





## Poverty is a political choice and its elimination requires:

- (a) reconceiving the relationship between growth and poverty elimination;
- (b) tackling inequality and embracing redistribution;
- (c) promoting tax justice;
- (d) implementing universal social protection;
- (e) centring the role of government;
- (f) embracing participatory governance; and
- (g) adapting international poverty measurement.

# Choosing Neo-liberalism is Choosing Poverty



- Neoliberalism *“is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade.”* (David Harvey 2005)

**The Neoliberal Discourse has become engrained in our Daily Conversations.**

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- **The Economic Paradigm.**
- **The Blame Conversation.**





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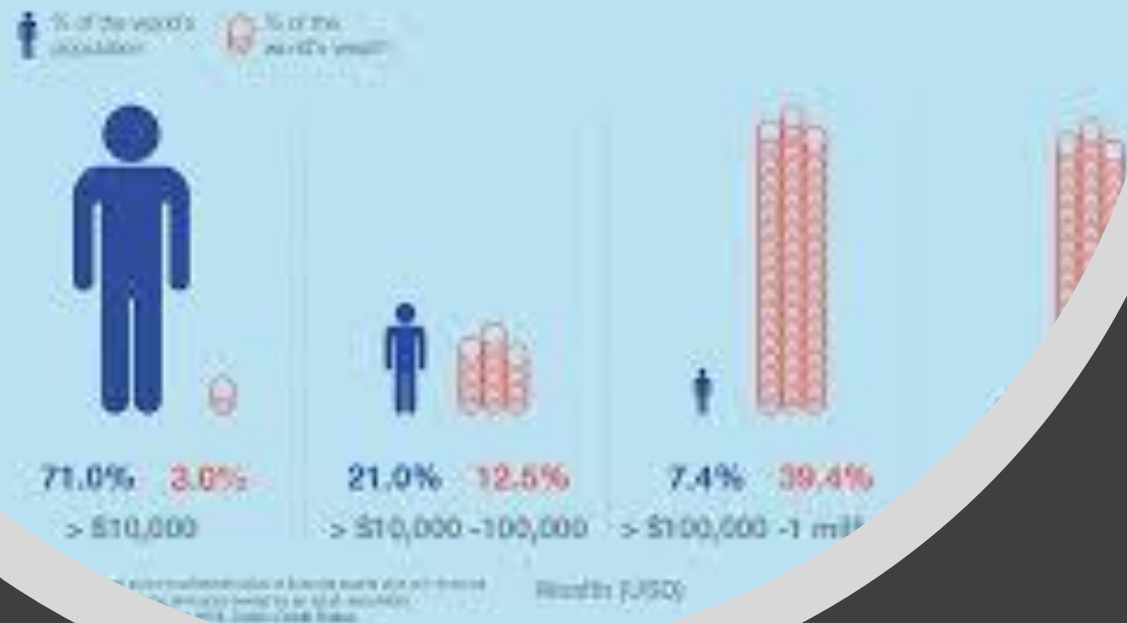


**Choosing Neo-liberalism is Choosing Poverty.**

## **Reconceiving relationship between Growth and Poverty Elimination**

- *“In recent years there have been a number of upbeat assessments which claim that global poverty has declined...and that the reason for this decline is the adoption of market-friendly policies by an increasing number of nation-states.”*

How is the **world's wealth** shared amongst its population?



**Choosing Neo-liberalism is  
Choosing Poverty.**

## **Tackling Inequality and Embracing Redistribution**

- *“A society that puts equality—in the sense of equality of outcome—ahead of freedom will end up with neither equality nor freedom”*

(Milton Friedman)



- *“Neoliberal thinkers...are unconcerned about inequality. They suggest that inequality within societies is not a bad thing because it is necessary for society to prosper”* (Feldman 2019)

Choosing Neo-liberalism is Choosing Poverty.

Promoting Tax Justice



TAX JUSTICE  
NOW

*“Neoliberalism sees competition as the defining characteristic of human relations. Attempts to limit competition are treated as inimical to liberty. Tax and regulation should be minimised.”*

(<https://economics.com/rise-of-neoliberalism-inequality/>)

*“The top income tax rate in Britain in the 1970s was 83%, and in the US 70%...tax cuts by Thatcher and Reagan brought the top income tax rates down to 40% in the UK and to 28% in the US ...rates in Germany (56%) and France (57%) remained much higher.”*

(Sowells N. 2019.  
<https://journals.openedition.org/angles/560>)



Pre Tax Share of  
Income of Top 1%



	1920	1950	1980	2014
Australia	11.63 (1921)	14.13	4.57	9.1
Canada	14.40	10.88	8.88	13.6(2010)
France	20.07	10.34	8.17	10.80
Ireland	16.93(1938)	12.92(1943)	6.65	10.50(2009)
New Zealand	11.34(1921)	9.43	5.65	8.09
UK		10.89(1951)	6.67(1981)	13.88
US	18.40	15.88	10.67	20.2

# Choosing Neo-liberalism is Choosing Poverty.

## Implementing Universal Social Protection Centring the Role of Government



***“In the postwar era, the basic institutions of the welfare state were designed to redistribute income and offer protection to diverse populations...from the insecurities of the market. However, neoliberals...depicted the(se) ideas and policies...as a serious threat to a free and prosperous society. They argued that the interventionist welfare state, as envisioned...harms economic growth, costs too much, breeds passivity and dependence, and threatens individual freedom.”***

Feldman, Guy. 2019. “Neoliberalism and Poverty: An Unbreakable Relationship.” In *Routledge International Handbook of Poverty*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429058103-27>.



**Choosing Neo-liberalism is  
Choosing Poverty.**

**Embracing participatory  
governance.**



*“By making their  
discipline all-pervasive,  
and pretending it is the  
physics of social science,  
economists have turned  
much of our democracy  
into a no-go zone for the  
public.”*

(Aditya Chakraborty)

(<http://www.democraticaudit.com/2018/12/06/why-neoliberal-approaches-to-policy-are-detrimental-to-democratic-participation/>)



Choosing Neo-liberalism is Choosing Poverty.

Adapting international poverty measurement.



# The Rising Tide Caused Homeless People to Flounder.

*European Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 18, No. 5, 410–412

© The Author 2008. Published by Oxford University Press on behalf of the European Public Health Association. All rights reserved.  
doi:10.1093/eurpub/ckn038 Advance Access published on 25 June 2008

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## **Social factors and health**

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### **Health of the homeless in Dublin: has anything changed in the context of Ireland's economic boom?**

Austin O'Carroll<sup>1</sup>, Fiona O'Reilly<sup>1,2</sup>



CNNMoney  
**The American Dream Poll**

American Dream  
unachievable **59%**



BY: ANDREW BERGMANN / CNNMONEY



# The American Dream

*‘It is no stigma to wear rags; the disgrace is in continuing to wear them.’*

- Storde M. Wind wafted wild flowers. The Open Court. 1903;17(8):505



# Inequality results in Less Inter Generational Mobility.



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*‘The rich..are different from you and me and so their offspring are too.’*

- F. Scott Fitzgerald.

*‘Americans, like human beings everywhere, believe many things that are obviously untrue. Their most destructive untruth is that it is very easy for any American to make money.’*

- 
- Vonnegut, Kurt (1969). *Slaughterhouse-Five or the Children's Crusade*. New York, New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group Inc



- *‘If we agree that risk of death is important, the public policy implication of our findings is that relative poverty, which has close associations to overall inequality, should be a major concern also among rich countries.’*

- Fritzell J, Rehnberg J, Bacchus Hertzman J, Blomgren J. Absolute or relative? A comparative analysis of the relationship between poverty and mortality. *Int J Public Health*. 2015;60(1):101-10. doi: 10.1007/s00038-014-0614-2. Epub 2014 Oct 31.

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# Neo Liberal Justification for Poverty.

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On the one hand, neoliberalism positively conceives of the poor as free agents who have the ability to escape poverty via the market. In this sense, it rejects pathological theories of poverty and sees the poor as equal to the rest of mainstream society. Since everyone is expected to make market-based decisions that would improve their lives, the poor are logically called out to do the same.

On the other hand, neoliberalism constructs the poor, especially women, as deficient and immoral individuals who do not take full responsibility for their own fate. For example, the figure of the welfare queen, which identifies African-American mothers as cheats and delegitimizes welfare use by them, has become a cultural icon of the neoliberal era. As a result, neoliberalism often offers extremely harsh and punitive treatment for poor people . (Feldman 2019)

The Minister for Justice, Equality  
and Law Reform Michael  
McDowell:

***“Inequality is an  
inevitable part of any  
society that offers  
people incentives to  
succeed.”***

**Irish Independent October 15<sup>th</sup>  
2004**

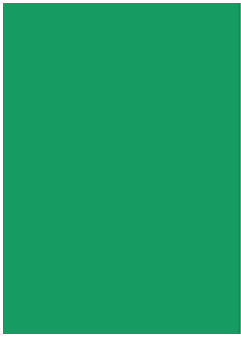


**A Land of “religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens“.**

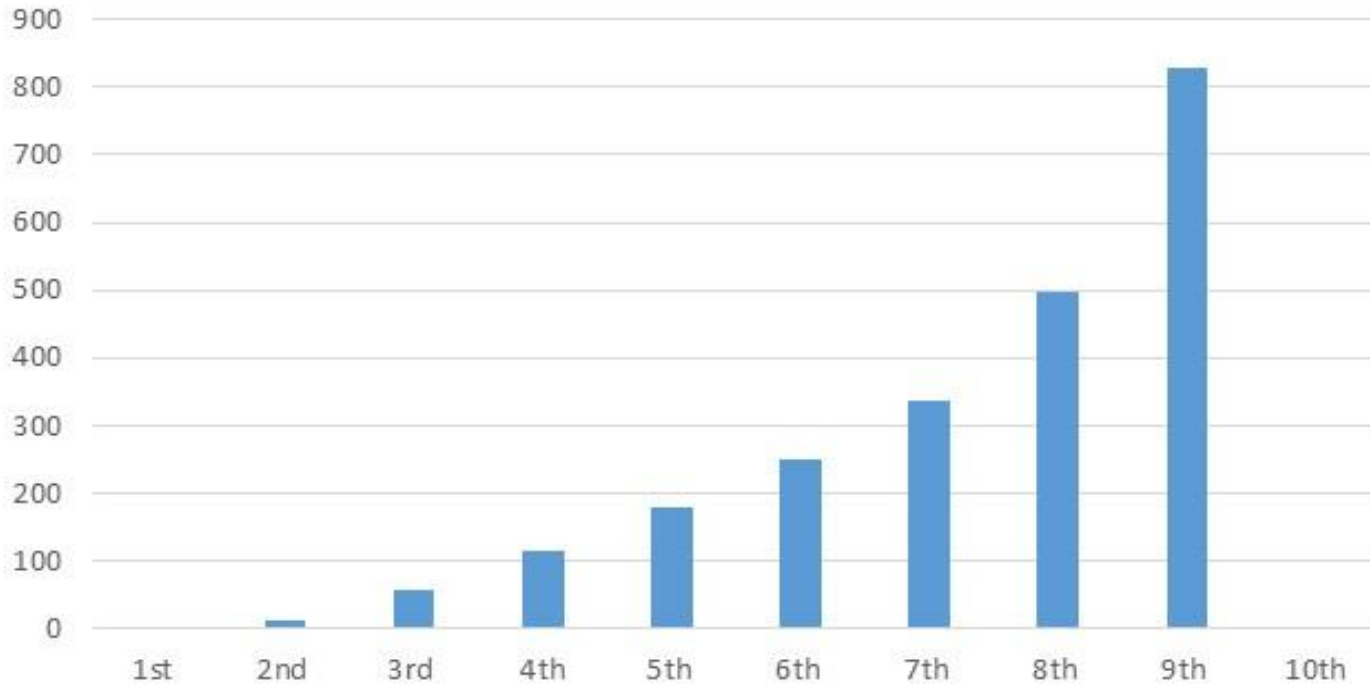
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**BLACHT NA H EIREANN.**  
**THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT**  
**OF THE**  
**IRISH REPUBLIC**  
**TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

**MEN AND IRISHWOMEN:** In the name of God and of the dead generations which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.  
Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army having patiently



Net Wealth Threshold (€,000) by Decile

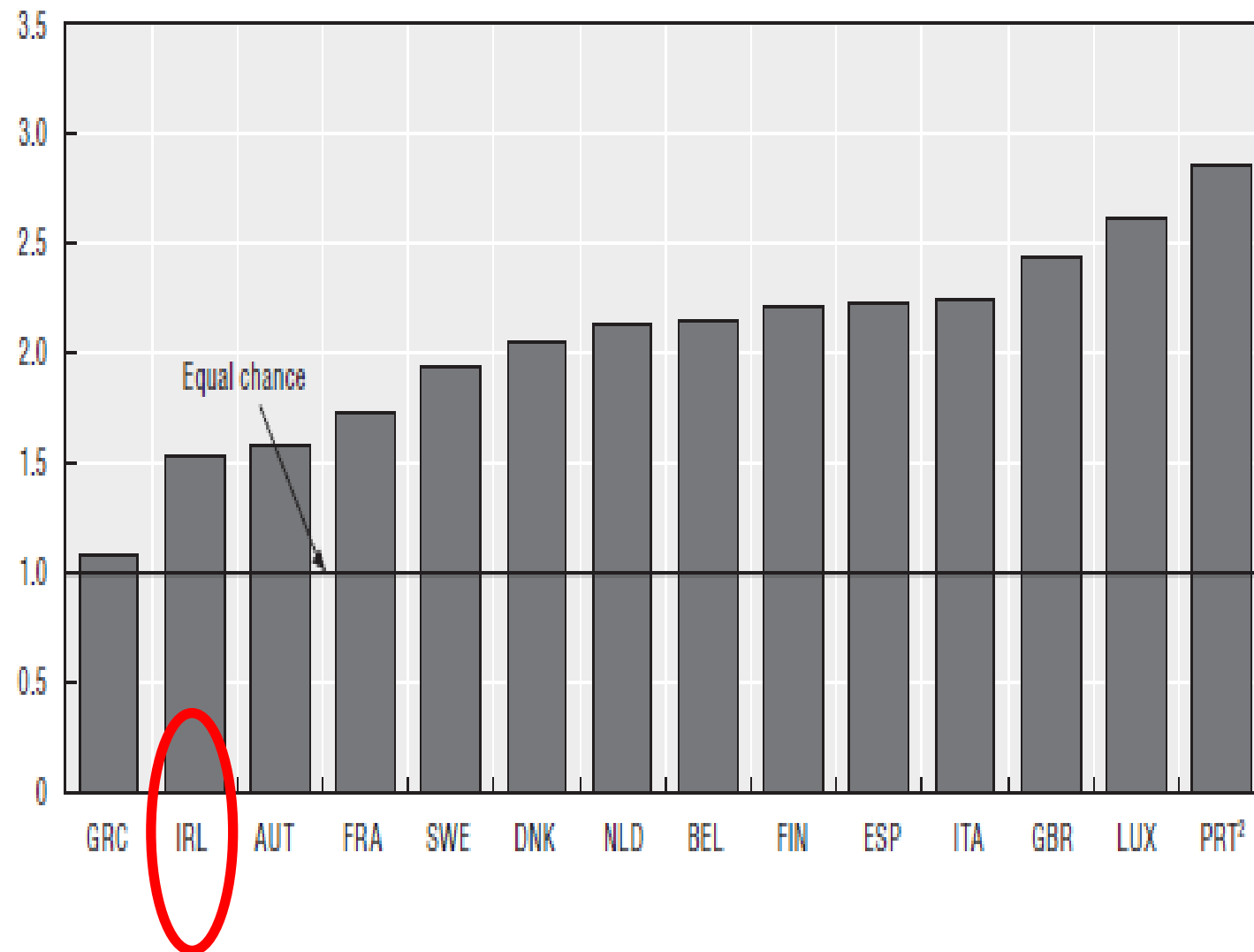


**EQUALITY?**

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**Not Necessary in  
Neoliberal Paradigm**

**Ratio of the chance  
of being in the top  
wage quartile for  
sons of higher-  
educated *vs.* lower-  
educated fathers: 1  
Selected European  
OECD countries**

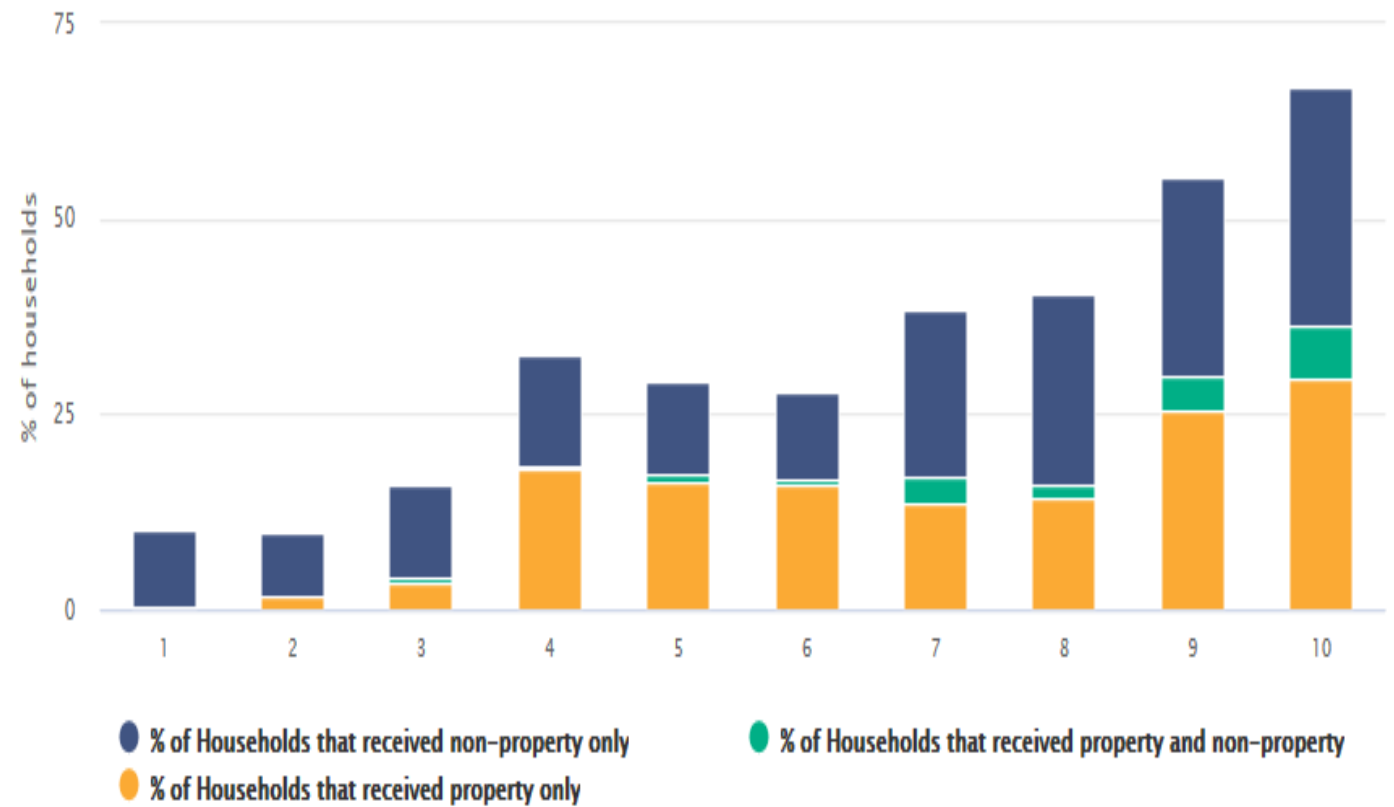




# A LAND OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY?

## Inheritance of Wealth by Decile

Figure 5.3 Percentage of households that received a substantial gift or inheritance by Net Wealth Decile



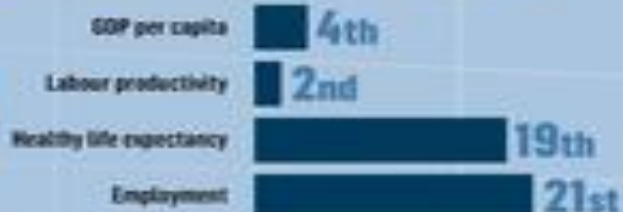
# Inclusive Development Index 2018

The world's advanced economies are prioritising policies that support short-term growth over inclusion and sustainability, according to the 2018 Inclusive Development Index, compiled by the World Economic Forum. The index seeks to measure a country's wider economic progress by including living standards, environmental sustainability and the protection of future generations from further indebtedness.

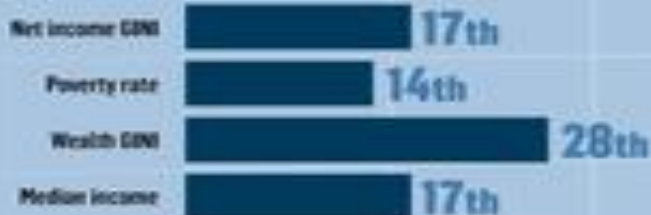
## HOW IRELAND PERFORMS

Rank out of 30 advanced economies

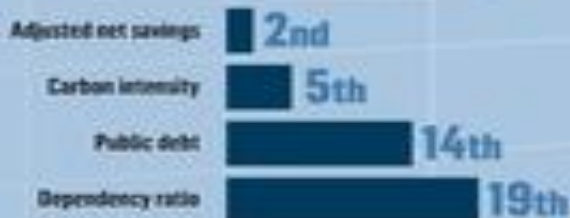
### GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT RANKING: 9th



### INCLUSION RANKING: 16th



### INTERGENERATIONAL EQUITY RANKING: 9th



Overall IDI  
ranking 2018

**8th**

out of 30 advanced  
economies

Overall Inclusive  
Development  
score 2018

**5.44**

1 = worst, 7 = best

## GLOBAL RANKINGS

Advanced Economies

● Receding ● Stable ● Advancing

- 1** NORWAY  
Score: 6.88
- 2** ICELAND  
Score: 6.87
- 3** LUXEMBOURG  
Score: 6.87
- 4** SWITZERLAND  
Score: 6.85
- 5** DENMARK  
Score: 5.81
- 6** SWEDEN  
Score: 5.78
- 7** NETHERLANDS  
Score: 5.81
- 8** IRELAND  
Score: 5.44
- 9** AUSTRALIA  
Score: 5.38
- 10** AUSTRIA  
Score: 5.35

Score out of seven 1 = worst, 7 = best

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# Neoliberalism & Ireland

# Implementing Universal Social Protection

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*“In order to fix its debt problems and restore its economy to growth ...Ireland implemented an austerity program in 2008 that, among other things, introduced a series of welfare cuts, such as a reduction in Child and Unemployment Benefits, that intensified the hollowing out of the welfare state...Ireland also recapitalized its failed banks, which had carried high levels of debt, by using public funds (e.g., funds that were available through the National Pension Reserve Fund).”*

**The Neoliberal Discourse has become engrained in our Daily Conversations.**

- **The Economic Paradigm.**

- **The Blame Conversation.**





# The Economic Paradigm – The Neoliberal Paradigm



- *"It's the economy, stupid."* (Bill Clinton Campaign)
- *"The country needs fiscal discipline to build a strong economy and for social justice"* (Smitri Irani)
- *"I believe in pursuing greater equality and tackling social justice – but...you can't do that unless you have a strong economy"* (Nicola Sturgeon)
- *"The economy is the start and end of everything. .. You can't have successful education reform or any other reform if you don't have a strong economy."* (David Cameron)



*“Neoliberal states favor the financial system over the well-being of their populations and environments.”*

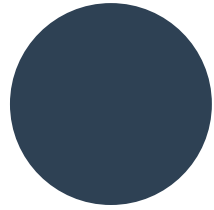
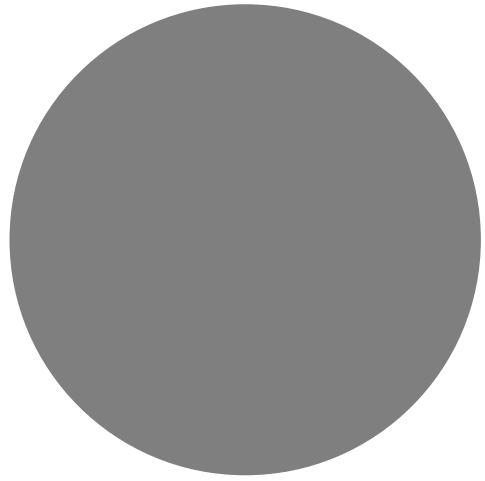


- Sowell N. Changes in Official Poverty and Inequality Rates in the Anglophone World in the Age of Neoliberalism. 2019 (<https://journals.openedition.org/angles/560>)



**Not Everyone Thinks the Economy is The Be All...**

- *“A strong economy causes an increase in the demand for housing, the increased demand for housing causes real-estate prices and rentals through the roof. And then affordable housing becomes completely inaccessible”.* (William Baldwin).
- *“The whole of the global economy is based on supplying the cravings of two percent of the world's population.”* (Bill Bryson)
- *“I think there's a lot of merit in an international economy and global markets, but they're not sufficient because markets don't look after social needs.”* (George Soros)



# BLAME

Blame the Poor for  
Being Poor.



# Blaming the Poor for Being Poor

- *Those within it grow up with a series of expectations: you can have a home of your own, the state will support you whatever decisions you make, you will always be able to take out no matter what you put in. This has sent out some incredibly damaging signals. That it pays not to work. That you are owed something for nothing. It gave us millions of working-age people sitting at home on benefits even before the recession hit. It created a culture of entitlement.'*
- David Cameron UK Prime Minister.



# Blaming the Poor for Being Poor

## Varadkar wants to lead party for ‘people who get up early in the morning’

Leadership front-runner rules out early election

🕒 Sat, May 20, 2017, 17:01

🕒 Updated: Sat, May 20, 2017, 17:06

Sarah Bardon

▶ Video

🖼 Images



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# Three explanations for Poverty.

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**Fatalism. Inequality is Inevitable**

**Individual Factors (Laziness; Incompetence; Irresponsibility)**

**Structural Factors (Housing / Employment/ Education / Income inequality,**

- Feagin JR. Poverty: we still believe that God helps those who help themselves. Psychol Today. 1972;1:101–29.

## **Vast majority of explanations for poverty attributed blame on individual causative factors.**

- Godfrey EB, Wolf S. Developing critical consciousness or justifying the system? A qualitative analysis of attributions for poverty and wealth among low-income racial/ethnic minority and immigrant women. *Cultur Divers Ethnic Minor Psychol.* 2016;22(1):93–103.  
doi:10.1037/cdp0000048

## **Biological Conception of Poverty – Reinforces the Undeserving Poor.**

- The Undeserving Poor: America's Enduring Confrontation with Poverty, by *Michael B. Katz*, 2013. A version of this article appeared in *Social Work & Society*, Vol 11, No 1, 2013.

# Blaming the Poor for Being Poor

- *A 2012 Pew Survey found 51% of US Republicans and 32% of Democrats believed the poor were poor due to 'lack of effort' whereas 29% and 63% respectively felt it was due to circumstances*

<http://www.msnbc.com/politicsnation/gop-blames-poverty-laziness#49786>



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By *Christine Gray*



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**DISABLED BENEFIT? JUST FILL IN A FORM**  
200,000 got handouts last year without face-to-face interview



**Kate's gown fit for a Greek goddess**

**SCROUNGERS**

**CROUNGIN LIES TAIN**

**BENEFITS RISING TWICE AS FAST AS SALARIES**

**£14k MIGRANT MUM: UK IS SOFT TOUCH**

**73% OF INCAPACITY CLAIMANTS ARE FIT TO WORK**

**SPONGERS CAN SUE TO CLAIM BENEFITS**

**4M SCROUNGIN**

**SICK BENEFIT 75% ARE FAKING**

**DAILY EXPRESS**

**CAROLINE AHERNE TV STAR FIGHTS LUNG CANCER**

**WIN \$500,000**

**SCROUNGERS ON £85,000 A YEAR BENEFITS**  
Madness of Britain's handout culture

**CLAUDIA LAWRENCE**  
Man, 59 quizzed over chef's 'murder'

**DAILY EXPRESS**

**Life doesn't begin at 40! How women only start to hit their peak at 52**

**WIN YEAR GROCERY SHOP FOR THE YEAR WITH TESCO**

**1.2M CRIMINALS GET BENEFITS**

**WHY BRITAIN IS SPONGERS' HEAVEN**

**FURY AT MUM ON £100,000 A YEAR BENEFITS**  
She's single, has six children and is living in a £2m house

**Daily Mail**

JK Rowling began writing Harry Potter books as a single parent on the dole

JK Rowling: "I am indebted to the British welfare state"

"I chose to remain a domiciled taxpayer, [not in] some tax haven"

**VILE PRODUCT OF WELFARE UK**



**HARRY POTTER**

**JK ROWLING: BENEFIT SCROUNGER**

**DAILY EXPRESS**

How dim can you get? Now the EU bans the 60w bulb

**MASSTIVE FLOORING MADNESS 25% OFF**

**4M SCROUNGING FAMILIES IN BRITAIN**  
And there's 370,000 households where no one has EVER worked



**London's no longer an English city, says John Cleese**

**WELFARE CHEATS  
CHEAT US ALL**

Welsh Government  
Department of Health



A man in a dark suit, light blue shirt, and patterned tie stands outdoors, holding a large red sign. The sign has the text "TAX CHEATS CHEAT US ALL" written in white, bold, sans-serif capital letters. The background is a blurred city street with trees and buildings.

**TAX CHEATS  
CHEAT US ALL**



A man in a dark suit, light blue shirt, and patterned tie stands in a city street. The background is blurred, showing trees and buildings. A large red banner is overlaid on the image, containing white text.

**CORPORATION  
TAX AVOIDERS  
CHEAT US ALL**

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**Philanthropy is less likely to expose and tackle unjust underlying structures.**

- Philip Alston



# Blaming the Poor for Being Drug Addicts.

- **Drug addiction is stigmatised worldwide. It has a higher social disapproval than leprosy, HIV positive status, homelessness, dirtiness, neglect of children, and a criminal record for burglary.**

- Room, R., J. Rehm, R.T. Trotter, A. Paglia, and T.B. Ustün. 2001. Cross-cultural views on stigma, valuation, parity and societal values towards disability. In *Disability and culture: universalism and diversity*, ed. T.B. Ustün, S. Chatterji, J.E. Bickenbach, R.T. Trotter, R. Room, J. Rehm, and S. Saxena, 247–291. Seattle: Hogrefe & Huber.
- Poverty is consistently associated internationally with illicit drug misuse.
- Count the costs. Count the costs: 50 years of the war on drugs: stigma briefing. <http://www.countthecosts.org/sites/default/files/Stigma-briefing.pdf>.
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- Fite PJ, Wynn P, Lochman JE, Wells KC. The Influence of Neighborhood Disadvantage and Perceived Disapproval on Early Substance Use Initiation *Addict Behav*. 2009 September; 34(9): 769–771. doi:10.1016/j.addbeh.2009.05.002.
- Fauth R, Leventhal T, Brooks-Gunn J. Welcome to the neighborhood? Long term impacts of moving to low poverty neighborhoods on poor children's and adolescents' outcomes. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 2007;17(2):249–284.
- Winstanley EL, Steinwachs DM, Ensminger ME, Latkin CA, Stitzer ML, Olsen Y. The association of self reported neighborhood disorganization and social capital with adolescent alcohol and drug use, dependence, and access to treatment. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 2008;92:173–182. [PubMed: 17913396]
- Pharo, H., Sim, C., Graham, M., Gross, J., & Havne, H. (2011). Risky business: Executive function, personality, and reckless behavior during adolescence and emerging adulthood. *Behavioral Neuroscience*, 125, 970–978.
- Najman, J. M., Clavarino, A., McGee, T. R., Bor, W., Williams, G. M., & Hayatbakhsh, M. R. (2010). Timing and chronicity of family poverty and development of unhealthy behaviors in children: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 46, 538–544.
- Moffitt, T. E., Arseneault, L., Belsky, D., Dickson, N., Hancox, R. J., Harrington, H., . . . Caspi, A. (2011). A gradient of childhood self-control predicts health, wealth, and public safety. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 108, 2693–2698.
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# Blaming the Poor for Being Criminals.

**Criminal offenders have been shown to be a highly stigmatized and discriminated against group. This affects their ability to integrate back into the community, obtain housing, social welfare, employment and utilise community resources and supports. In the US their ability to vote and their rights to housing are restricted.**

- Moore KE, Stuewig JB, Tangney JP. The Effect of Stigma on Criminal Offender's Functioning: A Longitudinal, Meditational Model. *Deviant Behav.* 2016;37(2):196–218. doi:10.1080/01639625.2014.1004035
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- Morani Nicole M, Wikoff Nora, Linhorst Donald M, Bratton Sheila. A Description of the Self-Identified Needs, Service Expenditures, and Social Outcomes of Participants of a Prison-Reentry Program. *The Prison Journal.* 2011;91:347–365.

***'The higher the concentration of poverty, the higher the levels of aggressive crime.'***

- Valdez A, Kaplan CD, Curtis Jr RL. Aggressive Crime, Alcohol and Drug Use, and Concentrated Poverty in 24 U.S. Urban Areas *Am J Drug Alcohol Abuse.* 2007 ; 33(4): 595–603. doi:10.1080/00952990701407637.



# Blaming the Poor for Being Homeless.

*“The tragedy is that homeless people have the additional perverse burden of bearing the blame for their own exclusion.”*

- Ramanuj PP. Bearing the cost of the American dream: reflecting on street homelessness in America. *BJPsych Int.* 2019;16(1):11–13. doi:10.1192/bji.2017.32

**It is agreed almost universally that poverty is a key contributory factor to becoming homeless.**

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- Somerville P. *Understanding Homelessness, Housing, Theory and Society*, 2013 DOI:10.1080/14036096.2012.756096





## Blaming Poor Migrants for being Poor Migrants.

*“When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best. . . .They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.”*

(Prize for naming person to whom quote attributed to!)

*“Poor health services, little educated and qualified work force and poverty are a fertile background promoting migration of individuals in search of better life.”*

Castelli F. Drivers of migration: why do people move? 2018 Jul 1;25(1). doi: 10.1093/jtm/tay040.

**DAILY MAIL**

**EXCLUSIVE**  
Camilla: My crusade for victims of rape

**ASYLUM SEEKERS FERRIED AROUND IN STRETCH LIMO**  
Asylum seekers, you're jacking up the £1,000 bill

**40% SURGE IN ETHNIC YOUNG NUMBERS**

**MIGRANTS ROB YOUNG BRITONS OF JOBS**

**FREE INSIDE**  
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**MAN ON THE MOON**  
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**MESSING SCHOOLGIRL**

**MAN STEPS ON TO MOON**

**10p DA**  
Shark attack was 'perfect' says heartbeats

**5p DAILY EXPRESS**

**DOLLY PARTON I HAVEN'T GOT CANCER... IT'S KIDNEY STONES**

**UNDERWEAR BOSS SENT MYSTERY GIFT TO CAMERON**

**CHILDREN TOLD TO COOK AND CLEAN FOR MIGRANTS**

**Sin bin for Boris after rugby rock**

**Gordon Brown for hire: Now he wants \$100,000 a time to give speeches**

**How fatty foods can be healthy**

**MIGRANTS ROB YOUNG BRITONS OF JOBS**

**As more foreigners come in youth unemployment soars**

**FISHERMAN LANDS BILLIONAIRE BRIDE**

**DAILY EXPRESS**

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**SUSPECT IS KILLER MIGRANT**

**Victorious backlash after Andy Murray supports Scottish independence**

**WORLD'S BEST**

**Sandals**

**AUTUMN**

**YOUTH, 17 CHARGED WITH RHYS MURDER**

**Shannon's mother on trial with man accused of kidnap**

**IMMIGRANTS BRING MORE CRIME**

**QUEEN HELEN AMOR**

**Daily Mail**

**FAMILY HOLIDAYS FROM £15** HUNDREDS OF EUROPEAN & UK LOCATIONS

**4,000 FOREIGN MURDERERS AND RAPISTS WE CAN'T THROW OUT**

**...and, yes, you can blame human rights again**

**Jim Davidson**

Migrants are to Blame.



## **The Double F\*\*\*k**

### **F\*\*\*K ONE:**

- We create a society where children are born into poverty.





## The Double F\*\*\*k

### F\*\*\*K TWO:

- We blame those who are affected by poverty for being poor.

**Stop making a society to serve the economy,  
stupid.....**

**Stop making a society to serve the economy,  
stupid.....**

**Make an economy to serve society, .....**

**Community**

**Equity**

**Education**

**Employment**

**Relationships**

**Participation**

**Environment**

**Future**

**Home**

**Children**

**Security**

**Neighbours**