

# TRANSFORMING LIVES TO STRENGTHEN BRITAIN



A Social Justice Manifesto  
for 2015

THE CENTRE FOR  
SOCIAL  
JUSTICE

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## About the Centre for Social Justice

The Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) aims to put social justice at the heart of British politics. Our policy development is rooted in the wisdom of those working to tackle Britain's deepest social problems and the experience of those whose lives have been affected by poverty. Our Working Groups are non-partisan, comprising prominent academics, practitioners and policy makers who have expertise in the relevant fields. We consult nationally and internationally, especially with charities and social enterprises, who are the champions of the welfare society.

In addition to policy development, the CSJ has built an alliance of poverty fighting organisations that reverse social breakdown and transform communities. We believe that the surest way the Government can reverse social breakdown and poverty is to enable such individuals, communities and voluntary groups to help themselves.

The CSJ was founded by Iain Duncan Smith in 2004, as the fulfilment of a promise made to Janice Dobbie, whose son had recently died from a drug overdose just after he was released from prison.

Director: Christian Guy

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## Preface

This is a manifesto for a stronger Britain. As we set out in these pages, during the next Parliament politicians have an opportunity to transform lives, society and our economy by tackling the root causes of disadvantage. This is because social justice, helping those on the margins of our society, benefits everybody.

Changing the lives of the poorest people enriches our nation. When families on the margins find stability, work and independence from the social breakdown that holds them back, more adults and children have a chance to thrive. More people become net contributors within society and demands on the public purse reduce. We all gain.

This is a programme for Government that is passionate about self-reliance but believes in the power of an enabling State. We want people to stand on their own feet but see a role for a thriving social sector, where possible encouraged by Government, to help people to do so. We want to protect the principle of a safety net welfare system but for those who can work, we say that is the best choice for individuals, families and wider society.

To build a more socially just Britain we urge the incoming Government to adopt seven goals for office. They focus on reversing social breakdown and creating pathways out of entrenched poverty. They relate to: family stability, children in failing schools, the long-term unemployed, those in dangerous debt, addiction, the social sector and rehabilitating offenders. Alongside this we make recommendations for better leadership in Whitehall.

In broader terms we call on the new Government to shepherd such reforms responsibly. The kind of divisive rhetoric which we have seen creep into media coverage and political debate in recent times undermines public confidence in political motive. For instance we support the Troubled Families programme but regret the name. Occasionally the welfare debate has descended to speeches about the curtains being drawn and people's laziness. This is unnecessary – our starting point must always be constructive second chances for people who need them.

And when it comes to welfare spending and deficit reduction, politicians should handle decisions with reluctance not relish. Much has been written about refusing to consider savings from the money we spend on the wealthiest pensioners in the form of universal benefits. The CSJ's views on this are well-rehearsed. But a more recent debate about ringfencing has also continued. Our view is that it seems illogical to refuse to consider *any* savings in areas such as healthcare, international development and defence. During times of extreme pressure on the public finances, all areas should be analysed.

We have witnessed remarkable improvements in our economy – including what some term a ‘jobs miracle’ – but the next Government, of whichever composition, will have to lead our country through more instability at home and abroad. It is crucial, therefore, that social justice remains a political priority. We hope our principles and ideas will inspire an incoming Government because there is important progress to protect and to build on.

**Christian Guy**

Director, the Centre for Social Justice

**Mark Florman**

Chairman, the Centre for Social Justice

March 2015

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## An overview

In 2007, the Centre for Social Justice published *Breakthrough Britain*, a report which shone a light on the shocking levels of deprivation that blight communities across the UK.

We identified five interconnected pathways to poverty which in many cases, condemned those born in the poorest part of society to a life of deprivation:

- Family breakdown
- Educational failure
- Worklessness
- Serious personal debt
- Addiction

*Breakthrough Britain* transformed the British political landscape but, eight years on, the need to give a voice to the most disadvantaged people could not be greater.

We spent two years researching *Breakthrough Britain 2015* – a fresh assessment of how the root causes of poverty are continuing to hold back people, families and communities.

It became apparent that there is still much work to do to tackle the pathways to poverty.

*We travelled over 50,000 miles, conducted nearly 150 evidence hearings, visited almost 1,000 poverty-fighting charities and polled 6,000 members of the public to discover first-hand what is fuelling poverty.*

Economic growth is returning to the UK and progress is being made with regards to social reform. There is now a better focus on the root causes of social injustice across Whitehall.

However we know some communities are yet to feel the benefits of reforms and numerous people are struggling as they try to make ends meet.

We call on an incoming Government to adopt the radical, implementable and cost-effective reforms we outline in this manifesto, to help tackle the root causes of poverty in Britain.

## Progress we need to protect

During this Parliament the Centre for Social Justice has fought hard for poverty-fighting policies across government. There have been a number of important successes as Whitehall has become far more attuned to tackling the root causes of poverty, not just the symptoms. These changes include:

### Social Justice Cabinet Committee and Unit

The Social Justice Cabinet Committee (SJCC), created in 2010, provides a forum for ministers to look at how to tackle issues related to poverty, equality and social justice. It has allowed ministers to break through some of the silos across Whitehall and has helped ensure that policy concentrates on both the prevention of problems and on building a 'second chance' society where no-one is left behind.

The SJCC has resulted in major social justice policy change such as the Modern Slavery Bill and the 'Family Test' whereby every domestic policy is examined for its impact on the family.



### Families

#### Troubled Families initiative

The Troubled Families programme has identified and given support to more than 50,000 families and has helped turn their lives around. As a result, crime and anti-social behaviour have been reduced, children's education has been improved and more people are back in work.

#### Backing marriage

The Transferable Tax Allowance for married couples allows a spouse to transfer more than £1,000 of their personal allowance to their spouse. It will reward family stability and the crucial work of stay-at-home parents. Important steps have also been taken to eliminate the 'couple penalty' which saw some couples left worse off together than apart.

 Education

### Improved standards in schools

The Government has made great strides in improving education; giving headteachers more power to drive up standards in their own schools, offering more providers the opportunity to set up Free Schools as the CSJ recommended in Breakthrough Britain and introducing a Pupil Premium to allow schools to support disadvantaged pupils.

### Early Intervention Foundation

The Government has shown its commitment to effective support in the earliest years of childhood through the Early Intervention Foundation, which was established in 2013 following a CSJ recommendation. It advises local authorities on early intervention implementation, and advocates for it on a national level.

It is helping to bring about a culture change from one of late reaction to early intervention and to break intergenerational cycles of disadvantage by ensuring that every baby, child and young person is equipped with crucial social and emotional skills.

 Work

### 'Jobs Miracle'

Employment has risen dramatically over this Parliament, such that more people in the UK (30.9 million) are in work than ever before. According to the Bank of England, this 'jobs miracle' is driven in part by welfare reform.

### Enabling employment

Universal Credit, as designed and recommended by the CSJ, simplifies the welfare system and ensures that work – which is the most effective route out of poverty – always pays. The Government estimates that 300,000 additional people may move into work as a result of Universal Credit.

The Work Programme, introduced in June 2011, offers intensive, specialist support to people who are long-term unemployed and helps them overcome barriers to work. Most aspects of the programme are now outperforming their targets in getting those furthest from the workplace into employment.



## Debt

### Help for those at risk of debt

The Government has enabled more low-income households to access affordable credit – and so avoid spiraling debt - by strengthening the Credit Union movement. Credit Unions are now able to lend to more of the most vulnerable people without losing money thanks to regulatory reforms recommended by the CSJ.



## Charities

### Social investment

Social investment unlocks the potential of charities by involving high-net-worth investors *lending* rather than *giving* their money to charities. The launch of Big Society Capital in 2012 – an investment fund with £600 million in loans to back investable ideas – has seen Britain become a world leader in the field.



## Crime

### Anti-gangs strategy

The UK has a gang problem. Following years of CSJ research and the 2011 riots, politicians have now woken up to this reality. While concerns remain about progress since then, this prominence represents genuine public policy advancement.

### Modern Slavery Bill

In 2014 the Modern Slavery Bill was introduced in direct response to the CSJ's report *It Happens Here*, which exposed the shocking plight of those trapped in modern slavery. As well as helping to tackle this issue in the UK, the Bill will ensure Britain leads the global struggle against modern slavery and human trafficking. It is essential that the newly created Modern Slavery Unit in the Home Office is retained and strengthened.



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## Priorities for Government

Whoever takes office in May 2015 will have to focus on securing Britain's economic recovery. Yet, economic recovery will be undermined substantially if we leave the most disadvantaged people in Britain behind. There can be no genuine economic recovery without a social recovery to match.

Poverty is still embedded generationally in Britain, with 1.5 million children growing up in households where no-one is in work. Poverty is still embedded geographically in Britain, with neighbourhoods where the majority of working-age adults are claiming out-of-work benefits. Poverty is still embedded demographically in Britain, with lone-parent households two and a half times more likely to be in poverty than two parent households.

While the situation was undoubtedly worsened by the 2008 financial crash, the root causes of poverty were present during the economic boom years too. In fact a quarter of local authorities saw working-age dependency on benefits rise prior to the crash, despite the longest period of continuous economic growth since the start of the Industrial Revolution.

The CSJ has spent the past decade working with charities and social enterprises to find implementable, cost-effective reforms to tackle the root causes of poverty. It has become apparent that there is still much work to do to tackle the five interconnected pathways to poverty: family breakdown, educational failure, economic dependency, worklessness, addiction and serious personal debt.

In our 2015 manifesto we are calling on an incoming Government to set seven defining social justice goals:

- Reduce family breakdown
- Provide world-class education for the poorest children
- Abolish youth unemployment
- Help people to escape from problem debt
- Build a nation for full recovery from addiction
- Unleash the social sector to bring transformation
- Reduce re-offending to make communities safer

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## Future direction in Whitehall

Amidst very tough and hostile economic conditions the Coalition has established a social justice programme that could easily have fallen by the wayside. Further substantial changes should be implemented across Whitehall during the next Parliament though to ensure the incoming Government continues the fight against poverty.

### Protect the Social Justice Cabinet Committee (SJCC)

The new Social Justice Cabinet Committee (SJCC) is a major success of this Parliament, which has allowed this Government to structurally embed the social justice agenda right across government.

The Social Justice Strategy and related outcomes framework are a radical recasting of Whitehall in the fight against entrenched poverty. However it is vital that the next Government retains the work of this Committee in order to co-ordinate policy for the most disadvantaged.

We envisage that the Social Justice Cabinet Committee would be responsible for achieving our seven goals for government.

### A new child poverty measure

The current measure of child poverty, based on an arbitrary relative income measure rather than the root causes of poverty, is an inaccurate indicator. In order to construct a measure of child poverty that is both accurate and useful, it is vital that the main drivers of poverty are made the priority for measurement. We propose that an incoming Government implements a new approach to measurement which focuses on these key drivers.

### Establish a Department for Families

A dedicated Department for Families would deliver a programme to strengthen families, boost stability and uphold the importance of fatherhood. A Cabinet-level minister should be appointed with clear accountability for families, to champion the family agenda at the highest levels of government.

### **Better data sharing**

An incoming Government must improve the use and sharing of data, to ensure that social justice progress and needs are better mapped. By better enabling the process by which data is shared, as well as the technical capacity by which it is used, the next government will be more transparent about how the social justice agenda should be implemented.

### **End ring-fencing of Government departments**

During this time of extreme pressure on public finances, it seems illogical for government to refuse to consider any savings in areas such as healthcare, international development and defence.

## Stable families



### GOAL 1 Reduce family breakdown

Family breakdown costs the UK £47 billion every year and causes untold misery, particularly in disadvantaged communities. Radical family policy has fallen victim to Coalition politics. Yet without unprecedented effort, by the end of the next Parliament almost half of all children taking their GCSEs will come from broken homes. An incoming Government needs to commit to the goal of reducing family breakdown by adopting the following recommendations:

#### See the family, not just the child

The Government should convert children's centres into 'Family Hubs'. Family Hubs would co-ordinate vital services for families, particularly in those areas where help is desperately needed. Family Hubs would be the 'go to' place for any parent to access services or information about all family-related matters from antenatal services to employment and debt advice and, crucially, relationship support to help reduce family breakdown. Birth registration would also take place in Family Hubs rather than in registry offices.

#### Guarantee and extend the Troubled Families Programme

The next Government should make a long-term commitment to turning around the lives of the most fragile families in society, through the Troubled Families Programme. Building on the success of the existing programme, the project should be extended throughout the next Parliament and beyond.

#### Use 'family fostering' to save families

Families with entrenched difficulties may require residential support where, in effect, the whole family is fostered. Such 'family fostering' should be included as a Troubled Families option. Intensive help for fragile families must also include relationship support, and draw in fathers wherever possible.

#### Be bolder on marriage and support stay-at-home parents

Single earner families have been devalued in recent years. The CSJ urges the Government to work towards a fully transferable tax allowance for all married couples. Initially, the next Government should increase the amount that couples with children under three can transfer to £2,000, saving them an additional £200 per year and costing £480 million nationally.

## A better deal for children in care

Children in care should be encouraged to develop supportive and nurturing relationships with family and friends. The next Government should follow the highly successful US 'Family Finding' approach. A number of adults with a connection, familial or otherwise, to a young person in care are sought out to enable several of them to develop lifelong relationships with that young person before they leave the care system.

Kinship Care placements allow children to remain with family or friends if their own parents are unable to care for them. They provide continuity and enable children to maintain family relationships. The next Government should be on the side of the family members and friends who step in. A Kinship Care Passport, which guides these carers through the range of support on offer, should be developed.

## Family Fostering Case Study: Save the Family, Cheshire

The charity Save the Family has transformed the lives of thousands of vulnerable families by taking whole families into its accommodation. The 'family fostering' model keeps families together and prevents children from being taken into care.

Save the Family gets no government backing for its intensive and specialist family support work because the relevant local authorities channel support exclusively into non-residential Troubled Families work.

Given the numbers involved, the charity simply cannot meet this level of demand unfunded. The charity had to turn away 15 families with children who were homeless in one week, despite having room to accommodate them, because they had no form of public support.

These are exactly the sort of families the Troubled Families programme was set up to help.



## Education



### GOAL 2

Provide world-class education for our poorest children

Many of the country's poorest children start and finish school behind their better-off classmates. We credit the current Government with trying to address this fundamental problem. Many of our concerns have been acted on. However 40 per cent of disadvantaged children still leave primary school functionally illiterate and innumerate. An incoming Government needs to commit to the goal of providing world-class education for our poorest children by adopting the following recommendations:

#### Pre-school help for the disadvantaged

Nursery classes attached to primary schools produce good educational outcomes for the most disadvantaged children, bringing them into contact with better qualified staff sooner.

The CSJ recommends that all Good and Outstanding primary schools in the poorest communities should be given the support to offer nursery provision. The CSJ also calls for more children's centres to be attached to schools, allowing schools to intervene earlier in children's education. Good and Outstanding primary schools in deprived areas should also be helped to set up their own children's centres or take over existing failing provision.

#### Get the best education providers into the most disadvantaged communities

The CSJ has heard that the best academy chains are often reluctant to expand into disadvantaged areas because their success relies on their ability to work in 'geographic clusters' where support can be offered to schools easily and flexibly. The next Government should give the most effective academy chains groups of schools in disadvantaged areas so they can offer such support.

Successful headteachers are also put off moving to schools in challenging areas because they are inspected before they have the chance to make improvements. The CSJ recommends that headteachers with a proven track record should have a two-year grace period from formal inspection when moving into a failing school.

The CSJ strongly supports the Free School initiative, but too few grassroots charities have set them up in the poorest areas. The CSJ therefore asks for increased support for such charities when making applications.

### **State boarding schools for the most disadvantaged**

State boarding schools can help to prevent children in need from going into care by offering them and their families an opportunity to stabilise. The CSJ recommends that the Government expands the availability of state boarding school places for vulnerable children and aims to have a funded state boarding place available for every disadvantaged child who would benefit.

### **Improve the Pupil Premium**

The Pupil Premium has been an excellent initiative which has targeted resources at the poorest pupils. However, the current mechanism used to assign Pupil Premium, eligibility for free school meals, uses arbitrary income cut-off points, meaning that children can be defined as being in or not in poverty on the basis of a £1 difference in income.

The CSJ recommends the Government revises the eligibility criteria to consider additional factors to family income including family breakdown, long-term unemployment, parental addiction and parental education.

### **Apprenticeships for children in care**

The Department for Education funds a bursary of £2,000 for care leavers going to university, but provides no comparative financial support to incentivise care leavers to take up apprenticeships. We recommend that the Government shows their commitment to apprenticeships by funding the first £2,000 of a bursary for care leavers, as they do for higher education.



### Pre-school Provision Case Study: Lewisham Council

Lewisham has supported many of its primary schools in offering nursery classes. Sue Tipler, the Head of Standards and Achievements at Lewisham Council told the CSJ that 'having nursery places within primary schools has been very beneficial'.

Early years outcomes in Lewisham are very good: 60 per cent of children on free school meals in Lewisham achieved a good level of development last year – the joint-highest scoring local authority in the country. Sue Tipler told the CSJ that nursery classes are an important part of the landscape: in Lewisham there are 52 primary schools with nurseries, 92 per cent of which are rated Good or Outstanding.



## Work



### GOAL 3 Abolish youth unemployment

We have highlighted some exceptional progress in the past few years but more is required to establish the opportunity of work in the lives of the most disadvantaged. There are approximately one in six UK households in which no-one is in work, and there is still much more to do to help unemployed young people find a future. History tells us that job creation and headline growth will not be enough to tackle poverty. To create a competitive British workforce and unlock the power of work to reduce poverty, reform must continue apace. An incoming Government needs to commit to the goal of abolishing youth unemployment by adopting the following recommendations:

#### Begin tackling youth unemployment in primary schools

The CSJ has seen how children at risk of becoming unemployed on leaving school can be identified early and given extra support that improves their chances of finding work or training when they are 18.

As well as primary school measures, we recommend offering mentoring to teenagers who are at risk of unemployment. In providing such a service, the highly effective ThinkForward initiative in Tower Hamlets has successfully reduced the NEET (not in education, employment or training) rate amongst the 10 per cent of pupils most at risk by 88 per cent. This programme should be rolled out to the most disadvantaged areas across the country.

#### Bridge the gap between school and work

The transition from education into work can be complex and confusing. To help ease the transition, the Government should introduce a Youth Offer, where those not going to university apply for employment or training through a UCAS-style website.

Those who do not get a job or training opportunity straight away would be placed with a charity or social enterprise that would help them find employment. Rather than receiving out-of-work benefits, young people would receive a wage from the organisation they have been placed with.

### Reform Jobcentre Plus

Jobcentre Plus (JCP) should no longer have a monopoly on providing employment support to claimants. Instead the Government should allow providers from the voluntary, private and public sectors to compete to deliver this support, with providers being rewarded on a payment-by-results basis. The Government should also ensure that JCP is measured by how many people have actually moved into work and stayed there, rather than the number moving off benefits.

Building on the successful welfare reforms of this Parliament, the CSJ recommends that JCP develops an assessment tool to fully identify the major barriers to employment that jobseekers face so that their needs are quickly understood and the most urgent cases prioritised.

### A stronger work incentive for Universal Credit

At the earliest opportunity, the Government should increase the value of the work allowance that claimants receive, so that they can earn more money before their Universal Credit is reduced.

### Help people progress in work

Sustaining and progressing in work can be difficult for many people but it is essential to reducing poverty and welfare costs. The Government should pilot a scheme which places Sustainment and Progression Coaches with people to help them develop essential skills.

The Government should trial a payment-by-results model for coach providers, with a proportion of the payment given to the person receiving coaching to spend on something which could further their career.



### Tackling Youth Unemployment Case Study: ThinkForward, London

Since 2010, the ThinkForward initiative has provided in-school 'super coaches' to struggling students aged between 14 and 19. These highly-trained coaches offer stable one-to-one support through challenges at home and school. Coaches provide up to five years of sustained support and bring young people into contact with employers by providing access to activities such as completing a work experience placement.

#### Impact

When Adam was 14, he became involved in a local gang: starting fights, mugging younger children and occasionally assisting in dealing drugs. That is when ThinkForward coach Darrin got involved.

'Darrin explained what could happen to me. He had a friend, just like me, doing every crime I'd been doing. He had no life at all – couldn't get a job. I didn't want to be like him by the time I was 25,' said Adam.

With the support of ThinkForward, Adam was able to leave the gang and improve his behaviour and school work. He is now confident that his security lies in the prospect of a stable job.

## Debt freedom



### GOAL 4 Help people to escape from problem debt

Almost nine million people in the UK are trapped in a vicious cycle of problem debt, with another eight million at risk of finding themselves in the same position. The current Government has taken positive steps towards tackling the crisis, by reforming insolvency regulations and committing to new legislation which will improve the provision of sustainable finance. However personal debt remains the driving force behind some of the most entrenched poverty in Britain today. An incoming Government needs to commit to the goal of helping people escape from problem debt by adopting the following recommendations:

#### A new lending market for low-income groups

Credit unions allow people on low incomes to have access to affordable credit from responsible lenders. However, restrictive regulations mean that credit unions only serve two per cent of the UK's population.

The CSJ is calling for a radical overhaul of regulation to allow high performing credit unions and new providers to become Community Banks so they can compete with payday lenders. Community Banks will be able to offer ethical and affordable financial services to almost every member of the community, including those in poverty.

The CSJ also recommends that the Cabinet Office invests in the creation of a peer-to-peer social investment service. This would allow social finance providers to access investment so they can offer better services to vulnerable people.

#### Simpler and safer consumer choices

The increasing complexity of financial products has created a dangerous marketplace for financial services, especially in our poorest communities.

The Financial Conduct Authority (FCA) needs to reform guidelines to include new minimum standards of consumer protection. It should also enforce a new code of ethics that will hold people in the financial sector personally responsible for unethical behaviour.

The Treasury should also develop a range of 'Essential Products' for banking, savings, insurance and credit, that are simple and safe.

### Effective help to repay debt

Currently those in debt can enter a Debt Management Plan to spread payments to their creditors over a number of years. However, the system is voluntary and creditors are not required to accept the repayment terms so vulnerable people are often hit with additional debt.

The Government should introduce Scotland's successful Debt Arrangement Scheme which requires creditors to accept repayment terms, freeze interest and penalty charges and stop further enforcement action. It has contributed towards reducing insolvencies by 40 per cent since 2009.

### A nation of savers

People in low-income households would like to save more but need help to do so. The Treasury should require employers to create an auto-enrollment savings scheme for employees that would allow people to save a small amount of their income each month. This would help to give them a greater safety net against income shocks (such as a broken washing machine). The Department for Work and Pensions should also investigate an auto-enrolment savings component of Universal Credit that would allow people to specify a small amount to be deducted each month and placed in a savings account.

## Drug and alcohol recovery



### GOAL 5 Build a nation for full recovery from addiction

Important commitments on recovery have been secured under the Coalition, however too little is changing in local areas. Within Europe, England has the highest level of heroin and crack cocaine addiction, the highest number of users of 'legal highs' and the second highest level of alcohol dependence. Full recovery from addiction is currently the preserve of the lucky few or the wealthy, but everyone should be entitled to it. An incoming Government needs to commit to the goal of building a nation for full recovery from addiction by adopting the following recommendations:

#### Penny-on-a-unit treatment tax to pay for abstinence based recovery

Residential rehabilitation is the most effective means of helping someone fully recover from addiction – the best see more than two-thirds of clients leave drug and alcohol free. Yet this provision is only open to the lucky few and the rich.

To fund the roll-out of rehabilitation the CSJ proposes a Treatment Tax of one pence per unit on off-license sales of alcohol (rising to two pence a unit in the 2020 Parliament). By committing to this, the Government would be able to reduce permanently the level of addiction in our society over the next 15 years.

#### Stop 'parking' people on methadone

At present government criteria mean that someone can 'successfully' leave treatment while still using alcohol or illicit drugs or addicted to prescribed medicines. In England, nearly 150,000 people are prescribed heroin substitutes, such as methadone, as 'treatment'. A third of these have been on them for four years or more. This is state-sponsored addiction, not recovery.

The measure of success for treatment services must be altered to encourage abstinence-based rehabilitation. Services should be judged on whether clients leave treatment free from drugs and alcohol and whether they present again to services within six months.

### **Ban 'legal high' head shops**

'Legal highs' are taking an increasing toll on society. Despite the fact that many are similar or worse than banned drugs and are often equally addictive, they are available in high street 'head shops'.

The CSJ recommends the adoption of similar legislation to that used successfully in Ireland where all new psychoactive substances were made illegal to sell for human consumption and police were given the power to close down shops which sold them. In the space of a month, the number of 'head shops' went from over 100 to fewer than ten and doctors reported a dramatic fall in admissions to hospitals of young people suffering the effects of 'legal highs'.

### **Welfare as a route to treatment**

Dependent drinkers are twice as likely to claim benefits as the average citizen but often not helped into treatment by JobCentre Plus. The next Government should ensure that the welfare system helps addicts receive treatment.

Pre-paid welfare cards should be piloted for addicts who refuse to engage in treatment. Evidence from similar successful initiatives has shown it can protect addicts and their families by limiting benefits spending to basic essentials.

### **Appoint a national recovery representative**

The CSJ proposes that a national recovery 'champion' is appointed to inspect recovery services and hold the Government to account. They would report to the Secretary of State for Health and scrutinise treatment services.

## Methadone 'Parking' Case Study

Matt, a plumber, started using drugs when he was 25. When he first entered treatment, aged 29, he was prescribed methadone for heroin abuse, yet this did not stop him taking heroin. Perversely, Matt told the CSJ how methadone was by far the hardest drug from which to detoxify, a factor which prevented him from getting well sooner. Matt finally got clean after attending abstinence-based rehab and now has two volunteering roles.

Scott, a carpenter, told the CSJ how after sniffing glue, gas, and drinking alcohol at 16, he was soon using heroin. Although prescribed methadone, it made him feel so ill that he would only take it when he could not 'score' other drugs. Despite this, Scott was continually told he could not hope to be sent to rehab by his local authority until he had been on a methadone-course for one year. Scott is clean after moving to a different local authority and attending abstinence-based rehab. Like Matt, he now has two volunteering roles.





## Charities and communities



### GOAL 6 Unleash the social sector to bring transformation

This parliament has seen important developments for the social sector, including the establishment of Big Society Capital, the first ever social investment institution of its kind. However, further reform is needed to unleash the power of the social sector to transform lives. There are not enough charities to help those in areas of greatest need, while charities are also hampered in their ability to take on public contracts, and to innovate. An incoming Government needs to commit to the goal of unleashing the social sector to bring transformation by adopting the following recommendations:

#### Innovation and creativity

Too often social sector funding simply flows to what is already proven to work. The CSJ proposes that a Social Innovation Fund should be set up, modeled on the successful US initiative of the same name. This fund would specifically support highly promising social sector organisations that need to develop. The CSJ recommends that it should be funded through dormant life insurance and pension pots which estimates suggest amount to approximately £400 million.

#### Charities improving public services

The social sector has vital skills and expertise which can strengthen our public services. However almost half of our Charity Alliance involved in commissioning told us that employment regulations, or TUPE (Transfer of Undertaking [Protection of Employment]) regulations, discouraged them from taking on public service contracts. This is because they are forced to bid for a service without being told the terms of employment which they must adopt on taking it over.

The CSJ proposes that regulation should be amended to ensure that employment liability information is provided at the point of tender in cases of public service contracts. This will ensure that small providers are not deterred from bidding for a contract due to undisclosed risks they would be unable to bear.

#### Transformation of charity ‘cold spots’

Charities are not evenly spread across the country or necessarily distributed according to need, with deprived parts of Britain tending to have fewer charities than more affluent areas. However because knowledge of exactly how resources are distributed is limited, money is spent less strategically. The CSJ proposes that the Cabinet Office commissions better data on what is happening where so that investors, and those starting charities, can gear their action around it.

## A nation of givers

Charitable giving remains relatively weak in the UK with 60 per cent of residents giving, on average, less than £1 per week to charity. Payroll Giving is the most efficient way for the public to give to charity. Yet only four per cent of donors use Payroll Giving compared to 31 per cent who use direct debit. We recommend the new Government instates a right for employees to request access to Payroll Giving.

There are also almost one million people with assets between £50k and £100k who are interested in charitable investment, but discouraged from doing so because they would need to have their investment approved by the Financial Conduct Authority (FCA) which can cost charities many tens of thousands of pounds. The CSJ recommends that the Treasury instructs the FCA to review the social investment regulations to acknowledge the difference between charities, social enterprises and for-profit business.

## Crime and rehabilitation



### GOAL 7 Reduce re-offending to make communities safer

Over this Parliament the police have become more accountable to the public, competition has been introduced to the probation service and – most importantly – crime has fallen. Yet much more is needed to protect the public and to punish and rehabilitate criminals. Too many crimes, such as modern slavery and gang violence, are infrequently reported to the police. Too many offenders are not being rehabilitated by criminal sentences, but instead are reoffending time and time again. An incoming Government needs to commit to the goal of reducing re-offending to make communities safer by adopting the following recommendations:

#### Criminal sentences to break drug addiction

Drug addiction fuels crime, yet criminal sentences are failing to ensure that offenders tackle their addictions.

Almost half of women and a third of men need help for a drug problem on entry to prison, but a third of inmates admit to it being easy to get hold of drugs inside. The next Government should commit to cracking down on the abundant supply of drugs into prison, provide swift and meaningful sanctions for drug use and ensure the availability of effective, abstinence-based treatment in prisons.

The Government should also introduce specialist drug courts, which have been shown to make those who pass through them a fifth less likely to carry on taking drugs.

#### Make the justice system become more effective

Too many offenders are failing to complete community sentences and are going on to commit further crime.

The Government should pilot Swift, Certain and Fair (SCF) sanctions for community sentences, whereby every time an offender fails to abide by their sentence they are swiftly brought before a judge, and receive an immediate sanction – typically a day in prison.

SCF Programmes have been implemented in around 20 states in the USA and have reduced reoffending by up to a half.

Magistrates' courts should also be made more effective. They sentence 1.2 million people a year, yet they are never told whether those sentences successfully punished and rehabilitated offenders. The Government should ensure that probation services provide feedback to magistrates' courts on whether those they sentenced reoffended.

### **An intelligent approach to tackle street gangs**

Gangs are tearing apart too many of Britain's poorest communities. The next Government must present a coherent programme to tackle the UK's gang problem, especially the plight of girls who are often sexually abused and forced to carry guns and drugs by male gang members.

There must be a commitment to target prolific criminals associated with gangs and to provide effective support to help those who are motivated to leave gang life.

They should ensure that windows of opportunity – such as when girls visit a hospital or when male gang members are arrested – are seized upon to identify those girls who could be supported to exit. It should also support Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) more effectively to tackle gang crime across and within areas.

For more information on all of the recommendations made here, including references for all figures provided, please see [Breakthrough Britain 2015](#):

- Fully Committed? How government could reverse family breakdown
- Closing the divide: Tackling educational inequality in England
- The Journey to Work: Welfare reform for the next Parliament
- Restoring the Balance: Tackling problem debt
- Ambitious for Recovery: Tackling drug and alcohol addiction in the UK
- Social Solutions: Enabling grass-roots charities to tackle poverty

Some references are also taken from a number of other reports on our website.

Dozens of CSJ proposals have already been adopted by the mainstream political parties. See our influence on the 2015 General Election on our website.



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