THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

CASE
Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion
Research at LSE

# Annual Report 2021

CASEreport 142

# Contents

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# 2021 in numbers

482,934
downloads of of CASE reports and working papers

10
peer-reviewed articles

10
CASE Seminars

WITH AROUND

700
attendees

11
CASE reports and papers

16
External funders

7,186
Twitter followers

401
Twitter mentions

# Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE)

**Welcome to our annual report for the calendar year 2021. Like so many others we spent a lot of 2021 working from home, which for many meant juggling childcare and home schooling with virtual meetings and seminars. Despite these challenges, readers will see the impressive amount of research and activities achieved during the year. Our profound shock at the loss of John Hills cast a shadow over 2021. As we look at the year ahead, which marks 25 years since CASE was launched in 1997, we will reflect further on how best to celebrate John's legacy.**

New readers may be interested to know a little more about the Centre and our history. The Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) was established in October 1997 at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). We are a multi-disciplinary research centre exploring social disadvantage and the role of social and public policies in preventing, mitigating or exacerbating it. Social disadvantage is taken to be multidimensional, and often best understood in a dynamic or lifecourse perspective, and with individual, family, local, national and international aspects.

The work programme of the Centre includes monitoring social spending, policies and outcomes in the UK and analysis of welfare states more generally; research on multidimensional poverty, inequality and capabilities from both a national and international perspective, including analysing patterns of wealth inequality and applications of the capability approach, including the development of a multidimensional inequality framework; social mobility and intergenerational transfers; as well as studies focused on particular groups and policy areas such as vulnerable children and early years education. CASE also incorporates the research and consultancy group LSE Housing and Communities, which investigates the impact of policies on social housing and other tenures with a particular focus on residents in disadvantaged areas.

CASE is associated with the Department of Social Policy and a number of postgraduate students are members of the Centre. CASE also hosts visitors from the UK and overseas, and members of LSE teaching staff on sabbatical or research leave.

Regular seminars on significant contemporary empirical and theoretical issues are held in the Centre, and we are delighted that so many people joined us at our virtual seminars during 2021. We aim to move to hybrid seminars in the future, so that people who are unable to join us in person can still attend. We publish a series of CASEpapers and CASEbriefs, discussing and summarising our research. Longer research reports and reports on special events can be found in our occasional CASEreports series. All of our publications, including this Annual Report, are free to download from our website, where you can also find links to the data underlying many of the charts and tables in our publications.

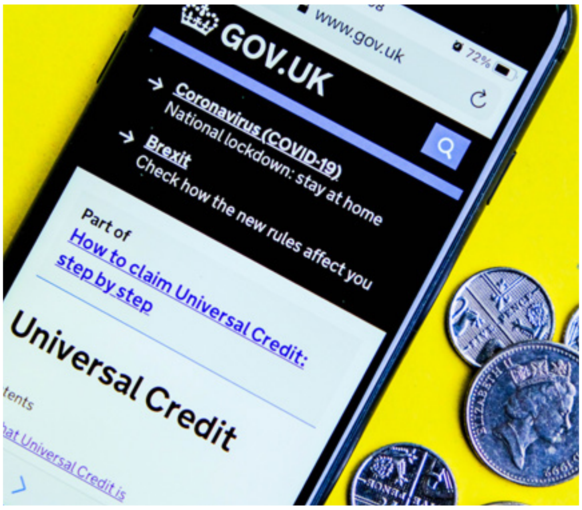
CASE is part of the Suntory and Toyota International Centres for Economics and Related Disciplines (STICERD). CASE was established with funding from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and now receives funding from a range of organisations including national and international foundations and trusts (for example, Joseph Rowntree Foundation Charitable Trust, the Leverhulme Trust, Nuffield Foundation), research councils (for example, ESRC, British Academy), UK government departments, the European Commission, a range of Registered Social Landlords, and a number of other charities and organisations in the UK and abroad.

**Abigail McKnight**
**Director, Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion**
**May 2022**

# Seven key insights from 2021

## The UK social security system during the COVID-19 crisis

As the COVID-19 pandemic unfolded, an unprecedented number of applications were made for Universal Credit and the social security system has provided crucial support to many during the crisis. Presenting key findings from the Welfare at a (Social) Distance research programme, Kate Summers highlights the factors shaping the processes of claiming benefits as well as ongoing challenges with the adequacy of the system.




## Poverty and larger families

Family size matters to understanding poverty trends in the UK. Kitty Stewart, Aaron Reeves and Ruth Patrick explore how changes in child poverty in the UK relate to family size. They argue that social security changes are a key driver of poverty among larger families who are more acutely affected by social security cuts. Family size has also shaped families' experiences of the Covid-19 pandemic: Mary Reader and Kate Andersen show that larger families on a low income faced greater employment shocks and greater difficulties in meeting basic needs.

## Educational inequalities in England

Reducing educational inequalities in England has been a commitment embraced by different governments in the past decades. In the face of limited progress, Ruth Lupton argues that relying on short-term fixes and small policy "tweaks" is not sufficient: bigger changes are needed to address the big mistakes in education policy that have allowed inequalities to become embedded. Tammy Campbell focuses on the problems with attributions of and provisions for children with "Special Educational Needs and Disabilities" ("SEND"). She argues that the system is not serving children of varying ages equally and itself produces – and then fails to meet – the needs of some children attributed "SEND".

# Seven key insights from 2021

## Socially mixed neighbourhoods

Area-based policies have long sought to increase the social mix of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and communities. Rana Khazbak shows that hoped-for benefits associated with decreasing the concentration of poverty may not translate into increased wellbeing and greater opportunities for low-income young people in these communities. Alice Miles explores how neighbourhood composition shapes people's perceptions of their social status and influences consumption patterns.

## Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children

Understanding the forms of disadvantage experienced by different groups and assessing their poverty risks requires robust and reliable evidence. Major challenges persist in identifying Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children and this leads to an undercount. Polina Obolenskaya reports on attempts to overcome these challenges and extend the evidence base on these often "missing" and "invisible" children.

## Families, informal support and reciprocity

Understanding how families exchange practical and financial support is important for the design of welfare policies. Tania Burchardt and Eleni Karagiannaki explore informal support across generations and argue that formal welfare policies should avoid crowding out informal support, whilst ensuring that effective social protection is accessible for those who have limited within-family support. Eileen Alexander offers insights on low income households' experiences of informal financial support: while vital in supporting daily needs, these exchanges also exert pressure and produce anxiety when people feel they lack independence and the ability to reciprocate.

## Multidimensional Inequality

Inequality has become a growing focus of the work of many experts and organisations around the world. But often the focus adopted by the majority of inequality research is on single dimensions of inequality and when a more multidimensional perspective is taken, the choice of dimensions is often arbitrary. Abigail McKnight and Irene Bucelli explore seven approaches which provide a systematic and multidimensional understanding of inequality and argue that different conceptual approaches shape concerns with different forms of inequality and therefore affect possible policy responses.

# Welfare at a (Social) Distance: experiences of the UK social security system during COVID-19

**Kate Summers**

**In this article Kate Summers sets out key findings to date from the Welfare at a (Social) Distance research project. The project uses a mixed methods approach, combining surveys with in-depth interviews and local area case studies, to examine experiences of the social security system during COVID-19.**

The Welfare at a (Social) Distance research project began in Spring 2020 and will run until Spring 2022. As the COVID-19 pandemic unfolded, the scale of societal upheaval and the role and significance of relevant policy systems became very clear. The aim of this project was to rapidly begin to collect data on experiences of the social security (or 'benefits') system across the pandemic both to inform current debates, and also to create a repository of data to be used in future research (all data from the project will be deposited in the UK data archive). The research comprises three main strands: a longitudinal nationally representative survey of claimants; longitudinal in-depth interviews with claimants; and four area case studies that looked beyond the central social security system to include the roles of local government, the third sector and civil society. The research focused on the process of claiming and maintaining social security, as well as living standards, work, health, family life, and change and stability over time. Here I present five key findings from the research to date.

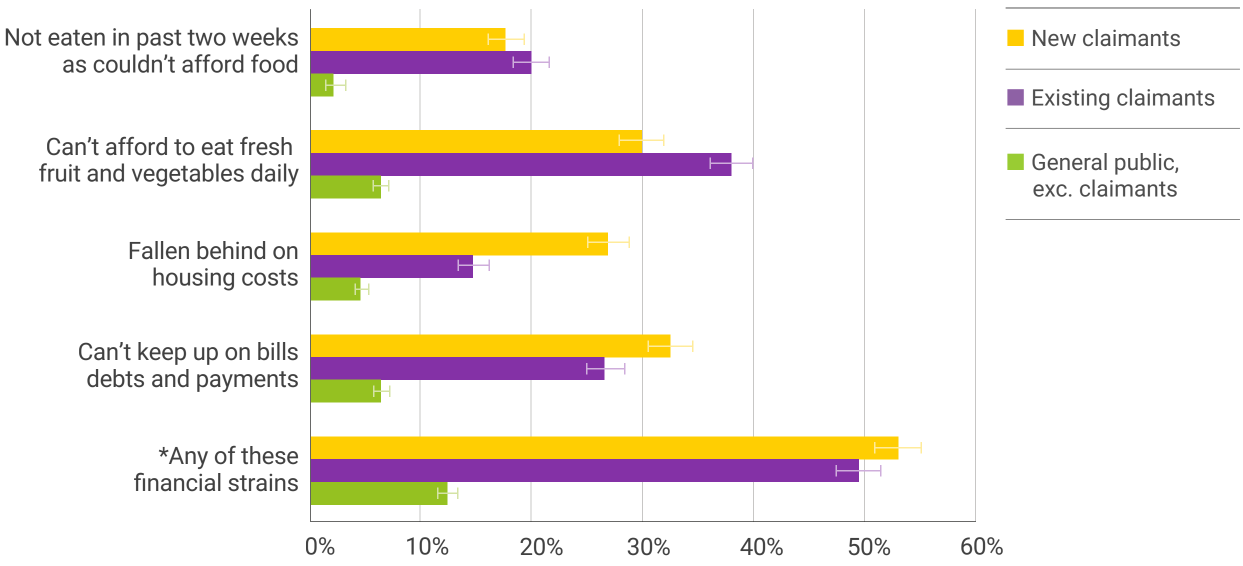
## Commitment to work-search

The first national lockdown in spring 2020 saw the suspension of many of the 'business as usual' features of the working-age benefits system. One of these was the cessation of work-search requirements, meaning that there was no formalised expectation for social security recipients to look for work. Against some prevailing policy narratives, and despite the context of a national lockdown, large proportions of claimants continued to search for work. A majority of workless new Universal Credit and Jobseekers Allowance claimants – 59 per cent – reported that they were looking for work during this time.[1]

## Ongoing challenges of adequacy

It was widely recognised that the Universal Credit system held up well under the strain of an unprecedented surge in new claims at the start of the pandemic – 1.8 million claims were made in the 5 weeks from late March to April 2020. However, our research highlights ongoing serious challenges of adequacy in the system, including when factoring in the £20 a week uplift delivered to some claimant groups. During the first wave of the pandemic around half of claimants had experienced a form of severe financial strain (for example, being unable to afford to pay bills or eat fresh fruit and vegetables daily). One in six new Covid-era claimants, and one in five existing claimants, had skipped a meal in the previous two weeks because they could not afford food. A central question remains as to how success within the social security system is defined, and the relative weight that should be given to features such as successful processing of claims and financial adequacy when weighing up the effectiveness of the system.[2,3]

**Figure 1: More severe financial strain among benefit claimants**




*The combined "any financial strains" category excludes "not eaten in past two weeks", which was asked in a different survey of the wider public. Sources: (i) wider public for "not eaten" question = WASD/YouGov survey of the general public, excluding those not of working age and benefit claimant, n=1,429; (ii) general public for other questions = Resolution Foundation/YouGov survey of the working-age population, excluding benefit claimants, n=3,056/3,151. The bars exclude a further 2-9% for each question who said "don't know".

### Broadening our definition of social security

Our case study research led us to the conclusion that the social security system should not simply be defined as cash transfers delivered by the state. Instead, the multiple actors and systems, including charities, community groups, and local government initiatives, should be thought of as a part of that system in terms of welfare access and welfare provisioning. During the pandemic, such organisations experienced huge surges in demand, including from new groups, while finding it extremely challenging to serve and keep in touch with some of the most vulnerable people they supported.[4]

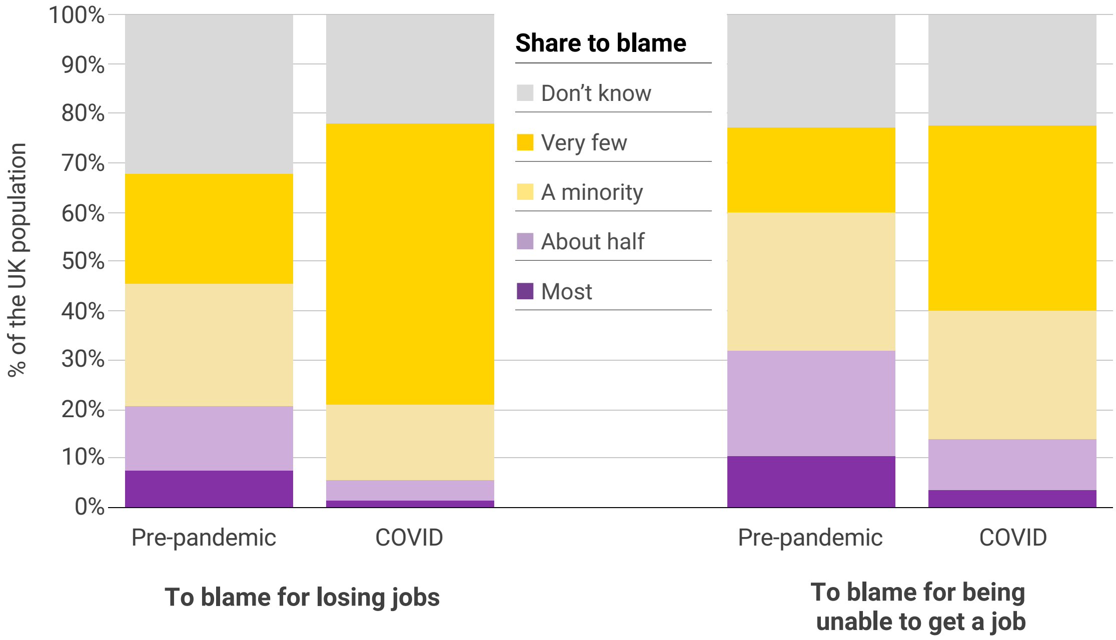
### Non-claiming during the pandemic

We found that about half a million people (our best estimate is between 430,000-560,000 people) who were eligible for Universal Credit during the start of the Covid-19 pandemic did not claim it. Some of the main reasons for non-claiming included misunderstanding or erroneous interpretation of eligibility criteria, the 'hassle' of the claims process itself acting as a barrier, and stigma-related reasons such as not wanting to be the 'sort of person' who claimed benefits.[5]

### Welfare attitude stability and "Covid exceptionalism"

Media commentary has at times framed Covid-19 as a societal upheaval with the force to reconfigure many of our shared norms. When looking at welfare attitudes, however, we find instead a story of long-term stability. There is an ongoing trajectory of gradual softening of attitudes towards greater support for a more generous social security system, but no watershed with the arrival of the pandemic. We unpacked this further, finding that this stability was driven by attitudes towards pre-pandemic claimants. That is, attitudes towards those who began claiming before the pandemic remained relatively stable during the pandemic. We also found evidence of 'Covid exceptionalism', whereby those who began claiming during the pandemic were mentally bracketed away from the rest of the claimant population. This group were seen as more deserving, including because of the perceived lack of control they had over the economic situation that precipitated their claim.[6]

**Figure 2: Were people claiming during COVID-19 perceived as being less to blame for losing their jobs/ being unable to find a job?**




### Endnotes

1 Claiming But Connected to Work. (2020) Geiger, Karagiannaki, Edmiston, Scullion, Summers, Ingold, Robertshaw, and Gibbons. Welfare at a (Social) Distance Rapid Report #1

2 Claimants' experiences of the social security system during the first wave of COVID-19. (2021) Summers, Scullion, Geiger, Robertshaw, Edmiston, Gibbons, Karagiannaki, De Vries and Ingold. Welfare at a (Social) Distance Project Report.

3 Hunger and the welfare state: Food insecurity among benefit claimants during COVID-19. (2021) Geiger, Edmiston, Scullion, Summers, de Vries, Ingold, Robertshaw and Young. Welfare at a (Social) Distance Project Report.

4 Navigating Pandemic Social Security: Benefits, Employment and Crisis Support during COVID-19. (2021) Edmiston, Robertshaw, Gibbons, Ingold, Geiger, Scullion, Summers, and Young. Welfare at a (Social) Distance Project Report.

5 Non-take-up of benefits at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic. (2021) Geiger, Scullion, Summers, Martin, Lawler, Edmiston, Gibbons, Ingold, Robertshaw, and de Vries. Welfare at a (Social) Distance Project Report.

6 Solidarity in a crisis? Trends in attitudes to benefits during COVID-19. (2021) de Vries, Geiger, Scullion, Summers, Edmiston, Ingold, Robertshaw and Young. Welfare at a (Social) Distance Project Report.

**Kate Summers** is a British Academy Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the Department of Methodology at LSE, and an Associate of CASE where she completed her PhD. The work presented here is from the 'Welfare at a (Social) Distance' project, funded by the ESRC.

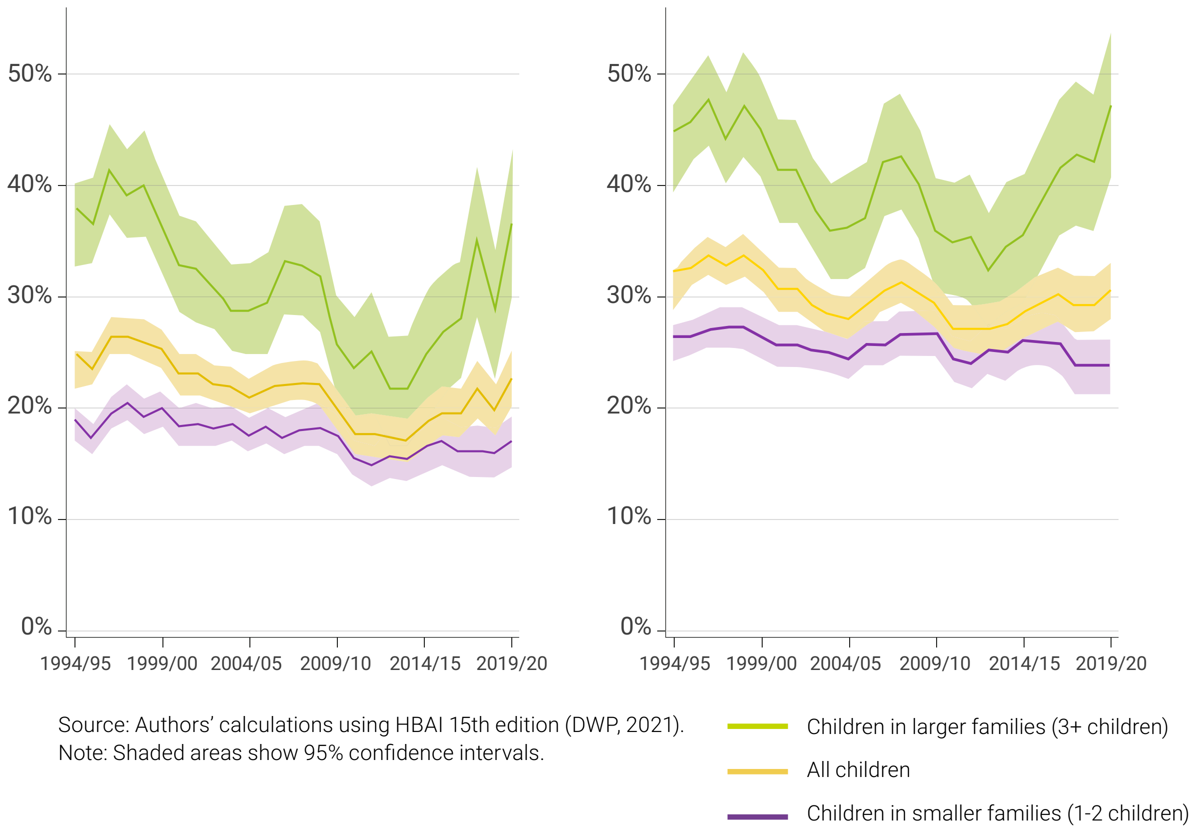
# Understanding the changing poverty risk facing larger families in the UK

**Kitty Stewart, Aaron Reeves and Ruth Patrick**

**Kitty Stewart, Aaron Reeves and Ruth Patrick explore differential trends in child poverty by family size over the last 25 years. Children in larger families – those with three or more children – are found to have experienced both sharper falls in child poverty during the Labour years and steeper increases since the early 2010s. Changes in the generosity of social security support for children is identified as the key explanation. Larger families are more exposed to these changes because they are more likely to need support, due to both higher consumption needs and greater constraints on labour market activity.**

Child poverty in the UK has experienced substantial change over the past 25 years, largely falling from the late 1990s to the early 2010s and rising since. What is less well known is the extent to which these changes have been concentrated among children in larger families – those with three or more children. As Figure 1 shows, in 1997 children in larger families were around twice as likely to live in poverty as children in smaller families. Their poverty risk then fell significantly over the following years, such that by 2012/13 rates were close to converging – but have subsequently diverged again sharply.

**Figure 1: Child poverty against a relative poverty line (60% median income) by family size, Before Housing Costs (left hand panel) and After Housing Costs (right hand panel)**




Source: Authors' calculations using HBAI 15th edition (DWP, 2021).
Note: Shaded areas show 95% confidence intervals.

What explains the fact that children with different numbers of siblings have been affected so differently by changing poverty risks over this period? Our paper seeks to unpick the contributing factors, looking in turn at changes in the demographic composition of larger families, at changes in employment patterns, and at cuts and reforms to social security policies.

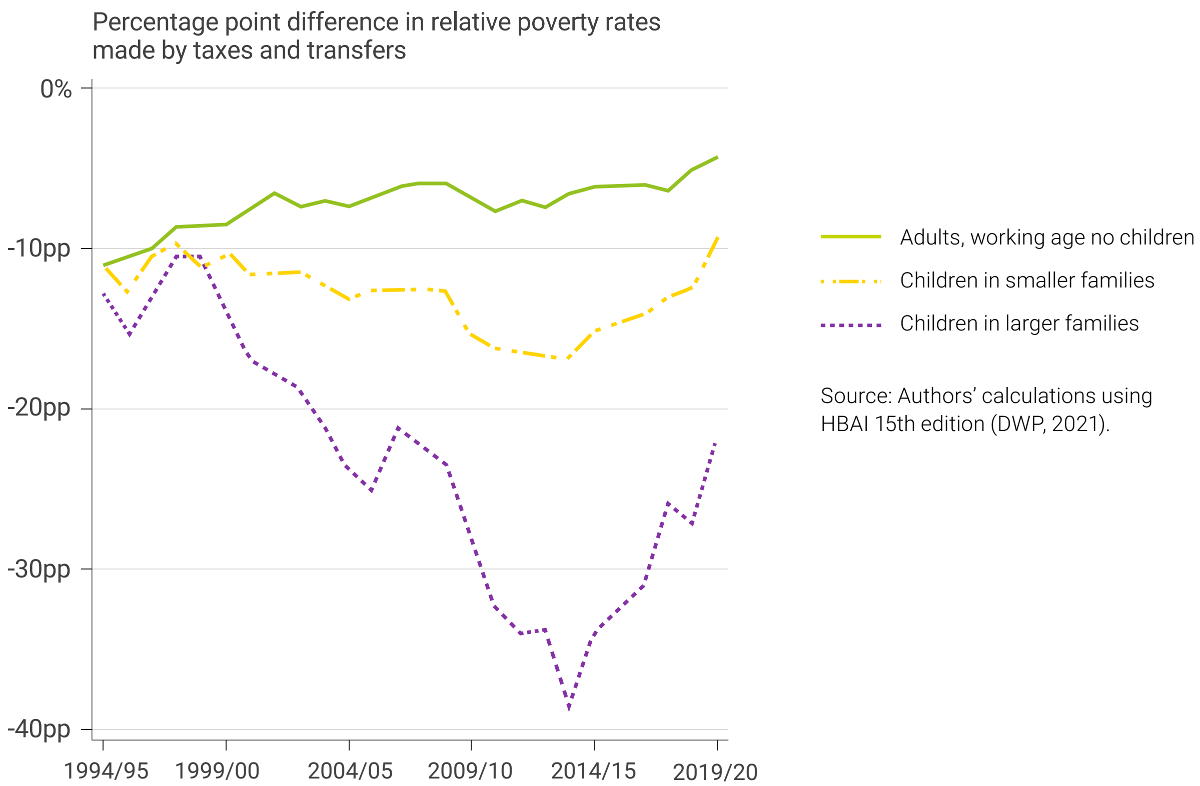

In terms of demographic change, we find little that helps us understand the trends. Around one third of children in the UK live in larger families, mostly in families with three children, and these shares have remained fairly stable over time. So has the prevalence of lone parenthood among larger families. There have been some changes in ethnic composition: around 28 per cent of children in larger families came from a Black, Asian or Minority Ethnic background in 2020, up from 16 per cent two decades earlier. But this largely reflects changes in the population of UK children overall and does not explain differential poverty trends. However, the fact that larger families are more common among some minority ethnicites, including Pakistan, Bnagladesh and Black families, means the increased poverty risk is felt disproportionately by children from some ethnic backgrounds, with implications for current and future ethnic inequalities.

In relation to employment, we observe substantial differences in both employment rates and trends by family size. Employment rates have increased in both larger and smaller families, but work intensity (the percentage of available hours worked) has generally risen more quickly in smaller families. For example, among couples with one or two children, two parents working full-time is rapidly becoming the most common working pattern, while larger families remain most likely to have one adult in full-time work and one at home. Looking at the rate of change over time, it is clear there is a very long way to go for larger families to reach the employment intensity of smaller ones, even were this considered an appropriate objective. These differences no doubt reflect the additional demands of care in larger families.

We also find that while work status remains strongly correlated with the risk of poverty, in-work poverty before taxes and transfers has risen fairly steadily over time, particularly in larger families. Pre-transfer poverty rose most in families where parents worked less than full intensity, but we see steady rises even where all parents worked full-time. This is indicative of the quality of some employment options, and may suggest that parents with additional caring responsibilities are more likely to take up lower-paid work; it is an area that merits further research.

Increases in pre-transfer poverty mean that, despite rising employment, there is ever more work for the redistributive tax-transfer system to do, even just to keep poverty rates stable. We find that in the first part of the period the system was indeed doing progressively more. But in more recent years it has been doing less, despite ever more being needed. This is illustrated in Figure 2, which shows the dramatic increase in the effectiveness of tax-transfers at reducing poverty up to 2013/14 – especially for larger families – and the weakening of the system thereafter. The shape of the lines in Figure 2 bear a strong similarity to those in Figure 1, underlining how important these transfers are to explaining poverty trends.

**Figure 2: The impact of taxes and transfer on relative poverty rates (BHC) by household structure**




Source: Authors' calculations using HBAI 15th edition (DWP, 2021).

It is well-known that the Labour Government in office from 1997-2010 saw reducing child poverty as a central policy goal and invested heavily in cash transfers for children, largely through the tax credit system[1]. The subsequent Coalition and Conservative governments then made substantial cuts to social security spending for working-age families as part of their austerity agenda[2 3]. But the scale of both the expansion and contraction is striking, as is the concentration of change among larger families. Neither Labour nor the Coalition explicitly targeted larger families for expansion or cuts of social security. More recent cuts under the Conservatives have been targeted in this way – notably the 'two child limit' which restricts means-tested benefits to the first two children only, affecting new births from April 2017. But the trends in Figure 2 pre-date this policy. It seems that more (or less) generous social security support affects larger families most even where there is no such explicit targeting. Because they have higher consumption needs and because they face greater constraints to labour market participation larger families are more likely to need financial support from the state and therefore more exposed to such policy changes.

In highlighting the importance of tax-transfers in tackling child poverty, our findings raise questions about the broader goals of a social security system and about how we value different types of social contribution. Recent reforms such as the two-child limit frame children as a life-style choice which parents should only make if they can afford it. One problem with this is that the future is unknown. A core function of social security is to provide support during hard times, and hard times are not always predictable, as the pandemic has clearly shown. Should families only have a third child if they are confident not only that they do not need state support now, but that they never will in the future? In addition, social security helps people smooth incomes across the lifecourse. Childhood and parenthood are temporary life stages when families need more support, like older age; we may draw out from the welfare state at these points but pay in at other points in our working lives[4]. Restricting the choice of a larger family to those with sufficient market income not to need additional support when children are young turns its back on this role for social security, and is a highly restrictive and inegalitarian constraint.

Finally, in the ever greater focus on increasing paid employment, we might want to reflect on how we value reproductive and caring work in our society[5]. Seen through a broader lens, with an understanding of social and economic contribution that goes beyond paid work, adults in larger families may be seen not only as net recipients from the system while caring for children (albeit paying in at other times in the lifecourse), but as potentially making the greatest contribution of all.

**Endnotes**


**1** J Hills, T Sefton and K Stewart (eds) (2005) *Towards a More Equal Society: Poverty, Inequality and Policy Since 1997*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

**2** R Lupton, T Burchardt, J Hills, K Stewart and P Vizard (eds) (2016) *Social Policy in a Cold Climate: Policies and their Consequences since the Crisis*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

**3** P Vizard and J Hills (eds) (2021) *The Conservative Governments' Record on Social Policy from May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020: Policies, Spending and Outcomes*. London: CASE, LSE. Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes Overview Paper.

**4** J Hills (2014) *Good Times, Bad Times: The Welfare Myth of Them and Us*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

**5** B Skeggs B and V Loveday V (2012) *Struggles for value: value practices, injustice, judgment, affect and the idea of class*. British Journal of Sociology 63(3): 472–490.


**Further information**


**Kitty Stewart** is Associate Director of CASE and Associate Professor of Social Policy at the LSE.

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**Ruth Patrick** is Senior Lecturer in Social Policy at the University of York.


The full paper is available as CASEpaper 224: K Stewart, A Reeves and R Patrick, "A time of need: Exploring the changing poverty risk facing larger families in the UK," July 2021.

The research is part of a larger Nuffield-funded project examining the impacts of social security cuts and reforms on larger families in the UK, with a particular focus on the benefit cap and the two-child limit. More information on the project can be found at: https://largerfamilies.study/

# Great Mistakes in Education Policy

**Ruth Lupton**

**During 2020 and 2021, the variable impacts of school closures on children's lives and learning have brought the realities of educational inequalities into sharp relief – a reminder of the limited progress that has been made on narrowing socioeconomic gaps in education despite much-vaunted policy efforts. In this article, Ruth Lupton argues that it is time to shift the focus from policy 'tweaks', such as the Pupil Premium, additional tutoring and financial incentives for teachers, and address the big mistakes in education policy that have allowed inequalities to become embedded.**

A striking feature of education policy in England over the last two and a half decades or more has been the commitment of governments of all political colours to the reduction of educational inequalities[1]. But progress in narrowing socioeconomic gaps in educational experiences and outcomes has been very slow[2].

In our recent book[3] Debra Hayes and I argue that this is not because the specific compensatory policies that governments have tried have failed, in their own terms. It is because they are insufficient to counter the effects of broader educational policy decisions which have allowed inequalities to become hardwired into the education system.

Looking back over the last forty years or so, we identify five 'Great Mistakes' which have made the education system less able to respond equitably and effectively to high/rising inequalities in society at large. One of these has been taking a superficial view of educational inequalities: failing to adequately recognise the 'social determinants' that hold children back, and which have been brought sharply into relief by the pandemic. This persistent error has been compounded by three others: turning to the market in the belief that competition, choice and autonomy would make education better; letting numbers and targets drive education policies to the point where we have lost sight of aspects of education that are harder to measure than test results; and over-prescribing teachers' work, so that they are less able to use their knowledge and professional judgement. We also point to a fifth mistake: an increasing separation between education policy making and educational research and practice.

We are not claiming to have discovered these mistakes for the first time. All have been copiously researched. Yet education policy debates around educational inequalities have become narrowed in recent years with excessive reliance on specific fixes (such as the Pupil Premium) and on teachers implementing 'evidence-based' practices (that is those demonstrated to close attainment gaps on standard measures). These responses need to be part of the policy mix, but they are insufficient. Really addressing educational inequalities will require bigger changes: a wider vision of education; a fundamental commitment to 'education for all' in system design; cross-government strategies for more equal childhoods; systems for collaboration not competition; an intelligent accountability system and new structures for supporting the professionalism of teachers and leaders. And that will require drawing on a broader range of evidence, as we do in our book, including qualitative and ethnographic studies, and bringing the expertise of education practitioners and academics more fully into the policy process.

In his first Conservative Party conference speech as Education Secretary, Nadhim Zahawi pledged to make the English school system "better and fairer".4 These are exactly the two tests we posed when we reviewed policies over recent decades. I hope our work will encourage him to go beyond short-term fixes and start to build consensus around a once-in-a-generation overhaul of education policy, undoing the great mistakes that have led us to the situation we find ourselves in today.

**Endnotes**

**1** Lupton, R., Thomson, S. and Obolenskaya,P. (2016). "Schools," in: Ruth Lupton, Tania Burchardt, John Hills, Kitty Stewart, Polly Vizard (Eds.), *Social Policy in a Cold Climate: Policies and Their Consequences since the Crisis*. The Policy Press, Bristol, pp. 59–80.

**2** Education Policy Institute (2020) Education in England: Annual Report 2020

**3** Zahawi,N. (2021) Speech to the Conservative Party conference.

**4** Lupton, R. and Hayes, D (2021) *Great Mistakes in Education Policy: and how to avoid them in the future*. Bristol: Policy Press

**Further information**

**Ruth Lupton** is Honorary Professor of Education at the University of Manchester and a CASE Associate. *Great Mistakes in Education Policy* was co-authored with Debra Hayes, Professor of Education and Equity at the University of Sydney and covers education policy in Australia as well as England.

# Mapping systemic approaches to understanding inequality

**Abigail McKnight and Irene Bucelli**

**Concern about rising levels of inequality and growing evidence of its harmful effects has led to a greater focus on inequality in academic and policy circles. However, work on inequality often does not explicitly or consciously endorse a particular conceptual approach. This research reviewed the main systematic approaches to understanding and addressing inequality, examining key concepts and normative grounds. In doing so, it identified the main dimensions of inequality covered by each approach and the interconnections between them. It concludes that a lack of conceptual clarity and transparency have a bearing on our ability to tackle inequality, as the limitations of different approaches risk being inadequately addressed, interrelations are not appreciated and synergies are not exploited.**

Inequality has become a pressing issue around the world and a growing focus of the work of many experts and organisations. Multilateral institutions, non-governmental organisations, government agencies, development agencies and philanthropic organisations are among those who have developed, or are in the process of developing, programmes to understand and address inequalities. This focus has grown out of evidence that economic inequality is high or rising in many countries[1] [2] and that inequality is harmful for economic growth and has negative effects on individuals and society more broadly[3] [4].

This is a very welcome development not only as the evidence base will become richer and deeper but because reducing inequalities within and between countries requires co-ordinated effort. Successfully addressing some of the key drivers of inequality (e.g. the skewed structure of global trade, climate change, and dominant narratives) requires international cooperation. Yet it remains the case that the majority of inequality research and related policy development has a narrow focus with inequalities typically considered within single dimensions (for example, income or education). Where a more multidimensional perspective is taken, the choice of dimensions is often arbitrary and tends to be driven more by data availability than theoretical considerations. This is despite a growing understanding of the intersection of key characteristics in shaping inequalities and the existence of inter-domain and inter-temporal drivers of inequality.

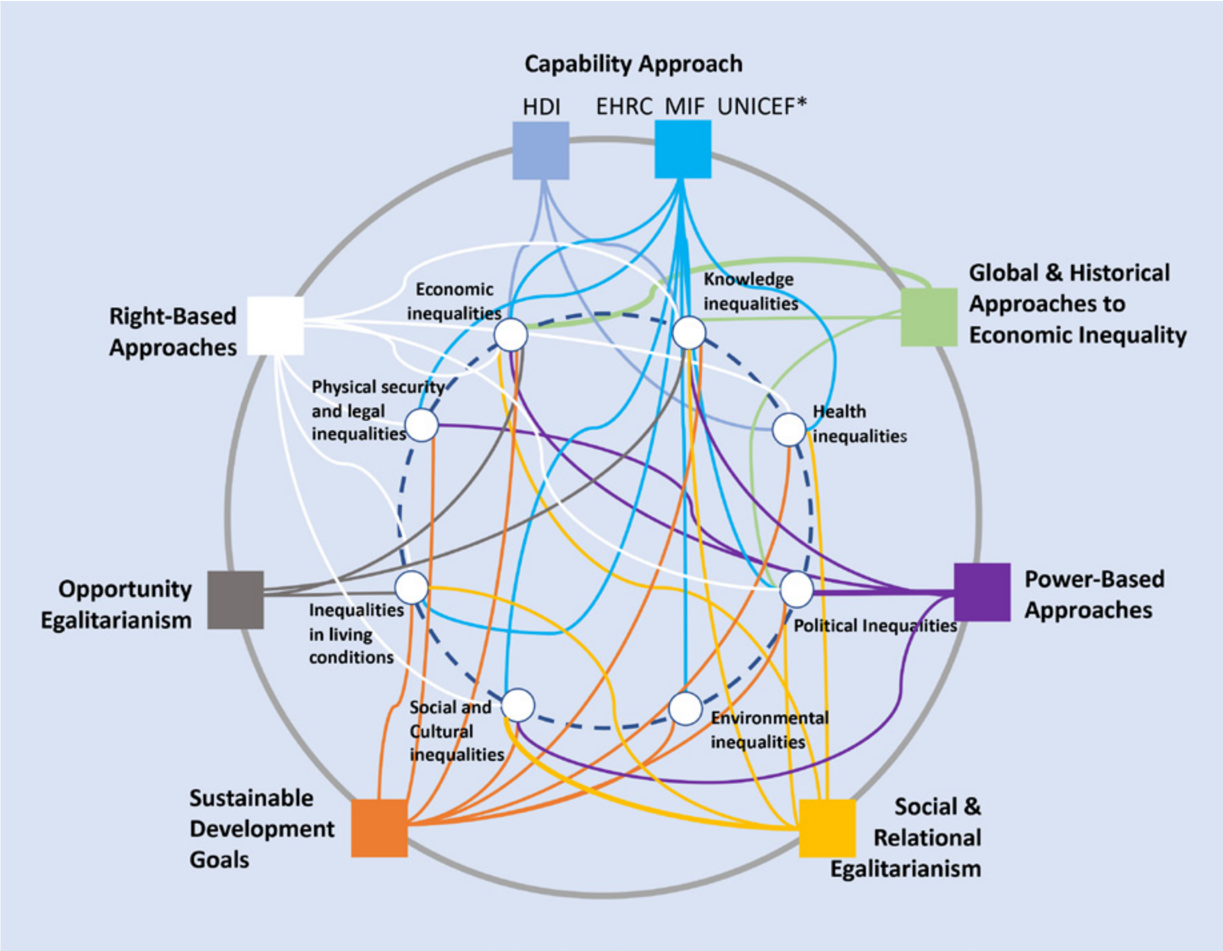
Our research aimed to improve the knowledge base on systemic approaches to understanding and reducing inequality, where a systemic approach is understood as:

**a)** an holistic view of inequality, taking into account the multidimensionality of inequality and the relationships and intersections between different forms of inequality and discrimination as well as other global challenges;

**b)** a fundamental understanding of inequality as being linked to systemic/structural root causes.

Guided by these criteria, the research reviewed key concepts and normative grounds of seven approaches which provide a systemic and multidimensional understanding of inequality: 1) Rights-based approaches; 2) Capability approach; 3) Sustainable development goals; 4) Opportunity- or luck-egalitarianism; 5) Global and historical approaches to economic inequality; 6) Power based approaches; 7) Social and relational equality approaches. The review also explored some of their notable applications, highlighting how these build on – but in some cases also distort – the key concepts and normative grounds of the different approaches they draw on. This allowed us to map the different dimensions of inequality covered by each approach, highlighting their interconnections (Figure 1).

**Figure 1: Approaches and dimensions**




*Note EHRC, MIF and UNICEF frameworks cover dimensions, albeit each is structured in different domains – see descriptions in the mapping.

** Note: Thicker lines signal the priority a framework ascribes to a certain dimension (e.g. because such dimension is key focus of analysis

**The map above attempts to show the breath of dimensions each approach considers. The dimensions chosen represent broad categories subsuming a range of aspects which differ for each framework.**

**The list provided is not meant to be exhaustive and for a more in-depth understanding of how each framework understands relevant dimensions please refer to the descriptions in the mapping.**

**Economic inequalities**
including wealth income, wages, earnings

**Knowledge inequalities**
including formal education, skills and lifelong learning, and the disparities in recognised sources of knowledge (whose knowledge counts, which types of knowledge are considered important)

**Inequality in living conditions**
including housing, water, sanitation, access to transport and care

**Health inequalities**
including nutrition, physical and mental to services

**Social and cultural inequalities**
including differences in status and discrimination based on identity groups (self-determined, socially constructed or both)

**Political inequalities**
including participation in decision-making, voice and influence, association in the workplace and civil movements

**Physical security and legal inequalities**
including access to justice and legal advice, secure living

**Environmental inequalities**
including quality of the local environment, exposure to environmental risk, spatial disparities (e.g. urban/rural)

Some of these connections are particularly profound: for instance, the capability approach has reshaped the way in which development is conceived and tackled. Current understandings of human development are conceptually founded on the capability approach, while the UN Human Development Reports and other empirical studies have operationalized certain aspects of it or are fundamentally multidimensional (for example, the Multidimensional Inequality Framework5).

Other approaches explicitly prioritise one form of inequality. Global and historical approaches to economic inequality have addressed the relationship between economic inequality and political and educational inequalities in particular, but it is mostly through their focus on wealth that they have contributed to make the topic of inequality central to the global discourse, and a major concern for donors and international organisations.

Power-based approaches can be seen as focusing on political inequalities, but these are interpreted broadly, and not solely as formal representation and participation in decision-making. They also include hidden and invisible channels to exercise voice and influence, as well as attention for forms of mobilisation such as association in the workplace and civil movements.

Both relational egalitarianism and opportunity/luck-egalitarianism have been at the forefront of academic discussion, from philosophy to social policy. Luck-egalitarianism has a prominent application in the development of the Human Opportunity Index which illuminates the relationship between opportunities and outcomes.

Social and relational equality approaches have seen academic applications proliferating in recent years, and there are emerging discussions around applications of relational egalitarian ideas in public policy. These approaches can cover a broad range of dimensions of inequality and speak to several areas of policy through the lenses of unequal social relationships. While no unitary systematic framework has been developed here, social and cultural inequalities can be seen as a cornerstone for understanding the connections between political, economic, physical security and legal inequalities, health and knowledge inequality.

Some aspects of inequality were found to be central to the analysis of most approaches (e.g. economic or knowledge inequalities) but the review showed that different approaches offer different interpretations of these dimensions. For instance, some may focus mainly on inequalities in formal education when it comes to knowledge inequalities, while others adopt a broader concern for recognised sources of knowledge and how knowledge is produced.

The analysis did not attempt to weigh the different approaches against one another or make an argument for prioritising one approach over others. Nevertheless, it has emphasised that the concepts and normative grounds underpinning our understanding of inequality matter: they shape our concerns with different forms of inequality and their drivers and therefore affect the possible policy responses. This is despite the fact that those who work on (or are concerned about) inequality do not often explicitly or consciously endorse a particular conceptual approach. Empirical research and policy responses nevertheless reveal underlying assumptions related to the most relevant dimensions of inequality and the drivers at work. Both policy and inequality research may suffer from overlooked inconsistencies or tensions. Greater conceptual clarity can help us to identify and address these. Conversely, a lack of conceptual clarity and transparency places constraints on our ability to tackle inequality, as the limitations of different approaches risk being inadequately addressed, interrelations are not appreciated and synergies are not exploited.

### Endnotes


**1** Salverda, W., Nolan, B., Checchi, D., Marx, I., McKnight, A., Tóth, I. G., and van de Werfhorst, H., (2014). Changing Inequalities in Rich Countries. Analytical and Comparative Perspectives, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

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### Further information


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This research was funded by the Robert Bosch Stiftung to inform their developing programme of work on inequality which aims to take a systemic approach to addressing and reducing inequality.


The full paper is available as an International Inequalities Institute working paper: Bucelli, I., and Mcknight, A. (2021). Mapping systemic approaches to understanding inequality and their potential for designing and implementing interventions to reduce inequality. International Inequalities Institute Working Papers (62). International Inequalities Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK.

# Developing a poverty and social exclusion alleviation strategy for Wales: lessons from international evidence

**Irene Bucelli, Abigail McKnight**

**In this article Irene Bucelli and Abigail McKnight outline some cross-cutting findings from a series of twelve reviews conducted for the Wales Centre for Public Policy (WCPP) on behalf of the Welsh Government with the aim of informing the development of a strategy to tackle poverty and social exclusion in Wales. The reviews cover a wide range of policy areas, from food insecurity to fuel poverty and from digital exclusion to transport disadvantage and in-work progression. The reviews assess the evidence on the effectiveness of international policies and programmes in these areas, evaluate their transferability to Wales and identify implementation challenges and facilitating factors.**

Tackling poverty and social exclusion has been a persistent challenge for successive Welsh governments. In the past ten years, the Welsh Government has developed a statutory Child Poverty Strategy[1] as well as a broader action plan to tackle poverty[2]. In March 2021 the Welsh Government introduced a Socio-Economic Duty aiming at delivering better outcomes for those who experience socio-economic disadvantage[3]. Meanwhile, tackling poverty is also among the key objectives of the Welsh Government's Strategic Equality Plan4 and the Fifth Senedd's Equality, Local Government and Communities (ELGC) Committee has recognised poverty as a key determinant of a wide range of negative outcomes across employment, education and health during the pandemic5. Separate actions have been undertaken, for instance in relation to fuel poverty, with a dedicated plan and targets6.

In this research, we were commissioned by the Wales Centre for Public Policy (WCPP) to review international evidence on the effectiveness of policies and programmes addressing poverty and social exclusion to help inform the development of a strategy for Wales. The reviews covered twelve policy areas: Food Insecurity; Take-up of Cash Transfers; Household Debt; Affordable Housing Supply; Fuel Poverty; Digital Exclusion; Transport Disadvantage; Youth Services; In-work Progression; Early Childhood Education and Care; Further Education and Skills; Neighbourhood Environment.

The selection of policy areas was informed by the domains and sub-domains of the Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix 7 and the result of a process that involved a review of key trends in poverty and social exclusion in Wales, consultation with experts and ultimately Welsh Government agreement on the twelve priority areas. The final selection should not be considered exhaustive from a poverty and social exclusion policy perspective – for instance, it does not cover some important areas, such as social care, health care and crime. A key challenge in selecting and analysing poverty and social exclusion reduction strategies to inform Welsh policy pertains to understanding the limits posed by the Welsh devolution settlement. For instance, while adequacy of social security is a key driver of poverty, the Welsh Government currently has no powers to set key elements of social security policy and for this reason we focused on aspects such as take-up of cash transfers, that the Welsh Government has greater power to influence.

Each review assesses the evidence on the effectiveness of different international policies and programmes, including relevant international case studies, relating these to the Welsh context. This leads to the identification of possible promising actions in each policy area. Here we focus on four main take-aways and cross-cutting findings:

**1 Several policy areas are fundamentally connected and effective strategies will be required to address "upstream drivers" such as low income.**

The reviews for instance indicate connections between household debt, fuel poverty, food insecurity, transport disadvantage and affordable housing supply. This means that beyond specific interventions in a given policy area (say, debt relief and advice services or financial literacy in relation to household debt; or community-provision in relation to food insecurity) broader strategies to increase and maximise household disposable income available to disadvantaged families are necessary to make progress in the individual areas.

- **This invites policy makers to explore the synergies between the policy instruments available in each policy area.** The possibility of establishing a "Welsh Benefit System", as proposed by the Bevan Foundation, is an example of an approach that could help tackle interconnected challenges8.
- **"One-stop", multi-agency services in the community can promote service coordination and provide diversified support** in face of the range of interconnected needs and vulnerabilities people can experience. Evidence shows that these are most effective when they are non-stigmatising and leverage trusted relationships in the community that help with expanding their reach.
- **Across policy areas, it is clear that a recurrent challenge is the diminished role of the UK social security system in functioning as an effective safety net against poverty.** As noted, the Welsh Government does not have the powers required to change key elements of the system (e.g. related to Universal Credit design or the two-child limit), but acknowledging their shortcomings can lead to improvements in the assistance and support that can be made available through alternative policy instruments.

**2 In several policy areas there are evidence gaps and a tendency for producing weak evaluations, especially in relation to localised interventions.**

When these interventions may serve a range of purposes beyond tackling poverty and social exclusion, it is particularly important that evaluations go beyond assessing outputs (such as number of referrals, caseload etc) and focus on effectively assessing the impact on poverty and social exclusion, including analysis of how different disadvantaged groups may be affected (e.g. people with disabilities, people from ethnic minority backgrounds, single parents and care leavers). In some areas it may be more appropriate to estimate social value rather than quantitative impact assessments. This is the case, for instance, for community transport and open access youth services.

3 **Across a number of areas, emerging opportunities for data sharing can contribute to multi-agency working, promote synergies, simplify administrative processes and ensure a greater number of people access the services they need and benefits they are entitled to.** At the same time, insight into the lived experiences of claimants and users is needed to understand barriers to access faced by different groups (and hence the range of options and alternatives needed to ensure inclusion).

4 **Participatory approaches are emerging as a way to enhance the success of interventions and programmes in meeting people's needs and addressing challenges on the ground.** This is the case for a number of policy areas, such as digital exclusion, youth services and neighbourhood environment. Ensuring authentic and meaningful participation requires participation to produce real influence, not just amount to passive presence or tokenism. Simply "opening up" deliberative spaces can lead to an over-representation of already influential voices, thus failing to create genuinely inclusive participation.

### Endnotes

1 Welsh Government, 2012. Tackling poverty action plan, Cardiff: Welsh Government.

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8 Bevan Foundation. (2020). The case for a Welsh benefits system. Merthyr Tydfil: Bevan Foundation.

### Further information

**Irene Bucelli** is a Research Officer in CASE at the LSE.

**Abigail McKnight** is Director of CASE and Associate Professorial Research Fellow at the LSE.

The reviews will be published by the Wales Centre for Public Policy (WCPP) in 2022.

# **PhD Spotlight:** Positional spending and neighbourhood household mix

**Alice Miles**

**Alice Miles reports on her PhD research into the relationship between neighbourhood social mix and positional consumption. Using qualitative interviews with families on low-to-middle incomes in South East England, she explores the ways in which families negotiate social and economic inequality. Neighbourhood composition is found to influence consumption patterns, especially in relation to the acquisition of experiences such as holidays, meals out, after-school clubs and family recreation. Parents are concerned about being the "right type" of parent and providing social and economic opportunity for their children.**

My PhD thesis focuses on families on low-to-middle incomes in South East England, and the ways in which they negotiate social and economic inequality and the risk of being financially and geographically 'squeezed'. By examining positional consumption, and the reasons behind it, the study explores the impact of neighbourhood social mix on perceived social status and consequent spending. It finds that consumption in low-to-middle income (LMI) families is influenced by neighbourhood composition. The type of spending affected relates more to the acquisition of experiences than material goods – to being the "right type" of parent and providing social and economic opportunity for one's children – and includes holidays, meals out, after-school clubs and family recreation.

I calculated positional spending by interviewing the person in charge of day-to-day expenditure – almost always the mother – in 33 LMI households in two neighbourhoods (c1500-2000 households) in South East England; a highly unequal, insecure and competitive economic environment. The families were largely from income quintile group two, the real "squeezed middle". The neighbourhoods were distinguished by their social mix: "Carlton" a spotlessly clean and tidy series of Avenues and Dales with barely a blade of grass out of place, and "Dell" a mix of housing across the social scale and with a settled Traveller community in its midst.

I selected items of positional spending using the Heffetz (2011) visibility index[1], which orders household spending categories by how visible they are to external observers. The index was adapted so that it was relevant to these families' lives: they did not, for instance, generally spend money on jewellery, which features in the original index. My assumption – tested in interviews – was that spending on positional consumption would be different in the two neighbourhoods, due to social comparison effects from the social mix. I began with a hypothesis that status-related spending would be higher in Carlton, although given the contradictory academic literature about the social impact of inequality at neighbourhood level, I could just as well have chosen the opposite hypothesis. I made the further assumption that if spending on "unnecessary" status-related items was higher in Carlton than in Dell, this would be due to the effect of intra-neighbourhood social comparison, and I tested this in interviews.

The quantification of "positional spend" is the difference in spend on holidays, cars, meals out, after school clubs and family recreation between households matched on household income in Carlton and Dell. These findings suffer from uncertainty about respondents' precise recall of expenditure, assumptions I had to make about the cost of items such as meals out, and complexity in quantifying the annual cost of spending which varied widely from one year to the next such as holidays.

The research was bedevilled by selection bias, a well-recognised problem in neighbourhood effects research: the reasons why families chose to live in Carlton or Dell might also influence their subsequent positional expenditure. Spending on housing (mortgage or rent) among two-parent families in the neighbourhoods, paired on income before housing costs, was 23 percent of net household income in Carlton and 19 per cent in Dell. The primary reasons for families in Dell to choose their neighbourhood were affordability, family connection, access to work/services and outdoor space. But in Carlton, the reasons were family connections, the quiet/safety of the area, and access to schools: parents in Carlton who had experienced poverty or social disorder in their own childhoods selected their neighbourhood in order to segregate their children from all forms of social disorder – from messy streets to the "wrong" type of family, crime and even paedophilia – and this motivation influenced some of their subsequent consumption as well. Specific intra-neighbourhood influences on consumption, in Carlton, related to the pressure of "keeping up" with other local mothers, in particular in their fierce determination to acquire social capital and secure children's social and economic futures. This encompassed the acquisition of experiences such as trips to London and Florida Disney, social skills such as those acquired in after school clubs, and a general sense of order from being at the right primary school in the right neighbourhood. Neighbourhood social order – "I don't want to live next door to someone who's got their rubbish out in their front garden and keeps the front of their house dirty", as one respondent put it – was particularly important to Carlton families.

In Dell, the socially mixed neighbourhood, spending on status-related items was lower. Annual spending on holidays, for instance (spread over three years), among two-parent families matched on income after housing costs was a mean of 2.9 per cent net household income in Dell and 4.9 per cent in Carlton. In Dell, mothers worked fewer hours, earned a lower proportion of household income, and invested time in "slow parenting"– home cooking, parks and picnics, trips to the library. Yet ethical and cultural values such as "green" shopping and charitable work, emphasised over material values, cloaked an underlying sensitivity to their social status: asked to locate themselves on a ladder "relative to other people in your community", mothers in Dell who had given up paid work were unable or unwilling to do so.

In Carlton, all the mothers bar one worked; important social differentiation from women in nearby estates who "sort of stood outside with their pyjamas on", as one put it. Half of the eighteen Carlton respondents had studied for professional qualifications or Open University degrees as adults, sometimes while on maternity leave. They saw themselves as socially on their way "up". The majority of respondents in Dell, by contrast, who came from slightly higher socioeconomic backgrounds, viewed themselves as having 'slipped' since childhood and early adulthood, settling in a location which would not have been their first choice; many had been 'squeezed' out of London and its proximate areas.

This thesis explores the lives of families under-represented in empirical literature – in the densely populated South East of England where extended conurbations, not quite town or suburb, sprawl down motorways and railway lines between London and the coast. Part of a wider middle-income group variously theorised as both agents and victims of inequality, and as socially, culturally and politically "missing" or "weak" yet conversely responsible for the UK's departure from the EU (and, in the North of England, the collapse of Labour's "red wall"), these families are engaged in a complex race for status – keeping up with, keeping away from, clinging on. Having different reference groups available within the neighbourhood affects their perceptions of status and consequent behaviour in complex ways, and this is demonstrable by levels and types of positional consumption.

**End notes**

**1** Heffetz, O. (2011). "A Test of Conspicuous Consumption: Visibility and Income Elasticities." *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, XCIII, 4

**Further information**

**Alice Miles** works in the Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities and is completing her PhD at CASE.

# What can birth month disparities tell us about problems with attributions of and provisions for children with “Special Educational Needs and Disabilities”?

**Tammy Campbell**

**The system intended to serve children with “Special Educational Needs and Disabilities” (“SEND”) is currently under review and is riddled with problems. Looking through the lens of birth month (relative age) inequalities in “SEND” attribution, Tammy Campbell argues in this piece that the dysfunctional “SEND” system must be understood in the context of the wider education system, and that the system itself produces – and then fails to meet – the needs of some children attributed “SEND.” Distracted and consumed by its own internal mechanisms, structures, requirements, and assumptions, the system fails to create an inclusive school environment.**

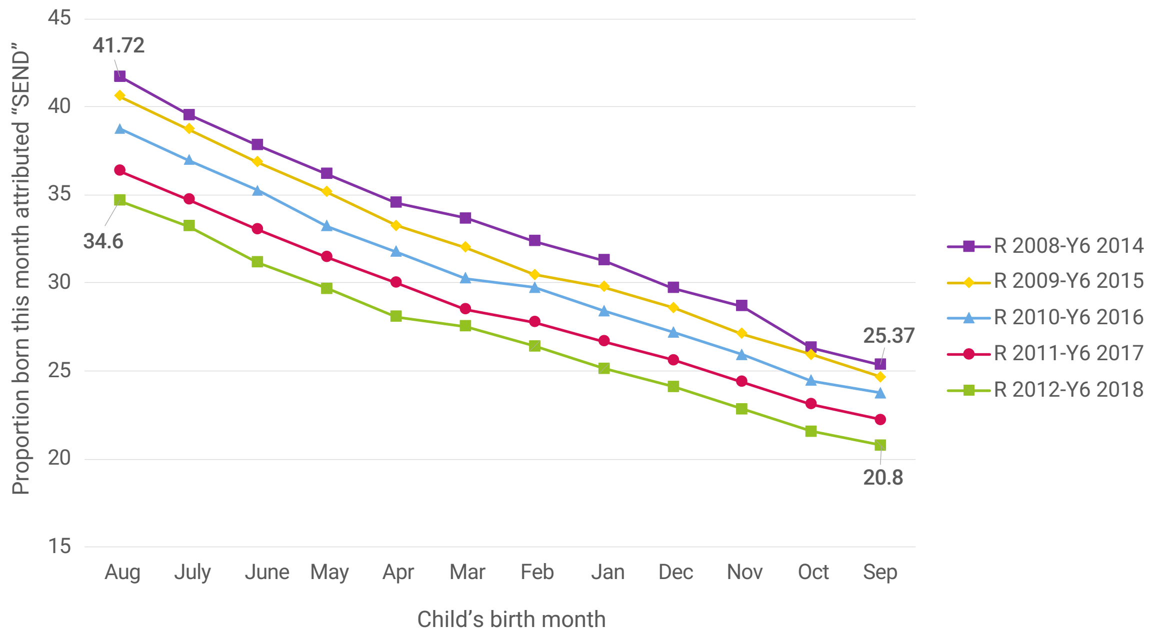
There are numerous problems with attributions of and provisions for children with “Special Educational Needs and Disabilities” (“SEND”) within the English school system[1,2]. The experiences of parents/carers and children have been characterised as riddled with “nightmares” and “dashed hopes” and the Education Select Committee reported in 2019 that, ‘an inclusive school environment…just is not happening”[2]. The Department for Education’s SEND Review, first announced in 2019, has repeatedly delayed reporting and reform is still in stasis.

In order to understand the intractable and detrimental problems of the “SEND” system, and to move towards reform and improvement, “SEND” provision’s place within and interactions with the wider school system must be considered. Attributions of and provisions for “SEND” do not exist in a vacuum. Therefore the ongoing research presented in this article examines the ways in which the education and “SEND” systems function. It focusses on the primary years, analysing de-identified records from the National Pupil Database, and using children’s relative age – month of birth – as a lens. This is complemented by continuing review of the interdisciplinary research literature, and interrogation of policy documents.

The study argues that the surrounding structures and context of the English primary school system are crucial to understanding and interpreting the functioning of the "SEND" system for young children. It hypothesises that rigid, prescriptive "expectations" and "standards" within the primary education system contribute to a disproportionate likelihood of children being denoted with "SEND", the younger they are within the school year structure. This indicates that to some extent the system produces – and then fails to meet – the needs of children attributed SEND: while at the same time, distracted and consumed by its own internal mechanisms, the system side-lines and fails to provide an accessible, inclusive environment for many children with disabilities and needs not directly stemming from its own workings.

Figure 1 illustrates this by showing the proportion of children born in each month across five subsequent cohorts attributed school-administered/funded SEND at any point during their primary school career (from Reception to Year 6). Though the overall percent attributed has fallen over time, due to reforms in 2015, a clear birth month gradient has remained. August-born children – the relatively youngest in the school year-group structure – are far more likely to be denoted with SEND by their school than the oldest, September-borns. This shows an inherent non-inclusivity to the school environment: instead of the system serving children of varying ages equally, children who are structurally younger than their peers are often denoted as deficient.

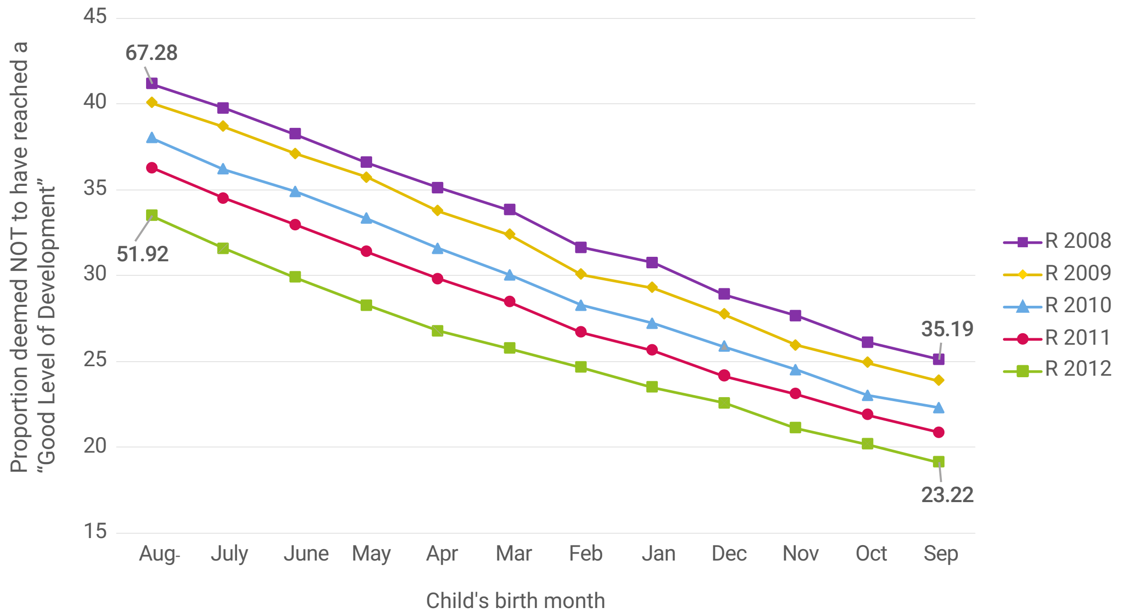
**Figure 1: Proportion of children born in each month attributed school-administered "SEND" at some point during their primary school career (Reception – Year 6)**




Source: Author's analyses of the National Pupil Database. R 2008 - Y6 2014, N= 593,633; R 2009 - Y6 2015, N= 611,948; R 2010 - Y6 2016, N= 626,550; R 2011 - Y6 2017, N= 642,161; R 2012 - Y6 2018, N= 664,731.

The primary school years are increasingly saturated with rigid national statutory assessments, required by school monitoring and accountability regimes, which define children against inflexible "standards" and "expectations" allowing no scope for difference or individual growth. Figure 2 shows, again for the five cohorts born 2002-03 – 2006-07, the proportion of children born each month deemed not to have a "Good Level of Development" in the first of these assessments: the Early Years Foundation Stage Profile (EYFSP). The judgement that a child's 'development' is "good" – or not – is assigned at the end of their first, Reception year of school.

**Figure 2: Proportion of children born in each month assessed as NOT having a "Good Level of Development" in Reception**

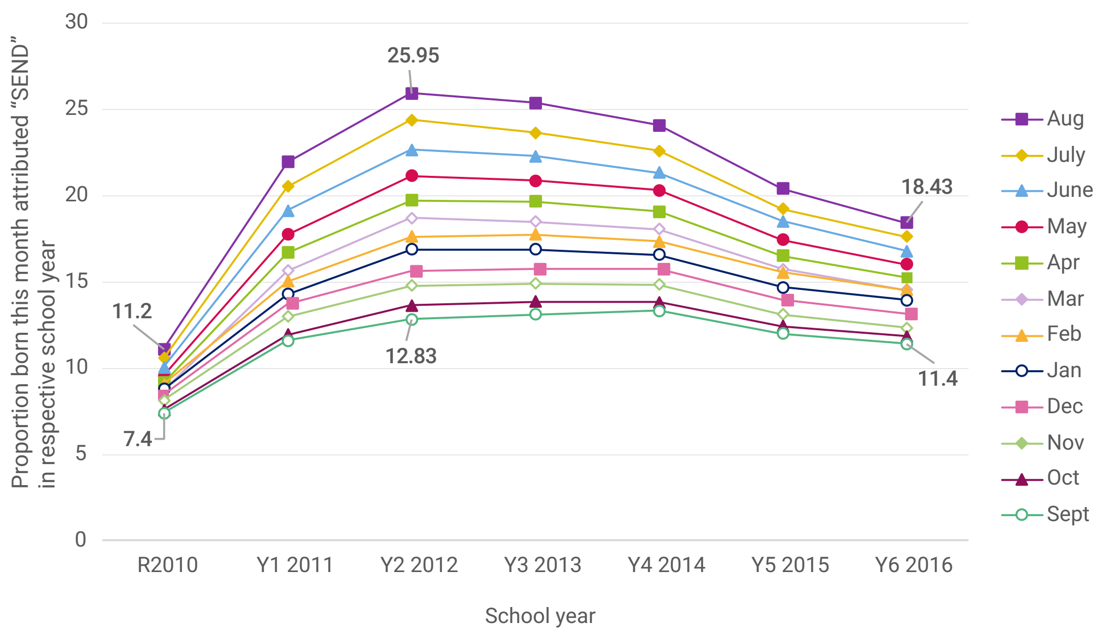



Source: Author's analyses of the National Pupil Database. R 2008 N= 540,659; R 2009, N= 557,081; R 2010, N= 571,309; R 2011, N= 583,551; R 2012, N= 605,502.

The birth month gradient mirrors that in SEND attribution. Summer-born children are vastly more likely to be deemed inadequate and not to "meet expectations" in Reception, and, subsequently, vastly more likely to be attributed "SEND". This is simply because they are younger and therefore incrementally less likely to align to the inflexible, non-age-adjusted 'standards' of the school and assessment systems.

Most national statutory primary-age assessments take place in the first three years of school: in Reception through to Year 2. Figure 3 shows that inequalities in school-administered/funded SEND

**Figure 3: Proportion of children born in each month attributed school-administered SEND at each respective school year during primary school**




Source: Author's analyses of the National Pupil Database. Cohort born 2004-05. R N= 576,770; Y1 N= 582,484; Y2 N= 584,175; Y3 N= 583,239; Y4 N= 584,454; Y5 N= 585,787; Y6 N= 587,817.

attribution soar through these years, primarily driven by a sharp fanning upwards among relatively younger children. Only the 2004-05 cohort are shown here for parsimony, but this pattern is replicated across all cohorts studied.

While suggestive rather than causal, this soaring during the years in which assessments are most prevalent once more implicates the assessment system as playing a part in determining SEND attributions. It therefore indicates inefficiencies engendered by the system, where children without disabilities or pre-existing needs for access and inclusivity are produced internally within schools as having "SEND" Whether and the extent to which gaps have widened over the past two decades, with the introduction of more national assessments, "expectations," and "standards" to the primary years, is currently being explored.

Mapping differences by relative age is especially useful in light of the limitations of other measures and lenses through which "gaps" and divergent trajectories can be captured. For example, the Free School Meals marker is becoming increasingly problematic and less useful[3,4]. If the system creates unequal experiences according to children's birth month – the simplest and most unambiguously measured pupil-level characteristic – this shows its inherent divisiveness, antithetic to inclusivity.

Understanding and improving the "SEND" system so that it ceases to be a "nightmare" riddled with "dashed hopes," where "an inclusive school environment...just is not happening,"[5] is vital, and addressing the way the other parts of the education system contribute to children's experiences is essential to this. This research will thus continue investigations in this vein, reporting further in the next year.

### Endnotes


1 Lupton, R. and Obolenskaya, P. (2020), The Conservatives' Record on Compulsory Education: spending, policies and outcomes in England, May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020. London: CASE, LSE.

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3 Campbell, T. and Obolenskya, P. (2021) No such thing as a free lunch? Exploring the consistency, validity, and uses of the "Free School Meals" (FSM) measure in the National Pupil Database. London: Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion.

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5 House of Commons Education Committee, ibid.


### Further information

**Tammy Campbell** is an Assistant Professorial Research Fellow and British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow [PF2 \180019].
This article draws on the following paper:

Campbell, T. (2021) Special Educational Needs and Disabilities within the English primary school system: What can disproportionalities by season of birth contribute to understanding processes behind attributions and (lack of) provisions? London: Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion.

This work was produced using statistical data from ONS. The use of the ONS statistical data in this work does not imply the endorsement of the ONS in relation to the interpretation or analysis of the statistical data. This work uses research datasets which may not exactly reproduce National Statistics aggregates. Thanks to the Department for Education for use of the data, and to LSE IT colleagues for facilitating and supporting access.

# Using linked data for identification of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children and young people

**Polina Obolenskaya**

**Evidence on outcomes for Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children and young people is scarce, in part due to limited available data on them. Polina Obolenskaya reports on attempts to use the Growing Up in England (GUIE) dataset to improve the evidence base. Because it brings together data from a number of sources, GUIE allows an assessment of the extent of undercounting of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children in different parts of the dataset, while also boosting the number of children identified, aiding further analysis.**

Generating robust and reliable evidence on Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children is a major challenge: firstly, there is limited data available for this group and, secondly, what is available is generally considered an undercount of the population[1]. We use a linked Growing Up in England (GUIE) dataset in an attempt to overcome some of these challenges. GUIE combines the two main sources of data on Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children in England – the 2011 Census and education data. It is therefore not only a rare opportunity to explore the education and family circumstances of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children, but it also allows us to triangulate information on ethnicity recorded within different parts of the dataset.

## Growing Up in England dataset

The Growing Up in England dataset was created by the Office for National Statistics by linking 2011 Census records to education and attainment data from a bespoke extract of the feasibility All Education Dataset for England (AEDE), provided by the Department for Education[2]. The AEDE is formed of linked information from the National Pupil Database and the Individualised Learner Record

(ILR) data. The NPD part of the data provides information on attainment of children and young people, aged 14 to 20, attending state funded schools and further education institutions between the academic years ending 2002 and 2015, as well as socio-demographic characteristics from the termly school census, pupil referral unit and alternative provision censuses. The ILR part of the data provides attainment and socio-demographic information on children and young people in state-funded further education and work-based learning in England for the academic years ending 2003 to 2015. The data is limited to those who were aged between 14 and 29 in 2015.

### Identification of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children and young people within GUIE

There are two ways to identify the Gypsy, Traveller and Roma population within GUIE – using information provided in the 2011 Census and / or in AEDE. Both Census and AEDE data generally rely on self-identification of children with Gypsy, Traveller and Roma ethnicity as reported by children themselves or their parents. There are a number of reasons why self-identification might result in the undercount of children and young people from this population.

Historical persecution, continued experience of discrimination and prejudice, and lack of trust in authorities and public bodies mean that many among the Gypsy, Traveller and Roma community might choose to conceal their ethnicity during data collection, stating instead a less stigmatised one. While significant efforts were made to reach the Gypsy and Traveller population during the 2011 Census, it is still widely regarded as an undercount. Furthermore, Roma were not explicitly identified in 2011 – the census questionnaire only included a tick-box for “Gypsy or Irish Travellers”. The respondents, however, did have a chance to write in their ethnicity if they were not able to choose from the list provided and some of these individuals specified Roma or combinations of Roma.

Education data has its own specific issues with identifying Gypsy, Traveller and Roma pupils. Compared to all other major ethnic groups, Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children have lower attainment at all stages of education and are more likely to disengage with education. We would therefore expect Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children and young people to be under-represented within the AEDE dataset compared to all other ethnic groups. Additionally, the recording of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma ethnicity differs in the NPD and ILR data, with the latter being similar to the 2011 Census, while the former collects information for Gypsy/Irish Travellers and, separately, for Roma. Therefore, only the school census, pupil referral units and alternative provision censuses explicitly record Roma ethnicity. All parts of the data fail to offer self-identification with other types of Traveller populations.

Notwithstanding the limitations described above, GUIE allows us to draw on ethnicity information provided within each composite dataset to assess the extent of the undercount within each source and allows us to boost the number of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children and young people identified for further analysis.

### Number of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children in GUIE

Using responses to the pre-coded ethnicity category for Gypsy and Irish Travellers, as well as additional written in responses, we identified 7,649 Gypsy and Irish Traveller children and young people in the entire 2011 Census within GUIE[3]. These represent around 0.1 per cent of the total population of children and young people of this age in the data. Looking across all years of available data within the NPD and ILR parts of AEDE, we were able to identify many more children who were recorded as Gypsy, Traveller and Roma within the education data but not within the 2011 Census. Incorporating these responses with the Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children and young people identified within the 2011 Census increased the number of this ethnic group by almost 80 per cent, with the new total being 13,558 (Table 1).

**Table 1: Ethnicity reported within 2011 Census, and ethnicity within 2011 Census boosted with Gypsy, Traveller and Roma identified within NPD/ILR data in GUIE**

| | 2011 Census | | | 2011 Census and NPD/ILR | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Freq. | Percent | | Freq. | Percent |
| White: English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern | 5,513,171 | 77.9% | | 5,509,441 | 77.9% |
| White: Irish | 28,325 | 0.4% | | 28,231 | 0.4% |
| **White: Gypsy or Irish Traveller (Roma)** | **7,649** | **0.1%** | | **13,558** | **0.2%** |
| White: Other White | 253,471 | 3.6% | | 251,917 | 3.6% |
| Mixed ethnic group | 266,238 | 3.8% | | 266,066 | 3.8% |
| Asian/Asian British | 620,640 | 8.8% | | 620,573 | 8.8% |
| Black/African/Caribbean/Black British | 309,832 | 4.4% | | 309,791 | 4.4% |
| Other ethnic groups | 73,815 | 1.0% | | 73,668 | 1.0% |
| **Total** | **7,073,141** | **100%** | | **7,073,245** | **100%** |

Source: Author's analysis of wave 1 of Growing Up in England dataset

The additional Gypsy, Traveller and Roma individuals who were identified from AEDE data were mostly recorded within other ethnicity categories in the 2011 Census. Only 104 children and young people who were identified as Gypsy, Traveller and Roma within AEDE did not have a recorded ethnicity in 2011 Census. The majority of additional Gypsy, Traveller and Roma individuals identified from AEDE (n=5,378) were recorded as White group categories within 2011 Census and the remaining additional Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children and young people identified in the AEDE (n=427) were recoded as Mixed, Asian or Other ethnic groups within 2011 Census.

The exercise of identifying Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children and young people across different parts of the linked dataset is important given the undercount of their population within composite datasets. Boosting the numbers of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children and young people within GUIE allows us to explore the education and family circumstances of this rarely visible group more fully.

### Endnotes

**1** Burchardt, T., Obolenskaya, P., Vizard, P., Battaglini, M., 2018. Experience of multiple disadvantage among Roma, Gypsy and Traveller children in England and Wales 49.

**2** Office for National Statistics, 2019. Feasibility All Education Dataset for England (AEDE).

**3** There was a very small number of Roma or combinations of Roma within the open-ended responses to the ethnicity question; mostly the written in information contained combinations of Gypsy or Travellers. Using responses to these open-ended questions increased the total number of children identified as Gypsy, Travellers and Roma by 43 children and young people.

### Further information

"This work is based on the analysis of the wave 1 of Growing Up in England (GUIE) dataset [Office for National Statistics] (2021): Secure Research Service Access. This work was produced using statistical data from ONS and the views expressed are solely those of the authors and do not reflect the views of the Office for National Statistics or the wider UK Government. The use of the ONS statistical data in this work does not imply the endorsement of the ONS in relation to the interpretation or analysis of the statistical data. This work uses research datasets which may not exactly reproduce National Statistics aggregates".

**Polina Obolenskaya** is a Visiting Fellow at CASE and co-investigator on the project Testing demonstrating and shaping the value of the Growing Up in England (GUIE) dataset: Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children and young people case study being undertaken with Polly Vizard.

The project is funded by Administrative Data Research UK (ADR UK) with a supplement from the LSE Research and Impact Support Fund.

Friends, Families Travellers are advising the LSE team on the data work and collaborating with us on a direct engagement exercise with children and young people from the Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities.

# Size matters: The impact of COVID-19 on low-income larger families

**Mary Reader and Kate Andersen**

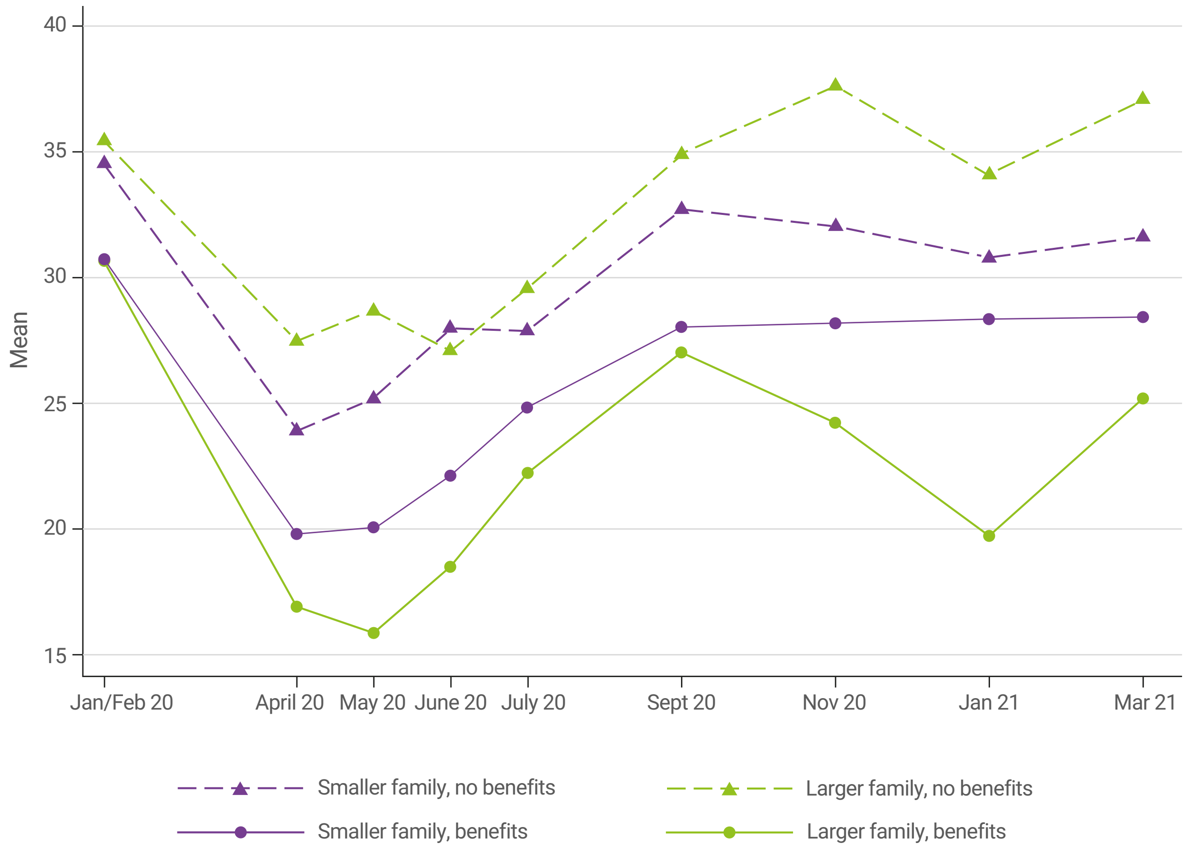
**The COVID-19 pandemic has widened inequality across multiple dimensions. Yet one dimension that often goes unacknowledged is family size. In this article, Mary Reader and Kate Andersen discuss their research on the effects of the pandemic on larger families on a low income in the UK. Using quantitative data from Understanding Society's COVID-19 survey and qualitative data from interviews with larger families, they find that employment shocks were sharper and deeper among low-income larger families, with implications for their ability to meet basic needs and their mental health.**

When the COVID-19 pandemic arrived in the UK in early 2020, children in larger families – those with three or more children – were already twice as likely to be living in poverty as those in smaller families. Most of the increase in child poverty since 2012/13 had been driven by larger families[1]. Research is clear that those living on a low income shouldered a greater burden of the pandemic[2]. Yet little is known about the distributional impact of the pandemic by family size.

In this piece we summarise research conducted as part of the wider Benefit Changes and Larger Families research project. We use mixed methods to investigate if and how larger families' experiences of the pandemic differed from those of other family groups. For the quantitative analysis presented, we use individual-level household survey data from Understanding Society (the UK Household Longitudinal Survey)[3,4]. Our qualitative data is drawn from twelve semi-structured individual telephone interviews as part of ongoing qualitative longitudinal research with parents or carers affected by the two-child limit or the benefit cap.

Understanding Society data suggests that the employment shocks of the crisis were greater and more persistent for larger families on a low-income. As Figure 1 shows, among families with children, larger families in receipt of means-tested benefits saw the sharpest falls in working hours as the economy locked down. This appears to be driven by two factors. First, low-income workers are more likely to work part-time, or in routine jobs that could not be carried out on a work-from-home basis. The quantitative data show that just 33 per cent of respondents from larger families on benefits were able to work from home. This made them particularly vulnerable to redundancy, furlough and reduced hours. Second, parents in larger families found themselves with greater caring and home-schooling responsibilities during the pandemic than their smaller family counterparts. Parents in low-income larger families spent 3.9 hours every day on average helping children with home schooling, compared to 2.9 hours among higher-income larger families and 2.4 hours among low-income smaller families. With caring responsibilities listed by the government as a legitimate reason for furloughing staff, this may also have contributed towards the higher rates of furlough observed among larger families on a low income.

**Figure 1: Mean weekly working hours during the pandemic by family type**




Note: Data from Waves 1-8 of the Understanding Society Covid-19 survey. Sample is adult respondents who were in paid work (employment or self-employment) at the Covid-19 survey baseline in January-February 2020. N=2862, 2701, 2243, 2040, 1996, 1777, 1584, 1490 and 1732 in each wave.

Why does this matter? Furlough may have offered some benefits to larger families, including the time to bond with babies and children. But long-term furlough or reduced working hours can have scarring effects on future employment prospects. By September 2020, when schools had reopened, working hours had recovered to pre-pandemic levels for most families, but larger families on benefits saw the largest shortfall, of 3.6 hours on average.

Furthermore, the existence of the household benefit cap – which caps the total amount of benefits that a household can receive if no adult earns the equivalent of 16 hours per week at minimum wage – means that those on furlough or reduced hours risk lower benefit payments. This was the case for one of our interviewees, Ifemelu, a factory worker in the food industry and mother of three who was working full-time before the pandemic hit. During the first lockdown, her employer cut her hours to zero. She had to start claiming Universal Credit and became subject to the benefit cap. Since the first lockdown, she has only been given part-time hours, and remains subject to the benefit cap. Ifemelu explained:

> "What they're even giving me is not even enough and you're still removing one benefit cap...[I have] debt which keeps piling up, but I don't have a choice...I'm not able to pay all the bills I'm supposed to pay."

In eroding the link between need and entitlement, these policies have hampered the ability of social security to smooth consumption in response to employment shocks. Consequently, low-income larger families struggled to afford basic essentials during the pandemic. Low-income families spend a higher proportion of their incomes on essentials, so they were particularly vulnerable to inflationary effects, shortages, and the reduced ability to shop around due to restrictions5. Since larger families have higher consumption needs, this inevitably affects them even more. Understanding Society data shows that as of April 2020, 11 percent of larger families on benefits had used a food bank in the last month compared to 6 percent of smaller families on benefits.

Our qualitative research highlighted significant difficulties in meeting basic needs during the pandemic for larger families who are affected by the benefit cap and the two-child limit (which limits child-related means-tested support to two children in a household). Daneen, a single mother of three children who is subject to the two-child limit, said she struggled to afford food for her family during the lockdowns:

> "I shop from Lidl and Aldi which is like you can't go below Aldi and Lidl, there is no other store that's going to be cheaper than them two stores, and I shop the bare minimum... when the Covid hit it was like before from breakfast to just, you know, teatime meal it went from three set meals a day...But then this is what I'm saying that what are we supposed to do as parents? Do we starve our kids, you know, where do we go from here?"

For many of our participants, this inability to afford basic essentials had a significant impact on their mental health, including feelings of shame, guilt and distress at not being able to meet children's needs.

Family size played a crucial and largely unrecognised role in shaping families' experiences of the Covid-19 pandemic. Much of the policy response was, and continues to be, "size-blind". While welcome, the £20 uplift to Universal Credit did not take into account family size, so a single person household received the same as a family of five. Furthermore, these policies came on top of the benefit cap and the two-child limit, which have a significant impact on families' ability to meet basic needs in "good times"', let alone the bad. If a new social security settlement is to reverse the hardship inflicted on larger families, it will need to make an overdue acknowledgement that family size matters.

### Endnotes


**1** Stewart, K., Reeves, A., and Patrick, R. (2021). A time of need: Exploring the changing poverty risk facing larger families in the UK. CASEpaper 224, Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion.

**2** Crossley, T. F., Fisher, P., and Low, H. (2021). The Heterogeneous and Regressive Consequences of COVID-19: Evidence from High Quality Panel Data. Journal of Public Economics 193: 104334.

**3** University of Essex, Institute for Social and Economic Research. (2021). Understanding Society: Waves 1-10, 2009-2019 and Harmonised BHPS: Waves 1-18, 1991-2009. [data collection]. 13th Edition. UK Data Service. SN: 6614,

**4** University of Essex, Institute for Social and Economic Research. (2021). Understanding Society: COVID-19 Study, 2020-2021. [data collection]. 9th Edition. UK Data Service. SN: 8644, 10.5255/UKDA SN 8644 9.

**5** Brewer, M. and Patrick, R. (2020). Pandemic pressures. The Resolution Foundation.


### Further information


**Mary Reader** is a Research Officer at CASE. Her research interests include social security, early childhood and health inequality.

**Kate Andersen** is a Research Associate at the University of York. Her research interests include exploring the intended and unintended consequences of new social security policies, particularly from a gender perspective.



This research is part of the Benefit Changes and Larger Families project, a three-year, mixed methods research project funded by the Nuffield Foundation examining the impact of the two-child limit and the benefit cap on larger families in the UK.


The research discussed here is published in a chapter in the following edited collection:

Reader, M., and Andersen, K. (2021). Size matters: experiences of larger families on a low income during COVID-19. In Garthwaite, K., Patrick, R., Power, M., Tarrant, A., and Warnock, R. (eds) COVID-19 Collaborations: Researching poverty and low-income family life during the pandemic. Policy Press.

# **PhD Spotlight:** Why mixed-tenure estate regeneration does not improve low-income youths' wellbeing

**Rana Khazbak**

**Breaking spatial concentrations of poverty through demolishing and replacing social housing estates with mixed-tenure developments has been a key part of Britain's regeneration policies for more than twenty years. Yet little is known about how young people from lower-income backgrounds are impacted by these schemes. This article draws on Rana Khazbak's PhD, which explores the mechanisms by which the wellbeing of teenagers is influenced by mixed-tenure social housing regeneration. She does not find evidence that the latter improves young people's wellbeing. On the contrary, her findings show how it restricts youths' valued capabilities through processes of exclusion, inequality, dispossession and community fragmentation.**

### Background

In the past two decades Britain has pursued urban regeneration policies that encourage the demolition of social housing estates and their replacement with mixed-tenure* developments. The aim is to create communities of residents with a mix of income levels and to break down concentrations of poverty. Growing up in an area with a high concentration of poverty has been shown to have a negative impact on individual life chances[1], with young people thought to be among the most disadvantaged by these area deprivation effects. Previous research has found a link between neighbourhood disadvantage and poor school performance, worse psychological and physical health, criminal activity, and unemployment.[2] When New Labour (1997-2010) first adopted social mixing as part of wider area-based policies, it was believed that attracting more affluent households would improve residents' outcomes by exposing them to aspirational peers and role models, building their social capital, revitalising local economies, reducing demands on services, improving area reputation and reducing crime.[3] The Coalition and Conservative governments continued endorsing mixed-income regeneration schemes, particularly in London, with the goal of creating diverse and inclusive communities.4 Tenure mix has also become one of the main housebuilding funding mechanisms, whereby some of the returns from the sale of private housing is used to fund social housing development.5 Since 1997, about 161 London estates have been demolished and replaced with mixed-tenure communities.6

Yet despite its popularity as a policy strategy, after more than twenty years there is still limited evidence about the impact of mixed-tenure regeneration on young people growing up in affected areas.

### Research aims and methods

To fill this knowledge gap, my thesis explored the mechanisms by which low-income teenagers' wellbeing is influenced by the regeneration of their social housing estate into a mixed-income neighbourhood. Adopting a capability approach, wellbeing is defined as people's opportunities and freedoms to be and do the things they value in life. A key aim was to understand young people's own conceptualisation of their wellbeing, and investigate how the latter is influenced by their neighbourhood.

I undertook a case study of an inner-London council estate that has been replaced with a mix of private and social housing. Its public spaces have been refurbished and new facilities added. Over a

* In this piece I use the terms tenure mix, social mix and income mix interchangeably to refer to creating socio-economically mixed communities in place of deprived social housing areas.


period of 12 months in 2018/19 I volunteered at the local youth centre, completed a placement at the on-site housing management office, and attended community events. Overall, 40 young people (12-19 years) participated in group discussions and participatory activities, including photography, mapping, storytelling, drawing and peer interviewing. Thirty six adult stakeholders took part in semi-structured interviews. I also analysed more than 60 regeneration planning documents.

**Findings**

The thesis does not find evidence of the hoped-for benefits of replacing social housing with mixed-income communities. The regeneration does not appear to expand the majority of young people's valued capabilities, largely because they face barriers in benefiting from the improvements in their area. Instead, findings show that the regeneration restricts teenagers' wellbeing through processes of exclusion, social inequality, community fragmentation and dispossession.

Overall, the thesis demonstrates that lower-income teenagers have distinct experiences in their redeveloped mixed-income area. It shows how social, institutional and environmental factors at the neighbourhood, local and national levels interact in influencing young people's experiences.

Teenagers are systematically excluded from many of the redeveloped facilities and public spaces, limiting their opportunities for safe socialisation and play. To attract the affluent residents, some of the new food and leisure venues increase their prices or put age restrictions deliberately to exclude teenagers who are perceived to be threatening or a nuisance. Lower-income young people are also the target of the heightened policing and security measures. Local partners jointly adopt strategies to control and eliminate the presence of groups of young people from public spaces. Such strategies are underpinned by blanket assumptions about youth problematic and criminal behaviours. Consequently, teenagers experience restrictions on their ability to meet their friends and play in safe spaces. Some are forced to spend time in unsafe areas or stay at home.

The higher housing costs that accompanied the regeneration reinforced the link between poverty and crime, participants believed. As the council transferred its newly built stock to a housing association, rents and bills have increased. The effect of the latter is compounded by ten years of cuts to welfare benefits and enduring structural barriers to employment, hindering parents' ability to meet their children's needs. As a result, some of the most materially disadvantaged young people are left with little choice but to resort to illegal activities to help with their families' finances.

Moreover, I did not find evidence that the mixed-income regeneration expands young people's employment opportunities. Many of the newly opened businesses prefer to hire experienced people, or are startups with limited capacity to invest in training low-skilled youths. Contrary to policy expectations, the presence of more affluent residents in the area does not increase young people's social capital or access to job networks because the two groups do not mix.

These effects are exacerbated by the increasing inequality and social division in the area. Living across the street from people with higher socio-economic status highlights young people's relative disadvantage. Disparities in material possessions, housing and leisure services and experiences of violence and safety set a clear divide between the two groups.

The thesis argues that the national and local planning structures contribute to some aspects of this divide. Property developers' wide freedom in defining their profit margins and financial viability assessments present the community with a trade-off between equality and social housing provision. The more exclusive and luxurious private properties are, the higher sales value they can achieve, and therefore the more money is available for building social housing.

Finally, young people were losing their sense of belonging to the neighbourhood they had considered home for a long time. The drastic change that the area had undergone had erased their memories and histories. Their lack of participation in deciding these changes contributed to their alienation and disempowerment.

While mixed-income regeneration was successful in deconcentrating poverty in the area, my thesis shows that it introduces new problems and does not expand disadvantaged youth's opportunities. Without addressing mechanisms of exclusion, inequality, dispossession and community fragmentation, mixed-income regeneration will not achieve its policy aims of creating more diverse and inclusive communities.

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**3** Lupton, R. and Tunstall, R. (2010). Mixed communities: Evidence review. Department for Communities and Local Government. London: Crown

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**5** Savills (2016). Completing London's streets: How the regeneration and intensification of housing estates could increase London's supply of homes and benefit residents. Savills Research Report to the Cabinet Office. [Viewed 6 Feb 2022].

**6** Lees, L. and White, H. (2020). The social cleansing of London council estates: everyday experiences of 'accumulative dispossession'. *Housing Studies*. 35(10), 1701-1722.

**Further information**

**Rana Khazbak** is a postdoctoral research associate at the University of Nottingham's Rights Lab, School of Sociology and Social Policy. She completed her PhD at CASE in 2021. Her thesis explored the influence of mixed-income social housing regeneration on young people's wellbeing.

# Intergenerational exchanges of practical and financial support in the UK

**Tania Burchardt and Eleni Karagiannaki**

**The crucial function of the welfare state in smoothing standards of living over the lifecycle is often overlooked in public debate. The complementary role played by exchanges of financial and practical support within families across generations – for example, from parents to their adult offspring, and from mid-life adults to their elderly parents – receives even less attention. The "DyLAnIE" project found that some families have strong and enduring tendencies to provide support between generations, with variations across ethnicity and social mobility. Formal welfare policies need to be shaped by a clear understanding of existing informal networks, to avoid crowding out these exchanges, whilst ensuring that those who have limited intergenerational support can still access effective social protection.**

In *Good Times, Bad Times: the welfare myth of them and us*[1], John Hills set out in the clearest possible terms that the population does not comprise distinct groups of "hard-working taxpayers" and "benefit scroungers": in fact, those who pay into the welfare state are by and large the same people who are supported by it at different points in their lives. This function of the welfare state, to smooth standards of living over the lifecycle, is often overlooked in public debate.

But it is not only through formal institutions like education, healthcare and the social security and tax systems, that this lifecycle redistribution takes place: it is also evident in the informal exchanges of financial and practical help that occur within families across generations. These exchanges formed the focus of a major project known as DyLAnIE in which CASE collaborated, led by Fiona Steele in the Department of Statistics at LSE, and funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

The project analysed data from the family network module which was fielded in six waves of two nationally representative longitudinal studies of private households, giving a total observation span of 18 years: the British Household Panel Study (BHPS) for 2001 to 2006 and its successor, the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS, also known as Understanding Society) for 2011-13 to 2017-2019. The focus was on parents who have one or more grown-up children who no longer live with them ("non-coresident children" or "offspring"), and on grown-up children who have one or more living parents ("non-coresident parents"). The module asks whether eight types of help are "regularly or frequently" either given to, or received from, parents or children, including practical support like shopping, childcare, or personal needs, as well as financial help[2].

In 2017-19, around three-fifths of parents report "regularly or frequently" giving some help to their non-coresident offspring and just over two-fifths of children report giving help to their non-coresident parents. A substantial proportion of each group do not give, or receive, any help, but among those who do, there is variation in the types of help being given. One of the innovations in the project is to capture this more accurately through binary ("on/off") and continuous ("sliding scale") latent variables[3]. This analysis reveals strong mutuality within some families, with support flowing in both directions: the odds of receiving any help from your parents are about seven times higher if you are also giving some help, and the marginal correlation between giving and receiving is +0.50 after taking parental age into account. By the same token, some families exhibit much lower tendencies to engage in these exchanges of practical and financial help, implying that each generation must depend on their own resources or collective provision through the wider community or welfare state.

One of the sources of variation investigated as part of the project was ethnic background4. Controlling for a wide range of other demographic and socio-economic characteristics, including number of siblings, age of oldest parent, travel time to parent, and household income, we predicted the likelihood of giving or receiving any practical or financial help to and from parents by ethnicity of respondent, and the results are shown in Table 1.

**Table 1: Predicted probability of "regularly or frequently" giving or receiving help to or from non-coresident parent(s), by broad ethnic classification of respondent. UK, 2011–2019.**

| | **Practical** help **to** parents 1 | **Financial** help **to** parents 2 | **Practical** help **from** parents 3 | **Financial** help **from** parents 4 | **Sample size** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **White** | 0.42 | 0.05 | 0.36 | 0.13 | 59,292 |
| **Asian/Asian British** | 0.56 | 0.15 | 0.30 | 0.11 | 3,486 |
| **Black/Black British** | 0.49 | 0.18 | 0.37 | 0.15 | 1,561 |
| **Other** | 0.46 | 0.10 | 0.35 | 0.12 | 1,273 |

Note: Analysis sample is UKHLS waves 3, 5, 7 and 9, respondents with at least one non-coresident parent in the UK and not living with a parent. Average predicted probabilities for each person-wave observation based on estimates from random effects multivariate probit models. Other covariates: respondent's age, gender, partnership status, health, highest educational qualification, employment, log of household income, home ownership, age of youngest child, whether any non-coresident child, number of siblings, age of oldest parent, whether one or more parents lives alone, travel time to nearest parent. Sample sizes are number of person-wave observations.

Black and Black British, and Asian and Asian British, adult children are much more likely to be giving financial help to their parents than are White adult children (after taking into account their other characteristics), with predicted probabilities of 18 per cent and 15 per cent respectively, compared to 5 per cent for the White group. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of Asian and Asian British offspring, since they also have the highest predicted probability of providing practical help to their parents, and they are the least likely to be receiving either financial or practical help from their parents. It seems that the net flow of intergenerational support in Asian and Asian British families is more strongly upwards than is the case in White families. This is in addition to help that may be provided in the form of co-residence, which is also more prevalent among some Asian and Asian British ethnic minorities.

It seems likely that social and cultural norms are part of the explanation, but the patterns may also be influenced by the relative socio-economic position of parents and children. In another workstream of the project, we investigated whether social mobility was associated with greater or lesser probability of giving and receiving help. Social mobility was assessed by comparing the occupational social class classification of a parent when the respondent was growing up to that of the respondent him/her/themself when an adult5. We found that children who were upwardly mobile were more likely than class-stable children to provide financial help and practical help to their parents, and downwardly mobile children were more likely than class-stable children to receive financial and/or practical help from their parents.

These observations and other findings from the project are consistent with the idea that within families, those parties with greater relative resources are more likely to provide help – practical and financial – to those parties with greater relative needs: a form of within-family and lifecycle redistribution. We could not observe the magnitude of this redistribution in our data, and it is also apparent that there are a significant minority of families in which these kinds of exchanges do not take place at all. This points to the importance of ensuring that, firstly, collective (public) forms of support are available to those who need to supplement, or who do not have access to, within-family (private) redistribution, and, secondly, that formal institutions avoid undermining the help that families provide. This is a difficult balance to achieve in a heavily means-tested social security system. But given the strong lifecycle component of people's needs – greatest in childhood and old age – protecting and expanding those parts of the tax and benefit system, and public services, which are targetted by needs rather than by means may be an effective way for public policy to work with the grain of intergenerational family exchanges.

### Endnotes

**1** Hills, J. (2017) *Good Times, Bad Times: the welfare myth of them and us*. Revised edition. Bristol: Policy Press.

**2** Lifts in your car; shopping; providing or cooking meals; washing, ironing or cleaning; personal affairs like paying bills, writing letters; decorating, gardening or house repairs; financial help. In addition, offspring are asked whether they give parents help with personal needs like dressing, eating or bathing (and parents are asked whether they receive such help); and parents are asked whether they give their offspring help with looking after their children (and offspring are asked whether they receive such help).

**3** Kuha, J., Zhang, S., and Steele, F. (2021) Latent variable models for multivariate dyadic data with zero inflation: Analysis of intergenerational exchanges of family support.

**4** See summary in: Burchardt, T., Steele, F., Grundy, E., Karagiannaki, E., Kuha, J., Moustaki, I., Skinner, C., Zhang, N. and Zhang, S. (2021) Welfare within families beyond households: intergenerational exchanges of practical and financial support in the UK, *LSE Public Policy Review*, 2 (1): 1-11.

**5** NS-SEC 5 classification of current or most recent occupation. Occupation of parent when respondent was aged 14, as reported retrospectively by the respondent. If social class of both parents was available, the higher of the two was used. The sample of respondents was restricted for this analysis to ages 30 to 60. This is a measure of absolute social mobility rather than relative to a cohort.

### Further information

**Tania Burchardt** is an Associate Director of CASE and an Associate Professor in the Department of Social Policy at LSE.

**Eleni Karagiannaki** is an Assistant Professorial Research Fellow in CASE.

The DyLAnIE project (Dynamic Longitudinal Analysis of Intergenerational Exchanges) was led by Fiona Steele, Department of Statistics, LSE. Other members of the project team were: Jouni Kuha, Irini Moustaki, Chris Skinner and Siliang Zhang (all Department of Statistics, LSE), Emily Grundy (University of Essex), and Nina Zhang (CASE). The research was supported by an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) grant (ref. ES/P000118/1); additional funding for Emily Grundy was provided by the ESRC (UK) Research Centre on Micro-Social Change at the University of Essex (grant number ES/L009153/1). BHPS and UKHLS data are distributed by the UK Data Service (SN 6614).

# **PhD Spotlight:** The Ultimate Safety Net? Informal financial support among low income households

**Eileen Alexander**

**In this article Eileen Alexander reflects on the importance of studying people's lived experience and understanding the reality of how people secure welfare for themselves in their everyday lives. The article draws on her PhD work, which focuses on the subjective reality of informal financial support among low income households, and the specific content, meaning and consequences this form of informal support has for individuals and their networks within the context of poverty.**

Professor Robert Pinker, who passed away last year, developed a vision of Social Policy as a field of study that should pay attention to how ordinary people in their everyday life go about securing their own welfare and that of their family members, friends and neighbours. He encouraged the discipline to consider "the complete range of activities by which [people] seek to enhance their own well-being through individual and collective endeavour"[1] . This view of welfare takes into account all the systems of support – including the improvised informal systems that people put into place for themselves in their day-to-day lives – and has been a guiding principle of my research into informal financial support among low income households.

As my time as a PhD student draws to a close, I have been reflecting on the spectrum of support that has enabled me personally to conduct and complete my research while living in London with my family. I have benefited from formal sources of income including my LSE Studentship stipend, my husband's income, and support we have received from the state in the form of Child Benefit and, more recently, free childcare provision for over 3s. However, on top of these formal financial arrangements, I have also relied on informal financial support from members of my extended family. These family members, belonging to an older generation, have provided both occasional and regular financial support to contribute to the costs of childcare. This source of income has been critical in enabling me to conduct and complete my research, and has taken considerable pressure off our household.

What my PhD research points to, however, is that the experience and implications of informal financial support are markedly different in the context of poverty. The fifty participants in my study did not receive and draw on informal financial support to enable them to do something positive in their lives, rather they drew repeatedly on informal financial support as a way to cover their basic living costs – "just doing it to survive" as one participant said.

The findings of this research are based on fifty support network maps made with working age social housing tenants in receipt of social security and the open-ended conversations these maps encouraged. 46 out of 50 participants had drawn on or provided money to another household in the previous year to supplement incomes that were either not enough or too unreliable to cover their basic costs. Money from social security and work fluctuated and at times stopped altogether, and experience of poor health in the majority of households often compounded their problems. The participants turned to their personal relationships out of desperation – many of them having exhausted all other strategies that might contain their financial difficulties to their own household.

The informal financial support that people most frequently drew on exceeded no more than £5-20 a week. While this may seem an insubstantial amount, it made it possible for participants to pay for food, utilities and housing costs. Large one-off sums of support rarely exceeded £200. Informal money was almost always exchanged cash-in-hand. The importance of proximity to other people in the participants' support networks cannot be overstated. Close proximity to people was the foundation upon which most informal support was built. Out of 93 personal relationships that involved regular financial support 64 were located in the same neighbourhood. Proximity also contributed to why friends and neighbours, and not just extended family, were a large source of informal financial support. While the majority of people (39) received financial support from family members, close to half (23) had also received money from friends or neighbours. Furthermore, generational assumptions around the downward flow of financial support (from older to younger) were also challenged by the participants' experiences. The downward flow of support (while still substantial) was slightly exceeded by financial support received from people of a similar or younger age when combined.

The main content of these conversations revolved around why people engaged in informal financial support and how it made them feel. Participants described constantly navigating the desire to show love and provide care within their personal relationships, to give support in situations of clear need, and to reciprocate support appropriately, within a context of severe resource constraint. Poverty repeatedly forced the participants to make difficult decisions about who to ask and how to reciprocate money in their support network, as well as to consider how much they could afford to give and live without. One participant described navigating these competing pressures as the "work of poverty" and other participants spoke directly about the stress of engaging in informal financial support.

This pressure was often intensified by anxieties the participants faced regarding the breaking of established norms around financial independence in adult life, and who ought to provide for whom over the life course. While participants regularly stated how grateful they were for what several called "their ultimate safety net" and described benefiting from mutual support and solidarity within their support network, long-term reliance on informal financial support, the work it involved, and the norms that were repeatedly broken as a result, weighed heavily on many participants. This weight often manifested itself in feelings of failure and shame, in frustration and anger, and could eventually lead people to isolate themselves from their personal relationships.

While the informal financial support I have received to enable my studies has relieved pressure on my household, the informal financial support the participants in my research received – though vital in securing their daily needs – often exerted additional pressure on their households. Social Policy would benefit from not only recognising the extent and importance of informal financial support, but also from developing a better understanding of how the subjective reality of informal financial support, and its impact on networks and individuals, differs according to the socio-economic context in which it takes place.

**Endnotes**

1 Pinker, R.A. (1973), The Welfare State: A Comparative Perspective, London: Bookstall Publications

**Further information**

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# LSE Housing and Communities 2021 Summary

**Anne Power, Laura Lane, Eleanor Benton, Bert Provan and Jessica Rowan**

**LSE Housing and Communities explore the effects of poverty and social disadvantage from a neighbourhood and community perspective. In 2021, their work has focused on supporting housing associations in developing approaches to bolster and measure social value; on public and community services for rough sleepers; on exploring the role of private renting and community-led housing in helping tackle the housing crisis; on knowledge exchange partnerships through the Housing Plus Academy and the Energy Plus Academy; and finally on analysing policy options in relation to migrants affected by 'no recourse to public funds' (NRPF) conditions. This report focuses on four of LSE Housing's main projects in 2021.**

## EastendHomes

In 2021, LSE Housing and Communities continued a research project with EastendHomes, a housing association based in Tower Hamlets, East London. Our aim was to conduct an independent evaluation of the neighbourhood management approach used by EastendHomes, and to help the organisation as it develops a more analytical and systematic method of measuring social value. The project included interviews with ten staff members, external board members, and 50 residents across the four neighbourhood areas within Tower Hamlets. All interviews were done by telephone or via online meetings.

Since 2006-08 when the estates were transferred from Tower Hamlets, EastendHomes has:

- Invested in the regeneration of homes and community facilities within neighbourhoods
- Sustained local offices and on-site presence
- Run a popular, dedicated, on the ground caretaking service
- Planned and delivered (in collaboration with others) environmental improvements and green areas, gardens and allotments.

Staff at all levels, as well as residents, talked about the key role that efficient and effective delivery of housing management services played in resident satisfaction and wellbeing. Repairs and maintenance, as well as community engagement and communication, were identified as the issues that residents would prioritise, and residents suggested that these were areas where there could also be improvement. Residents we spoke to were mostly happy in their homes and people felt a sense of connection to their neighbourhoods, often valuing their location within Tower Hamlets and London, with facilities and amenities available to them.

EastendHomes' strategic vision and methods include a strong focus on social value aims and action. This provides the basis for recognising what EastendHomes does beyond "bricks and mortar". The localised neighbourhood management approach adds significant social value in and of itself, while also attracting and generating other activities and partnerships within the local communities, leading to social, economic and environmental benefits. The final report from this work is due to be published in early 2022.

### The role of private renting and community-led housing in helping tackle the housing crisis

Supported by the Mitchell Charitable Trust, LSE Housing and Communities completed two reports exploring possible solutions to the growing housing crisis in 2021. The first looked at the role of social landlords in providing private renting; the second at how community-led housing can respond to local housing needs.

With the social housing sector shrinking, homelessness rising, and homeownership becoming less attainable for people on low and middle incomes, people are increasingly pushed towards poor quality, privately rented accommodation. Our research explored the role of social housing providers in providing intermediate and market rent, and how this 'social private' renting can improve standards. We found that housing associations have an important part to play in providing market and intermediate market homes. On one hand, doing so helps generate income that allows them to increase the supply of social homes and improve the quality of their existing stock. On the other hand, they are professional landlords often providing a service that is higher quality and more reliable than many private landlords. They are also able to offer a range of rental products to meet a variety of price points.

Our second piece of research looked at community-led housing providers and the role they can play in supporting local housing needs. Community-led providers come in many shapes and sizes from Community Land trusts to Tenant Management Organisations (TMOs), but have many similarities. They are locally based and have a good awareness of local needs and problems, and can adapt to meet them. Their residents always play a significant role in how the homes are run and managed. Community-led housing providers often trial new and innovative build methods, using small sites that larger developers would view as unviable, increasing density and utilising more sustainable building practices. There is an important role for partnership working between these small providers and larger housing associations, with larger organisations able to provide guidance, expertise, and advice to help smaller providers develop and access the finance, skills, and technical knowledge that is needed. Despite their size, collectively community-led organisations have the potential to make a big impact in providing local housing in areas with high need.

### The Housing Plus and Energy Plus Academy

In 2021, LSE Housing continued its work with the Housing Plus Academy, a knowledge exchange partnership with The National Communities Resource Centre, supported by leading housing associations. We run think tank events bringing together social housing staff, residents, and policymakers to discuss key issues facing social housing, share their own experiences and leave with innovative solutions and ideas. This year we set up the Energy Plus Academy, using the same model and focusing on how communities and social landlords can fight climate change.

We started the year running an online Housing Plus Academy workshop focused on Mutual Aid Groups in the UK, covering how these groups have developed, who they are helping, and what support the groups need to continue. Our second event, also online, focused on the new Social Housing White Paper and what these changes would mean for social landlords. In July we were lucky enough to hold our first in-person event back at Trafford Hall. This event was attended by social housing residents and explored what the changes proposed in the white paper would mean for them. We were pleased to be back at Trafford Hall, open again for the first time since its closure in February 2019, and feedback suggested many attendees enjoyed their first in-person event since the start of the pandemic. We finished the year with a think tank focusing on how landlords can tackle both the safety and climate change challenges they are facing.


Trafford Hall

In June we held the launch event for the Energy Plus Academy. Unfortunately, due to COVID restrictions at the time, this event was online. It was attended by a wide range of participants including architects, social landlords and green developers and proved to be a great success. In October we held our first in-person Energy Plus event exploring the importance of green spaces in helping tackle climate change.

### Lancaster West

In 2021, LSE Housing started work on a social evaluation of the refurbishment programme on the Lancaster West Estate, in the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea. The Lancaster West estate is where Grenfell Tower is located, and following the tragedy, a commitment was made by Government and the Council to work with residents of Lancaster West and transform it into a model 21st century estate. The refurbishment programme has a focus on energy effiency upgrading in line with RBKC's commitment to become carbon neutral by 2030. The research will investigate the social impact of the refurbishment process on residents, the majority of whom will remain in-situ in their homes during the works. LSE Housing and Communities will carry out qualitative interviews with 50 residents at three stages of the works: before, during and after the programme of works has been completed. In 2021, we began background research into the Lancaster West Estate and completed stakeholder interviews with architects, sustainability advisors, government, RBKC, and the Lancaster West Neighbourhood Team. The first round of interviews with residents will begin in early 2022.

### Newham Rough Sleeping Strategy Review

LSE Housing's review of the development of the London Borough of Newham's Rough Sleeping Strategy will be published in 2022. This project started as a two-year research report on the Controlling Migration Fund in 2019 to understand the pathways of migrant rough sleepers in Newham. The research was extended in light of the "Everyone In" developments due to Covid-19 and the parallel and continuing development of a comprehensive rough sleeping strategy and information system by the Council. The research explores how the considerable changes and improvements in services for rough sleepers have been achieved in Newham over the last three years. The report will be completed in early 2022.

### Oasis Community Housing

Oasis Community Housing is a small community organisation providing services to assist rough sleepers, including crisis services, support services addressing employment and domestic abuse, and innovative models of day centre provision. The majority of Oasis' work is in the North East, across Gateshead, Sunderland and North Tyneside, although they are part of a national organisation which runs schools, community support hubs, and other local services (Oasis Charitable Trust). In early 2021, LSE Housing were appointed by Oasis to undertake research into how their services had changed in response to the Covid-19 pandemic. We were also asked to consider its options for a 'post-pandemic' future, and particularly the viability of further expansion of Oasis Community Housing into other areas where the Charitable Trust is active. The report was published in December 2021, and found that Oasis was doing positive, person-centred work across the North East, and had a fast and effective response to Covid-19. The report recommended a more structured collection of data on outputs and the client journey, and the need for development of a data management system, in order to strengthen existing systems and the positive work that Oasis is doing with vulnerable clients.

### No Recourse to Public Funds Research

In 2021, two LSE Housing and Communities researchers (Bert Provan and Ellie Benton) also worked alongside LSE London colleagues on a social cost-benefit analysis of the policy options to address the needs of destitute migrants with work visas but no recourse to public funds (NRPF). These are people who have been admitted into the UK with the primary purpose of working, but who do not have access to public funds like housing benefit, child benefit, means tested welfare benefits or support like free school meals for their children. If they become unable to work, for example due to COVID related issues, or face other challenges e.g. being subject to domestic abuse, the only assistance available to them is help from the local authority which is both difficult to access and very limited. The only other route for support is to make a very complicated application to the Home Office for a change of conditions, allowing them to claim public funds. This research project developed a social cost-benefit analysis of how these households and their children might gain from access to more assistance during these crises, which currently risk them falling into severe poverty and destitution. The report is due to be published in 2022.

#### Further information

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**LSE Housing and Communities** is a research and consultancy group within CASE. More information on ongoing projects is available on the website.

# The Energy Plus Academy

**Eleanor Benton and Jessica Rowan**

**In this article, Eleanor Benton and Jessica Rowan explain the motivations for establishing the Energy Plus Academy, its aims and objectives, and progress so far. The Energy Plus Academy shares the model pioneered by LSE Housing's companion project, the Housing Plus Academy, and focuses on the wider impact of our intensive use of energy on the climate. The article details the steps through which the Energy Plus Academy has worked with housing associations, local authorities, architects, climate organisations, universities as well community groups and active residents to create a more joined-up approach, promoting information sharing and best practice.**

In June 2021, LSE Housing and Communities launched the Energy Plus Academy, in partnership with the National Communities Resource Centre at Trafford Hall, and supported by the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust.

Energy Plus is the idea that everything we do, from how we manage our cities, to how we build, heat and light our homes, has an impact on the environment. Energy Plus considers the wider impact of our intensive use of energy on the climate. We know that urgent action is needed to stop climate change, and to mitigate the effects of climate change already taking place. It is often low-income communities that are most affected by the damage caused by a changing climate, including flooding, air pollution, and more extreme weather. Tackling climate change requires a dramatic transformation in how we live, and action is needed at all levels, from government to grassroots community groups.

The Energy Plus Academy builds on the knowledge-exchange and information sharing model pioneered by LSE Housing's companion project, the Housing Plus Academy.[1] The Energy Plus Academy brings together groups of people who see the challenge of climate change and want to tackle it, including housing professionals at all levels, builders and developers concerned about sustainability, professional organisations linked to the built environment, energy companies, community groups and active residents, environmental organisations, and educators of all kinds. Whilst many organisations and individuals are aware of the scale of the climate threat, and what needs to happen to tackle it, there are significant financial, organisational, and technical skills gaps. The Energy Plus Academy aims to create a more joined-up approach, promoting information sharing and best practice in order to create more coherent action to tackle change and the drivers behind it.

Through the Energy Plus Academy, we organise 24-hour Think Tanks or workshops around key themes such as the importance of green spaces, community food growing, retrofitting homes to reduce energy consumption, community energy initiatives, and closing the skills gap. Each Think Tank gathers information, shares innovative ideas, finds solutions to common problems and issues, and develops action plans to address environmental and energy saving problems in participants' communities and workplaces. Participants learn how they can make a difference, whether at policy or community level. They leave the Think Tank with a commitment and an action plan to do something practical to tackle climate change. Whether large or small, every action counts to combat the climate crisis.

LSE Housing writes up headline findings from each workshop in order to spread the skills, experience and learning more widely among decisionmakers. We invite government officials to our Think Tanks so that they can learn from the lived experience of people on the ground.

The Think Tanks take place at Trafford Hall, a 250-year-old listed building, which has undergone a number of energy saving improvements that have halved its energy usage since 2010, relying on 100 per cent renewable energy for all heating and lighting. The Centre includes a 100 per cent carbon neutral training block, 42 eco-chalet bedrooms, and all organic gardens, woods and fields. The Hall acts as a live example, showing participants how buildings can be improved to protect the environment.

The online launch of the Energy Plus Academy in July 2021 was attended by 42 participants from housing associations, local authorities, architects, climate organisations, and universities. The event underlined the urgent need to take action and the fantastic work that is already being done, particularly in relation to the built environment, which currently contributes 40 per cent of the UK carbon emissions[2].

Retrofitting the existing stock to a high energy efficiency standard is vital to reduce energy use, improving "leaky" buildings, and helping residents to afford their energy bills. Along the way, it improves health and wellbeing. Social landlords can lead the way by retrofitting their existing homes and involving residents in the process. However, in order for social landlords' organisation and stock to become genuinely "carbon neutral", they need additional government support.

In October 2021, we held our first in-person Energy Plus Academy Think Tank at Trafford Hall. The event bought together 35 representatives from community growing projects and social housing neighbourhoods to explore the impact of "greening" projects in communities. Discussion focused on the benefits to physical and mental wellbeing of getting involved in community growing, the contribution of even the smallest greening projects to biodiversity, and the way greening projects can build community spirit and pride.

The Think Tank also discussed the practicalities of organising a community greening project, which include how to locate appropriate space; how to recruit and manage volunteers; and where to access funding. All participants were asked to develop an action plan to help them set up or improve their own community green spaces project. They could then use this action plan to apply for a small pump-priming grant to support their project. This model of knowledge-exchange should not only generate ideas and uncover information, but will also generate action.

There is a widespread recognition that the skills and experience social landlords need to retrofit their existing stock are in short supply. Their own staff are generally inexperienced in high-level energy saving, while builders and architects, surveyors and planners too often prefer a clean sweep and starting from scratch to retrofitting. Yet we know that demolition and new build are both extremely damaging to the environment and highly carbon intensive. They simply cannot form part of our plan to reverse climate change. We have shown that 80 per cent of all existing buildings will be standing in 2050, and we have no choice but to rescue and retrofit. Therefore, the work of the Energy Plus Academy in promoting the upgrading and retrofitting of the built environment, the greening of low-income neighbourhoods, and the promotion of sustainable food options, transport, and energy, can, through its outreach, make a real contribution to averting the climate disaster that so many predict.

**Endnotes**

1 https://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/lsehousing/research/Housing-Plus-Academy/

2 UKGBC (2022) Climate Change.

**Further information**

**Eleanor Benton** is a Research Assistant for LSE Housing and Communities. As well as carrying out research on topics such as the link between building safety and the green agenda, she helps organise the Energy Plus and Housing Academy programmes.

**Jessica Rowan** is the Research Projects Coordinator for LSE Housing and Communities. She supports the coordination and delivery of Energy Plus Academy Think Tanks.

# CASE Knowledge Exchange and Impact

In 2020 the Covid-19 pandemic forced CASE and the research community at large to change ways of working and shift activities online. As 2021 unfolded, it became clear that some changes had become part of the 'new normal' and continued to present challenges but also opportunities. The CASE research seminars, now online, continued to expand their reach and allowed us to share our screens, if not our seminar room, with audience members we could not otherwise have reached.

As demonstrated by several articles in this report, the pandemic and its relation to social policies was also an important focus of CASE research this year. CASE co-organised with the Welfare at a (Social) Distance research project a special event: Stick or Shift? Attitudes towards inequality, the Welfare State and social security benefits during COVID-19 on 7 October 2021. Tania Burchardt and Kerris Cooper presented on the attitudinal context for welfare policy. Ellie Benton and Anne Power reflected on the role played by mutual aid as part of community responses to the pandemic – their research appeared as an article in the LSE Public Policy Review in March and their case study report was among the 10 most downloaded CASE publications in 2021.

It is hard to overstate the extent to which John Hills is missed in CASE. His legacy runs deep through everything we do, including his lifelong commitment to knowledge exchange and policy impact. In 2021 a series of events gave us the opportunity to begin to celebrate John's life and work and reflect on how profound his contributions were both to CASE and to the wider academic and policy communities. On the 9 July a symposium in his honour was held as part of the Social Policy Association Annual Conference – A Better State of Welfare: A symposium in honour of John Hills. Julian LeGrand, and four former doctoral students - Francesca Bastagli, Ellie Suh, Ben Baumberg Geiger and Tania Burchardt – reflected on how John's work had inspired and informed theirs. The LSE Public Policy Review issue on "Reciprocity across the Life Cycle", to which John had planned to contribute, was dedicated to his memory. Two publications by John (the Fuel Poverty Review, and the National Equality Panel Review) remain among the most downloaded CASE publications in 2021. Further events to remember John are planned for 2022, once we are able to gather in person.

2021 marked the main launch for the outputs from a major research programme led by CASE: Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain (SPDO). The programme has brought together a large team of experts across ten major areas of social policy (social security, employment, early years, education, higher education, health, adult social care, homelessness and

complex needs, physical safety and security, and social mobility). It offers a comprehensive assessment of social policies and social inequalities on the eve of the COVID-19 pandemic and identifies key challenges that must be addressed as Britain transitions into the recovery phase from COVID-19. On the 22 February, CASE hosted a special event launching an overview of some of the main findings from the programme: What needs fixing to build back better: fault lines in the British welfare state on the eve of the pandemic. The project has resonated widely and members of the team have shared insights from the findings with different groups across policy areas through the year: for instance, in relation to child poverty and early years, Polina Obolenskaya and Kitty Stewart contributed evidence to the Work and Pensions Committee inquiry on Children in Poverty, while Kitty Stewart and Mary Reader shared their research in the Independent and on the LSE Covid 19 blog. On adult social care, Tania Burchardt presented insights from SPDO in a video for the Interrogating Inequalities Series and in a post for the LSE British Politics and Policy blog. SPDO publications have attracted the greatest attention among all CASE papers and reports published in 2021. With 5,951 downloads, the SPDO overview report was the most downloaded CASE publication in 2021, with individual papers from the programme also attracting significant attention. Glen Bramley and Suzanne Fitzpatrick's report on Homelessness and Complex Needs saw 3,744 downloads and Kerris Cooper and John Hills's report on Social Security 2,347.

It should also be noted that CASE had two Impact Case Studies among just six selected by the LSE to be submitted for the Research Excellence Framework (REF) for the Social Policy Unit. 'Improving the lives of disadvantaged people through better measurement of poverty and inequality' highlights the contribution made by CASE to the development of conceptual and operational measurement tools for understanding multidimensional inequality. The case study evidenced how their application in the UK, Ireland, within the EU and among national and international NGOs and civil society groups has impacted how inequalities are measured and tackled. The LSE Housing and Communities case study on 'Housing Plus: Giving social housing tenants a voice' showcases the way in which research and knowledge exchange with social housing residents has shaped social housing policy among professionals and in government, and helped residents living in high-rise buildings to take action to improve their homes and environments.

A number of knowledge exchange activities were associated with the Nuffield Foundation funded research project on Welfare Reform and Larger Families. CASE's Mary Reader and Kitty Stewart are working alongside Ruth Patrick, Kate Anderson and Rosalie Warnock (University of York) and Aaron Reeves (University of Oxford) on this project, which explores the impact of recent benefit changes on larger families. Some insights from the research can be found in sections 2 and 9 of this report. Findings on the effects of the two-child-limit and the benefit cap have been published in the LSE British Politics and Policy blog, in the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) blog, Prospect Magazine and the New Statesman, while the research was mentioned in the Guardian and informed the CPAG submission to the Government's Spending Review. The research was presented in June by Mary Reader at a webinar on The benefit cap and two-child limit: history, narratives and lived experiences conference and by Kitty Stewart at the 2021 Foundation for International Studies on Social Security conference.

Several other CASE members have reached diverse audiences across different policy areas. Tammy Campbell's work on disparities in attributions of SEND appeared in print in the Guardian, the Mirror, the "i" newspaper, and online in the Daily Mail, the Telegraph and The Times. Tammy contributed evidence and was cited in the Education Select Committee's inquiry into Left behind white pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds. She wrote about her work on maths ability grouping and later maths self-concept in the British Educational Research Association blog. Tammy's

CASEpaper on SEND attributions and season of birth (insights included in this report) and her CASEbrief on maths "ability"-grouping and children's maths self-concept was among the ten most downloaded outputs published in 2021.

Tania Burchardt, Eleni Karagiannaki and Nina Zhang were part of the "Dyadic Longitudinal Analysis of Intergenerational Exchanges" programme (DyLAnIE) led by Fiona Steele – they published some of their findings in relation to exchanges of practical and financial support in the LSE Public Policy Review and some insights can be found in this report.  Abigail McKnight and Irene Bucelli worked on a series of reviews covering international evidence around 12 policy areas to help inform a Welsh poverty and social exclusion strategy: they shared the reviews and overview report with the Welsh Government in October and presented findings on in-work progression to the Social Partnership and Fair Work Directorate in December. Some of CASE's past projects remained widely accessed and downloaded in 2021, showing their enduring relevance: two papers from the Social Policy in a Cold Climate research programme and five from the Understanding the Relationship between Poverty and Inequality research programme were among the most downloaded in 2021. Within the latter project, the Poverty and Inequality Policy Toolkit received 10,791 visits between its launch in 2019 and the end of 2021, with 2,726 in 2021 alone.

The LSE Housing and Communities team have continued their impressive work engaging with a wide array of public service and civil society actors (see pages 44-49 for a full summary). They continued their work with the Housing Plus Academy, but also launched the Energy Plus Academy on 1 July 2021. The event was attended by 42 participants from housing associations, architects, climate organisations and universities. Ellie Benton presented at the Home UK: The Future of Living conference, ExCel on 23 November 2021. The event was attended by 70 people including social landlords, builders and suppliers helping deliver net zero in social housing.

# Layers of engagement: CASE collaboration with Sense about Science

**Tania Burchardt and Bert Provan**

**This article summarises some of the key lessons from the collaboration between the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes research team and the organisation Sense about Science, who work to promote public engagement with evidence. One important insight is the value of 'layering' information to address the needs of different audiences.**

CASE's Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) research programme, funded by the Nuffield Foundation, has produced a wealth of findings. The challenge for the accompanying knowledge exchange strategy is how to engage relevant audiences. As one part of this strategy, CASE collaborated with Sense about Science, an organisation that works to empower the public to use and challenge evidence and to encourage experts to communicate effectively with the public. They describe their approach as "public led, expert fed".

In the first part of the collaboration, Sense about Science encouraged us to think in more detail about which audiences we were trying to reach. An important insight was that aiming to engage with 'the general public' was too vague. Through discussion, we distinguished between:

- **(i)** people who are not interested in our topic. Our task is to gain their attention.
- **(ii)** people who have a general interest in our topic as citizens but who are non-specialist and may be sceptical. Our task is to give them confidence in the trustworthiness of our evidence and that engaging with it will be worth their while.
- **(iii)** people who are interested and may potentially use the evidence, in their work or other activities. Our task is to provide them with the evidence in a form that is readily comprehensible, with sufficient but not overwhelming detail.

We determined that we wanted to engage with all three and recognised that while the approaches needed for each group are complementary, the outputs may need somewhat different formats. All of them depend on us having a clear central narrative and key messages. This was another important insight from the first stage of the collaboration: for the purposes of a public engagement exercise, we need to home in on one core idea and a small set of findings that are relevant to it. This is particularly challenging for a programme as rich and diverse as SPDO, covering as it does ten areas of social policy, across public spending, policies and outcomes, with attention to multiple dimensions of inequality. We decided to focus on the story of stalling social progress: positive trends in a range of outcomes slowed down or ceased in the decade prior to the pandemic, and some inequalities even widened. We illustrated this central narrative with specific findings on child poverty, health inequalities, and violent crime.

In the second stage of the collaboration with Sense about Science, we prepared for and ran two initial workshops, with members of groups (i)/(ii) and (ii)/(iii) respectively. The development of stimulus materials was a time-consuming and iterative process. Members of the team who have worked on particular policy areas or parts of the analysis are passionate about those findings and have an acute awareness of the complexity involved and of the nuance that is required to interpret the evidence. This expertise needs to be captured and presented in a way that is engaging, clear and non-technical, and strikes the right balance between simplicity and detail.

In the third stage of the collaboration, we revised the stimulus materials in the light of the feedback from the participants in the initial workshops, and ran two further workshops, with newly-recruited participants. A total of 26 members of the general public from across Great Britain engaged with us over eight hours across the workshops in detailed scutiny of our findings and materials. They ranged in age from young adult to older pensioner, and came from a rich variety of backgrounds, including a football coach, a hypnotherapist, a chef, a police apprentice, a small business owner, a Trade Union official, a youth worker and a HealthWatch employee.

Both sets of workshops were instructive. Some of the key lessons were:

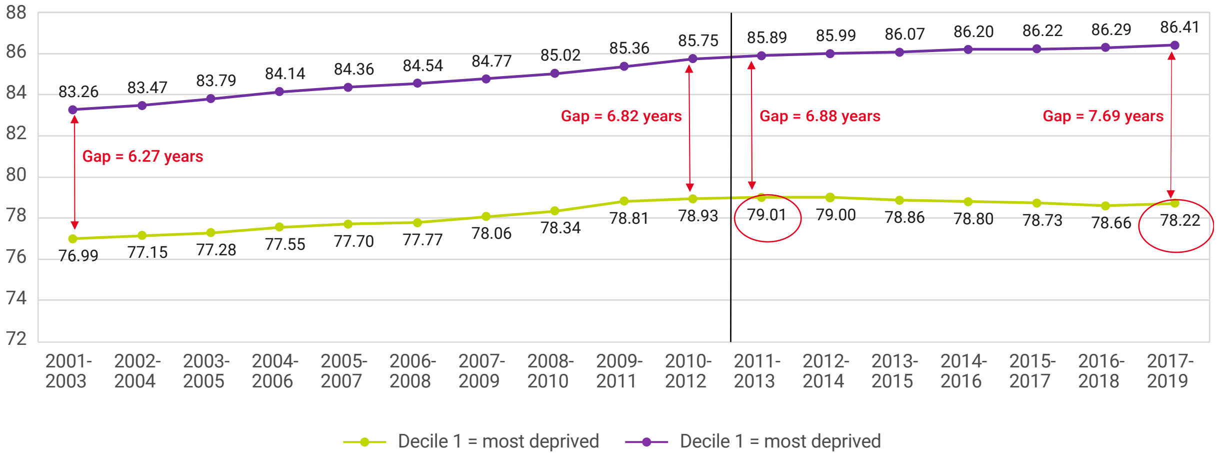
- To reach members of the public who have no prior interest in our topic, we need an extremely short (3 to 30 seconds) and visual presentation, which could be static, animated or audio-visual, for use in social media. It is helpful if this can be linked to a current news story.
- For non-specialists with a general interest, it is important in establishing trust and credibility to address controversies head-on rather than assuming them away. For example, starting with a brief explanation such as, "There are many ways to define poverty. One widely-used measure that reflects current living standards is...", is less likely to prompt a sceptical reaction than simply presenting a trend in relative poverty rates.
- We should not underestimate the range of uses to which our kind of evidence may be put. Specific examples from our workshop participants included: induction and training materials for working with young people; providing the context for practical guidelines for working with vulnerable groups such as the homeless; understanding the challenges that clients may be facing; A-level sociology teaching materials; responding to requests for information directed to a librarian; bargaining over employment terms and conditions; making the case for grant funding (a charity and a quango); and briefing and speech-writing for local and national politicians. For many of these purposes, the text and visuals needed to be readily quotable, and to have links to sources and further information.
- For all audiences, testing of text and visual materials is invaluable. Some terms we were doubtful about, such as "social progress", turned out to be widely and intuitively understood, while others that we had not realised would raise difficulties, such as "service providers", were unclear to people.
- Online publishing has key advantages in meeting a range of needs, because information can be layered: a short and eye-catching entry point, with click-through to text-based narrative and graphics, with hover-text explanations of key terms, and hyperlinks to sources and further information, including the underlying SPDO summaries and academic reports.

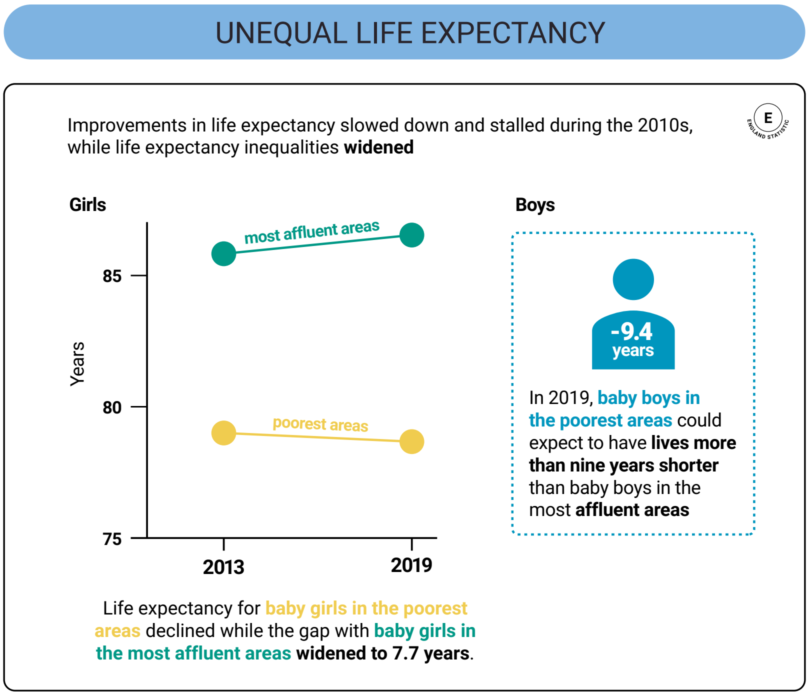
Incorporating these insights, we are working with designers on a suite of outputs including an infographic and both short and longer-form videos, to expand the reach of the SPDO findings yet further. Figure 1 (next page) shows an example of how one chart, on life expectancy, has evolved from a version suitable for a SPDO research report to the version used in the infographic, incorporating insights and feedback from the Sense about Science workshops.

### Figure1: Evolution of a Graphic – Changes in life expectancy at birth

Improvements in female life expectancy ***slowed down*** during the second decade of the 21st century.
Life expectancy ***increased*** for females in the least deprived areas but ***declined*** for females in the most deprived areas.
The female life expectancy gap ***widened***.

Life expectancy at birth (females, years)




Sources: see Vizard and Obolenskaya (forthcoming) *The Conservative Governments' Record on Health: policies, spending and outcomes, May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020*, SPDO Research Paper; and Stalling Social Progress, SPDO infographic

### Further information

**Tania Burchardt** is an Associate Director of CASE and an Associate Professor in the Department of Social Policy at LSE.

**Bert Provan** is Knowledge Broker in CASE and a Senior Policy Fellow in LSE Housing and Communities.

The Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes programme is led by Polly Vizard and funded by the Nuffield Foundation.

Sense about Science is a charity that promotes public engagement with evidence.

# Download figures for 2021 publications


| Month published | Authors | Title | Downloads |
|---|---|---|---|
| February | SDPO Research team | The Conservative Governments' Record on Social Policy from May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020: Policies, Spending and Outcomes (report and summary) | 5,951 |
| March | Suzanne Fitzpatrick and Glen Bramley | The Ruling Parties' Record on Homelessness and Complex Needs (May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020) (report and summary) | 3,744 |
| May | CASE | CASE Annual Report 2020 | 3,580 |
| February | Kitty Stewart and Mary Reader | The Conservative Governments' Record on Early Childhood from May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020: Policies, Spending and Outcomes (report and summary) | 3,124 |
| February | Kerris Cooper and John Hills | The Conservative Governments' Record on Social Security: Policies, Spending and Outcomes, May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020 (report and summary) | 2,347 |
| February | Mary Reader | The birthweight effects of universal child benefits in pregnancy: quasi-experimental evidence from England and Wales | 2,134 |
| July | Kitty Stewart, Aaron Reeves and Ruth Patrick | A time of need: Exploring the changing poverty risk facing larger families in the UK | 1,903 |
| June | Tammy Campbell | Special Educational Needs and Disabilities within the English primary school system: What can disproportionalities by season of birth contribute to understanding processes behind attributions and (lack of) provisions? | 1,250 |
| March | Tammy Campbell | Little fish, big streams: How do early in-class maths "ability"-groups and early teacher judgements relate to primary school children's later maths self-concept? | 1,005 |
| February | Ellie Benton and Anne Power | Community Responses to the Coronavirus Pandemic: Case Study Report | 915 |
| February | Ellie Benton and Anne Power | Community responses to the Coronavirus Pandemic: How mutual aid can help | 770 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| February | LSE Housing and Communities, Laura Lane, Anne Power and Bert Provan | Opening Doors: An evaluation of the London Borough of Newham's Housing First Pilot Project | 734 |
| October | Ilona Pinter | Children and Families Seeking Asylum in the UK | 708 |
| October | Ellie Benton and Anne Power | What is the role of housing associations in providing intermediate and market rented housing? | 625 |
| July | Kerris Cooper | Ethnic inequalities on the eve of the pandemic | 529 |
| July | Polina Obolenskaya | Geographical inequalities in England on the eve of the pandemic | 458 |
| November | Tammy Campbell and Polina Obolenskaya | No such thing as a free lunch? Exploring the consistency, validity, and uses of the "Free School Meals" (FSM) measure in the National Pupil Database | 374 |
| September | Nic Brimblecombe and Tania Burchardt | Social care inequalities in England: evidence briefing | 374 |
| December | Anne Power and Bert Provan | Oasis Community Housing: Review of change through COVID and beyond | 61 |

### Publications: Most downloaded in 2021 (including all past publications)

| Year published | Authors | Title | Downloads |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2017 | Lin Yang | The relationship between poverty and inequality: Concepts and measurement | 13,445 |
| 2019 | Abigail McKnight | Understanding the relationship between poverty, inequality and growth: a review of existing evidence | 8,665 |
| 2019 | Magali Duque and Abigail McKnight | Understanding the relationship between inequalities and poverty: mechanisms associated with crime, the legal system and punitive sanctions | 7,786 |
| 2019 | Alice Belotti, Ellie Benton, Laura Lane, Anne Power | Retrofit to the Rescue: Environmental upgrading of multi-storey estates | 4,837 |
| 2013 | John Hills, Ruth Lupton, Kitty Stewart, Polly Vizard | Labour's Social Policy Record: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 1997-2010 | 4,741 |
| 2013 | Polina Obolenskaya and Polly Vizard | Labour's Record on Health (1997-2010) | 4,288 |
| 2020 | Howard Glennerster | The post war welfare state: stages and disputes | 4,119 |
| 2012 | John Hills | Final report of the Hills Independent Fuel Poverty Review: Getting the Measure of Fuel Poverty | 3,820 |
| 2017 | Eleni Karagiannaki | The empirical relationship between income poverty and income inequality in rich and middle income countries | 3,773 |
| 2019 | Irene Bucelli, Magali Duque, John Hills, Eleni Karagiannaki, Abigail McKnight, Marc Rucci, Polly Vizard and Lin Yang | Understanding the Relationship between Poverty and Inequality, Overview report | 3,772 |

# Summary of current research

## Eleanor Benton

Eleanor Benton works as a research assistant in LSE Housing and Communities. This year Eleanor's research has focused on the role of social landlords in providing market and intermediate rent, how social landlords can improve their existing stock to improve both safety and energy efficiency and the role of small community-led groups in helping to provide housing. She is also working on the Lancaster West Estate, where the Grenfell Tower is located, trying to understand residents' experiences of the upgrading works that have been planned since the fire. As well as her research Eleanor works on the Housing Plus and Energy Plus Academy programmes.

## Irene Bucelli

Irene Bucelli completed her work for Robert Bosch Stiftung with Abigail McKnight and their paper mapping systemic approaches to understanding multidimensional inequality was published by the International Inequalities Institute in April. Irene and Abigail McKnight also worked together alongside the Welsh Centre for Public Policy in a project reviewing international evidence on 12 policy areas to help inform the Welsh Government's anti-poverty strategy. They presented their findings to the Welsh Government at the end of 2021, to be published in 2022. Irene also continued her work with the Beveridge 2.0 programme and edited three issues of the LSE Public Policy Review focused on the Covid-19 pandemic, Reciprocity and Wellbeing. At the end of 2021, Irene, Abigail McKnight, Tania Burchardt and Eleni Karagiannaki started a new project commissioned by the Department of Work and Pensions reviewing the official UK measure of material deprivation

## Tania Burchardt

Tania Burchardt continued work on the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) in a Changing Britain research programme funded by the Nuffield Foundation, including contributing to the launch of the summary report and overview in February, and a podcast with Ed Miliband. She engaged in a range of other knowledge exchange workshops and activities, especially around inequalities in adult social care. Her article lead-authored by Kerris Cooper on the changing attitudinal context for welfare policymaking over two decades was published in Social Policy and Administration. In other work, "Welfare within Families beyond Households: intergenerational exchanges of practical and financial support in the UK" was published in an issue of the LSE Public Policy Review dedicated to the memory of John Hills. The piece gave an overview of results and policy implications from the ESRC-funded project known as DyLAnIE, on which Tania and Eleni Karagiannaki have collaborated with PI Fiona Steele and others.

## Nic Brimblecombe

Nic Brimblecombe is a third year PhD student in CASE and in the Care Policy and Evaluation Centre (CPEC) at LSE, where she also works as an Assistant Professorial Research Fellow. Her PhD, funded by the NIHR School for Social Care Research, explores the consequences for unpaid carers of unmet need for social care services for disabled or older people in England. Her other current and previous research focuses on inequalities in care, unpaid care, young carers, and housing and care.

## Tammy Campbell

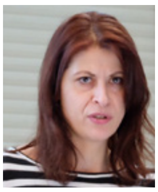
In 2021, Tammy Campbell published two working papers: "Special Educational Needs and Disabilities within the English primary school system" and (with Polina Obolenskya) "No such thing as a free lunch? Exploring the consistency, validity, and uses of the "Free School Meals" ("FSM") measure in the National Pupil Database". She also published journal articles on factors within the education system impacting primary school children's maths self-concept, and on how and why children's own age and the average age of their peers influence assessment judgements at the beginning of primary school.

She is currently working on papers exploring, respectively, the under-admission of children with Special Educational Needs / Disabilities to 'faith' schools in England, and the ways that the regimes, assumptions, and structures of the primary education system have, potentially, widened gaps in children's experiences and trajectories over the past two decades. Alongside this, she continues to interrogate the validity and uses – across research, policy-making, and debate – of the National Pupil Database's Free School Meals (FSM) measure.

## Ludovica Gambaro

In her role as CASE senior visiting fellow, Ludovica Gambaro has continued working with Mary Reader and Kitty Stewart on the decline of school-based provision in early education in England. Ludovica is currently collaborating in a research project on adolescents' gender ideologies based at the University of Tübingen, Germany, where she also leads seminars in social policy for graduate students. In 2021 she concluded her work on the effects of neighbourhoods and residential mobility on children's development in the UK and the US, with a paper out in IJERPH and one forthcoming in *Developmental Psychology*.

## Eleni Karagiannaki



Over the last year Eleni worked on a number of projects, including on an ESRC-funded project (named DyLAnIE and led by Fiona Steele) investigating the relationship between social class and class mobility and intergenerational exchanges of financial and practical support (joint with Tania Burchardt, and Nina Zhang); a project funded by the European Commission, led by Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini (Italy) and the European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research (Austria), considering how the tax and benefit systems in different European Union countries perform in terms of intergenerational fairness; and a project examining the determinant, dynamics and duration of child poverty during COVID funded by a STICERD grant. She also continued her work on developing a multidimensional deprivation index combining both household-level and individual-level deprivation indicators into a single decomposable index following the Alkire-Foster adjusted headcount method on micro-data from the European Union Statistics on Incomes and Living Conditions (EU-SILC).

## Laura Lane

This year Laura Lane has continued her work as Policy Officer within the LSE Housing and Communities team. Laura has been working on a project evaluating the neighbourhood management approach of Eastendhomes (a social landlord in Tower Hamlets managing around 4,000 homes) and exploring the role that social value plays within the organisation. This report is being published in early 2022.

Towards the end of 2021 Laura began working on a new LSE Housing and Communities project with the Lancaster West Neighbourhood Team within the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea. Throughout the refurbishment of the Lancaster West Estate, the LSE Housing and Communities team is undertaking research to understand the experience of residents during the retrofit, and the social impact of the works.

## Abigail McKnight

Abigail McKnight continued working on the Nuffield Foundation funded SPDO programme with Polina Obolenskaya on higher education, Kerris Cooper on employment and Lindsey Macmillan on social mobility. She completed her research with Irene Bucelli mapping conceptual approaches to systemic understandings of inequality for Robert Bosch Stiftung, to help them develop their inequality programme. The findings were published in an International Inequalities Institute working paper in April. She began work on a project funded by the Low Pay Commission which is estimating the impact of the National Minimum Wage and the National Living Wage on people with disabilities and ethnic minorities. Working with the Welsh Centre for Public Policy, Abigail and Irene Bucelli reviewed international evidence on 12 key areas of policy to help inform the Welsh Government's anti-poverty strategy. The findings will be published in 2022. Towards the end of 2021, Abigail, Tania Burchardt, Irene Bucelli and Eleni Karagiannaki began a new project funded by the Department for Work and Pensions which is reviewing the official UK measure of material deprivation.

## Polina Obolenskaya

Throughout 2021, Polina Obolenskaya worked with Polly Vizard on a project shaping, testing and demonstrating the value of the Growing Up in England (GUiE) dataset for researching outcomes for Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children (funded by Administrative Data Research UK). The dataset was created by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) by linking 2011 Census records for children and young people to their attainment data from a bespoke extract of Department for Education data – the All Education Dataset for England (AEDE) – to allow for the analysis of education by family background characteristics. Additionally, together with Polly, Polina also worked on a paper exploring changes in child poverty over the past two decades (for the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a changing Britain project), as well as on a paper with Tammy Campbell looking into the eligibility of Free School Meals as a measure of disadvantage.

## Bert Provan

Bert Provan is a Senior Policy Fellow, as well as undertaking work on knowledge management for CASE and in particular the SPDO programme. As part of his work with the London Borough of Newham he assisted in the completion of the evaluation report on Newham's Housing First programme, as well as continuing the review of the development of Newham's Rough Sleeping strategy which will be published in 2022. He also undertook an in-depth review of the work of a northern housing and support organisation and its innovative work to tackle rough sleeping before and during the COVID-19 period. Alongside this he has been working with CASE and LSE London colleagues on a social cost benefit analysis of the policy options to address the needs of destitute migrants with work visas but no recourse to public funds (NRPF) which will also be published in 2022. Work on knowledge management included planning and coordinating the SPDO launch webinar and associated dissemination of the report findings. This work continues with further briefing meetings, videos, infographics, and social media appearing during 2022.

## Anne Power

Anne Power continues as Head of the LSE Housing and Communities research group, based in CASE. In 2021, she has led on research into neighbourhood, place-based housing management, homelessness, sustainability and energy saving in multi-storey buildings, and the role of private renting and community-led housing in tackling housing need. Anne continues to direct the Housing Plus Academy programme of knowledge-exchange Think Tanks, and in 2021 was awarded a grant from the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust to set up an accompanying 'Energy Plus Academy' which focuses on actions that can be taken to tackle climate change in the built environment. In 2021, Anne provided advice on social housing, tenant engagement and relations, climate change, regeneration, and mutual aid, to government, housing organisations, local authorities, students, and charities. She gave a number of talks, including to the Social Housing Tenants' Climate Jury, the European Housing Network, Chartered Institute of Housing Northern Ireland, and the Royal Institute of British Architects' Journal. Anne was awarded the 'Urban Thinker' Award by the Academy of Urbanism in November 2021 for her outstanding contribution to urban policy over many years.

## Mary Reader

At the beginning of the year, Mary Reader completed research at the Education Policy Institute with Jo Hutchinson analysing the attainment, absence and exclusion outcomes of refugee and asylum-seeking children using the National Pupil Database and Freedom of Information Request data. In February, she published a CASEpaper on the birthweight effects of universal child benefits during pregnancy, using Labour's Health in Pregnancy Grant as a natural experiment. With Kitty Stewart, she also published research as part of the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes programme on the government's record on early childhood since 2015, which warned of rising child poverty and inequalities in the under-fives. Mary began working full-time at CASE in February 2021 as she joined the Nuffield-funded Welfare Reform and Larger Families project with Kitty Stewart, Ruth Patrick, Aaron Reeves and Kate Andersen. Her work on this project has involved using Understanding Society data to analyse the differential experiences of larger families during COVID-19, conducting qualitative longitudinal interviews with families affected by the benefit cap and/or the two-child limit, and using quasi-experimental quantitative methods to isolate the labour market effects of these policies. As part of this project, in August 2021 Mary starting working with Jonathan Portes on a paper investigating the fertility impacts of the two-child limit. Mary continues to work with Ludovica Gambaro, Tammy Campbell and Kitty Stewart on changes in take-up in early years education and childcare.

## Ruby Russell

Ruby Russell works as a Research Support Assistant in LSE Housing and Communities. Since joining CASE this year, Ruby has worked with Ellie Benton to produce reports researching the potential of community-led housing schemes and how social landlords can tackle the double issue of building safety and net zero climate targets. Earlier in the year, she conducted interviews with residents as part of the EastendHomes study led by Laura Lane, which evaluated the housing association's neighbourhood management approach. Ruby also supports Ellie Benton to coordinate the Housing Plus Academy and Energy Plus Academy think tanks which have returned to Trafford Hall this year. Recent events have focused on greening community spaces and reconciling building safety and energy efficiency in social housing.

## Kitty Stewart

Kitty Stewart's main research focus this year has been a Nuffield-funded mixed methods project examining the impact of social security changes on larger families in the UK, working together with Mary Reader and colleagues at Oxford and York. In 2020 the team conducted the first round of qualitative interviews with families affected by the benefit cap or two-child limit; a second round will take place in 2021. They also conducted quantitative analysis of the effects of the benefit cap on mental health and completed a paper examining trends in poverty rates by family size over the last 25 years. In other work, Kitty is working with Mary Reader to identify whether changes in cash transfers during pregnancy under recent administrations affected the prevalence of low birthweight in England; and with Ludovica Gambaro and Mary Reader to unpick the factors that have contributed to the declining role of the state maintained sector in delivering early education, with a particular focus on how this has affected children from lower-income families.

## Polly Vizard

Polly Vizard continued to co-coordinate the CASE Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) in a Changing Britain research programme, funded by the Nuffield Foundation. Activities included publication of a programme overview paper co-authored with John Hills, 'The Conservative Governments' Record on Social Policy from May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020: Policies, Spending and Outcomes'; contribution to the launch event 'What needs fixing to build back better: fault lines in the British welfare state on the eve of the pandemic' in February 2021'; and development of knowledge exchange outputs. In January 2021, work with Polina Obolenskaya commenced on a new ADR UK funded research project exploring the 'value added' of big administrative data linkages for examining the circumstances and experiences of children and young people from the Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities. In October 2021, preparatory work started on a new large research programme that CASE will contribute to over the next five years. This programme is being led by Leon Feinstein and Oxford University Rees Centre and involves the University of Sussex, Greater Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, North Yorkshire and Hampshire local authorities and other partners. It aims to build capacity and understanding of the better use of administrative data and voice-based approaches to improve services for children and families. Other activities included giving oral evidence to the House of Lords Public Services Committee in June 2021 and (with Tania Burchardt) publishing an article on older people's experiences of dignity and support during hospital stays in Ageing and Society.

## Refereed journal articles

**Burchardt T**, Steele F, *Grundy E*, **Karagiannaki E**, *Kuha J, Moustaki I, Skinner C, Zhang N and Zhang S.* Welfare within Families beyond Households: Intergenerational Exchanges of Practical and Financial Support in the UK. *LSE Public Policy Review.* 2021; 2(1): 4, pp. 1–11.

**Campbell, T.** (2021), Relative age and the Early Years Foundation Stage Profile: How do birth month and peer group age composition determine attribution of a "Good Level of Development" – and what does this tell us about how 'good' the Early Years Foundation Stage Profile is? *British Educational Research Journal.*

**Campbell, T.** (2021), In-class 'ability'-grouping, teacher judgements, and children's maths self-concept: Evidence from primary-aged girls and boys in the UK Millennium Cohort Study. *Cambridge Journal of Education.*

**Cooper, K.** and **Burchardt, T.** (2021) How divided is the attitudinal context for policymaking? Changes in public attitudes to the welfare state, inequality and immigration over two decades in Britain, *Social Policy and Administration*, 51 (1): 1-18

**Cooper, K.** and **Stewart, K**. (2021) Does Household Income Affect children's Outcomes? A Systematic Review of the Evidence. *Child Indicators Research* 14, 981–1005.

**Cooper, K.** and **Obolenskaya, P.** (2021). Hidden victims: the gendered data gap of violent crime. *The British Journal of Criminology* Volume 61, Issue 4, 905–925.

Loutzenhiser, G. and **Mann, E.** (2021), Liquidity issues: solutions for the asset rich, cash poor. *Fiscal Studies*, 42:651–675.

Reeves, A, M Fransham, **K Stewart** and R Patrick (2021) Does capping social security harm mental health: A natural experiment in the UK, *Social Policy and Administration.*

Suh, E. (2021). Can't save or won't save: Financial resilience and discretionary retirement saving among British adults in their thirties and forties. *Ageing and Society*, 1-28.

**Vizard, P.**, and **Burchardt, T.** (2021). Older people's experiences of dignity and support with eating during hospital stays: Analytical framework, policies and outcomes. *Ageing and Society*, 1-35.

## Refereed journal articles by our associates

Aksoy, G. C., Philipp, J., and **Özcan, B.** (2021) Robots and the Gender Pay Gap in Europe. *European Economic Review.* Vol.134. May.

Andersen, S. H., and **Özcan, B.** (2021) The Effects of Unemployment on Fertility. *Advances in Life Course Research.* Volume 49. September 100401.

Burgess, S. and **Platt, L.** (2021). Inter-ethnic relations of teenagers in England's schools: the role of school and neighbourhood ethnic composition. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies.*

Burkhauser, R. V., Hérault, N., **Jenkins, S. P.**, and Wilkins, R. (2021) What accounts for the rising share of women in the top 1%?, *Review of Income and Wealth.*

Buttaro A Jr., **Gambaro L**, Joshi H, Lennon MC. (2021) Neighborhood and Child Development at Age Five: A UK–US Comparison. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health.*

**Cowell, F. A.** and E. Flachaire (2021). Maximum inequality: the case of categorical data. *Research on Economic Inequality* 29.

Costa-Font, J., **F. A. Cowell**, and B. Saenz de Miera (2021). Measuring pure health inequality and mobility during a health insurance expansion: Evidence from Mexico. *Health Economics* 30 (8), 1833-1848.

Dunatchik, A., and **Özcan, B.** (2021). Reducing mommy penalties with daddy quotas. *Journal of European Social Policy.* March. 31(2), 175-191.

Evenhuis, E., **Lee, N.**, Martin, R., and Tyler, P. (2021). Rethinking the political economy of place: challenges of productivity and inclusion. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 14(1), 3-24.

**Gambaro, L.**, Neidhöfer, G., and Spieß, C.K. (2021) The effect of early childhood education and care services on the social integration of refugee families, *Labour Economics*

**Gough, I.** (2021) Two scenarios for sustainable welfare: a framework for an eco-social contract. *Social Policy and Society.* ISSN 1475-7464

**Gough, I.** (2021) De cara al colapso climático, las necesidades humanas son centrales para el Bien-estar sustentable. *Anthropos*, 256. ISSN 2385-5150

Gschwind, L., **Ratzmann, N.**, and Beste, J. (2021) Protected against all odds? A mixed-methods study on the risk of welfare sanctions for immigrants in Germany. *Social Policy Administration.*

Hecht, K. and **Summers, K.** (2021) The Long and Short of It: The temporal significance of wealth and income *Social Policy and Administration*.

**Hughes, C.** and **Lupton, R.** (2021) Understanding inclusive growth at local level: changing patterns and types of neighbourhood disadvantage in three English city-regions, *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 14(1), pp. 141–156.

Ishkanian, A., **Shutes, I.** (2021), Who Needs the Experts? The Politics and Practices of Alternative Humanitarianism and its Relationship to NGOs, Voluntas 26, 1601–1619.

**Jenkins, S. P.** (2021) Inequality comparisons with ordinal data, *Review of Income and Wealth*, 67 (3), 547–563

**Jenkins, S. P.** and Rios-Avila, F. (2021) Measurement error in earnings data: replication of Meijer, Rohwedder, and Wansbeek's mixture model approach to combining survey and register data, *Journal of Applied Econometrics*, 36 (4), 474–483.

Kozak, K., Greaves, A., **Waldfogel, J.**, Angal, J., Elliott, A.J. Fifer, W. P., and Brito, N. H. (2021). Paid Maternal Leave is Associated with Better Language and Socioemotional Outcomes During Toddlerhood Infancy.

**Lee, N.,** and Rodríguez-Pose, A. (2021). Entrepreneurship and the fight against poverty in US cities. Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 53(1), 31-52.

Latham, S., Finch, J.E., Reardon, S., **Waldfogel, J.** (2021) Increases in Income-Related Disparities in Early Elementary School Obesity, 1998-2014. *Acad Pediatr.* 21(2):304-311.

Rodríguez-Pose, A., **Lee, N.**, and Lipp, C. (2021). Golfing with Trump. Social capital, decline, inequality, and the rise of populism in the US. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 14(3), 457-481.

Loft, L. T., and **Waldfogel, J.** (2021) Socioeconomic Status Gaps in Young Children's Wellbeing at School. Child Development (1), 91-105.

**McGinnity, F.**, Quinn, E., McCullough, E., Enright, S. and Curristan, S. (2021) Measures to combat racial discrimination and promote diversity in the labour market: a review of evidence. Dublin: ESRI /Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth.

Moullin, S. and **Harkness, S.** (2021). The Single Motherhood Penalty as a Gender Penalty. *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 127(2).

Orton, M., **Summers, K.**, Morris, R. (2021) Guiding principles for social security policy: outcomes from a bottom-up approach *Social Policy and Administration.*

**Platt, L.**, Polavieja, J. and Radl, J. (2021). Which integration policies work? The heterogeneous impact of national institutions on immigrants' labor market attainment in Europe. *International Migration Review*.

**Platt, L.** (2021). COVID-19 and Ethnic Inequalities in England. *LSE Public Policy Review*, 1(4), p.4.

Rodríguez Sánchez, A, A. Fasang and **S. Harkness** (2021). Gendered division of housework during the COVID-19 pandemic: temporary shocks or durable change? *Demographic Research*.

Russell, H., Privalko, I., **McGinnity, F.** and Enright, S. (2021) Monitoring Adequate housing in Ireland. *Dublin: ESRI/Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission*.

**Sigle, W.** Reid, A. and Sear, R. 75 Years of Population Studies: A Diamond Anniversary Special Issue. *Population Studies*, 75 (sup1), 1-5.

**Sigle, W.** Demography's Theory and Approach: (How) Has the View from the Margins Changed?. *Population Studies*, 75(sup1), 235-251.

**Sigle, W.**, and Kravdal, Ø. With Age Comes…? An Examination of Gendered Differences in the Resource Advantages Associated with Parental Age in Norway. *Comparative Population Studies*, 46.

Veerman, G.-J. and **Platt, L.** (2021) School composition and multiple ethnic identities of migrant-origin adolescents in the Netherlands. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

Wimer, C., Fox, L., Garfinkel, I., Kaushal, N., Nam, J., and **Waldfogel, J.** (2021) Trends in the Economic Wellbeing of Unmarried-Parent Families with Children: New Estimates Using an Improved Measure of Poverty. *Popul Res Policy Rev 40*, 1253–1276.

Wimer, C., Marti, M., Brooks-Gunn, J., **Waldfogel, J.** (2021) Early Impacts of Room to Grow: A Multifaceted Intervention Supporting Parents and Children Age Zero to Three. *Child Youth Serv Rev*.

## Forthcoming

Bartel, A. P., Rossin-Slater, M., Ruhm, C. J., Slopen, M., and **Waldfogel, J.** (forthcoming) Support for Paid Family Leave among Small Employers Increases during the Covid-19 Pandemic. *Socius*.

Chzhen, Y., Symonds, J., Mikolai, J., **Harkness, S.**, Devine, D., Sloan, S., Sainz, G.M. (forthcoming). Socio-economic inequalities in primary school children's emotional engagement with remote schooling during the Spring Covid-19 lockdown in Ireland. *Child Indicators*.

Creighton, M., **McGinnity, F.** and Fahey, E. (forthcoming) Overstating your welcome: Immigration, in-group preference and tolerance in Ireland. *International Migration Review.*

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**Gough, I.** (2021) Ian Gough on human needs, essential labour and universal basic services. The Postcapitalism Podcast.

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Oasis Community Housing: Review of change through COVID and beyond

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## Forthcoming

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## Selected blog postings (all)

**Burchardt, T.** (2021) Why the new levy won't make England's social care crisis go away

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**Campbell, T.** (2021) Little fish, big streams: Early in-class maths 'ability'-groups, early teacher judgements, and primary school children's later maths self-concept. BERA Blog

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**Pinter, I.** (forthcoming) Nationality and Borders Bill: many of the proposals will negatively affect children, not just those concerning them directly LSE British Politics

## CASEpapers

CASEpaper 222
**Mary Reader**
The birthweight effects of universal child benefits in pregnancy: quasi-experimental evidence from England and Wales

CASEpaper 223
**Tammy Campbell**
Special Educational Needs and Disabilities within the English primary school system: What can disproportionalities by season of birth contribute to understanding processes behind attributions and (lack of) provisions?

CASEpaper 224
**Kitty Stewart, Aaron Reeves and Ruth Patrick**
A time of need: Exploring the changing poverty risk facing larger families in the UK

CASEpaper 225
**Tammy Campbell and Polina Obolenskaya**
No such thing as a free lunch? Exploring the consistency, validity, and uses of the 'Free School Meals' (FSM) measure in the National Pupil Database

## CASEreports

CASEreport 134
**Ellie Benton and Anne Power**
Community responses to the Coronavirus Pandemic: How mutual aid can help

CASEreport 135
**Ellie Benton and Anne Power**
Community Responses to the Coronavirus Pandemic: Case Study Report

CASEreport 136
CASE Annual Report 2020

CASEreport 137
**Eleanor Benton and Anne Power**
What is the role of housing associations in providing intermediate and market rented housing?

## CASEbriefs

CASEbrief 40
**Tammy Campbell**
Little fish, big streams: How do early in-class maths "ability"-groups and early teacher judgements relate to primary school children's later maths self-concept?

CASEbrief 41
**Ilona Pinter**
Children and Families Seeking Asylum in the UK

## Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes Research Papers

SPDOOP01
**Edited by Polly Vizard and John Hills**
The Conservative Governments' Record on Social Policy from May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020: Policies, Spending and Outcomes

SPDORP08
**Kitty Stewart and Mary Reader**
The Conservative Governments' Record on Early Childhood from May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020: Policies, Spending and Outcomes

SPDORP09
**Suzanne Fitzpatrick and Glen Bramley**
The Ruling Parties' Record on Homelessness and Complex Needs (May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020)

SPDORP10
**Kerris Cooper and John Hills**
The Conservative Governments' Record on Social Security: Policies, Spending and Outcomes, May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020

SPDORB03
**Nic Brimblecombe and Tania Burchardt**
Social care inequalities in England: evidence briefing

## Forthcoming

SPDORN01
**Eleni Karagiannaki**
distout and svydistout: Help file to accompany Stata programmes for undertaking distributional analysis of continuous outcome variables.

# CASE Special Events and Seminars 2021

## Special Events

**22 February 2021**
Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain launch event

What needs fixing to build back better: fault lines in the British welfare state on the eve of the pandemic

**7 October 2021**
Stick or Shift? Attitudes towards inequality, the Welfare State and social security benefits during COVID-19

## Seminars

### Social Exclusion Seminars

**10 March 2021**
Blood, Threats and Fears: The Hidden Worlds of Hate Crime Victims

**Neil Chakraborti**, University of Leicester

**24 March 2021**
Black Women, Violence and Abuse: Working at the intersections of race, gender and other oppressions

**Ava Kanyeredzi**, University of East London and **Dr Joanne Wilson**, Real Voices Research

**5 May 2021**
Educational Inequalities and Post-pandemic Schools

**Alice Bradbury**, UCL Institute of Education

**19 May 2021**
Against the Odds: Why expecting schools to overcome disadvantage is doomed to failure

**Sally Riordan** and **Michael Jopling**, Education Observatory, University of Wolverhampton

**16 June 2021**
Children's Life-histories In Primary Schooling [CLIPS]: Persevering in exclusion?

**Eleanore Hargreaves**, UCL Institute of Education

**7 July 2021**
Great Mistakes in Education Policy – and how to avoid them in the future

**Ruth Lupton**, University of Manchester)

**20 October 2021**
The scale and drivers of inequalities in and by mental health

**Praveetha Patalay**, Centre for Longitudinal Studies and MRC Unit for Lifelong Health and Ageing University College London

**10 November 2021**
The NHS, schools, and social care in the four nations of the UK: how do they compare?

**Graham Atkins** and **Grant Dalton**, Institute for Government

Administrative Data Research UK (ESRC)

The British Academy

Economic and Social Research Council

Nuffield Foundation

Social Mobility Commission

Welsh Centre for Public Policy

Department for Work and Pensions (DWP)

Low Pay Commission

The Leverhulme Trust

**LSE Housing and Communities:**

Trafford Hall (NCRC)

Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust

EastendHomes

Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea

London Borough of Newham

The Mitchell Charitable Trust

Oasis Community Housing

**Within LSE:**

Atlantic Fellows for Social and Economic Equity (AFSEE) programme at the LSE's International Inequalities Institute

LSE Research Support Fund

International Inequalities Institute: Small Grants on The UK Racial Wealth Gap

Knowledge Exchange and Impact Fund

Suntory Toyota International Centres for Economics and Related Disciplines (STICERD)

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