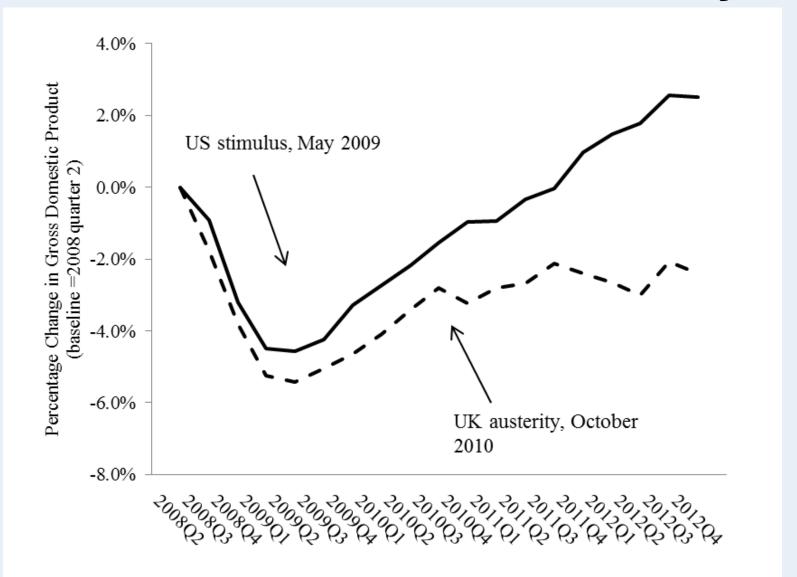


Actual Data

⊿ A	В	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	Table 2: Estimates for Fraud and Error by Client Group and Error Type						
2	Return to Contents						
3		<u>-</u>					
25	Income Support Disabled and Others	Overpayments due to Fraud - 2011/12					
26	See Chart 10	Percentage of expenditure overpaid			Amount of expenditure overpaid		
27	Capital	0.5%	(0.3%,	0.8%)	£25m	(13111,	39m)
28	Conditions of Entitlement	0.0%	(0.0%)	0.1%)	£2m	(0m,	5m)
29	Abroad	0.2%		0.3%)	£7m	(1m ,	16m)
30	Claimant Untraceable	0.4%	(0.2%,	0.6%)	£17m	(8 <i>m</i> ,	27m)
31	Household Composition	0.2%	(0.0%)	0.3%)	£8m	(1m,	16m)
32	Housing Costs	0.0%	(0.0%)	0.0%)	£0m	(0m,	0m)
33	Residency	-			-	-	· -
34	Passporting	-	-		-	-	-
35	Non-Dependant Deductions	0.0%	(0.0%)	0.0%)	£0m	(0m,	0m)
36	Earnings/Employment	0.2%	(0.1%,	0.4%)	£11m	(5m ,	18m)
37	Income Other Benefits	-			-	-	-
38	Income - Occ & Pers Pensions	0.2%	(0.1%,	0.3%)	£8m	(3m,	14m)
39	Income - Other	0.0%	(0.0%)	0.0%)	£0m	(0m,	1m)
40	Tax Credits	-			-	-	-
41	Living Together	0.4%	(0.2%,	0.6%)	£17m	(8m,	28m)
42	Premiums	0.0%	(0.0%)	0.0%)	£0m	(0m,	0m)
43	Control activities are not carried out appropriately	-			-	-	-
44	Labour Market Issues	-			-	-	-
45	Other	0.1%	(0.0%)	0.3%)	£6m	(1m ,	13m)
46	Income Support Lone Parents	Overpayments due to Fraud - 2011/12					
47	See Chart 11	Percentage of expenditure overpaid			Amount of expenditure overpaid		
48	Capital	0.1%	(0.0%,	0.2%)	£2m	(0m,	5m)
49	Conditions of Entitlement	0.1%		0.3%)	£3m		6m)
H + >	Summary Contents Table 1 Table 2 Table 3 Table 4 Table 5 Table 5	able 6 / Table 7	Table 8	Chart1 / Chart2	Chart3 Chart	Chart5	/ Chart6 / C
Ready							

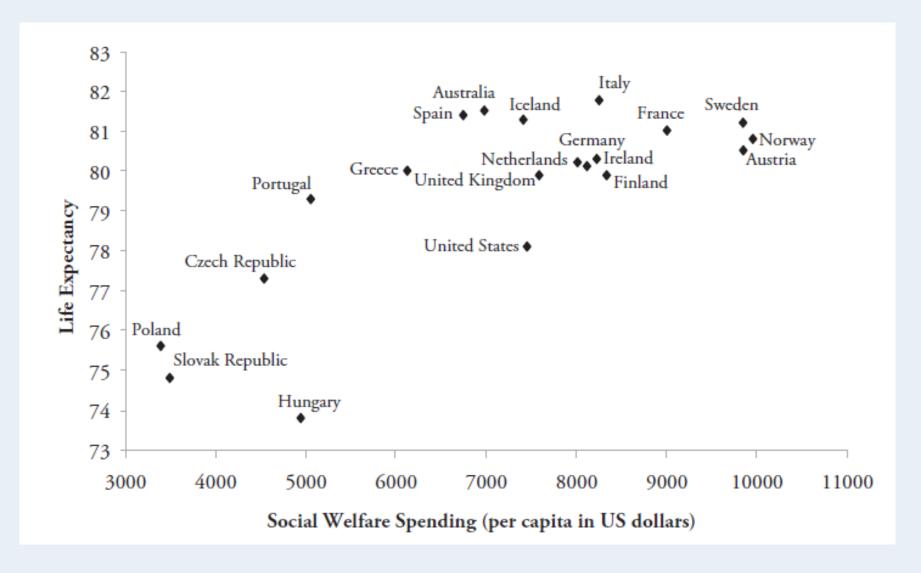
Source: Department for Work and Pensions

Stimulus versus austerity



Source: EuroStat

Social spending saves lives

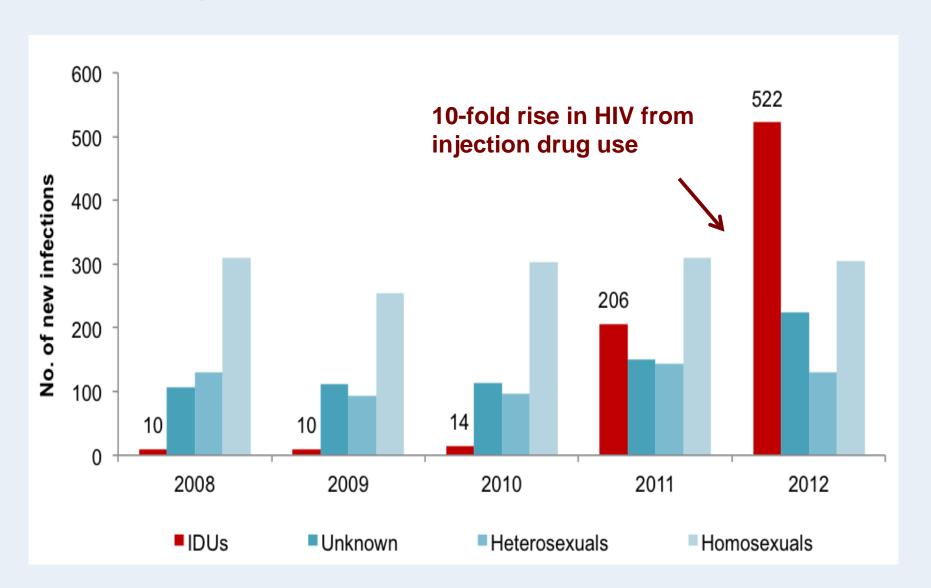


Greek Austerity

Journalist: You asked hospital administrators to present you their 2011 budgets reduced by 40%. Is this possible?

Minister: It is, to the extent that our 2011 policies are implemented. These, like all other government policies, need a surgical scalpel and very sensitive hands. Difficult. Because the Greek public administration does not have sensitive hands: it cannot use a scalpel, it uses butcher's knives...

Greece HIV outbreak



Source: Kentikelenis et al 2012, The Lancet

Greek Tragedy

- ->200% rise in HIV infections
- 40% rise in homelessness
- -50% rise in people unable to access medical care despite feeling it was necessary
- 40% increase in infant mortality
- -~60% reported increase in suicides



🗽 🕠 Greece's health crisis: from austerity to denialism

Medicine, London, UK (M Karanikolos MPH,

Observatory on Health Systems

UK (A Reeves PhD, D Stuckler) data.

Lancer 2014; 383:748-53 Greece's economic crisis has deepened since it was bailed out by the international community in 2010. The country Department of Sociology and underwent the sixth consecutive year of economic contraction in 2013, with its economy shrinking by 20% between Kings College, University of 2008 and 2012, and anaemic or no growth projected for 2014. Unemployment has more than tripled, from 7.7% in 2008 to 24.3% in 2012, and long-term unemployment reached 14.4%. We review the background to the crisis, assess how austerity measures have affected the health of the Greek population and their access to public health services, detes in Transition, London and examine the political response to the mounting evidence of a Greek public health tragedy,

The Greek economy accumulated severe structural DStuckler PhD); European troubles before the crisis. Between entry to the Eurozone and the onset of the crisis, annual economic growth averaged 4-2%,1 spurred by capital inflows.2 However, University of Oxford, Oxford, help of investment banks1 and by reporting of inaccurate

When the financial crisis hit US banks in 2008, the Greek Prime Minister Kostas Karamanlis pronounced Cambridge CB2 15T, UK the economy to be "armoured" against the risk of aek@@cam.ac.uk contagion.5 However, subsequent events moved the country to the epicentre of a financial storm. A new projected 3.7% to 15.8% of gross domestic product (GDP).6 As the scale of economic mismanagement became apparent, borrowing costs shot up to unaffordable levels. Much of the country's debt was held by banks and pension funds in other European countries that were already fragile,7 and the international community feared that Greece might be forced to default on its debt, with profound implications for the global economy.

By early 2010, the Greek Government was in talks with May, the first package was agreed; in exchange for a €110 billion loan, the government would implement farranging austerity measures and structural reforms overseen by the European Commission, the European Central Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (collectively known as the Troika). A second bailout was agreed in October, 2011, demanding further cuts and reforms but providing another €130 billion in funds, and was voted in by an interim government in February, 2012.

Direct health effects of austerity

Two main strategies can reduce deficits in the short term: cutting of spending and raising of revenue. The Greek Government used both at the behest of the Troika, albeit with an emphasis on reduction of public expenditure. 3 years ago, we drew attention to the effects of the austerity measures on the health of the Greek people.8

of the reforms was to reduce, rapidly and drastically public expenditure by capping it at 6% of GDP. To meet this threshold, stipulated in Greece's bailout agreement, public spending for health is now less than any of the other pre-2004 European Union members.2 In 2012, in overspending was concealed from public gaze with the an effort to achieve specific targets, the Greek Government surpassed the Troika's demands for cuts in hospital operating costs and pharmaceutical spending. 10,2 The former Minister of Health, Andreas Loverdos, admitted that "the Greek public administration...uses butcher's knives [to achieve the cuts]."12 The negative effects of these cuts are already beginning to manifest.

Prevention and treatment programmes for illicit drug government, elected in 2009, revised the deficit from a use faced large cuts, at a time of increasing need associated with economic hardship. In 2009-10, the first year of austerity, a third of the street work programmes were cut because of scarcity of funding, despite a documented rise in the prevalence of heroin use.11 At the same time, the number of syringes and condoms distributed to drug users fell by 10% and 24%, respectively.4 These events had the expected effects on the health of this vulnerable population; the number of new HIV infections among injecting drug users rose from 15 in 2009 to 484 in 2012 the international community about a possible bailout. In (figure 1),15 and preliminary data for 2013 suggest that the incidence of tuberculosis among this population has more than doubled compared with 2012.16 Although needle and syringe distribution has since increased," partly in response to media reports and popular pressure distribution is still well below the minimum target of 200 per drug user per year recommended by the European Centre for Disease Control.3 In his first act at the end of June, 2013, Adonis Georgiadis, the new Minister of Health (the fourth in a little more than a year), re-introduced a controversial law stipulating forced testing for infectious diseases under police supervision for drug users, prostitutes, and immigrants—a move that is not only unethical but also counterproductive, because it deters marginalised groups from seeking testing during HIV outbreaks.38 The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS has called for the repeal of the law, because it "could serve to justify actions that violate human rights"." Additionally, drastic reductions to municipality budgets

have led to a scaling back of several activities (eg. mosquito-

Source: Kentikelenis A, Karanikolos M, Papanicolas I, Basu S, McKee M, Stuckler D. Health effects of financial crisis: omens of a Greek tragedy. Lancet 2014

God Bless Iceland





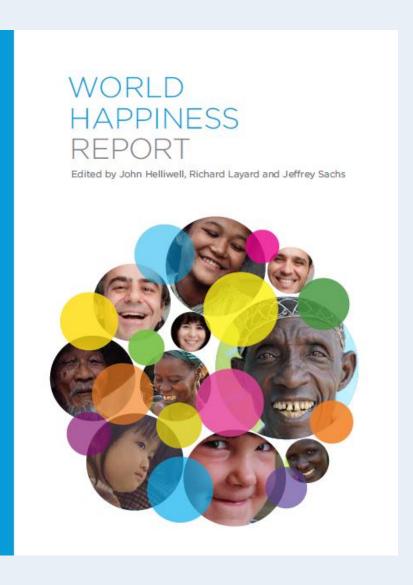
Iceland's Loud 'No'

- Health minister resigned in protest
- First referendum since 1944
- Total debt stood at >800% of GDP
- 93% voted no to paying back IceSave
- Rejected austerity

"We were wise enough not to follow the traditional prevailing orthodoxies of the Western financial world in the last 30 years. We introduced currency controls, we let the banks fail, we provided support for the poor, and we didn't introduce austerity measures like you're seeing here in Europe."

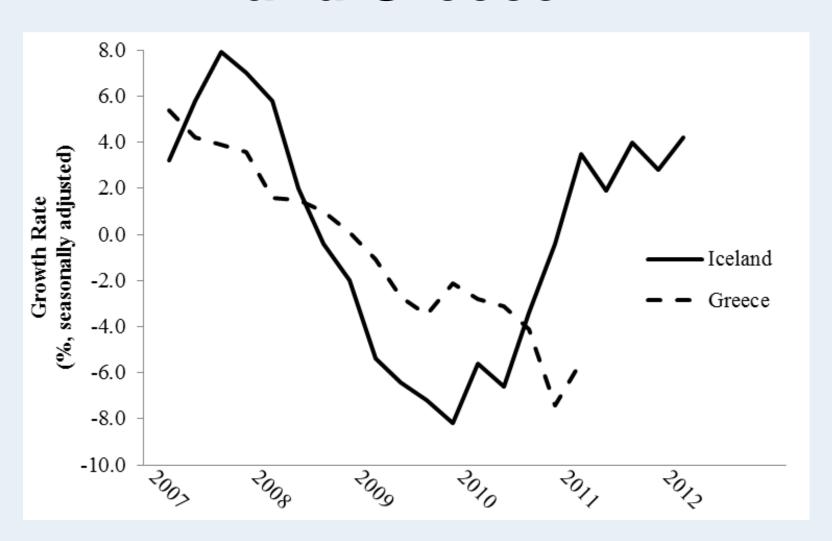
- Olafur Grimmson, President

Happy Icelanders

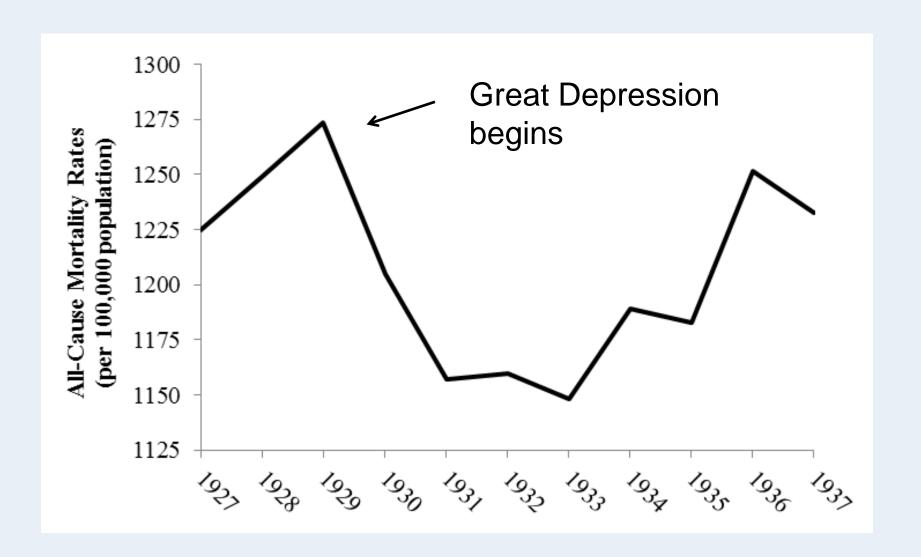


- Social welfare increased
- No loss of healthcare access (apart from dental care)
- Increase in sleeping
- Decrease in fast-food
- Increase in fish consumption

Economic Growth in Iceland and Greece



US Great Depression, 1930s



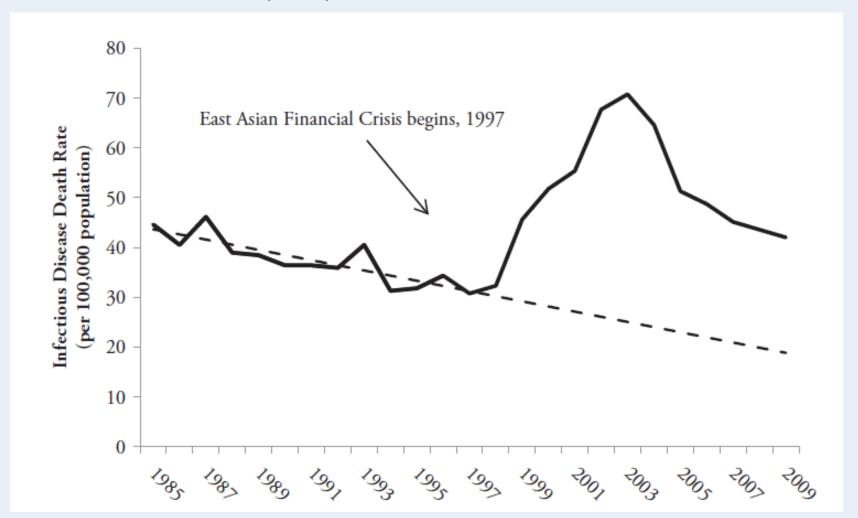
New Deal and Public Health



- More New Deal spending where governor a democrat
- Each \$100 (70 pounds)
 per capita New Deal
 spending led to about
 per 100,000 population:
 - 4 fewer suicides,
- 18 fewer pneumonias,
 - 20 fewer infant deaths

Asian Financial Crisis, late 1990s

Thailand's HIV, TB, and infectious disease trends



Source: Stuckler and Basu, The Body Economic 2013

IMF admits error

WP/13/1



Growth Forecast Errors and Fiscal Multipliers

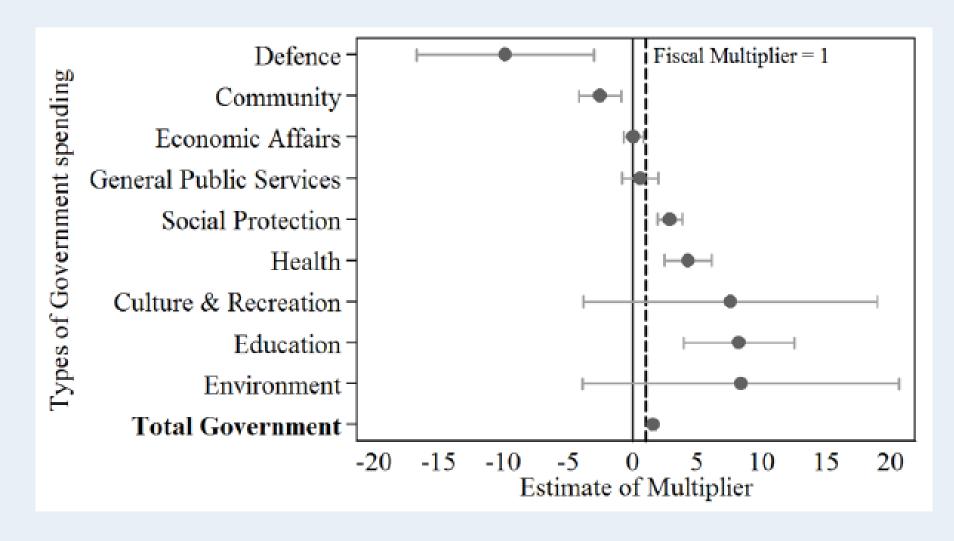
Olivier Blanchard and Daniel Leigh

"We underestimated the negative effect of austerity on employment and spending power"

Fiscal multiplier assumed: 0.5

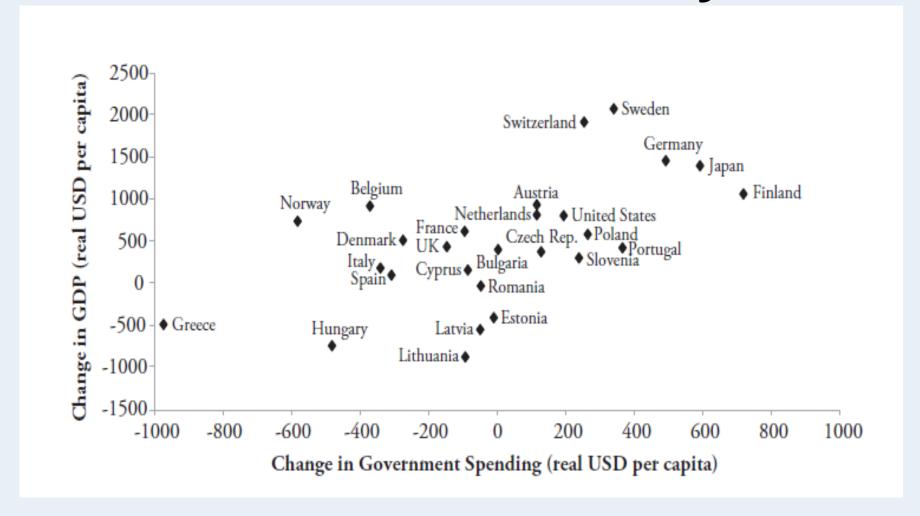
Actual multiplier: 1.7

Fiscal Multipliers



Source: Reeves et al 2013

Greater public spending, faster economic recovery



Greek Response

Dr. Liaropoulos

"no hard evidence has proven that [crisis] has become a health hazard

"[budget reductions]...a positive result of improvements in financial management efficiency."

Sources: BMJ Nov 2012; Polyzos Lancet 2012

Greek Tragedy

Dr. Sprenger
Director of the
European Centre for
Disease Control

"I have seen places where the financial situation did not allow even for basic requirements like gloves, gowns and alcohol wipes...after visiting hospitals there I'm now really convinced we have reached one minute to midnight in this battle

Dr. Friedman
US director of
HIV/AIDS research

What [the Greek government] are doing is creating an epicenter for the spread of the virus [HIV] in Greece and beyond

Source: Reuter's Nov 2012

More Austerity

Greece bailout extension 'to cost 32bn euros more'

A draft document prepared for eurozone finance ministers suggests that Greece should be given two more years to meet budget goals, but that this will add 32.6bn euros (\$41.4bn) to its bailout.

Eurozone finance ministers have met in Brussels to discuss new targets for Greece based on the report.

The ministers also delayed a decision on whether to release the latest 31.5bn euro tranche of bailout funds



The Greek finance minister and the IMF's Christine Lagarde attended the talks in Brussels

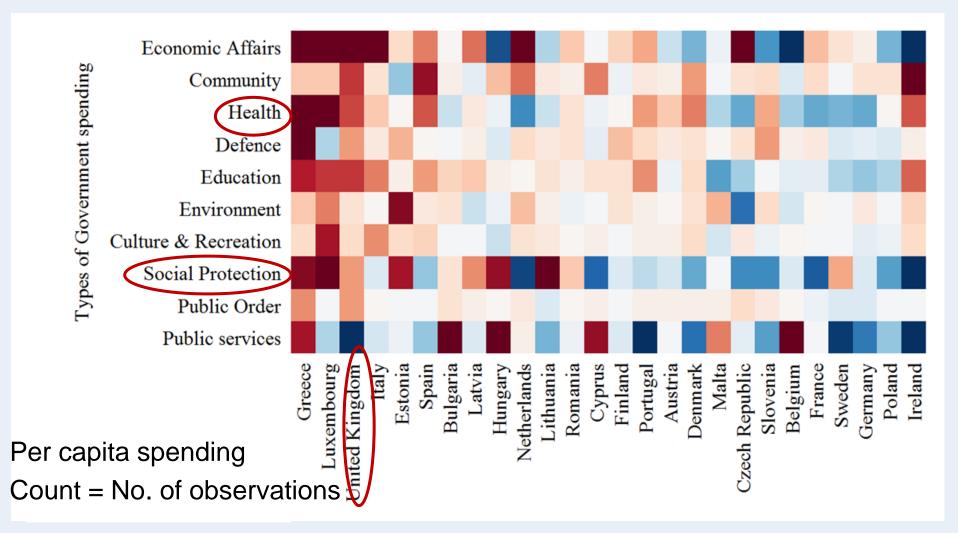
Eurozone crisis



EU austerity: 2009-2011

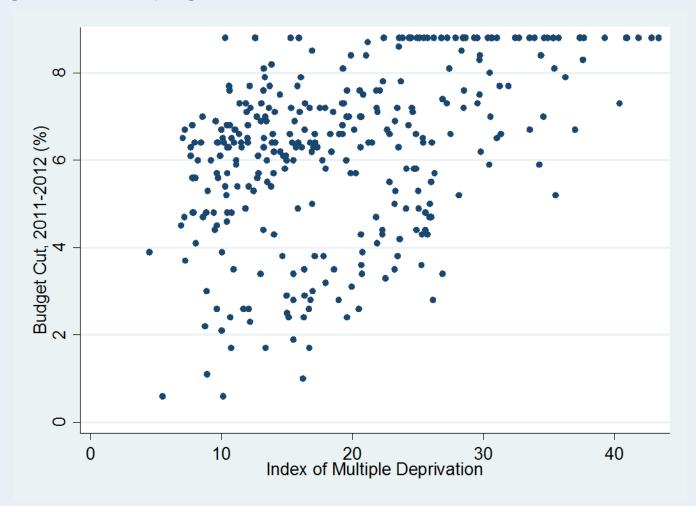
Red = reduced spending

Blue = increased spending



Attack on the weakest

Significantly greater cuts in more deprived regions

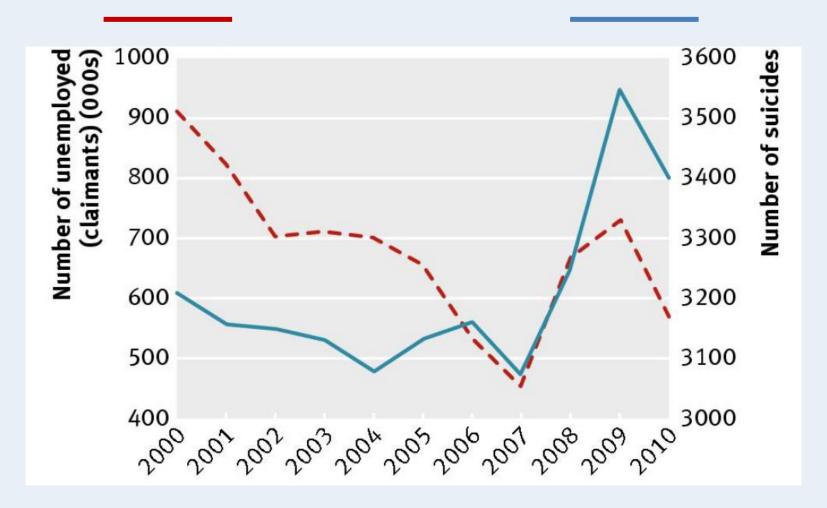


Source: ONS 2012 data

Rising 'economic suicides'

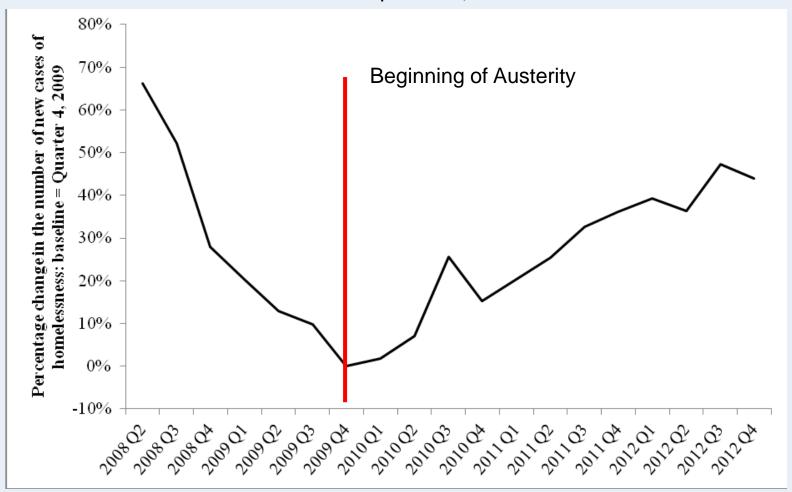
Suicide

Unemployment



Increasing homelessness

Percentage change in homelessness numbers baseline = quarter 4, 2009

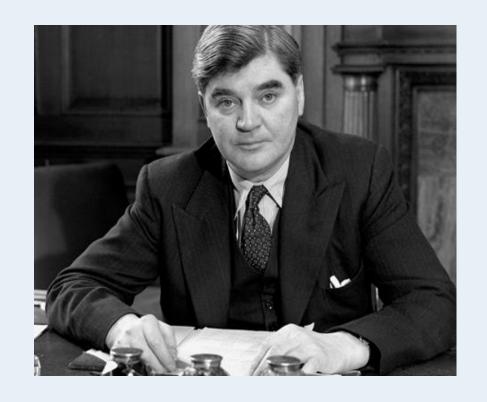


Notes: Government definition of homelessness changed in the fourth quarter of 2010.

Impoverishing disabled persons

- 280,000 people will experience reduced payments up to £4212 per year
- 150,000 currently live in poverty
- Additional 50,000 people at risk of poverty due to these changes.

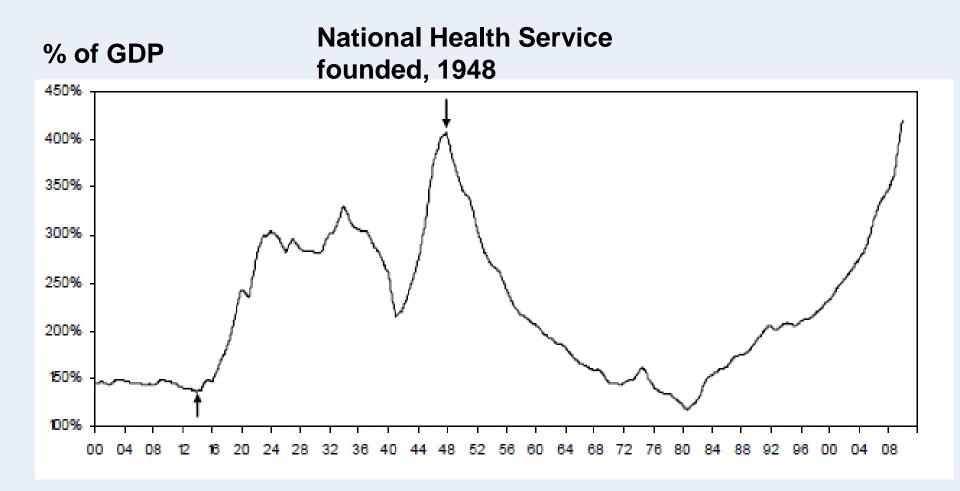




Aneurin Bevan, 1948

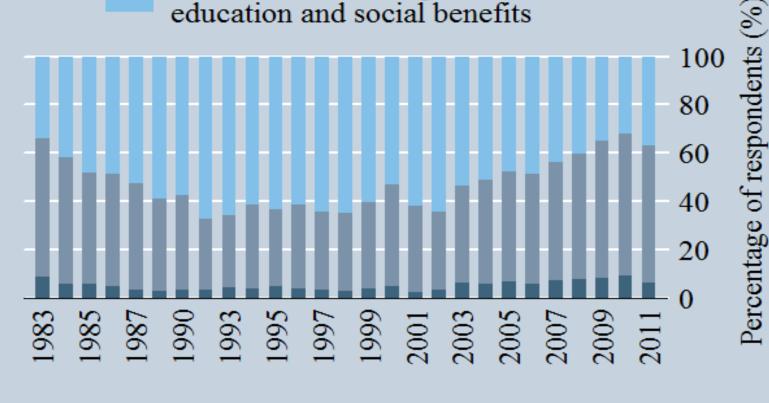
"Despite our financial and economic anxieties, we are still able to do the most civilized thing in the world – put the welfare of the sick in front of every other consideration"

Total Debt in the UK



What do people say?

- Reduce taxes and spend less on health, education and social benefits
- Keep taxes and spending on these services at the same level as now
- Increase taxes and spend more on health, education and social benefits



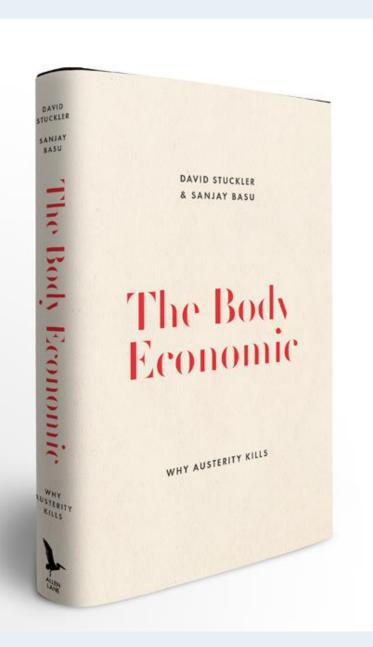
Source: British Social Attitudes 2012

New New Deal

1. 'First do no harm'

2. Help people return to work

3. Invest in public health

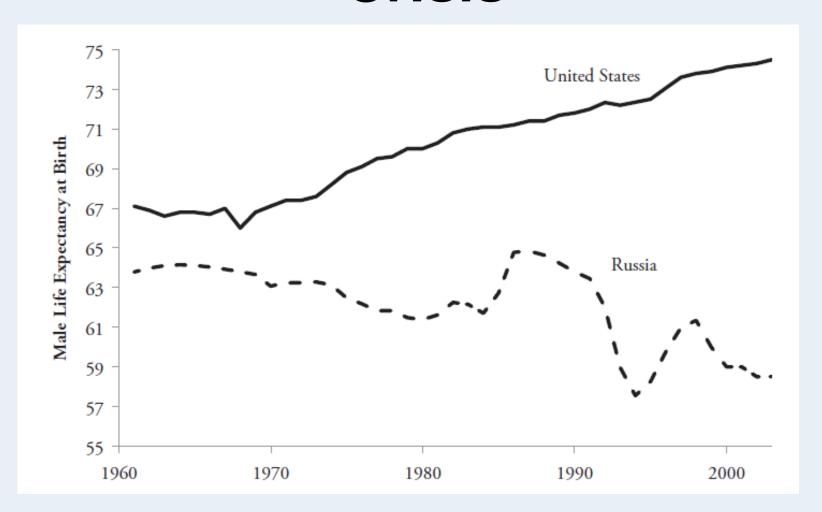


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Appendix Slides

The Post-Communist Mortality Crisis



Source: Stuckler and Basu, The Body Economic

The Role of Alcohol



The Role of Shock Therapy

"Despite economists' reputation for never being able to agree on anything, there is a striking degree of unanimity in the advice that has been provided to the nations of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (FSU). The legions of economists who have descended on the formerly Communist economies have provided advice very similar ... The three "-ations"— privatization, stabilization, and liberalization —must all be completed as soon as possible."

Lawrence Summers (1994: 252-253)

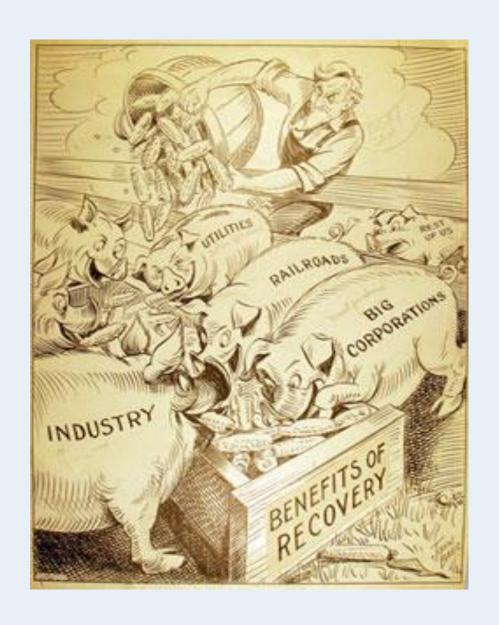
Radical nationalism





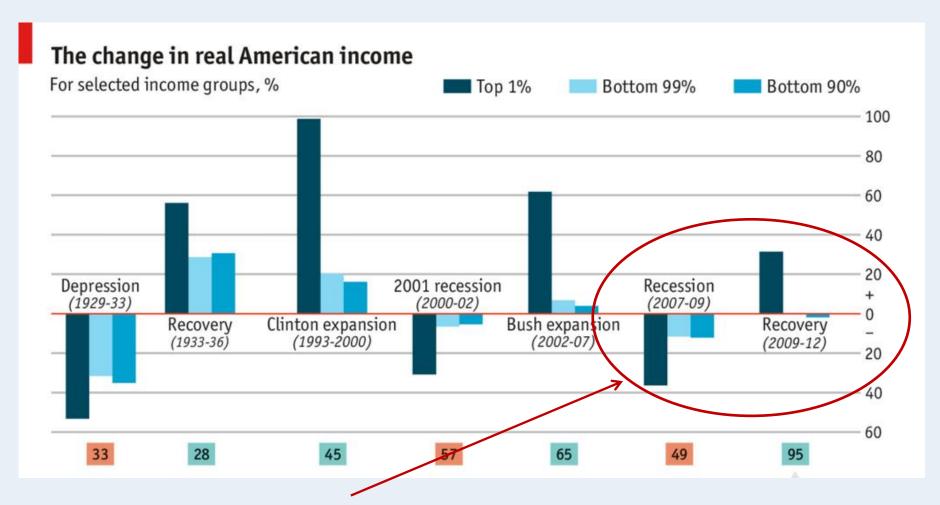
photo: Giorgos Moutafis

Who wins and loses?





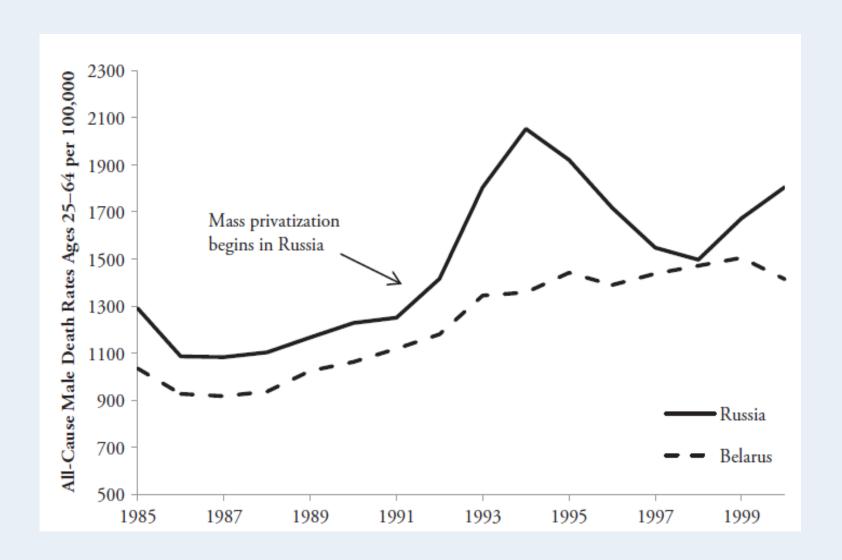
1%



- 95% of recovery has gone to richest1% of the population

Source: The Economist

Russia and Belarus, early 1990s

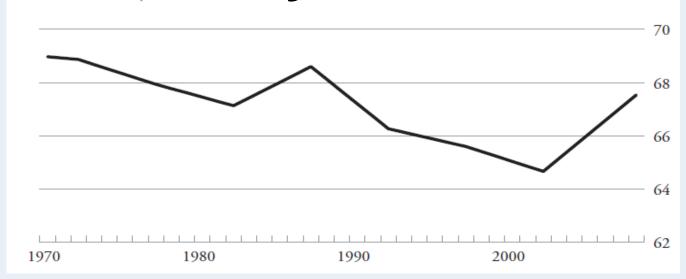


Source: Stuckler and Basu, The Body Economic 2013

Real data, our graph



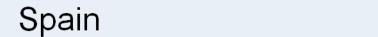
As seen by The Economist

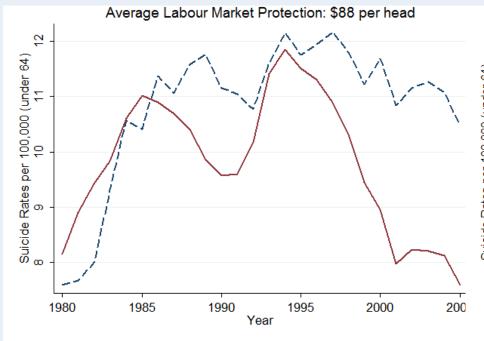


Spain and Sweden

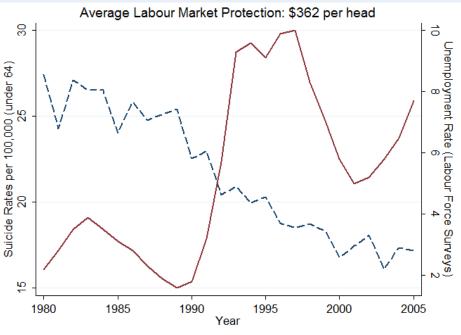
Suicide

Unemployment



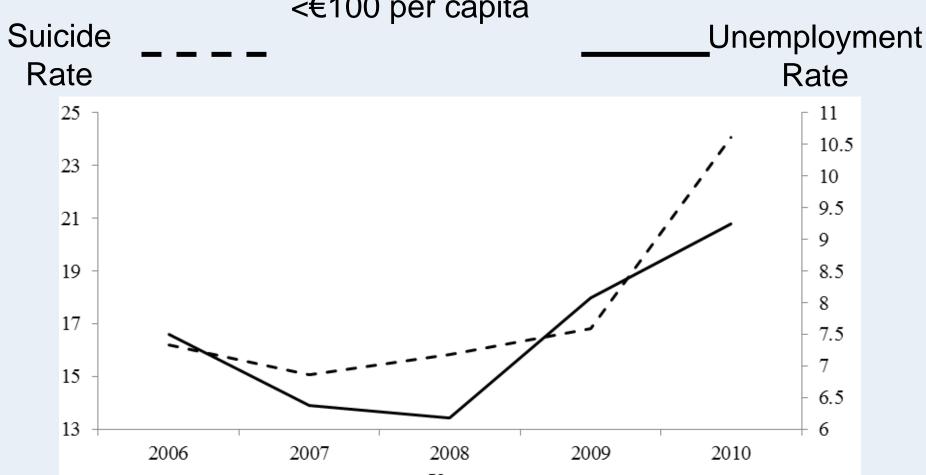


Sweden



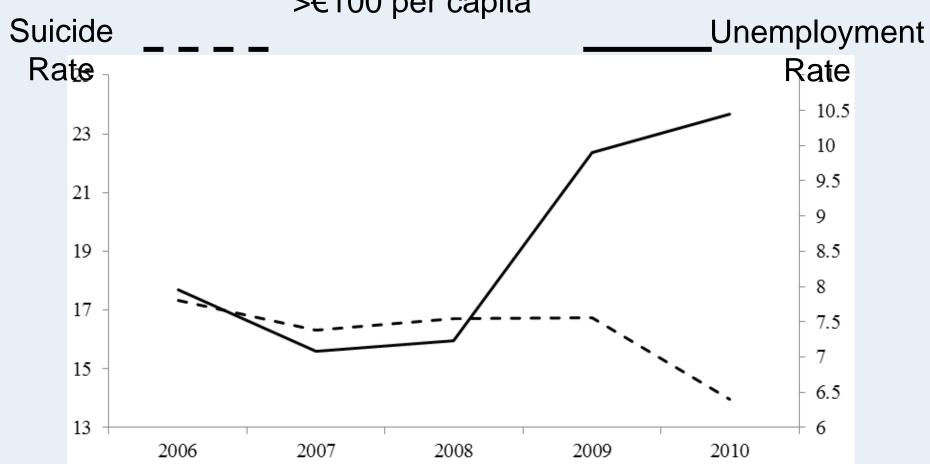
Role of Active Labour Market Programmes

Below Median Spending <€100 per capita

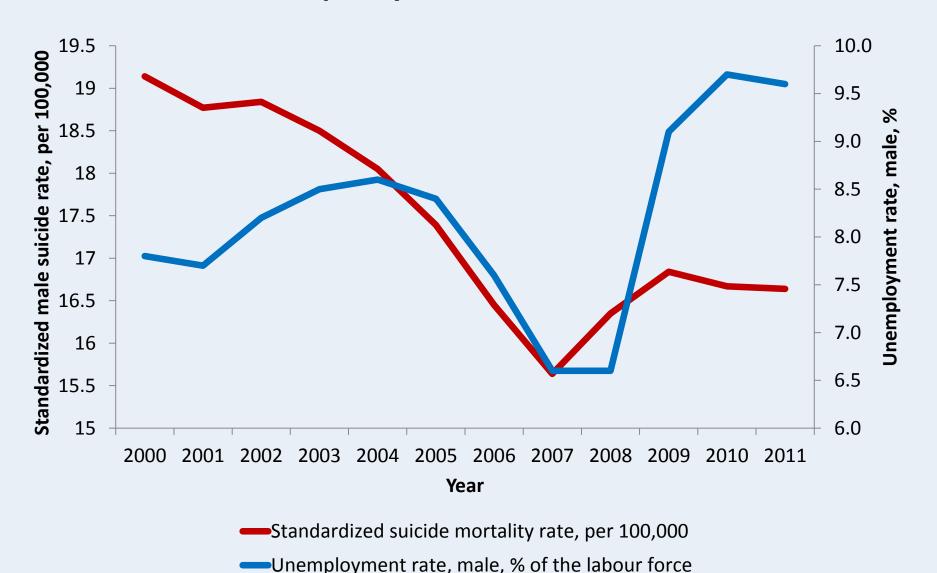


Role of Active Labour Market Programmes

Above Median Spending >€100 per capita

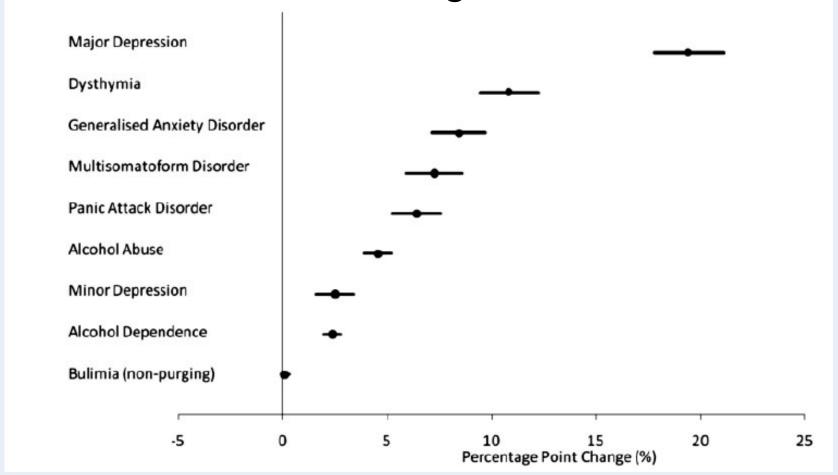


The effects of austerity: suicides and unemployment in the EU



Spain Mental Health Crises

Prevalence Change, 2006 to 2010

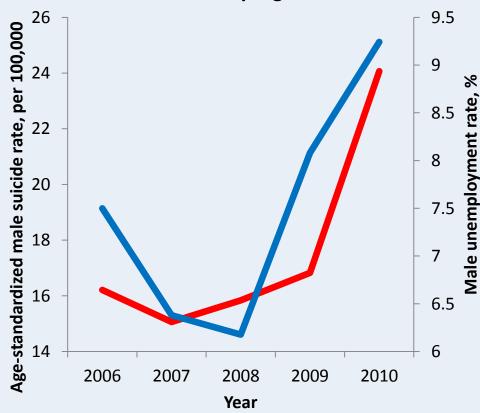


- 1.7-fold greater risk of depression in unemployed
- 3.0-fold greater risk in mortgage payment problems

Source: Gili, et al 2012 JECH

But something can be done

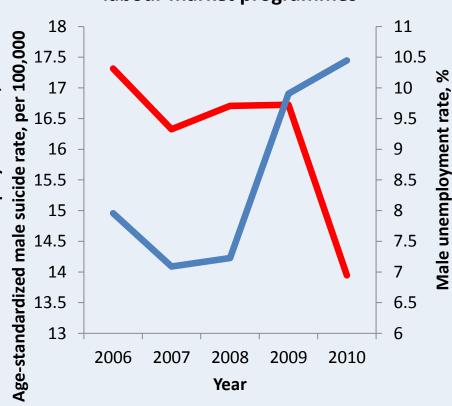
Low spending (<USD \$ 135) on active labour market programmes



Age-standardized male suicide rate, per 100,000

Male unemployment rate, %

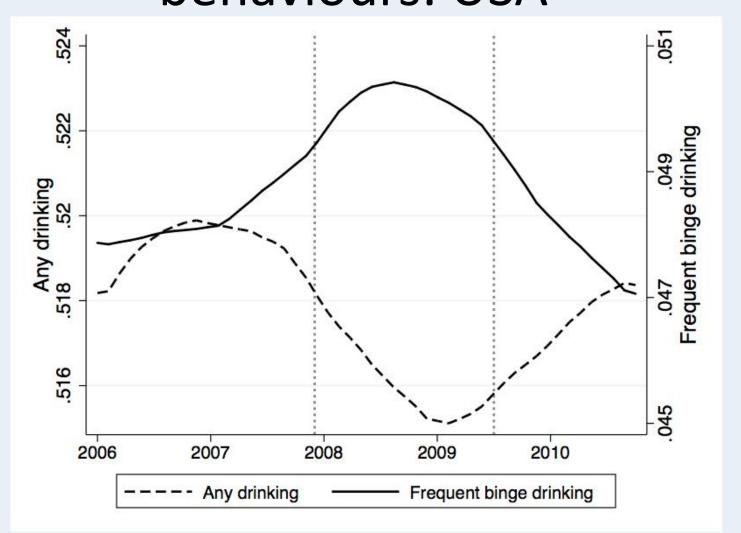




Age-standardized male suicide rate, per 100,000

Male unemployment rate, %

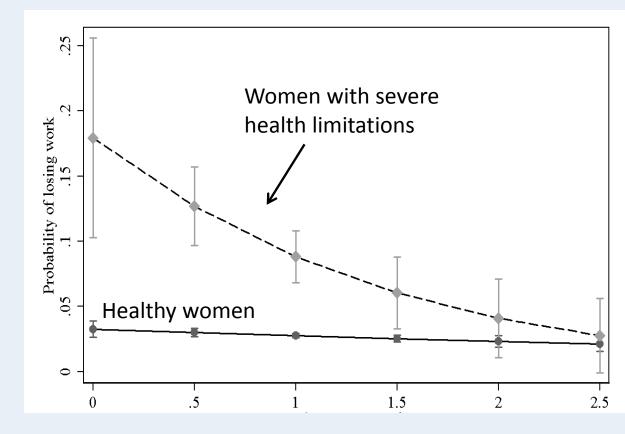
Understanding Resilience Changes in drinking behaviours: USA



Focusing on Vulnerable Groups

Persons in ill health 3 times more likely to lose jobs...

... but making it harder can eliminate these unfair inequalities



OECD Level of Employment Protection

Working with Allies



Regional Committee for Europe Sixty-second session

Malta, 10-13 September 2012



Health 2020: a European policy framework supporting action across government and society for health and well-being

Priority areas:

- preschool education
- educational performance
- employment and working conditions
- social protection
- reducing poverty

Social protection expenditure

- "the provision by public (and private) institutions of benefits to, and financial contributions targeted at, households and individuals in order to provide support during circumstances which adversely affect their welfare."
- Includes spending related to:
 - family support programmes (such as preschool education, child care, and maternity or paternity leave),
 - old age pensions and survivors benefits,
 - health care,
 - housing (such as rent subsidies),
 - unemployment benefits,
 - active labour market programmes (to maintain employment or help the unemployed obtain jobs), and support for people with disabilities.

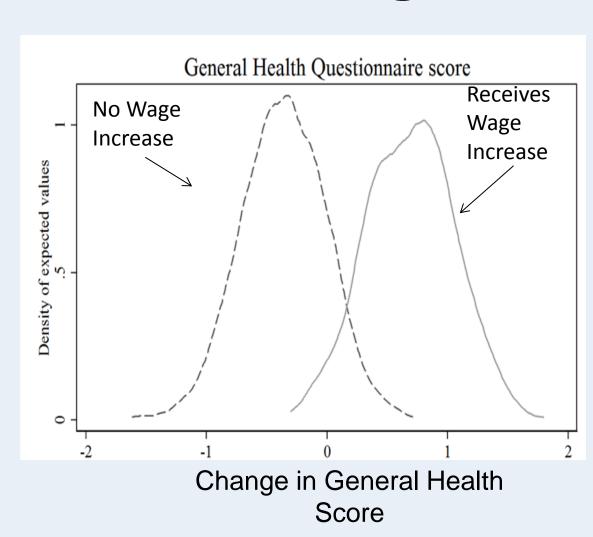
Voting!

Gini coefficient (income after housing costs) in UK

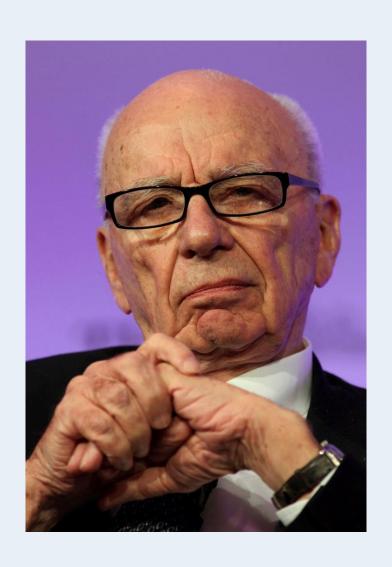


Another natural experiment: National Minimum Wage

- Tony Blair implements minimum wage in April 1999
- Increases wages 20%
- Not all firms comply
- Causal reduction in symptoms of depression



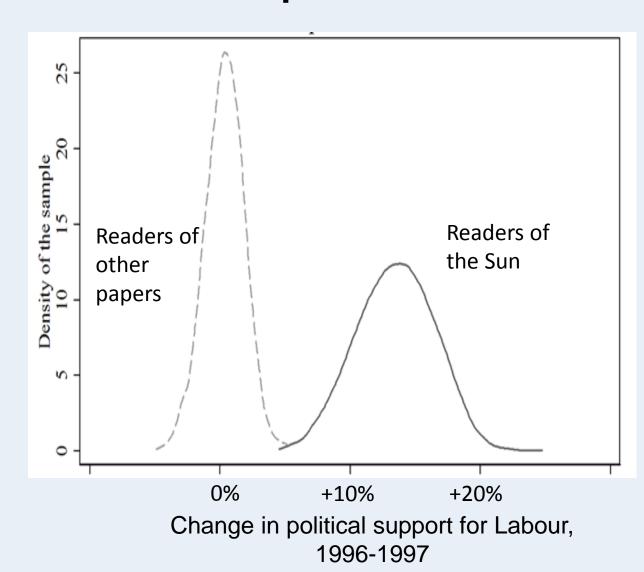
Engaging the Media





A natural media experiment

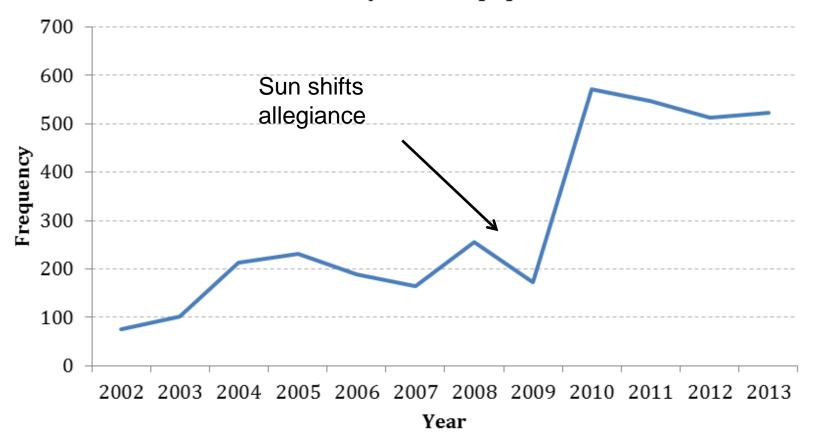
- 15% increase in support for New Labour
- No change in non-Newscorp readers
- 750,000
 additional votes for Labour







Number of times the term scrounger receives a 'major mention' by all newspapers



Myth-busting

The Economist. Young Britons are classical liberals: as well as prizing social freedom, they believe in low taxes, limited welfare and personal responsibility. In America they would be called libertarians

theguardian

News Sport Comment Culture Business Money Life & style T

Comment is free

We are told Generation Y is hard-hearted, but it's a lie

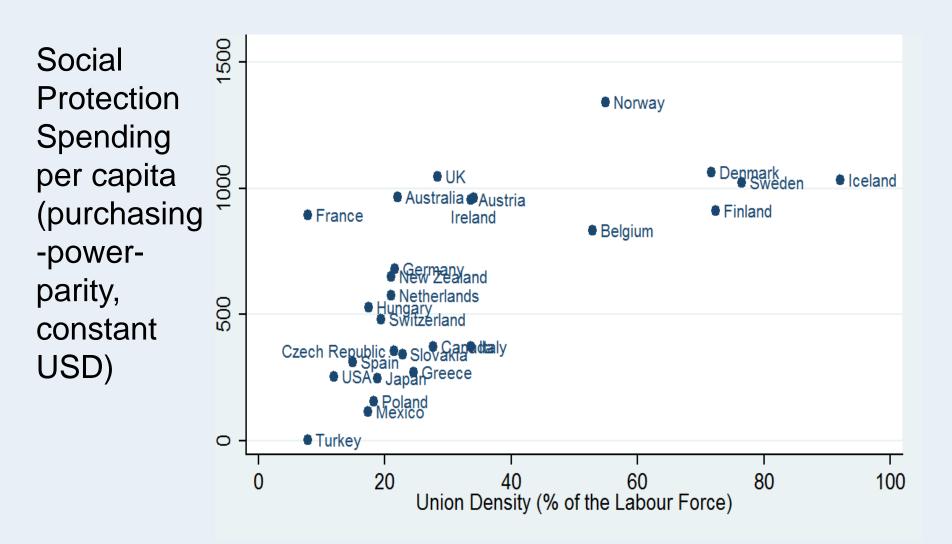
Coalition and media claims of youth support for benefit cuts – a story Labour also believes – are contradicted by evidence

David Stuckler and Aaron Reeves

The Guardian, Tuesday 30 July 2013 19.12 BST



Organise!





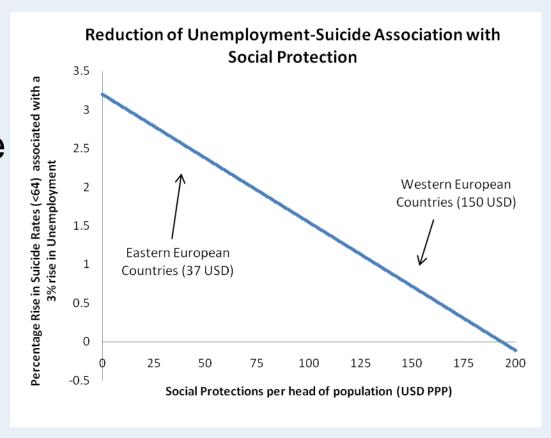
"Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; indeed it is the only thing that ever has."

Margaret Mead

Social Protections Help...

Each 100 USD greater social spending reduced the effect on suicides by:

- 0.38%, active labour market programmes
- 0.23%, family support
- 0.07%, healthcare
- 0.09%, unemployment benefits

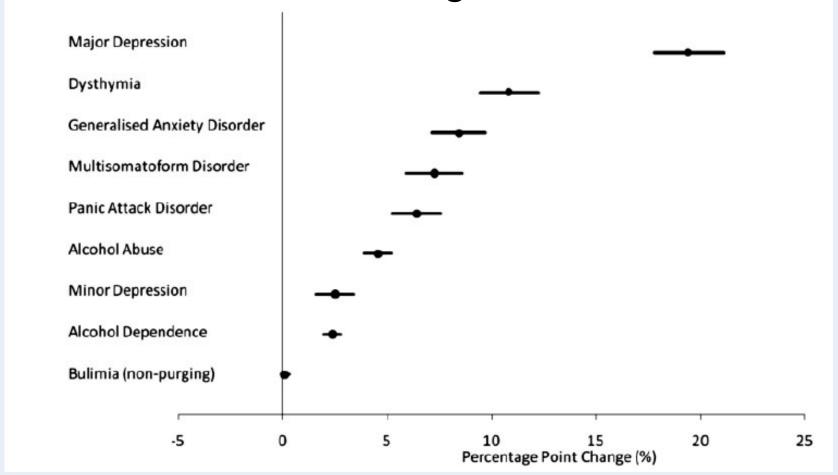


Spending> 190 USD no effect of 3 percentage point rise in unemployment on suicide

Source: Stuckler et al 2009 Lancet

Spain Mental Health Crises

Prevalence Change, 2006 to 2010



- 1.7-fold greater risk of depression in unemployed
- 3.0-fold greater risk in mortgage payment problems

Source: Gili, et al 2012 JECH

The Great Depression



"Stock prices have reached what looks like a permanently high plateau."

-Irving Fisher, economist, Oct 1929

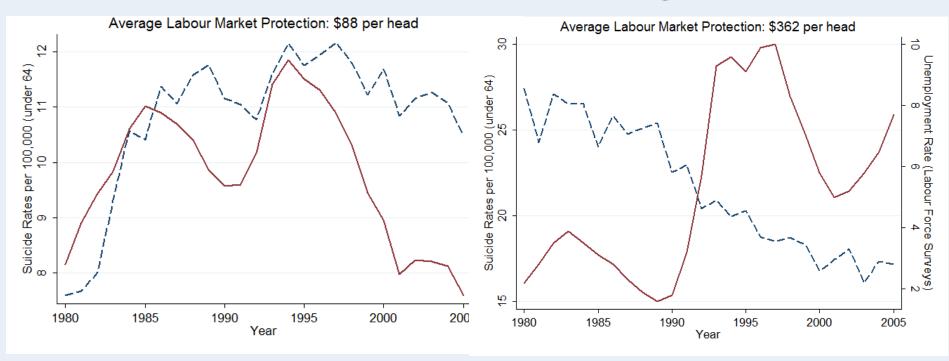
Spain and Sweden

Suicide

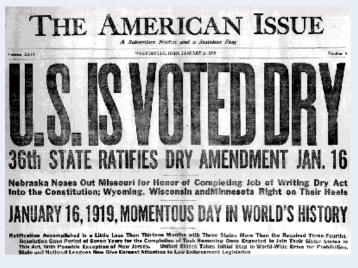
Unemployment

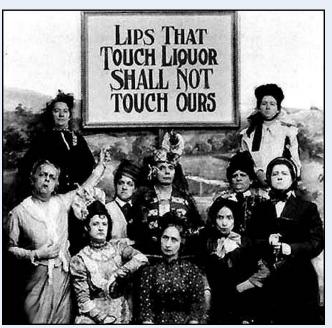
Spain

Sweden



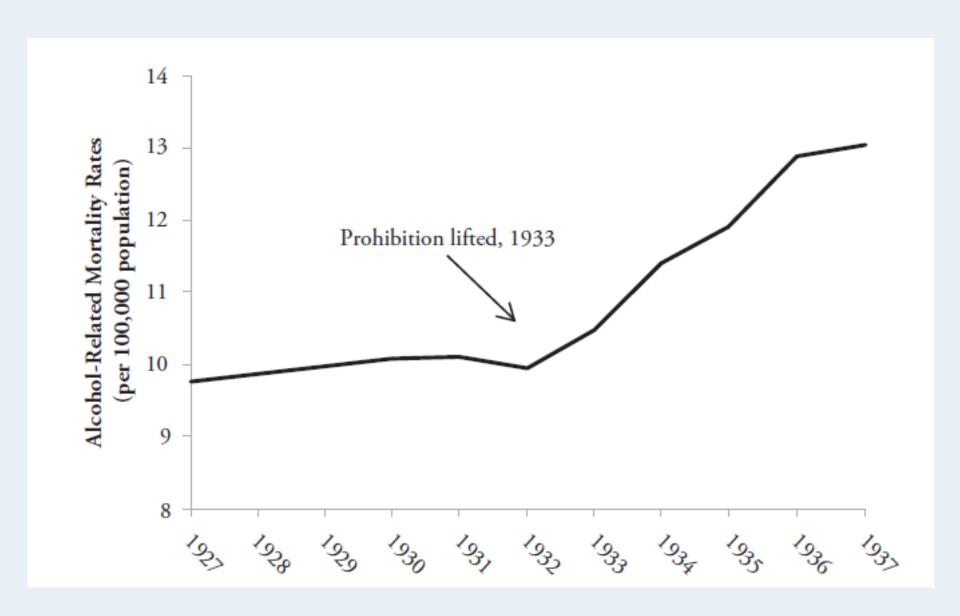
The Volstead Prohibition Act





- Soon after women gained the right to vote
- Prohibition enacted in 1919
- 'Wet' and 'Dry' states
- Lifted in 1933

Death Rates from Alcohol



Eyjafjallajökull



Increasing Asthma

