The Covid-19 pandemic as tipping point? Health, wellbeing and the "inequality machine" in the post-pandemic world

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(Slides may be revised before presentation)



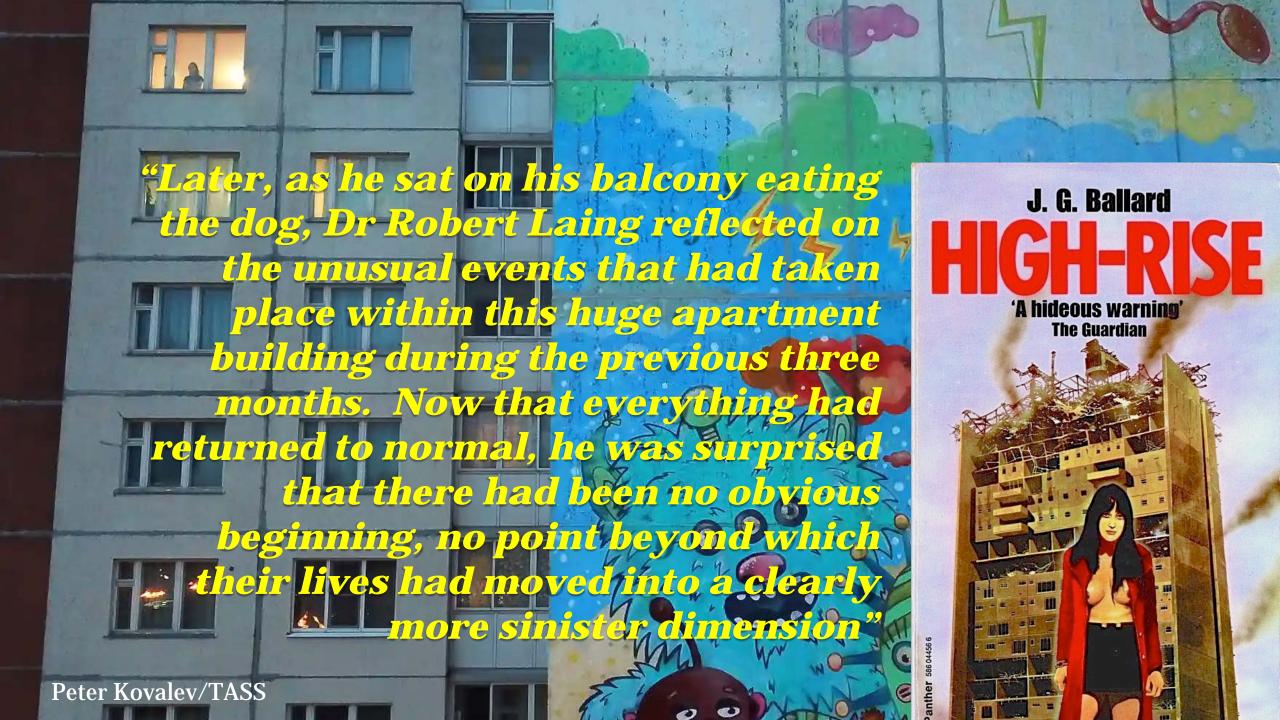
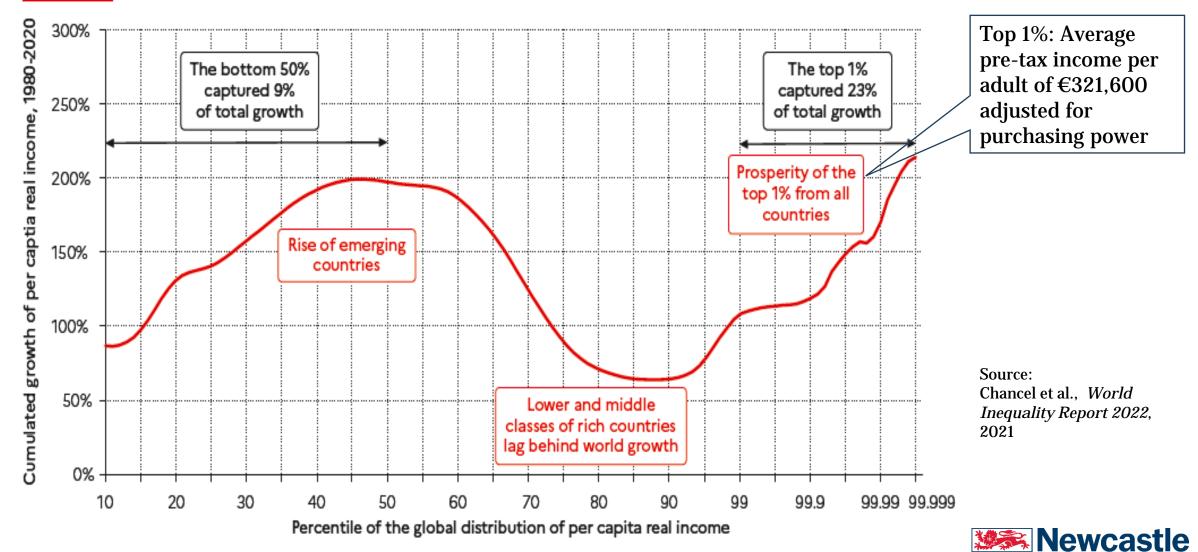
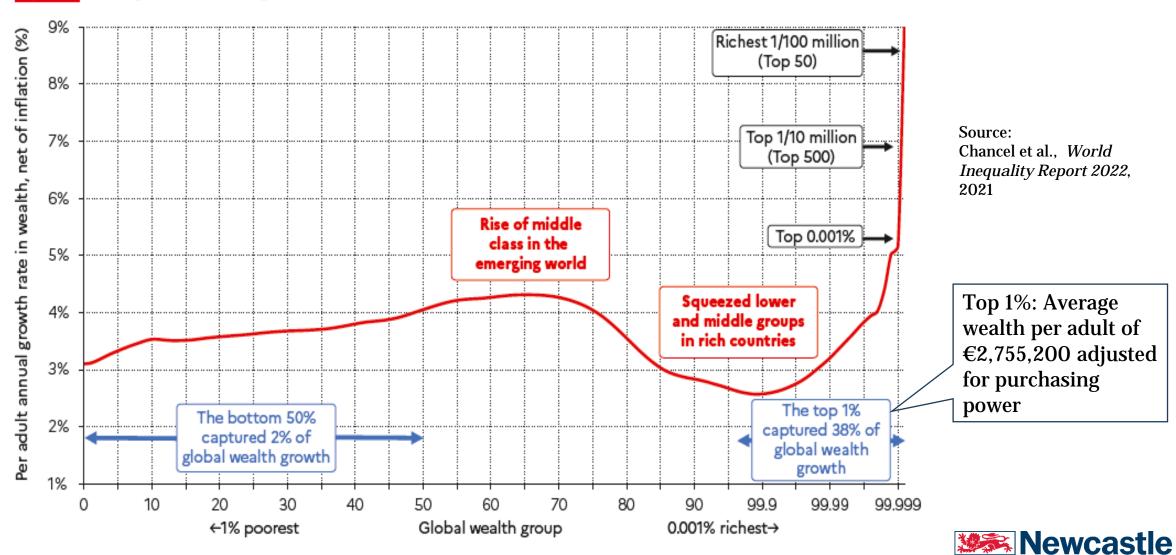


Figure 2.10 The elephant curve of global inequality, 1980-2020



University

Figure 9 Average annual wealth growth rate, 1995-2021



University

The "inequality machine" (Halimi, 2013): Within-country inequality growing in much of the world

The income share of the top 1 percent has significantly increased in China, India and the Russian Federation since the early 1980s



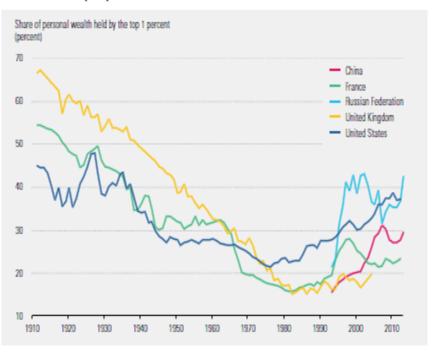
Note: Distribution of per adult pretax national income growth. See http://wid. world/methodology for country-level information on the series. Income growth between 2016 and 2018 is assumed to be distribution neutral.

Source: Based on data from the World Inequality Database (http://WID world)

The pretax income share of the top 10 percent in the United States rose from around 35 percent in 1980 to close to 47 percent in 2014

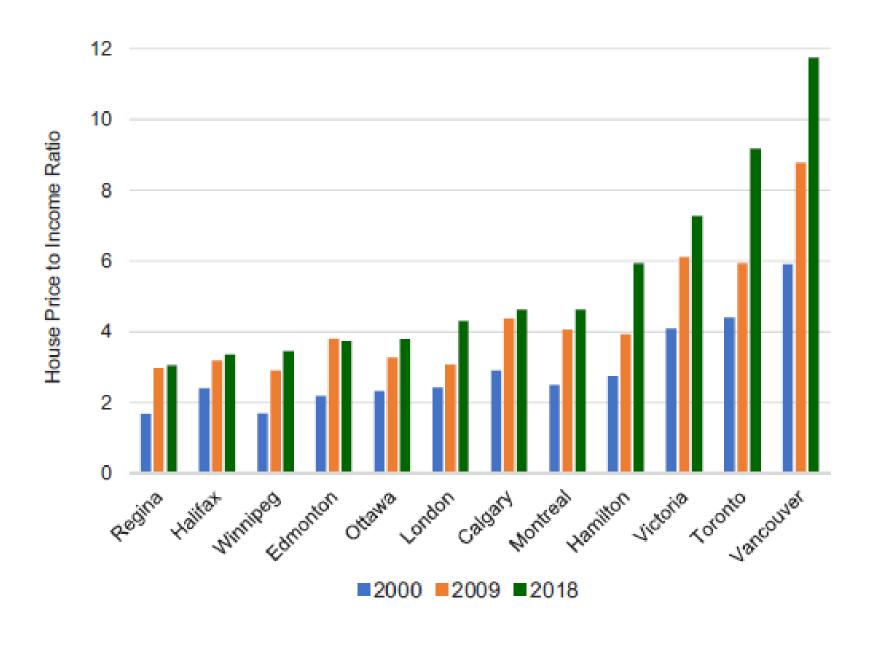


Trends in wealth inequality









House prices and median household incomes, major Canadian cities

Source: Gordon, 2020



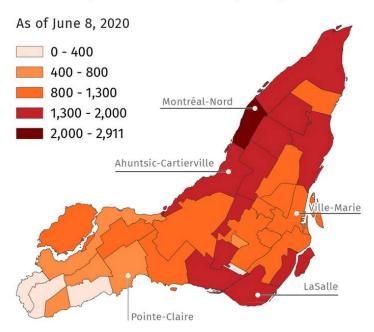
The unequal pandemic

• Pandemic impacts were unequal in terms of risk of infection (front-line and "essential" workers vs. home workers; aged care home residents); vulnerability to economic losses (unequal entitlement to paid sick leave; already precarious work); susceptibility worsened by pre-existing conditions; 'global North' vs. 'global South' (living conditions, access to vaccines, household and national fiscal capacity) (see generally Bambra et al. 2021; WHO, 2021)

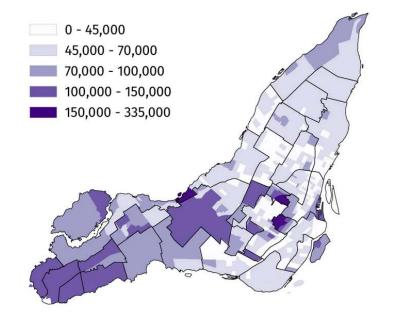


The dangers of deprivation: A Canadian example

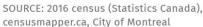
Total confirmed COVID-19 cases per 100,000 people



Median total income of households in 2015 (\$)



Source: Rocha et al., 2020

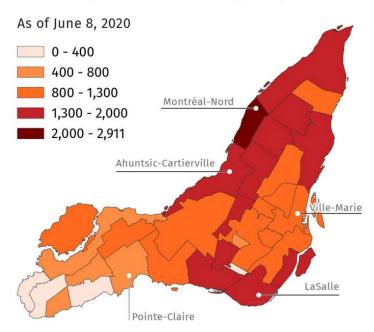




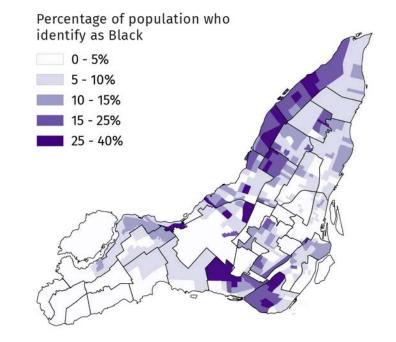


The dangers of racialization: A Canadian example

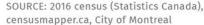
Total confirmed COVID-19 cases per 100,000 people



Black population



Source: Rocha et al., 2020

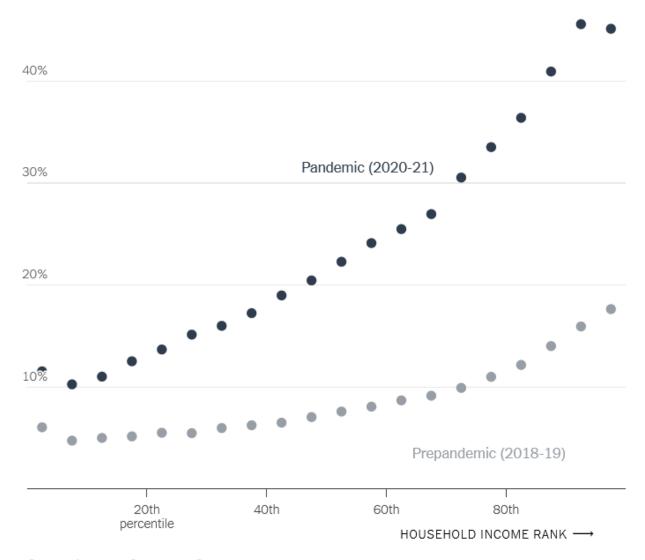






High Earners Became Even More Likely to Work Remotely

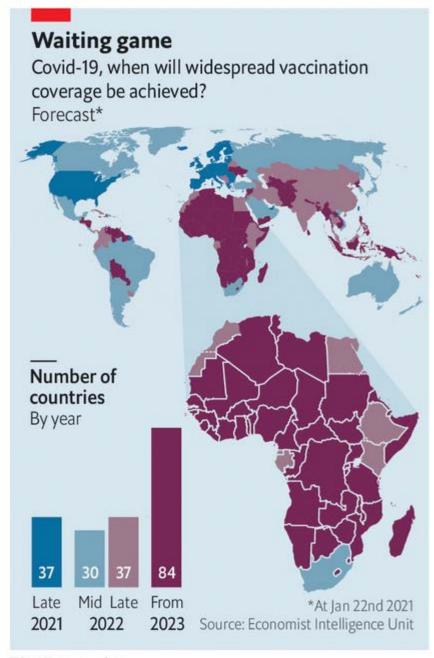
Percent working from home, by income rank



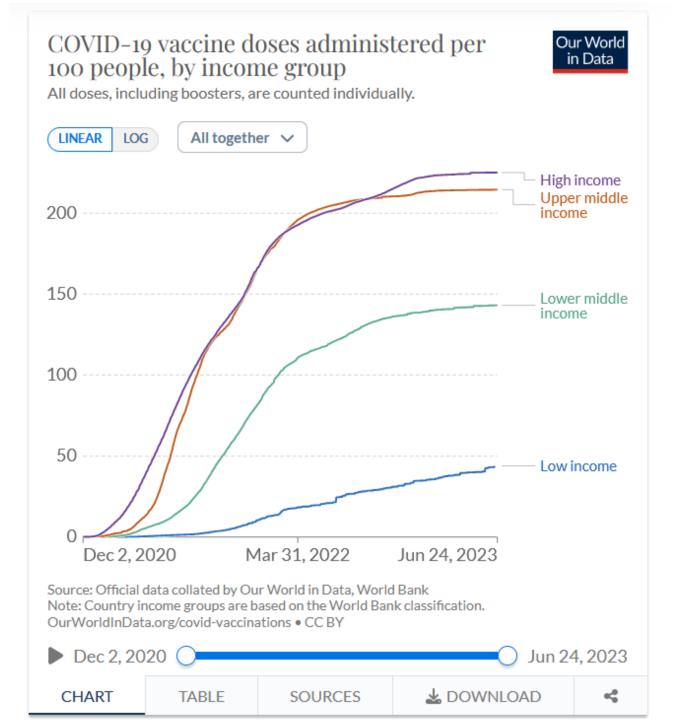
Source: American Community Survey

Source: Badger et al., 2023



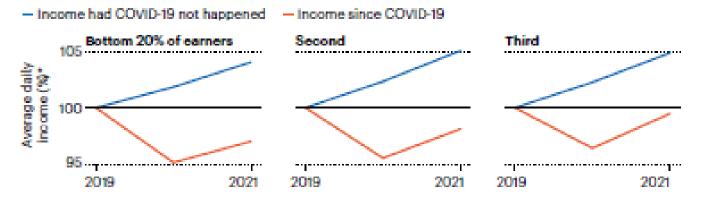


The Economist

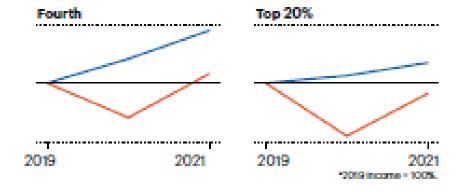


Unequal recovery of pandemic income losses

The world's poorest people are taking the longest to recover income losses caused by the pandemic



Source: Sidik, 2022



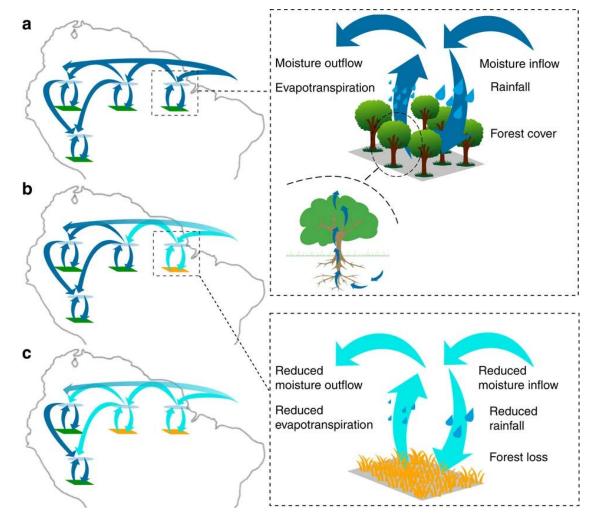




Key analytical concept: The pandemic as tipping point

- Tipping points "occur when there is strongly self-amplifying (mathematically positive) feedback within a system such that a small perturbation can trigger a large response from the system, sending it into a qualitatively different future state" (Lenton, 2020)
- Stated more colloquially, "sometimes little things can make a big difference," or at least a disproportionate difference, "to the state and/or fate of a system" (Lenton, 2013)

The tipping point problem



Source: Zemp et al., 2017

"The findings imply that shifts in Earth ecosystems occur over 'human' timescales of years and decades, meaning the collapse of large vulnerable ecosystems, such as the Amazon rainforest and Caribbean coral reefs, may take only a few decades once triggered" (Cooper et al., 2020) – so, what happens if the Amazon rainforest no longer generates enough moisture to support rainfall, and the region turns into savannah or steppe? **Newcastle**

The tipping point problem

 Social scientific analysis must also understand tipping points as occurring when magnification or acceleration of existing trends drastically changes distributions of resources or the shape of institutions and creates new path dependencies: situations in which the consequences of past policy choices make certain future directions extremely difficult to pursue or politically unviable. (Adoption of formulae for amending constitutions is a case in point.)



Tipping points do not have to be negative! The pandemic could have been a positive tipping point in several ways



The U.S. Built a European-Style Welfare State. It's Largely Over.

By Claire Cain Miller and Alicia Parlapiano Updated May 11, 2023

In the early, panicked days of the pandemic, the United States government did something that was previously unimaginable. It transformed itself, within weeks, into something akin to a European-style welfare state.

Congress rapidly fortified the social safety net, making it much stronger than at any point. It made policies like Medicaid and food stamps more generous. It created new federal benefits like paid sick and caregiving leave, and free school lunches. And it made some pandemic benefits, like stimulus checks and child allowances, nearly universal. The government is estimated to have spent about \$5 trillion helping individuals and businesses since March 2020.

Since then, most of it has been disbanded. When the public health emergency ends Thursday night, certain benefits, including free Covid tests and extensions for food stamp recipients, will begin to expire. Last month, Medicaid began unenrolling an estimated 15 million Americans who were guaranteed coverage during the pandemic, one of the longest-lasting benefits. A few policies — including rental assistance, child care grants and more generous health insurance credits — won't expire until next year or the year after. But for the most part, the pandemic-era American welfare state is over.

This was by design: The policies were created as a response to the crisis and wound down as the acute phase of the pandemic ended and the economy reopened. Efforts to extend certain programs — or to formally create a more generous safety net, as President Biden laid out in his large social spending bill — have failed.

There has been little political will to make policies permanent because they did not emerge from a deeper shift in how Americans view the role of government or the rights of citizens, said Sheri Berman, a political science professor at Barnard College who has <u>studied</u> social democracies.

"The set of goals — protecting people from the downsides of unemployment, helping

For example: Social protection programs can reduce deprivation quickly and effectively



Tipping points do not have to be negative! The pandemic could have been a positive tipping point in several ways ... but its effects are likely to be negative from a health equity perspective, on multiple scales



"Evidence from developed countries suggests that APPs [asset purchase] programs, or quantitative easing] have had adverse distributional effects, disproportionately benefiting rich households and widening wealth inequalities. Capital gains from rising stock, bond or housing prices account for a significant share of total income for top earners, especially the top 1 per cent, but are negligible for groups in the bottom of the income distribution. In addition, wealthy households invest a much larger share of their portfolios in financial assets, especially equities, which have registered the strongest price gains since the onset of the current crisis. According to preliminary estimates, the top 1 per cent of income earners in the United States registered net wealth gains of about \$3.5 million per person between the first quarter of 2020 and the second quarter of 2021. The bottom 20 per cent recorded an increase of only about \$5,300 per person. The APPs also likely increased gender inequalities since women tend to have less wealth and income than men and are less likely to invest in risky assets" (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2022)

The new normal: Deepening inequality

- US\$ millionaires worldwide: 46.8 million in mid-2019, the last prepandemic year; 62.5 million in 2021 (Shorrocks et al., 2019; 2022)
- "[G]lobal billionaire wealth increased by more than 50% between 2019 and 2021" (Chancel et al., 2021); real-time updates at https://www.forbes.com/real-time-billionaires/#664c4bfc3d78
- For the rest of us, cost of living crisis associated with inflationary stimuli, supply chain disruptions → energy, food insecurity, *financialized housing* increasingly unaffordable



Seven bidders vie for York Mills house that sells \$701,000 over asking

SYDNIA YU

TORONTO SPECIAL TO THE GLOBE AND MAIL PUBLISHED 9 HOURS AGO



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43 COMMENTS

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BOOKMARK

60 Fenn Ave., Toronto

Asking price: \$1,849,000 (February, 2023)

Selling price: \$2,550,000 (February, 2023)

Previous selling prices: \$640,000 (August, 2003); \$435,000 (October, 2000)

Taxes: \$11,969 (2022)

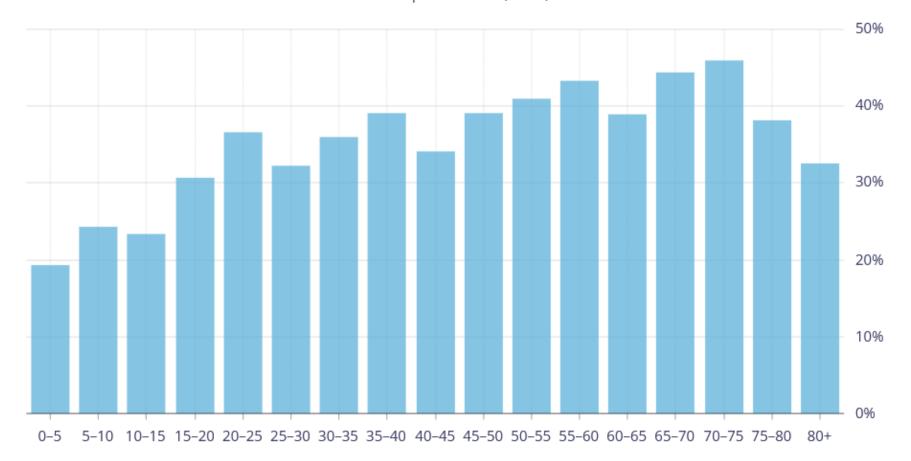


Chart 1: House prices have increased more in suburbs than downtown



Last observation: 2021

Average increase in house prices between 2019 and 2021, by distance from the downtown area of Canada's major census metropolitan areas (CMAs)



Source: Morel, 2022

Distance from the city centre of one of Canada's 15 major CMAs (kilometres)

Sources: Teranet, National Bank and Bank of Canada calculations





Source: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/OEHRENWBSHNO



Inequality and tipping points

- "The exchange relation between incumbents and supporters is the essence of state action" (Evans, 1992), whatever the structure of domestic political institutions
- The post-pandemic spike in inequality may mean the tipping point beyond which it cannot be reduced effectively by way of social policy has already occurred in many jurisdictions, as the effects of globalization-related "fiscal termites" (Tanzi, 2001 and later) are magnified

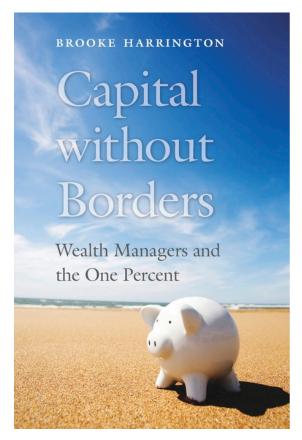






Inequality and tipping points

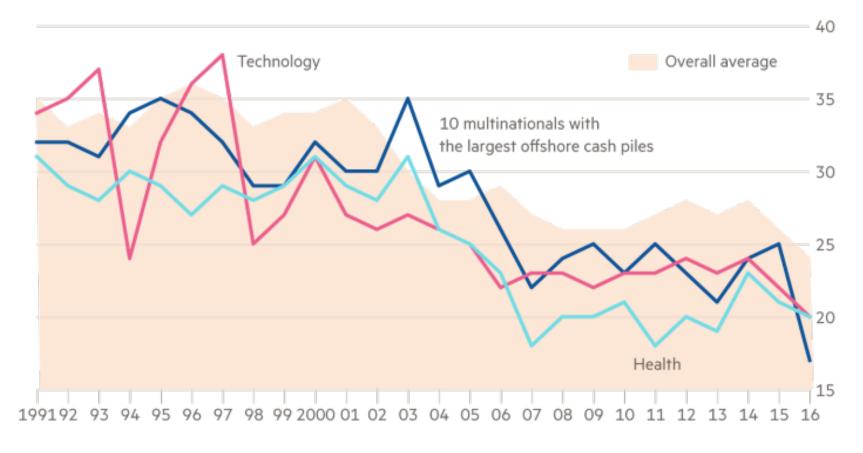
"[M]any countries are already more receptive and accessible to wealth managers, who are acting on behalf of the world's richest people, than they are to elected representatives from their own governments [T]he high-net-worth individuals of the world are largely ungoverned, and ungovernable.What this is doing to the Westphalian host system is similar in some respects to what e-commerce has done to bricksand-mortar business, destroying it in a race to the bottom" (Harrington, 2016)





Companies are paying lower taxes

Effective corporate tax rates for selected sectors (%)



Transnational corporations shifted US\$667 billion in profits to tax havens in 2016 (Tørsløv et al., 2019)

Sources: FT calculations, S&P Capital IQ © FT

Source: Toplensky, 2018





Inequality and tipping points: The politics go much deeper than the one-percenters and TNCs

"[S]ustained inflation of property values ... has fundamentally shifted the social class structure, from a logic that was structured around employment towards one that is organized around participation in asset ownership and appreciation" (Adkins et al., 2022)



Inequality and tipping points:The case of wealth taxation

"[I]n light of the further increase in inequality resulting from this crisis the case for a wealth tax seems irrefutable" (UNCTAD, 2020)

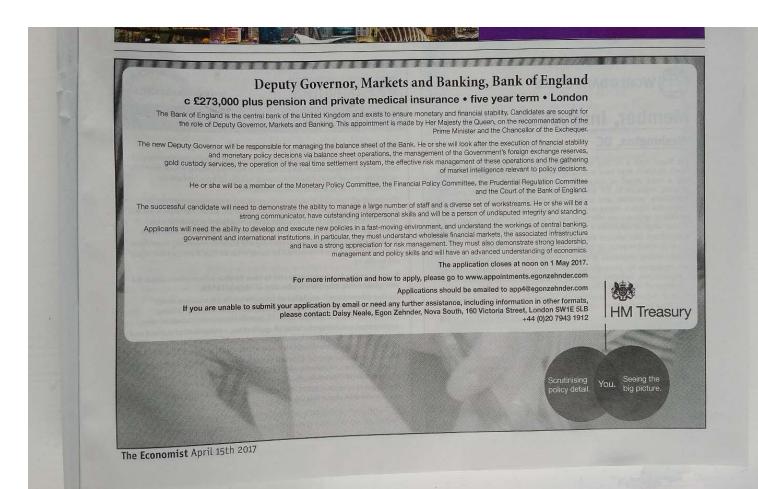
"Policies until recently considered eccentric, such as basic income and wealth taxes, will have to be in the mix" (*Financial Times* editorial board, 2020)

Probable future UK Labour finance minister says plans to increase top marginal rate of income tax "are off the table — as is any form of wealth tax" (interview with Malnick, 2023)



Among probable early casualties: Beveridgestyle, tax-funded universal health coverage

"[A] well-functioning modern health system requires the transfer, through taxation, of a very significant amount of money from the healthy and wealthy to the care of the unhealthy and unwealthy" (Evans, 2012)





NEWS

Unfortunately, the situation can be dire for some, with reports from Quebec, Alberta, Manitoba, British Columbia, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia during the past year of patients tragically dying after waiting for hours in crowded hospitals, unable to get the care they need.



Health-care workers are seen at North York General Hospital in Toronto on May 26, 2020. Hundreds of emergency physicians in Calgary and British Columbia have signed open letters in recent weeks to sound the alarm about the worsening ER crisis. (Evan Mitsui/CBC)

HEALT

Quarter of GPs opt for private cover, survey suggests

NHS waiting lists are at a record high



A further 15 per cent said they were considering it

Share











A quarter of GPs have private medical insurance, a survey has revealed, with widespread concerns among the profession about NHS waiting times and treatment availability.

The poll for the GPs' magazine Pulse found that 21 per cent had personal private medical insurance, and 4 per cent had it funded through an employer.

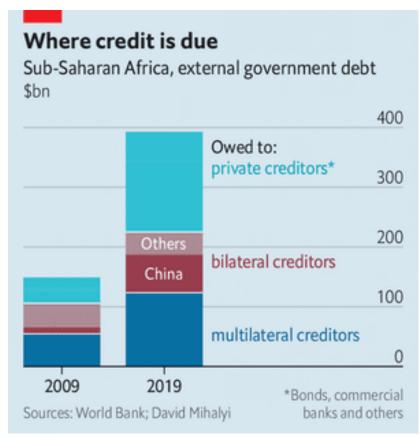
The new normal: Deepening inequality in a world of polycrisis

• Polycrisis: "a cluster of related global risks with compounding effects, such that the overall impact exceeds the sum of each part" (World Economic Forum, 2023)





Outside the high-income world, debt crises on the horizon



• No fewer than 64 low- and middle-income country (LMIC) governments were spending more on debt servicing than on public health care in the last pre-pandemic year of 2019 (Jubilee Debt Campaign, 2020), and 25 countries spent more than 20 percent of total government revenues on debt servicing in 2022 (Ecker et al., 2023)

The Economist

Source: *Economist*, 2021

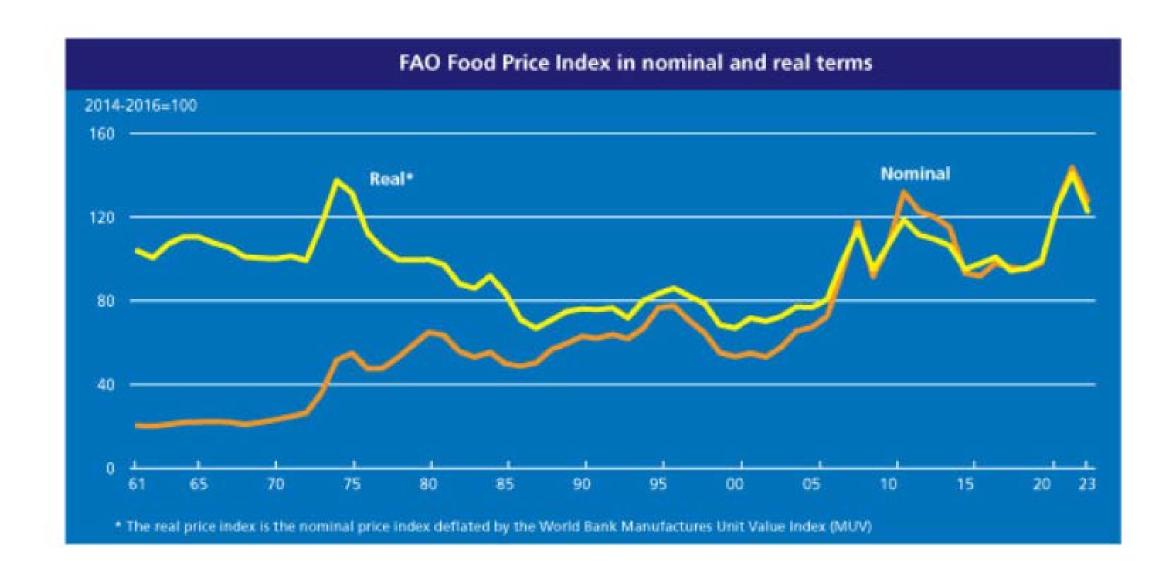


Global debt situation

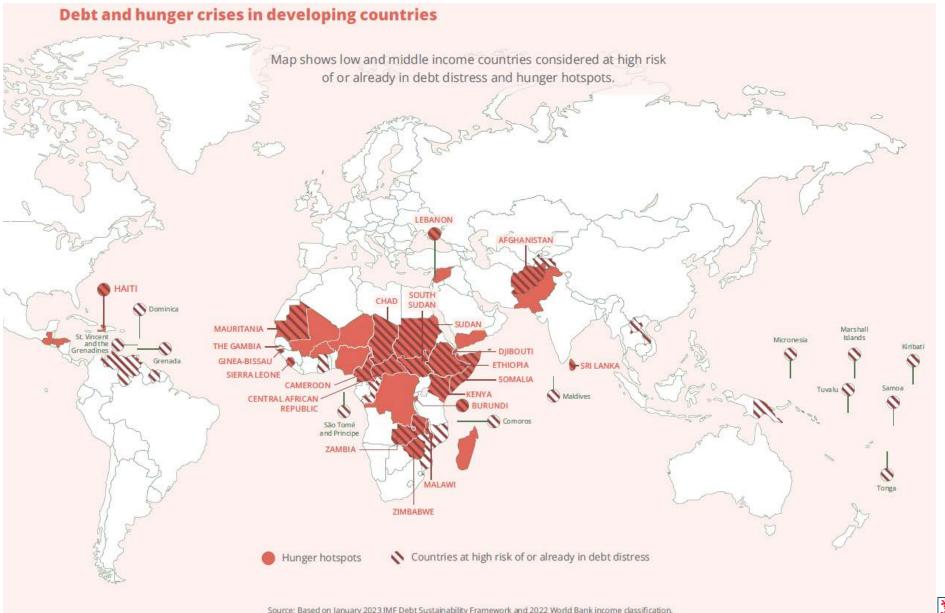
Map showing the debt situation of critically indebted countries in the Global South as well as the debt trend



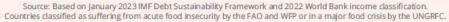
Source: Committee for the Abolition of Illegitimate Debt; https://www.cadtm.org/Global-Sovereign-Debt-Monitor-2022







Source: International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems, 2023





'Crisis talk': A crucial caveat

 All experiences of crisis, indeed often whether particular features of the post-pandemic world manifest as crisis or opportunity, depend - as did the direct impacts of the pandemic - on social situation: interactions of inter alia class, gender, racialized status, and place GLOBAL PUBLIC HEALTH 2021, VOL. 16, NOS. 8-9, 1396-1410 https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2021.1908395





COVID-19 and the political geography of racialisation: Ethnographic cases in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Detroit

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ABSTRACT

The COVID-19 pandemic has overwhelmed health systems around the globe, and intensified the lethality of social and political inequality. In the United States, where public health departments have been severely defunded, Black, Native, Latinx communities and those experiencing poverty in the country's largest cities are disproportionately infected and disproportionately dying. Based on our collective ethnographic work in three global cities in the U.S. (San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Detroit), we identify how the political geography of racialisation potentiated the COVID-19 crisis, exacerbating the social and economic

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 15 October 2020 Accepted 13 March 2021

KEYWORDS

Racialisation; political geography; inequality; COVID-19; United States; medical anthropology

"After all, nobody got up one balmy afternoon on the Capitoline Hill sometime in the fifth century and said that the Roman empire was over and the Dark Ages had begun" (Rieff, 1993)





"Everybody Knows" (Leonard Cohen)

"Everybody knows that the dice are loaded Everybody rolls with their fingers crossed

• • • •

Everybody know that the fight was fixed The poor stay poor, the rich get rich That's how it goes Everybody knows

Everybody knows that the boat is leaking Everybody knows that the captain lied"







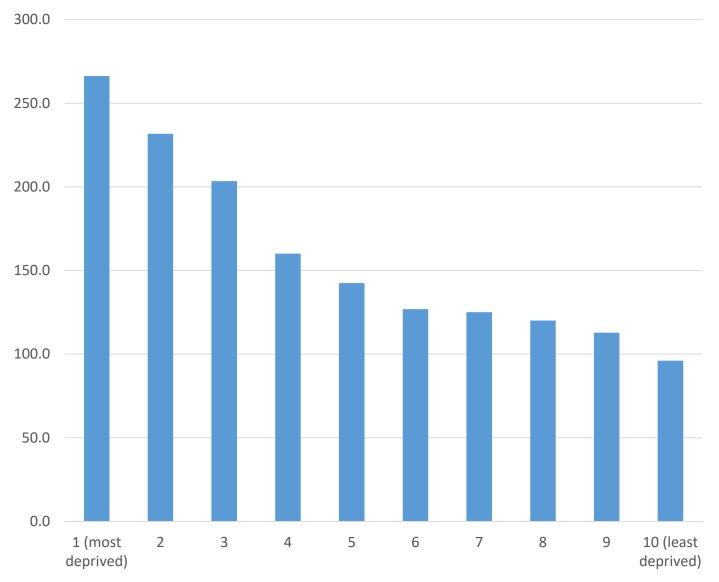
"All observations of life are harsh, because life is. I lament that fact, but I cannot change it" (Margaret Atwood, *The Tent*, 2006)



Supplementary slides



Covid-19 death rate per 100,000 people (agestandardized)



The dangers of deprivation: Deaths from Covid-19 by local area deprivation decile, England and Wales, March-December 2020

Source: Office for National Statistics, https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/deaths/datasets/deathsduetocovid19bylocalareaanddeprivation



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RESEARCH ARTICLE



Vaccine politics: Law and inequality in the pandemic response to COVID-19

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Abstract

International mechanisms failed to achieve equitable distribution of COVID-19 vaccines-prolonging and deepening the pandemic. To understand why, we conduct process tracing of the first year of international policymaking on vaccine equity. We find that, in the absence of a single venue for global negotiation, two competing law and policy paradigms emerged. One focused on demand and voluntary action by states and firms, while the alternative focused on opening knowledge and expanding production through national and international law. While these could have been complementary, power inequalities between key actors kept the second paradigm from gaining traction on the global agenda. The failure of the prevailing policy paradigm to secure equity is explained, not by unforeseen technical and financing challenges as some suggest, but by a fundamental misalignment with the political environment. While norm entrepreneurs encouraged sharing, political incentives pushed governments towards securing and hoarding doses. Firms responded to the latter. Mechanisms like COVAX proved incapable of countering these predictable international and domestic political forces. Earlier funding would not likely have changed the behaviour of states or firms in the absence of legal commitment. Barring significant geopolitical changes, a shift to include open/supply-focused policies will be necessary to achieve equity in future pandemics.

1 | A POLITICALLY UNSOUND APPROACH TO EQUITY

Within weeks of the first reported cases of SARS-CoV-2, scientists were already working on a vaccine for the virus that would rapidly trigger the COVID-19 pandemic. High-profile efforts to ensure equitable distribution of those vaccines to the world were announced not long after—with political and global health leaders setting out plans to ensure equity well before any effective vaccine was available. Not only

A year after the first vaccines were registered, 9 billion doses had been administered, but just 1% of them were delivered in low-income countries (Our World in Data, 2022). Seventy-two per cent of the population in Western Europe had been fully vaccinated, but just 4% in Western Africa had been (Schellekens, 2022b). The highest-profile global vaccine equity effort, the COVID-19 Vaccine Global Access Facility (COVAX), reached less than half of its goal of distributing 2 billion doses in 2021 (UNICEF, 2022). As the share of COVID-19 deaths fell in highly vaccinated countries and

We Charge Vaccine Apartheid?

Matiangai Sirleaf

1: UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, BALTIMORE, MD, USA.

Keywords: Health Inequity, Vaccine Nationalism, Global Public Health, Health Justice, Medical Apartheid

Abstract: Vaccine apartheid is creating conditions that make for premature death, poverty, and disease in racialized ways. Invoking vaccine apartheid as opposed to euphemisms like vaccine nationalism, is necessary to highlight the racialized distributional consequences of vaccine inequities witnessed with COVID-19. This commentary clarifies the concept of vaccine apartheid against the historical and legal usage of apartheid. It reflects on the connections and important disjunctions between the two. It places the intellectual property regime under heightened scrutiny for reform and transformation. This commentary finds that drawing on the intersections between a human rights and health justice approach can provide creative and novel approaches for anti-subordination. It concludes that acknowledging and naming the structural injustice of vaccine apartheid is only the first step towards providing redress.

"[T]he world is in vaccine apartheid."

- Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus,
World Health Organization Director-General,
May 17, 2021

"Today we are witness to a vaccine apartheid that is only serving the interests of powerful and profitable pharmaceutical corporations while costing us the quickest and least harmful route out of this crisis."

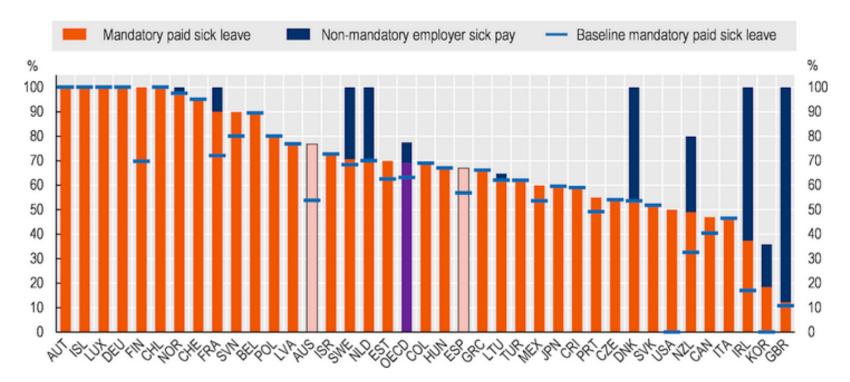
 Winnie Byanyima, Executive Director, UNAIDS, January 29, 2021²

Introduction

Vaccine apartheid as a concept calls attention to the effect and impact of inequitable laws and policies on historically subordinated peoples. Fatima Hassan, the founder of Health Justice Initiative, an NGO in South Africa, characterized the 'prioritizing access for some countries and for some people, largely based on wealth and geography, and, in turn, resulting in a mostly self-

Social protection matters: Wide variation in entitlement to paid sick leave

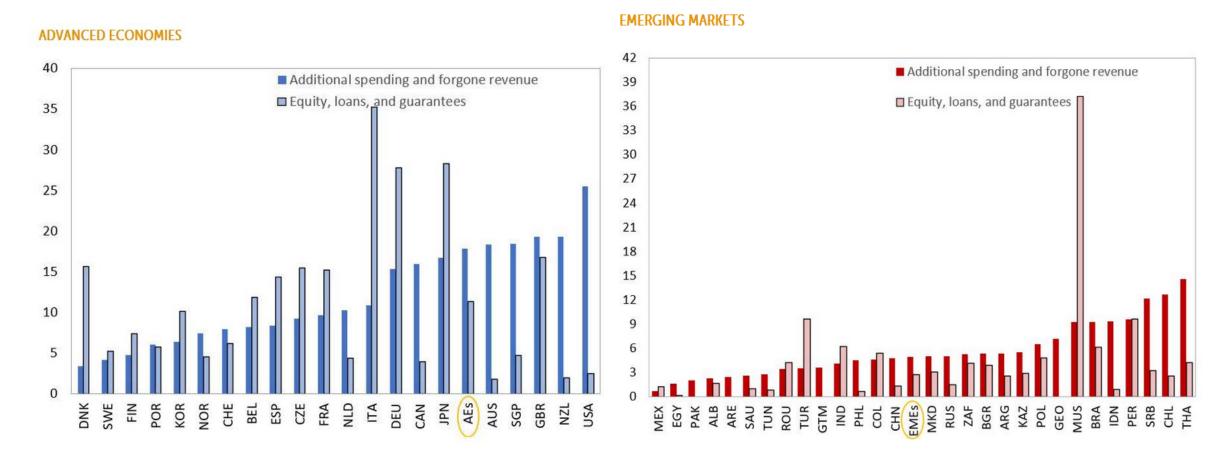
Cumulated gross sick-leave payments in the first four weeks of sick leave due to COVID-19 as a percentage of previous earnings, rules valid in early June 2020



Source: OECD (2020). Figures for "an eligible full-time private-sector employee who is married with no kids, age 40, earning an average wage and working with the same employer for one year who cannot work from home"



Discretionary response to Covid-19, selected economies (% of 2020 GDP)

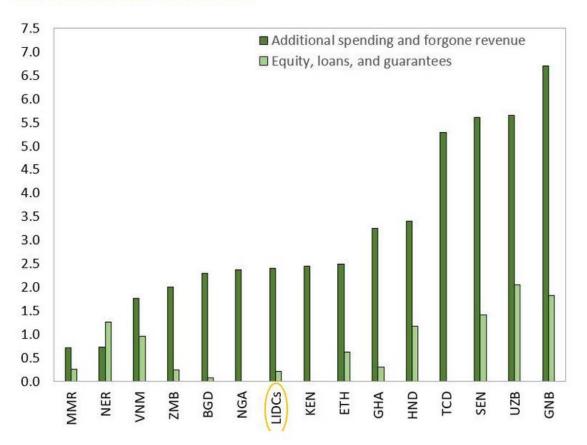


Source: IMF; https://www.imf.org/en/Topics/imf-and-covid19/Fiscal-Policies-Database-in-Response-to-COVID-19

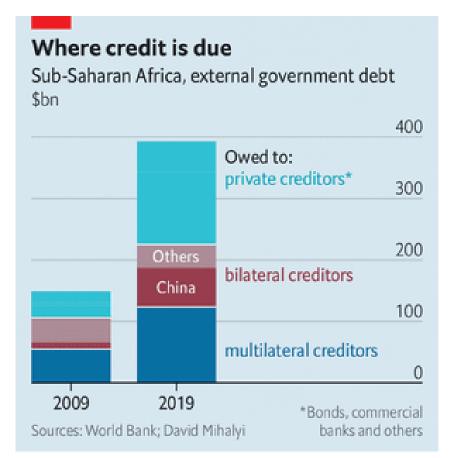


Discretionary response to Covid-19, selected economies (% of 2020 GDP)

LOW-INCOME DEVELOPING COUNTRIES



Source: IMF; https://www.imf.org/en/Topics/imf-and-covid19/Fiscal-Policies-Database-in-Response-to-COVID-19



The Economist

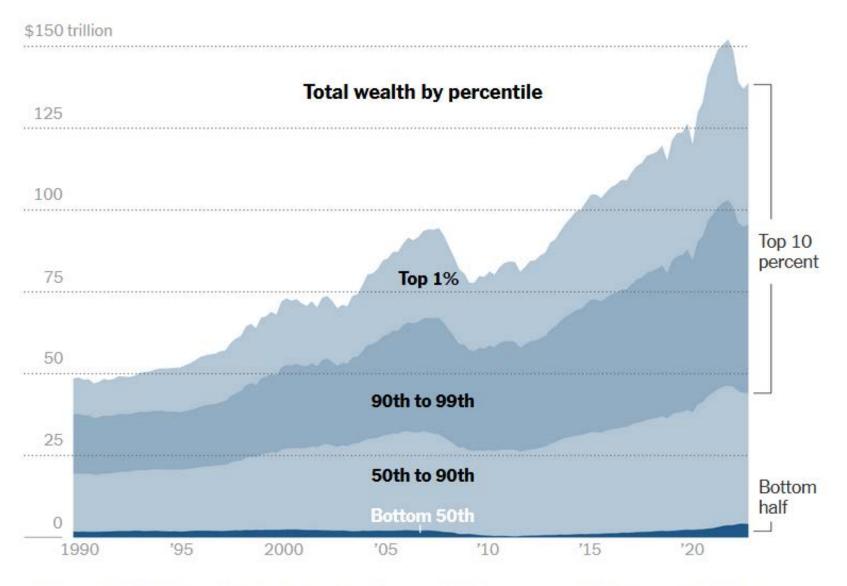
Source: Economist, 2021



"Necrostratification": Another powerful concept

Necrostratification "pertains to the persistence of hierarchy and differentiation among apparently distinctive groups within a given political community. Necrostratification demonstrates how the biopolitical claims of those at the dominant class are prioritised, while coercion, repression, and harassment (and deprivation from any welfare assistance) increase as one traverses towards the bottom of the hierarchy" (Regilme, 2023)





Wealth in the United States: Concentrated among the top 10 percent of households

Source: Smith, 2023

Notes: As of the fourth quarter of 2022. Wealth accounts for assets and liabilities. Adjusted for inflation. • Source: Federal Reserve



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