

Is the Work Programme Working for Single Parents?

An Analysis of the Experience of Single Parents on the Work Programme

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SPAN is a Bristol based charity with a national reach. SPAN works with single parents living in poverty to improve their lives. SPAN has a membership of over two thousand including both single parents' organisations and individual single parents. SPAN has a family and study centre that offers support and training including help for parents returning to work (with access to an Ofsted registered crèche). SPAN has an online forum 'One Space' (with 30,000 unique visitors a month) offering support and online learning. SPAN also carries out research, in 2012 publishing longitudinal research in collaboration with the University of the West of England looking at the experience of single parents transferring to job seeking benefits (http://issuu.com/spanbristol/docs/span_jsa_report_web).

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Oxfam works all over the world, including in the UK, to overcome poverty by developing projects with people living in poverty to improve their lives. Oxfam funded and supported SPAN's work with single parents on the Work Programme, including our online support work and the Analysis Report. Single parent families are twice as likely as non-single parent families to live in poverty (nine out of ten are women) and face particular disadvantages in the labour market. This Analysis will be used to influence policy to improve the services provided to single parents on the Work Programme. By improving these services and helping single parents move into sustainable employment it would be possible to make a difference in addressing their poverty. Oxfam is a registered charity in England and Wales (no 202918) For more information visit www.oxfam.org.uk/uk

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Executive Summary

The Work Programme was introduced in June 2011 for the longer term unemployed: job seekers aged 18-24 who have been on Jobseeker's Allowance for over 9 months or aged over 25 after 12 months are transferred onto the Work Programme. Government statistics show that single parents fare worse than job seekers overall on the Work Programme at moving into sustainable employment. This analysis explores the experience of single parents on the Work Programme, provides insight into why it is less effective for this group and how the services need to change if it is to be more effective at moving single parents into sustainable work.

Evidence is drawn from interviews with 16 single parents from across England with different Work Programme providers. SPAN found that the responsibilities that single parents had to their children made it harder for them to comply with the requirements of the Work Programme and made it more difficult for them to engage in training opportunities. This put them at a disadvantage to other job seekers exposing them to a greater risk of sanction. SPAN also found a lack of provision for the children of single parents on the Work Programme. Examples include the lack of paid childcare and insufficient concern to protect children's wellbeing.

SPAN have identified six key themes from the interviews:

1. Limited detail about the minimum standards and services offered on the Work Programme;
2. Insufficient clarity over the rules that single parents are required to abide by including varying application of Lone Parent Flexibilities and unrealistic Jobseeker's Agreements;
3. Inconsistent practices in relation to the needs of children;
4. Limited training opportunities;
5. A lack of flexible and part-time employment; and
6. Poor communication and application of the public sector equality duty in relation to gender equality.

SPAN proposes recommendations for change with the potential to improve the Work Programme service for single parents and their children. These recommendations are drawn from the lessons learnt from the poor and good practice of providers and from what single parents suggested would help them move into work. Change is needed in three key ways; first in Government policy, second in the way the Work Programme is delivered to single parents and thirdly in how the Work Programme is subjected to external scrutiny.

1) Changes to Government Policy towards single parents

- Support the Government Review of conditionality and sanctions but in addition press for them to keep clearer figures on sanctions for single parents on the Work Programme;

- The protection of children’s wellbeing should be explicit in the contracts of Work Programme providers;
- The Government should look at the effectiveness of job seeking services offered to single parents and reinstate the provision of specialist lone parent support;
- Re-examination of the work first agenda;
- Provide additional financial support for single parents on the Work Programme including covering childcare costs and additional training needs; and
- Improve the availability of better quality part-time and flexible employment.

2) Practical changes to the day-to-day delivery of the Work Programme

This would involve working with the Department for Work and Pensions including securing their commitment to update their Advisor Guidance and Work Programme Provider Guidance to help change the day-to-day practice in how the Work Programme is delivered to single parents.

- Provide clear information to single parents about the services offered under the Work Programme;
- Make the rights of children including protecting their wellbeing key to the way services are designed;
- Improve opportunities to train including refresher training and training above the basic level;
- Provide tailored specialist support including the provision of lone parent specialists; and
- Ensure that Jobseeker’s Agreements or Claimant Commitments are realistic and achievable reflecting the single parents dual responsibility to also care for their children.

3) Improve external scrutiny in the way the Work Programme is delivered to single parents

- The Children’s Commissioner for England should examine the compliance with the legal protections for children in the provision of Work Programme services.
- The Equality and Human Rights Commission should re-examine their Inquiry into the Department for Work and Pensions compliance with the Equality duty and look at the contracted services under the Work Programme for single parents.

With welfare changes 400,000 single parents have moved onto job seeking benefits since 2008 (dependent on the age of their youngest child) and yet the employment rate for single parents has only risen 2% from 57% in 2008 to 59% in 2013. Since 2012 a single parent whose youngest child has reached five years of age must look for work as a condition of receiving benefits (79% of single parents on Jobseekers Allowance have a child aged eleven years or younger)

Evidence from our interviews show how services are not routinely designed to address the needs of single parents and their children and this in itself is acting as a barrier to parents moving into sustainable employment.

Politicians and policy makers are eager for back to work services, including the Work Programme, to work better for single parents as an effective programme would relieve poverty and reduce welfare costs.

Urgent Government action is needed to improve the services for single parents to help them move into work that can financially support their families whilst also protecting the wellbeing of their children. SPAN's analysis report provides timely insight into why the Work Programme is less effective for single parents and how the services need to improve if it is to become more successful at helping single parents move into sustainable work. Change is needed to address this inequality but also to counter the current inefficiency of the services on offer.

Background

In March 2012 the Single Parent Action Network (SPAN) published an analysis looking at the experience of single parents on their transfer to the Work Programme¹. SPAN wanted to see whether on transfer to the Work Programme services were tailored to the needs of single parents and their children. SPAN concluded that overall single parents were left disappointed, as there was variable support for their needs and little account taken of their role to also care for their children. The earlier analysis was carried out when the Work Programme was in its infancy, SPAN now wanted to see whether things had improved and how single parents fared not just at transfer but in the longer term.

The first Government statistics on the effectiveness of the Work Programme were published in November 2012. The figures show that single parents are a significant user group on the Work Programme making up 7.4% (62,333) of all attachments between June–July 2012². In terms of long-term employment outcomes, single parents do worse than jobseekers overall. Out of the 31,240 job seekers who have moved into longer-term work 1,650 were single parents (3.7% for all clients compared to 2.7% for single parents)³. SPAN knows from the day-to-day interaction with single parents in Bristol and from posts on our national online forum 'One Space' that there are many concerns raised about the services offered to single parents on the Work Programme. SPAN wanted to interview single parents to examine more systematic evidence as to the longer term experience of single parents on the Work Programme.

To gather evidence SPAN interviewed single parents from across England. This report draws together the findings from the interviews. The interviews also gave single parents an opportunity to say what they thought of the services and how they could be improved to help them move into sustainable employment. The effectiveness of the Work Programme for some user groups including single parents continues to be a concern for parliamentarians. The Work and Pensions Committee set up an inquiry examining why some user groups fared worse on the Work Programme. SPAN provided written evidence⁴ to the Committee and was subsequently invited to give oral evidence about single parents experience of the Work Programme (drawn from our interviews) with suggestions for positive change.⁵

The Work Programme is not currently working well for single parents at either moving them into sustainable work or accommodating their need to care for their children. The single parents that SPAN work with and those that we interviewed were keen to move into work and wanted the Work Programme to help them do so. Politicians and policy makers are also keen for the Work Programme to work better for single parents. This analysis report provides a timely insight into why the Work Programme is less effective for this group and how the services need to change if it is to be more successful.

Single parents on job seeking benefits

There are 2 million single parents (9 out of 10 are women). The majority are already in employment (59%)⁶ although the progress into employment is considered too slow. Both the previous and current Government has wanted to further increase the number of single parents in employment. The aim of this policy has been to try to lift single parents out of poverty through work and in recent years reduce welfare expenditure. Since 2008, 400,000⁷ single parents have moved from Income Support to job seeking requirements. Since May 2012 single parents whose youngest child reaches 5 years of age have to look for work as requirement of their entitlement to benefit. 79% of single parents on Jobseekers Allowance have a child aged eleven years or younger⁸.

The Work Programme

The Work Programme was introduced in June 2011 and replaced a number of Government funded schemes designed to help long-term unemployed people get into work such as the New Deal for Lone Parents. Job seekers aged 18-24 who have been on Jobseeker's Allowance for over 9 months or aged over 25 after 12 months are transferred onto the Work Programme.

The Work Programme is delivered for Jobcentre Plus by specialist organisations mostly large private companies called prime contractors. Prime contractors do not necessarily deliver services themselves, but subcontract to providers. Providers 'take care' of the Jobseeker's Allowance claimant and should support them through the job seeking process. Single parents will have contact with the providers. Providers are paid on a payment-by-results basis, with larger payments available for finding sustainable employment for people who are considered harder to help. Single parents as a user group under the Work Programme do not attract any additional funding over and above a standard job seeker.

The Work Programme was designed as a 'black box' contract with minimum service delivery standards so that providers are given the freedom to determine the most effective approach to move a jobseeker into work (without Government prescription). The policy aim was that providers could be innovative in how they deliver services and could use their funds creatively. Jobseekers on the Work Programme are meant to get tailored support to address needs and circumstances for a period of up to two years.

What makes single parents job seeking different from others?

Within welfare legislation it is recognised that as well as being a job seeker single parents have responsibility for children. The protection of the wellbeing of children is an important issue especially as now the single parents of younger children are expected to be jobseekers. The Welfare Reform Act 2009 contains a provision to protect the wellbeing of children in relation to Jobseeker's Agreements⁹ (and this protection is included in the Welfare Reform Act 2012 Claimant Commitment). There are also Lone Parent Flexibilities to take account of

the needs of single parents to also care for their children, including a right to restrict their job search to employment with part-time hours when they have a younger child (these are currently set out in legal regulations). Unfortunately under the Welfare Reform Act 2012 the majority of Lone Parent Flexibilities, have been diluted to Advisor Guidance (issued by the Department for Work Pensions) rather than written into law. There is the risk that single parents in the future (when the Universal Credit is introduced) will have to rely even more heavily on the discretion of advisers at Jobcentre Plus and the Work Programme as to how much account is taken of the needs of their children in their job preparation and work search. There is the danger that this will cause greater confusion to single parents, lead to inconsistent practice and undermine the wellbeing of children. Without account of their parenting role there is also the possibility that single parents will move into work that is not realistic for their family circumstances (such as full-time hours and a long journey time) and that this work will be unsustainable and the parent will return to unemployment.

Children have their own protections in law. The UK Government is committed to make all laws, policy and practice compatible with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and these apply to contracted services on their behalf. Articles 3 and 18 in the Convention have particular relevance for the dependent children of single parents who are on job seeking benefits. Article 3 of the Convention states “In all actions concerning children ... the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration” and Article 18 of the Convention states Governments “shall render appropriate assistance to parents and legal guardians in the performance of their child-rearing responsibilities” in order to protect children’s rights. These Articles should provide some protection for the dependent children of single parents to make sure that any adviser instructions (for instance at the Work Programme) take account of the children’s individual rights and the rights of their parent to make decisions in their children’s best interests.

In addition like all public sector organisations, the Department for Work and Pensions including Jobcentre Plus and contracted services under the Work Programme are subject to the public sector equality duty¹⁰. The original race equality duty was introduced as a response to the Macpherson inquiry findings, following the murder of Stephen Lawrence, that the police and criminal justice systems had collectively failed to provide an appropriate and professional service to one section of the community. The Inquiry concluded that it was “incumbent upon every institution to ...guard against disadvantaging any section of our communities”¹¹. The subsequent public sector equality duty, set out in equality legislation, holds this principle at its core. The public sector equality duty is a positive duty. Its purpose is to ensure that the public sector design and deliver services in a way that meets the diverse needs of people and does not disadvantage any particular groups. In terms of gender equality the public sector and those contracted to provide statutory services on their behalf are legally obliged to have due regard to the need to eliminate unlawful discrimination and the advancement of equality of opportunity between men and women. As such services should be designed to take account of the particular needs of single parents, as the vast majority (90%) are women.

In 2009, the Equality and Human Rights Commission carried out an assessment of Jobcentre Plus functions in the Department for Work and Pensions (using their powers under section 31 of the Equality Act 2006)¹². In relation to gender they criticised Jobcentre Plus for the “...assumptions that equal treatment, will automatically lead to equal opportunity rather than acknowledging that meeting the duties will sometimes require going beyond equal treatment¹³”. Many staff thought that treating men and women the same equated with providing equal opportunities. Further work was done to improve the Department for Work and Pensions’ compliance with the duty by including staff training. In addition both the Local Employment Partnerships and Lone Parent Advisers were seen as part of the package of improving services and complying with the duty. Local Employment Partnerships are agreements between Jobcentre Plus and employers for those most disadvantaged in the labour market (single parents are highlighted as a disadvantaged group by the Department for Work and Pensions). The Equality and Human Rights Commission concluded that “the new services for lone parents are in themselves evidence that Jobcentre Plus and the Department for Work and Pensions are taking steps to promote equality of opportunity and to meet other elements of their general duty”.

As part of our interviews with single parents SPAN wanted to establish whether they thought that their circumstances as a single parent were taken into account including their need to take responsibility for at least one dependent child, as should be the case with the legal protections in welfare and other legislation. In addition SPAN wanted to establish parents’ knowledge about the public sector equality duty and whether this was having a positive impact on the way that services were being designed for single parents on the Work Programme.

Interviews and Findings

Methodology

During the second half of 2012, SPAN used national and local networks to advertise for single parents on the Work Programme who were willing to be interviewed and share their experiences. They were selected on the basis that they were a single parent who was or had been on the Work Programme, had at least one dependent child under 16 and were available to be interviewed during our interview timescale (between August and December 2012). All those who were interviewed were on or had been on Jobseeker's Allowance. The participants are not a representative sample but are drawn from different regions of England with eleven different providers. The 16 single parents were interviewed by telephone and were offered a £20 thank you shop voucher for their time. The interview schedule of questions can be found at Appendix A.

All the sixteen single parents are women; twelve from different regions in England and four were from London. The ages of the single parents' children ranged from 5-15. The time spent on the Work Programme ranged from one week to one year. Satisfaction levels with the Work Programme were low averaging 3.5 out of 10. SPAN did find some pockets of good practice and have set these out in our findings and used them as part of our recommendations for change. Only one single parent moved into work, the only parent to see a lone parent specialist on the Work Programme. More details about the single parents interviewed are set out in Appendix B including the specific single parent number, the age range of their dependent children and the list of the Work Programme providers (the organisation that provided the day to day Work Programme service to the parents).

Key Findings

The interview findings from the single parents were considered and compared. Despite the geographical spread and the different Work Programme providers SPAN identified six key themes from the interviews:

1. Limited detail about the minimum standards and services offered on the Work Programme;
2. Insufficient clarity over the rules that single parents are required to abide by including varying application of Lone Parent Flexibilities and unrealistic Jobseeker's Agreements;
3. Inconsistent practices in relation to the needs of children;
4. Limited training opportunities;
5. A lack of flexible and part-time employment opportunities; and
6. Poor communication and application of the public sector equality duty in relation to gender equality.

1) Limited detail about the minimum standards and services offered on the Work Programme

The 'black box' model for delivering the Work Programme left many single parents unclear about the minimum standards they should expect and what services they could access.

SP1 was shown a video at the first meeting of the Work Programme but was concerned that there was no one to talk to about what the service would involve. SP16 said that her induction on the Work Programme only lasted five minutes because the adviser was off sick; she was then left with an information pack but would have preferred a proper induction. SP4 was not clear about the services that she could access or the support on offer. Some single parents thought that material given to them prior to transfer or when they arrived at the Work Programme focused on the expectations for the job seeker (SP2 and SP12). Single parents were sometimes given little time to consider the documents that they were told to sign. SP5 went to a normal signing at Jobcentre Plus and was told she was transferring onto the Work Programme. Jobcentre Plus could offer her very little information about what the Work Programme would involve and how often she would have to attend. She felt under pressure to sign a four-page document authorising her transfer, which she was not allowed to take away and consider.

Some single parents found the generic support on offer unhelpful including the lack of specialist Lone Parent Advisers. Single parents had appreciated the support of Lone Parent Advisers when they had been on Income Support. This was mentioned by SP4, SP6, SP10, SP12 and SP16. Single parents thought that specialist Lone Parent Advisers had recognised that they were a parent as well as a job seeker and could help in practical ways such as calculating how much better off they would be in work. The single parent (SP13) who moved into work whilst on the Work Programme was the only single parent to receive support from a lone parent specialist (more details of the support the single parent received are

detailed later in this section). Lone Parent Advisers were also seen by the Equality and Human Rights Commission in their investigation of services to job seekers as a way of providing equality of opportunity for single parents.

The Department for Work and Pensions own commissioned research has found that there can be poor co-ordination between Jobcentre Plus and the Work Programme for all groups¹⁴. The Work and Pensions Committee Report (2013) recommends that there needs to be better relationships between Jobcentre Plus and Work Programme advisers¹⁵.

SPAN's findings showed a lack of co-ordination between Jobcentre Plus and the Work Programme as an issue for over half of the parents (8). For two parents this meant receiving no back to work support from either organisation. SP1 had one appointment in three months. The Provider cancelled her next appointment and she was not given a new appointment. SP8 was suspended from the Work Programme for being late for an appointment. For four months she was not offered any back to work support. Both parents informed Jobcentre Plus about their situation but were told they were the responsibility of the Work Programme.

Gaps in appointments left some parents feeling abandoned by the Work Programme. SP3 attends every two or three months "as they don't feel there is much they can do for me" and thought that it was very difficult to complain if you are not happy with what you are being offered. SP12 and SP16 had infrequent contact with their advisers.

The single parents who had a more positive experience appreciated knowing what the Work Programme would involve. SP13 and SP15 were given information about the Work Programme at Jobcentre Plus and details of their Provider. SP15 was then given more information at an induction meeting at the Work Programme. SP9 appreciated knowing about the support that would be on offer such as revising her CV and practical support such as clothes and shoes for interviews and paying for fares to get her to interviews. It was positive where single parents were offered an interview before transfer. For instance, before moving over to the Work Programme SP12 had an interview with her Lone Parent Adviser at Jobcentre Plus and agreed a new Jobseeker's Agreement to take account of her caring responsibilities.

For three of the single parents the flexibility around support and attendance at the Work Programme was positive. SP13 valued the support she was given by her "really brilliant adviser". She was the only single parent interviewed that saw a lone parent specialist at the Work Programme, someone who she thought understood her needs to work and to have time to care for her child. Her appointments were every two weeks because it was recognised that she knew what she was doing. The Provider then gave her substantial practical support including sending out flyers for her and paying membership of a regulatory body for her qualification to help her move into work. They also paid her train fare to attend a job interview in another city.

SP15's adviser was trained in Human Resources and was really useful at helping her with her CV and referring her to appropriate agencies to find work. She had to attend once a month but was in regular email and telephone contact. The Work Programme offered more support when it was needed such as when she was going for an interview. SP5 thought her adviser was "really nice" and pointed out the Lone Parent Flexibilities open to her in her job search (which she was not made aware of at Jobcentre Plus). She was offered courses although it was made clear these were optional.

2) A lack of clarity over the rules that single parents are required to abide by including inconsistent application of Lone Parent Flexibilities and unrealistic Jobseeker's Agreements

All claimants should have a Jobseeker's Agreement, which should be applied by Jobcentre Plus and the Work Programme (this is to be replaced with a Claimants Commitment under the Welfare Reform Act 2012). A Jobseeker's Agreement sets out the activities that someone has agreed to do to prepare and find work. The Jobseeker's Agreement should also reflect any restrictions on someone's job preparation and job search to reflect their caring responsibilities. The Jobseeker's Agreement should transfer with the single parent when they move onto the Work Programme. For single parents the restrictions are set out in Lone Parent Flexibilities. Many of these protections are for the benefit of a child to allow for them to be well looked after, such as the ability of a single parent to turn down a job where there is not suitable or affordable childcare. Jobseeker's Agreements should be written to reflect the wellbeing of the child of the single parent.

The Work Programme Providers have inherited some inconsistent practices in the application of Lone Parent Flexibilities from Jobcentre Plus. The Department for Work and Pensions' own commissioned research report (2011) found that the majority of single parents "were not aware of the specific flexibilities, a proportion had been told they were allowed to only look for work that was during school hours only (12%) or have the availability and costs of childcare taken into account when working out their availability to work (8%)"¹⁶. SPAN's interviews with single parents showed a poor understanding of the flexibilities and their application at Jobcentre Plus and the Work Programme and this was then reflected in the Jobseeker's Agreements and in the instructions given to parents.

One single parent (SP2) Jobseeker's Agreements from Jobcentre Plus states she must work the hours from the moment she drops her child off at school to the moment she picks her up, giving no account for her travel time to and from a place of work. Her Jobseeker's Agreement states she must be prepared to travel 90 minutes each way to work (despite her Jobseeker's Agreement limiting her working hours to 25 hours a week). It was common for single parents to have to specify that they are prepared to travel 90 minutes each way for a job, even where their hours of work are restricted (such as school hours) and this is written into their Jobseeker's Agreements. SP15 has never been told about flexibilities and her Jobseeker's Agreement states she must look for work with full-time hours (with two children, one under 11). Despite the young age of some of the children,

including children who had just started primary school, single parents are still having full-time hours written into their Jobseeker's Agreements either without them having a knowledge of the flexibilities or where there is that knowledge it can be imposed on their Jobseeker's Agreements without negotiation.

The Work Programme and Jobcentre Plus were sometimes inconsistent concerning the application of the Lone Parent Flexibilities (SP4 & SP6). SP4 was told by the Work Programme to apply for jobs where she would have to work Saturday and Sunday even though she has sole responsibility for her primary age child. SP6 (child at primary school) had school hours restriction written into her Jobseeking Agreement but was then told by the Work Programme that she must also apply for any jobs with full-time hours. They were insisting she apply for eight jobs a week including jobs with full-time hours with no discussion of childcare provision or how she would manage to do full-time hours. SP11 Jobseekers Agreement states that she can work part-time on weekdays and yet the only job that she has been alerted to on the Work Programme has full-time hours.

SP14 thought it would be fairer if "rules were applied equally and open to all single parents". SP14 felt she had "two people to please" in her job search. In addition she was given inconsistent messages from the two organisations. Jobcentre Plus had agreed under Lone Parent Flexibilities that she did not have to sign on during the school summer holidays in order to care for her child. She was then offered her first appointment at the Work Programme on the first day of her child's school holiday. The Work Programme insisted that she attend and she was threatened with a sanction. She decided to stand firm in order to care for her child and refused to attend the Work Programme. She waited the whole of the school summer holidays before she was finally told that the sanction would not stand.

There was also evidence that flexibilities were not necessarily applied to the single parents that might have the greatest needs. SP8 has a child in primary school with being taken to and from school and has some difficulties at school. SP8 believes her son would struggle in an after-school childcare setting. The parent had left work two years earlier because of the need to support her son. Her Jobseeker's Agreement specifies that she must apply for full-time hours because she was told there were not many part-time jobs available and this was applied at Jobcentre Plus and the Work Programme.

Some providers also asked single parents to sign an additional agreement with them as to what they must do on the Work Programme. Parents were confused as to whether they should sign such a document. SP2 was concerned about a particular section of the Agreement but was told if she did not sign they would raise a "compliance doubt" (which can lead to a sanction). She signed the document even though she did not agree with all the content because she was scared of getting a sanction. Parents were unsure as to whose instructions they should follow and there was a concern about the lack of negotiation in the contents of Jobseeker's Agreements and additional agreements at the Work Programme.

3) Inconsistent practices in relation to the needs of children

79% of single parents on Jobseekers Allowance have a child aged eleven years or younger¹⁷. There is no set provision for childcare for single parents whilst they are on the Work Programme.

“The Department places a general requirement on providers to deliver services flexibly to suit participants' individual circumstances. That does not include a specific requirement to assist with childcare arrangements, and the Department does not hold information on the proportion of providers that may offer such assistance”. Mark Hoban Secretary of State 27 February 2013¹⁸

As a consequence of the lack of childcare provision some single parents needed to take their children with them to the Work Programme providers offices or rely on appointment and training times being scheduled whilst their children were at school. However, these offices cater for all types of job seekers including ex-offenders and there was divergence as to how the Work Programme providers accommodated single parents and their children. This lack of accommodation of children's needs meant that some parents were more likely to live with the threat of sanctions (because their caring responsibilities meant they could not comply with attending a meeting) or meant that they were unable to take advantage of training opportunities (because these were set at times when they were responsible for their children such as school holidays or school pick up times). At present no figures are kept for the reasons why sanctions are threatened or applied to single parents on the Work Programme¹⁹.

Seven of the parents interviewed raised the issue of the lack of provision for the care of their children as an issue. Three single parents were told before the school summer holidays they should not bring their children to the Work Programme (SP3, SP10 & SP14). Three single parents (SP4, SP6 and SP15) who arrived with their children were initially turned away from the Work Programme during school holidays. SP4 was told that she could bring her child in for her weekly job search meetings but on arrival was told he could not be there for 'health and safety reasons'. SP15's first appointment at the Work Programme was during half term and she was turned away for the same reason. SP6 was told on arrival with her child in the school holidays that she should not do that. She was then told to leave her primary school aged child in a room on her own (something her daughter did not like) whilst she had her appointment. For subsequent appointments she paid a neighbour out of her own pocket to look after her child. The same single parent was offered employability training but then this was withdrawn because it clashed with the school holidays and childcare was not provided. SP9 felt a bit worried about what provision there would be for her child in the school holidays, as she did not think that the Work Programme was a nice place to take your child.

Consideration around school hours appointments for single parents varied. SP6 and SP4 initially thought the provider was fitting appointment times in with school pick-up but this flexibility diminished over time. After initial meetings SP4 was offered appointment and training times without negotiation and at short

notice. When she attended a workshop she had to pay for her child to attend the school breakfast club (with no funding available from the Work Programme provider). SP11 was given an appointment time that clashed with school drop-off. When she tried to change the appointment she was told she must come in or lose her benefit. SP15 was offered an advanced job-seeking course but the hours were 9am - 4pm and so she would not be able to pick up her youngest child from primary school so was unable to attend.

This contrasted with some good practice with six parents mentioning ways in which the need to care for their child had been accommodated by the provider. SP2 was informed that childcare costs were covered, while SP5 & SP13 said their advisers made sure appointments were during school hours. SP12 was told that courses arranged by her provider would be held in the school day and she did not need to attend during the school summer holiday. Both SP1 & SP9 were positive that their providers agreed to change appointment times because they clashed with school pick up times. In addition SP9 was also told that if her child was ill that she could rearrange an appointment.

4. Limited training opportunities

Single parents were concerned about the lack of training opportunities on the Work Programme, some commented on its poor quality and others were concerned that it was geared at a basic level. As already noted some single parents could not take advantage of training offered by the Work Programme because it was scheduled at times when they needed to pick up or take their child to school or it was during the school holidays and there was no childcare available (nor offer from the Work Programme provider to pay for it).

SP8 & 11 were told that there was no money for training on the Work Programme. SP14 was only offered a course in food hygiene (she is a qualified teacher), SP3 was offered training in CV writing (which she already knows how to do) and was told that there was nothing else for her as they can only help job seekers up to level 2 and she has a degree and postgraduate qualification. SP3 who also has a degree and postgraduate qualification and was told, "They cannot cater for all kinds of needs", also highlighted the issue of basic training. For SP15 there was one course that she was interested in attending about advanced job seeking but the hours were 9-4 for four days which did not fit in with picking up her primary school aged son from school.

SP4 wanted basic training to improve her skills in maths and English and found a course at her local college only to be told that the Work Programme appointments must come first and she could not attend. SP11 was keen to do a course on how to take blood. She knew there were vacancies for this work at her local hospital and that the daytime clinics meant that she would also be able to look after her child. She was told that there was no money for such training under the Work Programme. SP16 wanted to do a childcare course but this was not offered under the Work Programme. Again there were vacancies for childcare in her area and so this course would have helped her into work.

SP4 thought that the training workshops were poor including one that was meant to be about motivation but was actually a talk about childcare for very young children from someone at a local children's centre. The parent has an older child so the content of the talk was not applicable to her. She was offered a CV workshop but this clashed with school pick up times and so she had to miss some of the workshop. SP6 thought that the diagnostic tool that she was asked to go through at the Work Programme was inaccurate pointing her towards writing a CV, which she already had. She was also offered a health and social care course but she already had a qualification in this and it would just duplicate a course she had already done.

Not all single parents needed or wanted training and some were satisfied with what was on offer. SP7 already had established training and voluntary work before transferring onto the Work Programme. SP13 did not think that she needed training to move into work. SP5 had done first aid training that she thought was good and was about to do a course in health and safety. SP12 was offered training in confidence building and job interview skills.

5. Lack of part-time and flexible employment

The interviewed single parents wanted to move into work that also allowed them time to care for their child. However, the parents talked about the lack of flexible employment that was open to them. Single parents with a child aged under thirteen years of age have a right in the welfare legislation to ask to limit their hours of work to take account of their caring responsibilities. The majority of single parents on Jobseeker's Allowance have younger children (79% with a child aged eleven years or younger)²⁰. So the availability of part-time and flexible employment is very important to the majority of single parents on Jobseeker's Allowance looking for work.

Current Employment Regulations prescribe that only employees with 26 weeks continuous service with an employer have a right to request flexible working. Single parents must therefore rely on advertised vacancies. Evidence has shown that advertised flexible employment is rare and where it does exist it tends to be to be lower skilled and more poorly paid than full-time employment. Women Like Us (with JRF March 2012) found that although a quarter of jobs were advertised as part-time roles they were much less likely than full-time jobs to pay at a reasonable level²¹. They found that for every one part-time vacancy paying £20k full-time equivalent there were 18 full-time vacancies at this level. The Resolution Foundation (Resolution Foundation, 2012) study found that nearly half of the women they surveyed had taken a lower skilled job because they were working part-time²².

Like anyone who is on a job seeking benefit there is pressure to take any work. However, with single parents they have the additional need to find a job that also fits around the care of their children. There are fewer jobs available to them than are open to people who can work full-time. What was striking from the interviews was the number of single parents who had qualifications and

experience but were unable to find flexible employment that matched their level of expertise, even in the public sector which has a reputation for offering better paid, flexible working opportunities for women. This highlighted the difficulty of applicants securing a flexible role when entering employment. This was true of SP2 (a trained psychiatric nurse). The only jobs in psychiatric nursing involved shifts in the evening and overnight and these were not practical for her bringing up children on her own. SP3 (is a qualified teacher) but so far has only been offered very limited hours of work. SP8 is a qualified social worker but needs refresher training to move back into social work and that is not available (either through Jobcentre Plus or the Work Programme). The only job she has been moved towards is in a supermarket. SP14 has a degree and adult teaching qualification but could not find flexible employment.

There was pressure for parents to take any work irrespective of whether it would secure them a decent wage or fit in with the caring responsibilities for their child. SP7 felt under pressure to take any job (both at Jobcentre Plus and the Work Programme) despite having a clear idea about moving into teaching assistant work (she had been doing a qualification and voluntary work in a school). SP11 had previously worked as a care worker, a job she had to give up because of the weekend working involved such high childcare costs. The Work Programme would not pay for her to do short training to move into work at a local hospital where the hours would fit in with her child's school day.

6. Poor communication and application of the public sector equality duty in relation to gender equality

The single parents were specifically asked about the public sector equality duty and whether Jobcentre Plus or the Work Programme providers had ever mentioned the duty or where they would be able to find details of such a document setting out its objectives. Not one parent had been told about the duty at Jobcentre Plus or the Work Programme or where they would locate a document setting out the equality duty objectives. There was a limited understanding of the duty. Three parents (SP2, SP4, SP6) had heard about the duty from a search of the internet. SP8 noted Jobcentre Plus and the Work Programme providers were better at giving you details of what they expect from you but not about the services that they will provide.

The Equality and Human Rights Commission Guidance states, "compliance with the general equality duty is a legal obligation, but it also makes good business sense. An organisation that is able to provide services to meet the diverse needs of its users should find that it carries out its core business more efficiently" (p 6) and "both the equality information and the equality objectives must be published in a manner accessible to the public (p 7)"²³. From the interviews with single parents the services offered to them on the Work Programme do not routinely take into account their diverse needs nor are the equality objectives made available to them at either Jobcentre Plus or the Work Programme.

However, most parents had some understanding about equality and were keen for services to be designed to meet their own and their children's needs. There was also an understanding that by not designing services with them in mind they were being put at a disadvantage. So for instance there was a recognition that the lack of childcare or provision for their children at the Work Programme offices made it harder for them to comply with instructions to attend and made it harder for them to take part in training opportunities. This was particularly articulated by SP14. SP14 thought that when Jobcentre Plus and the Work Programme talk about equality they talk about treating people the same; so a single person is treated the same as a single parent who is also caring for children. The parent thought that this was not equality because she has responsibility for a child as well as herself when she is looking for a job. When she transferred to the Work Programme they were not aware that she was a single parent. She was told it was routine that they were not told beforehand so they treat all the people who come onto the Work Programme equally. SP16 thought Work Programme providers needed to recognise that when you are a single parent things are not as straightforward as they are for other job seekers without these responsibilities.

Recommendations for Change

If the Work Programme is to address the needs of single parents and their children and welfare policy is to be successful at moving single parents into sustainable employment then their needs to be a three-pronged approach to change. Change is needed in 1) Government policy towards single parents on job seeking benefits, 2) the practical day-to-day way in which the Work Programme is delivered to single parents and 3) how the Work Programme is scrutinised by external bodies.

1) Changes in broader government policy towards single parents on job-seeking benefits

a) Sanctions

The threat of sanctions did little to motivate the single parents especially as the threats could involve going against their responsibility to care for their children. This was an issue that SPAN highlighted to the Work and Pensions Committee Inquiry²⁴ and SPAN support their conclusion and recommendations for change:

“...we are deeply concerned by evidence of the inappropriate use, or threat, of benefit sanctions against Work Programme participants and the initial findings of the official evaluation, which suggest that the processes for the application of conditionality and sanctions do not yet work effectively. We recommend that DWP conduct a review of Work Programme conditionality and sanctioning activity as a matter of urgency, with a view to ensuring that the processes are clearly understood by participants and consistently applied by both Work Programme and JCP staff, and that it publishes its findings by the end of 2013”.

The Department for Work and Pensions has subsequently announced the terms of reference for the review (May 2013)²⁵. SPAN will submit evidence to the review from our findings. SPAN will in particular highlight the need for figures to be kept on sanctions for single parents at Jobcentre Plus and the Work Programme to make sure that this group of claimants are not being sanctioned inappropriately including for their caring responsibilities. In addition SPAN would like there to be a record kept of the decision makers' rejected sanctions so that providers are discouraged from applying similar sanctions in the future. These decisions should be shared with providers so that inappropriate sanctions can be avoided in the future. For transparency and fairness these decisions should also be shared with the general public.

b) Protecting children's wellbeing

It is a legal requirement that the wellbeing of children must be protected and the Government should actively communicate this to providers of job seeking services. This protection should be explicit in the contracts for the Work Programme, and clearly set out in the Work Programme Provider Guidance and Advisor Guidance produced by the Department for Work and Pensions.

c) Jobseeking services

SPAN welcomes the Work and Pension's Committee Inquiry into the services offered to benefit claimants in the reformed welfare system²⁶. At present the services at Jobcentre Plus and the Work Programme are too focused on the policing of benefit conditions rather than looking at the effectiveness of the services offered to jobseekers. Following the Inquiry SPAN would like the Government to assess the effectiveness of the job seeking services offered to single parents and how good practice could be shared. Evidence from our interviews and from the Department for Work and Pensions' own commissioned research shows the importance and effectiveness of specialist provision for single parents. The Equality and Human Rights Commission Inquiry concluded that Lone Parent Advisers demonstrated the Department for Work and Pensions compliance with the Gender Duty. SPAN would recommend the provision of Lone Parent Specialists at Jobcentre Plus and on the Work Programme (and for this to become a condition of the contracts with Work Programme providers).

d) Sustainable employment

There is a danger that current "work first" policy moves many single parents into poorly paid insecure employment (as pointed out earlier in the analysis there are far fewer advertised vacancies for people who need to work part-time than those that can work full-time hours). This undermines single parents ability to move into work that will sustain them into the future and the effectiveness of the Government's in work conditionality policy. The aim of the government's in work conditionality policy is for people to be less reliant on Government financial support when they are in work. SPAN recommends that there is a greater emphasis on single parents moving into work that will financially support their family and this should form part of the aim of the Work Programme providers' contracts in relation to these parents.

e) Additional financial support for single parents needs

At present single parents as a user group on the Work Programme do not attract any more funding than a standard job seeker. However, single parents can have additional needs in order to move into work including refresher training or training to return to work after a period of being at home with their children. In order for single parents to attend appointments and training they may have childcare needs (and costs for this provision). The Government should offer providers additional financial resources for supporting single parents and at least allow single parents who are on the Work Programme to have access to the Flexible Support Fund at Jobcentre Plus. The provision of paid childcare should be explicit in the Government's Work Programme contracts.

f) Improving the availability of better quality part-time and flexible employment

The Government should commit to working with employers to increase the availability of quality part-time employment including leading by example in public sector employment (as they have already done in relation to civil service job advertising) and investing in agreements with local employers to increase single parent employment opportunities. The Jobsmatch service needs to include support for employers in the design of jobs as well as the capacity to advertise flexible jobs online. In addition SPAN would support the Women's Business Council's broad recommendations to break down the current barriers that prevent women fully participating in the work economy (June 2013) and this is cited as an important issue to improve the country's economic growth. Included is their recommendation for change is "...Jobcentre Plus to fully acknowledge and understand the concept of flexible working, so that candidates who want to work flexibly can have a positive conversation during job interviews²⁷" SPAN will share the evidence from the interviews with the newly set up Ministerial Group who will be taking forward the Council's recommendations.

In addition SPAN recommends that the Government incentivise a job share register to help skilled single parents into work. Working Families and members of the Department for Work and Pensions Group "Promoting Flexible Working to Private Sector Employers" are developing a job advertisement strap line to highlight employers advertising roles on a flexible or part-time basis. It would be positive for the Government to support a national roll out of the campaign.

In Britain not making the most of the skills of women in the workforce comes at a cost to the economy. It is estimated that under utilising women's skills costs between 15 and 23 billion pounds or 1.3 to 2% of GDP²⁸. International comparisons show that Britain is falling behind in making the most of the skills of workers who need to work flexibly. In the Netherlands it is assumed that nearly every job can be done part-time and 46% of the population work part-time (Isusi & Cirral, 2004²⁹). The German Government agreed targets for increasing the amount of jobs available on flexible and part-time hours through employment laws – this has significantly increased the proportion of managers who work part-time from 3.7% in 2001 to 9.8% in 2003 (Hegewishch, 2009³⁰).

g) Set minimum standards and survey single parents

It was a common theme from our interviews that single parents were keen to know what services would be available on the Work Programme. SPAN are pleased that the Work and Pensions Committee have highlighted in their report that the lack of minimum communicated standards as a problem. SPAN support their recommendation for change;

"We recommend that DWP develop a core set of basic minimum standards applicable to all providers, and to which all Work Programme participants are entitled".

SPAN would urge the government to progress the production of minimum standards to all providers and communicate those to single parents transferring

or currently on the Work Programme including how to complain about the services on offer.

From our interviews with single parents the average satisfaction levels with the service provided under the Work Programme were low, averaging 3.5 out of 10. However, the satisfaction levels and recommendations for change give a valuable insight into how services can work well or where they can be improved. SPAN therefore support the Work and Pensions Committee recommendation for government to include satisfaction surveys for Work Programme participants.

“We recommend that DWP require all prime providers to introduce standardised participant satisfaction surveys at appropriate intervals during each participant cohort’s two-year attachment to the programme, including immediately after their initial attachment and at the end of the two-year attachment period. These surveys should form part of DWP’s assessment of prime providers’ effectiveness. It is important that the surveys ascertain how well participants understand: the purpose of the Work Programme and differentiate it from Jobcentre Plus services; why they were referred; and the level of service to which they are entitled”³¹.

SPAN would like to see the satisfaction survey questions addressing the particular needs of single parents and their children.

2) Changes to services offered to single parents on the Work Programme

SPAN have drawn together practical changes to the services offered to single parents prior to transfer and whilst they on the Work Programme. These address the shortfalls of current practice but also build upon the evidence of what has worked well for single parents on the Programme. These recommendations will be shared with key policy makers at the Department for Work and Pensions and with the Employment Related Services Association that represents the organisations that deliver the Work Programme. SPAN would like the recommendations to be built into the Department for Work and Pensions Advisor Guidance and Work Programme Provider Guidance to improve the day-to-day practice in how the Work Programme is delivered to single parents.

a) Clearer information about the services offered by the Work Programme

Single parents need predictability about the services and support that they will be getting under the Work Programme including provision that will be made for the children:

- Each parent should be given clear written information at least a month before transfer about the services that they will be offered, how their children will be accommodated and how to complain if they are not happy with the services offered;
- Before transfer single parents should have the opportunity to update their Jobseeker’s Agreement and Jobcentre Plus must ensure that this reflects their

responsibilities to care for their children including protections for the wellbeing of their children (including access to paid childcare);

- It should be made clear to single parents what activities are mandatory or optional on the Work Programme; and
- Single parents should retain a named adviser at Jobcentre Plus (including access to a specialist Lone Parent Adviser) who they have the right to contact whilst they are on the Work Programme including support if they want to complain about the services that they are being offered.

b) Protecting the rights and well-being of children

Children's wellbeing should be a key part of the way services are designed for single parents on the Work Programme:

- Providers should state how their services are designed to comply with the rights of the child and protect the wellbeing of the children of the single parents on the Work Programme;
- Appointment times should be set during school hours with provision for the school holidays (including the payment of childcare); and
- Parents should have the right to care for their children when they are unwell and off school.

c) Opportunities to train

Single parents should be given greater opportunities to train:

- Training needs to be scheduled at times when single parents can attend or paid childcare should be available;
- Training should be offered above the basic level (level 2); and
- There should also be provision for single parents who need refresher training to return to employment.

d) Specialist support

Single parents need better-tailored support:

- The Work Programme should have specialist advisers for single parents including those that can help with better off in work calculations; and
- The good practice of Work Programme providers should be shared to show how tailored support could work better for single parents.

e) Realistic Jobseeker's Agreements and Claimant Commitments

Jobseeker's Agreements and Claimant Commitments should reflect Lone Parent Flexibilities and children's wellbeing and should be consistently applied on the Work Programme:

- All single parents should have the right to have their Jobseeker's Agreement reviewed with a lone parent specialist before they transfer to the Work Programme and a procedure for appealing the content of a Jobseeker's Agreement;
- Any action planning set by the Work Programme must reflect the provisions and restrictions set out in a single parents Jobseeker's Agreement or Claimant Commitment;
- Jobseeker's Agreements should reflect the need for parents to take and drop their children at school or childcare; and
- Parents permitted to work part-time hours should not be expected to travel disproportionate distances for work (currently 90 minutes each way).

3) Improve External Scrutiny of the Work Programme

It is important that the legal protection of the wellbeing of children is independently examined for those children whose single parents are on the Work Programme. SPAN recommends that the Children's Commissioner for England should examine compliance with the legal protections including the application of Lone Parent Flexibilities, the account taken of the needs of children in the provision of services, how the rights of children are reflected in the contents of Jobseeker's Agreements (including the new Claimant Commitment) and the sanctions regime. SPAN would like the Minister for Children and Families to also take an active role in overseeing the protection of children's rights and wellbeing in the development of Work Programme policy.

In 2009 the Equality and Human Rights Commission using their powers under section 31 of the Equality Act, carried out an assessment of Jobcentre Plus functions to see whether they were complying with the previous public sector equality duties. They concluded that Jobcentre Plus needed to do more in relation to gender equality including moving away from assuming that equal treatment will lead to equal opportunity. Subsequently the Department for Work and Pensions found there were training needs for staff to address that many staff thought that treating men and women the same equated to providing equal opportunities.

It is unclear how the Department for Work and Pensions, Jobcentre Plus or the contracted services of the Work Programme are complying with the new public sector equality duty. The specialist services of Lone Parent Advisers and the Local Partnership Agreements with single parents as a target group, who experience

employment disadvantage, were seen as positive measures and sited as indicating some compliance with the equality duty. With Jobcentre Plus autonomy and “black box” Work Programme contracts this specialist support is now optional and not built in to services for single parents. It is unclear how the Work Programme subcontracted services will be monitored to comply with the public sector equality duty and how this is being measured and reported upon.

Evidence from our interviews showed a lack of communication about the public sector equality duty and its lack of application by Jobcentre Plus or the Work Programme. SPAN found that not only were services not designed to take account of single parents needs but that the way services were delivered could put single parents at a disadvantage including the lack of provision for children or childcare which made it harder for single parents to attend training or comply with instructions to attend meetings.

The Equality and Human Rights new Corporate Plan 2013-14³² reiterates their statutory duty to regulate the public sector equality duty (p7). Under their ‘Work which we will examine in the future’ heading is included examination of “the practices of Work Programme providers” (p20). SPAN would like the Equality and Human Rights Commission to reconsider the investigation of the Department for Work and Pensions compliance of the equality duty. SPAN would urge that this is combined with an examination of the contracted services under the Work Programme. This is not about creating red tape but about helping the Department for Work and Pensions to design services (or commissioned services) more effectively for single parents to improve the job outcomes of this group and to help them access services on a level playing field with other claimants. Improvement in the way that employment services are delivered to this significant group of job seekers could help address the financial and practical disadvantages that single parents face finding and sustaining work.

Conclusion

The Government's own figures show that single parents on the Work Programme do less well in moving into sustainable employment than the average job seeker. The Work Programme is not currently working well for single parent in either moving them into sustainable work or accommodating their needs to also care for their children.

The single parents that SPAN work with and those that SPAN interviewed were keen to move into work and for the Work Programme to help them do so. Politicians and policy makers are also eager for the Work Programme to work better for single parents to address their poverty and to reduce welfare costs.

SPAN's analysis report provides timely insight into why the Work Programme is less effective for single parents and how the services need to change if it is to become successful at helping single parents move into sustainable work. Government action is urgently needed to address this inequality but also to counter the current inefficiency of the services on offer.

Appendix A : Questions for Single Parents about the Work Programme

1. How many children do you have and what are their ages?
2. Which benefits are you on and for how long?
3. Who is your Work Programme Provider and which area of the country do you live?
4. How long have you been on the Work Programme?
5. Do you have a named person or persons at the Work Programme who you can contact – for instance about your appointment?
6. How often do you attend the Work Programme?
7. What information have you been given about the services offered by your Work Programme Provider?
8. What services have you been offered or undertaken under the Work Programme such as training?
9. How do the services offered by the Work Programme differ from those offered by Jobcentre Plus?
10. At your meetings at the Work Programme do you think they took account of your needs or those of your family? If so what was positive or negative?
11. There are certain flexibilities that are open to single parents who are looking for work. For instance if you have a child under 13 you can restrict your hours of work to school hours. Have you been told about these flexibilities (at the Jobcentre or the Work Programme) and if so which ones are you aware of?
12. Have you needed childcare whilst you have been on the Work Programme? If yes, has the Work Programme Provider told you whether childcare could be available when you attended meetings or training and if so did they agree to pay for childcare?
13. Did you know that Jobcentre Plus and the organisations that provide services on their behalf such as the Work Programme have a duty to promote equality of opportunity between men and women including tailoring services and policies to your needs for instance as a parent?
14. Have you been told about this duty or shown/know where you could find a copy of the document setting this out?
15. Finally on a scale of 1-10 (one being the least satisfied, 10 the most satisfied) how you would rate the services offered the Work Programme in helping you move into sustainable work? Are there any changes that you think could improve the services offered by the Work Programme?

Appendix B: Information about Interviewees

Single Parent	Age range of dependent children a) 1-11 b) 12-16	How long on WP?	Work Programme Provider Area	How often do you attend?	How satisfied with the WP? ¹
1.	a) 1 b) 1	3 months	Avanta, East Sussex	Once	2
2.	a) 1 b) 1	One week	A4E, East Midlands	Once	3
3.	b) 1	One Year	Progress, Bristol	Every two or three months	0
4.	a) 1	9 months	A4E through Knowsley Works, Liverpool	Varied between once a fortnight to 4 times in one week.	1
5.	b) 1	9 months	A4E, London	Varies.	7
6.	a) 1	9 months	ESG and Sencia, Staffs	First every two weeks and now every week	1
7.	a) 1 b) 1	One Year	Ingeus Wardwick, Derby	At first once a fortnight but recently less often.	6
8.	a) 1 b) 2	6 months	Reed, London	Once a month but suspended from WP	1
9.	a) 1	6 weeks	G4S delivered by Pertemps, Eastbourne	Every two weeks but flexibility	9
10.	b) 1	5 months	Sarina Russo	Every fortnight	0

¹ 1 the least satisfied, 10 most satisfied.

			Coventry		
11.	a) 1	3 months	In Training, Leicester	Once a month	3
12.	a) 2 b) 1	8 months	Prospect, London	Not consistent	2
13.	a) 1	5 months	Ingeus, London	First once a week and then once a fortnight	9
14.	b) 2	4 months	Ingeus, Nottingham	Varied but attended 4 times in the 4 months	1
15.	a) 1 b) 1	2 months	Kennedy Scott, Harpenden	Once a month	6
16.	a) 1	8 months	G4S, Scunthorpe	Varied three times over period	5

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