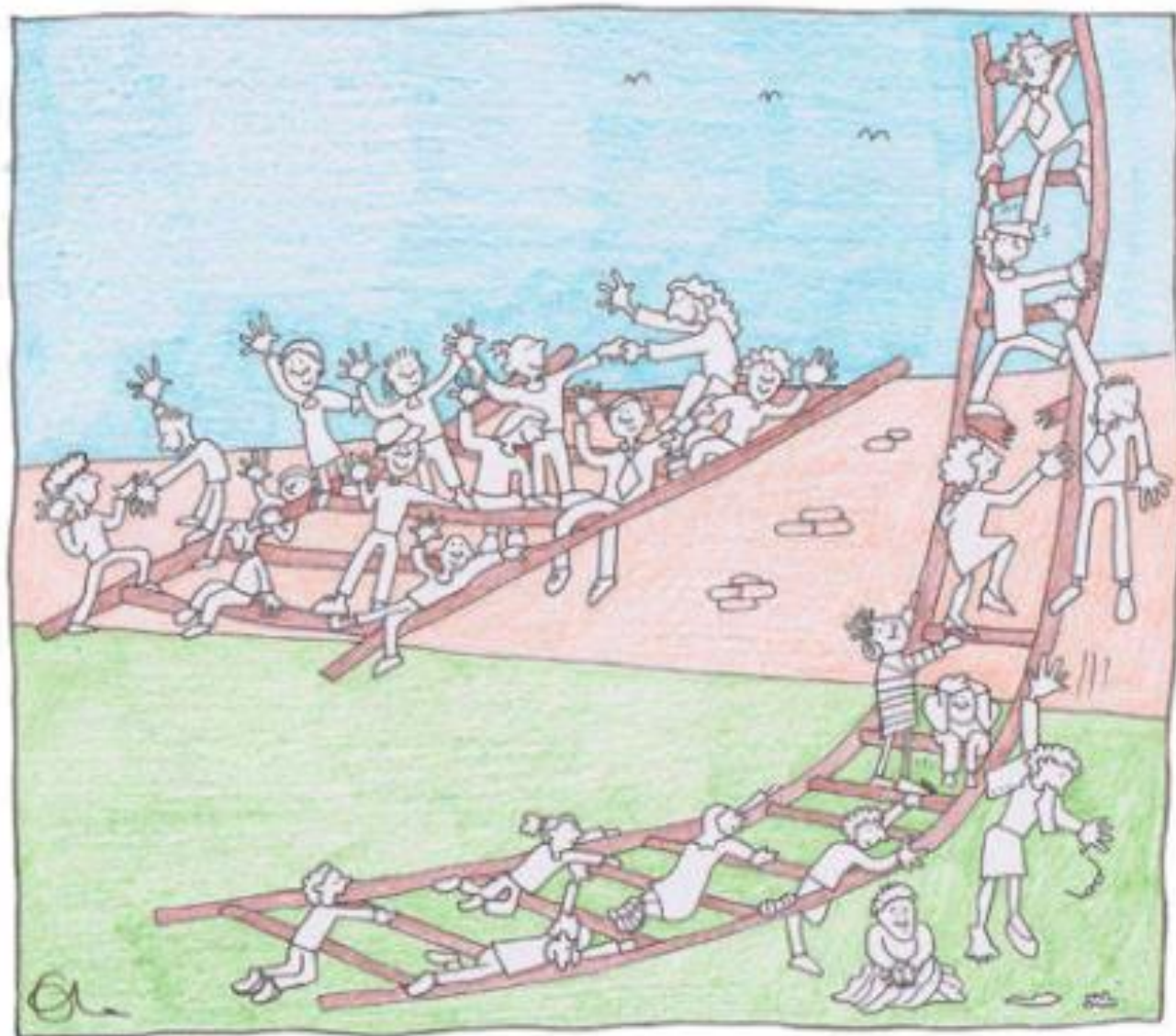


# FPTP & Inequality

## Part I

The staggering truth  
about inequality in  
the UK



Stuart Donald  
2022

Two ladders

Image: Ella Furness

# The staggering truth about the UK's inequality

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## I. Why inequality matters

## II. Share of income earned by top 1%

## III. Welfare equality drivers

## IV. Property and Housing

## V. Schools and universities

## VI. Inequality and its impacts on Births and Deaths

## VII. Inequality and the Covid experience

## VIII. Impact of inequality on education

## IX. Conclusion



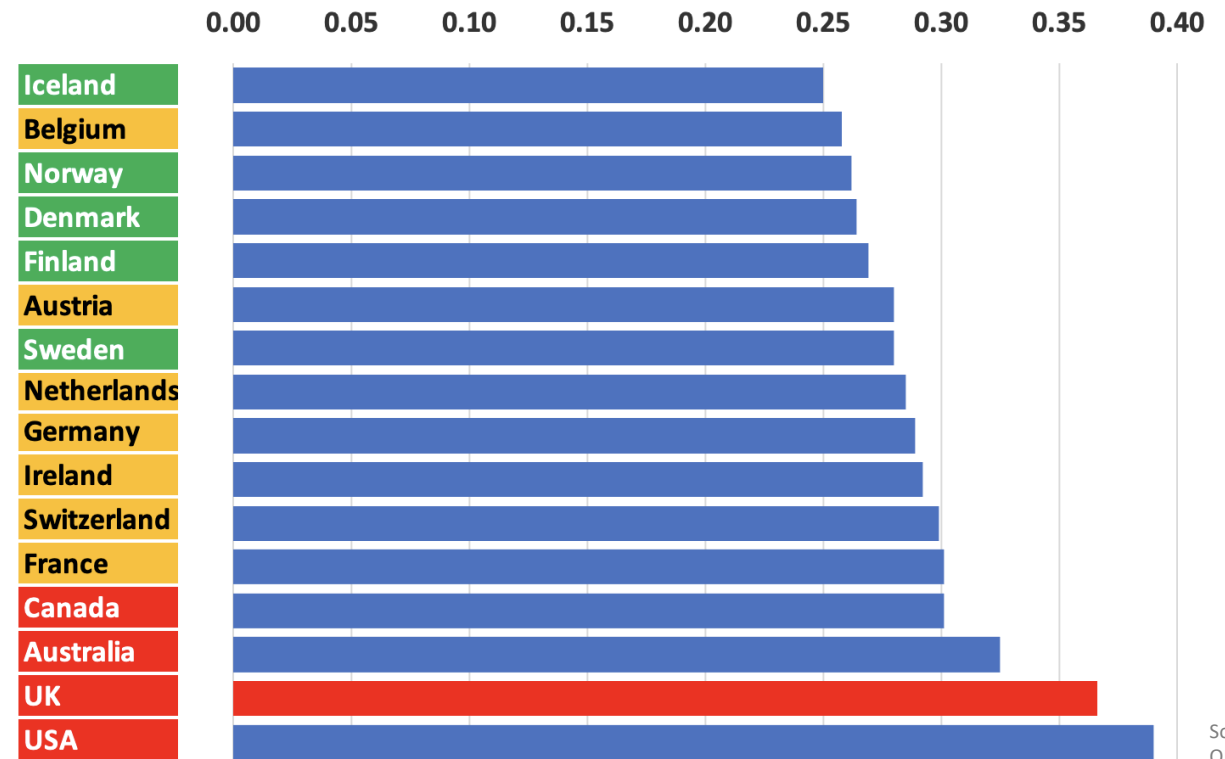
# What is inequality and why does it matter?

## 1. Why inequality matters

- A leading indicator of equality is the Gini coefficient, a metric that measures how evenly income is earned across a country
- Countries with a score near 0 are more equal, those with a score nearer 1 are more unequal
- The **Free-market Fanatic** countries have the highest inequality scores; the **Nordic nobles** the lowest

**Key takeaway - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have made the UK the most unequal country in Europe**

Income inequality rankings - 2019

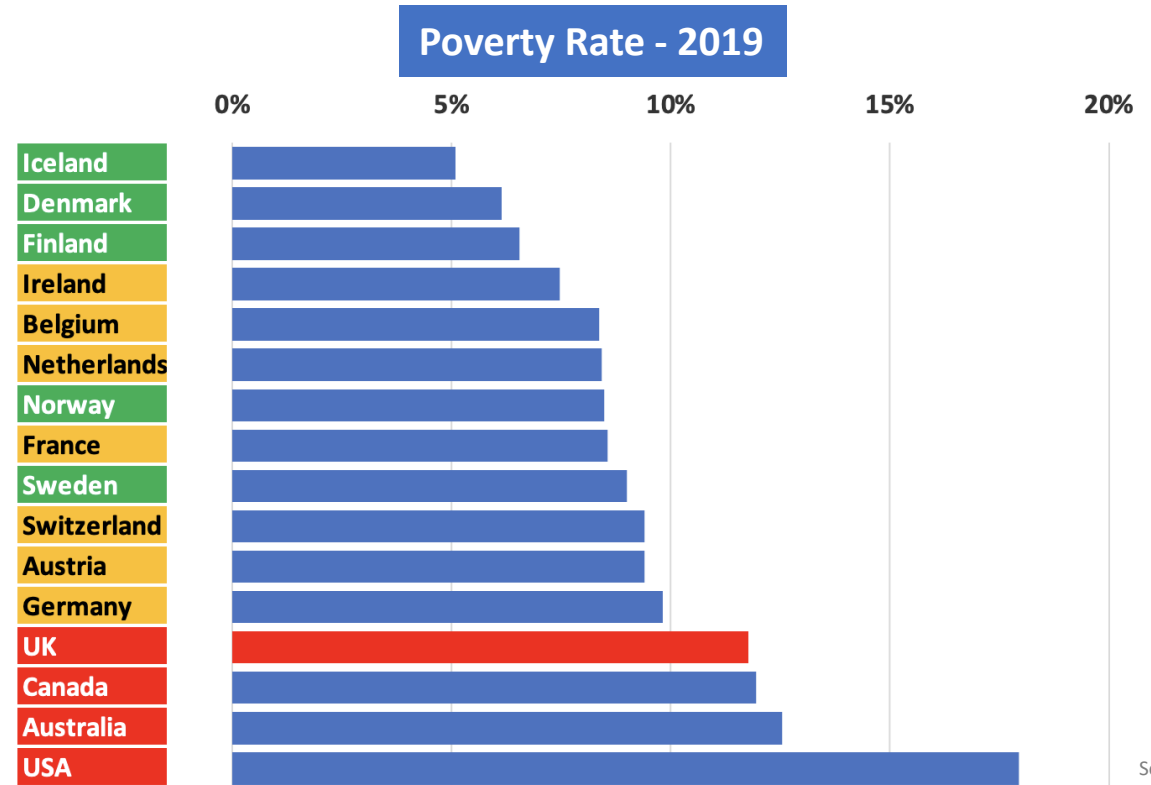


Source: OECD

**Definition of Gini co-efficient:** income is defined as household disposable income in a particular year. The Gini coefficient is based on the comparison of cumulative proportions of the population against cumulative proportions of income they receive, and it ranges between 0 in the case of perfect equality and 1 in the case of perfect inequality.



- One measure of inequality relates to the proportion of the population who are below the poverty line
- The **Free-market Fanatic** countries have far higher proportions of their populations below the poverty line
- In the UK, 12% of the population is below the poverty line, twice the level in Denmark



Source:  
OECD

**Key takeaway** - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have given the UK the highest rate of poverty in Europe

The **poverty rate**: the ratio of the number of people whose income falls below the poverty line, taken as half the median household income of the total population.

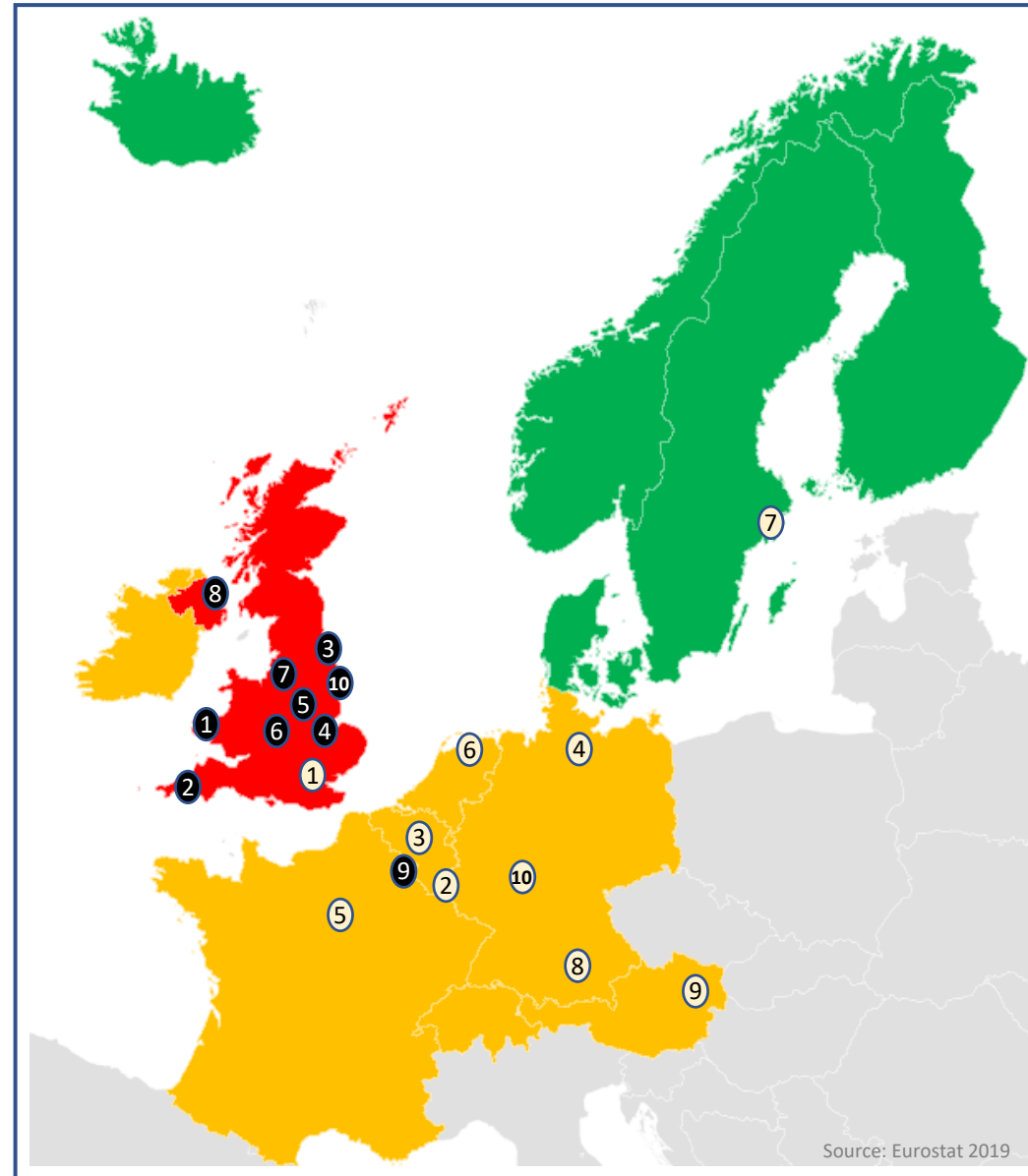


# What is inequality and why does it matter?

## 1. Why inequality matters

- Poorer regions in unequal countries are REALLY poor and the wealthy ones are REALLY wealthy...
- The UK is home to 9 of the 10 poorest regions in Europe yet is also the home to the richest region in Europe

**Key Takeaway** - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have given the UK the most exaggerated regional inequality in Europe



### Richest regions

- ① Inner London
- ② Luxembourg
- ③ Brussels
- ④ Hamburg
- ⑤ Ile de France
- ⑥ Groningen
- ⑦ Stockholm
- ⑧ Ober Bayern
- ⑨ Vienna
- ⑩ Darmstadt

### Poorest regions

- ① West Wales
- ② Cornwall
- ③ Durham & Tees
- ④ Lincolnshire
- ⑤ South Yorks
- ⑥ Shropshire
- ⑦ Lancashire
- ⑧ Northern Ireland
- ⑨ Hainaut
- ⑩ East Yorks





So what are the  
**Free-market**  
**Fanatics** doing that  
makes them so  
unequal?

# The staggering truth about the UK's inequality

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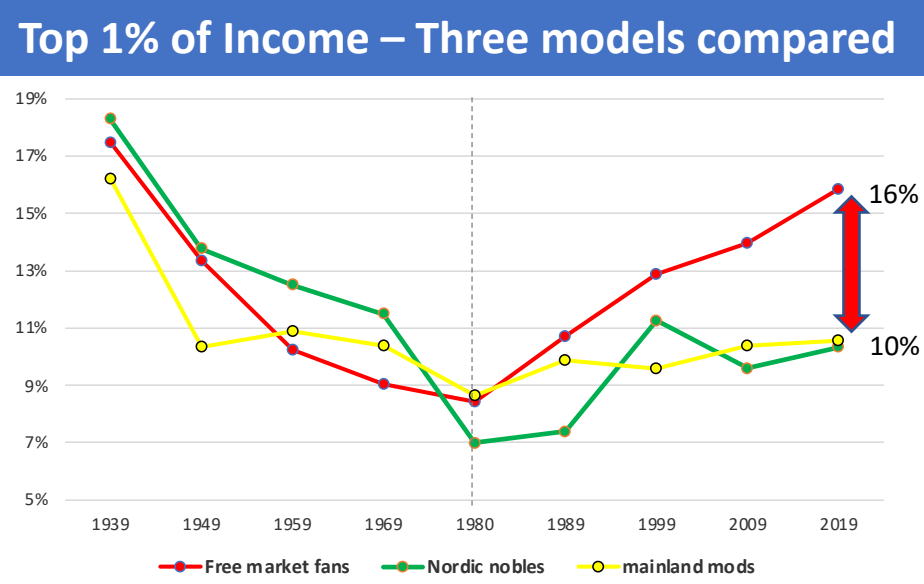
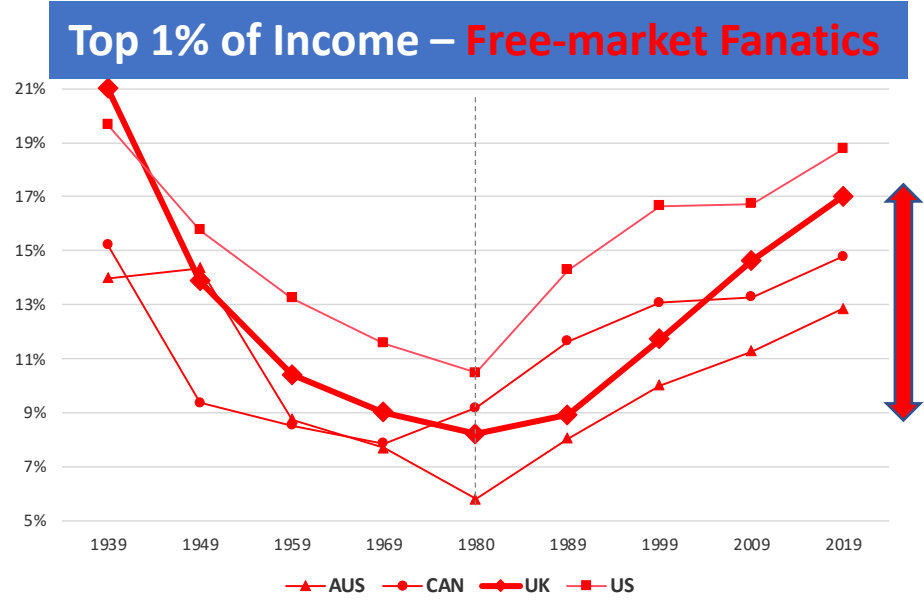


# Free-market Fanatics have made the rich much richer...

- The **Free-market Fanatic** states have doubled the share of income earned the top 1% over 40 years
- Since 1980, **Free-market Fanatic** states have done this by following policies, driven by certain core beliefs:
  - **Private money is always better than public** – the state is evil, the state is inefficient; outsource, privatise, marketise...
  - **Low tax for the wealthy** – greed is good; we need to feed / encourage the greed of the rich since they 'create wealth'
  - **Inequality is normal** – a sad but necessary 'law of nature'; it drives competition
  - **Fiscal austerity** – cutting back on welfare for the poor and vulnerable to bail out the banks

**Key Takeaway**

- 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have turned the wealthy of the UK into the 'super wealthy' as in other **Free-market Fanatic** countries



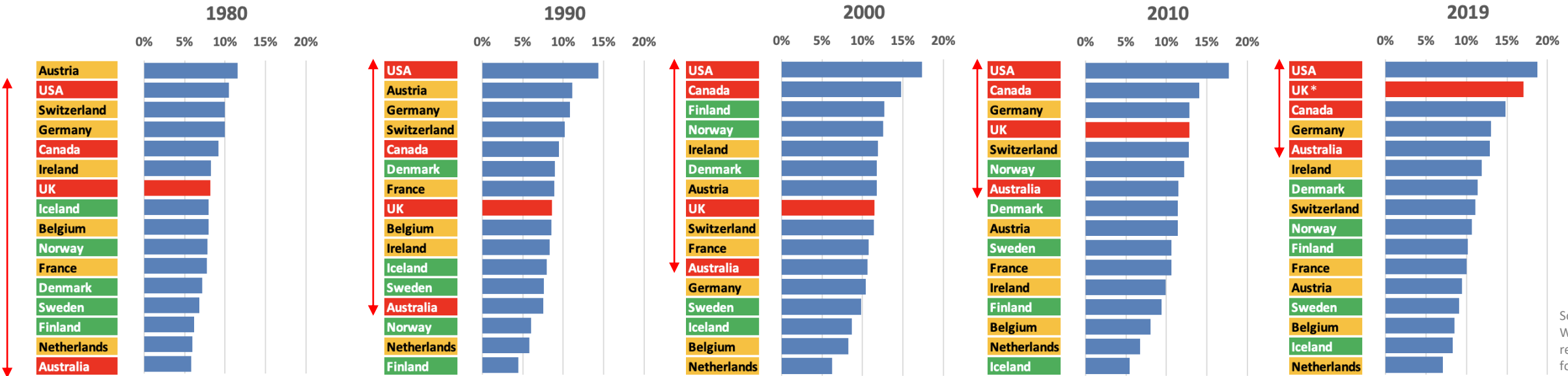
Source: WID & resolution foundation





# An outcome fueled by both UK Tory and Labour governments...

Share of income of the top 1% in each country



Source: WID & resolution foundation



- Even under the 10 years of Blair and Brown & 3 massive electoral majorities, the wealth of the super rich increased

**Key Takeaways** - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have made the wealthy in the UK the wealthiest of the wealthy in the whole of Europe

- They were fearful of trying to tame 'greed' continuing the Thatcherite philosophy that 'greed is good' (tax rev from top 1% not relevant)



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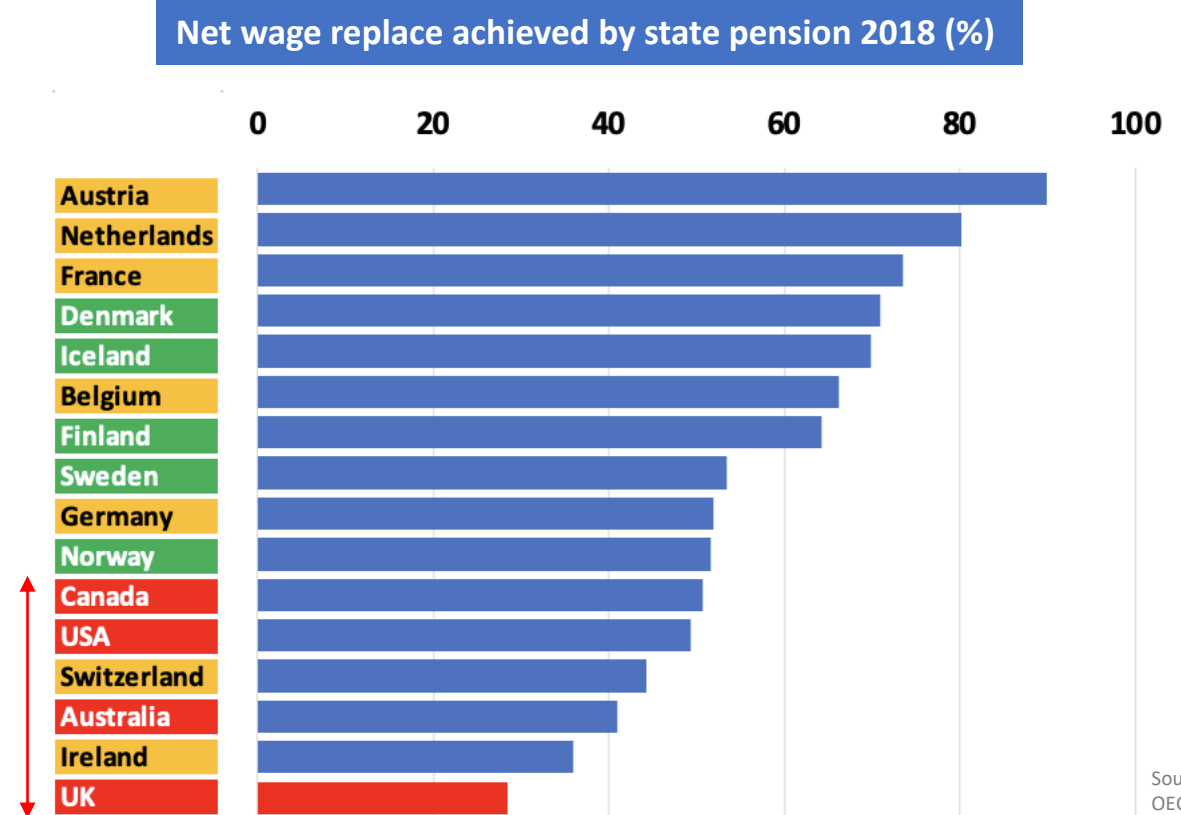
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# Free-market Fanatics pay pensioners less...

- State pensions in **Free-market Fanatic** states typically replace a far lower percentage of final salary
- A UK pensioner will receive on average 30% of his/her final salary through a state pension but in Austria, this is nearer 90%
- UK is rock bottom even against its **Free-market Fanatic** peers



**Key takeaway - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have made the UK's pensions the poorest across all the whole Western peer group**

**The net replacement rate:** defined as the individual net pension entitlement divided by net pre-retirement earnings, taking into account personal income taxes and social security contributions paid by workers and pensioners. It measures how effectively a pension system provides a retirement income to replace earnings, the main source of income before retirement. This indicator is measured in percentage of pre-retirement earnings by gender.

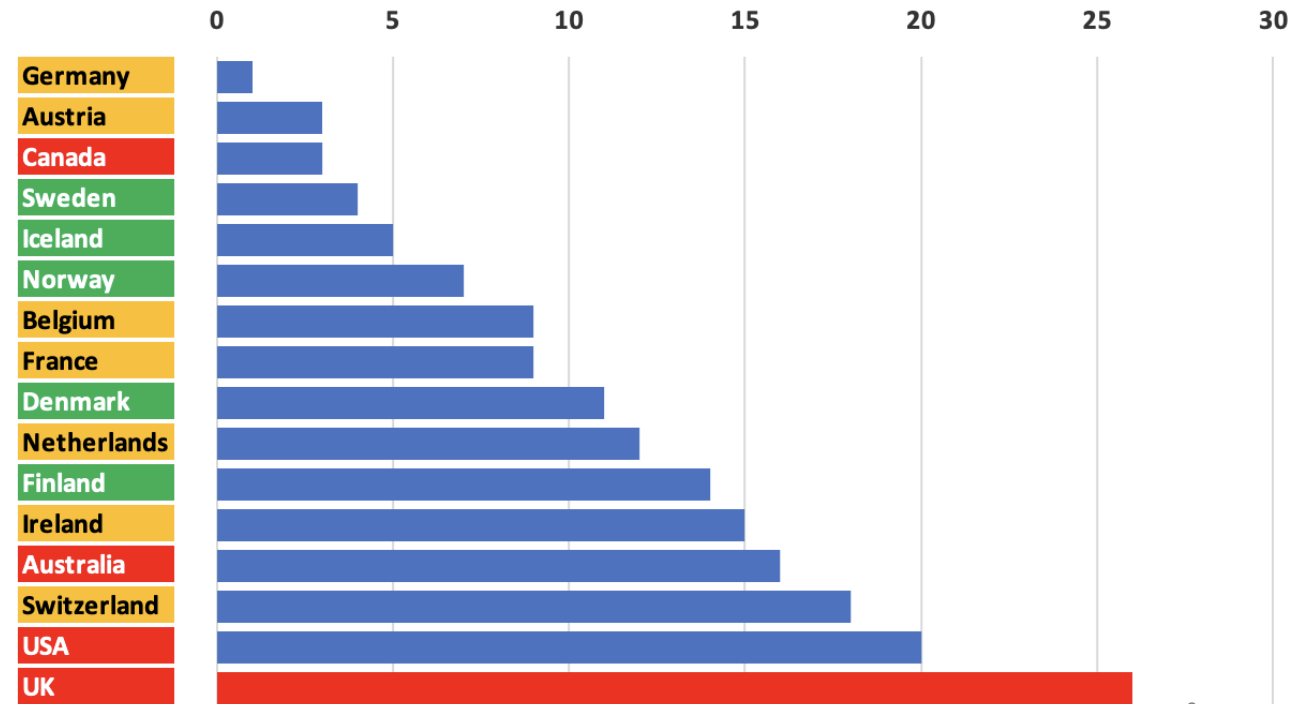


# Their childcare costs are higher...

- **S** typically make families of all means pay far more for childcare
- In the case of a family on 2/3 of the average wage, 1 in 4 euros earned is spent on childcare in the UK but less than 1 in 20 in Sweden
- UK is once again rock bottom even massively outstripping the USA

**Key takeaway** - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have made the UK by miles the most expensive place for childcare across all Western peers

Net childcare costs for parents on 2/3 of average wage - % of income 2020



Source: OECD

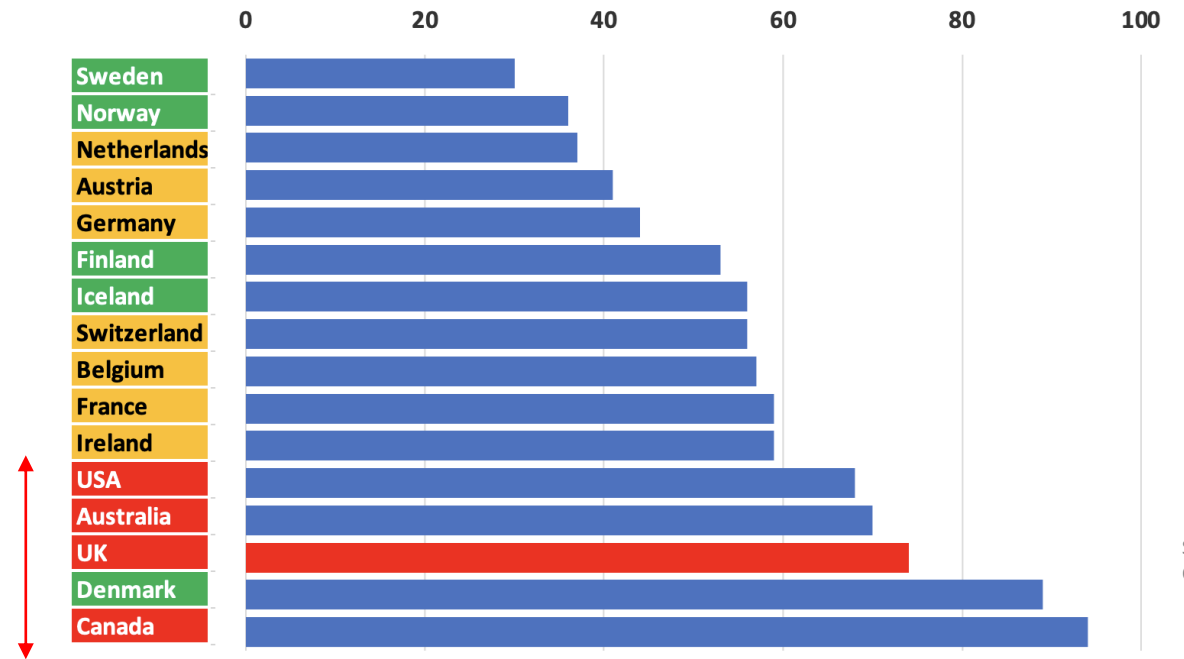
**Net childcare costs:** for parents using full-time centre-based childcare, after any benefits designed to reduce the gross childcare fees. Childcare benefits can be received in the form of childcare allowances, tax concessions, fee rebates and increases in other benefit entitlements. Net childcare costs are calculated for both couples and lone parents assuming two children aged 2 and 3. For couples, one parent earns 67% of the average wage whereas the other earns either minimum wage, 67% or 100% of the average wage.



# And getting back to work as new parents is much harder...

- The typically socially conservative **Free-market Fanatics** make it far harder for parents (especially women) to return to work after starting a family
- A family in the UK using childcare would lose twice as much income on returning to work as a similar family in Norway or Sweden

**% of lost earnings on return to work with childcare costs 2020**



Source: OECD

**Key takeaway - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have made the transition of returning to work with a young UK family the second most expensive across all Western peers**

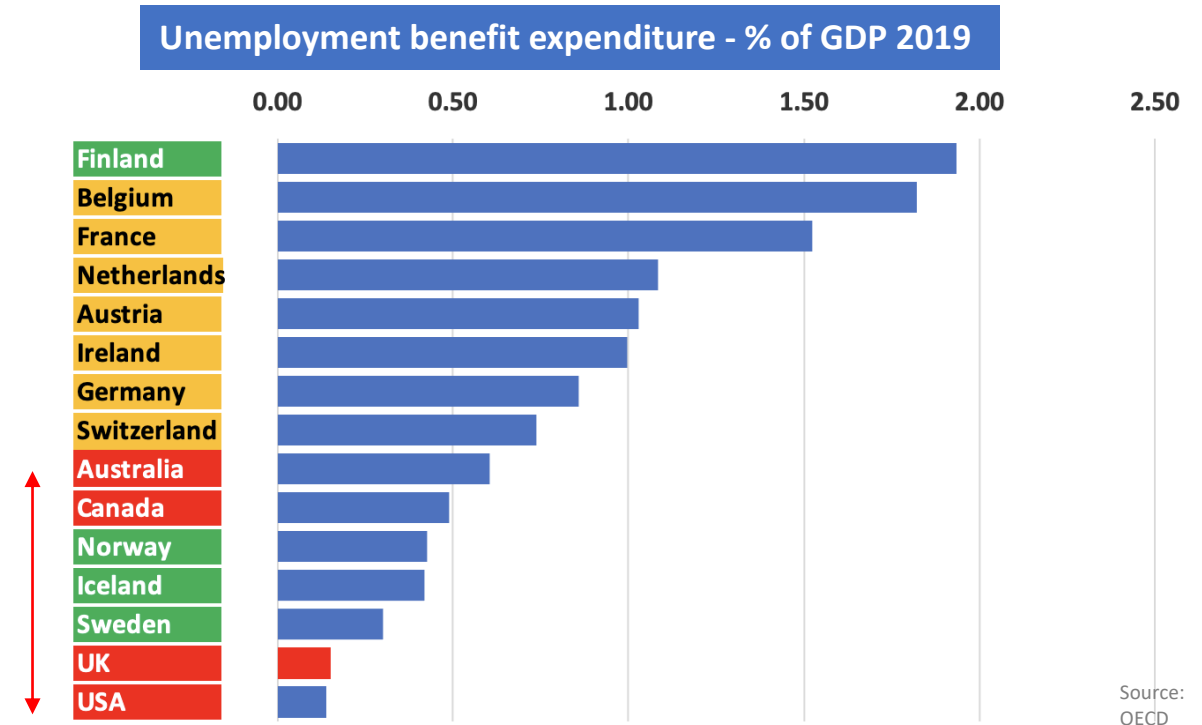
**Incentives to return to work:** this indicator measures the percentage of earnings lost to either higher taxes or lower benefits when a parent of two children takes up full-time employment and uses centre-based childcare. Calculations refer to a couple with two children aged 2 and 3 where the other parent works full-time at the average wage.



# Their unemployment benefits are lower...

- A core **Free-market Fanatic** belief is that unemployment is best controlled by making sure the experience is as challenging as possible
- **Mainland moderates** seem to take a less severe view
- The UK and US are by miles the most miserly, with a benefits budget that is less than ½ that of the 3<sup>rd</sup> bottom state, Sweden

**Key takeaway** - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have made the UK the most challenging place in which to be unemployed across European peers

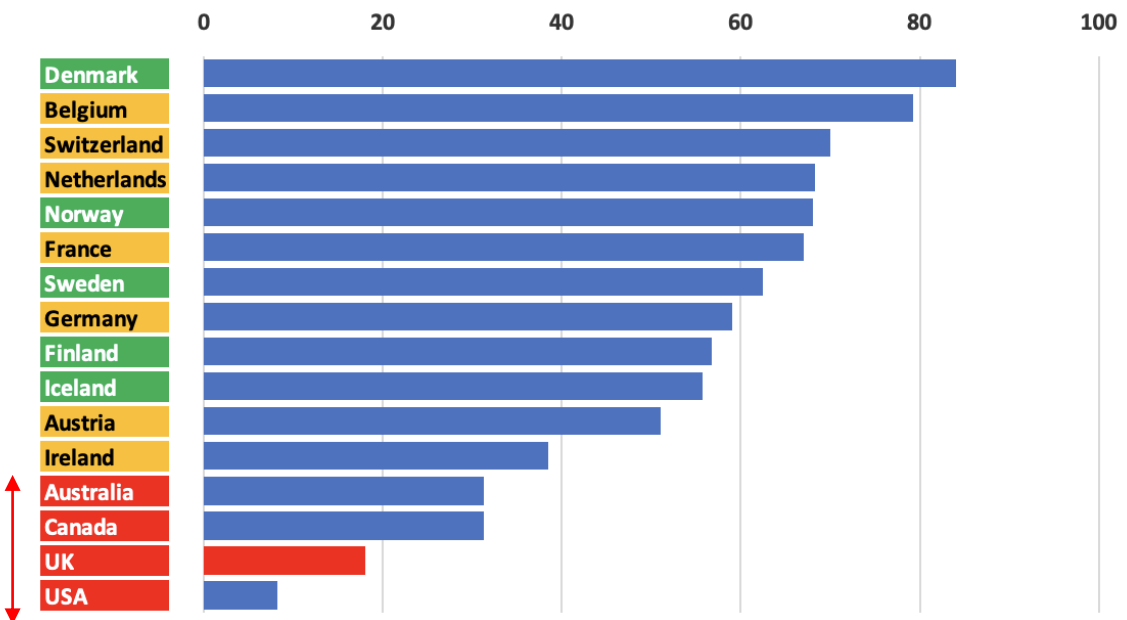


\* No data available for Denmark

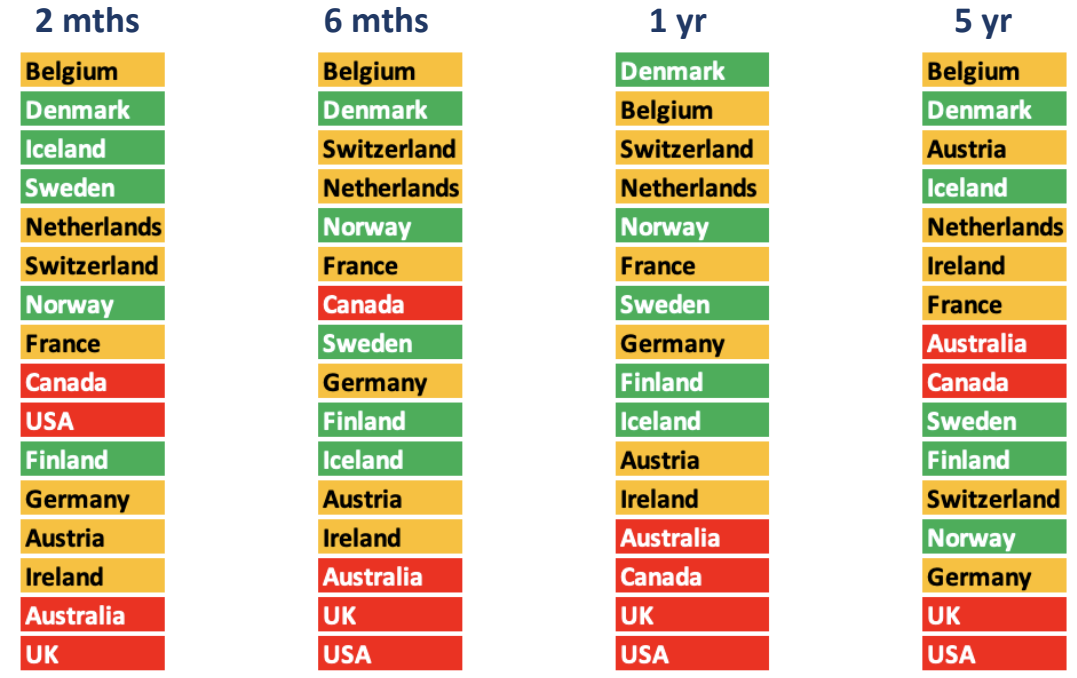
**Public unemployment spending:** defined as expenditure on cash benefits for people to compensate for unemployment. This includes redundancy payments from public funds, as well as the payment of pensions to beneficiaries before they reach the standard pensionable age, if these payments are made because the beneficiaries are out of work or for other labour market policy reasons. This indicator is measured in percentage of GDP.

# However long you might remain unemployed...

Unemployment benefit: sal replacement % up to 1 yr



Unemployment generosity rankings 2 mths to 5 yrs 2020



Source: OECD

- Over any period, unequal countries typically provide less support for the unemployed; NB UK bottom or 2<sup>nd</sup> bottom of each table...

**Key takeaway** - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have made the UK the most punishing European country in which to suffer unemployment whether short or long term

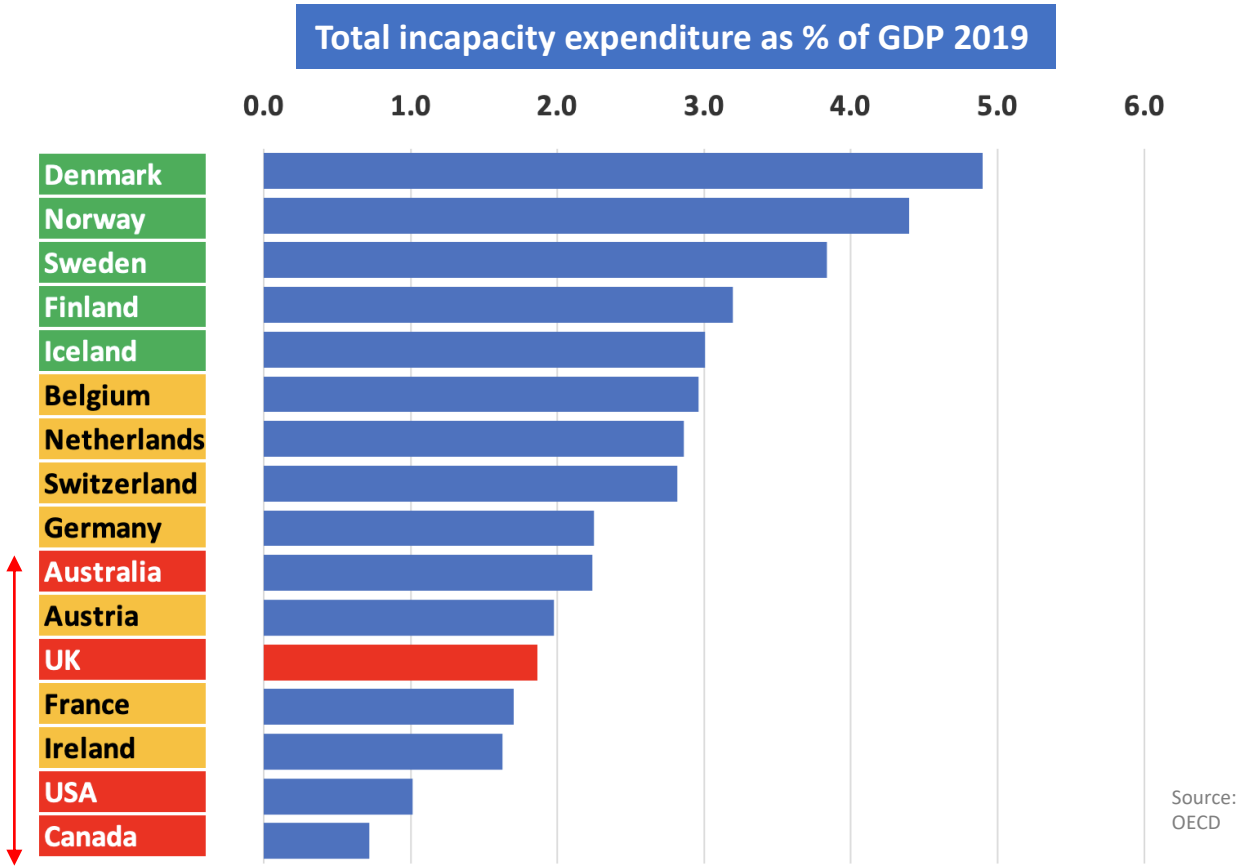
This indicator measures the proportion of previous in-work household income maintained after 2, 6, 12, 24 and 60 months of unemployment. Calculations refer to a single person without children whose previous in-work earnings were 67% of the average wage.



# Their support for incapacity is lower...

- Similar to unemployment, **Free-market Fanatics** aim to discourage incapacity benefit claims by paying much lower benefits than in other countries
- The **Nordic Nobles** take an entirely different view with the 5 highest ranking regimes as a percentage of GDP

**Key takeaway - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have made the UK the 3<sup>rd</sup> most difficult European country in which to access state support for incapacity reasons**



Source: OECD

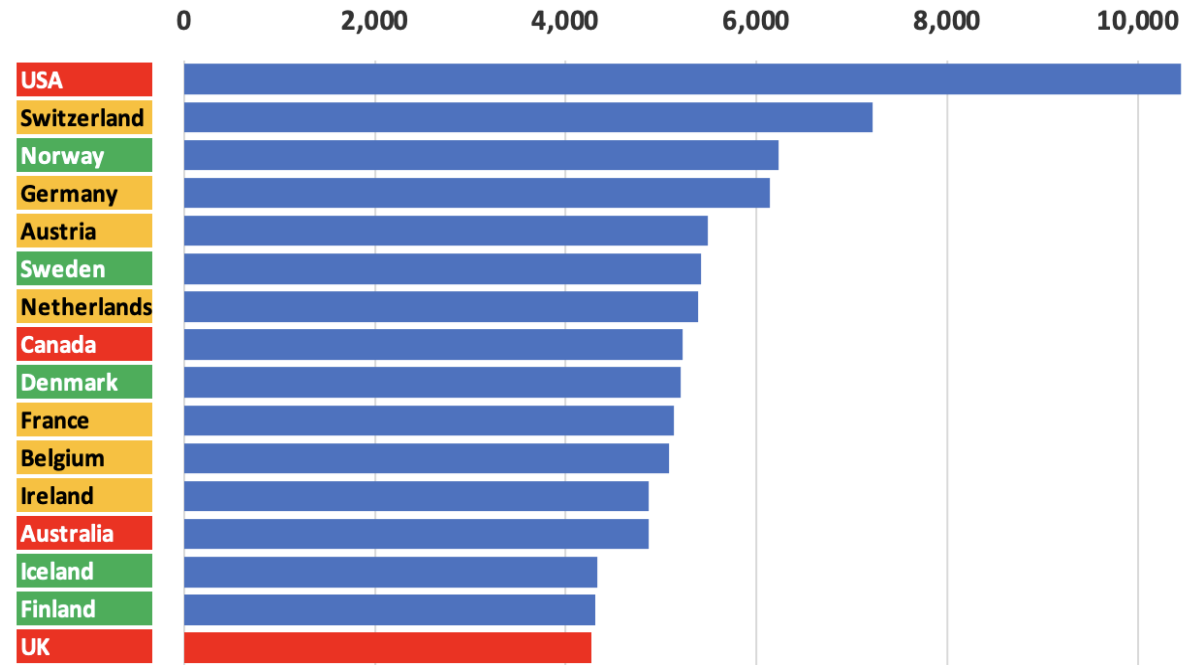
**Public spending on incapacity:** refers to spending due to sickness, disability and occupational injury. It includes disability cash benefits that are comprised of cash payments on account of complete or partial inability to participate gainfully in the labour market due to disability. It also includes spending on occupational injury and disease, which records all cash payments such as paid sick leave, special allowances and disability related payments such as pensions, if they are related to specific occupational injuries and diseases. Sickness cash benefits related to loss of earnings because of a temporary inability to work due to illness are also recorded. Social expenditure on services for the disabled people encompasses services such as day care and rehabilitation services, home-help services and other benefits in kind. This indicator is measured in percentage of GDP.





- The neoliberal Tory and Labour governments each pay lip service to our 'precious NHS' but when you see what other countries spend on Healthcare across Europe, it's hot air
- In 2019, Germany spent €2,000+ more per person on healthcare than the UK; that's 1.5 times as much per person

Healthcare spend per person (\$ bn) 2019



Source: OECD

**Key takeaway - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have resulted in the UK being bottom of the table for health spend across all Western peers**

**Health spending:** measures the final consumption of health care goods and services (i.e. current health expenditure) including personal health care (curative care, rehabilitative care, long-term care, ancillary services and medical goods) and collective services (prevention and public health services as well as health administration), but excluding spending on investments. Health care is financed through a mix of financing arrangements including government spending and compulsory health insurance ("Government/compulsory") as well as voluntary health insurance and private funds such as households' out-of-pocket payments, NGOs and private corporations ("Voluntary"). This indicator is presented as a total and by type of financing ("Government/compulsory", "Voluntary", "Out-of-pocket") and is measured as a share of GDP, as a share of total health spending and in USD per capita (using economy-wide PPPs).

*NB – the US has lost control of healthcare spending so while they spend more, their system is hugely inefficient; this is due to little investment in early prevention meaning higher instances of serious illness and therefore many more expensive interventions due to failed early detection.*



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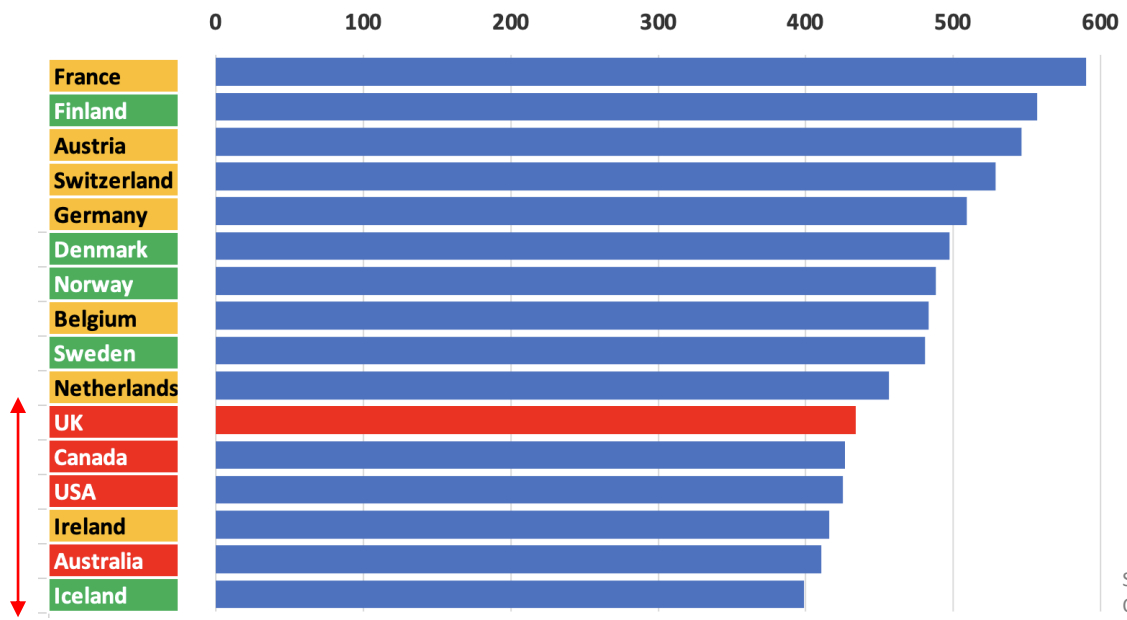
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- Dogmatic focus on the private rights of the 'individual', unwillingness to use or engage in state planning and blind faith in market forces has given **Free-market Fanatic** countries a major dearth of housing stock
- In the UK, successive neoliberal governments have failed to regulate 'land banking', even when one of the most prolific 'land bankers' is local government

Number of dwellings per 1,000 residents in 2020



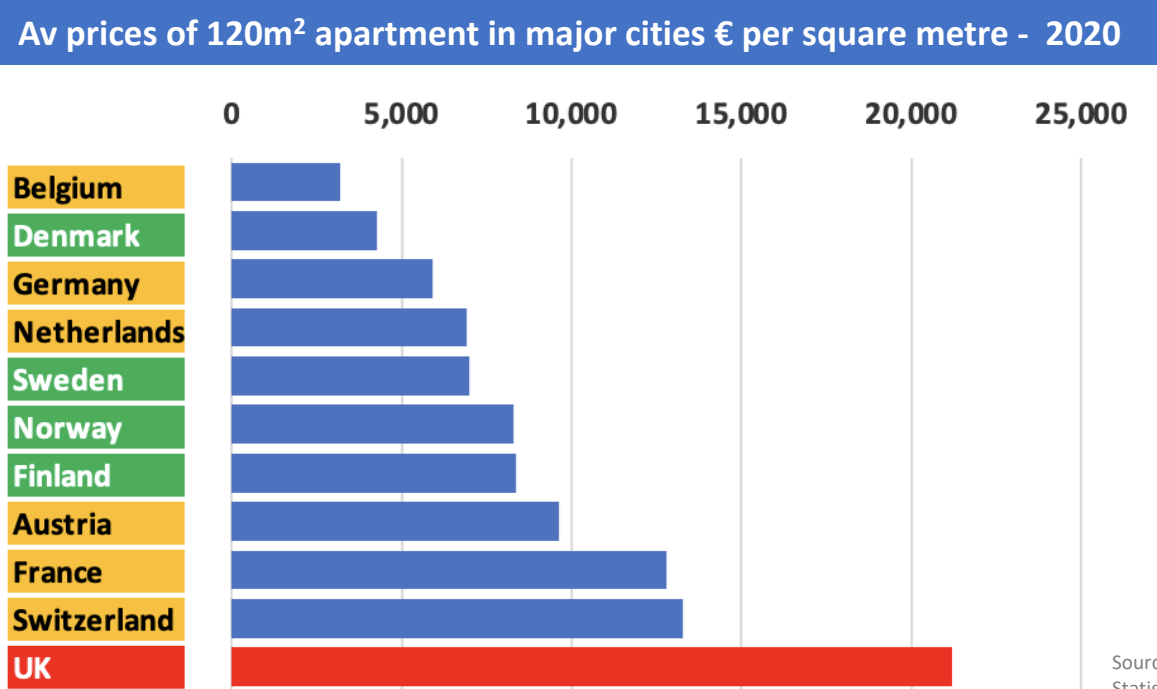
Source: OECD

**Key takeaway - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have resulted in the UK having the third worst housing shortage across European peers**



# As a result, UK housing prices have gone ‘through the roof’

- As usual, the UK is way out in front of other European countries, with the costs of a square metre in major city apartments around 3 times the average across the other European states
- It means finding stable / suitable homes in the UK is much more difficult than anywhere else in Europe



Source: Statistica.com

**Key takeaway - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have made the UK the most expensive place to buy a house across European peers**

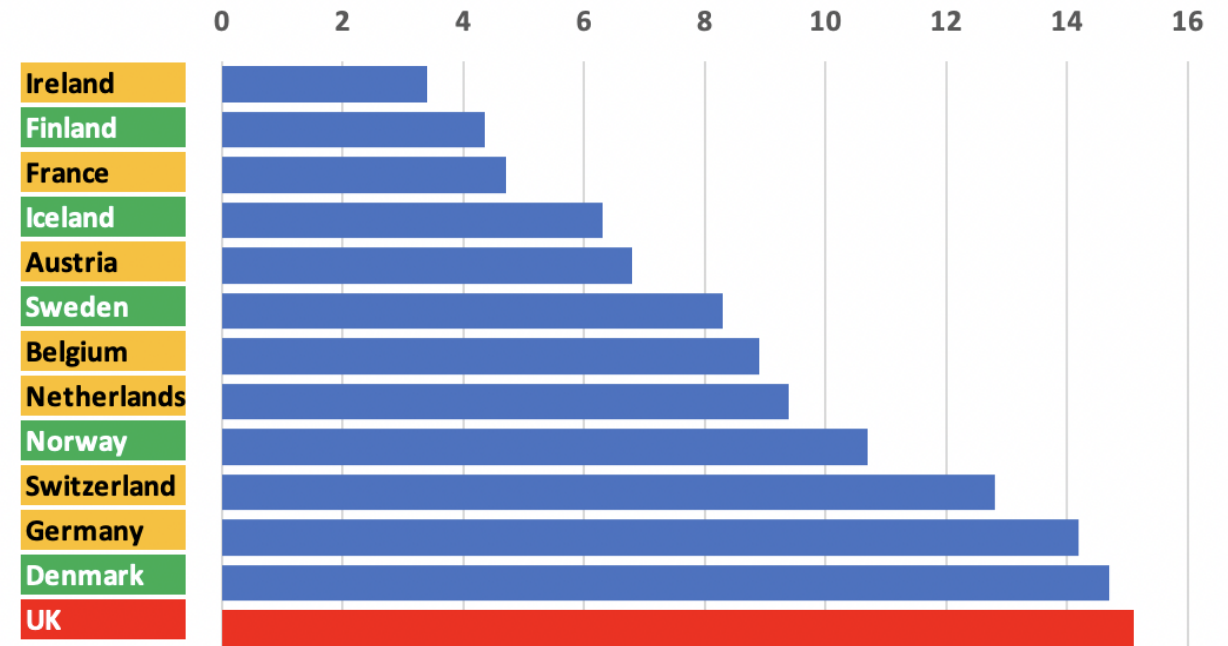
**Definition:** average prices of 120 square meter apartments located in the most important cities of 38 European countries. These cities could either be the administrative capital, the financial capital and/or the centre of the rental market. Newly-built and pre-sale property prices were not included. An apartment located in the United Kingdom's most important city would therefore cost approximately 21,179 euros per square metre. The source does not specify the cities and states that the numbers provided in this ranking have been taken from domestic web advertisements, and not from national statistical bureaux. This is because no European level body exists that collects and tracks house prices for the EU-27 or the European continent as a whole.



# And so more people spend more on housing...

- And so it follows that the cost of housing is a bigger burden in the UK than elsewhere in Europe
- Over 15% of UK residents spend in excess of 40% of their monthly income on housing costs
- As usual, the poor are paying for the failure (or in this case, the absence) of government policy to prevent unfair outcomes.

## % of households spending 40% or more of income on housing 2018



Source: Eurostat, housing cost overburden rate 2018

**Key takeaway** - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have resulted in more people than anywhere else in Europe spending upwards of 2/5 of their entire income on housing



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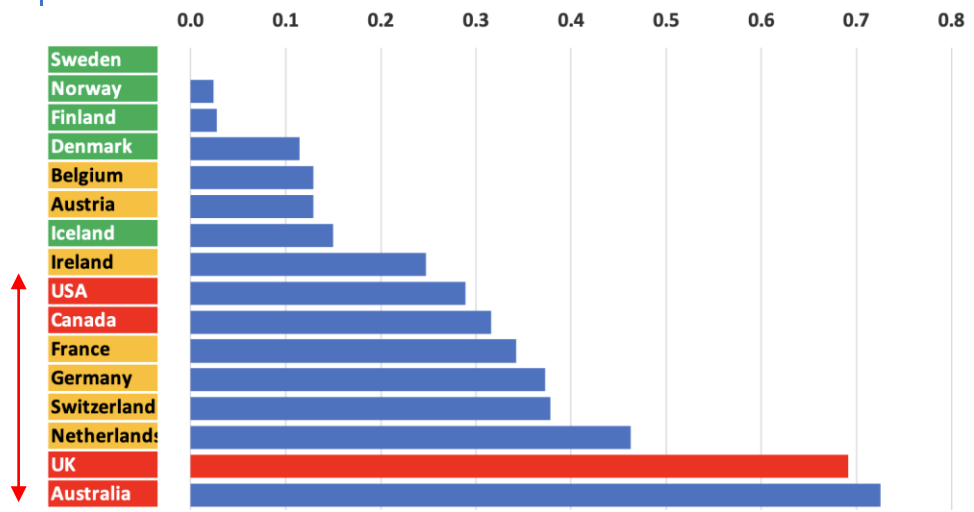
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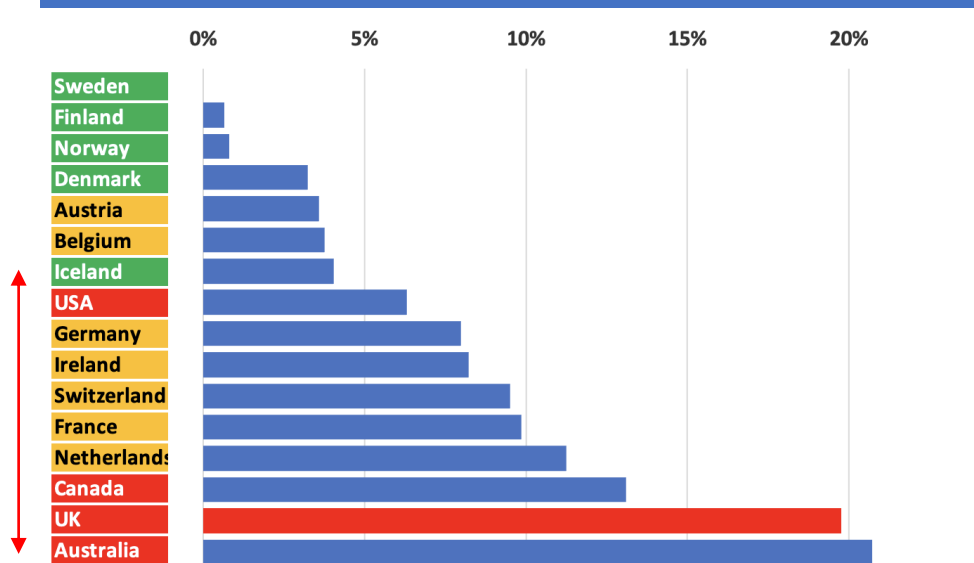
- Free-market Fanatics believe that parents should be able to choose their public or private school
- The true value in private schools is that it opens up 'networked' paths to opportunity and prosperity, but only for the privileged
- C. 20% of total UK education spend goes to private schools, fast-tracking privileged kids ahead of their poorer peers, compared to only 5% on average for private schooling across European peers

**Key takeaway** - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have normalised and embedded the privilege of private education into the fabric of UK society, well beyond the proportions of our European peers

Total private spend on schools as % of GDP 2018



Share of private expenditure as % of total school spend



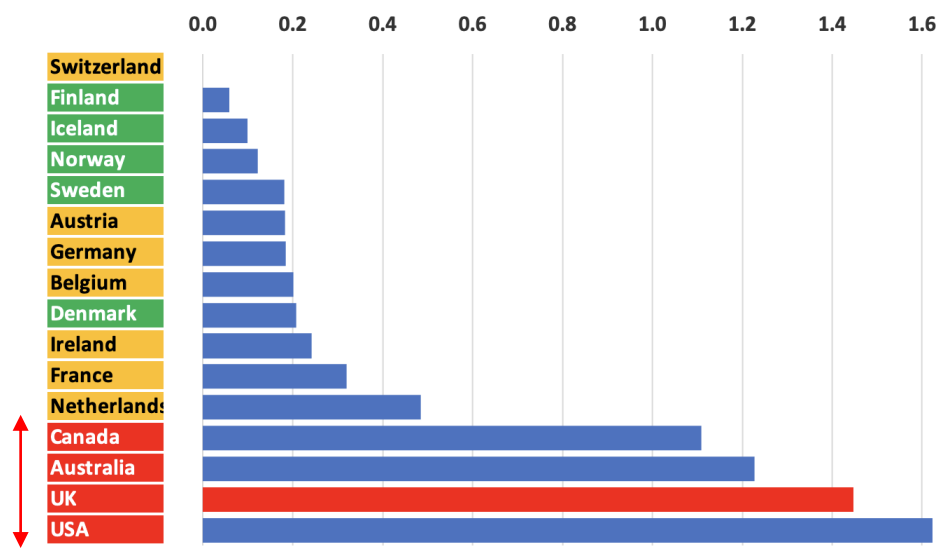
Source: OECD



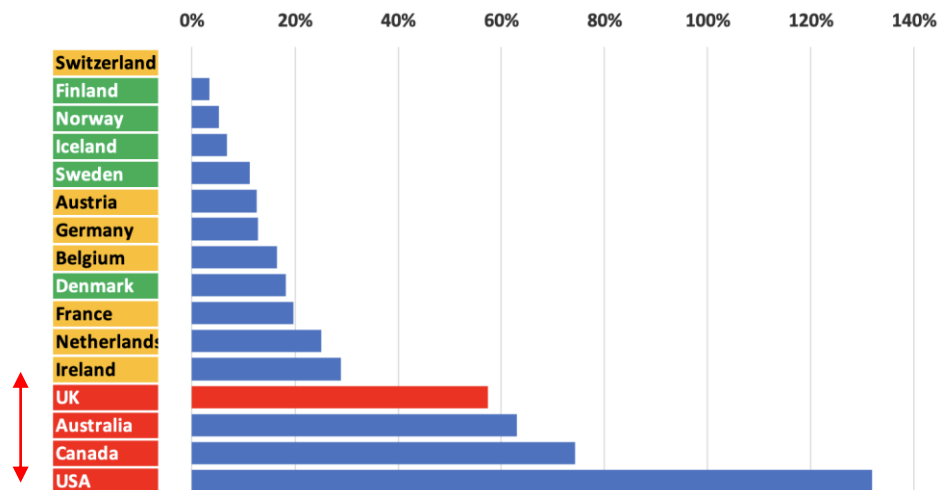
- Under graduate students in England must pay all their college / university fees
- This totals over 1.4% of total UK GDP with the European average (ex-UK) at 0.2%, 7 times less than the UK
- 4 out of every 5 euros spent on tertiary education amongst **Free-market Fanatic** countries comes from the student or his/her family
- On average across European countries (ex-UK), this is only 1 in 10 with the states covering 90% of all tertiary education expenditure

**Key takeaway - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have resulted in the UK providing the lowest level of state support for further education against European peers**

**Total private spend on tertiary educ % of GDP 2018**



**Private as a proportion of total tertiary spend (%) 2018**



Source: OECD







*So what?*

*They tell us inequality is normal, it fosters competition, it 'keeps us on our toes'*

*Is inequality that bad?*

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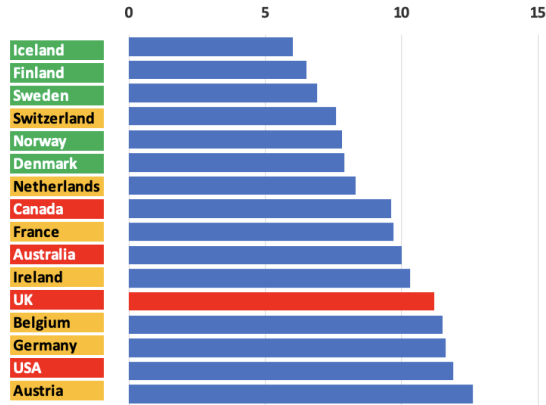
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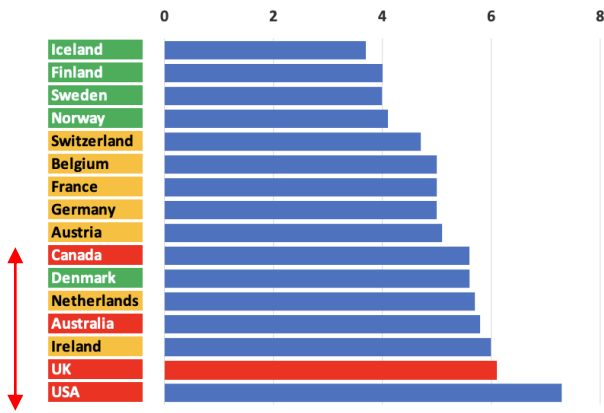
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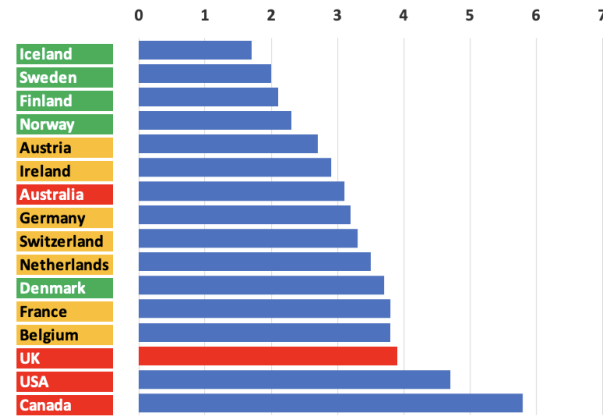
Deaths per 1000 babies - 1981



Deaths per 1000 babies - 1996



Deaths per 1000 babies - 2018



Source: OECD

- Before the **Free-market Fanatics** came to exist, **Nordic Nobles** were the leaders in preventing child mortality
- There was nothing to indicate a difference between **Mainland Moderates** and **Free-market Fanatics**

- By 1996, **Mainland Moderates** were becoming more effective at preventing child mortality than **Free-market Fanatics**
- In the UK, the 17 yrs of Thatcherism saw the UK drop from 5<sup>th</sup> bottom to second bottom

- By 2018, twice as many babies per 1000 die in the UK than in the 4 leading Nordic countries
- Only the even more **Fanatical Free-market** countries of North America have a poorer record than the UK...

**Key takeaways** - 40 years of neoliberal governments in the UK have made its child mortality rate the worst in Europe

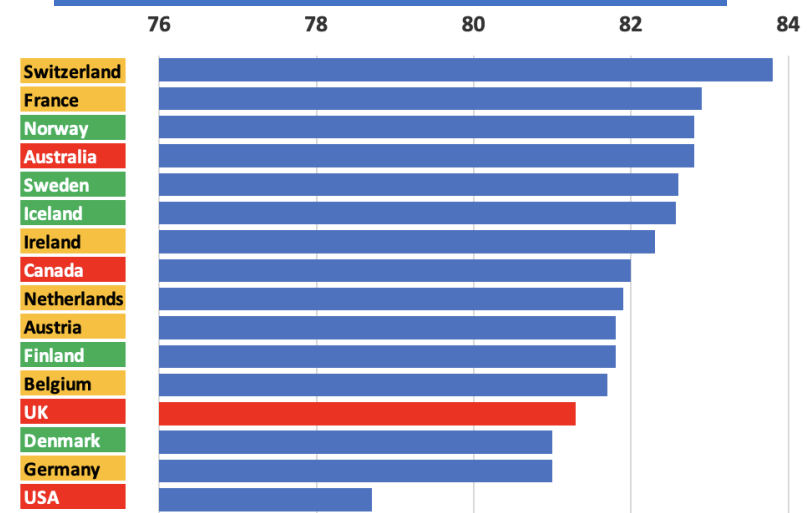


# UK & US life expectancy is bottom quartile across peers...

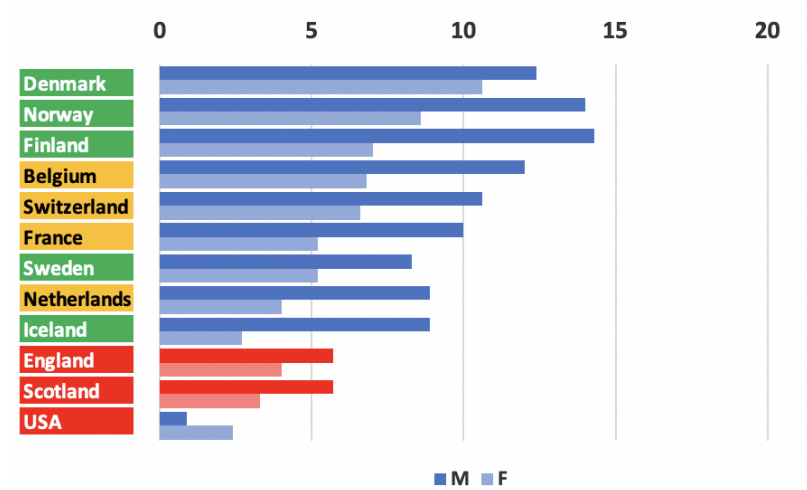
- UK ranks 4<sup>th</sup> bottom for overall life expectancy (men and women)
- The most unequal country, the USA, is again at the bottom with a markedly lower life expectancy on average than peer states
- Over the previous decade, the UK and US have shown far lower improvement rates in life expectancy than their closest European peers
- Again the failures of neoliberal policies are at work; lower levels of health spend, poorer levels of education and general poorer qualities of life for the poor

**Key takeaway - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have given the UK amongst the poorest life expectancy rates across Western peers**

Life expectancy from birth 2018



Change in life expectancy 2011 - 2018 in no. weeks



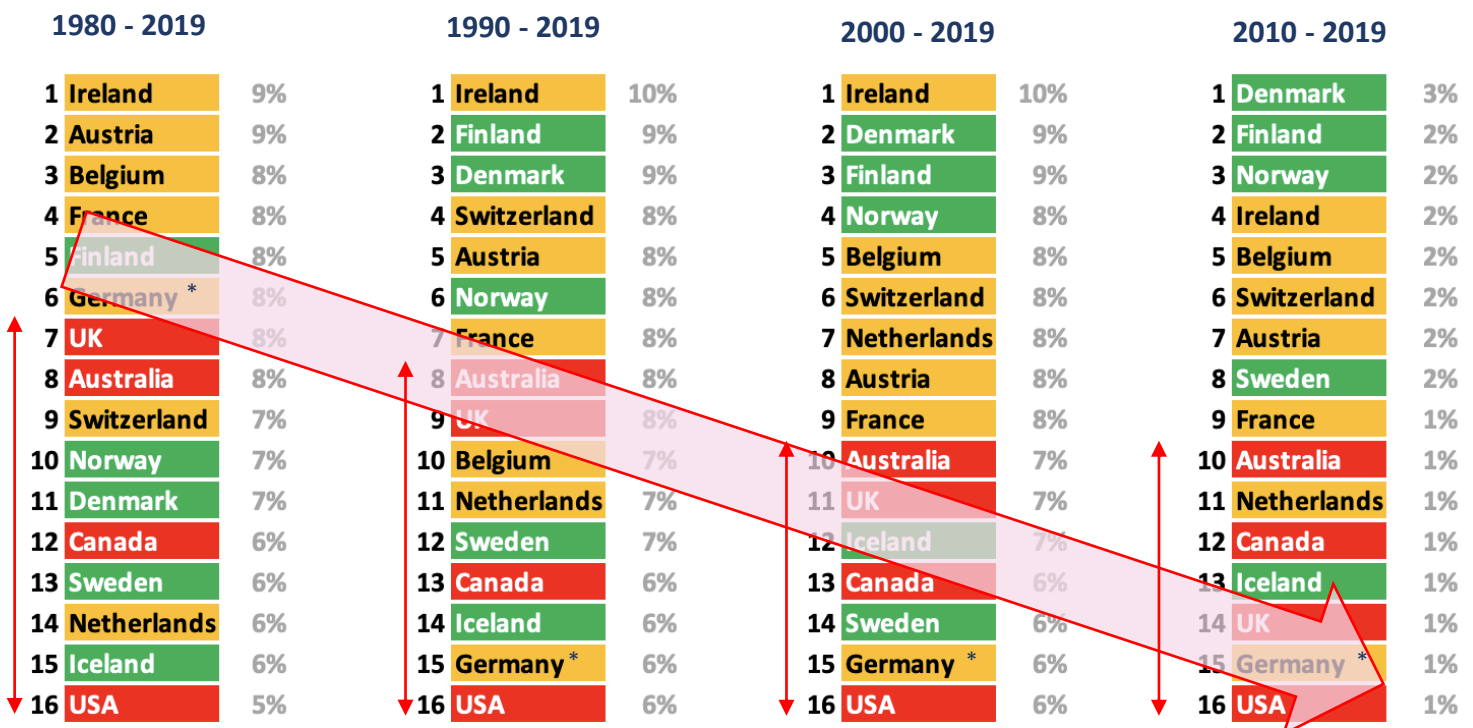
Source: OECD

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- Starting in 1980 when the **Free-market Fanatics** took control, life expectancy improvement rankings are spread fairly evenly across the three models
- But as neoliberal policies start to impact, the **Free-market Fanatic** states gravitate down the ranking tables
- And the equal societies of the **Nordic Nobles** edge up to the top

## Life Expectancy Improvement rates – 40 yrs into the neoliberal revolution 2018



Source: OECD

**Key Takeaway - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have given the UK the poorest life expectancy improvement rates of any European state**



The rankings take the average increase in life expectancy for both genders between the years indicated; the 1<sup>st</sup> column takes the average between 1980 and 2019, the second between 1990 and 2019 and so on. The rate of increase is falling over time over all countries but those at the top are those with the highest relative increases and those at the bottom the lowest.

\* Germany's rate is the worst since they absorbed East Germany in 1989 which had far poorer health conditions than the West up to that point. But it's fairly safe to bet that the West bit is comfortably ahead of the UK!!



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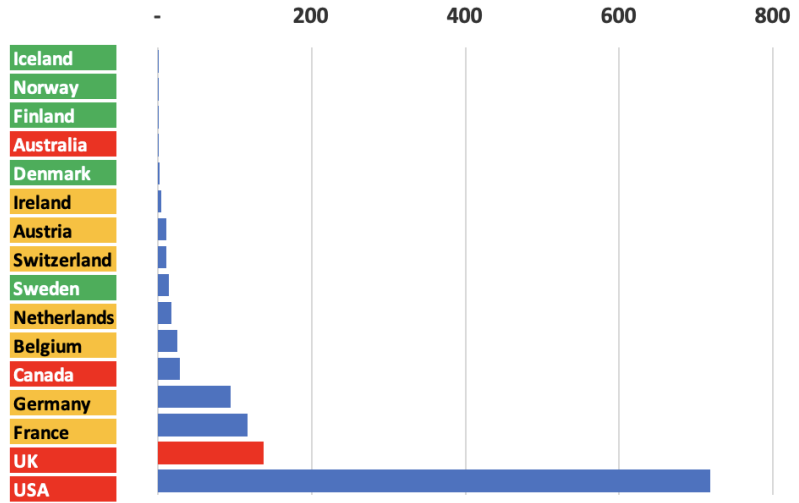
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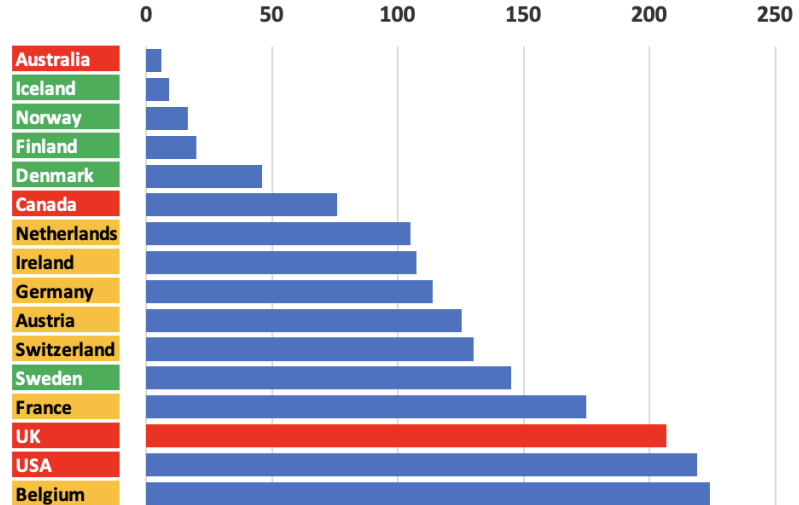
- The UK has suffered the second highest COVID death rate amongst sample countries
- Over 1.3m more deaths than in France (same population) and over 2m more deaths than Germany (that has 30m more people than the UK)
- When adjusted for population size, the UK is the third worst country for total deaths per capita

**Key takeaway** - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments reducing, selling and diminishing the apparatus of the state have made it much harder to handle and organise collective action to tackle national emergencies such as pandemics (much like our bigger **Free-market Fanatic** peer the US)

Total Covid deaths to end Sept 2021 (thousands)



Covid deaths per 100k people – Sept 2021



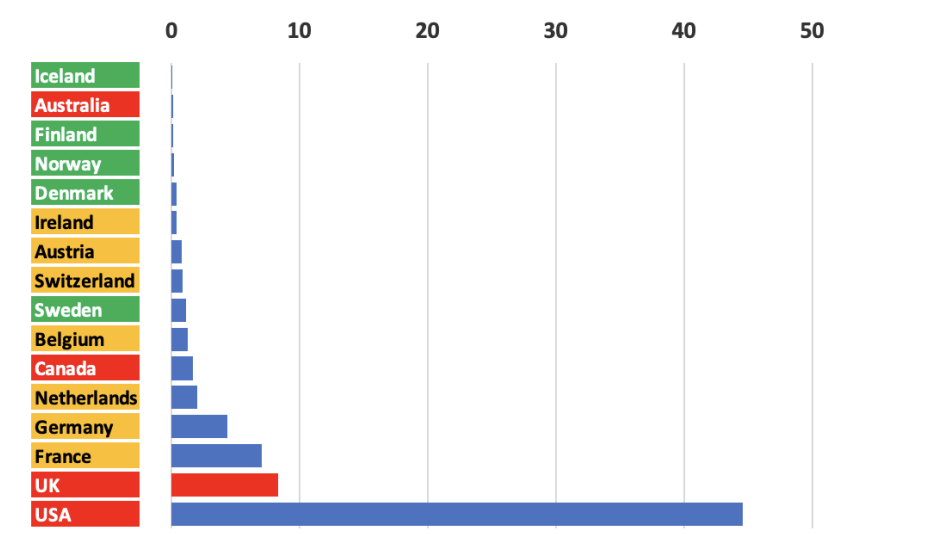
Source: BBC



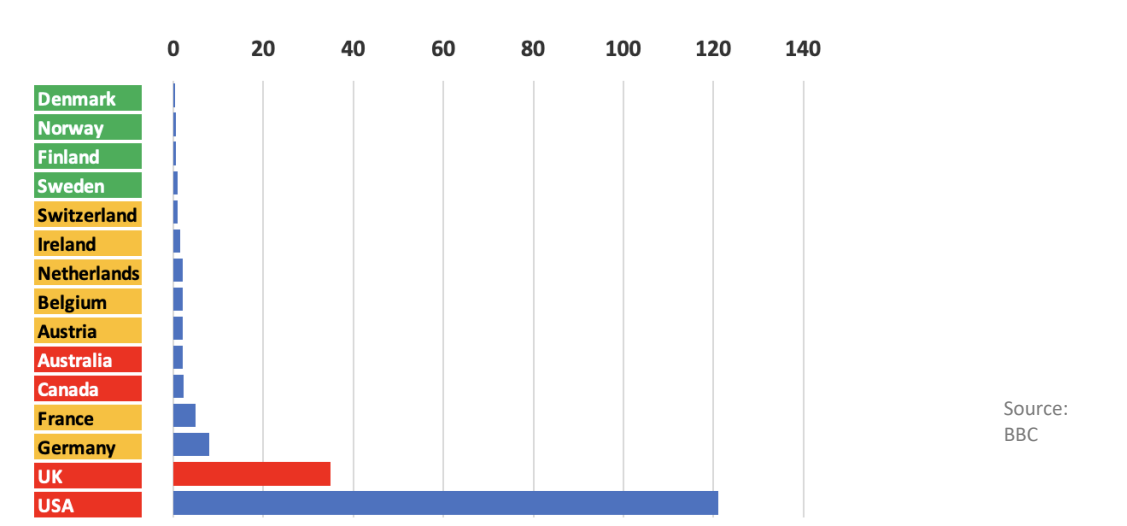
- Similar to death rates, the UK seems to have a disproportionate amount of COVID cases, despite the UK govt's trumpeting of its early Vaccine success
- Even more staggering is the ongoing instance of infection rates, where the UK is currently experiencing c. 35k new cases every 7 days, versus an average of nearer 2k in all other European countries
- The **Free-market Fanatics** have manufactured part of this, pandering to and encouraging the selfishness of 'civil liberties' and the rights of 'anti-vaxers'

**Key takeaway** - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments have encouraged disdain and suspicion of any collective action even if for the greater good of society

### Total Covid cases to end Sept 2021 (millions)



### Rolling 7 day infection rate to end Sept 2021 (millions)



Source: BBC





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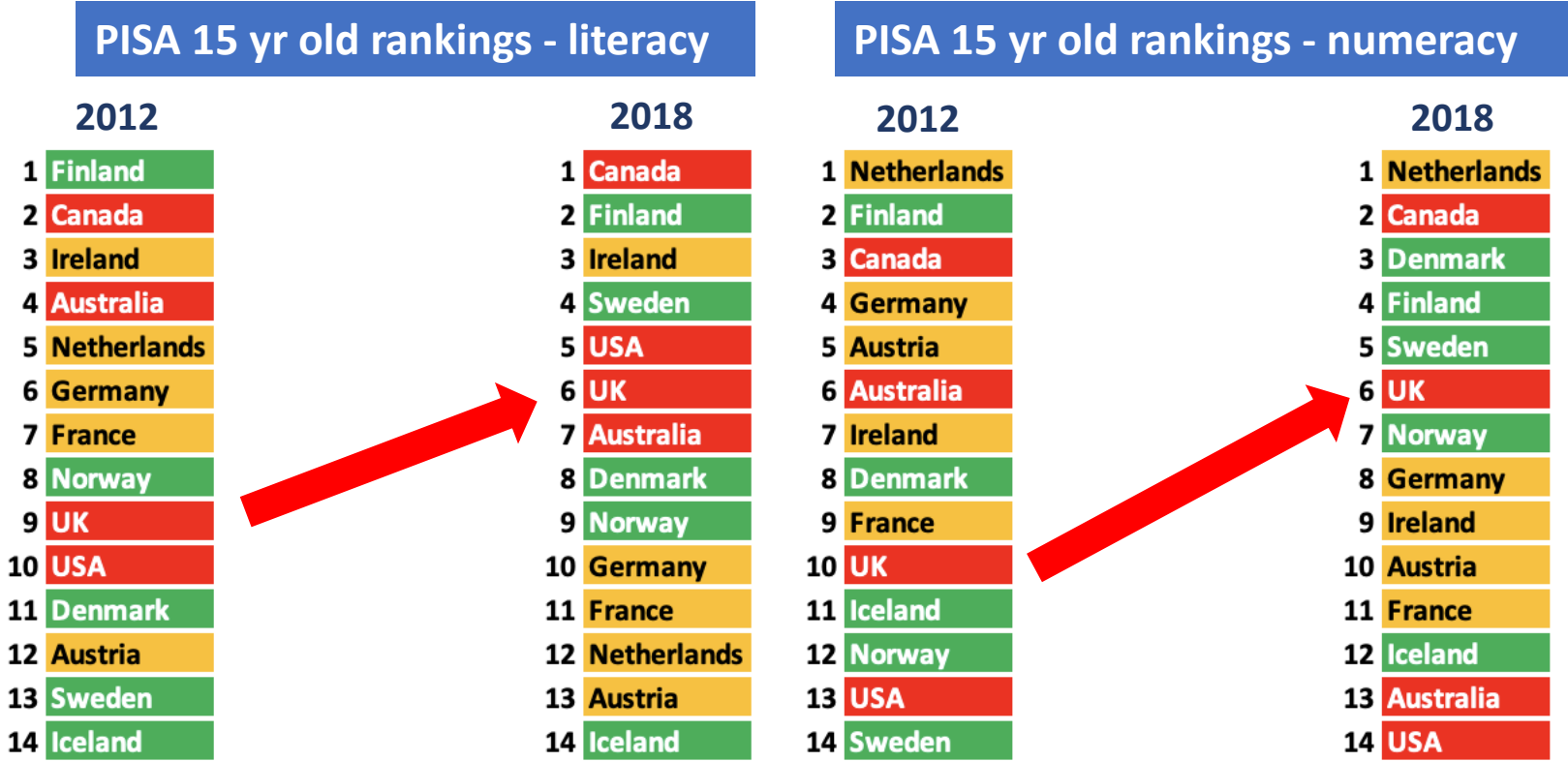
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IX. Conclusion



# Finally some success; improved rankings in the PISA tables

- Since 2012, the UK (England) has moved up in the PISA rankings for both literacy and numeracy
- The UK, along with other **Free-market Fanatic** states, has achieved this improvement through focusing much more rigorously on knowledge and memorisation



Source: OECD

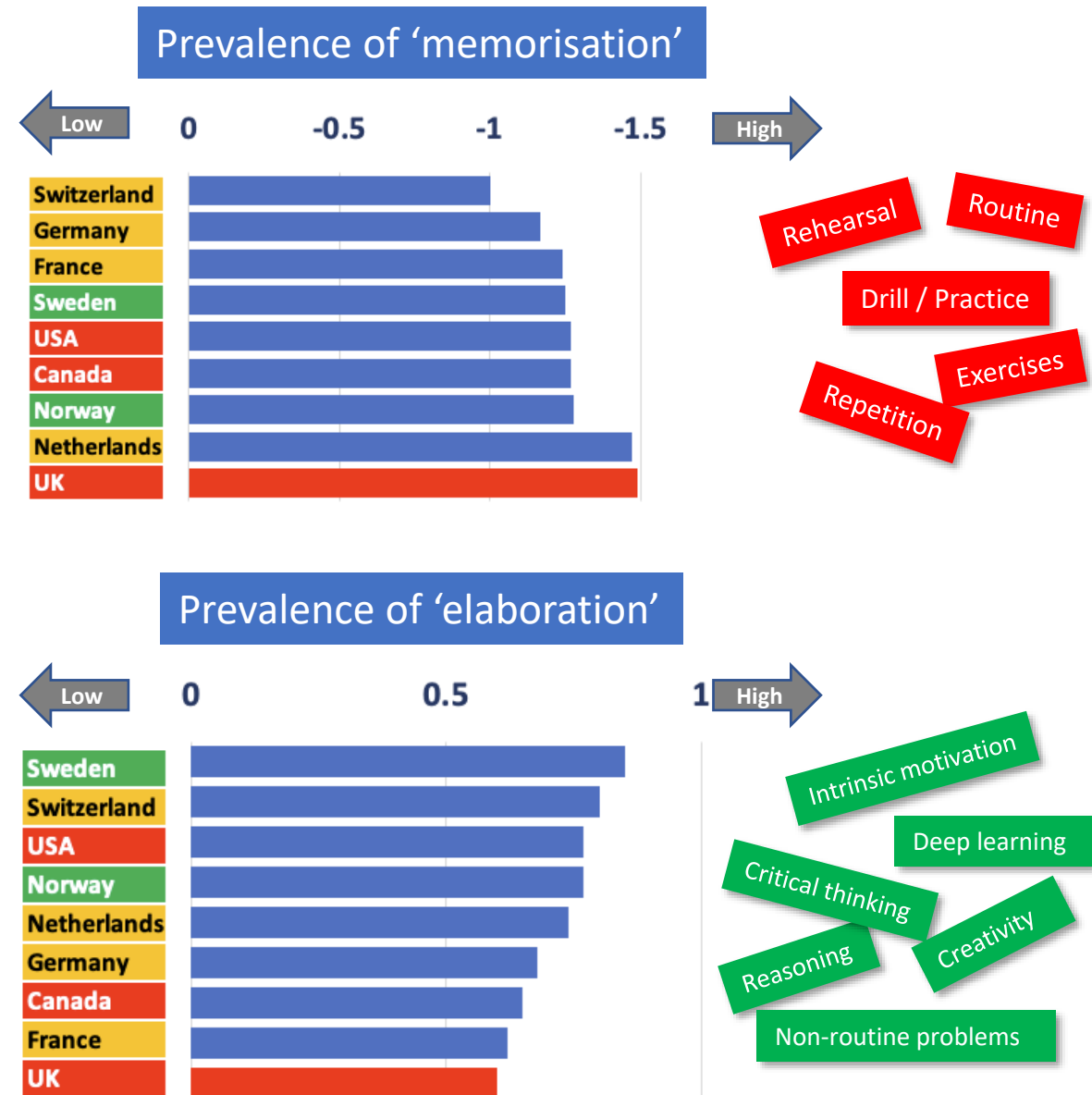
PISA is an international assessment that measures 15-year-old students' reading, mathematics, and science literacy every three years. See slide 55 for more detail

**Key Takeaway - 40 years of neoliberal UK governments appear finally to be improving education standards in schools but UK still remains mid table v peers**



- UK tops league table of 'low value rote learning' according to OECD and is bottom for modern 'creative' learning (student agency); PISA are very critical of UK's approach
- In 2022, the IFS also criticized the UK govt (Gove) for forcing schools towards rote learning with the main aim of improving measurability noting that this crowds out the less measurable but recommended creative approaches
- Dorling argues that when countries become unequal, exams matter to everyone much more; need to get to 'best' schools since difference in pay levels becomes so much greater

Key takeaways – 40 years of neoliberal UK governments has allowed its obsession with marketising to focus on memory not creativity, against OECD recommended best practice



# Evidence implies that UK pupils good at ‘tests’ but not at ‘learning’

- Comparing the 2012 PISA rankings (1<sup>st</sup> column) with the 2012 PIAAC rankings (2<sup>nd</sup> column) which covers 1,500 16-24 year old adults across the world, the data supports the conclusions
- UK 15 yr olds appear to be passing exams on a par with Western peers, but young adults score far less favourably

PISA Literacy rankings 2012

Age 15
1 Finland
2 Canada
3 Ireland
4 Australia
5 Netherlands
6 Germany
7 France
8 Norway
9 UK
10 USA
11 Denmark
12 Austria
13 Sweden

PIAAC Literacy rankings 2012

Ages 16-24
1 Finland
2 Netherlands
3 Australia
4 Sweden
5 Germany
6 Austria
7 Denmark
8 Canada
9 Norway
10 France
11 USA
12 Ireland
13 UK

PISA Numeracy rankings 2012

Age 15
1 Netherlands
2 Finland
3 Canada
4 Germany
5 Austria
6 Australia
7 Ireland
8 Denmark
9 France
10 UK
11 Norway
12 USA
13 Sweden

PIAAC Numeracy rankings 2012

Ages 16-24
1 Netherlands
2 Finland
3 Austria
4 Sweden
5 Germany
6 Denmark
7 Norway
8 Australia
9 Canada
10 France
11 Ireland
12 UK
13 USA

The Program for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), is a large-scale international study of key cognitive and workplace skills of adults aged between 16–65 in each participating country. It is designed to assess and compare adults’ skills in participating countries over a broad range of abilities, from reading simple passages to complex problem-solving skills (see slide 56 for more detail).

Source: OECD

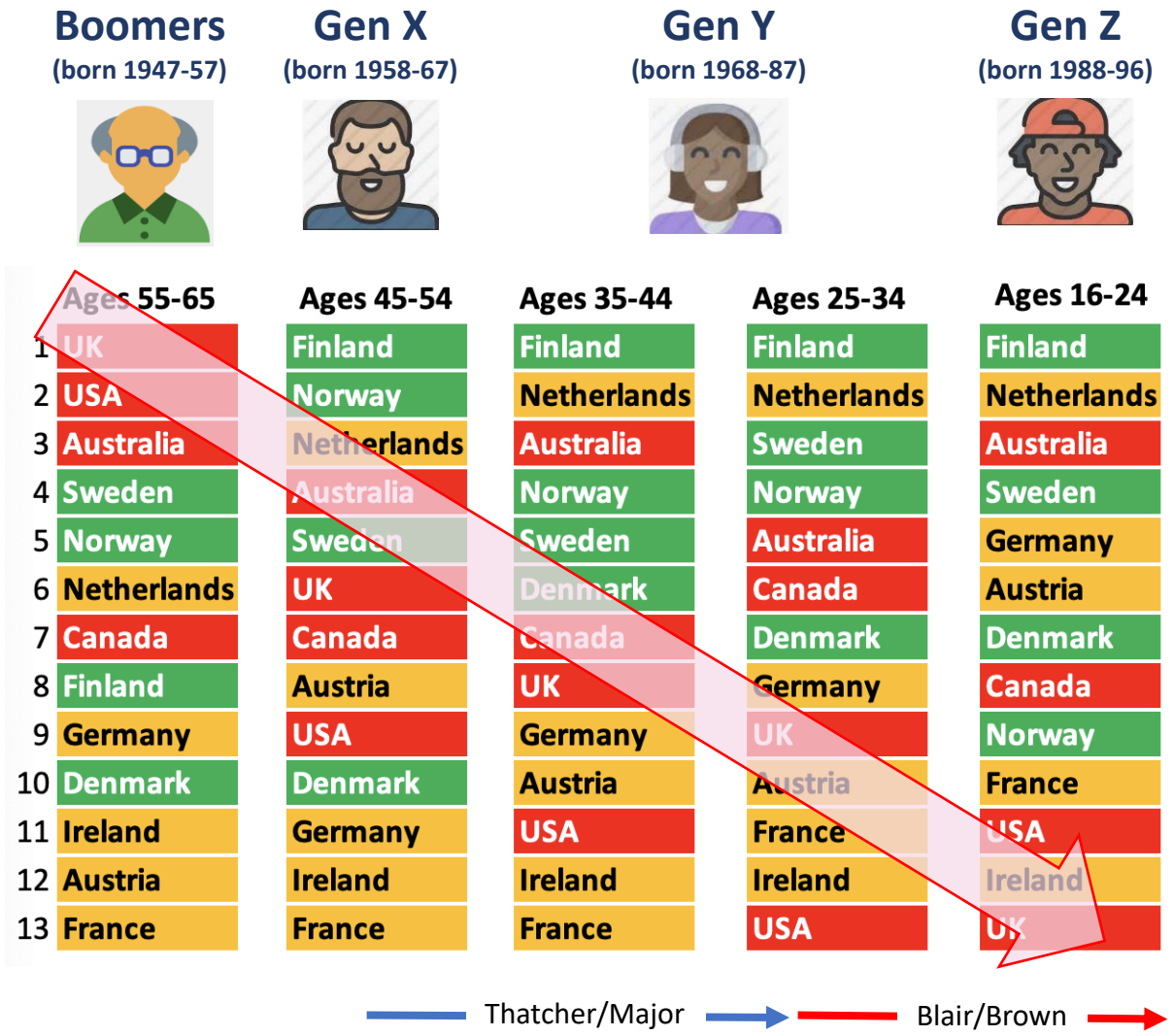
**Key takeaways – 40 years of neoliberal UK governments has taught UK children how to pass exams but not how to learn**



**Adult Literacy 2012**

- Since 1980, UK, US, Canada and Australia have seen income inequality rising markedly over the 40 year period
- Each has a significantly larger private school sector with school competition and frequent testing at the heart of the system
- Particularly in the UK and the US, the two most unequal countries, there is clear evidence of intergenerational decline in learning standards for literacy, as ranked v other Western peers

**Key takeaways** – 40 years of neoliberal UK governments and its obsession with measurable testing rather than fundamental learning, has taken its toll on UK adults in later life



Source: OECD

The table above ranks the countries by aggregate PIAAC scores with the highest rank achieving the best aggregate literacy scores and the bottom the poorest. The tests group participants into age groups, e.g. people who are between 55 and 65 today were at school in the 1970s, before the neoliberal revolution in 1980.

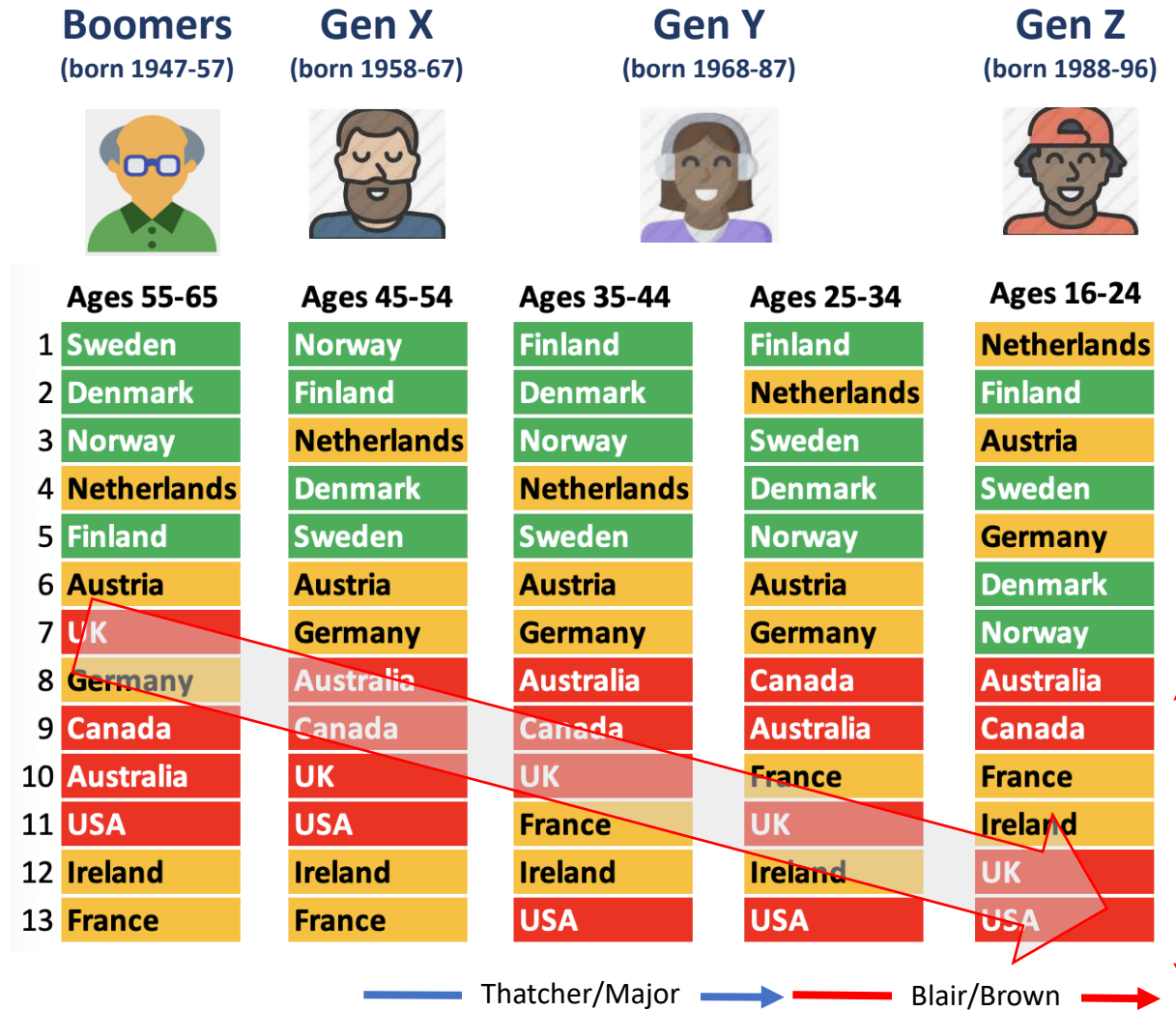
NB – sample size 13 since no data available for Belgium, Switzerland or Iceland.



## Adult Numeracy 2012

- Starting from a lower base, the same trends can be seen in numeracy rankings over the review period
- The decline the UK has seen over the period is consistently downwards, moving from 7<sup>th</sup> rank to 12<sup>th</sup>
- Feels like more than a coincidence...

**Key takeaways** – 40 years of neoliberal UK governments and its obsession with measurable testing rather than fundamental learning, has taken its toll on UK adults in later life



Source: OECD

The table above ranks the countries by aggregate PIAAC scores with the highest rank achieving the best aggregate literacy scores and the bottom the poorest. The tests group participants into age groups, e.g. people who are between 55 and 65 today were at school in the 1970s, before the neoliberal revolution in 1980.

NB – sample size 13 since no data available for Belgium, Switzerland or Iceland.



# The staggering truth about the UK's inequality

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I. Why inequality matters

II. Share of income earned by top 1%

III. Welfare equality drivers

IV. Property and Housing

V. Schools and universities

VI. Inequality and its impacts on Births and Deaths

VII. Inequality and the Covid experience

VIII. Impact of inequality on education

**IX. Conclusion**





## Equality rankings

indicators		drivers							Health				Education			
income equality (gini)	poverty gap	pensions levels	unemployment benefits	childcare costs	post family work re-engage incentive	incapacity benefits	healthcare spend	housing availability	Life expectancy from birth	40 yr life exp increase	Child mortality rate	COVID deaths / population	Literacy		Numeracy	
													Age 15 PISA (2018)	Age 16 - 24 PIAAC (2012)	Age 15 PISA (2018)	Age 16 - 24 PIAAC (2012)
1	Iceland	Austria	Finland	Germany	Sweden	Denmark	Switzerland	Austria	Switzerland	Denmark	Iceland	Australia	Canada	Finland	Netherlands	Netherlands
2	Belgium	Netherlands	Belgium	Austria	Norway	Norway	Norway	Switzerland	France	Finland	Sweden	Iceland	Finland	Netherlands	Switzerland	Finland
3	Norway	France	France	Canada	Netherlands	Sweden	Germany	Finland	Norway	Norway	Finland	Norway	Ireland	Australia	Canada	Austria
4	Denmark	Denmark	Netherlands	Sweden	Austria	Finland	Austria	France	Australia	Ireland	Norway	Finland	Sweden	Sweden	Denmark	Sweden
5	Finland	Iceland	Austria	Iceland	Germany	Iceland	Sweden	Germany	Sweden	Belgium	Austria	Denmark	USA	Germany	Belgium	Germany
6	Austria	Belgium	Ireland	Norway	Finland	Belgium	Netherlands	Denmark	Iceland	Switzerland	Ireland	Canada	UK	Austria	Finland	Denmark
7	Sweden	Finland	Germany	Belgium	Iceland	Netherlands	Canada	Sweden	Ireland	Austria	Australia	Netherlands	Australia	Denmark	Sweden	Norway
8	Netherlands	Sweden	Switzerland	France	Switzerland	Switzerland	Denmark	Norway	Canada	Sweden	Germany	Ireland	Denmark	Canada	UK	Australia
9	Germany	Germany	Australia	Denmark	Belgium	Germany	France	Netherlands	Netherlands	France	Switzerland	Germany	Norway	Norway	Norway	Canada
10	Ireland	Norway	Canada	Netherlands	France	Australia	Belgium	Belgium	Austria	Australia	Netherlands	Austria	Germany	France	Germany	France
11	Switzerland	Canada	Norway	Finland	Ireland	Austria	Ireland	Ireland	Finland	Netherlands	Denmark	Switzerland	France	USA	Ireland	Ireland
12	France	USA	Iceland	Ireland	USA	UK	Australia	UK	Belgium	Canada	France	Sweden	Belgium	Ireland	Austria	UK
13	Canada	Switzerland	Sweden	Australia	Australia	France	Iceland	USA	UK	Iceland	Belgium	France	Netherlands	UK	France	USA
14	Australia	Australia	UK	Switzerland	UK	Ireland	Finland	Canada	Denmark	UK	UK	UK	Austria		Iceland	
15	UK	Ireland	USA	USA	Denmark	USA	UK	Iceland	Germany	Germany	USA	USA	Switzerland		Australia	
16	USA	UK		UK	Canada	Canada		Australia	USA	USA	Canada	Belgium	Iceland		USA	



- Free-market Fanatics comprehensively underperformed across the majority of equality indicators, drivers and outcomes
- The UK in the bottom 5 of every single ranking except PISA and is the lowest ranking European country in 9/17 metrics

**Key takeaway - 40 years of neoliberal UK govts has made the UK's quality of life the poorest amongst European peers**





- **Overwhelming evidence that the UK's 40 year neoliberal experiment has been disastrous** - today the UK is one of the poorest, most unhappy and unequal countries in Europe, other **Free-market Fanatic** states, that have followed similar radical neoliberal agendas, have suffered similar fates
- **Free-market Fanatics instinct to keep welfare spending low has contributed to higher inequality** – states with lower levels of spending on health, unemployment benefit, child benefits, incapacity, public education also have poorer life expectancy, child mortality and each suffered higher COVID deaths and more chaos over the pandemic
- **Free-market Fanatic 'radical' conviction around 'market efficiency' has contributed to higher inequality** – two tier education systems that benefit only the wealthy, house prices out of control benefitting only the wealthy or those with property, marketisation of the drugs market in the US, insufficient regulation of childcare costs punishing poor families and preventing woman in particular from working
- **Free-market Fanatic obsession with testing in schools has contributed to higher inequality** – the data leads to the conclusion that competition between schools drives the wrong priorities – perceived success of schools over successful learning for students; but where inequality is more acute, measuring and testing becomes important to parents too, anxious to gate / fast-track their children to the better paying jobs...

**Key takeaway** – the radical neoliberal model of the **Free-market Fanatics** is failing on all fronts



# Appendix

## **PISA - The Program for International Student Assessment (PISA)**

PISA is an international assessment that measures 15-year-old students' reading, mathematics, and science literacy every three years. First conducted in 2000, the major domain of study rotates between reading, mathematics, and science in each cycle. PISA also includes measures of general or cross-curricular competencies, such as collaborative problem solving. By design, PISA emphasizes functional skills that students have acquired as they near the end of compulsory schooling. PISA is coordinated by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), an intergovernmental organization of industrialized countries, and is conducted in the United States by NCES. Data collection for the most recent assessment was completed in Fall 2018.

PISA 2018 assessed students' science, reading, and mathematics literacy in about 80 countries and education systems. Reading was the focal subject of the 2018 data collection, as it was in 2009. PISA 2018 also included the optional assessment of financial literacy which the United States administered.

The process of testing involves a two-stage sampling procedure. Firstly, representative sample of at least 150 schools is selected, taking into account factors such as location (state or province; but also whether the school is located in a rural area, town or city) and level of education. Then, in the second stage, roughly 42 15-year-old students were randomly selected from each school to sit the assessment. Most countries assessed between 4 000 and 8 000 students. Students selected to sit the PISA assessment received sampling weights so as to represent the entire PISA-eligible cohort.



## PIAAC - The Program for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC)

The Program for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), also known as the Survey of Adult Skills, is a large-scale international study of key cognitive and workplace skills of around 5000 adults aged between 16–65 in each participating country. It is designed to assess and compare adults' skills in participating countries over a broad range of abilities, from reading simple passages to complex problem-solving skills, and to collect information on an individual's skill use and background. The assessment focuses on the basic cognitive and workplace skills needed for individuals to participate in society and for economies to prosper. Data from PIAAC is meant to help countries better understand their education and training systems and the distribution of these basic skills across the adult working-age population.

Developed by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), PIAAC is intended to be administered at least once a decade. PIAAC was first conducted in 2011 and the same survey instruments were administered twice more through 2017. In total, 39 countries participated in PIAAC in Cycle I (2011-17). Cycle II of PIAAC, with revised survey instruments, will begin in 2022, with 33 countries scheduled to participate in the first round of administration.

PIAAC has been administered in countries with diverse populations, cultures, education systems, and life experiences, and it is conducted in the language or languages of the country administering it. It is the first large-scale international assessment to be administered on laptop computers to respondents in their homes, with a paper-and-pencil version for those who cannot take the assessment on a computer. The study consists of both a background questionnaire and an assessment in literacy, numeracy, and digital problem solving.

PIAAC's background questionnaires includes questions about the respondent's demographic information, education and training, employment, and skills used at home and at work. The background portion of the survey is conducted by an interviewer, typically in the respondent's home.

Immediately after completing the background questionnaire, the respondent is asked to complete the assessment using the interviewer's laptop computer/tablet or a paper-and-pencil test. PIAAC is the first adult skills assessment to be adaptive: participants taking the computer-based assessment are presented a series of test questions ("items") targeted to their performance level, based on their success answering earlier questions. PIAAC is also the first adult skills assessment to measure adults' digital problem-solving skills in an online environment (e.g., e-mail, web pages, and spreadsheets).



## TALIS - The Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS)

TALIS is the first international survey that provides a voice to teachers and school principals, who complete questionnaires about issues such as the professional development they have received; their teaching beliefs and practices; the assessment of their work and the feedback and recognition they receive; and various other school leadership, management and workplace issues. TALIS relies on teachers' and school leaders' expertise as professionals to describe their work situation as accurately as possible, as well as their experiences in and feelings about their schools and working conditions. It is not an assessment, but a self-reported survey.

TALIS is the outcome of a collaboration between its participating countries and economies, the OECD, an international consortium, Education International (representing teacher unions) and the European Commission. It also benefits from the input of other social partners, such as UNESCO. TALIS is a periodic survey: after its first three successful cycles in 2008, 2013 and 2018, the fourth cycle of the TALIS will take place in 2024.

### Topics covered by TALIS

TALIS aims to contribute to the debate about teaching as a profession. In its latest cycle in 2018, nine main themes were selected for inclusion in the TALIS survey: teachers' instructional practices, school leadership, teachers' professional practices, teacher education and initial preparation, teacher feedback and development, school climate, job satisfaction, teacher human resource issues and stakeholder relations, and teacher self-efficacy. Two cross-cutting themes were added to this list: innovation, and equity and diversity. More information on the conceptualisation of the eleven themes can be found in the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) 2018 Conceptual Framework. Volume I of the TALIS 2018 results, Teacher and School Leaders as Lifelong Learners, are related to the knowledge and skills dimension of teachers' and school leaders' work. It looks at how teachers apply their knowledge and skills in the classroom in the form of teaching practices, the demographic makeup of classrooms shaped by student diversity and the demographic and experience profiles of teachers and school principals. It also looks at the initial training provided to teachers and school leaders, as well as the activities they undertake for continuous professional development. Volume II of the TALIS 2018 results, Teachers and School Leaders as Value Professionals, focused on prestige and job satisfaction, career opportunities, collaborative culture, and professional responsibility and autonomy.

### Participating Countries

The first cycle of TALIS was conducted in 2008 in 24 countries. The second cycle, TALIS 2013 – included 38 participants (34 participants in 2013 and 4 additional participants in 2014 and 2015). The latest cycle of the study, TALIS 2018 has expanded to include additional countries, bringing the total number of participants to 48 countries and economies. TALIS 2018 was answered by over 260 000 teachers and 15 000 school leaders from lower secondary, primary and upper secondary education levels.

In 2018, the main survey (ISCED level 2) was conducted in 31 OECD countries and economies – Alberta (Canada), Australia, Austria, Belgium (the Flemish Community of Belgium also participated as a sub-national entity of Belgium), Chile, Colombia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, England (United Kingdom), Estonia, Finland, France, Hungary, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey and the United States. Non-OECD member countries who participated in TALIS 2018 are – Brazil, Bulgaria, Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires (Argentina), Croatia, Cyprus,[1],[2],[3] Georgia, Kazakhstan, Malta, Romania, the Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Shanghai (China), Singapore, South Africa, Chinese Taipei,[3] the United Arab Emirates and Vietnam.

Additionally, in 2018, 15 countries and economies surveyed teachers and school leaders in their primary (ISCED level 1) schools, 11 did so in their upper secondary (ISCED level 3) schools and 9 countries conducted the survey in schools that participated in the 2018 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) through the TALIS PISA link option.

