Figure 3: The context for Scottish excess mortality.

Accumulated knowledge & evidence regarding the key determinants of health in all societies

Impact of de-industrialisation and associated poverty & deprivation

Impact of UK economic & social policies

Scottland diverges from UK and W. Europe

Socio-economic ‘spatial polarisation’ of UK

Wide health inequalities across UK (especially Scotland)

Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester have highest mortality of all British cities

Unexplained divergence between Glasgow and Liverpool/Manchester from latter half of 20th Century

Unexplained change: deprivation explains less of the mortality difference between Scotland and England & Wales

UNKNOWN ‘EFFECT MODIFIERS’