Locating London's most deprived

Blessed are the poor; for they alone have not the poor always with them. The honest poor can sometimes forget poverty. The honest rich can never forget it.[1]
~ G. K. Chesterton

For you always have the poor with you, but you will not always have me.[2]
~ Jesus

Research compiled by Rev Timothy P Hein

The material in sections 1, 2 and 3 (which is common to all regions) is repeated in each research paper.

November 2021

[1] G.K. Chesterton, *All Things Considered*, Selected Works of G.K. Chesterton (Altamonte Springs: OakTree Software, 2018), paragraph 14.
[2] Matthew 26:11 (ESV)

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Introduction

Where are the most deprived in the London? The short answer: everywhere. And when we start to delve into the jungle of detail, that often leads to more questions than answers. What do we mean by “most deprived”? How is that different from “deprived”? Is everyone in a particular area accorded the same status? What about gentrification? As governments continue to march away from schemes and council estates to housing associations, who can say (or track) what is the “low-income” housing and where is it located?

Our research has been conducted in partnership with the FIEC and is therefore focused on FIEC churches but we trust that the results will be useful to evangelical churches from other denominations who are seeking to reach our most deprived communities.[1]

[1] Research conducted by the author, based on data collected and analysed in 2019–20.

1. Methodology and poverty

1.1 Areas of analysis and discussion

First, this paper defines terms commonly used to describe various features of poverty research. Then it addresses the fundamental, albeit obvious, question: Is there really poverty in the UK? Third, this paper locates the "most deprived" in England. Fourth, this paper looks for FIEC church or gospel-centred activity in those areas, where it exists. Finally, some conclusions are drawn.

This paper is striving for a relatively complex approach to a complex set of questions. Not only is a definition of material deprivation complex, so too are the metrics for measuring and locating persons experiencing material deprivation. And from a Christian worldview, of course, there is the added complexity of spiritual deprivation, which the broader project seeks to incorporate into current understandings of deprivation. Furthermore, the data available is conflicting and conflicted in its results.

1.2 Data

First, what data are we using? This paper uses several data reports in an effort to create a hybrid of analysis:

- The respective *Index of Multiple Deprivation Reports* (IMD) for each country within the UK are used as a sort of baseline. These reports proves particularly helpful in locating areas where material deprivation is most likely to be experienced.
- End Child Poverty (ECP) resources – these are helpful for locating child poverty by region within the UK – such information is helpful to corroborate locations where people experience material deprivation.
- *Social Metrics Commission Reports* (SMC) – in particular, the trajectories and patterns their reporting produces.
- Data published by the John Rowntree Foundation.
- Published research in academic, sociological, anthropological, and socio-political journals researching material deprivation.
- Online and print media – Reporting and columns found in UK newspapers, the BBC and related media where it can be helpful; local newspapers (eg *Manchester Evening News*, *Liverpool Echo*, *Irish Times,* etc) may also provide helpful insights and local stories to explain deprivation particulars in specific neighbourhoods.
- Interviews – data taken from interviews with citizens, ministers, civic and government leaders are also employed, where available.
- Survey data, including surveys conducted by 20Schemes.[1]

1.3 Limitations of data sources

Each source comes with its own challenges. The IMDs are heavily focused on income as determinative of one's deprivation. Strictly speaking, one would have to ask each

[1] Conducted by the author, based on data collected and analysed in 2019–20.

family/household to know the particulars of their material deprivation, which the IMDs do *not* do. To that extent, IMDs are particularly helpful about locating *area* where people experience deprivation, but not necessarily the particular *people* in those areas, meaning that someone could live in a "deprived area" but actually be living a rather middle-class life.

The *SMC Reports* are very helpful about lifestyle choices and the ability to live a comfortable life, tracking those trends and trajectories for those who can or cannot maintain what British people define as a minimal "comfortable" lifestyle. The careful reader can already detect the limitations. While the SMC has a researched process for identifying a "comfortable" lifestyle, it is nonetheless an elusive metric, no matter how much one tries to quantify it with data. Second, SMC is really tracking trends and trajectories, not necessarily explaining how someone experiences deprivation. Furthermore, some critics find the SMC has significantly *underestimated* the costs of living, especially for families with children (which is startling because nearly 40% of the population experiencing deprivation are families with children). Conversely, SMC research brings helpful insights into the emerging so-called "working poor".

Similarly, the John Rowntree Foundation (JRF) is also primarily looking at trends and does not label people or areas *per se*. Their analysis of government data and their own research is indeed innovative and helpful, limited as it may be.

While media may simplify or exaggerate researcher claims, local stories can provide helpful windows into the realities statistics that open up, but cannot engage. Further, most research in the social issues surrounding material deprivation are limited by the truthfulness of those completing their survey questions and the usual faults and strengths of research.

1.4 Usage of data sources

Next, how are we using that data? This paper seeks to produce a layered approach to what deprivation is, who experiences it, where they reside, and what impact church currently has and can have on people experiencing deprivation. This data is used to create a textured matrix of results. The IMDs and End Child Poverty data are used to locate material deprivation beyond the narrower view of schemes/council estates/housing associations etc, which are the second layer of locating material deprivation.

For the purposes of defining what it means to experience material deprivation, reports by IMDs, JRF and insights from SMC help us to triangulate a working definition of degrees of material deprivation. Increasingly important in this regard is to recognise the "working poor" – those who are not able to keep their financial commitments despite full-time employment (often working two jobs), or are at an income level where they do not qualify for much-needed benefits despite being unable to meet their monthly living costs. The factors are legion. For now, suffice it to say that, as most reports since at least September 2018 indicate, families with at least one adult and one or more children are most likely to be or become "working poor". This paper argues that "working poor" status is not only a fluctuating

category – one can easily move in or out of it, and many often do – it is often the gateway into or out of material deprivation.

In short, the goal of this project is to be beholden to no one single source, but at each turn, to be reliant on two or more sources for our data.

1.5 Complexities

On a closing note, it must be said that defining, quantifying and locating material deprivation is a massively complex issue. A common reaction is to see poverty as "simple problem", or to minimise the impact it has on people's lives, or to minimise the number of people who are affected.

Even worse, a common reaction is to say some people "earned" it. Such an accusation is akin to calling you, the reader, an upper-class-self-righteous-posh-ignoramus, simply because you have the means to access this report and read it somewhere warm where you're not under threat of eviction, or physical assault, or exhausted from working two labour-intensive jobs, because you don't have to worry about having no food to pack for your child's school lunch, or because you're not under a blanket on a street debating whether to finish reading this sentence or use the paper to start a fire so you are not so cold tonight.

Unfair, right? Maybe you, the reader, *are* experiencing some degree of deprivation too. Maybe someone gave you this research paper? Indeed, such reductionisms are infantile at best, ignorant and dangerous at worst. Furthermore, it cannot be lost on readers or researchers that the subject of study is *people* who are in difficult humanitarian situations: they may not have a place to sleep tonight, not had a proper meal today, they may have a child moving school for the third time this year, or parent(s) who do not care little about whether the child attends school, and even less about whether they do their homework.

This is not a tug at heartstrings. These statistics and analysis are to help us quantify the scope and breadth of what people nearer to us than we realise are experiencing every day. Souls are going to hell because they do not know Jesus as their Lord and Saviour and, for some of them, hell may seem an improvement on their current living conditions. Such people are sleeping on the streets around our church buildings, or struggling to hang on to the flat next door to a church member, or sleeping in their car next to a deacon's workplace. Others are second or third generation families struggling to survive on benefits, some have a criminal record (be it as a restless youth or willing to do *anything* to make ends meet), live in a council estate or on an auntie's couch. Church, let us find them and do something to help them out of their material deprivation… As you read each sentence, please remember that there is a person in the UK struggling to survive the hour you've spent reading or studying. That is not a guilt trip, but a sober reminder of the stakes involved.

2. Defining terms

2.1 Definitions of poverty

It is important to clarify what one means by “poverty” or “material deprivation” – if for no other reason than that most institutions measuring and monitoring poverty tend to have their own definitions.

The Central Government has a poverty line of the anyone below the 60% median income. SMC has a poverty threshold based upon what a family reasonable needs to live “reasonably”. IMD determines that those persons or areas in the lower 30% (Decile 3) or lower are “deprived”. This is in contrast to the EU, which broadly defines poverty based on possession of basics for living – like two sets of clothes and access to running water, etc. How one defines being poor is vital to how one measures poverty, lest persons be excluded (or included) that should not be.

2.2 Glossary of terms

There are several terms and acronyms that can further complicate the discussions about material deprivation. In this section, we take a brief look at each term and describe their meaning with brief comment – an annotated glossary. Readers are encouraged to take any questions here charitably as they are likely answered in more detail within the appropriate context that a mere annotated glossary-like format is unable to do. Regardless, readers are encouraged to read this section carefully as well as refer back to this section later, as needed. Terms are discussed in alphabetical order for ease of reference.

For the purposes of this paper, and as a means to draw upon available data, this paper uses the various UK Indices of Multiple Deprivation Reports to construct a matrix for what constitutes “poor” or being in poverty. This paper uses the following nomenclature:

“Deprived”

“Deprived” and all cognates and synonyms (“material deprivation”, “poor”, “the poor”) refer to someone experiencing poverty, generally speaking. Someone is deprived when lacking one or more essentials for basic human life in the UK (according to IMD metrics, for example). It includes persons within the bottom 30–11% of the IMD for one’s country of residence; or those living at or below the poverty threshold (up to -3%). See also “Poverty threshold”.

Depth of poverty

Refers to the extent to which someone is “deprived” or “poor”, or to “how much they *don’t* have”. For example, a homeless man experiences a greater depth of poverty (for example, no home, work, healthy environment, etc) in that they often literally have nothing, whereas someone living on benefits alone may be poor, but not to the depths of the said homeless person.

"Experiencing poverty"

This is a more accurate way of saying "someone is poor" and similar to "someone is materially deprived". Poverty is a state of being that one can go "in" and "out" of, experience or not experience. For example, Susie loses her well-paying job in London, does not find employment for a year, has a bicycle accident and is disabled, has to change her line of work but cannot find work two years on, can no longer afford her flat. She is likely to experience poverty although she may come out of it someday. But Peter, whose parents were permanently unemployed and who has no qualifications and no prospect of a job, "experiences poverty" differently from Susie.

Hardship

This defines someone on the brink – or maybe within the threshold – of poverty: that grey area where the lines are difficult to define. To quantify this, we recognised persons just beyond +3% above poverty threshold as experiencing "hardship".

Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD)
including SIMD (Scotland), EIMD (England) WIMD (Wales) and NIIMD (Northern Ireland)

The *Index of Multiple Deprivation* is Central Government's annual report on poverty. Each nation within the UK produces independent reports. This paper refers to such reports generally as "IMD" and when discussing a particular country's report, refers to the EIMD (England IMD), SIMD (Scotland IMD), WIMD (Wales IMD) and (NIMD) Northern Ireland. Since London functions as an area in its own right, its data is also recorded – LIMD (London). IMDs have seven domains comprising their index: Income; Employment; Health and Disability; Education, Skills and Training; Barriers to Housing and Services; Crime; and Living Environment.

"Least deprived"

Someone or something classified within the top 10% or above of the least deprived communities according to the IMD, based upon one's country of residence.

Lower-tier Area (LA)

Central government's unit of measure, a Lower-tier Area (LA) is a geographical area comprised of a city or region. Each LA is further divided into several Lower-tier Super Output Areas (LSOAs, see below). LAs are typically a major city or cluster of towns and their immediate surrounding area. For example, Liverpool is one LA. Similarly, the LA "Redcar and Cleveland" comprises the towns of both Redcar and Cleveland and their environs. ("Redcar and Cleveland 022D" and "Redcar and Cleveland 019a" are both LSOAs in "Redcar and Cleveland"). Generally, where towns are more sparsely populated, one finds such "combination" LAs. Big cities like London, Liverpool, Birmingham are individual LAs, as are some mid-sized cities like Bristol, Middlesbrough and Blackpool. The history explaining this is

political, complicated, and beyond the scope of this paper.[1] In short, LAs enable analysis at the city/town level, while LSOAS enable analysis at the neighborhood level.

Lower-tier Super Output Area (LSOA)

Central government's smallest unit of measure – a Lower-tier Super Output Area (LSOA) – is a demarcated geographical area of approximately 1,600 people. These are fixed groups of 33,485 areas based upon census data and have not varied since the 2016/17 IMD reporting. The history explaining how such lines were drawn is complicated and beyond the scope of this paper.[2] Data on LSOAs enable analysis at the neighbourhood level.

Material deprivation

The lack, or absence, in some fashion of material things which are essential for living – otherwise known as "experiencing poverty" (see above, "Deprived"). Further, this is also to distinguish from other kinds of deprivation that governments do not survey, but are nonetheless essential, namely, spiritual deprivation (see below, "Spiritual deprivation") – though we can also mention moral, hope, health and educational deprivation, to name but a few.

"Most deprived"

Someone or something classified within the bottom 10% or below of the most deprived communities according to the IMD, based upon one's country of residence. Or, living at -3% or more below the poverty threshold.

Persistent poverty

Refers to the length of time that someone has been in poverty, which can vary. This variation complicates determining who is "most deprived" and where they are located. A family may do well until the primary provider suffers job loss, or someone suffering hardship on a part-time job cannot pay bills due to being home with a flu, causing the domino effect of becoming behind on rent, etc. In other words, there are many who go in and out of deprivation to any degree, especially near the poverty thresholds where factors contributing to deprivation can be so volatile.

Poor/poverty

Refers to someone who is identified as "materially deprived" (see above) and may be used synonymously with "deprived" or "deprivation".

Poverty line

A so-called line of demarcation suggesting a person is either inside or outside the poverty line. This term is generally avoided as it is too arbitrary or simplistic, researchers preferring

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[1] See Michael Noble et al., "Measuring multiple deprivation at the small-area level", *The English Indices of Deprivation 2015 Technical Report,*. Environment and Planning A, 2006, vol. 38, 169–85.
[2] Noble et al., "Measuring multiple deprivation at the small-area level".

instead “poverty threshold”.

Poverty threshold

The general point at which, at least statistically, one expects to find such a person or family to be experiencing poverty. Note that this is a term that is heavily, but not exclusively, dependent upon income levels. Further, this is different from a so-called “poverty line” which suggests a person is either inside or outside the poverty line. By “threshold”, researchers are trying to communicate a range, not necessarily a fixed point (eg Steve is “in poverty” because he makes £400/month, Sara is not because she makes £425/month). Rather, there are multiple indicators – income, cost of living, economic factors – that can inform a threshold and give a more realistic picture.

Admittedly, this is somewhat of a simplification. The SMC’s full report details the complexities of getting a precise definition of “poverty” and what the exact poverty threshold is, acknowledging the challenge of those “just above” whatever threshold one decides.[3] For example, if the threshold is 50% median income, what about the 51–55% crowd? Is an individual or family at 60% *really* “out” or “above” the poverty threshold if they are only one car repair or medical expense away from poverty? “Some self-employed people will report no income, hence appearing at the very bottom of the distribution, despite potentially having significant profits from their work.”[4] Similarly, determining a poverty threshold by examining a combination of low income and material deprivation yields unreliable results.[5] Indeed, any threshold is an arbitrary one, hence the Commission’s measurement decision is here adopted: the depth of poverty should (a) reflect how far each family in poverty is below the poverty line, and (b) also capture and report on families that are just above the poverty line.[6]

Relative poverty

The experience of poverty as one who is impoverished in a given country. This threshold varies from country to country as infrastructure, economy, government, living conditions and other factors for a given country as a whole vary. (See below, 2.3 Extended discussion: “Relative poverty”.)

Social Metrics Commission (SMC)

The Social Metrics Commission is an independent research group dedicated to helping public policy makers and the public understand and take action to tackle poverty in the UK.[7] The work is led by the Legatum Institute’s CEO, Baroness Stroud. A key feature of their work is to

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[3] Social Metrics Commission, *A New Measure of Poverty For the UK: The Final Report of the Social Metrics Commission*, Measuring Poverty, ed. Philippa Stroud (UK: Social Metrics Commission, September 2018), 50–52. For full discussion, see 17–77., https://socialmetricscommission.org.uk/.
[4] Social Metrics Commission, *New Measure of UK Poverty*, 20.
[5] Social Metrics Commission, *New Measure of UK Poverty*, 70–71.
[6] Social Metrics Commission, *New Measure of UK Poverty*, 71.
[7] Social Metrics Commission, https://socialmetricscommission.org.uk, accessed 22 September 2021.

develop new metrics for measuring poverty and identifying those who experience it, with an aim at improved understanding of poverty and appropriate action to improve outcomes for those people experiencing poverty.

Working poor/In-work poor

Refers to families where one or more persons who are able to participate in the workforce are gainfully employed, yet their income does not meet their weekly needs such that families experience material deprivation at or below the poverty threshold. Often, this is the "pathway" or "descent" from hardship into the poverty threshold.

2.3 Extended discussion: "Relative poverty"

In conversations with people in Western countries, there is often the sentiment that being poor in a Western country is "better" than being poor in a low-income country. Or to use a specific example, better to be poor in England or Wales or Scotland or Northern Ireland than poor in the Central African Republic (hereafter, CAR).[8] Yet, in both places people are suffering the effects of material deprivation, though perhaps not on so different a scale as it may seem.

Several factors are at work to construct what material deprivation is.

First, we must take into account a nation's wealth. Yet, the prosperity of a nation does not mean everyone experiences or possesses that same level of wealth. Despite how obvious this is, it is fascinating how quickly poverty debaters forget this.

Second, a nation's poverty line, as defined by the government (or whomever), may be a statistical reality, but some people are able to live on either side of that line and experience an impoverished life. A two-income family of five may struggle to pay the bills in London or Edinburgh, but a similar family may be under less financial pressure if they live in Cardiff, Glasgow or Inverness. Does the first family qualify as "poor" despite being well above the income poverty line? The "working poor" will often struggle to make ends meet even though they have a so-called "decent" income.

In other words, thirdly, cost of living is perhaps of greater help to comparing and evaluating who actually lives in poverty as opposed to a simplistic cash amount definition (ie "making less than £X annually").

Fourth, one must take into account national structures and infrastructures that allow or prohibit a prosperous life.

Fifth, opportunity for change tends to be a greater factor than often considered, though more difficult to define. A family in the UK *may* have more opportunity to escape poverty than a single man in the CAR – be it through government programs or charity support, grants, education, acquiring new and more marketable skills, starting a successful business,

[8] Central African Republic has the world's lowest GDP per Capita. See https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-poorest-countries-in-the-world.html. Accessed 22 September 2021.

etc. Yet, if being in the UK makes it more difficult to access the support infrastructure and wealth of the nation to get out, that man in the CAR may be able, through temporary sacrifices, to escape poverty despite being in a less wealthy nation.

In a similar vein, commenting on the many ways to define poverty and an apparently false claim that UK poverty was above the European average, fullfacts.org wrote:

> *One of the reasons that there are so many measures available is that it's not always clear how to measure what we might think of as "poverty". Looking at 60% of the median income is one way to do so, but the Office for National Statistics points out that a low income doesn't necessarily imply a low standard of living.*[9]

Let us consider Bob who lives somewhere in the UK and Josef in the CAR, who have the same socio-economic class relative to their nation's economy. Both live within the 10% most deprived demographic in their respective countries for education, healthcare, employment, housing, crime/safety, etc. For Josef, taking at face value for the moment a stereotype, has very basic living arrangements, his war-torn country has minimal infrastructure, meaning that everything is limited for its poorest citizens, like Josef. Though the UK has infrastructure, the execution of it leaves Bob in a similar situation: he cannot afford or access the essentials (that may be inaccessible or non-existent for different reasons in the CAR), and the government-provided aid is often too delayed or otherwise insufficient – and the Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated the situation. In effect, though living in a more stable country, Bob's experience of poverty in the UK is not all that different from Josef's experiences in the CAR. The point is simple: you can be materially deprived or poor in any nation, and no matter which nation it is, material deprivation is neither desirable nor commendable, much less humane.

[9] Abbas Panjwani, Full Fact, "The UK's poverty rate is around average for the EU", 9 January 2019, https://fullfact.org/economy/uks-poverty-rate-around-average-eu/, accessed 9 January 2019.

3. Is there poverty in the UK?

This section examines whether or not poverty exists in the UK and analyses who is experiencing it.

3.1 A Christian worldview

From a Christian worldview, failure to address the issue of poverty in the UK is not an option. The Lord expects generosity towards those in need, reflecting His Father's concern for the poor.[1] Consider the following:

- Jesus blesses the poor in spirit in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:3) and the poor in the Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6:20).
- Jesus presumes regular giving to the poor (in Matt 6:2, Jesus says, "when you give").
- The poor having the gospel preached to them is evidence of the arrival of the Kingdom of God (Matt 11:5; Luke 7:22).
- Invitations to reception/banquet, like the gospel, should be given to the poor (Luke 14:13, 21).
- Jesus told the rich young man to give all to the poor as a test of the man's maturity (Mark 10:21; Matt 19:21).
- Jesus himself said the poor would always be among the church, unlike himself (Mark 14:7; Matt 26:11).
- Paul was told by the apostles in Jerusalem to 'remember the poor' (Gal 2:10), which he gladly did – this episode is akin to the early church wrestling with how to care for poor widows (Acts 6:1–7).

To the question, "Are there poor people in…?" Jesus's reply, most likely, would be a vigorous "Yes! And if you do not know where they are or who they are, go find them."

3.2 Poverty in the UK

The UK is indeed blessed with a relatively low degree of poverty. As a member of G7, G20 and seventh in world output by the *International Monetary Fund* (IMF), it is reasonable to ask whether anyone can be poor in such a prosperous nation.[2] The 2016 statistics reveal an estimated 23.5% of the EU population (about 18 million people) were at risk of poverty or social exclusion.[3] When looking at people at risk of poverty, we can see that the UK is ranked 13th among EU nations with 17% of the UK population at risk of poverty, which is virtually identical to the EU's overall rate of 16.9%.

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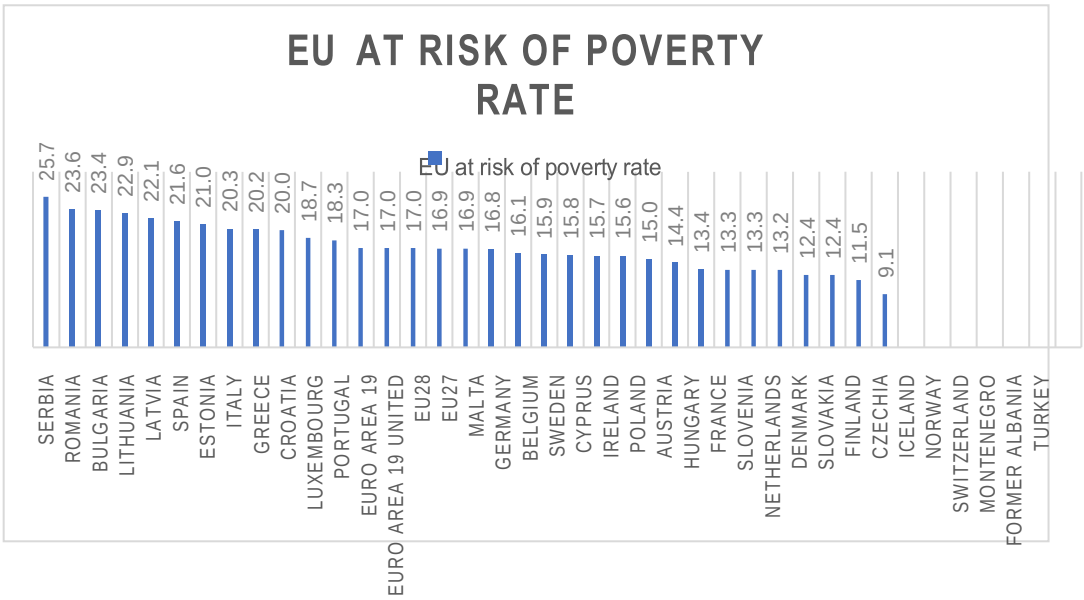
[1] See Deut 15:7; 11; 1 Sam 2:8; Job 5:15; Ps 9:18; 40:17; 69:33; 72; 109; 113:7; Prov 14:31; Isa 14:32; 25:4; Jer 20:13; Ezek 18:12; Amos 2:6; 4:1; etc.

[2] See *World Economic Outlook: Update* (Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, January 2019), 8, https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/Issues/2019/01/11/weo-update-january-2019, accessed 28 September 2021. Note that Brexit and the possibility of a so-called "no-deal Brexit" weigh heavily on the UK's projected standing. Otherwise, the UK's ranking has hovered around fifth for many years before this.

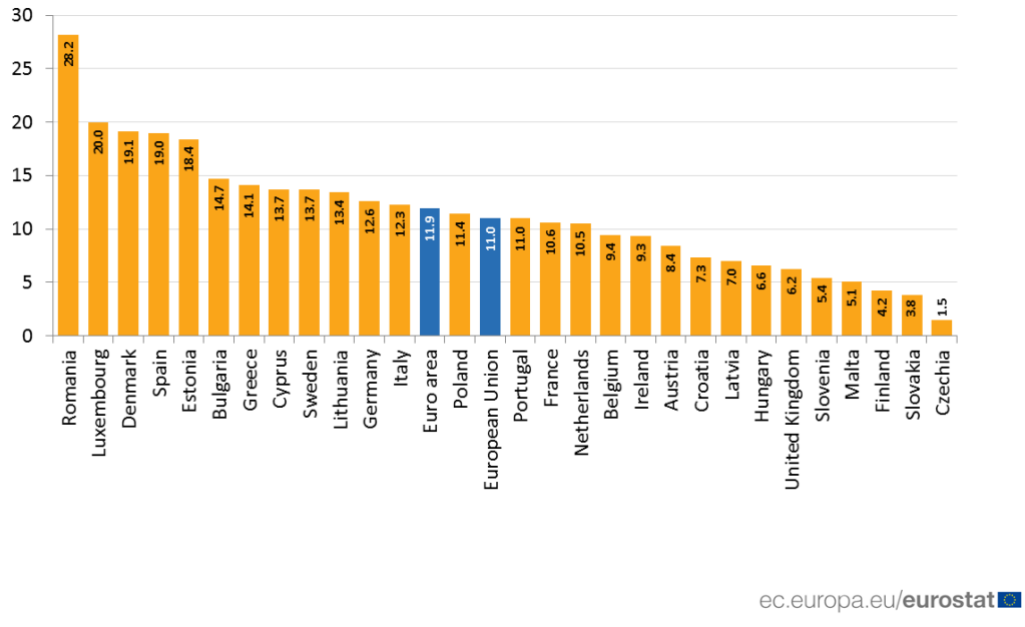
[3] Emilio Di Meglio, ed., *Living Conditions in Europe: 2018 Edition*, Statistical books, Populations and Social Conditions (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018), 26, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-statistical-books/-/KS-DZ-18-001, accessed 28 September 2021.

Table 3.1 | EU At risk of poverty Rate[4]



Further, the UK poverty rate was lower than the EU in 2017 for in work at risk of poverty young people aged 18-24.[5]

Table 3.2 | In work at-risk-of-poverty rate among young people aged 18–24, 2017



In summary, the UK is below EU averages in two major categories of material deprivation –

[4] *European Living 2018*, 26. Values at zero are due to no available data.
[5] Statistics and chart are from "Young People in Work and at Risk of Poverty," *Eurostat*, 22 January 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/-/DDN-20190122-1, accessed 28 September 2021.

the so-called 'working poor' and those in poverty. It is important to note, though, that direct comparisons between the EU and UK are not entirely reliable as the EU and UK measure poverty differently.[6] Currently, these statistical comparisons lead only to general statements of comparison and no more. The material points here remain: despite UK's global wealth, there is a measurable and comparable degree of poverty, comparable with the UK's nearest neighbours in the EU.

But generalities do not suffice. In the UK 14.2 million people experience material deprivation, including families with children, disabled, elderly, young and old, working or not, single and married. Consider the following:

Table 3.3 | Composition of UK Poverty by family types (2016/17)[7]

Source: Family Resources Survey and HBAI dataset (2016/17), SMC Analysis.

Notes: Figures refer to total people in poverty in different family types. Family types taken from the HBAI dataset once SMC poverty indicators (assessed at the sharing unit level) have been allocated to each benefit unit.

Think about that… 39% of people in poverty are couples with children; 18% in lone parent families. Put another way, 57% of people in poverty are families with children (8,200,000).

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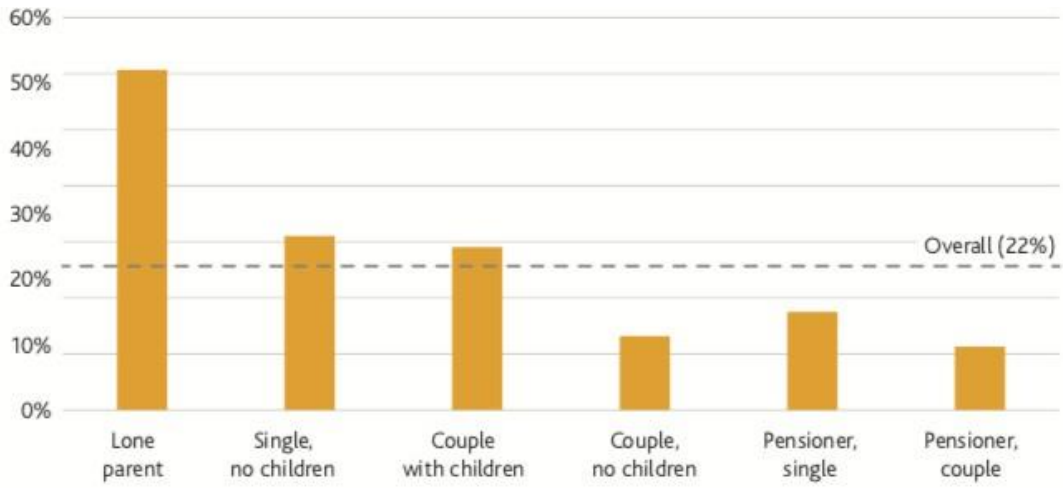
[6] Compare methodologies in the following reports: *Measuring Material Deprivation in the EU: Indicators for the Whole Population and Child-Specific Indicators*, Methodologies and Working Papers (Luxembourg: Eurostat: European Commission, 2012), available at https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products- statistical-working-papers/-/KS-RA-12-018, accessed 28 September 2021; Tom Smith et al., *The English Indices of Deprivation 2015 Research Report*, Research Report (London: UK Government: Department for Communities and Local Government, 2015), available at https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/english-indices-of-deprivation-2015, accessed 28 September 2021 . For example, the EU looks at metrics such as owning a car, home, quantity of clothes, and other specifics to calculate material deprivation. Conversely, UK countries use the seven categories of deprivation: income, employment, health and disability, education/skills/training, barriers to housing, crime, and living environment (each with sub-domains).

[7] Chart adapted from *Guide on Poverty Measurement* (New York and Geneva: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, 2017), 81, https://unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/stats/publications/2018/ECECESSTAT20174.pdf, accessed 28 September 2021.

The largest group of people in poverty by family type is people living in couple families with children. SMC statistics indicate that as of 2016/17, 39% of people in poverty are couples with children and 18% are lone parent families – making a combined total of 57% of people in poverty being families with children. This is an increase from the constant since the early 2000s of about 55% (8.2 million people).[8]

Yet, poverty rates vary significantly between people in different family types. The second largest group by family type are singles without children (21%). SMC explains by Table 3.4 that, for example, more than half of people in lone parent families are judged to be in poverty. For people in pensioner couples and working-age couples with children, this figure falls to approximately one in ten (11.1% and 9.7% respectively).

Table 3.4 | Distribution of UK Poverty by family types (2016/17)[9]

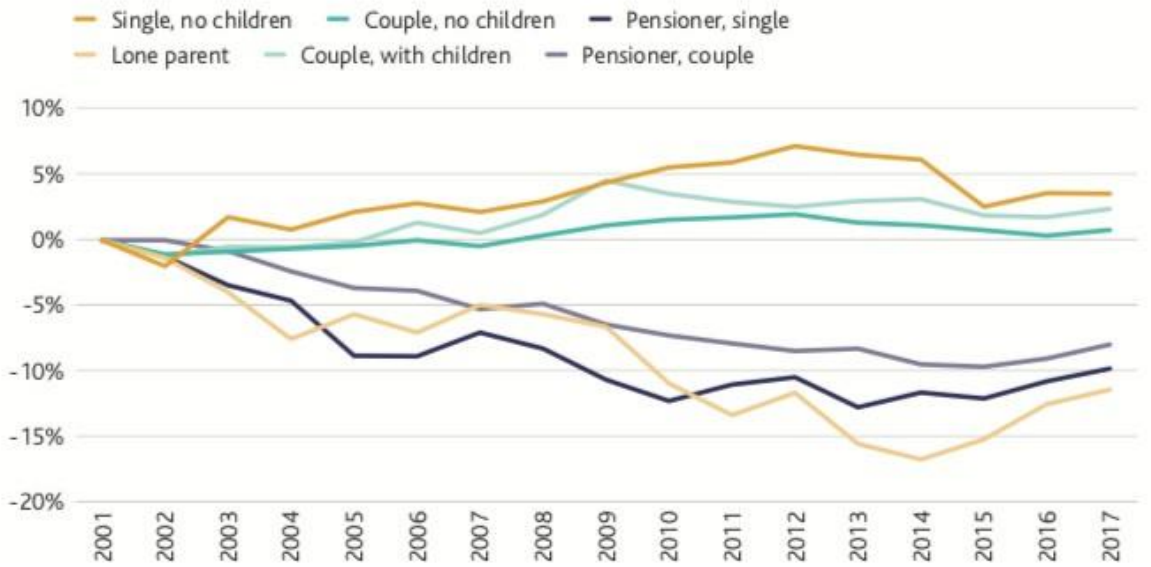


Source: Family Resources Survey and HBAI dataset (2016/17), SMC Analysis.

It is noteworthy that family types with children comprise two of the three largest highest poverty rates in this table. Also glaringly obvious is the high poverty rate of lone parents, which is more than double the overall poverty rate in the UK. Only slightly more troubling is just how consistent these findings are since 2001.

[8] Social Metrics Commission, *New Measure of UK Poverty*, 81.
[9] Chart adapted from *Poverty Measurement Guide*, 82.

Table 3.5 | Changes in UK poverty rates since 2001 by family types[10]



Source: Family Resources Survey and HBAI dataset (1998/99–2016/17), SMC Analysis.

In Table 3.5 we essentially see a surprising trend that seems contradictory to Table 3.4. The prevailing 'strata of poverty' over the last fifteen years has seen an increase in the number of singles with no children experiencing poverty. What this chart does not report is the increase in benefits and tax incentives to families with children – but notice that when those began to be cut starting in 2011 the trajectory is upwards (2012–14 likely being years of adjustment for families).

Looking for a more tangible, measurable definition of poverty is difficult. SMC defines a poverty threshold of £251.95 per week (£1007.80 per month/£12,093.60 per year) with a median income of £462 per week.[11] Keep in mind that this number has in view a real-world estimate of what it costs to have the bare minimum to be comfortable, as defined by UK cultural mores (which SMC regularly measures and updates via various research methods). To this extent, the SMC research provides a helpful starting point for quantifying what it means to experience material deprivation, though it is not without its challenges. Calculating thresholds for various family types generates the following calculations:[12]

[10] Chart adapted from *Poverty Measurement Guide*, 82.
[11] See Social Metrics Commission, *New Measure of UK Poverty*, 77–78.
[12] Social Metrics Commission, *New Measure of UK Poverty*, 78, Table 9. SCM derived their analysis from of the Family Resources Survey and HBAI dataset (2016/17).

Table 3.6 | Poverty threshold by family type (Social Metrics Commission)[13]

Family type	2016/17 poverty threshold (£ available resources per week)	2018/19 poverty threshold (£ available resources per week)
Single		
No children	£146.13	£157
Lone parent		
One child	£196.53	£211
Two children	£302.35	£325
Couple		
No children	£251.95	£267.01
One child	£302.35	£320.49
Two children	£408.17	£432.66
Pensioner		
Single	£146.13	£154.90
Couple	£251.95	£267.01

When we extend these calculations to allow for varying numbers of children, the following additional family types can be assessed:

Table 3.7 | Estimated poverty threshold by larger family type[14]

Family type	2016/17 poverty threshold (£ available resources per week)	2018/19 poverty threshold (est.) (£ available resources per week)
Lone parent		
Three children[15]	£513.99	£550
Four children[16]	£619.81	£663
Single Pensioner		
One child	£251.95	£270
Two children	£357.77	£383
Pensioner, couple		
One child	£357.77	£383
Two children	£463.59	£496

[13] Table adapted from Social Metrics Commission, *New Measure of UK Poverty*, 78, which notes: "in one child cases, the child is assumed to be under 14. In two-child cases, one is assumed to be under 14 and one is assumed to be over 14."
[14] Table adapted from Social Metrics Commission, *New Measure of UK Poverty*, 78.
[15] The 2016/17 data is determined by calculating: £302.35 + (£105.82*2). The 2018/19 poverty line was determined by calculating 2016/17 multiplied by 7% adjusted for inflation.
[16] Determined by calculating: £408.35 + (£105.82*2). The 2018/19 poverty line was determined by calculating 2016/17 multiplied by 7% adjusted for inflation.

The different impact a single adult experiences compared with a couple, or compared with a couple with children is significant. Simply said, the larger the family, the larger the income needed to support a family. The *Households Below Average Income* (HBAI) 2018 report clarifies such distinctions:

> *To lie in the top half of the income distribution in 2016/17, a single individual needed a net income over £17,200, compared to a couple with two young children who required a combined net income over £36,000.*[17]

3.3 The complexities of measuring poverty

As helpful as this analysis is, flaws inevitably exist. Some believe the SMC has significantly *underestimated* the actual costs to families.[18] Yet, I suspect there are many that can only *dream* of having so much weekly income. For example, a couple where both are employed, paying £125/month for car costs will be much easier to manage than it will be for a single mother.

The complexities include the fact that the **age and medical needs of a child** vary widely: a family of three with two teens and an infant is vastly different from a family of two primary school pupils, yet the above reporting treats them largely the same. A family may be living in an inherited flat/home in London, but the cost of living in the area where that home is may evaporate the home cost savings if utilities, transportation, groceries, etc are inflated compared with living outside the city and commuting.

Similarly, Koch reveals how **women are helped to their demise by government benefits**.[19] Once a woman or mother begins receiving benefits, the process can soon turn to frenzy as women constantly battle to keep their benefits and complete required reporting and (surprise) home inspections. This can cause the kinds of interruptions that prevent developing the life habits necessary to get off the very benefits that they now require. Frequently drawn into dependence upon benefits programmes, council housing and then creating their own support networks, Koch's case study observes that many women in a given English council estate were not only dependent upon financial benefits from the government, but also informal relationships for income – doing a friend's laundry or renting a room for a few months or more to a friend or family member. These activities – just to make ends meet – are all unreported to prevent government scrutiny that would typically lead to decrease or loss of benefits. Indeed, some have been evicted from homes having

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[17] UK Government Department for Work and Pensions, "Households Below Average Income: An analysis of the UK income distribution 1994/95–2016/17", 22 March 2018, p.5, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/691917/households-below-average-income-1994-1995-2016-2017.pdf, accessed 28 September 2021 .

[18] I am indebted to Donald Hirsch for his kind conversations and insights, though any fault or error in judgment is my own.

[19] See Insa Koch, "'The State Has Replaced the Man': Women, Family Homes, and the Benefit System on a Council Estate in England," *Focaal Brooklyn* 273 (2015): 84–96, https://doi.org/10.3167/fcl.2015.730107, http://search.proquest.com/docview/1734628322/abstract/499CFECC83264962PQ/1, accessed 28 September 2021.

thus been disqualified from benefits. In that case, the government determines that they are "choosing" homelessness, which absolves the government's responsibility to provide emergency/homelessness housing assistance. The common stereotype that "they have it easy on benefits…" is simply a myth born of ignorance to the plight of those in need and an over-emphasis placed upon the "bad apples" of any given people group.

Third, **men and women experience poverty and homelessness quite differently**. Often, women are left to parent children alone. Ongoing research continues to show the disparity of pay for many women, which has a noteworthy impact on women's poverty.[20] So much so, in fact, that Méabh Savage has shown how these differences warrant more careful legislation of social policies in Ireland and around the world. Citing the research of Mayock et al., it is common for some homeless women, for example, "to return to abusive relationships where they subsequently re-emerged into homelessness again, and were separated from their children, who were placed in the care of the state."[21] Further, late 2018 saw an increasing awareness of so-called "period poverty" for women young and old, complicating work, education, and life for girls and women experiencing poverty.[22]

Fourth, the **ethnic composition** of these groups – which include immigrant families as well as UK families from BME backgrounds (who may or may not be immigrants) – is another matter of some complexity. Data generally supports the perception that immigrants coming to the UK from materially deprived homes are likely to experience continued material deprivation in the UK. Second and third generation children may find upward mobility, even if they often have to overcome prejudice by non-immigrant UK citizens, and navigate educational and employment policies or tendencies' that do not account for their lived experiences. BME people in the UK consistently trend lower in most fiscal categories. While there are exceptions to these general trends, therein lies the conundrum: exceptional cases reveal the depth of inequality for many non-white UK citizens. However, when we look at the materially deprived, we find that

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[20] Fran Bennett and Mary Daly, *Poverty through a Gender Lens: Evidence and Policy Review on Gender and Poverty* (Department of Social Policy and Intervention, University of Oxford for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, May 2015), 98–101, 103, 105, https://www.spi.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Gender_and_poverty_Bennett_and_Daly_final_12_5_14_28_5_14.pdf, accessed 28 September 2021.

[21] Méabh Savage, "Gendering Women's Homelessness," *Dublin Inst. Technol.* vol. 16, no. 2 (2016): 11, https://arrow.dit.ie/ijass/vol16/iss2/4/, accessed 28 September 2021; See, Paula Mayock et al., eds., *Women's Homelessness and Domestic Violence: (In)visible interactions* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016), https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-54516-9_6, accessed 28 September 2021 .

[22] See Judith Wolf et al., "The Health of Homeless Women," in Mayock et al., *Women's Homelessness in Europe*, 155–78, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-54516-9_7, accessed 28 September 2021; "Pledge to End Schoolgirl 'Period Poverty,'" *BBC News,* 14 November 2018, sec. Bristol, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-bristol-46205554, accessed 28 September 2021 ; "Free Sanitary Products 'Boost Attendance,'" *BBC News*, 28 November 2018, https://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-england-hampshire-46361899/period-poverty-sanitary-products-improve-school-attendance, accessed 28 September 2021 .

material deprivation makes no ethno-racial distinctions, but people and policies and common practices often do.[23]

[23] Matthew Hunt, "Race/Ethnicity and Beliefs about Wealth and Poverty," *Social Science Quarterly* 85, no. 3 (2004): 827–53; Milly Williamson and Gholam Khiabany, "UK: The Veil and the Politics of Racism," *Race & Class* 52, no. 2 (2010): 85–96; Ceri Hughes and Peter Kenway, "Foreign-Born People and Poverty in the UK" (York, United Kingdom: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, July 2016); "Race Disparity Audit: Summary Findings from the Ethnicity Facts and Figures Website" (Westminster: Cabinet Office, 2017), https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk, accessed 2 November 2021; Tina Patel, "Race/Ethnicity, Crime and Social Control: An Introduction," *Social Sciences* 7, no. 12 (2018); Omar Khan, "The Colour of Money: How Racial Inequalities Obstruct a Fair and Resilient Economy" (Runnymeade, 2020), https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/2020%20reports/The%20Colour%20of%20Money%20Report.pdf, accessed 2 November 2021. See also the racial statistic provided in: Social Metrics Commission, "Measuring Poverty 2019: A Report of the Social Metrics Commission," Measuring Poverty (UK: Social Metrics Commission, July 2019), https://socialmetricscommission.org.uk/, accessed 2 November 2021; Social Metrics Commission, "Measuring Poverty 2020: A Report of the Social Metrics Commission," Measuring Poverty (UK: Social Metrics Commission, July 2020); Noble et al., "The English Indices of Deprivation 2019 Research Report"; Andrea Barry, "Sewell report response: what does the data really tell us?" 7 April 2021, https://www.jrf.org.uk/blog/sewell-report-response-what-does-data-really-tell-us, accessed 2 November 2021. See also JFR's myriad of illuminating resources at: https://www.jrf.org.uk/people/ethnicity, accessed 2 November 2021. Similarly, Snowdon shows how working-class white boys are at risk; see Christopher Snowdon, "The Lost Boys," 15 July 2020, https://app.spectator.co.uk/2020/07/15/the-lost-boys-2/content.html, accessed 2 November 2021.

4. Why London?

4.1 What data are we using?

This paper uses several data reports in an effort to create a hybrid of analysis, following the methodology common to all five reports (as described in Sections 1 and 2 above) including the relevant Index of Multiple Deprivation report:

- England Index of Multiple Deprivation (EIMD)[24]
- *End Child Poverty* (ECP) resources
- *Social Metrics Commission* (SMC) reports
- Data published by the John Rowntree Foundation
- Published research in academic journals and publications researching material deprivation
- Articles found in UK newspapers (print or online), BBC, local newspapers and other media
- Data taken from interviews with citizens, ministers, civic and government leaders
- Survey data, including surveys conducted by 20schemes[25]

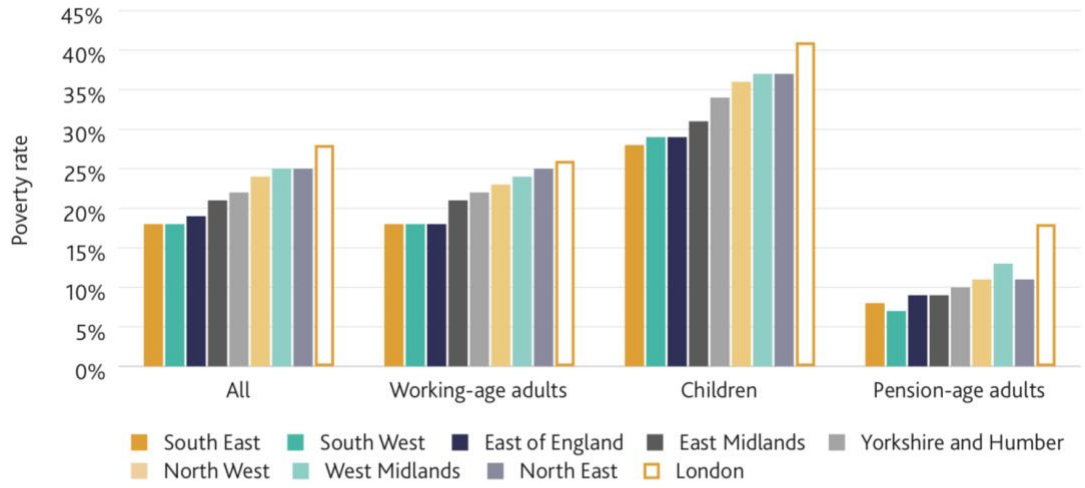
4.2 The uniqueness of London

At the outset of this project, a pattern emerged quite quickly: London is a unique, world-class city. Studying poverty trends across England, London itself was both a microcosm and a concentration of the many church and poverty issues found across England, a matrix of factors that create challenges that are, in some ways, exclusive to London. Issues such as housing shortages, increases in cost-of-living, in-work poverty and poverty in general are found throughout England and the UK. However, these find a unique presentation in the UK's largest city, which has a massive population size and concentration, highly influential global politics and personalities impacting everyday lives in a manner unlike, say, Middlesbrough or Swindon, or even the more comparable cities of Birmingham or Liverpool. Simply relying on nationwide rankings does not do London justice. In addition, such analysis might blur otherwise profound issues in the rest of England. To address the particular issues in London in a manner consistent with the inner workings of this city, without distracting from the rest of England and vice versa, it seems practical to address London specifically.

Consider these startling results. Broadly speaking, the Social Metrics Commission (SMC) identifies poverty rates across England:

[24] For a more detailed discussion about the English Index of Multiple Deprivation data, including relative weighting of domains, please refer to the *Locating England's Most Deprived* report.
[25] Research conducted by the author, based on data collected and analysed in 2019–20.

Table 4.1 | Poverty rates in England by region and age[26]



Notes: To provide a sufficient sample size, estimates for each region are presented as three-year averages, in line with current HBAI approaches. As such, the 2017/18 figure represents averages of figures from 2014/15–2017/18. This applies to all regional estimates in this section.

Source: Family Resources Survey and HBAI dataset (2017/18), SMC analysis.

Several features stand out, yet notice that London leads in all categories. This further punctuates the unique place London has within the UK, a "nation city" within a nation. Similarly, notice in Table 2.1 below that five London Local Authorities are among the lowest Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) average rank score for Local Authorities. In other words, of the 318 Local Authorities in England, 5 of the 32 lowest (10%) are in London. Again, the concentration of poverty in London is unique in comparison with the more diverse socio-economic dynamics across England.

As with the other research papers, this one progresses with a familiar series of questions. First, locating the poor and poorest areas of London. Next, locating where the FIEC churches are in London, and looking at how they are reaching the poor. Finally, we reflect on what conclusions might we draw for moving forward.

A couple quick explanations of terms are in order for all, with some apologies for London readers. First, we are using "London" as shorthand to refer to the entire "Greater London" area. Second, strictly speaking "The City of London" (also known as the "Square Mile") is a "council" (or "Local Authority") of London governed by the City of London corporation, meaning it is technically not a London Borough. However, we include "City of London" as a borough because we are equating the EIMD19's term "Local Authority" with London's "boroughs" (rather than London's different councils).[27] So for the purposes of this chapter,

[26] Social Metrics Commission, "Measuring Poverty 2019: A Report of the Social Metrics Commission," (UK: Social Metrics Commission, July 2019), 44, https://socialmetricscommission.org.uk/, accessed 30 September 2021 .

[27] For more on how the councils of London are organised, see https://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/how-are-councils-structured#1, accessed 30 September 2021. For the unique features of The City of London, see: https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/about-us, accessed 30 September 2021.

(Greater) London has 33 Local Authorities/boroughs, though technically London has 32 boroughs and 33 Local Authorities (one for each borough plus the Square Mile/City of London). The purpose of synthesizing these three items is in order to simplify our terms throughout this paper and to a lesser extent with terminology used in other paper.

5. Where are London's "most deprived"?

5.1 Locating London's "most deprived"

Identifying and locating the *most deprived* places and people is more challenging. One would naturally look at council estates and public housing neighbourhoods. However, the absence of nationwide lists requires contacting *every* local council, who are often reluctant to release such information. Furthermore, the privatisation of much public housing has also complicated the process of identifying poverty in such neighbourhoods. It is necessary, therefore, to rely on poverty reports to locate the most deprived neighbourhoods.

However, the reporting that leads to identification of "most deprived" is riddled with complexities. Identifying a place where there is a high number of people experiencing poverty does not mean *everyone* there necessarily experiences poverty. Second, the duration (how many months/years) or intensity (e.g. no income and on benefits? nearly homeless and on benefits? working poor? single? children? etc.) of the deprivation may vary for a given family or neighbourhood. Third, especially for those on benefits, is the fear of losing benefits and so respondents are often less clear on questionnaires and enquiries (be it over-reporting their need or deprivation, or under-reporting due to shame/guilt).

For many, there seems to be a discrepancy between what one sees – anecdotally or in media or journal articles – between the statistics on poverty and those experiencing material deprivation visible on the street. *How do they carry an iPhone and or have Sky TV? Where did that new Ford come from – aren't they "poor"?*

Brewer et al. explore a solution to the discrepancy between lowest income families' expenditures and income. They demonstrate that likely factors for the discrepancy include misreporting and that households completing government surveys "may feel that their responses to the survey may lead them to have higher tax bills or reduced entitlement benefits".[1] Indeed, why bite the hand that feeds you? And for most people in scheme or estate communities, a deep-seated distrust of government (born of multiple generations of failed government promises) would certainly not encourage reliable reporting, either.

Similarly, Belfield et al. argue that net household income inequality fell due to deliberate increases in redistribution, the tax and transfer system's insurance role during the Great Recession, falling household worklessness, and rising pensioner incomes.[2] Bourquin et al. concluded similarly, adding rising costs of housing as fourth significant factor.[3]

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[1] Mike Brewer, Ben Etheridge and Cormac O'Dea, C., "Why are Households that Report the Lowest Incomes So Well Off?", *The Economic Journal*, 127(605), October 2017, p.F46–F49, https://doi.org/10.1111/ecoj.12334.

[2] Chris Belfield et al., "Two Decades of Income Inequality in Britain: The Role of Wages, Household Earnings and Redistribution," *Economica* 84.334 (2017): 157–79, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/ecca.12220, accessed 28 September 2021.

[3] Pascale Bourquin et al., "Big Increases in In-Work Relative Poverty Rate Are about Much More than Just Low Pay," *Institute for Fiscal Studies*, 18 June 2019, https://ifs.org.uk/publications/14196, accessed 28 September 2021.

Further complicating locating the most deprived and poor – if gentrification, homelessness and other social issues were not enough – is the continued privatisation of council housing across the UK. This process has led to changes both in landlords (from the government to individuals, corporations, housing associations or Registered Social Landlords) and tenants (who are pressured to leave or otherwise choose to leave as the property or neighbourhood changes for the worse with the transfer).[4] Reflecting on the National Audit Office's examination of the financial costs and benefits of retaining a council housing property *versus* transferring to housing associations, Ginsgburg writes:

> *They calculated that transfer was considerably more expensive for the taxpayer than retention and renovation by councils, possibly as much as 30 per cent more expensive. The NAO calculated that a renovation programme for one million council homes would cost £1.3 billion more if it were done through stock transfer rather than allowing the councils to do it. However, the NAO considered that the benefits outweigh the extra costs citing such benefits as 'the transfer of risk, the accelerated achievement of improvements, the greater tenant participation' (NAO, 2003: 32) associated with transfer. There is no question that improvements have been accelerated by transfer, but that is only because local authorities were prevented from doing them. There is undoubtedly increased tenant participation in the form of involvement in management boards, but whether tenants exert any more collective influence than they did within local electoral politics is highly debatable. The notion of "risk transfer" as a benefit involves taking a very narrow point of view on behalf of the taxpayer. It appears to be celebrating the loss of a public responsibility for meeting basic needs, and the transfer of risk to RSLs and, implicitly, tenants.*[5]

The British Urban Housing report makes a similar conclusion:

> *Outperformance of original transfer expectations seems to have been most marked in relation to regeneration. One measure of this is the extent to which – in many instances – demolition and replacement of substandard housing has turned out to be significantly more extensive than initially anticipated.*[6]

Further, transfer HAs (Housing Associations) quickly widened from property investments to activity encompassing community engagement and investment initiatives way beyond the initial undertaking.[7] In other words, improvement came because existing buildings were

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[4] See Ginsburg's helpful historical survey of these developments from the governments of Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher to Tony Blair: Norman Ginsburg, "The Privatization of Council Housing," *Critical Social Policy* 25 no. 1 (2005): 115–35, https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018305048970, accessed 28 September 2021.

[5] Ginsburg, "The Privatization of Council Housing," 124. See also, Hal Pawson and Cathy Fancie, *Maturing Assets: The Evolution of Stock Transfer Housing Associations* (Policy Press, 2003), 35–36, https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/evolution-stock-transfer-housing-associations, accessed 28 September 2021.

[6] Hal Pawson et al., *The Impacts of Housing Stock Transfers In Urban Britain* (The Chartered Institute of Housing and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2009), 112, https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/impacts-housing-stock-transfers-urban-britain, accessed 28 September 2021.

[7] Hal Pawson et al., *Impacts of Housing Stock Transfers in Urban Britain*, 112–13. Tragically, funding was typically only planned for the *development* of the dilapidated property, with no budget for improving the grounds and neighbourhood (which fell to the developer or residents, or was left undone). The net result was an "updated" house with the same failings of community infrastructure that originally led to the building's dilapidation.

destroyed and new ones built – typically at an initially higher rent (a modest increase, but an increase nonetheless). Then, the rest of the larger neighbourhood and community began to see development. While these are, on the one hand, positive things – old things refurbished or replaced, new life and vitality – in the end it is an all-too-common recipe for the gentrification of a materially deprived neighbourhood that ultimately pushes out those msot needing housing assistance. Gentrification does not happen overnight either, meaning neighbourhoods often endure extended periods of time with old and new juxtaposing or opposing each other, until one remains – often the economically-supported new to the detriment of those experiencing poverty. Similar reporting shows that both English and Scottish transfers showed that managerial effectiveness was maintained or improved slightly.[8] In other words, the claim that privatisation has *improved* social housing for those experiencing housing deprivation is questionable. In market terms, relying on private landlords who are trying to have a successful "business" built upon an impoverished consumer-base (who have little or no income to draw from) has produced minimal (if any) improvements for those experiencing housing deprivation.

The ongoing shortage of housing and affordable housing within the UK further complicates both understanding of where the materially poor live and who is there.[9] Maurice Mcleod voices a challenge that many face with popular and controversial "right to buy", arguing that one's home and community is not a commodity to sell and trade. While Mcleod no longer really qualifies on a needs basis to live on an estate, it has been his rental home twenty-four years, his community and neighbourhood – things one cannot commodify.[10] Indeed, to require people to move out once they are "out" of material poverty could well perpetuate the hardships that give council estates their bad rap, as if they are staging grounds for something better instead of a neighbourhood or community of its own right to improve.[11]

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[8] Pawson and Fancie, *Maturing Assets*, 36. See also, Stewart Smyth, "The Privatization of Council Housing: Stock Transfer and the Struggle for Accountable Housing," *Critical Social Policy* 33 no. 1 (2013): 37–56, https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018312457870, accessed 28 September 2021.

[9] See, for example, Linda van den Dries et al., "Mothers Who Experience Homelessness," in Mayock et al., *Women's Homelessness in Europe*, 179–208, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-54516-9_8, accessed 28 September 2021; John Harris, "The End of Council Housing," *The Guardian,* 4 January 2016, sec. Society, https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jan/04/end-of-council-housing-bill-secure-tenancies-pay-to-stay accessed 28 September 2021; Mark Stephens et al., "2018 UK Housing Review: Autumn Briefing Paper", 24; Glen Bramley and Suzanne Fitzpatrick, "Homelessness in the UK: Who Is Most at Risk?," *Housing Studies* 33 no. 1 (2018): 96–116, https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2017.1344957, accessed 28 September 2021; Alan Murie, "Shrinking the State in Housing: Challenges, Transitions and Ambiguities," *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy & Society* 11 no. 3 (2018): 485–501, https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/cjres/rsy024, accessed 28 September 2021.

[10] Maurice Mcleod, "I've Been Happily Renting My Council Flat for 24 Years – but for How Much Longer?" *The Guardian*, 30 September 2015, sec. Opinion, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/30/renting-council-house-24-years-right-to-buy-osborne-social-housing, accessed 28 September 2021.

[11] Interviews with families in any council estate will find people who work hard, consider the council estate their home, and who work for and hope for the betterment of their estate. For example, see testimonials

5.2 London as a part of England

London has 33 boroughs (including "City of London" council), comprised of 4,835 Lower-tier Super Output Areas (LSOAs). We saw already that London leads England in most poverty categories regionally, so now we are sinking our fork deeper into the meat of data, first, the boroughs then individual neighbourhoods. Examining London's boroughs and neighbourhoods within the context of England, we see a picture that intensifies when we look at London within itself. Poverty in London is widespread— 22 of London's 33 boroughs have at least one neighbourhood that is classified nationally as most deprived. The rise of in-work poverty has dramatically amplified the situation, but for the moment we turn our attention to the more traditional categories of the poor and most-deprived.

Several of London's boroughs find themselves among the top of England's most deprived Local Authorities (LAs).

Table 5.1 | EIMD19 rankings in England by Local Authority[12]

Local Authority District name (2019)	EIMD19 rank of average LSOAs ranks	EIMD19 rank of average LSOAs score	EIMD19 rank of proportion of LSOAs in most deprived 10% nationally	EIMD19 rank of extent of poverty	EIMD19 rank of local concentration of poverty	Average of all ranks
Blackpool	1	1	6	5	1	3 ‡
Manchester	2	6	5	2	13	6 ‡
Knowsley	3	2	3	3	2	3 ‡
Liverpool	4	3	2	1	5	3 ‡
† Barking & Dagenham	5	21	139	20	125	62
Birmingham	6	7	7	4	30	11
† Hackney	7	22	78	25	107	48
Sandwell	8	12	44	10	53	25
Kingston upon Hull, City of	9	4	4	8	7	6 ‡
Nottingham	10	11	15	11	43	18
Burnley	11	8	8	9	6	8 ‡
† Newham	12	43	154	67	137	83
Hastings	13	17	17	24	16	17

reported in Ashley John-Baptiste, "When Council Estates Were a Dream," *BBC News*, 4 July 2019, https://bbc.co.uk/news/extra/iZKMPd0wjP/council_housing, accessed 28 September 2021; Dawn Foster, "The Tory Policy That Encourages People to Work Less Hard or Lose Their Home," *The Guardian*, 23 October 2015, sec. Housing Network, https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2015/oct/23/pay-to-stay-housing-tory-policy-penalises-hardworking-people, accessed 28 September 2021; Harris, "The End of Council Housing"; Alison Ravetz, *Council Housing and Culture: The History of a Social Experiment* (Routledge, 2003), 137–171, https://www.routledge.com/Council-Housing-and-Culture-The-History-of-a-Social-Experiment/Ravetz/p/book/9780415239462, accessed 28 September 2021.

[12] Source? This? Social Metrics Commission, "Measuring Poverty 2019: A Report of the Social Metrics Commission".

Blackburn with Darwen	14	9	9	7	18	11
Stoke-on-Trent	15	14	12	12	35	18
Middlesbrough	16	5	1	6	3	6 ‡
Rochdale	17	15	20	19	25	19
Hyndburn	18	16	21	17	27	20
Wolverhampton	19	24	38	16	67	33
Salford	20	18	19	21	20	20
Bradford	21	13	11	13	17	15
Leicester	22	32	42	37	46	36
Tameside	23	28	40	28	45	33
Great Yarmouth	24	20	25	33	14	23
Hartlepool	25	10	10	14	10	14
South Tyneside	26	27	26	23	62	33
† Tower Hamlets	27	50	175	57	134	89
† Islington	28	53	126	74	126	81
Oldham	29	19	16	18	22	21
East Lindsey	30	39	55	49	38	42
Walsall	31	25	22	15	56	30
Tendring	32	36	48	53	23	38

† = London Local Authorities. ‡ = "top 10"

Notice in Table 2.2 that five London Local Authorities are among the lowest IMD average rank score for Local Authorities. In other words, of the 318 local authorities in England, 5 of the 32 lowest 10% are in London. Again, the concentration of poverty in London is unique in concentration to the more diverse socio-economic dynamics across England. Middlesbrough has the highest proportion of LSOAs that are most-deprived 10% nationwide, followed by Liverpool, Knowsley, City of Kingston upon Hull, Manchester, and Blackpool. On this same metric, London's Hackney (78), Haringey (84), and Kensington & Chelsea (91) are the lowest ranking of London's boroughs (LA).

For further reflection at the LA level, consider the following table, which looks at the rankings of London LAs compared with the rest of England, then amongst London's boroughs themselves.

Table 5.2 | All 33 London Boroughs (Local Authorities) ranked among England's Local Authorities

Local Authority District name (2019)	EIMD19 rank of average rank	EIMD19 rank of average score	EIMD19 rank of proportion of LSOAs in most deprived 10% nationally	EIMD19 rank of extent of poverty	EIMD19 rank of local concentration of poverty	Average of all categories
Hackney	7	22	78	25	107	**48**
Barking & Dagenham	5	21	139	20	125	**62**

Haringey	37	49	84	52	97	**64**
Islington	28	53	126	74	126	**81**
Newham	12	43	154	67	137	**83**
Enfield	59	74	119	61	116	**86**
Tower Hamlets	27	50	175	57	134	**89**
Brent	49	79	116	101	114	**92**
Lewisham	35	63	148	84	136	**93**
Southwark	43	72	147	91	145	**100**
Waltham Forest	45	82	162	115	141	**109**
Kensington & Chelsea	122	121	91	106	112	**110**
Lambeth	42	81	195	108	156	**116**
Greenwich	60	88	191	105	151	**119**
Croydon	102	108	157	109	133	**122**
Ealing	88	105	163	127	143	**125**
Hammersmith & Fulham	96	112	185	124	152	**134**
Westminster	134	137	155	131	132	**138**
Hounslow	95	122	189	166	177	**150**
Camden	132	138	195	139	167	**154**
Hillingdon	151	159	195	181	194	**176**
Havering	179	180	190	171	174	**179**
Bexley	190	187	195	175	179	**185**
Redbridge	160	173	195	207	207	**188**
Wandsworth	173	183	195	199	198	**190**
Barnet	184	190	193	194	196	**191**
Bromley	230	223	192	176	170	**198**
Sutton	227	226	188	186	186	**203**
Merton	214	213	195	214	209	**209**
Harrow	199	207	195	231	227	**212**
City of London	208	212	195	220	236	**214**
Kingston upon Thames	270	273	195	262	285	**257**
Richmond upon Thames	297	295	195	273	275	**267**

*(Sorted by average of **all** categories)*

Table 5.3 | Ranking of London's boroughs (Local Authorities)[13]

Local Authority District name (2019)	EIMD19 rank of average rank	EIMD19 rank of average score	EIMD19 rank of proportion of LSOAs in most deprived 10% nationally	EIMD19 rank of extent of poverty	EIMD19 rank of local concentration of poverty	Average of all categories
Barking & Dagenham	1	1	1	1	6	**2.00**
Hackney	2	2	2	2	2	**2.00**
Haringey	7	4	4	3	1	**3.80**
Newham	3	3	3	6	12	**5.40**
Tower Hamlets	4	5	5	4	10	**5.60**
Islington	5	6	6	7	7	**6.20**
Lewisham	6	7	7	8	11	**7.80**
Enfield	12	9	9	5	5	**8.00**
Brent	11	10	10	10	4	**9.00**
Southwark	9	8	8	9	15	**9.80**
Lambeth	8	11	11	13	18	**12.20**
Waltham Forest	10	12	12	15	13	**12.40**
Greenwich	13	13	13	11	16	**13.20**
Kensington & Chelsea	18	17	17	12	3	**13.40**
Croydon	17	15	15	14	9	**14.00**
Ealing	14	14	14	17	14	**14.60**
Hammersmith & Fulham	16	16	16	16	17	**16.20**
Westminster	20	19	19	18	8	**16.80**
Hounslow	15	18	18	20	22	**18.60**
Camden	19	20	20	19	19	**19.40**
Hillingdon	21	21	21	24	25	**22.40**
Havering	24	23	23	21	21	**22.40**
Bexley	26	25	25	22	23	**24.20**
Redbridge	22	22	22	28	28	**24.40**
Wandsworth	23	24	24	27	27	**25.00**
Barnet	25	26	26	26	26	**25.80**
Bromley	31	30	30	23	20	**26.80**
Sutton	30	31	31	25	24	**28.20**
Harrow	27	27	27	31	30	**28.40**

[13] Source? This? Social Metrics Commission, "Measuring Poverty 2019: A Report of the Social Metrics Commission".

City of London	28	28	28	30	31	**29.00**
Merton	29	29	29	29	29	**29.00**
Kingston upon Thames	32	32	32	32	33	**32.20**
Richmond upon Thames	33	33	33	33	32	**32.80**

These charts contain a lot of information that bears careful consideration. The data highlights information only on London's 33 boroughs – the first chart compared with all of England and the second chart ranking the different London Boroughs. The tables are sorted by the "Average of all categories" column. Sorted this way helps us to see at a very basic level that Barking & Dagenham and Hackney are decidedly the two lowest ranked boroughs in London, and in the 10% most deprived for all of England.[14] Interestingly, in terms of extent of deprivation, Hackney and Barking & Dagenham have experienced a decrease in relative deprivation of at least five rank places since the 2015 index.[15] While a modest and welcome gain, one cannot escape the thought that this is likely due to gentrification more than actual improvement of the lives of the poor in these boroughs.[16]

Looking at London only, observe that Barking & Dagenham and Hackney are ranked first or second in all but one category – "concentration" (Barking & Dagenham ranked sixth for concentration). In technical terms, that is not good. Similarly, Newham consistently ranks third, with Haringey, Tower Hamlets (generally ranked 4–5), and Islington (generally ranked 6–7) all not far improved upon Newham. This means that Barking & Dagenham, as a smaller LA in both land size and population, has a *per capita* greater percentage of deprivation for its size, but strictly speaking there are larger areas with more people experiencing poverty elsewhere.

If you can handle a brief tour into the detail, let me explain what this chart is tracking so that the data can be read more meaningfully. If this is too much, skip these bullet points and pick up after that.

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[14] Stefan Noble et al., *The English Indices of Deprivation 2019 Research Report*, Research Report (London: UK Government: Department for Communities and Local Government, 2019), 58, §5.3.17, https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/english-indices-of-deprivation-2015, accessed 30 September 2021.
[15] Noble et al., *EIMD Research Report*, 62, 5.3.21.
[16] See Johnathan Owen, "Gentrification 'Pushing Some of the Poorest Members of Society out Their Homes,'" digital news outlet, *The Independent*, 15 October 2015, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/gentrification-pushing-some-of-the-poorest-members-of-society-out-of-their-homes-says-study-a6695926.html; Steve Rose, "A 50p Cuppa and a £2m Flat: How One London Street Captures the Divisions of Brexit," *The Guardian*, 21 November 2019, sec. Film, https://www.theguardian.com/film/2019/nov/21/a-50p-cuppa-and-a-2m-flat-how-one-london-street-captures-the-divisions-of-brexit; Nye Jones, "How 'placemaking' Is Tearing Apart Social Housing Communities | Nye Jones," *The Guardian*, 27 December 2018, sec. Opinion, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/dec/27/london-placemaking-social-housing-communities-tenants.

- The "EIMD19 rank of average rank" is charting the average EIMD19 ranking of all the LSOAs for each borough, then ranking them lowest/most-deprived (1) to highest/least-deprived (33).[17] What we learn from this is that while the top two are unchanged, Newham and Tower Hamlets have the next lowest *average* of average ranking (low average meaning *more/most* deprivation). However, Tower Hamlets has three LSOAs in the 20% *least* deprived, whereas Barking & Dagenham and Hackney have zero LSOAs in the 30% least deprived. Clearly, gentrification and renovation (especially by the waterfront) have had a considerable impact upon Tower Hamlets. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Kingston upon Thames and Richmond upon Thames are the two *least* deprived in every category, yet both boroughs have one of the 10% most deprived LSOAs.
- "Rank of average score" is looking at the scores averaged for each borough. Often a score is a minor difference of 0.01 or 0.10, which makes this statistic interesting, but not terribly helpful – except to highlight that it is worth considering London's data relative to itself because such subtle nuances could be more helpful to distinguish one area of London from another.
- "EIMD19 rank of proportion" is ranking London boroughs according to their share/proportion of England's 10% most deprived LSOAs (whereas Table 4.1, "Poverty rates in England by region and age" does the same nationally). So, within London, the boroughs of Barking & Dagenham, Hackney, and Newham have the greatest proportion of the 10 most deprived neighbourhoods than other boroughs.
- Finally, "IMD19 rank of local concentration" is ranking the population densities of the 10% most deprived areas. This takes us a step in the direction of identifying the location of the most people in a given area that are 10% most deprived. Interestingly, Barking & Dagenham, Newham, Tower Hamlets, and Islington take a considerable dip in the rankings, Kensington & Chelsea and Brent rise, but Hackney and Haringey remain at the top (i.e. the greatest concentrations of 10% most deprived). What is the cause for the variations? In short, there is greater population density of people, which is sometimes evidenced by the number of LSOAs in a borough.[18] Barking & Dagenham simply have fewer LSOAs ,and few LSOAs that are 10% most deprived, but what this shows us is that Barking & Dagenham's most deprived are the lowest ranked "most deprived".

From these two charts – one focused upon England and the other on London – it is clear that Hackney and Barking & Dagenham are two of the most deprived neighbourhoods in England. Since Hackney has *more* such neighbourhoods, as a borough it has *more* "most

[17] For the all England chart, from lowest/most-deprived (1) to highest/least-deprived (318).

[18] Recall that an LSOA is an area of approximately 1,500 people, though this can fluctuate +/-200 or so for any given LSOA. With over 100 LSOAs in these boroughs, this can be a population difference of over 20,000 people.

deprived" families experiencing similar deprivation to the less-densely populated Barking & Dagenham. And where you have multiple neighbourhoods experiencing deprivation, the overall result is that those neighbouring neighbourhoods are *more deprived* than is immediately obvious. Put another way, because a cluster of neighbourhoods are most deprived, it makes the whole cluster even more deprived, increasing the depths and extent of poverty experienced in that cluster, compared with one neighbourhood surrounded by modestly less deprived neighbourhoods.[19]

What this EIMD19 data reveals is that the east end of London, particularly the Hackney to Barking & Dagenham corridor, is an especially deprived section of London.[20] While this reflects a common historical narrative about London, this should not distract us from the present reality: the concentration of the most deprived in London is on the east side of London, but that cannot distract us from the reality that there are "most deprived" neighbourhoods throughout London, not just in the east.

Turning to specific neighbourhoods (LSOAs), London contains 107 of the 10% most deprived neighbourhoods in all England (see appendices for list). Ten of those neighbourhoods are in the 5% most deprived across all England.

Table 5.4 | England's 5% most deprived London neighbourhoods

LSOA name	Local Authority District name (2019)	Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) rank (where 1 is most deprived)	Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) Decile (where 1 is most deprived 10% of LSOAs)
Haringey 013A	Haringey	546	1
Kensington & Chelsea 001E	Kensington & Chelsea	1,012	1
Croydon 015D	Croydon	1,096	1
Brent 021B	Brent	1,192	1
Kensington & Chelsea 001B	Kensington & Chelsea	1,212	1
Hackney 018B	Hackney	1,315	1
Haringey 002C	Haringey	1,411	1
Haringey 002A	Haringey	1,464	1
Enfield 025A	Enfield	1,643	1

At the national level, Hackney stands out as both a particularly "most deprived" LA that contains some of the nation's most deprived neighbourhoods. Hackney has 16

[19] For example, let's say you are in Mezopolis, and your street is among the 10% most deprived. If the next five streets over in all directions are the same, that whole area will struggle even more since one has to travel a mile or more to "find something decent". Conversely, if your street is among the 10% most deprived, but the next three streets in all directions are 30% most deprived, even though you're in a bad spot, there is more immediate proximity (and often access) to the advantages of the better area: the shops are a little better stocked or less dodgy, streets a little safer at night, perhaps there's better employment opportunities or the NHS centre is not as busy as the one in your location, etc.

[20] Similarly, Noble et al., *EIMD Research Report*, 41–42, §4.4.4.

neighbourhoods in the 10% most deprived, Haringey has 14. Barking & Dagenham has the fewest of the 10% most deprived LSOAs by national rankings, but a lower concentration. However, 87 of the 110 LSOAs are 20% or 30% most deprived (79%); it has zero LSOAs in the "30% least deprived or better" category. However, this is not to take away from the other deprived neighbourhoods listed. It is interesting that these ten "5% most deprived" London neighbourhoods are from only six boroughs. Indeed, 21 of London's 33 boroughs have at least one nationally ranked 10% most deprived neighbourhood.[21]

5.3 Child poverty

Another significant way to identify areas with great deprivation is by looking at child poverty estimates. For our purposes, this can be a helpful counterbalance to the limitations of income-dependant data found in the IMD reports. Also, locating child poverty is helpful for identifying areas of poverty because children typically do not generate income. Hence, where you have children in poverty, you have families or adults who cannot support children. Organisations like End Child Poverty and Child Poverty Action Group (to name a few) provide helpful data tracking child poverty.

What is it like for a child growing up in poverty? It often means "being cold, going hungry, not being able to join in activities with friends. For example, 50 per cent of families in the bottom income quintile would like, but cannot afford, to take their children on holiday for one week a year."[22] The situations we are describing are families who are indefinitely without the means to provide adequately for themselves, and generally have no prospects for their situation to ever change. These kids have *never* had a holiday or received a new toy from their mum or dad on their birthday... hopefully some of these kids at least have a mum or dad... and one that actually cares to take care of them.

Child poverty estimates tend to be highest in large cities, particularly London, Birmingham and Greater Manchester.[23] Also, it is important to remember that these are *estimates* because there are numerous complicating factors which are beyond the scope of this study. However, these are the *best* estimates by which to analyse poverty in the UK. The top 20 local authorities with highest levels of child poverty across the UK (after housing costs) are:

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[21] In London, only City of London, Bexey, Camden, Harrow, Hillingdon, Kingston upon Thames, Lambeth, Merton, Redbridge, Richmond upon Thames, and Wandsworth have no 10% most deprived neighbourhoods.
[22] Department for Work and Pensions, "Households Below Average Income: An analysis of the income distribution 1994/95–2016/17", 2018, Table 4.7db, https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/households-below-average-income-for-financial-years-ending-1995-to-2020, accessed 20 April 2021.
[23] Donald Hirsch and Juliet Stone, *Local Indicators of Child Poverty, 2017/18: Summary of Estimates of Child Poverty in Small Areas of Great Britain, 2017/18* (Longborough: End Child Poverty, 2019), 5.

Table 5.5| Child poverty in England by Local Authorities – "top 20"[24]

Local Authority (London LAs highlighted)	% of children in poverty 2017/18	Number of children in poverty
(UK as a whole)	30%	4.1 million
† Tower Hamlets	56.7%	42,775
† Newham	51.8%	48,862
† Hackney	48.1%	32,786
† Islington	47.5%	22,257
Blackburn with Darwen	46.9%	19,859
Westminster	46.2%	23,217
Luton	45.7%	28,373
Manchester	45.4%	63,427
Pendle	44.7%	10,293
Peterborough	43.8%	23,663
† Camden	43.5%	24,118
Sandwell	43.2%	38,260
Stoke-on-Trent	43.2%	27,421
† Brent	43.1%	36,685
† Barking & Dagenham	42.8%	29,192
† Lambeth	42.8%	29,156
† Enfield	41.7%	38,102
Walsall	41.4%	30,551
Leicester	41.3%	39,776
Hyndburn	40.7%	8,307

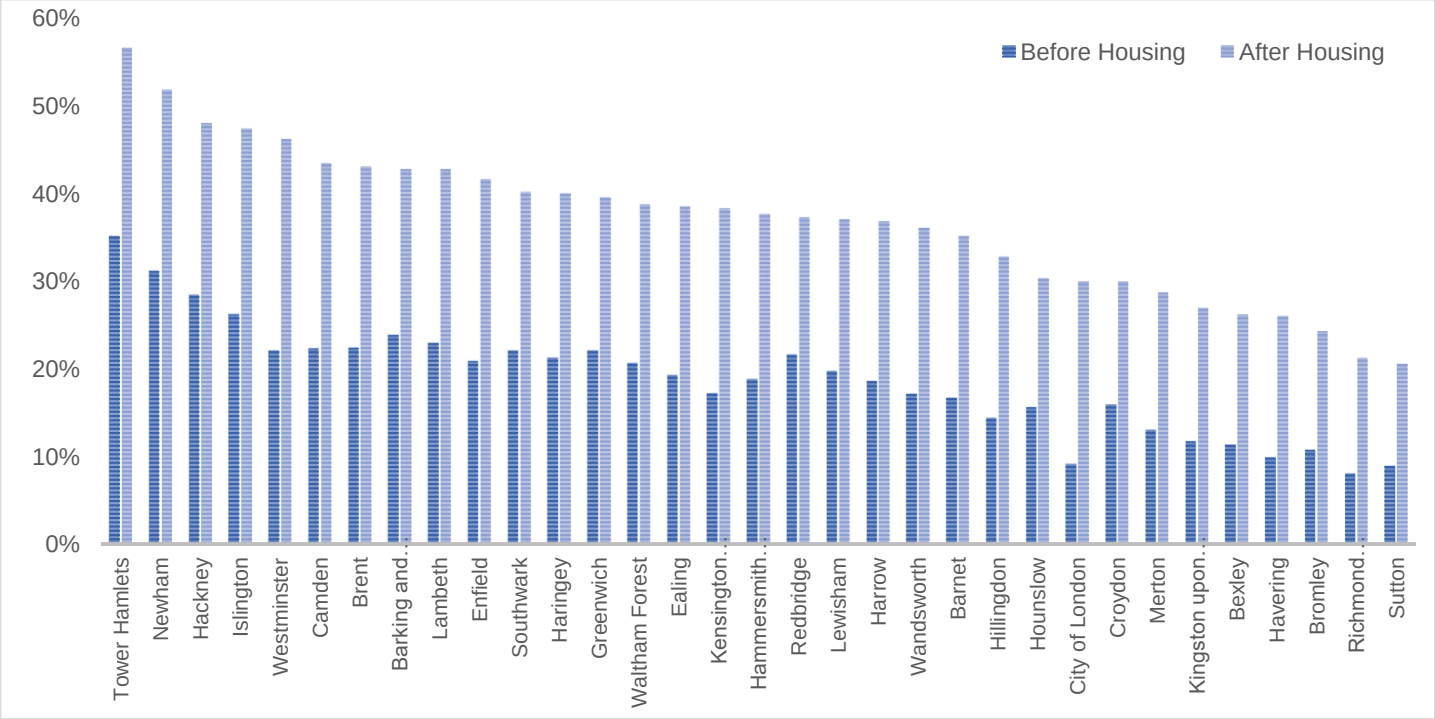
† = London Borough

London boroughs fill the top four places for Local Authorities across the UK with the most child poverty – nine of London's 33 boroughs make this "top 20" list. Notice again which boroughs these are: Tower Hamlets (1), Newham (2), Hackney (3), Islington (4), Westminster (6), Camden (11), Brent (14) Barking & Dagenham (15), Lambeth (16) and Enfield (17). Again we are reminded of London's singular place within the UK, not only for its global impact, but also the impact that the city has on its youngest members. With the exception of Westminster, perhaps, these are no surprises.

Table 5.6 ranks the estimated child poverty for all of London's boroughs.

[24] Adapted from Table 3 ("Top 20 local authorities with highest levels of child poverty across the UK after housing costs') in Hirsch and Stone, *Local Indicators of Child Poverty, 2017/18: Summary of Estimates of Child Poverty in Small Areas of Great Britain, 2017/18*, 7.

Table 5.6 | Child Poverty in London by Local Authorities[25]



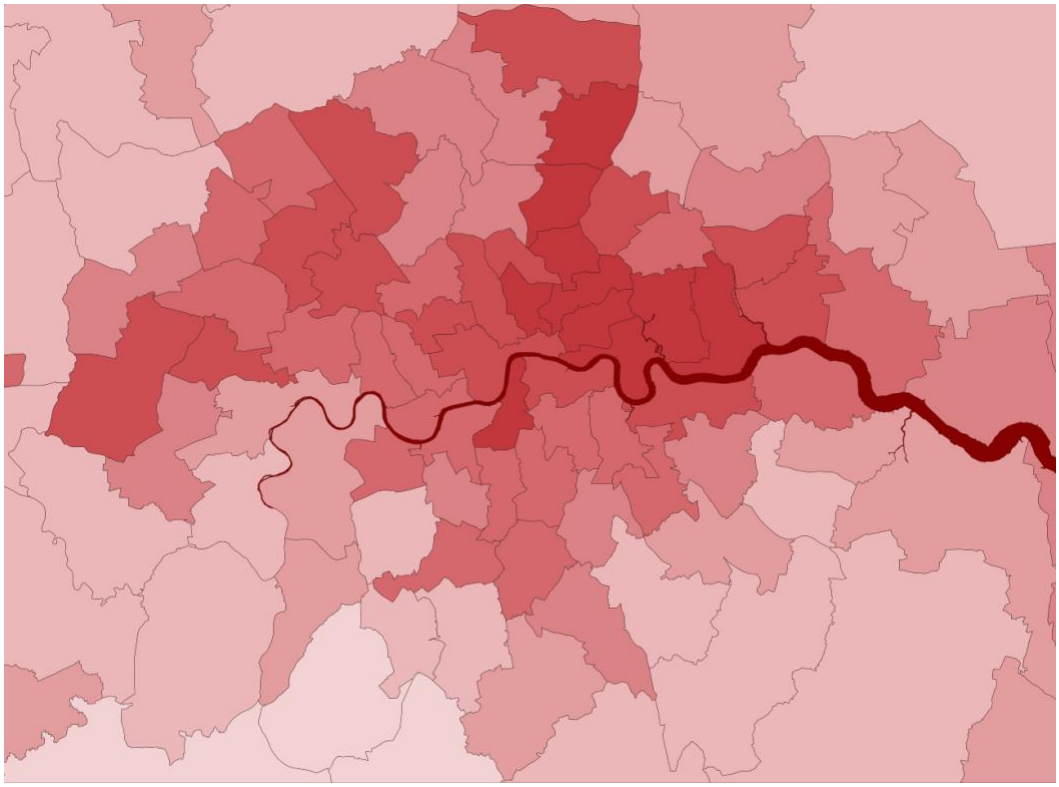
Observe again what many Londoners perhaps know already: Tower Hamlets, Newham, Hackney and Islington top the list with the most children estimated to be in poverty. We could as easily discuss the most deprived areas or "poverty" – without singling out children as a demographic – and arrive at a similar conclusion. Notice that the table distinguishes poverty rates between before/after housing costs, as well as the very dramatic difference. This is a common practice because often, but not always, people (poor or otherwise) do not own their home, whether paying rent or a mortgage. And everyone pays for maintenance and utilities too. Poverty "after housing costs" is, of course, higher. However, what we see in London is the dramatic difference between "before" and "after" housing costs – often doubling the estimated percentage of children experiencing poverty (e.g. Westminster, Southwark, Haringey, etc.).

The End Child Poverty maps subdivide London's 33 boroughs to provide a more nuanced look at *where* child poverty is within London boroughs.[26]

[25] Based on data provided by End Child Poverty accessed on 21 April, 2020 from: http://www.endchildpoverty.org.uk/poverty-in-your-area-2019/

[26] For example, Newham is divided in to East and West Ham; Hackney is divided into "Hackney South and Shoreditch" and "Hackney North and Stoke Newington". However, City of London and Westminster are grouped together.

Map 5.1 | Child Poverty in Greater London[27]

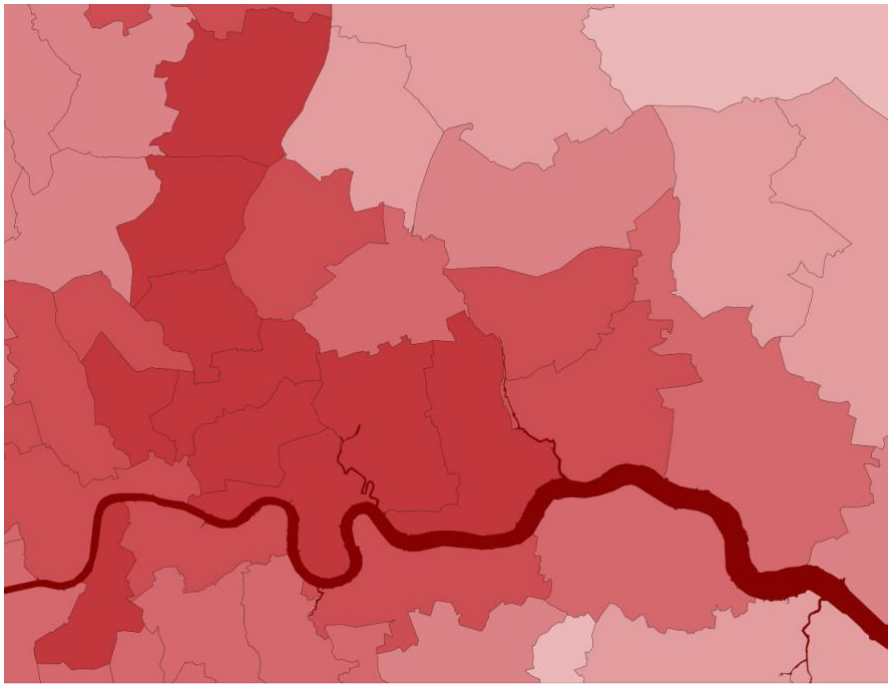


The darker the shading, the higher the child poverty levels in that area.

Observe a noticeable 'poverty corridor' extending along the Thames from Barking & Dagenham to Islington, then north through Hackney to Enfield. The map below zooms in on that region.

[27] Map adapted from End Child Poverty's maps from: https://mss.carto.com/viz/c3bd5c37-9d12-4538-b176-9bc4d6b50ed1/embed_map, accessed 21 April 2020.

Map 5.2 | Greater concentrations of child poverty in London[28]



The darker the shading, the higher the child poverty levels in that area.

Notice a few interesting features about the breakdown of the estimated child poverty levels. Islington's child poverty is particularly heavy in the South and Finsbury area (52.2%), while Hackney's two regions are 47.9% (Hackney North and Stoke Newington) and 48.7 (Hackney South and Shoreditch). Conversely, towards the eastern-most areas, Barking is a modestly better 44.2% and Dagenham and Rainham 34.9%.

Visually, the emerging pattern is unmistakable. The east and north-east London corridor from Barking & Dagenham to Islington, then from Hackney northward to Enfield North has an *average* child poverty rate of 50.67%. That means that one out of any two kids in this corridor of London live in poverty. If we look just at the areas along the Thames into Hackney (Newham to Islington, Hackney), that average increases to 53%.[29] Further, Tower Hamlets, Hackney (especially Hackney South and Shoreditch) and Newham, who have such high rates of child poverty, are "in the middle" of this poverty corridor. This heightens earlier observations that "most deprived" areas neighbouring other "most deprived" areas often multiply the deprivation experienced. So child poverty in Tower Hamlets and Hackney is made worse by the fact that the immediate areas outside them are also "most deprived" areas.[30] In this case, statistically speaking, it is not surprising that Tower Hamlets (the LA with the most children in poverty in the UK) is surrounded by LAs of similar rankings.

[28] Map adapted from End Child Poverty.

[29] It is noteworthy that Vauxhall is also quite high at 48.1%, though on the opposite bank and west of London City.

[30] Simply said, if one is surrounded by most deprived areas, one must go that much further to get out of the deprivation. Yet, mobility and accessibility to better areas is also part of the deprivation that keeps one "stuck"

5.4 London's boroughs and neighbourhoods relative to London only

Since EIMD19 does not consider London independently, we have taken the liberty of doing so here. At most, EIMD19 identified concentrations of deprivations in large parts of East London.[31] So here we are exploring what can be said if we evaluate poverty in London by examining and comparing the various neighbourhoods and boroughs with each other. Readers are advised to revisit the paper on England for snippets there about how London fits into the national picture – only brief comments will be made as this paper proceeds. At this point, we start by examining London LSOAs and LAs in relation to themselves, ranking and evaluating London neighbourhoods (LSOAs) and Boroughs (LAs) in relation to each other (not in relation to or in participation with the rest of England). This was achieved by taking the EIMD19 data for London LSOAs and LAs, separating it from the rest of England, and analysing the numbers as a cohort. Or put another way, we took London out of EIMD19 and looked at it just as we would look at the WIMD19 data for Wales or the SIMD20 data for Scotland.[32]

Looking at the boroughs of London in light of London itself, what is most striking is that in terms of quantity and concentration, the boroughs of Hackney and Barking & Dagenham are significantly deprived compared with all others. Within London, 54.9% of Hackney's 144 LSOAs are up to 20% most deprived – over half of Hackney is among London's poorest, and nearly 1 in every 3 neighbourhoods are in the 10% "most deprived" within London. Barking & Dagenham are even more striking: 65% of its neighbourhoods are up to 20% most deprived, nearly 2 out of 3 neighbourhoods. Hackney has more materially deprived neighbourhoods than Barking & Dagenham, but not quite the concentration of Barking & Dagenham. In other words, both have tons of poor folks, but Hackney has more people and a slightly larger diversity of poor. However, neither Hackney nor Barking & Dagenham have a single neighbourhood ranked in the top 30% "least deprived" (similarly, Newham has only one neighbourhood ranked within the top 30% "least deprived"). At the other extreme, perhaps no surprise to Londoners, 73% of neighbourhoods in Richmond upon Thames are ranked in the 20% "least deprived" category, suggesting these are the least deprived neighbourhoods and borough in London.[33]

Newham is not nearly as concentrated nor as extensively filled with most deprived communities as Hackney, Barking & Dagenham, Haringey or Tower Hamlets, so it may not *appear* so materially deprived as the statistics evidence. However, child poverty is second only to Tower Hamlets across the entire UK. This is a clear example of the fact that calling an area "most deprived" does not mean *all* of the area or *most people* in the area are so poor.

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in such areas and life situations. Many other factors contribute, such as family (or lack thereof) and sense of community – can't leave one's social network. Similarly, the council estate "way of life" may be preferred for some because they value the family and friends they have in the estate.

[31] Noble et al., *EIMD Research Report*, 36, §4.2.3.

[32] See the appendices for these modified tables.

[33] Further, Richmond upon Thames has both highest concentration and extent of "least deprived" neighbourhoods.

It is people that are most deprived, not locations on a map, but we can locate areas where deprivation is experienced by greater concentrations of people and areas where people are experiencing the greatest depths of deprivation. Typically, poverty is found in the greatest depths and concentrations in council estates, but that is not necessarily true for everyone experiencing poverty.

5.5 Summary

Since a comprehensive list of council estates or schemes is not accessible, we have strived to show where the most deprived areas in London are. Sadly, this does not allow us to identify specific council estates, *per se*. Positively, this approach allows us to identify neighbourhoods of deprivation that may rival a council estate, finding those pockets of poverty that may be otherwise missed.

In sum, if we were to generate a "top 5" of London's 33 boroughs that are most deprived in the region, it seems reasonable to conclude that those five are:

1. Hackney
2. Newham
3. Barking & Dagenham
4. Tower Hamlets
5. Haringey

6. Where are the FIEC churches in London?

6.1 FIEC churches in London

> *"The poor remain outside, but come for help … they expect the Church to help them … (they) are friendly, of course, because we give the so much help … they come in hope of charitable relief … The poor…are great cadgers and quite indifferent to religion, unless wanting something. They are not hostile, they merely 'can't be bothered'."*[1]
>
> *"The overlapping of 'every conceivable religious influence' is spoken of. Some abandon the attempt."*[2]
>
> *"The poor 'will only go where they are helped', and that the religious agencies have practically no influence upon them is confirmed by many."*[3]
>
> *"The people like to be called on, 'not because they hope to get something by it, but because they like to know that somebody cares about their welfare.' They, however, will not put themselves out in the least to come to church, but 'spent their Sunday lazily.'"*[4]

These words could have been written or spoken yesterday – maybe you said or thought something similar yourself or found yourself agreeing with the sentiments. Sadly, these are the observations of William Booth at the turn of the twentieth century (1902), as he examined the life and labour of people in London, including the religious life of the poor.

The main point here, not necessarily Booth's, is that "the poor" are human beings who want to be loved. If they are not loved first, typically most gospel efforts can and will fail. For Christians, this should be obvious. Afterall, didn't Jesus say the greatest command is to love your neighbour as yourself.[5] And within the church, Christians are *commanded* to love one another.[6]

Generally, as with the rest of England, there are very few churches in or near to council estates and even fewer of the churches have an active gospel witness in those communities. Looking at our "top 5" most deprived London boroughs, this table shows the distribution of FIEC churches in (date):[7]

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[1] Charles Booth and Jesse Argyle, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, vol. 1, 3 (London, Macmillan, 1902), http://archive.org/details/lifelabourofpeop01bootuoft, accessed 30 September 2021.
[2] Booth and Argyle, *Life and Labour of the People in London*.
[3] Booth and Argyle, *Life and Labour of the People in London*.
[4] Booth and Argyle, *Life and Labour of the People in London*.
[5] Matt 23:39; Mark 12:31; Luke 10:27. Also, Rom 13:9; Gal 5:14; James 2:8; Matt 5:43; 19:19.
[6] John 13:34–35; 15:12–15; Rom 12:10; 13:8; Gal 5:13; 1 Thess 3:12; 2 Thess. 1:3; Heb 10:24; 1 Pet 4:8; 5:14; 1 John 3:11, 16, 23; 4:7-8, 11–12, 19, 21; 2 John 5); Phil 2:1-13
[7] Our research has been conducted in partnership with the FIEC and therefore focuses on FIEC churches but we trust that the results will be useful to evangelical churches from other denominations.

Table 6.1 | Number of FIEC churches in London's top five "most deprived" boroughs (DATE)

Borough	Number of churches		EIMD19 rankings	London only rankings
Barking & Dagenham	2	Church (1) Church (2)	Decile 2 Decile 5	Decile 1 Decile 5
Tower Hamlets	2	Church (1) Church (2)	Decile 3 Decile 3	Decile 2 Decile 4
Newham	1	Church (1)	Decile 1	Decile 1
Haringey	0	-	-	-
Hackney	0	-	-	-

Among FIEC churches in London, in (date) there were two in Barking & Dagenham, one in Newham, and two in Tower Hamlets. However, only one of these churches is located in a 20% most deprived neighbourhood.[8] At the time of the research, there were no FIEC churches in Hackney or Haringey, although that does not necessarily mean there is no gospel witness in these areas (so far as FIEC's reach is concerned. However, there do appear to be a few Christ-centred, evangelical, non-FIEC churches in the area.[9]

However, if we look at London's neighbourhoods relative to themselves – as if London were its own entity, like Wales or Scotland – a slightly different picture emerges. In Table 6.1, the final column shows the decile ranking for each of the five churches in London's "top 5" most deprived boroughs. While only three FIEC-L churches are in nationally ranked 10% most deprived, London only rankings paint a different picture in that there are five.

Table 6.2 | FIEC-London churches by decile nationally and by London only

Decile	Number of FIEC churches nationally	Number of FIEC churches London only
1	3	10
2	8	2
3	8	3
4	6	5
5	4	6
6	3	1
7	2	3
8	4	3

[8] Research conducted by the author, based on data collected and analysed in 2019–20.

[9] For example, Hackney Evangelical Reformed Church, which is active in the community, is predominately comprised of British-Africans and Africans from the neighbourhood, it maintains an active prison ministry (in conjunction with Daylight Prison Ministries) and is involved in social issues for the betterment of the community. Based upon information collected from the church website: https://www.erc-hackney.com, accessed 21 April 2020.

9	1	6
10	0	0
TOTAL	**39**	**39**

What is interesting is that most of Decile 1 (i.e. 10% most deprived) churches are in LSOAs ranked nationally as Decile 2 (i.e. 20% most deprived). Surprisingly, there is no church in a 10% *least* deprived LSOA by either measure, though this may be due (in part) to the fact that, often, the 10% "least deprived" areas are commercial, historic or government areas, or else elite housing or gated community neighbourhoods where there may be no place for a church. In light of housing costs in London, and presuming some gentrification, most of these Decile 2 churches are likely just a few years down the gentrification road of other neighbourhoods of equivalent status around the UK. In the case of four churches, their neighbourhoods improved from "10% most deprived" neighbourhoods in the EIMD15 report to "20% most deprived" in the current EIMD19 reporting.[10]

6.2 Engaging with deprived communities

Of the three FIEC-L churches that are in the nationally ranked "10% most deprived LSOAs", two of the three are led by non-white pastors and are predominantly African congregations. The third is a very mixed congregation and leadership team.

If we take an alternative approach and re-rank London's Local Authorities by rank among themselves only (in other words, excluding the rest of England), a slightly different picture emerges. This may be beneficial because in so doing we are comparing apples with apples, London with itself, rather than putting the huge variety of English neighbourhoods against London's equally huge variety of neighbourhoods. Further, by such an arrangement, we find that several FIEC-L churches may not be in the *most* deprived areas of London, but they certainly are in deprived areas of London. We see this is the second column of Table 6.2.

Similarly, if we look at the location of FIEC-L churches by child poverty rates, a curious picture emerges.[11]

Table 6.3 | Number of FIEC-London Child Poverty in London by Local Authorities

Poverty rate	Number of FIEC-L churches before housing costs	Number of FIEC-L churches after housing costs
56% or more		3
50–55%		4
45–49%		6
40–44		9
35–39%	1	6
30–34%	4	8

[10] It would be interesting to research to what impact the church may have had upon such an improvement in ranking, if any at all. Currently, this is beyond the scope of the current research project.
[11] For a complete listing of London church data used, see appendices.

25–29%	6	2
20–24%	12	1
15–19%	8	
10–14%	8	
0–9%		

Here we can see that FIEC-L churches are predominantly in the areas of less child poverty. But a quick reminder that the difference between before/after housing costs is especially important in London. A "big salary" in London does not necessarily exempt one from experiencing poverty – housing costs being perhaps the chief factor. Everyone has housing costs, even if someone happens to own their home. Hence, "after housing costs" is a much more reliable way of assessing actual poverty. That said, 7 FIEC-L churches are in areas with child poverty at or above 50%, 15 are in the 40-49% range, 14 in the 30–39% range. Combined with the EIMD19 data, this provides a more nuanced understanding of the situation in London. Several FIEC churches in London are situated among the poor of London, but only a few are among the poorest.

It is unclear to what extent FIEC-L churches are making inroads with the most deprived communities of London. There are surely several churches participating in Christians Against Poverty, foodbanks and other types of charities, not to mention the generosity of individual Christians in helping the poor.[12]

However, saying even that much *is* the point. If we can only speak of CAP and foodbanks, we must ask an important question: Why is there no visible gospel presence in these poorest communities? No FIEC-L churches investing themselves in the people of these communities, loving them for who they are. Popping in with handouts or help of some kind may be appreciated, but those are cheap sticking plasters lacking the long-term healing for this gaping wound.

[12] Christians Against Poverty, https://capuk.org, accessed 30 September 2021.

7. Conclusions

There are several important insights for local churches. As of August 2019, the majority of the 10% most deprived communities have no gospel preaching local churches. More broadly, there is no discernible FIEC-L church or presence in Hackney (London's most deprived borough) and Haringey (a "top five" most deprived). The most meaningful way to minister to the poor as defined and demonstrated by Jesus is to lovingly live life with them (see John 1:14, Phil 2:5–11).

FIEC-L churches are doing lots of great gospel work. The good news is going out and, in several churches, the poor are deliberately included in the life, leadership, discipleship and evangelism of the church. But the central question is this: is there a church where the poor are? Where they are welcome as they are (or do they have to change to become "acceptable")? Our churches relax the dress code ("just come as you are") but do we relax our culturally embedded expectations and church programming structures to be welcoming to London's poorest? Do our churches have space for the cultural norms of the poor? Are we being the church *with* the poor, or are we delivering church *to* the poor or *for* the poor? The prepositions matter because they reveal the positions of our hearts and the propositions of our ministry.

One gets the impression this church may be struggling with serving both the poor in their midst and middle class newcomers. The question such churches face is how to strike a healthy mix so that the church is dominated by neither a middle-class culture to the detriment of the poor, nor a "poor culture" to the neglect of the middle class. As the area gentrifies, does the church also have to gentrify? A challenging question, indeed.

Sadly, with few exceptions it is rare to find an FIEC-L church that is engaging the poorest communities of London with the good news of Jesus Christ. By "engage" we mean that, with few exceptions, churches are doing ministry *to* these areas or *for* the poor "over there", not *with* the poor. And that is precisely the point. Rarely are these churches the kind of place – in terms of cultural affinities – where someone in poverty would connect. They may want to join the church, but may lack the means to "chip in" for the costs of various church activities (or pay for the food necessary to enjoy the "church picnic", or afford time off from work to go on it, etc.)

Appendix 1

Local Authority Districts IMD – averages ranked

Local Authority District name (2019)	IMD average rank	IMD rank of average rank
Blackpool	26765.29	1
Manchester	26417.75	2
Knowsley	26199.75	3
Liverpool	25833.57	4
Barking & Dagenham	**25551.85**	**5**
Birmingham	25319.55	6
Hackney	**25312.57**	**7**
Sandwell	25276.49	8
Kingston upon Hull, City of	25222.75	9
Nottingham	24458.51	10
Burnley	24400.26	11
Newham	**24138.70**	**12**
Hastings	23845.37	13
Blackburn with Darwen	23819.60	14
Stoke-on-Trent	23797.05	15
Middlesbrough	23729.10	16
Rochdale	23414.21	17
Hyndburn	23297.52	18
Wolverhampton	23274.95	19
Salford	23233.56	20
Bradford	23086.82	21
Leicester	22857.96	22
Tameside	22774.30	23
Great Yarmouth	22767.13	24
Hartlepool	22581.98	25
South Tyneside	22573.29	26
Tower Hamlets	22507.05	27
Islington	22490.24	28
Oldham	22460.10	29
East Lindsey	22178.95	30

Appendix 2

England's 10% most deprived London LSOAs[1]

LSOA name (2011)	Local Authority District name (2019)	Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) score	Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) rank (1 = most deprived)	Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) Decile (1 = most deprived 10% of LSOAs)
Haringey 013A	Haringey	64.677	546	1
Kensington & Chelsea 001E	Kensington & Chelsea	59.009	1,012	1
Croydon 015D	Croydon	58.173	1,096	1
Brent 021B	Brent	57.244	1,192	1
Kensington & Chelsea 001B	Kensington & Chelsea	57.097	1,212	1
Hackney 018B	Hackney	56.261	1,315	1
Haringey 002C	Haringey	55.411	1,411	1
Haringey 002A	Haringey	55.030	1,464	1
Enfield 025A	Enfield	53.716	1,643	1
Haringey 025C	Haringey	53.253	1,685	1
Brent 025B	Brent	53.090	1,713	1
Brent 027F	Brent	52.880	1,738	1
Kensington & Chelsea 002D	Kensington & Chelsea	52.561	1,794	1
Westminster 009F	Westminster	52.170	1,850	1
Hackney 013D	Hackney	51.961	1,876	1
Haringey 037A	Haringey	51.421	1,966	1
Brent 027D	Brent	51.401	1,969	1
Brent 024D	Brent	51.118	2,011	1
Hackney 022E	Hackney	50.985	2,027	1
Ealing 016A	Ealing	50.708	2,075	1
Hammersmith & Fulham 015A	Hammersmith & Fulham	50.627	2,091	1
Southwark 015D	Southwark	50.411	2,115	1
Islington 004D	Islington	50.095	2,164	1
Havering 004A	Havering	49.966	2,185	1
Croydon 036C	Croydon	49.591	2,247	1
Hounslow 020E	Hounslow	49.210	2,294	1
Southwark 009F	Southwark	49.164	2,298	1
Enfield 006C	Enfield	48.739	2,365	1
Lewisham 034D	Lewisham	48.716	2,371	1
Hackney 002D	Hackney	48.580	2,394	1
Hackney 002E	Hackney	48.476	2,413	1
Enfield 027B	Enfield	48.205	2,455	1

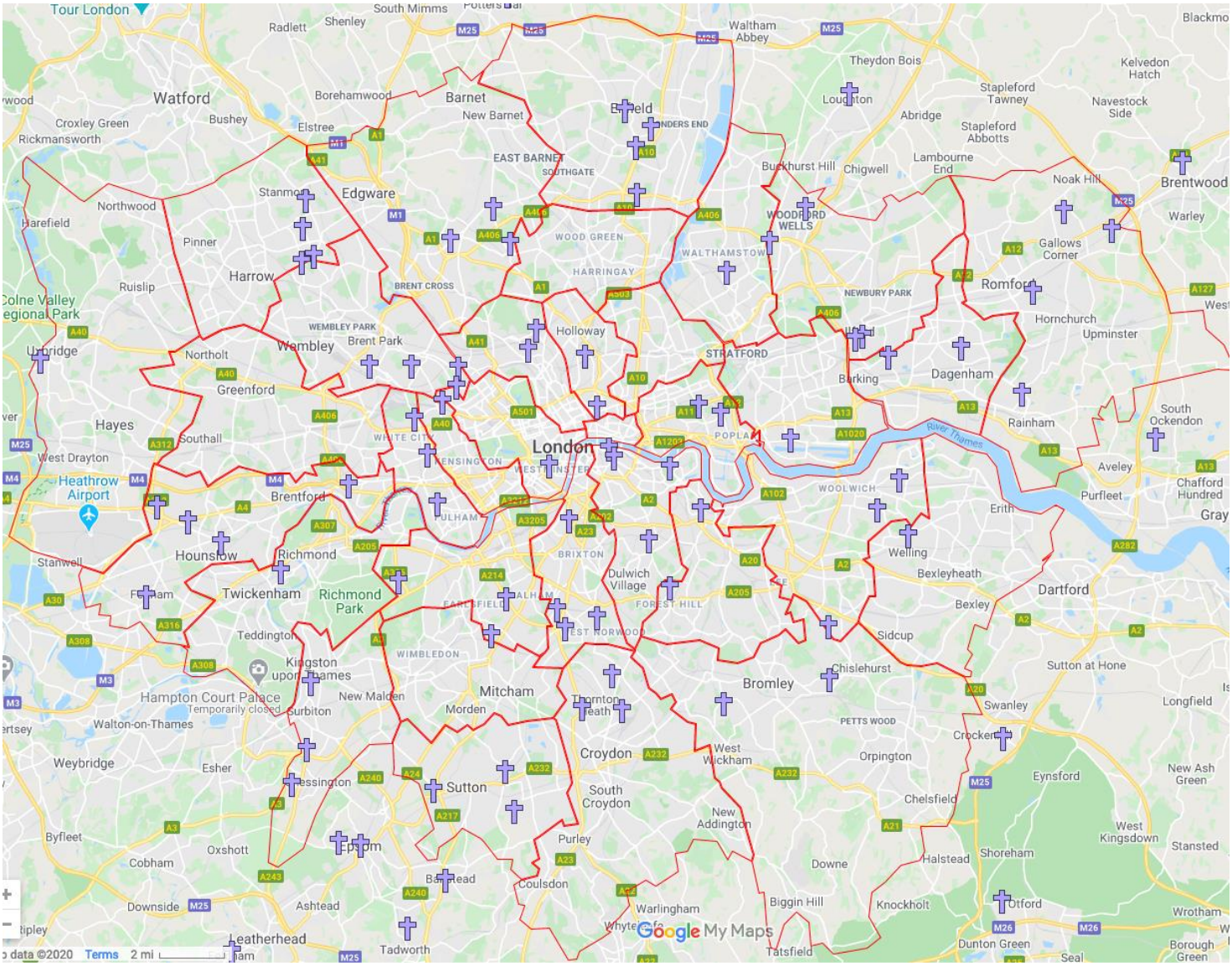
[1] *Source: EIMD19*

Westminster 009A	Westminster	48.003	2,488	1
Haringey 025A	Haringey	47.930	2,497	1
Newham 033C	Newham	47.765	2,519	1
Ealing 029B	Ealing	47.749	2,523	1
Newham 036D	Newham	47.700	2,533	1
Bromley 001D	Bromley	47.689	2,534	1
Greenwich 003A	Greenwich	47.530	2,565	1
Waltham Forest 009B	Waltham Forest	47.476	2,576	1
Hackney 002F	Hackney	47.473	2,578	1
Kensington & Chelsea 021C	Kensington & Chelsea	47.396	2,593	1
Enfield 014D	Enfield	47.177	2,622	1
Hackney 016F	Hackney	47.161	2,627	1
Lewisham 020B	Lewisham	47.114	2,640	1
Islington 005A	Islington	47.055	2,650	1
Haringey 013D	Haringey	46.961	2,662	1
Barking & Dagenham 022B	Barking & Dagenham	46.922	2,669	1
Haringey 006D	Haringey	46.919	2,671	1
Haringey 005B	Haringey	46.889	2,674	1
Hackney 018A	Hackney	46.735	2,705	1
Newham 036E	Newham	46.731	2,706	1
Enfield 037D	Enfield	46.641	2,725	1
Haringey 037B	Haringey	46.599	2,736	1
Southwark 015C	Southwark	46.579	2,741	1
Brent 021A	Brent	46.524	2,747	1
Tower Hamlets 018A	Tower Hamlets	46.457	2,763	1
Islington 010B	Islington	46.454	2,766	1
Hackney 028A	Hackney	46.437	2,769	1
Hackney 019E	Hackney	46.392	2,780	1
Enfield 030D	Enfield	46.391	2,781	1
Haringey 002D	Haringey	46.352	2,791	1
Haringey 016A	Haringey	46.325	2,796	1
Barking & Dagenham 006C	Barking & Dagenham	46.283	2,802	1
Waltham Forest 018E	Waltham Forest	46.275	2,803	1
Croydon 020B	Croydon	46.101	2,836	1
Brent 025F	Brent	46.028	2,844	1
Hackney 025F	Hackney	45.938	2,862	1
Ealing 033C	Ealing	45.936	2,863	1
Westminster 010A	Westminster	45.911	2,865	1
Lewisham 012C	Lewisham	45.854	2,875	1
Barnet 039B	Barnet	45.842	2,878	1
Ealing 033E	Ealing	45.789	2,888	1
Hackney 019B	Hackney	45.752	2,897	1
Hackney 029C	Hackney	45.667	2,917	1
Enfield 030A	Enfield	45.659	2,918	1
Brent 021F	Brent	45.540	2,954	1

Enfield 005C	Enfield	45.507	2,967	1
Haringey 012D	Haringey	45.491	2,971	1
Enfield 002B	Enfield	45.483	2,973	1
Kensington & Chelsea 001D	Kensington & Chelsea	45.479	2,975	1
Southwark 010D	Southwark	45.391	2,987	1
Brent 027A	Brent	45.345	2,994	1
Newham 034D	Newham	45.294	3,005	1
Croydon 045E	Croydon	45.186	3,024	1
Southwark 023D	Southwark	45.149	3,029	1
Kensington & Chelsea 001C	Kensington & Chelsea	45.147	3,030	1
Kensington & Chelsea 002A	Kensington & Chelsea	45.079	3,043	1
Islington 005C	Islington	45.005	3,060	1
Lewisham 012D	Lewisham	44.990	3,061	1
Haringey 002B	Haringey	44.897	3,076	1
Lewisham 030A	Lewisham	44.725	3,111	1
Barking & Dagenham 021B	Barking & Dagenham	44.704	3,117	1
Waltham Forest 024B	Waltham Forest	44.700	3,119	1
Hackney 026B	Hackney	44.660	3,123	1
Kensington & Chelsea 002B	Kensington & Chelsea	44.520	3,154	1
Enfield 002A	Enfield	44.482	3,165	1
Islington 015C	Islington	44.476	3,166	1
Croydon 015B	Croydon	44.370	3,186	1
Sutton 019A	Sutton	44.327	3,200	1
Kensington & Chelsea 005D	Kensington & Chelsea	44.248	3,215	1
Hackney 002A	Hackney	44.248	3,216	1
Brent 031B	Brent	44.228	3,221	1
Barking & Dagenham 014C	Barking & Dagenham	44.149	3,229	1
Islington 001C	Islington	44.134	3,231	1
Hackney 014A	Hackney	43.901	3,274	1
Tower Hamlets 002C	Tower Hamlets	43.877	3,280	1

Appendix 3

Map of FIEC churches in London (2018)



Compiled by Timothy P. Hein using www.google.com/maps/.

Appendix 4

London church data

Sorted by IMD19 score. BHC = Before Housing Costs. AHC = After Housing Costs. Data compiled from FIEC member records, EIMD19 and ECP 2019 reports by Timothy Hein. Churches highlighted in grey were noteworthy for their engagement with London's most deprived.

Church	Postcode	Total Members	LSOA	LSOA IMD15 score	IMD15 rank (out of 32,844)	IMD15 Decile	# of MD nearby (if any)	LSOA IMD19 score	IMD19 rank (out of 32,844)	IMD19 Decile	London only rank	London-only decile	% children in poverty BHC 2019	% children in poverty AHC 2019
Donnington Evangelical Church	NW10 3QX	13	Brent 024D	54.417	1547	1	2+	51.118	2,011	1	18	1	27%	47%
House of Mercy Christian Assembly	E16 3BY	24	Newham 036D	53.416	1677	1	2	47.700	2,533	1	37	1	24%	47%
St Giles Christian Mission	N7 8AZ	36	Islington 015C	48.379	2535	1	0	44.476	3,166	1	98	1	30%	51%
Kensal Evangelical Church	W10 5DB	14	Kensington & Chelsea 001A	48.497	2507	1	4	41.748	3,797	2	4342	9	25%	47%
West Kilburn Baptist Church	NW6 5DA	68	Brent 034C	47.389	2719	1	2	41.111	3,943	2	213	1	23%	42%
Olivet Deptford Baptist Church	SE14 6DX	62	Lewisham 002A	50.336	2165	1	1	40.956	3,988	2	221	1	30%	49%
Silver Street Community Church	N18 1RE	40	Enfield 037A	45.066	3177	1	2	40.254	4,196	2	250	1	27%	52%
Osborne Square Church	RM9 5BA	19	Barking & Dagenham 009C	40.563	4357	2	2	39.004	4,570	2	325	1	21%	39%
Abbey Wood Community Church	SE2 9PX		Greenwich 003E	38.613	4919	2	1	37.671	4,983	2	417	1	25%	43%
Summerstown Mission Evangelical	SW17 0BY	20	Wandsworth 034B	39.697	4593	2	0	37.117	5,177	2	452	1	21%	43%

Stonebridge Evangelical Church	NW10 8LB	40	Brent 027E	38.873	4834	2	4	36.846	5,250	2	467	1	17%	48%
Coldharbour Evangelical Free	SE9 3BG	76	Greenwich 031C	31.776	7405	3	1	32.404	6,918	3	874	2	11%	26%
East London Tabernacle Baptist	E3 4TU	209	Tower Hamlets 014A	44.321	3344	2	2	32.249	6,988	3	886	2	33%	59%
Lansdowne Evangelical Free	SE27 0AR	56	Lambeth 027A	34.6	6312	2	3	30.785	7,655	3	1067	3	21%	37%
Selhurst Evangelical Church	SE25 6NW	51	Croydon 013C	37.07	5418	2	1	30.378	7,851	3	1117	3	22%	36%
Stockwell Baptist Church	SW8 1UJ	61	Lambeth 006D	35.036	6130	2	0	29.873	8,081	3	1178	3	25%	50%
Christ Church	SE15 4NZ	25	Southwark 025C	32.369	7168	3	1	27.404	9,345	3	1480	4	16%	31%
Rotherhithe Evangelical Church	SE16 2TN	9	Southwark 007C	39.407	4685	2	0	27.067	9,550	3	1531	4	26%	43%
Lighthouse Baptist Church	E3 3QX	25	Tower Hamlets 012C	44.222	3361	2	5+	26.689	9,768	3	1583	4	38%	57%
Kentish Town Evangelical Church	NW5 4PG	14	Camden 012A	31.427	7559	3	2	26.042	10,171	4	1675	4	24%	49%
Twynholm Baptist Church	SW6 7PP	70	Hammersmith & Fulham 016A	28.435	8945	3	1	25.873	10,269	4	1695	4	18%	34%
New Life Church	SW15 4JE	17	Wandsworth 023C	30.007	8238	3	1	24.607	11,003	4	3720	8	24%	51%
Trinity West Church	W12 0HR	36	Hammersmith & Fulham 001A	29.647	8400	3	10+	23.890	11,438	4	1935	5	19%	44%
The Slade Evangelical Church	SE18 2NB	174	Greenwich 033B	23.816	11541	4	2	22.947	12,091	4	2062	5	23%	44%
Kilburn Evangelical Free Church	NW6 7LG	11	Brent 028C	22.893	12127	4	2	22.673	12,266	4	2104	5	23%	42%

Upney Baptist Church	IG11 9DR	53	Barking & Dagenham 011D	20.935	13517	5	3	21.038	13,531	5	2337	5	22%	41%
The Globe Church	SE1 1UL	46	Southwark 002E	20.295	13988	5	0	20.471	13,960	5	2409	5	*15%*	*37%*
Streatham Central Church	SW16 2BP	37	Lambeth 029A	19.11	14950	5	1	20.465	13,964	5	2410	5	19%	36%
Walthamstow Central Baptist	E17 9QR	54	Waltham Forest 015A	26.595	9945	4	2	18.448	15,738	5	2713	6	23%	39%
Honor Oak Christian Fellowship Centre	SE23 3SH	35	Lewisham 021D	16.784	16935	6	0	15.644	18,301	6	3136	7	17%	32%
High Road Baptist Church	N12 0DZ	12	Barnet 019E	14.019	19617	6	0	14.711	19,218	6	3271	7	16%	32%
GraceLife London	EC1R 0EX	130	Islington 022D	15.907	17721	6	1	14.573	19,372	6	3301	7	32%	58%
Trinity Road Chapel	SW17 7HW	102	Wandsworth 027F	14.254	19388	6	1	14.008	19,942	7	3392	8	14%	30%
Gunnersbury Baptist Church	W4 4BE	87	Hounslow 029A	12.441	21290	7	1	11.415	22,842	7	3774	8	13%	30%
Grove Hill Evangelical Church	E18 2HY	46	Redbridge 007F		21,308	7	1	10.701	23,653	8	3878	9	*11%*	*22%*
Westminster Chapel	SW1E 6BS	238	Westminster 020A	16.79	16929	6	1	10.008	24,520	8	3981	9	15%	42%
Highgate Road Chapel	NW5 1BU	19	Camden 003A	10.909	23104	8	1	9.730	24,847	8	4018	9	18%	33%
Kensit Evangelical Church	N3 3SQ	44	Barnet 028B	10.633	23450	8	0	9.566	25,046	8	4043	9	14%	31%
East Finchley Baptist Church	N2 9BD	33	Barnet 027B	11.122	22875	7	0	8.055	27,008	9	4304	9	13%	29%

Appendix 5

London LAs and LSOAs in relation to London-only (sorted by % of 10% most deprived LSOAs)

Sorted by % of 10% most deprived LSOAs. Data compiled from EIMD19 reports by Timothy Hein. [1] In other words, Decile 9

Borough/LA	# of LSOAs	Decile 1	Decile 2	Decile 3	Decile 4	Decile 5	Decile 6	Decile 7	Decile 8	Decile 9	Decile 10	% of 10% most deprived LSOAs	% of 20% most deprived LSOAs	% of 10% least deprived LSOAs	% of 20% least deprived LSOAs[1]
Hackney	144	**42**	**37**	**25**	23	9	5	3	***0***	***0***	***0***	**29.2%**	**25.7%**	**0.0%**	**0.0%**
Barking & Dagenham	110	**32**	**40**	18	7	6	6	1	***0***	***0***	***0***	**29.1%**	**36.4%**	**0.0%**	**0.0%**
Haringey	145	**38**	15	13	20	15	10	14	8	9	3	**26.2%**	10.3%	2.1%	6.2%
Enfield	**183**	**38**	23	23	16	12	13	16	15	21	6	**20.8%**	12.6%	3.3%	11.5%
Kensington & Chelsea	103	20	4	5	5	9	10	10	20	18	2	19.4%	3.9%	1.9%	17.5%
Tower Hamlets	**144**	27	**30**	23	22	11	11	5	6	7	2	18.8%	**20.8%**	1.4%	4.9%
Islington	123	23	18	21	17	14	12	10	7	1	0	18.7%	14.6%	**0.0%**	0.8%
Newham	164	23	29	**47**	**39**	18	5	2	0	1	0	14.0%	17.7%	**0.0%**	0.6%
Brent	173	23	16	18	22	**35**	24	20	9	6	0	13.3%	9.2%	0.0%	3.5%
Croydon	**220**	27	21	22	14	**32**	22	17	20	24	21	12.3%	9.5%	9.5%	10.9%
Southwark	166	20	26	30	**28**	13	15	15	5	13	1	12.0%	15.7%	0.6%	7.8%
Greenwich	151	18	22	16	16	21	23	12	14	7	2	11.9%	14.6%	1.3%	4.6%
Lewisham	169	20	**36**	**25**	19	26	18	14	8	3	0	11.8%	**21.3%**	**0.0%**	1.8%
Lambeth	178	20	26	**26**	**27**	**27**	**27**	13	8	3	1	11.2%	14.6%	0.6%	1.7%
Waltham Forest	144	16	13	19	**26**	**28**	16	17	6	2	1	11.1%	9.0%	0.7%	1.4%
Hammersmith & Fulham	113	11	13	8	10	16	14	14	15	9	3	9.7%	11.5%	2.7%	8.0%
Ealing	**196**	19	20	18	21	28	20	**27**	23	14	6	9.7%	10.2%	3.1%	7.1%

Westminster	128	11	12	10	11	13	10	13	17	18	13	8.6%	9.4%	10.2%	14.1%
Camden	133	10	14	10	12	13	13	19	11	13	18	7.5%	10.5%	13.5%	9.8%
Bromley	197	10	6	7	8	11	14	11	26	**37**	**67**	5.1%	3.0%	34.0%	18.8%
Havering	150	7	5	9	10	8	18	17	24	27	25	4.7%	3.3%	16.7%	18.0%
Hounslow	142	6	9	11	23	22	22	**26**	14	7	2	4.2%	6.3%	1.4%	4.9%
Bexley	146	5	6	12	6	12	14	12	23	23	33	3.4%	4.1%	22.6%	15.8%
Sutton	121	3	5	6	3	8	5	12	22	24	**33**	2.5%	4.1%	27.3%	19.8%
Barnet	211	4	10	11	16	10	20	**32**	**37**	**44**	27	1.9%	4.7%	12.8%	20.9%
Wandsworth	179	3	8	8	13	15	**26**	25	**30**	**30**	21	1.7%	4.5%	11.7%	16.8%
Merton	124	2	2	7	13	6	8	16	15	19	36	1.6%	1.6%	29.0%	15.3%
Redbridge	161	2	4	10	12	12	**27**	**40**	18	24	12	1.2%	2.5%	7.5%	14.9%
Kingston upon Thames	98	1	0	1	1	2	9	11	22	20	31	1.0%	0.0%	31.6%	20.4%
Richmond upon Thames	115	1	0	1	2	4	5	4	15	20	**63**	0.9%	0.0%	**54.8%**	**17.4%**
Harrow	137	1	4	4	6	6	23	22	**30**	19	22	0.7%	2.9%	16.1%	13.9%
Hillingdon	161	1	9	18	16	22	17	13	15	20	30	0.6%	5.6%	18.6%	12.4%
City of London	6	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	**0.0%**	**0.0%**	33.3%	**0.0%**

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Decile	# of churches	Percentage of FIEC-S
1	12	40.00%
2	2	6.67%
3	3	10.00%
4	2	6.67%
5	3	10.00%
6	2	6.67%
7	1	3.33%
8	2	6.67%
9	1	3.33%
10	2	6.67%
TOTAL	**30**	**100%**