# Social Security and Gender

**Pre-Budget Briefing** 



Autumn 2023



# Social Security and Gender

# Pre-Budget briefing from the UK Women's Budget Group

## Key points:

- Both the pandemic and the cost of living crisis starkly illustrated why a social security system is critical to our country's social infrastructure: it protects us financially during times of unexpected crisis or risk (e.g. unemployment; sickness, and even national lockdown), providing income replacement. It also supports those who have additional costs (such as disability, children). It can also relieve and prevent poverty. And it can encourage engagement with the wider labour market for those who need extra financial support.
- Social security is particularly vital in securing economic independence for all women. This is because women are more likely than men to rely on social security for a larger proportion of their income because on average they have lower earnings, lower savings and less assets, and greater (unpaid) caring responsibilities. Yet the current system is falling short for millions of women and children.
- Economic dependence makes women more vulnerable to domestic and sexual abuse and violence, since it makes it harder to leave abusive relationships. This is particularly true for migrant women who have No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF).
- Cuts and changes made to benefits from 2010 have exacerbated economic inequalities for different groups of women (including women from Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic backgrounds, lone mothers and disabled women), and increased in-work poverty for women and children.
- Women are the majority of disabled people and those caring for disabled people. A social security system that provides for these women is vital to recognise their humanity and wider contributions to society beyond paid employment.
- The Government hasn't confirmed whether it will increase benefits in line with inflation for 2024/25. A freeze in benefits or an increase below inflation would mean a cut in real terms. Women, single mothers, disabled people, large families, and households on low incomes would be the most affected.
- If benefits are frozen and not increased in line with inflation in 2024, children will lose on average £429 per year. Lone mother households will lose £788 per year.
- Increasing benefits in line with October's inflation figures (4.6%) compared to September (6.7%) would mean a loss of £218 a year for single mothers.
- The Government should increase the real value of benefits to at least restore their prepandemic values. It should also retain regular uprating of social security benefits for working-age benefits.
- Additionally, policies such as the benefit cap, two-child limit and the 'No Recourse to Public Funds' rule should be abolished and Child Benefit increased to £50 per child.
- In the longer term, insofar as is possible, social security should be non-means-tested, based on individual entitlement, and encourage the sharing of care. This should be done in consultation with users, with the impact on equality assessed at every stage as part of a holistic review of public spending and taxation.

## INTRODUCTION

Social security is a fundamental element of a caring economy that should provide income security, promote well-being, decent living standards and opportunities to everyone to fulfil their potential.

Social Security<sup>1</sup> has many functions. These include: alleviating and preventing poverty, protecting against risks, providing income security, redistributing resources between groups and over the life course, reducing inequalities, and serves as an economic and social stabiliser.<sup>2</sup>

COVID-19 and the economic impact of lockdowns confirmed the importance of a system available to all in times of crises. Yet the current system is falling short for millions of people, especially women and children.

This briefing explains how recent reforms to the social security system for working-age people in the UK have disproportionately disadvantaged women, especially women from ethnic minority backgrounds, disabled and migrant women, and lone mothers. It outlines how a more adequate and sustainable social security system is vital to the recovery of people's lives and the economy from the coronavirus pandemic. It also recommends creating a social security system that provides universal social protection and promotes equality, justice, dignity, and human rights.

In the UK, women, on average, continue to earn less than men. Because of caring responsibilities and more time dedicated to unpaid domestic and care work than men, women have less time for paid work across a lifetime.<sup>3</sup> This means that, on average, women are more likely to rely on social security and receive more of their individual and household

income from the social security system than men.

Many women face barriers in undertaking paid work due to sickness, disability or caring responsibilities. Women are the majority of disabled people and those caring for disabled people.<sup>4</sup> A social security system that provides for these women is vital to recognise their humanity and wider contributions to society beyond paid employment.

Social security is also vital in securing economic independence for all women. Economic dependence makes women more vulnerable to domestic and sexual abuse and violence since it makes it harder to leave abusive relationships.5 More generally, economic dependence can undermine autonomy and equality in relationships.

# WOMEN AND SOCIAL SECURITY<sup>6</sup>

Cuts and changes made to benefits from 2010 resulted in reduced payments and increases in women's, children's, and in-work poverty.7 The introduction of Universal Credit, the benefit cap, the two-child limit, the 'bedroom tax', the benefits freeze and other changes have exacerbated inequalities of gender, race, class,8 and disability.9

- The **benefit cap** (2016) limits how much social security many people can claim depending on their circumstances.<sup>10</sup> Benefits are clawed back via Universal Credit (UC) or Housing Benefit. 74% of households that are UC capped are single parents<sup>11</sup> (who are predominantly women).
- The benefits freeze (2016-2020) meant that many working-age benefits were not increased in line with inflation, pushing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This briefing uses the shorthand 'social security' to mean UK social security policy that is primarily reserved to Westminster. Social security policy is devolved to different degrees in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, and some is also localised, so this briefing does not cover benefits that are the responsibility of other governments. Devolved governments have also developed their own 'mitigation packages' to limit the more restrictive elements of UK policy since 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://wbg.org.uk/analysis/managing-risk-through-security/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> WBG (2020) Creating a caring economy: a call to action

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> WBG (2018) Disabled women and austerity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> WBG (2021) Distribution of money within the household and current social security issues for couples in the UN <sup>6</sup> WBG's 2019 briefing on Social Security and Gender gives a full account of <sup>7</sup> WBG (2010) Social security and gender: ecurity issues for couples in the UK

changes made from 2010 - 2019. WBG (2019) Social security and gender: <sup>7</sup> Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2020) What has driven the rise of in-work

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> WBG (2019) Intersecting inequalities

<sup>9</sup> WBG (2018) Disabled women and austerity

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> GOV.UK <u>Benefit cap</u>
<sup>11</sup> DWP. Stat-Xplore (2023) <u>Benefit cap: UC point in time caseload by family</u>

families with children in particular into poverty.12 Recent increases have not made up for what was lost.

The two-child limit restricts the amount of extra means-tested help to two children, with one of few exceptions being a child conceived via rape.

## **UNIVERSAL CREDIT**

Universal Credit (UC), announced in 2010 and gradually rolled out from 2013, replaces six means-tested benefits and tax credits into one, means-tested and monthly-paid benefit.<sup>13</sup> New claimants now start on UC, while migration from the different legacy benefits to UC is expected to finalise by 2024/25, except for Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) only claimants (migration scheduled for 2028/29).<sup>14</sup> This means some people still receive older means-tested benefits and/or tax credits.

UC is failing in its ambitions to 'make work pay', lift people out of poverty, and provide income to meet basic needs.<sup>15</sup>

Cuts to work allowances (amount that can be earned before getting cuts in UC payments) and a taper rate higher than the one for tax credits reduced employment incentives for many 'second earners' (often women), thus affecting the capacity of many women to enter employment or earn a decent living.

Women are also much more likely than men to be victims/survivors of domestic abuse, so the benefit cap, and other restrictions on benefit payments, can leave survivors trapped with an abusive partner. Payment of UC into a single bank account can make women more vulnerable to economic abuse.<sup>16</sup>

The work-related conditionality in UC affects a large group of women.<sup>17</sup> Parents of young children are expected to be available for (limited hours of) paid work and actively seeking it.

Starting from October 2023, the conditions for working parents receiving Universal Credit are stricter. Parents of children between 3 and 13 years old must work or actively seek employment for a maximum of 30 hours per week. Prior to this change, parents of 3 and 4year-olds were required to work or seek employment for a maximum of 16 hours. For parents of children aged 5 to 12, the maximum was 25 hours. Additionally, for parents with children under 3 years old, the government increased the frequency of visits to a work coach.18

This can be problematic in particular for lone parents (84% of whom are women<sup>19</sup>) who struggle with combining job- seeking and looking after their children. And in couples, the parental role of partners who are not the 'main carer' is not recognised in their work conditionality.

There is concern that there is little awareness amongst Jobcentre staff of the complexities of gender roles and relationships, and especially domestic abuse.20

Childcare support under UC is only sufficient to cover part-time hours because it is subject to a cap on total eligible costs. In March 2023, the Government announced changes to the childcare element of Universal Credit, deciding to pay it upfront in the first month and uprating the cap.21

#### CHILD BENEFIT

Child Benefit is paid to most parents or guardians to help with the cost of raising children. Since 2013, its universal nature has been compromised by the High-Income Child Benefit Tax Charge (HICBTC). Those with an income over £50,000 per year with one or more children living in their household must pay back some or all of the Child Benefit received by themselves or their partner, unless they have chosen not to claim it. The real value of Child

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2019) End the benefit freeze to stop people being swept into poverty

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Though it is possible to apply for Alternative Payment Arrangements under certain circumstances. In Scotland and Northern Ireland there are other

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> GOV.UK (2022) <u>Managed move of claimants to Universal Credit set to</u> restart; RevenueBenefits (2023) <u>Universal credit: Managed migration roll-out</u> schedule

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> House of Lords Economic Affairs Committee (2020) Universal Credit isn't working: proposals for policy reform <sup>16</sup> M. Howard and A.Skipp (2015) <u>Unequal, trapped & controlled. Women's</u>

experience of financial ab use and potential implications for Universal Credit

Women's Aid for the TUC; M. Howard and F. Bennet (2021) Distribution of money within the household and current social security issues for couples in

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> WBG
<sup>17</sup> WBG (2017) <u>Universal Credit: a 2017 briefing from the UK Women's</u>

Budget Group <sup>18</sup> DWP (2023) Employment boost for thousands of parents on Universal <u>Credit</u>, Gingerbread (2023) <u>Changes to Universal Credit conditionality</u>:

<sup>&</sup>lt;u>Gingerbread's response.</u> <sup>19</sup> ONS (2023) <u>Families and households</u>, Table 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> In 2018, a Work and Pensions Committee Inquiry found that service providers reported that training on domestic abuse 'lack[ed] detail'.

WBG (2023) Response to Spring Budget 2023

Benefit has also been significantly reduced by consecutive freezes and/or uprating by less than inflation.<sup>22</sup> These cuts have disproportionately affected women as they account for around 9 out of 10 Child Benefit recipients. Children often live in poverty because their mothers do so.

## **DISABLED WOMEN AND**

**DISABILITY/INCAPACITY BENEFITS** Disabled people have unique needs for social security and have been disproportionately affected by austerity.23

The Personal Independence Payment (PIP), which replaced the Disability Living Allowance (DLA), is a non-contributory, non-means-tested benefit intended to contribute to the additional costs of disability. Almost 55% of those claiming PIP are women.<sup>24</sup>

Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) is intended for those with a disability or health condition that affects how much they can work. It can be payable as a contributory benefit for those who have paid or been credited with enough national insurance contributions (called 'New Style' ESA). It can also be paid as a means-tested benefit (called 'income-related' ESA) and it is the means-tested aspect of ESA which is being replaced by UC.

Women have been disproportionately affected by the cuts to disability benefits, both as claimants and as carers.<sup>25</sup> 59% of unpaid carers are women (60% among those caring for more than 50 hours per week).26 Almost 73% of people who receive Carer's Allowance are women.27

CHANGES TO DISABILITY BENEFITS AND THE WORK CAPABILITY ASSESSMENT In a white paper linked to the Spring Budget 2023, the Government announced the abolition of the Work Capability Assessment (WCA).28 It is currently used to assess eligibility for an additional amount in Universal Credit and for contributory Employment and Support Allowance (ESA).29 It also exempts someone from workrelated requirements.

Instead of receiving the 'limited capability for work-related activity' (LCWRA) element,<sup>30</sup> a new 'health element' of UC will be pavable if the claimant also receives PIP. However, PIP is not an incapacity benefit but aims to support additional disability-related costs. There would be some exemptions for those without PIP to get the UC health element, such as pregnancy, having cancer treatment or near the end of life. Instead of the WCA, 'personalised conditionality' would be set by a work coach using their discretion. Disability organisations have expressed serious concerns about the impact of this change,<sup>31</sup> as have other organisations.<sup>32</sup>

Around 29% of UC or income-related ESA claimants don't receive PIP (or DLA), so could lose out from the proposed health element in UC.33 Around 60% of those with limited capability for work don't receive PIP/DLA so potentially could face changes to their workrelated conditionality.34

In September 2023, the Government announced a consultation to amend the WCA prior to abolishing it, due to more new claimants being assessed as having limited capacity for work (also known as the support group). It proposed changing four WCA descriptors (particularly affecting people with mobility needs and those with mental health issues);35 and the 'substantial risk' criteria (which enables almost 15% of claimants to be eligible).<sup>36</sup> These changes would be implemented from 2025.

Capability Assessment" <sup>30</sup> £390.06 per month

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Bennett, F. and Himmelweit, S. (2020) Taxation and social security: <sup>23</sup> Disability Benefits Consortium (2019) <u>Has welfare become unfair? The</u> impact of welfare changes on disabled people.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Calculated from <u>DWP StatExplore</u>: PIP cases with entitlement, Table 4: age and gender by Daily Living Status, as of May 2022

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>WBG (2018) <u>Disabled Women and Austerity</u>
<sup>26</sup> ONS (2023) <u>Census 2021</u>. Unpaid care.
<sup>27</sup> Calculated from <u>DWP StatExplore</u>: CA cases in payment, Table 1: Gender, as of February 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> DWP (2023) Transforming Support: The health and disability white paper. <sup>29</sup> The future of contributory ESA is unclear, though the Health and Disability white paper refers to retaining a 'health and sickness contributory benefit (p.33). see also "Proposals to abolish the Work

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Disability Rights UK (2023) DR UK says: Chancellor, we need rights not discretion <sup>32</sup> CPAG (n.d.) The future of the work capability assessment; and Z2K

<sup>(2023)</sup> Briefing <sup>33</sup> S. Kennedy, F. Hobson and A. Mackley (2023) <u>Proposals to abolish the</u>

Work Capability Assessment. House of Commons Library. <sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> L. Murphy (2023) Reassessing the Work Capability Assessment. Resolution Foundation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> DWP (2023) Open consultation. Work Capability Assessment: activities and descriptors.

Although DWP statistics indicate that 52% of UC claimants affected by a health condition or disability were women,<sup>37</sup> there is little data on the gender of claimants likely to be affected by the WCA abolition (nor the tightening of the support group criteria). There does not appear to be a published Equality Impact Assessment of the white paper proposals<sup>38</sup> nor the WCA changes.39

As in the case of other working-age benefit cuts, reductions in the level of support for disability may be framed as a labour market activation policy. However, recent government decisions have created a tougher regime that restricts people's opportunities rather than fostering them. Cuts to social care and other social services have a role to play in this discrimination.40

HOUSING BENEFIT AND TENANTS<sup>41</sup> Housing Benefit (HB) is paid to help with the cost of accommodation and is being replaced by a "housing payment" in UC. Since 2010 the amount of HB that someone can receive has been reduced.<sup>42</sup> These measures include: Changes to Local Housing Allowance (LHA) rates, which determine the amount of HB and housing payment that people can claim. In 2011 LHA rates were reduced from the 50<sup>th</sup> percentile of local rents for properties of the relevant size to the 30<sup>th</sup> percentile. In 2013, they were indexed only to the Consumer Price Index (CPI), which is often significantly lower than rental increases.<sup>43</sup> LHA rates were uprated to cover 30% of rents in 2020 in response to COVID-1944 and have been frozen since then.

This has left many low-income private renters facing a shortfall between the housing benefit they can claim and their actual rents.<sup>45</sup>

It is difficult to estimate the proportion of women receiving Housing Benefit as it is based on household characteristics. However, 51% of HB recipients are in single-women-headed households, and almost 16% are in couple households (many of which will include women).<sup>46</sup> Around three-fifths of tenants on HB are women.47

#### MIGRANT WOMEN<sup>48</sup>

Many migrants have a condition on their visas, which means they have no access to certain public funds, including HB or housing support and UC. This is called 'No Recourse to Public Funds' (NRPF).49 NRPF leaves many women on family and dependant visas economically dependent on their partners and facing destitution if the relationship breaks down. Undocumented women and asylum seekers also do not have access to adequate support.<sup>50</sup> Most refugees supporting victims/survivors of domestic abuse cannot accept women with NRPF as they depend on HB to fund their services, leaving such women with very limited housing options.

Many migrant women are forced to return to their abuser, depend on friends and acquaintances or find other means of survival options that put them at risk of further harm. These are all parts of the hostile environment created towards migrants.

## SURVIVORS OF VIOLENCE AND ABUSE

Benefit cuts such as the two-child limit and Benefit Cap have meant that survivors may be unable to afford to leave an abuser.<sup>51</sup> The exemption from the two-child limit (the so-called 'rape clause') does not apply to women living with the perpetrator.<sup>52</sup> Reductions in crisis support from local welfare assistance schemes and the five-week wait for UC have meant

<sup>50</sup> Women for Refugee Women (2020) Will I ever be safe? Asylum seeking

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Between 2019 and 2023: DWP (2023) Universal Credit Work Capability Assessment April 2019 to June 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Public Law Project (2023) <u>Five problems with the spring budget and</u> health and disability white paper. <sup>39</sup> NAWRA (2023) NAWRA's response to the DWP's consultation on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> WBG (2019) Gender and social care anges to the work capability assessment

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> WBG's report <u>'A Home of Her Own: Women and Housing'</u> (2019) contains more detail on housing policy. There are important interactions with the social security system to cover here and further detail in the Housing and

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> W. Wilson and F. Hobson (2021) <u>The rent safety net: changes since 2010.</u>

House of Commons Library. <sup>43</sup> Andrew Hood, IFS, at <u>post Autumn Statement briefing</u>, 26 November 2015

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Shelter (2020) <u>New LHA rates: what do they mean?</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Institute for Fiscal Studies (2017) <u>The cost of housing for low-income</u> renters <sup>46</sup> Calculated from DWP Stat-Xplore: Housing Benefit - Data from April 2018,

table 4, family type by gender, as of May 2023 <sup>47</sup> Calculated from DWP Stat-Xplore Housing Benefit - Data from April 2018,

table 4, as of May 2023, counting female single claimants and 50% of People in couples claiming housing benefits. <sup>48</sup> For more on migrant women's experiences of the social security system

read our 2020 briefing <u>'Migrant women and social security'</u> NRPF Network (n.d.) Immigration status and entitlements

women and destitution. <sup>51</sup> WBG (2019) <u>Benefits or barriers? Making social security work for</u> ence and abuser across the UK's four nations. <sup>52</sup> Women's Aid (2018) Welfare Reform and Domestic Abuse.

limited help to meet the immediate costs of leaving.

Experiences of domestic abuse worsened during the pandemic, as some abusers used COVID-19 and lockdowns to escalate abuse; at the same time access to support services, already underfunded, was severely limited.53

# **UPRATE OF BENEFITS FOR 2024**

The rapidly rising rate of inflation<sup>54</sup> has highlighted the issue of when to uprate social security benefits and by how much. In April 2022, claimants received benefits at the amount uprated by the September 2021 Consumer Price Index (CPI) rate of 3.1% (though by April 2022, inflation was 9%).55

As a response of the cost-of-living crisis<sup>56</sup>, the Government offered one-off payments to households on means-tested benefits and to some targeted groups.<sup>57</sup>

Cost of living payments are flat rate, which does not recognise higher costs that some households face, such as larger families or disabled people.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, a regular, predictable income rather than lump sums is more helpful for managing budgets.<sup>59</sup> Also, nearly 2.3 million low-income households that do not receive means-tested benefits did not get extra support.60

In the Autumn Statement in 2022, the Chancellor announced an increase in social security benefits of 10.1%, in line with the September 2022 CPI inflation rate. This was a welcome measure that can prevent the incomes of some vulnerable households from falling. However, successive cuts to the value of social security are already leaving many struggling.

The Government hasn't confirmed whether it will increase benefits for those below state pension age in line with September 2023 inflation for 2024/25. There are rumours that Chancellor

Jeremy Hunt will increase benefits below inflation in order to pay for tax cuts.<sup>61</sup> A freeze in benefits or an increase below inflation would mean a cut in real terms, particularly affecting women, single mothers, disabled people, large families, and households on low incomes.

Levels of poverty and destitution in the UK are seriously concerning. The "Destitution in the UK 2023" report by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation<sup>62</sup> shows that nearly 3.8 million people experienced destitution in 2022, with 1 million being children. The levels of destitution have increased among households with children, particularly lone parents. The number of lone parents (which are mainly lone mothers) experiencing destitution has increased from 65,000 in 2019 to 191,000 in 2022. Moreover, the number of children experiencing destitution has increased by 186% since 2017. A freeze in benefit levels would put millions of people in a dire situation.

It is critical that benefit levels are protected against politically motivated cuts. To at least keep the real value of benefits, the Government should increase benefits by 6.7%, in line with September 2023 inflation.63 Failing to do so will mainly affect children, who would experience a cut of £429 per year on average. Adults would lose £191 and working adults £137 (Figure 1).

Broken down by household type (Figure 2), single-mother households would lose £788 per year if benefits were frozen.

The October 2023 inflation was 4.6% and there are rumours that the Government might arbitrarily uprate benefits using that figure, instead of September inflation as was expected. This move would mean a loss of £218 a year for single-mother households.

election tax giveaway <sup>62</sup> JRF (2023) <u>Destitution in the UK 2023</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Women's Aid. (2020) A Perfect Storm: The Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic on Domestic Abuse Survivors and the Services Supporting Them. Bristol: Women's Aid; WBG (2022) Violence against women and girls. Pre-

budget briefing 2022. <sup>54</sup> Public Law Project (2023) Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> I. Pinto and S. Reis (2022) Who loses from benefit uprating changes? A

gendered analysis, WBG <sup>56</sup> For more details on the cost-of-living support see <u>Spring Budget 2023</u>: security and gender. WBG Pre-budget briefing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> GOV.UK (2022) Cost of Living Payment 2022

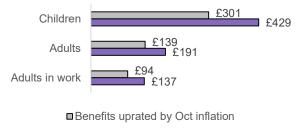
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> M. Brewer, E. Fry and L.Try (2023) <u>The Living Standards Outlook.</u> Resolution Foundation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> House of Commons, Work and Pensions Committee (2022) The cost of

living
Resolution Foundation (2022) <u>Help today, squeeze tomorrow</u>
<sup>61</sup> The Telegraph (2023) <u>Hunt considers autumn benefit cut to free up pre-</u>

<sup>63</sup> ONS (2023) Consumer price inflation, UK: September 2023

Figure 1: change in disposable income per year, per population group for 2024 – AHC Children would be the most affected if benefits are not uprated.



Benefits uprated by Sept inflation

Source: WBG estimations using UKMOD B1.08 and 2019 data.

Figure 2: change in disposable income per year, per household type for 2024 - AHC Not increasing benefits in line with September inflation will have a major negative effect on households with children, and particularly lone mothers.



Benefits uprated by Sept inflation

Source: WBG estimations using UKMOD B1.08 and 2019 data.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

In the short term:

 Increase the real value of benefits to at least restore their pre-pandemic values. Also, retain regular uprating of social security benefits for working-age benefits. Otherwise, the ongoing cost of living crisis is set to further worsen low-income families' ability to afford essentials.

- Abolish the Benefit Cap and Twochild limit to prevent child poverty, and make other changes to UC such as ending the UC five-week wait and introducing a second-earner work allowance.
- Increase Child Benefit to £50 per child: Child Benefit fell significantly in real terms during austerity. We recommend an above inflation increase to counter this and also close the inequality gaps that widened during the COVID-19 pandemic and the cost of living crisis.
- Get Universal Credit to claimants sooner by making advances nonrepayable grants: Currently, families have to wait five weeks for a payment, or accrue debt in the form of an advance, which is only available as a loan.
- Remove the 'No Recourse to Public Funds' condition which excludes many migrant women from support.

**In the longer term,** a better social security system should be:

- Taking a life-course approach, so that the benefits system does not impede movement into and out of different types of employment that suit people at different stages of their lives. It should recognise that many people, particularly women, have employment histories interrupted by caring breaks and ensure that this does not lead to poverty in old age.
- Designed by and for users, so that the decision-making process on future reforms includes the views and voices of users, as well as those of other experts. This also includes adhering to the spirit of international obligations such as the UN Conventions on the rights of the child, disabled people and women, and where possible, designing

out any opportunities for abusers to perpetrate violence and abuse.<sup>64</sup>

- Assessed for equality impacts at every stage as an integral part of the policymaking process,<sup>65</sup> in other words when policies are designed, implemented, and revised.
- Part of a holistic review of social security, tax and public services, because people need public services as well as income. Social security works in combination with other parts of the social protection system, including housing and health, social and childcare, and needs to be evaluated as part of that system as a whole and the taxation system that funds it, including for its equality impact.
- Based on individual entitlement as far as possible, so as to foster economic autonomy for individuals and make economic and financial abuse more difficult to perpetrate. Individual interests may not coincide within a family or household and therefore individual access to income also matters.
- Non-means-tested, to prevent and not just provide relief from poverty; to compensate people for additional costs (such as children or disability related); and to ensure that individuals have access to an alternative source of income, to be able to refuse degrading forms of employment. Some meanstesting will still be required, but autonomy ought to be prioritised here.
- Encouraging the **sharing of care**, so that the gendered division of labour is not exacerbated. No policy should rely on just one individual having to be the main carer or the main earner in a family.

## **Revised version by:**

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Along the lines of Engender's approach to primary prevention of VAWG in <u>Scotland</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> WBG (2018) <u>Inquiry into Enforcement of the Equality Act</u>, Response from the UK Women's Budget Group