



THE LONDON SCHOOL
OF ECONOMICS AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE



Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion

Research at LSE



CASE at 25 years

Annual Report 2022



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Director

Abigail McKnight

Research Staff and Faculty

Irene Bucelli

Tania Burchardt

Tammy Campbell

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Berkay Ozcan (Social Policy)

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Kath Scanlon (LSE London)

Amanda Sheely (Social Policy)

Isabel Shutes (Social Policy)

Wendy Sigle (Department of Gender Studies)

Kate Summers (Department of Methodology)

PhD Candidates

Mario Battaglini

Nicola Brimblecombe

Jakob Dirksen

Ceri Hughes

Liz Mann

Abigail Page

Ilona Pinter

Thomas Stephens

Aniruddha Talukdhar

Milo Vandemoortele

Research Assistants

Ellie Benton

Charlotte Rogers

Ruby Russell

Centre Manager

Anne-Rose Nicholas (until September)

Marta Wasik (from October)

Administrative and IT Support

Anita Bardhan-Roy

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25 years in numbers



98

Research and
support staff

88

Research
Assistants

68

PhD students

56

Associate
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Visiting
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Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion

Welcome to this special edition of our annual report for 2022. This year we are celebrating CASE's 25th anniversary! In 1996 and early 1997 John Hills, as he was so adept at doing, spotted a gap and a pressing need for an interdisciplinary centre focused on social exclusion. He, along with CASE's founding co-directors and a stellar cast of researchers, convinced ESRC to fund CASE for the next ten years and John continued as director of CASE until 2016. His highly influential research, distinct style of leadership, nurturing of numerous students and staff, laid the foundations for CASE to continue to thrive today.

In September 2022 we held a special two-day event to mark this important milestone with the first day focusing on John's research and the next looking back over the last 25 years at some of our most important achievements. This year's annual report is mainly devoted to contributions from that event. Nine of the articles celebrate John's contributions over a diverse range of topics: housing, pensions, fuel poverty, economic inequality, poverty and the welfare state. Other articles cover inequality, disadvantage, policy evaluation and 25 years of LSE Housing and Communities. We also report on a lively panel discussion which considered whether current concepts of poverty provide the optimal basis for monitoring poverty and developing solutions. We invited back a few CASE alumni to tell us how their time at CASE influenced their careers and the way they approach their work and regular readers of the annual report will recognise a few names from the past. We hope you enjoy our reflections of the last 25 years and this celebration CASE research.

New readers may be interested to know a little more about the Centre. CASE is 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. CASE also hosts visitors from the UK and overseas, and members of LSE teaching staff on sabbatical or research leave.

Regular seminars on significant contemporary empirical and theoretical issues are held in the Centre, and we are delighted that so many people joined us at our hybrid seminars during 2022. We publish a series of CASEpapers and CASEbriefs, discussing and summarising our research. Longer research reports and reports on special events can be found in our occasional CASereports series. All of our publications, including this Annual Report, are free to download from our website, where you can also find links to the data underlying many of the charts and tables in our publications.

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

Abigail McKnight

Director, Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion

31 January 2023

CASE@25 event

The Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) celebrated its 25th Birthday at a special event on 7 and 8 September 2022. This year's annual report is a special issue that focuses on the CASE@25 event.

The first day of the event reflected on Professor John Hills' contributions during his time as the first director of CASE (1997-2016).

On 8 September, sessions looked back at CASE's research from the past 25 years, with a catch up with some CASE alumni and look forward to the future.

Irene Bucelli, CASE Research Officer

Reflections on John Hills' contributions

Over two years have now passed since John Hills so sadly passed away in December 2020. His enormous influence, personal and professional, remains profound both in the research conducted at CASE and in social policy more broadly. The articles in the first half of this report reflect on some of John's contributions in a number of areas at the heart of the Centre's work and on how John inspired and shaped different aspects of our research.



Cross-cutting welfare state analysis

Paul Johnson, Polly Vizard and Ruth Lupton, and discuss different aspects of cross-cutting welfare state analysis. [Paul Johnson's](#) contribution focuses on 25 years of pensions and social security policy, while [Polly Vizard](#) reflects on the cross-cutting framework for welfare state analysis that John developed and applied with teams of co-investigators, co-editors, subject specialists and researchers over more than thirty years. [Ruth Lupton](#) looks back on 25 years of CASE work on areas and neighbourhoods.

Poverty, inequality and social security

Exploring the role of social policy in relation to poverty and inequality was at the heart of some of John's most notable contributions. [Kitty Stewart](#) reflects on how John's work informs her current research on the impact of benefit changes on larger families in the UK. [Bea Cantillon](#) looks back over many years of research into poverty and social policy in the welfare state and intense collaboration with CASE and with John. [Giovanni Razzu](#) examines John's contributions to the National Equality Panel, which John chaired between 2008 and 2010.

Housing and fuel poverty

Mark Stephens, Becky Tunstall and Abigail McKnight consider different aspects of housing and fuel poverty – areas in which John published well-known and still highly relevant reviews. They show the saliency of these contributions to recent debates in these areas, for instance regarding the role of the housing system, and of social housing in particular ([Becky Tunstall](#)), in relation to poverty ([Mark Stephens](#)), and in the wake of the cost of living crisis, recent developments around fuel poverty measurement ([Abigail McKnight](#)).

CASE at 25 and beyond: disadvantage, poverty and inequalities



25 years of LSE Housing and Communities

LSE Housing and Communities, a small research team based within CASE, developed in the late 1980s. Over 25 years, the group has developed a reputation for qualitative, grounded, action-based, policy-linked research, capturing the voices of people living on low-incomes and in disadvantaged communities. [Anne Power](#) highlights some of the group’s major contributions.



The impact of universal child benefits

In response to the COVID-19 emergency the US temporarily introduced an unconditional monthly child benefit (the Child Tax Credit). [Jane Waldfogel](#) shows how recent evaluations of the impact of these expanded monthly payments identify significant poverty reduction effects, especially among Black and Latino children, with no negative effects on employment.

Child poverty and, “no recourse to public funds”, restrictions

No recourse to public funds (NRPF) rules impose restrictions on migrants’ access to most income-based benefits. These restrictions can lead to deep, persistent poverty and have long been a concern for frontline practitioners, campaigners and local authorities in the UK. [Ilona Pinter](#) presents findings from recent analysis showing how lifting NRPF conditions would reduce poverty and disadvantage and result in substantial net gains especially for families with children.



Ethnicity and wealth inequality

Wealth is central for family well-being and a crucial mechanism behind the transmission of advantage across generations. [Eleni Karagiannaki](#) presents research showing stark ethnic disparities in wealth in the UK as well as substantial differences across ethnic groups.

Thinking Poverty: are our concepts fit for purpose?

An expert panel at the CASE@25 event – [Fran Bennett, Suzanne Fitzpatrick, Julian Le Grand, Kate Summers and Chris Goulden](#) – considered whether income poverty, material deprivation, destitution, social exclusion, or definitions created through a participatory process by people with experience of living on a low income, provide the optimal basis for monitoring poverty and developing solutions in the current economic and political context. Tania Burchardt summarises this lively discussion and reflects on the role that CASE could play in promoting better understanding of the conceptualisation of poverty among academics, campaigners and policymakers alike.



John Hills' cross-cutting framework for welfare state analysis

Polly Vizard

Polly Vizard reflects on the framework that John Hills developed for cross-cutting analysis of the welfare state in terms of public expenditure, policies and outcomes.

One of John's major contributions to social policy is his development and applications of a cross-cutting analytical framework for undertaking welfare state analysis covering public expenditure, policies and outcomes. As a result of John's leadership and research in this field, we have a comprehensive, systematic and detailed body of evidence across multiple areas of social policy areas going back to the mid-1970s together with a continuous, consistent and unique set of assessments of the social policy records of the different governments that have been in power in the UK over this period.

This body of work evolved from a chapter on the welfare state that John co-authored with Tony Atkinson and Julian Le Grand in 1987¹. This was an early output from the Welfare State Programme, the pre-cursor to CASE. The chapter was intended as a pilot for a future study and in an important departure from standard social policy analysis argued that the comprehensive assessment of the state of welfare in any period of time requires cross-cutting analysis of public expenditure, policies, and outcomes across multiple social policy areas. The pilot chapter covered health, housing and social security and examined the period between 1970 and 1985. While the focus of the pilot was mainly on public expenditure and policy developments, it referred to the need for a future research programme to build up an in-depth empirical evidence on outcomes using a set of welfare indicators. Critically, this new research programme would address developments across multiple areas of social policy simultaneously and would harness the power of the new generation of social survey and administrative data that had become available.

John certainly delivered! Following on from the pilot chapter, the first and second editions of the *State of Welfare in Britain since 1974* were written under the auspices of the Welfare State Programme^{2,3}. Edited by John and Howard Glennerster and John, Nick Barr and Julian Le Grand respectively, these volumes examined the period from 1974 to the mid-1990s and provided a detailed assessment of public expenditure, policies and outcomes under the Labour Governments of the mid seventies through to the Thatcher and Major years. Subsequently, after CASE came into being, two further volumes examined developments during the first decade of the 21st century: *A more equal society?* edited by John with Kitty Stewart⁴ and *Towards a more equal society? Poverty, inequality and policy since 1997* edited by John, Kitty and Tom Sefton⁵. During the 2010s, the [Social Policy in a Cold Climate Research Programme](#), which Ruth Lupton led with John, provided a major retrospective assessment of progress during the entire New Labour period (1997-2010) using a fuller run of data together with a comprehensive and detailed assessment of social policies and social outcomes under the Coalition (2010-2015)⁶. Most recently, the [Social policies and distributional outcomes in a changing Britain Research Programme](#), which I led with John, Tania Burchardt, Kitty Stewart and Abigail McKnight, took the analysis up to early 2020, providing an in-depth analysis of public expenditure, policies and outcomes across ten major areas of social policy under the three Conservative majority governments that were in power between the May 2015 General Election and the eve of the COVID-19 pandemic⁷.

Figure 1: John's assessments of the social policy record of governments (1974 to the eve of the COVID-19 pandemic)

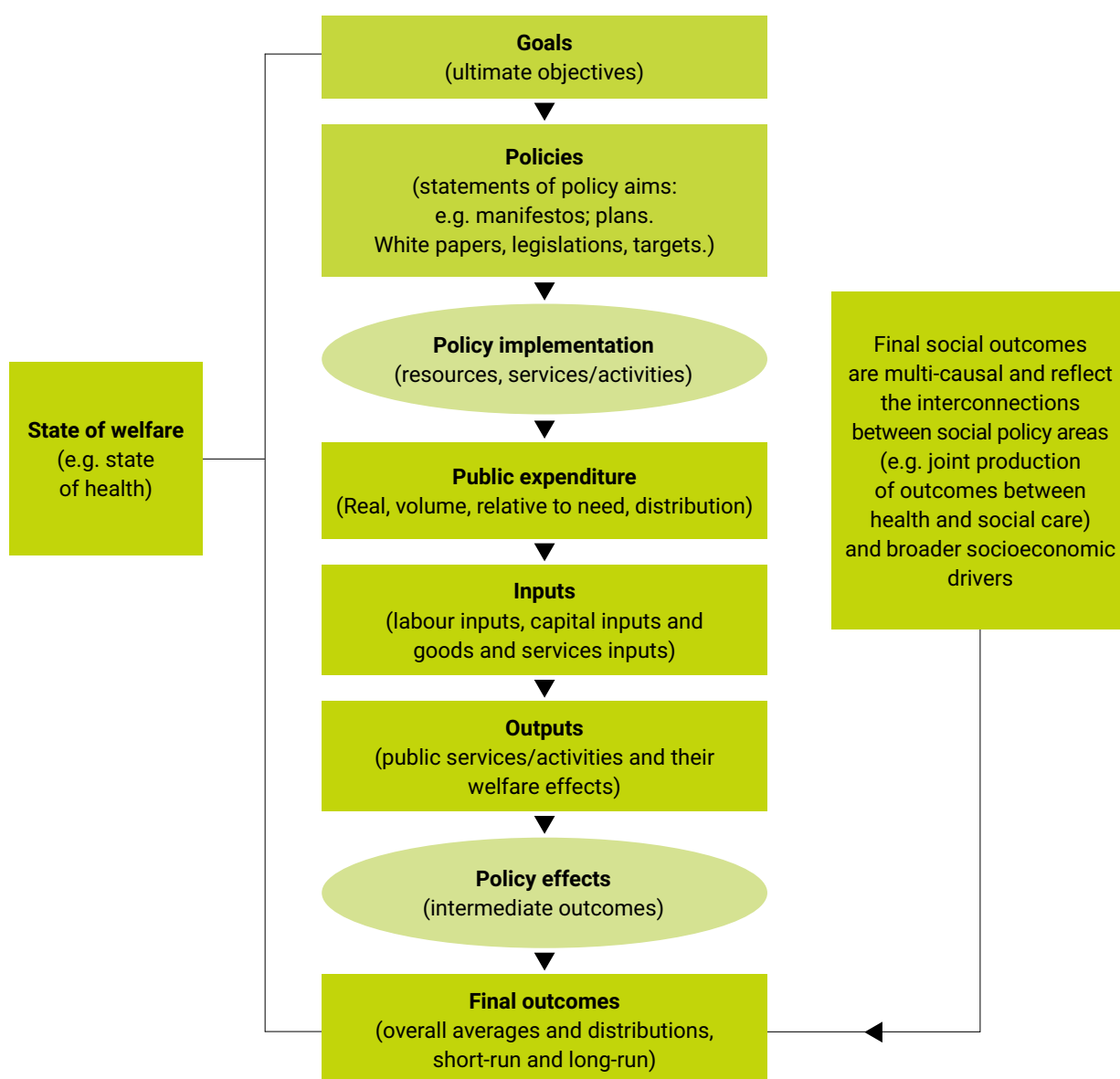


As a body of work, these outputs are distinguished by their use of a comprehensive, systematic and cross-cutting framework for welfare state analysis. This analytical framework had its origins in Atkinson, Hills and Le Grand (1987)¹ and John began to represent it schematically in Hills (1990)². The key elements are set out in Figure 2. For any area of social policy, the starting point of analysis is the ultimate aims or goals of public action in that social policy area – for example, in relation to health, the improvement of health and reduction of health inequalities. Detailed and systematic evidence on each social policy area is then built up in relation to policy aims (for example, as articulated in political manifestos and White papers); public expenditure (in real and volume terms, in relation to need and in terms of distribution); how resources are transformed into inputs (such as the number of doctors and nurses) and outputs (such as hospital episodes and GP consultations); and final outcomes in terms of both averages and distributions in the short-run and long-run (for example, overall morbidity and mortality and their distribution by socioeconomic disadvantage).

Critically, the framework was explicitly intended to assess developments across multiple social policy areas simultaneously, supporting the analysis of policy combinations (or policy regimes) as opposed to analysis that assesses developments in single social policy areas in isolation. The original focus of the pilot chapter on health, housing and social security expanded to cover education and social care in the first and second editions of the State of Welfare. Neighbourhood renewal policies, devolved policies, higher education and skills were later incorporated and in the latest round of work for the [Social policies and distributional outcomes in a changing Britain Research Programme](#) we have examined in detail developments across 10 major areas of social policy including new homelessness, and physical safety and security. Figure 2 explicitly recognises the interconnections between different social policy areas and allows for the joint production of outcomes across different policy areas such as health and social care (as Tony helpfully put it in the [Atkinson Review of Government Output and Productivity](#)) as well as broader interconnections such as those between health outcomes and housing and social security policy (as emphasised in Marmot's social determinants approach).

The term “final outcomes” in Figure 2 requires some further explanation. Final outcomes are conceptually distinct from what might be describe as policy effects – again, this distinction was elaborated in the [Atkinson Review of Government Output and Productivity](#), which distinguishes between elements of an outcome that can confidently and reliably be attributed to units of public sector outputs, such as the extra quality of life resulting from medical care, and final outcomes, such as life expectancy and educational attainment, which are influenced by a broader set of variables and social and economic drivers. In Figure 2 “final outcomes” are not so much about making direct causal claims – but rather about the big picture and – given combinations of social policies (or social policy regimes) and the broader social and economic conditions and variables that pertain in any period of time – what happened in terms of the lives and fortunes of individuals and groups.

Figure 2: Schema for cross-cutting welfare state and social policy analysis originally set out in Atkinson, Hills and Le Grand



Source: adapted from Hills (1990) and Lupton et al 2013.

Note: Arrows denote steps in the analytic chain rather than causality.

This emphasis on final outcomes was important and distinctive thirty years ago when Atkinson, Hill and Le Grand (1987)¹ explicitly rejected analyses of the welfare state that focused exclusively on public expenditure categories or policy analysis and that are independent of empirical evidence on outcomes. The contemporary on-going importance of this broad approach to social policy analysis was highlighted in McEnhill and Taylor-Gooby (2017)⁹, which set out a similar critique of approaches in the contemporary social policy literature that focus exclusively on policy instruments, settings and paradigms and that fail to consider empirical evidence on outcomes. Highlighting contrasting characterisations of welfare policies under New Labour and the Coalition Government in terms of continuities on the one hand, and radical change on the other, McEnhill and Taylor-Gooby (2017)⁹ argued that the former approach tends to understate how iterative policy changes over a sustained period – beyond an identifiable rupture – can result in a radical policy shift overall. In contrast, approaches that also consider empirical evidence on outcomes are more likely to be sensitive to iterative processes of policy changes and hence to identify when a fundamental structural break has occurred. The evidence from the [Social Policy in a Cold Climate Research Programme](#) is cited as an example.

For me, this emphasis on final outcomes has always had an important link to the broader search for a set of multidimensional indicators for capturing and assessing social progress in terms of the lives and fortunes of individuals and groups. Atkinson, Hills and Le Grand (1987)¹ advocated the development of welfare indicators across different areas of social policy and our subsequent assessments have regularly made use of many different indicator sets. Many of us involved in this research over the years have memories of the challenges and debates that the selection of indicators for each period involved and the SPDO team in particular have treasured memories of our last SPDO meeting with John in summer 2020, when we set out the plan for the [SPDO Indicator Set](#). The approach to indicators that we have developed has much in common with the approach to social monitoring using a broad set or portfolio of social indicators set out by Tony Atkinson and colleagues including Bea Cantillon⁷ (rather than a single overarching indicator approach). For some of us in CASE, there is also an important link with our work on Amartya Sen's capability approach.

For John though, the over-riding concern was to build up comprehensive and robust empirical evidence on public expenditure, policy developments and outcomes for each time period that could be used to hold governments to account. John's own substantial contributions built on the innovations in the broader literature on poverty, wealth, inequality and distribution analysis over the years. This has included building on John's broader contributions to research in these fields such as the forensic work he led to build up systematic evidence on economic outcomes by protected characteristics (the National Equality Panel).

John's "must reads" from the latest round of research include the [SPDO social security paper](#), co-authored by Kerris Cooper, which examines how the protective capacity of the welfare state was eroded during the second decade of the 21st century. John's [SPDO research paper](#) with Polina Obolenskaya examining inequalities in the decade running up to the 2016 Brexit referendum is another key output and highlights how a calm surface at population level can mask substantial differences for particular groups. [The SPDO overview paper](#) sets out our overall assessment of social policy developments between May 2015 and the eve of the COVID-19 pandemic⁸. Sadly, John was not able to review this report in its entirety. However, much of the material it contains was written or reviewed by John and we believe our overview analysis captures John's reflections and serious concerns about the erosion of social protection mechanisms and widening social inequalities in the years running up to the pandemic.

Looking back over this body of work, I am struck by how many of us have been involved with successive rounds of this research undertaken with John as members of large teams of co-investigators, co-editors,

subject specialists and researchers. The acknowledgement sections to the first and second volumes of the *State of Welfare* make clear that the volumes were a collective output of the Welfare State Programme with Jane Falkingham and Maria Evandrou playing key roles. The research was taken forward in CASE as a collective endeavour, with an expanded team including Nicola Lacey, Suzanne Fitzpatrick, Glen Bramley and Mark Stephens. Throughout this time, John had a kind of clustering effect bringing together and working with different teams to develop and apply the framework over multiple generations.

Looking ahead, CASE has firm plans to take forward this work and to continue to use John's cross-cutting framework for welfare state analysis to assess social policy developments during the 2020s. Our existing analysis stopped on the eve of COVID-19 and we will be bringing the story up to date by undertaking a detailed assessment of public expenditure, policy development and outcomes across different social policy areas during the pandemic period and into the cost of living crisis. We also plan to use the framework as a basis for making an overall assessment of what is (and is not) achieved through the Levelling Up programme and to update the SPDO Indicator Set. Last but not least, John aimed to undertake a major retrospective analysis of the entire body of research from 1974 onwards to the present to draw out key lessons from social policy over almost 50 years. We are committed to completing this output, along with others who have been lucky enough to have worked with and been inspired by John.

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- 1 Atkinson A., Hills J and Le Grand J (1987), *The Welfare State*, in *The Performance of the British Economy* edited by Richard Layard and Rudiger Dornbush
- 2 Hills J (1990) (Ed) *The State of Welfare: the Welfare State in Britain since 1974*
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- 6 Lupton, R., Burchardt, T., Hills J., Stewart K and Vizard P. (2016) (eds) *Social Policy in a Cold Climate: Policies and Their Consequences since the Crisis*. 1st edn. Bristol: The Policy Press.
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- 9 McEnhill, L. and Taylor-Gobby, P. (2017) *Beyond continuity? Understanding change in the UK welfare state since 2010*. *Social Policy and Administration*, 52(1): 252-270. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spol.12310>.

Further information

[Polly Vizard](#) is Associate Director of CASE and Associate Professorial Research Fellow in CASE.

A quarter century of change

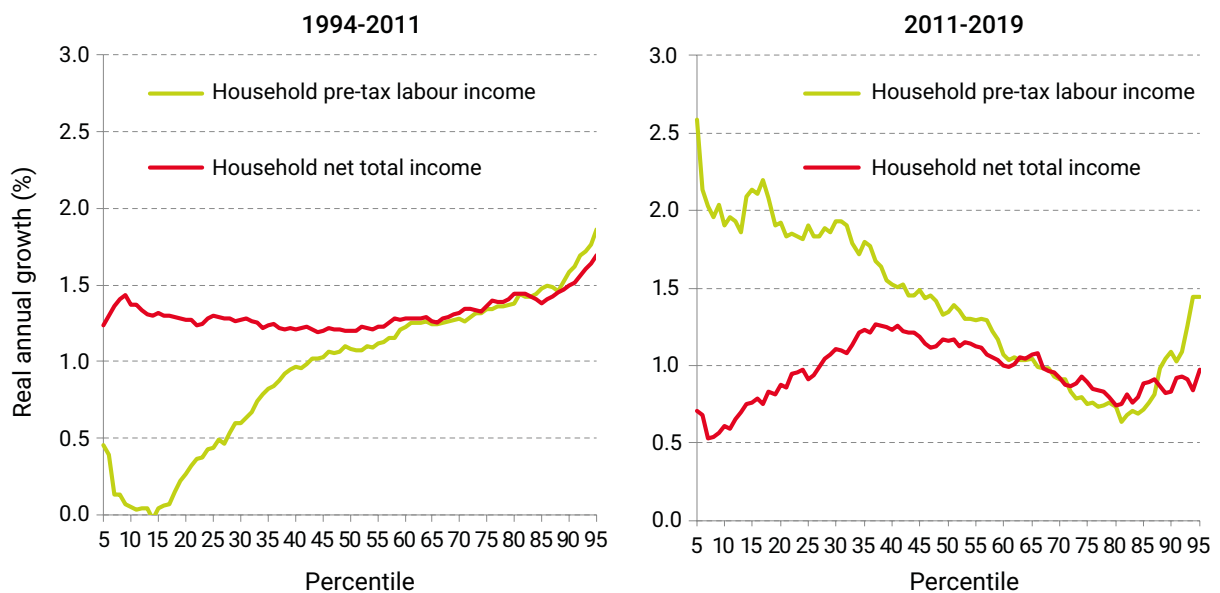
Paul Johnson

Focusing on pensions and social security policy, Paul Johnson highlights some of the most significant changes we have witnessed in the past 25 years. The article casts light on changes in spending priorities but also in the role the tax and benefits system plays in the lives of different groups and its effect on inequality and poverty.

That policy matters, and can have a big effect on inequality, becomes clear when looking at the role the tax and benefit system has played in relation to inequality. Looking at the period between 1994 and 2011, IFS colleagues¹ have found that market income inequality increased, as shown in Figure 1 by the distribution of pre-tax income, but that the tax and benefit system had an equalising effect, holding back growing inequality. Since 2011, however, we see the exact reverse. The market has equalised incomes, partly driven by increases in the national living wage, partly driven by poor wage growth for people higher up the distribution. Cuts in benefits, however, have meant that instead of becoming more equal, income inequality has remained largely unchanged.

Policy matters, but so does what happens in the market. We cannot address inequality solely through the welfare system – despite the £100 billion or so spent each year on working age benefits. Reducing market inequality requires changes in market regulation, wage policy, collective bargaining, corporate governance and more.

Figure 1: Changes in household income by percentile, among households with 1+ adult in paid work

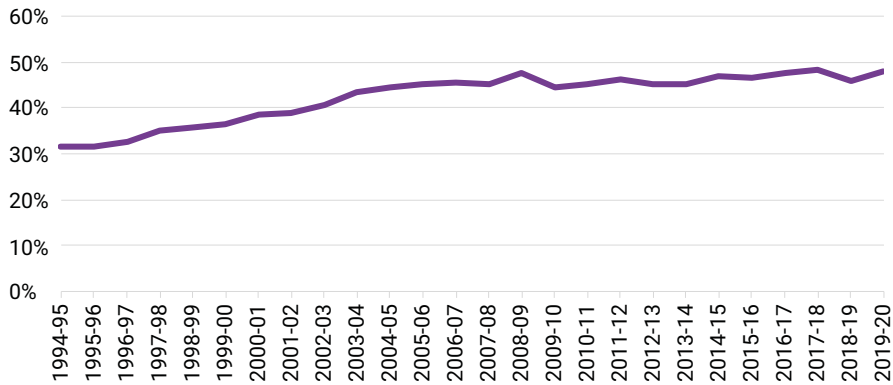


Source: Cribb, J. Joyce, R. and Wernham, T. (2022)¹

Over the last 25 years there have been big changes in the characteristics of those in receipt of benefits. The share of working-age benefits going to working families rose by 17 percentage points between 1994 and 2020, reaching nearly half the total (Figure 2). The tax credit expansions of the early 2000s offered income top-ups for low-earning households, increasing work incentives. At the same time, though, incentives to work more than 16 hours a week were reduced. In the 2010s, increased conditionality attached to out-of-work benefits, in particular for lone-parents also pushed

many into employment. But nearly all that employment is low paid and part time, with little saving to government because most are still receiving benefits, and little long run benefit to those moving into work because low paid part time work results in little in the way of future earnings growth. Efforts to increase work incentives are especially apparent in the design of Universal Credit, which also introduced elements of in-work conditionality.

Figure 2: Percentage of working-age benefits going to families with someone in work

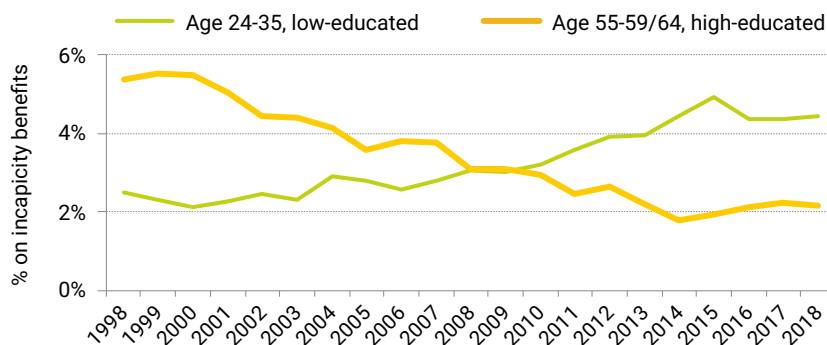


Source: Authors' calculations using Family Resources Survey and TAXBEN

Over the same 25 year period, as the number of workless families has dropped, so the number of working poor has increased. The majority of working-age people in relative poverty are now living in working households – 67 per cent prior to the pandemic, a rise of 11 percentage points from 56 per cent prior to the Great Recession.²

Other demographic changes have played a big role in altering the shape of the benefit system. One remarkable shift has occurred in the role of incapacity benefits. In the 1990s these were benefits claimed overwhelmingly by older men. Today their receipt is more closely related to education than to age (Figure 3). In 2018, 25-34-year-olds with a low education level were more than twice as likely to be on incapacity benefits as the highest educated 55–64-year-olds. In 1998, the younger, less educated group were half as likely to receive disability benefits as the older, more educated group.³ It is the poorly educated and lower skilled, irrespective of age, who are supported by benefits today.

Figure 3: The changing role of incapacity benefits

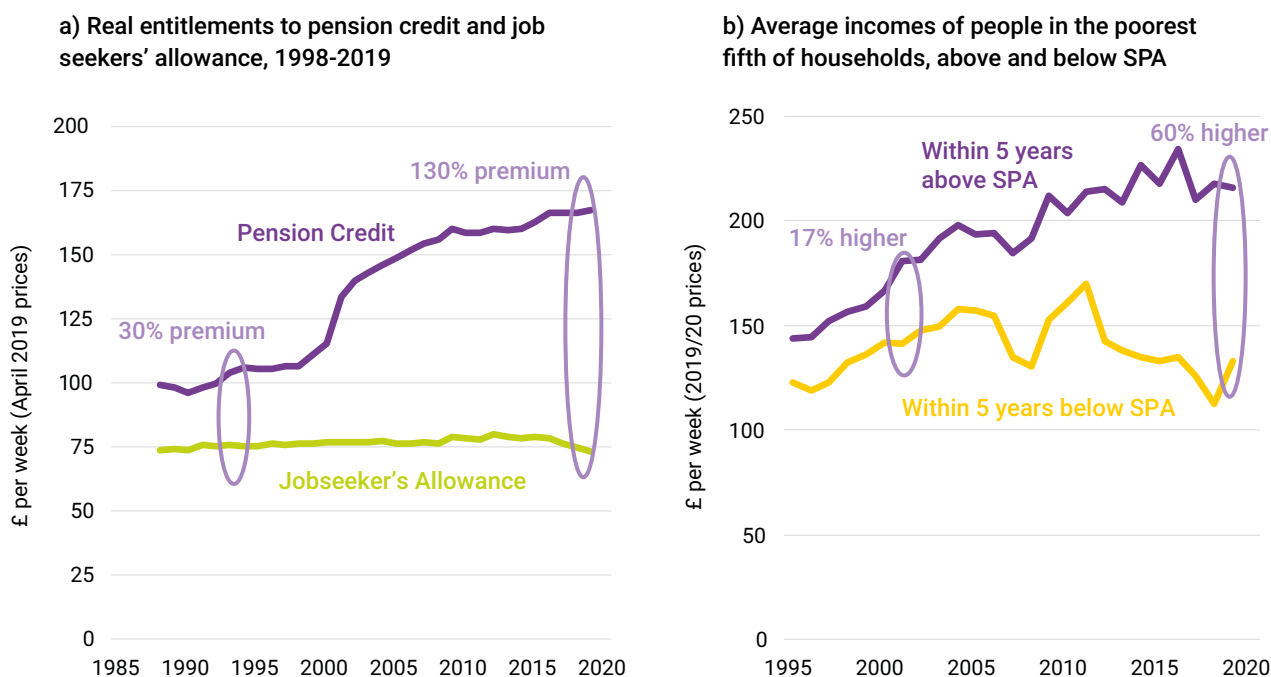


Source: Authors' calculation using the Labour Force Survey

Note: Data run to 2018Q3. "Low education" means leaving education at or before the compulsory school-leaving age; "high education" corresponds to leaving education after age 18. For the yellow series, the upper age limit is 59 for women and 64 for men.

Support for pensioners has been prioritised over recent years with one remarkable consequence. The gap between pension credit and job seekers allowance levels has risen from about 30 per cent in the early 1990s to about 130 per cent in 2020 (Figure 4a). The result is that the poorest fifth of people in the five years after state pension age are about 70 per cent better off than the poorest fifth in the five years leading up to the state pension age (Figure 4b). That gap was 17 per cent at the turn of the century. As the state pension age rises that gap is becoming ever more important.

Figure 4: Increased support for pensioners and its consequences on incomes



A priority for the years ahead may well be to try to provide more support for those struggling in the years leading up to retirement. Policy and perceptions have not kept up with reality. Pensioners are now less likely to be poor than younger people, and their incomes have reached the same level on average of those below pension age (once you account for costs of housing and of children). The incomes of younger generations have stagnated.

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Further information

[Paul Johnson](#) is Director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies since 2011 and Visiting Professor in the Department of Economics at University College London.

25 years of CASEwork on areas and neighbourhoods

Ruth Lupton

CASE's research on areas and neighbourhoods has comprised both quantitative analysis of the changing geography of deprivation and the impact of policy and "CASEwork" – the detailed study of the conditions and dynamics of particular neighbourhoods. Although not directly involved in these studies, John Hills' inspiration and support ensured that the spatial dimensions of poverty, social exclusion and social policy became an important and distinctive element of CASE's contribution.

Political interest in the spatial dimensions of poverty and social exclusion has waxed and waned in the twenty five years since CASE's inception. However, thanks largely to John Hills, questions relating to the spatial distribution of disadvantage, the spatial impacts of social policies, and the ways in which poverty is experienced in and shaped by place have been a constant theme in the Centre's work. Alongside the work of LSE Housing and Communities, CASE's broader areas and neighbourhoods work has made a distinctive contribution to the Centre's output and identity.

In 1995, John was secretary to the Joseph Rowntree Foundation's Inquiry into Income and Wealth, writing the two-volume report from a series of research projects commissioned by the Foundation. Chapter 6 in Volume 2¹ is a "John Hills classic". Drawing particularly on the work of Anne Green and that of Michael Noble and colleagues, it is a crystal-clear exposition of a complex multi-scalar picture, cascading from regional income distributions, through local authority and ward level distributions of Census-based deprivation measures to enumeration district level analysis of benefit receipt. A key finding was that the polarisation of deprivation at the ward level had increased between 1981 and 1991 and that there had in addition been an increase in the proportion of wards affected by "concentrated poverty": i.e. ones which ranked highly on multiple measures.

When CASE was established in 1997, this interest was reflected in the establishment of an "areas strand" as one of CASE's five thematic programmes. Led by Anne Power, with Howard Glennerster, the team picked up on the notion of concentrated poverty wards. The phenomenon of cumulative area disadvantage, cycles of decline and tipping points was something Anne Power had already observed in her work on low income neighbourhoods². John had always supported the qualitative and grounded nature of this community work, combined with statistical evidence on a large scale. Similar patterns were being reported in the US, including by William Julius Wilson, who was an early and influential collaborator. CASE's "areas study" was born: a longitudinal examination of twelve of the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods in England and Wales, and of families living in four of them. The research generated multiple books and reports, including my own *Poverty Street*³, Mumford and Power's *East Enders*⁴, Power's *City Survivors*⁵ and Power, Willmott and Davidson's *Family Futures*⁶. A new project revisiting the neighbourhoods is now underway.

This "CASEwork" has been an important part of CASE's oeuvre: a major contribution to a long tradition of place-based studies and to the understanding of "neighbourhood effects". In particular, it has illuminated the ways in which effects at regional, sub regional, local authority and neighbourhood scales interact in practice, and the importance of integrated multi-scalar policy approaches: something that will need to be central to any successful "levelling up" agenda. Its microscopic approach and its broadening of the meaning of "data" from large scale surveys and administrative data to interviews and systematic observations of grounds maintenance, litter and footfall, among other things, was something John always encouraged and valued. The human and local insights into social exclusion and social policy implementation generated by looking in neighbourhoods informed his work and that of others in CASE.

At the same time, the location of the qualitative “CASEwork” within a largely quantitative centre ensured that it was complemented by a quantitative approach to understanding spatial inequalities, capitalising on increasingly rich neighbourhood-level data. Under John’s leadership, geographical analysis was a key theme of the work of the [National Equality Panel](#) in 2010. Examining the changing spatial distribution of poverty and social exclusion, and the impact of policy on it, was also a consistent strand of CASE’s analyses of social policy and outcomes from 1997 to 2015 in the books *A More Equal Society*, *Towards A More Equal Society* and [Social Policy in A Cold Climate](#), and in a different way, in the [Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes programme](#) which took the story up to early 2020, twenty-five years since the Income and Wealth Inquiry.

A key contribution of these long-run quantitative analyses was to demonstrate that, contrary to prevailing belief, New Labour’s neighbourhood renewal agenda ‘worked’ in its own terms, with significant improvements in services and amenities and some closing of the gap between targeted neighbourhoods and others. However broader trends were changing the pattern of neighbourhood poverty, with the emergence of new concentrated poverty neighbourhoods (in coastal areas, ex-industrial towns and outer areas of cities) while Inner London and to some extent inner areas of other major cities improved on aggregate measures. Alex Fenton’s work⁷ highlighted the impact of social policy on these trends, assessing the impact of the Coalition’s Housing Benefit changes in London. Recognising the importance of understanding both the numerator (the number of poor people) and the denominator (the total population) in such aggregate measures, Fenton also developed a new set of small area poverty estimates⁸. His “UMBR” (Unadjusted Means-tested Benefits Rate) measure and its applications continued a CASE tradition of exploring the different patterns shown by different neighbourhood-level measures, and their importance for neighbourhood policy. In this respect, CASE’s neighbourhoods work reflected the Centre’s, and John’s, longstanding and central interest in measurement.

John Hills is not known as a geographer or, in his own right, as a particular contributor to the UK literature on low-income areas or the spatial distribution of poverty. However, I argue that his interest in this topic was deep and longstanding. His promotion both of quantitative geographical analysis and the area study approach that I have here called “CASEwork” helped to generate a major body of work which is one of CASE’s substantial contributions in its 25 years to date.

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Further information

[Ruth Lupton](#) is an Honorary Professor at the University of Manchester and a Visiting Professor at CASE. She worked at CASE from 1998 to 2004 and again from 2008 to 2013.

Examining the impact of welfare reform on larger families in the UK – with the benefit of John Hills' insights

Kitty Stewart

Kitty Stewart reflects on how John Hills' work informs her current research on the impact of benefit changes on larger families in the UK. The article presents emerging findings from both quantitative and qualitative work, illustrating the difference policy makes in people's lives, the reasons welfare state support is needed, and the way that qualitative research can illuminate the complexity of people's circumstances.

I learned so much from John Hills during the twenty years I was lucky enough to work with him at CASE. Here are just three core points, all of which inform my current work.

First, that policy matters – that it can and does make a significant difference in people's lives.

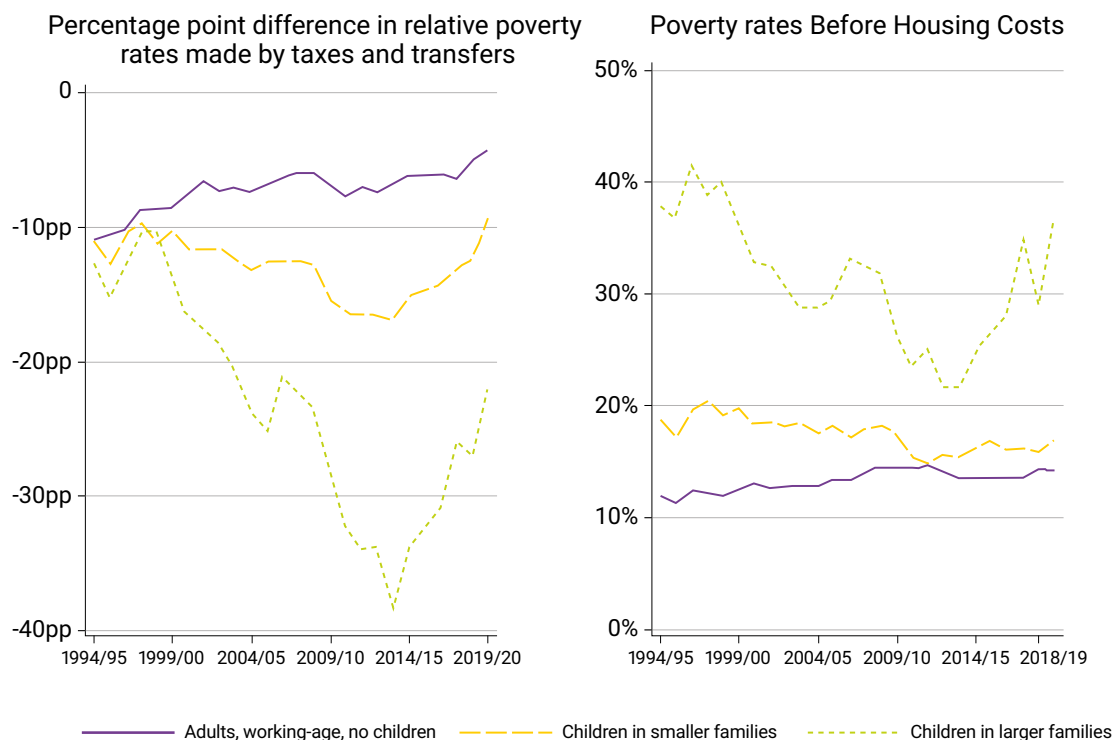
Second, that the welfare state is for all of us, though some of us will end up needing it more than others. John's 2013 book, *Good Times Bad Times*, underlined this message most clearly, showing how we all rely on the welfare state at some points in our life, with times when we pay in and times when we draw out¹. As John wrote in the book's conclusion [p.270], "Most of us get back something at least close to what we pay in over our lives towards the welfare state. When we pay in more than we get out, we are helping our parents, our children, ourselves at another time – and ourselves as we might have been, if life had turned out not quite so well for us."

Third, that while numbers and statistics are crucial, stories and experiences are also an important part of an evidence base. I came to CASE from a PhD in Economics and astonishingly (perhaps shockingly) had managed to reach post-doc status without ever encountering qualitative work. While John's own work was always on the numbers side, the integration of and mutual respect for different methodologies was central to the work done at CASE and was eye-opening for me. Later I got to teach on the brilliant MSc course in Social Policy Research that John developed and co-led with Tania Burchardt. The course introduced generations of social policy students – and me – to the wide range of methodologies used and useful in social policy, from Randomised Controlled Trials, microsimulation and quantitative analysis of large surveys through to in-depth interviews, ethnography and participatory approaches.

My current work on a mixed-methods project [examining the impact of welfare reforms in the UK on larger families](#) (those with three or more children) reflects all three of these points.

First, it shows the power of policy to make a difference, illustrating striking changes over time in the degree to which tax-transfer policy reduces child poverty. As shown in the two panels of Figure 1, the very sharp increases – and later reductions – in the effectiveness of the system for children in larger families are closely reflected in changes in poverty rates for this group. I think John would have liked this figure, which underlines both the remarkable impact of Labour's tax credit system, developed to meet its goal of eradicating child poverty, on larger families in particular, and the unravelling of progress as a result of cuts to working-age social security from 2013.

Figure 1: Percentage point difference in relative poverty rates made by taxes and transfers (left panel) and poverty rates before housing costs, against a poverty line of 60 per cent equivalised median income (right panel)



Source: Authors, calculations using HBAI data.

Second, our project repeatedly reminds us of the two kinds of reason people need these redistributive transfers from the welfare state – life-course reasons which affect a great number of people (families with dependent children at home face higher costs, as well as additional barriers to work) and particular circumstances which mean some families need more help than others. And third, our understanding of the complexity of people’s lives comes through most clearly from our qualitative longitudinal research, talking to families in London and Yorkshire who have been affected by recent benefit changes.

The project focuses on the impact of two specific reforms that John highlighted as among the holes being created in a previously comprehensive safety net²: the 2013 benefit cap, which limits the support a working-age family can receive if no-one in the household works; and the two-child limit, which restricts means-tested support to two children only for new births from 2017.

In our interviews, we find that general life-course factors are frequently compounded by individual circumstances, combining to make employment difficult in the immediate term and support from the state essential. Many of our participants are single parents, often with very young children. In other cases adults and/or children have health difficulties or particular needs. Just looking after the family can be challenging enough, with paid work far from the radar of what is currently possible. One of our participants affected by the two-child limit is Rachel, who has six children at home including two born since the policy took effect.³ Rachel explains that she and her husband both used to work:

“Tom was a long-distance lorry driver so would go to work Monday morning and we wouldn’t see him until Saturday afternoon, and I was a teaching assistant at a primary school. Tom then injured his back so he had to stop working; I carried on working until it became impractical... So there are days where Tom is in a wheelchair and so he needs

help with day-to-day stuff, there are other days when he can't get out of bed. And we also have two autistic children who need a lot of looking after; so I had to give up my job to become carer; and that's sort of where we are."

Bushra is a single mother of six who is affected by both the two-child limit and the benefit cap. Her youngest child, aged two, is tube-fed. Stress around this condition is what led to the breakdown of her marriage. Bushra is highly motivated to work, but childcare has proved an obstacle:

"Every childminder that I've tried, they're all scared about his tube, they get, something happens like they think they can get in trouble ... Otherwise I'm very active; I could get a receptionist job or what I studied as a facilitator, I'm a speaker as well, motivational speaker ... But then three childminders have rejected me because of his condition; so then I kind of like, OK, slide it away, look after your child, that's it."

Other families face different challenges. Alisha has five children, three of them under five. She experienced domestic abuse in her relationship and is now separated from the father of her children. Alisha told us that her youngest children were conceived as a result of coercion, which should exempt them from the two-child limit under the policy's rules. One exemption has already been granted and two others are being considered, but the benefit cap will continue to apply, meaning she will not receive any additional support in practice as long as she is not working. Alisha worked up to the birth of her fourth child, sometimes in two jobs, and intends to return when her youngest is two. But currently with such young children, and the impact of her own trauma, finding a job does not feel the right step for the family:

"I want to get myself physically and emotionally better. I don't want to throw myself straight back into work, I want to do that probably around the time when she's two so we get the funding for the childcare. I want to be allowed to concentrate on, on us all feeling safe and happy again and motivating everybody in the right way."

In the future Alisha will once again be in a position to pay into the welfare state, as she did in the past. For now she and her children, like Rachel and Bushra and their families, need to draw down. Yet the two-child limit and the benefit cap prevent them from accessing adequate support: they are falling through the new holes in the UK's safety net.

Like so many people, I continue to miss John hugely, as a colleague, mentor and friend. It is some comfort to remember the extent to which his research and insights are threaded through so much continuing work, my own included; to use those insights to help identify the problems with current policy; and to try to make it better.

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Further information

[Kitty Stewart](#) is Associate Director of CASE and Associate Professor in Social Policy at the LSE.

The [Benefit Changes and Larger Families](#) project is a mixed methods research project exploring the impact of benefit changes including the benefit cap and the two-child limit on the experiences and outcomes of larger families. The project has been funded by the [Nuffield Foundation](#), but the views expressed are those of the authors and not necessarily the Foundation.

This piece draws on ongoing qualitative work within this project and on an [article](#) in the *Journal of Social Policy*, "A time of need: Exploring the changing poverty risk facing larger families in the UK", co-authored with Ruth Patrick and Aaron Reeves.

Poverty in rich welfare states

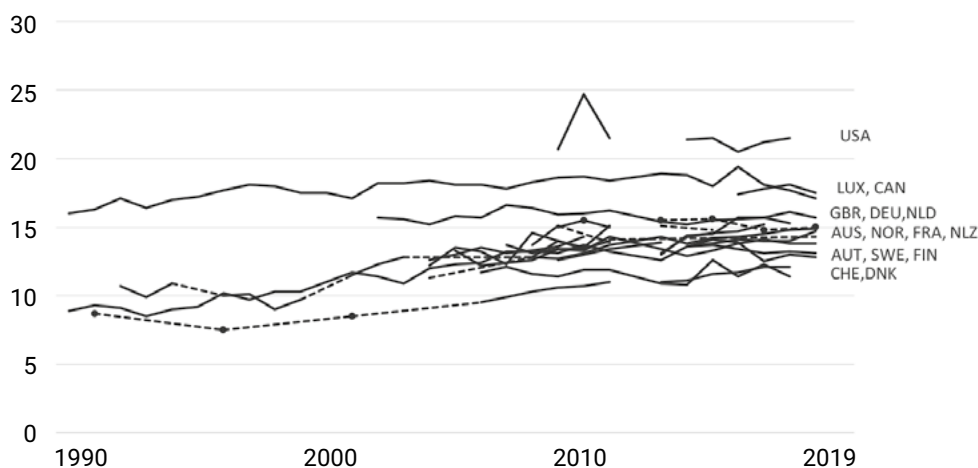
Bea Cantillon

For several decades now, welfare states in rich European countries have been losing the battle against increasing relative income poverty amongst their working-age population. In this article Bea Cantillon reflects on whether this signals a systemic crisis, rooted in structural constraints weakening the capacity of the welfare state to reduce poverty. In the face of the challenges posed by the Covid-19 crisis and the current cost of living crisis, a new social contract is needed as a basis for a more equal society and to tackle poverty.

This paper draws on many years of research into poverty and social policy in the welfare state and intense collaboration with CASE, particularly with the late John Hills. Over this long period, much has been said and written about the concept and measurement of poverty; about the effects of successive crises; about the importance of work, social security and taxation; about the virtues of the Nordic and Continental models; and about the performance of individual welfare states in relation to one another. In retrospect, through cyclical waves and major differences between countries, if we focus on relative income poverty within the working-age population across different rich welfare states in the world ranging from the Nordic social democratic countries, the Bismarckian continental welfare states and the liberal Anglo-saxon nations and look at the commonality of long-term changes, the overall picture on welfare is disappointing and disturbing.

In recent decades, rich welfare-states have enjoyed growth in income, work and social spending. Welfare states worked harder than ever before. They were resilient and, in some countries by taking a "social investment turn"¹, they were, at least to a certain extent, able to adapt to major social and economic transitions. And yet, for several decades now, the welfare state has been losing the battle against increasing relative income poverty amongst their working-age population. For low skilled, work-poor households relative income poverty has for many years and in many countries seen a slow but steady upward trend. The level and speed of rising trends vary widely between countries, but everywhere, even in the best performing countries, the upward poverty curve has failed to reverse for several decades.

Figure 1: Evolution of the at-risk-of-poverty rate (AROP60), population at working age (18-65y) (in %)



Source: OECD income distribution database.

Note: Break in time series due to change in definition; dotted lines indicate years where data are missing.

The paradoxical observation that, on the one hand, relative income poverty among the working-age population is increasing in many developed welfare states in Europe and beyond, and on the other hand, that the welfare states' social spending and programs have, in general, also been deepening and broadening suggests a fading away of the effectiveness of mature welfare states on poverty reduction. Have welfare states failed to properly adapt to the great transformations of our time? Have they changed but bet on wrong horses? Or is there more to it: is the welfare state experiencing a systemic crisis because of increased structural constraints on poverty reduction?

The crisis of outcomes is systemic in nature: it is endogenously related to structural constraints and functional requirements unfolding from economic transformations, modern family-hood and migration; it affects the poverty reducing impact of each of the basic institutions of the welfare state (social insurance, social assistance, social investment) and it is reinforced by unequal political representation and changing opinions on deservingness and an ensuing "dual transformation" which retrenched social protection for so-called "old" social risks (unemployment and ill-health) and expanded social policy to "new social risks" (typically the reconciliation of work and family life)¹. We identify the following factors as key explanations for the weakening of the welfare state's capacity to reduce poverty:

- 1 first, the "great decoupling" of productivity and profit gains on the one hand and low wage growth on the other has impeded more adequate social assistance;
- 2 second, the polarisation of jobs across households and the ensuing concentration of social risks has weakened the poverty reducing capacity of social insurance;
- 3 third, social stratification, reinforced by migration, is a major hindrance to successful social investment for the poor.

If recent crises have taught us anything, it is how vital the welfare state is, for both the people and the economy. However, there is also no doubt that the current crisis has brought the welfare state to a critical point in its history in many countries. Despite the impressive way in which the welfare state has brought relief, the crisis have exposed social inequality in society in a very visible way. The collective burden has reached unprecedented heights. Rich societies can handle a great deal, in the



1 E.g. As argued in the SPDO social security paper², austerity policies have also been a factor.



aftermath of the pandemic the economy and employment recovered unexpectedly fast while poverty remained quite stable in many countries. But massive government supports were needed again to cope with the inflation crisis and this comes on top of the costs of ageing and the efforts needed for climate policy. Meanwhile, the dramatic high poverty levels among low skilled, jobless households pose a major obstacle for successful climate transition. All this calls for deep reflection.

Walter Scheidel (*The Great Leveler*), Branko Milanovic (*Global Inequality*) and Thomas Piketty (*Capital*) argued that transformative change – of the kind that could bring about a decisive shift towards a more equal society with less poverty – would probably only follow a world war or a pandemic. It is much too early to tell whether the still unpredictable consequences of the crisis will lead to substantial changes. One thing is for sure: to succeed where we have failed in the past, we will need to do more than address random flaws. To manage climate change, digitalisation and ageing a new social contract is needed. This new social contract should build on the achievements of the post-war social welfare state but has to offer more security: by putting a floor under incomes, by broadening the repertoire of work, by including taxes on wealth and carbon emissions in the redistribution process and by intensifying the cooperation in the European and global context.

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Further information

[Bea Cantillon](#) is Full Professor at the Herman Deleeck Centre for Social Policy, University of Antwerp. This article draws on the recent working paper [Poverty and the tragedy of the welfare state. Seven terms for a new social contract](#).

An anatomy of Economic inequality: John Hills and the work of the National Equality Panel

Giovanni Razzu

In this article Giovanni Razzu reflects on John Hills' contribution to the National Equality Panel (NEP), which John chaired between 2008 and 2010. The article focuses on the establishment of the NEP, its process and some of its key findings.

1 The establishment of the NEP

The National Equality Panel (NEP) was launched in October 2008 by the R.H Harriet Harman, who, at that time, was Minister for Women and Equality. The preceding Equalities Review, set up in 2005 under Prime Minister Tony Blair and chaired by Trevor Phillips, could not focus on economic inequalities. This constraint meant that while the Equalities Review started to build up evidence about the multidimensional disadvantages experienced by different groups and set out strong recommendations on how this should be done going forward, the fact remained that economic inequalities were beyond the formal remit of the Review. It was a clear, very evident gap that, sooner or later, had to be filled. And indeed, the central focus of the NEP was on economic inequalities.

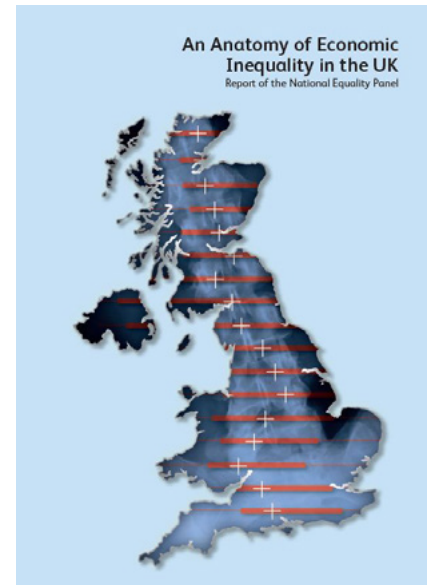
There were also other important factors. Harriet Harman was Leader of the House of Commons and Deputy Leader of the Labour Party. During her campaign to become Deputy Leader, she had referred to the need to restore a Royal Commission to look at widening income gaps. The Royal Commission on the Distribution of Income and Wealth ceased to exist in 1979. However, a Royal Commission can be set up only by a Secretary of State and Harriet Harman was not a Secretary of State, being the Leader of the House. So the NEP was, in a way, the solution to the Minister's desire to restore the Royal Commission on the distribution of income and wealth.

John Hills was of course fully aware of these political dimensions that led to the NEP and his understanding of the work previously done by the Equalities Review, his knowledge of the evidence (John had produced the 1995 Joseph Rowntree Foundations' Inquiry into Income and Wealth), together with the Minister's desire to restore the Royal Commission shaped the establishment of the National Equality Panel, its Terms of Reference and its composition.

2 The NEP initial process

The NEP was composed of 10 members, all academics. Its remit emphasised the need to "provide an independent analysis of the evidence". The TOR also said that the NEP should "provide advice to Government on the implications for the direction of policy". So, the remit had a strong emphasis on independent research and analysis of the evidence, rather than specific policy recommendations and, instead, advice on *implications for the direction of policy*.

John's deep understanding of the evidence was reflected in a kind of matrix that sought to include evidence that was already easily available; evidence which required more effort; and evidence that is



more ambitious to obtain but still worth trying to secure/acquire. We had various equality groups/strands: gender, age, disability, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion and belief. Then we had the need to look at intersectionality between these different groups. John knew that some data would not be available, or that we would run quickly out of explanatory power when considering, for instance, gender, age and ethnicity together. In order to address this and increase the possibility of providing insights on intersectionality, other characteristics were added, for which there was evidence about their relationship with economic inequalities: social class but also housing tenure, area deprivation, nation and regions. Then we had the economic outcomes. The TOR referred to employment, income and wealth but the report ended up looking at education, employment, wages and earnings, individual income, household income and household wealth. It also looked at social mobility as this provided a clear link to the need to understand the process of disadvantage during the life cycle.

John's diplomatic skills contributed to a balanced and effective panel composition. This was not an easy task when considering the scope of the work to be carried out; the possible gaps in evidence to be filled; and the need to have expertise across the wide range of characteristics, outcomes and dimensions across the UK. Members of the panel were experts on the economic outcomes the NEP covered, as applied to one or many of the equality groups, and the panel included both sociologists' and economists' perspectives on social mobility.

The outcome was the Report [An anatomy of Economy Inequality in the UK¹](#). I remember the discussion with John on the vision for the report, the title and also the cover page. On the cover page, John wanted to portray a map of the UK overlapping a scan of a body, a vertebral column with the box plots representing the vertebrae. As a result, the cover page strikingly captures and communicates the contents of the report – that is – a full scan of the extent of economic inequality in the UK, and its focus on distribution and gaps.



3 Findings and legacy

The title of the first section of the introductory chapter, "Inequality matters", set out some of the main findings of the report. John was adamant that the report, straight away, should engage with the issue of whether economic inequalities were inevitable or functional in creating incentives that promote economic growth. The evidence analysed by the Panel showed clearly that comparisons with other equally or more economically successful countries, but with lower inequalities, undermine the arguments about the inevitability of the extent of the inequalities that were documented in the report. Moreover, the view that greater equality would stifle diversity has to be set against the counter view that it is inequality that suppresses the ability of individuals to develop their talents. When large disparities in material rewards are used as the yardstick of success and failures, it is hard for those who fall behind to flourish.

Second, public policy also matters. Governments have options. Certain outcomes are not inevitable and policy interventions in the past have shown that the kinds of differences described in the report are not immutable. This message was very important to John: he was a true believer that evidence-based policies can have an impact.

Third, the report mapped in detail, I think for the first time, the relationship between inequalities in people's economic outcomes and their characteristics and circumstances.

The NEP had certainly an immediate impact on equality legislation, particularly on the "famous" Clause 1 of the Equality Act 2010, which placed a new duty on key public authorities to consider how they can reduce the inequalities of outcome which result from socio-economic disadvantage.

Finally, a more personal note on the immense impact of the experience of working with John. John was really special: in his approach, knowledge, ways of communicating and the ways in which he engaged with all kinds of stakeholders from all backgrounds and perspectives, junior civil servants, ministers individually or in the Cabinet as a whole. I think that to deliver on the NEP, which was carried out in less than 14 months, given its scale and complexity, is a great testament to John's ability to engage, create, analyse, interpret evidence and bring all kind of inputs together in a consistent, incisive and yet innovative way.

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Further information

[Giovanni Razzu](#) is Professor of Economics of Public Policy at the University of Reading. He was Head of the National Equality Panel's Secretariat.

Housing and poverty revisited – John Hills' contributions

Mark Stephens

Poverty rates are usually calculated before and after housing costs. However, this approach does not provide a full picture of the impact of housing on distribution because it ignores “housing income” – the value of housing consumption. In this article, Mark Stephens shows that while considering housing costs usually raises poverty rates, taking account of “housing income” reduced poverty rates in England and the Netherlands on the eve of the financial crisis. Governments can configure housing systems that counteract income poverty by, for example, promoting social renting.

Since the 1980s there has been a drifting apart of housing studies from social policy, as housing studies established itself as a distinctive area of study with its own conventions and journals. This disjuncture risks weakening the understanding of the linkages between inter-related aspects of policy, not least the relationship between housing and the wider welfare state. Whilst there have been recent attempts to bring together these areas of study¹, the research reported here examined an area highlighted by the late [Sir John Hills](#) more than two decades ago:

“Countries vary widely in their housing systems and the ways in which they subsidise... their housing... These differences affect the distribution of living standards within each country, as the benefits in kind which people derive from housing (‘housing income’) are unlikely to be distributed in proportion to other forms of income.”² [p157]

Partly inspired by John Hills, a study conducted by Mark Stephens and Guido van Steen³ demonstrated the importance of “housing income” in income distribution in 2008, on the eve of the Global Financial Crisis.

Housing income

Poverty rates are usually calculated using income before and after housing costs. Whilst housing costs are obviously important, they do not provide a complete picture of the impact that housing can have. They are silent about housing income. This includes the income-in-kind that home-owners enjoy by virtue of not paying rent on their accommodation, and the value of below-market rents from which social tenants benefit. Economists sometimes call these “imputed rental income”.

The project used data from the English House Condition Survey and the Housing research in the Netherlands (WoON) to recalculate the impact of housing income on poverty rates (net of costs, such as rent and mortgage interest payments). It went a step further by also considering capital gains enjoyed by owner-occupiers.

Far fewer people experience poverty based on their disposable income alone in the Netherlands than is the case in England. For 2008, the year for which data was used in this study, more than one-fifth (21.6 per cent) of people in England experienced poverty, compared to 13.2 per cent in the Netherlands. An important question is whether the housing system can alter this pattern.

Findings

The [findings](#) report poverty rates among individuals. Income is measured at the household level and is adjusted according to household composition (“equivalised”), The poverty line set at 60 per cent of median household income. Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate the powerful impact that housing income can exert on poverty rates.

Figure 1: Impact of housing income on poverty rates (England 2008)

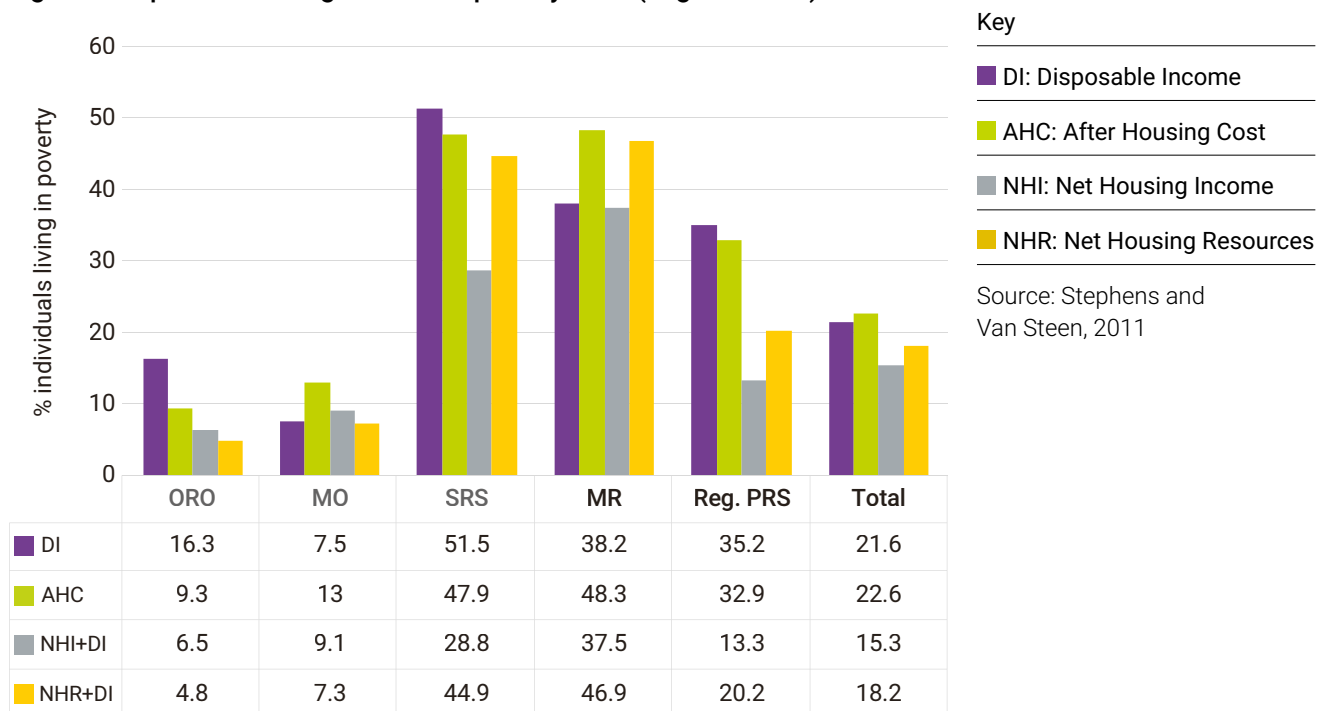
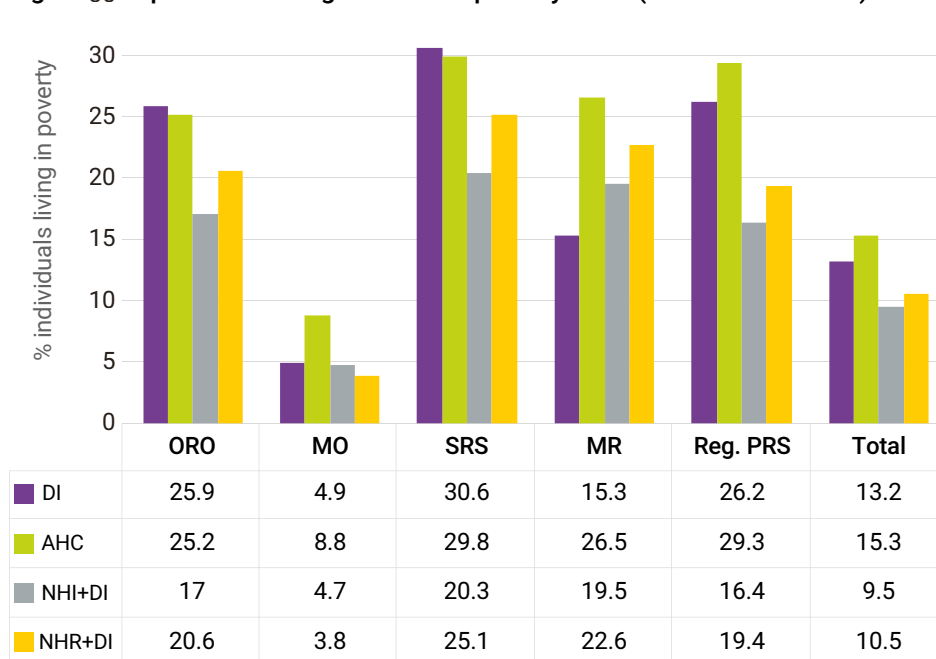


Figure 2: Impact of housing income on poverty rates (Netherlands 2008)



Measuring poverty after housing costs raises the poverty rate in both England and the Netherlands (as is usually the case internationally). However, taking account of housing income reduced the poverty rate in both countries: by 6.3 percentage points in England and by 3.7 percentage points in the Netherlands.

In both countries, the reductions in poverty rate were greatest among people who owned their properties without a mortgage, social tenants and private tenants with regulated rents. These tenures are those that are likely to produce the largest imputed rental incomes, so in this sense the direction of the results is not surprising.

When the anticipated capital gains that all owner-occupiers might reasonably expect based on past house price trends were considered, the reduction in poverty rate (compared to disposable income alone) was smaller than when housing income alone was measured. Again, this is unsurprising because social tenants, who have the highest levels of poverty based on disposable income alone, cannot receive capital gains.

Explaining the findings

The research went on to explore the reasons for the results in more depth. The researchers had assumed that housing income had the effect of reducing poverty rates because housing income was more evenly distributed than disposable income. In fact, the research found that net housing income is much less equally distributed – and it is distributed in favour of households who are more likely to experience poverty when disposable income alone is measured. When the researchers estimated levels of housing income poverty separately from poverty based on disposable income alone, they found that housing income poverty was concentrated among people who did not experience income poverty. This finding helps to explain why the housing systems in England and the Netherlands helped to reduce poverty – at least in 2008.

Policy implications

There is nothing inevitable about housing systems reducing poverty. The results the research found reflected tenure patterns, and the distribution of households among these tenures. It is likely that the housing system in England now has less effect in reducing poverty than in 2008. This is because the market rented sector has grown and the social rented sector has shrunk. Fewer people will therefore benefit from the housing incomes that arise from below-market rents offered by social landlords.

The fall in interest rates that occurred after the Global Financial Crisis and which fell further during the pandemic will also have benefited primarily people whose disposable incomes were well above the poverty line. Of course, this situation has reversed somewhat because of the rise in inflation during 2022.

A government wishing to deploy the housing system progressively would prioritise the revitalisation of social renting. In principle the control of rents in the private sector would also help, but at the risk of unintended consequences in the longer-term, such as disrepair. Lower rates of home-ownership may eventually feed through into higher rates of pensioner poverty – both on the “after housing cost” measure and the measure of “housing income” used in the research. This is because older home-owners are likely to have repaid their mortgage so face lower direct housing costs and enjoy large (net) imputed rental incomes at a time when their disposable incomes are likely to have fallen with retirement.

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Further information

[Mark Stephens](#) is Ian Mactaggart Chair in Land, Property and Urban Studies at the University of Glasgow. This article is based on a contribution to the “Celebrating John Hills’ Contribution” section of CASE’s 25th birthday event, 7 September 2022.

Learning from John Hills on social housing

Becky Tunstall

John Hills provided an unparalleled model for ways of thinking, ways of researching, and ways of being a good colleague and a good person. He made an important contribution to understanding the aims of social housing and to evaluating its successes and failures. In this article, Becky Tunstall reflects on how his example teaches us to contextualise qualitative material with quantitative data, to think from first principles, and to question the position of housing policy within public policy.

Introduction

I met John Hills in 1994 when I arrived at LSE to work as a research assistant on a study of twenty council estates with Anne Power. As I learnt more about social housing, John provided an unparalleled model for ways of thinking, ways of researching, and ways of being a good colleague and a good person. His example taught me to contextualise and structure qualitative material with quantitative data, to think from first principles, and to question the position of housing policy within public policy as a whole. John also showed me the value of a 'hinterland', through his comprehensive exploration of the Lakeland Fells, and numerous other interests.

I eventually completed three rounds of research on those twenty estates, generating very rich qualitative evidence. However, John's lead and the environment at CASE showed me how complementary quantitative data from beyond case study areas can make this kind of data much more powerful. For example, one of the first residents arriving at a new estate in the North West of England in 1938 said: *"it was great, we had a bathroom inside and a toilet as well and a garden back and front"*. However, forty years later in the 1970s, a resident on the same estate said: *"the house was alright in summer but hopeless in winter"*.¹

On their own, these quotes are evocative, but remain particular and even puzzling. When supported and contextualised, they tell a large part of the history of social housing in the UK. All households in this estate had sole access to an indoor bathroom and toilet in 1938, relatively unusual at the time. Even by 1961, 41 per cent of households in England had an outdoor toilet, no bathroom, or shared facilities. However by 1971, this figure had fallen to 9 per cent. Meanwhile, homes at the estate were initially heated by coal fires, and while they got central heating soon after the 1970s complaint, by this point, 59 per cent of homes in England already had it. In short, norms and then expectations changed markedly over time. Social housing started ambitiously, with high quality homes and aimed at people on middle incomes, but failed to keep up with the rising standards, and could not compete for people on middle incomes as home ownership became more accessible.¹

In her 2003 study of the history of council housing, Alison Ravetz noted that no firm criteria of success or failure were ever established for the gigantic, multi-decade multi-million home programme. Without clear goals, there can be no sensible evaluation. As a result, she said that the policy had *"small scale successes"* while *"moving forward with a mounting sense of failure"*² [p4]. However, when writing on the role of housing subsidies and benefits in *Urban Studies* in 2001, John started by asking, *"What are we trying to achieve?"*. In his review of social housing in 2007, he aimed to investigate the *"ends and means"* of social housing policy³ [p.16]

John said that, in practice, the broad revealed goal of twentieth century UK housing policy had been to achieve *"A decent home for all at a price within their means"*.³ However, he problematised the status of housing policy in UK public policy overall:



“Housing policy’ per se hardly exists any more: it survives within the welfare state mainly as an adjunct of social security (through Housing Benefit) or as part of wider city regeneration policies”⁴ [p.13].

Multiple policy fields have their “Hills review”. In 2006, John was asked to look at social housing (Hills 2007). He said that there were strong arguments for social housing from first principles, but that, *“the outcomes are at present disappointing”*³ [p.11]. There were injustices in the distribution of subsidies and inefficiencies in their effects. Over time, the tenure had become residualised, and tenants’ employed had *“collapse[d]”*³ [p.100]; *“evidence of the positive effect on employment rates that the existence and security of sub-market rents should give”* was *“lacking”*³ [p.104]. *Inside Housing*, the trade magazine, called the review *“seminal”*. It inspired experiments by councils with “housing options” services, which have become standard, and developed into more emphasis on homelessness prevention in the Housing (Wales) Act 2014 and Homeless Prevention Act 2017 (England). Social landlords did more to support tenants into employment and experimented with fixed-term tenancies.

Building on these ideas, it seemed to me that by the 2010s, housing and housing policy were not mainly ends in themselves, but were being used as a means to support the economy. Economic activity linked to housing and to the growth of the housing market are important for the economy as a whole and to government income. The Office for Budget Reform said that 5 per cent of 2019 GDP (£114bn) was linked to moving home. In 2019/20, £15.4bn of UK government income came from English and Northern Irish stamp duty, and £10.0bn from capital gains tax, mainly on homes. By this point, the UK government also had a direct stake in house prices through its 20 per cent or £3.2bn share in the value of homes bought with Help to Buy support. Pandemic policy on housing further revealed the twenty-first-century role of housing policy as a means to support the economy in general. Avoiding instability, reductions in building and falls in house prices were key aims of pandemic policy. In 2020, the Bank of England provided £440bn of “quantitative easing” and interest rates dropped to 0.25 per cent, both favouring home buyers and owners. £10.4 billion or 41 per cent of the total Self-Employed Support Scheme funds went to people self-employed in construction industry. Another £5.5bn or 8 per cent of the total furlough went to employees in the construction

industry. In England, construction sites and estate agents closed for only seven weeks. In England and Northern Ireland, a stamp duty holiday cost £4.7bn. The government asked regulators to require mortgage providers to offer payment holidays, taken up by 23 per cent of UK mortgage holders. In July 2020, the OBR had predicted pandemic income loss and uncertainty would result in an annual house price fall of 8 per cent. However, as a result of policy support, UK house prices rose by 11 per cent over 2020, meaning an average nominal wealth gain for owner households of £37,000, markedly above the average furlough payment of £6,000).⁵

After the Grenfell tragedy in 2017, the government commissioned another (much lower profile and ultimately unpublished) review of social housing⁶. Nicholas Pleace and I found small scale successes, but also mounting failure. Social housing had stopped shrinking, but mainly because higher house prices made the Right to Buy scheme inaccessible. The residualisation of social housing had reversed, but partly due to the shift of disadvantaged households into private renting. Regulation in England had been reorganised in 2008, twice in 2010, 2016, and 2018, mainly to reduce constraints on landlords, which probably contributed to failures at Grenfell. Legislation to improve safety, regulation and responsiveness to tenants only started going through Parliament in mid-2022 and in early 2023 had not yet passed.

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Further information

[Becky Tunstall](#) is Prof Emerita of Housing Policy at the University of York. She was a CASE Associate from 1997 to 2011, alongside being a lecturer in Housing at LSE.

Fuel poverty and its measurement: The Hills Review and recent developments

Abigail McKnight

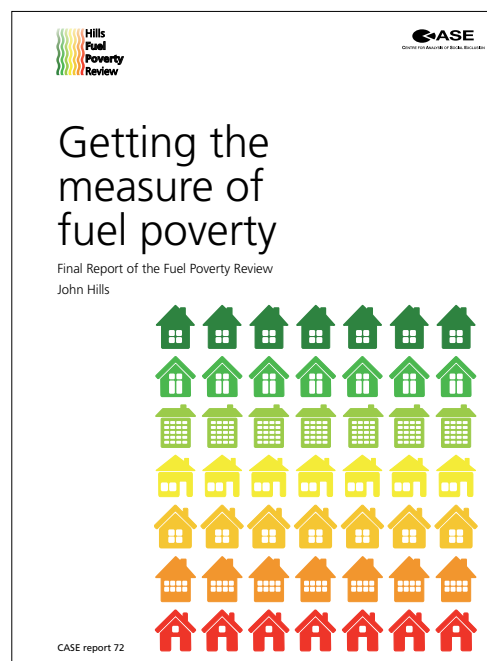
Abigail McKnight reflects on John Hills' highly influential work on fuel poverty. The article looks at the evolution of fuel poverty measurement in the UK and the significant role John played in improving the way fuel poverty is measured and understood. A new official fuel poverty measure has recently been introduced in England and the article concludes that it can be misleading and largely fails to pick-up the impact of soaring energy prices.

Over the last year, the issue of fuel poverty has moved up the political agenda. A surge in demand for energy following the easing of Covid-19 restrictions and the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which substantially reduced the supply of gas from Russia to Europe, resulted in soaring domestic energy prices. Coupled with inflationary pressures and a squeeze on real household incomes, increasing energy bills are drawing more people into fuel poverty. Growth in fuel poverty is concerning not just because it is an important indicator of financial hardship but because of the association between fuel poverty and poor physical and mental health, excess winter deaths, isolation and social exclusion. Against this background, it is timely to reflect on John's highly influential work on fuel poverty and on the evolution of the measures that are used to identify the fuel poor.

The first time fuel poverty became subject to legislation in England and Wales was in the *Warm Homes and Energy Conservation Act 2000 (WHECA)*, and for Scotland in the *Housing (Scotland) Act 2001*. The Acts introduced legislative requirements to set targets for achieving the objective of ensuring that as far as reasonably practicable persons do not live in fuel poverty within 15 years of the publication of a fuel poverty strategy. For the purposes of both Acts, a person is regarded as fuel poor if that person is a member of a household with lower income in a home which cannot be kept warm at a reasonable cost. While neither Act set out how fuel poverty should be measured, fuel poverty measurement took on a new importance as targets needed to be defined in terms of measures and through their influence on policy priorities.

The UK Fuel Poverty Strategy 2001 set out the approach of the Government and the Devolved Administrations to tackling fuel poverty. The Strategy adopted the "widely accepted" definition that a fuel poor household is one which needs to spend more than 10 per cent of its income on all fuel use and to heat its home to an adequate standard of warmth. At the time, all UK nations used this definition although there were technical differences in how fuel poverty was measured. The Strategy introduced a fuel poverty ratio with a value of 0.10 or higher identifying the fuel poor:

$$\text{Fuel poverty ratio} = \frac{\text{Required fuel costs (i.e. required usage x price)}}{\text{Income}}$$



An energy use model provides estimates of required usage as actual usage might reflect households rationing energy use to the extent that they live with sub-optimal room temperatures to save on fuel costs, or, conversely, use levels of energy well above what is necessary. To estimate required annual usage, survey data provides detailed information on features of each dwelling (size, construction material, energy efficiency installations, type of fuel, etc.) and the model uses set parameters for different energy uses (space heating, water heating, lights, appliances and cooking) and a defined heating regime (for example, 21°C in living room, 18°C in other rooms, for a fixed number of hours each day for different levels of occupancy). Energy prices are also estimated using information on type of fuel, average regional prices and payment type.

In March 2011 the then Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change invited John to undertake an independent review of the problem of fuel poverty and its measurement in England (the [Hills Review](#)¹). John identified a number of strengths with the 10 per cent measure: it was straightforward and easy to understand; using required fuel costs provided an objective assessment of need; and, it was, to some extent, sensitive to the major drivers of fuel poverty (income, fuel prices and energy efficiency of homes). However, John also identified important limitations including problems with the quality of the income data, the measure of income used (which excluded housing costs) and lack of equivalisation of income and energy needs, and a number of significant flaws. Specifically:

- The 10 per cent threshold was arbitrary having been based on a 1988 figure that the median household spent 5 per cent of income on energy and that twice this per cent might be taken as “unreasonable” cost.
- It was possible for households with quite high income to be classified as fuel poor; inconsistent with the definition included in the Act.
- The use of a ratio and a fixed threshold meant estimates were very sensitive to temperature standards used to estimate energy requirements. Changing room temperature targets by 1°C had a big impact on estimated fuel poverty rates. This is not ideal given the somewhat arbitrary setting of target temperatures informed by figures from 1991.
- Fuel prices dominated estimates of fuel poverty, leading to distortions in trends.
- General improvements to the energy efficiency of homes had little impact on estimates of fuel poverty and the measure was insensitive to specific policies designed to help reduce energy costs for low income households, such as the Warm Homes Discount (WHD).
- It did not convey any information on the depth of fuel poverty and, therefore, was unable to guide policy prioritisation on the basis of “worst first”.
- The use of average regional energy prices by fuel and payment type does not reflect tariffs actually paid by low income households.

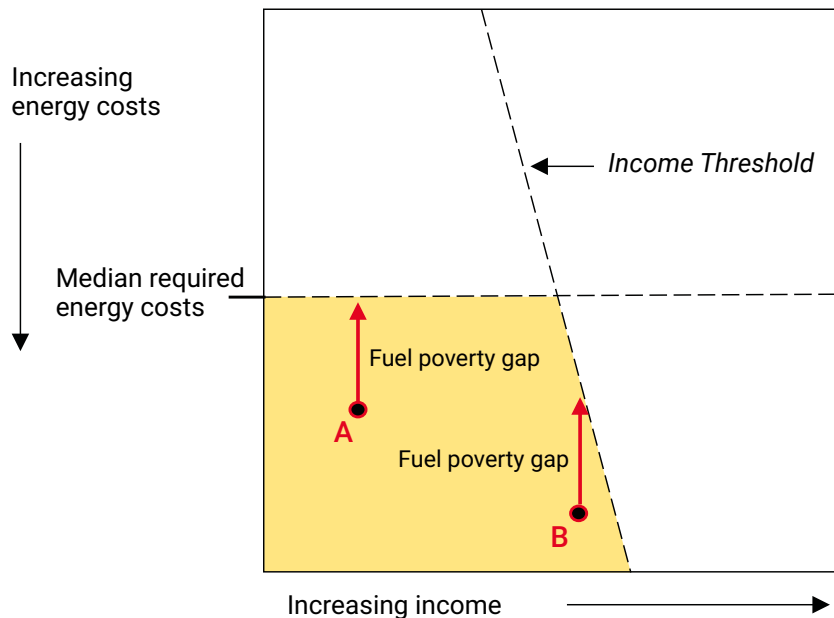
After conducting an initial assessment of the 10 per cent measure and other distinct aspects of fuel poverty including reviewing responses from a call for evidence, John published an [interim report](#)² in 2011 setting out the key issues and outlining a number of options for how fuel poverty measurement could be improved. This was used as the basis for a consultation and the overall findings were published in a [final report](#)¹ in 2012. The main outputs from the review are a *tour de force*, so typical of John. He was perfectly suited to undertaking this review with his forensic attention to detail coupled with his ability to see the bigger picture, his deep understanding of policy and policy making, his openness to listening and learning, his diplomatic skills and power of communication.

John concluded that the 10 per cent measure was too sensitive to energy price changes and technicalities within its calculation which resulted in a misleading impression of trends and

underestimation of the impact of key policies. While problems with income measurement and data quality could have been dealt with, John concluded that a new measure was required to address significant flaws. He recommended replacing the 10 per cent measure with the Low Income High Cost (LIHC) measure, key elements of which are an estimate of “unreasonable costs” based on modelled required fuel costs above the contemporary median level; a move to equivalised After Housing Costs (AHC) income; and the use of the relative income poverty line of 60 per cent median income to define low income. The new measure also captured the reality that energy costs could drag households into fuel poverty and provided a way to measure fuel poverty gaps. Under the recommended LIHC measure, households are classified as fuel poor if:

- they have required fuel costs that are above the median level; and
- were they to spend that amount they would be left with a residual income below the official poverty line (equivalised AHC income below the contemporaneous 60 per cent median income).

Figure 1: Low Income High Cost measure (LIHC)



Source: Hills (2012). Getting the measure of fuel poverty: Final Report of the Fuel Poverty Review

The LIHC measure was officially adopted for England in 2013. However, during the subsequent period, several developments resulted in a watering down of statutory requirements relating to the elimination of fuel poverty in England. Specifically, the *Energy Act 2013* amended statutory requirements in WHECA. The original legislation included a clear objective to eliminate fuel poverty, as far as is reasonably practicable, within a specified time-frame but under the amendment this is no longer the case. The only statutory requirement is that the Secretary of State must “make regulations setting out an objective for addressing the situations of persons in England who live in fuel poverty”. A target date to meet this objective must be specified, and the regulations must be set out in a statutory instrument within six months of the Act coming into force. Secondary legislation, *Fuel Poverty (England) Regulations 2014*, introduced a new statutory target based on a new indicator, the Fuel Poverty Energy Efficiency Rating (FPEER), that as many as is reasonably practicable of the homes in which persons in England who live in fuel poverty have a minimum energy efficiency rating of FPEER Band C by 31 December 2030.

Fuel Poverty Energy Efficiency Ratings (FPEER)

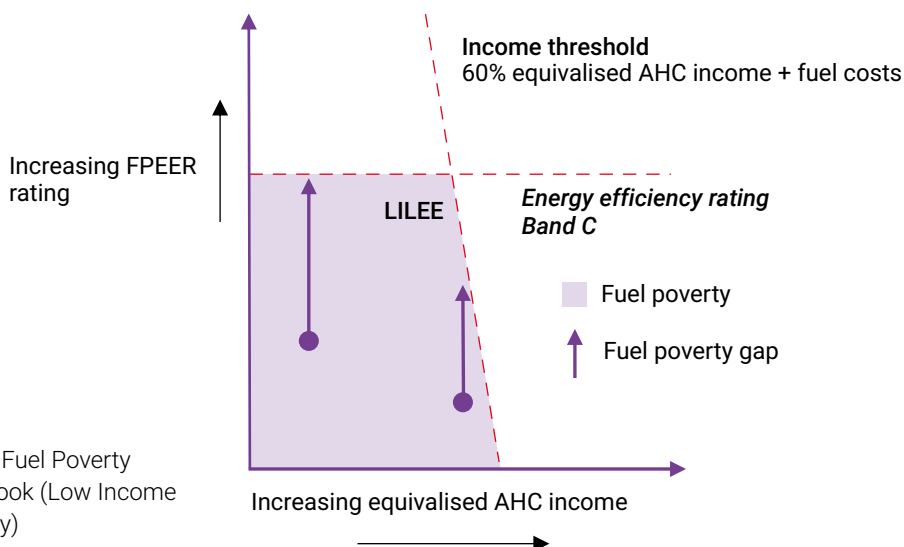
Fuel Poverty Energy Efficiency Ratings are estimated using a modified version of the Standard Assessment Procedure (SAP) for assessing the energy performance of dwellings, which additionally take into account policy interventions directly reducing the cost of energy (currently the Warm Homes Discount). Modelled estimates of energy requirements are combined with average regional fuel prices and method of payment to generate estimates of total annual energy costs. Standardised annual fuel costs, after taking into account the Warm Homes Discount where applicable, are adjusted for floor areas to enable the comparison of energy efficiency across different size dwellings. Homes are rated from 0 to 100 then into bands from G (least energy efficient) to A (most energy efficient).

In 2015, [Cutting the cost of keeping warm: A fuel poverty strategy for England](#)³ set out a new strategy and interim targets in terms of the LIHC measure and for the FPEER statutory target. In 2019, a consultation on the strategy highlighted a number of issues with the LIHC measure. Its relative nature meant that the estimated proportion of households in fuel poverty had remained stable (10-12 per cent) but these were not always the same 10-12 per cent as households were found to 'churn' in and out of fuel poverty year-on-year dependent on their income and fuel costs compared to the average. As a result, a household's fuel poverty status can change even if its circumstances do not. The high degree of churn meant that tracking progress against the targets was challenging and the relative nature of the measure meant that the proportion classified as fuel poor is similar irrespective of the rate of progress in improving energy efficiency of homes which made it hard to assess whether adequate progress was being made.

Following a further consultation in 2019 a new official measure of fuel poverty for England, Low Income Low Energy Efficiency (LILEE), was adopted in 2020. The LILEE measure is used along with the FPEER statutory target in the 2021 fuel poverty strategy⁴. Households are considered LILEE fuel poor if:

- their home has a fuel poverty energy efficiency rating of Band D or below; and
- if they were to spend their modelled energy costs, they would be left with a residual income below the official poverty line.

Figure 2 Low Income Low Energy Efficiency measure



Source: BEIS (2022). Fuel Poverty Methodology Handbook (Low Income Low Energy Efficiency)

As fuel poverty is a devolved matter, measures, targets and outputs have evolved differently across the UK. While there is not space here to go into detail on how measures and strategies have evolved across Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, the key differences are summarised below.

Fuel poverty measurement and current targets in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland

Fuel Poverty (Targets, Definition and Strategy) (Scotland) Act 2019 set out a new statutory definition of fuel poverty for **Scotland**. Under the new definition, a household is in fuel poverty if:

- in order to maintain a satisfactory heating regime, total fuel costs necessary for the home are more than 10 per cent of the household's adjusted AHC net income, and
- if after deducting fuel costs, benefits received for a care need or disability and childcare costs the household's remaining adjusted net income is insufficient to maintain an acceptable standard of living. The remaining adjusted net income must be at least 90 per cent of the UK Minimum Income Standard to be considered an acceptable standard of living, with an additional amount added for households in remote rural, remote small town and island areas.

Extreme fuel poverty is where a household would need to spend more than 20 per cent of its adjusted AHC net income. A fuel poverty gap estimates the additional amount fuel poor households require to maintain an acceptable standard of living. In contrast to England, the satisfactory heating regime allows for higher room temperatures for households with pensioners, long-term sick or disabled people (23°C in living rooms, 20°C in other rooms versus 21°C in living rooms and 18°C in other rooms for other groups; the standard temperatures for England) and no adjustment is made for "under-occupancy". This means that while Scotland has stuck with a 10 per cent measure, a number of crucial modifications have addressed concerns raised in the Hills Review.

The statutory target for Scotland is that in the year 2040, as far as reasonably possible, no household is in fuel poverty and, in any event: (a) no more than 5 per cent of households are in fuel poverty, (b) no more than 1 per cent of households are in extreme fuel poverty, (c) the median fuel poverty gap of households in fuel poverty is no more than £250 (adjusted). A number of interim targets for 2030 and 2035 are in new strategy published in December 2021⁵.

Statutory targets for **Wales** are also based on a 10 per cent measure with a household classified as fuel poor if it needs to spend more than 10 per cent of its 'full income' to maintain a satisfactory heating regime. Full income comprises total gross BHC personal income plus benefit income, any winter fuel payments, housing benefit and council tax benefit. The heating regime includes higher living room temperatures (23°C) for older and disabled people (21°C for others), 18°C in other rooms. Severe fuel poverty is defined as requiring to spend more than 20 per cent and an at risk of fuel poverty measure as requiring to spend more than 8 per cent. The latest fuel poverty strategy for Wales⁶ has statutory targets including the elimination of severe fuel poverty, as far as reasonably practicable, by 2035, reducing fuel poverty to no more than 5 per cent and reducing the at risk of fuel poverty rate by half the 2018 estimate. An important distinction with England and Scotland is that Wales does not use a low income threshold to determine fuel poverty status.

Northern Ireland uses a 10 per cent measure but has no statutory requirements for reducing or monitoring fuel poverty.

In 2013 when England moved away from using a 10 per cent measure it was no longer possible to compare fuel poverty rates across the UK using official estimate. In addition, differences in the 10 per cent measures in Scotland and Wales mean that official estimates of fuel poverty cannot even be compared between Scotland and Wales and long delays in published data (at least a two year lag) mean that it is hard to ascertain recent trends even within UK nations. For this we have to turn to other non-official sources and the figures are concerning. National Energy Action, using a 10 per cent measure, estimate that [6.7 million households](#) could be in fuel poverty, an increase of 2.2 million from last winter. The End Fuel Poverty Coalition use their own model aligned with the LILEE measure and estimates that once the Energy Bill Support Scheme ends and the Energy Price Guarantee increases to £3,000 for the average household from 1 April 2023, fuel poverty will increase from [7 million UK households in October 2022 to 8.6 million](#).

Whichever measure is used, fuel poverty, as commonly understood and experienced, has become an increasingly serious problem for many UK households. Measures need to reflect this reality. The measure least sensitive to the impact of soaring energy prices is the LILEE because rising prices cannot lead to an increase in fuel poverty in homes rated Bands A-C, irrespective of income levels. Another flaw with the LILEE measure is that some policy interventions are double-counted. For example, the Warm Homes Discount is both taken into account in the calculation of FPEER (artificially inflating the energy rating of some homes) and in modelled energy costs. While it is logical to subtract the value of this rebate from modelled energy costs, it makes little sense to artificially inflate estimated energy efficiency ratings of homes as costs are only lower while the policy is in place and households do not enjoy wider benefits from actual improvements in home energy efficiency. Overall, LILEE leads to an overly skewed policy focus on energy efficiency measures and not enough emphasis on other drivers of fuel poverty (income, energy prices and household behaviour).

The problem seems to have arisen from the development of the Fuel Poverty Energy Efficiency Rating (FPEER) indicator as a basis for statutory target setting and the desire to use this indicator in the new fuel poverty measure combined with a low income threshold that takes into account the impact of fuel costs. In fact, one of the options John considered in the Hills Review used an absolute threshold based on Standard Assessment Procedure (SAP) ratings, similar to the threshold used in the Low Income Low Energy Efficiency (LILEE) measure. He rejected this option in favour of the Low Income High Cost (LIHC) measure mainly due to its insensitivity to prices. Where does this leave us? Missing John! In his absence, we need to draw on his incredible intellect and insight to help once again to improve a fairly obscure measure which has real world impacts on some of the most vulnerable households.

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Further information

[Abigail McKnight](#) is Director of CASE and Associate Professorial Research Fellow in CASE.

25 Years of LSE Housing and Communities

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

LSE Housing and Communities, a small research team based within CASE, developed in the late 1980s. Over 25 years, the group has developed a reputation for qualitative, grounded, action-based, policy-linked research, capturing the voices of people living and working in low-income and disadvantaged communities. This article highlights some of the group's outstanding work within CASE in the past 25 years.

LSE Housing and Communities was a small research team developed in the late 1980s established by Professor Anne Power, under the umbrella of the Welfare State programme established by the late [Professor Sir Tony Atkinson](#), which later evolved into the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion. When CASE was launched in 1998, LSE Housing and Communities was invited to take on two large, longitudinal projects that were part of the wider CASE programme. The first was the "[Areas Study](#)", assessing changes over time in some of the highest poverty areas in England and Wales. We selected 12 representative, high-poverty neighbourhoods, stretching from Newcastle to Kent to highlight the key factors that impacted neighbourhood decline and renewal. We studied the neighbourhoods in-depth over five years, from 1998-2002, with Ruth Lupton as our key researcher. Ruth wrote up her findings in a book that is still popular and topical, [Poverty Street](#)¹. Caroline Paskell continued the study for a further three years, and we are now returning to 10 of those areas with a new three-year grant, to investigate what policies, interventions and characteristics make low-income areas sustainable over time.

Our second major area of research was a study of how families coped with bringing up children within low-income areas. This study, starting in 1999, was initially based in the two East London neighbourhoods that were part of the wider areas study. We then managed to secure an extra grant from the Nuffield Foundation to incorporate two Northern areas. Again, we took two Northern neighbourhoods from our wider study. Over 10 years, between 1999-2008, we visited 200 families every year, fifty per area, to find out how they were meeting family needs when surrounded by neighbourhood problems. This 'Neighbourhood Study' covered housing, health, education, the local environment, extracurricular activities, social control, neighbour relations, and community. We produced three studies: [Eastenders](#)² about the first two areas in East London; [City Survivors](#)³, using the life stories of 24 families to show how community life was affected by area problems; and finally, [Family Futures](#)⁴, a roundup of the 10 year study, reflecting the collective wisdom of 2000 family interviews over the ten years.

These studies were accompanied by the [Weak Market Cities](#) programme, starting in 2002, which was written up as [Phoenix Cities](#)⁵, reflecting the experience of acute industrial decline in seven European cities, including cities in Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. We partnered with the Brookings Institution in Washington to compare our European cities with US declining "rust belt" cities. The cities were referred to as "core cities", as they had all previously been leading industrial centres, making them core cities for their regions. All the cities had lost jobs and population during the intense deindustrialisation period from the late 1970s. They had vast relics of disused industrial infrastructure. We followed up the Phoenix Cities study with renewed funding from a French government agency, producing a new study called *Cities for a Small Continent*⁶, published in 2016, based on the same seven cities, showing how Phoenix Cities could recover into renewed, and far more sustainable, centres for regrowth.

In 2002, Anne Power, Head of LSE Housing, was asked to chair a government-sponsored housing commission on the future of Birmingham's very large public housing stock, following a failed ballot to transfer it to a council-created housing association. The work in Birmingham led to a book, jointly

written with John Houghton from the government's Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, called [Jigsaw Cities](#)⁷. Its core theme was that cities like Birmingham could not be tramed into fixed plans such as those proposed by Birmingham City Council. Rather, they needed a more flexible, decentralised and more diverse mixture of solutions, recognising that cities were more like a complex jigsaw than a grid iron structure.

LSE Housing had by this time gained a reputation for its qualitative, in-depth, grounded research in disadvantaged areas. As a result, the London Borough of Newham commissioned LSE Housing to carry out a study of debt in Newham to "uncover the truth" as a large survey organisation had found that people on incomes of less than £30,000 did not incur debt in Newham. The Council felt that this finding did not reflect the experience of low-income households in the borough. LSE Housing ran two studies between 2011 and 2019, using qualitative interview methods, and found that many low-income families did in fact incur debt, but that their debts tended to be £200 or less, were often informal, and were not recorded. Our [2019 report](#)⁸ showed that debt was a problem for three-quarters of the Newham residents we spoke to. Hidden debt, in the form of overdue bills and rent arrears was affecting many households. Our research highlighted recommendations including improving financial inclusion and in-person money and debt advice; better credit regulation; and the need to address wider inequalities, particularly that of insecure, high-cost housing.

Alongside this study, Curo, a leading housing association in the South West, asked us to carry out research using similar methods to find out whether "Welfare to Work" programmes were actually helping people with a weak work record to gain employment. [The research](#) was commissioned by a consortium of 11 South-West based housing associations. LSE Housing interviewed 200 working age social housing tenants twice (a total of 400 interviews), in order to find out what their experience of welfare reform was, and whether it actually helped or hindered them in getting access to work and better incomes.

One key aspect of LSE Housing's work has been the development of [knowledge-exchange "Think Tanks"](#). These were originally set up in collaboration with the government's Social Exclusion Unit, when LSE Housing organised residential sessions called "Think Tanks" at the [National Communities Resource Centre](#). Each Think Tank brought together policymakers and practitioners, alongside community organisations, to discuss key issues that the Social Exclusion Unit was concerned about, such as neighbourhood management, antisocial behaviour, crime prevention, housing management, and community policing. These policy-into-action Think Tanks offered a model for uncovering what was actually happening on the ground in order to inform our research, as well as bringing stakeholders together to address community problems and develop workable solutions.



In 2014, LSE announced a knowledge-exchange programme that would fund academics to develop more practical uses for their research, and to fund academic research that was more strongly based on the direct experience of organisations and people working in the field. LSE Housing applied for a grant to run a series of “Housing Plus” Think Tanks at Trafford Hall, home of the National Communities Resource Centre, in order to uncover and showcase the work of social landlords and housing associations in helping communities far beyond the most immediate task of providing homes.

We received funding to run five Think Tanks at Trafford Hall on this theme. We then followed this with five further Think Tanks on “Energy Plus”, about the necessity of reducing energy use in the built environment, and were surprised by the level of support and interest we galvanised. Following this experience, in partnership with NCRC, LSE Housing and Communities set up the [Housing Plus Academy](#) in 2016, supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Since then, we have run over 40 [Think Tanks at Trafford Hall](#) on issues affecting social landlords and low-income communities, including housing management, welfare reform, homelessness, domestic abuse, and recently on the cost-of-living crisis. We have attracted nearly 2000 participants and now have fourteen leading housing associations as sponsors of the programme. In 2021, with a grant from the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, we set up the [Energy Plus Academy](#) as a sister to the Housing Plus Academy, running Think Tanks on climate change and energy saving.

More recently, we have carried out in-depth qualitative studies of the impact of retrofit programmes on estate communities, with the residents in-situ. Our reports, [High Rise Hope](#)⁹ and [Retrofit to the Rescue](#)¹⁰, have been widely used and disseminated, to show the value of rescuing difficult estates to make them energy efficient, rather than demolishing them. We are now working with the Lancaster West estate in West London to evaluate the social impact of the retrofit and refurbishment programme there.

Over the 25 years of CASE LSE Housing and Communities has developed important methods of longitudinal, qualitative, grounded research and knowledge-exchange, documented the experiences of low-income communities, and shared perspectives from the ground with policymakers and practitioners. Our impact on policy development has recently been recognised in [our impact case study for REF 21](#), which received a 4* world-leading grade.

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Further information

LSE Housing and Communities is a research and consultancy group within the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) led by Professor Anne Power. For further information on our research and current projects see sticerd.lse.ac.uk/LSEhousing and [@LSEHousing](https://twitter.com/LSEHousing).

LSE Housing and Communities Summary 2022

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

In 2022, LSE Housing and Communities has continued to run the [Housing Plus](#) and [Energy Plus Academies](#), running six events at Trafford Hall over the year, with topics including [Domestic Abuse](#); [Skills for Retrofit](#); [Housing Management](#); and the [Cost of Living Crisis](#). In addition, we have finalised [our research project](#) into the value of local neighbourhood management with [EastendHomes¹](#); undertaken a project exploring how community groups and mutual aid groups are supporting vulnerable communities through the cost of living crisis; finished the first phase of our social impact assessment of the retrofit of Lancaster West estate; worked on a [cost-benefit analysis project](#) to understand the impact of removing the “No Recourse to Public Funds” status from certain households; and started a three-year research project to uncover what makes low-income neighbourhoods sustainable. Here, we focus on three of those projects: the cost of living research, Sustainable Communities, and the Lancaster West retrofit impact evaluation.

Community Groups and the Cost of Living Crisis

Grassroots community groups played a vital role supporting people in need during the pandemic. Our 2020 report “[Community Responses to the Coronavirus Pandemic: How mutual aid can help](#)” captured what motivated these groups to form, how they worked, and what support they were offering². As the pandemic response wound down, and the cost-of-living crisis deepened, we wanted to find out whether [mutual aid and community groups](#) were continuing to support vulnerable communities, and how the learning from the pandemic was being implemented in the face of new challenges.

In 2022, LSE Housing has carried out research to understand the role of community groups in supporting people who are struggling. We want to capture how needs have changed, who these groups are helping, and how they have adapted their support. We have spoken to, and carried out visits with, 20 groups across the country. The predominant form of support given is food provision, but we have also uncovered groups providing provisions for young children and babies, warm spaces, free activities, and toiletries. All the groups have seen a significant increase in people asking for help, with more people in-work, including people who have not previously received help or needed support. Groups are struggling to keep up with demand, and some are being forced to reduce the support they offer. Groups are mainly volunteer-run and have limited funds. To continue providing this vital support groups need more stable sources of funding to cover basic costs such as energy bills, staffing, and transportation. The [report for this research](#) has been published in February 2023.

Lancaster West

The LSE Housing and Communities team has been working on the first phase of a three-year [research project on the Lancaster West estate](#) in the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea. The estate is undergoing an extensive refurbishment to improve energy efficiency, upgrade 780 homes, and help Lancaster West to become a “Model Estate for the 21st Century”.

LSE Housing is undertaking a social impact evaluation to explore the impact of carrying out the work with residents in-situ, the challenges involved and the benefits of the investment. The refurbishment project is being co-designed with residents. We aim to uncover the wider community impact of such work, as the support of residents is vital to the success of an upgrading project.

In 2022, we have completed the first stage of the research, involving:

- 1 A desk-based information review building our knowledge of the estate and the local area
- 2 Background stakeholder interviews with architects, local authority and central government staff
- 3 Interviews with 50 residents living in the estate.

Our first stage report is due to be published in early 2023³ and will include lessons learned so far, which will feed into the project as the refurbishment work progresses. This learning will be shared with all of the partners and stakeholders involved including the Lancaster West Neighborhood Team, central and local government representatives, the architects and contractors on site, and the Residents Association.

Sustainable Communities

In 2022, LSE Housing and Communities received funding for a three-year research project to explore how low-income neighbourhoods have changed since 2010 and how they can become socially, economically and environmentally sustainable. The research focuses on ten low-income neighbourhoods in different regions of England. Our aim is to understand what has happened to low-income communities between 2010-2022, and the impact, both positive and negative, of policy interventions on each area and on people's lives. [The research](#) revisits ten of the twelve neighbourhoods included in CASE's areas study that was undertaken between 1998 and 2008.

Over the next three years, we will make repeated visits to these case study areas, aiming to uncover:

- What makes a low-income community viable socially, economically, and environmentally?
- What undermines its sustainability?
- What actions can be taken to improve conditions and make low-income areas more sustainable?

In 2022, we visited the ten case study areas to meet local residents and gain insight into the key changes and crucial issues affecting each area. We also explored literature about high poverty areas, sustainable communities and government policies and actions in low-income areas. Next year, we will interview ten residents and five frontline staff living and working in each of the areas. We know that local people are experts in their own neighbourhood, and we want to ensure that we include the voices, experiences and life stories of people living on the ground in each of the areas we are studying. This will enable us to produce a report highlighting policies and practices that can help or hinder low-income communities, setting out the factors that increase their viability as sustainable places to live and work.

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Further information

LSE Housing and Communities is a research and consultancy group within the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) led by Professor Anne Power. For further information on our research and current projects see sticerd.lse.ac.uk/LSEhousing and [@LSEHousing](#).

Tackling poverty and inequality: how policy toolkits can provide academic rigour to policy making

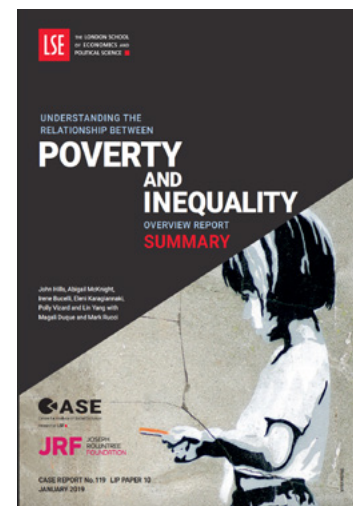
Irene Bucelli

In this article Irene Bucelli reflects on how two policy toolkits developed by CASE researchers in recent years have contributed to producing more systematic and theoretically informed approaches to tackle poverty and inequality, with a particular emphasis on policies with a potential “double dividend”.

What policies should be put in place to tackle poverty and inequality? A flourishing debate has emerged in relation to these issues: recent years have seen several organisations develop programmes to understand and address inequalities, ranging from the OECD, the IMF, Oxfam, but also recently in the UK with the launch of the IFS Deaton review¹. The World Bank has also focused on the impact of the pandemic on poverty and inequality in their recent Global Economic Prospects². With increasing salience and urgency around these themes in policy debates, policy-makers are often looking for guidance that clearly communicates what could and should be done, and policy toolkits are therefore in high-demand to outline or assess possible solutions.

CASE has contributed to the development of a number of toolkits in recent years, for instance for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, focusing on the UK, or for the German Development Corporation (GIZ), focusing on low- and middle-income countries. This article reflects on these experiences, pointing at what lesson can be learnt and what can support a more rigorous policy approach.

The development of the [Poverty and Inequality Policy Toolkit](#) was rooted in the overarching narrative and findings emerging from the “Understanding the relationship between poverty and inequality” project which focused on both the empirical and the conceptual links between inequality and poverty³. The project highlighted how there are different, sometimes contrasting, reasons to care about the two phenomena, and some of these are instrumental, meaning that the main concerns spring from their mutually reinforcing relationship or from their role in hindering other goals (for instance in relation to growth). The project found evidence of a positive association between poverty and income inequality and reviewed seven mechanisms possibly explaining this relationship. These seven mechanisms grounded the planning of the policy toolkit as policies were selected based on their potential to tackle these possible drivers, related to 1) political economy and public awareness, 2) spatial disparities, 3) labour market mechanisms, 4) housing, 5) crime and the legal system, 6) resource constraints (related to limits to redistribution), 7) dynamic mechanisms (related to intergenerational dynamics and accumulation of risks or disadvantages across the life course). The research underpinning the toolkit also shaped the specific focus on policies to produce a “double dividend”, being able to ameliorate both poverty and inequality. 31 policies were eventually covered, producing an analysis that explored their possible “double dividend” and reviewed evidence of their effectiveness, but also considered issues of more practical concern for policy-makers such as public and political support or costs to government. The result was an overarching assessment that brought together these components showing how policies could be more or less promising in the UK context.



The development of the [Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit](#) for the German Development Corporation showcases an approach resulting from different challenges. GIZ's interest in inequality mirrors interest across several multilateral institutions and development agencies which have traditionally focused on poverty and have only recently taken an interest in inequality, largely because of the influence of the Sustainable Development Goals and the 2030 Leave No One Behind Agenda. The SDGs have encouraged a shift in thinking about the relationships between these different goals and allowed for a broad perspective on inequality which encompasses economic, social, environmental and political dimensions. At the same time, the SDGs face shortcomings when it comes to providing effective guidance and there are several critiques of how the SDGs reflect this multidimensionality in practice and effectively lead to inequality reduction solutions, especially related to the choice of targets and indicators⁴. For organisations such as GIZ the new focus on inequality bears on a number of practical considerations: from where to concentrate resources, to training existing teams in key areas, to developing a coherent and consistent approach to coordinate efforts of teams across a number of countries. The Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit used the [Multidimensional Inequality Framework](#) as the conceptual basis to understand different dimensions of inequality and guide the selection of policies, relating these to the SDGs⁵. It relied on a consultation with both experts and GIZ stakeholders to identify candidate policies. As the toolkit would have to be used across a number of countries, no list of policies could be exhaustive and priorities would be shaped by local contexts. In this sense the Toolkit was aimed at providing guidance to unpack the context and facilitate analysis. A reflection on the possible, “double dividend”, of policies in relation to both poverty and inequality is still a good prism through which approach the analysis because of the longer commitment, history and experience that organisations such as GIZ have in tackling poverty. Understanding the relationship between poverty and different dimensions of inequality can help grounding the new focus on inequality for practitioners using the toolkit, facilitating engagement with new goals and concepts by anchoring them to better known ones. The toolkit also included a review of challenges and facilitating factors, related for instance to administration and implementation of different policies, as these can undermine the effectiveness and feasibility of policies on the ground. Ultimately, the toolkit produced a number of examples of “policy mixes”, to help the organisation to work outside policy silos, leverage synergies and develop multisectoral strategies.



These examples show the potential of policy toolkits to anchor the discussion around poverty and inequality in a rigorous understanding of their relationship and its drivers, or, through the use of the MIF, in providing a robust conceptual grasp of multidimensional inequality, which is often lacking. Policy toolkits can play a key role in informing policy, but to do so they need to offer guidance through an analysis sensitive to the specific levers and ways of working of their users.

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Further information

[Irene Bucelli](#) is a Research Officer at CASE, where her research focuses on multidimensional inequality and poverty.

This article draws on the work conducted with Kate Summers and Abigail McKnight for the Poverty and Inequality Policy Toolkit – [accessible here](#) – and with Abigail McKnight and Pedro Mendes Loureiro for the Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit – [accessible here](#).

The scale and drivers of ethnic wealth gap across the wealth distribution: evidence from *Understanding Society*

Eleni Karagiannaki

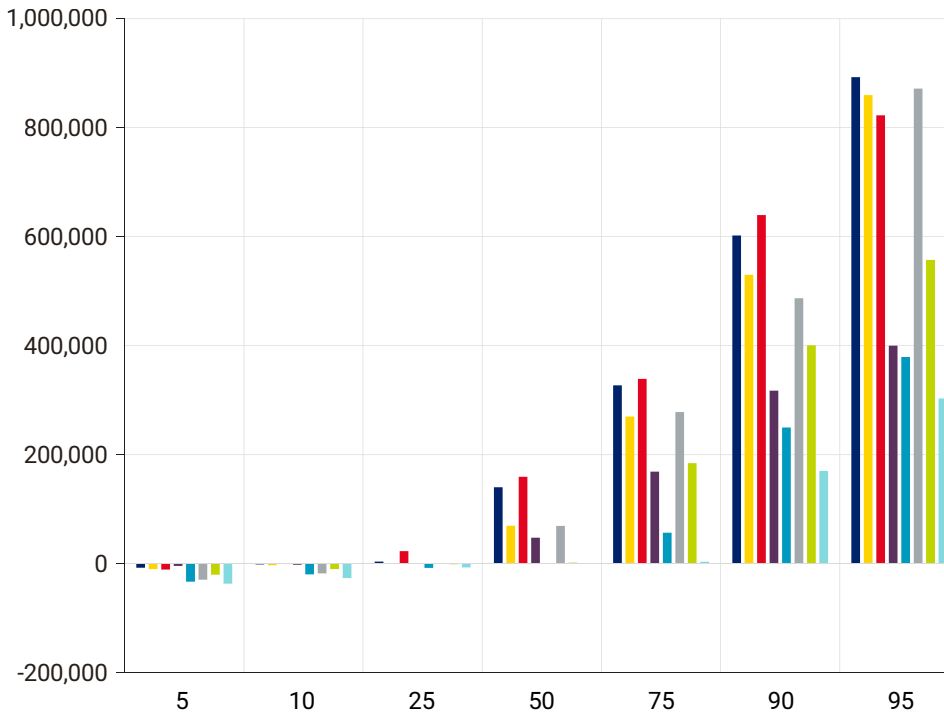
This article presents new evidence about the scale and the drivers of ethnic wealth gap across the distribution in the UK. By analysing the UK's largest panel survey, *Understanding Society*, this research emphasises how predictors of wealth have a differential effect across the broader distribution of wealth, demonstrating the need to move beyond average differences when studying ethnic wealth inequality.

Wealth is central for family well-being and a crucial mechanism behind the transmission of advantage across generations. Understanding ethnic wealth inequalities are an integral part of ethnic inequalities and ethnic disadvantage. In addition, although average ethnic disparities in wealth have been well documented in the literature^{1,2,3} less is known about how these disparities vary among low- and high-wealth households even though facets of discrimination and disadvantage are likely to affect both high- and low-class ethnic minority people and it is likely that such factors have knock-on effects on wealth. This research analyses the UK's largest panel survey, *Understanding Society*, to provide new evidence about the scale and the drivers of ethnic wealth gap across the wealth distribution and identifies appropriate policies to address this.

The analysis reveals stark ethnic divisions in people's net worth, and substantial heterogeneity between different ethnic minority groups. The typical (median) individual in the Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African ethnic group lives in a household with no significant levels of household net worth. In contrast, the median individual in the White British group lives in a household with household net worth of £140k and an Indian £160k (almost as much household wealth as a Black African at the 90th percentile). The level of household wealth for the wealthiest 5 per cent of the White British ethnic group amounts to £892k or more, nearly three times higher than the £303k reported for the wealthiest 5 per cent of the Black African ethnic group.



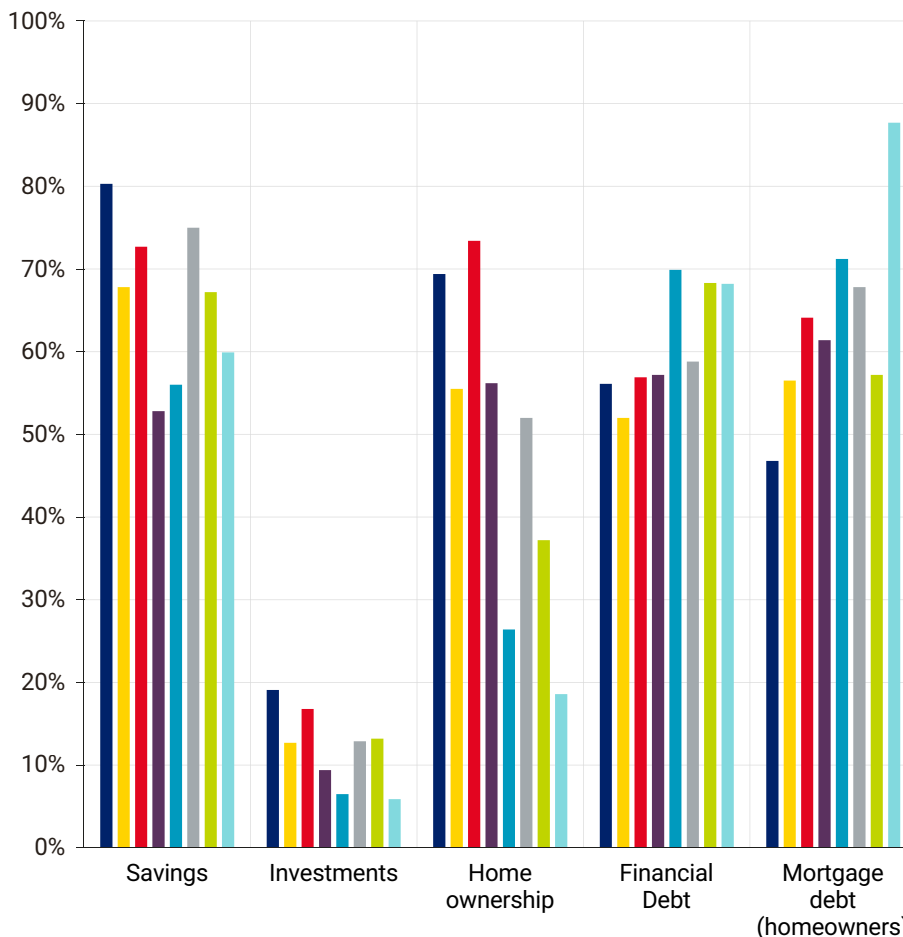
Figure 1: Wealth levels at different points of the net worth distribution for people in different ethnic groups



Note: The measure of wealth is household net worth and defined as the sum of total net household financial and net household housing wealth (that is, the value of the main property owned by the households net of any outstanding mortgages or loans on these asset). The unit of analysis is individuals. Sample sizes by ethnic group in decreasing order are: White British (23,838), White Other (1,692), Indian (1,214), Pakistani (1,067) and Bangladesh (585), Other Asian (including Chinese and any other Asian or British Asian ethnic groups 428), Black Caribbean (540), Black African (744) and Other (802). The "other" ethnic group includes individuals with mixed parentage, individuals from the Gypsy and Traveller communities, Arabs and individuals from other ethnic groups). Source: Analysis of the Understanding Society wave 8 (2016-2017)⁴.

■ White British ■ White other ■ Indian ■ Pakastani ■ Bangladeshi ■ Asian other ■ Black Caribbean ■ Black African

Figure 2: Ownership rates of different types of assets and debts by ethnicity



Note: Each bar shows the proportion of individuals in each ethnic group living in households with each type of asset and debt. Savings includes all saving accounts. Investments include: National Savings Certificates / National Savings Bonds (Capital, Income or Deposit); Unit Trusts Investment Trusts (excluding ISAs/PEPs); Company stocks or shares, UK or foreign (excluding ISAs/PEPs); and Other investments (e.g. gilts, government or company bonds or securities, stock options). Homeownership refers to ownership of main residence. Financial debt includes a wide range of products including hire purchase agreements, personal loans from banks, catalogue or mail order, DWP/SSA Social Fund; loan from private individual; overdrafts and outstanding amount on mail orders and credit cards; Student loans) and 5) mortgage debt (secured against main residence). Source: Analysis of the Understanding Society wave 8 (2016-2017)⁴.

The analysis also identifies that the wealth holdings of different ethnic groups differ in that some ethnic groups hold high-return assets, notably home-ownership and investments (Figure 2). Whereas 74 per cent of people in the Indian ethnic group are homeowners, closely followed by people in the White ethnic group (69 per cent), the rates for people in the Black African ethnic group are much lower (just 19 per cent), followed closely by people in the Bangladeshi (26 per cent) and the Black Caribbean (36 per cent) groups. Strikingly, people in the Bangladeshi, Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic groups are also much more exposed to financial debt (68-70 per cent live in households holding financial debt compared to 56-57 per cent of people in the White British, Indian and Pakistani ethnic groups). In addition, some ethnic minority groups (e.g., the Black African, Bangladeshi and Pakistani ethnic groups) have much higher exposure to high-cost liabilities such as credit card debt and overdrafts. Student loan debt is also unevenly distributed across people from different ethnic groups and is particularly high among people in the Black African, Black Caribbean and Bangladeshi ethnic groups. This effect however reflects either the younger age composition of these groups and/or the higher participation of these groups in higher education relative to people in the White British ethnic group.

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Further Information

[Eleni Karagiannaki](#) is Assistant Professorial Research Fellow at CASE.

The research was supported by the [International Inequality Institute](#). This article is based on Karagiannaki, E. (forthcoming, 2023) [The scale and drivers of ethnic wealth gaps across the wealth distribution: Evidence from Understanding Society](#).

Researching child poverty and inequality in the asylum and immigration system in the UK

Ilona Pinter

Restrictions on migrants' access to most income-based benefits named as "public funds" can lead to deep, persistent poverty, destitution, homelessness and debt. In this article Ilona Pinter presents findings from a social cost-benefit analysis of lifting "no recourse to public funds" restrictions for households with limited leave to remain or on a visa residing in the UK. The research shows that lifting these restrictions would produce substantial gains, especially for families with children.

Research focused on some "hidden" and marginalised groups is affected by limited data and lack of government investment in research and evidence. Data is particularly lacking in relation to individuals and households affected by so-called "no recourse to public funds" (NRPF)¹. These immigration restrictions constitute a blanket ban on access to most income-based benefits for migrants living and working in the UK regardless of need or low income. Social protection is contingent on immigration status while tax contributions are not. Academic and NGO research² has shown that restrictions on migrants' access to most income-based benefits named as "public funds", can lead to deep, persistent poverty including destitution, homelessness and debt. Households most at risk are those which generally face higher costs or are systematically disadvantaged from being able to earn a sufficient income. This includes families with children, those with a disability or long-term health issues, racial minorities and single parents, who are further exposed to poverty without the protection of social security.³

These policies have been sustained under successive governments and have been a concern for frontline practitioners, campaigners and local authorities as well as race and migration scholars for many years. But reforms over the last decade have created new barriers to regularisation, settlement and citizenship leaving more households subject to NRPF restrictions for longer. The Covid pandemic brought this problem into sharp relief when we saw a surge in households left unemployed. While British and settled households could rely on Universal Credit (a public fund), this same protection was not available to most migrant households. Statutory duties on local authorities have meant that they have historically provided an ultimate safety net for a small proportion of families with children facing destitution and individuals with care needs, though at considerable cost. As part of a public health response, the "Everyone In" policy extended these protections to homeless individuals, giving rise to renewed debates about the financial responsibilities of support provision. To inform the debate, the Greater London Authority commissioned CASE and LSE London researchers to conduct a social cost-benefit analysis of lifting NRPF conditions for households with limited leave to remain or on a visa residing in the UK. Using evidence from a broad range of literature, data from central, local government and NGO sources, and interviews and focus groups with cross-sector professionals, we considered the range of costs and gains which could be made if NRPF conditions would be lifted for the population as a whole and only for households with children. We then produced monetised estimates of the overall costs and gains to society from a change in policy following the HMT Green Book approach to social cost benefit analysis.

[Our analysis](#)⁴ found that although there would be substantial costs for central government in providing welfare support, removing the NRPF condition for all households with limited leave to remain or visas would result in a £428 million net gain over a ten-year period. Removing NRPF conditions for households with children and other vulnerable individuals would result in a greater net gain of £872 million.



Enabling children and families to have access to benefits that they would otherwise be eligible for owing to their low income and additional needs for children – such as Child Benefit, Universal Credit and early years provision - would reduce poverty and disadvantage, leading to improvement to children’s outcomes including their social and cognitive development, educational attainment and later life chances. These would result primarily in wellbeing gains for children and higher net lifetime earnings. Large gains would also come from enabling access to better quality, less crowded or more affordable housing, and relief from problem debt due to its profound impact on productivity, and physical and mental health. Employment and productivity would be boosted as those eligible for Universal Credit and childcare provision would be able to access job training and childcare for working families, making it easier for families to earn a higher income.

Although a fundamental policy shift on the overall NRPF policy is unlikely in the immediate future, this analysis has been important in informing the government’s own public funds review, the Work and Pensions Select Committee as part of its inquiry into NRPF and Child Poverty⁵, and the work of local authorities across London and beyond.

Going forward, greater awareness is needed. Apart from support with energy costs, most cost-of-living crisis measures announced so far have by-passed those without access to the social security safety net including local authority discretionary support, but the reality of increasing costs has not⁶. Policy debates to tackle poverty, material deprivation and exclusion need to take this into account.

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Further information

[Ilona Pinter](#) is a doctoral student based at CASE and was part of the team of LSE researchers working on the social cost benefit analysis on NRPF restrictions together with LSE London colleagues. Her research focuses on poverty among children and families subject to immigration control. Further information about her research can be [found here](#).

Evaluating the (short-lived) US experiment with a child benefit

Jane Waldfogel

In this article Jane Waldfogel presents results of recent research evaluating the US experiment with monthly Child Tax Credit payments, a measure that was introduced in response to the COVID-19 emergency. She shows how the policy lifted around three million children per month out of poverty, with particularly strong reductions in poverty for Black and Latino children. It also contributed to lower and more stable poverty rates for families with children and reductions in food insufficiency for low-income families. In addition, the research did not identify negative employment effects.

Background

The US stands out from peer countries in the limited support it provides to children and families. In particular, it lacks a universal child benefit. The two major income support programs for families with children – the Earned Income Tax Credit and Child Tax Credit – are both conditioned on employment, due to concerns that an unconditional benefit might undermine work incentives. In addition, both tax credits are delivered once a year, at tax time.

In response to COVID, the US briefly engaged in an experiment with an unconditional monthly child benefit. The Child Tax Credit (CTC) was expanded to cover all families with children and delivered monthly from July 15, 2021 to December 15, 2021, at a rate of \$300 per child under 6, \$250 per child 6-17, per month.

Our evaluation

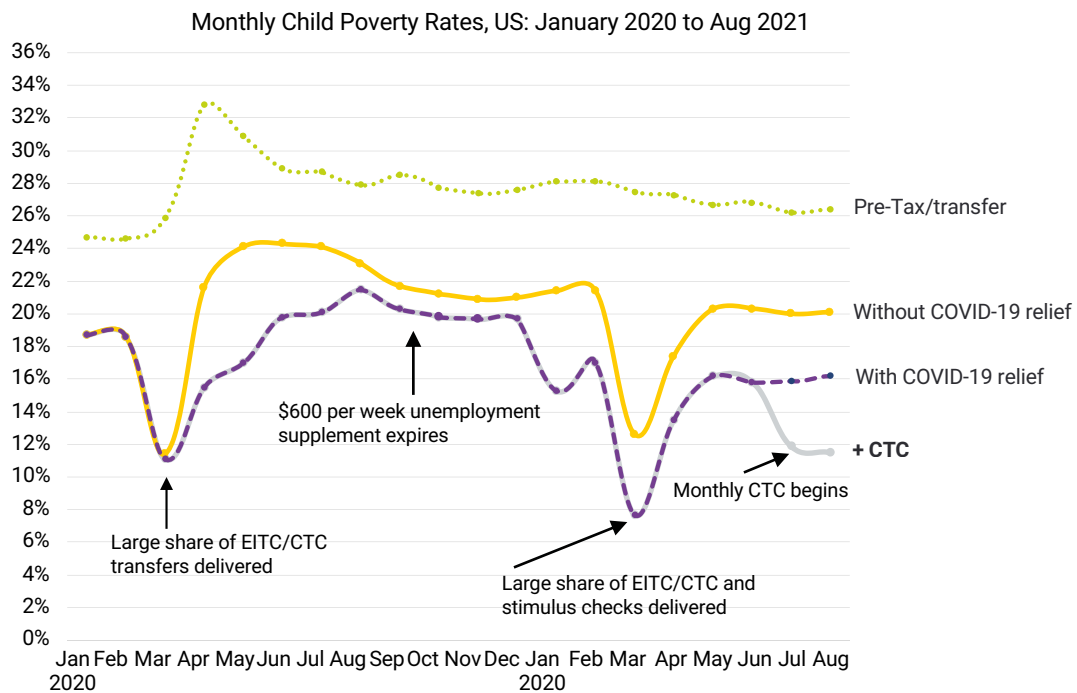
In recent work, we have used an array of data to evaluate the impact of the expanded monthly payments on poverty, hardship, and employment. Our evaluation is very much informed by what we know about other countries, in particular my earlier work based at CASE on [child benefit and CTC reforms in the UK](#), Megan Curran's comparative research on child benefits, and Zach Parolin's comparative work on poverty and social policy

Results thus far

Parolin et al. (2020) analyse the impact of the CTC and other taxes and transfers on monthly poverty rates applying the Supplemental Poverty Measure (SPM) framework. As shown in the Figure below we find that the monthly child poverty rate fell from 15.8 per cent to 11.9 per cent after the first monthly CTC payment, lifting three million children out of poverty. Effects are stronger in August with the increase in coverage of the CTC. We also find that the CTC had important consequences for month-to-month volatility in poverty and that monthly CTC payments contribute to particularly strong reductions in poverty for Black and Latino children.

A second study (Parolin et al., 2021) examines the effect of the CTC on material hardship, using data from the Census Household Pulse Survey, April 2021 through September 2021, and difference-in-difference estimates with multiple treatment specifications. Among families with pre-tax incomes of less than \$35,000 per year, the study finds a 7.5 percentage point (25 per cent) decline in food insufficiency attributable to the first CTC payments, with notably stronger effects for families who report receiving the CTC payments. Improvements are found for White, Black, and Latino children.

A third study (Ananat et al., 2021) examines the effect of the CTC on employment, using data from the Current Population Survey and the Pulse. Across both samples and several model specifications, there is no evidence to support claims that the CTC has negative employment effects that offset its strong reductions in poverty and hardship.



Source: Parolin, Zachary and Megan A. Curran. 2021. "Expanded Child Tax Credit Leads to Further Declines in Child Poverty in August 2021." Poverty and Social Policy Fact Sheet. Center on Poverty and Social Policy, Columbia University. Access at: povertycenter.columbia.edu/news-internal/monthly-poverty-august-2021

Conclusion

In results thus far, we find initial monthly CTC payments:

- Have lifted around 3 million children per month out of poverty;
- Led to particularly strong reductions in poverty for Black and Latino children;
- Also led to strong reductions in food insufficiency for low-income families;
- Contributed to lower and more stable poverty rates for families with children;
- Have not led to declines in employment.

In work in progress, we are studying family expenditures (using data from the Consumer Expenditure Survey with colleagues from the Bureau of Labor Statistics), and parenting and child outcomes (using data from the New York City Longitudinal Study of Wellbeing). We are also continuing to track all the research on the CTC expansion; see our "Research Roundup" on the [Columbia Center on Poverty and Social Policy website](https://povertycenter.columbia.edu).

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Further information

[Jane Waldfogel](#) is a Professor at Columbia University School of Social Work and a Visiting Professor at the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) at LSE. This article is based on recent studies with and input from Elizabeth Ananat, Sophie Collyer, Megan Curran, Jill Gandhi, Irv Garfinkel, Thesia Garner, Benjamin Glasner, Bradley Hardy, Neeraj Kaushal, Jiwan Lee, Jordan Matsudaira, Kathy Neckerman, Ronald Mincy, Jake Schild, Christopher Wimer, and Zachary Parolin. We gratefully acknowledge funding from The JPB Foundation, Annie E. Casey Foundation, Gates Foundation, Robin Hood Foundation, and Washington Center for Equitable Growth. We are also grateful for support from CPRC which is funded by NICHD.

Thinking Poverty: are our concepts fit for purpose?

Tania Burchardt

An expert panel – Fran Bennett, Suzanne Fitzpatrick, Julian Le Grand, Kate Summers and Chris Goulden – considered whether income poverty, material deprivation, destitution, social exclusion, or definitions created through a participatory process by people with experience of living on a low income, provide the optimal basis for monitoring poverty and developing solutions in the current economic and political context. The lively discussion that followed reached no consensus, except that each concept offers something uniquely important. Going forward, CASE could play a key role in promoting better understanding of the conceptualisation of poverty among academics, campaigners and policymakers alike.

CASE – the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion – was founded in 1997 when the term “social exclusion” was only just beginning to break the surface of British politics. A quarter of a century, two global economic shocks and six prime ministers further on, is “social exclusion” still relevant? Are other definitions of poverty and disadvantage better suited to capture the social phenomena we want to understand and to address? An expert panel convened as part of the Centre’s 25th birthday celebrations considered these questions.

[Fran Bennett](#), University of Oxford, and a lifelong campaigner against poverty, argued that it was useful to follow Ruth Lister¹ in distinguishing between concepts, definitions and measures of poverty. An underlying concept, such as the inability to participate in the society in which you live, could be translated into a number of different operational definitions, such as, resources inadequate to meet your needs, or non-participation in key life domains, and these definitions in turn could give rise to a range of different measures, such as income below a specified threshold. The additional precision and specificity gained in moving from concepts to definitions to measures comes at the cost of comprehensiveness, since each measure only partially reflects the definition it seeks to represent, and each definition only captures one aspect of the foundational concept.

That observation relates to another key insight Fran shared, namely, that the choice of concept, definition or measure depends on the purpose of the exercise. For monitoring change over time in the UK, a conventional income poverty measure has much to recommend it: data are readily available at regular intervals, they can be used to compute persistence and depth as well as prevalence, and be compared across time, between groups and across geographies. But for capturing the experience of highly marginalised groups, an entirely different approach is required.

Suzanne Fitzpatrick, director of the Institute for Social Policy, Housing and Equalities Research ([I-SPHERE](#)) at Heriot Watt University, and lead author of the [Destitution in the UK series](#)², argued that a focus on destitution was, unfortunately, necessary alongside analysis of poverty more generally. A person was defined as destitute if their basic physiological needs to eat, be warm and dry, and to keep clean, were not met or if they were met only through charity or the help of friends. Suzanne reminded us that 2.4 million people in the UK were estimated to be destitute at some point in 2019, including 0.5 million children. About 40 per cent of these people were not in private households and were therefore unlikely to be captured in regular household surveys which are used to calculate official low-income statistics. This is one important reason for monitoring destitution as well as income poverty. A further important reason highlighted by Suzanne is the way in which focusing on the extreme case facilitates the identification of systemic failures, including, for example, the indirect consequences of public authorities’ debt collection procedures, and the direct effects of restrictions on social security such as the benefit cap and No Recourse to Public Funds conditions.

[Julian Le Grand](#), a founder-member of CASE, reflected on whether and how “social exclusion” had changed since his early work with David Piachaud and Tania Burchardt, in which we sought to provide a working definition of the term³. Julian reflected that the key insight of the multidimensional approach, that “The source of human misery is not just low incomes”, was as true today as 25 years ago. The manifestation of exclusion had evolved – for example, wealth inequalities were an increasingly important aspect of economic exclusion; social isolation might now be experienced through forms of abuse on social media; and political alienation might now include participation in extremist organisations rather than lack of political activity altogether – but the four dimensions of exclusion concerning consumption, production, social and political activity remained broadly the same.

[Kate Summers](#), British Academy postdoctoral fellow in the Department of Methodology at LSE and member of the secretariat for the participatory Commission on Social Security⁴, distinguished between lived experience of poverty as a source of insight, which she described as the “phenomenological perspective”, and the participatory turn in poverty research, in which people with experience of poverty collaborate with, or lead, the project. Both have value in emphasising aspects of poverty that professionals may miss or downplay, such as insecurity, shame and stigma. But participatory approaches specifically tend to move on to formulating solutions and this changes their function compared to conventional research. Kate identified many challenges that arise in this kind of work – how to include people who don’t define themselves as living in poverty, how to communicate the findings of the research without essentialising “poverty”, and how to maximise the transferability of the results of a participatory process – but nevertheless saw it as an exciting and crucial component of future poverty research.

Finally, [Chris Goulden](#), director of impact and evidence at the Youth Futures Foundation and previously a senior and long-serving member of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, emphasised the critical role that the framing of poverty concepts could play in influencing the political debate about the causes of, and solutions to, poverty. He argued that foregrounding structural factors and ignoring individual choices – or vice versa – reflected an unhelpful polarisation and was likely to limit impact. By contrast, the JRF anti-poverty strategy⁵ framed the problem of poverty as the constraints on people’s agency created by policies and institutions: for example, long hours of low-wage employment not only deprive people of material resources, but also prevent them from investing in education and training which might enable them to expand their opportunities and improve their standard of living. Seen in that way, removing barriers to people’s exercise of agency becomes a priority for an anti-poverty strategy.

The members of the panel each presented a persuasive case for the concept, definition, measure or approach that they were talking about. It seems clear that each idea has an important role to play, whether that is in terms of consistent monitoring over time, or in identifying serious flaws in the safety net, or in expanding our understanding of the causes, consequences or experiences of poverty, or, equally importantly, in communicating with the wider public. Moving forward, CASE could look to use our broad and deep network to provide further opportunities for reflection on, and clarification of, key concepts, and help to promote better understanding of the conceptualisation of poverty among academics, campaigners and policymakers alike.

Endnotes

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- 5 Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2016) [We Can Solve Poverty: a strategy for governments, businesses, communities and citizens](#).

Further information

[Tania Burchardt](#) is Associate Director at CASE and chaired the Thinking Poverty panel at the CASE 25th Birthday event.

Knowledge Exchange Overview 2022

We are proud that our research has resulted in two Impact Case Studies that were awarded a 4* world-leading grade in REF2021, building on our earlier Impact Case Study from REF2014.

Improving the lives of disadvantaged people through better measurement of poverty and inequality

“[CASE] reviewed 34 studies of whether family incomes affected children’s outcomes throughout the OECD, and found that family income mattered. What is the point of having some of the world’s finest researchers if we do not listen to them? ... Money matters, alongside a good education and a healthy life, to outcomes.”

Alison McGovern MP, House of Commons, Welfare Reform and Work Bill debate, 23 February 2016

What was the problem?

Policymakers, practitioners, and advocates working to alleviate social disadvantages face the challenge of how to measure and analyse poverty and inequalities in a coherent, comprehensive, and systematic way. This is necessary to understand the causes and consequences of poverty and inequality, and to design policy solutions. Measurements of inequality often rely on a single dimension, such as income, which is crucial but by no means the only respect in which inequalities affect people’s lives. A particular problem here is identifying and analysing groups that face multiple, overlapping inequalities that compound social disadvantages, which can be missed by conventional measures.

What did we do?

Over the past 25 years, research by LSE’s Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion ([CASE](#)) has made substantial contributions to how poverty and multidimensional inequalities are understood and measured – and consequently tackled. This work has highlighted previously hidden or neglected disparities, and, in so doing, given visibility and voice to marginalised groups. CASE has done this by developing tools for measuring multidimensional inequality, while also demonstrating the central role that poverty plays as a [driver of inequality](#).

An important strand in this research has its foundations in Nobel Laureate Professor Amartya Sen’s [capability approach](#), combined with international human rights theory. This perspective brings together a focus on what people are able to do in their lives – their capabilities – with the principles of human rights (for example, non-discrimination and being treated with dignity and respect). CASE researchers have developed systematic and comprehensive monitoring frameworks for social disadvantage and multidimensional inequality. Research by CASE has highlighted the phenomenon of “data exclusion”, bringing visibility to neglected groups and overlapping disadvantages, and applying a unified approach to issues that have previously had disparate treatment. To date, four frameworks have been developed: the [Equality Measurement Framework](#) (EMF), Children’s Measurement Framework (CMF), and Human Rights Measurement Framework (HRMF) for the UK; and the [Multidimensional Inequality Framework](#) (MIF), developed in conjunction with Oxfam for international use. Each includes up to ten critical dimensions, covering standards of living, health, education, and physical and legal security. The frameworks disaggregate measures by characteristics such as gender, age, ethnicity, and disability status, and also highlight data gaps. Some vulnerable children are missing from standard monitoring exercises and are consequently overlooked in policies to address childhood disadvantage. [CASE research](#) tackled this “data exclusion” by making innovative use of administrative and matched survey data to generate new estimates, including the number of children living in households where there is domestic violence and/or substance abuse.

CASE analysis has also highlighted how “money matters” in shaping children’s life chances. A [systematic review](#) examining the relationship between poverty and children’s educational, behavioural, and health outcomes identified strong evidence of a causal link between low income and poor outcomes. This supports the retention of low income as a key marker of poverty and disadvantage, which became a major policy issue in 2016. Another example of CASE research on particularly at-risk groups is its work on [older hospital inpatients](#). One million older people reported poor or inconsistent standards of support with eating when in hospital in England. CASE found that disabled women in hospital aged 80 and over were more than one-and-a-half times as likely as an average older inpatient to have their need for support with nutrition neglected.

What happened?

CASE research has provided frameworks for improved monitoring of social welfare, equality, and social inclusion. These frameworks have been applied in the UK, Ireland, and within the EU. CASE has also worked with national and international NGOs and civil society groups to measure and tackle inequality. CASE’s measurement frameworks have been incorporated into governmental and institutional approaches to measuring and reporting on inequalities. In 2015, the UK’s Equalities and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) began using four measurement frameworks for equality and human rights, three of which were CASE’s. When the UK Cabinet Office undertook a Race Disparity Audit in 2017, it consulted with CASE and built on the insights CASE shared to develop their own multidimensional and disaggregated framework. Evidence from this Race Disparity Audit was used across government in work to “explain or change” differences in outcomes for ethnic groups. CASE’s research on children’s multidimensional disadvantage also fed into work on vulnerable children undertaken by the Children’s Commissioner’s Office.

In 2016, during the course of the Welfare Reform and Work Bill, the government proposed abandoning internationally accepted measures of poverty, which include relative and absolute household income poverty, in favour of a measure that relied on factors such as life chances and household worklessness. Dr Kitty Stewart used a Freedom of Information request to reveal the strength of opposition to this change from the government’s own consultation. She briefed members of Parliament, and organised a letter from 175 academics, published in *The Times*, making the case for [retaining income as a central measurement of poverty](#). CASE work was cited in [debates](#) in both Houses of Parliament. This ultimately contributed to securing an amendment to the Bill committing the government to continuing to publish income-based child poverty measures. The work on household income and child poverty has also been used by influential national pressure groups Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) and Shelter to strengthen their legal challenges to the UK government’s revised benefit cap. CASE evidence was extensively cited in this litigation. It has also underpinned CPAG’s other work, including toolkits to help [London](#) and [Scottish](#) school communities take action on poverty.

CASE’s work on dignity and nutrition for older patients in hospitals has been influential in developing NHS England’s work in this area, and it was cited in a debate on older people’s human rights in care in the [House of Lords](#). It also featured extensively in national print and broadcast media, including BBC News.

Internationally, CASE research has shaped approaches to measuring and addressing multidimensional inequality. Oxfam worked with CASE in its development and implementation of the MIF, and have already piloted this in Spain and Guatemala and applied it in Vietnam, Central America, and West Africa. CASE was also commissioned to develop an inequality policy toolkit, based on the MIF, for the German development agency, GIZ, which operates in 120 countries.

Source: [Improving the lives of disadvantaged people through better measurement of poverty and inequality](#). (lse.ac.uk)

Giving social housing tenants a voice

LSE research has shaped social housing policy among professionals and in government and helped residents living in high-rise buildings to take action.

“[Professor Power’s work] has raise[d] the profile of social housing, the need for community representation and voice, the importance of neighbourhood management and improving the quality of services.”

President of the Royal Institute of British Architects

What was the problem?

There are currently around one-and-a-half million people in the UK (tenants and owners) living in high-rise, council-built flats. These buildings have often been badly managed and neglected, and their residents face additional social stigma associated with living in social housing. Poor management and maintenance of social housing have strongly negative impacts on the health and wellbeing of social housing tenants.

The urgent need to address these long-term failures in social housing management was brought into sharp focus following the catastrophic 2017 [Grenfell Tower fire](#) disaster in west London. Residents’ warnings about building safety had gone unheeded, and in the aftermath of the disaster, many more problems with the maintenance and safety of high-rise housing received renewed attention.

What did we do?

LSE Housing and Communities, led by Professor Anne Power, has developed a body of influential qualitative research that draws on extensive interviews with residents to identify flaws with and proposals to improve social housing practices.

Most recently, Power and colleagues [investigated](#) lessons to learn from the 2017 Grenfell Tower fire disaster. This was informed by previous research insights that tenants and leaseholders wish and need to be respected, listened to, informed, and to count as equal-status partners with their social housing landlords. In the Grenfell context, the specific recommendations included implementing on-site management, a single point of control for all high-rise buildings, an MOT-equivalent test for multistorey blocks, and an approach of drawing on the lived experience of all residents within blocks.

Earlier research and advocacy over three decades investigating conditions in disadvantaged neighbourhoods had identified the key drivers of poor outcomes for residents – including disrepair, fuel poverty, low energy efficiency, unsuitable housing management, and a lack of empowerment.

Professor Power’s [review](#) of 10 years of government programmes to improve poor neighbourhoods showed that neighbourhood management – a coordinated and localised effort to tackle basic area conditions and environments – delivers measurable improvements that can increase resident satisfaction, restore confidence, encourage investment, and signal wider progress, outperforming different approaches in comparable areas. The cost of organising this additional layer of supervision was relatively modest and paid for itself in reduced vandalism and disrepair.

Complementary [qualitative analysis](#) from 1,400 in-depth interviews over 10 years with 200 families bringing up children in difficult neighbourhoods in east London and northern England provided longitudinal evidence around specific aspects of neighbourhood renewal and management, community cohesion, and empowerment. It documented views on why community matters, on schools as community anchors, crime, safety and prevention, family ill-health, work, training and

benefits, and housing and regeneration. Positive impacts included involving families with children in shaping neighbourhood activities, delivering services at a local scale, and responding quickly to the minutiae of neighbourhood problems. However, many parents still felt a lack of control and an inability to escape the problems of the area, because of underlying inequality and a lack of housing options. Additional recent work has explored the stigmatisation of [social housing tenants](#).

Wider work [across six European countries](#) provided evidence for the effectiveness of local leadership, community enterprise, resident involvement, and local control of housing. This approach was also shown to be useful in large cities [such as Birmingham](#), and to address the pressing issue [of climate change](#).

What happened?

Research by LSE Housing and Communities has influenced local and national government strategies and the work of housing providers to implement more effective, tenant-focused neighbourhood management. To achieve this, and engage with service providers, in 2015 LSE Housing and Communities co-founded the Housing Plus Academy – an academic and professional association partnership.

The Academy is funded by 17 leading housing associations, and partners include the National Housing Federation and the Chartered Institute of Housing, the main professional bodies for social housing. Over 1,500 participants, including front-line staff, social housing tenants, and third-sector organisations, have attended its 40 Housing Academy residential think tanks and several one-day workshops, which are based on LSE evidence and [recommendations](#), and serve to challenge, extend, and implement that material. Good practice from each event is widely shared with social landlords and government, meaning tenants' and staff perspectives are fed into high-level policy and practice decisions. The 2019 "Housing Plus Academy Impact Report" showed that all but one of the policy think tank participants made changes to their organisation as a result of attending. Examples included establishing a tenant scrutiny panel with local powers to determine operational priorities.

Following the Grenfell Tower fire disaster, LSE Housing and Communities ran a bespoke programme funded by Direct Line, which informed their "Lessons from Grenfell" report. This included running knowledge-exchange workshops for tenants, social landlords, government, architects, the fire service, and other stakeholders living in, working in, and managing high-rise residential buildings. LSE Housing and Communities ran a residential workshop for residents from the Lancaster West Estate, where Grenfell Tower is located, which galvanised clear ideas on developing local housing management and estate-wide upgrading.

Neighbourhood management was subsequently implemented on the Lancaster West Estate. This has led to significant improvements for residents, including greater satisfaction with repairs, energy-saving works as a feature of estate upgrading, and better communication between residents and staff from the local authority, the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea. These results are supported by central government officials, with the Head of Housing Investment and Regeneration at the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) noting LSE Housing and Communities's work "has been critical in helping them to start re-building trust and improve their local relationships following the Grenfell fire tragedy".

The recommendations from the "Lessons from Grenfell" programme have also influenced government policy, specifically helping to shape the "Hackitt Review on Building Regulations" and the "Grenfell Inquiry Phase 1 Report", which reviewed building regulations and the management of high-rise blocks. Recommendations included listening to tenants and advocated a single point of control, technical expertise, and hands-on management for high-rise blocks. This has now been implemented by government.



LSE Housing and Communities had a direct influence on the 2018 government green paper, “A New Deal for Social Housing”, and the subsequent white paper and its proposals for greater community cohesion and empowerment, and neighbourhood management. Professor Power and Dr Bert Provan provided advice to MHCLG on the development of guidelines for tenant involvement and regarding the stigma of social housing, and a new emphasis on the role of residents in shaping change. This focus was confirmed in the social housing white paper, “The Charter for Social Housing Residents”, published in November 2020, where the Prime Minister’s foreword noted: “We’re levelling up this country, making it fairer for everyone – and that includes making sure social housing tenants are treated with the respect they deserve.”

Source: [Giving social housing tenants a voice](#) (lse.ac.uk)

A new fuel poverty measure

CASE research persuaded the government in England to change its fuel poverty measure to better focus on the core problem

What was the issue?

The rising cost of energy required to keep a home warm has stoked concerns among politicians, consumer groups and members of the public over “fuel poverty” – a household unable to maintain an adequate level of warmth at reasonable cost. Under the so-called “10 per cent definition”, a household was considered fuel poor if it needed to spend more than 10 per cent of its income on fuel to maintain an adequate level of warmth, defined as 21 degrees in the main living area and 18 degrees in other occupied rooms. The Warm Homes and Energy Conservation Act 2000 committed the UK government to pursuing a strategy to ensure that “so far as reasonably practicable persons do not live in fuel poverty”.

What did we do?

Since the early 2000s the LSE Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE), led by Professor of Social Policy John Hills, has examined fuel poverty and the effectiveness of government policies in addressing it. CASE research has highlighted conflicts between the official measures of those classified as “fuel poor” and the ways in which government programmes have been targeted. Data from the English House Condition Survey and the British Household Panel Survey were used to show that fuel poverty is persistent rather than merely temporary among low-income households.

In 2011 Hills was invited by the then Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change to undertake an independent review of how fuel poverty was being officially measured. Hills published an Interim Report in October 2011, which explained why fuel poverty was a distinct problem and not just a general low-income issue. It is a concern from three overlapping perspectives – its contribution to poor health, its effects on hardship, and for climate change policy. However, the report pointed to flaws in the fundamental design of the existing “10%” measure and suggested an alternative approach of focusing on people who both have low incomes and suffer high heating costs.



In March 2012 Hills produced his Final Report, which showed that existing measures of fuel poverty include some relatively high income households as fuel poor and exclude others with low incomes and high energy costs. He proposed an alternative measure. This was based on two concepts:

- a “low income high costs” indicator that measured the number of people with both low income and relatively high energy requirements
- a “fuel poverty gap”, which he defined as the amount by which the assessed energy needs of poor households exceeded the threshold for reasonable costs of fuel.

He warned that fuel poverty was likely to grow rather than be eliminated under current government policies. The report also highlighted the effectiveness and high social returns that came from energy efficiency measures specifically aimed at those with low incomes living in the hardest-to-heat homes.

What happened?

In September 2012 the Government issued a consultation paper in response to the Final Report by Hills. Ed Davey, current Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change, praised Hills for the “considerable insight” he had brought to the issue of fuel poverty. The paper concurred with Hills’ assessment of the weaknesses of the current official definition and with the “low income high costs” framework as a better approach to understanding fuel poverty, indicating its intention to adopt that as the main measure of fuel poverty in future. The paper proposed adopting all but one of the review’s detailed recommendations for constructing the measure, including its recommendation to measure income after housing costs and adjusted for family size and the recommended approaches for measuring relative energy costs and for setting thresholds for low income and high costs.

In a separate but related move Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg changed the way that energy companies provide help to improve energy efficiency. In particular, he reformed the £190 million Energy Company Obligation to ensure that a high proportion of its benefits went to those on low incomes. In July 2013 the Government announced that it would adopt the “low incomes high costs” framework as the new indicator for all future measures of fuel poverty. In the same month it issued a paper outlining the framework for future action, which said that Hills’ new definition was a “powerful tool” for government.

The power of the new measure was demonstrated in the 2013 version of Fuel Poverty Statistics, published by the Department for Energy and Climate Change, which displayed data based on Hills’ new definition alongside the 10 per cent definition. This document cited Hills’ work extensively. The new approach was then used as the basis for [DECC’s 2014 new fuel poverty strategy document](#). The team working with Hills on the statistical analysis for the review shared the Royal Statistical Society’s 2012 award for “excellence in official statistics”.

Source: [Helping poor households escape the fuel poverty trap](#) (lse.ac.uk)

CASE alumni over 25 years



Ben Baumberg-Geiger

Professor in Social Science and Health, Kings College London

CASE had a huge impact on me – not just on the research I do, but also more broadly to prioritise useful rather than high-status work. High-status journal articles are often based on mono-method causal findings published in inaccessible places after a long delay. Useful work often needs to be done differently: e.g. creating big-picture stories rather than isolated findings; and powerful descriptive rather than just narrowly causal research. As a result, in the Welfare at a (Social) Distance project (distantwelfare.co.uk), we prioritised public-facing reports telling broad stories over narrow journal articles. Still – coming to the CASE birthday event, and being reminded of John Hills' legacy, has made me strive to do this even more in future!



Aaron Grech

Chief Economist, Central Bank of Malta

My decade at CASE, as a doctoral student and then as a visiting research fellow truly changed my life. CASE, and especially my tutor Sir John Hills, taught me to base my work on sound data analysis and appropriate methodologies. I learnt that a researcher should not just seek causes, but also solutions. Research interests must be grounded in the needs of the society around us. Furthermore, rather than simply seek academic excellence, a researcher needs to also focus on how best to communicate and disseminate findings so that these can be adopted and lead to positive change around us. A lot of who I am today I owe to my years at CASE, particularly to the influence of Sir John Hills.



Orsolya Lelkes

Independent researcher and former Deputy Director at the European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research in Vienna

Becoming the PhD student of the late Sir Prof John Hills in 1998 brought the additional benefit of becoming member of a vibrant community at CASE. It was a gift for life. I learnt the ability of critical thinking, an autonomy I did not quite develop during my economics studies in Budapest. Coming from hierarchical institutional settings, equality and inclusion of me as a student showed me a new model. I am deeply grateful for John's supportive feedback in January 2019 when I felt stuck in my book-writing: "it sounds very exciting". It was his last generous gift to me.

“

Many former CASE PhD researchers remain affiliated to the centre as Visiting Professors, Visiting Research Fellows and LSE Associates and they are listed at the front of this publication. ”



Caroline Paskell

Research Director and Head of Cohesion and Security in Ipsos UK's Public Affairs Division

My connection with CASE began when I arrived at LSE in 1999 to do a PhD on *Community action around youth crime, drug-use and anti-social behaviour: Who benefits?* with Prof Anne Power who based herself at CASE. It provided a simultaneously challenging and encouraging environment and gave me the opportunity to work as a Research Assistant alongside studying and gaining a growing profile from conferences. I stayed on as a Research Officer on the ESRC-funded longitudinal study of 12 low-income areas before moving on to conduct independent research on local dynamics and young people's prospects. The generous leadership of Prof Sir John Hills and CASE's supportive culture were significant catalysts in fostering my career in social policy research.

I now lead a team delivering Ipsos UK's work on security, crime and justice and work across issues relating to social cohesion, including experiences and perceptions of asylum, refugees and immigration.



Tiffany Tsang

Head of DB, LGPS and Investment, Pensions and Lifetime Savings Association (PLSA)

The framework of principles in which I operate from every day came directly from my time with CASE. The importance of both good data and robust analysis in policymaking is now a part of my DNA. I continue to carry a passion to apply my skills in meaningful work – policy areas that aim to have direct impact on improving outcomes. In particular, I maintain a deep interest in contributing to narrowing inequalities. Finally, the importance of true teamwork – what it means, and how to achieve it – is something that I imbue in the policy team that I now manage.

Many former CASE PhD researchers remain affiliated to the centre as Visiting Professors, Visiting Research Fellows and LSE Associates and they are listed at the front of this publication. Our PhD Alumni also include:

Dr Philip Agulnik, Director, Entitledto.

Dr Megan Ravenhill, Adopter Champion Team Lead, Parents And Children Together (PACT).

Dr Sabine Bernabe, Senior Economist, European Investment Bank.

Dr Carmen Huerta, Analyst, OECD Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs.

Dr Julia Morgan, Associate Professor of Public Health and Wellbeing, University of Greenwich.

Dr Hyan-Bang Shin, Professor of Geography and Urban Studies and Director of the Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre, LSE.

Dr Jason Strelitz, Director of Public Health, The London Borough of Newham.

Dr Emily Silverman, Founding Director of The Urban Clinic, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Dr Francesca Borgonovi, British Academy Global Professor at the Institute of Education, University College London. Head of Skills Analysis, OECD Centre for Skills.

Dr Sheere Brooks, Senior Lecturer, College of Agriculture, Science and Education, Jamaica.

Dr Shireen Kanji, Professor of Human Resource Management, Brunel University London.

Dr Francesca Bastagli, Director of the Equity and Social Policy programme and Principal Research Fellow, Overseas Development Institute.

Dr Sarah Thomas de Benitez, JUCONI Mexico and JUCONI Ecuador, Visiting Fellow Latin America and Caribbean Centre, LSE.

Dr Sarah Heilmann (Mohaupt), Research Consultant and Trainer, Evidence and Evaluation Consulting

Dr Catalina Turcu, Professor of Sustainable Built Environment, The Bartlett School of Planning, University College London.

Dr Yuka Uzuki, Senior Researcher, Department for International Research and Co-operation, National Institute for Educational Policy Research, Japan.

Dr Rod Hick, Associate Professor in Social Policy at the School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University.

Dr Kênia Parsons, Social Protection Specialist, The World Bank.

Dr Ben Richards, Lecturer, University of Hong Kong.

Dr Jack Cunliffe, Lecturer in Quantitative Methods and Criminology, University of Kent.

Dr Marigen Narea, Assistant Professor, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

Dr Kok-Hoe Ng, Senior Research Fellow and Head of the Case Study Unit at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, Hong Kong.

Dr Kenzo Asahi, Assistant Professor, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

Dr Rikki Dean, Postdoctoral Fellow in the Democratic Innovations Research Unit, Goethe University Frankfurt.

Dr Aweek Bhattacharya, Research Director, The Social Market Foundation.

CASE researchers: summary of current research



Eleanor Benton

Eleanor Benton works as a research assistant in LSE Housing and Communities. This year Eleanor's research has focused on how community groups and anchor organisations are supporting people through the cost of living crisis. She is also working on the Lancaster West Estate, where the Grenfell Tower is located, trying to understand residents' experiences of the upgrading works that have been planned since the fire. As well as her research Eleanor works on the Housing Plus and Energy Plus Academy programmes.



Nicola Brimblecombe

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



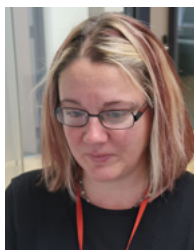
Irene Bucelli

Irene Bucelli worked with Abigail McKnight, Tania Burchardt and Eleni Karagiannaki in a project reviewing the official UK measure of material deprivation. At the start of 2022 she led a number of focus groups to identify through consensual methods what could be considered necessities for an adequate standard of living in the UK today. The analysis of this work contributed to developing recommendations for changes to the material deprivation measure submitted to the Department of Work and Pensions at the end of the year. Irene also worked with Abigail McKnight to review policies to tackle child poverty for the Itla Children's Foundation in Finland. Irene continued her work as managing editor of the LSE Public Policy Review, with two online issues dedicated to the fall of the government in Afghanistan and Tax Justice. With Tim Besley and Andres Velasco, she also co-edited two volumes published by LSE Press drawing on LSEPPR issues on Wellbeing and Populism.



Tania Burchardt

Tania Burchardt started the year with an intensive period of work with Irene Bucelli, Abigail McKnight and Eleni Karagiannaki for the review of material deprivation measures commissioned by the Department for Work and Pensions. Following that, she continued work on the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) in a Changing Britain research programme funded by the Nuffield Foundation, including finalising the analysis of changes in public and private welfare with Mary Reader (SPDO research paper 13), and writing up the lessons learned from our public engagement exercise with Sense about Science (SPDO research brief 4). Two co-authored articles arising from previous work on understanding the public's attitudes towards riches and being rich through deliberative methods were published – one in *Journal of Social Policy* and the other in *Social Justice Research* – and this strand of work is now being resumed with Liz Mann and Michael Vaughan. She continued to agitate for greater policy attention to be given to inequalities in social care, through a series of briefings, events and meetings with policymakers and intermediaries.



Tammy Campbell

In 2022, Tammy Campbell completed a national investigation into the extent to which Church of England and Catholic primary schools under-serve children with special educational needs and / or disabilities (SEND); this is currently under journal review. Likewise now under review is a paper mapping inequalities in access to deferred entry to the first, Reception year of school in England. This is an analysis of intersections of relative age, SEND, and family disadvantage, and considers whether the current system, and its policies on later entry, “work” as intended and for whom. Tammy is also completing research under her British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship on disparities in attribution to young children of SEND. Since Autumn 2022, she has been seconded one day per week to the Education Policy Institute, where her focus is on children’s early years.



Jakob Dirksen

Jakob’s research focuses on the measurement of welfare, poverty, and inequality. Among his key research interests are the development and use of conceptually and normatively sound metrics for evidence-based policy-making. He seeks to better align well-being measurement with what people value and conducts research on the theoretical formulation, empirical estimation, and policy-application of welfare, inequality, and poverty measures. Jakob is an Analysing and Challenging Inequalities scholar funded by the International Inequalities Institute at LSE. He is also Research and Policy Officer at the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative within the Department of International Development at the University of Oxford, where he conducts research on multidimensional poverty measurement and analyses and supports governments and UN agencies in the development of multidimensional poverty indices as permanent official statistics and all-of-government policy-tools. Jakob is also Lecturer at Leuphana University of Lüneburg. He studied Liberal Arts and Sciences (BA), Political Philosophy (MA), and Public Policy and Human Development (MSc and MPP) with Social Protection specialisation in Germany, Spain, and at the United Nations University. Previously, Jakob held research and teaching positions with the Blavatnik School of Government at the University of Oxford and worked for the German Federal Foreign Office. Some of his most recent publications include reports for and with the World Health Organization and the United Nations Development Programme, policy briefs for the G7, as well as academic articles and book chapters on multidimensional poverty, health equity, child poverty, and metrics of welfare and development.



Ceri Hughes

Ceri Hughes continued with her mixed methods PhD research which is examining some of the work-related expectations that are embedded in active labour market policies in the UK and how these relate to individual circumstances and labour market conditions. She is also a Research Associate at the Work and Equalities Institute, University of Manchester, contributing to research on inclusive growth, in-work progression and decent work.



Eleni Karagiannaki

During the last year Eleni worked on a number of projects including a project which aimed at investigating the determinants, dynamics and duration of child poverty during COVID (funded by STICERD small grant scheme); a project funded by the International Inequalities Institute, examining the scale and the drivers of ethnic wealth disparities across the wealth distribution; and on her Understanding Society Fellowship which aims to build a better understanding of how the patterns of transition into adulthood changed for successive cohorts of children in the UK and whether the changing patterns of transitions differ for children from different socio-economic backgrounds. She also published a working paper exploring the implications of multi-generational households and the extent of intrahousehold inequality in children's living standards across different European countries (with Tania Burchardt).



Laura Lane

This year Laura Lane has continued her work as Policy Officer within the LSE Housing and Communities team. Laura has been working on a project with the Lancaster West Neighbourhood Team within the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea. Throughout the refurbishment of the Lancaster West Estate, the LSE Housing and Communities team is undertaking research to understand the experience of residents during the retrofit, and the social impact of the works. In 2022 we have completed 50 interviews with residents alongside background research and key stakeholder interviews. The first stage report will be published early in 2023. Laura has also been working on a new LSE Housing and Communities project exploring how low-income neighbourhoods have changed since 2010 and how they can become socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable. The research focuses on ten low-income neighbourhoods in different regions of England. The project aims to understand what has happened to low-income communities between 2010-2022, and the impact, both positive and negative, of policy interventions on each area and on people's lives. Laura has been reviewing literature and evidence focused on high poverty areas, sustainable communities and government policies and actions in low-income areas. Towards the end of 2022 Laura also began work with LSE Housing and Communities colleagues on a new project with the London Borough of Newham on the experiences of, and impacts on, families living in overcrowded housing in the borough.



Liz Mann

Liz is a Leverhulme Trust Scholar and PhD candidate based in the Department of Social Policy. Her research focuses on wealth inequality, exploring its interaction with income inequality and poverty, the extent to which people's position in the wealth hierarchy is static over time and the extent to which this correlates to their income. It also looks at public attitudes towards both wealth inequality and the possible policy responses.



Abigail McKnight

Abigail completed research for the Low Pay Commission examining the impact of the National Minimum Wage and the National Living Wage on people with disabilities and ethnic minorities. Working with the Welsh Centre for Public Policy, Abigail and Irene Bucelli reviewed international evidence on 12 key areas of policy to help inform the Welsh Government's anti-poverty strategy. The 12 policy reviews and overview report were published in September 2022. She is also conducting a policy review of international evidence on policies to reduce child poverty with Irene Bucelli for the Itla Children's Foundation. Abigail, along with CASE colleagues Tania Burchardt, Irene Bucelli and Eleni Karagiannaki, has been conducting a review of the official UK measures of material deprivation for a project funded by the Department for Work and Pensions. The research has involved conducting focus groups to help inform updating of items included in the measures based on what people regard as necessities today, testing these items in the Family Resources Survey and conducting analytical tests on these items and composite measures to inform a set of recommendations for any changes to the current measures.



Abigail Page

Abigail Page's research interest lies in poverty, inequality and food systems, and the immediate and long-term impacts of childhood food insecurity. Abigail's ESRC funded PhD will use comparative case studies with an embedded participatory action research methodology to investigate the governance of food during the school day. Her study will explore how secondary school governors in England conceptualise food insecurity, and how they enact their statutory duties for pupil health and wellbeing. She will use the Capability Approach to frame an examination of the relationship between governor conception and action and the capabilities of children at risk of food insecurity to access and to eat nutritious food and to learn. Before starting her PhD Abigail spent twenty years working with voluntary sector organisations, in policy, campaigning and research roles. For the last decade she has focused on policy and research projects related to food education and provision within the UK education system.



Ilona Pinter

Ilona Pinter's area of interest is poverty, destitution and inequality experienced by those within the UK's immigration and asylum system, and in particular how policies affect children and young people. Her doctoral 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 – a national children's charity. She continues to work collaboratively with other academics and NGOs. She co-authored a [report](#) with CASE and LSE London colleagues, which provided a social cost-benefit analysis of children and families are affected by "no recourse to public funds" (NRPF) restrictions on access to most mainstream benefits.



Anne Power

Anne Power continues as Head of the LSE Housing and Communities research group, based in CASE. In 2022, she has led on research into neighbourhood housing management, sustainability and energy saving in multi-storey buildings, and the role of community groups in responding to the cost-of-living crisis. Anne and the LSE Housing team also started work on a three-year programme exploring how low-income communities can become economically, socially, and environmentally sustainable. Anne continues to direct the Housing Plus and Energy Plus Academy programme of knowledge-exchange Think Tanks. Anne continues to be an expert advisor to government organisations, social landlords, local authorities, charities, and students, on issues relating to social housing, tenant engagement and community relations, climate change, and regeneration. She took part in several knowledge-exchange events, including for the Northern Housing Consortium and Inside Housing.



Bert Provan

Bert Provan is a Senior Policy Fellow, as well as undertaking work on knowledge management for CASE and in particular the SPDO programme. A series of videos were commissioned and published for SPDO including an animated version of the SPDO infographic which has been produced. He also undertook a forward looking review of knowledge management in CASE. The review of London Borough of Newham's rough sleeping strategy was completed and published in the summer. Alongside this he worked with CASE and LSE London colleagues to complete and publish the social cost benefit analysis of the policy options to address the needs of destitute migrants with work visas but no recourse to public funds (NRPF), commissioned by the GLA. Another project with LSE London colleagues was also published which was a technical report for the Commissioner for Domestic Abuse on the cost benefits of increasing services to support migrant households who are victims and survivors of domestic abuse. Bert also started a new project for the European Investment Bank to review the Urban Development Strategy of the city of Krakow, in Poland, working alongside colleagues in the International Inequalities Institute and LSE London. This project also includes work to assist Romanian cities to more effectively prepared strategic urban development documents to fulfil EU and other requirements. It continues until mid-2023.



Mary Reader

In 2022 Mary continued to work as a Research Officer on the Benefit Changes and Larger Families project, conducting research into the fertility and labour market effects of the two-child limit on larger families in the UK. In April, she published a working paper with Professor Jonathan Portes and Dr Ruth Patrick which showed that the two-child limit has had only minimal fertility effects. Mary continued to work on the infant health effects of cash transfers during pregnancy, revising her work on the universal Health in Pregnancy Grant for a journal and working with Kitty Stewart to look at the effects of the means-tested Sure Start Maternity Grant. In August 2022, Mary started a new position within STICERD as a Pre-Doctoral Research Assistant at the Hub for Equal Representation in the Economy, where she is working with Professors Camille Landais and Henrik Kleven on the child penalty (the employment effects of parenthood on women relative to men) and Professors Oriana Bandiera and Barbara Petrongolo on the representation of women in academic economics.



Ruby Russell

Ruby Russell works as a Research Assistant in LSE Housing and Communities. This year, Ruby has worked alongside the LSE Housing team to complete the first round of interviews with residents on the Lancaster West estate. The research aims to understand residents' experiences throughout refurbishment works which aim to transform Lancaster West into a model 21st century estate following the Grenfell tragedy. Ruby has started work on a three-year research project investigating how 10 low-income neighbourhoods in England have changed since 2010, and what initiatives would support these areas to become more economically, socially and environmentally sustainable. The project revisits the neighbourhoods in CASE's Areas study between 1998-2008. Ruby also supports Ellie Benton to deliver the Housing Plus Academy and Energy Plus Academy think tanks.



Thomas Stephens

Thomas Stephens is an ESRC-funded PhD student in the Department of Social Policy and a Teaching Fellow in the School of Public Policy, both at the LSE. His key academic research focus is on the measurement and conceptualisation of job quality and non-work – including unemployment, economic inactivity and other labour market statistics. His PhD seeks to integrate quantitative data on peoples' household and family circumstances into existing indices of multi-dimensional job quality. Using the Capability Approach, and with data from large-scale UK labour market surveys, his thesis argues that we need to measure the wider circumstances of people in 'good' vs. 'bad' jobs if we are to understand the true effect that work has on peoples' wellbeing. He is interested in the additional disadvantage people in the worst forms of work may face associated with a lack of other work opportunities, and an inability to reconcile work, life and family goals. Within this, he studies the effect of informal forms of work such as self-employment and platform labour in the gig economy, and their implications for the long-term sustainability of welfare systems. Prior to starting his PhD, he had a 10-year career in UK public policymaking, public affairs and local government. He was the Education, Employment and Skills Lead in a London Borough, and was involved in a range of successful Parliamentary campaigns on infected blood and reproductive healthcare. He is especially interested in the interface between theory, measurement and practical implementation: how we use philosophies and theories of human wellbeing to develop social indicators, and then how these indicators inform public policy.



Kitty Stewart

Kitty Stewart has continued working with colleagues at Oxford and York on a Nuffield-funded mixed methods project examining the impact of social security changes on larger families in the UK, with a particular focus on the benefit cap and the two-child limit. A third and final round of qualitative longitudinal interviews was conducted at the end of the year. Papers in progress as part of the project include explorations of the impact of both policies on employment, drawing on quantitative and qualitative evidence, and a paper placing the two-child limit in conceptual and comparative perspective. Kitty has also continued work with Mary Reader on the impact of cash transfers in pregnancy on low birthweight in England, and with Ludovica Gambaro and Mary Reader on the declining role of the state maintained sector in delivering early education and its implications for inequalities. In the academic year 2022/23 Kitty is on sabbatical at the University of Lisbon.



Polly Vizard

Polly Vizard continued to co-ordinate the CASE Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) in a Changing Britain research programme, funded by the Nuffield Foundation. In addition, she worked with Polina Obolenskaya on an ADR UK funded research project exploring the 'value added' of big administrative data linkages for examining the circumstances and experiences of children and young people from the Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities and Tania Burchardt and colleagues from Oxford University Rees Centre and the University of Sussex, Greater Manchester and Oldham, Rochdale, North Yorkshire and Hampshire local authorities and other partners on the Children's Information project. Knowledge exchange activities organising two engagement workshops with children and young people from the Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities (with Friends, Families and Travellers); working on an animated video with Friends, Families and Travellers, Nifty Fox Creative and a community artist; and working with Tania Burchardt and other members of the SPDO knowledge exchange team on a series of videos and infographic focussing on the main conclusions of the SPDO research programme.]

CASE publications 2022

Refereed journal articles

Hecht, K., **Burchardt, T.**, and Davis, A. (2022). [Richness, Insecurity and the Welfare State](#). *Journal of Social Policy*, 1-22.

Karamanos, A., **Stewart, K.**, Harding, S., Kelly, Y. and Lacey, R.E. (2022) [Adverse childhood experiences and adolescent drug use in the UK: the moderating role of socioeconomic position and ethnicity](#). *SSM – Population Health*, 19.

Summers, K., Accominotti, F., **Burchardt, T.** et al. (2022) [Deliberating Inequality: A Blueprint for Studying the Social Formation of Beliefs about Economic Inequality](#). *Soc Just Res* (2022).

Suss, J.H. and Oliveira, T.R. (2022) [Economic Inequality and the Spatial Distribution of Stop and Search: Evidence from London](#), *The British Journal of Criminology*, azac069.

Forthcoming

Kitty Stewart, Ruth Patrick and Aaron Reeves (2023 forthcoming) [A time of need: Exploring the changing poverty risk facing larger families in the UK](#), *Journal of Social Policy* 1-25.

Refereed journal articles by our associates

Anders, J., **Macmillan, L.**, Sturgis, P., and Wyness, G. (2022). [Inequalities in late adolescents' educational experiences and wellbeing during the Covid-19 pandemic](#). *Oxford Review of Education*.

Baranowska-Rataj, A., Barclay, K., Costa-i-Font, J., Myrskylä, M., and **Özcan, B.** (2022) [Preterm Births and Educational Disadvantage: Heterogeneous Effects across Families and Schools](#), *Population Studies*.

Bartel, A. P., Rossin-Slater, M., Ruhm, C. J., Slopen, M., and **Waldfoegel, J.** (2022) [Support for Paid Family Leave among Small Employers Increases during the Covid-19 Pandemic](#). *Socius*.

Bartel, Ann B., Soohyun Kim, Christopher J Ruhm, Jane Waldfoegel (2022). [California's Paid Family Leave Law and the Employment of 45- to 64-Year-Old Adults](#). *Work, Aging and Retirement*.

Chzhen, Y., Symonds, J., Devine, D., Mikolai, J., **Harkness, S.**, Sloan, S. and Martinez Sainz, G. 2022, [Learning in a pandemic: primary school children's emotional engagement with remote schooling during the Spring 2020 Covid-19 lockdown in Ireland](#), *Child Indicators Research*.

Creighton, M. J., Fahey, É., and **McGinnity, F.** (2022). [Immigration, Identity, and Anonymity: Intentionally Masked Intolerance in Ireland](#). *International Migration Review*, 56(3), 881-910.

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Gambaro, L., Buttaro, A., Jr., Joshi, H., and Lennon, M. C. (2022). [Does residential mobility affect child development at age five? A comparative study of children born in U.S. and U.K. cities](#). *Developmental Psychology*, 58(4), 700-713.

Gough, I., (2022) [The case for Universal Basic Services \(全民基本服务的理由\)](#). *Chinese Public Policy Review*.

Gough, I. (2022) [Two scenarios for sustainable welfare: a framework for an eco-social contract](#). *Social Policy and Society*, 21 (3). pp. 460-472. ISSN 1475-7464

Green, C., Heywood, J. S., and **Macmillan, L.** (2022). Editorial, [Education Economics](#), 30 (1), 1-2.

Gutiérrez, G., **Lupton, R.**, Carrasco, A. and Rasse, A. (2022) [Comparing degrees of "publicness" and "privateness" in school systems: the development and application of a public-private index](#), *Journal of Education Policy*.

Harkness, S. (2022) [The Accumulation of Economic Disadvantage: The Influence of Childbirth and Divorce on the Income and Poverty Risk of Single Mothers](#). *Demography* 1 August 2022; 59 (4): 137-1402.

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Hartley, R., Mattingly, M., **Waldfoegel, J.**, and Wimer, C. (2022). [Paying for Child Care to Work? Evaluating the Role of Policy in Affordable Care and Child Poverty](#). *Social Service Review*. 96(1) March 2022.

Hillamo A. (2022) [Debt and Mental Well-being Among Older Adults: Does Employment Status Matter? – Combining Population Inference and Target Trial Frameworks](#). *Journal of Social Policy*.

Jenkins, S.P. (2022) [Top-income adjustments and official statistics on income distribution: the case of the UK](#). *Journal of Econ Inequality*.

Macmillan, L., and Tominey, E. (2022). [Parental inputs and socio-economic gaps in early child development](#). *Journal of Population Economics*.

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McGinnity, F., McMullin, P., Murray, A. Russell, H., Smyth, E. (2022) [Understanding differences in children's reading ability by social origin and gender: The role of parental reading and pre- and primary school exposure in Ireland](#), *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, Volume 81, 2022.

Morando, G. and **Platt, L.** (2022) [The impact of centre based childcare on non cognitive skills of young children](#). *Economica*, 89 (356). 908-946.

Parolin, Z., Curran, M., Matsudaira, J., **Waldfoegel, J.** and Wimer, C. (2022). [Estimating Monthly Poverty Rates in the United States](#). *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*.

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Ratzmann, N. (2022) [Caught between the local and the \(trans\)national: A street-level analysis of EU migrants' access to social benefits in German job centre](#). *Social Policy Review* 34: Analysis and Debate in Social Policy, 2022. Edited by: Andy Jolly (General Editor), Ruggero Cefalo and Marco Pomati. Policy Press.

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Sheely, A. (2022). [More than Money? Job Quality and Food Insecurity among Employed Lone Mother Households in the United States](#). *Social Policy and Society*, 1-18.

Suh, E., and Holmes, L. (2022) [A critical review of cost-effectiveness research in children's social care: What have we learnt so far?](#) *Social Policy & Administration*, 1-15.

Suh, E. and J. Selwyn (2022) [Exploring Local Authority Variation in Looked After Young People's Subjective Well-being](#). *The British Journal of Social Work*.

Forthcoming

Bärnthaler, R., and **Gough, I.** (forthcoming 2023), "Provisioning for sufficiency: thoughts on labour and production", in Special Issue: Shaping provisioning systems for social-ecological transformation, *Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy*.

Books and external reports

Bucelli, I. and McKnight, A. (2022) [Poverty and Social Exclusion Alleviation: Overview of the International Evidence](#). Report for the Wales Centre for Public Policy.

Bucelli, I. and McKnight, A. (2022) [Affordable Housing Supply. WCPP Poverty Review](#). Report for the Wales Centre for Public Policy.

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Cunniffe, E., Murphy, K., Quinn, E., Laurence, J., Rush, K. and **McGinnity, F.** (2022) *Explaining Recent Trends in International Protection Applications in Ireland*. Dublin: ESRI/Dept of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration, Youth.

Darmody, M., **McGinnity, F.** and H. Russell (2022). *Children of Migrants in Ireland: How are they faring?* ESRI Research Series No. 134. Dublin: ESRI.

Jenkins, S.P., 2022. "Getting the Measure of Inequality," IZA Discussion Papers 14996, Institute of Labor Economics (IZA).

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Russell, H., **McGinnity, F.**, Smyth, E., Curristan, S., Laurence, J., McGuinness, S., Bergin, A., Farrell, N. and Lynch, M. (2022) *Scoping Papers for Research on "The Economic and Social Opportunities from increased cooperation on the Shared Island"*. ESRI Survey and Statistical Report Series Number 11.

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Bucelli, I. and Besley, T. (2022) "Introduction – Making wellbeing policies effective", in Besley, T. and **Bucelli, I.** (eds.) [Wellbeing](#), London: LSE Press.

Gough, I. (2022) [Universal basic services: a theoretical and moral framework](#). In: Betzelt, Sigrid and Fehmel, Thilo, (eds.) *Deformation oder Transformation?: Analysen zum wohlfahrtsstaatlichen Wandel im 21. Jahrhundert*. Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 317-329. ISBN 9783658352097.

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Forthcoming

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Bucelli, I. and McKnight, A. (2022) [Being Poor in Wales – why where you live matters](#). Blog for the Wales Centre for Public Policy, 29 September 2022.

Burchardt, T. and Vizard, P. (2022) [Fault lines in the British welfare state and public services make for an unstable recovery](#) in LSE Research for the World magazine, 12 May 2022.

Campbell, T. (2022) [“Relative age and the early years foundation stage profile. Who is attributed a ‘good level of development’ – and what might this tell us about how ‘good’ the EYFSP is?”](#) British Educational Research Association Blog, 12 January 2022.

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CASEpaper 226

Kate Andersen and Ruth Patrick

[The two-child limit and "choices" over family size: When policy presentation collides with lived experiences.](#)

CASEpaper 227

Eleni Karagiannaki and Tania Burchardt

[Living arrangements, intra-household inequality and children's deprivation: Evidence from EU-SILC.](#)

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Ellie Benton and Anne Power

[Climate Crisis/Housing Crisis: How can social landlords reconcile safety and energy saving.](#) *LSE Housing and Communities.*

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Eleanor Benton, Jakob Karlsson, Ilona Pinter, Bert Provan, Kath Scanlon, Christine Whitehead

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Eleanor Benton, Ruby Russell and Anne Power

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CASereport 143

Bert Provan and Anne Power

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[Cost-benefit analysis of extending support to domestic abuse victims with NRPF: A technical report for the Domestic Abuse Commissioner.](#)

Forthcoming

Laura Lane and Anne Power

The Value of Local: An evaluation of the neighbourhood management approach of EastendHomes.

Laura Lane, Anne Power, Eleanor Benton and Ruby Russell

First Stage Report: Creating a 21st Century Estate: the experiences of Lancaster West residents as the estate is refurbished (title tbc)

CASEbriefs

CASEbrief 42

Kerris Cooper

[Poverty and parenting in the UK: Patterns and pathways between economic hardship and mothers' parenting practices.](#)

Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes Research Papers



SPDORP11

Lindsey Macmillan and Abigail McKnight

[Understanding recent patterns in intergenerational social mobility: differences by gender, ethnicity, education, and their intersections.](#) Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes Research Paper 11.

SPDORP12

Kerris Cooper and Abigail McKnight

[The Conservative Governments' Record on Employment: Policies, Spending and Outcomes, May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020.](#) Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes Research Paper 12.

SPDORP13

Mary Reader and Tania Burchardt

[Public and private welfare activity in England, 1979 to 2019.](#) Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes Research Paper 13.

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SPDORP14

Polly Vizard, Polina Obolenskaya and

Kritika Treebhoohun (forthcoming 2023)

[Going backwards? The slowdown, stalling and reversal of progress in reducing child poverty in Britain during the second decade of the 21st century, and the groups of children that were affected.](#) Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes Research Paper 14.

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SPDORN04

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Top 20 downloads in 2022

Author(s)	Title	Downloads
Lin Yang	The relationship between poverty and inequality: Concepts and measurement	10,892
Abigail McKnight	Understanding the relationship between poverty, inequality and growth: a review of existing evidence	6,192
John Hills	Final report of the Hills Independent Fuel Poverty Review: Getting the Measure of Fuel Poverty	4,050
Howard Glennerster	The post war welfare state: stages and disputes	4,032
Magali Duque, Abigail McKnight	Understanding the relationship between inequalities and poverty: mechanisms associated with crime, the legal system and punitive sanctions	3,924
John Hills, Ruth Lupton, Kitty Stewart, Polly Vizard	Labour's Social Policy Record: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 1997-2010	3,240
Ruth Patrick, Aaron Reeves, Kitty Stewart	A time of need: Exploring the changing poverty risk facing larger families in the UK	3,097
Kerris Cooper, Kitty Stewart	Does Money Affect Children's Outcomes? An update	3,083
Polina Obolenskaya, Polly Vizard	Labour's Record on Health (1997-2010)	3,004
SPDO research team	The Conservative Governments' Record on Social Policy from May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020: Policies, Spending and Outcomes	2,669
Tammy Campbell, Ludovica Gambaro, Kitty Stewart	Inequalities in the experience of early education in England: Access, peer groups and transitions	2,544
	CASE Annual Report 2020	2,427
John Hills	An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK – Report of the National Equality Panel	2,394
Magali Duque, Abigail McKnight	Understanding the relationship between inequalities and poverty: a review of dynamic mechanisms	2,361
John Hills	Fuel Poverty: The problem and its measurement. Interim Report of the Fuel Poverty Review	2,324
Kerris Cooper, Abigail McKnight	The National Living Wage and falling earnings inequality	2,302
Abigail McKnight, Marc Rucci	The financial resilience of households: 22 country study with new estimates, breakdowns by household characteristics and a review of policy options	2,259
Aveek Bhattacharya	When and why might choice in public services have intrinsic (dis)value?	2,189
Tania Burchardt, Eleni Karagiannaki	Intra-household inequality and adult material deprivation in Europe	2,180
Ruth Lupton, Polina Obolenskaya, Bert Provan	Pulling in the Same Direction? Economic and Social Outcomes in London and the North of England Since the Recession	2,139

Top download each year, 2005 to 2022

*data prior to 2005 not available

Year	Author (s)	Title	Year published	Downloads
2005	Ruth Lupton, Anne Power	Minority Ethnic Groups in Britain	2004	33,052
2006			2004	32,653
2007	John Hills	Ends and Means: The future roles of social housing in England	2007	130,915
2008			2007	50,976
2009			2007	49,628
2010	John Hills	An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK – Report of the National Equality Panel	2010	213,588
2011			2010	162,766
2012			2010	123,545
2013			2010	119,189
2014	John Hills	Final report of the Hills Independent Fuel Poverty Review: Getting the Measure of Fuel Poverty	2012	96,080
2015	John Hills, Ruth Lupton, Kitty Stewart, Polly Vizard	Labour's Social Policy Record: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 1997-2010	2013	63,961
2016			2013	43,817
2017			2013	39,139
2018			2013	29,179
2019	Alice Belotti, Ellie Benton, Laura Lane, Anne Power	Retrofit to the Rescue: Environmental upgrading of multi-storey estates	2019	35,432
2020			2019	20,581
2021	Lin Yang	The relationship between poverty and inequality: Concepts and measurement	2017	13,445
2022			2017	10,892



Special events and seminars 2022

Tuesday 24 May 2022

[Conscious hedonism and basic needs.](#)

[A thriving life that does not cost the Earth](#)

Orsolya Lelkes (CASE)

Wednesday 7 September

CASE 25th Anniversary event

Celebrating John Hills' contributions

Cross cutting welfare state analysis

Paul Johnson (Institute for Fiscal Studies)

Polly Vizard (CASE)

Ruth Lupton (University of Manchester)

Poverty, inequality and social security

Kitty Stewart (CASE)

Bea Cantillon (University of Antwerp)

Giovanni Razzu (University of Reading)

Housing and fuel poverty

Mark Stephens (University of Glasgow)

Becky Tunstall (University of York)

Abigail McKnight (CASE)

Thursday 8 September

CASE at 25 and beyond

CASE at 25 – Disadvantage and Inequalities

Abigail McKnight (CASE)

Irene Bucelli (CASE) *Tackling poverty and inequality: how policy toolkits can provide academic rigour to policy making*

Tania Burchardt (CASE)

CASE at 25 – CASE alumni

CASE at 25 – Policy evaluation

Jane Waldfogel (Columbia University)

Anne Power (CASE/LSE Housing and Communities)

Ilona Pinter (CASE)

CASE beyond 25 – Thinking Poverty: are our concepts fit for purpose? (Panel discussion)

Fran Bennett (University of Oxford)

Suzanne Fitzpatrick (Heriot-Watt University)

Julian Le Grand (London School of Economics)

Kate Summers (London School of Economics)

Chris Goulden (Youth Futures Foundation)

Seminars

Wednesday 2 February 2022

[Neurodiversity at Work – Opportunity or Exploitation?](#)

Nancy Doyle (Genius Within)

Wednesday 9 March 2022

[Repeat performances: SEND, Exclusions and minority young people](#)

Sally Tomlinson (Goldsmiths London)

Wednesday 8 June 2022

[Migrant-origin children in Ireland: Language and reading development in early childhood](#)

Frances McGinnity (Associate Research Professor at the ESRI and Adjunct Professor of Sociology at Trinity College Dublin)

Wednesday 15 June 2022

[Fertility and the two-child limit: does cutting child benefits really affect fertility?](#)

Mary Reader (CASE, LSE)

Jonathan Portes (King's College London),

Ruth Patrick (University of York)

Kate Andersen (University of York)

Wednesday 2nd November

[Tackling Covid-19 in East London and what we learnt about inequalities](#)

Jason Strelitz, Director of Public Health,

London Borough of Newham

23 November

[Trends in spatial labour income inequality in Canada, France, Germany and the UK 1975-2020: the Linking National and Regional Inequalities project](#)

Mark Fransham, LSE International Inequalities Institute

7 December

[The unequal effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on young people's education and wellbeing: the first wave of the COVID Social Mobility and Opportunities study \(COSMO\)](#)

Dr Jake Anders, Associate Professor and Deputy Director of the [UCL Centre for Education Policy](#).

We'd like to thank all our funders for their support

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LSE Research Support Fund

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Tel: +44 (0)20 7955 6679 Email: m.m.wasik@lse.ac.uk

The London School of Economics and Political Science
Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE

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