

# The Great Disconnect: Economic Growth and the Despair Beneath the Numbers

**Introduction – The Paradox of Prosperity and Pain:** On paper, the economy is thriving. Stock indices reach new heights, unemployment rates hover at multi-decade lows, and GDP ticks ever upward. Policymakers and pundits herald these metrics as signs of success. Yet amid this statistical prosperity, an epidemic of despair has taken root. In working-class communities from the American Midwest to Northern England, once-proud industrial towns are scarred by shuttered factories and opioid clinics. In gleaming coastal cities, young professionals work long hours at steady jobs but feel the gnaw of anxiety and purposelessness. **What we’re doing is not new – and it’s not working.** For decades, the United States and much of the developed world have pursued the same growth-centric playbook, only to find that nominal economic gains often conceal deep social and psychic pain. This long-form report examines the growing disconnect between the **headline indicators** of economic health and the **lived reality** of economic despair. Focusing primarily on the United States since the 1980s, we’ll also compare parallel trends in the UK, Europe, and China – from Britain’s post-industrial blues to China’s disillusioned “lying flat” youth. Along the way, we’ll interweave economic history with cultural commentary, exploring how neoliberal policies and financialization reshaped society, how subjective well-being metrics (depression rates, suicides, social trust) have plummeted even as GDP rose, and how our novels and films – from **cyberpunk** dystopias to *Fight Club* – have been telling us for years that something is fundamentally broken.

## From Golden Age to Stagnation: A Brief Economic History

To understand today’s malaise, we must trace its roots. Many economists look back to the three decades after World War II – the Bretton Woods era – as a **“Golden Age”** of broadly shared growth. In the 1950s and ‘60s, the U.S. economy boomed: productivity surged, wages rose in tandem, and inequality reached historic lows. Ordinary families could reasonably expect that each year would bring a better life. But the early 1970s brought upheaval. In 1971, President Nixon **ended the dollar’s convertibility to gold**, effectively dismantling the Bretton Woods monetary order and ushering in a new era of floating exchange rates and global capital flows. The same decade saw two oil shocks, soaring inflation, and stagnating output – the dreaded “stagflation” that broke the postwar consensus. The old industrial giants – steel mills, auto plants – began to falter in the face of foreign competition and automation. As manufacturing declined, entire communities were destabilized. In June 1979, U.S. manufacturing employment peaked at 19.6 million jobs; by June 2019 it was just 12.8 million, a **35% decline** (6.7 million jobs lost) over forty years <sup>1</sup>. The once-bustling factory towns of the Rust Belt were hollowed out, seeding the conditions for despair that would bloom in later decades.

It was against this backdrop of economic crisis that a new ideological project gained momentum: **neoliberalism**. Starting in the late 1970s and early ‘80s – embodied by the policies of **Margaret Thatcher** in the UK and **Ronald Reagan** in the U.S. – neoliberalism promised to revive growth through free-market fundamentalism. Regulations were slashed, taxes on the wealthy cut, unions weakened, and public assets privatized. The ethos was perhaps best captured by Thatcher’s pronouncement that “there is no such thing as society” – only individuals and families – implying that unfettered individual competition would ultimately

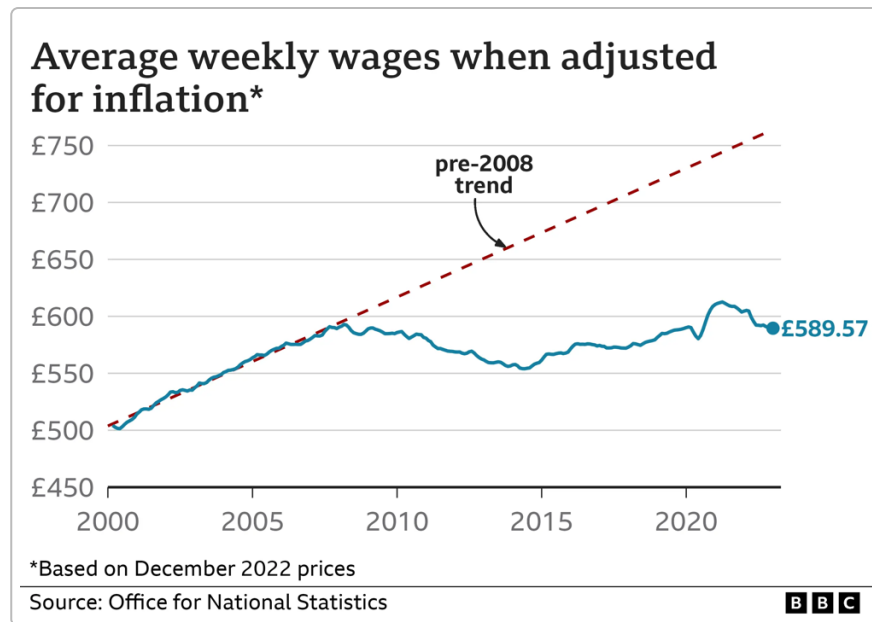
benefit all. For a time, these policies did coincide with renewed macroeconomic growth: inflation was tamed in the 1980s, globalization and trade liberalization accelerated, and the late 1990s even saw a brief productivity boom. **But the benefits were uneven.** Over the ensuing decades, **GDP became increasingly decoupled from broad well-being.** Corporations moved production overseas or to non-union states in search of cheaper labor, boosting profits but gutting stable jobs at home. Whole sectors of the economy, such as finance and technology, soared; others languished. By the turn of the millennium, the shapes of our economies – and the distribution of power and reward within them – had fundamentally changed.

## Neoliberalism, Financialization, and the New Gilded Age

One hallmark of this era has been the **financialization** of the economy. Profit and investment increasingly flow not into producing goods and services, but into financial instruments, real estate, and speculation. In the U.S., the financial services industry's share of GDP nearly doubled, growing from about 4.9% of GDP in 1980 to 7.9% by 2007 <sup>2</sup>. More tellingly, **financial sector profits exploded:** from 1980 to 2005, inflation-adjusted profits in the American financial industry grew by **800%**, far outpacing the 250% profit growth in the rest of the economy <sup>3</sup>. By 2009, U.S. finance-sector profits were roughly six times higher than in 1980, whereas non-financial corporate profits were only about double their 1980 level <sup>3</sup>. In other words, Wall Street (and its analogues in London's City or China's booming financial hubs) captured a vastly disproportionate share of economic gains. This financialization brought enormous wealth to asset owners and investors – the top sliver of society – but it did little for workers' paychecks. Companies prioritized "shareholder value," often at the expense of employees: jobs were outsourced or automated, industries deregulated, and **labor's bargaining power** plummeted.

The results can be seen in the **stagnation of wages** and the rise of inequality. In the United States, the disconnect between headline economic growth and the typical worker's experience is stark. As of the late 2010s, the **average American wage (after accounting for inflation)** had roughly the **same purchasing power as it did 40 years earlier** <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup>. Real hourly earnings for the typical worker actually peaked way back in 1973 and have never returned to that height <sup>5</sup>. Productivity kept rising as workers produced more per hour, but those gains flowed to corporate profits and top executives rather than wages. By 2018, despite low unemployment and a growing economy, **the real median weekly pay of U.S. workers was essentially unchanged from 1979** – about the same inflation-adjusted dollars for the middle worker as their counterpart earned 40 years prior <sup>6</sup>. In fact, whatever wage growth *has* occurred since the 1970s has accrued mostly to the top earners, widening inequality. As a Pew Research study noted, "what wage gains there have been have mostly flowed to the highest-paid tier of workers" <sup>4</sup> <sup>7</sup>.

The United Kingdom has faced a similar story of **wage stagnation** in recent years. After the global financial crisis of 2008, British workers experienced the longest period of wage contraction in modern history. **Real wages in the UK have not seen sustained growth since 2008**, leaving the typical worker in 2023 earning significantly less (inflation-adjusted) than if pre-2008 trends had held <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup>. One analysis by the Resolution Foundation found that **15 years of stagnation** left British workers about £11,000 per year worse off in 2023 compared to where they would be had the previous growth trajectory continued <sup>10</sup> <sup>8</sup>. Average household incomes in the UK, once close to those of peer countries, have also slipped: in 2008 the UK's median income was only slightly behind Germany's, but by the early 2020s it lagged by over £4,000 <sup>11</sup>. Young workers and families feel this squeeze acutely – a frustration that underpinned political shocks like the **Brexit** vote, which was driven in part by anger at a status quo that wasn't delivering improved living standards.



**Stagnant Real Wages in Britain.** Average weekly earnings (blue line, adjusted for inflation) in the UK flatlined after the 2008 financial crisis, never returning to their pre-2008 growth trajectory (red dashed line). By 2022, real wages were still well below the level they would have reached had the early-2000s trend continued <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup>. The result is a £11,000 per year shortfall in the average British worker's pay compared to the pre-2008 expectation.

While wages stayed flat, the **cost of living** did not. Key pillars of a stable middle-class life – housing, education, healthcare – have grown ever more expensive and out of reach. In the United States, housing prices have soared relative to incomes, creating a generational affordability crisis. In 2022 the median sale price for a single-family home was **5.6 times higher than the median household income**, the worst affordability ratio on record since at least the 1970s <sup>12</sup>. (As recently as 2019, the ratio was 4.1, illustrating how rapidly the pandemic-era housing boom compounded the problem <sup>12</sup>.) Young adults starting families today find it far harder to buy a home than their parents' generation did, even with dual incomes – a recipe for frustration as they watch wealthier buyers or investors snap up properties. In the UK, homeownership among under-40s has plummeted over the past few decades due to price increases. The **price-to-income ratio** for homes in many British cities is now in the double digits, forcing many to either take on enormous debt or remain renters indefinitely. Europe too faces housing crunches in major cities from Dublin to Berlin, where rents have surged.

Another pressure point is **education and student debt**. In America, the price of college has ballooned, and with it the reliance on student loans. Total student loan debt in the U.S. has more than doubled just since 2009 – rising from about \$772 billion in 2009 to **\$1.75 trillion in 2024**, as millions of young people borrow ever larger sums to chase the credentials needed for decent jobs <sup>13</sup>. This burden can delay or derail other life milestones (homeownership, starting a family) and contributes to anxiety about the future. In effect, the system tells youth: *take on debt and compete harder, or you'll fall behind* – hardly a comforting message. The **UK introduced tuition fees** in the 1990s and raised them dramatically in the 2010s, likewise saddling graduates with debt (though income-based repayment and loan forgiveness policies differ). Even in parts of Europe with low tuition, youth face a different barrier: **jobs**. After the Eurozone crisis, unemployment for under-25s spiked brutally in Southern Europe. By 2013, youth unemployment had topped **56% in Spain** and

even **63% in Greece**, creating a “lost generation” of frustrated young Europeans unable to find a foothold <sup>14</sup>. The overall Eurozone jobless rate hit record highs (over 12%), and even a decade later youth unemployment in countries like Italy remains stubbornly high, breeding cynicism about the economic system. Policymakers talked of reform and recovery, but for many young people the damage – in lost experience, lost hope – was already done.

In short, by the 2010s we had arrived at a bizarre juncture: **The official economic numbers looked rosy, especially in the U.S.** – low unemployment, growing GDP, strong corporate earnings – yet **a majority of citizens were pessimistic and struggling**. Surveys began to reflect this disconnect. In one 2023 global poll, **only one-third of respondents believed that the next generation would be better off financially**; in every Western democracy surveyed, *30% or fewer* held that optimism <sup>15</sup>. The prevailing sentiment is that our children will have it harder than we did, a stark reversal from the post-WWII assumption of continual progress. What explains this groundswell of pessimism? To answer that, we must look beyond the **aggregate numbers** to the human-scale experiences on the ground.

## Lives and Livelihoods in the Post-Industrial Era

Imagine a worker in Ohio or Yorkshire who once had a secure union job in a factory, proud to support a family on decent wages. By the late 1980s, that factory closed – whether due to automation or jobs moving abroad – and the worker was left to patch together a living in the new **service economy**. Perhaps he found a job at a big-box retail store or driving a truck. The pay was lower and less steady; benefits were slimmer or non-existent; dignity and identity took a hit. Or picture a college graduate in California or London in the 2000s: she enters a workforce of short-term contracts and gig work, burdened with student loans, facing astronomical rent for a shoebox apartment. She should feel “lucky” – after all, unemployment is low – yet she spends sleepless nights worrying she’ll never afford a home or have the stability her parents knew. These scenarios are emblematic of the **post-industrial reality** for many.

Economists often discuss the decline of **labor force participation** as a measure of hidden trouble. In the U.S., even as official unemployment fell to record lows pre-pandemic, a growing share of working-age adults simply weren’t in the labor force at all – not counted in unemployment statistics because they’d stopped actively looking for work. Among **prime-age American men (25–54 years old)**, the non-participation rate has **risen for decades**, roughly **doubling from 5.8% in the late 1970s to 11.4% in 2022** <sup>16</sup>. In other words, over one in nine men in their prime working years are neither employed nor seeking a job. Some of this is due to more schooling or homemaking, but much is attributable to disability, discouragement, or other forms of dropout. For less-educated men especially, the combination of vanishing blue-collar jobs and low wages for available service work has fueled an exodus from the world of work – what scholar Nicholas Eberstadt famously called “Men Without Work.” This phenomenon isn’t limited to men; labor force participation among young adults and those without college degrees has also declined. In place of steady jobs, many survive on disability benefits, gig work, under-the-table jobs, or the support of family, often with a heavy psychic toll.

Those who are employed are often under **new kinds of strain**. The casualization of labor means more jobs with unpredictable schedules, no benefits, and constant insecurity. The rise of the “gig economy” – driving for rideshare, delivering food, freelancing through apps – offers flexibility at the price of precarity. Even traditional office jobs have seen an erosion of the boundary between work and life, with digital technology enabling 24/7 availability, constant monitoring of performance, and what some call the “hustle culture” ethos of **always being busy**. For professionals, the road to a stable career often involves years of unpaid

internships or temporary gigs, fostering anxiety and competition. And for many workers, jobs have become, in anthropologist David Graeber's provocative term, "**bullshit jobs**" – roles perceived as socially pointless or empty, contributing to a sense of alienation. One doesn't need to fully accept Graeber's thesis to recognize the kernel of truth: **a loss of meaning** in work is widespread. It's hard to feel fulfilled or optimistic when you suspect, deep down, that your job – maybe some slice of a corporate bureaucracy pushing paper or a call-center role appeasing irate customers – isn't making the world any better, nor providing you a secure identity.

This **post-industrial alienation** has cultural and psychological dimensions that go beyond income statements. Sociologists note that as secure employment and community institutions (churches, unions, civic groups) decline, people feel more isolated. The ethos of neoliberalism places the burden of success or failure squarely on the individual – telling people that if they aren't thriving, it's due to their own lack of effort or adaptability. That message, combined with the visible extravagance of "winners" in the modern economy (billionaire tech moguls, Wall Street financiers), can breed a deep sense of personal failure in those who struggle to get ahead. It's what the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu described as "**the hidden injuries of class**" in a modern form: people internalize economic struggles as personal inadequacy, which is corrosive to mental health and self-worth.

Meanwhile, the **social fabric** frays. Metrics of social cohesion show worrying trends. Americans, for instance, have become markedly less trusting of each other and of institutions over the last few generations. In 1972, nearly half of U.S. adults (46%) agreed that "most people can be trusted." By 2018, that share had fallen to about **34%** <sup>17</sup>, and it has remained around one-third in recent surveys. This decline in interpersonal trust is often linked to rising economic inequality and insecurity – when life feels like a zero-sum struggle, people are less inclined to trust strangers or even neighbors. Trust in government has collapsed even more dramatically: in the early 1960s, roughly three-quarters of Americans said they trusted the federal government to do the right thing most of the time; today that figure languishes in the **20% range** <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> (sometimes dipping lower), reflecting decades of disappointment and cynicism toward political leaders whom many perceive as detached elites serving special interests. Similar patterns emerge in other countries: surveys across Western democracies have recorded plummeting confidence that the "**system**" is working for the average person. It's telling that by 2023, a global survey found **six in ten people agreeing they live in a "society that is broken"** and a "sense of grievance" pervading public consciousness <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup>.

## Diseases of Despair: The Human Cost in Health and Spirit

Perhaps the most tragic evidence of this great disconnect between economic metrics and human well-being is found in public health data – specifically, the rise of what are poignantly called "**deaths of despair**." This term, popularized by economists Anne Case and Angus Deaton, refers to fatalities from suicide, drug overdose, and alcohol-related illness, which are seen as indicators of cumulative social and psychological despair. In a healthy society, one expects mortality rates to improve over time thanks to medical advances and better living standards. But in the U.S., for certain demographics, mortality **stopped improving and even reversed** in the 21st century due to these deaths of despair. It started quietly in the 1990s and accelerated in the 2000s: working-class white Americans without a college degree experienced rising suicide rates, an explosion of opioid overdoses, and increasing deaths from alcoholic liver disease. Soon the trend spread to other groups as well. By 2018, some **158,000 Americans died from these causes (suicide, drugs, alcohol) in that single year – up from about 65,000 in 1995** <sup>22</sup>. In other words, the annual toll from despair more than **doubled** over two decades. A 2025 study confirmed the grim trajectory: between

1999 and 2021, deaths of despair in the U.S. surged so much that by 2021 they would rank as the **5th leading cause of death** for ages 25-74 (about 176,000 deaths that year, behind only heart disease, cancer, COVID-19, and accidents) <sup>23</sup> . This is virtually unheard of in other wealthy nations – a wealthy country seeing middle-aged mortality rise because of self-inflicted or addiction-related causes.

Drilling down, we see that these deaths of despair correlate strongly with regions and communities hit hardest by economic dislocation. The epidemic first gained notice in places like Appalachia and the American Rust Belt, where deindustrialization and job loss left social capitals shattered <sup>24</sup> . The opioid crisis, for instance, took root in areas with high unemployment and labor force dropout, exploiting people's physical and emotional pain. By the 2010s, the crisis was national, affecting all races and even urban areas, but its origins are entwined with economic hopelessness. **Suicide rates** tell a parallel story. From 1999 to 2018, the U.S. suicide rate **increased about 35%**, from roughly 10.5 to 14.2 deaths per 100,000 people <sup>25</sup> . For certain subgroups the spike was even higher – e.g. the suicide rate for middle-aged white women rose 60% in that period, and for middle-aged white men by nearly 40% <sup>26</sup> , reflecting a sharp rise in despair among those who perhaps expected to fare better in life. While some other countries (like Japan or France) have historically high suicide rates, the **trend** in most advanced nations has been stable or improving, whereas America's climb stands out. And since the late 2010s, other groups – Black and Hispanic Americans – have seen faster rises in deaths of despair, erasing what used to be a paradoxical gap (historically, minority groups had lower suicide rates; that is narrowing as economic and social stressors broaden).

Beyond mortality, look at mental health prevalence and treatment as barometers of distress. **Clinical depression and anxiety** have skyrocketed in reported prevalence in the past few decades. Part of this is better awareness and diagnosis, but there's little doubt that modern life is imposing greater psychological strain. One indicator: the use of **antidepressant medications** has surged in the U.S. and other Western countries. Between the early 1990s and the late 2000s, the rate of antidepressant use in America **increased by nearly 400%** <sup>27</sup> . By 2005–2008, **1 in 10 Americans aged 12 or older** was taking an antidepressant <sup>28</sup> , and today that figure is likely even higher (some estimates suggest it's about 1 in 7). These drugs can be life-saving for many and reduce suffering – it's not their use per se that is alarming, but what their ubiquity says about our collective psyche. It suggests that large swaths of the population are struggling with persistent sadness, anxiety, or trauma severe enough to require chemical help to cope. The **United Kingdom** and several European countries have seen similar trends; for example, antidepressant prescriptions in England rose from 20 million a year in 1999 to over 70 million by 2019. Are we simply better at treating mental illness, or is the **modern economy producing more mental illness**? Many experts worry it's the latter. They point to factors like social media pressures, economic insecurity, loneliness, and the breakdown of community as fertilizing an epidemic of mental health disorders. A U.S. federal survey in recent years found roughly **1 in 5 adults** had a mental illness in a given year, and about **1 in 10** had major depression – figures higher than a generation ago. Among teens and young adults, rates of depression and anxiety disorders have risen especially fast in the 2010s, coincident with the social media age and academic/career pressures intensifying.

The **neoliberal economic model**, some argue, directly contributes to these psychic wounds. By exalting competition, individualism, and material success, it creates a climate of constant comparison and inadequacy. Those who thrive materially might still experience burnout from overwork; those who fall behind are left with shame and worry. Journalist Johann Hari, writing on depression, put it bluntly: *"Neoliberalism makes us miserable by creating a society designed solely for buyers and sellers. Then it uses the pain it causes as an excuse to sell us drugs to fix it."* <sup>29</sup> . While that may be a polemical take, it resonates with many who feel that our culture has become more soulless – that people are reduced to economic inputs.

The decline of **familial and social stability** also plays a role. Divorce rates in the U.S. roughly doubled from the 1960s to the early 1980s (though they have since receded a bit), reflecting both the liberation of individuals from unhappy marriages and the strain of economic and social changes on families. More children grew up with single parents or in blended families – perfectly capable of providing love, yet often economically disadvantaged compared to married households. Birth rates have fallen to record lows in many advanced countries, partly because young people feel too financially insecure or pessimistic to have children. Indeed, in surveys of millennials and Gen Z who postpone having kids, the cost of living and worry about the future are frequently cited.

Consider also the **erosion of social trust** and civic engagement. Harvard professor Robert Putnam famously documented the decline of community in his book *Bowling Alone* (2000), showing that Americans were less likely to join clubs, play in bowling leagues, attend town meetings, or otherwise connect with neighbors than in the mid-20th century. The title metaphor – people bowling as solitary individuals rather than in leagues – captured the isolation creeping in. Since then, the situation hasn't improved; by many measures it's worsened. The General Social Survey finds Americans socializing with friends less frequently than before, knowing their neighbors less well, and expressing less confidence in institutions from churches to media. **Social media**, despite connecting billions virtually, often exacerbates feelings of isolation and envy rather than alleviating them. In the echo chambers of online life, anger and polarization thrive, further undermining the basic social trust that holds societies together.

When people feel unmoored and under threat, they can be drawn to extreme coping behaviors or politics. The surging **populist movements** of the past decade – from Trumpism in the U.S. to Brexit in Britain to the far-right and far-left insurgencies across Europe – feed off the grievances of those who feel betrayed by the system. An Edelman Trust Barometer report in 2025 observed a “crisis of grievance” worldwide, noting that **60% of people** reported a moderate to high sense of grievance, defined by a belief that government and business primarily serve the wealthy while “regular people struggle.”<sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> This grievance has led to a “zero-sum mindset” and even a willingness to entertain **aggressive or violent action** as legitimate tools for change<sup>30</sup>. That's a chilling societal indicator – a measure of just how desperate or disillusioned many have become. In France, the *gilets jaunes* (Yellow Vests) protests that erupted in 2018 were sparked by a fuel tax but represented a broader rage at the urban elites and stagnant living standards for the rural and working class. In Italy and Greece, anger at youth unemployment and austerity measures translated into street protests and volatile politics. In China, where open political protest is largely suppressed, dissatisfaction has taken other forms – the silent withdrawal of individuals from a rat-race they see as futile.

## “Lying Flat” and “Rat People”: Discontent in China and Beyond

It is striking – and telling – that even in countries with very different systems and trajectories, we see analogous forms of economic disillusionment. Take **China**, often touted as a great success story of growth. Since the 1980s, hundreds of millions in China have been lifted out of dire poverty, and the country's GDP growth rates were spectacular for decades. Yet in recent years a wave of malaise has emerged among Chinese youth, crystallized in popular memes and subcultures. One is the “**lying flat**” movement (*tǎng píng* in Mandarin) – essentially a conscious rejection of China's high-pressure, ultra-competitive lifestyle. “Lying flat” means doing the bare minimum to get by, eschewing the relentless career and consumption race. It gained widespread attention around 2021, when blogs and social media posts about opting out struck a chord with millions of young Chinese. These youth are the children of China's boom, born in the 1990s and 2000s amid rising prosperity, yet they face a future of stiff competition for college and jobs, exorbitant housing costs in big cities, and diminishing returns on their hard work due to a slowing economy. As one

analysis put it, *"Tang ping...arose in response to excessive societal 'involution' – excessive competition without meaningful progress. It's a retreat tactic by those reluctant to involve themselves in society's exhaustions, unwilling to let their already worthless lives be repeatedly depleted."* <sup>31</sup> In other words, lying flat is a form of quiet rebellion: an acknowledgement that **chasing the officially prescribed version of success has become unbearably draining and ultimately empty.**

The Chinese government, concerned that such attitudes could undermine productivity and social stability, censored some "lying flat" discussions. In response, an even darker meme emerged: **"let it rot"** (*bài lǎn*), implying a kind of resignation to stagnation – if lying flat is passive resistance, letting it rot is passive nihilism. It's the sound of a generation sagging under the weight of expectations they feel are unrealistic or unfair. Another vivid illustration from China comes from the so-called **"rat people"** or "rat tribe" (*shǔzú*). These are the estimated **million-plus migrant workers living in Beijing's underground** – literally in basements and former bomb shelters beneath the city, because they cannot afford the above-ground rent in China's pricey capital <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup>. They toil in the city's service jobs by day and descend into windowless concrete warrens by night, packed into tiny 50–100 square foot rooms. Far from being idlers, these are often *strivers* – young people who came from rural provinces with dreams of upward mobility. Yet the **Chinese Dream**, so lauded in state propaganda, has proved elusive for them in reality. Many just save what little they can to eventually return to their hometowns. They have shelter, work, and a foothold in a booming metropolis – and yet their living conditions are such that society labels them "rats." It's hard to imagine a starker testament to the gap between **aggregate prosperity** and **individual well-being**.



**Life Underground in Beijing.** A mother and child share a tiny basement room in Beijing – part of the city's so-called "rat tribe." Millions of low-wage migrants have little choice but to live in the capital's **6,000 underground bomb shelters and basements** due to sky-high housing costs. They pay modest rents (around 300–700 yuan, or \$50–\$110 a month) for partitioned rooms often no larger than 7 or 8 square meters <sup>34</sup>. This subterranean existence, out of sight of the gleaming new skyline, underscores how **headline economic growth in China coexists with dire living conditions** for many at the bottom of the ladder.



Europe has its own versions of this story. In Spain, even as the country recovered statistically from the Eurozone debt crisis, a generation of youth remained underemployed or stuck in temporary jobs, leading to the term “**nini**” (neither in employment nor in education/training) to describe disaffected young adults. In Italy, many educated youths emigrated abroad for better opportunities, dubbing themselves part of a “lost generation” similar to Spain’s. **Britain’s “left-behind” regions** – former coal and manufacturing towns in the North, Midlands, and Wales – experienced not only relative economic decline but also social problems (drug use, family breakdown, poor health) akin to the American Rust Belt. It is no coincidence that these areas fueled the populist fervor of Brexit, essentially a loud statement of discontent with the status quo. Their gripe wasn’t only with the EU; it was with **London-centric globalization** that, in their view, enriched cosmopolitan elites and neglected everyone else. In France, rural and peri-urban areas erupted in the Yellow Vest protests, which despite lacking a single coherent demand, voiced anger over fuel taxes, cost of living, and a sense that neither Parisian politicians nor global markets gave a damn about “ordinary” French citizens. Across the European Union, trust in establishment parties has fallen, and fringe movements (from Syriza in Greece to the National Rally in France to the Five Star Movement in Italy) have surged at various points – all different in ideology but sharing an anti-establishment DNA born of despairing constituencies.

Even in **affluent countries like Japan**, which enjoyed economic glory in the postwar and late-1980s boom, one finds phenomena of quiet despair: the rise of the “**hikikomori**” (young people, mostly men, who withdraw entirely from society, living reclusively in their parents’ homes), or the persistently high suicide rate, or the low birth rate as many young Japanese forgo marriage and children under economic and social pressures. These are culturally specific expressions of a broader truth: material prosperity alone, especially if unevenly distributed, **does not equal happiness or hope**. In fact, when an economic system reaches a point where it seems to chiefly benefit a narrow segment (be it the “1%” in America or the Party-connected elite in China), it can engender a profound sense of betrayal among the rest. People compare their lived reality to the official narrative and find huge gaps. They were promised that if GDP grows and the stock market rises, all would prosper – but instead they see **billionaires blasting off to space while their own rents and bills soar**.

## Culture as Mirror: From *The Big Chill* to *Fight Club* to Cyberpunk

Societies often process their anxieties through art and media. Over the past few decades, a rich vein of cultural works has captured the creeping economic despair and search for meaning. As early as 1983, the hit film *The Big Chill* portrayed a reunion of baby boomers who had been 1960s idealists but were now well into their yuppie 30s. They gather for the funeral of a college friend, Alex, who **died by suicide after years of drifting on the margins of society** while they became professionals <sup>35</sup>. Alex – who had been “a brilliant physics student” but **turned down a prestigious fellowship for ideological reasons, then never found his footing** <sup>35</sup> – stands as a symbol of lost idealism. As the group of friends spend the weekend reminiscing, the film explores their disappointment at how **the world failed to live up to their youthful hopes** (and perhaps how *they* failed to live up to them, by settling into comfortable careers). One character quips that Alex was “too good for this world,” and the implicit theme is that the social activism and communal spirit of the 60s had faded into the money-driven individualism of the 80s. “The possibility for social change is [portrayed as] a thing of the past” in the film’s worldview <sup>36</sup>. The characters feel that their choice is between “**aimlessness on the margins**” (dropping out of society like Alex did) or “**ruthless participation in the mainstream**” (embracing material success at the cost of their ideals) <sup>37</sup>. It’s a false dichotomy, but a revealing one: already by the 1980s, the culture recognized the **hollowness that many felt in trading idealism for affluence**. The title *The Big Chill* itself hints at a emotional cooling – the chill of compromised ideals and midlife disillusionment.

Fast-forward to the late 1990s, and the youthful angst of that era found an outlet in *Fight Club*. Chuck Palahniuk's 1996 novel (and the 1999 David Fincher film adaptation) tapped into a vein of disaffection among Gen X men, in particular, who felt emasculated and alienated by modern consumer society. The narrator is a recall coordinator for a car company – a dead-end corporate job – who finds catharsis by forming an underground fighting ring that evolves into an anarchic anti-capitalist insurgency. *Fight Club* is often remembered for its twist and its violence, but its enduring popularity comes from its critique of **consumerist malaise**. In one famous monologue, the character Tyler Durden (Brad Pitt) declares: “We’re the middle children of history... We have no Great War, no Great Depression. Our Great War’s a spiritual war... We’ve all been raised on television to believe that one day we’d all be millionaires and movie gods and rock stars – but we won’t. And we’re slowly learning that fact. And we’re very, very pissed off.” That speech distilled the frustration of a generation that grew up in the comfortable 1980s and 90s only to realize that the promise of ever-increasing prosperity and importance was a sham for most. At its core, *Fight Club* is “**emblematic of disillusionment in a consumer-driven society**”, as one cultural review noted <sup>38</sup>. It satirizes the emptiness of defining oneself by Ikea furniture and wardrobe brands, and it dramatizes a violent rebellion against the system’s dehumanizing forces. The popularity of the film (which initially flopped in theaters but became a cult hit on DVD) suggests it struck a nerve. Its themes of **crisis of identity, rebellion against corporate monotony, and the search for authenticity** still resonate with young people today who quote lines like “The things you own end up owning you” as they grapple with debt and an overhyped culture of consumption <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup>.

In the literary realm, the **cyberpunk** genre of science fiction emerged in the 1980s as a noir-esque vision of the future shaped by unrestrained capitalism and technology. William Gibson’s seminal novel *Neuromancer* (1984) and Ridley Scott’s film *Blade Runner* (1982) depicted worlds where **megacorporations rule, inequality is extreme**, and individuals survive in high-tech urban slums – essentially a futuristic extrapolation of Reagan-Thatcher era trends. Cyberpunk, with its neon-lit cityscapes and jacked-in hackers, was stylish, but it was also deeply philosophical in its critique. It “**was born in the 1980s when conservatives were dismantling government services, corporate power was consolidating, [and] wealth inequality was widening**” <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup>. The fact that cyberpunk’s dystopian aesthetic still dominates our imagination of the future (see: the popularity of the video game *Cyberpunk 2077* or the *Matrix* films) is telling. One commentator observed that the genre’s vision “**remains static because it continues to resonate – the world it depicts is the one we live in**” <sup>43</sup>. We might not have flying cars yet, but we do have cities where billionaire tech titans literally build rocket ships while homeless camps proliferate in the shadows of their headquarters. We have governments kowtowing to corporations (as when cities vied to offer Amazon tax breaks for a new HQ, evocative of the corporate city-states in Neal Stephenson’s *Snow Crash*) <sup>44</sup>. We have ubiquitous digital surveillance and powerful AI tools (presaged by stories like *Ghost in the Shell*). And we have **grotesque inequality** – as the Guardian noted, the **OECD warns of record inequality while moguls like Jeff Bezos amass over \$150 billion, even as their warehouse workers urinate in bottles to keep up with quotas** <sup>45</sup>. This is straight out of cyberpunk’s playbook, where technology empowers the rich and immiserates the workers. Cyberpunk’s enduring relevance underscores a collective intuition that **technological progress under our current economic paradigm leads not to utopia but to a kind of corporate feudalism** – a feeling very much alive today.

One could point to numerous other cultural touchstones: The movie *Office Space* (1999), a comedy about the soul-sucking tedium of white-collar work in a 1990s software company, became an everyman’s tale of quiet quitting long before that term existed. It lampooned management-speak and the meaningless paper-pushing that many workers recognize in their own jobs. The wave of **dystopian young adult fiction** in the 2010s (from *The Hunger Games* to *Divergent*) captured a younger generation’s suspicion that the odds are

stacked in favor of a ruling class, with everyone else forced into cutthroat competition for survival. It's no accident these stories resonated during an era marked by the Great Recession and its aftermath, when today's youth came of age. Even mainstream Hollywood superhero films – the most escapist of genres – began infusing themes of systemic corruption and inequality (witness the populist rhetoric of the villain Bane in *The Dark Knight Rises*, or the class-struggle parable in *Black Panther*).

Music, too, provides a score to these developments. The punk and grunge movements voiced anger at economic and social malaise in the '70s and '90s respectively. More recently, hip-hop – once focused on flaunting bling during boom times – has seen a rise in “conscious rap” grappling with social injustice, while the emotional rawness of artists like Kendrick Lamar or the late Mac Miller often reflects millennial anxieties. Even the seeming escapism of electronic dance music at mega-festivals can be viewed as a palliative for a stressed generation seeking communal release. On the flip side, the opioid crisis's toll has echoed in art, as some musicians (especially in hard-hit rural areas) write about drug abuse's devastation. The fact that **middle-aged working-class Americans are now frequently portrayed in media as either opioid addicts or victims of “deaths of despair”** (as seen in books like *Dopesick* or *Hillbilly Elegy*) speaks volumes – these once proud communities are now often discussed in terms of pathology and tragedy rather than productivity and stability.

## Conclusion – Toward a New Understanding of Progress

In the opening of this report, we posited that what our societies have been doing – the neoliberal, growth-über-alles approach of the past four decades – is “*not new and it's not working*.” Having journeyed through the data and stories, we can now appreciate the full weight of that statement. **It's not new** in that it largely revives the laissez-faire Gilded Age philosophy of the late 19th century (with a high-tech twist), a time when rapid growth masked gross inequality and human suffering until social backlash forced reforms. And **it's not working** in that, while it has generated enormous wealth at the top and impressive GDP gains, it has **failed to improve the well-being of large portions of the population**. In some cases, it has actively undermined it. The nominal indicators – GDP, stock indices, unemployment rates – have become ever more misleading as gauges of the general welfare. GDP per capita can rise even if most people's incomes stagnate (as has happened, with the gains flowing mainly to the affluent). The stock market can soar even during jobless recoveries or pandemics, benefiting primarily the half of the population that owns significant stocks (and within that, mostly the top 10% who own the vast majority of equities). Unemployment rates can be low even when many are **underemployed in precarious gigs** or have dropped out of the labor force uncoun­ted. These traditional metrics, while not worthless, often function like **a carnival mirror – reflecting a distorted image of prosperity** that doesn't match people's lived experience.

Increasingly, economists and activists are calling for **new measures of progress**. Concepts like **Gross National Happiness** (coined in Bhutan) or indices of well-being and social capital are gaining attention. Even major institutions acknowledge the need for a shift: the **United Nations' Human Development Index** was an early attempt to combine income with health and education outcomes. The OECD now compiles a “Better Life Index” that includes community, work-life balance, and life satisfaction. New Zealand's government introduced a “Wellbeing Budget” framework, allocating spending based on improving mental health, reducing child poverty, and addressing environmental sustainability, rather than just chasing GDP growth. These are promising steps, but they require political will and public demand to truly reorient priorities.

What our examination has revealed is that **the psychosocial dimension cannot be separated from the economic**. Policies that boost growth but erode community, dignity, and security ultimately create more costs (healthcare, crime, instability) and pain down the line. Conversely, policies that may *not* maximize short-term GDP but build a healthier society – say, by ensuring a living wage, reducing inequality, investing in mental health, creating meaningful work, and rebuilding social trust – could make for a more sustainable and genuinely prosperous future. Some economists argue that after a certain point, **additional GDP per capita yields no increase in happiness** – a concept known as the *Easterlin Paradox*. The U.S., for example, is far richer in material terms today than in 1960, yet by many measures Americans are no happier (and some measures like trust and mental health suggest they are worse off). The challenge ahead is to redefine what “progress” means in the 21st century.

The narrative threads from America, Britain, Europe, and China all converge on a common plea: **recognize the humanity behind the numbers**. A low unemployment rate is hollow if the jobs barely pay the bills or if people hate their work. A high GDP growth rate rings false if life expectancy is falling due to addiction and suicide. A booming stock market is not a societal triumph when home ownership is out of reach for the young and debt is crushing. People are more than consumers or labor inputs; they yearn for **purpose, stability, connection, and hope**. When those ingredients are missing, despair fills the void, even if the macroeconomy looks fine.

One is reminded of a profound quote often attributed to Robert F. Kennedy, criticizing GDP as a metric: *“It counts the air pollution and cigarette advertising, and ambulances to clear our highways of carnage... Yet [GDP] does not include the health of our children, the quality of their education, or the joy of their play... It measures everything, in short, except that which makes life worthwhile.”* More than half a century later, that critique feels more urgent than ever. If there is a silver lining, it’s that the disconnect has become so evident that it’s fostering new conversations about change. Movements for a **living wage, universal basic income, mental health parity, climate action** (for a livable future), and **worker empowerment** all stem from a recognition that **people’s well-being must be the yardstick of success, not abstract economic indices**.

In the end, *What we’re doing is not working* – the evidence is scrawled in the depression statistics, etched on the tombstones of despair deaths, inscribed in the graffiti of protest movements, and written between the lines of our cultural stories. And *it’s not new* – we’ve seen versions of this movie before in history, when societies worshipped growth or gold while neglecting justice and care, only to face reckonings. The task now is to heed those lessons and forge a different path. The true measure of an economy is how it enriches **the lives of its people** – not just a select few, but the many, across all walks of life. If we center policy and culture around that principle, perhaps the next chapters need not be dystopian. We have incredible resources and technology at our disposal; we can certainly build a society where **progress is measured in hope and happiness as much as in dollars and cents**. The first step is to see clearly the reality we’ve thus far tried to paper over with GDP reports – to see that behind the growth lies a growing void, one that can only be filled by rehumanizing our economy and politics. The stakes are high: a future of broad despair or one of shared flourishing. The choice, and the change, are ours to make.

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