

Incapacity Claimants in the East Midlands

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INCAPACITY CLAIMANTS IN THE EAST MIDLANDS

Identifying their characteristics, aspirations and skills needs

A report to the East Midlands Learning and Skills Council

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This report has been commissioned by the East Midlands Learning and Skills Council but also draws heavily on the findings of a survey financed by the government's Economic and Social Research Council (grant ref no RES 062230086) and by local partners

Summary

The 177,000 incapacity benefit (IB) claimants in the East Midlands are the single largest group working age benefit claimants in the region, accounting for 6.5 per cent of all adults of working age or three times the number of claimant unemployed. The IB numbers have been broadly stable in recent years, with a slow shift from men to women so that among the under-60s the number of women on IB now almost matches the number of men.

The government has set a national target of a 1m reduction in the number of IB claimants by 2016 – in which case large reductions will be necessary in the East Midlands.

Across the East Midlands, and the country as a whole, IB claimants are far from evenly distributed. In some southern parts of the region the IB claimant rate is already very low and seems unlikely to fall much lower. In contrast, in some northern parts of the region, including the former coalfield but also the Lincolnshire coast, IB claimant rates are much higher, sometimes accounting for 10 per cent of all adults of working age. This pattern has its roots in long-standing differences in the strength of local labour markets. There has been modest convergence through time, but big differences between places persist – even as the ex-miners, for example, drop out of the IB figures into retirement.

Many IB claims have been for a very long time – half for more than five years according to DWP figures – and the likelihood of claiming IB increases with age. Mental and behavioural problems are the most common medical reason for IB claims in the region, followed by musculoskeletal problems.

Sheffield Hallam survey data from a range of localities around Britain, which offers a good guide to IB claimants in the East Midlands, highlights the extent to which IB claimants occupy a disadvantaged position in the labour market, even putting aside their ill health or disabilities. In particular, the survey data indicates that 60 per cent of IB claimants have no formal qualifications whatsoever. The government's Labour Force Survey (LFS) points to a lower figure – 40 per cent – but there are serious and systematic omissions from the LFS data. Either way, a large proportion of the IB claimant group will be disadvantaged in the eyes of potential employers by exceptionally poor qualifications.

The survey data also points to a stock of IB claimants that is often extremely detached from the labour market, with barely a quarter saying they would like a job or might like a job further into the future. Fewer than one-in twenty are actively looking for work. On the other hand, although health problems and disabilities appear to be widespread only a quarter of IB claimant say that they 'can't do any work'.

What appears to be happening is that in the East Midlands, and elsewhere, the IB claimant figures have become dominated by men and women who find it difficult to maintain a foothold in a competitive labour market – the less skilled, less healthy and (to some extent at least) the less motivated.

Within the stock of IB claimants, the potential group for back-to-work initiatives is modest – perhaps just over 40,000 men and women at any one point in time in the East Midlands. These are the men and women who express an interest in working

again. They tend to be younger (typically 35-55) and have not had such long spells on benefit, though many still report considerable health problems. Many of this group have quite specific thoughts on the help they would need to re-enter employment and the types of job they would like. Quite a number of this group also have specific thoughts on the training and qualifications they require.

The report concludes by highlighting nine policy implications:

- To hit the government target of a 1m reduction in IB numbers, a reduction of the order of 65,000 will be necessary in the East Midlands*
- This reduction, and the concerted action to achieve it, will need to be concentrated in the parts of the region, particularly the northern half, where the IB claimant rate is highest*
- Addressing the poor level of qualifications among IB claimants must be an integral part of the action to bring the numbers down*
- In the absence of compulsion, back-to-work initiatives are best targeted at the minority of claimants who express an interest in returning to work*
- These target individuals are most likely to be the younger, more recent claimants*
- Health problems and disabilities remain a core obstacle to training and employment, and are ignored by training providers at their peril*
- Opportunities for part-time working need serious emphasis, and are in line with the aspirations of quite a number of men and women*
- Guidance needs to be available on the financial pros and cons of returning to work*
- Training provision needs to respond to the specific aspirations of men and women*

1. INTRODUCTION

Background

Incapacity claimants are the single largest group of non-employed working age benefit claimants, in the East Midlands and across Britain as a whole.

In the East Midlands in May 2007 (the most recent date for which figures are currently available) 177,000 men and women of working age (16-59/64) were incapacity claimants. This compares to 60,000 men and women who were claimant unemployed, and 47,000 who were lone parents in receipt of Income Support.

The very large numbers of Incapacity Benefit (IB) claimants have not traditionally been the focus of back-to-work initiatives, which have hitherto been primarily concerned with the claimant unemployed on Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA). This is changing however. In 2006, the government set a target of a one million reduction in the number of IB claimants by 2016¹. If the East Midlands is to make a proportional contribution to hitting this national target, the reduction in the number of IB claimants in the region would have to be of the order of 65,000.

Moreover, in October 2008 a new benefit – Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) – will replace Incapacity Benefit for all new claimants. For the first time, this will introduce an element of 'conditionality' akin to that which has applied to Jobseeker's Allowance for many years. In future, all but the most seriously ill ESA claimants will be required to 'prepare for work'. This may involve engaging with physical or mental rehabilitation programmes, voluntary work, training or job search. One of the main consequences is certain to be an up-surge in the demand for training for incapacity claimants on the new benefit.

¹ Department for Work and Pensions (2006) *A New Deal for Welfare: empowering people to work*, DWP, London.

Purpose of the report

The purpose of the present report is to identify the key characteristics of incapacity claimants in the East Midlands, and in particular to assess their training needs and aspirations. The report is intended to assist the East Midlands Learning and Skills Council (LSC) in developing integrated employment and skills activity that addresses this key group of benefit claimants. More specifically, the report aims to:

- Identify the personal characteristics (age, skills, experience, health problems, job aspirations etc) of East Midlands IB claimants
- Identify the perceived obstacles to employment among these claimants
- Identify specifically the training aspirations and needs of IB claimants who might be re-engaged with the labour market
- Identify the policies and practices most likely to deliver effective support to IB claimants in need of training or support to take up employment

The report draws on the nationally recognised expertise on of the research team at the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) at Sheffield Hallam University and in particular brings to bear three main sources of information:

- The results of an existing large-scale survey of IB claimants, recently completed by the CRESR team
- Data on IB claimants nationally, regionally and locally from Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) sources
- Data on IB claimants, and comparisons with other claimant groups, from the government's Labour Force Survey

Structure of the report

The rest of the report is organised in four sections. Section 2 provides a basic statistical overview of IB claimants in the East Midlands. Section 3 takes a closer look at the characteristics and aspirations of IB claimants, drawing on the new Sheffield Hallam survey data. Section 4 then looks specifically at the available information on qualifications, and Section 5 examines the ‘target group’ for back-to-work initiatives – the men and women claiming IB who express an interest in returning to work, either now or in the future. Finally, Section 6 sets out the implications for policy.

The report also includes a substantial appendix that presents detailed local maps showing the distribution of IB claimants across the region.

2. SOME BASIC STATISTICS

Exactly who makes up the IB total?

The benefits system is complex so it is appropriate to begin by defining exactly who makes up the group commonly referred to as ‘incapacity benefit claimants’. In the East Midlands and elsewhere, the headline total of incapacity benefit claimants is actually made up of three groups:

- *Incapacity Benefit recipients.* These men and women make up around 60 per cent of the national total. Incapacity Benefit (IB) is not means-tested except for a small number of post-2001 claimants with significant pension income.
- *Incapacity claimants who fail to qualify for Incapacity Benefit itself because they have insufficient National Insurance credits.* The government counts these men and women as IB claimants, but most of these ‘NI credits only’ claimants actually receive means-tested Income Support, usually with a disability premium. They account for a further 30 per cent of the national total, though a higher proportion of women than men.
- *Severe Disablement Allowance (SDA) recipients.* SDA is paid to pre-2001 claimants with a high level of disability and a poor NI contributions record. They account for the remaining 10 per cent. SDA is closed to new claimants.

These three groups make up the national total of just over 2.6m adults of working age claiming incapacity benefits, a figure now widely quoted in public debate.

Two further points are worth noting here. First, in addition to the 2.6m working age incapacity claimants, some disability benefits – notably Disability Living Allowance - are also paid to men and women over pension age, and in a smaller number of cases

to the carers of children with disabilities. The focus in the present report, however, is on incapacity claimants of working age.

Second, in addition to the three core incapacity benefits noted above (IB itself, NI credits for incapacity and SDA) other benefits, including top-up disability benefits such as Disability Living Allowance and means-tested Income Support and Housing Benefit, are often paid to incapacity claimants depending on their personal and household circumstances. A minority of IB claimants get by on Incapacity Benefit alone.

The stock of incapacity claimants

In May 2007, the total number of incapacity claimants (IB, NI credits and SDA) in the East Midlands was 177,700, made up of 103,500 men and 74,200 women. This represented 6.5 per cent of all adults of working age in the region (7.3 per cent of men and 5.8 per cent of women).

Incapacity benefit claimants have often been characterised as being primarily male, and it remains the case that in the East Midlands and across Britain as a whole male IB claimants continue to outnumber female claimants. However, what needs to be kept in mind here is that women mostly move off IB onto state pension at 60, whereas men move across at 65, and that the likelihood of claiming IB rises with age. Stripping out the group of 60-64 year old men on IB, for which there is no comparable group of women, the numbers are far more even. In fact among the under 60s in the East Midlands in May 2007 the ratio was only 52:48 in favour of men. The point here is that claiming incapacity benefits is far from being an exclusively 'male' issue.

Table 2.1 compares the East Midlands with the other GB regions. Two points should be immediately obvious. First, even at this relatively large geographical scale it is clear that incapacity claimants are far from evenly spread around the country. The IB claimant rate is much lower in southern England than in the North, Scotland and Wales. Second, in line with this general North-South divide the East Midlands has an IB claimant rate that is a little below the national average, though still noticeably higher than in the South East of England for example. To those who know the East Midlands well, this position in the regional rankings will be familiar across a wide range of other socio-economic data. Even so, the IB claimant numbers for the East

Table 2.1: Incapacity claimants by region, May 2007

	no.	% of working age
Wales	197,100	11.0
North East	162,100	10.2
North West	403,700	9.5
Scotland	301,600	9.4
Yorkshire and Humber	235,000	7.3
West Midlands	239,100	7.3
EAST MIDLANDS	177,700	6.5
South West	194,600	6.3
London	308,000	6.1
Eastern	175,900	5.1
South East	236,600	4.7
GB	2,631,300	7.2

Sources: DWP, ONS

Midlands still represent one-in-fifteen of all men and women in the region aged between 16 and state pension age.

Table 2.2 shows the IB figures by county within the region. Again this reveals something of a North-South divide, with Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire well ahead of Northamptonshire, though tiny Rutland comes in with an IB claimant rate far lower than any of the others.

At the district scale the geography is more complex. Table 2.3 lists the worst ten and best five districts within the region in terms of their IB claimant rate. Figure 2.1 maps the IB claimant rate by district, by sex and in total. The appendix to the report presents the raw figures for every district.

Table 2.2: Incapacity claimants by county*, May 2007

	No.	% working age
Nottinghamshire	52,550	7.8
Derbyshire	44,010	7.2
Lincolnshire	27,520	6.8
Leicestershire	31,710	5.4
Northamptonshire	21,270	5.1
Rutland	610	2.6

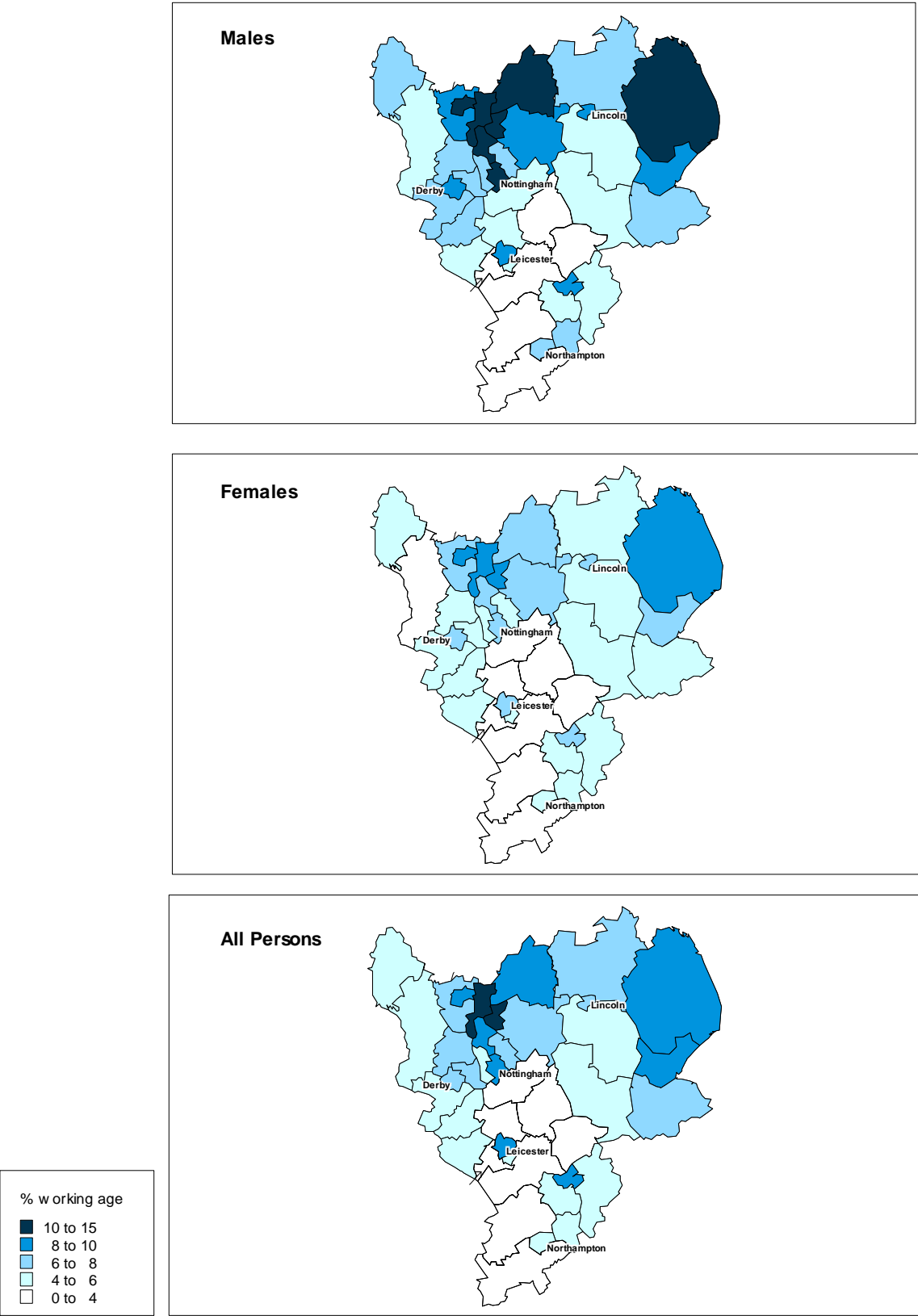
* including, unitary authorities

Sources: DWP, ONS

Table 2.3: Incapacity claimant rate, highest and lowest districts, East Midlands, May 2007

	% of working age
TOP 10 DISTRICTS	
Mansfield	11.3
Bolsover	11.1
Chesterfield	9.8
East Lindsey	9.8
Bassetlaw	9.1
Ashfield	9.1
Nottingham	8.9
Leicester	8.3
Corby	8.2
Boston	8.1
BOTTOM 5 DISTRICTS	
Daventry	3.6
Melton	3.3
Harborough	3.2
South Northamptonshire	2.7
Rutland	2.6

Figure 2.1: Incapacity claimant rates by district, May 2007



Sources: DWP; ONS

Mansfield has the highest IB claimant rate in the region at 11.3 per cent of all adults of working age, fractionally ahead of its neighbour Bolsover at 11.1 per cent. The lowest IB claimant rates in the region, in South Northamptonshire and in Rutland, are less than a quarter of this level, at 2.7 and 2.6 per cent respectively.

In fact, by national standards the IB claimant rate in Mansfield or Bolsover is not unusually high. Mansfield actually ranks only 37th out of just over 400 districts in Britain on this particular indicator. The highest district of all – Easington in Co Durham – actually had an IB claimant rate of 17.9 per cent in May 2007, more than half as high again as in Mansfield. Nevertheless, by any reasonable standard the incapacity claimant rate in Mansfield, Bolsover and the other districts near the top of the list in Table 2.3 are very high – as many as one-in-nine of all adults of working age. On the other hand, the IB claimant rates in some of the districts at the bottom of the rankings within the region are actually very low by national standards. Rutland has the fourth lowest IB claimant rate of any district or unitary authority in Britain.

The pattern of IB claimant rates by district offers important insights into the underling causes. Five of the top six districts in the region on this indicator are former coalmining areas (Mansfield, Bolsover, Chesterfield, Bassetlaw and Ashfield). Another (East Lindsey) is a rural district that includes ailing seaside resorts such as Skegness and Mablethorpe. Two others in the top ten are the region's largest cities – Nottingham and Leicester – though in both these cases the city boundary is drawn very tightly and excludes substantial suburbs, so the figures for both cities will be inflated by 'residential segregation' between rich and poor neighbourhoods.

The coalfield districts, in particular, point to the fact that high IB claimant rates are often a reflection of economic weakness as much as ill health or disability. There is actually a substantial literature on this point². Very broadly, what happened during the 1980s and 90s was that as a number of major industrial employers such as coalmining shed huge number of jobs, many of the unemployed accessed incapacity benefits rather than unemployment benefits. They were able to do so because many carried forward health problems from their previous employment, either as a result of the job itself or simply age. They claimed incapacity benefits rather than unemployment benefits because they were financially better off doing so, especially as Incapacity Benefit itself is not means-tested (except for some recent claimants

² See in particular C Beatty and S Fothergill (2005) 'The diversion from 'unemployment' to 'sickness' across British regions and districts', *Regional Studies*, vol 39, pp 834-854.

with substantial pension income) so other household income including occupational pensions and partner's earnings was not docked from their entitlement. In this way, substantial 'hidden unemployment' on incapacity benefits developed in these places.

On the other hand, the roots of high IB claimant rates in the former coalfields should not be taken to indicate that the stock of IB claimants in these places is still dominated by ex-miners. In fact, with the passage of time most of the ex-miners have moved on from incapacity benefits onto state pension. The IB claimant rate in most of these areas has slipped a little, but in weaker labour markets such as the former coalfields the stock of IB claimants has been topped-up by a new generation of disadvantaged workers, as the data presented later shows.

At a finer geographical scale, within districts, the principal influence on the distribution of IB claimants is residential segregation between rich and poor neighbourhoods. The maps presented in the appendix show the IB claimant rate by Lower Super Output Area (LSOA) within each district. This is the lowest level, below wards, for which it is possible to generate these statistics. For those familiar with the local geography of each area it will be apparent that within each district IB claimants tend to be concentrated in either the areas of social housing or of low-cost owner-occupied or privately-rented housing. This is hardly surprising: as later figures show, when in work IB claimants predominantly occupied a position at or near the bottom of the labour market. What is worth noting, however, is that in a number of LSOAs (eg in Mansfield, Bolsover, Nottingham and Leicester) IB claimants account for more than 20 per cent of all adults of working age.

According to Labour Force Survey (LFS) data on incapacity claimants, which has some limitations in coverage (see Section 4 for a fuller discussion on this point), 94 per cent of incapacity claimants in the East Midlands are ethnically white, 4 per cent are Asian or Asian British, 1 per cent are Black or Black British, and 0.3 per cent of mixed race. By comparison, the LFS figures indicate that 89 per cent of the JSA claimants in the region and 93 per cent of the lone parents claiming Income Support are white, making the stock of IB claimants in the East Midlands slightly less ethnically diverse than the two other main groups of working-age benefit claimants, and indeed slightly less diverse than the working age population of the region as a whole, which the LFS indicates is 92 per cent ethnically white.

Trends through time

Between 1999 and 2007 the number of incapacity claimants in the East Midlands was broadly stable, rising by only just over 4,000, though in the context of a rising working-age population this actually represented a 0.3 percentage point reduction in the IB claimant rate (from 6.8 to 6.5 per cent). Over the same period, the headline national total of IB claimants was also virtually unchanged.

Table 2.4 shows the changes by county over the 1999-2007 period. This too shows only modest changes, though there has been a tendency for the number of male claimants to fall – especially in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire where the male claimant rate was initially highest – and for the number of female IB claimants to rise a little everywhere. This structural shift is again in line with national trends.

Table 2.4: Change in number of incapacity claimants by county*, August 1999-May 2007

	Men	Women
Nottinghamshire	-1,490	+2,290
Derbyshire	-2,050	+1,080
Lincolnshire	+370	+1,470
Leicestershire	-170	+1,020
Northamptonshire	+490	+1,070
Rutland	+10	+40
East Midlands	-2,890	+7,140

* including unitary authorities

Source: DWP

At the district scale within the region, the biggest reduction in the IB claimant rate between 1999 and 2007 occurred in Bolsover (from 12.4 to 11.1 per cent) whereas the biggest increase took place in Boston (from 7.5 to 8.1 per cent). The reduction in Bolsover, in particular, is again consistent with the national trend for the IB claimant

rate to fall most in the areas where it had previously been highest. In the areas with the lowest IB claimant rates in the country, which includes some parts of the East Midlands, the rate has crept up marginally over the same period. Even so, the highest and lowest areas in terms of their IB claimant rate remain far apart, nationally and regionally.

Age of claimants

Table 2.5 shows the age of IB claimants in the East Midlands. The striking feature here is that the claimants are strongly skewed towards the older age ranges. Almost a quarter of all male IB claimants in the region are aged between 60 and 64. The figures are consistent with the frequent assertion that the probability of claiming IB rises with age, although on average the women claiming IB are slightly younger than the men because they move across onto state pension at an earlier age.

Table 2.5: Age of incapacity claimants, East Midlands, May 2007

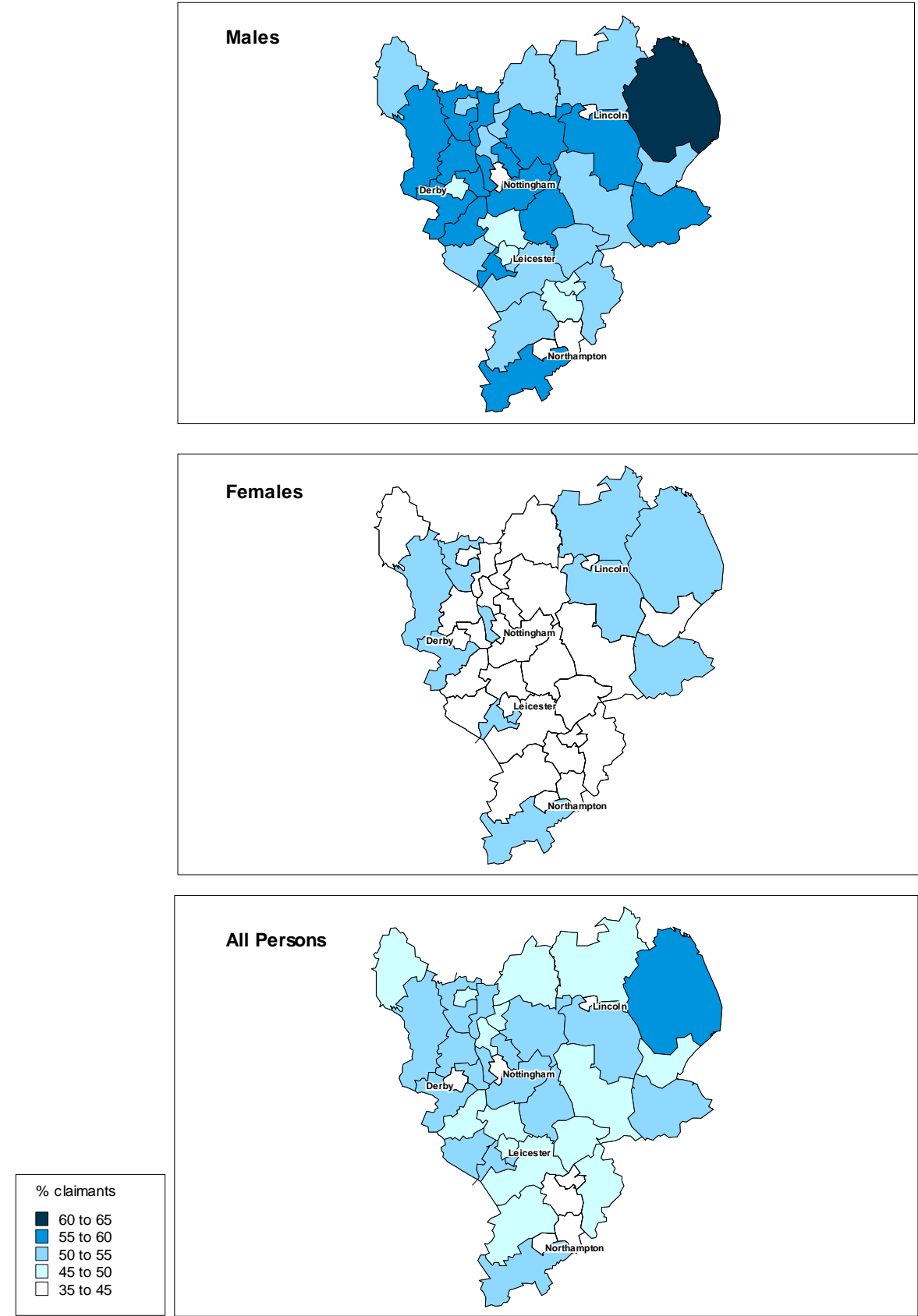
	Men (%)	Women (%)
16-24	6	7
25-34	12	13
35-44	19	23
45-54	24	34
55-59	17	24
60-64	23	-
	100	100

NB. Figures exclude small number of claimants over state pension age

Source: DWP

Across the region, the proportion of IB claimants over 50 varies a little, as Figure 2.2 shows, from a low of 40 per cent in Nottingham and in Lincoln to a high of 55 per cent in East Lindsey. The high share of male IB claimants aged over 50 in East

Figure 2.2: Share of incapacity claimants aged 50+ by district, May 2007



Source: DWP

Lindsey – fractionally over 60 per cent of the total, or 2,810 men – is perhaps the single observation that stands out most. A widely held view in East Lindsey is that the area attracts IB claimants who have chosen to move there to retire, often from the region's cities and former coalfield. There is also supporting survey evidence that points to 20-25 per cent of IB claims in East Lindsey having begun outside the area³. The high proportion of male IB claimants over 50 in the district is consistent with the notion of significant in-migration of older claimants.

However, the high proportion of older IB claimants across the East Midlands should not be taken to imply that the IB numbers will simply fade away as a generation of older claimants reaches state pension age. In fact, the age distribution of IB claimants was not fundamentally different ten years ago⁴. What has happened is that as a cohort of older claimants has finally dropped out of the figures, they have been replaced by the ageing of the cohort behind them and by new claimants, especially in their 40s and 50s, joining the IB claimant numbers for the first time.

Duration of IB claims

Table 2.6 shows the duration of incapacity benefit claims in the East Midlands. The shocking feature here is the high proportion that have been claiming incapacity benefits for at least five years – more than half of all male claimants and more than half of all female claimants as well. In fact, even these statistics do not reveal the full duration of claims: the Sheffield Hallam IB survey data, reported later, indicates that as many as a third of all IB claims have been for at least ten years. IB claimants who have been on this benefit for less than a year account for just 15 per cent of the total in the region.

The statistics on the duration of IB claims highlight the scale of labour market detachment among this group, which is likely to disadvantage them in the eyes of employers irrespective of any concerns about health or fitness for work. One of the favourite claims of ministers is that once someone has been on IB for two years or more, he or she is more likely to retire or die than return to work. The long duration

³ C Beatty et al (2008) *East Lindsey's Incapacity Claimants*, IB case study report, CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University

⁴ See P Alcock et al (2003) *Work to Welfare: how men become detached from the labour market*, CUP, Cambridge

of IB claims in the East Midlands (and elsewhere) would seem to support this assertion.

Table 2.6: Duration of incapacity benefits claim, East Midlands, May 2007

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Less than 6 months	9	9
6 months - 1 year	6	6
1-2 years	9	9
2-5 years	20	21
5 years or more	57	54
	100	100

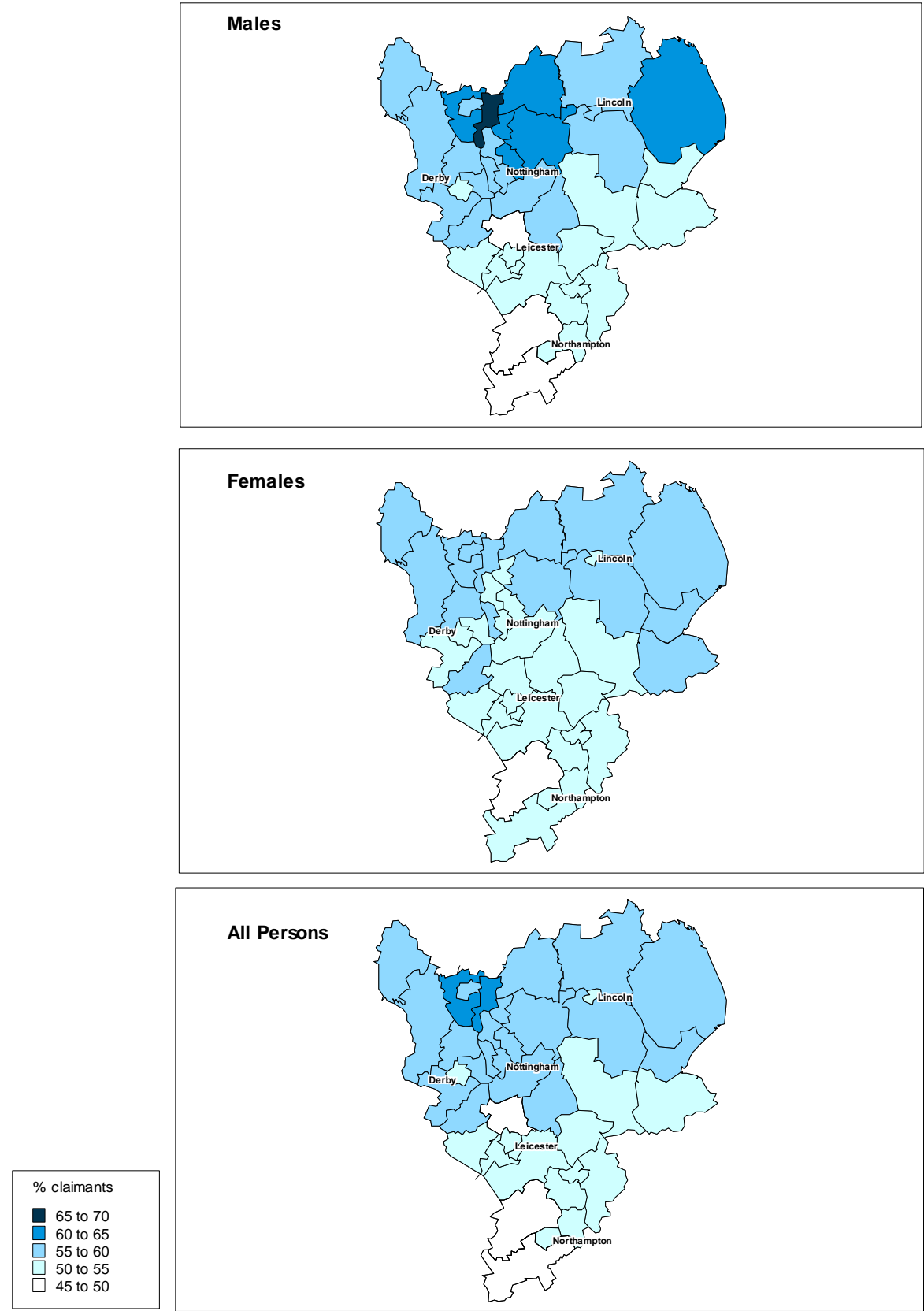
Source: DWP

Figure 2.3 shows, by district, the share of IB claims that have been for five years or more. This varies from a low of 48 per cent in South Northamptonshire and Daventry to a high of 63 per cent in Bolsover. The variations by district are not arbitrary: on the whole the highest proportion of long-term claims are found in the northern parts of the region, and especially the former coalfield, where the overall IB claimant rate is highest. This would suggest that in these places, where the labour market is generally not as tight as in the south of the region, IB claimants have greater difficulty returning to paid employment.

On-flows to benefit

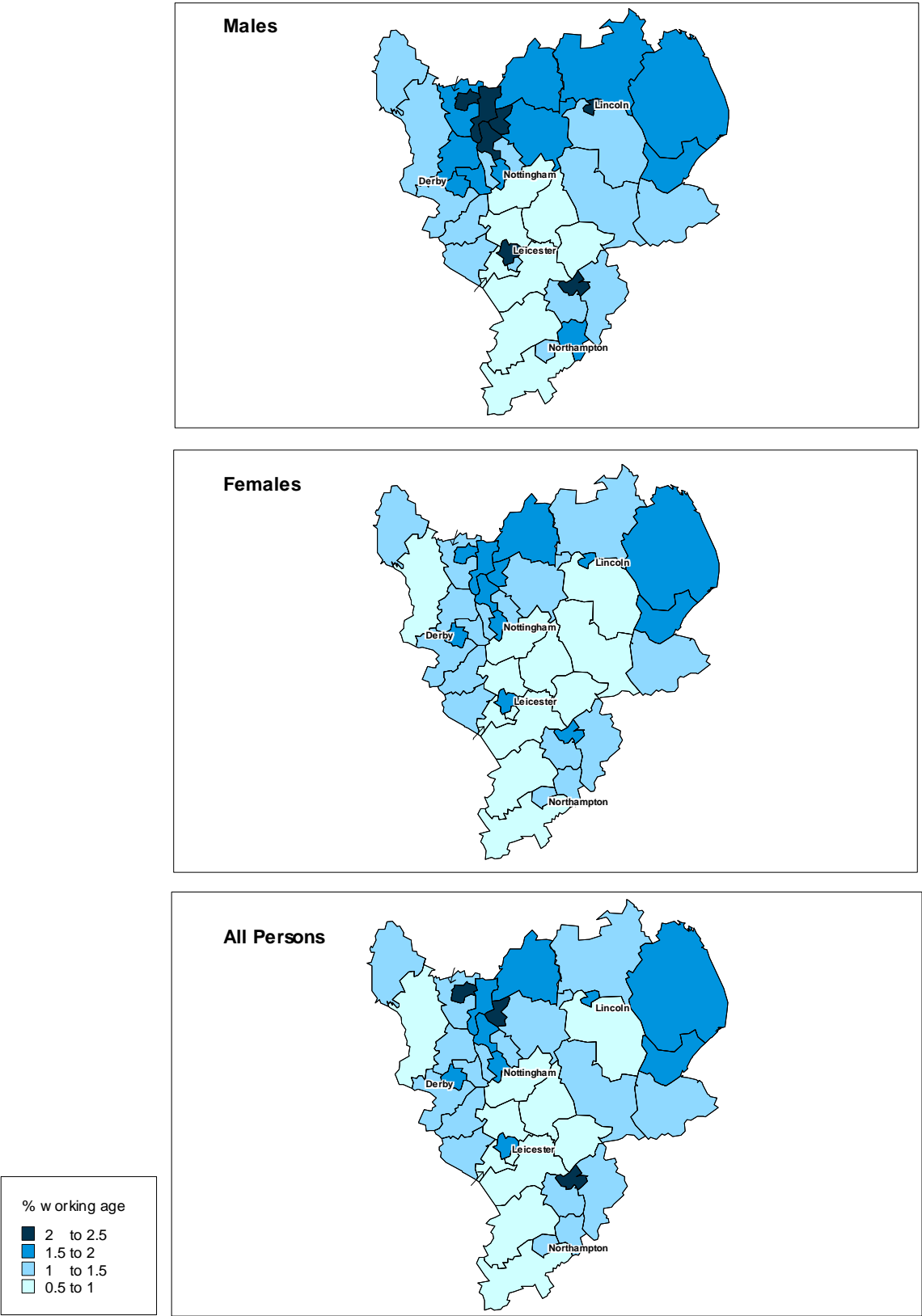
Despite the long duration of many IB claims, the individuals making up the stock of claimants does change from year to year. In fact, at the national scale approaching a quarter of the IB stock turns over annually. The largest annual on-flows and off-flows are in the areas where the IB claimant rate is highest.

Figure 2.3: Share of incapacity claim lasting 5 years or more by district, May 2007



Source: DWP

Figure 2.4: Flows onto incapacity benefits in the 12 months to May 2007, by district



Source: DWP; ONS

Figure 2.4 shows the on-flows to incapacity benefits over the year up to May 2007, expressed as a percentage of the working age population, by district in the East Midlands. This confirms the national tendency for on-flows to be largest in the areas where the IB claimant rate is highest. In the East Midlands, the on-flow varies from high of 2.1 per cent of the working age population in Mansfield and Chesterfield to a low of 0.7 per cent in South Northamptonshire and 0.6 per cent in Rutland. Overall in the region, the annual on-flow of men (22,000, or 1.5 per cent of the male working age population) is slightly greater than the on-flow of women (16,200, or 1.3 per cent).

The on-flow data is significant in the context of debates about interventions to assist IB claimants because under the government's Pathways to Work programme, which is targeted at IB claimants and has been rolled out across all parts of the country since April 2008, it is only new claimants who are required to participate. Existing claimants can take part, but have to opt in on a voluntary basis. Some new IB claimants (and from October 2008 new ESA claimants) are exempt from Pathways because of the severity of their health problems or because they still have a job held open for them. On the assumption that perhaps half of all new claimants will need to pass through Pathways once it has settled down, the on-flow figures to IB would suggest that approaching 20,000 new claimants a year might enter the Pathways process in the East Midlands. If the new Work Capability Assessment, determining access to Employment and Support Allowance, proves significantly tougher than the previous tests this number will be reduced – say to perhaps 15,000 a year. One of the key routings within Pathways to Work is towards retraining opportunities, in which case the scale of the on-flows to incapacity benefits within the East Midlands give at least some indication of the likely demand for training opportunities for IB claimants once the new system has settled down.

Nature of health problems

Individuals claim incapacity benefits for a wide range of health problems or disabilities, but two broad categories dominate the official figures.

The first category is *mental and behavioural disorders*. This accounts for 41 per cent of all incapacity claimants nationally, according to DWP figures, and for 38 per cent in the East Midlands. This covers a wide range of problems including stress and

depression as well as more obviously serious mental conditions. It also includes drug and alcohol-related problems. In the DWP figures, drug and alcohol problems do not account for large numbers though there is inevitably a suspicion that they are a complicating factor in rather more cases.

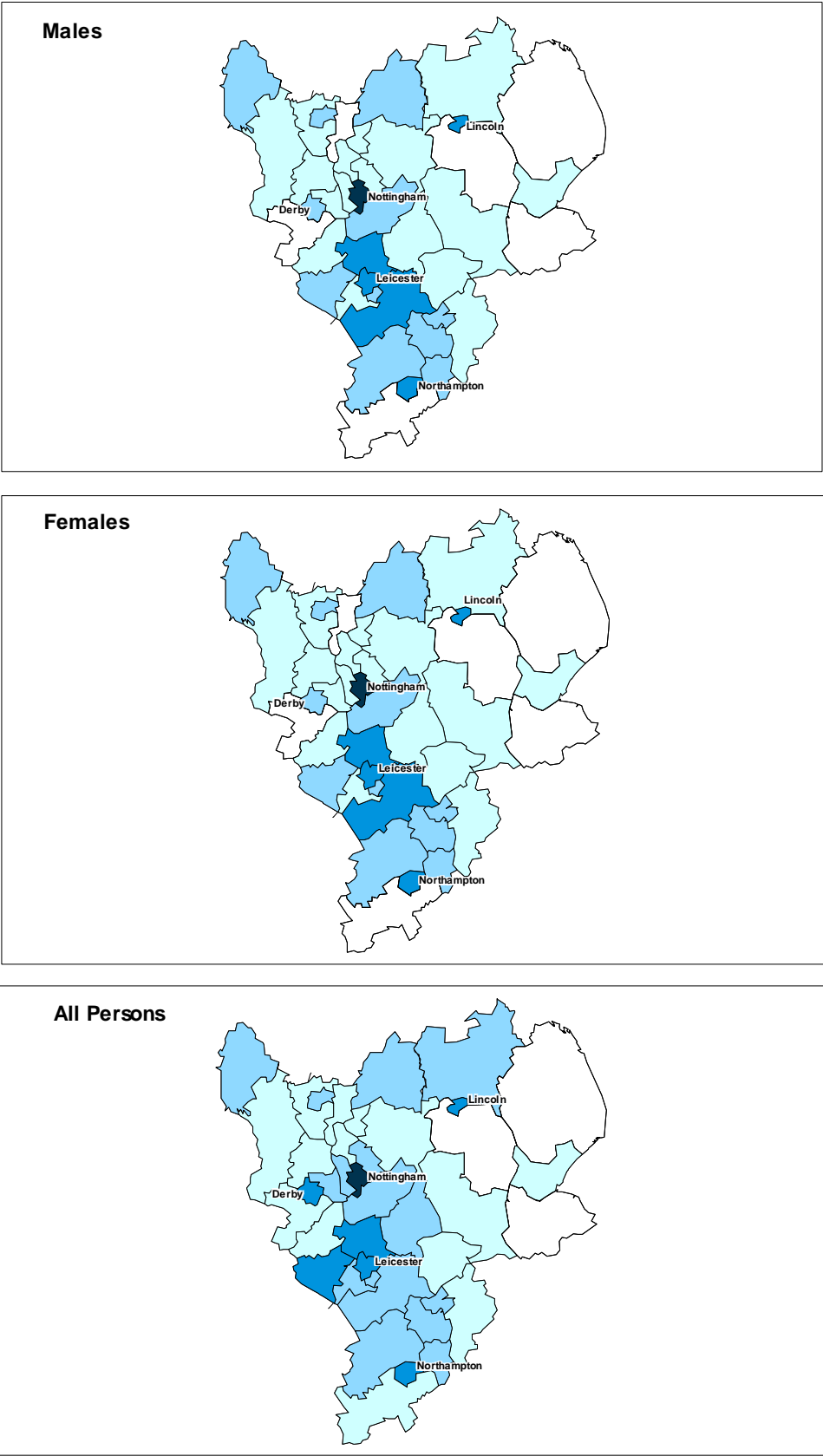
The other key category is *diseases of the musculoskeletal system and connective tissue*. This accounts for 18 per cent of all incapacity claimants nationally, and for 20 per cent in the East Midlands. This covers 'bad backs' but also a much wider range of physical limitations on movement or activity.

Figures 2.5 and 2.6 map the share of claimants in each of these two categories in each district across the region. What needs to be kept in mind here is that this data refers to the medical assessment of the primary reason why individuals are entitled to claim incapacity benefit, as assessed by medical practitioners. These are not claimants' own assessments. Also, although the figures classify claimants to just a single group, in practice individuals' health problems can be more complex. In particular, there is a widespread view among professionals working with IB claimants that once an individual has been on incapacity benefits for a long period there is a strong likelihood that mental health problems become a complicating factor, even if they were not the original reason for the IB claim.

The patterns revealed by the two maps are complex and not necessarily easily explained, which may point partly to local differences in diagnostic practice. Mental and behavioural problems account for a high proportion of IB claimants in all parts of the region – from a high of 47 per cent in Nottingham to a low of 28 per cent in South Holland. All the region's main towns and cities – Nottingham, Leicester, Derby, Lincoln and Northampton – record an above-average share of IB claimants with mental and behavioural problems.

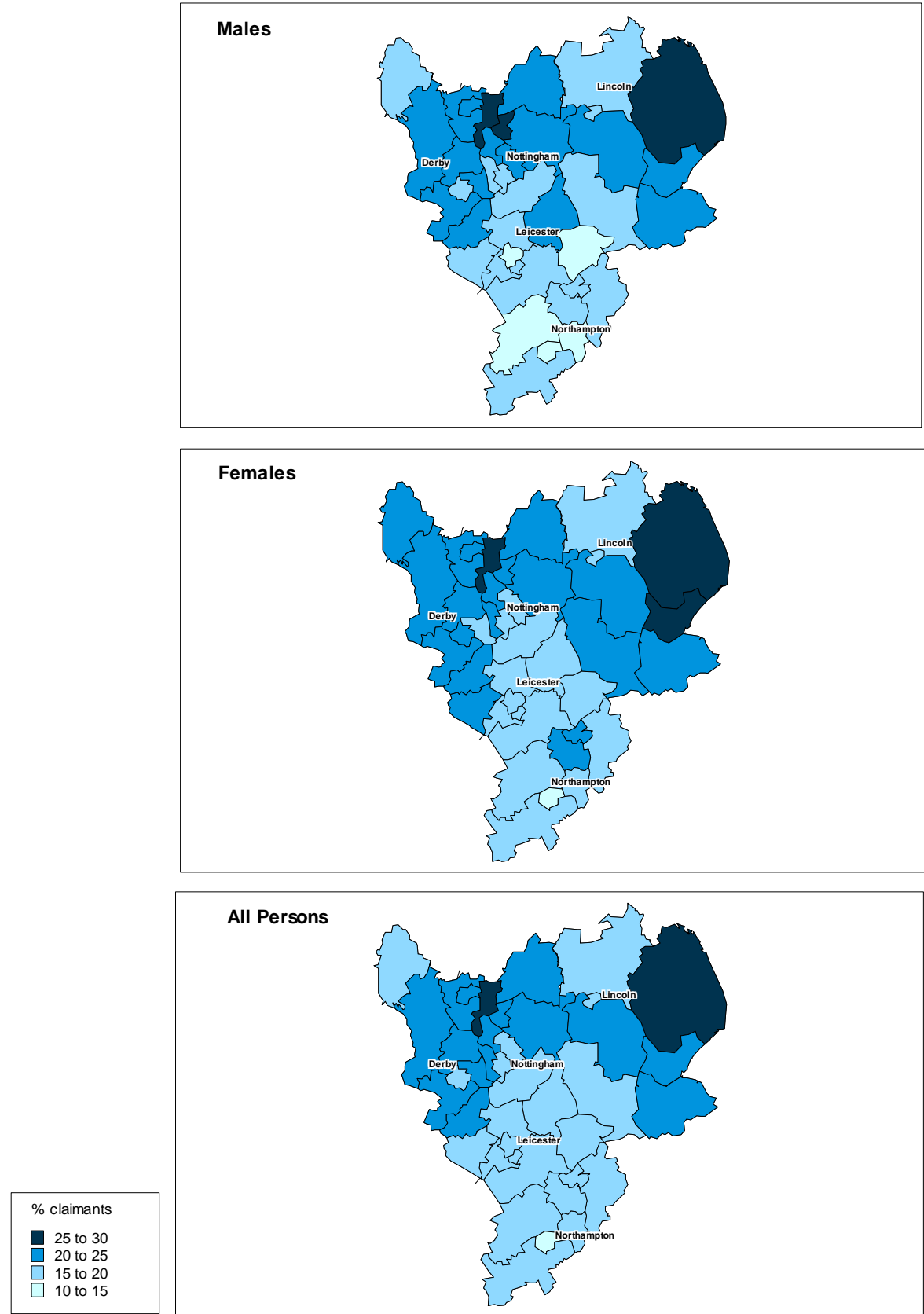
The share of IB claimants with musculoskeletal problems is to some extent the converse of this pattern, varying from 25 per cent in Bolsover and East Lindsey to 13 per cent in Northampton. The region's main cities do not figure strongly on this indicator, whereas the former coalfield and some agricultural areas in the north of the region shine through more clearly.

Figure 2.5: Share of incapacity claimants with mental and behavioural disorders by district, May 2007



Source: DWP

Figure 2.6: Share of incapacity claimants with musculoskeletal problems by district, May 2007



Source: DWP

3. A CLOSER LOOK AT INCAPACITY CLAIMANTS

Duration out-of-work

Table 3.1 shows the length of time since IB claimants' last regular paid job. This is not the same as the duration of the incapacity claim itself, since not all claimants move directly from work onto incapacity benefits and, for women in particular, long breaks from employment whilst looking after children may precede an IB claim.

Table 3.1: Length of time since last regular paid job

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Less than a year	3	4
1-2 years	7	7
2-5 years	18	18
5-10 years	23	20
10 years or more	43	40
Never had one	5	9
	100	100

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

This is the first of a number of tables that deploys new Sheffield Hallam survey data on IB claimants. The survey was carried out between November 2006 and September 2007 in eight districts across the country, of which East Lindsey in

Lincolnshire was one⁵. The survey covered a representative sample of IB claimants in these areas⁶ and was carried out face-to-face in claimant's own homes. The survey achieved a high response rate and comparisons with DWP figures show that with the exception of very new IB claimants (less than 6 months) the resulting data is representative of IB claimants as a whole. In all, 3,629 useable interviews were completed – 1,694 with men and 1,935 with women. This is the largest and most up-to-date dataset of its kind on IB claimants that is presently available. Although it is based on just eight survey areas, the variation between areas is not large and the pooled data as a result offers a good guide to the key characteristics of IB claimants nationally and almost certainly in the East Midlands as well⁷.

Reflecting the long duration of many incapacity claims, it is ten years or more since two-fifths of IB claimants were last in regular paid employment. This proportion is much the same for men and women. In addition, a further 9 per cent of women, and 5 per cent of men say they had never had a job. Some of these will be individuals whose disabilities from childhood have prevented them gaining employment. More generally, however, they will include men and women who have never succeeded in gaining a foothold in the labour market, including some women who had children very early.

In so far as the employability of an individual declines with rising duration out of work (the conventional view among labour market economists) on average the stock of IB claimants faces formidable obstacles to re-employment on this indicator alone.

Previous work experience

Table 3.2 shows the occupational background of IB claimants. These statistics are based on what men and women call their 'usual occupation' and the various jobs have been grouped into the official Standard Occupational Classification. The

⁵ The other survey areas were Barrow in Furness (Cumbria), Blackpool (Lancashire), Easington (Co Durham), Great Yarmouth (Norfolk), Hull (Yorkshire), Knowsley (Merseyside) and Wansbeck (Northumberland).

⁶ Including 'NI credits only' IB claimants but excluding SDA claimants.

⁷ The Sheffield Hallam survey data presented in this report covers all IB claimants, including a very small number claimants above state pension age who, under detailed benefit rules, are able to claim IB for short periods if they carry on working beyond 60 (for women) or 65 (for men).

Table 3.2: Occupational background

<i>Standard Occupational Classification</i>	Men (%)	Women (%)
Managers and administrators	5	4
Professional	2	1
Associate professional and technical	6	5
Clerical and secretarial	3	11
Crafts and related	29	4
Personal and protective services	2	17
Sales occupations	3	14
Plant and machine operatives	23	14
Other	28	31
	100	100

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

sizeable group in the 'other' occupations category mainly covers lower-grade manual occupations not covered in the rest of the table.

There are inevitable variations between men and women, reflecting the persistence of an important element of gender segregation in the labour market. Women are more likely to have worked in 'personal and protective services' (eg care work, hairdressing), in sales and in clerical and secretarial work; men are more likely to have worked in craft occupations. Overall, however, it is the 'manual' occupations (from 'crafts and related' downwards on this list) that accounts for the majority of IB claimants of both sexes – 85 per cent of men and 80 per cent of men. Professionals account for very few IB claimants – among men or women.

Table 3.3 lists some typical occupations of IB claimants. There are few surprises here. The dozen occupations listed in this table for women account for well over half of all female IB claimants in all the Sheffield Hallam survey areas. Men come from a more diverse range of occupations, but again predominantly manual.

Table 3.3: Some typical occupation

Men	Women
Electrician	Nurse
Welder	Cook
Fitter	Care assistant
Bricklayer	Shop assistant
Joiner	Machinist
Painter and decorator	Cleaner
Machine operative	Factory operative
HGV driver	Waitress
Labourer	Admin & clerical
Bin man	Barmaid
Kitchen worker	Accounts
Engineer	Cashier
Taxi driver	
Miner	
Farm worker	
Security guard	

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

Women are more likely than men to have been working part-time in their last job – a quarter of female IB claimants worked part-time, compared to just 5 per cent of male IB claimants. On the other hand, men were more likely to have been self-employed – 5 per cent, compared to just 2 per cent of women.

Table 3.4: Length of time in last job

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Less than 2 years	17	23
2-5 years	12	14
5-10 years	15	19
10-20 years	19	19
20 years or more	38	25
	100	100

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

Despite the lengthy periods claiming Incapacity Benefit, many men and women do nevertheless have a record of substantial, continuous employment. This is illustrated by Table 3.4, which shows the length of time in claimants' last job. Nearly two-fifths of the men who claim IB spent 20 years or more in their last job, and a further fifth between 10 and 20 years. For women, the proportion who spent 20 years or more in their last job is somewhat lower – a quarter of all IB claimants – possibly a reflection of the childcare-related breaks in employment that many women experience, preventing them from accumulating such long service in a single job.

Reasons for job loss

The reasons men and women give for the loss of their last job are shown in Table 3.5. An important point to bear in mind here is that the reasons why an individual leaves a job can be complex. Sometimes there is a single, clear-cut cause. On other occasions job loss is the result of the interaction of a number of factors – for example cuts in a firm's workforce combined with personal ill health, domestic responsibilities and maybe even a bullying or unsympathetic boss. The Sheffield Hallam survey asked men and women to identify the *principal* reason for leaving their last regular paid job. It is also important to bear in mind that the responses here only apply to the IB claimants who had ever had regular paid employment.

Table 3.5: Principal reason for job loss

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Compulsory severance*	16	10
Voluntary – redundancy/retirement	3	1
Voluntary – pregnancy/baby	n.a	8
Voluntary – to look after children/others	1	4
Voluntary – other reasons	4	5
Illness or injury	74	70
Other	1	1
	100	100

*compulsory redundancy, dismissal, end of contract

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

The key feature is the importance of illness or disability as the trigger of job loss. This is cited by 74 per cent of men and 70 per cent of women. The prominence of ill health as a cause of job loss is perhaps to be expected among IB claimants, but that still leaves more than a quarter for whom other factors were the primary reason. Compulsory severance – mainly redundancy - accounts for 16 per cent of men and 10 per cent of women.

The importance of ill health, injury or disability in the job loss process is underlined by the further 23 per cent of men and 21 per cent of men say that this was a *contributory* factor to job loss, even where they cite other factors as the main reason.

Self-assessment of health

Table 3.6 shows claimants' own assessment of the influence of health on their ability to work. A degree of self-reported health limitation is nearly universal among both men and women – fewer than 5 per cent of claimants say there is no limitation on the work they can do. Also, relatively few report only modest limitations. On the other hand, only around a quarter say they 'can't do any work'. What needs to be kept in mind here is that eligibility for Incapacity Benefit does not depend on being unable to do any type of work in any circumstances. To qualify for IB, a claimant has to demonstrate a sufficient degree of ill health or disability to be not required to look for work.

Table 3.6: Self-assessment of influence of health on ability to work

	Men (%)	Women (%)
'Can't do any work'	26	23
'A lot' of limitation	56	57
Some limitation	15	16
No limitation	3	4
	100	100

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

Table 3.7 presents claimant's own expectations about their health or disabilities. Optimism is not the norm. Just over half of all IB claimants expect their problems to worsen. Few men or women expect them to ease.

Table 3.7: Expectations about current health problems/disabilities

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Get better	5	5
Stay much the same	15	13
Fluctuate	20	23
Get worse	54	53
Don't know	6	6
	100	100

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

Job aspirations

Table 3.8 is particularly significant. It combines the responses to several survey questions.

The first line presents the responses to the question 'would you like a job?' The important finding here is that the proportion of IB claimants saying they would like a job is very low – just 15 per cent of men and 17 per cent of women. On these figures, IB claimants would appear to be an extremely de-motivated group with few aspirations to work.

On a more positive note, the second line of Table 3.8 shows the additional claimants who said that they might like a job further into the future. Combined with those saying 'would like a job' in the first line of the table, this brings the pool of potential jobseekers up to 24 per cent of male IB claimants and 29 per cent of female IB claimants. The gender difference here mainly reflects the inclusion of 60-64 year old men, who are a group that has mostly given up any residual aspiration to work.

Table 3.8: Job aspirations

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Would like a job	15	17
Might like a job further into future	9	12
Looked after last job ended	17	11
Looking now	4	4
Thinks there's a realistic chance of ever getting one	3	2

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

Among the under 60s, the share of men and women who express an interest in working now or in the future is broadly the same, at around 30 per cent. In addition, a further 10 per cent of men and 8 per cent of women say they 'don't know' when asked whether they might like a job further into the future.

The third line in the table shows the proportion that looked for work after their last job ended. 17 per cent of male IB claimants fall into this group, but only 11 per cent of female claimants. The difference here almost certainly reflects the 8 per cent of women who left their last job to have a baby (Table 3.5 earlier). The individuals who did look for work when their last job ended were clearly not resigned, at least at the outset, to a life on incapacity benefits.

The fourth line shows the proportion who say they are presently looking for work – just 4 per cent of men and women. It should be noted here that unlike Jobseeker's Allowance for the unemployed, Incapacity Benefit does not require the claimant to look for work, and most do not do so. Indeed, there are often fears among IB claimants that to be seen to look for work would bring their status as an IB claimant into question.

The fifth and final line of the table refers to those who are presently looking for work and think there's a realistic chance of getting a job. Very few IB claimants, male or female, fall into this category.

When IB claimants are asked why they don't want a job, poor health dominates the responses. Ill health or disability is cited by more than 90 per cent of all the IB claimants who say they no longer want work. By comparison 'too much uncertainty', the next most frequently cited factor, is only mentioned by around 5 per cent of claimants.

Sources of income

Incapacity Benefit is not generous: the standard, long-term rate of IB itself is just over £80 a week. It is reasonable to ask, therefore, how IB claimants are able to get by for so long on benefit, especially as their financial situation is likely to influence their willingness to take up training or employment opportunities. The key point is that most IB claimants receive further top-up benefits, and IB is rarely the sole source of household income.

Table 3.9 shows the benefits that IB claimants say they are currently receiving. The first point to note is that Incapacity Benefit itself is not received by everyone: the IB claimants who have insufficient NI credits will usually receive Income Support, generally with a disability premium. In addition, some IB recipients also receive Income Support as a top-up, depending on household circumstances. The potential here for confusion in the way that individuals describe their benefits is considerable. In fact, DWP information on the same individuals shows that a lower proportion actually receive IB itself.

Table 3.9: Benefits currently received

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Incapacity Benefit	85	79
Council Tax Benefit	48	50
Disability Living Allowance	45	48
Income Support	35	47
Housing Benefit	42	44
Disablement/Industrial Injuries	4	3
Other benefits (ex Child Benefit)	5	4

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

Other top-up benefits are widely claimed. Disability Living Allowance, which is paid at a number of rates according to the extent of disability and is in theory meant to offset additional costs, is claimed by nearly half of all IB claimants. Council Tax Benefit and Housing Benefit (both paid on the basis of household circumstances) are both widely claimed as well.

Table 3.10 looks at other sources of financial support. Again, these are varied. Only a very small proportion of IB claimants, either men or women, say they undertake any temporary or casual paid work. The responses to this question are probably honest, given the openness of interviewees about so many other aspects of their financial affairs. 24 per cent of male IB claimants and 8 per cent of female IB claimants have income from a pension. Excepting the very few IB claimants over 60 (for women) and 65 (for men), this income will be from personal and company pensions, not state pension, and is often likely to have been accessed early as a result of ill health or disability, which is possible under the rules of many schemes. A partner's income can also be an important source of financial support, and this may be income from employment, benefits or a pension. Women are more likely to have a partner in work; men are more likely to have a partner claiming benefit.

Table 3.10: Other sources of financial support

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Temp/casual paid work	1	2
Pension income	24	8
Partner in work	15	23
Partner claiming benefit	21	15
Partner with pension income	8	8
Other personal income	3	3

NB an individual may have several sources of income

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

An assessment

Taken as a whole, the survey data paints a picture that shows the overwhelming majority of IB claimants to be a long way from the labour market. The key points in this respect are:

- The very long duration of many incapacity claims
- The predominantly low-skill manual experience of so many claimants
- The prominence of ill health, as a cause of job loss and as a reason for not wanting a job, and the pessimism of so many claimants about their health prospects
- The low proportion who say they would like a job
- The even lower proportion who are presently looking for work

4. THE QUALIFICATIONS OF IB CLAIMANTS

Qualification levels

Table 4.1 shows the qualifications held by the IB claimants included in the Sheffield Hallam surveys. Although the surveys provide valuable information on qualifications – and in some respects more reliable data than from the government’s own Labour Force Survey (LFS) – the surveys were not originally designed to focus on training issues, so the breakdown of qualifications is less detailed than would have been desirable for present purposes, for example because some categories of vocational qualifications are merged. What also needs to be kept in mind is that some men and women have more than one qualification. Nevertheless, the figures in Table 4.1 are enlightening.

Table 4.1: Qualifications of IB claimants

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Degree	2	2
'A' level	5	5
'O' level/CSE/GCSE	20	28
NVQ/ONC/OND/HNC/HND	10	14
Craft apprenticeship	9	1
Clerical and commercial	1	5
Other	9	8
No formal qualifications	61	60

NB Columns do not add to 100 because some claimants have more than one qualification

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

The key feature is the very high proportion – 60 per cent – of IB claimants who have no formal qualifications at all. There is clearly a very large cohort of men and women on IB that, for lack of qualifications alone, is likely to be acutely disadvantaged in the labour market.

The high proportion with no formal qualifications is especially striking because in recent years a group of older men and women with no formal qualifications, who mostly entered the labour market in the 1950s when qualifications were deemed less essential, have finally reached retirement age. As they have done so they have been replaced in the workforce by a younger generation of new workers with more education and training. As a result, across the country as a whole the share of working age adults with no formal qualifications has inexorably been falling. According to LFS figures, for example, only 13 per cent of the whole working age population now has no formal qualifications at all.

A second view on the qualifications held by IB claimants comes from the Labour Force Survey, which also provides a more sophisticated breakdown. The problem with the LFS, however, is that for reasons that are not well understood it fails to accurately identify all IB claimants. The LFS identifies only 1.46m of the 1.64m IB and SDA recipients, but more seriously fails to identify more than a fraction of the 1m IB 'NI credits' claimants who mostly receive Income Support. Even adding in the extra people identified by the LFS as receiving Income Support because of sickness only brings the identifiable total of incapacity claimants to 1.86m, compared to the actual total from DWP benefit records of 2.6m. The 1.86m incapacity claimants identifiable from the LFS is therefore a sub-set of the total, and a biased sub-set too. On the other hand, the LFS does allow figures to be generated specifically for the East Midlands.

Bearing in mind the statistical limitations, Table 4.2 shows the highest qualifications of incapacity claimants in the East Midlands, from the Labour Force Survey. For comparative purposes, the table also shows figures for claimants receiving Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA) and for claimants receiving Income Support (IS) as lone parents⁸.

⁸ These three groups of claimants are mutually exclusive.

Table 4.2: Highest qualifications of benefit claimants, East Midlands, spring 2007

	IB (%)	JSA (%)	IS (lone parents) (%)
Degree or equivalent	4	7	2
Higher education	6	3	1
'A' level or equivalent	16	16	13
GCSE grades A-C or equivalent	20	31	38
Other qualifications	13	15	18
No Qualifications	40	28	28
	100	100	100

Source: Labour Force Survey

This table points to a smaller proportion of IB claimants with no formal qualifications than the Sheffield Hallam survey data – 40 per cent in the East Midlands, compared to 60 per cent in the Sheffield Hallam figures. The GB figures from the LFS point to 41 per cent of IB claimants as having no formal qualifications. The difference between the two data sources is almost certainly attributable mainly to the omissions from the LFS data. The largest omissions are among 'NI credits only' IB claimants, who fail to receive IB itself because of a poor National Insurance record. Since a poor NI record is the result a poor employment history, and since those with a poor employment record will often be the least well qualified, this introduces a systematic distortion to the LFS figures.

Even so, the LFS figures still point to a very high proportion of incapacity claimants without any formal qualifications at all. Furthermore, the comparisons with JSA claimants and lone parents on IS show that incapacity claimants are a distinctly less well qualified group, with a higher share with no qualifications and fewer with good GCSEs or equivalent.

Staying with the LFS data, Table 4.3 lists the highest qualification of incapacity claimants in the East Midlands in spring 2007.

Table 4.3: Highest qualification of incapacity claimants, East Midlands, spring 2007

	% of IB claimants
Higher degree	0.7
First/foundation degree	2.9
Other degree	0.3
NVQ level 4	1.0
Diploma in higher education	1.0
HNC, HND, BTEC etc higher	0.6
Teaching, further education	0.3
Nursing etc	2.4
Other higher education below degree	0.3
NVQ level 3	3.3
GNVQ/GSVQ advanced	0.4
'A' level or equivalent	3.1
RSA advanced diploma	0.3
OND, ONC, BTEC etc national	0.7
City & Guilds advanced craft/part 1	1.9
Trade apprenticeship	6.6
NVQ level 2 or equivalent	4.4
City & Guilds craft/part 2	0.9
BTEC, SCOTVEC first/general diploma etc	0.4
'O' level, GCSE grade A-C or equivalent	14.3
NVQ level 1 or equivalent	1.4
CSE below grade 1, GCSE below grade C	2.6
City & Guilds Foundation/part 1	0.7
YP, YTP certificate	0.4
Basic skills qualification	1.5
Other qualification	6.4

Source: Labour Force Survey

Differences within the stock of IB claimants

Returning to the Sheffield Hallam survey data, Table 4.4 shows the variations in qualifications by age. This table focuses on the most significant categories of qualifications from Table 4.1 earlier. There are at least three important observations to be made from these figures.

First, the high proportion of IB claimants with no formal qualifications is not exclusive to any single age group. It might have been expected that the oldest age group were

Table 4.4: Selected qualifications of IB claimants by age

	Men (%)			Women (%)		
	16-34	35-50	50+	16-34	35-50	50+
'O' level/CSE/GCSE	30	29	13	45	33	17
NVQ/ONC/OND/HNC/HND	15	11	7	26	14	9
Craft apprenticeship	2	7	12	0	1	1
Clerical and commercial	1	2	1	1	5	6
No formal qualifications	57	56	64	44	56	69

NB Columns do not add to 100 because some claimants have more than one qualification

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

the most likely to have no formal qualifications, since they were able to enter the labour market at a time when qualifications were less essential. In reality, the over-50s are indeed more likely to have no formal qualifications, but a high proportion of the under-35s have no formal qualifications as well. More than half the male IB claimants under 35 fall into this category.

Second, amongst those who do hold qualifications the balance changes with age. School-based qualifications (GCSEs etc) are more widely held among the younger claimants. Conversely, craft qualifications among men, and clerical and commercial qualifications among women, are more widely held among the older claimants.

Third, younger female IB claimants (under 35) are distinctly better qualified than their male equivalents.

Particularly among men, there seems to be evidence here of a generational shift. More of the older male IB claimants are skilled craftsmen, with otherwise little formal education or training, who have ended up on incapacity benefits through redundancy or ill health. In contrast, more of the younger male IB claimants appear to have largely failed academically at school and as a consequence have found themselves in a difficult labour market position.

Table 4.5 shows the same qualifications, differentiating this time according to the duration of the IB claim. The important point here is that the share with no formal qualifications is high among recent claimants as well as longer-term claimants.

Table 4.5: Selected qualifications of IB claimants, by duration of IB claim

	Men (%)			Women (%)		
	less than 2 years	2-5 yrs	5 yrs +	less than 2 years	2-5 yrs	5 yrs +
'O' level/CSE/GCSE	23	24	17	38	29	26
NVQ/ONC/OND/HNC/HND	9	12	9	22	18	10
Craft apprenticeship	7	11	11	0	1	1
Clerical and commercial	0	2	2	5	4	6
No formal qualifications	61	55	63	49	58	62

NB Columns do not add up to 100 because some claimants have more than one qualification

Source: Sheffield Hallam Survey data

Qualifications and job aspirations

Table 4.6 looks at the share of IB claimants who say they would like a job or might like a job in future, differentiating between claimants according to the qualifications they hold.

The noticeable feature here is the low proportion of claimants with no formal qualifications who express an interest in working again – just one-in-five of this large group. The interest in working again amongst those who have served a craft apprenticeship – mainly men – is also low at less than one-in-three, but as Table 4.4 noted earlier, these skilled craftsmen are mainly an older group whereas the claimants with no formal qualifications are spread across the age range.

The lack of interest in working again among so many of those with no formal qualifications does not appear to be because this group of is in much worse health than other IB claimants. In fact, only 28 per cent of the men with no formal

Table 4.6: Share of IB claimants who would/might like a job, by selected qualifications

	Men (%)	Women (%)
'O' level/CSE/GCSE	35	41
NVQ/ONC/OND/HNC/HND	44	48
Craft apprenticeship	28	30
Clerical and commercial	39	35
No formal qualifications	20	22

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

qualifications, and 24 per cent of the women, say that they 'can't do any work', compared to 26 and 23 per cent respectively of the stock of IB claimants as a whole. What the high proportion expressing a lack of interest in working almost certainly reflects instead is a high level of disillusion with the available job opportunities. IB claimants with no formal qualifications know that at best they are likely to secure only poorly-paid jobs that may often be unpleasant in nature. The potential financial gain from working may also be small. Many of the IB claimants in this position appear therefore to have given up entirely on the idea of working again.

Studying for qualifications

On a more positive note, a small proportion of IB claimants are already studying for further qualifications – 5 per cent of the IB claimant stock in the East Midlands according to Labour Force Survey figures. The sample size is too small in the East Midlands to provide a reliable picture of the qualifications they are working towards but Table 4.7 presents this information for IB claimants across Britain as a whole.

This table points to a wide range of qualifications, including degrees in quite a number of cases, though the largest single group fall into the 'other professional and vocational qualifications' category, which is something of a catch-all for a vast range of qualifications not listed here and is perhaps a good indicator that when IB claimants do return to studying they often pursue very specific courses that reflect their personal interests and aptitudes.

Table 4.7: Highest qualifications currently studying towards, IB claimants, Great Britain, spring 2007

	% of those studying
Degree level, inc PGCE, professional	14
Diploma in higher education	4
HNC or HND	3
BTEC, EdExcel, LQL	3
'A' level or equivalent	2
NVQ or SVQ	13
Access to HE	1
GCSE	2
Advanced Higher etc (Scotland)	1
RSA/OCR	2
City & Guilds	7
Key Skills (Scotland)	1
Basic Skills (inc literacy/numeracy)	10
Other professional, vocational	39

Source: Labour Force Survey

The other category of note is the 10 per cent of IB claimants (that is, 10 per cent of the 5 per cent working towards new qualifications, or just 0.5 per cent of the total IB stock) who are undertaking training in basic skills, including literacy and numeracy. Given the very low qualifications of so many IB claimants, including in so many cases the complete lack of GCSEs or equivalent, there must be a suspicion that the level of literacy and numeracy of many claimants is poor. Individuals tend not to be open on this issue, and it is difficult to obtain reliable statistics on the extent of the problem. Furthermore, poor literacy and numeracy can these days prove an insuperable barrier to much employment, notably where application forms are required. If we take it as given that poor literacy and numeracy is widespread among the stock of IB claimants – and this seems a reasonable assumption – the proportion currently studying to improve their basic skills seems disappointingly low.

5. THE TARGET GROUP FOR BACK-TO-WORK INITIATIVES

The scale of hidden unemployment

It has become a widely accepted view that a substantial number of incapacity benefit claimants would and could work if the right opportunities were available. Their health problems, though real enough, are not necessarily an absolute barrier to employment. Indeed the eligibility criteria for Incapacity Benefit have never been set so high as to exclude all but those who could do absolutely no work in any conceivable circumstances.

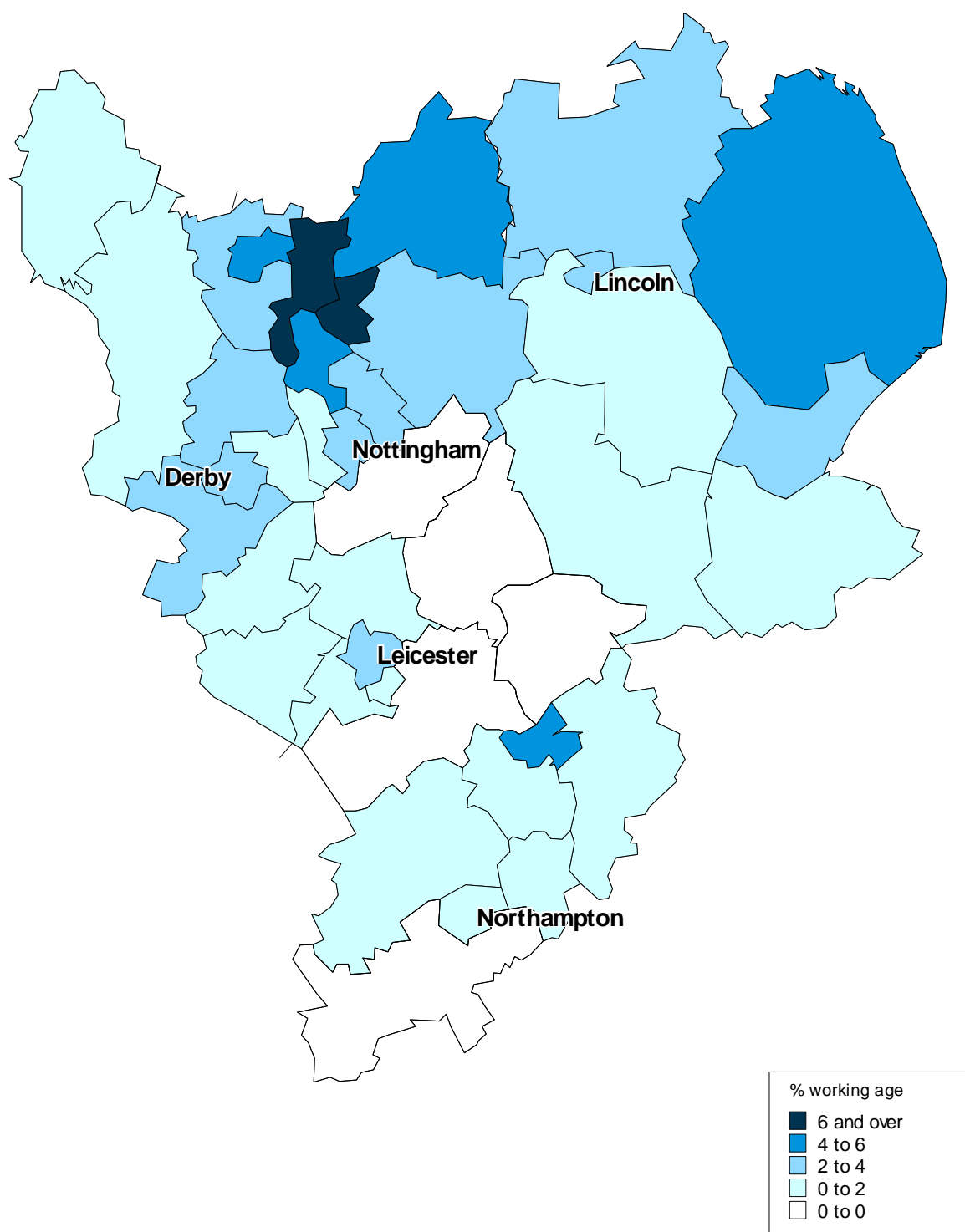
In a 2002 report for the East Midlands Observatory⁹, two of the present authors argued that Incapacity Benefit hid unemployment in this way. The 2002 report deployed a 'benchmarking' approach based on the low level of IB claims already achieved in fully employed parts of Britain and on the underlying differences in the scale of incapacitating ill health across the country. This method has subsequently become the standard approach in a number of later reports¹⁰.

Applying the same methods to the data for the East Midlands for May 2007 suggest that 63,000 of the 177,000 IB claimants in the region should be regarded as 'hidden unemployed' in the sense that they could reasonably have been expected to be in work in a genuinely fully employed economy. 33,000 of the hidden unemployed are estimated to be men, and 30,000 women. These hidden unemployed on incapacity benefits actually outnumber the visible, claimant unemployed in the region on Jobseeker's Allowance (60,000). The estimation of hidden unemployment is an imprecise science, but there is a surprisingly close coincidence between the national (GB) estimates of hidden unemployment on incapacity benefits generated in this way

⁹ C Beatty, S Fothergill, T Gore and A Green (2002) *Hidden Unemployment in the East Midlands*, East Midlands Observatory, Nottingham.

¹⁰ See for example C Beatty, S Fothergill, T Gore and R Powell (2007) *The Real level of Unemployment 2007*, CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University.

Figure 5.1: Estimated hidden unemployment on incapacity benefits by district, May 2007



Source: Sheffield Hallam University

– 980,000 – and the government’s target of a 1m reduction in IB claimant numbers by 2016.

Importantly, the estimated hidden unemployment is not evenly spread around the region, nor indeed around Britain as a whole. For the East Midlands, Figure 5.1 shows the estimated hidden unemployment by district.

In a number of districts in the southern part of the region there is estimated to be no hidden unemployment of this kind at all. In these areas the IB claimant rate is already very low and the estimates in effect imply that anyone who would like to work and is fit enough to work is already in employment in these places. Given the robust health of the local economy in these parts of the East Midlands this is not an especially unreasonable assumption.

Conversely, in parts of the former coalfield in particular there is estimated to be continuing hidden unemployment on a significant scale, accounting for 6 per cent of the working age population in Bolsover and Mansfield for example.

Size of the target group

However, not all the hidden unemployed on incapacity benefits are active or potential jobseekers. IB claimants are not required to look for work as a condition of benefit receipt and in practice very few do so, as the survey data in Section 3 showed. Disillusion also tends to set in among many IB claimants, so only a minority retain aspirations to work again. In practice, therefore, the group at whom back-to-work initiatives might usefully be targeted is smaller than the stock of hidden unemployed.

There is little point in targeting back-to-work initiatives at incapacity claimants who say they do not want to work and, as the survey data shows, a substantial proportion say they have no interest in working again. In the absence of compulsion, which is neither available now nor planned by the government, at least for existing IB claimants, these particular claimants seem likely to pass out of the incapacity figures either when they retire or die, or perhaps fail a medical test. In the absence of compulsion, the best that can be hoped for with these claimants is a change of heart, stimulated perhaps by a realisation that there are suitable opportunities available and that the financial rewards from a job would be worthwhile.

In the meantime, the target group that is potentially of most interest to back-to-work initiatives is made up of two groups:

- Those who say they would like a job
- Those who say they might like a job further into the future

Table 5.1 shows the estimated size of this group in the East Midlands, based on the Sheffield Hallam survey data. Overall, the target group is estimated to comprise some 23,000 men and 19,000 women – or a little more than 40,000 individuals in total. This represents fewer than a quarter of the stock of incapacity claimants in the region. These figures are however a snapshot at one point in time: there is continuous if slow turnover in the stock of IB claimants. Over a two-year period, say, the throughput of IB claimants who might be expected to return to work, and thereby offer a potential target for back-to-work initiatives, is likely to be nearer 60,000.

Table 5.1: Estimated size of target group for back-to-work initiatives in the East Midlands

	Men	Women
IB claimants, May 2007*	94,800	64,600
Would like a job now or might like one in the future	24%	29%
Target group	23,000	19,000

* excludes SDA claimants

Source: DWP and authors' estimates based on Sheffield Hallam survey data

Table 5.2 shows the estimated age breakdown of this target group, again based on the Sheffield Hallam survey data. The target group is somewhat younger than the stock of IB claimants as a whole: more than half are estimated to be in the 35-54 age bracket, and a further fifth between 25 and 34. These are men and women who are still a long way off state pension age and have clearly not yet given up hope of working.

Table 5.2: Age of target group

	Men estimated no.	Women estimated no.
16-24	1,600	1,700
25-34	4,400	3,300
35-44	6,900	6,200
45-54	6,400	5,800
55-59	2,300	1,800
60-64	1,400	100
	23,000	19,000

Sources: Sheffield Hallam survey data and authors' estimates

Table 5.3 looks at the duration of incapacity claims and expresses the target group as a share of all IB claimants in each category. The likelihood of expressing an interest in working declines with rising duration on incapacity benefits. A third of the men and half the women who have been claiming incapacity benefits for less than two years express an interest in employment, compared to fewer than one-in-five who have been claimants for ten years or more.

Table 5.3: Target group by duration on incapacity benefits

	% who would/might like a job	
	Men	Women
Up to 2 years	35	50
2-5 years	30	34
5-10 years	21	22
10 years or more	15	18

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

Job aspirations of the target group

Table 5.4 presents a range of information regarding the job aspirations of those who say they would like a job.

The first part of the table concerns full and part-time working. It comes as no surprise that half the women are only interested in part-time working, given the domestic responsibilities that so many women carry. That a quarter of the men would only want part-time work, and that in total more than two-fifths of the men would consider part-time work, is a more novel observation. The preference for (or willingness to accept) part-time working may partly reflect the interplay of poor health and long periods out of the labour market. Many men and women on incapacity benefits are genuinely uncertain about their ability to hold down a full-time job. They fear for the robustness of their own physical or mental health. They are also wary of taking on full-time work commitments knowing that their on-going health problems may require them to take time off, especially to cope with conditions that they know tend to fluctuate.

The second part of the table deals with when they might like to start work. The significant point here is that far fewer than half the men and women are keen to start fairly soon. Around a third are 'not sure' about when they would like to start – in many cases a reflection, no doubt, of uncertainty about their health.

Table 5.4: Aspirations of those who would like a job*

		Men	Women
Would like	- full-time job only	56	35
	- part-time job only	26	49
	- full or part-time job	18	17
To start	- now/fairly soon	39	28
	- sometime over the next year	16	18
	- further into future	14	20
	- not sure	32	34
Type of work	- usual/previous occupation	24	23
	- other occupation	45	48
	- anything	15	11
	- don't know	16	19

* excludes those saying only 'might like job further into future'

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

The third part of the table concerns the type of work they would like. The important observation is that fewer than a quarter want to return to their old occupation. Just under half of all men and all women say they would prefer an alternative occupation instead. What is also notable is that a significant minority – approaching a third - are either completely open-minded about what they might do or don't know at all.

Table 5.5: Alternative occupations cited by those who would like a job: Barrow in Furness

Men	Women
Taxi driver	Author
Labourer	Customer service
Driving instructor	Clerical
Concierge	Cleaning
Office work	Shop work
Packing	Teaching assistant
Builder	Office work
Teaching	Care worker
Carpenter	Driving instructor
Catering	Counselling
Admin Assistant	Data input
Clerical	Interior designer
Landscape gardener	Nurse
Counsellor	Child care assistant
Hydraulics engineer	Kitchen assistant
Welder	Events co-ordinator
Steward	FE teaching
Painter & decorator	Driving
Youth work	Working with people
Security	Carer for adults with learning disabilities
Electrician	Factory operative
Warehouse operative	Hairdresser
Delivery driver	Librarian
Steel worker	Voluntary sector
Driving	Nail technician
Accountant	Film camera work
Computing	Legal secretary
Photographer	Typing
Cleaning	Lawyer
Factory work	Barmaid
Stacking shelves	CAB advisor
Validation engineer	Health and safety inspector
Graphic artist	Cook
Data input	Waitress
Tree surgeon	Cashier
IT service engineer	Courier
IT systems engineer	
Self-employment (mnf)	

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

Table 5.5 lists the alternative occupations mentioned by those who said they would like a job. This information is taken from just one of the Sheffield Hallam survey areas, Barrow in Furness in North West England, where the survey sample was particularly large, though there is little reason to suppose that the great range of aspirations identifiable in this table would be very different across most of the East Midlands. The occupations are presented in no particular order here, and several were cited by more than one person. Some men and women mentioned up to three alternatives for themselves. The diversity of the list is striking. So too is the highly specific aspirations of at least some individuals.

Table 5.6 presents the responses to the question ‘Roughly how much do you think you would need to earn, after tax, to make it worthwhile coming off benefit?’ This was asked only of those who said they would definitely like a job. There are three significant observations here.

Table 5.6: After-tax earnings needed to come off benefit

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Less than £200 pw	12	21
£200-£249 pw	20	20
£250-£299 pw	18	12
£300 pw or more	29	17
Don't know	21	30
	100	100

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

The first is that there is a sizeable group of claimants, especially women, who say they ‘don’t know’ how much they would need to earn. This is hardly surprising, given the multiple benefits that some presently claim and the complexity of the in-work tax credits and benefits to which they might continue to be entitled. Some of the ‘don’t knows’ may also reflect the fact that for some men and women a job still seems a remote prospect, so there will have been little need to think carefully about potential earnings.

The second significant observation is a disparity between the expectations of men and women in relation to their required earnings. More women than men say they would need less than £200 a week to make coming off benefit worthwhile, but conversely more men say they would need at least £300 a week.

The third observation is that for men, in particular, the required wage level is often quite high. Nearly a third of men say they would need at least £300 a week, and this figure is after tax, and a further fifth would need more than £250 a week. On the other hand a high proportion of IB claimants, including those who say they would like a job, have no formal qualifications. There must be a serious question about whether these wage aspirations can be met.

Table 5.7 lists the obstacles to finding work cited by those who say they would like a job or might like a job in future. Ill health, injury or disability dominates this list, which underlines the importance of addressing health issues in moving IB claimants back into employment. Among the less frequently mentioned obstacles, a shortfall in qualifications, skills or experience is cited by 10 per cent of men and women.

Table 5.7: Obstacles to finding work

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Ill health, injury, disability	92	91
Age	12	6
Qualifications, skills, experience	10	10
Not enough suitable jobs	9	9
Lack of confidence	6	8
Time it takes to sort out benefits	4	1
Difficult to get to work	4	3
Lack of advice on benefits/options	3	2
Childcare arrangements	1	9
Other domestic/caring responsibilities	1	2

NB individuals could cite more than one obstacle so columns do not add to 100

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

Training needs

Table 5.8 shows the existing qualifications of the men and women who express an interest in working again but who say that 'not enough qualifications, skills or experience' is an obstacle. The key feature here is that around half of these men and women have no formal qualifications at all. On the other hand, bearing in mind that 60 per cent of all IB claimants have no formal qualifications (see Table 4.1 earlier), the men and women who see skills, qualifications or experience as an obstacle to employment are, paradoxically, slightly better qualified than the IB claimant group as a whole. This may be because so many of those with no formal qualifications have given up all aspirations to work again.

Table 5.8: Existing qualifications of IB claimants saying 'not enough qualifications, skills or experience'

	Men (%)	Women (%)
'O' level/CSE/GCSE	26	38
NVQ/ONC/OND/HNC/HND	9	22
Craft apprenticeship	9	1
Clerical and commercial	2	9
No formal qualifications	53	46

NB Columns so not add to 100 because some claimants have more than one qualification

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

Table 5.9 shows that ill health, injury or disability is again cited most frequently (by more than 70 per cent of those who see skills, qualifications or experience as an obstacle to employment) as an obstacle to obtaining additional qualifications. Further down this list, however, a number of other factors come into play. Lack of confidence is cited by almost two-fifths of the men, and nearly a third of the women. In this context, 'lack of confidence' may mean poor literacy and numeracy as well as general inhibitions about education and training. Confusion about courses, and in some cases concerns about the cost of courses, also figure in this list. For a fifth of the women who see skills, qualifications or experience as an obstacle to employment, childcare is seen as an obstacle to further qualifications

Table 5.9: Obstacles to gaining further qualifications

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Ill health, injury or disability	76	71
Lack of confidence	38	29
Don't know where to start/used help or advice	18	21
Courses are too expensive	18	12
Right courses not available/accessible from here	11	6
Don't want to go back for studying	9	6
Domestic or caring responsibilities	4	5
Childcare arrangements/responsibilities	0	20

NB Columns do not add to 100 because more than one obstacle could be cited

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

Across the whole of the Sheffield Hallam survey data on IB claimants, including those with no interest in returning to work, the level of awareness of local training and employment support services to help people like themselves is poor – only one-in-six are aware of any. Among the smaller sub-set who express interest in working now or in the future it is little better – just over a quarter are aware of relevant services. By far and away the most frequently mentioned provider is Jobcentre Plus, with a few people citing local colleges as relevant providers.

Table 5.10 shows the sorts of additional qualifications sought by IB claimants. The list here is again taken from a single survey area (Barrow) but there is no reason to suppose that it is not illustrative of the aspirations likely to be found across much of the East Midlands. The key point is again the diversity of the list, ranging from basic level, generic courses (IT, literacy numeracy) through to highly specific and sometime quite advance training needs (eg 'film camera operator', 'aromatherapy', 'NVQ3 in engineering', 'social science degree').

The important point here is that even when IB claimants aspire to additional training or qualifications as a route back into employment, training providers are not starting with 'a blank sheet of paper'. IB claimants may on average be poorly qualified, but

these are usually mature men and women with often clear aspirations and some notion of what they might like to do in future, how they might be viewed by potential employers, and what might realistically be the best way forward for them.

On the other hand, many claimants also take a pessimistic view of the opportunities for them. When asked 'Do you think there are appropriate job opportunities for you here in the local labour market?' two-thirds of the men who express an interest in returning to work, and over half the women, say 'no'.

Table 5.10: Additional qualifications sought: Barrow in Furness

Men	Women
Joinery/woodwork	Childminding
Counselling	IT skills
IT basic skills	Interior design
Youth work qualifications	Reception/admin/clerical
Cooking/catering	Driving instructor course
Landscape gardening	Film camera operator
Welding	Aromatherapy
NWQ3 in engineering	Social sciences degree
Bricklaying	Food preparation/hygiene
Team working	Counselling
Web design	Literacy skills
	Maths
	Animal care
	Social work

Source: Sheffield Hallam survey data

6. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Nine key policy implications emerge from this investigation into incapacity claimants in the East Midlands:

- 1. If the government is to hit its target of a 1m reduction in the number of IB claimants by 2016, a there will have to be substantial reduction in IB numbers in the East Midlands.** On a proportional basis, the required reduction in the East Midlands is of the order of 65,000, or rather more than one-third. Estimates of 'hidden unemployment' among IB claimants in the East Midlands – that is, the number of IB claimants who might reasonably have been expected to be in work in a genuinely fully employed economy – also point to a figure of 60-65,000.
- 2. IB claimants in the East Midlands are however far from evenly spread across the region – so neither is the need for concerted action.** In some southern parts of the region, the number of IB claimants already appears to be as low as is achievable. On the other hand, there are substantial parts of the northern half of the region, especially the former coalfield but also the Lincolnshire coast, where the IB claimant rate is very high and where there would appear to be scope for big reductions.
- 3. The poor level of qualifications among IB claimants is a key obstacle to employment that needs to be addressed, in the East Midlands and elsewhere.** Other things being equal, poor qualifications will disadvantage an individual in securing employment, and as many as 60 per cent of the stock of IB claimants have no formal qualifications at all. What appears to have happened is that in the context of a difficult labour market in some parts of the region, many of the men and women least able to maintain a foothold in the labour market have been marginalized on benefit. In particular, this includes those with poor health and poor qualifications.

4. **The target group for back-to-work initiatives is actually fairly small in relation to the overall stock of IB claimants in the region.** The 'target group' is made up of the men and women who say they would like a job or might like a job in future. Estimates suggest that at any one point in time the size of this group among IB claimants in the East Midlands is not a great deal more than 40,000, though gradual turnover in the stock of claimants means that over a two-year period, for example, the figure might be nearer 60,000.
5. **The most receptive IB claimants to back-to-work initiatives are likely to be the most recent claimants, and those in their 30s and 40s,** rather than for example longer-term claimants of those in their late 50s. Interest in returning to work declined with age and duration on benefit.
6. **Among the IB claimants who might return to work or take up training opportunities, health problems and disabilities remain a core obstacle.** These problems need to be addressed directly through the provision of, or routing to, appropriate rehabilitation services. However, education and training providers ignore these health problems and disabilities at their peril. Whilst the high numbers claiming incapacity benefits need to a large extent need to be understood as a 'labour market problem' that needs to be addressed by classic labour market interventions, they also unquestionably represent a health problem as well. This is particularly reflected in the high share of IB claimants who lost their last job for health reasons and the high proportion who continue to see their ill health or disability as the prime obstacle to employment or training.
7. **Opportunities for part-time working need serious emphasis.** Many women in particular, but also quite a number of men, are receptive to the idea of part-time work especially if it provides an easier transition back into employment and one that can be reconciled with their on-going health worries.
8. **Guidance needs to be available on the financial pros and cons of returning to work.** This needs to take account of the full range of in-work tax credits and the impact on all the benefits claimed by the individual's household. The information also needs to be worked out in detail for each

individual. A high proportion of the men and women on IB who say they would like a job don't know how much they would need to earn to make it worth their while and it is equally likely that, given the complexities of the tax-credit and benefits systems, many will have false assumptions about the extent to which they would be better off in work.

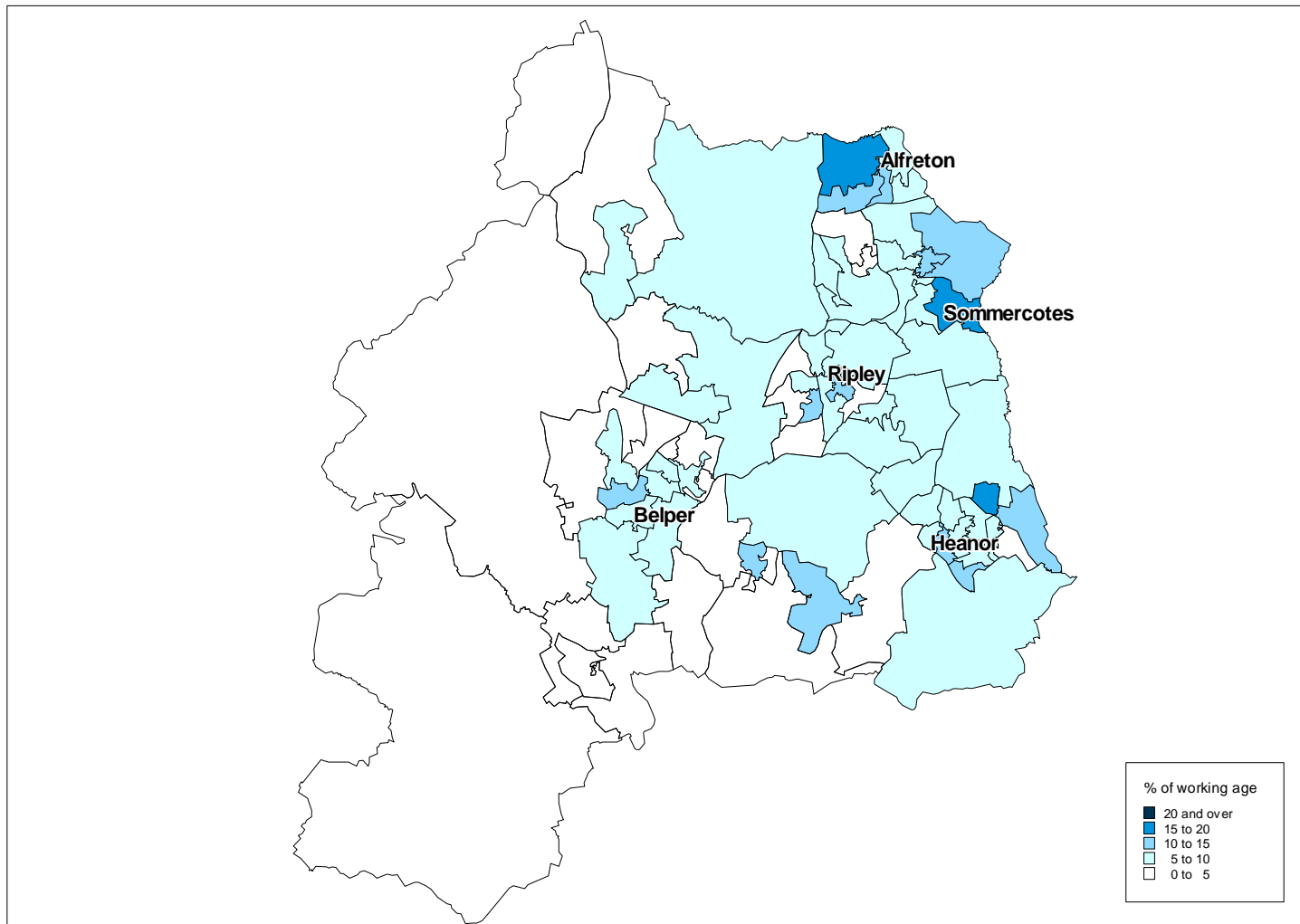
9. **Training provision needs to respond to the specific aspirations of individual men and women.** Many have clear preferences about what jobs they might like to do in future, and about their training requirements. Generic courses for IB claimants are probably less appropriate than routing individuals to training opportunities that match what they say they would like.

Appendix: Incapacity benefit claimants, May 2007

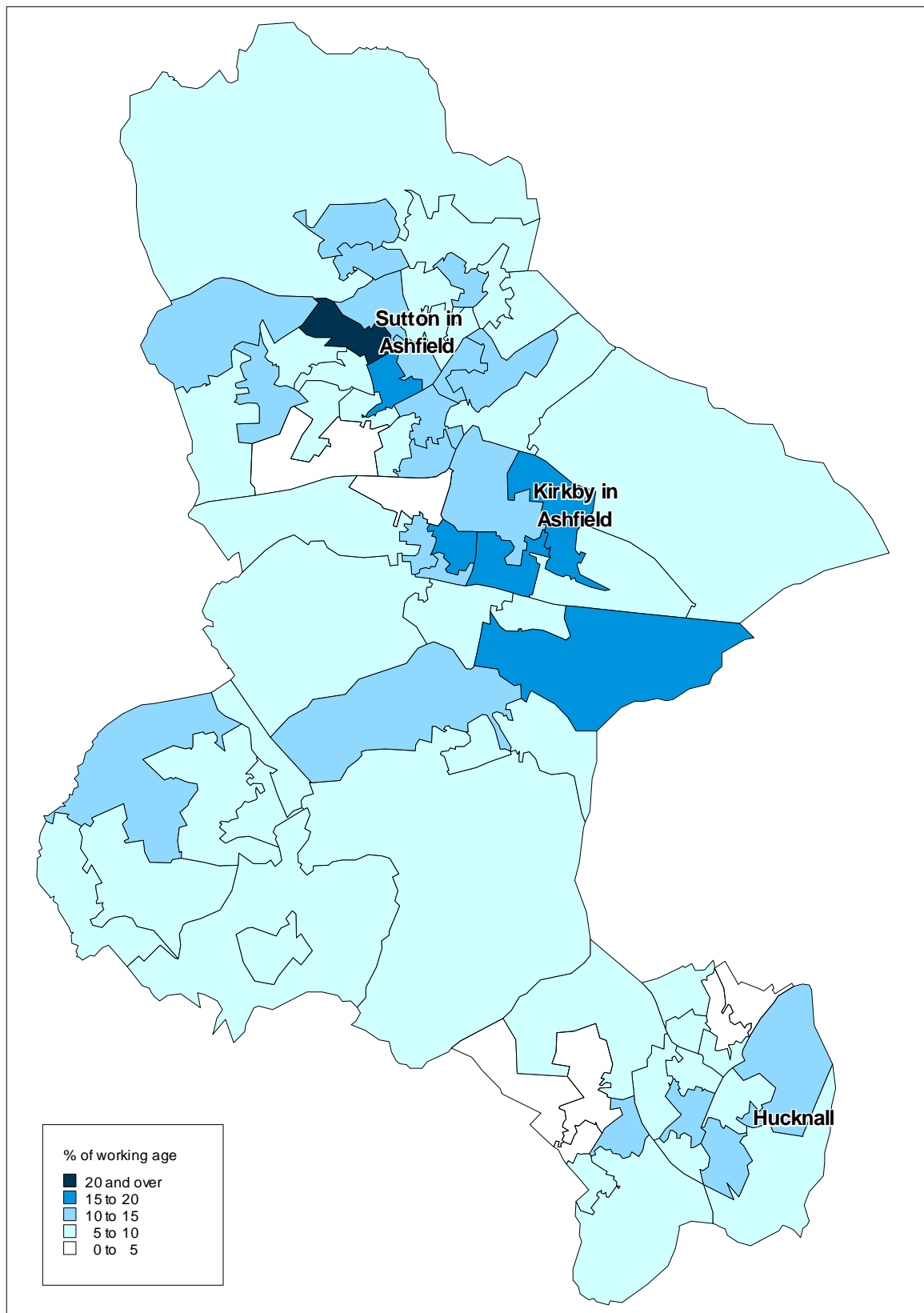
	as % of working age population			Number		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
GREAT BRITAIN	8.0	6.3	7.2	1,530,190	1,101,010	2,631,200
EAST MIDLANDS	7.3	5.8	6.5	103,430	74,200	177,630
Derbyshire	8.2	6.2	7.2	26,170	17,840	44,010
Amber Valley	7.7	5.6	6.7	2,990	1,970	4,960
Bolsover	13.3	8.6	11.1	3,150	1,840	4,990
Chesterfield	11.3	8.0	9.8	3,650	2,360	6,010
Derby	8.4	6.6	7.6	6,460	4,620	11,080
Derbyshire Dales	4.9	3.9	4.4	1,090	730	1,820
Erewash	6.8	5.6	6.2	2,400	1,820	4,220
High Peak	6.4	5.3	5.9	1,940	1,440	3,380
North East Derbyshire	8.7	6.0	7.4	2,690	1,660	4,350
South Derbyshire	6.1	5.2	5.7	1,800	1,400	3,200
Leicestershire	5.8	5.1	5.4	17,550	14,160	31,710
Blaby	3.9	3.6	3.8	1,170	970	2,140
Charnwood	4.1	3.9	4.0	2,290	1,920	4,210
Harborough	3.3	3.0	3.2	860	700	1,560
Hinckley and Bosworth	4.5	4.2	4.3	1,510	1,280	2,790
Leicester	9.1	7.5	8.3	8,700	6,860	15,560
Melton	3.4	3.1	3.3	540	440	980
North West Leicestershire	6.1	5.1	5.6	1,770	1,320	3,090
Oadby and Wigston	4.0	4.1	4.0	710	670	1,380
Rutland	2.7	2.6	2.6	350	260	610
Lincolnshire	7.6	5.9	6.8	16,140	11,380	27,520
Boston	9.0	7.1	8.1	1,630	1,120	2,750
East Lindsey	11.3	8.1	9.8	4,670	2,960	7,630
Lincoln	9.0	6.6	7.8	2,640	1,820	4,460
North Kesteven	5.1	4.3	4.7	1,650	1,250	2,900
South Holland	6.4	5.8	6.1	1,580	1,280	2,860
South Kesteven	5.0	4.3	4.7	2,050	1,620	3,670
West Lindsey	7.2	5.4	6.3	1,920	1,330	3,250
Northamptonshire	5.4	4.7	5.1	11,850	9,420	21,270
Corby	8.7	7.6	8.2	1,540	1,240	2,780
Daventry	3.4	3.8	3.6	900	860	1,760
East Northamptonshire	4.4	4.0	4.2	1,200	990	2,190
Kettering	5.7	5.3	5.5	1,620	1,380	3,000
Northampton	6.4	5.0	5.7	4,270	3,130	7,400
South Northamptonshire	2.8	2.7	2.7	830	700	1,530
Wellingborough	6.0	5.1	5.6	1,490	1,120	2,610
Nottinghamshire	8.9	6.6	7.8	31,400	21,150	52,550
Ashfield	10.5	7.6	9.1	3,910	2,600	6,510
Bassetlaw	10.3	7.8	9.1	3,720	2,500	6,220
Broxtowe	6.2	5.0	5.6	2,290	1,680	3,970
Gedling	6.7	5.3	6.0	2,400	1,740	4,140
Mansfield	13.4	8.9	11.3	4,280	2,640	6,920
Newark and Sherwood	8.3	6.2	7.3	2,900	2,000	4,900
Nottingham	10.0	7.5	8.9	10,420	6,960	17,380
Rushcliffe	4.2	3.3	3.8	1,480	1,030	2,510

Sources: DWP, ONS

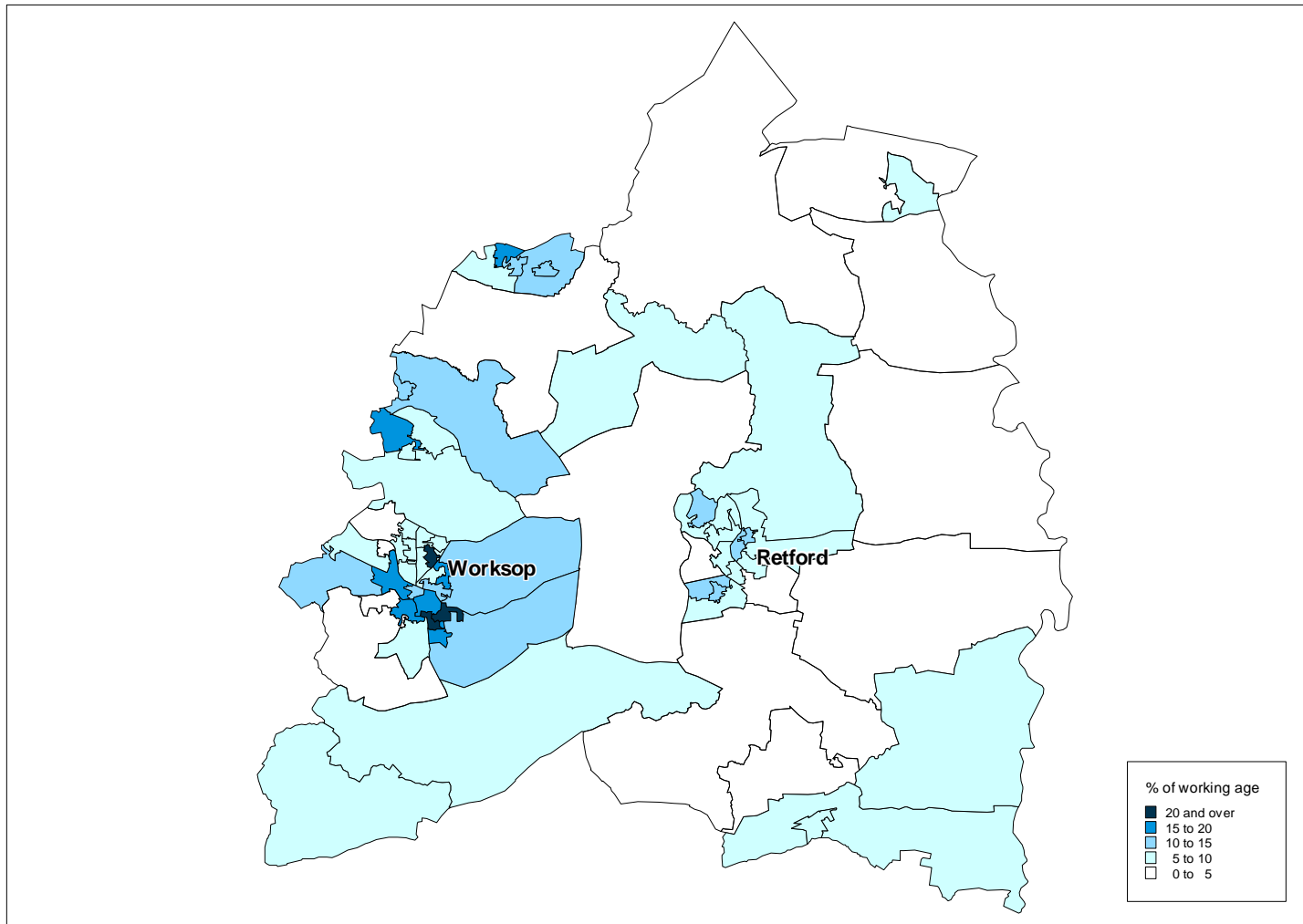
Amber Valley: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



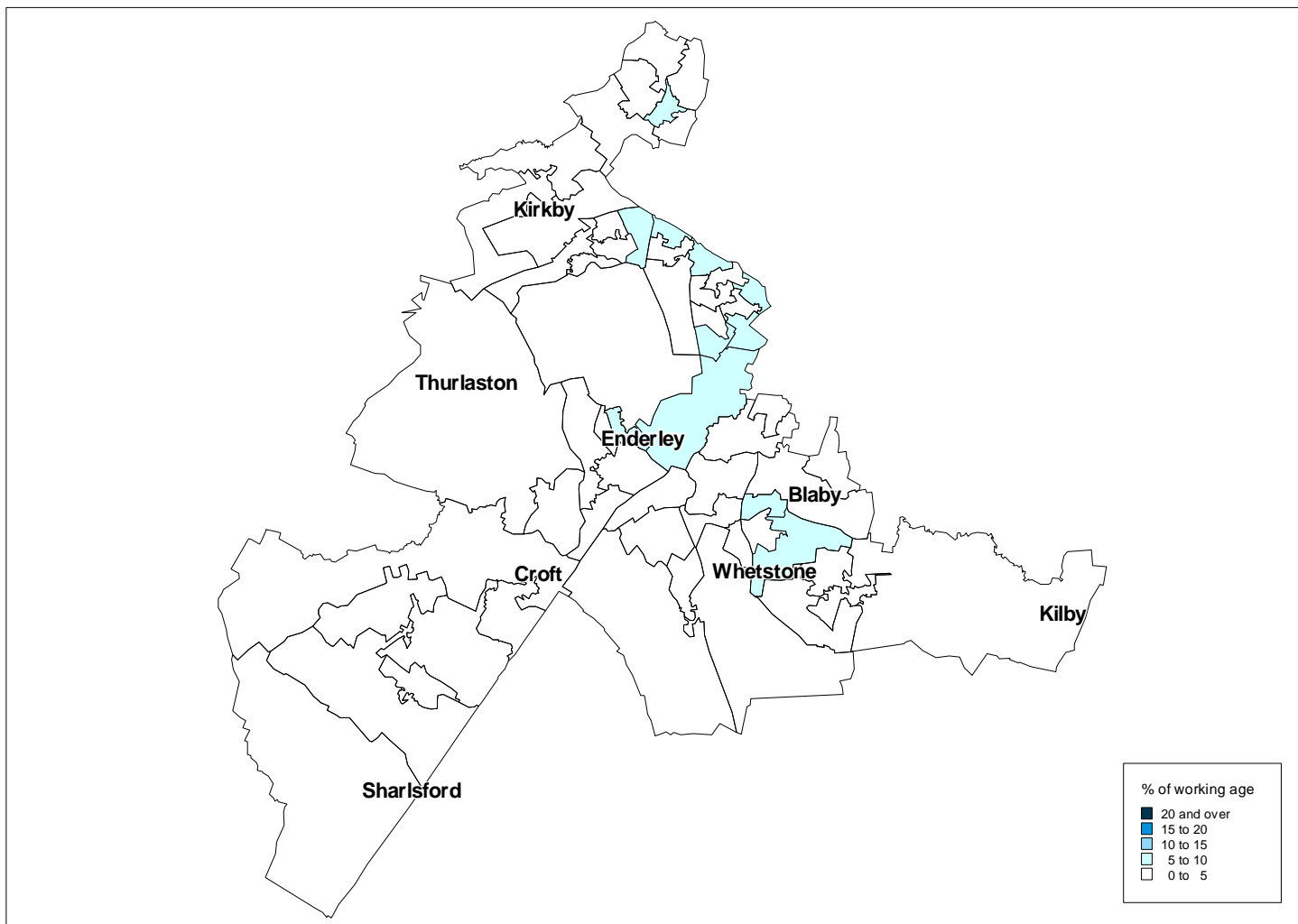
Ashfield: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



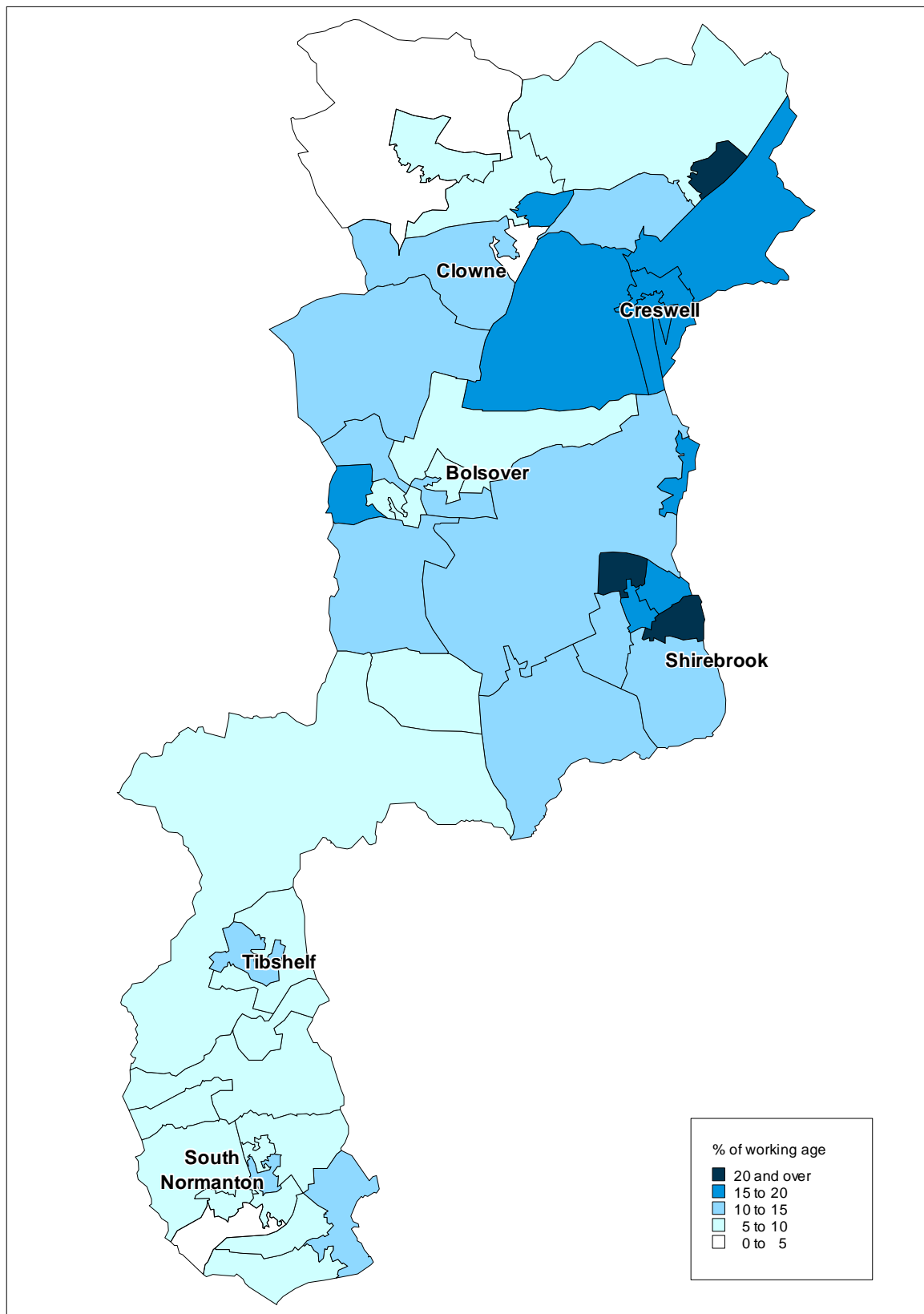
Bassetlaw: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



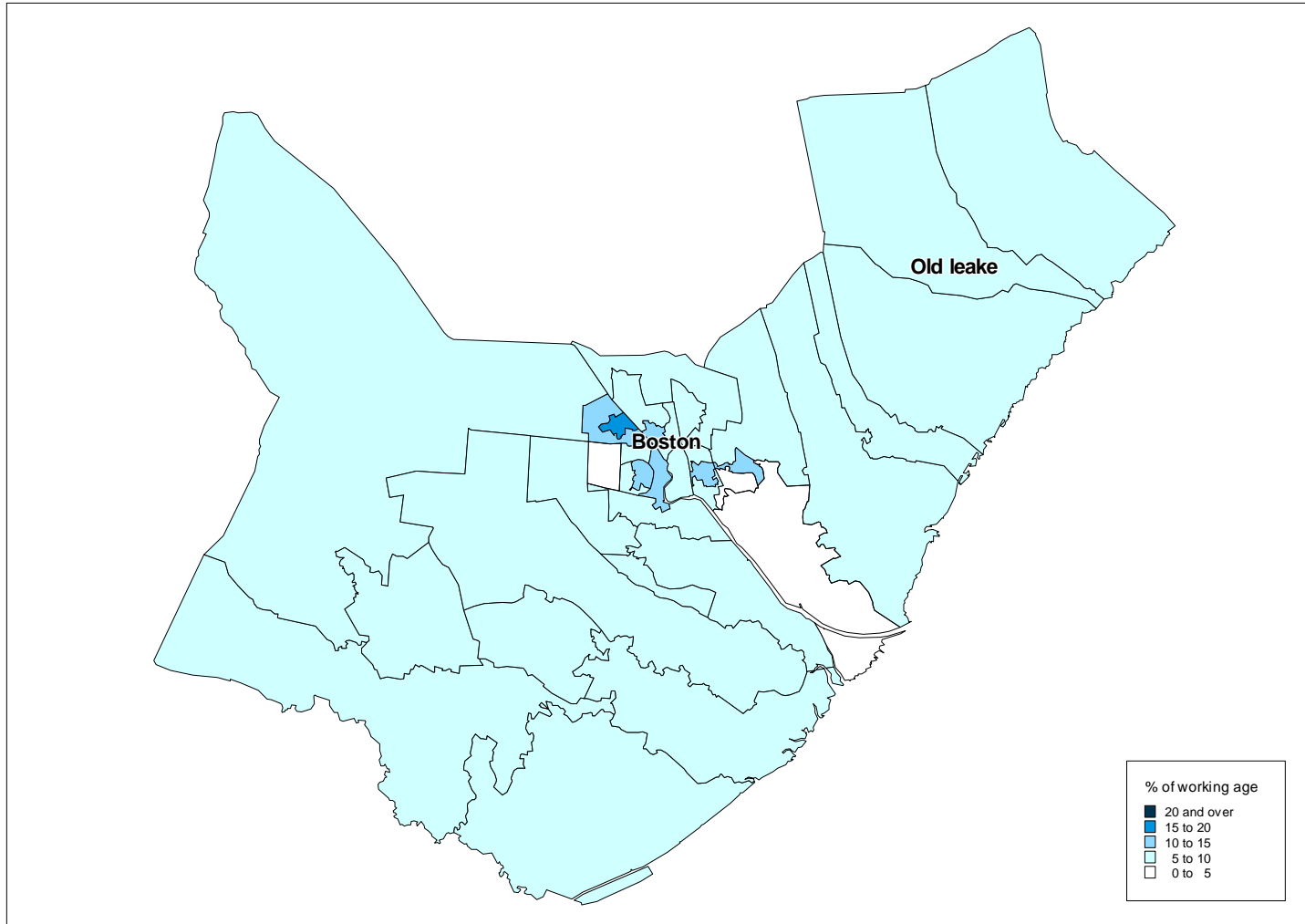
Blaby Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



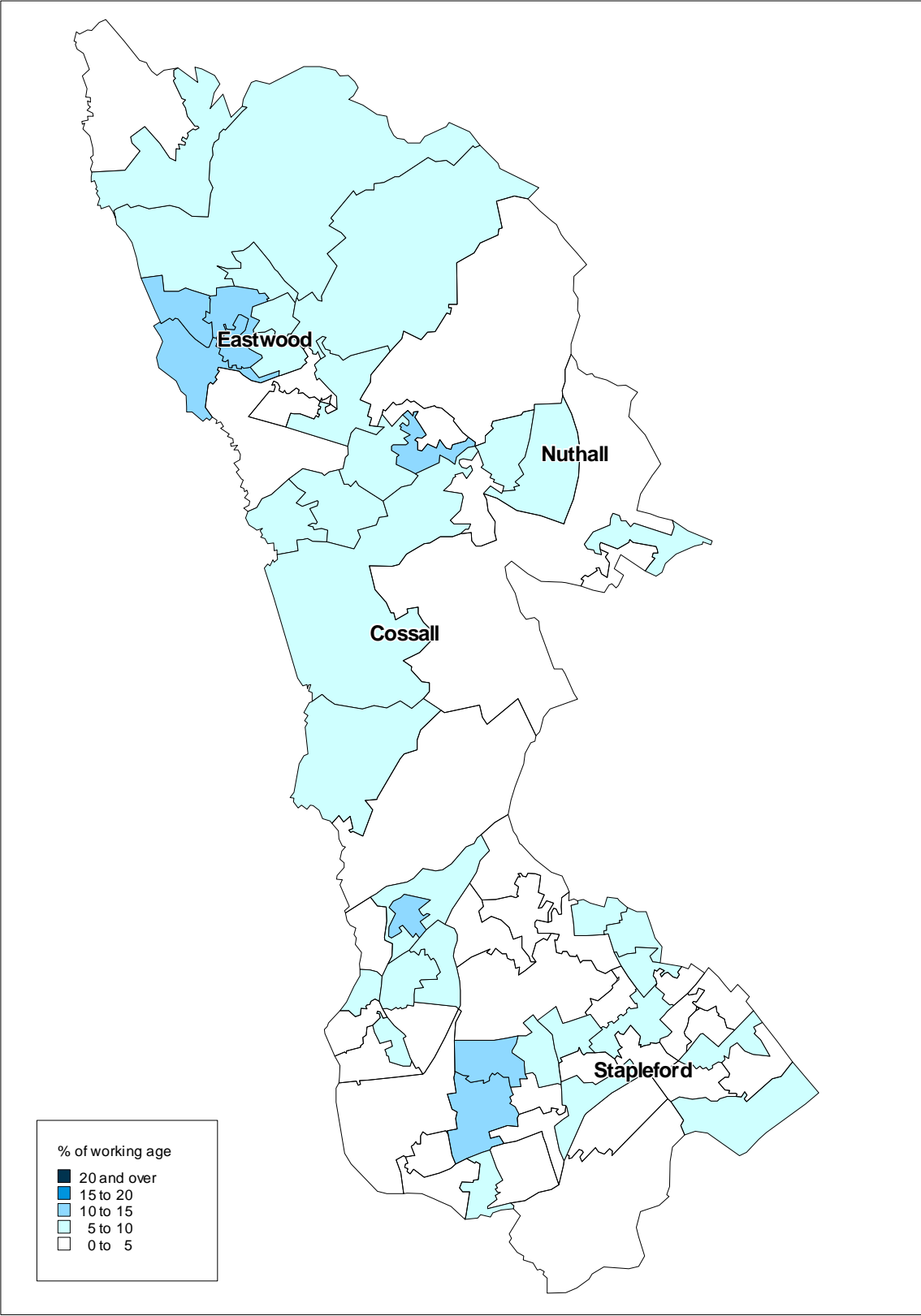
Bolsover: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



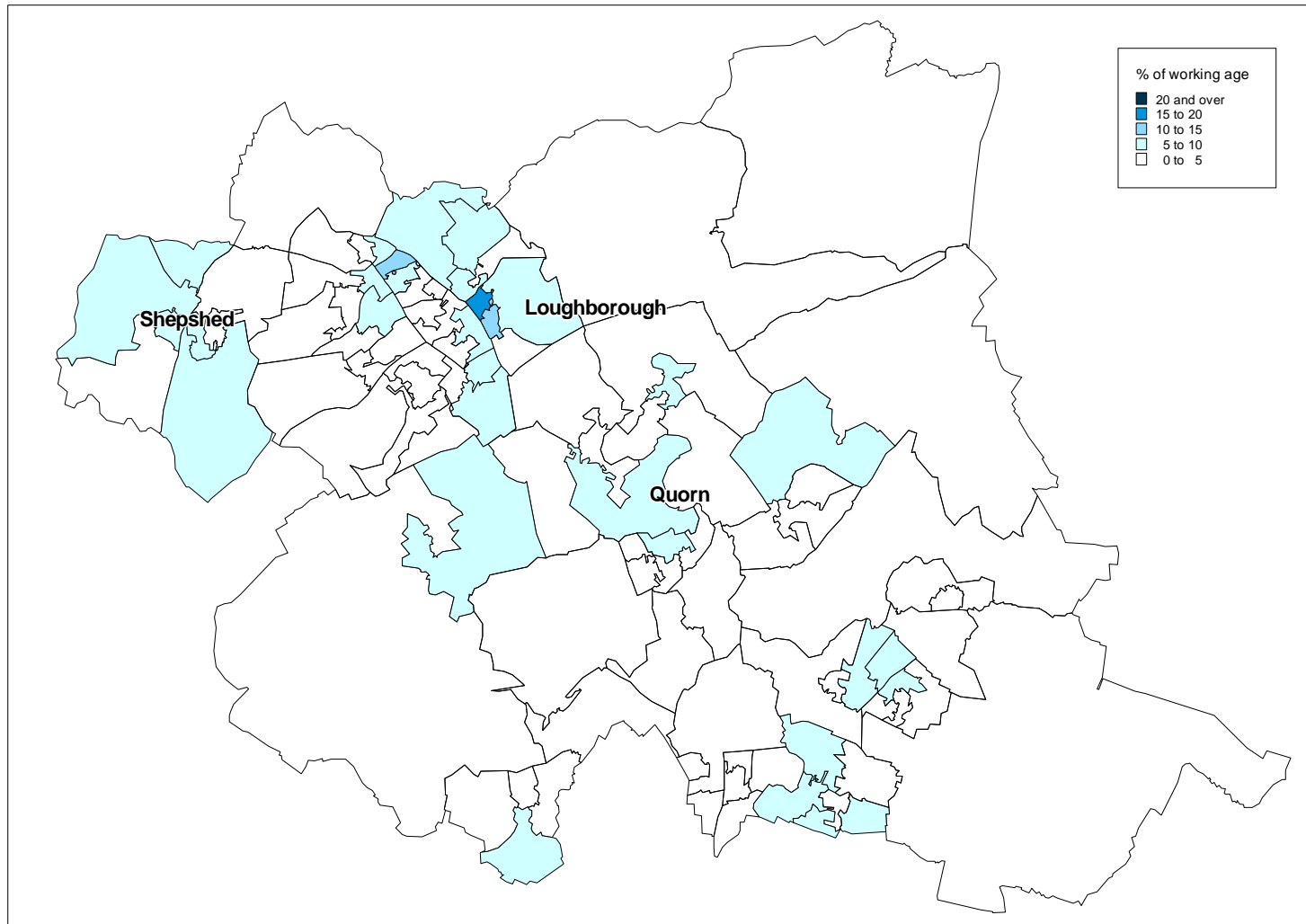
Boston Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



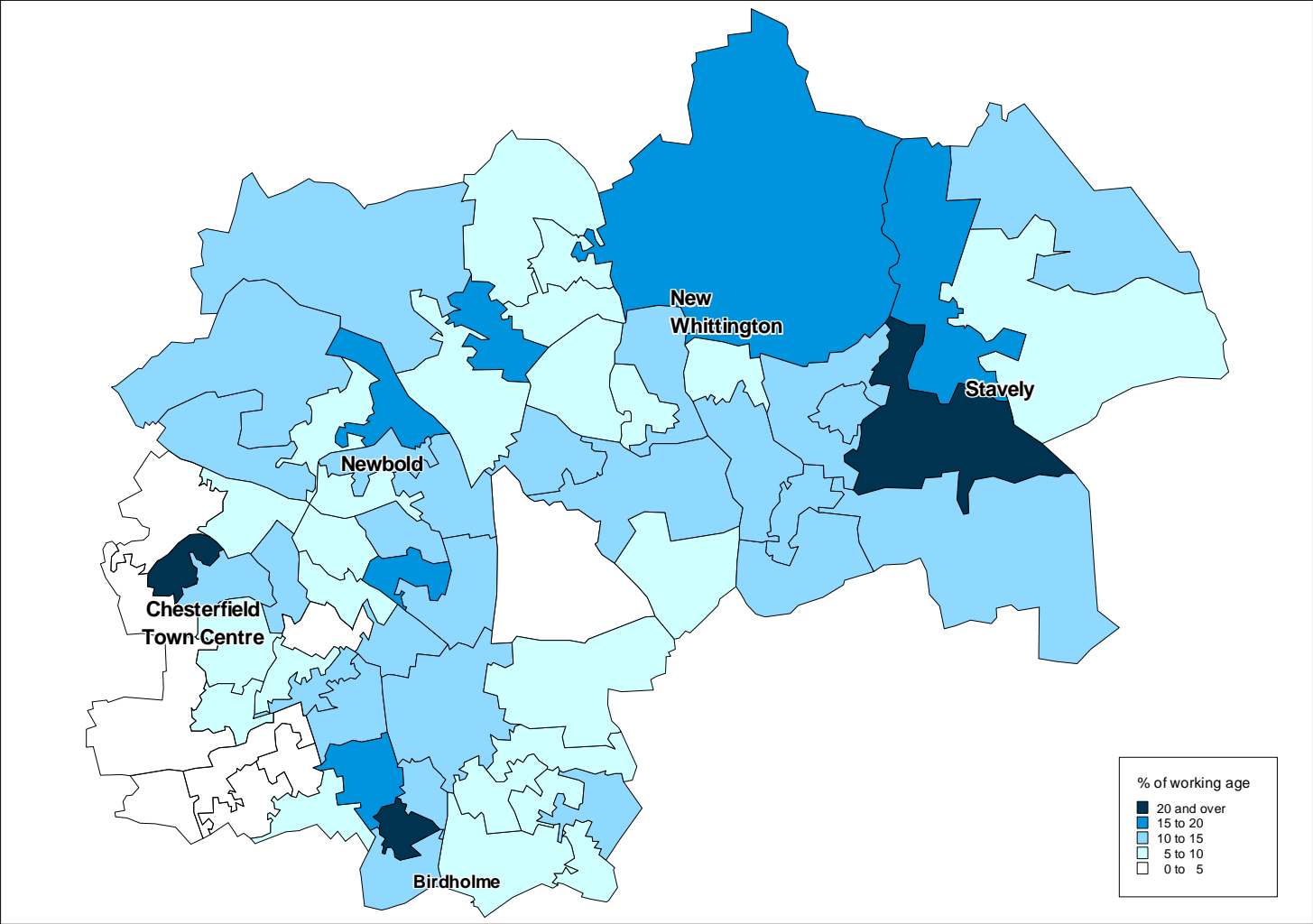
Broxtowe: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



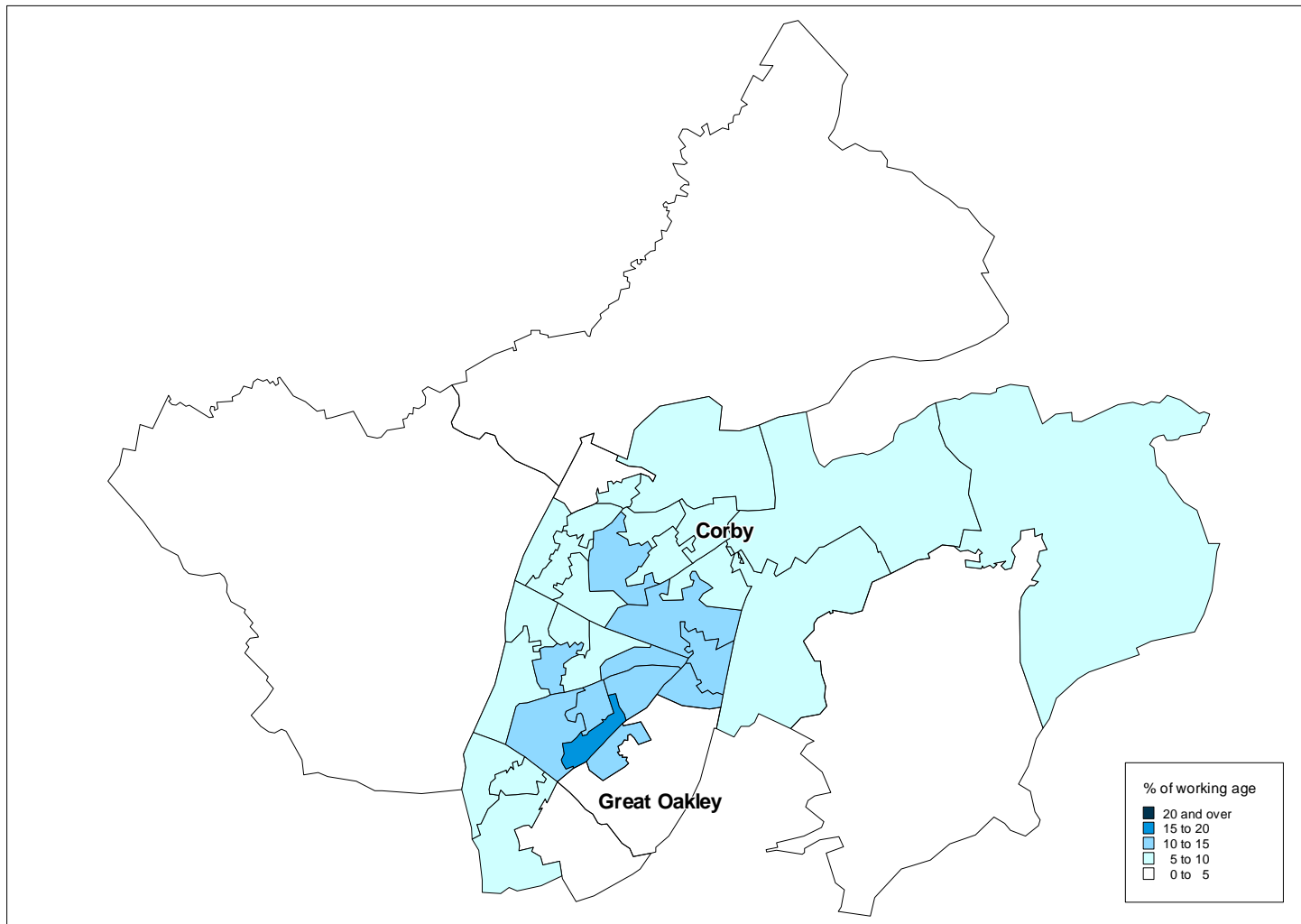
Charnwood: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



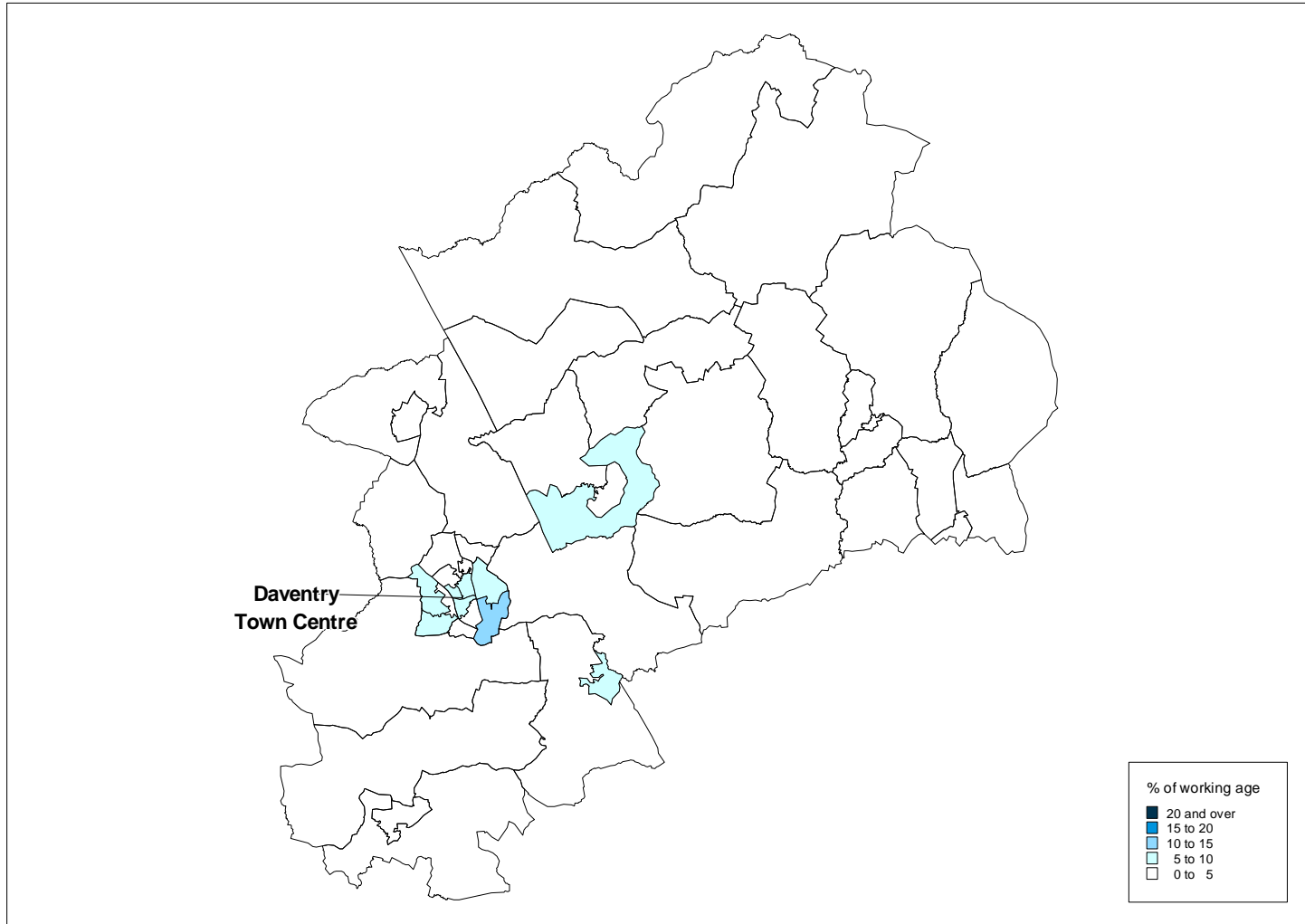
Chesterfield: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



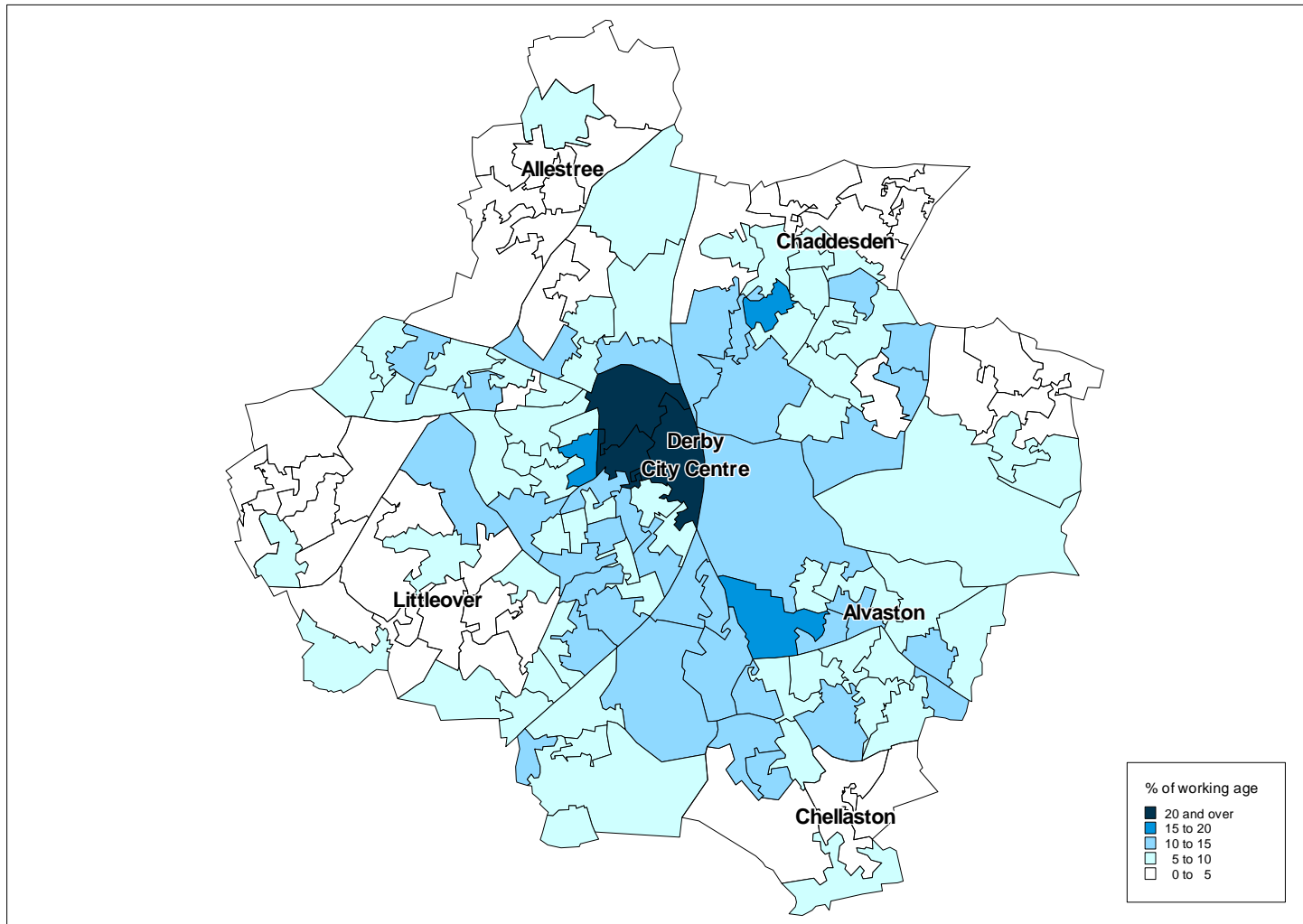
Corby: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



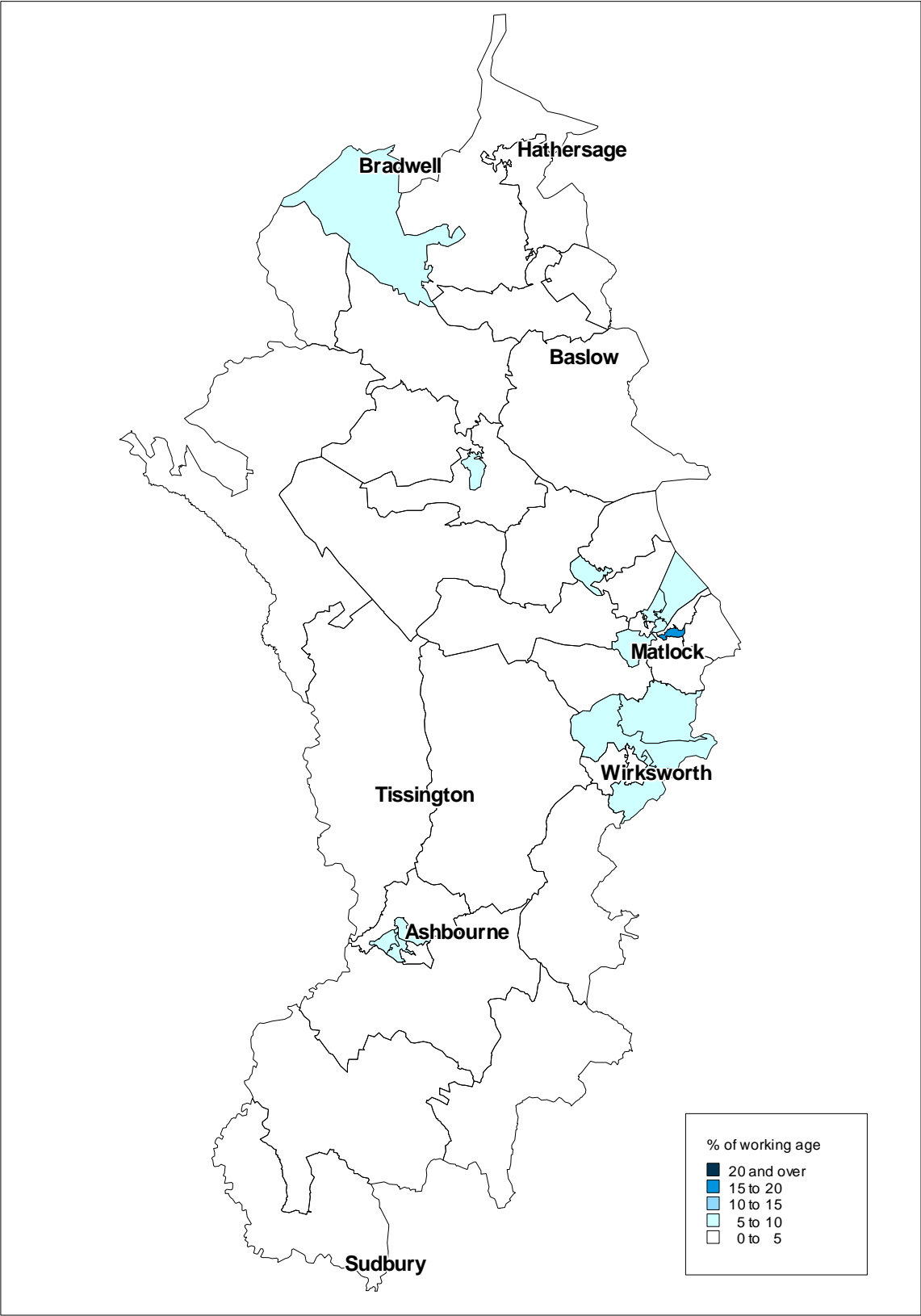
Daventry: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



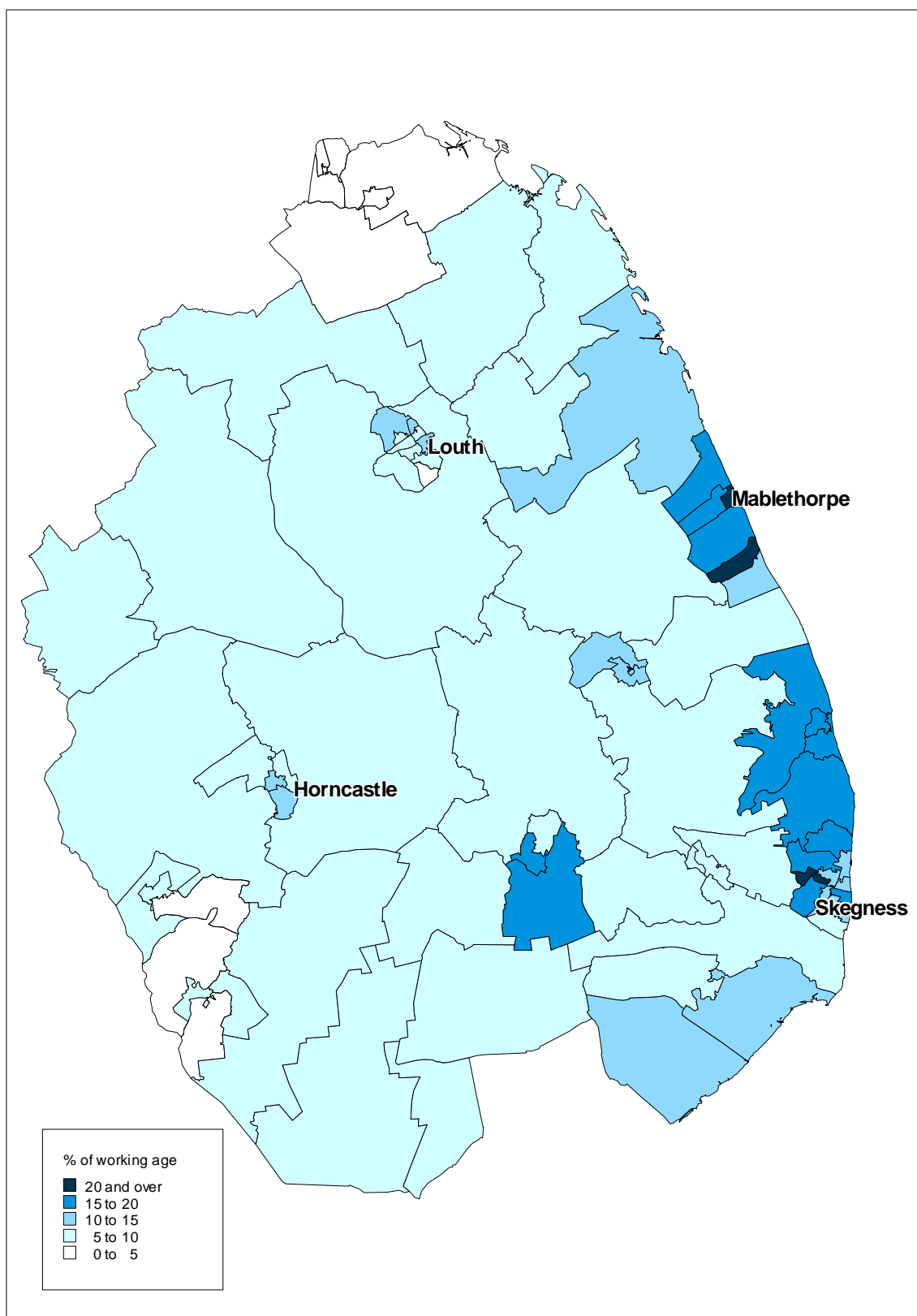
Derby: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



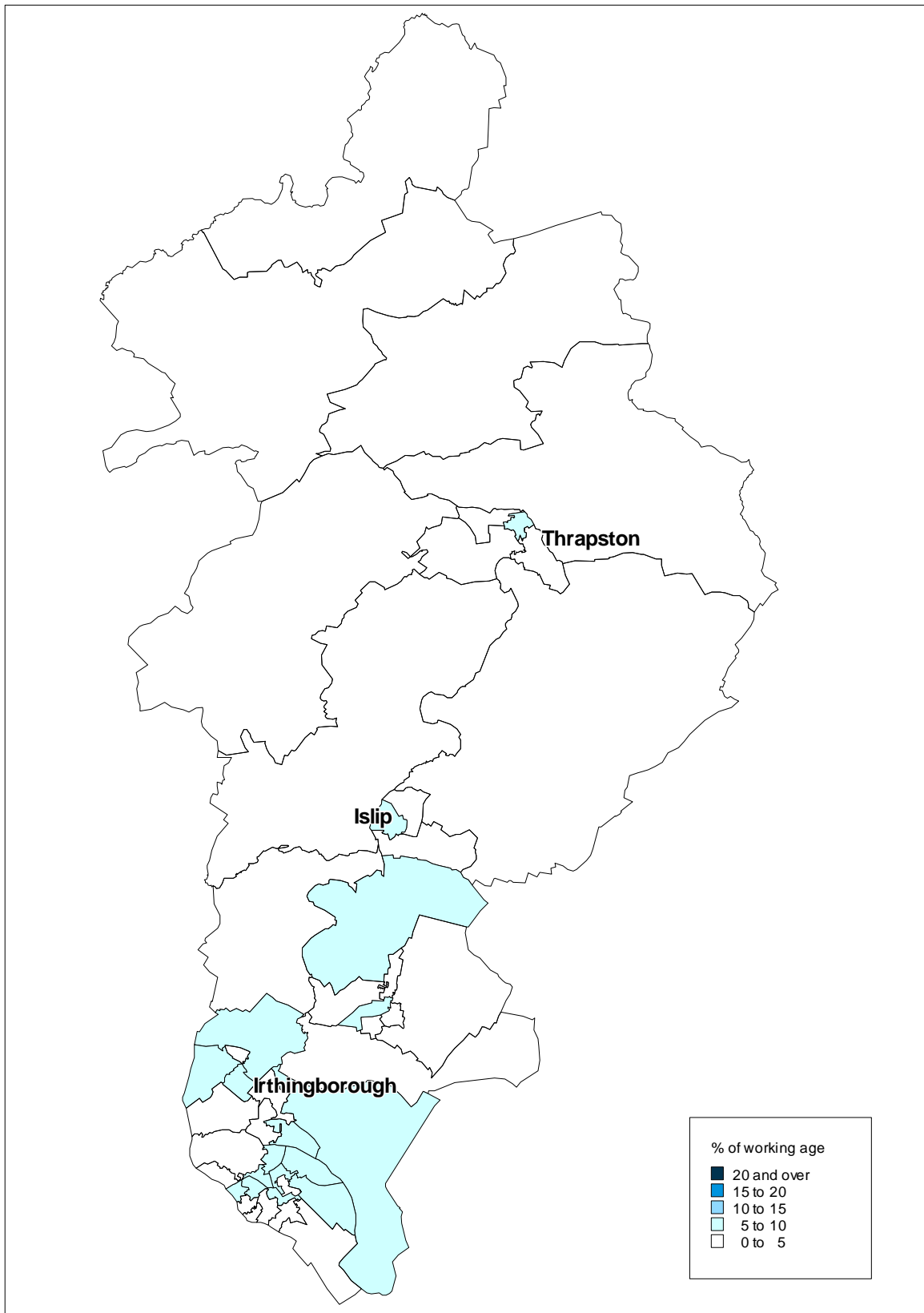
**Derbyshire Dales: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area,
May 2007**



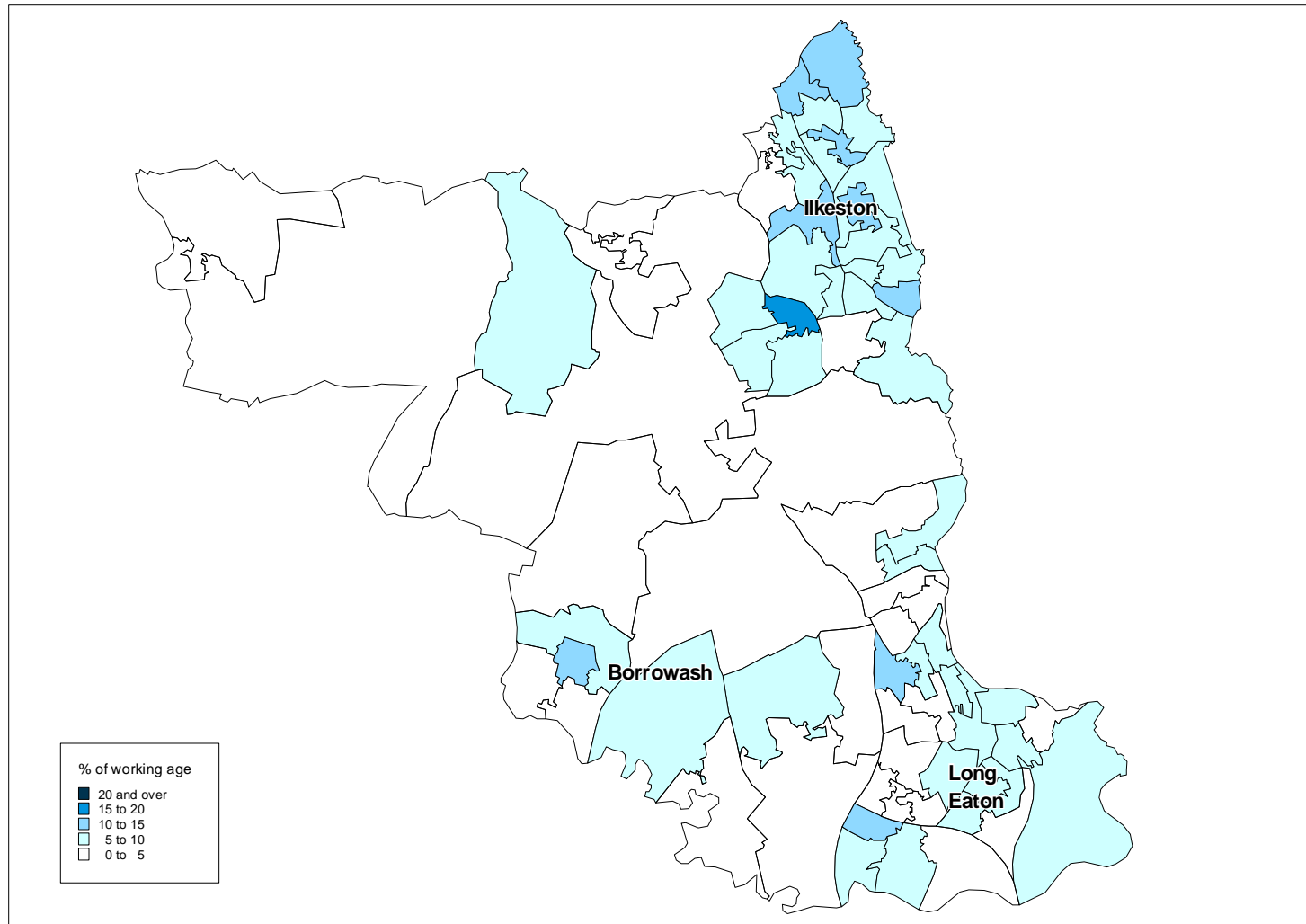
East Lindsey: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



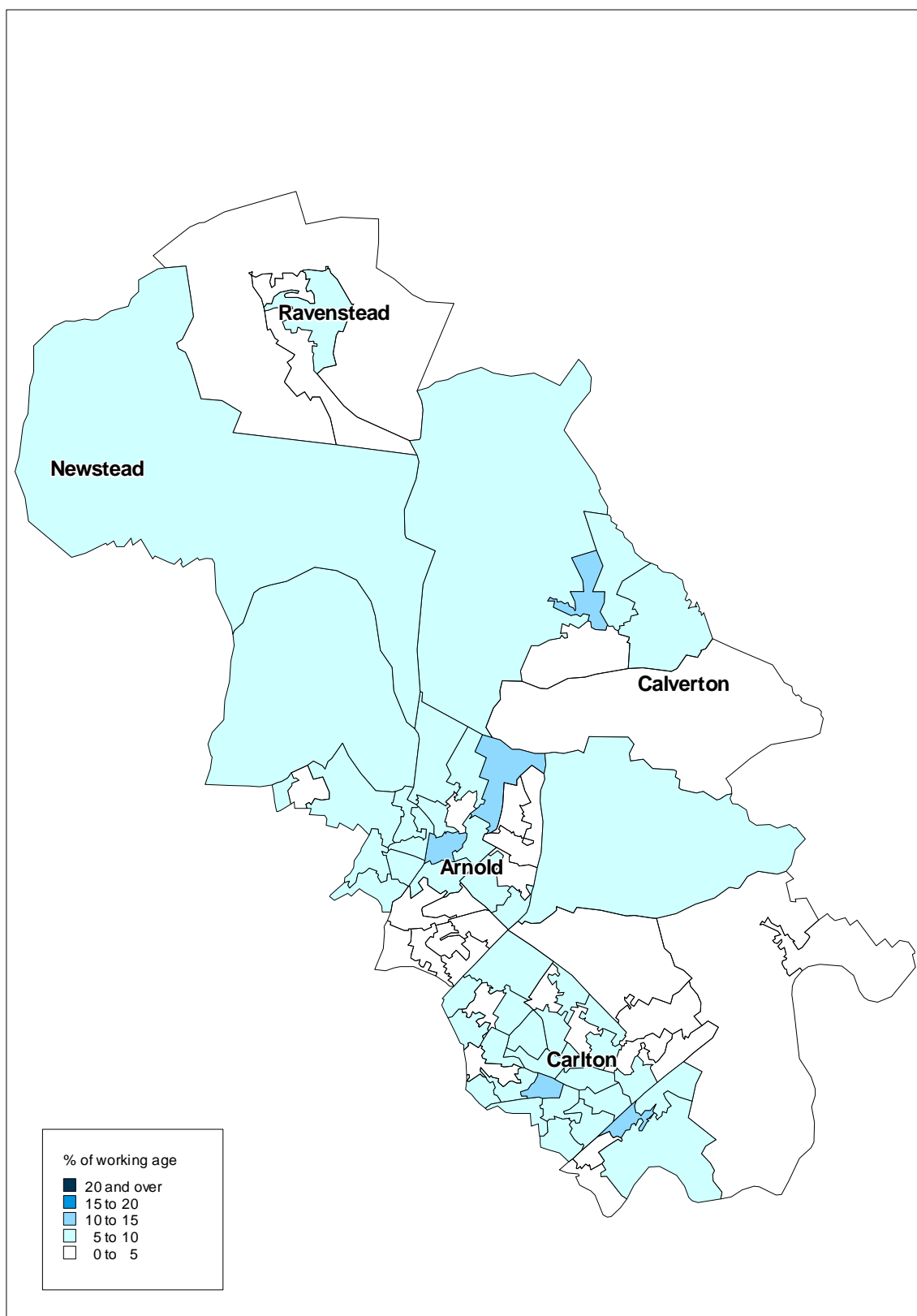
East Northamptonshire: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



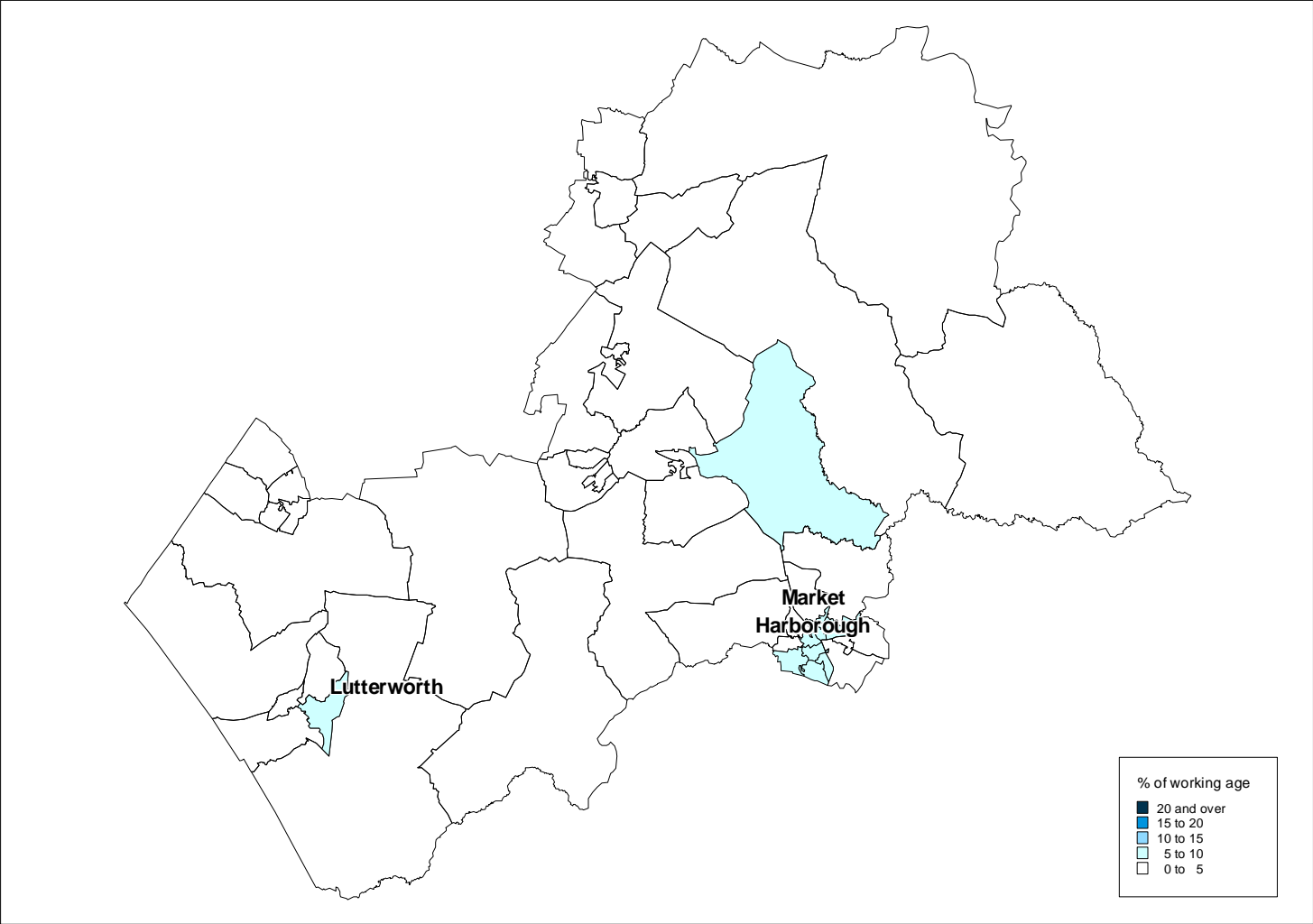
Erewash: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



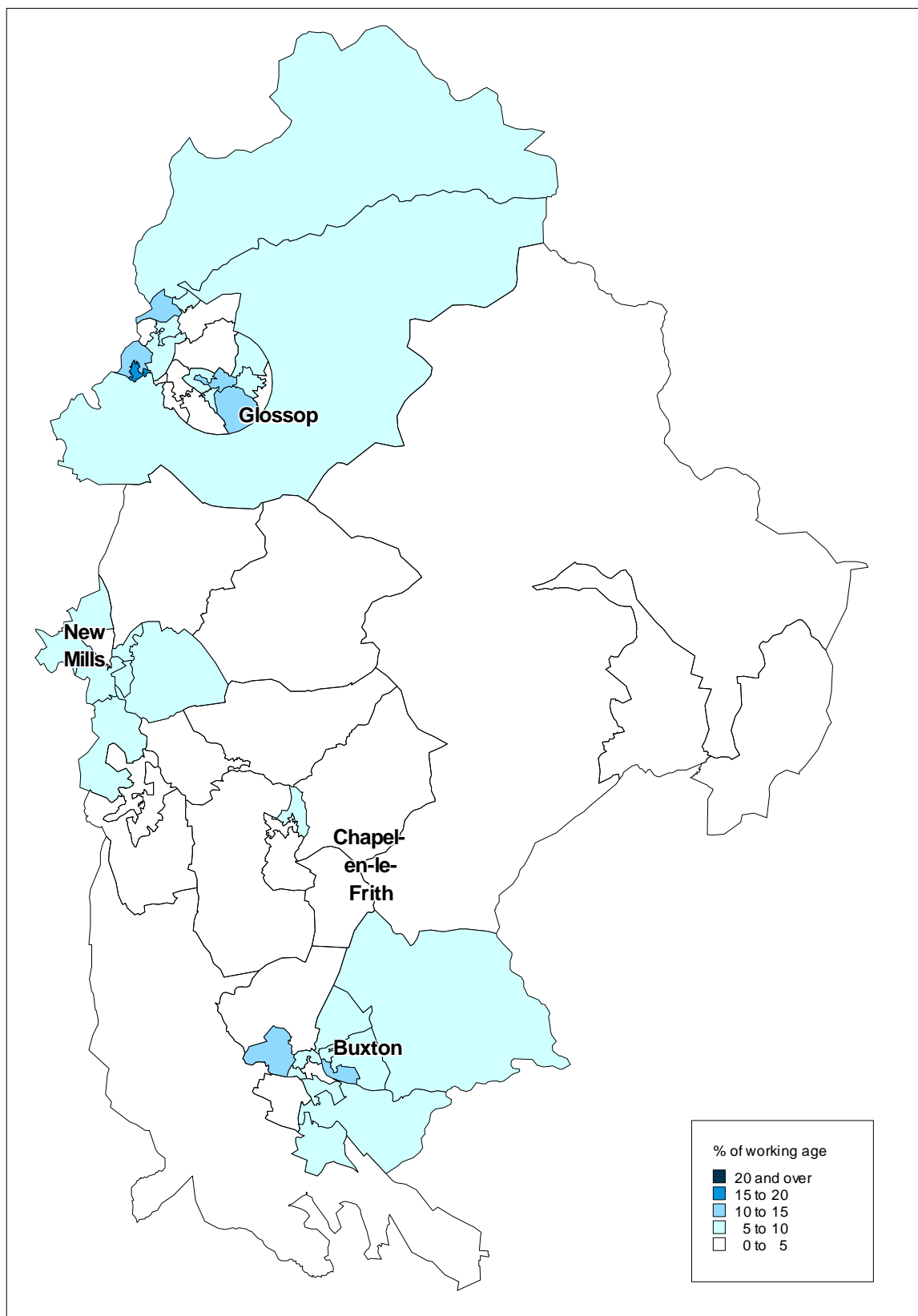
Gedling: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



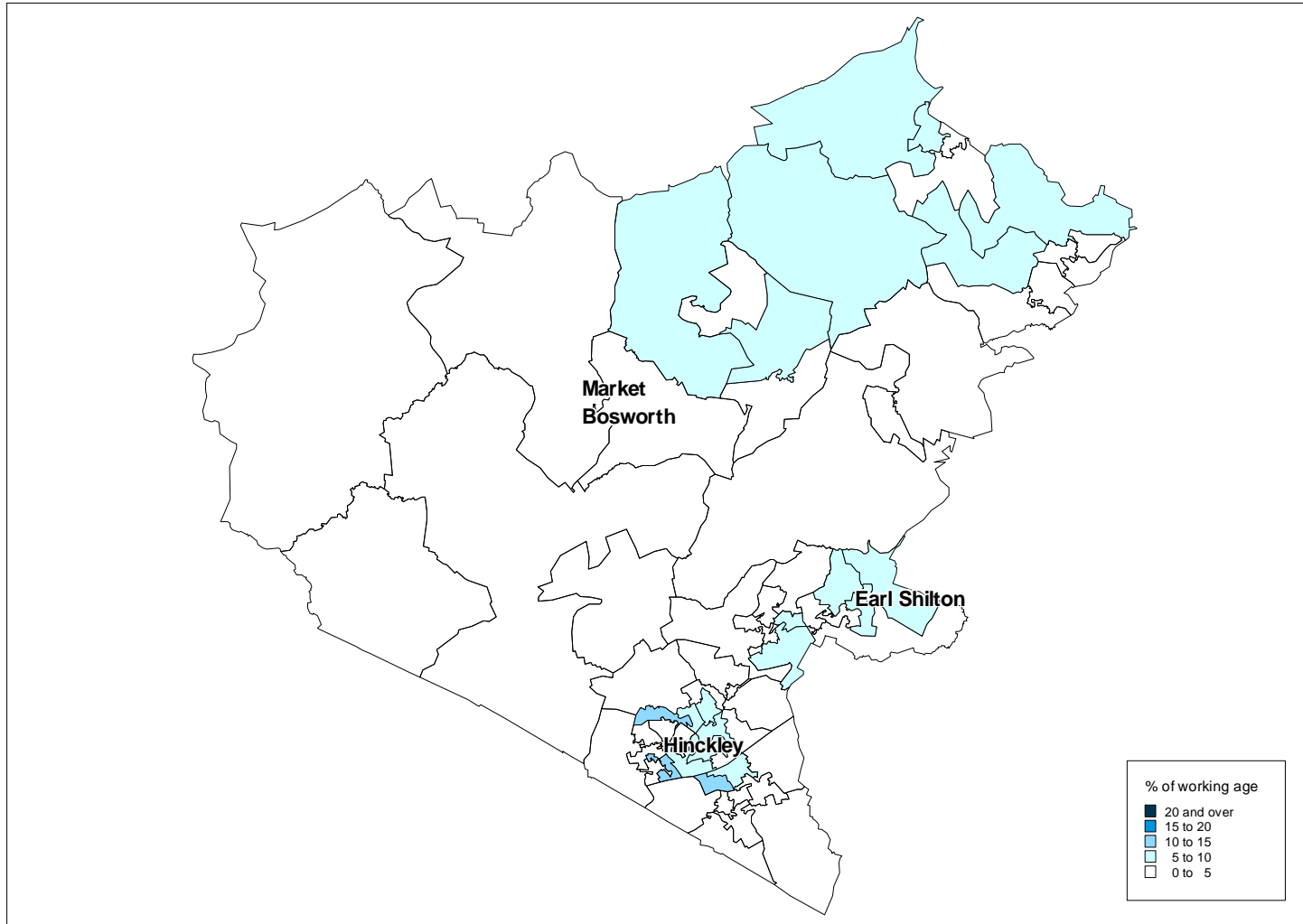
Harborough: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



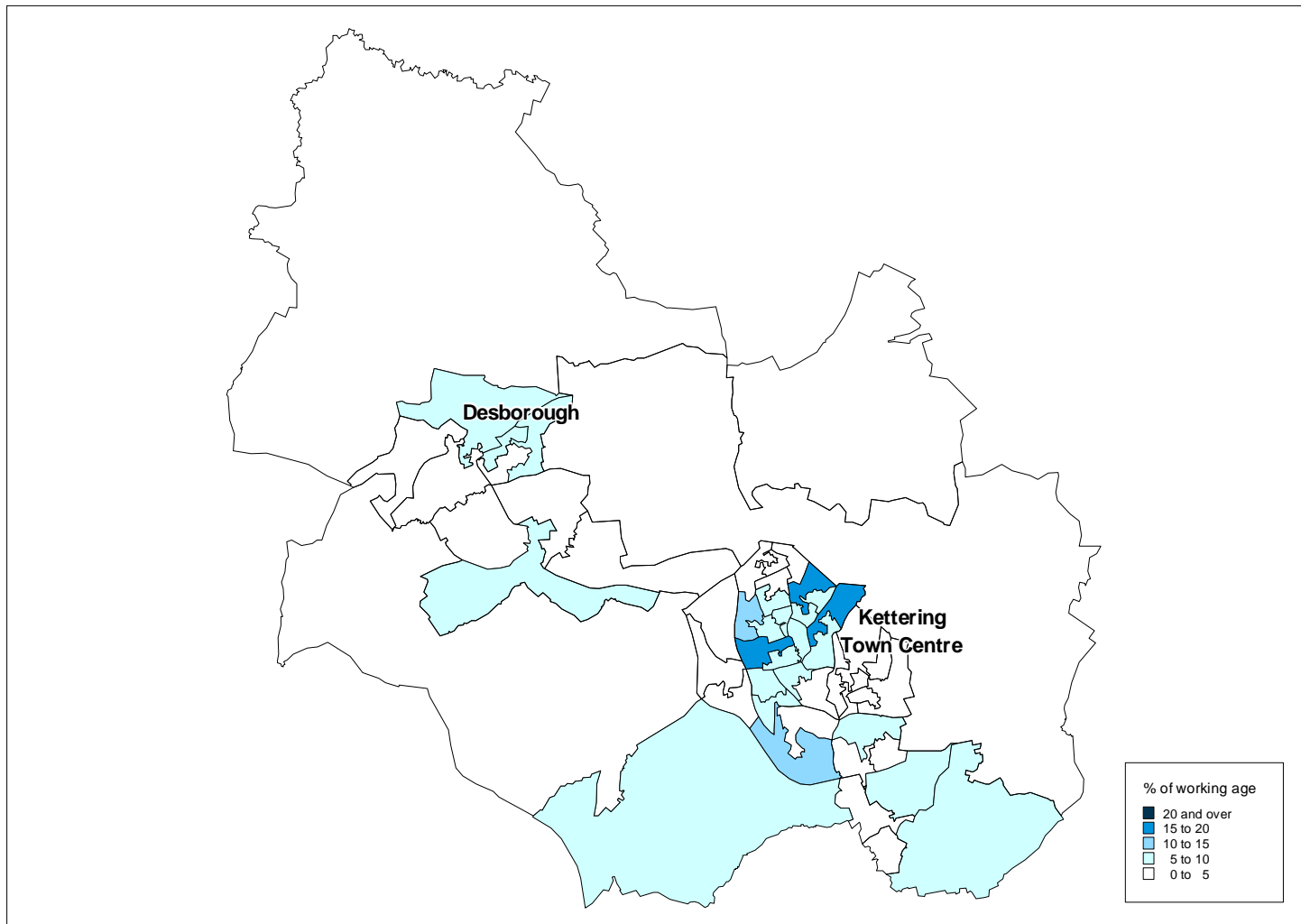
High Peak: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



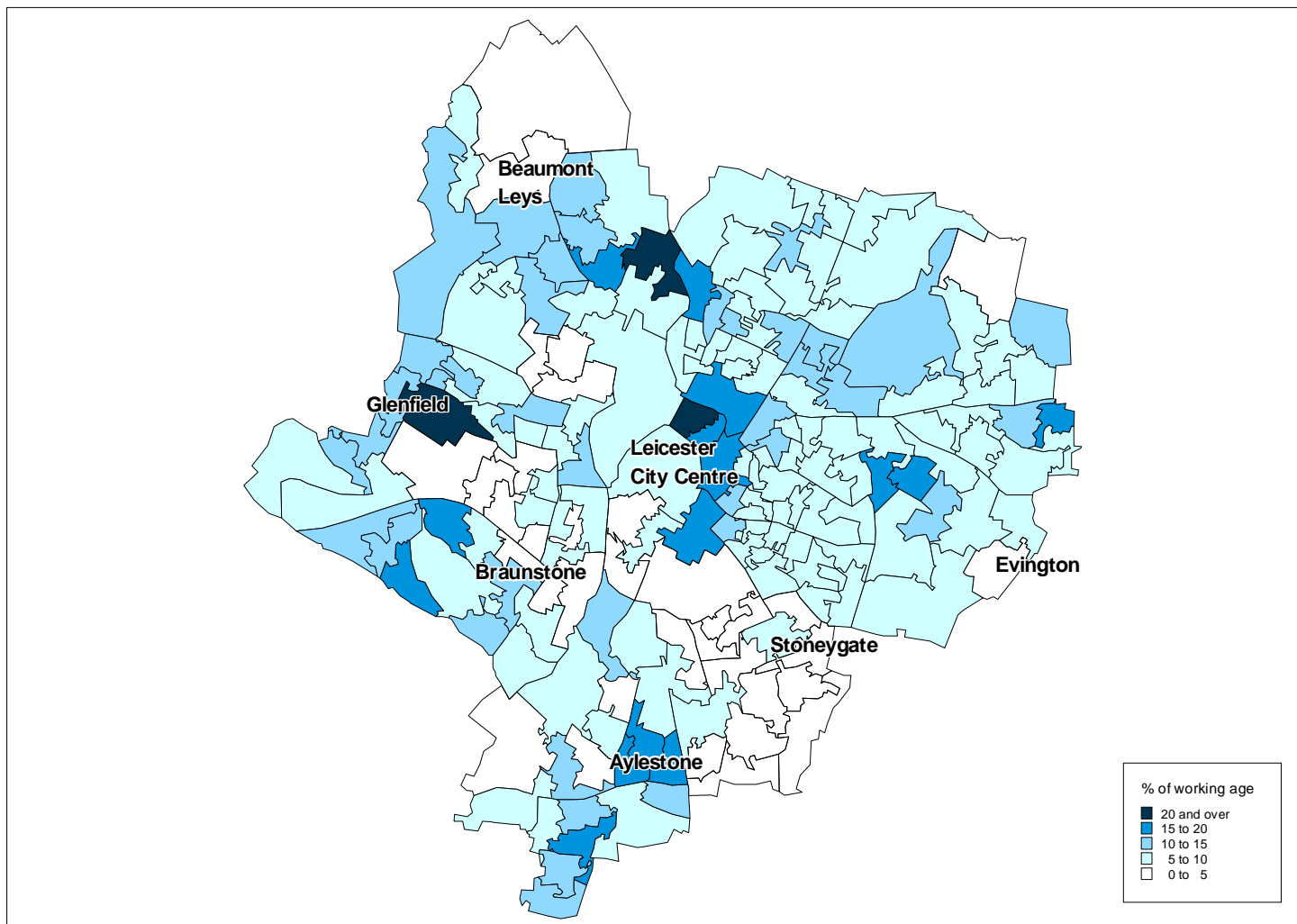
Hinckley and Bosworth: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



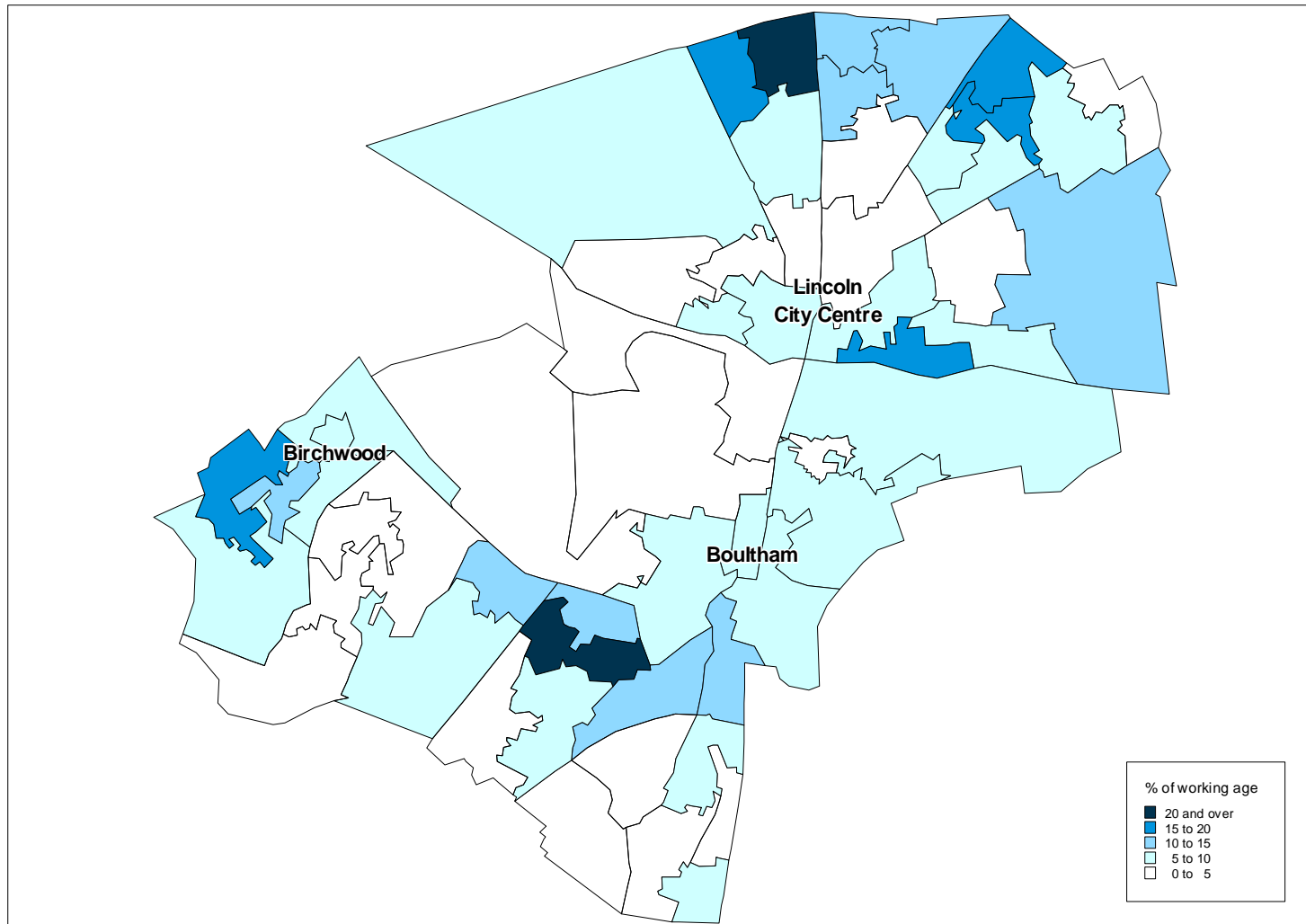
Kettering: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



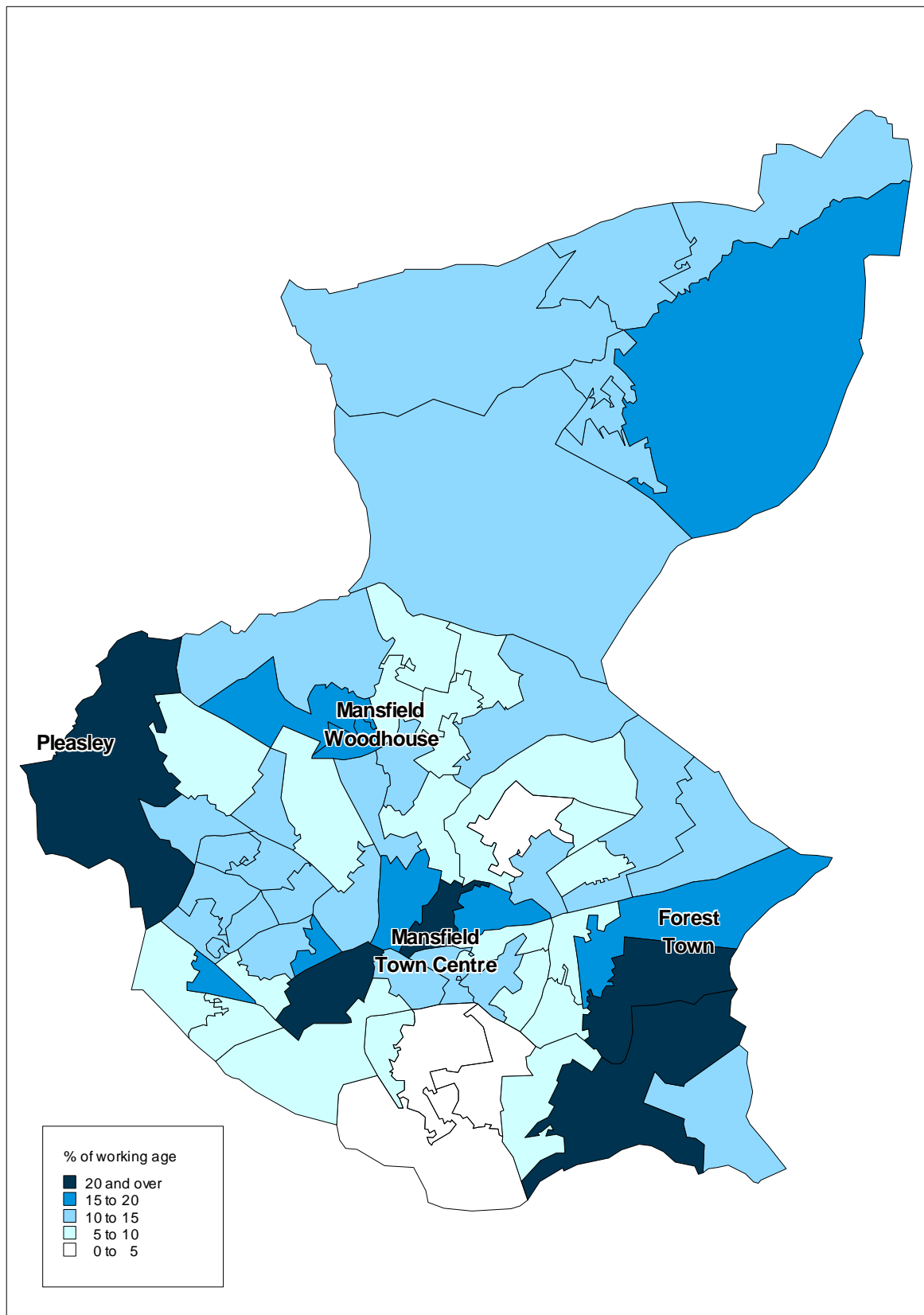
Leicester: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



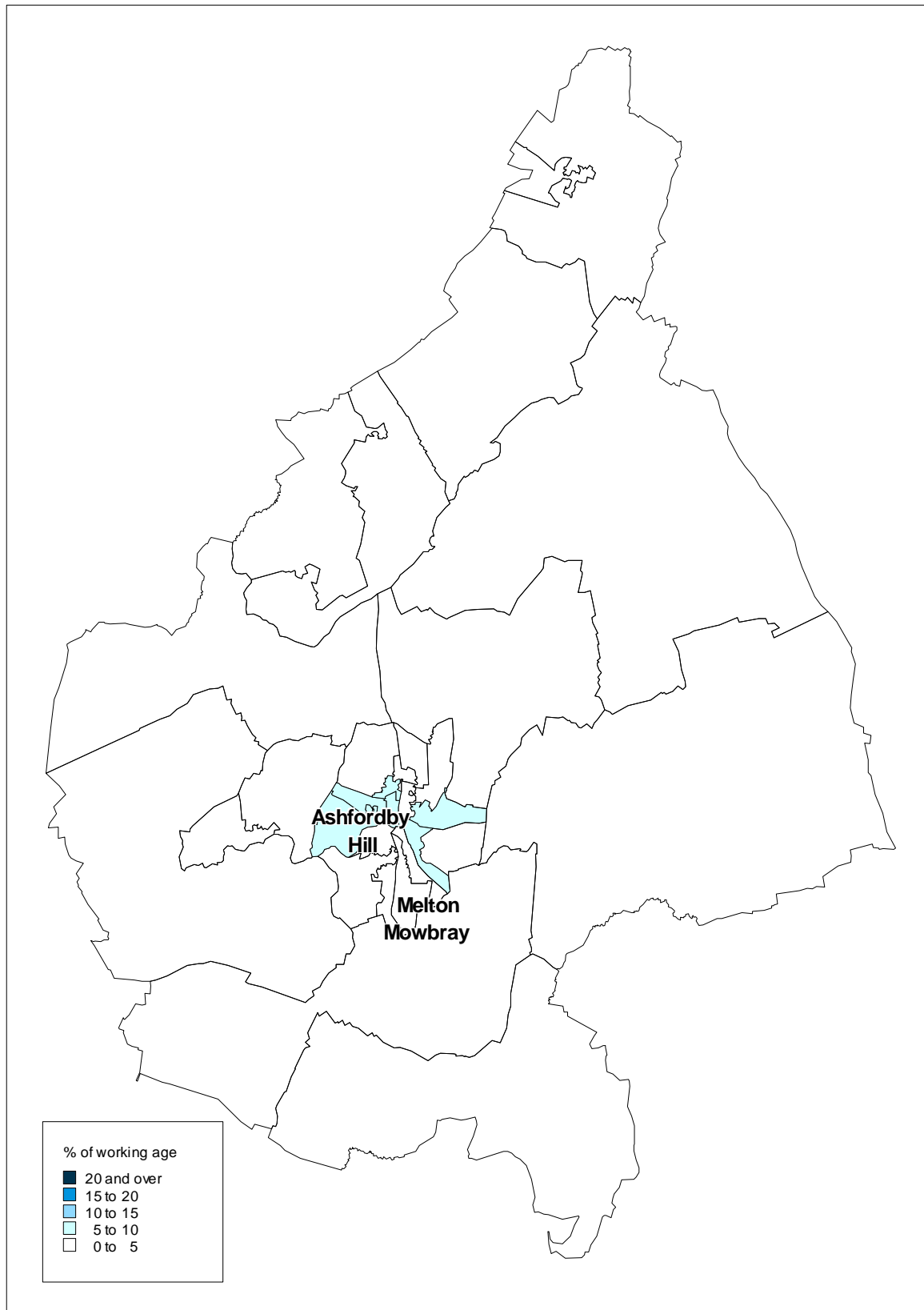
Lincoln: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



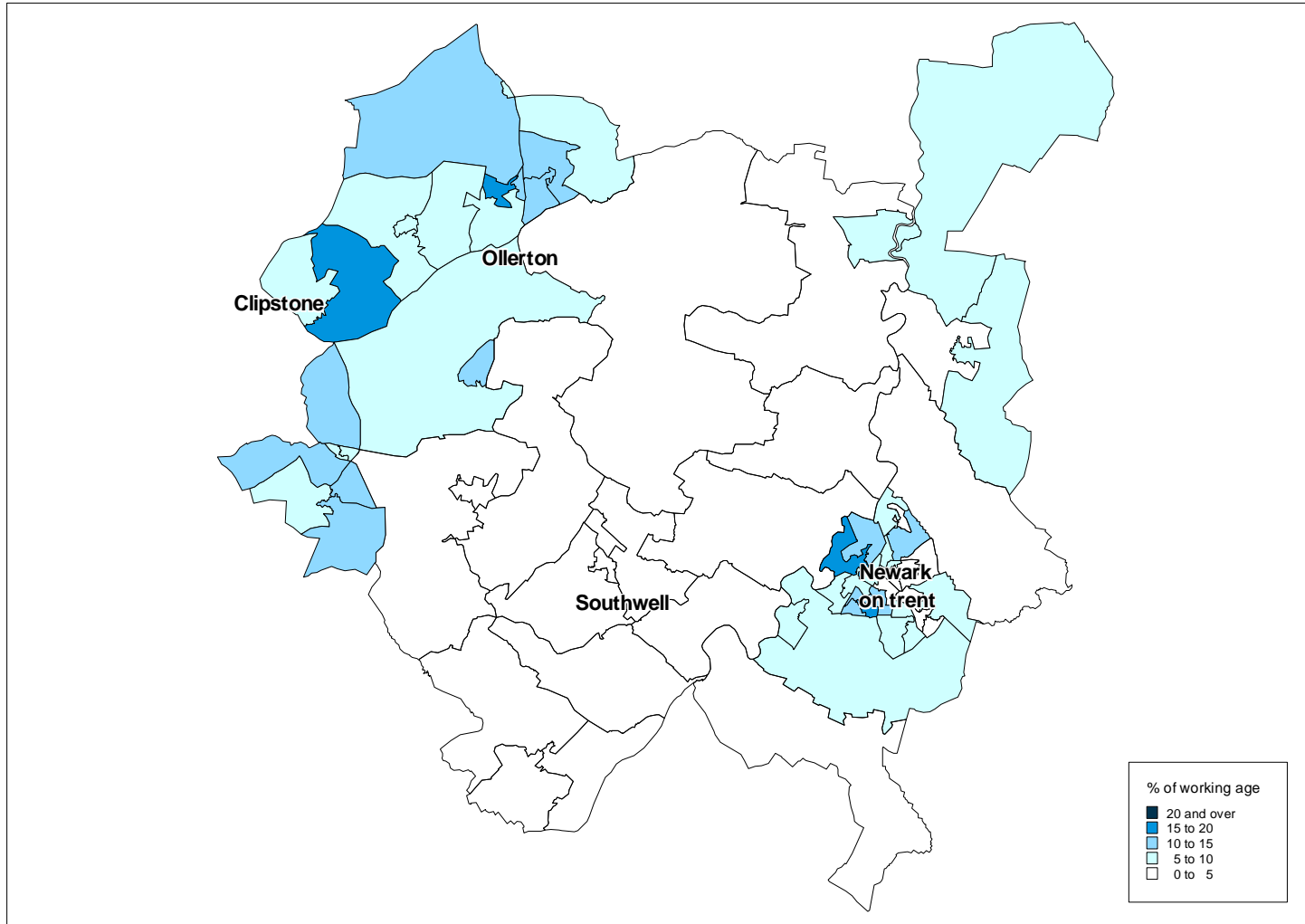
Mansfield: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



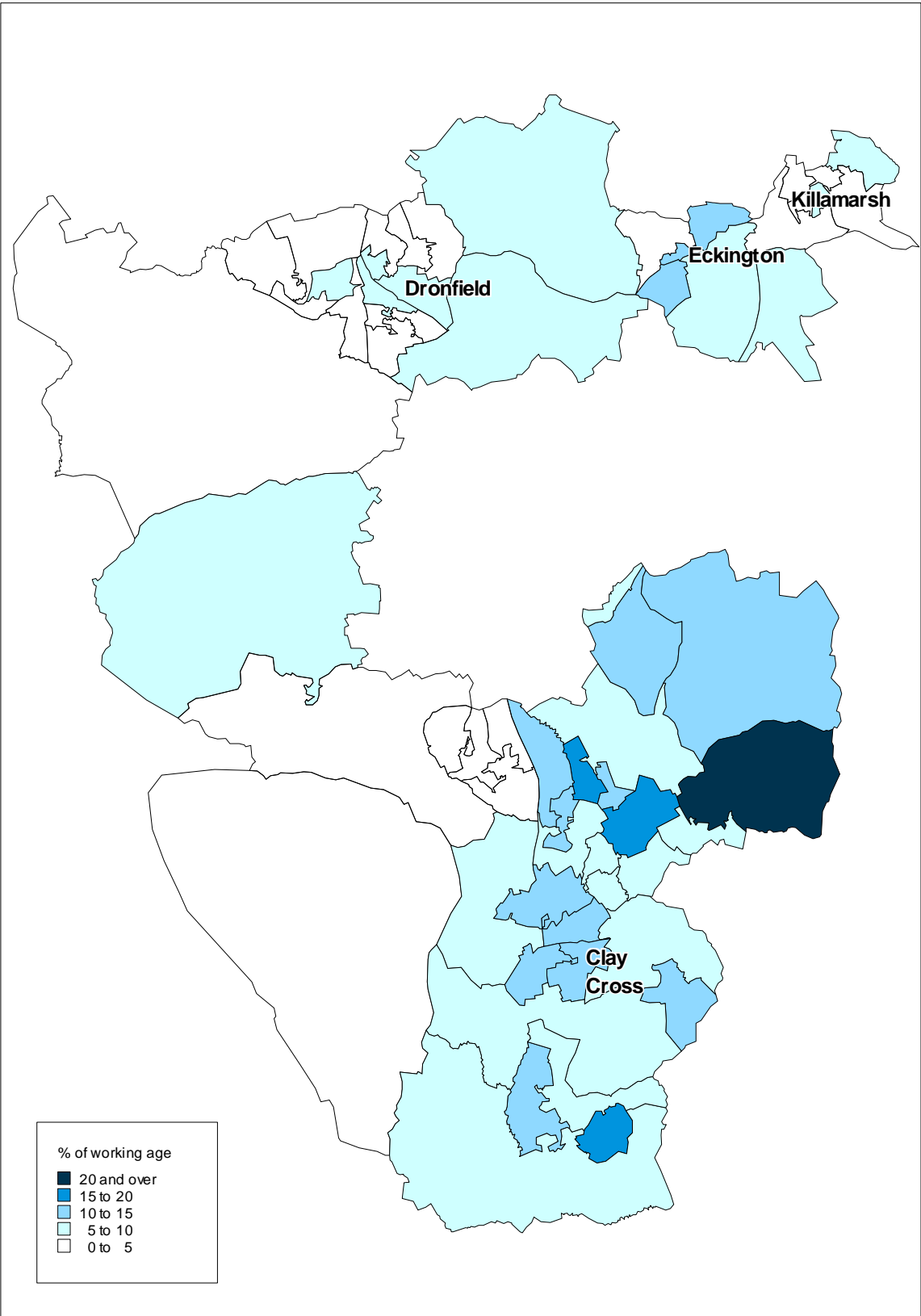
Melton: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



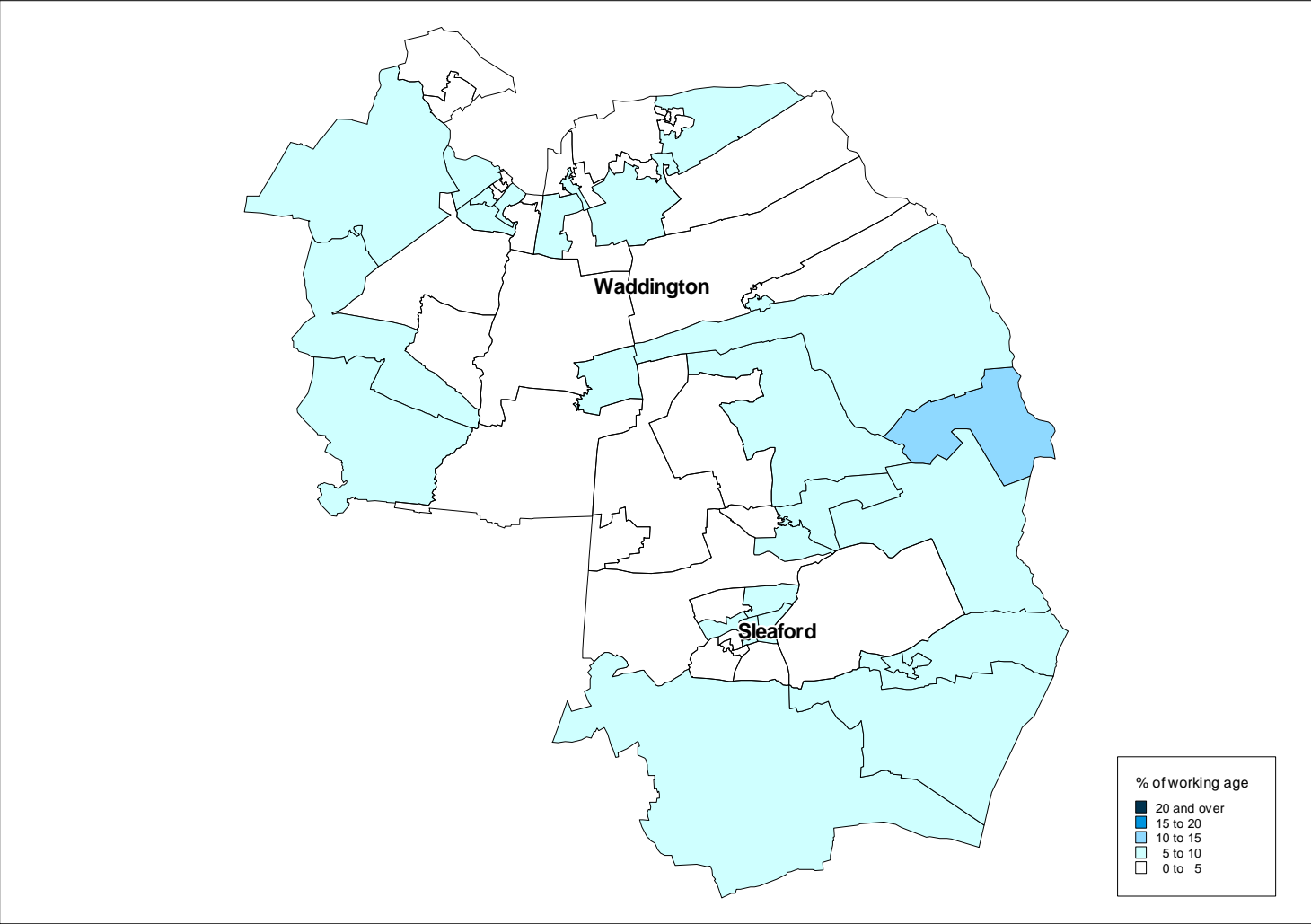
Newark and Sherwood: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



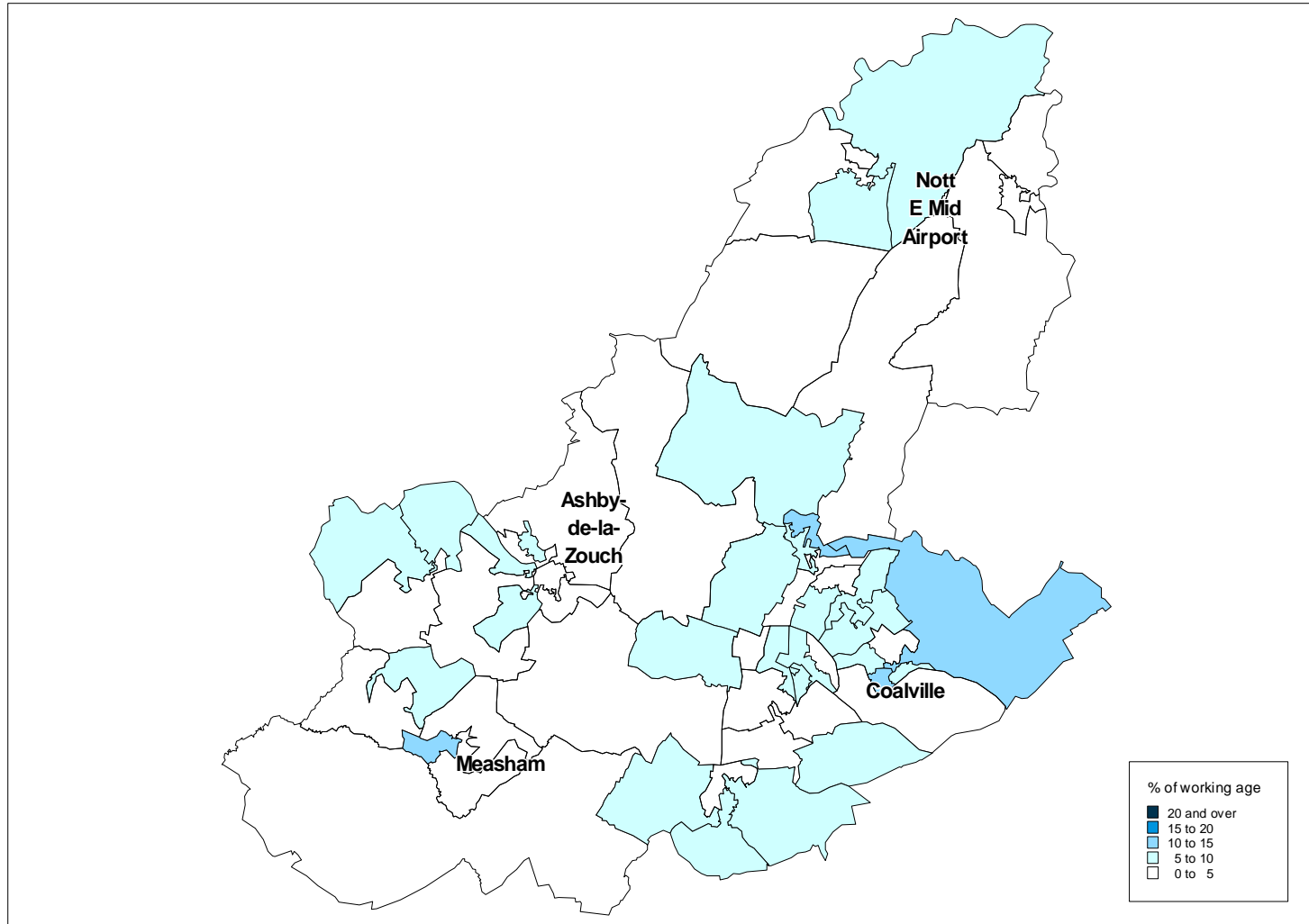
North East Derbyshire: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



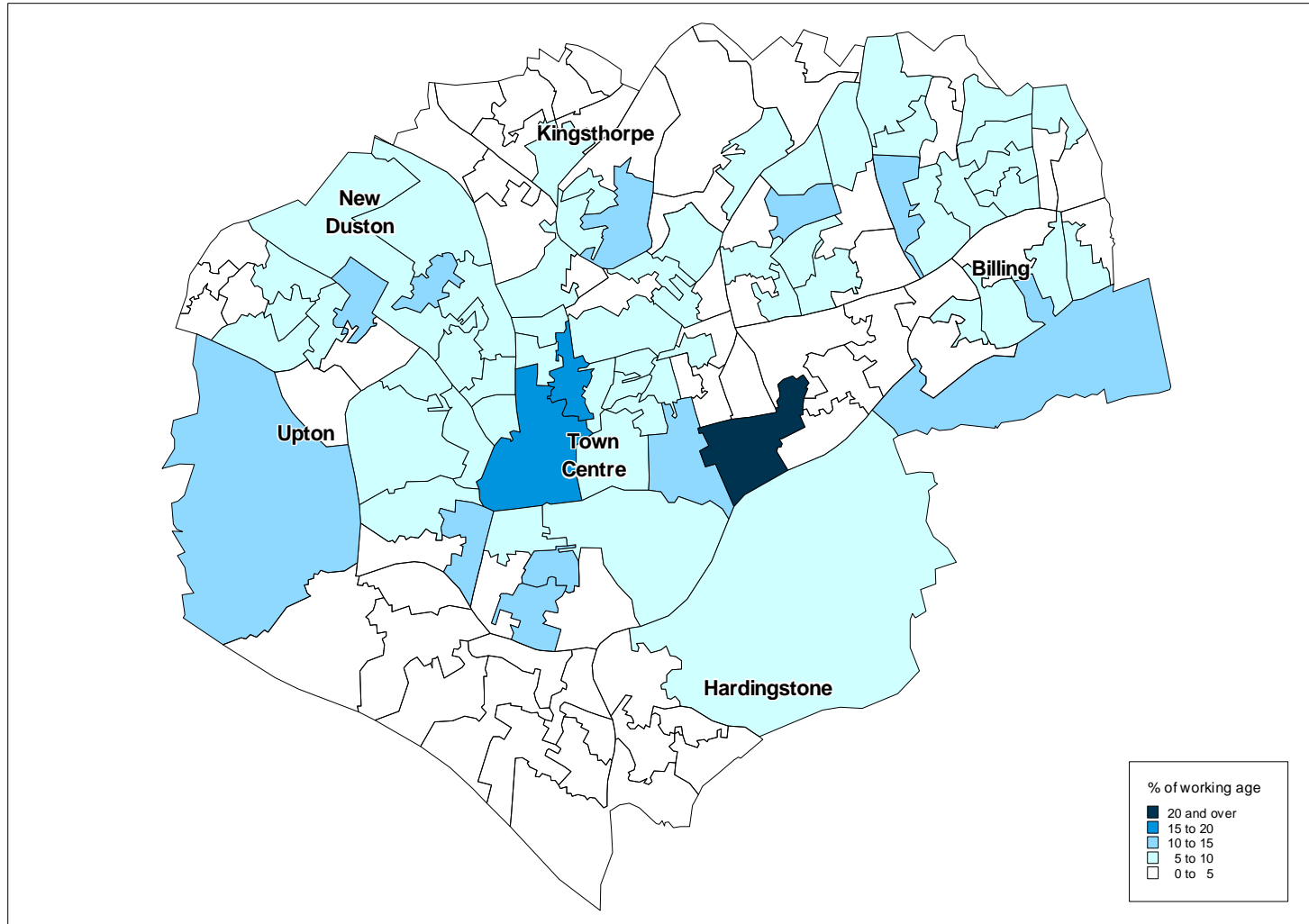
North Kesteven: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



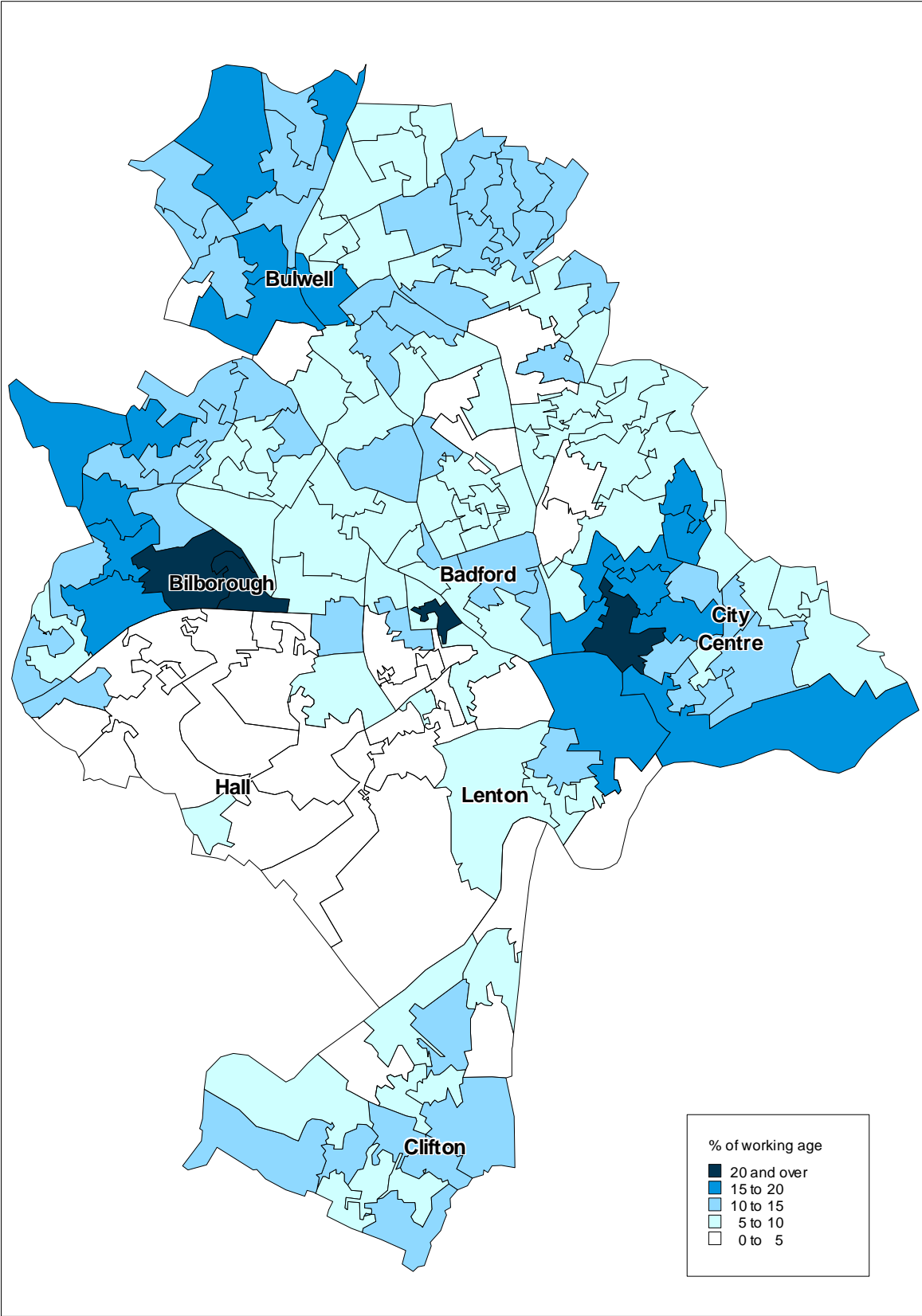
North West Leicestershire: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



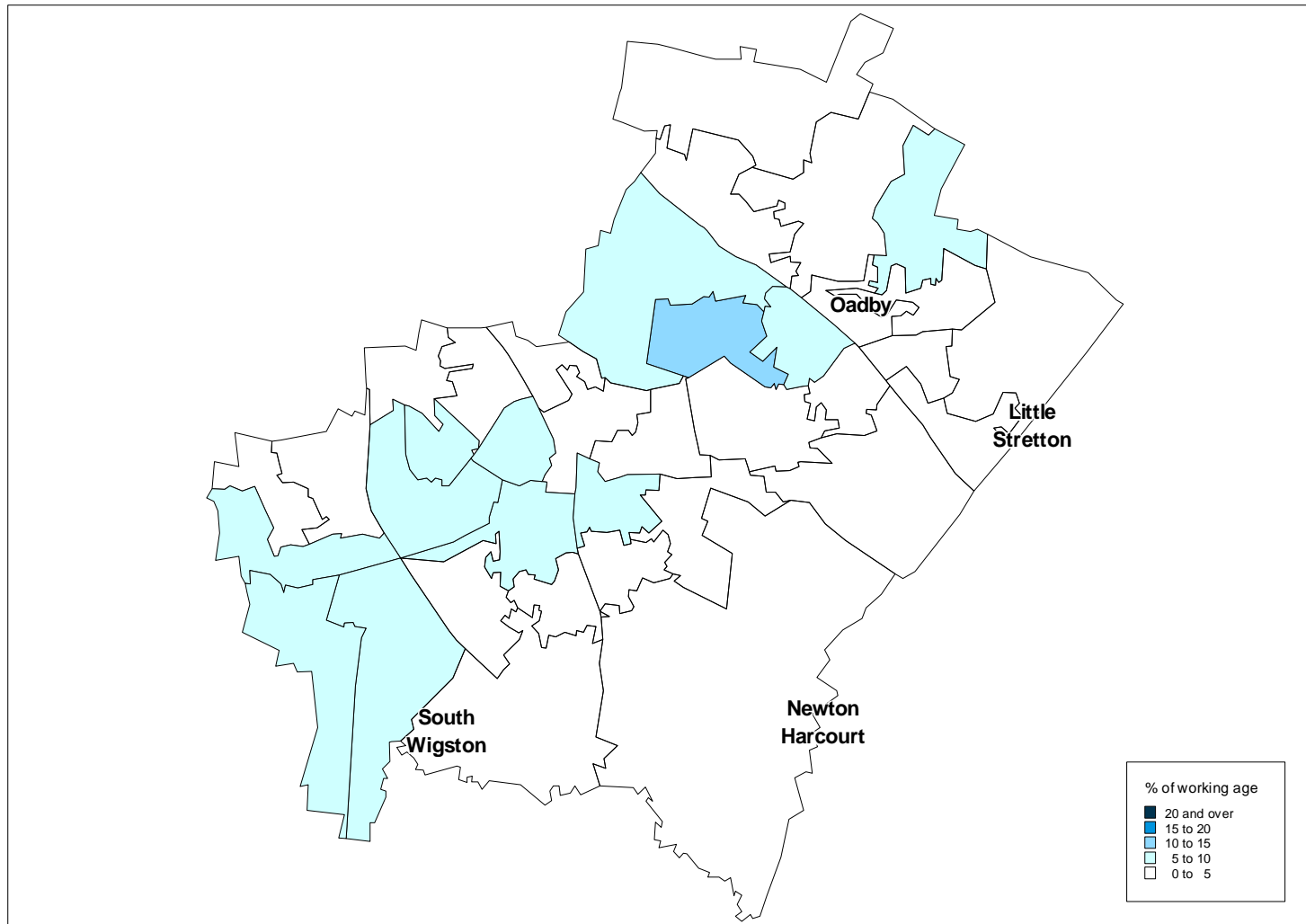
Northampton: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



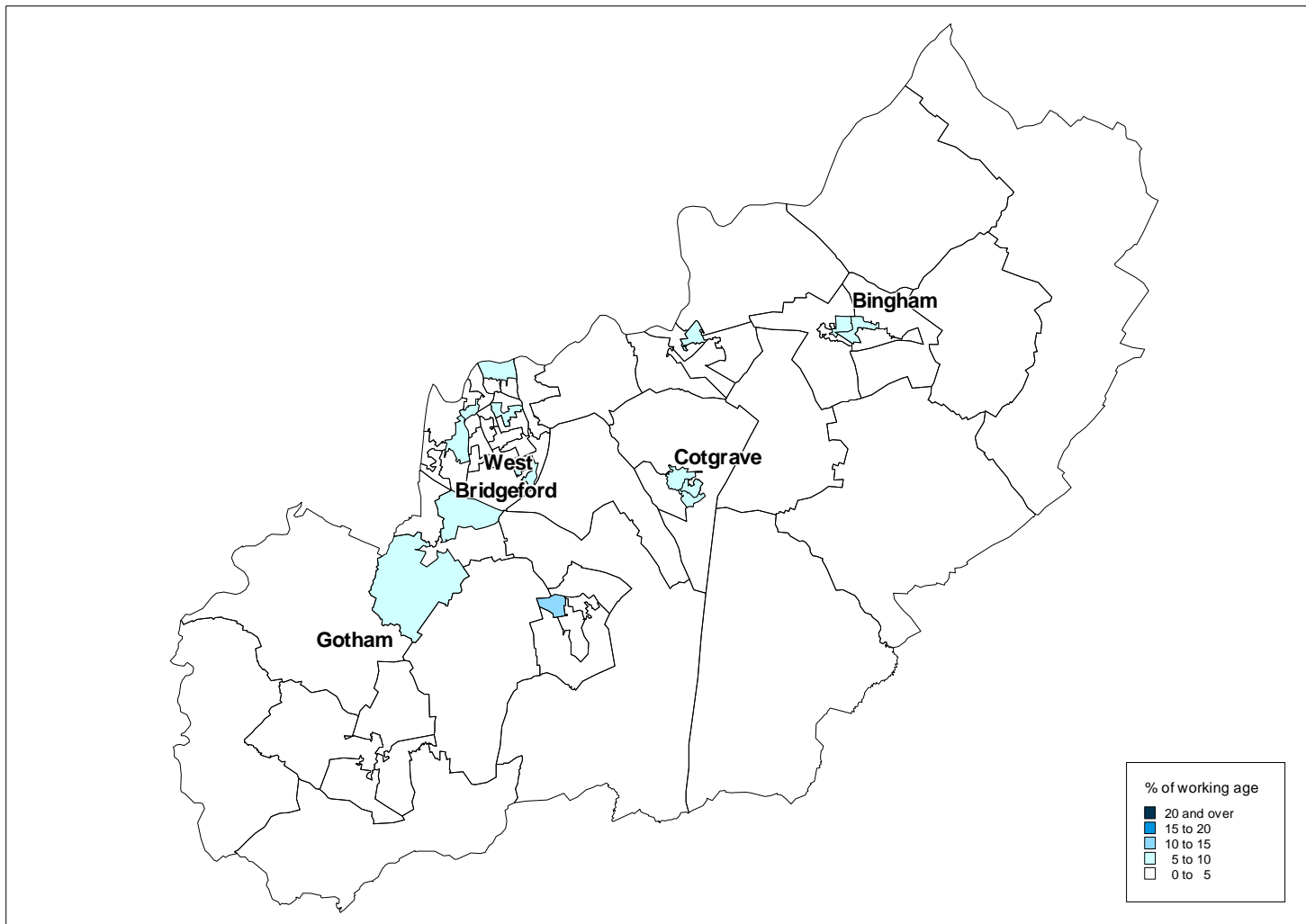
Nottingham: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



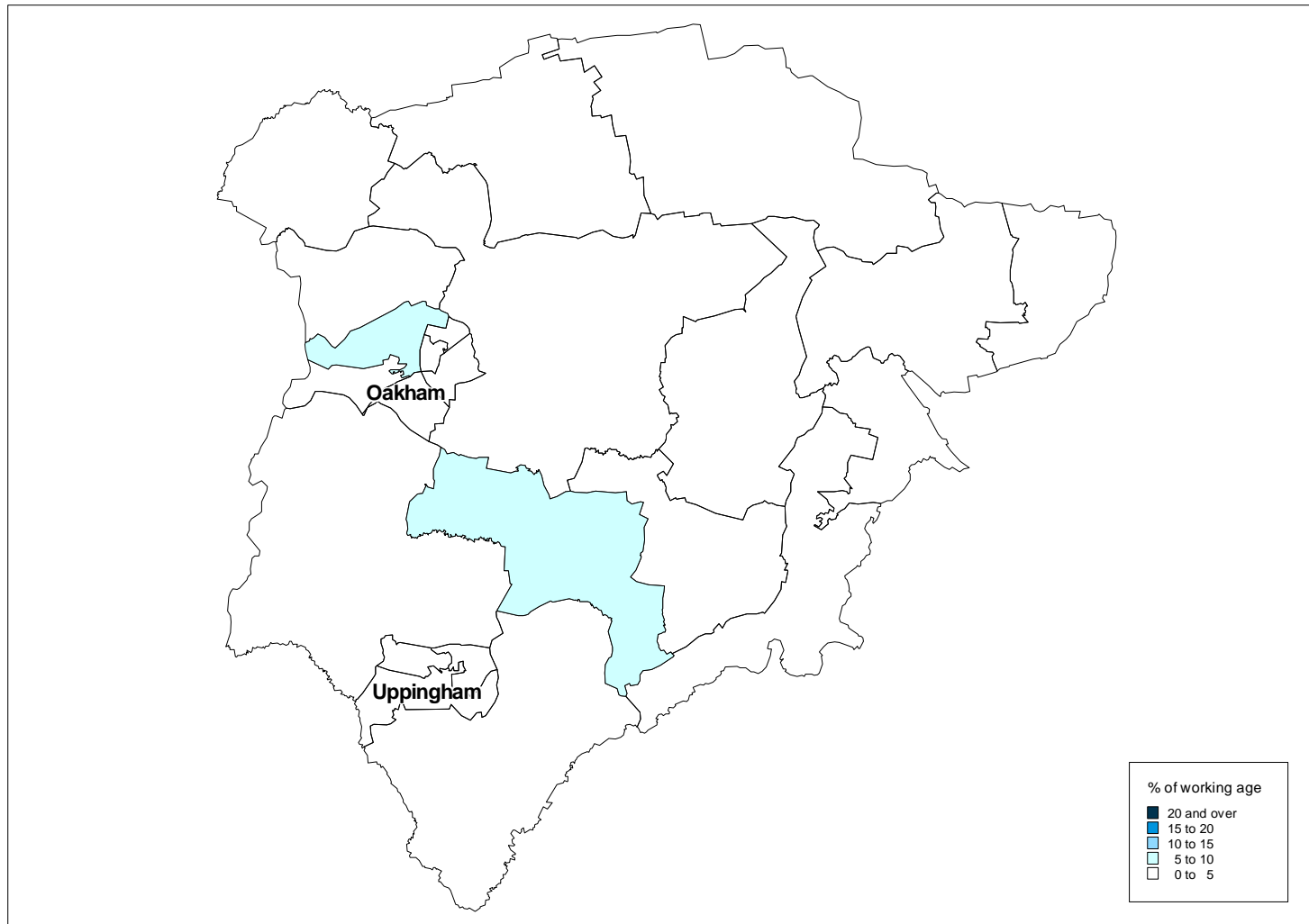
Oadby and Wigston: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



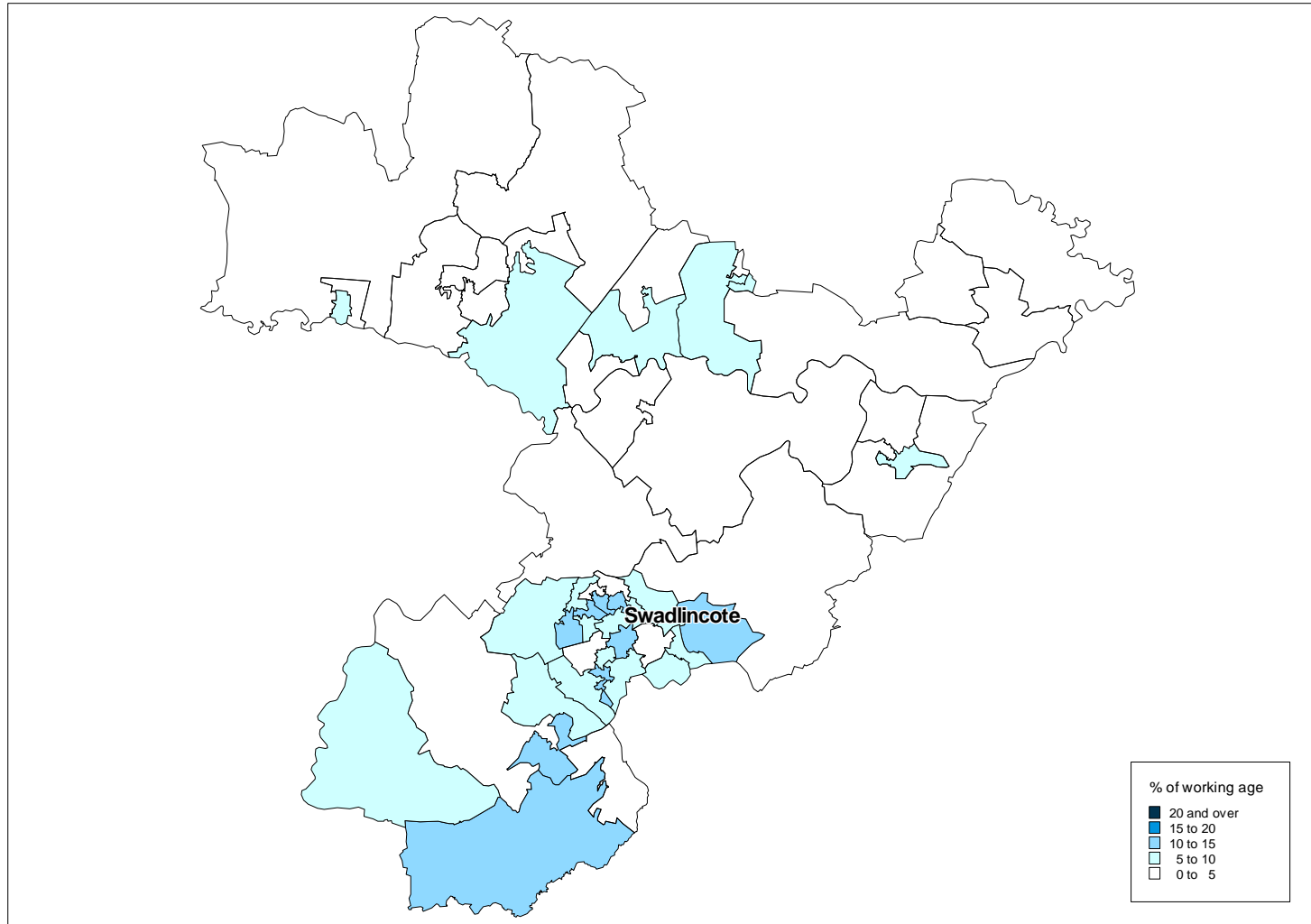
Rushcliffe: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



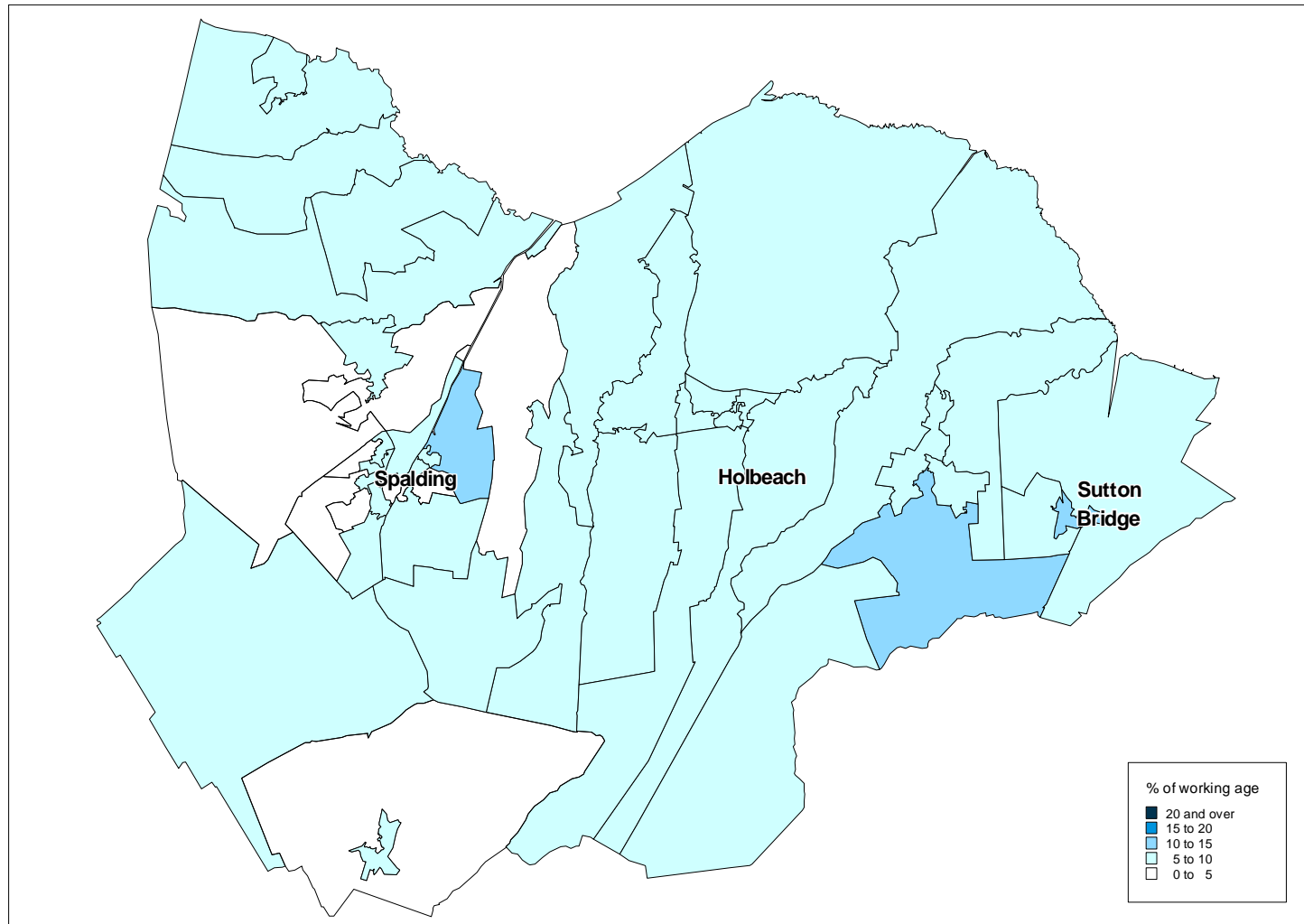
Rutland: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



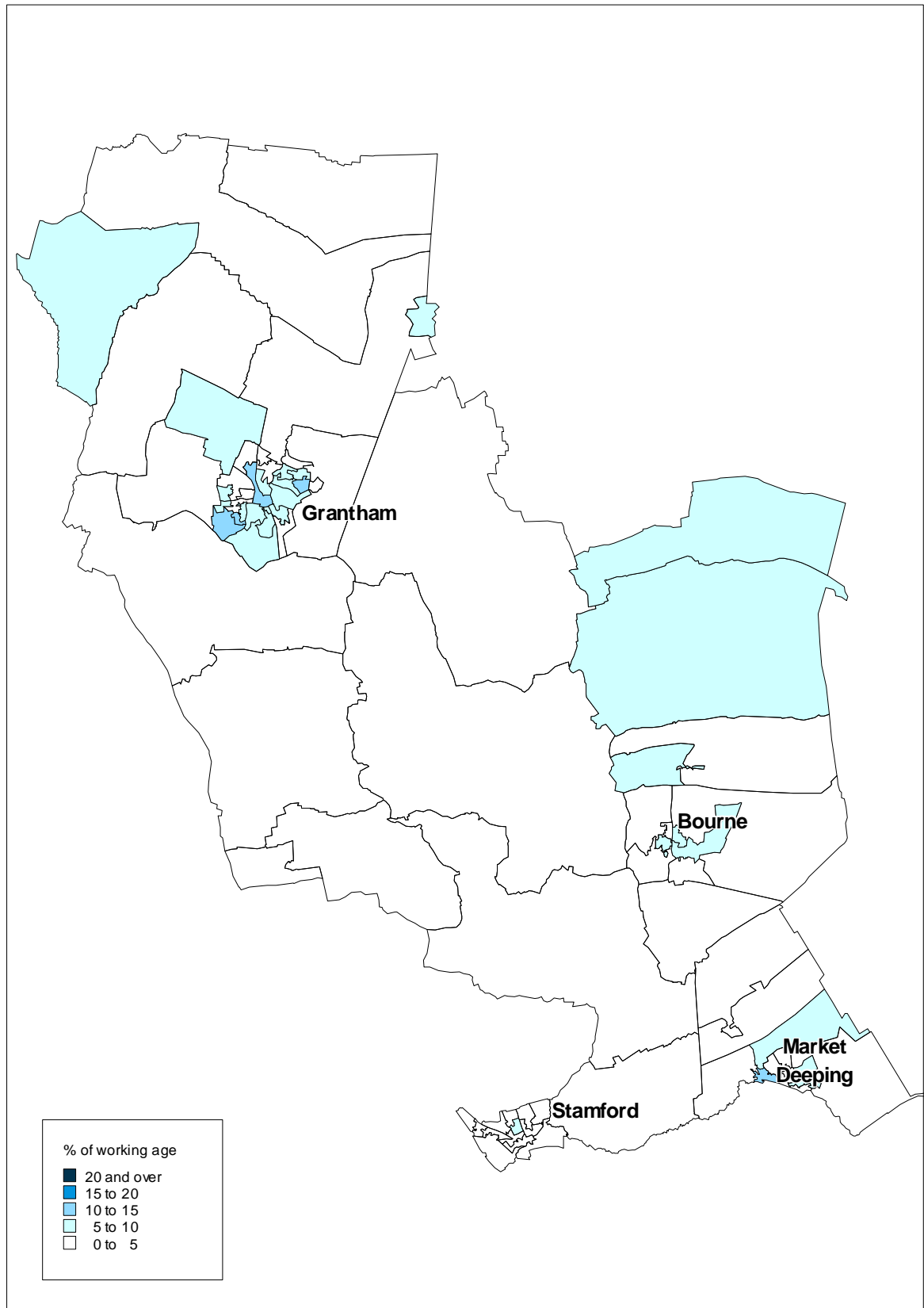
South Derbyshire: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



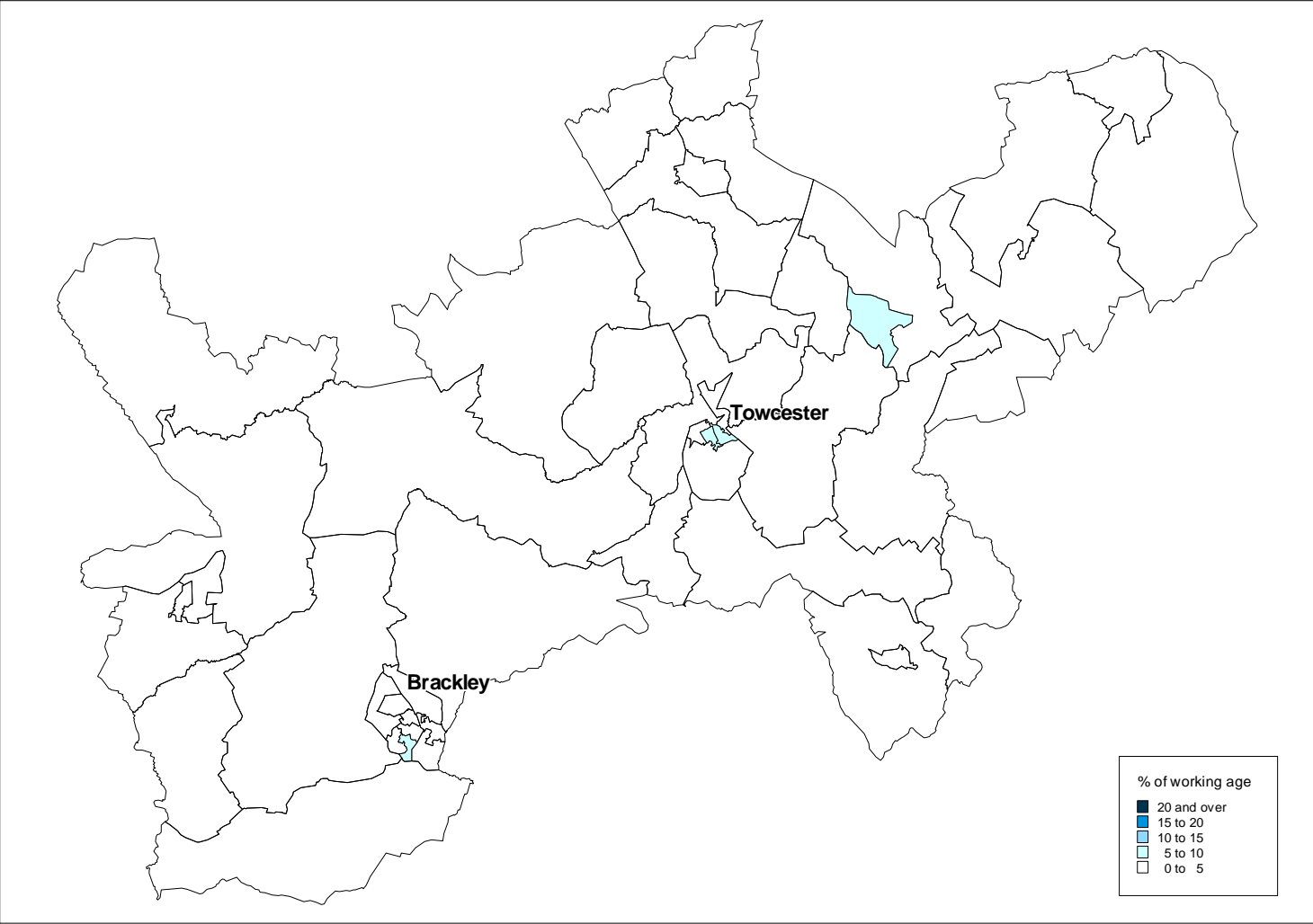
South Holland: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



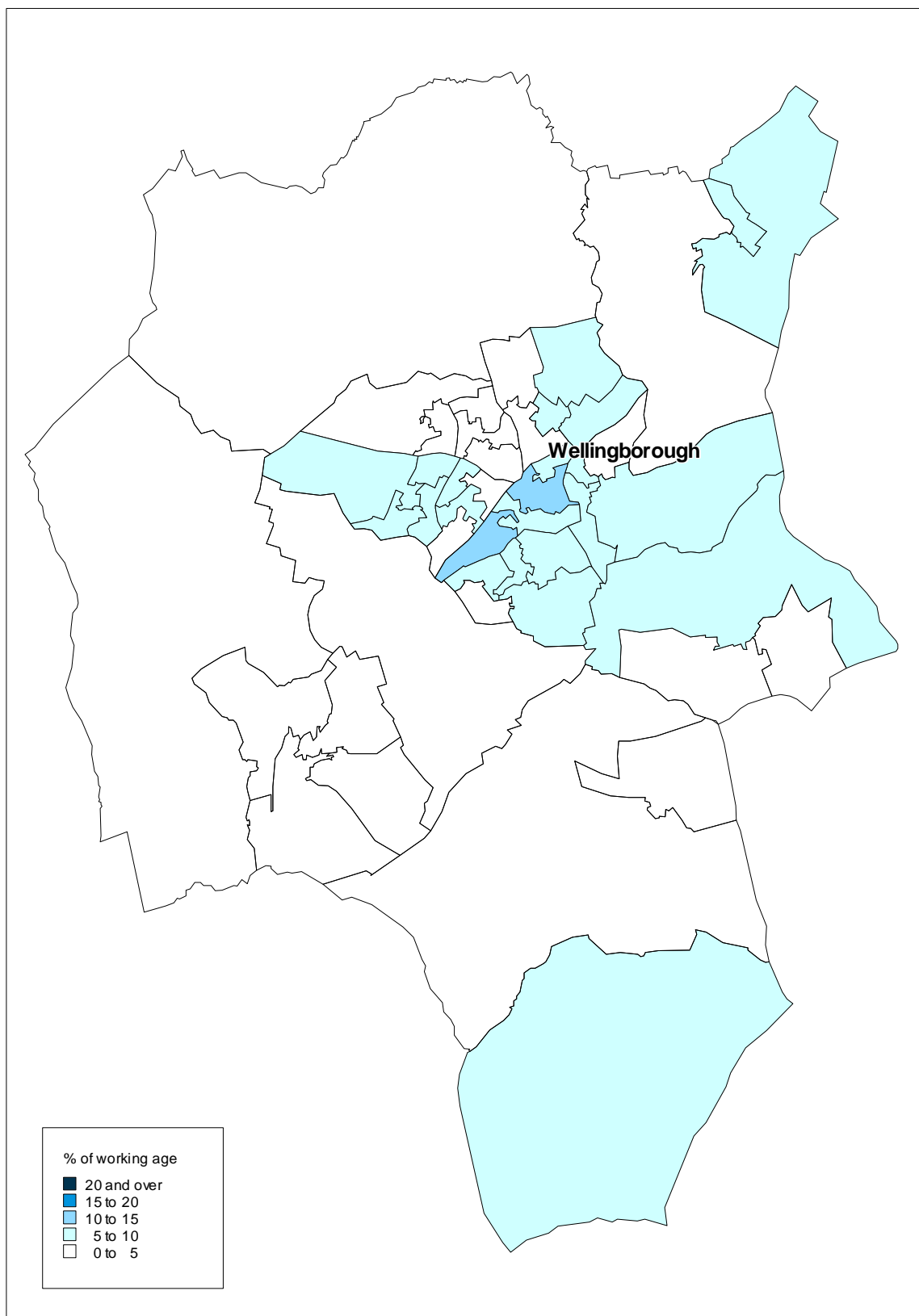
**South Kesteven: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area,
May 2007**



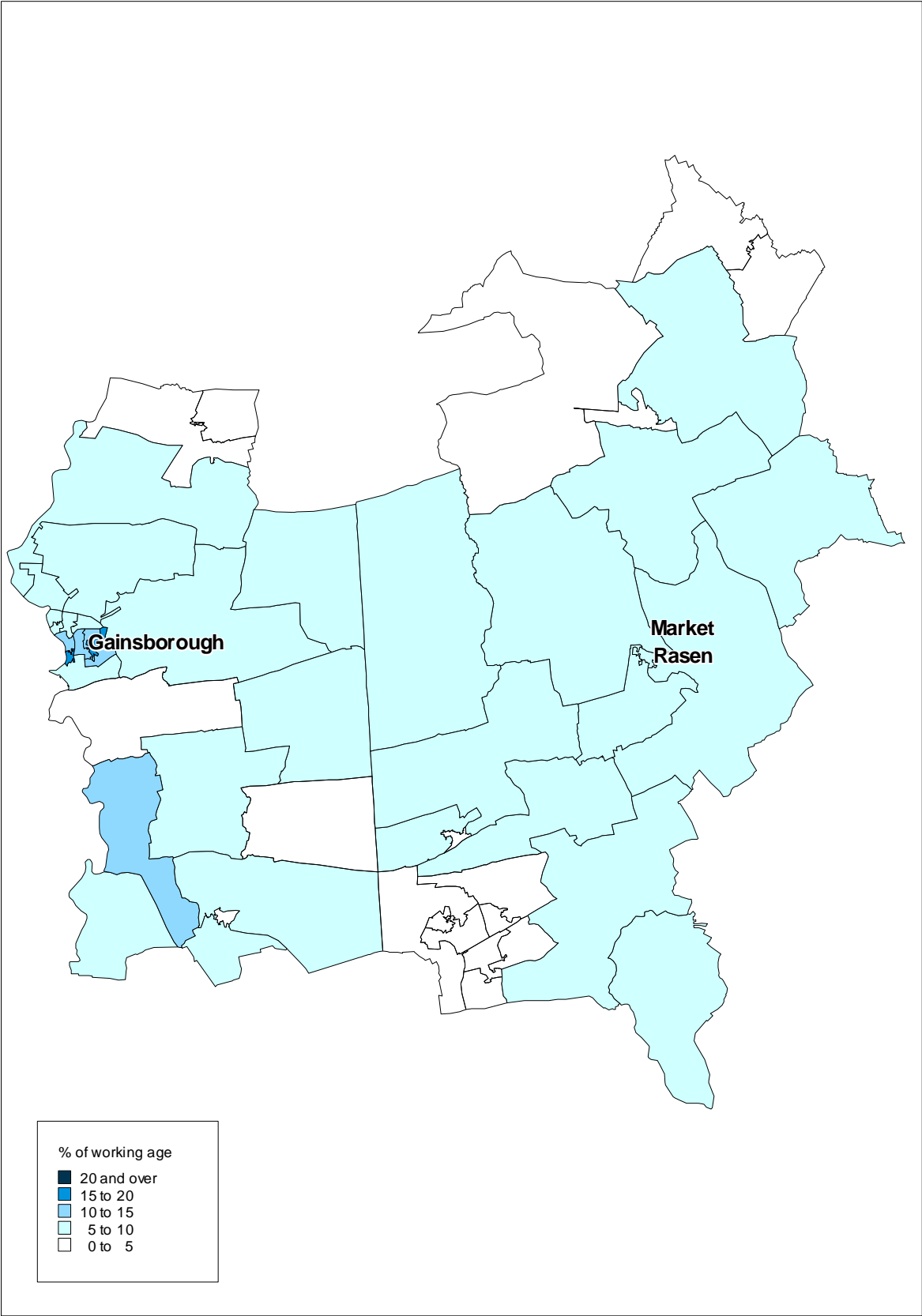
South Northamptonshire: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



Wellingborough: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area, May 2007



**West Lindsey: Incapacity Claimant Rates by Lower Super Output Area,
May 2007**



Incapacity claimants in the East Midlands

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