

21st CENTURY WELFARE

**SEVENTY YEARS SINCE THE BEVERIDGE REPORT
DECEMBER 2012**

Suzanne Hall



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PETER KENWAY



BIOGRAPHY

Suzanne Hall is a research director in Ipsos MORI's Social Research Institute and heads its Employment, Welfare and Skills team. Specialising in qualitative research, her work focuses on the experiences of some of the most vulnerable in society, and the impact that public policy has on their lives. She is currently involved in a number of projects researching some of the most fundamental, and controversial, changes to the welfare state since its inception: for instance, how the introduction of a cap on housing benefit is affecting claimants, and what the introduction of Universal Credit means for those out of work.

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FOREWORD

It is a great pleasure to be asked to write a foreword to what is both an important and fascinating review of the welfare state. It is important because it addresses the still very neglected subject of what the public at large thinks about some of the most important social issues today. It is fascinating because what look like answers are actually questions which badly need asking.

My understanding of Beveridge's 'five evils' comes from many years of analysing and writing about what the official statistics on income, work, health, education and housing have to tell about the nature of these problems in modern Britain.

This review takes a different tack, reporting instead what the population thinks about these problems, their importance and what, if anything, should be done about them. It has recently been suggested that supporters of the welfare state should find the negative findings of surveys of what the British people think about these things 'truly frightening'. This report, with its wealth of evidence and careful interpretation, offers good grounds to doubt such pessimism.

When reading this report it should be borne in mind that it poses two different types of question. One type asks people about themselves, for example, about the compromises that you would be willing to make to find a job. Even answering a question like this requires mental effort and is not to be underestimated. But it is obviously far simpler to answer than the other type of question which is about public policy. The leading example here of such a question is whether the government should spend more on welfare benefits for the poor even if it leads to higher taxes.

What is reported here about people's answers to these questions is certainly fascinating, most notably (to me) about the differences between age groups. But is an increasing proportion answering 'no' to this question necessarily indicative of a falling level of support for the welfare state? Here are two reasons why this may not be so.

First, although my support for the welfare state is unwavering, I would answer 'no' myself. The reason comes from those official statistics, in this case the fact that the share of national income devoted to spending on social security is at a record level. Since the share going on total public spending is also at a record level, I don't believe that any sustained increase is possible.

Second, an end to 'want' and 'idleness' depend on there being what used to be known as 'full employment'. Beveridge was explicit about this. Yet with more than six million people 'under-employed' (including people who want full-time work but can only find part-time) in Britain today, up from four million in 2004, we are further away from it than ever. In this situation, the welfare state is in danger of being broken by being asked to do too much. Answering 'no' to whether it should try to do more may actually be more pro-welfare state than answering 'yes'.

The simpler questions too can lead to surprising conclusions. For example, in response to the question of why you are not looking for work, half say *'because I am long term sick or disabled'* while a quarter say *'because I want to look after children'*. These answers seem unremarkable – until one recalls the political consensus about the virtues of work. Such answers confront this consensus: either the welfare state must allow people to be too sick to work – or to fulfil their wish to look after their children – without condemning them to want or squalor; or it must be seen as being contrary with what people want. That is not decisive; but it certainly is challenging.

At such a difficult a time as the present, the awkward conclusions often provoked by this report make it invaluable as a stimulus to rethink long- and often widely-held beliefs.

PETER KENWAY

Director, New Policy Institute

BIOGRAPHY

Before he co-founded the New Policy Institute in 1996, Peter Kenway worked as a manager, consultant and planner in public transport, as well as an academic economist at the University of Reading. The New Policy Institute is an independent progressive think tank, founded in 1996.

INTRODUCTION

The Second World War presented a litany of social problems in urgent need of tackling. The destruction of three-quarters of a million homes meant architects and planners had to think about how best to house the population, and particularly the working classes. The slums, of course, took up most of their attention: ‘when we build again, we must not repeat our old mistakes... no more congested streets, no more overcrowding, no more dingy courts, no more drab districts, no more huddled houses...’¹. But they also tackled the suburbs, described by Welsh architect Sir Clough William Elliss as being full of “mean and perky little houses that surely none but mean and perky little souls should inhabit with satisfaction”².

There was also considerable disruption to public services on an unimaginable scale. Yet reinvestment was tempered by the fact that the country was burdened by a national debt of £3.5bn, then a record high at the time. Even then, the population was getting older; people could expect to live until 65

years of age as advances brought the killer diseases, like scarlet fever and typhoid, that had ravaged the Edwardian era, under control.

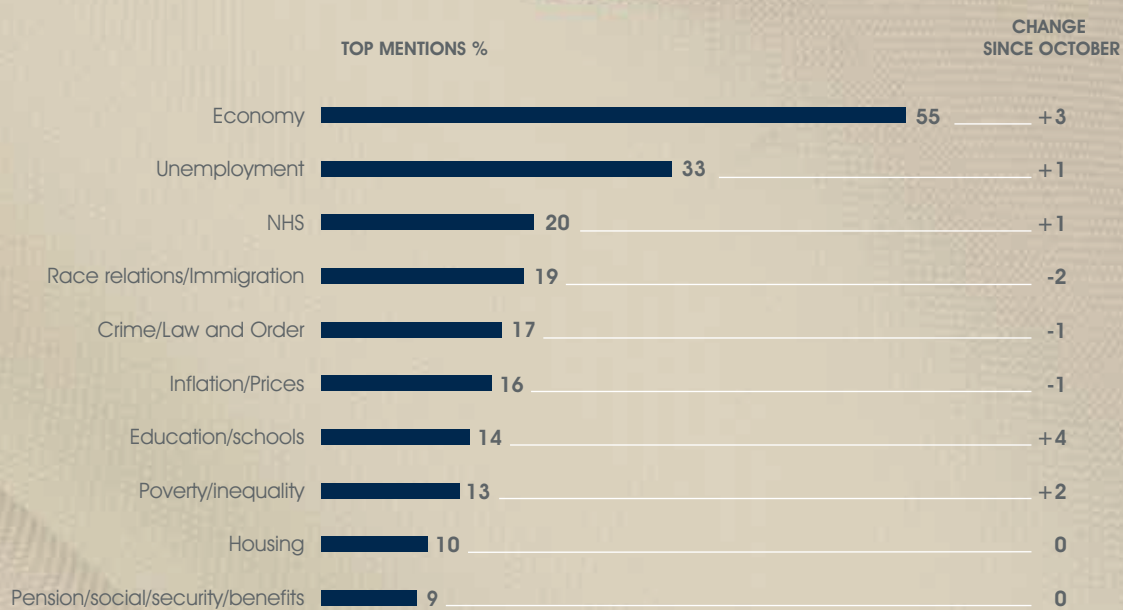
Plans to address these issues were mooted as early as 1941. In ‘A Plan for Britain’ the Picture Post urged that the mistakes made after the First World War be learnt from, reminding readers that ‘we got no new Britain. This time we can be better prepared. But we can only be prepared if we think now’. This was then followed in December 1942 by the publication of ‘Social Insurance and Allied Services’ authored by the eminent economist and civil servant, Sir William Beveridge. This report set out proposals for a comprehensive system of social security after the war, attacking what he described as ‘the five giant evils’ of want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness’.³ He described his report as ‘first and foremost, a plan of insurance – of giving in return for contributions benefits up to subsistence level, as of right and without means test’ meaning that, in practice, the support provided would be universal.

Integral to these plans was the provision of a free national health service, complemented by the rebuilding of the homes lost in the war as well as those deemed unsuitable long before it, the expansion of secondary education and the provision of financial support for those out of work. The system was to be funded by contributions levied at a flat rate rather than according to earnings. To counter fears that such a system might instead of tackling idleness, encourage people to become ever more so, the support was pitched at such a minimalist level to be deemed unattractive as a form of long-term income.

While this represented a radical departure from what had gone before, Beveridge was still conservative enough in his thinking to assume that the women who had worked throughout the war would return home on the cessation of hostilities, meaning that their only benefits would be those owed as part of their husband’s insurance.

ISSUES FACING BRITAIN: NOVEMBER 2012

What do you see as the most/other important issues facing Britain today?



Base: 1,050 British adults 18+, 2th - 10th November 2012

Source: Ipsos MORI Issues Index

It is easy to think that, in a country ravaged by war and with the damaging economic and emotional effects of the Depression and the Jarrow Marchers in recent memory, such a report would have met with great acclaim. Indeed, there was enough excitement among the public that some 630,000 copies were sold.

This enthusiasm was not shared by everyone though. One middle aged man told Mass Observation that “*if people here stand for the trades unions putting this bloody Beveridge scheme across they deserve to lose the sodding war*”. This was coupled with cynicism with one woman suggesting that as “*soon as it’s over and they’ve no further use for you, they’ll have a general election and apologise that they can’t stand by the promise of the war government – it’ll happen just as it did last time*”⁴. Nonetheless, there was enough momentum that the wartime Conservative government began to push through some of the reforms stemming from the publication of the Beveridge Report. This included the Butler Act of 1944, which expanded secondary education and made a commitment to the establishment of a national health service in peacetime, work that was subsequently carried on by the post-war Labour government under Clement Atlee.

Thus, Beveridge took the opportunity of a unique set of circumstances to reshape the relationship between the state and its citizens and, in doing so, laid the foundations for the modern welfare state. As he himself recognised, “*now, when the war is abolishing landmarks of every kind, is the opportunity for using experience in a clear field. A revolutionary moment in the world’s history is a time for revolutions, not for patching.*”⁵

Some 70 years on since the publication of the Beveridge Report, the nation again finds itself in difficult circumstances. Though official figures show that the country is now out of a double dip recession, the recovery remains a fragile one given much of the 1% economic growth has been attributed to the Olympics. The

public are also not feeling the end of the recession; the two biggest concerns remain the economy and unemployment (mentioned by 55% and 33% respectively). And, against this backdrop, a raft of cuts and cost-saving reforms have been introduced in an attempt to tackle the deficit. Indeed, referring to the reform of the welfare system, Secretary of State for Work and Pensions, Iain Duncan Smith, remarked that they represent the “*biggest change since Beveridge introduced the welfare system*”⁶.

This report, bringing together Ipsos MORI’s latest research, examines the giant evils as conceived by Beveridge, places them in the context of today’s society and explores how they are experienced. By analysing our most recent work, as well as drawing on wider data, this report shines a light on public opinion towards the giant evils, the factors that shape it and the implications for policy-makers.

We may not talk about *want* anymore, but poverty is still a major issue, with a cross-party agreement to reduce it and a change in how it is measured and defined under discussion. *Idleness* is rarely used as a term to describe the unemployed, but unemployment is still a problem and there is a constant tension between how to best help those without their own income while, simultaneously, making sure there are still incentives to look for work. *Ignorance* is expressed, instead, in terms of aspirations and attainment. The diseases we face have changed as our lifestyles have evolved, and while the programme of slum clearance and new town development helped lift a great many out of *squalor*, problems with affordable, suitable and sustainable housing remain. This report also seeks to identify new ‘evils’ that our society faces, such as how to fund increasingly long retirements and social care.

The report also looks at how public opinion has shifted. Since the publication of the Beveridge Report, Britain’s welfare system has become increasingly non-contributory and is paid for out of general taxation. It is also much bigger: in 2011, almost £200bn

was spent on benefits and pensions, 40% more in real terms than in 1999⁷. The problem with this is that “*as welfare has expanded, it has grown away from people’s moral intuitions: the average taxpayer thinks that too many people are getting something for nothing*”⁸.

This is problematic given how important the notion of conditionality and fair reciprocity is to the British public. In an analysis of British Social Attitudes data⁹ it was found that, regarding welfare spending, three key groups can be identified. ‘Samaritans’, totalling 29% of the population, support welfare spending altruistically, while ‘Robinson Crusoes’ (20%) oppose it strongly. However, by far the largest group are the Club Members (45%), who are willing to support welfare spending on the condition that those on benefits do what they can to contribute.

However, as notions of conditionality in the welfare system fade, the issue, therefore, is how much longer will people be prepared to pay for something that they do not feel they benefit from and others abuse?

Finally, this report hopes to provide an opportunity to reflect how, in just 70 years, we have come to rely and even revere those institutions that were established thanks to the publication of the Beveridge Report and in the wake of devastation as a result of a world war. It also seeks to encourage reflection as to whether the current system of provision meets the needs of a society that is markedly different, both in composition and outlook, to the one that queued up to buy a copy of a government publication that would change the nature of the relationship between the citizen and the state forever.



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As welfare has expanded it has grown away from people's moral intuitions. The average taxpayer thinks that too many people are getting something for nothing.

DAVID GOODHART, DIRECTOR OF DEMOS

WANT

It is altogether curious, your first contact with poverty. You have thought so much about poverty – it is the thing you have feared all your life, the thing you knew would happen to you sooner or later; and it is all so utterly and prosaically different. You thought it would be quite simple; it is extraordinarily complicated. You thought it would be terrible; it is merely squalid and boring. It is the peculiar **lowness** of poverty that you discover first; the shifts that it puts you to, the complicated meanness, the crust-wiping.

GEORGE ORWELL, *DOWN AND OUT IN PARIS AND LONDON*

In his report, Beveridge described ‘want’ as being ‘one only of five giants on the road of reconstruction and in some ways the easiest to attack’¹⁰. He may have been more circumspect about making such claims had he known that, some 70 years later, debates would continue to be held on what it means to live in poverty, how it is experienced, what the long-term effects are and how it should be measured.

Today, poverty figures are on the increase. The Institute for Fiscal Studies stated that it is “inconceivable” that the government will meet its statutory targets to cut child poverty by 2020, and instead found that the proportion of children living in absolute poverty¹¹ is set to rise from 19.3 per cent today to 23.1 per cent by 2020-21. This is well wide of the 5% mark laid down in the Child Poverty Act. Relative poverty¹² is also likely to rise to 24.4 per cent by 2020, rather than fall to the 10 per cent figure enshrined in the 2010 legislation. Latest figures released by Her Majesty’s Revenue and Customs

(HMRC) show that, in 2010, some 20.6% of children could be classed as living in poverty¹³.

Beveridge’s confidence in winning the war on ‘want’ no doubt came from, in part, the narrow way in which he defined his terms. He referred to want as being the ‘*circumstances in which...families and individuals in Britain might lack the means of healthy subsistence*’¹⁴. Yet, today, we understand poverty to be much more complex and multi-faceted than simply an inability to buy certain goods.

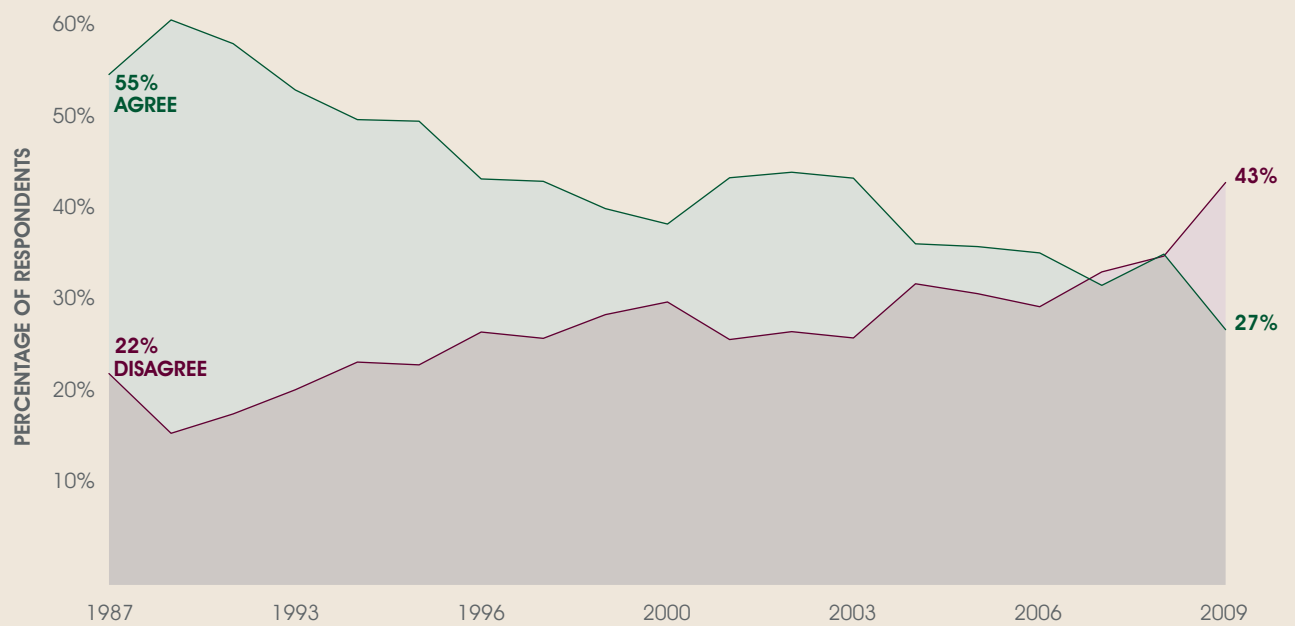
That said, what it means to live in poverty is open to a great deal of interpretation and, as the Joseph Rowntree Foundation has noted¹⁵, there is often a disconnect between how the term is used by policy makers and academics and how it is understood by those with direct experience of it. Low income certainly plays a central role. Over and above this, the effects of poverty can be multi-dimensional; encompassing social isolation, poor health and wellbeing, lack of access to services

and opportunities and an unequal distribution of resources within the home – issues we touch on throughout the remainder of this chapter. Indeed, the Centre for Social Justice has commented, “*the exclusive use of an arbitrary line to measure child poverty tells us almost nothing about the suffocating nature of child deprivation*”¹⁶.

Whichever way poverty is defined, some believe that those who are in this state are there by choice or because of their own poor decision-making¹⁷ and, more generally, that there is a distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor. Compounding this is that the public are becoming less accepting of wealth redistribution via taxation over time. Over half (55%) agreed that *the government should spend more money on welfare benefits for the poor, even if it means higher taxes* in 1987. This figure has now halved to 27%. In the same period, the proportion disagreeing with this statement has nearly doubled from 22% to 43%¹⁸.



“THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SPEND MORE MONEY ON WELFARE BENEFITS FOR THE POOR, EVEN IF IT LEADS TO HIGHER TAXES”



Source: NatCen, British Social Attitudes Survey



I always go for bargains... buy clothes on sales. Shop about using the internet, to buy stuff like birthday presents coming up. It's just like always looking for the cheapest.

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT



I'm good at budgeting... I go to the shops when I know there's a lot of reduced items.

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

That support for the welfare state is fragmenting at a time when the statistics show the numbers of those living in poverty is increasing, and therefore their support needs are greater than ever, is a cause for concern and poses a challenge for politicians and policy makers regarding how they engage the public with this issue and the language they use to do so. It is important that this disconnect is bridged, given how hard life is for those on low incomes – something this chapter hopes to illustrate.

When it comes to tackling poverty, work is typically cited as being the best route out, yet recent studies would suggest this might no longer hold true; most children in poverty live in a family with at least one working adult¹⁹. The issue here is three-fold. Firstly, there is the problem of wages. Analysis by the Resolution Foundation has shown that, even during the boom years of 2003 – 08, median wages flat-lined and disposable incomes actually fell in every English region outside of London, despite economic growth of 11%²⁰. Secondly, a lack of suitable, flexible working opportunities, few chances for progression and the high cost of childcare mean for many families the 'one and a half earner' model is not viable²¹. Thirdly, the eligibility criteria for joint claims for Working Tax Credits have been tightened. Instead of having to work a minimum of 16 hours per week in order to be able to claim, joint claimants now have to find an additional eight hours of employment. For many, this is a challenge – often because the work just is not there; something that has been endorsed by much of our recent research where people have discussed the difficulties they face in finding work or increasing their hours. Figures have estimated that, because of this change in policy, some 212,000 households – with a total of nearly half a million children between them – could lose £3,870 a year as a result²².

How are these issues actually experienced, however? Our recent research for the Social Market Foundation has illustrated how rising prices are making life harder still for those in receipt of depressed incomes;

three of the most commonly cited causes of pressure on budgeting included rising fuel prices, the cost of living more generally, and the expenditure associated with raising a child²³. Indeed, families frequently tell us about the strategies they employ to deal with these rising costs by, for instance, shopping online for the best deals, buying cheaper items and visiting discount stores. These attempts to cut back on spending complement analysis by the Institute of Fiscal Studies²⁴, which has found that in the three years running up to the most recent budget there has been the steepest fall in household spending power in British history.

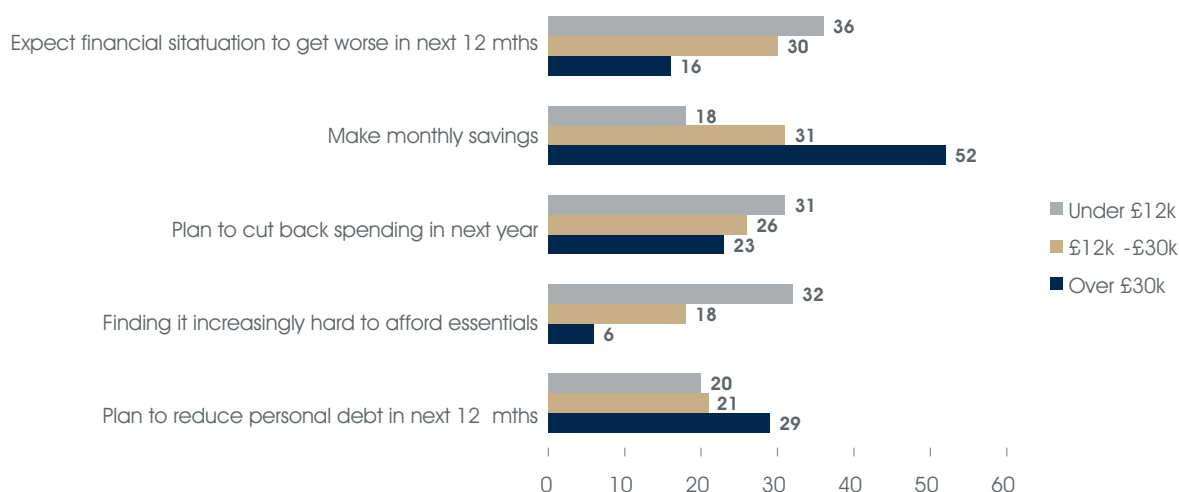
While parents cited the high costs of trips out with their children, educational activities and childcare, they were still keen to emphasise that these were important costs for them to cover, and that they came before their needs. This endorses other research into this issue, which shows that parents on low incomes seek to provide their child with the wherewithal to interact with their peers on an equal footing, and to protect them from the financial pressures facing the family as a whole²⁵. Indeed, women often act as the 'shock absorbers'²⁶ of poverty, typically going without to provide for their family.

This point was well illustrated in our work for Department for Education (DfE) and HMRC, evaluating the impact of the childcare affordability pilots²⁷. Selected families were offered 100% of their childcare costs for a limited time, if they took up formal childcare and went into paid employment. This brought social, emotional and financial benefits to the women from being in work, while they felt their children made educational progress and developed socially. Nevertheless, when the offer ended, in order to keep these benefits, some had to borrow money, and others even cut back on food for themselves just to keep their children in childcare. Therefore, there is not only the issue of income inequality to consider, but how this, in turn, gives rise to gender inequality as well.

These two competing issues of depressed incomes and rising prices

FINANCIAL RESILIENCE AMONG LOW TO MIDDLE INCOME EARNERS

Which of the following applies to you?



Base: 2,000 British adults, 30 March – 5 April 2012

Source: Ipsos MORI/Resolution Foundation

mean that many of those on low incomes are unable to put any money aside as savings; the Resolution Foundation's audit of low to middle-income earners, *Squeezed Britain*²⁸, highlighted how two-thirds of low to middle income earner households have less than £1,500 in savings; leaving them exposed and lacking resilience in the face of financial shocks. While it may not be unexpected to find low to middle-income households most worried about their finances, across a range of measures they are particularly at risk²⁹.

Thus, that people are financially capable, responsible and able to manage their money independently (or at least know where to get help if they cannot) is more important than ever before. Yet the evidence suggests that this is far from the case. While two-thirds (68%) of benefits and tax credits claimants regularly budget, in that they work out how much money they have coming in and going out, a third (34%) still run out of money before the end of the week or month always or most of the time, while a further third (33%) said that this happens at least sometimes. Of those who run out of money, nearly half (46%) get by financially by borrowing from a friend or a relative, while a third (32%) rely on a bank overdraft.

More worryingly, PWC's recent report, *Precious Plastic*, indicated that payday loans could overtake credit cards to become a mainstream source of lending, with consumers welcoming the flexibility and speed these lenders offer, while not necessarily paying attention to the interest charged³⁰. This is something to be concerned about given the report also shows there is increasing doubt among certain segments of the population regarding their ability to pay for purchases or make payments on what they owe. Less than half of those aged 18 to 24 years believe they will be able to repay their debts while a quarter of 25 to 34 year olds regularly need to rely on their credit card to fund essential purchases.

This, in turn, carries with it 'significant and substantial psychological costs'³¹. Indeed, our research for the Social Market Foundation³² has shown just how low income and debt can result in extreme levels of anxiety as needs are sacrificed to meet another. The first items of expenditure that are cut tend to be adult leisure and social activities along with family days out. However, other spending areas that are also threatened include television packages, cars, healthy food, home insurance policies, household repairs and, in the most extreme cases, food and heating.

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It's ridiculous, absolutely ridiculous. I am constantly... especially lately I'm constantly stressed out to the point where like I'm a smoker

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

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More and more, it's which [item's] a need and which one's a want and all of the wants went out of the window...

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

This has implications for Universal Credit, Iain Duncan Smith's flagship programme of welfare reforms. Universal Credit will replace many existing benefits with a single monthly payment that, in turn, should help to promote financial responsibility, increase work incentives for certain groups and also simplify the current, complex system of state support.

The aspirations behind Universal Credit have received support. For instance the Work and Pensions Select Committee said in its report from its 2012 inquiry Universal Credit Implementation: *"The principles behind Universal Credit have widespread support, which we share. The Government has made significant progress in designing a system which will help ease the transition from benefits to work and it deserves to be congratulated for the progress it has made in this respect."* However the committee also says that whilst the new system will be effective for the majority of claimants they have *"concerns about the plans in place to take account of some of the more vulnerable benefit claimants"*.

We know that running a household on a limited income is a challenging job, and that to avoid real hardship, daily efforts and routines are needed to source the cheapest goods, anticipate spending needs and make delicately balanced decisions about where money should go³³. To develop the most effective strategies, families need to carefully consider and plan how they spend their money, and be disciplined in applying these strategies. *Apportioning* of income and payments is usually a key part of the best strategies, as it reduces the risk of over-expenditure and offers confidence about how much money is available for discretionary spending. Regular benefit payments help this process because they have a natural rationing and restraining effect. In addition, because payments are never more than a few days away, there is less risk of a serious shortfall.

The impact of missing payment deadlines or living beyond one's means can be severe and self-perpetuating. Excluded from the mainstream financial

system, low-income families struggle to find financial stability, as any small shock to their income – such as a late payment fee – has a severe impact. Borrowing might become routine often through the alternative credit market: pawnbrokers, retail credit and payday loans. Our research for the Social Market Foundation also highlighted how many families were living with substantial debts accrued during more prosperous times, and how, in the current economic conditions, Britain's older generation are actively subsidising their children and grandchildren: nearly all families who took part in the study were getting financial help from their parents in the form of regular loans and gifts. The emotional impact of this help can include stress, guilt, and an imbalance in the relationship between family members.

This is the context in which Universal Credit is being introduced, and it was felt strongly by those who will be affected that a single benefit payment will compel families to do more of this apportioning and rationing themselves. Families who are already operating an effective system felt comfortable that they could do this, as they have the wherewithal and confidence to renegotiate payment dates and update their budgeting systems (using separate 'savings' and 'current' accounts for example). Families without a system in place may struggle, principally because longer payment periods (monthly for Universal Credit) do not lend themselves to day-to-day and ad hoc financial management. These families were most daunted and concerned about the changes and their ability to adapt. The risk, therefore, is that the proportion of people running out of money each month increases along with the attendant problems that this then brings. The Government has acknowledged some claimants may find it difficult to manage and therefore might be allowed to keep fortnightly payments of their benefit for an "interim" period.

Additionally, the evidence suggests we need to find new ways of engaging the public in future debates on poverty. Recent work by Kate Bell and Jason

Strelitz³⁴ argues that the term poverty fails to engender as much public enthusiasm as it should because *'the ideas that motivate people to care about these issues are not only about a lack of income, but other aspects of fairness and justice'*. Furthermore, it does not demonstrate how dynamic poverty is and how a simple change in circumstances, such as unemployment, a household break-up or the birth of a new child, can tip a family over the edge.

The consultation recently announced by Secretary of State, Iain Duncan Smith, on how poverty should be defined and measured is potentially one such window of opportunity to do this. Speaking at the consultation launch, Mr Duncan Smith acknowledged: *"Across the UK, there are children living in circumstances that simply cannot be captured by assessing whether their household has more or less than 60% of the average income. There are many factors that impact on a child's wellbeing and ability to succeed in life."*³⁵ The Coalition Government has made clear it aims to tackle poverty "at source" by addressing unemployment, welfare dependency, educational failure, debt and family breakdown³⁶.

Previous work, particularly that conducted by Tania Burchardt on 'Time and Income Poverty'³⁷ suggests instead that *"time and money are two of the main constraints on what people can achieve in their lives"* and, while income constraint is widely recognised when discussing poverty and potential policy interventions, time constraint is rarely a focus.

In designing a new measure of poverty, the government must consider all these limiting factors as well as how they can be presented to secure both public support and political engagement. Whatever the revised definition of poverty turns out to be, however, what remains is that some 70 years on from the Beveridge report, *want* is still an issue in our developed and affluent society.

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Across the UK, there are children living in circumstances that simply cannot be captured by assessing whether their household has more or less than 60% of the average income. There are many factors that impact on a child's wellbeing and ability to succeed in life

RT HON IAIN DUNCAN SMITH MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WORK AND PENSIONS

IDLENESS



Why should I let the toad work
Squat on my life?

PHILIP LARKIN, *TOADS*



Walking around in the park
Should feel better than work...
Yet it doesn't suit me.

PHILIP LARKIN, *TOADS REVISITED*

As Larkin's poetry shows, there are competing discourses around the value of work. The political philosopher, John Locke, stated that work was 'against nature'. Karl Marx on the other hand, described productive activity as 'man's spiritual essence, his human essence'. In spite of Arthur C. Clarke's hope that 'the goal of the future should be full unemployment, so that we can play'³⁸, successive governments have endeavoured to achieve the opposite and, consequently, one of the giant evils outlined by Beveridge was that of idleness.

In the autumn of 1943, Mass Observation³⁹ found a great deal of concern among the public about the post-war economy. With experiences of the Great Depression still fresh in the mind for many, 'the spectre of unemployment [was] never very far away'⁴⁰: two in five (43%) expected heavy post-war job losses.

While post war reconstruction provided work, the nature of the economy certainly changed from what the

population had been used to. Traditional working class manual jobs declined and in their place came skilled positions and an increasing number of administrative and clerical roles. As both higher education and retirement provision expanded in the post-war years, the age profile of the workforce increased⁴¹.

Today, the British economy relies heavily on the service sector, which accounts for three-quarters of the GDP⁴². Similarly, the nature of the workforce continues to evolve. Although the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games provided a temporary fillip, and official figures show that the country is out of recession, there are still some 2.51 million out of work (although it is worth noting that ONS figures show unemployment is down 49,000 on April to June 2012 and down 110,000 on a year earlier).

The government, therefore, is committed to getting as many people into employment as possible. The Universal Credit reforms referred to in the previous chapter hope to help with this: the aim is that people moving into

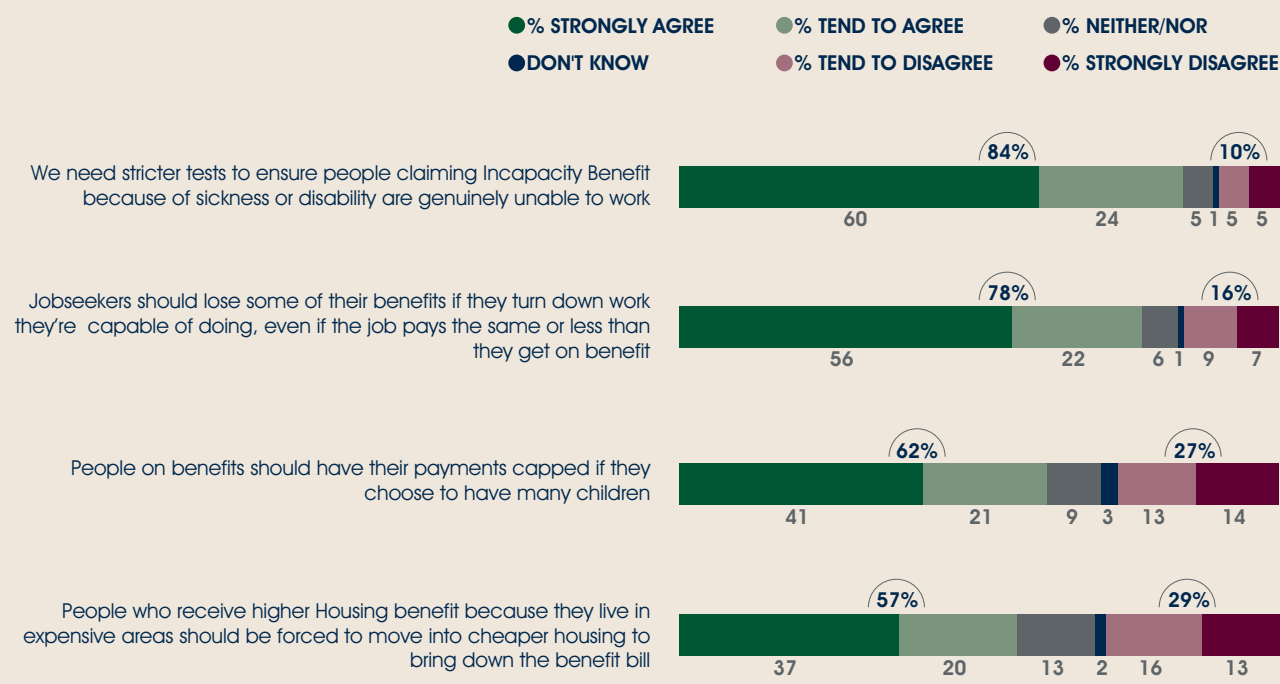
employment will be able to keep more of their income, and their benefits will be withdrawn more gradually, thus providing greater financial incentives to work. In case this carrot is not enough, however, the reforms comprise sticks too; for those that turn down suitable work, their benefits will be removed.

This is certainly a sentiment that the British public can get behind. While our polling for a recent BBC documentary found that nine in ten agree *in principle* that it is important to have a benefits system to provide a safety net for anyone that needs it, only a quarter (24%) believe that this same system is working effectively at present⁴³. Their problem with the benefits system is clear: too much money paid out to those who do not deserve it. Seven in ten (72%) agree that politicians need to do more to reduce the amount of money paid out in benefits, and when looking at where the benefits are going, the public is quick to identify some easy targets.

Of the three-quarters (76%) who agree that there are some groups of

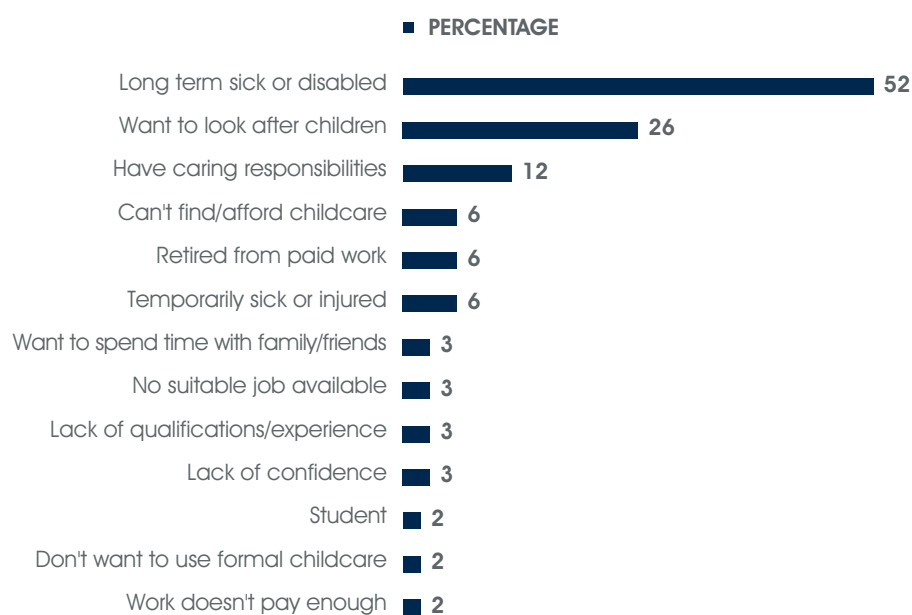


SUPPORT FOR STRICTER SANCTIONS AND ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA



Base: All. Telephone interviews with all residents aged 16+ Fieldwork dates 14 – 22 February 2012

REASONS FOR NOT LOOKING FOR WORK



Base: All currently out-of-work and not seeking paid work (2,156), 27 June - 7 August 2011
DWP/Ipsos MORI: Work and the Welfare system (2012)



I wanted to show him that it's not good to be lazy ... to set a good example

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

people who claim benefits who should have their benefits cut, immigrants are most commonly mentioned (35%), followed by those who claim over £400 a week in Housing Benefit (27%) and the long-term unemployed (25%). It is perhaps no surprise then that the public advocate hard-line measures to reform the benefits system to tackle this perceived culture of idleness.

These include stricter tests to determine eligibility (84%), the loss of benefits if work is refused (78%) or if the claimant has more children than they are able to support (62%) or being forced to move to cheaper areas (57%).

What of those who are out of work? In a recent survey of the benefits and credits claimant population for the Department of Work and Pensions (DWP), two-thirds (67%) of those out-of-work agreed that they *"would be a happier, more fulfilled person if [they were] in paid work"*. Those out-of-work also want to be financially responsible and self-reliant: four in five (79%) agree *"It is important to me to earn my own money, rather than rely on benefits or other people"*⁴⁴. Parents are also keen to set a good example, to demonstrate to their children that things have to be earned rather than taken for granted⁴⁵.

Given, therefore, that for the majority a life of *idleness* is not what they would choose for themselves, it is not surprising that three quarters (75%) agree that they are determined to do whatever it takes to find work⁴⁶. Our work for DWP⁴⁷ explores this in more detail and shows that four in five (83%) would be willing to train to refresh or get new skills or qualifications. Three quarters (77%) would consider an industry sector they had not worked in/are not trained for, while a similar proportion would compromise on the level of responsibility by taking an interim job until they were able to find something else, or on the flexibility of their working hours. Over half (56%) said they would be willing to become self-employed. Recent unemployment data shows that, in response to the sluggish job market, more people are choosing to do just this or work part-time⁴⁸.

Finding suitable work that is compatible with the constraints many people face is problematic and means that these intentions do not always translate into actions. By far the biggest barrier felt by those who are out of work but not seeking employment is their health, mentioned by half (52%). A further quarter (26%) mentioned wanting to look after children while 12% cite other caring responsibilities they have⁴⁹.

For those with children in particular, our work for the DfE and HMRC⁵⁰ highlighted how a number of factors need to be considered in the search for work. This includes access to affordable and trusted formal childcare; a supply of flexible jobs with hours which are compatible with the demands of childcare; wages which pay enough to cover the often high costs associated with childcare; good access to transport; good networks to provide out-of-hours care when needed; and, both the employer and the childcare provider to be located close enough to the home to ensure that the travel is not too onerous⁵¹. Furthermore, our work for DWP has shown that a third (33%) of those who are not working full-time but have a child under the age of 16 see the lack of good quality and affordable childcare as a significant barrier to them finding work. Women are more

TABLE: WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE		
	WILLING	UNWILLING
Compromise on the level of pay	67	18
Compromise on the level of responsibility	76	10
Compromise on the flexibility of the working hours	75	15
Consider an industry sector you haven't worked in before/aren't trained for	77	14
Train to refresh or get new skills or qualifications	83	10
Arrange for someone else to take your place at home	35	26
Compromise on the time taken to travel to work	67	18
Do voluntary work or work experience	64	26
Work for yourself/become self-employed	56	31

Base: Percentage of all working part-time and looking for work or out-of-work and seeking paid work (1,645)
27 June - 7 August 2011

likely to state this than men, with lone parents more affected: two in five (42%) said it was a barrier to a large or some extent⁵².

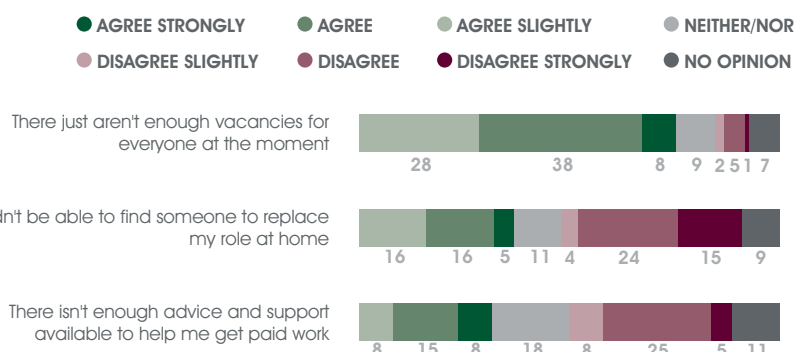
Given the costs associated with work (not only from childcare and travel but also those incurred as benefits are lost or reduced) some question the financial merit of employment. Similar proportions of those out of work agree as disagree (31% versus 33%) that

the types of jobs I can get do not pay enough to make it worthwhile for me to work, while part-time workers were similarly polarised. Forty-one percent agreed that *it would not be worth me working more hours, as I wouldn't be better off financially*, while 43% disagreed⁵³, a dilemma that is frequently highlighted in our qualitative studies⁵⁴. How then to encourage people to work, and to effectively tackle the giant evil of *idleness* that Beveridge highlighted

some seventy years ago? Those out of work are quick to cite a lack of vacancies as a key factor that holds them back, and as unemployment falls, hopefully this will start to have an impact. However, there is merit in also looking into other key issues to ensure employment is both viable and sustainable. Nearly two in five (37%) suggest that they would not be able to find someone to replace their role at home, while three in ten (32%) suggest there is not enough advice and support available to help them get paid work. Therefore, while sanctions for those who constantly refuse work are necessary to try to drive down the country's welfare bill, getting people into employment is not simply an issue of whether there are the vacancies and they have the drive. Instead, flexible working and practical, emotional and financial support in making the transition into paid employment and training are all essential complements that must also be in place.

BARRIERS TO WORK

Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements



All not working and not in ESA support group (3,420), 27 June - 7 August 2011

“

I'm probably better off not working, but I need to get out to stimulate my brain

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

“

I don't know how they calculate these thresholds, but right now I am just struggling day-to-day

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

IGNORANCE



In my younger and more vulnerable years my father gave me some advice that I've been turning over in my mind ever since.



Whenever you feel like criticizing anyone' he told me, 'just remember that all the people in this world haven't had the advantages that you've had.

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD, *THE GREAT GATSBY*

The Butler Act of 1944, passed by the wartime Conservative government but implemented by the post-war Atlee administration, expanded access to secondary education on an unprecedented scale, with the Times Educational Supplement declaring that 'a landmark has been set up in English education'⁵⁵. Indeed, the paper's editor suggested that this piece of legislation indicated the government had accepted two key principles: 'that there shall be equality of opportunity and diversity of provision' which would 'ensure to an extent yet incalculable that every child shall be prepared for the life he is best fitted to lead and the service he is best fitted to give'⁵⁶.

This gave the green light for a tripartite educational system with the decision as to whether a child should go to a grammar school, a secondary technical school or a secondary modern school being based on the results of the 11+ examination. While not all agreed with this, the general post-war consensus was that there were more pressing matters to deal with first of all than 'the

*division at 11 into sheep and goats*⁵⁷. Today it seems that there are more pressing issues for the British public to worry about; only one in eight (14%) cite education as a key concern⁵⁸ compared to a high of just over half (54%) in 1996: a peak in response to when Tony Blair's party conference speech on how his government's priorities would be "education, education, education" and a rare example of politicians having a clear impact on the public mood. However, in spite of a lack of public concern, how the education system can best serve young people remains a key area of debate, reform and change.

Today, parents and policy-makers alike recognise that education starts long before a child enters the classroom. Evidence from a range of longitudinal studies (including the Effective Provision of Pre-School Education - EPPE, now EPPSE 16+ - Project)⁵⁹ suggests that effective parenting and good home learning environments are more important in determining life chances than either the parents' income or own attainment levels. While the emphases of many of the policy interventions

arising out of such research have focused on early years provision (in schools and in childcare settings), there has been a growing focus on practitioners working with parents to enhance home learning environments.

The DfE commissioned Field Review,⁶⁰ for example, stressed the need to 'increase public understanding of how babies and young children develop' through, among other things, 'support for a good home learning environment'. Similarly, the Allen review recommended that all those with responsibilities for child development, 'particularly parents', understood the continuous nature of the health and education cycle from birth.⁶¹ While the Tickell review focused mainly on the Early Years Foundation Stage, she also emphasised the need for greater parental involvement to aid the personal, social, emotional and physical development of their children.⁶²

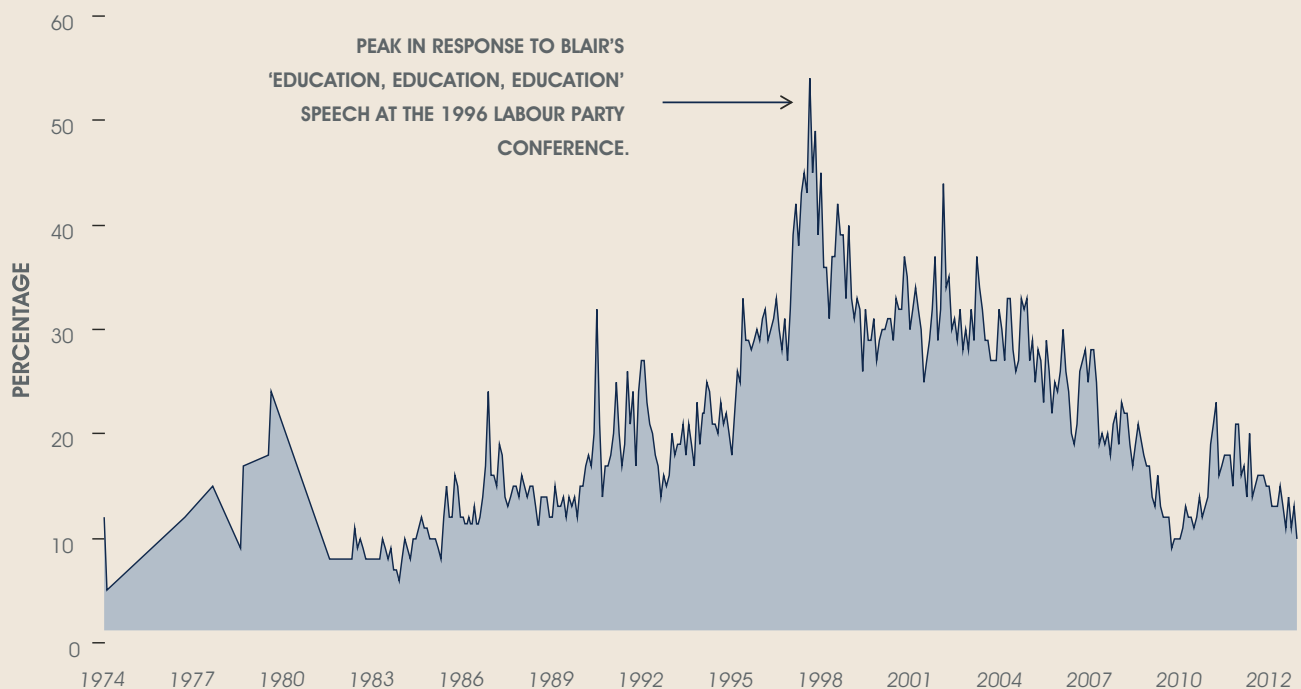
All these reviews highlight the need to enable all parents, regardless of their circumstances, to understand child development, and so to play an



Since 2010, over a million Apprenticeships have been started, half a million of them in the last year. And while this increase in quantity is very welcome, we must ensure they are higher quality, more rigorous, and focused on what employers need.

MINISTER FOR SKILLS, MATTHEW HANCOCK MP

WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE MOST/OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES FACING BRITAIN TODAY? EDUCATION/SCHOOLS



Source: Ipsos MORI Issues Index c. 1000 interviews each month, face-to-face

“

It was good to get a break, to meet new people, a bit of variety...I feel like I've got a bit of a social life because I can go to work and I don't have to talk about babies and potty training – I can talk about me.

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

“

I don't want to be sitting at home and for the kids as well, they need to see that it's about hard work and good ethics really.

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

“

I hated school and things were difficult for me...but they're giving her that love of learning, and that's important.

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

“

They teach the children a lot...my son has progressed so much, it's unbelievable.

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

active and positive role in their homes, and through early years provision and education, to ensure that all children are ready for school and best equipped to take advantage of the various opportunities open to them.

At present, all children have an entitlement to 15 hours of early years' provision (over 38 weeks) at ages three and four, while the most disadvantaged 15 per cent of two year olds have access to ten hours per week free early learning and childcare. For parents, the advantages of this free provision were primarily work-related (enabling changes in working hours), personal (pursuing other interests, such as volunteering) or family related (enabling additional time to be spent with other family members)⁶³. None of the benefits, however, were specifically related to a better understanding of the child, or the child's development; a view that was echoed by providers who suggested that many parents simply wished to drop off their children and go, benefiting from the respite without engaging further in the setting or in extending their child's learning.

Our qualitative research for HMRC and DfE on the extent to which additional financial assistance, such as via the tax credits system, encourages parents to make use of early years provision agrees with this up to a point. Undoubtedly, the 15 hours of early years' provision acts as a spur to parents, particularly mothers, to return to work following the birth of their child, and further '*legitimises the perception that an appropriate starting age in formal care is three years old*'⁶⁴. Indeed, parents recognise that, through taking up childcare and employment, they benefit through the acquisition of new skills, earning potential and, importantly, an expansion of their social networks and the provision of the opportunity for them to do something outside of their role as parent.

Parents are quick to highlight the educational benefits for their children their working can bring. They suggest that, through additional income, they will be able to do more with their children, like outings and sports, which will help them learn and broaden their horizons.

They also set a good example for their children, which will inspire them to do well.

Beyond this, parents in our qualitative research studies have spoken of the benefits their children derive by virtue of being in childcare while they are at work. For instance, some suggest that positive experiences of learning from an early age have helped to make their children more enthused about formal education more generally and that they have progressed further in their development than had they remained at home.

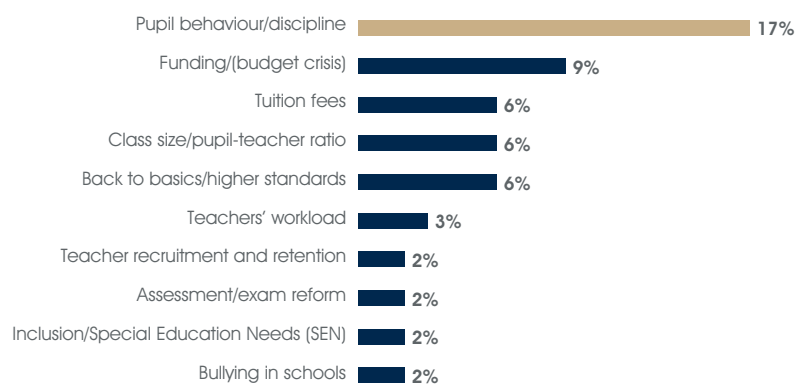
The social benefits of childcare are also appreciated. Interaction with staff and other children through games and play are believed by parents as being useful to their child's development. Study participants have told us they have witnessed their children beginning to share, form friendships and become more independent.

While parents are understandably keen for their children to make the most of the educational opportunities they are presented with, young people also recognise the importance of doing well in school. Nearly all those aged 11 – 16 (95%) state that passing exams/ getting qualifications is important in helping people do well and get on in life, including over four in five (83%) who say this is very important. By way of comparison, four in five (80%) suggest aiming to do the best you can is very important and three quarters (74%) say the same of being able to read and write well⁶⁵.

Teachers typically endorse the qualifications that young people achieve. The majority of teachers (69%) agree that they have confidence in GCSEs⁶⁶, while among students the proportion agreeing that they have more confidence in the GCSE system than they did a few years ago has increased by 13 percentage points to 52%. In contrast, only 14% of students disagree with this⁶⁷.

There is a similar story to tell with regard to A Levels. Four in five (81%) teachers have confidence in the A Level system⁶⁸, while 94% of students agree that, overall, the A Level is an important

CURRENTLY, WHAT WOULD YOU SAY IS THE MAIN EDUCATIONAL ISSUE THE GOVERNMENT NEEDS TO ADDRESS



Base: MORI Omnibus January 2011 (2,048 interviews)

qualification for people to obtain. Where things fall down is with regard to vocational qualifications. Most A Level and GCSE teachers (59%) do not consider vocational qualifications to be on a par with academic ones, including a quarter (27%) who strongly disagree.

This is neither the view of employers, nor the increasing numbers of young people undertaking vocational qualifications and, in particular, apprenticeships. In some of Ipsos MORI's past research, employers have highlighted the positive contribution that apprentices and apprenticeships make to their business. In particular, recruiting fully skilled workers is difficult in many industries and one of the key benefits of

apprenticeships is that employers can train recruits in their way of working⁶⁹. In this way, apprenticeships help employers respond to deficiencies in other forms of training. Other research⁷⁰ highlights that half of learners choose apprenticeships as a route into a career whilst a third are after the qualification. Thus, apprenticeships offer an extremely valuable alternative education route into work.

Apprenticeships are a crucial part of the government's skills and education policy. The Minister for Skills, Matthew Hancock MP, told the Association of Colleges annual conference in November 2012 that since 2010, over a million apprenticeships have been

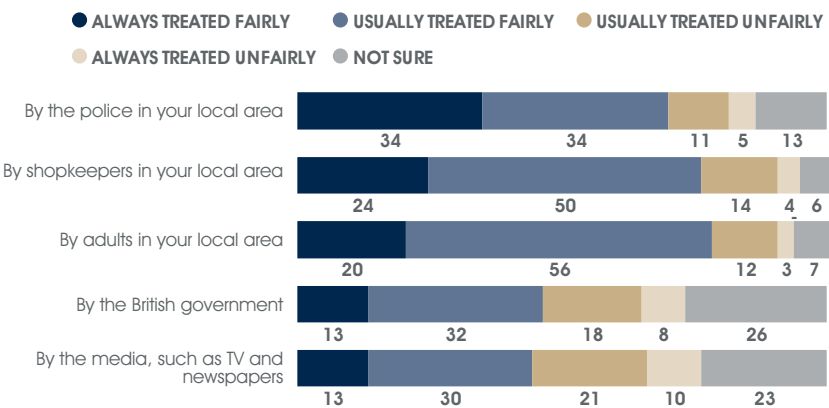
started, half a million of them in the last year. He was also keen to stress however, that apprenticeships are only useful when focused on the skills employers require and are "higher quality" and "more rigorous"⁷¹. This point of view was also echoed by The Richard Review of Apprenticeships⁷².

There are some for whom neither the academic nor vocational education system works. When you ask the public what the government's educational priorities should be, pupil behaviour and discipline tops the list ahead of funding, tuition fees and class sizes.

Young people have told us that truancy and behavioural issues, often stemming from problems at home or in their local area, acted as a precursor to them taking parts in the riots of August 2011⁷³. They have also mentioned that interventions delivered through schools in the aftermath of the riots, such as mentoring and intensive one-to-one support to help them deal with some of the social and behavioural issues they face, have been effective. Furthermore, our survey work would suggest that a fairer representation of the achievements of young people and the challenges they face could help with this as well. While the balance of opinion is still positive overall, three in ten young people (31%) believe the media treat them unfairly.

Overall, however, young people are keen to get on with their lives and progress. While they recognise qualifications are important, four in five (84%) also believe that having the right attitude can help open the door to future opportunities, agreeing that *'it doesn't matter what background you're from, anyone can be a success in life if they try hard enough'*⁷⁴. In the face of such constraints – high youth unemployment, tuition fees, and a media that is quick to portray them as 'feral' – seven in ten are confident that they will be able to do what they want when they leave school and, regardless of what they end up doing, four in five are looking forward to life after education⁷⁵. The challenge for policy-makers now, given the current economic climate, is ensuring there are enough opportunities for young people and that this enthusiasm for progression does not dissipate.

DO YOU THINK YOUNG PEOPLE ARE TREATED FAIRLY OR UNFAIRLY?



Base: 2757 11-16 year olds

Source: Ipsos MORI Young People Omnibus (January – April 2012)



SQUALOR



The ultimate aim of all artistic activity is building!

WALTER GROPIUS, FOUNDER OF THE BAUHAUS

The aftermath of the Second World War found Britain in dire need of homes. Need was so great that many ex-servicemen and their families were driven to desperate measures. ‘In the summer of 1946, it was possible for a family to find itself 4,000th on the local council’s waiting list.’⁷⁶ Encouraged by Communist activists, thousands took to storming disused army barracks and squatting in them.

The response of the then Housing Minister, Aneurin Bevan, was both bold and unprecedented. The years that followed saw massive expansion in social housing. This included slum clearances, reconstruction, the building of many new towns, and the first residential high rises. The public supported this programme. After all, *‘the housing shortages caused more anguish and frustration than any other of the nation’s manifold problems.’*⁷⁷ Furthermore, under Bevan, these homes were built with keen regard for quality. He believed that cutting standards to boost numbers was *‘the coward’s way out ... if we wait a little longer, that will*

*be far better than doing ugly things now and regretting them for the rest of our lives.’*⁷⁸ A Bevan home was to be a minimum 900 square feet with a garden for all, and accessible to all social classes⁷⁹.

Nevertheless, one aspect of Bevan’s legacy was a controversial debate on the value of trading off numbers of homes built against quality standards, which persists today. Now, as then, housing is a national obsession, and lies at the heart of key contemporary policy strategies on planning, welfare, wellbeing and social mobility. Now, as then, the sector faces tough questions to resolve around shortages and quality of homes, yet faces these in a climate of recession and housing market instability. In addition, while today’s demographic challenges are different, for example a larger proportion of single and lone parent households, the problem of meeting housing needs in Britain remains an urgent one.

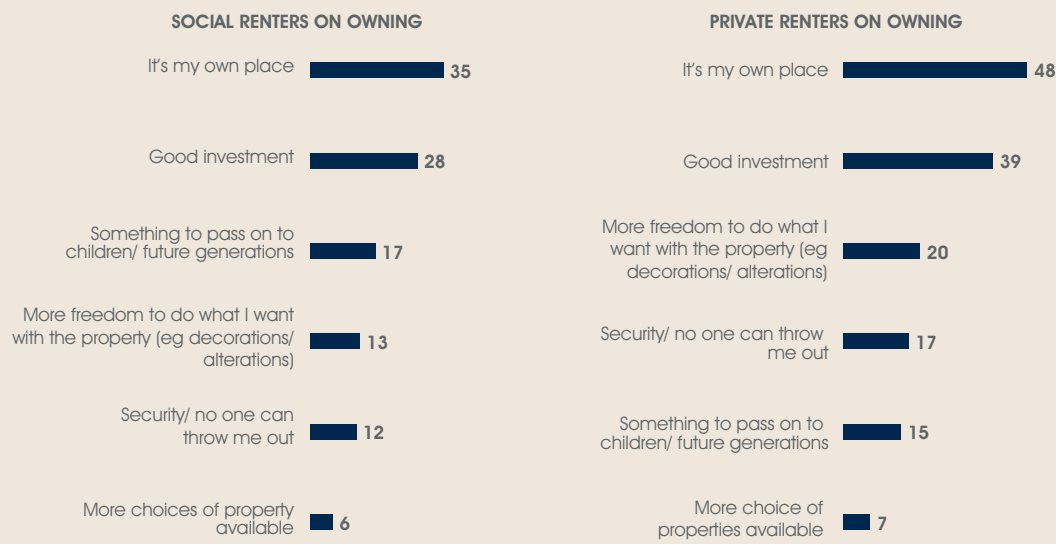
There is still a shortage of homes for the poorest in society, with 1.8 million

households currently on social housing waiting lists⁸⁰. Nevertheless, in 2012, the challenge of supply is compounded by a new challenge of affordability. Today’s housing market is becoming less accessible for those who want to buy a home, as average house prices are now nearly eight times average earnings, compared with 3.5 times in the mid-1990s. The number of single-person households, who find it hardest to buy, is expected to increase by around 5 million by 2031.⁸¹ These pressures have contributed to the growing numbers renting from private landlords (increasing by 17% last year)⁸², and to rent inflation in many localities, particularly urban areas. ‘Generation Rent’ is also a ‘boomerang’ generation, returning home to live with parents, even with children of their own.

Public preferences do matter here, not least because they can translate into political gain if harnessed in policies, as recognised by the previous Housing Minister⁸³, Grant Shapps who stated, *“The government’s responsibility is to respond to people’s aspirations and*



**WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE ADVANTAGES OF...OWNING OR PART OWNING
A HOME OF YOUR OWN RATHER THAN THE COUNCIL OR A HOUSING ASSOCIATION/
PRIVATE LANDLORD?**



Base: Ipsos MORI Omnibus January 2011 (2,048 interviews)

lots of people...want to own their own properties. I think the government should stand right behind them, and we will.” This is reflected in survey data that 86% of people would rather buy their own home than rent⁸⁴. Further, this aspiration is strong across all tenure groups and is mentioned by nearly all (95%) owner occupiers, three-quarters (77%) of private renters, three in five (61%) of those who rent from a Housing Association and a similar proportion (58%) who rent from a Local Authority⁸⁵. In response, the Government has planned to introduce a raft of measures to enable more people to buy their own homes: from a revamp of the Right To Buy scheme, through to the making available of government land to house builders.

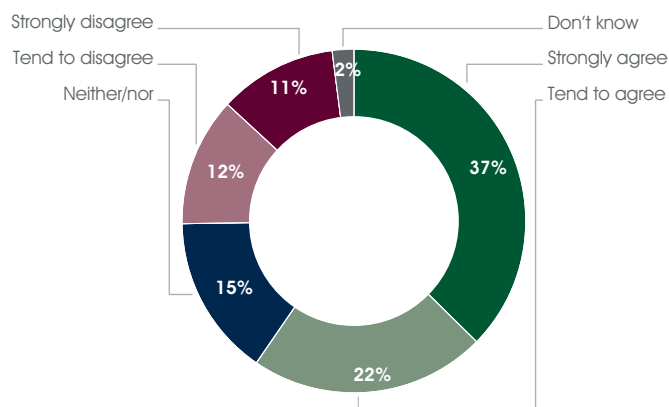
Driving this desire to own is *the importance of security of tenure*, and home ownership is linked to feelings of control. Nearly half (48%) of those privately renting want to own a home simply because it will be their own place, providing security (in that they could not be thrown out) for both themselves, but also future generations, as they would have an asset that they could pass on.

However, a recent National Housing Federation study forecast that ownership in England will slump to 63.8% over the next decade, the lowest level since the mid-1980s⁸⁶. These projections are reflected in pessimism about ownership prospects among those currently renting. Three in five (59%) agree that they *do not believe they will ever be able to afford to buy a home*.

There are a number of barriers thwarting this ambition. The costs associated with buying a house, and the affordability of homes in general, are a real sticking point. Three in five (58%) mention raising a deposit, a third (32%) cite household finances, one in five (21%) mention rising property prices. Compounding this is the uncertain economic climate in Britain today; half (51%) cite job security as a barrier to ownership.

The worry stemming from this is for how long renting, particularly in the private

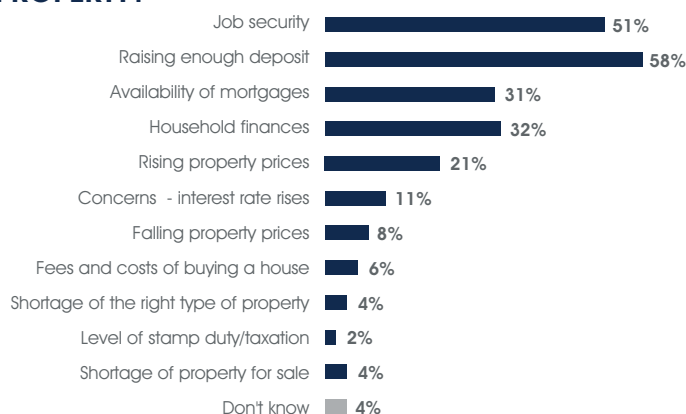
TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE THAT: “I DON’T BELIEVE I WILL EVER BE ABLE TO AFFORD TO BUY A HOME?”



Base: All renters i.e. adults 16+ not buying/owning (354), 11-17 Nov 2011

Source: Channel 4/Ipsos MORI

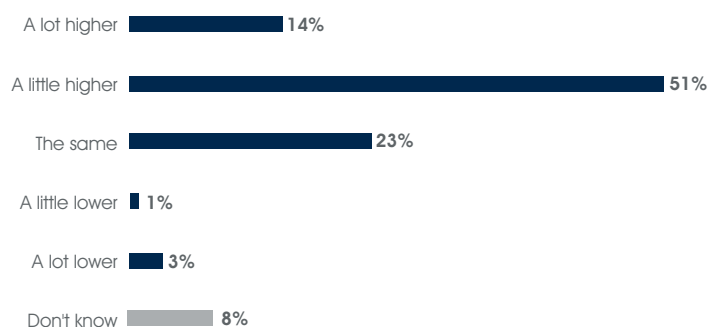
WHICH 2 OR 3 OF THESE, IF ANY, DO YOU THINK ARE THE MAIN BARRIERS TO PEOPLE IN GENERAL BEING ABLE TO BUY A PROPERTY?



Base: 1,890 British adults 16+, 5-9 October 2012

Source: Halifax/Ipsos MORI
Housing Market Confidence Tracker

DO YOU THINK THAT PRIVATE RENTS WILL BE HIGHER, LOWER, OR WILL THEY BE THE SAME IN 12 MONTHS TIME?



Base: 1,890 British adults 16+, 5-19 October 2012

Source: Halifax/Ipsos MORI
Housing Market Confidence Tracker

rented sector, will remain the affordable option. Two-thirds (65%) contend private rents will rise over the next year, including one in six (14%) who think that they will do so by a lot.

Despite concerns over the rising costs of housing, public opinion is tough on the high cost of welfare dependency in the housing sector⁸⁷. Views on welfare have drifted from a preference for ‘a society which emphasises the social and collective provision of welfare’ to a preference that Britain should be ‘a society where individuals are encouraged to look after themselves’⁸⁸.

This has implications for how the public view housing benefit. Although, in 2011 three in five (60%) opposed housing benefit cuts if they were to result in homelessness, one in five (18%) said they would still support cuts even with this outcome.

The public view social housing and housing benefit less as an entitlement for ‘heroes’ than as a safety net for the most disadvantaged in society only. This growing support for cuts and conditionality has the political will behind it. The Coalition Government’s Localism Act, for instance, increased the powers of property owners against tenants with anti-social behaviour orders, and the government has argued in the past that social housing

should only be available as long as householders require, it rather than a permanent fix⁸⁹.

This shift in perceptions is also reflected in the experiences of those claiming housing benefit. They are more likely than owner-occupiers to live in poorer quality homes. Survey data from the 2011 English Housing Survey illustrates that households living in poverty were more likely to live in homes that had significant outstanding repairs and damp problems than households who were not living in poverty.⁹⁰ Moreover, we know from our qualitative work in the private rented sector that many housing benefits claimants across the UK not only live in poor conditions, but also feel unable to move to somewhere more suitable, typically due to financial barriers such as unaffordable local rents, arrears or being unable to find a deposit for their next home. Furthermore, these poor conditions can affect family wellbeing such as with damp resulting in respiratory problems and, more generally, the stress of coping with inadequate housing taking its toll on people’s mental health⁹¹.

While not all have to suffer the privations of poor housing, certainly a greater proportion of the population live in homes that are, in some way, unsuitable. Our work for the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA)⁹²



The gas bill last year was just phenomenal. I just couldn’t believe it...£400 for our winter bill last year.

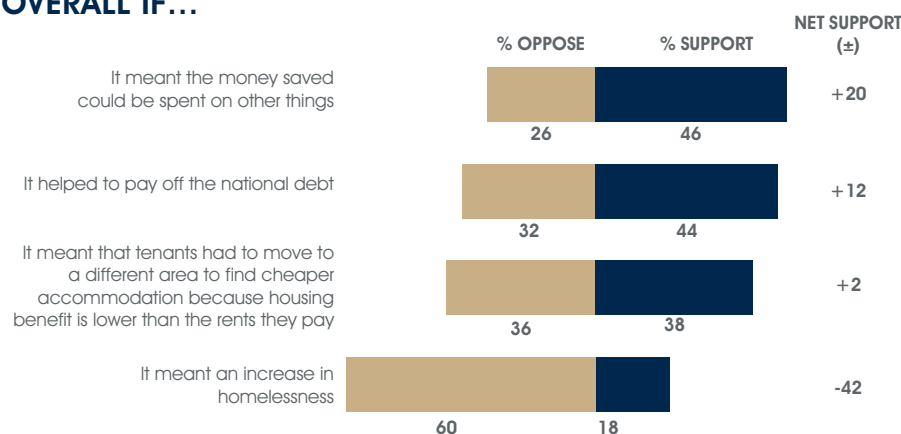
RESEARCH PARTICIPANT



I’ve lived in lots of big properties that are high ceilinged, they’re really hard to heat. You’re always freezing, you spend the whole time in three jumpers.

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS DO YOU SUPPORT OR OPPOSE THE GOVERNMENT SPENDING LESS ON HOUSING BENEFIT OVERALL IF...



Base: 1,002 British adults 16+ interviewed 6-12 May 2011
Source: Inside Housing/ Ipsos MORI Public Attitudes to Housing Poll

shows what most people desperately need is simple: more space. Space is required for storage, certainly, but also to help children succeed by giving them somewhere quiet to complete their homework, by giving adults flexibility in enabling them to work from home and to aid wellbeing by both providing space for socialising but also private time away from other household members. For example, some families can go to great lengths to cope with their cramped conditions with food stored in the boot of their car due to inadequate cupboards and driving to their mother's some 20 minutes away every time they wanted to do some vacuuming to collect the vacuum due to poor storage⁹³.

The UK builds the smallest homes in Europe, partly because the Parker Morris standards, defined by a government committee in 1961 that took into account what furniture was needed in each room, the space required to move around it and also how homes should accommodate other household activities, were abandoned in 1980 on cost grounds.

Today's homes also face new challenges, aside from the issue of space. Key among these is sustainability and, even if the environmental arguments for this do not resonate with people, the economic ones certainly do. In our research for RIBA, as well as the work we have done more generally on how people manage in the face of rising prices, a constant theme is the expense associated with heating the home. Not only does this drain family finances, but it also affects how people live, with households choosing to gather in one room as a means of saving money on heating the whole house.

While people recognise new build homes are easier to heat and better at conserving energy than period houses, with their high ceilings and draughty windows, these are the very features that many find desirable. Therefore, the fact remains that while building more affordable homes is seen to be a priority by over two in five (44%)⁹⁴ and half (51%) support simplifying the way local planning decisions are made if it

makes it easier to build more affordable homes in their community⁹⁵, it would appear that this support is conditional on the types and style of homes that are built. Given that three-quarters (76%) agree that more needs to be done to preserve the historic nature of our town centres, the challenge for planners and architects is to marry people's natural conservatism regarding what they want from their homes, with both the desire and need for more and larger homes that are both sustainable and affordable. As Bevan noted: "*we shall be judged for a year or two by the number of houses we build. We shall be judged in ten years' time by the type of house that we build*"⁹⁶.





We shall be judged
for a year or two by
the number of houses
we build. We shall be
judged in ten years'
time by the type of
house that we build

ANEURIN BEVAN

DISEASE



Health is not valued until sickness comes

THOMAS FULLER

Right from the day of its inception, 5 July 1948, there was a huge demand for the services provided by the NHS with ‘feverish rushes’ for medicines, spectacles and false teeth. As the drugs bill nearly quadrupled in its first two years of running from £13m to £41m, Aneurin Bevan, the architect of the NHS, was heard to complain about ‘the cascades of medicine pouring down British throats – and they’re not even bringing the bottles back’⁹⁷.

Of all the institutions that arose off the back of the Beveridge Report, the National Health Service has assumed a particular place in the nation’s affections. When thinking about what makes people proud to be British, it is our history (45%) and our institutions such as the NHS (37%), the Armed Forces (36%) and the Royal Family that spring to mind, rather than our position in the world (5%) or British business (4%). Indeed, seven in ten (71%) think our NHS is one of the best in the world⁹⁸.

It is easy for the public to find a lot to be proud of when it comes to the NHS. Seven in ten (70%) are satisfied with the NHS overall, with figures rising when we

look at transactional contact: nearly nine in ten (87%) were satisfied with their last visit to a GP. As with so many areas we investigate, familiarity breeds favourability. While two in three (65%) agree that the NHS is providing a good service nationally, three-quarters (75%) agree that their *local* NHS is providing a good service.⁹⁹

Even with such high levels of favourability, the NHS also benefited from the ‘halo effect’ generated by the London 2012 Olympic Games. Staff and patients at Great Ormond Street Hospital featured in Danny Boyle’s opening ceremony and, as a result, two in five (39%) said that the Olympic Games had a positive effect on their opinion of the NHS. Almost half (48%) said it had made no difference to their opinion – perhaps because they already thought so positively of it¹⁰⁰.

Even though current perceptions are favourable, views are polarised on the future of the NHS. Whereas a third (35%) contends things will get better, roughly the same proportion (31%) thinks that they are going to get worse. When asked about the problems facing the NHS, three in five (59%) cite

resources and investment, while three in ten (28%) mention management and bureaucracy. This undoubtedly feeds into the perception held by four in five (83%) that the NHS will face a severe funding problem in the future.

This Government has said that in the current economic climate and with the resultant need to make significant savings in NHS spending, existing NHS structures and spending habits are not an option. Indeed, Prime Minister, David Cameron told NHS staff in Ealing last year that *“sticking with the status quo and hoping we can get by with a bit more money is simply not an option. If we stay as we are, the NHS will need £130bn a year by 2015 – meaning a potential funding gap of £20bn.”*¹⁰¹

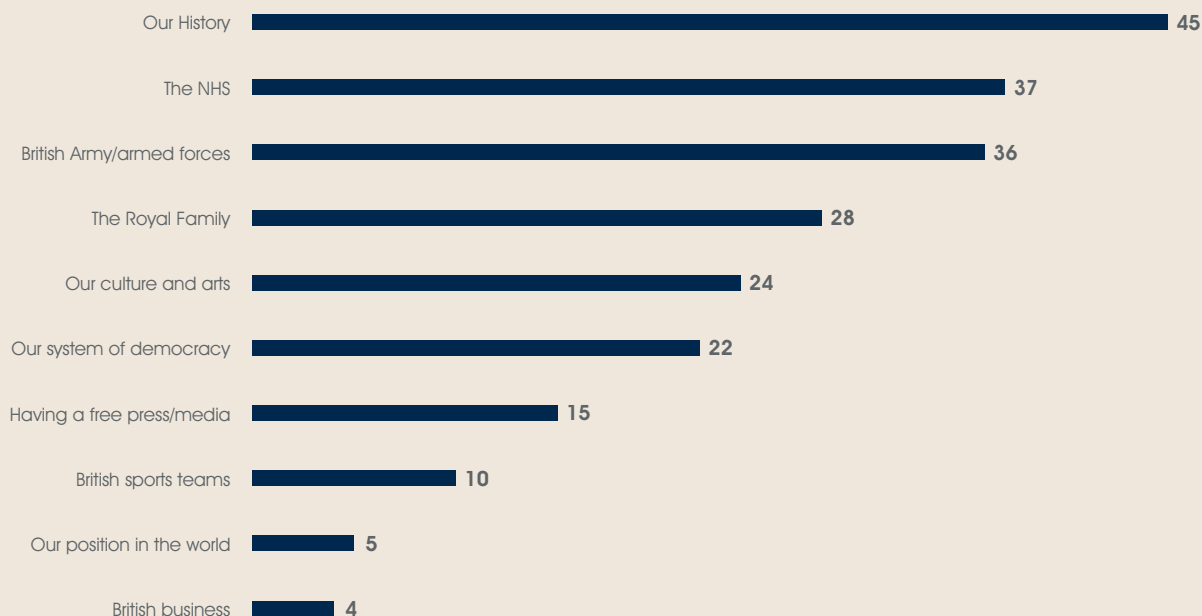
Compounding this is the public’s concerns about the current NHS reform programme. While awareness of what the reforms actually comprise is limited – two-thirds (67%) claim they know not very much/nothing at all about them – people do suspect the worst. A third think they will involve both cuts and organisational change (34% and 37% respectively) and two in five (43%) believe they will make

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Sticking to the status quo and hoping we can get by with a bit more money is simply not an option. If we stay as we are, the NHS will need £130bn a year by 2015 - meaning a potential funding gap of £20bn

RT HON DAVID CAMERON MP, PRIME MINISTER

OVERALL, WHICH TWO OR THREE OF THE FOLLOWING WOULD YOU SAY MAKES YOU MOST PROUD TO BE BRITISH?



Base: 998 British adults, interviewed face to face 27 Jan - 5 Feb 2012

Source: Ipsos MORI / Channel 4

services worse for patients (only 17% think the opposite). Furthermore, those who are more informed about the reforms tend to be more negative still: of those who are able to name a change being made to the NHS, nearly half (49%) think services will be worse for patients as a result, compared to only one in five (22%) who think they will be better.

When questioned on the specifics of the reforms though, there are some positives. Nearly half (47%) think giving GPs and other healthcare professionals much more say in deciding how the NHS spends its money will improve NHS services, so clearly, the public are not against healthcare reform per se. Indeed, this positive sentiment is perhaps not surprising when it is taken into account that four in five (83%) agree that GPs are considered best placed to understand patient needs and nearly nine in ten (88%) generally trust doctors to tell the truth, placing them at the very top of all the professions about which we poll. This is compared to 14% who say they trust politicians (and a sobering 49 percentage points ahead of pollsters)¹⁰².

The public's reticence towards the NHS reforms could be partially explained by the fact that they do not directly address the issue that is important to them – uniformity. Around three in five (63%) agree that standards of public services should be the same everywhere in Britain, compared to just one in five (21%) who feel that people who live in different parts of Britain should be able to decide for themselves what standard of public services should be provided in their area¹⁰³.

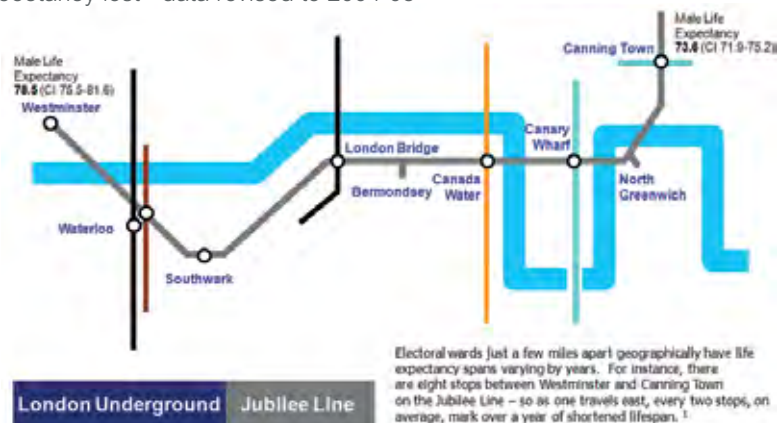
The desire for uniform services, however, does not tackle the issue of health inequalities, the impact of which are clearly shown in the top chart which demonstrates how life expectancy in London declines when travelling east on the Jubilee Line, based on analysis by London Health Observatory.

Ipsos MORI research has consistently shown the impact that deprivation can have on health and has sought to understand the issues driving these differences. Those living in deprived areas do not necessarily have access to the same kinds of resources to enable them to live healthy lifestyles but, beyond this,

HEALTH INEQUALITIES IN LONDON

DIFFERENCES IN MALE LIFE EXPECTANCY WITHIN A SMALL AREA IN LONDON

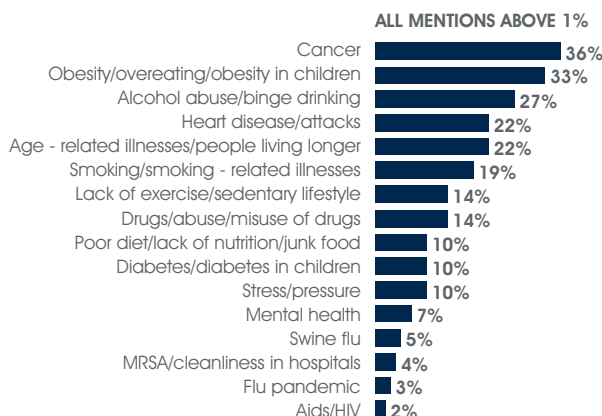
Travelling east from Westminster, every tube stop represents over one year of life expectancy lost - data revised to 2004-08



¹ Source: Analysis by London Health Observatory of ONS and GLA data for 2004-2008. Diagram produced by Department of Health

THE IMPACT OF LIFESTYLE EFFECTS ON HEALTH

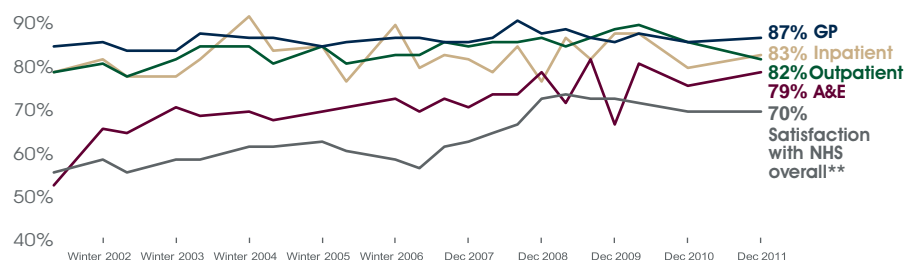
Thinking generally, what are the biggest health problems facing people today? What else?



Base: 1,008 English adults aged 16+, March 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/DH Perceptions of the NHS Tracker

SATISFACTION RATINGS WITH THE NHS REMAIN HIGH



Base: Adults aged 16+ in England: NHS overall (c. 1000 per wave); GP – all visiting GP in last year (c. 750 per wave); Outpatient – all whose last hospital visit was an outpatient (c. 300 per wave); Inpatient – all whose last hospital visit was an inpatient (c. 100 per wave)*; A&E – all whose last hospital visit was to A&E (c. 100 per wave)*

*N.B small base size means comparison of figures and trends is indicative only

** Overall, how satisfied are you with the running of the National Health Service nowadays?

Source: Ipsos MORI/DH Perceptions of the NHS Tracker

our work has suggested that in some deprived areas the social norm appears to be unhealthy behaviours, particularly with regard to smoking and eating.

However, while some face barriers to them living healthy, people do generally recognise the bearing that lifestyle can have on a person's health: while cancer is still seen as the biggest health problem (36%) it is followed by childhood obesity (33%), alcohol abuse (27%) and heart disease (22%).

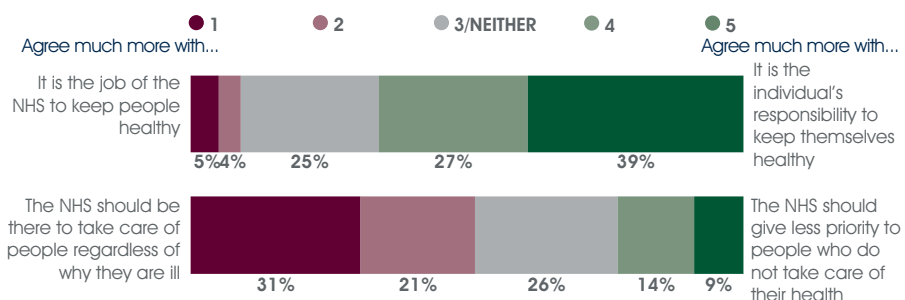
In recognition of this, two thirds (66%) of people think that it is the individual's responsibility to keep themselves healthy, as opposed to that of the NHS (9%). However, this does not yet typically extend to believing that the NHS should give less priority to those living unhealthier lifestyles. Only one in four (23%) believe that the NHS should give less priority to people who do not take care of their health, while one in two (52%) believe that the NHS should be there to take care of people, regardless of why they are ill.

However, even while people currently do not tend to believe that the NHS should restrict treatment for those who make less health choices, there is widespread support for government-led interventions that help people to make better choices. In an international comparator study we recently conducted¹⁰⁴, one of the most striking findings was the high level of stated support for behaviour change mechanisms across four types of behaviour: smoking; eating unhealthy foods; saving for retirement; and living in an environmentally sustainable way.

However, as could be expected, support for these behaviour change mechanisms hinges on how forceful they are; whereas nine in ten (92%) endorse the provision of more information, and slightly fewer (87%) support incentives to change, only three in five (62%) would support mandatory legislation¹⁰⁵. There is, therefore, a tacit recognition that the public need to start behaving differently and an acceptance for government measures designed to give us a nudge in the right direction. In spite of this, however, around half still have a gut instinct against the 'nanny state', agreeing that the government should not get involved in people's decisions about how to behave.

THE ROLE OF THE NHS AND INDIVIDUALS

I am going to read out two statements, one at either end of a scale. Please tell me where your view fits on this scale



Base: 1,646 British adults 15+, 23-29th April 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI

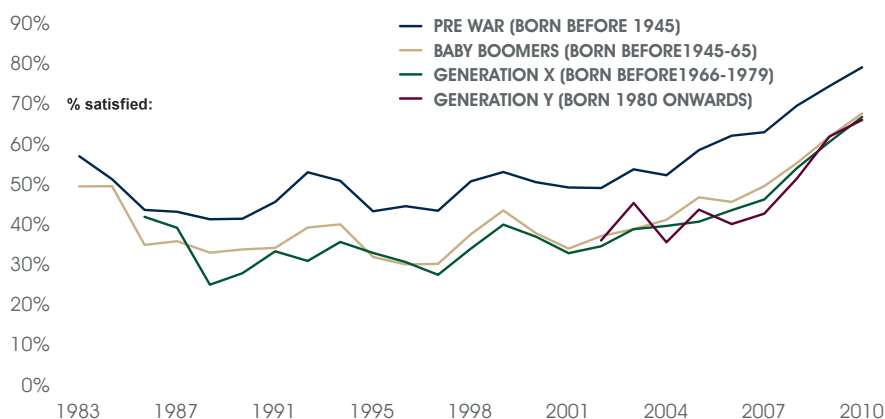
It is clear, therefore, that in the coming years, if the NHS is to meet the twin challenges of dealing with reduced budgets and public health concerns like obesity and alcohol related diseases, then carefully designed interventions to encourage people to behave differently may well be the way forward.

That the public are typically against restricting treatment is a result of their long-held contract with the NHS: they expect that it will be there for them when they need it and, as a result, it goes against the grain to discuss the NHS in terms of denying treatment. This, however, could be under threat. Let's consider¹⁰⁶ details trends in satisfaction with the NHS between different generations. The striking point to note is how different the pre-war generation is to those that followed: they are significantly more satisfied than subsequent generations at each point, at least since the 1980s.

Further, the gap in satisfaction scores between the generations remains broadly consistent, suggesting that it is not the case that the older one gets, the more likely it is that you will be satisfied with the service provided by the NHS. Instead, it would appear that growing up when the NHS was first founded has a significant impact on an individual's attitudes towards it: those who have held a contract for the NHS for longest of all are more satisfied. This could be due to pride in its institution, or memory of what it was like before it existed. If it is a cohort effect that drives this pattern of satisfaction with the NHS, this will have implications for the regard in which it is held in the future, as the current older population is replaced by one that is a good deal less sympathetic and grateful and, in turn, perhaps less happy to pay for the healthcare of those who are either unwilling or unable to make beneficial lifestyle choices.

THE PRE-WAR GENERATION HAS A DIFFERENT VIEW OF THE NHS

How satisfied or dissatisfied would you say you are with the way in which the National Health Services runs nowadays?



Data: BSA 1983-2010. Each data point represent > 100 respondents

Source: Ipsos MORI



NEW GIANT EVILS?

When Beveridge published his groundbreaking report in 1942, he could not have envisaged how many of the recommendations he made would be taken up and still be in place, more or less unchanged, some 70 years later.

Nor could he have foreseen how much society would change in that intervening period; one of the assumptions Beveridge made was that women would return to the home after the war, yet today they make up nearly half the workforce¹⁰⁷.

The demographic profile of Britain is changing too, as people are living longer and healthier lives. According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS), there were 3.23 people of working age for every person of State Pensionable Age (SPA) in 2008. Although this 'old age support ratio' is projected to rise to 3.25 in 2018, it will then decline to 2.78 by 2033. The population is projected to become older gradually, with the average (median) age rising from 39.3 years in 2008 to 40.0 years in 2018 and 42.2 years by 2033.

As the population ages, the number of older people will increase the fastest. In 2008, there were 1.3 million people in the UK aged 85 and over. This number is anticipated to increase to 1.8 million by 2018 and to 3.3 million by 2033, more than doubling over twenty-five years¹⁰⁸.

The attendant rise in care and support needs an ageing population triggers has two major implications for the current system of welfare provision. Firstly, the question arises of how the British people pay for their retirement and, secondly, how they will pay for social care for the elderly.

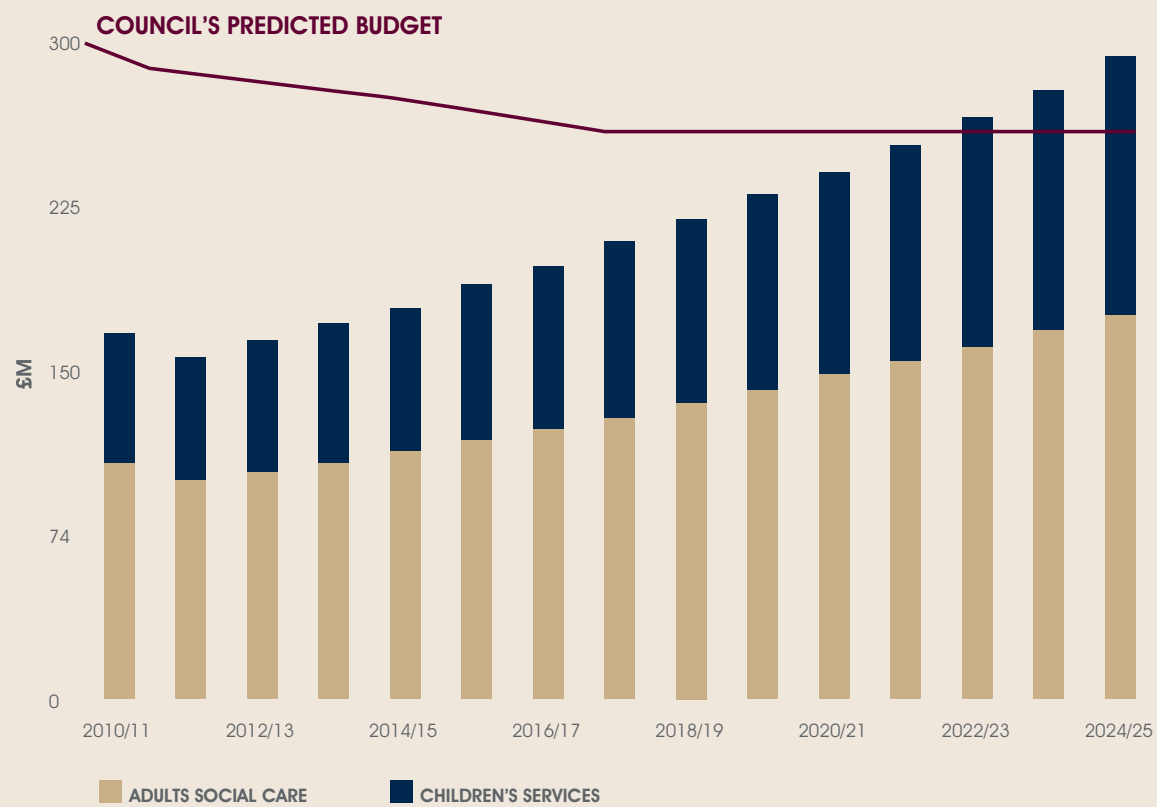
Ipsos MORI research has consistently shown how confused people are about how they will pay for their retirement. For instance, our work on welfare reform¹⁰⁹ suggests that many believe that the ability to claim money from the state in retirement is their "right" and something that they have "earned" after contributing to society for so long. Some see their state pension as a pact they had made with government and they have little sense that the money that they contribute via National Insurance Contributions (NICs) and through general taxation is being used to fund public services now. Rather, they assume that their contributions are being saved for their own use in the future.

This, in part, helps to explain current levels of under-saving for retirement along with other factors such as perceived affordability of pensions, concerns about risk of investment, a reliance on other assets (such as property) as well as a reluctance to think that far ahead in the future. If people are to have a decent standard of living in retirement, governments must find ways to help people plan for this stage in their life. As discussed in the previous chapter, recent work we have conducted on the perceived acceptability of different types of behaviour change interventions¹¹⁰ suggests (perhaps unsurprisingly) that people are supportive of being provided with information to help them make better choices (mentioned by 92%).

Support for providing incentives stands at 90% for planning for retirement, 79% for auto-enrolment and 69% for making enrolment in a pension mandatory. Time will tell how receptive the public are in practice to government intervention in their pension planning: the NEST scheme is being rolled out this year



BARNET'S "GRAPH OF DOOM"



Source: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/77279963/The-One-Barnet-Transformation-Programme-Presentation-29-Nov-11>

into which non-savers are automatically enrolled into a qualifying pension scheme, though with the option to opt out.

A similarly pressing matter is social care funding and, as the chart opposite shows, something that is set to become even more so, as the cost of service provision increases while budgets are simultaneously cut.

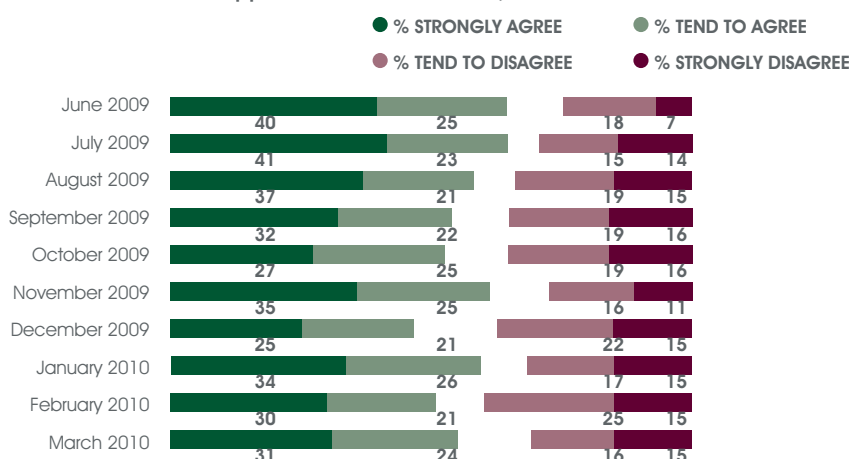
As with pensions, care in old age is something the public gives little consideration. There is both low awareness of, and common misconceptions about, who is responsible for looking after older people in need, with many failing to distinguish between social care services and health care services provided by the NHS. This, in turn, causes confusion about which services are currently free at the point of need and which are not. Awareness of how care and support services are funded, and how much they cost, is very low, and many people continue to assume wrongly that the state will automatically pay for their care in old age. This means that people often have no plans to save for future care needs.

Low levels of awareness and planning could, at least in part, be symptoms of the lack of information people have about social care in general. There is a clear information gap, as people do not feel well informed about social care funding and discussion about this topic appears to be outside most people's terms of reference, making it a very steep learning curve when they do have to navigate the system, often in difficult personal circumstances. Moreover, when informed about current arrangements for funding social care, people typically conclude that they are unfair.

Public views about 'fairness' in the delivery of public services are complex, with different people attaching different meanings to this concept. In this case, there appears to be a conflict between two long-term, underlying social values: the need for equality and collective responsibility and the importance of individual rewards and responsibilities.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS FUNDING CARE AND SUPPORT

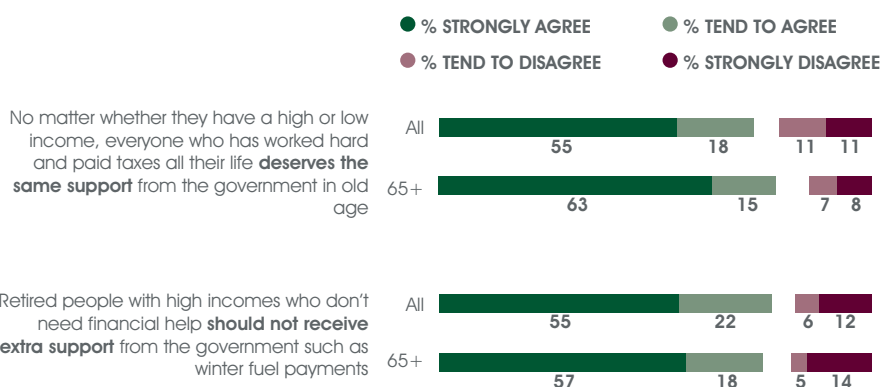
If I need to use care and support services in the future, these will be free



Base: All respondents, around 900 English adults aged 16+ per wave

Source: Ipsos MORI /DH Care and Support Green Paper Tracking

SHOULD EVERYONE GET THE SAME SUPPORT?



Base: 1,253 British adults 18+ including 235 aged 65+, 27th August – 5th September 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/Age UK

For instance, Ipsos MORI's work for Age UK looking at proposed future options for funding social care suggests there is sense that older people should not be expected to pay for their social care, given they have contributed through the payment of taxes throughout their lives¹¹¹. People feel strongly that housing assets and savings should not be used to pay for an individual's social care, and retaining housing assets in later life to pass on to children is seen as an important right. However, that people wish for those that can afford to pay for themselves to do so, while, at the same time, wanting reassurances that they will not be penalised for the assets and wealth they acquire, creates a difficult line for the government to tread. Further, it is yet another example of the cognitive dissonance the British public are so famous for.

Perhaps underpinning these seemingly contradictory views is that few would think of themselves as being in receipt of a 'high income' and, therefore, would assume that the 'high income' people in the second question would be 'someone else' rather than them. Indeed, our work for the High Pay Commission¹¹² highlighted this point clearly, demonstrating that high earners don't themselves feel rich (even though they earned in excess of £100,000), often because their outgoings were proportionately higher.

The third challenge that needs to be addressed is public opinion towards the welfare state. There is a real concern about social decay: more than two-thirds (69%) agree with Prime Minister, David Cameron, that *'there are pockets of society that are not only broken, but frankly sick'*. Aligned with economic worries, it is perhaps not surprising that at the end of 2011, British adults were pessimistic rather than optimistic about Britain's prospects throughout 2012 by a margin of more than 4:1¹¹³. Further, the British Social Attitudes survey suggests these sentiments are translating into declining sympathy towards those in need: the proportion favouring 'a society which emphasises the social and collective provision of welfare' in preference to 'a society where individuals are encouraged to look after themselves' has fallen from 58% versus 42% in 1988 compared to 49% and 51% in 2012¹¹⁴.

It would be hasty in the extreme to start writing the obituary for British solidarity off the back of an analysis of these figures. Even today in 2012, when the dominant political narrative is that public spending is too high and needs to be cut to tackle the deficit, a clear majority favour spending more on benefits for certain groups of people, such as the disabled, lone parents and carers (though the general trajectory is very definitely downwards)¹¹⁵. Therefore, it could be argued that perhaps the

% would like to see more government							
SPENDING ON BENEFITS FOR...	1998	1999	2002	2004	2006	2008	2011
...unemployed people	22	25	22	15	16	15	15
...disabled people who cannot work	74	74	72	65	64	63	53
...parents who work on very low incomes	70	71	71	64	68	69	58
...single parents	35	34	40	36	39	38	29
...retired people	73	71	74	74	73	73	57
...people who care for those who are sick or disabled	84	84	84	82	84	85	75
Weighted base	3146	3143	3435	3199	3228	3333	3311
Unweighted base	3146	3143	3435	3199	3240	3258	3311

Source: NatCen and the British Social Attitudes Survey





surprise is not that support for certain elements of Beveridge's welfare state is falling, but more that public endorsement of it is so resilient despite the testing times.

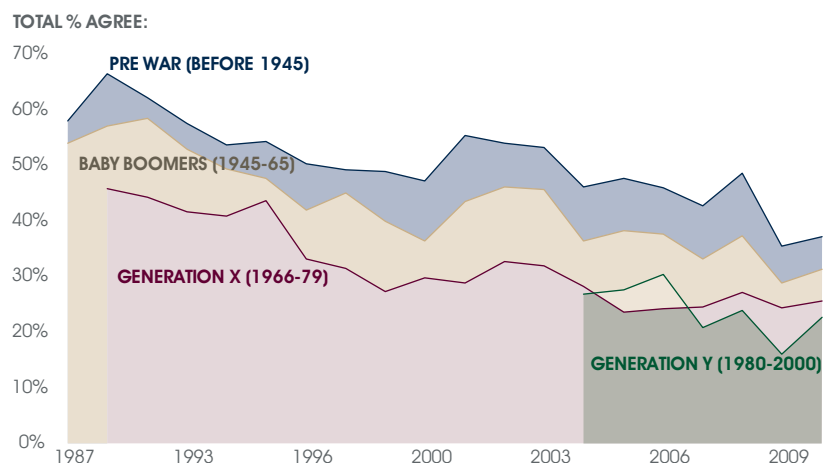
However, it is instructive to look at this issue in more detail. Ipsos MORI analysis, with partners DEMOS¹¹⁶, drawing on British Social Attitudes survey data, suggests some generational shift in where the public stands on the role of the welfare state and the notion of the public service "safety net". We may be witnessing a generational shift in attitudes, with younger generations less supportive of redistribution than their parents. The percentage of the population agreeing with the statement, "*the government should spend more money on welfare benefits for the poor, even if it leads to higher taxes*" peaked in 1989 and has been on a broad, downward trajectory ever since. Not only are younger generations less supportive of redistribution than older ones, but attitudes appear to remain steady within cohorts over time. There is little sign of a "lifecycle effect", in which our attitudes become more like those of our parents, as we grow older.

The implication is that the declining public support for redistributive policies, such as those laid out by Beveridge,

may not be cyclical, but rather a glimpse of the future. This is largely driven by the fact that even though reciprocity and conditionality are built into the current welfare system, increasingly the public do not believe this to be so. Indeed, the tough talk by politicians from all parties about rights and responsibilities may have created the perception that the problem of people taking advantage of the benefits system is far more widespread than it actually is.

This downward trend in attitudes towards redistribution does, however, bring with it the question of for how long will people be willing to pay for something they don't agree with. Accordingly, attention needs to be paid to how best to re-engage the public with the welfare state they pay for, to ensure it can continue to provide a safety net to those who need it, for generations to come. A move away from the current divisive rhetoric used regarding the welfare state may help: currently, when we discuss responsibility in the welfare system what we usually mean is what do those who claim benefits and seek support from the state owe us. Instead, we may do well to start reframing the debate around welfare provision in terms of what we, as citizens, owe each other.

"THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SPEND MORE MONEY ON WELFARE BENEFITS FOR THE POOR, EVEN IF IT LEADS TO HIGHER TAXES"



Source: NatCen, British Social Attitudes Survey

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