

BRIEFING PAPER

The importance of the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) Armed Forces Champions

Lisa Scullion, Joe Pardoe, Philip Martin, David Young and Celia Hynes

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Introduction

In 2010, as part of its commitment to the **Armed Forces Covenant** the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) introduced the role of dedicated Armed Forces Champion (AFC), an initiative that was augmented in 2021. The purpose of this briefing paper is to provide an evidence-based overview of the positive impact of the support being provided to veterans by DWP AFCs. Overall, we are advocating for the permanency of the AFC role and highlight where challenges remain that could be addressed with more focused resources. The evidence is drawn from the *Sanctions, Support and Service Leavers* project, a six-year study into veterans' experiences of the benefits system carried out by the University of Salford and funded by the Forces in Mind Trust (FiMT). This Briefing Paper brings together the experiences of both veterans and DWP AFCs who were consulted in the project.

Key findings

- Veterans (and their families) can face significant challenges navigating the benefits system and often require support and guidance to access entitlements and avoid negative outcomes.
- The DWP AFCs are providing significant support to veterans, particularly those who have complex needs. This includes supporting with accessing benefits, managing ongoing claims, benefits assessments (e.g., where veterans have disabilities/health conditions), accessing employment opportunities and linking veterans with relevant external stakeholders.
- The person-centred support provided by the DWP AFCs fits with the DWP's current important efforts to integrate trauma-informed approaches.

- Challenges and inconsistencies in the role were highlighted and relate to: the DWP AFC role being based on year-on-year resource considerations; transiency of staff in DWP AFC roles; lack of awareness about the role within the DWP; gaps in geographical coverage; and increasing demand for DWP AFC support – all of which could be addressed through more sustainable provision.

To maintain the important support provided by the DWP AFCs and meet an ever-increasing demand, we make three key recommendations:

Recommendation 1: The DWP AFC role should be permanently embedded within the DWP with sustainable resourcing.

The year-on-year resourcing model of the DWP AFCs has created uncertainty for both AFCs and external partners. It also acts as a barrier to providing a more consistent support offer.

Recommendation 2: The DWP should review the DWP AFC network to ensure that a consistent support offer is available in all areas.

The demand for the DWP AFC support has been increasing since the enhancement of the role and the introduction of the Armed Forces marker on Universal Credit (UC).

Recommendation 3: The DWP should review the growing demand for DWP AFC support and identify what additional resources are required to meet that demand.



What are DWP Armed Forces Champions?

The DWP's network of Armed Forces Champions (DWP AFCs) is the central element in the programme of support designed to help current and former Armed Forces personnel and their families access Jobcentre Plus (JCP) and other mainstream benefits services. Introduced in 2010, the AFC role was not originally designed as a 'customer-facing' role; rather, the purpose was to provide advice and guidance to JCP advisers on issues of relevance when working with the Armed Forces community and to facilitate 'joint working' between JCP and the Armed Forces community.

In one of our earlier project reports (2019¹), we highlighted the importance of the support provided by the DWP AFCs but also some of the inconsistencies that appeared evident across that provision. Since then, (and partly because of our research²), the DWP has increased its

support. In April 2021, a new model for the DWP AFC network was launched. This included the formalisation of the DWP AFC role, with a commitment to at least one DWP AFC in each JCP district. Whereas previously the DWP AFC role was one of many roles a staff member might be undertaking, it is now a substantive role with a job description. The current role is 'customer-facing', and DWP AFCs provide support to veterans and their families around a range of benefits (but also wider) issues. A new DWP Armed Forces Lead role was also introduced at middle management level, designed to oversee the work of the DWP AFCs³. There are reportedly 50 DWP AFCs and 11 Armed Forces Leads⁴.

DWP AFCs have become *central* to the DWP's commitment to the **Armed Forces Covenant** and provide specialist, personalised and advanced support that specifically caters to veterans (and their families) who are engaging with the benefits system.

Case Study 1

The importance of the time that DWP AFCs can spend supporting people

In a focus group with DWP AFCs, one described how the time afforded by the enhancement of the role in 2021 was vital in providing an environment in which they were able to help address what were sometimes quite complex needs.

Going back to [before 2021], we had single point of contacts, but they were just Work Coaches, so they generally just didn't have the time and effort to put into it. The Armed Forces Champions role and the Lead were brought out in 2021, so the Armed Forces Champions now are given that allocated time. What we've been finding is working is when you're going in to see a Work Coach, you get your ten-minute appointment, or sometimes you're given a 20-minute appointment. By the time you get in there, they ask you how you are, etc., veterans themselves haven't got that chance to open up...

So, with the Armed Forces Champions... one of our first cases, this gentleman had multiple barriers: living in a van, mum had dementia, severe mental health issues, paying for his own psychiatrist, had been in uni but dropped out because of his mum's situation and didn't have money to live on because the psychiatrist was costing him £40 or £50, so that was eating up all his Universal Credit money...

[Name of AFC] started working with him. It was one of her first cases, and she was like, 'oh my God, I just don't know what to do with this man.' I was like, 'just break down each barrier at a time'... First of all, he didn't really even want to speak to her, but just from her being able to speak to him for that hour, hour and a half, just allowing him to open up and tell her everything, built that trust up... we managed to get him into housing. He went back into uni. We managed to get him on the health journey so that he was getting more money coming in every month. We got him into PIP as well for his mental health issues... I said [to AFC colleague], 'you've changed that man's life'... (DWP AFC)

¹ Scullion, L., Dwyer, P., Jones, K., Martin, P. and Hynes, C. (2019) *Sanctions, support & Service leavers: Social security benefits and transitions from military to civilian life*. Available at: <https://www.fim-trust.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/20190610-FiMT-Final-Report-WEB.pdf>

² FiMT (2020) *Forces in Mind Trust (FiMT) 2019 Impact Report*, online at: <https://s31949.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/20200717-FiMT-Electronic-Impact-Report-2019.pdf>

³ <https://www.cobseo.org.uk/championing-support-for-our-armed-forces-community/>

⁴ These figures were provided by MP Will Quince in response to House of Commons question on Armed Forces Champions (see: <https://questions-statements.parliament.uk/written-questions/detail/2021-07-14/33114>). Consultation with the DWP clarified that the number relates to 50 full time equivalent posts and therefore is not directly equivalent to 50 individuals as some staff will be part time. Consultation with some DWP AFCs suggests that the current number of DWP AFCs was unclear.

The impact of DWP AFCs

This section provides evidence-based examples of the positive support that DWP AFCs provided. There were numerous examples in the research where DWP AFCs provided ongoing tailored support in a way that would have been difficult for Work Coaches who face significant time constraints⁵:

I mean the Work Coaches, generally speaking, will get ten or 15 minutes with a customer, that's it, but for a phone call, I've been on the phone for nearly three hours, and it's just down to what that customer needs, and it's important time. (DWP AFC)

Many veterans, particularly those experiencing mental ill health, found visiting JCP challenging. AFCs described being able to offer time and flexibility in this regard, including seeing veterans away from the JCP environment:

When we talked about time, our initial conversations with people, our first contact, is about an hour. You can't do that in the Jobcentre, and it is building that trust. I think that's really important, and it is just getting the word out there, really. (DWP AFC)

Several veterans had been supported by the same DWP AFC for a few years, and this consistency was important, not least because veterans did not have to repeatedly recount traumatic and complex details to new and inexperienced staff. It was evident that DWP AFCs, once introduced to a veteran, could also 'step in' to very quickly resolve issues that may have been long-standing (see Case Study 2 opposite).

The positive impact on mental health was perhaps the most significant outcome for veterans, as one described:

My anxiety has dropped right down, and at least the bloke who I've got at the Jobcentre, he's the Armed Forces Champion... and he's absolutely brilliant. (Veteran claiming UC)

In several cases, it was evident that previous interactions with DWP staff had been antagonistic (including verbal arguments), and that such cases could have led to the withdrawal of financial support. In such cases, the DWP AFC intervention had prevented the escalation of potentially volatile situations, as one DWP AFC commented:

If this role was not here, if it was just a Work Coach who had ten minutes to deal with him, that would be very different. (DWP AFC)

The DWP AFCs' understanding of military culture and how it could affect engagement, trust and expectations was vital. Some of the most detailed cases involved DWP AFCs who had served in the Armed Forces themselves and brought this understanding into the role. However,

Case Study 2

DWP AFC intervening to provide a quick resolution to a long-standing issue

One veteran we interviewed had complex PTSD related to his service in the Armed Forces. He described experiencing difficulties with the benefits system for almost 12 months concerning his movement from legacy benefits (i.e., Employment and Support Allowance [ESA]) to UC. He had been unable to resolve an issue relating to the support required to pay his rent, and this had exacerbated his mental ill health. However, he was introduced to a DWP AFC, who was able to resolve the issue within one hour:

I was going through the mill with – I was on ESA, I think it was called... Then I had to transfer onto Universal Credit because it was the only way I could get help with my payment for my rent. They transferred me over, and that's when my problems really began. For nearly a year, I was fighting to get Universal Credit to help me pay my rent, and I was being passed from pillar to post. It was getting so bad that I'd spoken to my community mental health team about going back into hospital because it was stressing me out so much... Then, all of a sudden, I got a phone call from a guy called [name], didn't know him from Adam. I'd never had any experience of anything to do with help of any kind, because I've always found the benefits system, in a lot of ways, is designed to not help... I got this phone call from [name], and he explained to me that he was an Armed Forces Champion... I started getting messages flagged up in my journal on Universal Credit, saying, 'You need to read a message. You need to read the message.' This was less than an hour later, I got a message from a lady called [name], who was one of the financial managers, saying, 'We're going to do this.' You know, something that I'd spent a year and almost being returned to mental health settings trying to sort out took [the AFC] less than an hour. An hour after that, I got another message saying everything had been sorted out. (Veteran claiming UC, England)

⁵ Scullion, L., Young, D., Martin, P., Hynes, C., Pardoe, J. and Curchin, K. (2023) *Towards a trauma-informed social security system: Lessons from the Sanctions, Support and Service Leavers project*, online at: <https://s31949.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/Scullion-et-al-2023-Towards-a-trauma-informed-social-security-system.pdf>

it is not a role exclusively being undertaken by those who have served; there were many 'civilian' DWP staff undertaking the role who had built up their knowledge and understanding through engagement with some of the external specialist organisations.

Our research reports have demonstrated that benefits assessments (i.e., for Personal Independence Payment [PIP] or the Work Capability Assessment for ESA/UC) can be a particular challenge for veterans⁶. Support from AFCs extended into this area and assisted not just the individual veterans but also the wider family (see Case Study 3 below).

We saw several instances where DWP AFCs had established a reputation for trustworthiness and specialist knowledge, which led to a particular JCP office or area being perceived by veterans as a place to approach for

support. Evidence from DWP AFCs supported this; for example, one relayed the experience of a DWP AFC colleague:

She recently just had a customer walk into the Jobcentre and ask for her. He's not on benefits, so he must've heard of us from a charity, but he's literally just walked in and said, 'Can I speak to [name of DWP AFC], the Armed Forces Champion?' So, the word is getting out there. (DWP AFC)

The introduction of the Armed Forces marker on UC had also led to Work Coaches making more referrals:

So, the front-of-house team will see this banner. They can click into it and go, 'I see they have additional support. They've previously served in the military.' Then they'll come to us. (DWP AFC)

Case Study 3

DWP AFC providing long-term support and advocacy with benefits assessments

One veteran we interviewed had been medically discharged from the Armed Forces and had subsequently been diagnosed with PTSD related to his time in service. He also had another serious long-term neurological disorder. His mental and physical health issues meant that he needed to claim benefits; however, for him (and his spouse) the experience of navigating the benefits assessment process had created severe anxiety. After searching for support online, he *'found a document called the Armed Forces Covenant Agreement... it said to me that at the [local] Jobcentre there was this person... who does the Veteran's Champion stuff.'* Although he was initially told by JCP that this role didn't exist, he was eventually contacted directly by his local DWP AFC. Over the next few years, he was supported by the same AFC in a number of substantive ways, including coming to visit him in his own home, helping with PIP application forms, supporting with accessing service medical records and contacting benefits assessment teams on his behalf.

Spouse: [DWP AFC] came out and seen us... [they] said, 'Can I come to the house?'... about the time of the appointment my husband was getting really anxious, so the [Armed Forces] Champion basically rang them and said, 'Look, he's not going to be able to do it' and rearranged the appointment for us. I get the odd email every now and then. He's just checking in, basically, seeing how things are and making sure everything's all right.

He also described how the DWP AFC had subsequently accompanied him to his PIP assessment and had helped his wife to access Carer's Allowance:

Veteran: [DWP AFC] basically said, 'I'm a friendly face. You've worked with me since the year. Let me come with you.' Don't get me wrong, [the AFC] didn't influence the assessment in any way. Spouse: [the AFC] did help me. [They] asked me, was I on Carer's Allowance? I said no... I said, obviously, I was just plugging on in life. I didn't think, well, anything like that. [DWP AFC] said, 'Well, maybe we could go through the forms and what not.' I said, 'Yes, okay', and I ended up becoming the carer for my husband.

When the couple had needed to claim UC, they had contacted the DWP AFC, who had again supported with that process: *because I kind of didn't know what I was supposed to be doing... Yes, [name of AFC], true to form every time I need him.*

⁶ Scullion et al. (2019) *op cit.*; Young, D., Scullion, L., Martin, P., Hynes, C. and Pardoe, J. (2024) *Benefits assessments and veterans: Lessons from the Sanctions, Support and Service Leavers project* (forthcoming March 2024).

In some areas, it was evident that the demand for support was reaching a level where it would become difficult to provide support without additional resources. As one DWP AFC described, instead of having *'to beg people to send us referrals, it's kind of like, stop, we've got so many at the moment.'* The DWP AFCs' role in establishing partnerships with local services was also an essential element of the support provided, as the Case Study 4 illustrates.

The challenges of the DWP AFC role

The section above has provided a range of examples of the positive support and outcomes that related to the DWP AFC role. However, our evidence shows that there are still areas where improvements to support could be made. This section therefore highlights some of the challenges that further investment in the AFC network could address, which could offer considerable benefits to both the DWP and veteran claimants.

One of the issues noted by both veterans and DWP AFCs was the transiency of the AFC role. Although it was evident that some veterans had been supported by the same DWP AFC for many years, others had experienced significantly less consistent provision, as one veteran described:

Veteran: Guess what? They moved! [referring to DWP AFC]. So, the one in [area 1] has gone. So, the one at [area 2] has gone. They haven't replaced them. I had one at [area 3], and she got moved to [area 4], and then she retired! ...

Interviewer: Did that make a difference to you, then?

Veteran: Yes, massive difference. Yes... What happens when they're sick? What happens when they're on holiday? What happens when they get transferred out, like has happened to the two guys that we know?... they should have at least two or three that are trained as military champions to cover the move. (Veteran claiming UC)

In our earlier report⁷, we flagged up experiences of inconsistent support. In our more recent consultation with DWP AFCs, there was agreement that variation in coverage still existed. For example, one DWP AFC highlighted that while some districts offered *'full support'*, others did not, adding: *'Realistically speaking, it shouldn't be a postcode lottery depending on the people that need our support. It's not just the customers that need our support, it's the Work Coaches as well'* (DWP AFC).

Case Study 4

DWP AFC providing introductions to relevant local specialist support

We interviewed a female veteran who was supporting her partner (who was also a veteran) but was experiencing mental health issues and, as such, was finding it difficult to approach JCP. When it emerged that she was ex-Forces, she had been transferred over to the DWP AFC in her area. She talked positively about the support she had received, which included the DWP AFC walking her over to one of the local Armed Forces charities, who were able to provide more specialist support to help her address her mental health issues:

I got diagnosed with anxiety and depression a few months ago. I had to go to the Jobcentre to claim benefits. I had an absolute nightmare... I'd been put on antidepressants and everything. Then I went into the Jobcentre, still took a little bit of time with the asking what I need to get and stuff. Then they said, 'You're ex-Forces, aren't you?' They said, 'You need [Armed Forces Champion]', and then [he] took over from there and it was all right... He walked me over to [Armed Forces charity] because of the anxiety thing and stuff like that. He physically walked me over and introduced me to everyone. (Veteran claiming ESA)

⁷ Scullion et al. (2019) *op cit*.

It was evident that trust in the benefits system could be disrupted by inconsistent support, an unexpected change in staff or allocation to new staff who were starting from a position of more limited knowledge (as Case Study 5 highlights).

A further challenge related to the occasional lack of visibility of the DWP AFC role *within* the DWP. There were examples where Work Coaches did not know about the DWP AFC role, even when an AFC was based within the same office. For example, after receiving contact details for his local DWP AFC, one veteran described how he *'tried to get hold of them a few times, but they were just like, "We don't know what you're talking about, a veterans' champion?" I was just like, "Well, I've got this – do you know this man?" "No." Well, I went, "I've got his address. It says he works here." "No."'* (Veteran claiming UC). This challenge was noted by DWP AFCs themselves:

The biggest barrier to me doing my job is that people in my Jobcentres still don't know I exist. We send a newsletter to them: a jobs newsletter and another newsletter to them, every single staff member in [our district] every month, and people still don't know who we are. (DWP AFC)

A significant challenge related to the year-on-year resourcing model of the DWP AFC role, rather than being a permanently resourced aspect of DWP support. This was identified by several DWP AFCs as a considerable barrier to providing consistent and sustained delivery:

The Government, obviously, fund us. Every March it comes out, how much money the DWP have got. Then it's up to the bosses to decide, 'Are we renewed for another year or so?' To me, it just makes sense that we're part of the Armed Forces Covenant... I've spoken to customers and stuff. They've said, 'If we don't have you lot, what are we going to do?' (DWP AFC)

Some DWP AFCs noted how the uncertainty of the longevity of DWP AFC role could also influence staff decision making around moving to other positions. Additionally, it was suggested that external partners and stakeholders were surprised at this year-on-year uncertainty, with concerns about how it impacted on engagement with those important stakeholders. One DWP AFC, for example, had a partnership with a local military barracks, where contacts were *'just stunned that this role [could] disappear into the ether one day. They were like, "Well, what are we going to do?"'* (DWP AFC).

Finally, the increasing caseload (highlighted earlier) was also a concern. Discussions in one DWP AFC focus group noted average caseloads were between 50 and 70, and, while that was described as currently 'manageable', demand was increasing all the time. However, one DWP AFC highlighted that they had 130 veterans on their caseload and highlighted how client needs can *'vary massively'*.

Case Study 5

The impact of inconsistent support

One veteran interviewed for the study had complex mental health issues. Following an argument with DWP staff during a visit to JCP, at his next appointment he was introduced to the DWP AFC:

When I informed [them] that I was an Armed Forces veteran, they said that they had a veteran liaison officer, and there was this guy called [name]... What an amazing man! I went in there, because I was meant to do stuff online, and I'd been trying for days to do this stuff, and I managed to write [DWP AFC] a message, and he went above and beyond to help me and help others as well, all the other veterans I know, when they go into the local DWP office.

The DWP AFC (who was also a veteran) advised him to go to the doctors to get a fit note and supported him to be placed on limited capability for work due to his current health issues. He went as far as indicating that he would have taken his own life without this support and intervention. However, when the DWP AFC had moved to another JCP, he was assigned a Work Coach and had experienced a noticeable drop in the support available:

They took him away and sent him to another office somewhere else. There's no other Armed Forces Champion in there, so now I've got this other lady. I think she's sent me one message in the whole time...

Conclusions and recommendations

Overall, our evidence shows that the personalised and advanced support that the DWP AFCs deliver is crucial for the following key reasons:

- Through our longitudinal research project delivered since 2017, we have seen an ever-increasing familiarity amongst veterans (and stakeholder organisations) with the DWP AFC role; to reduce or remove this role would represent a significant backward step.
- The enhancement of the DWP AFC role in recent years appears to be aligned with the introduction of the Armed Forces marker on the UC data system, which has helped flag up the potential for additional support needs.
- The DWP AFC role frees up caseloads of Work Coaches; when a veteran is referred to a DWP AFC, they can dedicate the time and flexibility required to provide appropriate support.
- DWP AFCs frequently adopt a dual role, on the one hand feeding back vital information about the circumstances of a veteran client to their Work Coach, while at the same time advocating on their behalf when there has been an unproductive or less receptive (or unsympathetic/unempathetic) response from a Work Coach.
- A crucial part of the DWP AFC role is to liaise with external organisations to provide a holistic level of support that would otherwise be lacking. In several DWP districts, significant partnership working with veterans' organisations and charities is already in place; the DWP AFC often appears to act as a key intermediary to facilitate collaboration.
- Veterans are often extremely reticent about engaging with the benefits system (due to the stigma they associate with this system); being able to access a

member of staff with a specific Armed Forces role helps build trust.

- The DWP AFC role can support employment gains by facilitating veterans to transfer their skills and qualifications to the civilian labour market and by helping veterans address some of the complex needs that make entering employment challenging.
- The DWP AFCs provide an example of how provision of personalised support, provided by staff who have a greater understanding of the needs of specific claimants, can significantly improve experiences and outcomes for claimants. This aligns with the DWP's commitment to the integration of trauma-informed approaches⁸.

To maintain the important support provided by the DWP AFCs and meet an ever-increasing demand, we make three key recommendations:

Recommendation 1: The DWP AFC role should be permanently embedded within the DWP with sustainable resourcing.

The year-on-year resourcing model has created uncertainty for existing DWP AFCs and external partners. It also acts as a barrier to providing a more consistent support offer.

Recommendation 2: The DWP should review the DWP AFC network to ensure that a consistent support offer is available in all areas.

It is also evident that the demand for DWP AFC support has been increasing since the enhancement of the role and the introduction of the Armed Forces marker on UC.

Recommendation 3: The DWP should review the growing demand for DWP AFC support and identify what additional resources are required to meet that demand.

⁸ Scullion et al. (2023) *op cit*.

About the project

Since 2017, the University of Salford has been leading a project funded by the Forces in Mind Trust (FiMT) called *Sanctions, Support and Service Leavers*. The project was developed specifically to explore the experiences of veterans as they navigated the benefits system and represents the only project of its kind within the UK. It examines veterans' experiences of the various aspects of claiming benefits (e.g., application processes, benefits assessments, conditionality, interactions with the DWP and intersections between benefits and Armed Forces compensation/pensions). The project has included **108 veterans** (researchers have carried out **297 interviews** across various waves) and consulted with **67 stakeholders** (including DWP AFCs, benefits assessors and Armed Forces charities).

To date, we have produced the following published outputs from the project:

1. Young, D., Scullion, L., Martin, P., Hynes, C. and Pardoe, J. (2024) *Benefits assessments and veterans: Lessons from the Sanctions, Support and Service Leavers project* (forthcoming February 2024).
2. Scullion, L., Young, D., Martin, P., Hynes, C., Pardoe, J. and Curchin, K. (2023) *Towards a trauma-informed social security system: Lessons from the Sanctions, Support and Service Leavers project*, online at: <https://s31949.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/Scullion-et-al-2023-Towards-a-trauma-informed-social-security-system.pdf>
3. Jones, K., Scullion, L., Hynes, C. and Martin, P. (2022) 'Accessing and sustaining work after Service: the role of Active Labour Market Policies (ALMP) and implications for HRM', *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, online at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09585192.2022.2133574>
4. Scullion, L., Hynes, C., Martin, P. and Young, D. (2022) 'Social security during Covid-19: The experiences of military veterans', in K. Garthwaite, R. Patrick, M. Power, A. Tarrant and R. Warnock (eds) *Covid-19 Collaborations: Researching Poverty and Low-Income Family Life during the Pandemic*. Bristol: Policy Press, online at: <https://eprints.lincoln.ac.uk/id/eprint/49758/2/Covid%20Realities%20final%20text.pdf>
5. Scullion, L. and Curchin, K. (2021) 'Examining Veterans' Interactions with the UK Social Security System through a Trauma-Informed Lens', *Journal of Social Policy*, online at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-social-policy/article/examining-veterans-interactions-with-the-uk-social-security-system-through-a-traumainformed-lens/A4234E763A77C67D505B8B7622118D25>
6. Scullion, L., Jones, K., Dwyer, P., Hynes, C. and Martin, P. (2021) 'Military veterans and welfare reform: bridging two policy worlds through qualitative longitudinal research', *Social Policy and Society*, online at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/social-policy-and-society/article/military-veterans-and-welfare-reform-bridging-two-policy-worlds-through-qualitative-longitudinal-research/69021C7DCB94F105B54137C1D5B4391F>
7. Scullion, L., Dwyer, P., Jones, K., Martin, P. and Hynes, C. (2019) *Sanctions, Support & Service Leavers: Social security benefits and transitions from military to civilian life: Final report*, online at: <https://s31949.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/sanctions-support-service-leavers-final-report.pdf>
8. Scullion, L., Dwyer, P., Jones, K., Martin, P. and Hynes, C. (2018) *Sanctions, Support & Service Leavers: Social security benefits, welfare conditionality and transitions from military to civilian life: First-wave findings*, online at: <https://www.fim-trust.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/20180410-FiMT-Sanctions-Support-Service-Leavers-Interim-Report.pdf>

About the authors

Lisa Scullion is Professor of Social Policy and Co-Director of the Sustainable Housing & Urban Studies Unit (SHUSU) at the University of Salford, UK. **David Young, Philip Martin, Celia Hynes** and **Joe Pardoe** are researchers at SHUSU.

For more information about the project please contact Professor Lisa Scullion: l.scullion@salford.ac.uk