Ministry of Housing,
Communities &
Local Government

Building Resilient Families:

Third annual report of the Troubled Families Programme 2018-19

Presented to Parliament pursuant to Section (3) 6 of the Welfare Reform and Work Act 2016

March 2019

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Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government
Fry Building, 2 Marsham Street
London SW1P 4DF
Tel: 0303 444 0000

ISBN 978-1-5286-1063-6
CCS0219646900 03/19

Printed on paper containing 75% recycled fibre content minimum

Printed in the UK by the APS Group on behalf of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office

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Foreword – Rt Hon James Brokenshire MP

In life there are many units of solidarity. The family, the neighbourhood, the town, the city, the nation. We draw a sense of identity and belonging from them. We are undeniably happier as part of them than without. And it's clear to me that the most important and strongly felt of these units is family.

Rich or poor, it's the bedrock on which everything else is built. Within the family we learn the value of love and support, in good times and bad. It shapes our ability to form healthy relationships in the future. It influences how well we do at school and into adulthood. It is the means by which we first connect to the wider community and then the world beyond.

When families thrive, we all thrive.

Yet sadly, the reverse is also true.

It's clear you can't tackle the complex problems struggling families face – worklessness, persistent truanting, health problems, crime and anti-social behaviour, domestic abuse and vulnerable children - in silos. You need to join up support and work with whole families, and not just individuals, to change lives. None of this is especially revolutionary – it's just common sense.

This is what lies at the heart of the Troubled Families Programme and the results speak for themselves.

When compared to a similar comparison group over multiple years, the programme of targeted intervention saw:

- The number of children going into care down by a third.
- The number of adults going to prison down by a quarter and juvenile convictions down by 15%.
- 10% fewer people claiming Jobseeker's Allowance.

Supporting people back into work, reducing convictions, strengthening families. The programme by no means represents the last word for these families in terms of how the state supports them, but for many it has been a step towards greater control and responsibility in their own lives.

Afterall, before beginning the programme, over half of the families were on benefits. More than two fifths had at least one person with a mental health issue. In one in six families, one person was dependent on non-prescription drugs or alcohol. And in over a fifth, at least one person had been affected by domestic abuse. When multiplied, the effects are devastating – for the families concerned, but also for their neighbours, their classmates and the wider community; who can find themselves on the receiving end of disruptive and distressing behaviour as a result.

I understand why we alighted on the phrase 'Troubled Families', but, in reality, it obscures as much as it enlightens. The criticism of the name isn't without legitimacy. At its worst it points an accusing finger at people, who are already isolated, and says to them *"you*

are the 'others' and you are not like the rest of us". When, in truth, they are like the rest of us, they've just had a little less help, been a little less lucky, and yes, made choices themselves that haven't led to the best outcomes. People should be responsible for their choices, but that doesn't mean we should give up on them. People can make the most of a second chance.

That is the lesson of the programme.

Around 400,000 families have been helped already and hundreds of thousands more will benefit as the whole family approach goes mainstream; winning the confidence of councils and their partners alike with its proven ability to give people hope and a brighter future. That's why I believe in the programme and want to see it go from strength to strength. And why I will always do my utmost to champion the family – the principal unit of solidarity that binds our communities and country.

Rt Hon James Brokenshire MP

Secretary of State

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government

Programme overview

Introduction

The Troubled Families Programme (2015-2020), now entering its final year, is working to achieve significant and sustained progress with up to 400,000 families with multiple, high-cost problems. This is backed by £920 million of government investment. The programme is managed by the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG), and delivered by upper tier local authorities in England and their partners.

The programme is geared towards reducing demand and dependency of families with complex needs on costly, reactive public services and delivering better value for the taxpayer. A keyworker or lead worker considers the problems of a family as a whole. They organise services to grip the family's problems and work with the family in a persistent and assertive way towards an agreed improvement plan.

The current programme has three aims.

For families: to achieve significant and sustained progress with up to 400,000 families with multiple, high-cost problems by 2020 and to make work an ambition for all troubled families.

For local services: to transform the way that public services work with families with multiple problems to take an integrated, 'whole family approach' and to help reduce demand for reactive services.

For the taxpayer: to demonstrate that this way of working results in lower costs and savings for the taxpayer.

The latest evidence from the Troubled Families Programme national evaluation[1] is encouraging. When compared to a matched comparison group, the programme was found to have:

- reduced the proportion of children on the programme going into care by a third
- reduced the proportion of adults on the programme going to prison by a quarter and juvenile convictions by 15%
- supported more people on the programme back in work with 10 per cent fewer people claiming Jobseeker's Allowance

The evaluation results also suggest local services are being reformed and the Troubled Families Programme has been successful in driving this change.

This is the third annual report of the current Troubled Families Programme (2015-2020)[2] and meets the statutory duty to report annually on performance.

1 MHCLG, 'National evaluation of the Troubled Families Programme 2015 to 2020', March 2019 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-evaluation-of-the-troubled-families-programme-2015-to-2020-findings

2 It meets the statutory duty to report annually on performance detailed in the Welfare Reform and Work Act 2016 http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2016/7/contents/enacted

As well as looking at progress against each of these three objectives, this report also sets out the programme's activities over the previous year and identifies priorities for 2019-2020.

Programme background

The current programme is built on a long history of improving the coordination and delivery of services for families with complex needs. Its design was based on evidence from the first version of the programme which ran from 2012 to 2015 and from a set of Family Intervention Projects[3] that ran between 2007 and 2011.

Core principles

While the national framework has developed over time, and the programme is delivered differently in different local authority areas, the approach is based on a set of core principles. These are that whole family working, multi-agency working, intervening earlier and focusing on outcomes and data are more effective in getting families the right interventions at the right time and therefore improving families' lives. All local programmes are required to follow these core principles.

Early intervention

Early intervention means spotting problems as early as possible rather than waiting for high-cost and reactive services to be required. Families at risk should be identified more proactively. Local services can then provide appropriate support to resolve problems and prevent escalation.

Focus on outcomes and data

Both data and referrals systems are used to identify families in need of support. This is facilitated by effective data systems to identify the right families, monitor progress and inform commissioning. The programme has a relentless focus on addressing and tracking outcomes. This is reinforced through the payment by results system which operates for the majority of local authorities taking part in the programme. Payment by results is a system of outcomes-based payments to local authorities. This drives local services to focus on outcomes rather than outputs.

Whole family working

Whole family working means helping all members of the family and supplying a dedicated keyworker or lead professional to co-ordinate services and build resilience. The keyworker builds an understanding of the family's interconnected problems, identifies the root causes and adopts an assertive approach to make sure the family resolves them.

The keyworker agrees a single plan with the family and across local services, increasing resilience by supporting with parenting and budgeting, and bringing in specialists where necessary. Evidence from the evaluation of Family Intervention Projects indicates that the likelihood of successful interventions and sustainability of outcomes increase when practitioners work in a whole family way.

Multi-agency working

Multi-agency working means strong local strategic partnerships across different agencies. It is a key enabler to achieve family outcomes. This may include multi-disciplinary frontline teams who are all capable of delivering whole family support, regardless of their profession. Services are organised around people's needs rather than around agency boundaries. This includes joint commissioning, shared data systems, co-location of services, a common referrals procedure, multi-disciplinary assessments, workforce integration and building a culture of partnership working.

3 Department for Education, 'Monitoring and evaluation of family intervention services and projects between February 2007 and March 2011', December 2011 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/monitoring-and-evaluation-of-family-intervention-services-and-projects-between-february-2007-and-march-2011

How the programme has changed

Alongside the consistency of the core principles, services for families have also developed and changed over the past decade. In particular, the programme has very deliberately sought to make sure that the approach of whole family working, multi-agency working, intervening earlier and focussing on outcomes are the norm for *all* services and staff that come into contact with families, not just those 'on the Troubled Families Programme'.

Instead of the programme's funding being used to pay for a small and dedicated 'family intervention team' or 'troubled families team', the programme is incentivising the training of multi-agency workforces in the core principles and paying for multi-agency data systems.

As a result, the 'Troubled Families Programme' is increasingly better seen as an *approach* to the delivery of public services for families more broadly and less a targeted programme or dedicated intervention. Support for families with complex problems is increasingly embedded within a wider service offer, and identifiable 'troubled families teams' are less common in local areas.

Instead, it is much more likely there will be a multi-agency workforce – bringing together a range of professions including family workers, youth workers, social workers, housing staff, police, health and work coaches – using a name which focuses on the strength of families and the strength of the approach. For example, 'stronger families', 'resilient families', 'families first' and 'early help'.

Programme activities in 2018-19

Over the past year there has been a considerable amount of work taking place to support delivery of the programme and to making sure local and national policy makers learn from the programme. In addition, a new fund has been launched to help focus attention on preventing young people getting drawn into serious youth crime where there is most need.

Data sharing

The evaluation has repeatedly shown that data sharing it is one of the most regularly reported barriers to providing better services to families. For that reason, MHCLG worked closely with the Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport (DCMS) to create a new data sharing power[4] which allows public service providers to share information in order to provide better support to households facing multiple disadvantages.

This power, which came in to force in 2018 as part of the Digital Economy Act, is designed specifically for the Troubled Families Programme and similar support programmes. DCMS and MHCLG will continue to work together in the coming year to assess whether the new power is addressing confusion about data sharing.

Good practice

Through regular networking, regional meetings, peer reviews, blogs and workshops, the sharing of good practice has always been a central feature of the Troubled Families Programme. The focus of good practice this year has been on assisting areas in improving performance and to support their sustainability through service-wide transformation. Good practice vignettes have been gathered from across the country to develop an online good practice resource aimed at supporting performance, and more in-depth case studies to support long term sustainability for early help post 2020 are being compiled in collaboration with areas. In addition MHCLG welcomes the report from the Local Government Association that sets out

4 Department for Digital, Cultural, Media and Sport, 'Digital Economy Act 2017 part 5: Codes of Practice', July 2018 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/digital-economy-act-2017-part-5-codes-of-practice

common approaches and learning for early help services.[5]

Good practice will continue to be enhanced in the coming year, including running more workshops for local authorities and their partners. Relevant analysis and perspectives on ways of working will also continue to be shared via regular Troubled Families blogs.

Claims validation

The programme's validation process for payment by results claims ensures that local programmes are meeting the national programme requirements. It is often referred to as the 'spot check' process. It involves visits to view local data systems and case files, as well as meetings with service managers and keyworkers. The process checks whether families are eligible for the programme, that local practice adheres to the whole family working principles, and that there is evidence that the outcomes have been achieved.

MHCLG has completed 171 spot checks up until March 2019. All local authorities have undertaken the process once, and MHCLG is now undertaking a second round using a new and improved process. The vast majority (97%) of claims have been found to be valid, with invalid claims removed from the claims total. Feedback is provided to local areas on their claims and on their data systems. A new Data Maturity Model framework[6] has been introduced to support areas in improving local data systems to track and validate outcomes.

"It was really helpful to have the Data Maturity Model review included in the spot check process. This helped increase the profile of data within senior management."

Earned autonomy

Early in 2018, 14 local authorities moved to a new up-front funding model in order to test whether a different funding approach would speed up the improvement of services. All areas were invited to submit business cases setting out how up-front funding would allow them to invest in activity with partners and embed the programme's approach across their local public service partners more quickly.

The selected areas are Barking and Dagenham, Brighton and Hove, Bristol, Camden, Cheshire West and Chester, Durham, Ealing, Islington, Kent, Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield, Staffordshire and Westminster. During January and February 2019, monitoring visits were conducted with all 14 areas to quality assure and understand progress against the plan. Good practice developing in these local areas is discussed later in the report.

Intensive support

Alongside the universal support for all areas delivering the programme, more intensive help and advice has been made available to 30 areas whose performance was below the national average across a number of measures. These local programmes often had a narrow approach to delivery of the programme, missing out on the benefits of spreading whole family working to broader public services, and were unable to fully evidence the impact early help services were having on families' outcomes.

As part of this work, MHCLG developed a performance diagnostic tool,[7] shared good practice and worked closely with senior managers locally. As a result, performance in these areas has markedly improved.

5 Local Government Association, 'The key enablers of developing an effective partnership-based early help offer: final research report', March 2019
https://www.local.gov.uk/key-enablers-establish-effective-partnership-based-early-help-offer

6 MHCLG, 'Data Maturity Model', March 2019
https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/troubled-families-early-help-service-transformation-maturity-model

7 The diagram shows an abridged version of the full diagnostic tool.

Troubled Families Programme Performance Diagnostic Tool

Leicester action plan to improve performance

In Leicester we are driving transformation of services and processes, underpinned by our partnership, Leicester Early Help Strategy. However, cultural transformation takes time and whilst we did have strong commitment from both internal and external partners to the Troubled Families Programme, robust multi-agency workforce development and work with families was resulting in positive change, it was not resulting in the number of payments by results outcomes we had hoped to see by year three of the programme.

The intensive support provided by the national team enabled us to have clarity on what our key challenges were and more importantly bring together leaders from a range of agencies to agree actions required to improve the outcomes we collectively achieve with families in Leicester. Following the development of an action plan we instigated fortnightly, then monthly, Troubled Families Health Checks with multi-agency service leads, providing positive scrutiny and challenge. This was supported by the creation of a data dashboard for agencies highlighting which services were working with families and the outcomes being achieved.

Nearly a year on and the progress we have made is fantastic. We realised we had laid the groundwork to deliver effective whole family working in Leicester across our partnership, but the intensive support gave us the leverage to engage all leaders to unblock the remaining challenges we had.

Caroline Tote – Director for Children's Social Care & Early Help, Leicester City Council

National and local evaluation

In 2018-19, a range of research and analysis has been carried out for the national evaluation, including measuring the impact of the programme for a greater range of measures. MHCLG has recently published a range of reports from across the different strands of the evaluation, including the latest findings from the impact analysis, case study research, the follow up family survey and staff surveys.[8] MHCLG has been working with the Early Intervention Foundation to support areas in conducting local evaluation. They have produced a report which provides practical guidance to local authorities on how to carry out robust local evaluation of early help services.[9]

Supporting families against youth crime

In February 2019, the Secretary of State announced that 21 local authorities will share a £9.5 million Supporting Families Against Youth Crime Fund to help them increase their focus on preventing and tackling youth crime and gangs.[10] The fund supports the early intervention and prevention focus of the Government's Serious Violence Strategy.[11]

The Supporting Families Against Youth Crime Fund also builds on the Troubled Families Programme's approach of targeted interventions, preventing and addressing offending behaviour, including youth and gang crime, by working with the whole family to tackle the root causes of violence and help prevent involvement of young people in crime and violence in the first place.

The year ahead

The final twelve months of the programme will be focused on making sure that local authorities can evidence as many positive family outcomes as possible. Local authorities will also want to ensure that the improvements to services which have been achieved are maintained and sustained in the long term. Further work with areas will help local commissioners and decision makers sustain the key elements of success, particularly the strong multi-agency partnerships to co-ordinate early help systems and the effective practice in whole family working.

At a national level, the programme will continue to work closely with other government departments to join up the support available for families, for example through the Children in Need review;[12] the £84 million Strengthening Families, Protecting Children Programme; the £2.7 million Reducing Parental Conflict Programme;[13] the £6.5 million Early Outcomes Fund;[14] the £13 million Trusted Relationships Fund[15]

8 MHCLG, 'National evaluation of the Troubled Families Programme 2015 to 2020', March 2019 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-evaluation-of-the-troubled-families-programme-2015-to-2020-findings

9 Early Intervention Foundation, 'Evaluating early help: A guide to evaluation of complex local early help systems', March 2019 https://www.eif.org.uk/resource/evaluating-early-help-a-guide-to-evaluation-of-complex-local-early-help-systems

10 MHCLG, '£9.8 million fund to confront knife crime and gang culture', February 2019 https://www.gov.uk/government/news/98-million-fund-to-confront-knife-crime-and-gang-culture

11 Home Office, 'Serious Violence Strategy', April 2018 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/serious-violence-strategy

12 Department for Education, 'Review of children in need', December 2018 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/review-of-children-in-need/review-of-children-in-need

13 Department for Work & Pension, 'Information about the Reducing Parental Conflict Programme', February 2019 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/reducing-parental-conflict-programme-information-for-stakeholders/information-about-the-reducing-parental-conflict-programme

14 Department for Education, 'Early outcomes fund: grants for local authorities', November 2018 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/early-outcomes-fund-grants-for-local-authorities

15 Home Office, 'Trusted Relationships Fund: local areas and project', August 2018 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/trusted-relationships-fund-local-areas-and-project-descriptions

and the £22 million Early Intervention Youth Fund.[16]

The case for investment in early intervention continues to be made in a number of reports published this year, including recent publications from the Early Intervention Foundation[17] and the House of Commons Science and Technology Committee.[18] The Children's Commissioner Vulnerability Report 2018[19] continues to highlight that there is significant need for support for vulnerable families and children, particularly those who are on the boundary of involvement in statutory services.

The Children's Commissioner's report[20] on gang violence and exploitation also emphasises the importance of early years and whole family support and recognises the value of the Troubled Families Programme in relation to this issue. It also highlights the importance of ensuring a long-term future for a family-based approach for those with the greatest gang risk.

The Troubled Families Programme has played a critical role in improving services to vulnerable families and built a strong evidence base and body of practice. We will be working with national and local partners to ensure that future service responses to need build on the learning and legacy of the programme, as well as using insight from and complementing other early intervention programmes.

Although the current programme's funding ends in March 2020, the Government remains committed to helping local authorities to support vulnerable families and will be reviewing the programme's impact on families, services and taxpayers as part of planning for the Spending Review.

16 Home Office, 'Early intervention youth fund', July 2018
https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/early-intervention-youth-fund

17 Early Intervention Foundation, 'Realising the potential of early intervention', October 2018
https://www.eif.org.uk/report/realising-the-potential-of-early-intervention

18 House of Commons, Science and Technology Committee, 'Evidence-based early years intervention', October 2018 https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmsctech/506/506.pdf

19 Children's Commissioner, 'Vulnerability Report 2018', July 2018
https://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Childrens-Commissioner-Vulnerability-Report-2018-Overview-Document-1.pdf

20 Children's Commissioner, 'Keeping kids safe, Improving safeguarding response to gang violence and criminal exploitation', February 2019
https://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/CCO-Gangs.pdf

Sustaining progress amongst families

Introduction

A central aspiration of the Troubled Families Programme is that meaningful change within families is sustained. The revolving door in and out of services that some families find themselves in does nothing to help them fulfil their potential, as well as being expensive and inefficient.

That is why payment by results claims will only be paid where outcomes have been sustained over a period of months. It is also why the programme places such a premium on families developing the resilience and skills that help them to cope better in future, though these outcomes cannot be captured in the administrative datasets. Our evaluation does show, however, encouraging findings on the impact of the programme and the positive reaction of families to this way of working.

This chapter sets out the sort of problems that families face and the ways in which, by working closely with skilled professionals, they can deal with the worst of their problems and can face the future with more optimism, better able to manage whatever it holds.

Characteristics of families

The programme aims to improve outcomes for 400,000 families with multiple complex needs. Each one of these families will have at least two headline problems covering poor school attendance, domestic abuse, crime and anti-social behaviour, children needing help and ill health. In fact, families prioritised for support will frequently be dealing with more than two of these issues in their lives.

Data from the national evaluation confirms this. In the year before joining the programme, families had the following characteristics compared to the general population:

- Adults were five times more likely to be claiming benefits and over ten times more likely to be claiming Jobseeker's Allowance
- Children were nearly three times more likely to be persistently absent from school
- Children were over nine times more likely to be classified as a child in need[21]
- Adults were over nine times more likely to have a caution or conviction

In addition:

- Over two fifths of families had a family member with a mental health problem
- Just over a fifth of families had a family member affected by an incident of domestic abuse

21 Children in need are defined under the Children Act 1989 as: a child who is unlikely to reach or maintain a satisfactory level of health or development, or their health or development will be significantly impaired, without the provision of services, or the child is disabled. The data for Children in Need includes Looked After Children, children on a Child Protection Plan, and children on a Child in Need Plan.

When these problems are layered on top of one another, across multiple family members, stretching back through generations, it is not surprising that they have a profound and damaging effect on family members' life chances.

The family survey provides further evidence that families on the programme are much more disadvantaged than the general population:

- Two-thirds (66%) have a net household income below £12,500 a year
- Main carers are much less likely to be working than adults in the general population (31% compared with 76% of all adults nationally)
- Just over two fifths (43%) have a GCSE or equivalent as their highest qualification (28% have no formal qualifications and 27% have NVQ3+)

The families' desire for change – to get a job, to get their child a good education, to be a better parent – is frustrated by these multiple issues and barriers which prevent them fulfilling their true potential. Children of families with multiple problems are at serious risk of a lifetime of disadvantage, continuing a cycle that in turn affects their children.

Each family is unique, with their own history and set of interconnected issues. The complexity of families requires a tailored, multi-layered response and means long-term change takes time. The whole family approach works with the strengths of the family to boost their resilience so those changes stick.

During the course of this programme we have been able to gather evidence that supports the model, namely a whole family approach, tailored, sequenced and coordinated by a single dedicated key worker that can be delivered at scale.

Successful family outcomes

Outcomes are monitored in two main ways – local tracking of data and through our national impact evaluation. The local tracking of data has been driven by the payment by results model. The national evaluation involves a family survey, qualitative research, and linking families to national administrative databases.

The National Impact Study meets a high standard for evaluating outcomes. It uses a method called Propensity Score Matching. This is a statistical method that closely matches comparison cases with those on the programme (allowing like for like comparisons). This element of the evaluation data analysis has the highest standard of evidence for measuring the overall impact of the programme because it uses a comparison group and controls for a large number of other factors which influence outcomes. The work has been supported by a panel of independent experts to ensure it is robust.

The payment by results give some real time information on the outcomes being achieved by local areas. The family survey provides us with a rich picture of the long-term problems that families on the programme face. It shows how lives for this cohort have changed; this may or may not be due to the programme. The net impact analysis in the data analysis report remains the best standard of evidence for impact of the programme on children in need of help, offending behaviour and those on benefits.

Local tracking of outcomes for families

Alongside some up-front funding, payment by results has provided a much-needed emphasis on services achieving real, tangible changes with families.

The bar for a successful claim is high. Every member of the family has to achieve significant progress against all their problems and sustain progress long enough to prove that long term change has taken hold. The

measurable improvements needed are set out in each area's Troubled Families Outcome Plan and claims are subject to a constant, rigorous auditing process as well as spot checks from the national team. In the case of poor school attendance, the outcome is a full year of good attendance for all children in the family, and this has to be achieved alongside sustained success in all other problem areas.

The ambitious goals that need to be achieved for payment by results mean that claims will only reflect some of the success with families. There will be families that make great progress but will not reach the bar for a successful claim within the lifetime of this programme. Families either meet the thresholds or not; it is a binary judgement, claims cannot show the great distance many families have travelled.

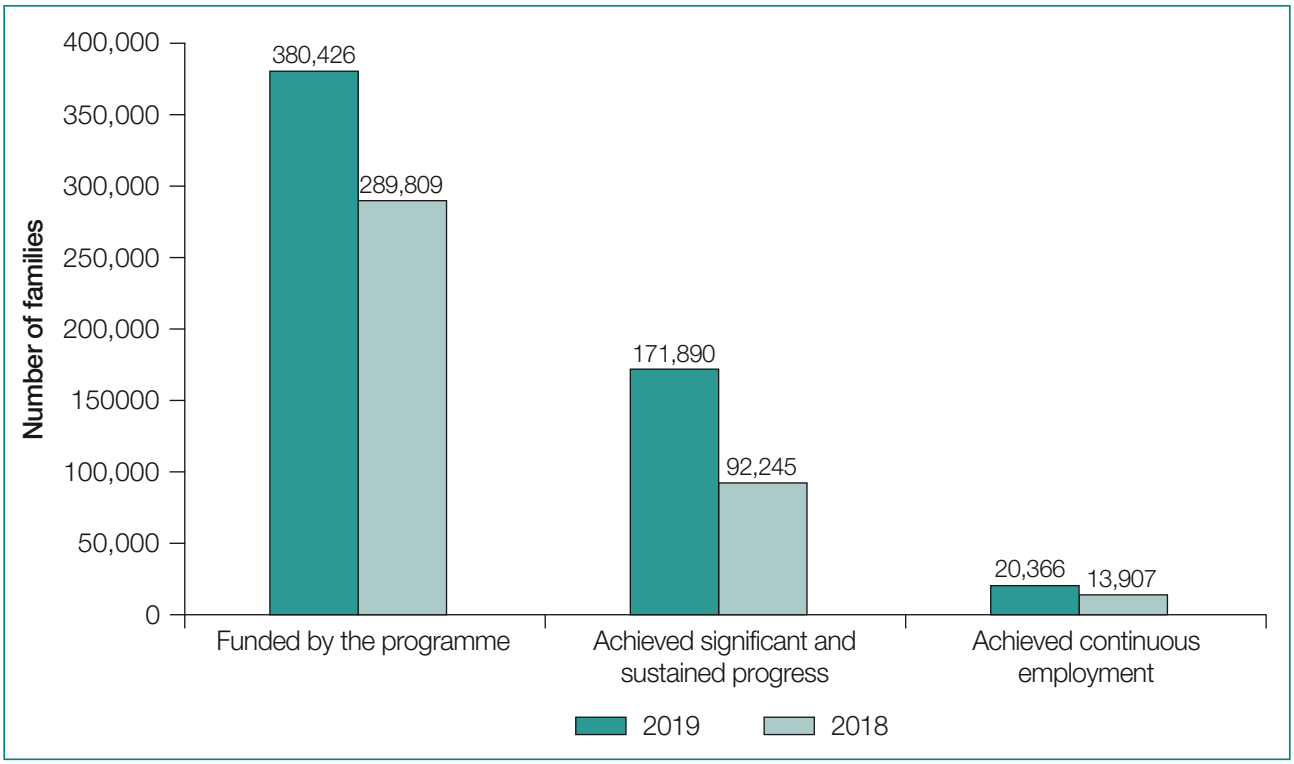
We believe it is right to maintain these ambitious expectations for every family, but it is important to understand that a claim cannot capture the multitude of changes and real successes families are achieving with help from a keyworker. These successes may never meet the criteria for a claim but will, more importantly, make families happier, more resilient, better skilled and less dependent on services in future.

The payment by results framework is also driving areas to routinely reflect on the impact they are having on families. By looking at those families that have been receiving services but have not yet reached the claim threshold, areas can pinpoint and address poor practice, identify services with a weak focus on outcomes and gaps in specialist support. In this way payment by results is helping drive a more effective, integrated way of working with families, as well as shifting culture and ways of working for good.

As at 8 March 2019, the programme has funded areas to work with nearly 400,000 (380,426) eligible families. Of these families 90,617 were brought on to the programme between April 2018 and March 2019. However, we know that local authorities are working in a whole family way with a far greater number of families.

As at 8 March, 171,890 families had achieved significant and sustained progress across all their headline problems, 79,645 more families than a year ago. In addition, 20,366 families have adults that are now off benefits and in work, an increase of 6,459 since last year. Annex A breaks these figures down to show performance across the country.

Number of families supported and achieved progress on the Troubled Families Programme up to 8 March 2019 compared to position up to 9 March 2018



Evaluation findings

The national evaluation of the programme provides evidence of how the programme is delivering outcomes and sustaining progress. Recently MHCLG published a range of reports including impact analysis for a number of outcomes, cost benefit analysis of the national programme, the findings from the case study research, staff surveys (carried out annually) and the follow up family survey.

Analysis from national and local datasets examined whether the proportion of families on the programme with particular problems changed in the two years after joining the programme.

Analysis of the data we hold is ongoing, but the highlights of our latest findings are shown in the case studies below. More detail is available in our separate outcomes report, and the reports written by Ipsos MORI for the case study research and family survey.

Children who need help

The net impact analysis provides the highest standard of evidence for impact on children in need of help. It found that there are fewer Looked After Children as a result of the programme but an increase in the proportion of Child Protection Plans. A possible explanation for this finding is that local programmes are uncovering need when families join the programme, working intensively with families and preventing children from becoming Looked After Children. The case study research carried out by Ipsos MORI noted that children's social care services were collaborating with Troubled Families teams to better support families and reduce demand on children's social care. The family survey reported no change in children's social care outcomes, but the national impact study is a more reliable source of impact of the programme. The family survey does not include a comparison group and a small proportion of families in the survey reported these as issues in the first survey.

Net impact of the programme: children's social care

- The programme reduced the proportion of Looked After Children: 2.5% of the comparison group were looked after compared to 1.7% of the programme group, a 32% difference for this cohort at 19-24 months after joining the programme.
- There were some statistically significant differences between the programme and comparison group, with a larger proportion of children in the programme group on Child Protection Plans at 7-12 months and 13-18 months after joining the programme. However, at 19-24 months there was no statistically significant difference between the groups. A possible explanation is that the programme is uncovering unmet need in the early stages of intervention and preventing children going into care.
- There was no statistically significant difference between the two groups in the proportion of Children in Need.

Family case study: Mum and son, Isaac, aged 2. Father lives separately.

What problems did they have?

Mum was addicted to crack cocaine and heroin. Dad was concerned she was shoplifting to fund her habit and taking Isaac out with her in all weathers, at all hours. Dad was allowing her to stay temporarily at his house as he was worried that when she was high on drugs she could not take care of their son. Isaac was put on a Child in Need plan as a result.

What work took place?

Isaac was removed from Mum's care and contact was only permitted under Dad's full supervision. In this area, social workers are embracing whole family working and are being supported with investment from the Troubled Families Programme to carry out whole family assessments and develop plans that align to the goals in their local troubled families outcomes plan. This includes training around the whole family approach, access to interventions and specialists to boost their work (such as additional parenting support) as well as data pulled together by the troubled families data team that reveals the full picture of the families' problems. The social worker, who was the lead worker in this case, undertook a whole family assessment. She supported Mum to visit her GP. She pulled in the Health Visitor to provide parenting support and confidence building sessions for Mum and Dad. She helped Mum make her home safe for a toddler and persuaded her to draw on support from her extended family network. She put Mum in touch with substance misuse services to enable her to receive support and counselling for her addiction.

What progress was made?

Substance misuse services confirmed Mum was fully engaged and had tested negative for drugs. Mum's health improved, the child's health needs were addressed and her home was deemed safe. Isaac was returned to Mum's care and is thriving.

Crime and anti-social behaviour

The evaluation findings show consistently positive results for crime and anti-social behaviour. The impact analysis shows statistically significant positive impacts for offending for those on the programme (when compared to the matched comparison group). There are reductions for custodial sentences for adults and juveniles indicating reductions for serious offences as well as lower levels of crime and anti-social behaviour.

The family survey shows families are making positive changes in all reported crime and anti-social behaviour measures. According to the survey, fewer respondents report contact with the police, fewer report the use of force or violence within their home and police or landlord action as a result of involvement in crime or anti-social behaviour.

Net impact of the programme: offending

- The programme reduced the proportion of adults receiving custodial sentences in the 19-24 months after joining the programme: 1.6% of the comparison group received custodial sentences compared to 1.2% of the programme group; a 25% difference.
- The proportion of juveniles receiving custodial sentences was reduced in the 19-24 months after joining the programme: 0.8% of the comparison group received custodial sentences compared to 0.5% of the programme group, a 38% difference
- The proportion of juvenile convictions was reduced in the 19-24 months after joining the programme: 4.6% of the comparison group received custodial sentences compared to 3.9% of the programme group, a 15% difference
- There was no statistically significant difference between the groups in the proportion of adult cautions or convictions and juvenile cautions.

The case study research found that Troubled Families teams were working closely with youth offending teams, police and justice services, supporting with parenting strategies and supporting at risk siblings. In some cases, the programme is addressing known crime and anti-social behaviour. In the family survey, eight per cent said they had help to stop their family getting involved in crime or anti-social behaviour. However, in many cases these positive results may be due to addressing underlying causes of criminality rather than addressing the issue specifically.

Family case study: Mum and son Kyle, aged 13. Eldest son, Kevan, is in prison and aged 28.

What problems did they have?

The family had a traumatic past due to historic domestic abuse and the death of Kyle's Dad. Kyle's older brother was already in prison and Kyle was heading the same way. There had been numerous reports of gang related anti-social behaviour and he had threatened his Mum with a knife, committed burglary and been reported missing. Kyle's behaviour at school was aggressive and threatening and they were at risk of eviction for anti-social behaviour and damage to their home.

What work took place?

Their keyworker, based in the Youth Justice Service, established a plan of wrap-around support from a range of different agencies. They worked with Kyle on his behaviour and boundaries, and a curfew was put in place from 8pm-7am. Work was undertaken with Kyle and his Mum to strengthen their relationship and Mum was connected with a befriending service to enable her to build her own support network outside of the family. The key worker also liaised with school to get their support with Kyle's behaviour and attendance.

What progress was made?

Kyle is adhering to his Youth Conditional Caution and sticking to his curfew. This has had a positive effect for him at home and for the wider community, with no further links to anti-social behaviour (ASB) or criminal activity reported. The once frequent police call outs have now stopped. Kyle now has good attendance at secondary school and his behaviour has improved significantly. He has been accessing youth clubs during holidays and getting further involved with sports and music within school which has given him a new group of friends. Kyle's behaviour is much better at home too, with no further outbursts or missing episodes. His relationships with family and friends continue to improve.

Mum told the service *"if this support had been around when my older son was younger, he wouldn't be in prison now…"*

Worklessness

For the worklessness outcome, the net impact analysis shows a reduction in Jobseeker's Allowance claimants 19-24 months after joining the programme. However, the evaluation was unable to provide robust impact analysis for employment due to issues with the data. The family survey tells a mixed story for main carers over the last two years. More are in employment than two years ago (31% compared with 27%), in this respect it is consistent with the impact analysis. Of those that remain unemployed, fewer are actively looking for work (9% compared with 12% previously).

The case study research finds that keyworkers and Troubled Families Employment Advisers build confidence, identify existing skills and how they could be applied to the workplace, promote financial benefits of working, improve CV writing and interview skills, and support volunteering and training opportunities. There is evidence of a small positive impact on employment and the case study research shows how the programme could be achieving this. However, worklessness remains a challenge

Net impact of the programme: benefits

- There were fewer adults claiming Jobseeker's Allowance 19-24 months after joining the programme: 10.5% in the comparison group compared to 9.3% in the programme group, an 11% difference.
- There is no statistically significant difference for adults claiming Employment and Support Allowance or Income Support.

Family case study: Dad and son, Daniel, aged 16

What problems did they have?

Daniel had a very difficult childhood due to poor care from his Mother who had eventually left the family home. Daniel had been self-harming and was now threatening suicide. He had also got in serious trouble at school for sexting and he regularly smoked cannabis. His Dad was desperate to get a job but he was terrified that if he left Daniel on his own for any length of time he could hurt or even kill himself.

What work took place?

A dedicated keyworker provided one to one parenting support for Dad and put him in touch with the Troubled Families Employment Advisor to discuss benefits and job opportunities. The keyworker spent a lot of time building trust with Daniel to talk through his challenges and change his risky behaviour. He secured counselling for Daniel and specialist support for his drug misuse from Addaction. He persuaded Daniel to look around for apprenticeships and to attend an open day at Art College.

What progress was made?

Daniel's mental health improved and he applied to start at Art College in September. With Daniel's situation stabilised, Dad was now free to get employment and was successful in getting a job as security guard.

for many families who may be far from the labour market. We know that families on the programme face significant barriers to work such as childcare responsibilities for young children or mental health issues.

Health

Health data has not yet been secured to look at trends of health service use for those on the programme (we will not be able to carry out any impact analysis). However, the family survey provides more information on how health outcomes have changed over time. Main carers report several significant changes in their health behaviours and wellbeing since their interview two years previously. For example, fewer households contain at least one person with a long-standing illness or disability (73% compared with 77% previously). Fewer main carers report signs of probable mental ill health, using the GHQ-12 measure (42% score four or more compared with 48% previously).

However, the proportion reporting their own health as excellent or very good has not changed significantly (16% compared with 20% previously) and overall levels of wellbeing measured by the WEMWBS[22] scale are also unchanged.

The case study research helps explain this finding. It reported that keyworkers are supporting families with both mental health and long-term physical health conditions. Mental health is clearly a priority area. According to the family survey, 56% of main carers who had mental health issues said things had improved as a result.

Keyworkers identified improved access to mental health services as an important step in making the programme more effective for service transformation or achieving the goals of the service transformation maturity model. Practitioners see improved access to mental health services as a key priority and as a current barrier to achieving outcomes for families.

Family case study: Mum and two children: Tom, aged 9, and Beth, aged 15

What problems did they have?

The family were referred by a housing association as they were due to be evicted the following week for unpaid rent.

When the keyworker visited, he found their house was filthy and had no washing machine. Neither child was attending school regularly and they were often late. Beth was being bullied, due to her unkempt appearance, and had no plans for what she would do when she left school the following year. Tom had a speech and language delay for which he needed support. Mum had mental health issues, had been prescribed anti-depressants, and was on the verge of losing her part-time job.

What work took place?

Their keyworker acted quickly to halt the eviction and prevent the family becoming homeless. He provided Doctor's evidence of Mum's mental health issues and succeeded in obtaining a 'right to stay' warrant.

By working through their income, expenditure and the piles of unopened bills he was able to establish the debts owed and pull in the council, charities and the Citizens Advice Bureau to assist with loans and establishing a realistic repayment plan. This led to the eviction being cancelled. He also helped the family undertake a deep clean of the house, redecorate and secure funding for basic appliances such as a washing machine.

He liaised with the schools to gain their support. Beth received one to one help to build her self-esteem and understand her options when she left school. Tom now has an Education, Health and Care Plan which gives him additional support from a Speech and Language Therapist.

What progress was made?

Since lifting the threat of eviction, easing the worry of debt and improving the home environment, Mum's mental health has greatly improved and she has a much more positive relationship with her children. She also feels more able to sustain her current job. The children's attendance has improved and lateness is no longer an issue. Beth is now at college studying for a level 2 course in public services which she really enjoys.

Domestic Abuse

There is no impact or trend analysis available for domestic abuse and therefore insufficient evidence to assess the impact of the programme on the issue. However, the family survey provides some information on what has happened for the overall cohort in relation to domestic abuse. The majority of families included in the survey reported being happy in their relationships and the proportion remained consistent at both points in time (74% happy in both surveys). However, this level of happiness is lower than the general population (91%). There was no statistically significant change in overall levels of reported domestic abuse or violence. Case study research reported that keyworkers were offering practical support for victims of domestic abuse or bringing in more specialist services. However, it notes that domestic abuse is sometimes an entrenched and repeated pattern of behaviour that people struggle to see a way of escaping.

Family case study: Mum, partner, Sam aged 14 (lives with Dad, stays over), Emma aged 12 (lives with Dad, stays over), Luke aged 10, Sophie aged 8, Jack aged 7

What problems did they have?

Mum had been unemployed for some time. Over 2 years Mum had introduced 4 different boyfriends to the children and they had been allowed to stay over and be alone with the children very soon after meeting her online. Her new boyfriend and his friend were subjecting her and the children to threatening and coercive behaviour, and were allowed to physically chastise the children. These adults made the children feel *"worried…nervous…scared".*

Mum had been abused by her own parents and she and her children were all vulnerable to exploitation and abuse from her new partner and his friends. Mum told the children not to share their worries with other adults, including their fathers, as this would get them into trouble.

School were particularly worried about Luke who often looked exhausted and withdrawn, suffered frequent emotional meltdowns and repeated bouts of nits.

What work took place?

The keyworker agreed a plan with the family to provide support around Mum's parenting and mental health, boost her skills and qualifications (English and Maths to begin with), help her find work and establish regular times for the children to do fun activities and see their fathers. The family also had help with bedtime routines and sleeping through, as well as bedwetting in the older children.

What progress was made?

Mum's self-esteem, mental health, parenting and skills have improved as a result of the tailored support. She has ended the coercive relationship with her partner and is now in employment as a care worker. The family's life is much more stable and the children are happier at home and school. The family is no longer involved with social care.

School attendance

There is no impact analysis for school attendance yet available and trend analysis of national data shows no clear pattern for school attendance after joining the programme. The family survey provides evidence of positive changes in families. When the initial survey was conducted, three in five (60%) main carers were told that there were concerns about their child(ren)'s attendance at school or college. This fell significantly with just under two in five (37%) reporting this in the follow-up.

However, there has been no change in the proportion of young people interviewed for the family survey who said they missed school without permission, even for only half a day or a single lesson. The family survey showed that in the past 12 months this had not changed significantly (19% at the follow-up compared with 23% previously). This is nearly three times higher than the national average (7%).

The case study research has numerous examples of keyworkers supporting families to get children into school. Parenting support is a key action taken to address the issue. The staff survey results show that 54% of keyworkers said that they provided help to get children into school.

Family example: Mum, Dad and five children: Ben aged 15, Martha aged 13, Jay aged 10, Finlay aged 7 and Luke aged 5

What problems did they have?

All five children had very poor school attendance. A keyworker based in the primary school met with the family and quickly identified the source of the problem. The family was living in poverty and the children had to share one bed. As a result, the children were having to sleep when they could which meant they could not establish a healthy sleep routine.

What work took place?

The keyworker organised recycled furniture to be delivered to the home so that every child had a bed. The worker also gave ongoing support to Mum to help her manage her finances better and pulled in support from the Citizens Advice Bureau and local Job Centre Plus.

What progress was made?

The children established a better sleep pattern, which in turn improved their school attendance. Improved budgeting and money management has also provided a more stable home environment and reduced stress on Mum.

The school leader commented there was real value to schools being part of the programme and thinking about the needs of the whole family. By thinking as a school about the wider issues that children face outside the school gates, and by coordinating a partnership response to meet the needs of the whole family, they are removing barriers to learning.

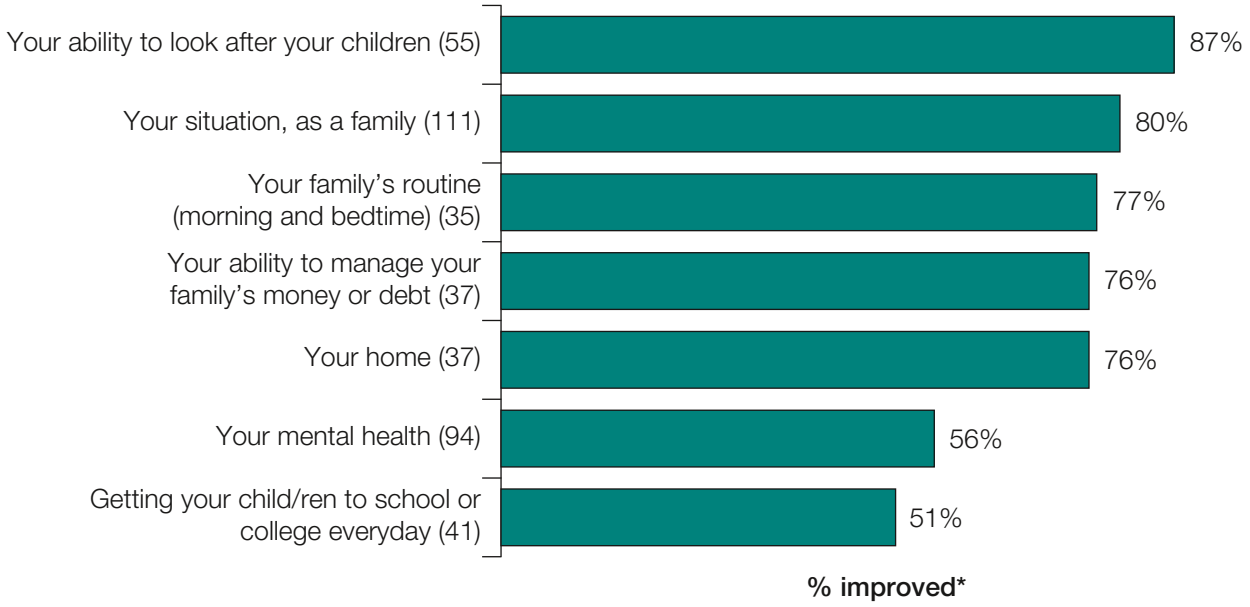
Building resilience

The evaluation also provides evidence that the programme is making families more resilient. Importantly a key strand of the evaluation, the family survey, ensures we hear directly from the families themselves.

Where families say they received help from their keyworker when they were on the programme they are positive about its impact, with half or more agreeing that their ability or circumstances in each of these areas improved as a result. The most positive views on the impact of the support are in relation to parenting; four in five say their ability to look after their children and their situation as a family has improved either a great deal or a fair amount (87% and 80% respectively). Three quarters say their family's morning and bedtime routines as well as their home have improved (77% and 76% respectively) and half (51%) are positive about the effectiveness of help getting their children to school.

Families' perception of improvement as a result of keyworker support

SE3. As a result of this help, to what exent would you say… has improved?*



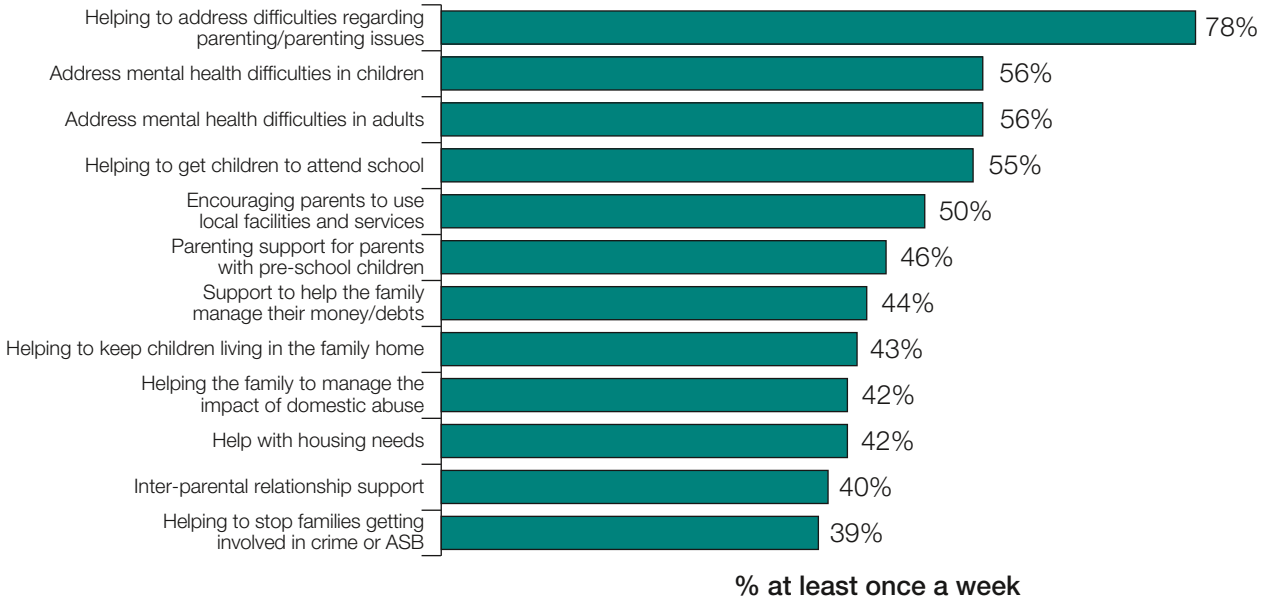
*% improved = improved a great deal + improved a fair amount
Base: All main carers selected to be asked – where help given to the household (SE2)
Fieldwork dates 16 Oct 17–16 Sept 18
Source: Ipsos MORI

Among those who can recall their keyworker, families are very positive about the support they received. Over four in five (83%) say they were helpful, including three in five (61%) who say they were very helpful. Those who saw their keyworker more frequently, at least once a week, are more likely to have found them helpful (increasing to 91%). Two thirds (67%) say their keyworker 'helped them to open up as a family and talk about things', and slightly fewer (65%) say they 'got other services to work better to help their family'.

Each year we carry out an extensive survey of keyworkers and managers involved in the delivery of the programme across the country. The latest survey results showed that staff believe the programme is effective at achieving long-term positive change in families' circumstances. Results show that 90% of Troubled Families Employment Advisers (TFEAs), 80% of keyworkers and 77% of Troubled Families Coordinators (TFCs) agree with this view. The keyworker survey shows that keyworkers are helping families with a range of issues including most commonly parenting, mental health and school attendance.

The support that keyworker report providing to families

How regularly, if at all, do you provide the following types of support in your current family intervention work?



Base: All Keyworkers (1400): Fieldwork dates 23 Oct to 13 Dec 2017. Chart shows the top 12 answers. (QKW9)

Case study research reported that the programme is supporting families' progress to work by building confidence, identifying existing skills, promoting financial benefits of working, job application skills, supporting volunteering and training opportunities. It found that keyworkers had a major impact in improving parenting skills and were supporting families with issues including mental health, long-term physical health conditions and domestic abuse. It also found that families value keyworker support particularly in having a firm, challenging, non-judgmental and consistent point of contact who helped families to feel more confident.

"When I first spoke to my keyworker, I'll be honest I was very anxious and nervous to meet her. I thought she's part of social services she's here to take my kid away … She was telling me a bit about herself, she told me that she has kids… The way she explains things to me, it's like she's not just doing a job, like she genuinely cares."

– Mother, in-depth interview – Ipsos MORI case study research

In summary, our evidence shows positive outcomes and better family experiences as a result of the programme. It is embedding whole family working and an expectation that outcomes need to be sustained. It is not, however, always going to lead to successful outcomes across all families.

The problems of some families are so complex and entrenched that they are unlikely to sustain improvements across all the problems they face. That is why the programme is not only focused on the ways in which council services work with families. It is just as important to look to transform services that support families, from universal services through to specialist mental health services, so that the right whole family support can be provided at the right time, preventing the escalation of problems to a point where they are difficult to change.

System transformation

A core objective of the programme is to transform the services that families receive so they are better supported, as part of a balanced system of public services. Within this system, early help needs to be more sustainable, to reduce demand for acute services like the police, health, job centres, social care and other partners.

In this chapter, we consider the state of transformation of local Troubled Families Programmes across partners. The first section discusses the national self-assessment for service transformation, and areas for focus over the coming year. The second section includes examples of partnership working across agencies and the third section describes aspects of whole system transformation that together are improving service sustainability and long-term outcomes.

There has been significant progress in national transformation through the Troubled Families Programme. Overall, two-thirds of Troubled Families Coordinators (TFCs) (67%) say in the latest staff survey that the programme is effective in achieving long-term positive change in wider system transformation. Most local areas have self-assessed their progress in transformation – overall the country is now rated *maturing,* although it is important to note that this is a local rather than a nationally-moderated system.

During the last seven years we have seen big changes across the sector such as:

- Whole family working is widely embedded in early help services, and increasingly so in social care, health visiting, police, housing and schools. We estimate this practice has increased from 5,000[23] to nearly 400,000 cases over the last decade. Families get practical help and relationship-based support which includes all family members and addresses underlying needs by working *with* the family.
- There is now a culture of measuring whole family outcomes and shaping services based on better management information. We understand the costs and impact of different services across the local area and plan better with partners.
- Local services are integrating, with keyworker coordination and a shared plan for each family that is supported. Families have a better experience, coordinated support and a professional they trust.

23 Department for Education, Monitoring and evaluation of family intervention services and projects between February 2007 and March 2011, December 2011, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/monitoring-and-evaluation-of-family-intervention-services-and-projects-between-february-2007-and-march-2011

Service Transformation Maturity Model

The Service Transformation Maturity Model[24] (STMM) describes a transformed local programme, with defined levels of maturity that are used by local partners for self-assessment and benchmarking. Local areas are striving to improve these services, although nationally we recognise that there is further to go. In this section we have reviewed local STMM assessments and identified themes of good local practice and areas for improvement over the next year:

1. **Family experience** — parents know who their key worker is and develop a trusting relationship with the right balance of support and challenge. Plans for improvement are written together with the family, emphasising their strengths and often connecting them to wider community and voluntary resources. There is effective use of evaluation tools to obtain the family voice and experience and this informs service improvements. However, gathering and acting on family views is an area for national improvement.
2. **Leadership** — partners often share an ambitious vision for early intervention and further collaboration. There is strong support for whole family working. Over the coming year more can be done to embed whole family working in partner services, as some service areas continue to focus on the child and not their family, and on presenting rather than underlying needs.
3. **Strategy** — partnerships are strong, often overseen by the health and wellbeing board and following Troubled Families Programme principles. Troubled Families Programmes are increasingly linked to area – or region-wide transformation – such as local *sustainability and transformation plans* and *inclusive growth strategies*, but while there are detailed plans describing improvement in council-led services, these are weaker at describing whole system transformation with partners. MHCLG will focus on early help and transformation strategies over the coming year.
4. **Culture** — practice informed by adverse childhood experiences and approaches such as Signs of Safety have become part of daily and normal practice and are embedded in the culture of organisations. There is often a strong and shared vision of early help that shapes and embeds culture across all levels of partner organisations. The Troubled Families Employment Advisor role, funded by the Department for Work and Pensions, is changing the culture around employment, helping keyworkers to talk to families about work earlier and more persistently. Based on the findings of the family survey, local authorities should focus on aligning the culture with a wider range of partners including mental health, GPs and housing.
5. **Workforce development** — whole family working is being adopted across partners with shared performance objectives. There are examples of development programmes that support keyworkers by providing feedback on individual family outcomes — creating a learning environment and improving performance. Some local authorities are quality assuring practice and outcomes across partner services, although this is not adopted in all areas.

24 MHCLG, 'Troubled Families: early help transformation maturity model', April 2017 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/troubled-families-early-help-service-transformation-maturity-model

6. **Delivery structures and process** — there are good plans to further integrate services at a locality level with clearer pathways and in many cases co-location. We have seen improvements in step-down processes from children's social care to early help services to allow the right level of support and a good family experience. Many areas have single case management systems between social care and early help which ensures information is shared, however fewer local areas extend this to partners.
7. **Data and digital** — data sharing agreements have been developed to allow information flow between organisations, to reduce duplication and ensure practitioners have a full understanding of family needs. There is greater use of partner data to create real intelligence about which services work in the locality and to improve performance and decision making. The teams undertaking this analysis are based in children's services, and are often not using the resources and skills in public health or corporate intelligence teams.

Working with all partners and local communities

The benefits of partnership working are clear: the needs of families are complex and interconnected. For example, a presenting need such as parenting ability cannot be successfully treated when there is conflict between the parents; a young person's mental health cannot be supported in isolation if it is driven by drug and alcohol abuse in the home; and a child is unlikely to do well at school if their home life is chaotic, parents are out of work and they are hungry.

Local partners and communities are working closely together to meet the complex needs of residents – with all partners having a critical role to play. The following examples describe a small number of the extensive partnerships, innovation and effective working we see across the country – including children's social care, health, education, police, housing, employment and the voluntary and community sectors.

Children's social care

Four years ago, Hertfordshire was concerned about the number of children at risk of neglect living in families facing multiple challenges. Developed by the Family Safeguarding Service and funded by the DfE Innovation Programme, Hertfordshire established the Family Safeguarding Practice Model, which enhanced the existing 21 safeguarding teams with front line workers from different disciplines including social care, health, mental health, employment, education and attainment, criminal justice and community services – creating multi-disciplinary teams (MDTs). The MDTs are able to work together across the spectrum of whole family needs to plan services and support for people and families. The teams are supported by shared electronic records, clear joint processes and a keyworker system.

Funding for the Troubled Families Programme has ensured that whole family support is provided as soon as needs emerge – which has contributed to a reduction in families requiring safeguarding and specialist services. The service is modelled around a continuum of need to ensure children, young people and families receive the appropriate level of support at the right time. MDTs fit into this continuum by focusing support and protection where there are family issues such as domestic violence, parental mental health and substance misuse. An independent evaluation found indications of better outcomes for families and estimated cost savings to children's services from reduced care and child protection allocations in the first year of £2.6 million. Due to the success of this model, a joint approach is now being taken at assessment stage and work is in progress for Hertfordshire's 0-25 service to adopt a similar service.

Health

The health visitor service is an integral part of early help in Herefordshire. The service works closely with family support services and children's centre — for example using children's centre buildings to deliver health clinics, co-delivering Solihull Parenting Groups and jointly delivering breastfeeding peer supporter training.

Health visitors identify families at an early stage who require additional support, completing whole family assessments, acting as the key worker and supporting families to access the required services to meet their needs. Health visitors have fully embraced whole family working and understand the benefit of supporting families early to make sustainable changes to improve outcomes for the whole family. Last year, 21% of early help assessments were completed by health visitors.

Education

Kent has run four pilots as part of its Troubled Families Programme earned autonomy arrangement. For the East Kent pilot, high need, high referring schools were selected and small integrated social care and early help teams were either placed in or linked virtually to the schools. The aim of the pilot was to ensure vulnerable children and young people get maximum benefit from universal services, reduce the need for intensive services and support schools to provide early help. The teams were available to support school staff to understand and manage risk, and also identify the most appropriate support for families.

Before the pilot, these schools accounted for 17% of all social care referrals in the county in one year. As a result of the pilot, overall demand in social care in East Kent reduced by 22%. For the schools involved, there was a 34% increase in early help requests, and families requiring social care support reduced by three-quarters. Kent anticipates rolling this approach out to other high referring and high needs schools in the county.

Police

Merseyside Police receive 30,000 calls for service per month. Eighty per cent of these are not directly related to criminality so partners have been working to reduce this demand through early help and prevention services and whole family working. The constabulary gave bespoke training to 30 PCSOs over six weeks, building on childhood brain development and adverse childhood experience research and the Core Cities workforce development materials. These officers were based and line-managed through early help hubs in high demand-generating areas where they are deployed as key workers. As a *quid pro quo,* early help staff in local authorities now work more closely with the police and families that are responsible for a high volume of calls. The PCSOs have been able to address entrenched and complex problems for families. They attributed this success to what they call the *early help equation*, which is about giving time for PCSOs to work with families, training and developing their skills so they can speak to families with confidence, along with working in a co-located team where they access support and can share data.

Some of the bespoke training is now being used for new custody officers, detention officers and PCSOs. Over six months, there has been a 55% reduction in demand to the Merseyside Police from families that have been supported. The Chief Inspector added "*It has been an overwhelmingly positive experience for everyone involved*".

Housing

In Cornwall, the local Troubled Families Programme has worked closely with registered social landlords (RSL) to join up support to families across social workers, family support workers and housing. The case was made for partnering more closely with RSLs because they work with a large number of deprived residents who face a range of challenges, including low incomes, and are well placed to reach families who may not be engaged with statutory services through their repairs, income and lettings teams.

Contracts have been agreed with three RSLs to target families at risk of homelessness, families living in temporary accommodation and families with unmanaged debt that is having an impact on their rent or council tax arrears. The registered social landlords have successfully encouraged family members to start work, access services for the first time, improve attendance levels at school and reduced anti-social behaviour. The team calculated the social value impact at the end of the first twelve months of working with one RSL was nearly £600,000, mainly due to avoiding evictions of vulnerable families that would otherwise have been made homeless and by improving access to income.

Employment

Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk have been working together to develop sustainable practice within job centres to identify and support the needs of claimants. Having learnt from Troubled Families Employment Advisors, they are now rolling out a whole family approach to work coaches. Each job centre is introducing a subject matter expert to develop work coaches, provide wider advice and support for families, and route people through to early help and specialist services where necessary.

In Leicestershire, the *Improving Leicestershire Lives* programme places a strong focus on employability for every family. As well as working directly with families, Troubled Families Employment Advisors upskill keyworkers to support progress to work. In Leicestershire, 23% of evidenced family outcomes are now due to achieving continuous employment.

Voluntary and community sectors

Durham has developed a new role to connect public services to the local voluntary and community sector. There are more than 200 local services and support for children, young people and families in Durham but often professionals only know a handful. In partnership with Durham Community Action, four VCS Alliance workers have been mapping community resources and connecting professionals to these assets.

The VCS alliance is part of Durham's place-based approach. Durham believes that people first and foremost want to be part of their communities and most prefer not to receive formal help from public services. It is hoped that this work will avoid some families needing formal early help and enable plans to be closed sooner and re-referrals prevented due to sustainable community support. There are early positive signs with 90% of cases showing the voluntary or community sector support has contributed to outcomes in the family plan.

Community connections

The London Borough of Camden is re-imagining the role of public service and the relationship between citizen and state. Camden is shifting from a mindset of being providers or purchasers of services to facilitators *with* the community: enabling and supporting community connections and strength.

There are many examples of how this culture is changing and creating new activity in the borough. *Early Help Friends* is a programme of awareness raising around how people can help each other and how they can access help. *Parent Champions* are volunteer parents who spend time in children's centres. Between the 34 current champions they have talked to 300 parents to encourage them to take up free childcare, access volunteering and employment opportunities and connect with their local helping organisations.

Camden has also now trained 27 people within the community to deliver *Camden Full Circle*, a relational, community-led problem solving approach inspired by family group conference values. Having completed their training in December 2018, the new facilitators began their first Circles in January 2019.

Camden's use of relational, community-led problem-solving includes youth offending where a young man charged with three offences developed a family plan with his family and friends, which to date has meant he has not re-offended. Camden estimate that cost for this community led intervention was £36,000 less than a traditional response.

Sustaining the early help system

A key question for many partners is how to make the local early help system sustainable in the widest sense i.e. the total support that increases an individual or family's resilience or reduces the likelihood or severity of a need escalating.

This is a big challenge for such a large and complex system. The work driven by the Troubled Families Programme reveals an ambition, drive and significant progress to make early help more sustainable and to improve the long-term outcomes of families in the area.

Drawing on the Service Transformation Maturity Model and local experience, four key components that are needed to enable a balanced and sustainable system of family support have been identified.

Leadership

Trust is critical for organisations to share priorities and a common vision, and to put the needs of the place first. At chief executive level, we have seen areas with a strong level of trust able to share risk and invest in early help that financially benefits other partners, for example shifting funding from acute hospitals into community services. This trust is often underpinned by structures and legal agreements which enable partnership working – for example, a combined authority or partnership committee at a commissioning level, or an alliance between health and social care services at a provider level.

The trust in some areas also extends to reducing the emphasis on which agency is responsible for what. This freed up thinking around use of resources in one earned autonomy area: "*Almost anything becomes possible when you don't care who takes the credit*".

Combined authority

The Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA) is made up of the ten Greater Manchester councils and Mayor, who work with local services, businesses, communities and other partners to improve the city-region. It is run jointly by the leaders of the ten councils and the Mayor of Greater Manchester. GMCA's vision is to make Greater Manchester one of the best places in the world to grow up, get on and grow old. The plans for achieving this are set out in its strategy *Our People, Our Place*.[25]

A key aspect of how GMCA will deliver on its ambitions is through its work on public service reform, which is already starting to redefine what public services look like across Greater Manchester. This includes an emphasis on geographical alignment of services and place-based delivery, shared leadership and resources and a common vision for how the workforce can best respond to the needs of its citizens. The Troubled Families Programme is widely recognised in Greater Manchester as being an important catalyst in shaping this thinking.

Troubled Families Programme funding is managed by the GMCA to invest in place-based early help approaches and to provide the systems, processes and conditions to innovate across the city-region. This is enabling Greater Manchester to intervene earlier with families to prevent problems developing and escalating, and to invest in long term service transformation — for example, workforce and behaviour change to promote integration across services, improved data sharing and use of intelligence across the public sector, and strengthening support for families from within communities.

Greater Manchester's local evaluation shows a positive correlation between the investment from the programme and managing demand for high end, high cost services such as children's social care.

A key feature in many local areas is the recognition or positioning of the Troubled Families Programme as a key driver for wider transformation programmes. As one Director of Children's Services put it "*Troubled Families is not a pet project but integral to our approach*". Local areas are also considering how to better engage all of their residents – to improve connections between residents and increase social capital. Several councils have developed the concept of an agreement with residents, such as the Wigan Deal, which developed from the principles of the Troubled Families Programme.

25 Greater Manchester Combined Authority, 'Our People, Our Place', https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/ourpeopleourplace

Community deal

In Wigan, everyone is expected to play an active role in their community, supporting each other and forming connections that help families to be self-reliant and independent. The shared expectation for residents and for the local authority is laid out in an informal *Deal* which sets out to reinvent the role of public service in society.

There are several deals, for example for children, for older people, for businesses. These are underpinned by a whole system transformation strategy that asks staff to be *positive* – take pride in all you do; *accountable* – be responsible for making things better; *courageous* – be open to doing things differently.

The outgoing Chief Executive explains the strategy: "*It's very much about residents feeling they've got a say over services and what happens in their local patch and building up local networks*."

"*People don't just work for a GP practice or school – they work for the place… We're now moving into much more community-based, networked local solutions, trying to support people to be the best they can be, throwing away the clipboard and the processing aspect of what we used to do*."

Workforce development

The skills of the workforce and the relationships they build with families are fundamental to families' progress – see the examples in the previous section. Many areas are strengthening the early help skill-set with formal qualifications and induction packages. Training programmes are designed to support keyworkers in their critical role managing the team around the family.

Culturally, broader training programmes are focussing on early help as a function and making every contact count with the aim of developing a multi-skilled workforce which takes responsibility for dealing with issues first time, identifying everyone as an early help practitioner.

One Troubled Families Coordinator commented that the keyworker role "*has enabled a different way in to the family and a relationship to be built that may not be there from a statutory perspective, which means that there's a different way of trying to address the issues and finding that different gateway enables families to move forward*". According to the latest Ipsos Mori staff survey, nearly two-thirds of Troubled Families coordinators say their partners now have a shared understanding of whole family working.

Workforce development

For the past five years, Lincolnshire has been on a journey to redesign the early help system with partners to ensure that early help is 'everyone's business'. This fits with the vision to ensure children and families get the right support from the right person at the right time. The education sector was seen as key, as it has existing and lasting relationships with children and their families. Schools, nurseries and colleges were saying that the system was too complex and they didn't have support, just lots of forms and processes; it was therefore important to bring them along on a journey of learning and development to improve the whole system.

The Troubled Families Lead says, "*Instead of providing training courses we model the principles and practice in every interaction. From my values and behaviours, through to my team of Early Help Consultants, which flows to lead professionals in education settings, and then on to parents and families who support their children*." Multi-agency professionals learn alongside each other by discussing real examples, participating in forums that highlight good practice, and attending workshops on assessments and planning. Rather than 'auditing' quality across the early help system, in Lincolnshire they do collaborative quality assurance meetings with lead professionals where they sit down and talk about the child's journey and discuss the quality and outcomes, learning together against a bespoke framework that aligns to Signs of Safety.

This systemic approach to workforce development has led to 70% of early help cases being held by education settings and an increase in early identification of children, and the quality of how their outcomes have been met. A head teacher said, "*We have seen behaviour improve with children within our school, both in school and at home, which has a positive impact on their educational achievement*."

Finally, there has been an increase in the number of specialists placed in teams. These professionals, such as Troubled Family Employment Advisors or primary mental health workers, might hold some cases, but most importantly they coach local authority and sometimes school staff to be more confident and to develop a rounded set of skills that support the whole family's needs. One area has gone as far as committing to train all public servants including nurses, council staff and teachers in principles that align to the Troubled Families Programme.

Service integration

Over time, we are seeing a more closely and culturally aligned workforce across each locality, able to understand and respond to the wider needs of families. In many areas there are partner professionals in teams which would previously have been single-agency, for example: housing staff in the children's services front-door, police in community hubs, adult and mental health staff in early help teams.

Alongside cultural integration comes physical integration. Job centres, health and the local authority appear to be sharing estate at an unprecedented level, creating new community spaces that bring services together into integrated or aligned management structures able to build community relationships and respond more quickly to residents' needs. There is a debate about the footprint for these community spaces with some areas opting for the 30,000 to 50,000 residents size suggested by the NHS Long Term Plan.[26] Whatever geographic scale is adopted, for early help it is beneficial to align with school clusters and GP surgeries.

Community hubs

Barking and Dagenham has established 15 hubs based in neighbourhoods so residents have a local one-stop-shop for services. Each hub has staff from 16 services across the local authority, welfare reform, the Troubled Families Programme Employment Advisors, Citizens Advice, Homelessness Reduction Act staff and voluntary sector services based in places such as children's centres and the library in the town centre.

Building on the principles of the Troubled Families Programme, the Community Solution hubs provide information, advice and support that wraps around families, vulnerable adults and older people. Barking and Dagenham is increasing demand for earlier help services such as online information, libraries and welfare reform services to build resilience. Instead of "*what am I eligible for*" the conversation with residents has moved to "*What support do I need to get on my feet again?*".

Each hub has a single line management structure and five common job descriptions to define roles through the prism of support to residents, rather than technical specialisms. There are 450 staff and the model integrates IT systems and the front-door for local services. The community hubs have reduced annual management costs by £1.5m, as well as significantly improving the experience and outcomes for residents. For example, following her engagement with a community hub, Miss C is now moving into an affordable property with a full financial review and assessment. She was quite overwhelmed, saying, "*your support has been amazing. Couldn't have done all this without your help.*"

26 NHS, 'NHS Long Term Plan', January 2019 https://www.longtermplan.nhs.uk/

To underpin this close working, the right delivery structures and processes need to be in place. Some areas have developed case management systems that are available for all partners holding early help cases. There are several benefits to a common case management system: families only need to tell their story once; data sharing is greatly enhanced and practitioners have a rounded view of families' needs; there is a common way to understanding family needs and outcomes across the early help system; and practice is quality assured with appropriate support provided to partners that need further help. A local authority in this position is embracing its role as leader of the early help system – ensuring appropriate support, quality and controls to reduce demand to acute services.

As early help gets distributed across many partners there is an increasing role for quality assurance and coordination of practice. There are different ways this is being tackled, from centralised control, intelligence and audit to more devolved models based on local meetings and close working.

Digital

Digital, data, new analytical intelligence and technology are all important changes which underpin and at times drive transformation work across partners.

Following the Digital Economy Act of 2017, there has been an increase in data sharing between partners to help understand families' needs and to improve the support they receive. Better data sharing is also leading corporate programmes to integrate IT storage into *data lakes* (a large database for storing information) which improve the control and protection of data alongside better needs analysis. Areas are also considering the ethics of personal data, establishing more robust information governance and putting in place systems that allow professional intuition and judgement alongside digital insight.

Increasingly teams that would have been based in children's services to analyse data are integrating with adult services, public health and sometimes partners to create place-based intelligence teams. These place-based intelligence teams improve our understanding of all the needs of a family, what services work well in what circumstances, and how to find individuals with hidden and unmet needs in the locality. Recent research (Dartington Service Design Lab[27]; Children's Commissioners Office[28]) shows the scale of potential hidden need in society – children, young people and families whose needs may escalate and require statutory support. It is critical that local authorities and partners measure the risk factors affecting these individuals and have a clear understanding of the patterns of need in their area.

In delivering the Troubled Families Programme, most areas have used intelligence as well as referrals to improve how they target their resources so local services can focus their work on particular streets or individual families that most need help. Increasingly, this data is being analysed alongside other data-sets to understand children's needs and risks, for example the risk of a child being sexually exploited or not accessing education, employment or training.

Identifying risk and hidden need is helping partners to understand the scale of the local challenge, but does nothing to meet that need, so there are now emerging approaches which make better use of resources in the local area to support vulnerable people much earlier. In some areas, the early intervention strategy is to deliberately increase the demand into community and universal services to meet needs earlier and therefore reduce demand into acute services.

27 Dartington Service Design Lab, Matching Children's Needs and Services: A Case of Three Circles https://dartington.org.uk/matching-childrens-needs-and-services-a-case-of-three-circles/

28 Children's Commissioners Office, Vulnerability Report 2018 https://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/publication/childrens-commissioner-vulnerability-report-2018/

Need and risk analysis

Dorset and Bristol have both set up needs analysis systems to identify vulnerable children and families at an early stage. In Bristol, they share data under the Digital Economy Act 2017 including school census, housing, DWP benefits, social care and early help, NEETs, Safer Bristol and police information. Dorset has a simpler model using attainment, attendance, free school meals, special educational needs and the Troubled Families Programme outcome measures.

This data is matched in a data warehouse to identify individuals who are vulnerable to, for example, child sexual exploitation, criminal exploitation, missing children and domestic abuse. In both areas the intent is to get information on risk and vulnerability out to universal partners such as schools (and nurseries in Bristol), and to early help professionals, so that families in most need can be offered additional support.

As well as shaping resource allocation, the data shows hidden need, for instance 11% percent of children in Dorset are assessed as requiring help. A special educational needs coordinator talked about the children identified by the new system in three categories, *"those we know about, those we are surprised by, and those where we had no idea there was an issue"*. Again in Dorset, a Deputy Head said the tool "*has opened up new avenues for us to identify and target support for vulnerable young people. We have had superb outcomes…*"

Like all computer systems it is not about taking over decisions but "*providing advice and guidance to the professional who adds the professional judgement*".

In Dorset, the intelligence tool has enabled changes to working practices which have contributed to a reduction in referrals, leading to cost-avoidance that is estimated to be £1.3 million per year. In Bristol, the accuracy of the model to identify children at risk of sexual exploitation is 88%, and demand to social care has reduced: over the last year the number of children in care has reduced by 12% and child protection cases are down 30%.

Summary – whole system transformation

Whilst local areas are at different stages of this transformation journey, there is an emerging and common vision for the early help system. As one Chief Executive put it, "*Our level of service transformation is like when the original iPhone was introduced, but our vision is really for an iPhone X*."

Whole system transformation

In Oldham, partners know that change for citizens is rooted in a quality of life improved by a wider set of influences than public service. Oldham has a united vision of a whole system approach, developed in part from their Troubled Families Programme, that:

- Places equal focus on the people and place
- Wraps around community assets, and strengthens those that need to develop
- Sees the Voluntary, Community and Faith sectors as partners, currently adding hidden value
- Supports citizens to develop their own priorities and develop their own resources to improve their lives and communities

There are many aspects of the transformation programme in Oldham including workforce development for all public sector staff (council staff, health visitors, police staff), new data systems, mapping of community assets, working with businesses and enabling community projects such as a credit union.

Oldham is also rolling out multi-agency teams in communities of 30-50,000 people including professionals from the local authority, police, health and care organisations, housing, voluntary, community and faith sectors. These teams are living and understanding the influences on daily life in some of the most disadvantaged communities in the borough and using this to drive daily interactions, area developments, trusting relationships and more resilient neighbourhoods.

Many local authorities and partners are now seeing the potential, as convenors of services and support, to better understand residents and use this information to reach out earlier to offer help. i.e. connecting people who have a hidden need to new community resources, or giving tailored advice and guidance, or providing a little extra targeted help from the universal sector. There is the potential for this approach to improve the relationship between the public sector and local people, as well as supporting their needs earlier.

While some areas are deciding to reduce early help family support services, there are many more who see the growth of the sector as the most sustainable way to reduce overall costs in the longer term. For seven years the Troubled Families Programme has been used to galvanise transformation, and MHCLG are committed to continuing to support local authorities and partners to make these services and family outcomes more sustainable.

Economic benefits

Introduction

The Troubled Families Programme aims to create economic benefits by preventing the need for expensive statutory interventions and by improving the coordination and efficiency of all services working with families. This chapter sets out the overall economic and fiscal case for the programme, as well as further detail about the costs of the programme and how it can be more cost effective than previous approaches.

Background

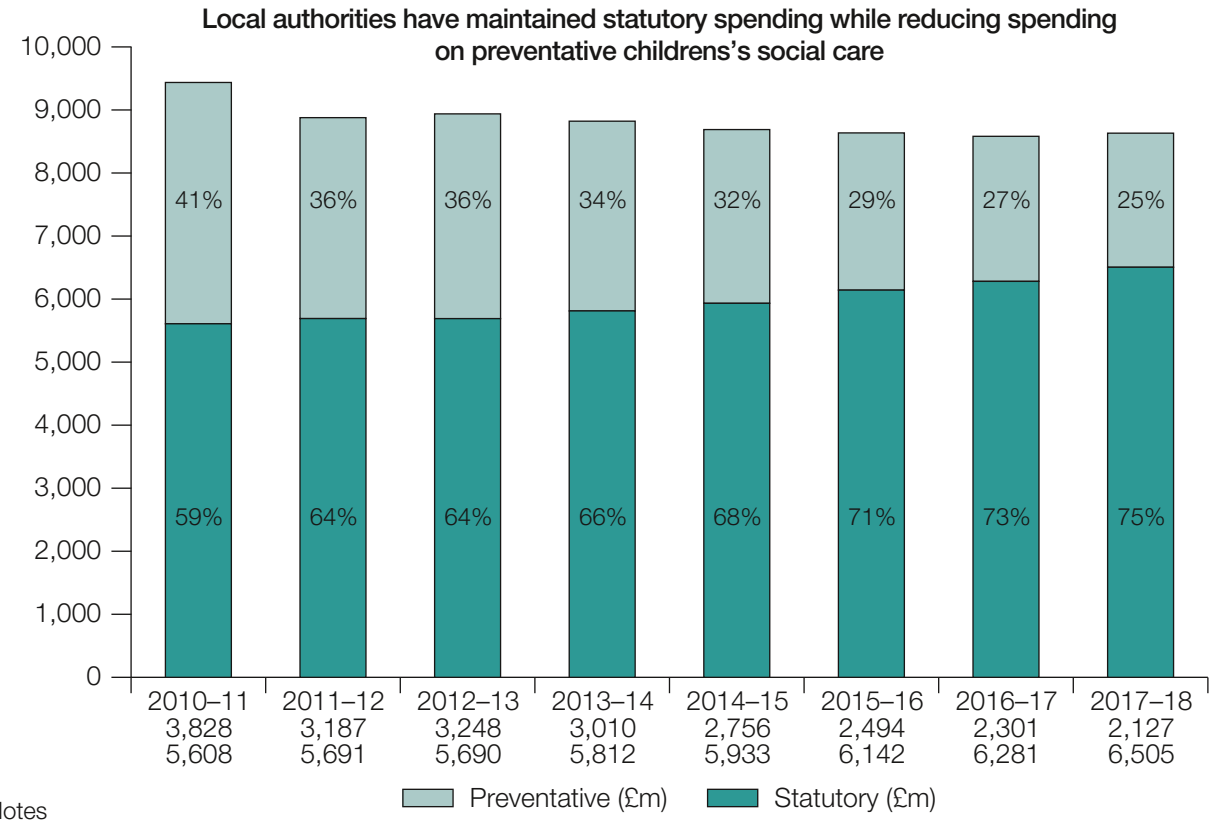
Taxpayer spending on children and families is largely made up of education, social security, childcare and healthcare spending but there is also considerable spending on local authority children and family services. A recent estimate puts the total spending, excluding healthcare, at £120 billion per year or £10,000 per child.[29]

The Troubled Families budget is a relatively small proportion of the overall spending on families. Overall, local authorities spend £9 billion per year on children's services and, in total, the Troubled Families Programme represents just over two per cent of these budgets. In recent years, overall spending on children's services has been broadly stable but there has been a reduction in the level of spending on preventative services and an increasing proportion of spending on child protection activity (see chart below). Therefore, Troubled Families Programme funding has given areas the opportunity to direct additional funding to non-statutory services, allowing them to increase preventative activity, invest in service transformation and enable delivery of family services.

The Troubled Families Programme is designed to provide flexibility to local authorities and their partners in how they use the funding to deliver better outcomes and services to families. It is often combined with other budgets to fund an overall early help service offer.

29 Institute for Fiscal Studies, 'Public Spending on Children in England: 2000 to 2020', June 2018 https://www.ifs.org.uk/publications/13061

Preventative and statutory spend on children's services by all local authorities in England, 2010-11 to 2017-18 (real terms, 2017-18 prices)



Notes
1. Data taken from the Department for Education's section 251.
2. Net expenditure is used.
Source: National Audit Office analysis

The costs of multiple services getting involved

There are a number of ways in which families with complex problems put significant pressure on public services.

The Costs of Troubled Families Programme report[30] sets out the reality of spending on the most complex families compared to the average family. In many cases, spending on the most complex families was ten times higher than for the average family spend. The total estimated financial cost of these families in 2013 was around £9 billion per year, £8 billion of which is spent purely reacting to the problems caused and experienced by these families. By comparison, an estimated £1 billion (just 11% of total expenditure) was being spent on targeted interventions to help families address their problems long-term.

There are several of ways in which costs to the taxpayer add up, including additional demands on mainstreams services (such the health service and schools) through to more high cost interventions and involvement with the criminal and family justice systems. It is also often the case that families with complex problems have debts with public authorities, such as rent and council tax arrears, and receive social security benefits over long periods of time. The table below highlights examples of the unit costs associated with some of these services and their prevalence in the families on the programme.

30 MGCLG, 'The cost of troubled families', January 2013 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-cost-of-troubled-families

Prevalence and unit costs for selected services and incidents

Type of service or incident	Prevalence	Unit cost	Problem area
Families claiming Employment Support Allowance	25.20%[31]	£13,236 per year[32]	Worklessness and financial exclusion
Families with a young person who is not in education, employment or training	18.40%[31]	£4,637 per year[32]	Worklessness and financial exclusion
Children on a child protection plan	4.90%[31]	£3,728 per year[32]	Children who need help
Families with a child who is a child in need	40.80%[31]	£1,626 per year[32]	Children who need help
Children with a permanent exclusion	0.50%[31]	£11,473 per year[32]	Education and school attendance
Families with an anti-social behaviour incident	7.90%[31]	£673 per incident with further investigation[32]	Crime and anti-social behaviour
Families where police have been called out to their home	31.30%[31]	£250 per incident[32]	Crime and anti-social behaviour
Sexual abuse (in home) since being an adult	5%[33]	£3,918 per incident[32]	Domestic abuse
Families who have been involved in a domestic abuse incident	22.40%[31]	£2,836 per incident[32]	Domestic abuse
GP visits 7 or more times	42%[33]	£37 per appointment[34]	Health
2 or more A&E visits	26%[33]	£160 per attendance[35]	Health

Often these costs are recurring, not just a single incident. People who enter the criminal and family justice system often re-enter the system over subsequent years. Similarly, we know that many families are long-term recipients of social security benefits and are repeat users of other services. The box below is an example of one family's interactions with services, as tracked by a local authority as part of the Troubled Families Programme.

31 MHCLG, 'National Evaluation of the Troubled Families Programme 2015 – 2020: Family Outcomes – national and local datasets, Part 4', March 2019 https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/786891/National_evaluation_of_the_Troubled_Families_Programme_2015_to_2020_family_outcomes___national_and_local_datasets_part_4.pdf

32 New Economy, 'Unit Cost Database', March 2015 http://www.neweconomymanchester.com/our-work/research-evaluation-cost-benefit-analysis/cost-benefit-analysis/unit-cost-database

33 Ipsos Mori, 'Troubled Families Programme National Evaluation: Family survey - Follow-up survey', March 2019 https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/786890/National_evaluation_of_the_Troubled_Families_Programme_2015_to_2020_Follow_up_family_survey.pdf

34 PSSRU, 'Unit costs of health and social care 2018', Jan 2019 https://www.pssru.ac.uk/project-pages/unit-costs/unit-costs-2018/

35 NHS Improvement, 'Reference costs 2017/18: highlights, analysis and introduction of data', November 2018 https://improvement.nhs.uk/documents/1972/1_-_Reference_costs_201718.pdf

Example of cost measurement for families

Partners mapped one family who received almost 170 reactive interventions over a 12-month period at a cost of more than £47,000. This included: 15 actions from the police at a total cost of £1,200; 131 interventions from children's services, costing over £26,000; multiple housing interventions that cost nearly £4,000; seven health interventions costing £8,500; and one intervention by the local authority's Revenue & Benefits service costing £1,000.

In addition, costs to individual reactive services can often be compounded by a lack of coordination, resulting in inefficient use of available resources.

Identifying problems at the earliest point and supporting families with keyworkers and evidence-based interventions helps prevent more serious costs later on and reduces the impact on other services, even if it appears to increase costs in the short term.

Local areas are being creative in how services are delivered in order to reach more families at lower cost. There is a direct cost saving to be made by better linking and sequencing of support and intervention, and better targeting. In addition, drawing on the full resources available to an area, including community groups and volunteers, is another way in which more families can be supported, taking pressure off higher cost specialist services. Examples of this are covered in the previous chapter on service transformation.

Case Study: Reducing repeat missing person incidents through the Building Successful Families programme

Each time a young person is identified as formally missing by authorities it causes significant costs to the public sector, including a police response to locate the young person, a return home interview, recording by social services and a possible longer social worker involvement.

Between March 2014 and June 2018, a total of 1879 young people were recorded as missing from home in Sheffield where they were not looked after at the time of the incident. Local analysis has identified that 383 of these young people were part of families on the Building Successful Families programme (BSF), and children involved in the programme were more likely to go missing more than once compared to those not on the programme.

The impact of the programme on children who had been missing from home three or more times was assessed. For this cohort, the number of missing incidents in the six months post-intervention was reduced by 82% compared to the number of incidents prior to the intervention. While it is not possible to interpret this as a definite causal impact of the programnme, in many of the cases the problem of going missing from home was identified and positively addressed by the keyworker.

The reduced number of incidents following BSF intervention represents a significant saving for the local authority social services team and South Yorkshire Police. Across Sheffield, the number of missing children and missing incidents has shown a downward trend across the last six quarters to December 2018.

The national economic case for the programme

The chapter, *Sustaining progress amongst families*, sets out findings from the latest evaluation on families' outcomes, including evidence on net reductions in some high cost and high harm outcomes. Even though some of the positive impacts are small in absolute numerical terms, these have significant cost-saving and benefit implications by reducing demand on high-cost acute services, particularly in children's social care and the criminal justice system. Cost-benefit analysis was undertaken to compare these savings to the total costs of the programme, to consider whether the programme is having a net fiscal and economic benefit. This analysis suggests that the programme is providing a net benefit to the taxpayer.

Cost-benefit analysis

The cost-benefit analysis estimates the effects of the programme on the 124,000 families that joined the programme in 2017/18, looking at the costs and benefits for each family in this cohort over five years. This cohort is only a subset of all the families who will participate in the programme; this approach is taken to simplify the timing of any costs and benefits.

Costs

A total of £920 million has been allocated to the Troubled Families Programme to support interventions for 400,000 families. This computes to an average cost per family of £2,300, or a total of £286 million for the 124,000 families that joined in 2017/18.

Economic benefits (includes economic, social and fiscal benefits)

The total public benefit for the 2017/18 cohort is estimated to be £651 million, or an

average £5,245 per family. This suggests every £1 spent on the programme delivers £2.28 of economic benefits.

Fiscal benefits (only budgetary impacts on services)

The total fiscal benefit for the 2017/18 cohort is estimated to be £432 million, or an average £3,484 per family. This suggests that every £1 spent on the programme delivers £1.51 of fiscal benefits, although not all of these will be cashable, particularly in the short term.

As the impact analysis only found an impact on the proportion of Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA) claimants in the final outcomes period and found no clear evidence of an impact on employment, the cost benefit analysis also considered the benefits when excluding any effects on Jobseeker's Allowance. Removing these effects gives an economic benefit of £1.94 and a fiscal benefit of £1.29 for every £1 spent.

The chart below shows the average benefits, costs and net benefits (benefits minus costs) for each of the 124,000 families considered in the cost-benefit analysis.

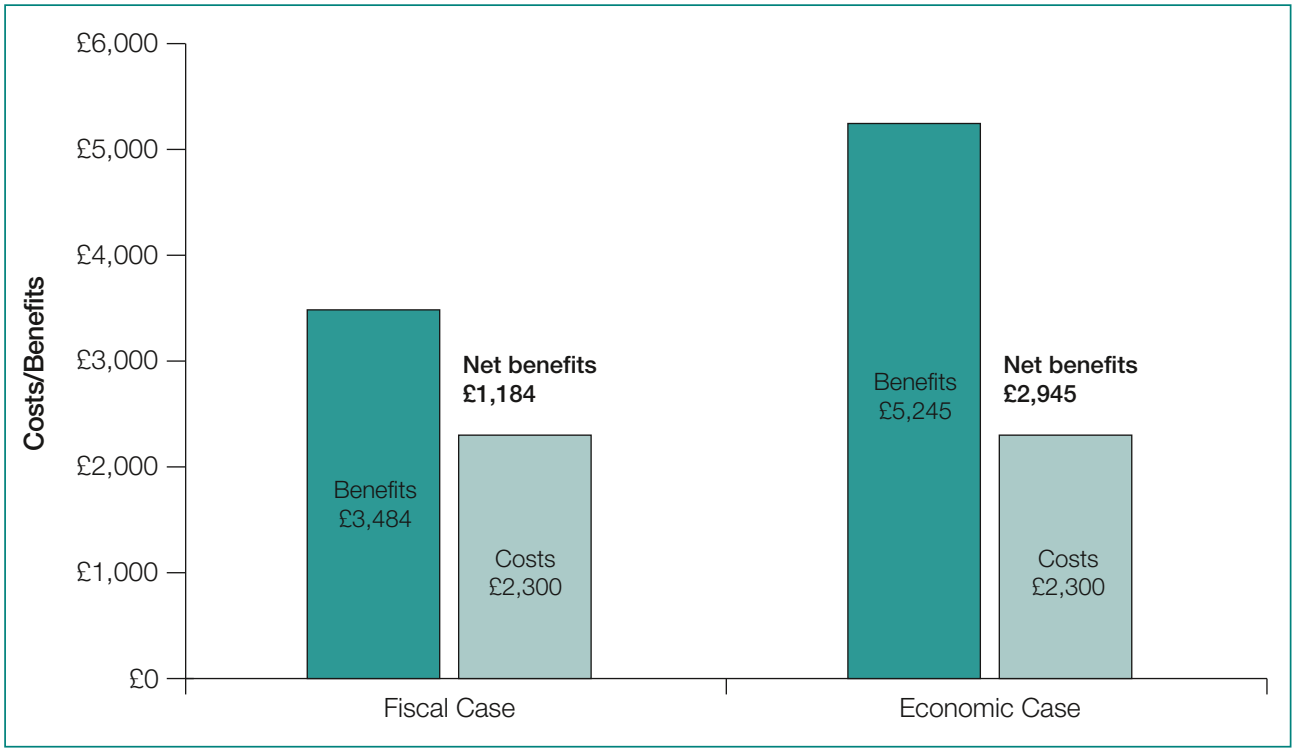
If these results were replicated across all 400,000 families that the programme is trying to reach, this would suggest a total net economic benefit of £1.18 billion, and a total net fiscal benefit of £473 million.

Where do these benefits come from?

These benefits are the result of the programme appearing to have a positive impact on the numbers of looked after children, JSA claimants, custodial sentences for adults and young people and convictions for young people. These are offset slightly by the increased number of children on child protection plans. Even though the absolute numbers are small, these benefits are largely driven by reductions in the numbers of looked after children, because the cost of local authority care is so high.

It should be noted the economic and fiscal benefits considered in the cost-benefit analysis are based on only a limited set of outcomes for which we currently have data.

Cost and benefits per family



The analysis on this set of outcomes has been conservative. Benefits are only considered over a 5-year time horizon, even though there is evidence that benefits to young children can result in improvements in well-being and employment outcomes throughout adult life. For example, looked after children experience on average poorer employment outcomes and are more likely to be involved with the criminal justice system throughout their lifetime, and so reducing the use of this service may have very large long-term benefits.

The local economic case for the programme

Local areas have a significant role to play in ensuring the programme's impact and value for money. They are encouraged to identify and capture the costs of their local services as a tool to inform multi-agency partnership decisions on service commissioning.

As mentioned above, the economic and fiscal benefits considered in the national cost-benefit analysis are based on only a limited set of outcomes for which there is available data. There are a range of other economic and fiscal outcomes that are not available on national data systems, such as mental health, domestic abuse and demand on public services such as schools and primary care services. If the programme has a similar positive impact on these outcomes, the net benefit would be even higher.

The boxes below present some examples of how local authorities are considering possible cost savings from the programme in their areas.

Local areas report that the programme has been crucial in helping to them avoid significant extra costs, particularly in terms of managing demand on high cost reactive services. While it is not possible to attribute this directly to the Troubled Families Programme investment in the same way that has been done with the national evaluation, this illustrates that this approach to service delivery can yield significant benefits and complements findings from the national cost benefit analysis.

Making the local economic case for the programme

Liverpool

In Liverpool, the Families Programme is an integral part of a wider demand management strategy which focuses on direct cost savings through reductions in the number of families and children requiring statutory support as well as improvements in quality and productivity (including families' satisfaction with services), and efficiency savings.

With an emphasis on early intervention and prevention, and increasing family resilience, a number of indicators are used to monitor changes in outcomes (reduced demand and repeat demand) and possible cost savings as a result of the wider demand management strategy. These indicators suggest that there has been a reduction in the incidence of the following outcomes: children assessed as Children In Need by social care, first time entrants to the youth justice system and workless families. Whilst not all directly attributable, local evaluations evidence the contribution of Troubled Families Programme funding to service integration and improvement programmes that deliver cost savings.

Greater Manchester

Troubled Families Programme funding has been a welcome contributor to Greater Manchester's strategy to tackle complex demand through early intervention and preventative approaches. Greater Manchester Combined Authority has promoted the use of cost-benefit analysis methodology across its ten localities as an important tool in helping areas understand the effectiveness of their early intervention offer for families. This has been used in parts of Greater Manchester to indicate which parts of the system are the main beneficiaries from the work with families while also providing confidence to decision makers that they are seeing a return on their investment.

This has been particularly important in ensuring that local investment in early intervention has continued alongside national Troubled Families Programme funding. The most recent cost benefit analysis carried out by Greater Manchester localities suggest that on average there is a return on investment of around £1.80 for every £1 invested.

Annex A: TROUBLED FAMILIES PROGRAMME 2015-2020: Families on the programme and making progress

Local authority	Local Programme Start Date	Funded families on the programme as at December 2018[2]	Maximum funded families up to 2020	Number of families achieved significant and sustained progress up to 8th March 2019[3]	Number of families achieved continuous employment up to 8th March 2019	Total claims for results up to 8th March 2019[4]
Barking and Dagenham[1]	Sep-2014	2,470	2,470	910	175	1,085
Barnet	Sep-2014	2,109	2,220	1,103	51	1,154
Barnsley	Jan-2015	2,100	2,210	703	148	851
Bath and North East Somerset	Sep-2014	665	700	464	66	530
Bedford	Jan-2015	874	920	388	11	399
Bexley	Jan-2015	1,340	1,410	957	31	988
Birmingham	Apr-2015	13,585	14,300	3,999	329	4,328
Blackburn with Darwen	Jan-2015	1,587	1,670	981	67	1,048
Blackpool	Sep-2014	1,739	1,830	974	27	1,001
Bournemouth	Apr-2015	1,264	1,330	478	37	515
Bracknell Forest	Jan-2015	380	400	222	10	232
Bradford	Sep-2014	4,303	6,070	455	232	687
Brent	Jan-2015	3,050	3,210	1,237	283	1,520
Brighton and Hove[1]	Jan-2015	2,131	2,280	676	72	748
Bristol[1]	Sep-2014	4,100	4,100	1,976	506	2,482
Bromley	Sep-2014	1,615	1,700	783	57	840
Buckinghamshire	Jan-2015	1,767	1,860	845	106	951
Calderdale	Sep-2014	1,568	1,650	623	101	724
Cambridgeshire	Jan-2015	2,698	2,840	1,205	148	1,353
Camden[1]	Apr-2015	2,100	2,100	814	32	846
Central Bedfordshire	Apr-2015	1,064	1,120	265	25	290
Cheshire East	Apr-2015	1,805	1,900	810	44	854
Cheshire West and Chester[1]	Jan-2015	1,820	1,820	1,055	124	1,179
Cornwall	Apr-2015	3,810	4,010	1,940	171	2,111
Coventry	Jan-2015	3,002	3,160	238	136	374

Local authority	Local Programme Start Date	Funded families on the programme as at December 2018[2]	Maximum funded families up to 2020	Number of families achieved significant and sustained progress up to 8th March 2019[3]	Number of families achieved continuous employment up to 8th March 2019	Total claims for results up to 8th March 2019[4]
Croydon	Jan-2015	2,898	3,050	1,225	137	1,362
Cumbria	Apr-2015	3,211	3,380	1,947	135	2,082
Darlington	Jan-2015	884	930	354	47	401
Derby	Jan-2015	2,119	2,230	667	80	747
Derbyshire	Sep-2014	4,285	4,510	1,478	512	1,990
Devon	Apr-2015	4,066	4,280	1,693	56	1,749
Doncaster	Apr-2015	2,803	2,950	862	299	1,161
Dorset	Jan-2015	1,843	1,940	854	109	963
Dudley	Sep-2014	2,318	2,440	554	72	626
Durham[1]	Sep-2014	4,360	4,360	1,783	310	2,093
Ealing[1]	Apr-2015	3,010	3,010	1,001	234	1,235
East Riding of Yorkshire	Jan-2015	1,587	1,670	752	133	885
East Sussex	Jan-2015	3,254	3,450	1,476	45	1,521
Enfield	Jan-2015	2,822	2,970	380	603	983
Essex	Jan-2015	7,192	7,570	3,077	38	3,115
Gateshead	Sep-2014	1,834	1,930	703	136	839
Gloucestershire	Jan-2015	2,831	2,980	1,575	181	1,756
Greater Manchester[1]	Sep-2014	26,987	27,230	11,507	454[5]	11,961
Greenwich	Sep-2014	2,641	2,780	1,033	278	1,311
Hackney	Sep-2015	3,335	3,510	1,472	92	1,564
Halton	Jan-2015	1,283	1,350	633	107	740
Hammersmith and Fulham	Jan-2015	1,606	1,690	596	168	764
Hampshire	Jan-2015	4,516	5,540	577	160	737
Haringey	Sep-2014	2,974	3,130	1,020	102	1,122
Harrow	Apr-2015	1,264	1,330	466	14	480

Local authority	Local Programme Start Date	Funded families on the programme as at December 2018[2]	Maximum funded families up to 2020	Number of families achieved significant and sustained progress up to 8th March 2019[3]	Number of families achieved continuous employment up to 8th March 2019	Total claims for results up to 8th March 2019[4]
Hartlepool	Sep-2014	950	1,000	589	67	656
Havering	Sep-2014	1,378	1,450	820	53	873
Herefordshire	Jan-2015	1,036	1,090	304	62	366
Hertfordshire	Apr-2015	4,437	4,670	1,697	98	1,795
Hillingdon	Apr-2015	1,891	1,990	713	81	794
Hounslow	Jan-2015	1,995	2,100	640	16	656
Isle of Wight	Apr-2015	950	1,000	143	81	224
Islington[1]	Jan-2015	2,315	2,630	635	200	835
Kensington and Chelsea	Sep-2015	1,074	1,130	333	115	448
Kent[1]	Jan-2015	9,200	9,200	6,829	289	7,118
Kingston upon Hull	Jan-2015	3,335	3,510	1,157	172	1,329
Kingston upon Thames	Apr-2015	646	680	197	7	204
Kirklees	Jan-2015	3,298	3,740	1,269	179	1,448
Knowsley	Sep-2014	1,910	2,010	750	78	828
Lambeth	Sep-2014	3,306	3,480	984	449	1,433
Lancashire	Sep-2015	8,189	8,620	2,812	346	3,158
Leeds[1]	Sep-2014	6,900	6,900	3,793	796	4,589
Leicester	Jan-2015	3,725	3,940	976	149	1,125
Leicestershire	Sep-2014	2,632	2,770	954	642	1,596
Lewisham	Jan-2015	2,962	3,170	1,559	71	1,630
Lincolnshire	Jan-2015	4,522	4,760	1,984	460	2,444
Liverpool[1]	Sep-2014	6,760	6,760	1,792	1,762	3,554
Luton	Jan-2015	1,843	1,940	1,117	70	1,187
Medway Towns	Apr-2015	1,957	2,060	357	113	470
Merton	Sep-2014	1,093	1,150	550	9	559

Local authority	Local Programme Start Date	Funded families on the programme as at December 2018[2]	Maximum funded families up to 2020	Number of families achieved significant and sustained progress up to 8th March 2019[3]	Number of families achieved continuous employment up to 8th March 2019	Total claims for results up to 8th March 2019[4]
Middlesbrough	Sep-2014	1,767	1,860	758	57	815
Milton Keynes	Apr-2015	1,520	1,600	1,258	11	1,269
Newcastle upon Tyne	Sep-2014	2,860	3,010	1,309	47	1,356
Newham	Apr-2015	3,819	4,020	1,125	22	1,147
Norfolk	Apr-2015	5,396	5,680	1,949	130	2,079
North East Lincolnshire	Jan-2015	1,615	1,700	711	6	717
North Lincolnshire	Jan-2015	1,197	1,260	478	20	498
North Somerset	Sep-2014	960	1,010	429	14	443
North Tyneside	Jan-2015	1,406	1,480	549	57	606
North Yorkshire	Sep-2014	2,565	2,700	1,583	144	1,727
Northamptonshire	Jan-2015	4,003	4,420	587	73	660
Northumberland	Jan-2015	2,014	2,120	1,134	68	1,202
Nottingham	Jan-2015	3,648	3,840	1,532	619	2,151
Nottinghamshire	Jan-2015	4,912	5,170	1,333	188	1,521
Oxfordshire	Sep-2014	2,708	2,850	868	106	974
Peterborough	Jan-2015	1,644	1,730	837	193	1,030
Plymouth	Sep-2014	2,261	2,380	964	174	1,138
Poole	Sep-2014	779	820	600	14	614
Portsmouth	Jan-2015	1,805	1,900	494	108	602
Reading	Apr-2015	1,112	1,170	228	81	309
Redbridge	Sep-2014	1,891	1,990	1,062	99	1,161
Redcar and Cleveland	Sep-2014	1,226	1,290	498	70	568
Richmond upon Thames	Sep-2014	618	650	203	6	209
Rotherham	Apr-2015	2,375	2,500	708	250	958
Rutland	Apr-2015	95	100	58	0	58

Local authority	Local Programme Start Date	Funded families on the programme as at December 2018[2]	Maximum funded families up to 2020	Number of families achieved significant and sustained progress up to 8th March 2019[3]	Number of families achieved continuous employment up to 8th March 2019	Total claims for results up to 8th March 2019[4]
Sandwell	Jan-2015	3,724	3,920	1,843	146	1,989
Sefton	Jan-2015	2,024	2,130	944	121	1,065
Sheffield[1]	Sep-2014	5,360	5,360	3,012	230	3,242
Shropshire	Jan-2015	1,501	1,580	292	75	367
Slough	Apr-2015	1,197	1,260	520	1	521
Solihull	Jan-2015	1,150	1,210	307	40	347
Somerset	Jan-2015	2,850	3,000	1,507	111	1,618
South Gloucestershire	Sep-2014	998	1,050	361	45	406
South Tyneside	Apr-2015	1,359	1,430	403	194	597
Southampton	Sep-2014	2,010	2,230	381	224	605
Southend-on-Sea	Jan-2015	1,406	1,480	510	53	563
Southwark	Apr-2015	3,173	3,340	931	411	1,342
St. Helens	Jan-2015	1,625	1,710	296	41	337
Staffordshire[1]	Jan-2015	4,680	4,680	1,453	172	1,625
Stockton-on-Tees	Jan-2015	1,482	1,560	869	41	910
Stoke-on-Trent	Apr-2015	2,746	2,890	1,225	141	1,366
Suffolk	Jan-2015	3,905	4,110	2,093	166	2,259
Sunderland	Jan-2015	2,413	2,540	617	119	736
Surrey	Sep-2014	3,515	3,700	1,525	96	1,621
Sutton	Apr-2015	1,055	1,110	277	24	301
Swindon	Jan-2015	1,245	1,310	689	19	708
Telford and Wrekin	Jan-2015	1,292	1,360	549	48	597
Thurrock	Apr-2015	1,159	1,220	285	7	292
Torbay	Apr-2015	1,121	1,180	465	69	534
Tower Hamlets	Apr-2015	3,400	3,660	1,143	43	1,186

Local authority	Local Programme Start Date	Funded families on the programme as at December 2018[2]	Maximum funded families up to 2020	Number of families achieved significant and sustained progress up to 8th March 2019[3]	Number of families achieved continuous employment up to 8th March 2019	Total claims for results up to 8th March 2019[4]
Wakefield	Sep-2014	2,879	3,030	1,271	127	1,398
Walsall	Jan-2015	2,689	2,830	1,590	149	1,739
Waltham Forest	Jan-2015	2,841	2,990	1,052	34	1,086
Wandsworth	Sep-2014	2,081	2,190	957	118	1,075
Warrington	Apr-2015	1,188	1,250	317	44	361
Warwickshire	Sep-2014	2,651	2,790	1,489	51	1,540
West Berkshire	Sep-2014	513	540	127	15	142
West Sussex	Sep-2014	3,743	3,940	2,433	131	2,564
Westminster[1]	Sep-2015	2,080	2,080	578	216	794
Wiltshire	Jan-2015	1,891	1,990	898	57	955
Windsor and Maidenhead	Jan-2015	437	460	184	24	208
Wirral	Jan-2015	2,850	3,000	399	22	421
Wokingham	Apr-2015	323	340	65	31	96
Wolverhampton	Apr-2015	2,746	2,890	897	153	1,050
Worcestershire	Jan-2015	3,021	3,180	691	71	762
York	Jan-2015	734	950	84	73	157
Total		**380,426**	**399,960**	**151,524**	**20,366**	**171,890**

Footnotes:

1. Earned Autonomy areas (and Greater Manchester which delivers the programme under a devolution agreement) no longer submit numbers of family outcomes for payment by results purposes. Instead they report positive family outcomes achieved for sustained and significant progress and continuous employment. These areas were given the opportunity to update their figures up to the end of February 2019.
2. We know that areas are working with a far greater number of families than they have been paid for. As at December 2018 local authorities reported that over 500,000 families were on the programme. However, it is not a requirement for areas to report the full number of unfunded families on the programme so it is not consistently available for all areas and has not been included in the breakdown above.
3. Areas had a deadline of 26th March 2019 to update the number of families achieving family outcomes in this financial year – due to the print deadlines of this report we had to select an arbitary cut off point of 8th March. Numbers of outcomes are likely to have changed since this report was finalised.
4. All results are subject to spot check.
5. Greater Manchester is currently in the process of refreshing its employment data.

CCS0219646900

978-1-5286-1063-6