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The Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) is a multi-disciplinary research centre based at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), within the Suntory and Toyota International Centres for Economics and Related Disciplines (STICERD). Our focus is on exploration of different dimensions of social disadvantage, particularly from longitudinal and neighbourhood perspectives, and examination of the impact of public policy.

CASE was originally established in 1997 with core funding from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). The Centre is now supported by STICERD, LSE, and funding from a range of other organisations, including ESRC, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, the Nuffield Foundation, the British Academy, the Equality and Human Rights Commission and the Government Equalities Office. The Centre is affiliated to the LSE Department for Social Policy. It currently houses 14 postgraduate students working on topics related to its core areas of interest.

This report presents some of the main findings from our research and activities during 2009, our 12 year of operation. More detail can be found in the publications listed at the end of this report, which include CASE’s own discussion paper series (CASE papers) and research and conference reports (CASE reports), all of which are disseminated via the web (with a limited number of printed copies available). The Centre publishes books resulting from its research in The Policy Press’s series, **CASE Studies in Poverty, Place and Policy** (www.policypress.org.uk/catalog/).

**For more information about the Centre and its work, including texts of our publications, please visit our website: [http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/](http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/)**
Review of the Year, 2009

The last year saw CASE’s levels of activity and outputs maintained from previous years and new funding secured for research in 2010 and beyond. The major focus early in the year was the publication of ‘Towards a More Equal Society? Poverty, inequality and policy since 1997’, edited by John Hills, Tom Sefton and Kitty Stewart, and with contributions from a large number of CASE’s staff and associates. Our work on this had been supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, and we held two pre-publication briefing seminars jointly with the Foundation on aspects of the book for policy-makers and other practitioners as well as a launch seminar, where the book was introduced – and welcomed – by Rt Hon Harriet Harman, MP, Minister of Women and Equality. Some of the findings of the study are discussed in more detail below (pages 4-5).

Our continuing series of projects on equality measurement for the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) and the Government Equalities Office (GEO) resulted in three reports – on identifying substantive freedoms, on listing central capabilities and on selecting indicators to use in the Equalities Measurement Framework, which has been adopted by EHRC and GEO following earlier work in CASE. We continue to work on the measurement of ‘autonomy’ as a further input into practical use of the framework.

We also contributed to four of the working groups set up to inform the work of the Marmot Commission’s strategic review of health inequalities in England: Howard Glennerster, David Piachaud and Anne Power chaired three of the working groups (on social protection, social inclusion, and the built environment), while Abigail McKnight was part of the group looking at employment. The Commission’s report was published in February 2010, drawing extensively on the findings of these groups (see pages 8-9 for more discussion).

A further major report published during the year was the study of Growing Up in Social Housing, drawing on findings from all four of the British birth cohort studies (of children born in 1946, 1958, 1970 and 2000-01), to which Ruth Lupton, Becky Tunstall and Wendy Sigle-Rushton were major contributors (see pages 12-13).

Our work on housing and urban issues also resulted in Laura Lane and Anne Power’s study of ‘soup runs’ in central London (see pages 14-15), in the initial report of the evaluation led by Ruth Lupton for Communities and Local Government of the mixed communities initiative (the final report of which will be published in 2010), and in Alex Fenton and Becky Tunstall’s study for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation of the impact of previous recessions on disadvantaged areas.

In all, 57 publications during 2009 were attributable to research within the Centre (see pages 23-26), including 11 books or reports and 23 refereed journal articles, six of which were within a special issue of Social Policy and Society on ‘risk and resilience’, edited by members of CASE.

A major focus of research during the year was the analysis underlying the report of the National Equality Panel (later published in January 2010; see pages 6-7). The Panel was chaired by John Hills, with Ruth Lupton as one of the members of the Panel, while Jack Cunliffe from the Panel’s secretariat was based within CASE.

Other research during the year included: Kitty Stewart and Francesca Bastagli’s research for the Nuffield Foundation on the later employment pattern of lone mothers who return to work when their children are of different ages; Ruth Lupton’s work on the impact of local context on processes within primary schools in low-income and other areas; Polly Vizard’s analysis for ESRC of attitudes towards human rights within the Home Office Citizenship Survey; and Eleni Karagiannaki and Frank Cowell’s work on inheritance and international comparisons of wealth distribution as part of our programme of research on the changing distribution of wealth for the Nuffield Foundation.

Our research on seven ‘weak market cities’ in five European countries supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation was completed and the resulting book, Phoenix Cities by Anne Power, Jörg Plöger and Astrid Winkler, will be published in March 2010. However, we were delighted that follow-up research will continue, with new support from the French and German governments, Belfast City Council, and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. The work continues to be in collaboration with the Brookings Institution in Washington DC.

A new project to start in 2010, for which funding has been secured during the year, is a component of a major European Union-funded programme on the impacts of growing income inequality (GINI), in which Frank Cowell and Abigail McKnight are UK partners.

Our active dissemination programme continued through the year, with 18 seminars or special events (see pages 27-28). This included two events for practitioners on the energy efficiency of homes and other building, including a major conference on ‘The Great British Refurb’ in December.
Arrivals and departures
A very sad aspect of the year was the death of Norman Glass, chief executive of the National Centre for Social Research. Norman was the founding chair of CASE’s external advisory committee in 1997, and even before that had played an important role in CASE being established. He remained as a member of our advisory committees until his death and always brought his unique combination of good humour and sharp observation, both of which made his wise advice even more effective. He is, and will continue to be, greatly missed. However, we were very pleased that Alison Park for the National Centre has agreed to join our advisory committee, maintaining that important link, and that Trevor Huddleston from the Department for Work and Pensions will also be joining the committee.

Tom Sefton left the centre at the start of the year to join the Church Urban Fund, but remained involved with us through the launch of 
Towards a More Equal Society?, which he co-edited, and the publication of his report for Save the Children on public spending on children. Jörg Pöger completed his research on the weak market cities programme and took up a research post at the Institut für Landes- und Stadtentwicklungsforschung in Dortmund in Germany. However, through this he continues to be a partner in the weak market cities programme and so remains linked to the centre. Francesca Borgonovi completed her British Academy post-doctoral fellowship and took up a post at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in Paris. She will be working there on topics including international surveys of pupil attainment, so her research areas remain linked to ours and she continues as a Visiting Research Fellow to the centre. Jack Cunliffe joined the centre on secondment from the Department for Energy and Climate Change as part of the secretariat of the National Equality Panel. During the year, Ruth Lupton was promoted by the School to Senior Research Fellow and Francesca Bastagli to Research Fellow. Laura Lane also took on more of a research role within the LSE Housing group (see pages 14-15). Abenaa Owusu-Bempah, who had been providing administrative support, left the centre, with her role taken by Libby Parrott.

With a change in LSE’s procedures, CASE’s previous scheme of having our own external associates came to an end (although we continue to have associates from within the School – (see p 30), and we are very grateful to all of those who had been associated with us in this way, and through joint research, over the years. However, we continue more formal links with several external partners through LSE’s appointment of them as Visiting Professors or Visiting Research Fellows. As well as Francesca Borgonovi, those appointed include Simon Burgess (Bristol), David Clark (Manchester) Martin Evans (Oxford), Holly Sutherland (Essex), Jane Waldfogel (Columbia) and Asghar Zaidi (European Centre for Social Welfare Policy, Vienna). Ian Gough joined the centre as a Visiting Professor during the year, becoming a Professorial Research Fellow in October as he started work on a new project funded by ESRC on climate change and social policy.

Our doctoral research students continue to be a central part of the life of the centre (see pages 16-17) for Ben Baumberg’s account of some of his recent work). Sheere Brooks successfully completed her thesis on the impact of tourism on Jamaica during the year. The group was joined by Olga Gora (who had previously provided administrative and research support) and Ben Richards.

As can be seen both from the articles that follow on particular aspects of our work in the year and from the shorter descriptions of individuals’ current research that follow them, the centre has a very varied and active research programme, and this continues into 2010.

John Hills
Director, CASE
March 2010
Towards a more equal society? Poverty, inequality and a decade of Labour rule

Kitty Stewart


The book drew its title, A more equal society?, from a challenge laid down by Peter Mandelson shortly after the 1997 General Election victory to what he termed ‘the doubters’: ‘Judge us after 10 years of success in office. For one of the fruits of that success will be that Britain has become a more equal society’. Of course, our judgement in 2005 was a little premature – we hadn’t allowed the full decade to elapse. But our assessment of work in progress was upbeat and showed that many of the key indicators were moving in the right direction. Poverty was down sharply for pensioners and children, and the government looked to be on track to meet its first target of cutting child poverty by a quarter by 2004/5. Inequality was no longer rising and big investments in education and neighbourhoods were starting to pay off. As Tony Blair might reasonably have put it, a lot done, a lot still to do.

Our new book, published in early 2009, builds on the earlier volume to take the story up to the end of Tony Blair’s Premiership and Brown’s period as Chancellor. With data now available for an assessment of Labour’s full first decade, would Mandelson’s doubters be won over?

First, the good news – and there is considerable good news. Looking at the period as a whole, we can point to a wealth of evidence that Britain had indeed become a more equal society in 2007 than it was in 1997. Child and pensioner poverty were significantly lower than they were at the start. The relative position of disadvantaged neighbourhoods had improved, in terms of education, employment, crime and local perceptions. Gaps in educational attainment at 11 and 16 had narrowed in relation to the national average, both for schools with lower-income children and for children from poorer families in general. The large disparities between some minority ethnic groups and the majority white population had also narrowed, particularly in education but to a lesser extent in employment and incomes as well. Spending on education and health (which is generally pro-poor) had grown rapidly, and funding formulae had been adjusted to achieve a greater redistribution towards more disadvantaged local education areas and Primary Care Trusts. The creation of Sure Start and the guarantee of a part-time nursery place for all 3 and 4 year olds meant the welfare state’s embrace now stretched down to the cradle in a way it never really had before and offered new play and learning opportunities for the most disadvantaged children.

Where we are able to compare outcomes not to 1997 but to what they would have been in 2007 in the absence of Labour’s policy changes, the story is more positive still. The chapter by Tom Sefton, John Hills and Holly Sutherland finds that, rather than falling, child poverty would have been 6-9 percentage points higher in 2006/7 than in 1997 had benefit levels and tax allowances simply been increased in line with price inflation, as was the general policy before Labour took office. Pensioner poverty would have risen by seven points and income inequality would also have been higher.

Only a small number of policy areas showed no sign of progress over the period. Health inequalities, though very much on the policy agenda, continued to widen, with health indicators improving for all but most rapidly for higher social classes. Poverty for the working-age population without children had never been a priority and poverty rates for this group rose slightly over the decade. Rising incomes at the very top of the distribution had also been accepted or even welcomed, and rapid income growth for the top few percentiles was reflected in a small but statistically significant rise in the Gini coefficient between 1996/97 and 2006/07, although the 90/10 percentile ratio – which leaves out the very top and the very bottom – remained steady overall.

While these last omissions are important, they can arguably be seen as caveats to a broadly positive story for the decade as a whole – an ambitious agenda delivering some impressive achievements. And yet it is difficult not to be disappointed when comparing the 2009 evidence with the evidence we had available in 2005. In many of the policy areas we looked at, 2005 turned out to represent not the first step in reducing inequalities but the peak of achievement, with progress since then stalling or even dropping back. The big reductions in child and pensioner poverty had taken place by 2004/05; poverty started rising again for children from that year and for pensioners from 2005/6. The table illustrates this, showing sharp falls in measures of material deprivation and financial stress for lone parents in the first Labour years, slowing in the latter period. Income inequality fell for three consecutive years from 2000/01 – both measured using the 90/10 ratio and the more comprehensive Gini – but started to rise from 2004/05. The educational attainment indicators are the only ones that show faster progress in the latter part of the decade.

Stalled progress appears to reflect a slow-down of both policy momentum and spending after 2004. Expenditure on health and education grew more slowly from this point and child-related spending plateaued. Tax-benefit changes became less redistributive. Some early initiatives such as the New Deal for Young People ran out of steam and were not replaced. Many of the successful area-based initiatives were coming to an end by 2007 and no replacements had been announced. The Equality Act of 2006 and Equality Bill of 2009 are exceptions as examples of third-term policy developments.
Why were early successes not better exploited and developed? For one thing, a gradually slowing economy clearly placed constraints on the agenda long before the sharp 2008 downturn. There were fewer easy employment gains after 2001 and budgets grew tighter from 2004. After years of noting how difficult it is to tackle relative poverty against a background of rapidly rising average incomes, it became clear that finding resources for redistribution while incomes are stagnating is harder still. A second factor was a switch of priorities from the middle of Labour’s second term: the war in Iraq took an increasing share of both resources and political energy, while public sector reform became a higher domestic priority in Blair’s last years in office.

In 2010 the outlook for an egalitarian agenda looks at best uncertain, both economically and politically. We are unlikely to see either the resources or the political motivation to build on the strategies developed in the Labour years. And this is no small tragedy, because one of the clear lessons that emerges from the book is that policy interventions do make a difference. Of all the initiatives reviewed, few were found to be ineffective. As we put it in the conclusion, ‘The experience is far from one where nothing was tried or where nothing worked. Rather, many things were tried, and most worked.’ The problem is that the scale of action was not always big enough, and the loss of momentum meant action was not always sustained. We hope that this lesson will be taken on board by future governments, both as they struggle to reduce the fiscal deficit, and in more prosperous times to come.

Material deprivation and financial stress among lone parents: evidence from the Families and Children Survey (FACS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage unable to afford selected items</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fresh fruit on most days</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best outfit for children</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toys and sports gear for each child</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebration with presents at special occasions</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends/relatives for a meal once a month</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One week holiday (not staying with relatives)</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicators of financial stress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems with debts almost all the time</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always runs out of money before end of week</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worries about money almost always</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Stewart, Table 3.2 in Hills et al (2009)


An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK
Ruth Lupton and John Hills

The independent National Equality Panel was set up by the Minister for Women and Equalities in late 2008 to bring together the best available evidence on how inequalities in people’s economic outcomes – such as earnings, incomes and wealth – are related to their characteristics and circumstances – such as gender, age or ethnicity. The Panel collected evidence from universities, research organisations and government departments, issued an open call for evidence, and held two stakeholder events. We also commissioned nine new research projects. Our report was published in January 2010.

The Panel’s first job was to look at overall inequalities. We looked at five measures of economic inequalities – gross hourly wages, gross weekly earnings, net individual income, equivalent net income (taking account of household composition) and wealth – as well as at educational outcomes and employment status. Our main inequality measure was the ‘90:10 ratio’ ie, how much larger an outcome is for someone nine-tenths of the way up the distribution than for someone a tenth of the way up. We show some summary measures the table.

For earnings and equivalent net income these are high levels of inequality by comparison with a generation ago, when the ratio for equivalent net income was just over 3 to 1, for instance. Most of this increase occurred during the 1980s. Over the last decade, the 90:10 ratio shows that earnings inequality has narrowed, and income inequality stabilised. Other inequality measures, that include the very top and very bottom of the distribution, have widened. At the very top, the after-tax income share of the top one in every two thousand fell from 2.4 per cent in 1937 to under 0.5 per cent in 1969. By 2000, it had returned to 2.5 per cent. By comparison with other developed nations, earnings and income inequality in the UK are now high, although wealth inequality does not appear to be exceptional in international terms.

Different groups of people obviously occupy different positions within the overall distribution: average earnings for women, for example, are lower than for men. There are also differences within groups. It was encouraging to find that some of the widest gaps in economic outcomes between groups have narrowed in the last decade, particularly the earnings of women and men, and the educational qualifications of different ethnic groups.

However, deep-seated and systematic differences still remain. For example right up to the age of 44 women are better qualified than men. However, women’s median hourly pay is 21 per cent less than men’s – a crucial factor being low pay for part time work under (£7.20 per hour for half of part-timers). Some minority ethnic groups now do better at school than the national average and are more likely to go on to university, but nearly all minority ethnic groups are less likely to be in paid work than White British men and women. Compared to a White British Christian man with the same qualifications, age and occupation, Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim men and Black African Christian men have pay 13-21 per cent lower. Nearly half of Bangladeshi and Pakistani households are in poverty. Employment rates for disabled people are less than half those of non-disabled people and the disability employment ‘penalty’ has actually grown over the last quarter century, particularly for those with low or no qualifications.

We also found profound and startling differences on all dimensions between areas of high and low deprivation, implying huge disparities in collective resources. Median total wealth in the poorest tenth of areas is only a sixth per cent of the national figure; in the least deprived tenth wealth is more than twice the national median.

Moreover, we also found that within each social group, the differences are much wider than between social groups. Thus, for example, wealth is at its highest for most people as they approach retirement. There are differences between age groups. But there are also huge differences within age groups and these build up over people’s lives. A tenth of households aged 55-64 have under £28,000 and a tenth over £1.3 million, including pension rights (see figure).

This means that even if all differences between groups were removed, overall inequalities would remain wide. Analysis commissioned by the Panel showed that the inequality growth of the last forty years is mostly attributable to growing gaps within groups rather than between them. Earnings, income and wealth gaps have simply got wider.

The evidence we gathered also showed how hard it is to change patterns of inequalities. Economic advantage and disadvantage reinforce themselves across the life cycle and often onto the next generation. There are

Summary of Overall Inequalities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>90:10 ratio</th>
<th>Top 1%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross Hourly Wages</td>
<td>£9.90</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>£43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Weekly Earnings (FT)</td>
<td>£448</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>£1,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Individual Income (weekly)</td>
<td>£223</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>£1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equivalent Net Income (weekly)</td>
<td>£393</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>£2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Household Wealth</td>
<td>£205,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>£2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
already large differences in ‘school readiness’ before and on reaching school by parental income, occupation and education. Rather than being fixed at birth, these widen between ages 3 and 14 (in contrast to differences related to ethnicity). By age 16, White British, Black Caribbean and mixed White and Black Caribbean boys receiving Free School Meals have the lowest average assessment of any group by gender, ethnicity and Free School Meals status, apart from Gypsy and Traveller children. The median hourly wage for men from higher professional and managerial households is 2.5 times higher than that for men in routine occupations. By age 55-64, median wealth for higher professional and managerial households is over £900,000, but under £220,000 for semi-routine or routine occupation households. Mortality then closely relates to wealth: more than twice as many men, and nearly four times as many women, from the least wealthy fifth of over-50s die within a six-year period as of those from the wealthiest fifth. Policy interventions are needed at every life stage.

There are many different perspectives on how much inequality in outcomes is acceptable or desirable. Some people might argue that inequality is inevitable or perhaps functional in creating incentives that promote overall economic growth. Others would argue that inequalities undermine the bonds of citizenship and recognition of human dignity. Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson’s recent book *The Spirit Level* has pointed to strong associations between inequalities and societal well-being and happiness. However, most political perspectives subscribe to some notion of equality of opportunity. A clear conclusion of our work is that achieving this in contemporary UK society will be very difficult when there remain such wide disparities in the resources which people and their families have to help them develop their talents and fulfil their diverse potentials.

Total wealth, by age, GB, 2006-08 (£)

Source: ONS from WAS. Age is of ‘household reference person’

Note: The members of the National Equality Panel were: John Hills (Chair), Mike Brewer, Stephen Jenkins, Ruth Lister, Ruth Lupton, Stephen Machin, Colin Mills, Tariq Modood, Teresa Rees and Sheila Riddell.


The Deeper Causes of Health Inequality

Howard Glennerster

The rich enjoy 13 more years of disability free life than the poor. Those who live in the most deprived neighbourhoods live 17 fewer healthy years of life compared to those in the most advantaged areas (the poorest tenth versus richest tenth). That is despite the fact that we devote 40 per cent more health service resources to those in the poorest areas compared to the richest. Health services are not the problem. Society is.

In the past year three members of CASE have chaired Task Groups working for the Marmot Review of Health Inequalities in England Post 2010. Its report was published in January 2010. That the causes of health inequality lie much deeper than the NHS is well known. It was starkly analysed in the Black Report in 1980. Our task was to dig deeper and answer the question – what, if anything, seems to work if we wish to minimise the impact of these deeper causes?

Anne Power’s group was concerned with the built environment. Poor people concentrate in poor areas but the nature of the environment in which they live adds to their higher health risks. There are things governments and local communities can do that make a difference.

- Close access to green spaces increases individuals’ healthy life expectancy.
- Access to attractive and well equipped and supervised play areas has the same effect.
- Facilities that encourage ‘active travel’ – on your bike or walking – do the same.
- Reducing car and other local concentrations of pollution has an impact too.
- Stress induced by high crime rates, isolation and fear of the ‘street’ has an impact on health let alone knife crimes and physical attacks.
- Density, poor urban design, noise, traffic and ‘urban stress’ are bad for your health.

Reversing the bad features of urban design and management are not utopian ventures. They have been done and they work. What is more they mostly have a dual impact. They work in favour of improving the global environment and pressures that damage it.

David Piachaud’s group was concerned with the impact that social exclusion and discrimination have had upon the health of many groups. Not only were some groups excluded from full access to health services but were excluded from full participation in society and this had its impact on their health.

Our own group on social protection overlapped with their concerns. With Ruth Lister’s particular help we analysed the way in which women often bore the brunt of poverty and interrupted earnings. They are in Ruth’s words ‘the shock-absorbers of poverty’. This is especially true where a family gets into debt. There was a clear link between debt, isolation, shame and depression in women’s lives. Women also disproportionately carry the emotional and time costs of intense caring for elderly or disabled family members. On top of this household budgets are frequently not shared fairly and women put their children’s needs before themselves. Rather disappointingly this gender perspective was less fully taken up than it might have been in the subsequent Marmot report.

What was well represented was the work we did, led by Jonathan Bradshaw, to establish the case for a minimum income for healthy living. How much income would be needed to ensure families of different kinds could live on a healthy diet, live in a warm house, have sufficient clothing and exercise and not be under the kinds of stress that low income induces? Careful research has suggested it is possible to make an informed judgement about what such a level of income is. That information, we argued, should be at the heart of any health informed benefit policy.

To back up our case we searched the international and national literature for any evidence that a basic minimum income did indeed have an impact on health outcomes. There was surprisingly strong support. One of the best pieces of evidence came from the USA where we now know that the introduction of the New Deal measures in the midst of the depression had a measurable and significant impact on the life expectancy of that cohort. Moreover, in cost effective terms it was as effective as many modern drug treatments. The extension of pension rights to black South Africans made a difference to the reported health of the children in families where the grandmother was present.

Work by our Swedish colleague Olle Lundberg showed that those countries with a comprehensive and adequate basic pension had a higher life expectancy for older people.

Our own child tax credits and working tax credits had changed family spending patterns in ways that benefited children and were conducive to improving their future health. The same was true of teenagers’ behaviour.

The link between social benefit strategies and health outcomes seemed clear and well established.

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Income Support levels in relation to poverty thresholds and Minimum Income Standards by family type 2008/09

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Type</th>
<th>% of Poverty Line</th>
<th>% of MIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single aged 25 no children</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple working age no children</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple 1 child age 3</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple 2 children aged 4, 6</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple children aged 3, 8, 11</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single parent 1 child aged 3</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioner couple aged 60 – 74</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single pensioner aged 60 – 74</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>109</td>
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</table>

Source: Sefton, Table 2.4 in Hills et al (2009).
Examining UK benefit policy over many decades we concluded that:

• There is no rational basis for the divergent and widening gaps that exist between the standards of financial protection afforded to different UK citizens at different stages in their life cycle.

• An assessment of the minimum standard of income that is required to sustain a healthy life style should inform all benefit strategies and up-rating policies.

(CASEpaper no 139 p 30)

We also examined the administration of benefits and were particularly critical of the way their complexity was ill adapted to the needs of those who were likely to suffer recurrent periods out of work. Danger of having benefits cut off deterred people form re-entering employment that could have been conducive to better health. We suggested ways to improve links between the social benefit system and those responsible for the care of the long term chronically sick.

The Marmot Review included in its priority objectives that government should:

• Establish a minimum income for healthy living for people of all ages.

• Reduce the social gradient in the standard of living through progressive taxation and other fiscal policies.

• Reduce the cliff edges faced by people moving between benefits and work.

• Fully integrate the planning, transport, housing, environmental and health systems to address the social determinants of health in each locality.

• Remove barriers to community participation and action.

• Reduce social isolation.

All a rather challenging agenda for a new government.

Minimum Income Standard as a percentage of Median Income, April 2008


Reference

Integrating quantitative and qualitative research in public policy analysis: An evaluation of Brazil’s Bolsa Família

Francesca Bastagli

Brazil’s Bolsa Família is one of the world’s largest public cash transfers targeted on the poor. In 2006, it paid a benefit to 45 million people, 24 per cent of Brazil’s population. Its stated objectives are to reduce poverty in both the short and long term, through an income transfer and conditionalities requiring young children and pregnant women to undertake regular health visits and school-aged children to attend school. My research assesses progress made towards these objectives taking behavioural and administrative variables into account. It analyses Brazil’s nationally representative household survey data on incomes, employment and education. I also draw on qualitative interviews on the ways in which the day to day administration of the Bolsa Família – as shaped by people’s beliefs and variations in municipal level administrative practices – varies from official policy regulation. This information is typically not captured by large scale household surveys. Findings from the municipal case studies complement those arising from the impact analysis to shed light on the linkages between policy design, implementation and outcomes.

Official Bolsa Família policy design

The Bolsa Família targets anyone with an income below the extreme poverty line and poor families with children. Beneficiary selection is based on self-declared income and is carried out by the central federal public bank, Caixa. Municipal authorities are responsible for the registration of claimant information into the Cadastro Único administrative registry and for the regular transmission of claimant information to the federal Caixa. By design, a unit increase in beneficiary income above the income eligibility threshold leads to loss of benefit entitlement. Conditionality non-compliance is understood as a flag of additional vulnerability and in the first instance leads to verification for the reasons of non-compliance. Local authorities are responsible for the monitoring of school attendance and health care visits, the regular transmission of beneficiary compliance information to the sectoral ministries, the verification of reasons for non-compliance and the provision of additional personalised services to non-compliant households.

Bolsa Família impact and the role of perceptions and implementation details

The analysis of national survey data finds that the Bolsa Família is the most progressive income source in Brazil and contributes to a reduction of headcount poverty by three percentage points and of the poverty gap by five percentage points. From an international comparative perspective, the Bolsa Família is remarkably well targeted. However, it records exclusion errors and higher exclusion rates are observed for two groups: the extreme poor without children and those with an income close to the poverty line. Despite accounting for up to 27 per cent of pre-transfer income for the poorest beneficiary decile group and generating a high marginal tax rate by design, the research reveals the absence of an association between Bolsa Família participation and work effort among working age adults. This result contrasts with the theory on targeting which underscores the negative labour supply incentives generated by this type of policy. Children in beneficiary households are more likely to attend school. However, they continue to combine work and school attendance: there is no evidence of a reduction in child labour.

Interviews with claimants and administrators in municipalities in the state of Minas Gerais over the summer of 2006 reveal that people have a mixed understanding of income eligibility requirements, with responses reflecting a disassociation between people’s

Total and pre-Bolsa Família transfer income in Brazil (2004)

Note: Lower segment of Brazil’s income distribution, up to R$600 monthly per capita household income for gross income per capita and pre-transfer income per capita. Income references: R$50: extreme poverty line; R$100: poverty line; R$260: minimum wage. Source: Own analysis of PNAD 2004.
perceptions and official income limits. The direct observation of targeting practices reveal that municipal administrators use their knowledge of local realities to assist the poorest claimants in the application process, indicating in all instances a priority concern for ensuring that information for the poorest was recorded into the Cadastro. They also prioritise the registration of women with children, indicating that conditionality may be acting as an additional screening device. In 2006, the updating of administrative Cadastro information was irregular and limited. In municipalities with weaker administrative capacities, hard copies of the Cadastro forms, once completed, were stacked in boxes and only gradually fed into the on-line Cadastro registry for information to be sent electronically to the Caixa (see photo).

Interviews also reveal considerable variations in people’s perceptions of conditionality definitions, especially in the area of health. In terms of conditionality rationale, the responses of most administrators reflected the widespread perception that non-compliance leads to the automatic suspension of benefit payment, another departure from official policy regulation. In all municipalities visited, school teachers reported that they would not mark Bolsa Familia beneficiary students as absent for fear of additionally penalising poor children, an example of the potential unintended behavioural effects of conditionality. In sum, still in 2006 conditionality implementation was not executed in practice: activities including the regular monitoring of beneficiary compliance and the municipal provision of additional services to non-compliant beneficiaries were not taking place.

Critical Bolsa Familia design and implementation issues
The study suggests that the ‘fuzziness’ of the targeting mechanism, resulting from the irregular updating of the Cadastro and confusion regarding the income eligibility limits, contributes to the absence of a negative labour supply effect. The higher probability of exclusion observed for the moderate poor is associated with the prevailing priority among local Cadastro administrators to ensure the Bolsa Familia reaches the poorest. The positive association between programme participation and children’s school attendance, combined with information indicating that conditionality is not enforced, suggests that if conditionality is playing a part in promoting school attendance, its effect largely results from beneficiaries’ perceptions. This implies that strict conditionality implementation may not be necessary for it to exercise the desired effect, at least in the initial stages of programme implementation. As the Bolsa Familia is further institutionalised, a central question concerns how the evolution in people’s perceptions and in programme administration will affect outcomes over time, as people’s understanding of policy regulation starts to match official rules more closely and policy administration leads to the tighter enforcement of income eligibility and conditionality rules. These developments are explored in my ongoing research.

Growing Up in Social Housing in Britain: A Profile of Four Generations

Ruth Lupton

A number of recent reports have debated the future of social housing in Britain, not least John Hills’ (2007) report *Ends and Means: the future roles of social housing in England*. Many have taken the view that social housing should not just provide a decent affordable home, but contribute to wider welfare aims such as health, employment and earnings.

During 2008/9, a team of researchers at CASE, LSE and the Institute of Education, London, undertook a unique study to bring a historical perspective to the current debate. We analysed data from all four British Birth Cohort Studies (1946, 1958, 1970, and 2000) to look at the role that social housing has played for four generations since the Second World War. We explored the relationships between social housing and family circumstances, and the connections between childhood tenure and later outcomes in adulthood.

It is well known that, over time, social housing has become a ‘residualised’ sector, catering for the most disadvantaged. This is usually attributed to the Right to Buy policy introduced in 1981, as well as the 1977 Homeless Persons’ Act which gave priority to those with the most pressing housing need. Drawing on the whole post-war period of mass social housing in Britain enabled us to paint a broader picture.

In the 1946 generation 27 per cent of the most disadvantaged fifth of families (defined by measures of parental occupation and education level) were in social housing, but also 11 per cent of the most advantaged fifth. Of families with children born in 2000, 49 per cent of the most disadvantaged fifth were in social housing when the children were 5, but only 2 per cent of the most advantaged. This is not solely a result of social housing policy. Home ownership has been encouraged through fiscal policy and promoted ideologically. Our data show better-off families moving away from social housing into home ownership from the 1960s, well before the important social housing policy changes of the late 1970s and 1980s.

Since the 1970s widening inequality and industrial and social change have also led to a polarising of childhood experiences by tenure. For example, we showed that in 1975, two fifths of mothers in all tenures were working when their children were aged five. In successive years, more women took up employment, but particularly middle class women and owner-occupiers. By 2005, a big tenure gap had opened up. 71 per cent of owner-occupier mothers were working when the children were five, compared with only 32 per cent of mothers living in social housing.

We found similar evidence of a widening gap between tenures when we looked at education levels and lone parenthood.

For this reason, we think our findings emphasise the importance of tackling inequality and the causes of child poverty, not just looking at housing. Childcare, education and employment services also need to be targeted and integrated with social housing management to tackle these problems more effectively. There are implications here for the practice and funding of social landlords.

Our results also suggest that growing up in social housing seems to be linked to disadvantage in later life. For those born in...
1946, 1958 and 1970, children brought up in social housing tended to score worse on average, on measures of health, well-being, education, employment and income in adulthood than their peers who grew up in other tenures. Tellingly, for the generation born in 1946, almost all these differences were explained by background characteristics such as their parent’s occupation or education, or their own health or education or early child development. This shows that social housing has no inherent negative consequences. But for people born in 1958, and 1970, those who grew up in social housing seemed to do worse even when these factors were taken into account. For example, about half of the gap between the group who were ‘ever in social housing in childhood’ and those ‘never in social housing in childhood’ that had been found on measures of self-assessed health, cigarettes smoked and paid employment remained after controlling for background factors. Effect sizes were typically larger for the 1970 cohort than for the 1958 cohort. As the sector narrowed, so its ‘effect’ became more negative.

So what causes these associations between tenure and life chances? We don’t know. Even with rich data it is hard to isolate ‘tenure’ (the ownership of property and the conditions on which it is held) from the wider bundles of characteristics with which particular tenures might be associated (factors like location, area characteristics, cost, quality, and status), or the circumstances which lead people into different tenures. This means that we cannot leap from these findings to very specific policies, such as changing tenancy conditions. Such interventions would need properly controlled evaluation to determine their contribution to life chances.

Clearly a large-scale overhaul of the housing system is not justified by our findings either, but there are some broad messages. Social housing performed better, in these terms, when it had broader appeal and greater relative advantages. Focusing on housing and neighbourhood quality and blurring physical and financial distinctions between tenures could go some way to redressing the sector’s relative decline.

Meanwhile, we should also realise that the more that social housing is targeted on the disadvantaged, the less we can expect of it in relation to life chances. Social housing has been running to stand still in the face of widening inequality and social and economic changes. In some respects, we might expect other social policies targeted towards those who need social housing to do far more, and housing policy to do less, to ensure that the disadvantage with which people enter the social housing sector is addressed, not aggravated.

Note: The research team consisted of Ruth Lupton, Rebecca Tunstall and Wendy Sigle-Rushton of CASE, and Polina Obolenskaya, Ricardo Sabates, Elena Meschi, Dylan Kneale and Emma Salter from IOE. We were also helped by Cathie Hammond (IOE), Diana Kuh (Medical Research Council Unit for Lifelong Health and Ageing) and Brian Dodgeon (Centre for Longitudinal Studies).


Available on-line at: www.jrf.org.uk/publications/growing-up-social-housing
Soup runs in Central London: ‘The right help in the right place at the right time?’

Laura Lane and Anne Power

Charitable giving to the homeless and the ‘provision of outdoor welfare services’ are contested issues. Since the introduction of the Rough Sleepers Initiative in the 1990s there has been an increasing emphasis on the move towards professionalised, ‘aspirational’ services for homeless people within buildings and away from open-access charitable giving on the streets. Soup runs in particular have been criticised for helping to sustain a potentially damaging street lifestyle rather than helping homeless people to prepare for life off the streets. In Westminster, the local authority has been trying to reduce, co-ordinate and replace soup runs with other forms of provision and support. However soup runs provide a safety net by making food and social contact available to those who are unable or unwilling to access other services, especially people from the EU accession states, asylum seekers who have no recourse to public funds, and for some of the most marginal rough sleepers.

Our research aimed to provide an independent and objective perspective on soup runs in the London Borough of Westminster. We interviewed four main groups of stakeholders: soup run and Building Based Services (BBS) users; soup run providers; soup run ‘neighbours’ i.e. local residents and businesses; and key policy and practice actors in the wider homelessness field. We also observed soup runs and visited homeless day centres and hostels. To what extent do soup runs in Westminster fit into the commitment of the Government to provide ‘the right help, in the right place at the right time’?

Soup run providers felt they were providing a service that is needed and were committed to continuing to provide their service ‘until there is nobody on the streets using them’. There is no clear alternative available for many of the users. Soup run providers offer social contact and direct personal involvement with homeless and vulnerable people beyond simply providing food on the streets. Soup runs aim to help not just the homeless but also vulnerably housed and socially excluded people if they need help. For many soup run providers there is a clear and consistent religious motivation for the provision of food.

Soup run and other homelessness service users said that the safety net and familiarity that soup runs provide regularly attracted back those who had ‘moved on’ from the streets into accommodation. Soup runs help housed people to maintain social contact with friends on the street.

Some users criticised soup runs for supporting drug and alcohol addictions. Others felt that the system was open to abuse by those trying to make or save some money. But many welcomed the non-judgemental, no-restrictions approach of soup runs. Some long-run users resented the recent increase in ‘foreigners’ using soup runs; this was particularly targeted at soup run users from the most recent EU accession states.

The reasons for using soup runs vary for each individual; for some meeting basic needs for food, drink and clothing, for others social contact, routine and conviviality at times when other mainstream services are closed. Two thirds of our respondents (72) used soup runs every day; 15 people occasionally; only 18 did not use them at all. Soup runs were very important to the majority of respondents; they regularly argued that both homeless people and wider society would suffer if they were stopped.

However, not everyone is in favour of soup runs. In Victoria particularly, some local residents experience negative impacts from soup runs, including anti-social behaviour, intimidation and the creation of ‘no-go’ areas, as well as litter and mess. Residents suggested moving soup runs away from residential areas and finding alternatives to soup runs. Other residents argue that street provision is not an acceptable way of helping people.

Some policy actors criticise soup runs as outdated and damaging for rough sleepers and other vulnerable people whilst other direct service providers and policy makers acknowledge the important role that soup runs play in accessing vulnerable people. All agree that there remain too many soup runs in Westminster with too little coordination amongst them. The lack of

Views of Soup Run Users

Ludwik is from Poland and has been in the UK for several years. He is in his 40s and has been sleeping rough in Westminster for 3 years. He uses soup runs regularly and also a number of day centre facilities. Ludwik said he used soup runs for a ‘source of life’ and that without them people would suffer.

‘It would be a tragedy for the people who are new to being homeless. For those who have been here longer they know how to manage on the streets…if people who are new to the streets don’t know where to get food they might go to shops and steal. Also, those that are too proud to be “homeless”, too proud to ask for food and for help, will go and steal.’

David is a British man in his 50s. He has been on the streets for a number of years. He uses some day centres in Westminster and surrounding boroughs. He also uses soup runs on a regular basis and thinks they are very important.

‘People do depend on them to survive. There are different bottom lines for different people, for example some couldn’t beg but could shoplift…If soup runs were to stop, they would need to be replaced with something better.’
formal supervision and regulation of soup run providers is contentious.

In the light of these different perspectives, our recommendations focused on the development of closer partnership working and communication between the organisations and stakeholders involved, as well as the development or alternative services. We suggested:

- better signposting and coordination to further reduce duplication and overprovision;
- a dispersal of provision from central London to help meet needs closer to home;
- more opportunities for social contact, befriending and support for people who had been homeless but moved into ‘independent’ living;
- training for soup run volunteers to advise, support, mentor, and befriend homeless and vulnerable people and help avoid institutionalisation of a street lifestyle;
- and urgent action to deal with the complex problems of foreign migrants, with no recourse to public funds. This might include extending day centre provision, with free food and social contact, particularly during evenings and at weekends.

Soup runs in Central London: ‘The right help in the right place at the right time?’ By Laura Lane and Anne Power, July 2009 is available online at: [http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/textonly/LSEhousing/PDF/SOUP_RUN_REPORT.pdf](http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/textonly/LSEhousing/PDF/SOUP_RUN_REPORT.pdf)
Over the 1980s and early 1990s in the UK, the number of people on incapacity benefits tripled such that they accounted for three times as many people as those claiming Jobseekers Allowance (pre-credit crunch, at least). Conventional wisdom has it that this cannot reflect ‘real’ incapacity – after all, Britons have got healthier and jobs have become less physically demanding. In contrast, this study begins to investigate whether changing working conditions may also have contributed. It asks whether job strain affects work and retirement decisions, and if so, whether this is due to its effect on perceived fitness-for-work. It particularly focuses on the idea that people may have to be healthier to see themselves as ‘fit-for-work’ if they are in high-strain rather than low-strain jobs.

The study uses longitudinal data from a well-known cohort – the Whitehall II cohort of civil servants, which for this study includes 7,500 person-wave observations from about 5,000 people. Using Whitehall II here means that the results are not fully representative of the British working age population, instead being focused on (primarily male) civil servants aged 39 and over. Nevertheless, this dataset is rare in containing excellent data on self-reported working conditions, including job demands (how hard you work) and job control (how much discretion you have at work), and particularly the combination of high demands and low control which is known as ‘job strain’.

In the full thesis, I explore all the different parts of this model: the effect of job strain on work-limiting disability (WLD), the effect of job strain on employment/retirement, the effect of WLD on employment/retirement, and how far the effect of job strain on employment/retirement is explained by WLD. In brief, I consistently find that that people with identical levels of health are significantly more likely to report a WLD if they are in high-strain rather than low-strain jobs. I also find that WLD strongly influences employment and retirement outcomes.

In this summary, though, I focus on the effect of job strain on employment and retirement. To estimate this, I looked at the effect of baseline job strain on employment/retirement reported 2-3 years later, adjusting for a battery of health and sociodemographic controls. I looked at several different outcomes: non-employment, early retirement from the Civil Service, health retirement from the Civil Service, and long-term sickness.

The results showed that people in high-strain jobs were significantly more likely to become non-employed or take early retirement – but strain had no significant effects on health retirement or long-term sickness. This may be because job strain does not affect these outcomes, or because there were far fewer people taking health retirement or becoming long-term sick, which makes it less likely that we would find a significant effect even if one really existed.

More surprisingly, though, was the finding that the difference between high- and low-strain jobs did not seem to be the most important difference. Instead, there seemed to be larger and more consistently significant differences between high-strain jobs and ‘active’ jobs – that is, jobs with high control but also high demands. This finding has been reported in some earlier studies, and was here significant for long-term sickness and (in some specifications) health retirement as well as non-employment and early retirement.

Estimated change in employment/retirement if the sample moved from their current jobs to active jobs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Real incidence</th>
<th>Incidence if all active jobs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-employment</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(real incidence 9.5%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early retirement</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(real incidence 11.9%)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Health retirement</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(real incidence 1.4%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Long-term sick</td>
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<td>(real incidence 0.38%)</td>
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To make these results easier to understand, the figure below presents these as percentages – in this case, how much the estimated incidence of non-employment/retirement would change if the sample moved to active jobs. For example, for non-employment the bar on the left shows the current incidence of non-employment (9.5 per cent). The lighter bar to the right shows the estimated incidence if everyone had active jobs instead of their current job (7.8 per cent). The difference between the bars is therefore a measure of the estimated real-world impact of being in different types of jobs. Health retirement and long-term sickness are on a much smaller scale, illustrating how much rarer they are than non-employment and early retirement. Note that some of those taking early retirement went on to work in other jobs, which is why there are more people retiring early than who are non-employed.

From the figure, we can see that being in active jobs would decrease later non-employment and early retirement by around 1-2 percentage points. When it comes to the more health-focused outcomes, the proportional effects appear even larger. Indeed, the model suggests that long-term sickness would decline by 90 per cent if everyone had active jobs. However, we should remember that there are relatively few cases of health retirement and long-term sickness and this makes the results very imprecise – even the large estimated effects we show here are non-significant for health retirement and only just significant for long-term sickness. We can therefore have more confidence that there is an effect than in precisely estimating the size of this effect.

Before drawing out implications for policymakers, this work needs further development. The robustness of these results needs to be assessed through a series of different sensitivity analyses, other working conditions need to be considered, and I will also replicate this analysis using completely different methods on a completely different sample (the British Household Panel Study). The thesis itself looks further into the pathways between job strain and employment outcomes, which help us know how policy can respond to these effects.

If these results are replicated, though, what would this mean for policymakers? Firstly, it would suggest that the increase in incapacity benefits receipt may be partly due to the changing nature of work over the 1980s and 1990s – although it will take other work within the thesis to estimate how great this role is. Secondly, it would show that job quality matters for employment and retirement decisions, including for health-related employment outcomes such as incapacity benefits receipt. Yet in many ways these results would only be a starting point for policy. To make effective policy, we need to compare strategies: is it more efficient and fair to provide better NHS treatment to people who leave high-strain jobs, to change the benefits system again, or to improve people’s working conditions through a fundamental change in the nature of British capitalism? Such issues will be considered at length in the thesis’ concluding chapter, which will consider these new results in the light of the wider evidence and a variety of different value positions.
Ben Baumberg has continued his PhD research on the link between working conditions, fitness-for-work perceptions, and incapacity benefit receipt in the UK. He has finished analysing the Whitehall II cohort, and is now trying to combine BHPS data with other surveys using innovative statistical techniques (with help from a team at Imperial College). He has also been interviewing people with health problems to contextualise the quantitative results with qualitative data. Aside from the PhD, Ben has continued to do research on alcohol policies, particularly looking at economic aspects and the role of Corporate Social Responsibility by alcohol producers and retailers.

Francesca Bastagli continued work on the design and effects of targeting and conditionality in public cash transfers, finalising papers from her PhD thesis. Using several large scale household surveys for the UK she measured the inequality indicators for the UK Equality and Human Rights Commission with the team led by Tania Burchardt and Polly Vizard, leading to the report on ‘Developing the Equality Measurement Framework: Selecting the indicators’. Together with Kitty Stewart, she studied the employment and wage trajectories of low-skilled mothers using the UK’s longitudinal Families and Children Study. She is currently analysing changes in the composition and distribution of wealth in the UK with John Hills and Abigail McKnight. Francesca also continued to deliver lectures and training, including a five-day lecture series on social protection and policy evaluation at the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in Damascus in the context of Syria’s national social protection system reform.

Francesca Borgonovi resumed work at CASE after a period of leave at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). She completed work on a project examining the political returns to education in Europe using data from the first four rounds of the European Social Survey and another on the effect of education on alcohol use and abuse among young adults in Britain using British Cohort Study data. She also continued her work examining the relationship between social capital and well-being in England and the determinants of giving and volunteering in the United States. In June, Francesca took up an appointment at the Education Directorate at the OECD where her primary responsibility will be to write the Initial Report of the 2009 round of the PISA study. Francesca was nominated a Visiting Research Fellow at CASE and will remain an active member of the Centre contributing to research examining the evolution of social inequalities in the health and well-being of children.

Robert Cassen is continuing his research on education, using the LSYPE and associated data-sets to look at the destinations of pupils post-16. He is working with Prof Anna Vignoles and Dr Elena Meschi at the Institute of Education.


Ludovica Gambaro has continued her PhD research on the position and characteristics of workers in the childcare sector. This year has examined data from the Labour Force Survey (LFS), from 1994 to 2008, in order to map how the childcare workforce has changed in the last fifteen years, and commented on such changes on the basis of the most recent policies. She has also carried out her fieldwork, interviewing 40 childcare workers. The analysis of the interviews has, so far, focussed on the relation between employment opportunities and caring motivations. She will now move on to investigate the role of skills in childcare work, by using both the interview findings and LFS data.

Howard Glennerster chaired a task force that prepared evidence for the Marmot Commission on health inequalities. This reviewed the evidence as to how far an adequate safety net has an impact on health outcomes. How might governments set a minimum standard of income necessary for healthy living? The outcome of this work was reflected in the Marmot Commission Report in January 2010. He began archive work on the history of past attempts to tax wealth. He published a joint chapter with Ruth Lupton on education policy 60 years on from 1948 and another edition of his text book *Understanding the Finance of Welfare*.

Olga Gora began research for her ESRC +3 PhD Studentship on social security in Egypt. She has been working on gaining access to data sets and on creating a comprehensive overview of the social security system in Egypt. She will be using this to gain an understanding of the impact of social security on household incomes.

In October Ian Gough began his research programme on Climate Change and Social Policy, with part-time funding from the ESRC for two years. He spent the first few months mapping out this rather large terrain and completing a paper on ‘Decarbonising the welfare state’ for the Oxford Handbook on Climate Change and Society. Before this he was busy completing other research, for example writing a report for UNRISD (UN Research Institute for Social Development) on Financing Welfare Regimes in Developing Countries, and also giving lectures and completing two articles of the future of welfare states. He also joined a DfID panel in video-conference with members of the Chinese government in Beijing discussing social policy responses to economic crises – lessons from the West.

Aaron Grech continued his doctoral research, developing a framework to assess the social sustainability of pension reforms. Using measures of pension wealth derived from the OECD’s APEX pension entitlement
model, Aaron evaluated the impact of pension reforms on the strength of the poverty alleviation and consumption smoothing functions of pension systems in ten European countries. He also estimated the impact of these reforms on the size of pension transfers to future generations and the cost to finance these transfers.

Rod Hick continued his work exploring the potential of Amartya Sen’s capability approach as a framework for conceptualising and measuring poverty and deprivation, in addition to furthering his empirical work examining the relationship between low income and multiple deprivation in the UK, which draws on data from the British Household Panel Survey between 1991-2007. During 2009, he published a paper on retirement planning amongst ethnic minorities in International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy (with O. Gough) and a working paper on pensioner poverty and gender in Ireland in the Geary Institute’s working paper series. He is currently preparing his first empirical results from his PhD which he will present at conferences during the summer.

At the start of the year John Hills was most heavily involved in the publication and dissemination of the Centre's book, *Towards a More Equal Society? Poverty, inequality and policy since 1997*, which he co-edited with Tom Sefton and Kitty Stewart. His year was dominated, however, by his role as Chair of the National Equality Panel, whose report, *An Anatomy of Inequality*, was submitted to the Government Equalities Office at the end of November, for publication in January 2010. During the year he started initial work on the relationship of social policies to the complex dynamics of people’s lives under his ESRC Professorial Fellowship, which he will resume from April 2010. He also contributed to the Centre’s programme of research on the changing distribution of wealth for the Nuffield Foundation, and examination of policy responses to this will be a major focus of his work in 2010. With Holly Holder, he started analysis of a module of the 2008 European Social Survey on attitudes to welfare systems and redistribution.

Bryan Jones is now in the latter stages of a PhD thesis examining the impact of new development on existing communities in the Kent Thameside area of the Thames Gateway. In recent months he has been looking at some of the community-led projects that have been set up in existing communities in direct response to the Kent Thameside regeneration agenda. As well as focusing on the motivation for each project, he has looked at the various challenges they have faced in trying to get off the ground and the reasons why some have proven to be more successful than others. He has then sought to explain what the varying outcomes from these projects have to tell us about the underlying health of the Kent Thameside regeneration agenda.

Eleni Karagiannaki along with other colleagues in CASE (including John Hills, Frank Cowell, Howard Glennerster, Abigail McKnight and Francesca
Bastagli) continued working on a project for Nuffield Foundation on the drivers of the changing distribution of wealth in the UK. As part of this project Eleni examined trends in the annual inheritance flow over the period 1985/2004, the distribution of inheritance by recipients’ characteristics and the impact of inheritance on wealth inequality. She has also explored the various channels through which parents make inter-vivo transfers towards their children and she examined the correlation between each type of transfer and recipient characteristics. Her work draws mainly on three data sources: the British Household Panel Survey, the Attitudes to Inheritances Survey and the 1995/96 General Household Survey.

Suyoung Kim’s research has been focused on the Korean welfare-to-work programme (Self-Sufficiency Programme), run by the state-community organisations partnership. In particular she has been looking into the power relationship between the state and community organisations. The research also has relevance to the international trend for welfare partnership and the introduction of workfare. The focus of her research up to date has been to examine how community organisations deal with the dilemma between their original role as grass-roots advocates for the poor and the newly imposed role as street-level administrator of the punitive workfare programme. She is currently working as a commentator for the Korean Centre of Self-Sufficiency Programme. Also, having interests in street-level resistance of poor people, she is translating a book of James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*.

Laura Lane has continued to work within LSE Housing and Communities on a number of projects including completing a project commissioned by Crisis and Westminster City Council looking into the role of soup runs in Westminster, published in July 2009. Laura also co-authored a report with Anne Power on social exclusion and targeting need in low income housing estates in the London borough of Hammersmith and Fulham. Laura is currently working on a project funded by the Federation of Master Builders looking at our housing future and the role of small and medium sized builders in achieving social, environmental and economic goals. She is also working on an evaluation of the Lottery funded Playing 2 Learn programme of family learning breaks at Trafford Hall, the National Communities Resource Centre. Laura has also started work alongside LSE Housing and Communities colleagues on the next stage of the Weak Market Cities programme, looking specifically at Sheffield and Belfast.

Ruth Lupton has continued to work both on housing and neighbourhood dynamics and on educational inequalities. With Rebecca Tunstall, Wendy Sigle-Rushton and colleagues at the Institute of Education, she produced Growing Up in Social Housing, an analysis of social housing and life chances using the four British Birth Cohort studies, funded by the Tenant Services Authority, Joseph Rowntree Foundation and Scottish Government. She and Rebecca Tunstall with Andrew Jenkins and Dylan Kneale, are now doing some follow-up work for the Homes and Communities Agency and Tenant Services Authority, looking specifically at the influence of neighbourhood. Ruth and Dylan Kneale have also been examining neighbourhood influences on teenage parenthood, using the BCS70. Other neighbourhood-related work includes a project for Communities and Local Government (CLG) looking at the uses and development of place typologies, with Alex Fenton and Rebecca Tunstall, completing the mixed communities evaluation for CLG, and starting a new project for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation on ‘postcode discrimination’ in employment, with Rebecca Tunstall and Anne Green from Warwick University. Work on education has included a chapter for *A More Equal Society*, and several papers on the implications of school context, arising from an earlier ESRC project. Ruth was also a member of the National Equality Panel.

Abigail McKnight was invited to join Sir Michael Marmot's Strategic Review of Health Inequalities in England post 2010 as a member of the employment arrangements and work conditions task group and she contributed to the report on new evidence on health inequality reduction. In addition she continued her research which forms part of a major project funded by the Nuffield Foundation looking at the changing distribution of wealth. She is working on extending earlier work looking at the impact of holding assets in early adulthood on later life outcomes by examining a more recent cohort constructed from British Household Panel Study Data. On the same project she is working with Francesca Bastagli untying age-wealth profiles and separately looking at changing inequalities in pension wealth. In addition during 2009 she was contracted by the Department of Work and Pensions to assess the feasibility of evaluation the impact of the Integrated Employment and Skills programme on employment retention and progression. In 2010 she is starting work, alongside Frank Cowell, on a major new EU funded research project (GINI) looking at the social, cultural and political impacts of increasing inequality. This project brings together 80 researchers across 26 countries with the kick-off conference held at the LSE in March 2010.

Kênia Parsons continued her doctoral research on conditional cash transfers and rural poverty in Brazil. Her thesis focuses on the impacts of the Bolsa Família Programme in reaching the rural poor, who are generally in isolated areas, with less information and fewer services. Since this transfer is conditional to school attendance and health clinics check-ups she is interested in analysing how the rural poor are coping with these requirements. This research will utilise a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate the targeting of the programme, the impacts on education, health and income, and the supply of services in rural areas. Kênia conducted a pilot study in Brazil in September 2009 financed by the Abbey/Grupo Santander Travel Research Fund. She was also a visiting scholar at the International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG), a global research and training facility based in Brasilia. IPC-IG is a partnership between the Bureau for Development Policy, Poverty Practice from the United Nations Development Programme.


**Anne Power** has been finalising two books — *Phoenix Cities: the fall and rise of great industrial cities*, which was published in March 2010 (co-authored by Jörg Plöger and Astrid Winkler) and *Family Futures* which summarises seven years of the CASE families study, which will be published late 2010. Through LSE Housing and Communities, she secured continued funding for the Weak Market Cities programme which will run until January 2012. Its three main research questions concern ex-industrial cities: What is the impact of the financial crisis and recession on weak market cities? What is driving ‘green’ innovations and environmental ‘green new deal’ programmes? How are social programmes being sustained following public spending cuts? LSE Housing and Communities has continued its energy-saving seminar series, holding two events in 2009 – one at Trafford Hall in June and the ‘Great British Refurb’ workshop with leading policy makers at LSE in December. Anne advises the government on energy saving in homes and communities and is on the DECC advisory panel for the Heat and Energy Saving strategy. She is also working with Laura Lane on a report on ‘Housing Futures’ for the Federation of Master Builders and with the Sustainable Development Commission on its neighbourhood retrofit programme.

**Ben Richards** joined CASE as a MPhilPhD student in October 2009. His research will examine the relationships between social identity and social cohesion in Britain. In particular, he will investigate the hypothesis that the creation of ‘thin’ collective identities spanning ethnic and cultural groups can help to produce a variety of positive social outcomes, including increased social cohesion. His research will consist of two strands: a qualitative study looking in detail at how people from minority ethnic groups perceive their ethnic and national identity in Britain; and an analysis of data from the Citizenship Survey to investigate whether the strength of ethnic or national identity is associated with levels of social cohesion on several different dimensions.

**Liz Richardson** was nominated as a CASE Visiting Fellow in February 2010. She is currently working with Laura Lane and Anne Power to explore the impacts on low income and vulnerable households of going on family learning weekends. The ‘Playing to Learn’ programme is being run by Trafford Hall, home of the National Communities Resource Centre. Liz is also collaborating with Ruth Lupton to produce fresh insights on neighbourhood governance, using comparative case study material from across Europe.

**Hyun Bang Shin’s** research this year has been focused on two research projects. As principal investigator, he has completed a pilot research project funded by the British Academy Small Research Grant, which was to examine housing implications of mega-event hosting on urban residents in three Chinese cities, namely Beijing, Tianjin and Xining. Hyun has also been awarded LSE/STICERD New Researcher Award (2009-2010) that allows him to investigate the social legacy of the 2010 Guangzhou Asian Games. The project involves pre- and post-displacement interviews with residents in three neighbourhoods earmarked for demolition as part of the Games preparation, and is expected to be completed by the end of summer 2010.

**Wendy Sigle-Rushton** continued her work using the British birth cohort studies to examine the links between childhood experiences and adult outcomes. She contributed to a report examining the association between social housing in childhood and adult outcomes. As a member of the non-marital childbearing network coordinated at the Max Planck Demographic Research Institute, she worked on three comparative papers on cohabitation and fertility. She has also co-authored a paper examining the effects of recent family policy innovations in Sweden.

**Kitty Stewart** continued work with Francesca Bastagli on a Nuffield funded project on mothers’ employment and wage trajectories, using the Families and Children Study and the British Household Panel Study to look at the medium-term impact of an early return to low-skilled work. She also contributed a background paper on social exclusion under Labour to the Marmot Review on health inequalities, drawing on the CASE edited book on Labour’s record on poverty and inequality, which was launched in February 2009 *Towards a more equal society? Poverty, Inequality and Policy Since 1997*. She revised earlier work for UNICEF on policies for young children in South Eastern Europe, carried out with Carmen Huerta, and this was published in the *Journal of European Social Policy*.

**Tiffany Tsang** is part of the research team headed by Tania Burchardt and Polly Vizard working on the Equality Measurement Framework (EMF) project for the EHRC. After completion of the selection of adults’ indicators for the EMF, the framework was extended to children and young people, whereby research and organisational work was carried out for further specialist consultation. Another EHRC project on the development of a Human Rights Measurement Framework being undertaken by CASE, LSE Centre for the Study of Human Rights, LSE Human Rights Futures (who are unpaid partners on the project) and the British Institute of Human Rights also began during this period.

**Becky Tunstall** continued the collaboration with Ruth Lupton and colleagues at the Centre for Longitudinal Studies using the
British cohort studies to investigate the relationship between childhood housing and adult life chances. This work has been extended with a further grant of £50,000 from the Homes and Communities Agency and the Tenant Services Authority to investigate what neighbourhoods are best for children and the extent to which apparent ‘tenure effects’ are really explained by neighbourhood conditions. She investigated the impact of past and recent recessions on unemployment and other conditions in British neighbourhoods for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, with Alex Fenton of the University of Cambridge. She was also awarded a grant of £99,000 by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation for an 18-month project working with Anne Green of the University of Warwick and Ruth Lupton to investigate the existence of discrimination amongst job applicants on grounds of place of residence.

**Catalina Turcu** completed her doctoral research at the end of March 2010. The research focused on the impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on community sustainability by looking at three Housing Market Renewal areas in England. She has also continued teaching in the Department of Social Policy for the course on Poverty, Social Exclusion and Social Change.

**Yuka Uzuki** has continued her PhD research into intergenerational persistence of poverty in the UK. Her work this year has been focused on the investigation of relationships between childhood poverty and youth unemployment for the 1970 and 1980s birth cohorts, by using work history data from the British Cohort Study and British Household Panel Survey. The use of the latter data has also enabled her to examine the relative strength of the relationships of parental worklessness and low income to youth unemployment. The findings have implications to the relative effectiveness of further income redistribution and policy interventions into education and parental employment, in order to improve the life chances of children growing up in poverty.

**Jane Waldfogel** completed her book, *Britain’s War on Poverty*, published by Russell Sage Foundation Press in spring 2010. She also continued work on inequality in school readiness across countries, with funding from the Sutton Trust to study the US and UK, and funding from the Russell Sage Foundation to study the US, UK, Australia, and Canada. She also began a new project, with colleagues at Columbia University, on improving the measurement of poverty in the US (with funding from the Annie E. Casey Foundation and the Atlantic Philanthropies).

**Stephen Wang** finalised the write-up of his PhD thesis on the policy and practice of urban housing renewal in Shanghai since 1990 – a period corresponding to profound market reforms and political decentralisation. The work, now successfully defended in the viva, provides an up to date review of the evolving policies, practices and impacts of housing renewal in this fast-changing Chinese city. It also advances our understanding of the ‘Chinese’ urban growth coalition. Stephen is currently working on publishing the key findings of this research in journal articles, and as a book.

**Polly Vizard** continued her research on equality, capability and human rights. ESRC-funded research on public attitudes on human rights using a general population survey was taken forward. A research project for EHRC on the selection of indicators for adults for the Equality Measurement Framework was completed, and a further consultation on the selection of indicators for children was begun. Work on another EHRC research project on the development of a Human Rights Measurement Framework (being undertaken by CASE, LSE Centre for the Study of Human Rights, LSE Human Rights Futures – who are unpaid partners on the project – and the British Institute of Human Rights) also began during this period, as did a work on a paper for the 2020 Public Services Commission on the application of capability approach and human rights as regulatory frameworks for public services.
Publications and events

(*) denotes publications largely attributable to work outside the centre. Non-CASE authors indicated by italics.

Books and reports


Forthcoming


Book Chapters


Burchardt, T and Holder, H, ‘Inequality and the devolved administrations: Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland’.


Hills, J, Sefton, T and Stewart, K, ‘Conclusions: climbing very mountain or retreating from the foothills?’.

McKnight, A, ‘more equal working lives? An assessment of New Labour policies’.

Power, A, ‘New Labour and unequal neighbourhoods’.

Sefton, T, ‘Moving in the right direction? Public attitudes to poverty, inequality and redistribution’.

Sefton, T, Hills, J and Sutherland, H, ‘Poverty, inequality and redistribution’.

Stewart, K, ’“ A scar on the soul of Britain”: child poverty and disadvantage under New Labour’.

Stewart, K, ‘Poverty, inequality and child well-being in international context: still bottom of the pack?’.

Vizard, P, 'The Equality and Human Rights Commission: a new point of departure in the battle against discrimination and disadvantage'.


Forthcoming


Refereed journal articles


**Forthcoming**

Borgonovi, F., ‘Education, alcohol use and abuse among young adults in Britain’, Social Science and Medicine. (*)


**Other journal articles**


**Other publications**


### CASE Papers

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<tr>
<th>CASE/136</th>
<th>Eleni Karagiannaki</th>
<th>The Effect of Health on Consumption Decisions in Later Life: Evidence from the UK</th>
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<tr>
<td>CASE/137</td>
<td>Maria Evandrou, Jane Falkingham, Tom Sefton</td>
<td>The relationship between women's work histories and incomes in later life in the UK, US and West Germany</td>
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<td>CASE/138</td>
<td>Maria Evandrou, Jane Falkingham, Tom Sefton</td>
<td>Women's family histories and incomes in later life in the UK, US and West Germany</td>
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### Other CASE publications

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<th>CASEReport 58</th>
<th>CASE Annual Report 2008</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CASEReport 59</td>
<td>Low Income Housing Estates: A report to Hammersmith United Charities on supporting communities, preventing social exclusion and tackling need in the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham</td>
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<tr>
<td>CASEReport 60</td>
<td>An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK – Report of the National Equality Panel</td>
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### CASE events

#### Social Exclusion Seminars

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<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
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<tr>
<td>21 January 2009</td>
<td>Climate Change and Social Policy</td>
<td>Ian Gough (University of Bath)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 March 2009</td>
<td>When you are born matters: The impact of date of birth on educational outcomes in England</td>
<td>Lorraine Dearden (Institute for Fiscal Studies and Institute of Education)</td>
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<td>18 March 2009</td>
<td>Social class and educational inequality: what should schools do?</td>
<td>Ruth Lupton (CASE)</td>
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<td>20 May 2009</td>
<td>The Spirit Level: Why more equal societies almost always do better.</td>
<td>Richard Wilkinson (University of Nottingham)</td>
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<td>24 June 2009</td>
<td>Growing Up in Social Housing: A profile of four generations 1946 to the present day</td>
<td>Ruth Lupton and Becky Tunstall (CASE)</td>
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<td>7 October 2009</td>
<td>Reducing health inequalities: Areas, benefits and social exclusion (based on the Marmot Review)</td>
<td>David Pachaud, Howard Glennerster and Anne Power (CASE and LSE)</td>
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<td>28 October 2009</td>
<td>Charitable bequests and wealth at death in the UK</td>
<td>John Mickelwright (Institute of Education)</td>
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<td>25 November 2009</td>
<td>Should economic and social rights be included in a Bill of Rights? An analysis of public views using a general population survey</td>
<td>Polly Vizard (CASE)</td>
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<td>2 December 2009</td>
<td>Test scores, subjective assessment and stereotyping of ethnic minorities</td>
<td>Simon Burgess and Ellen Greaves (Bristol University)</td>
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**Welfare Policy and Analysis Seminars**

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<td>11 February 2009</td>
<td>Realising potential: A vision for personalised conditionality and support</td>
<td>Paul Gregg (University of Bristol and CEP)</td>
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<td>4 March 2009</td>
<td>The route to take-up: Raising incentives or lowering barriers</td>
<td>Francesca Zantomio (ISER, University of Essex)</td>
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<td>13 May 2009</td>
<td>The determinants of poverty duration in European countries</td>
<td>Giacomo Damioli (ISER, University of Essex)</td>
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<td>21 October 2009</td>
<td>Do disabled men suffer discrimination in pay?</td>
<td>Simonetta Longhi and Cheti Nicoletti (ISER, University of Essex)</td>
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<td>18 November 2009</td>
<td>Public attitudes to inequality: Implications for policy</td>
<td>Louise Barnfield (The Fabian Society), joint with Tim Horton</td>
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**Special events**

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<td>29-30 June 2009</td>
<td>Climate Change Begins at Home: Making energy saving accessible, affordable and achievable.</td>
<td>Anne Power</td>
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<td>8 December 2009</td>
<td>The Great British Refurb Workshop: 40% energy reduction in homes and communities by 2020 – Can we do it?</td>
<td>Anne Power</td>
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### Financial resources (October-September, £000s)

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**Notes:**
1ESRC core funding completed 31 January 2008.
2Approximate. Includes accommodation, overhead support on STICERD funding, and IT support. In addition CASE has received support from the School via HEIF and for some dissemination activities from Research Committee.
3In addition, a project is being carried out with support from a North American charitable foundation negotiated by the School.
Staff and Associates 2009

Director
Professor John Hills

Research Staff
Dr Francesca Bastagli
Dr Francesca Borgonovi (until June 09)
Dr Tania Burchardt
Mr Jack Cunliffe
Ms Holly Holder
Ms Laura Lane
Dr Elea Karagiannaki
Dr Ruth Lupton
Dr Abigail McKnight
Ms Zoë Palmer
Dr Jörg Plöger (until Jan 09)
Professor Anne Power
Mr Tom Sefton (until Jan 09)
Dr Polly Vizard

Associates
Professor Simon Burgess (Bristol)
Professor Robert Cassen
Professor Frank Cowell
Dr Martin Evans (Oxford)
Mr Alex Fenton (Cambridge)
Professor Emeritus Howard Glennerster
Professor Julian Le Grand
Dr Bingqin Li
Professor David Piachaud
Professor Carol Propper (Bristol and Imperial)
Ms Liz Richardson (Manchester)
Dr Hyun-Bang Shin
Dr Wendy Sigle-Rushton
Dr Kitty Stewart
Professor Holly Sutherland (Essex)
Dr Rebecca Tunstall
Professor Jane Waldfogel (Columbia)
Dr Asghar Zaidi (European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research)

Visitors
Dr Marcelo Caetano (IPEA, Brazil)

Research Students
Mr Ben Baumberg
Ms Sheere Brooks (until Oct 09)
Ms Ludovica Gambaro
Ms Olga Gora (from Oct 09)
Mr Aaron Grech
Mr Rod Hick
Mr Bryan Jones
Ms Suyoun Kim
Ms Sarah Mohaupt
Mrs Kênia Parsons
Mr Ben Richards (from Oct 09)
Ms Catalina Turcu
Ms Yuka Uzuki
Mr Stephen Wang

Advisory Committee
Professor Ali McGuire, Head of LSE’s Social Policy Department (chair, ex-officio)
Ms Rachel Arrundale (Communities and Local Government)
Dr Tania Burchardt (CASE)
Professor Howard Glennerster (Emeritus Professor of Social Policy)
Professor John Hills (Director of CASE)
Mr Trevor Huddleston (Department for Work and Pensions)
Professor Francesca Klug (EHRC and LSE Centre for Global Governance)
Ms Alison Park (National Centre for Social Research)
Professor David Piachaud (LSE Social Policy Department)
Professor Carol Propper (Bristol University and Imperial College)

Research assistants
Ms Ludovica Gambaro (until June 09)
Ms Olga Gora (until April 09)
Mr Markus Ketola (until April 09)
Mr Daniel Sage (July-Aug 09)
Ms Cindy Smith (Aug-Sept 09)
Ms Tiffany Tsang
Mr Otso Vainio (July 09)

Centre Manager
Ms Jane Dickson

Administrative and IT Support
Mr Joe Joannes
Ms Abenaa Owusu-Bempah (until July 09)
Ms E Parrott (from July 09)
Ms Nicola Serle
Ms Anna Tamás
Mr Nic Warner
The information in this leaflet can be made available in alternative formats, on request.
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