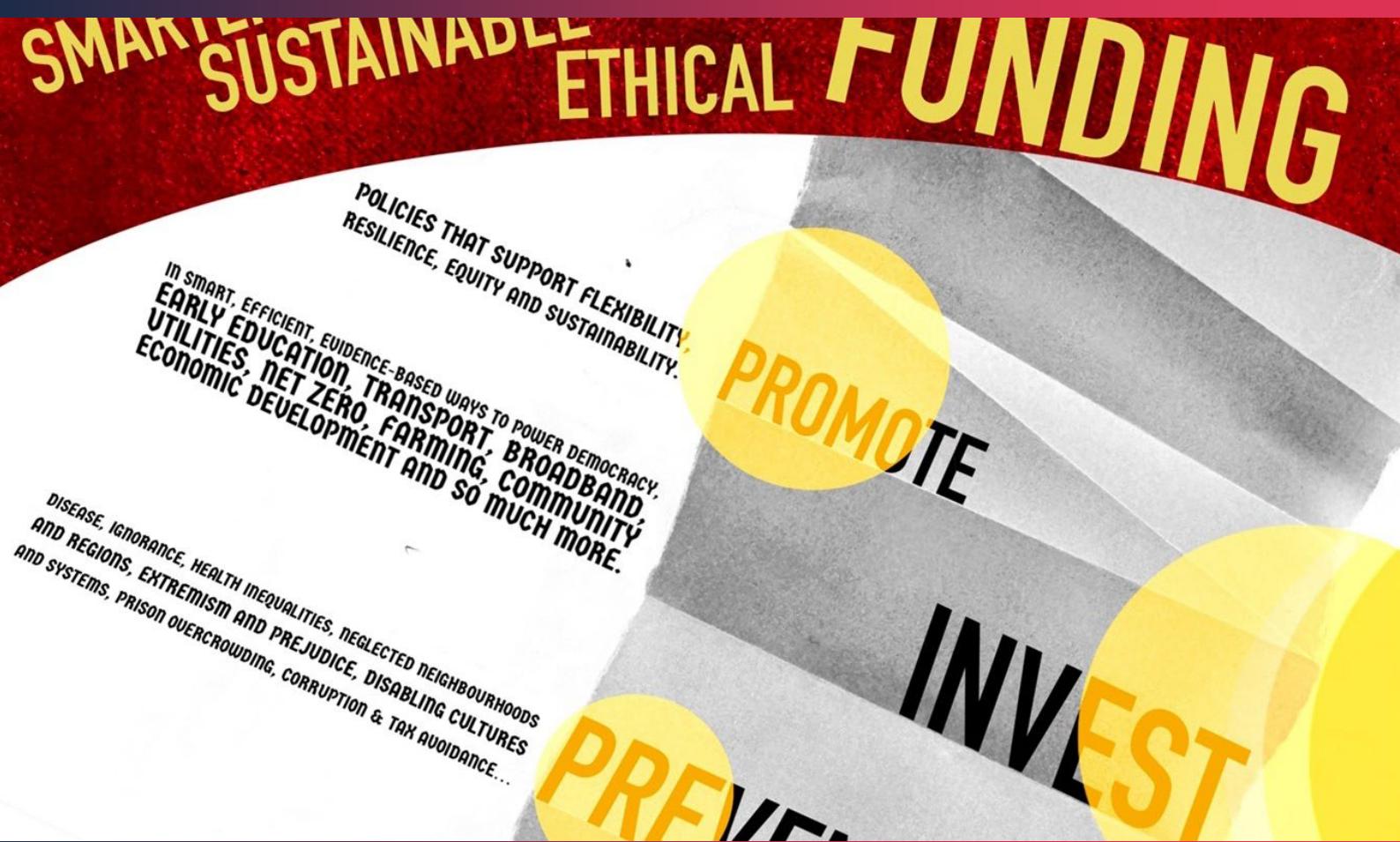


COMMON SENSE POLICY GROUP



A Common Sense Review of 2025

Common Sense Policy Group Annual Report



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About the Common Sense Policy Group

Who we are

The Common Sense Policy Group, based at Northumbria University, comprises academics, policymakers, third sector leaders, community representatives, media figures and people with lived experience. We are all committed to creating a fair, equal and inclusive Britain.

What we do

We pursue this vision by presenting consensus on feasible, affordable and overwhelmingly popular evidence-based and redistributive policies. Our cutting-edge research, analysis and tools, including economic modelling expertise and social science methodological innovation, underpin this work. We also undertake consultancy aligned with these aims.

Operational team



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A Five-Minute Common Sense Summary



Professor Matthew Johnson

“2025 marked a pivotal year for the Common Sense Policy Group as we confirmed our place as a unique and highly impactful Think Tank and voice for progressive, redistributive change. No other group or organisation has produced the quantity of content from the amount of resource in this period and certainly not to peer-reviewed standards.

At a time in which long-held assumptions are being proven false, the Group has developed the feasible, affordable and popular evidence-based policies politicians need to secure our society and ensure their own political futures. As we look to 2026, it is exciting to see our most ambitious project yet, *National Renewal*, producing such support from politicians and public alike.”

Key achievements

- **1 major monograph**, our flagship book *Basic Income: The Policy That Changes Everything*.
- **18 peer-reviewed journal articles** published.
- **5 major CSPG policy reports** directly engaging with government fiscal decisions, democratic reform and proposing a major pilot of Basic Income in Greater Manchester.
- **£858k in funded research projects**, including two-year NIHR project on welfare reform.
- **National and international media presence** including *The Guardian*, *LBC* and *Times Radio*.
- **Direct parliamentary impact** via lobbying of MPs on welfare, disability and budgets.
- **2 REF Impact Case Studies**, based on *Act Now* and *Basic Income*.
- **Growing consultancy**, including Business Case on non-animal testing.
- **First UK conjoint experimental study of welfare preferences**.
- **Most comprehensive UK longitudinal income-health analysis**.
- **New microsimulation tool enabling democratic policy design**.
- **Professional development course** building quantitative capacity.
- **Open science contributions** advancing field-wide methodological standards.

Impact

Our research demonstrated that public investment could generate £77 billion in additional tax receipts, challenging government spending cut narratives. Our conjoint survey methods provided the first robust UK evidence that citizens favour reduced, not increased, welfare conditionality. Our reports on Government Fiscal Events provided clear, evidence-based alternative routes to sustainable finances and national renewal.

Dr Elliott Johnson



“The change in direction that we have seen in recent years lies in belated recognition that the existing ‘solutions’ are not solutions at all. Policymakers who continue with ‘business as usual’ are left behind by electoral trends. This does not mean that the public are necessarily wrong and ignorant of the value of technocracy – it’s that the approaches that have been painted as technocratic simply do not work. As such, they are not technocratic at all. The evidence we have produced this year all confirms that the only way out of the downward spiral is via bold, state-led investment.”

Welfare reform

At a time in which the Government is committed to a programme of fiscal and welfare reform that has been proven unaffordable, unfeasible and unpopular, we advised Minister for Disability and Social Security against increased means-testing and to support increased We deployed groundbreaking conjoint experimental methods to demonstrate, for the first time, that UK citizens consistently favour reducing rather than increasing welfare conditionality. Our NIHR-funded project examining welfare reform's impact on health inequalities established robust longitudinal evidence linking income security to both mental and physical health outcomes, challenging punitive approaches to social security.



Professor Howard Reed

"The most significant finding of 2025 is that the actual effect of current spending on wages and welfare and capital spending on infrastructure, research and development and achieving net zero are massively higher than have been assumed by governments and scholars. This transforms debate about what countries can afford – the compound nature of current and capital spending means that cutting one, means cutting the impact of the other. The consequence is the downward spiral we have witnessed over the past 16 years. The evidence, which we outlined in our BMJ editorial, emphasises that we simply cannot afford cuts."

Political integrity

We released our report entitled *Make Politics Work for Us: A Common Sense pathway to democracy that delivers*, which highlighted the need for systemic change to support better outcomes. We co-signed the Compassion in Politics letter calling for legislation to prevent political deception, contributing our evidence-based voice to campaigns for democratic reform and honest public discourse. Our work demonstrated how misleading fiscal narratives around "unaffordable" public investment undermine democratic accountability.

Basic Income

From launching our comprehensive Greater Manchester pilot proposal, to publishing our flagship book *Basic Income: The Policy That Changes Everything*, we positioned Basic Income as a practical policy solution. National media coverage, parliamentary debates, and engagement from the public and policymakers brought the policy into the mainstream.

Public engagement

We translated complex economic research into accessible public arguments through reports, committee evidence, radio appearances, podcasts and expert interviews. Direct engagement with MPs, party conferences, and parliamentary committees ensured our evidence reached decision-makers, while our published journal articles and editorial pieces provided compelling, research-backed alternatives.



Anna Thew

"In 2025, Common Sense gained real momentum. We're proving that bold, redistributive policy isn't just necessary, it's popular, feasible, and backed by rigorous evidence. Our work demonstrates a clear pathway to reducing inequality and transforming lives, and we're committed to driving that change forward."

1.0 Our Common Sense strategy and purpose

Our alignment with Northumbria University research strengths



We play a key role in advancing Northumbria Universities strategic ambitions. We focus on generating leading research with real-world impact across every area, strengthened by our shared commitment to a culture of excellence that elevates our work, projects, and partnerships. Our research is driven by a commitment to creating a fair, equal and inclusive Britain. By developing and influencing redistributive policy that tackles inequality and exclusion, we contribute to

economic and social transformation of the North East and beyond.

- **Research Excellence:** 1 peer-reviewed monograph following on from 2024's *Act Now*, 18 peer-reviewed publications and 5 highly impactful rapid response reports strengthen the University's research power in Social Sciences, contributing to Northumbria's continued rise as a research-intensive institution.
- **Real-World Policy Impact:** Greater Manchester Basic Income proposal and parliamentary budget engagement demonstrate the policy influence that defines Northumbria's approach to tackling regional, national and global challenges.
- **Partnership and Knowledge Exchange:** Rigorous quantitative methods combined with engagement across civic institutions, business, and communities exemplifies Northumbria's distinctive model of partnership working.
- **Social Mobility and Equity:** Focus on redistributive policy and reducing inequality aligns with the University's commitment to social mobility and transforming lives.

The Common Sense Policy Group's 2025 achievements exemplify Northumbria University's commitment to research that makes a difference, tackling regional, national and global challenges through evidence-based policy impact. Our work directly advances the University's strategic ambition to be a research-intensive anchor institution in the North East, with our Greater Manchester Basic Income proposal and parliamentary Fiscal Event engagement demonstrating the real-world policy influence that defines Northumbria's approach. Our 18 peer-reviewed publications strengthen the University's research power in Social Sciences while our NIHR-funded health inequalities project addresses the University's core theme of health and wellbeing research. By combining rigorous quantitative methods with direct engagement across civic institutions, business, and communities from MPs to third sector and charitable organisations we embody Northumbria's distinctive model of partnership working and knowledge exchange. Our focus on redistributive policy and reducing inequality aligns with the University's commitment to social mobility and transforming lives, while our microsimulation tools and methodological innovations contribute to the research infrastructure that supports Northumbria's continued rise as a research-intensive university addressing the most pressing economic, social and environmental challenges of our time.

2.0 Research programme and academic outputs

Our 2025 research programme represents a significant step in establishing the Common Sense Policy Group as a centre for progressive policy research. Through rigorous quantitative analysis, innovative methodological approaches, and a sustained commitment to research excellence, we have built a substantial body of work that challenges the conventional status quo in public policy and economic analysis, providing robust evidence for transformative policy reform.

2.1 Funded studies

Examining credibility of current evidence for welfare as a public health measure: pathways, causation and cost-benefit of further research

In 2025, we commenced our largest study at Northumbria yet. Our £800k NIHR funded project, Examining credibility of current evidence for welfare as a public health measure: pathways, causation and cost-benefit of further research, represents cutting-edge development of evidence on the nature and scale of impacts of Basic Income. Research suggests that changing the welfare system could have a positive effect on mental and physical health and save the NHS money. One option is Basic Income, which is where cash is given to almost everyone regardless of whether they are working or how much they earn. However, policies like Basic Income have often not been tried nationally. Policymakers need new types of evidence to work out which policies should be chosen. But getting evidence can be very expensive and it may not always have enough of an impact on our understanding to be worth it. This project brings together experts from Universities of York, Warwick, Strathclyde, Birmingham and UCL to develop the most advanced modelling of health, health economic and economic impacts of Basic Income as a public health measure yet and to determine the value of information produced by gold standard Randomised Controlled Trials. We are approaching the mid-point and will be publishing a range of findings in 2026.

Basic Income impacts

We received a series of donations to develop further evidence on the impact of Basic Income on the transition to net zero, which resulted in [Basic Income for Net Zero: Trade Union Perspectives](#), as well as underpinning research for our forthcoming report on the impact of Basic Income for the agricultural economy in collaboration with Basic Income For Farmers. We also set out a plan for [Basic Income in Greater Manchester](#) in collaboration with UBI Labs. This has lain the foundation for a series of journal articles in 2026 setting out the underpinning research.

2.2 Spotlight publications and academic excellence

We published **1 monograph and 18 peer-reviewed journal articles** across internationally recognised high-impact outlets, demonstrating both the quality and breadth of our research programme. This output substantially strengthens our contribution to the University's Research Excellence Framework (REF) submission and helps to position us as a legitimate voice in welfare economics, health inequalities, and public policy research.

THE COMMON SENSE POLICY GROUP

Featuring Daniel Nettle, Kate Pickett, Matthew Johnson, Elliott Johnson, Howard Reed and Ian Robson

BASIC INCOME

THE POLICY THAT CHANGES EVERYTHING

Basic Income: The Policy That Changes Everything

Our flagship publication for 2025 followed on from our first monograph, *Act Now: A Vision for a Better Future and a New Social Contract* in 2024. *Basic Income* sets out our Group's long-term programme of research and advocacy on the policy. We use our underpinning model of impact to set out how the policy would transform Britain and beyond.

This book dives into real-world examples, revealing how basic income reshapes lives. It explores the ripple effects of financial security – better health, stronger communities, more education, meaningful work, and engaged citizenship. By breaking the cycle of poverty, Basic Income unlocks access to essentials like food and housing, empowers people, and fuels long-term thinking and entrepreneurship

Tying together theory with groundbreaking evidence from real-world trials, this book shows why Basic Income isn't just possible, it's the vital solution to our age of crisis, paving the way for a fairer society.

Key coverage

[Five Books: The best books on Universal Basic Income](#)

[Scott Santens: Top 10 Universal Basic Income Articles of 2025](#)

[The Guardian](#)



'Welfare system is a key public health measure'

Elliott Johnson, Anna Thew, Matthew Johnson and Howard Reed

British Medical Journal

Our editorial in the British Medical Journal marked a key moment in establishing the Common Sense Policy Group as a respected voice in public health policy. A publication in one of the world's leading medical journals is clear recognition that our welfare

economics work is essential to understanding health outcomes and commands the attention of healthcare professionals, policy makers and public health leaders around the world. We presented compelling international evidence showing that countries investing more GDP in social protection have lower premature mortality rates, while the UK's highly conditional

welfare system produces mediocre health outcomes despite high administration costs. The editorial directly refuted the theory that any job improves health, demonstrating that poorly paid, insecure employment, affecting 29% of young workers, is as harmful as unemployment for health. Published as the Labour government proposed severe cuts to disability benefits, we positioned basic income as the evidence-based alternative to addressing health harms of financial insecurity while avoiding perverse incentives of conditional systems thought to reduce "worklessness." The BMJ platform bridges academic rigour with real-world impact, positioning our research where it matters most at the intersection of evidence, policy debate, and tangible outcomes for vulnerable populations.

Key metrics

2437 abstract Views

2031 full article views

176 PDF downloads



'Examining the relationship between income and both mental and physical health among adults in the UK: Analysis of 12 waves (2009-2022) of Understanding Society'

Howard Reed, Daniel Nettle, Fiorella Parra-Mujica, Graham Stark, Richard Wilkinson, Matthew Johnson and Elliott Johnson

PLOS One

This study represents the most comprehensive longitudinal analysis of income-health relationships ever conducted in the UK. Using 12 waves (2009-2022) of Understanding Society, the UK's gold standard household panel study, we demonstrated as persuasively as possible within observational datasets the causal impact of non-committed income on both mental and physical health outcomes. The study's conceptual framework establishes new theoretical foundations for understanding how economic security shapes population health. This work provides crucial evidence for policy interventions targeting the social determinants of health and has implications for welfare reform, public health strategy and fiscal policy.

Key metrics

3,459 full article views

2,017 PDF downloads

1,243 HTML downloads

7 citations



'What do people want from a welfare system? Conjoint survey evidence from UK adults'

Daniel Nettle, Joe Chrisp, Elliott Johnson and Matthew Johnson

Poverty and Public Policy

This study deployed conjoint experimental methods to UK welfare policy for the first time, establishing a new methodological standard for measuring public preferences

in social security design. The findings definitively challenge political narratives around public support for punitive welfare systems, demonstrating clear and consistent patterns favouring reduced rather than increased conditionality. Based on measures established in our generic adaptive protocol resource, this research provides policymakers with robust evidence that progressive welfare reform aligns with public values. The methodology pioneered here opens new avenues for democratic policy design across multiple domains.

Key metrics

570 Full Article Views
5 citations

2.3 Additional high-impact publications

Beyond our spotlight outputs, 2025 saw a substantial body of peer-reviewed research demonstrating the breadth and depth of our work across interconnected policy challenges.

2.3.1 Health inequalities and social determinants

Why is income volatility associated with poor health? Longitudinal evidence from the UK and France, *SSM - Population Health*

Nettle, D., Chevallier, C., Pickett, K.E., Johnson, M.T., Johnson, E.A. & Bateson, M.

Our longitudinal study revealed why income volatility damages health independently of income levels, crucial evidence showing that instability, not just poverty, harms wellbeing.

Does food insecurity cause anxiety and depression? Evidence from the Changing Cost of Living Study, *PLoS Mental Health*

Bateson, M., Chevallier, C., Johnson, E.A., Johnson, M.T., Pickett, K., & Nettle, D.

Here we established clear causal pathways between food insecurity and mental health.

What principles ought to underpin 'Radical Prevention Funds'? Ten principles capable of addressing social determinants to promote public health, *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*

Johnson, E.A., Duffy, S., Stark, G., Reed, H., Atkinson, J., Wilkinson, R., Nettle, D. & Johnson, M.T.

In this article we developed ten principles for "Radical Prevention Funds" addressing social determinants to promote public health.

2.3.2 Social policy and democratic reform

Why Britain needs a new Beveridge and why politicians need to defer to the evidence,

Contemporary Social Science

Hardill, I., Johnson, E.A. & Johnson, M.T.

This article makes the case for comprehensive welfare state reconstruction grounded in contemporary evidence.

Exploring UK residents' views on substantive education reform: adversarially co-produced narratives indicate fluidity in support, *Political Research Exchange*

Hudson, K., Mulholland, K., Croft, E., Benton, P., Stark, G., Littlefair, D., Atkinson, J., Johnson, S.B., Reed, H., Johnson, E. & Johnson, M.

This study demonstrated how adversarially co-produced narratives reveal fluidity in public support for education reform when people encounter different policy frames.

What support is there in the UK for renationalisation of public utilities? Evidence on drivers and fluidity of support via adversarial narrative co-production, *Next Research*

Johnson, E.A., Johnson, S.B., Stark, G., Reed, H., Lee, R. & Johnson, M.T.

This research provided evidence on drivers of support for utilities renationalisation.

2.3.3 Interdisciplinary contributions

Rethinking Englishness: deep historical analysis of working-class forms emphasises the importance of redistribution for the left, *Routledge Open Research*

Johnson, M.T., Johnson, E.A. & Winlow, S.

This article examined Englishness and working-class identity alongside transforming Higher Education research culture, demonstrating our commitment to understanding both historical foundations of current challenges and institutional change.

Climate change mitigation and workers' interests: why framing a Green New Deal as redistributive and security-enhancing is key to popularity, *F1000*

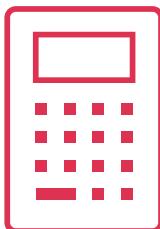
Ardron, K., Stark, G., Meller, S., Reed, T., Johnson, M.T. & Johnson, E.A.

This study showed how framing Green New Deal policies as redistributive and security-enhancing builds popular support, connecting climate action to economic justice.

3.0 Methodological innovation

Our research programme is distinguished not only by its substantive findings but by pioneering new methods and tools that will shape policy research for years to come.

3.1 TriplePC: Public Policy Preference Calculator



Published in the *International Journal of Microsimulation*, this comprehensive welfare policy microsimulation tool represents a major advance in evidence-based policy design. The TriplePC enables researchers and policymakers to model the distributional impacts, fiscal costs, and behavioural effects of alternative welfare configurations with unprecedented precision. By making complex microsimulation accessible and transparent, this tool democratizes policy analysis and enables citizens, civil society organisations, and smaller political parties to develop fully-costed alternative policy platforms. The tool is already being used by researchers across the UK and has attracted interest from international policy institutes.

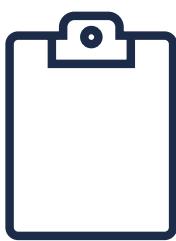
3.2 Conjoint experimental methods

We established the UK's first application of conjoint experimental methods to welfare policy design, adapting techniques from marketing research and political science to measure public preferences across multiple policy dimensions simultaneously. Unlike traditional survey methods that force respondents to choose between oversimplified options, conjoint experiments reveal the relative weight people place on different policy features: conditionality levels, benefit adequacy, targeting mechanisms, and administrative approaches. This methodological innovation resolves longstanding debates about "what the public really wants" with empirical rigour, showing that preferences are more progressive and nuanced than political discourse suggests. We have established protocols and measures that can be adapted to other policy domains, creating a new standard for democratic policy design.

3.3 Longitudinal analysis of the impact of income on health

Our 12-wave analysis of *Understanding Society* data represents the most sophisticated UK evidence on income-health causation using national longitudinal datasets. By tracking the same individuals across more than a decade and employing advanced panel data techniques, we addressed key methodological challenges that have limited previous research, including reverse causation, selection effects, and confounding variables. The study demonstrates that income changes predict subsequent health changes, providing as close to causal evidence as possible without randomised trials. This methodology establishes a framework for examining long-term health impacts of economic policy that can inform cost-benefit analyses of welfare interventions, public health strategy, and fiscal policy choices.

3.4 Policy preferences and the Value of Information: mixed-methods analysis of transformative public policy



Our UK public opinion on transformative policy reform deploys an extraordinarily complex survey infrastructure. This multi-wave programme combines intricate display logic, four conjoint experimental elements, adversarially co-produced narratives tested pre and post-exposure, and complex engagement tracking to minimise attrition across iterations. Built on QuestionPro with integrated recruitment via Prolific, the survey architecture

represents rigorous methodological design at scale. We secured more than 6,000 observations from a maximum of more than 2,000 participants across five surveys recruited through 11 Prolific 'studies', with some returning from surveys dating back as far as 2021. We seek to achieve national representativeness and deliberate oversampling of Red Wall constituencies, an under-researched population, on areas of redistribution, citizenship, equality and policy reform. Managing participant pools with strategic postcode targeting, applying weighting schemes, and re-inviting participants across waves requires skilled operational capacity. This iterative approach, combining conjoint experiments, narrative testing, and demographic targeting reflects our team's advanced statistical expertise and survey design skills. Few research teams can execute research of this complexity while maintaining rigorous standards.

3.5 Basic Income: changing policy, designing trials, evaluating impact Policy preferences and the Value of Information: mixed-methods analysis of transformative public policy

2025 produced further evidence of the impact of our work on Basic Income as a policy. This is underpinning a draft Impact Case Study for REF2029. We have presented a wide-ranging body of evidence on the health, social and economic impacts of Basic Income. By direct engagement with policymakers, third sector organisations and community groups, we have achieved impact in:

- Transforming politicians' policymaking behaviour: persuading policymakers of the health, social and economic benefits and to commit publicly to Basic Income
- Transformative public policy: influencing design of the Welsh trial of Basic Income for Care Leavers, the single biggest change in Social Security Policy since 1945, reform to Scottish devolved disability welfare schemes and (ongoing) design of regional social policy in Greater Manchester Combined Authorities
- Community-led micropilots: designing cash transfer micropilots in England and Guatemala with community groups and third sector organisations
- Methods of evaluating upstream interventions: implementing the first generic, adaptive protocol for evaluation of cash transfers capable of presenting evidence

Beneficiaries include party policy makers, community organizations, NGOs and charities, medical professionals, school students, teachers, and the general public.

In 2025, impact was evidenced via the Welsh Basic Income Pilot for Care Leavers [Annual Report](#), which found that recipients of Basic Income report reduced stress, lower levels of mental ill-health and increased autonomy. This all substantiates our model of impact that underpins design of pilots and trials.

Our engagement with development of trials has led to direct collaboration with the third sector organisations, universities and diplomatic services in Guatemala to developing a trial of Basic Income in the nation. This groundbreaking trial will be the first to produce and evaluate effectively a Basic Income scheme designed for health impact. This will enable randomised controlled trial evidence for use in other jurisdictions.

4.0 CPD for data science and policymaking

Beyond individual outputs, we invested in building sustainable research infrastructure that will amplify our impact and extend our capacity.

CONTINUED PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In May 2025, we launched our flagship **five-day Continuous Professional Development (CPD) course in data analysis and microsimulation** for Early Career Researchers from Doctoral Training Programmes across the UK. This course addresses a critical skills gap in UK social policy research. The intensive programme equips the next generation of policy researchers with capabilities to build tax-transfer models, conduct sophisticated quantitative analysis, and deploy evidence effectively in policy contexts. Unlike abstract quantitative methods teaching, the course combines rigorous statistical training with explicitly applied policy focus. Students learn Python coding, build functional microsimulation models, work with real income and health datasets, and explore how to persuade different stakeholders from civil servants to parliamentary committees with the same underlying evidence.

The course covers:

- Statistical foundations and data science principles with real-world policy applications
- Hands-on coding to build tax-transfer models and visualise distributional impacts
- Advanced microsimulation using the Landman Tax-Transfer Model, including Basic Income scenarios
- Strategic frameworks for deploying evidence to influence policy debates

Students develop 3,000-word policy reports with accompanying code uploaded to Open Science Framework repositories, creating portfolio-ready work demonstrating practical capability. This approach to building your own model to analyse real policy questions distinguishes our training from traditional academic methods courses.

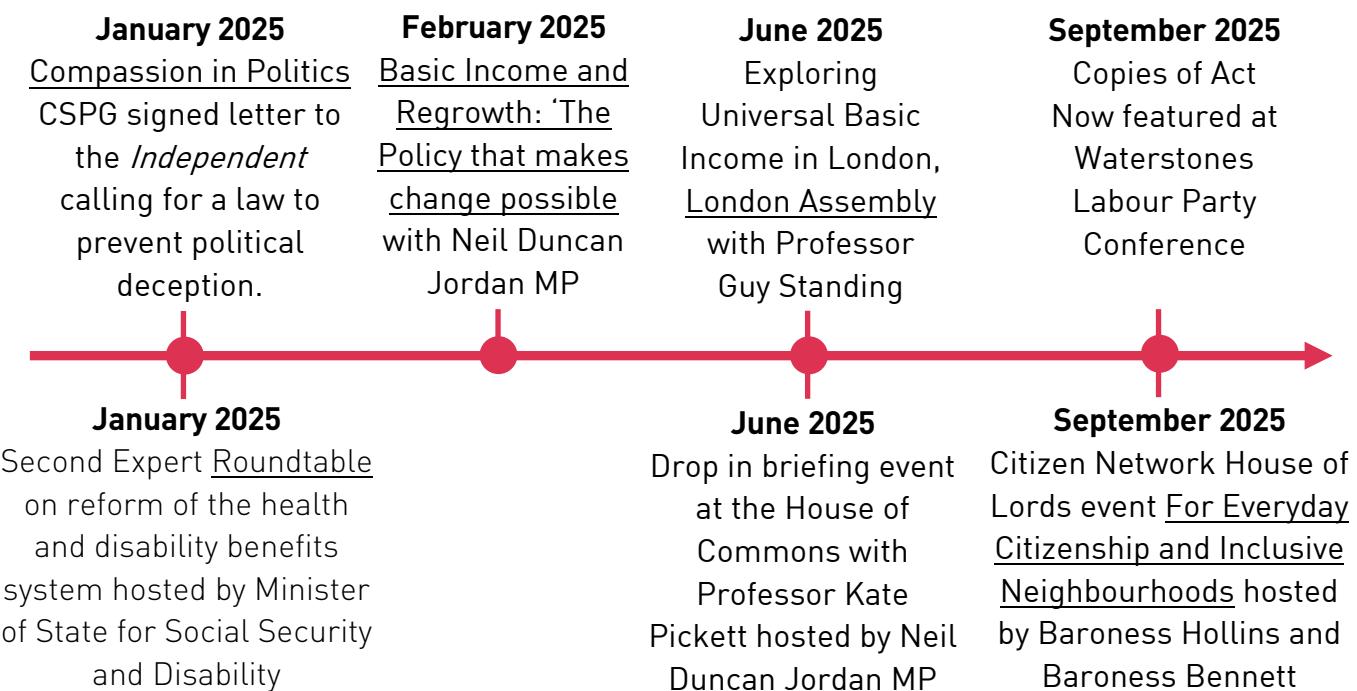
By making our microsimulation methods accessible to emerging researchers, the CPD course extends our impact beyond our immediate team, creating a new generation of analysts capable of producing robust, evidence-based alternatives to government proposals.



5.0 Policy influence, advocacy and impact

5.1 Parliamentary and party-political engagement

Throughout 2025, the Common Sense Policy Group maintained active engagement across Westminster and party political platforms, including a House of Commons visit hosted by Neil Duncan Jordan MP in June and participation in a London Assembly debate with the now Green Party leader in July. Our outreach included briefings and promoting research showing how a change in public investment policy could generate additional £77 billion in tax receipts.



5.2 Major policy reports

5.2.1 Make Politics Work for Us A Common Sense approach to democracy that delivers



Our January 2025 report called for fundamental democratic reforms to counter special interest influence and political inequality. We proposed Alternative Vote Plus (AV+) for the Commons, replacing the Lords with an Assembly of the Nations and Regions, moving Parliament around the UK every five years, and crucially banning lobbying and donations by profit-making bodies and foreign entities alongside legislation preventing political deception. The report's timing proved prescient: developed a year before Elon Musk's reported plans to donate \$100m to Reform UK, our proposals addressing concentrated wealth's political

influence gained renewed urgency. Survey evidence from 1,052 adults nationwide and 851 in Red Wall constituencies demonstrated strong public support for democratic reform as instrumental to delivering progressive policies in health, social care, and public utilities. We framed democratic reform not as abstract constitutional tinkering but as essential infrastructure for delivering tangible improvements in people's lives.

5.2.2 Basic Income for Greater Manchester: Plans for a feasible, affordable and popular pilot



There is considerable evidence that the most impactful approaches are those that address social determinants, most importantly poverty, inequality and insecurity.

Our February 2025 report, co-produced with the Basic Income Research Group and UBI Lab Network, presented a comprehensive evidence base for Greater Manchester to pilot Basic Income targeting people experiencing or at risk of homelessness. The proposal directly supported Mayor Andy Burnham's policy priorities, connecting to Housing First and Youth Homelessness Prevention Pathfinder initiatives.

We argued that addressing social determinants, poverty, inequality, and insecurity delivers more impactful prevention than crisis intervention across homelessness, health, education, economic activity, and crime. The pilot would provide genuine income security while removing disincentives to all forms of activity, crucially avoiding the pitfalls of Minimum Income Guarantee schemes that extend means-testing and disincentivise employment below guaranteed thresholds.

Building on Welsh Government's care leavers pilot, we identified clear funding pathways requiring no tax code revisions and positioned the intervention as an opportunity for progressive politicians to demonstrate that ambitious thinking can solve insecurity crises. The proposal generated extensive national and regional media coverage including Manchester Evening News, Big Issue, and Time Out, bringing Greater Manchester Basic Income into mainstream policy conversation and positioning the region as a potential leader in evidence-based welfare innovation.

5.2.3 Count the Costs: A Common Sense update for the 2025 Spring Statement



Welfare benefits are upstream of health, not the other way round, and it is essential to treat security of income, reduction in inequality, and elimination of poverty as the key means of improving outcomes.

Our March 2025 response to the Spring Statement challenged the government's fiscal orthodoxy, demonstrating that austerity measures constrict rather than enable growth. We argued that advice advocating spending cuts is explicitly ideological, not neutral technocracy, and that decades of evidence shows penny-pinching perpetuates decline.

We emphasised that welfare system perverse incentives stem from broader economic insecurity around precarious employment, while material insecurity demonstrably harms health, wellbeing and economic activity. With the working-age population increasingly affected by health conditions, enhanced social security and public spending, not cuts, address root causes. Private sector investment cannot deliver required infrastructural development; only state-led action can.

5.2.4 We Cannot Afford Cuts: An Alternative to the 2025 Spending Review



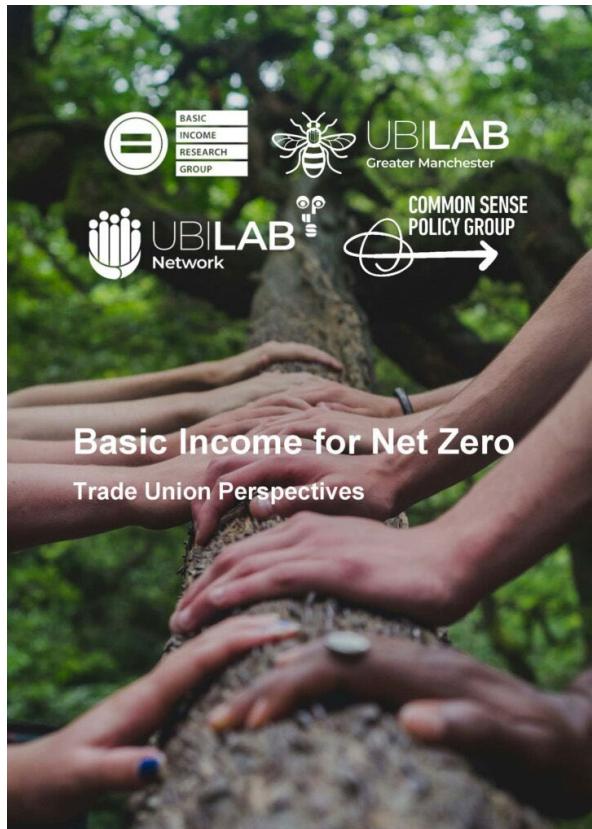
Our June 2025 report exposed the economic damage of sustained spending cuts using new evidence from 25 advanced economies (1996-2019). We demonstrated that Common Sense Spending Multipliers reveal public investment's true value: every £1 of capital spending generates a peak return of £2.99 to the economy (year 9), while current spending yields £1.35 (year 2). With tax receipts at 40% of GDP, capital investment becomes profitable for government—£1.20 return in peak year alone. Crucially, these multipliers work both ways: cuts don't just reduce services, they actively damage the economy and erode the tax base. Over 15 years, billions in lost investment have triggered compounding harms still rippling through the system.

Using our Landman Economics Tax-Transfer Model, we projected devastating impacts from the proposed welfare reforms:

- 7.2% income loss for poorest households with two or more disabled people
- Losses worst in highest-disability regions: Wales (-1.1%), North East (-1.0%) versus London (-0.2%), South East (-0.3%)
- Geographic redistribution from Red Wall constituencies to wealthy regions, exacerbating voter disaffection

We demonstrated that meagre welfare savings are catastrophically outweighed by economic damage, while planned capital investments fall far short of rebuilding Britain.

5.2.5 Basic Income for Net Zero Trade Union Perspectives



Basic Income will only be successful if it is connected to ideas that protect communities and the environment.

Our December 2025 report with UBI Lab Network explored UK trade union engagement with Basic Income amid climate transition. We found unions are "firefighting" immediate crises from pay erosion, workplace disputes to job cuts and therefore lack capacity for long-term transformative ideas, prioritising what Labour might realistically consider and requiring member-led policy mandates. Union scepticism centres on economic feasibility concerns, employer exploitation risks, threats to union

relevance, potential undermining of Universal Basic Services, public sector job impacts, and member misconceptions. However, support emerged around protection against automation and AI, strengthened worker bargaining power, enhanced equality and social mobility, and reopening ambitious social vision.

Unions identified five conditions for endorsement: large trial evidence demonstrating economic and labour market feasibility, credible progressive funding models, exploitation safeguards, member support indicating social feasibility, and government interest signalling political viability. The critical finding revealed strategic opportunity: growing Green New Deal engagement means demonstrating Basic Income's role in just transition could unlock union support. By framing BI as infrastructure for protecting workers through net zero transition, maintaining income security during industrial transformation, we identified a pathway for building labour movement backing. The report positioned Basic Income not as abstract policy but as practical tool for navigating the greatest economic restructuring in generations while safeguarding workers' interests, directly connecting income security to climate policy in ways resonating with organised labour's core mission.

5.3 The Common Sense Policy Group blog

In November 2025, we launched the Common Sense Policy Group blog as a platform for timely, accessible commentary on government policy and current affairs. The blog enables us to respond rapidly to fiscal announcements, welfare reforms, and political developments with evidence-based analysis that translates our research into public conversation.

5.3.1 Budget Blues: The Sequel

The Autumn Budget was an opportunity to signal bold, strategic investment and a genuine plan for national renewal. A broken economy needs a bold response. Instead, we got more of the same.



Our November 2025 blog campaign challenged Chancellor Rachel Reeves' first budget as delivering "more tinkering around the edges" rather than the bold strategic investment required for national renewal. We demonstrated how self-imposed fiscal constraints and pursuit of market credibility have become more important than public wellbeing, perpetuating managed decline through the same failed orthodoxy. The campaign's centrepiece was our updated Common Sense Spending Multipliers, published in "Closing the Gap: The Case for a Public Investment Target." Using data from 25 OECD countries (1996-2019), we found that £1 billion in capital spending delivers £3.42 billion additional GDP after 10 years, rising to £3.73 billion after 15 years, while current spending delivers £1.14 billion after 5 years, significantly higher and longer-lasting than OBR assumptions that constrain government policy in a "doom loop making us all poorer."

5.4 REF 2029 Impact Case Study: Act Now

Act Now is our 2024 Beveridge-style plan for government designed by a large and prominent author group including policymakers such as Neal Lawson, Green Party Leader, Zak Polanski, and others, with a view to informing Labour policy once manifesto commitments, particularly around tax and welfare, became unsustainable. 175 copies of Act Now were distributed to Labour MPs with summaries circulated to all other pre-2024 Parliament Opposition MPs.

On the basis of *Act Now* and associated work, Elliott Johnson, a leading Disability Researcher, was appointed to advise Minister for Social Security and Disability, Sir Stephen Timms, regarding legislation which became the Government's draft Universal Credit and Personal Independence Payment Bill (2025). Sir Timms asked his advisory group to choose between increasing conditionality on basis of needs (conditions covered) or on basis of means (income/wealth). Arguing against other disability organisations' preference for means-testing, Dr Johnson persuaded Sir Timms to reduce conditions covered on the basis, tested in *Act Now* and elsewhere, that reductions in universality via means testing makes reform much less sustainable since it makes welfare an out-group issue for those in work. This was adopted in the Bill.

In advance of the Bill's being placed before Parliament, Dr Johnson led the Group in analysing the tax-benefit impacts of the draft reforms. This revealed that some 250,000 people would be pushed into poverty and that significant wealth would be redistributed from the poorest regions to the richest, significantly reducing economic activity in the process. The Group also identified, for the first time, spending multipliers to project the impact on the economy and treasury of the spending review. This indicated that the effects of cuts since 2010 have been to deprive the economy and tax base of hundreds of billions of pounds, indicating that the Government literally could not afford to introduce further austerity measures. This directly contradicted Office for Budget Responsibility analysis. We published these findings in our groundbreaking *BMJ* Editorial.

Moreover, Dr Johnson's lobbying for rejecting means-based conditionality during the advisory stage meant that more MPs were aware of prospective impacts on a broader socioeconomic group of constituents, including those who are more likely to vote (middle class voters). This emphasised key electoral considerations for opposing the Bill in its current form.

Dr Johnson and Ms Thew, with Prof Kate Pickett, CSPG's Epidemiology Lead, then lobbied MPs directly via CSPG reports, a series of in-person and remote briefings and emails to all MPs to provide this evidence base for opposition to the UC & PIP Bill (2025) and Spending Review. This informed Neil Duncan-Jordan's group of rebels' opposition to the Bill, shaping the foci of criticism on distributive impact and electoral implications. The scale of opposition ensured that the Government was not able to pass the Bill in its then form.

CSPG briefings contributed to Rachael Maskell MP's Reasoned Amendment, specifically with regard to the OBR. Dr Johnson then drafted a series of CSPG Amendments, which Prof Pickett submitted to MPs via the Child of the North All-Party Parliamentary Group and other Parliamentary networks. This informed subsequent proposed amendments regarding date of implementation, including 2b and 2c NC8. The number of people currently projected to be pushed into poverty by the final Bill has been reduced from 250,000 to 150,000, meaning 100,000 will no longer face destitution and lower associated costs for the country.

As a result of opposition to the Bill, Sir Timms committed to review reforms ahead of OBR reporting in November 2026 via an advisory panel with disabled groups and experts. Dr Johnson has already offered his support for this. There is an expectation that less regressive reform will be recommended via Sir Timms' review.

In addition, circulation of the CSPG report on spending multipliers and wealth-based taxation contributed to Labour figures, including those above and Neil Kinnock, calling for tax on wealth and corporations. Moreover, Zak Polanski, Leader of the Green Party, has adopted wealth tax and social security reform as key planks of his programme. CSPG is continuing to work with MPs on these areas, with reports due on updated spending multipliers, wealth taxes and tax yields ahead of Autumn Budget. Prof Pickett is lobbying for key *Act Now* policies at each Labour Party Conference; Prof Reed is doing likewise for each Lib Dem and Green conference.

5.5 Consultancy - Non-Animal testing approaches

We were commissioned by a major multinational company to develop a business case for presentation to government on the non-animal testing sector in the United Kingdom. This refers to full and partial replacement approaches for assessing chemical or drug toxicity data. The business case offers policymakers an evidence base to build on the Government's November 2025 *Replacing animals in science* strategy.

Our analysis, based on a newly compiled list of 75 companies using Companies House and Annual Business Survey data, reveals a sector experiencing robust growth despite broader economic challenges. Our most distinctive contribution is the calculation of prospective returns on public investment. Using established productivity multiplier estimates, we identify a significant potential gain for the economy and in tax receipts from further investment, resulting in a compelling fiscal case for enhanced funding.

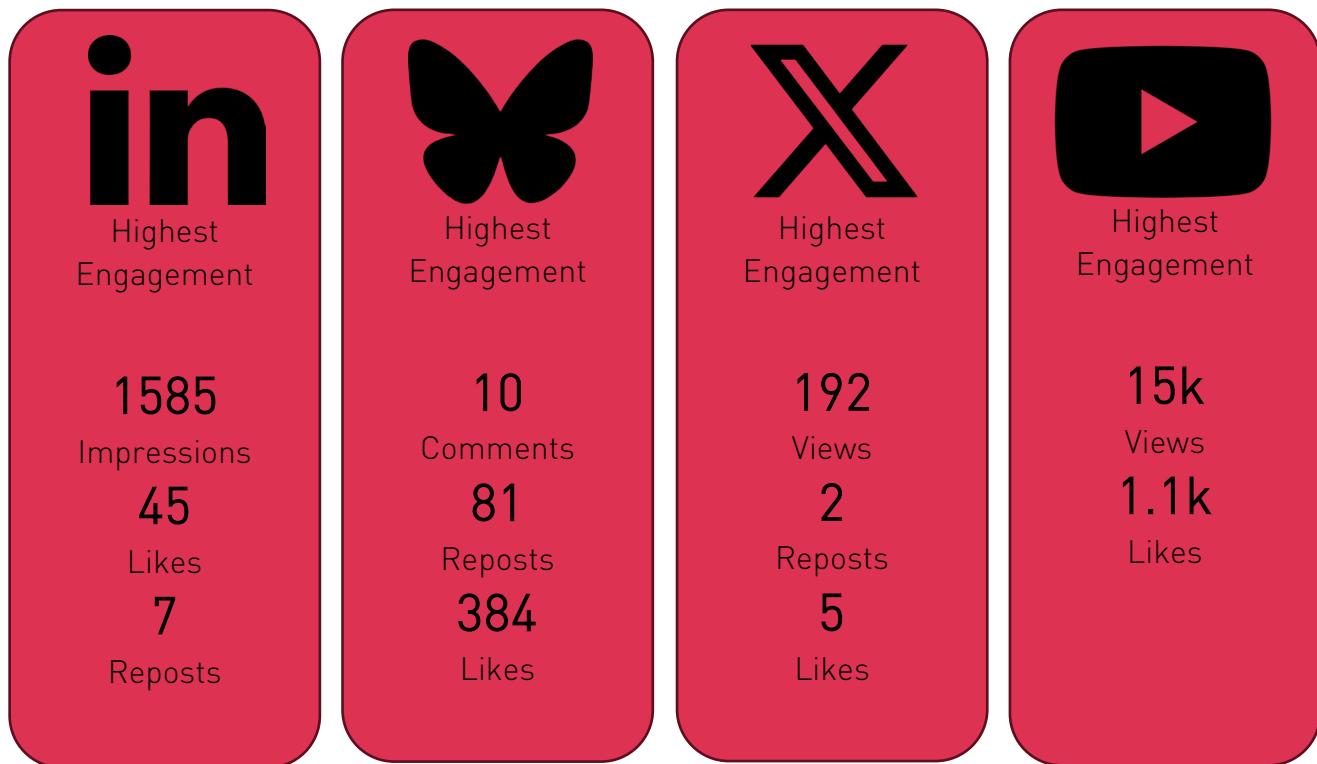
We include in-depth contextual analysis, including geographic distribution of companies and prospective areas of economic opportunity. This is crucial given recent rapid development of AI and organ-on-a-chip technologies and the need for the UK to support high-growth sectors for broader economic and societal wellbeing.

Our report, to be published shortly, fills a critical evidence gap identified by policymakers and stakeholders. Our novel methodology – combining AI-assisted company identification with Companies House financial data – produces the most current sectoral assessment available, enabling informed decisions about investment scale and allocation. Our explicit calculation of fiscal returns provides a compelling economic argument that complements existing ethical and scientific cases for transitioning away from animal testing.

6.0 Public engagement and communications

2025 marked a shift to a more proactive approach to expanding our communications and engagement.

6.1 Social media



LinkedIn

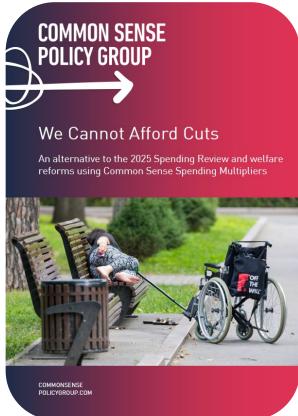
As part of Independent Bookshop Week, Dr Elliott Johnson, Vice Chancellor's Fellow in Public Policy at Northumbria and Impact Lead for the Common Sense Policy Group, joined a panel hosted by Green Party co-leader and Bristol Central Carla Denyer MP on Friday 20th June for a vibrant discussion on Basic Income's real-world impact. The event was held in Bristol in partnership with Bookhaus and Bristol University Press. The discussion marked the launch of the

Common Sense Policy Group's latest publication *Basic Income: The Policy That Changes Everything*, a new book bringing together global research and evidence from real-world trials to highlight the potentially transformative effects of a Basic Income in the UK.

Bluesky

Most of us want stronger social security, it's important for us all. Basic income is popular, it's transformative, and there's no better alternative. *Basic Income: The Policy That Changes Everything* is OUT NOW! policy.bristoluniversitypress.co.uk/trade/basic-...





X/Twitter

New welfare changes are unfair, worsen incentives, and deliver no savings. Flawed fiscal rules can't justify damaging cuts or regressive policy. We challenge both the policy and the thinking behind it.
<https://commonsense.northumbria.ac.uk/reports/spending-review-2025/>

YouTube

Dr Elliott Johnson and Professor Howard Reed appeared on [Richard Murphy's Funding Futures](#) podcast to discuss Common Sense Policy Group, our latest work on economic modelling, public investment, and the case for a Basic Income.

Listen to the full conversation [here...](#)



6.2 Print and online



The Guardian

Why Labour should put green before growth

It would appear that Rachel Reeves would rather put growth ahead of protecting our children's future with net zero policies (Rachel Reeves's bid to expand Heathrow could add £40 to airline ticket, 23 January). Yet in the acres of coverage about this government's growth mantra, three crucial questions are never asked, let alone answered. Read more [here](#)

Manchester Evening News

The plan to pay 200 people in Greater Manchester £38k with 'no strings attached'

Up to 200 people in Greater Manchester would get £1,600 a month with 'no strings attached' under plans put to Andy Burnham. The Labour mayor committed to bringing forward a 'Basic Income' pilot in his election manifesto last year. A group of academics have now put forward a proposal setting out how the trial would work, urging the Greater Manchester mayor to 'make good on his word'. Under the proposal by the UBI Lab Network, the pilot would run over two years and target homeless people in the city-region. Read more [here...](#)

Time Out

This English city could be the first to trial universal basic income

Time Out UK covered the Common Sense Policy Group's groundbreaking proposal for Greater Manchester's Universal Basic Income pilot, submitted to Mayor Andy Burnham in February 2025. The two-year trial, developed in partnership with UBI Lab Network, would provide £1,600 monthly payments to homeless residents with no strings attached, aiming to end absolute poverty in the region at an estimated cost of £3.84-7.68 million depending on participant numbers. Read more [here...](#)

The Guardian

When politicians tell us to focus on growth we need to ask: 'Why, and for whom?'

"Public opinion research shows that the vast bulk of the population are more progressive and ambitious than what political parties present as being in the centre." This is one of the conclusions of the Common Sense Policy Group (including Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson, whose classic study of equality and wellbeing, *The Spirit Level*, first published in 2009, is still both admired and ignored by policymakers), at the end of its 2024 collection of "manifesto" essays, [Act Now](#). Read more [here...](#)

6.3 Broadcast

The Common Sense Policy Group secured significant broadcast media coverage in 2025, with Dr Elliott Johnson appearing on Times Radio with Rod Liddle, discussing how rising destitution and insecurity increasingly shape political preferences across traditional party lines, and twice on LBC with Natasha Devon and Clare Foges, where he made the case for Universal Basic Income as a tool for improving health outcomes and empowering autonomous decision-making, while challenging the failures of current welfare policy that harms health, discourages work, and reduces employment prospects despite tighter eligibility and harsher conditions.



7.0 Partnerships and funding

7.1 Research partnerships

- **NIHR:** Two-year funded project on welfare reform and health inequalities (launched March)
- **UBI Lab Network:** Basic Income for Net Zero report; Greater Manchester pilot proposal
- **Basic Income for Farmers:** The impact of Basic Income on agricultural economy report.
- **Understanding Society:** Data partnership for longitudinal health analysis
- Multiple interdisciplinary collaborations and partnerships, including University of Cambridge, University of Loughborough, LSE, University of Warwick, University of York, University of Strathclyde, Institut Jean Nicod, Paris, Cardiff University, University of Oxford, University of Bath, University of Sydney, University of Queensland, Queensland University of Technology, Monash University, University of Jaen.

7.2 Civil society partnerships

- Compassion in Politics
- Trade union engagement (Basic Income for Net Zero)
- Green Party policy development
- Labour Party policy dialogue

7.3 Funding secured

- NIHR two-year project: £800k
- Philanthropic donations: £31k
- Consultancy: c.£30k
- CPD course revenue stream established

8.0 Looking ahead to 2026

8.1 Research programme

Our major focus lies in completing our NIHR-funded study, publishing groundbreaking microsimulation of health, health economic and economic impacts of Basic Income as well as our Value of Information evidence on the cost of producing evidence from a Randomised Controlled Trial resulting from our expert panel's guidance. We will also publish updated evidence from conjoint experiments on the impact of confidence in evidence on public support for policies. This complements our longitudinal study of welfare preferences, which has tracked support for reform among red wall voters since 2021. Both of these studies will enable development of our [TriplePC](#) microsimulation tool which provides instantaneous evidence on the impact of welfare and tax policies on a range of economic, health and public opinion outcomes.

Beyond this, we are expanding our use of public opinion methods to examine new areas of policy, including attempts to meet net zero and address historical harms associated with colonialism, drug and sexual services legislation, citizenship and work.

We are also using our microsimulation capacities to examine forms of funding for universities, student tuition fee costs and recovery and generational impacts of funding formulae. This is a highly timely area of expansion that offers direct opportunities for engagement with government.

8.1.1 Books

[National Renewal: Making Good on Britain's Last Chance](#) responds to Sir Keir Starmer's call for a decade of national renewal, a call his own government has failed to deliver through fiscal timidity. We argue that Britain needs transformation on the scale of 1945, a national renewal that requires the state to roll forward economically while rolling back socially. The current settlement has inverted this, cutting economic presence while expanding self-defeating harmful social interventions, creating dysfunction that perpetuates destitution and inequality. Using groundbreaking conjoint experiments and adversarial narrative co-production, we identify popular configurations for a new settlement addressing key areas of social policy. We replace self-defeating fiscal rules with Common Sense Economic Rules and sector-by-sector Spending Multipliers to demonstrate the full value of public investment. With updated *Act Now* policies and comprehensive costings, we show that investment – not austerity, is the only route out of national debt, preventing far-right ascendance and delivering the protection citizens demand.



Evidence for Transformative Policymaking

provides a groundbreaking practical guide combining economic microsimulation, public opinion research, and narrative persuasion to address Britain's deepest challenges: poverty, inequality, declining health and crumbling infrastructure. Unlike traditional policy texts, this book equips readers to develop their own tax-benefit modelling, conduct sophisticated distributional analysis, assess health impacts of economic interventions and use adversarial co-production to persuade policymakers. Using open-source tools, datasets and hands-on exercises and cases studies, it demonstrates that radical policies like Basic Income are both affordable and popular when properly evidenced and communicated. This enables readers to produce compelling evidence that can shift the 'Overton Window' and influence policymakers. It is essential reading for anyone seeking to rebuild Britain through evidence-based policy. The 80,000 word book has been designed with REF2029 in mind, combining rich theoretical, highly innovative methodological and novel empirical content to impact the next generation of researchers. *Evidence for Transformative Policymaking* is due out in October 2026 with Manchester University Press.

8.1.2 Journal article pipeline

We have **fifteen** peer-reviewed articles in development exploring critical questions of social feasibility and public priorities.

1. 'What Form of Equality Matters to Britons: Legal or Material?' examines preferences between existing Equality Act protections and material equality measures, exploring how the contemporaneous introduction of legal equality frameworks and austerity-driven material inequality have shaped public priorities.

2. 'Citizenship Priorities in Public and Private Spheres' investigates what protections citizens should receive regarding their activities across different domains, with particular focus on areas like drug policy and sex work regulation.

3. 'Is Progressive Disability Welfare Reform Socially Feasible?' analyses public support for disability welfare reform, providing crucial evidence as government pursues benefit restructuring.

4. 'How Do Britons Prioritise Action to Address the Past and Future?' explores tensions between addressing historical issues like colonialism and future challenges like net zero transition, revealing how different groups balance recognition and forward-looking policy.



5. 'What Difference Does Evidence on Health Impact Make to Perception of Basic Income?' (our NIHR-funded research) assesses how robust health impact evidence shifts public perception, using updated modelling and expert panel assessment to understand the role of scientific evidence in building policy support.

6. 'Is Drug Legalisation Socially Feasible?' examines public support for drug policy reform and factors driving acceptance or opposition.

7. 'What Support is There for Sexual Services Legalisation?' analyses feasibility of legalising and regulating sex work.

8. 'How Have Preferences Changed Over Time?' conducts longitudinal analysis tracking how changing socioeconomic circumstances affect policy and party preferences among survey respondents.

9. 'What Explains Differences of Opinion in Distinguishing the Private and Public Spheres?' uses principal component analysis to understand underlying dimensions of disagreement on policies spanning public and private life.

10. 'What is the impact of Basic Income on the agricultural economy?' sets out for the first time the economic impacts of Basic Income on farm income and associated outcomes in rural areas using evidence from the Farm Business Survey.

11. 'Current and capital public spending fiscal multipliers are large and enduring: An analysis of data from 25 OECD nations from 1996-2019' sets out our groundbreaking Common Sense Economic multipliers, showing that the effect of public investment is far higher than recognised by the Office for Budget Responsibility in collaboration with economics colleagues in Italy and Spain.

12. 'What do residents want from a North East Combined Authority transport policy? Evidence from conjoint experimental survey data' is the final study from our recent programme of research on Act Now policies, focusing on conjoint experimental analysis of preferences in the North East Mayoral Combined Authority

13. 'Does money only matter in low-to-middle income countries? Public health policymakers' assessments of financial security as a social determinant in different development contexts' presents evidence from interviews with leading UK policymakers on their perception of the impact of money on public health, revealing significant contradictions that pose real questions in terms of how people assess data.

14. "Material insecurity drives support for progressive policy, including among those who endorse right-wing parties: Evidence from UK voters in 2024" is our first Principal Component Analysis of public preferences, demonstrating that perceived risk of destitution, more so than any other demographic or socioeconomic characteristic, explains variation in support for redistributive policies.

15. 'Is large-scale housing reform politically feasible? Evidence on UK public opinion involving adversarial co-production' examines the fluidity of support for radical housing policy.

8.2 Funding applications

We now have a body of work that spans almost all areas of public policy. We are expanding our existing strengths and partnerships to secure larger and longer-term funding as well as a greater number of consultancy appointments to support shorter-term aims.

Modelling Public Health Measures for Climate Change adaptation

Building on our current study, “Examining credibility of current evidence for welfare as a public health measure: pathways, causation and cost-benefit of further research,” we are working with colleagues from the University of Cambridge and University of Loughborough to develop a groundbreaking £2.5m NIHR funded study on the impact of measures designed to reduce poverty and income volatility as means of adapting to climate change. This proposal will be submitted to the Public Health Research, Researcher-led call, in mid-2026.

Destitution in the UK: understanding the scale, impacts and means of mitigation through policy

While there has long been recognition that destitution or “deep poverty” is associated with public health harms, the nature, extent and cost of those harms is seriously under-researched. We will apply for funding from the MRC to analyse these phenomena within people’s local economic contexts, accounting for the way in which differences in costs and employment opportunities and pay create circumstances that are not yet understood within existing datasets. This study addresses those deficits in understanding and enables much clearer debate about the public health cost of destitution and means of mitigation.

8.3 Consultancy

As part of our broader modelling work and the growth of our consultancy, we are engaging with charitable partners to develop an economic case for investment in local food systems. This involves clarifying the best possible economic argument for local food systems amongst a selection of possibilities and undertaking some economic modelling to quantify the extent of the potential positive economic impact. This constitutes a feasibility study to establish the argument and method, outputs, timing and costings for the modelling work.

8.4 International collaboration and impact

8.4.1 Queensland Government on workforce and skills



As part of a long-term programme of engagement with institutions in Queensland, Australia, Chair of Common Sense Policy Group, Professor Matthew Johnson, and Mark Pappas of Trade, Employment and Training within Queensland Government, met recently to discuss evidence-based policy on workforce development in Queensland and the UK. This takes place in a context of divergent approaches to investment, training and skills-development in the two countries.

Areas for potential future discussion identified included the need for better evidence on which to develop policy, particularly with regard to training and workforce retention and to including regional approaches.

8.4.2 Development of Guatemalan Basic Income trial for health and social impact
Dr Elliott Johnson will be travelling to Guatemala in March to work with local third sector organisations, universities, policymakers, diplomatic services and communities to develop a proposal for a trial of Basic Income. He will also visit Colombia to discuss ongoing plans for a trial there.

8.5 CPD

In October, we will be running an online and expanded version of our CPD course in data analysis and microsimulation, with an open access textbook being published in time for the 2026 cohort. We will be opening the course up to all Early Career Researchers and other organisations.

8.6 Events

8.6.1 Australia Book Tour

Between January-April 2026, Matthew Johnson will undertake a speaking tour of Australian Universities, including University of Queensland, Queensland University of Technology, University of Sydney and Monash University to set out the underpinning argument from *Basic Income: The Policy That Changes Everything* and our Common Sense Economic Multipliers.

8.6.2 University debate series

We are bringing together high profile public figures, such as Rowan Williams, former Archbishop of Canterbury, to analyse and debate key data from our national renewal survey series as well as our latest economic modelling. This will form a series of YouTube videos.

8.6.3 Party conferences

We will be attending Labour, Green, Liberal Democrat and Scottish Nationalist Party conferences, liaising with our publishers to host stands and organise events.

8.6.4 Book and policy launch events

We are moving to an online-only approach to events to ensure widest possible accessibility. This responds to policymaker feedback and is in line with moves by similar organisations.

9.0 Full publication list

Monograph

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4. Johnson, E.A., Stark, G., Moseley, L., Littlefair, D., Atkinson, J., Johnson, M.T. & Reed, H. (2024) 'UK resident preferences on tax reform: Survey-based evidence suggests support for progressive change in the run up to the 2024 General Election', *Journal of Social Policy*. DOI: [10.1017/S0047279425101268](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279425101268).
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6. Nettle, D., Chevallier, C., Pickett, K., Johnson, M. T., Johnson, E.A., & Bateson, M. (2025) 'Why is income volatility associated with poor health? Longitudinal evidence from the UK

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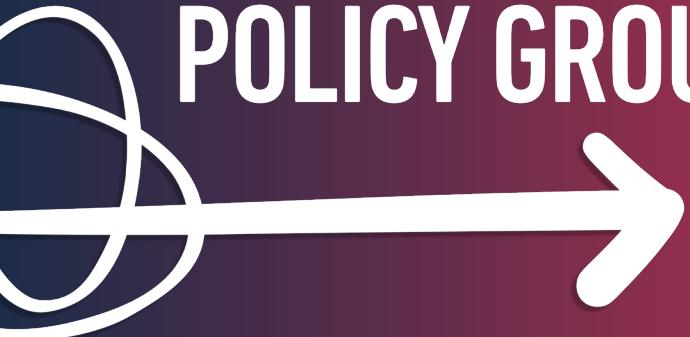
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