



THE LONDON SCHOOL
OF ECONOMICS AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE ■



Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion
Research at LSE ■

Annual Report 2020

CASereport 136





Staff and Associates 2020	3
2020 in numbers	4
Welcome	5
Remembering John Hills	7
CASE notes: 10 key insights from 2020	10

11 Welfare states: spending, policies and outcomes

The Conservative Governments' Record on Social Policy from May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020: Policies, Spending and Outcomes Polly Vizard	12
Post war "welfare states": stages, disputes and the future Howard Glennerster	16
Universal simplicity? The alleged simplicity of Universal Credit from administrative and claimant perspectives Kate Summers and David Young	18

20 Multidimensional poverty, inequality and capabilities

Covid-19 and ethnic inequalities Lucinda Platt	20
Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit Irene Bucelli, Abigail McKnight and Pedro Mendes Loureiro	24
Household financial resilience on the eve of the Covid-19 Abigail McKnight	27
Did the benefit cap harm mental health? Aaron Reeves, Mark Fransham, Kitty Stewart and Ruth Patrick	30
Mental well-being of older adults with household debt in England Aapo Hiilamo	32

34 Childhood, early years and education

COVID-19: Relationships between children and their non-resident parents in the early months of the pandemic Caroline Bryson and Stephen McKay	34
Five findings about poverty and parenting in the UK Kerris Cooper	37
Little fish, big currents: How do early in-class maths "ability"-groups relate to children's later maths self-concept? Tammy Campbell	40



44 Social mobility and intergenerational transfers

Understanding the effects of an unconditional cash transfer on adolescents' life-course circumstances in Nepal
Nick Mathers **44**

Understanding recent patterns in intergenerational social mobility: differences by gender, education, ethnicity and their intersections
Lindsey Macmillan and Abigail McKnight **47**

Young haves and have-nots: the role of intergenerational transfers on young peoples' homeownership outcomes
Ellie Suh **51**

54 Housing and communities

LSE Housing and Communities: A summary of 2020
Anne Power, Laura Lane, Eleanor Benton, Bert Provan and Jessica Rowan **54**

Community responses to the Coronavirus pandemic: how mutual aid can help
Eleanor Benton and Anne Power **57**

Intern spotlight: Iona Wainwright **59**

Knowledge Exchange overview **60**

CASE researchers: summary of current research **64**

CASE publications 2020 **73**

CASE special events and seminars 2020 **78**

CASE funders 2020 **79**

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Polina Obolenskaya

Anne Power (Head of LSE Housing and Communities)

Bert Provan (Knowledge Broker)

Kitty Stewart (Associate Director)

Polly Vizard (Associate Director)

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Leon Feinstein (Office of the Children's Commissioner)

Ludovica Gambaro (UCL Institute of Education and DIW, Berlin)

Ian Gough

Susan Harkness (University of Bristol)

Bruce Katz (independent researcher)

Ruth Lupton (University of Manchester)

Lindsey Macmillan (UCL Institute of Education)

Liz Richardson (University of Manchester)

Ellie Suh (University of Oxford)

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(April- September)

Iona Wainwright (April-December)

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Jane Dickson (until March)

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Michael Rose

Jessica Rowan

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2020 in numbers

 **491,308**
 downloads of of CASE reports and working papers



6,906
 Twitter followers

10 million 
 CASE downloads between 2013 and 2020

7 
 peer-reviewed journal articles

 **623**
 Twitter mentions

 **12**
 CASE Seminars

 **720+**
 seminar attendees

20 
 CASE Zoom Teas



Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE)

It is with heavy hearts that we prepare this report of CASE's activities for the calendar year 2020 and reflect on a year which ended so tragically with the premature death of CASE's co-founder, and director for the first 19 years, John Hills. It is impossible to overstate the positive impact John had on the lives and careers of CASE staff, visitors and associates over the last 24 years, or how much we are going to miss him. For me personally, John was the reason I joined CASE in 1999, and the reason I stayed. He inspired so many of us to shine a light on deprivation and inequality and, in the true spirit of the LSE, "to understand the causes of things". John was not interested in understanding causes for the sake of academic endeavour; he led the way in striving to ensure that high quality research had a positive impact on the real world and particularly on the lives of people who are less advantaged. It is a privilege to be Director of the Centre that meant so much to John and I intend to use my time as Director to secure the strong foundations put down by John, and further enhanced by Tania Burchardt during her time as CASE Director, and do my utmost to celebrate and build on John's legacy.

Like so many others we spent the vast majority of 2020 working from home, which for many meant juggling childcare and home schooling with virtual meetings. Despite these challenges, readers will see the impressive amount of research and activities achieved during the year. Our *Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain* programme, which has tracked policy, spending and outcomes since 2015, highlighted the fault lines that were evident on the eve of the pandemic. Our analysis of outcomes across ten social policy areas established mounting evidence of an erosion in the protective capacity of the welfare state, a slowdown in social progress and a widening of deep structural inequalities across multidimensional areas of life as we entered 2020. Other research examined the impact of a policy change introduced in 2013 which capped the total amount of social security a family with no-one in full-time employment can receive (the so-called "benefit cap"). This policy not only severed the link between needs and entitlements and made it harder for families already living below the relative income poverty line to make ends meet, it also led to an increase in mental ill health among the families affected. Financial debt is another factor that our research has found to be associated with greater risk of depression and low quality of life among older adults in England and this is particularly the case for older adults who have no savings or other liquid assets to offset the debt. A study of financial resilience in 22 countries across Europe and North America found that on the eve of the pandemic in 15 of these countries, including the UK, fewer than half of households held sufficient savings to cover three months' income and many households were over-indebted. Our research on ethnic inequalities revealed much lower prospects of upward social mobility and higher risks of downward mobility for some ethnic minority groups even prior to the pandemic. Naturally we also started to consider the distributional impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. Research included in this annual report highlights the differential impact of



Covid-19 on ethnic minorities and the importance of looking beyond broad categories to understand which groups face the highest mortality risks and the greatest economic impacts resulting from the lockdown and economic contraction. On a more positive note our research looked at the growth of mutual aid (volunteer-led community groups) during the pandemic. This research identified the need for grassroots, locally-run, non-exclusive mutual aid groups to increase community support and activity. However, while mutual aid groups can have a positive impact in the communities they work in, they are not enough on their own. For these groups to thrive they need to be supported by wider social infrastructure including the NHS, schools, housing, jobs and community assets. It is very clear to us that as we emerge from this crisis our research will become more important than ever.

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

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

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

Regular seminars on significant contemporary empirical and theoretical issues are held in the Centre, including the Welfare Policy and Analysis seminar series, which has been supported by the Department for Work and Pensions. We publish a series of CASEpapers and CASEbriefs, discussing and summarising our research. Longer research reports and reports on special events can be found in our occasional CASereports series. All of our publications, including this Annual Report, are free to download from our website, where you can also find links to the data underlying many of the charts and tables in our publications.

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

Abigail McKnight,
Director, Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion
April 2021

John and CASE

Tania, Abigail, Kitty and Polly

As many readers will know, John Hills passed away in December 2020. His death was shockingly premature, and has left his family, friends and colleagues in profound grief. John's enormous influence, both personal and professional, is reflected in the volume and sincerity of the tributes and memories that have been shared on the [CASE memory wall](#), the [LSE condolences site](#) and in many [other places](#).

Reflecting on "John's role in CASE" is a bit like thinking about the role of flour in a cake: his ideas gave the Centre its structure and substance, his characteristics determined its essence, and it couldn't possibly have existed without him.

John was the intellectual and organisational engine behind the bid to the Economic and Social Research Council in 1995 that established CASE as a research centre, and he became its first director, with Anne Power as deputy director and Howard Glennerster, Kath Kiernan and Julian Le Grand as co-directors. With characteristic clarity, John had identified an alignment between the possibilities inherent in newly emerging longitudinal techniques (the British Household Panel Study was in its infancy), and dissatisfaction on both ends of the political spectrum with conventional ways of thinking about poverty. At the core of the proposed Centre's agenda was the conviction that social and economic disadvantage needed to be understood as multi-dimensional, dynamic, and multi-layered, with policies and influences operating at all levels from the neighbourhood to the international. "Social exclusion" seemed a convenient shorthand. By the time the Centre started work in October 1997, New Labour had come to power, and the new administration enthusiastically embraced the concept of "social exclusion", setting up the Social Exclusion Unit in December of that year. Not for the first – nor the last – time, it appeared that John knew exactly how to frame and communicate his ideas in a way that would enable them to connect with, and influence, the policy agenda.

The Centre's first annual report, in 1998, gives an indication of John's dynamism and that of the team: 24 external publications published or forthcoming, 14 CASEpapers, 10 major events (including bespoke conferences arranged for four different government departments and agencies), 21 CASE seminars, submission of evidence to seven inquiries and committees, accompanied by press coverage on average once a week and broadcast interviews more than once a fortnight. John also created the innovative user fellowship scheme, through which policymakers and practitioners were seconded to spend a few months in CASE. In many instances, the links thereby established endured well beyond the lifetime of the fellowship, and it is surely no accident that John valued this deeper form of knowledge exchange, with a strong personal relationship at its core, particularly highly.

John continued to lead CASE and build its reputation for policy-engaged research on social and economic disadvantage for 19 years, securing renewal of ESRC Centre status in 2002, and subsequently winning a series of major awards from funders including the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and the Nuffield Foundation. Enabling the Centre to continue to exist after the end of core ESRC funding, indeed to thrive, was a remarkable achievement, and a testament to the high regard in which John was held in many quarters. His brilliantly clear mind and command of detail (he often recalled the findings from our papers more precisely than we did ourselves), and his ability to bridge between



academic and policy applications, combined with his unceasing supply of enthusiasm and sincere belief that the work was important and *ought* to be funded, often proved irresistible to funders.

Without taking his hands off the steering wheel, John found time to play a leading role in four government commissions during this time: on pensions, fuel poverty, social housing and economic inequalities. These built on his research in the Centre, which used mainly a combination of policy analysis, large-scale survey data analysis, and microsimulation. It ranged in subject matter from taxation and public spending to social security and pensions, and from housing policy and finance to wealth, income dynamics and household consumption – every part of it motivated by a profound concern about poverty and economic inequality, and animated by a conviction that a better world was possible.

Above and beyond his own research, John was instrumental in stitching the Centre together. He had a deep respect for, and understanding of, research that was very different in orientation and method – whether that was Carol Propper or Frank Cowell's elaborate econometrics, Anne Power's action research with low income tenants and community groups, or Julian Le Grand and David Piachaud's theorising. At seminars and away days, when discussions were sometimes "lively" and authors were occasionally defensive, John's freedom from ideology or methodological fetishism meant he was often able to identify common ground – for example, observing that social exclusion could be *both* an outcome of structural disadvantage *and* a process based in social relations.

Indeed this marshalling, synthesis and elucidation of findings from the Centre's output became a hallmark of John's approach, and his ability to see the wood for the trees was unparalleled. He took the analysis of miscellaneous policies of the Labour administrations produced collectively by CASE (in a book that became *Towards a More Equal Society?*) and drew out "progressive universalism"; he absorbed the 23+ outputs of the three-year Social Policy in a Cold Climate programme and identified "selective austerity". He was often the first to frame a concept that later became accepted as common wisdom. But it wasn't "common" wisdom at all: it was an extremely rare ability to make sense of complexity.

Moreover John didn't only bring ideas together, he brought people together. His unique blend of warmth, integrity and humility, brewed in his small office, percolated through the whole Centre and created an unusually happy and nurturing working environment. His accumulating honours over the years made not a whit of difference to his demeanour. He worked horizontally – personal assistants, PhDs, professors and peers of the realm all got the same generous treatment, and each person came away from an interaction with John with a headful of new ideas, feeling good about themselves and a little bit more cheerful than before. He remembered the names of their children. He lent books. He shared stories of train journeys and mountain walks and ticklish situations. An extraordinary number of individuals came to feel that they had a special connection with John – and so they did. But more than that, John's touching faith that everyone had the same high standards, personal and professional, as he did himself, brought out the best in people, as they strove to live up to his belief in them. For the students and junior staff in the Centre especially, this could be life-changing – and some of us, once we had arrived, found there was simply nowhere else we would rather be.

The logo for CASE is a pie chart - or a cake - with a slice taken out. A huge slice has been taken out from CASE by John's untimely death. He is irreplaceable. But we hope that the remaining cake retains enough of his influence and wisdom to honour his memory through continuing the traditions he established, both in the work that we do and how we go about it.

CASE Advisory Board

John Hills had an unwavering commitment to social justice and dedicated his life to studying poverty and economic inequality. He co-founded the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) in 1997, motivated by the belief that social and economic disadvantages needed to be better understood to drive policy change. He remained the Centre's Director for the first 19 years and became the co-director of the International Inequalities Institute in 2015. John worked exceptionally hard to secure funding for the Centre's work, first from the ESRC and later from a wide range of organisations. The amount of world class research produced under his leadership is astounding.



John had an incredible intellect and a powerful writing style. Those who have known and worked with him will tell you about his extraordinary quality to influence policy by translating complex research findings into plain English. It is not just about what he did but how he chose to communicate about it. Usually government officials and civil servants need considerable translation from most academic work, but this was not needed for the kind of research outputs that John produced. For example, in his ground-breaking book "Good Times, Bad Times: The Welfare Myth of Them and Us", he used statistics powerfully and brought them to life through vignettes. He artfully deconstructed the myth that the population divides into those who benefit from the welfare state and those who pay into it – "skivers" and "strivers".

As well as being involved in highly influential research, touching on many of the most important policy challenges for the country, John also contributed directly to policy. Most notably, he was a member of the widely admired Pensions Commission, developing proposals which were very broadly accepted, and subsequently enacted, benefiting the lives of generations to come. His scholarship, and the trust which he inspired in all those he dealt with, were a major contribution to that, and the work of the commission is still being talked about as an example of excellent, consensual policy-making.

John was a wonderful human being. He was incredibly generous with his time and advice, and he treated everyone – no matter which background or level of seniority – with warmth and respect. His curiosity and humility made people feel enriched and motivated by every interaction. Those who had the pleasure to co-write articles with him say he was a delightful author to work with, responsive and open to suggestions. He was ridiculously modest given his academic standing and the honours he had received. He was appointed Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) in 1998 and knighted in 2013. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 2002.

John's many achievements are nothing short of impressive, and we would have to write a book to mention all of them so we better stop.

Sir John Hills – you were, by any measure, a remarkable man and will be truly missed.

10 key insights from 2020

Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO)

The protective capacity of the welfare state had been eroded in multiple ways by the eve of the COVID-19 pandemic, argues [Polly Vizard](#), presenting key findings from the SPDO research programme.



Social mobility

Broad trends in rates of intergenerational social class mobility in the UK mask important differences by gender, ethnicity and education, argue [Lindsay Macmillan and Abigail McKnight](#). In particular, they show that while education generally improves chances of upward mobility, this is not the case for all ethnic groups.

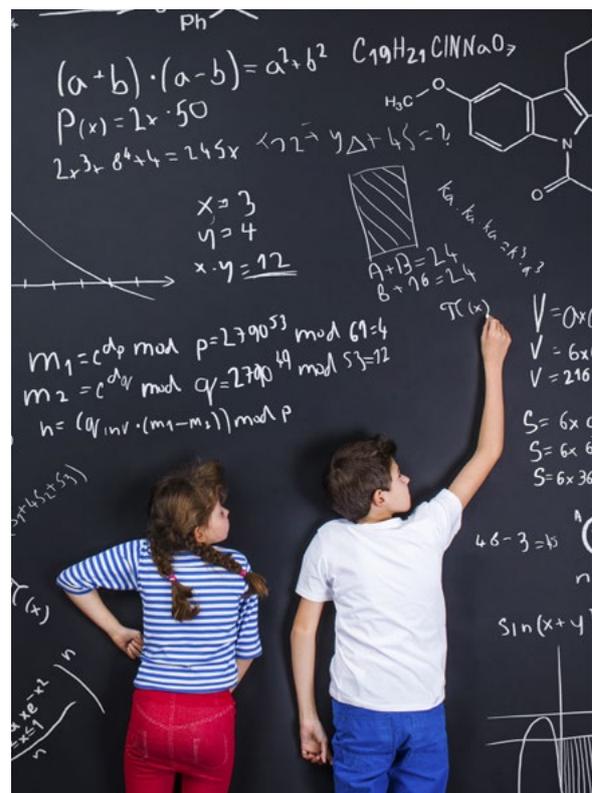
COVID 19

The pandemic affected all aspects of our lives in 2020. [Lucinda Platt](#) explores inequalities by ethnicity. [Caroline Bryson and Stephen McKay](#) look at the ramifications for separated families, while [Eleanor Benton and Anne Power](#) show how the crisis has led to a growth of community mutual aid.



Mental health and wellbeing

Financial insecurity has an impact on mental health and wellbeing. [Aapo Hiilamo](#) finds an association between non-mortgage debt and a higher risk of depression and low quality of life. [Aaron Reeves, Mark Fransham, Kitty Stewart and Ruth Patrick](#) point to increasing levels of mental ill health among households at risk of exposure to the benefit cap.



“Ability grouping” and gender

The practice of early in-class “ability grouping” should be reconsidered, argues [Tammy Campbell](#). Ability grouping shapes maths self-concept and its impact varies by gender, contributing to widening gender gaps.

10 key insights from 2020

Poverty and Parenting

The idea that there are substantial differences in parenting across income groups is overstated, finds [Kerris Cooper](#). Most differences are small, some positive behaviours are more likely among low-income mothers, and negative differences are not unique to low-income mothers but are part of a broader income-parenting gradient.



Family support

Young people face different life-course circumstances depending on their family's ability to support them and this often exacerbates inequalities. [Ellie Suh](#) shows how young adults' access to homeownership in the UK depends on their parents' wealth. [Nick Mathers](#) finds that old-age pensions in multi-generational households in Nepal increase schooling options for some adolescents, but others face barriers to education that the cash is unable to overcome.

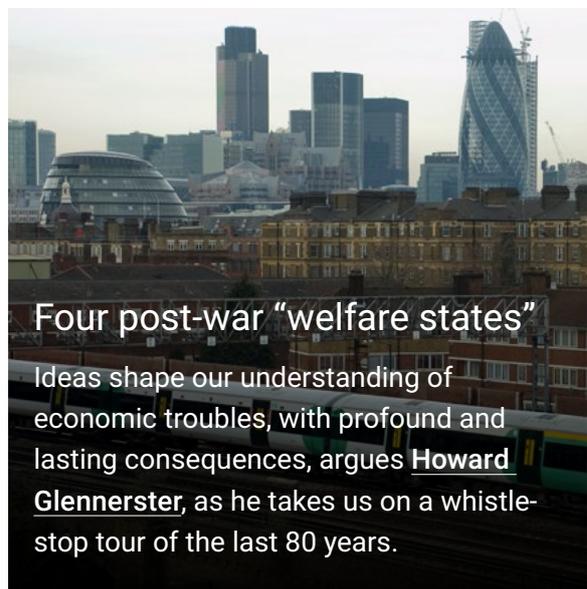


Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit

Identifying combinations of policies that build on relationships between different dimensions of inequality promises to be more effective in reducing inequality than isolated policies. [Irene Bucelli, Abigail McKnight and Pedro Loureiro](#) introduce the Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit, an application of the Multidimensional Inequality Framework launched last year.

Universal Credit

Universal Credit is said to simplify the working-age benefit system, yet for claimants the new system has meant greater responsibility to manage complexity. We should distinguish between administrative and claimant simplicity, argue [Kate Summers and David Young](#).



The Conservative Governments' Record on Social Policy from May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020: Policies, Spending and Outcomes

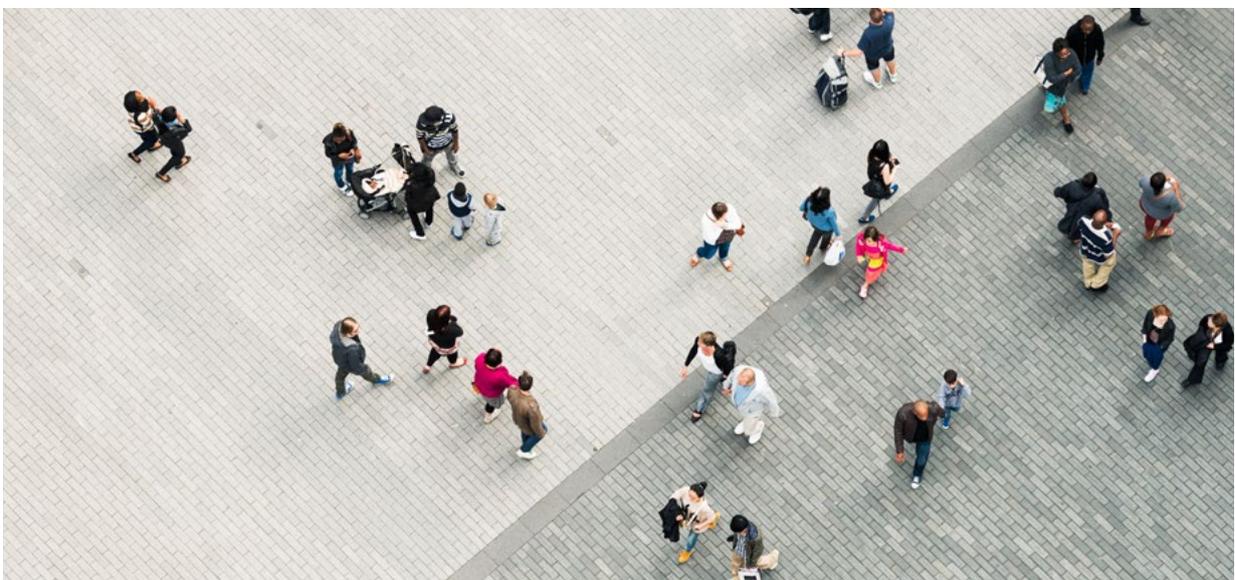
Polly Vizard

In this article Polly Vizard sets out the main findings of the overview report that concludes the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes research programme. The report looks across ten major areas of social policy and provides a detailed record of developments in public expenditure, policies and outcomes in the run up to COVID-19. It concludes with an assessment of social policies and social inequalities on the eve of the COVID-19 pandemic and identifies five key cross-cutting findings on the weaknesses and limitations of the welfare state and public services when the public health emergency struck.

The Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) research programme, funded by the Nuffield Foundation and led by Polly Vizard and John Hills, was at the centre of CASE research from 2017 to early 2021. Focused on the record of the Conservative Governments from 2015 to early 2020, the programme continued a long tradition in CASE of holding successive governments to account on their record on poverty, inequality and public services.^{1 2 3} The final overview report was published in February 2021 and brings together analysis from across the programme, drawing on research papers written by a large team of subject experts from CASE, University of Manchester and Heriot-Watt University.

The overview report is comprehensive in scope, covering developments within and across ten major areas of social policy between the General Election in May 2015, which brought David Cameron's majority Conservative Government to power, and early 2020, just before the onset of the pandemic. The areas of social policy covered by the report are: social security; employment; early childhood; compulsory school age education; higher education; health; social care; physical safety and security; homelessness / complex needs; and social mobility.

While the analysis in the report finishes in early 2020 and we do not examine the period of the pandemic itself, the findings from the SPDO programme provide a unique and detailed evidence



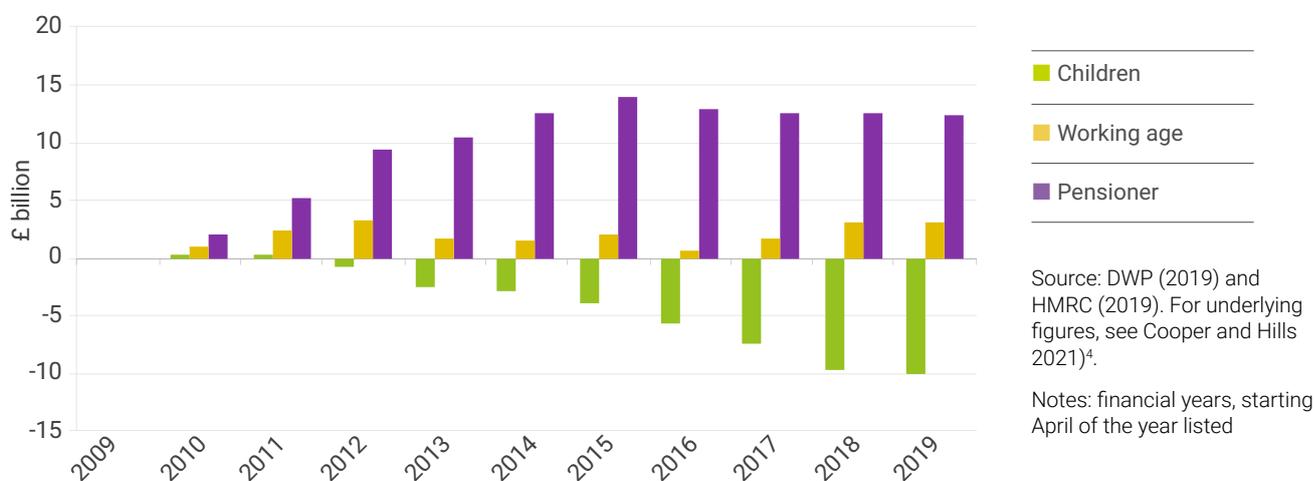
base on social policy in the run up to the public health crisis, including the state of public services and patterns and trends in social inequalities. The findings and evidence from the programme are important for understanding the key structural weaknesses in the welfare state when the pandemic struck. They contain essential lessons about what needs to be done to develop a new social policy framework that can drive positive social change in the 2020s.

Looking across the ten SPDO social policy areas, the overview report identifies five key cross-cutting deficiencies of the welfare state on the eve of COVID-19:

1 The protective capacity of the social security system had been eroded in multiple ways.

A key goal of social security is to prevent individuals falling into poverty during hard times. However, the second decade of the 21st century saw a substantial weakening of the social safety net for non-pensioner groups and an erosion of the capacity of the welfare state to protect working age people and families with children from poverty. Pensioner income continued to be protected through the “triple lock” between May 2015 and early 2020, as it had been under the Coalition. However, other groups including working age adults and families with children were not afforded the same levels of social support. Total real public expenditure on social security and tax in Great Britain declined between 2014/15 and 2019/20, with expenditure on pensioners being maintained at the same level, while child-related spending (such as Child Benefit and tax credits to families with children) was substantially cut (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Cumulative change in social security and tax credit spending since 2009-10 (£ billion, 19-20 prices, GB)



2 Resource, workforce and capacity pressures had built up across multiple public services simultaneously, resulting in a failure to meet current needs, compromising quality, and eroding the resilience of public service to shocks.

For example, in health, total public expenditure remained historically low and the period was characterised by repeated warnings from authoritative bodies and health experts in relation to resource limitations, staff shortages, increasing waiting times and winter pressures (see Figure 2). There were cuts in public health allocations to local authorities and while growth in public expenditure on adult social care was higher than under the Coalition, continued chronic under-resourcing together with the ongoing failure to introduce fundamental social care reforms meant that the gap between need and the capacity to supply coordinated, comprehensive and high-quality integrated care remained wide. The school system also came under increasing strain, with a rise in pupil-teacher ratios and long-waiting lists within the Special Educational Needs system, while prison conditions deteriorated to the extent that basic standards of decency were compromised.

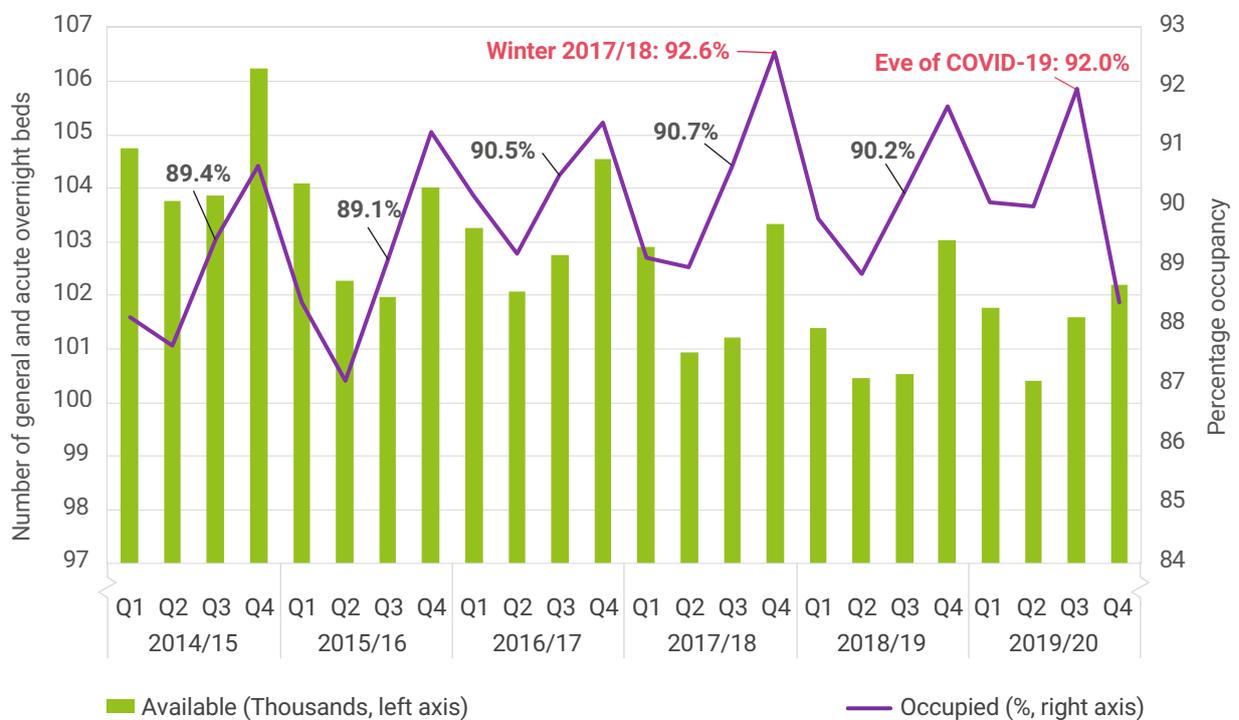
3 The welfare state was adapting to the rising and different needs and circumstances of the 21st century during this period, but not fully.

Population ageing and longer survival with conditions such as Alzheimer’s disease, dementia and frailty, technological change, the changing labour market and changing family structures continued to pose major adaptation challenges across multiple areas of social policy, resulting in new inequalities. For example, the period in the run up to COVID-19 was characterised by stark inequalities in unmet need for care by deprivation decile amongst older people, coupled with an intensification of unpaid care.

4 While there was more emphasis on skills in the context of the post-Brexit agenda, social investment in human capital at different life-stages continued to be given insufficient priority.

For example, new apprenticeship start-ups for under 19s were already on a downward trajectory prior to the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020. This was driven by declines in intermediate (lower-skill) new start apprenticeships – reinforcing concerns highlighted by the Social Mobility Commission relating to a lack of apprenticeships for disadvantaged groups and a disproportionate lack of training and retraining and upskilling opportunities for those with lower educational qualifications. In relation to investment in early childhood, while the extension of free childcare for three- and four-year-olds of working parents (to 30 hours) was in many respects an important and positive development, there was a shift in policy focus away from high quality early years provision and child development, especially for children from lower income families, towards a narrower interest in childcare for working parents.

Figure 2: General and acute overnight hospital beds: availability and occupancy (England)



Source: NHS England (2020)⁵, reported in Vizard et al (forthcoming)⁶

Notes: Axes do not start at zero. % occupancy highlighted for autumn quarter (Q3) each year. 2015/16 Q4, and 2016/17 Q3 and Q4 include estimated figures. In the last part of 2019/20 Q4, hospital beds were cleared in anticipation of COVID-19.

5 Our analysis of outcomes across the SPDO social policy areas establishes mounting evidence of a slowdown in social progress and a widening of deep structural inequalities across multidimensional areas of life on the eve of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Against a range of key indicators, social progress had slowed down, stalled or gone into reverse by early 2020. The report identifies major concerns around eight areas of stalling progress or rising inequalities: child poverty; in-work poverty; inequalities in early childhood; educational inequalities; mortality and life expectancy inequalities; inequalities in unmet need for care; physical safety and security outcomes including homicide and knife crime; and homelessness. The individual SPDO social policy analyses identify these key areas of concern, and the results of the SPDO Indicator set assessment exercise, which looks systematically at change since 2015 in key SPDO indicators by characteristics including socioeconomic deprivation, ethnicity, disability, sex, age and area type, presents further systematic evidence on patterns and trends in social inequalities in the run up to COVID-19. We find that social inequalities remained a major source of social injustice on the eve of the pandemic and that there was strong and mounting evidence that social inequalities across multiple and critical areas of life were on a worsening trajectory *prior* to when the COVID-19 pandemic struck.

Looking across the different SPDO social policy areas, the report identifies five cross-cutting lessons and insights from the pre-pandemic period about the nature of social arrangements that are required going forward. These are:

Challenge 1: Sustainable funding models as a foundation for a welfare state and public services that are fit-for-purpose for the 2020s

Challenge 2: Strengthening accountability for improving social outcomes and reducing social inequalities

Challenge 3: Developing multi-dimensional strategies and interventions that join up different social policy areas and extend across multiple life domains

Challenge 4: Giving first priority to the needs of the most disadvantaged and to comprehensive public action to reduce social inequalities

Challenge 5: A new values-based approach to social policy: dignity and respect, recognition and valuation.

Endnotes

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Post war “welfare states”: stages, disputes and the future

Howard Glennerster

Will current challenges bring profound change in public policy? In this article Howard Glennerster distinguishes between four “periods” characterised by different background forces and producing distinct sets of social policies. These divergent periods demonstrate how ideas shape our understanding of economic troubles, with profound effects on how society chooses to respond, and consequences that may last for many years.

Post war welfare

Will the current epidemic, coming on top of a long period of austerity and the growing impact of climate change, produce a profound change in public policy? If so in what direction? The past gives us divided messages.

The great batch of legislation that came into force at the end of the Second World War and shortly after it shaped our welfare institutions to the present day. The unemployment of the 1930s and the mobilisation for total war in the early 1940s combined to shift the climate of opinion and widen the boundaries of the possible. The idea that government could and should seek to shape the levels of total demand in the economy, set minimum living standards and provide free access to key universal services marked a profound shift that is difficult to grasp from this distance. Despite criticism and periods of parsimony that institutional framework survived, battered but intact, through to the 1980s.

Welfare with the lid on

But then things began to change. The “benign” shadow of the war and its collective imperatives began to fade. The higher levels of tax that such collective activity required began to irk. However, what brought the political challenge to its head was an economic shock. The oil price crisis of the mid-1970s came after a period of accelerating inflation. For the first time since the Second World War average real take home pay fell. Public opinion turned. It had had enough of rising taxation. The body of ideas that came to be labelled “neo-liberalism” gained growing acceptance and not just on the right of politics. Inequality was not something to be ashamed of but was necessary to a thriving economy. Companies’ prime duty was to reward shareholders. The state should help some individuals access health and education but should not provide services itself. Fund parents not schools. Keep public spending and hence taxes to the minimum politically feasible.

The full rigor of this logic was never followed through in practice but it shaped and contained state activity. The state withdrew as a provider of state housing. Social care was privatised. The envisaged large role for the state in pension provision was abandoned. Schools were gradually removed from local authority control. Competition and market-oriented ways of operating were expected of NHS hospitals.

New notions of the acceptable also shaped the actions of those who owned and ran private firms. As Tony Atkinson argued, the post war values climate, as well as trade union power, had restrained large firms from being prepared to reward senior staff at levels that were many multiples of their workers’ incomes. Such restraint was removed. World-wide forces were at work too. The global supply of manual labour increased vastly. Its supply price fell.

The decade and a half after 1980 thus saw a striking rise in inequality to a new plateau. The epidemic has revived that inequality trend.



Revival and then austerity

For a decade from the late 1990s on there was a revival of concern about the scale of inequality that had been generated. Here the work of John Hills, and the Rowntree Inquiry he worked for, must stand as an outstanding example of the impact a powerful beam of light can have in helping us understand what is happening to our society^{1 2}. That report charted the striking rise in income inequality that had occurred since 1980 and did so in a way that could be understood by the wider public. It played an important part in pushing the issue of inequality near the top of the political agenda at the 1997 General Election. But the 2007-08 economic crisis called a halt to this period of higher social spending and ushered in “austerity” and with it the renewed influence of ideas from the neo-liberal era. That will be only too familiar to readers.

Where now?

What these divergent periods demonstrate is that economic troubles, and the ideas that shape our understanding of them, matter and can profoundly affect the way society chooses to respond and this may last for many years.

So how will our current crisis and its causes be interpreted? That our collective welfare, in its broadest sense, requires collective action. Or that governments over react to excuse excessive interference in personal freedom. That global warming requires a complete change in the way we think about “prosperity” and economic and social policy. Or that things will, in the end, return to “normal”.

As our much missed colleague John Hills would have said, “There is an intellectual battle to be won. And we must be part of it.”

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Further information:

For a longer version of this article see: [The post war welfare state: stages and disputes SPDO Research Note 3. CASE.](#)

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Universal simplicity? The alleged simplicity of Universal Credit from administrative and claimant perspectives

Kate Summers and David Young

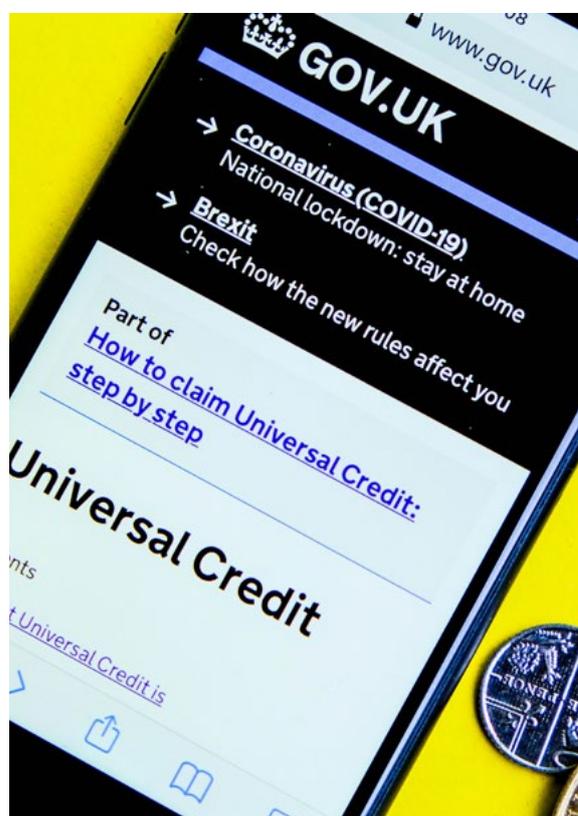
In this article Kate Summers and David Young consider the claim that Universal Credit – the recent flagship reform to working-age social security benefits in the UK – has simplified the system. Drawing on two research projects involving in-depth interviews with means-tested benefit claimants, they deconstruct the idea of “simplicity” and suggest it is important to distinguish between *administrative* and *claimant* simplicity. With this distinction in place, it is argued that rather than bringing greater simplicity, Universal Credit instead places greater responsibility upon claimants to manage complexity in various ways.

A widespread, and enduring, idea has been that Universal Credit increases simplicity in the working-age benefit system and that this should be viewed positively. In government documents¹, and across the political spectrum in think tank and policy publications^{2,3}, Universal Credit has been lauded for achieving a simpler system by introducing a payment made on a monthly basis at the household level that amalgamates previously separate payments.

Simplicity is often thought of as a sort of “policy common sense”, with powerful intuitive value. Why would we not want a simpler benefits policy? The trouble with this is that simplicity is not defined more specifically, and different types of simplicity and their potentially contradictory nature go unnoticed. We suggest an important way forward is to distinguish between simplicity from an *administrative* perspective, and from the perspective of the *claimant*.

Much of the simplicity underpinning Universal Credit can be defined as administrative simplicity. We analyse qualitative in-depth interviews with working-age, means-tested benefit claimants to instead examine claimant simplicity. We look at three features of Universal Credit that have been identified as increasing simplicity: monthly assessments; monthly payments; and lump sum payments. We find that while these features represent greater simplicity from an administrative perspective, they do not necessarily translate into simplicity from a claimant perspective.

To take one example, the monthly payment design of Universal Credit represents greater administrative simplicity in that it aligns with the real time earnings information (RTI) system used to calculate levels of entitlement (monthly payments are also justified on the basis of mirroring monthly paid work). However, a monthly payment regime can introduce new or heightened budgeting pressures for claimants. One research participant, “Katy”, had previously received social security payments on a weekly basis. She described how:



“Nearly half my life, [I was] getting paid weekly and going to monthly it was difficult, and they don’t give you any help like, apparently there is some kind of budgeting service that will help you work out how to budget, not once did I get offered that.”

Whether or not Katy managed to adapt to a monthly payment regime over the longer term, the policy design feature achieving administrative simplicity conflicted with Katy’s current and historical experience. Achieving administrative simplicity imposed a monthly payment pattern on Katy that disrupted her longer standing money management practices and which she was then responsible for trying to adapt to.

We want to suggest that it is important to recognise that *complexity* is an inevitable part of the benefits system. The question is who is *responsible* for managing that complexity. At present the way in which simplicity is thought about in the benefits system risks the burden of this responsibility falling unevenly, and unnoticed, on claimants.

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Further information

Kate Summers is an LSE Fellow in the Department of Methodology and an associate of CASE.

David Young has recently completed his PhD at the University of Bath.

The publication on which this article is based is Summers, K. and Young, D. (2020) Universal simplicity? The alleged simplicity of Universal Credit from administrative and claimant perspectives, *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*. It can be accessed [here](#).

COVID-19 and Ethnic Inequalities

Lucinda Platt

The COVID-19 pandemic has impacted the UK's minority ethnic groups particularly harshly. Black Caribbean, Black African, Pakistani, Indian, and Bangladeshi ethnic groups have faced higher mortality than the White UK majority of a similar age. The reasons for these differences are multiple, but include exposure through working in key work occupations, living in more deprived areas, and household composition, as well as underlying health conditions. Certain minority ethnic groups have also been worse hit by the economic impacts of the pandemic, in large part due to concentration in particular occupations, such as hospitality, as well as self-employment. This has consequences not only for the workers in these sectors but also their families. Existing ethnic inequalities have thus both been laid bare and exacerbated by the pandemic.

It has become clear that COVID-19 has not affected everyone equally, with men and older people, and those with dementia and Alzheimer's more at risk of dying after contracting the virus. In many cases it has exacerbated existing inequalities, with those living in more deprived areas, living in more overcrowded conditions, and with health conditions including those often themselves associated with deprivation, such as diabetes and heart disease, also more at risk. One of the starkest ways in which its differential impacts have been felt is in the increased vulnerability of certain minority ethnic groups. Following early anecdotal evidence that deaths might be higher among those from minority ethnic groups than for the majority population, a report published by the Intensive Care National Audit and



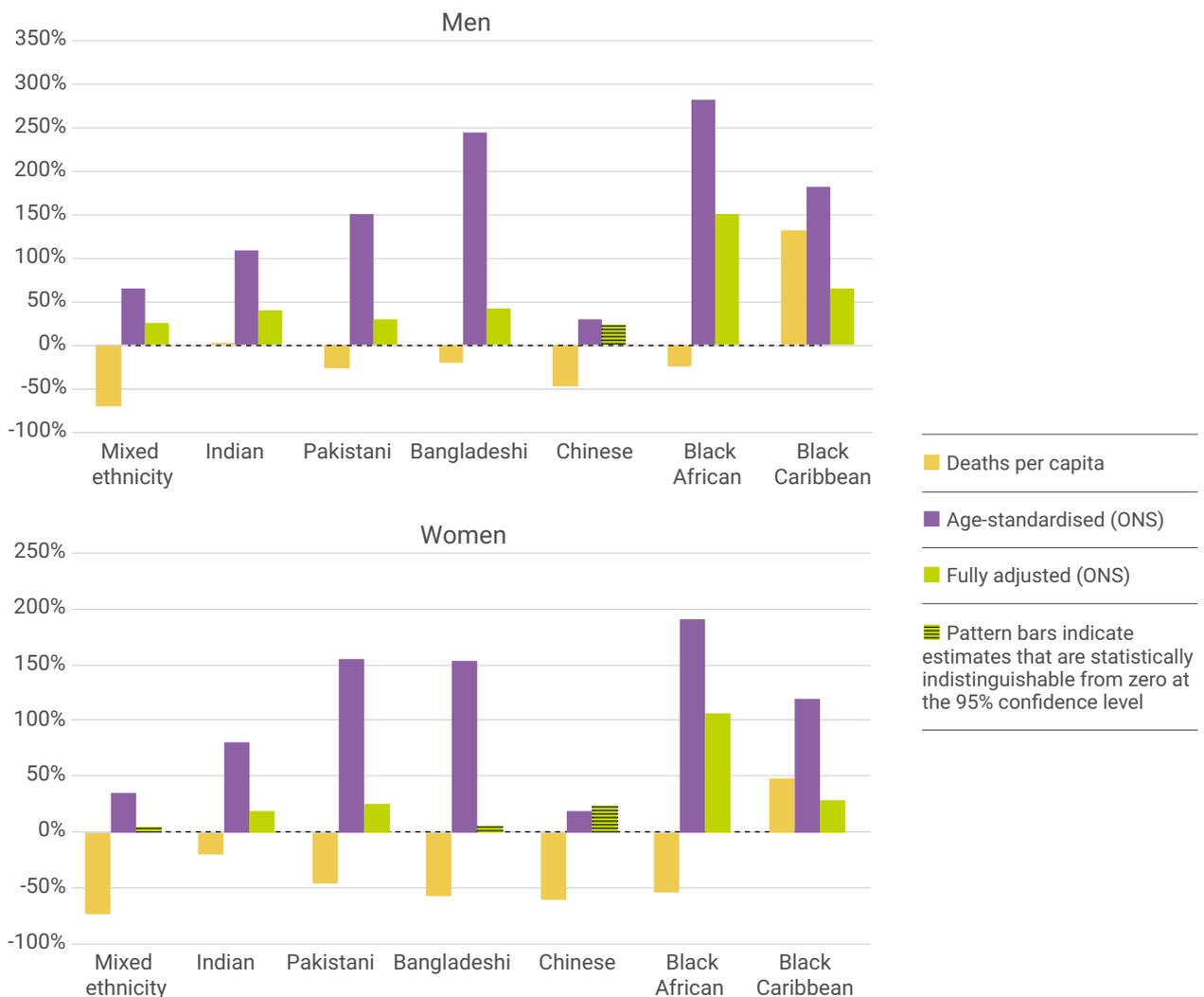
Research Centre in early April provided the first substantive evidence that this might be the case¹. As a panel member of the IFS Deaton Review of Inequality, which was considering the implications of the pandemic for our review, I thought it important to address the extent to which there were ethnic disparities in COVID risks, and their potential causes. Ross Warwick of the IFS and I therefore embarked on a study addressing the question of whether "some ethnic groups are more vulnerable to COVID-19 than others". As well as looking at mortality and considering the likely drivers of any differential mortality risks, we also set out to investigate whether economic impacts were differentially distributed across ethnic groups.

Central to our project, we aimed to estimate risks separately for the different ethnic groups, given the different age (and sex) profiles and geographical distributions of the UK's ethnic groups. This was particularly important given the very strong age gradient in COVID-19 mortality and the specific geographical clustering of COVID-19 deaths at that time. The grouping together of all ethnic minorities or by the broad categories of White, Black, and Asian can disguise as much as it reveals, as our results both on mortality and on economic impacts subsequently demonstrated. Our report,

published at the beginning of May, and using both Public Health England (PHE) death statistics and ONS COVID-19 deaths data, showed that there were indeed differences in mortality risks by ethnic groups: most minority groups have higher COVID-19 mortality rates after adjusting for age, sex and geography. This was even the case after adjusting for care home deaths, which were not initially included in the PHE statistics, and where the victims were primarily majority White UK. We also showed that there were differences within the broader categories of Black and South Asian, with the disparity between actual mortality and that predicted by their demographics and geographical distribution being higher for Black Africans than Black Caribbeans and for Pakistanis than Indians.

These robust findings garnered substantial attention; and were reinforced when similar conclusions on ethnic disparities in mortality risks were arrived at by the ONS a few days later, as well as being found in studies of health records². The disparities were still in evidence when we reanalysed the data a few weeks later, despite the geographic patterning of the virus having changed somewhat in the meantime. Figure 1 shows the patterns according to the most recent analysis by Warwick, including adjustments by ONS. Analysis of hospital records by PHE, meanwhile, showed lower

Figure 1: Excess mortality from COVID-19 in England and Wales by ethnicity and sex up to July 2020, relative to white British

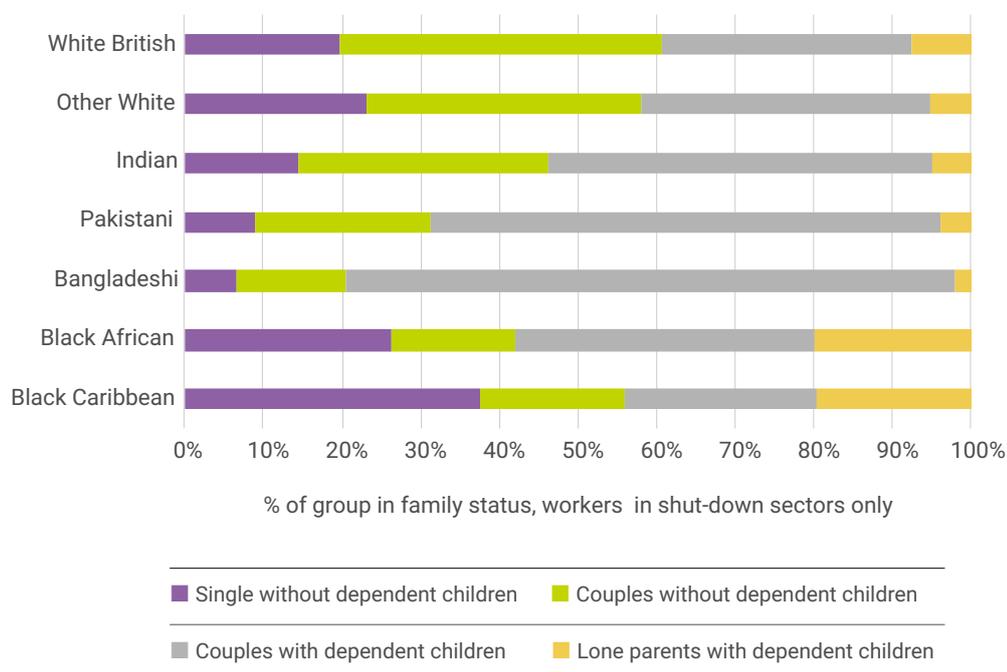


Source: Mirza and Warwick (forthcoming 2021). Reproduced with permission. Race and Ethnicity. IFS Deaton Review Evidence Volume. Notes: Pattern bars indicate estimates that are statistically indistinguishable from zero at the 95% confidence level. As a result, precise excess mortality figures should be inferred with caution. Deaths per capita is based on authors' calculation using: (a) total deaths that occurred in England and Wales before 28 July 2020 and were registered by 24 August 2020 and where COVID-19 was the underlying cause or was mentioned on the death certificate (ONS, 2020) and; (b) population of each group as at the 2011 Census of England and Wales. Adjusted estimates come from ONS (2020)

chances of survival following admission for some minority ethnic groups, most notably Bangladeshi patients, even after adjusting for health conditions³. When looking for likely candidates for the ethnic differences, we considered potential differences in exposure – for example through working in key worker, and particularly, health and social care roles, in which Black African men and women are over-represented and in relevant underlying health conditions, with South Asian groups more likely to suffer from these in mid- and later life. These have been shown to be relevant factors in mortality risks across different studies. Additionally, the role of intra-household transmission, given larger household sizes and risks of overcrowding⁴ among some groups, are related to greater chances of infection and mortality. The importance of differences in exposure are supported by ongoing evidence of higher infection rates among Black and South Asian groups from the most recent round of the REACT study.⁵

We also examined the economic impacts of COVID-19 resulting from the lockdown and economic contraction. We investigated the extent to which different ethnic groups were, prior to the pandemic, working in occupations subject to lock-down, and the age and family circumstances of those who were most economically at risk. While early analysis indicated that those most affected were young people and that women were more at risk than men, we showed that, for Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, the risks were greater among men and those of mid-late working age. Partly as a result of the age differences of those affected, as well as wider differences in family structure and couples' working patterns, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis working in shut-down sectors were much more likely than their White UK counterparts to have dependents, as Figure 2 illustrates. Pakistani and Bangladeshi men were also more likely to have a partner not in work or who was themselves working in a shut-down sector. For these groups, therefore, the economic brunt of the pandemic affected not only the individuals directly concerned but also the wider family unit. While subsequent research has shown that there have been more severe economic consequences of the pandemic for minority groups⁶, the broader family consequences of the economic crisis created by the pandemic deserves further attention. Moreover, there is little economic analysis of data collected since March 2020 that differentiates minority groups' experience, even though such disaggregation is vital for appropriate policy response, given the different age and family circumstances, health status, occupational concentration, and migration status across minority ethnic groups.

Figure 2: Family status of those employed in shut-down sectors in England and Wales, by ethnic group



Source: Adapted from Figure 14 in Platt and Warwick (2020) in Fiscal Studies. Data: Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 1 2016 to Quarter 4 2019, England and Wales only.

Our early findings fed into work being carried out by the Mayor of London, the review of unequal impacts conducted by Public Health England, and into the Women and Equalities Select Committee Inquiry. I acted as an expert adviser for a wide-ranging report⁷ from the Women and Equalities Select Committee. Most recently, the Government set up a Sage sub-group to address the issue of ethnic inequalities, which is trying to shed further light on what has caused the ethnic inequalities in COVID-19 deaths, what mitigation strategies are possible, and how the picture may be developing or changing following the second wave.

While short term mitigation – and promotion of vaccine uptake⁸ – is of course hugely important, the inequalities in income, housing, health, and geographical and occupational clustering that are such important drivers for both health and economic risks are long-standing. While it should not require a pandemic to draw attention to such enduring inequalities, it is crucial that the opportunities offered by the renewed attention that COVID-19 has brought to these inequalities are not neglected in policy going forward.

Endnotes

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Further information

Lucinda Platt is Professor of Social Policy and Sociology in the Department of Social Policy at the LSE. She is a panel member of the [IFS Deaton Review of Inequality](#) and a member of the [SAGE sub-group on ethnicity](#). Her work on COVID-19 and ethnic inequalities is ongoing: as well as the IFS Report and Fiscal Studies paper listed in the references, she has also written on [ethnicity and COVID-19](#) for the Economics Observatory, published [a blog](#) on the subject, co-authored [a BMJ editorial](#), written a briefing with Alita Nandi on [COVID-19, ethnic and local context](#), and [scripted a video](#) on child poverty, ethnicity and COVID-19. She acted as Expert Adviser for the Women and Equalities [Select Committee report](#) on COVID-19 and ethnic inequalities.

The research discussed here is published in an IFS Report and a later article:

Platt, L. and Warwick, R. (2020) [Are some ethnic groups more vulnerable to COVID-19 than others?](#) IFS Deaton Inequality Review Research Report. London: IFS.

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Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit

Irene Bucelli, Abigail McKnight and Pedro Mendes Loureiro

In this article, Irene Bucelli, Abigail McKnight and Pedro Mendes Loureiro discuss how the growing interest in understanding and addressing inequality still often overlooks the interlinkages that exist between the different dimensions of inequality, which grounds the need to develop responses across policy areas. They explain how the development of an *Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit* applies the Multidimensional Inequality Framework (MIF) and offers a novel approach to understanding and addressing multidimensional inequalities. This innovative approach focuses on “policy mixes” – combinations of policies that build on inter-domain relationships and promise to be more effective than isolated policies.

Inequality has become a pressing issue across the world and a growing focus of the work of many experts and organisations. The World Bank, the United Nations, the IMF, the World Economic Forum, Oxfam, and the Ford Foundation are among those who have developed, or are in the process of developing, programmes to understand and address inequalities. This growing interest stems from an increasing recognition that economic inequality is high or rising in many countries and that it has harmful consequences, not only for economic growth but, crucially, also for the broader quality of life of individuals and societies.

These developments are welcome, but it still largely remains the case that inequality research and related policy development has a narrow focus on single dimensions of inequality (for example, income or education). This occurs despite a growing understanding of the existence of strong interlinkages between the different dimensions of inequality and of how privilege and disadvantage can carry across different life domains and over time. Where a multidimensional perspective is taken, the choice of dimensions is often arbitrary and tends to be driven more by data availability than theoretical considerations. Moreover, policy-makers and organisations interested in tackling inequalities face practical challenges to address this multi-dimensionality, because their work is often structured in distinct sectors which tend to operate in silos. This challenge is compounded by the lack of a systematic understanding of cross-sectoral synergies, which hinders the development of effective policy responses.

To assist the German development agency Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) in their ambition to tackle inequalities in low- and middle-income countries, we developed an “Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit”. The Toolkit is designed to help GIZ country teams devise evidence-based approaches to tackling inequalities from a multidimensional perspective. The Toolkit draws on the Multidimensional Inequality Framework (MIF)¹, which provides a theoretical grounding and a systematic understanding of multidimensional inequalities. In total, the toolkit contains 16 inequality-reduction policies (Table 1), with two to three policies in each of the seven MIF Life Domains. Each policy is assessed in terms of the inequalities they seek to reduce, evidence of their effectiveness, and their implementation challenges and facilitating factors, along with a broad assessment of potential costs. Building on a mapping between the MIF and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), policies included in the Toolkit can be understood in terms of how they can help to achieve the SDGs. This list of 16 policies is not meant to be exhaustive but is the result of a rigorous selection process, which first identified a long list of policies, drawn from the MIF – itself based on extensive consultation and deliberation – and then involved a consultation with experts (both academics and practitioners).

Table 1

Life and health	Legal and physical security	Education and learning	Financial independence and security	Comfortable, independent and secure living conditions	Participation, influence and voice	Individual, family and social life
DOMAIN 1  1.1 Universal Healthcare 1.2 WASH SDG 3 SDG 6	DOMAIN 2  2.1 Equal access to justice 2.2 "Fast track" services for rich	DOMAIN 3  3.1 Basic education 3.2 Early years 3.3 Vocational education	DOMAIN 4  4.1 Wealth taxes 4.2 Universal social protection 4.3 Minimum wages and LMIS SDG 1 SDG 8 SDG 10	DOMAIN 5  5.1 Malnutrition 5.2 Slum upgrading SDG 2 SDG 11	DOMAIN 6  6.1 Accountability 6.2 Civic oversight SDG 16	DOMAIN 7  7.1 Discrimination 7.2 Child marriage SDG 5 SDG 10

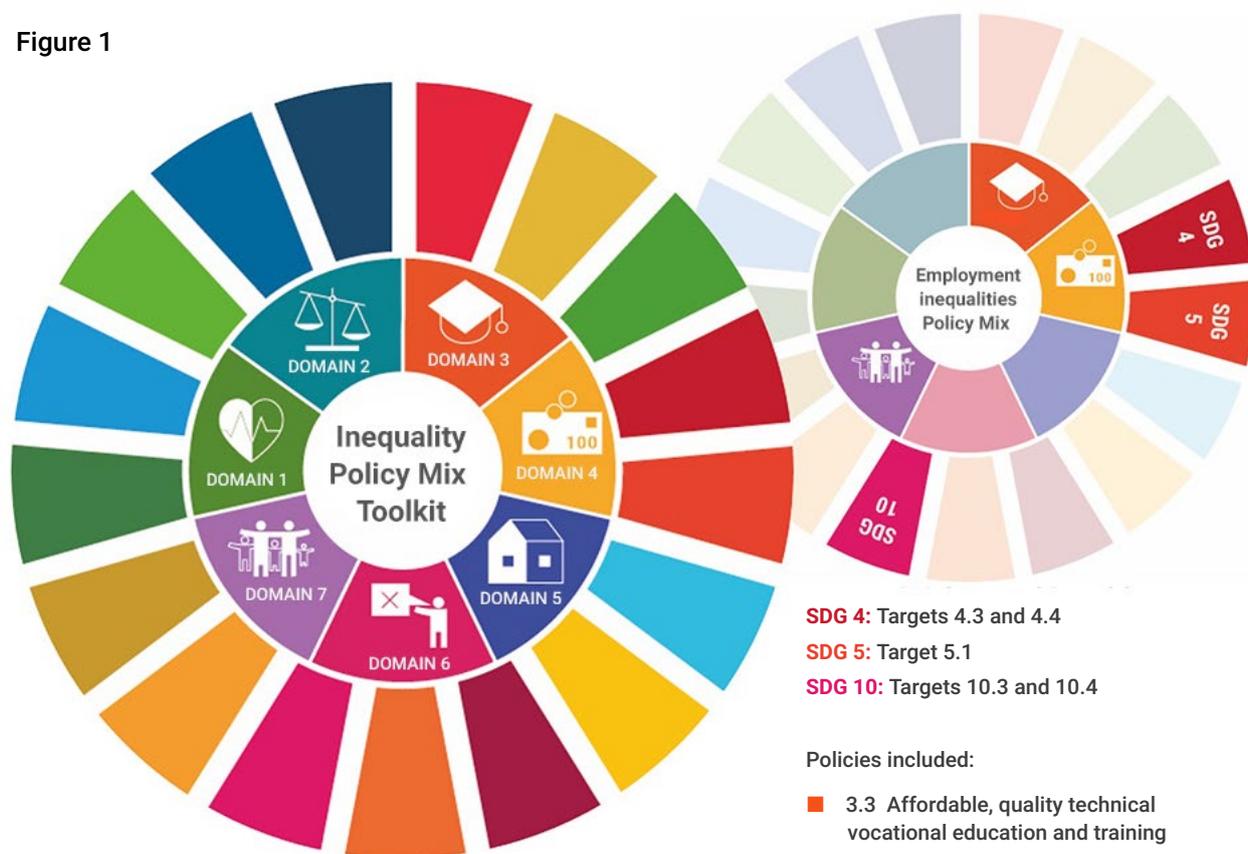
An important novel feature of this toolkit is the identification of “policy mixes” which are combinations of policies likely to be more effective and efficient than isolated policies. As noted, to date there has been no systematic approach to designing policy mixes to combat multidimensional inequalities. Even when the importance of addressing different drivers and dimensions of inequalities is recognized, the result is often a “parallel approach” – one that neither focuses on interactions or attempts to guide the combination of policies systematically, but rather implements them side-by-side without exploring or stimulating synergies. The Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit reviews the existing literature and develops a rationale and guiding principles to design context-specific policy mixes. The approach recognises the importance of focusing on administrative, strategic and outcome synergies. The former two are related to contextual factors which affect the joint feasibility, cost-efficiency and political economy underpinnings of potential mixes – e.g. identifying the key actors, necessary capabilities, sources of support, and relevant responsibilities across levels of government. Outcome synergies in turn emerge from the analysis of how different policies interact directly to reduce inequality in one or more dimensions, such as how more equitable health outcomes and income redistribution are mutually reinforcing.

The Toolkit assesses four examples of policy mixes. Each policy mix combines policies selected from the 16 reviewed but also identifies other promising policies which could potentially be included. For instance, Figure 1 shows the policy mix to tackle employment inequalities which encompasses education policies (e.g. technical and vocational education and training), policies related to workers’ rights (e.g. collective bargaining, minimum wages) and anti-discrimination policies. As shown, this mix includes policies related to three domains of the MIF (MIF 3: Education and learning; MIF 4: Financial security and dignified work; MIF 7: Individual, family and social life) and three SDGs (SDG 4: Quality education; SDG 5: Gender equality; SDG 10: Reduced inequalities). In the analysis, the scale of interaction among policies is assessed, for instance by identifying enabling and reinforcing relationships. Administrative and strategic synergies in turn indicate how the fiscal, regulatory and implementation aspects of these policies intersect, as well as how their political and social aspects can be reinforcing.

Overall, the Toolkit represents a significant advancement in our ability to design and introduce policies that take a systematic approach to tackling multidimensional inequality. The novel focus on

policy mixes helps to further our understanding of how to address inequalities from a multidimensional perspective beyond the introduction of policies in parallel. GIZ are in the process of developing a digital version of the Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit which they plan to launch in 2021, making the Toolkit free for anyone to access, and to use it to guide their country teams' projects.

Figure 1



Additional policies which could be eventually considered:

- Job-creation policies which can benefit disadvantaged areas of the country, and policies that limit top earnings, which are usually concentrated in richer regions (MIF Domain 4)
- Policies to deliver free, universal, high-quality primary and secondary education, that seek to improve and equalise school quality (MIF Domain 3)
- Social protection policies (MIF Domain 4)
- Free, high-quality, universal healthcare (MIF Domain1)

Endnotes

1 More information on the [Multidimensional Inequality Framework](#) is available on the [CASE website](#).

Further information

A digital version of the Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit will be available online on the [GIZ website](#) later in 2021.

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Household financial resilience on the eve of the Covid-19 pandemic

Abigail McKnight

On the eve of the pandemic many households in Europe and North America lacked financial resilience. In 15 out of the 22 countries considered in this research, fewer than half of households held sufficient savings to cover three months' income and many households were over-indebted. Households with heads who were lower educated, female, unemployed or with lower income tended to be at greater risk. Welfare regime type also matters, with European households most likely to be financially secure in Corporatist and Social-Democratic regimes. In other regimes, with lower coverage and less generous welfare support, high proportions of households lack resilience due to inadequate financial assets, over-indebtedness, or both, leaving many vulnerable when the pandemic struck.

Even in usual times, negative financial shocks are common, but while some households recover relatively quickly, others experience protracted periods of hardship. Households need sufficient financial assets, or the facility to borrow from institutions, wider family or friends. For those who borrow, the effects of a shock will be longer lasting as debts need to be repaid. A key role of the welfare state is to insure households against certain types of financial shock but welfare states across countries and welfare regimes vary in the extent to which they achieve this.

This research examines variation in household financial resilience across household characteristics, countries and welfare regimes using data from 22 countries in Europe and North America. Resilience is captured using a measure of financial security (having sufficient savings to cover at least three months' income) and a measure of over-indebtedness (holding gross financial, non-housing debts to the value of at least three months' income). The results show considerable variation and concerning low levels of resilience in many countries on the eve of the pandemic.

In general, lower rates of financial security are found in female headed households (exceptions are Estonia, Slovenia and Slovakia) and in households with lower educated heads. In contrast, households with older household heads (exceptions are Cyprus, Hungary and Poland), homeowners, and households where heads are self-employed or retired, are more likely to be financially secure. Higher income households are more likely to be financially secure, but the relationship is not linear between quintiles in all countries (including Estonia, Finland, Canada, Greece, Latvia, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia).

Analysis of indebtedness found rates to be marginally higher in general in male than female headed households (the exceptions are Cyprus, Slovenia and the Netherlands). In some countries households with higher educated heads are more likely to be over-indebted. This is the case mainly in countries where the cost of higher education is high and borne by students (for example, Canada, the Netherlands, Finland, Hungary, the UK and the US). Elsewhere households with lower educated heads are more likely to be over-indebted (for example, Austria, Belgium and Slovakia). Across countries, older headed households tend to be the least likely to be over-indebted, while households with a self-employed or unemployed head are, in general, more likely to be over-indebted relative to households headed by an employee or retiree.

Welfare states help to insure households against some financial shocks. In an extension to the published research, using data from 19 European countries we examined how household financial resilience varied across regime types in Europe¹ using an extension to the Esping-Andersen regime



classification² which covers Central and European Countries. In terms of financial security, around 60 per cent of households in Social-Democratic and Corporatist regimes held sufficient assets, and just under 50 per cent of households in the Southern regime. Well under half of households in Liberal (38 per cent) (note this only includes Ireland), Central European (34 per cent) and Eastern European (30 per cent) regimes held sufficient assets. Interestingly, households living in regime types with welfare states less likely to insure them against shocks are less likely to hold minimum financial assets.

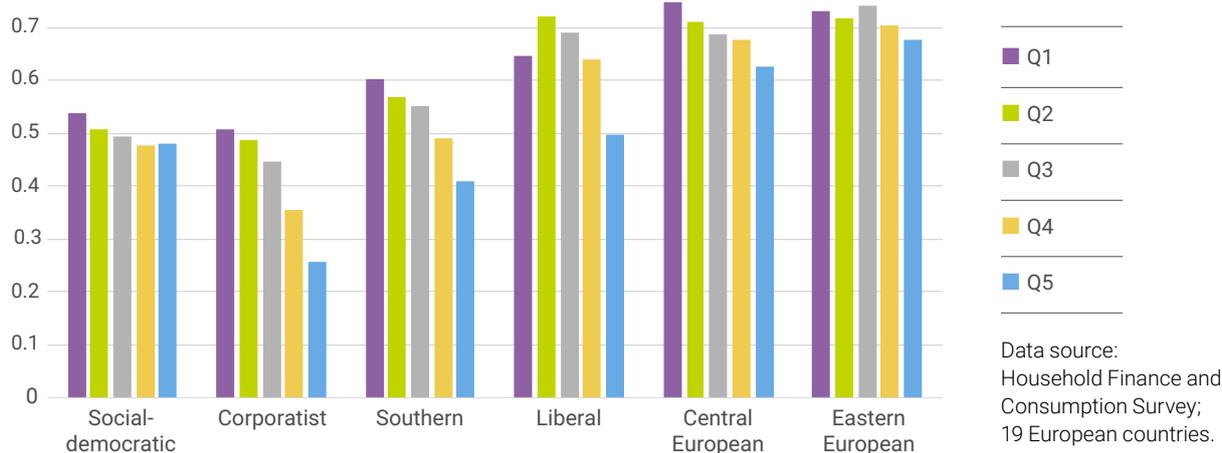
Higher shares of households are over-indebted in the Social-Democratic (10.3 per cent) regime and the lowest shares of households classified as over-indebted are found in Central (3.5 per cent) and Eastern European (3.6 per cent) regimes, which may indicate limited access to credit.

Part of the difference in regime rankings between these two indicators could be due to some over-indebted households simultaneously holding sufficient financial assets. This may seem odd but might be perfectly logical given borrowing constraints or the value placed on holding savings irrespective of debts. Combining information on financial assets and debts to identify households who are classified as both financially insecure and over-indebted provides a measure of severe lack of financial resilience. A similar ranking between regime types is observed as for the over-indebted indicator. However, in both Social-Democratic and Corporatist regimes only around one-half of households classified as over-indebted also lack sufficient financial assets, while in other regime types much higher proportions of over-indebted households also lack sufficient financial assets: Central European (60 per cent); Southern (64 per cent); Eastern European (67 per cent) and Liberal (71 per cent).

According to welfare regime theory these measures of household financial resilience are less likely to vary across the income distribution in the Social-Democratic regime, where insurance against shocks provided by the State is more universal, than in the Corporatist regime where the value of cash transfers tends to depend on previous status and position. In Corporatist, Southern, Eastern and Central European regimes lower income households have a greater need to insure against shocks due to the limited coverage of the welfare state. In the Liberal regime, this is also the case, but targeting of cash transfers can create perverse disincentives to accumulate assets, particularly where means-tests include capital limits.

In practice, across regime types, households in lower income quintiles are more likely to lack resilience than higher income households (Figure 1). The steepest gradient is in the Corporatist regime and the shallowest in the Social-Democratic regime. While in these regimes there are similar proportions of financially secure households, higher income households in the Corporatist regime are much less likely to lack financial resilience than in the Social-Democratic regime. There is also a shallow gradient in the Eastern European regime but the vast majority of households in this regime lack resilience and the shallow gradient arises from very low resilience in higher income households.

Figure 1: Proportion of households lacking financial resilience by regime type and income quintile



The findings suggest European households were most vulnerable in Eastern European, Central European and Liberal regimes (at least in Ireland). Differences between welfare regimes are not always in line with welfare regime theory as households in regimes characterised by lower decommodification have a greater need (and incentive) to privately hold financial assets to insure against shocks, but the reverse is found.

Governments could do more to help improve the financial resilience of lower income households through targeted savings schemes, access to emergency grants, adequate social security, revising capital rules in means-tests, boosting financial capability and providing debt relief services.

This research was conducted prior to the Covid-19 pandemic but the finding that many households across these 22 countries had low levels of financial resilience is a matter of some concern. Lack of financial resilience is problematic not just for families but because of wider implications for the stability of the financial system. US and UK research found that the prevalence of over-indebted households prior to the 2007/08 financial crisis led to a deeper and longer recession than would otherwise have been the case³.

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Further information

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This article draws on research published in the CASEpaper [The financial resilience of households: 22 country study with new estimates, breakdowns by household characteristics and a review of policy options](#) by Abigail McKnight and Mark Rucci, which was funded by the European Commission.

Did the benefit cap harm mental health?

Aaron Reeves, Mark Fransham, Kitty Stewart and Ruth Patrick

In November 2016, the UK government lowered the benefit cap, the total amount a family with no-one in full-time employment can receive from the government in social security. This policy change cut financial support for large (often lone parent) families and those with high housing costs. We treat the reduction in the cap as a natural experiment, and compare changes in the prevalence of depression or anxiety for those at high risk of being capped with those at low risk, before and after the cut. Our results suggest that lowering the total amount of social security families can receive increases the risk of mental ill health.

First introduced in 2013, the benefit cap puts a limit on the total amount a family with no-one in full-time employment can receive from the government in social security. It is justified by government as a policy that encourages people back to work while reducing welfare spending¹ Government has also claimed that it increases fairness in the benefit system, by ensuring that those not in work do not receive more than an average family receives in wages.²

These justifications have made the policy popular.³ But despite its popularity, the benefit cap meaningfully reduces financial support for large (often lone parent) families and those with high housing costs, and breaks the link in the British social security system between the calculation of needs and entitlement to support. Severing this link between needs and entitlements may not only make it harder for families to make ends meet but could also have negative effects on wider outcomes for those affected, including their mental health.⁴

In November 2016 the cap was reduced from £26,000 per year to £23,000 per year for families in London (£15,410 for single people) and to £20,000 (£13,400 for single people) outside the capital. We treat this reform as a natural policy experiment, comparing those at high risk of being capped with those at low risk. We draw on the Annual Population Survey, which gives us data on around 900,000 people, some of whom were interviewed before the cap was lowered and some of whom were interviewed afterwards. We cannot identify who is actually capped using this survey and so we use two approaches to identifying these households. First, we use data within the Annual Population Survey to categorise those who are at risk of being capped, e.g., workless households with three or more children. Second, we also predict the risk of being capped among respondents to the Annual



Population Survey using modelling based on another dataset, the Family Resources Survey. In both cases, we then compare the risk of experiencing poor mental health for those at risk of being capped and those not at risk, before and after the reform.

Our key findings are summarised in Figure 1. On the left hand side of the chart we see that people who were not at risk of being capped experienced a small increase in the probability of reporting mental ill health comparing people interviewed before November 2016 and those interviewed afterward. This is consistent with the general trend in mental health over this period.

On the right-hand side of the chart we see what happened to those at higher risk of being capped. For this group we see a quite different pattern: they experienced a far larger rise in the risk of reporting mental ill health after the benefit cap had been lowered in November 2016.

We show in this paper that these negative mental health effects did not emerge overnight, but slowly over a number of months. This is consistent with what we know about temporary financial support that was made available via local authorities to help people adjust to the lower benefit payments. By the end of our study period, the risk of experiencing mental ill health among those at risk of being capped had increased by around 10 percentage points, a relative increase of around 50 per cent.

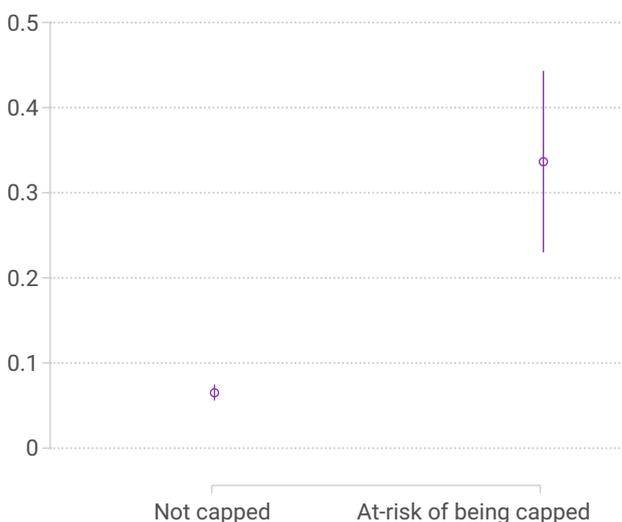
The benefit cap reminds us of the unintended consequences of policy and illustrates how they can exacerbate inequalities. Introduced to incentivise work, the cap turns out to increase the risk of mental ill health among those affected. Many of these people are lone parents (usually women) who live in high-rent areas.⁵ In this respect, our results reinforce other work which shows how lone parents have been particularly hard hit by recent welfare reforms and subsequent economic hardship⁶

Endnotes

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Figure 1

Change in probability of reporting mental ill health after benefit cap lowered



Further information

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The full paper is published as [CASEpaper 221](#): A Reeves, M Fransham, K Stewart and R Patrick (2020) Did the introduction of the benefit cap in Britain harm mental health? A natural experiment approach. CASEpaper 221, November 2020.

This paper is part of a larger project on welfare reform and larger families, funded by The Nuffield Foundation. More information is available [here](#).

PhD Spotlight: Mental wellbeing of older adults with household debt in England

Aapo Hiilamo

In this article, CASE PhD student Aapo Hiilamo shows that older adults in England with debts (other than mortgage debt) are at greater risk of depression and low quality of life than older adults without debts. This is particularly the case for older adults who have no savings or other liquid assets to offset the debt.

Many older adults have household debt, but little is known about possible links between their debts and their mental wellbeing. It is argued that debts are for many a “double-edged sword”¹: they provide resources for purchases and payments when needed but may also in some circumstances cause stigma, economic difficulties and mental distress. This in mind, my first PhD paper examines the extent to which different aspects of household indebtedness predict mental wellbeing among older adults in England.

I use a sample of adults aged 50 and over, derived from the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing.² My aim is to understand whether the choice of (a) mental wellbeing outcomes (depressive symptoms vs. quality of life), (b) debt types (mortgage vs. non-mortgage) and (c) debt burden measures (debt-to-income, debt amount vs. debt-to-wealth) help to explain the potential association.

I first find that the different debt measures provide conflicting findings; in unadjusted analysis higher debt amount was linked to better mental wellbeing, but higher debt-to-wealth was linked to lower quality of life. However, the seemingly beneficial role of a high debt amount on mental wellbeing reflects the fact that people with debts had other characteristics that were linked to better mental wellbeing. For example, people with debts were much younger and had higher incomes and higher education qualifications than people without debts.



Indeed, once I adjust for these characteristics in regression models, debt predicts lower mental wellbeing. However, the debt type made a difference. Non-mortgage debt is linked to lower mental wellbeing for both outcomes; people with non-mortgage debts had a lower quality of life and more depressive symptoms than people without, after adjusting for observable differences between the two groups. Mortgage debt was only linked to slightly lower quality of life, not depressive symptoms. It also seemed that people with high debt-to-wealth ratio (debts with low or no liquid assets) were particularly at risk of lower mental wellbeing (Figure 1). This can be seen in the third column of the figure below; the debt-to-wealth coefficient estimates predict more depressive symptoms than other measures.

Figure 1: Number of depressive symptoms (CES-D8): no FE

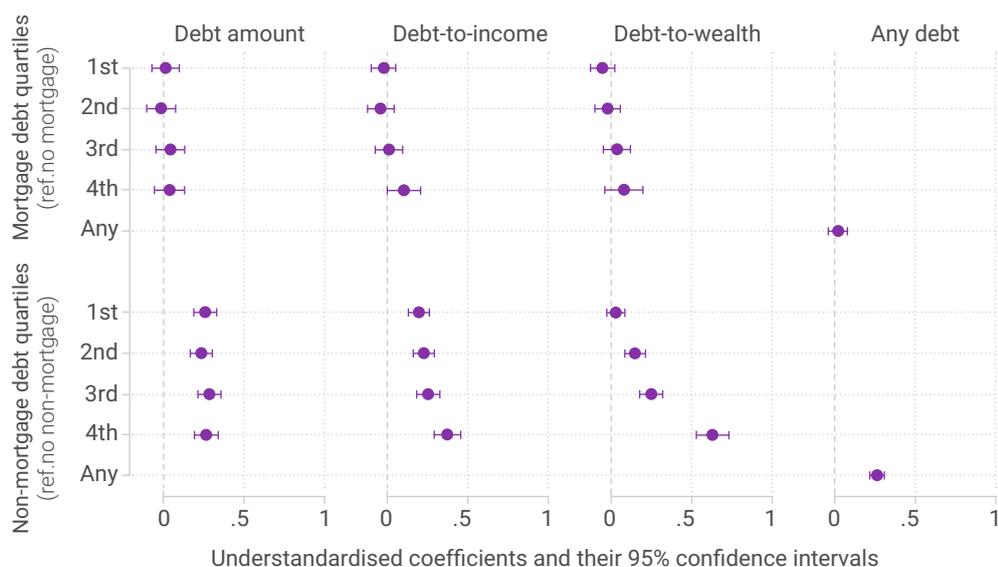


Figure 1 Results from linear regression models without person fixed effects for the associations between household debts and number of depressive symptoms (CES-D 8). Results from four regression models with different debt measures are presented:
1. Debt amount
2. Debt-to-income quartiles
3. Debt-to-wealth quartiles
4. Dichotomous debt variables. ELSA data.

I also investigated whether there is an association between debts and mental wellbeing for an individual over time. For this task I take advantage of the fact that the same people were interviewed many times over several years as part of the survey. I find that people reported slightly lower mental wellbeing (that is, more depressive symptoms and lower quality of life) after they had *acquired* non-mortgage debts, and slightly higher levels of mental wellbeing after they *got rid of* their debts, compared to their previously reported level of mental wellbeing. This finding suggests that time-invariant differences (such as personality) between people who have debts and those who are debt free explain only part of the association but not all of it.

Altogether these findings echo previous work linking debts to mental wellbeing³ and confirm that this association remains important in older age. They also reinforce the importance of distinguishing between mortgage and non-mortgage debts. In an era of massive household indebtedness and population ageing, it is important to find effective ways to alleviate the mental burden of older adults with high non-mortgage debts.

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Aapo Hiilamo is a third year PhD student in the Department of Social Policy and the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion. This article draws on his PhD project, funded by the Osk Huttunen Foundation.

The full paper is available [here](#): Hiilamo, A. (2020) Debt matters? Mental wellbeing of older adults with household debt in England, *SSM-Population Health*, 100658.

COVID-19: Relationships between children and their non-resident parents in the early months of the pandemic

Caroline Bryson and Stephen McKay

COVID-19 has had particular ramifications for separated families. It has introduced potential barriers to children seeing their non-resident parents and risks to these parents having the earnings to provide financial support. Using data from the UKHLS COVID-19 study, this paper presents an encouraging picture of more solid relationships and financial support arrangements weathering the early storm. However, this sits alongside concerning reports of deterioration among those with poorer relationships prior to the pandemic. If this pattern persists, the pandemic has the potential to have an impact on the well-being and longer-term outcomes of children from separated families.

Since the first pandemic lockdown began in March 2020, the effects of the lockdowns on families have been much reported. However, with the focus often on the pressures of home-schooling, working from home and resultant stresses within the household, this largely overlooks the particular ramifications for the 3.5 million children living in separated families¹, with parents in different households. COVID-19 has had the potential to interfere with these children's relationships with their non-resident parent and to squeeze the money available for non-resident parents to pay child maintenance, in order to contribute financially to the upbringing of their children. With evidence that children's well-being and outcomes are associated both with the nature of their relationship with their non-resident parent and with the amount of money coming into the household², it is important to understand how these have been affected by COVID-19.



Although government advice throughout the pandemic has been that children from separated families *can* move between their parents' homes, in practice, parents have faced a number of barriers to making this happen. These include advice to avoid non-essential travel during periods of lockdown; risks in using public transport; financial constraints from precarious employment situations and/or reduced earnings; increased hours (for frontline workers); and isolation due to symptoms. And, whilst child maintenance obligations remain, payments are vulnerable to drops in non-resident parents' earnings through furloughing or redundancy. Also, because financial support often comes hand-in-hand with contact³, any reductions in, or conflict about, contact may have had knock-on monetary effects.

The Understanding Society COVID-19 study⁴ provides insight into what happened within separated families in the early stages of the pandemic. An online survey among its panel members in June 2020 included a set of questions asked of resident parents – parents with whom their children live all or most of the time – to assess the extent to which COVID-19 had affected relationships and levels of contact between children and their non-resident parents as well as financial support in the form of child maintenance.

Whilst the headline picture at that time was one of stability in terms of the relationships and amount of contact between non-resident parents and their children, for a minority, the early period of the pandemic had seen a deterioration. Resident parents were asked how close a relationship their

children have with their non-resident parent on a four-point scale running from “very close” to “not close at all”. They were then asked to compare the relationship now as being “better”, “about the same” or “worse” than prior to the pandemic. Three quarters (73 per cent) of resident parents reported that these relationships have not changed. Indeed, six per cent reported an improvement.

However, one in seven (14 per cent) resident parents reported that relationships had got worse – and those relationships most at risk appeared to be those already not close beforehand. Where resident parents reported that their children were “not very close” or “not close at all” to their non-resident parent, 22 per cent said that the relationship had worsened since the start of the pandemic, compared to three per cent of those whose relationship was “very close” and seven per cent of those who were “quite close”. Indeed, among those with a “very close” relationship, 23 per cent reported their relationship having improved since the pandemic. These findings point to the potential for the pressures of the pandemic to be exacerbating existing disparities in the experience of different children.

Table 1: Close relationships improved, more distant relationships worsened

	How close is relationship between children and their non-resident parent?					
	Very close	Fairly close	Not very close	Not at all close	Don't know	Total
How does relationship compare with before? (%)						
It is:						
Better	23%	2%	2%	1%	-	6%
About the same	72%	85%	76%	64%	39%	73%
Worse	3%	7%	22%	23%	-	14%
Don't know	2%	5%	0%	12%	61%	7%
Base: resident parents with child(ren) under 16	47	75	40	68	7	237

Chi-sq test: p<0.001.

This finding is broadly mirrored in the association between a change in relationship quality and how much contact a child was having with their non-resident parent prior to the pandemic, with relationships more likely to have deteriorated among those with less contact prior to the pandemic.

The picture is a little more complex when it comes to how often children were seeing their non-resident parents. While most children were in contact with their non-resident parent as frequently as before the pandemic, when asked to think back over the previous four weeks – so during May or June 2020 – a substantial minority of resident parents reported a reduction in contact. However, unlike with the quality of their relationship, the pandemic appeared to be equally likely to reduce contact for children with frequent or less frequent contact in “usual times”. And, for a minority, the pandemic had led to them having more contact recently.

Back in June 2020, it was potentially early days to assess the effects of the pandemic on the payment and receipt of child maintenance, with the buffer of the furlough scheme and the full economic impact of the pandemic yet to be felt. However, there were some small signs at that point that COVID-19 may have been affecting the child maintenance received by resident parents. Fewer than half (46 per cent) of resident parents had any arrangement with the non-resident parent to receive child maintenance. Among these, one in eight (12 per cent) said they had received less or no maintenance in the previous four weeks than they had during the pandemic. Those resident parents most at risk of losing child maintenance were those whose children were in less contact with their non-resident parent.

Table 2: Some evidence of reduced child maintenance during the pandemic particularly for lower contact families

	Frequency of contact between children and non-resident parent prior to pandemic			
	Once a week or more	Several times a month	Less often or never	Total
Comparing the past four weeks to before the pandemic... (%)				
Received more	-	-	-	-
Received about the same	95%	86%	82%	90%
Received less or none	5%	14%	18%	10%
Base: resident parents with child(ren) under 16 with a maintenance arrangement	56	23	38	117

Chi-sq test: p=0.108.

These findings provide an insight into what was happening within separated families in the early stages of the pandemic. The fact that solid relationships, contact patterns and financial arrangements appeared to be weathering the storm is encouraging, as are the instances where some children were having more contact during the first lockdown. However, signs that poorer quality relationships were at most risk of deterioration is concerning, particularly given many months of further restrictions have passed since these questions were asked, and the full economic impact of the pandemic are yet to be realised. It will be important to monitor whether any negative consequences of the pandemic are long-lasting. If this proves to be the case, the pandemic has the capacity to negatively affect children's well-being and their longer-term outcomes.

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Further information

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This article is based on data from the Understanding Society COVID-19 study which is led by the Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Essex and funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and the Health Foundation.

The full findings were published in September 2020 in a CASE Brief: [COVID-19: has the pandemic affected relationships between children and their non-resident parents?](#)

Five Findings about Poverty and Parenting in the UK

Kerris Cooper

In this article Kerris Cooper discusses her research on economic hardship and parenting in the UK, using the Millennium Cohort Study. She finds that differences in parenting among low-income mothers are overstated: most differences are small, there are some positive differences, and negative differences are not unique to low-income mothers but are part of a broader income-parenting gradient. Mothers' mental health is a key mechanism for the relationship between economic hardship and how close the mother feels to the child, play activities and discipline style. Analysis of movements into and out of hardship suggest relieving hardship will likely improve mothers' mental health.

Background

We know that poverty is important for children's outcomes, though the role of parenting is less well understood¹. The relationship between poverty and parenting is particularly topical as the pandemic has not only added to financial strain for many families but has also increased the strain on parenting as children have had to stay in and study from home.

Data and Methods

This work is based on analysis of the Millennium Cohort Study (MCS)² when children are aged around five years old. Early childhood is an important period which influences future development and therefore children's environments and experiences at this age are particularly significant. OLS regression models and structural equation modelling were used to analyse the relationship between economic hardship (measured as low income, debt, deprivation and feeling poor) and parenting of mothers. Parenting is conceptualised across four domains: meeting the child's physical needs; the parent-child relationship; cognitive stimulation; and discipline and routine. Multiple self-reported parenting measures are used to capture each of these domains.

Parenting is analysed across the full income distribution rather than only comparing parents in poverty with all other parents, as in existing research. This is important because when the focus is only on parents in poverty and the comparison group includes parents with the highest incomes, differences in parenting can be exaggerated and narratives of poor parents being deviant might be reinforced.

Main findings

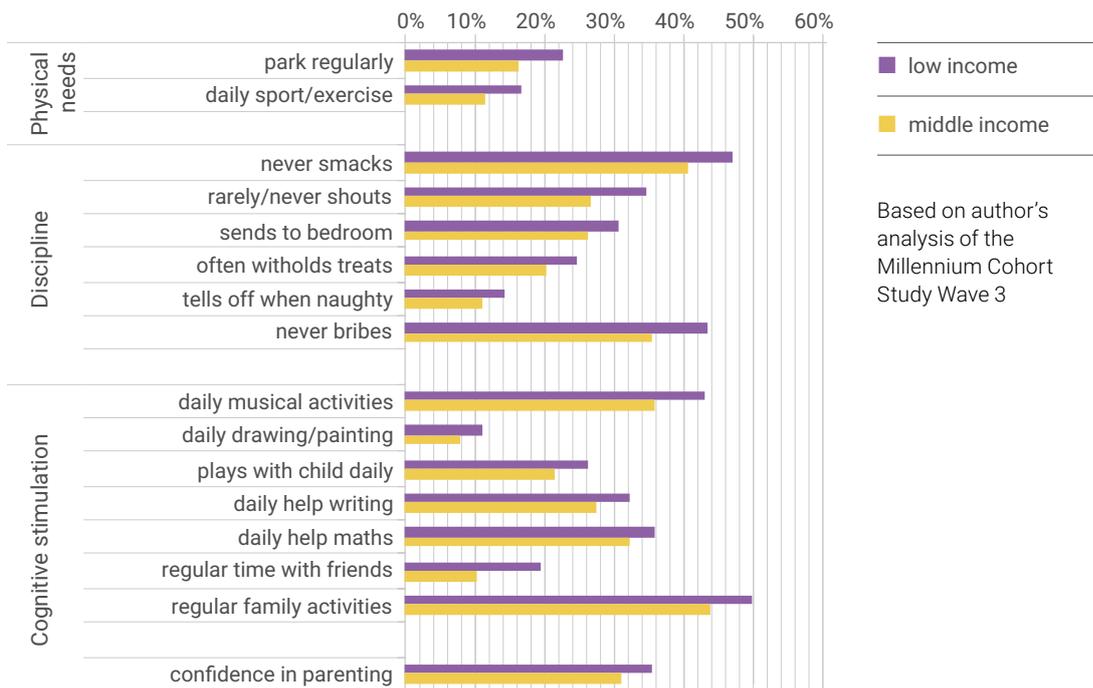
1 Differences in parenting behaviours of low-income parents are overstated

In analysing raw differences in parenting behaviours among mothers from different income quintiles it is found that on the whole most mothers, regardless of their income, report good parenting, and any differences across income quintiles tend to be small.

2 Low-income mothers report positive differences in a number of parenting behaviours

Where low income mothers are parenting differently some of these differences are positive (Figure 1): mothers in the lowest income quintile were more likely than those in the median quintile to report that someone at home was helping their child with maths and writing every day, and were more likely to paint/draw, do musical activities and play games with their child every day. Parents in the lowest-income quintile were also more likely to report never smacking and never or rarely shouting at their child when naughty. These findings of positive differences are in line with Dermott and Pomati's findings that parents in poverty were more likely to report having family time with their children³. They also support findings from qualitative evidence that low-income parents go to great efforts to support and provide for their children⁴.

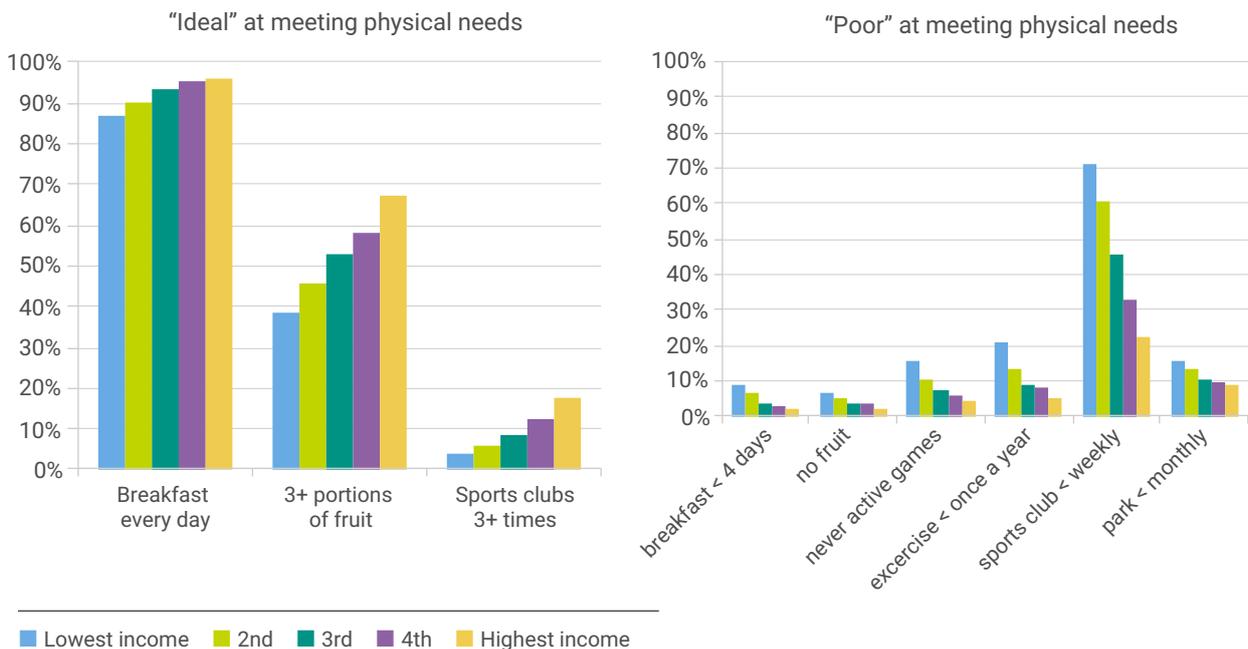
Figure 1: Positive differences in parenting of mothers in the lowest income quintile compared to mothers in the median income quintile



3 Negative differences in parenting are not unique to low-income mothers but are part of a broader income-parenting gradient

Low-income parents are not an unusual or deviant group parenting differently to everyone else. There is an income gradient in many parenting behaviours that extends across the income distribution, whereby the probability of reporting ideal (poor) parenting behaviours increases (decreases) as you move up the income distribution. Figure 2 shows an example of such income gradients in parenting behaviours related to meeting the child's physical needs (focused on nutrition and physical activity).

Figure 2: Income gradients in parenting related to meeting the child's physical needs



Based on author's analysis of the Millennium Cohort Study Wave 3

4 Mothers' mental health is an important mechanism between economic hardship and parenting

Analysis using structural equation modelling reveals that economic hardship (debt, deprivation and feeling poor) can lead to worse mental health and life satisfaction for mothers and this can feed through to parenting behaviours. This analysis controls for related factors including maternal education, number of siblings and mothers' work status. The findings show that the relationships between economic hardship and some parenting behaviours are *entirely* indirect via the impact on mothers' mental health and life satisfaction. This is the case for: how close the mother feels to the child, discipline styles and play activities with the child. These findings are intuitive given the need for emotional resources for these types of parenting. For most other types of parenting these mechanisms explain less than 50 per cent of the relationship with economic hardship. Mothers' mental health and life satisfaction do not have any explanatory power for trips outside of the home and hours of television and computer games.

5 Moving into (out of) economic hardship is associated with a worsening (improvement) in mothers' mental health and life satisfaction

Analysing changes in hardship and mothers' mental health and life satisfaction between when the child is aged five and seven years shows that for mothers that move into debt, material deprivation and feeling poor, their mental health and life satisfaction worsens. The same is true of movements in the opposite direction: mothers who move out of debt, deprivation and feeling poor experience an improvement in mental health and life satisfaction. A worsening of material deprivation also feeds through into a worsening of some parenting behaviours. These findings are in-line with other evidence¹ that these relationships are amenable to change and outcomes can improve with a reduction in economic hardship.

Policy implications

These findings highlight the importance of protecting families from economic hardship, as experiencing hardship has negative impacts on mothers' mental wellbeing and on parenting behaviours.

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Further information

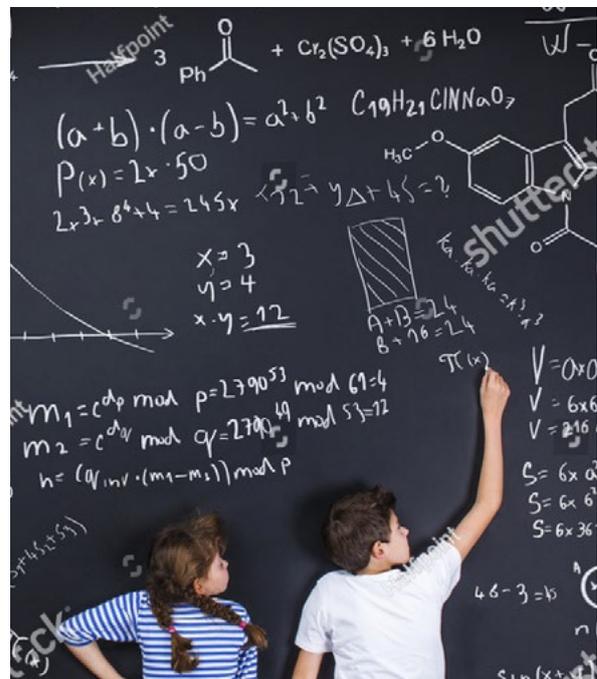
Kerris Cooper is a Research Fellow at CASE. This article is based on Kerris Cooper's thesis [Poverty and Parenting in the UK](#). Some of this work has been published in Cooper (2020) "Are Poor Parents Poor Parents?", *Sociology* available as open access [here](#).

Little fish, big currents: How do early in-class maths “ability”-groups relate to children’s later maths self-concept?

Tammy Campbell

In this piece, Tammy Campbell uses data from the Millennium Cohort Study to show how early in-class maths “ability” grouping at age seven is related to children’s later maths self-concept, at 11. Among all children, early grouping is strongly related to later self-concept. But there is also variation by gender, suggesting that more complex and potentially more negative processes play out for girls. Tammy argues therefore that reconsideration of the use of in-class “ability” grouping for maths in early primary school could help boost maths progression, and contribute to closing gender gaps.

Children’s maths self-concept is important: it can affect learning behaviours, subject choices, attainment, and adult careers. It varies by gender: boys tend more often towards a positive view of their own competence, compared to girls – a disproportionality not explained by differences in skills. Relatedly, there are long-standing inequalities by gender in outcomes associated with maths self-concept: underrepresentation of girls and women in Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths (STEM) subjects and careers. In the context of a purported “mathematics crisis” in the UK,¹ where overall capability among the population appears to be declining, it is vital to explore the early factors that shape maths self-concept, including whether they vary by gender.



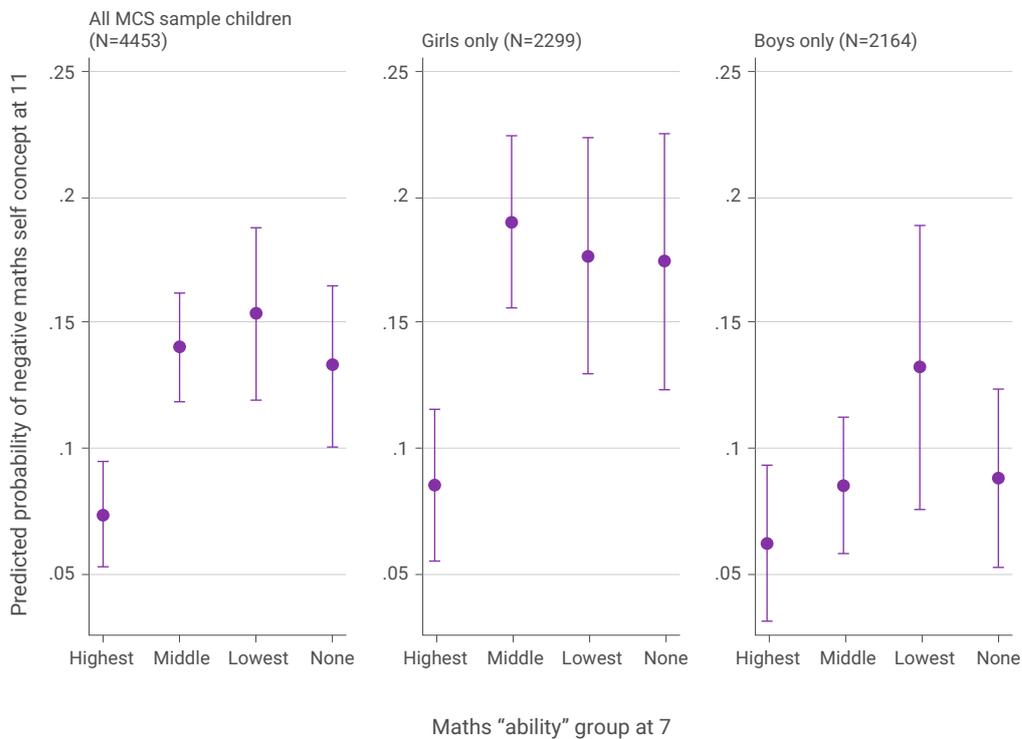
Multiple processes and influences have been implicated in self-concept formation. This article focusses on one important part of the environment through which a primary-aged child’s trajectory is built: early in-class “ability” grouping for maths. “Ability” grouping is well-evidenced as having a stratifying effect, where the outcomes of top-grouped children tend to be heightened, and those of bottom-grouped children depressed.

But beneath these aggregate total effects, do the impacts of “ability”-grouping on children’s maths self-concept vary by gender, or skill-level? And why might grouping play out differently for different children? Previous research and theory suggest two key potential mechanisms linking group placement to self-concept. Firstly, “labelling” effects² propose that children in lower “ability” groups will have lower self-concept, because they have internalised the norms and messages around the group and its place. Correspondingly, children in higher groups will have enhanced self-concept. However, alongside and potentially interplaying with these effects, are “contrast” mechanisms. These are exemplified by the “big-fish-little-pond” theory, which proposes an advantage to more highly skilled children of being placed in an environment with and comparing themselves to children who are, on average, relatively less skilled.³ Possibly, then, being situated in a lower maths “ability” group could result for some children in relatively elevated maths self-concept – and vice versa for high group placement.

Using data for 4463 children (and their teachers and parents) taking part in the UK Millennium Cohort Study (MCS),⁴⁻⁷ this analysis explores the associations between maths in-class “ability” grouping at age seven, and children’s maths self-concept four years later, at 11. Crucially, it controls for potential confounders that may exaggerate apparent relationships between earlier group placement and later self-concept. These include: maths cognitive test score at seven; teacher ratings of children at seven; child and family characteristics; scores on other cognitive tests (covering maths, literacy and general domains at ages five and seven); parent judgements; and home inputs. Results are separated by gender, to explore whether there are different associations for girls and boys, and by measured maths skill at seven.

At age 11, 13 per cent of the MCS sample children say that they are not “good at Maths:” 16 per cent of girls vs 9 per cent of boys. Maths in-class “ability” group placement at seven is strongly related to later maths self-concept, with 25 per cent of children placed in the lowest group subsequently saying they are not “good” at maths, compared to 5 per cent of those in the highest group. After controlling for the range of potential confounders, these relationships are smaller, but still pronounced: Figure 1 shows that, among all sample children, those in the highest group have a probability 8 percentage points lower than those in the bottom group of later negative maths self-concept. In line with previous research, group placement is evidenced to play a part in shaping children’s trajectories, at this aggregate level.

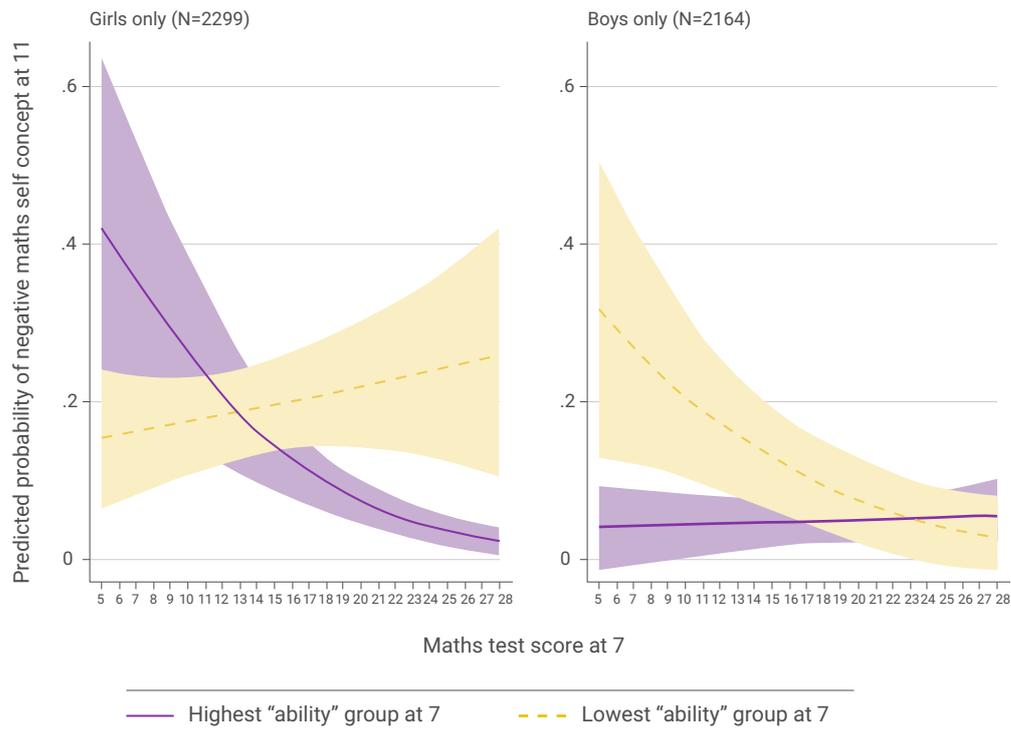
Figure 1: Predicted probability of negative maths self-concept at 11, according to earlier maths in-class “ability”– group at 7



All estimates are weighted for sample design and attrition. Controls are: age at respective cognitive test; months lapsed from cognitive test to teacher survey; literacy “ability” group at 7; reading teacher judgement at 7; ethnicity; family income; SEND; home language; mother’s education; month of birth; maths test score at 7; reading test score at 7; naming vocabulary score at 5; picture similarity score at 5; pattern construction test score at 5; parent report of child’s maths difficulties at 7; parent report of child’s reading difficulties at 7; maths help at home at 7; reading help at home at 7. Source: Millennium Cohort Study, waves 3, 4, and 5. Whiskers are 95% confidence intervals around each estimate.

When girls and boys are considered separately, different patterns emerge – and they are particularly pronounced if children’s maths skills, as proxied by the cognitive test scores at seven, are also taken into account. Figure 2 shows that all high-grouped boys – regardless of score – have very low odds of reporting subsequently that they are not good at maths. This supports the possibility of generally positive labelling effects of higher group placement for boys, irrespective of manifest skill. In contrast, only high-scoring, high-group girls mirror this low probability. Low-scoring, high-group girls are more likely to have later negative maths self-concept: an apparent transposition of the big-fish-little-pond effect not observed for the boys.

Figure 2: Predicted probability of negative maths self-concept at 11, according to earlier maths in-class “ability” – group at 7, and maths cognitive test score at 7



All estimates are weighted for sample design and attrition. Controls are: age at respective cognitive test; months lapsed from cognitive test to teacher survey; literacy “ability” group at 7; reading teacher judgement at 7; ethnicity; family income; SEND; home language; mother’s education; month of birth; reading test score at 7; naming vocabulary score at 5; picture similarity score at 5; pattern construction test score at 5; parent report of child’s maths difficulties at 7; parent report of child’s reading difficulties at 7; maths help at home at 7; reading help at home at 7. Source: Millennium Cohort Study, waves 3, 4, and 5. Shaded areas are 95% confidence intervals around each estimate.

Previous qualitative research into the experiences of “ability” grouped children suggests reasons for these varying relationships between group placement and later self-concept, including that higher groups are competitive, pressured, and rushed, and that girls have reported, on top-group placement: “...my confidence just went straight down because I realised how clever everyone else was.”¹

Thus this research supports two main points. Firstly, at the aggregate level, when girls and boys are considered together, children’s later maths self-concept at 11 is largely stratified by the maths in-class “ability” group in which they were placed at seven – even controlling for maths skill at this earlier age, and for a range of other confounders. Secondly, this relationship varies by gender: all top-grouped boys seem to benefit from top-group placement, while it is related to a higher probability of later negative self-concept for some top-grouped girls.

Therefore the practice of early in-class “ability” grouping for maths in primary school seems both to play a part in determining children’s trajectories, and disproportionately to advantage top-group boys: and this is in a context where there are gendered inequalities in experiences and outcomes associated with maths self-concept, through education and beyond. Along with the body of previous research, findings once more invite exploration of the impacts of “ability” groupings among young children. This work suggest that the use of maths in-class grouping should be reconsidered, and that this might boost maths progression, and contribute to closing gender gaps.

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Further information

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Author’s note: I am grateful to The Centre for Longitudinal Studies, Institute of Education for the use of these data, to the UK Data Archive and Economic and Social Data Service for making them available, and to all participants in the MCS. All analyses, interpretations, and errors are my own.

PhD Spotlight: Understanding the effects of an unconditional cash transfer on adolescents' life-course circumstances in Nepal

Nicholas Mathers

In less developed countries, adolescents often face poor and early transitions to adulthood. While there is evidence that cash transfers can increase access to school and reduce (detrimental) work, much of the literature fails to account for the complexity in people's lives and less is known about why and for whom certain effects do or do not occur. In this research, Nicholas Mathers analyses the effects of Nepal's Old Age Allowance on co-resident adolescents' life-course circumstances. He finds that the additional cash supports school attendance and expands school choice for some, but others face barriers to education that the cash is unable to overcome. Indeed, the additional income hastens transitions to adulthood in some cases, supporting boys' economic migration and expediting girls' marriage.

Poor and early transitions to adulthood

In poorer parts of the world, going to school cannot be taken for granted and adolescents often face early transitions to adulthood. Recent estimates show that in low-income countries, 39 per cent (21 million) of lower secondary age children and 61 per cent (26 million) of upper secondary age children are out of school.¹ Around 19 per cent (65 million) of children (aged 5-17) work excessive hours for their age or are in hazardous occupations.² Among the least developed countries, 39 per cent of women aged 20-24 were married before age 18 and 12 per cent before age 15.³

The role of cash transfers

While there are multiple reasons for adolescents being out of school, in work, or for marrying early, income poverty is known to be an important driver. A growing body of evidence tells us that cash transfers can increase demand for education among poor populations. Cash transfers are also shown to reduce the risk of adolescent participation in work and may even help delay marriages, although the evidence is thin and increases in work and marriage rates are found to occur in some cases.⁴

Whether and to what extent additional income is used in a way that affects adolescents' life-course circumstances depends on a multitude of factors that influence household decisions. However, much of the literature fails to account for the complexity of people's lives and little is known about why and under what conditions certain effects occur, or do not.

Understanding decision-making and diversity

Focusing on a poor region of Nepal with both Hindu and Muslim communities, my mixed-methods study explores how an unconditional cash transfer affects adolescent school attendance, work, and marriage timing. I use data from a household survey and in-depth interviews that I conducted in 2017-18 in Rautahat district in the Terai region to investigate the effects of Nepal's Old Age Allowance (OAA) on adolescents who co-reside with older persons – a common occurrence in Nepal. The quantitative analysis exploits the age criteria for OAA eligibility to isolate its effects on adolescents.

Centred on processes of decision-making, I adopted three broad strategies to understand effect pathways and to tease out some of the context-specific diversity in the ways that the OAA affects adolescents' lives. First, I considered a differentiated set of outcomes including attendance at public, (low-fee) private, and religious school, both paid and unpaid work, marital status, and recent out-migration, with analysis disaggregated by characteristics of the adolescent and the household.

Second, I investigated how the cash transfer interacts with the household economy including processes of resource sharing and its impacts on income, expenditure, and credit. Third, I drew on the perspectives of adolescents, parents and elders to better understand how the OAA is factored into decisions that are shaped by values and beliefs as much as economic concerns.

For better or worse, UCTs support existing preferences

The data confirm the challenging circumstances of adolescents in rural Rautahat. Among the study sample, 58 per cent attend school of whom 32 per cent attend mostly low-fee private schools. Boys are more than twice as likely as girls to attend private school. While 89 per cent of adolescents engage in economic or domestic work, 9 per cent participate in paid work outside the home. Early marriage primarily affects girls, with 11 per cent reported to be married compared to 3 per cent of boys.

Causal estimates reveal that households respond to the OAA in different ways depending on the gender of the recipient, the age and gender of the adolescent, and the socioeconomic circumstances of the household. The OAA has a consistently positive effect on school attendance in households with an elder woman (Figure 1). Effects on public schooling are larger for younger adolescents in slightly richer (but still poor) households. Further analysis suggests these may be “second priority” adolescents who would otherwise miss out and that retention in school may improve due to increased expenditure on private tuition. In contrast, poorer households that are less likely to have an adolescent in private school in the first place use the OAA to support older adolescents to access private education, especially when the household head is educated.

In households with an elder man (Figure 2), younger adolescents also benefit from access to public school. In this case, effects are larger for girls in poorer households with an educated head, again representing a boost for “second priority” adolescents. However, the findings reveal a large negative effect on private school attendance, especially among younger boys in slightly richer households. Further analysis suggests that these households incur debt to shift boys into private school in anticipation of eligibility for the OAA but are unable to sustain the costs due to long delays in receipt of the first payments. Adolescents subsequently drop out and, in some cases, transfer back to public school.

These varied responses to the OAA appear to be driven by strong preferences for private education given the poor quality of public schools, gendered social norms and expectations attached to transitions to adulthood, gendered differences in decision-making and access to credit, and shortcomings in OAA implementation. Moreover, I find that the cash is unlikely to benefit many adolescents who struggle academically, face harassment or abuse, are socially excluded, or are required to work at home.

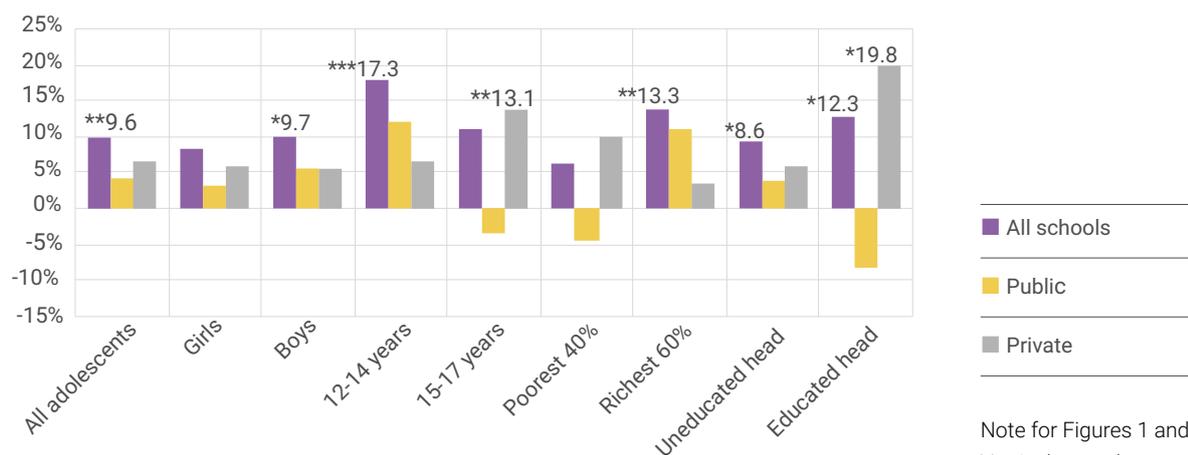
My findings reveal other priorities for adolescents who dropped out of, or never attended, mainstream school. While the OAA reduces the risk of engaging in paid work for some, older boys in poorer households with an elder woman are more likely to migrate for better employment opportunities. Some Muslim adolescents are supported to attend the Madrassa, reflecting a combination of religious obligation and social exclusion from mainstream schools. Worryingly, but unsurprising given the strong social and economic incentives for early marriage, a small proportion of households use the OAA to access credit for dowry and other costs, expediting the formalisation of older girls’ marriage.

Strengthen the positives, mitigate the negatives

For policy makers concerned with improving adolescent transitions to adulthood, the findings raise three key considerations. First, policies that aim to boost demand for education must be balanced with

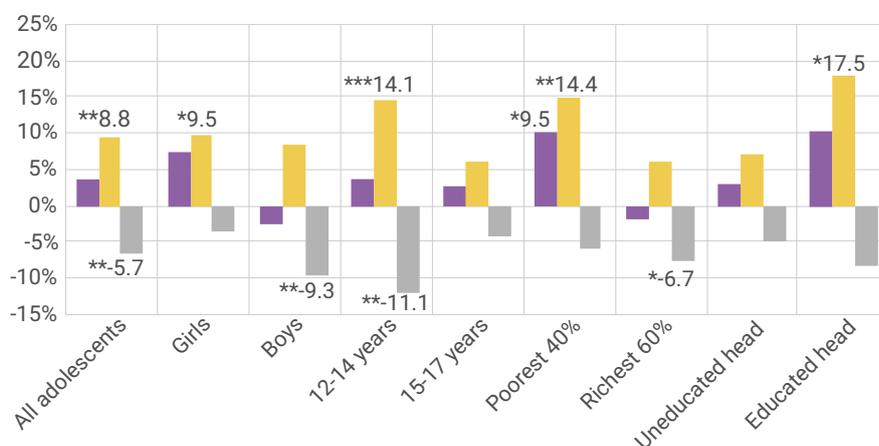
improvements to the quality of public schools. Otherwise, private expenditures, including from social transfers, will be increasingly channelled towards the private sector, exacerbating educational inequalities. Second, socially negative effects such as expediting early marriage must be guarded against with appropriate mitigating measures, although the most effective solution may be to ensure better quality and more inclusive public education from a young age. Third, whether the policy is a pension, scholarship scheme, or other form of social transfer, ensuring timely and predictable registration and payment is critical to allow households to plan and to make more strategic expenditures.

Figure 1: Change in adolescent school attendance due to the OAA in households with an elder woman



Note for Figures 1 and 2: Vertical axes show percentage point change in attendance rates. Age group categories omit 10-11 year olds. Only statistically significant results are labelled, where * = 90%, ** = 95%, and *** = 99%.

Figure 2: Change in adolescent school attendance due to the OAA in households with an elder man



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Further information

Nicholas Mathers is a final year PhD candidate in the Department of Social Policy. He has more than 15 years of experience in research and programme management including with UNICEF, ODI and Save the Children in both humanitarian and development contexts. His publications include articles and technical reports on social protection in relation to children, shock-responsiveness, economic growth, food security and other areas (available at nicholasmathers.academia.edu/).

Understanding recent patterns in intergenerational social mobility: differences by gender, education, ethnicity and their intersections

Lindsey Macmillan and Abigail McKnight

In this piece, Lindsey Macmillan and Abigail McKnight consider recent trends in social mobility by gender, education, ethnicity, and the intersection of these groups. Raw patterns of stability in upward and downward mobility rates mask important differences across groups. Black African men and women are less likely to be upwardly mobile and more likely to be downwardly mobile relative to other ethnic groups. The Black African penalty is partially explained by their relatively high social origins and high proportion of first generation immigrants. However, for Black Caribbean men and women the chances of being downwardly (upwardly) mobile increase (decrease) once accounting for origin class status, immigration history and even education. This article shows that while education is often a protective factor in improving chances of upward mobility, this is not the case for all ethnic groups. More work is needed to understand why Black Caribbean groups are less likely to move up and more likely to move down despite more favourable initial conditions.

The literature on intergenerational social class mobility in the UK has emphasised the stability in social mobility across time.^{1,2,3,4} Yet recent work has unearthed interesting trends within total absolute mobility rates, with younger cohorts experiencing increasing rates of downward mobility and declining rates of upward mobility.^{1,2} We contribute to this literature by analysing trends in social mobility for a more recent time period, offering an important advancement to our understanding by considering recent patterns in the intersections of gender and ethnicity with education. By utilising a large sample of survey respondents, we can offer the most up-to-date evidence on which groups experience greater social mobility in the UK.

We use data from The UK Labour Force Survey (LFS), which began collecting responses to retrospective questions on the occupations and employment status of survey respondents' main earning parent in July-September 2014. Since then, these questions have been repeated on an annual basis in the summer wave, meaning that there are now five years of intergenerational modules available. While the LFS does not collect the same depth of data as surveys such as the cohort studies, used in previous analysis of social mobility, this intergenerational element offers different strengths. The relative size of the LFS compared to the cohort studies means that it is possible for the first time to assess trends in social mobility across time, and look at recent rates of social mobility by gender, education and ethnicity, and the intersection of these important characteristics.



The class destination of survey respondents is measured using the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC) based on their current or last occupation, while class origin is derived from the occupation of the survey respondent's main earning parent at 14. In over 80 per cent of cases this is the respondent's father. We investigate broad trends in social mobility by gender from 2014 to 2018, before considering differences in social mobility by gender, education, ethnicity, and the intersection of these characteristics, by pooling our sample in 2014-2018. This ensures that we have sufficient sample size for our sub-group analysis.

Education is coded into five categories, from below Level 2 (less than five good GCSEs), to post-graduate qualifications. Ethnicity is coded into seven categories, in a similar manner to that previously used in the literature^{5,6}; White, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, Chinese and Other Asian, Black African, Black Caribbean, and Mixed / Other. When considering the intersection between gender, ethnicity and education, we collapse our education groups into a binary graduate / non-graduate variable due to sample size constraints.

To consider broad trends in absolute mobility over time, we calculate total mobility, and upward, downward, and horizontal mobility in 2014 and 2018, using 7x7 transition matrices. Those who move up or down a class from their class of origin are defined as upward or downwardly mobile, except for movements within classes 3 to 5, which are defined as horizontal movements. Those remaining in the same class as their main earning parent are defined as immobile.

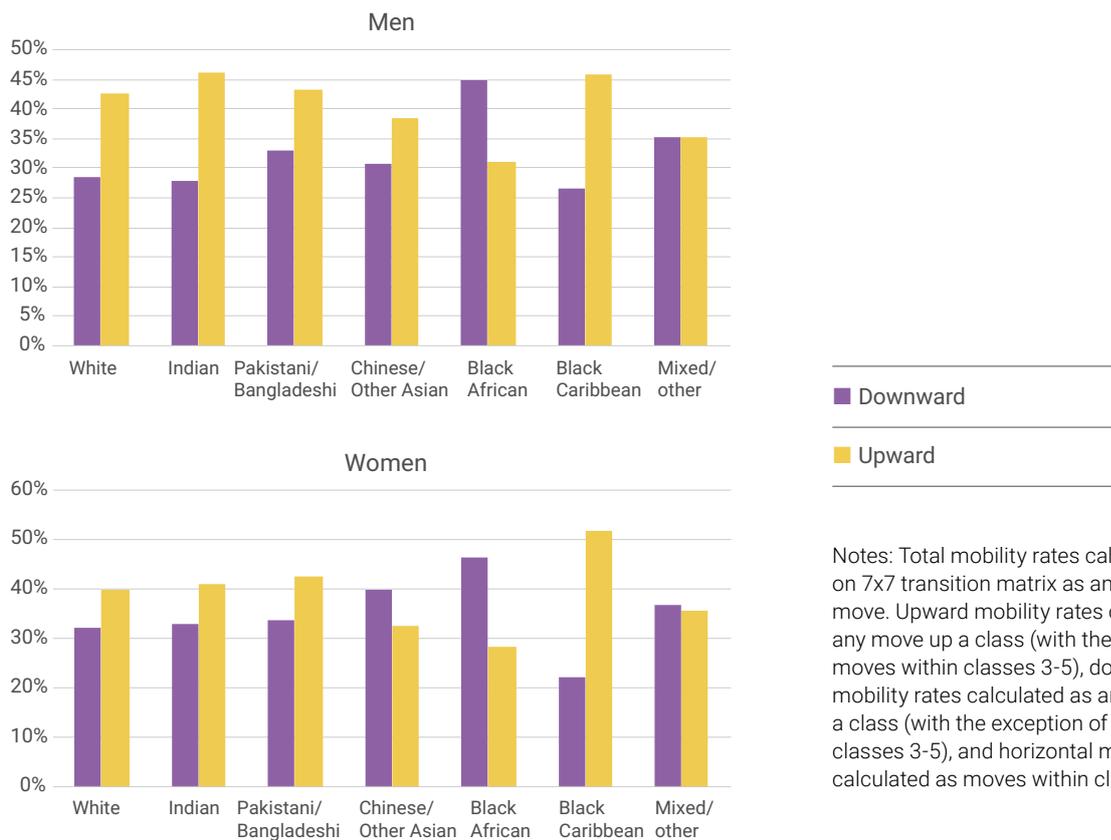
To measure differences in mobility rates between groups, including education, ethnicity and the intersection of these, we use linear probability models (LPM) to estimate the probability of upward and downward mobility conditional on these key characteristics. Here we restrict our sample to those who are able to move upwards and downwards (excluding those from the top and bottom origin class respectively). We estimate models on five years of data (2014-2018), controlling for year of survey and other observable differences in the population of respondents, including age and destination region. We also estimate further models that control for "initial conditions", conditioning on origin parental NS-SEC.⁵ Finally, given the importance of migration history when considering differences across ethnic groups, we estimate final models that control for whether the respondent is a first generation migrant (born outside of the UK).

While there is little change in social mobility over this short period, the sub-group analysis using a pooled sample reveals some important new findings documenting stark gender, education, and ethnic differences in social mobility prospects in the UK.

Education is a key factor in determining who moves up and who moves down the class distribution with higher levels of educational attainment associated with greater chances of upward mobility and lower risks of downward mobility. The strength of the relationship between educational attainment and upward/downward mobility increases after controlling for class origin, demonstrating that higher upward mobility and lower downward mobility associated with higher levels of education is not the result of more privileged children attaining higher levels of education.

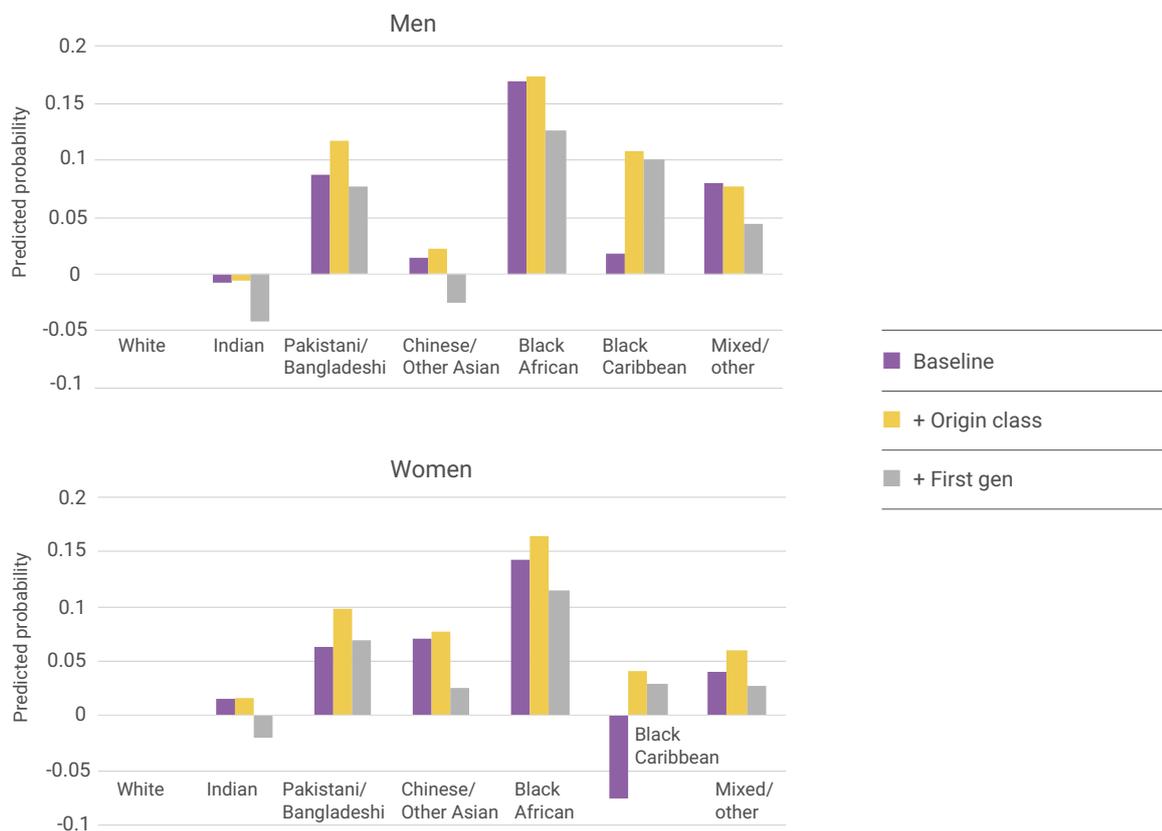
There are striking differences in mobility patterns between ethnic groups. In particular, while Black Africans are more likely to be downwardly mobile and less likely to be upwardly mobile than other ethnic groups (see Figure 1), this is partially explained by their higher social class origin and high proportion of first generation immigrants (see Figure 2). For Black Caribbeans, while the raw data shows lower rates of downward mobility and higher rates of upward mobility (Figure 1), when we account for their "initial conditions" (they are less likely to have a high social class origin and the minority are first generation immigrants), this exacerbates differences in mobility rates compared to other ethnic groups (see Figure 2).

Figure 1: Upward and downward mobility rates in pooled LFS (2014-2018) by ethnicity for men and women (age 25-59)



Notes: Total mobility rates calculated based on 7x7 transition matrix as any off-diagonal move. Upward mobility rates calculated as any move up a class (with the exception of moves within classes 3-5), downward mobility rates calculated as any move down a class (with the exception of moves within classes 3-5), and horizontal mobility rates calculated as moves within classes 3-5.

Figure 2: Predicted probabilities of downward mobility in pooled LFS (2014-2018) by ethnic group relative to White, for those age 25-59



Differences in upward and downward mobility between other ethnic groups are less clear cut with the exceptions of Indian men and women who are more likely than their White counterparts to experience upward mobility and Pakistani/Bangladeshi men and women who are more likely than their White counterparts to experience downward mobility.

While graduates from all ethnic groups are more likely to experience upward mobility and less likely to experience downward mobility than White non-graduates, among male graduates, Black Africans are the least likely to be upwardly mobile, and Indians the most likely to be upwardly mobile relative to White non-graduate males. Black Africans and Black Caribbeans are the most likely to be downwardly mobile among male graduates, while Indians are the least likely, relative to White non-graduate males. Among female graduates, Pakistanis/Bangladeshis are the least likely to be upwardly mobile and Indians the most likely to be upwardly mobile, while Black Africans are the most likely to be downwardly mobile, relative to White non-graduate females.

This work suggests that broad trends in rates of social mobility mask important differences by gender, ethnicity and education. Comparing mobility rates for the intersection of these groups provides a more nuanced picture of recent trends in social mobility. In particular, we highlight how Black African and Black Caribbean men are less likely to experience upward mobility and more likely to experience downward mobility than other ethnic groups, even among graduates, when we take into account “initial conditions” of these groups. While the relatively high social origins and high proportion of first generation migrants can account for part of this picture for Black Africans, these initial conditions only exacerbate raw differences for Black Caribbeans.

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PhD Spotlight: Young haves and have-nots: the role of intergenerational transfers on young peoples' homeownership outcomes

Ellie Suh

Owning a home in Britain has become more difficult for today's younger adults compared to their parents' generation at a similar age. In this article Ellie Suh shows how, in the face of deteriorating affordability, direct and indirect family support offer comparable advantages for first-time homeowners. She finds that socio-economic background is more important today than in the past. More effective policies are needed to narrow growing inequalities in homeownership outcomes.

Homeownership struggle was one of the most discussed social and economic issues related to the younger generation in the past years. Owning a home has become more difficult for today's younger adults compared to their parents' generation at a similar age. Right to buy, introduced in 1981 when one in three households were living in social housing¹, made it possible for many baby boomers to purchase high-quality social housing at a generous discount. Since then, homeownership rates have increased, and those who own a home have seen their housing wealth rise due to the house price boom that started in the mid-1990s.²

Today, the younger generation's experience differs substantially. House prices rose faster than real income, resulting in deteriorating affordability. The size of the deposit required after the 2007/8 global financial crisis is greater than previously, and still rising. Millennials in their early 30s wanting to own an average home in England in 2016 needed to save for a deposit of £32,300 (in 2016 value), which was 1.3 their pre-tax income at the national median level of £25,200.^{3,4} With take-home pay of around £1,700 per month after tax, a highly motivated millennial saving £500 per month would be able to produce the deposit money in five and a half years. Since then, house prices have increased further, and so has the deposit size, with an estimated average of around £46,200 in January 2020.⁵

Falling affordability has emphasised the importance of financial help from family, often known as the *Bank of Mum and Dad* (BOMAD). If the sum is sufficiently substantial, intergenerational transfers (such as inheritance, cash gifts or informal loans) can shorten the deposit-saving period, or even replace the need for saving entirely. It is also important to consider an indirect form of transfer: the decrease in living costs, which in turn improves saving capacity and can further shorten the time taken to save. Many young people are moving back to their parental homes to save on costs, thus earning the nickname of "the boomerang generation". Accounts of families enabling young adults' entry to the housing market are relatable to many. Using a nationally representative dataset, the aim of



my study is to test whether these mechanisms are indeed at work, and, if so, to what extent. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first academic study that has tested the younger generation's homeownership outcomes taking into consideration both direct (money) and indirect (space) family support.

This study used four waves of Wealth and Assets Survey (WAS), a biennial survey that offers rich information about British households' economic outcomes and wealth and has been carried out since 2006/8. It is not a housing specialist survey, but it contains details on intergenerational (inheritance, cash gifts and informal loans from family and friends), as well as information on parental homeownership, which were crucial to this study.

The study sample includes adults aged under 45 in 2008/10. I first conduct a cross-sectional analysis to distinguish those who were homeowners (called "already-owners") versus non-owners.⁶ After that, I focus on a subsample of non-owners and identify those who enter owner-occupation (called "new-entrants") between 2008/10 and 2014/16. Event history analysis was used to test whether financial help from family, direct (as a receipt of intergenerational transfer greater than £15,000) or indirect (parental co-residence), since the age of 19 is associated with a higher chance of entering the housing market, controlling for individuals' socio-economic characteristics as well as whether their parents own their own home.

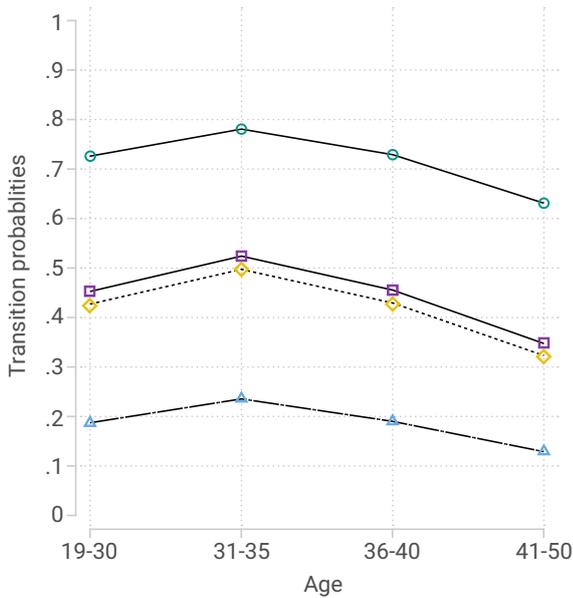
The results show that direct financial help equal to, or greater than, £15,000 was strongly associated with already-owners and new-entrants, controlling for other variables such as socio-economic characteristics and parental homeownership. The odds of moving into homeownership for non-owners in 2008/10 are found to be nearly 3.5 times greater if they received indirect financial support, compared to those who did not. The study also found that the extent to which direct and indirect financial help are associated with a new entry is comparable (see Figure 1). According to the model, living at home offers more advantages than having a £30,000 higher annual household income (see Figure 2).

The availability (and the extent) of family help is an indicator of parental wealth. Thus, the findings of the study imply that the homeownership outcomes of today's younger generation in Britain are closely linked to their parents' economic standing, and that young adults from richer socio-economic backgrounds have a systematic advantage in building their housing wealth. Nowadays there are several banks which offer mortgage products for first-time buyers partially secured against their parents' assets. For instance, if the parents hold a savings account with an amount (e.g. 10 per cent of the mortgage) that could be used towards their adult child's deposit, the banks will consider lending to the adult child without having to transfer the money from the parents' account to the child's.

As the younger generation's homeownership outcomes become more closely related to their family background, the role that policies play in narrowing within-generational inequality becomes crucial. For instance, *Help to Buy* was introduced with the aim of balancing out the prevalence and influence of BOMAD in the market, by bringing balance between supply and demand in the market. However, its effectiveness in helping those in need of it is limited, as only 37 per cent of those who became homeowners between June 2015 and March 2017 reported that they could not have bought their home without the *Help to buy* scheme.⁷

Homeownership carries not only economic but also social significance. An increased importance of family background and limited effectiveness of policies in addressing fundamental issues in the current housing market strongly suggest the need for a social consensus on the path forward for policies aiming to reduce inequality in homeownership.

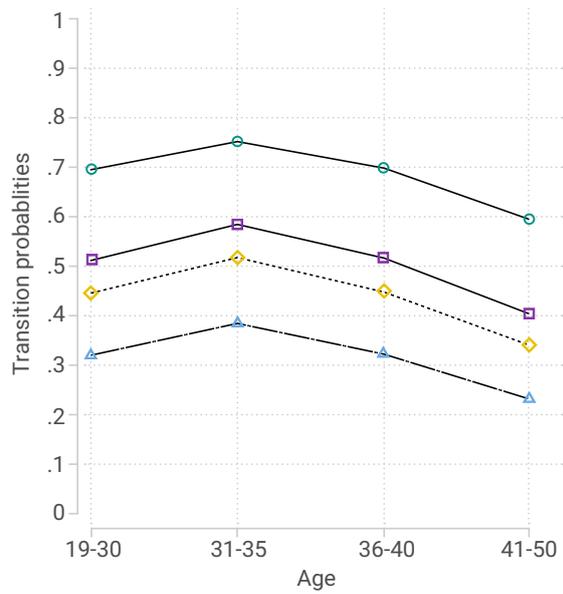
Figure 1: The relative effects of direct and indirect financial support



- Transfer +15k, and lived at home
- No transfer, but lived at home
- ◇— Transfer +15k, not lived at home
- △— No transfer, not lived at home

Note: The predicted probabilities are for individuals who have grown up with homeowner parents, who have been married without children, and who are living in England (not London). It is assumed that they have less than £50,000 in financial assets and are on an average income.

Figure 2: Predicted probabilities by household income and indirect support



- Indirect support, income £35,000
- Indirect support, income £15,000
- ◇— No indirect support, income £45,000
- △— No indirect support, income £25,000

Note: Chronological age ranges that correspond to the four interval categories are used to facilitate interpretation of the predicted probabilities – see Table 2. These predicted probabilities are for individuals who are married with no children, living in England (not London), have grown up in an owner-occupying household. It is assumed that individuals did not receive indirect support and to have savings of less than £50,000 in the second wave.

Endnotes

- 1 Lupton, R. (2016), The Influence (s) of Housing Policies on the Residential Moves of Families with Young Children, *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*, 7(3): 288–301.
- 2 Bastagli, F., and Hills, J. (2013), Wealth Accumulation, Ageing, and House Prices, in *Wealth In the UK*, eds. Hills, J. et al. Oxford: Oxford University Press., 63–91.
- 3 Halifax (2017) [Number of first-time buyers reaches 10-year high](#), press release 13 January.
- 4 HM Revenue & Customs (2018) [Distribution of Median and Mean Income and Tax by Age Range and Gender: 2013 to 2014](#), London: HMRC.
- 5 Halifax (2020). Halifax First Time Buyers Review (Press release) available: [Halifax First Time Buyers Review Press Release January 2020](#).
- 6 This was performed using the 3rd wave data (2010/12), as the income variable in the 2nd wave (2008/10) was not nationally representative.
- 7 National Audit Office (2019) Help to Buy: Equity Loan scheme – progress review. Available at: [Help to buy equity loan scheme progress review \(nao.org.uk\)](#).

Further information

Ellie Suh completed her PhD at CASE in 2020. Her thesis explored long-term saving and wealth accumulation among the younger half of the British working age population. She holds a postdoctoral researcher position at the Department of Education, University of Oxford and is a Visiting Scholar at CASE.

This article is based on:

Suh, E. (2020) Young British adults’ homeownership circumstances and the role of international transfers. *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*, Volume 11, Number 3, July 2020, pp. 383-407(25). Available [here](#).

LSE Housing and Communities: A summary of 2020

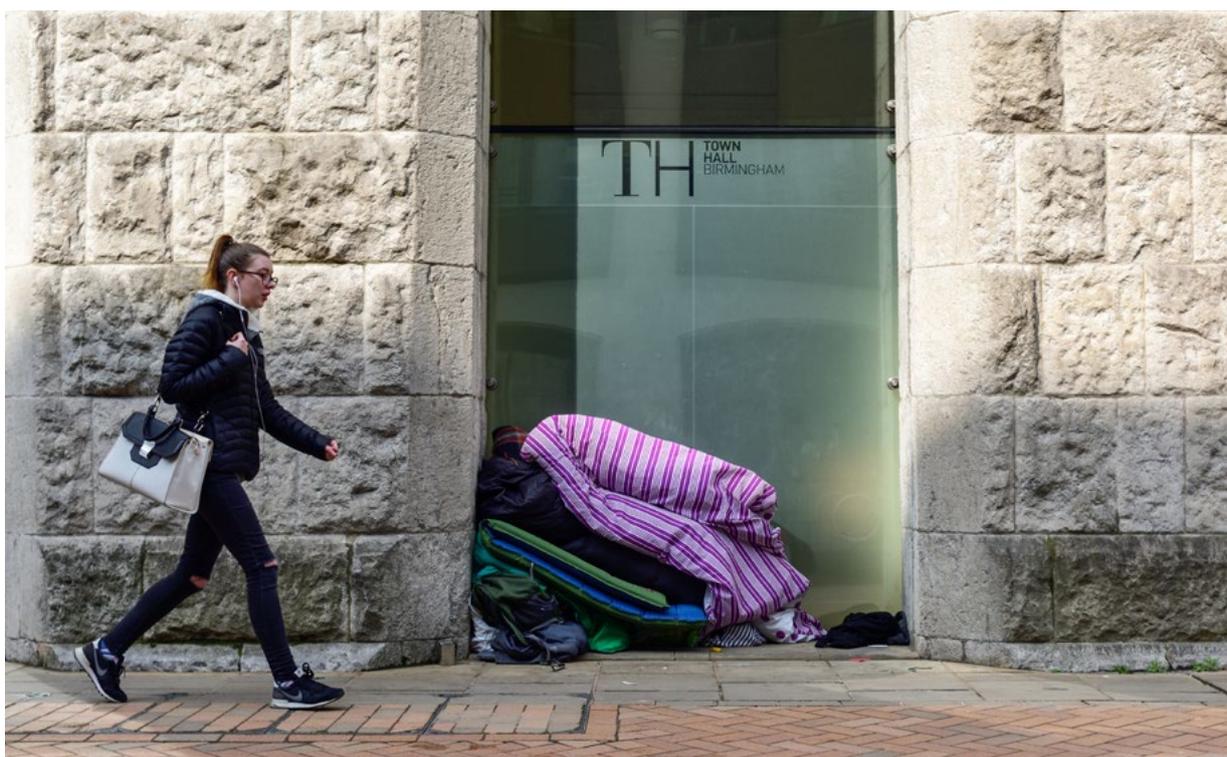
Anne Power, Laura Lane, Eleanor Benton, Bert Provan and Jessica Rowan

LSE Housing and Communities' research focuses on the effects of poverty and disadvantage on low-income neighbourhoods and communities. In 2020, their work has covered homelessness, city recovery, community responses to Covid-19, and the impacts of local neighbourhood management on community conditions. This report focuses on four of LSE Housing's main projects in 2020.

Homelessness

Over the last few years, LSE Housing and Communities has undertaken research into homelessness and in 2020, we completed our project on Housing First in the London Borough of Newham (LBN). We were commissioned by LBN to evaluate their Housing First pilot project, to help understand the experiences and pathways of the rough sleepers that were part of the target group, and to understand the effectiveness of the Housing First intervention in promoting long-term tenancy sustainment and improving the health and wellbeing of service users. Following in-depth interviews with 12 Housing First clients, and an analysis of the cost-benefit of the service, our research highlighted that the key objectives of the pilot project had been met, and particularly that the scheme demonstrated that it should be a cost-effective, viable service option for the borough. Of the 12 clients we interviewed, none received any benefit sanctions during the pilot; the majority engaged with and accessed support for physical and mental health problems, including substance misuse; all were able to link with a GP service; and the clients that moved into independent tenancies were able to sustain them with the support of the Housing First support workers.

In 2020, we also published two knowledge-exchange reports into homelessness, funded by our ongoing grant from the Mitchell Charitable Trust. "Tackling Homelessness: Case Studies" is a summary of 17 case study organisations providing homelessness provision and support in the UK. The variety of services provided in the case studies shows the complex nature of homelessness, and the need for varied approaches and services to tackle it. "Homelessness and Housing First: A guide



to good practice” sets out the homelessness context in the UK and provides evidence of successes and challenges of the three government-funded Housing First pilot schemes in Manchester, Liverpool, and the West Midlands. This research also explores examples of good practice from homelessness charities and organisations following Housing First principles. The core aim of this research was to foster greater knowledge exchange and sharing of good practice among homelessness organisations, housing associations, policymakers and government, in order to help more people access stable, secure, safe homes.

EastendHomes

In 2020, LSE Housing and Communities began work on a piece of research for EastendHomes, a housing association based in Tower Hamlets, East London, to conduct an independent evaluation of their neighbourhood management approach. EastendHomes, with 2300 tenanted homes and 1485 leasehold homes, operates a local, neighbourhood-based housing management to deliver core services to its homes. Housing management functions are delivered via local offices at neighbourhood level, with an Estate Management Board established for each neighbourhood area. EastendHomes have commissioned LSE Housing to undertake an evaluation of this service to assess tenant satisfaction, viability, and value for money of this neighbourhood management service.

In 2020, we undertook desk-based research for this project, including an analysis of the estate-based budget, staff roles and team contributions, and the general design and make-up of the neighbourhood areas, and we also started to interview key staff members. In 2021, we will undertake further qualitative telephone interviews with residents to assess tenant satisfaction and any recommendations that tenants may have. The project is due to end in March 2021.

Poland

Walbrzych, a city in south eastern Poland, was the focus of work undertaken by LSE Housing between 2019 and mid-2020 for the European Investment Bank (EIB), building on our previous work on city recovery. The city of 104,000 people had seen the rapid closure of its principal industry in the mid-1990s, resulting in a third of its working population losing their jobs. Subsequently, a new special economic zone had been created and many regeneration plans drawn up, alongside grant funding programmes. Nevertheless, areas of severe deprivation remained in the city and it continued to struggle to shake off its reputation as one of the “worst” Polish cities to live in. Alongside new funding, the EIB commissioned a project to help the city learn from how other mid-sized EU cities had driven regeneration. COVID played a large part in how this work was undertaken in 2020. Although three visits were made to the city before March 2020, the proposed multi-city, multi-day workshop in Walbrzych proved impossible, as was the much anticipated three-day bus tour of northern Europe. In its place, a series of four multi-city multi-day, simultaneously interpreted, Zoom workshops were set up, with experts from 12 cities involved over the week of events, and a considerable additional amount of pre-workshop exchanges of reports, advice, and information. The focus of this work was driven by the EU/EIB green economy agenda, the principles of building a Circular Economy, and the still underdeveloped opportunities to attract residents and visitors to what is in fact a historic and attractive town nestling in the rolling hills of lower Silesia. The report was completed with minimal delay and was published in July 2020.

Housing Plus Academy

This year, LSE Housing and Communities continued to run the Housing Plus Academy (HPA), a knowledge exchange partnership with the National Communities Resource Centre, the National Housing Federation, the Chartered Institute of Housing and leading housing associations. We run events that bring together social housing staff, residents, and policymakers to discuss the key issues facing social housing, to share their own experiences and come up with innovative solutions.



In February we ran a one-day workshop at LSE on how social landlords can deal with the Grenfell Inquiry recommendations. The event was attended by 26 representatives from landlords across the UK. Landlords are already doing lots of work to turn the recommendations into action. However, the recommendations create huge challenges; they place major pressure on resources, the existing supply chains are not fit for purpose and landlords must work closely with tenants to make the changes.

Our usual in-person workshop format was hit by the pandemic, but we were able to adapt what we do and run online, two-hour workshops. The first online workshop in September looked at how social landlords have adapted their frontline management to continue to support staff and tenants during the pandemic. The event was attended by 46 participants from different social landlords. Landlords adapted quickly to continue supporting tenants and the pandemic has increased direct contact and welfare checks with residents. Both staff and tenants have valued this increased contact and the pandemic has taught social landlords the importance of regular engagement with residents. Our second online event, held in November, explored how social landlords can tackle racial discrimination and create more racial fairness within their organisations. The event was attended by 44 participants. One of the key messages from the workshop was that social landlords need to have open and honest conversations about race with their staff and tenants and that these conversations must lead to tangible actions.

On the back of the success of the HPA, we now plan to set up an “Energy Plus Academy” which aims to give communities and organisations working with them a stronger voice in combatting climate change and addressing community problems. The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust have kindly agreed to sponsor this work.

Further information

Anne Power is head of LSE Housing and Communities and Emeritus Professor of Social Policy at LSE.

Laura Lane is a Research Officer at LSE Housing and Communities.

Eleanor Benton is a Research Assistant at LSE Housing and Communities.

Bert Provan is a Research Fellow in CASE and LSE Housing and Communities.

Jessica Rowan is the Research Projects Coordinator for LSE Housing and Communities.

LSE Housing and Communities is a research and consultancy group within CASE. More information on ongoing projects is available on the [website](#).

Community responses to the coronavirus pandemic: How mutual aid can help

Eleanor Benton and Anne Power

In this article Eleanor Benton and Anne Power discuss the main findings from their research into the growth of mutual aid during the COVID-19 pandemic. They discuss what impact these groups have had in communities, and what support they will need in order to continue.

The COVID-19 pandemic created a unique set of circumstances: people over 70 and those with underlying health conditions were confined to their homes; people were cut off from their normal forms of support; family members were separated; schools and non-essential shops were closed; and day to day activities were stopped. Alongside this, there was a strong upsurge in people's desire to help each other. In the first three weeks of the March 2020 lockdown, 250,000 people signed up to local volunteer centres, and 4300 mutual aid¹ groups were set up across the UK.

A mutual aid group is defined as:

“a volunteer-led initiative where groups of people in a particular area join together to support one another, meeting vital community needs without relying on official bodies. They do so in a way that prioritises those who are most vulnerable or otherwise unable to access help through regular channels”²

LSE Housing and Communities wanted to capture this movement and understand the key drivers of the groups, including their motivation to form, what help they were offering, and the impact of their work. To do this, we undertook interviews with organisers and volunteers from 20 mutual aid groups across the UK.



The 20 groups we spoke to have had a significant impact in the communities they were working in. At time of interview (April – August 2020) these 20 groups were providing ongoing support for 975 people and had provided 102,620 meals and food packages. The organisers set up mutual aid groups because they wanted to take an active role in the crisis and help people in need. The proliferation of mutual aid groups show a desire for stronger, more active and involved communities, with many of the volunteers participating in community work for the first time. Unlike more formal forms of support the groups had no eligibility criteria, they simply helped anyone who needed it. Despite their informality, several of the groups were receiving referrals from local councils and other established organisations.

19 out of the 20 groups wanted to carry on helping people as a group after the pandemic and some of them were starting to think about other problems in their communities that they could help with. In order to continue, the groups will need to become self-sustaining. Training could help ensure the volunteers stay motivated and have the skills to run the groups successfully. The groups we spoke to were reliant on fundraising and one-off grants but may need more stable funding sources to become sustainable, especially as donations may fall away over time. Groups will also need structures in place to ensure that funds are accounted for. As economic uncertainties continue, and the winter lockdown takes its toll, the mutual aid groups may uncover problems they do not have capacity or experience to deal with. Groups therefore must have links to professional organisations where they can refer people for support and get support themselves.

While mutual aid groups can have a huge impact in the communities they work in, they are not enough on their own. For these groups to thrive they must be supported by wider social infrastructure including the NHS, schools, housing, jobs and community assets. However, there is a need for grassroots, locally-run, non-exclusive mutual aid groups to increase community support and activity.

Endnotes

- 1 Butler, P. (2020) [A million volunteer to help NHS and others during Covid-19 outbreak.](#)
- 2 Covid-19 Mutual Aid (2020) [Covid-19 Mutual Aid.](#)

Further information

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

Eleanor Benton is a Research Assistant in LSE Housing and Communities. She has been involved in several research projects including "Community Responses to the Coronavirus Pandemic: How mutual aid can help". She coordinates the Housing Plus Academy, working with tenants and housing staff to run think tanks on the wider impact of social landlords on communities.

Iona Wainwright

My time at CASE really was like no other. I started my role as Graduate Intern with the team in April 2020 – just weeks after the UK went into national lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This meant meeting my colleagues, setting up systems, and learning the ropes completely remotely. Whilst this has now become the norm for so many people, the even more unusual part of this whole experience was that I also left the role while the office was closed. So, despite working alongside my team daily for 8 months, I never met a single colleague in-person.

Despite this, it didn't take long to feel like part of the team. I was lucky enough to work on the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes project, which meant I got to work with and support lots of different researchers at CASE, in particular Polly Vizard, Polina Obolenskaya and Kerris Cooper. They welcomed me to the team, were always there to answer my questions, and we spoke so regularly that I really felt like I had met them.

In my role, I researched and reviewed healthcare data, from how many doctors the UK has compared to other countries to the disproportionate impact of the Mental Health Act on people from ethnic minority groups. I also coordinated bringing together the project's overview paper, which meant I got a great overarching understanding of the project, how the different sections fit together, and the overall picture the project was creating. I also developed my technological skills; for example I will be forever grateful to Nora Takacs for showing me how to produce automated captions and cross-references – a seemingly boring skill, but I cannot stress enough how much of a timesaver this is!

During my time at CASE, I was also able to attend the brilliant talks and workshops where I heard about research going on within the centre, as well as within the broader social policy world. I got to hear from, and at times work with, researchers that I have long admired and whose work I have been following for years.

There are many things I learnt from my time at CASE, from honing strong analytical skills to a more in-depth insight into social policy. What I think I will remain most grateful for is the confidence that the experience gave me in joining and contributing to a team entirely remotely, a skill that has already served me well in my new role at the ONS. I hope that one day I will be able to meet my ex-colleagues for a coffee in-person, but until then emails and Zoom it is!



CASE Knowledge Exchange and Impact

As in all aspects of work and daily life, CASE's knowledge exchange and impact activities had to adapt quickly to Covid and lockdown during 2020, as they continue to do into 2021. Seminars were attended on the sofa, conferences chaired from the conservatory, and launches broadcast from bedrooms. Amongst the things we discovered was that attendance at the regular CASE seminars and events increased – in some cases by about half as many again as for in person events. And the Housing Neighbourhoods and Communities team managed to turn a multi-day multi-city urban regeneration workshop in Poland into four extended Zooms including 12 cities over four days, with simultaneous translation, and a follow-up presentation at the EU European Week of the Regions, all hosted from a kitchen table in Peckham. Clearly there is a place for interactive live streaming in the future, with snacks.

Downloads of CASE publications continued to reach a wide and varied audience. Here the profound contribution of John Hills to the work of CASE, marked elsewhere in this report, can also be seen. Two publications by John (the Fuel Poverty Review, and the National Equality Panel Review), take the second and third place whether looking at the cumulative total downloads over the full 8 years, or the mean annual total taking account of the year of publication. In first place (also using the two measures) is the 2013 report on *Labour's Social Policy Record*, authored jointly by John, Ruth Lupton, Kitty Stewart, and Polly Vizard. The 2019 overview of *Understanding the Relationship between Poverty and Inequality* which John co-authored with Abigail McKnight, Irene Bucelli, Eleni Karagiannaki, Polly Vizard and Lin Yang was in seventh place for average annual downloads after two years.

The legacy of that Poverty and Inequality report, and of John's influence, is reflected in the second most downloaded report of 2020, the description and explanation of the [Policy Toolkit](#) for *Understanding the Relationship between Poverty and Inequality*, written by the current Director Abigail McKnight, Irene Bucelli and Kate Summers. That toolkit presented policy options which have been analysed in terms of their relationship to poverty and inequality, public and political support, type and level of intervention, evidence of effectiveness and cost to government. They are linked to a structured set of seven mechanisms that could lie behind the positive relationship between poverty and inequality and organised by policy area, with a short summary table providing more detailed supporting information. The potential impact of [the toolkit itself, which is an interactive website](#), is considerable, and we will be monitoring it over this and subsequent years. During 2020, the policy-toolkit as a whole (all the pages within the toolkit) received 4,431 hits. Out of those 4,431 hits, [the policy toolkit home page](#) received 1,549 hits alone.

Early 2020 saw the launch of another report taking a different view on inequality. This was not the more traditional question of "how much is too poor" but rather the striking question of "how much is too rich?". *Living on different incomes in London: Can public consensus identify a "riches line"*, co-authored by Abigail Davis, Katharina Hecht, Tania Burchardt, Ian Gough, Donald Hirsch, Karen Rowlingson and Kate Summers became the most downloaded of the new publications appearing in 2020, aided by a [Guardian article](#) which attracted over 900 comments as well as a [New Statesman article](#).

The key question of "how much is too poor" was not neglected, of course, and Kitty Stewart continued her active engagement with addressing child poverty, including an appearance on BBC Radio 4's [More or Less](#) to discuss Prime Minister Boris Johnson's controversial use of poverty statistics in Parliament, and a podcast in the LSE iQ series on ["How can we end child poverty in the UK?"](#). Wider public awareness of this question has been prompted during Covid, not least by the campaign by

the Manchester United footballer, Marcus Rashford. The podcast followed a [letter to the Independent](#) coordinated by Kitty in June and co-signed by a further 28 academics, which set out the wider context to the public audience. Work on child poverty continues as a priority, and in early 2021 CASE prepared a collective response drawing on work from across the centre to submit to the 2020-21 Commons Work and Pensions Committee Inquiry into Children in poverty: Measurement and targets.

Several further reports from the Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain programme were published, in advance of the main launch and series of six focused workshops in 2021. The findings were presented as part of the CASE regular Social Exclusion Seminar series, and covered Employment, Social Security, Health and Social Care, Early Years, Social Mobility, and Trends in Adolescent Disadvantage. As noted above, these mainly virtual presentations were very well attended, attracting mixed audiences of policymakers, practitioners, advocacy groups and academics.

Alongside this, the Housing and Communities team continued the work of the Housing Plus Academy, mainly online apart from an early workshop on Grenfell Tower in February. Virtual workshops and presentations covered race equality in social housing, the historical roots of housing management, and the wider impact of Covid. Additional events were also held presenting the team's work on community responses to Covid through the work of mutual aid groups, post-Grenfell housing management issues on the wider Lancaster Gate estate, and work in Poland on Walbrzych noted above.

The wider European dimension of CASE work was demonstrated through Nora Ratzmann's extensive knowledge exchange work around her research into inequalities that EU migrant citizens may experience in claiming welfare benefits and associated services in local job centres in Germany. This impact work includes policy briefs and recommendations published by both CASE and the Berlin research institution DeZIN, blog entries on the consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic for vulnerable migrant groups in the LSE Social Policy Blog and the LSE European Policy and Politics Blog, and informal background talks with representatives from German development cooperation (on diaspora outreach), migrant self organisations, and think tanks and political foundations (e.g. Stiftung Mercator). Nora also discussed the findings at several workshops including with German regional governments, a roundtable of EU Citizens in Berlin, a German Working Group on Migration and Integration, the Diversity Network IQ (online), and with social workers and migrant counsellors from welfare organisations. Nora's report was downloaded 1,700 times from the CASE website during 2020.

Other CASE members contributed to the work of delivering impact from their research. Liz Mann's paper for the Wealth Tax Commission was cited in their final report; Ceri Hughes presented research on work and work quality to the Universal Credit Division of DWP; and Bert Provan's work for the British Red Cross on extending the "move-on" period for refugees newly granted leave was cited in a Commons debate on that issue.



Publications
2020

Month published	Authors	Title	Downloads
Feb/2020	Abigail Davis, Katharina Hecht, Tania Burchardt, Ian Gough, Donald Hirsch, Karen Rowlingson and Kate Summers	Living on Different Incomes in London: Can public consensus identify a 'riches line'? (Report and Summary)	4,107
Feb/2020	Irene Bucelli, Abigail McKnight and Kate Summers	Understanding the relationship between inequalities and poverty: policy toolkit	3,769
Mar/2020	Abigail McKnight and Kerris Cooper	The National Living Wage and falling earnings inequality	2,558
Feb/2020	Bert Provan	Extending the "move-on" period for newly granted refugees: Analysis of impacts and costs	1,959
Jan/2020	Nora Ratzmann	Caught between the local and the (trans)national: EU citizens at the front-line of German welfare policy	1,699
Jul/2020		CASE Annual Report 2019	1,485
Jul/2020	Aveek Bhattacharya	When and why might choice in public services have intrinsic (dis)value?	1,210
Aug/2020	Howard Glennerster	The post war welfare state: stages and disputes	1,114
Jul/2020	Maciej Borsa, Aleksandra Jadach-Sepiolo and Bert Provan	City of Walbrzych: Technical Assistance for Mitigating the Social and Economic Challenges of The City	1,110
Jun/2020	Tania Burchardt	Does COVID-19 represent a 'new Beveridge' moment, a crisis that will wash away, or a call to action?	956
Sep/2020	Caroline Bryson and Stephen McKay	COVID-19: has the pandemic affected relationships between children and their non-resident parents?	855
Sep/2020	LSE Housing and Communities	Homelessness and Housing First: A guide to good practice	803
Jun/2020	LSE Housing and Communities	Tackling Homelessness: Case Studies	783
Nov/2020	Aaron Reeves, Mark Fransham, Kitty Stewart and Ruth Patrick	Did the introduction of the benefit cap in Britain harm mental health? A natural experiment approach	214

Publications: most downloaded Eight year total

8 Year Total	Authors	Title	Pub Year
384,453	Ruth Lupton, John Hills, Kitty Stewart and Polly Vizard	Labour’s Social Policy Record: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 1997-2010	2013
315,962	John Hills	Final report of the Hills Independent Fuel Poverty Review: Getting the Measure of Fuel Poverty	2012
291,733	John Hills	An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK – Report of the National Equality Panel	2010
155,197	Ruth Lupton and Polina Obolenskaya	Labour’s Record on Education: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 1997-2010	2013
114,702	Ruth Lupton, Polly Vizard, Amanda Fitzgerald, Alex Fenton, Ludovica Gambaro and Jack Cunliffe	Prosperity, Poverty and Inequality in London 2000/01-2010/11	2013
88,792	Laura Lane and Anne Power	Low Income Housing Estates: A report to Hammersmith United Charities on supporting communities, preventing social exclusion and tackling need in the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham	2009
79,969	Astrid Winkler	Sheffield City Report	2007
70,273	John Hills	Ends and Means: The future roles of social housing in England	2007
69,967	Ruth Lupton and Anne Power	Minority Ethnic Groups in Britain	2004
59,815	Anne Power	Sustainable communities and sustainable development: A review of the Sustainable Communities Plan	2004

Summary of current research



Eleanor Benton works as a research assistant in LSE Housing and Communities. She works on the Housing Plus Academy programme, a partnership with Trafford Hall – The National Communities Resource Centre, which aims to bring together people from across the housing sector at think tanks and workshops to tackle key issues such as the link between climate change and housing, homelessness, building safety and tenant engagement. This year the events have been held online and have focused on how social landlords have responded to the pandemic and the links between race inequality and housing. This year Eleanor’s research has mainly focused on the role of mutual aid groups in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic. She has also started research exploring how market and intermediate rented properties provided by Housing Associations can help tackle the housing crisis.



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



Irene Bucelli has collaborated with Abigail McKnight and Pedro Mendes Loureiro in the development of the Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit for the German Development agency Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). The Toolkit applies the Multidimensional Inequality Framework (MIF) and assesses policies to tackle inequalities in low- and middle-income countries, including a novel approach to design “policy mixes” – combinations of policies likely to be more effective and efficient than isolated policies. Her work on multi-dimensional inequality has also included a further collaboration with Abigail, mapping systemic approaches to understand and address inequalities for the Robert Bosch Stiftung.



At the start of the year, **Tania Burchardt** published findings from a pilot project funded by the Trust for London exploring whether there is public consensus on a “riches line”, working with the Centre for Research in Social Policy at Loughborough University to adapt the deliberative methodology they have developed for the Minimum Income Standards approach. Ian Gough, Katharina Hecht, Liz Mann and Kate Summers in CASE were also part of the team, and this work has led to a new collaboration led by Kate Summers and Fabien Accominotti with Jonathan Mijs to understand how the provision of information about income and wealth distributions and social mobility does (or doesn’t) affect public deliberation about inequality. As part of the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) in a Changing Britain research programme funded by the Nuffield Foundation, Tania worked with Polina Obolenskaya and Jarrod Hughes on inequalities in adult social care, and organised an expert roundtable on whether and how theories of welfare help us to understand recent developments in the UK welfare state and its resilience (or otherwise) in the face of the pandemic. We also collaborated with Sense about Science on a series of workshops to test out ways of communicating findings from the SPDO programme to a wider audience, as part of the knowledge exchange activities associated with SPDO. Finally, Tania continued work with Eleni Karagiannaki on an ESRC-funded project known as DyLANIE, led by Fiona Steele, investigating exchanges of practical help and money between parents and their adult offspring, using data from Understanding Society.



In 2020, **Tammy Campbell** continued using the National Pupil Database to unpick the structural, psychological, and political factors shaping disparities in attributions of Special Educational Needs and Disabilities to primary school children. As part of this, she explored how denotation to children of a Foundation Stage Profile (FSP) “Good Level of Development” in the reception year depends both on a child’s own age and the age of their peers. Tammy is now looking at ways in which the assessment regime and requirements of the FSP feed into children’s trajectories and produce inequalities. In a separate strand of work, Tammy used the Millennium Cohort Study to investigate how early in-class maths “ability”-grouping and early teacher judgements of children’s maths skills influence children’s later maths self-concept – and at differences here by gender. This paper will be published in 2021 in the Cambridge Journal of Education (<https://doi.org/10.1080/0305764X.2021.1877619>), and summarised in an open-access CASEBrief. Additionally, Tammy continues to work with Ludovica Gambaro, Mary Reader, and Kitty Stewart, to examine changes over the past decade in access to pre-school education, considering the intended and unintended consequences of policy reforms for different groups of children. Tammy is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow.



Kerris Cooper continued to work on the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain (SPDO) project funded by the Nuffield Foundation. Based on this programme of research, in February Kerris presented work with Abigail McKnight on the Conservative Governments’ record on Employment: Policy, Spending and Outcomes and in March Kerris presented work with John Hills on the Conservative Governments’ record on Social Security Policies. Kerris worked with the rest of the SPDO team on the overview report, developing an indicator set to evaluate inequalities in outcomes across multiple policy areas. Kerris also worked with Bert Provan and Tania Burchardt with Sense About Science, to develop materials to communicate the SPDO research findings effectively, through a series of workshops with members of the public and professionals. Kerris continued to organise and chair the CASE Social Exclusion seminars with Polina Obolenskaya, which moved to an online format following Covid restrictions, which has enabled larger audiences to participate and removed travel restrictions for invited speakers. In the Lent term Kerris taught in the Social Policy Department on an MSc module Understanding Social (Dis)advantage. In October Kerris was promoted from Research Officer to Research Fellow.



In her role as CASE Visiting Fellow, **Ludovica Gambaro** has been working with Tammy Campbell, Mary Reader and Kitty Stewart on patterns of take-up of early education among children in England. In April 2020 Ludovica took up a new position at the Department of Sociology at the University of Tübingen, participating in a research project on adolescents’ gender ideologies. She has also maintained her position at DIW Berlin, where she has been mainly working on the topic of the integration of refugee children in Germany.



Howard Glennerster continued to contribute to the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes programme, especially the longer-term historical context. He revised his two chapters in the textbook Students Companion to Social Policy and updated John Hills’ chapter in the same volume at a time when John was unable to do so.



Before the Covid lockdowns restricted reach-out activities, **Ian Gough** visited Dublin where he lectured on his recent research to the UCD Earth Institute and Geary Institute. He also spoke at a large gathering at Maynooth University attended by Michael D. Higgins, President of Ireland. He also advised DG EMPL, EU Commission in Brussels on new eco-social policies for fair sustainability. This has been followed up with Zoom presentations to FEPS (Foundation for European Progressive Studies) and the EUTI, in Brussels. Following his talk to the Beveridge 2.0 event at LSE he has with others set up a new Task Force to develop research and argue the case for Universal Basic Services.



Aapo Hiilamo joined CASE as a PhD student in September 2018. His PhD research investigates the links between household debts and mental wellbeing among older adults. In the past year, alongside PhD research, Aapo worked with the Finnish ITLA Children's Foundation and co-authored a literature review on the Great Recession and the wellbeing of families.



Ceri Hughes continued with her mixed methods PhD research which is examining some of the work-related expectations that are embedded in active labour market policies in the UK and how these relate to individual circumstances and labour market conditions. In 2020 she presented a paper on the role of discretion in activation policies at an ESPAnet conference and began work on a model to assess the feasibility of complying with different working hours expectations. She is also a Research Associate at the Work and Equalities Institute, University of Manchester, contributing to research on inclusive growth, in-work progression and decent work.



Stephen Jenkins had a sabbatical year in 2019-20 following completion of his term as head of the Department of Social Policy. This enabled him to publish several papers about the measurement of inequality for ordinal data (e.g. life satisfaction responses). The other main project was about measurement error in gross earnings using responses from the Family Resources Survey linked to earnings data for the same people from HMRC's national insurance contributions ("P14") database. One short paper was published, another has an R&R, and two larger ones are making good progress, all in collaboration with Fernando Rios-Avila (Levy Institute). In addition, Stephen is working with colleagues from the University of Melbourne on a paper about top income mobility in Australia using Australian Tax Office administrative record data.



Over the last year **Eleni Karagiannaki** continued her work on the DyLANIE project (funded by the ESRC) investigating the relationship between social mobility and intergenerational exchanges of financial and practical support using data from Understanding Society (joint with Tania Burchardt, and Nina Zhang). During the last year Eleni also prepared a research paper for the European Commission as part of the Social Situation Monitor project on the relationship between persistent risk of poverty and material deprivation in the European Union and the factors that explain their mismatch. As part of a team led by Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini (Italy) and the European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research (Austria) Eleni also prepared a research report for the European Commission on how the tax and benefit systems in different European Union countries perform in terms of intergenerational fairness. Over the last year Eleni also worked at the Welfare at a (Social) Distance project – a major national research project funded by the Economic and Social Research Council as part of UK Research and Innovation's rapid response to COVID-19. The aim of this project is to provide vital information on how the UK benefit

system is meeting the challenges presented by the Covid-19 pandemic and where the system is struggling. She also continued her work on developing a multidimensional deprivation index combining both household-level and individual-level deprivation indicators into a single decomposable index following the Alkire-Foster adjusted headcount method on micro-data from the European Union Statistics on Incomes and Living Conditions (EU-SILC), and considering the implications of the above issues both across different EU countries and across the EU as a whole.



Rana Khazbak joined CASE as a PhD student in September 2017. Her research uses the capability approach to explore disadvantaged teenagers' experiences of living in mixed-income communities and how it influences their wellbeing. Her study takes place in a historically deprived area in London that used to be dominated by social housing and is now more socio-economically and tenure mixed. She engages different groups of young people (13-18 years) who live and/or go to school in the neighbourhood using qualitative participatory methods. In the past year, Rana also worked with Moira Wallace on synthesising and analysing trends in disadvantaged adolescents' outcomes in England over the past two decades. She is currently working with the Middle East centre on a study exploring citizenship identities among young people in Kuwait.



Laura Lane has continued work on a number of LSE Housing and Communities projects around homelessness and housing management. In 2020 Laura completed the evaluation work on the London Borough of Newham's Housing First Project and the report is due to be published early in 2021 (*Opening Doors: An evaluation of the London Borough of Newham's Housing First Pilot Project*). Laura also completed work on two LSE Housing and Communities reports funded by the LSE Knowledge Exchange and Impact Fund exploring actions to tackle homelessness and rough sleeping: *Tackling Homelessness: Case studies and Homelessness and Housing First: A guide to good practice*.

Towards the end of the year, Laura began work on a project evaluating the neighbourhood management approach of EastendHomes, a housing association based in Tower Hamlets. This project aims to demonstrate the social value of housing and neighbourhood services being delivered from local offices (<https://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/LSEHOUSING/research/EastEndHomes/>).



Ruth Lupton has continued to contribute to the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain programme, working with Polina Obolenskaya on a paper on compulsory education policies, spending and outcomes since 2015. In non-CASE news, she has been working with colleagues at Manchester and Aberdeen on an Nuffield Foundation project on the post-16 trajectories of young people with low GCSE attainment, and on a book on Great Mistakes in Education Policy, due to be published by Policy Press in April 2020. She took voluntary redundancy from the University of Manchester in July 2020 and is now working independently on spatial inequalities, education, poverty and inequality. She is a Member of the Greater Manchester Independent Inequalities Commission.



Lindsey Macmillan is Professor of Economics and Director of the Centre for Education Policy and Equalising Opportunities at UCL, whose mission is to inform and design evidence-led education policy and wider practice that equalises opportunities. During 2020 Lindsey worked on a number of projects, including an ESRC project on intergenerational income mobility for women in the UK, a Nuffield

Foundation project considering the role of subject and qualification choices at Level 3 on university outcomes, and a new UKRI project investigating the impact of the pandemic on secondary school pupils' wellbeing, motivation, attitudes and aspirations. She also wrote two reports for the Social Mobility Commission, exploring regional differences in intergenerational persistence in England, and considering the causes and consequences of downward mobility in the UK. Lindsey is contributing to two papers to the Nuffield Foundation CASE project on Social Policy and Distributional Outcomes, one considering trends in social mobility over time and the intersectionality of gender, ethnicity and education (a summary can be found on [page 46](#)), and one on the later labour market outcomes of disadvantaged pupils in London.



Nicholas Mathers joined CASE as a PhD candidate in 2014. He submitted his thesis in 2020 titled *Poverty, Cash Transfers and Adolescents Lives: Exploring the Unintended Consequences of Nepal's Social Pension*, which he successfully defended in January 2021. Over the past few years, he has continued to straddle research, policy and practice related to social protection for families and children, undertaking his doctoral research and working for UNICEF in Nepal.



Abigail McKnight continued working on policy toolkits, designed to bridge gaps between academic research and policy making. Following a wider programme examining the links between inequalities and poverty, funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Abigail, Irene Bucelli and Kate Summers launched an online Policy Toolkit in February. The toolkit assesses a number of policies which potentially have a double-dividend (reducing poverty and inequality) through addressing at least one of the mechanisms that drive a positive relationship between poverty and inequality. Abigail also worked with Irene Bucelli and Pedro Mendes Loureiro (University of Cambridge), to develop an Inequality Policy Mix Toolkit for the German development agency GIZ which builds on the Multidimensional Inequality Framework. The toolkit is designed to support GIZ's inequality reduction programme in low and middle income countries, taking a multidimensional perspective. In November they presented the toolkit to the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). She also continued working on the Nuffield Foundation funded SPDO programme with Polina Obolenskaya on higher education, Kerris Cooper on employment and Lindsey Macmillan on social mobility. Towards the end of 2020, Abigail worked with Irene Bucelli mapping conceptual approaches to systemic understandings of inequality for Robert Bosch Stiftung, to help them develop their inequality programme.



Polina Obolenskaya continued working on the Nuffield Foundation-funded programme, Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes in a Changing Britain (SPDO), which began in October 2017. Polina worked on finishing and publishing online some of her co-authored social policy papers from this project (compulsory education and adult social care), as well as presenting findings from the health and adult social care papers at an online mini launch event. She also worked on the overview paper with Polly Vizard and Kerris Cooper, which provides an assessment of developments across ten major areas of social policy from May 2015 when the majority Conservative Government assumed power until early 2020, when the COVID-19 pandemic struck. Polina, jointly with Kerris Cooper, continued organising CASE Social Exclusion Seminars, which were moved online this year.



Lucinda Platt continued her work with the IFS Deaton Inequality Review, including co-organising with IFS and UCL colleagues a two-day seminar in December 2020 on Migration, Race and Ethnicity. As a Review panel member, she studied ethnic inequalities in the impact of the pandemic, co-authoring a report and a journal paper with Ross Warwick of IFS, as well as various blogs and short papers. Continuing her interests in ethnicity, disability and family, she published papers on interethnic relations of teenagers in England's schools (with Simon Burgess), social relationships of those identified as disabled in childhood (with Sam Parsons), and fathering pre-and post-separation (with Tina Haux). She continued as Co-I of Understanding Society, the UK Household Longitudinal Study, including lead-authoring a 10-year anniversary paper on the study for the *European Sociological Review*. Lucinda was awarded an OBE in the 2020 New Year Honours and appointed a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences later in the year. She also was appointed to the National Statistician's Inclusive Data Task Force, due to report in Summer 2021.



Ilona Pinter's area of interest is poverty, destitution and inequality experienced by those within the UK's immigration and asylum system, and in particular how policies affect children and young people. Her doctoral research, which is funded by the ESRC, focuses on the needs, experiences and outcomes of children and families living on Asylum Support provided by the Home Office. Prior to starting her PhD, Ilona worked as a Policy and Research Manager leading on Poverty and Inequality policy at The Children's Society – a national children's charity. She continues to work collaboratively with other academics and NGOs. She co-authored a report published by The Children's Society in May 2020 on how children and families are affected by "no recourse to public funds" (NRPF) restrictions on access to most mainstream benefits.



Bert Provan is a Senior Policy Fellow and also works on Knowledge Exchange for CASE. His report on assessing the social impact of extending the "move on" period from Home Office accommodation by four weeks, for refugees newly granted Leave to Remain, undertaken for the British Red Cross, was launched in February, setting out the benefits of extending the period. Many families have to move to more expensive local authority temporary accommodation, and housing and benefits are often not in place by the end of four weeks, leading to higher risks of mental health problems and threats to the wellbeing of the families. Work for the European Investment Bank (EIB) on mitigating social and economic challenges of the post-industrial Polish City of Walbrzych was originally intended to involve a multi-city multi-day workshop in Poland, prior to the Covid pandemic. Urgent discussions with the EIB and Walbrzych secured agreement to a virtual version of this workshop, which took place in late May following extensive exchanges of preparatory documentation and multiple pre-workshop individual Zooms with each city. In all, four Zoom multi-city workshops involving 12 cities across Europe took place, exploiting Zoom's very effective simultaneous translation facility. Work on Newham's rough sleeping strategy continued though in a very different form, given the Covid related push to get every rough sleeper off the streets. Newham reacted very quickly and with innovative new systems, and the research evaluation has been extended into next year to capture these developments. On Knowledge Exchange, CASE submitted two Impact Case Studies to the School for consideration, and major effort is now underway around the launch of the SPDO final reports, including a launch Webinar and six cross cutting workshops in early 2021.



Anne Power continues to lead the LSE Housing and Communities research group, based in CASE. In 2020, she directed the Housing Plus Academy programme, in partnership with the National Communities Resource Centre, running online workshops on topics such as frontline housing management during COVID-19, and tackling racial discrimination in housing. Anne has also led LSE Housing and Communities' research on mutual aid and community responses to COVID-19; neighbourhood housing management; and homelessness. She has continued her research in environmental upgrading of multi-storey residential buildings and sustainability in the built environment, including work on a successful bid to the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust to set up an "Energy Plus Academy".

Anne has continued to provide advice, research, and consultancy in the aftermath of the Grenfell fire and public inquiry, including the implementation of the recommendations of the Grenfell Inquiry Phase 1. She has acted as expert advisor to the government's Feeling Safer programme, which considers how high-rise residential blocks can be made safer following the Grenfell fire.

Anne gave a number of presentations in 2020, including an online workshop for Lancaster West residents and staff on the case for energy efficient retrofit, and at the Marshall Institute's Beveridge 2.0 Symposium in October on mutual aid and community responses. She continues to advise social landlords, local authorities, government, and tenants and residents' groups on issues relating to social housing, landlord services, community relations, tenant engagement, and sustainability.



Nora Ratzmann is a post-doctoral Research Fellow, focussing on the entanglements between social rights, belonging and migration as forms of conflict and consensus formation in diverse societies, along with patterns of institutional discrimination in public administrations. She completed her PhD in Social Policy in fall 2019 at the LSE, where she was based in the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion and the Department of Social Policy. She was a Leverhulme Doctoral Fellow, funded through LSE's International Inequality's Institute. Nora's PhD research explored how administrative practices in local German job centres construct inequalities in access to basic subsistence benefits. The study focussed on European Union migrant citizens who constitute one of the largest yet overlooked immigrant groups in Germany. The data challenged the common pretence of EU policy debates that the settlement of EU migrant citizens in Germany happens without hurdles. Instead, the analysis revealed the types of inequalities in access to claiming welfare benefits and associated services in local job centres that EU migrant citizens may experience. The main findings of her work are summarised in CASEBrief No 37 (January 2020). Nora also holds an LSE Knowledge Exchange and Impact Strategy Award, which allowed her to disseminate her main research findings among a diverse range of policy-makers in Germany, including the Berlin Senate, representatives of employment administration, and the state-mandated welfare organisations.



Mary Reader continued to contribute to the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes programme, completing papers with Kitty Stewart on the Conservatives' record on early childhood and with Tania Burchardt on public and private welfare activity in the UK. She continued her quasi-experimental research on the impact of the Health in Pregnancy Grant in England and Wales, completing a CASEpaper and applying for new Hospital Episode Statistics data to extend her research with Kitty Stewart.

Alongside her role at CASE, this year Mary has worked as a Senior Researcher at the Education Policy Institute, where she led analysis for the institute's flagship annual report on educational inequality and attainment gaps. She presented this research to the Department for Education, Education Endowment Foundation and Fair Education Alliance amongst others. Mary was

promoted to Research Officer at CASE in August 2020 and has since been working with Tammy Campbell, Ludovica Gambaro and Kitty Stewart to investigate the impact of recent early years policies on inequalities in early education in England. From February 2021 she will be joining a new Nuffield-funded project team led by Kitty Stewart, Aaron Reeves and Ruth Patrick looking at the impact of welfare reforms on larger families.



Liz Richardson, Visiting Fellow at CASE, is Professor of Public Administration in the Department of Politics at the University of Manchester. She was recently Co-I on a four-year action research project on participatory governance in Greater Manchester, funded by ESRC (<https://jamandjustice-rjc.org/publications-jam-and-justice>), 2016-2019. 2020 saw some of the policy impacts of this work continuing, for example through the GM Inequalities Commission's inquiry into improving participation in decision-making. Liz is currently developing research into forms of common ownership of assets, and is also developing ideas about institutional designs for participation in public policy.



Kath Scanlon is Distinguished Policy Fellow at the LSE London research unit, where she has been based for 20 years. Her research has a strong policy focus and covers a range of housing and urban issues. In 2020 she led a team including Karen West (Bristol), Melissa Fernandez (Lancaster), Jim Hudson (LSE) and Mara Ferreri (Northumbria) looking at whether involvement in community-led housing reduces loneliness. The year-long project involved case studies of five CLH communities and was funded by the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government as the department's contribution to the government's Loneliness Strategy. She is currently researching the effects of Covid and recent tax changes on landlords and tenants in three lower-income neighbourhoods of London, in a project funded by Trust for London. She also led a study of potential solutions to the problem of mortgage prisoners – that is, borrowers with closed-book loans, who are paying high interest rates but cannot remortgage. This research was funded by Martin Lewis of MoneySavingExpert.

Kath was elected in 2020 to the co-ordination committee of the European Network for Housing Research, the foremost organisation for housing scholars.



Thomas Stephens is an ESRC-funded PhD student in the Department of Social Policy at the LSE, affiliated to CASE. His key research focus is how we can devise metrics to measure, analyse and understand labour market disadvantage in a way which is of relevance to social policy research, so we can gain a greater understanding of the way the labour market has impacted on people, and its contribution to inequality and social exclusion. His PhD looks to apply the capability approach to the way we understand labour market advantage and disadvantage. Using quantitative analysis of time series and longitudinal data, and with a particular focus on the UK, his thesis seeks to devise a range of metrics to better understand this issue and critique existing approaches to measuring labour market disadvantage.



Kitty Stewart worked with Mary Reader on a paper on the Conservative Government's record on early childhood, part of the Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes research programme. The project included some preliminary analysis of the National Pupil Database; in 2021 she will continue this work, exploring recent changes in patterns of access to high quality early education, together with Tammy Campbell,

Ludovica Gambaro and Mary Reader. Kitty also started a new mixed methods project with Ruth Patrick (York) and Aaron Reeves (Oxford), looking at the impact of recent welfare reforms on larger families in the UK, funded by the Nuffield Foundation. The project will combine analysis of large scale datasets with a longitudinal qualitative study; the first interviews had to be postponed due to Covid but should take place in 2021. She published earlier work on Brexit and social policy (with Kerris Cooper and Isabel Shutes) and household income and children's outcomes (with Kerris Cooper).



Ellie Suh successfully defended her viva in Feb 2020. Her PhD research on intergenerational transfers and young adults' homeownership outcomes is published in *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*. The paper was chosen as an editors' choice article and was one of the top three most-read articles in the journal during 2020. Another paper on younger adults' financial resilience and discretionary retirement saving has been accepted for publication in *Ageing and Society*.

Ellie continued her research on cost effectiveness in children's services in her postdoc position at Oxford, studying centralisation and measurement of "cost-effectiveness" or "value-for-money" in children's services. She also worked on analysing current data practices in local government and its implications for public accountability towards vulnerable children, building on a recent study by the Children's Commissioners Office.

Ellie took part in a project to set up a social enterprise for Cost Calculator for Children's Services (CCfCS), which is a data analytics tool that helps local authorities to make informed care decisions. In a highly competitive social enterprise incubator programme Success, funded by the Aspect network, she won the second prize and was awarded £35,000 towards the project.

Ellie wrote a chapter on British welfare policies in a report (in Korean) that aimed to inform the Korean Parliamentary Members about international welfare policies. She would like to thank John, Howard, Tania and Kitty, who helped her during this project through providing interesting discussions and/or sharing their publications.

She also hosted an early career researchers' workshop on gender and wealth inequality in October funded by the European Consortium of Sociological Research (ECSR) in collaboration with researchers based in Humboldt Universität zu Berlin.



Polly Vizard continued to co-coordinate the CASE Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes (SPDO) in a Changing Britain research programme, funded by the Nuffield Foundation. She worked with Polina Obolenskaya on the SPDO health paper and they presented findings at a CASE social exclusion / SPDO seminar in July 2020. In addition, she worked with colleagues on the SPDO overview report. Other activities included presenting findings on older people's experiences of dignity and respect in healthcare at the Annual Conference of the Human Development and Capabilities Association and publication of a chapter on the capability approach and human rights in *The Cambridge Handbook of the Capability Approach*.

Refereed journal articles

Cooper, K. (2020) [Are poor parents poor parents? The relationship between poverty and parenting among mothers in the UK](#), *Sociology*

Cooper, K. and Stewart, K. (2020) [Does household income affect children's outcomes? A systematic review of the evidence](#), *Child Indicators Research*

Gough, I. (2020) 'Defining floors and ceilings: the contribution of human needs theory.' *Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy*, 16 (1). 208 - 219. ISSN 1548-7733

Hiilamo, A. (2020) [Debt matters? Mental wellbeing of older adults with household debt in England](#), *SSM - Population Health: Volume 12*, 100658.

Hughes, C. and Lupton, R. (2020) [Understanding inclusive growth at local level: changing patterns and types of neighbourhood disadvantage in three English city-regions](#), *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, rsaa035

Stewart, K., Cooper, K. and Shutes, I. (2020) [What will 'taking back control' mean for social policy in the UK? Brexit, public services and social rights](#)' *Journal of European Social Policy*

Suh, E. (2020). Young British adults' homeownership circumstances and the role of intergenerational transfers. *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*, 11 (3), pp.383-407(25).

Forthcoming

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

Hiilamo, A., Hiilamo, H., Ristikari, T. and Virtanen, P., Forthcoming 2021. 'Impact of the Great Recession on mental health, substance use and violence in families with children: A systematic review of the evidence', *Children and Youth Services Review*, 121: 105772.

Suh, E., Forthcoming 2021. "Can't Save' or 'Won't Save': Financial resilience and discretionary retirement saving among the British adults in their 30s and 40s.' *Aging and Society*.

Selected refereed journal articles by our associates

Atkinson, A. B. and **Jenkins, S. P.** 'A different perspective on evolution of UK income inequality', *Review of Income and Wealth*, 66 (2), June 2020, 253–266. Open Access

Biegert, T. and Ebbinghaus, B. (2020) [Accumulation or absorption? Changing disparities of household non-employment in Europe during the Great Recession](#), *Socio-Economic Review*, (Online First).

Bhattacharya, A. (2020) [Out of business? The rise \(and fall?\) of public service marketisation?](#), *IPPR Progressive Review*

Burgess, S. and **Platt, L.** (2020) [Inter-ethnic relations of teenagers in England's schools: the role of school and neighbourhood ethnic composition](#). *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.

Dunatchik, A. and **B. Özcan.** (2020) 'Reducing Mommy Penalties with Daddy Quotas'. *Journal of European Social Policy*. November.

Jenkins, S. P. (2020) 'Perspectives on poverty in Europe. Following in the footsteps of Tony Atkinson', *Italian Economic Journal*, 6 (1), March 2020, 129–155. Open Access

Lee, N., and Rodríguez-Pose, A. (2020) 'Entrepreneurship and the fight against poverty in US Cities.' *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 0308518X20924422.

Loft, L. T. and **Waldfoegel, J.** (2020) 'Socioeconomic Status Gaps in Young Children's Wellbeing at School.' *Child Development*.

Parsons, S. and **Platt, L.** (2020) 'The social relationships of three generations identified as disabled in childhood'. *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*. DOI: 10.1332/175795920X15955998470689

Summers, K. with K. Hecht (2020) [The Long and Short of It: The temporal significance of wealth and income](#), *Social Policy and Administration*.

Summers, K. (2020) [For the Greater Good? Ethical reflections on interviewing the 'rich' and 'poor' in qualitative research](#), *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*.

Forthcoming

Andersen, S.H. and **Özcan, B.** Forthcoming 2021. 'The Effects of Unemployment on Fertility', *Advances in Life Course Research*.

Ratzmann, N. and N. Sahraoui. Forthcoming 2021. 'Review: The role of Deservingness in Migrants' Access to Social Services', *Social Policy and Society*.

Ratzmann, N. Forthcoming 2021. 'Deserving of social support? Street-level bureaucrats' decisions on EU migrants' benefit claims in Germany,' *Social Policy and Society*.

Moulton, V., Goodman, A., Nasim, B., Ploubidis, G.B. and **Gambaro, L.** Forthcoming 2021. [Parental Wealth and Children's Cognitive Ability, Mental, and Physical Health: Evidence from the UK Millennium Cohort Study](#). *Child Development*, 92: 115-123.

Richardson, L. and John, P. Forthcoming 2021. 'Co-designing behavioural public policy: lessons from the field about how to 'nudge plus', *Evidence and Policy*.

Books and external reports

Davis, A., Hecht, K. **Burchardt, T., Gough, I., Hirsch, D., Rowlingson, K.** and **Summers, K.** (2020) Living on Different Incomes in London: Can public consensus identify a 'riches line'? London: Trust for London

Edmiston, D., Geiger, B.B., de Vries, R., Scullion, L., **Summers, K.**, Ingold, J., Robertshaw, D., Gibbons, A. and **E. Karagiannaki** (2020) [Welfare at a \(Social\) Distance: Rapid report 2. Who are the new COVID-19 cohort of benefit claimants?](#)

Geiger, B.B., **Karagiannaki, E.**, Edmiston, D., Scullion, L., **Summers, K.**, Ingold, J., Robertshaw, D. and Gibbons, A. (2020) [Welfare at a \(Social\) Distance: Rapid report 1. Claiming but connected to work.](#)

Geiger, B.B., Scullion, L., **Summers, K.**, Martin, P., Lawler, C., Edmiston, D., Gibbons, A., Ingold, I., **Karagiannaki, E.**, Robertshaw, R. and de Vries, R. (2020) [At the edge of the safety net: Unsuccessful benefits claims at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, Welfare at a \(Social\) Distance Rapid Report #3.](#)

Hutchinson, J., Reader, M., and Akhal, A. (2020) Education in England: Annual Report 2020. The Education Policy Institute.

Pinter, I., Compton, S., Parhar, R., and Majid, H. (2020) [A lifeline for all: Children and families with no recourse to public funds.](#) The Children's Society, London.

Suh, E. and Holmes, L. (2020) Review of Sufficiency Strategies in London. London Innovation & Improvement Alliance (LIIA).

Forthcoming

Karagiannaki, E., Forthcoming 2021. "Persistent Risk of Poverty and Severe Material Deprivation" Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, Social Situation Monitor, European Commission.

Lee, C.J., Park, S.Y., **Suh, E.**, Lee, Y.H., Hong, H.J., Lee S.J and Ahn, J.S. Forthcoming, 2021. *A Study on the Reform of Social Service Delivery System*. (In Korean). National Assembly Futures Institute. Seoul, Republic of Korea.

Summers, K., Scullion, L., Robertshaw, D., Gibbons, A., **Karagiannaki, E.**, De Vries, R., Geiger, B.B., Edmiston, D. and Ingold, J. Forthcoming, 2021. 'Claimants' experiences of the social security system during the first wave of COVID-19. Welfare at a (Social) Distance Rapid Report #4'.

Selected books and external reports by our associates

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CASEbrief 37

Nora Ratzmann

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Kerris Cooper and Abigail McKnight

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[Covid-19: has the pandemic affected relationships between children and their non-resident parents?](#)

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The Conservatives' Record on Social Security: Policies, Spending and Outcomes

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The Fall and Rise of Social Housing: 100 Years on 20 Estates

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Health and Social Care: Policies, Spending and Outcomes 2015 to pre-COVID 2020.

Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes programme seminar

Polly Vizard, Tania Burchardt, Polina Obolenskaya (CASE LSE)

21 October 2020

The Conservatives' Record on Early Childhood: Policy, Spending and Outcomes from May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020 (Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes programme seminar)

Kitty Stewart and Mary Reader (CASE LSE)

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COVID-19 and BME groups – How, in 2020, can, race' still be a social determinant of health?

Nicholas Treloar (The Runnymede Trust)

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Trends in Adolescent Disadvantage

Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes programme seminar.

Maira Wallace and Rana Khazbak (CASE LSE)

2 December 2020

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Abigail McKnight (CASE LSE) and Lindsey Macmillan Centre for Education Policy and Equalising Opportunities, UCL)

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Yang Hu, Lancaster University

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Dafni Papoutsaki, Institute for Employment Studies

25 November 2020

The Labour Market, Education and Social Mobility in the Crisis

Steve Machin, Centre for Economic Performance, LSE

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Abigail Marks, Newcastle University

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