

JRF Programme Paper
Destitution in the UK

**DESTITUTION IN THE UK:
AN INTERIM REPORT**

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This paper:

- reviews existing evidence about destitution in the UK;
- analyses expert definitions of destitution;
- provides new evidence on the general public's views on destitution;
- summarises early results from a statistical analysis of households in severe poverty and potentially at risk of destitution.

**The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF)
commissioned this paper as part of its
programme on destitution, which aims to help
explain the causes of destitution and identify
ways to reduce it.**

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Executive summary

Background

There is a widespread perception that destitution is increasing sharply in the UK. Media attention devoted to the prevalence of extreme hardship, and to the increased use of food banks in particular, is indicative of increasing public concern. Prominent public figures have made connections between destitution and government policies on immigration and asylum, welfare reform, homelessness, and exploitation and forced labour. Yet quantitative evidence on the causes, scale, trends and distribution of destitution in the UK is difficult to come by, as is data on the characteristics of those affected and the impact that this experience has on them.

Moreover, what exactly is meant by the term 'destitution' in the contemporary UK context is open to wide interpretation. It seems unarguable that destitution is related to severe income poverty and material deprivation. However, the extent to which it should be interpreted as involving a threat to basic physiological functioning – being able to physically survive – is unclear. Destitution, however defined, should certainly be viewed as the lowest end of a spectrum of material hardship that also includes people living in poverty, including its more severe forms, but not actually destitute.

Research aims

The aims of this study are to answer the following questions:

- How should 'destitution' be defined in the contemporary UK context?
- How much destitution is there in the UK?
- Who is affected by it?
- How has this changed over time?
- What are the main drivers of rising/falling/changing patterns of destitution?
- What are the main pathways into and out of destitution?
- What are the experiences and impacts of destitution for the people directly affected?
- How should public policy respond to destitution?

Research methods

The five main stages of research are:

Stage 1: A literature review to examine the existing knowledge on the scale, trends, experience, causes and impacts of destitution in the UK.

Stage 2: In-depth interviews and focus group discussions with 50 expert key informants across all four UK jurisdictions.

Stage 3: An omnibus survey ¹ to test public opinion on the appropriate definition of destitution today.

Stage 4: Analysis of secondary data sets (e.g. administrative data from government and charitable agencies, and largescale survey data) to generate a quantitative profile of people in severe poverty, and potentially close to destitution, in the UK, and to explore relevant trends over time.

Stage 5: In-depth case studies of the scale and nature of destitution in ten locations across the UK, comprising: a one-week 'census survey' ² of users of a representative set of crisis services, local key informant interviews, and in-depth interviews with people with direct experience of destitution. This case study selection has been informed by the Stage 4 secondary data analysis, which has been used to classify local authorities across the UK, and to quantify their expected relative levels of destitution.

The study started in May 2014 and will be completed in October 2015. This interim report summarises progress at mid-February 2015, and draws mainly on work now completed under Stages 1–3 above, though we also report on preliminary results from Stage 4.

Developing a definition of destitution in the UK

The process of developing the definition of destitution for use in this study was pursued initially through key informant interviews and focus group discussions, aided by the use of vignettes – hypothetical but realistic case studies – to test the boundaries of expert definitions of destitution.

This process uncovered a widespread consensus about the importance of adopting a definition of destitution that was: material (i.e. not social); narrow (in order not to devalue the term); based primarily on objective and specific forms of deprivation (rather than particular income levels or subjective notions of poverty).

However, there were also some areas of expert disagreement and/or uncertainty, including:

- issues of choice/culpability (i.e. is it possible to be 'voluntarily destitute?');
- concerns around duration and future prospects (i.e. how long does one have to lack these items before one is considered destitute?);
- the source of the resources that enable you to meet your essential living needs (i.e. are some sources so 'unacceptable' or 'unsustainable' that reliance on them should properly be considered to amount to destitution?).

After completing this expert consultation phase of the study, we proposed that the definition of '*destitution*' adopted in this study should encompass those who:

- suffer an enforced lack of the following minimum material necessities: shelter, food, heating, lighting, clothing and basic toiletries.

or

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

This proposed definition of destitution therefore relies primarily on lacking material essentials because of an inability to pay for them (i.e. is deprivation based), but includes a secondary (alternative) criterion which is income based. This secondary criterion was included to ensure that the definition was not overly strict in excluding people who, while they may not have as yet experienced deprivation, have resources that are so low that they are unable to meet their own needs (either in the recent past or immediate future). Key examples would include newly arrived migrants or women fleeing domestic violence who are bereft of possessions or an income. We concluded that such groups should be considered destitute immediately – because they have no visible means of support – rather than only after they have actually slept rough, starved, etc.

Testing a definition of destitution with the public

To ensure that this definition of destitution, developed in consultation with experts, was supported by the broader public, questions were placed on an omnibus survey of more than 2,000 adults across the UK. The results provided strong endorsement of our 'in-principle' definition by a representative cross-section of the UK public. They also provided a very clear steer on the detailed parameters of the definition, allowing us to settle on its final, operational form as presented below.

Definition of destitution

1. People are destitute if they, or their children, 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 per cent 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.

The next steps

The ten in-depth case studies in the Stage 5 fieldwork – and in particular the 'census survey' of users of a representative set of crisis services – will provide the principal source of data to answer our core research questions about the scale and nature of destitution in the UK.

This data will be combined with findings from the Stage 4 secondary data analysis to deliver a national estimate of the number of adults and children living in households affected by destitution in the UK. Our early results from this secondary data analysis indicate that severe poverty is much more prevalent among lone parent families, and somewhat so more among single person households and younger households. It is much higher among renters (social and private), and among those who are unemployed, long-

term sick or disabled, or caring for others, while being very low among those who are retired. Severe poverty is higher for several minority ethnic groups. The regional geography shows severe poverty higher in London, Wales, Scotland, West Midlands, North West and North East of England, particularly in the metropolitan areas.

This largescale secondary data analysis on severe poverty will enable us to translate our census survey findings into national quantitative estimates of the destitute population, and of its socio-demographic profile, while also providing evidence on trends over time and possible causal factors.

At the same time the in-depth interviews with people directly affected by destitution, which we will conduct as part of the local case studies, will allow for qualitative analysis of routes in and out, and deepen our understanding of the experiences and impacts of destitution. It will also enable us to place this extreme experience in the broader context of people's lifecourse 'journeys', including through varying degrees of hardship and poverty.

Introduction

It is extremely timely to examine destitution in the UK; there is a widespread perception that this phenomenon is increasing sharply. Media attention devoted to the prevalence of extreme hardship, and to the increased use of food banks in particular, is indicative of an escalation in public concern (Cooper and Dumbleton, 2013; Butler, 2014; Cooper *et al.*, 2014).³ Yet with some notable exceptions (Smart and Fullegar, 2008; Smart, 2009), quantitative evidence on the scale, trends and distribution of destitution in the contemporary UK is difficult to come by, as is data on the characteristics of those affected and the impact that this experience has on them.

At the same time, recent interventions by religious leaders, charities, politicians and researchers have made a connection between destitution and developments in immigration and asylum policy (Garapich, 2010; Dwyer *et al.*, 2011; Kumarappan *et al.*, 2013), welfare reform and administration (Webster, 2013; Watts *et al.*, 2014), homelessness policy and services for those with complex needs (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2013, 2015), and exploitation and forced labour (de Lima *et al.*, 2011; Lewis *et al.*, 2013). But the evidence available to directly link these policy and social developments to pathways into and out of destitution is patchy, incomplete and often heavily disputed.

Moreover, what exactly is meant by the term 'destitution' in the contemporary UK context is open to wide interpretation. It seems unarguable that destitution is related to severe income poverty and material deprivation (Lewis *et al.*, 2013). However, the extent to which it should be interpreted as involving a threat to basic physiological functioning – being able to physically survive – is unclear. Destitution may also be thought to imply an extreme position of marginality with respect to social institutions (the market, the state, civil society and the family) that serve to protect most people from acute want (Sharam and Hulse, 2014). However, whether any such social dimension should be incorporated within a formal definition of destitution is a matter yet to be settled in the UK literature.

The existing literature and expert opinion suggests that destitution, however it is defined, should be viewed as the lowest end of a spectrum. This spectrum ranges from the wealthy and those who are securely on middle incomes, through those with modest but adequate means, to those who are near or below the poverty line, to those in severe poverty and, at the bottom, those who are destitute. There is growing acceptance that the poverty line is best defined with reference to a combination of low relative income and lack of socially perceived material necessities (Townsend 1979; Mack and Lansley, 1985; Gordon and Pantazis, 1997; MacKay and Collard, 2004; Pantazis *et al.*, 2006; Guio, 2010; PSE, 2011; Hick, 2013; Lansley and Mack, 2015), and severe poverty may also be defined on this basis (Brewer *et al.*, 2009). JRF's Minimum Income Standards (MIS) research provides a similar framework (Bradshaw, 1993; Hirsch, 2011). There is considerable evidence that living in poverty affects people's health, education, work, prospects and life expectancy

(Blanden *et al.*, 2008; Griggs and Walker, 2008; Marmot, 2011; Stiglitz, 2012), while adding considerable costs to the public budget (Bramley and Watkins, 2008). This study focuses on a subset of this broader poverty issue – the more extreme experiences associated with destitution. Charitable and faith based organisations clearly play a major role in the provision of services such as food banks and soup kitchens which help people who are destitute or may be at risk of destitution (Sosenko *et al.*, 2013). This poses important questions about where the right balance lies between civil society and the state, and between the competing ethical norms of 'charity' and 'rights', in this area of extreme need (Watts, 2014).

The aims of this study are to answer the following questions:

- How should 'destitution' be defined in the contemporary UK context?
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- What are the main drivers of rising/falling/changing patterns of destitution?
- What are the main pathways into and out of destitution?
- What are the experiences and impacts of destitution for the people directly affected?
- How should public policy respond to destitution?

The five main stages of research are:

Stage 1: A review of relevant academic and 'grey' literature to examine the existing state of knowledge on the scale, trends, experience, causes and impacts of destitution in the UK.

Stage 2: In-depth interviews and focus group discussions with 50 expert key informants across all four UK jurisdictions to deepen our understanding of destitution in different policy, sectoral and institutional contexts.

Stage 3: An omnibus survey to test public opinion on the appropriate definition of destitution in the contemporary UK.

Stage 4: Analysis of secondary data sets (e.g. administrative data from government and charitable agencies, and largescale survey data) to generate a quantitative profile of people in severe poverty, and potentially close to destitution, in the UK, and to explore relevant trends over time.

Stage 5: In-depth case studies of the scale and nature of destitution in ten purposively selected geographical locations across the UK. The centrepiece of these case studies is a

one-week 'census survey' of users of a representative set of relevant services to collect data on the number and characteristics of people experiencing destitution in that locality. This data will be combined with findings from the secondary data analysis to deliver a national estimate of the number of adults and children living in households affected by destitution in the UK. These case studies will also involve local key informant interviews and consultation workshops, and qualitative interviews with people with direct experience of destitution.

In all of this work, the research team is being supported by a large, diverse and highly proactive project advisory group.

The study started in May 2014 and will be completed in October 2015. This interim report summarises progress by mid February 2015, and draws mainly on work now completed under Stages 1–3, though we also report on preliminary results from Stage 4.

Section 2 of the report reviews the existing evidence base on destitution in the UK, while Sections 3 and 4 focus on the development of the definition of destitution that we have adopted for the study, based on both an extensive expert consultation process (Section 3) and polling of the general public (Section 4). Section 5 summarises early results of our secondary data analysis, and indicates how this has been used to inform the selection of the ten case study sites for the main stage fieldwork, and to provide a national-level backdrop to the results from these intensive local case studies. Finally we summarise the next steps that will enable us to deliver on the core research aims of providing an overall estimate of the scale, patterns and trends of destitution in the UK, and an account of the experiences and impacts associated with it.

As noted above, while this study is tightly focused on the extreme state of deprivation represented by the concept of destitution, the authors recognise that this experience sits within the much broader context of severe and other forms of poverty and hardship faced by many people across the UK. The specific focus of this study should in no way be taken to imply that destitution is the only form of material need or lack that warrants a robust public policy response, or that we should not be concerned about people who do not fall into this narrow sub-category. The findings of this study should be read alongside the research published by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in their *Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion Series* (MacInnes *et al.*, 2014) as well as other major sources of evidence about poverty, disadvantage and need in the UK, for example the UK Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey (PSE) (Gordon *et al.*, 2013; Lansley and Mack, 2015).

Existing evidence about destitution in the UK

Introduction

Our review of the existing literature indicates that, in the UK, the main contexts within which discussion of destitution has tended to arise has been with respect to asylum seekers and refugees, and to a lesser extent other migrant groups, including undocumented migrants and economic migrants from the European Economic Area (EEA). More recently, the disputed relationship between welfare reform, the rapid expansion in food aid, and destitution and homelessness among UK nationals, has become a key focus of concern. Another area of growing anxiety has been the interrelationship between destitution, forced labour and other forms of 'modern slavery'. The current state of evidence in the UK on the scale, nature and causes of destitution is summarised below under each of these themes.

Asylum seekers and refugees

The main reference to the concept of destitution in UK law is found in Section 95 of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, which determines the circumstances under which asylum seekers can receive various forms of support, and states that:

“... a person is destitute if:

- a. he does not have adequate accommodation or any means of obtaining it (whether or not his other essential living needs are met); or*
- b. he has adequate accommodation or the means of obtaining it, but cannot meet his other essential living needs” .*

The causes of destitution among asylum seekers are attributed by most commentators to two major long-term trends in immigration policies and legislation: the systematic reduction of welfare and housing entitlements available to asylum seekers on their arrival in the UK (Phillips, 2006; Netto and Fraser, 2009); and restrictions in access to the labour market. Refused asylum seekers have no right to work and generally no recourse to public funds; only under stringent conditions can they apply for very limited state support.

Since the early 1990s, successive Acts of Parliament have removed many of the legal and welfare entitlements which asylum seekers had previously had in the UK (Allsopp *et al.*, 2014). The 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act in particular brought about significant changes to the way in which housing and support provision for asylum seekers was provided. The Act centralised support mechanisms under the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) of the Home Office, which came into operation in 2000. NASS negotiated housing provision through a network of regional consortia, who secured contracts with local authorities, private landlords and housing associations, often in areas of 'low housing demand'. Asylum seekers applying for Section 95 support for the period during which their

asylum application and any subsequent appeal is considered, could apply for subsistence-only support or for subsistence and accommodation. Those who apply for the latter have to accept accommodation in a 'no choice dispersal' area, which will be outside of London and the South East.

Further changes in the form of the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 increased control over the asylum-seeking process through the introduction of accommodation and removal centres and the introduction of Section 55, which prohibits support for asylum seekers who fail to make their claim as soon as 'reasonably practicable' after their arrival in the UK. In 2005, the Court of Appeal ruled that the Home Office was in breach of Article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights, which prohibits 'torture and inhuman or degrading treatment' (Crawley *et al.*, 2011). Although Section 55 remained, asylum seekers could now only be denied support if NASS was satisfied that they had alternative means of support. Nonetheless concerns about destitution and homelessness among those affected by Section 55 remain (Allsopp *et al.*, 2014).

Also since 2002, asylum applicants have not been allowed to work until given a positive decision on their asylum application or until they have spent more than one year waiting for the decision (Aspinall and Watters, 2010). The goal of these policies appeared to be to reduce 'incentives' for asylum seekers to come to the UK as they are sometimes viewed as *de facto* economic migrants.

More recent causes of destitution have been attributed to underclaiming by many refused asylum seekers of Section 4 support (Smart, 2009). Section 4 is a form of accommodation and subsistence support given to refused asylum seekers who can show that they are destitute (according to the above definition), and is intended as a short-term mechanism for people about to leave the country. In order to receive Section 4 support, refused asylum seekers must be willing to return to their country of origin on a voluntary basis. If an individual cannot, or will not, commit to voluntary return, and they cannot be forcibly returned by the UK government for logistical reasons, they may risk long-term destitution.

It is important to note that both Section 95 and Section 4 forms of support, particularly the latter, are paid at much lower rates than that provided through mainstream benefits, amounting to around half of that received by equivalent households under Income Support (Refugee Action, 2014). When asylum support was introduced in 2000, payments were fixed at 70 per cent of mainstream benefit rates, and were increased in line with these benefits until 2008, when this link was broken. Since April 2011 there has been no increase in the rates of support paid under Section 95. In April 2014, following a judicial review initiated by Refugee Action, the High Court ruled that the way the Secretary of State had calculated levels of support provided under Section 95 was unlawful and ordered a reassessment. The Secretary of State provided more detailed calculations in August 2014 and based on these decided not to increase the levels of support.

Also importantly for this discussion, Section 4 support is delivered through a plastic payment card – Azure – which can only be used with certain retailers. It has been argued that the use of the card is dehumanising and humiliating, and increases the vulnerability of individuals to hostility (Mulvey, 2009; Reynolds, 2010; Carnet *et al.*, 2014a).

A series of studies have identified administrative errors and delays and the poor quality of decision-making as major causes of destitution among refugees as well as asylum seekers, and have stressed that problems of destitution are inherent in the asylum system (Refugee Survival Trust, 2005; Brown, 2008; Lewis, 2009). Concern has been expressed, for example, at the number of successful asylum applicants who become destitute after receiving leave to remain, with the transfer period from asylum support to mainstream benefits described as a 'real ordeal' for many new refugees (Carnet *et al.*, 2014b).

Several studies and audits have been carried out over the years to estimate the levels of destitution among asylum seekers and to document its impacts at a local level (Coventry Refugee Centre, 2004; Malfait and Scott-Flynn, 2005; Amnesty International, 2006; Brown, 2008), and more widely (Green, 2005; Refugee Action, 2005, 2006; Refugee Survival Trust, 2005; Dumper *et al.*, 2006; Mulvey, 2009; Smart and Fullegar, 2008; Smart, 2009; Crawley *et al.*, 2011).

Notably, two 'destitution tallies' have been undertaken by six leading refugee agencies, with destitution defined for this purpose as 'currently [having] no access to benefits, UKBA support or income and either street homeless or staying with friends only temporarily.' (Smart and Fullegar, 2008; Smart, 2009). The tallies recorded every visit made by people using the services of these refugee agencies (in England, Scotland and Wales) over a period of one month in 2007 and again in 2008. The first destitution tally found that 1,524 visits (over 40 per cent of the total) were made by destitute people, and that over half (58 per cent) of the visits made by destitute people were made by refused asylum seekers. The second destitution tally confirmed this picture, with 1,972 recorded visits being made by destitute people (48 per cent of the total), with 60 per cent of these visits by destitute people being made by refused asylum seekers. The researchers estimated that in order to arrive at the number of unique destitute individuals, the number of visits should be divided by 2.5 (implying around 600 destitute people visited these services in the relevant month in 2007, and around 800 in the selected month in 2008).

A number of studies concur that refused asylum seekers are most commonly destitute (Green, 2006; Smart and Fullegar, 2008; Smart, 2009), although destitution has been found at all stages of the asylum-seeking process, from initial application, to the transition to refugee status (Carnet *et al.*, 2014b). They also concur in finding that destitution tends to be a long-term condition for asylum seekers. For example, in Smart (2009) 48 per cent of those found destitute had been so for more than six months, and a third of destitute refused asylum seekers had been destitute for more than two years, while Gillespie (2012) found that on average destitute asylum seekers have been destitute for 1.5 years.

EEA, undocumented and other migrants

There has been far more research into the circumstances and hardships faced by refused asylum seekers than other groups of migrants with no recourse to public funds (NRPF), whether undocumented migrants (visa overstayers, people who enter the country illegally) or those lawfully present in the country (non-EEA migrants with visas and EEA migrants who have not yet gained entitlements to state support) (Petch and Lukes, 2014). Little is therefore known about these other migrant groups' experience of destitution, but there is a recognition that they are 'at high risk of homelessness and destitution because they cannot access mainstream housing, welfare benefits and employment' (Homeless Link, 2012, p.3; see also Hintjens, 2012; Doyle, 2014).

Due to the need of undocumented migrants to live undetected by authorities, it has proved very difficult to estimate how many are actually living in the UK, let alone what proportion are at risk of destitution or experiencing actual destitution. A Greater London Authority study (Gordon *et al.*, 2009) estimated that at the end of 2007 there were 121,000 visa overstayers and people who had entered the country illegally in London (not including their UK-born children). The study did not attempt to assess how far these people were able to support themselves or how many might be destitute or at risk of becoming so.

With regards to EEA migrants, concern has focused on those from central and eastern European (CEE) countries. The inflow of A8 nationals from CEE who acquired the right to live and work in the UK after their countries⁴ joined the EU in 2004 has been the major new factor affecting UK migration rates over the last decade. The UK was one of only three existing EU member states which allowed A8 nationals free access to their labour market immediately on entering the EU. While A8 nationals had immediate rights to work in the UK, only those who had completed 12 months of continuous registered employment could claim a right to reside, and once it was granted they were eligible for UK welfare benefits. These transitional arrangements ended in April 2011, but the existence of the 'habitual residence' and other tests (see below) means that entitlement to UK welfare benefits is still not automatic for A8 migrants to the UK. Additional transitional restrictions were placed on nationals from the CEE A2 countries (Bulgaria and Romania) admitted to the EU in 2007, who until the end of 2013 had to (with the exception of self-employment) seek authorisation to be employed.

A number of further restrictions on benefit entitlements affecting EEA migrants to the UK were announced last year. These included:

- a requirement for a three-month residence in the 'Common Travel Area'⁵ for eligibility to Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA) (with the habitual residence test thereafter);
- no entitlement to housing benefit (HB) for new EEA 'workseekers';

- ‘workers’ keep their status for six months after losing their job (which allows them to keep claiming the same benefits as if they were employed), after which many are downgraded to ‘workseekers’⁶;
- ‘workseekers’ are entitled to claim JSA for only six months after which they lose their entitlement unless they are assessed as having a ‘genuine prospect of work’;
- ‘workers’ with earnings below a certain threshold are reclassified as ‘workseekers’ if their work is assessed as not ‘genuine and effective’.

These restrictions have been identified as likely new drivers of destitution among CEE migrants (Perry and Lukes, 2014), with a particular concern that new restrictions on the HB entitlements of EEA ‘workseeker’ migrants, implemented in April 2014, will drive up rough sleeping amongst CEE nationals (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2015).

Over the past few years, the growing prevalence of CEE migrants in homelessness in the UK has been evident. CEE migrants comprised 9 per cent of people seen rough sleeping in London in 2006/07, rising to 31 per cent by 2013/14 (Broadway, 2011; St Mungo's Broadway, 2014). A further 23 per cent of rough sleepers in London in 2013/14 were recorded as being ‘other overseas’ (the majority of whom were not asylum seekers or refugees), meaning that fewer than half were UK nationals (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2015). Problems of destitute CEE and other migrants have been reported by homelessness services across all regions of England (Homeless Link, 2010), and also in Scotland (Coote, 2006). It has been suggested that it is rarely the younger and well-educated CEE migrants who find themselves on the streets of the UK, but is instead usually low-skilled men in their late 30s or 40s, with limited English (Homeless Link, 2006; Garapich, 2008).

Apart from rough sleeping, homeless migrants resort to other marginal accommodation: caravans, farm outbuildings, containers, attics, sofa surfing etc. (Perry and Lukes, 2014). Reliance on soup kitchens is also not uncommon for this group (Garapich, 2010). ‘Beds in sheds’ was one major recent scandal involving mainly homeless migrants in parts of London (Cooke, 2012; Perry and Lukes, 2014).

Current alternatives to rough sleeping and marginal forms of accommodation are very limited for migrants with NRPF. The number of charitable bedspaces offered at no cost falls far short of need, e.g. only around 300 spaces are offered by members of The No Accommodation Network (NACCOM) – a network of providers of accommodation for migrants with NRPF – though some other provision is becoming available, e.g. rent-free spaces in some hostels, and in communities for homeless people such as Emmaus. A strategic alliance has recently been formed by national migrant and homelessness agencies to work on improving the capacity to accommodate migrants with NRPF. The alliance is hosted by Homeless Link with involvement from the British Red Cross, Housing Justice, NACCOM, Refugee Council, Refugee Action and Migrant Rights Network (Petch and Lukes, 2014).

Evidence from a study of multiple exclusion homelessness in seven UK cities makes clear the higher risk of destitution faced by migrants than non-migrants (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2012). This differential risk of destitution holds true even among this vulnerable population, all of whom had experienced some form of homelessness in combination with issues such as substance misuse or institutional care. While almost all non-migrants surveyed (93 per cent) had received UK benefits in the past month, this was true for only 43 per cent of migrants. Half (53 per cent) of migrants reported having never received UK benefits, compared with only 5 per cent of non-migrants. Furthermore, 16 per cent of migrants reported having received no money at all from any source in the last month, with this being true for only 2 per cent of non-migrants. Their greater risk of destitution is also indicated by migrants' accommodation status at time of interview: one third (33 per cent) were sleeping rough, compared with only 8 per cent of non-migrants. While the numbers in this study were too small to permit robust analysis of different subgroups within the migrant homeless population, the largest single group by far were those from CEE.

UK nationals affected by poverty, homelessness and the disputed role of welfare reform

It is striking how little explicit reference is made to destitution within the mainstream poverty and homelessness literature in the UK, and in associated literature such as that on domestic violence and abuse, except with respect to migrants. In 2011, a JRF report presenting the findings of a study that explored how the global recession and rising costs of living were affecting everyday life concluded that 'the welfare state provided a reasonably effective safety net during the recession' and no evidence was found to suggest that the recession had resulted in 'absolute destitution on a significant scale'. The authors do make the point that the research did not cover groups 'unprotected by the welfare state in the UK', such as people subject to immigration controls (Hossain *et al.*, 2011).

As recently as 2011, then, there seemed to be a sense that, in the UK, destitution was only a concern with regard to NRPF groups rather than among those *inside* the British welfare safety net. It is within the last two or three years, and in context of a continuing welfare reform programme, that the language of destitution has recently come to the fore in the UK in terms of the wider non-migrant population. The increasing use of food banks has emerged as a key indicator used by media commentators, religious leaders and charities to indicate an increase in apparent 'destitution' (BBC, 2014; Cooper and Dumbleton, 2013; Cooper *et al.*, 2014; Dryburgh, 2013).

Although the significant recent rise in the numbers of people receiving food aid from food banks and other outlets in the UK is not disputed, the government has denied a causal link between demand for food aid and welfare reforms. It has instead emphasised the impact of rising food prices and declining household incomes due to the post-2007 recession (Downing and Kennedy, 2014). Likewise, a recent all-party parliamentary inquiry on the causes of hunger and food poverty in Britain focused on the cost of food and cost of living

crisis as key causes, with little mention made of welfare reform (All-Party Parliamentary Group on Hunger and Food Poverty, 2014). Some politicians have also suggested that the supply of food aid, and increased knowledge of food banks, has driven demand.⁷

However, there appears to be an increasing consensus among some sections of the media, the voluntary sector, academics and other key commentators that a link exists between welfare reforms and increased demand for food aid (Cooper and Dumpleton, 2013; Dryburgh, 2013; Sosenko *et al.*, 2013; Cooper *et al.*, 2014; Lambie-Mumford, 2014; Scottish Parliament, 2014; Northern Housing Consortium, 2014; Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2015). This is believed by some to be a symptom of destitution, but there is limited evidence as to whether this is the case. At the same time, it is also generally acknowledged that the impact of welfare reforms are felt alongside declining/stagnant incomes and the rising cost of living, and that it is this combination of factors which can leave people without sufficient income to cover basic living needs. A parliamentary briefing published in April 2014 cited a range of welfare reforms and reductions as possible contributing factors to increased demand for food aid, along with rising food prices and unemployment/stagnant wages (Downing and Kennedy, 2014).

A number of specific elements of welfare reform, such as national benefit caps and the under-occupation penalty (so-called 'bedroom tax'), as well as administrative error and delays in processing benefits, have been linked by some commentators to destitution, homelessness and/or increasing demand for food aid (Perry *et al.*, 2014; The Trussell Trust, 2014b; Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2015). Another key concern has been claimants, particularly those who are sick or disabled, being 'migrated' from higher rate and less conditional benefits (such as Incapacity Benefit and Disability Living Allowance) onto lower rate and more conditional benefits (such as Employment and Support Allowance (ESA), JSA or Personal Independence Payment (PIPs)), or moving off benefits altogether (without having got work).

Particular emphasis has often been placed on the impact of the sharp increase in benefit sanctions under JSA and, to a lesser extent, ESA over the past few years (Cooper and Dumpleton, 2013; House of Commons Work and Pensions Committee, 2014; Miscampbell, 2014; Webster, 2014; YMCA, 2014). These have been found to disproportionately affect young people and those who are more vulnerable (Watts *et al.*, 2014). The main stated goal of benefit sanctions is to influence claimants' behaviour by incentivising them to actively seek work and move off benefits (Miscampbell, 2014), but UK-specific evidence on their effectiveness is sparse and heavily disputed (Watts *et al.*, 2014). International evidence indicates that benefit sanctions substantially raise exits from benefits, and may increase short-term job entry, but longer term outcomes for earnings, job quality and employment retention appear unfavourable (Griggs and Evans, 2010).

While sanctioned benefits claimants are able to apply for a hardship payment, these are of a lower value than the level of the benefit, are discretionary and are subject to stringent access rules. In the case of JSA, these payments are set at 60 per cent of the sanctioned

amount (80 per cent if the claimant or a family member is pregnant or seriously ill). Unless claimants fall into a specified 'vulnerable group', they must wait two weeks before they are allowed to apply for these hardship payments. Depending on local access rules, sanctioned claimants facing hardship may also be able to access support through local welfare/discretionary assistance funds (which have replaced the previously nationwide discretionary Social Fund, and are administered differently in the four UK jurisdictions), but these provide highly variable and mainly in-kind assistance (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2015).

According to the Trussell Trust, nearly a third of those who receive food parcels are referred because their benefits have been cut or stopped (Cooper and Dumpleton, 2013). A large majority (83 per cent) of food banks report that 'sanctioning' is causing rising numbers to turn to them (The Trussell Trust, 2014a). A recent survey of housing associations in Scotland reported significant levels of hardship among sanctioned tenants, including 'where sanctions are leaving tenants destitute, with no money for rent, fuel or food' (Scottish Federation of Housing Associations, 2014, p.2).

One group of UK nationals widely acknowledged to have been disproportionately affected by benefit sanctions is homeless people and others with complex support needs (Crisis, St Mungo's and Homeless Link, 2012). Homeless Link's review of the impacts of benefit sanctions concludes that:

'Sanctions are having a profoundly negative impact on homeless people. With no income, people have no money for food, are falling into rent arrears, and getting into unmanageable debt. Some are committing survival theft or shoplifting to meet their immediate needs, or causing relationship problems as they borrow from friends or family. Even when hardship payments are given, homeless people are struggling to make ends meet ... Homeless people often have no safety net of friends or family to support them if their only income source is stopped, leaving them with no means to live ... And the anxiety caused by having no money because of a sanction can risk vulnerable people moving back into drug or alcohol use, or exacerbate existing mental health problems.' (Homeless Watch, 2013, p.20)

There has been some official response to these concerns. Since July 2014, Jobcentre Plus advisors have been able to indefinitely exempt homeless claimants from work-related conditionality requirements if they are in a 'domestic emergency' provided they can show that they are taking reasonable action to find accommodation. The government has also implemented a number of recommendations on more sensitive communication of the sanction regime to vulnerable claimants arising from an independent review carried out by Matt Oakley for the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) (Oakley, 2014; DWP, 2014). It is not as yet clear how much change of practice on the ground has resulted. While the absence of shelter is viewed as core to the expert and public definitions of destitution reviewed later in this report, and rough sleepers are the traditional users of soup kitchens and soup runs, the term destitution is rarely used in the extensive UK

literature on homelessness. It is only in the light of these concerns about the impacts of welfare reform on homeless people's access to basic income maintenance that a focus on destitution is beginning to emerge in this realm as applied to UK nationals. According to the reports of service providers, this increased risk of destitution is affecting homeless families as well as single people, including women and children fleeing violence:

'... we've seen the need for food banks which we never ever saw before. It was never the position that women couldn't afford food and now that's regular. We have to have food provision at our centre because women and their children are coming in hungry. We couldn't really imagine three or four years ago that we'd be in this position. So many women are reliant on it.'

Domestic violence service provider, quoted in Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2013

Relevant here is the strong criticism by some domestic violence and other service providers of the 'in kind' emergency support typically provided by local welfare assistance funds in England (see also Royston and Rodrigues, 2013). In certain circumstances there is a statutory duty for social services/social work departments to provide material assistance (usually in the form of in kind help and small payments) to protect the welfare of children in need and vulnerable adults. However, before this statutory assistance is made available, there is an expectation that every other avenue to meet these emergency needs has been exhausted, including charitable assistance and help from family and friends. Little is currently known about how these social care funds are deployed to alleviate destitution in the UK.

People affected by forced labour and human trafficking

Forced labour and human trafficking are both forms of modern slavery, and sometimes overlap, but are not identical (Skrivankova, 2014). Research evidence on forced labour in the UK indicates that contemporary situations are typically characterised by the preclusion of exit from labour rather than coerced entry, and by harsh, degrading or dangerous working conditions and the violation of workers' labour and human rights (Lewis *et al.*, 2013). They are usually held not by physical force but by other means, such as intimidation, threats, and withholding of documents (Skrivankova, 2014). Most frequently, 'employers' and/or 'intermediaries' withhold promised wages, enforce excessive overtime or subject victims to abusive working and living conditions. While the traditional 'menace of penalty' in the form of physical violence is now less common, the psychological consequences experienced by many workers are far reaching. Aside from poor mental health, untreated injuries or physically demanding work in dangerous and unhealthy conditions also take their toll on physical health (Skrivankova, 2014).

Recent research has challenged the notion that forced labour is a hidden phenomenon, confined to the nefarious activities of organised crime or individual criminals (Allain *et al.*,

2013; Skrivankova, 2014). Instead, it has been shown to be relatively common in UK labour supply chains, particularly in sectors characterised by low-skilled, low-paid labour (like food processing, construction, hospitality) and among flexible, temporary (commonly agency) workers (Lalani and Metcalf, 2012). Nonetheless, forced labour remains underreported, with some 20 prosecutions brought in the five years to 2013, most of them within the regulatory framework related to human trafficking (Geddes *et al.*, 2013).

The people affected by forced labour situations include asylum seekers, refused asylum seeker and refugees, as well as trafficked immigrants (mainly from Africa/Middle East/Afghanistan), legal migrants (both EEA migrants and non-EEA with work permits), and visa overstayers. There have also been some recent well publicised cases of UK nationals in forced labour situations, with the victims made vulnerable by circumstances such as homelessness, alcohol addiction, or learning disabilities.

Given that some of those affected by forced labour are UK nationals, or non-UK nationals with a right to employment, some authors have argued that forced labour is primarily a labour market issue (Clark, 2013). However, another strand of forced labour research emphasises immigration issues, arguing that even in cases where a migrant has full rights to work in the UK, their migrant status can contribute to their 'exploitability' (Lewis *et al.*, 2013). Limited English and understanding of employment law, for example, are played upon to keep workers in exploitative conditions, with those who lack the right to work in the UK in an exceptionally vulnerable position (Skrivankova, 2014). Human trafficking is a clear pathway into forced labour, as is the rejection of one's asylum claim. Debt bondage is another route.

There is an important interrelationship identified between forced labour and destitution, in that it is the prospect of falling into destitution that often pushes individuals into exploitative work or keeps them from quitting exploitative work (Lewis *et al.*, 2013). At the same time, those engaged in forced labour can find their access to essential living requirements often severely compromised. Non- or under-payment of wages seems to be a frequent trigger of destitution amongst those affected by forced labour (Dwyer *et al.*, 2011), as is the termination of charitable support from friends/acquaintances (Lewis *et al.*, 2013). Staying with friends/relatives is common among destitute asylum seekers, including those in forced labour situations, and this form of shelter is characterised by being temporary and easily withdrawn. Inability to afford food often arises in the context of wages being withheld or wages being extremely low. A report into forced labour published in 2013 estimated that there were at least 3,000–5,000 victims of forced labour in the UK, and, it is likely that many are at high risk of destitution or are actually destitute (Geddes *et al.*, 2013). The latest estimates of the scale of modern slavery are much higher, estimating the number of victims to be around 10,000–13,000 (Silverman, 2014).

It is expected that the Modern Slavery Bill will become law in England and Wales before the General Election 2015. The Bill consolidates the current offences relating to trafficking and slavery. It introduces new civil orders to enable the courts to place restrictions on

those convicted of modern slavery offences and establishes an independent anti-slavery commissioner to encourage good practice on the prevention of modern slavery.

The draft version of the Bill has been criticised for giving a disproportionately large weight to law enforcement while neglecting measures to protect the victims of trafficking, and therefore for being a 'missed opportunity' in making a change on the ground (victims of trafficking are unlikely to give evidence if they are not protected) (Gentleman, 2014). In response to this criticism, The Minister for Modern Slavery has announced a package of amendments to the Bill intended to strengthen the protection of victims (Bradley, 2015).

Conclusion

There is far more known about destitution among some groups than others in the UK, with much of the research and data gathering concerned with asylum seekers and refugees. Particular concern has focused on those who have had an asylum application refused, and some attention has also been paid to the position of other NRPF migrant groups. More recently, in the context of welfare reform and the rise in the use of food banks across the UK, there have been growing levels of concern about possible destitution among UK nationals who may be left with no income, or only a very low income, as a result of welfare benefit delays, reductions and sanctions. There has been significant recent attention on specific concerns about the impact of sanctions on rough sleepers and other particularly vulnerable groups, and some policy response. The interconnections between forced labour, and other forms of modern slavery, and destitution are increasingly understood, and can affect both migrants to the UK and some especially vulnerable UK nationals. However, there is no comprehensive and up-to-date information about scale, trends, profile, and experiences, or an undisputed analysis of causes and routes into destitution for any of these potentially destitute groups.

What is also clear is that there is no one definition of destitution employed consistently in the UK. While there are both official and research based definitions available, these have been conceived with respect to one specific group (asylum seekers and refugees). For the purposes of this present research we require a definition that is capable of application across all of the groups potentially affected by destitution in the contemporary UK, and one which is rooted in a broad consensus of stakeholder and public opinion. Furthermore, this definition must be practically measurable in a quantitative survey, based upon a self-completion survey instrument. Thus a principal initial research task was to develop a robust definition of destitution that met all of these criteria.

Developing a definition of destitution in the UK

Introduction

The process of developing the definition of destitution for use in this study was pursued initially through national key informant interviews, in small group discussions with project advisory group members, and subsequent consultations with definitional and methodological experts. These interviews and discussions used vignettes – hypothetical but realistic case studies – to test the boundaries of expert definitions of destitution, and their interrelationship with widely employed definitions of poverty, material deprivation and social exclusion (see Box 1).

Box 1: Vignettes

Vignette 1: Rachel

Rachel is 24 years old. She has had several short-term jobs since leaving school, but is now unemployed and claiming Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA). She has missed two appointments at the Jobcentre Plus during her current claim and has been given a full JSA benefit sanction for three months, but is still receiving Housing Benefit which covers the rent for her council flat.

Vignette 2: James

James is 43 and sleeping rough. He is in receipt of welfare benefits (Employment and Support Allowance), and spends virtually the full amount on alcohol (he has a long-term alcohol dependency). He is using local day centres and soup runs to get free food.

Vignette 3: Francis

Francis is 30 and from Sierra Leone. He claimed asylum in the UK on the grounds of experiencing torture in his home country but his claim has been rejected because of lack of evidence. He is refusing to voluntarily return to Sierra Leone as in his view he would face further persecution. Initially he slept rough but is now sofa-surfing using the hospitality of fellow Sierra Leoneans in London. His hosts provide most of his meals, but he gets some food from soup runs, food banks and, occasionally, bins. Francis avoids formal work as he fears that he would be reported to the authorities and forcibly deported.

50 expert stakeholders were consulted across all four UK countries in the fields of poverty, welfare rights, homelessness, refugees/asylum, migration, forced labour/slavery, domestic violence, families and children, young people, and health and disability. These included representatives of UK central government and all three devolved administrations, a wide range of voluntary sector organisations, academics in relevant fields, think tanks, and faith communities. Commentators from a range of political perspectives were included. During this expert consultation process we identified some areas of substantial consensus around the definition of destitution, but also some key areas of disagreement, discussed below. In the discussion we also signal how the perspectives captured in this consultation exercise were fed into the definition that we arrived at.

Areas of expert consensus on the definition of destitution

There was widespread consensus among the stakeholders consulted about the association between destitution and extreme, physical want:

'Extreme manifestation of poverty... severe lack of material resources'
Faith community representative (no.20)

'...destitution must be something to do with serious risks to health. I mean, something... obviously quite life-threatening.'
Project advisory group member (no.1)

There was a general demand from those consulted to adopt a definition of destitution that was a) material (i.e. not social), b) narrow (in order not to devalue the term), and c) based primarily on objective and specific forms of deprivation (rather than particular income levels or subjective notions of poverty).

'I think [destitution is] living in a condition which is so precarious that the business of securing basic survival on a day-to-day basis is constantly in jeopardy... Everything from securing adequate shelter and the assurance that you're going to have enough to eat basically...'
Migration expert (no.5)

'...it would have to be quite extreme because I think destitution is a very powerful phrase. So, I think any form of destitution that measures whether people have access to TVs and washing machines doesn't work with me... it's important not to trivialise the word...'
Homelessness expert (no.17)

There was also a high degree of overlapping consensus about the items deemed minimum material necessities, deprivation of which would amount to destitution, with a clear signal that these should include shelter, food, fuel (heating and lighting), clothes and basic toiletries:

'It's to do with accommodation, basically it's shelter and it's food and clothing, it's the basics of life.'

Refugee expert (no.3)

'Not having enough money for food, or fuel, or accommodation... I think that's just like an absolute, you need warmth, you need light and you need to be able to cook.'

Poverty expert (no.10)

'...food, toiletries, the basics that one needs in order to survive, to keep yourself clean, to be able to eat, to be able to drink.'

Refugee expert (no.14)

'[In addition to food and fuel] Things like toiletries. You know, your absolute basics in terms of self-care... We really take it for granted that there's toothpaste and soap and clean underwear and stuff like that...'

Homelessness expert (no.18)

While shelter and food were afforded a particularly prominent status by almost all stakeholders, there was a general view that this full range of core necessities were all independently essential for basic physical functioning, and that an absence of any one of them, or a small range, could amount to destitution:

'Yes, I think we have a range of needs and just because you can meet one of them, it doesn't mean that you're able to live in the way we would want you to... So I don't think it has to be the deprivation of everything that makes you destitute, the deprivation of some of those makes you destitute.'

Refugee expert (no.9)

However, a few stakeholders placed a special stress on (the lack of) accommodation as distinguishing destitution from extreme poverty (see also Perry and Lukes, 2014). For example, in relation to Vignette 1, which concerned a young person experiencing a three-month benefit sanction, one representative of a faith organisation expressed the view that Rachel was not destitute because: 'She has accommodation', while another commented: 'No, I don't think she's destitute because she still has a roof over her head'. A third stakeholder from a faith based background explained that:

'I've always associated destitution with [not] having somewhere to live... I've always understood destitution as the final crisis. Our homeless client group not having somewhere to sleep is the last thing that goes wrong, and so that's often what's precipitates them into seeking and receiving help.'

Project Advisory Group member (no.2)

The great majority of stakeholders, however, rejected the notion that rough sleeping was a necessary condition for destitution:

'...having housing doesn't change the fact that if she's got no income, then she's nowhere to buy food and she's reliant on other people for help to meet her basic needs, other than housing.'

Forced labour expert (no.7)

'I think that you can be in a very destitute situation and actually have a roof over your head, but still be facing the direst circumstances.'

Homelessness expert (no.17)

The point was also made that some people sacrificed other necessities – including food – to maintain a roof over their heads.

'Well, I think what we're finding now... is that people are spending the money that they should be spending on feeding themselves on sheltering themselves, and so therefore you're entering a destitution position based on not being able to eat.'

Project advisory group member (no.3)

While there was a call for some other items to be included in our definition of destitution, these either commanded less consensus (e.g. non-prescription medication, local transport costs, household cleaning materials), or were specific to particular groups (e.g. mobile phones required by those pursuing asylum claims, adaptations required by disabled people). A comprehensive approach to capturing these context-specific necessities in the definition would make it very difficult to use in a short, self-completion questionnaire. For practical reasons, therefore, we decided to restrict the definition to a consensual core of necessities required by all adults in the UK, with a small subset of necessities included for children within relevant households. We will explore the additional necessities required for particular subgroups of destitute people in the in-depth qualitative interview stage of the study.

Areas of expert disagreement on the definition of destitution

Amidst this relatively high level of expert consensus on core aspects of the definition of destitution clear 'faultlines' did emerge with respect to:

- issues of choice/culpability (i.e. is it possible to be 'voluntarily destitute?');
- concerns around duration and future prospects (i.e. how long does one have to lack these items before one is considered destitute?);
- the source of the resources that enable you to meet your essential living needs (i.e. are some sources so 'unacceptable' or 'unsustainable' that reliance on them should properly be considered to amount to destitution?).

We discuss each of these points below.

Choice

Almost all research participants agreed that you cannot be considered destitute if you genuinely have alternatives open to you; the real disagreement came down to what constitutes a valid choice in this context. For example, in relation to vignette 2 (James), involving a rough sleeper with a severe alcohol problem, there were sharply polarised opinions.

'..it's self-inflicted destitution, it doesn't have to be. I can understand how he maybe got into that state, but he has the means to address it because he has benefits, and if he chooses to spend it on food and rent or whatever then he would not be destitute. So I would say no to that [being destitution].'

Refugee expert (no.3)

'I recognise people may say that if he deals with his alcohol issue, then he would be able to meet some of those other means, but it's not as simple as that. Alcohol dependency is a recognised medical issue which needs support and treatment to help someone get out of that.'

Refugee expert (no.9)

Even for those taking a relatively hard line on matters of choice, however, it was notable that the focus was less about (past) culpability, and more about the (present) availability of realistic alternatives. In relation to vignette 3 (Francis), for example, concerning a refused asylum seeker:

'I mean it depends whether you believe this story or not, but if the option is literally going back to a place where you might experience torture, then that doesn't seem like a viable option. So, perhaps something about the viability of the options in front of you maybe affects whether you would use that word, destitution being without options or at least a sense of not having any...'

Faith community representative (no.20)

A number of interviewees, from a range of political and other perspectives, went out of their way to emphasise the importance of having an objective or neutral quality to the definition of destitution, with the moral question of who or what was to blame for bringing it about quite a separate matter:

'Yes, so I think that people could be destitute entirely as a result of their own actions. I don't think you'd then necessarily say they aren't destitute.'

Statutory sector representative (no.15)

'The material circumstances they find themselves in... that's how I'd judge it rather than how they found themselves [there].'

Think tank representative (no.6)

The point was also made that coming to a firm judgement about whether someone does or does not have a genuine choice about their situation was extraordinarily difficult from a moral, never mind methodological, perspective:

'..I think the difficulty... lies for us in like, okay, so we agree he's difficult, we agree the person has obvious mental health difficulties, he is destitute. I would agree that the person simply being idle, that can't be bothered, isn't destitute, but I wouldn't want to be the one to define where the line was.'

Project advisory group member (no.4)

The matter of choice is such a value-laden, politicised one that it is highly unlikely that a full consensus can ever be reached. While we will explore broader issues associated with choice in the in-depth interview stage of this research, for the purposes of the census survey and quantitative measurement of destitution, we have decided to focus primarily on the ability to pay for necessities, following the lead of the UK Poverty and Social Exclusion (PSE) survey.⁸ This focus implied a need to explore income, and also savings, in the census survey to operate as a check on whether any relevant deprivations are likely to be 'enforced' (i.e. arise from an inability to pay rather than as a matter of choice).

Duration and prospects for the future

The duration of deprivation required to constitute destitution seemed a particularly intractable issue, on which no clear consensus emerged from our consultation with stakeholders. In part, these divergent views were rooted in different experiences of, or intuitions about, the temporal reality of destitution. Thus some key informants felt that destitution implied suddenness and crisis, rather than a prolonged condition:

'I think it's something to do with crisis. It might just be because of where I'm coming from, but I think we see a lot of people who are destitute because of a sudden unexpected crisis that's happened to them, but they're not necessarily people who would be living long-term in poverty.'

Project advisory group member (no.6)

'You also see [that in] domestic violence as well. I mean, that can affect people of any income level, and suddenly within minutes of having to flee an abusive partner someone can find that they are destitute.'

Project advisory group member (no.7)

Others conceived of destitution as largely the culmination of a long process of asset erosion amongst the 'severely poor' (see also Devereux, 2003), albeit precipitated by a crisis of some kind:

'I'd say probably it's something, a situation, that evolves over time as a result of a series of occurrences that either reduce income or put in jeopardy the housing situation, family relationships break down, they can't turn to other people for support. So, there might be a few circumstances that mean people go from being okay, to struggling a bit, to really, really struggling and then to being destitute, for me, is the end of that road.'

Project advisory group member (no. 2)

'...two-thirds of the people we come into contact with are there because of income shock, really.... Obviously, the way that relates to poverty is that for some people, if your income stops for two weeks, you have other resources you can rely on. When that's experienced by someone who's already been living on means-tested benefits for six months, or something, then not having money for even one week is sufficient to mean they effectively go hungry.'

Poverty expert (no.10)

But others, particularly those who worked with refused asylum seekers and other migrants who lacked recourse to public funds, had a slightly different perspective:

'...that kind of crisis isn't as marked because, you know, we work with the concept of destitution all the time, and in order to qualify for asylum support you have to be classed as destitute by a particular definition... so it's something that, actually is sadly more normal...'

Project advisory group member (no.8)

The exceptionally poor long-term prospects for those whose claim for asylum is rejected was emphasised by interviewees from a range of backgrounds in response to vignette 3 (Francis):

'There is no way that people in this situation can ever not be destitute because there is no hope. There is no hope of them accessing housing. There is no hope of them accessing work because it would have to be illegal, which means that they're being exploited and face the risk of being arrested and deported at any time. There is no hope unless you are able to stay in this country legally, people in Francis' situation will always be destitute.'

Domestic violence expert (no.2)

Linked with this, one interviewee argued that the 'deportability' of migrants with an irregular legal status means that their experience of destitution is qualitatively different from that,

say, of a British citizen facing fixed-term benefit sanctions, where an end point to their predicament can be identified.

In terms of the actual period of deprivation of core goods required to constitute destitution – a critical issue if we are to measure its incidence – interviewees were exceptionally divided. For some, very short periods, even one day, could constitute destitution, if the severity of the deprivation was sufficient:

'Yes, definitely, for me it's still a case of destitution if you're unable to meet those needs, no matter how short or long. Being unable to eat for five days, being unable to eat for one day would be terrible, I think, yes... Obviously, the longer that someone is deprived of all of those needs, then the more difficult it is to survive, but I believe that no one should be without those needs, however temporarily.'
Refugee expert (no.9)

Others took a different view:

'I think destitution has to last longer. How long could it be? In terms of sleeping rough I think being deprived of any kind of amenities, any access to funds, not eating and drinking properly, you can be destitute in a month...'
Homelessness expert (no.17)

'I wouldn't say you could be destitute for a day, I'd say probably, I don't know, how can you put a time on it?'
Faith community representative (no.20)

Even some of those who were relatively expansive in their definition of destitution were sometimes reluctant to label very short periods of want as destitution:

'I would guess that it's really, really not unusual for someone at the end of their two-week period for which a benefit is paid to have a day where the electricity's run out, or there really is nothing in the cupboard. I'd hesitate to call such a short period destitution just because I want to preserve the term for people for whom this experience damages their health, their wellbeing in quite a fundamental way.'
Poverty expert (no.10)

This interviewee, and some others, drew a distinction in the time thresholds they would apply to different kinds of goods:

'I'd make a distinction between actually not having enough money for food for a day and actually not having anywhere to lay your head for a day. I think, in that [latter] case, you're destitute on that day.'
Poverty expert (no.10)

Interestingly, though, one of our homelessness experts did not agree:

'...that's not rough sleeping if you have one night on the street...probably wouldn't even define it as rough sleeping let alone destitute. So yes, your prospects and the longevity are very key to whether you're destitute.'

Homelessness expert (no.17)

More generally, many interviewees emphasised the forward-looking dimension of destitution, in the sense of prospects for the future being relevant to a true understanding of the phenomenon:

'...I think what is really important is whether that destitution is a temporary thing or whether it looks like it's for the foreseeable future. I think that's a key issue because there are many people who maybe are without any means of subsistence or accommodation for a day or two, or a week or two, or even a month or two, but they know that there is a way out. The issue for me is whether there is a way out or not...'

Project advisory group member (no.9)

In recognition of this demand for a forward- as well as backward-looking aspect of destitution, we settled on a one-month retrospective and prospective timeframe within which to review its incidence. Given the difficulties of most key informants in deciding how long someone had to be deprived of something before it represented destitution, we tested a range of time thresholds with the general public in the omnibus survey, as discussed below.

Sources of support to meet essential needs

At the start of our consultation with experts we put to them that people who were reliant on unsustainable or unacceptable sources to meet their essential living needs might be considered destitute. Examples we had in mind included discretionary sources, such as assistance from charities/ churches, help from friends or family etc, as well as sources which are illegal or exploitative, such as forced labour, 'survival' crime (e.g. shoplifting), remaining in an abusive relationship, and so on.

This proposal provoked considerable controversy and debate. With respect to reliance on parents and other close relatives, in particular, many interviewees took the view of this refugee expert: '...if somebody else is willingly supporting you over the long term that's definitely not destitution'. However, others felt that receipt of money and/or help in kind from friends and family did not necessarily mean that a person was not destitute, in part because of its unreliability:

'Well, no, in the sense of, we shouldn't be relying on that as a society and many people can't rely on that. So, how do you start to take that into consideration and

that can change like that, that one day [they] may be getting that support and the next day it stops.'

Domestic violence expert (no.2)

'I think you could still be destitute if you were getting by with support from your family. I think you could still argue that you'd be destitute but you're receiving that support because they regarded you as destitute and wanted to help you.'

Think tank representative (no.11)

It also depended for some on the conditions attached to receipt of help, and whether: '... that goodwill was forthcoming and if that was positively meant, with no strings attached' (homelessness expert, no.18). For this key informant, the specific focus was on the scope for sexual and other forms of exploitation when people are entirely dependent on others to meet their most fundamental needs. More broadly, issues of dignity, control and autonomy arose, for example, in reactions to vignette 3 (Francis), concerning the refused asylum seeker:

'I've spoken to people in similar situations and while people might be happy to host, often the person themselves feels beholden to everyone, feels disempowered, feels that they don't have any control over their lives, or of their destiny. It has a massive impact on self-esteem, that you're living on the charity of others and there is no foreseeable route out... and those kinds of arrangements are the types of arrangements that can fall through. He has no control over his own destiny...'

Refugee expert (no.9)

Even among those sceptical with regard to the destitute status of people dependent on support from family or friends, there was a more widespread view that reliance on purely charitable assistance to meet fundamental needs did amount to destitution:

'I think that's a different issue, if you're getting support from charitable sources and then, I mean nobody chooses to do that if they've got other means basically, or very few people... the vast majority of people don't go begging to charities if they've got another means of survival...particularly if it's a long-term thing you know that they cannot survive on what they're getting then yes [its destitution].'

Refugee expert (no.3)

'Ultimately, people who have to rely on food banks are destitute and they do not have the financial resources to be able to sustain their life.'

Domestic violence expert (no.2)

However, some key informants, mainly faith based service providers or representatives of faith communities, took a contrary view. One commented '...I guess that we would say that we prevent people from entering into destitution by providing them with emergency [assistance]' while another, in response to vignette 1 (Rachel), argued that a healthy 24-

year-old with zero income would not be destitute, so long as she retained her accommodation, because ‘...she would be able to...go to a food bank or some local provision or a soup run or something in order to get some food’. Likewise, another key informant from a faith community explained that, even if Rachel was struggling to feed herself, she would not feel comfortable describing her as destitute because: ‘... then you'd have to say that every person who uses a food bank was destitute.’

With respect to illegal or exploitative means of meeting essential requirements, again some differences of opinion were evident. For example, prompted on whether or not Francis (vignette 3) would still be destitute if he managed to meet his needs via informal work:

‘For me that would still be destitution, because he has no choice, he can't go and get a job and work legally, so it's the choice element that is missing that he is being compelled to work illegally in order to make ends meet.’
Refugee expert (no.3)

Others were of the opinion that it was the amount of money earned rather than its source that mattered to the definition of destitution:

‘...source of the income is... irrelevant to the question of destitution. It is not irrelevant to the question of morality and policy etc...but yes, if he started dealing heroin and was making six figures, he would be out of destitution, but he would have some other issues.’
Think tank representative (no.6)

Thus there seemed considerable divergence of opinion on whether reliance on discretionary, informal or undesirable sources of support to meet essential needs would constitute destitution. It was therefore particularly interesting to test wider public opinion on this issue, as reported in Section 4 below.

Conclusion

After completing this expert consultation phase of the study, we proposed that the definition of 'destitution' adopted in this study should encompass those who:

- suffer an **enforced lack** of the following **minimum material necessities**: shelter, food, heating, lighting, clothing and basic toiletries
- or
- have an **income level** so low that they are **unable to provide these minimum material necessities for themselves**.

This proposed definition of destitution therefore relied primarily on lacking material essentials because of an inability to pay for them (i.e. is deprivation based), but includes a secondary (alternative) criterion which is income based. This secondary criterion was included to ensure that the definition was not overly strict in excluding people who, while they may not have as yet experienced deprivation, have resources that are so low that they are unable to meet their own needs (either in the recent past or immediate future). Key examples would include newly arrived migrants or women fleeing domestic violence who are bereft of possessions or an income. We would argue that such groups should be considered destitute immediately – because they have no visible means of support – rather than only after they have actually slept rough, starved, etc.

Testing a definition of destitution with the public

Introduction

To ensure that the definition of destitution developed in consultation with experts was supported by the broader public, questions were placed on an omnibus survey⁹ of more than 2,000 adults across the UK. This survey was also used to help set the detailed parameters of the definition, particularly on matters such as the required duration of deprivation where there was a divergence of opinion or uncertainty among expert stakeholders.

This approach is very much in the spirit of the consensual and democratic approach to poverty definition in the UK, as exemplified in the UK PSE surveys, built primarily around identifying key material deprivations which most of the public regard as necessities.¹⁰ The JRF Minimum Income Standard (MIS) approach is also a relevant example, because this uses both expert and general public consultation to determine a consensus on what goods are needed by different types of household.

The final, operational definition of destitution we arrived at after this process is presented in Box 2. The remainder of this section of the report presents the key results from the omnibus survey to explain how we settled on this definition.

Box 2: Definition of destitution

1. People are destitute if they, or their children, 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 per cent 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.

Which items are essential to avoid destitution?

First and foremost, we wished to test public support for our proposed 'basket' of minimum material necessities required to avoid destitution. After a preamble that read 'The Joseph Rowntree Foundation is a charity interested in poverty and destitution. The next set of questions is about your views on what kinds of things are absolutely essential for people to be able to live', we prompted respondents to say whether the items listed in Table 1 below – which were presented in a random order – were 'essential', 'important but not essential', or 'not important'.

Table 1: Agreement with whether prompted items are essential

<i>Item</i>	<i>Proportion agreeing essential (per cent)</i>
Shelter – somewhere to sleep	96
Food – two meals most days	89
Heating your home	86
Clothing and footwear appropriate for weather	86
Lighting your home	76
Basic toiletries (soap, shampoo, toothpaste, toothbrush)	75
Household cleaning materials	48
Postage/phone costs for official purposes e.g. applying for benefits, jobs, etc.	37
Occasional local bus fares	30
Non-prescription medication	30

As can be seen, the six items included in our proposed definition of destitution were all rated as essential by a strong majority (three-quarters or more) of the general public. The highest levels of agreement were for shelter ('somewhere to sleep') and food ('two meals most days' ¹¹), followed by heating your home and clothing and footwear 'appropriate for the weather', and finally lighting your home and basic toiletries. There was remarkable consistency in the level of support for all six of these items across socio-demographic groups. None of the additional four items suggested by various stakeholders in discussions met the simple majority criterion (household cleaning materials comes close at 48 per cent). Furthermore, when asked whether there was anything else, not prompted, that people regarded as comparably essential, no additional items commanded the support of more than 1–3 per cent of the public. In combination, these results provide strong support for our basket of six essentials as forming the core of the definition of destitution, with no compelling grounds for extending this list.

How many essential items must be lacking to render someone destitute?

Another critical issue for us was the public's views on how many of these core essentials had to be lacking for someone to be considered destitute. We asked explicitly whether a person or a family going without any one of the items that the respondent agreed were essentials, because they couldn't afford them, would mean that they are destitute. One quarter (25 per cent) of respondents strongly agreed with this, and another 40 per cent agreed, providing a clear (almost two-thirds) majority for the proposition. However, a subsequent question revisited this issue by asking how many items on this essentials list would have to be lacking before a state of destitution was reached. This appears to give a

somewhat contradictory picture, with only 22 per cent of the public responding that one item lacking would suffice, and 43 per cent saying 2–3 items would have to be lacking. A partial explanation for this apparent contradiction might be that people are a bit torn by the fact that they regard some items as more important than others. When we asked ‘which is the most important thing needed to avoid being destitute?’ this brought out the special importance assigned to shelter (57 per cent of the public said that this was the very most important item) and food (31 per cent said this was most important) by the general public. We might therefore be justified in distinguishing between these two items (wherein lacking either one of them because of an inability to pay would constitute destitution) and the other four items (wherein two or three missing items would be required). However, in keeping with our conservative approach to defining destitution – i.e. employing a strict definition to command the broadest possible consensus that the circumstances included are unarguably characteristic of destitution – we have decided to define destitution as lacking two or more of our basket of six minimum necessities, so we can be confident that this is supported by a clear majority of the public.

Duration of deprivation required to constitute destitution

As noted above, a key area of disagreement or uncertainty among expert stakeholders was the duration of extreme deprivation required to constitute destitution. So for four of our core necessities – shelter, food, heating and lighting – respondents were asked how many times within a month someone would have to do without the item in question in order to be destitute (it would not have made as much sense to ask this question of the other two items, i.e. clothes and basic toiletries). The results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: How often lacking essential items in a month constitutes destitution

Item	1 day	2 days	5 days	10 days	Most of month
Shelter – somewhere to sleep	58%	13%	11%	2%	9%
Food – two meals a day	42%	24%	10%	2%	7%
Heating your home	29%	19%	16%	7%	11%
Lighting your home	24%	15%	16%	7%	11%

Note: rows do not sum to 100 per cent because percentages are of ALL respondents, including 'don't knows' and those for whom 'question not asked' (because respondent does not regard as essentials).

For shelter, a clear majority of all respondents indicated that being without for one day (night) would be enough. Being without food (two meals a day) for two days would be enough for a clear majority to believe that someone was destitute. For heating and lighting, five days would be enough for a clear majority.

These responses proved very helpful in fine-tuning how we define the deprivation items in the census survey, and we applied them directly in setting the time parameters for deprivation of the relevant goods (see Appendix B).

Acceptability of support from different sources

As noted above, a key 'faultline' in expert opinion was whether those people/households who avoid a lack of essentials only by virtue of goods or help received from sources that might be considered 'unacceptable', or at least 'unsustainable', should be considered destitute. The relevant question in the omnibus survey was worded as follows: 'Would you say that someone is destitute if he or she is **only** able to get these absolutely essential items through...'

Table 3: Agreement that reliance for essential items on given source would constitute destitution

Source of essential items	Agree would constitute destitution
Receiving help from charities	72%
Forced labour – someone working against their will under the threat of some form of punishment.	70%
Staying in an abusive relationship	62%
Receiving help from friends	57%
Shoplifting/other petty crime	55%
Receiving financial or 'in kind' help from relatives (other than parents)	53%
Receiving financial or 'in kind' help from parents	48%
Getting a payday loan	47%

For most of the sources listed in Table 3, there is majority agreement that reliance on this source would properly be considered destitute. Note in particular the strength of public support for the proposition that those reliant on charities for their essential living needs are in reality destitute. It is also very clear that both forced labour and abusive relationships are not considered acceptable means to avoid destitution. While the proportions that agree that reliance on friends, petty crime or relatives (other than parents) constitutes destitution are somewhat smaller, they still comprise a clear (if not strong) majority of the public.

The two exceptions to this pattern are receiving help from parents and getting a payday loan. In these cases, although a lot of people do agree that reliance on these sources constitutes destitution, the proportion falls just short of a majority. Interestingly, however, with regard to the former, we found that people with more direct experience of poverty, and/or from communities with more poverty, were more likely to regard reliance on parental support as amounting to destitution. This may well be because they understand that their parents may be ill able to afford to support them, and/or because they understand that this might strain relationships.

Conceptually, these results could provide a justification for defining as destitute those who rely for their essential living needs on the sources listed in Table 3 (with the exception of payday loans, and with a something of a question mark over reliance on parents). However, because of the complex questionnaire design and use of hypothetical questioning that would be required, it is very difficult in the context of a self-completion questionnaire to establish a categorical link between receipt of financial or in-kind support from these sources and having these essentials. Thus, while we ask about these potentially unreliable or undesirable sources in the census survey, and will explore their implications in the in-depth interviews, we have not included reliance on them as a formal part of the definition of destitution. Consideration of this point has, however, fed into our thinking on the secondary income based criterion for destitution.

Income levels required to avoid destitution

As has been indicated above, the primary starting point for our definition of destitution is actual lack of material essentials in the last month (i.e. it is deprivation based). However, people may be destitute today, even though they had the essentials last month, because looking forward they face an immediate prospect of going without these if they have no income, or very little income, and no savings. The omnibus survey confirms our view that reliance on charities, relatives (other than parents), and certain other sources (which may be illegal or exploitative), is not acceptable and may reasonably be considered to constitute destitution. Furthermore, some people may experience a sudden change of circumstances making destitution a real possibility in the immediate future; a very clear example is women and children fleeing domestic violence. For these reasons we have included a secondary (alternative) criterion of destitution, based on having a very low income (and negligible savings), and therefore being unable to purchase the minimum set of essentials in the immediate future.

We considered several evidence based approaches to setting a low income threshold to indicate a level of income below which a household would be likely to experience destitution as defined for this study. First, we analysed evidence from the official Living Cost and Food Survey (LCFS), looking at the average amount spent on our essential items (food, clothing, fuel/lighting and toiletries, i.e. our six essentials minus housing) by the 10 per cent of households in the UK with the lowest incomes (adjusted for household composition, and to 2014 values). We found that the relevant figures were around £51 per week for a single adult, £97 for a couple, £84 for a lone parent with one child, and £139 for a couple with two children (shown in first row of Table 4).

Second, we considered JRF's own Minimum Income Standard (MIS), which sets amounts for particular items; again we only looked at the (non-housing) essential items. However, we took the view that because MIS does not represent a minimal subsistence level but more of a longer term adequate level, it was appropriate to take less than 100 per cent of this figure. A level of 80 per cent of the MIS costs for these items turns out to be very similar to the figures derived from LCFS, albeit slightly higher for singles (£62), marginally

higher for couples (£101) and couples with two children (£143), and marginally lower for one parent and one child (£82) (Table 4, second row).

Third, to indicate where a consensus might lie around a suitable (very low) threshold for this secondary (alternative) criterion, we posed this question in the omnibus survey: ‘How many pounds a week, after tax and housing costs (i.e. excluding rent/mortgage, Council Tax ¹²), do you think are necessary to keep a household such as the one you live in out of destitution?’

The results show that, across the household sizes, the median (50th percentile) point ranged between £91 and £127 per week (see Table 4 third row). On average, therefore, the level of income specified by a majority of respondents was very similar to the levels derived from the two previous approaches. But as can also be seen from Table 4, the income levels for each household size category selected by respondents were less differentiated than those of the standard equivalence scales, systems like JRF's MIS, or the actual expenditure evidence of the LCFS.

In light of this we have opted for a blended approach in setting this destitution standard of 'very low income' based on an averaging of three amounts for each household size: first, the mean actually spent by the poorest 10 per cent of the population on (non-housing) essentials; second, 80 per cent of the weekly MIS costs for equivalent items; and third, what 50 per cent or more of the general public think is the required level of weekly income (after housing costs) to avoid destitution.

The resulting thresholds, suitably rounded, are shown in the last row of Table 4. As can be seen, these are £70 per week for a single adult, £100 per week for a couple, £90 for a lone parent with one child, and £140 per week for a couple with two children. Note that these values make an additional allowance for each child of £20 per week and for a second (or subsequent) adult of £30 per week.

Table 4: Blended approach to setting low-income threshold including omnibus survey results by selected household types

Blended approach	One person	Couple	Lone parent (1)	Couple family(2)
	(£ per week, net, AHC, 2014 prices)			
Mean LCFS 4 items	50.99	96.78	83.81	139.03
80% of MIS costs for 4 items	61.75	100.65	81.61	143.89
50th percentile agree need	91.00	96.00	96.00	127.00
Average of 3 criteria	67.92	97.81	87.14	136.64
Rounded	70	100	90	140

Notes: LCFS is the ONS *Living Costs and Food Survey*, formerly known as the Family Expenditure Survey, and the figure is the average spend of the poorest tenth of households on our essential items. ‘MIS’ is the

Joseph Rowntree Minimum Income Standard amount for essential items. '50th percentile' means that half of respondents in the omnibus survey agreed that their household needed more than this amount to live on.

It is worth reiterating that the weekly amounts indicated above are not intended to provide a new poverty line, but rather to indicate an income level below which people face absolute destitution because their resources are insufficient to meet their core material needs for basic physiological functioning. Many people whose income is above this 'destitution' line, but below the poverty threshold, will still be unable to afford many of the basics which people in our society need. Everyday essentials not contained in our destitution 'basket of goods' include, for example, taking a bus to get to an interview or official appointment, three meals a day, and non-prescription medication, among many others.

Conclusion

These results provided a very clear steer to the research team on the definition of destitution supported by a representative cross-section of the UK public. Using these results to fine-tune the parameters of the in-principle definition developed with the help of the expert consultations, the research team was able to settle on the final, operational definition presented in Box 2 for use in the remainder of this study.

Largescale surveys and severe poverty

Part of the study's work with secondary data has involved using a range of largescale household surveys to identify and profile households in severe poverty and at high risk of destitution. These data sets do not capture destitution directly, through specific questions which enable us to directly apply the above definition. Moreover, in the bottom 5 per cent of the income spectrum, some people's incomes are recorded in these largescale surveys as being extremely low or negative for 'technical' reasons, such as self-employed businesses which had a bad year or reported tax losses. There are problems separating these 'technical' reasons for extremely low recorded incomes from genuine lack of resources. 'Material deprivation' indicators in these largescale datasets are designed to identify broader poverty, as highlighted in Section 1, rather than the extreme forms of want implied by destitution. In addition, some of the relevant people may not be captured in mainstream household surveys, for example people who move frequently, are homeless, live in institutions of various kinds, and some migrant populations. The bespoke 'census survey' that we are carrying out can target people who are seeking emergency assistance and apply our definition directly. Nevertheless, largescale official surveys do enable us to place this targeted research into destitution in a broader national context.

The analysis first seeks to define and validate the best measures for severe poverty, which typically combine very low income with lack of material essentials and subjective experience of poverty or financial difficulties, using the national PSE survey. These measures typically find 1–2 per cent of all households to be in very severe poverty. Applying such measures more widely to larger datasets gives a broader picture over time and space, while statistical modelling explores systematic relationships with socio-economic, demographic and other factors, and helps to generate predicted rates for local areas. This analysis is ongoing and will be reported on fully in the final report on this study. We highlight some of the emerging findings here and how they have helped to shape the selection of our case study areas for the main fieldwork.

Our early results indicate that severe poverty is much more prevalent among lone parent families, and somewhat more so among single person households and younger households. It is much higher among renters (social and private), and among those who are unemployed, long-term sick or disabled, or caring for others, while being very low among those who are retired. Severe poverty is higher for several broad minority ethnic groups, particularly Black/Black British, Pakistani/Bangladeshi, Mixed and Other groups. Statistical models confirm the importance of socio-economic factors – conventional poverty, bad health, unemployment and lack of a car – while also highlighting some demographic factors including younger age, living alone or in households with more children, renting, and some other housing factors.

The regional geography shows severe poverty higher in London, Wales, Scotland, West Midlands, North West and North East of England, particularly in the metropolitan areas. At

the level of local authority types, while all areas have some severe poverty, rates are higher in multicultural urban areas, areas with struggling urban families and some other types of urban area, with the lowest rates in rural and affluent commuter areas. Trends over time appear to have been clearly downwards from 1997 to 2002, up slightly in the mid-2000s, and then up sharply in 2008/09, as the economy went into serious recession. Of households in severe poverty at one point in time, between one-fifth and one-third were still in severe poverty one year later.

The geographical and modelling evidence from these surveys is combined with more direct analysis of other datasets covering risk factors for destitution, including benefit sanctions and changes, recent migrants and asylum seekers, homelessness and complex needs, to generate predictive indices at local authority level. These suggest that the authorities with the highest prevalence of severe poverty and risk of destitution have up to six times the prevalence of the lowest areas. These estimates have informed our choice of case studies and will be used to help estimate national destitution numbers consistent with our case study findings. Our choice of case studies has taken examples from across the rankings but with more representation of areas at or near the top (Newham, Glasgow, Nottingham) and in the upper part of the table (Ealing, Peterborough, Swansea), as well as places with around average (Bournemouth, Fife) or relatively low (Wiltshire) predicted incidence.¹³

The next steps

This project is due to be completed at the end of October 2015. At the time of writing, in February 2015, Stage 1 (literature review), Stage 2 (key informant interviews) and Stage 3 (omnibus survey) of the project were complete. Stage 4 (secondary data scoping and analysis) was well underway, and Stage 5 (the main fieldwork element of the study comprising in-depth case studies of destitution in ten case study locations) had just started.

The ten in-depth case studies of the Stage 5 fieldwork will provide the principal source of data to answer our core research questions about the scale and nature of destitution in the UK, and the profile and experience of those affected. In all ten sites the work is being carried out in seven phases:

- recruitment of a local co-ordinator;
- a small number of key informant interviews to familiarise the research team with the local context;
- a service mapping exercise to identify local (mainly voluntary sector) agencies providing crisis or emergency help to groups at high risk of destitution;
- the drawing of a random sample of six to eight of these services to take part in the 'census survey';
- a short, self-completion 'census survey' of users of these selected services over a one week period (the aim is to receive responses from as close to 100 per cent of these service users as possible);
- in-depth interviews with a purposively selected sample of respondents to the survey with direct experience of destitution (eight in each location, 80 in total);
- a consultation/local feedback seminar on the research results open to both service providers and service users.

As noted above, the Stage 4 secondary data analysis has been used to classify local authorities across the UK, and to quantify their expected relative levels of destitution, which has informed the case study selection. This largescale secondary data analysis will also enable us to translate our census survey findings into national quantitative estimates of the destitute population, and of its socio-demographic profile, while also providing evidence on trends over time and possible causal factors. Secondary data on services outside the scope of the census survey (e.g. local welfare assistance funds) will also be brought into the picture. At the same time, the in-depth interviews with people directly affected by destitution will allow for qualitative analysis of routes in and out, and deepen our understanding of the causes, experiences and impacts of destitution. It will also enable us to place this extreme experience in the broader context of people's lifecourse 'journeys', including through varying degrees of hardship and poverty.

By mid-February 2015, detailed cognitive testing of the census survey questionnaire (see Appendix B) and a full pilot study in Glasgow had been successfully completed, and fieldwork was about to start in the other nine locations. We intend to complete all study fieldwork by early summer, with analysis, writing up and consultation and feedback activities over the summer and completed by early autumn 2015.

Notes

- 1 An omnibus survey is a general purpose interview survey which asks a representative sample of the adult population a standard set of general questions about their household plus sets of questions on topics commissioned by particular organisations.
- 2 We call it a 'census survey' because the aim is to include all, or as many as are willing and can practically be asked, of the users of selected services in a particular week, and so provide a snapshot of the relevant population.
- 3 A BBC Panorama episode - 'Hungry Britain?' – aired on 3rd March 2014 focussed on increasing demand for food aid across the UK.
- 4 Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia
- 5 The UK, the Channel Islands, Isle of Man and the Republic of Ireland
- 6 They are downgraded automatically if they have worked for less than a year, or after failing a test of having a 'genuine chance' of finding work if they have been employed for more than a year
- 7 See [HC Deb 14 May 2013 c511](#) and [HL Deb 2 July 2013 c1071](#).
- 8 The PSE survey funded by the ESRC is the largest study ever commissioned in UK to investigate the extent of and connections between poverty and social exclusion, and to advance the methodology of their measurement to the highest international standards. As argued in Section 1, a central aspect of the PSE approach, consensually defined material deprivations, has come to be accepted internationally as a key element in defining and measuring poverty. For further information on PSE see <http://www.poverty.ac.uk>
- 9 The Omnibus Survey questionnaire in Appendix A was developed by the research team and discussed with JRF and with potential suppliers of the survey. The work was then tendered and the successful bid was accepted from TNS-BMRB. The fieldwork covered the whole of UK and resulted in 2013 completed adult interviews. Although originally scheduled for late November, some delays occurred in the fieldwork and full results were delivered in December 2014.
- 10 <http://www.poverty.ac.uk>
- 11 This adopts the threshold used in the PSE, see <http://www.poverty.ac.uk>
- 12 We focus here on disposable income after housing cost, both to focus on money available for immediate consumption and bills, and to avoid the issue of very variable housing costs. Most relevant households would have their housing costs met by HB or Section 95 payments for asylum cases.
- 13 Belfast is our 10th case study. There are some differences in the secondary data available at local level in Northern Ireland which means that, at the time of writing, we do not have exactly comparable measures for Belfast.

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Appendix A: Omnibus Survey

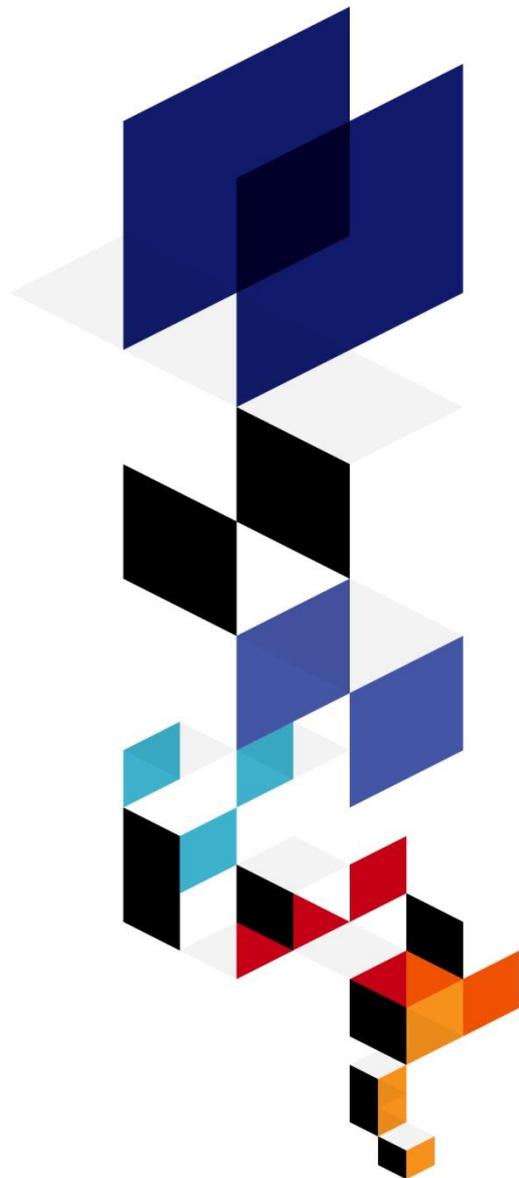
CAPI Questionnaire

Name of survey

Destitution

Client name

Glen Bramley



Author(s)

Paula Leonard

This questionnaire was written according to TNS quality procedures

checked by

TNS Company	TNS
Repeating study (if this survey has been previously conducted)	
Name of survey	Destitution
Version	1
Author(s)	Paula Leonard
Contact	Paula Leonard Associate Director 020 7656 5374 paula.leonard@tnsglobal.com
Panel	Wednesday CAPI Bus 48 & Fri CAPI Bus 49
Duration of questionnaire	0
Sample size	gross: 0 net: 2060
Sample description	All Adults 16+ UK (NB Adults in England, Wales and Northern Ireland on Wed 48, and Adults in Scotland Fri 49)
Quota (or provide Quota template)	
If several countries: indicate the countries	
If several targets	
Check-in site	
Comments	

T1 : F1: Adults 16+

Text

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation is a charity interested in poverty and destitution. The next set of questions is about your views on what kinds of things are absolutely essential for people to be able to live.

Q1 : F1: Adults 16+

Matrix

SHOW SCREEN

Q.1 I am now going to read out a list of items and I'd like you to say whether you think each of the following are essential, important but not essential, or not important.

NEW SCREEN

SHOW SCREEN AND READ OUT

Thinking about [INSERT STATEMENT] do you think this is essential, important but not essential, or not important?

Random

	Essential	Important but not essential	Not important
Shelter – somewhere to sleep	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Food – two meals most days	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Heating your home	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lighting your home	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Clothing and footwear appropriate for weather	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Basic toiletries (soap, shampoo, toothpaste, toothbrush)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Household cleaning materials	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Occasional local bus fares	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Postage\phone costs for official purposes e.g. applying for benefits, jobs etc.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Non-prescription medication	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Scripter notes: SCRIPTER - ONE STATEMENT PER SCREEN

HAVE THE INTRO ON ONE SCREEN AND THEN THE SUBSEQUENT SCREENS SHOW EACH STATEMENT AND THE ANSWER.

NB THE FIRST SCREEN WITH THE FIRST STATEMENT SHOULD SHOW THE FULL "So thinking about etc.) AND SUBSEQUENT SCREENS SHOULD JUST SHOW THE STATEMENT

Q2 : F1: Adults 16+**Single coded**

SHOW SCREEN

Q.2 And would you agree or disagree that a person or family going without ANY of these things BECAUSE THEY COULDN'T AFFORD THEM means they are DESTITUTE?

Inverted

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Agree
- 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 Disagree
- 5 Strongly disagree

Q3 : F1: Adults 16+**Open**

Q.3 Is there anything else NOT on that list that you think is so important that doing without would make someone destitute?

INTERVIEWER: YOU MUST TYPE IN ONE ANSWER PER SCREEN

99 N\DK - BUTTON**Exclusive *Position fixed*

Scripter notes: MAKE THE DON'T KNOW CODE AS AN N BUTTON
SCRIPTER SET UP AS A TYPE IN ANSWER
WE NEED TO BE ABLE TO INSERT EACH ANSWER LISTED FROM THIS QUESTION INTO THE NEXT
QUESTION, SO WE NEED A SEPARATE SCREEN FOR EACH ANSWER

SHOW SCREEN

Q.4a And from this list, can you say which is the MOST IMPORTANT thing needed to avoid being destitute?

Random

- 1 Shelter – somewhere to sleep
- 2 Food – two meals most days
- 3 Heating your home
- 4 Lighting your home
- 5 Clothing and footwear appropriate for weather
- 6 Basic toiletries (soap, shampoo, toothpaste, toothbrush)
- 7 Household cleaning materials
- 8 Occasional local bus fares
- 9 Postage\phone costs for official purposes e.g. applying for benefits, jobs etc.
- 10 Non-prescription medication
- 11 SCRIPTER - INSERT ANSWER FROM Q3
- 12 SCRIPTER - INSERT ANSWER FROM Q3
- 13 SCRIPTER - INSERT ANSWER FROM Q3
- 14 SCRIPTER - INSERT ANSWER FROM Q3
- 15 SCRIPTER - INSERT ANSWER FROM Q3
- 99 DK - BUTTON

**Position fixed*

Scripter notes: ONLY SHOW STATEMENTS/ANSWERS AT Q1 WHERE CODE 1 (ESSENTIAL GIVEN) AS WELL AS EACH OTHER ANSWER TYPED IN AT Q3

Q40 : F3: All NOT giving code 99 (DK) at Q4a**Single coded**

SHOW SCREEN

Q.4b And what would you say is the SECOND MOST IMPORTANT thing needed to avoid being destitute?

Random

- 1 Shelter – somewhere to sleep
- 2 Food – two meals most days
- 3 Heating your home
- 4 Lighting your home
- 5 Clothing and footwear appropriate for weather
- 6 Basic toiletries (soap, shampoo, toothpaste, toothbrush)
- 7 Household cleaning materials
- 8 Occasional local bus fares
- 9 Postage/phone costs for official purposes e.g. applying for benefits, jobs etc.
- 10 Non-prescription medication
- 11 SCRIPTER - INSERT ANSWER FROM Q3
- 12 SCRIPTER - INSERT ANSWER FROM Q3
- 13 SCRIPTER - INSERT ANSWER FROM Q3
- 14 SCRIPTER - INSERT ANSWER FROM Q3
- 15 SCRIPTER - INSERT ANSWER FROM Q3
- 99 DK - BUTTON

**Position fixed*

Scripter notes: SET-UP AS Q4A, BUT REMOVE ANSWER GIVEN AT Q4A
 SCRIPTER REPEAT UNTIL ALL ITEMS RANKED (OR IF DK GIVEN SKIP TO NEXT QUESTION) - WORDING
 FOR SUBSEQUENT QUESTIONS WILL BE "And the next most important" , "And the next" CONTINUE
 UNTIL ONLY ONE STATEMENT LEFT AND THEN STORE DATA FOR THE LAST REMAINING STATEMENT

Q5 : F2: All giving code 1 for any statements at Q1 or NOT N at Q3**Single coded**

SHOW SCREEN

Q.5 Thinking about this list of items (SCRIPTER INSERT LIST OF ANSWERS FROM Q1 WHERE ESSENTIAL GIVEN AND ANSWERS AT Q3 BELOW THE QUESTION), how many of these would you need to be doing WITHOUT before you were DESTITUTE?

- 1 1 of them
- 2 2-3 of them
- 3 4-5 of them
- 4 All of them

Q6 : F4: All those give code 1 (essential) for any of statements 1-4 at Q1

Matrix

SHOW SCREEN

Q.6 For each of the following items that I read out, please tell me HOW MANY TIMES within a month you would need to do WITHOUT in order to be DESTITUTE?

NEW SCREEN

SHOW SCREEN AND READ OUT

So how many times a month would you need to go without [INSERT STATEMENT] in order to be destitute?

Random

	At least one day\night	At least two days	At least five days	At least 10 days	For most of the month	DK - BUTTON
Shelter – somewhere to sleep (SCRIPTER - FILTER IF CODE 1 GIVEN FOR THIS STATEMENT AT Q1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Food – two meals a day (SCRIPTER - FILTER IF CODE 1 GIVEN FOR THIS STATEMENT AT Q1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Heating your home (SCRIPTER - FILTER IF CODE 1 GIVEN FOR THIS STATEMENT AT Q1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lighting your home (SCRIPTER - FILTER IF CODE 1 GIVEN FOR THIS STATEMENT AT Q1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Scripter notes: SCRIPTER SHOW THE FIRST SCREEN WITH THE INTRO AND THEN A SEPARATE SCREEN FOR EACH STATEMENT

SHOW SCREEN

Q.7 Would you say that someone is destitute if he or she is ONLY able to get these absolutely essential items through ...

NEW SCREEN

SHOW SCREEN - READ OUT STATEMENT

Random

	Yes	No	DK - BUTTON
Receiving financial or 'in kind' help from parents?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Receiving financial or 'in kind' help from other relatives?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Receiving help from friends?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Receiving help from charities?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Getting a 'payday loan'?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Forced labour – someone working against their will under the threat of some form of punishment?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Shop-lifting or other petty crime?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Staying in an abusive relationship?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Scripter notes: SET-UP AS A STATEMENT QUESTION - ONE STATEMENT PER SCREEN

SHOW AS A LIST BELOW THE QUESTION, BUT BEFORE THE ANSWER CODES THE ITEMS WHERE CODE 1 (ESSENTIAL) WAS GIVEN AT Q1 AND/OR ITEMS MENTIONED AT Q3 (EXCLUDING NONE/DK)

Now I'd like to ask a few questions about income so we can do some additional analysis...

Q8 : F1: Adults 16+**Single coded**

SHOW SCREEN

Q.8 How many pounds a week, after tax and housing costs (i.e. excluding rent/mortgage, Council Tax), do you think are necessary to keep a household such as the one you live in out of destitution?

You need only mention the letter alongside the appropriate answer.

- 1 SCRIPTER INSERT GRID BELOW - SINGLE REPOSE ONLY THOUGH
 99 DK - BUTTON

**Position fixed*

	Weekly	Monthly	Annual
A	20	85	1040
B	40	170	2060
C	60	260	3120
D	80	340	4130
E	100	435	5200
F	150	645	7740
G	200	865	10400
H	250	1075	13000
I	300	1300	15600
J	350	1505	16500
K	400	1735	20800

Q9 : F1: Adults 16+**Single coded**

SHOW SCREEN

Q.9 Can you now tell me approximately what is your household's normal total income from all sources (earnings, pensions, benefits, interest, etc.), before taking off tax and national insurance?

You need only mention the letter alongside the appropriate answer.

- 1 SCRIPTER INSERT GRID BELOW - SINGLE REPOSE ONLY THOUGH
 99 DK - BUTTON

**Position fixed*

	Per week	Per month	Per year
A	Less than £100	Less than £435	Less than £5,200
B	£100 to £199	£435 to £864	£5,200 to £10,399
C	£200 to £299	£865 to £1,299	£10,400 to £15,599
D	£300 to £399	£1,300 to £1,734	£15,600 to £20,799
E	£400 to £499	£1,735 to £2,164	£20,800 to £25,999
F	£500 to £699	£2,165 to £3,034	£26,000 to £36,399
G	£700 to £999	£3,035 to £4,334	£36,400 to £51,999
H	£1,000 to £1,499	£4,335 to £6,499	£52,000 to £77,999
I	£1,500 or more	£6,500 or more	£78,000 or more

Q10 : F1: Adults 16+**Single coded**

SHOW SCREEN

Q.10 Looking back over your life, how often have there been times in your life when you think you have lived in poverty by the standards of that time?

- 1 Never
- 2 Rarely
- 3 Occasionally
- 4 Often
- 5 Most of the time
- 6 DK - BUTTON

Q11 : F1: Adults 16+**Single coded**

SHOW SCREEN

Q.11 And generally, nowadays, how would you rate your standard of living?

Inverted

- 1 Well above average
- 2 Above Average
- 3 Average
- 4 Below Average
- 5 Well below Average
- 6 DK - BUTTON

Appendix B: Census questionnaire



Getting by in the UK – a survey

Area: < >
Agency: < >
<English>
<Scotland>

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.

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 heat your home on more than four days across the month?

Yes..... No..... Not applicable....

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

Yes..... No..... Not applicable....

... had to sleep rough for at least one night?

Yes..... No.....

Are there any children under 18 years old in your household?

Yes..... No..... →

**GO TO THE
NEXT
QUESTION**

→ **In the last month, have the children in your household gone without any of the following because you couldn't afford to pay for them?**

Tick all that apply

Food Suitable clothing/shoes
Toiletries (including nappies) None of these

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

Benefits/Social Security
Parents
Other relatives
Friends.....
Charities/churches
Local Welfare Fund/Discretionary Assistance Fund run by local authority
Paid work (including cash-in-hand work).....
Begging
Other.....
No source at all.....

In the last month, what was your total household income?

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.....

In the last month, have you received help getting non-cash items such as food, clothing, toiletries, power-cards, or other items from the following...

Tick all that apply

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Parents | <input type="checkbox"/> | Friends | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> | Charities/churches | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Local Welfare Fund/Discretionary Assistance Fund run by local authority | | | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | None of these | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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

Tick one

- None at all.....
- Less than £200
- £200-£399.....
- £400-£599.....
- £600-£999.....
- £1,000 or more

In the last 12 months, which, if any of the following have you experienced?

Tick all that apply

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Benefit sanctions | <input type="checkbox"/> | Benefit delays | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Getting behind on bills | <input type="checkbox"/> | Serious debt | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Losing a job | <input type="checkbox"/> | Reduced hours or a pay cut..... | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Coming to the UK to live | <input type="checkbox"/> | Domestic violence..... | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Being evicted from your home | <input type="checkbox"/> | Serious health problems | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Divorce or separation..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| Relationship with your parents/family breaking down | | | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Being forced to work for hardly any money..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| | | None of these things..... | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Thinking about the next month, have you any concerns about being able to meet your essential living needs? Tick one

- Yes – very concerned
- Yes – quite concerned
- Not sure
- No – not very concerned
- No – not at all concerned

In the last 12 months, how many times have you used the service you are at today? Tick one

- Today is the first time
- 2-3 times
- 4-5 times
- 6-10 times
- More than 10 times

In the last 12 months, have you used any other services to get food, accommodation, clothing, toiletries, power-cards, money or other necessities?

Yes.....

No.....

GO TO THE NEXT PAGE

→ **Please tell us the names of these services and how often you have used them in the last 12 months. If you have used more than 5, tell us the 5 you have used most often.**

Service name (or type or location if name not known)	Write in how often you use them (e.g. every day, a few times a week, etc.)

ABOUT YOU

Are you...

Male.....

Female.....

How old are you?

Write in

Do you live....

Alone

With others.....

Other people in your household – Please write in

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

Number of children
(under 18) living with you

In which country were you born? Please write in

If you were not born in the UK, have you ever applied for asylum in the UK?

Yes

No

Not applicable

**GO TO LAST
SECTION, OVER THE
PAGE**

What is your current status?

Awaiting outcome of application.....

Refugee status.....

Leave to remain

Application refused

Not sure/cannot say

**GO TO LAST
SECTION, OVER THE
PAGE**



Is there anything else you'd like to tell us about? Please write in below.

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 second stage is also completely voluntary.

Can we re-contact you through this agency?

Yes..... No.....

Can we re-contact you directly?

Yes..... No.....

If YES, please write in your contact details

Name

Mobile phone

Landline

Email address

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

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<http://www.jrf.org.uk/topic/destitution>

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