THE STATE OF HUNGER

INTRODUCTION TO A STUDY OF POVERTY AND FOOD INSECURITY IN THE UK

the trussell trust
Stop UK Hunger

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank the 16 individuals who agreed to be interviewed as key national informants/stakeholders. We would also like to thank the external members of the project Advisory Board and staff at the Trussell Trust.

The Trussell Trust would like to thank Asda for its support through its Fight Hunger, Create Change partnership, without which this research would not be possible.

HERIOT WATT UNIVERSITY

ASDA FIGHT HUNGER CREATE CHANGE

the trussell trust Stop UK Hunger

FOREWORD

Last year, food banks in the Trussell Trust network distributed a record 1.6 million emergency food parcels throughout the UK – a 19% year-on-year increase in demand. In a society like ours that values justice and compassion, it is an affront to us all that hundreds of thousands of men, women and children are referred to food banks.

Dealing with accelerating numbers of people referred, the Trussell Trust faces a choice: either build the best network of food banks we possibly can to keep meeting this spiralling demand; or instead address the reasons why so many people end up coming through the doors of food banks without enough money for the absolute essentials. We have chosen the latter path.

The State of Hunger is part of our commitment to that course of action. Over the next three years, this research will act as a benchmark not just for our organisation, but for government and the wider society to better understand the structural causes that sweep so many into poverty and destitution. After all, the better we understand the nature and scale of a problem, the easier it will be to fix it. Ultimately, the *State of Hunger* is a vital tool if we are to end hunger and poverty in the UK.

We are keenly aware that we cannot achieve this vision alone. If we are to end the need for food banks, we need to utilise the research and findings of a network of experts and institutions that have already provided valuable insights into UK poverty and food bank use.

In recognition of that existing expertise and knowledge, this first interim report sets out what we already know and asks a key question – what is hunger?

As an organisation that is building a long term strategy to end the need for food banks these are questions we must understand the answers to. To succeed, we are going to need to work alongside many others to achieve our goals, and we want to share those answers as widely as possible too.

But while we understand that we are just one entity that will be required to end UK hunger and poverty, we must also keep in mind what makes the Trussell Trust unique. What evidence it is that only we can add to build a national solution to poverty. That is our network of 427 food banks, over 1,200 distribution centres and tens of thousands of volunteers across the UK.

That is why the focus of our first full report, published this autumn, will focus on the experiences and demographics of the people referred to us and the pathways that they take to reach us. By understanding those pathways and how they change over the years, the Trussell Trust, central government, local councils, referral organisations and wider civil society will be better equipped to change the systems that create them – pathways that currently sweep so many people into poverty and hunger.

Garry Lemon
Director of Policy, External Affairs, and Research

INTRODUCTION

Since the early 2010s, there has been growing public concern about the worsening material position of many people living on low incomes. This concern has focussed particularly on the sharpest end of poverty - destitution (Fitzpatrick et al, 2016, 2018), along with the rise in child poverty and in-work poverty (Social Metrics Commission, 2018; Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2017). There has been frequent coverage of relevant issues such as homelessness, the use of food banks, and children coming to school hungry across mainstream media (e.g. BBC 2019a, BBC 2019b, Channel 4, 2019, The Guardian, 2019). Many parliamentary debates, inquiries and questions have also focussed on these more severe forms of material hardship.[1] However, despite this controversy and increased awareness, there has been only a limited policy response from successive post-2010 UK governments, with the Homelessness Reduction Act 2017, which came into force in April 2018, perhaps the most notable exception.

Early warning of the deteriorating situation of people on low incomes facing the most severe forms of hardship often emanates from voluntary organisations providing direct support to these groups (e.g. Crisis, 2019; Brownfield, 2018). In recent years, it has been impossible to ignore the growing emphasis these organisations' reports and other outputs have placed on different manifestations of hunger. Key themes have included growing food bank use, reports of people skipping meals, facing the dilemma of whether to 'heat or eat', and adults cutting down portion sizes to make sure children have enough to eat (e.g. Perry et al, 2014; Citizens Advice Scotland, 2016; Turn2Us, 2018; Real Life Reform, 2015).

It has also been contended, or at least suggested, that the profile of people affected by the most severe forms of hardship may be changing. Hitherto there had been an understanding that British citizens, aside possibly from some long-term homeless people with complex support needs (Fitzpatrick et al, 2013), generally did not face absolute destitution and hunger. This was still said to remain the case even after the 2008 global financial crisis, as *"the welfare state provided a reasonably effective safety net during the recession"* (Hossain et al, 2011, p. 34). Longstanding concerns about destitution tended to focus on non-British citizens (refused asylum seekers and other vulnerable migrants; see Lewis, 2009; Crawley et al, 2011). However, recent research for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation has found that over 1.5 million people faced destitution in the UK at some point in 2017, 68% of whom were UK-born without 'complex needs' (Fitzpatrick et al, 2018).

It is against this backdrop of growing concern about the experience of hunger and poverty in the UK, and the apparent widening of the section of society affected, that the Trussell Trust funded the current study. The key aims of the project are:

- To establish what we mean by 'hunger' in social policy discussions
- To develop a robust evidence base on who in the UK is affected by hunger, and what drives hunger
- To assess what lessons can be learned from different areas of the UK to alleviate hunger.

1 E.g. https://www.parliament.uk/business/news/2019/february/prime-ministers-questions-13-february-2019/

One particularly important thread running throughout the project is the impact of policy changes on trends and experiences in hunger and poverty in the UK. A range of stakeholders and commentators have argued that decisions on welfare reform in particular have been central in giving rise to hunger and poverty in the UK in recent years (e.g. End Hunger UK, 2018; Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2018). Destitution in the UK 2017 research showed that benefit changes, delays and sanctions were all significantly involved in triggering destitution, as were issues of debt and arrears and their recovery by public bodies including the Department for Work & Pensions (DWP) (Fitzpatrick et al, 2018). As shown in more detail below, existing evidence about drivers of food bank use likewise highlight the role of key policy developments since 2011, such as benefit sanctions, the roll-out of Universal Credit, cuts in Housing Benefit, changes to disability benefits, and the freezing of benefits (e.g. Perry et al, 2014; Citizens Advice Scotland, 2016).

The links between policy changes and food bank use have been highly politically contentious, however, with the current and previous post-2010 UK governments until recently rejecting claims that their policy programmes have contributed to a rise in use (e.g. The Guardian, 2014). However, more recently the current Work and Pensions Secretary has conceded that *"The main issue which led to an increase in food bank use could have been the fact that people [Universal Credit claimants] had difficulty accessing their money early enough"* (HC Deb 11 February 2019).

There has also been recent relatively modest but significant softening of policy measures that have been identified by many commentators as contributing to 'hunger', destitution, and severe forms of hardship. One of the earlier examples of the change in the Government's stance was the reduction of the waiting period for the first payment on Universal Credit from six to five weeks, from March 2018 (Department for Work and Pensions, 2017). Subsequently, the maximum rate at which 'third party deductions' can be made from a Universal Credit award will be reduced from 40% to 30% of the standard allowance, from October 2019. The Secretary of State also announced that the length of the longest benefit sanction will be reduced from three years to six months (BBC, 2019d). Since April 2018, a two-week run on of Housing Benefit (which is not repayable) if the claimant is transferring from Housing Benefit to Universal Credit has been in place (Department for Work and Pensions, 2017).

This is therefore a fast-changing policy landscape - where new policies are introduced and other policies are rolled out to a growing number of people. This means to track drivers over time and to effectively influence policy-making, quantitative data collection needs to be repeated frequently, at least on an annual basis. There is also a need for up-to-date qualitative data about drivers, to attain a deeper understanding of the mechanisms at play.

The *State of Hunger* aims to address precisely these needs. It is a three-year research programme, with each year culminating in an annual report. The study's foundations were laid by the Trussell Trust in 2016-17 when a team of researchers led by Dr Rachel Loopstra of the University of Oxford conducted a pilot research project involving a survey of food bank users (Loopstra et al, 2017). The *State of Hunger* builds on this important base: the survey of people who use a food bank constitutes its central element but the study also incorporates several other methods of data collection. In particular, recognising that 'hunger' also exists among sections of the population who, for a variety of reasons, do not use food banks, the *State of Hunger* project team will utilise a range of secondary datasets to report on hunger and poverty amongst non-users of food banks.

This first report from the *State of Hunger* study addresses the question "what is meant by 'hunger' in this context?" and sets out the conceptual and measurement frameworks that will be used for the remainder of the project. In the next section we consider the context for this study, reviewing existing evidence on food bank use as well as discussing the current thinking on poverty. The following section sets out the study's methodology. In the final section we review existing definitions of hunger and concepts closely related to it and the strengths and weaknesses of these, informed by interviews with key stakeholders. This paper concludes by proposing a measurement of hunger in terms of *household food insecurity.*

FOOD BANKS, HUNGER AND POVERTY IN THE UK

To set the broader context for the study, this section reviews existing evidence and arguments on the closely interrelated topics of food bank use, poverty, and its causes in the UK. This material provides a vital backdrop for understanding the study's approach to conceptualising and investigating 'hunger' in the contemporary UK context.

FOOD BANK USE

Since the early 2010s a substantial volume of evidence on food bank use has been generated by the Trussell Trust, academic researchers, and support organisations in frequent contact with people who use a food bank (e.g. Perry et al, 2014; Loopstra et al, 2015; Citizens Advice Scotland, 2016; Menu for Change & IFAN, 2019). Two key conclusions can be drawn from this existing evidence base: firstly, the main drivers of food bank use have remained largely consistent in the last decade or so; and secondly, the most common driver of food bank use relates to the characteristics and functioning of the British welfare system.

Since 2012/13, the Trussell Trust's statistics consistently show that the main reason why people are referred to its food banks is linked to the benefit system, with delays and benefit changes responsible for around 40-45% of cases between them. Furthermore, the vast majority of referrals related to another major reason - 'low income' - are for people receiving benefits, indicating an even greater significance of the link between food bank referrals and the benefit system (Trussell Trust, 2019a & 2019b). Other Trussell Trust research in recent years with food bank users and food bank managers paints a picture that is very consistent with this (Cooper et al, 2014; Perry et al, 2014; Loopstra & Lalor, 2017; Jitendra et al, 2017).

There is consistency between the Trussell Trust's findings and research conducted by other organisations and by academic researchers in the past five years. For example, in 2013, a Citizens Advice survey found that for 65-70% of those clients referred to a food bank the reason for referral was linked to the benefit system (Citizens Advice, 2014). Drawing on interviews with food bank managers, Lambie-Mumford (2014) and Sosenko et al (2013) similarly found that the (then accelerating) process of 'Welfare Reform' was the leading driver of food bank use, in particular benefit sanctions and administrative errors resulting in benefit delays.

Research also established a statistically significant association between benefit sanctions and food bank use (Loopstra et al 2015, 2018). Three independently conducted case studies - in Glasgow (MacLeod et al, 2018), three Inner London Boroughs (Prayogo et al, 2017), and West Cheshire (Garratt, 2017) - also found a statistically significant association between food bank use and benefit issues.

The issues with the welfare system that have been most often highlighted by these studies are:

- benefit sanctions
- interrupted benefit payments
- delays in receiving the first benefit payment
- the built-in five week wait for the first Universal Credit payment
- being incorrectly classified as 'fit for work'
- losing entitlement to a disability-related benefit at the point of reassessment
- losing part of Housing Benefit (due to the 'Bedroom tax', Benefit Cap, two-child limit or non-dependent deductions) and
- being burdened with unrealistic repayments of money owed to the DWP

The groups of people most likely to need a food bank include those who have a disability or health condition, lone parents, and families with three or more children (Loopstra & Lalor, 2017). These are all groups who have been significantly affected by welfare reforms (and further policy-related income reductions for these groups were to come after the research was conducted).[2] Loopstra & Lalor (2017) also found that all the food bank users they surveyed had been in a very vulnerable financial position in the month prior to the survey, and a substantial proportion experienced an income shock in the three months prior to the survey. Other relevant research has found that experiencing 'adverse life events' such as bereavement or the loss of a job also plays a role in necessitating food bank use (Perry et al, 2014).

2 Particularly the reduction in the rate of Employment Support Allowance work-related activity group and the two child limit on Child Tax Credit and Universal Credit.

THE CONCEPT AND DEFINITION OF POVERTY

As the preceding section makes clear, food bank use and hunger are very closely related to poverty, particularly in its more extreme forms, and this is confirmed below in the literature and the views of key informants. We therefore review the concept and definition of poverty, in order to draw out key lessons and pointers for our approach to defining and measuring hunger. These focus in particular on the distinctions between relative and absolute poverty, the emphasis on income vs other evidence, and the role of consensus.

Historically, in the UK as in other countries, poverty tended to be defined with reference to an absolute concept of a minimum subsistence level of income to enable basic physical survival and everyday functioning. However, in recent decades the UK social policy community has shifted towards a predominantly relative conception of poverty, embedded in a particular set of social norms (Glennerster et al, 2004; Lister, 2004; Hills, 2015; Mack, 2018). The relative conception of poverty underpins the main statistical reporting of poverty in the UK, as it does across Europe (Guio et al, 2016), although absolute measures play a stronger role in the US and in international development.

The predominant focus in UK official statistics and debates has been on measures of relative income, as reported regularly in the statistical series Households Below Average Income (HBAI; DWP, 2019). These measures look at net disposable income adjusted for household composition ('equivalised'), and there is growing acceptance that the 'After Housing Costs' (AHC) version of this is a better measure than that traditionally used (Scottish Government, 2018; Cribb et al, 2018, pp.55-56). Although poverty indicators described as 'absolute' are published in this series, these are in effect the temporary imposition of a fixed threshold. This threshold is itself purely relative in origin, and fixed over a short run of years, before it is then rebased on a relative basis.[3] When most people think of 'absolute poverty', however, they are more likely to be thinking about extreme poverty or destitution, lack of the most vital essentials (obviously including food), as discussed further below.

In 2010 there was a brief cross-party consensus around child poverty, following legislation passed by the Labour Government. However, this consensus subsequently broke down (Gordon, 2018; Mack, 2018; Scottish Government, 2018) as Coalition and Conservative Governments lent their support to theories challenging the meaningfulness of low-income poverty definitions (Centre for Social Justice, 2012). Although this work was substantially undermined by the sustained critique of academic and third sector organisations (Roberts & Steward, 2015; Hills, 2015; Gordon, 2018), and Devolved Administrations restored child poverty targets (e.g. Scottish Government, 2018), there has been a legacy of continued searching for modified definitions of poverty. Notable in this respect is the approach being promoted by various organisations through the Social Metrics Foundation (2018) inquiry, with their proposed measure of poverty focusing on income, but making various adjustments to get a more accurate reflection of a family's available resources, including for inescapable living costs (e.g. due to disability, childcare) and wider finances (e.g. savings, assets), to arrive at an indicator of 'poverty now'. The DWP has just announced that it will explore including this in the measures routinely reported.

3 The 'absolute' poverty threshold is 60% of median income in the base year, currently 2010/11, adjusted for inflation; see DWP (2019), p.7

Analysis of poverty has also gone beyond simply looking at income. One much-used definition of poverty in the UK is from Townsend's 1979 study, which considers poverty in terms of social exclusion:

> *"...Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary patterns, customs and activities."* **Townsend, 1979, p.31**

This approach is relative in the sense that it is embedded in a particular societal context and era. It involves considering both resources and deprivations, set in a particular societal context, proposing a threshold at which deprivation is more likely – where deprivations mean certain needs going unmet. There will always be arguments about which needs are paramount, but there are a set of basic essentials which most people will consistently agree should be available to everyone in society (Doyal and Gough, 1984; Hill and Bramley, 1986; Miller, 1999).

This 'consensual' approach to the definition of poverty (reaching an agreement on a set of basic essentials) was pioneered in the Breadline Britain surveys of 1983 and 1990 and then refined in the Poverty and Social Exclusion (PSE) surveys of 1999 and 2012 (Mack and Lansley, 1985; Mack, 2018; Gordon, 2018). In these surveys, consumption items classed as 'necessary' by 50% or more of the public were included in a general 'living standards' survey, creating an index based on 'enforced lack of socially perceived necessities', which overcame some earlier objections to Townsend's definition (Piachaud, 1981, 1987).

Food, or the absence of it, played an important role in these widely-agreed definitions of poverty. In the PSE-UK 2012 Survey, four food-related items were identified as 'necessities', lack of which would contribute to poverty as material deprivation. Subsets of these and similar material deprivation questions, including food-related items, are included in the Family Resources Survey, the UK Household Longitudinal Study ('Understanding Society'), and the European-wide Income and Living Conditions Survey ('EU-SILC').

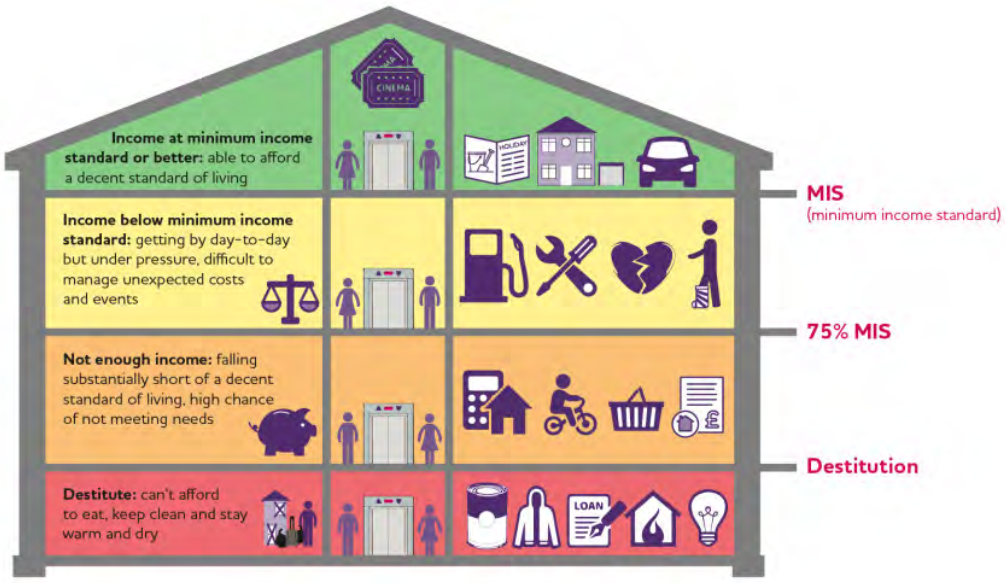
It can be argued that the consensual material deprivation approach to poverty definition is stronger as it better discriminates in practice between households who are suffering specific hardships and those who are not, compared with measures purely based on income (Gordon, 2018; Bramley & Bailey, 2018).

The 'Minimum Income Standards' (MIS) is another approach to quantifying desirable household budget levels (Bradshaw, Middleton et al, 2008; Hirsch et al, 2016). This combines 'expert' panel inputs with consensual methods involving 'ordinary' households. It is particularly useful for looking at different elements of the household budget, including 'food', where target budgets may be compared with actual expenditure for different household groups. Some have argued in favour of an expenditure-based approach to poverty measurement (Brewer and O'Dea, 2017; Tonkin & Serafino, 2017), including the UN Economic Commission for Europe (United Nations, 2017), although others differ strongly (Gordon, 2018). In practice, this is another relative measure rather similar to HBAI, but using equivalised expenditure rather than income.

Building on the consensus approach, a definition of 'destitution' was developed that followed the consensual approach but with a strict focus on the absolute essentials that people need in order to be able to live: shelter, food, heating, lighting, clothing/footwear, basic toiletries (Fitzpatrick et al, 2015, 2016, 2018). People are defined as destitute if they lack two or more of

these things or if their income is too low to cover the cost of these bare essentials. Although the definition emerged from expert deliberation, all the parameters of this definition were agreed by a clear majority of UK adults in an omnibus survey.

One way of looking at how these different approaches and definitions of poverty interrelate is the following 'Levels of Poverty' diagram used by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation:



Source: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, *What is poverty?*
https://www.jrf.org.uk/our-work/what-is-poverty

This diagram uses MIS to define the upper and middle layers, but it would also be possible to construct an alternative diagram that uses the HBAI or Social Metrics approaches to define the main poverty lines (above the destitution line). Combined material deprivation and low income could also be used to define a 'severe poverty' level above the destitution level (Bramley et al, 2018).

In looking at food bank use and 'hunger' we focus on a definition of poverty at the more extreme end of the poverty spectrum. Thus in this research we will explicitly establish the position of food bank users in terms of the 'destitution' line. We will also measure the position of food bank users in terms of other commonly used poverty lines (such as 60% of median household income AHC/BHC).

THE CAUSES OF POVERTY AND WIDER ASSOCIATED FACTORS

The literature on poverty is obviously relevant to definitions to be used in this study, but also to issues about the drivers and consequences of poverty. Poverty is demonstrably associated (correlated) with a very wide range of other social problems or disadvantages, notably in the fields of health, crime/justice, housing/homelessness, educational underachievement and employment (see for example Bailey et al, 2018). It is, however, more difficult to establish that these factors are the key drivers or causes of poverty or, conversely, that poverty is the key driver or cause of those other problems. The causal effects may work in one or the other or both directions, but often many other correlated factors may be involved and it is often difficult to tease out which are critical. It is rare to be able to conduct large-scale controlled experiments in the social sphere. However, quantitative analysis can be illuminating, especially when experiences can be sequenced in time and an appropriate range of other plausible factors can be statistically controlled for.

On health, for example, there is strong evidence that poverty both causes adverse physical and/or mental ill-health and is exacerbated by poor health experiences. However, the balance of evidence suggests that the effect from poverty to ill-health is stronger than the reverse effect, often referred to as the 'health selection effect' (Prior and Manley, 2018; Bramley et al, 2016; Blane et al, 1993; Manor et al, 2003; Warren, 2009). The weight of evidence on the poverty-health relationship is strong and also highlights the high social cost (in terms of NHS spending) of this relationship. This was estimated at around £30bn by Bramley et al (2016, Table 22), even though it is also sometimes argued that low-income households do not receive a share of NHS resources commensurate with their excess need (the so-called 'inverse care law'). Clearly, poverty can contribute to ill-health through inadequate nutrition, both in the sense of insufficient food of any kind and more generally in terms of a poor quality diet, but also of great importance are the adverse effects on mental wellbeing of pervasive insecurity about income, debt, housing situation, and other factors, which can interact with insecurity about food itself.

We would highlight some other domains of disadvantage which are relatively strongly associated with material poverty. For example, housing and neighbourhood deprivation have been shown to be closely associated (Bailey et al, 2018), despite the degree of insulation of 'housing disadvantage' from general poverty achieved in the UK, thanks to a large social housing sector and a Housing Benefit system that (until post-2010 welfare reform) met most low-income households' full rent (Bradshaw et al, 2008). This picture is now changing with the growing role of the private rented sector, especially for younger households (Cribb et al, 2018). With regard to the most extreme end of housing disadvantage – homelessness – Bramley & Fitzpatrick (2018) show using cohort and retrospective surveys that (past as well as current) poverty is the most important risk factor for homelessness. Survey research has also demonstrated that participation in social activities and in the employment sphere are also strongly related to material poverty, albeit that there is less evidence of poverty impacts on cultural, civic, and political participation (Bailey et al, 2018).

Partly in recognition of these wider interrelationships between poverty and other aspects of quality of life, in the 1990s and 2000s there was growing interest in the (European-inspired) agenda of 'social exclusion' (Room, 1995; Hills et al, 2002; Levitas et al, 2007). For some this represented an attempted broadening of the definition of poverty, while for others it

highlighted other (non-material) aspects of disadvantage (see, for example, Lister, 2004; Pantazis et al, 2006; Dermott & Main, 2018; Bramley & Bailey, 2018). This focus on social exclusion can also be linked to the now highly influential 'human capabilities' approach (Sen, 1992; Nussbaum, 2000; Robeyns, 2005), and the movement to measure wider forms of social progress and wellbeing alongside GDP (Stiglitz et al, 2009; Allin & Hand, 2014).

However, the UK governments post-2010 have placed less emphasis on social exclusion, although they have shown some commitment to promoting well-being and quality of life and the Life Chances Strategy, which incorporates social mobility. There has also been interest in more extreme forms of complex and multiple disadvantage, involving interacting forms of exclusion such as homelessness, substance misuse, mental ill-health, and offending (Bramley et al 2015, 2018). These issues have been seized on by some as examples of the 'causes of poverty' (Centre for Social Justice, 2012), but this does not emphasise the point that the groups experiencing such complex needs are relatively small in number, a few hundred thousand compared with the c. 10-12 million people in poverty, or the 1.5 million in destitution in 2017 (Fitzpatrick et al, 2018). Furthermore, there is evidence that adults with such complex needs have often experienced serious poverty in childhood or in early adulthood, as well as other forms of abuse and 'adverse childhood experiences'.

As far as extreme material poverty and deprivation are concerned, recent quantitative and qualitative evidence in *Destitution in the UK* (Fitzpatrick et al, 2018) highlights the importance of a persistent background of low income, interacting with a range of factors including: debt and arrears (predominantly involving public bodies, housing and utilities); benefit changes, delays, and sanctions; health problems and disabilities; the precarious position of certain migrant groups; and (to a lesser extent) job loss or insecurity and relationship problems. Only a minority (1 in 6 people) found to be destitute in the UK in 2017 fell into the 'complex needs' category. It may be anticipated that similar patterns are likely to be found in the surveys of food bank users and other elements of the *State of Hunger* research programme.

STUDY METHODOLOGY

Drawing on this context, the *State of Hunger* study uses a suite of research elements to examine the drivers of food bank use and the prevalence and experience of poverty – to the extent of lacking food – from a range of perspectives. The remainder of this paper sets out the findings of the study's **literature review**, the main function of which was to examine 'What is hunger?'. This review of literature was intended to cover definitional issues; physical, social, and political aspects of hunger; the scale of undernourishment and malnutrition in the UK; links to food insecurity; and bi-directional relationships with health problems such as poor mental health.

The conceptual framework explored in the literature review was further refined through **key informant interviews** with 16 individuals, comprising a range of experts from across academia, government, and the private and voluntary sectors covering perspectives on health, social security, social justice, poverty, food provision and advocacy, support, and advice services. The discussion in the later section of this paper outlines both our interpretation of the literature and the views of key informants on conceptualising hunger, food insecurity, and poverty.

The most critical strand of the *State of Hunger* study, that will be reported on in later outputs, is a survey of **food bank service users** across the UK. This survey builds on the recent work of Rachel Loopstra and colleagues (Loopstra & Lalor, 2017). The *State of Hunger* captures the experiences and views of over 1,000 service users, conducted across 10% of the Trussell Trust food bank network (42 out of a total of 428 food banks). The survey uses an innovative self-completion method on tablet devices and provides insights into who is more likely to fall into food bank use, and as well as collecting information about the immediate triggers of food bank use and possible longer-term background factors.

A **survey of referral agencies** is also being conducted to explore perceptions of the factors behind food bank use from this perspective, exploring referral agencies' views of general as well as specific local factors influencing food bank use, considering local needs and pressures and identifying examples of local policies and provision that impact positively or negatively on food bank use, from the perspective of statutory and voluntary organisations. An online survey has been administered to referral agencies across 10 local authorities selected as case study examples of locations affected more and less badly by welfare reform.

A modified version of the referral agency survey has also been issued as a **food bank managers survey** in those 42 food banks that participated in the service users survey. This will highlight food bank managers' perspectives on local needs and pressures and identify local policies and provision that impact on food bank use.

A further stage of the research will involve **in-depth interviews** with 75 service users (25 per year) participating in the food bank surveys. They will be selected on the basis of issues identified as key drivers of demand. These qualitative interviews are designed to provide deeper knowledge of the lived experience of people in severe food insecurity, as well as deeper understanding of the mechanisms that push people into severe hardship.

To enable the research to analyse the role of potential drivers of food bank use over time and space, but also to look beyond the experiences of those directly involved in the Trussell Trust food bank network, we are also undertaking substantial **secondary data analysis**. This involves national analysis of Trussell Trust data and analysis of external datasets, including data from

national demographic and labour market sources and key government statistical sources on benefits receipt, employment and unemployment, homelessness, and offending, as well as data from Citizens Advice and national household surveys.

As well as shedding additional light on the key drivers of the forms of hunger, food insecurity, and poverty focussed upon in this study, this data analysis also provides evidence on the prevalence of relevant forms of food-related hardship among those who have not used food banks. This allows the research to estimate the impact of poverty and food insecurity more broadly than users of the Trussell Trust food bank network. The 'triangulation' of the Trussell Trust's and external data will further enable us to profile where food banks in the Trussell Trust network are found and where utilisation is highest in terms, for example, of area deprivation rates, unemployment rates, levels of long-term unemployed, and workless households with dependent children.

The next section of the paper moves on to our review of evidence on the key concepts being addressed in the research and of the key relationships between or underlying these. This review is based on a targeted review of literature and also on interviews with a range of expert key informants.

CONCEPTUALISING HUNGER, FOOD INSECURITY, AND POVERTY IN THE UK

The focus of this research is 'hunger' in the UK population, amongst both food bank users and those who experience hunger but for various reasons do not use food banks. But hunger can mean different things to different people; it is therefore crucial to be transparent about our understanding of 'hunger' in the context of this study and how we arrived at this understanding. Specifically, there is a need for clarity with respect to: the definition of the core hunger-related concept used in the study; how this concept is to be operationalised and measured; and the language used to communicate the study findings.

As noted above, this conceptualisation task has been approached through a literature review of existing definitions of hunger and interrelated concepts such as food insecurity, food poverty, and malnutrition, and through interviewing key stakeholders. We begin by reviewing the evidence on hunger before considering these alternative terms, and then setting out our conclusions on these issues of definition, operationalisation and language.

UNDERSTANDING HUNGER

In everyday language, the meaning of hunger refers to a bodily sensation arising from not eating: 'a feeling of discomfort or weakness caused by lack of food, coupled with the desire to eat' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2018). There is no reference here to what has caused this bodily state; it could be because one is dieting or fasting rather than because of inability to afford food. This understanding was shared by a few of the stakeholders interviewed:

> *For me,* [hunger is] *a physical response to not having enough food.* [...] *So, the feeling of your tummy rumbling, or pain in your stomach, or an aching. So it is, it's the physical sensation.*
> **Voluntary sector stakeholder**

Similarly, the UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation defines hunger as *'an uncomfortable or painful physical sensation caused by insufficient consumption of dietary energy'* (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2018, p.159). In the developing world context hunger may relate to wider issues of food supply and availability as well as pervasive poverty (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2018). In contrast, organisations and researchers working in the affluent Western countries tend to interpret hunger as arising directly from poverty (Poppendieck, 1998), sometimes using the extended term 'First World hunger' (Riches and Silvasti, 2014). This was also the understanding among some of our stakeholders:

> [Hunger means] *having to or being forced to skip meals* [...] *hunger is one of the many symptoms of poverty and living a life without being able to meet your material needs*
> **Voluntary sector stakeholder**

Other stakeholders, whilst emphasising that the meaning of hunger depends on the context, argued that when the concept is used by charities, and particularly food banks, the link to poverty is felt to be naturally implied:

> *...If it's being used by the charities addressing, filling the gap... people are going to be thinking of it in terms of poverty.*
> **Voluntary organisation**

A number of organisations working with people unable to afford food use the term hunger as a means of communicating messages to the wider public, including the Trussell Trust, FareShare, Magic Breakfast, and Church Action on Poverty. Amongst some of our stakeholders, too, hunger was sometimes viewed as having an advantage over alternative concepts – such as food poverty and food insecurity - for these public 'messaging' purposes because it is a lay concept seen to have a helpful emotional resonance:

> *It's a word that the general public would understand better than* [alternative concepts]
> **Voluntary sector stakeholder**

> *It's what catches the eye and the ear of the politicians*
> **Voluntary sector stakeholder**

> *People are hungry and that would lead to a more compassionate response.*
> **Voluntary sector stakeholder**

Nonetheless it was clear from the evidence reviewed that even where the term hunger is used, it is not used as an analytical or measurement tool. In part this seemed to arise from a sense that hunger was too challenging a concept to define:

> *Hunger is very hard to define consistently* [...] *it can be used in confusing and ambiguous way.*
> **Academic stakeholder**

> *It's quite a subjective term. I mean would you be better saying, rather than hunger, would you be better to say something about people not having enough, the sort of daily calorie intake that people should have etc. that you measure a bit more scientifically?*
> **Statutory sector stakeholder**

Other disadvantages of the term hunger were also mentioned. For some key informants, the use of the term hunger was viewed with suspicion as deprioritising the inability to afford a nutritionally adequate diet, or implying that a lack of food is the only deprivation that people facing poverty experience:

> *People* [who can only afford the cheapest food] *might not be hungry, but they're completely malnourished, and so, getting ill, getting diabetes, obese.*
> **Voluntary sector stakeholder**

> *I don't think hunger actually captures adequately the misery of poverty.* [...] *you need more than raw materials food for that, you need a premises in which to be able to cook, you need pots, pans, seasoning, plates, somewhere to sit and eat.* [...] *When you start to talk about hunger, you miss all of that aspect of the experience of poverty*
> **Voluntary organisation**

Others also expressed strong reservations about the use of the term hunger on the grounds that it was an 'individualising' term that diverted attention away from structural solutions to poverty:

> *It* [hunger] *is being used to generate donations and to perpetuate a* [food bank] *system that is rapidly becoming institutionalised, rather than it being about what's causing the problem.* [...] *it's the emotional, you think about people being hungry and it's a knee-jerk reaction that comes to people's minds, you know, let's get some tins, let's get the donations in, as if that's going to solve it. Well, it's not going to solve the poverty that drives the hunger* [...] *it's an unhelpful term to use if you're trying to address the root causes.*
> **Voluntary sector stakeholder**

> *I think it* [hunger] *is a difficult terminology because it can be contested so readily as a personal experience* [...] *It can be laid at the door of poor budgeting, poor shopping skills and not being able to cook and all the rest of it, I think it's separable easily from the structures that cause it.* [...] *I think it* [using this term] *is a politically dangerous route to go down*
> **Independent stakeholder**

ALTERNATIVE TERMS TO HUNGER

The literature review also examined literature on concepts closely related to hunger – and often used interchangeably with it. Key stakeholders' opinions on the strengths and weaknesses of these alternative concepts were also explored. Predominant amongst these alternative concepts were 'food insecurity' and 'food poverty', though 'malnutrition' and 'undernourishment' also are also briefly considered below.

Food insecurity was the term that was the most commonly used internally within the stakeholders' organisations, as well as being prevalent in the international literature in particular (Riches & Silvasti, 2014). Perhaps the most frequently used definition of food insecurity comes from a report to the American Institute of Nutrition:

> *"Food insecurity exists whenever the availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or the ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways is limited or uncertain"*
> **Anderson, 1990, p.1560**

This refers essentially to the social and economic problem of lack of food due to resource or other constraints, not fasting or dieting or the effects of illness. This situation may cause adverse psychological and social impacts – anxiety, distress, alienation. Hunger and malnutrition are potential, although not necessary, consequences of food insecurity (Wunderlich et al, 2006).

A significant feature of the concept of food insecurity is that it offers internationally applied and validated ways of measuring levels of household food insecurity. The instrument that is probably the most commonly used in developed countries is the Household Food Security Survey Module (HFSSM), originally developed in the US. It collects data on food security by asking either 18 (for households with children) or 10 (for households without children) questions as part of a household survey (Wunderlich et al, 2006). Questions in the 10-item version are presented in the Appendix.

These questions provide reliable and consistent indicators of a common underlying condition, which can be aggregated into a score with thresholds for marginal, low, and very low food security. The underlying theory and statistical models have strong parallels with those used to create material deprivation-based poverty measures described above.

The term food insecurity was familiar to all of our stakeholders. By accommodating a range of experiences, food insecurity includes both the extremes of actually going without meals but also reflects the experience of not being able to afford a nutritionally adequate diet, or feeling insecure about where the next meal is going to come from:

> [Food insecurity] *is useful because it's a spectrum* [...] *I think food insecurity's useful because I think that worrying about having enough money for food is something that we need to be concerned about*
> **Voluntary sector stakeholder**

Many stakeholders pointed out that food insecurity has a clear, internationally used definition that has standard operationalisation and thus allows for robust measurement:

> [It] *tries to quantify a qualitative experience* [...] *Food insecurity links into an international language.*
> **Independent key informant**

On the other hand, the main perceived disadvantage of food insecurity as a concept was that it was viewed as a fairly technical term, used mainly by academics and researchers, with 'food poverty' considered rather more user-friendly, at least within the UK context:

> *Lay people seem to understand what it* [food poverty] *means.*
> **Independent key informant**

Some stakeholders stated that for this reason their organisations used food poverty as a tool for communicating with the public. However, it was also acknowledged that food poverty lacks a widely accepted definition and means of measurement, and for that reason food insecurity was generally the preferred tool for analysis:

> *We do use the term, food poverty, but in relation to communicating with the public. So we might use the term, food poverty, but I think, in terms of more technical documents, we would use food insecurity.*
> **Voluntary sector key informant**

A few stakeholders felt strongly that the term food poverty – like hunger - obscures the structural solution required, which should focus on resolving the underlying poverty:

> *You can start getting side-tracked by food poverty, period poverty, fuel poverty, because it's poverty and poverty is what drives food insecurity, and we think it's very important not to get distracted by these definitions that can take away from what are really the root causes of these problems. So we like to use the word poverty whenever possible and to bring it back to poverty.*
> **Voluntary sector key stakeholder**

> *We've thought a lot about the movement towards food poverty, fuel poverty, period poverty and other sorts of poverties, and we're very clear that we would say it's just poverty* [...] *If you say the problem is food poverty or hunger then the solution that that points to is to give people food. Whereas, if you say the problem is poverty, then the solution is obviously to give people income.*
> **Voluntary sector key stakeholder**

The last two concepts that were reviewed were 'malnutrition' and 'undernourishment', defined respectively as *'the condition in which an individual's habitual food consumption is insufficient to provide the amount of dietary energy required to maintain a normal, active, healthy life'* (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2018, p. 140), and *'An abnormal physiological condition caused by inadequate, unbalanced or excessive consumption of macronutrients and/or micronutrients'* (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2018, p. 160). While some key informants felt that these two overtly scientific terms were helpful in capturing the importance of inadequate nutrition as well as insufficient calorie intake, some also pointed out that poor diet can also be prevalent higher up the income scale, for reasons unrelated to income. As such, these concepts do not have a necessary link to poverty:

> *They* [people who can't afford a nutritionally adequate diet] *are just eating food that's bad for them. That could be as true for people with middle/low income as high income.*
> **Independent stakeholder**

Having reviewed the existing evidence and stakeholder testimony, the concept of 'hunger', while a potentially useful term for engaging the public and attracting the attention of policy-makers, appears to be unsuitable as the **core technical concept** of the study. It would be exceedingly difficult to propose a definition of hunger that would not be highly contested, or confused with vernacular usage, or that would be appropriate for operationalisation and measurement.

'Household food insecurity' is identified in the literature and among key informants as the most suitable core technical concept for use in this study. It has an internationally accepted definition and a validated measure. It is useful for capturing a spectrum of experiences and circumstances, from not having anything to eat for a day, through skipping meals, cutting down portion sizes, not being able to afford nutritionally adequate diet, having to make trade-offs between food and other essentials, to worrying where the next meal is going to come from.

While 'food poverty' is a widely used term, favoured by some of the stakeholders interviewed, it also divides opinion. Legitimate concerns were raised about the logic and consequences of multiplying forms of poverty (food, period, fuel etc.). Arguably, some of these specific forms of poverty have a greater claim to objective justification as independent concepts than others, where they can be shown to relate identifiable factors other than simply low income. For example, it may be contended that households with an inefficient heating system, or with very poor insulation, which puts extra burden on the household budget relative to other households in a similar socio-economic position, are suffering from 'fuel poverty', given the difficulty they may face in moving out of this situation by changing their housing circumstances. But in the case of food poverty in the UK, it is clear from both the literature review and stakeholder interviews that this is by and large simply a manifestation of general income poverty rather than a distinct phenomenon.

At the same time, however, it is essential to be clear that the focus of this study is on food insecurity brought about by household-level poverty – as opposed to some of the supply chain and other wider issues that may threaten food security in developing world contexts. The research will thus use household food insecurity as its **core definition** of 'hunger', which is understood as 'a household-level economic and social condition of limited or uncertain access to adequate food'.[4]

4 https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/food-nutrition-assistance/food-security-in-the-us/definitions-of-food-security.aspx

We propose **operationalising this definition** via application of the HFSSM. We will use the standard HFSSM scoring system to distinguish between high/marginal/low/very low food security. Those experiencing 'low' and 'very low' food security are considered by HFSSM as 'food insecure'.[5] The same instrument has very recently begun to be used for measuring food insecurity among the general UK population (through the Family Resources Survey), thus allowing for a coherent comparison of estimates.

In the first year of the study the official shorter (six-question) version of HFSSM was used due to the concern about the overall questionnaire length. Since the questionnaire in the second wave of the study is going to be shorter than in the first wave, there will be more scope to employ the full 10-question suite without creating 'survey fatigue'. Results from Year 2 survey can be compared to Year 1 survey as the shorter version of HFSSM is nested within the longer version. Details of the shorter version are presented in the Appendix.

While applying these precise technical measures is appropriate for our quantitative research within this study, at the same time we recognise the need to use the more engaging terms of 'hunger' or 'hunger and poverty' when communicating findings to the wider public.

CONCLUSION

This report has introduced and set the scene for a landmark research programme being undertaken by this University-based team with the support and collaboration of the Trussell Trust, the UK's largest provider of food banks. The main aim of the research is to explore the questions of what drives hunger in the UK, who it affects and what lessons can be learned from different areas of the UK to alleviate it. On the basis of the evidence review summarised above, we interpret 'hunger' in this context to refer to 'household food insecurity', an internationally recognised and measurable concept. The forthcoming research findings will create an annual benchmark for the Trussell Trust, Government, and other organisations to refer to in working to tackle hunger through evidence-based policies and practices, while raising the level of public understanding and discussion of hunger.

5 https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/food-nutrition-assistance/food-security-in-the-us/definitions-of-food-security.aspx

REFERENCES

Allin, P. and Hand, D.J. (2014) *The well-being of nations: meaning, motive and measurement.* Chichester, West Sussex, United Kingdom: Wiley.

Anderson, S. (1990) Core indicators of nutritional status for difficult to sample populations. *Journal of Nutrition*, 11, 1557–1600.

Bailey, N., Fahmy, E., & Bradshaw, J. (2018) 'The multi-dimensional analysis of social exclusion', in G. Bramley & N. Bailey, (eds) (2018) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in the UK, Volume 2: The Dimensions of Disadvantage*. Bristol: Policy Press.

BBC (2019a) Council spending on single homelessness 'down by £5bn since 2009'. Available at https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-48023750 [accessed 14 May 2019]

BBC (2019b) Hungry children 'eating from school bins' in Morecambe. Available at https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-46827360 [accessed 14 May 2019]

BBC (2019c) Amber Rudd links universal credit to rise in food bank use. Available at https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-47203389 [accessed 14 May 2019]

BBC (2019d) Benefit penalties cut by Amber Rudd for claimants who fail to follow rules. Available at https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-48215680 [accessed 14 May 2019]

Blane, D., Davey-Smith, G., & Bartley, M. (1993) 'Social selection: what does it contribute to social class differences in health', *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 15:1, 1-15.

Bradshaw, J., Chzehn, Y, & Stephens, M. (2008) 'Housing: the saving grace in the British welfare state?', in S.Fitzpatrick & M. Stephens (eds) *The Future of Social Housing.* London: Shelter.

Bradshaw, J., Middleton, S., Davis, A., Oldfield, N. Smith, N., Cusworth, L. & Williams, J. (2008) *A Minimum Income Standard for Britain.* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Bramley, G. & Bailey, N. (eds) (2018) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in the UK, Volume 2: The Dimensions of Disadvantage*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Bramley, G., & Fitzpatrick, S. (2017). Homelessness in the UK: Who is most at risk? *Housing Studies*, 1-21. DOI: 10.1080/02673037.2017.1344957

Bramley, G., Hirsch, D., Littlewood, M. & Watkins, D. (2016) *Counting the Cost of UK Poverty.* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. www.jrf.org.uk

Bramley, G., Sosenko, F., Wood, J. with Williams, J. & Matthews, P. (2018) *Scoping project to investigate the alternatives for including non-household populations in estimates of personal well-being and destitution* Interim Research Report to Joseph Rowntree Foundation and ONS. Edinburgh: Heriot-Watt University Research Gateway. https://researchportal.hw.ac.uk/en/publications/scoping-project-to-investigate-the-alternatives-for-including-non

Brewer, M. & o'Dea (2017) 'Why are households that report the lowest incomes so well-off?', *Economic Journal*, October.

Brownfield, G. (2018) Behind on the basics: A closer look at households in arrears on their essential bills. StepChange.

Centre for Social Justice (2012) 'Rethinking child poverty', *CSJ Policy Papers*, http://www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk/core/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/CSJ_Child_Poverty_secondversion.pdf

Channel 4 (2019) Charities 'overwhelmed' by food bank users amid Universal Credit rollout. Available at https://www.channel4.com/news/charities-overwhelmed-by-food-bank-users-amid-universal-credit-rollout [accessed 14 May 2019]

Citizens Advice (2014) *Citizens Advice Bureaux foodbank survey.* Available at https://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/about-us/policy/policy-research-topics/welfare-policy-research-surveys-and-consultation-responses/welfare-surveys-and-consultation-responses/citizens-advice-bureaux-foodbank-survey/ [accessed 14 May 2019]

Citizens Advice Scotland (2016) *Living at the sharp end*, Edinburgh: Citizens Advice Scotland.

Cooper, N., Purcell, S., & Jackson, R. (2014) *Below the Breadline: The Relentless Rise of Food Poverty in Britain*. Church Action on Poverty, Oxfam & The Trussell Trust.

Crawley, H., Jemmings, J. and Price, N. (2011) *Coping with destitution: survival and livelihood strategies of refused asylum seekers living in the UK*. Oxford: Oxfam Research Report.

Cribb, J., Keiller, A.N., Waters, T. (2018) *Living Standards, poverty and inequality in the UK: 2018*. ISBN 978-1-912805-00-6. London: Institute for Fiscal Studies.

Crisis (2019) *More than 24,000 people facing Christmas sleeping rough or in cars, trains, buses and tents*. Available at https://www.crisis.org.uk/about-us/latest-news/more-than-24-000-people-facing-christmas-sleeping-rough-or-in-cars-trains-buses-and-tents/. [accessed 14 May 2019]

Department of Work and Pensions (DWP) (2017) More detail on £1.5 billion package of support for Universal Credit. Available at https://www.gov.uk/government/news/more-detail-on-15-billion-package-of-support-for-universal-credit [accessed 14 May 2019]

Department of Work and Pensions (DWP) (2019) *Households Below Average Income: An analysis of the UK income distribution: 1994/95-2017/18*. https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/households-below-average-income-hbai--2

Dermott, E. & Main, G. (eds) (2018) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in the UK: Volume 1 – The nature and extent of the problem.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Doyal, L. & Gough, I. (1984) 'A theory of human needs', *Critical Social Policy*, 10, 6-38.

End Hunger UK (2018) Universal Credit petition 2018: full text. Available at http://endhungeruk.org/ucpetitiontext/ [accessed 19 May 2019]

FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO (2018) *The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2018. Building climate resilience for food security and nutrition*. Rome, FAO.

FareShare (2018) *The Wasted Opportunity*. FareShare.

Fitzpatrick, S, Bramley, G & Johnsen, S 2013, 'Pathways into multiple exclusion homelessness in seven UK cities', Urban Studies, vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 148-168.

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

Fitzpatrick, S., Bramley, G., Sosenko, F., Blenkinsopp, J., Johnsen, S., Littlewood, M., Watts, B. (2016). *Destitution in the UK*. York. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Fitzpatrick, S., Bramley, G., Sosenko, F., Blenkinsopp, J. with Johnsen, S., Littlewood, M., & Watts, B. (2018) *Destitution in the UK*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Garratt, E. (2017) 'Please sir, I want some more: an exploration of repeat foodbank use', *BMC Public Health*, 17:828.

Garthwaite, K. (2016) Hunger Pains: Life Inside Foodbank Britain. Bristol: Policy Press.

Gordon, D. (2018) 'Measuring poverty in the UK', in E. Dermott & G. Main (eds) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in the UK: Volume 1 – The nature and extent of the problem.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Glennerster, H., Hills, J., Piachaud, D. & Webb, J. (2004) *One hundred years of poverty and policy.* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

The Guardian (2014) 'Government dismisses study linking use of food banks to benefit cuts', https://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/nov/19/cuts-benefit-changes-driving-up-use-food-banks-study [accessed 14 May 2019].

The Guardian (2019) 'UK's 'cruel and harmful policies' lack regard for child hunger, says NGO', https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/may/19/uk-government-cruel-policies-child-hunger-breach-human-rights-says-ngo [accessed 21 May 2019]

Guio, A.-C., Marlier, E., Gordon, D. Fahmy, E., Nandy, S., & Pomati, M. (2016) *'Improving measurement of material deprivation at the European Union level'*, Journal of European Social Policy, 26(3),: 219-333.

Haddad, M., Perry, J., & Hadfield-Spoor, M. (2017) *Emergency Use Only: Update 2017*. Child Poverty Action Group. Available at https://www.trusselltrust.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2017/12/EUOII.pdf.

Hadfield-Spoor, M. (2018) Disability, Health and Hunger. The Trussell Trust, https://www.trusselltrust.org/2018/01/31/disability-health-and-hunger.

HC Deb (19 January 2019) vol. 654, col. 593. Available at: https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2019-02-11/debates/3AF052EC-3800-4B86-ADDC-8BE7EC861FAF/UniversalCreditFoodInsecurity [accessed 14 May 2019]

Hill, M. & Bramley, G. (1986) *Analysing Social Policy*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hills, J. (2015) *Good Times, Bad Times: The welfare myth of Them and Us'*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Hills, J., Le Grand, J. & Piachaud, D. (eds) (2002) *Understanding Social Exclusion*. Oxford: OUP.

Hirsch, D., Padley, M, & Valadez, L. (2016) *A Poverty Indicator Based on a Minimum Income Standard*. CRSP Working Paper 656. Loughborough University, Centre for Research in Social Policy.

Hossain, N., Byrne, B., Campbell, A., Harrison, E., McKinley, B. and Shah, P. (2011). The Impact of the Global Economic Downturn on Communities and Poverty in the UK. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Institute for Fiscal Studies (2017) In-work poverty among families with children.

Jitendra, A., Thorogood, E., & Hadfield-Spoor, M. (2017) *Early Warnings: Universal Credit and Food banks*. The Trussell Trust.

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2018) *Over 1.5 million people were destitute in the UK in 2017.* Available at https://www.jrf.org.uk/press/over-one-and-a-half-million-people-were-destitute-uk-2017. [accessed 14 May 2019]

Lambie-Mumford, H. (2014) *Food bank provision and welfare reform in the UK*, Sheffield: SPERI: Sheffield Political Economy Research Institute.

Levitas, R., Pantazis, C., Fahmy, E., Gordon, D., Looyd, E. & Patsios, D. (2007) *The multi-dimensional analysis of social exclusion.* Bristol: University of Bristol.

Lewis, H. (2009) *Still destitute: a worsening problem for refused asylum seekers.* York: Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust.

Lister, R. (2004) *Poverty*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Loopstra, R., Fledderjohann, J., Reeves, A. and Stuckler, D. (2018) 'Impact of Welfare Benefit Sanctioning on Food Insecurity: a Dynamic Cross-Area Study of Food Bank Usage in the UK', *Journal of Social Policy*, 47, 3, 437-457.

Loopstra, R., & Lalor, D. (2017) *Financial insecurity, food insecurity, and disability*. The Trussell Trust. Available at: https://www.trusselltrust.org/oxford-university-report.

Loopstra, R., Reeves, A., Taylor-Robinson, D., Barr, B., McKee, M. and Stuckler, D. (2015) 'Austerity, sanctions, and the rise of food banks in the UK', *BMJ*, 350, h1775.

Mack, J. & Lansley, S. (1985) *Poor Britain.* London: George Allen & Unwin.

Mack, J. (2018) 'Fifty years of poverty in the UK', in G. Bramley & N. Bailey (eds) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in the UK: Volume 2: The Dimensions of Disadvantage.* Bristol: Policy Press.

MacLeod, M. A., Kearns, A. and Curl, A. (2016) Briefing paper 28: *Food bank use among residents of Glasgow's deprived neighbourhoods*, Glasgow: GoWell.

Manor, O., Matthews, S. & Power, C. (2003) 'Health selection: the role of inter-and intra-generational mobility on social inequalities in health', *Social Science and Medicine*, 57, 2217-27.

Menu for Change & IFAN (2019) Emergency Food Parcel Provision in Scotland: April 2017 to September 2018. Available at https://menuforchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Emergency-Food-Parcel-Provision-in-Scotland-Apr-2017-to-Sep-2018.pdf [accessed 14 May 2019]

Miller, D. (1999) *Principles of Social Justice*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Nussbaum, M. (2000) *Women and Human Development: the Capabilities Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pantazis, C., Gordon, D. & Levitas, R. (2006) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain: The Millenium Survey*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Perry, J., Williams, M., Sefton, T. and Haddad, M. (2014) *Emergency Use Only: Understanding and reducing the use of food banks in the UK*, Oxfam.

Piachaud, D. (1981) 'Peter Townsend and the Holy Grail', *New Society*, Issue 10, September.

Piachaud, D. (1987) 'Problems in the definition and measurement of poverty', *Journal of Social Policy*, 16:02, 147-64.

Poppendieck, J. (1998) *Sweet Charity? Emergency Food and the End of Entitlement*, New York: Viking Penguin.

Prayogo, E., Chater, A., Chapman, S., Barker, M., Rahmawati, N., Waterfall, T. and Grimble, G. (2017) 'Who uses foodbanks and why? Exploring the impact of financial strain and adverse life events on food insecurity', *Journal of Public Health*, 40, 4, 676-683.

Prior, L. & Manley, D. (2018) 'Poverty and health: thirty years of progress?', in G. Bramley & N. Bailey, (eds) (2018) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in the UK, Volume 2: The Dimensions of Disadvantage*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Real Life Reform (2015) Real Life Reform: Report 6. Available at http://www.northern-consortium.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/files/real-life-reform/Report%206.pdf [accessed 14 May 2019]

Roberts, N. & Steward, K. (2015) 'Plans to axe child poverty measures contradict the vast majority of expert advice the government received', http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politics andpolicy/plans-to-axe-child-poverty-measures-have-no-support-among-experts/

Robeyns, I. (2005) 'The Capability Approach: a theoretical survey', *Journal of Human Development* 6:1, 93-117.

Room, G. (1995) *Beyond the Threshold: the measurement and analysis of social exclusion.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Scottish Government (2018) Origin of the Child Poverty Targets. https://www2.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Social-Welfare/IncomePoverty/ChildPovertyStrategy/targethist

Scottish Government (2019) Child Poverty Measurement Framework https://www2.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Social-Welfare/IncomePoverty/ChildPovertyStrategy/targethist

Sen, A. (1992) *Inequality Re-examined*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Social Metrics Commission (2018) *A new measure of poverty for the UK*. The final report of the Social Metrics Commission. Chaired by Philippa Stroud, CEO of the Legatum Institute. www.socialmetricscommission.org.uk/

Sosenko, F., Livingstone, N., & Fitzpatrick, S. (2013) *Overview of Food Aid Provision in Scotland*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Government

Stiglitz, J.E., Sen, A. and Fitoussi, J.-P. (2009) *Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress* www.stjglitz-sen-fitoussi.fr

Tonkin, R. & Serafino, P. (2017) 'Comparing poverty estimates using income, expenditure and material deprivation', chapter 13 in *Monitoring Social Inclusion in Europe*, 2017 edition.

Townsend, P. (1979) *Poverty in the United Kingdom: a survey of household resources and living standards.* Harmondsworth: Penguin/Allen Lane.

The Trussell Trust (2018) The Next Stage of Universal Credit. The Trussell Trust. Available at: https://www.trusselltrust.org/wp-content/uloads/sites/2/2018/10/The-next-stage-of-Universal-Credit-Report-Final.pdf.

The Trussell Trust (2019a) *Record 1.6m food bank parcels given to people in past year as the Trussell Trust calls for end to Universal Credit five week wait.* Available at https://www.trusselltrust.org/2019/04/25/record-1-6m-food-bank-parcels/ [accessed 14 May 2019]

The Trussell Trust (2019b) *"Benefit levels must keep pace with rising cost of essentials" as record increase in foodbank figures is revealed.* Available at: https://www.trusselltrust.org/2018/04/24/benefit-levels-must-keep-pace-rising-cost-essentials-record-increase-foodbank-figures-revealed/ [accessed 14 May 2019]

Turn2Us (2018) Holiday hunger: How common is it and what help is available? Available at https://www.turn2us.org.uk/About-Us/News/Holiday-hunger [accessed 14 May 2019]

United Nations (2017) *Guide on Poverty Measurement* https://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/stats/publications/2018/ECECESSTAT20174.pdf

Warren, J.R., (2009) 'Socioeconomic status and health across the lfie course: a test of the social causation and health selection hypotheses', *Social Forces*, 87:4, 2125-54.

Wunderlich, G. S. & Norwood, J. L. (2006) *Food Insecurity and Hunger in the United States*: An Assessment of the Measure. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. https://doi.org/10.17226/11578.

APPENDIX. QUESTIONS IN THE 10-ITEM HFSSM AND THE SCORING SYSTEM.

1. "(I/We) worried whether (my/our) food would run out before (I/we) got money to buy more." Was that often true, sometimes true, or never true for (you/your household) in the last 12 months?
2. *"The food that (I/we) bought just didn't last, and (I/we) didn't have money to get more." Was that often, sometimes, or never true for (you/your household) in the last 12 months?
3. *"(I/we) couldn't afford to eat balanced meals." Was that often, sometimes, or never true for (you/your household) in the last 12 months?
4. *In the last 12 months, since last (name of current month), did (you/you or other adults in your household) ever cut the size of your meals or skip meals because there wasn't enough money for food?
5. *[IF YES ABOVE, ASK] How often did this happen—almost every month, some months but not every month, or in only 1 or 2 months?
6. *In the last 12 months, did you ever eat less than you felt you should because there wasn't enough money for food?
7. *In the last 12 months, were you every hungry but didn't eat because there wasn't enough money for food?
8. In the last 12 months, did you lose weight because there wasn't enough money for food?
9. In the last 12 months, did (you/you or other adults in your household) ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food?
10. [IF YES ABOVE, ASK] How often did this happen—almost every month, some months but not every month, or in only 1 or 2 months?

To calculate the respondent's score, responses of 'yes', 'often', 'sometimes', 'almost every month', and 'some months but not every month' are coded as affirmative. The sum of affirmative responses to the 10 questions in the Adult Food Security Scale is the household's raw score on the scale. Food security status is assigned as follows[6]:

Raw score zero—High food security among adults

Raw score 1-2—Marginal food security among adults

Raw score 3-5—Low food security among adults

Raw score 6-10—Very low food security among adults

Households with 'low' and 'very low' food security are considered 'food insecure'.

6 See https://www.ers.usda.gov/media/8279/ad2012.pdf for further technical details.

Questions marked with an asterix form the official shorter 6-item version of HFSSM. The scoring system for the 6-item version is as follows[7]:

Responses of 'often' or 'sometimes' on questions 2 and 3, and 'yes' on 4, 6 and 7 are coded as affirmative (yes). Responses of 'almost every month' and 'some months but not every month' on 5 are coded as affirmative (yes). The sum of affirmative responses to the six questions in the module is the household's raw score on the scale. Food security status is assigned as follows:

Raw score 0-1—High or marginal food security (raw score 1 may be considered marginal food security)

Raw score 2-4—Low food security

Raw score 5-6—Very low food security

Households with 'low' and 'very low' food security are considered 'food insecure'.

7 See https://www.ers.usda.gov/media/8282/short2012.pdf for further details.

the trussell trust
Stop UK Hunger

www.trusselltrust.org

@trusselltrust