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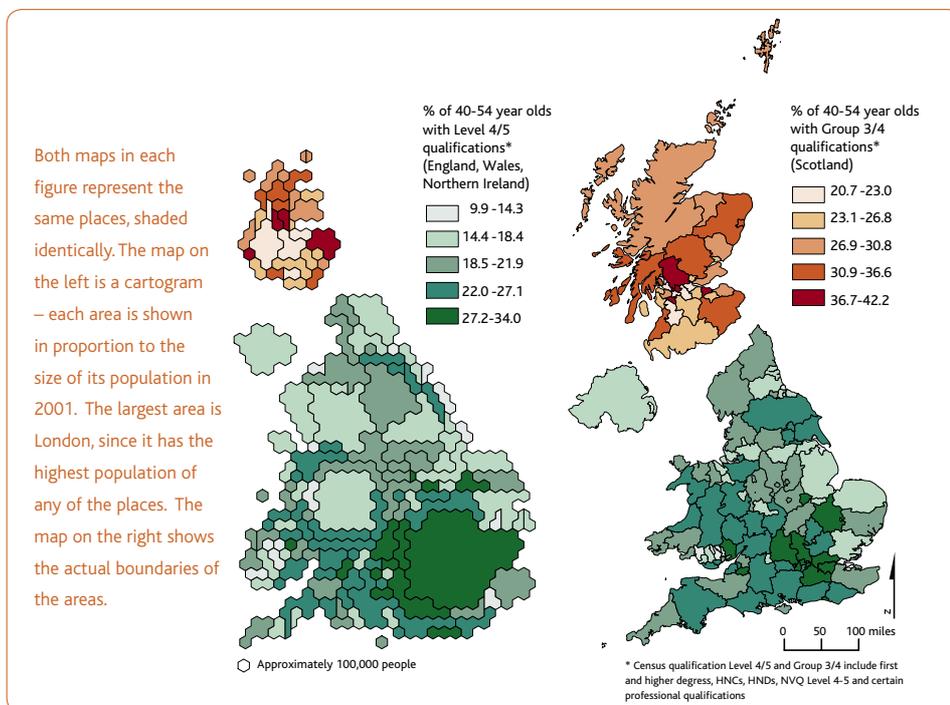
## Poverty in Education across the UK: a comparative analysis of policy and place

Final Draft of Foreword, October 23<sup>rd</sup> 2019, Danny Dorling

The UK has been divided for a very long time. The north-south divide that cuts across England is the best known divide and it is also often very starkly apparent in educational outcomes. However, what this book reveals is that the four countries of the UK have been becoming even more divided in recent years, not least in terms of the very different and increasingly divergent attitudes of the different national administrations to both education and to children who are growing up in poverty. To put it bluntly, Scotland is most progressive – moving towards a Scandinavian norm of caring most for the poorest; Wales is next most progressive but lacks Scotland’s powers; England lags far behind both – often aping the educational disasters of the USA – while installing an educational dictatorship worth of Russia or Turkey<sup>1</sup>; and all through this Northern Ireland remains largely locked in an educational time-warp of sharp divisions between grammar schools and secondary-moderns, amid stark and enduring religious divisions that are only ever so slowly reducing.

Of course, there are wide geographical variations within each country of the UK in terms of education outcomes as figure 1 makes clear. The figure shows the average educational level by areas of people now entering retirement (the data used came from the 2001 census).

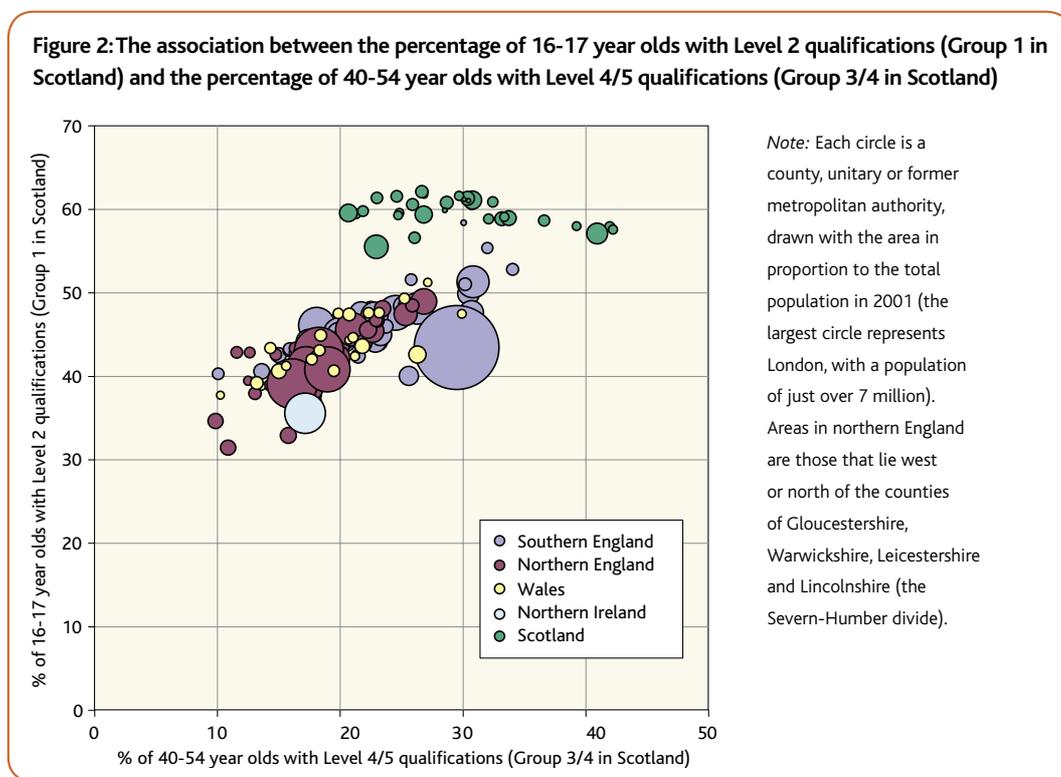
**Figure 1: Geographical variation in basic education outcomes of those aged 60 to 74 in 2021**



Source: Wheeler, B., Shaw, M., Mitchell, R. and Dorling, D. (2005) *Life in Britain: Sons and daughters, Report 4* Bristol: The Policy Press, [http://www.dannydorling.org/?page\\_id=1107](http://www.dannydorling.org/?page_id=1107)

What Figure 1 reveals is more than three-fold differences in the average qualifications received by the grandparents of today's school children in the UK outside of Scotland, and two-fold differences within Scotland. Scotland has been different for some time, but is becoming increasingly different from England. Scotland's people took education more seriously for religious reasons. Many more powerful people there than in England once believed that if a child could not read, then they could not read the Bible and would go to hell (they also believed that this mattered for all children, not just their own). Later Scotland came to have similar levels of literacy to England once England caught up. However, something began to change in Scotland before the millennium. As Figure 2 reveals, there was much less variation by area in Scotland for children aged 16 or 17 in 2001 than for their parents. Thus today's Scottish parents have, on average, educational qualification less determined by where they lived and who brought them up than elsewhere in the UK.

**Figure 2: Education Relationship between those aged 36/37 and aged 60 to 74 in 2021, UK.**

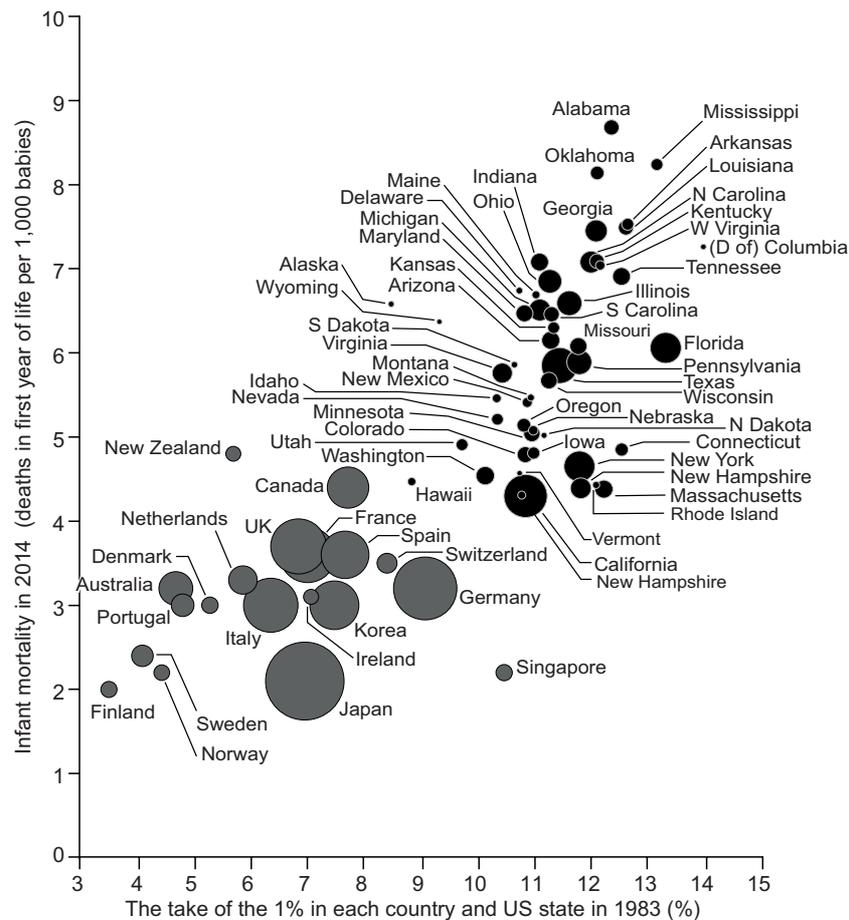


Source: 2001 census, Wheeler, B., Shaw, M., Mitchell, R. and Dorling, D. (2005) *Life in Britain: Sons and daughters, Report 4 Bristol: The Policy Press, [http://www.dannydorling.org/?page\\_id=1107](http://www.dannydorling.org/?page_id=1107)*

Most recently, Scottish social policy has seen a dramatic shift towards pro-poor child policy. This has followed the Nordic model in general and the most successful Finnish model in particular where the poorest children have the most spent on their education and welfare. Scotland has begun this by concentrating on infants first and has already reduced infant mortality from 4.0 children dying per 1000 born in 2010, to 3.2 dying most recently – it is now on track to begin to join the Scandinavian states (although it may take a century to actually achieve that). In contrast, politicians in charge in England and Wales have ignored the most abyssal rise in infant mortality from 3.4 children dying per

1000 born as infants in 2014, to 3.5 in 2015 then up each years to from 3.6 to 3.7 to 3.8 and now to 3.9 children dying per 1,000 born as I write – heading toward becoming like a state of the USA.<sup>2</sup> In no other country in Europe has infant mortality been rising in recent years. See Figure 3 for an illustration for how bad the situation in the USA has been in recent years and how this tends to relative to historic patterns of income inequality within each US state as well as in affluent countries in general. It is also worth noting that the poorest women in Singapore cannot have their children there as ‘maids’ are pregnancy tested routinely and sent ‘home’, out of the country if pregnant.

**Figure 3: The take of the 1% and babies under 1 dying a generation later, affluent countries**



Source: World Wealth and Income database accessed December 2016, infant mortality data from the Centre for Disease Control (USA) and Gapminder.

Source: Dorling, D. (2018) *Do we need economic inequality*, Cambridge: Polity.

Finally, while working around the countries of the UK it has to be admitted that in some ways Northern Ireland already behaves like a state of the USA. It has similar segregation and similar health outcomes, and in the DUP (Democratic Unionist Party) it has a major political party who do not even believe in evolution (which makes education policy tricky). As this book makes clear from the very start, to quote from its introduction: “*In England, central government pressures of performativity of schools and teachers and curriculum control have worked against teachers supporting children in poverty whilst in Northern Ireland continued sectarian problems have perpetuated educational*

*inequality.*” However, Northern Ireland’s low ranking place, as illustrated in Figure 2 above, has not been maintained because some children now try very hard to get up (and often out) of the province. Just as with Scotland, there are always changes and of course things can change for the better in future quite easily – if there is a will.

Overall, children in Northern Ireland now perform ‘on average’ marginally better than pupils in England and Wales at both GCSE and A level. However, the same is now true of children growing up in many of the more outlying parts of England where the incentive to be able to get away (to university) is very large. The incentive for a teenager to get out of many parts of Northern Ireland is similarly strong today given economic disparities across the UK. The figures for Northern Ireland mask a huge range of variations between groups in that country. Above all also, as chapter 1 below (in this book) explains, it is Catholic middle-class girls who are achieving exceptionally high success rates in examinations and dragging the overall average upwards.

And just as Northern Ireland does badly for most children in terms of educational outcome; it has the highest infant mortality rate in all of the UK, and one of the very worst infant and child mortality rates in all of Europe, at around five babies dying for every one thousand born. When the BBC reported that fact, they also explained that at that time (2014): ‘in Northern Ireland in 2014/15, 23% of children lived in poverty, compared to 19% in the rest of the UK.’<sup>3</sup> Since then poverty in Northern Ireland, along with the rest of the UK (outside of Scotland for the youngest of its children) has risen rapidly. Life expectancy across all of the UK has fallen since 2014; and in 2018 remains lower than in 2014. It is in this terrible context of declining absolute living standards that attempts at making education policy are today being made. The worst falls have been in Wales, then Scotland. England has seen no improvement in this most basic measure of living standards in four years (and falls in its poorer areas). Only Northern Ireland records a rise and that rise in life expectancy in the province has been poultry – see Table 1.

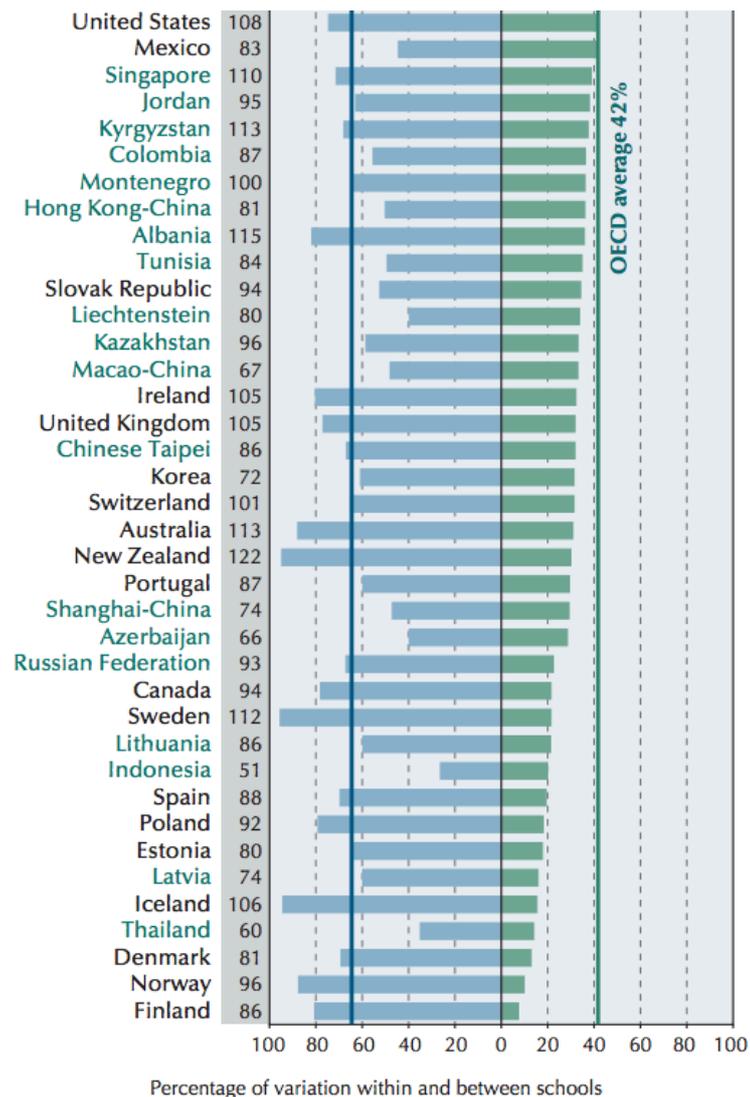
**Table 1: Life Expectancy in the four countries of the UK, men and women, 2014 to 2018**

	Life expectancy in Years				Change 2014 to 2018 (years)		Change as effects people 2014 to 2018 (days of life)	
	2014		2018		Men	Women	Men	Women
	Men	Women	Men	Women				
<b>England</b>	79.51	83.23	79.55	83.20	0.04	-0.03	15	-11
<b>N. Ireland</b>	78.61	82.38	78.84	82.44	0.23	0.06	84	22
<b>Scotland</b>	77.32	81.34	77.05	81.01	-0.27	-0.33	-99	-121
<b>Wales</b>	78.79	82.61	78.23	82.19	-0.56	-0.42	-205	-153
<b>UK</b>	79.25	82.99	79.24	82.93	-0.01	-0.06	-4	-22

Source: ONS (2019) National life tables, UK: 2016 to 2018, London: Office for National Statistics, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/lifeexpectancies/bulletins/nationallifetablesunitedkingdom/2016to2018>

As Ruth Leitch and Erik Cownie in Chapter 2 of this book explain, ten years ago in Northern Ireland the Department of Education launched its 'Every School a Good School' (ESaGS), policy, one that it says continues to underpin policy and intervention. But if those running that department were serious, then they would not allow – not tolerate for a year longer – the continuation of selection at age 11 and the taking out of children who find school easier from the mass of children who are more normal. If Northern Ireland really wants every school to be a good school, then selection at age 11 is not the future it should choose. The countries at the bottom end of Figure 4 show how it is done.

**Figure 4 : OECD ranked by between school variation**



*Note: is figure shows those countries that have variations in outcome between schools which are on or below the OECD (rich country) average. In poorer and far more economically unequal OECD countries such as Argentina, Turkey, Israel and Chile variations between schools remain wide. They also remain wide in more equitable countries that still divide children around age 11 such as in Germany.*

Source: PISA "In Focus" 27: Does it matter which school a student attends, 2013, April,  
[http://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisaproducts/pisainfocus/pisa%20in%20focus%20n27%20%28eng%29--FINAL\\_version2.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisaproducts/pisainfocus/pisa%20in%20focus%20n27%20%28eng%29--FINAL_version2.pdf)

When variation between school is slow, such as in Finland, the variation in educational outcome between children within schools tend to be wider – as children of all abilities are being schooled

together. Finland, as is well known, has some the best overall educational outcomes to be found anywhere in the world. In Figure 4 above it is closely followed by Norway and then Denmark which also have slightly higher than average variation within schools. The UK manages to have quite high variation between its schools as compared to these exemplar countries; but also wider variation in outcome within schools than countries such as nearby Ireland, Switzerland and Portugal. However, its surveys measure less variation than is found in Sweden, Iceland and New Zealand. It is also worth noting that the reliability of the surveys this figure is based on is not high. The source, PISA, does not have a good track record of statistical reliability when dealing with quantitative education data.<sup>4</sup>

This book details the terrible consequences of the take-over of state education by central government in England, and how Wales, and to a large extent Scotland have both avoided the severe harm that English take-over has created. The man in charge of the take-over was Dominic Cummings (who is probably well known to any UK reader by now). He convinced the minister, Michael Gove, to do the wrong thing – and Gove was easily convinced by Dominic, a kind of Rasputin Figure in early twenty first century England. Again to quote from the introduction below: *'In England, on the other hand, education policy and practice is controlled by central government. Importantly, recent curriculum reforms in England have restricted what is understood by knowledge, or what schools are allowed to teach, and that restriction has disproportionately affected marginalised groups whose cultures, ethnic backgrounds, class or gender mean that they have been given the least support in accessing academic knowledge. This includes children and young people who are growing up in poverty.'* As Ian Thompson goes on to explain in Chapter 5, in a borough like Kensington and Chelsea in London 60% of school aged children in the borough are educated in the private sector compared to a national average in England of 7%. In Oxford where I live it is roughly a third by age 15; in Bristol it is more than a fifth. In England the upper classes, and upper middle classes, are largely educated separately; and they run and design the system for the masses. As Richard Tawney put it in 1917 at the height of the last peak of income inequality in his essay published in the then educational supplement of *The Times*:

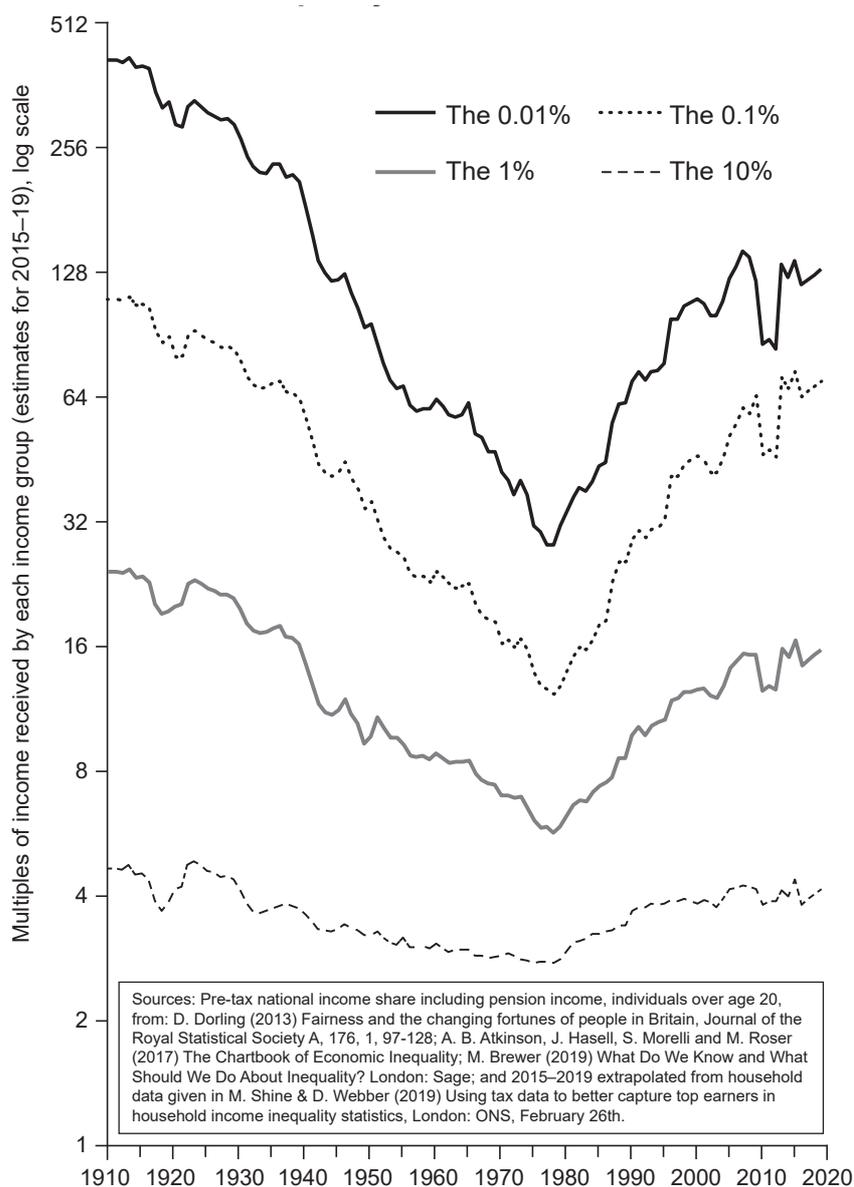
*'The educational system of today was created in the image of our plutocratic, class-conscious selves, and still faithfully reflects them. Worshipping money and social positions, we have established for the children of the well-to-do an education lavish even to excess, and have provided for those of the four-fifths of the nation the beggarly rudiments thought suitable for helots who would be unserviceable without a minimum of instruction, and undocile helots if spoilt by more. The result has been a system of public education neither venerable, like a college, nor popular, like a public house, but merely indispensable, like a pillar-box.'*<sup>1</sup>

As Ian explains in Chapter 5, England is the only jurisdiction in the UK which where parliament controls state education directly. It is bizarre and insulting. The system implies that parents who send their children to state schools do not have the ability to be governors with effective powers; that the local councillors they elect cannot be trusted with education. It is a system that has arisen as economic inequalities have risen. Figure 5 shows how.

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<sup>1</sup> Tawney, R. H., *A national college of all souls*, *Times Educational Supplement*, 22 February 1917, published in *The Attack and Other Papers*, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1953), p.34.

**Figure 5: Income inequality in the UK (mostly all in England) 1910-2019**



Source, Dorling, D. (2019) *Inequality and the 1% (third edition)*, London: Verso.

What has happened in recent years is not part of a longer term trend across the UK but has been created recently by the 2010 Coalition government and then made much worse by the chaotic and calous Conservative administration of Cameron (2015-2016), May (2016-2019) and Johnson (2019-). Gabrielle Ivinson explains in chapter 6, child poverty had been slowly falling in each of the four countries of the UK up until 2014. However, economic inequality was not falling. What had been achieved was a redistribution within the bottom 90% of society whereby those as the very bottom were given (often through benefits and a minimum wage) slightly more while those in the rest of the bottom 90% received slightly less in relative terms. As Figure 5 above makes clear: there was no redistribution from the top 10% as their 'take' held reactively steady from 1997 onwards. Table 2 below makes it even more clear.

Table 2 reports data from taxations statistics for the UK. It shows that by 1997 the top 0.01% of all income earners were taking 1.0% of all income. That means they were each taking, on average, one hundred times the arithmetic average income. Their take (in the first column) rose to a high of 1.4% in 2007 and 2008 before the great economic recession, and then fell abruptly to ‘just’ eighty times average incomes in 2015. It has fallen slightly since.

The far right column in table 2 shows the take of the top 105, which in 1997 was 38.9%. By 2007, following ten years of New Labour government, the share of the best off 10% had risen to 42.6%, or 4.26 times mean average incomes, each. This left just 57.4% of everything for the other 90% of society to live on. All these figures are before tax, and so there is some subsequent redistribution (without it there would be revolution). But crucially there has been no increased sharing from the top 10% over time in the last 22 years across the UK.

**Table 2: Take of the 1 in 10,000; 1 in 1000; 1 in 100; and the 1 in 10; UK 1997-2019 (%)**

*Share of national income of group (before tax).*

Year	0.01%	0.1%	1%	10%
1997	1.0	4.2	12.1	38.9
1998	1.1	4.4	12.5	39.5
1999	1.1	4.5	12.5	39.0
2000	1.1	4.6	12.7	38.4
2001	1.1	4.5	12.7	39.3
2002	1.0	4.2	12.3	38.7
2003	1.0	4.2	12.1	37.8
2004	1.1	4.6	12.9	39.5
2005	1.2	5.2	14.3	41.6
2006	1.3	5.6	14.8	42.0
2007	1.4	6.1	15.4	42.6
2008	1.4	5.9	15.4	42.3
2009	1.2	6.5	15.4	41.6
2010	0.9	4.7	12.6	38.1
2011	0.9	4.8	12.9	39.1
2012	0.8	4.6	12.7	39.1
2013	1.3	7.2	15.9	41.3
2014	1.3	6.7	15.1	40.0
2015	1.4	7.4	16.6	43.9
2016	1.2	6.4	14.5	38.3
2017	1.2	6.6	14.9	39.4
2018	1.3	6.8	15.3	40.5
2019	1.3	7.0	15.8	41.7

*Sources: Figures estimated using: ONS (2019) Using tax data to better capture top earners in household income inequality statistics, 26th February M. Brewer (2019) What Do We Know and What Should We Do About Inequality? London: Sage; and also from Figure 5 above.*

The majority of the best off 10% live in London and the South East of England, and just over half of them send their children to a private school (of those who have children). Almost all of the children of the 1% are privately educated within England (and very occasionally in Scotland). For the children of the 0.1%, the best off 1 in 1000 people, it is more boarding school than private school. Mummy and daddy have fun things to do with all that money – which often do not involve child care or spending time with their children.

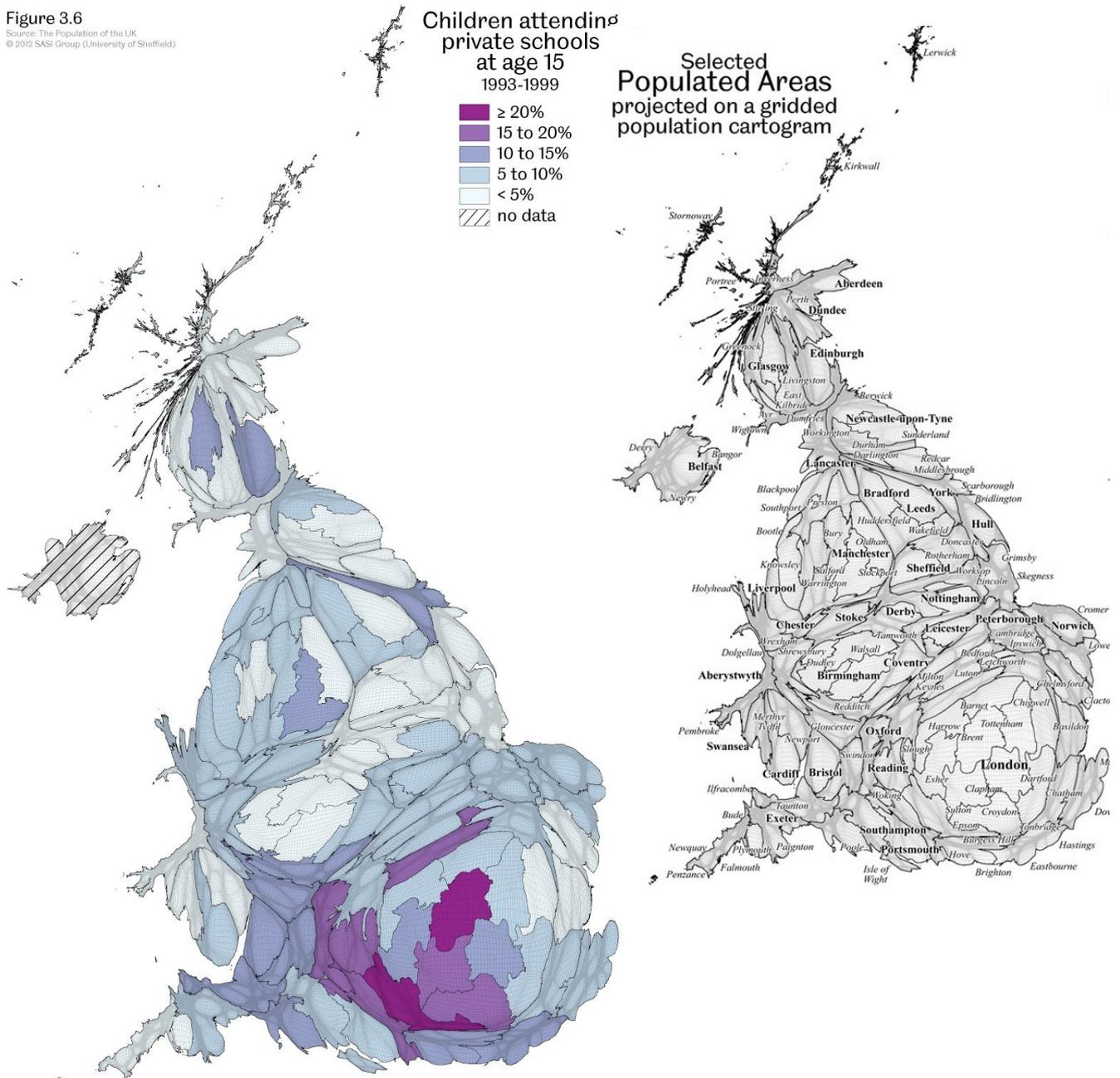
For the children of the 0.01% they are in the league of competing between the most expensive of all private schools as the fees are simple chicken feed, a tiny fraction of their annual income. The problem is entrance exams, getting the child's name down at birth, or knowing how to 'make a donation to the school'. Children in Britain vary the most by how rich or poor they and their parents are.

When educators talk of variation amongst children in the UK, they sometimes mean ability, often mean in what stage they might be at what age, but rarely mention the greatest underlying variation. In this book in the moving last chapter on actual experiences of education in poverty Gabrielle Ivinson praises the innovative new Welsh curriculum, labelled 'Successful Futures', because it recognises that children vary and accommodates these difference by shifting the emphasis from subject skills and areas of learning. Being creative is to be praised (unlike in England) (see Figure 6). However, in Chapter 4 (below in this book) David Egan explains that in Wales: *"it is only in isolated and almost random cases that strategies have been developed in Wales that bring together holistically what often is a plethora of national and local programmes, offered by a range of public and third sector providers, into community-based, multi-agency partnerships that include schools."* David concludes that simply doing more of the same is not going to budge Wales from its current impasse. One advantage Wales does have is a much lower preponderance of private schools as compared to England. Accounts of children growing up in poverty in the UK are even more galling when you know just how much money the families of a tiny number of children have – and largely waste (often making their rich kids miserable in the process).

**Figure 6 : Children attending private school in the UK – 1993-1999.**

Figure 3.6

Source: The Population of the UK  
© 2012 SASI Group (University of Sheffield)



Source: Analysis of national school league tables for Britain 1993-99

Source: Dorling, D. (2012) *The Population of the UK, second edition*, London: Sage,  
[http://www.dannydorling.org/books/ukpopulation/Maps\\_%26\\_Figures/Pages/Chapter\\_3.html#5](http://www.dannydorling.org/books/ukpopulation/Maps_%26_Figures/Pages/Chapter_3.html#5)

The elite in England don't care about state schools because they mostly did not attend one (or if they did they did not often enjoy the experience) and they certainly don't send their children to one. IN fact it is in their narrow interest, if they are narrow minded, that state schools do poorly as then their personal private investment in their own children's very private education is money well spent (in the minds of some). "Way waste money teaching the genetically inferior above their potential?"

is a phrase I occasionally still hear said by a few where I work (the university of Oxford). If the elite thought that all children in the UK were worth educating well – then they would be and the large majority of private schools would have gone bankrupt many years ago.

Here is a recent report from Bristol, England, which summarises the dire situation in England by summer 2019:

*“Throughout the rest of his time at Bristol Brunel Academy, Ben was constantly sent to isolation – sometimes two days a week – to the point that his parents feel he’s been “badly let down”. In Year 11 he was diagnosed with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), but things didn’t change – he continued to be sent to isolation and had to revise for his GCSEs at home without extra support.*

*Ben is one of hundreds of kids who spend days in isolation on a regular basis. A Bristol Cable investigation has revealed all but two of Bristol’s state secondary schools are using some form of isolation policy, where students are removed from class. Data acquired via Freedom of Information (FOI) requests shows an increase of more than 30% in the use of isolation in recent years, as Bristol’s schools are sending kids there almost 1,000 times a week.*

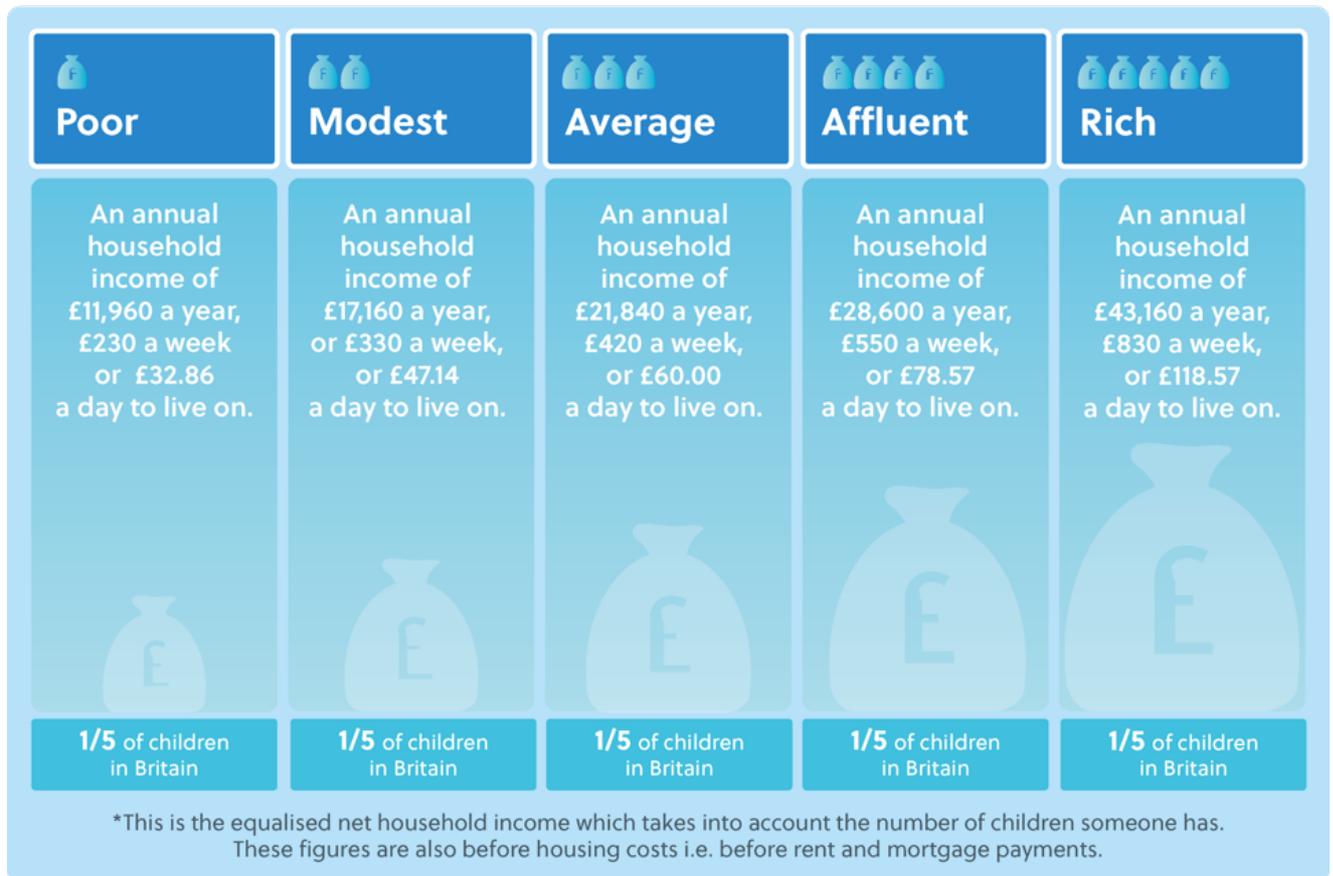
*Isolation booths, where students sit facing the wall, have been used in some Bristol schools in the past, but now most schools instead use a classroom. Anywhere between 10 and 30 kids are supervised by a member of staff and work in silence, sometimes at individual desks.*

*New data reveals some schools have sent as much as half their entire student body to isolation, as kids sometimes miss multiple days a week of learning.”<sup>5</sup>*

That same report revealed that in Redland Green 8% of students received Free School Meals, whereas 3 miles away the City Academy has 63%. To be eligible for Free School Meals you need to be bring in a household income of now more than £16,000 a year or £43.81 a day – to house, feed and clothe a family. All poor and many modest families in Britain subsist on this as Figure 7 explains.

Figure 7: The income distribution of children in the UK (by household) 2017

The yearly income for families living in the UK\*



Source: <https://explore.org/question-detail/can-we-end-poverty#2055>

**What is Scotland going to try to do right?**

In chapter 3 of this book Stephen J. McKinney, Stuart Hall and Kevin Lowden begin by explaining that an extra one in ten of all working adult was living in poverty by 2017 as compared to 1997. Some 59% are now living in relative poverty, up from 48% two decades earlier. They go on to document how the forced introduction of Universal Benefit (from the Westminster government) has increased poverty in Scotland. And they show how, by 2017/18, there had been only a marginal decrease in the gap between the chances of children from the poorest fifth of areas in Scotland going to University as compared to the changes of those from the least poor fifth. That gap had been reduced from just over 38% in 2009/10 to just under 35% by 2017/18. Nevertheless, Scotland has avoided introducing £9,250 a year tuition fees, or any university tuition fees in this period. Because of this it has avoided the cramming in of any young adult to make money, or taking more and more just to keep universities afloat, which is now commonly seen in English universities south of the border. Hall and Lowden go on to say what to Scottish government plans next; but it is worth listing the most recent developments here:

In terms of tackling child poverty, here's a quick summary of the Scottish approach – including examples of divergence between Scotland and England:<sup>6</sup>

- The UK Westminster Government scrapped any child poverty targets in its Child Poverty Act (2010). Scotland reintroduced these for 2030 via the Child Poverty (Scotland) Act 2017, making them more challenging in a range of ways. The Scottish Act, which was passed unanimously by the Scottish Parliament, also places responsibilities on health boards and local authorities to plan and report on child poverty reduction activity.
- The Scottish Government has a four-year strategy in place – Every Child, Every Chance – to make progress on the targets. This focuses action on three main drivers of child poverty reduction – increasing income from employment, reducing household costs, maximising income from social security. There's also a recognition that Scotland needs to boost life chances of children now to meet the 2030 targets – including thinking about who the cohort of parents will be in 2030.
- Scotland is investing in bespoke employability and in-work progression support for parents via key worker support, across a range of programmes – again specifically to tackle child poverty. There is an additional programme looking at disabled parents and employment. And a focus on promoting flexible working across employers.
- Scotland has announced an increased entitlement of 1140 hours of Early Learning and Childcare for all 3 and 4 year olds and eligible 2s. They also recently announced funding for new tests of change relating to Out of School Care, again with a specific child poverty focus.
- Scotland has set up a Financial Health Check programme, via Citizens Advice, to provide low income parents with money advice / a benefit uptake service and to make sure parents are aware of and can claim the range of Scottish programmes available.
- Scotland has replaced the UK Government's Sure Start Maternity Grant with the Best Start Grant (BSG). BSG offers three payment milestones, not one, and all children are eligible, not just the first child. The initial payment is also more generous than its UK equivalent.
- Scotland is replacing UK Healthy Start Vouchers for pregnant women and young children with a Best Start Foods smartcard, again with a more generous cash offer, and reduced stigma. It is not just the material benefit this brings – it shows people their government cares.
- Scotland (like Finland) now offers a Babybox of essential items for all new babies. In contrast English NHS hospital invite in private firms how target very early mothers with free samples of their commercial products. In Finland infant mortality is half what it is in England. IN Finland, like in Scotland, most elected politicians simply care about other people more.
- Scotland is introducing a new benefit, the Scottish Child Payment, worth £10 per week per child for families on qualifying benefits (broadly, UC plus legacy benefits and pension credit) – specifically to reduce child poverty. There will be no cap on the number of children eligible within any one family. The first payments for under 6s will be made by end of March 2021, for under 16s by end 2022. Their officials estimate they will be investing £180m in this policy alone at full roll out.<sup>7</sup>

Key for the policy team working on all this in Scotland is aligning programmes effectively so that when a parent engages with one service, they have a seamless experience which provides bespoke help across other services. They also recognise that housing and transport present key costs that they need to address – how to do more here is challenging but something they are working on. In short, they give a damn.

## Conclusion

The school exam league table for the county and city I live in was published on the morning of the day I was writing this foreword. Here are the results for the City of Oxford. Needless to say – they simple reflect the distribution of child poverty in my home city. This is a little exacerbated by sharp elbowed middle class parents finding ways to avoid their child going to the local state school if its results are poorer than average. The results in Table 3 below have almost nothing to do with ability, with how hard the teachers or pupils have worked, or with whether the children being assessed are actually and good at English (being imaginative in its use and enjoying the subject) or Maths (actually being numerate rather than being good at maths tests on one day) (Table 3)

**Table 3: GCSE results of children in the City of Oxford 2019 by state school**

School Name	Number of pupils entered	GCSE 9-5 grades Maths & English	Progress 8 Score
Matthew Arnold School	177	68.90%	0.7
The Cherwell School	266	64.30%	0.74
Cheney School	221	43.40%	0.14
Oxford Spires Academy	157	40.80%	0.02
St Gregory the Great (Catholic School)	172	33.10%	-0.15
The Oxford Academy	148	16.90%	-0.66
Oxford City state schools	964	42.84%	
Oxfordshire: All schools	6153	45.80%	0.07
England: All schools	605874	39.80%	

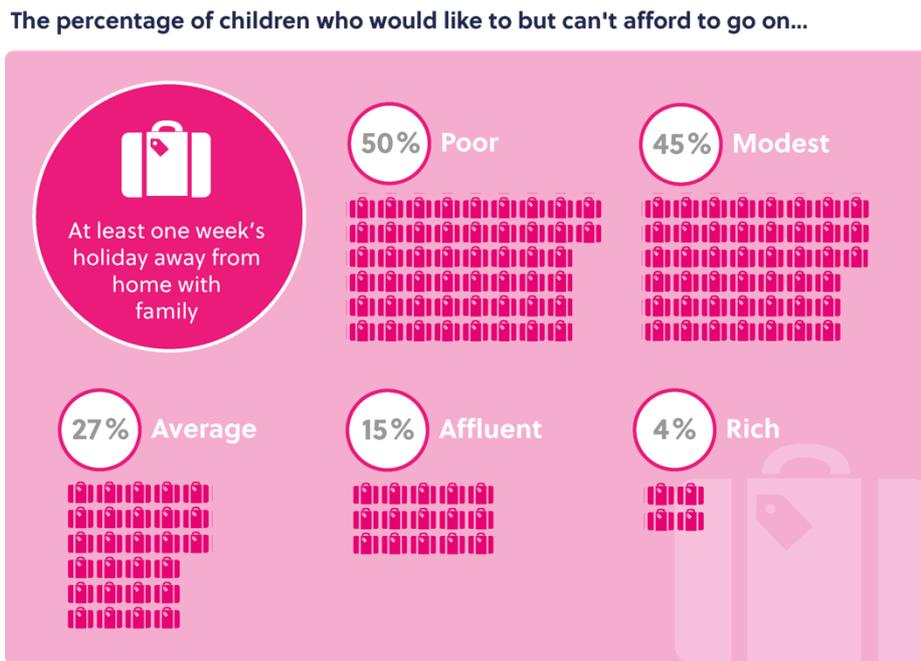
*Note Matthew Arnold is not in the city boundary but is included for completeness.*

*Source: 'Best and worst schools in Oxfordshire for 2019 GCSE results' 20 October 2019, The Oxford Mail: <https://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/news/17978749.best-worst-schools-oxfordshire-2019-gcse-results/>*

When I was at school we were asked to write what we had done on our holidays every September. Most children had a summer holiday then. Often just camping, or in a caravan, but you had

something to write about. Not now for half of the poorest 20%; for almost half of the next 20%; for more than a quarter of those on average incomes, for a sixth of the affluent and even for one in 25 of the rich. How can a few of the rich not afford a holiday – you might well ask – the answer is the cost of the school fees! We tolerated this – and our children suffered; so will their children until we call education policy in England especially out for what it is: Eugenic, ignorant, anachronistic, child apartheid.

**Figure 8: The proportion of children who would like to have one holiday a year, but cannot**



Source: The Households below average income (HBAI) statistics 2016/17. Percentages may not sum to 100 percent due to rounding.

Source: <https://explore.org/question-detail/can-we-end-poverty#2055>

<sup>1</sup> The two other states on the edge of Europe with Economic inequality greater than anywhere else within Europe. The UK is slightly more economically unequal than Russia and a fraction less than Turkey. Nowhere in between all three is at all as bad, spends as much on eth rich and the segregated education of their children or cares so little for its poor and their education.

<sup>2</sup> Dorling, D. (2019) Mortality rates are still rising in the UK – and everyone is ignoring how many more people are dying, *The Conversation*, 2 July, <https://theconversation.com/mortality-rates-are-still-rising-in-the-uk-and-everyone-is-ignoring-how-many-more-people-are-dying-119618>

<sup>3</sup> Smyth, C. (2017) Northern Ireland child health 'among worst in W Europe', *BBC News NI*, 15 June, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-40278243>

<sup>4</sup> Dorling, D. (2015) *Injustice: Why social inequality still persists*, Bristol: Policy press.

<sup>5</sup> Edwards, M. (2019) Revealed: Thousands of kids are being put in isolation, fuelling schools debate, *The Bristol Cable*, 13 August, <https://thebristolcable.org/2019/08/revealed-thousands-of-kids-are-being-put-in-isolation-fuelling-the-debate-about-how-we-educate-the-next-generation/>

<sup>6</sup> Scottish Government (2019a) *Tackling child poverty first year progress report (2018-2019)*, Edinburgh: Housing and Social Justice Directorate, 26 June, <https://www.gov.scot/publications/tackling-child-poverty-delivery-plan-first-year-progress-report-2018-19/>

<sup>7</sup> Scottish Government (2019b) *Scottish Child Payment: factsheet*, Dundee: Social Security Directorate <https://www.gov.scot/publications/scottish-child-payment-factsheet/>