



THE COST OF THE CUTS: THE IMPACT ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND POORER COMMUNITIES

TECHNICAL REPORT

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Introduction

This report is a companion to the summary and main research reports '*The cost of the cuts: the impact on local government and poorer communities*' (Hastings et al, 2015a; 2015b)

It mainly provides detail on research design and participants in the case study research. These involved in-depth, mixed methods case studies of the approaches to managing austerity adopted in three English and one Scottish local authority. A range of methods were employed to facilitate both an historic and prospective analysis of council strategies for the five year period 2011-2016. This report gives descriptions of how the various research methods were designed and applied.

The approach taken to the analysis of the national pattern of spending cuts in Chapter Two is largely described in the chapter itself. However, there is some further technical detail in one of the earlier reports from this study (Hastings, 2013b). In a final appendix to this report detail is given on the classification of services usage on the 'pro-poor' to 'pro-rich spectrum'.

Annex A: Selecting the case studies

The case studies were selected on the basis of the first phase of the project which involved a telephone survey with 25 broadly representative English local authorities. From the survey evidence, a typology was identified to classify the various approaches being taken at that time to managing austerity. Table 1 shows this typology and the distribution of the 25 authorities in relation to it.

Table 1: Approaches to managing budget contraction 2010-11 (Phase 1 telephone survey results)

	Approach to service provision	
	<i>Targeting Clients or Communities</i>	<i>Service focused</i>
<i>Has or plans a neighbourhood approach</i>	<i>7 councils</i>	<i>3 councils</i>
<i>A-spatial</i>	<i>8 councils</i>	<i>8 councils</i>
<i>Totals</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>11</i>

It was proposed to select one case study which belonged within each box. To simplify fieldwork, a decision was taken only to undertake case study work with unitary authorities reducing the pool of potential case studies to 15. Further as part of our collaboration with the LSE *Social Policy in a Cold Climate*¹ project, we decided that London Borough Councils would not be considered as potential case studies. This reduced the pool to 12. However, given that the survey was only conducted with English authorities, this meant a pool of 12 was available from which to select three English cases.

It was also proposed that to reflect the concern that the most deprived authorities were being hardest hit by budgetary contraction, three of the four case studies should be in the bottom third of the IMD. Given that there would only be one case study in Scotland, the Scottish case should be deprived in order to facilitate some comparison. This meant of course that one of the three English case studies would be in the top two thirds of IMD. Given that the national picture showed a regional pattern to the distribution of budget cuts, the need for some regional spread was also identified. The three English case studies were therefore selected on the following basis:

- Newcastle City Council – a deprived urban authority in the North East region of England, with a largely targeted approach to managing budget contraction implemented alongside a neighbourhood approach.

¹ *Social Policy in a Cold Climate* is a research programme designed to examine the effects of the major economic and political changes in the UK since 2007. It is funded by the JRF and the Nuffield Foundation, with London-specific analysis funded by the Trust for London. See http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/_new/research/Social_Policy_in_a_Cold_Climate.asp (accessed 08 November 2013).

- Coventry City Council – a deprived urban authority in the West Midlands region of England, adopting a largely service approach without a significant emphasis on spatial targeting.
- Milton Keynes Council – a non-deprived urban authority in the South East region of England, operating a largely service focused approach without a significant emphasis on spatial targeting.

A final – and crucial criterion – was that the case studies would be prepared to work ‘open book’ with the research team and, in particular would give the team complete access to budgetary information and savings plans. Agreement therefore had to be given by the Council Leaders and Chief Executives of each participating authority.

However, initial discussions with the case studies designed to gain the necessary permissions for the study, quickly revealed that strategies had moved on since the telephone survey was conducted. The case studies could not be ‘boxed’ as readily as had been anticipated. Rather a spectrum of approaches was in evidence across the dimensions indicated in Table 1. To an extent, contextual factors, plus the authority’s openness to the research became the overriding factors in case study selection. These factors have governed the selection of the Scottish case study.

Annex B: Budget gap analysis for the four authorities

Approach

The main aim of this part of the analysis is to estimate the overall 'budget gap' in each authority each year, and to decompose this between the 'funding gap' and 'expenditure pressures'. We cover each year since the baseline (2010/11), including estimates for 2015/16.

The main sources used are local authority budget reports. Authorities take different approaches to the presentation of figures and this can have a significant impact on picture which we present. We have made an attempt to standardise where possible, and to compare the local authority figures with those published by national government based on local authority financial returns although it is not always easy to reconcile the two different sources.

Definitions

The **funding gap** is the change in income from government grants and from Council Tax (including any Council Tax Freeze Grant). Government grants make up the majority of the total income for each authority and it is cuts in grants which are driving the funding gap, offset to some extent by growth in Council Tax income. The latter can come from an expanding tax base, rising tax rates or Council Tax Freeze Grants. Authorities have some influence over the funding gap through decisions on Council Tax rates but most of this gap is outwith their control. Grants include the main formula grant allocations but also (in England) funding through special or specific grants (inside Aggregate External Finance).

Estimates of the funding gap take account of changes in local authority responsibilities and in the treatment of special funding streams. For the latter, the major change in England was between 2010/11 and 2011/12 when Area Based Grant and a large number of other specific grants were abolished or rolled into the main government grant. A simple comparison of formula grant in 2011/12 to 2010/11 would show an increase in funding so we need to adjust 2010/11 figures to be on a comparable basis.

Authorities may talk about the funding gap in terms of main grants and council tax only (usually with any Freeze Grant included), or they can include changes in special funding streams. For example, Newcastle in Budget 2011/12² shows both the main funding stream changes (Table 4, pB.22) and the overall 'budget gap' including changes in special funding streams (Table 5, pB.22) – the figures are £16.9m and £25.3m respectively. It is the latter which we try to identify.

Expenditure pressures are those identified by the authority. These can comprise cost pressures (salary and non-salary) as well as demand pressures (population growth, ageing or cyclical effects, for example). They may also include the effects of policy decisions to increase expenditure in particular areas.

There is a subjective element to the estimation of expenditure pressures. To some extent, estimates reflect presentational decisions by the authority. For example, an authority can assume that the cost of external services and goods will rise in line with inflation giving

² Newcastle Budget Report 2011-2012 found at <http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/wwwfileroot/legacy/cxo/financial/budget1112/WholeBudget1112.pdf>

expenditure pressures, and then record the negotiation of prices back to original levels as a saving, or they can have a budget policy of not allowing for inflation in the first place so the process of addressing these cost pressures is not captured in the budgets; it is passed down to departments or services to deal with in addition to recorded savings. No authority shows all the cost pressures which it is facing or might face, but one authority (Renfrewshire) appears to have an approach closer to the latter whereas the approach for the three English authorities is closer to the former. Renfrewshire have kindly provided revised figures to put them on basis more directly comparable with the English approaches.

Expenditure pressures can also be the result of policy decisions by an authority to increase expenditure on particular areas. In Renfrewshire, for example, there are significant expenditure pressures arising from 'investment' decisions. These are detailed separately in budget documents and we distinguish them in the figures presented. Other authorities will have similar kinds of expenditure pressures but, as far as we have been able to ascertain, not to the same level so no similar breakdown is presented for them.

The **budget gap** is the result of combining the funding gap and the expenditure pressures. It can also be estimated directly from local authority statements about the level of savings it has made in that year's budget.

Sources

Each authority publishes information on the budget for the year ahead which includes a comparison with the previous year; draft budgets or pre-budget reports are produced around December and with final budgets around February. Medium-term financial plans are updated periodically and these provide useful information on the years ahead. Authorities also report financial data to the government (DCLG and Scottish Government) on a standardised basis. This basis is not usually the same basis as is used for their own presentations.

In annual budget documents, the previous year's figures are usually re-stated alongside the current budget to give better comparability with the current year's figures; in 2011/12, for example, authorities made adjustments to 2010/11 figures to allow for the rolling of some specific and special grants (including Area-Based Grants) into the main general fund budget.

Denominators for budget comparisons

To make meaningful comparisons between authorities, we present budget gaps etc. in relation to the previous year's budget for each authority.

We could use the full Revenue Expenditure figure for each authority as this includes all service expenditure plus debt charges and a number of other items.³ In England, however, a large part of this budget is for schools and this is ring-fenced: central government pays a specific grant (Dedicated Schools Grant - DSG) which authorities transfer to schools. When looking at budget gaps and cost pressures, English authorities focus on the remainder of the budget which is the part they can control. This includes activities funded by some special or specific grants. We therefore use as our denominator the Net Revenue Expenditure figure

³ Other items may include: parish precepts and levies for transport or waste authorities (England only), trading account surpluses or deficits, and interest on investments. In England, transfer payments made by the authority (e.g. for Housing Benefits or Rent Allowance, or Council Tax Benefit) appear as costs but are removed by grants *outside* AEF before the Revenue Expenditure total is produced.

plus any special or specific grant funding but excluding DSG and Council Tax Freeze Grant (the latter we include as income). As Newcastle note in their Revenue and Capital Plan 2016-16, p[65], "cost pressures relate to gross revenue budget (excluding schools and HRA) ... not simply the net budget".

For Scotland, the closest comparison we can use is Net Revenue Expenditure less the cost of education services; where police and fire service costs are included as they are in some presentations, these also need to be removed. This takes off the cost of all educational services in Scotland where the English figures take off only the cost of school services but it is close enough for the kind comparisons being made here.

Annex C: Analysis of savings proposals using strategic framework

The interviews with senior managers and the documentary and budgetary analysis revealed that a wide range of strategic approaches were being devised in order to manage austerity. Table 2 is a summary of the framework which we have devised in order to structure these different approaches. It defines three headline strategies:

- Efficiency: Actions which aim to **reduce costs** of council services without changing service levels as far as the public are concerned;
- Investment: Actions which aim to **reduce the need** for council services or reduce the cost of services in future;
- Retrenchment: Actions which **reduce the council's role** in terms of the services it provides and for whom.

The table also highlights specific sub-strategies within these and illustrates what these entail through their key dimensions.

We use this framework to explore the approaches of the case studies to tackling their budget gap. Each case study deployed elements of all three strategies although the balance varied between them and changed over time. It should be noted that the framework was devised and refined iteratively during the process of data gathering and analysis, rather than imposed on the evidence. Our interpretation of how each case study fitted within the framework was validated in feedback sessions with senior officers.

Table 2: Strategic framework

Headline Strategy	Definition	Specific sub-strategy
1 Investment	Actions which aim to reduce the need for council services or reduce the cost of services in future	1.1 Encourage economic growth or increase the returns from employment
		1.2 Accelerate own capital investment
		1.3 Preventative revenue spend
2 Efficiency	Actions which aim to reduce costs of council services without changing service levels as far as the public are concerned	2.1 Reduce 'back office' and 'fixed costs'
		2.2 Income generation or loss reduction
		2.3 Seek savings from external providers
		2.4 Re-design front-line services
3 Retrenchment	Actions which reduce the council's role in terms of the services it provides and for whom	3.1 Renegotiate division of responsibilities between council and other agencies
		3.2 Renegotiate division of responsibilities between council and citizenry
		3.3 Individual charges (for existing services)
		3.4 Reduce the range of services supported by the LA
		3.5 Continue to provide the service on a universal but reduced level
		3.6 Continue to provide the service but target towards 'need'

Local authorities produce savings proposals usually in November and these are subject to a period of consultation. Post consultation there may be some amendments to the proposals before they are passed as part of the budget. For our analysis we have used the latest available savings data for each year. The savings data comes in many different forms. An overview of the proposals is usually available on the council's website along with the amount of savings they are estimated to accrue. For example, Newcastle and Milton Keynes savings proposals for 2015-16 can be found at: <http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/your-council-and-democracy/budget-annual-report-and-spending/budget/budget-2015-16>

<http://www.milton-keynes.gov.uk/consultations/Consultation/349>

There are also more detailed consultation and review documents produced for many of the proposals, the majority of which can also be accessed online, although for some we had to apply directly to the local authority. We have used all of these data sources in our analysis.

For each case study the data was used to produce a spreadsheet listing all of the savings proposals. Table 3 is an example of how the data was arranged; each individual proposal occupies a single line in the sheet with a brief description of the plan. The corresponding

amount is then assigned to an overall strategy and sub-strategy. Should it be apparent that a particular proposal encompasses more than one strategy, as in the first line in Table 3; the amount is divided among all relevant sub-strategies. This process was carried out for all of the savings proposals between 2011/12 and 2015/16 and produced 1,596 separate lines of data. It should be noted that this procedure was followed on an individual 'blind' basis, by at least two members of the research team for a sample of the data to check the consistency of the categorisation. After the first stage of the analysis was completed and the savings data had been assigned to the various strategies in the frame work the research team met with the case study councils financial officers to discuss the initial findings and receive their feedback about the approach. At this stage we also took the opportunity to address with them various queries about the savings proposals to ensure we had a clear understanding of their plans. This led to a refinement of the analysis prior to completion.

Table 3: Application of strategic framework to savings proposals – sample spreadsheet

Year	Portfolio	Service	Proposal	Saving (£'000)	Investment			Efficiency				Retrenchment						
					1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5	3.6	
2014-15	Environmental Services	Grounds Maintenance	Redesign of the current landscape maintenance service and introduction of new operating practices resulting in smarter working (includes redesign of open space to reduce annual maintenance costs)	440							50%						50%	
2014-15	Children & Young Peoples Services	Children's Social Care	Improved contracting with independent providers of residential care and foster care for children in care	310						100%								

Annex D: Service user focus groups and follow up interviews

A total of fifty-nine service users have taken part in the research and nine focus groups were held across the four case studies. The majority of participants were young parents apart from one group which was conducted with the members of a community group for the elderly. The participants were nearly all women with only five male service users taking part reflecting the services we recruited from. The majority of the women were under thirty with at least one child.

Recruitment

The focus group participants were recruited with the help of voluntary organisations in each of the four areas. These organisations were recommended by both contacts in the council and voluntary organisations. Our initial aim was to hold two focus groups in each area; one in a severely deprived area, another in a less deprived neighbourhood. We achieved this in all but one of the case studies where it was not possible to organise a focus group in a less deprived neighbourhood but there were participants in these groups who were not experiencing severe deprivation. Table 4 describes the wards where the focus groups were based.

Table 4: Description of wards where the focus groups were based

Case Study		Description	Deprivation
Coventry	Group 1 ward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close to city centre • Large percentage of high density rented accommodation • Highest percentage of BME residents in the city, 1/3 population white • 20% dwellings owner occupied (compared with Coventry average of 30%) 	In the most deprived decile in England
	Group 2 ward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the outskirts of the city • 14% population BME • Similar percentage of owner occupiers to Coventry average • Higher percentage than Coventry average live in semi-detached housing 	In the third most deprived decile in England
Milton Keynes	Group 1 ward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close to the city centre • Slightly younger age profile than the Milton Keynes average • A third of the population BME • Higher percentage of terraced housing than the Milton Keynes average • Significantly lower than average percentage of owner occupiers 	In the second most deprived decile in England
	Group 2 ward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the outskirts of the city • Similar age profile to the Milton Keynes average • Growing percentage of 60-64 year olds • Percentage of BME close to Milton Keynes average • Larger than average percentage of semi-detached dwellings 	In the fifth most deprived decile in England
	Group 3 ward	Same ward as Group 2 (specially convened to obtain an older persons perspective)	In the fifth most deprived decile in England
Newcastle	Group 1 ward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close to the city centre • High percentage of under 14's • Nearly half of the population non-white • Ward with the third highest percentage of social renters 	In the most deprived decile in England
	Group 2 ward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Further from the city than group 1 • High percentage of under 14's • Lower than average percentage of population non-white • Higher percentage of owner occupiers than group 1 ward • Slightly lower level of social renters than group1 ward 	In the most deprived decile in England
Renfrewshire	Group 1 ward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close to city centre • Higher than average percentage working age population • Ward with highest percentage BME in Renfrewshire (4%) • High percentage of social renting 	Second most deprived quintile in Scotland
	Group 2 ward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close to city centre • Similar proportion of working age population as Renfrewshire average • High percentage of owner occupiers • Lower than average percentage of social renters 	In the least deprived quintile in Scotland

The majority of the sessions were carried out in children's centres or voluntary organisations working with families. In one area we held three focus groups; two with young parents and one with elderly participants in a community hall. This gave us an overall total of nine service user focus groups.

Procedures and topics covered

Prior to the discussion, all participants were given information sheets describing the study in simple terms and an opportunity to ask any questions they may have about the session. Members of the research team explained the ethics/consent procedures and a signed consent form was obtained for each participant. The service users were given a supermarket voucher for taking part in the project.

The discussion followed a flexible three part structure. First participants were asked to take a moment to think about the council services they use and in particular the ones they feel are important to them. A sheet with a list of different council services was provided as an aid but it was stressed that this was by no means exhaustive and service users were free to discuss any council service they felt necessary even if it was not on the list. The service users were then asked to name the services that were valuable to them and encouraged to give examples of using them. They were also asked what they would do if these services weren't available. The second stage of the discussion was around the topic of change. The service users were asked if they had noticed any changes to the services they use, to describe these and to comment on whether they found them positive or negative. They were also asked to give a timescale for when they became aware of the changes. In the final part of the discussion we asked the service users if they were aware of cuts to council budgets and if so how they found out about them. They were also asked to comment on how well they felt their council was handling the budget reductions.

Follow-up interviews

Nine follow-up interviews were carried out with participants from the focus groups. These service users were chosen by the research team after a review of the focus group data. Interviewees were selected to capture some diversity in terms of gender, age and level of deprivation, but also because they had signalled that they had experiences of a range of services. Participants were asked where they would like the interview to take place and all chose to return to the setting where the focus group took place. During the course of one interview the service user took the researcher on a walking tour of their neighbourhood, pointing out relevant features and discussing change.

Procedures and topics covered

The ethics/consent procedures similar those for the focus groups were repeated and the participants were given an information sheet describing the project and their role in it. They were also given an opportunity to ask any questions they might have about the research and reminded that they could withdraw at any point.

The follow-up interviews focussed on examples given by the service user in the focus group they attended. The researcher asked them to give more detail with the aim of gaining a deeper awareness of change to service provision post-budget cuts, and a better sense of the import and scale of the change. They were asked about any ways they had adapted their routine as a result of the service changes? Were they doing more for themselves to make up for the lack of service? Were there any unanticipated (indirect) impacts?

Annex E: Frontline staff focus groups and shadowing

There were four service provider focus groups, one in each case study area. Forty-one members of council staff participated in the research. Seven were operational managers, the rest were a combination of operational and public facing staff. The majority of those taking part had worked with the council prior to 2010.

Recruitment

The initial aim of the focus groups was that they would tie in with the service user groups and therefore be composed of council staff operating in the corresponding neighbourhoods. In this way we would be able to compare the comments from the service users about local services with the views of the council staff providing them. In the main this wasn't possible as many of the services had moved from neighbourhood provision to a wider geographical remit or had been re-designed to remove the geographical remit altogether.

The research team sent a list of service areas of interest to senior council staff who provided us with the contact details for operational managers in those areas. These managers were then contacted and asked to nominate members of staff to take part in the focus groups. Table 5 outlines the service areas the frontline participants work in and the distributional incidence of those services.

Table 5: Frontline participants by service heading

Pattern of use/ benefit	Service headings	Participants
Very Pro-Poor	Housing	4
	Advice	5
	Welfare Rights	2
	Children's Social Care	2
Pro Poor	Community & Co-operative Services	1
	Home Care	2
	Mental Health	1
	Community Warden	1
Neutral-Plus	Library	6
	Youth Service	2
	Secondary Education	1
Neutral	Street Cleansing / Grounds Maintenance	6
	Early Years	5
	Environmental Crime	1
	Waste Services	1
Neutral-Minus	Leisure Service	1
	Park Ranger	1
Pro-rich		0

Note: Total number of participants (frontline & operational) 41 [one participant has 2 roles]

From the table we see that the majority of participants are from neutral services with library, street cleansing/grounds maintenance and early years the services with most participants. For services accessed more by poorer service users, housing and advice service staff were two areas that had the majority of participants. All of the focus groups took place during office hours and were held in meeting rooms at the council offices.

Procedures and topics covered

Prior to the discussion, all participants were given information sheets describing the study in simple terms and an opportunity to ask any questions they may have about the session. Members of the research team explained the ethics/consent procedures and a signed consent form was obtained for each participant. The service providers were reminded that the discussions were confidential and that issues raised as part of the session were not to be divulged to those outside the confines of the focus group. It was also made clear that the research team would not reveal the particular council that the participants came from or other possible means of identification when using the focus group material in the published reports and other research outputs.

After a round of introductions where participants gave a brief description of their role and remit the discussion followed a flexible three part structure. The first section concerns identifying changes that may have occurred since the budget reductions began in 2010. The staff were asked if there had been any changes to their departments/services and if so to describe these. They were also asked about any future changes to the service they were aware of and their thoughts on this. They were then asked if they had noticed any changes to the people they offer their services to. Had there been demographic changes? Had the neighbourhoods they come from changed? Had their level of vulnerability changed? The second part of the discussion focused on the impact the changes they described has on service users. Here we tried to get the participants in their examples to distinguish between the impact on the quality of places/neighbourhoods and the impact on the service users. The third part of the discussion explored the impact of the service changes on the participants themselves and their colleagues. This touched on issues such as job satisfaction, morale, communication with managers and their relationship with other partner agencies. Finally participants were asked to give their thoughts on the future and where they saw their job and service heading in the next three years.

Shadowing

Eight council frontline staff took part in the shadowing exercise. We aimed to recruit staff from service areas that were not covered by the focus group participants. In half of the cases they were staff that had been invited but could not attend the focus groups. Table 6 lists the services that the shadowing participants were recruited from.

Table 6: Participants in shadowing exercise by service heading

Service headings	Participants
Advice	2
Welfare Rights	1
Children's Social Care	1
Youth Service	1
Leisure Service	1
Street Cleansing / Grounds Maintenance	2

Procedure

All participants were given information sheets describing the study in simple terms and an opportunity to ask any questions they may have about the research. They were also reminded that research team would not reveal the particular council that they worked in or other possible means of identification when using the material from the shadowing exercise in the published reports and other research outputs.

The aim of the exercise was to watch staff for a few hours as they went about their work. The researcher asked them questions as they went along in order to understand how service re-shaping or budget reductions have affected the service they provide. This resulted in the researcher observing staff interacting with both service users and colleagues and in some cases being shown by staff locations and/or facilities affected by the cuts.

Annex F: Voluntary organisation interviews

A total of twenty-seven representatives from voluntary organisations across the four case studies took part in the research. The majority of those interviewed were in senior managerial positions but five were in more operational roles.

Recruitment

The research team initially contacted umbrella agencies for voluntary services in all four case study areas. After discussions with the researchers these agencies identified services and individuals to take part in the project. Table 7 lists the service areas that the voluntary sector participants came from.

Table 7: Voluntary sector participants by service heading

Service headings	Participants
Early years	7
Community development	2
Leisure	1
Advice	6
Counselling	1
Umbrella agency	4
Older people	1
Play	1
Arts and culture	1
Homelessness	2
Learning disabilities	1

Procedures and topics covered

All participants were given information sheets describing the study in simple terms and an opportunity to ask any questions they may have about the research. Members of the research team explained the ethics/consent procedures and consent was obtained from each participant before proceeding with the interview. Where possible the interviews were conducted in person but due to time restrictions seven were done by phone.

The interview followed a flexible three part structure. In the first part the researcher asked the participant for a brief description of the organisation and their role and remit. They were then asked about changes in their relationship with the council since austerity measures were put in place. This encompasses changes to funding but also communication with the council. The second area explored the effect of austerity on deprived places and vulnerable people. In the last part of the interview the researcher asked the participant to describe the impact of the cuts on the voluntary organisations and the voluntary sector in general.

Annex G: Background evidence on distribution of local public services

This Annex was originally provided for the report for the first phase of the project (Hastings et al, 2012). It is copied here for convenience.

Introduction and Purpose

This note is intended to complement the telephone survey of English Local Authorities and the analysis of changes to local authority spending power resulting from the Emergency Budget, the Comprehensive Spending Review and the Local Government Finance Settlements of 2010. It is intended to provide a concise summary of the distributional incidence of a range of local services, based mainly on household survey data but also drawing on some other sources and past research.

Most commonly here we define receiving a service, or getting a benefit from it, on the basis of **usage** of that service. This can be measured in various way, sometimes in simple binary form (yes/no), sometimes in banded frequency form (enabling quasi continuous usage numbers to be generated), sometimes in a form which flags quality/adequacy of service.

This note draws on several sources

- A. A previous research study, Bramley et al (2005) *Mainstream Services and their Impact on Neighbourhood Deprivation*, which drew mainly on data from the early 2000s.
- B. Analysis of a recent dataset from the Scottish Household Survey.
- C. Analyses of the BVPI Survey dataset for a subset of urban local authorities in England, as originally carried out in a study for CABESpace but extended slightly.

In the context of the SDCR project, the purpose of these data is to make further inferences as to the likely distributional incidence, between different types of household and different types of neighbourhood, of the budget cuts, given what our survey indicates on the likely level of cuts in different local services. Obviously, such inferences depend on assumptions, including the following:

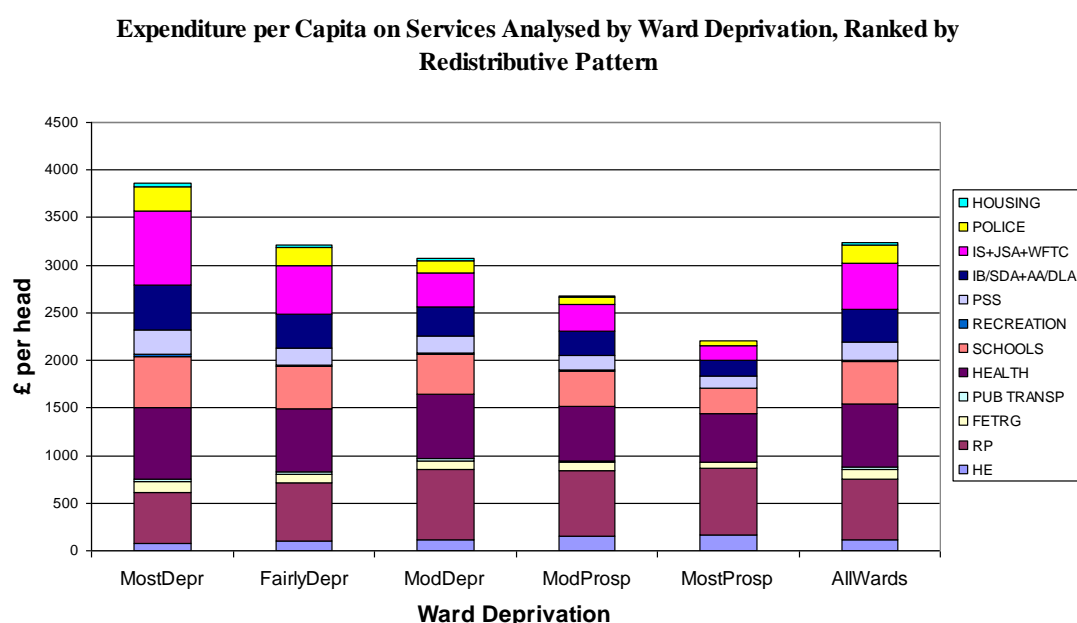
- That distributional incidence recorded some years ago still applies today
- That the cuts impact on real service delivery and usage and not just on efficiency of service organisations
- That differential pricing or rationing procedures are not applied differentially to different groups or areas

If we can make these assumptions, then in principle it may be possible to multiply through the pattern of cuts and these distributional profiles and add up the results across services. In practice, it will probably be difficult to do this because (a) different LAs may provide us with different information (b) some services experiencing cuts may not be ones for which we have any distributional information, and (c) different LAs may make quite different patterns of cuts.

Mainstream Services Study

This study (commissioned by Treasury, former NRU and Scottish Executive) aimed to update the previous 'Where does public spending go?' study for DETR published in 1998, and focussed on the distribution of spending between wards at different levels of deprivation. The study was carried out in seven areas, two in Scotland, which were predominantly but not exclusively urban. There were quite a lot of gaps and inconsistencies in the data obtained but at the end of the study it was possible to provide a composite picture. This is best summarised by the following Figure 1, which stacks up per capita spending across 12 programmes. It should be noted that three of these were national social security spending categories, one was NHS, and two others were Higher Education and FE & training (all non-local government). Of the remainder, some were only partially in local government (e.g. Housing).

Figure 1



Source: Bramley et al (2005) *Mainstream Services and their Impact on Neighbourhood Deprivation*. DETR/NRU.

The ward deprivation bandings were 'Worst 10%', 'Next 15%', and the remaining quartile groups, using the then (2002-based) IMD. The services are broadly stacked up according to their distributional profile, with the most 'pro-poor' at the top (Housing, Police) and the most pro-rich at the bottom (Higher Education). Another feature of the analysis is that the picture is dominated by a few very big spending services and benefits, with other programmes (e.g. recreation) so small in relative terms that they are difficult to read. This study did not attempt to cover all services, unlike its predecessors; for example, a lot of local cultural and environmental services were not included.

Possibly equally useful was a verbal summary of the distributional character of each programme analysed. This is shown in Table 8 below. The middle column characterises the overall distribution in terms of deprivation vs affluence. The next column describes the

amount of variation between individual wards, while the last column attempts to summarise changes from the earlier study.

Table 8: Summary of Ward Spending Distribution Patterns by Service

Service	Category	Distribution by Ward Deprivation Level	Variation between individual wards	Change 1995-2000 by Ward Deprivation Level
Att Allow/Dis Liv All	Aa	Quite pro-poor	Medium	Increased both ends
Retirement Pension	Aa	Moderately pro-rich	Lower	Increased more
Concessionary Fares	Aa	Slightly pro-rich?	Quite Low	Decreased more
Incapacity Ben/SDA	Ab	Quite pro-poor	Medium	Increased both ends
Income Support	Ac	Strongly pro-poor	Quite high	Decreased less
Job Seekers Allow	Ac	Strongly pro-poor	Quite high	Decreased less
Wkg Fam Tax Credit	Ac	Quite pro-poor	Low	Decreased less
Hospital In/out-patient	B	Moderately pro-poor	Quite Low	Increased more
Primary Health Care	B	Slightly pro-poor	Low	
Childrens Soc Serv	B	Quite pro-poor	High	Increased more
Elderly Soc Serv	B	Quite pro-poor	Medium	Increased less
Special Education	B	Quite pro-poor?	Medium?	
RSL Housing Invest	B/C	Strongly pro-poor	Very High	Decreased less
Police	C	Strongly pro-poor	High	Increased more
Primary Schools	D	Quite pro-poor	Lower	Increased more
Secondary Schools	D	Moderately pro-poor	Medium	Increased more
Higher Education	E	Strongly pro-rich	Medium-High	Increased more
Further Education	E	Slightly pro-rich	Medium	Decreased more
Work-Based Training	E	Moderately pro-poor	Medium	Decreased less
Bus Subsidies	F	Moderately pro-poor	High	Decreased more
Recreation	F	Moderately pro-poor	Medium	
Refuse & cleansing	F	Neutral?	Low	

Source: Bramley et al (2005) *Mainstream Services and their Impact on Neighbourhood Deprivation*. DETR/NRU. Table 18.1

Scottish Household Survey

The analysis presented here is based on extracting all the relevant information which can be readily found in the Scottish Household Survey, taking a recent edition of this dataset (2007-08). The following tables present summarised usage information for three groups of services broken down by individual income band, deprivation quintiles (SIMD 2006), occupational group (NS-SEC) and urban-rural classification. These questions are mainly asked of adults (one randomly selected per household, reweighted to adult population). In general we present simple analyses of usage rates by these classifying variables separately, without any attempt to control for demographic factors which might affect the need or demand for such services (with an exception in the case of home care services).

The first group of services are cultural and leisure services for which it is possible to get an approximation to annual usage frequency from banded data. These services are of some interest as they appear to be quite commonly a target for disproportionate cuts. While these services may be 'universal' in their philosophy of provision, not everyone uses them and frequency varies quite widely (higher for parks, lower for museums and theatres). Previous studies (e.g. Bramley & Smart 1991, Bramley & Fisher 2006) have tended to show a certain tendency for these services to be used more by the better off and less by people in deprived circumstances. This finding is broadly repeated here, although on some criteria some of these services are more evenly distributed.

Sport and leisure services are used rather more by higher income people, and people in less deprived neighbourhoods. Although the pattern by occupational groups is somewhat less clear-cut, useage is clearly lower for those in routine occupations and relatively high for professional and managerial people. These services are used more in smaller towns and least in rural locations, reflecting availability and accessibility.

Libraries present a slightly different picture. They are used rather more by the lowest income group (which will include many retired), and usage is slightly higher in the most deprived zones than in zones of middling deprivation, although there is still higher use in the most affluent zones. Usage is somewhat lower for those in routine, lower supervisory and small employer/own account occupations. It is lower in remote rural areas.

Museums and theatres have a lower general level of usage and are much more clearly pro-rich in distribution.

Table 9: Usage Rates of Six Local Leisure & Cultural Service by Income, Deprivation, Occupation & Urban-Rural Category, Scotland 2007-8 (annual frequency, adults)

	Sport & Leisure	Library	Museum	Theatres	Parks & P O S	Commun Centres
<i>Grouped Income (indiv)</i>	<i>usesport</i>	<i>uselib</i>	<i>usemus</i>	<i>usetheat</i>	<i>usepark</i>	<i>usecomcen</i>
£0-10k	15.39	9.69	1.53	1.62	40.66	7.69
£10-20k	16.60	7.11	1.72	2.23	42.91	6.95
£20-30k	18.06	7.29	2.50	2.31	43.17	7.74
£30k+	19.81	7.11	3.06	3.01	45.47	7.64
<i>SIMD Quintiles (2006)</i>						
Most deprived 20% DZs	13.61	8.48	1.68	1.42	36.96	6.63
Qtl 2	15.76	8.06	1.33	1.41	38.64	7.82
Qtl 3	16.53	8.19	1.75	2.13	41.70	8.05
Qtl 4	16.03	7.42	1.73	2.68	43.01	8.50
Least deprived 20% DZs	18.13	8.97	2.84	2.79	45.76	6.57
<i>NS-SEC Occupations</i>						
Higher mgt & profess	19.96	8.41	3.29	3.29	42.96	6.18
Lower mgt & profess	20.74	8.16	2.52	2.92	46.16	7.97
Intermediate occupations	19.72	8.77	2.19	2.49	42.33	8.66
Small emp's & own acct	13.62	5.61	1.49	3.19	42.54	8.48
Lower supervis & tech	20.53	6.31	1.32	1.51	49.37	7.66
Semi-routine occup's	17.91	8.62	1.76	1.93	43.99	8.17
Routine occup's	14.30	6.39	1.15	1.60	44.34	5.99
<i>Urban-Rural Classif</i>						
Large urban areas	16.20	8.50	2.79	2.72	39.83	6.16
Other urban	16.82	8.20	1.14	1.49	43.73	7.67
Small accessible towns	15.19	7.46	1.40	2.23	42.79	9.08

Small remote towns	21.15	10.47	2.71	3.23	66.39	13.17
Very remote small towns	21.59	6.27	1.21	0.85	34.23	7.43
Accessible rural	13.52	8.24	1.24	1.44	36.13	9.02
Remote rural	14.28	6.71	1.29	1.59	39.68	8.07
Very remote rural	12.31	7.29	1.02	2.07	31.67	7.70
<hr/>						
All Adults	16.01	8.21	1.86	2.09	41.21	7.53
<hr/>						

Parks and open spaces have a high level of usage which is found across most categories, although it is still lower for low income people and deprived neighbourhoods. However, there is not much relationship with occupations. Small towns have more usage than either large urban areas or remoter rural places. These findings can be related to recent CABESpace study which showed a low amount of public greenspace in more deprived parts of urban England as well as a poorer quality of spaces and maintenance in such neighbourhoods, although the need for such facilities was often greater in these places.

Community Centres (incl village halls) have relatively even usage across income groups but are used rather more in moderately affluent neighbourhoods and by intermediate occupational groups. Usage is notably higher in smaller towns and lowest in large urban areas.

The second group of services considered (in Table 10) include some larger and more important (in expenditure terms) services, but the measure of usage is cruder and more ambiguous. It is simply the proportion of adults reporting any usage of these services in the last year – this is probably better interpreted as having contact with the service. Clearly, policing has different types of usage, ranging from its general ‘public good’ effect which is universal to various types of specific contact, as a victim of crime, an observer or witness of crime or disorder, or as a perpetrator or suspect. Fire is similar in principle but much less common to have direct contact reported. Schools are mainly relevant to families with school-age children, for whom the service is close to universal, while social care/social work is relevant to a narrow group of persons with particular needs. Street cleaning is universal in terms of who uses the streets, but again specific contact with this service is relatively infrequent.

Police service usage/contact appears higher from higher income and occupational groups, at individual level, although it also appears to be a bit higher in the most deprived neighbourhoods. It is also rather higher in urban areas. We know from separate reported crime and incidents data that these are quite highly concentrated in deprived areas, so this does confirm that we are measuring something somewhat different here.

Fire service usage/contact seems to be higher for both low and higher income or occupational class individuals, but is generally quite a lot higher in deprived neighbourhoods (the same pattern as with fire incidents data).

Use of local school is not very useful in this context, because the service is near-universal. However, the lower usage for the higher management and professional group may be due to greater use of the private sector.

Social care/social work seems to be quite strongly related to low household income, and moderately to deprived neighbourhoods. but with less clear relationship with occupation. Usage/contact here is greater in urban areas.

Table 10: Whether Used Selected Services by Income, Deprivation, Occupation & Urban-Rural Category, Scotland 2007-08

			Local	Social	Street
<i>Grouped Income (indiv)</i>	Police	Fire	School	Care/SW	Cleaning
£0-10k	20.8%	3.0%	14.3%	10.0%	1.0%
£10-20k	23.0%	2.6%	14.0%	6.2%	1.6%
£20-30k	25.4%	2.4%	17.7%	6.0%	1.6%
£30k+	26.0%	3.3%	15.9%	4.9%	2.6%
<i>SIMD Quintiles (2006)</i>					
Most deprived 20% DZs	24.0%	4.0%	14.0%	9.0%	1.0%
Qtl 2	22.0%	3.0%	14.0%	9.0%	1.0%
Qtl 3	22.0%	2.0%	14.0%	7.0%	2.0%
Qtl 4	21.0%	2.0%	15.0%	6.0%	1.0%
Least deprived 20% DZs	19.0%	3.0%	17.0%	6.0%	2.0%
<i>NS-SEC Occupations</i>					
Higher mgt & profess	26.0%	3.0%	11.0%	5.0%	1.0%
Lower mgt & profess	27.0%	3.0%	15.0%	6.0%	1.0%
Intermediate occupations	25.0%	2.0%	16.0%	5.0%	1.0%
Small emp's & own acct	23.0%	2.0%	16.0%	6.0%	1.0%
Lower super and tech	23.0%	3.0%	13.0%	5.0%	1.0%
Semi-routine occup'	22.0%	3.0%	18.0%	6.0%	1.0%
Routine occupations	21.0%	3.0%	19.0%	5.0%	1.0%
<i>Urban-Rural Classif</i>					
Large urban areas	22.0%	3.0%	13.0%	7.0%	1.0%

Other urban	23.0%	2.0%	17.0%	9.0%	2.0%
Small accessible towns	20.0%	3.0%	15.0%	8.0%	2.0%
Small remote towns	22.0%	2.0%	18.0%	4.0%	0.0%
Very remote small towns	22.0%	0.0%	16.0%	9.0%	6.0%
Accessible rural	21.0%	3.0%	15.0%	7.0%	2.0%
Remote rural	18.0%	3.0%	11.0%	6.0%	3.0%
Very remote rural	15.0%	4.0%	14.0%	6.0%	1.0%
<hr/>					
All Adults	22.0%	3.0%	15.0%	8.0%	1.0%
<hr/>					

The next group of service indicators relate to services mainly used by older or disabled people, as shown in Table 11

Concessionary bus passes are available 'universally' to all those over 60 in Scotland (and similarly in England). They are strongly associated with lower total household income, which is unsurprising since most people with these passes will be retired. There is little systematic relationship of having a pass with neighbourhood deprivation or occupational class. Frequency of concessionary travel is also higher for low income individuals, and also more significantly higher for those in more deprived neighbourhoods and lower level occupations. Unsurprisingly, usage is also higher in urban areas, and it is likely that the patterns with deprived areas also similarly reflect availability of bus services (see also Table 12).

Table 11: Use of Services Mainly Related to Older or Disabled People by Income, Deprivation, Occupation and Urban-Rural Category, Scotland, 2007/08.

<i>Grouped Income (indiv)</i>	Concess	Freq'y	Adapt'n	Hm Hlp	Any LA	Care
	Bus Pass	Conc Trav	/sickdis	/sickdis	Care	Hours pw
£0-10k	32.5%	93.63	32.0%	4.8%	8.1%	1.41
£10-20k	21.3%	76.50	29.2%	5.2%	7.4%	1.31
£20-30k	11.5%	67.55	16.8%	2.9%	1.5%	0.29
£30k+	7.8%	52.19	15.3%	1.9%		
<hr/>						
<i>SIMD Quintiles (2006)</i>						
Most deprived 20% DZs	24.1%	109.00	33.9%	6.7%	9.0%	1.62

Qtl 2	26.1%	91.58	34.4%	7.3%	5.8%	1.09
Qtl 3	24.2%	68.53	31.4%	5.6%	4.2%	0.76
Qtl 4	22.4%	61.69	30.3%	5.7%	2.8%	0.44
Least deprived 20% DZs	23.3%	69.66	28.6%	4.5%	2.1%	0.33
<i>NS-SEC Occupations</i>						
Higher mgt & professional	6.8%	63.41	13.1%	0.0%	0.6%	0.09
Lower mgt & professional	7.6%	60.89	13.3%	0.9%	0.8%	0.13
Intermediate occupations	7.4%	94.98	17.0%	0.4%	1.1%	0.20
Small emp's & own acct	12.0%	38.29	19.9%	1.5%	1.1%	0.20
Lower supervisory and tech	7.4%	65.86	12.3%	0.2%	1.8%	0.29
Semi-routine occupations	9.1%	98.13	11.8%	1.0%	1.5%	0.26
Routine occupations	10.2%	100.96	12.6%	1.2%	1.9%	0.36
<i>Urban-Rural Classif</i>						
Large urban areas	23.4%	113.72	31.9%	6.2%	5.4%	0.94
Other urban	24.3%	78.55	33.9%	7.0%	5.5%	0.99
Small accessible towns	26.5%	56.57	34.4%	5.9%	4.7%	0.86
Small remote towns	30.0%	38.52	32.5%	5.7%	3.1%	0.53
Very remote small towns	22.5%	39.81	26.6%	10.1%	3.4%	0.59
Accessible rural	21.6%	41.07	29.3%	4.4%	2.8%	0.51
Remote rural	24.8%	31.82	25.6%	4.9%	3.7%	0.56
Very remote rural	26.9%	21.35	32.7%	5.7%	2.9%	0.69
All Adults	24.0%	80.49	32.3%	6.3%	4.9%	0.87

The next two indicators (adaptations and home help) are calculated by dividing by the proportion of respondents who are sick or disabled, to try to get a fairer comparison. These are used quite a bit more by low income individuals, by people in more deprived neighbourhoods; the relationship with occupation is less clear. There is slightly more use in urban areas.

Adults receiving any LA care are much more likely to have a low income, be living in a deprived neighbourhood, or in a low occupational group; and somewhat more likely to be living in an urban area. Hours of care per week show a similar pattern – this is probably the best indicator of expenditure.

The final set of indicators from this source considered here relate to public transport (Table 12).

Table 12: Public Transport Convenience and Usage by Income, Deprivation, Occupation and Urban-Rural Category, Scotland, 2007/08.

	Pub Tran Conven Index	Pub Tran Usage Freq	Local Bus Usage Freq
<i>Grouped Income (indiv)</i>			
£0-10k	0.84	46.5	79.0
£10-20k	0.83	33.8	56.8
£20-30k	0.81	25.2	35.7
£30k+	0.80	23.2	28.6
<i>SIMD Quintiles (2006)</i>			
Most deprived 20% DZs	0.87	47.2	86.8
Qtl 2	0.84	39.5	67.6
Qtl 3	0.80	29.7	45.8
Qtl 4	0.78	27.5	38.4
Least deprived 20% DZs	0.83	32.9	45.5
<i>NS-SEC Occupations</i>			
Higher mgt & profess	0.80	30.9	39.8
Lower mgt & profess	0.81	27.8	36.3

Intermediate occupations	0.81	36.9	66.6
Small emp's & own acct	0.81	15.5	20.0
Lower supervis and tech	0.82	26.3	42.5
Semi-routine occupations	0.84	42.5	73.7
Routine occupations	0.83	36.1	62.5
<hr/>			
<i>Urban-Rural Classif</i>			
Large urban areas	0.87	48.8	83.8
Other urban	0.84	32.9	51.1
Small accessible towns	0.82	27.7	39.1
Small remote towns	0.82	21.2	25.6
Very remote small towns	0.81	16.0	22.7
Accessible rural	0.70	19.1	25.2
Remote rural	0.68	16.9	25.1
Very remote rural	0.63	11.8	15.2
<hr/>			
All Adults	0.82	35.3	56.7
<hr/>			

A general index of public transport convenience shows only limited variation between income, class and deprivation groups, although it is generally a bit better in lower income/more deprived, lower occupation groups. It is notably lower in rural areas.

The two measures of public transport frequency are based on different questions with different banded responses and different numbers of missing cases, so are not strictly comparable (it appears inconsistent that local bus frequency is on average higher than public transport usage frequency, but the different bandings and values imputed to them account for this). Bus/PT usage frequency is much higher for low income people, people in deprived areas, and people in (larger) urban areas, but the pattern by class is less clear.

BVPI Survey

The Best Value Performance Indicator (BVPI) datasets were derived from standardised household surveys carried out on behalf of most local authorities in England at intervals of 3 years during the 2000s. A 'New Place Survey' was to replace this in 2010 but was cancelled by the incoming Coalition Government, as part of its economy measures and also to reduce

the number of performance indicators for local government. A number of measures relating to parks and public greenspace were compiled by the researchers (Bramley, Brown & Watkins at HWU) as part of the study for CABESpace published in early 2010 under the title *Urban Green Nation* (CABE has also subsequently been wound up, but legacy material including the greenspace inventory are held by the Design Council). This analysis was undertaken for 110 urban local authorities in England (those for which MORI survey data with postcode were supplied).

Table 13 presents a representative sample of indicators from this source, plus one ('Active 2') which is derived from another survey, the Sport England Active People survey, broken down by ward deprivation level. The broad story is that the physical area of public park or greenspace available in deprived wards is very much lower than the amount in more affluent wards.

Table 13: Indicators of Quantity, Usage and Satisfaction Relating to Urban Parks, Greenspace and Outdoor Recreation

Ward based	Park Area /000	All Gsp /000	Frequency	Use Parks	'Active'	Satis Pks	Satis Clean
<i>Deprivation Band</i>	pop	pop	Use Parks times pa	at all % BVPI	1-6 days /month	& POS % BVPI	Pub Spc % BVPI
	Inv QN2wp	Inv QN2wi	U1f	U1d	active2	MM2p	MM3p
Worst 10%	0.75	1.40	51.2	86.6%	39.2%	63.6%	58.9%
10-20%	0.87	1.61	58.8	86.8%	44.0%	63.5%	57.6%
30-40%	1.26	2.53	56.9	89.0%	46.4%	67.1%	60.6%
40-60%	1.77	3.95	58.0	91.7%	49.7%	71.1%	62.4%
60-80%	2.30	5.22	57.9	92.3%	53.4%	74.1%	66.1%
Least Depr	4.49	7.82	59.0	95.4%	58.1%	76.6%	69.2%
Total	1.74	3.61	57.5	90.6%	49.0%	69.9%	62.6%
<i>Ratio</i>	<i>6.0</i>	<i>5.6</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>1.5</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>1.2</i>

Sources: Indicators compiled for CABESpace (2010) study *Urban Green Nation*, derived from Inventory of Greenspaces, MORI BVPI Survey data, Sport England Active People Survey.

The frequency of use of parks is somewhat lower in more deprived areas, and the proportion of the population using parks at all is rather lower. Moderate levels of physical activity (walking, cycling, sport) are lower in deprived neighbourhoods and higher in the most affluent.

Satisfaction with parks and public opens spaces is lower in the most deprived areas and vice versa. This may be related to the lower satisfaction with cleanliness of public spaces in

deprived areas. However, these satisfaction ratings may not just be a comment on the service provided by the local authority, but also reflect the high pressure of usage in poorer neighbourhoods, which are generally more densely populated, and other issues including concerns about crime & ASB.

These indicators provide some clue as to the kind of measures which might be generated for a range of other local services covered in the BVPI survey. These were not transferred from the raw survey dataset into the working file for the CABESpace study. However, we could revisit the raw data and extract indicators on usage and satisfaction relating to the following additional service categories (as well as parks/OS).

- Housing
- Planning
- Personal Social Services
- Fire & Rescue
- LA Education Service
- Sports/leisure facilities
- Libraries
- Museums & galleries
- Theatres/concern halls
- Bus services
- Waste collection
- Recycling
- Civic amenity sites/tips

PSE Survey

The Millennium Poverty Survey (PSE Survey) carried out in 1999 collected data on a range of local services, distinguishing people who used and did not use service and also indicators of service adequacy and affordability. Comparable questions will be included in the new PSE Survey going into the field later this year, and were also included in the 1990 Breadline Britain survey. These surveys have nationally representative samples.

Table 14 provides summary distributional measures from the 1999 and 1990 surveys. These are expressed as ratios of usage by the 'top' group over usage by the 'bottom' group. Groups are based on (a) social class; (b) equivalent income (i.e. income adjusted for household composition); (c) deprivation, using the PSE material deprivation criterion of lacking two or more socially perceived necessities. Services considered fall into three groups. For the first of these groups of services, the relevant population is all households; for the second group households with children under five or school age; for the third group all elderly plus households with one or more disabled members. All of these are individual household level measures. Usage rates are first standardised for household type, in recognition of the rather different patterns for families with children, elderly people households and smaller vs larger adult households.

Table 14 Standardised usage ratios by class, equivalent income and poverty for public local services, 1990 and 1999

Service	Usage ratio by Class		Usage ratios Equivalent Income		Usage ratio by Poverty	
	1990	1999	1990	1999	1990	1999
Libraries	1.40	1.42	0.95	1.11	1.36	1.26
Public Sports facilities	1.34	1.33	1.39	1.41	1.19	1.44
Museums and galleries	2.03	2.09	1.60	2.22	1.56	1.98
Adult Evening Classes	1.88	2.80	1.29	1.11	1.52	1.76
Bus Service	0.77	0.77	0.77	0.75	0.85	0.84
Childcare	0.92	1.18	0.75	1.94	1.26	1.12
Play Facilities	0.93	1.46	0.80	0.47	1.31	1.56
School Meals	0.70	1.24	0.71	0.81	0.79	0.86
Home Help	0.62	0.61	0.93	1.37	0.84	1.15
Meals on Wheels	0.32	0.61			0.57	0.73
Special Transport	0.29	0.23	0.06	0.44	0.94	0.33

Source: Table 8.1 in Fisher & Bramley (2006). Calculated from 1990 Breadline Britain Survey and 1999 PSE Survey

On the basis of usage, generally taken here as a proxy for expenditure incidence, this source confirms the broadly pro-rich distributional pattern associated with the first four services: libraries, sports, museums and adult classes, although this tendency was less marked for libraries and strongest for museums. Bus services are the only one of these universal services to be consistently pro-poor.

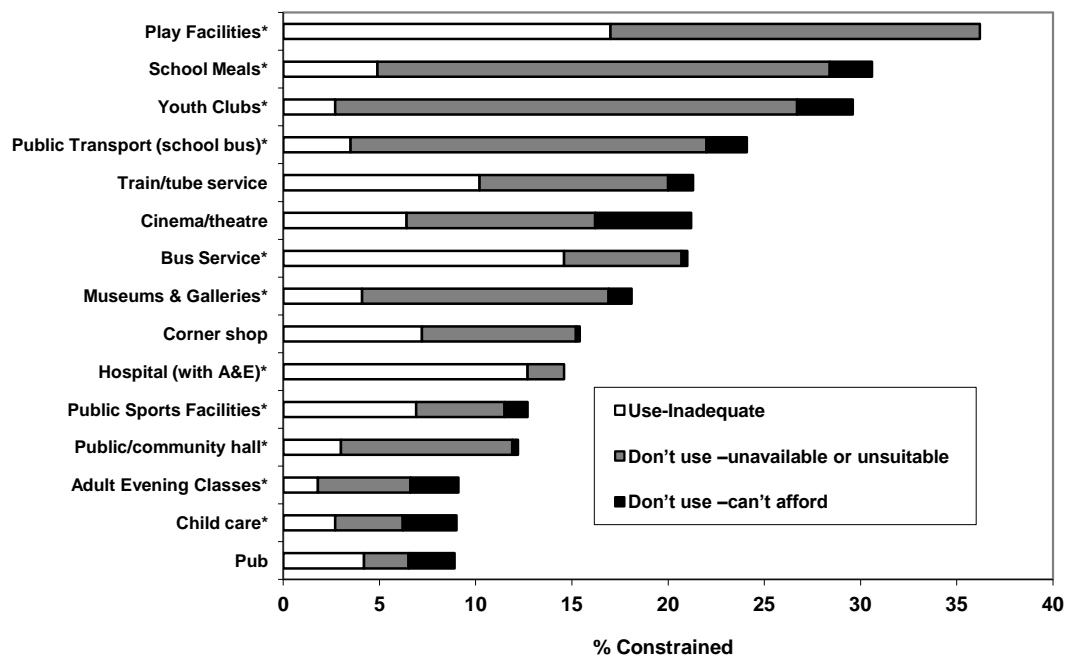
Childcare services (includes nurseries, playgroups, mother and toddler groups and after school clubs) show a mixed picture, tending on two criteria to become more pro-rich in 1999. There is also a mixed picture on play facilities. School meals are generally pro-poor, and

clearly this will be much more the case when allowance is made for free meals which are targeted on the low income poor.

The social care services for elderly and disabled tend to be somewhat pro-poor, but this is not consistently the case for home help across all the indicators in 1990.

In both the 1990 Breadline Britain survey and the 1999 PSE survey, possible responses to the question on service usage include ways in which supply constraints or inadequacies can affect usage. These include: using the service, despite perceiving it as inadequate; not using the service because it is unavailable or inadequate; and not using the service because the respondent cannot afford to. Here these three responses are used together to provide a broad index of constraint. Figure 2 illustrates the pattern across services combining both public and private services.

Figure 2: Service constraint or inadequacies for top 14 public and private local services, 1999 (ranked by % constrained)



The distribution of constraints by income and deprivation of household is summarised in Table 8 below.

Table 15: Supply, quality or cost: constraints on usage by equivalent income and poverty for local services, 1990 and 1999

Service	Proportion of households constrained (%)							
	Equivalent Income				Poor			
	1990		1999		1990		1999	
	Top	Bottom	Top	Bottom	No	Yes	No	Yes
Libraries	12	12	9	11	9	14	7	12
Public Sports facilities	20	18	20	11	20	15	13	11
Museums and galleries	25	19	22	18	17	21	17	21
Adult Evening Classes	9	16	9	11	9	20	7	15
Bus Service	35	24	22	24	25	29	19	27
Childcare	38	30	12	39	29	28	24	50
Play Facilities	26	55	32	57	39	57	29	60
School Meals	35	33	13	15	19	33	11	14

Source: Calculated from 1990 Breadline Britain Survey and 1999 PSE Survey.

For most services in 1990, the lowest income group report either a similar level of constraint or a lower level than the top group, with the exception of adult evening classes and children's play facilities. A similar pattern is evident in 1999, except that the difference between the top and bottom groups has increased in the case of public sports facilities and bus services and the lowest income group is more constrained in their usage of childcare services. With respect to poor (multiply deprived) households, they tend to be more constrained in their use of all services, except public sports facilities and school meals, a pattern which has persisted across both surveys. Hence, it may be concluded that poor households face poorer quality services and/or that poverty reinforces constraints on service usage. This is more clear-cut than the general relationship with income or class