

An agenda for consensus building on the social security/benefits system

(Draft - comments to be sent to Michael.Orton@warwick.ac.uk by 17 March 2017)

This report presents findings from eight Workshops held in November-December 2016, attended by close to 150 participants, which addressed the question: *What practical, concrete steps can be taken to put the security back into social security in the short to medium term (and if this includes additional costs, how can it be funded)?* The Workshop organiser and author of this report is Michael Orton.

Key findings

- There is lack of agreement on the term to describe the subject matter of the Workshops with phrases used by participants including 'welfare', 'benefits system', 'entitlements', 'social protection' and so on. In this report the phrase 'the social security/benefits system' is used to aid understanding, but if consensus is to be built, agreement on a widely acceptable term is essential.
- Key themes relating directly to the social security/benefits system recurred across Workshops. These were: *Administration; Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration; Benefits; Benefit Rates and Uprating; Media/Public Attitudes; Principles; Sanctions.*
- Three further themes were *Advice Services, Employment,* and Housing, which are relevant to broader definitions of social security but not the core social security/benefits system.
- Considerable numbers of miscellaneous points not covered by the above themes were raised in Workshops (they are listed in the Appendices to this report).
- In relation to practical, concrete steps in the short to medium term, there is no consensus.
- There are, however, possible starting points for building consensus under each of the key themes.

The findings suggest an agenda for consensus building can be based on addressing the following questions (with the report providing starting points to inform discussion)

1. What term should be used to describe a system of social security in relation in income?
2. What core principles should underpin this system?
3. What practical, concrete steps in the short to medium term should be taken regarding: (i) Administrative issues such as delays; (ii) Assessments, appeals and mandatory reconsideration; (iii) Disability benefits and support; (iv) Sanctions and conditionality; (v) Universal Credit?
4. What level should benefits be set at and what should be the system for uprating?
5. Should there be an unconditional minimum income and if so, how could that be implemented?
6. What is the new narrative as an alternative to current negative discourse?

What next?

A network has been established, consisting of close to 150 people with a rich depth and diversity of experience and expertise and considerable enthusiasm for being involved in further work • The agenda that has been identified, however, is lengthy and to pursue it would realistically mean holding further rounds of Workshops • This requires funding and that is now being explored.

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This is of course not to suggest any endorsement of this report, its content, findings nor the conclusions reached.

Introduction

Background: social (in)security

Socio-economic insecurity is a hallmark of our times. Its extent and impact were highlighted in a 2015 report - *Something's not right: insecurity and an anxious nation*¹. The report demonstrated how insecurity is important as a tangible experience in relation to issues such as household finances, employment and housing, but also speaks to worry, anxiety and the sense that things are just not right. Insecurity has become an entrenched part of our socio-economic structure, marked by low wages, zero hours contracts, insecure and unaffordable housing and homelessness. Food banks are the emblem of the contemporary UK.

A second report – *Secure & Free*² – explored solutions to insecurity. It was found that on issues such as minimum wage levels and housing there is considerable consensus within civil society about what needs to be done and some very clear plans for how to do it.

However, on the core issue of social security in relation to income – what is referred to in this report as the 'social security/benefits system' – it was found that there is no consensus. Indeed, current debate has been described by former Joseph Rowntree Foundation Chief Executive, Julia Unwin, as 'angry and fruitless'.

¹ Orton, M. (2015) *Something's not right: insecurity and an anxious nation* London: Compass.

² Orton, M. (2016) *Secure & Free: 5+ solutions to socio-economic insecurity* London: Compass.

In summer 2016 one to one interviews were conducted with twelve leading social security specialists from within civil society: academics, campaigners and policy experts. The interviews confirmed there is no consensus in relation to the social security/benefits system. It was also determined that there is no existing forum through which consensus could be developed.

Given the above, the motivation behind the Workshops was to explore whether there is any common ground on which consensus building might be based, whether there is enthusiasm for doing so and what might be the way forward.

About the Workshops

The initial intention was to hold four Workshops but demand for places was high so, helped by the generosity of host organisations as listed above, a total of eight Workshops took place. Workshops were held in November-December 2016 in Glasgow, Leeds, London (2 sessions), National Association of Welfare Rights Advisers (NAWRA - 2 sessions), Salford and Teesside. The Workshops were organised and led by Michael Orton from the University of Warwick, author of the reports referred to above.

The Workshop Question

To provide a clear focus for the Workshops, a specific question was devised. This was: *What practical, concrete steps can be taken to put the security back into social security in the short to medium term (and if this includes additional costs, how can it be funded)?* The emphasis on practical, concrete steps in the short to medium term was of key importance.

Aims

The Workshop aims were stated as being to:

- identify immediately available answers to the Workshop Question;
- create a community of interest around this issue; and,
- plan next steps.

As noted above, what underpinned these specific aims was the broader purpose of exploring whether there is common ground from which consensus might be developed, whether there is enthusiasm for doing so and what might be the way forward.

Process

The Workshops adopted a participative approach rather than a standard roundtable/seminar/conference format. Methods that were used included World Café, deliberative decision-making and so on. A four stage process was followed.

Stage One was identifying key topics. Participants worked in groups to identify key topics which need to be considered in addressing the Workshop Question – in effect developing a shared understanding to serve as an agenda for the rest of the session. The NAWRA sessions were slightly different as participants already had a shared perspective and expertise so were able to address the Workshop Question directly. The NAWRA sessions therefore consisted of Stages Three and Four only.

Stage Two used a deliberative process to group the topics that had been identified, under four or five broad headings. These headings were then used as a framework for the rest of each session.

Stage Three was identifying answers to the Workshop Question, under each of the four or five headings agreed at Stage Two. The first two sessions (London 1 and Teesside) used a World Café approach at Stage Three, which generated large numbers of ideas but limited the ability to identify points of consensus. At subsequent sessions participants were given a choice between a World Café approach and small group work with a limit of five ideas per heading. All chose the latter option. This led to smaller numbers of ideas being generated in these sessions but allowed for a more structured exercise on identifying possible points of agreement, as follows.

Stage Four, determining possible points of agreement, was done by participants considering all the ideas identified at Stage Three and expressing their top five priorities under each of the four or five headings agreed at Stage Two, using an indicative voting process. As already noted the London 1 and Teesside Workshops took a different approach at Stage Three, and at Stage Four prioritising was also done differently with a less structured approach which yielded relatively few answers and is therefore not included in the analysis in this report.

Ethos

Reflecting growing interest in developing new ways of making events like the Workshops more inclusive and more productive – CitizensUK are a good example of this – a particular ethos was suggested. This was: we come together as individuals, on the basis of shared concerns; seeing co-operation and compromise as strengths; being positive and focused; emphasising what we agree on; being curious about different views; listening and ensuring everyone has their say; and at all times acting with care, compassion and respect for each other.

Participants

A total of 145 people attended the eight Workshops, bringing a rich depth and diversity of experience and expertise. Of huge importance, a number of people with expertise by experience were involved. Their contributions were of immense value. Other groups of participants were: front-line advice workers; people from a very wide range of third sector organisations including charities, campaign groups, think tanks and bodies such as credit unions through to community groups; and academics. There were smaller numbers of participants from housing associations and local authorities.

Analysis

A separate record of each of the Workshops was written and sent only to participants in the relevant session. The analysis here was based on looking across all eight Workshops collectively rather than separately. This was done by taking each of the four Stages within Workshops and examining outcomes across the sessions. Analysis focused on commonalities by identifying recurring topics and themes i.e. where there may be potential common ground beyond any one individual session. In some cases there was direct repetition of a particular word e.g. 'Sanctions' was mentioned in different Workshops and at different Stages. In other cases, related points can be grouped e.g. different Workshops referred to 'understanding health', 'mental health', 'disability', 'poor health/sickness' and so on, which in the analysis were combined into a theme of 'Ill-health and Disability'.

At the end of each Workshop participants completed a feedback. These were overwhelmingly positive and demonstrated considerable enthusiasm for being involved in further work.

Findings

Before considering outcomes from each of the four stages within Workshops, a point needs to be made about the absolutely fundamental matter of language used in relation to the content here. While the Workshop Question referred to 'social security', it was evident in Workshops that a whole range of different terms were being used such as 'welfare', 'benefits system', 'entitlements', 'social protection' and so on. It was also evident within Workshops that there were some different understandings of the meaning of terms with some participants seeing 'social security' as having a somewhat generic meaning beyond and/or separate to more narrowly defined 'benefits'.

The phrase 'social security/benefits system' is therefore used in this report to provide further clarity; but the first finding to be made is that there is not even agreement on the term to describe the subject matter of the Workshops. If consensus is to be built, agreement on a widely acceptable term is essential.

Outcomes from the different Workshop Stages will now be considered.

Stage One: Identifying topics which need to be considered in addressing the Workshop Question

As explained above, the first part of each sessions (NAWRA excepted) was about seeking to develop a shared agenda, rather than participants immediately trying to provide answers to the Workshop Question. Stage One therefore involved participants identifying topics which need to be considered in addressing the Workshop Question, as opposed to practical, concrete steps that can be taken.

Participants identified a very large number of topics – more than 120 in total, equating to around 20 topics in each of the six Workshops in which the exercise was undertaken.

Analysis identified twelve broad themes that were mentioned in three or more Workshops i.e. at least half of the Workshops in which the exercise was done. Around 80 of the 120+ topics can be included in these twelve themes but that still leaves a large miscellaneous category containing around 40 topics mentioned in only one or at most two Workshops. Full details are in Appendix A.

The twelve themes identified at Stage One, listed alphabetically, are as follows.

- *Administration* (mentioned in four Workshops)
- *Advice services* (mentioned in three Workshops)
- *Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration* (mentioned in five Workshops)
- *Benefit Rates* (mentioned in three Workshops)
- *Conditionality* (mentioned in five Workshops)
- *Employment* (mentioned in six Workshops)
- *Housing* (mentioned in five Workshops)
- *Ill-health and Disability* (mentioned in six Workshops)
- *Media/Public Attitudes* (mentioned in six Workshops)
- *Principles* (mentioned in five Workshops)
- *Sanctions* (mentioned in five Workshops)
- *Universal Credit* (mentioned in three Workshops)

Seven of the twelve identified themes relate directly to the operation of the social security/benefits system: *Administration; Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration; Benefit Rates; Conditionality; Ill-health and Disability; Sanctions; and, Universal Credit*. Box 1 lists the topics raised under each of these themes, across Workshops. Some of the themes are tightly focused e.g. *Universal Credit* simply contains topics of the same name. Other themes are broader in scope. For example, *Administration* includes complexity of systems, online forms, the difficulty of making a claim and what at one Workshop was expressed simply as 'maladministration'.

Box 1: Themes at Stage One related directly to the operation of the social security/benefits system (listed alphabetically)

Administration (mentioned in four Workshops) i.e. Administration (London 1) Administration of claims; Complexities of systems (financial-work support) (London 2) Maladministration (Leeds) Bureaucracy of benefits system; Red tape; Computer literacy/access – who can do online form; DWP/ATOS/[illegible] – need to get it right, advice sector claimants led by system failure; Complexity – don't know what you don't know!!, claim difficulty, conditionality (Teesside)

Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration (mentioned in five Workshops) i.e. Assessment/process; Appeals processes (grilling!) officers are present much more often - variable/unpredictable (Glasgow) Abolish mandatory reconsiderations = less delays (Leeds) Reform of medical assessments (London 1) Assessments – disabilities + reassessments (Salford) Mandatory reconsideration (Teesside)

Benefit Rates (mentioned in three Workshops) i.e. Benefit levels (London 1) Adequacy of benefits levels (London 2) Adequate income; Reliability and adequacy of benefits (Glasgow)

Conditionality (mentioned in five Workshops) i.e. Abolish conditionality (Glasgow) Conditionality (Leeds) Conditionality (London 1) Review of conditionality and sanctions (London 2) Conditionality (Salford)

Health and disability (mentioned in six Workshops) i.e. Understanding health (Glasgow) Mental health (Leeds) Disability (London 1) Poor health/sickness (consequences – cycles) (London 2) Disability; Mental health + wellbeing (Salford) Mental health; Mental health issues increasing due to changes in social security (Teesside)

Sanctions (mentioned in five Workshops) i.e. Sanctions (Glasgow) Sanctions (London 1) Review of conditionality and sanctions (London 2) Sanctions; Benefit cap – a sanction (Salford) Sanctions (Teesside)

Universal Credit (mentioned in three Workshops) i.e. Universal Credit (Leeds) Universal Credit system (London 2) Universal Credit (Teesside)

Two of the twelve themes identified are not direct operational matters but are still of great importance to the social security/benefits system: *Principles* and *Media/Public Attitudes*. Both were mentioned in all six of the sessions in which this exercise was undertaken, demonstrating agreement across Workshops. Details of the two themes are in Box 2. With regard to *Principles*, it can be seen that this theme was expressed in a number of different ways e.g. human rights, social rights, reaffirmation of rights, basic rights, treating people with dignity and respect, compassion, cultural change within DWP,

inclusivity and putting people first. All, however, point to the importance of agreed principles to underpin the social security/benefits system and from which policy development can flow.

Similarly, *Media/Public Attitudes* was expressed in a number of different ways. Points included: public acceptance and judgementalism, stigma, poverty porn, media discourse, language, discrimination and stereotypes. Underpinning this were points around challenging negative views and developing a counter narrative.

Box 2: *Media/Public Attitudes* and *Principles* themes

Media/Public Attitudes (mentioned in six Workshops) i.e. Public acceptance and judgementalism; Stigma (Glasgow) Propaganda – poverty porn; Stigma (Leeds) Language (London 1) Counter narrative; Public understanding of social security/public discourses (London 2) Social security to welfare reform – language and communication; Counteract political and media discourse re ‘welfare’; Govt and ideology – austerity and abolishing welfare state – behaviour change (Salford) Public perception/media; Everyone should watch ‘I, Daniel Blake’; Media; Need to address stigma, discrimination, stereotypes, negative (Teesside)

Principles (mentioned in six Workshops) i.e. Rights; Cultural change within DWP (London 2) Social Rights based approach; Inclusivity - service users, practitioners; Put people first – individualised support (Salford) Reaffirmation of rights, entitlements, protections; Food + warmth + shelter as basic rights (Teesside) Culture change and dignity; Organisational culture; User experience – dignity in delivery (London 1) Human rights based approach to social security; Social rights; Well-being of experience of the system (Glasgow); Treating people with dignity and respect (Glasgow) Dignity of treatment (London 1) ‘Human rights’ – dignity, respect towards need (Teesside) Compassion (Leeds) Capturing compassion (London 2)

This leaves three additional themes: *Advice Services*, *Employment*, and *Housing*. Each is relevant to broader definitions of social security but not the core social security/benefits system. As noted above, there is already considerable consensus within civil society around housing and employment policy. There are also existing fora for the development and promotion of these three themes. In the light of these points, further consideration is not given them here.

A final point to make is that while the aim at Stage One was not to identify answers to the Workshop Question some ideas were put forward; but what can be seen from Box 1 is that agreement that a particular theme requires consideration does not necessarily mean there is consensus on what needs to be done. For example, in five of the six relevant Workshops *Conditionality* was mentioned thereby suggesting considerable agreement on its importance as a theme. However, the way this was expressed ranged from ‘abolish conditionality’ to having a ‘review of conditionality and sanctions’. While there is agreement that conditionality is a theme that needs to be considered, these initial ideas suggest rather different views on ways forward.

Stage Two: Grouping the topics under agreed headings

Stage Two of each Workshop (except NAWRA) was agreeing four or five headings under which the topics identified at Stage One could be grouped, with the headings then forming the agenda for the rest of that particular Workshop. In the Leeds and Salford Workshops four headings were agreed and in the other Workshops five were agreed. This gave a total of 28 headings across the Workshops.

As examples, the headings agreed at the Leeds Workshop were Basic needs, Perception, Benefits system, Miscellaneous, while the Teesside agreed headings were Mental Health, Increased Living Costs and Cuts to Services, Benefits and Administration, Basic Rights, Public Perception/Media. Full details are in Appendix B.

The analysis again focused on identifying points that recurred across Workshops and findings were similar to those at Stage One. Thus, looking across Workshops at all 28 of the headings that were agreed, 23 can be grouped into the following five broad themes.

- *Administration* (mentioned in six Workshops)
- *Employment and housing* (mentioned in two Workshops)
- *Ill-health and Disability* (mentioned in four Workshops)
- *Media/Public Attitudes* (mentioned in five Workshops)
- *Principles* (mentioned in five Workshops)

However, 5 of the 28 headings were mentioned in one Workshop only, thereby again leaving a significant proportion of miscellaneous points.

The themes identified at Stage Two show considerable consistency with those at Stage One. Four themes are exactly the same i.e. *Administration*, *Ill-health and Disability*, *Media/Public Attitudes* and *Principles* (with all being mentioned, at Stage Two, in at least four of the six relevant Workshops). The *Administration* theme also includes some of the other Stage One themes e.g. *Assessments*, *Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration*, *Conditionality* and *Sanctions* – it is simply that those topics have been grouped under a broader heading. *Employment and Housing* also appear at Stage Two as they did at Stage One. There are, therefore, again a number of themes that appeared across Workshops demonstrating agreement on issues that need to be considered.

The topics identified under each theme are shown in Box 3. As at Stage One, it can be seen from Box 3 that some themes are quite broad in scope. The *Principles* theme is an example of this.

Box 3: Headings agreed at Stage Two, grouped thematically across all Workshops (listed alphabetically)

Administration (mentioned in six Workshops) i.e. Infrastructure and process (Glasgow) Benefits system (Leeds) Design, delivery and culture - customer experience (London 1) Benefits system (London 2) Operation of the system (Salford) Benefits and Administration (Teesside)

Employment and housing (mentioned in two Workshops) i.e. Interaction of social security with labour market, childcare, housing (London 1) Employment and housing (Salford)

Ill-health and Disability (mentioned in four Workshops) i.e. Disability (London 1) Health and effects (London 2) Particular needs (working-age) (Salford) Mental Health (Teesside)

Media/Public Attitudes (mentioned in two Workshops) i.e. Perception (Leeds) Public Perception/Media (Teesside)

Principles (mentioned in five Workshops) i.e. Experience and ethos; Rights and responsibilities (Glasgow) Basic needs (Leeds) Design, delivery and culture - customer experience (London 1) Cultural change (London 2) Principles (Salford)

+ Miscellaneous (five additional headings mentioned in one Workshop only) i.e. Income (Glasgow) Miscellaneous (Glasgow) Miscellaneous (Leeds) Groups [of people] - pensioners, children, young people, refugees/asylum seekers, migrants (London 1) Miscellaneous (London 2) Increased Living Costs and Cuts to Services (Teesside)

Stage Three: Identifying practical, concrete steps

Stage Three of all eight Workshops involved participants providing answers to the Workshop Question under (except for NAWRA) the headings agreed at Stage Two. The outcome across Workshops was that key themes were again evident but there was not consensus on practical, concrete steps within those themes.

A very large number of ideas were identified - over 400 in total, equating to more than 50 ideas per Workshop. All 400+ ideas are listed in Appendix C.

Recurring themes, mentioned in at least half the Workshops, were as follows (listed alphabetically).

- *Administration* (mentioned in eight Workshops)
- *Advice Services* - (mentioned in five Workshops)
- *Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration* - (mentioned in seven Workshops)
- *Benefits* (mentioned in six Workshops)
- *Benefit Rates and Uprating* (mentioned in six Workshops)
- *Employment* - (mentioned in seven Workshops)
- *Housing* - (mentioned in eight Workshops)
- *Media/Public Attitudes* - (mentioned in seven Workshops)
- *Principles* - (mentioned in five Workshops)
- *Sanctions* (mentioned in eight Workshops)

These ten themes cover around 300 of the ideas identified, still leaving more than 100 ideas in a miscellaneous category.

The themes identified at Stage Three are consistent with those at Stages One and Two. Themes relating to operational elements of the social security/benefits system remain: *Administration, Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration* and *Sanctions*. At Stage Three, uprating was mentioned significantly alongside benefit rates hence a new theme incorporating both i.e. *Benefit Rates and Uprating*.

What is also posited at Stage Three is a generic theme of *Benefits*. This incorporates previous themes of *Conditionality, Ill-health and Disability* and *Universal Credit* which rather than remaining as distinct in themselves, at Stage Three became inter-linked along with issues around ESA, PIP, claimant commitment, age and other points.

Media/Public Attitudes and *Principles* remain as key themes while *Employment, Housing* and *Advice Services* continued to attract agreement but without being directly part of the social security/benefits system.

The second part of the Workshop Question asked how changes can be funded and answers to this were provided at Stage Three. Points that were made included: 'Turn the tax system on its head - taxation policy should respond to need'; 'Fund via quantitative easing' (Glasgow); 'All income to be taxable' (NAWRA 2); 'Increasing Income Tax for the 'better off' – more equality' (NAWRA 1); 'Need for a radical review in long-term of all aspects of taxation/with outcomes (urgent need)'; 'Cut the personal allowance' (London 1); 'Stop/reverse benefit cuts and use redistribution of wealth (tax the rich to pay for it)' (Teesside); 'Reverse plans to increase tax free threshold' (London 2). The aim was not to identify detailed costing plans but it was clear from the Workshops that participants primarily take the view that the social security/benefits system should be financed from taxation.

To focus on the themes directly relevant to the social security/benefits system i.e. *Administration, Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration, Benefits, Benefit Rates and Uprating, Media/Public Attitudes, Principles* and *Sanctions*, the main point to make is that agreement across Workshops as to the importance of these themes did not yield consensus on practical, concrete steps to be taken. Box 4 uses three themes - *Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration; Benefit Rates and Uprating; and Sanctions* – to illustrate this.


Box 4: Examples of how agreement on themes at Stage Three does not mean consensus on practical, concrete steps (for full details see Appendix C)

Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration (mentioned in seven Workshops) i.e. End Work Capability Assessment (NAWRA 1) NHS assessment-based sickness disability benefits – self funding (NAWRA 2) Fixed assessment periods; Reduce testing of ESA/PIP claimants; Integrate social care & disability benefit assessments (London 2); Respect mental health assessments; Reviewing purpose of WRAG [?] on prognosis or available adjustments [?]; Green Paper???.; Ditch bio-psycho-social model of assessments; New model of capability for work – employers; doctors; people with disabilities; considering knock-on effect; Avoiding unnecessary repeat assessments; Respecting access/mobility determinations; Respect support needs of diverse conditions; Respecting medical evidence; ESA rate must be higher than JSA because higher cost of long-term unemployment (London 1) Revise work capability assessment to take account of holistic; whole person approach; Alter M.R.s or abolish (gets things right); Modify assessment process by reduction in waiting times + retain benefits in this period (Glasgow) Abolish mandatory reconsideration (Leeds) WCA to be replaced by social rather than just medical assessment (Salford).

Benefit Rates and Uprating (mentioned in six Workshops) i.e. Clear uprating policy for benefits - too arbitrary; Double current rate of Child Benefit for 2nd and subsequent children; Higher rates of Child Tax Credit and Universal Credit for 3rd and 4th child; Triple lock for children's benefits; Triple lock that pensioners enjoy should be extended to all in the social security system (London 1) Raise benefits (Leeds) Benefits to increase in line with inflation (Salford) Increase benefits [unclear]; Adequate incomes – minimum, remove freeze; Triple-lock children's' benefits e.g. child tax credit and child benefit; Independent body for minimum income setting – benefits 'political football'; (London 2) Keep benefits in line with cost of living; Higher benefits and wages, not benefits caps and zero hours (Teesside) Income for everyone must be secure, predictable, adequate; Set benefits at the recognised minimum income standard; Topping up reserved benefit i.e. Child Benefit, pension; Universal, generous Child Benefit – citizen pension; Everyone has the right to a basic decent income; Adequacy (uprating benefits) decent standard of living; Benefits to rise with inflation (Glasgow)

Sanctions (mentioned in eight Workshops) i.e. Rethinking sanctions regime: evaluate the cost of sanctions to wider health, care, crime etc – reintroduce sense of proportionality and humanity, End sanctions regime (Salford); No sanction without a hearing, Remove sanctions regime (more carrot, incentives, support) - training (Glasgow), Get rid of sanctions now – saving to taxpayer, follow Scottish example, keep for extreme cases (Leeds), Abolish sanctions regime (no evidence it works), Scrap sanctions (NAWRA 1); Abolish sanctions (nil cost), Sanctions eradicated (NAWRA 2); Incentives not sanctions (London 2); Not cancel HB and CTB when sanctioned or found fit for work; Three strikes and you're out re sanctions regime (Teesside); Don't lose HB in sanctions, Voluntary rather than mandatory training programmes?, All sanctions letters must spell out reason clearly (in law) + clear communication in multiple languages, Have to have sanctions but...reduce amounts lost, length of time, numbers affected; less rigid; circumstances considered (e.g. hardship), Appeals before losing £, Inquiry on effectiveness of sanctions, Genuine yellow card system Temporary – remove with time (London 1).

From Box 4 it can be seen that suggestions of practical, concrete steps are diverse rather than consistent. For example, ideas in the *Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration* theme range from ending the Work Capability Assessment to integration of social care and disability benefit assessments, and from a new model of capability for work to altering or abolishing Mandatory Reconsideration. Under the *Sanctions* theme, ideas include abolishing sanctions through to having



sanctions but reducing amounts lost, length of time, numbers affected and being less rigid, along with mentions of other issues such as voluntary rather than mandatory training programmes and evaluating the wider costs of sanctions such as in relation to health, crime and so on. In relation to *Benefit Rates and Uprating* ideas include a minimum basic income to cover basic needs, doubling the current rate of Child Benefit for second and subsequent children, a triple lock for children's benefits, extending the triple lock on pensions to all in the social security system, a universal generous Child Benefit and a citizen pension.

It is evident, therefore, that across the Workshops there was agreement on key themes but not about what needs to be done. It is also notable from Box 4 that many ideas are somewhat generic rather than being specific short to medium term actions. But the principal finding is that the key themes make manageable the very large numbers of points identified and provide a framework for analysis - but agreement on themes that need to be considered does not translate into agreement about practical, concrete steps to be taken.

Stage Four: Prioritising practical, concrete steps

Stage Four of the Workshops (except London 1 and Teesside, as explained above) was determining priorities from the lists of ideas generated at Stage Three. This was done by using an indicative voting exercise, with participants deciding their top five priorities under each of the four or five headings agreed at Stage Two of the Workshops. This meant up to 25 priorities were identified in each session.

Within individual Workshops a level of consensus was achieved at Stage 4. By way of illustration, Box 5 presents the outcome from one Workshop. Priorities agreed all of the relevant Workshops are in Appendix D. It should again be noted that not all points agreed on within sessions constitute practical, concrete steps.

Box 5: Stage Four – example of priorities agreed within an individual Workshop (Glasgow). Points are grouped under the headings, as shown in italics, agreed at Stage Two of that Workshop

Infrastructure and process: Continuous payments through change of circumstances; Non premium [telephone] numbers; Better trained [Job] Centre staff; Revise work capability assessment to take account of holistic, whole person approach; Alter M.R.s or abolish (gets things right).

Income: Benefits to rise with inflation; Income for everyone must be secure, predictable, adequate; No benefit cap; Set benefits at the recognised minimum income standard; Topping up reserved benefit i.e. Child Benefit, pension.

Experience and ethos - Medical evidence trusted; Remove profit and incentives shaping support (corporate nature) reduce contractualism; Make jobcentres welcoming – co-design the space with service users – toilets, water and toy area at a minimum; Start from point of truth (trust clients); Abolish welfare conditionality; Human rights (HR) underpinning and HR applied and translated into practical steps.

Rights and responsibilities – Remove sanctions regime (more carrot, incentives, support) – training; Take a person-centred approach to supporting someone e.g. person defines outcomes; No sanction without a hearing; Government to recognise the right to social security as defined in ICESCR; Right to prompt response times.

Miscellaneous – Political leadership (Evidence based policy making); Promoting the right to benefit; Provide essential services: subsidised transport, subsidised childcare, subsidised housing.

While agreement on priorities was reached within individual sessions this was not, however, the case when looking at priorities across the different Workshops. The analysis grouped the priorities agreed in each Workshop, under the themes identified at Stage Three. Box 6 shows the outcome for the core themes relating directly to the social security/benefits system (for completeness, the full analysis for all themes is in Appendix E). It can be seen from Box 6 that there is not consensus on practical, concrete steps, following the same pattern as at Stage Three. However, the smaller number of steps identified at Stage Four do provide at least some starting points for building consensus under each of the key themes. Based on Box 6, possible starting points are as follows.

- *Administration* - DWP response times, DWP staff training, DWP telephone charges, the design of Jobcentres.
- *Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration* - abolition, review or revise current arrangements.
- *Benefit Rates and Uprating* - a formula for uprating, increasing Child Benefit, a possible minimum income level.
- *Benefits* - Universal Credit, Housing Benefit, disability benefits, conditionality.
- *Media/Public Attitudes* - Changing public views, more effective campaigning, change media representation – show it could happen to anyone, co-ordination across Think Tanks, NGOs, academics and practitioners, building networks of advocacy and resistance.
- *Principles* – a human rights approach, a person-centred approach, the right to social security as defined in ICESCR, involvement of service users, a public service ethos, respect and dignity, statutory entitlements.
- *Sanctions* - abolish or rethink them.

Box 6: Priorities identified at Stage Four across Workshops, grouped by key themes (in alphabetical order)

Administration (mentioned in four Workshops) i.e. Right to prompt response times (Glasgow) Benefits processed in timely manner – sanctions on DWP, Parliament set targets (Leeds) Statutory time limits for DWP decision making (London 2) Better trained [Job] Centre staff (Glasgow) Training for DWP staff regarding mental health and disability (pooling skills); Training of DWP staff (Salford) More [DWP] staff and training; Better training and job security conditions for DWP staff; logical integrated IT systems (NAWRA 1) Make jobcentres welcoming – co-design the space with service users – toilets, water and toy area at a minimum (Glasgow) Non premium [telephone] numbers (Glasgow)

Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration - (mentioned in three Workshops) i.e. Medical evidence trusted (Glasgow) Revise work capability assessment to take account of holistic, whole person approach (Glasgow) NHS assessment-based sickness disability benefits – self funding (NAWRA 2) Create benchmark for appeal rate (<20%) success (Leeds) Alter M.R.s or abolish (gets things right) (Glasgow) Abolish mandatory reconsideration (Leeds)

Benefit Rates and Uprating – (mentioned in four Workshops) i.e. Set benefits at the recognised minimum income standard (Glasgow) Minimum basic income to cover basic needs (Leeds) Adequate incomes – minimum, remove freeze (London 2) Benefits to rise with inflation (Glasgow) Independent body for minimum income setting – benefits ‘political welfare’ (London 2) Triple-lock children’s’ benefits eg child tax credit and child benefit (London 2) Benefits to increase in line with inflation (Salford) Topping up reserved benefit i.e. Child Benefit, pension (Glasgow)

Benefits – (mentioned in six Workshops) i.e. Housing Benefit to reflect market rents (abolish bedroom tax and benefit cap) (Leeds) Housing costs (affordability), supply/rent caps – reintroduce at a level covered by HB (NAWRA 1) Housing costs: restore full HB (NAWRA 2) Reduce first payment wait for UC – reinstate Work Allowance, provide universal social fund (London 2) Reduce length of delays in accessing benefits: UC waiting times and monthly payments (Salford) Continuous payments through change of circumstances; No benefit cap; Abolish welfare conditionality (Glasgow) Benefits without conditionality (London 2)

Media/Public Attitudes - (mentioned in four Workshops) i.e. Change public views – badge, simple slogan, young people, company involvement in charities; Media statutory guidelines; Povertyism – protected characteristic as a form of discrimination (Leeds) Challenge stereotypes of social security claimants; Social space – more effective campaigning, real life stories (London 2) Change public perception through the media; revolution culture change!; Education – starting with schools, building awareness of social responsibility, social justice/equality (NAWRA 1) Change media representation – show it could happen to anyone (include education in economics for politicians) (Salford) Co-ordination across Think Tanks, NGOs, academics and practitioners to share evidence, best practice and ideas (London 2) Building networks of advocacy and resistance (e.g. Liverpool) (Salford)

Principles - (mentioned in five Workshops) i.e. Income for everyone must be secure, predictable, adequate; Human rights (HR) underpinning and HR applied and translated into practical steps; Take a person-centred approach to supporting someone e.g. person defines outcomes; Government to recognise the right to social security as defined in ICESCR; Promoting the right to benefit; Start from point of truth (trust clients) (Glasgow); Involving service users – co-production, include voice of service users; Public service ethos; Respect and dignity by DWP (Leeds) Social security not welfare (London 2) Culture change – making Jobcentres more accountable and responsive to local ‘actors’ including claimants themselves e.g. Stockpot Homes Partnership (Salford) Abolish discretionary (and localised?) benefits – full return to mandatory (statutory) entitlements (NAWRA 1)

Sanctions - (mentioned in six Workshops) i.e. Remove sanctions regime (more carrot, incentives, support) – training; No sanction without a hearing (Glasgow); Get rid of sanctions now – saving to taxpayer, follow Scottish example, keep for extreme cases (Leeds); Incentives not sanctions (London 2); End sanctions regime (Salford); Rethinking sanctions regime: evaluate the cost of sanctions to wider health, care, crime etc – reintroduce sense of proportionality and humanity (Salford); Scrap sanctions; Abolish sanctions regime (no evidence it works) (NAWRA 1); Abolish sanctions (nil cost) (NAWRA 2); Sanctions eradicated (NAWRA 2)

Conclusion: An agenda for consensus building - and what next?

This report has presented findings from eight Workshops which sought to identify practical, concrete steps in the short to medium term to put the security back into social security. The key findings are:

- There is lack of agreement on the term to describe the subject matter of the Workshops with phrases used by participants including 'welfare', 'benefits system', 'entitlements', 'social protection' and so on. In this report the phrase 'the social security/benefits system' has been used to aid understanding, but if consensus is to be built, agreement on a widely acceptable term is essential.
- Key themes relating directly to the social security/benefits system recurred across Workshops. These were: *Administration; Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration; Benefits; Benefit Rates and Uprating; Media/Public Attitudes; Principles; Sanctions.*
- Three further themes recurred across Workshops - *Advice Services, Employment, and Housing* – which are relevant to broader definitions of social security but not the core social security/benefits system. There is already considerable consensus within civil society and/or existing fora for the development and promotion of these three themes so they have not been pursued in this report.
- Considerable numbers of miscellaneous points not covered by the above themes were raised in Workshops (they are listed in the Appendices to this report).
- In relation to what practical, concrete steps should be taken in the short to medium term, there is no consensus.
- There are, however, possible starting points for building consensus under each of the key themes.

An agenda for consensus building

The findings suggest an agenda for consensus building can be based on addressing the following questions (and with possible starting points for discussion, as above).

1. What term should be used to describe a system of social security in relation in income?
2. What core principles should underpin this system?
3. What practical, concrete steps in the short to medium term should be taken regarding:
 - (i) administrative issues such as delays;
 - (ii) assessments, appeals and mandatory reconsideration;
 - (iii) disability benefits and support;
 - (iv) sanctions and conditionality;
 - (v) Universal Credit?
4. What level should benefits be set at and what should be the system for uprating?
5. Should there be an unconditional minimum income and if so, how could that be implemented?
6. What is the new narrative as an alternative to current negative discourse?



What next?

If the Workshops are seen as a one-off, they simply confirm lack of consensus on ways forward regarding the social security/benefits system: however, if viewed as the start of a process they have taken two critical steps. First, a network has been established, consisting of close to 150 people with a rich depth and diversity of experience and expertise and considerable enthusiasm for being involved in further work. Second, an agenda has been identified for building consensus.

The agenda is, however, lengthy and to pursue it would realistically mean holding further rounds of Workshops. This requires funding and that is now being explored.

Appendix A: Stage One – identification of topics that need to be considered in addressing the Workshop Question (listed by number of Workshops in which the topic was mentioned)

Mentioned in six Workshops

Employment: In-work poverty; Labour market regulation – low income self-employment, security: min hours, flexibility, what is self-employment?; WRAG – how to make it helpful? (London 1) Employment support; In-work poverty – low income; Precarity and nature of work (Glasgow) Employers need to be compassionate (Leeds) In-work support and progression (London 2) Health and work – employment as a health outcome (Salford) Automation; Unemployment + underemployment + precarious employment (Teesside)

Health and disability: Understanding health (Glasgow) Mental health (Leeds) Disability (London 1) Poor health/sickness (consequences – cycles) (London 2) Disability; Mental health + wellbeing (Salford) Mental health; Mental health issues increasing due to changes in social security (Teesside)

Media/Public Attitudes: Public acceptance and judgementalism; Stigma (Glasgow) Propaganda – poverty porn; Stigma (Leeds) Language (London 1) Counter narrative; Public understanding of social security/public discourses (London 2) Social security to welfare reform – language and communication; Counteract political and media discourse re ‘welfare’; Govt and ideology – austerity and abolishing welfare state – behaviour change (Salford) Public perception/media; Everyone should watch ‘I, Daniel Blake’; Media; Need to address stigma, discrimination, stereotypes, negative (Teesside)

Principles: Rights; Cultural change within DWP (London 2) Social Rights based approach; Inclusivity - service users, practitioners; Put people first – individualised support (Salford) Reaffirmation of rights, entitlements, protections; Food + warmth + shelter as basic rights (Teesside) Culture change and dignity; Organisational culture; User experience – dignity in delivery (London 1) Human rights based approach to social security; Social rights; Well-being of experience of the system (Glasgow); Treating people with dignity and respect (Glasgow) Dignity of treatment (London 1) ‘Human rights’ – dignity, respect towards need (Teesside) Compassion (Leeds) Capturing compassion (London 2)

Mentioned in five Workshops

Assessments, appeals and mandatory reconsideration: Assessment/process; Appeals processes (grilling!) officers are present much more often - variable/unpredictable (Glasgow) Abolish mandatory reconsiderations = less delays (Leeds) Reform of medical assessments (London 1) Assessments – disabilities + reassessments (Salford) Mandatory reconsideration (Teesside)

Conditionality: Abolish conditionality (Glasgow) Conditionality (Leeds) Conditionality (London 1) Review of conditionality and sanctions (London 2) Conditionality (Salford)

Housing: Housing, housing, housing (Leeds) Housing Benefit – increasingly inadequate for many rents; Practical short-term response to housing costs (London 1) Supported housing (London 1) Affordable rents and security of tenure (London 2) Homelessness; Insecurity in multiple areas – labour market, housing (Salford) Rent arrears (Teesside)

Sanctions: Sanctions (Glasgow) Sanctions (London 1) Review of conditionality and sanctions (London 2) Sanctions; Benefit cap – a sanction (Salford) Sanctions (Teesside)

Mentioned in four Workshops

Administration: Administration (London 1) Administration of claims; Complexities of systems (financial-work support) (London 2) Maladministration (Leeds) Bureaucracy of benefits system; Red tape; Computer literacy/access – who can do online form; DWP/ATOS/[illegible] – need to get it right, advice sector claimants led by system failure; Complexity – don't know what you don't know!!, claim difficulty, conditionality (Teesside)

Mentioned in three Workshops

Advice services: Advice funding; Role of third sector + private sector (London 2) Access to justice (Glasgow) Seeking help, advice – who, where, advocacy, signposting? Stigma (Teesside)

Benefit levels: Benefit levels (London 1) Adequacy of benefits levels (London 2) Adequate income; Reliability and adequacy of benefits (Glasgow)


Universal Credit: Universal Credit (Leeds) Universal Credit system (London 2) Universal Credit (Teesside).

Mentioned in two Workshops

Localisation (Leeds) Localisation (Teesside); Individual rather than household rights (Glasgow) Individual and household (London 1); Social security as an investment (Glasgow) Investment in people's capabilities (Salford); Cost (economic, human) (Leeds) Understand costs of not acting especially on health (London 2); Food poverty (Leeds) When/why did foodbanks become acceptable? (Teesside); "Psycho-compulsion" – resistance works (Salford) Harness the 'emotion' and turn into action, address "divide and conquer" (Teesside); Immigration (Leeds) Asylum seekers/refugees; EU migrant (London 1); Certainty, stress, worry – despair (London 2) Anxiety (Teesside); A benefit system which learns (Glasgow) DWP needs to listen to experts and use the info it has; Evidence/data/insight – govt. consultations; Evidence free (Leeds); How social security interacts with other services and agencies/depts communicate (Glasgow) Better communication needed (Leeds); Income versus wealth – wealth inequality (London 1) Redistribution of wealth (Teesside).

Mentioned in one Workshop

Accessibility of job centres (Glasgow) Accountability and power (Glasgow) Being bullied at the job centre (Glasgow) Claimant commitment (Glasgow) Cuts to services (Teesside) Child poverty (London 1) Contributory Principle – reciprocal relationship (London 1) Debt (London 1) Destitution (London 1) ESA – affects all, complexity changes, cuts/reductions, potential to cause family breakdown (Teesside) Families with children and one earner – lone parents, disabled parent/child, young children (London 1) Financial crisis; People disengaged from system (Teesside) Financial vulnerability – heterogeneity! (London 2) Flexibility over methods of job search (Glasgow) Increased living costs (Teesside) Increasing use of discretion in benefits decisions (Leeds) Intergenerational fairness (London 2) Lack of safety and effects for all aspects of life/behaviour (Leeds) Limited support now in community – social fund reduced, council's budget reduced (Teesside) Mistrust (Leeds) No 'cliff edge' in stopping entitlements, do not integrate benefits or services (Glasgow) Onus – who should be responsible?, keeping claim right, dated system that hasn't moved on (Teesside) Opportunities (including voluntary training) (Leeds) Pensions and pensioner poverty (London 1) Personal Independence Payment migration from DLA mobility (Glasgow) Policy design of payments (London



1) Public consent/framing – trust/mistrust (London 1) Safeguarding (Salford) Support and policing (Leeds) System needs to be fairer to all ages – harder on young people (Leeds) ‘They’ don’t care if the systems don’t work (Leeds) Trust (Salford) Universal Child Benefit (London 1) Work disincentives (especially Housing Benefit driven) (London 1) You can’t be mandated to sign up to Universal Job Match but this does not reflect people’s experience (Glasgow) Young people (London 1).

Appendix B: Stage Two – headings agreed within individual Workshops

Glasgow: Infrastructure and process; Income; Experience and ethos; Rights and responsibilities; Miscellaneous.

Leeds: Basic needs; Perception; Benefits system; Miscellaneous.

London 1: Conditionality and sanctions; Design, delivery and culture - customer experience; Disability; Groups [of people] - pensioners, children, young people, refugees/asylum seekers, migrants; Interaction of social security with labour market, childcare, housing.

London 2: Cultural change; Money; Health and effects; Benefits system; Miscellaneous.

Salford: Operation of the system; Particular needs (working-age); Employment and housing; Principles.

Teesside: Mental Health; Increased Living Costs and Cuts to Services; Benefits and Administration; Basic Rights; Public Perception/Media.

Appendix C: Stage Three – ideas in response to the Workshop Question (listed by number of Workshops in which the topic was mentioned)

Mentioned in eight Workshops

Administration: Right to prompt response times (Glasgow) Benefits processed in timely manner – sanctions on/DWP, Parliament set targets (Leeds) Effective administration – delays, eligibility (NAWRA 2) Statutory time limits for DWP decision making (London 2) Measure waiting times for services (Teesside) Job centres to employ staff to ensure people access the benefits they are entitled to (Salford) Increase resources to ease pressure on Job Centre etc staff + code of conduct + far more supportive role (London 1) Better trained [Job] Centre staff (Glasgow) Training for DWP staff regarding mental health and disability (pooling skills), Training of DWP staff (Salford) Workforce development – social workers in, but not based in LAs, inter-agency working, invest to save, get to know agencies in local area, training in being human! (Leeds) Better training and job security conditions for DWP staff, More [DWP] staff and training (NAWRA 1) DWP staff to have training on people and relations skills, Greater understanding of mental health for DWP staff – training, awareness, Work coach advisors to attend monthly training “building relationships with others”, DWP staff need to be more approachable (Teesside) Professionalise the JSA staff – better pay, more training, more leeway for professional judgement (no targets) (London 1) Abolish expensive DWP phone calls; Free phone booth in communities (Teesside) Non premium [telephone] numbers (Glasgow) Ensure benefits are accessible to people via non-digital routes (Salford) Choice of method of contact/claim (Glasgow) Make jobcentres welcoming – co-design the space with service users – toilets, water and toy area at a minimum (Glasgow) Customer facilities – toilets, toys, water (Glasgow) Have option for own translator or choice of DWP ones (Glasgow) Transparent standards of operational behaviour and audit (JCP and other orgs) (Glasgow) In-person claims (Leeds) Allow manual completion of forms – not always internet (Teesside) Performance related targets on customer satisfaction; Less red tape, tick boxes and make it more personal; Streamline access to services (Teesside) Common pay day for all benefits (Glasgow) Logical integrated IT systems (NAWRA 1) Joined up digital support offer (Teesside) Give people options based on their own circumstances in terms of making claims/contacting job centre (Teesside) Reduce paperwork amount (Teesside)

Housing: “De-financialise housing” – investment in social housing, increased tenure security, rent controls, flexible tenure options with security, More mixed communities (Salford) Social housing building programme – relax capital borrowing on LAs, Housing Benefit to reflect market rents (abolish bedroom tax and benefit cap), Rent control (Leeds) Housing costs (affordability), supply/rent caps – reintroduce at a level covered by HB, Housing – really affordable rents, more (prefabs), rent control (NAWRA 1) Secure and affordable housing – social house building programme, (Social) house building (not necessarily concrete – prefabs, reclaimed wood, environmentally friendly) – responsible capital borrowing, Rent controls, Housing costs: restore full HB, rent tribunal control, only LAs can rent, cancel short-term tenancies, Mortgage support (rights/financial, shifting approach - changing repossession law) (NAWRA 2) Home ownership not being the ‘ultimate aim’ – reform of rent thinking to promote security of tenure – housing policy review, Build more homes (London 2) Link housing benefit back to actual [unclear] and prevent homelessness, Rent caps/control, Regulate private landlords; Scrap bedroom tax (Teesside) (Teesside) Make public policy case for action (like Turner review on basic state pension) – otherwise spending increase, Accept high housing costs = high housing benefit, Rent control and more social housing. Stop HB lining pockets of rich landlords!; Regulate against short term lets and poor condition housing (London 1) Provide essential services: subsidised transport, subsidised childcare, subsidised housing (Glasgow).

Sanctions: Rethinking sanctions regime: evaluate the cost of sanctions to wider health, care, crime etc – reintroduce sense of proportionality and humanity, End sanctions regime (Salford) No sanction without a hearing, Remove sanctions regime (more carrot, incentives, support) - training (Glasgow), Get rid of sanctions now – saving to taxpayer, follow Scottish example, keep for extreme cases (Leeds), Abolish sanctions regime (no evidence it works), Scrap sanctions (NAWRA 1) Abolish sanctions (nil cost), Sanctions eradicated (NAWRA 2) Incentives not sanctions (London 2) Not cancel HB and CTB when sanctioned or found fit for work; Three strikes and you're out re sanctions regime (Teesside) Don't lose HB in sanctions, Voluntary rather than mandatory training programmes?, All sanctions letters must spell out reason clearly (in law) + clear communication in multiple languages, Have to have sanctions but...reduce amounts lost, length of time, numbers affected; less rigid; circumstances considered (e.g. hardship), Appeals before losing £, Inquiry on effectiveness of sanctions, Genuine yellow card system Temporary – remove with time (London 1).

Mentioned in seven Workshops

Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration: End Work Capability Assessment (NAWRA 1) NHS assessment-based sickness disability benefits – self funding (NAWRA 2) Fixed assessment periods, Reduce testing of ESA/PIP claimants, Integrate social care & disability benefit assessments (London 2) Respect mental health assessments, Reviewing purpose of WRAG [?] on prognosis or available adjustments [?], Green Paper???, Ditch bio-psycho-social model of assessments, New model of capability for work – employers, doctors, people with disabilities, considering knock-on effect, Avoiding unnecessary repeat assessments, Respecting access/mobility determinations, Respect support needs of diverse conditions, Respecting medical evidence, ESA rate must be higher than JSA because higher cost of long-term unemployment (London 1) Revise work capability assessment to take account of holistic, whole person approach; Alter M.R.s or abolish (gets things right) Modify assessment process by reduction in waiting times + retain benefits in this period (Glasgow) Abolish mandatory reconsideration (Leeds) WCA to be replaced by social rather than just medical assessment (Salford).

Employment inc living wage and emp support: Risks of (a) getting a new job that doesn't work out (b) a job from welfare...; In-work conditionality – start with more support not sanctions first!; Promote any job over better job; Have to have conditions – supportive activation; Improve quality of support; Problem is jobs aren't incentive enough; Some kind of top-up for early period back in work; Parenting versus Working – recognition that this is a personal decision; Genuine work incentives not penalising poverty; Work and parenting – 'man in Whitehall' doesn't always know best. Safeguards for parents; Allowing some work without fear of penalisation; Work that is tailored to the person's capabilities; Limit on short-term contracts and zero hours contracts, especially for outsourced services by public bodies; Increase in living wage (real) in order to reduce reliance on tax credits. Income level support (family) Support Uber case outcomes for 'self employed' and part time workers; Support part-time work and encourage them – recognise that part time work is often a reasonable adjustment to ill health; Initial in-work job clubs (very cheap!) for the previously long-term unemployed – peer support and advice so they keep their job; Increase adult skills; Checking validity of 'self-employed'/gig economy; Opt-in helpful support (London 1) Genuine involvement and person-centred Back To Work support; Decent Living Wage; Long-term sustainable investment in training and skills; Improve quality of Work Programme – improve or end private contracts; More labour market regulation – end zero hours contracts, regulate/minimise zero hours contracts, agency worker rights; End WRAG cuts (Salford) Implement real living wage not 'pretend' living wage (Glasgow) Real living wage (Leeds) Adequate living wage to eliminate working tax credits (NAWRA 2) All employment contracts contain progression prospects; A real Living Wage (London 2) Living wage = living income (Teesside) Redesign procurement policy to encourage small contracts delivered by voluntary organisations, social

enterprise; Give people more choice about the kind of job they want and how they look for work; Abolish workfare (Glasgow) Greater involvement of third sector – LAs deliver back to work programmes, role of Combined Authorities e.g. in Leeds, move away from centralised contracting; Make training more relevant (Leeds)

Media/Public Attitudes: Show it could happen to anyone (include education in economics for politicians) (Salford) Media statutory guidelines; Change public views – badge, simple slogan, young people, company involvement in charities; Povertyism – protected characteristic as a form of discrimination; Repeal the lobbying act; Raising awareness of in-work poverty – talk to employers, local conversations; Make all councillors watch ‘I, Daniel Blake’ (Leeds) Change public perception through the media; Education – starting with schools, building awareness of social responsibility, social justice/equality (NAWRA 1) Influencing strategy; This could be you; Challenge stereotypes of social security claimants; Social space – more effective campaigning, real life stories; Social security not welfare; Co-ordination across Think Tanks, NGOs, academics and practitioners to share evidence, best practice and ideas; Co-operative type local groups – grass roots organising; Agreed campaign text (2 sides A4 max! with pictures) on finance and ill/good health, making links and consequences clear – from all CSO/public sector actors and academics – JRF? MacMillan? A.N. Other? (London 2) Challenge tv shows like ‘Benefits St’ that create stigma; Advertise how the benefits bill is broken down ie pension, JSA, ESA, etc; Emphasise realities of poverty so people become more aware and stigmatise less!; Challenge the “Partisan” media outlets: social media, papers, blogs – anywhere and everywhere!; Emphasise “protection” – reclaim language of benefits; Some kind of forum, blog, website telling more positive stories about people on benefits/low income; Complain or challenge; Rave about “I, Daniel Blake”; Encourage political education in all schools to create politicians from a variety of backgrounds; Lobby advertisers in media that demonise poor; Recognise destitute as a protected group; Stop poverty porn; Greater education in reading media bias; More media coverage of grassroots people speaking ‘truth to power’!; More media coverage of parasite street – tax dodgers...; More celebrity endorsements from role models to remove stigma – positive stories; Community involvement in edit of material publicised relating to poverty in comms; More grassroots tv, reporting and depicting actual reality; Campaign to stop demonising; Share real life accounts of hardship (Teesside) Discourse – stigma (NAWRA 2) Make public policy case for higher taxation – on grounds we all benefit (requires – generous universal child benefit, some earnings related element to UB and ESA?) (London 1)

Benefits: Increase c-care elements in UC; Cash limits on childcare help in UC/Tax Credits increase – not been for a decade; Third Party Deductions Order – levels (esp UC) – vulnerability; UC – 37 day [?]. payment [?] (ease of getting) Just more flexibility in the UC assessment and delivery system; All children to retain right to Child Tax Credit, Universal Credit (London 1) Reduce length of delays in accessing benefits: UC waiting times and monthly payments (Salford) Scrap Universal Credit (Teesside) Reduce first payment wait for UC – reinstate Work Allowance, provide universal social fund; Recognise the extra cost of illness in social security system – UC premiums (London 2) Personal control over PIP; Scrap ESA ([?]) time limit (London 1) Bring back lowest level DLA for PIP (Salford) Review test for ESA and PIP to relate more to people with mental health issues; ESA/PIP – utilise existing primary care assessments of health in context to claim process; Passport ESA support group and enhance PIP; Significant adjustment to ESA claim process – ‘recognition of ill-health’ (Teesside) Abolish welfare conditionality; Drop claimant commitment; No benefit cap (Glasgow) Realistic, achievable claimant commitment; Remove the benefit cap - social security must meet household needs (London 1) Benefits without conditionality; Create a benefit without conditionality (London 2) Lower age limits on benefits (Teesside) Equalise WTC entitlement for under 25s; Remove single room HB cap for under 25s in 2018; Reverse 18-21 housing costs policy (London 1) Pay benefit fortnightly without 7 day waiting period (Glasgow) Stop ridiculous rules about lengthy waits for payments for new

claimants; Reduce the time to receive entitlement – speed up process (Teesside) Abolish the bedroom tax (Teesside) SMI reduce wait times again, reduce homelessness (London 2) Minimum basic income to cover basic needs (Leeds) Reinstate Universal Child Benefit (London 1)

Benefit Rates and Uprating: Clear uprating policy for benefits - too arbitrary; Double current rate of Child Benefit for 2nd and subsequent children; Higher rates of Child Tax Credit and Universal Credit for 3rd and 4th child; Triple lock for children's benefits; Triple lock that pensioners enjoy should be extended to all in the social security system (London 1) Raise benefits (Leeds) Benefits to increase in line with inflation (Salford) Increase benefits [unclear]; Adequate incomes – minimum, remove freeze; Triple-lock children's' benefits e.g. child tax credit and child benefit; Independent body for minimum income setting – benefits 'political football'; (London 2) Keep benefits in line with cost of living; Higher benefits and wages, not benefits caps and zero hours (Teesside) Income for everyone must be secure, predictable, adequate; Set benefits at the recognised minimum income standard; Topping up reserved benefit i.e. Child Benefit, pension; Universal, generous Child Benefit – citizen pension; Everyone has the right to a basic decent income; Adequacy (uprating benefits) decent standard of living; Benefits to rise with inflation (Glasgow)

Mentioned in five Workshops

Advice Services: Parliament(s) to legislate on LAs ensuring Welfare Rights advice provision in area – make it a statutory duty (NAWRA 2) Advocates at every job centre (Salford) Creating/building local level expert advice – reinstating local 'one stop shops' for help and advice (benefits, debt, jobs), Free legal advice, Welfare/debt adviser in GP surgery, Reinstate legal aid for benefits (London 2) Increase funding for CAB – advice costs less than treatments, Access to rights information and support, Bring back legal aid, Improve local advice/support networks, The right to have a trained advisor for your disability on a medical assessment (Teesside) Reintroduce legal aid (Leeds).

Principles: Human rights (HR) underpinning and HR applied and translated into practical steps; Shift focus in partnership with people to provide needs, rights and capabilities; A more user-focused, diversified experience; System designed alongside people (service users) to treat people positively; Citizens rights (inclusive) (language) Support rather than policing (social model) Changing language (systematically) Minimal intrusion (questions) Take a person-centred approach to supporting someone e.g. person defines outcomes; Government to recognise the right to social security as defined in ICESCR (Glasgow) Scottish Social Security Agency - public service ethos; Positive incentives to treat people well; Get rid of nudge theories designing conditionality/incentives. All humans strive for purpose – no underclass of the feckless; Recognition of structural reasons for poverty; Excluded groups BME, disability, disadvantaged communities - one size fits all approach from elite and think tanks; Base culture on circle at end of *I, Daniel Blake* - a social security system for citizens; Adviser relationship based on trust; 'Named Owner' for relationship with DWP (not faceless bureaucrats) Question 'rational [?]' assumptions in policy?; Re-introduce safety net ethos: presumption that people in need get social assistance and income; Culture change – making Jobcentres more accountable and responsive to local 'actors' including claimants themselves e.g. Stockport Homes Partnership (Salford) Treat people as individuals not just a NI number; DWP needs to change – listen, give more time; Respect and dignity by DWP; Public service ethos; Involving service users – co-production, include voice of service users (Leeds) Revolution culture change!; Abolish discretionary (and localised?) benefits – full return to mandatory (statutory) entitlements; Moving away from means-testing and putting a greater emphasis on national insurance benefits (paid for through a redesigned NI scheme that genuinely funds the benefit paid) (NAWRA 1) Nobody is more 'deserving' or 'undeserving' than others; People on benefits are people; What is basic right? Can we include leisure, pleasure and food?; Right to be supported in times of need; People who have addictions have a right

to access help and support just the same as those who don't; Stop counting beans – value people (Teesside).

Taxation - how to fund changes: Turn the tax system on its head - taxation policy should respond to need; Fund via quantitative easing (Glasgow) Cut the personal allowance; Need for a radical review in long-term of all aspects of taxation/with outcomes (urgent need) (London 1) Reverse plans to increase tax free threshold (London 2) Increasing Income Tax for the 'better off' – more equality (NAWRA 1) All income to be taxable (NAWRA 2) Stop/reverse benefit cuts and use redistribution of wealth (tax the rich to pay for it) (Teesside)

Miscellaneous

Mentioned in three Workshops

Economic analysis government backed on wider costs of cuts to welfare and advice; Influence government by being a government for all – set of targets – accountable; Government analysis of effectiveness of social security 'trampoline' – time related (London 2) Measure costs of bureaucracy (not just financial but health, time etc) Research on monetary impact of welfare reform – tv campaign (Leeds) Oblige DWP to submit to Treasury the cost of their decisions to Department of Health e.g. cost of hospitalising people made ill by being judged fit for work; Regularly publish poverty rates for disabled people which try to adjust for extra costs (to reveal extent of hidden poverty) (London 1)

Medical evidence trusted (Glasgow) Listen to medical clinicians – save money on appeals (London 2) Listen to GPs; Ensure GP assessments are prioritised on ESA assessments for DWP – not visits to GP; Drs should have a say in DWP assessments (Teesside)

Early access to *mental health* support (London 2) Increase in services for people with mental health issues – produce information guides; Acknowledge increase in suicide linked to mental health and benefits (or feeling of suicide) DWP should follow their own safeguarding procedures on mental health; Stop putting mentally ill people in a jail cell because there are no hospital beds available. Ill mental health is not criminal!; Reduce waiting times for therapy – increase numbers of therapists; Don't just shut down mental health hospitals with only one week notice (Teesside) Sue the government for mental abuse (Leeds)

Safeguarding vulnerable adults and children (London 2) Reinforce and strengthen safeguarding re direct contact (Salford) Increase safeguarding to prevent suicide (Teesside)

Universal basic income – universality? Right to food? (NAWRA 2) Explore 'basic income'; Pilot working age basic income (Salford) Basic income (Teesside)

Mentioned in two Workshops

Child care (Leeds) Universal childcare system (London 1)

Evidence based policy making (Salford) Use evidence-based approaches and apply them!; Political leadership (Evidence based policy making) (Glasgow)

Promote *financial health* (Teesside) Statutory protection against debt collection – 'breathing space'; Responsible lending; Banking and finance sector (regulation: [unclear] interest payments, identifying issues with repayments – social obligations; campaign about social obligations led by key thinkers in

financial sector; financial tailored education/guidance and rights; Government set good practice for recovery of benefit overpayments (inc council tax) (London 2)

Localisation of council tax benefit – confusion + post code lottery for level of support (London 1); Less localisation (Teesside)

Scrap Atos/Capita (Teesside); Get rid of G4S security guards and involvement of private, low-profit companies; Remove profit and incentives shaping support (corporate nature) reduce contractualism (Glasgow)

Take-up work (particularly around means-tested benefits) (NAWRA 1) Boost take up by people entitled to benefits who don't claim them (even though it obviously increases costs) (London 1)

Mentioned in one Workshop

3 months 'use it or lose it' on 90% pay for at least 6 weeks [parental leave] (London 1)

A personal safety check as per buildings/dwellings (a statutory duty like a gas safety check but for a person) (NAWRA 2)

A sanction against a family is a sanction against the children too. Rights of children – effects of poverty on children (Teesside)

Abolish [unclear] penalty (London 2)

Advance payments – promoted automatically (London 1)

Align conditions with outcomes (London 1)

Appeal process re reasonable adjustments (Salford)

Attendance Allowance are hidden - poverty understated. Target more! (London 1)

Ban parents from working more than 4 days a week each (need to keep median household income down!) (London 1)

Better awareness across services – collections, reception staff, frontline professionals and volunteers (Teesside)

Building networks of advocacy and resistance (e.g. Liverpool) (Salford)

Bulk buying of goods and services e.g. utilities (Teesside)

Burden of proof is on DWP (i.e. claimant keeps benefit until it can be shown that they are no longer eligible) (Glasgow)

Child maintenance; Recognise income needs of children (London 1)

Claimant Association – small contribution - representatives (Leeds)

Community Interest Companies to [unclear] (not for profit) (Teesside)

Continuous payments through change of circumstances (Glasgow)

Create benchmark for appeal rate (<20%) success (Leeds)

Decision makers to consult with doctors/look at existing files before making decisions (Teesside)

Disability is a complex issue (Teesside)

Don't have universal job match as the default platform - trust people that they are looking for work (Glasgow)

DWP staff should do home visits to see consequences of sanctions (Teesside)

Equate DD and key meter payments (Teesside)

False economy – short-term vision (London 2)

Focus on corporate fraud (Salford)

Freeze on benefits but increased costs (Teesside)

Front-line staff mandatory income maximisation assessment (Glasgow)

Funeral poverty – the cost of dying; Establish a social enterprise to take care of funeral costs/carry out funerals; A dignified state funeral for all (Teesside)

Furniture swaps e.g. freecycle – socialist clothing banks/clothes swap (Teesside)

Further use of [unclear] in times of domestic crisis? (London 1)

Greater local coordination of available support agencies (Teesside)

H + WB Board to do more cost cutting by working together eg sharing buildings, systems, staff (Teesside)

Hospital discharge more effective and joined up with social care (London 2)

How say enough is enough to erosion (Teesside)

Including a range of disability trained activities in policy-making process, decision-making (?) advocacy (labelling in that process) (Glasgow)

Increase public support for parity of NHS provision in mental and physical health (London 2)

Independent arbitration service (Glasgow)

In-house food banks; Stigma of food banks (Teesside)

Individuals or communities? (Teesside)

Interventions for pre pensioners - flexible access (London 1)

Investment in knowledge of rights and entitlements (Glasgow)

Joined-up working between agencies (Glasgow)

LA to not cut services without fully considering pay gap first – look for other ways to save money (Teesside)

Legal requirements for mental health and disability awareness in the workplace (Salford)

Let Queen pay for Buck House repairs (Teesside)

Link professional training to vol agency such as GP – carers' centres – WR (Teesside)

Link services such as IAPT and WR/Benefits at same drop in – cost savings on venue, better for client (Teesside)

Local food co-ops to sell food at cost price (Teesside)

Make the system less stressful (Teesside)

New 'audit' for government on longer-term outcomes and impact of social security to acknowledge social investment (Glasgow)

No bank account. 6 week wait; Give asylum seekers granted refugee status more time to move from asylum support to mainstream social security (London 1)

Pay [unclear] forward (Teesside)

Pensioners pay full NI on earnings; Universal Pension (HB + CTS + WFP); What to do with older people's equity - equity release; Build accessible savings 'pots' within pension system (London 1)

Political representation of benefit claimants (London 2)

Poverty is relative! (Teesside)

Promoting the right to benefit (Glasgow)

Public representative panel to have input on service cuts (Teesside)

Reduce duplication of services (Teesside)

Reduce waiting period for SMI (London 1)

Reform tax system to incentivise more equal sharing of work and care (London 1)

Regional independent benefit agencies (Leeds)

Reintroduce crisis support (£) (Teesside)

Reintroduce some form of EMA (London 1)

Remove targets which are arbitrary and savings-related rather than genuine assessment of need (Salford)

Restore early years support (London 1)

Reverse cuts to local authorities (Teesside)

Right to individual assessments (not households) (Glasgow)

Safety, shelter, food, access to health care, education (Teesside)

Sanctions for employers not claimants (Salford)

Sanctions/consequences for work-coach advisors who have complaint upheld against them (Teesside)

Speed up the tax credits process (Teesside)

Start from point of truth (trust clients) (Glasgow)

Statutory universal well-being curriculum (Leeds)

Stop privatising/outsourcing public land/assets/services (for short-term political point scoring) (Teesside)

Stop starving and freezing people (Teesside)

Supermarket cards while claims assessed (Leeds)

Training needs and assessment (JCP joined up with other training centres) (Glasgow)

Universal free schools meals including high schools including breakfast (Leeds)

Use information already gathered on files/database before pursuing detrimental actions (Teesside)

You can only [illegible] the benefits system if you spend money on running it e.g. staffing (Teesside);

Appendix D: Stage Four – Priorities agreed within individual Workshops

(the points in italics are the headings agreed within individual Workshops at Stage Two)

Glasgow

Infrastructure and process: Continuous payments through change of circumstances; Non premium [telephone] numbers; Better trained [Job] Centre staff; Revise work capability assessment to take account of holistic, whole person approach; Alter M.R.s or abolish (gets things right).

Income: Benefits to rise with inflation; Income for everyone must be secure, predictable, adequate; No benefit cap; Set benefits at the recognised minimum income standard; Topping up reserved benefit i.e. Child Benefit, pension.

Experience and ethos - Medical evidence trusted; Remove profit and incentives shaping support (corporate nature) reduce contractualism; *Make jobcentres welcoming* – co-design the space with service users – toilets, water and toy area at a minimum; *Start from point of truth* (trust clients); *Abolish welfare conditionality; Human rights (HR) underpinning* and HR applied and translated into practical steps.

Rights and responsibilities – Remove sanctions regime (more carrot, incentives, support) – training; *Take a person-centred approach to supporting someone* e.g. person defines outcomes; *No sanction without a hearing; Government to recognise the right to social security as defined in ICESCR; Right to prompt response times.*

Miscellaneous – Political leadership (Evidence based policy making); Promoting the right to benefit; Provide essential services: subsidised transport, subsidised childcare, subsidised housing.

Leeds

Appendix E: Stage Four – Priorities across Workshops grouped thematically (listed by number of Workshops in which the topic was mentioned)

Mentioned in six Workshops

Benefits: Housing Benefit to reflect market rents (abolish bedroom tax and benefit cap) (Leeds) Housing costs (affordability), supply/rent caps – reintroduce at a level covered by HB (NAWRA 1) Housing costs: restore full HB (NAWRA 2) Reduce first payment wait for UC – reinstate Work Allowance, provide universal social fund (London 2) Reduce length of delays in accessing benefits: UC waiting times and monthly payments (Salford) Continuous payments through change of circumstances; No benefit cap; Abolish welfare conditionality (Glasgow) Benefits without conditionality (London 2)

Housing: Provide essential services: subsidised transport, subsidised childcare, subsidised housing (Glasgow); Social housing building programme – relax capital borrowing on LAs (Leeds); Home ownership not being the ‘ultimate aim’ – reform of rent thinking to promote security of tenure – housing policy review (London 2); Build more homes (London 2); “De-financialise housing” – investment in social housing, increased tenure security, rent controls, flexible tenure options with security; More mixed communities (Salford); Housing – really affordable rents, more (prefabs), rent control (NAWRA 1); Secure and affordable housing – social house building programme; (Social) house building (not necessarily concrete – prefabs, reclaimed wood, environmentally friendly) – responsible capital borrowing (NAWRA 2); rent tribunal control, only LAs can rent, cancel short-term tenancies; Rent controls (admin costs) (NAWRA 2) Mortgage support (rights/financial, shifting approach - changing repossession law) (NAWRA 2)

Sanctions: Remove sanctions regime (more carrot, incentives, support) – training; No sanction without a hearing (Glasgow); Get rid of sanctions now – saving to taxpayer, follow Scottish example, keep for extreme cases (Leeds); Incentives not sanctions (London 2); End sanctions regime (Salford); Rethinking sanctions regime: evaluate the cost of sanctions to wider health, care, crime etc – reintroduce sense of proportionality and humanity (Salford); Scrap sanctions; Abolish sanctions regime (no evidence it works) (NAWRA 1); Abolish sanctions (nil cost) (NAWRA 2); Sanctions eradicated (NAWRA 2)

Mentioned in five Workshops

Administration: Right to prompt response times (Glasgow) Benefits processed in timely manner – sanctions on DWP, Parliament set targets (Leeds) Statutory time limits for DWP decision making (London 2) Better trained [Job] Centre staff (Glasgow) Training for DWP staff regarding mental health and disability (pooling skills); Training of DWP staff (Salford) More [DWP] staff and training; Better training and job security conditions for DWP staff; logical integrated IT systems (NAWRA 1) Make jobcentres welcoming – co-design the space with service users – toilets, water and toy area at a minimum(Glasgow) Non premium [telephone] numbers (Glasgow)

Benefit Rates and Up-rating: Set benefits at the recognised minimum income standard (Glasgow) Minimum basic income to cover basic needs (Leeds) Adequate incomes – minimum, remove freeze (London 2) Benefits to rise with inflation (Glasgow) Independent body for minimum income setting – benefits ‘political welfare’ (London 2) Triple-lock children’s’ benefits eg child tax credit and child benefit (London 2) Benefits to increase in line with inflation (Salford) Topping up reserved benefit i.e. Child Benefit, pension (Glasgow)

Principles: Income for everyone must be secure, predictable, adequate; Human rights (HR) underpinning and HR applied and translated into practical steps; Take a person-centred approach to supporting someone e.g. person defines outcomes; Government to recognise the right to social security as defined in ICESCR; Promoting the right to benefit; Start from point of truth (trust clients) (Glasgow); Involving service users – co-production, include voice of service users; Public service ethos; Respect and dignity by DWP (Leeds) Social security not welfare (London 2) Culture change – making Jobcentres more accountable and responsive to local ‘actors’ including claimants themselves e.g. Stockpot Homes Partnership (Salford) Abolish discretionary (and localised?) benefits – full return to mandatory (statutory) entitlements (NAWRA 1)

Mentioned in four Workshops

Employment: Real living wage (Leeds), A real Living Wage (London 2), Decent Living Wage, More labour market regulation – end zero hours contracts, regulate/minimise zero hours contracts, agency worker rights (Salford), Adequate living wage to eliminate working tax credits (NAWRA 2) Legal requirements for mental health and disability awareness in the workplace; Long-term sustainable investment in training and skills (Salford)

Media/Public Attitudes: Change public views – badge, simple slogan, young people, company involvement in charities; Media statutory guidelines; Povertyism – protected characteristic as a form of discrimination (Leeds) Challenge stereotypes of social security claimants; Social space – more effective campaigning, real life stories (London 2)

Change public perception through the media; revolution culture change!; Education – starting with schools, building awareness of social responsibility, social justice/equality (NAWRA 1) Change media representation – show it could happen to anyone (include education in economics for politicians) (Salford) Co-ordination across Think Tanks, NGOs, academics and practitioners to share evidence, best practice and ideas (London 2) Building networks of advocacy and resistance (e.g. Liverpool) (Salford)

Mentioned in three Workshops

Advice Services: Reintroduce legal aid (Leeds) Free legal advice; Reinstate legal aid for benefits; Welfare/debt adviser in GP surgery (London 2) Advocates at every job centre (Salford)


Assessments, Appeals and Mandatory Reconsideration: Medical evidence trusted (Glasgow) Revise work capability assessment to take account of holistic, whole person approach (Glasgow) NHS assessment-based sickness disability benefits – self funding (NAWRA 2) Create benchmark for appeal rate (<20%) success (Leeds) Alter M.R.s or abolish (gets things right) (Glasgow) Abolish mandatory reconsideration (Leeds)

Mentioned in two Workshops

Measure costs of bureaucracy (not just financial but health, time etc); Research on monetary impact of welfare reform – tv campaign (Leeds) Economic analysis government backed on wider costs of cuts to welfare and advice (London 2)

Evidence based policy making (Salford) Political leadership (Evidence based policy making) (Glasgow)

Mentioned in one Workshop



Banking and finance sector (regulation: [unclear] interest payments, identifying issues with repayments – social obligations; campaign about social obligations led by key thinkers in financial sector; financial tailored education/guidance and rights (London 2)
Child care (Leeds)
Early access to mental health support (London 2)
Explore 'basic income' (Salford)
Focus on corporate fraud (Salford)
Remove profit and incentives shaping support (corporate nature) reduce contractualism (Glasgow)
Remove targets which are arbitrary and savings-related rather than genuine assessment of need (Salford)
Sanctions for employers not claimants (Salford)
Statutory protection against debt collection – 'breathing space' (London 2)
Universal free schools meals including high schools including breakfast (Leeds)