



Department for
Communities and
Local Government

The Fiscal Case for Working with Troubled Families

Analysis and Evidence on the Costs of Troubled Families to Government

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Introduction

Background

In December 2011, the Government committed to invest an additional £448m in turning around the lives of the 120,000 most troubled families in England. This publication details the fiscal analysis that informed this decision. It explains how public money is being spent on troubled families and the degree to which this money is spent reacting to the problems of these families. It concludes that the Government will spend an estimated £9bn per year on these families over the Spending Review period (2010-15), with only £1bn of this going into targeted interventions intended to improve outcomes for troubled families.

While the figures in this analysis are significant and informed government's decision-making process, the critical point for the Government was not necessarily the precise figure, but whether a sufficiently compelling case for a new approach was made. In this context, the indicative distribution of reactive to targeted spend was as important as the total figures estimated. This showed that we are spending eight times more reacting to the problems of troubled families than we are delivering targeted interventions to turn around their lives. This analysis made a clear case for a change in the way that public money is spent on troubled families and, thereby, the outcomes that this investment achieves.

As this analysis was originally produced to inform the case for investment in troubled families, it predates the start of the Troubled Families programme in April 2012. As this programme works with and turns around increasing numbers of troubled families, the information and assumptions on which this analysis was based will improve. However, this analysis was based on the best evidence available at the time (end of 2011) and, where better data has subsequently become available, we have undertaken further analysis in this paper. These instances are highlighted in this report.

Building on this analysis, the Government is committed to strengthening its understanding of the costs and financial benefits of the Troubled Families programme. Earlier in January, the Department for Communities and Local Government published *The Cost of Troubled Families*¹, outlining the early stage work that is underway by 16 leading local authorities to get to grips with the financial case for their work. Furthermore, a new independent national evaluation of the programme will begin shortly. This will include an economic evaluation looking at the wider economic and social costs and benefits of the programme².

¹ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-cost-of-troubled-families>

² The estimates of spending in this report exclude the substantial economic and social costs associated with troubled families.

What is the Troubled Families programme?

In December 2010, the Prime Minister stated his commitment to turning around the lives of 120,000 of the country's troubled families by the end of this parliament. As part of this, the Government set out a clear vision about what needed to change in these families: getting children into school, cutting crime and anti-social behaviour and putting adults on the path to work. To deliver this, the Government pledged to invest an additional £448m in the Troubled Families programme, to work in partnership with local authorities to help change these families' lives and to establish a Troubled Families Team in the Department for Communities and Local Government, led by Louise Casey CB and overseen by the Secretary of State for Communities, the Rt. Hon Eric Pickles MP.

Estimating government spending on troubled families

In autumn 2011, the Prime Minister asked departments to work together to set out the evidence on troubled families. The first step was to gather information from relevant departments on the policies or programmes across government which involved spend on the estimated 120,000 troubled families. Specifically, the Department for Education, the Department for Work and Pensions, the Department of Health, the Ministry of Justice, the Home Office and the Department for Communities and Local Government were asked by HM Treasury to identify and detail each budget line that related to troubled families and to estimate the portion of that expenditure which was going to these families (directly or indirectly). This information was passed on to the Department for Communities and Local Government and formed the starting point for its estimation of the cost of troubled families to government.

As a next step, the Department for Communities and Local Government brought together analysts from across government to provide input to the detailed estimation of the amount of money spent on these families. In order to identify the additional money spent on troubled families, the analysts agreed to focus on 'targeted' and 'reactive' government policy spend, rather than also counting spend considered 'universal'³. Targeted and reactive spend captured those programmes which tended to be predominantly used by or concentrated around troubled families.

Targeted spend referred to programmes for these families that was intended to proactively or specifically help with the problems they were encountering or generally help their circumstances. Examples included early intervention programmes such as Sure Start, programmes addressing child protection, such as intensive family interventions, mental health programmes, such as Multi-Systemic Therapy, and the Department for Work and Pension's Work Programme.

Reactive spend was defined as money spent reacting to the problems these families caused. For example, spend on dealing with excluded pupils, the costs of taking children into care, such as fostering and residential care, the healthcare costs of alcohol misuse, welfare benefits and Accident & Emergency costs.

The decision on how to categorise each line of spend was taken with the relevant departments. In some cases, this categorisation was not clear cut. In these cases, an informed judgment was made based on the available evidence.

³ 'Universal' spend would capture spending going to a larger group of families than just troubled families.

To estimate the amount spent just on troubled families, we looked at the groups of people that each service reached and the proportion of them that was likely to be troubled families. In cases where the department was unable to identify the proportion of its spend reaching troubled families, information on the characteristics of troubled families from several sources was used to estimate this spend. This included:

- looking at how many individuals nationally were treated by or eligible for each policy
- considering the prevalence among troubled families of the eligibility criteria, and,
- calculating the number of individuals in these families the policy would be reaching⁴.

One of the areas where this approach was used included welfare benefits – by using evidence to make assumptions on the likely characteristics of the families, the Department for Work and Pensions was able to estimate the amount of benefits they were receiving.

For some areas of spend, like crime, the Home Office and the Ministry of Justice had insufficient data on the breakdown of spending so this approach was not workable at the time. However, in this case, more robust data has subsequently become available and we have undertaken further analysis in order to verify the original conclusion. An explanation of this analysis is also provided in this report.

The Families and Children Study was one source of information on troubled families' characteristics. Based on their analysis of the Families and Children Study, the Department for Education divided the 120,000 most troubled families into a sub-group of 50,000 families whose children had been in trouble with the police, run away from home, excluded from school and had special educational needs; and a separate sub-group of 70,000 families whose children often had some (but not all) of these problems and were considered 'at risk' of moving into the first group⁵. This segmentation was used during some of this analysis when considering the incidence and cost implications of behavioural problems in the children of troubled families.

A publication on the evaluation⁶ by the National Centre for Social Research (NatCen) of family intervention services provided the other main source of assumptions on troubled families' characteristics⁷. These services were aimed at the types of families government has defined as 'troubled'. Specifically, the families receiving such interventions were characterised as having a high prevalence of worklessness, truancy and problems with youth crime.

⁴ This was based on an estimate of the number of adults and children to be in troubled families

⁵ See Annex B for a detailed breakdown and description of the two cohorts of troubled families.

⁶ Lloyd C., Wollny Y., White C., Gowland S. and Purdon S. (2011) *Monitoring and evaluation of family intervention services and projects between February 2007 and March 2011*. Department for Education.

<http://www.education.gov.uk/publications/RSG/AllPublications/Page1/DFE-RR174>

⁷ See Annex A for full details on the characteristics of families in the family intervention

According to the evaluation, prior to receiving a family intervention, around 85 per cent of families reported having engaged in some form of anti-social or criminal behaviour; 60 per cent had at least one child with problems at school (i.e. truancy, exclusion, or bad behaviour at school); and over two-thirds of families had no adult⁸ in employment, education or training⁹. The NatCen database was regularly updated with details of families' characteristics before, during and after an intervention¹⁰ and the evaluation drew on this data. Where programme spend needed apportioning by the number of people it reached, the NatCen data provided an assumption on the number of adults and children in the average troubled family¹¹.

Other sources of information were also used, where available, to cross-check our analysis. These included:

- the Department for Education's C4EO cost calculator¹²
- evaluation evidence on Intensive Intervention Projects¹³
- evaluation evidence on the Family and Young Carer Pathfinders¹⁴
- research on different local approaches to families with multiple problems¹⁵, and
- emerging results from the 16 Community Budgets wave 1 pilots¹⁶.

⁸ i.e. aged over 16 years.

⁹ Lloyd et al. (2011) as above.

¹⁰ The final statistical release was published as an annex to *Working with Troubled Families: a guide to evidence and good practice*.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/working-with-troubled-families-a-guide-to-evidence-and-good-practice>. See the notes in Annex A for details on this database.

¹¹ The assumption was 1.36 adults and 3.07 children per troubled family.

¹² The Family Savings Calculator is designed to help local authorities to quantify the costs and benefits saved by services from a family at risk taking part in an intensive intervention:

<http://www.c4eo.org.uk/costeffectiveness/edgeofcare/costcalculator.aspx>

¹³ Flint J., Batty E., Parr S., Platts Fowler D. and Nixon J (2011) *Evaluation of Intensive Intervention Projects*. Department for Education: <https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/standard/publicationDetail/Page1/DFE-RR113>. Intense Intervention Projects were based on the family intervention model, but were aimed at young people with the most challenging behaviour.

¹⁴ York Consulting (2011) *Turning around the lives of families with multiple problems – an evaluation of the Family and Young Carer Pathfinders Programme*. Department for Education

<https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/standard/publicationDetail/Page1/DFE-RR154>

¹⁵ Kendall S., Rodger J. and Palmer H. (2010) *Redesigning provision for families with multiple problems – an assessment of the early impact of different local approaches*. Department for Education:

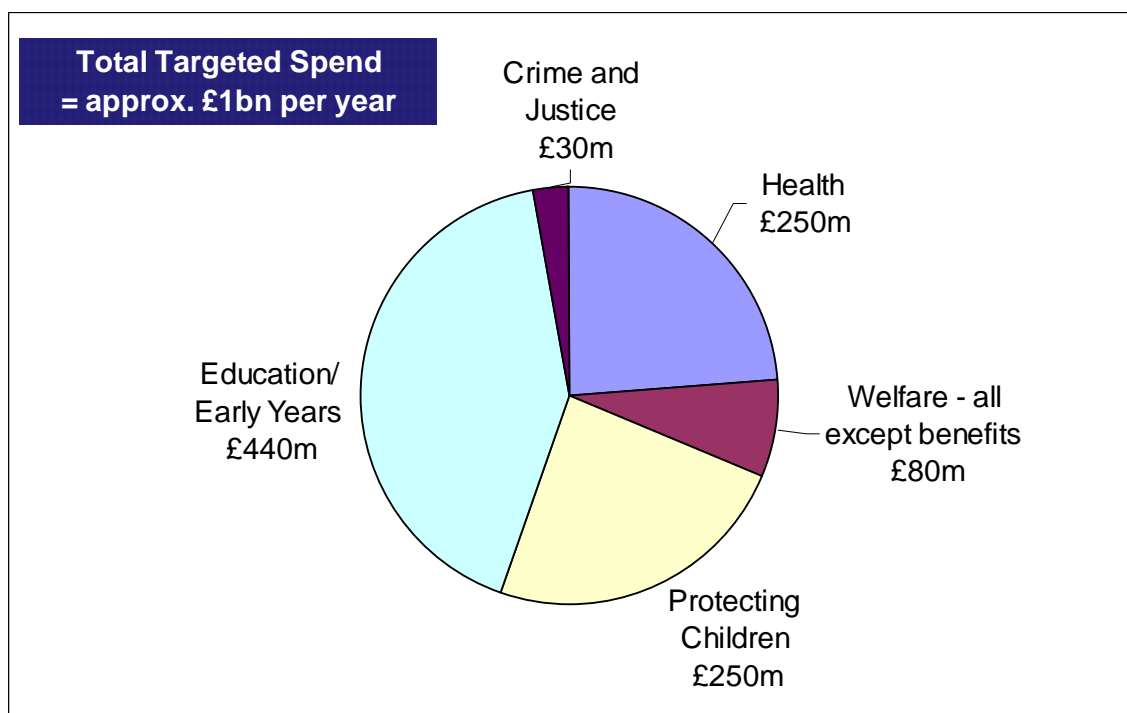
<https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/standard/publicationDetail/Page1/DFE-RR046>

¹⁶ Birmingham, Blackburn with Darwen, Blackpool, Bradford, Essex, Greater Manchester, Hull, Kent, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, London Boroughs of Barnet, Croydon, Islington, Lewisham, Westminster, Hammersmith and Fulham, Kensington and Chelsea, and Wandsworth and Swindon.

Estimate of total spending on troubled families

The overall cost of troubled families to the government was estimated to be around £9bn per year. Of this, £1bn was targeted and £8bn reactive spend.

Figure 1: Targeted spend on troubled families (£m per year)



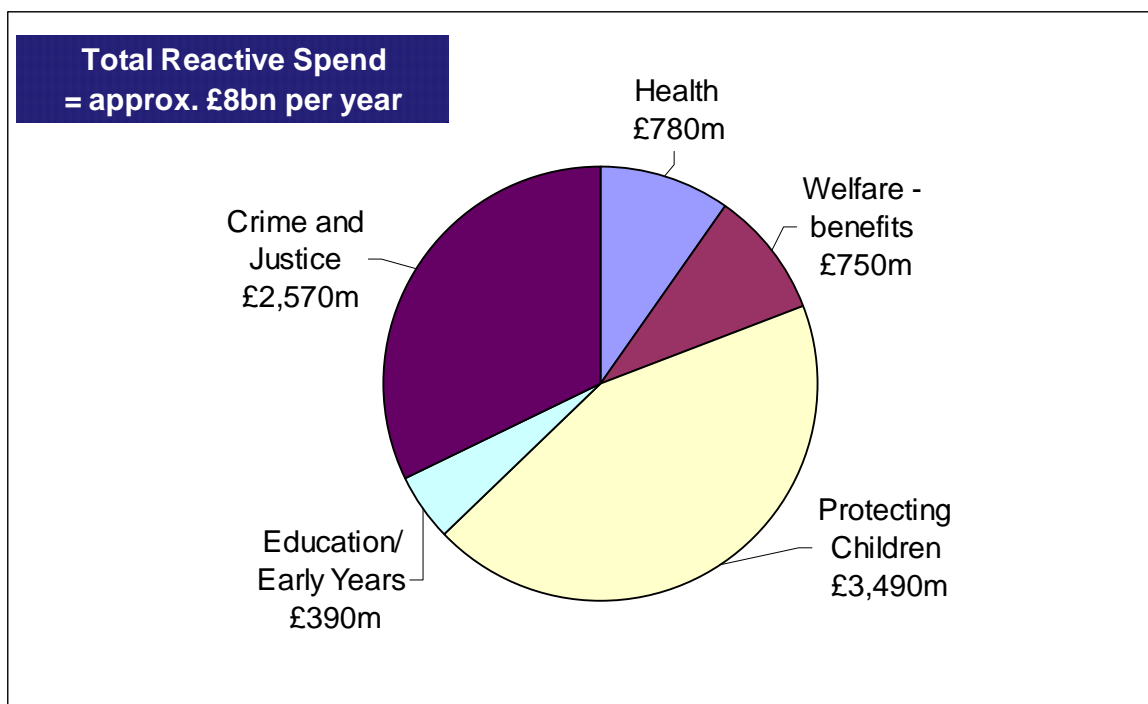
Targeted spend on troubled families totals over £1bn per year¹⁷ and is composed of:

- *Education/early years*: early years interventions (Sure Start) and preventative work with young people (e.g. youth work, positive activities, Information, Advice and Guidance) (Department for Education).
- *Protecting children*: family intervention and targeted child protection (Department for Education)
- *Health*: programmes on mental health, drug and substance misuse, early years food/milk, and teen pregnancy nurses and health visitors (Department of Health)
- *Welfare*: European Social Fund provision for families with complex needs and a small amount of the Work Programme (but not JobCentrePlus or other welfare benefits) (Department for Work and Pensions)
- *Crime*: Parenting Orders¹⁸ and preventing teenage knife/gun/gang violence¹⁹ (Home Office and Ministry of Justice).

¹⁷ All yearly figures in this publication are annualised estimates over the current Spending Review period (2010-15).

¹⁸ Parenting Orders have been available nationally since 2000 under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. The orders are designed to help and support parents when their children get into trouble, e.g. have been convicted of criminal offences or are subject to anti-social behaviour orders, etc.

Figure 2: Reactive spend on troubled families (£m per year)



Reactive spend on troubled families totals over £8bn per year and is composed of:

- *Protecting children*: looked after children (or children in care), social care and child support (Department for Education)
- *Crime and Justice*: police, courts, custody and other costs of serious crime (such as burglary, criminal damage, assault and drug-related offences, but excluding anti-social behaviour) (Home Office/Ministry of Justice)
- *Health*: alcohol and drug dependence and dealing with mental health problems (excluding other Accident & Emergency or GP costs, e.g. admissions as a result of domestic violence)²⁰ (Department of Health)
- *Welfare*: benefits (excluding child benefit or child and working tax credit) (Department for Work and Pensions)
- *Education/early years*: fixed-term and publicly excluded pupils, and those in receipt of behavioural and emotional support (Department for Education)

In the following sections we detail the assumptions used to estimate the cost of troubled families – targeted and reactive – in each of the following areas:

- Education and early years
- Protecting children

¹⁹ The Home Office has committed to providing funding to local areas (the police, local agencies and the voluntary sector) to tackle knife, gun and gang-related violence and prevent young people entering a cycle of crime:

<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime/knife-gun-gang-youth-violence/>

²⁰ This included the cost of reacting to those presenting with mental health problems and the cost of dealing with alcohol misuse.

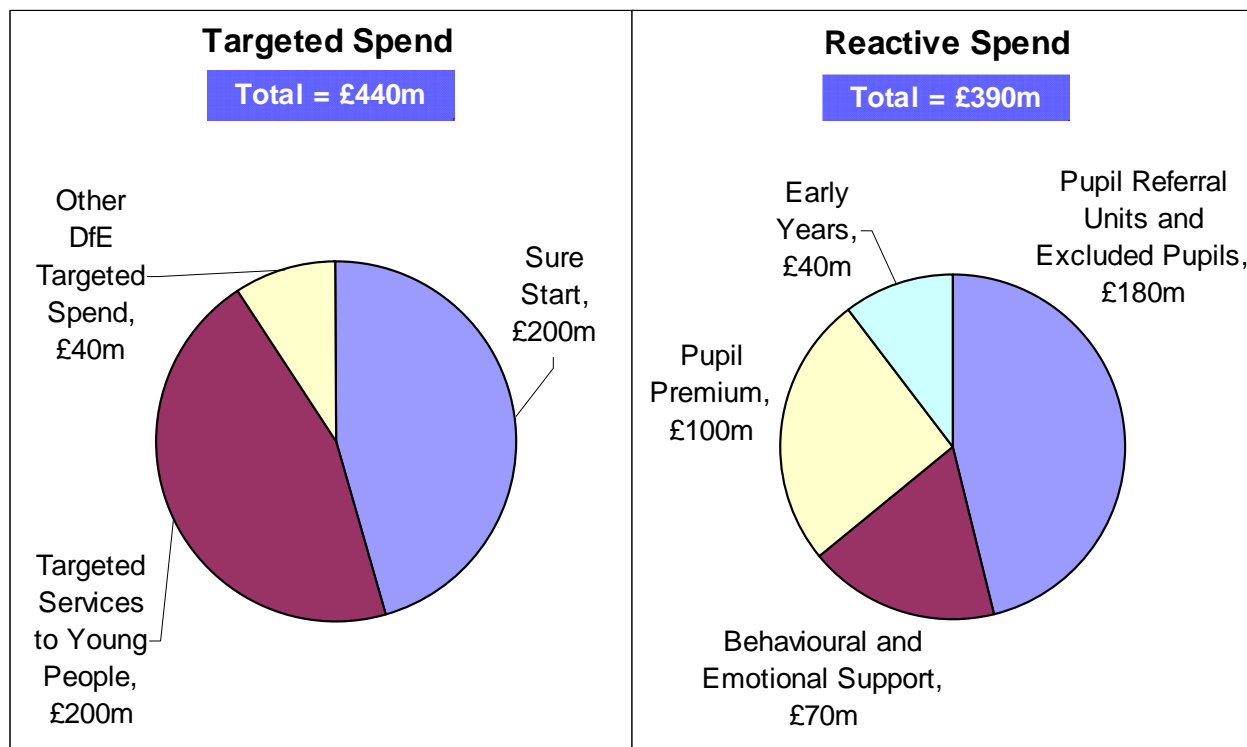
- Health
- Welfare and work
- Crime and justice

For all areas of expenditure, only fiscal costs to central government and local public bodies were taken into account. Social or wider economic costs were excluded from this analysis as the purpose of the analysis was to inform the business case for further fiscal investment as part of the new Troubled Families programme. These costs would further increase the overall 'cost' of troubled families, for example through monetising the value of lost lifetime earnings from poor educational attainment, youth offending and unemployment.

Estimates of spending by policy area

Education and early years

Figure 3: Targeted and reactive spend on education and early years by programme (£m per year)



The Department for Education used a combination of data collected for the evaluation of family intervention and the latest published report (Lloyd et al., 2011²¹), statistical releases, and internal analysis to estimate the proportion of each budget spent on troubled families. In cases where there was limited direct information on budget spend, the Department for Education used the best available evidence at the time and made informed judgments in light of these limitations.

²¹ Lloyd et al. (2011) *Monitoring and evaluation of family intervention services and projects between February 2007 and March 2011*. Department for Education.
<http://www.education.gov.uk/publications/RSG/AllPublications/Page1/DFE-RR174>

Targeted spend

Targeted spend was estimated to be £440m per annum.

The proportion of troubled families benefiting from Sure Start was difficult for the Department for Education to estimate because there was a lack of information on the use of Sure Start services specifically by these families. Instead, the Department for Education used the proportion of pupils from families with multiple problems benefiting from the Pupil Premium as a proxy, given the similarity of the eligibility criteria for Sure Start and the Pupil Premium^{22, 23}. Information from the family intervention data on Pupil Premium beneficiaries among families receiving a family intervention produced an estimate that about 20 per cent of Sure Start children came from troubled families²⁴.

For the purposes of this exercise, targeted services to young people included programmes such as youth work, positive activities²⁵, Information, Advice & Guidance²⁶, substance misuse services and teenage pregnancy support services. Estimating the proportion of spend on these services going to young people in troubled families was difficult as only limited information was available on the characteristics of the people using these services. In these cases, the Department for Education made informed and conservative judgments based on the best available evidence at the time.

Other Department for Education targeted spend covered several other budget items, but the main element was the Children and Family Court Advisory and Support Service (CAFCASS)²⁷.

The estimated spend by programme was: £200m for Sure Start, or around 20 per cent of the £1bn annual budget; £200m for targeted services to young people, or 56 per cent of annual spend; and £40m for other Department for Education targeted spend, or 30 per cent of this budget.

²² See Annex B for a definition of families with multiple problems.

²³ The eligibility criteria for Sure Start and Pupil Premium include a parent or child receiving any of the following benefits: Income Support, Jobseeker's Allowance, Employment and Support Allowance, support under the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, State Pension Credit, Child Tax Credit, Working Tax Credit 'run-on.'

²⁴ This was based on family intervention data which indicated that 67 per cent of families with multiple problems receiving the Pupil Premium and children in these families representing 29 per cent of all children receiving Pupil Premium.

²⁵ For example, services to support personal and social development, such as volunteering.

²⁶ For example, information, advice or guidance provided by local authorities that is focussed on supporting early intervention for vulnerable young people on issues such as teenage pregnancy, substance misuse, youth crime, or not being in education, employment or training.

²⁷ http://www.cafcass.gov.uk/about_cafcass.aspx.

Reactive spend

Reactive spend on education and early years was estimated to be £390m per annum.

Around two thirds of troubled families (67 per cent) were estimated to be eligible for Pupil Premium. Based on an average of 3.07 children per troubled family this equates to approximately 247,000 children²⁸. Around 50,000 families were estimated to have children with additional needs²⁹. Of these, 32 per cent were eligible for behavioural and emotional support according to family intervention data. This is approximately 49,000 children³⁰.

Similarly, among families with additional needs, family intervention data indicated that 11 per cent had a child attending a Pupil Referral Unit and a similar proportion included a child which had been excluded from school. On the basis that there is an average of one child out of three per family in one of these programs, this equates to around 11,000 children overall.

According to the Department for Education, the estimated spend on troubled families for each programme was: £100m for the Pupil Premium; £70m for behavioural and emotional support; £180m for Pupil Referral Units and excluded children; and £40m for Early Years reactive programmes (e.g. payments to Early Years providers).

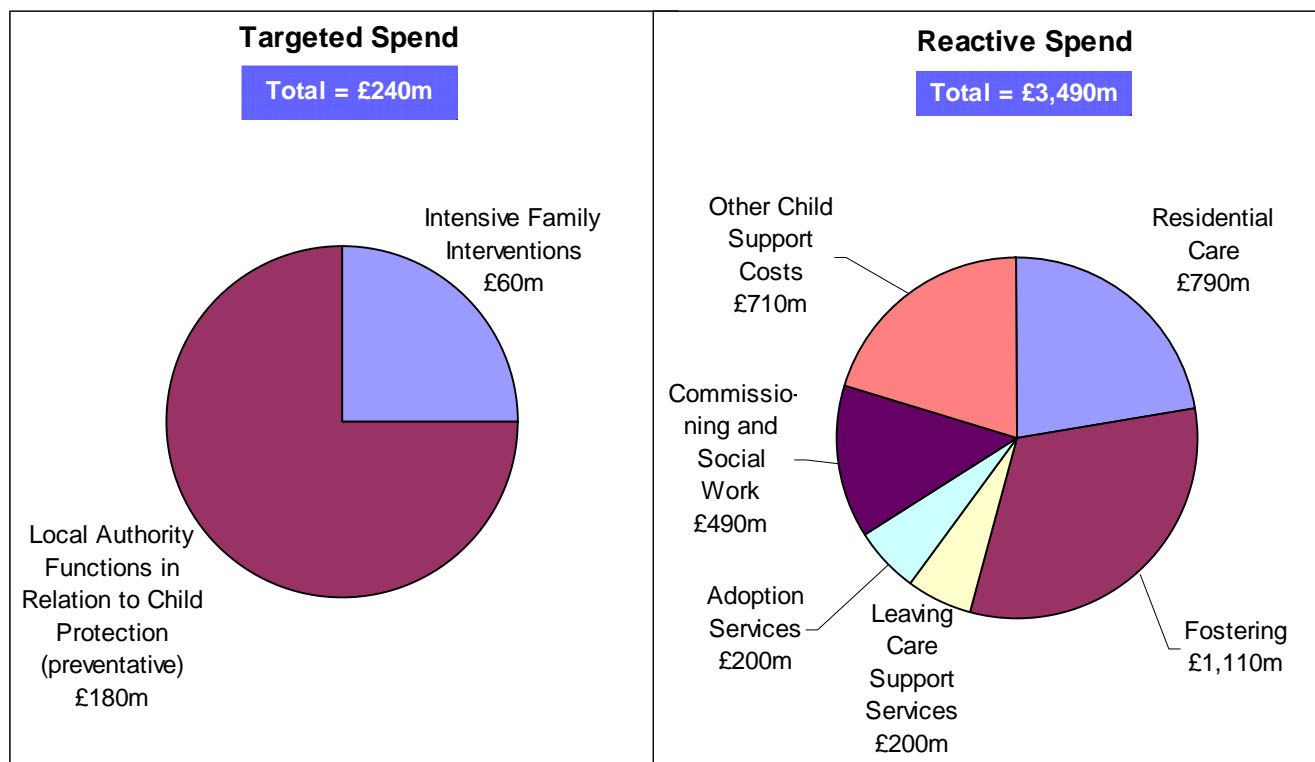
²⁸ This proportion of troubled families receiving Pupil Premium and the average number of children per troubled family was estimated from family intervention data referenced in footnote 11.

²⁹ See Annex B for a detailed description of how this figure of 50,000 families with additional needs was estimated.

³⁰ This estimate was calculated by the Department for Education using internal statistics on the number of children with behavioural, emotional and social difficulties.

Protecting children

Figure 4: Targeted and reactive spend on protecting children by programme (£m per year)



Targeted spend

For the purposes of this analysis, targeted spend on protecting children was estimated by the Department for Education to be £240m per year.

All spend on intensive family interventions³¹ (£60m per year) was taken to apply to troubled families, as was all preventative local authority spend relating to child protection³² (£180m per year).

³¹ This includes local authority spend on all interventions which include a family having access to a dedicated practitioner or ensure a support/care plan is in place. See the Department for Education's Section 251 Guidance document for more information: <http://www.education.gov.uk/childrenandyoungpeople/strategy/financeandfunding/section251/a00191786/outline-guidance>

³² This does not include residential care, fostering or adoption services, which were categorised as reactive spend. It covers any spending related to preventative child protection such as local safeguarding children's boards (see <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/2006/90/contents/made>) and other local authority discretionary spending on preventive child protection.

Reactive spend

Reactive spend on troubled families was estimated to be £3.49bn per year.

The most significant spend lines in this relate to residential care, fostering and adoption services. The Department for Education apportioned spend in these areas based on an analysis of Looked After Children statistics for 2011³³. On this basis, the Department for Education estimated annual spending on residential care to be £790m, fostering to be £1.11bn, and adoption services to be £200m. The Department for Education attributed a third of commissioning and social work expenditure³⁴ to troubled families (£400m), and 79 per cent of other child support costs to be spent on troubled families (£710m)³⁵.

³³ Table A1 in the Department for Education's Statistical First Release *Children looked after in England (including adoption and care leavers) year ending 31 March 2011* (Sept 2011).
<http://www.education.gov.uk/researchandstatistics/statistics/allstatistics/a00196857/children-looked-after-by-las-in-england>

³⁴ Commissioning and social work included all costs relating to services provided by social workers for children in care such as identifying children's needs for future services, monitoring services for children in care, commissioning of adoption, fostering, and additional needs services by local authorities.

³⁵ These indicative estimates were based on the assumption that all troubled families were accessing these services, including past cohorts of children from these families that are currently in care.

Table 1: Department for Education – estimated spending on education, early years and protecting children by policy

Type of Spend	Policy/Intervention Name	Total budget (£m) ³⁶	Proportion of budget spent on troubled families (%)	Estimated amount spent on troubled families per year (£m)*	Estimated amount spent on troubled families over the Spending Review period (£m)*
Targeted Spend					
Education & Early Years	Sure Start	1,000	20%	200	790
	Targeted Services to Young People ³⁷	370	56%	200	820
	Other Department for Education Targeted Spend on Education/Early Years	130	30%	40	160
	Total**	1,500	29% (average)	440	1,470
Protecting Children	Intensive Family Interventions	60	100%	60	250
	LA Functions in Relation to Child Protection (preventative)	180	100%	180	730
	Total**	240	100% (average)	240	980
Reactive Spend					
Education & Early Years	Pupil Referral Units and Excluded Pupils	310	58%	180	710
	Behavioural and Emotional Support	240	31%	70	300
	Pupil Premium	490	20%	100	390
	Early Years	440	9%	40	160
	Total**	930	42% (average)	390	1,560
Protecting Children	Residential Care	920	86%	790	3,170
	Fostering	1,280	86%	1,110	4,430
	Leaving Care Support Services	230	86%	200	780
	Adoption Services	230	86%	200	790
	Commissioning and Social Work	1,480	33%	490	1,950
	Other Child Support Costs	900	79%	710	2,850
	Total**	5,040	69% (average)	3,490	13,970

³⁶ Annual average over the Spending Review period (2010-15). Total budget based on the Department for Education's figures. Numbers rounded to nearest £10m.

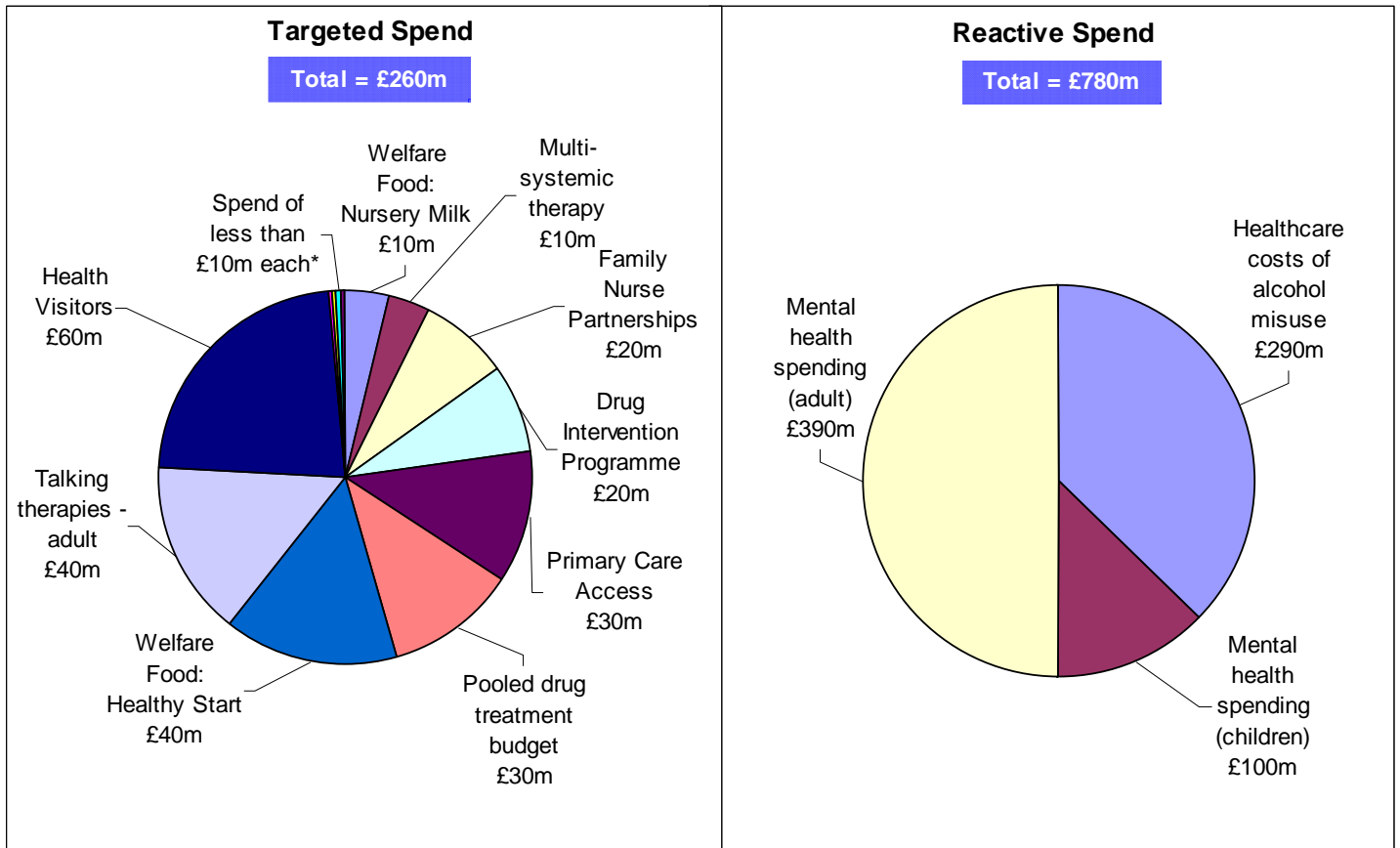
³⁷ Includes some Positive Activities, Teenage Pregnancy and Drug Prevention work

* Numbers rounded to nearest £10m.

** Totals may not add up in tables due to rounding of programme estimates.

Health

Figure 5: Targeted and reactive spend on health by programme (£m per year)



Note:

* Includes: School Fruit and Vegetable Scheme, Mental Health Liaison and Diversion Services, Talking Therapies - children, Youth Justice Liaison and Diversion

The evidence from the Families and Children Study and the evaluation of family intervention (Lloyd et al. 2011)³⁸ suggested that families eligible for the Troubled Families programme were likely to have a range of health problems, including long-standing physical and mental health problems as well as drug and alcohol misuse. Since the original analysis was undertaken, a qualitative study carried out by the Thomas Coram Research Unit, Institute of Education and University of London (Boddy et al. 2012) also supported this conclusion, finding that families with multiple problems had significant and diverse health needs³⁹.

Using information provided by the Department of Health, spend on troubled families related to health was estimated by undertaking the following analysis:

³⁸ Lloyd et al. (2011) *Monitoring and evaluation of family intervention services and projects between February 2007 and March 2011* <http://www.education.gov.uk/publications/RSG/AllPublications/Page1/DFE-RR174>

³⁹ Boddy J., Statham J., Warwick I., Hollingworth K. and Spencer G. (2012) *Health Related Work in Family Intervention Projects*. Thomas Coram Research Unit and Institute of Education [http://www.cwrc.ac.uk/documents/Final_FIPs_report\(acceptedApril2012\).pdf](http://www.cwrc.ac.uk/documents/Final_FIPs_report(acceptedApril2012).pdf)

- calculating the likely proportion of each relevant policy's spend on troubled families and multiplying it by the annual (or annualised) budget
- using information provided by the Department of Health on the number of individuals treated by or eligible for each policy nationally
- considering the prevalence in troubled families of the eligibility criteria, and
- calculating the number of troubled families/individuals that the policy would be reaching based on how many adults and children are in these families.

Given this approach, we were able to estimate targeted and reactive spend as £260m and £780m respectively. However, these estimates were difficult to separate definitively into the two categories and some costs which could be considered reactive were included in targeted spend and vice versa, such as access to Primary Care, mental health services, etc. The estimates and assumptions are outlined and set out in Table 2 below.

Targeted spend

The estimates for access to Primary Care were calculated using GMAP Consulting data⁴⁰. This data showed that 104 new General Practitioner practices served an average of 1,500 patients in 2005⁴¹. These new GPs were in the most deprived areas. Data provided by the Department of Health suggested that 80 per cent of families with multiple problems were in these areas and that 10 per cent of this group benefited from closer GP provision. This led to an estimate of approximately 43,000 individuals in 10,000 troubled families using this service which equates to just over 27 per cent of the annual spend, or around £30m per annum⁴².

The Office for National Statistics' data suggested that there were around 41,000 births to teenage mothers in England in 2009⁴³. The Department of Health estimated that every one of these families would be seen by a Health Visitor. Of these, 35,000 were first-time mothers and we assumed that all of these would be assigned to a Family Nurse Partnership⁴⁴. Family intervention data suggested that within families with multiple problems there was a 14 per cent incidence of teenage mothers. This led us to estimate that the Department of Health would spend £80m per annum on providing health visitors and Family Nurse Partnerships for 17,000 troubled families.

⁴⁰ GMAP is a private consultancy firm, specialising in Geographic Modelling and Planning (GMAP).

⁴¹ Based on the 10 'worst' having 2000-3400 patients per GP; the 10 'best' having 700-1000 patients.

⁴² The estimate of 43,000 individuals in troubled families accessing primary care was based on an average 4.43 individuals per troubled family (see footnote 11 above). The portion of the primary care access budget attributable to troubled families was calculated by dividing the number of individuals in troubled families using this service by the total number of individuals served by the programme (i.e. 42,528 divided by 156,000, or approximately 27% of individuals accessing primary care came from troubled families).

⁴³ See Table 2 <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcn%3A77-230704>

⁴⁴ One of the eligibility criteria for the Family Nurse Partnership is: All first time mothers age 19 and under at last menstrual period. (Taken from a guidance note forwarded by the Department of Health colleagues).

The Department of Health data suggested that 1.5 million children under five years were given Nursery Milk in 2011⁴⁵; 2.1 million children were given School Fruit and Vegetables and 1.1 million children benefited from Healthy Start. The Department of Health then assumed that every child from a troubled family in primary school education would be eligible for and use these services. As a result we estimated that this would cost just over £53m per annum (this figure has been rounded down to £50m in Table 2)⁴⁶.

National Drug Treatment Monitoring System data (2008-09) showed that 210,815 individuals were receiving structured drug treatment⁴⁷. Lloyd et al. (2011) reported that 33 per cent of families with multiple problems had a drug or substance misuse problem. This equates to approximately 40,000 adults receiving drug treatment, costing an estimated £50m per annum⁴⁸.

Internal Department of Health statistics showed that 2.5 per cent of the English population (1.3 million people) were in contact with mental health services in 2010/11. The Office for National Statistics population projections suggested that adults under the age of 60 made up 58 per cent of the general population and children made up 21 per cent⁴⁹. Lloyd et al. (2011) suggested that 39 per cent of adults and just under 10 per cent of children from families with multiple problems had a mental health issue. As a result, we estimated that around 47,000 adults in troubled families and 5,000 children in troubled families would access mental health liaison and diversion services and that the estimated cost of providing these services would be £1.8m per annum.

According to the Department of Health data, 60 per cent of the population who contacted the NHS because of mental health concerns went on to receive Talking Therapy. We assumed that those in troubled families presenting with mental health problems would go on to access treatment and that this would cost just under £50m for both adults and children per annum.

Many families with multiple problems are in receipt of Multi-Systemic Therapy⁵⁰. The Department of Health data estimated that 15 Multi-Systemic Therapy teamsteams would work with 40 families with multiple problems per annum over the Spending Review period (2011-2015) and an additional 15 teams would work with 40 families for the last two years only of the Spending Review period. We assumed that all families in receipt of Multi-Systemic Therapy would be troubled families. This led to an estimated cost of £10m per annum.

⁴⁵ <http://consultations.dh.gov.uk/nurserymilk/nextsteps>

⁴⁶ Since the programme has been launched, this has proven to be an overestimate.

⁴⁷ Statistics from the National Drug Treatment Monitoring System. 1 April 2008- 31 March 2009.

http://www.nta.nhs.uk/uploads/ndtms_annual_report_200809_final.pdf

⁴⁸ This estimate does not include the cost of children in receipt of drug treatment. As such, this is a conservative estimate.

⁴⁹ <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/npp/national-population-projections/2010-based-reference-volume--series-pp2/results.html#tab-Age-structure>

⁵⁰ Multi-Systemic Therapy is a family therapy, which focuses on improving parenting and rebuilding positive relationships.

The Department of Health partially funds a series of 37 Youth Justice Liaison and Diversion pathfinders across England⁵¹. Information provided by the Department of Health showed that these pathfinders received an average of 370 referrals per month, totalling approximately 4,400 referrals annually. Each of the pathfinder sites had a budget of £65,000 per year. We assumed that all troubled families would be eligible for these services and so multiplied the cost of a pathfinder site (£65,000) by 37 to arrive at a figure of £2.4m per annum.

Reactive spend

The healthcare costs of alcohol as well as mental health services were counted in estimating reactive spend. These cost estimates excluded the cost of targeted programmes and was based on the information presented above about the estimated number of troubled families presenting with mental health problems and the Department of Health statistics. As a result, we estimated that a total of £490m will be spent on reacting to the mental health problems of troubled families.

The costs of alcohol misuse were based on the Alcohol Harm Reduction Strategy for England. This strategy estimated that the total annual healthcare costs alone of alcohol misuse were £1.7bn per year⁵². The National Alcohol Treatment Monitoring System⁵³ data (2009-10) showed that 111,381 adults were in contact with structured alcohol treatment and another 31,733 adults were in touch with alcohol treatment and drug treatment. These two combined figures led to an estimate of how many alcohol and drug dependent individuals will be treated by the NHS.

Lloyd et al. (2011) reported that 30 per cent of the Department for Education's estimated 50,000 troubled families with children presenting multiple behavioural issues have drug and alcohol problems. This led to an estimate that 17 per cent of the alcohol misuse budget will be spent on adults in troubled families during this Spending Review period, totalling just over £290m (for around 16,000 troubled families overall). This estimate does not include alcohol dependency among juveniles and is therefore likely to be an underestimate.

⁵¹ These services provide early intervention to improve the health outcomes for children and young people (and their families) whose behaviour puts them at risk of coming into contact with the Youth Justice System.

⁵² Alcohol figures can be found at: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/about-us/impact-assessments/ia-alcohol-measures>

⁵³ See <http://www.alcohollearningcentre.org.uk/Topics/Browse/Data/NATMS/>

Table 2: Department of Health spending estimates by policy

Type of Spend	Policy/Intervention Name	Estimated number of individuals affected nationally	Estimated number of troubled families affected	Total budget (£m) ⁵⁴	Proportion of budget spent on troubled families (%)	Estimated amount Spent on Troubled Families per year (£m)*	Estimated amount Spent on Troubled Families over the SR period (£m)*
Targeted Spend							
	Access to Primary Care	156,000	10,000	110	27%	30	120
	Health Visitors	41,000	17,000	140	41%	60	240
	Family Nurse Partnerships	35,000	17,000	40	48%	20	80
	Welfare Food: Healthy Start	1,050,000	120,000	120	35%	40	170
	Welfare Food: Nursery Milk	1,500,000	120,000	60	11%	10	30
	School fruit and vegetable scheme	2,100,000	120,000	20	18%	<10	20
	Drug Intervention Programme	210,815	40,000	60	26%	20	60
	Pooled drug treatment budget	210,815	40,000	100	26%	30	100
	Mental Health Liaison and Diversion services	1,027,000	47,000	30	6%	<10	10
	Talking therapies - children	163,800	5,000	10	9%	<10	<10
	Talking therapies - adult	452,400	47,000	280	14%	40	160

⁵⁴ Annual average over Spending Review period (2010/11-2014/15). Total budget estimates provided by the Department of Health. * Numbers rounded to nearest £10m

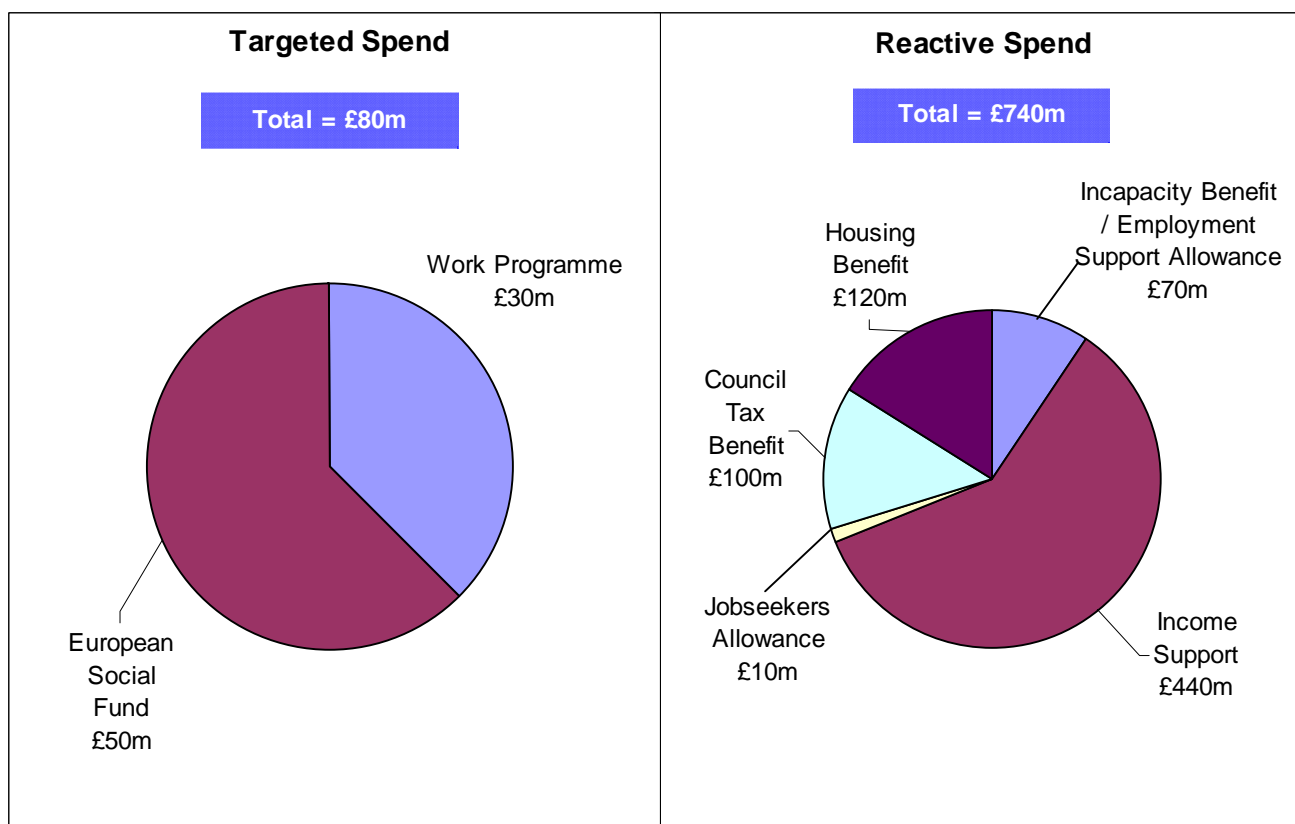
* Numbers rounded to nearest £10m

** Totals may not add up in tables due to rounding of programme estimates.

	Multi-systemic therapy	1,200	1,200	10	100%	10	30
	Youth Justice Liaison and Diversion	4,440	4,440	<10	100%	<10	<10
			Total**	980	26% (average)	260	1,020
Reactive Spend							
	Healthcare costs of alcohol misuse	143,114	16,000	1,700	17%	290	1,160
	Mental health spending (children)	273,000	5,000	1,690	6%	100	380
	Mental health spending (adult)	754,000	47,000	4,670	8%	390	1,580
			Total**	8,060	10% (average)	780	3,120

Welfare and work

Figure 6: Targeted and reactive spend on welfare and work by programme (£m per year)



Targeted spend

For the purposes of this analysis, planned spend on the Work Programme and the European Social Fund attributable to troubled families was estimated at a total of £80m per year.

The Department for Work and Pensions provided forecasts at the time the Troubled Families initiative was launched of the numbers of people who would access its Work Programme; the annual average was taken as around 550,000 individuals. The Department for Work and Pensions estimated that within this around 21,000 troubled families would receive support. A further 50,000 families were anticipated to receive support from the European Social Fund provision for families with complex needs over 3 years.

Total Work Programme spend will vary from year to year depending on actual volumes and performance⁵⁵. However, the National Audit Office estimated that average expected expenditure would be around £650m per year⁵⁶; on this basis it is estimated that approximately £30m would be attributed to troubled families.

⁵⁵ The Department of Work and Pensions hasn't yet published any expenditure figures for the Work Programme.

⁵⁶ <http://www.nao.org.uk/idoc.ashx?docId=99d09f2a-48b1-48a2-b8ee-0b646466b9be&version=-1>

Reactive spend

The Department for Work and Pensions sought to estimate benefit spending going to troubled families based on an analysis of the Families and Children Study data. Specifically, the percentage of families with multiple problems reporting having claimed each of the different benefits was used as an indication of the benefit take-up rate across troubled families (see Table 3 below). The spending on each benefit is set out in Table 4 below.

Table 3: Estimates of welfare spend by benefit and percentage of families with multiple problems reporting having claimed benefits

<i>Benefit</i>	<i>Percentage of families with multiple problems reporting having claimed a benefit*</i>
Incapacity Benefit / Employment Support Allowance	10.8%
Income Support	74.2%
Job-Seekers Allowance	3.6%
Council Tax Benefit	82.8%
Housing Benefit	88.6%

Notes:

* Based on analysis of the Families and Children Study 2006 data for families meeting five or more of the social exclusion criteria (see Annex B for detail on these criteria).

** Amounts are annual averages over the Spending Review period rounded to the nearest £10m.

Table 4: Department for Work and Pensions spending estimates by policy

<i>Type of Spend</i>	<i>Policy/Intervention Name</i>	<i>Estimated number of troubled families affected</i>	<i>Estimated amount spent on troubled families per year (£m)*</i>	<i>Estimated amount spent on troubled families over the Spending Review period (£m)*</i>
Targeted Spend				
	Work programme	21,000	30	130
	European Social Fund	50,000	50	200
		Total**	80	330
Reactive Spend				
	Incapacity Benefit / Employment Support Allowance	13,000	70	300
	Income Support	89,000	440	1,740
	Jobseekers Allowance	4,000	10	60
	Council Tax Benefit	99,000	100	380
	Housing Benefit	106,000	120	500
		Total**	740	2,980

Notes:

* Numbers rounded to nearest £10m

** Totals may not add up in tables due to rounding of programme estimates.

Crime and justice

Targeted spend

Targeted spend includes Parenting Orders and programmes preventing teenage knife/gun/gang violence, and totals £30m per annum.

Spend on Parenting Orders was taken as £97m over three years (which equates to £32m per year, rounded down to £30m)⁵⁷. Troubled families are likely to qualify for Parenting Orders as these are targeted at families where children are frequently in trouble with the police or involved in anti-social behaviour. The impact assessment of Parenting Orders suggested that around 48,500 families were subject to such orders⁵⁸. The Ministry of Justice assumed that the entire £97m budget was likely to be spent on troubled families. This assumption was supported by the similarity between the eligibility criteria for the Troubled Families Programme and the focus of these Orders on young people involved in crime and anti-social behaviour. This assumption was further supported by the Department for Education's analysis that there are approximately 50,000 troubled families with children displaying multiple behavioural problems (including being in contact with the police).

The £9m per year spent on Projects Against Teenage Knife, Gang and Gun Violence was not included in the £30m total as it was difficult to infer the proportion used by troubled families. However, it was likely that a portion of this spending would reach these families. Excluding this spend should mitigate any overestimation of the amount of Parenting Orders budget troubled families use.

Reactive spend

Reactive spend on crime and justice involving troubled families was estimated to be £2.5bn per annum. Originally, a cost of crimes approach (explained below) was used due to the difficulty in differentiating the Ministry of Justice and the Home Office spending on individuals in these families from spending on other individuals. Subsequently, further evidence has become available and the spending has been re-analysed for this publication. In all estimates, it is likely that the figures are underestimates as no expenditure on the costs of victimisation are taken into account. It is likely that some victims of crime would also have been within troubled families⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ Home Office, July 2009, Parenting Orders Impact Assessment
<http://www.ialibrary.bis.gov.uk/uploaded/IA%20mandatory%20parenting%20orders.pdf>

⁵⁸ This indicated that around £2,000 was spent per family.

⁵⁹ Research shows that 50 per cent of respondents to the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey who had committed any offence in the previous 12 months had also been victims of a personal crime compared to about a fifth (19 per cent) of those who had not committed any offence (Roe, S. and Ashe, J. (2008). *Young People & Crime: findings from the 2006 OCJS*. <http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/9140/1/hosb0908.pdf>)

The cost of crimes committed by troubled families⁶⁰

The eligibility criteria laid out in the *Troubled Families Programme: Financial Framework*⁶¹ focuses on young offenders, families involved in anti-social behaviour and children with school attendance problems. According to the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey⁶², the average number of offences was highest for those with similar characteristics⁶³. These eligibility criteria also mean that children in troubled families are likely to be over the age of criminal responsibility (i.e. 10 years old). Further, there are likely to be more young males in troubled families as they commit a disproportionate number of crimes compared to their number in the general population⁶⁴.

Our analysis of the family intervention data shows that there will be approximately 302,000 young people aged 10 to 18 among the 120,000 troubled families – 187,000 males (i.e. an average of 1.56 males per family) and 115,000 females (i.e. an average of 0.96 females per family).

In Annex C, Table C1 shows the average number of self-reported offences reported by respondents in the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey for those aged 10 to 18 by offending and educational characteristics. Table C2 shows the implied number of crimes that might be committed by the 302,000 young persons assumed to be in the Troubled Families programme by different characteristics⁶⁵. On the basis of this analysis and the Home Office's unit cost of crime estimate of £496⁶⁶, it is assumed that the total cost of crimes committed by troubled families is approximately £2bn per annum. These Home Office costs also include a significant amount of health expenditure as they estimate that the health service bears about 6 per cent of the total cost of crime, which at 2011/12 prices

⁶⁰ See Annex C for a more detailed explanation of the data and methodology used to estimate the cost of crimes committed by troubled families.

⁶¹ Department for Communities and Local Government. The Troubled Families programme: Financial framework for the Troubled Families programme's payment-by-results scheme for local authorities. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/11469/2117840.pdf

⁶² The Offending, Crime and Justice Survey was the first national longitudinal, self-report offending survey for England and Wales. The series began in 2003, the initial survey representing the first wave in a planned four-year rotating panel study. A specific aim was to monitor trends in offending among young people. The sample of respondents was drawn from persons aged 10-25 years in private households in England and Wales. Offending, Crime and Justice Survey data are available from the Economic and Social Data Service at <http://www.esds.ac.uk/support/e33360.asp>.

⁶³ For example, males who had committed an offence in the previous 12 months and had previously truanted from school, reported committing, on average, 14 offences in the subsequent 12 month period. This was about 12.5 offences more than those without these characteristics (see Table C1 in Annex C)

⁶⁴ See *Youth Justice Statistics 2010/11*, England and Wales.

<http://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/statistics/youth-justice/yjb-statistics-10-11.pdf>

⁶⁵ For the purposes of this analysis, we have only included those offences that are likely to be recorded by the police and, if the perpetrator were caught, attract some sort of formal sanction from the Criminal Justice System. This results in around 20 core offence types.

⁶⁶ Dubourg, R. and Hamed, J. (2005). *Estimates of the economic and social costs of crime in England and Wales: Costs of crime against individuals and households, 2003/04*. Home Office. London. This report gives the cost of crimes in financial year 2003/04, which we have inflated to 2011/12 prices.

The Home Office Study concentrates on offences that police forces record and are required to report to the Home Office and are broadly similar to those used in the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey. We have removed the costs of serious crimes (e.g. homicide), as they are unlikely to be self-reported in the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey. See "Estimating the cost of crime for troubled families" in Annex C for a more detailed explanation of how the unit cost of crime was derived.

would be equivalent to £149 per crime.⁶⁷ This implies that the total cost of crime to the Exchequer could be as much as £2.6bn per annum, which we have rounded down to £2.5bn. Table 5 shows how this estimate has been derived and presents the crime-related costs of troubled families according to three possible combinations of characteristics among offending children in the 120,000 troubled families.

Table 5: Total cost to the health and criminal justice services of crimes committed by children in the 120,000 troubled families*

	<i>Estimate of crimes committed per annum**</i>	<i>Cost to the CJS[∇] based on cost of £496 per crime (£bn)</i>	<i>Cost to the health service based on cost of £149 per crime (£bn)</i>	<i>Total health and CJS[∇] cost (£bn)</i>
Previous truant and with one previous offence	4,000,000	1.984	0.595	2.579
No truancy and with one previous offence	2,060,000	1.021	0.306	1.327
Previous truant and no previous offence	2,150,000	1.065	0.319	1.384

Notes:

* Based on analysis of the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey and costs derived from Home Office report by Dubourg and Hamed (2005). All costs at 2011/12 prices⁶⁸

** See Annex C for details on how this estimate was derived.

[∇] Criminal Justice System

⁶⁷ The cost to the health service of crimes committed by the children in troubled families could therefore be up to £595m. These costs were not included in the earlier section relating to Health Spend so there is minimal risk of double-counting.

⁶⁸ The above estimates ignore any criminal behaviour among the parents and guardians of the juveniles. The Offending, Crime and Justice Survey showed that around 1 in 5 parents/guardians (18 per cent) of children aged 10 to 18 who admitted to a previous crime and who truanted from school were previously arrested for an offence.

Annex A: Characteristics of families in receipt of family interventions

<i>Base: Families who accepted a family intervention (including those on a waiting list)</i>	
<i>All Reasons for referral</i>	<i>% of Total Families</i>
Housing Issues	
Family at risk of becoming homeless	26
Housing enforcement actions taken against family	13
Family has poor housing conditions*	15
Family is homeless	2
ASB, offending and crime issues	
ASB of family members	58
Criminal convictions of family members/ex-offender	17
ASB enforcement actions taken against family	11
Children are at risk of offending*	29
Children are offending*	25
Adult is offending*	8
Prolific and other Priority Offender (PPO)*	2
School exclusion/attendance problems	
Children at risk of school exclusion/serious attendance problems*	33
Children excluded from school*	8
Parenting and care issues	
Poor parenting*	43
History of social care referrals*	19
Relationship breakdown*	21
Children at risk of going into care*	10
Child Protection Plan is in place*	11
Family includes a young person carer*	4
Domestic violence, substance misuse, and mental health issues	
Family has domestic violence problems*	24
At least one adult in the family has substance misuse problems*	20
At least one adult in the family has mental health problems*	15
At least one child in the family has substance misuse problems*	10

At least one child in the family has mental health problems*	7
Employment, education, debt	
Family is without paid employment*	29
Family has serious issues with debt*	11
Intergenerational worklessness*	5
Other	5
Base (families)	7349

Source: Lloyd et al. (2011) *Monitoring and evaluation of family intervention services and projects between February 2007 and March 2011*. Department for Education.

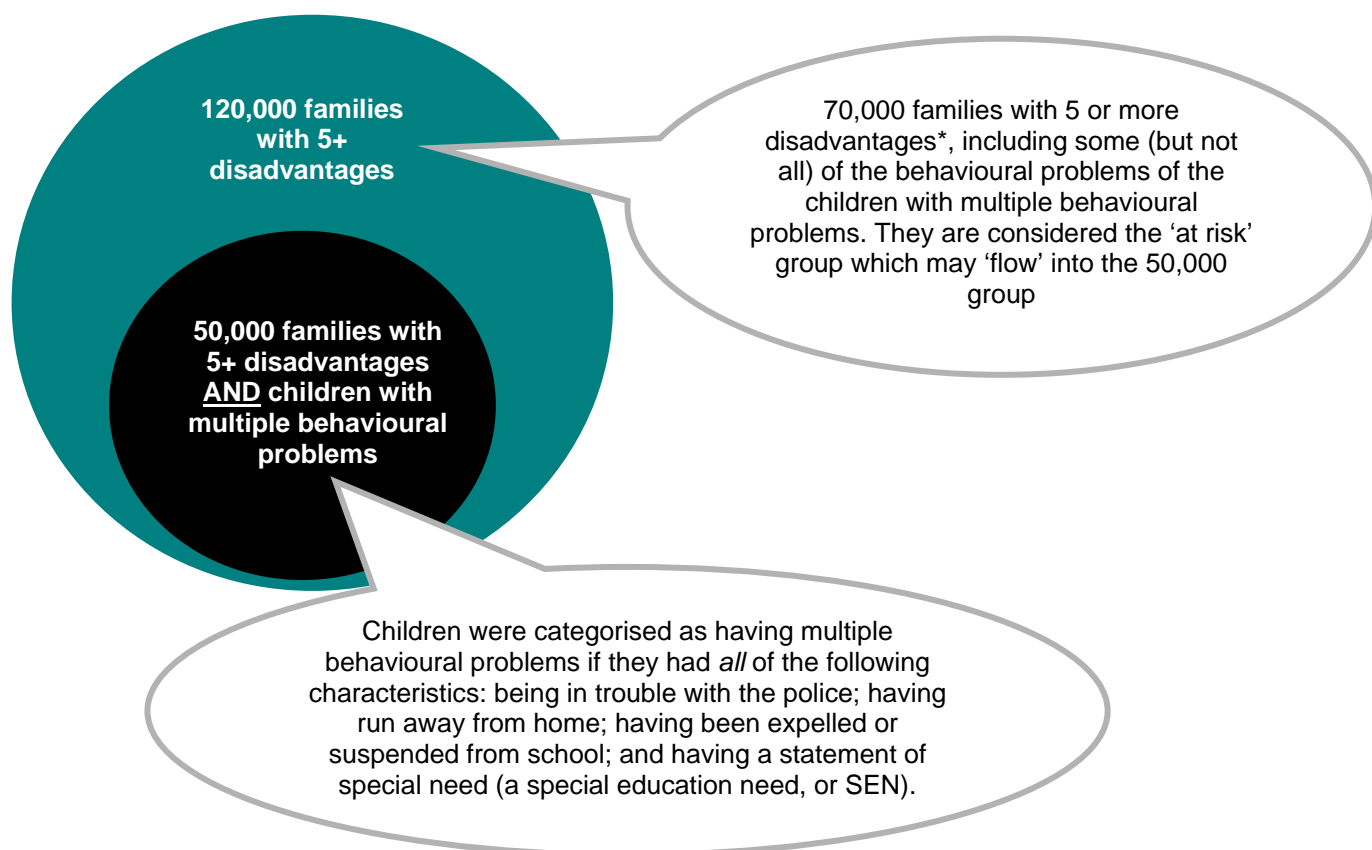
<http://www.education.gov.uk/publications/RSG/AllPublications/Page1/DFE-RR174>

Notes:

Percentages may add up to more than 100 as the family may have been referred for more than one reason. Until June 2010 it was mandatory for family intervention practitioners to upload data onto the Natcen database. The database was formally shut down in March 2012. The family intervention data is now held and owned by the Department for Communities and Local Government.

*These codes were added to the Family Intervention Information System in July 2009.

Annex B: Department for Education segmentation of the 120,000 troubled families



Source: The Department for Education analysis of the Families and Children Study 2006 & family intervention data

Notes:

* The Cabinet Office's Social Exclusion Task Force conducted analysis on "families with multiple problems" that were defined as having five or more of the following characteristics: no parent in the family in work, the family lives in poor quality or overcrowded housing, no parent has a qualification, the mother has mental health problems, at least one parent has a longstanding limiting illness, disability or infirmity, the household income is below the poverty line, or the family cannot afford a number of food and clothing items.

It is also important to note that this was a static, rather than dynamic analysis of these families. Over time, it is likely that there would be flows from one cohort to the other, and in/out of both.

Annex C: Additional information on crime and justice reactive spend

Explanation of the estimation of the demographic composition of children in troubled families

Analysis of family intervention data indicated that, at the support plan stage, 49.7 per cent of all persons in the family intervention programme were males aged 10 to 18 years, with 30.1 per cent being females aged 10 to 18. On average there were 3.1 children (all ages) in each family. On the assumption that the Troubled Families Programme will report a caseload with similar demographic characteristics then this implies that there will be an average of 1.56 males and 0.96 females aged 10 to 18 in each of the 120,000 families. This equates to 187,000 males and 115,000 females aged 10 to 18 years, totalling 302,000 young people.

Table C1: Mean number of crimes (excluding minor crimes) in 12 month follow-up period for young persons aged 10 to 18 by differing offending and educational histories

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Any offence in the past year</i>	<i>Whether previously truanted from school</i>	<i>Mean crimes in next 12 months</i>
Males	Not in last 12 months	No	1.4
		Yes	10.7
		Total	2.3
	Offended in last year	No	8.2
		Yes	14.4
		Total	9.8
Female	Not in last 12 months	No	0.4
		Yes	1.3
		Total	0.5
	Offended in last year	No	4.6
		Yes	11.5
		Total	6.3
All	Not in last 12 months	No	0.8
		Yes	5.2
		Total	1.3
	Offended in last year	No	6.9
		Yes	13.3
		Total	8.5

Source: Offender, Crime & Justice Survey (Waves 1 and 2).

Table C2: Implied number of crimes (excluding minor offences) that could be committed by 302,000 persons aged 10 to 18 in 120,000 troubled families

Characteristic	Implied number of crimes		
	Males	Females	Total ⁶⁹
Previous truant and with one previous offence	2,680,000	1,320,000	4,000,000
No truancy and with one previous offence	1,530,000	530,000	2,060,000
Previous truant and no previous offence	1,990,000	150,000	2,150,000
No truancy and no previous offence	260,000	40,000	310,000

Source: Offender, Crime & Justice Survey (Waves 1 and 2).

Notes: These estimates were calculated by using the rates of offending to estimate the number of crimes that the population of troubled families might commit in a 12 month period. For example, if the Troubled Families programme includes 187,000 males aged 10 to 18 who have committed an offence in the last year and have a record of truancy then one could expect them to commit an average of 14 crimes each in the following 12 month period, or around 2.7 million crimes.

Estimating the cost of crime for troubled families

In order to estimate the number of crimes committed by young people in troubled families, the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey was analysed. The Offending, Crime and Justice Survey includes minor and serious offences. In this analysis we have included only those offences that are likely to be recorded by the police and, if the perpetrator was caught, receive a formal sanction from the Criminal Justice System⁷⁰.

From the implied number of crimes that could be committed by juveniles in troubled families we estimated the cost to government by using the cost of crime estimates produced by the Home Office in 2005⁷¹. The average unit economic and social cost of a crime is estimated to be around £2,000 at 2003/04 prices⁷². This encompasses a wide range of costs but the research breaks down this figure to show that the cost of a crime to the criminal justice system is around 20 per cent of the total economic and social cost⁷³. Inflating this cost to 2011/12 prices suggests that the cost to the criminal justice system of a crime is £496⁷⁴.

⁶⁹ Totals may not be equal to the sum of their components due to rounding.

⁷⁰ This produced 20 core offence types: Burglary: domestic burglary, commercial burglary. Vehicle-related thefts: theft of a vehicle, theft of parts off outside of a vehicle, theft of items inside a vehicle, attempted theft of a vehicle, attempted theft from a vehicle. Other thefts: theft from place of work, theft from school, theft from shop, theft from the person, miscellaneous thefts. Criminal damage: damage to a vehicle, damage to other property. Violent offences, robbery: robbery of an individual, robbery of a business. Assault: assault resulting in injury, non-injury assault. Selling drugs: selling Class A drugs, selling other drugs.

⁷¹ Dubourg, R. and Hamed, J (2005). *Estimates of the economic and social costs of crime in England and Wales: Costs of crime against individuals and households, 2003/04*. Home Office. London.

⁷² An earlier Home Office Research Study by Brand and Price (2000) published a similar figure. We have removed homicides, sexual offences and serious wounding in making our calculation of the unit cost. See Brand and Price (2000) *The economic and social costs of crime*. Home Office Research Study 217, London: Home Office.

⁷³ Dubourg, R. and Hamed, J. (2005).

⁷⁴ However, the total social and economic cost could be as high as £2,480. It is also important to note that it is possible that the unit costs of crime have fallen or risen more slowly than general prices.

Further Sources

Department for Communities and Local Government Troubled Families programme documents

Department for Communities and Local Government troubled families homepage
<https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/helping-troubled-families-turn-their-lives-around>

Department for Communities and Local Government (2011). *The Troubled Families programme: Financial framework for the Troubled Families programme's payment-by-results scheme for local authorities*.
<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-troubled-families-programme-financial-framework>

Families and Children Study

Families and Children Study homepage
<http://research.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd5/facs/>

Families and Children Study dataset
<http://www.esds.ac.uk/longitudinal/access/facs/l4427.asp>

Families and Children Study analysis

Cabinet Office Social Exclusion Task Force
Reaching Out: Think Family (2007)
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20080804201836/cabinetoffice.gov.uk/social_exclusion_task_force/families_at_risk/reaching_out_summary.aspx

Families at Risk: Background on families with multiple disadvantages (2007)
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20080804201836/http://cabinetoffice.gov.uk/social_exclusion_task_force/families_at_risk/review_analysis.aspx

Further research on troubled families/families with multiple problems

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HM Treasury & the Department for Education. (January 2007) *Policy review of children and young people: A discussion paper*.
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Kendall S., Rodger J. and Palmer H. (2010) *Redesigning provision for families with multiple problems – an assessment of the early impact of different local approaches*. Department for Education.

<https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/standard/publicationDetail/Page1/DFE-RR046>

Research on the costs of troubled families

The Department for Education Family Savings Calculator

<http://www.c4eo.org.uk/costeffectiveness/edgeofcare/costcalculator.aspx>

Guidance note on the Department for Education Family Savings Calculator (including breakdown of unit costs of families):

https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/standard/_arc_SOP/Page5/DCSF-00685-2009

Alcohol-related costs information

<http://www.alcohollearningcentre.org.uk/Topics/Browse/Data/NATMS/>

<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/about-us/impact-assessments/ia-alcohol-measures>

West, D. J. (1982) *Delinquency: its roots, careers and prospects*, London: Heineman

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Ministry of Justice. *Youth Justice Statistics 2010/11*, England and Wales.

<http://www.justice.gov.uk/statistics/youth-justice/statistics>

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<https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/RSG/publicationDetail/Page1/DCSF-RW047>

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Offending, Crime and Justice Survey

Offending, Crime and Justice Survey dataset

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Offending, Crime and Justice Survey homepage

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