Towards a collaborative food action plan

A report on food poverty in Cambridge
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Report by Kalyani Gupta

About Cambridge Sustainable Food

Cambridge Sustainable Food is a community interest company, which supports the CSF Partnership Board, working in Cambridge and the surrounding village to promote a sustainable food system within the city. It leads on multiple projects working with the community, businesses and local government in areas around food waste, healthy diets, food poverty and cookery workshops. It convenes the Cambridge Food Poverty Alliance leading on the research into food poverty and bringing together key actors in this area in the city.

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About the author

Kalyani Gupta completed a PhD in Chemistry in carbon capture and utilisation from University College London in 2018. Whilst completing her PhD, she was involved in managing the FoodCycle LSE project in London working with the HIV community living in food poverty and social isolation. Kalyani interned for Cambridge Sustainable Food helping to set up the Cambridge Food Poverty Alliance and the research project for this report, staying on as a pro-bono consultant for the alliance to complete the research and report into food poverty in the city.
Acknowledgments

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Executive Summary

This report examines the food poverty situation in Cambridge, attempting to estimate the scale of food poverty and understand how people living in Cambridge experience food poverty in the city. This research project aims to feed all of this information into the development of a collaborative food action plan, which will aim to tackle and alleviate food poverty at the local level in the city.

This project collected evidence from everyday experts through the Food Insecurity Experience Scale (FIES) survey, face-to-face interviews and mapping organisations working in food poverty. It builds on research carried out as part of the Cambridge City Council’s anti-poverty strategy and mapping poverty exercise. The report also considers income distribution, the housing situation, homelessness, fuel poverty, food bank use, healthy start voucher use and free school meals as well as the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) to understand the wider situation in Cambridge.

While Cambridge has enjoyed extensive economic benefits from its tech and life sciences sector, strongly influenced by the universities, stark levels of inequality persist in the city. Higher levels of deprivation are concentrated in the North and North East of the city, however, the research suggests that this is changing as Trumpington has growing numbers of housing benefit claimants and increasing levels of child poverty, with the second highest rates of children in poverty in Cambridge. The latest fuel poverty data shows 11.5% of households in Cambridge are struggling to heat their homes and with this being linked closely to food poverty, suggests that 11.5% of households are at risk of or may be experiencing food poverty. The uptake of healthy start voucher is around 60% for Cambridge meaning 2 in 5 eligible families are not accessing fruits, vegetables, vital vitamins or infant milk formula.

Our survey data highlights that 54% of 71 respondents worry about not having enough food due to a lack of money or other resources, with this rising to 60% unable to access healthy and nutritious meals. 50% of the respondents who identified in the family group, who were predominantly female, were going the whole day without eating, showing that food poverty was disproportionately affecting certain groups within households and in communities. Our
interviewees told us of the challenges of managing budgets with benefit freezes and major concerns over the roll-out of universal credit and the lack of information, which was described as a “modern day cull”.

The initial recommendations of this report based on this research are:

- Adopt a rights-based approach to food poverty
- Data collection and monitoring of the situation
- Understanding geographical needs of the city
- Improve sign-posting between organisations
- Maximise family income
- Promote access to healthy, high quality and nutritious foods
- Promote a better connection to our food system
Definition of Food Poverty

Food poverty can be defined as the “limited or uncertain availability and ability to acquire nutritionally adequate and safe food in socially acceptable ways (without resorting to emergency food parcels, scavenging or stealing)”.¹ While the UK does not have a nationally accepted definition, other countries as well as the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) have defined food poverty in similar terms. Food poverty can be experienced on a spectrum from mild to severe food poverty (Figure 1) as shown on the food poverty scale below, which shows how food poverty can be experienced by individuals and households. Food poverty may range from ‘worrying about the ability to get food’ to ‘experiencing hunger’ and this directly impacts on the wellbeing of individuals, from psychological costs to physical from obesity to malnutrition and starvation. Readers should note that food insecurity and food poverty are used interchangeably in this report.

Figure 1 – Food insecurity / poverty scale showing the spectrum of how food poverty may be experienced by individuals and the impact on their wellbeing.²

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¹ A. Taylor & R. Loopstra, Too Poor to Eat: Food insecurity in the UK, London, 2016, Food Foundation
National Context

While other countries such as the United States and Canada record food poverty nationally through household surveys, currently, there is no national measurement of food poverty in the UK. Attempts have been made through surveys to estimate the scale of food poverty in the UK. Recently, the UN FAO survey through the Gallup World Poll in 2014, which included the Food Insecurity Experience Survey (FIES) scale questionnaire, estimated that 10.1% of the population in the UK aged 15 and over was experiencing food insecurity of some form, with estimated 3.7 million in moderate food poverty and 4.7 million in severe food poverty, totalling 8.4 million people.\(^3\) It should be noted that the survey was only carried out using a sample size of 1000 nationally representative adults aged 15 and over.

End Hunger UK, a coalition of food poverty charities in the UK, surveyed just over 2000 adults (aged 18 and over) in the beginning of 2018 and highlighted the scale of hidden hunger in the UK.\(^4\) This survey showed that 1 in 10 adults were skipping meals because of a lack of money, 8% were going a whole day without eating because of a lack of money in the last 12 months and 59% of adults had observed an increase in grocery prices in the last 3 months. In particular, parents of children (18 and under) were significantly affected as 23% were either skipping meals or seeing someone in their households skip meals, due to a lack of money. Similarly, a Food and You survey conducted by the Food Standards Agency asked 3118 adults aged 16 and over (across England, Wales and Northern Ireland) questions about food insecurity (based on United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) questions used to measure food insecurity in the US), which highlighted that 21% were living in food insecurity, of which a third of 16-24 year olds were reported to often or sometimes worry about food running out in the household.\(^5\) Whilst, there is currently no national baseline

\(^3\) Methods for estimating comparable rates of food insecurity experienced by adults throughout the world, FAO, Rome, 2016
\(^4\) End Hunger UK Survey, January 2018 (available at http://endhungeruk.org/shocking-figures-showing-hidden-hunger-show-need-find/#more-274)
data whereby it could be understood how food insecurity is changing over recent years, significant changes have been observed in the food aid sector in the UK. Food banks, both managed by the Trussell Trust and independent food banks, have been providing emergency food parcels to increasing numbers of people.

**The rise of food banks in the UK**

Over the last 10 years, the number of Trussell Trust food banks has significantly increased; between 2010 and 2015 the number of food banks increased by over 130% and in recent years the number of food banks openings have plateaued (Figure 2). The Independent Food Aid Network (IFAN) identified and mapped 672 independent food banks operating across the UK in 2016. This number has since risen to 774 totalling the combined food bank network to over 1200 in 2018. Trussell Trust released their yearly statistics in April 2018 of food bank use for the financial year 2017/18 during which 1,332,952 3-day emergency parcels were given out across their network, a stark increase of 13% since last year (which had an increase of 6% the year before) (Figure 3). The increasing number of people of accessing food aid has been strongly linked to government policy on austerity, welfare reforms, higher costs of living and more recently the roll out of universal credit. Trussell Trust figures from April 2018 show that where universal credit has been rolled out in the UK, food bank use has significantly increased in those areas. The charity has been monitoring food bank use in universal credit rollout areas for a year and have seen an average increase of 52% in these areas, showing a strong link to food bank use and universal credit roll out. Universal credit is considered one of the most significant welfare reform policy being implemented by the government and has been met with significant criticism. It aims to group together a number of benefits (housing benefits, child tax credit, income support, ...
working tax credit, jobseeker’s allowance and employment and support allowance) into single payments, which are paid monthly rather than weekly or monthly.

Figure 2 – Number of Trussell Trust food bank branches from 2008 to 2018. Data sourced from Trussell Trust.

Figure 3 – Total 3-day emergency parcels given across the Trussell Trust network from 2013 to 2018. Data is sourced from Trussell Trust.
National Responses to Food Poverty

The community charitable response to food poverty and hunger has been particularly strong compared to any government top down policy action. The rise of food banks, both Trussell Trust and independent networks, especially highlights the local crisis response to managing food poverty in villages, towns and cities. Over the previous decade, other community responses have included the expansion of the FoodCycle network, starting from 2 projects in 2008 to now 38 projects around England. FoodCycle provides community meals made from surplus food to people in food poverty and social isolation. The proliferation of holiday lunches and breakfast clubs across the UK is also a strong indicator of the community managed responses to holiday hunger. With over 3 million children at risk of holiday hunger, the holidays see a significant increase in food bank usage due to absence of free school meals and increasing financial pressure for families on low income. In 2017, 593 organisations provided holiday clubs across the UK providing over 190,000 meals to 22,000 children.\(^1\) Nation-wide responses by government has mainly been limited to providing funding though grants such as the recent £2 million grant to provide healthy meals and activities to disadvantaged children in England.\(^2\) There has also been a growing interest in the academic community with more researchers studying food poverty and recently the first national food poverty conference in the UK was held in April 2018 bringing researchers and NGOs together to understand and address food poverty issues.\(^3\)

Recently, we have observed a more coordinated approach to tackling food poverty in communities through the development of food poverty alliances. This has been further supported by the formation of Food Power, part of Sustain. Food Power was formed in June 2017 and aims to support local alliances develop their work, respond to food poverty and its root causes, give voice to people experiencing poverty and food poverty as well as evaluate

\(^{10}\) Holiday Club Survey 2017 Preliminary Findings, APPG on Hunger (available http://www.frankfield.co.uk/upload/docs/Holiday%20Club%20Survey%202017.pdf)
and share its work.\textsuperscript{13} Since its formation, 53 alliances have either joined the network or have been newly created (Figure 4).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{ Figure 4 – Map of food poverty alliances around the UK in the Food Power network }
\end{figure}

A number of alliances or groups have been running for a number of years, including Belfast Food Network, Brighton & Hove Food Partnership, GFIG Food Poverty Sub Group, Food Cardiff and Feeding Coventry among others. Their work has included conducting research around the needs of local people experiencing food poverty and developing an action plan. In particular, Brighton & Hove Food Partnership has been at the forefront of tackling food poverty at the city level and has inspired similar action in areas around the UK, by creating a food action plan in 2015, which had 78 lead actions and recently reported a progress of 93\% after a 3 year follow up. Readers can read their final progress report for more information.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13} https://www.sustainweb.org/foodpower/
\textsuperscript{14} Final Progress Report, 2018, Brighton & Hove Food Poverty Action Plan
What is a food poverty action plan?

The development of an action plan strategically looks at the alleviating food poverty through short, medium and long-term actions, focussing on crisis responses as well as preventative approaches to target structural issues, which allow people to persist in food insecure situations. It is evident from countless academic research and growing austerity driven policies that the current situation is not sustainable or acceptable where food poverty is allowed to increase at the rate it has in the previous decade. The existence of such plans also holds key actors responsible for leading on developing and implementing change. Readers can consult the short guide created by Sustain for more information on ‘Developing Food Poverty Action Plans’.  

Cambridge Food Poverty Alliance

Cambridge has enjoyed an economic boom due to the strong influence of the university, IT and biomedical companies. However, there are high levels of inequality and areas of Cambridge are in high deprivation. The following section highlights the Cambridge context in more detail. A number of organisations have been in operation and have been supporting people in food poverty for the last decade or so. However, the Cambridge Food Poverty Alliance (CFPA), formed in October 2017, aims to strategically alleviate food poverty in the city in collaboration with NGOs, the local council, businesses and importantly people who are experiencing food poverty.

The Alliance has been formed with an aim to:

• consult with users of relevant services and organisations providing services
• share resources, best practice and information locally
• research what has been done successfully elsewhere
• develop a Collaborative Food Action Plan to ensure an evidence-based joined-up approach to food poverty in the City

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15 Food Poverty Action Plan, Sustain (available at https://www.sustainweb.org/foodpoverty/actionplans/)
CFPA is formed of core partners administered by Cambridge Sustainable Food. The steering group includes Cambridge City Council, Cambridge City Food Bank, FoodCycle, CHS Group, Wintercomfort and C3 Church. The Alliance also includes a range of organisations who act as members of the Alliance and supported this research as well as support the development and implementation of the Collaborative Food Action Plan.

Aim of the report

In order to develop an evidence based strategic food poverty action plan, the Cambridge Food Poverty Alliance agreed to conduct research into the situation surrounding food poverty in the city and how people experience it. This report looks at the state of food poverty and considers the wider issues affecting Cambridge and how people manage their
situations. This should feed a strong evidence base to develop strategic actions to alleviate and tackle food poverty in Cambridge.

**Our Approach**

The approach taken by the Cambridge Food Poverty Alliance has been to collect views of people living in food poverty to understand how these issues affect the daily lives of people, through the Food Insecurity Experience Scale (FIES) survey and face-to-face interviews. Additionally, extensive secondary research was carried out, which involved considering number of datasets on homelessness, fuel poverty, healthy start and free school meals. As currently there is no standard means of measuring food poverty, these data sets are used as a proxy to estimate levels of food poverty. Readers can refer to the appendix for a detailed methodology.

**Experience and Evidence**

The following sections discuss the Cambridge context, highlighting local needs investigated through the research study, which captured views from people living in food poverty backed with quantifiable evidence from secondary research.

**The Cambridge Context**

Cambridge was one of the fastest growing economies in Q1 2018, followed by Oxford and Milton Keynes and its gross value added (GVA) is expected to increase by 2.1% this year.16

16 Powerhouse City Growth Tracker, Irwin Mitchell, 2018 (available at https://www.irwinmitchell.com/ukpowerhouse)
Its proximity to London as well as the influence of the universities on the growth of the skilled tech and life sciences sectors has significantly contributed to its economic activity. The forecast for the next decade however suggests that Milton Keynes will overtake Cambridge in its economic output but Cambridge will continue to perform strongly. While Cambridge performs strongly on economic league tables, there are stark income inequality issues facing this city. According to the Gini Coefficient, estimated by Centre for Cities think tank in its 2018 report, Cambridge is identified as the most unequal city in the UK, for the second year running, highlighting the uneven distribution of income in the city. One of the reasons for this high income inequality is due to a larger proportion of higher paid, highly skilled jobs in Cambridge than in other cities, which are considered more equal but in fact have the weakest economies.

### Income

Income is often used as a measure of poverty and a household is considered in relative poverty if its income is below 60% median household income. The Households Below Average Income (HBAI) data is estimated from the Family Resources Survey (FRS), which captures information on incomes of private households and therefore excludes people who are rough sleepers or in temporary accommodation as well as people living in nursing institution, halls of residence or military barracks. Due to the nature of the FRS and sample size, HBAI data is not available for Cambridge. However, the proportion of individuals in low income groups below 60% median income, has been estimated for East of England as 14% before housing costs (the same as London) and 19% after housing costs. If 14% is applied to Cambridge, this equates to roughly 17,500 individuals. As this is applied before housing

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costs are accounted for, the number of individuals at risk of poverty is likely to increase as property and rental prices are very high in Cambridge.

A better representation of the income distribution should be to consider the Small Area Model-Based Income Estimates, covering middle layer super output areas (MSOAs) providing information at the ward level in England and Wales. This is even more important in the case of Cambridge, where there are pockets of deprivation in the north and north east of the city, which correlates to the income distribution (Figure 5). The graph shows the net annual income after housing costs and utilities have been accounted for as well as tax and national insurance contributions. In particular, the differences between net annual income (AHC) in Market/Newnham and King’s Hedges are significant (£16,000 a year). The variation in levels of deprivation in different areas of the city is discussed further in the Index of Multiple Deprivation section.

Figure 5 – Graph showing net annual income after housing costs (2014) for different Cambridge areas including the confidence interval, highlighting the uneven income distribution in the city.

Readers should note that these are equivalised for different household compositions. Data is sourced from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) small area-based income estimates.

Housing

The property market in Cambridge has been performing strongly and the median house prices have generally been increasing between Q4-2014 and Q3-2017, with a small decline in median house prices in Q4-2017 for all house types (Figure 6).\textsuperscript{21} Housing stock growth has increased the highest in Cambridge (1.7\%) compared to the UK average (0.8\%).\textsuperscript{17} The average house price in Cambridge for 2017 was £505,200 an increase of 8.8\% from 2016 and is one of the cities experiencing the highest price growth in the UK along with other cities like Oxford, Swindon and Slough. In Q2-2018, the standardised average price for houses in Cambridge was £548,477, an increase of around 7\% from Q1,\textsuperscript{22} which is nearly 18 times higher than the median salary (£30,912) in Cambridge. As the property market has remained strong and property prices have been increasing, households on low incomes have increasingly struggled to be able to afford to get on the property ladder.

\textsuperscript{21} House price statistics for small areas in England and Wales, Office for National Statistics

\textsuperscript{22} HM Land Registry data (available at http://landregistry.data.gov.uk) – values given as geometric mean
Figure 6 – Median house prices for Cambridge from Q4-2014 to Q4-2017 for all house types, detached, semi-detached, terraced houses and flats. Data sourced from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) small area house prices.

Equally, the lettings market also remains challenging. In recent years, rent prices have been decreasing, however 2018 has seen increasing rental prices as tenant demand remains strong but there is a low supply of properties. An increasing number of people are priced out as sales are too expensive and are therefore looking to rent. Overall in the UK, rental prices are forecasted to increase by 15% over the medium term (2023), with East Anglia expected to see the sharpest growth.23 One of the main issues is as more people are unable to afford to buy property in London, are moving further afield to Cambridge, where the job market remains strong in highly skilled, high paid jobs. The average rent in Cambridge is £948 and has seen an average growth year on year to April 2018 of 2.21%, making Cambridge one the highest rental growth areas in England.24 This puts an increasing burden on households on low-income where income going towards housing is increasing and is

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23 RICS UK Residential Market Survey, July 2018
24 Landbay Rental Index Report, April 2018
then likely to have a detrimental impact on other essential aspects of the household including energy and food.

In Cambridge, there are 29 service providers, which provide social housing, including housing associations, almshouse trusts, and other registered providers which build, manage and own homes. Some providers work county wide. The council in its anti-poverty strategy 2017 has recognised the need to help people with more affordable housing, through setting up the Greater Cambridge Housing Development Agency, planning to build 250 new homes a year, many of which are intended to be affordable. Furthermore, a £70 million fund through a devolution deal with Cambridgeshire will allow the council to increase its council housing by 2023. It also requires 40% of affordable houses on larger (15 or more units) residential property development sites. Between 2014 and 2017, 684 affordable homes were built and further 479 are planned to be completed by 2020.

Homelessness

The general trend in the UK indicates that homelessness has been rising in recent years. This is a complex problem and can have multiple factors which cause it, including job loss, home loss as well as relationship breakdown, substance misuse and mental health problems. The wider economic factors, housing market and major welfare policy changes are key external drivers in helping this problem to grow. Recent statistics on rough sleeping shows that there has been a 169% increase in rough sleepers between 2010 and 2017 nationally and similarly, single homelessness, although difficult to directly measure due to the way the data is collected, shows an increase of 18% between 2010 and 2017. Statutory family homelessness nationally has increased around 59% between the same period. In the case of Cambridge, homelessness has been a key issue and in recent years, rough sleeping has been a growing concern for many. The Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG), collects rough sleeper counts and estimates from local authorities and recent figures (Figure 7) show that between 2010 and 2016 rough sleepers

25 The Homelessness Monitor: England 2018, Crisis, April 2018
grew by a stark 560% and in 2017 this number fell by 35% to 26. This is still higher than the count from 2015 and this decrease is not suggestive that the trend is now towards a general decrease, however, recent measures were undertaken in Cambridge (read more here), which may have contributed to a decrease. One of the issues with rough sleeping counts and estimates is that the number is often understated as it is a snapshot of the problem, one night a year, therefore only highlights the tip of the problem.

Figure 7 – Number of rough sleepers in Cambridge from 2010 to 2018. Data is sourced from the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) homelessness statistics.

Statutory homelessness is recognised by local authorities for applicants who are at imminent risk of losing housing or actual ‘rooflessness’. According to the Crisis Homelessness Monitor report, this statistic is treated as a prime measure of homelessness by government, NGOs and the media. In the case of Cambridge, since 2010 there has been a general increase in the total decisions and caseload of applicants, peaking in 2015/16 (Figure 8). The number of those accepted as statutorily homeless has increased significantly.

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26 Rough sleeping data, MHCLG
between 2010 and 2015 by 25%, falling to 35% at its lowest in 2017/18. It should be noted that those classed as not priority but accepted as homeless has grown over the previous 3-4 years since 2010/11. In 2017, of the 333 applications made to the council under statutory homelessness, only 33% were classed as accepted as homeless and the remaining 66% were classed as homeless but non-priority (26%), intentionally homeless (14%) or not homeless (25%).

Figure 8 – Statutory homelessness data showing the total decisions, numbers accepted as homeless as well as non-priority and not homeless number over the last 8 years for Cambridge. Data is sourced from the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) homelessness statistics.

Fuel poverty

A household is considered to be in fuel poverty if, i) their required fuel costs are higher than the national average (national median level) and ii) if that amount was spent, they would be
left with a residual amount below the official poverty line.\textsuperscript{27} This definition was adopted in 2013 by the then Department for Energy and Climate Change (DECC) which also backdated and adjusted the statistics up to 2010. Fuel poverty is now managed under the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy (BEIS). The key drivers of fuel poverty include low household income, cost of energy and energy efficiency of properties. According to National Energy Action, over 4 million households are in fuel poverty in the UK, which means they are unable to afford to live in warm and dry homes.\textsuperscript{28}

For Cambridge, statistics are available until 2016 with data for 2017 available in 2019 and for 2018 the data will be available in 2020. Table 1 indicates that the proportion of households in fuel poverty in Cambridge have been decreasing between 2010 (16.2\%) to 2015 (10.7\%). However, there was a 9\% increase between 2015 and 2016, to slightly higher levels compared to 2014. Cambridge City Council in their anti-poverty strategy and the Fuel and Water Poverty Action Plan, outline actions to reduce fuel and water poverty for its residents, including initiatives undertaken such as visits made to residents in fuel and water poverty and providing energy saving information through events and mail-outs.\textsuperscript{29} The council plans to continue making one-to-one visits to vulnerable people in fuel poor households and improve energy efficiency in existing households through contractors and other partners. Some challenges remain, in particular, energy prices are rising and with the roll-out of universal credit, it is expected that budget management may become a bigger challenge for vulnerable households.

Fuel poverty is also inter-related to food poverty; the Trussell Trust has found within their network that people who are using food banks, in crisis situations, have to make difficult decisions about ‘heating or eating’. As has been suggested by a number of organisations of the links of fuel and food poverty, this suggests that 11.5\% of households in Cambridge who are in fuel poverty, are at risk of or are in food poverty.

\textsuperscript{27} Fuel Poverty: A Framework for Future Action, Department of Energy & Climate Change, July 2013
\textsuperscript{28} National Energy Action (available at https://www.nea.org.uk)
\textsuperscript{29} Anti-poverty strategy 2017-2020, Cambridge City Council
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of households in fuel poverty</th>
<th>Proportion of households in fuel poverty (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>2010</td>
<td>7,497</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>7,493</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>6,087</td>
<td>13.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>5,788</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
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<tr>
<td>2015</td>
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<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>5,632</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 – Number of households in fuel poverty and proportion of households in fuel poverty in Cambridge from 2010 to 2016 based on the new definition adopted in 2013. Data is sourced from the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy fuel poverty statistics.

Research by Hannah Lambie-Mumford and Carolyn Snell into fuel and food poverty suggests that low income households are having to make tough and complex budgeting decisions, which are dependent on the household composition, location, fuel payment method and income.\(^{30}\) The Family Resources Survey shows that households that do not eat a filling meal once a day are more likely to be fuel poor compared to those who do eat a filling meal once a day.\(^{30}\) Qualitative data from interviews done by the researchers in food banks in Cornwall suggests that participants rationed their expenditure on both fuel and food, prioritising eating over heating but viewed lighting, hot water and cooking as higher priority.\(^{30}\) This had a detrimental effect on the choice of food they could afford, buying cheaper food lacking in fruit, vegetables and meat.

**Index of Multiple Deprivation**

The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) measures the relative deprivation in small areas in England (also referred to as Lower-layer Super Output Areas, LSOAs), which ranks the most deprived areas (from 1) to least deprived areas (to 32,844).\(^{31}\) LSOAs are designed to be of

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similar population areas with an average of 1,500 residents each and is recognised as a standard way of dividing the country. IMD is made up of 7 domains of deprivation, weighted by how much they are perceived to contribute to deprivation (Figure 9), which includes income, employment, education, healthy, crime, barriers to housing & services and living environment.


**Figure 9 – Domains of deprivation used to measure the index of multiple deprivation (IMD)**

The most recent IMD data is available for 2015 and Cambridge ranks at 227 out of 32,844, an increase from 188 (in 2010). IMD data for Cambridge highlights that the most deprived areas in Cambridge are in the north and north-east of the city, with Abbey, Arbury, East Chesterton and King’s Hedges wards (Figure 10). 2 LSOAs in Abbey are in the 20% most deprived areas nationally, decreasing in their rank and therefore becoming more deprived compared to 2010. Areas in King’s Hedges, East Chesterton, Arbury are in the 30% most deprived areas in the country.

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32 Department for Communities and Local Government, 2015
The Cambridge City Council’s Mapping Poverty report in 2017 outlined that 13,698 people in Cambridge were claiming housing benefits, a small decrease of 509 people from 2013.\textsuperscript{29, 34} This equates to roughly 1 in 10 living in households claiming housing benefits and council tax support in the city. While the distribution of people claiming housing benefits was higher in the north and north east of the city, corresponding to the areas where there was higher deprivation.

\textsuperscript{34} Mapping poverty 2017, Cambridge City Council
deprivation in the city, Trumpington saw a significant increase in people claiming housing benefits in 2017 compared to 2013 (Figure 11). Abbey remained the ward with the highest number of claimants both in 2013 and 2017.

![Figure 11 – Number of housing benefit claimants in Cambridge wards in 2017 and 2013. Data is sourced from Mapping Poverty 2017, Cambridge City Council](image)

The make-up of housing benefit claimants in Figure 12, indicates that single non-pensioners make up the most significant proportion of claimants, followed by single pensioners and then lone parents making the third highest proportion (rising from 18% in 2013). The council’s housing benefit and council tax support data indicates that there is a relatively stable number of people who are claiming these benefits, and this is an embedded structural issue. However, they have found that a large number of people are constantly experiencing a change in their circumstances – as 30,000 changes take place in a year where people move in and out of claiming benefits.34
One of the impacts of deprivation is on health inequality. The stark differences in life expectancy can be observed for the most deprived and least deprived areas in Cambridge (Figure 13). Men living in the most deprived areas in Cambridge can expect to live 10.1 years fewer than those living in less deprived areas. Similarly, for women this gap is 9.9 years.\textsuperscript{35} However, when disability free life expectancy is considered, the gap can increase to up to 20 years.\textsuperscript{36,37} Disability free life expectancy is the average number of years an individual is expected to live free of disability, if current patterns of mortality and disability continue to apply. This indicates that people living in low income areas begin to experience significant illness and disability at earlier stages in their lives than those in less deprived areas.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{35} Public Health England, Local Authority Health Profile 2018
\textsuperscript{36} Marmot Indicators, UCL Institute of Health Equity
\textsuperscript{37} Cambridgeshire Annual Public Health Report 2017
Figure 13 – Life expectancy in Cambridge in the least and most deprived areas for men and women. Data is sourced from Public Health England, Local Authority Health Profile 2018.

**Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index (IDACI)**

The income deprivation affecting children index (IDACI) is a subset of the income deprivation domain relating to child poverty (0-15 years old) in low income households.\(^{33}\)

When IDACI is compared (Figure 14), parts of King’s Hedges, Abbey and East Chesterton are now in 20% most deprived areas nationally with Arbury in 30% most deprived area nationally, further highlighting the concentration of deprivation and deprivation affecting children in the north and north-east of the city.
Figure 14 - Deprivation distribution for Cambridge city as measured for Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index (IDACI) for 2015. Map is sourced from the English IMD explorer 2015.

End Child Poverty Coalition, a campaign group aiming to eradicate child poverty, works with government and political parties to ensure they meet their aims. 28% of children in the UK are in poverty\textsuperscript{38} and the Institute of Fiscal Studies (IFS) estimates that due to changes in the benefit system, the number of children in poverty is set to increase from 3.6 million to 4.3 million by 2020.\textsuperscript{39} The data for Cambridge for each ward is shown in Figure 15 for 2013 and 2017.

\textsuperscript{38} End Child Poverty Coalition
\textsuperscript{39} Child and working-age poverty in Northern Ireland over the next decade: an update, Institute of Fiscal Studies, 2014
Abbey has the highest levels of child poverty in Cambridge with 32% children in poverty, an increase from 30% in 2013. King’s Hedges has seen a small decrease from 2013 to 2017 from 33% to 29%. Trumpington has seen a significant increase (58%) between 2013 and 2017, with the second highest rates of children in poverty from 19% in 2013 to 31% in 2017. Although this is not strictly reflected in the IMD data due to the other domains; Trumpington is in the 40% most deprived area nationally compared to other LSOAs. Most significant increase however has been for Market ward, which has increased from 1.5% to 17% in 2017. Rates of children in poverty have also decreased in East Chesterton, West Chesterton and Arbury but largely increased across all other areas. The proportion of children in poverty in Cambridge has not significantly changed between 2013 and 2017.

Figure 15 – Estimated percentage of children in poverty (after housing costs) in Cambridge wards in 2013 and 2017. Data is sourced from End Child Poverty Coalition.

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40 The data has been estimated by The Centre for Research in Social Policy for End Child Poverty Coalition based on HMRC count of children in out of work benefits and children in families receiving tax credit who are below 60% of the median salary as well as number of children in out-of-work households. The estimates are ratio adjusted to align HMRC data with the HBAI data on child poverty. Methodology and guidance notes available at [http://www.endchildpoverty.org.uk/images/ecp/paper_explaining_calculations_and_method_to_ECP.pdf](http://www.endchildpoverty.org.uk/images/ecp/paper_explaining_calculations_and_method_to_ECP.pdf)
however one in five (22%) children remain in poverty and are at risk of in food poverty in the city.\textsuperscript{29} According to the council’s mapping poverty report, 4,609 children were living in households claiming housing benefit, an increase of 10% from 2013, further highlighting the increased financial pressure facing households with dependents over the last 5 years.\textsuperscript{34} The Social Mobility Index compares 324 local authorities in England on the chances of a child from a disadvantaged area will do well at school and get a good job. It considers the educational outcomes of disadvantaged children, local job and housing markets. Cambridge is in the worst performing 20% of authorities in England, ranking 275 out of 324.\textsuperscript{41} According to the ONS Census of 2011, it was found that 11.9% of residents in Cambridge did not have a qualification. This rises to 20.2% for Abbey, 18.1% for Arbury, 18.7% for East Chesterton and 22.1% for King’s Hedges.\textsuperscript{42} As mentioned previously, Cambridge has a higher proportion of highly skilled jobs, which are likely to be out of reach for some in the city, meaning they are highly reliant on lower paid jobs in the city.

**Food Bank Use in Cambridge**

The Cambridge City food bank is operated in city by the Trussell Trust network, initially starting in 2010 in the centre and growing over the years to 8 distribution centres, with 2 in the villages located outside of the city (Figure 16), providing 3-day emergency food parcels to people living in the 25 mile radius outside the city. People are able to access the food parcels through referral vouchers – referred by citizen advice, GPs, health visitors, social workers and other frontline workers. In 2017/18, 112 agencies worked with the food bank providing vouchers to their clients for support in the food bank.\textsuperscript{43} The food provided in parcels is usually collected through donations or surplus food from supermarket food drives, church, school, businesses and community groups. The number of adults and children supported by the food bank has risen significantly for the last 5 years (Figure 17), rising 51% for adults and 80% for children from 2013 to 2017.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{41} Social Mobility Index, Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission, 2016  
\textsuperscript{42} ONS Census 2011  
\textsuperscript{43} Cambridge City Foodbank Annual Report, 2017/18  
\textsuperscript{44} Cambridge City Foodbank
Between 2013 and 2016, the growth in food bank use has not been as significant (25% between 2013 and 2016 for total number of people supported). Between 2016 and 2017 has seen further growth by 30% for total number of people supported. It should be noted that the number of vouchers used, and total number of people supported include repeated visits. Based on the repeat visits data for the previous 6 months, the average number of repeat visits is 2, which agrees well with Trussell Trust’s national data, which indicates roughly on average 2 repeat visits are made. This suggests that 3233 individual visits were made by adults and children to the food bank in 2017.

Figure 16 - Distribution of Cambridge City food bank centres
Figure 17 – Number of adults and children supported, and number of vouchers used by residents in Cambridge City food banks from 2013 and 2017. The dashed lines for the year 2018 are extrapolated values, based on previous years trends.

Values for 2018 are extrapolated, shown as dashed lines in the graph, based on previous data. It is expected with the roll-out of universal credit, falling wages and rising inflation the number of people using food banks is projected to increase. National data from the Trussell Trust shows that in areas where universal credit has already been rolled-out for a year or more, the numbers using food banks has risen by 52% on average. Universal credit roll-out is expected to begin in October in Cambridge.⁹

The distribution of residents from different wards also further sheds light on where residents in Cambridge are using food banks (Figure 18). King’s Hedges remains the area where the highest number of voucher users reside, increasing significantly (70%) from 2013 to 2017. Similarly, Arbury has seen increase in number of voucher users compared to 2013 but not as significantly as King’s Hedges. Trumpington however remained fairly similar for
Figure 18 – Ward distribution of food bank voucher use in Cambridge, comparing 2013 and 2017

2013 and 2017. All other wards, except for Queen Edith’s and Petersfield, have also seen an increase in the 4 years. The distribution of food bank users is consistent with where higher levels of deprivation are observed (based on the IMD). Cambridge city food bank also provides emergency food parcels to surrounding villages, with the highest number of food bank users in Bourn, Histon & Impington, Waterbeach, Milton, Fulborn, Cottenham and The Shelfords & Stapleford wards.

There are a number of reasons why people are using food banks and Figure 19 highlights the breakdown of vouchers used for different causes for 2013 and 2017. In 2017, the top reasons for using food banks was low income, benefit delays, benefit changes, debt and homelessness. Other refers to any reason that has caused a sudden change in financial circumstances, for example funeral fees, car breakdown or boiler breakdown. This is fairly consistent with the national picture now with low income, debt and benefit changes the top...
reasons for referrals to food banks.

**Figure 19 – Reasons for referral to food banks in Cambridge and breakdown of vouchers for 2013 and 2017**

In previous years, benefit delays made up a more significant proportion for causes for attending a food bank, as is seen in 2013, however the number of vouchers referred due to this has decreased. Although this is still significantly high, low income is a growing reason for food bank use. It is evident that despite a number of people working or the income gained through benefits, their income is not enough to cover all essential household expenditures and they are having to resort to emergency parcels from food banks. In particular with Cambridge, there are high housing costs and recent benefit caps for those claiming housing benefits has been a significant issue. The local housing allowance rates (LHA) are not enough to cover rents. LHA rates of £126 a week do not cover the lower quartile rental in the city of £196 a week.29
It should be noted that food bank use represents the very tip of the problem and significantly underestimates the scale of food poverty in the city and country. Research carried out by Rachel Loopstra and Valerie Tarasuk in Canada indicates that the number of people in food poverty is actually 17 times higher than the number of people using food banks. The people using food banks are more likely to be at the severe end of the food poverty scale mentioned in Figure 1. If this number is used as a multiplier on the number of people using food banks (3233 individual visits as estimated above) suggests that 54,000 people in Cambridge may be experiencing food poverty at any time on the food poverty spectrum. If the UN FIES study data is used to estimate the number in food poverty in Cambridge (at 10%), the number of people in food poverty would be roughly around 13,000. This is fairly consistent with the number of people claiming housing benefits in 2017 according to the Council’s anti-poverty strategy 2017-2020. These are very gross estimates and without city and country wide food poverty measurements, it is challenging to fully understand the scale of food poverty and we must continue to use other data as proxy indicators. There are a number of reasons why food banks underrepresent the food poverty problem; there are significant issues with feeling stigmatised, ashamed and many people do not seek help or might be unable to attend food banks.

**Healthy Start Vouchers**

Healthy Start vouchers is a scheme run for pregnant women and women who have children under 4 years old to buy basic items such as infant formula milk, fruits and vegetables. The coupons can also be used for vitamins instead. Running since 2006, Healthy Start vouchers are available if you’re at least 10 weeks pregnant or have a child under four years old and you or your family get:

- Income Support, or
- Income-based Jobseeker’s Allowance, or

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• Income-related Employment and Support Allowance, or
• Child Tax Credit *(with a family income of £16,190 or less per year)*
• Universal Credit *(with a family take home pay of £408 or less per month)*

The uptake of healthy start vouchers varies regionally but it is approximately 60 – 75% around the UK. However, the uptake of vitamin supplements remains very low; a 2013 study suggests less than 10% redeem their vitamin vouchers whilst another puts the number as low as 3\%\textsuperscript{46}.

For Cambridge, healthy start voucher data was obtained from the NHS Business Services Authority (Table 2). For Jul/Aug 2016 and 2017, the number of beneficiaries eligible were 678 and 645, respectively. However, only 431 and 376 beneficiaries were actually claiming these vouchers resulting in an uptake of only 64 and 58\%, which is lower than national uptake values of 65\% and lower than East Anglia’s average uptake values of 61\% for the same period in 2017. For Jul/Aug 2018, this has increased slightly to an uptake of 59\% but is still lower than 2016, indicating that around 2 in 5 families are missing out on crucial nutritional supplements in the form of fruits, vegetables, infant formula milk and vitamins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Healthy Start Vouchers</th>
<th>Jul/ Aug-16</th>
<th>Jul/ Aug-17</th>
<th>Jul/ Aug-18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total beneficiaries eligibility</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total beneficiaries claimants</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voucher uptake</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 – Healthy start vouchers eligibility, entitled and uptake of vouchers in Cambridge in Jul/Aug 2016, Jul/Aug 2017 and Jul/Aug 2018. Data sourced from NHS Business Service Authority.

The distribution of healthy start voucher eligibility, actual voucher claims and uptake was studied over different postcode areas in Cambridge (Figure 20). The data is not available at any smaller regional area than the postcode. However, this is a crucial point for Cambridge as there are local variation in deprivation levels and therefore need within the community.

Figure 20 – Number of healthy start beneficiaries eligible and entitled for different Cambridge postcodes for July 2018.

The graph indicates that the highest number of beneficiaries eligible are in the postcode region CB4 which covers Arbury, King’s Hedges, Chesterton and Castle, which are some of the more deprived areas of the city, as discussed previously. The uptake for this area is only 58%, similar to the Cambridge average (59%) but lower than the national range. The lowest uptake is in CB3, which is towards the west of the city, however the eligibility in this area is low and therefore indicates that there is a lower number of families which qualify for healthy start vouchers. CB5 has relatively lower needs as indicated by the number of eligible beneficiaries, however, it should be noted that CB5 covers Abbey, which is considered in the 20% most deprived areas nationally and CB5 covers areas in the surrounding villages as well. The uptake in CB5 is higher (66%) than the Cambridge average. CB2 also has a low uptake of 58% and covers the Trumpington area. As recent data from the council’s anti-poverty strategy suggests there has been a significant increase in housing benefit claimants in the south of the city and therefore suggest there is a higher need in the south. CB1 has the second lowest uptake rates at 55% but has the second highest number of eligible
beneficiaries and covers the centre of the city as far as Addenbrooke hospital and Cherry Hinton.

Retailers who accept healthy start vouchers register online and are reimbursed the value of the items that is purchased through the vouchers. A retailer distribution was mapped against the different post code regions (Figure 21). An interactive version of the map can be found [here](#) and includes a range of retailers including pharmacies, supermarket chains as well as smaller independent shops. This map was built with retailers who were featured on the healthy start website. The distribution indicates that retailers are mainly accepting vouchers in the north, north-east, and the centre of the city with large areas of the south and south east not covered. This can also affect the uptake of beneficiaries claiming vouchers as they have to travel longer distances to claim food items. Preliminary field research however has indicated that a number of retailers who are not listed on the website actually accept vouchers but choose not to be featured. The causes of this are not clear, however, future campaigns of attempting to increase uptake of healthy start vouchers can also focus on increasing numbers of retailers accepting vouchers, focussing in the CB1 and CB2 post code regions as well as encouraging them to list their stores online to allow claimants in need to easily view information online of local retailers to them accepting healthy start vouchers.
Figure 21 – Approximate map of post code distribution in Cambridge and retailers accepting healthy start vouchers

Free School Meals

Currently, Free School Meals are available for children of families who receive income support, job-seekers allowance, ESA, working tax credits (including 4 week run-on), child tax credit, support under Part VI of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 or the guaranteed element of Pension Credit. However, free school meal eligibility is changing and if you are claiming Universal Credit on or after 1st April 2018, the household income needs to be less
than £7,400 a year (after tax and not including any benefits accrued) to qualify for free school meals. This threshold will remain the same until the roll-out of universal credit finishes in 2021/22. However, between 2018/19 to 2021/22, Office of Budget Responsibility expects prices to rise an average of 6% (measured by the Consumer Price Index, CPI), nominal average earnings to increase by 8% and the national living wage to increase by 11% meaning that fewer families will be eligible for free school meals than if the threshold had changed in line with inflation or average earnings. If a child is already claiming free school meals before the 1st of April 2018 or obtains free school meals after this date, they will continue getting free school meals until the roll-out of universal credit finishes, even if the family income increases above the threshold. Once the roll-out finishes, the child already claiming free school meals will then continue to claim free school meals until they finish their phase of schooling (primary or secondary). More guidance on this and the impacts of UC rollout on free school meals can be found online.47, 48

The number of free school meals claimants for Cambridge was obtained from Cambridgeshire County Council and the data shows the trend from 2014 to 2017. The highest number of claimants were in 2014 and decreased from 1715 to 1605 further decreasing to 1595. This number has increased slightly to 1660 in 2017. For Cambridge, it is estimated that approximately 4657 children are eligible for free school meals,49 resulting in an uptake value of only 36% (comparing results from 2017), meaning around 2 in 3 families in Cambridge are not claiming free school meals.

49 Calculated by considering the child housing benefit population claimants from the Mapping Poverty Strategy, 2017, Cambridge City Council. It should be noted that this is an approximation and it is not straightforward to calculate the number of those entitled to free school meals. The government only records those who claim free school meals on one day a year through the school census.
### Table 3 – Number of free school claimants from 2014-2017, measured on one-day recorded as part of the school census which local authorities submit to Department of Education. Data was obtained from Cambridgeshire County Council.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of free school meals claimants</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>1605</td>
<td>1595</td>
<td>1660</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Experiences of people living in food poverty

Surveys and interviews were undertaken through steering group member organisations of the CFPA to understand how people in Cambridge experience food poverty and what strategies they may employ to cope with their situations. The details of the methodology can be found in the appendix. 71 respondents took the survey and the general results are available in the appendix Figure 27, as well as the breakdown of ethnicity and accommodation types. 76% of respondents who took part in the survey identified as English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British (appendix Figure 28) and 49% of respondents were living in social housing (housing association and council housing), 17% making up private rental and home ownership combined (appendix Figure 29). The graphical representation of the way males and females experience food poverty can also be found in Appendix Figure 30. Surveys undertaken with persons identifying themselves as single individuals and family (Figure 22) are discussed as they present with differences in how food poverty is experienced. With single individuals (shown as green), a slightly higher proportion are unable to access healthy foods, eat less (portion wise) and experience hunger but are unable to eat. It should be noted that those identifying as belonging to a family were mainly female respondents. Of the respondents surveyed, over 50% provided affirmative responses to being worried about food and access to food, with this being higher for families. In particular, nearly 80% of respondents in the family group (shown as blue) were eating only a few kinds of foods, suggesting the lack of a varied diet and reliance on cheaper processed food, particularly, as nearly 60% of respondents in the family group were unable to eat healthy or nutritious foods. Similar proportion of respondents in both groups were skipping
meals to cope (ca. 50%). Of the single individuals, over 60% were eating less than they perceived they should but this was significantly lowered for the family group (42%). Both groups ran out of food to a similar degree (ca. 45-50%) due to a lack of money or other resources.

The most striking difference was for the family group, where 50% of respondents were going a whole day without eating, 78% higher than the single individual group, the data suggesting that mainly mothers are skipping meals or going the whole day without food in order to make sure their children or partners are kept fed. This was consistent with our interview with two mothers who attended holiday lunches, who prioritised feeding their children and cutting back their portion size, so they could make sure there was enough food to go around. This in particular highlighted that specific groups are at risk of food poverty or are experiencing food poverty more severely within households as well as communities.
“Even though I work, if there’s not enough food, I will make sure my husband and my daughter eats and then I’ll just have toast and whatever, or I might end up waking up with a headache because I haven’t eaten properly or that apple that gets left but I will make sure my family gets fed. It sounds horrible, but I’ll hide it in front of my husband as well that I may not have eaten when I’ve gone to work in the evening.”

It was also highlighted that the nutritional content and quality of food varied within the month for families, particularly when they could afford to purchase more fresh produce.

“In the week before payday you just eat whatever’s in the cupboard - quicker stuff, so it’s pizza and chips or crappy burgers rather than slightly better burgers. And there’s not as much fruit in the house as well.”

Single individuals who were experiencing homelessness or were at risk of homelessness, whose situations may be unstable and on a low income, were relying on ultra-processed cheaper foods to cope with lack of money or other resources. The interviewee below on job seeker’s allowance is talking about their food and alcohol budget for the day after rent is accounted for.

“About £5 or £6 a day – basically 3 meals a day or two meals a day, and I’ll get a sandwich here or a breakfast here (Wintercomfort). And then the evening meal, my evening meals are not very elaborate these days. Just the fact that I haven’t got the funds for it. I like cooking, and I like cooking fresh every day but I’m just eating things like instant noodles and that which I think is classed as junk food. It’s not proper cooking, it’s not proper dinner.”

For single individuals, similarly, access to fresh produce can be limited and therefore rely on community support groups for food donations. In particular, an interviewee highlighted the use of FoodCycle for surplus fruits and vegetables.
As previously discussed, the welfare system reform has been a strong driving force for increasing number of people experiencing food poverty and this was also highlighted through our research. A mother described the challenging effects of being benefit capped and how difficult budgeting decisions have to be made subsequently where families are constantly prioritising food, rent and bills.

“I’ve been benefit capped…so the more the rent goes up, the more I pay. The first couple of months, six/seven months, it was like the bottom of my world had fallen out, it was ridiculous, so much money that had literally disappeared. It works out to a child and a half’s worth of benefits, so it was like, feed this child, feed that child and stop feeding the last child altogether. It was just ridiculous, it didn’t make sense at all.”

The interviewees in particular raised concerns about universal credit, which is due to roll out in Cambridge in October. To cope with the roll-out, they have begun to stock-pile food and other items, if spare money is leftover and they were particularly concerned about the lack of information available about the way it will be rolled out as well as specific timings.

“So when you’re doing shopping, if there’s any money left over, you buy an extra bottle of shampoo or toothpaste, a tin of beans, pasta, all that sort of stuff. But then again, you’re going back to the dried, tinned stuff, because there’s not enough room in the freezer to stock up on something that’s possibly going to happen in April, because nobody even knows how it’s going to happen.. There’s not enough information out there. They don’t want to give you too much because they’re worried about scaring you, but not having no information at all is more scary”

Food remained the top reason for concern during the 6 to 7 week waiting period that occurs when claimants move from the legacy benefit funding to universal credit.

“So you need to sit down and make a list of everything you buy and pay out. My bills, generally I couldn’t care less what happens to those. It’s
money gets backdated at the end of that period, so you even it out, it’s not
my problem. That’s not an issue. I don’t have an addiction that I’m then
going to go and blow it on, so it’s fine. But it’s the food stuff.”

The mothers who were concerned about the effects of universal credit on people who were vulnerable, suffering from addiction or other mental health issues described the roll out of universal credit and the welfare system reform as

“a modern day cull.”

Interviewees who were homeless or vulnerably housed did not raise concerns about universal credit but their focus tended to be on the short term, at least within the interview, particularly focussing on where food could be easily accessed. One interviewee from Wintercomfort described the importance of a social network with the homeless who shared information to allow others to find food and it was important to know where to look. However, the foods that were easily available were either surplus foods which would have been thrown away or included limited fresh produce.

“Well there’s several places where they can get food. I mean there is a burger van on the market square that at night when they finish, he gives it to the homeless. So they’ve got something to eat. And there’s a lot of places that do sandwiches and things and when they shut they’ll trot round the streets with a tray of sandwiches giving them to the homeless people. So there’s always food there if you know where to look. And once you come to Comfort and you meet people then you make friends with them and they’ll show you all the different places where you can get food.”

From the surveys and interviews, it was evident that people who were homeless or at risk of homelessness were relying on FoodCycle, Wintercomfort, the food bank, surplus food donation in Market Square as well as relying on friends and families and reduced foods in supermarket aisles to access food.
The sense of shame, stigma and discrimination associated with being in food poverty were shared by both groups who highlighted that people were reluctant to seek help, further highlighting the case of hidden food poverty or where the current initiatives are not reaching those who may need it.

“That they’re shy to come forward, to express themselves and let people know they have difficulties. That would be the biggest barrier.”

“No one seems to ask for the help. It’s quite weird, it’s like you literally have to take the hand and drag them to it. It’s like the Holiday Lunches, groups that you go to and you mention about them and they’ll be like ‘oh, okay’ and they’re like ‘it’s free, why is it free? No way okay, we don’t need free whatever’ and ‘oh no, we’re fine’ but then the next sentence they’re sort of talking about that they’re in debt or they’re in this or that, so actually well you’re not actually then are you. I think there’s a weird… almost a stigma behind not… it’s like handouts”

The interviewees from the holiday lunch group highlighted how projects or initiatives are delivered and advertised can make an impact on how we can reach more people who are unlikely to seek help normally.

“Just more making it less sort of about, the food, which sounds stupid because that’s the whole point, but less about the food more about something to do with your kids in the holidays, its entertainment for them, come and have a cup of tea, have some adult conversation…”

“I think if people work at stuff, so if they feel they’re giving something back, a lot of people when they come to our events and holiday lunches they say ‘oh i’ll wipe the tables down’ or put the chairs away. I think if they feel they’re doing something to give back as well, I think that helps as well”

The mothers who attended holiday lunches also suggested that they would benefit from recipe cards given with food bank donations and more information on how to make healthy
meals with a collection of disjointed ingredients that are sometimes given away. They also highlighted that a community fridge would be helpful, however there has recently been a community fridge placed in The Edge Café, which suggests that advertising information about the community fridge is not reaching all residents who may benefit. One of the interviewees from Wintercomfort suggested that a base for the homeless to collected food and food to be donated would be the most helpful as most of the places he collected food from constantly moved around.

“I would try and set up a base where homeless people could come and pick up food on a daily basis and the same base where people could come and donate food into it.”

Another highlighted that better information was needed in relation to what food support was available and another found it challenging to access the food bank when they needed it previously. Others in the survey highlighted a place to cook and one suggested creating a referral system specifically for homeless people.

“have a system where I register with an agency that I am homeless, and I get a ticket/voucher, so I can go to shops and restaurants and get food from retailers and restaurants that want to donate food to homeless people.”

A few respondents highlighted that they found the limit of three food bank vouchers a year extremely difficult to manage and one was supporting a neighbour through their vouchers as the neighbour was unable to access food bank vouchers.

**Initiatives for reducing food poverty in Cambridge**

A number of initiatives are running in the city to support people from various backgrounds, experiencing food poverty and those who are vulnerable. Some of the initiatives running in the city are mapped below (not an exhaustive list) and can be accessed online [here](#) but some are discussed in more detail below.
Figure 23 – Map of initiatives running in Cambridge to support people living in food poverty. The interactive version of the map can be accessed here.

Holiday Lunches

Cambridge City Council has funded holiday lunches to support families in need, who are unable to access free school meals during the holiday period. It originally piloted in summer of 2015 but has since expanded its programme and also provides meals during other holiday and half term periods. Although the programme is targeted to families in need, it is open to any families that may benefit. This programme works through partnerships between the council as well as voluntary sector groups (predominantly churches) and appendix Table 6.
lists all of the areas where holiday lunches are provided.

**Figure 24 – Holiday lunches provided in different venues across Cambridge**

In 2016, 2916 holiday lunches were provided in the city (includes adults and children), which increased by around 10% to 3205 in 2017. The most significant increase was for Arbury at 29%, East Chesterton at 13% and King’s Hedges at 43%. A decrease was observed for Abbey, Trumpington and Romsey, in part as less sessions were run. The lunches are greatly valued by attendees, helping to relieve stress and pressure on their budgets by providing free meals. Particularly, the sense of community garnered through the meals is very important for attendees. In an evaluation carried out by the council, one attendee stated,

“We as a family find it hard at times to be able to afford to take the children out (three of them) so for lunches like this it really does mean a lot. More than I think people realise, so thank you very much.”

**Wintercomfort**

Wintercomfort for the homeless, has been running for 27 years, providing services as well as employability skills for those who are homeless or vulnerably housed. The day centre provides services which cover people’s immediate urgent needs as well as longer term needs. Every day it provides a free hot cooked breakfast for rough sleepers as well as tea,
coffee and cereal for all. Through food4food, a Wintercomfort social enterprise, it provides learning and training opportunities for homeless people in the hospitality industry by providing buffet lunches for private and corporate clients in Cambridge. It partners with key organisations across Cambridge, one of which is the food bank, issuing 291 vouchers in 2015/16, which decreased to 215 in 2016/17 and again increased to 231 in 2017/18. 2018/19 Q1 has seen a significant increase in food bank vouchers being issued by 60% compared to the same period in 2016/17. It should be noted that this also includes some repeat usage by the same individuals. In 2017/18, Wintercomfort supported 742 individuals who made a total of 18,811 visits, which was a 3% and 16% decrease, respectively (Table 4). Table 4 highlights the trends over the previous 4 years of individuals supported and visits made, with a significant increase between 2015/16 and 2016/17 of 9% in the total number of individuals supported and 32% increase in number of total visits made. Data from Wintercomfort suggests that the number of visits made and number of individuals supported does not have a clear correlation and % fluctuations are not correlated to the number of rough sleepers or people who are homeless in the city. It demonstrates the chaotic lifestyles and complex needs of the people who use Wintercomfort services. Data from 2018/19 Q1 has shown an increase of 14% in the number of individuals supported and an increase of 5% for the number of visits made against the same period in 2016/17.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2017/18</th>
<th>2016/17</th>
<th>2015/16</th>
<th>2014/15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of individuals supported</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of visits made</td>
<td>18,811</td>
<td>22,292</td>
<td>16,864</td>
<td>15,393</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 – Number of individuals supported, and number of total visits made in the previous 4 years.

As mentioned previously, Wintercomfort serves daily hot cooked breakfasts and the breakdown of the number of breakfasts served for each quarter over the last 2 years is detailed in Table 5. 2016/17 saw a significant increase (30%) of the breakfasts served, which decreased by 12% in 2017/18.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Q4</th>
<th>Q3</th>
<th>Q2</th>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2015/16</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>2100</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>7449</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016/17</td>
<td>2493</td>
<td>2104</td>
<td>2508</td>
<td>2572</td>
<td>9677</td>
<td>30% increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017/18</td>
<td>2088</td>
<td>2363</td>
<td>2116</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>8516</td>
<td>12% decrease</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 – Number of breakfasts served in Q1 through to Q4 in the previous 3 years

Wintercomfort also provides sandwich lunches every day and hot lunches on a Thursday (or at least once a week) but currently does not provide evening meals and instead signposts to other services who can assist. It recognises the importance of the nutritional content of the meals served and would like to provide more healthy options for its service users to improve the meals provided as well ideally provide hot lunches every day.

**Fairbite Food Club**

Fairbite food club, an initiative of the Cambridge City Food Bank, opened in July 2018 offers people on a low-income, who are struggling to access food, an opportunity to obtain food through a membership scheme. It operates on a philosophy that this model is more dignified as it offers choice, treats customers with respect but also offers food that is high quality. It charges £2 for membership whereby members are able to shop for free and obtain a range of food items (including fruit and vegetables) and unlike a foodbank, members have choice in what they would like to take. The food is donated from surplus stocks from supermarkets as well as FareShare – a surplus food redistribution charity. Local residents have to be referred by a social agency such as a children’s centre or housing association and currently there is a waiting list to obtain membership. It is a volunteer run programme only, like the food bank and relies on volunteers to collect food, maintain the stock and generally run the shop. Nationally, there has been a growing movement towards starting more social supermarkets which run through a similar scheme as Fairbite does, with the first one launching in 2013.\(^{50}\)

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FoodCycle

FoodCycle is a national charity which take surplus food from supermarkets, using volunteer power to create three course community meals for people in food poverty and social isolation. 38 projects run across England and the Cambridge project has been running since 2011, with the Wesley project starting in 2011, Barnwell project starting in March 2015 and Arbury Road starting in November 2016. Wesley runs every Saturday, Arbury runs the last Thursday of the month and Barnwell meal services runs 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month. In 2015, it provided 4037 meals to the local community and in 2016 it provided 5995 meals as well as 500 Tupperware containers ensuring meals were available to people outside of the FoodCycle sessions. It collected and created meals with 7895 kg of surplus food in 2016 using 4876 volunteer hours. FoodCycle also regularly gives the surplus food it has collected but has not been used during a session, ensuring a regular supply of vegetable and fruits to its beneficiaries, which may be lacking through other food donations.

Cooking workshops

Cambridge Sustainable Food has been running cookery workshops in Cambridge since 2015. In 2015/16, it provided free family cookery workshops to 325 adults and children and delivered 84 workshops in 2016/17 to low income families. It also has a long-standing group of families, that have been attending for the last two years. Weekly sessions are run where the group would typically cook a main course dish as well as sides, focussing on particular areas such as minimising food waste, lowering sugar content, cooking healthy and nutritious meals. Cooked meals are then eaten together, and leftovers are taken home by the families. Over the previous two years, the families attending have become more independent, supported by a cookery teacher and now lead on taking the classes themselves, with the idea of engaging and inviting other families within the community. The provision of cookery workshops has provided the necessary and long-lasting skills as well as the independence and leadership skills for families to provide healthy and nutritious meals and engage others in their communities.
Conclusion

Closing comments

This research project has considered the Cambridge context in the wider national picture as well as engaged with everyday experts who are experiencing food poverty to understand how they manage their situations. Our research suggests that food poverty is a complex issue with multiple factors causing it. There are certain demographics who are more vulnerable to the issue of food poverty, including those with dependants, the homeless or those at risk of homelessness as well as those suffering long term health issues. It further showed that food poverty was experienced on a spectrum with a range of physical and psychological costs and that within households, there were those who experienced food poverty more severely than others. As universal credit rolls out and both housing costs and inflation continue to rise, the prognosis for those suffering from food poverty in the city is only expected to get bleaker. Residents who work as well as those claiming benefits are finding it challenging to cover the essential costs and have to make difficult budgeting decisions to pay their rent, energy and food costs. If evidence from elsewhere in the UK is considered, the rollout of universal credit is expected to increase hardship for those already in challenging and vulnerable situations. Now more than ever, there is a strong need to take strategic action on food poverty.

Recommendations

The following broad high-level recommendations build on the positive actions already being undertaken by countless third sector organisations as well as the council through its anti-poverty strategy to reduce food poverty in the city.

- **Adopt a rights-based approach to food poverty**

  A rights-based approach should be adopted in the development of a collaborative food action plan. Dignity, respect and empowerment should be the foundation principles of any action that is taken forward. This includes involving everyday experts during the development of the action plan itself.
• **Data collection and monitoring of the situation**
  
  A central database should be developed and regularly monitored to understand how different aspects of food poverty are changing. This could be included within the Cambridgeshire Insight database and knowledge network. Cambridge City council recently adopted a sustainable food policy for the City and as part of it's commitment towards reducing food poverty it could collect data and monitor the levels of food poverty through a local household survey. The alliance recognises this may not be a feasible approach for the council but as part of its commitment to reducing food poverty it can actively endorse the measurement of food poverty at a national level through campaigns such as End Hunger UK, which would ultimately allow the measurement of food poverty at the local level through central government routes.

• **Understanding geographical needs of the city**
  
  Future service provision needs to understand the changing needs of the city, particularly, in the south of the city in the Trumpington area.

• **Improve sign-posting between organisations**
  
  A number of third sector organisations, businesses and the council work in partnership. However, better signposting is needed between organisations to refer beneficiaries for food poverty support and that is updated on a continual basis and shared with key workers.

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51 Low cost survey options are available – FIES survey or the one used by the USDA are easy ways of monitoring food poverty. Brighton & Hove monitor food poverty through a city tracker survey of 1000 residents.

52 [http://endhungeruk.org/measure/](http://endhungeruk.org/measure/)

53 Work on developing better signposting tools has already begun through the maximising income project, part of CSF and CFPA.
• **Maximise family income**
  Improve uptake of healthy start vouchers, free school meals, holiday lunches and breakfast clubs so families are able to maximise their income.53

• **Promote access to healthy, high quality and nutritious foods**
  Whilst using surplus food to divert it to those who need it most seems like a win-win situation, the reliance on surplus food redistribution to the solve the food poverty problem is not sustainable or a dignified approach. It can further limit access to healthy and nutritious food such as fruits and vegetables. Further provision should be made to promote access to healthy and high-quality foods through fruit and vegetable voucher schemes, community shops, local food growing schemes and other such routes.

• **Promote a better connection to our food system**
  Improve our connection to the food system through food growing schemes, cookery workshops and working with young people as well as adults and older people, to better understand food production, supply chains, local vs. global food issues and the wider sustainability and social justice issues connected to the complex food system.
Appendix

Methodology

FIES survey

FIES surveys were carried out with 71 residents in the city through steering group partners (CHS, Holiday Lunches, FoodCycle, C3 and Wintercomfort). Demographic data was collected at the beginning of the core 8 FIES questions. Additional optional questions were asked at the end. Staff members from each organisation as well as staff from CSF collected survey data and assisted beneficiaries as needed. Before each survey was undertaken, the reasons for collecting this information was explained and it was detailed what would be the end goal of the results. The surveys were processed after completion and affirmative responses from the data were collated and analysed.
Interviews

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews were carried out with 5 service users (2 from holiday lunches and 3 from Wintercomfort). The FIES surveys were used as the foundation of the interviews and responses were elaborated by the interviewer. The interviews were recorded, transcribed fully, coded and analysed.

Mapping organisations

Data was collated by Suzi Gilbey from Cambridge City Council as well as from research done by previous interns for the development of the community food map for CSF. The data was mapped on google maps. Through the development of the food poverty alliance, member organisations around Cambridge were invited to join the alliance as members. To register interest, organisations were asked to fill a form (Figure 26) to gather further evidence of organisations working around Cambridge in food poverty and poverty alleviation.

Figure 26 – CFPA register your interest form – google form available here.
**Data**

![Graph showing affirmative responses (%) from FIES surveys for all respondents undertaken in Cambridge](image)

**Figure 27** – Affirmative responses (%) from FIES surveys for all respondents undertaken in Cambridge

![Pie chart showing ethnicity breakdown of respondents who took the FIES survey](image)

**Figure 28** – Ethnicity breakdown of respondents who took the FIES survey
Figure 29 – Accommodation types of respondents who took the FIES survey in Cambridge

Figure 30 - Affirmative responses (%) from FIES surveys showing male and female response breakdown undertaken in Cambridge
## Initiatives reducing food poverty in Cambridge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Venue</th>
<th>Provider</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abbey</td>
<td>Barnwell Baptist Church</td>
<td>Food cycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barnwell Baptist Church</td>
<td>Abbey People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christ the Redeemer Church</td>
<td>Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbury</td>
<td>Meadows Community Centre</td>
<td>City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good Shepherd Church</td>
<td>Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry Hinton</td>
<td>Colville School</td>
<td>CH Baptist Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Chesterton</td>
<td>Brown’s Field YCC</td>
<td>City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kings Hedge’s</td>
<td>Buchan St NC</td>
<td>City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romsey</td>
<td>Ross St CC</td>
<td>City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpington</td>
<td>Village hall / Pavilion</td>
<td>St Mary and St Michael Church and Christ Church Trumpington</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 - Holiday lunch groups running in Cambridge, venue and providers