



THE LONDON SCHOOL
OF ECONOMICS AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE ■



Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion
Research at LSE ■

Annual Report 2019

CASereport 129





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Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion

Welcome to our annual report for the calendar year 2019, which reflects work undertaken before the coronavirus pandemic. At the time of writing this introduction, it is too early to say whether, and to what extent, the massive changes we are now experiencing will endure, and which will prove to be temporary. This reaches across the delivery of public services, the structure of the national and global economy, and the relationships between individuals, communities and the state.

What seems clear, however, is that the fault lines in society between the privileged and the multiply-disadvantaged that we have been examining and highlighting in CASE for more than two decades – as reflected in our *Multidimensional Inequalities Framework*, for example – run deep into this crisis. Similarly, weaknesses in social protection and welfare states more broadly – such as those under scrutiny in our *Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes* programme – have been thrown into sharp relief, as governments around the world wake up to the incompatibility between adherence to public health measures and problems like homelessness, insecure employment, and over-reliance on informal care, and then scramble to plug gaps in the safety net.

Our annual report next year will give some early findings from research we are already beginning that addresses the impact of the pandemic itself, and governments' responses to it, on the most disadvantaged. And in the longer run, we will ask whether the double whammy of the incidence of the virus and the impact of the lockdown on the health, social, and economic outcomes of the disadvantaged will be turned into a triple whammy, as decisions are made about how to distribute the burden of paying for the public debt incurred in responding to the crisis. This year's report is best read as an account of the state of things on the eve of the pandemic.

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, between groups and over time, 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. We are always interested in working with high quality PhD students and post-doctoral fellows exploring areas of research of central relevance to our work. 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, including the Welfare Policy and Analysis seminar series, which has been supported by the Department for Work and Pensions. 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, can be downloaded 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 charitable foundations (for example, Nuffield Foundation, Joseph Rowntree Foundation and Trust for London), research councils (for example, ESRC, British Academy), UK government departments, the European Union, a range of Registered Social Landlords, and a number of other charities and organisations in the UK and abroad.

Tania Burchardt

Director, Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion
April 2020

For more information about the Centre and its work, please visit sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/





2019 in numbers

↓ 631,380
downloads of of CASE reports and working papers



5,984
Twitter followers

10 million



CASE downloads between 2013 and 2020

8 peer-reviewed journal articles

20 CASE reports and papers published



18
CASE Seminars



418+
seminar attendees





CASE notes: 10 key insights from 2019

An irresponsible society

The share of post-tax income held by the top one per cent in the UK has doubled over the past 60 years, accelerating inequality, argues John Hills (page 6) – and we, as a society, tolerate “inequalities unimaginable in the late 1950s.”



Attitudes

When other characteristics are taken into account, the generational gap in attitudes to welfare has narrowed over the past two decades, find Kerris Cooper and Tania Burchardt (page 15), who argue that: “fears about a “divided Britain” are overstated” in relation to attitudes towards the welfare state.

Universal basic services (UBS)

UBS could be used “to secure greater equality, social efficiency, collective solidarity and long-term sustainability” – and it is relatively cheap, argues Ian Gough (page 12).



Violent crime

Women’s risk of experiencing violent crime, unlike men’s, has not decreased over the past decade, and women are now more at risk of violent crime than men – a trend hidden by partial reporting of crime-types in official statistics, say Kerris Cooper and Polina Obolenskaya (page 10).



Child Poverty

Child poverty increased in the years 2010/11-2016/17, find Polly Vizard, Polina Obolenskaya, and Kritika Treebhohun (page 22). In particular, there was an increase in prevalence for several groups, including: children living in lone parent families, children living in larger families, and disabled children / children living in households where another child is disabled.



Children in migrant families

High housing costs and holes in the social safety net are “preventing children in recent migrant families from accessing their right to an adequate standard of living” argue Tania Burchardt, Polina Obolenskaya, Isabel Shutes, and Polly Vizard (page 24).



Refugee children and Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC)

Looking at data for Germany, Ludovica Gamaro and colleagues find a “strong effect of children’s ECEC attendance on the social integration of their mothers” (page 28).

Intergenerational joblessness

Lower expenditure on education and less generous welfare systems are associated with higher rates of intergenerational joblessness across countries, say Paul Gregg and Lindsey Macmillan (page 32).



School choice in England and Scotland

It is policy in England to promote “choice” of secondary school, but parents here are frustrated, and feel impotent, compared to those in Scotland, where choice is not the default – argues Aveen Bhattacharya (page 30).



The Multidimensional Inequality Framework (MIF) and toolkit

The international MIF and toolkit sticerd.lse.ac.uk/inequality described by Abigail McKnight (page 20) provide the resources necessary to measure, analyse and take action on multidimensional inequality, including indicators, drivers and candidate policies across seven key life domains.



Britain in the Twenty-first Century – a more or less “irresponsible society”?

John Hills

Sixty years ago, in November 1959, Richard Titmuss, Professor of Social Administration at LSE, gave a lecture on “The Irresponsible Society”.

Rereading the lecture, available as one of his reissued Essays on the “welfare state”, raises the question of whether he – and we – would see Britain today as more or less irresponsible than then.

Titmuss was cross about several things. I will discuss five.

First, **irresponsible power**. He was exercised by the power of financial interests, and the men who ran insurance companies and pension funds. They were not “wicked men”, but the scale of their “sober, profitable, responsible decisions” meant that “social policies will be imposed without democratic decision”, literally irresponsibly. In 1959, UK pension funds had assets of £2.3 billion, 10 per cent of national income. Today they have assets of £2.3 trillion, a greater sum than GDP itself. And it is easy to see what he would also made of banks that were “too big to fail”.

Second, the **welfare state myth**. Here and elsewhere in his writing he bewailed assumptions that the post-war consensus meant social problems were on the way to solution. He drew attention to “welfare for the better off”, through spending and tax reliefs, and argued that the recently introduced system of “contracting out” from part of state pensions in return for lower National Insurance Contributions could “undermine the whole state system of social security”.

Maybe here he was too pessimistic – public spending on health, education and social security was 12 per cent of GDP in 1959; today it is 22 per cent. But he was right that we were probably too optimistic about solving social problems in 1959 – today, we are much less optimistic.

Third, the **role of education**. He criticised the “current obsession which sees education as capital investment for the purpose of “keeping up in the economic race”, surely even more of an obsession today, with ever more detailed calculations of the net present value of different degrees. Another thing has changed little. In 1959 Titmuss wrote in surprise that, “government by the people could mean that power ... could lie permanently in the hands of those educated at Eton and other public schools”. Old Etonians have, at time of writing, been Prime Ministers for seven of the last ten years.

Fourth, **public affairs**. Alongside the undemocratic power of finance, he railed against, “a national press which has, as whole, steadily taught the public for 15 years to sneer at public order and public service and admire cupidity and acquisitiveness”. Today we have not just relentless attacks on “welfare scroungers” in the tabloids, but propaganda rife through social media.

Finally, he pointed to the irresponsibility of **accelerating inequality**. We know now that there had been a slight increase in income inequality between 1949 and 1959. But then it started falling – partly after the political reaction to the work on poverty and



inequality by Titmuss and his LSE colleagues, Brian Abel-Smith and Peter Townsend. But then it leapt in the 1980s. For instance, in 1959, the post-tax income share of the top one per cent in the UK was 5.5 per cent. This fell to 4.2 per cent in 1976, but by 2014 was 10.5 per cent, nearly twice the level Titmuss saw as both the product and driver of irresponsibility.

What of today? I would point to six areas to add to his five.

First, of course, **Brexit**. Readers will have varying views, but I am with Donald Tusk, and his “special place in Hell” for those who had campaigned for Brexit without even a “sketch of a plan” for achieving it safely. This is not just about the irresponsibility of the way that was done in itself, but also the way in which we have allowed it to suck attention away from issues that in any other era would have been central to politics.

Chief is the **climate emergency**. If one is looking for irresponsibility in our society it is hard not to put at top of any list the adult generations who have carried on as if nothing had changed, thirty years after the evidence was clear to Margaret Thatcher amongst many others. As a country we have great aspirations for progress by 2050, but the rise in greenhouse gas concentrations remains unabated, and we face the social challenge of achieving carbon reductions without putting the greatest burdens on the poorest. The school strikes for climate and the momentum they have gathered are one of the few current positives.

Third, the **ageing of society**. Increasing life expectancy is good news for those of us living longer. But it is expensive. The Office for Budget Responsibility’s projected effect is that standstill provision would take total social spending (on education, social security, health and social care from 22 to 26 per cent of GDP by 2038, almost all the increase on health care). This four per cent of GDP increase is £80 billion in today’s terms, on top of keeping up with economic growth and incomes. There was



little sign in the tax and spending debates in any of the recent elections that politicians were responsibly facing up to the implications of this.

Fourth, **intergenerational inequalities** are increasingly hard to ignore. From our own work in CASE we know that in the decade from 2005, they grew pervasively, whether we looked at pay, incomes or wealth. In 1959 Titmuss quoted a Camberwell vicar, upset that those he was marrying would have to wait four and a half years on the waiting list for a council house. Today getting into council housing so fast without special needs would look impossible. One of the troubling features of the last 16 years has been the trebling of the number of families with children living with the insecurity and potential moves inherent in private renting. The “Bank of Mum and Dad” is more important than ever in determining people’s housing careers, and life chances more generally.

Fifth, the **holes in the safety net**. In 1959 Titmuss could assume that there was a national minimum guaranteed by National Assistance. No-one would be “destitute by design”. That is no longer the case, despite our national affluence. Last year’s State of Hunger report, the report of the UN Rapporteur, and the explosion in foodbank use, all point to the effects of holes in the safety net. These holes are created by escalating housing benefit shortfalls, the failure to rebate Council Tax in full for the poorest, the effects of benefit sanctions, and long delays in Universal Credit payments (and then the need to repay advances through lower benefits).

Finally, there is still **inequality**. Although income inequality is in many ways no greater now than 20 years ago, it is hugely greater than 60 years ago. But we have come to tolerate it and to accept differences in the amounts people in the same organisations are paid that would have been unthinkable in the 1950s: our norms have changed.

In conclusion, I am not arguing that 1959 was a better time to be alive in the UK than today.

To start with the obvious, British men of my own age, 65, could then expect to live on average 12 more years in 1959; today it is 22 years. London Novembers in the late 1950s had 20 hours less sunshine than today. Real median incomes have trebled. And while the gender pay gap remains, it is far less than then. And looking beyond social policy, in 1959 we were just three years from the Cuban missile crisis, apartheid was entrenched, Black Americans were legally denied civil rights, and the Iron Curtain was firmly in place. But we can match many of these global concerns with the new, systemic risks we currently are ignoring – and they come on top of the many problems that continue to echo Titmuss’s concerns.

But in terms of irresponsibility, on the climate emergency alone, as well as through the lack of a conversation about the need to raise taxes to meet the needs of an ageing population, and in our tolerance of inequalities unimaginable in the late 1950s, the case is surely against us.

Further Information

John Hills is Richard Titmuss Professor of Social Policy. This article is an edited version of a lecture given at LSE in November 2019. A recording of the lecture and discussion afterwards is available at: lse.ac.uk/social-policy/events/Podcasts-and-Videos/podcasts-and-videos





Programme highlight

Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes
in a Changing Britain

“Social policies and distributional outcomes in a changing Britain” (SPDO)

Polly Vizard

“**Social policies and distributional outcomes in a changing Britain**” (SPDO) is a large research programme being undertaken by a team of inequalities and social policy experts at the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion at the London School of Economics, in partnership with research teams at the University of Manchester, Heriot Watt University, and UCL Institute for Education. The programme began in Autumn 2017 and runs until October 2020, with additional work on knowledge exchange following on from the main programme. The research is being funded by the Nuffield Foundation and is overseen by an independent Advisory Board chaired by Dame Frances Cairncross.

The central objective of the SPDO research programme is to provide an authoritative, independent, rigorous and in-depth evidence base on social policies and distributional outcomes in 21st century Britain. The central question to be addressed is:

What progress has been made in addressing social inequalities through social policies?

The programme is ambitious and comprehensive in scope, combining in-depth quantitative analysis of trends in social inequalities and social divides with detailed and systematic public expenditure and social policy analysis across ten major social policy areas over the period 2015-2020. This is accompanied by broader reflection on the changing nature of social policies and distributional outcomes over the 21st century.

Papers published to date are available here:

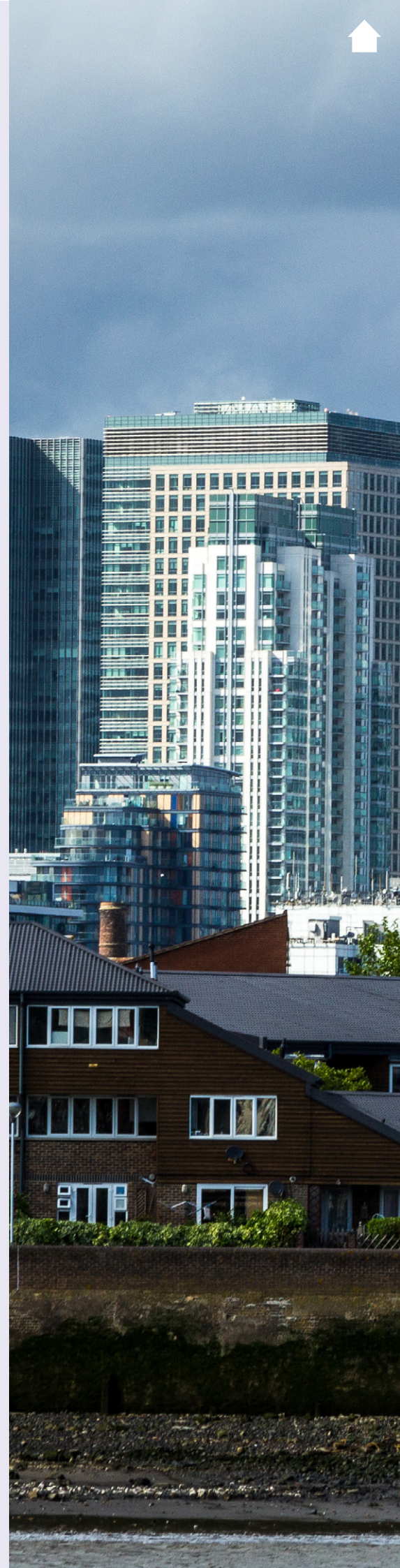
sticerd.lse.ac.uk/CASE/_new/publications/Social-Policies-and-Distributional-Outcomes-Research-Papers/

They include work on country and city-region level devolution; on the social policy consequences of Brexit; on physical safety and security policy developments in the recent period; and on economic inequalities. Seminars on our findings are regularly being organised, and a large number of papers will be published on our website between now and October 2020. Further details of our work on social attitudes, child poverty, and gender data gaps in crime reporting are included within this annual report (see pages 15, 24 and 10).

For more information about the programme please visit the SPDO website:

sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/_new/research/spdo/default.asp

Polly Vizard is Principal Investigator for SPDO.







Welfare states: spending, policies and outcomes

SPDO: Gendered data gaps in violent crime statistics

Kerris Cooper and Polina Obolenskaya

The official measure of violent crime reported by the Office for National Statistics does not include certain sexual offences and also does not make use of available information on sexual and domestic violence. This not only under-counts overall violence but in particular is likely to underestimate violence experienced by women. In this piece Kerris Cooper and Polina Obolenskaya re-estimate the prevalence of violent crime in England and Wales including this omitted information and compare this to the official measure. They find that not only does the re-estimated measure suggest that there is greater prevalence of violence, but also that the pattern by gender is the opposite to that in official figures.

Violent crime has received increasing attention in the media as the number of offences involving a knife or sharp instrument have significantly increased each year since 2015, despite overall violence levels remaining flat over the same period¹. Official crime statistics on overall violent crime are based on the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW), which is an annual victim-based survey of around 35,000 respondents. This measure counts experiences of violent crime based on the following offences: serious wounding; other wounding; common assault; attempted assault; serious wounding with sexual motive; other wounding with sexual motive. According to this measure men are at greater risk of experiencing violent crime than women².

However, this measure does not include the offences of rape, attempted rape, and indecent assault. Furthermore, it only includes crimes reported in the main face-to-face survey and doesn't make use of the self-completion questionnaire which includes questions about sexual and domestic violence. Given that domestic violence has been found to have better reporting rates in the self-completion survey³, which therefore provides a more reliable measure of this type of violence, by excluding this information the official measure is likely to be under-estimating overall levels of violence. Moreover, given that women are more likely than men to experience domestic and sexual violence⁴ the official measure is likely to under-count violence experienced by women in particular. The incompleteness of the data used to measure violent crime therefore constitutes a gendered data gap.

To address this we re-estimate violent crime using the CSEW secure access dataset⁵. This enables us to include experiences of domestic violence and sexual violence reported in the self-completion questionnaire as well as including the omitted offences of rape, attempted rape and indecent assault from the main survey. We compare violence experienced by men and women in 2005⁶ to the latest available year (2018) for the sample of 16 to 59 year olds⁷.

As can be seen from the figures below, when the official measure of violence is used overall violence seems to decrease for both



men and women over the period, but at both time points men were at greater risk of experiencing violence than women. When we include sexual and domestic violence, however, the pattern is the opposite in the latest year – violence decreases significantly for men over the period but does not significantly decrease for women. In 2018 women are in fact at greater risk of experiencing violence than men. These findings are important because how violence is measured affects how policies to reduce violence are developed.



Figure 1: Prevalence of violence by gender, ONS official measure, age 16-59, England and Wales

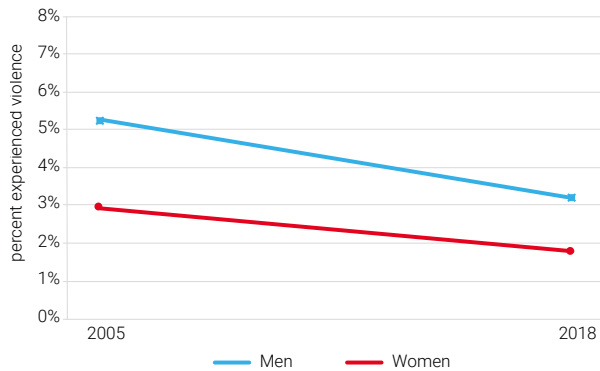
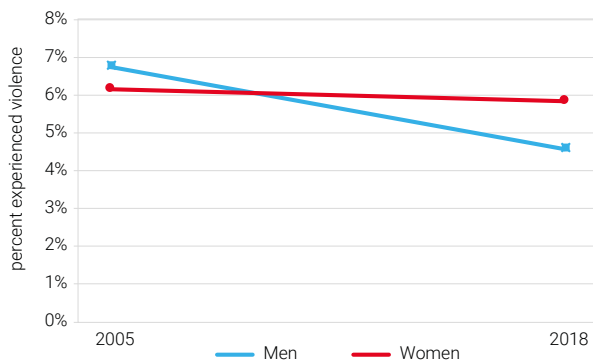


Figure 2: Prevalence of violence by gender, preferred measure including sexual and domestic violence, age 16-59, England and Wales



Source Figures 1 and 2:

Authors' analysis using ONS [Office for National Statistics], Crime Survey for England and Wales, Secure access dataset, SN 7280 (8th edition).

Notes: sample size N=51,488

Endnotes

- Office for National Statistics, (23 January 2020) Crime in England and Wales: year ending September 2019, *Statistical Bulletin*.
- Office for National Statistics (2019a) The nature of violent crime in England and Wales: year ending March 2018.
- Office for National Statistics, (2018) Domestic abuse in England and Wales: year ending March 2018.
- Ibid; Office for National Statistics (2018) Sexual offences in England and Wales: year ending March 2017
- Office for National Statistics (2019), Crime Survey for England and Wales, 1996-2018: Secure Access [data collection] 8th Edition. UK Data Service. SN: 7290. <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7280-8>
- The earliest year for which comparable measures from the self-completion questionnaire are available.
- The age restriction for the self-completion module has been 16 to 59 up to 2017 (from 2018 it includes respondents up to the age 74) we therefore restrict all of our analyses to this age group.

Further information

Kerris Cooper and **Polina Obolenskaya** are both Research Officers at CASE. This article is based on research produced as part of the research programme *Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain* (SPDO) funded by Nuffield Foundation. The views expressed are those of the authors. This work is based on analysis of ONS [Office for National Statistics] (2019), Crime Survey for England and Wales, 1996-2018: Secure Access [data collection] 8th Edition. UK Data Service. SN: 7290. <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7280-8>



Welfare states: spending, policies and outcomes

The case for Universal Basic Services (UBS)

Ian Gough

Many arguments have been made for Universal Basic Income (UBI). In this article, Ian Gough summarises an alternative case: for Universal Basic Services (UBS). The issue of their relationship is not directly considered here, but the argument is made that UBS is more egalitarian and sustainable than UBI, as befits the rethinking of eco-social policy in the face of dangerous climate change. Furthermore, Ian argues that UBS is also politically more incremental and reformist than the case for a true UBI.

UBS advocates a wider range of free public services enabling every citizen to meet their basic needs and achieve certain levels of security, opportunity and participation. The core principles are:

Universal: entitlement independent of ability to pay.

Basic: sufficient rather than minimal, enabling people to meet their basic needs, flourish and participate in society.

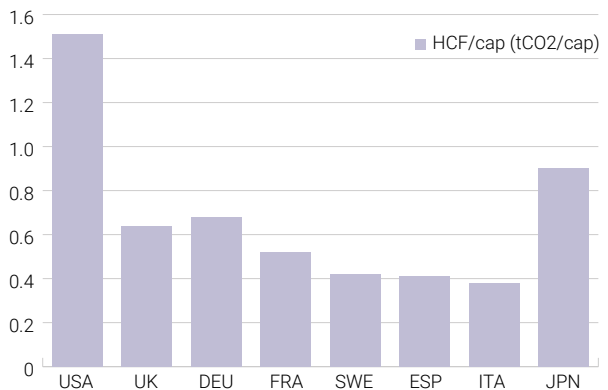
Services: collectively generated activities that serve the public interest.

The NHS and school education are founded on these goals, despite cuts, attacks and ongoing disputes over principles. UBS poses the question: can we extend these principles to other basic necessities, such as Housing, Care, Transport, Information and Nutrition?¹

Clearly these are all very different things, so there can be no uniform formula to implement UBS. But *entitlements* to certain levels of provision can be guaranteed and these can be backed up by a menu of public interventions including regulation, standard setting and monitoring, taxation, and subsidies. This does not necessarily entail direct government provision – a plurality of collective and communal providers will be involved. But the unifying principle is to extend directly collective solutions, as opposed to providing income support and leaving provisioning to market forces.

The case for collective provision to meet such needs can be made on two main grounds: equity and sustainability (though there are also strong arguments for efficiency and solidarity, not covered here).

Figure 1 Health carbon footprints per capita, 2014



Source: Pichler et al. 2019.

Equity. Free public provision of necessities is always remarkably redistributive – even if the total tax system of a country is broadly proportional to income as it is in the UK. On average, in OECD countries, existing public services are worth the equivalent of a huge 76 per cent of the post-tax income of the poorest quintile compared with just 14 per cent of the richest (Table 1)². Public services also contribute to reducing income inequality, by between one-fifth and one-third depending on the inequality measure. Free provision of necessities automatically targets lower income households, without the disincentive effects that often result from money transfers.

Table 1: In-kind benefits as a share of disposable income by quintile, average over 27 OECD countries, late 2000s

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Total
Education	30.6%	18.5%	14.2%	10.4%	5.6%	11.8%
Health Care	34.9%	22.2%	15.8%	11.8%	7.2%	13.9%
Social Housing	1.8%	0.7%	0.4%	0.2%	0.1%	0.4%
ECEC	4.5%	3.0%	2.4%	1.5%	0.8%	1.8%
Elderly Care	4.0%	1.9%	0.7%	0.4%	0.2%	0.9%
Total	75.8%	46.4%	33.5%	24.3%	13.7%	28.8%

Source: Verbist et al 2012.



Sustainability. The urgent necessity to move away from unsustainable economic, social and environmental practices provides a new justification for extending universal public services. First, public provisioning systems for healthcare are more sustainable than market systems. The direct carbon footprint of the NHS amounts to three per cent of the UK total compared to an estimated 8-10 per cent from the private-dominated health care system in the US. Put another way, the per capita carbon footprint of health care in the USA is two and a half times greater than in the UK and three and half times greater than in several European countries (Figure 1)³. Second, public services can play a vital role in decarbonising the economy in a just way. For example, Green New Deal programmes to retrofit the vast bulk of the housing stock will require public planning, finance and management. They will be needed to ensure a “just transition” to lower carbon living, rather than one that will load costs onto the poorest people and communities.

But does not a further extension of public services encroach upon peoples’ rights to choose how to spend their incomes? Money is fungible so social transfers including UBI permit people to spend income on whatever they want. The case for consumer sovereignty and market democracy needs to be addressed directly if the arguments for UBS are to prosper. I provide elsewhere a theoretical framework to justify this approach⁴. In summary it depends on two things: a non-monetary conception of wellbeing and a disaggregated model of provisioning.

Human needs – or the functionings of capability theory – cannot be summed up into a single unit of account; they entail different satisfiers that are heterogenous and non-substitutable. Providing a study course will not directly improve someone’s poor housing conditions. A need or functionings-based conception of wellbeing is opposed to the indifference approach of welfare economics, where one service can be traded of against another⁵.

Similarly, we need to challenge the dominant view of the economy as a uniform space within which nameless and substitutable commodities are produced, exchanged and consumed. Instead there are discrete “systems of provision”, such as the food system, the energy system, the housing system, the education system, the care system, and the transport system. These comprise a “foundational economy” of mundane, taken-for-granted networks and services that people depend on every day, such as utilities, telecommunications, and banking⁶.

What these two frameworks have in common is heterogeneity: the varied and incommensurable needs and provisioning systems on which we depend. It is some of these that collective and public services can address in a more equitable and sustainable way⁷.

Of course, delivering and implementing UBS will vary greatly across these domains. Let me conclude with one example: free bus travel. This would *entitle* everyone to enjoy the free bus travel



available to the over 60s, with major benefits to participation and opportunity. Of course it would require *investment* in new buses and routes at convenient times. It would also require *regulation*, which exists in London but is absent in the rest of the country with calamitous results (monopolies, asset-stripping, fares rising faster than other prices, declining passenger journeys everywhere outside London, poor connections and lack of inter-ticketing, halving of spending on subsidies for social necessary services and “forced car ownership”).

Yet this could be rectified at a cost of around 0.4 per cent GDP. Compared with UBI costs are modest. To provide similar entitlements in child care, adult social care, housing and information as well as transport would cost about 4.3 per cent of GDP⁸.

In conclusion there are strong justifications for moving towards UBS as a principled framework for allocating resources and reforming the welfare state. The case for it is theoretical - wellbeing is multi-dimensional; normative – the potential of UBS to secure greater equality, social efficiency, collective solidarity and long-term sustainability; and political – UBS is incremental, relatively cheap, and can achieve superior results to a system of unconditional cash payments alongside markets for commodified services. Of course income transfers are just as important and require reform, but not at the expense of universal basic services.



Welfare states: spending, policies and outcomes

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Further information

Ian Gough is the author of the much-cited book *Heat, Greed and Human Need: Climate change, capitalism and sustainable wellbeing*, published in 2017. He continues to work on the interface of climate change and social policy – recently advising the EU, ILO and the Irish Presidency (among other institutions) on these topics. His website is <https://www.iangough.com/>





SPDO: Has Britain become more divided? Attitudes about immigration, inequality and the welfare state over the last 25 years

Kerris Cooper and Tania Burchardt

In the wake of Brexit and other politically divisive events commentators have raised concerns that attitudes in Britain have become more polarised. This is significant for social policy as attitudes are an important part of the context in which policy making takes place. In this piece, Kerris Cooper and Tania Burchardt evaluate to what extent attitudes *have* become more divided in relation to the welfare state, inequality and immigration. Analysing data from the British Social Attitudes Survey (BSA) over the last 22 years, and comparing attitudes across different groups, they find little evidence of increased division in these attitudes. This suggests that the climate of public opinion may be more benign for progressive policies than Brexit debates would lead us to believe.

Why analyse attitudes?

Recent political events have led commentators to raise concerns about increasing polarisation in attitudes. If there has been a polarisation of attitudes this has important implications for social policy. Attitudes can be a constraining force; if attitudes are increasingly divided then policy solutions are difficult to reach. In seeking to understand the apparently deep divides in public attitudes some have argued that it is the experience of being “left behind” that has pushed disadvantaged groups further away from others in their attitudes. However, existing evidence on this is mixed, and most research has focused on one attitude (rather than a range of different attitudes) and a narrow range of characteristics.

This research fills some of these gaps by analysing multiple attitudes and including groups for which there is little attitudinal research, specifically disabled people and lone parents, in addition to groups differentiated by age, education level and country. The main research question is: **Have views become more polarised overall, or between more and less advantaged groups?**

In order to answer this question the BSA was analysed from 1995 to 2017, focusing on the three attitudes that are most relevant to the societal and economic changes that have taken place over the last two decades: attitudes about the welfare state, attitudes about inequality, and attitudes about immigration¹.

How have attitudes changed over time?

Overall people became more anti-welfare in their attitudes between 1995 and 2000 before stabilising until 2010. This was a period of expansion in social protection and public spending. After 2010, attitudes softened again, as people became more positive about the welfare state, which coincides with the period of austerity and spending cuts. By 2017 attitudes had returned to a similar level as in 1995. These findings fit with existing evidence of preferences tending towards less public spending



following periods of welfare state spending expansion, and preferences for more public spending following periods of austerity. Concern about inequality followed a similar pattern, with people on the whole becoming less concerned about inequality between 1995 and 2005 and remaining less concerned until 2010, after which people once again became more concerned about inequality, though unlike attitudes to welfare this did not recover to the same level as in 1995.



Welfare states: spending, policies and outcomes

In terms of attitudes about immigration, people on the whole became more hostile to immigration between 1995 and 2003 and remained at a similar level until 2013 which is as far as the index measure of immigration attitudes is available. However, similar attitudinal questions asked in the BSA since then suggest that by 2017 people became more positive about the cultural and economic impact of immigration.

How do attitudes vary across groups?

Figure 1 shows how attitudes to the welfare state vary across groups in 2017. Higher scores indicate stronger *anti-welfare* attitudes and all characteristics are included simultaneously in order to estimate the independent associations between each characteristic and the attitude in question (e.g. the results for age are adjusting for education as well as disability and all other characteristics shown). People with a limiting disability are less anti-welfare, as are those with a degree. Those aged 75+ stand out as being more anti-welfare, as do people from England compared to other countries, and couple parents.

Attitudes about inequality (not shown) are similarly distributed.

For attitudes about immigration, education is particularly important: those with a degree are distinctly less anti-immigration than other groups.

How have attitudinal differences between groups changed over time?

Overall there is little evidence of divergence in attitudes between groups defined according to these socio-demographic characteristics over the last two decades. In fact there is some evidence of attitudinal gaps narrowing. There was convergence of attitudes about welfare by age with a significant narrowing of the attitudinal gap between the two older age groups and the youngest age group over the period. This is in opposition to the familiar narrative of a "generational divide" in attitudes, which is created when raw differences between age groups are presented, without controlling for education and other characteristics.

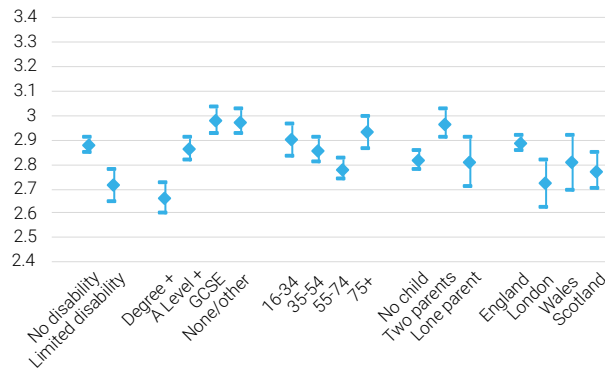
Overall the pattern by education is also one of narrowing differences in attitudes about the welfare state, and there has been no significant change in the differences in attitudes between England, Scotland and Wales.

People with a limiting disability remained less anti-welfare throughout the period, with a similar attitudinal gap compared to non-disabled people in 2017 as in 1995.

Finally, as shown in Figure 2, the attitudes of lone parents, which were distinctly less anti-welfare in 1995, have converged with non-parents and couple parents over the period as they became more anti-welfare.

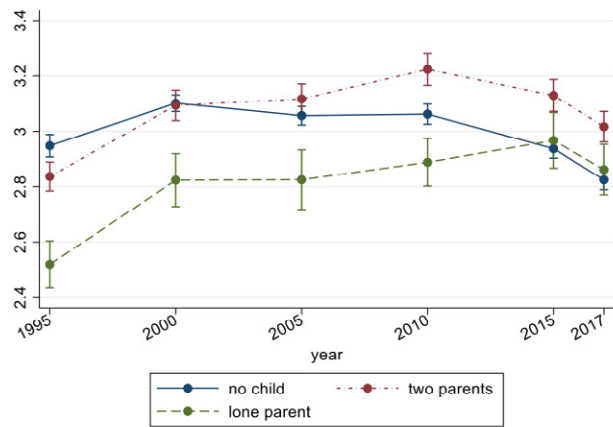
A similar (though of course nuanced story) is found for attitudes about inequality – with no difference in the attitudinal gap at the

Figure 1: Attitudes towards the welfare state across different groups based on the Welfarism index in British Social Attitudes Survey 2017



Notes: Higher scores indicate stronger anti-welfare attitudes. Predicted scores on the Welfarism index are indicated by the diamond and 95 per cent confidence intervals by the whiskers. The scale for the index is 1 – 5 with inter-quartile range of 2.4-3.3. All characteristics are included simultaneously and therefore controlled for. "England" excludes London.

Figure 2: Changes in attitudes towards the welfare state between 1995 and 2017 by parenthood status, based on the Welfarism index in the British Social Attitudes Survey



N.B. Higher scores indicate stronger anti-welfare attitudes

Notes: Predicted attitudinal index scores are plotted for interactions between the selected characteristic and year. Controls are included for all characteristics of interest: age, disability, education, country.



start and end of the period by disability, education, age and parenthood, and a narrowing of attitudinal differences between Scotland and England as people from Scotland became less concerned about inequality between 1995 and 2017.

Differences between Scotland and England also narrowed in relation to immigration attitudes and degree holders continue to stand out as being less anti-immigration, though the gap difference is no bigger in 2013² than in 1995.

Conclusions

Overall there is little evidence of divergence in attitudes to inequality, the welfare state and immigration over the last 20 years and even some evidence of a narrowing of differences in attitudes. This is in tension with familiar discourses of increasing division along the lines of age, education and country. We also found little evidence of divergence for groups who have been less frequently discussed but whose attitudes we might expect to be differentiated from others based on their experience of the welfare state, such as disabled people and lone parents.

Based on these findings we suggest that fears about a “divided Britain”, at least in relation to attitudes towards these key policy issues, are overstated. This has significant implications for social policy; it suggests that there may be greater room for more pro-welfare and inequality-reducing policies than Brexit debates suggest.

Endnotes

- 1 These are measured using three attitudinal indices. Attitudes about welfare are measured using the BSA derived variable “Welfarism” index, which includes questions about the role of the welfare state and the deservingness of people on social security benefits. For attitudes about inequality the measures relate to whether respondents think “ordinary working people get their fair share of the nations’ wealth”, whether they agree government should redistribute from the better off to worse off and whether levels of benefits are adequate. The items used to measure attitudes about immigration include questions about the impact of immigration on jobs, crime, culture, as well as levels of immigration in Britain and measures taken to exclude illegal immigrants.
- 2 The questions about attitudes to immigration were only asked in the BSA until 2013 which limits the time series for this measure.

Further information

Kerris Cooper is a Research Officer at CASE. **Tania Burchardt** is Director of CASE. This article is based on research produced as part of the research programme *Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain* (SPDO) funded by Nuffield Foundation. The views expressed are those of the authors. This work uses data from the British Social Attitudes Survey (NatCen) collected by and copyrighted to the National Centre for Social Research and deposited in the UK Data Service (UKDS).





Multidimensional poverty, inequality and capabilities

Living arrangements, intra-household inequality and children's deprivation: Evidence from EU-SILC

Eleni Karagiannaki and Tania Burchardt

Child poverty and child deprivation estimates are generally based on the assumption that income (or well-being) is shared equally among all household members and that a child cannot be poor or materially deprived if total household resources are over a certain low-income threshold. This article presents evidence suggesting that there may be significant inequalities within the same household and that these inequalities may affect not only adults' but also children's living standards.

In this study, Eleni Karagiannaki and Tania Burchardt use data from the 2014 EU statistics on income and living conditions (EU-SILC) to examine how many children across Europe live in different types of "complex" (or multi-family) households such as households that include children's grandparents and/or adult siblings. They also investigate the extent to which living in different types of multi-family households protects children against deprivation, and examine the relationship between children's, parents', and other household members' deprivation outcomes. Finally, they investigate whether the distribution of bargaining power within a household, as proxied by the share of total household income each person brings into the household, has any association with children's deprivation.

Across Europe, just under one-fifth of children live in a complex household. This proportion ranges from less than 15 per cent in the Nordic countries and parts of northern Europe to over 30 per cent in many Eastern European countries. Of children in complex households, just under two-thirds are living with adult siblings and around two-fifths with grandparents. Again there is substantial cross country variation: co-residence with a grandparent accounts for less than one per cent of children in two-parent families who are living in a complex household in Sweden, the Netherlands, and Denmark – compared to 70-85 per cent of equivalent children in Serbia, Bulgaria, Poland and Croatia.

There are substantial differences in the risk of deprivation among children who live in different types of households (Figure 1). In the majority of countries children in multi-family households face a higher risk of deprivation than those who live only with their parents. The exception to this general pattern are lone parent children who live with their grandparents, whose deprivation risk in many countries is lower than for those who live only with their parent.

Some of the differences in deprivation risks described above reflect the selection into co-residence of families facing financial difficulties, and therefore cannot tell us what the deprivation risk of children *would have been* if they lived only with their parents. In order to assess the protective (or otherwise) effect of living in a multi-family household we need to compare the living standards of children under their current living arrangements with the living standards that they would have attained if they lived only with their parents. Using counterfactual analysis we show that the magnitude of protective effect of living in a multi-family household, and indeed the direction of this protective effect (i.e. from families with children to their co-resident family members or from co-resident family

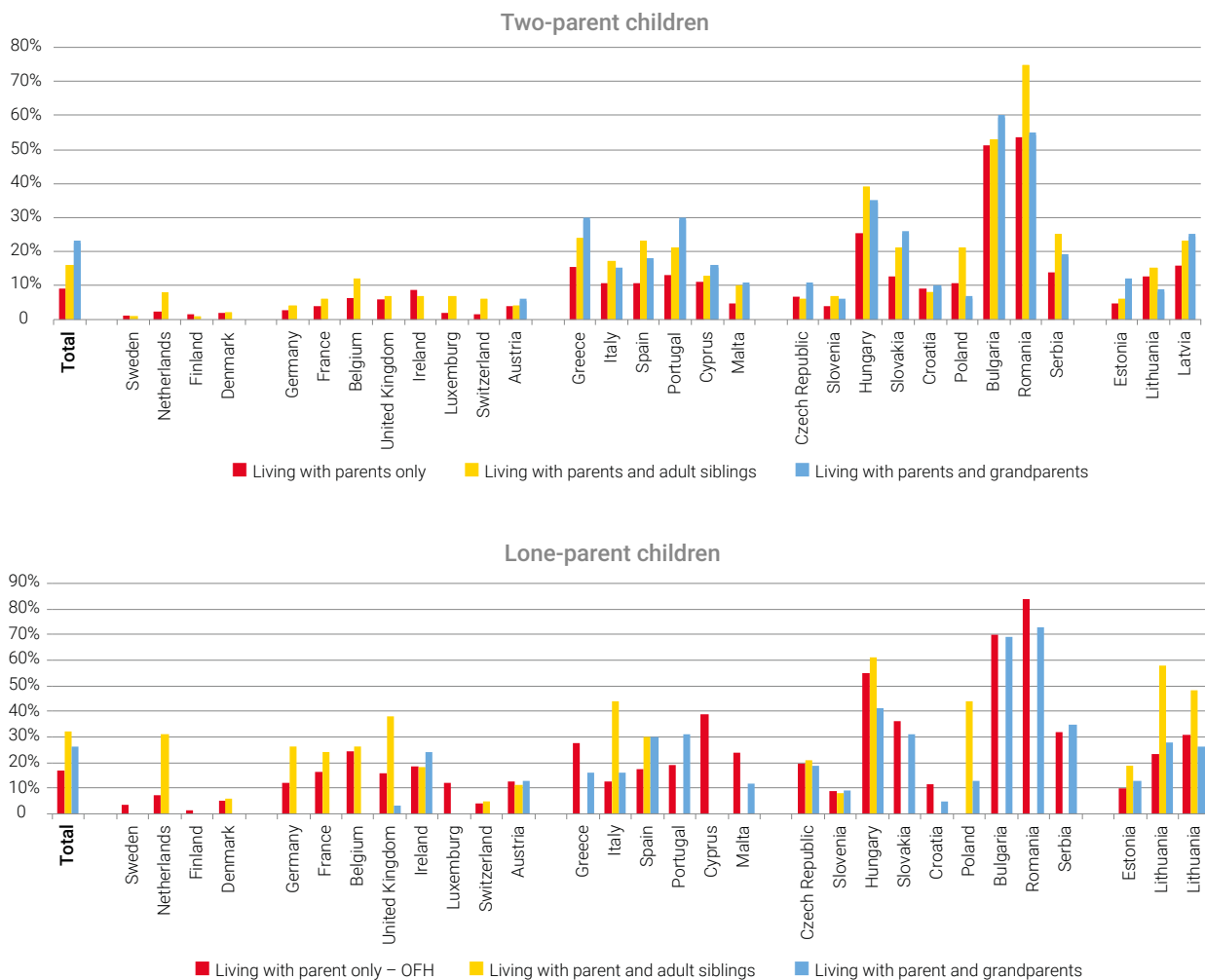
members to families with children), differ substantially across different types of living arrangements. On the one hand, co-residence with grandparents has an important role in protecting children against deprivation in all countries. The protective effects of living with grandparents holds for both two-parent and lone parent children – but the effects are substantially stronger for lone parent children and especially those with very low parental income. Concerning co-residence with adult siblings, we find that this type of living arrangement also has an important role in protecting lone-parent children against deprivation in the majority of countries, but an apparently detrimental effect on the deprivation of two-parent children.

Analysis of variation in the deprivation status of different household members shows that differences in deprivation status between children and adults in multi-family households are common, with parents and grandparents apparently more likely than adult siblings to make sacrifices in their own living standards to protect children in the household from deprivation. Moreover, analysis of the relationship between mother's and grandparents' income shares within the household shows that neither are significant predictors of children's deprivation, once other factors are controlled for, which suggests that fathers, mothers and grandparents in the household all contribute to protecting children from deprivation. However, children's deprivation risks are slightly higher in households where adult siblings bring in a higher share of total household income.

We conclude that co-residence in multi-family households plays an important part in protecting some children's living standards, but sometimes this is at the cost of the living standards of other household members.



Figure 1: Deprivation rates among children in multi-family households (MFH) by whether the MFH includes grandparents or adult siblings



Source: Authors' calculations based on 2014 EU-SILC cross-sectional data UDB ver. 2014-2 1-8-16.

Notes: Children are defined as deprived if they live in a household which lacks because it cannot afford at least 3 out of 11 child-specific items. Children's deprivation is reported by adult respondents in the survey. The 11 items used to construct the deprivation indicator are the following: some new clothes; two pairs of properly fitting shoes including a pair of all-weather shoes; fruits and vegetables once a day; one meal with meat, chicken or fish (or vegetarian equivalent) at least once a day; books at home; outdoor leisure equipment; indoor games; regular leisure activity; celebrations on special occasions; invite friends round to play; go on holiday away from home at least one week per year.

Further information

Tania Burchardt is Director of the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE), Deputy Director of STICERD, and an Associate Professor in the Department of Social Policy at the London School of Economics. **Eleni Karagiannaki** is Assistant Professorial Research Fellow at the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE).

The findings presented here form part of the research programme "Intra-household allocation of resources: implications for poverty, deprivation and inequality in the European Union" funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (grant reference ES/P000525/1). EU-SILC data for the year 2014 were supplied by Eurostat. The responsibility for all conclusions drawn from the data lies entirely with the authors. For more information on this project please visit the programme webpage: http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/_new/research/Intra-household/.



Multidimensional poverty, inequality and capabilities

The Multidimensional Inequality Framework

Abigail McKnight

2019 saw the launch of the Multidimensional Inequality Framework (MIF), marking an important milestone in advancing our understanding of inequality. Here, Abigail McKnight discusses the need for a systematic approach to measuring, analysing and addressing inequalities which recognises the multidimensional nature of people’s well-being. She explains how this is achieved in the MIF through the theoretical underpinning of the Capability Approach. The MIF is innovative as it applies this approach to the assessment of capability-inequality and not only capability-deprivation – operationalising the notion that problems arise when some individuals have ‘too much’ of some things, as this can negatively impact on the lives of others.

When it comes to assessing inequalities, most approaches take quite a narrow perspective and focus on single dimensions such as income, education, or subjective assessments of well-being, such as happiness. Although we can learn quite a lot about inequality from these studies, they miss an important understanding about the multidimensional nature of the quality of people’s lives and the true meaning of outcomes observed. This is because, on the one hand, measures based on economic outcomes fail to take into account differences in need, or differences in the ability of individuals to convert these resources into valuable things they can do or be (such as being able to live an independent life, having a voice and influence, being well-nourished, feeling physically secure, or having friends). On the other hand, subjective outcomes such as happiness are shaped by people’s expectations of life and these expectations are influenced by social and cultural norms and the circumstances of birth.

The Multidimensional Inequality Framework (MIF), launched in 2019, was developed through a collaboration between academics and practitioners, and provides a comprehensive and systematic approach to analysing and addressing inequalities in well-being. It is theoretically underpinned by

Amartya Sen’s capability approach to conceptualising and assessing well-being. This approach leads us to consider the important dimensions that shape individuals’ capability to lead a life they have reason to value and one that they would choose for themselves. We apply this approach not only to consider deprivation but also to assess advantage as well as disadvantage (what are sometimes referred to as “vertical inequalities”). We also use this approach to operationalise the notion that it is possible for some individuals to have “too much” of some things as well as too little, for example, power and influence. The MIF is structured around seven key life domains and within each domain there are a series of sub-domains, inequality indicators, and inequality measures (Table 1).

Since launching the MIF, we have been assisting others who are applying the framework in various parts of the world. In addition, we are working with a German international organisation (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH), applying the MIF to help develop an inequality policy toolkit. The toolkit is designed to assist low and middle income country teams in their ambition to introduce inequality reduction policies, in line with the

Table 1: Domains of the Multidimensional Inequality Framework

Domain	Short title	Sub-title
Domain 2	Life and health	Inequality in the capability to be alive and to live a healthy life
Domain 3	Physical and legal security	Inequality in the capability to live in physical safety and legal security
Domain 4	Education and learning	Inequality in the capability to be knowledgeable, to understand and reason, and to have the skills to participate in society
Domain 5	Financial security and dignified work	Inequality in the capability to achieve financial independence and security, enjoy dignified and fair work, and recognition of unpaid work and care
Domain 6	Comfortable, independent and secure living conditions	Inequality in the capability to enjoy comfortable, independent and secure living conditions
Domain 7	Participation, influence and voice	Inequality in the capability to participate in decision-making, have a voice and influence
Domain 8	Individual, family and social life	Inequality in the capability to enjoy individual, family and social life, to express yourself and to have self-respect



Sustainable Development Goals, and to identify effective “policy mixes”. As well as assisting others, in the future we are hoping to secure sufficient research funds to apply the MIF, in collaboration with country experts, across a range of countries.

The MIF and associated toolkit provide all the resources necessary to measure, analyse and take action on multidimensional inequality. All these resources are free to use and include information on drivers of inequalities and candidate policies. On our dedicated website, you can learn how to apply the MIF and take action on inequality, and how the MIF can be easily adapted to be applicable in different countries, regions, and parts of the world.

Further information

The Multidimensional Inequality Framework was developed as part of a collaboration between academics at the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) at the LSE and the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), and practitioners at Oxfam. The initial project was funded through a grant from the Atlantic Fellows for Social and Economic Equity (AFSEE) programme at the LSE’s International Inequalities Institute and further funding for the development of the website was provided by the LSE’s Knowledge Exchange and Impact Fund.

The MIF and toolkit are free to access:

<http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/inequality/>

The Multidimensional Inequality Framework publication can be downloaded: <http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/inequality/the-framework/media/mif-framework-0719.pdf>.

We would love to hear from you if you are planning to apply the MIF (email: CASE.MIF@lse.ac.uk), or follow us on Twitter: @MIF_LSE to keep up to date with our work.

Abigail McKnight is an Associate Director of CASE and an Associate Professorial Research Fellow.





Multidimensional poverty, inequality and capabilities

SPDO: Going backwards? The slowdown, stalling and reversal of progress in reducing child poverty in Great Britain and the groups of children that have been affected

Polly Vizard, Polina Obolenskaya, and Kritika Treebhooonun

In a jointly authored paper, Polly Vizard, Polina Obolenskaya, and Kritika Treebhooonun examine how the slowdown, stalling and reversal of progress in reducing child poverty during the second decade of the 21st century has affected different groups of children.

Declining rates of progress in reducing overall rates of child poverty in the second decade of the 21st century are evident using both the anchored and relative indicators of child income poverty, both before (“BHC”) and after (“AHC”) housing costs are taken into account. The anchored child poverty rate is a conservative indicator of progress that evaluates reductions in child poverty against a threshold that is fixed at a particular point in time. Figure 1 (Panel A) shows that even against this minimum floor indicator, rates of improvement in reducing overall rates of child poverty in Great Britain slowed down and stalled in the second decade of the 21st century.

The relative child income poverty measure evaluates progress in terms of the percentage of children living in households with income less than 60 per cent of the median in any given year. Figure 2 (Panel B) shows that against this indicator, rates of improvement not only slowed down and stalled - but also reversed - during the second decade of the 21st century. Before Housing Costs (BHC), relative child income poverty increased from 17.5 percent in 2010/11 to 19.4 percent in 2016/17 (a 1.9 percentage point increase). After Housing Costs (AHC), relative child income poverty increased from 27.4 percent in 2010/11 to 30.4 percent in 2016/17 (a 3.0 percentage point increase).

The study found that adverse trends in relative child income poverty (AHC) between 2010/11 and 2016/17 affected children from many different social backgrounds. This includes children from different age groups, children living in households with and without reported disabilities, children living in couple and single families, children living in households from a range of different occupational classes, children living in households where all, some and none of the working age adults are in work, and children living in different areas of Great Britain.

In particular, adverse trends in relative child poverty (AHC) between 2010/11 and 2016/17 affected the following at risk or disadvantaged groups: disabled children or children living in households with another child who is disabled; children living in single parent families; children living in families with three or more children; children living in households where no working age adult is in employment; and children from Black-African ethnic backgrounds. Most of these groups already had high

rates of relative child poverty (AHC) in 2010/11, with a further deterioration of their position by 2016/17. Children who are disabled or who are living in a household with another child who is disabled had similar rates to those of other children in 2010/11. However, an adverse gap with other children had opened up by 2016/17.

Overall, the empirical findings from the study raise fundamental questions about retrogression in social outcomes, the impact of changes in social policies and social protection, and the failure to protect some of the most disadvantaged groups of children during the period of austerity and welfare reform. The findings also add to the evidence in other papers from the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes research programme, which show that there has been a slowdown, stalling and reversal of social progress in the second decade of the 21st century again in a number of indicators affecting outcomes across several critical domains, including living standards, health and physical safety and security.

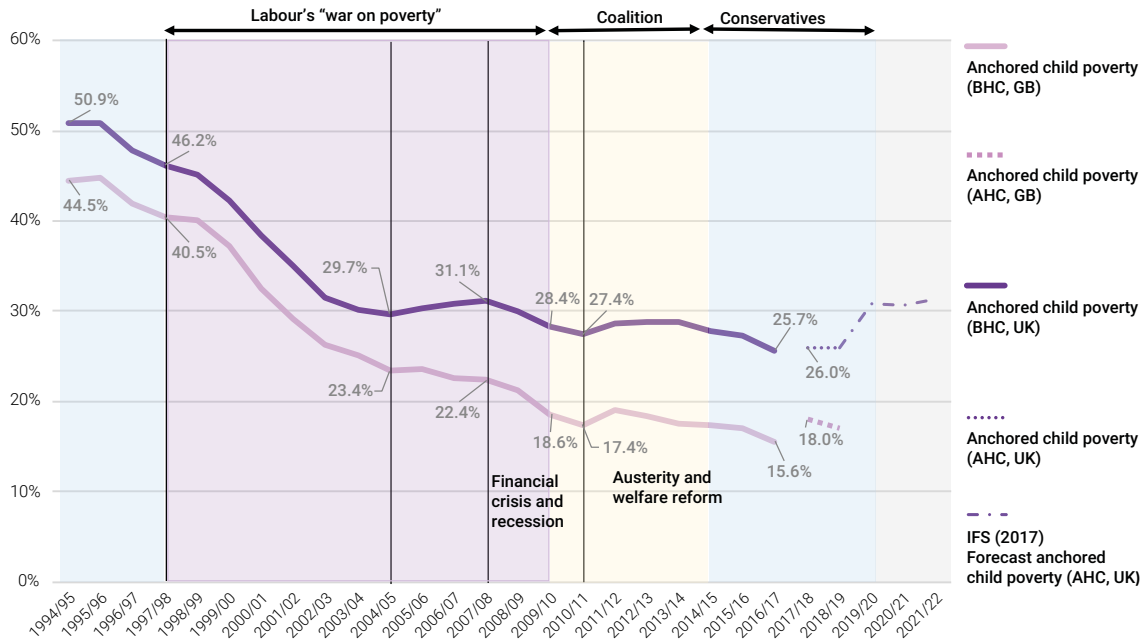
Endnotes

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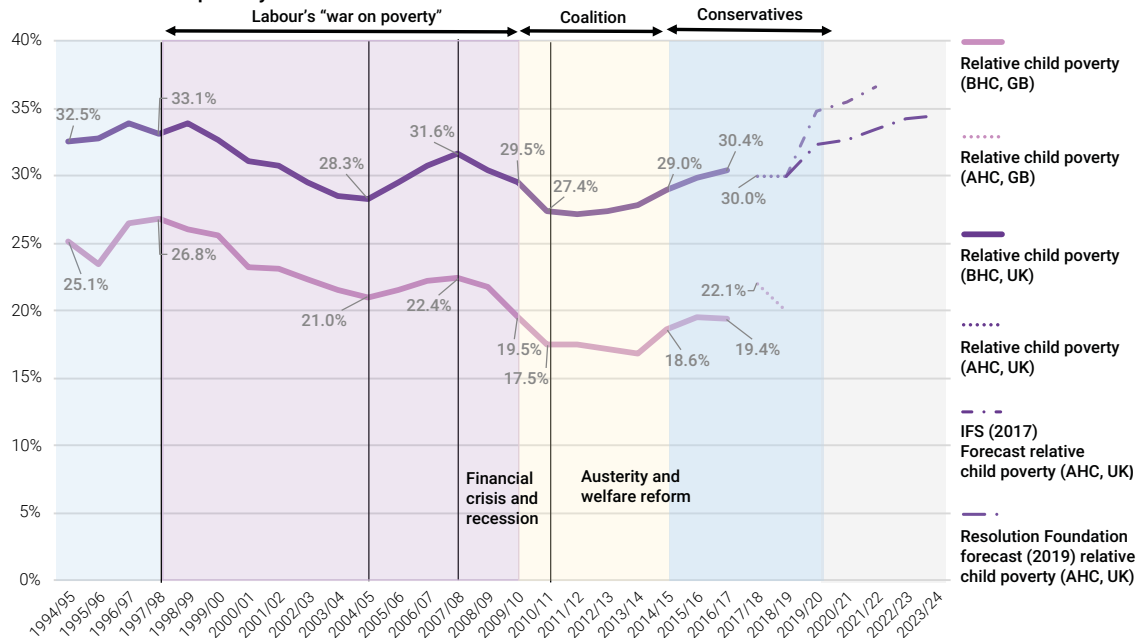


Figure 1: The slowdown, stalling and reversal of progress in reducing child poverty during the second decade of the 21st century

Panel A: Anchored child poverty



Panel B: Relative child poverty



Source: Author's analysis using FRS/HBAI data (1994/95-2016/17). The 2017/18 data points are taken from DWP (2019a). IFS forecasts are published in IFS (2017) and Resolution Foundation forecasts are from Corlett (2019). The graphs show the percentage of children living in households in Great Britain where equivalised income is less than the anchored and relative poverty threshold.

Further Information

Polly Vizard is an Associate Director at CASE. Polina Obolenskaya is one of the main researchers on the SPDO research programme. Kritika Trebhooonun was CASE intern and research assistant. The paper is part of the SPDO research programme which is funded by Nuffield Foundation. For further information, see https://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/_new/research/spdo/default.asp.



Multidimensional poverty, inequality and capabilities

Poverty among children in recently arrived migrant families in the UK

Tania Burchardt, Polina Obolenskaya, Isabel Shutes and Polly Vizard

Children in migrant families who have arrived in the UK in the last 10 years, especially those from non-EEA countries, are at significantly higher risk of poverty than children in long-term resident or UK-born families. Gaps are evident in “before housing costs”, material deprivation, and severe low income with material deprivation measures of poverty. But they are even larger using an ‘after housing costs’ measure, which points to the important role played by high housing costs. In this piece, Tania Burchardt and colleagues discuss how holes in the social safety net are preventing children in recent migrant families from accessing their right to an adequate standard of living – a standard recognised by the UK through its ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Child poverty has been a long-standing policy and research focus in the UK, but there is comparatively little evidence on poverty among children in families who have recently arrived in the country. As a result of restrictions on official migration, documented migrants tend to have higher educational qualifications, on average, than their UK-born counterparts, and are more likely to be in employment. This might lead one to expect that their children would be relatively well protected against poverty. In addition, at present, citizens of the European Economic Area (EEA) in the UK have some access to social security and other aspects of welfare provision. In contrast, non-EEA nationals have limited or no access to social security, making these families more vulnerable to poverty if their circumstances change. Our research explores how these various influences play out in practice, by examining the rates and intensities of poverty among children in recently arrived EEA and non-EEA migrant families.

Their poverty rates are shown in Figure 1. Children in non-EEA recent migrant families are at significantly higher risk of poverty than children in UK-born or long-term resident families, according to all four of the measures of poverty we use. Children in EEA recent migrant families are also subject to elevated BHC and AHC poverty risks compared to children in UK-born/long-term resident families (although only the AHC differences are statistically significant). But children in EEA recent migrant families do not appear to experience higher rates of material deprivation.

The differences between the BHC and AHC measures are instructive. Children in non-EEA recent migrant families have BHC poverty rates 10.1 percentage points higher than children in UK-born/long-term resident families, but the difference stretches to 21.4 percentage points on the AHC measure. Similarly, the percentage point difference for children in EEA recent migrant families is 6.1 BHC and 18.0 AHC.

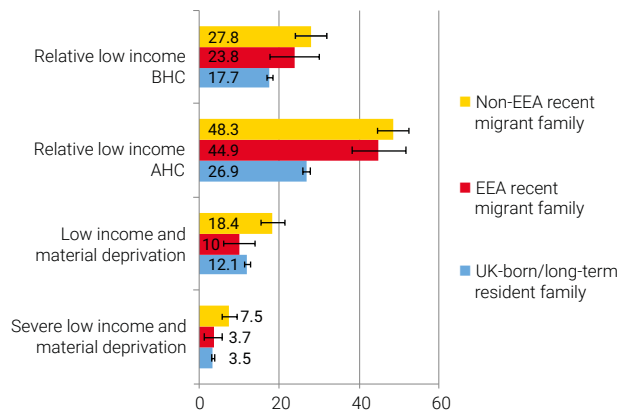
Data and methods

Because of the sensitivity of information on country of birth and other variables needed for the analysis, we used ‘Safe Room’ access to the Family Resources Survey and Households Below Average Income datasets. To generate a sufficient sample size, we pooled data for the years 2013/14, 2014/15, and 2015/16, and applied sample weights as appropriate. We recognise that undocumented migrant families are likely to be under-represented in the survey; hardship among children from undocumented families has been investigated in other research¹.

Results

Using our definitions (see box at the end of the article), we estimate that those from non-European Economic Area (EEA) countries, 2.1 per cent (95 per cent confidence interval: 1.9 per cent to 2.4 per cent) of children in the UK are in recently arrived EEA migrant families, and 6.1 per cent (5.7 per cent to 6.6 per cent) are in recently arrived non-EEA migrant families. This implies that there are around 1.1 million children in recently arrived migrant families in the UK.

Figure 1: Poverty rates



Source: authors' analysis of Family Resources Survey and Households Below Average Income datasets 2013/14 to 2015/16.

Notes: Unweighted sample sizes: non-EEA = 1738; EEA = 558; UK-born/long-term resident family = 29,492.



The levels of poverty among children in recent migrant families shown in Figure 1 are very high – approaching *half* (48.3 per cent) of children in the non-EEA group are in AHC poverty, and 7.5 per cent experience severe low income and material deprivation, a rate that is two and a half times higher than for children in UK-born/long-term resident families.

This leads us to consider the depth of poverty. Median poverty gaps for BHC poverty do not differ significantly between the groups, but for AHC poverty, the median poverty gap for children in non-EEA recent migrant families is £75 per week and for the EEA group, £84 per week, equivalent to 31 per cent and 35 per cent of the poverty line respectively. This compares to £56 per week (23 per cent) for children in UK-born/long-term resident families.

The difference between the BHC and AHC poverty rates, and between BHC and AHC poverty intensities, suggest that housing costs play an important role in generating and deepening the poverty experienced by children in recent migrant families, compared to children from the UK-born/long-term resident families. Our further analysis suggests this reflects a combination of differences in housing tenure (with higher rates of private renting) and lack of access to support with housing costs.

Implications

Poverty, and severe poverty, among around half a million children in recently arrived migrant families calls into question whether the UK is meeting its responsibilities under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child which guarantees to every child, regardless of citizenship or immigration status, the right to an adequate standard of living. Moreover we know that growing up in poverty has both short term and long term consequences for children's outcomes in cognitive and behavioural development, school achievement and health², so the lack of effective social protection for these groups of children carries a heavy cost. With the UK's recent exit from the EU, and the rules governing the social rights of migrants up for reconsideration, we need to ensure that the needs of children remain clearly in focus.

Endnotes

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Definitions

Child: aged 0-15, or dependant 16-18

UK-born/long-term resident family:

- One parent: Parent is UK born or has been resident in the UK for more than 10 years
- Two parents: At least one parent is UK born or has been resident in the UK for more than 10 years

EEA recent migrant family:

- One parent: Parent is EEA-born and arrived in the UK within the last 10 years
- Two parents: Neither parent is UK born or resident in the UK for more than 10 years. At least one parent is EEA-born and arrived in the UK within the last 10 years.

Non-EEA recent migrant family:

- One parent: Parent is non-EEA-born and arrived within the last 10 years
- Two parents: Both parents are non-EEA born and arrived in the UK within the last 10 years

Poverty:

- BHC poverty: children living in households with net equivalised household income below 60 per cent of the median income that year, measured before housing costs
- AHC poverty: as above but after housing costs
- Material deprivation: children living in households with material deprivation score $\geq 25 / 100$ AND household net equivalised income of below 70% of the contemporary median income BHC
- Severe low income and material deprivation: as for material deprivation but net equivalised income of below 50 per cent

Further information

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Childhood, early years and education

Investigating the impact of the Health in Pregnancy Grant on birthweight in England and Wales, 2009-2011

Mary Reader

In this article, Mary Reader presents findings from her research on the impact of the Health in Pregnancy Grant – a policy introduced by the Labour government in 2009 to improve birth outcomes – on birthweight. Using secure birth registrations microdata and a quasi-experimental regression discontinuity (RD) design, she finds evidence that the grant led to increases in average birthweight in England and Wales.

The Health in Pregnancy Grant (HPG) was a tax-free lump-sum transfer of £190 payable to all pregnant women in the United Kingdom from the 29th week of pregnancy. Introduced by the Labour government in April 2009, the HPG was designed to help mothers afford high-quality nutrition and reduce stress in the prenatal phase. These factors were expected to promote healthy birth outcomes – notably birthweight. In 2008, health minister Ben Bradshaw argued that the HPG would “address the serious problem of underweight babies in this country”¹. However, charities and Opposition politicians raised doubts about the ability of the HPG to produce meaningful improvements in birthweight, since it was paid relatively late in pregnancy. In January 2011, the HPG was abolished by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition – on grounds, in part, that it was a “gimmick” with little evidence of impact on birthweight.

Birthweight is widely acknowledged as an important determinant of a range of outcomes across the life course, including child and adult health, cognitive development, and educational and labour market inequality². There is also robust and wide-ranging evidence that increases in income during pregnancy contribute towards improved health at birth³.

The only existing study of the Health in Pregnancy Grant – Leyland et al. (2017) – concluded that the HPG had no impact on birthweight, prematurity or maternal health in Scotland. However, the study’s use of an interrupted time series analysis makes it impossible to control for contemporary events that coincided with the treatment period. In particular, the impact of austerity on income and birth outcomes during the period may have introduced downwards bias into their estimates of the impact of the grant.

By contrast, I undertake a regression discontinuity (RD) methodology, which makes use of an arbitrary eligibility rule that applied to the introduction of the HPG: all mothers with a due date on or after 6 April 2009 were eligible for the HPG (until its abolition effective from 16 April 2011). If you had a due date of 5 April 2009, you were not eligible for the grant; if your due date was just one day later, you were. It is possible to exploit this quasi-experimental situation for the purposes of estimating the causal impact of the grant. On the assumption that it is random whether an individual is located just below or just above the arbitrary cut-off, those just below (the control group)

are a valid counterfactual for those just above (the treatment group). Using regression discontinuity (RD) potential outcomes are ‘as if’ randomised at the treatment cut-off (6 April 2009), and contemporaneous policies, as well as the overall trend of rising birthweights, are controlled for. Hence the difference between average birthweight after the cut-off and before the cut-off plausibly represents the causal impact of the grant.

To conduct this analysis, I use secure-access birth registrations microdata, which includes administrative data on dates of birth, birthweight, sex of the baby, maternal age, and stillbirth status. Since gestational age is not included in the data, I use date of birth as a proxy for due dates – an assumption which is likely to generate random rather than systematic measurement error.

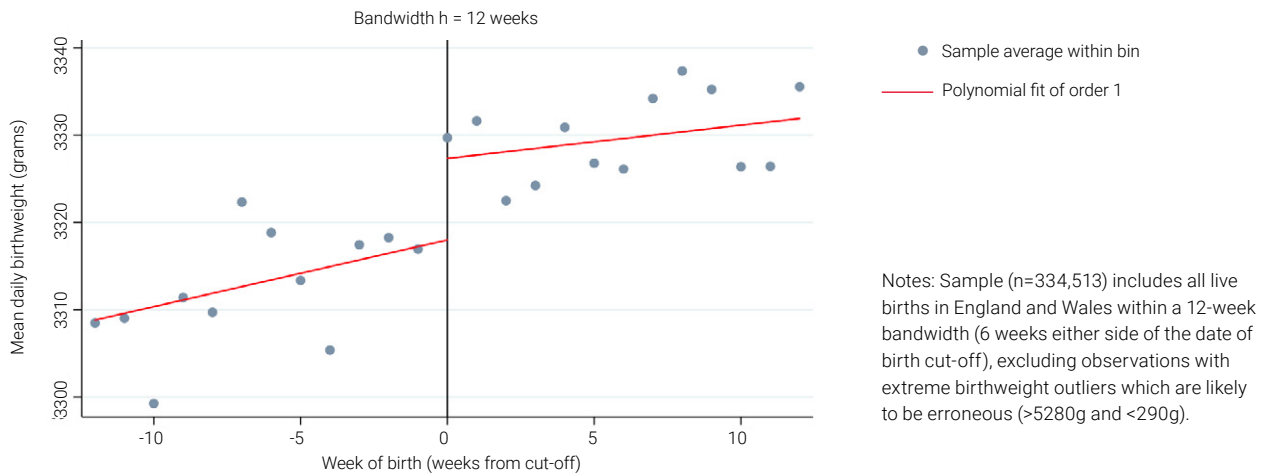
The results of my RD analysis suggest that the HPG led to an increase in mean birthweight of approximately 15–17g. My results are robust across a range of specifications, including parametric and non-parametric approaches. The graph below demonstrates the positive increase at the cut-off using a non-parametric approach.

An increase in the region of 15–17g may appear relatively small, but for low (<2500g) or extremely low (<1500g) birthweight babies, it constitutes a sizeable proportion of their total weight and a significant contribution towards improved health and weight at birth. In future work, Kitty Stewart and I plan to investigate whether there were heterogeneities in the treatment effect – across the birthweight distribution, by ethnicity, socio-economic status, and maternal age. Using Hospital Episode Statistics, which include gestational age, we also plan to investigate the impact of the grant on prematurity.

To verify the validity of my RD approach, I undertake three robustness checks to check that it is ‘as if’ random whether an individual is allocated above or below the cut-off (i.e. whether they had a date of birth before or after 6 April 2009). First, I conduct placebo year tests to check that 6 April does not imply a treatment effect in years other than 2009, when the grant was introduced. Second, I inspect baseline covariates (index of income deprivation, maternal age, proportion of births that are male, and the proportion of births that have multiple babies) to test whether they saw a jump at the treatment cut-off and thus explain the



Figure 1: Non-parametric RD plot of the impact of the Health in Pregnancy Grant on birthweight



treatment effect. Third, I investigate the possibility of women manipulating their due dates in order to receive the grant, which would invalidate the assumption that individuals just below the cut-off are a valid counterfactual for those just above. In all cases, I find compelling evidence to support the validity of the RD and thereby the existence of a positive effect from the grant.

Whilst it is impossible from this research to make substantive conclusions about the causal mechanisms driving the positive effect of the HPG, there are three main theoretical possibilities. First, the grant may have led to better nutrition during pregnancy. This may have been through the direct effect of subsidising the costs of healthy eating, or through the indirect behavioural effect of receiving a lump sum that is signposted for the purpose of improving healthy lifestyles. Second, the grant may have reduced stress during pregnancy, which is associated with lower birthweight and prematurity: it may have directly ameliorated financial stress, or women may have spent it on stress-reducing activities. For example, public threads on Mumsnet about the HPG suggest that some women spent the lump sum on a 10-week course of aqua natal swimming classes and antenatal yoga⁴. Third, the grant may have reduced unhealthy behaviours during pregnancy such as smoking and alcohol consumption. While the evidence is mixed for adults in general, for pregnant women specifically there is strong evidence that increases in income reduce the probability of engaging in unhealthy behaviours⁵.

The policy implications of my research are striking. It suggests that lump-sum increases in income during pregnancy are an effective means of improving birth outcomes and, therefore, should be considered as a valid policy tool within health policy. If the HPG was spent on plasma televisions, alcohol and cigarettes – as critics of the grant alleged it would be – the treatment effect would be either zero or negative. The presence of a statistically significant, economically meaningful increase in mean birthweight suggests, instead, that the HPG was spent

on healthy nutrition, in ways that reduced antenatal stress or unhealthy behaviours, or some combination thereof.

With the support of Titmuss Meinhardt Research Funding from the Social Policy Department, Mary is currently working with Dr Kitty Stewart to extend this research, examining the grant's impact on prematurity using Hospital Episode Statistics.

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Further information

Mary Reader is a Research Assistant at CASE and a Senior Researcher at Education Policy Institute. Her CASEpaper based on this research will be published in 2020.



Childhood, early years and education

Refugee children's attending Early Education Centres helps mothers to better integrate in Germany

Ludovica Gambaro, Guido Neidhöfer, C. Katharina Spieß

In this article, Ludovica Gambaro and colleagues examine the role of early childhood education and care (ECEC) centres in Germany in the integration of refugee parents with young children. They use a large representative survey of refugees who applied for asylum in Germany between 2013 and 2016 and show that mothers with a child attending an ECEC centre integrate more successfully than mothers of preschool children not attending. For mothers the effect is much stronger than for fathers.

In 2016 alone Germany received more than half a million asylum applications, and approximately 14 per cent referred to children under the age of seven. Understandably, the successful integration of refugees in German society is high on the policy agenda. Providing Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) is considered an effective way to integrate children before they enter school at age six or seven. In a recent paper, which we summarise here, we showed that ECEC services have also the potential to improve the integration of refugee parents.

Our research uses innovative data from IAB-BAMF-SOEP Survey of Refugees in Germany¹, conducted by the Institute for Employment Research (IAB) of the German Federal Employment Agency, the Research Centre on Migration, Integration, and Asylum of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF-FZ) and the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) at DIW Berlin. As for February 2020, data from the first three waves are available – referring to 2016, 2017 and 2018 respectively.

We were interested in understanding ECEC's contribution to the prospects of integration among refugees who had just recently arrived in Germany. Integration is a vague term, but is generally recognised as a multidimensional status or process². We captured it by constructing an index that combines information from 12 survey items along four domains: current employment and future prospects of employment; participation in language and orientation courses; German language proficiency (both self-assessed and externally evaluated); contact with native Germans and feelings of social inclusion. The higher the index, the stronger is the refugees' social integration.

The German context

In Germany, all children aged one and over, including refugees, are entitled to an ECEC place, although scarcity of places effectively limits this right. Two thirds of refugee children aged three, four and five received some ECEC provision in 2016 or 2017, whereas less than one fourth of two- year olds did (Figure 1). Services are extensively publicly subsidised, and are operated either directly by local authorities or by non-profit organisations, but local areas differ markedly in the number of places available, admission criteria, exact fees structure, and quality

regulation. We also observe stark variations across local areas in refugee children's participation in ECEC, although such differences do not appear to be systematically related to the overall volume of services or any structural characteristics³.

Refugee families with young children cannot choose to live in areas where access to ECEC may be easier, as Germany operates a refugee dispersal policy: more refugees are allocated to more populous states, with some further adjustment towards richer ones. Within each state, dispersal is achieved through a similar mechanism and most states require refugees to reside in the local administrative area they have been assigned to.

Pinning down the role of ECEC for refugee parents

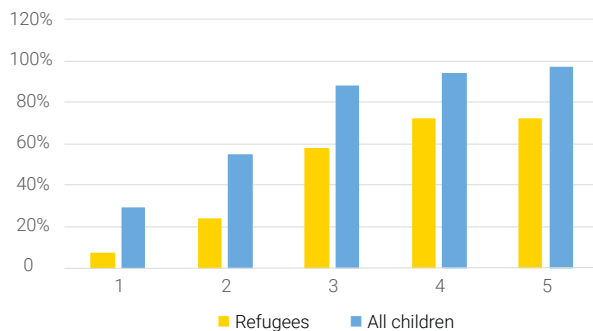
Even in this context, isolating the contribution of ECEC to refugees' integration is not straightforward. Families with stronger willingness to assimilate in German society might be more keen to enrol their children in ECEC. Likewise, areas with characteristics that favour the integration of refugees might also have greater ECEC availability, confounding the association of ECEC attendance with parents' social integration.

To overcome this problem, we exploit the local variations in ECEC provision, which we capture with a local ECEC score combining detailed information on the volume and the characteristics of ECEC services in the area. We show how variations of this score are correlated with refugee children's ECEC attendance. By contrast, the score cannot reflect families' characteristics, such as their willingness to integrate, because it is based on structural features of ECEC provision in 2016, at a time when refugee families could have hardly influenced ECEC supply. Yet areas where refugees can access ECEC more easily could also be those where integration is likely to be more successful due to an overall more welcoming culture and more effective services. To rule this out, we take into account the average level of integration of refugees who do not have children or have children of school age.

Our results indicate a strong effect of ECEC attendance on the social integration of mothers, but not of fathers. One likely



Figure 1: Attendance rates in ECEC in Germany, by age, 2017



Source: for refugees BAMF-SOEP-IAB Data, own calculations; for all children: Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2018, Table C3-1A

explanation is that mothers are more likely than fathers to be in charge of dealing with care and education services, bringing and picking up children. Another possible explanation is that ECEC attendance relieves mothers, rather than fathers, from caring activities, enabling them to use the hours their children are in ECEC to learn German and generally become actively engaged in the integration process.

When examining the individual components of the integration index, we find effects on self-rated language proficiency and employment prospects, but not on other dimensions, such as participation in language classes or actual employment. The finding on language is welcome, given that among the recently arrived refugees in Germany, less than one in five mothers is found to have good German proficiency, a much lower proportion than among fathers or childless adults⁴. The result also suggests that ECEC may offer a good opportunity to speak German or listen to it. While we do not find evidence that these interactions result in social ties with native Germans, at least at this early stage, nevertheless they appear to provide sufficient language exposure to improve mothers' confidence in their German. It could also be that the availability of ECEC services is perceived by parents as a welcoming sign, thus inducing them not just to increase their effort to integrate, but also encouraging a positive attitude toward their integration prospects.

It is important to appreciate that our outcome is a short-term measure while integration is a decades-long, complex process influenced by many factors. But while ECEC centres cannot of themselves enable refugees to fully integrate in German society, our findings suggest that they can clearly help, possibly more than is conventionally thought.

Endnotes

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Further information

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Ludovica Gambaro, Guido Neidhöfer, C. Katharina Spieß (2019) "The Effect of Early Childhood Education and Care Services on the Social Integration of Refugee Families" Berlin: DIW Discussion Papers, N 1828. https://www.diw.de/de/diw_01.c.694707.de/publikationen/diskussionspapiere/2019_1828/the_effect_of_early_childhood_education_and_care_services_on_the_social_integration_of_refugee_families.html

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Childhood, early years and education

PhD Spotlight: Secondary schools: does more choice mean more empowerment?

Aveek Bhattacharya

Governments in England have enacted a number of policies over the past 40 years in order to give families greater choice of secondary schools within the state sector. By contrast, in Scotland, children are generally expected to attend their catchment school. In this comparative study, Aveek Bhattacharya combines evidence from a cross-national online survey and in-depth interviews across five cities. He finds that English families are no more satisfied with the level of choice they have than their Scottish counterparts. Indeed, English families are more likely to express frustration and a sense of impotence, calling the effectiveness of school choice policies into question.

A major objective of English education policy since the 1980s has been to increase families' ability to choose between different state schools. Not only is parental school choice a statutory right, but the government has created a range of different types of schools, encouraged parents to compare them through league tables, and expanded subsidised transport to nearby schools.

In part, these measures were introduced with the intention of improving educational outcomes. Empowering consumers is supposed to raise standards by imposing market discipline and increasing competition between schools. Choice is supposed to reduce inequality by replacing 'selection by postcode', which favours the rich. However, proponents also believe that giving people a choice is a good thing in itself, independent of its consequences. Herbert Gintis claims that "consumers value the ability to choose"¹. Julian Le Grand says that choice is necessary to respect users' autonomy². Anthony Kelly believes that "fundamentally, school choice is about freedom"³.

Choice reforms do not seem to have had the intended positive educational effects. Studies in both England and the rest of the world indicate that increasing choice has at best a modest impact on attainment, and seems to have actually increased segregation^{4,5}. Yet there has been little research exploring whether school choice policies have achieved their other aim: have they succeeded in empowering families and giving them a greater sense of control over their lives?

In my PhD research, I try to answer this question by comparing the experience of families in England to those in Scotland. In contrast to the approach taken in England, the Scottish government has tended to discourage school choice – state schools all provide a similar form of education and are run by the local authority, and league tables are not publicised. Whereas during the admissions process all English families are expected to rank between three and six schools, the default assumption is that Scottish children will attend the catchment school that is allocated to them, typically their nearest. While

only half of English children attend their nearest school, 86 per cent of Scottish children do so. The other 14 per cent make what is called a "placing request" – an application to a non-catchment school.

Over the past three years, I have carried out in-depth interviews with 59 families going through the process of choosing a secondary school, across five cities in Scotland and England. These interviews provided rich and detailed portraits of particular families, but it was unclear how typical their experiences were. Consequently, I supplemented the interviews with a cross-national online survey of 991 parents of children aged 10-13 (805 in England, 186 in Scotland), which provided a broader but shallower view.

As we would expect, the survey found that parents in England felt they had more choice over their child's secondary school than parents in Scotland. Around a third of parents in England said they had a great deal of choice, and four-fifths said they had at least a moderate amount. By comparison, a fifth of parents in Scotland said they had a great deal of choice, and two-thirds said they had at least a moderate amount.

Yet surprisingly, even though English parents tend to say they have more choice than their Scottish counterparts, parents in both countries are equally satisfied with the level of choice that they have. The proportion of parents that believe they have enough choice of schools is the same in England and Scotland: three-quarters.

Indeed, my interviews suggested that, if anything, there was greater frustration and a sense of impotence among English parents that did not exist to the same extent in Scotland. A common trope among English parents is that school choice is an "illusion", that the choice on offer is somehow not "real":

"I'm aware it's not a dictatorship, but is it a real choice, or is it to give you the impression that you have a say?"

By contrast, Scottish participants tended to be less bitter, not least because the issue of choice was less salient to them.



Even among those that said they had little choice, this was a hypothetical issue that they only considered because I asked them about it, rather than something at the front of their minds.

It is worth reflecting on why families do not seem any more empowered or satisfied in England, despite apparently having more choice. One possibility is that the Scottish system provides adequate choice, with the option of a placing request for those that do not like their allocated school. This would imply that the level of choice offered in England goes above and beyond what most families want.

It may also result from the perceived “efficacy” of choice. In England, 17 per cent of students fail to get a place at their first choice secondary. By contrast, in Scotland, only three per cent make an unsuccessful placing request (14 per cent make a placing request, and 80 per cent of these are granted). Understandably, the less likely families are to get into the school of their preference, the less meaningful they feel their choice is. Being asked to make a choice and then receiving something altogether different is a recipe for frustration and disempowerment.

The English system also involves greater uncertainty. The majority of families in Scotland do not make an application and so know exactly which school they are attending. By contrast, since every family in England has to make an application, every family *potentially* faces rejection. It was telling that many participants in England compared school choice to a “gamble” or “lottery”, as opposed to something they control.

These findings indicate that choice reforms in the English education system have had limited success in increasing families’ perceived empowerment and sense of autonomy. Combined with the apparent failure to improve other outcomes, these findings challenge the idea that governments should be seeking to increase school choice as a policy objective. Less

radically, English policymakers may wish to consider increasing capacity at the most popular schools to reduce the proportion of rejected applications. They could also ensure every child has a guaranteed place at a school prior to applying, so as to reduce the uncertainty around school choice.

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Further Information

Aveek Bhattacharya is a PhD student in the Department of Social Policy and the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion. This article draws on his ongoing PhD research, which is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council.



Social mobility and intergenerational transfers

Intergenerational joblessness across Europe: the role of labour markets, education and welfare generosity

Paul Gregg and Lindsey Macmillan

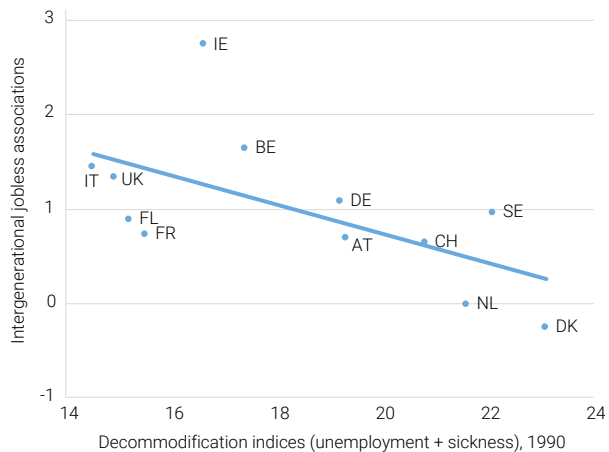
In this piece, Lindsey Macmillan and Paul Gregg consider the role of education, welfare generosity and labour market factors in accounting for intergenerational joblessness across Europe. Country-level differences suggest that lower expenditure on education and less generous welfare systems are associated with higher rates of intergenerational joblessness across countries. Simple explanations, such as high rates of unemployment and low levels of education alone do not account for individual-level variation in intergenerational joblessness. Instead, a combination of experiencing a jobless household in childhood, low education and weak labour markets creates multiplicative penalties. This article shows that combined disadvantages create persistence of deprivation across generations, suggesting that a wide-ranging policy approach is required to reduce such associations.

Recent studies of intergenerational income mobility have used cross-area and cross-national variation in intergenerational persistence to explore possible drivers of persistence in incomes across generations^{1,2}. We contribute to this literature, and the parallel literature on the effects of social exclusion, exploring the drivers of individual and cross-country variation in the association between growing up in a jobless family (a measure of deprivation which is fairly consistent across countries) and adult joblessness for the first time. At the country-level, we consider the association between country-level intergenerational jobless rates, expenditure on education, and welfare generosity. At the individual-level, we consider the role of educational achievement, and local labour market conditions, before considering the multiplicative association between experiencing a jobless household in childhood and these potential drivers of joblessness in adulthood.

We use data from the European Survey of Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) from 2011. The main outcome measures whether the survey respondent spent the entire 12-month reference period of the survey out of work. The respondent describes their main activity in each month of the reference period, with priority given to economic activity if a similar time is spent in two activities in the same month. Joblessness is typically defined based on non-earning roles to capture a broad concept of joblessness. Those reporting any employment or self-employment within the 12-month period as their main activity status are assigned as employed. We are therefore measuring a persistent spell of joblessness.

The cross-sectional survey in 2011 also included an intergenerational unit, measuring the labour market participation of parents of survey respondents when the respondents were 14 years old³. Experiencing a jobless household in childhood, our main dependent variable, is created using the main activity of the parents present in the household at this age. The focus on the "main activity" of parents at age 14, and the household focus, mean that we are likely to capture a particularly

Figure 1: Country-level jobless associations by welfare generosity (decommodification indices, unemployment + sickness)



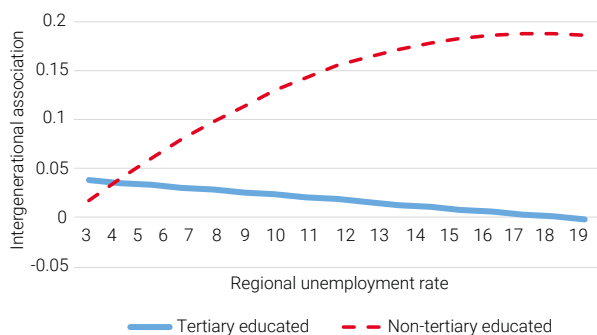
Notes: Pearson correlation: -0.605; Spearman correlation: -0.636; regression coefficient: -0.015 (0.01); The y axis measures the association between jobless spells across generations for each country where 0.1 indicates that children from jobless households are ten percentage points more likely to be jobless themselves in adulthood compared to children from a working household. The x axis uses decommodification indices to measure welfare generosity (excluding retirement) from Esping-Andersen 1990.

persistent form of joblessness in childhood. We are therefore measuring sustained disadvantage in both generations.

Our country-level analysis considers the role of education expenditure as a proportion of GDP using figures from 2001 (on average when our respondents would be leaving education so that this reflects educational expenditure around the time that they were in the education system). To consider the role of welfare generosity, we use two measures from different sources. The first is a measure of social assistance replacement rates. The second uses the sum of unemployment and sickness



Figure 2: Intergenerational joblessness by regional unemployment rates and highest educational achievement



Notes: The y axis measures the association between jobless spells across generations where 0.1 indicates that children from jobless households are 10 percentage points more likely to be jobless themselves in adulthood compared to children from a working household. The x axis plots the NUTS2 regional unemployment rate from 2011.

(excluding retirement) decommodification indices. The aim of both measures is to capture the generosity of welfare in the first generation, when the survey respondent experienced a jobless household (on average around 1990).

Our individual-level analysis uses an education measure from EU-SILC: the highest achieved education level of the respondent. This is measured in the form of International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) levels, a categorical measure from 0 to six where 0 is pre-primary education and six is higher tertiary education. For our local labour market analysis, we match in information on local labour market conditions based on regional unemployment rates from Eurostat 2011.

While rates of joblessness vary by gender across the two countries, the main drivers of intergenerational jobless associations explored here are strikingly similar across genders. For brevity, we therefore combine genders in this analysis.

The cross-country analysis links lower intergenerational jobless rates across countries to higher levels of educational spending and greater generosity of welfare spending (see Figure 1). This suggests that more generous welfare states appear to reduce the scarring from growing up in a deprived family, though this evidence is not causal.

We show that a combination of experiencing a jobless household in childhood, achieving low education, and experiencing bad local labour markets, all contribute to intergenerational persistence at the individual level. Figure 2 illustrates that there is an increasing penalty to coming from a jobless household as unemployment increases for non-tertiary educated respondents. This combination is much more powerful than the components separately, consistent with previous findings that disadvantaged families are disproportionately impacted in bad labour markets^{4,5,6}. The key role of area labour market conditions (combined with education) suggests that this is not primarily about cultures of welfare

dependency or other adverse “selection of families” explanations. By contrast, those from jobless households who achieve tertiary education have similar probabilities of being jobless in adulthood to those from employed households, regardless of the local area unemployment rate.

Taken together, this new evidence supports a narrative of multiple disadvantages compounding to create persistent adverse outcomes. The paper presents a picture of the cumulative effects of childhood deprivation, poor educational attainment and residing in a relatively depressed labour market, which together represent more than the sum of their parts separately. This suggests that any policy response should operate across multiple domains. This new contribution adds to previous findings, that early detachment from the labour market driven by weak local labour markets disproportionately hurts children from deprived families⁷.

Endnotes

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Paul Gregg is a Professor of Economic and Social Policy at the University of Bath. **Lindsey Macmillan** is a Professor of Economics and Director of the Centre for Education Policy and Equalising Opportunities (CEPEO) at UCL Institute of Education. She is also a Senior Research Fellow at CASE.



Social mobility and intergenerational transfers

PhD Spotlight: Unmet need and unpaid care in England

Nic Brimblecombe

Nic Brimblecombe is a first year PhD student in CASE and a researcher in the Care Policy and Evaluation Centre at LSE. Her PhD research explores the impacts on unpaid carers of unmet need for social care services for disabled or older people in England. She is investigating how these effects are mediated or exacerbated by other factors, including wider resources and support, and the risk factors for unmet need. Her PhD study draws and builds on her previous research on unpaid carers, both working age and young adult, and on support for unpaid carers and the people they care for. In this piece, Nic outlines the need for further research in this area, and discusses the ways in which her new work will be useful to carers, disabled and older people, support and advocacy organisations, and policy-makers.

Ageing of the population and people living more years with disability has meant that care needs have been increasing and are projected to increase further over the next few decades. As a result, provision of care to meet those needs has become an increasingly important societal issue and policy concern in England as well as internationally. In England, increasing need for care has taken place within a context of historical underfunding of social care exacerbated by substantial cuts to adult social care budgets since 2009/10, with an accompanying reduction in the numbers of adults receiving publicly-funded care services. A substantial and increasing proportion of disabled and older people in England are not having their care needs adequately met, with a marked pattern of inequality of access. Lack of services is a major contributor and unmet need for care is seen even when unpaid care is received.

In England, the majority of care is provided by unpaid carers and how best to support carers has also risen up the policy agenda. There are socio-economic and geographic inequalities in who provides unpaid care, and carers can experience negative impacts on their employment, financial situation, health, wellbeing and social participation. Yet, there is little research from carers' perspectives on how unmet care needs of the person they support impact on their lives, nor on how this varies. There is even less research on the factors that might mitigate or exacerbate negative consequences for carers. These factors include, for example, wider support for carers and care-recipients, including community and social support, and financial and other resources. This study aims to address some of these gaps and answer the question of how to meet the unmet needs of unpaid carers in England. It is hoped that the PhD will contribute to developing the conceptual framework on unmet need to include carers, both through engaging with the existing and developing literature and through exploring carer's own perspectives on "met" and "unmet" need. The study takes a mixed-methods approach, using secondary analysis of nationally representative UK longitudinal data, and in-depth interviews with carers.





The motivation for undertaking this PhD on unmet need and unpaid carers is to address a gap in the understanding of an issue which affects many people's lives, is of key relevance to social care, and has considerable equity, policy and practice implications. Extent, impact, and variations in unmet need are also growing concerns expressed by carers, disabled and older people, and their support and advocacy organisations. The theme of unmet need, undermet need, barriers to meeting need, and inequalities in care provision and receipt has emerged consistently from Nic's previous research and is a topic in which she has a deep interest. This previous research, over her past eight years as a researcher in the Care Policy and Evaluation Centre at LSE, has mainly focused on unpaid care and support for carers and the people they support. Projects to date have included a longitudinal study on working-age unpaid carers in England^{1,2,3,4}, led by Dr Linda Pickard, and a recent study on young adult carers for which she was the Principal Investigator. She has also been involved in studies of young people's mental health services, and of the long-term economic impacts of childhood emotional and behavioural problems and of childhood bullying victimisation. Prior to LSE, Nic worked as a researcher in both the voluntary and academic sectors, carrying out research on the reasons behind the increase in health inequalities in Britain in the 1980s and early 1990s, and studies of pregnant women living in vulnerable situations. Nic brings this experience and knowledge from her previous work to inform her PhD study. Her PhD training and new skills gained will inform and enhance her ongoing and future research.

Endnotes

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Further Information

Nic Brimblecombe is a first year PhD student in CASE and an Assistant Professorial Research fellow in the Care Policy and Evaluation Centre (CPEC) at LSE, where she has been working as a researcher since 2012. She has a NIHR School for Social Care Research (NIHR SSCR) PhD Fellowship and the study to which her PhD is linked is also funded by the NIHR SSCR. Nic's PhD is supervised by Professor Martin Knapp (Department of Health Policy and CPEC), and Dr Tania Burchardt (Department of Social Policy and Director of CASE). Her publications, including findings on unpaid care, can be found here: <https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=fsfq2dgAAAAJ&hl=en>





Housing and communities

Climate change and social housing

Anne Power and Eleanor Benton

In this article Anne Power and Eleanor Benton outline the main findings from two think tanks exploring the link between social housing and climate change. They discuss what social landlords and tenants are doing to help tackle the climate crisis, while helping the lowest income communities survive and thrive.

Why climate change affects housing and vice versa

There is overwhelming evidence that climate change is real: many signs of it are playing out before our eyes. 270 councils across the country have declared a climate emergency, with a commitment to becoming carbon neutral by 2030. But this requires a radical change of direction and action now. To slow climate change we need to make significant changes to the built environment, which currently accounts for 50 per cent of carbon emissions, if we include: the carbon impact of materials used, methods of construction, and supply chains. At the moment one third of building materials are wasted.

There is lot of potential for improvement in the social housing sector – almost half of social rented homes are not reaching a minimum energy performance of level C. 95 per cent of existing homes will still be standing in 2050, and England has some of the worst performing stock in Europe. To meet the minimum energy reduction targets we need to invest in the existing stock through retrofitting. There is also increasing pressure from tenants to improve the energy efficiency of their homes, reflected in the resident engagement events that we organised across the country laying the ground for the Social Housing Green Paper¹.



Workshop on climate change and housing

LSE Housing and Communities organised two think tanks to showcase the work social landlords and tenants are doing to tackle climate change and what more can be done. The events built on two previous pieces of research, “High Rise Hope”² and “Retrofit to the Rescue”³ both of which explored the social impact of carrying out environmental upgrading. The first event, held in November, was attended by staff from housing associations and councils across the country, architects, and a representative from the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government. The second event, in December, was attended by social housing tenants and support workers from across the country. The enthusiasm and drive among the tenants who attended workshops was striking. Both events highlighted some excellent work that is being done as well as some major challenges in improving the energy efficiency of stock.

Key messages from the think tanks

1 Retrofitting social housing is crucial in saving existing stock and protecting the environment

Improving the energy efficiency of existing homes can be achieved through a “whole house” retrofit or through incremental upgrading. If resources are available then a full retrofit can reduce energy use up to 90 per cent, and retrofitting uses about one tenth of the materials needed for a new build. For a retrofit project to be successful the work needs to be carried out to a high standard with skilled workers. It is important that all work is checked after completion, and that councils and housing associations enforce high standards on contractors. Furthermore, for a project to be successful tenants need to understand how to use new and sometimes unfamiliar systems to heat and ventilate their homes, as often new systems are installed in the retrofitted house.

Retrofitting can prove challenging on older and listed buildings. The needs of the tenants to be in warm, well ventilated homes is balanced with preserving the appearance of the building. Architects and planners need to work closely together to ensure that this balance is achieved. In Port Sunlight, a listed industrial village on the Wirral, the planners and architects agreed on specified works people could carry out in their homes to improve the thermal efficiency without having to go through planning, thus avoiding the complications of case by case listed building consent.



2 The cost of retrofitting homes

It is a major challenge to fund high quality retrofit work that is affordable. Landlords pay for the work but tenants see the benefit through the reduction in bills and much greater warmth. Energisprong is a Dutch retrofit initiative that saves money and saves energy by retrofitting blocks, flats, streets, or groups of similar houses, thus significantly reducing costs per home and greatly improving the comfort of residents. Energisprong helps the provider make money back on the energy efficient investment whilst ensuring the tenant still has a reduction in energy bills.

On the other hand, when making a home more energy efficient the solution also needs to be affordable for the tenant. For example, simply switching from gas to electricity will increase the tenant's bills but increase the potential for a renewable energy supply. In order to achieve this it is important to deal with "fabric first" – i.e. improve insulation of a property before doing other things such as supporting renewable energy.

3 Retrofit vs Demolish?

When thinking about upgrading stock landlords have to make the choice to demolish and rebuild or retrofit the existing stock. Retrofitting is far less damaging to the environment than demolition and rebuilding due to the high embodied carbon in the existing stock. Bricks, glass, slate, steel and concrete are all highly energy intensive to produce. They also have limited supply. It would take 40 years for even the most energy efficient new home to offset the carbon cost of demolition and new build, even for the most difficult to renovate homes. Furthermore, the cost of retrofitting is normally cheaper than the full cost of demolition and rebuild. Retrofitting existing homes preserves the supply of social housing units and it keeps the community together, with less disruption to tenants' lives.

Landlords and developers deploy many arguments in favour of regeneration involving demolition and rebuild. The new homes built for private sale and sometimes private rent are high quality and expected to fund regeneration and new, better quality social rented homes. However, there are countless cases where the regeneration scheme fails to deliver on its promise and many social homes are lost. But there are alternatives to demolition which allow the work to be funded without a loss of social housing. Kettering council had many three bedrooms flats which were under occupied. They retrofitted the stock and divided the properties up into one and two bedroom flats, some of which were sold to fund the work and support existing units. Whichever decision is taken it is important to listen to tenants at every stage of the process and ensure their views are taken into consideration.

4 Role of green spaces and growing

As well as improving buildings it is important to consider the surrounding areas, as green spaces play a key role in slowing climate change. It is important for landlords to make the most



of existing green spaces: for example, wildflower planting on unused bits of land. Where there is little land available, planters, window boxes, hanging baskets and pots can be used. Indoor plants are another possibility. As well as helping the environment green spaces and community gardens also help bring the community together and can help improve people's wellbeing.

To conclude, there is a lot of potential for social housing providers to tackle the climate crisis through improving the existing stock. The think tanks highlighted some key examples of the work being done. The learning from the social housing sector needs to be spread more widely in order to make a real difference in tackling climate change.

Endnotes

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- 2 Bates K, Lane L, Power A (2012) *High Rise Hope*. CASE report 75. LSE
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Further information

Anne Power is Head of LSE Housing and Communities in CASE and Emeritus Professor of Social Policy. Anne has been involved in European and American housing and urban problems since 1965. She is author of many books, reports and articles on housing, cities and low-income communities and a key advisor to social landlords, housing organisations, and government.

Eleanor Benton is a Research Assistant in LSE Housing and Communities. She has been involved in several research projects including "Retrofit to the Rescue". She coordinates the Housing Plus Academy, working with tenants and housing staff to run think tanks on the wider impact of social landlords on communities.



Housing and communities

Homelessness and rough sleeping

Laura Lane and Anne Power

In this article Laura Lane and Anne Power highlight Housing First as an intervention for rough sleepers with complex needs. The numbers of people sleeping rough has been increasing year on year since 2010. In 2018, government responded with the introduction of the Rough Sleepers Initiative as part of its Rough Sleeping Strategy, allocating funding to local authorities across the country.

Local authorities and housing providers across the UK have been piloting Housing First as a new approach to helping people off the streets and into independent accommodation. LSE Housing and Communities are currently evaluating the effectiveness of the intervention in Newham.

Rough Sleeping

In March 2018, the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) announced the Rough Sleepers Initiative. The Rough Sleeping Initiative – described as a cornerstone of the government’s ambitious Rough Sleeping Strategy – has allocated £76 million to 246 councils across the country in 2018/2019. The aim of the initiative is to support rough sleepers off the streets and into secure accommodation in order to access further help.

In January 2020 the government announced further allocations to councils across England of £112 million to continue to provide local support for those living on the streets.

Housing First

Housing First is an alternative homelessness intervention strategy, aimed at people with complex needs, particularly rough sleepers. It offers a different approach to traditional homelessness interventions – which usually require people to be “housing ready” before moving into their own accommodation. In contrast, Housing First prioritises access to housing as quickly as possible.

Housing First as we recognise it can be traced back to the Pathways Housing First organisation founded in NYC 1992 by Dr Sam Tsemberis:

The philosophy behind Pathways Housing First was that long term issues such as drug dependency and mental health problems would be easier to tackle once someone is in permanent, secure accommodation¹.

The Key Principles of Housing First in England, as outlined by Housing First England are:

- People have a right to a home
- Flexible support is provided for as long as it is needed
- Housing and support are separated
- Individuals have choice and control

- The service is based on people’s strengths, goals and aspirations
- An active engagement approach is used
- A harm reduction approach is used²

There have been pilot projects for Housing First in England (and other parts of the UK – most notably in Scotland) since around 2010. Many of these projects have been evaluated and there is a growing evidence base on Housing First. This current evidence³ suggests that:

- Housing First is able to engage effectively with people with experience of sustained and recurrent homelessness, who have high and complex needs.
- Housing First engages effectively with people with sustained and repeated use of homelessness services, whose homelessness has not been ended.
- Exits from homelessness can be sustained (at one year) for between seven and nine of every ten people Housing First services engage with.
- Housing First services are almost always well regarded by people who use them.
- While results in enabling exits from homelessness are strong, results in relation to drug and alcohol use and mental health can be more variable.

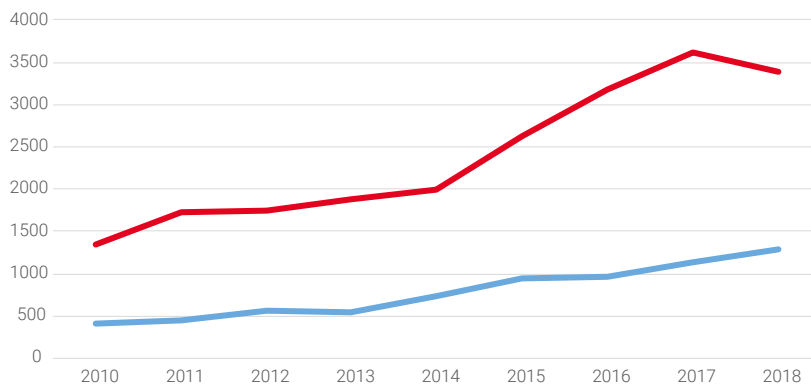
Supporters of the Housing First approach suggest that the early provision of permanent housing provides a stable home from which it is easier to deal with other underlying issues, such as substance abuse. Central to the Housing First approach is the commitment to support individuals for as long as they require.

Crucially, Housing First should not be seen as a replacement for all existing homelessness services and strategies, but as a specialist intervention for those with severe and complex needs, for whom other interventions have been ineffective or are unsuitable, within a wider rough sleeping / homelessness strategy¹.



Figure 1: Rough Sleeping Estimates 2010-2018

Rough Sleeping estimates* have risen since 2010 in London and the rest of England



Source: Rough sleeping statistics England Autumn 2018, Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government

Notes: Rough sleeping estimates are based on a combination of street counts, evidence-based estimates and estimates informed by a spotlight street count of rough sleeping, England, autumn 2010 to autumn 2018

Increased interest in Housing First in England is now taking place within the context of a growth in rough sleeping – with numbers of those sleeping rough having increased year on year since 2010 (see Figure 1).

The Government has a target of halving rough sleeping by 2022 and eliminating it by 2027 and therefore there is an acknowledgement that newer and innovative approaches to helping people with complex needs off the streets will need to be adopted.

Governments in Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, and more recently the UK Government, have all committed to exploring the model. In England, The Autumn Budget 2017 committed £28 million to support three Government-sponsored Housing First pilots in the West Midlands, Liverpool City Region, and Greater Manchester. Funding allocations for the pilots were announced on 9 May 2018¹. These pilot projects are now all underway and are being evaluated by an external research consortium.

London Borough of Newham

The London Borough of Newham also introduced a pilot of Housing First in April 2018 with MHCLG funding. The LSE Housing and Communities team were commissioned to evaluate the effectiveness of the intervention in terms of:

- Promoting long term housing sustainment
- Enhancing health and wellbeing of service users
- Improving social integration of service users

We have been following the journey of the 12 clients engaged in the Housing First pilot in Newham and are currently in the final stages of our analysis and writing up of the project.

The core goal of the Housing First project is to use housing as a stable base from which to support individuals to improve their social, economic and health outcomes and to integrate into

mainstream social and economic life. It is however difficult to measure the wider outcomes related to health and substance misuse, particularly in a relatively short period of time.

The Housing First clients in Newham are all entrenched rough sleepers and all have high and / or complex needs. Their own goals and aspirations for the service varied from simply wanting somewhere to live to wider ambitions around becoming abstinent and contacting family. It is important that we assess and evaluate the success of the pilot around individuals achieving and working towards their own goals and aspirations.

Our final report will be published in 2020.

Endnotes

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Further information

The LSE Housing and Communities team are currently working on a number of projects related to homelessness and rough sleeping: two for the London Borough of Newham, and a LSE KEI Fund project looking at innovative interventions in homelessness. More information available at:

<http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/lsehousing/research/Homelessness/>



Intern Spotlight: Jarrod Hughes

In writing this short piece, I was quite keen to avoid the trope of the wide-eyed intern who starts the job with limited confidence and through a series of formative experiences, develops a newfound sense of self-belief. Unfortunately for my aversion to clichés, this narrative is perhaps closest to the truth.

I came to the UK to undertake the MSc Social Policy (Research) at LSE as part of a relatively new scholarship programme for Indigenous Australians (prior to 2010, no Indigenous Australian had graduated from a leading UK university; there have since been more than 40). Before my arrival at LSE, I completed degrees in law and history and worked in policy roles within the Victorian state government. My intention in coming to LSE has always been to develop new skills to take home and apply to the systemic policy challenges facing the Aboriginal community, in particular poverty and over-incarceration.

There was a great deal of serendipity on my path to the graduate internship at CASE. I had the fortune of having Professor John Hills, CASE Chair, assigned as my academic supervisor, and Tania Burchardt, CASE Director, as my course convenor. In deciding upon a dissertation topic, I discovered that the concept of social exclusion was vastly under-theorised in the Indigenous Australian context, which led me to the CASE archives. When the graduate internship opened up, it was as if it was meant to be – another cliché.

In my time at CASE, I have had meaningful involvement in a range of projects. I worked alongside Polly Vizard and Polina Obolenskaya on a paper on health as part of the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain (SPDO) programme. I reviewed trends across a range of recent health outcomes and analysed health inequalities and the potential impacts of austerity. I also worked alongside Tania Burchardt and Polina Obolenskaya on a paper on social care, again as part of the SPDO programme. I analysed recent outcomes for social care users, unpaid carers and the wider social care system in the context of constraints in social care spending. In both pieces of work, I managed to overcome a childhood fear of numbers and charts (very much a work in progress) and gained a great deal of confidence in my ability as a quantitative researcher.

I also had the privilege of working with Bert Provan on impact and knowledge exchange. Among other things, I was tasked with translating the results of a paper on intra-household inequalities by Tania Burchardt and Eleni Karagiannaki for a mainstream audience. While this turned out to be far more difficult than I first anticipated, it was ultimately a highly rewarding exercise which taught me a lot about the challenges and benefits of communicating research to the public.



If I had to choose one highlight from my time at CASE, it would undoubtedly be the opportunity to work with many CASE staff. From the very beginning, I have been supported and made to feel part of the team. I have also benefited from the rigour and care that CASE staff bring to their research. Since starting at CASE, I have noticed a shift in the way I think about social policy: I am now less inclined to make broad assumptions or generalisations and am better prepared to approach social policy questions with restraint and reflexivity.

My time at CASE sadly comes to an end in January 2020. I will be moving back to Australia to take up a researcher position at the Centre for Innovative Justice at RMIT University, where I hope to make a contribution to addressing Indigenous over-incarceration. I am excited to apply the skills that I have gained from my work at CASE and studies at LSE in my work at home. I am particularly excited by the opportunity to develop indigenous methods in quantitative research and explore the use of experimental research designs within Indigenous communities. As I move on from my chapter at LSE and CASE, I leave with confidence to think bigger about what is possible in research – a final cliché.



CASE knowledge exchange: Having an impact

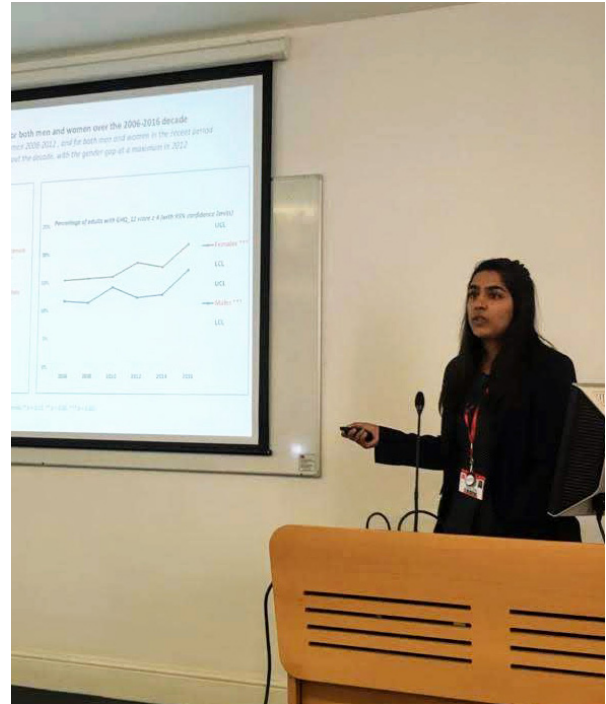
Case knowledge exchange: Having an impact

Raising awareness of the wide range of the negative social impacts linked to inequality was a prominent part of CASE work this year. This kicked off with the publication of *Understanding the Relationship between Poverty and Inequality, Overview report* in January. The report (or its summary and technical notes) has been downloaded over 20,000 times from the CASE website since publication in early 2019, and also read on ResearchGate over 1,500 times. This linked to related inequalities work reported last year, as part of the continuing Joseph Rowntree Foundation sponsored work, and in collaboration with LSE's International Inequalities Institute. A major development of this work is the Poverty and Inequality Policy toolkit which was launched in 2020, and is aimed at making this work immediately available to a wider set of stakeholders in a way that makes it easy for them to use in their organisations and activities.

Prior to that, in July 2019, the Multidimensional Inequalities Framework and Toolkit was launched. This is a practical guide to identifying and tackling inequality locally, informed by the best research and analysis evidence. It is aimed at wide international audience, being based on work originally undertaken alongside Oxfam. The website comprises a vividly accessible framework and toolkit, which allows any visiting user to focus on specific aspects ("domains") of inequality (such as health, education, or voice and participation). The site then can be explored for this domain using the plain English guidance and many links to drill into the subject. This includes looking at how to find out the facts about inequality in a specific area, and also at what drives the inequality, what policies and changes might reduce it, and how best to take action to make a difference. Certainly well worth visiting <http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/inequality/default.asp>.

Gypsies' and Travellers' problems with finding good sites to camp in became a prominent public issue again in 2019 and into 2020, due to proposed policy changes to further criminalise unauthorised stopping places. The severe and multiple disadvantage already experienced by Roma, Gypsy and Traveller children in England and Wales has been a focus of CASE work, extending the evidence base on this group who are often missing or "invisible" in official statistics. Tania Burchardt took this research to the EU Sub-Group on Equalities Data Analysis and Collection group in May, Polina Obolenskaya presented findings to a delegation of Roma councillors from Slovenia hosted by a colleague in Liverpool, and we submitted evidence to a parliamentary committee on gaps in the safety net for these children.

The Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes programme has also been working on extending the impact of its research. Several of the papers mentioned in this report have been presented at the influential Welfare Policy and Analysis seminar



series, or the Social Exclusion series. Over 400 people have attended throughout the year, from government, academia, think tanks, and the interested public. As part of the SPDO programme, CASE initiated links with the organisation "Sense about Science". This independent campaigning charity advocates openness and honesty about research findings, and works to ensure the public interest in sound science and evidence is recognised in public discussion and policymaking. So far we have agreed to hold a short series of scoping workshops with a wider section of the public or service providers. This is not to deliver lectures to them about what we know, but to find out from them what they think are some important facts and issues in social policy, and what might be done. That is, in order to be able to bring our results and analysis to them, we need first to be open to their own approach. We will most likely start with a subject of major general concern like child poverty or knife crime. Earlier, in June 2019, we participated in an "evidence week" in the Houses of Parliament as part of a group of universities and third sector groups who had the opportunity to engage MPs and members of the Lords in dialogue about evidence and its relevance to their own work.

One of the early outputs from the SPDO programme was Ruth Lupton et al's paper on [City Region Devolution in England](#), in which they explored the social policy variations emerging since devolution deals began to be struck between central government and some of England's major cities in 2014. Taking Greater Manchester as a detailed case, they examined how devolution



CASE knowledge exchange: Having an impact

agreements designed to stimulate and incentivise economic growth could start to stimulate social policy innovation, through the “joining up” of multiple social policy strands and their integration with economic policies at the same geographical scale. At the time of the paper’s publication in November 2018, devolution appeared to have stalled. However the summer 2019 Conservative leadership election heralded renewed interest, and the CASE team were invited to give a seminar at the Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, attended by around 35 civil servants from across Whitehall interested in thinking about possible next steps for devolution and implications in their own social policy areas. We also discussed the findings of the paper and the learning from the Greater Manchester experience with officials from the Department for Education’s Strategy Unit, which was interesting since education is one of the areas least touched by city-region devolution to date. A devolution White Paper was announced in the Queen’s Speech of the new government in October 2019 so we expect that CASE’s work will continue to inform the development of these proposals and wider understanding of their implementation and effect.

The Housing and Communities group continues to hold policy and good practice workshops. In 2019 this included “A Climate Crisis and a Housing Crisis – Workshop for social landlords”. This attracted social landlord staff including chief executives, frontline housing management staff, and sustainability and environmental officers – and the impact is being followed up. This was part of the series of six Housing Plus Academy

workshops which have attracted 228 people last year. Two further impact-oriented projects were undertaken by this group. One was with a national Housing Association who we worked with to develop clear and precise means to better measure the social value of their regeneration schemes. “Social value” is now a commonly used term which has had Government backing since 2010, as well as international standards and guidance. In this context it meant that the Housing Association had a tool to review what types of services and community support to provide to residents while the regeneration was happening, and after. The provision of community facilities for club meetings, sport, as well as designing out crime, can improve the quality of life for residents, with knock-ons for their social engagement, health, and overall wellbeing. A second project looked at how a major UK debt charity worked with its clients, to provide not only debt advice but also help with the underlying problems which led to debt building up. Here we both provided an assessment of the main areas where “social value” appeared to be created, and also discussed in detail the implications for working practices and approaches which might augment the value of the services being provided. Feedback from the agency a year later indicated that the report had provided a valuable learning tool to re-imagine how their service could have more impact on their clients. They are now using their internal data much more to focus services more effectively on their most vulnerable clients, as our report had done, and similarly drawing more on the voices of their front-line staff who had informed the CASE findings.





CASE researchers: Summary of current research



Mario Battaglini joined CASE in March 2017 as a paid LSE Graduate Intern before continuing his association as doctoral research

student. His PhD on Roma barriers to health (care) focusses on understanding whether barriers are considered structural and / or cultural by stakeholders, which has strong implications over whether the policy of Roma health mediation bridges, fills, or reproduces the health (care) access gap. In 2019, he completed his interviews of Roma health mediators (RHMs), doctors, and Roma clients in three Bulgarian cities.



Eleanor Benton works as a research assistant in LSE Housing and Communities. She works on the Housing Plus Academy

programme, a partnership with Trafford Hall – The National Communities Resource Centre, which aims to bring together people from across the housing sector at think tanks and workshops to tackle key issues such as the link between climate change and housing, homelessness, building safety and tenant engagement. This year Eleanor has also carried out a piece of research exploring the social impact of environmental upgrading of multi-storey housing estates.



Aavek Bhattacharya continued work on his PhD, a mixed methods study that compares secondary school choice policies in

Scotland and England in terms of their impact on the parents and children that make the choice. In 2019, he completed his first round of qualitative interviews

of families, with most of them taking place in Scotland in the early part of the year. He also commissioned an online survey of parents in both countries, which was in the field in October. Aavek has completed initial analysis of both interviews and survey. In 2020, he is planning to conduct some follow-up interviews and to write up his findings.



Thomas Biegert worked mostly on three different projects in 2019. Together with Michael Kuehrt (University of Cologne) and Wim

van Lancker (KU Leuven) he analysed Matthew effects in NBA All-Star elections. In a project with David Brady (University of Riverside, California) and Lena Hipp (WZB) he looked at the relationship between minimum income benefits and single mothers' employment outcomes in Europe and the United States. And together with Bernhard Ebbinghaus (University of Oxford) he studied the development of household joblessness since the Great Recession in Europe.



Nic Brimblecombe joined CASE as a first year PhD student in September 2019. She is also an Assistant Professorial

Research Fellow in the Care Policy and Evaluation Centre (CPEC) at LSE, where she has been working since 2012. 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 research topic is closely linked to her current and previous research on unpaid care and support for carers and the people they support.



Caroline Bryson is a part-time PhD candidate at CASE. She is using longitudinal data from the UK Household

Longitudinal Study and the British Household Panel Survey to explore the factors associated with whether and how non-resident parents financially support their children after families separate. She is currently tracking trends in child maintenance receipt from the early 1990s, looking at the influence of policy changes on different groups of separated families. Outside of her PhD, Caroline is social science researcher working as a partner of Bryson Purdon Social Research LLP on a range of government and grant-funded studies, with recent publications including a methodological study looking at the identification of nonresident parents in surveys and a study of the use "fault" in divorce proceedings.



Irene Bucelli has worked with Abigail McKnight and Kate Summers to the final stage of the programme "Improving the Evidence Base for

Understanding the Links between Inequalities and Poverty", funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. This resulted in the development of an online policy toolkit that provides a systematic, wide-ranging and accessible assessment of a variety of policies with a potential "double dividend": policies that could lead to reductions in both poverty and inequality in the UK. She also collaborated with Abigail McKnight and Pedro Mendes Loureiro (Cambridge) to the development of an "Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit" for the German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ): this work applies the Multidimensional Inequality Framework (MIF) to analyse policies with the



CASE researchers: Summary of current research

potential of tackling inequalities in developing countries and considers the connection between inequalities and poverty.



Tania Burchardt worked with Mary Reader on the boundaries between public and private welfare as part of the Social Policies and

Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain research programme funded by the Nuffield Foundation, and with Kerris Cooper on attitudinal divides in relation to inequality, welfare and immigration as part of the same programme. Tania completed a pilot project funded by the Trust for London exploring whether there is public consensus on a 'riches line', working with the Centre for Research in Social Policy at Loughborough University to adapt the deliberative methodology they have developed for the Minimum Income Standards approach. Ian Gough, Katharina Hecht, Liz Mann and Kate Summers in CASE were also part of the team; and this work has led to a new collaboration led by Kate Summers and Fabien Accominotti to understand how the provision of information about income and wealth distributions and social mobility does (or doesn't) affect public deliberation about inequality. Tania continued work on an ESRC-funded project with Eleni Karagiannaki on the implications of assumptions about within-household sharing of resources for poverty, deprivation and inequality across European countries, using EU-SILC data. Also with Eleni, and joined by Nina Zhang as part of the DyLANIE project funded by ESRC and led by Fiona Steele, she continued to investigate intergenerational exchanges of practical help and money, using BHPS and Understanding Society data.



This year, **Tammy Campbell** has worked mainly with the National Pupil Database and the Millennium Cohort Study, investigating areas including:

relative age and attributions of special educational needs and disabilities during primary school; biases in teachers' perceptions of children's behaviour; relationships between parents' religious affiliation and the type of school their child attends; the long-term impacts of early ability grouping; and – with Ludovica Gambaro, Mary Reader, and Kitty Stewart – inequalities in children's experiences of pre-school. Tammy is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow.



Kerris Cooper continued to work on the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain (SPDO) project. As

part of this she worked on analysis of who is most at risk of violent crime and how this has changed over time, using the Crime Survey for England and Wales with Polina Obolenskaya. She also worked with John Hills on an SPDO paper evaluating the Conservative government's record on social security policies, and worked with Abigail McKnight to evaluate policies, spending and outcomes in relation to employment policies. Kerris presented joint work on violence at a number of conferences including FemQuant's conference on Gendered Data Gaps, the Social Policy Association (SPA) annual conference and the Human Development and Capability Association (HDCA) annual conference. She also attended the Tri-Nuffield Conference in May and presented SPDO work at a special SPDO/CASE event Inequalities across critical areas of life: Looking

back over two decades. In the summer Kerris spent one month writing up articles from her thesis on Poverty and Parenting in the UK. Kerris also taught at the LSE widening participation summer school on the 2011 riots and secured a position teaching in the Social Policy Department on an MSc module Understanding Social (Dis)advantage. Kerris continued to organise the CASE Social Exclusion seminars with Polina Obolenskaya and took on the role of managing the CASE Twitter account. In October Kerris was interviewed for the LSE IQ Podcast on "How do we stop knife crime?"



Moira Dustin, Visiting Fellow at CASE, is Research Fellow in the School of Law, Politics and Sociology at the University of

Sussex. Moira is the UK lead on the European Research Council project 'Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Claims of Asylum (SOGICA), A European Human Rights Challenge. This four-year project, based in the School of Law at the University of Sussex, concludes in 2020 with a monograph and other academic publications, as well as recommendations for making asylum processes fairer and more humane for LGBT people claiming asylum in Europe. Moira contributes SOGICA expertise on gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, research and migration subjects to CASE work, helping to ensure that the social inequalities experienced by individuals that are not always included in policy analysis, in particular, LGBT migrants and women seeking asylum are addressed. Her recent publications include Many rivers to cross: the recognition of LGBTQI asylum in the UK, IJRL 2018, and Gender and Queer Perspectives on Brexit, which she coedited and contributed to, and which was published by Palgrave in 2019. In October, she and SOGICA colleagues

contributed SOGICA Project, Written evidence that was cited in "Brexit: refugee protection and asylum policy", 48th Report of Session 2017–19, House of Lords, European Union Committee, UK Parliament, 11 October 2019.



Susan Harkness is Professor of Public Policy at the University of Bristol, where she also heads the Centre for Poverty and Social Justice

(CPSJ). In 2019 she has been working on a NORFACE funded project, "Inequality, early adult life courses and economic outcomes at mid-life in comparative context," (EQUALLIVES, Principal investigator), with partners in Germany, Finland, Denmark and the Netherlands which aims to understand how education, labor market and family choices lead to accumulated advantage, or disadvantage, at mid-life. She has also continued her work on the association between single motherhood and children's cognitive outcomes, with Paul Gregg (University of Bath) and Mariña Fernández-Salgado (Universidad de Alcalá) which was published in Child Development. Working with Sophie Moullin (Princeton), she has used Luxembourg Income Study data to evaluate single mother penalties, and to show that single motherhood – but not fatherhood – is linked to a higher risk of poverty across countries in a paper that is currently in review.

Over the last year she also completed a research report for the Government Equalities Office, under their Women and Gender Equality (WAGE), on women's return to work and occupational downgrading after childbirth; and has, with Silvia Avram (ISER), produced reports on the minimum wage and progression out of minimum wage jobs, and on the impact minimum wage upratings have had on wage growth across the wage distribution.



Ludovica Gambaro Besides being on parental leave for much of 2018, Ludovica has also continued her association with CASE as a Visiting

Fellow and is currently writing a paper with Tammy Campbell and Kitty Stewart on the drivers and patterns of low-income children concentration in preschools in England. Ludovica has also completed a paper on parental wealth and children's outcomes using the Millennium Cohort Study (to be published in Child Development), and has continued working on the topic of refugee children in Germany.



Ian Gough Public and governmental interest in the interface between climate change, inequality and wellbeing is mushrooming, so

Ian Gough has spent much of the past year undertaking lectures, podcasts, and other follow-ups to the publication of his book Heat, Greed and Human Need. Among the international institutions he has addressed are: two colloquia in Geneva celebrating the Centennial of the ILO and a meeting of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats at the EU Parliament. In November he was guest of honour of the President of Ireland, Michael D. Higgins, at his residence Áras an Uachtaráin, where the following morning he spoke at a large seminar which made the front page of at least one Irish newspaper. In addition he has taught at the University of Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, and delivered plenary addresses in Mannheim, Brussels and London. Early upcoming presentations in 2020 will be to the EU Commission on "new eco-social policies for fair sustainability" and lectures to the Geary Institute at University College Dublin and Maynooth

University, Ireland. Full details are available on his new personal website <https://www.iangough.com/>



John Hills At the start of the year CASE published the Overview Report (<http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/cr/casereport119>.

[pdf](#)) of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation-funded programme on the links between poverty and inequality, which he had written with colleagues from the team. He worked with Polina Obolenskaya on one part of the programme on Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes, funded by the Nuffield Foundation, looking at changes between 1995 and 2015 in economic outcomes and inequalities defined in a variety of ways. This resulted in a paper published in July in the Oxford Review of Economic Policy (<https://academic.oup.com/oxrep/article-abstract/35/3/467/5531389>), with a summary blog published by LSE's Department of Social Policy (<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/socialpolicy/2019/08/22/if-inequality-is-flat-why-is-it-such-a-big-issue/>). As a further part of that programme, he has been working with Kerris Cooper on changes in social security policies since 2015 and outcomes from them, with a paper to be published in 2020. In November he gave a lecture marking the 60th anniversary of Richard Titmuss's lecture on "The Irresponsible Society". (see page 6).



Aapo Hiilamo joined CASE as a PhD student in September 2018. His PhD research aims to understand the ways and contexts

in which household debt links to mental health among older individuals in



CASE researchers: Summary of current research

European countries. Aapo's research is funded by The Osk. Huttunen Foundation. In 2019, he wrote a report for the Mieli Mental Health Finland on the current scientific literature on debt and mental health. The report can be found in Finnish here: <https://tinyurl.com/CAR-debt>



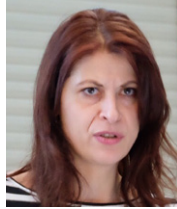
Ceri Hughes is a CASE PhD student exploring the work-related expectations and broader time demands facing people on

income-replacement benefits in the UK. Her mixed methods research is funded by the ESRC. Since passing the Major Review in 2019, Ceri has been focussing on the qualitative strand of her research and is preparing to conduct a series of qualitative interviews in Greater Manchester. She is also a Research Associate at the University of Manchester and a member of the Money, Security and Social Policy early career researcher network.



Stephen Jenkins's papers on trends in UK income inequality going back to just before WWII (with the late Tony Atkinson) and an overview of

poverty and poverty trends in EU countries were revised (and have now been published). Stephen continued to work with his Melbourne University colleagues on a paper about what accounts for the rising share of women in the top 1% in the UK, and they started a new paper on top income mobility in Australia using Australian Tax Office administrative record data. Stephen also worked on the analytical methods for comparisons of distributions of ordinal data such as life satisfaction or self-assessed health status.



Eleni Karagiannaki continued working with Dr Tania Burchardt on the ESRC funded project "Intrahousehold allocation of

resources: implications for poverty, deprivation and inequality in the European Union". As part of this year's work on this project they prepared three papers. The first is looking at the implications of different living arrangements and of the intra-household sharing of resources within different types of households on children's deprivation. The second and the third papers are examining the sensitivity of poverty estimates to different assumptions on the degree of within household sharing of resources and of economies of scales for individuals living in two multigenerational household types: young adults who live with their parents and elderly people who live with their children and their families. Over the last year Eleni also received a STICERD research grant to develop 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. This work builds on some preliminary work she undertook with Tania Burchardt as part of the "Intrahousehold allocation" project. The analysis of all the above papers are based on micro-data from the European Union Statistics on Incomes and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) and consider the implications of the above issues both across different EU countries and across the EU as a whole. Eleni also with Tania Burchardt, and Nina Zhang continued their work on the DyLANIE project (also funded by the ESRC) investigating the relationship between social mobility and intergenerational exchanges of money and time using data from the BHPS and Understanding Society. During the last year Eleni also, started preparing a Research Note for the European

Commission as part of the Social Situation Monitor project on the relationship between persistent risk of poverty and material deprivation in the European Union. As part of a team led by Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini (Italy) and the European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research (Austria) she prepared a successful research bid for a European Commission tender on "Intergenerational Fairness".



Rana Khazbak joined CASE as a PhD student in September 2017. Her research uses the capability approach to explore disadvantaged

teenagers' experiences of living in mixed-income communities and how it influences their wellbeing. Her study takes place in a historically deprived area in London that used to be dominated by social housing and is now more socio-economically and tenure mixed. She engages different groups of young people (13-18 years) who live and/or go to school in the neighbourhood using qualitative participatory methods.

In the past year, Rana has also worked on the Disrupting Harm project with the LSE's Media and Communications department synthesising evidence on children's online activities. She is currently working with the Middle East centre on a study exploring citizenship identities among young people in Kuwait.



This year **Laura Lane** has continued her work within the LSE Housing and Communities Team. In 2019 she has mostly

focused on research in the London Borough of Newham evaluating their Housing First pilot. Laura has also been involved in the delivery of LSE KEI



funded project looking at innovative homelessness interventions across the UK. Laura has continued to contribute to the work of the Housing Plus Academy helping with the programming and facilitation of events. In July 2019 LSE Housing and Communities launched their final report on debt and economic resilience, *Managing the Unmanageable: Debt and financial resilience in Newham*, at a roundtable event at LSE.



Neil Lee is a CASE associate and Associate Professor in Economic Geography in the Department of Geography and Environment. He

has been visiting Professor in Inequalities at the University of Toulouse, and has published research on inclusive growth in local economies.



Ruth Lupton has continued to contribute to the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain programme,

working with Polina Obolenskaya on a paper on compulsory education policies, spending and outcomes since 2015. In non-CASE news, she has been working with colleagues at Manchester and Aberdeen on an Nuffield Foundation project on the post-16 trajectories of young people with low GCSE attainment, and on a book on Great Mistakes in Education Policy, due to be published in 2020. Her JRF-funded work on inclusive growth finished at the 2019 with a major conference and final report – all the outputs can be found at

www.manchester.ac.uk/inclusivegrowth



Abigail McKnight helped steer the final stages of the JRF funded research programme "Improving the Evidence Base for

Understanding the Links Between Inequalities and Poverty". This included organising an international event in January 2019 to launch the Overview Report, publishing three evidence reviews – crime and the legal system, dynamic mechanisms and the relationship between poverty, inequality and growth - and working with Irene Bucelli and Kate Summers to develop an online Policy Toolkit which was launched in February 2020. She also continued working on the Nuffield Foundation funded programme, "Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain (SPDO)", with Polina Obolenskaya on higher education policies and outcomes, Kerris Cooper on employment, and Lindsey Macmillan on social mobility. In July 2019, the Multidimensional Inequality Framework and dedicated website were launched and this led to presentations at the Human Development and Capability Approach annual conference in September and at the European Commission's Joint Research Centre in November.



Lindsey Macmillan was promoted to Professor of Economics in October 2019, and was recently appointed Director of the new Centre

for Education Policy and Equalising Opportunities (CEPEO). The Centre aims to produce policy-relevant research that improves the life chances of disadvantage people. During 2019 Lindsey completed two funded projects: one on mismatch in higher education, funded by the Nuffield Foundation, highlighting SES and gender inequalities

in the match between students and degree courses. She also completed her ESRC Future Research Leaders grant on intergenerational joblessness in an international context, and a summary of her upcoming paper from this grant is available on page 32. In May she hosted a one-day conference in Westminster to present the findings from this project, and wider contributions on intergenerational inequalities across the life course.

She is currently PI on an ESRC Research Grant on intergenerational income mobility for women in the UK, considering the role of partnerships, fertility and assortative mating, along with employment spells across the life course. She is also CI on a Nuffield Foundation project considering the role of subject and qualification choices at Level 3 on university outcomes. Lindsey is also contributing to two papers for the Nuffield Foundation CASE project on Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes, considering trends in social mobility over time and the intersectionality of gender, ethnicity and education, and the later labour market outcomes of disadvantage pupils in London. She is also currently working on two reports for the Social Mobility Commission, exploring regional differences in intergenerational persistence in England, and considering the causes and consequences of downward mobility in the UK.



Liz Mann's PhD is funded by the Leverhulme Trust. Her thesis centres on wealth in Great Britain, exploring the interaction between

individuals' income and wealth, their wealth trajectories over time, and attitudes towards wealth inequality. She is currently working on a paper exploring conceptual issues in the measurement of wealth, and investigating patterns of wealth mobility.



CASE researchers: Summary of current research



Polina Obolenskaya continued working on the Nuffield Foundation-funded programme, "Social policies and distributional

outcomes in a changing Britain" (SPDO), which began in October 2017. Over the past year, together with colleagues, she worked on a number of policy papers for this project, including health, adult social care, and compulsory education. She also worked on the physical safety and security outcomes part of the project, exploring the use of the Crime Survey for England and Wales to understand the extent of domestic abuse in households with children. Additionally, together with Kerris Cooper, Polina worked on a paper looking at changes in the prevalence of violence in England and Wales, by reconstructing the measure ordinarily used by the ONS in the official reporting of violence.



David Piachaud has continued to work on approaches to sustaining and developing social security. He reviewed the

political economy of universal child grants for a joint conference of ILO, ODI and UNICEF. He wrote on human rights and responsibilities for ending poverty both nationally and internationally. He also lectured on the continuing confusion surrounding universal basic income.



Ilona Pinter's area of interest is poverty, destitution and inequality within the UK's immigration and asylum system, and in particular

how policies affect children and young people. Her PhD research, which is

funded by the ESRC, focuses on the needs, experiences and outcomes of children and families living on Asylum Support provided by the Home Office. Prior to starting her PhD, Ilona worked as a Policy and Research Manager leading on Poverty and Inequality policy at The Children's Society.



Julia Philipp's PhD thesis explores determinants of gender differences in labour market outcomes and educational decisions, with a

focus on gender role attitudes. She is now working on her last PhD paper, which examines whether family policy in Germany can change attitudes towards gender roles. Between January and May 2019 she worked on a research project concerning the impact of automation on the gender pay gap in Europe at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.



Anne Power and LSE Housing and Communities In March 2019, LSE Housing and Communities were awarded a three year grant from the

Mitchell Foundation to understand how we can create more stable, secure, sustainable housing provision in the UK. The project focuses on six themes: reducing homelessness; improving temporary housing; private renting as an important source of housing; working with smaller social landlords and community-led housing organisations; and understanding and building on the lessons from Grenfell. The grant supports research into these issues, workshops and roundtable events to promote knowledge exchange, and the development of policy. We will produce a resource guide for homelessness organisations and workers, exploring

best practice and innovative projects. We will also prepare a case study document showcasing how local solutions and community based and embedded housing provision can increase supply and combat poverty and homelessness.

The Housing Plus Academy, a partnership between LSE Housing and the National Communities Resource Centre, has been at the forefront of the housing agenda, running seven think tanks in 2019 on important topics such as climate change, safe and decent homes, homelessness and tenant engagement. Almost 400 residents, frontline staff, policymakers, and government representatives attended Housing Plus Academy events in 2019.

LSE Housing continued its work on homelessness. Our evaluation of LB of Newham's homelessness strategy and response includes their Housing First provision and rough sleeper support. LSE Housing followed up on Cities for a Small Continent and its focus on city recovery through a project based in Walbrzych, an ex-industrial city in Poland facing job losses and population decline, with funding from the European Investment Bank.

LSE Housing published three major reports in 2019: Retrofit to the Rescue, a longitudinal study of high-rise retrofit detailing an environmentally-friendly estate upgrading in Portsmouth (March 2019). In August 2019, Anne Power and Bert Provan released their report on the social value of estate regeneration, including a framework for understanding the social return on investment.

Throughout 2019, Anne Power has given talks and lectures to the Festival of Place, Community Housing Cymru, Festival of the Future City, and ran four popular workshops on energy saving and climate change at the LSE's PSS Conference. Anne also contributed a chapter on housing to the new centenary publication of Charles Booth's London Poverty Maps, published in October 2019. Anne had also provided



blogs for the LSE Politics and Policy blog on the implications of the Grenfell Inquiry and a blog for the new LSE Social Policy blog 'Beyond Bricks and Mortar' on the role of Housing Plus.



Lucinda Platt's research activity during 2019 focused around inequality, disability and ethnicity. The revised and expanded second

edition of Lucinda's book, *Understanding Inequalities: Stratification and Difference* was published by Polity in Spring 2019. With Sam Parsons, Lucinda contributed to a report on social mobility and disability commissioned from SCOPE by the Social Mobility Commission; and released a Social Policy working paper on social outcomes of disabled people. She published an EUI working paper (with Carolina Zuccotti) on social mobility across ethnic groups; and contributed chapters on parenting (with Tina Haux) and on poverty to edited collections. In Spring 2019, she co-convened with Ilka Gleibs an event for the LSE Festival, which was on Britishness and identity. Speakers included Diane Abbott and Sunder Katwala. Lucinda presented work on interethnic relations among school children to the Migration Observatory 3rd Annual Conference in Turin, and on trajectories of occupational aspirations across girls and boys of different ethnic groups at the University of Queensland. As a member of the expert panel for the IFS Deaton Review of Inequality, Lucinda participated in the May 2019 launch of the review and has been active in advancing the work of the panel, which will continue through the next two years.



Bert Provan is a Senior Policy Fellow and has continued working on a range of projects including knowledge exchange and

research. Work (with Anne Power) for a national Housing Association (Home Group) on a framework for targeting and measuring the social value of regeneration projects was published in August. New work was started for the British Red Cross assessing the social impact of extending the "move on" period from Home Office accommodation by four weeks, for refugees newly granted Leave to Remain, and will complete shortly. Work on evaluating LB Newham's Rough Sleeping strategy continues in to this year, commissioned by Newham. A completely new project funded by the European Investment Bank was also started, advising the Polish city of Walbrzych on accelerating its post-industrial social and economic development in the context of a falling population. Work has also continued on the REF submissions due at the end of this year, which have been making good progress through the Schools review and assessment process so far. New Knowledge Exchange work has also started on the SPDO programme, including working with Sense About Science on how to understand how the wider public view social policy questions, and how to be more effective in having a wider impact on public understanding of social policy outcomes. SPDO work will become most active around and after the launch of the main papers in August this year, as will knowledge exchange work around the Tania and Eleni's Intrahousehold Allocation of Resources papers.



Nora Ratzmann completed her PhD in Social Policy in fall 2019 at the LSE, where she was based in the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion

and the Department of Social Policy. She was a Leverhulme Doctoral Fellow, being funded through LSE's International Inequality's Institute. The research explored how administrative practices in local German job centres construct inequalities in access to basic subsistence benefits. The study focussed on European Union migrant citizens who constitute one of the largest yet overlooked immigrant groups in Germany. The data challenged the common pretence of EU policy debates that the settlement of EU migrant citizens in Germany happens without hurdles. Instead, the analysis revealed the types of inequalities in access to claiming welfare benefits and associated services in local job centres that EU migrant citizens may experience. The main findings of her work are summarised in CASEBrief No 37 (January 2020).

Nora also holds an LSE Knowledge Exchange and Impact Strategy Award, which allowed her to disseminate her main research findings among a diverse range of policy-makers in Germany, including the Berlin Senate, representatives of employment administration, and the state-mandated welfare organisations.



Mary Reader joined CASE as a Research Assistant after completing her MPA at LSE in the summer of 2019. She is working on two

papers for the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) programme: with Tania Burchardt on the shifting boundaries of public and private welfare activity in England since 2015,



CASE researchers: Summary of current research

and with Kitty Stewart and Tammy Campbell on continuity and change in the take-up of funded early years education by children's background. With funding from the Social Policy Department's Titmuss Meinhardt grant, she is also working with Kitty Stewart to update and extend research from her MPA dissertation on the impact of the Health in Pregnancy Grant in England and Wales, for submission to a peer-reviewed journal.



Kath Scanlon researches questions of housing and urban policy at the LSE London research unit, where she has been based for

20 years. In 2019 she completed the following research projects, among others.

Temporary accommodation: In a project for London Councils, Kath's team quantified the cost to boroughs of providing temporary accommodation for homeless households, and compared that to the funding received from central government for this service. They found that the capital's local authorities spent over £919 million on homelessness services in 2017/18. £201 million of this was not covered by central government grants or councils' housing income, leaving boroughs to cover the cost from their general funds. In early 2020 MHCLG announced the new allocation of homelessness funding; Kath's report was influential in securing a significant uplift for London boroughs. The full report can be found here: <https://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/our-key-themes/housing-and-planning/homelessness/cost-homelessness-services-london>

Borrowing in later life: Traditionally mortgage lenders in England required borrowers to repay their mortgages by the time they retired, but in recent years they have become much more flexible. In addition to equity release plans, there are new products that let older people borrow against their housing equity. In a project

funded by Family Building Society, Kath and her team surveyed an affluent cohort of homeowners aged 60+ to better understand the drivers of later-life borrowing. Contemporary policy discussions focus on how people can draw on housing equity to pay for care in old age, but the research found that paying for care was not a common motivation; instead, borrowers used the money for discretionary expenditure (especially to improve their existing homes or buy second homes) or to help children and grandchildren. The report can be seen here: https://familybuildingsociety.co.uk/Knowledge-hub/Remortgaging_in_Later_life.aspx



Amanda Sheely is a CASE research associate and an Assistant Professor in the Department of Social Policy. Her research focuses

on understanding how economically disadvantaged women interact with the labour market, the social assistance system, and the criminal justice system. In the past year, she co-organised a paper stream at the annual ESPAnet conference around the diversity of lone parent families. She also presented research findings related to women's criminal justice involvement and employment at the CASE Welfare and Policy Analysis Seminar. This article is now published in *Crime & Delinquency*.



Ellie Suh submitted her PhD in September 2019, which she has successfully defended in February 2020. She is now working

on cost effectiveness in children's social care as a postdoctoral research officer at the Rees Centre, Department of Education at the University of Oxford. During the late spring of 2019, Ellie

spent a month at Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, supported by the Santander travel grant for early career researchers. During this time, she worked on a paper examining the gender difference in retirement saving behaviours and pension wealth among British adults in their 30s and 40s. Further discussions related to this research led to organising an early career researchers' workshop on Gender and Wealth Inequality at Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, to take place in October 2020, funded by the European Consortium of Sociological Research (ECSR). She has also taken part in the YOUNG-IN meeting which was a part of EU COST (European Cooperation in Science and Technology) actions in Valletta, Malta. Two of her papers are being reviewed for publication, one of which only requires only minor corrections.



Kate Summers has continued working as a Fellow in the Methodology Department this year, where she teaches qualitative research methods.

She has continued to pursue research related to her PhD, which looked at working-age social security and was completed in CASE. This has included working in collaboration with David Young from the University of Bath to consider claims of "simplicity" in policy design, and how qualitative evidence can enhance our understanding.

During this year she has also been involved in a project using participatory methods to consider the future of social security policy with Michael Orton from the University of Warwick; along with Katharina Hecht, Tania Burchardt, Ian Gough, Karen Rowlingson, Abigail Davies and Donald Hirsch, she worked on a research project that used focus groups to explore the idea of establishing a "riches line"; and has set up pilot research with Fabien



Accominotti, Tania Burchardt, Katharina Hecht, Liz Mann and Jonathan Mijs to examine how members of the public deliberate normative and descriptive aspects of economic inequality.



Joel Suss's PhD thesis examines the behavioural consequences of economic inequality. He is affiliated with the Department of

Psychological and Behavioural Science, the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion and LSE's International Inequalities Institute. He is also currently working in the Bank of England's Research Hub.



Kitty Stewart completed her paper with Kerris Cooper and Isabel Shutes on the implications of Brexit for social policy, part of the

Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) Research Programme. She continued working with Tammy Campbell and Ludovica Gambaro on aspects of inequality in access to nursery education in England, publishing a paper on peer clustering and peer effects for pre-school children. In 2020 she will continue this strand of research as part of the SPDO programme, working with Tammy Campbell and Mary Reader on new analysis of the National Pupil Database to explore whether recent policy reforms have affected patterns of access to pre-school. Kitty will also be starting a new mixed methods project with Ruth Patrick (York) and Aaron Reeves (Oxford) which will look at the impact of welfare reforms on larger families in the UK, funded by the Nuffield Foundation.



Milo Vandemoortele As a PhD student at CASE, Milo investigates the links between parental resources and early childhood

education and children's attainment. She does this comparatively, across four low- and middle-income countries – specifically Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam. Her research is funded by the ESRC. Prior to LSE, she worked as a researcher at the Overseas Development Institute (ODI, London) in the Growth, Poverty and Inequality Programme.



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. Her SPDO research work this year focussed on child poverty (working with Polina Obolenskaya and Kritty Treebhooon) and mental health (working with Kritty Treebhooon). This work was presented in a CASE social exclusion / SPDO seminar in July 2019, alongside other outputs from the SPDO research programme. It was also presented at a panel on multidimensional inequalities at the Social Policy Association Conference, and a panel on stalling social progress in Britain at the Annual Conference of the Human Development and Capabilities Association. An article on child poverty amongst young carers in the UK in the wake of the financial crisis, economic downturn and onset of austerity was published in the journal Child Indicators Research. This was jointly authored with Polina Obolenskaya.



Jane Waldfogel During 2019, Jane expanded her research on educational inequalities across countries, beginning a new

three-year comparative project on SES-related gaps in child development in the US, UK, France, Germany, Netherlands, and Japan. Jane also continued her work on current projects including improving the measurement of poverty and understanding the role of social policies in reducing poverty and inequality. This work, mainly focused on the US, produced new data on the anti-poverty impact of the current safety net and the likely impacts of proposed reforms at both the national and state level. Jane also continued her research on paid family and medical leave policy, studying the impact of the new state level policy in New York on employers.



Moira Wallace is a Visiting Professor of Practice at CASE. A former Senior Civil Servant, she was Director of the Social Exclusion

Unit from 1997 to 2002, Home Office Director General for Crime and Policing between 2005 and 2008, and Permanent Secretary of the Department of Energy and Climate Change from 2008 to 2012. From 2013 to 2018 she was Provost of Oriel College, Oxford. She is researching trends in indicators of youth disadvantage, such as school exclusion and absence, being NEET, drug and alcohol use, and youth offending.



CASE publications 2019

Refereed journal articles

Non-CASE authors in italics.

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Bucelli, I., 2019. Why we should care about poverty and inequality: exploring the grounds for a pluralist approach. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230.2019.1581491>

Cowell, F., Karagiannaki, E. and McKnight, A., 2019. The Changing Distribution of Wealth in the pre-crisis US and UK: The Role of Socio-Economic Factors. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 71: 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oeq/gpy047>

Gough, I., 2019. Universal basic services: A theoretical and moral framework. *The Political Quarterly*, 90 (3): 534-542. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-923X.12706>

Hantrais, L., Stewart, K. and Cooper, K., 2019. Making sense of the social policy impacts of Brexit. *Contemporary Social Science*, 14 (2): 242-255. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2019.1572217>

Obolenskaya, P. and Hills, J., 2019. Flat-lining or seething beneath the surface? Two decades of changing economic inequality in the UK. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 35 (3): 467-489. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grz018>

Stewart, K., Campbell, T. and Gambaro, L., 2019. The peer composition of pre-school settings in England and early recorded attainment among low-income children. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 40 (6): 717-741. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2019.1583549>

Vizard, P., Obolenskaya, P. and Burchardt, T., 2019. Child poverty amongst young carers in the UK: prevalence and trends in the wake of the financial crisis, economic downturn and onset of austerity. *Child Indicators Research*, 12 (5): 1831-1854. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-018-9608-6>

Forthcoming

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Selected refereed journal articles by our associates

Atkinson, A.B. and Jenkins, S.P., 2019. A different perspective on the evolution of UK income inequality. *Review of Income and Wealth*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/roiw.12412>

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Héroult, N. and Jenkins, S.P., 2019. How valid are synthetic panel estimates of poverty dynamics?. *The Journal of Economic Inequality*, 17 (1): 51-76. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10888-019-09408-8>

Jenkins, S.P., 2019. Better off? Distributional comparisons for ordinal data about personal well-being. *New Zealand Economic Papers*, pp.1-28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00779954.2019.1697729>

Jenkins, S.P., 2019. Perspectives on Poverty in Europe. Following in Tony Atkinson's Footsteps. *Ital Econ J*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40797-019-00112-0>

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Forthcoming

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Petts, R.J., Knoester, C. & Waldfogel, J., forthcoming 2020. Fathers' Paternity Leave-Taking and Children's Perceptions of Father-Child Relationships in the United States. *Sex Roles*, 82: 173-188. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01050-y>

Suh, E., forthcoming 2020. Young British adults' homeownership circumstances and the role of intergenerational transfers. *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3368439

Summers, K. and *Young, D.*, forthcoming. Universal Simplicity? The alleged simplicity of Universal Credit from administrative and claimant perspectives. *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*.

Books and external reports

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Ratzmann, N., 2019. *Intercultural dialogue: a review of conceptual and empirical issues relating to social transformation* (Vol. 1). Management of Social Transformations Programme. UNESCO Publishing.

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Davis, A., Hecht, K., Burchardt, T., Gough, I., Hirsch, D., Rowlingson, K., and Summers, K., forthcoming 2020. *Living on Different Incomes in London: Can public consensus identify a "riches line"?* London: Trust for London

Selected books and external reports by our associates

Avram, S. and Harkness, S., 2019. *The NMW/NLW and progression out of minimum wage jobs in the UK Final report*. Low Pay Commission.

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Dustin, M., Ferreira, N. and Millns, S. (eds), 2019. *Gender and Queer Perspectives on Brexit*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Graham, H., Philo, D., Platt, L. Wardle, H. 2019. *Adults who engage in little physical activity and eat little fruit and vegetables: A brief report*. Public Health Research Consortium project report.

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Graham, H., Wardle, H., Law, C., Platt, L. and Philo, D., forthcoming. *Health behaviour and health behaviour change among adults in England*. Public Health Research Consortium. Final Report. London: Department of Health, Policy Research Programme.

Book chapters (all)

Danisi, C., Dustin, M. and Ferreira, N., 2019. Queering Brexit: what's in Brexit for sexual and gender minorities?. In Dustin, M., Ferreira, N. and Millns, S. (eds) *Gender and Queer Perspectives on Brexit* (pp. 239-272). Palgrave Macmillan.

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Piachaud, D., 2019. Ending Poverty: Human Rights and Responsibilities. In Kotkas, T., Leijten, I., and Pennings, F. (eds) *Specifying and Securing a Social Minimum in the Battle Against Poverty*. London: Bloomsbury.

Summers, K., 2019. 'Poverty development in affluent welfare states. In Greve, B. (ed) *Routledge International Handbook of Poverty*. Routledge.

Forthcoming

Burchardt, T., forthcoming. Capability inequality: up, down, sideways and along. In Chiappero-Martinetti, E., Osmani, S. and Qizilbash, M. (eds) *Handbook of the Capability Approach*. Cambridge University Press.

Haux, T. and Platt, L., forthcoming 2020. The Consequences of Separation for Mothers' Perception of their Parenting Capacity. In Kreyenfeld, M. and Trappe, H. (eds) *Parental Life Courses after Separation and Divorce in Europe*. Springer.

Platt, L., forthcoming 2020. Poverty. In Payne, and Harrison, E. (eds), *Social Divisions*. 4th Edition. Policy Press.

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Other publications (all)

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Joseph Rowntree Foundation Poverty and Inequality Policy Toolkit (JRFIP) website, 2019. http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/_new/research/Inequalities_and_Poverty/policy-toolkit/default.asp

Baranowska-Rataj, A. and Barclay, K. and Costa-Font, J and Myrskylä, M and Özcan, B, 2019. Preterm Births and Educational Disadvantage: Heterogeneous Effects Across Families and Schools. CESifo Working Paper No. 7870. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3468005>

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Bhattacharya, A., 2019. Book review: The Community of Advantage: A Behavioural Economist's Defence of the Market by Robert Sugden, LSE Review of Books <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2019/06/30/book-review-the-community-of-advantage-a-behavioural-economists-defence-of-the-market-by-robert-sugden/>

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Zuccotti, C.V. and Platt, L. 2019. A theoretical discussion and empirical analysis of second generations' education and labour market outcomes in England and Wales. EUI Migration Policy Centre Working Paper, Working Paper, EUI RSCAS, 2019/38. Florence: Migration Policy Centre, EUI.

LSE Housing and Communities – Housing Plus Academy Headline Reports

<https://traffordhall.com/housing-plus-academy/headline-reports/>

- Key Headlines from Housing Plus Academy Community Led Housing Think Tank: Community Building to Deliver Homes
- Headlines from Housing Plus Academy Policy Workshop: Safe and Decent – Protecting Our Homes and Communities
- Headlines from Housing Plus Academy workshop: Investing to Save – How can landlords work with their tenants?
- Headlines for Housing Plus Academy

Tenant Workshop: Climate Crisis and Social Housing – What can tenants do?

- Headlines for Housing Plus Academy Tenant Workshop: What can tenants do to make their communities safe and decent?
- Headlines from policy workshop: Innovative approaches to housing vulnerable and socially excluded people

Reports are available at: <https://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/lsehousing/research/Housing-Plus-Academy/past.asp> and <https://traffordhall.com/housing-plus-academy/headline-reports/>

Blog postings (all)

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Hills, J. "If You Care About Poverty, Do You Have to Worry About Inequality Too?" *LSE Global Policy Lab*, <https://digital.thecatcompanyinc.com/g7magazine/lse-global-policy-lab/if-you-care-about-poverty-do-you-have-to-worry-about-inequality-too/>

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Summers, K. and Young, D. "The alleged simplicity of Universal Credit and the lived experience of benefit claimants" *LSE British Politics and Policy Blog*. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/universal-credit-simplicity/>



CASE special events and seminars 2019

Special Events

Improving the evidence base for understanding the links between inequalities and poverty, 30 January 2019

Speakers: John Hills, Polly Vizard, Kate Summers and Irene Bucelli

Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) panel at Social Policy Association annual conference, 8 July 2019 (Durham)

Speakers: Kerris Cooper, Polina Obolenskaya, Kritty Treebhohun, Polly Vizard

Inequalities across critical areas of life: Looking back over two decades, 16 July 2019

Speakers: John Hills, Tania Burchardt, Polina Obolenskaya, Polly Vizard, Kerris Cooper and Kritty Treebhohun

More information about the event available at: http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/_new/research/spdo/events/Inequalities-across-critical-areas-of-life-Looking-back-over-two-decades.asp

LSE Housing and Communities – Housing Plus Academy events

- **Investing to Save: How can landlords work with their tenants?**
Policy and Practitioner Think Tank, 21st March 2019
- **Safe and decent: protecting our homes and communities**
Policy and Practitioner Think Tank, 27th May 2019
- **What can tenants do to make their communities safe and decent?**
Tenant Think Tank, 25th June 2019
- **Innovative approaches to housing vulnerable and socially excluded people**
Homelessness Policy Workshop, 10th July 2019
- **A Climate Crisis and a Housing Crisis: What can social landlords do**
Policy and Practitioner Think Tank, 29th October 2019
- **Climate Change and Social Housing: What can tenants do?**
Tenant Think Tank, 4th December 2019

Other LSE Housing and Communities Events

Retrofit to the Rescue: Environmentally Efficient Upgrading of Multi-storey Estates

Report Launch Roundtable Event 5th March 2019, 9.30-11.30am

Managing the Unmanageable: Debt and Economic Resilience in Newham

Report Launch Roundtable Event, 2nd July 2019

“Towards a new system of community wealth”: Roundtable with Bruce Katz

LSE Housing/CASE supported roundtable, 25th November 2019

Seminars

Social Exclusion Seminars

06 March 2019

Physical safety and security: Policies, spending and outcomes (Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes programme seminar)

Nicola Lacey (Department of Law, LSE), joint with Kerris Cooper (CASE)

27 March 2019

The unintended consequences of quantifying quality: Does ranking school performance shape the geographical concentration of advantage?

Daniel McArthur (International Inequalities Institute, LSE), joint with Aaron Reeves (University of Oxford)

16 October 2019

How the Reification of Merit Breeds Inequality: Theory and Experimental Evidence

Fabien Accominotti (London School of Economics)

23 October 2019

Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) event: Homelessness and complex needs

Suzanne Fitzpatrick (I-SPHERE, Heriot-Watt University), joint with Glen Bramley (Heriot-Watt University)

27 November 2019

A new measure of poverty for the UK: The Social Metrics Commission's approach and results

Matthew Oakley (Social Metrics Commission)

11 December 2019

Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) event: Compulsory Education: policies, spending and outcomes

Ruth Lupton (University of Manchester), joint with Polina Obolenskaya (London School of Economics)

Welfare Policy and Analysis Seminars

13 March 2019

Decent incomes for all. Improving policies in Europe

Tim Goedemé (University of Oxford and University of Antwerp), joint with John Hills

20 March 2019

The cultural origin of saving behaviour

Berkay Ozcan (Department of Social Policy, LSE)

03 April 2019

The Rise in Single-Mother Families and Children's Cognitive Development: evidence from the 1958, 1970 and 2000 British Birth Cohorts

Susan Harkness (University of Bristol)



CASE special events and seminars 2019 (continued)

08 May 2019

Universal Credit In-work Progression Randomised Control Trial

Angelo Valerio (Department of Work and Pensions), joint with Helen Morrell

05 June 2019

Young people's earnings progression and geographic mobility

Bonang Lewis (Office for National Statistics), joint with Tom Odell

19 June 2019

Pay volatility and insecure work in the UK

Daniel Tomlinson (Resolution Foundation), joint with Lindsey Judge

03 July 2019

What is holding back UK productivity?

Rebecca Riley (National Institute for Social and Economic Research)

17 July 2019

Criminal justice involvement, collateral consequences and employment among women in the United States

Amanda Sheely (LSE Social Policy)

30 October 2019

Labour Mobility and Earnings in the UK, 1992-2016

Fabien Postel-Vinay (University College London)

13 November 2019

The Intergenerational Transmission of Wealth

Prof Brian Nolan (Department of Social Policy and Intervention and INET, University of Oxford)

20 November 2019

Universal Credit and Financial Resilience

Deven Ghelani (Policy in Practice), joint with Ben Fell

04 December 2019

Follow the money: Exploring the link between UK growth and workers' pay packets

Matthew Whittaker (Chief Executive of Pro Bono Economics (formerly Resolution Foundation))





CASE funders 2019

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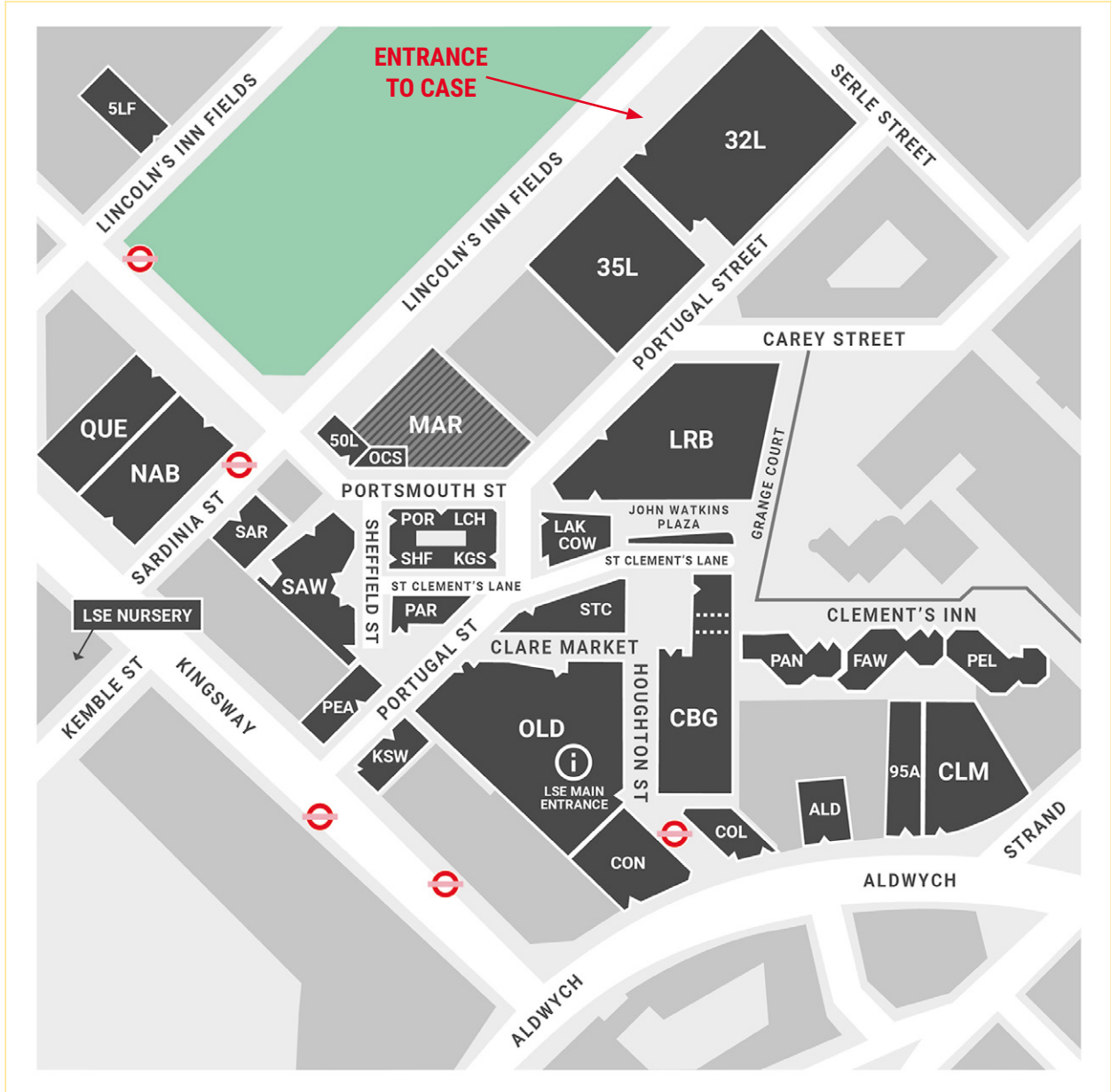
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- LSE Building Development
- Information
- Cycle Hire Station

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For further information on the work of the Centre, please contact the Centre Manager, Annie-Rose Nicholas, on:

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