Heriot-Watt University

Destitution in the UK 2018 - Technical Report

Bramley, Glen; Sosenko, Filip; Fitzpatrick, Suzanne

'DESTITUTION IN THE UK 2018' - TECHNICAL REPORT

.

Glen Bramley, Filip Sosenko and Suzanne Fitzpatrick

Institute for Social Policy, Housing and Equalities Research (I-SPHERE)

School of Energy, Geosciences, Infrastructure and Society
Heriot-Watt University
Edinburgh EH9 2JR

This report accompanies the research report by Fitzpatrick et al (2018) *Destitution in the UK 2018* published by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in June 2018, which examines the scale, nature and drivers of destitution in the UK in 2017, updating a similar study undertaken in 2015.

This report is published by Heriot-Watt University and is available online at:

Contents

1.   Introduction and Overview

This Technical Report is part of the output of a major research study of *Destitution in the UK 2018* undertaken during 2017 by the authors and colleagues[1] for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF). It complements the main research report published by JRF in June 2018 (Fitzpatrick et al 2018) and both the Interim and Final Reports of the 2015 Destitution in the UK study (Fitzpatrick et al 2015, 2016).

This Technical Report contains a detailed account of the main elements of the research, including the Census Survey, the updated Secondary Data analyses and the Qualitative Interviews. This includes Appendices including all the main research instruments and accompanying protocols.

While the main emphasis is on explaining methods and providing detailed information on key instruments and elements of the research, in some cases more detailed substantive findings are reported, as for example in section 3.1 on Time Trends and section 5 Geography of Destitution.

---

[1] In 2017 the research was undertaken by a team at the Institute for Social Policy, Housing and Equalities Research (I-SPHERE) in the School of Energy, Geosciences, Infrastructure and Society at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, working in partnership with Kantar Public, who took primary responsibility for the 'census' survey testing, fieldwork and data preparation.

□

BOX 1: DEFINITION OF DESTITUTION

1. People are destitute if they have lacked two or more of these six essentials over the past month, because they cannot afford them:

- *Shelter* (have slept rough for one or more nights)
- *Food* (have had fewer than two meals a day for two or more days)
- *Heating* their home (have been unable to do this for five or more days)
- *Lighting* their home (have been unable to do this for five or more days)
- *Clothing and footwear* (appropriate for weather)
- *Basic toiletries* (soap, shampoo, toothpaste, toothbrush)

To check that the reason for going without these essential items is that they cannot afford them we will: ask respondents if this is the reason; check that their income is below the standard relative poverty line (i.e. 60% of median income 'after housing costs' for the relevant household size); and check that they have no or negligible savings.

2. People are also destitute, even if have not as yet gone without these six essentials, if their income is so low that they are unable to purchase these essentials for themselves.

The relevant weekly income thresholds, after housing costs, are £70 for a single adult, £90 for a lone parent with one child, £100 for a couple, and £140 for a couple with two children. We will also check that they have insufficient savings to make up for the income shortfall.

This definition is essentially unchanged from 2015. There was clear agreement with the key deprivation items in 2015, among both advisory group experts and public respondents the Omnibus survey carried out then. With regard to the income threshold, it was decided not to change the thresholds because: (a) the lapse of time was relatively short; (b) the rate of change in inflation, and especially in levels of benefit or lower end earned incomes, was extremely low between 2015 and 2017[2]; and (c), for a self-completion questionnaire, it was essential to maintain simple rounded income band levels. However, as discussed in more detail in section 3.2, one of the improvements made to the survey was to include an additional question on housing costs paid out of income, and this may have had some knock-on effect on the incomes as recorded.

2.   Census Survey

Reasons for carrying out a census-type survey of users of a range of relevant types of service in case study areas were discussed in the previous Technical Report (Bramley

---

[2] Inspection of changes in the Minimum Income Standard Tables for the period suggested that the typical household budgets for the key items relevant to our destitution definition did not change substantially in this period.

et al 2016, s.3). As was successfully demonstrated in 2015, this provided direct evidence of contemporary destitution experiences, using a specific agreed definition (see Box 1 above), in different types of areas across UK, while also providing a pool of households who could participate in the more in-depth qualitative phase of the research.

The main focus remains on non-governmental organisations providing material assistance or associated advice and support to people in emergency situations of need. We defined a range of types of relevant organisation, in four broad types: advice; food and meals; homelessness and related multiple deprivations (including specific issues of domestic violence); migrants (and associated issues like forced labour). The research team worked with local coordinators (LCs) to identify and map all relevant organisations, their locations, contacts and scale of operation. This formed the sampling frame. The original 10 case study areas were retained and in these cases LCs updated the mapping of agencies, while for the 6 new areas we recruited new LCs who undertook mapping from scratch.

This time we did include the one local government service which is most directly relevant (Local Welfare Funds or LWF for short), either directly where it existed and agreed to participate, or indirectly through FOI-based information on numbers of clients. For other local and statutory services, we did not attempt to include them, partly due to issues of ethics and access, and partly because on the whole we would not have expected such a high proportion of their clients to be destitute.

The underlying assumption is that people in a situation of destitution will seek out assistance from time to time. This is a conservative assumption; if some destitute people approach none of the organisations we have sampled, our estimates will be on the low side. We take a time slice of one week[3] (mainly in March 2015), with questions focused on experiences of destitution in the preceding month. The timing avoids seasonal extremes.

Questionnaire development and testing

The questionnaire (shown in Appendix A) was designed for self-completion, assisted as necessary by a member of the research team (normally a professional social survey interviewer from Kantar Public). It should be noted that, although we refer to it here as the Destitution Survey, it was headed and introduced as 'Getting By in the UK'. Questions were set to enable application of the definition of destitution described and justified in the 2015 Interim Report (reproduced in Box 1 above). Additional questions aimed to capture basic demographics, key background experiences over the preceding year which may have contributed to destitution, sources of support (financial

---

[3] In a couple of cases of specific services, for various practical reasons, the survey was conducted in a different adjacent week, or over two weeks. For future consideration, if repeating this survey, we would recommend extending to more than one week for certain types of lower intensity service, including some Local Welfare Funds.

and in-kind), and migration/asylum status where relevant. Questions also covered frequency of use of the service in question, and use of other services, partly to aid quantification of destitution experiences over the whole year. Additional questions were included in 2017 on where respondents were currently living, housing tenure and hostel stay durations.

The self-completion model places limits on the extent to which sensitive information can be probed, or the level of detail on matters like income which could be practicably collected. Questionnaires were translated into 16 languages identified by local coordinators as likely to crop up in case study areas.

Notwithstanding the fixed definition, the undoubted success of the 2015 Survey and the desire to make comparisons between the two years, the Destitution 2017 Survey aimed to incorporate improvements where the research team felt, in the light of their experience in 2015, that these could be achieved. These improvements were aimed in part at improving the clarity and accuracy of the information collected, and in part at identifying some additional characteristics or experiences of respondents which would help to give a more rounded picture of their situation.

The detailed changes that were made to the questionnaire included:

- additional questions on living/accommodation circumstances, i.e. where people were currently staying (which might be sleeping rough, in a hostel or in the house of a relative or friend) and, if they had their own house/flat, the tenure of that.
- We also clarified the wording about whether people were living with family, with others, or alone
- additional/more detailed questions were inserted on certain experiences over the past 12 months, including serious physical health problems, alcohol or drugs problems, mental health problems and getting in trouble with the police;
- improved question wording was used on income, with the addition of a supplementary question on whether people paid rent out of their income and, if so, how much (see below and section 3.2 for further discussion of this)
- foodbanks were separately identified in the question about sources of 'in kind' support and in the question about use of other services (see below)
- a different approach was adopted to the question about 'use of other services', after careful cognitive testing (see revised census questionnaire at Appendix A and cognitive testing Guide, Appendix B); this question is critical to calculating the number of people using services and destitute over a year, and we wanted to reduce the number of cases where the question was not answered and we therefore had to impute values.

Cognitive testing of new or modified questions was conducted in a homeless hostel (in London) and a food bank (in Fife) by research team members (see Appendix B for the Cognitive Testing Guide). Ten service users were interviewed in each location as

part of this cognitive testing process. These tests helped settle the best option to adopt on some of the above changes, especially income/rent costs, housing/accommodation and use of other services. Key findings and decisions were as follows:

- The material essentials lacked in last month questions generally worked well. On the issue of heating and lighting not applying to some groups, e.g. those in hostels, it was decided to include a box for 'Not relevant to me'.
- On sources of income, the only issues arising were with Local Welfare Funds, which go under different names, do not exist in some areas, and may be referred to by older legacy names like 'crisis loans'. It was agreed to insert the actual name of the local scheme in each area into the printed questionnaire, together with the phrase 'sometimes called Crisis Loans/Social Fund'.
- For total income in the last month, there was some discussion of the descriptions of the bandings, although it had been decided to keep the levels of the bandings unchanged, and also of how to clarify when or in what sense it should be 'household income'. There was also discussion of the fact that many benefit recipients receive their money on a fortnightly basis, while others including those in work may be paid monthly, although we could not see a way of dealing with this while keeping it simple and clear. The heading explicitly referred to 'total income after paying tax' (whereas in 2015 it was just 'total household income'). We added the phrase 'Please think of your household income if you live with family and your personal income if you do not live with family'. The bandings were described as 'None at all', '£1-69 a week', '£70-£99 a week', etc. This was to avoid confusion for single people who would often have a benefit income of just over £70 per week.
- The new question 'do you have to pay rent out of your personal or household income' and (if yes) 'how much rent do you pay?' broadly seemed to work. A couple of cases raised concerns about weekly vs fortnightly (so this was clarified with additional tick-boxes in the final version). However, there is some residual concern about consistency of interpretation when (some or all) rent is paid direct – as picked up in discussion below.
- Help with non-cash items: this question worked well, although some people were not familiar with the term 'power-cards'. The local name of the LWF was used in the list of sources.
- Savings: there were a couple of issues raised, namely people without bank/savings accounts and people who were overdrawn, but it was decided to leave question unchanged for simplicity.
- Experiences in the last 12 months worked, well, despite the addition of several items, some of which might be regarded as sensitive (on alcohol or drugs problems, and getting into trouble with the police). The main changes made in response to some areas of confusion were to identify separately 'Mental health problems' and 'Serious physical health problems', and also 'Coming to live in the UK' from 'Problem with your right to live or work in the UK'.

- The question about number of times used the service at which they were surveyed worked for most cases, but not for hostels. The suggested additional question response was for hostel-dwellers, to say 'I live here, this is a hostel etc....' and then in a subsequent additional question giving banded durations of stay in hostels etc. This seems to have worked reasonably well.
- The question about use of other services for emergency material help in the last 12 months was, as in 2015, the most problematic. The final version of this, derived after consideration of the cognitive testing, was to name six specific types of service (omitting hostels etc. as covered in a separate question), showing foodbanks and soup kitchens/runs separately, plus advice services, day centres/drop-ins, organisations supporting migrants and the LWF (local name). For each of these, there was a box to write in the number of times used in the last 12 months, and another box to tick to indicate 'not used in the the last 12 months'. From the results in the mainstage survey we can conclude that this was an improvement on the 2015 approach, with a lower (but still substantial) level of non-response, and a greater ability to apply consistency checks and recoding/imputation at the analysis stage.
- The question on whether living alone or with others caused confusion for some hostel dwellers. However, these can be recoded if necessary at the analysis stage, given the separate questions now asked which should identify hostel dwellers. The final version of the questionnaire asks first about whether subject lives with family, with other people or alone, and only seeks numbers of other adults or children in the case of living with family. This means that this information (on adults, children, and family size) effectively refers to what are sometimes termed 'Benefit Units' or 'Minimal Household Units', and not to households as defined in the Census or some major household surveys like FRS. This has some knock-on implications for the analysis of income relative to poverty and destitution thresholds.
- The new question 'In what sort of place are you living at the moment?' worked well, apart from a suggestion to alter the order of options slightly, putting 'hostel etc' immediately after 'a flat or house of your own'. This question provides a valuable new source of evidence on forms of homelessness including rough sleeping.
- The new question about housing tenure, for those who have their own separate accommodation, worked satisfactorily, apart from the need to clarify the wording for the 'not applicable' category (final wording: 'I am not a renter or owner')
- Country of birth question raised no issues, while asylum status question was slightly simplified, so that the first response is 'Not applicable (I was born in the UK)'.

Conduct of Census Survey

Census surveys were conducted over periods of one week, with the research team attempting to ensure coverage of all relevant clients using the services during that period, either by ensuring presence during service opening hours or by securing the agreement of the services to ask and assist their clients to complete census forms (more common in some advice services and sensitive services e.g. responding to domestic violence). Packs of questionnaires and associated instructions were delivered by registered post in the preceding week and either collected at the end of the week by the local coordinators or research team members for mailing back, or mailed back directly to Kantar by the service themselves. Detailed protocol for the conduct of the census survey fieldwork and associated documentation provided to participating agencies are reproduced in Appendix C. The research team attempted to obtain accurate numbers of unique clients in scope using the service during the week, although in a few cases these numbers were approximate estimates. The questionnaires were designed for machine scanning with manual checking and editing only required in a minority of cases.

In addition to the survey questions about frequency of use of other services, the instructions to services/interviewers included the points that (a) anyone who had already completed he questionnaire at another service or on another day should not complete it again and (b) anyone who had already been asked to do the survey at another service should be recorded on a tally sheet. In practice, (b) was not consistently followed by in all services in the sample, and relatively few returned a tally sheet with positive numbers. The purpose of this was to avoid double counting in the figures for 'total service users per week'. It is our impression that it would only be in a very small minority of cases that such numbers would be significant.

Sampling Areas

For the *original 10 case study areas* used in 2015, these were selected in a purposive fashion, in order to represent a variety of localities across the UK with different urban-rural character and mix, different levels of poverty/deprivation (based on secondary data analysis), and different degrees of presence of migrant groups including asylum seekers and new EU migrants. A short list of candidate areas in different categories was assembled, with final choice based partly on our ability to identify and recruit local coordinators. All case study localities were defined as whole local authority areas, and in all cases these were under unitary local authority government, although in the case of Wiltshire the survey was conducted in only two of the former constituent districts (Salisbury and West Wiltshire) to keep travelling manageable.

The original 10 areas were: Glasgow, Bournemouth, Ealing, Fife, Newham, Nottingham, Peterborough, Swansea, Wiltshire, Belfast.

For *extending this sample* of areas in 2017, an analysis of the secondary indicator dataset compiled in 2015 (partially updated) was used to identify types of area which

were under-represented in the original set. Since we already had two Scottish, one Welsh and one Northern Irish case, this exercise was confined to England, boosting the number of CSAs there from six to eleven. This exercise is described in detail in Appendix D.

The outcome was to add the following six areas to the study: Cheshire West and Chester; County Durham (3 former districts comprising about half the population); East Hertfordshire and North Hertfordshire Districts; Herefordshire UA; Kirklees MD; Lewes and Rother Districts in East Sussex.

Appendix D demonstrates that, taken together with the original case study areas, this provides a reasonably balanced representation of Great Britain in terms of (a) predicted level and mix of destitution, (b) representation of the main types of local authority as per ONS classification, and (c) representation of English regions.

It is argued that the national quantitative estimates and profiles of destitution derived from the 2017 are an improvement on those generated in the 2015 study. One of the reasons for this claim is that the coverage of the country is fuller and better balanced than in 2015, and some further evidence for that is given in Section 4, which shows how we translate from local to national estimates.

Sampling Agencies

In each case study area, the initial mapping exercise produced a list of agencies/services which were classified by the four main categories (advice; food (hot food/foodbank); homelessness and related; and migrant-oriented) and by a broad size grouping (large/medium/small) based on initial information on typical numbers of clients per week. Very small services in this sense (clearly less than 10 users per week) were excluded on 'de minimis' grounds. In the original 10 case study areas, Local Coordinators working with a member of the research team were asked to update the original mapping of services to identify changes since 2015, including new services or services which appeared to have closed down or changed their scale of operation.

A sample of 6-8 of these services was then drawn, to achieve target numbers of 1-2 services in each category, with probability of selection being set at a higher level for 'large' services. Services were listed by category, size group, and then in alphabetical name order, and the sample (first choices) was drawn using the appropriate sampling interval starting on a random number within this. Where first choice services would not agree to cooperate, a second choice was used, normally the next listed service (or, if the first choice was last in its group, the previous one). From this sampling process, we know the probability of selection of each included service.

In the original ten case study areas, we had a preference to continue to use the originally sampled services from 2015, wherever possible, partly to facilitate access and briefing in 2017 and partly to give a more robust picture of changes in numbers and profile over that two-year period. Nevertheless, there were a dozen or so cases

where this was not possible, because the service had closed or changed in some way, or owing to particular pressures in survey week could not participate again. For these, we sought replacements from within the updated map of 'in-scope' services, following the same general principles as used in the initial sample selection (i.e. replacing so far as possible with a similar category and size of service).

In 2015 we did not include Local Welfare Funds (LWF) in the survey, but attempted to obtain data on their overall numbers and comment on how much difference, in broad brush terms, including them would have made to our figures. In 2017 we did try to include them, with generally more success in the new case study areas than in the existing ones. Thus in six CSAs the LWFs were included as additional services with a proportion of their clients completing questionnaires, while in one of the original CSAs LWF users completed the first page of the form only. In the remaining cases they were not included, in some instances because there was no such service as a separate entity. In virtually all of these cases we were able to make a numerical estimate of their relevant caseload based on FOI requests or other sources.

In section 4 of this report, we report on how local weekly and national annual estimates of numbers of destitute households and individuals were derived. This involves combining information on the sampling, as described above, with information on response within each agency and on number and frequency of visits to other agencies over the past year, as well as linking up to indicators derived from secondary datasets, as described in Section 4.

3. Secondary Data and Change Analysis

In this section we describe updated evidence from a range of national-scale secondary data sources on time trends in factors which may be associated with destitution. This provides a somewhat mixed picture, and we comment on the limitations on some sources which need to be taken into account. We go on to discuss the specific question of the extent of change in destitution in our set of study areas, set against the expectations generated by this set of background information. This discussion leads on to some detailed assessment of factors associated with changes in or limitations of the questionnaire, as well as the agency sampling, which need to be considered when assessing evidence from the survey on change since 2015. This refers primarily to the original 10 case study areas.

The previous Technical Report (Bramley et al 2016) went into considerable detail in the analysis of severe poverty in the context of large scale household surveys and the wider measurement of poverty. Although some time trend evidence was derived from this it is difficult in practice to update this, for example because some key questions are not asked in every wave of one key survey (UKHLS). Therefore we do not discuss this background research further in this year's technical report. This analysis also supported the development of local level indicators of potential severe poverty and

destitution; that part of the work has been partially updated, as reported further in the section 3.3 on Predictive Indices and the associated Appendix E.

The previous Technical Report also documented the detailed scoping of secondary datasets carried out in the previous study. Again, this material is not repeated here.

3.1 Time Trends

In this section we update some evidence and commentary relating to trends over time in selected secondary data sources, which may be indicative of recent trends in factors potentially associated with the risk or experience of destitution. Each of the data sources used has some limitations and these are noted as appropriate.

Citizens Advice Trends

Data provided by CAB (England) provide a sample of time trend evidence, focussing on categories of particular interest and utilising the fuller detail of the quarterly data. Data originally requested as part of the 2015 study have been updated on the same basis by CAB. It should be noted that during the period leading up to 2015, CAB had experienced more limitations on funding, which may have impacted negatively on the total numbers of advice cases they had been able to deal with. We are not aware of any further changes in this respect between 2015 and 2017.

Figure 3.1.1 looks at trends in broad categories of advice cases. Overall, there was a peak in benefit cases in the period from late 2011 to early 2013. This coincides with the period of implementation of the first wave of benefit reforms of the Coalition government, and the aftermath/recovery from the great recession. There was then a substantial fall in benefit cases in 2013-2014; since then there appears to have been a certain increase in trend. Total debt cases have also fallen, from 2012 to to 2014, with relatively little trend after that, but clearly a pronounced seasonal cycle; however the uptick in the latest quarter reported (2017 Q2) was particularly large. Total housing issues are smaller in overall number, and show relatively little trend over this period. The vertical lines in the figure show the points in time when the two destitution surveys took place.

Figure 3.1.1: Trends in Overall Benefit, Debt and Housing Issues, England CAB Network, Quarterly 2011Q2 to 2017Q2
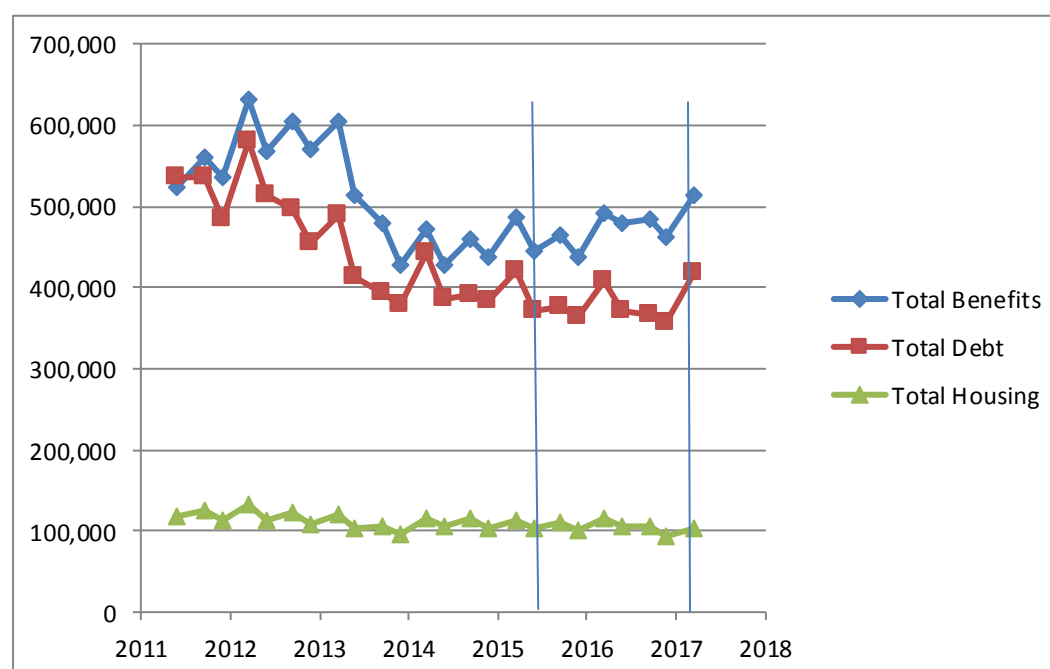
Source: authors' analysis of CAB advice trends data.

Figure 3.1.2 looks at the composition of the broad benefits category of cases over this period. The largest element in this period was ESA; also significant, on a continuing basis, are Housing Benefit issues, and Tax Credit issues. Council Tax Reduction, the localised replacement for CTB, seemed to get more attention earlier in this period (before implementation). In the last three years, the largest growth within the benefits category is in PIP, the replacement for DLA; problems and appeals relating to this have attracted significant media attention. As of early 2017, Universal Credit had only featured in a relatively small proportion of cases, but it can be seen to be growing and may be expected to grow very rapidly now with the fuller rollout of UC.

Figure 3.1.2: Trends in Mix of Benefit Issues, England CAB Network, Quarterly 2011Q2 to 2017Q2
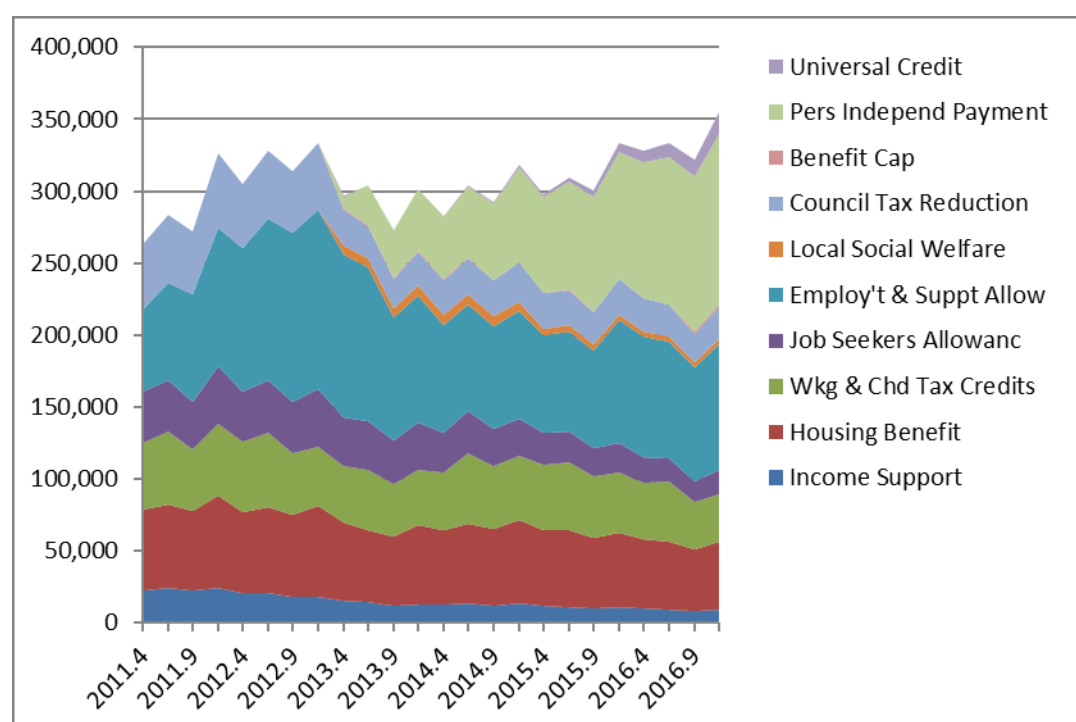
Source: authors' analysis of CAB advice trends data.

Figure 3.1.3 looks at selected debt/arrears issues over time. In general, for the majority of items in this category, including mortgage and consumer debt, the trend in issues has been quite strongly downwards, probably reflecting a period of low interest rates and of UK households tending to try to reduce their levels of indebtedness. However, there are noteworthy rises in two items over the last 3-4 years: rent and Council Tax. The former would reflect the growing importance of private renting, where rents are higher, as well as the social sector, where issues like the bedroom tax and other possible benefit restrictions are beginning to bite. Fuel poverty and energy costs has been a major issue, from the mid-2000s to the early 2010s, and it is noteworthy that fuel debts/arrears were as numerous as rent problems in 2011, but that subsequently fuel has fallen back slightly, while still remaining pretty common. Meanwhile, Council Tax arrears and debt show a sudden increase from late 2013 onwards. This looks like the impact of localised Council Tax support operating from April 2013, with incomplete support available for working age households in most areas of England after that date (compared with former CTB). Research published by IFS confirms this problem (https://www.ifs.org.uk/comms/r90.pdf).

A number of more specific sub-categories of benefit-related issues were derived from the third level coding in the CAB information system, for the local authority level analysis feeding into 'expected rates of destitution', for just two points in time (2015 and 2017). These categories were 'poor administration', 'challenge or appeal', 'sanctions or hardship', 'Local Housing Allowance', 'Discretionary Housing Payments' (including for bedroom tax), 'Local Welfare Support' and 'Council Tax Reduction'. The total for these fell between the two years by 30%, (from 220,087 to 154,878).

Figure 3.1.3: Selected Debt/Arrears Issues, England CAB Network, Quarterly 2011Q2 to 2017Q2
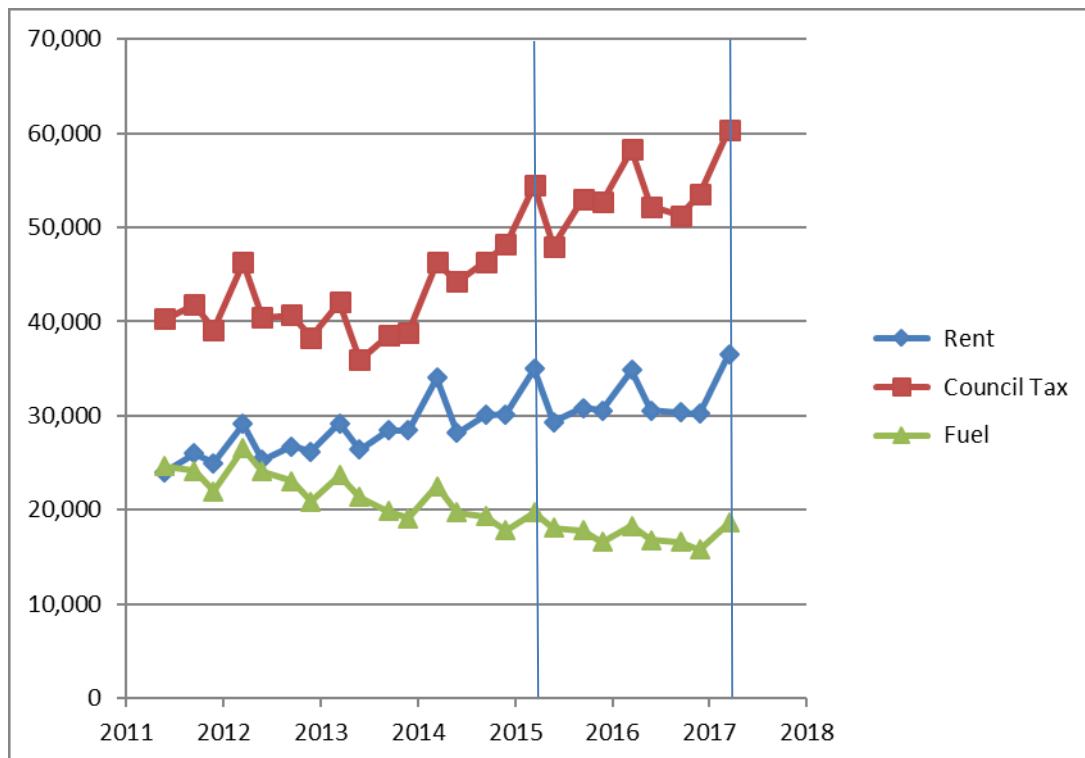
Source: authors' analysis of CAB advice trends data.

Figure 3.1.4 looks at two indicators of homelessness, as well as migration and charitable support. The homelessness indicators appear to show a slight downward trend, tending to level off later, as well as pronounced 'double seasonality'. In this period, most measures of homelessness (as reviewed in Fitzpatrick et al, 2018) have been increasing in England, so in this case the CAB data do not appear to be consistent. The count of all immigration issues was on a declining trend until early 2014, but it has since gone up again significantly. Meanwhile, charitable support (including foodbanks) has shot up from a low level since 2012 to a scale above that of homelessness or migration in the recent period. This is consistent with media coverage and evidence from Trussell Trust on the buildup of foodbank usage (see below).

Figure 3.1.4: Homeless, Migration and Charitable Support Issues, England CAB Network, Quarterly 2011Q2 to 2015Q2
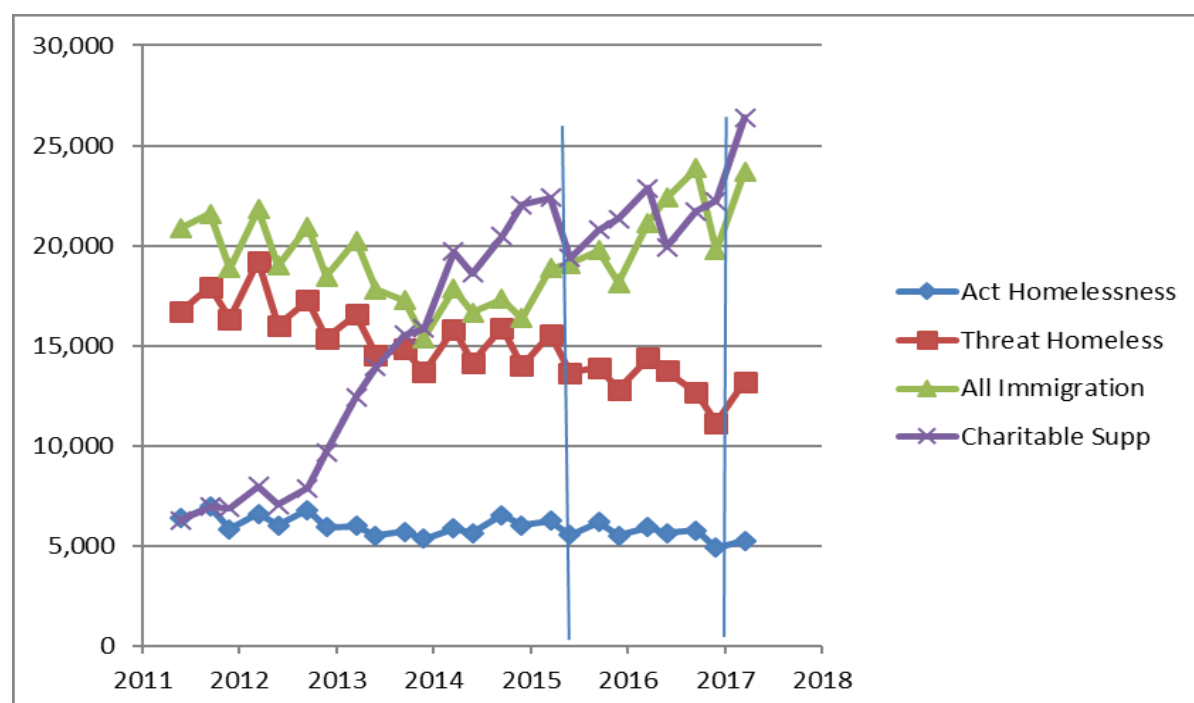
Source: authors' analysis of CAB advice trends data.
Note: 'Act'= Actual Homelessness; 'Threat'= Threatened with homelessness

Figure 3.1.5 looks at specific asylum and refugee issues. Asylum-seeker issues at CAB fell somewhat until 2014 but have since risen again, particularly through 2015 and 2016, with some dropping back again in early 2017. There is a somewhat similar pattern associated with the failed asylum seeker category, although with less of a recent rise. Refugee issues were fairly stable until 2014 but have subsequently risen strongly. This is consistent with stories from the sector about the problems of transition from asylum to refugee status and of course with the pressures from Syria and other war zones.

Figure 3.1.5: Specific Asylum and Refugee Issues, England CAB Network, Quarterly 2011Q2 to 2015Q2
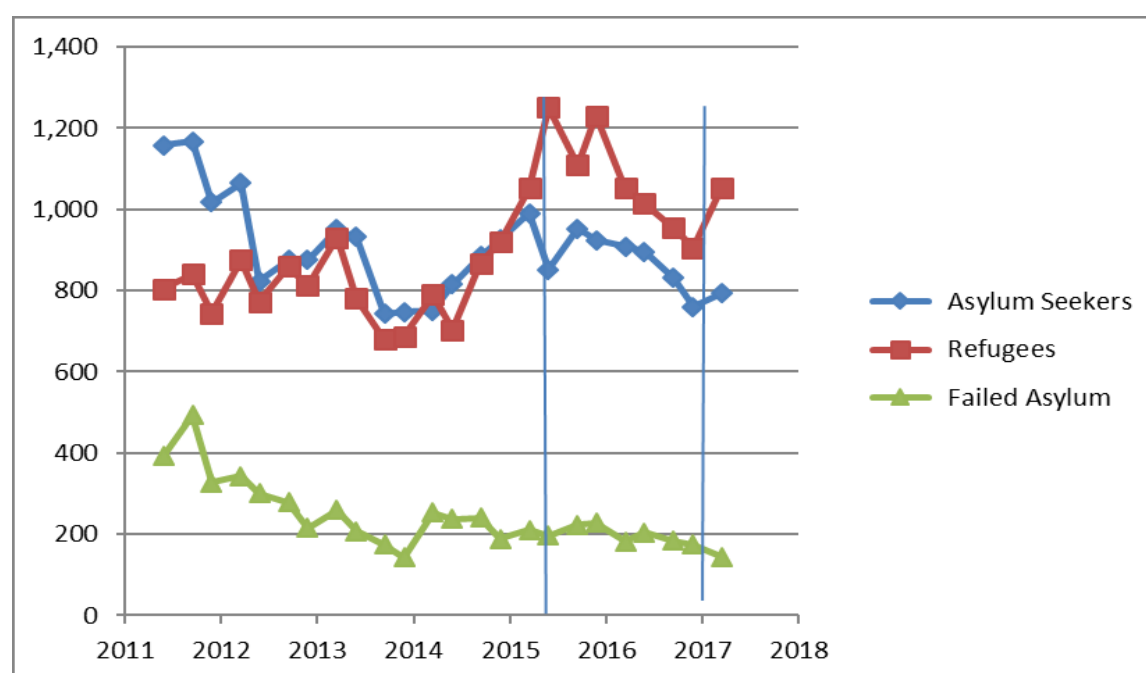
Source: authors' analysis of CAB advice trends data.

Foodbanks

The Trussell Trust is the largest network of foodbanks in the UK. Figure 3.12 shows the spectacular growth in TT foodbank usage, measured by the number of episodes of people being fed annually from 2008 to 2016 financial years. Half of users receive only one voucher per year, with the remainder receiving several (the normal restriction is 3 over six months). From data on numbers of vouchers per client we estimate that the number of unique users is about 52% of the numbers as shown in Figure 3.12. This means that about 745,000 people received food parcels from TT in 2016/17[4]. TT appear to have about 63% of the national total 'market' for foodbanks (number of distribution centres).

Figure 3.1.6: Growth in Number of Episodes of People being Fed by Trussell Trust Foodbanks, 2008-201
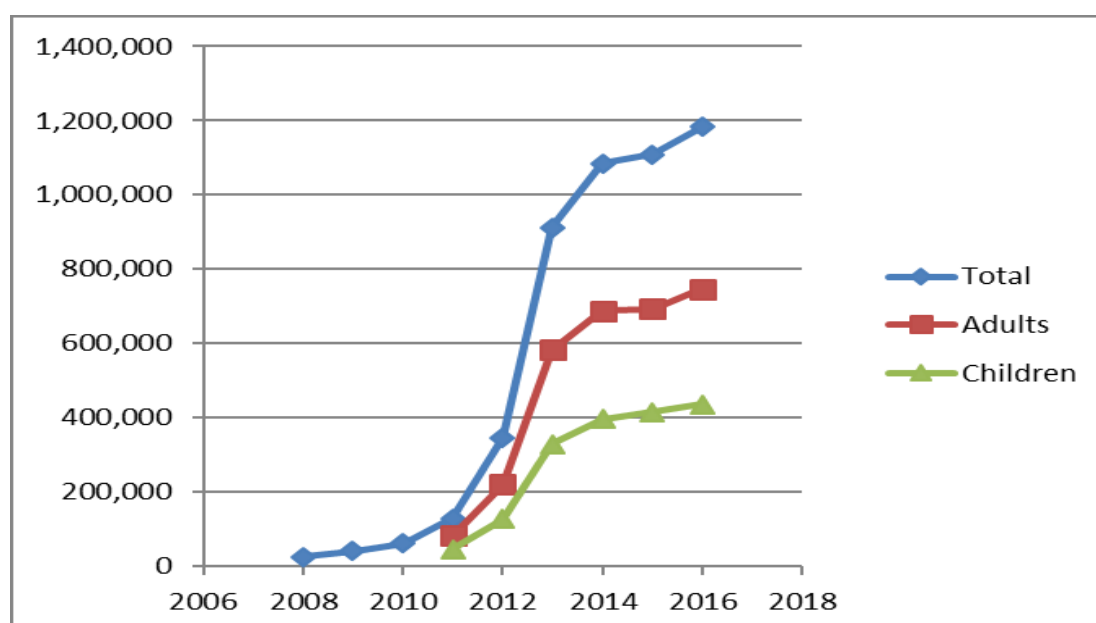
Source: Trussell Trust website https://www.trusselltrust.org/news-and-blog/latest-stats/end-year-stats/

The growth of TT volumes from small beginnings up to 2008 to approaching a million episodes in 2013 is spectacular, but must reflect a combination of supply and demand factors. TT expanded rapidly, at a time when demand was increasing for a range of reasons (major recession/unemployment/underemployment, welfare reform (both general, and specific measures like the rundown of Social Fund Crisis Loans),

---

[4] TT appear to have about 63% of the national total 'market' for foodbanks (number of distribution centres).

increased sanctions (see below). Other work examines issues of causality in this story[5].

It is clear from Figure 3.1.6, that the rate of expansion of TT foodbank usage has slowed right down, although it remains positive. Over the last two years the annual growth rate is a modest 4.4.% pa. This growth may be more than explained by expansion of the TT network of foodbanks.

Homelessness Trends

Homelessness is both directly and indirectly relevant to destitution: in its more extreme form, rough sleeping, it constitutes one of our definitional criteria; single homelessness is often linked to other complex needs, such as addictions or mental health, and hence relevant to our broader group of complex need (or 'SMD') destitute. More broadly, homelessness is strongly related to poverty and often triggered by adverse changes of circumstances, a combination also associated with destitution (Bramley & Fitzpatrick 2017). Britain has a well-developed statutory framework for responding to homelessness, including a developing prevention approach, and this means that relatively comprehensive data are available locally and nationally over an extended time period.

A growing part of responses to homelessness needs presented to local authorities is being taken by various forms of prevention and relief activity, so much so that there is now a view gaining acceptance that it is the total of all of these which represents the best measure of overall homelessness need and demand[6]. Figure 3.1.7 shows this overall picture for England, confirming the significant rise between 2009 and 2013, with some levelling off after this. Evidence on recent trends in 'core ' and 'wider' homelessness compiled in the context of a study projecting homelessness numbers into the future (Bramley forthcoming) suggests recent falls in Scotland and a levelling off in Wales, although system changes in the latter case make comparisons more difficult.

---

[5] Loopstra, R., Fledderjohann, J., Reeves, A., & Stuckler, D. (2018). Impact of Welfare Benefit Sanctioning on Food Insecurity: a Dynamic Cross-Area Study of Food Bank Usage in the UK. *Journal of Social Policy*, published online 24 January 2018

[6] The UK Statistics Authority (2015) *Assessment of compliance with the Code of Practice for Official Statistics: Homelessness and Rough Sleeping in England (produced by the Department for Communities and Local Government).* London: UKSA. *https://www.statisticsauthority.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/images-assessmentreport320statisticsonhomelessnessandroughsleepinginenglan_tcm97-45078.pdf*

Figure 3.1.7: Trends in Overall Homeless Responses in England, 2009-2017 (number of households)
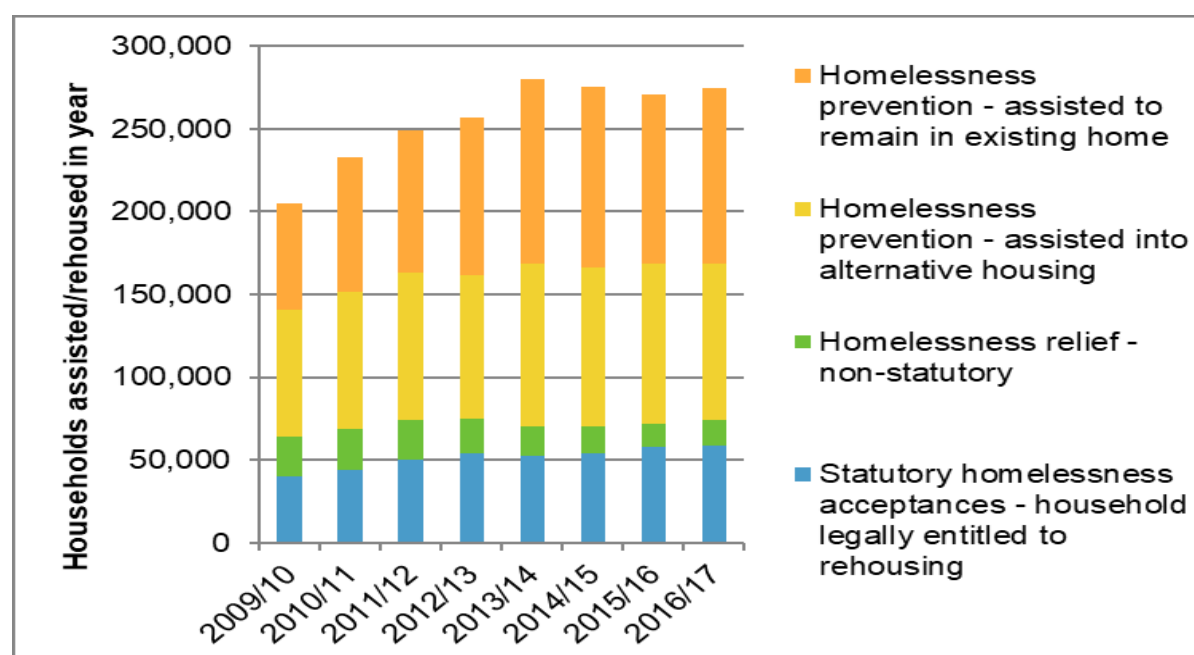
Source: Fitzpatrick et al (2018 forthcoming) *The Homelessness Monitor England*, Figure 4.11, derived from MoHCLG Live Tables.

The specific issue of rough sleeping, while most directly relevant to destitution, is the aspect which is perhaps least well measured. Official spot count measures (number sleeping rough on a particular night) are shown in Figure 3.1.8, combining different sources. There is a discontinuity in the series in 2010, but even allowing for this one can say that the trend has been upwards since 2007/08, and more strongly since 2015. Again there is a strong emphasis on London and the South.

Figure 3.1.8: Trends in Rough Sleeping based on Local Authority Counts by Broad Region in England, 2004 to 2017
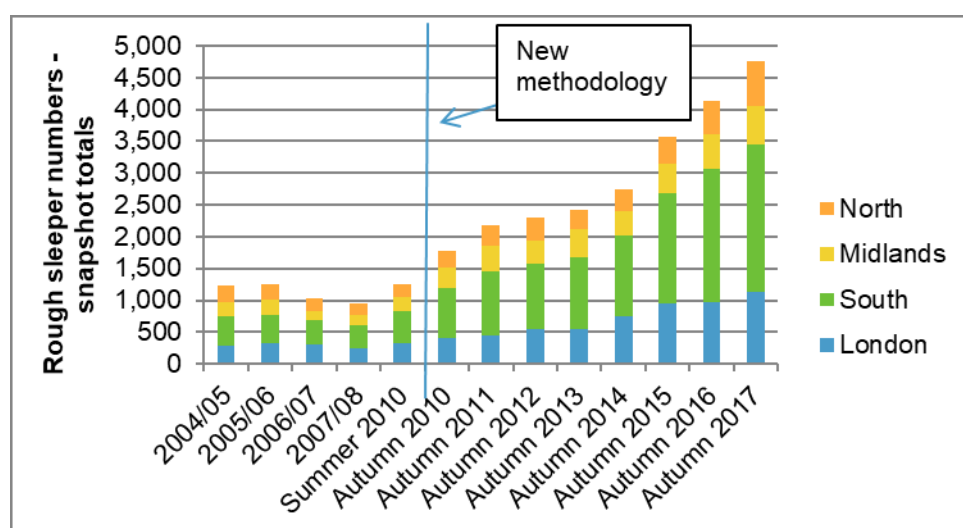
Source: Fitzpatrick et al (2018 forthcoming) *The Homelessness Monitor England*, Figure 4.11, derived from Audit Commission Best Value Performance Indicators returns 2004/05-2007/08; Summer 2010 onwards – DCLG. Figures for the period to Summer 2010 are not strictly comparable with more recent estimates.

This official spot count is almost certainly an underestimate. In the 2014 *Homelessness Monitor* (Fitzpatrick et al 2015a, p.42) we presented alternative estimate utilising a combination of sources, and suggested that the true figure for England probably lay in the range 4,000-8,000 in the early 2010s. A new estimate based on Destitution 2017 census survey grossed up for the whole of Great Britain suggests higher again numbers, of the order of 13,500, although this may include a wider range of forms of 'quasi-rough sleeping'.

Hitherto, the view taken in the Homelessness Monitor was that the local authority counts/estimates provided an indication of trends, even though the absolute level may be understated. Within the latest monitor, comparison of the LA estimates with the more detailed count data from the CHAIN system in London suggests some divergence in terms of the picture of trends, with CHAIN not showing the same degree of increase as the LA estimates. This will remain an area of uncertainty pending further efforts at improving local monitoring of homelessness beyond those covered directly by the statutory system in England, following recent legislation and policy initiatives.

Benefit Sanctions

A specific cause of destitution identified in the 2015 destitution study, is the high number of benefit sanctions being applied, particularly in relation to Job Seekers Allowance (JSA). However, from the official national data which is summarized in Figure 3.1.9, it appears that the annual number of sanctions for JSA claimants rose most strongly in the period from 2009 to 2013, and that from 2014 onwards it has in fact been falling quite steeply. These trends are monitored and discussed in Webster

(2017). It would appear that, through administrative and managerial action rather than through announced policy change, the DWP have effectively reduced the vigour of the sanctions regime for JSA.

Figure 3.1.9: Annual Benefit Sanctions, UK 2000-2017
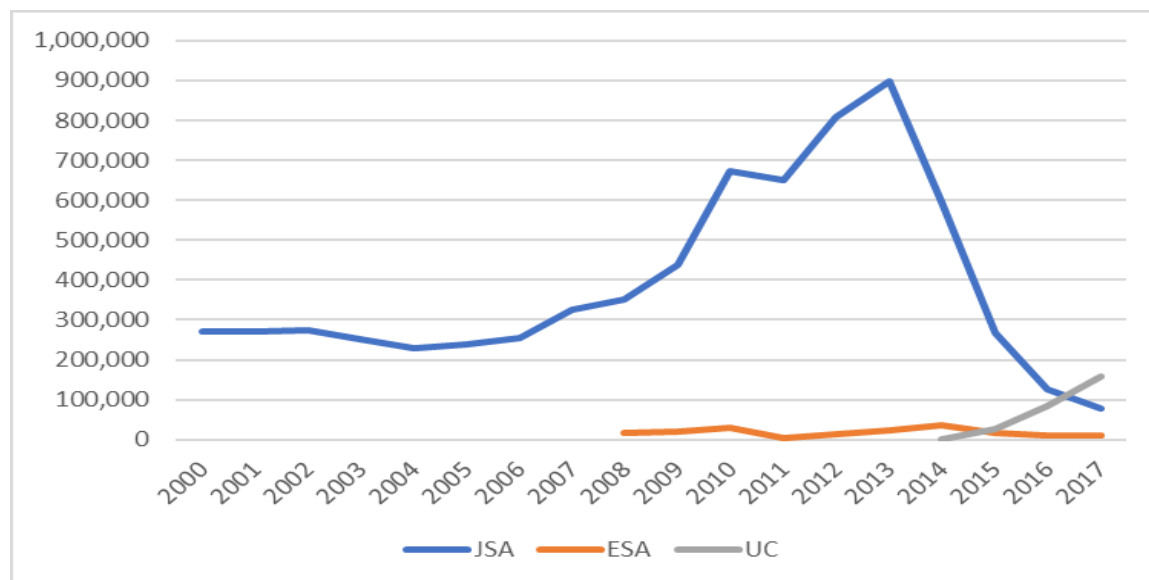
Source: DWP *Benefits Sanctions Statistics to June 2017*

Sanctions have also been applied to Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) but the numbers involved have never been at high levels. This has also been the period when the scale of rollout of the new replacement benefit system for working age clients, Universal Credit (UC), has been increasing in magnitude, and this may now have become the main focus for conditionality through sanctions. Webster (2017) draws attention to the in some respects tougher sanctions regime within UC. Figure 3.1.9 shows UC sanctions rising rapidly so that, by 2017, they already outnumber JSA sanctions, but may be expected to grow much more. Webster (p.2) observes

> The rate of sanctions as a percentage of Universal Credit (UC) claimants subject to conditionality remains very high. Over the whole period since August 2015 it has averaged 7.0% per month before challenges and was 5.2% in the quarter to June 2017

Webster (2017) also observes that in a number of respects the new DWP summary measures of sanctions, as illustrated in Figure 3.1.9, significantly underestimate the impact in terms of the durations of time people suffer reduced income as a consequence and the effective prevalence of impact.

It can be seen from Figure 3.1.9 that the 2015 Destitution survey was carried out at a time when sanctions were falling from what had been a very high level, but when the impacts of those recent sanctions on individuals and households could still have been substantial. The 2017 survey took place at time when JSA sanctions had fallen to a

much lower level, while UC sanctions were beginning to grow rapidly. At the same time, none of our case study areas for this survey were areas subject to early rollout of Universal Credit. In the light of this, it is not surprising that our survey shows that sanctions had reduced notably as a background experience factor among those destitute in our 2017 survey, albeit that they were still a common and significant factor.

Migrants at risk of destitution

Asylum Seekers are a group about whom we know quite a lot, and who are very likely to experience destitution. There was a massive spike in numbers in the period 1998-2002. Since that time, numbers have settled down to a more steady 20-25,000 pa up to 2014. In 2015-2016, the period of the European and Syrian refugee crises, numbers rose to around 32,000, falling back to around 27,000 in 2017.

The possible (upper limits of) the contribution of asylum seekers to the pool of undocumented migrants over time may be illustrated by Figure 3.1.10. This shows the cumulative number since 1984 granted asylum (now totalling 280,000), the cumulative discrepancy between applications and decisions (which peaked at 142,000 in 1999 but which is now creeping up again from 46,000 in 2005 to around 88,000 in 2017), and the cumulative total of refusals which stood at 680,000 at end of 2017.

Figure 3.1.10: Cumulative Asylum Grants, Refusals and Discrepancy between Applications and Decisions, UK 1984-2017
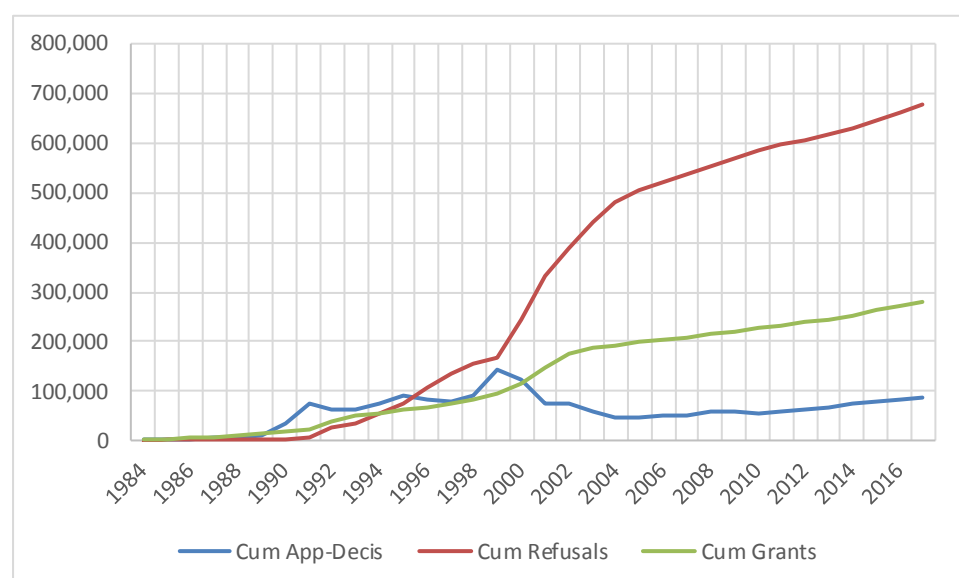
Source: Home Office Migration Statistics: asylum1_2017_q3_tabs.ods<as_01>'

Consideration of detailed Home Office data suggests that he 'unaccounted for' group could be of the order of 56%-75% of the number of refusals. Taking the lower of these figures, one could read from Figure 3.1.10 that the contribution of refused asylum seekers to the pool of undocumented migrants could be of the order of 400,000, and still growing.

Wider data on migration showed strong continuing growth in population from net migration to the UK up to 2016, running at between 200 and 300 thousand per year, but subsequently falling back following the Brexit vote. While many of these are coming to take up work, study or join family members, some will be in a vulnerable position through not having access to welfare benefits or public housing, including some of the c.1.5 million who have arrived from new EU member states since 2004 and some of the wider pool of undocumented migrants (other than asylum seekers). We estimated, for example, in the 2016 Technical Report that there was a cumulative total of about 350,000 'visitor switchers' since 2001, of whom 140,000 are in London.

Official poverty measures

It is appropriate before concluding this section to report on the official poverty measures produced routinely by DWP in the series known as 'Households Below Average Income'. These relate to former UK targets on reducing child poverty, and to newly reinstituted targets in some of the devolved nations such as Scotland. However, it should be emphasized that poverty in these series is a much wider concept and measure than Destitution.

Figure 3.1.11: Trends in UK poverty 2002-2016 (percent of individuals, before and after housing costs, in based on relative and absolute real income thresholds)
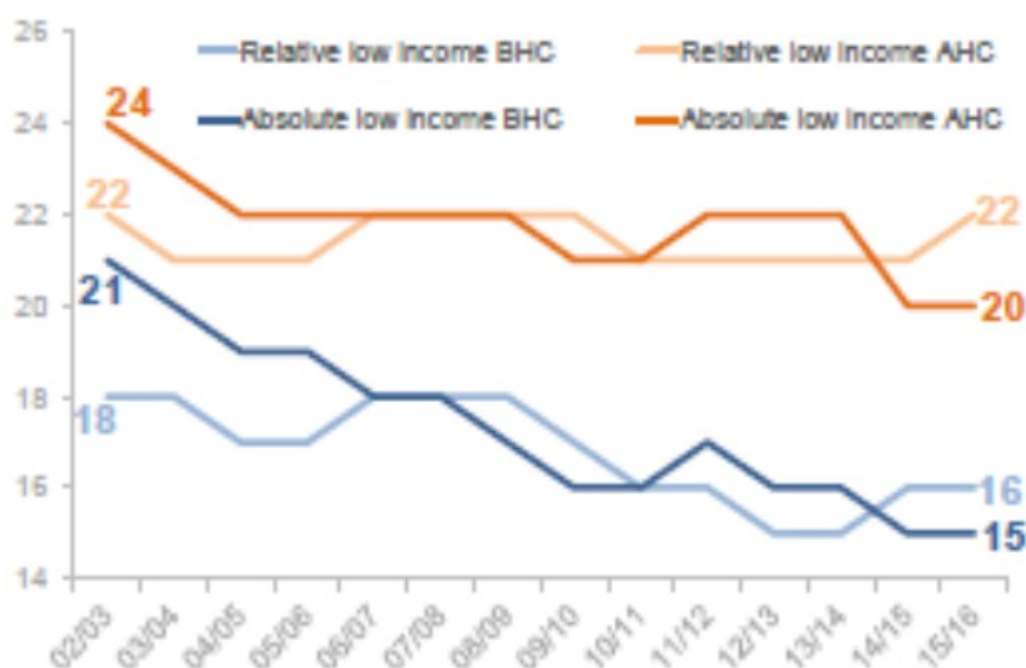
Source: DWP (2017) *Households Below Average Income:An analysis of UK income distribution 2002/03 to 2015/16.*Published 16 March 2017. P.1

Figure 3.1.11 shows trends since 2002 in the key official measures, referring to the whole population. It is generally recognised now that 'After Housing Costs' (AHC) is a better measure of poverty than 'Before Housing Costs'. On that basis one can say that poverty in the UK, having fallen considerably in the late 1990s and early 2000s, has

essentially flatlined since then. In the latest years shown (2015/16) there was a slight apparent uptick in relative poverty while absolute poverty dropped slightly. This was a period when real household incomes were recovering somewhat, after a significant fall in the period 2009-12.

A measure which comes closer to severe poverty and destitution is the combined material deprivation and low income measure provided for children, but not for working age adults, as in Figure 3.1.12. This showed a decline from 2008 to 2011, with then a period of stability to 2014 and a slight fall thereafter. The related measure of severe low income and material deprivation declined from 6% to 4% of children between 2008 and 2012, with apparent stability thereafter. This measure comes closer to destitution, for families, than the broader poverty measures, but still suffers from some limitations – it uses before housing costs relative low income, which misses the impact of rising housing costs, while also being affected by the falling general level of incomes in the great recession of 2008-11.

Figure 3.1.12 Combined low income and material deprivation and combined severe low income and depivation, percent of children in UK 2004-16.
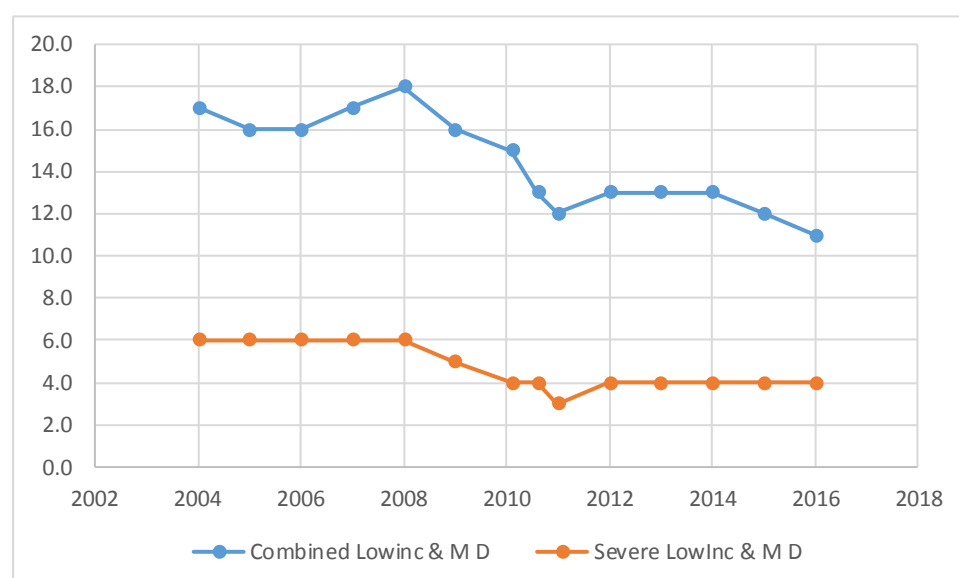
Source: Households below average Income 2016/17, Table 4c. Note: there was a change in the definition in terms of the child deprivation items in 2010. Low income means 70% of median net equivalised income before housing costs; severe low income means below 50%; materially deprived if weighted score over 25.

Summing Up the Evidence on Trends

The evidence presented in the preceding section on trends in aspects of poverty, destitution, key drivers and groups at risk presents a mixed picture. While we could probably say that the predominant picture up to 2015 was one of increasing scale of destitution and in a number of the factors associated with it, this is perhaps less clear when we move forward to 2017. From CAB advice data we show continuing increases in rent arrears and Council Tax debt/arrrears problems, while fuel and other debts have eased slightly. Total benefit issues have fallen somewhat, but there has been a big rise in issues with PIP and an emerging growth in Universal Credit issues. There have been upturns in refugee, asylum and immigration issues, at least up to 2016, and a steep rise in charitable support, which matches the spectacular rise in foodbank usage reported by Trussell Trust, although this is now seen to be levelling off. Overall homelessness is increasing, as is rough sleeping, at least in England. Rates of sanctioning of job-seekers grew spectacularly to 2013 but have fallen back as dramatically since 2014, although there is new growth in UC sanctions. While the big spike in asylum seeking was in 2000, the cumulative impact of refused asylum seekers and other irregular migrants is steadily growing, along with new EU migrants who can also be at risk. Meanwhile, the official series on poverty in the UK could be said to be flatlining.

3.2. Measuring change in destitution

Measuring change in destitution between 2015 and 2017 is naturally something we wish to do, but is in practice quite difficult. There are two main reasons for this difficulty. *Firstly*, the risks of destitution and the local contexts and responses to it are all *very variable*. Given finite resources for this study we have to work with relatively small samples of localities and, within that, of services providing different forms of support. In technical terms, this is a very *clustered sample* (102 services within 16 localities), but the variance between localities and services is high. Even when looking at the same sample of agencies providing services, there can be changes over two years which are due to changes in key personnel or funding, not just to changes in objective need/demand. *Secondly*, based on the experience of the previous study, we identified a number of ways in which the detailed design of this survey could be improved for its second iteration. We have in 2017 prioritised improving the study over maintaining precise comparability, particularly in detailed questionnaire design, while the coverage of the overall national population at risk has been improved by a rebalancing of case study areas to include more of middle and more prosperous England.

In view of the broadening and rebalancing of the sample of areas covered in 2017, we argue that it makes more sense, when trying to describe changes in destitution numbers/rates of the characteristics of those affected, to confine these comparisons to the original 10 case study areas. Further, because service agencies are so variable,

we argue that it also makes sense to confine the comparisons to those agencies which participated in both surveys. Although where agencies had to be substituted we tried to go to a similar agency in terms of type and scale, there would inevitably be more differences in this group. Fortunately a large majority (52 out of 63) of the original agencies participated again in 2017.

Table 3.2.1 presents measures of change in numbers of service users, numbers destitute and numbers lacking two or more essentials, between 2015 and 2017, across the ten case study areas. Figures are presented on both a weighted and unweighted basis, for reasons discussed below. This table suggests that there was a fall in all of these numbers, overall and in most case study areas, with a rather larger fall in service users than in the number within that who were destitute. The headline fall in destitution numbers derived from this analysis appears to be -25% based on the weighted numbers, although the unweighted fall was only 11%. The weighted numbers are expressed on the grossed weekly basis, which we regard as the most robust basis for this exercise.

The number of service users (the footfall through the services) fell by more than the number destitute, with a 32% fall in the weighted values (15% unweighted). So by implication the proportion of users who were destitute actually increased.

There is a notable variation in the level and even direction of change across the ten areas. This is slightly concerning, and it is difficult to discern any clear pattern in this. We would not have expected the high variance in levels of usage between agencies to have necessarily been accompanied by such a high variance in rates of change in usage. In a couple of cases (Peterborough, Newham), relatively extreme changes might have resulted from there being more turnover of agencies in these cases, and even smaller numbers of agencies in common between the two years.

Table 3.2.1: Comparison of service users and destitute households between 2015 and 2017 by case study area (based on 52 agencies present in both surveys, weighted by 2017 gross weekly weight)

Case Study Area	Users Unwtd	Users Weighted	Destitute Unwtd	Destitute Weighted	Lack Essent Unwtd	Lack Essent Weighted
Glasgow	19%	-38%	21%	-30%	17%	-37%
Bournemouth	-50%	-55%	-48%	-59%	-52%	-60%
Ealing	-15%	11%	-4%	-4%	-18%	-11%
Fife	-36%	-46%	-28%	-44%	-35%	-52%
Newham	-39%	-44%	-39%	-42%	-47%	-48%
Nottingham	22%	20%	24%	36%	9%	22%
Peterborough	122%	-18%	70%	-40%	49%	-46%
Swansea	-26%	32%	-23%	49%	-27%	39%
Wiltshire	-17%	-58%	-26%	-62%	-31%	-66%
Belfast	-34%	-49%	-21%	-21%	-23%	-20%
Total	-15%	-32%	-11%	-25%	-19%	-32%

Lying behind these apparent change measures are certain assumptions and issues which merit further airing. These issues relate to weighting, changes in the 'map' of services, and the income-related questions in the survey.

Weighting

It will be noted that this comparison is based upon applying the gross weekly weight for each year to the data for each respective year. As described elsewhere, this weight is the product of the reciprocal of the probability of selection and the reciprocal of the response rate, both of which are specific to agency within area. The general judgement here is that it is better to use weighted than unweighted, because some services are so much bigger than others, and it is desirable to use the weight specific to each year, in order to pick up changes in response rates. However, the weight also reflects probability of selection of the service and this may also have changed between years - while it is certainly appropriate to use this when estimating totals for a particular year, it may be less appropriate when looking at change for a particular subset of services common to both years. It might be argued that it is more transparent to use unweighted data, given that by definition the set of agencies in this comparison is fixed. Therefore we also report the unweighted changes as well.

We can report as a sensitivity test here that, if we use unweighted values, the change in number destitute from 2015 to 2017 for these 52 agencies is -11%, a lower rate of decrease than that reported in the Table above. The unweighted change in total users in the 52 continuity agencies was -15%, which is a slightly greater fall than the fall in

unweighted destitute users of 11%. So although the difference is less, the pattern is consistent, in that service users fell rather more than destitute service users, so that the proportion of users found to be destitute was slightly greater.

Changes in the supply of services

Because we were concerned to understand what was driving change here, we did revisit the spreadsheets which set out the 'map' of relevant service agencies (i.e. the sampling frame), grouped by main type and broad size band, both the original ones from 2015 and the revised/updated ones for 2017. The numbers are shown by size band and area in Table 3.2.2

Table 3.2.2: Number of Services by Size and Case Study Area in 2015 and 2017 Survey Sampling Frames

2015	Large	Medium	Small	total
Glasgow	16	32	12	60
Bournemouth	6	12	6	24
Ealing	4	7	2	13
Fife	1	27	2	30
Newham	6	17	19	42
Notts	14	26	12	52
Peterborough	3	7	6	16
Swansea	3	7	11	21
Wiltshire	0	10	9	19
Belfast	6	14	10	30
total	59	159	89	307

2017	L	M	S	total
Glasgow	16	33	14	63
Bournemouth	6	12	6	24
Ealing	2	3	8	13
Fife	1	16	14	31
Newham	2	23	14	39
Notts	13	23	18	54
Peterborough	2	6	6	14
Swansea	7	11	12	30
Wiltshire	0	12	7	19
Belfast	6	14	10	30
total	55	153	109	317

On the basis of this table, it can be seen that the amount of change was quite limited, with a slight reduction in large and medium agencies and an increase in smaller agencies. Table 3.2.3 provides a summary of change in the number of services weighted by size.

Table 3.2.3: Summary Change in Weighted Number of Agencies
(weighted by approx. number of users by size class)

	L	M	S	total	standardized no of agencies
2015	59	159	89	307	1256
2017	55	153	109	317	1216
% difference	-7	-4	22	3	-3

Note: Service user weights assumed: Large=9, Medium=4; Small=1

In summary, the table suggests that there was a slight contraction in terms of volume/capacity in the 10 areas. Although the total number of services included in the mapping above de minimis threshold rose by 3%, once you weight for the size category this translates to a net reduction of 3%. If we take the estimated weekly number of users for the common set of services, there is a reduction of 6% (however, these estimated numbers are somewhat less robust for services which were not actually included in the sample). These figures suggest that changes in the scale of the sector are relatively small overall, although slightly greater in some case study areas. It does not seem likely that this will have much distorted our overall findings on change in numbers.

Income questions

A bigger question mark hangs over the possible role of changes in the questionnaire in affecting our measure of change in destitution. The changes made and their rationale, having regard to cognitive testing, were discussed in section 2 above. Overall we argue that these changes make for an improved measurement and profiling of destitution. However, any change is a change, and it may affect the numbers, if it affects any of the criteria used to define destitution. Destitution is defined on two main criteria, specific material deprivations in the last month, and income. There are no real changes to the material deprivation questions which are likely to affect the outcome. However, although the basic income question and bandings were unchanged, there were a number of changes which impinged on how income information was processed to flag the second criterion of destitution, that of having a very low income (and no savings) relative to size of family/household. There were also some subtle differences in question wording.

Firstly, the treatment of income as 'after housing cost' was made much more explicit, by adding the question 'Do you have to pay rent out of your personal or household income?, and., if so, 'How much rent do you pay?'. In 2015, income was assumed to

be ('typically') after housing cost, because (a) in the most common (social) rental housing tenures, or in hostels, people would typically have HB paid direct (b) rough sleepers and sofa surfers would not pay rent. We also wanted to keep the questionnaire very simple. In 2017 we decided to 'bite the bullet' of checking and adjusting for housing costs, where the household did pay for these out of the total household income s/he had just reported. It appears, with the benefit of hindsight, that the previous assumption was a bit sweeping, that a significant number of people (over a quarter) did report paying housing rent, and this did make a difference to their net incomes after these were deducted. This may be a key factor in accounting for much of the apparent increase in the share of destitute households who 'qualify' on the very low income criterion and not on the material deprivation criterion (although this change is less marked when we just look at the comparable agencies in the original 10 areas with weekly weighting).

A second, perhaps lesser concern, is the change in wording about living arrangements. In 2015 people were asked whether they lived alone or with others, and the number of adults and children living with them, without the prior specification that these had to be family. This could have led to a change in the proportion of households larger than one adult, which affects the income thresholds for poverty and destitution. In fact, the proportion of single person households in the 2015 destitute group was only slightly lower than that being reported for 2017 (61% vs 64%).

A more general underlying unease is that people may report housing costs and incomes in a way which is inconsistent with our intended definition. For example, someone who has housing benefit being paid direct may still report a rent figure, which it would be erroneous for us to deduct because it is very unlikely that they will have included it in their income figure. Or they may report as rent a fortnightly or monthly amount, rather than expressing it as a weekly amount, which is what the questionnaire asks for. While we have tried to identify and trap/adjust more obviously erroneous entries like this, it is likely that some may have slipped through the net. It was clear from the report back from cognitive testing that there were some issues of this kind.

Overall, in the light of these issues, which were addressed but, in a sense, not wholly resolved through cognitive testing, we have a somewhat greater level of reservation about the consistency and precision of the income numbers than about other aspects of the survey. In the context of measuring change in destitution, we do have one way of responding to that, which is to look at the material deprivation count data alone, given that we are pretty confident about these and they have essentially not been subject to material change since 2015. That is why we reported, in Table 3.1.1, the change in service users reporting two or more deprivations across the two years in the 52 continuity agencies. Using weighted numbers the decline is -32%, compared with -25% using the full destitution definition. Using unweighted numbers, the change in numbers with two-or-more deprivations was -19%, compared with the --11% using full destitution.

If as seems likely the uncertainties about the changes in income questions are likely, on balance, to have increased the proportion of cases classed as destitute on grounds of low income, then ignoring these and just basing it on deprivations is likely to lead to a slightly lower estimate of destitution in 2017 than 2015, that is a slightly greater reduction between the two years.

To sum up, we have to conclude that there remain, for a number of reasons, some grounds for being cautious about precisely how much destitution has changed between 2015 and 2017. All of our estimates indicate a decline, primarily reflecting a decline in the footfall of service users through the agencies. Our central estimate would be a -25% decline but the true figure could potentially lie in a range of -11% to -32%.

3.3 Local Predictive Indices

Overall approach

A key part of our analysis of secondary datasets in 2015 was the construction of a significant database of relevant indicators for all local authorities in Great Britain. The purpose of this database was to support predictive indices to represent the expected level of destitution for broad groups in each local authority. As explained in the previous Technical Report (Bramley et al 2016, s.4) these indicators were derived principally from national administrative systems which identify particular factors likely to be associated with risk of destitution and provide counts over time and down to local authority level. Examples include

- The former DWP Social Fund (crisis loans);
- The Scottish Welfare Fund;
- Supporting People (SP);
- Homeless applications and prevention/relief statistics;
- police incidents of minor acquisitive crime (alias shoplifting);
- Children in Need (CIN) dataset provided by local social services authorities;
- Work and Pensions Longitudinal Dataset (WPLS);
- DWP Benefit Sanctions data;
- DWP Discretionary Housing Payments (DHP);
- Home Office Case Information Database on Asylum (CID).

In addition, using statistical analysis of large-scale household surveys which could identify households experiencing extreme poverty, we were able to create proxy-based formulae using local data from census and other sources to predict the level of severe poverty in each locality. Some additional indicators were derived from voluntary sector organisation databases, particularly CAB's analysis of its advice cases.

These indicators aimed to provide robust predictions of the expected number of destitute households and people in each locality, broken down by the three key analytical categories used in the main research report:

- *migrants* – anyone born outside of the UK (who did not have complex needs);
- *complex needs* – anyone who reported experience of two or more of: homelessness, substance misuse, offending, domestic violence or begging;
- *UK-other* – respondents not falling into the preceding two categories.

By comparing these predictions with the findings of our census survey for the 16 case study areas, we can get a fix on the absolute scale of destitution, and adjust the final weightings on the indicators accordingly. Having done this, we can then say (a) what the total destitution numbers are nationally, and at the same time (b) what they are likely to be, approximately, in every local authority in Britain.

Updating the indicators

It was possible to update quite a high proportion of the individual administrative indicators.

- Home Office Section 95 Asylum cases (accommodated and other) by local authority where placed, updated two years to Q2 2017
- Crime data (shoplifting), updated to three-year rolling average 2014-17 (England & Wales), with broader equivalent measure for Scotland (proxy for complex need cases)
- Benefit claimants: change in working age benefit claims excluding JSA, updated from 2011-14 to 2013-17 (proxy for cases of people losing benefits)
- Discretionary Housing Payments (DHP) dataset from DWP: estimate of number of claims for 2016 based on expenditure and average value per claim (from 2013)
- DWP sanctions data; indicator intended to capture stock of working age claimants under sanction from JSA or UC over 2016-17
- CAB advice cases indicators for migrant issues, specific benefit issues, debt issues updated two years to 2017 Q2
- Statutory homelessness system indicators for rates of homeless acceptances, nonpriority and prevention cases, updated to 2016/17

Some existing indicators were not updated, for various reasons, but are retained in the index

- 2011 Census-based indicators based on selected migrant/country of birth groups
- Indicators derived from earlier ONS-based estimates of cumulative asylum and visitor visa overstayers

- Rate of social fund loans for living costs per 100 households in 2011/12, the last year before the scheme was wound down

A substantial number of indicators were used from the 2011 Census, covering socio-demographic characteristics of the population, chiefly as predictors within the synthetic models used to predict severe poverty (see below). Nearly all of these variables have been updated to 2016.

- For populations by age we use published Mid-year estimates (MYE), downloaded from NOMISWeb.
- For employment, unemployment rates and occupational class profile we use the Annual Population Survey LA-level results, also downloaded from NOMISWeb taking three-year average to reduce sampling error 'noise'
- For median and low earnings we take Annual Survey of Earnings and Hours (ASHE) analysis by LA of residence, again from NOMISweb, three-year moving average
- For most of the remaining predictors in these models, we roll forward from 2011 to 2016 using change multipliers at Housing Market Area (HMA) level, derived from a baseline run of the Sub-Regional Housing Market Model developed by Bramley et al (2016b) as described in the report *What would make a difference?* for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

New indicators

- ONS estimates of gross international in-migration as percent of population by LA district for 2015/16
- Census based measure of homeless hostel residents by LA in 2011 per 1000 working age adults
- An estimate of the loss of benefit income per working age resident per year (in £k) resulting from welfare reforms and cuts instituted 2011-16, as calculated by Beatty and Fothergill (2016).
- The combined indicator of 'severe and multiple disadvantage' (SMD) derived by from Bramley et al (2015) *Hard Edge*s study, modified to bring each of three administratively based measures (from Supporting People, OASys and NDTMS) onto a common scale, with regression-based imputation of SP-based measure to non-metropolitan district LA areas

Proxy-based severe poverty rates

Two composite synthetic measures of severe poverty in the private household population are included. The first was based on the UK Poverty and Social Exclusion (PSE) 2012 survey and its derivation was described in the previous Technical Report (Bramley et al 2016 pp.8-14). It has not been recalibrated, as the PSE survey has not been repeated as yet. However, most of the component predictor variables in the local authority level database have been updated from the 2011 census base to 2016 levels.

A second severe poverty indicator was developed within the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS, alias 'Understanding Society'). It has been possible to update this, and the revised model has been recalibrated on the four waves of data from 2010 to 2013. These new model coefficients are combined with the updated predictor dataset to generate new local estimates, which are then controlled to UKHLS actuals at the level of ONS local authority 'groups'.

These two indicators play an important role in the third main composite measure, to predict the rate of destitution in the 'UK-other' group, which mainly relates to people living within the private household population.

Weighting the indicators

As in the previous study, these indicators are combined together into three main component indices, one for each of the main destitution sub-groups: migrants, complex needs, other UK. Each of the component indicators is only assigned to one of these groups. In the main England formulae, seven indicators are assigned to migrant destitution, six to complex needs destitution, and ten to 'UK-other' destitution (including the two severe poverty composites, referred to just above). That makes a total of 23 component indicators feeding into three main indices.

The detailed weightings used to combine these components into the three main indices are set out in Appendix E.

The weights used in constructing these indices are based on *structured judgement*. These have to take account of: (a) units of measurement, relative to target 'percent of households'; (b) time periods of reference, relative to snapshot weekly estimate; (c) whether measuring the same overlapping group or a separate sub-group at risk of destitution (downweight for overlap); (d) whether all, most or a minority of the measured group are expected to be destitute; (e) how robust/reliable the particular indicator is judged to be.

Weights of 1.0 are used where indicator measures relevant group as a percentage at a point in time. Weights of 0.2 are used as a rough means of translating annual flow of cases to a point in time estimate[7]. Following the example of the 'other UK' index, a

---

[7] It is found in the analysis of the destitution survey that 'annual multipliers', based on responses to questions about frequency of use of services, tend to average around 5.

weight of 50 (subsequently downweighted to 40) on the two synthetic indicators of severe poverty gives simple average of these two proportions converted to a percentage. Weight of 0.05 on DHPrate is combination of reduction from annual to point in time (0.2) times downweighting (0.25) to reflect high level of overlap and view that most DHP cases avoid destitution. Overall weight of 0.28 reflects a broad judgement about overlap: e.g. if there were no overlap between the nine component indicators (for 'UK-other'), this figure would be 1.00, whereas with complete overlap it would be 0.14, so the chosen figure effectively implies considerable overlap. The final value of this parameter was adjusted to equate the number destitute across 15 GB case studies with the number derived from the Census survey.

Looking at the index for migrants, there are particularly low weights of 0.05 on the two components (*pcumas+pcumvs*), which reflect cumulative asylum and visitor overstayers, which reflect likely unemployment rate for longer term stayers from these groups. A lower weight on *pcabmig* reflects both overlap and some reliability issues. Fuller details may be found in Appendix E.

Wales and Scotland

In the 2017 study we have made a stronger effort to integrate formulae for predicted destitution based on the same general approach to cover these countries. Many of the component indicators are in fact available for these areas anyway. In some cases (e.g. crime) somewhat more general indicators in the same area are substituted. Where an acceptable component cannot be found, we simply reduce the number of indicators and adjust the weightings to compensate.

Northern Ireland

The general LA indicator database does not extend to Northern Ireland, and many of the component measures would not be available for the Province. Instead, a more limited ad hoc index of poverty and disadvantage was composed from a small number of readily available components, for the new Local Authorities created 3-4 years ago. The components of this index are low household income, unaffordability of renting, housing waiting list, international migration, NIMD low income, NIMD multiple deprivation. Each index was expressed as a ratio to the province mean and the combined index was the simple average of the seven components. The scores ranged from 1.50 in Derry and Strabane to 0.60 in Antrim and Newtownabbey, with Belfast scoring 1.29. This index, combined with the household population of each LA, is used to gross up the destitution numbers from Belfast to all of Northern Ireland.

4.   National Annual Estimates

To get from the results of our one-week Census survey to national estimates of the number of destitute households and people, over a whole year, we need to take a number of steps. The first set of steps enable us to estimate the number of destitute service users in each of our 16 case study areas in Census week. The results are described in section 5. below.

Weekly estimates for Case Study Areas

Essentially, from the sampling process described in section 2, we know the probability of selection of each included service/agency, which depends on its type (advice, food, homeless etc, migrant) and its broad size (small vs med/large). We assume that similar agencies will have similar numbers of destitute clients, on average. From the census returns and fieldwork we know the number of completed survey forms, and also the number or estimate of unique clients in scope that week (adjusted for any known cases already asked to complete survey form at another service that week). The ratio of these two numbers gives us a response rate for each agency/service. The combination of these two pieces of information gives us a (weekly) *weighting factor* for each service agency. We multiply the numbers of survey respondents for each agency by this weighting factor to get an estimate of the total number of service users in the case study area in the survey week.

From the actual answers given on the questionnaire we know the number and proportion of respondents who were destitute at that time. Applying this rate to the number of respondents, for each sampled service, and applying the weighting factor described above, then summing the results, represents our best estimate of the number of destitute service users in each case study area in the census week.

Across the 16 areas we included 104 services in the census from whom 2902 survey forms were completed, returned and coded by the Kantar Public data team. This represented a 52% response from the estimated 5,584 service clients that week. The probability of selection of agencies varied widely, from 0.04 to 1.00, with an average of around 0.40. Thus the weekly weighted total of service users from the ten areas was 19,705, and the number destitute was 13,582 (69%).

From weekly to annual

We also aimed to try to estimate the number of clients, particularly those who experienced destitution, over a whole year. To do this we needed to allow for 'repeat visits' to the same service, and also for visits to other services 'in scope'. One issue here is seasonality of experiences of destitution and demand on services. We showed earlier some evidence indicating definite seasonality in some of the components, for example homelessness. Mindful of this, we deliberately chose to carry out the survey at an intermediate period between winter and summer (late March/early April).

The main issue here is about allowing for multiple use of services over the year. Clearly, if people only made one visit to one service in a year, then we could multiply

our weekly number by 52 and get the annual number. Conversely, if all of the destitute service users visited services every week throughout the year, then the annual number would be no greater than the weekly number. In practice, many service users (particularly in the complex needs group) were frequent users, while many others were infrequent or one-off users (most common in the UK-other group).

Questions were included on how many times the same service had been used in the last year (using banded frequency), and also on the use of other similar services. In the latter case, the questionnaire design was changed significantly in 2017. Respondents were prompted with six types of services and asked: 'In the last 12 months, how many times have you used any other services to get food, clothing, toiletries, power-cards, money or other necessities?'. The six types of services were:

- Foodbanks
- 'Soup kitchen' or 'soup run'
- Advice service (e.g. Citizens Advice, money advice, welfare advice, etc)
- Day centre or drop-in centre
- Organisation supporting migrants
- Name of Local Welfare Fund e.g. 'Help in Emergencies for Local People' in case of Cheshire West and Chester

For each of these, respondents were to enter the number of times used in last 12 months, or to tick a separate box for 'not used in last 12 months'. In addition, people were asked separately for how long, if at all, they had stayed in any hostels, refuges, night shelters or other temporary accommodation (banded number of weeks).

In the previous 2015 Survey the equivalent questions, relying on write-in of names of agencies, had produced a very low response and considerable difficulty coding the responses which were included. The approach described above, adopted for 2017 and refined during the cognitive testing, certainly worked better, and elicited positive response from half or more of respondents. From the raw unweighted data, we had only 13% missing from the new hostels usage question, 40% missing on use of foodbanks, 50% on use of advice services, 52% on drop in centres, 56% on LWF and 58% on migrant support services.

We then followed a two-step process in trying to complete the picture by using reasonable *imputation* procedures in cases where there were missing values on these indicators. Firstly, in relation to particular services, we used information available elsewhere in the questionnaire, or inconsistencies within the answers to questions, to impute some values. For example, we had indications of use of some of these services, including foodbanks and Local Welfare Funds (LWFs), from the questions on financial and in-kind support. Secondly, we used a more general imputation procedure to fill in remaining cases of missing data.

The first approach tested for this more general imputation was based on a general *regression model* for frequency of usage of all services in scope combined, fitted to

the roughly half of the sample where the questions were mainly answered. This was similar to the method used in 2015, and certainly a reasonable model could be developed. The strongest predictor variables were frequency of use of the service where surveyed, hostel dwellers, complex needs cases, and destitute cases. 14 variables were included (most of which were significant) and the r-squared statistic of 0.335 indicated that a third of the variance was explained.

The second approach, which we adopted as our preferred approach in the end, was to apply the *Multiple Imputation* procedure to these data. Essentially this procedure uses a generalised set of regression models to fill holes in the data, using values of a wider set of variables to help predict these values. Three multiple imputation models were run, one for foodbank and soup run usages, one for drop-in, migrant and LWF usage, and one for hostel usage. These variables are measured on a scale of weeks per year, constrained between 0 and 52. A common set of 27 independent variables were used to help predict the missing values.

The resulting values from this multiple imputation approach were then substituted where values were missing following the first step above. A trial calculation was then made of annual multipliers (see below), and values were compared with estimates from the regression-based approach. Having tabulated the values by area and main destitution group (migrant, complex need, other UK), some adjustment factors were applied to annual multipliers in 11 cases (out of 48) to moderate extreme cases and bring them more into line with the general picture.

We believe that this process, both in terms of the improved questionnaire and response, and in terms of the two-step imputation procedure including using the widely recognised standard technique of Multiple Imputation, leads to a significantly improved set of estimates of the extent of usage of other services over the year, and thereby to an improved basis for estimating annual destitution numbers.

From these estimates of frequency of use of other services, we derive an *annualisation factor*, as also described in Appendix F. On average this factor is now about 5.6, which is significantly higher than the 2.7 used in the 2015 survey analysis. This higher figure is in fact the main reason for the higher national annual estimates of destitution headlined in the 2017 study. However, this annualization multiplier is quite different between the three main destitution groups, ranging from only 2.4 for complex needs and 5.0 for migrants up to 8.2 for UK-other. Another way of expressing these figures is to say that complex needs cases use services an average of 20 times/weeks per year, whereas UK-other destitute use them 6-7 times/weeks per year, while migrants are close to the overall destitute average of 10 times/weeks per year.

The results of applying annualisation factors are that, for our 16 Case Study Areas, we estimate the annual number of destitute households is 78,750 compared with the weekly number of 13,350.

The analysis reported so far includes those Local Welfare Funds (LWFs) which participated in the survey, but not those which did not. A separate allowance is made for these in reaching our global destitution numbers estimate, based on data obtained mainly by FOI from the remaining CSA authorities which have a LWF but where this did not participate. These figures are added in to the annual totals, but are not directly included in the detailed grossed up analysis from the Census. We assume their characteristics, particularly their propensity to be destitute, is similar to that of the LWFs which were surveyed.

From local to national

The final step is to get from our 16 Case Study Areas to the whole of the UK. To make this step we have to bring other evidence to bear. The question is, what share of the national total of destitute households would we expect to find in each particular CSA, and more critically, what share in the group of 16 CSAs as a whole[8]? To address this question, we use the composite predictive indices of severe poverty and destitution risk described in section 3.4 above (with further detail in Appendix E). These indicators give a robust, well-evidenced estimate of the expected proportion and number of households experiencing destitution. A broader description of their geographical pattern of variation and how our CSA's sit within that is given in Section 5.

For this geographical measure of destitution, and for matching the indicators-based approach to the destitution census survey results, we use the *weekly based snapshot* of destitution, but distinguishing the three groups. As described in the previous section, the indicators are roughly calibrated on this basis. We also regard the weekly estimates from the destitution census survey as more robust, because they do not rely upon the substantial amount of imputation which is necessary to generate the annualization factors, and are less susceptible to the tendency for some of these factors to be quite large.

In making our national estimate of the total numbers destitute, we 'anchor' the precise final scaling of the predictive indices so that they give the 'right' predicted number for our case study areas taken as a group, that is, the number that we actually found in our Census survey (grossed up for the week). We use the three detailed indices for the three destitution groups (migrants, complex needs, other UK) and control the total for each group to the weekly total for the 15 CSAs in GB (N Ireland is done separately). Allowance is made for the LWF numbers in those LA;s where they exist but did not participate in the survey. The proportional adjustment factors needed were as follows:

- Migrants 0.705
- Complex Needs 0.90
- Other UK 1.35

---

[8] In practice, we estimate this for Great Britain as a whole related to the 15 CSAs in GB, with a separate estimate for Northern Ireland based on the simpler index used there.

The fact that these numbers are not that distant from 1.00 indicates that our judgemental process for weighting the indices was not far adrift from the real situation.

The fact that we are applying a common proportional adjustment factor for each group merits fuller comment and justification. In the 2015 survey, we applied different grossing up factors for broad groups of cases depending whether they were high or low in terms of expected destitution level. However, since the sample of 10 areas had very light representation of lower-destitution areas, it was difficult to draw conclusions on the nature of the relationship between area socio-economic characteristics and destitution levels. Is it reasonable to assume that destitution rises proportionally with scores on our predictive indices, or is there a non-linear element to this relationship? Would an area with a close to zero score on our predictive indices have any destitution – or to put the point in a more technical way, would a linear relationship between predicted and actual destitution have a significant constant term?

Given the extension of the number of CSAs in 2017, and the deliberate 'rebalancing' of the sample achieved thereby, we are in a better position to assess this now. We have compared the expected destitution rates in each of the three groups, based on the indices, with the actual rates found in our 2017 survey, based on weekly grossed numbers. The easiest way to present these comparisons is using scatterplots with superimposed the linear regression line which shows the relationship. In these diagrams the vertical Y axis measures the census survey based destitution rate while the horizontal X axis represents the secondary index based destitution rate for the group in question.

Figure 4.1: Survey-based vs indicator-based destitution rates by destitution group, showing linear regression relationship

(a) Migrants
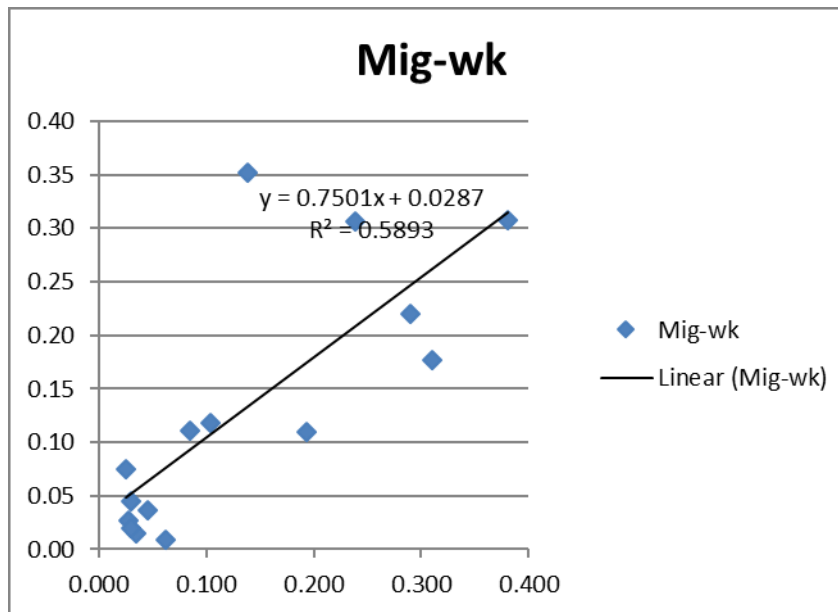
(b) Complex Needs
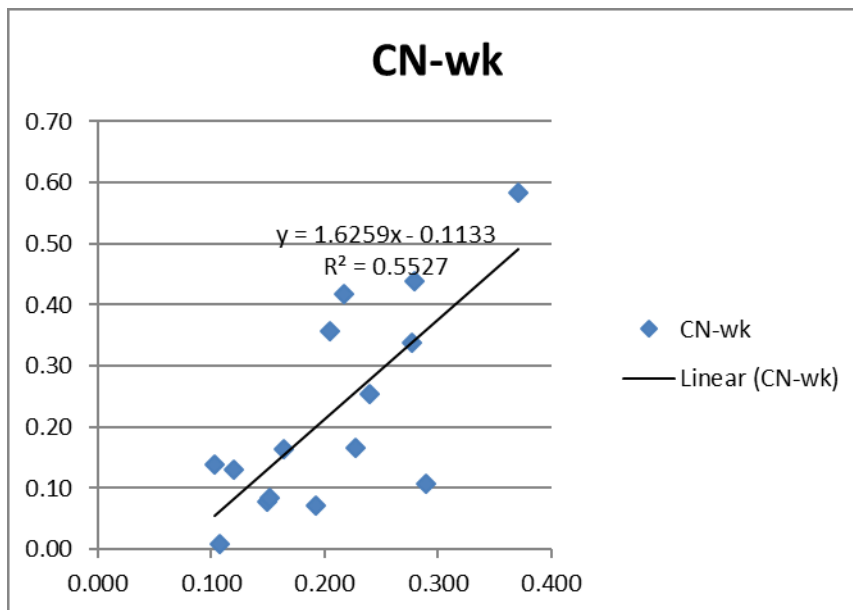
© Other Uk

(d) Total Destitution

Tot-wk

y = 1.1663x – 0.0565
R² = 0.4895

◆ Tot-wk

—— Linear (Tot-wk)
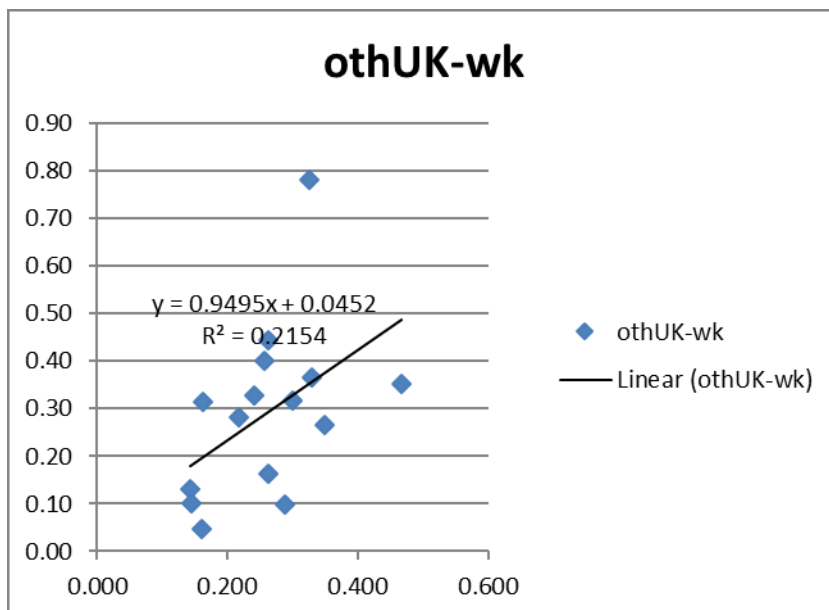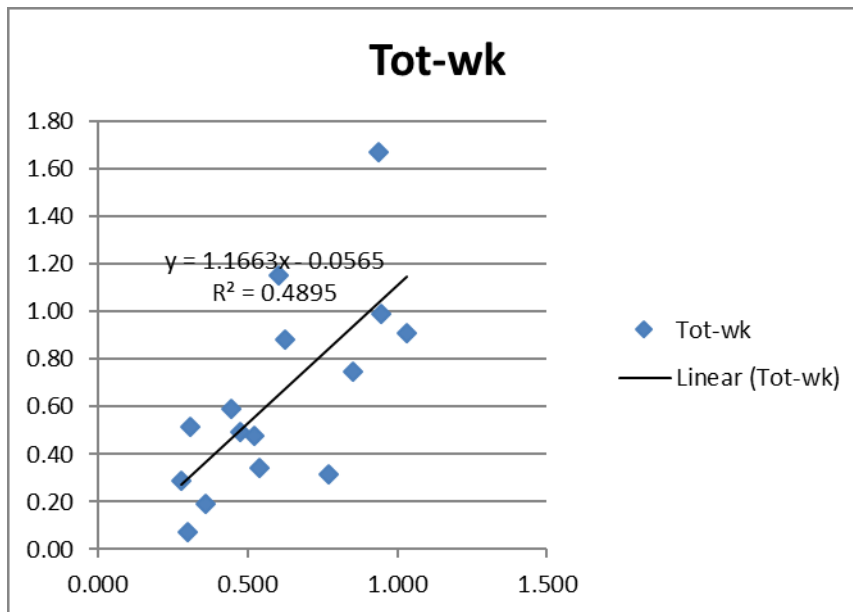
Our main conclusion from this set of Figures is that there is a reasonable relationship between census survey-based destitution and predicted index-based destitution for these 15 local authority areas, and that this relationship is generally linear and proportional. Each figure shows considerable scatter of the destitution rates derived from the Census survey (vertical axis) around the expected rates derived from the predictive indices. This is inevitable and expected given the highly clustered sampling of relatively few agencies within each case study area, along with the great variation in size of agencies. Allowing for this point, the degree of scatter is in line with expectations.

For migrant destitution, the fit of the regression line is good (r-sq 0.59) and the constant is quite close to zero, with a slope of 0.75. The high outlier is Swansea and the CSA at the top-right corner is Newham, as we would expect.

For complex needs, there is again a good fit (r-sq 0.55), a moderate negative constant and a slope of 1.6. The high outlier is Nottingham and the low outlier in the middle range is Peterborough. One could make a case here for either a nonlinear increasing function, or a thresholded function, where CN only appears once the index exceeds 0.10. To be set against this, there is merit in the simple linear proportional function and the case for something more complex is not overwhelming. An important part of the index used to predict complex needs is the composite of three actual administrative datasets covering the three key domains of offending, substance misuse and single homelessness, from the *Hard Edges* study (Bramley et al 2016). This analysis showed clearly that complex needs (or 'SMD') existed in all localities, which cautions against any assumption that there might be districts with zero complex needs, and we would

not be warranted in claiming that from a couple of CSAs within a set of 15. In fact, the very low value from the survey shown near the horizontal axis in this case is East and North Herts, where knowledge of the case suggests that cases with complex needs might be expected to gravitate to the adjacent towns of Stevenage or Welwyn-Hatfield, where they might be more likely to find relevant services.

The figure © which looks at the larger 'other UK Group' shows a less good fit (r-squared of 0.22) but a coefficient of very close to 1.0 (0.95) and a relatively small constant, not a lot higher than zero. As with complex needs, the high outlier is Nottingham and the low outlier is Peterborough. So although it would be nice to have a better fit for this group, and that might be achieved by (a) trimming out some of the weaker components in this index and/or (b) finding additional predictors, we would still claim that our argument for a linear proportional relationship stands. We have tested removing the two weakest/least well correlated components from this index (CAB Selected Benefits cases and DWP 'Lost Benefit' indicator), which does boost the r-squared a bit (to 0.27). However, we are reluctant to change the index because these components do bring something distinctive to it and there is no presumption that there is only a single 'Other UK' destitution factor in the data, so low correlation does not of itself invalidate including an indicator.

The final figure looks at the relationship of total destitution to the combined index prediction. The overall fit is good (r-squared 0.49) with a slope just over one (1.16) and a small negative constant. The higher outliers are Nottingham and Swansea with lows for Peterborough and East-North Herts. We actually tested a nonlinear function for this but the overall r-squared fell. Again, we believe this justifies retaining the assumption of a linear proportional relationship.

Having reviewed these relationships at the level of case study local authorities, it is important to underline again that we would not expect anything like precise match of the census survey rates with the predicted rates. The reasons for this lie primarily in the very clustered nature of the sample of agencies combined with the very variable scale and character of agencies. This issue is discussed further in Appendix F.

To conclude this section, we have demonstrated that, allowing for the inevitable sampling variance associated with the census survey, there is in fact a good relationship between predicted/expected and actual destitution, in each of the three groups and overall. Further, we have shown that this relationship is essentially linear and proportional. Consequently, we can have confidence in applying uniform multiplier factors to get from our estimates for 15 CSAs to estimates for the whole of GB. Furthermore, we can have confidence in using the predictive indices to map the expected incidence of destitution across the country at local authority level, as considered further in the next section.

Table 4.1 shows the weekly total numbers from the survey and the implied national numbers, given the above relationships. It shows the multipliers linking the CSA

numbers to the national numbers, making a distinction between GB and UK – Northern Ireland uses a simpler index which implies that the whole province destitution number would be only 3.92 times the Belfast number. In simple terms, national destitution is around ten times the number found in our 16 CSAs. However ,the multipliers are higher (c.10.5) for Complex needs and Other UK, but lower for (c.8.0) migrant destitution. This difference reflects the fact that our CSAs still rather over-represent areas with a higher presence of destitute migrants.

Table 4.1: Weekly Destitution Numbers and National Multipliers for Great Britain and UK, 2017

	Migrant	Complex Need	Other UK	All Destitute
16 CSAs incl Belfast	2,991	4,501	5,857	13,349
National GB Numbers	23,409	45,747	59,650	128,805
National UK Numbers	24,028	47,095	61,430	132,553
GB multipliers recalc	8.263	11.005	11.040	10.469
NI multiplier	3.92	3.92	3.92	3.92
UK Multiplier	8.033	10.463	10.488	9.930

One other point to be made in passing about this table is that it also provides a basis for generating certain other numbers which may be of policy interest from our destitution survey results, for example the number of rough sleepers.

Build-up of national annual numbers

Bringing together the different parts of the analysis discussed in this section, we can see how we get from census survey numbers of respondents found destitute to national annual numbers. Table 4.2 below summarises the steps.

To get from weekly destitute respondents in the survey (1,727) to weekly total destitute households in the 16 CSAs, we apply the weekly grossing weighting factor, which allows for (a) the probability that a service was selected for inclusion in the survey (0.40 on average) and (b) response rate within the selected service (average 52%), giving a total of 14,107. To get from weekly to annual we apply the annual multiplier factors, derived as described earlier in this chapter to take account multiple use of services over the year. This lifts the total to 78,745 (remembering, the average annual multiplier is around 5.5). We then apply the national multipliers derived from the analysis of the secondary indicators, calibrated to fit the levels found through the census survey, which are on average around 10, to obtain the national annual number of households affected (785,665).

Households, people and children

The national estimates are derived primarily in terms of numbers of households. However, the census survey asked about family composition, so we can also generate total numbers of people and children affected within these family or 'minimal household units'. A point to bear in mind, however, is that quite significant numbers within the destitute population are not living within private households, because they are staying in hostels, shelters or other temporary or institutional accommodation, or sleeping rough. Some may also be staying temporarily with friends or relatives ('sofa surfing'). These situations apply particularly to the UK complex needs group, as can be seen from the low ratio of persons and children to households in this group in Table 4.2.

The headline numbers derived in this way are that for the UK over the year 2017 there would be 785,000 households involving 1,550,000 people of whom 365,000 are children.

The table confirms that, when considered on a national annual basis, the UK–other group dominates destitution, accounting for 69% of the total of households affected. Complex needs cases and migrants only account for just over 15% each.

Table 4.2: Build-up of Destitution Numbers from Case Study Sample Survey to National Annual Households and People, by Destitution Group, UK 2017

Area	Basis	Migrants	Complex Needs	Other UK	Total
16 CSAs	Destitute	477	497	753	1,727
16 CSAs	Weekly households	2,991	4,812	6,462	14,107
16 CSAs	Annual households*	14,955	11,667	52,123	78,745
UK	Annual households	120,022	123,147	542,496	785,665
UK	Annual persons	289,531	174,327	1,085,792	1,549,649
UK	Annual children	87,984	19,116	255,886	362,986
	Share	15.3%	15.7%	69.0%	100.0%
	ratio persons to hhd	2.41	1.42	2.00	1.97
	ratio children to hhd	0.73	0.16	0.47	0.46
	Ratio of UK to 16 hh	8.03	10.55	10.41	9.98

5   Geography of Destitution

The indicators developed from secondary data sources to predict the incidence of destitution in Britain, having been calibrated to correspond well on average with the findings from the census survey, can also be used to provide an overall account of the geography of destitution in contemporary Britain. In this section we summarise this pattern, considering first regions, then types of local authority, before looking at our case study authorities set within the context of the overall ranking of local authorities in Britain.

Table 5.1 looks at destitution rates by region. For reasons given in the previous section, these are weekly rates, expressed as a percentage of households.

Table 5.1: Destitution rates by region and destitution group, Great Britain 2017
(weekly, % of households)

Area	Migrant	Complex Needs	Other UK	Destitution
Government Office Region	pdestmig17c	pdestsmd17c	pdestgen17c	pdestall17c
NORTH	0.07	0.24	0.29	0.61
YORKS & HUMBER	0.08	0.22	0.25	0.56
NORTH WEST	0.08	0.24	0.31	0.63
EAST MIDLANDS	0.08	0.19	0.20	0.46
WEST MIDLANDS	0.08	0.21	0.26	0.56
SOUTH WEST	0.05	0.17	0.19	0.41
EAST	0.06	0.16	0.20	0.42
SOUTH EAST	0.07	0.14	0.18	0.38
LONDON	0.21	0.19	0.29	0.69
WALES	0.06	0.12	0.26	0.43
SCOTLAND	0.08	0.14	0.32	0.55
GREAT BRITAIN	0.09	0.18	0.25	0.52

Overall, the range of variations between regions is between 0.38 in the South East and 0.69 in London. Rates are relatively high in the less prosperous North West and North East of England, and relatively low in the prosperous East and South West, as well as the South East, but also relatively low in Wales.

While London is highest for migrants as well as overall, it is not highest for complex needs, which are as high or higher across northern England and the Midlands. For 'UK-other' destitution, the North West and Scotland are both higher than London.

Table 5.2 looks at the standard ONS classification of local authorities, taking the middle 'group' level. These have been ranked in order from highest to lowest overall destitution rate.

Table 5.2: Destitution rates by ONS Local Authority Group and destitution group, Great Britain 2017 (weekly, % of households)

Area	Migrant	Complex Needs	Other UK	Destitution
lagrp11desc	pdestmig17c	pdestsmd17c	pdestgen17c	pdestall17c
London Cosmopolitan Central	0.25	0.26	0.30	0.81
Business and Education Centres	0.17	0.28	0.33	0.78
London Cosmopolitan Suburbia	0.26	0.18	0.31	0.75
Multicultural Suburbs	0.19	0.16	0.31	0.65
Manufacturing Traits	0.09	0.23	0.31	0.63
Growth Areas and Cities	0.10	0.18	0.26	0.54
Coastal Resorts and Services	0.04	0.22	0.26	0.52
Mining Heritage	0.04	0.20	0.27	0.50
Rural Scotland	0.03	0.13	0.33	0.49
Heritage Centres	0.09	0.18	0.21	0.48
Rural Coastal and Amenity	0.02	0.14	0.18	0.34
Rural England	0.03	0.14	0.17	0.33
Rural Hinterland	0.03	0.12	0.17	0.32
Prosperous England	0.05	0.10	0.14	0.29
Rural N I, Remoter Scotland and Glasgow Suburbs	0.03	0.09	0.15	0.27
Total	0.09	0.18	0.25	0.52

London Cosmopolitan areas have the highest overall rates, particularly for migrant destitution but high on the other domains as well. Business and Education centres comprise many of the major provincial cities, and these are particularly high on complex needs as well as pretty high on the general destitution index. Multicultural suburbs (which may be in provincial cities as well as London) come next in the overall ranking and tend to be high on the 'UK-other' group, as do 'manufacturing traits', although there complex needs are high while migrant destitution is low.

Coastal resort and service areas are just on the overall average, but above average for complex needs and UK-other. Mining heritage are similar, albeit just below the overall average. Rural Scotland is below average overall and on migrants and complex

needs, but surprisingly high on UK-other destitution. Heritage centres pick up small/medium cities/towns, often including universities, and this may be associated with an average level of migrants and complex needs but lower on the UK-other destitution. Rural areas tend to be generally lower on all domains and overall. The lowest scores are for the large 'Prosperous England' group and the smaller grouping of rural, remote and suburban areas in Scotland.

We can drill further down into the picture of destitution in different types of locality by looking at a table which places all local authorities in decile groups for destitution overall and for the three sub-domains. Table 5.3 below shows the top decile of authorities overall, while Appendix G shows the whole table. The overall deciles in this table are those used in the map in the main report.

The top decile of authorities (weighted by household population size) comprise 24 authorities include four of our case studies, Glasgow, Nottingham, Newham and Ealing. This group includes eight London boroughs (mainly central and eastwards), one Scottish city and 12 northern/midland cities which are all generally associated with high levels of social and economic deprivation. Their predicted destitution rates are 2.1-2.3 times the average. One of the northern cities is a seaside resort (Blackpool), which interestingly has a low score on migrant destitution, while a couple of others are port cities (Liverpool, Hull). A couple of southern cities feature in this top group – Norwich and Oxford. This reflects a high score on migrants and complex needs, and quite high on the more general poverty-related 'UK-other' group.

Peterborough is in the 9th decile, being particularly high on complex needs and migrants. Bournemouth is in the 8th decile, with predicted destitution 1.4 times the average, driven particularly by a higher score on complex needs. A number of seaside towns have higher scores, most notably Blackpool (and with the highest score of all on complex needs). Swansea is in decile 7, scoring somewhat above average on all domains, especially migrants. Other authorities at this level include major cities like Sheffield, Edinburgh, Brighton.

Kirklees and Fife are large mixed case study areas ranked somewhat above average in predicted destitution (sixth decile). Fife is relatively low on migrant issues but high on other UK (i.e. poverty) issues, while Kirklees is moderately high on all three domains.

Cheshire West and Chester and County Durham sit either side of the national average score overall. Both score relatively low on migrant destitution, with CWAC higher on complex needs and Durham a bit higher on UK-other.

Herefordshire, our most rural case study, sits about 20% below the average overall, in decile 4; it tends to have low general 'UK-other' poverty issues, but slightly more migrant and complex need issues than other rural areas.

The final grouping shows the four component districts in our two more rural/prosperous non-metropolitan southern England case study areas, Lewes-Rother and East-North Herts. These cases are in deciles 2 or 3 with destitution rates predicted here around 30% below the average. Wiltshire is similarly ranked alongside some very rural and affluent suburban areas.

Lastly, the table in Appendix G shows local authorities in the lowest decile overall and on the UK-other index, although sometimes slightly higher on migrant issues. Here rates of destitution are less than half the national average, or one sixth of the rates in the top group. These comprise affluent rural (mainly southern) and a couple of island authorities.

Table 5.3: Top decile of local authorities in expected destitution rates, showing deciles for each component (2017)

LA Name	Migrant-related destmigdcl	Complex Needs destsmddcl	Other UK Destit destgendcl	All Destitute destalldcl
Manchester	10	10	10	10
Liverpool	9	10	10	10
Middlesbrough	9	10	10	10
Birmingham	8	10	10	10
Kingston upon Hull, City of	8	10	10	10
Rochdale	8	10	10	10
Blackpool	3	10	10	10
Barking and Dagenham	10	9	10	10
Glasgow City	10	9	10	10
Tower Hamlets	10	9	10	10
Salford	9	9	10	10
Nottingham	10	10	9	10
Newham	10	8	9	10
Coventry	10	10	8	10
Islington	10	10	8	10
Leicester	10	10	8	10
Newcastle upon Tyne	9	10	8	10
Norwich	8	10	8	10
Haringey	10	9	8	10
Oxford	10	9	8	10
Southwark	10	9	8	10
Ealing	10	8	8	10
Camden	10	10	6	10
Westminster	10	9	6	10

6   Qualitative Interviews

Forty-one individual semi-structured interviews were carried out with a purposively selected sample of Census respondents who were 'destitute' (as per our definition) and agreed to be re-contacted for interview. As in 2015, the purpose of these interviews was to explore the experiences of, and impacts on, the people directly affected by destitution, and to place this extreme experience in the broader context of people's lifecourse 'journeys' through varying degrees of hardship. However, in 2017 the interviews also paid particular attention to issues of interest that emerged from the original study, most notably the debt recovery practices of public authorities and utility companies (see also Barker et al 2018) and access to legal and other forms of advice (see also McKeever et al 2018). The module on foodbanks was dropped in 2017 as it was decided that this topic was explored in sufficient depth in 2015. The topic guide for the interviews is given at Appendix H.

The sampling strategy was to ensure a balance with respect to gender, household type, age and migration status that broadly reflected the census results for the destitute population. Given the extensive existing evidence base on the experiences of UK nationals facing street homelessness and 'complex needs' (for example, Bramley et al 2015; Mackie et al 2017), it was decided to focus most of the non-migrant interviews on the much less well researched 'UK-other' subgroup. We also sought to capture more successfully the particular experiences of EAA migrants than in the 2015 study, where most of the migrants interviewed had experience of the asylum system.

A short 'post interview checklist' was completed after each interview to record key interviewee characteristics so that the achieved sample could be monitored on an ongoing basis and any required adjustments made to demographic and other sampling priorities as fieldwork proceeded.

In the end, slightly more than half of our interviewees were men (22) (see Table 6.1). Twenty-four interviewees were single people, with the remainder living with a partner and dependent children (6), as a lone parent (9), or as couple without dependent children (2). Most of the sample were aged between 25 and 45 years old (24), with the next largest group aged over 45 (15), and only two interviewees aged under 25 years old. This socio-demographic profile broadly reflected the 'destitute' population as revealed by the Census results (see Chapter 3 in main report) with the exception of people under 25 who were under-represented in our qualitative sample. Ten interviewees reported a disability.

With regards to the three main sub-groups, the composition of our interview sample closely matched the composition of the destitute population as a whole. Thus the majority were in the largest 'UK-other' group (26); six had complex needs (three of whom were migrants and three of whom were UK nationals); and the remaining nine interviewees were migrants without complex needs. Despite the additional priority

given to interviewing EEA migrants in 2017, we still struggled to reach this group in 2017, with only four of the nine migrants interviewed in this category[9].

The intention was to conduct interviews across all 16 case study areas, allowing that the majority would be from the original, mainly larger case study sites, but ensuring that a reasonable number of cases were drawn from the areas, mainly selected to 'middle' and 'prosperous' England. 8 interviewees were drawn from the six new case study areas.

The interview fieldwork was conducted over August-September 2017. The interviews were conducted by telephone. All interviewees were given £15 (in either cash or vouchers, according to their preference). The interviews were fully transcribed (with permission) and analysed using Nvivo 11 software, applying the coding frame attached in Appendix I.

The Legal Education Foundation and JRF commissioned Ulster University to conduct a bespoke analysis of these qualitative interviews to explore the links between access to legal advice and representation (or lack thereof) and pathways into and out of destitution. Explicit informed consent was sought from interviewees to share (on an anonymised basis) their interview transcripts with the Ulster University team.

---

[9] Our persistent difficulties in engaging EEA migrants in the interview stage of the research (though not in the survey) may be linked with the relative absence of a specialised civil society response to support this group (see Fitzpatrick et al 2016).

Table 6.1 Composition of the sample *(n=41)*

		Number
Gender	Male	22
	Female	19
Age	Under 25	2
	25-45	24
	Over 45	15
Disability	No	31
	Yes	10
Complex Needs	No	35
	Yes	6
Household type	Single	24
	Lone parent	9
	Couple no children	2
	Couple with child(ren)	6
Nationality / migration origin	UK National	29
	EEA migrant	4
	Non-EEA migrant	5
	Asylum seeker	3
Type of case study area	'Prosperous'/'middle'	9
	Deprived	32
Three main groups	UK-other	26
	Complex needs	6 (3 UK Nationals, 3 migrants)
	Migrants (no complex needs)	9

7   Future research and updating

What lessons can be learned from this update study about future research into the scale and profile of destitution in the UK? We believe that the basic design of the approach, sampling crisis service users, a self-completion census-type survey, and utilisation of an array of secondary data indicators to fill out the national picture, has again proven to be sound and has demonstrated its worth.

In 2017 we managed to improve our methodology by extending our work to a wider range of case study sites, enabling us to better capture better-off and 'middle England'. We also included in the study scope (insofar as possible) the most statutory relevant services provided by local authorities (LWFs). These were two of the key improvements we highlighted that we would like to make after the original 2015 study. One of the key challenges the first of these changes introduced was having a larger number of rural and dispersed case studies, which considerably increased the logistical challenges of delivering the census survey. The second change to the study, the inclusion of LWF, involved protracted and sometimes fruitless negotiations with local authorities and other statutory bodies, and is an area for further enhancement should this study be run again (assuming that LWFs are not completely obliterated in England). For these, and some other agencies, a longer survey window than one week may be appropriate.

We also suggested after the original study that in any update the budget should be increased to enable research staff to be present in the sampled services throughout all or most of their opening times during the survey week, to encourage and assist service users to complete the questionnaire. The involvement of Kantar Public in leading on the fieldwork for the census survey largely enabled us to achieve this to a far greater extent than in 2015, and will have contributed to the improved coverage and information about total service users.

We were also able to take the opportunity in 2017 to make some detailed improvements to the questionnaire, including additional questions inserted on living/accommodation circumstances, and additional/more detailed questions inserted on experiences over the past 12 months including serious physical health problems, alcohol or drugs problems, mental health problems and getting in trouble with the police. Improved wording was used on income, and a different approach was adopted to the question about 'use of other services', after careful cognitive testing. We feel that the questionnaire worked very well in 2017, and our preference would be to retain it in its current form in any future surveys to enhance comparability and trends analysis.

In the light of a current feasibility scoping study commissioned by JRF in association with the Office of National Statistics (ONS), the possibility opens up of a larger-scale official national survey covering the 'non-household population' and addressing in particular issues of destitution/living standards and wellbeing. This would obviously

cover a significant part of the target group and issues addressed in the *Destitution in the UK* studies. The methodology is still to be determined, but lessons learned from this research will inform the Scoping Study, and further enhancements may be tested in a subsequent stage of this research. This initiative overlaps to some extent with current efforts to improve the measurement and data collection relating to homelessness. However, in order to reflect key findings of this study about the extent of destitution among the 'housed' population, part of the agenda for improved official data collection probably involves both questions to be asked in the main official surveys and ways of increasing the coverage of groups who are either not covered in detail (e.g. absent or temporary household members) who groups who have a very low response or high attrition rate in such surveys.

References

Barker, K., Ayrton, C., Petrie, I. & Tinson, A. (2018) *Preventing Destitution: Policy and Practice in the UK.* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Beatty, T. & Fothergill, S. (2016) *The Uneven Impact of Welfare Reform: the financial losses to places and people*. ISBN 978-1-84387-392-1. Sheffield Hallam University: Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research. www.shu.ac.uk/cresr

Bramley, G., Fitzpatrick, S., Edwards, J., Ford, D., Johnsen, S., Sosenko, F., and Watkins, D. (2015) *Hard edges: mapping severe and multiple disadvantage*. London: Lankelly Chase Foundation.

Bramley, G. (forthcoming) *Core and Wider Homelessness across Great Britain: Extent, trends and prospects*. London: Crisis.

Brewer, M., O'Dea, C., Paul, G. and Sibieta, L. (2009) *The living standards of families with children reporting low incomes*. DWP Research Report 577. London: DWP.

Fitzpatrick, S, Bramley, G. and Johnsen, S. (2013) 'Pathways into multiple exclusion homelessness in seven UK cities', *Urban Studies*, 50(1) pp.148–168.

Fitzpatrick, S., Bramley, G., Blenkinsopp, J., Johnsen, S., Littlewood, M., Netto, G., Sosenko, F. and Watts, B. (2015) *Destitution in the UK: an interim report*. York: JRF.

Fitzpatrick, S., Bramley, G., Sosenko, F., Blenkinsopp, J., Johnsen, S., Littlewood, M., Netto, G., and Watts, B. (2016) *Destitution in the UK*. York: JRF.

Hossain, N, Byrne, B., Campbell, A., Harrison, E., McKinley, B., and Shah, P. (2011) *The impact of the global economic downturn on communities and poverty in the UK*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Loopstra, R., Fledderjohann, J., Reeves, A., & Stuckler, D. (2018). Impact of Welfare Benefit Sanctioning on Food Insecurity: a Dynamic Cross-Area Study of Food Bank Usage in the UK. *Journal of Social Policy*, published online 24 January 2018

Mackie, P., Johnsen, S. & Wood, J. (2017) *Ending rough sleeping: what works? An international evidence review.* London: Crisis.

McKeever, G. Simpson, M. & Fitzpatrick, C. (2018) *Destitution and Paths to Justice.* London: Legal Education Foundation.

Webster, D. (2017) *Benefit Sanctions Statistics: JSA, ESA, Universal Credit and Income Support for Lone Parents*. Briefing. November 2017. University of Glasgow. : http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/socialpolitical/staff/davidwebster/

APPENDIX A: The survey questionnaire

The following is the version of the 2017 census survey questionnaire as used in one particular case study area, Cheshire West and Chester. Some specific service names are variable between case study areas. These questionnaires were produced directly to PDF from the system used to generate them in Kantar Public. The version as reproduced here has minor variations in the detailed pagination and layout.

Getting by in the UK – a survey

We would like your help in research we are doing about what kinds of things people have to get by without. Heriot-Watt University is doing the research for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, a charity that works to improve the situation of people in need. The questions should take about 10 minutes to answer, and if you need help, staff will assist you. Your answers are private and confidential. Participation is entirely voluntary and will not affect the service you receive in any way.

How to fill in this questionnaire: Please use a **black or blue pen** mark your answers by putting a cross in the appropriate box to show your answer ☐. If you have made a mistake or you change your mind please completely fill the box to show the mistake ■ and then cross the correct answer.

Q1. In the <u>last month</u> have you…

… had more than one day when you didn't eat at all, or had only one meal, because you couldn't afford to buy enough food?

Yes …………☐   No …………☐

…not been able to dress appropriately for the weather because you didn't have suitable shoes or clothes and were unable to buy them?

Yes …………☐   No …………☐

…gone without basic toiletries such as soap, shampoo, toothbrush, toothpaste or sanitary items because you couldn't afford to buy them?

Yes …………☐   No …………☐

…not been able to afford to heat your home on more than four days across the month?

Yes …………☐   No …………☐   Not relevant to me …………………☐

…not been able to afford to light your home on more than four days across the month?

Yes …………☐   No …………☐   Not relevant to me …………………☐

… had to sleep rough for at least one night?

Yes …………☐   No …………☐

English

Q2. In the <u>last month</u>, have you received money from the following?

Cross all that apply

Benefits/Social Security .... ☐

Parents .... ☐

Other relatives .... ☐

Friends .... ☐

Charities/churches .... ☐

 ☐

....

Paid work (including cash-in-hand work) .... ☐

Begging .... ☐

Other .... ☐

No source at all .... ☐

Help in Emergencies for Local People (HELP) (run by the
Council, sometimes called Crisis Loans/Social Fund)

Q3. In the <u>last month</u>, what was your total income after paying tax? Please think of your household income if you live with family and your personal income if you do not live with family. *Cross one*

None at all .... ☐

£1 - £69 a week .... ☐

£70 - £99 a week .... ☐

£100 - £139 a week .... ☐

£140 - £199 a week .... ☐

£200 - £299 a week .... ☐

Over £300 a week .... ☐

Q4. Do you have to pay rent out of your personal or household income?

Yes .... ☐   No .... ☐   ⟶   GO TO QUESTION 6

Q5. How much rent do you pay?

Please write your rent in below to the nearest £ and select how often you pay.

	Monthly	Fortnightly	Weekly
£ ☐☐☐☐	☐	☐	☐

Q6. In the <u>last month,</u> have you received help getting non-cash items such as food, clothing, toiletries, power-cards, or other items from the following…
Cross all that apply

Parents .... ☐

Other relatives .... ☐

Friends .... ☐

Help in Emergencies for Local People (HELP) .... ☐

Foodbanks .... ☐

Charities/churches .... ☐

Other .... ☐

None of these .... ☐

Q7. How much money, if any, do you have in savings in a bank account?

None at all .... ☐

Less than £200 .... ☐

£200-£999 .... ☐

£1,000 or more .... ☐

The next few questions are about things that have happened in the last year…

Q8. In the <u>last 12 months</u>, have you experienced any of the following?
Cross all that apply

Benefit sanctions ☐

Benefit delays ☐

Getting behind on bills ☐

Serious debt ☐

Being evicted from your home ☐

Losing a job ☐

Reduced hours or a pay cut ☐

Mental health problems ☐

Serious physical health problems ☐

Divorce or separation ☐

Domestic violence ☐

Alcohol or drug problems ☐

Getting in trouble with the police ☐

Coming to live in the UK ☐

Problem with your right to live or work in the UK ☐

Relationship with your parents/family breaking down ☐

None of these things ☐

Q9. In the <u>last 12 months</u>, how many times have you used the service you are at today?

Today is the first time .... ☐

2-3 times .... ☐

4-5 times .... ☐

6-10 times .... ☐

More than 10 times .... ☐

I live here – this is a hostel, refuge, night shelter or temporary accommodation ☐

Q10. In the <u>last 12 months</u>, how many times have you used any <u>other</u> services to get food, clothing, toiletries, power-cards, money or other necessities?

	Number of times used in last 12 months	Not used in last 12 months
Foodbanks		☐
'Soup kitchen' or 'soup run'		☐
Advice service (e.g. Citizens Advice, money advice, welfare advice, etc.)		☐
Day centre or drop-in centre		☐
Organisation supporting migrants		☐
Help in Emergencies for Local People (HELP)		☐

Q11. In the <u>last 12 months</u> for how long, if at all, have you stayed in any hostels, refuges, night shelters or other temporary accommodation?
Cross one

Not at all .... ☐

Up to 1 week .... ☐

2 - 3 weeks .... ☐

1 - 2 months .... ☐

3 - 6 months .... ☐

More than 6 months .... ☐

About You

Q12. Are you…

Male ....☐   Female ....☐

Q13. How old are you? *Write in*

☐☐

Q14. Do you live….

With family ....☐ ┐

With other people ....☐

Alone ....☐
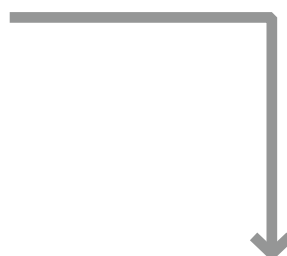
Q15. How many family members live with you? *Please write in*

Number of other **adults** (aged 18 and over) living with you .... ☐☐

Number of **children** (under 18) living with you .... ☐☐

Q16. In what sort of place are you living at the moment? *Cross one*

Flat or house of your own, either rented or owned .... ☐

A hostel, refuge, B&B, night shelter .... ☐

A temporary flat/house arranged by council or support agency .... ☐

Your partner's, parent's or other family/friend's house .... ☐

Sleeping rough .... ☐

Other .... ☐

Q17. If you are renting or own your home, please let us know whether you are:

… renting privately

…a homeowner or co-owner

…I am not a renter or owner

…renting from a Council or Housing Association

.... ☐

.... ☐

.... ☐

.... ☐

Q18. In which country were you born? *Please write in*

Q19. Have you ever applied for asylum in the UK?

Not applicable

(I was born in the UK) .... ☐

No .... ☐

Yes .... ☐
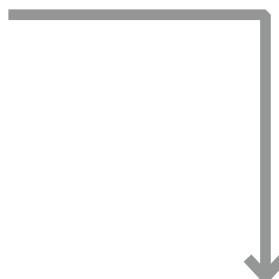
Q20. What is your current status?

Awaiting outcome of application .... ☐

Refugee status .... ☐

Leave to remain .... ☐

Application refused .... ☐

Not sure/cannot say .... ☐

Permission to re-contact you

We would like to talk to a small number of people in more detail about their circumstances and experiences. Involvement in this stage is also completely voluntary. If you are happy to speak to us, please write in your contact details. First name

Surname

Phone number

Email address

MANY THANKS – PLEASE SEAL IN THE ENVELOPE
PROVIDED AND GIVE TO STAFF

APPENDIX B: COGNITIVE TESTING

Kantar Public Cognitive Testing Guide

Introduction (suggestion):

- We're talking to people today on behalf of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and Heriot Watt University.
- We're hoping to understand more about how many people are using this type of service and services like it across the UK.
- It's also to help us understand more about the sorts of things some people have to get by without.
- This conversation will take around 20-30 minutes, but it depends on what questions each person needs to answer.
- Taking part is completely voluntary and you can stop at any time. If there are any questions that you don't want to answer, you don't have to.
- Any responses you give will be completely confidential and not used for any purposes other than this piece of research.
- Today part of the reason we're here is to test some questions to make sure we have written them in a way which is clear to understand. So while we're going through the questionnaire I may ask you to talk me through how easy or difficult parts of the questionnaire are to answer.
- If you want to ask me anything or want some help answering a question please just ask.

General probes to consider throughout the questionnaire:

- How easy or difficult do you find it to think back over the length of time we're talking about?
- Some questions ask about the last month and some about the last 12 months. Did you notice when it changed? Was it easy or difficult to make the switch between the two?
- How clear did you find the instructions for each question?
- Is there anything else that you felt we should have asked you that we didn't?
- How well do the lists of answers fit with the way you would answer? / How would you have said this instead?
- Is there anything else you would have added to this list?
- Which questions did you find it difficult to answer? Which questions were you unable to answer?
- Was there anything you felt you didn't want to answer / anything you felt was too personal?

- [Did they answer only the questions that were relevant to them – in particular did they correctly discuss how long spent in a hostel if that was where the interview was?]

Probes for specific questions:

> **In the last month have you…**
>
> … had more than one day when you didn't eat at all, or had only one meal, because you couldn't afford to buy enough food?
>
> Yes ....☐   No ....☐
>
> …not been able to dress appropriately for the weather because you didn't have suitable shoes or clothes and were unable to buy them?
>
> Yes ....☐   No ....☐
>
> …gone without basic toiletries such as soap, shampoo, toothbrush, toothpaste or sanitary items because you couldn't afford to buy them?
>
> Yes ....☐   No ....☐
>
> …not been able to afford to <u>heat</u> your home on more than four days across the month?
>
> Yes......☐   No.......☐   I do not pay for heating......☐
>
> …not been able to afford to <u>light</u> your home on more than four days across the month?
>
> Yes......☐   No.......☐   I do not pay for electricity....☐
>
> … had to sleep rough for at least one night?
>
> Yes ....☐   No ....☐

- Do you pay for your heating / electricity – did you notice the option to say you don't pay for these?

- What did you understand by 'I do not pay for XX'?

- (If answered 'I do not pay for XX') Can you explain why you chose this answer?

In the **last month**, have you received money from the following? Tick all that apply

Benefits/Social Security .... ☐

Parents... ☐

Other relatives .... ☐

Friends .... ☐

Charities/churches .... ☐

[highlighted] .... ☐

Paid work (including cash-in-hand work) .... ☐

Begging... ☐

Other .... ☐

No source at all .... ☐

- Have you heard of the Local Welfare Fund (by this name) before?
  - It's sometimes called Crisis Loan or Social Fund loan…..
  - Do you know this by any other name?
- (If applicable) What have you included under 'Other'?
  - Who else do you receive money / financial support from?

In the **last month**, what was your **total** household income (after paying tax)?
Tick one

None at all........................... ☐

Less than £70 a week...................... ☐

£70 - £99 a week............................. ☐

£100 - £139 a week.......................... ☐

£140 - £199 a week.......................... ☐

£200 - £299 a week.......................... ☐

Over £300 a week............................ ☐

Do you have to pay rent out of this income?

Yes .... ☐   No .... ☐ → GO TO TOP OF NEXT PAGE

→ **How much rent do you pay per week?** Please write in

- Can you talk me through how you worked out your answer in your own words?

- Was this easy or difficult to answer? Why?

- Did you notice that we asked for your income by month but the rent by week?

- (If applicable) Do you pay your rent weekly? How easy was it to work out your rent per week?

- Would you have found it easier to think about rent over a longer or shorter period time (e.g. per night / per month / per fortnight)?

In the last 12 months, have you experienced any of the following? Tick all that apply

Benefit sanctions ☐	Benefit delays ☐
Getting behind on bills ☐	Serious debt ☐
Losing a job ☐	Reduced hours or a pay cut ☐
Coming to the UK to live ☐	Domestic violence ☐
Being evicted from your home ☐	Serious health problems ☐
Alcohol or drug problems ☐	Divorce or separation ☐
Relationship with your parents/family breaking down ☐	
Getting in trouble with the police ☐	None of these things ☐

- Are there any other problems that you have had that you think we should have included here?

- How do you feel answering this question? / Are there any questions that you were uncomfortable being asked?

- Were the question and the answer list easy or difficult to understand?

> **If this is a hostel/refuge/other temporary accommodation, how long in total have you stayed here in the past 12 months?** Tick one
>
> Not applicable (not a hostel/refuge/temporary accommodation)..... ☐
> Up to one week .... ☐
> 2-5 weeks .... ☐
> 6-10 weeks .... ☐
> 11-25 weeks .... ☐
> More than 25 weeks........................ ☐

- (If applicable) Talk me through how you answered this question? / How did you work out your answer?

- Have you stayed here just once or have you spent different spells of time here?

- How long did you stay here the last time you stayed? What about the time before last?

- Would you have found it easier to answer if we had used different time periods in the answer list? What time period best describes how long you stayed?

	No	Yes	How many times (estimate will do)
Foodbank...	☐	☐ →	
'Soup kitchen' or 'soup run'............................	☐	☐ →	
Advice service (e.g. CAB, Money Matters, etc)...	☐	☐ →	
Day centre or drop-in centre..........................	☐	☐ →	
Organisation supporting migrants....................	☐	☐ →	
Local Welfare Fund..................................	☐	☐ →	

	No	Yes	How many **weeks** in total (estimate will do)
Hostels, refuges/temporary accommodation......	☐	☐ →	

- Had you heard of all the above services before today?

  o Can you remember using them or anything like them?

  o What would you normally call the services you have used? (probe through the list – would you tend to call it a 'foodbank'? / what would you call it?)

  o Have you ever heard of the Local Welfare Fund? What do you know about the LWF?

  o The LWF is sometimes called Crisis Loans or Social Fund loans - have you heard of this?

- How did you working out how many times you have used each service? Talk me through how you worked it out / added these up?

- What other services have you used in the last 12 months that aren't on this list? What else should be here?

- Did you notice the last question about hostels asked you about how many weeks not the number of times?

  o How did you work out the number of weeks in the last 12 months? Talk me through how you worked this out / thought this through?

In what sort of place are you living at the moment? Tick one.

Flat or house of your own, either rented or owned………..…...…..……□

A temporary flat/house arranged by council or support agency……...…□

A hostel, refuge, B&B, night shelter…..……….………….…..……….. □

Your partner's, parent's or other family/friend's house…………..……□

Sleeping rough ……………………………………….…..……….…… □

Other…………………………………………………….……….…… □

- (If applicable) What are you including in 'Other'?

- How easy or difficult did you find it to decide which answer suited you?

- How well do the answers fit with the sorts of places you might stay? Would you describe the places people might stay differently to how we've written them here?

If you are renting or own your home, please let us know whether you are:
Tick one

...renting from a Council or Housing Association...... ☐

...renting privately.. ☐

...a homeowner or co-owner.............................. ☐

- How would you describe your housing situation in your own words?
    - Do you think these answers cover this? / Why not?

- Was it clear that this question was/was not for you to answer?

Closing questions

Thank for time and run through reassurances and reason behind the interview (if required).

- Before you go. Is there anything else you felt we should have asked you about? Is there anything else you would like to tell us?

Appendix C: Census survey fieldwork protocol

ANNEX C.1: Agency Instructions

Destitution in the UK: Agency Instructions Sheet

What the survey involves

- Ideally, every person using your service over a one week period – **[specify dates]** – should be invited to complete the survey. This is a short paper questionnaire which should take no longer than 10 minutes to complete.
- Involvement is completely voluntary, but we would like to have as many service users as possible taking part over this one week period.
- We need you (or your colleagues) to pro-actively ask people to take part in the study - we know from experience that your help with this is vital in getting a good response rate.
- A researcher from Heriot-Watt University should already have visited to brief you and colleagues about the survey. They will also check in during the course of the survey week, but don't hesitate to contact them if needed. contact <HWU researcher> on <contact phone> or email them at <contact email>.

How we need your help

- For each person who agrees to take part, we would like you to hand them a short paper questionnaire and, where appropriate, help them to fill it in.
- Each service user should only complete **one** questionnaire during the one week period
- If a service user has already completed a questionnaire at another service they should **not** complete a second questionnaire. Please make a note on the tally sheet provided of any refusals for this reason. We will also need to know how many people (unique individuals) have used your service across the week *in total.* The Heriot-Watt researcher should already have discussed with you how best you are able to provide this.

- We have included questionnaires translated into a number of different languages that we think you may need to use, and a list of all the translations we have available. Please let <contact name> know if you require more of any particular language as soon as possible.
- Once the service user has completed the questionnaire please put it in the envelope provided.

Collecting the surveys

- We would like you to collect all completed questionnaires and **store them confidentially** in a locked drawer or cabinet until they are collected by one of the researchers on the project. To help you keep all completed questionnaires together we have provided several large plastic polybags.
- The research team will make arrangements with you to collect all completed questionnaires.
- Please *do not* attempt to send completed questionnaires to Heriot Watt or Kantar Public by post.

If you think you are going to run out of questionnaires and envelopes, or particular languages, or have any questions about the study or these instructions, please contact <HWU researcher> on <contact phone> or email them at <contact email> as soon as possible.

Annex C.2: Letter to Agency
(version where Kantar interviewers to be present)

ADDRESS

<DATE>

Dear <ContactFirst>,

Destitution in the UK study

Thank you for agreeing to help Heriot-Watt University and Kantar Public Research to carry out this nationwide study of destitution across the UK.

The study's aim is to better understand the scale, pattern and trends in destitution across the UK. It is a larger and more robust version of a similar study undertaken in 2015. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation, who are funding this study, will use this evidence to try to bring about positive change in policies and practices affecting people vulnerable to destitution.

The project will run from [merge fieldwork dates], and will comprise a survey of all of the users of your service. The aim of this process is to gather information about everyone who uses your service over this period. During this time, an interviewer from Kantar will be working with your service to help administer the survey, if appropriate. They have been fully briefed by the Heriot-Watt team how best to approach the survey in your service.

Enclosed with this letter are the following documents:

- A copy of the **research information sheet** which provides further information about the study, its purpose, and what will happen to the information we collect
- An **agency instruction sheet**, outlining how we are hoping that you will help with the survey
- A **'tally sheet'** for keeping record of how many clients visiting your service refuse to complete a survey <u>because they have already been asked to take part in the survey elsewhere.</u> Please keep this as up to date as you can over the week.
- **Paper questionnaires** and paper envelopes to give to the service users who agree to complete the census questionnaire
- **A list of all available translations**
- **Large plastic envelopes** for storing completed questionnaires whilst on-site at the agency
- Two copies of a **poster** to advertise the 'Survey Week' to your staff and service users

Please remember that your support is vital to the success of this study. This research aims to help policy and resources to be targeted more appropriately in the future, and so improve the quality of life and life chances of very disadvantaged people.

We can assure you that all the questionnaires and follow-up interviews will be totally confidential. **No individual will be identifiable from the results and the information will only be used for genuine research purposes.**

If you have any questions about any aspect of the research, or the process we are asking you to carry out, please feel free to contact the <mark><HWU researcher (tel/email)> or</mark> <mark>'Local Coordinator' helping us with the study in your location.</mark> Sincere thanks once more for your support of this study.

Regards,

Suzanne Fitzpatrick

Professor of Housing and Social Policy

Heriot-Watt University,

Edinburgh, EH14 4AS

https://www.hw.ac.uk/schools/energy-geoscience-infrastructure-society/research/i-sphere.htm

Email: S.Fitzpatrick@hw.ac.uk

Annex C.3: Research Information Sheet

DESTITUTION IN THE UK: Research Information Sheet

What is the purpose of the study?

This study aims to provide a robust assessment of the scale and causes of destitution across the UK. It will also explore the experiences of those directly affected by destitution. It is a follow-up to a study in 2015 that was the largest and most rigorous ever undertaken of these issues.

The definition of 'destitution' being employed has been endorsed by the general public and includes people who:

- lack the following necessities because they can't afford to pay for them: shelter, food, heating and lighting, clothing and basic toiletries.

OR

- have an income level so low that they are unable to provide these necessities for themselves.

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation, a UK-wide charity that seeks to use robust evidence to influence Government and other key stakeholders to improve policy and practice for those in greatest need, has funded the study.

What will it involve?

The study will involve a survey and a small number of follow up interviews with people using relevant services in 16 locations across the UK.

The study will be carried out in two stages in each of these areas:

 (1) a very short self-completion survey of users of selected services over a one week period. The aim is to receive responses from as many service users as possible over this period. **This is the key part of the study that we are looking for your help with**.

(2) in-depth interviews with respondents to the questionnaire who have had direct experience of destitution (only a small number of these interviews will be carried out in each location and we will not need your help with this stage of the study).

Will the findings be published?

Yes, there will be a report, a summary and a national launch of the research in early 2018. No individuals will be identifiable in any of the published outputs from the study. You can download the 2015 report for free here:

https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/destitution-uk

Who is conducting the study?

The study is being led by Heriot-Watt University working with Kantar Public, a leading social research company with whom we have worked previously on homelessness and related projects. We are also working with voluntary sector partners who are acting as 'local co-ordinators' in each of the research locations.

For further information about the research, please contact:

Research team representative	**Local coordinator**
[name]	[name]
[mobile]	[mobile]
[landline]	[landline]
[email]	[email]

APPENDIX D:

SELECTION OF ADDITIONAL CASE STUDY AREAS FOR 2017 DESTITUTION SURVEY

Introduction and Background

Following the 2015 study we recognised that a potential weakness in the previous study design was that the 10 CSAs did not adequately represent large areas of the country which tend to have low-to-moderate numbers at risk of destitution. This affects the reliability our estimates of national total numbers and also of our conclusions about the geographical variation, and it may also affect the mix of types of case and types of experience reported. The reason for this limitation was the sheer resource constraint, with ten areas being the maximum that could be managed, the insistence on case studies from each UK country (including two from Scotland), and the desire to ensure reasonable coverage of London (two cases) and major provincial cities (Nottingham), and a late substitution (Peterborough for Bedford). In the end we ended up with 'high risk/high incidence' areas, including high migrant areas, well represented, but effectively only one case study in the relatively prosperous and less urban part of England (Wiltshire). Thus a key objective in planning the 2017 study was to correct this imbalance. Other objectives, in the process, are to have a reasonably rigorous evidence-based process which can be both explained and defended, and to provide potential back-up selections if any of the existing CSA's proved to be non-viable for the follow-up study.

Outline of Approach

A good deal of work in both studies went into creating indices based on secondary data sources to predict the relative incidence of destitution, with the more sophisticated 2015 version drawing on about 24 components to predict expected incidence under three headings corresponding to the three main sub-groups identified and discussed in the research report, namely:

- Migrants
- UK-born people with complex needs
- Other UK-born facing general risk of destitution (see Bramley et al 2016 *Destitution Technical Report,* Appendix E)

Having slightly updated these indicators (see below), we treated the ranking of local authorities on these three domains as a primary criterion for stratifying the sample. A secondary criterion was the general type of locality as defined by the updated ONS classification of local authorities based on a comprehensive analysis of 2011 Census

data[10] . A third criterion was coverage of the different regions of the UK, and specifically England. A final criterion, in some circumstances, was a slight preference to select unitary local authorities, for convenience, although we could not avoid covering some two-tier areas if we were to get reasonable overall coverage.

Updating Indices

The development of the indices and their components and weightings are discussed further in the main text of this report and in more detail in Appendix E Although these were subject to a comprehensive review, updating, enhancement and assessment of robustness during the new project, at the time of sample selection that process was not complete. Nevertheless, some adjustments were made for the purposes of this CSA selection exercise.

- Migrant component – no change to this,.
- Complex need component – modest changes to this, which is mainly driven by the estimates derived from major administrative datasets in Bramley et al (2015) *Hard Edges* report, with some additional indicators from the homelessness system (nonpriority and prevention/relief), shoplifting crime, and child abuse/neglect from CIN (Children in Need). The part of this based on Supporting People has been estimated down to non-met district level using a proxy formula, controlled to the (county level) values, for two-tier areas. In addition, more recent data from CIN has been analysed to provide a composite picture of the number and severity of cases.
- Other UK, or general, composite indicator: this has been slightly modified to take account of Beatty and Fothergill's (2017[11]) estimates of the total reduction in welfare benefit entitlements per working age resident as a result of welfare reforms and cuts over the period 2011-16, partially substituting for the cruder 'lost benefit' indicator derived from WPLS via NOMIS.

---

[10] For the ONS Classification of Local Authorities 2011, data may be downloaded from http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160114210843/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/geography/products/area-classifications/ns-area-classifications/ns-2011-area-classifications/datasets/index.html . The methodology note is ONS (2015) *Methodology Note for the 2011 Area Classification for Local Authorities* is available at http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160114210848/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/geography/products/area-classifications/ns-area-classifications/ns-2011-area-classifications/methodology-and-variables/index.html

[11] Beattie, T. & Fothergill, S. (2016) *The Uneven Impact of Welfare Reform: the financial losses to places and people*. ISBN 978-1-84387-392-1. Sheffield Hallam University: Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research. www.shu.ac.uk/cresr

The indices were expressed in annual rate units based on simple 'annual multipliers' from the 2015 census survey, as in the version used for the Map published in the main report.

Using the Indices

To provide a simple, tractable framework for this exercise we divided indicator scores into three bands in each case, based on the 40th and 80th percentiles. Thus one can divide the LAs into 3x3x3=27 groups based on this. Table D.1 shows the (household-weighted) number of local authorities in each cell in this table. From this it can be seen that certain cells are heavily populated while others have relatively few members. Clearly, our aim is to focus our boost of CSAs on those cells which are well populated but currently not represented within the original 9 CSAs (excluding Belfast).

The most populated cells, shaded in green include those on the principal diagonal (111, 222, 333) and some other adjacent cells (211, 212). There is a very strong case for including new CSAs in these cells, if they do not already have a representative case. In fact, 333 already has two reps (Glasgow and Nottingham), while 122 and 222 have one each (Fife and Swansea). The most populous cell, 111, has only one rep (Wiltshire) and would merit an addition.

Table D.1: Local Authorities by Banding Combinations in terms of three main component destitution indicators (number, weighted by relative size in terms of households)

Count

genband			smdband			Total
			1	2	3	
1	migband	1	75	21	1	97
		2	51	10	2	63
		3	0	3	0	3
	Total		126	34	3	163
2	migband	1	11	37	4	52
		2	11	54	14	79
		3	11	11	9	31
	Total		33	102	27	162
3	migband	1	0	1	11	12
		2	2	6	14	22
		3	3	18	26	47
	Total		5	25	51	81
Total	migband	1	86	59	16	161
		2	64	70	30	164
		3	14	32	35	81
	Total		164	161	81	406

The cells shaded in yellow have moderate numbers of authorities in them and may merit having case studies selected, particularly if that also helps to represent other dimensions in the typology. However, some of these cells are also already represented; particularly 323 which has three reps (the two London boroughs and Peterborough) while 232 is represented by Bournemouth.

He cells shaded in pink have so few authorities in them that it would be difficult to justify including them.

ONS Local Authority Typology

Table D.2 analyses the position in terms of the ONS 'Group' typology. The groups are arranged in ascending order of the level of overall predicted destitution rate. It can be seen that lower rates of destitution are predicted in rural, remote and 'prosperous' surburban localities. In the middle of the range come areas with different types of heritage, including mining, as well as coastal resorts. Scores rise above average for 'growth areas and cities', (former) manufacturing areas, 'multicultural suburbs' and 'business and education centres' e.g. major regional cities with universities and much office employment. At the top of the scale are the more 'cosmopolitan' London

boroughs, but it is perhaps a sign of the times (gentrification, benefit caps, LHA, etc.) that 'cosmopolitan suburbia' now scores higher than 'cosmopolitan central'.

It may also be noted that the scores for migrant related destitution vary the most sharply, by a factor of 13.2 at the extreme (London Cosmo Suburbia vs Rural Coastal and Amenity), whereas SMD varies the least (a factor of 2.5) - the poor with complex needs are always with us. The third, general index or other UK destitute varies only slightly more (factor of 2.8), and this time in line with the overall index, broadly from the most prosperous and rural to the most intense central London. This suggests that picking different off-diagonal elements in the Table D.1 matrix will tend to highlight areas where the level of migrant-related destitution differs markedly from that in the general population (e.g. rural areas with a lot of migrants, or vice versa).

Looking at the left-hand side of Table D.2, we can see that with the existing CSAs Business and Education Centres and London Cosmo Suburbia are well represented, possibly over-represented, while Growth Areas and Cities, Rural Scotland and Heritage Centres are adequately represented. Prosperous England has a lot of authorities represented by one case. Other groups with quite large memberships which lack any representation are in the four rows below that (the three rural groups and Mining Heritage), while the quite important group labelled 'Manufacturing Traits' is also unrepresented. 'Coastal resorts and Services' with 17 members is also unrepresented, but this might be picked up by including a case in 'Rural Coastal and Amenity'.

In the left-hand column, we indicate suggested regions where we might pick up examples of the group in question while at the same time contributing to a fuller coverage of the English regions. In the next column we indicate where the proposed target case studies would sit in this typology, broadly filling the gaps identified above.

Proposed target CSAs

Table D.3, shown below after Table D.2, puts forward the proposed CSAs emerging from this process, together with an alternate in each case. These proposals are discussed further below, after the Tables

Table D.2: Existing and proposed case study areas and destitution indicator scores by ONS local authority groups
(ranked by overall predicted destitution rate)

Case studies							Predictive Indices Destition Rate % (Annual)			
Suggested regional targeting	Target New Case Studies	Existing case studies	Weighted Number of LAs	ONS Group No.	ONS Group Code	Group Description	Migrant-related	Complex Needs related	Other UK General Desitution	Overall Destitution
			N	lagrpno	lagrp11cod	lagrp11desc	pdestmig2aa	pdestsmd2aa	pdestgen2aa	pdestall2aa
		0	6	22	2b	Rural N I, Remote Scot & Glasgow Suburbs	0.135	0.580	0.235	0.950
* esp SE (EH/NH, E/EH	1	1	58	71	7a	Prosperous England	0.264	0.458	0.232	0.953
* maybe WM, YH	1		39	12	1b	Rural Hinterland	0.153	0.567	0.267	0.987
*	1		32	13	1c	Rural England	0.133	0.572	0.287	0.992
* could be SE,YH	1		28	11	1a	Rural Coastal and Amenity	0.106	0.674	0.284	1.064
* esp NE, YH	1		50	82	8b	Mining Heritage	0.207	0.852	0.469	1.528
esp SE	0	1	10	62	6b	Heritage Centres	0.416	0.764	0.351	1.531
			17	61	6a	Coastal Resorts and Services	0.227	0.912	0.427	1.567
		1	22	21	2a	Rural Scotland	0.184	1.030	0.488	1.702
		1	28	41	4a	Growth Areas and Cities	0.524	0.730	0.467	1.722
esp NW or WM or YH	1		26	81	8a	Manufacturing Traits	0.570	0.930	0.526	2.026
			10	42	4b	Multicultural Suburbs	1.000	0.640	0.512	2.152
		3	30	51	5a	Business and Education Centres	0.869	1.162	0.592	2.622
			12	32	3b	London Cosmopolitan Central	1.155	0.930	0.614	2.699
		2	8	31	3a	London Cosmopolitan Suburbia	1.402	0.782	0.643	2.827
	6	9	376		Total	Total	0.466	0.800	0.435	1.701

Table D.3: Proposed and Existing CSAs against ONS group, region and SMD Index bands

ONS Type & Region	Band Migrant	Band SMD	Band General	Number LAs (wtd)	Existing CSA	Proposed CSA	Alternate
7a in SE	1	1	1	75	Wilts(1)	E Herts/(N Herts) + see below	Eastleigh/E Hants
1b in WM, (EM)	2	1	1	51		Herefords UA	Rutland UA
1c, NW	1	2	1	21		CheshireW/Chester UA	Copeland
1a or 6b, SE	2	2	1	10		Lewes/Rother E Sussex (111)	Canterbury Kent
	1	2	2	37	Fife(3)		
	2	2	2	54	Swansea (4)		
8b, NE (WM)	1	1	2	11		Co Durham	Nuneaton & Bed
8a, YH,(WM)	2	1	2	11		Kirklees	E Staffs
	3	2	2	11			
	2	3	2	14	Bournemouth(4)		
	3	2	3	18	Ealing(5)	Newham(5)	Peterborough(5)
	1	3	3	11			
	2	3	3	14			
	3	3	3	26	Glasgow(5)	Nottingham(5)	

In the first row of Table D.3 we show proposed CSA(s) to meet the criteria of being in the band combination 111 (i.e. lowest 40% on all indicators), in ONS group 7a ('Prosperous England') and being in the (Greater) South East. The first suggestion is East Herts district within the County of Hertfordshire (main towns Hertford, Ware, Bishops Stortford), with the possibility of combining this with North Herts (Hitchin-Letchworth-Baldock-Royston). These are relatively affluent commuter areas for London or for industries in the adjacent towns (Stevenage, Luton). The alternate suggested is Eastleigh combined with East Hants in the County of Hampshire. These are also affluent commuter areas with a lot of new housing development. These are areas with two tier local government where the County does Social Services including local welfare funds.

The second row targets band combination 211 (slightly higher migrant destitution, low on the other indicators), which picks up a number of rural hinterland areas (with agricultural sectors attracting migrants). The first suggestion is Herefordshire UA, certainly one of the more rural parts of England, situated in the West Midlands, with a suggested alternate of Rutland (which is in the East Midlands).

The third row targets 121 combinations, where SMD indicators are rather higher but migrant and general destitution measures are relatively low. Here we propose the unitary authority of Cheshire West and Chester, which combines a core historic/administrative town with rural and smaller towns around, in the North West. The alternate proposed, also in the North West, is Copeland, situated in West Cumbria (home of Sellafield) – this would entail engagement with Cumbria CC as well.

The fourth row really captures two variant possibilities. On the one hand, it suggests picking Lewes or Rother in East Sussex, which are really in the (well populated) 111 group but classified as 1a 'Rural Coastal and Amenity' by ONS. Rother is particularly famous for its geriatric profile – it is not clear how relevant that is to this study. A slight alternative proposed in this row is to take Canterbury in Kent, which is classified as 221 and is in ONS group 62, 'Heritage Centres' (already represented by Swansea) – Canterbury district does in fact include both a historic/tourist/university town but also a rural hinterland and a part of the north Kent coast with a coastal retirement profile (in that sense, quite like Lewes).

No further additions are proposed in rows 5 and 6. Row 7 highlights band combination 112 (lower migrant and SMD but higher 'other UK/general'), and ONS group 82 'Mining Heritage'. County Durham seems an obvious first choice here, partly because it is Unitary, although in practice (as with Wiltshire) it might make sense to confine the study to part of the area (i.e.. former districts of Derwentside, Durham City, Wear Valley were chosen). This would also give a representation of the North East region. An alternate suggested is Nuneaton and Bedworth, in Warwickshire in the West Midlands (2 tier local government here).

Row 8 highlights 212, middling scores on destitution with rather less emphasis on SMD, and another key and hitherto missing category from the ONS typology, 8a 'Manufacturing Traits'. Our proposed first choice here is the Met District of Kirklees in West Yorkshire, a predominantly urban area centred on Huddersfield, again an 'all-purpose' authority and giving us representation of Yorks and Humber region. A suggested alternate is East Staffordshire, a non-met district within the County of Staffordshire, centred on the town of Burton on Trent (famous for its beer!).

No additional case studies were proposed in the rows below this given that we already have 6 existing case studies in these. Under these proposals, with first choices going ahead, there would be at least one CSA in each English region and in each UK country.

Contingency Backups for Existing CSAs

We proposed to re-use the previous CSAs, and indeed so far as possible the existing Local Coordinators and sampled agencies, from the previous study, and we were successful in achieving the former. To provide for the contingency that these would not be viable, we also generated a list of suggested alternates, two for each CSA, as shown in Table D.4

Table D.4: Suggested Alternates for contingency of existing CSAs not being viable

Current	Alternate 1	Alternate 2
Wiltshire	West Oxfords	Winchester (if not Eastleigh/E Hants)
Fife	South Lanarks	South Ayrshire
Swansea	Wrexham	Newport
Bournemouth	Exeter	Plymouth
Peterborough	Luton	Wolverhampton
Ealing	Lewisham	Hammersmith & Fulham or Haringey
Newham	Haringey	Hackney
Glasgow	Dundee(23355a)	Aberdeen(23145a) or Manchester(33355a)
Nottingham	Manchester	Coventry

As can be seen, these are mainly 'obvious' substitutes as they come next to or close to the original CSA in the listing falling into the same categories. In one or two cases it is more difficult to find a close alternative, and sometimes the second alternate is a less good fit (e.g. Newport for Swansea, Aberdeen for Glasgow, Wolverhampton for Peterborough).

These identified similar authorities might be useful for future research, as well as giving a wider feel for the coverage of the sample.

Appendix E: Composite Local Authority Level Indicators

A ***detailed indicator*** is constructed for English Local Authorities enabling a disaggregation into ***three broad components*** corresponding the groups discussed in depth in the Final Report, namely migrants, complex needs, and other UK-born destitute.

The component for ***destitute migrants*** is given by the following:

Pdestmig17 =0.45* (0.25*0.5*(*selectmig+selectbirth*) +0.6**pasyls9517*+0.04*(*pcumas+pcumvs*) +0.1**pgintinmig* +0.15*0.2**pcabmig*.

Where

selectmig is one-year migrants from new (post-2004) EU countries plus Africa and the Middle East plus 20% of those from 'Other Asia, 2010-11, from Census of Population, as percentage of resident population.

Selectbirth is one-tenth of the percentage of persons born in Lithuania, Poland, Romania or Africa plus one-fifth of persons born in the Middle East or Other Asia (2011 Census of Population).

pasyls9517 is the number of asylum-seekers (persons) supported under Section 95 for subsistence and/or accommodation in 2017Q2, as percentage of population (Home Office CID)

Pcumas is the estimated cumulative net gains in population since 2001 from Asylum Seekers as recorded in ONS Population Estimates for Local Authorities, Components of Change, 2001-02 to 2007-08, extrapolated to 2014, as percentage of total population

Pcumvs is the estimated cumulative net gains in population since 2001 from Visitor Switchers as recorded in ONS Population Estimates for Local Authorities, Components of Change, 2001-02 to 2007-08, extrapolated to 2014, as percentage of total population

Pgintinmig is the number of gross international in-migrants into LA in 2015/16 as percent of the 2016 Mid Year Estimate population.

Pcabmig is the number of Citizens Advice Bureau advice cases on asylum issues plus one-third of all immigration related cases in 2016/17, subject to imputation of values where overall caseload (presence) very low or very high.

And other variables are defined as above.

<u>Note on weighting</u>. The approach to weighting is broadly as described in section 3.4.. The weights on 0.04 on *pcumas+pcumvs* reflect likely unemployment rate for longer

term stayers from these groups. Lower weight on *pcabmig* reflects both overlap and some reliability issues. When finally calibrating this predictive formula to the census survey estimates of migrant destitution in 2017, a controlling factor of 0.705 was applied (see section 4 of this report).

The second component relates to **destitute complex need (SMD)** population

$Pdestsmd17 = 0.11*0.2*psmdnew + 0.22*0.25*(0.2*(phlnonprior16 + phlpr16) + 0.2*pphlhost + 0.22*avsh1517 + 0.75*pcinsmd)$

where

- *psmdnew* is the proportion per 1000 of the working age population experiencing SMD defined as 2 or 3 out of (single) homelessness, offending and substance misuse, based on combination of
  (a) Supporting People (SP) for 2010/11, including imputed values for non-met districts controlled to county level values,
  (b) the equivalent variable derived from the Offender Assessment System and MOJ Criminal Justice Statistics, averaged over 7 years to 2013, at LA district level (also from *Hard Edges);*
  and (c) the equivalent variable derived from the National Drug Treatment Monitoring System (NDTMS), 2012 at LA District level (from *Hard Edges*).
- *Phlnonprior16* is the number of homeless applicants to local authorities who are classified as 'non-priority' (i.e. mainly single homeless) in 2016/17, as percentage of the total number of households (DCLG Housing Statistics)
- *Phlpr16* is 20% of the cases of homeless prevention enabled to remain in their current accommodation, 40% of the cases of homelessness prevention assisted into alternative accommodation, and all of those where homelessness was not prevented but was relieved in some way, as a percentage of all households. (DCLG Housing Statistics for 2016/17)
- *Avsh1517 is* the average rate of shoplifting crime reported over 3 years 2015-17, as a rate per 100 population (Reported Crime small area data)
- *pcinsmd* is the number of cases of child abuse and neglect per 100 children by Social Services Local Authority, based on Children In Need (CIN) return

There is some modification of this formula, including proxy version of psmdnew, for Scotland and Wales

Note on Weighting. The index is based half on the *Hard Edges* SMD indicators and half on the other indicators. The 0.11 factor in the first term allows for the measures being 'per thousand'. The 0.2 factor for homeless cases and crime convert from an annual to a spot basis. The 0.75 factor for pcinsmd is a slight downweighting to reflect some concerns about robustness and a weaker relationship with other variables. Overall weighting values chosen give estimate of SMD destitute close to results of Census survey for 15 GB case study authorities, with a final controlling factor of 0.9.

The third component relates to the **other or 'general' UK-born destitute** population who do not have complex needs, and is given by

Pdestgen17 =0.28*(0.2*1.0*40*(*predprobsppse*+ *predussp216c*) + 0.4*0.2*psfliv11 + 0.3*pcombsancwa1617 + 0.3*0.2*lostben +0.3*0.2*0.1*loss1116pwak+ 0.3*0.2*hlacrate16 + 0.15*0.5*(*pcabben* + *pcabdebt*+ 0.25*0.1*dhprate).

Where

- *predprobsppse* is the predicted rate of 'severe poverty' based on synthetic logit model derived from PSE 2012 survey analysis (see below)
- *predussp216c* is the predicted rate of 'severe poverty' based on synthetic linear probability model derived from USS 2010-13 survey analysis controlled to actuals at ONS group level (see below)
- *psfliv11* is number of awards of former Social Fund loans for living expenses in 2011, as percentage of all households (DWP)
- *pcombsancwa1617* is the estimated stock of persons subject to JSA or UC sanction in November 2016, as percentage of working age population (derived from DWP Sanctions database)
- *lostben* is the net proportion of the working age population who lost entitlement to relevant benefits (incl IS, IB, DLA, SDA, but excl. JSA) over the recent period (between 2014 and 2017), based on WPLS data published through NOMIS.
- *loss1116pwak* an estimate of the loss of benefit income per working age resident per year (in £k) resulting from welfare reforms and cuts instituted 2011-16, as calculated by Beatty and Fothergill (2016).
- *Hlacrate16* is the priority need homeless acceptance rate in 2016/17, as a percent of households (DCLG Housing Statistics);
- *pcabben* CAB advice cases involving problems of poor administration, challenge or appeal, sanctions or hardship, or DHP-type problems, in relation to selected working age benefits (IS, HB/LHA, WTC, CTC, JSA, ESA, LWF/LSW, CT Reduction) or the Benefit Cap in 2016/17, as percentage of all households, subject to imputation of values where overall caseload (presence) very low or very high;
- *pcabdebt* CAB advice cases involving debt or arrears in 2016/17, as percentage of all households, subject to imputation of values where overall caseload (presence) very low or very high
- *Dhprate* is the number of awards of Discretionary Housing Payments in 2015/16 in respect of HB/LHA shortfalls relating to underoccupation restriction, LHA rent limitation, benefit cap or other factors, as a percentage of the number of households (LA returns to DWP)
- and other variables are as defined above.

<u>Note on weights.</u> Weights of 1.0 are used where indicator measures relevant group as a percentage at a point in time. Weights of 0.2 are used as a rough means of

translating annual flow of cases to a point in time estimate. Weight of 40 on first pair of indicators gives simple average of proportions converted to a percentage. Weight of 0.05 on DHPrate is combination of reduction from annual to point in time (0.2) times downweighting (0.25) to reflect high level of overlap and view that most DHP cases avoid destitution. Overall weight of 0.28 reflects a broad judgement about overlap: e.g. if there were no overlap between the seven component indicators, this figure would be 1, whereas with complete overlap it would be 0.14, so the chosen figure effectively implies considerable overlap. The final value of this parameter was further adjusted to equate the number destitute across 15 GB case studies with the number derived from the Census survey (adjustment factor 1.35.

Synthetic prediction of severe poverty

Two of the component indicators used in the above composites (*predprobsppse* and *predussp216c*) are themselves predictive formulae designed to give a predicted rate of severe poverty (high destitution risk) at the local authority level, based on relationships identified and quantified in analysis of large scale 'micro' sample household surveys, in this case the PSE and the UKHLS. Firstly, severe poverty is *defined* using a combination of factors for individual sample households, broadly lacking several key material essentials, having a very low income (less than 40% of the national median, equivalised for household composition and after housing costs), and subjective experience of poverty (based on well-validated questions), or (in case of UKHLS) experiencing financial difficulty. Secondly, *characteristics* of households which help to *predict* whether they are in severe poverty are *identified* using logistic regression and OLS regression models. Thirdly, the either logistic regression or OLS (alias Linear Probability) model coefficients (i.e. the measured effect of each variable on the outcome) are used in a *'synthetic' model* which makes predictions for localities based on the Population Census and other sourced data, updated to 2016 where possible using APS and other sources or model predictions, for the equivalent variables, at the aggregate level of local authorities. Additional adjustment factors are included to allow for slight differences in definition and mean values.

In summary form, the third stage synthetic model to generate severe poverty based on the PSE survey is as follows

Predprobsppse=4.129*predoddssppse/(1+predoddssppse)

Where

 predoddssppse=exp(-5.49-0.54*0.999*aageu25-0.474*0.996*aage2534-2.899*0.917*aage65ov-0.448*0.998*female
-1.218*1.052*mixoth+1.057*1.075*socrent+0.823*0.637*privrent+0.828*0.554*nocar
+0.408*0.494*hh1-1.16*1.118*hh3
+1.472*1.164*unemp+1.332*1.174*badhlth+1.092*1.132*irben
+0.433*1.013*relhprice2).

Most of the variables here are self-explanatory, apart from 'mixoth' (mixed or other ethnicity), 'hh1' (single person non-elderly household), 'hh3' (household with three or more adults, possibly including children as well), 'irben' (receives income-related benefits).

The equivalent model based on the USS survey is as follows

LPmodussp2= =0.099 -0.007*0.554*ageu30 -0.014*1.208*ov60 -0.020*1.444*hh1 +0.017*2.453*lpfam +0.004*1.333*cfam +0.0021*1.094*nkids -0.0050*0.396*getchild +0.025*1.192*unemp +0.004*1.415*badhlth +0.191*0.420*incscr15
 -0.026*0.960*lginchhyrk +0.018*1.071*famnocar +0.011*0.232*ncplhin
 -0.045*1.054*socrent -0.008*0.861*privrent +0.0010*0.629*linvest_1c
-0.002*1.030*pslets16 +0.116*0.972*findiff.

Variables which may not be self-explanatory include 'incomescore' (IMD/SIMD low income score), 'lginchhyrk' (log of gross household income, in £000, annual), 'ncplhin' (couple household, economically inactive), 'sf12case' (mental health problem), 'mdprice11m' (median house price 2011), 'linvest_1c' (log of estimated savings and investments), 'pslets' (lettings of social rented housing per 100 households), 'findiff' (household in financial difficulty, arrears or falling behind on bills). In this case, for a few variables which are not available from the Census or other sources at local authority level, values are used at the level of Local Authority 'subgroups', using ONS 2011 Classification. Predictions from this model are also controlled at the level of ONS LAGroups.

Appendix F: Sources and Margins of Error in Numerical Estimates

The process of generating national numerical estimates of destitute households and individuals in this research is relatively complicated, involving a number of steps and several distinct types of data and analysis. Therefore, it is not as straightforward as a conventional household survey, where statistical error margins (confidence intervals) can be estimated using standard methods.

Nevertheless, it is possible to identify different potential sources of error at different stages in the process, and to comment on their relative magnitude and direction.

1. The method is built on a 'census-type' self-completion survey of users of a specified range of voluntary sector emergency aid and advice services. Destitute people who do not use such services are not measured at all; this is one of the key reasons our estimates are *conservative*. One significant omitted group in 2015 were those who use Local Welfare Funds but not voluntary services. This group are now included in the 2017 survey.

2. The method is also built on a *definition*, which received much attention in the early stages of the research and in the 2015 Interim Report. People who disagree with this definition will not accept that our estimate of destitution numbers are correct, but any measure must follow a definition and ours is quite defensible, particularly in terms of majority public support for key elements revealed in the Omnibus Survey.

3. People might lie or be selective in what they reveal in the survey. It is not clear that this survey is more vulnerable to this problem than any other. Some people did not answer all the questions, which poses a bit of a problem (as in other surveys). This is only significant in one or two instance, where it would make a difference to the numbers if the true answers for those who did not respond to particular questions were very different from those who did respond (e.g. frequency of use of other services). In 2017 we gave considerable attention to improving the questions used here and also the process of analysing the results, including imputation.

4. Not all service users in the sampled services completed a questionnaire. Overall our *response rate* of 52% is quite good, even when compared with interview surveys, let alone with typical self-completion. In many services response rates were very high. In a few instances they were particularly low and this might make results in that particular locality a bit sensitive. The response rate in 2017 is rather lower than in 2015 (when it was 60%).

5. Underlying this issue is also the accuracy of the '*total weekly users'* figure that we have for each service. While the nature of some services is such that they have a clear count and there is no duplication, there are services (notably homeless drop-in day centres) where the total count includes many repeat users during the week. In these cases we attempted to estimate the number of unique users, for example by comparing the registers on successive days, or relied on the agencies' own estimates of unique users. It is possible that we obtained better estimates of the denominator (number of service users) in 2017, because we paid particular attention to the issue, because interviewers were present for more of the opening times in busy services, and because some services upgraded their data systems to more clearly count unique users. If this were the case, that may have improved our total numerical estimates.

6. Services were sampled from a *sampling frame*, based on the mapping of all services 'in scope' carried out by our local coordinator, sometimes supplemented by direct input from team members. We believe that this mapping/frame was reasonably complete in the case studies. What was a bit less certain was the scale of operation of the different services listed, although we asked local coordinators to try to get an estimate of weekly users. 'Small services' (<10 users /week) were generally excluded, as were some which were thought to have few if any destitute users. Some services might be in a moribund state, or just in a start-up phase. There was a general tendency for some advice services to have less clients in census week than they claimed was the norm. However, specific numbers in the original mapping were not part of the calculation of grossing up factors – what mattered was simply the probability of selection, and this was based on the category (A, AF, B and C) and the general size category (Large, or medium/small), with large services normally having a higher probability of selection. In revisiting the 10 original case study areas we had an opportunity to check and update the mapping of services. In most cases we found modest change. In certain cases there was a bit more change/churn, but overall net change in number of services was small. In one case (Swansea), a larger increase in the number of services suggests the 2015 map may have been incomplete.

7. However, the uncertainties about the number of clients, combined with the wide variation in numbers between individual agencies, and the fact that we only sampled 6-8 in each CSA, mean that inevitably you could get quite wide variation in numbers according to the 'luck of the draw'. This source of variation, or sampling error, is quantifiable. Also, the characteristics of those samples for particular CSAs may be affected by this 'clustering' of the sample in a relatively limited number of agencies. This is actually the *main reason* why we caution against placing too much emphasis on the numbers or profiles for *particular CSAs*. Across the 16 CSAs, with 104 agencies

represented, we believe the results are a robust representation of destitute service users from this generic set of types of agency.

8. The overall sample design is certainly 'complex'. At the top level, 16 case study areas (local authorities or parts thereof) were selected, first in 2015 by a purposive approach informed by data, then in 2017 by an explicit process intended to balance the representation in terms of level and type of expected destitution, local authority type and region. This is explained transparently and in detail in Appendix D. Within each CSA, a second level of sampling unit is the service agency. These themselves were selected on a stratified random basis, with strata defined in terms of 4 types of service and two broad size categories, larger agencies having a higher probability of selection. While clustering (i.e. only surveying in selected services) makes the survey more feasible/affordable, it reduces precision; however, stratification by size and type of agency can counter this to some extent. Within each agency, all service users in a week are invited to participate but we have a further source possible error or bias associated non-response.

9. Because of this level of complexity it is not possible to generate a conventional confidence interval estimates covering the process as a whole. However, with regard to the effect of clustering through the selection of a limited number of service agencies, it is possible to make some estimates of the intrinsic uncertainty associated with that. It we take the 105 service agencies across the 16 CSAs as a whole, the mean number of service users per week is 54.1 and the standard deviation of this is 78.5. Using the standard formula the standard error of the mean would be 7.7 and the 95% confidence interval around the mean would be 15.0, that is 27.8% of the mean number of users. However, that ignores the stratification by size and type. Once you allow for that by grossing up using the reciprocal of probability of selection, the numbers change such that the 95% confidence interval on total service users drops to 21.2%. But that is taking the 16 CSAs as a whole. For a typical individual CSA the CI could be a very high percentage of the mean, e.g. 80%. We could do similar calculations for destitution numbers; destitution rates do not vary so much between agencies, particularly within their sub-categories, so it is expected that this would be similar. So this part of the story is to confirm that, because of the clustering in a limited number of service agencies combined with the high variation in caseload between agencies, there is intrinsically a wide margin of uncertainty about the numbers, notably at the level of any individual CSA, but even taking all of them together. [Deleted previous sentence about confidence interval calculated on typical data from the destitution confidence interval)

10. As discussed in section 3.3 above, in the context of measuring change, while we have employed a fixed definition of destitution, some changes in the way

we asked about income in 2017 may, while improving the overall estimate of destitution in some respects, leave some grounds for uncertainty, particularly about change from 2015. Underlying this, there are inherent limits on the ability of self-completion surveys to capture income accurately and consistently from all respondents.

11. In the light of the above points, we believe we have measured the weekly number of destitute users of non-statutory services in our 16 CSAs*, taken together*, reasonably well. The main issues in going beyond that are in getting from weekly to annual, and in getting from these 16 areas to the whole of the UK, both in terms of numbers and in terms of profile of types of household and their circumstances.

12. The translation from *weekly to annual* depends on the extent of repeat visiting of services. We asked about visits over the last year. If the same people visited services every week over the year, the yearly number would be the same as the weekly number. In fact we estimate that on average they visited this service or other similar services 9 times (=weeks), so implying an annual multiplier of 52/9=5.6. [if the number of users is steady, 52-9=43/52 of them are additional to the ones we observed in census week]. The question on visits to the same service was well answered but that on visits to other services was less well answered, although with revised questions the response was much better than in 2015. We assume that those not answering, typically around half, are more like those who did (the conventional assumption in surveys and when imputing missing data), rather than being people who visited no other services (if they answered the first part of the question with a 'no', we would have coded them as zero). We utilise a Multiple Imputation procedure to predict the number of such visits, as described in section 4. Therefore, given a combination of better question design, fuller response, and a more sophisticated imputation process, we would claim that these annual multiplier estimates are better in 2017.

13. The indexes used to *predict relative expected rates of destitution* at local authority level use a lot of data, typically from administrative systems which record all the cases of people using a particular kind of service or benefit. So there is not generally a problem of sampling error per se. Rather, the issue is one of whether what we can generally call '*proxy measures'* are close enough to destitution itself to provide a robust prediction, singly or in combination. Are they heavily overlapping, in the sense of counting the same people? Are they well *correlated* at the local authority level? Some are closely correlated, others moderately highly correlated, others less so – although nearly always positively correlated. Insofar as different components of these indexes are not wholly overlapping/correlated with one another, are they capturing some different aspects or drivers of destitution? If we had a direct measure of

destitution, would the proxy indicators we are using provide a very good prediction of it, in a regression analysis? Or is this 'model' incomplete, missing an aspect of the problem, or biased by placing too much emphasis on one factor rather than another? Because we do not have a direct measure of destitution, we do not know the answer to these questions.

14. Some of the component indicators have good '*face validity*'. For example, the variable pSFLiv11 (former Social Fund crisis loans for living costs, percent of households, 2011/12) is closely related to the phenomenon of interest, being the former official national system for providing emergency material help to households with no immediate means of livelihood. The indicator of sanctions is justified as relevant because of the evidence from our census survey that quite a lot of destitute households have experienced sanctions, reinforced by qualitative evidence from this and other studies. The composite severe poverty variable 'predprobsppse' was derived from the UK Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey, as the best 'discriminator' in terms of a number of specific measures in that survey of the likely consequences of immediate material hardship e.g. skimping on food; the local authority version of this indicator is the best logistic regression-based predictor of this measure, using proxy variables available in the Census. 'LPmodussp2' is the equivalent based on Understanding Society. The migration indicators relate fairly directly to the main known components groups of migrants at risk of destitution – current and past asylum seekers, visa overstayers, New EU migrants. The complex needs indicators are derived directly from a specific recent national study of this phenomenon (*Hard Edges)* drawing on the main administrative datasets which directly measure the relevant combinations of disadvantages.

15. Some of the component indicators appear to be more weakly correlated with others, and in some cases we can identify weaknesses in the data collection which may contribute to this (e.g. areas of the country where CAB has little or no representation). Indicators in this category are generally given a lower weight.

16. In 2017 many of the indicators used have been updated, some new up-to-date indicators have been included, and some models have been recalibrated. Therefore these predictive indices should on balance work better in 2017.

17. The extension of the sample of case study areas from 10 to 16 has clearly enabled areas across the range of expected levels of destitution to be better represented. Taking advantage of this, we have demonstrated in section 4 that for each component index as well as the overall index the relationship between predicted and actual (survey-based) destitution (weekly) is a well-behaved linear proportional relationship. Therefore we are justified in using a common proportional national multiplier factor for each destitution category.

18. Taken together, these points suggest that we can have reasonable confidence that the national annual estimates of destitution in the UK derived from the 2017 survey are reasonably robust, and probably more accurate in order of magnitude than those for 2015.

19. At the same time it should be emphasized that there are significant margins of uncertainty, based partly on the unavoidably sizeable confidence interval around a highly clustered sample, partly on the reliance for some parameters on a degree of imputation, and partly on the findings reported in Section 3.3 on the issue of measuring change between 2015 and 2017. We would certainly not claim that the measures are more accurate than within a margin of +/-20%.

APPENDIX G: Expected Destitution Levels by Local Authority

Local Authorities by Decile Groups of Destitution in Three Domains and Overall (Case study authorities highlighted in yellow)

LA Name	Migrant-related destmigdcl	Complex Needs destsmddcl	Other UK Destit destgendcl	All Destitute destalldcl
Manchester	10	10	10	10
Liverpool	9	10	10	10
Middlesbrough	9	10	10	10
Birmingham	8	10	10	10
Kingston upon Hull, City of	8	10	10	10
Rochdale	8	10	10	10
Blackpool	3	10	10	10
Barking and Dagenham	10	9	10	10
Glasgow City	10	9	10	10
Tower Hamlets	10	9	10	10
Salford	9	9	10	10
Nottingham	10	10	9	10
Newham	10	8	9	10
Coventry	10	10	8	10
Islington	10	10	8	10
Leicester	10	10	8	10
Newcastle upon Tyne	9	10	8	10
Norwich	8	10	8	10
Haringey	10	9	8	10
Oxford	10	9	8	10
Southwark	10	9	8	10
Ealing	10	8	8	10
Camden	10	10	6	10
Westminster	10	9	6	10
Blackburn with Darwen	7	10	10	9
Hartlepool	6	10	10	9
Burnley	3	10	10	9
Knowsley	1	9	10	9
North Ayrshire	1	7	10	9
Hastings	6	10	9	9
South Tyneside	4	10	9	9
Hackney	9	9	9	9

Wolverhampton	9	9	9	9
Bolton	8	9	9	9
Bradford	7	9	9	9
Lewisham	9	8	9	9
Luton	9	8	9	9
Ipswich	8	8	9	9
Oldham	7	8	9	9
Waltham Forest	10	7	9	9
Hillingdon	9	6	9	9
Lambeth	9	10	8	9
Stoke-on-Trent	8	10	8	9
North East Lincolnshire	3	10	8	9
Hammersmith and Fulham	10	8	8	9
Brent	10	6	8	9
Peterborough	9	10	7	9
Southampton	9	10	7	9
Bristol, City of	8	10	7	9
Lincoln	7	10	7	9
Derby	8	10	6	9
Clackmannanshire	3	7	10	8
Dundee City	7	6	10	8
St. Helens	2	10	9	8
West Dunbartonshire	2	9	9	8
Tameside	6	8	9	8
Walsall	6	8	9	8
Newport	8	7	9	8
Sandwell	8	6	9	8
Enfield	9	4	9	8
Darlington	4	10	8	8
Bury	7	9	8	8
Preston	7	9	8	8
Sunderland	6	9	8	8
Slough	9	8	8	8
Plymouth	6	10	7	8
Gateshead	8	9	7	8
Stockton-on-Tees	7	9	7	8
Portsmouth	8	8	7	8
Cardiff	9	7	7	8
Redbridge	9	6	7	8
Bedford	7	10	6	8
Reading	9	9	6	8
Leeds	7	9	6	8
Hounslow	10	6	6	8

Bournemouth	7	9	5	8
Kensington and Chelsea	10	6	5	8
Cambridge	10	9	4	8
City of London	9	10	2	8
Inverclyde	1	6	10	7
Renfrewshire	4	5	10	7
North Lanarkshire	2	4	10	7
Barrow-in-Furness	1	9	9	7
Hyndburn	3	8	9	7
Halton	1	8	9	7
Thanet	5	7	9	7
Pendle	6	8	8	7
Greenwich	9	3	8	7
Doncaster	6	9	7	7
Mansfield	5	9	7	7
Torbay	2	9	7	7
Gloucester	7	8	7	7
Wigan	7	8	7	7
Croydon	8	7	7	7
Corby	7	7	7	7
Edinburgh, City of	9	4	7	7
Sheffield	8	8	6	7
Swansea	8	7	6	7
Barnet	9	3	6	7
Brighton and Hove	8	9	5	7
Exeter	7	9	5	7
Worcester	5	9	5	7
Lancaster	7	8	5	7
Northampton	8	7	5	7
Wandsworth	9	5	5	7
Harrow	9	4	5	7
Boston	9	7	4	7
Merton	9	5	4	7
South Ayrshire	2	4	10	6
Fife	5	5	9	6
Blaenau Gwent	1	5	9	6
West Lothian	5	4	9	6
North Lincolnshire	6	7	8	6
Wirral	1	7	8	6
Merthyr Tydfil	3	6	8	6
Sefton	2	6	8	6
Shepway	4	5	8	6
Great Yarmouth	5	8	7	6
Calderdale	6	7	7	6
Harlow	6	7	7	6

Telford and Wrekin	4	7	7	6
Thurrock	6	6	7	6
Medway	5	6	7	6
Eastbourne	5	8	6	6
Kirklees	7	7	6	6
North Tyneside	4	7	6	6
Scarborough	4	7	6	6
Redcar and Cleveland	2	7	6	6
Wellingborough	7	5	6	6
Aberdeen City	9	4	6	6
Milton Keynes	7	4	6	6
Carlisle	2	9	5	6
Southend-on-Sea	5	8	5	6
Wakefield	5	8	5	6
Dudley	4	8	5	6
Weymouth and Portland	1	8	5	6
Crawley	8	7	5	6
Rotherham	6	7	5	6
Swindon	7	6	5	6
Barnsley	6	6	5	6
Cheshire West and Chester	3	8	4	6
Colchester	7	6	4	6
Kingston upon Thames	9	6	3	6
Falkirk	2	2	9	5
East Ayrshire	1	5	8	5
South Lanarkshire	2	4	8	5
Caerphilly	1	2	8	5
Bridgend	1	5	7	5
Tendring	1	5	7	5
Gravesham	6	4	7	5
Basildon	4	6	6	5
County Durham	2	6	6	5
Nuneaton and Bedworth	2	6	6	5
Bexley	7	2	6	5
Redditch	5	7	5	5
Warrington	4	7	5	5
Rossendale	2	7	5	5
Allerdale	1	7	5	5
Copeland	1	7	5	5
East Staffordshire	6	6	5	5
Swale	4	6	5	5
Dumfries & Galloway	2	6	5	5

Cannock Chase	1	6	5	5
Tamworth	1	6	5	5
Kettering	5	5	5	5
West Lancashire	5	5	5	5
Dartford	6	4	5	5
Ashfield	1	8	4	5
Fenland	7	7	4	5
Cheltenham	6	7	4	5
King's Lynn and West Norfolk	5	7	4	5
Isle of Wight	2	7	4	5
Chesterfield	1	7	4	5
Canterbury	7	6	4	5
Stockport	4	6	4	5
Angus	3	6	4	5
York	7	8	3	5
Watford	7	7	3	5
Sedgemoor	4	7	3	5
Taunton Deane	4	7	3	5
Bassetlaw	3	7	3	5
West Somerset	3	9	2	5
Midlothian	2	1	8	4
Rhondda Cynon Taf	3	2	7	4
Denbighshire	1	2	7	4
Neath Port Talbot	1	2	7	4
Torfaen	1	2	7	4
Stirling	6	2	6	4
Highland	4	2	6	4
Broxbourne	5	4	5	4
Dover	3	4	5	4
Conwy	1	4	5	4
Scottish Borders	4	3	5	4
Shropshire	4	3	5	4
Wrexham	6	2	5	4
Wyre Forest	1	7	4	4
Worthing	4	6	4	4
Cornwall	2	6	4	4
East Lindsey	2	6	4	4
Chorley	1	6	4	4
Northumberland	3	5	4	4
Wyre	2	5	4	4
Gosport	1	5	4	4
Waveney	1	5	4	4
Ashford	5	4	4	4

Trafford	5	4	4	4
Havering	6	3	4	4
Perth & Kinross	6	3	4	4
North Devon	2	7	3	4
Bath and North East Somerset	7	6	3	4
Breckland	6	6	3	4
Rushmoor	6	6	3	4
South Somerset	4	6	3	4
Cheshire East	3	6	3	4
Newark and Sherwood	3	6	3	4
Forest Heath	7	5	3	4
Broxtowe	6	5	3	4
Maidstone	6	5	3	4
Arun	5	5	3	4
South Kesteven	4	5	3	4
Hertsmere	7	4	3	4
Rugby	6	4	3	4
Stevenage	6	4	3	4
Bromley	5	4	3	4
Mendip	4	7	2	4
Herefordshire, County of	6	6	2	4
Warwick	6	6	2	4
Charnwood	7	5	2	4
South Holland	7	5	2	4
Guildford	8	5	1	4
Isle of Anglesey	1	1	6	3
East Lothian	4	1	5	3
Carmarthenshire	2	1	5	3
Flintshire	2	1	5	3
North Somerset	3	5	4	3
Bolsover	3	4	4	3
Poole	3	4	4	3
Ribble Valley	2	4	4	3
Solihull	2	4	4	3
Erewash	1	4	4	3
The Vale of Glamorgan	1	4	4	3
Argyll & Bute	3	3	4	3
Moray	3	2	4	3
Pembrokeshire	1	2	4	3
Gwynedd	5	1	4	3

Havant	1	6	3	3
Teignbridge	2	5	3	3
Gedling	1	5	3	3
South Ribble	1	5	3	3
West Lindsey	1	5	3	3
Cherwell	6	4	3	3
Basingstoke and Deane	5	4	3	3
Chelmsford	4	4	3	3
Lewes	3	4	3	3
Adur	2	4	3	3
Fylde	2	4	3	3
Dacorum	4	3	3	3
Epping Forest	4	3	3	3
Braintree	2	3	3	3
Bracknell Forest	6	2	3	3
Spelthorne	6	2	3	3
Sutton	6	2	3	3
Richmond upon Thames	7	1	3	3
Newcastle-under-Lyme	4	6	2	3
Stafford	4	5	2	3
North Norfolk	3	5	2	3
Eden	2	5	2	3
Oadby and Wigston	7	4	2	3
Chichester	5	4	2	3
Huntingdonshire	5	4	2	3
Richmondshire	5	4	2	3
Woking	7	3	2	3
Wycombe	6	3	2	3
South Lakeland	4	6	1	3
Runnymede	7	4	1	3
East Cambridgeshire	6	4	1	3
Castle Point	1	2	4	2
North Warwickshire	1	2	4	2
Ceredigion	6	1	4	2
North West Leicestershire	2	4	3	2
Torridge	1	4	3	2
East Renfrewshire	2	3	3	2
Amber Valley	1	3	3	2
Forest of Dean	1	3	3	2
Ryedale	3	2	3	2
Powys	2	1	3	2
Hinckley and Bosworth	2	5	2	2
Broadland	1	5	2	2

St Edmundsbury	4	4	2	2
Rother	2	4	2	2
Stroud	1	4	2	2
Central Bedfordshire	5	3	2	2
East Northamptonshire	4	3	2	2
East Hertfordshire	3	3	2	2
Mid Devon	3	3	2	2
North Hertfordshire	3	3	2	2
Tewkesbury	3	3	2	2
Wiltshire	3	3	2	2
Blaby	2	3	2	2
High Peak	1	3	2	2
Brentwood	5	2	2	2
Daventry	5	2	2	2
Reigate and Banstead	5	2	2	2
Tunbridge Wells	5	2	2	2
West Berkshire	5	2	2	2
Cotswold	4	2	2	2
Selby	3	2	2	2
Aylesbury Vale	6	1	2	2
Three Rivers	5	1	2	2
Malvern Hills	4	5	1	2
Rutland	4	5	1	2
South Norfolk	3	5	1	2
West Devon	2	5	1	2
Aberdeenshire	4	4	1	2
Wychavon	4	4	1	2
Melton	2	4	1	2
North Kesteven	2	4	1	2
Bromsgrove	1	4	1	2
Harrogate	5	3	1	2
Winchester	5	3	1	2
Windsor and Maidenhead	7	2	1	2
Epsom and Ewell	6	1	1	2
Monmouthshire	1	1	3	1
Craven	3	2	2	1
Hambleton	3	2	2	1
Babergh	2	2	2	1
East Riding of Yorkshire	2	2	2	1
Christchurch	1	2	2	1
Lichfield	1	2	2	1
Maldon	1	2	2	1

South Derbyshire	1	2	2	1
South Gloucestershire	5	1	2	1
Shetland Islands	3	1	2	1
Fareham	2	1	2	1
East Dunbartonshire	1	1	2	1
Eilean Siar	1	1	2	1
North Dorset	3	4	1	1
West Dorset	1	4	1	1
East Devon	2	3	1	1
South Hams	2	3	1	1
Staffordshire Moorlands	1	3	1	1
South Cambridgeshire	5	2	1	1
Vale of White Horse	5	2	1	1
Horsham	4	2	1	1
Mid Sussex	4	2	1	1
Stratford-on-Avon	4	2	1	1
Test Valley	4	2	1	1
Eastleigh	3	2	1	1
Purbeck	3	2	1	1
Rushcliffe	3	2	1	1
Suffolk Coastal	3	2	1	1
Wealden	3	2	1	1
Harborough	2	2	1	1
North East Derbyshire	1	2	1	1
Elmbridge	7	1	1	1
South Bucks	6	1	1	1
Wokingham	6	1	1	1
Hart	5	1	1	1
South Oxfordshire	5	1	1	1
Surrey Heath	5	1	1	1
Waverley	5	1	1	1
West Oxfordshire	5	1	1	1
Chiltern	4	1	1	1
East Hampshire	4	1	1	1
Mole Valley	4	1	1	1
Sevenoaks	4	1	1	1
South Northamptonshire	4	1	1	1
Tandridge	4	1	1	1
New Forest	3	1	1	1
Tonbridge and Malling	3	1	1	1
Uttlesford	3	1	1	1

Isles of Scilly	2	1	1	1
Orkney Islands	2	1	1	1
Derbyshire Dales	1	1	1	1
East Dorset	1	1	1	1
Mid Suffolk	1	1	1	1
Rochford	1	1	1	1
South Staffordshire	1	1	1	1

APPENDIX H: TOPIC GUIDE FOR QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

1. Current Situation

- Where are you living at the moment? How long have you been living there? Where were you living before that? Why did you leave there? Does anyone else live with you? (probe household composition)
- How do you 'get by' just now/what sources of income do you have? Probe: paid work, benefits (which ones; on Universal Credit yet?), family, friends, charitable organisations/ religious organisations, other (e.g. begging, selling Big Issue)?
- *If mention begging now/in census questionnaire ask:*
- ➢ *Can I ask how and where you ask people for money? How long ago did you start doing this/how often do you do it? Why did you first start? What you spent/spend the money on?*

2. Destitution definition

- ➢ Use starting blurb along lines of: "it's helpful for us to know what things people have had to go without recently because they can't afford to pay for them. Can I ask, in the last month, have you done without.... [ASK PAGES 1-3 IN CENSUS QUESTIONNAIRE]
- Is this the first time you/they had to do without [good] or has this happened before (probe: how long ago did it first happen, how often have you found yourself in that situation, etc.)
- Can I ask how it came about that you had to do without [good]?
- *If more than one deprivation*: Were you doing without all of these things at the same time or different times? Can you remember what order it happened in? Why did it happen that way round? (Trying to get at trade-offs/prioritisation)
- Did you seek help from anyone to try to get the things you needed? (Probe: parents, other family, friends, charities, religious bodies, foodbanks, Local Welfare Assistance Fund, social work department, housing association, etc.) How did you feel about seeking help from this source/relying on them to help you? What would you say was the most/least useful help provided? Why?

3. Relevant experiences

- In your answers to the questionnaire, you indicated that in the twelve months before April, you had experienced problems with [INSERT RESPONSES TO QUESTION 8 IN CENSUS QUESTIONNAIRE]. Would you be willing to tell me a bit more about this/these problems?
- When did [problem] start? Is it still going on? Was this the first time you had experienced a problem of this kind? Did you see this problem coming, or was it unexpected?

- Can you remember what order these problems happened in? Were they linked at all? [try to establish chronology and whether one problem led to another].
- Were any of these problems linked to your having to do without the things we discussed/having no or hardly any income? [i.e. probe link with destitution]
- Can I just check, have you experienced any of these other things [REMAINING Q8 PROBLEMS] in the past 12 months? In the past 3 years? When did it start/still going on? Linked to the other problems you mentioned?

4. Accessing advice

For each Q8 experience indicated by the respondent ask

- When you first experienced this problem did you seek any advice/help? Where from? How useful was that? Did you seek any other advice/help further down the line? How useful did you find that?
- In the last 3 years, have you approached any of the following for help or advice? 1. Shelter 2. Citizens Advice 3. Consumer Direct 4. Community Legal Advice (accessible online only] 5. National Debtline 6. Solicitors 7. Law Centres 8. Financial Services Ombudsman 9. Local Government Ombudsman 10. Local council 11. Local MP 12. Online (but not any of the above)
  - ➢ If not, have you heard of them/know anything about them? (And if seems appropriate) Any particular reason why you didn't approach them?
  - ➢ If yes, what made you decide to approach them? (probe: recommendation from friends and family? Saw advert/advert online? Approached previously about a different problem?). How helpful were they? Any problems/issues (e.g. cost, waiting time, attitude, responsiveness, accessibility, etc.)
  - ➢ If sought help from the Internet: What search terms did you use? What sites did you visit / found useful?
- If sought advice from a solicitor or Shelter, Citizens Advice or a Law Centre, or went through Community Legal Advice Website) Did you apply for legal aid/Do you know if they applied for legal aid to help you?
- Have you ever had to visit a court or tribunal about this problem? Did you go on your own? Did you get any help or advice at the tribunal or immediately before? Can you remember who you got advice from (duty solicitor, member of staff from advice agency)? What was the outcome? Were you happy with the outcome? If so, why? If not, why not?

Then follow up with:

- In the last 3 years, have you approached any of these organisations [INSERT LEGAL EDUCATION FOUNDATION list] in relation to any other problem not mentioned before? [i.e. not Q8 experiences ticked on the Census].
- If yes and if it was broadly related to destitution, probe using the above questions.

5. Debt to authorities

If the respondent is / has been in debt to authorities in the last 3 years (Council Tax, rent arrears if in council housing, old Social Fund loans, any benefit advances,

benefit overpayments, etc) explore in what manner the authority has tried to reclaim the debt. In particular,

- In setting terms of repayment, has the authority taken into account the respondent's ability to repay the debt?
- *If the respondent tried to negotiate terms of repayment*, has the authority been understanding / receptive?
- Has the repaying of debt caused destitution?
- Has the respondent got high-interest loans from other sources to repay that debt?
- *If the respondent had two (or more) debts to two (or more) authorities*, have those different authorities communicated with each other to co-ordinate the repayment so that the respondent was not over-burdened?
- Etc – anything that you think is relevant.

6. Impacts

- Would you be able to tell me a bit more about how these problems/doing without these things have affected you? (probe as appropriate):
  - ➢ Physical/mental health (including sense of control over one's life/ hope / long-term prospects [if respondent says destitution impacted on health, ask how health was before destitution]
  - ➢ Experiences of discrimination/stigma
  - ➢ Ability to participate in labour market/caring roles / other societal contributions
  - ➢ Social and support networks (positive/negative impacts – e.g. friendships stronger/weaker as a result of destitution)

7. Routes out

- Would you say that your situation is better, worse or the same as around April this year? Why?
- *If still destitute*, How confident are you that your situation will improve? Why/why not? What would make a difference/give you confidence that things will change? (Probe if related to Q8 problems)
- *If no longer destitute / situation improved*, What made your situation better? [Probe external factors and own agency]. Are you worried that you that you might find yourself doing without again? Why/why not? (If appropriate) What is it that you are most concerned about? (Probe whether related to Q8 problems)
- Do see you see yourself facing similar [Q8 problems] in the future/ if ongoing do you think they are likely to be resolved? If you had a problem like that again, would do the same thing, or something different? Would you seek advice? Who from?

APPENDIX I: CODING OF QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

ATTRIBUTES

(i.e. characteristics attached to the transcripts as a whole)

- Case study location
- Agency type (4 categories)
- Gender - M/F
- Age - under 25; 25-45; over 45
- Household type
- Migration status: UK national; asylum; EEA migrant; other migrant
- Complex needs - y/n
- Disabilities - y/n
- Currently destitute - y/n
- Housing tenure/situation - sleeping rough; hostel/reception centre/other institutional; other homeless/TA; social tenant; private tenant; home owner; family/friends/partner; other

CODES

(For migrants to UK, main codes only applies to experiences since coming to the UK - 'additional migrant codes' covered pre-UK experiences as well as migrant-specific UK experiences)

1.	Universal Credit	UC
2.	Employment	EMP HIS
3.	Benefits received	BEN
4.	Job seeking activities/Work Programme etc.	EMP SEEK
5.	Qualifications/education/skills	QUAL/EDU
6.	Volunteering activities	VOL
7.	Children (any mention)	CHILD
8.	Caring responsibilities (other than for children)	CARER
9.	Food	FOOD
10.	Heating	HEAT
11.	Lighting	LIGHT
12.	Clothes and shoes	CLOTH
13.	Toiletries	TOIL
14.	Sleeping rough	ROUGH
15.	Other essentials (mobile phones, bus fares, non-prescription meds, household cleaners etc)	OTH ESS
16.	Patterns of destitution (length of time/order of deprivations, trade-offs, etc)	PATT
17.	Housing circumstances/conditions/affordability	HOUSE
18.	Homelessness	HLESS
19.	Eviction	EVICT
20.	Physical ill health/disability	PH
21.	Mental ill health	MH
22.	Substance misuse	SUBST
23.	Prison/offending/police	PRIS
24.	Hospital	HOSP
25.	Being in care/leaving care	CARE L
26.	Relationship breakdown/divorce/separation	RELAT
27.	Domestic violence	DV

28.	Loss of a job/unemployment	JOB LOSS
29.	Problem debt	PROB DEBT
30.	Benefit sanctions	SANCT
31.	Benefit delays/errors/reassesments	BEN DEL / BEN ERR
32.	Benefit cuts/restrictions	BEN PROB
33.	Routes in/causes (generally)	CAUSE
34.	Experiences of seeking advice	ADVICE
35.	Legal Aid/courts/tribunals etc.	LEGAL
36.	Foodbanks	FB
37.	Help from family	HELP FAM
38.	Help from friends	HELP FRI
39.	Help from charities/churches	HELP CHAR
40.	Help from Local Welfare Assistance Scheme /SWF etc.	LWAS / SWF
41.	Help from social work department/Section 12 etc./other LA help	HELP SW
42.	Help from other organisations (housing association, trade unions, etc.)	HELP OTH ORG
43.	Begging	BEG
44.	Other sources of income (e.g. selling Big Issue, etc)	OTH INCOME
45.	Stigma/shame/embarassment	STIG
46.	Social support networks/isolation	SOC SUP
47.	Impacts of destitution	IMP
48.	Hope/priorities for the future (education/skills, work, health, relationships, etc)	FUT PRIO
49.	Routes out of destitution	ROUTE

ADDITIONAL MIGRANT CODES

50.	Problems with legal status/process	LEGAL
51.	Length of time in UK	LENGTH
52.	Experience of destitution in home country	DEST HOME
53.	Reasons for migrating to UK	MIG REAS
54.	Right to work in UK	RIGHT WORK
55.	Recourse to public funds/benefits in UK	NRPF / RPF
56.	Plans to stay/leave UK (incl. reasons for not going back)	MIG PLANS