annual report 2015

CASEreport 98
**Director**
Professor John Hills

**Deputy Director**
Dr Tania Burchardt

**Research Staff**
Ms Amanda Fitzgerald (to September)
Ms Laura Lane
Dr Eleni Karagiannaki
Dr Abigail McKnight
Dr Polina Obolenskaya
Professor Anne Power
Dr Bert Provan
Ms Nicola Serle
Dr Kitty Stewart
Dr Polly Vizard
(Total 6.05 FTE in October 2015)

**Visiting Professors and Research Fellows**
Dr Francesca Bastagli (ODI)
Dr Jo Blanden (Surrey)
Professor Simon Burgess (Bristol, to March)
Dr Moira Dustin (Equality and Diversity Forum)
Dr Martin Evans (UNICEF, to March)
Dr Leon Feinstein (Early Intervention Foundation)
Mr Alex Fenton (independent researcher, to November)
Dr Ludovica Gambaro (UCL Institute of Education)
Professor Ian Gough
Dr Aaron Grech (Bank of Malta)
Mr Bruce Katz (Brookings)
Professor Ruth Lupton (Manchester)
Dr Lindsey Macmillan (Institute of Education)
Ms Liz Richardson (Manchester)
Professor Holly Sutherland (Essex)
Professor Rebecca Tunstall (York, to May)
Professor Jane Waldfogel (Columbia)
Ms Moira Wallace (Oriel College)
Professor Asghar Zaidi (University of Southampton)

**LSE Associates**
Professor Emeritus Robert Cassen
Professor Frank Cowell
Professor Emeritus Howard Glennerster
Professor Stephen Jenkins
Dr Neil Lee
Professor Julian Le Grand
Professor David Piachaud
Professor Lucinda Platt
Dr Amanda Sheely
Dr Hyun-Bang Shin
Professor Wendy Sigle

**Visitors**
Professor Bea Cantillon (Antwerp)
Mr Pieter Cools (Antwerp)
Dr Stijn Oosterlynck (Antwerp)

**Research Students**
Ms Caroline Bryson (from November)
Ms Kerris Cooper
Mr Jack Cunliffe (to December)
Mr Rikki Dean
Ms Eileen Herden
Ms Elena Mariani
Mr Nick Mathers
Ms Alice Miles
Mrs Käniia Parsons (to April)
Ms Nora Ratmann (from October)
Ms Ellie Suh (from October)
Ms Kate Summers
Ms Milo Vandemoortele

**Research assistants**
Ms Alice Belotti
Mr Jack Cunliffe
Ms Gwennno Edwards
Mr Ben Grubb
Ms Eileen Herden
Ms Emily Jones (from June)
Mr Nick Roberts (September – November)
Ms Ellie Suh (to July)

**Centre Manager**
Ms Jane Dickson

**Administrative and IT Support**
Ms Cheryl Conner
Ms Emma Glassey (to October)
Mr Joe Joannes
Ms Jessica Rowan (from October)
Mr Nic Warner

**Advisory Committee**
Ms Alison Park (National Centre for Social Research; chair)
Dr Tania Burchardt (Deputy Director of CASE)
Mr Tom Clark (The Guardian)
Ms Cathy Francis (Communities and Local Government)
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 (LSE Human Rights, to July)
Professor David Lewis, Head of LSE Social Policy Department (ex-officio)
Professor David Piachaud (LSE Social Policy Department)
Professor Carol Propper (Bristol University and Imperial College)
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The Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE), established in October 1997 in the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), is a multi-disciplinary research centre exploring various aspects of social disadvantage and the impact of public policy on disadvantage and inequality, particularly from longitudinal and neighbourhood perspectives. Its work programme includes monitoring the performance of the welfare state in the UK, international comparisons of the impact of social policy and social outcomes, analysing patterns of social inequality, including wealth inequality, between groups and over time, developing applications of the capability approach and human rights measurement, and increasingly studying the intersection of climate change policy and social policy – particularly in relation to fuel poverty.

CASE incorporates the research and consultancy group LSE Housing and Communities, which investigates the impact of policies on social housing and other tenures with a particular focus on residents in disadvantaged areas.

CASE is associated with the Department of Social Policy and a number of postgraduate students are members of the Centre. We are always interested in working with high quality PhD students and post-doctoral fellows exploring areas of research of central relevance to our work. CASE also hosts visitors from the UK and overseas, and members of LSE teaching staff on sabbatical leave.

Regular seminars on significant contemporary empirical and theoretical issues are held in the Centre, including the monthly Welfare Policy and Analysis seminar series, which is supported by the Department for Work and Pensions.

We publish a series of CASEpapers and CASEbriefs, discussing and summarising our research. Longer research reports and reports on special events can be found in our occasional CASEreports series. All of our publications, including this Annual Report, can be downloaded from our website, where you can also find links to the data underlying many of the charts and diagrams in our publications.

CASE is part of the Suntory and Toyota International Centres for Economics and Related Disciplines (STICERD). CASE was originally funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and now receives funding from a range of organisations including charitable foundations (for example, Nuffield Foundation, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Trust for London), research councils (for example, ESRC), UK government departments, the European Union, a range of Registered Social Landlords, and a number of other charities and organisations in the UK and abroad.

For more information about the Centre and its work, please visit sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/
January
We launched the results from our Social Policy in a Cold Climate research programme, *The Coalition’s Social Policy Record: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 2010-2015* on 28 January in the form of nine new reports including an overview of the Coalition’s social policy record and separate papers on taxes and benefits, health, adult social care, under-fives, further and higher education and skills, employment, housing, area regeneration. A further paper on schools was launched on 10 February, following release of further GCSE results in late January. Each paper contained thorough analysis of policy, spending and trends in outcomes, showing how the Coalition tackled the fiscal and social policy challenges it faced in 2010.

*Does Money in Adulthood Affect Adult Outcomes?*, by Kerris Cooper and Kitty Stewart was published on 26 January by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

February
We had the first two of a series of “Election Special” seminars this month, one on the outlook for living standards by Gavin Kelly and “where next for welfare policy?” by Jonathan Portes, plus seminars by Giovanni Razzu on gender differentials and the economic cycle by Daniela Silcock on pension reform.

March
We had another “Election Special” seminar on the outlook for Social Policy by Kitty Stewart, John Hills and Abigail McKnight, plus seminars on top incomes and middle income growth (Tim Smeeding) and on understanding and reducing the use of food banks (Tom Sefton).

April
In the first joint event with the new International Inequalities Institute, Tony Atkinson’s new book, *Inequality: What can be done?*, was published by Harvard University Press, and launched at an event at LSE. *Making a Difference in Education: What the evidence says*, by Robert Cassen, Sandra McNally and Anna Vignoles, was published by Routledge this month, and was launched in the LSE Works series on 6 May.

April also saw our last “Election Special” seminar by John van Reenen on economic and business policy, and a special seminar joint with the Smith Institute by Alan Berube on poverty in American suburbia.

Kênia Parsons successfully defended her thesis with only minor corrections on how the Brazilian *Bolsa Família* programme reaches out to the chronic poor. She continues her appointment as a visiting academic at the Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales.
May
Ruth Lupton and Heather Joshi presented a seminar on moving home in the early years and the effect on family and child outcomes.

June
June was a busy month for seminars, including the Great Recession and US safety nets by Vicky Albert, two on social mobility and class ceilings/glass floors by (respectively) Daniel Laurison and Sam Friedman, and Abigail McKnight, and the launch of a book by Sabine Alkire on multidimensional poverty measurement.

July
In July we had the launch of a book by David Robinson and Tony Travers, a “rough guide” for the next London mayor.

October
We had one seminar by Emily Grundy on family size, support exchanges and older adults’ mental health, and held a public lecture jointly with the International Inequalities Institute to launch Too Many Children Left Behind: the US achievement gap in comparative perspective, co-authored by CASE visiting Professor Jane Waldfogel.

November
Together with the National Communities Resource Centre, LSE Housing and Communities launched the new Housing Plus Academy at Trafford Hall. The Academy will help housing associations remain viable social businesses by supporting the communities where they work in a period of austerity and will develop knowledge exchange and offer peer learning, accredited participative training and think tanks to explore areas needing action and support to social landlords, particularly helping their front line staff and tenants to respond to welfare reform, financial pressures, energy costs, job access, community and social needs.

November also saw a seminar on the future of child poverty measurement by Kitty Stewart and Nick Roberts and the End Child Poverty Coalition which produced a widely-read blog which highlighted the inconsistencies in the Government’s consultation. This is an area where we hope to do more work in future. Other seminars included one on universal credit by Fran Bennett and Jane Millar, low pay and the National Living Wage by Sir George Bain, and reconceptualising the welfare state by Bea Cantillon, one of our collaborators on the EU ImPRovE project, who visiting the Centre during the Autumn term from Antwerp.

December
LSE Housing and Communities launched a new report, Moving the Goalposts: Poverty and Access to Sport for Young People, which reported on area-based qualitative research for Street Games, the leading charity working to break down the barriers created by poverty and area disadvantage that prevent young people participating in sport.

Jack Cunliffe successfully defended his thesis with no corrections. He used structural equation modelling to look at how area characteristics act as an offending risk factor, and is now Lecturer in Quantitative Methods and Criminology at the University of Kent.
As a centre we continued to focus on monitoring social policies in the UK and internationally, overall analysis of poverty and inequality, and on particular dimensions of inequality, with a strong emphasis this year on age differences. This agenda has, if anything, gained increased salience as the election of a majority Conservative government in the UK brought dramatic changes in “welfare” and other public policies, while international attention to escalating inequalities of different kinds continued to grow.

Local and international policies

The year saw the completion of the work on our programme on Social Policy in a Cold Climate, supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Nuffield Foundation and Trust for London. At the end of January we published a series of papers assessing social policies under the Coalition and their impacts, which attracted considerable attention. In the run-up to the 2015 UK General Election, downloads of these and other papers from the programme accounted for many of the one million downloads of papers from the CASE website during the year.

With extended support from our funders we have now taken and extended the analysis in these papers and those we published earlier on the impact of the Labour government up to 2010 to write a book assessing social policies since the economic and financial crisis which will be published in April 2016, marking the end of the programme. The programme has been co-ordinated by our colleague Professor Ruth Lupton, now at Manchester University, and has drawn on collaborations with other colleagues from Essex, Surrey and York Universities, and from the Institute of Education. As both policies develop and outcomes of earlier ones become clearer, we hope we will be able to extend this stream of our work in future.

Within CASE, members of the LSE Housing and Communities group carried out a series of illuminating – and at times distressing – qualitative studies of the impacts of “welfare reform” on individuals (see article by Eileen Alexander, pp.10-11). Lessons from these and other studies are feeding into the work of the new “Housing Plus Academy”, which Anne Power and colleagues are running with our partners the National Communities Resource Centre at Trafford Hall, Chester, which started during the year.

Internationally, Abigail McKnight was commissioned by the Directorate General for Employment of the European Commission to carry out a series of reviews, including on the strength of the link between income support and activation, and on preventative measures on low pay and in-work poverty.

Inequality

CASE is one of 17 LSE departments and research centres which collaborated to establish the LSE’s new International Inequalities Institute (III) in May 2015 (which John Hills is co-directing with Professor Mike Savage from the LSE’s Sociology Department). This has already led to a number of initiatives. These included joint events between CASE and the III where Tony Atkinson and Jane Waldfogel respectively launched their new books, Inequality: What can be done? and Too Many Children Left Behind: The Institute and CASE also secured major new funding from the Joseph Rowntree Foundation for a three year programme examining the links between different aspects of poverty and economic inequality, from January 2016.

Eleni Karagiannaki spent part of the year on secondment to the Department for Work and Pensions, analysing low-income and poverty dynamics using data from the Understanding Society panel study. She writes about distributional analysis on pp.12-13.

Alongside our work on intergenerational mobility coming within the Social Policy in a Cold Climate programme, Abigail McKnight undertook work for the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission to look at the relationship between parental backgrounds and children’s outcomes, suggesting the way in which more advantaged children are protected by a “glass floor” (see pp.16-17).

Young and old

Part of the output from the SPCC programme was a report on the changing structure of economic inequality in the UK since 2007, published in March, Falling Behind, Getting Ahead. This drew attention in particular to the way in which economic outcomes – from employment and hourly earnings to levels of household wealth – have moved sharply against those now in their twenties, born in the 1980s. This has included those on high earnings and incomes within that age group, by comparison with their predecessors, not just those in the weakest labour market positions.

We have now started work on new research, supported by the Nuffield Foundation, on multidimensional disadvantage among groups of children that are often missing in analysis, such as Gypsy and Traveller children, young carers, and children at risk of abuse/neglect.

The Foundation is also supporting new research starting in 2016 on segregation in early years settings. The project is led by Kitty Stewart and our former colleague Ludovica Gambaro, and we are delighted that Tammy Campbell will be joining us to work with them.

Later in this report Kitty Stewart writes about the controversies around official measurement of child poverty (pp.22-23), Jane Waldfogel discusses her joint work on links between children’s backgrounds and their development in Australia, Canada, the USA and the UK (p.18) and Lindsey Macmillan discusses the evidence around the rapidly improving school performance of disadvantaged children in London (pp.20-21).
At the other end of the age spectrum, Polly Vizard and Tania Burchardt discuss the results of their study for ESRC of hospital inpatient experience data and what they tell us about dignity and nutrition in care for older people (pp.14-15). With support from the International Inequalities Institute they will be extending this work in 2016 to incorporate socio-economic inequalities within the analysis.

Arrivals and departures
As ever, new faces arrived in the Centre and other colleagues completed their studies or moved to new jobs. We were delighted to welcome Emily Jones, an LSE graduate intern, who provided invaluable support on the Social Policy in a Cold Climate working papers and book chapters, and contributed to a number of other projects.

We were also delighted to welcome Jessica Rowan, now working with Anne Power and the LSE Housing and Communities team, taking up the post that Emma Glassey had so ably filled.

We welcomed Laura Lane back from maternity leave. She started work on a project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, jointly with Ulster University, looking at five areas of Belfast, to give advice on community engagement.

As well as Eleni Karagiannaki’s secondment to DWP, Ben Grubb and Eleni Jones, who had been part of LSE Housing and Communities, started work at DWP (following a track followed earlier by Julia Olivera and Katie Bates). Amanda Fitzgerald also completed her work with us on parts of the Social Policy in a Cold Climate programme.

We were delighted that three of our doctoral students successfully completed. At the end of the year Jack Cunliffe passed the viva for his PhD thesis, using structural equation modelling to investigate young people’s offending behaviour. He started a post as Lecturer in Quantitative Criminology at the University of Kent. Kenzo Asahi (looking at transport accessibility in Chile) and Kenia Parsons (who had been based most recently in Australia, looking at the impact of the Bolsa Familia in remote areas of Brazil) were both awarded their PhDs in July.

The group of doctoral students was joined by: Ellie Suh (who also continues as a research assistant on several of our projects), who is looking at attitudes towards saving for retirement; Caroline Bryson, studying financial transfers for children in non co-resident families; and Nora Ratzmann, who is looking at the suddenly highly topical issue of migrant access to benefits in Germany.

Another of the major programmes which came towards its end in the year was the EU seventh framework programme on “Improving Poverty Reduction in Europe” (ImPROvE) to which John Hills and Abigail McKnight contributed, as well as Holly Sutherland from Essex University, who is one of our visiting professors. The programme is co-ordinated by Antwerp University, and we were delighted to host Dr Stijn Oosterlynck and Professor Bea Cantillon who visited from the Herman Deleeck Centre for Social Policy, University of Antwerp. Professor Jane Waldfogel from Columbia University visited in the summer and will be spending a year with us from the summer of 2016.

Thanks!
As well as the researchers whose work is described and listed in this report, the centre can only do what it does as a result of a dedicated team of staff who support us, including our centre manager, Jane Dickson, and knowledge exchange manager Bert Provan, as well as Cheryl Conner, Emma Glassey and Jess Rowan, and the invaluable IT support we receive from Nic Warner, Joe Joannes and Yusuf Osman.

We owe enormous thanks to them, to our many funders (see earlier in the report) and to our Advisory Committee, chaired by Alison Park, and including Cathy Francis and Francesca Klug, who stepped down during the year, and to many others both inside and outside the centre, without whom our work would be completely impossible.

John Hills (Director) and Tania Burchardt (Deputy Director)

2015: Review of the year (continued)
2016: Looking forward to the year ahead

In February, Kitty Stewart will start work on a new Nuffield project on segregation in early years, examining the extent of segregation and peer effects. She will be working with Ludovica Gambaro (a CASE visiting fellow) and a new member of the research team, Tammy Campbell.

Also in February, Abigail McKnight starts work on a project for the Citizen’s Advice Bureau looking at the empirical evidence on burdensome levels of financial debt holding in UK households.

In April, we will launch a book, published by Policy Press, bringing together the work done under the Social Policy in a Cold Climate programme, Social Policy in a Cold Climate: Policies and their consequences since the crisis. The book offers a data-rich, evidence-based analysis of the impact Labour and Coalition government policies have had on inequality and on the delivery of services such as health, education, adult social care, housing and employment, in the wake of the recession.

Throughout the year, Polly Vizard and colleagues will continue to work with the Age UK Health Influencing team to deliver specialist impact-orientated outputs including three large regional stakeholder events, private briefings with key stakeholders, the production of videos highlighting the research findings and the development of a new web tool providing public access to data.

LSE Housing and Communities will continue the Housing Plus Academy in partnership with Trafford Hall, the Chartered Institute of Housing and the National Housing Federation. The programme uses residential think tanks and roundtable briefings to bring together key actors to uncover how the complex interacting problems of housing relate to welfare and housing reforms in low-income communities.

This year also sees the start of an exciting collaboration with the International Inequalities Institute (III) and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, with funding from the Foundation for a three-year programme to investigate the links between poverty and inequalities. The donation establishes a new early career fellowship within the III as well as a programme of research on the connections between inequality, diversity and poverty which will be led by CASE. The research aims to review the relationships between inequalities of various kinds and poverty.

It will investigate areas such as the consequences of living in an unequal society for the lives of those in poverty; how people’s prospects of social mobility are affected if parental resources are unequally distributed between families; the links between poverty, inequality and geographical and neighbourhood segregation; how inequality affects risks of poverty for different groups, such as by ethnicity, gender, disability and migration status; and the political and attitudinal effects of inequality for support (or otherwise) for effective collective action against poverty.
Tania Burchardt and Polina Obolenskaya

High-profile reforms under the Coalition government, such as the creation of Free Schools and the rapid expansion of Academies in education, and the encouragement of “any qualified provider” in healthcare, looked set to transform the boundaries of public and private welfare. But how much expenditure has actually shifted and how significant do these changes appear in the context of longer-term trends?

In new analysis for the forthcoming Social Policy in a Cold Climate book, we examined public and private spending in England on education, health, personal care, income maintenance and housing, comparing the most recent data (2013/14) with the picture revealed by previous versions of this exercise going back to 1979/80. Spending was classified according to three dimensions:

- Finance: public (tax or national insurance-financed), or private (consumer spending, out of pocket or through insurance)
- Provision: public (delivered by organisations defined as public sector by ONS), or non-public (including for-profit and not-for-profit bodies)
- Decision: public (state determines how much and who provides the service), or private (end user decides how much and who provides the service, from a range of viable alternatives).

Total welfare activity

Public and private finance, provision and decision can occur in eight different combinations, so the emerging picture is a complex one – see Figure 1. Across welfare activity as a whole, the “pure public” sector (what we might think of as the classic post-war welfare state: tax-financed services provided by a public sector organisation, with little room for individual decision-making – shown in the pale grey bars on the left of the figure) now accounts for around 40 per cent of total spending, only marginally higher than the “pure private” sector (37.5 per cent, shown in the dark grey bars on the right of the figure). This is the most striking change over time. In 1979/80, the “pure public” sector was more than twice the size of the “pure private” sector (52 per cent and 24 per cent respectively).

These shifts need to be understood in the context of a trebling of total welfare spending (public and private) in real terms over the period, from £225.0 billion to £694.5 billion (in 2014/15 prices, GDP deflated). So while the “pure public” sector has declined in relative terms, it has more than doubled in real terms over this period. Part of the overall growth is driven by increased house prices (which affects both private spending and, indirectly, public spending, through the value of the economic subsidy provided to social housing), but it also reflects an increased appetite for welfare goods and services.

Figure 1: Total spending on welfare activity (education, health, personal care, income maintenance and housing), classified by public and private finance, provision and decision, England, 1979/80 to 2013/14

Source: Obolenskaya (2016)

Note: see source for details of definitions and unavoidable inconsistencies in time series.
as we as a society get older and richer. More of this expansion has come from privately financed welfare than from publicly financed: if welfare isn’t offered collectively, those that can purchase it privately do so.

Contracted-out public services – that is, public finance for private provision, shown in the left middle group of bars in Figure 1 – account for a significantly higher share of public finance than was the case at the beginning of the period, but have not increased as a proportion of overall spending in recent years. Other innovations – voucher schemes, tax reliefs for private provision, direct payments, user charges – remain minor in relation to overall spending.

Differences across policy areas

Within this overall picture, there are significant differences by sector. Health remains dominated by the “pure public” segment, although it makes up a falling share, with a significant increase in the share of public finance for private provision. Income maintenance also remains strongly rooted in public finance for public provision, but here the shift has been – through pensions policy – towards a greater role for private decision. At the opposite extreme, housing has always been predominantly in the “pure private” segment, and this has become even more pronounced in the most recent period, while public finance of public provision (council housing) has become increasingly residual. Education and social care each present a more mixed picture. School education has been, and remains, very largely publicly financed, but academies and free schools reduce the “degree of publicness” of provision, while in higher education, the shift from grant to tuition fee loan funding has tilted the balance of funding towards private finance. Finally, in social care, sharp reductions in local authority funding mean that for the first time in this series, the “pure private” segment accounts for a larger proportion of total spending than the “pure public” segment, while contracted-out services continue to grow.

Prospects

Seen in longer-term historical perspective, the effect of the Coalition government on the boundaries of public and private welfare look more like a continuation of previous trends than an abrupt change of direction. There are two caveats, however. Firstly, in the case of health and income maintenance, the full effects of major reforms instituted by the previous government have yet to be felt. And in the case of both education and health, the reforms have made the majority of organisations delivering services (Academies and Trusts) less public even though they are still classified as public sector organisations – a shift which therefore does not show up in Figure 1. Secondly, the smooth gradient of the trends depicted in Figure 1 is an illusion, because the time points for which we have data are not evenly spaced. Taking this into account (see Figure 2) suggests an acceleration in each successive period away from public finance and provision, towards private finance and provision. Whatever view one may take of the relative merits of public and private providers, a greater reliance on individually-financed means to meet welfare needs seems certain to lead to greater inequality in outcomes than collectively-financed alternatives.

Further information

Eileen Alexander, Anne Power and Bert Provan

In 2015 LSE Housing and Communities completed and published a major study titled Is Welfare Reform Working?, which followed 200 working age social housing tenants over two years to better understand their experiences of work, welfare reform and financial management.

The main aim of this study, commissioned by a consortium of nine housing associations in the South West of England, was to explore whether welfare reform was encouraging unemployed tenants to work and employed tenants to increase their hours.

In the process of conducting these 200 repeat interviews (total 400) we also gathered detailed information about the barriers social housing tenants face in finding and holding down work, people’s experiences of welfare reform, and how people were organising their finances in the face of benefit changes and insecure employment.

The report combined survey responses, with in-depth qualitative data, and case studies, in order to weave together a detailed picture of how working age social housing tenants were navigating the complex landscape of work and welfare reform in 2013-14.

Overview of findings

One in six tenants were working more, but without security

The new job is fine, it doesn’t pay as much as I’ve had previously. And it’s very seasonal… I don’t know from week to week what my hours will be.

(Tenant living in a rural area)

Between 2013-14 our research found that one in six tenants had either found work or increased their hours, although the majority of these tenants had taken on jobs with either family members or friends or had become self-employed. These jobs were for the most part part-time and offered only short-term security.

Working or not, most were claiming benefits

The benefit changes and all that worry me stiff.

(Tenant living in a suburban area)

The vast majority of tenants, whether they worked or not, were receiving some form of benefits or tax credit. Eighty-four per cent of all households claimed benefits in 2014. Over half of these tenants had been affected by welfare reforms – most commonly by the removal of the spare room subsidy (bedroom tax) and council tax benefit reductions. The removal of the spare room subsidy affected a quarter of tenants in 2014.

Cutting back on food and utilities was common

I don’t complain because my benefits are my lifeline, I don’t cheat the system. I have no TV, no internet, just food, gas and electric. I just make do.

(Tenant living in an urban area)

Two years after the introduction of major welfare reforms many tenants were finding ways to cope with the transition to new payments and reduced budgets. A majority – 126 out of 200, or 63 per cent – said they were managing financially, but doing so by significantly reducing expenditure.

Nearly two-thirds of all tenants significantly cut back on their food purchases and on their utility bills between 2013 and 2014. More than half of all residents had to borrow money from family and friends. 35 per cent of tenants fell into arrears with their essential bills in order to cover basic household costs and one in ten tenants visited a food bank in both 2013 and 2014.

Health, childcare, and transport cost made working difficult

It’s a struggle when you’re older and cannot do physical work anymore. No one wants to hire me and I understand why.

(Tenant living in a suburban area)

Poor health and lack of suitable work were the most frequently named obstacles to employment for all tenants. This was followed by the high cost of childcare, the demands of unpaid care work, and the high cost of transport. The high cost of transport was especially problematic in rural and suburban areas. Many tenants also cited low levels of confidence, poor skills, and their unstable work history as additional barriers.

Two-thirds of tenants actively seeking work were over 45, and the majority had been unemployed for over a year. Many of these tenants spoke about facing competition from young people as well as their inability to take on physical work.

Tax credits were essential to making ends meet

My working tax credits make a hell of a difference. If I didn’t get it I wouldn’t be able to work. It boosts my salary. I use it to pay food and bills and my salary to cover rent. Tax credits make work possible.

(Tenant living in a rural village)

Working tenants said that receiving in-work benefits made work viable for them. Over four in five working households were receiving in-work benefits. The most common benefits received by working households are Housing Benefit, Council Tax Reduction, Child Tax Credit and Working Tax Credit.

Working Tax Credit was particularly important because it helped people cover the extra expenses of working, such as transport and childcare. Self-employed residents value their working tax credits because it helps smooth out their income over time.

Jobcentres helped with training, but not much more

People treat you like a criminal at the Jobcentre. It doesn’t help you find a job, because it makes you feel really insecure.

(Tenant living in an urban area)
The majority of jobseeking tenants found their links with the Jobcentre unhelpful. Three quarters felt they were badly treated at the Jobcentre. Tenants questioned the suitability of the jobs they were encouraged to apply for and accept, and feared that they might be sanctioned. Three quarters of tenants said they felt the Jobcentre has been bad for their confidence and feeling of self-worth.

Jobseeking tenants were generally positive about free training opportunities, particularly those provided through Learn Direct. Jobseekers were eager to increase their qualifications and improve their employment prospects.

Benefit sanctions were devastating, and frequently overturned on appeal

What worries me most is how the sanction affects my son. He wants to leave me because it’s all been very stressful.

(Tenant living in a seaside town)

Tenants told us how sanctions, the immediate suspension of benefit payments, shift the jobseekers’ focus away from work, and redirect their attention to finding alternative ways to cover basic living costs. Sanctions cause debt and arrears that increase household vulnerability and decrease jobseekers’ capacity to go out into the job market.

Half of all sanctioned tenants appealed their sanction and won on the basis of administrative errors, or wrong judgments.

Citizens Advice provided a lifeline

The CAB has been brilliant in supporting my move to work.

(Tenant living in a market town)

The majority of tenants had asked for advice from Citizens Advice and other support agencies. These service providers are highly valued by tenants, and have helped resolve problems with benefits and arrears, including restoring benefits through the appeals process. The majority of tenants said the CAB or a similar service helped them resolve problems they were unable to solve alone.

People unable to work often contributed in other ways

My partner has cancer and other issues. I’m his full-time carer and had to give up my career several years ago because we couldn’t afford the carers. Our benefits are a necessity to us. I can’t go to work.

(Tenant living in a coastal area)

In 2014, 101 out of 200 residents were not working and not looking for work. Over three quarters of economically inactive tenants say they have a disability. Despite this, 74 per cent of economically inactive tenants contribute actively to their community and society in other ways. They care for disabled family members, volunteer in their communities or take care of young children.

Further information

A summary and full report are available here: sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/cr/casereport90.pdf
Eleni Karagiannaki and Lucinda Platt

Most research on income inequality examines household income. Our study of the impact of the recent recession on income distribution in the UK looks instead at individual income – and finds falling gender income gaps among the under 65s, but not among older age groups.

There has been considerable interest in the impact of the Great Recession on incomes, with research highlighting the unequal impact of wage stagnation and rises in unemployment on different income and social groups. Most analysis of post-recession incomes has focused on changes in household incomes across the population, on the basis that individuals benefit from the resources of those they live with as well as from their own incomes. This assumes, however, that all household resources are shared equally. In fact, both theory and evidence suggest that an individual’s own income is linked to their degree of control over how household income is spent.

Our paper investigated how individual incomes have evolved for people in different sets of circumstances between the “pre-recession” period, 2005/6-2007/8 and the “post-recession” period, 2009/10-2011/12. This provides an important complement to existing work on household incomes. Individual incomes represent the income over which individuals can be expected to have direct control and where they directly experience – and are aware of – gains and losses. At the same time, individual income is broader than earnings, which only apply to those in paid work, and it therefore allows us to compare the experience across labour and non-labour income and across family types in and out of the labour market. We additionally

Figure 1: Per cent change in income by age and sex

Source: Own analysis based on Family Resources Survey 2005/6-7/8 and 2009/10-2011/12.
compare individual incomes with household incomes. This allows us to disentangle for example, how far women’s income “gains” translate into maintaining or improving the incomes (adjusted for household size) of the households in which they live.

Our analysis of individual income data from the Family Resources Survey revealed that individual incomes evolved in very different ways for men and women and for pensioners and non-pensioners. As shown in Figure 1, non-pensioner men faced substantially lower individual incomes in the post-recession period compared to the pre-recession period, while non-pensioner women experienced some substantial gains. The losses in non-pensioner men’s individual income took place across the distribution and among men of different ages but were particularly marked for those on lower incomes. This had the knock-on effect of increasing income inequality among men. For non-pensioner women the picture was more mixed. Overall, they experienced gains in individual income that were largely driven by increases in labour income – just as men’s losses were primarily in labour income. The gains tended to be among the more disadvantaged (ie, it was the lower and middle income levels that tended to see most of the positive change), but there was some variation by ethnic group, and across social classes. Income inequality among women decreased, though with certain exceptions: for example, it increased within the two top social classes.

Pensioners, both men and women, experienced increased individual incomes in the post-recession period. Pensions were protected and rose faster than costs of living. One of the most striking findings is that, whether considered individually or in relation to household income position, whether single or in couples, and whether towards the bottom or the top of the distribution, pensioners were consistent gainers in the post-recession period compared to the pre-recession period.

The combined effect of these changes was that gender income gaps (the gap between men’s and women’s individual incomes) decreased pretty much across the board among people aged under 65 while it increased among those aged 65 or more, as shown in Figure 2. The decrease in the gender gap among younger age groups was particularly pronounced among people aged under 40 and was greater at the 10th percentile and at the median than at the 90th percentile, suggesting a decrease in gender income inequality especially at lower income levels. By contrast, the gender income gap increased for those aged more than 65 at all points of the distribution. The most pronounced increase was among people aged 75-79 with median incomes for whom the gender income gap increased by 11 per cent.

At a household level, the changes in women’s incomes were not sufficient to “compensate” for the losses to men’s incomes. While the individual incomes of women living in couples tended to be greater in the post-recession period, these women still increased their representation at the lower ends of household income. How these various changes play out in terms of within-household dynamics would be a valuable area for future investigation.

Further information
This work was funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. The full research findings can be found in CASEpaper 192, “The changing distribution of individual incomes in the UK before and after the recession”.

Figure 2: Per cent change in income by age

![Per cent change in income by age graph](image-url)
Polly Vizard and Tania Burchardt

We examined older people’s experiences of dignity and nutrition during hospital stays, using a large quantitative dataset, the Adult Inpatient Survey. We found a widespread and systematic pattern of inconsistent or poor standards of treatment with dignity and respect, and support with eating amongst those who needed help, during hospital stays in 2012.

The Adult Inpatient Survey is a major feedback survey commissioned by healthcare regulators. It covers adults aged 16 or above who stay in hospital in England for at least one night. In 2012, the survey had 64,505 respondents from 156 NHS acute hospital trusts.

Our project focussed on inpatient experiences of dignity and nutrition. Following the Independent and Public Inquiries into Mid-Staffordshire NHS Foundation Trust, these are increasingly regarded as key markers of the quality of care in acute hospitals in England. The study provided new robust evidence on the extent to which age, gender, disability, length of stay, number of wards, the quality and quantity of nursing staff, and hospital trust impact on experiences of the quality of care in English hospitals.

We found that in 2012 just under one-quarter (23 per cent) of inpatients reported that they were not treated with dignity and respect, or were only sometimes treated with dignity and respect, during their hospital stay. This is equivalent to around 2.8 million people on an annual basis – of whom about 1 million are aged 65 or over.

Inconsistent and poor standards of help with eating during hospital stays also emerged from the study as a key concern. In 2012, about a quarter of all survey respondents indicated that they needed support with eating during their hospital stay, making this a major issue for significant numbers of inpatients – just under three and a half million each year – rather than being a marginal or specialist issue. Of those who needed help with eating, more than 1 in 3 (38 per cent) reported that they only sometimes received enough help with eating from staff, or did not receive enough help from staff. This is equivalent to around 1.3 million people on an annual basis, of whom about 640,000 are aged 65 or over.

Amongst the population aged over 65, reported experiences of poor or inconsistent standards of care were higher for women, for individuals aged over 80, and for those who experience a long-standing limiting illness or disability. Poor or inconsistent standards of dignity and respect affected approximately 31 per cent of all women over 80 who experience a long-standing limiting illness or disability – with approximately 5 per cent experiencing poor standards. Amongst those who needed help with eating, poor or inconsistent standards of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Poor and inconsistent standards of help with eating</th>
<th>Poor and inconsistent standards of dignity and respect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prevalence (% of those who needed help)</td>
<td>Number affected per annum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 66-80</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>128,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged &gt; 80</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>161,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged &gt; 80 with disability</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>116,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged &gt; 80 with disability and female</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>83,861</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s calculations using a version of the Adult Inpatient Survey, 2012, England provided by the Picker Institute and CQC (Vizard and Burchardt, 2015).

Notes: Eating: respondents were asked “Did you get enough help from staff to eat your meals?” and could choose from the following responses, (1) “Yes, always”; (2) “Yes, sometimes”; (3) No; (4) “I did not need help to eat meals”. Dignity and respect: Respondents were asked “Overall, did you feel you were treated with respect and dignity while you were in the hospital?” Response options were (1) yes, always (2) yes, sometimes (3) no. See Vizard and Burchardt (2015) for further notes.
help affected approximately 62 per cent of women over 80 who experienced a long-standing limiting illness or disability – with approximately 29 per cent experiencing poor standards (Table 1).

Logistic regression analysis suggested that, after other factors are controlled for, the risk of not being helped with eating is significantly higher for women rather than men and for individuals who experience a longstanding limiting illness or disability such as deafness or blindness, a physical condition, a mental health condition or a learning difficulty, or a longstanding illness such as heart disease, stroke or cancer. Perceptions of inadequate nursing quantity and quality, and lack of choice of food, stood out as having consistent, large associations with lack of support with eating during hospital stays.

We concluded from our statistical findings that there was a widespread and systematic pattern of inconsistent or poor standards of dignity and respect, and help with eating, in hospitals in England in 2012. Evidence of poor and inconsistent standards was not limited to isolated “outlier” healthcare providers. Rather, patient experiences of inconsistent or poor standards of dignity and respect, and help with eating, were a significant general problem affecting inpatients in the vast majority of NHS acute hospital trusts.

The study has a number of lessons for healthcare monitoring, regulation and inspection. The findings have helped to establish that indicators of dignity and nutrition are key markers of quality of care which have not been given sufficient public policy attention in the past. Whilst there has been increasing public policy focus in this area following the Mid-Staffordshire Public Inquiry, the study shows that ongoing efforts are required to ensure quality improvement and that the new fundamental standards of care, which cover dignity and respect and help with eating, are implemented and enforced.

The study is being followed up by two further projects. First, we have received HEFCE 5 funding to take forward impact work based on the project findings in partnership with Age UK. Second, we have received a grant from the International Inequalities Institute to extend the evidence base by bringing deprivation into the quantitative analysis.

Further Information


This research was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, Research Grant ES/K004018/1.
Abigail McKnight

Children of high ability at age 5 from disadvantaged family backgrounds have less chance of being a high earner by age 42 than their low ability peers from advantaged family backgrounds. This was a key finding from a study undertaken by CASE in 2015 on behalf of the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission. The report seeks to identify the mechanisms that wealthier families employ to limit the risk of downward mobility. Understanding these mechanisms could help to improve upward mobility rates for less advantaged children.

The desire to improve social mobility appears to unite politicians across the political spectrum. There is a strong belief that a child’s chance of success in adult life should be determined by their talents, ability, preferences and effort, not by the circumstances of their birth. However, in the UK there are very large differences in the income and wealth that families have available to assist their children. As educational attainment is a strong determinant of individuals’ earnings capacity, public investment in education has the potential to break the link between family background and labour market outcomes. But despite considerable investment in schools and education in the UK, stark differences remain in the educational attainment of children from different family backgrounds.

Policy has tended to focus on improving upward social mobility. This is perhaps understandable as it is more palatable politically to make the case for policies that help to increase the social or economic position of the least advantaged when there is no apparent damage to the interests of the more advantaged. Upward mobility in the latter part of the twentieth century was helped by an expansion of higher level jobs, through structural and sectoral change, requiring more high skilled workers (creating more “room at the top”). Education policies and an expansion of higher education helped support this. However, growth in demand for high skilled workers has slowed and some commentators raise concern about a growing polarisation in the labour market which makes it difficult, perhaps increasingly so, for workers starting in relatively low skilled jobs to climb the career ladder. In a world where the “room at the top” is increasing only slowly it is simply not possible to increase upward mobility without a commensurate rise in downward mobility.

In this research we examined the evidence for a cohort of British children born in 1970 in terms of the relationship between family background, childhood cognitive skills and adult success in the labour market. We find that children from more advantaged family backgrounds (measured using family income and parental social class) are more likely to have high earnings in later adult life and are more likely to be in a “top job”. This is not simply due to different levels of cognitive ability, as it holds within attainment groups as well as between them. We focus our analysis on a group of initially high attaining children and a group of initially low attaining children and follow their progress through to labour market outcomes at age 42.

Children from less advantaged family backgrounds who were high attaining in early cognitive skill assessments are found to be less able or at least less successful at converting this early high potential into career success. Parents with relatively high income or social class position are more successful at ensuring that their early high attaining children translate these skills into labour market success in adulthood. They draw on the same resources as they use to help their early low attaining children which are simply not available to less advantaged families to the same extent. This means that higher family income and parental social class advantage have an additional positive boost to later labour market success.
Table 1: Predicted probability of being a high earner age 42 by family income and age 5 cognitive skills

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family income (age 10)</th>
<th>Low attainers (age 5)</th>
<th>High attainers (age 5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income – lowest quintile</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income – highest quintile</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This limited downward mobility among initially low attaining children from advantaged backgrounds partly contributes to there being fewer opportunities for high attaining children from less advantaged backgrounds to succeed.

There is evidence that children from better-off families are hoarding opportunities in the education system (places in grammar schools and the ability to exercise “choice” in the non-selective state school system) and then, in part as a result of higher levels of qualifications, they are able to hoard opportunities in the labour market. The report concludes that if policy makers are determined to increase social mobility in a climate where “room at the top” is not expanding then the factors that limit downward mobility will need to be addressed.

Further Information

Jane Waldfogel

In Too Many Children Left Behind (Russell Sage Foundation, 2014), Bruce Bradbury, Miles Corak, Liz Washbrook and I examine inequality in achievement in the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, making use of large-scale and very detailed surveys that follow cohorts of children from school entry until the end of primary school, and until the start of high school in the US. Our focus is on socioeconomic status gaps in achievement between children of different family backgrounds, using parental education as our measure of socioeconomic status (SES).

We find substantial inequality of opportunity in all four countries, but particularly in the US. Children from low-SES families lag well behind their counterparts from high-SES families in reading at school entry in all four countries, but the extent of inequality is significantly greater in the US (see Figure 1).

As children move through school, this inequality does not lessen but rather widens, as the achievement of disadvantaged children tends to lag compared to their more advantaged peers. This gap widening is found in all countries, suggesting that the key factor driving the greater inequality of later achievement in the US is greater inequality in early childhood.

The comparative analysis offers some useful lessons. Compared with the US, low-SES families in Canada and Australia have more resources for children – the parents are older, more likely to be married or residing together, and have higher incomes. Low and middle-SES children in both Canada and Australia also receive more support from the public sector. Both countries provide universal health insurance, child benefits and generous paid parental leave entitlements. Australia provides free universal preschool; Canada does as well in some provinces.

The UK has greater similarities with the US, with higher levels of inequality between families and relatively large achievement gaps at school entry. Initial gaps are nevertheless smaller in the UK than the US, and on average do not widen during the primary school years. This greater equality in the school years may again reflect more universal support for low-resource families, but also may be linked to features of the UK’s school system such as the more uniform national curriculum and the targeting of resources to low-SES children.

Because the majority of the SES gap in eventual achievement has its origins prior to school entry, we conclude that addressing the gap will require interventions in early childhood; in particular, evidence-based parenting programs and preschool programs, as well as income support programs to reduce poverty and financial strain among families with children in the preschool years and beyond.

Our findings also point to a role for policies to address inequality during the school years: measures such as increasing the quality of teachers; implementing more rigorous curricula; and raising expectations and providing more support for low-SES children. There may also be a role for policies that provide support for student learning outside of school (e.g., after school and summer programs to help address out of school learning differentials).

The challenges involved in achieving equal opportunity are not simple. The socioeconomic status gap in achievement is large, and has many causes. But it is not intractable. The evidence from peer countries indicates clearly that the US – and the UK – can do better.

Further Information

Too Many Children Left Behind: The US Achievement Gap in Comparative Perspective, by Bruce Bradbury, Miles Corak, Jane Waldfogel and Elizabeth Washbrook, was published by the Russell Sage Foundation in June 2015.

Figure 1: Gaps in reading achievement at age 5, by parental education
Identifying the patterns, drivers and consequences of wealth and privilege as well as those of marginalisation and deprivation has been a longstanding contribution of CASE research. This new volume from Oxford University Press brings these two perspectives of advantage and disadvantage together across a number of domains and explanatory frameworks.

The book, which originated in an MSc course taught in the LSE Social Policy department, has brought together an exciting range of scholars from different disciplines and all with links to Social Policy and/or CASE to shed light on different aspects of advantage and disadvantage and their implications across its 17 chapters. Production of the book has been a stimulating and truly collaborative enterprise, with authors providing feedback on each other’s chapters, and an authors’ workshop, very effectively chaired by David Piachaud, facilitating early discussion of the emerging drafts. This has made co-editing this volume an educational as well as an enjoyable experience for me, and has allowed me to gain much greater understanding of the interests and talents of my colleagues.

CASE researchers have contributed chapters across the volume, which is divided into a consideration of concepts and theory, advantage and disadvantage across the life course, from early years to older age, cross cutting themes (such as gender, migration, neighbourhood) and a brief concluding section. For example Tania Burchardt with Rod Hicks has extended her work on the capability approach to consider advantage as well as disadvantage. They conclude that there is much to be gained from considering the multiple domains of advantage and the (different) ways in which these can reinforce the disadvantage of others. Polly Vizard, by contrast, focuses on a human rights approach. She draws attention to the broadening of the rights agenda beyond civil and political rights to social and economic rights. She asks us to consider whether “those who are advantaged and who are in a position to help have obligations to address social disadvantage”; and whether “governments, international organizations, and private companies have duties to address disadvantage within a domestic context and/or globally” and critically reviews the extent to which the international human rights framework can help us answer them.

Kitty Stewart’s chapter starts the lifecourse section of the book. Here she reviews the evidence on unequal starting points in children’s lives, the role of family income, parental behaviours and wider inequalities to those different starting points and their consequences, drawing attention to the ways in which the distinction between parenting and poverty common to much recent policy analysis cannot be sustained in practice. Other chapters in this section investigate advantage and disadvantage in education (Sonia Exley), work (Hartley Dean) and ageing (Emily Grundy); while John Hills complements Stephen Jenkins’ account of the temporal evolution of UK income inequality and poverty in cross-national perspective with a discussion of recent findings on wealth inequalities and the implications for intergenerational transmission of advantage.

The section in the book on “cross-cutting themes” brings different angles to the discussion of advantage and disadvantage according to the domain under consideration. Margarita León, for example, brings to the fore an international approach to questions of gender (dis) advantage, drawing particularly on findings and debates from the global south, while Isabel Shutes discusses the differentiated nature of citizenship within Europe. Neil Lee reflects on spatial disparities in advantage and disadvantage and the enduring relevance of “place” (of birth or residence) for life chances.

In the final chapter, Hartley Dean and I argue for a three-part approach to the analysis of advantage and disadvantage that combines recognition of and attention to cumulative processes (that is, how disadvantage and advantage are not only sustained but amplified over time and across generations), intersectional processes (that is, experience at the intersection of different social categories, such as gender, class, age, ethnicity), and relational processes (that is, how our understanding of our social position is shaped by interactions with others). We also argue that such a three-part approach and a focus on processes as well as outcomes will lead not only to better understanding but also potentially to the amelioration of inequalities.

Social Advantage and Disadvantage is a book which sits both at the heart of CASE’s existing interests and of new directions in its research agenda. While designed and written with postgraduate students in mind, it is likely to provide material of interest and for thought among those who share these interests.

Further information
Governments across the world are interested in ways to improve the educational attainment of pupils in large cities, which often tend to be characterised by high levels of economic deprivation and migration. Our research considers a specific example where the performance of pupils in a big city has improved dramatically across successive cohorts: the “London effect.”

The most striking thing about this London effect is that the improved performance is as evident for the most disadvantaged pupils as everyone else. Policymakers have long been interested in ways to improve the attainment of disadvantaged pupils, particularly as existing research suggests gaps in attainment by socio-economic status are not easy to close – inequalities emerge early in life and increase as individuals age. We therefore ask when the improved performance of disadvantaged pupils in London began, how much of the improvement can be attributed to changes in the characteristics of disadvantaged pupils in London compared to the rest of England, and what lessons can be drawn from London’s example.

When did the improvements start for disadvantaged pupils?

To see when disadvantaged pupils in London began to have higher attainment (on average) than disadvantaged pupils in the rest of England we combine information from the National Pupil Database (NPD) and the Youth Cohort Study (YCS). The NPD is an administrative census of all pupils in state schools in England who took GCSEs from 2002 onwards with information on a range of outcomes at Key Stage 4 (KS4) and Key Stage 2 (KS2). Background characteristics include our main measure of socio-economic disadvantage, whether the pupil was eligible for free school meals (FSM). The YCS is a repeated study of young people in the school system (largely before the NPD) from 1985 to 2003. The YCS contains information on a range of outcomes at 16 and a measure of deprivation similar to eligibility for FSM, coming from a workless household.

Figure 1 shows the raw difference between London and the rest of England in terms of the performance of disadvantaged pupils in achieving the standard benchmark of 5 or more GCSEs (or equivalents) including English and maths. Due to the size of the YCS samples we compare the whole of London to the rest of England from 1985-2003 and then from 2002 onward we can split the NPD into Inner and Outer London compared to the rest of England. From the mid-1980s through to the mid-1990s, disadvantaged pupils performed at about the same level or worse compared with disadvantaged pupils elsewhere in England. Starting from the mid-1990s onwards, the performance of disadvantaged pupils in London began to improve relative to that elsewhere in England.

Figure 1: Estimated difference in proportion of disadvantaged pupils achieving 5+ GCSEs at A*-C (including English and Maths) between London and the rest of England

Sources: Authors’ calculations using Youth Cohort Study (1985 to 2003); National Pupil Database (2002 to 2013).

Notes: YCS uses household worklessness as measure of disadvantage, NPD eligibility for free school meals.
disadvantaged pupils in London improved dramatically relative to elsewhere in England. In 1995, disadvantaged pupils were about 4 percentage points less likely to achieve the standard benchmark at age 16. By 2003, they were 5 percentage points more likely. These improvements continued throughout the 2000s and were even more dramatic for pupils in Inner London than those in Outer London. By 2013, disadvantaged pupils in Inner London were 19 percentage points more likely to achieve 5 or more GCSEs at A*-C (including English and Maths) compared with disadvantaged pupils outside of London, and disadvantaged pupils in Outer London were 13 percentage points more likely.

These improvements are observed across a range of outcomes including measures of high attainment and continuous measures of achievement. Importantly, we can also observe an improvement in the relative performance of disadvantaged pupils in London at Key Stage 2, at the end of primary school from the late 1990s, highlighting the importance of primary schools in this story.

Why? The role of pupil composition and prior attainment

When considering why this improvement happened, we look at the role of both pupil characteristics and school characteristics. At pupil level, the NPD gives us information on ethnicity, neighbourhood deprivation level, special educational needs, and whether English is an additional language. At school level, we know the share of pupils eligible for free school meals, the share with special educational needs, the share from minority ethnic groups, and the share living in a deprived area. We also have information on school type (Academy, comprehensive, grammar etc). We find a role for the different ethnic composition of London compared to the rest of England in accounting for the difference in performance in a given year, consistent with earlier work by Simon Burgess. This does not account for a great deal of the improvement in the performance of disadvantaged pupils in London, however, as ethnic composition of London has not changed markedly over time. Instead, we find a strong role for prior academic attainment and school composition.

Our empirical analysis suggests that improved prior attainment at the end of primary school is an important factor in understanding the improvement in the performance of disadvantaged pupils at the end of secondary school. We also note that while in the early 2000s there was a large penalty associated with attending a school with a high proportion of pupils eligible for FSM, this has significantly declined over the past decade.

Implications

The turnaround in the performance of disadvantaged pupils in London has been a remarkable phenomenon. Reflecting on these results, the most important thing to say about the London effect is that the explanation is not simple and does not result from a single policy. Our research shows that the improvement in the performance of disadvantaged pupils in London stretches back to the mid-1990s, is seen across a range of outcomes, is larger for Inner London and is spread across both primary and secondary schools. This rules out many recent policy initiatives as potential explanations for the “London effect” and highlights the possibility that the role of primary schools has been neglected hitherto. Policies such as the London Challenge, Excellence in Cities, the Academies programme and Teach First all began after London’s improvements and were until recently focused only on secondary schools. These policies may have helped build upon London’s success, but are unlikely to have been the primary driving force. Instead, the growth in the London effect seems more likely to be due to rising school quality across both primary and secondary schools stretching back to the mid-1990s. Further analysis is required to pinpoint the likely causes of this with a focus on changes that occurred during the early to mid-1990s in London schools.

Further information

**Kitty Stewart and Nick Roberts**

Our examination of responses to a recent government consultation on child poverty measurement revealed little appetite for the Conservative Government’s proposed changes to the indicators in the Child Poverty Act and overwhelming support for keeping income at the heart of poverty measurement.

The 2010 Child Poverty Act enshrined four child poverty indicators in law: a relative income measure; a fixed income measure; a combined income and material deprivation measure; and a measure of persistent poverty. For each indicator, targets were set for 2020, with government required to report annually to parliament on progress towards these. The Act also placed duties on national and local government to develop child poverty strategies and conduct local needs assessments.

But in recent years changes have been afoot to official child poverty measurement. While the Child Poverty Act was passed in 2010 with cross-party support, the Conservatives argued at the time that they supported the principle but believed the measures to be flawed. In 2012-13 the Coalition Government consulted on changing the measures, proposing instead to develop a multi-dimensional child poverty indicator. Nothing came of the idea during that parliament, but in July 2015 the incoming Conservative Government announced that it would be dropping all four income and material deprivation measures from the Child Poverty Act, replacing them with “life chances” indicators of household worklessness and educational attainment at age 16.

It seemed an opportune moment to look back and examine the responses to the 2012-13 consultation. We knew that 257 responses had been received, from individuals and organisations with a wide range of expertise – academics, local authorities, charities, churches and frontline services – but only a very brief summary had been published by the Department of Work and Pensions. We put in a Freedom of Information Request, obtained 251 of the 257 responses and set about reading them.

This exercise revealed very strong support for the measures in the Child Poverty Act across all types of respondents. It also showed near universal support for keeping income central to poverty measurement.

First, although the consultation form itself made no reference to the existing measures, 83 responses specifically stated that they would like to keep them as they were and wanted no change, while a further 62 made it clear that they would only support indicators relating to additional dimensions if they were treated as supplementary information (relevant to wider child well-being or to children’s broader life chances) but not as measures of child poverty itself (see Table 1). A total of 62 respondents were open to new child poverty measures but for a significant share of these this was still only in addition to the full suite of current income-based measures. Only 32 respondents (around 13 per cent of the total) wanted to replace the current measures themselves.

Second, there was near universal support for the inclusion of an income-based measure (Table 2). Indeed, for the majority of respondents – 143 – child poverty is defined by a lack of material resources, with income, alongside material deprivation, believed to be the best way to measure this. In other words, for most respondents, income was not seen as one more dimension amongst others, but as the very core of child poverty. This was true right across the sample, reiterated in responses from academics, local authorities, voluntary organisations and frontline services.

In fact, of the 222 responses that referred to income in their response, only twelve responses felt that income should be included as anything other than a headline measure and only two thought income should not be included at all. Of these, one response proposed an expenditure measure instead, leaving only one respondent, a private individual, advocating the exclusion of financial resources from poverty measurement. This is not to say that there was no support for measuring wider indicators beyond material resources. Many responses were positive about tracking broader dimensions, including aspects of parental employment and children’s educational attainment. But for most respondents this was important in order to better understand the relationship between these dimensions and poverty, and/or as wider measures of children’s well-being and life chances. They were widely considered to be unsuitable as measures of child poverty itself.

In relation to “worklessness”, for example, whilst many respondents acknowledged that children living in households with no working adult are more likely to live in poverty, almost as many pointed out that the majority of children living below the poverty line in the UK today have at least one working parent. Others noted that paid work may not always be possible or in a family’s best interest, such as in households where a lone parent is caring for a very young or disabled child. If children in these households live in poverty it is because of low material resources, and the inadequacy of policies to address this, not because of the lack of paid work per se.

The consistency and force of responses to the consultation are striking in light of the government’s subsequent decision to “strengthen [the] child poverty measure” (as the DWP’s press release put it) by dropping all four existing indicators in favour of indicators of worklessness and educational attainment. The contrast between the responses and the decision raises questions about the purpose of consulting – and about the value of putting time into responding.
However, in practice, the government did ultimately listen, at least in part, to the strength of opposition to its plans. Citing the consultation findings among other evidence, the House of Lords passed an amendment to the Welfare Reform and Work Bill in January 2016 which would have required the government to continue reporting annually to Parliament on all four of the income and material deprivation indicators. The Commons threw the amendment out, but proposed a new amendment of its own: this one requires no formal reporting, but does commit to annual publication of the four measures. This is a crucial concession, which will enable academics, child poverty campaigners and the public to continue to hold government to account over the impact of policy on children’s material circumstances. Perhaps, then, if one is prepared to make enough noise about the contents, responding to consultations can make a difference after all.

Further information

Table 1 Does the respondent see the need for new child poverty measures?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, to replace the current measures</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, in addition to the current measures</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, small changes to the income measures</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, but open to supplementary information</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, keep as they are</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A (did not express a clear view)</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>251</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Should income be included as a measure of child poverty?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, poverty is a lack of material resources</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, as a key measure</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, dangerous to switch measures now</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, but with a focus on MIS-type measure</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, but with a focus on living wage-type measure</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, but with a focus on basic income-type measure</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, but with a focus on current absolute measure</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, but not as a headline indicator</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, but an expenditure measure should be included instead</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, income shouldn’t be included</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A (did not express a clear view)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>251</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Between April and July 2015, I was a visiting fellow at CASE, on leave from the University of Antwerp. My research stay came out of my involvement in the European research consortium ImPRovE (funded through FP7), in which CASE is participating, under John Hills’ leadership. The ImPRovE consortium analyses poverty reduction in Europe from the perspective of social policy and social innovation. Within the consortium I coordinate the work of three research partners on local social innovation and poverty reduction.

The empirical focus of our research lies in local social innovations around housing, education for ethnic minorities, and unemployment. We analyse cases of social innovation in seven different European countries, and in Brazil as an emerging welfare state, and explore how the spatial and institutional context of specific welfare regimes shapes the forms of local social innovations in these countries. We focus in particular on the welfare mix and the degree of centralisation of welfare regimes. The Antwerp team is conducting case study work in Belgium and the UK. One of the challenges of the ImPRovE work is to bridge the gap between analyses of macro-level social policies and studies of innovative local anti-poverty initiatives driven by civil society organisations, social entrepreneurs or local governments in particular institutional and spatial contexts.

The purpose of my visiting fellowship at CASE was to think through the relationship between macro-level social policies and local social innovation in general and in the UK more specifically. Analysing how and under which conditions local social innovations become laboratories for the reconfiguration of welfare policies is one of the main questions of the ImPRovE project and, in my view, central to discussion about the future of the welfare state. Given the influential role of social policy scholars at LSE in debates on social policy in the UK and internationally, both now and historically, CASE proved to be an excellent place to think through this question and engage in dialogue. I benefited, for example, from conversations with members of the LSE Housing and Communities group led by Anne Power. Their focus on the role of local social policies and civil society initiatives in reducing social exclusion has much affinity with social innovation research. These conversations and others helped me to develop a strategy for drawing conclusions from a wide range of local social innovation case studies.

The discussions I had inspired my thinking on civil society as a source of social innovation in understanding how it may work with or against quasi-markets and its ambiguous relation to the public sector. I also learned a great deal about the contemporary evolutions around social exclusion and poverty in the UK, the institutional specificities of the British welfare state, its relation to neighbourhood dynamics, and the role of civil society organisations and social entrepreneurs. Let me conclude by thanking CASE, and in particular John Hills and Tania Burchardt, for hosting me at LSE and making time available for discussion.

Further information
Further details and publications can be found on the ImPRovE website: improve-research.eu/
LSE Housing and Communities undertakes research into how households, neighbourhoods and communities are affected by economic, social and environmental changes including government responses. We look “in-depth” at the lived experience of individuals and households, to find out what lies beneath wider trends and how policies are playing out on the ground. This article looks at four projects we worked on in 2015.

Housing Plus Academy

On 9 November the Housing Plus Academy was launched, in a new partnership between Trafford Hall, LSE Housing and Communities, the Chartered Institute of Housing, the National Housing Federation, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and 14 leading housing associations. The launch was attended by delegates from housing organisations across the country. The Academy has been developed to promote knowledge exchange and participative learning among staff and tenants of social landlords, looking specifically into the impact of current government austerity programmes on social housing.

The focus on cooperation and knowledge sharing is particularly important as housing associations greatly value their independence and want to preserve it. They also are long term businesses, and need optimistic leaders capable of strategic thinking and long term planning. They play a key role in low-income areas beyond basic housing provision. Frontline staff are a vital resource to both landlords and tenants, and they need more training and recognition. Investing in people leads to good housing management, good tenant relations and sustainable tenancies.

Most social landlords invest in creating economic opportunities for their tenants. We need to collect clear evidence of the value of this investment both to social landlords and to tenants. We must show how these and similar activities (often termed “Housing Plus”) offer great value for money, and lead to greater efficiency in delivering services. This includes supporting smaller, community-based and BME housing associations who play an important role in promoting integration and tolerance within the communities they serve.

We are really pleased that the leading national housing bodies in the sector are supporting this initiative:

- **It will be initiatives like the Housing Plus Academy that will help the sector to rise to those challenges and prosper in the future, helping all of us to do more and better, and often with fewer resources** (David Orr, National Housing Federation)

- **In a tough environment, the Housing Plus Academy can help housing professionals and organisations maintain their support for residents and communities** (Terrie Alafat, Chartered Institute of Housing)

**Evaluation of the Rayners Lane regeneration programme**

One of our major research projects in 2015 was for Home Housing Group, a large national provider of social housing. Home asked LSE Housing and Communities to assess the social benefit of their recent and continuing regeneration project on the Rayners Lane estate in Harrow, north London. These works involved the staged demolition of old council blocks in poor condition, and their replacement with new flats and houses for both the existing residents, and new renters and owners. As part of this investment, a major programme of social activities, employment training and other community education, youth work, and environmental improvements were put in place.

LSE Housing and Communities interviewed 50 households between March and May 2015 and have analysed 137 interviews from the Home’s own Quality of Life Survey. We also interviewed local actors and visited the social facilities on the estate. Overall the evidence was overwhelmingly positive, indicating that the investment in regeneration and community support has produced significant and measureable “social returns on investment”. The benefits and costs were measured using the Housing Association Charitable Trust model.

The key elements of Home Housing’s approach include having the social landlord directly responsible for the complete process including management of demolition; re-housing of residents mostly on-site, in the new dwellings (in collaboration with the council); community liaison; building development for social renting and sale. This creates a clear line of authority between the original local authority landlord, the social landlord, the builder/developer on site and the community. Home’s approach of working closely with the
community throughout, from the original proposals to the delivery of the new homes, brings immense benefits. It is reassuring to the tenants; keeps the landlord informed; rehousing happens more smoothly; processes are faster; and people are settled more quickly. It forges a positive relationship between the residents and the onsite management team. The vast majority of residents feel positive about the outcome.

Poverty and access to sport for young people

LSE Housing and Communities also undertook an interesting study for StreetGames – a charity set up in 2007 to help break down the barriers created by poverty and area disadvantage that prevent young people participating in sport. StreetGames works with local community organisations, sports organisations, youth clubs, schools and colleges in order to support “door step” sports – less formal, more participative, and more engaging physical activity, close to home and at a low or no cost to the young participants – in order to bring educational, social and health benefits to low income communities.

The research examined the depth and extent of poverty in Britain; its impact on area disadvantage; how it affects young people and families; and their participation in physical and outdoor activity. We looked particularly at why high poverty areas suffer such major disadvantages and throw up so many barriers in the field of “active learning” and whether informal sport and physical activity could actually help.

Five deprived areas (all in the bottom 10 per cent of the deprivation tables) were studied in depth, ranging from East London to a Welsh mining valley, to inner areas in Sheffield and Bristol. 135 people were interviewed, around 25 in each area, including young people between the ages of 14-25 and local parents in order to uncover what young people do, what they think of their area, why they play sport or don’t, and what the barriers to involvement are. We also spoke to key actors in each area, including teachers and youth leaders, local councillors, leisure organisers and youth workers.

We found that the biggest problem is the lack of supervision of parks, open spaces and streets – open areas are not well maintained, and parents are fearful of letting their children use public spaces. Charges for leisure centres and sports facilities (previously public) are too high for low-paid over-18s. Charges are at adult rates, and young people face poor work opportunities and are generally on extremely low incomes.
One key recommendation suggests schools opening up their facilities much more widely after school hours for community use. Some schools already do this, including those in Merthyr and East Ham. Both schools and clubs talk about training young volunteers in order to involve young people in helping other young people as a way of involving and unifying the community.

Housing for Victims of Miscarriages of Justice

2015 saw us focus on a specialised area in a project on victims of miscarriages of justice. These are people who have been wrongly imprisoned often for several years where the safeguards of the appeal system have failed. They have subsequently been cleared of the offence through an appeal to the (English) Criminal Cases Review Commission (CCRC) and the equivalent body in Scotland. Once freed, unlike prisoners released after serving their sentence, they do not receive support or practical assistance from the Government, despite the severe problems they inevitably face. Often they are effectively homeless as they are often estranged from their families, have no job or income, and almost always are left with severe mental health problems that make the process of re-integration into society doubly difficult.

Although there are only an average of 12 such cases a year, these victims of miscarriage of justice need a place to stay immediately on their release, as well as specific help to plan and gain access to longer term accommodation. Local authority housing through homelessness provisions is often unavailable, so housing associations and private landlords can play an important part in helping. Naturally prejudice against these miscarriage victims plays a part, and a structured process of advice, health and housing support, advocacy (currently done through the Royal Courts of Justice, Citizens Advice Bureau and linked local bureaux), and job retraining are all essential but also seldom available. Commonweal Housing, who commissioned the research, has already been active over the last few years in addressing this unusual but severe type of housing need, and continues to work with partners on new solutions supported by our report.

Further information


Rikki Dean

Rikki, a fourth year PhD student in CASE, gives an insight into his work on public participation in policy decision making.

Democracy has often been compartmentalized or a taken for granted background condition in debates about social citizenship and social justice. However, to paraphrase Foucault, “social policies are not born of nature, they are born of real battles”. We cannot comprehend social and economic exclusion without understanding political exclusion. Neither can we address one type of exclusion without addressing the others.

In addition, calls for greater citizen participation in policy-making have become a ubiquitous feature of 21st Century notions of governance, advocated by everyone from the radicals of the Occupy movement to the econocrats at the World Bank. As policy and administration moves into the vanguard of democratic innovation, it creates both opportunities and complex new challenges for how we think about and do social policy.

New participatory spaces can provide avenues for the interpretation of social needs and their negotiation into social rights. They have been championed as a means for the marginalised to challenge their political and social exclusion. Nevertheless, participatory governance has often resulted in limited achievements and frustration for both citizens and officials, and the inability of existing institutions to adapt to these new conditions has been characterised by some observers as a governance failure.

The idea behind this research is that this failure is in part attributable to unacknowledged conflicts over the definition of participation. It is not entirely clear what we mean when we talk about participation. That is part of what makes it beguiling. To understand which participatory initiatives are adopted, the ways they are adapted, and whether they should be considered successful, it is necessary to have a clear account of the multiple competing purposes and values behind competing conceptions of participatory governance.

My dissertation renders such an account from two directions. First, by synthesizing theories of democracy and public administration with insights from an extensive review of academic and grey literature on citizen participation, I produced a typology of four modes of public participation in policy decisions (see Figure 1). Each of these four modes – which I term knowledge transfer, collective decision-making, choice and voice, and arbitration and oversight – has its own objectives and related forms of participatory practice that are connected to a distinct tradition of political and public administration theory.

This typology is outlined in detail in a recent article in Policy & Politics, but a very brief summary follows below.

Collective decision-making is associated with the participatory democratic perspective, as espoused by those such as Carole Pateman. Its primary function is to promote the autonomy of citizens, ensuring that they are the authors of the decisions to which they are subject.

Knowledge transfer is connected to post-Weberian ideas that challenge bureaucratic expertise and argue citizens’ knowledge is necessary to improve policy outcomes. It aims to increase the epistemic quality of decisions by ensuring that all relevant information is included. Its primary function is thus the effectiveness of decision outcomes.

Choice and voice subscribes to a Hayekian liberalism in which individuals’ pursuit of their own interests leads to spontaneous benefits. Participation is individualistic, to secure one’s own preferences. Its primary function is to ensure that decision-makers are responsive to the preferences of citizens, and thus that decisions take account of citizens’ needs and interests.

Arbitration and oversight is a more Hobbesian approach, where the role of government, and for our purposes here participation, is to keep individual self-interest in check. It functions as an accountability mechanism, by ensuring decisions don’t simply favour the interests of one group and thus the decision is acceptable to all.

Second, I conducted an empirical investigation of the different ways that those involved in participatory initiatives understand their practice. I used a combination of Q method – a quantitative technique in which participants are asked to rank common statements about participation – along with qualitative interviews, carried out with variety of actors, from radical activists to senior civil servants, involved in participation activities in healthcare, housing, poverty and welfare policy. I then employed a principal components analysis of the Q method data in order to identify any common shared viewpoints among the study participants, as well as explore how these related to my theoretical typology.

Figure 1: Four modes of public participation in policy decisions
Three principal components were identified that highlighted significant differences between participants in the study concerning the purposes and values of participation, particularly with regard to the power that should be afforded to citizens. The three PCs provided both some support and some challenge to the aforementioned theoretical typology.

PC1 strongly reflected the collective decision-making mode of participation, and PC2 the knowledge transfer mode. The weighted average scores for the statements were very similar to what would be predicted by the typology. Solidaristic statements had positive scores on both, whilst agonistic statements had negative scores. Differences between the two revolved primarily around the extent to which participation should be tightly prescribed, or open and negotiated, particularly with regard to decision power.

To illustrate the point, the biggest differences in statement z-scores for the two PCs were in relation to statements 13 and 37 (see table). That the aim of participation is to enable citizens to take the decisions that affect their lives through collective discussion and decision-making. It should be about collective self-government. That the aim of participation is to enable citizens to take the decisions that affect their lives through collective discussion and decision-making. It should be about collective self-government.

Table 1: Comparison of Z-scores for selected, illustrative statements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>PC1 z-score</th>
<th>PC2 z-score</th>
<th>PC3 z-score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The objective of public participation is to improve policy decisions by ensuring that decision-makers can access wider sources of information, perspectives and potential solutions.</td>
<td>-0.34*</td>
<td>1.68*</td>
<td>0.56*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>People are not motivated to participate in policy-making for the health of democracy, but because they believe they have something to lose or gain, therefore; participation should enable individuals and groups to promote and defend their interests and values.</td>
<td>-1.12</td>
<td>-0.76</td>
<td>0.79*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>The aim of participation is to enable citizens to take the decisions that affect their lives through collective discussion and decision-making. It should be about collective self-government.</td>
<td>1.58*</td>
<td>-0.95</td>
<td>-0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>It is primarily bonds with others and shared social goals that motivate people to participate, so participation works best when it is woven into the fabric of people’s everyday lives, for instance; situated in local communities.</td>
<td>1.22*</td>
<td>0.59*</td>
<td>-1.39*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* denotes z-score is statistically different from both other principal components at the 1 per cent level.

None of the participants in the study professed a choice and voice or arbitration and oversight approach to participation. However, PC3 captured a loose residual amalgam of scepticism and pluralism from those who were not so convinced by the solidarism of PC1 and PC2 (see statements 15 and 42 in the table). This suggests that even if the modes of participation are not prevalent, the dimensions underlying the typology are meaningful.

Though it would be tempting to see the collective decision-making approach (PC1) as the radical activist view and the knowledge transfer approach (PC2) as the public officials view, my results demonstrate a more mixed picture. Some officials load on to PC1 and some activists onto PC2. Moreover, insights from the qualitative data show that individuals are mostly quite flexible, even conflicted, in their participation preferences. When asked to elaborate upon and justify their preferences they frequently draw on what appear to be contradictory discursive repertoires from all four of the aforementioned modes of participation. In doing so they are often troubled by cognitive dissonance, describing themselves as contradictory or hypocritical. Their private thoughts seem to reproduce the contours of the public debate, which would be no surprise to rhetorical analysts. Accordingly, whilst the principal components analysis captures these contours of the debate about participation, we should refrain from putting individuals into fixed procedural preference boxes.

So how can this research help us to improve the practice of participatory social policy? First, it challenges the distorting practice of only judging participation initiatives through the lens of participatory democracy, and seeing any deviation from its tenets as a New Public Management bastardisation. Recognising the multiple legitimate functions participation can potentially perform should lead to more clear-sighted participatory designs, as well as a better match between the rhetoric and practice of participation. This should help diffuse disillusionment and frustration with participatory governance. In addition, recognizing the heterogeneity of people’s participation preferences generates complexity. Nonetheless, it also opens up an opportunity. In the final chapter of my thesis, I will look at how complex policy systems like the NHS can harness this heterogeneity. There are myriad opportunities to participate in such systems. By drawing on deliberative systems theory, I will analyse how different mechanisms can perform different functions, so that the individual opportunities to participate add up to a participatory system that is more than the sum of its parts.

Further information

personal.lse.ac.uk/deanj

Dean, R.J., 2016, “Beyond Radicalism and Resignation: The Competing Logics of Public Participation in Policy Decision”, Policy & Politics (in press) ingentaconnect.com/content/tppj/pap/pre-prints/content-PP_88
Kerris Cooper

I originally joined CASE as a researcher in 2012, working with Kitty Stewart on Does money affect children’s outcomes? A systematic review. Despite having to sift through tens of thousands of search results for this, I loved being a part of the intellectually stimulating environment that CASE provides and so when I came to apply for a PhD there was no question as to where I wanted to do it. The support I received from colleagues at CASE whilst making my application – which ranged from detailed feedback from many people on my draft proposal, to friends at CASE bringing food and refreshments to my desk during the final push before the application deadline – only reinforced that I wanted to stay a part of the research centre.

I started my PhD on the relationship between poverty and parenting in 2013 and since then I have benefitted from ongoing support and encouragement at CASE which has made all the difference. Doing a PhD is often described as a lonely and isolating process; whilst it has not been a walk in the park, a key benefit of being at CASE is being connected with others and being a part of something bigger than your PhD (which in turn feels smaller and less scary!).

There are four main ways in which I have benefitted from being a part of CASE as a PhD student. Firstly, I have ready access to a whole host of brilliant minds and willing listeners to bounce ideas off, help solve problems and share their expertise. Often something I have been stuck on will be solved after a brief chat with someone in the kitchen when making a cup of tea. All these informal chats, as well as more structured opportunities to present ongoing work have directly moved my PhD forward. As well as the expertise and academic rigour, it is great to have others interested in my own research – this helps keep me motivated and avoid moments of "why am I doing a PhD"!

Secondly, the regular CASE seminars and meetings have encouraged me to keep a broader research interest in topics related to inequality and poverty. This keeps my PhD topic in perspective and ensures my knowledge and interests have not narrowed restrictively as my work has necessarily got more specialised.

Thirdly, being a part of the CASE community has provided opportunities to work with others and gain valuable experience in writing reports, articles, research proposals and presentations. One of the things I love most about CASE is that it is very non-hierarchical – PhD students are very much encouraged to get involved in new research alongside more senior researchers. Everyone is very approachable including Director and Deputy-Director John and Tania, who despite busy workloads keep their doors open and take time to check in with you and ask how things are going.

Finally the thing that really makes CASE a special place to be, whether as a student or researcher, is the people. Everyone is friendly and motivated by similar concerns for justice. Our termly meals out together are great fun and we have a regular book club which has been an excellent excuse for some lighter reading. More importantly the day-to-day contact with others has made me feel so well supported I often feel like part of a team rather than someone tackling the mountain that is a PhD on their own. I have made some great friends here and my own PhD experience has been anything but lonely.

As I enter my (hopefully!) final year of my PhD I am really aware of how unique CASE is and how lucky I am to have worked here.
Cheryl Conner and Emily Jones

There are several examples of successful long-running knowledge exchange activities that could be mentioned in this report, notably the LSE Housing and Communities Housing Plus Think Tank event series (see page 25) but here we focus on two other examples from 2015.

The launch event of the Coalition’s Social Policy Record in January started the year of knowledge exchange activities for CASE. The event attracted a broad spectrum of stakeholders including national and local government, academics, think tanks, third sector organisations and charities. For those unable to attend the event we created videos of the presentations with integrated slides, available on the CASE You Tube Channel. Further dissemination of the findings from the research programme were organised in conjunction with the “LSE Works” public lecture series. John Hills presented new findings from Falling Behind, Getting Ahead: The changing structure of inequality in the UK, 2007-2013 and Polly Vizard presented findings from The Changing Anatomy of Economic Inequality in London (2007-13). The theatre was full with 349 attendees, and a “Storify” of tweets from the event is available at bit.ly/1AjrOyR. The video and audio recordings of this event have so far received over 12,000 hits. Social Policy in a Cold Climate publications generated 36 national newspaper articles and 12 major UK TV and Radio interviews, to date the publications from this research programme have now received over 750,000 downloads. The programme culminates in April 2016 with the launch of Social Policy in a Cold Climate: Policies and their consequences since the crisis (published by The Policy Press) which provides an overview of the whole project.

Tania Burchardt and Polly Vizard published research commissioned by Age UK, Older people’s experiences of dignity and nutrition during hospital stays: Secondary data analysis using the Adult Inpatient Survey, CASEreport 91. The findings have had a direct impact on Age UK and the authors have also worked with the Age UK Health Influencing team in order to engage with a broader range of stakeholders in healthcare and policy. On the former, the research has provided a robust evidence base on older people’s treatment in healthcare, which Age UK has been using in its own work in this area. On the latter, the authors worked with Age UK to take forward knowledge exchange activities such as press and media work, resulting in high profile coverage that disseminated findings to a wide audience. At a pre-publication practitioner-orientated roundtable discussion, research findings were presented to professionals from a range of organisations including the Department of Health, NHS Trusts, the British Medical Council, General Medical Council, British Geriatric Society and Patient Concern. On the day of its publication, media attention included live interviews and headline coverage across 7 national stations and over 30 regional BBC radio stations. Articles discussing the research were published by multiple national newspapers including BBC News, The Guardian, Mirror and The Telegraph, as well as over 90 regional newspapers. At the level of practitioner influence, the research featured in a news article by Nursing Standard, and has been highlighted online by several websites with a healthcare focus. Significant social media attention and discussion was generated, with notable tweets/retweets from individuals and organisations with a high number of followers such as Carers UK (42,000+ followers) and Friends of the Elderly (19,000+ followers), which led to further conversation on twitter, including the sharing of individual’s experiences of elderly patient’s treatment in hospitals. A HEIF5 funded project will enable the authors to continue working with the Age UK Health Influencing team through 2016 to deliver specialist impact-orientated outputs including a national practitioner orientated conference, local events and private briefings.
Research staff and PhD students: Current research

Caroline Bryson joined CASE in October 2015 as a part-time PhD student. Her thesis is looking at associations between relationships within intact families and the financial support provided by non-resident parents if parents later separate.

Tania Burchardt’s research is on inequalities, theories of social justice, disability and social care. This year she worked on charting the changing boundaries of public and private welfare with Polina Obolenskaya and on the social care component of the Social Policy in a Cold Climate programme with Polina and Polly Vizard. The same team began work on a project funded by the Nuffield Foundation on multidimensional disadvantage among groups of vulnerable children including Gypsy and Traveller children, young carers and children at risk of abuse and neglect. She and Rod Hick (Cardiff University) continued to develop their ideas about how the capability approach might be used to conceptualise advantage as well as disadvantage.

Kerris Cooper worked with Kitty Stewart to complete a JRF-funded systematic review into whether money itself has an impact on adults’ wider outcomes, including subjective wellbeing, physical health and relationship quality and stability. The research was published in January 2015 and found strong evidence that money itself does matter for adults: money makes people happier and reduces mental health problems, as well as providing more choice in other areas of life. Kerris also continued to work on her PhD research which explores the relationship between economic hardship and parenting behaviours, using the Millennium Cohort Study.

Jack Cunliffe submitted his PhD in September 2015, passing his viva with no corrections in December. He continues his interest in measurement and structuring equation modelling, social inequality and wealth distributions, alongside his work looking at the online drugs markets and a wide variety of other quantitative research projects. In September 2015 he started work as a Lecturer in Quantitative Methods and Criminology in the University of Kent Qstep Centre within the School of Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research.

Aaron George Grech focused on comparing the pension reforms conducted in European Union countries before and after the financial crisis of 2008. His research indicates that the extent of the economic impact of the crisis affected the reforms that were enacted, with countries most affected reducing pension generosity greatly. Moreover the type of reforms that were introduced, by tying benefits closely to contributions, pose significant risks to younger generations, who are experiencing long spells of unemployment. During 2015 Aaron also served as Deputy Chairman of the Malta Statistics Authority and as Head of the Central Bank of Malta’s Research Department. He was an expert on a pensions commission appointed by the Government of Malta, that delivered a report advocating a more generous minimum pension, incentives for later retirement and the introduction of better credits for periods spent out of the labour market due to childcare responsibilities or tertiary education. Most of these proposals are now being implemented.

Rikki Dean continued his PhD exploring the use of participatory policy-making techniques in social policy. He spent the first half of 2015 as a Visiting Fellow at Harvard’s Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, where he was able to extend his data collection to the US, using a Q method survey to model participation preferences. He is now in the process of writing up his thesis and the first paper from his PhD was recently published in Policy & Politics. Entitled “Beyond Radicalism and Resignation”, it outlines a new typology for thinking about approaches to public participation. In addition, he is working as a research assistant at University of Birmingham’s Institute for Local Government Studies (INLOGOV) on a project concerning conceptions of accountability in local governance, and is a visiting lecturer at University of Westminster teaching Innovations in Democratic Practice.

Ian Gough contributed to workshops on aspects of “sustainable welfare” at the universities of Cambridge, Sheffield, Lund and Milan and delivered a plenary lecture on consumption and eco-social policy to a research meeting of the International Sociological Association in Bath. He was also invited by the French Ministry of Social Affairs to address a large conference on his theory of human need and its relevance to calculating decent living standards in France and the EU.

John Hills continued to discuss his recently published book, Good Times, Bad Times: The welfare myth of them and us in public lectures, events and interviews, including a debate with Tom Clark of The Guardian at the Royal Society of Arts which was broadcast live online, and at events in Cardiff, Dublin and Edinburgh. He continued the final stages of work for the Social Policy in a Cold Climate Programme including the launch of a joint report on the changing structure of economic inequalities in the UK since 2007, an update of an earlier paper on the distributional effects of the 2010-2015 UK Coalition government’s tax-benefit policy changes and a summary of new research findings in social mobility.
Stephen Jenkins continues to work on a diverse set of topics. There is on-going research on methods for modelling employment instability using an approach distinguishing between permanent and transitory components of variability (joint with Lorenzo Cappellari, Milan). Stephen is also looking at measurement error in survey responses on earnings, using data from the Family Resources Survey linked for consenting respondents to administrative data from HMRC on the same variable. Research on measurement error in estimation of persistent poverty rates continues with Philippe Van Kerm (LISER, Luxembourg). All the work mentioned so far is part-supported by the ESRC Research Centre on Micro-Social Change at the University of Essex. The biggest new venture was research associated with an Australian Research Council grant on “Income inequality and mobility in Australia, Great Britain and the US”, joint with Richard Burkhauser, Nicolas Hérault, and Roger Wilkins (University of Melbourne). We have been writing papers about how to better measure income inequality trends combining information from household survey data with personal tax return data that has better coverage of top incomes.

Eleni Karagiannaki finalised her work on a study commissioned by the UK Equality and Human Rights Commission and led by Polly Vizard. For this work Eleni produced evidence on how a number of the indicators included in the Equality and Human Rights Commission’s Measurement Framework (including among others, employment, unemployment, educational attainment, poverty, material deprivation) have changed between 2008 and 2013. With Polly, she also co-authored a series of blogs which are published in the Trust for London website, about the effects of the crisis and the subsequent economic downturn on the living standards of some of the most disadvantaged groups in London. From April she was seconded to the Department for Work and Pensions where she undertook analysis on low income persistence and low income dynamics based on data from the first waves of Understanding Society.

Ruth Lupton continued to work with CASE on the Social Policy in a Cold Climate programme. She led the programme overall and the work on the Coalition’s record on schools, further education, skills and access to higher education, and area regeneration and renewal. She also worked with Polina Obolenskaya and Bert Provan on understanding regional trends in social and economic outcomes since the economic crisis, and with Stephanie Thomson on understanding the effects of the Coalition’s school system reforms on patterns of social sorting and segregation in schools.

Lindsey Macmillan is a Visiting Fellow at CASE. She is a Senior Lecturer in Economics at UCL Institute of Education. This year Lindsey has been working with Jo Blanden on the Social Mobility Strand of the Social Policy in a Cold Climate programme producing a paper on the impact of education on social mobility and asking if education expansion encourages or limits mobility. She is also working with Jo on understanding the strong performance of London schools. Her third contribution to the project is a paper with Claire Crawford and Anna Vignoles, looking at the education trajectories of pupils from different levels of initial attainment and family backgrounds. In work outside CASE, Lindsey is working on a number of projects around measuring intergenerational mobility in the UK and the intergenerational transmission of worklessness across countries.

Elena Mariani continues her doctoral work on the effect of family processes on job satisfaction in Germany. The focus so far has been on how different lengths of maternity leave affect the well-being of women when they return to work, and how becoming a mother affects job satisfaction over the life course, with a special focus on the role of the restructuring of the labour market after German unification in 1990. In Spring 2015 she presented her work at the Population of America Association conference in San Diego, USA and at the Research Committee on Social Stratification meeting in Tilburg, the Netherlands. In Summer 2015 she spent three months as a visiting researcher at the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) in Berlin. Alongside her PhD work she teaches statistics and quantitative research methods to undergraduate and postgraduate students.
Nicholas Mathers joined CASE in October 2014 and started working on his PhD thesis looking at the effects of cash transfers on adolescent life-course outcomes in Nepal. Since July 2015 he has been working as Cash Transfer Specialist for UNICEF Nepal supporting the government’s post-earthquake response and social protection policy and systems reforms. He continues his PhD part-time. In the past year he published one opinion piece on social protection and household resilience for UNDP’s Development Advocate Nepal.

Abigail McKnight completed a project for the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission with the final report published in June 2015 (Downward mobility, opportunity hoarding and the “glass floor”). The report identified the unequal chances of children becoming high earners as adults who had similar levels of ability but came from different family backgrounds. This study is one of the few that examines how limited downward mobility among children from advantaged family backgrounds can limit the extent to which upward mobility can be improved for children from less advantaged family backgrounds. Abigail worked on a series of Evidence Reviews for the European Commission looking at the effectiveness of activation, preventative measures and preventative approaches to low pay and in-work poverty, and policies designed to reduce economic inequality. She was invited to present key findings to the Commission’s Social Protection Committee. She also started work on a project for the Citizen’s Advice Bureau looking at the empirical evidence on burdensome levels of financial debt holding in UK households.

Alice Miles joined CASE as a PhD student in September 2011, to study the welfare of low to middle income families in socially segregated and socially mixed neighbourhoods in southern England. She works part time on her PhD and part time as a civil servant and policy adviser on social justice issues. She currently works at the Ministry of Justice.

Polina Oboienskaya continued working on the Social Policy in a Cold Climate programme for part of the year. Together with Ruth Lupton and Bert Provan, Polina worked on a CASE working paper (to be published in 2016) concerned with economic and social disparities between London and the Northern regions. She also worked with others on various chapters for the Social Policy in a Cold Climate book (to be published in 2016), including extending work on the public and private boundaries in welfare activities undertaken at CASE in previous years, with Tania Burchardt. She also began working on a new Nuffield Foundation funded project with Polly Vizard (Principal Investigator) and Tania Burchardt, on “Multidimensional child poverty and disadvantage: Tackling “data exclusion” and extending the evidence base on missing and “invisible” children”. Over the next year Polina will be analysing a number of data sources in relation to poverty and disadvantage among different groups of children, including young carers and those from Gypsy and Traveller ethnic backgrounds.

Kenia Parsons completed her PhD entitled “Reaching out to the persistently poor in rural areas: An analysis of Brazil’s Bolsa Família conditional cash transfer programme”. Using mixed methods and four pieces of empirical research, Kenia analysed if the persistently poor living in rural remote areas of Brazil had effectively taken-up the Bolsa Família benefit and, if not, what the potential reasons for comparatively lower take-up rates were. In addition to the use of cross-sectional administrative databases, she conducted a three-level qualitative analysis to obtain national, municipal and household perspectives on the design and implementation of the programme in four rural municipalities. Kenia has also worked as a consultant for the White Ribbon Australia producing a report on the incidence of violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Culturally and Linguistically Diverse women. At the Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales, she took part in the Australian Research Council project “Material Deprivation and Social Exclusion among young Australians: a child-focused approach”. Kenia continues her appointment as a visiting academic at the Social Policy Research Centre.

Lucinda Platt is a CASE research associate and Professor of Social Policy and Sociology in the Department of Social Policy. A major highlight for 2015 was the publication of a co-authored volume deriving from a Norface-funded project on Intergenerational Consequences of Migration: Socio-economic, Family and Cultural Patterns of Stability and Change in Turkey in Europe (Palgrave). In 2015, she also completed a Nuffield-funded project on parenting and contact before and after separation with Tina Haux of Kent University. This resulted in two CASEpapers and a number of blogs, and generated substantial media interest, including an article in the Observer. Other highlights of 2015 were completion of a project with Eleni Karagianni on individual incomes, funded by the JRF. A CASEpaper was published in the summer and a further paper on gender and ethnic individual income inequalities is underway. 2015 also saw a return to earlier interests in ethnicity and social mobility with plenary lectures on this topic at both the Trento Festival of Economics and the European Sociological Association conference in Prague. Further work in this area is planned for 2016. In 2015, a volume on Social Advantage and Disadvantage, co-edited with Hartley Dean for OUP, was sent to press and published early in 2016. This is discussed elsewhere in the report.
Anne Power and LSE Housing and Communities. Building on their existing working relationships with social landlords and tenants in low-income communities, LSE Housing and Communities launched the Housing Plus Academy at Trafford Hall in November 2015 to examine the wider role that social landlords play in these communities. There, the outline for “The Agenda for Housing Plus” was launched, which demonstrates the ways that social landlords improve their social business by investing in the social needs of low-income communities, beyond just bricks and mortar. We also launched Moving the Goalposts: Poverty and Access to Sports for Young People, a report funded by StreetGames, on how poverty and area disadvantage create barriers to young people’s participation in sports. The longitudinal study of the high-rise council owned estate in Portsmouth, Wilmcott House, assessed the residents’ experience of retrofitting their estate to the highest energy standard, while they remained in situ. Research for HOME housing association into the regeneration of the Rayners Lane estate in Harrow demonstrated the social return on investment from social and management spending on the rebuilt Rayners Lane. The upcoming handbook on European cities, Cities for a Small Continent, was submitted and is at proof stage, and seven European City Reports completed, underlining the regeneration potential of post-industrial cities. Anne Power is a member of the Early Action Taskforce and the Igloo Regeneration Sustainable Investment Committee in addition to being Chair of the National Communities Resource Centre at Trafford Hall and on the National Advisory Panel for the Troubled Families Programme at the Department of Communities and Local Government.

Bert Provan was involved both in undertaking research for the Housing and Communities Group, and in knowledge management. Research work included an evaluation of the social impact of a successful regeneration programme undertaken by a Registered Social Landlord in North London, examining the impact of both the approach to regeneration (structured movement of existing residents from old to newly constructed blocks), and the Housing Plus activities around employment, health, sports, and youth work. A further project also examined housing and housing support options for victims of miscarriages of justice, who very often find themselves released from prison with no formal support and considerable difficulty re-integrating into a society which is now unfamiliar to them. Knowledge management work included supporting the launch of the final phase of the Social Policy in a Cold Climate work, and related CASE outputs.

Nora Ratzmann joined CASE as a Leverhulme Trust Doctoral Student in October 2015. Her research examines EU migrants’ (ine)equalities of access to German social security, with a particular focus on their interactions with the street-level bureaucracy.

Nicola Serle supports LSE Housing and Communities’ research and administration, and leads on the group’s events. In 2015 she was responsible for the delivery of the final Housing and Energy Plus knowledge exchange programmes funded by HEIF5, which focused on how social landlords can extend their role in communities where they are based, particularly in poorer areas where tenants need more help to manage their lives. She supported the development of the new Housing Plus Academy which follows on from these two successful programmes in a new venture in partnership with Trafford Hall, the Chartered Institute of Housing and the National Housing Federation. The programme uses residential think tanks and roundtable briefings to bring together key actors to uncover how the complex interacting problems of housing relate to welfare and housing reforms in low-income communities. She also provides research project co-ordination and backup for other LSE Housing and Communities projects.

Wendy Sigle has continued to work on a number of projects which consider how demographers study and conceptualize fertility. She completed the first draft of a manuscript, co-authored with Ben Wilson, which focuses on how migrant fertility convergence can be defined and conceptualized in empirical studies, and began working on another study (co-authored with Joanna Marczak and Ernestina Coast) which examines the fertility intentions of Polish born individuals in Krakow and London. She and her co-authors completed the first draft of a manuscript that considers whether and how cross-national comparisons are used to explain and justify reported intentions. In addition, she has continued to work on a manuscript (co-authored with Alice Goisis) that, with a focus on child obesity, explores the meaning, specification, and interpretation of relationship between family structure and child health.

Kitty Stewart completed her work on the Coalition’s record on young children and contributed a chapter on Family and Disadvantage to Lucinda Platt and Hartley Dean’s volume on Social Advantage and Disadvantage. She co-authored a paper with Howard Glennister on recent changes to the UK’s welfare state, and worked with Abigail McKnight on a review of evidence on policies to reduce low pay and in-work poverty. With Nick Roberts, she analysed responses to the Coalition Government’s 2012-13 consultation on child poverty measurement. The analysis found overwhelming support among respondents for keeping income at the heart of poverty measurement.
Kate Summers is in the second year of her PhD, which is funded by the ESRC. Her research asks how working age social security recipients think about and use their money. She is in the process of conducting her fieldwork, consisting of qualitative depth interviews with social security recipients in East London. Kate also joined the “Thomas Piketty Masterclass” in Autumn 2015, an initiative being run by the new International Inequalities Institute. She has the opportunity to share her work with PhD students from other departments, as well as senior academics in the III. In addition to her research, Kate began teaching on the undergraduate course SA221 (Poverty, Social Exclusion and Social Change) in Michaelmas 2015.

Milo Vandemoortele is a PhD student in CASE. Her research interests lie in examining the association between early childhood education and children’s attainment in four low- and middle-income countries – specifically Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam. Her research is funded by the ESRC. Prior to LSE, Milo worked as a researcher at the Overseas Development Institute (ODI, London) in the Growth, Poverty and Inequality Programme.

Polly Vizard continued her research on poverty and inequality, the capability approach and human rights. Work with Tania Burchardt on older people’s experiences of dignity and nutrition in healthcare using the Adult Inpatient Survey was launched in July 2015. As part of the CASE Social Policy in a Cold Climate programme, research was undertaken with Polina Obolenskaya on health, with Polina Obolenskaya and Tania Burchardt on social care, and with Eleni Karagiannaki and Jack Cunliffe on inequality in London. Work was undertaken on a project commissioned by the Equality and Human Rights Commission on multidimensional inequality outcomes in the UK over the period 2007 – 2013, with Tania Burchardt, Eleni Karagiannaki and Ellie Suh. In September 2015, work commenced on a new project on children’s multidimensional poverty and disadvantage funded by Nuffield Foundation, with Tania Burchardt and Polina Obolenskaya.

Jane Waldfogel completed work on her 4 country project on inequality in school readiness and school achievement, with colleagues Bruce Bradbury (Australia), Miles Corak (Canada), and Elizabeth Washbrook (UK). Their book, Too Many Children Left Behind (published by Russell Sage Foundation in September 2015), shows that socioeconomic status gaps in school readiness and school achievement are largest in the US, followed by the UK, and smallest in Australia and Canada. The book explores reasons for these differential disparities and makes policy recommendations to help close the gaps. She also continued her research on improving the measurement of poverty and on paid parental leave policies.
(*) denotes publications largely attributable to work outside the centre. Non-CASE authors indicated by italics.

Books and reports


Forthcoming


Book Chapters


Forthcoming


Referred journal articles


Open Access at esr.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/full/jcv059 (*)


Forthcoming


Lee, N., Sissons, P. and Jones, K. (forthcoming) "The geography of inequality in British cities", Regional Studies. (*)

Other publications


Forthcoming

Blog postings


Stewart, K.J. and Roberts, N. (2015) “Plans to axe child poverty measures contradict the vast majority of expert advice the government received” LSE British Policy and Politics blog, November 17th. Available at: blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/plans-to-axe-child-poverty-measures-have-no-support-among-experts/  
### CASEpapers

| CASE/185 | Frank Cowell | Piketty in the long run |
| CASE/186 | Stephen P. Jenkins | The income distribution in the UK: A picture of advantage and disadvantage |
| CASE/187 | Abigail McKnight | The Coalition's Record on Employment: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 2010-2015 |
| CASE/188 | A.B. Atkinson, Anne-Catherine Guio and Eric Marlier | Monitoring the evolution of income poverty and real incomes over time |
| CASE/189 | Tina Haux, Lucinda Platt and Rachel Rosenberg | Parenting and post-separation contact: what are the links? |
| CASE/190 | Tina Haux, Lucinda Platt and Rachel Rosenberg | Mothers, parenting and the impact of separation |
| CASE/191 | Abigail McKnight | A fresh look at an old question: is pro-poor targeting of cash transfers more effective than universal systems at reducing inequality and poverty? |
| CASE/192 | Eleni Karagiannaki and Lucinda Platt | The changing distribution of individual incomes in the UK before and after the recession |

### CASE reports

| CASEreport 84 | Eileen Herden | Tenant Futures: External evaluation of the National Communities Resource Centre Tenant Training Programme |
| CASEreport 85 | Laura Lane, Anne Power and Bert Provan | High Rise Hope Revisited: The social implications of upgrading large estates |
| CASEreport 86 | LSE Housing and Communities | The Impact of Welfare Reform on Social Housing Tenants: Findings from two Think Tanks |
| CASEreport 87 | Laura Lane, Bert Provan, Alice Belotti and Anne Power | Bridging the Gap: The Haringey Support Fund |
| CASEreport 88 | Tania Burchardt and Kate Summers | CASE Annual Report 2014 |
| CASEreport 89 | Anne-Marie Brady and Bert Provan | Energy Plus: Energy Efficiency in Social Housing |
| CASEreport 90 | Eileen Herden, Anne Power and Bert Provan | Is Welfare Reform Working? Impacts on working age tenants |
| CASEreport 91 | Tania Burchardt and Polly Vizard | Older people's experiences of dignity and nutrition during hospital stays: Secondary data analysis using the Adult Inpatient Survey (for Age UK) |
| CASEreport 92 | Alice Belotti | Tenant Futures Grant Programme 2014-15: External evaluation of the National Communities Resource Centre's Tenant Futures Grant Programme for the Financial Year 2014-2015 |
| CASEreport 93 | Alice Belotti | Tenant Futures Programme 2014-15: External evaluation of the National Communities Resource Centre's Tenant Training Programme for the Financial Year 2014-15 |
**Other CASE publications**

**CASEbrief 345** Tania Burchardt and Polly Vizard Older people’s experiences of dignity and nutrition during hospital stays: Secondary data analysis using the Adult Inpatient Survey

**Social Policy in a Cold Climate reports**


**Social Policy in a Cold Climate Research Report 6** Amanda Fitzgerald, Ruth Lupton Prosperity, Poverty and Inequality in London 2010-2015

**Social Policy in a Cold Climate working papers**


**Social Policy in a Cold Climate, Working Paper 18** Becky Tunstall The Coalition’s Record on Housing: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 2010-2015


**Social Policy in a Cold Climate, Working Paper 20** Claire Crawford, Lindsey Macmillan and Anna Vignoles When and Why do Initially High Attaining Poor Children Fall Behind?

**Social Policy in a Cold Climate, Working Paper 21** Jo Blanden, Ellen Greaves, Paul Gregg, Lindsey Macmillan Understanding the improved performance of disadvantaged pupils in London

**Social Policy in a Cold Climate, Working Paper 22** Paola DeAgostini, John Hills, and Holly Sutherland Were we really all in it together? The distributional effects of the 2010-2015 UK Coalition government’s tax-benefit policy changes: an end-of-term update

**Social Policy in a Cold Climate, Working Paper 23** Polina Obolenskaya, with Ruth Lupton and Bert Provan Pulling in the Same Direction? Economic and Social Outcomes in London and the North Since the Recession
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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>11 February</td>
<td>Gender differentials and the economic cycle in the US and UK</td>
<td>Giovanni Razzu (University of Reading)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 March</td>
<td>Emergency use only: Understanding and reducing the use of food banks in the UK</td>
<td>Tom Sefton (Advisor on Social Policy and Economics, Church of England), joint with Jane Perry</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 March</td>
<td>Top incomes and middle income growth</td>
<td>Tim Smeeding (University of Wisconsin-Madison)</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 March</td>
<td>LSE Housing and Communities Event Report Launch: Is Welfare Reform Working?</td>
<td>Eileen Herden (LSE Housing and Communities), joint with Anne Power and Bert Provan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>28 April</td>
<td>Smith Institute and CASE special seminar: Poverty in Suburbia – “the American experience”</td>
<td>Alan Berube (The Brookings Institution)</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 May</td>
<td>Moving home in the early years: family and child outcomes in the UK and the US</td>
<td>Ruth Lupton (University of Manchester), joint with Heather Joshi (UCL Institute of Education)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 June</td>
<td>The Great Recession and U.S. Safety Nets: The Case of the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families Program</td>
<td>Vicky Albert (University of Las Vegas, Nevada)</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 June</td>
<td>Book launch: Multidimensional Poverty Measurement</td>
<td>Sabina Alkire (University of Oxford), joint with James Foster (The George Washington University)</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 October</td>
<td>Family size, support exchanges and older adults’ mental health in Eastern and Western Europe</td>
<td>Emily Grundy (Department of Social Policy, LSE), joint with Katy Keenan</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 December</td>
<td>Reconceptualising the welfare state. An empirical investigation of its growing symbiosis and contradiction with capitalism in rich European democracies.</td>
<td>Bea Cantillon (Herman Deleeck Centre for Social Policy, University of Antwerp)</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 January</td>
<td>The effects of changes to Local Housing Allowance on rent levels</td>
<td>Andrew Hood (Institute for Fiscal Studies)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 February</td>
<td>Election special: The outlook for living standards</td>
<td>Gavin Kelly (Resolution Foundation)</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 February</td>
<td>Election special: Where next for welfare policy?</td>
<td>Jonathan Portes (National Institute of Economic and Social Research)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 March</td>
<td>Election special: The outlook for social policy</td>
<td>Kitty Stewart (CASE), joint with John Hills and Abigail McKnight</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 April</td>
<td>Election special: Economic and business policy in the election</td>
<td>John Van Reenen (CEP)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 June</td>
<td>Introducing the Class Ceiling: Social Mobility into Britain’s Elite Occupations</td>
<td>Daniel Laurison (Department of Sociology, LSE), joint with Sam Friedman</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 June</td>
<td>The Glass Floor: how well-off families help to ensure the future success of their children irrespective of early cognitive ability.</td>
<td>Abigail McKnight (CASE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 November</td>
<td>The Future of Child Poverty Measurement</td>
<td>Kitty Stewart (CASE), joint with Nick Roberts, plus responses from Bright Blue and End Child Poverty Coalition</td>
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### Welfare Policy and Analysis Seminars (continued)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speakers and Organizations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 November</td>
<td>Universal Credit: Assumptions, contradictions and virtual reality</td>
<td>Fran Bennett (Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of Oxford), joint with Jane Millar (University of Bath)</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 November</td>
<td>Low Pay, the National Living Wage and In-work Benefits</td>
<td>George Bain (Chair, Low Pay Commission), joint with the Resolution Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 December</td>
<td>Understanding the improved performance of disadvantaged pupils in London</td>
<td>Lindsey Macmillan (UCL Institute of Education)</td>
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### Special events

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<tr>
<td>12 February</td>
<td>Report launch: High Rise Hope Revisited</td>
<td>LSE Housing and Communities, in partnership with Rockwool</td>
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<td>12 March</td>
<td>LSEWorks public lecture: Changing Patterns of Inequality in the UK</td>
<td>John Hills and Polly Vizard with Bharat Mehta, Trust for London</td>
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<td>30 April</td>
<td>Inequality: what can be done? CASE and International Inequalities Institute public lecture</td>
<td>Professor Sir Tony Atkinson with respondents Tom Clark (the Guardian), and Professor Baroness Lister</td>
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<tr>
<td>5-6 May</td>
<td>Housing Plus Think Tank: Energy saving matters – social landlords can lead the way</td>
<td>LSE Housing and Communities, Trafford Hall, National Communities Resource Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 May</td>
<td>LSE Works public lecture: Making a Difference in Education: what the evidence says</td>
<td>Robert Cassen, Sandra McNally, Anna Vignoles Powerpoint presentation and podcast available</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-2 June</td>
<td>Housing Plus Think Tank: Tenants’ experiences of energy saving in social housing</td>
<td>LSE Housing and Communities, Trafford Hall, National Communities Resource Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 November</td>
<td>Launch of the Housing Plus Academy for Social Landlords</td>
<td>LSE Housing and Communities and Trafford Hall, National Communities Resource Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 December</td>
<td>Moving the Goalposts: Poverty and Access to Sport for Young People</td>
<td>Jane Ashworth, CEO, StreetGames, Baroness Tessa Jowell, Sir Robin Wales, Mayor of Newham and Anne Power, Professor of Social Policy, LSE</td>
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