

Thinking Blair's Thoughts

In his Beveridge Lecture at Toynbee Hall a year ago Tony Blair committed his Government to eradicating childhood poverty within 20 years. There are now 19 years to go.

In the lecture Tony Blair also spelt out for the first time his plans for modernising welfare and making it popular. He stressed his commitment to social justice, the importance of a 'new ethic of mutual responsibilities' and the intention to tackle the fundamental causes of social exclusion.

In preparing the lecture, Blair had access to advice from some of Britain's leading policy analysts and social commentators. It is evident that the authors wrote to different briefs and informed different sections of the lecture. Professor Jose Harris provided background information on Beveridge and drew parallels between his agenda and that of Blair: detailed and cautious financial planning, obligations in return for as-of-right benefits, personal and mutual saving to supplement a state minimum, compulsory training for the unemployed, family allowances to prevent families being 'better off on the dole'.

Professor John Hills detailed the major social changes that have occurred since Beveridge's time and that Blair explicitly used in the speech to justify Labour's modernisation of welfare. Professor David Piachaud, a policy adviser to the Callaghan Labour government, provided ammunition to destroy the arguments of the New Right although he also offered a telling critique of some New Left thinking.

Professors Raymond Plant and Julian Le Grand discussed modern concepts of social justice and their implications for policy. Professor Anthony Giddens, one of the principal architects of the so-called Third Way, reminded Blair that old-style redistribution was not the best way to tackle inequalities today: 'Redistribution should be redefined as the redistribution of life chances – providing the possibilities for individuals to realise their potential'.

Reading the advice one cannot help but spot the ideas that Blair borrowed and the proposals that he chose to ignore. The underpinning of Blair's commitment to social justice is clearly evident, defined in terms of the concepts of decency, merit, mutual responsibility and fairness. So, too, is the focus on equality of opportunity rather than the once prior concern with equality of outcome. In Blair's words:

'Social justice is about merit. It demands that life chances should depend on talent and effort, not the chance of birth; and that talent and effort should be handsomely rewarded.'

Blair heeded advice to resist the temptation to continue Tory tactics of blaming social security for society's ills and condemning welfare recipients. In his lecture he emphasised the need to make welfare successful and popular again - something that benefits the welfare recipient and is likely to appeal to taxpayers.

The advice that Blair received was varied and sometimes contradictory. He was therefore able to be selective and to ignore proposals that might require a reversal of policy.

There is much concern that employment-based solutions to social problems should not serve to exclude those unable to work; fear that New Deal might serve to displace those already in employment; a belief that the security to be offered to those unable to work should be defined and would require higher levels of benefits, and worry that the Government's emphasis on fraud might perpetuate negative views of welfare and allow the dishonesty of the few to denigrate the many.

A number of Blair's advisers - including Anthony Giddens, John Hills, Julian Le Grand and David Piachaud - proposed tackling childhood poverty as a major priority. Tony Atkinson and Ruth Lister both suggested 'investing in children', a phrase that Blair himself uses. It is particularly apt since Beveridge believed that 'the worst feature of Want in Britain was its concentration upon children' and, as a result, 'a destruction of human capital'.

However, not one of the 13 'advisers' proposed the eradication of childhood poverty as a policy goal, let alone setting a date, although Ruth Lister suggested establishing a poverty reduction target. Perhaps they all underestimated Blair's political courage. Or maybe they feared that major technical and political difficulties would prevent a government delivering on such a promise. Certainly, Piachaud and Lister have subsequently questioned New Labour's willingness or ability to deliver the degree of redistribution required to end childhood poverty. Either way, the real magnitude of Blair's ambition can only be assessed when a precise and explicit definition of poverty is agreed.

Support for the principle of social insurance was strong – only Polly Toynbee explicitly argued against it describing it as 'something of a con – a big idea but a muddled reality'. In his lecture, Blair said that he did not consider either universal or targeted help to be superior, but Labour's policies to date have downgraded social insurance in favour of increased means testing. Blair in his lecture also ignored pleas that Labour should do more to shape policy in recognition of the changing role of women and the contribution and needs of minority ethnic groups.

Contents

Thinking Blair's Thoughts	1
Life Course Transitions in Europe	3
Work and Young Men: Secondary Analysis	4
Can Private Protection Policy Catch On?	5
Helping Disabled People into Work	6
Two for One	7
CRSP News Update	8

Perhaps understandably, Blair said nothing about the social casualties that are likely to be generated as a result of moves towards economic restructuring in Europe. Nor, though, did he take up the suggestion to talk about the opportunity that Europe provides to better integrate social and economic policy.

Significant though the publication of the experts' advice is as an exercise in open government, the full background to Blair's Beveridge lecture is still not clear. Only the advice of external experts and commentators has entered the public domain and it is clear that there was also input from policy advisers within Whitehall and the Labour Party. The publication is nevertheless important in revealing the diversity of opinion, even among analysts on the centre-left, and in mapping out the dimensions of the ongoing debate about the future shape of welfare.

Ideas that Blair took up

On social justice

- Taking money from the rich to give to the poor will cause resentment if it takes no account of the routes by which people become rich or poor. Policies should be designed to give everyone greater equality of life-chances, the way to achieve a society that is efficient, modern and just (Le Grand).
- Redistribution should be defined as redistribution of life chances, providing the possibilities for individuals to realise their potential, hence education and active labour market policy. Redistribution is not just about adequate personal resources, but community renewal, provision of local services and reducing crime (Giddens).
- A unifying idea is that of mutual responsibility about the basic relationships between citizens, communities, employers and the state (Kellner).

On Beveridge and social change

- Beveridge's Plan was based on the nature of poverty and society in the 1930s but the country has changed in the 60 years since Beveridge: the position of women, the ageing of society and the labour market turning against those with few skills and qualifications (Hills).
- Beveridge would have deployed the separation of economic and social policies (Atkinson).
- After 18 years of Conservative government there was more poverty, more inequality, more people dependent on benefits and more homeless on the streets (Piachaud).

On policy

- What may seem like a short period in an adult's life may be highly significant in terms of a child's education, development and labour market entry... social exclusion is precisely this lack of investment in children (Atkinson).
- It is time to stop talking about social security as a measure of society's failure and persuade more people to take pride in it as a symbol of success (Toynbee).

- It is stories like the neighbourhood project in Easterhouse that I want to see replicated across the country (Holman).

Walker, R. (ed) (2000), *Ending Child Poverty: Popular welfare for the 21st Century?* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Robert Walker



Ending Child Poverty

Popular Welfare for the 21st Century?

Edited by Robert Walker

STOP PRESS: Robert leaves, Bruce and Sue Stay

Robert Walker, Director of CRSP for almost 10 years, left on 31 March to take up the post of Professor of Social Policy at the University of Nottingham. He is also to become a Research Fellow at the Institute for Fiscal Studies.

Sue Middleton and Bruce Stafford have been appointed as acting co-Directors of CRSP pending the recruitment of a new director. Sue will continue to direct the programme of work on lifestyles and living standards and Bruce will become Director of the DSS-funded Social Security Unit, and also take responsibility for research on welfare institutions.

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Life Course Transitions in Europe

There is growing concern in Europe about the risk of social exclusion, both at the level of individual countries and within the European Union. The Centre for Research in Social Policy is one of seven partners from six European countries that have come together to study the extent and nature of social exclusion amongst individuals who are at key transitional stages in their life courses. Besides the United Kingdom, the study includes Austria, Germany, Greece, Norway, and Portugal. The project, funded by the European Union as part of its Targeted Socio-economic Research Programme, specifically analyses two 'life course transitions' and two 'life course risks'. The two transitions are those from youth to adulthood and from economic activity into retirement. The two risks are sickness and disability, and lone parenthood.

Definitions

Young Adults:	Individuals aged 16-29
Lone Parents:	Single adult household - lone parent, all children under 16 years or in full-time education, no other household members Multi-adult household - lone parent, at least one child under 16 or in full-time education, plus other household members
Sickness & Disability:	Adults below retirement age (both country and sex specific) whose health in general is very bad, or who are hampered severely in daily activities
Older Adults:	Adults over 45 who declare themselves as retired, or who do not declare themselves as retired but are over state retirement age and not working full-time (16 or more hours per week)

The key question the project aims to answer is the extent to which these life course events constitute discrete risks of social exclusion or may enhance this risk. Social exclusion is not static, but a process subject to external and internal influences and policy interventions. On the one hand, public policy impacts on the life courses of risk and transition groups, for instance through social security legislation or labour market interventions (e.g. welfare-to-work programmes), and can thus modify patterns of social exclusion. On the other hand, personal circumstances can enforce

or counteract these interventions, and vice versa. Therefore, the study uses an explicitly dynamic approach, using the European Community Household Panel Study (ECHP) over two to three years to estimate poverty and social exclusion rates, and to improve our understanding of processes of exclusion and integration. The ECHP data will be complemented by Norway's Level of Living Survey.

Social exclusion is measured in monetary terms as 'income poverty', but the study also explores a series of alternative objective and subjective measures of social exclusion, such as the availability of household amenities, and the household condition. It investigates the extent to which these alternative measures may be complementary or interchangeable, or whether they in fact produce contradictory results.

The study recognised that social exclusion does not occur in a social vacuum, but is deeply embedded in society's 'code of conduct', social structures and systems of values. The research must restrict its exploration of the social frame in which transitions take place to just a small number of, nonetheless critical, issues. It thus focuses on labour market conditions, structures and policies, and on family structures and policies, including public and private transfers. An emphasis is also placed upon the differential impact of gender upon the risk of social exclusion within the groups being studied.

Each partner in this collaboration will provide a detailed contextual analysis of the specific social, economic and political conditions in their country in order to enhance our understanding of the processes of life course transitions and their implications for policy making in Europe. This will establish the ways in which the policies of Member States affect the risk of social exclusion during these transitions. This background elaboration will help to better understand the relationship between public and private solidarity in combating social exclusion associated with life course transitions in each country.

The analyses have so far shown that the relative size of life course groups and their exposure to the risk of social exclusion varies across the six European countries. Although common 'problems', themes and policies concerning the life course groups are emerging in these countries, there remain country-specific peculiarities. Two books are currently in preparation documenting the progress and findings of this research project.

The project is co-ordinated at CRSP by Sue Middleton, Laura Adelman and Andreas Cebulla.

Table 1: Proportion in Poverty*

	Austria	Germany	Greece	Portugal	UK
All Adults	16	16	22	23	17
Young Adult	15	20	17	17	15
Lone-parent	28	40	37	34	48
Sick or Disabled Individual	18	20	32	32	22
Older Adult	15	17	35	37	27

Note: * Poverty defined as receiving an income of below 60 per cent of the national median.
Source: ECHP (initial analysis).

Work and Young Men: Secondary Analysis of Three Complementary Data-sets

Young men have received a 'bad press' in the 1990s. A major concern is that young men have underachieved in the labour market relative to their female peers and previous generations of young men. There are fears that unemployment amongst young men has led to a rise in family breakdown and anti-social behaviour and even the emergence of an 'underclass'. As part of its Work and Opportunities Programme the Joseph Rowntree Foundation funded a study at CRSP on the role of work in the social integration of young men. The research involved the analysis of data covering the period up to the introduction of the New Deal for Young People, and provides a commentary and context to the Government's welfare to work strategy as it impacts on young men.

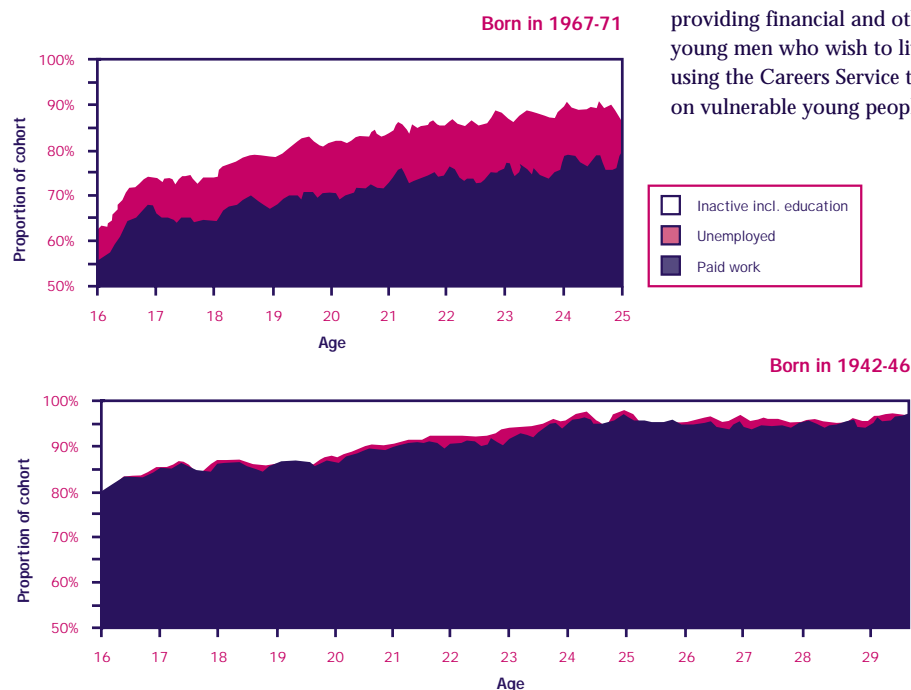
The study focused on the secondary analysis of three longitudinal data-sets:

- the Survey of Family and Working Lives;
- the British Household Panel Study; and
- the first cohort of the Jobseeker's Allowance Claimant survey.

How young men have fared in the labour market is examined both over time and in comparison to young women in the mid-1990s. Underachievement is explored in terms of young people's experiences of employment and unemployment, their leaving unemployment and the types of employment found.

Key findings

- The nature of young men's underachievement is complex, and possibly less severe than some people may have feared. Nevertheless, some young men during the mid-1990s did experience problems securing paid employment. In January 1993 unemployment for 18-24 year old males peaked at 618,000.
- Moreover, the economic position of young men has deteriorated over time (see graphs). Later generations of young men are more likely to enter the labour market as unemployed and have



a greater chance of subsequently experiencing unemployment. However, more young men have also stayed on in full-time education.

- Of those joining the labour force, young men were more likely to find full-time jobs and young women part-time jobs. Young men also tended to earn more than young women because they worked longer hours.
- The median length of unemployment was similar for young men and women, four and three months respectively. For young men shorter spells of unemployment and movements into employment were associated with: living with a parent/relative (who was not a spouse/partner); having vocational qualifications; having no health problems affecting their ability to work; possessing a driving licence; and having previous work experience. These factors have to be interpreted with some caution, however. For example, having a driving licence may be a proxy measure for someone having a degree of confidence, motivation or competence; alternatively, young people able to drive may have better social networks - through driving their own or a parental car - and so be better placed to find out about job vacancies.
- The principal factors associated with staying on in full-time education and labour market outcomes, following the completion of compulsory schooling, were the educational attainment of the young people and whether their mother possessed educational qualifications. The latter may be a proxy indicator for a lack of parental support for young men's continuation in full-time education. Again, the research emphasises the importance of parental involvement in influencing young men's labour market outcomes.

Conclusions

The research helps one to understand the context of the New Deal for Young People. It highlights the extent of the 'problem' to be addressed and the existence of a sub-group of young men whose participation in the labour market is problematic.

The research has wide ranging policy implications including: providing financial and other support to families to assist those young men who wish to live with their parent(s)/relative(s) to do so; using the Careers Service to target education and training resources on vulnerable young people; encouraging parents with no formal educational qualifications to re-engage in education and training; and using health professionals and schools to target health education programmes at young men.

The final report of the research, *Work and Young Men*, by Bruce Stafford, Claire Heaver, Karl Ashworth, Charlotte Bates, Robert Walker, Steve McKay, and Heather Trickey was published by JRF/York Publishing Services in October 1999.

Can Private Income Protection Policy Catch On?

Can private income protection insurance provide national comprehensive coverage? This is one of the key questions explored by the CRSP project 'Confronting Unemployment: Families' Management of Risk in the Flexible Labour Market', which, jointly conducted with the Centre for Housing Policy and University of York, is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council. The study explores the present take-up and probable future demand for Mortgage Payment Protection and private unemployment insurance products.

Throughout the 1990s, successive British Governments have hardly paused from nipping away at the National Insurance system, either tightening eligibility criteria and therefore excluding potential claimants, reducing payments, or doing both. Promoting the privatisation of pensions and curtailing Income Support Mortgage Interest (ISMI) payments were the prime examples of Government's more radical steps towards reducing public expenditure and public responsibility for social security in old age or during unemployment.

As pension providers and government regulators continue to deal with the aftermath of the mis-selling of private pensions, attention is shifting to private mortgage payment protection and the prospect of expanding the provision of private unemployment insurance. The study investigates employed and unemployed households' attitudes towards private unemployment insurance. It also compares the experience of unemployment amongst individuals with others without unemployment or mortgage payment protection insurance. The research is specifically concerned with establishing the extent to which individuals and their families perceive the labour market to be 'risky', and to what extent this informs their attitudes towards, and decisions with respect to, seeking private insurance protection. The study is now nearing its completion, following a series of intensive interviews with employed and unemployed households, people with MPPI and the analysis of a specifically commissioned omnibus survey exploring intentions to insure. In addition, the British Household Panel Study has been analysed for individuals' abilities to correctly predict their personal risk of unemployment.

Initial results have shown that under half of the population would currently consider taking out private unemployment insurance, or has taken out such insurance. Prime reasons for wanting to take out insurance were concern about the unpredictability of the labour market of the present day and the largely unknown and unquantifiable risk of unemployment, both often combined with a declining confidence in the national social security system. Another driving force for many that had obtained MPPI was their impression that it was conditional for them receiving a mortgage offer.

Others were disinclined to take out private insurance because they considered provisions under the National Insurance system adequate, or mistrusted the private insurance industry. They also felt they did not want to pay 'twice', i.e. national and private insurance. Possibly the largest group however, did not consider unemployment a risk to their standard of living that intensive job-search, a willingness to accept lower-quality jobs and a 'tightening of the belt' could not help minimise. Many also felt that the costs of insurance would not allow them to purchase the product.

An analysis of credit rating, finally, suggested that some twenty per cent of the working population could be considered such a high risk to insurance companies that they were likely to face exclusion from insurance. On the basis of these findings it seems unlikely, at present, that private insurance can provide a national coverage.

The findings of this study are currently being written up for publication.

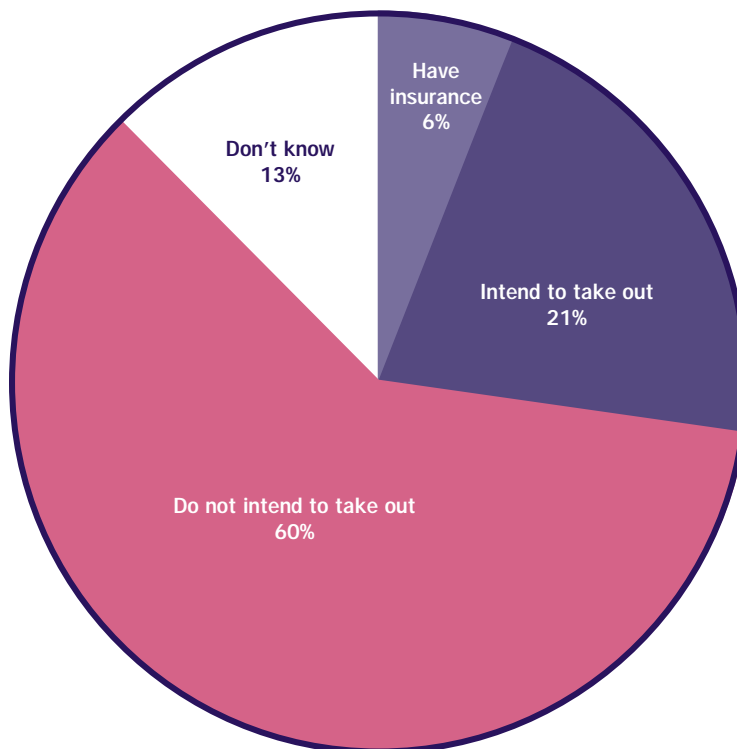
Members of the research team are Andreas Cebulla, Sue Middleton, Simon Roberts and Robert Walker.

Publications

Cebulla, A (1999) "A Geography of Insurance Exclusion - Perceptions of Unemployment Risk and Actuarial Risk Assessment", *Area*, 31.2, 111-121

Cebulla, A. (1999) "Government Plans and Individuals' Intentions: the Case of Unemployment Insurance", *Benefits*, 26, September/October, 16-21

Figure 1: Insurance Percentage



Helping Disabled People into Work

The New Deal for Disabled People Personal Adviser Service pilot commenced in October 1998 and is to run for two years. The Service aims both to assist disabled people and those with a long-standing illness who want to work to do so, and to help those who are already in work to retain their employment. It also seeks to promote the abilities of disabled people to extend the range of services available to them.

The pilot was initially implemented in six pilot areas where the Employment Service delivered the Personal Adviser Service. It was extended to six other areas in April 1999 and delivered by partnerships that include private and voluntary sector organisations. Over the course of the pilot, all claimants in the target group are being sent an invitation to approach the Service. The pilot is being evaluated by a consortium of five organisations led by CRSP¹.

An interim report, intended to describe and reflect on progress during the early stages of the Personal Adviser Service pilot, was published in December 1999². This covered the first year of the pilot when the Employment Service pilot areas were becoming established, practice was changing quickly, and the partnerships were in their very early stages.

Who uses the new service?

Participants in the Employment Service areas were on average younger and better qualified than non-participants, and more likely to have a partner in paid work and access to transport (Figure 1). A third of participants were aged 50 or older (compared with 52 per cent of non-participants) and 41 per cent were aged under 40.

Participants had typically had their impairment or health problem for less time than non-participants and had consequently not been without work and on benefit for as long. More were likely ever to have worked and more were actively seeking work. Thirty two per cent of participants reported a mental health condition as the main health problem, 21 per cent a problem with their back, 18 per cent some other form of muscular-skeletal impairment and eight per cent circulatory problems. The remaining 21 per cent had a range of other health conditions and impairments.

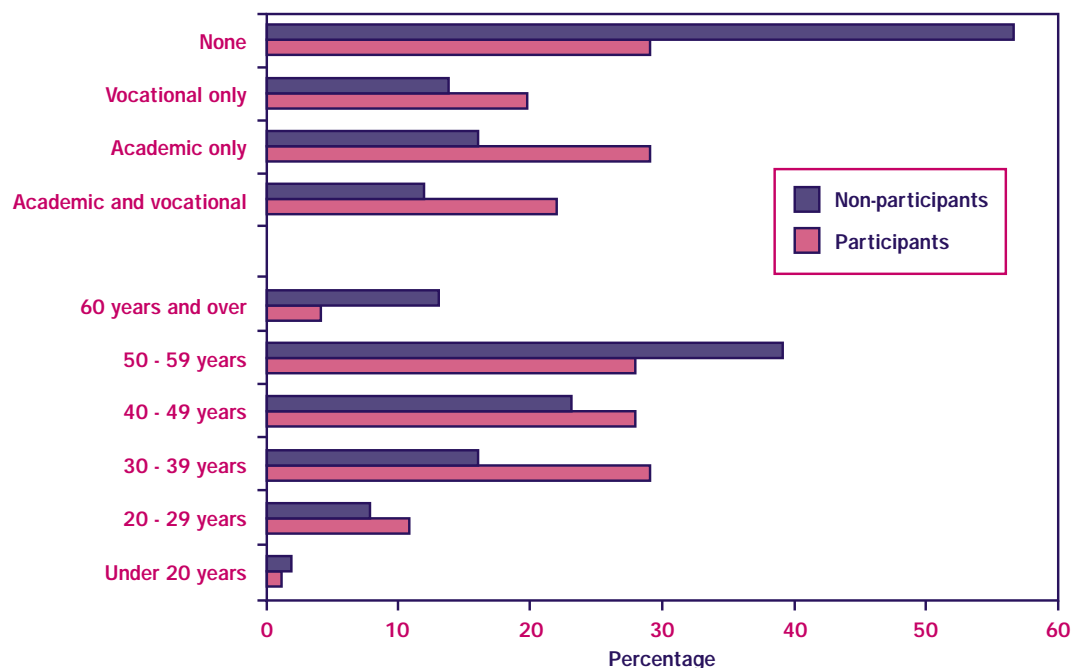
Attachment to work

More participants than non-participants wanted to work and felt able to do so, and fewer needed concessions, help and support. Sixty three per cent of participants believed that they would be able to engage in paid work, 53 per cent wanted to work immediately and 39 per cent said that they would want to work in future. Only eight per cent of participants said that they would never work, compared with 50 per cent of non-participants.

Some reflections

Although at the time of the research the pilots were still at an early stage, an active Personal Adviser Service had been established in each pilot area and, with certain reservations, high levels of satisfaction were recorded among clients. However, uptake of the Personal Adviser Service was running at about three per cent of those sent an invitation letter, although almost as many again came forward in other ways. While perhaps lower than anticipated, the fact that very large numbers of non-participants did not expect ever to work suggests that the Personal Adviser Service was reaching a far higher proportion of disabled people who are able and want to work.

Figure 1: Qualification and Age of Participants and Non-Participants



1 The consortium includes the Institute for Employment Research, National Centre for Social Research, Social Policy Research Unit and the Urban Institute.

2 New Deal for Disabled People: Early Implementation, DSS Research Report No106.

The Personal Adviser Service was not yet salient among disabled people or employers. The quality of the interaction between Personal Advisers and their clients is likely to be key to the overall success of the Personal Adviser Service. While generally good, communication was sometimes poor. The need for Personal Advisers to be able to mediate disagreements with clients was critical, and training needs were identified which included the effect of illness and impairment, benefits advice and outreach to ethnic minorities. Personal Advisers' relationships with employers were particularly complex with employers demanding specialist advice, financial support, in-work support and opportunities for work trials while not always understanding the needs of disabled people.

While uptake was not high, the letter of invitation received little criticism from clients. Increased uptake will require targeting potential clients when they are most receptive which may suggest exploiting routine contacts with the Benefits Agency and other welfare agencies. Although there was some variation in administration between pilot areas, radical innovation was not yet evident.

It is important to determine whether the initiative, if implemented nationally, is to continue to promote local innovation and a holistic approach to casework, and how it should encourage employers to adopt good employment practices. Particularly important is the extent to which the Personal Advisers are to be actively engaged in service provision, rather than adopting a co-ordination role.

Two for One

An 'under new management' sign has been hung up in CRSP. Robert Walker, Professor of Social Policy and Director of CRSP, left us at the end of March to take up a new post as Professor of Social Policy at Nottingham University. He will be greatly missed, not least for his boundless energy and intellectual insight.

Robert leaves CRSP in a position of great strength and in safe hands. The Centre will be under the joint directorship of Sue Middleton and Bruce Stafford until a permanent replacement for Robert is appointed. Sue has worked in CRSP since 1992 and has been Director of the Centre's Programme of Research in Lifestyles and Living Standards since 1996. Bruce joined CRSP in 1995 as Assistant Director of the Social Security Unit. He will combine co-management of the Centre with his new role as Director of the Social Security Unit, and will be responsible for the Centre's other Programme of Research, Welfare Institutions.

The Centre continues to be at the forefront of research in employment, poverty, social inclusion and social security. Sue and Bruce have taken steps to bring the two Research Programmes more closely together in order to exploit fully the links between them. They, with the staff, will develop the Centre's reputation for innovative research designs and high quality reports.

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CRSP News Update

New Projects

- Welfare to Work: A Case for Evidence-based Policy Making
- Employment Sustainability
- Housing Benefit/Council Tax Benefit Best Value Performance Indicators - User Satisfaction
- Employment and Social Security Dept. Customer Survey (Jersey III)
- Financial Exclusion and the National Numeracy Strategy

Staff Matters

CRSP welcomed Woon Chia Liu on 4th October as Research Associate.

Angela Waite joined as maternity cover for Abigail Davis, Lifestyles and Living Standards Team Administrator, at the beginning of November. On return from maternity leave Abigail joined the research team. Angela continues to be responsible for Lifestyles and Living Standards projects.

CRSP is pleased to announce two new Research Associate appointments. Yvette Hartfree joins us on 10th July from MORI and Jason Hardman on 1st August from Leicester City Council.

David Greenberg, Professor of Economics at the University of Maryland Baltimore County, is currently on a year's secondment with CRSP to work on Welfare to Work: A Case for Evidence-based Policy Making. His work on this is funded by the Rockefeller Foundation.

Heather Trickey, a Research Associate at CRSP, left at the end of May to work for the Analytical Services Division at the Inland Revenue.

Congratulations

Congratulations to Noel Smith and Louise Clarke on the birth of their baby daughter, Ruby, born Wednesday 17th November and to Abby and Jason Davis following the early arrival of William on 14th December.

Congratulations to Suella Harriman for passing 'A' level Sociology.

Writing School

CRSP closed its doors to the outside world for two weeks last November to devote time to writing up research for the academic community.

CRSP's high standing rests on its position at the interface between applied policy research and forward intellectual enquiry. Its applied research for government and non-profit organisations is strengthened by CRSP's knowledge of the latest academic thinking. Too rarely, members of CRSP have the opportunity to reflect on the applied research that they undertake and to translate the findings so as to inform academic discourse and theoretical development.

The school was a great success with seven papers to be published in academic journals over the next few months.

Financial Services Authority

CRSP has been commissioned by the Financial Services Authority (FSA), the new regulator for the UK financial services sector, to undertake research into the experiences which children from financially excluded households bring to the classroom and how these relate to elements of the National Numeracy Strategy. The research draws on a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods and involves interviews with children, teachers and other educational professionals as well as a systematic review of the literature. Findings are to be presented at the first FSA education conference in March 2000 and a full report will be published by the FSA later in 2000. The project is included in the Lifestyles and Living Standards programme of CRSP and Dr Julia Loumidis is responsible for the day-to-day management of it.

Education Maintenance Allowance

CRSP, together with the National Centre for Social Research (NCSR), the Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) and the Institute of Employment Research (IER) has been commissioned by the Department for Education and Employment to undertake an evaluation of Education Maintenance Allowances (EMAs) over a three year period. There are four models of the EMA which are being piloted in 15 local education authorities with the aim of raising participation, retention and achievement in post-compulsory education among 16-18 year olds. The EMA is a means-tested allowance paid to young people (and in some areas to their parents). Qualitative and quantitative methods are being used to evaluate the impact of the EMA on those most directly affected – young people and their parents.

In order to measure the differential impact of the EMA across the pilot areas, contextual information is being collated for each area on an annual basis, to build up a picture of the range of local factors and characteristics which may affect participation in learning. In addition, annual visits are being made to each of the pilot areas to identify how the administration of EMAs is being developed. The research team at CRSP includes Sue Maguire, Sue Middleton, Karl Ashworth and Woon Chia Liu.

Reference

Picture on front has been taken from: *The Hutchinson Dictionary of Science: The World of Science from big bang to biodiversity.*

CRSP is an autonomous research centre based in the Social Sciences Department of Loughborough University. The Centre was founded in 1983 by Professor Adrian Webb. Professor Robert Walker became Director in 1990.

For further information about the research papers described here, to order **Working Papers**, to receive back issues of **Briefings** or our latest **Annual Report**, or to be added to the CRSP mailing list, please contact:
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