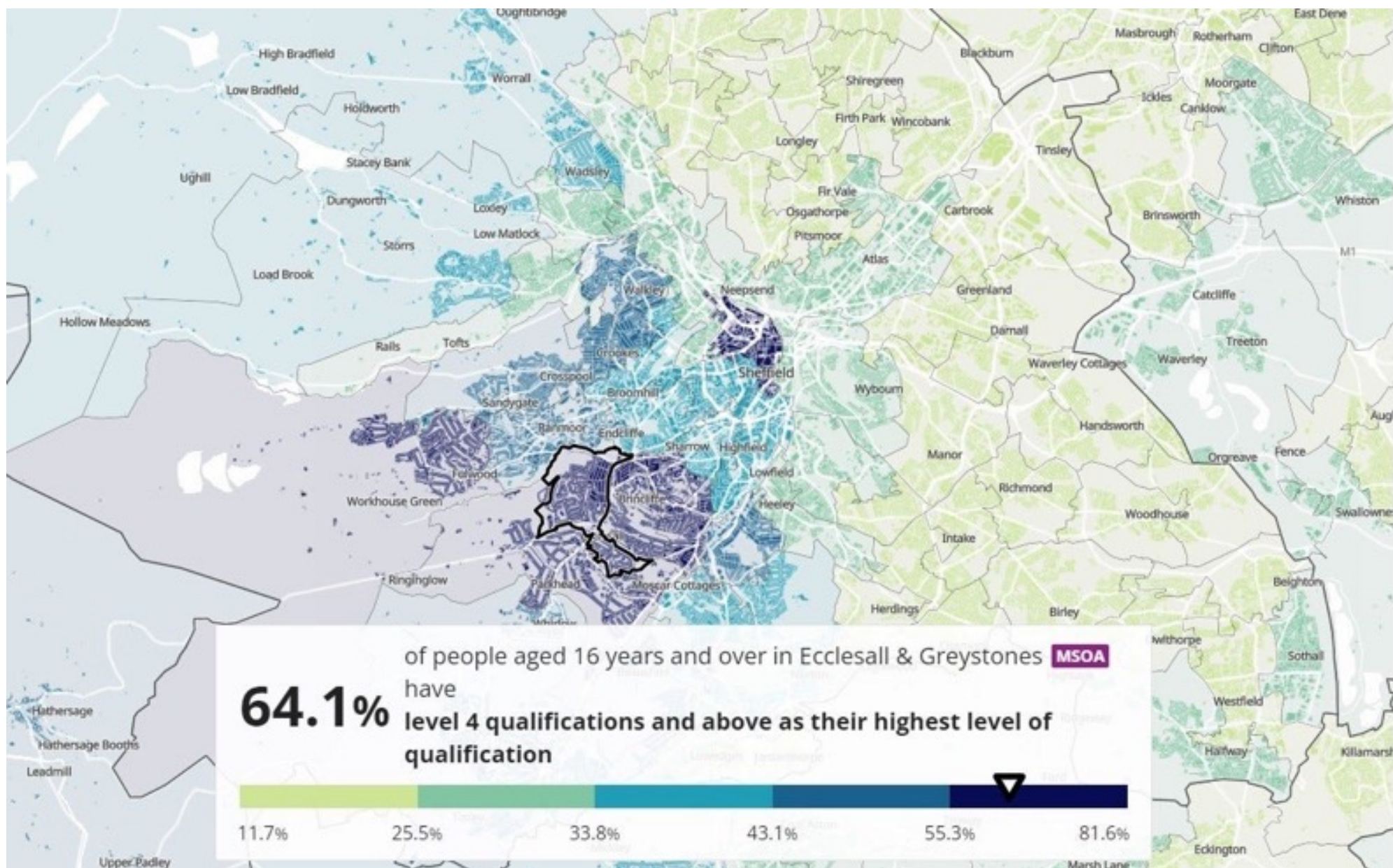


Source: Image taken from TV news reports

# A wall divides our city

‘Inequality in the UK is like water must be to fish — so omnipresent, such a fixed part of our daily lives, that most of us don’t even notice it’s there.’

Andrew Dowdeswell, A wall divides our city, 14 January 2023



Source: Andrew Dowdeswell, 14/1/2023  
<https://www.sheffieldtribune.co.uk/p/a-wall-divides-our-city> - 2021 census maps

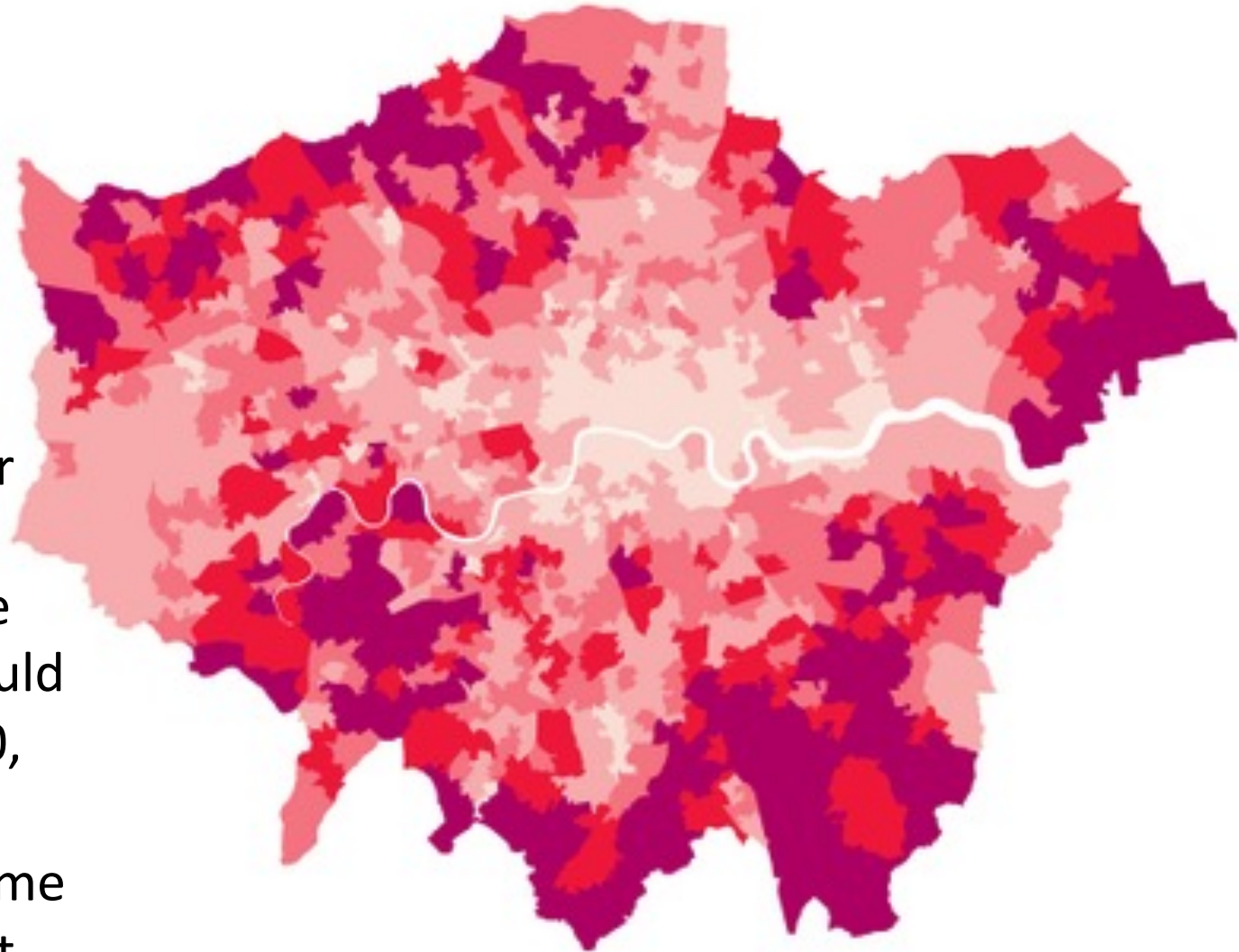
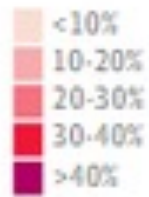
‘Arbourthorne and Ecclesall are just three miles away from one another, but economically, they’re worlds apart’



# WEST LONDON IS MORE SPACIOUS

Proportion of homes with two or more free bedrooms

Spare bedrooms



Had house prices only risen in line with inflation over the past seventy years, the average home in 2022 would have cost £63,300, or just over twice the median full-time UK salary of about £31,000.

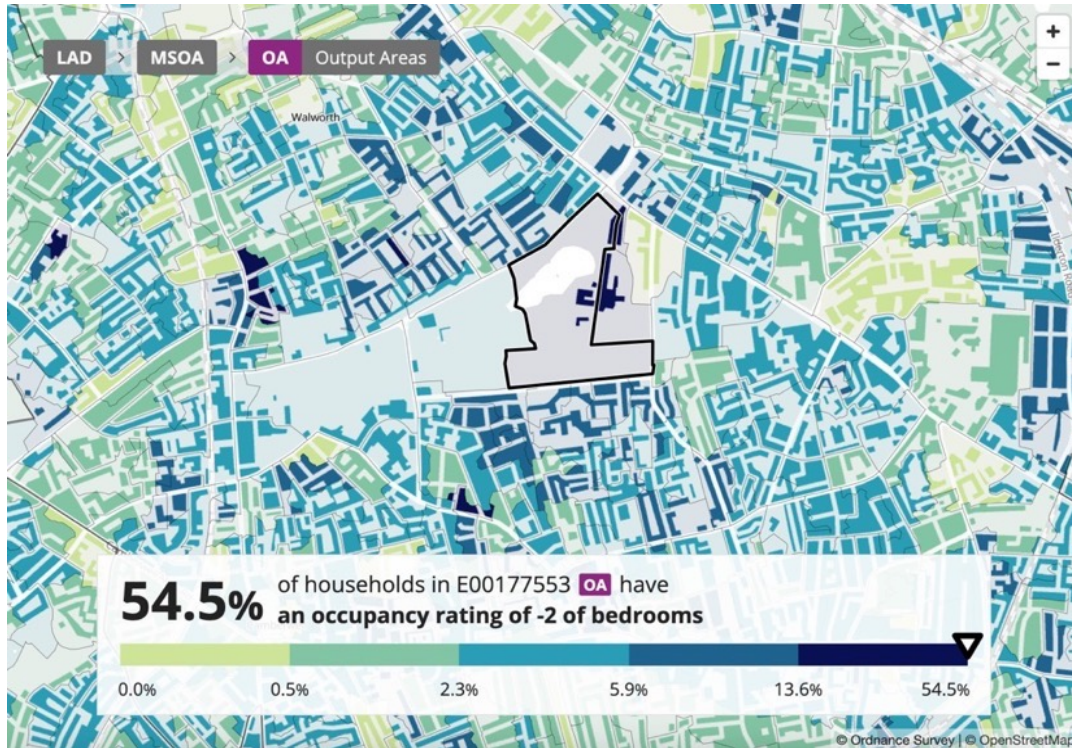
‘Over the past decade, despite soaring house prices, the number of under-occupied houses has increased. But in some areas [of] Barking, Leicester and Slough, the number of people in undercrowded [homes] has jumped by several percent.’

Source:  
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/property/uk/where-baby-boomers-locking-bedrooms-housing-market/>

Source:  
<https://twitter.com/bienbutcher/status/1612739528174829569>



# The most overcrowded part of the UK in 2001



South of Bermondsey on the west side of Burgess Park.



ClaretnBlueJoffy @Jon\_Baptiste · Jan 6

Replying to @fryford

This one seems odd - very few number of houses and in general pretty nice ones



25



1



1



Rob Fry @fryford · Jan 6

Replying to @Jon\_Baptiste

Yep. I thought the same.

I did some google streetview detective work and there are some houses to the east of the park that look lovely from the outside, but I guess could be converted and "over-occupied".

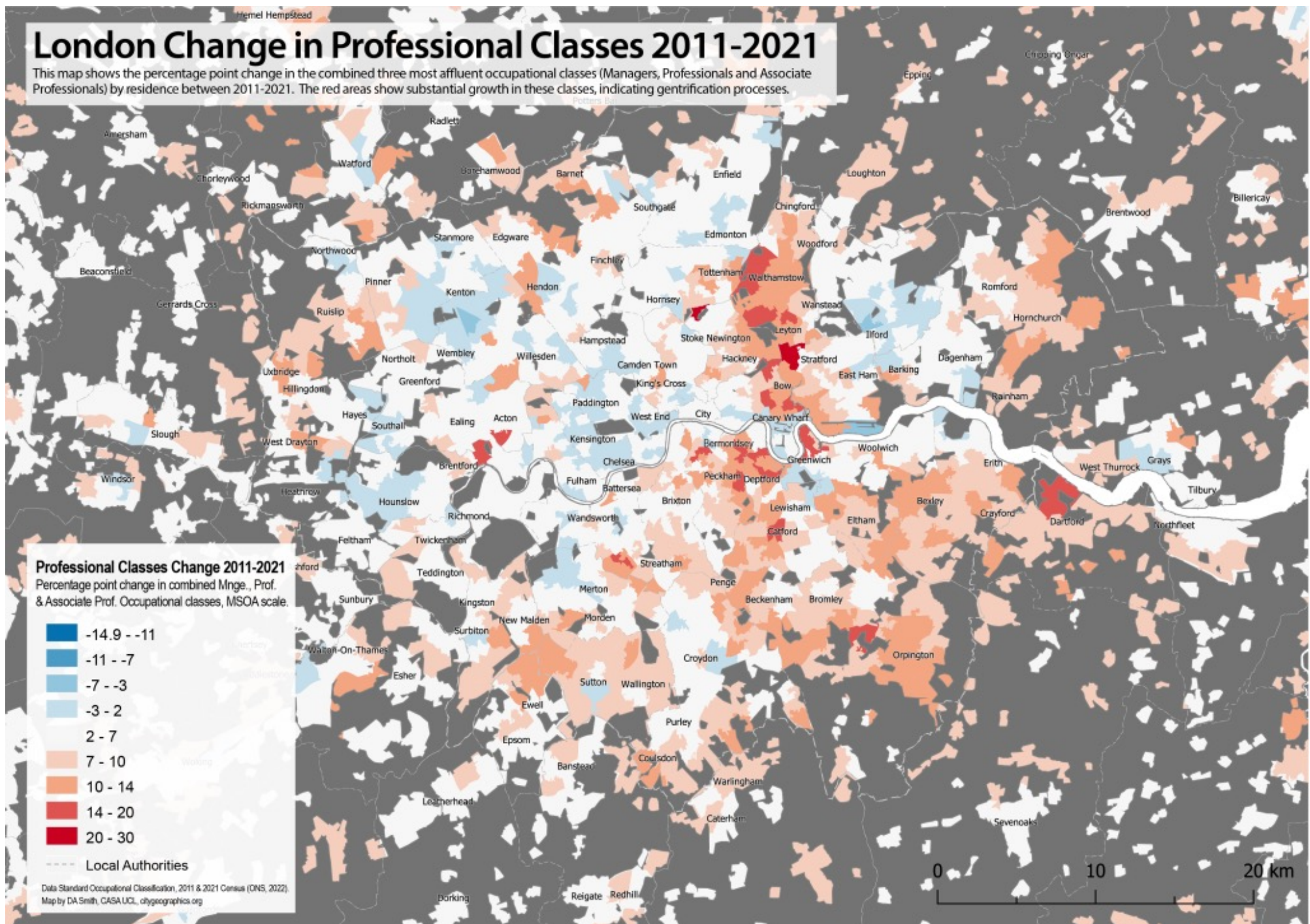


Source: <https://twitter.com/fryford/status/1611094945066258432>

Danny Dorling **Shattered Nation** (Verso, 2023)



# Gentrification (red) and normalisation (blue)



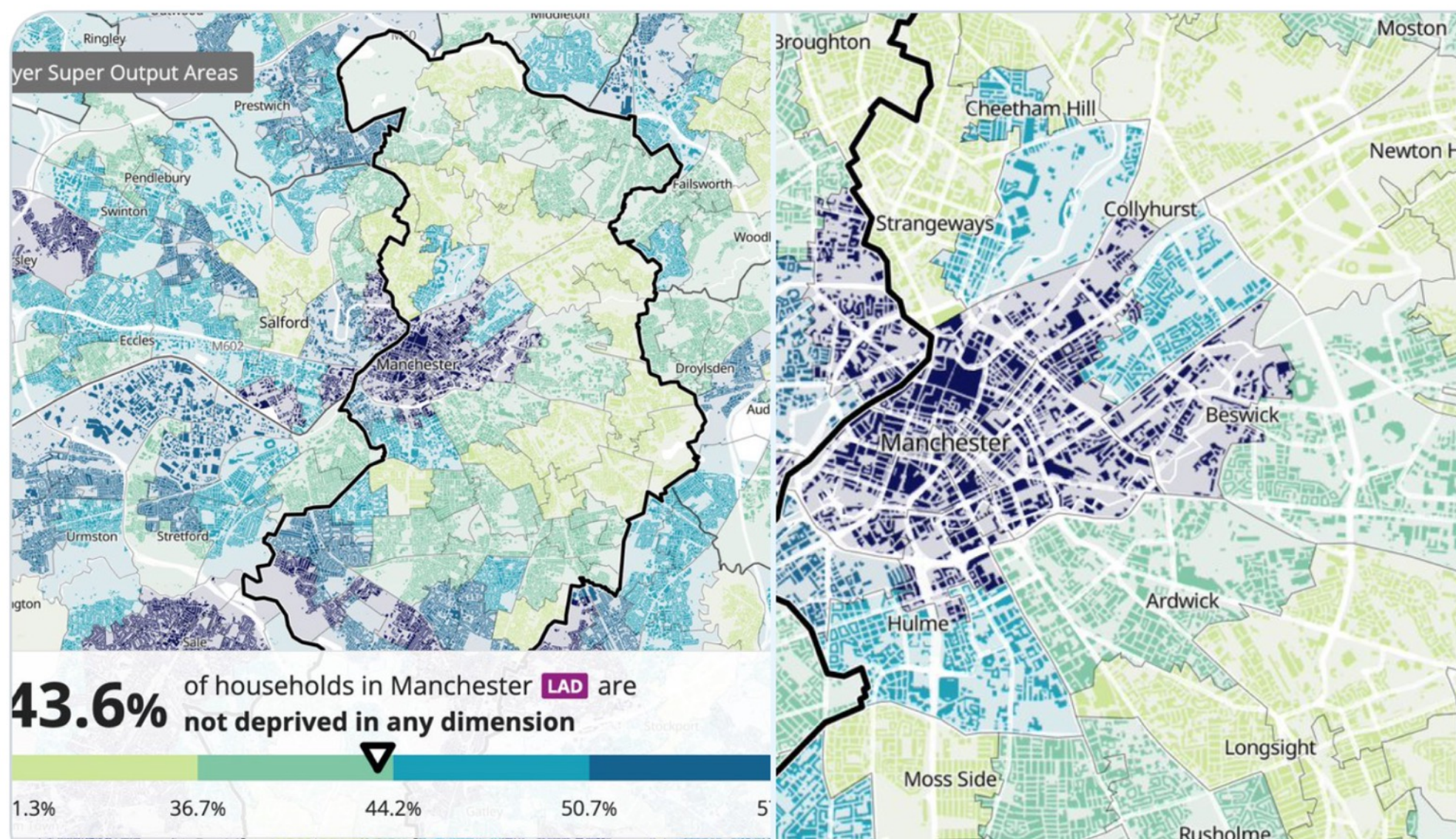
Source: <https://citygeographics.org/2022/12/15/tracking-gentrification-in-london-and-manchester-using-the-2021-census-occupational-class-data/>



# Segregation

Enclave with very little deprivation (blue) and more normal areas (green).

This is the result of a strategy undertaken by a coalition of council officials/politicians + developers over the last few decades to build a segregated 'new town' with no social/affordable housing ,



Source: <https://twitter.com/InvisibleMapper/status/1588454573400002560>







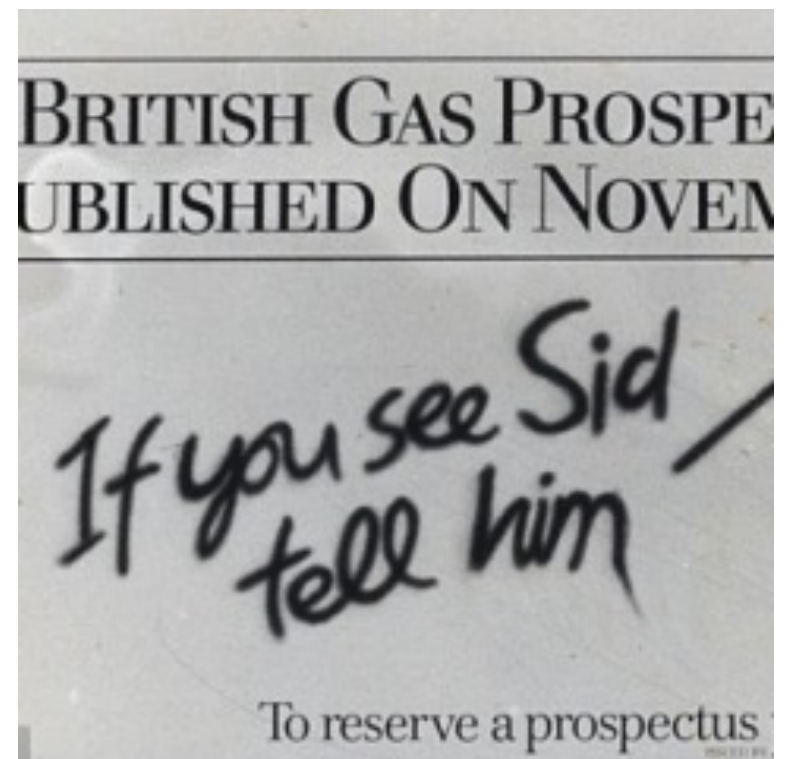
# Privatisation

In just five years, between 1986 and 1991, a single private firm (Rothschild) was either lead advisor or heavily involved in the creation of twenty-five massive new private firms: 'the privatisation of British Steel (1988), the ten UK Water Authorities (1989), the twelve electricity distribution boards (1990), British Coal, British Telecom (1991)'. There was not a great deal of competition involved in the privatisations, and they did not take many years to achieve. If all that could be done in five years, then unravelling the mess could be done just as quickly because it is no more complex.



*'Concordia, Integritas, Industria'*  
(Harmony, Integrity, Industry)  
Rothschild family motto

Source:  
[https://www.rothschildarchive.org/exhibitions/if\\_you\\_see\\_sidtell\\_him/the\\_legacy](https://www.rothschildarchive.org/exhibitions/if_you_see_sidtell_him/the_legacy)



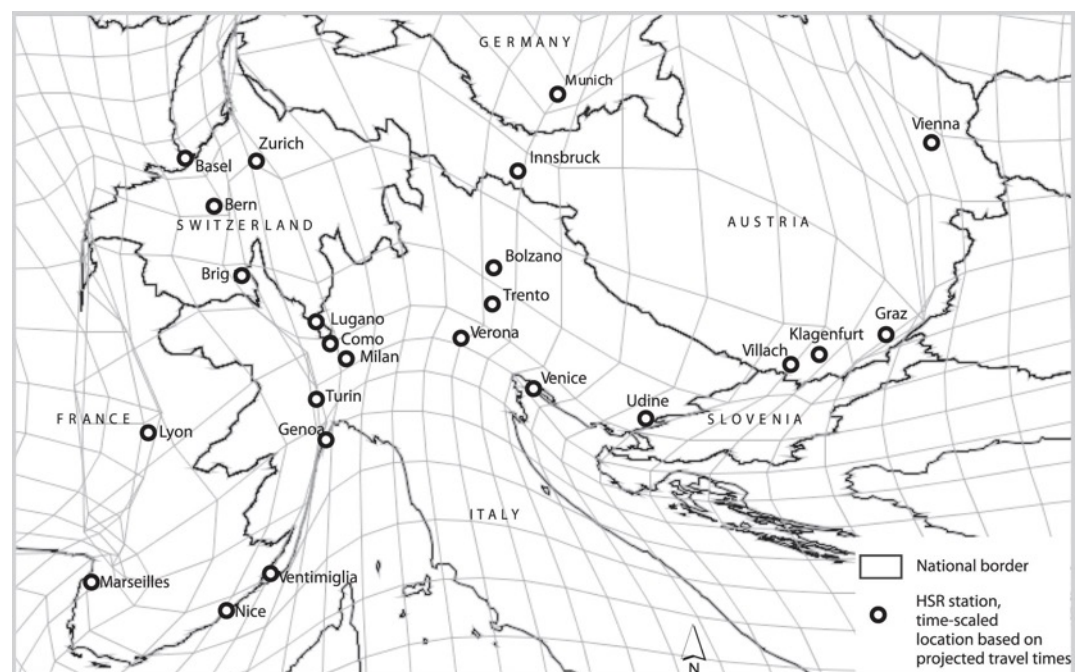
Detail of one of many newspaper adverts to encourage investors.



# Public Transport

Utility services can be made very cheap, even free. In June 2022, Germany introduced a €9 public transport ticket. You could travel for a month on just the one ticket. Internal air travel within Germany fell by 49% in the first month! This improved the lives and well-being of poorer Germans especially. Spain went one better than Germany and introduced free train travel within that country from September 2022 until the end of that year, and then extended this to all of 2023. What prompted both countries to act was the need to mitigate the rising cost-of-living crisis. Europe's richest country, Luxembourg, has had free public transport for some time, as have the capital city of Estonia and fifty other large towns and cities in Europe. In 2022, Italy joined the trend by providing very cheap public transport for anyone on a low income, as did Austria, while in France it was already affordable.

*The Effects of the Planned High-Speed Rail System on Travel Times and Spatial Development in the European Alps*  
**Map by Elisa Ravazzoli**



Source: <https://bioone.org/journals/mountain-research-and-development/volume-37/issue-1/MRD-JOURNAL-D-15-00051.1/The-Effects-of-the-Planned-High-Speed-Rail-System-on/10.1659/MRD-JOURNAL-D-15-00051.1.full>

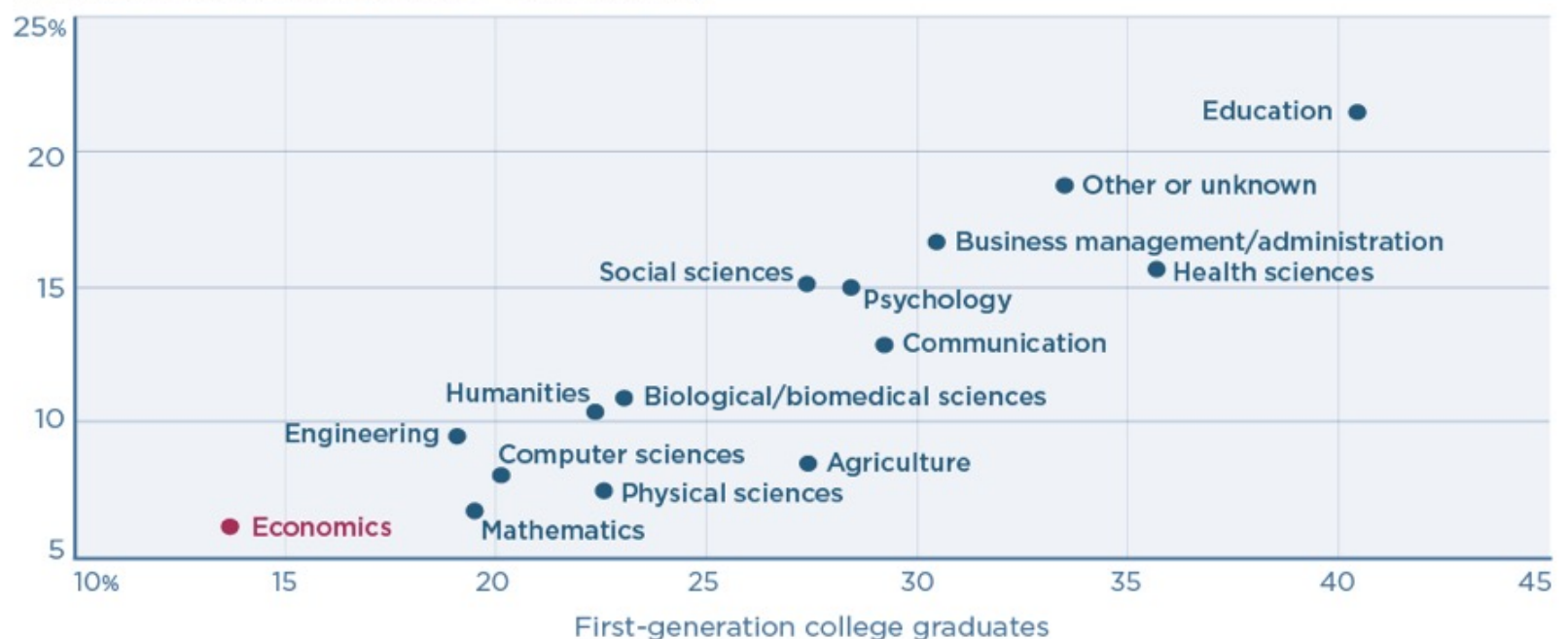
# Economics

Economics in the UK and US has become an academic discipline that both attracts and retains people who tend to be less compassionate than most. It tends to eject those who are not part of this in-group. In the UK, economics is the social science that most attracts young people from the best-off families.

## US economics PhDs are less socioeconomically and racially diverse than other major fields

Share of US-born economics PhD recipients from an underrepresented minority group vs. recipients who are first-generation college graduates, 2010-18

From an underrepresented racial or ethnic minority



Source: Robert Schultz and Anna Stansbury, US economics PhDs are less socioeconomically and racially diverse than other major fields, Working Paper 22-4, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 31 March 2022. <https://www.piiie.com/research/piie-charts/us-economics-phds-are-less-socioeconomically-and-racially-diverse-other-major>

[Learn more at \[piiie.com/research/piie-charts\]\(https://www.piiie.com/research/piie-charts\)](https://www.piiie.com/research/piie-charts)

Recipients from an underrepresented racial or ethnic minority refer to those who report their ethnicity as Hispanic, and/or their race as Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, or Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, following the National Science Foundation's definition of the racial/ethnic groups that are underrepresented in academia. First-generation college graduates are recipients whose parents do not have a college degree. Computer sciences include information sciences. Social sciences refer to social sciences excluding economics.

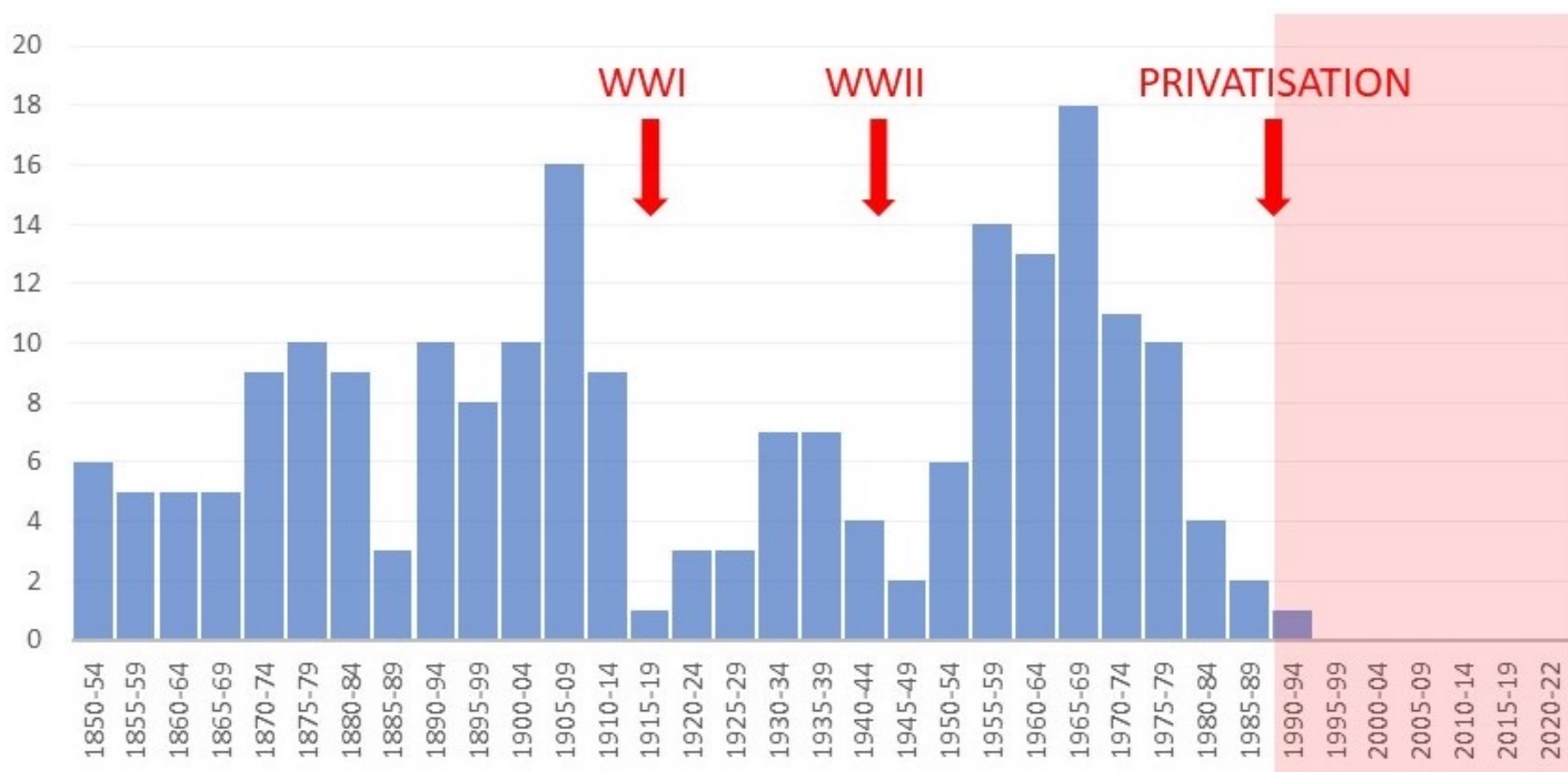


# Privatisation ended serious investment

‘The correlation between stopping reservoir construction and privatisation in 1989 is stark. I assume the money that should have been invested in reservoir capacity has gone into shareholder pockets, just as with infrastructure to stop sewage over-flows into rivers.’

Mary Shepperson, archaeologist and lecturer at the University of Liverpool

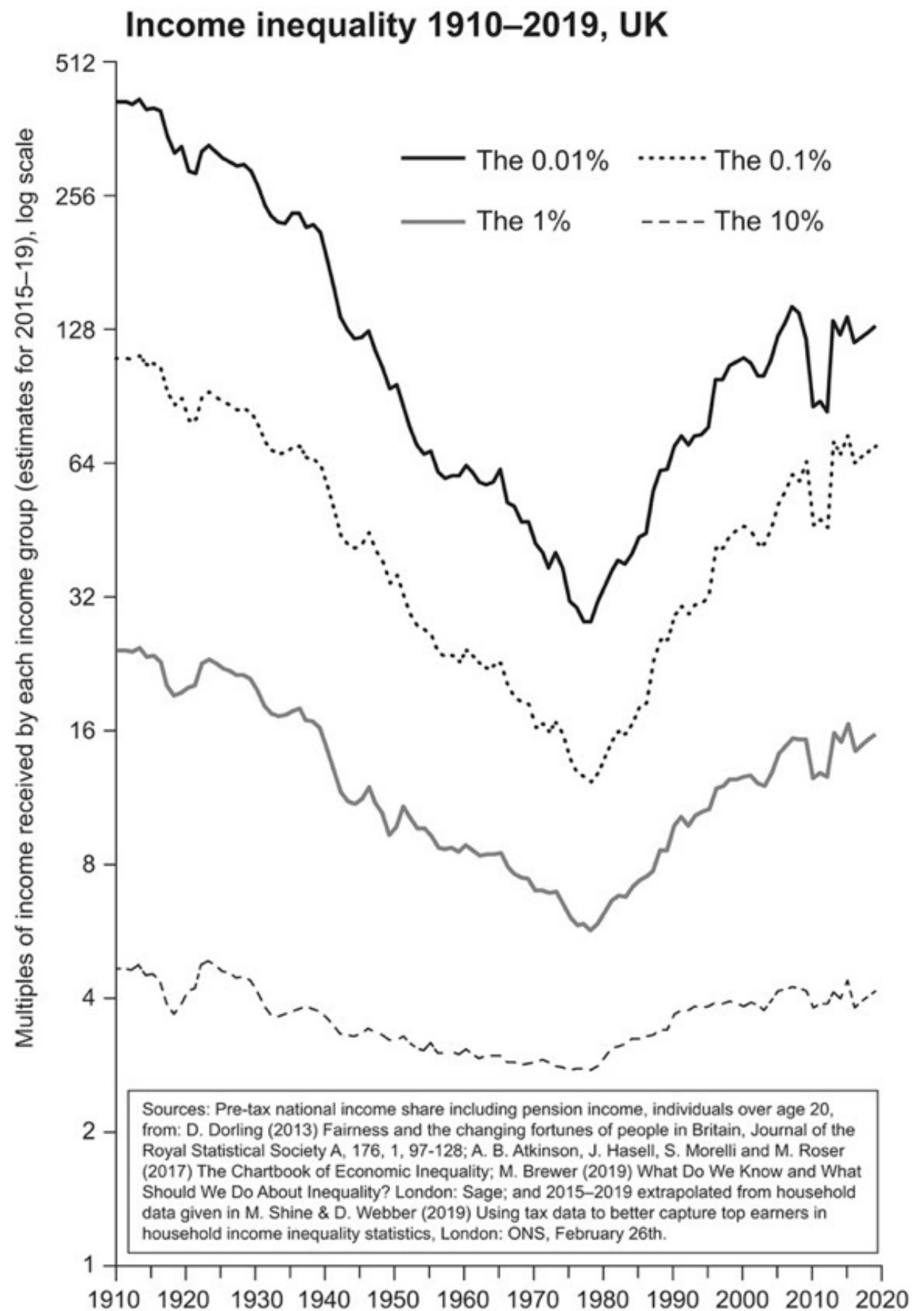
UK reservoir construction 1850-present



Source: Mary Shepperson (2022), Question for twitter: Why hasn't there been a single new reservoir built for over 30 years in the UK? We used to build loads, Tweet of 29 July <https://twitter.com/MShepperson/status/1553123795136876544>

We may be at a peak of inequality again.

By the time the pandemic hit, the take of the 0.01% was back up to 130 times the average income, the share it had last been around the time the Beveridge Report was published in 1942.



Source: page ix of the preface to the third edition of Danny Dorling (2020) *Inequality and the 1%*, London: Verso, available here: [https://www.dannydorling.org/books/onepercent/Material\\_files/iatopc\\_preface.pdf](https://www.dannydorling.org/books/onepercent/Material_files/iatopc_preface.pdf)



# Only 1 in 27 in the UK pay any inheritance tax.

## 1. Key points

The key points from this year's publication are:

- in the tax year 2019 to 2020, 3.76% of UK deaths resulted in an Inheritance Tax (IHT) charge, increasing slightly by 0.02 percentage points since the previous tax year, 2018 to 2019. This reverses the fall seen last year and is the first rise in this proportion since the tax year 2016 to 2017
- the total number of UK deaths that resulted in an IHT charge has also increased. In the tax year 2019 to 2020, there were 23,000 such deaths, an increase of 900 (4%) since the tax year 2018 to 2019
- IHT receipts received by HMRC during the financial year 2021 to 2022 were £6.1 billion. This was an increase of 14% (£729 million) on the financial year 2020 to 2021, and is the largest single-year rise in IHT receipts since the 2015 to 2016 financial year, when receipts rose by 22% (£848 million)
- the combined value of agricultural and business property relief (APR, BPR) set against assets was £2.8 billion in the tax year 2019 to 2020. This was a fall of £0.7 billion (20%) compared to the tax year 2018 to 2019. Most of this fall was concentrated in the value of BPR claimed, which fell by £670 million. The value of APR fell by only £27 million
- the value of exempted transfers to qualifying charities also fell, from £1.7 billion in the tax year 2018 to 2019 to £1.6 billion in the tax year 2019 to 2020. This is the lowest value of this exemption since the 2010 to 2011 tax year, where the value of exempted transfers stood at £1.5 billion

Source: 28 July 2022

<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/inheritance-tax-statistics-commentary/inheritance-tax-statistics-commentary>

Danny Dorling **Shattered Nation** (Verso, 2023)

# Women leave more wealth than men.

## 12.9

### Inheritance tax

Distribution of the value of bequests by sex and marital status of deceased and relationship to beneficiary

United Kingdom : deaths 2000-01

Percentages

Deceased by marital status	Male				Female			
	Married	Widowed or Divorced	Single (1)	Total	Married	Widowed or Divorced	Single (1)	Total
Beneficiary:								
Spouse	79.4	-	-	41.5	69.4	-	-	16.2
Children	14.5	77.4	2.7	33.4	20.8	65.1	-	44.6
Grandchildren	1.0	6.1	-	2.6	2.7	4.2	0.6	3.3
Other relatives	0.8	6.7	56.4	11.0	2.4	11.2	62.6	17.2
Strangers in blood	0.4	4.2	15.9	4.0	0.8	11.0	15.4	9.3
Charities etc. (2)	3.9	5.6	24.9	7.5	3.9	8.5	21.4	9.4
All beneficiaries	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Value of bequests (£m)	9521.7	5989.1	2698.6	18209.4	4805.0	12540.5	3216.9	20562.3
Number of bequests	136,221	224,939	74,356	435,515	100,928	606,594	157,498	865,021

Table updated October 2004

(1) Bequests to children or grandchildren are subject to a high margin of error due to a very small number of results in the data sample.

(2) Charities etc. also includes Discretionary Trusts and bequests to sports clubs, political parties and other miscellaneous or unknown beneficiaries.

#### Notes on the Table

The total value of bequests is similar to the total of estates passing on death from Table 12.4 for 2000-01.

However, the figures will not be exactly the same because data for this table is based on a much smaller sample of approximately 1,000 cases.

Source:

[https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20060214032021/http://www.hmrc.gov.uk/stats/inheritance\\_tax/table12\\_9.pdf](https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20060214032021/http://www.hmrc.gov.uk/stats/inheritance_tax/table12_9.pdf)



# 5. Waste



What we waste most is people's time.

Source:  
<https://depositphotos.com/stock-photos/inside-clock.html>

Danny Dorling **Shattered Nation** (Verso, 2023)

# Management consultancy

The industry that has grown the most in terms of employment – up by 209% in the past twenty years, with a threefold rise in its share of the UK economy – is head offices and management consultancy. This sector had already doubled in size by 1999, up by 107% over the previous two decades. More and more people in the UK are doing work that does not improve the lives and livelihoods of others, but tries to control them more.



‘How to become a management consultant

...

[1] The self-employed guide to Self Assessment tax returns’

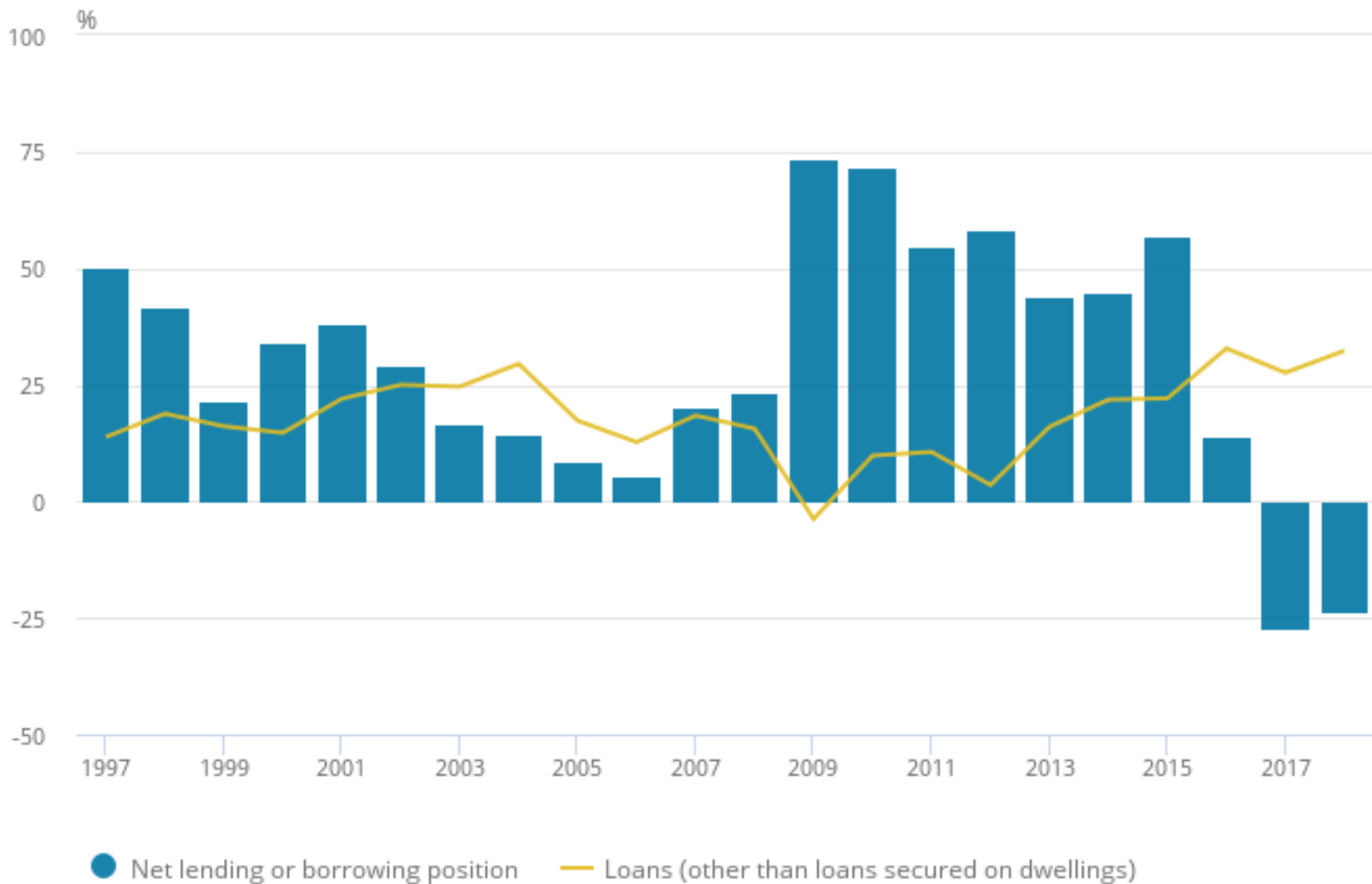
Source: <https://www.simplybusiness.co.uk/knowledge/articles/2018/05/how-to-become-a-management-consultant/>



# By 2017 we were no longer a nation of savers.

Figure 7: Households' unprecedented net borrowing position has been partly financed by loans (other than loans secured on dwellings)

Households' net lending and borrowing position and loans other than secured on dwellings, annuals, £billions, 1997 to 2018

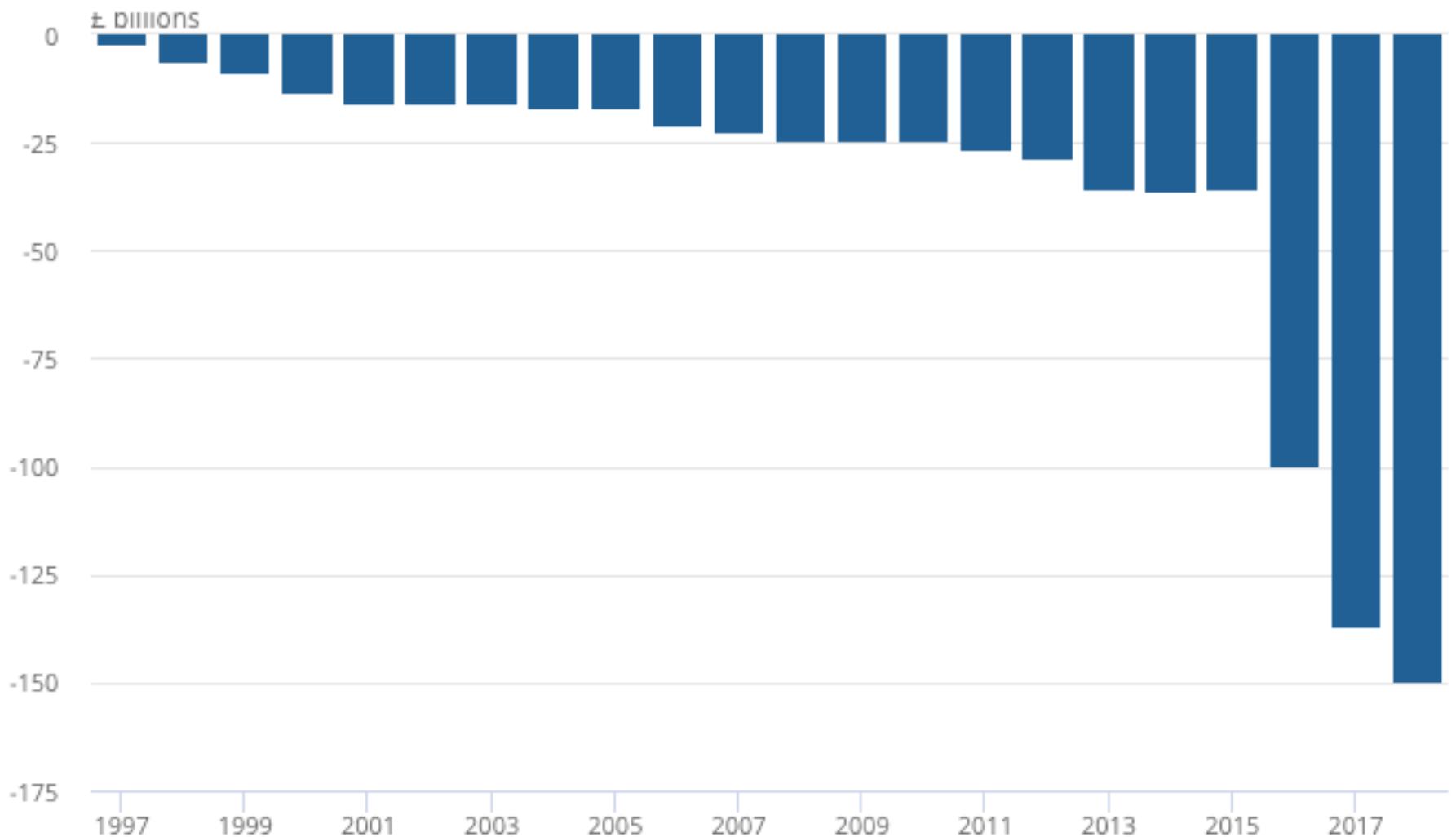


Source: Dorling, D. (2019) Twelve facts you may have missed as the UK missed its first Brexit deadline, Public Sector Focus, March / April, pp.12-14, <http://flickread.com/edition/html/5cc7fcde6dc3f#15>

# The ONS statisticians re-evaluated our wealth.

**Figure 19b: The downward revision to households net financial worth is driven by large revisions to changes not elsewhere classified (mainly pensions)**

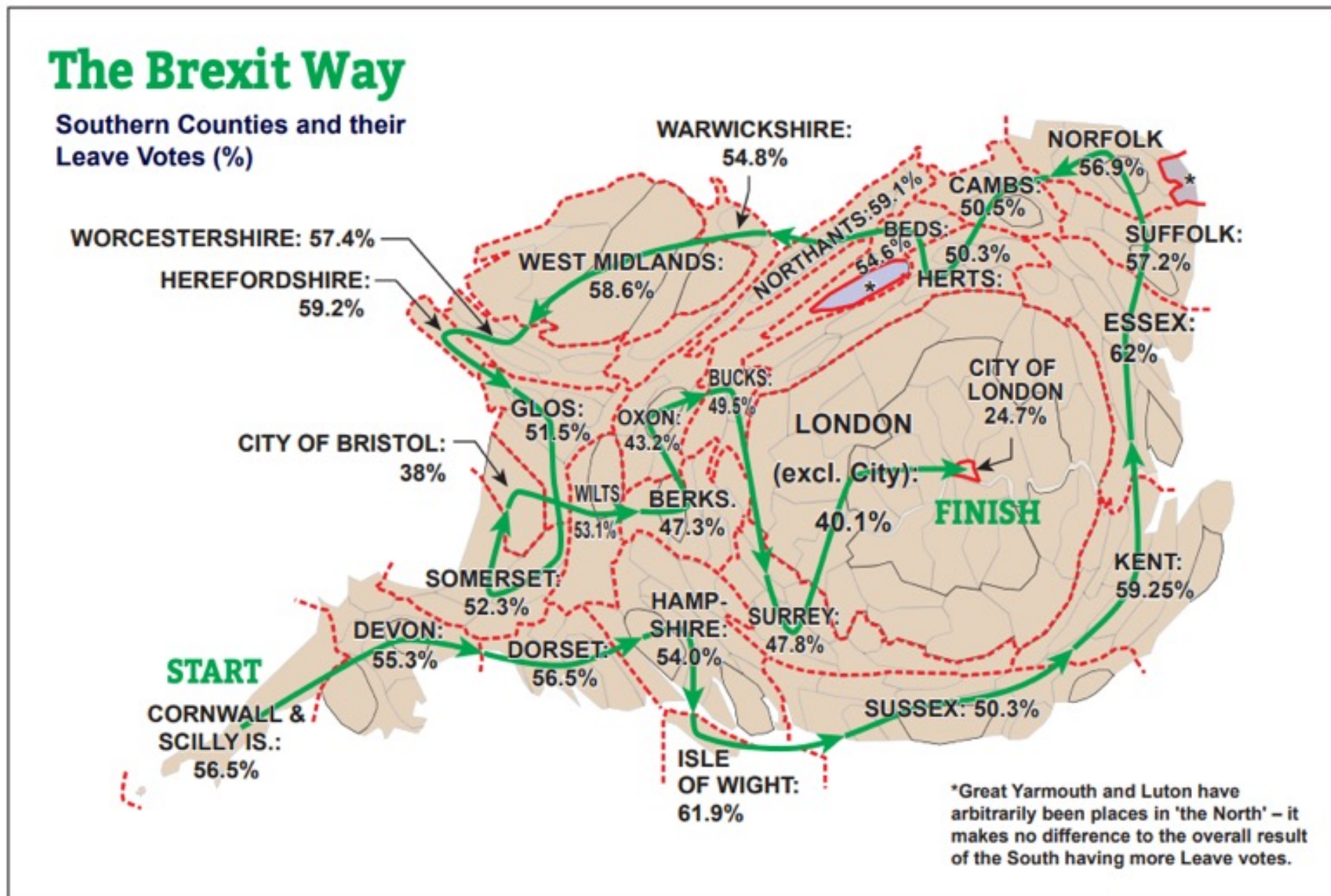
**Households' net financial worth by change, UK, 1997 to 2018**



Source: Dorling, D. (2019) Twelve facts you may have missed as the UK missed its first Brexit deadline, Public Sector Focus, March / April, pp.12-14, <http://flickread.com/edition/html/5cc7fcde6dc3f#15>



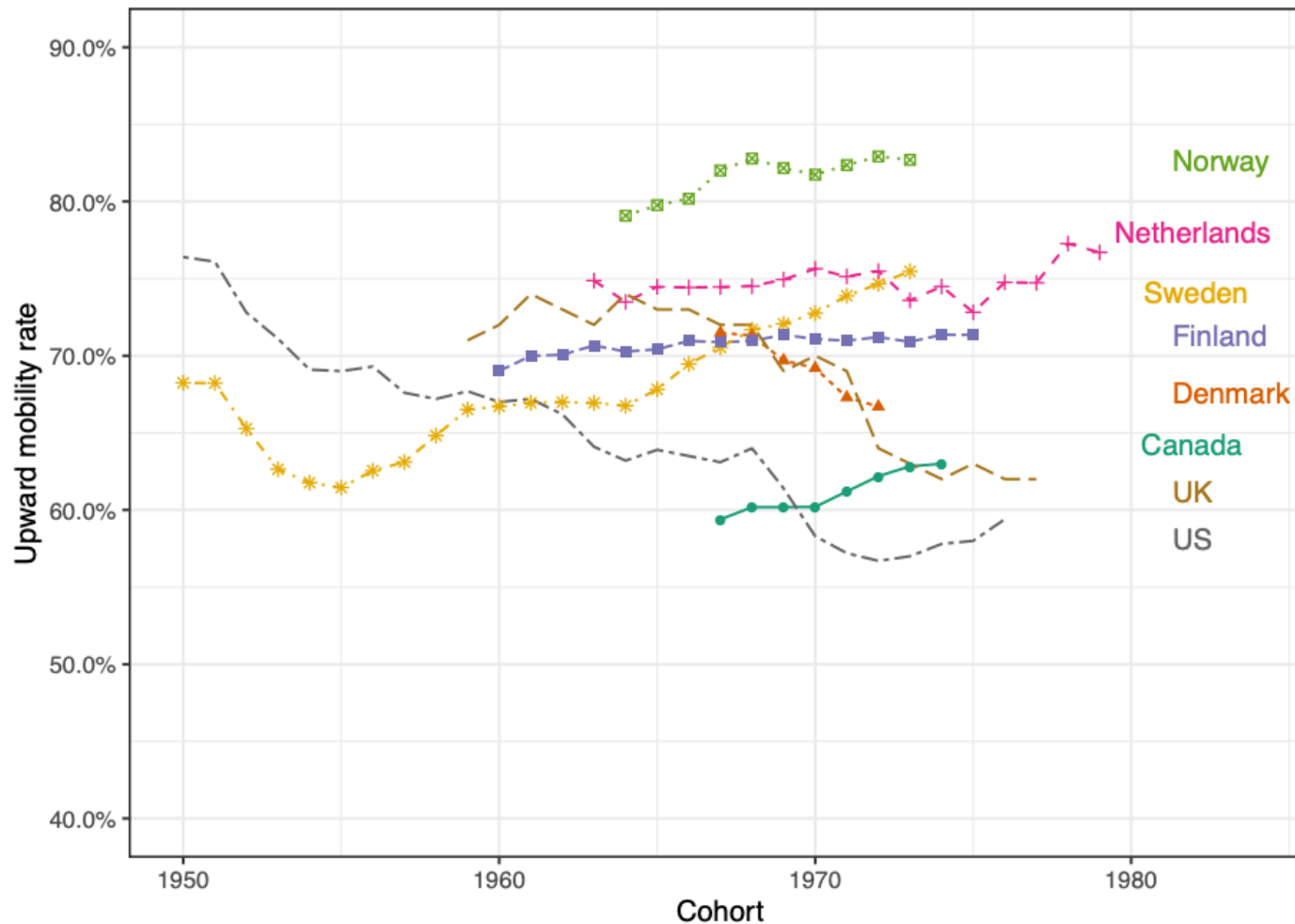
Brexit was won by the south.



Source: The map first appeared as the key map to this series:  
<https://www.dannydorling.org/books/onepercent/BrexitJigsaw.html> here:  
[https://www.dannydorling.org/books/onepercent/The28Maps/Dorling\\_Brexit\\_KEY-MAP.pdf](https://www.dannydorling.org/books/onepercent/The28Maps/Dorling_Brexit_KEY-MAP.pdf)

# We waste time competing.

Social mobility in the UK fell from nearly the highest in the world for those born in the early 1960s, to the second lowest for those born in the late 1970s.



(Note:  
Denmark does  
much better  
post-tax, not  
shown here)

FIGURE A2.2. ESTIMATES OF UPWARD MOBILITY BY COUNTRY AND BIRTH COHORT, INCOME MEASURED AT AGE 40

*Notes:* The upward mobility rate is calculated as the percentage of children in each birth cohort whose pre-tax, post-transfer family income at age 40, adjusted for inflation, was higher than their parents' family income at age 40. Incomes are measured using a combination of register and survey data in each country, as described in Appendix 1.

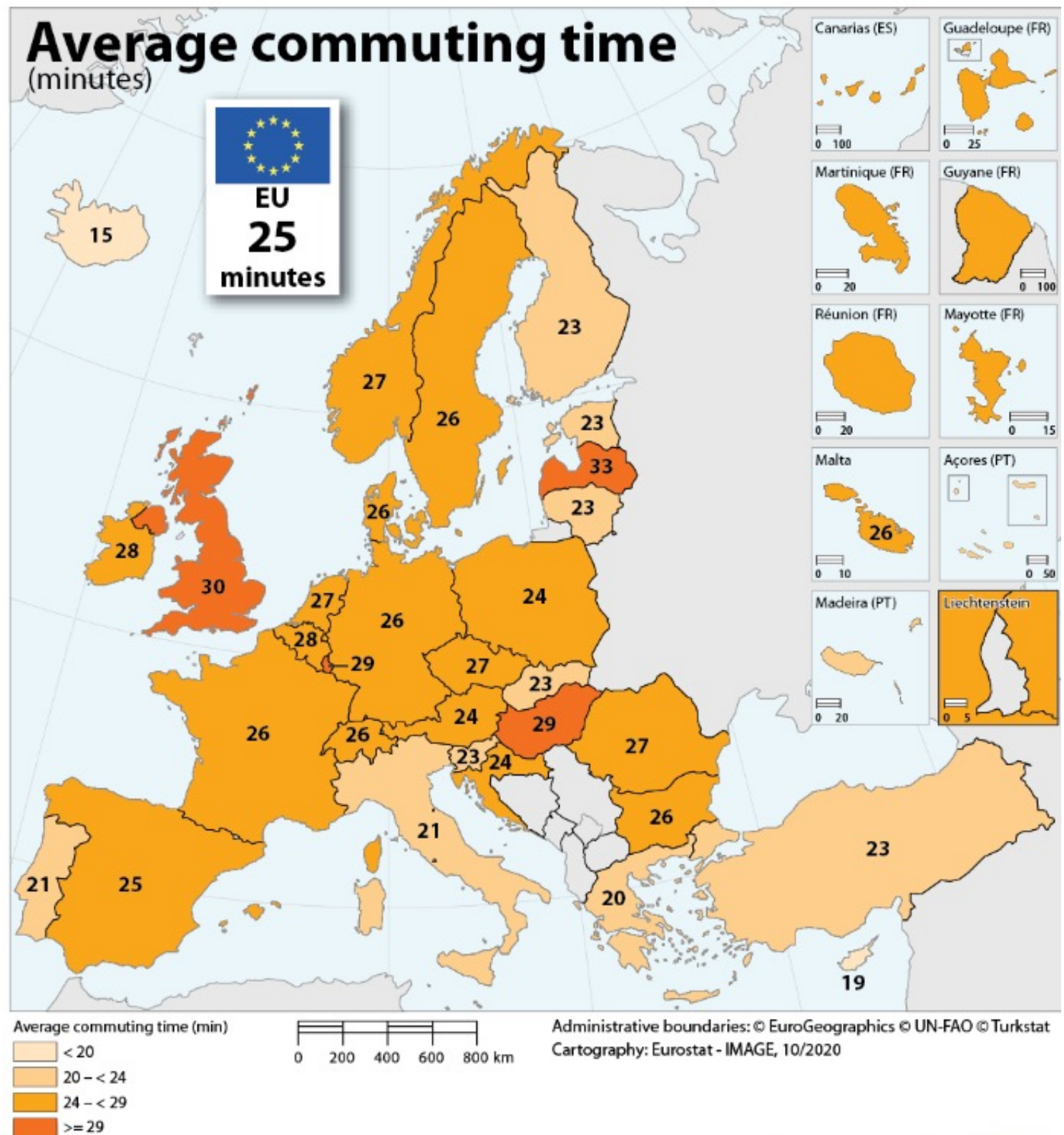
Source: Figure A.2.2. page 74 of Robert Manduca et al (2020) Trends in Absolute Income Mobility in North America and Europe, IZA Discussion Paper 13456, July, <https://www.iza.org/publications/dp/13456/trends-in-absolute-income-mobility-in-north-america-and-europe>



# We waste time commuting.

The reaction of people in the UK to international comparisons is often interesting.

A common reaction to this map was mainly: 'It's only 5 minutes more.'



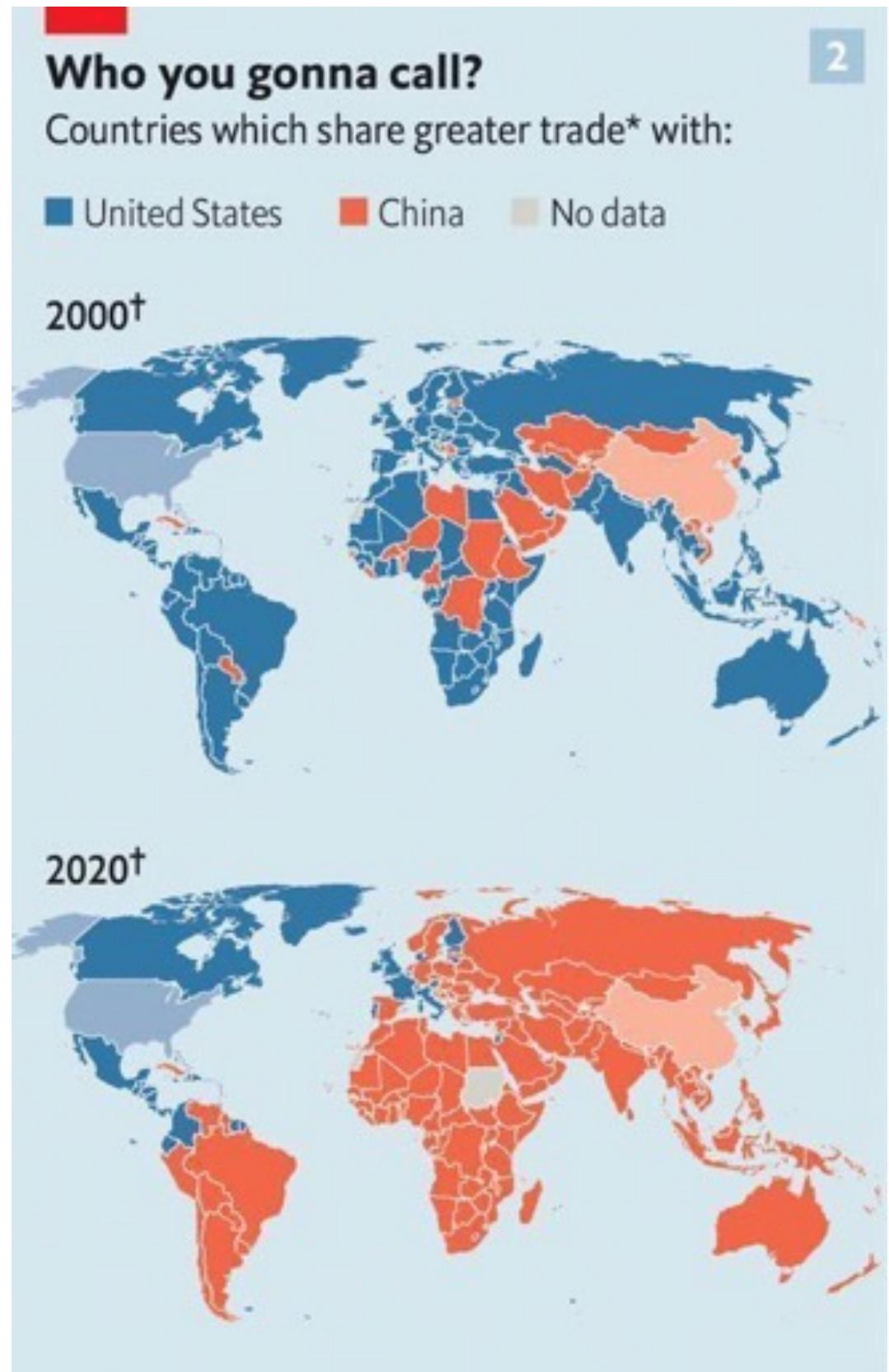
Source: a tweet of 13/2/2023: 'Perhaps why "wokeing [sic] from home" is very popular in Britain.'  
[https://twitter.com/GavinHJackson/status/1625133811649462274?s=20&t=a\\_rQyLjFY1rq\\_jv3k63-4A](https://twitter.com/GavinHJackson/status/1625133811649462274?s=20&t=a_rQyLjFY1rq_jv3k63-4A)

Danny Dorling *Shattered Nation* (Verso, 2023)

We waste time with our alliances.

Economic power in the world is rapidly shifting.

The UK is a tiny dot: 0.8% of people, 0.4% of children worldwide. Choosing sides is wasteful when few notice.



Source: maps and graph first appeared in The Economist on 17 July 2021 and were widely shared on the Internet, <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2021/07/17/joe-biden-is-determined-that-china-should-not-displace-america>







## 6. Exploitation



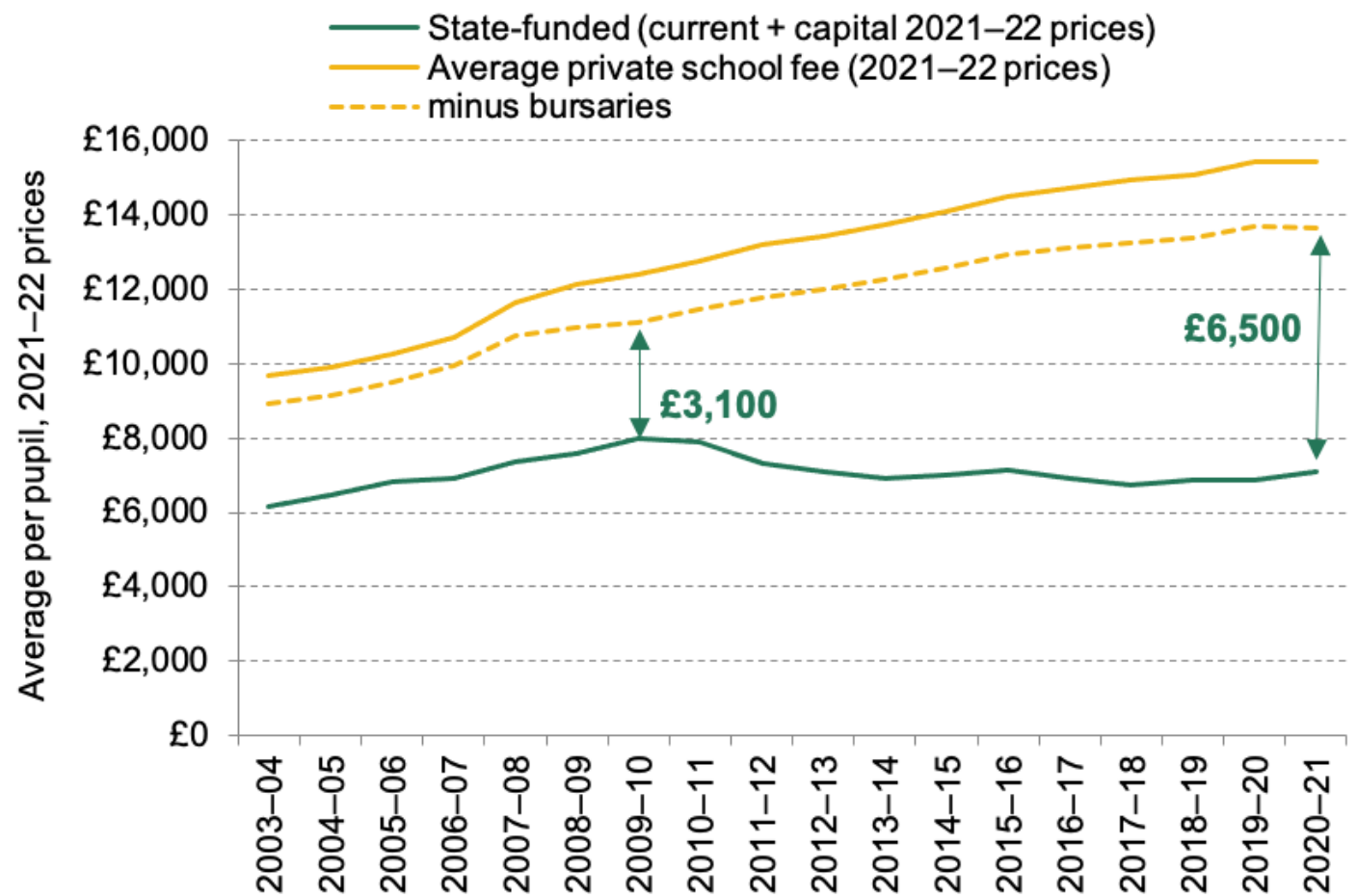
Education was seen as the remedy for the old social evil of ignorance.

Source: The Encaenia Procession,  
Oxford, 2002, Alfred Daniels  
[https://orwellpressartpublishing.com/  
collection?name=Oxford](https://orwellpressartpublishing.com/collection?name=Oxford)



# Cuts

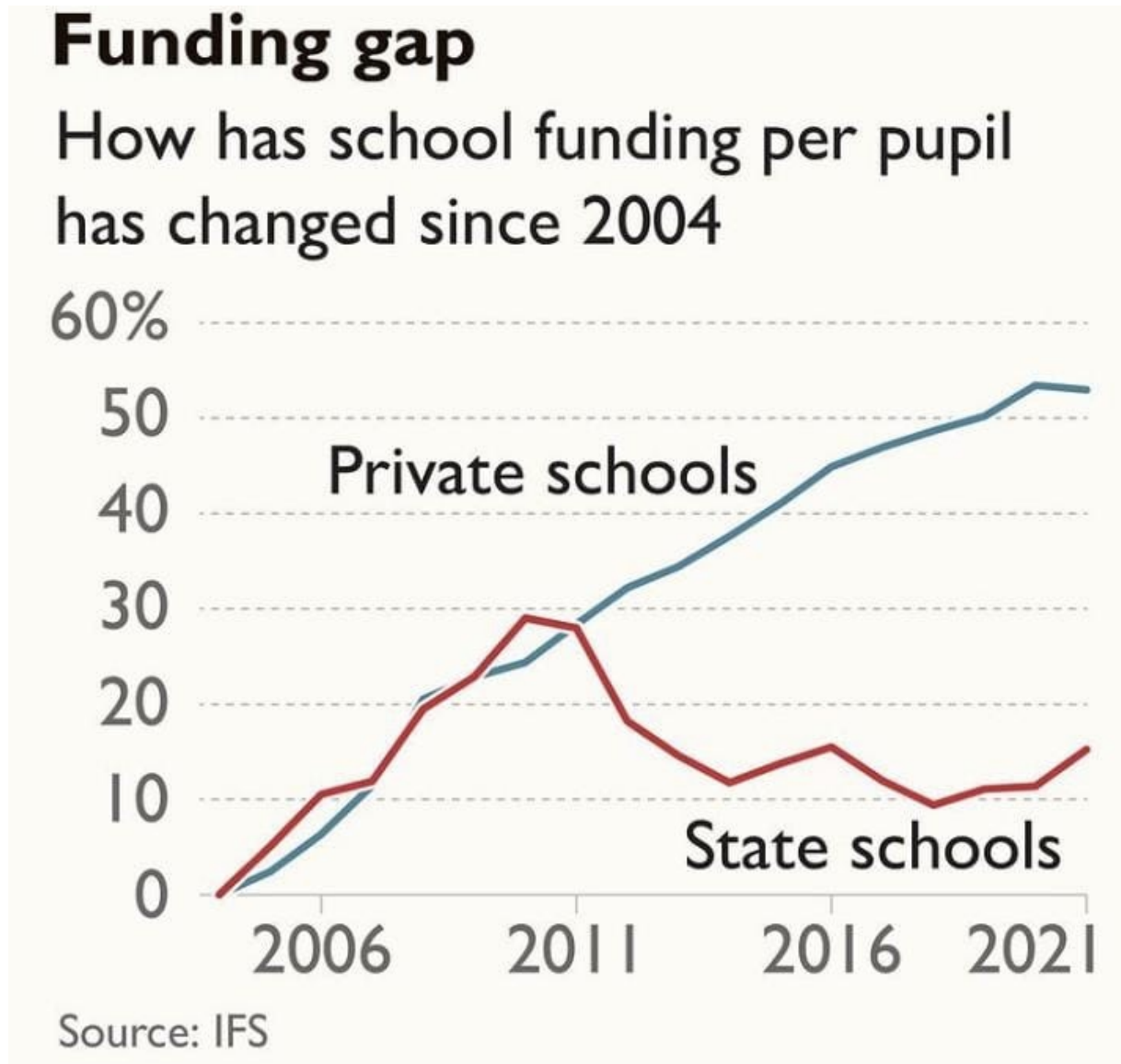
Education spending per child was cut severely for children attending state schools after 2010. Other public services such as public libraries have been similarly cut, by a fifth since 2019, despite visits increasing by 68% (partly to get warm) and book borrowing rising by 58% between 2019 and 2022. People in Britain are reading more books, but are now less able to buy books than they were a few years ago, as they are now almost all so much poorer.



In 2022, 2023 and beyond the monies allocated to most state schools will fall again in real terms.

Source : Luke Sibieta (2021) The growing gap between state school and private school spending, Observation, Institute for Fiscal Studies, October 8th, <https://ifs.org.uk/publications/15672>  
<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2023/mar/02/spending-on-british-libraries-falls-17-as-in-person-visits-soar>

New Labour maintained, and did not ever narrow, the very wide educational funding divides when it was in power.



Source: The Times, 18 October 2021  
<https://www.trendsmap.com/twitter/tweet/1446485623985123340>



# Snobbery is so very British.

We worried, or at least wrote, most about snobbery when we were becoming more equal. We mention it less now.

Google Books Ngram Viewer

snob

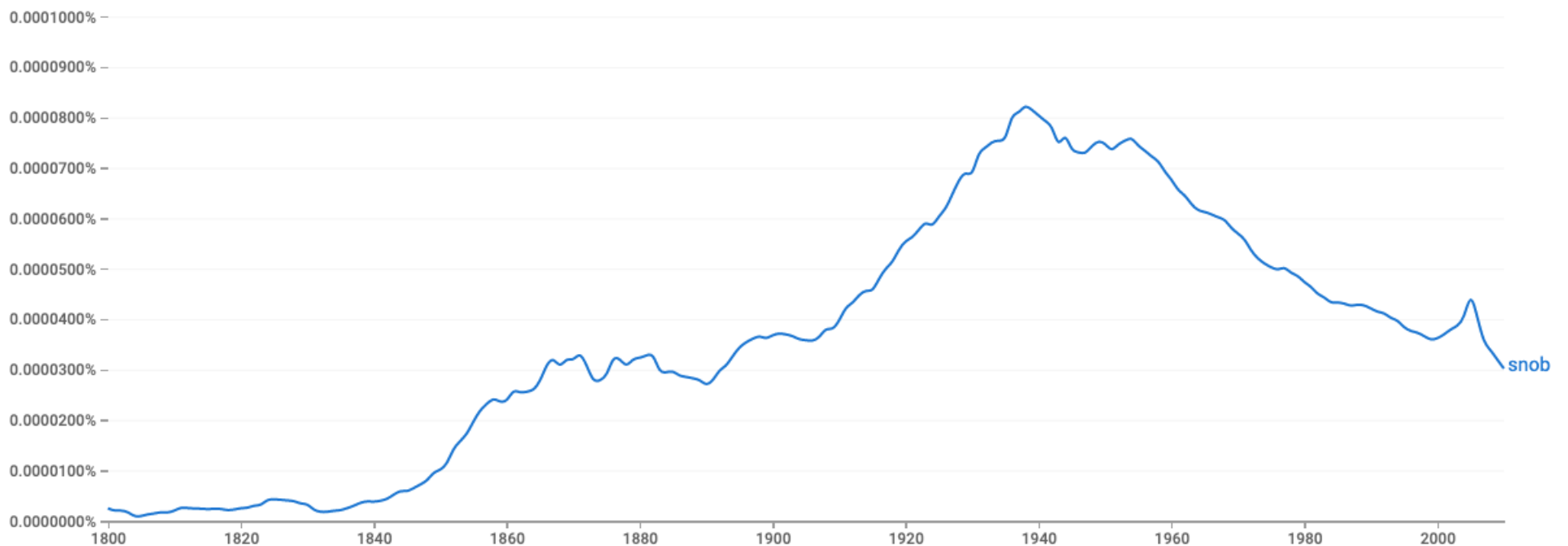
X ?

1800 - 2010

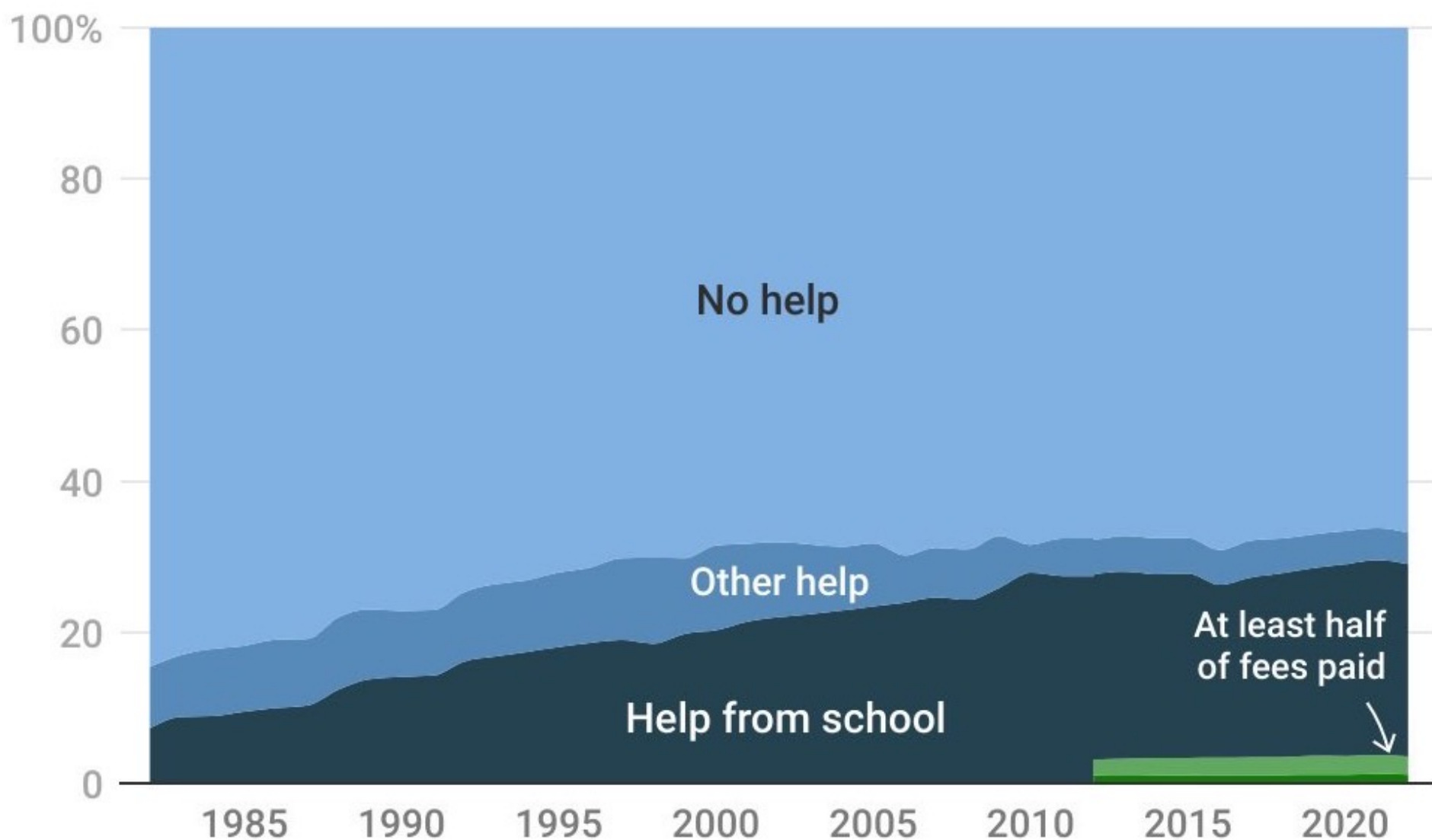
English (2009)

Case-Insensitive

Smoothing



A third of all private school pupils now get some kind of bursary. But only 3% have more than half their fees paid, while only 1% go for free.



No data on bursary sizes pre-2012

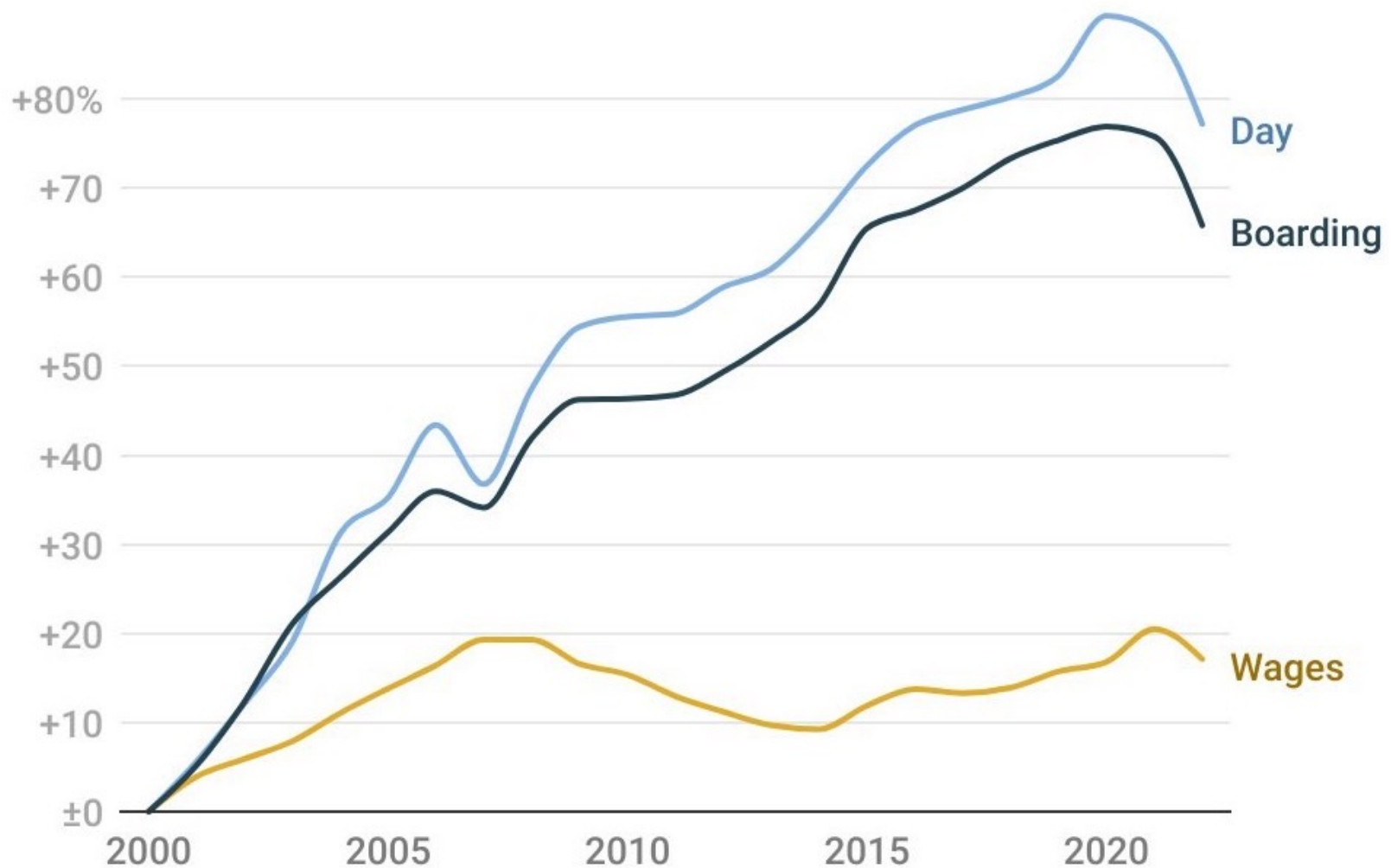
Tom Calver, Who are private schools really for in modern Britain? The Sunday Times, 16 April 2023  
<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/ca75455c-db12-11ed-b1e2-4c4ae98cfe2f>



# Equality

‘There is a reason the number of independent school places has remained fairly static even as fees have soared: for many families of privately educated children, the fees are inconsequential.’

Real-terms change in private school fees since 2000, adjusted for inflation

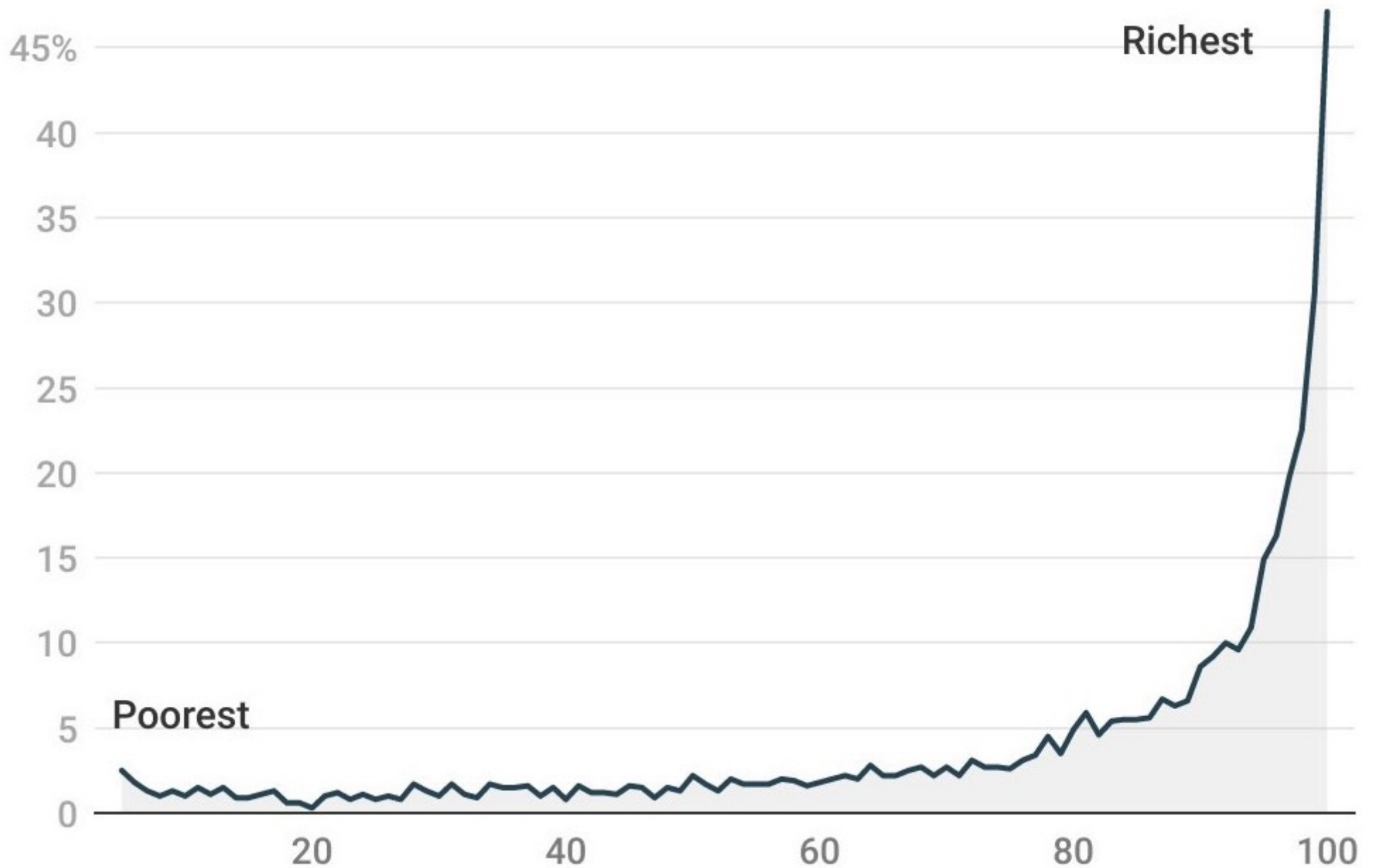


Tom Calver, Who are private schools really for in modern Britain? The Sunday Times, 16 April 2023  
<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/ca75455c-db12-11ed-b1e2-4c4ae98cfe2f>

# Diversity

‘The number of kids from the poorest third of families who went to private school may have doubled between 2000 and 2015, according to research by University College London — but it doubled from 1% to 2%.’

## Private school attendance by income rank of household



Tom Calver, Who are private schools really for in modern Britain? The Sunday Times, 16 April 2023  
<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/ca75455c-db12-11ed-b1e2-4c4ae98cfe2f>

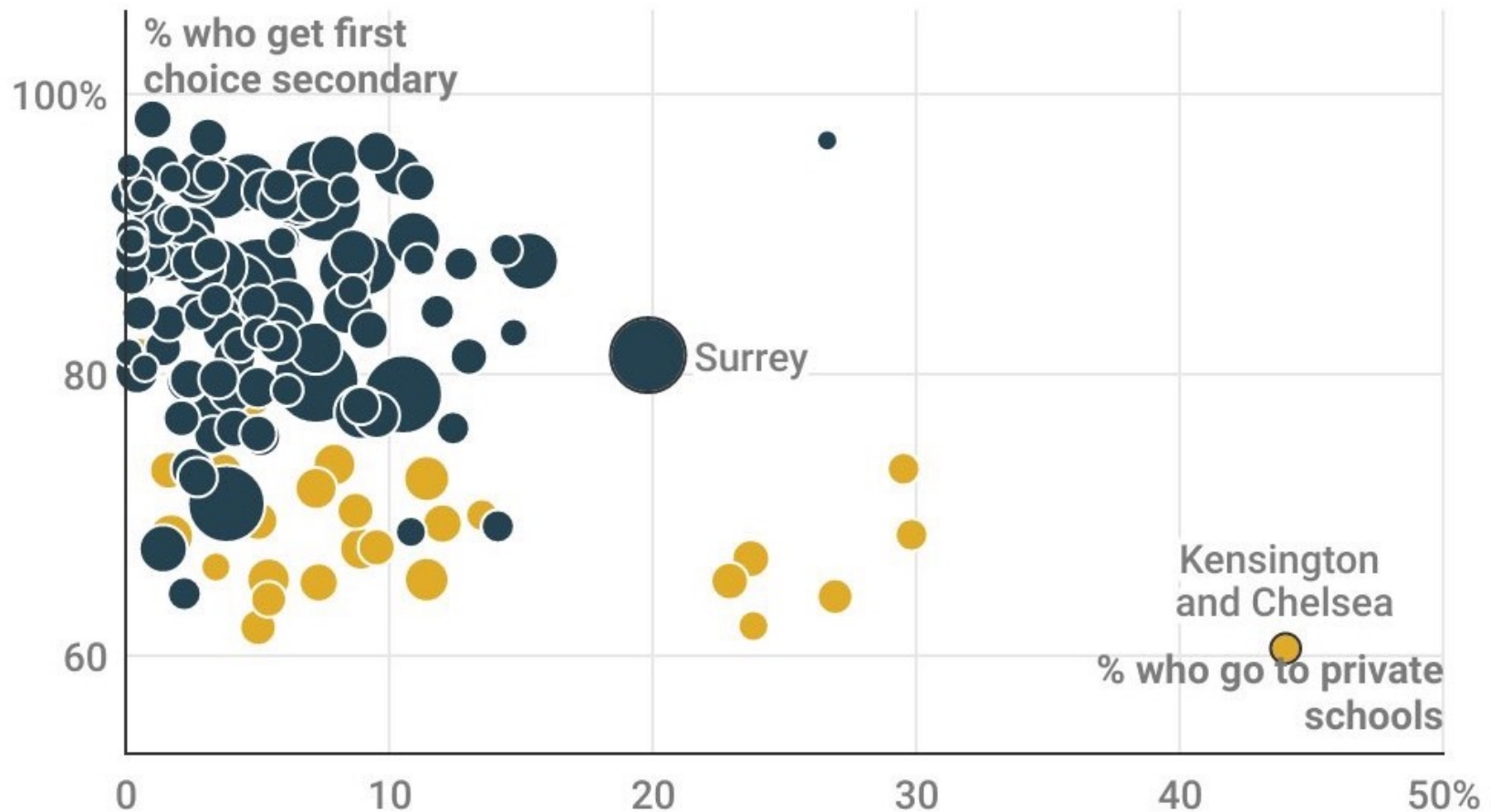
Danny Dorling **Shattered Nation** (Verso, 2023)



# Inclusion

‘Going to private school can have a huge bearing on a child’s future — and often in unexpected ways. Their income is likely to be higher, but they’re also more likely to vote a certain way (Tory). Research has even found that privately educated women are four times more likely to marry privately educated men than state-educated women are.’

Many areas where lots of children go to private school also have very competitive state schools



Tom Calver, Who are private schools really for in modern Britain? The Sunday Times, 16 April 2023  
<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/ca75455c-db12-11ed-b1e2-4c4ae98cfe2f>

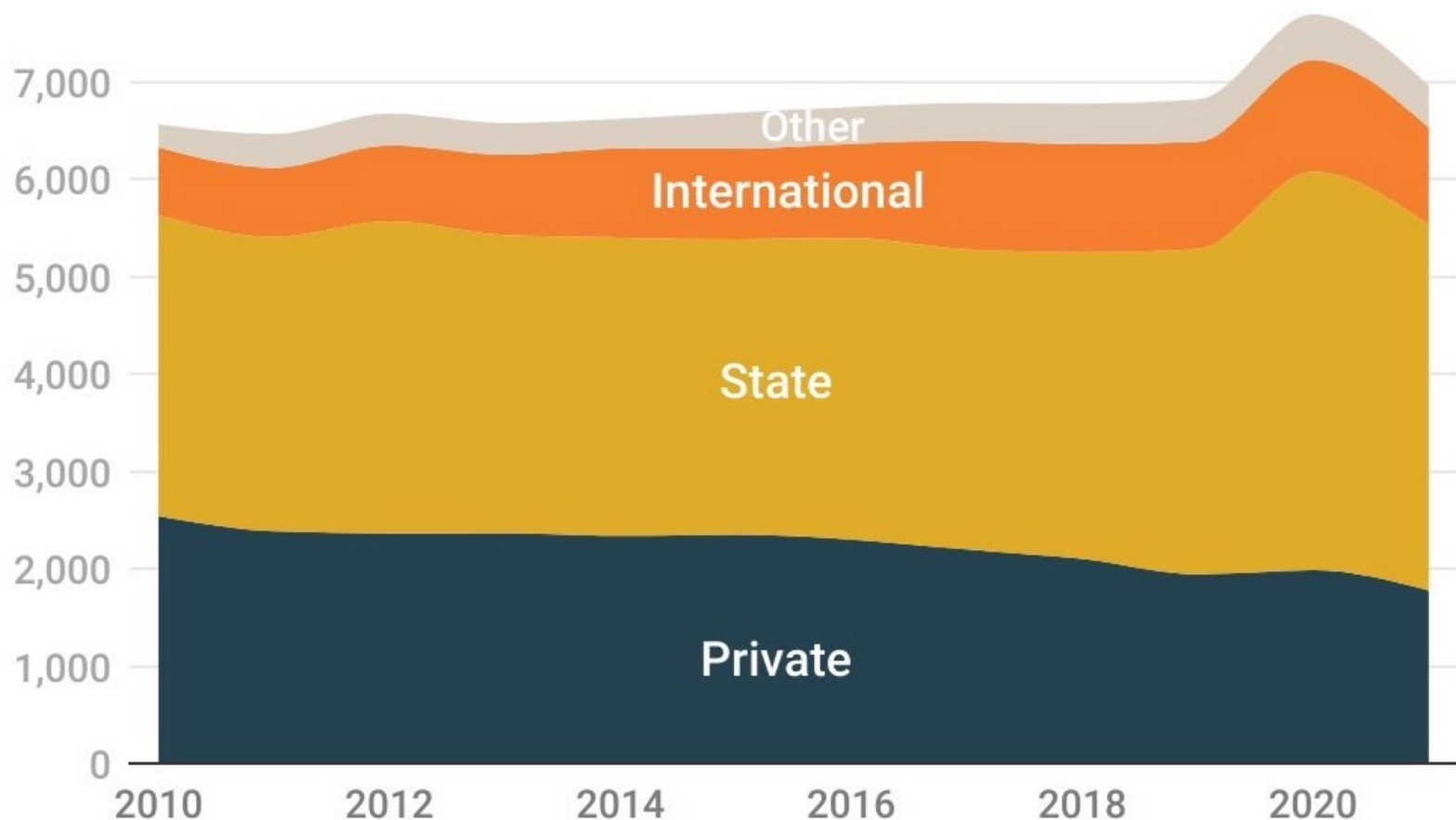
Circles sized by number of pupils. London councils in yellow.

Danny Dorling *Shattered Nation* (Verso, 2023)

# Fear

‘Recently, something of a panic has set in among private schools about the declining level of Oxbridge acceptance: in 2011, 37 per cent of admissions were from the independent sector, but this fell to 26 per cent in 2020. Yet if it was representative of the English school system, it would be closer to 6 per cent.’

Oxbridge places by type of school. Although their share has fallen, the number of places occupied by private school pupils is still disproportionately large



Tom Calver, Who are private schools really for in modern Britain? The Sunday Times, 16 April 2023  
<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/ca75455c-db12-11ed-b1e2-4c4ae98cfe2f>



# 7. Fear



When the five social evils were first named by William Beveridge in 1942, disease was the one that was most feared, especially disease among children.

Source:  
[https://www.worcesterflorist.co.uk/flowers/Seahorses\\_Blank\\_\\_card\\_.aspx](https://www.worcesterflorist.co.uk/flowers/Seahorses_Blank__card_.aspx)

Danny Dorling **Shattered Nation** (Verso, 2023)

# Down the river...

The use of antidepressants in the UK in 2022 was 22% higher than it was in 2016. The most likely person to be prescribed these medicines is a woman in her fifties. Our life expectancy in 2022 was lower than it was in 2014, for both men and women. Nowhere else in Western Europe saw such a fall. Only Slovakia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania and Malta now have worse neonatal (dying in the first month of life) mortality rates than the UK.



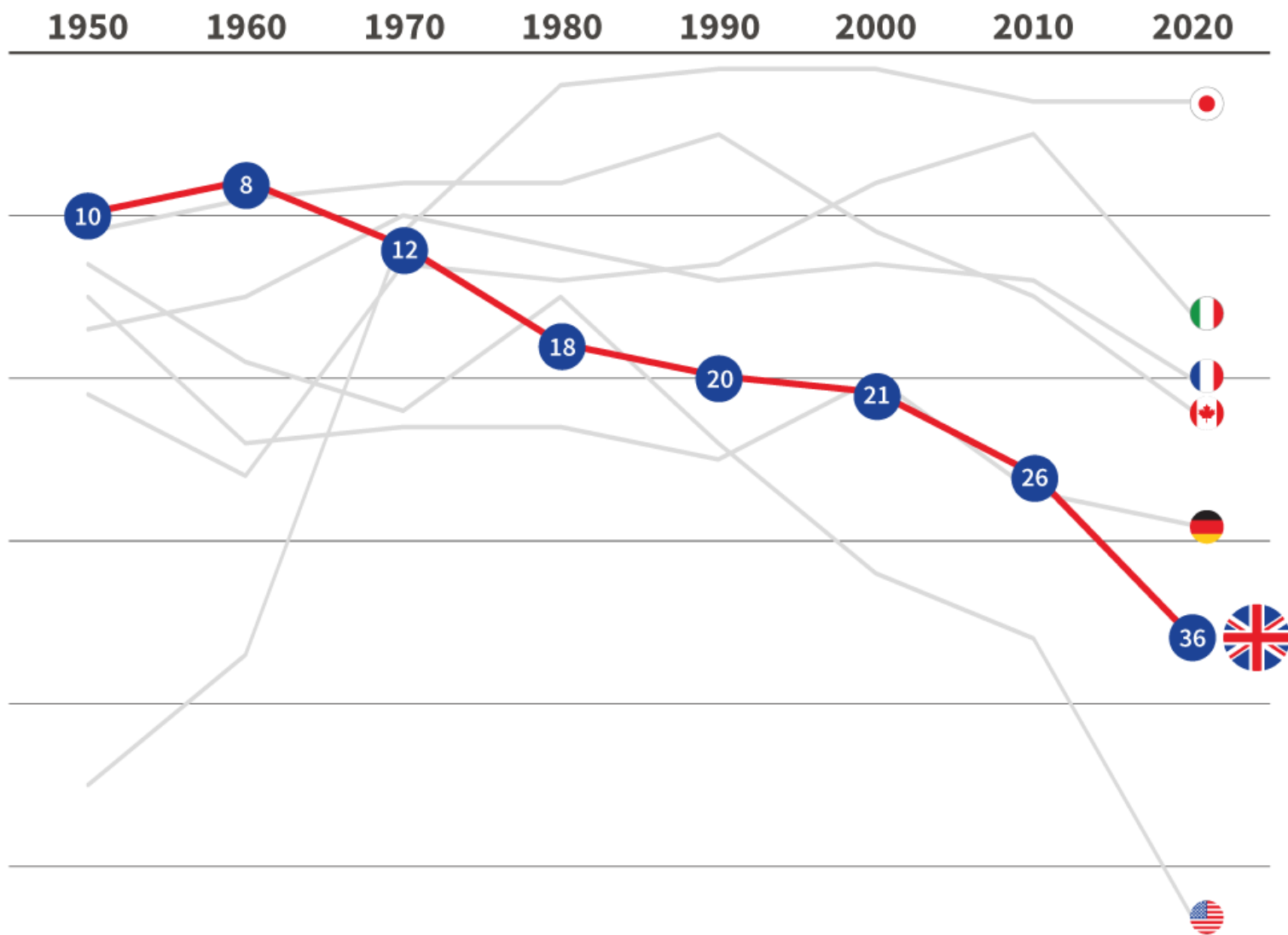
River Danube: through Slovakia, Hungary, Serbia, Romania/Bulgaria



...and down the ranks.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF MEDICINE

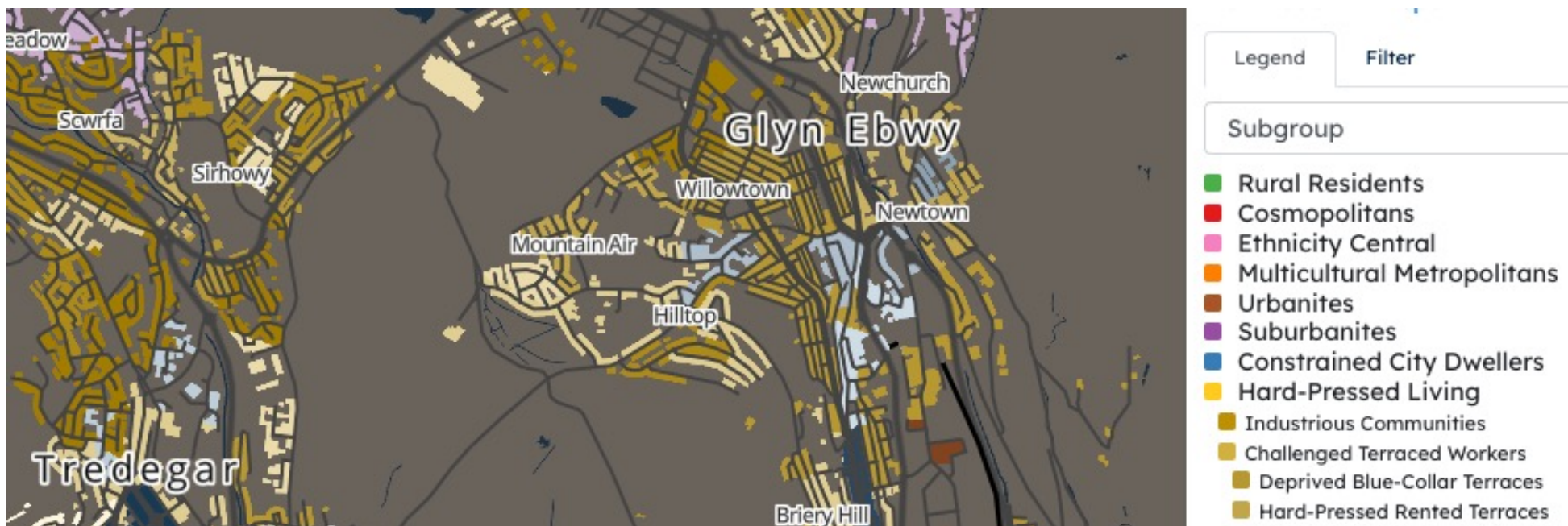
## Countries of the G7's international life expectancy rankings, 1950–2020



Source: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/01410768231155637>

# Having started so well...

‘The essence of a satisfactory health service is that the rich and the poor are treated alike, that poverty is not a disability, and wealth is not advantaged.’ Aneurin Bevan, 1952, *In Place of Fear*. From 1929 to 1960 Bevan was the MP for Ebbw Vale, a constituency in South Wales, and minister of health when the National Health Service was created. Health improved markedly then and became much less variable across the UK. However, today residents in Bevan’s constituency can expect to have, on average, 16.4 fewer years of good health than those in the best-off places. They once again have the worst health of anyone in England and Wales.



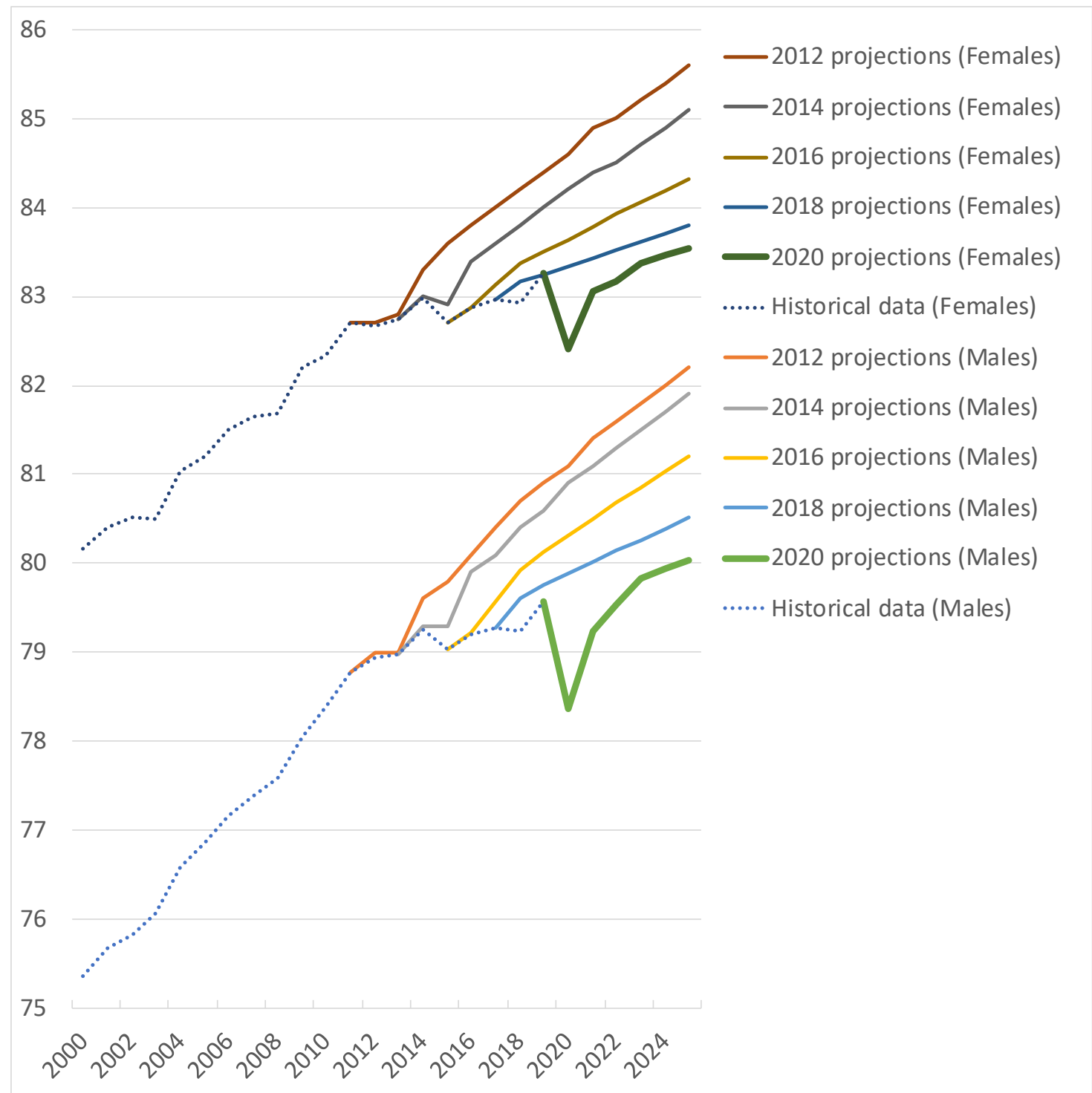
## A classification of the neighbourhoods around Ebbw Vale in 2011

Source: <https://mapmaker.cdrc.ac.uk/#/output-area-classification?h=2&lon=-3.2336&lat=51.7757&zoom=12.84>



In 1950-55 the UK had the highest life expectancy of the world's larger countries.

From 2012 onwards the official ONS projections were revised downwards every year. Austerity was far worse than the pandemic.

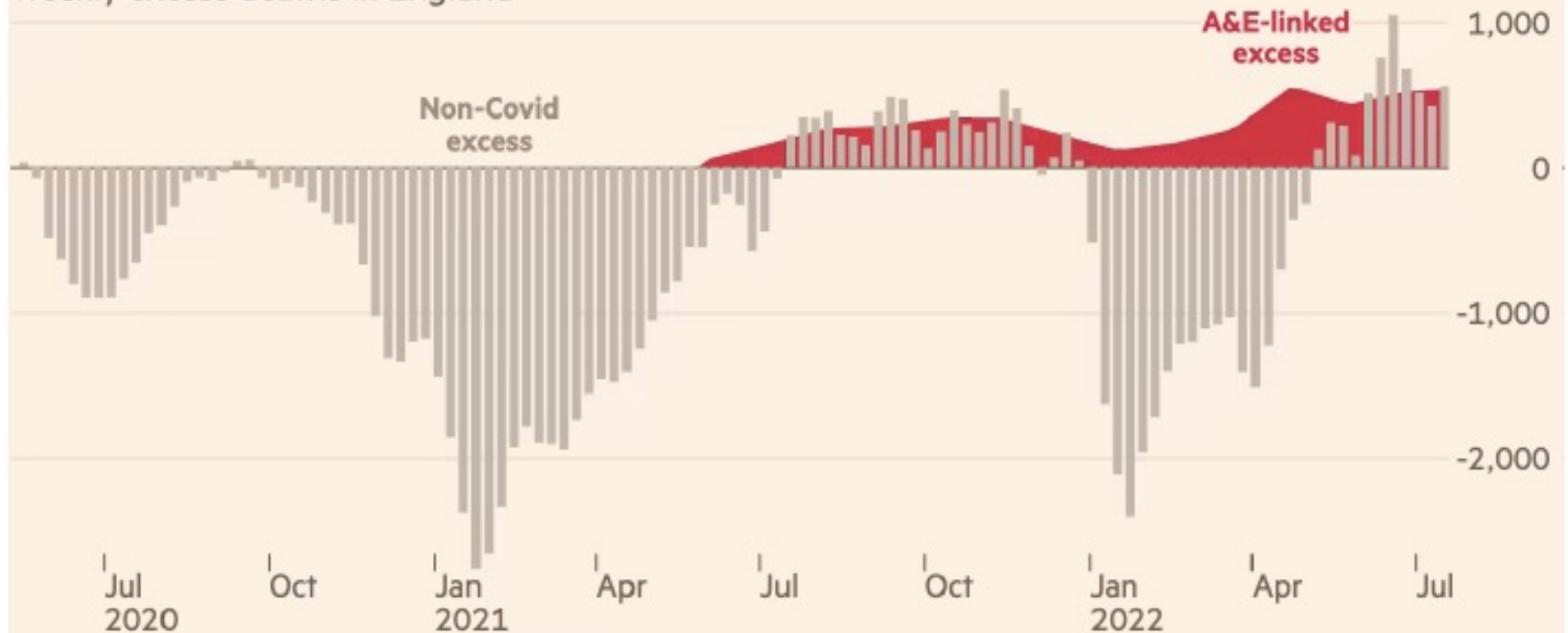


Source: <https://www.bmj.com/content/377/bmj-2022-071329>

# Excess deaths are once again linked to austerity, cuts and inequality.

The number of deaths that may have resulted from exceptional A&E waiting times closely matches total non-Covid excess deaths in England

Weekly excess deaths in England



Sources: FT analysis of data from Office for Health Improvement & Disparities; NHS; Rebecca Thomas / the Independent; Steve Black  
FT graphic: John Burn-Murdoch / @jburnmurdoch

© FT

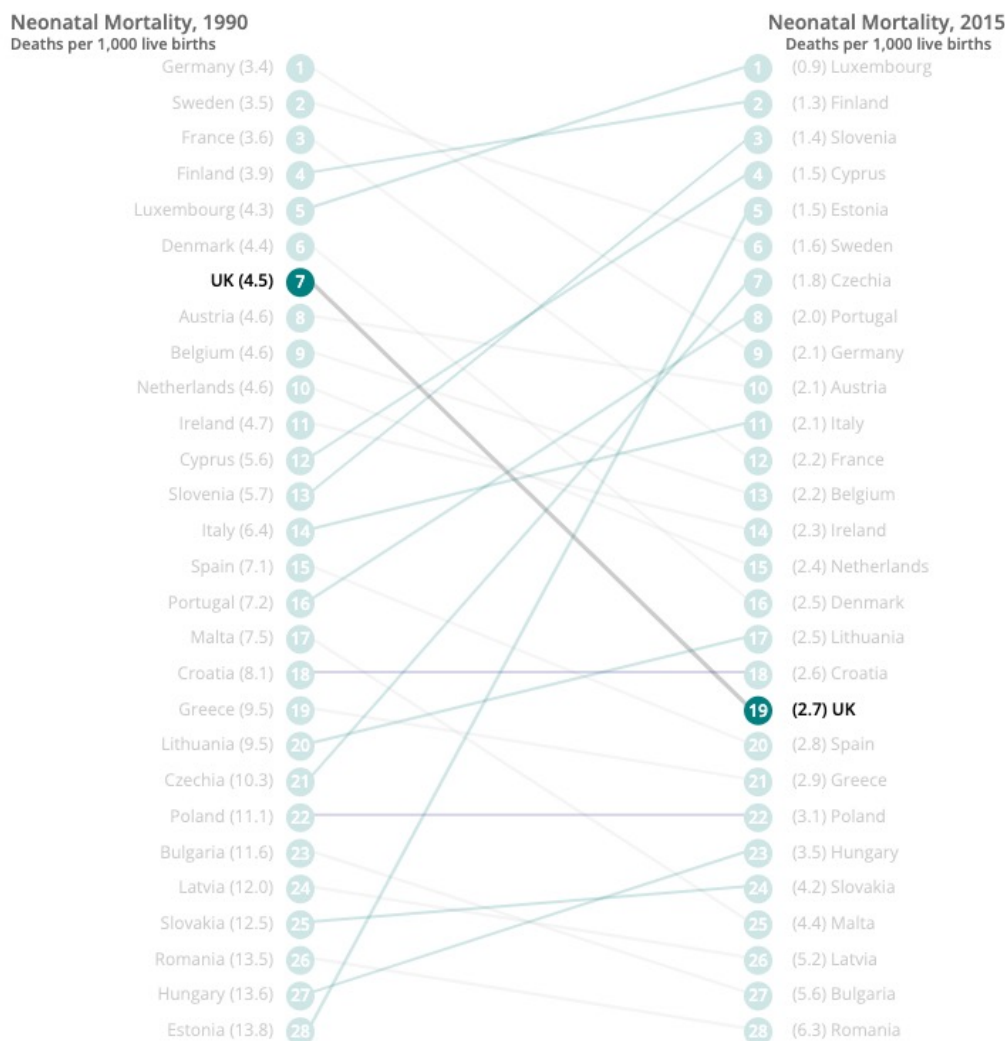
Source: John Burn-Murdoch (2022) The NHS is being squeezed in a vice: Excess deaths not related to Covid are rising in a system under almost intolerable strain, The Financial Times, 22 August  
<https://www.ft.com/content/f36c5daa-9c14-4a92-9136-19b26508b9d2>

Response: 30 January 2023:  
'NHS plan: £1bn for hospital beds and ambulance fleet'  
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-64448354>



# Neonatal mortality: 6<sup>th</sup> worst in Europe

Update of the ONS report of 2017 using the latest available data from exactly the same source (WHO). The UK drops from 19<sup>th</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup> (out of the then 28 EU countries) by neonatal mortality:



rank 2020	rate 2020	Country	rank 2015
1	0.93	Estonia	5
2	1.23	Slovenia	3
3	1.35	Finland	2
4	1.45	Sweden	6
5	1.56	Czechia	7
6	1.64	Cyprus	4
7	1.68	Luxembourg	1
8	1.7	Spain	20
9	1.72	Italy	11
10	1.8	Portugal	8
11	1.91	Lithuania	17
12	1.98	Ireland	14
13	2.12	Hungary	23
14	2.25	Germany	9
15	2.26	Latvia	26
16	2.3	Austria	10
17	2.39	Belgium	13
18	2.44	Greece	21
19	2.51	Denmark	16
20	2.56	France	12
21	2.69	Poland	22
22	2.73	Netherlands	15
23	2.74	UK	19
24	2.96	Slovakia	24
25	2.97	Bulgaria	27
26	3.01	Croatia	18
27	3.48	Romania	28
28	4.3	Malta	25

Source: WHO (2022) Neonatal mortality rate (0 to 27 days) per 1000 live births (SDG 3.2.2), World Health Organisation Website, 18 January

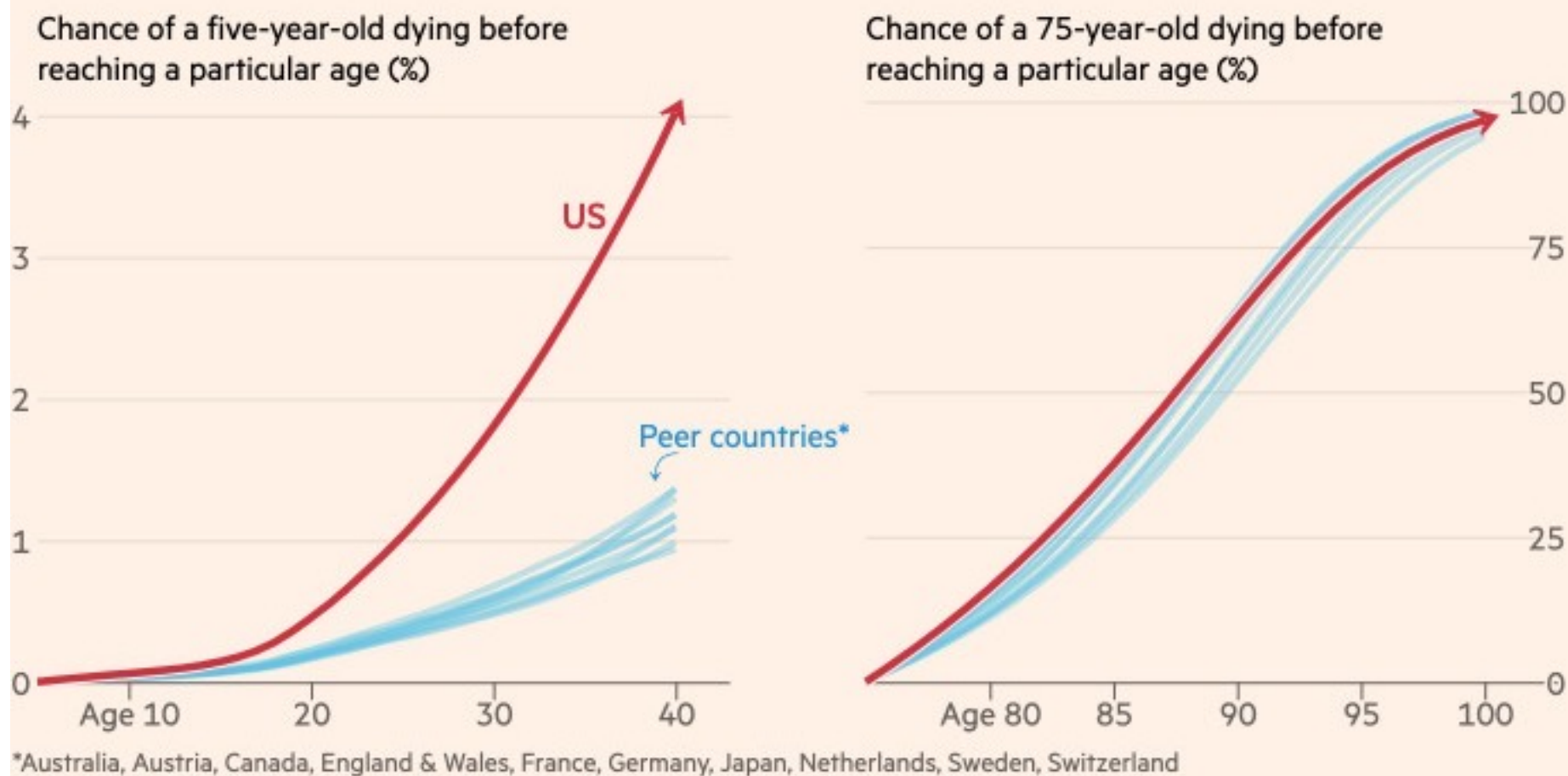
[https://www.who.int/data/gho/data/indicators/indicator-details/GHO/neonatal-mortality-rate-\(per-1000-live-births\)](https://www.who.int/data/gho/data/indicators/indicator-details/GHO/neonatal-mortality-rate-(per-1000-live-births))

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/healthandsocialcare/childhealth/articles/ukdropsineuropeanchildmortalityrankings/2017-10-13>

It could be much worse – we could be in the USA.

‘US life expectancy is in freefall as the young and the poor bear the brunt of struggles for shared prosperity.’

One in 25 American five-year-olds does not make it to their 40th birthday, whereas at older ages US outcomes are similar to peer countries



Source: Financial Times  
31 March 2023, John Burn-Murdoch  
<https://www.ft.com/content/653bbb26-8a22-4db3-b43d-c34a0b774303>



# All groups in England live longer than in the USA.

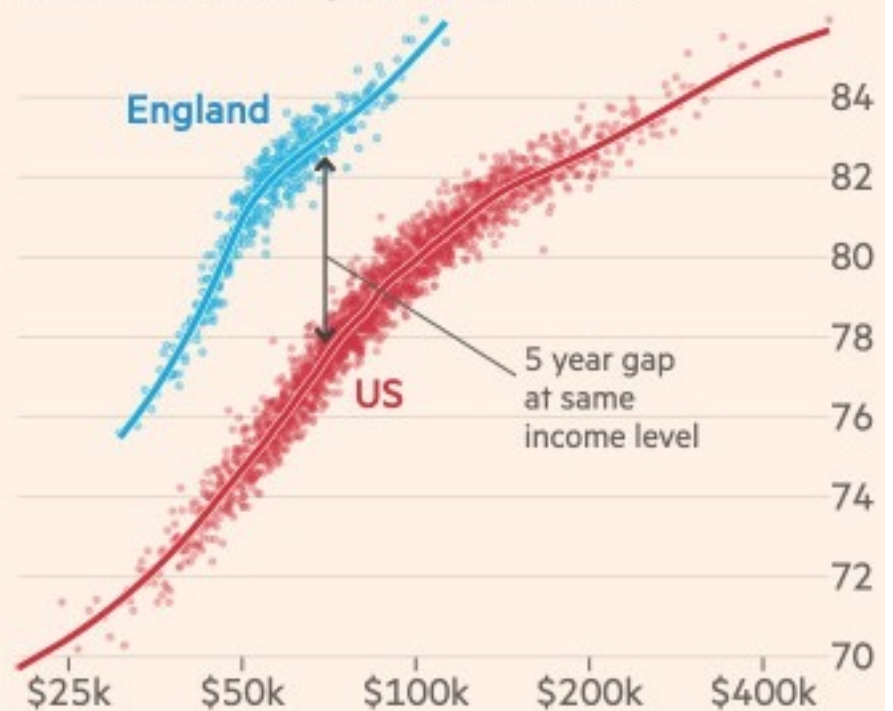
‘A car-wash manager in Alabama can now earn \$125,000, about 50 per cent more than the head of cyber security at the UK Treasury even after accounting for different living costs.’  
And yet they die so much earlier.

## Americans die earlier than the English across the income distribution, despite typically earning significantly more

Life expectancy at different points along each country's income distribution\*



Life expectancy by net household income (2022 purchasing power parities)



\*Each dot represents census tracts or Medium Super Output Areas containing roughly 100,000 people

Sources: FT analysis of US Small-area Life Expectancy Estimates Project, Rashid et al. (2019), American Community Survey and ONS small area income estimates

Source: Financial Times  
31 March 2023, John Burn-Murdoch  
<https://www.ft.com/content/653bbb26-8a22-4db3-b43d-c34a0b774303>

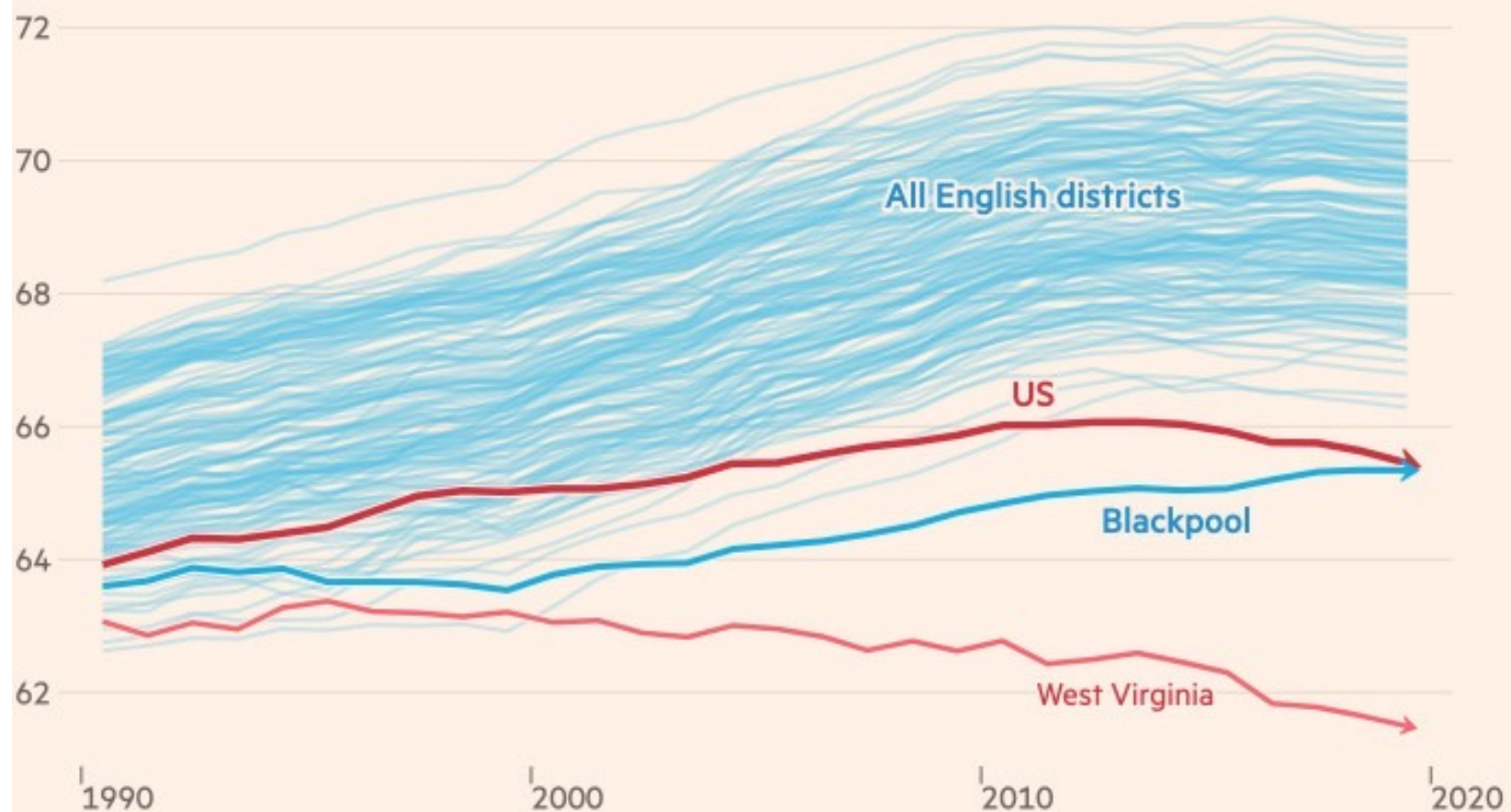
# Poorest areas of the UK are better-off than USA.

‘One in 25 American five-year-olds today will not make it to their 40th birthday. No parent should ever have to bury their child, but in the US one set of parents from every kindergarten class most likely will.’

John Burn-Murdoch, 31/3/2023.

The average American now has the same chance of a long and healthy life as someone born in Blackpool, the town with England’s lowest life expectancy

Health adjusted life expectancy at birth\*



Source: IHME Global Burden of Diseases

\*The number of years a person can expect to live in good health

Source: Financial Times

31 March 2023, John Burn-Murdoch

<https://www.ft.com/content/653bbb26-8a22-4db3-b43d-c34a0b774303>



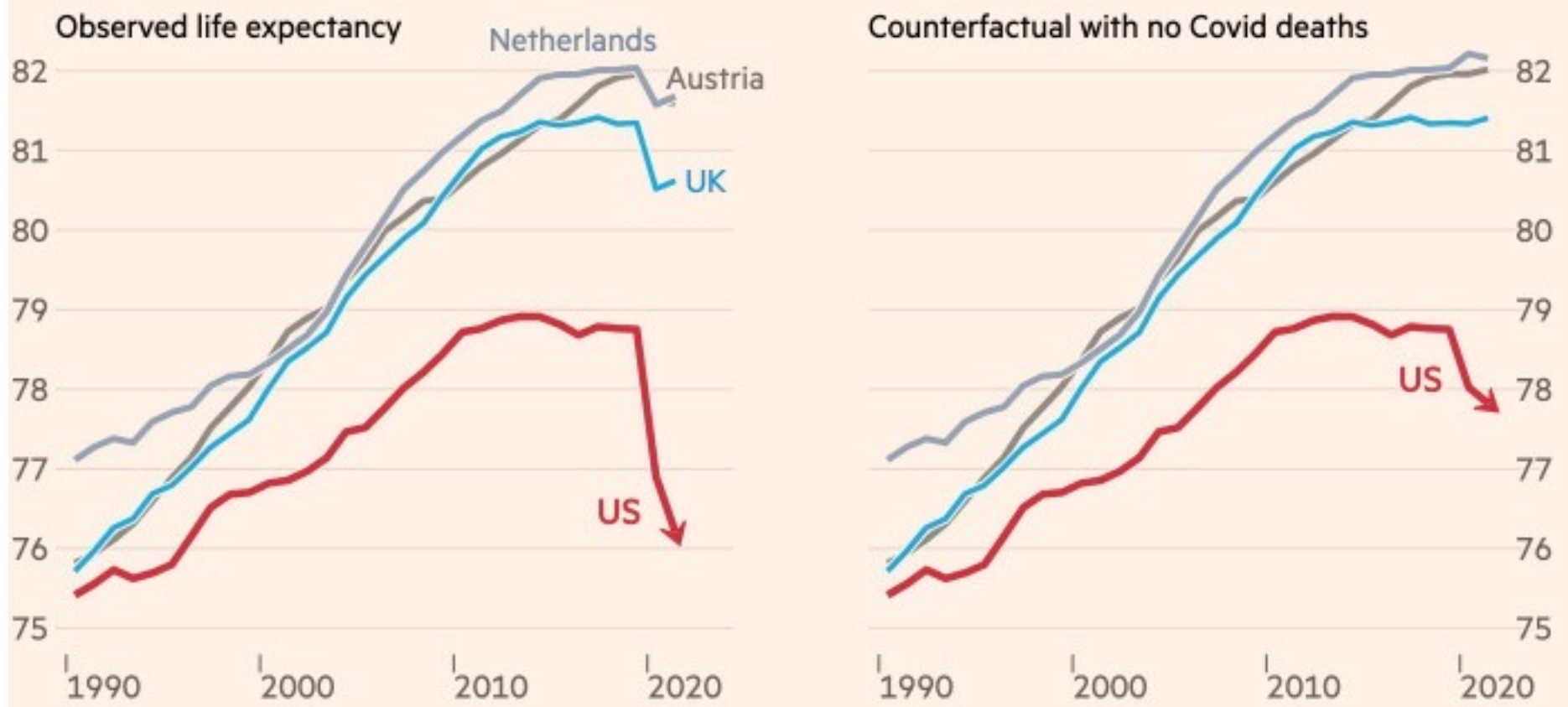
# The situation in the UK could be far worse.

‘And the highest price is being paid in avoidable deaths among the young, the poor and the vulnerable.’

John Burn-Murdoch, 31/3/2023.

Covid hit life expectancy right across the world, but the US stands alone in having lost an extra year to non-Covid causes including opioids and violence

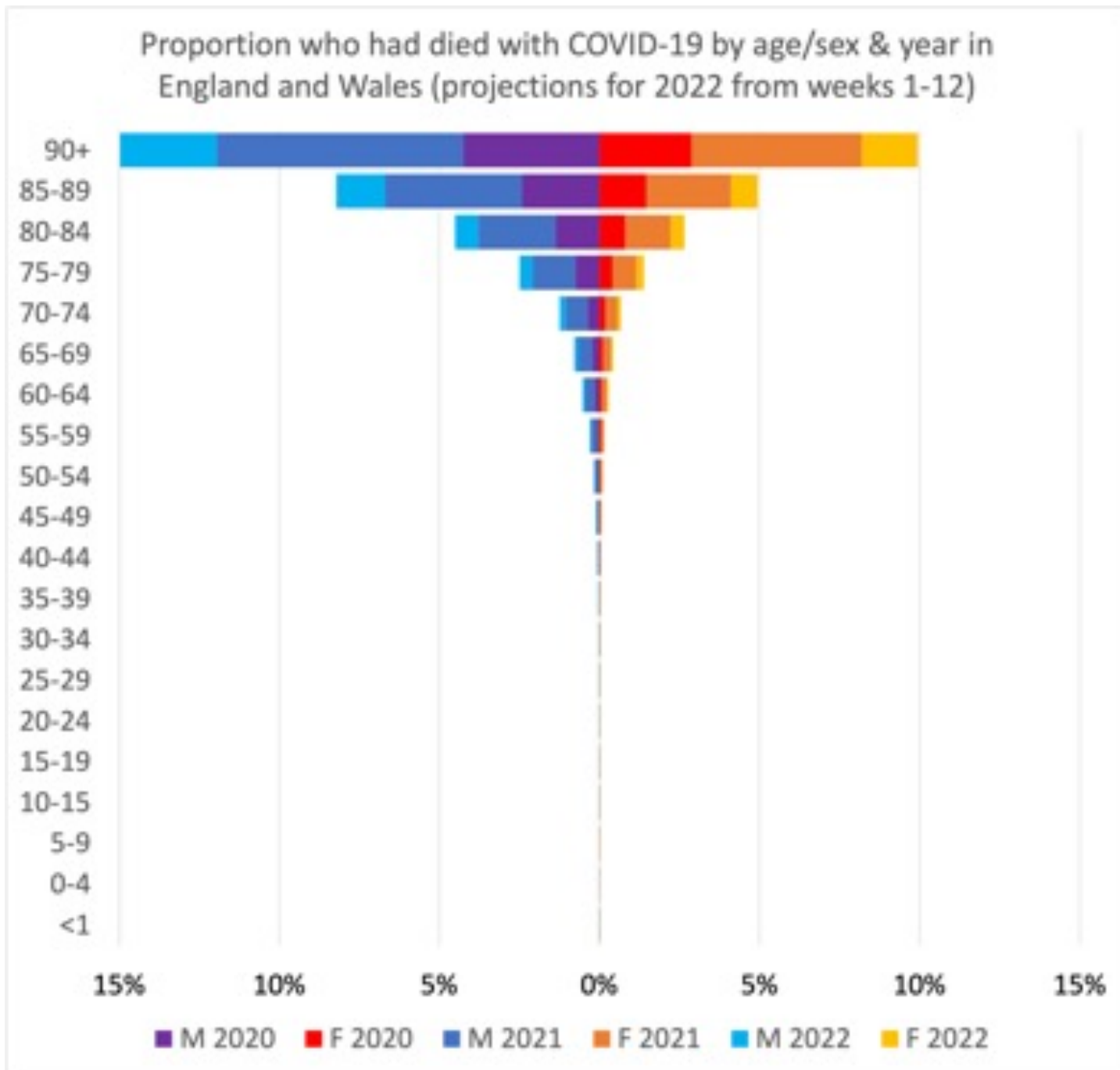
Chart shows developed countries that have published cause-specific deaths for 2021



Sources: FT analysis of data from US CDC, ONS, WHO and Statistics Netherlands. Counterfactual calculated using cause-deleted life tables

Source: Financial Times  
31 March 2023, John Burn-Murdoch  
<https://www.ft.com/content/653bbb26-8a22-4db3-b43d-c34a0b774303>

The first three years of the pandemic resulted in most mortality among the very elderly, who are the group most likely to be wealthy.

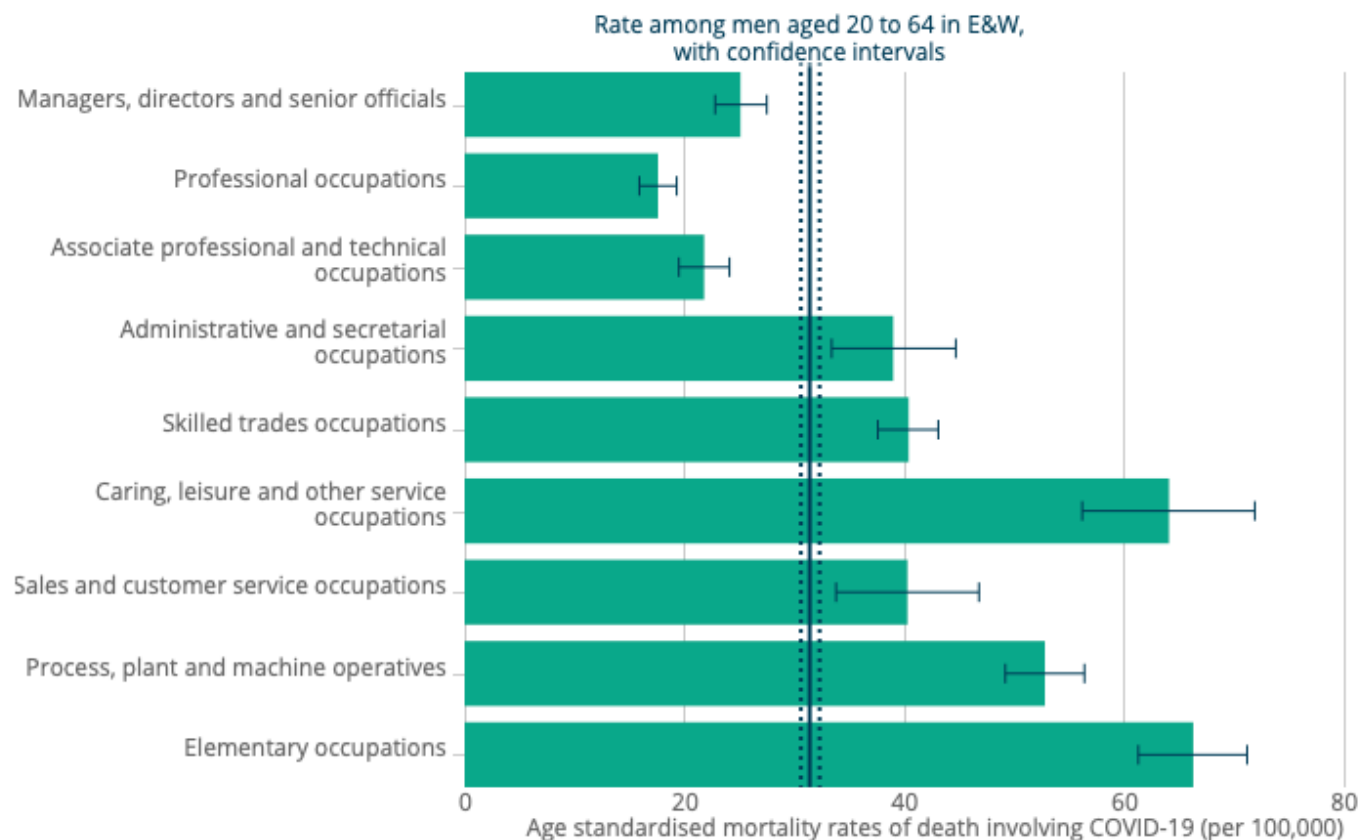




# When age-standardised, the poorest were hurt most by the pandemic. But only ‘relatively’.

**Figure 1: Men working in elementary occupations or caring, leisure and other service occupations had the highest rates of death involving COVID-19**

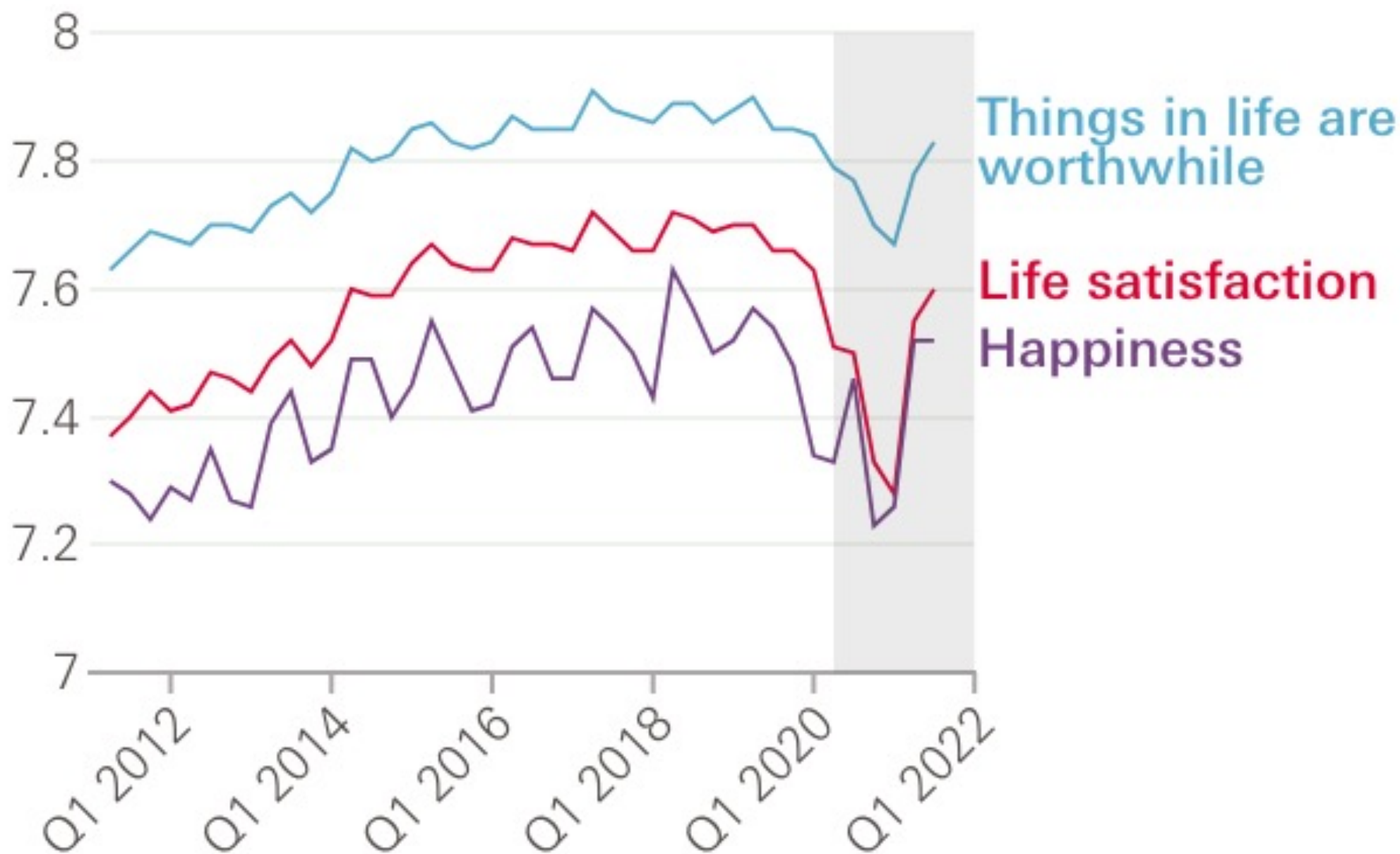
Age-standardised mortality rates of death involving the coronavirus (COVID-19) in England and Wales, by major occupational group, deaths registered between 9 March and 28 December 2020



**Source: Office for National Statistics – Deaths registered in England and Wales**

Source: Dorling, D. (2021) Who should be vaccinated before others? Public Sector Focus, January/February, pp. 12-15, <https://flickread.com/edition/html/index.php?pdf=6036196311725#15>

Happiness rose after the banking crash and especially from 2015-2019 when new options were debated, but crashed in autumn 2019.



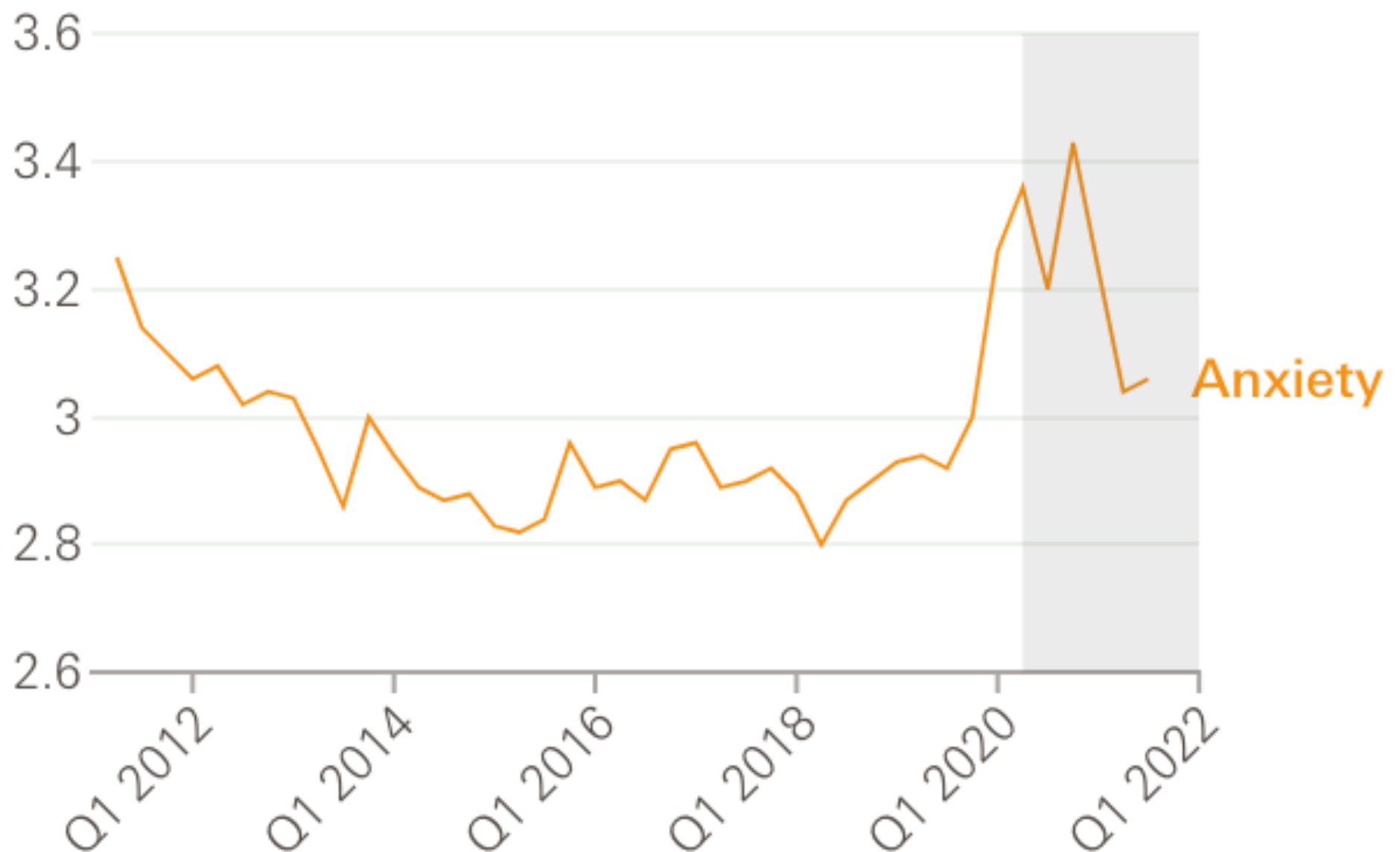
Source: ONS, Personal well-being in the UK, Quarterly: April 2011 to September 2021

More details:

<https://www.health.org.uk/publications/long-reads/the-continuing-impact-of-covid-19-on-health-and-inequalities>



Anxiety rose the most before the pandemic, but was very high before 2012 as well (following the financial crash and election of the coalition).



More details:

<https://www.health.org.uk/publications/long-reads/the-continuing-impact-of-covid-19-on-health-and-inequalities>

Source: ONS, Personal well-being in the UK, Quarterly: April 2011 to September 2021

## 8. A Failing State



“Laugh now, but one day no-one will be in charge.”  
‘Devolved Parliament’, Banksy, 2009.

Source:  
<https://edition.cnn.com/style/article/banksy-devolved-parliament-gbr-scli-intl/index.html>



# Moral compass

'...looks as if it could provide direction but all the symbols and text are meaningless.' Sarah Holyfield May 2023





# Who is in charge?

Britain is not yet a failed state. Its currency has not yet collapsed, and its politicians (some of whom would like to be autocratic) no longer individually manage to hold on to power for very long, although their political parties tend to. Before turning to the politicians themselves, it is worth first considering the soup they swim in, the media.

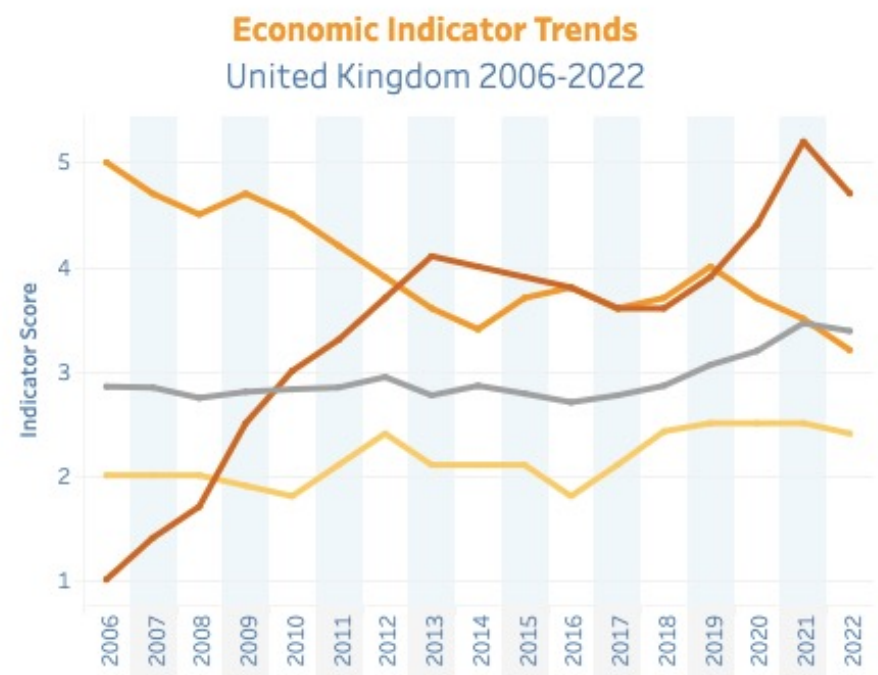
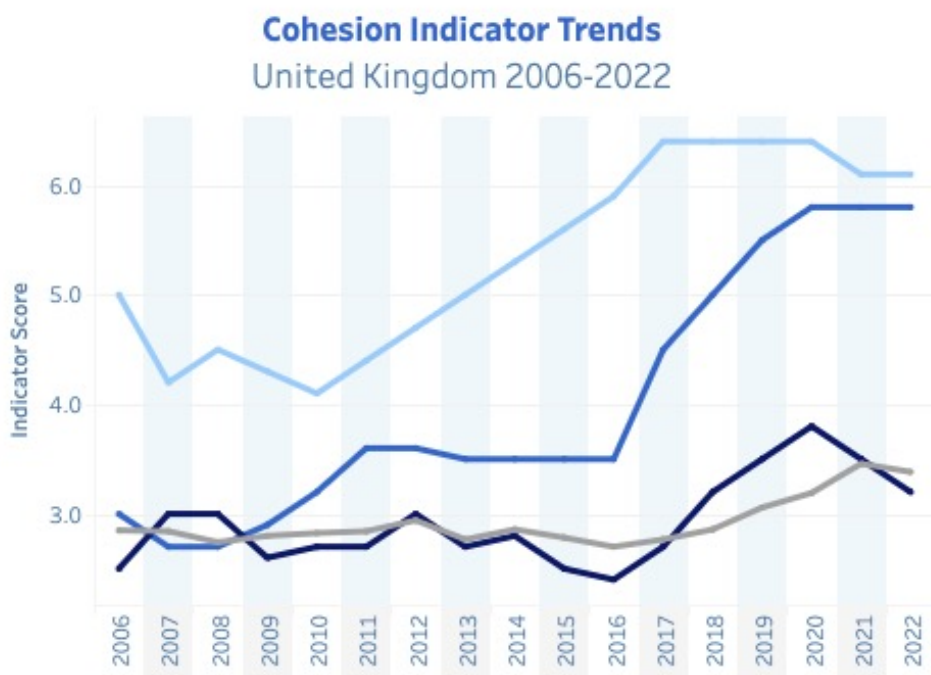
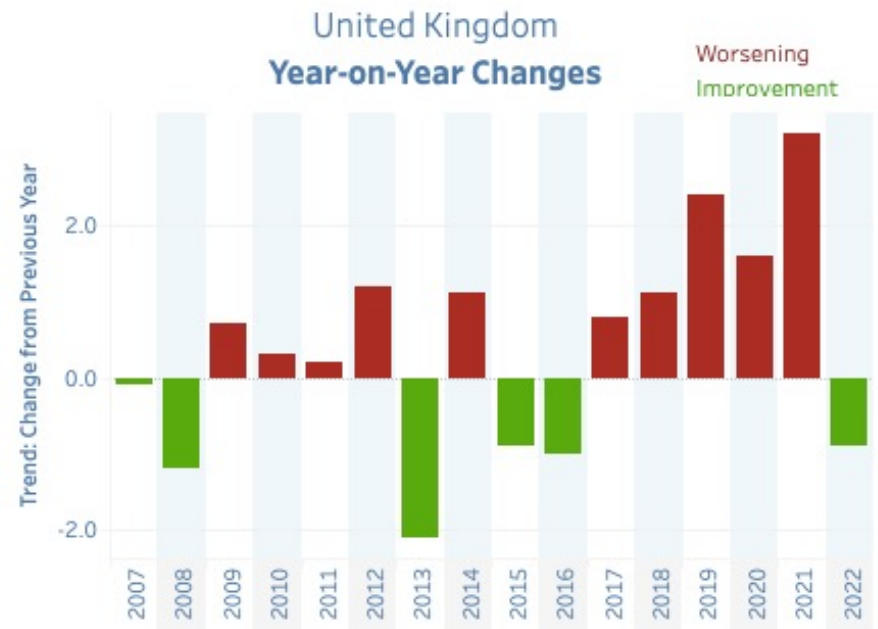
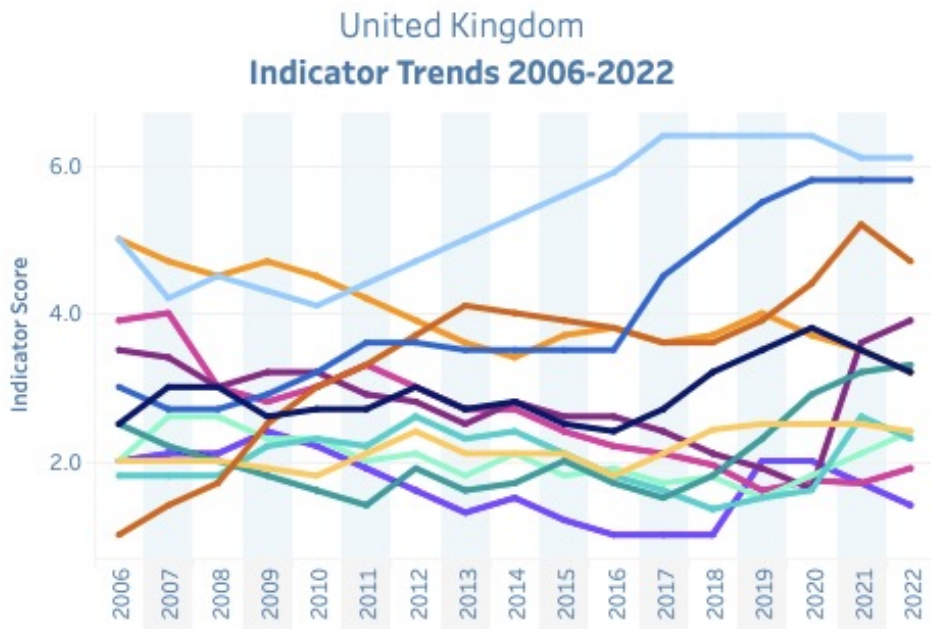
**"Their newspapers are not newspapers in the ordinary acceptance of the term, they are engines of propaganda for the constantly changing policies, desires, personal wishes, personal likes & personal dislikes of two men. What the proprietorship of these papers is aiming at is power, but power without responsibility, the prerogative of the harlot throughout the ages."**

**- Tory leader Stanley Baldwin on Press Barons Lords Rothermere & Beaverbrook, 1931**

Source: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-14136044>



The UK has been worsening as compared to other countries on the Fragile States Index. In 2022 early vaccine rollout helped – for a short time.



Political Indicator Trends  
United Kingdom 2006-2022

Social Indicator Trends  
United Kingdom 2006-2022

Example of the BBC carrying out its remit of producing positive stories from the regions.

‘Once a down-on-its-luck coal-mining town, the unassuming Welsh city is experiencing a tourism boom – and locals say there's more to love ...’

‘While many were sceptical when Reynolds and McElhenney took charge in 2020, everyone I spoke with felt the duo's community-forward approach, which includes everything from **matching local foodbank donations** to promoting local bands, has helped propel improvements across Wrexham that were [apparently] already underway.’

## Wrexham



Source: BBC website 28 April 2023:  
<https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20230427-welcome-to-wrexham-wales-it-city>



Another example of one of many positive BBC stories from the ‘nations and regions’.



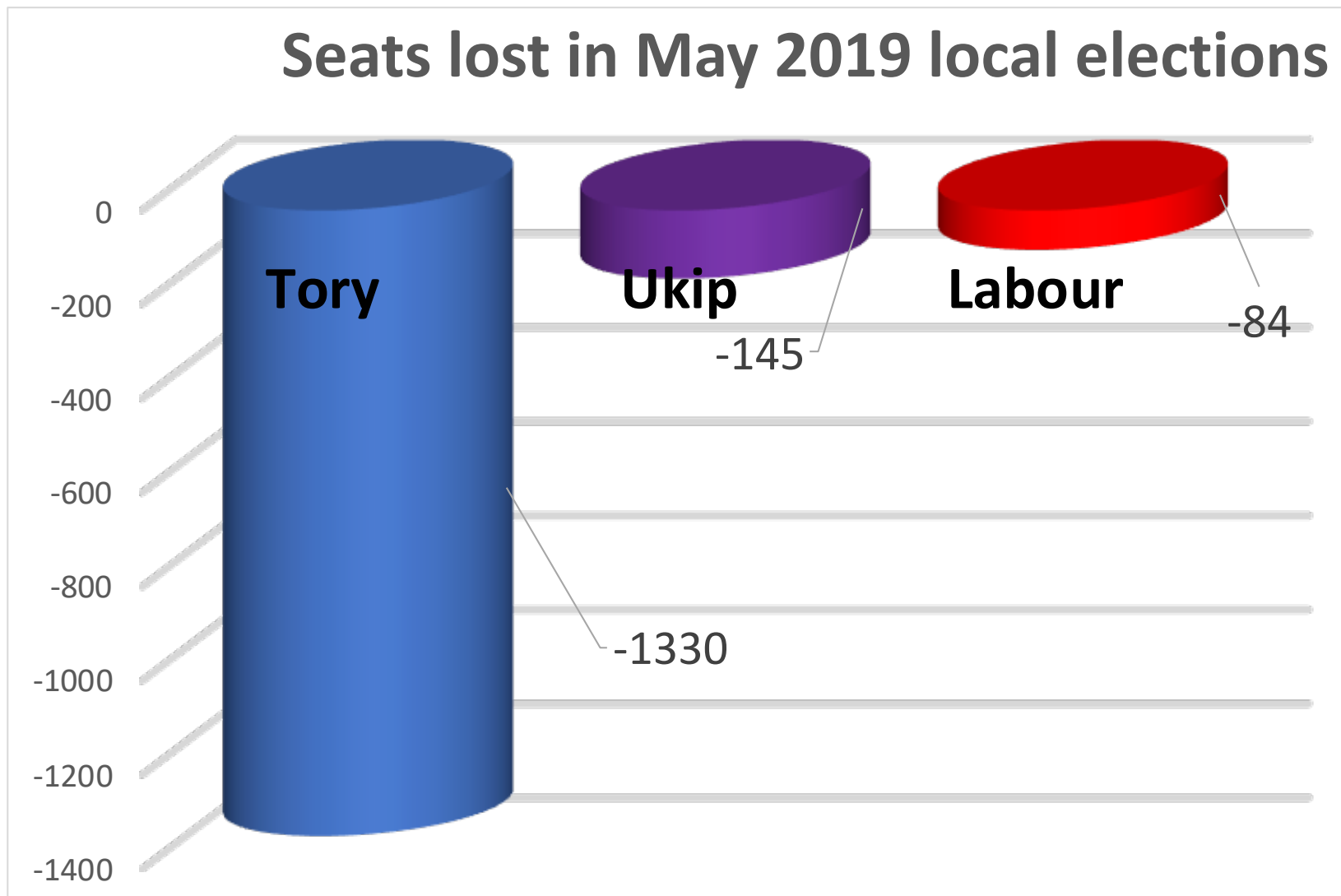
‘Although modern Cornwall is one of the United Kingdom's most beloved tourist spots, the region struggles with **unemployment, a housing crisis and more**, firing up calls for more independence from distant London amongst nationalist groups who are proud of their distinct heritage. ...

“*Dalghus yw Kernewek avel tra yn gwirvos* [Cornish is inclusive as a phenomenon]” said Will Coleman, the founder of Go Cornish, an educational project providing Cornish language teaching programmes to primary schools.

Source: BBC website 28 April 2023:  
<https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20230423-why-cornwall-is-resurrecting-its-indigenous-language>

The BBC finds it very hard to describe the country it is in because of inequality.

England local elections 2019: 'With all of the results now in both of the two main parties have suffered significant losses, although the Conservatives have fared worse. They lost over 1,300 seats and more than 40 councils.'



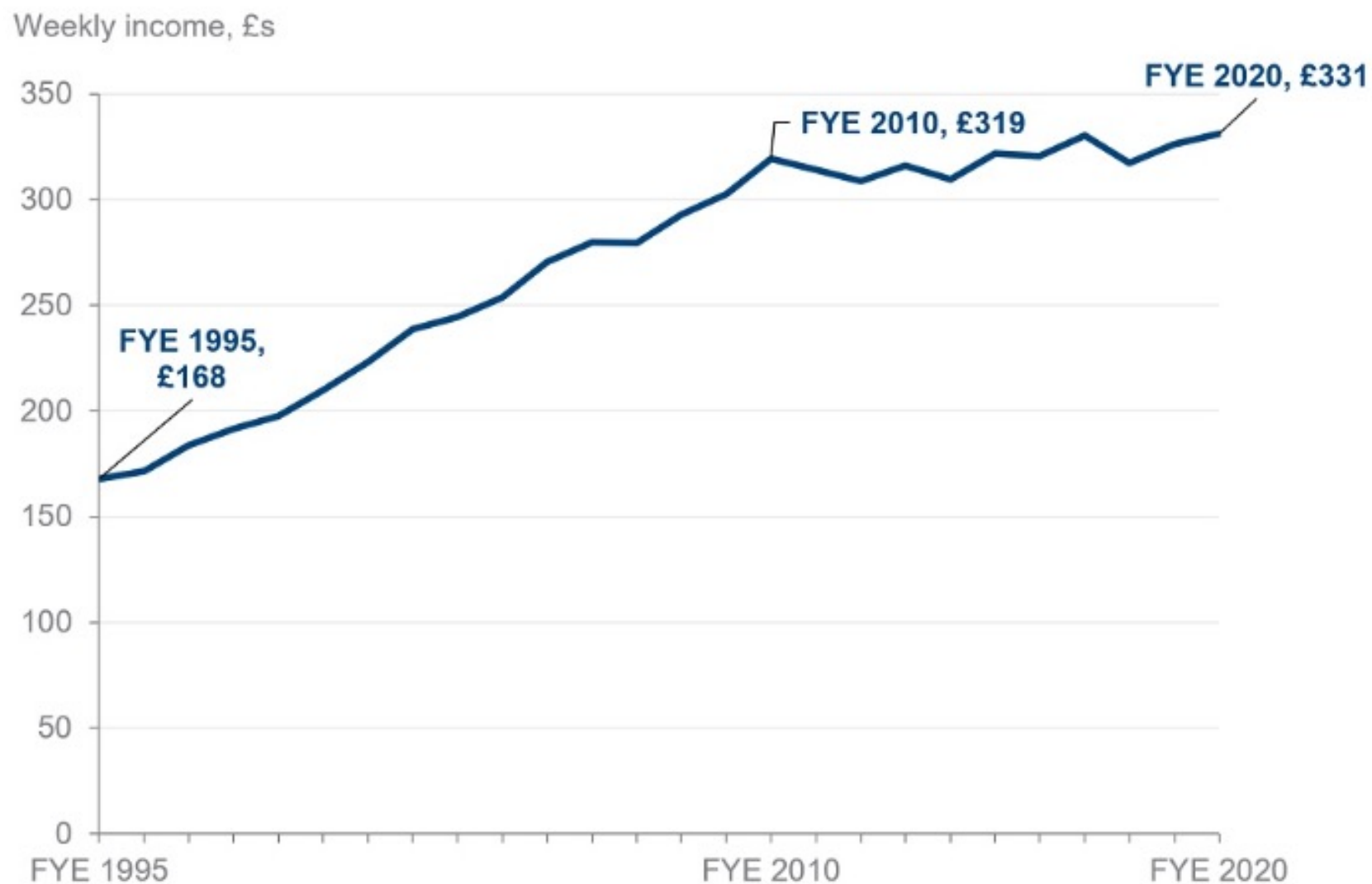
Source: Danny Dorling (2019) The changing political shape of the UK: May 2019, Public Sector Focus, May/June, pp.14-17, <https://flickread.com/edition/html/index.php?pdf=5d1395dd13de3#16>

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/topics/cee9y0e9894t/england-local-elections-2019>



Even pensioners in Britain are, on average, hardly any better off than they were in 2010 because of other cuts to their incomes.

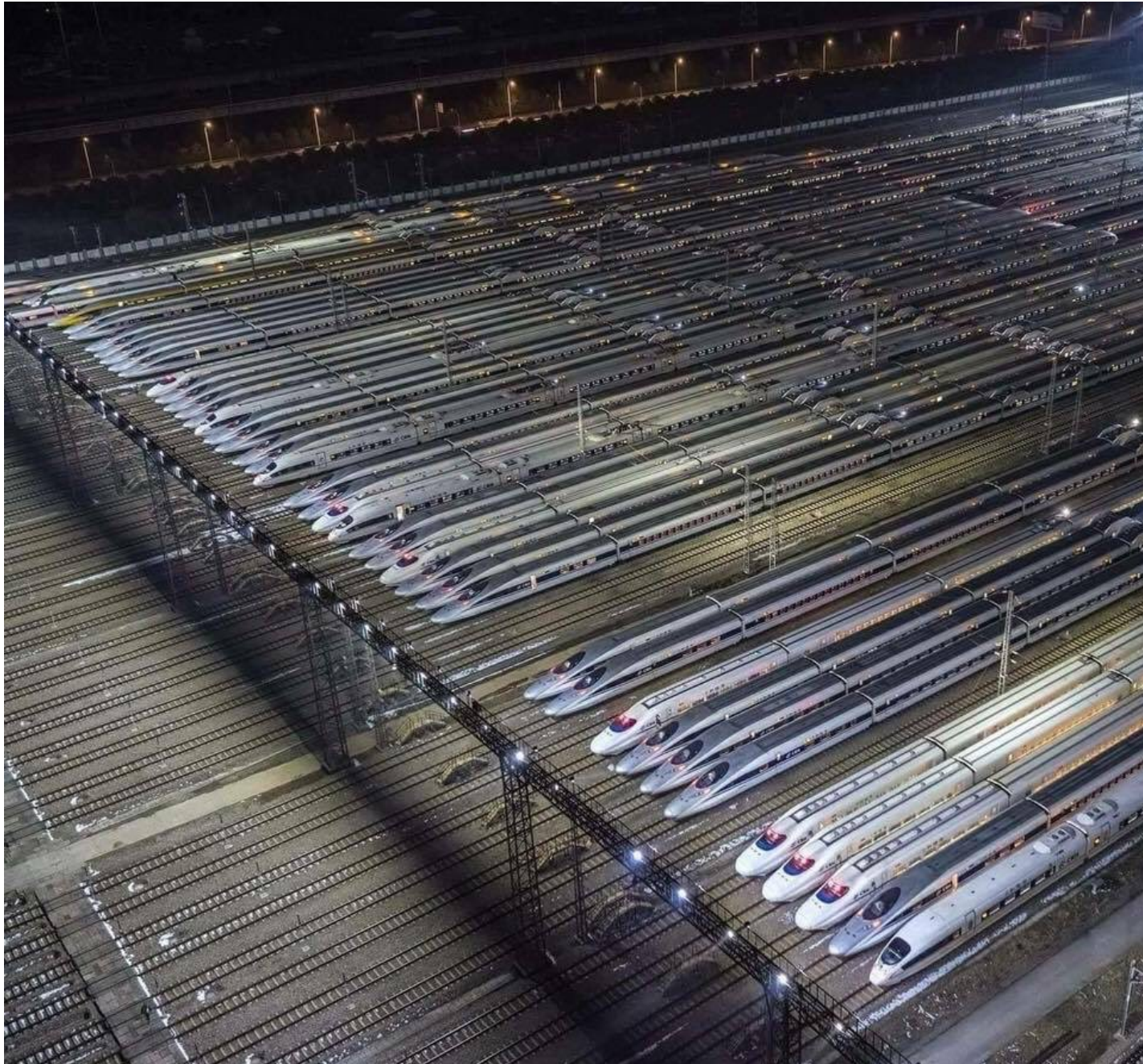
## Average weekly income of pensioners (AHC) in financial year ending 2020 prices (£)



Source:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/pensioners-incomes-series-financial-year-2019-to-2020/pensioners-incomes-series-financial-year-2019-to-2020>

## 9. Conclusion



Wuhan Railway Station in Wuhan, China Hubei Province. Taken just before the Spring Festival Travel Rush started on 1 February 2018.

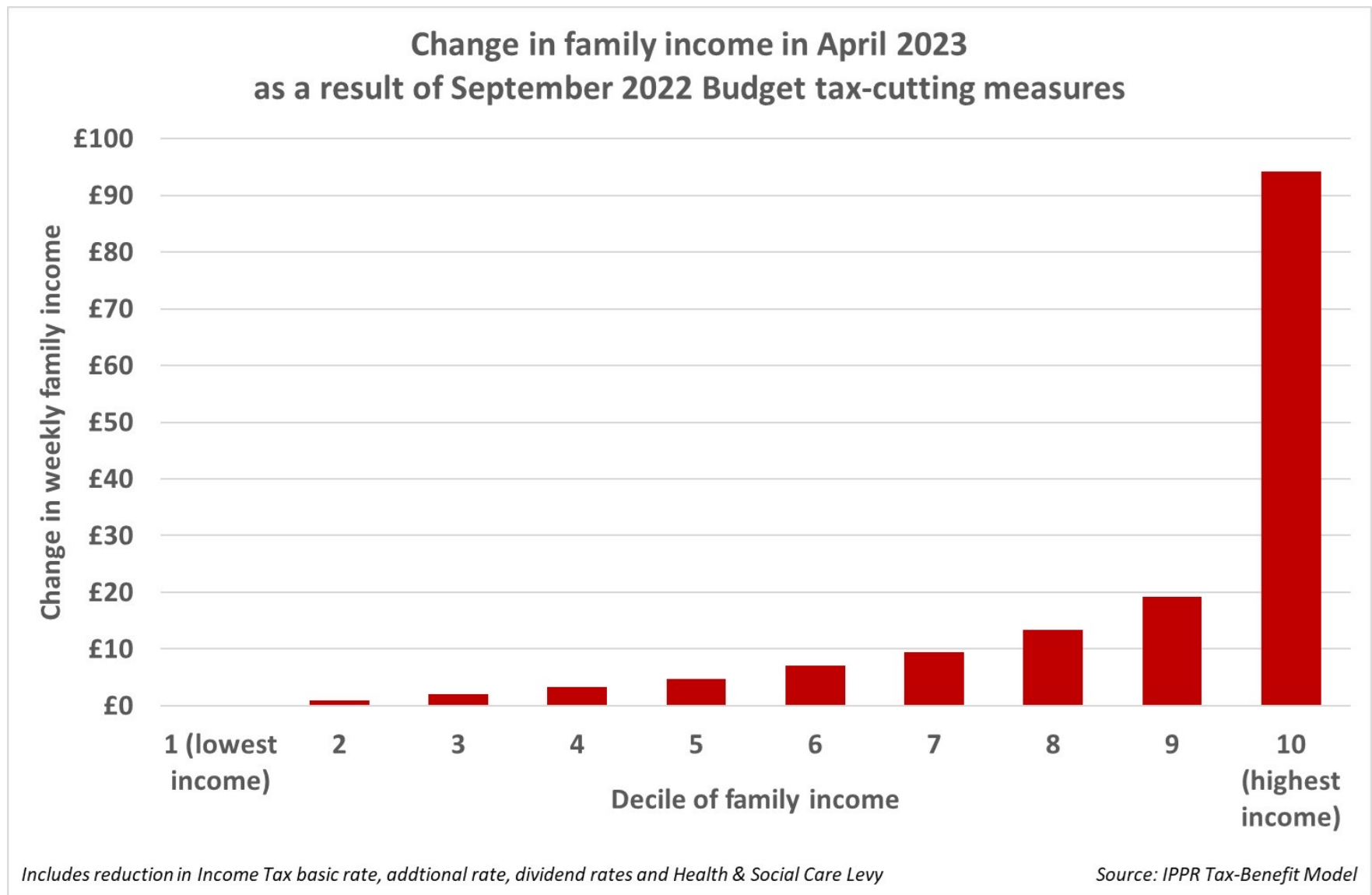
Source:  
<https://www.vishvasnews.com/english/viral/fact-check-no-this-picture-is-not-of-bullet-trains-in-gujarat/>

Danny Dorling **Shattered Nation** (Verso, 2023)



# What was proposed in September 2022 was not allowed by the international money markets.

The September 2022 measures were halted:



Source:

<https://twitter.com/KumarAshwin/status/1573257087307612161>

Based on: <https://www.ippr.org/news-and-media/press-releases/budget-richest-10-per-cent-get-almost-half-of-gains-from-tax-cuts-finds-ippr>

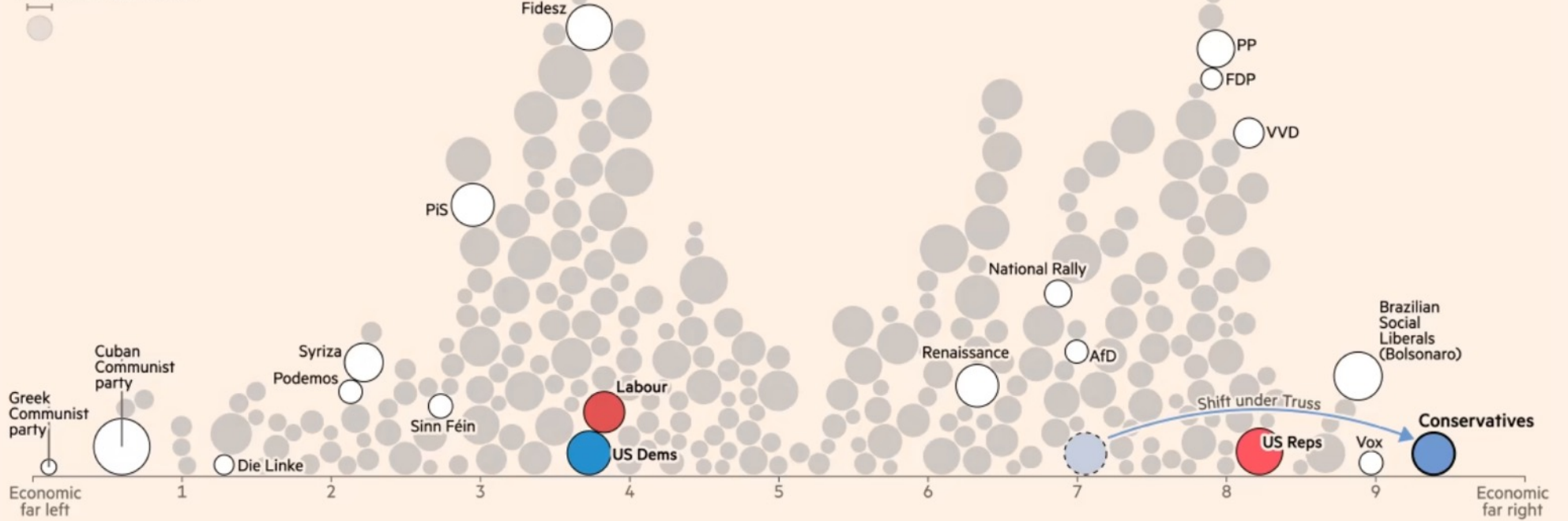
# Dancing to the right? Cameron aligned with *AfD*.



## The Tories are now the most economically right-wing major party in the developed world

Economic left-right position of all notable political parties in developed and emerging market countries\*

Circle size indicates  
vote share in last election



\*Showing 275 parties that achieved at least 5% of vote in recent elections in 61 countries  
Sources: Chapel Hill Expert Survey; Global Party Survey; FT research  
FT graphic: John Burn-Murdoch / @jburnmurdoch  
© FT

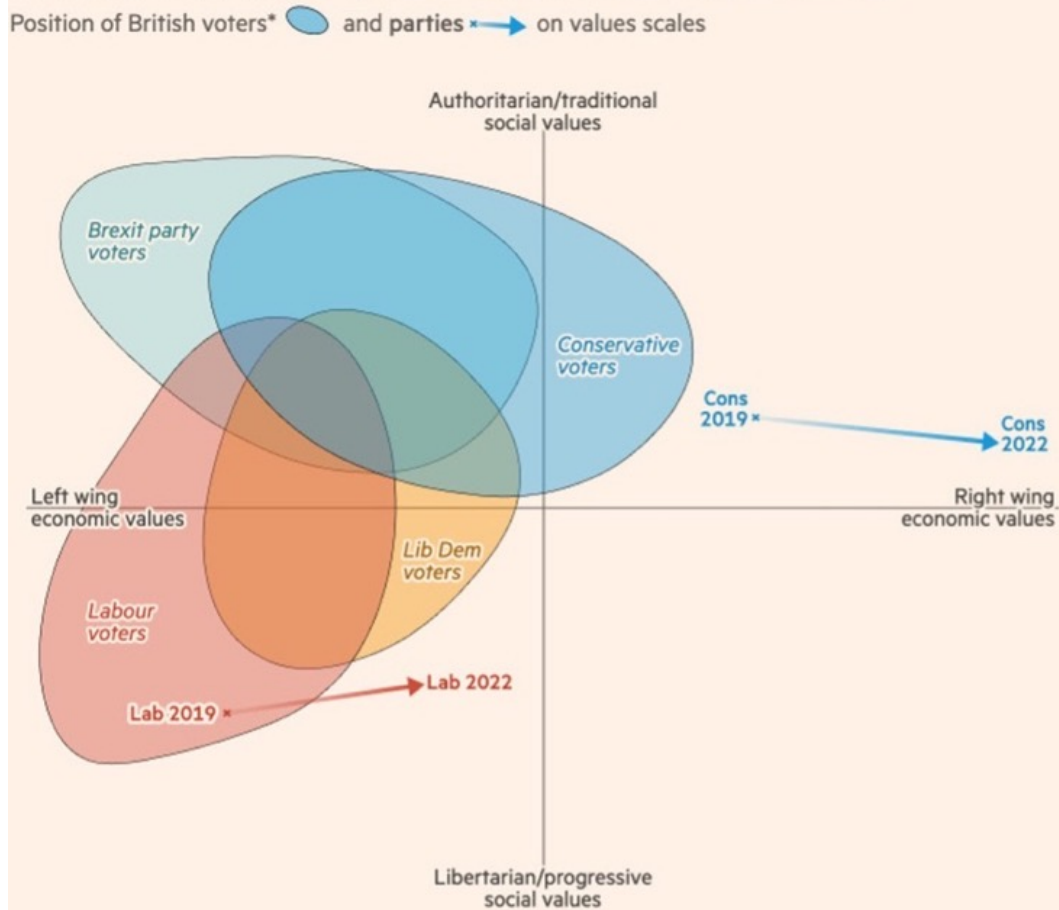
Source: John Burn-Murdoch (2022) The Tories have become unmoored from the British people, The Financial Times, 30 September  
<https://ft.com/content/d5f1d564-8c08-4711-b11d-9c6c7759f2b8>

Source: <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/david-cameron-apologises-to-save-tory-431482>



‘...completely unmoored from the British public on economics, and are way out of step...’

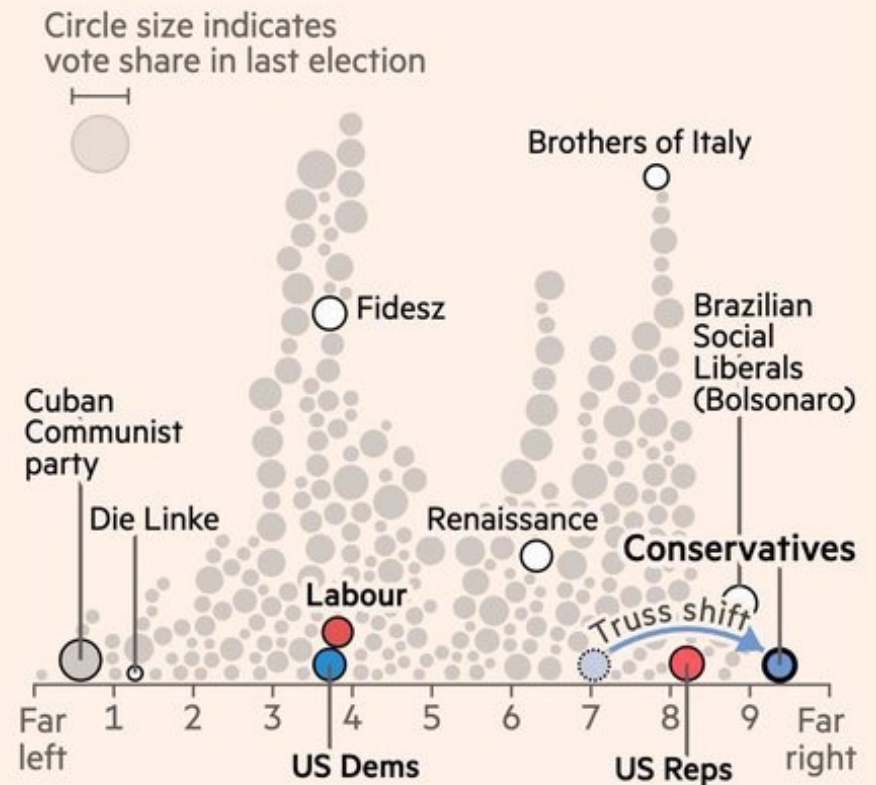
The Conservatives have become completely unmoored from the British public on economics, and are way out of step even with their own voters



\*Values of people who voted in 2019 general election  
Source: FT analysis of data from the British Election Study, Chapel Hill Expert Survey and FT research  
FT graphic: John Burn-Murdoch / @jburnmurdoch  
© FT

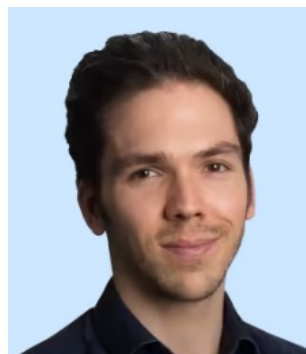
The Tories are now the most economically right-wing major party in the developed world

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\*Showing 275 parties that achieved at least 5% of vote in recent elections in 61 countries  
Sources: CHES; Global Party Survey; FT research

Source: John Burn-Murdoch (2022) The Tories have become unmoored from the British people, The Financial Times, 30 September  
<https://ft.com/content/d5f1d564-8c08-4711-b11d-9c6c7759f2b8>

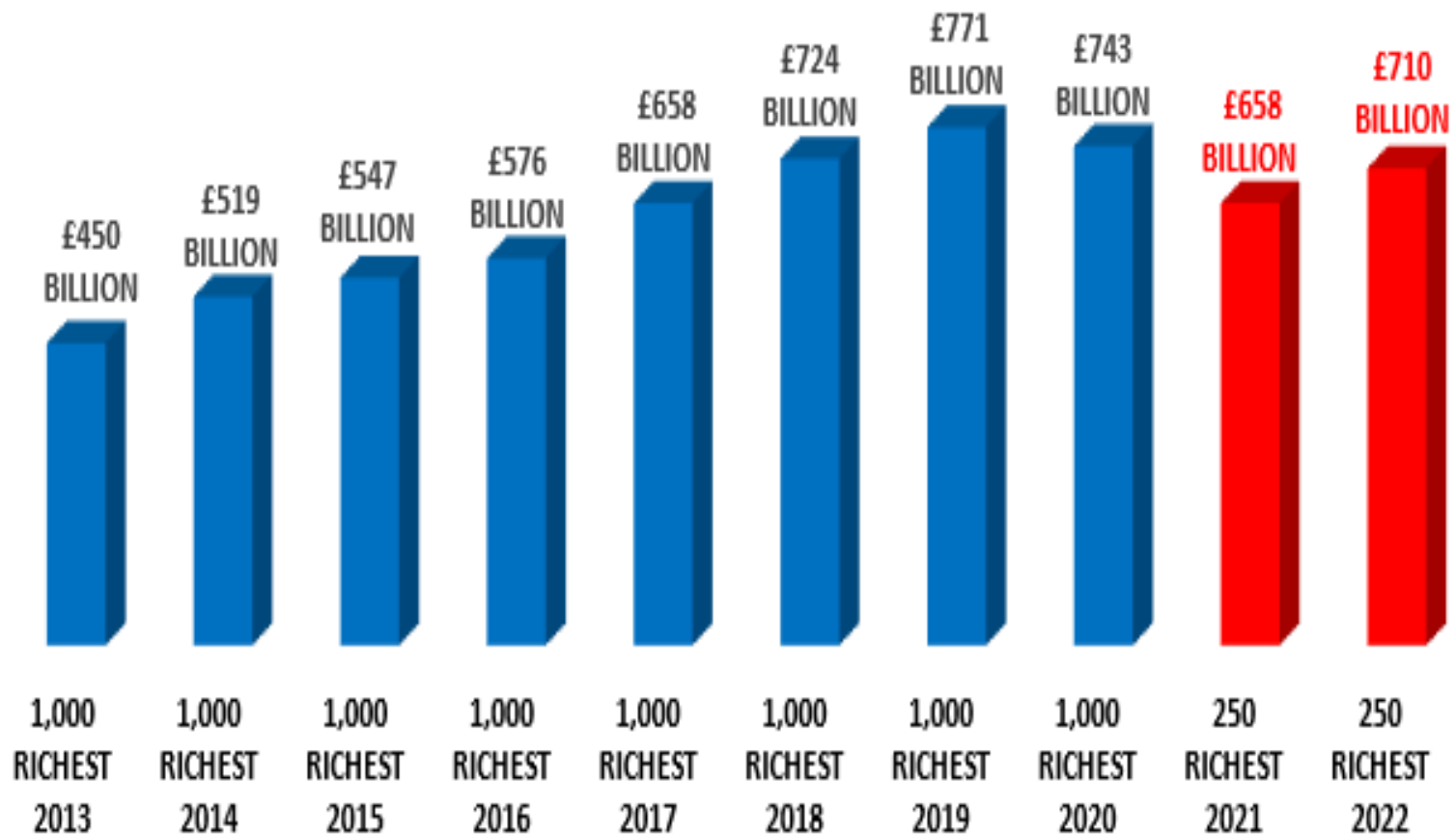


Since 2020, even the very richest in the UK may have lost out.

## **A DECADE OF CRUELTY AND INJUSTICE**

**(AUSTERITY WAS AND IS A POLITICAL CHOICE)**

**WEALTH IN ££ BILLIONS**



**SUNDAY TIMES RICH LIST - YEAR OF PUBLICATION**

Source: <https://twitter.com/Max12to1/status/1645388242710134784/photo/1>



But UK FTSE100 CEO *average* pay remains excessive.

‘We can see that CEO pay continues to be an affront to the rest of the UK as it struggles with the the cost of living crisis and government-imposed austerity.’

Max12:1, 12 May 2023

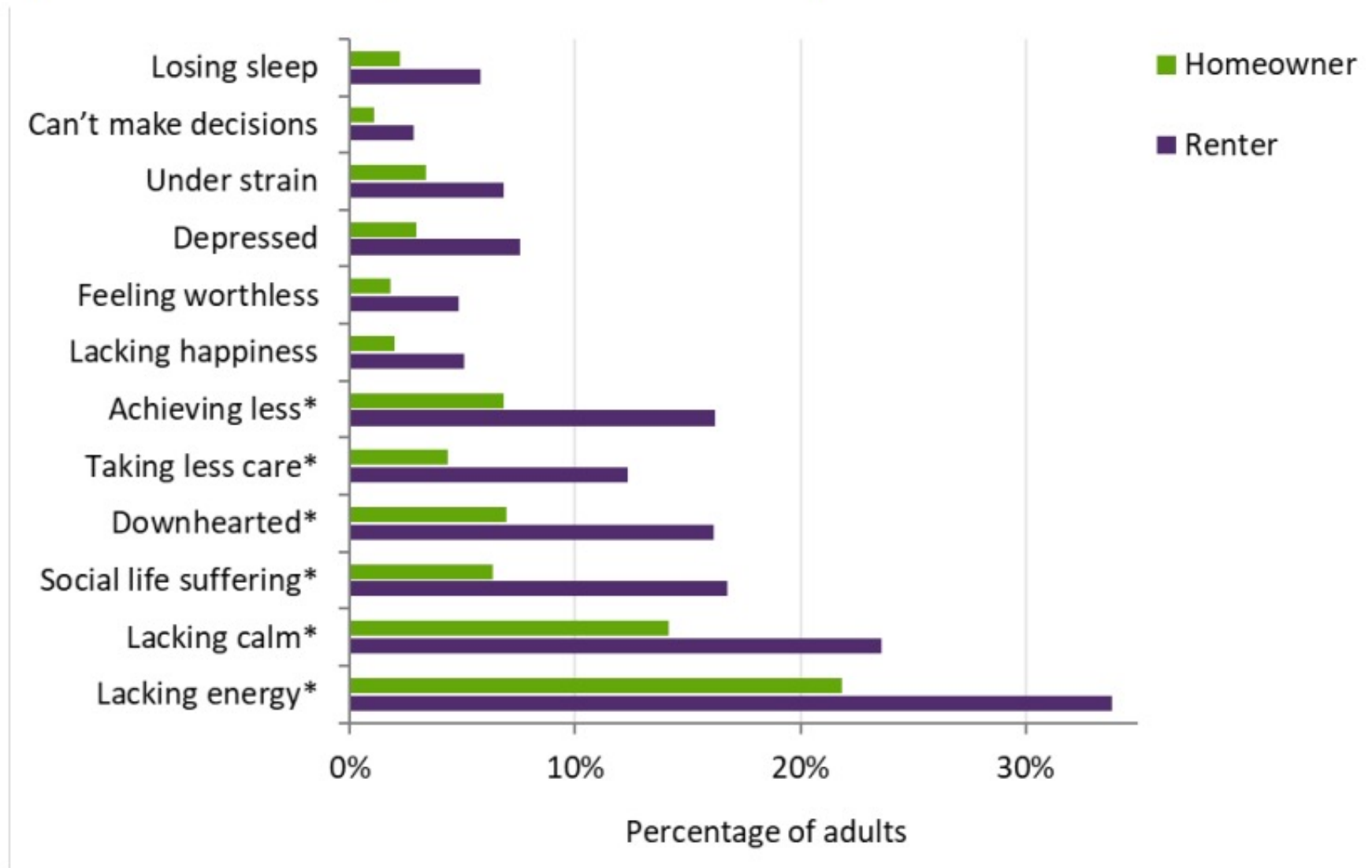


Source:

<https://twitter.com/Max12to1/status/1655488259173089283>

# But it is invariably people with less, and who rent, who worry most.

Figure S1: Home truths: every indicator of mental distress is higher for renters than for homeowners



Notes: Indicators without an asterisk are derived from the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) and those with an asterisk are from the Short Form Survey (SF-12). See Annex A for the precise wording and use made of each question.

Source: JRF analysis of Understanding Society, 2019/20

Source: Tom Clark and Andrew Wenham, *Anxiety nation? Economic insecurity and mental distress in 2020s Britain*, York: Joseph Roundtree Foundation, 10 November 2022



What the UK now excels in is increasingly concerning.

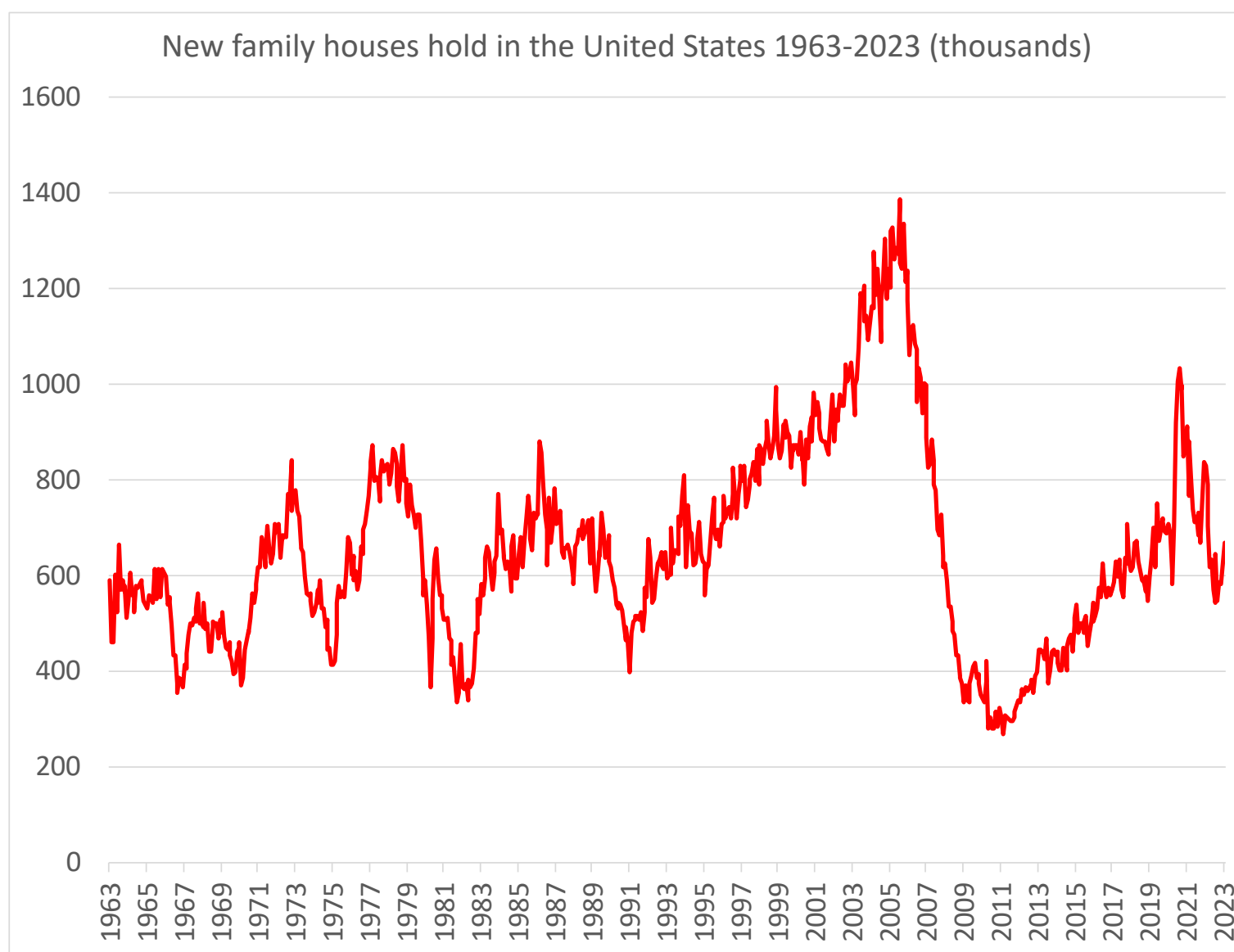
How the UK Got Hooked on Online Gambling, 1/12/2022 Bloomberg.



Source: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/videos/2022-12-01/how-the-uk-got-hooked-on-online-gambling>  
<https://twitter.com/harrynwilson/status/1598243123880431616?s=20&t=hqGJvpQcY0VSp9T5b-vsJA>

# UK 'investors' watch the USA, and worry.

Sales of existing homes sank another 5.9% in October 2022 to a 4.43 million seasonally adjusted annual rate. That is the ninth consecutive monthly decline, leaving the selling pace at the lowest level since May 2020. Excluding the lockdown recession, sales have been at their lowest since December 2011. Sales were down 28.4% from a year ago and 31.7% from the January peak.



50p was worth  
\$1.30 in 1971



50p is worth  
61 cents in  
2023

Source: <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/HSN1F> and  
US HOUSING COLLAPSE CONTINUES November 30,  
2022 (Robert Hughes, Property Chronicle)  
<https://www.propertychronicle.com/the-us-housing-collapse-continues>

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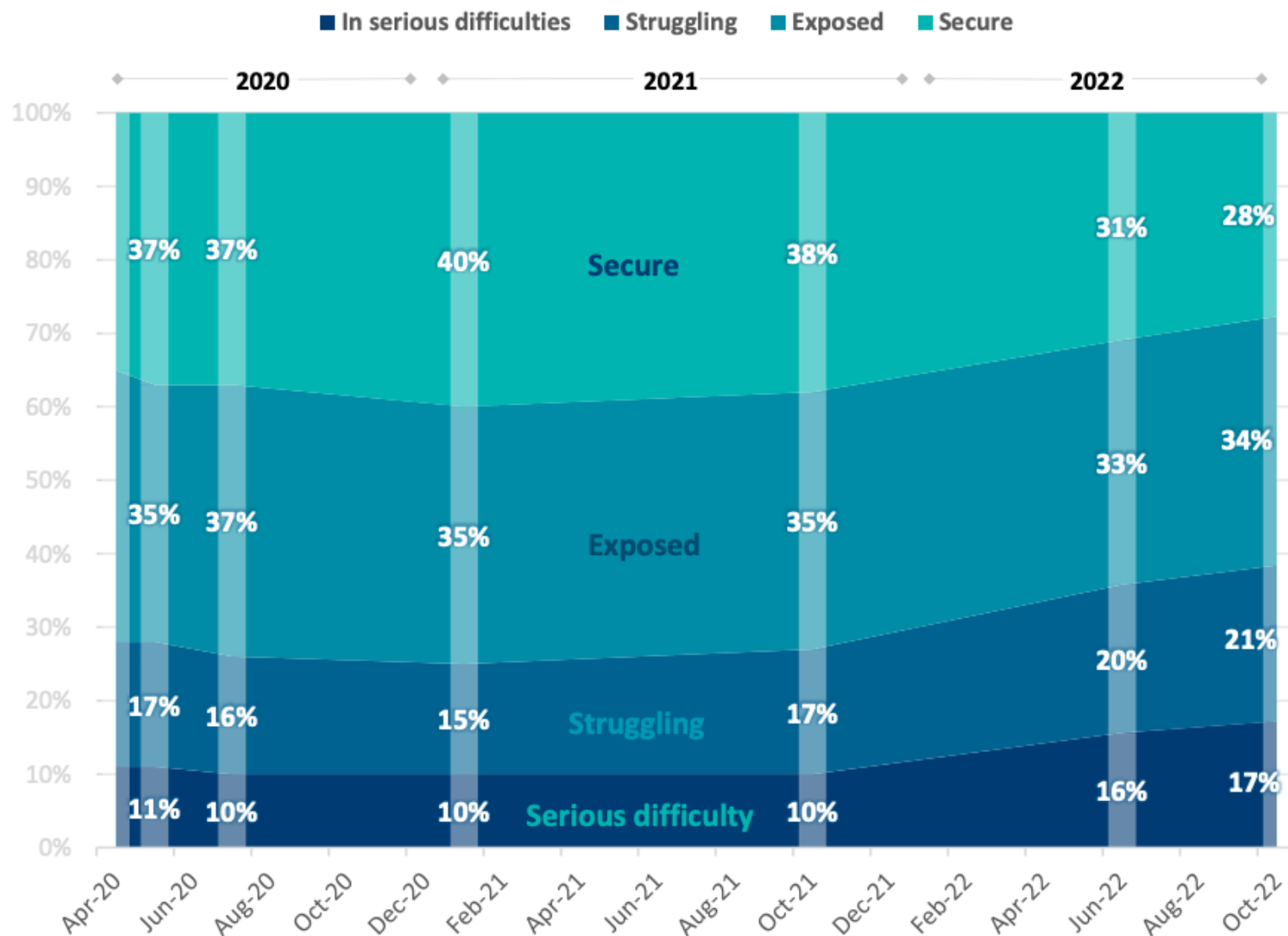


# In the UK, financial security is shrinking.

December 2022's tracker shows 10 million households concerned about finances over the festive period, up from 5.6m last year. It also finds a 77% increase in people with no confidence in their financial futures.

## The UK's financial wellbeing substantially worsened throughout 2022

Figure 1 – Percentage of UK households in our four financial wellbeing categories in each wave of the coronavirus financial impact tracker



Source: <https://www.financialfairness.org.uk/en/our-work/publications/tracker-december-2022>

Danny Dorling **Shattered Nation** (Verso, 2023)

# The shattering is increasing each month.

## In the UK in December 2022:

The latest Tracker data\*\* shows that concerns about finances are already taking a significant toll on people's physical and mental wellbeing. Over 12 million households in the UK report a worsening in their ability to keep their home warm and comfortable this year, while nearly 10 million households have eaten lower quality food and 5 million have eaten fewer meals. More than 17 million, six in ten of all UK households, report that thinking about their finances makes them anxious (with over 7 million strongly agreeing with this statement).

### What actions people had taken in the last four weeks to make ends meet?:

- 53% had reduced use of the cooker/oven.
- 44% saved less money than normally would.
- 23% used savings for daily living expenses.
- 17% used a credit card, overdraft or borrowed money\* for daily living expenses.
- 7% sold or pawned possessions that they would have preferred to keep.
- 6% cancelled or did not renew an insurance policy to save money.

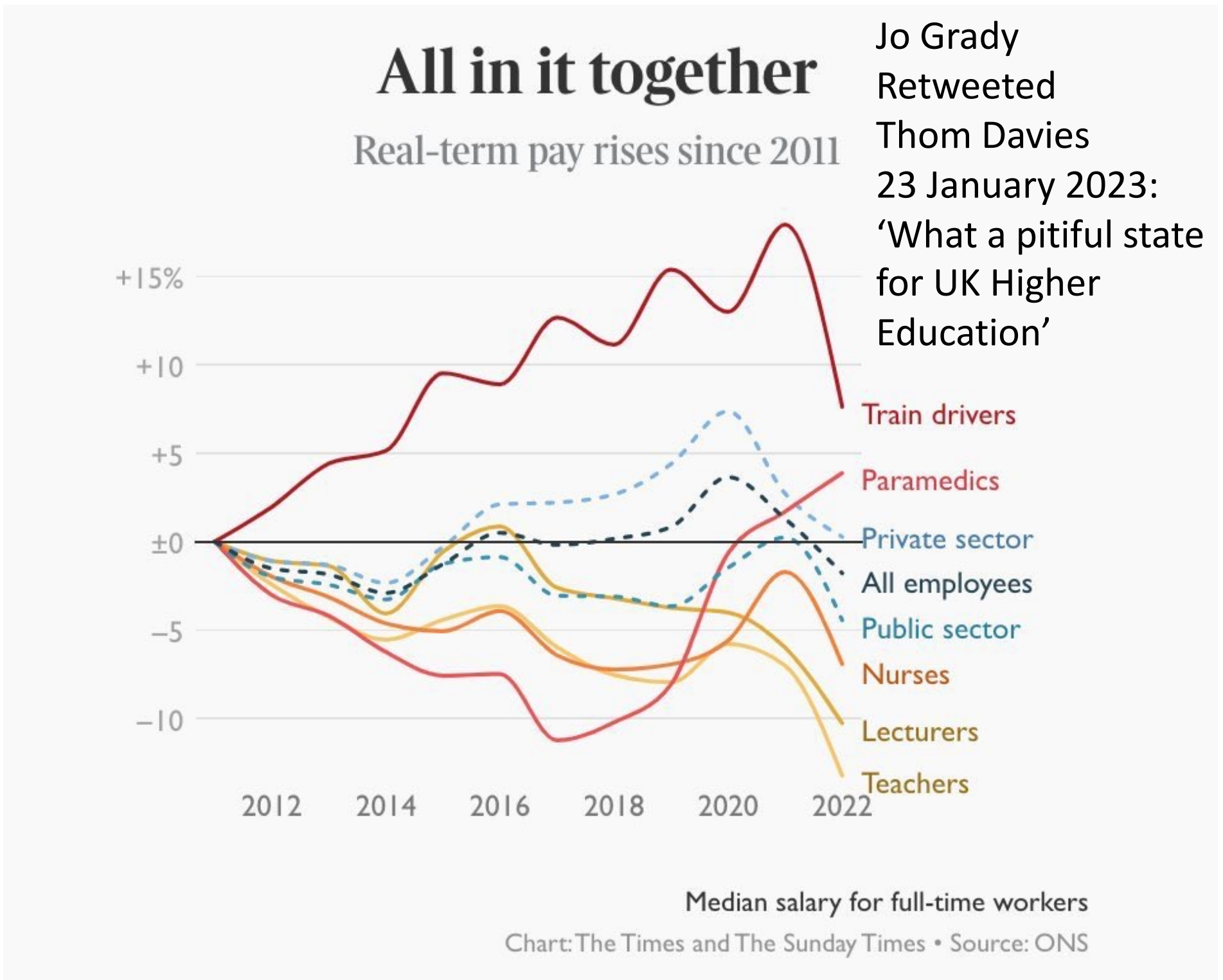
\*from other formal lenders



\*\* Source: from the abrdn Financial Fairness Trust, 14 December 2022: <https://www.financialfairness.org.uk/en/media-centre/media-centre-news-article/tracker-december-2022>



But we may also have falling inequalities overall, because higher-paid people are seeing small pay rises.

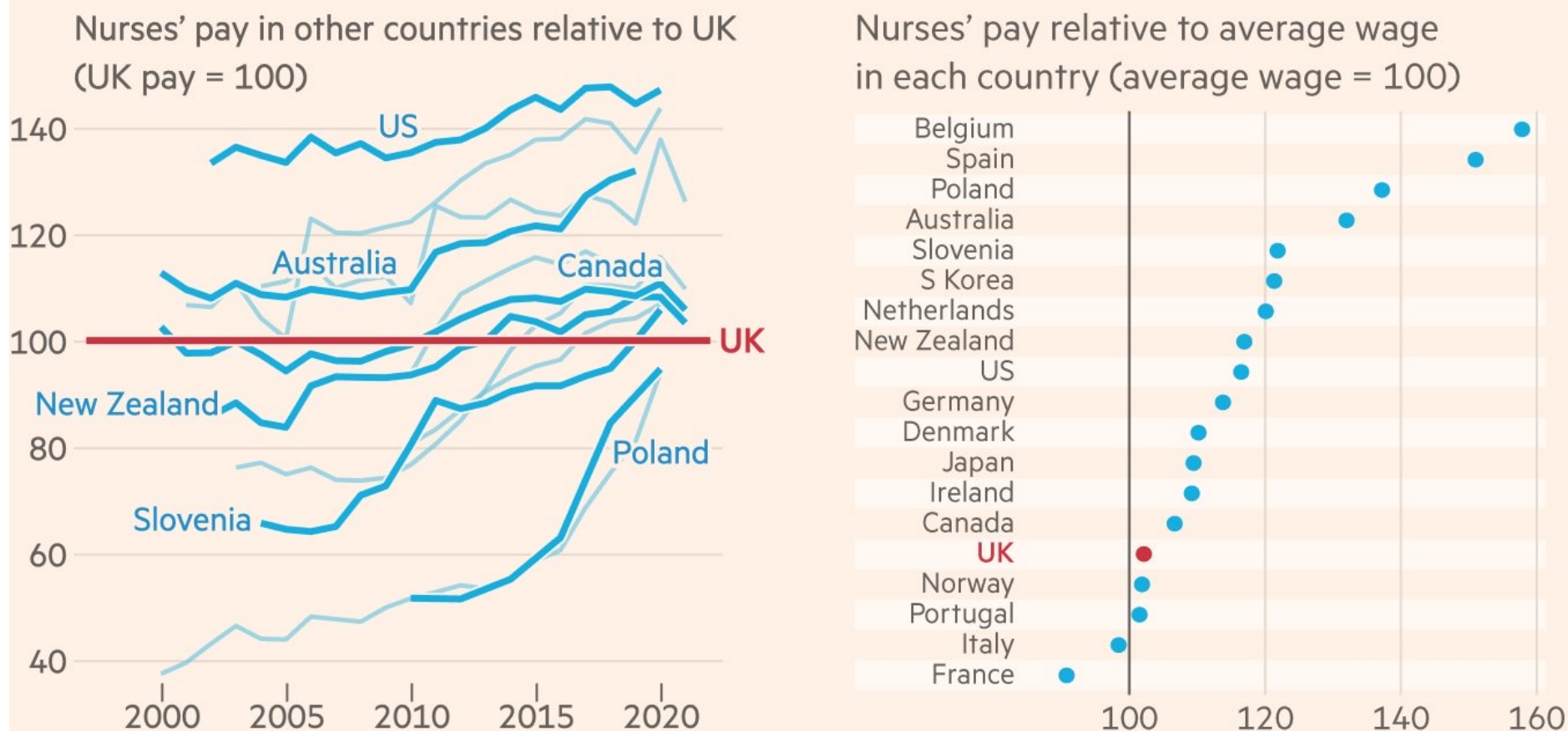


Source:  
<https://twitter.com/ThomDavies/status/1617442605268369409>

‘The result is that highly skilled and expensively trained medical professionals are slipping down the UK’s income distribution, while the list of countries where they could earn more grows by the year.’

John Burn-Murdoch,  
Financial Times, 28 April 2023

## British nurses’ salaries have been overtaken by many countries, and UK nurses’ pay relative to other jobs is also among the lowest



Source: FT analysis of OECD remuneration of health professionals and average annual wages

FT graphic: John Burn-Murdoch / @jburnmurdoch

© FT

Source:

<https://twitter.com/jburnmurdoch/status/1651901194934054914>



# Unhappy stories

(although this is not too unhappy)

2023: ‘A fortnight ago, the successful bids for the latest tranche of Levelling Up funding were announced. Dozens of Tory MPs in vulnerable Red Wall seats were praying that an injection of cash into their areas could boost their political fortunes and turn the electoral tide. But to their horror, many found their local projects had been rejected.’

‘The PM was told he and other Ministers couldn’t get involved in selecting the winning bids,’ one furious Red Waller told me. ‘The civil servants warned him that if he did, he’d be subjected to judicial review. It was all done by the officials. So, the Government has spent £2 billion but everyone’s still unhappy.’



*‘Hope is an embrace of the unknown. Your opponents would love you to believe that it’s hopeless, that you have no power, that there’s no reason to act, that you can’t win. Hope is a gift you don’t have to surrender, a power you don’t have to throw away.’*  
Rebecca Solnit, 2016

Sources: 28/1/2023

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/columnists/article-11687719/DAN-HODGES-Whitehalls-Blob-seizing-challenge-revenge.html>

<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/jul/15/rebecca-solnit-hope-in-the-dark-new-essay-embrace-unknown>

Danny Dorling **Shattered Nation** (Verso, 2023)



In the spring of 2023, it was far from clear how the year would play out. People appeared to be confused, unsure, and very uncertain.





# Newent Coronation, Culture and Community Event



On Saturday May 6<sup>th</sup> 2023 the market square in the small settlement of Newent in the Forest of Dean was deserted, save for a solidarity women trying to sell the Big Issue to a crowd who were not there. The fly-pass over Buckingham Palace was cut to just a few aircraft that could hardly be seen in the gloom. The cost of all this was estimated at over £100 million.

Source:

<https://twitter.com/mrlongdenextra/status/1654831753549185024>



# Happy stories



*'It is then in making hope practical, rather than despair convincing, that the ways to peace can be entered.'*

Raymond Williams, essay on CND, 1989.

2023: In Scotland, the Scottish Child Payment – given to any family in receipt of benefits, on top of other support – was raised to £25 a week for every child aged 16 or under.

When Charles and Camilla holiday in Balmoral this summer, they will do so in the only part of their kingdom where a poor family with three young children will be receiving an extra £3,900 in 2023 as compared to 2022 and so will be able to put food on the table. In the coldest months of the year, they may also be able to afford to heat their home, as long as they are frugal. Nicola Sturgeon left office only when the most important part of her work was done.

Sources: <https://twitter.com/johnpmerrick/status/1318166438507663361> Dorling. D. (2023) Are things about to get better? Prospect Magazine, April 5th, May issue, pp.38-41, <https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/essays/have-we-reached-peak-inequality>

# Keeping hope alive



*'Hope is definitely not the same thing as optimism. It's not the conviction that something will turn out well, but the certainty that something makes sense, regardless of how it turns out.'*

Václav Havel (1986)  
The Politics of Hope

In 2023, with the wave of progressive and below-inflation pay offers, income inequalities could fall. 'What would clinch it would be some self-control among the richest, or the threat of action if they show none. After the financial crash of 1929, the directors of most of the largest UK mortgage lenders took real-terms pay cuts for at least a decade. The salaries of MPs, too, were temporarily reduced between 1931 and 1935 because of the economic crisis. There was also a growing sense of social responsibility. It may feel unlikely that MPs would reduce their salaries again, but in 2023 their pay rise will be 2.9 per cent—a larger real-terms pay cut than almost all other public servants (but still an extra £2,440 a year).'

Source: Dorling, D. (2023) Are things about to get better? Prospect Magazine, April 5, May issue, 38-41  
<https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/essays/have-we-reached-peak-inequality>  
<https://laughingsquid.com/beautiful-drip-castle-sand-sculptures-that-appear-to-defy-gravity/>



# The End



Yarrkalpa (Hunting Ground) by Ngamaru Bidu, Yikartu Bumba, Kumpaya Girgirba, Thelma Judson, Yuwali Janice Nixon, Reena Rogers, Kanu Nancy Taylor, and Ngalangka Nola Taylor, Martumili, Stories Written in the Land: Songlines Paintings, 4 May, 2023.

Source: <https://emergencemagazine.org/gallery/stories-written-in-the-land-songlines/>