

Work, income and food insecurity: Families in Tower Hamlets community survey and panel findings

In the years leading up to the Covid-19 pandemic evidence accumulated on the scale of income inequality in Britain (e.g., IFS Deaton Review of Inequalities, 2019; Resolution Foundation UCL Report, 2019). Fiscal retrenchment, accelerating after the 2008 global recession, resulted in chronic austerity with declining public services in education, social housing, transport and a weakening social security safety net for vulnerable individuals and families.

Despite a national growth in labour market participation, particularly by women, there had also been some deterioration in work quality and pay levels (Taylor Review of Modern Working Practices, 2017). Insecure low wage employment, pay volatility and more precarious working conditions and contracts emerged across the UK. “Non-standard employment”, for instance, temporary agency work, self-employment, zero-hours contracts, part-time work with unpredictable weekly hours, increased in the UK in comparison to other European countries (Broughton et al., 2016).

Nationally child poverty also significantly increased in the five years leading up to the pandemic (Hirsch & Stone, 2021). In the year 2019/20, 4.3 million children (15 years and under) lived in families with below 60% median income after housing costs, up 200,000 from the previous year, and up 500,000 over five years. Pre-pandemic, Tower Hamlets was the local authority with the highest proportion of children living in poverty, across England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales (55.8% vs 31% UK).

Public awareness of economic and social divisions also heightened, with growing concern about “left behind” places and, in more prosperous areas, such as London, visible wealth and poverty polarisation (Knowles, 2022). Within Tower Hamlets, pockets of wealth driven by a vibrant financial sector labour market and high-value property market, contrasted with chronic poverty across the borough, especially experienced by South Asian heritage residents (Tower Hamlets, 2018).

With these pre-existing stark income and health inequalities, Tower Hamlets was primed as a high-risk inner-city area for an adverse impact to a global pandemic, even though the local authority is in one of the richest global cities.

Study data sources

This paper is one a series of five thematically organised short reports presenting results from the UKRI-ESRC funded Families in Tower Hamlets study (2020-2022). Here, we focus on the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the material lives of parents of children under five and those expecting a baby. The study data drawn upon consists of a longitudinal community survey in two waves and a qualitative panel in two waves. The first survey wave (July – November 2020) had 992 respondents of whom 620 took part in the second wave (February – April 2021). The Wave 1 participants were recruited via general local authority communications channels and specifically targeting low-income families through postcards sent to all those on their database of housing benefit recipients. The sample broadly matched the borough in terms of the major ethnic groups, with just over a third White British/Irish, and a similar proportion were from a Bangladeshi background (full details in Appendix

1). By Wave 2, participants were more likely to be White British/Irish and there were fewer respondents from South Asian backgrounds. They were also more likely to be of higher income. To generate a longitudinal sample, participants in Wave 2 were ‘matched’ to their Wave 1 record.

The second data source is a qualitative household panel (QP) which consisted of interviews with 33 mothers and fathers in 22 households selected to represent a range of household structures, ethnicities and household income. Wave 1 QP interviews took place in January - March 2021; Wave 2 follow up interviews were conducted October-December 2021 with 27 mothers and fathers in 18 households.

Main findings

We focus on inequalities and insecurities experienced by different groups in our study with sensitivity to intersectionality. Household and individual level data allow analysis of different dimensions of inequality by parental status, gender, household income and ethnicity. Our main groups are parents (mothers and fathers) in couple households and mothers living alone with their children in single person households. All study participants were coping with a health emergency, lockdown and its aftermath but parents living in low-income households and lone mothers had additional strains with poor mental health outcomes.

Patterns of work and financial precarity

Wave 1

At the start of the pandemic patterns of work and financial wellbeing for study participants varied considerably. Parents, particularly fathers, in couple households were more likely to be in active employment at Wave 1 (Table 1). Eighty-four per cent of fathers were in employment, either salaried (72%), or self-employed (12%) and a small proportion 2% were on furlough. The level of active employment for coupled mothers was significantly lower. At Wave 1 only a third of mothers (33%) were in active employment, either salaried (28%) or self-employed (5%) and 10% on furlough. Sixteen per cent of couple mothers were on parenting leave, an employment related entitlement with job protection, a status much more common for mothers in high-income in contrast to low-income households (33% vs 5%).

| | Wave 1 | | | | | | Wave 2 | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| | Mothers | | Fathers | | Lone Mothers | | Mothers | | Fathers | | Lone Mothers | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Employed | 85 | 28.2 | 121 | 72.0 | 12 | 17.4 | 127 | 42.1 | 129 | 77.2 | 12 | 18.2 |
| Furlough | 30 | 10.0 | 4 | 2.4 | 2 | 2.9 | 20 | 6.6 | 15 | 9.0 | 2 | 3.0 |
| Parenting leave | 49 | 16.3 | 1 | 0.6 | 6 | 8.7 | 27 | 8.9 | - | - | 6 | 9.1 |
| Self-employed and working | 16 | 5.3 | 20 | 11.9 | 2 | 2.9 | 15 | 5.0 | 10 | 6.0 | 2 | 3.0 |
| Unemployed | 121 | 40.2 | 22 | 13.1 | 47 | 68.1 | 113 | 37.4 | 13 | 8.0 | 44 | 66.7 |
| Total | 301 | 100 | 168 | 100 | 69 | 100 | 302 | 100 | 167 | 100 | 66 | 100 |

Table 1 Changes in Employment Status between W1 and W2 for couple mothers and fathers and lone mothers (LS sample)

Unemployment levels were also high for coupled mothers at the start of the pandemic suggesting a polarised pattern of maternal employment across the sample; 40% were unemployed in contrast to 13% of fathers. Levels were higher for mothers in low-income than high income households (57% vs 40%) and for mothers of

Bangladeshi heritage in contrast to White British/ Irish mothers or mothers in “other” ethnic categories (56.0%, 26% & 30% respectively).

Socio-economic and ethnic patterning was found with notable unemployment levels for men of Bangladeshi heritage in contrast to White British/ Irish fathers or fathers in “all other” ethnic categories (32%, 6% & 13% respectively). White British/ Irish fathers were the most likely to be actively employed in salaried standard contractual work (84%) whilst this condition was less common for fathers of Bangladeshi heritage (48%) or fathers from “all other” ethnic (76%).

Active employment levels were comparatively low for women in the study when contrasted to London pre-Covid-19 profiles, but higher for men. In 2019-20 employment rates in the borough were close to the London average for men (72.6% vs 78% in London) and women (66% vs 71.3% in London) (Nomis, 2020).

Table 1 also shows that lone mothers living in single person households began the pandemic with the lowest levels of active employment: only seventeen per cent were employed as salaried workers, and a small proportion were self-employed (3%) or on furlough (3%). In addition, nine per cent were on job protected parenting leave.

Lone mothers also had highest level of unemployment across the three parental groups: 68% in contrast to 40% and 13% of coupled mothers and fathers, respectively. As a group they were financially most insecure: 79% lived-in low-income households in contrast to 36% and 38% of coupled mothers and fathers, respectively and only 8% owned or were buying their home in contrast to 39% and 57% of coupled mothers and fathers, respectively.

Wave 2

At Wave 2 survey we found a significant uplift by 14 points in couple mothers’ employment, no change for lone mothers and a slight increase of 5 points for coupled fathers (Table 1). But 62% of couple fathers had experienced a cut in working hours, reported by a much smaller proportion of mothers (22%) and more fathers than mothers had been moved into furlough agreements by their employers (Table 1).

There were several QP examples of mothers in low-income couple households moving into employment by Wave 2 to enhance the family financial resilience, particularly when a partner’s job was insecure.

Socio-economic and ethnic patterning shaped the job profile and recovery for coupled parents. Bangladeshi heritage mothers and fathers were more likely to be unemployed at both time periods (52% mothers, 28% fathers) in contrast to White British/ Irish mothers and fathers (25% mothers, 1% fathers). Parents of Indian origin had more resilient employment recovery amongst the South Asian group. Return to employment from parenting leave was more common for mothers in high-income households.

Lone mothers had a very precarious employment profile by Wave 2. With pandemic restrictions and without an at-home partner support or accessible and unaffordable local childcare services, most study lone mothers were not able to secure any extra financial resources from active employment; 84% reported no change or uplift in household income since Wave 1. The majority were reliant on government welfare benefits, which included a Covid-19 temporary benefit increase supplement of £86.67 a month from 6 April 2020 until 30 September 2021.

As found by other research, lone parents were more likely than other family types to be economically insecure both before the pandemic and subsequently and find caring and earning extremely difficult ‘an impossible balancing act’ (Clery and Dewar 2022, p124; Dromey, Dewar and Finnegan, 2020).

Low-income households had limited resources, such as savings, and much more exposure to the pandemic related financial shock as reported by others (e.g., Bourquin et al. 2020; Dickerson et al., 2020). For instance, risk

from the furlough scheme which covered only 80 per cent of an employee's pre-existing wages and began to be tapered down from September 2020. Families where parents were self-employed were also financially vulnerable as they were ineligible to receive furlough wage substitution and the other government support scheme for the self-employed (SEISS) was inaccessible to many.

Potential financial ruin was described by one QP panel low-income family of four children where both parents were self-employed at the start of the pandemic. Unable to trade in their small family business, they applied to SEISS scheme but were unsuccessful as their profits for the preceding tax year were too low and did not meet the threshold criteria. The family moved from 'just managing' with a good credit rating to a position of spiralling debt and a decimated credit rating. By Wave 2 the father had found salaried employment but with the burden of accumulated debt, rent arrears, and a poor credit rating, their application to be moved to a larger home or to be put on the housing exchange list has been rejected. He reflected that: *"because of the whole Covid situation we're stuck here and ... it's just ... bills upon bills to get sorted and debt to clear"* (Cameron et al. 2022, p102)

Many respondents in work agreed or strongly agreed that they were worried about job security at both survey Waves (Table 2). Lone parents and low- and mid-income parents were most worried and unsurprisingly this was less of a concern among high income respondents. An intersectionality lens suggests that perceptions of financial insecurity, as well as employment, are shaped by a complex set of factors including gender and parental status but also ethnic background and socio-economic status.

| | LM % | CP % | Low % | Mid % | High % |
|--|------|------|-------|-------|--------|
| Worries about job security today 2020 (Wave 1) | 45.5 | 53.9 | 56.9 | 65.4 | 29.4 |
| N | 66 | 501 | 188 | 202 | 136 |
| Worries about job security today 2021 (Wave 2) | 64.2 | 54.4 | 64.9 | 62.9 | 34.5 |
| N | 23 | 282 | 108 | 162 | 116 |

Table 2 Worries about job security at W1 and W2 for lone mothers, couple parents, and Low, Mid and High household income families (agreed or strongly agreed)

Financially managing

Over half (54%) of survey parents were financially insecure (defined as 'just about getting by', or 'finding it quite difficult' or 'very difficult' to manage financially) at Wave 1. Respondents from South Asian families were most likely to report these difficulties (72% in contrast to 28% of White British/Irish respondents).

Using linked Wave 1 and Wave 2 data, Tables 3-5 show that the proportion of survey respondents feeling financially insecure did not change significantly over time. But again, socio-economic and ethnic patterning was observed. It was much more likely among low (£20,799 and below) and mid (£20,800 - £51,999pa) income households (78.8% and 42.6% respectively) in both Wave 1 and Wave 2 (72.3% and 45%) than those earning a high income (above £52,000 pa) (Table 3). At Wave 2, financial insecurity was still largely concentrated among South Asian families (69.2%), compared to 34.4% of White British/Irish families (Table 4). Lone mothers were at high risk of financial insecurity in Wave 1 (77.7% vs 47.8% of coupled parents) and Wave 2 (73.1% vs 46.2%) (Table 5).

| | Low Income <£20,799 | | Mid Income £20,800-£51,999 | | High Income >£52,000 | | Total | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Financially secure in both waves | 19 | 10.1 | 79 | 39.9 | 103 | 78.0 | 201 | 38.7 |
| Financially insecure in both waves | 123 | 65.1 | 52 | 26.3 | 8 | 6.1 | 183 | 35.3 |
| Secure W1/ Insecure W2 | 14 | 7.4 | 37 | 18.7 | 13 | 9.8 | 64 | 12.3 |
| Insecure W1 / Secure W2 | 33 | 17.5 | 30 | 15.2 | 8 | 6.1 | 71 | 13.7 |
| Total | 189 | 100.0 | 198 | 100.0 | 132 | 100.0 | 519 | 100.0 |

Table 3 Patterns of financial security for low-, middle- and high-income households at W1 and W2

| | White British | | South Asian | | Total | |
|------------------------------------|---------------|-------|-------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Financially secure in both waves | 131 | 51.8 | 35 | 17.4 | 166 | 36.6 |
| Financially insecure in both waves | 52 | 20.6 | 121 | 60.2 | 173 | 38.1 |
| Secure W1/ Insecure W2 | 36 | 14.2 | 19 | 9.5 | 55 | 12.1 |
| Insecure W1 / Secure W2 | 34 | 13.4 | 26 | 12.9 | 60 | 13.2 |
| Total | 253 | 100.0 | 201 | 100.0 | 454 | 100.0 |

Table 4 Patterns of financial security in White British and South Asian household at W1 and W2

| | Lone Mothers | | Couple Parents | | Total | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-------|----------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Financially secure in both waves | 8 | 12.3 | 203 | 40.7 | 211 | 37.4 |
| Financially insecure in both waves | 43 | 66.2 | 169 | 33.9 | 212 | 37.6 |
| Secure W1/ Insecure W2 | 6 | 9.2 | 61 | 12.2 | 67 | 11.9 |
| Insecure W1 / Secure W2 | 8 | 12.3 | 66 | 13.2 | 74 | 13.1 |
| Total | 65 | 100.0 | 499 | 100.0 | 564 | 100.0 |

Table 5 Patterns of financial security for lone mothers and couple parents at W1 and W2

Among panel households, impacts of financial insecurity were reported. For example, the effect of loss of income due to unemployment and/or insufficient welfare benefits was discussed, as was having to stop work due to risk of virus or childcare issues, and increased expenditure on bills or servicing debts. One father described the effect of job loss:

“Last 5, 6 months my salary has been stopped. And now my company took off me from the payroll...Hotels tourism, leisure tourism, hospitality is all gone actually – all gone. I don’t know how long it will go on you know... I’m the only income holder in my family, I’m the only earner, so everything depends on my income”.

By contrast, a small number of parents felt they managed to cope because they were financially secure and had indeed saved more money during the pandemic.

Food insecurity

Approaching half of all respondents in both survey Waves reported that food bought did not last sometimes or often (Table 6). This was the case for two thirds (65%) of lone mothers and for low-income families (68.4%). Moreover, the proportions of respondents reporting that food did not last stay the same over the study period with some indication of a worsening position for mid and high-income families.

| | LM % | CP % | Low % | Mid % | High % |
|---|------|------|-------|-------|--------|
| The food bought just didn't last and didn't have money to get more (Wave 1) | 65 | 40 | 68.4 | 37 | 3.8 |
| N | 103 | 733 | 320 | 265 | 184 |
| The food bought just didn't last and didn't have money to get more (Wave 2) | 61.7 | 43.3 | 68.2 | 47 | 8.1 |
| N | 68 | 514 | 192 | 200 | 135 |

Table 6 Reports of food insecurity at W1 and W2 for lone mothers, couple parents, household income status

Not having enough money for food was much more commonly reported among lone parents and low-income households. A third (35%) of lone parents and just 14% of couple households said they sometimes were hungry but “didn't eat because there wasn't enough money for food”. By Wave 2 this finding had reduced to 28.8% of lone mothers but risen to 16.9% for couple households. Similarly, at Wave 1, 33.4% of low-income households compared to 6.9% of mid and 0.5% of high-income households sometimes went hungry. By Wave 2 there was little change among low (35.3%) and high (0.7%) income households but some worsening among mid income families (15.5%).

Lone mothers were also disproportionately at risk of not being able to afford a balanced meal often or sometimes (61.4% vs 39.8% of couple parents at Wave 1). By Wave 2, however, 55% of lone mothers said they often or sometimes could not afford a balanced meal but among couple parents, the proportions had gone up to 47.3%. Equally, two thirds of low-income households reported not being able to afford a balanced meal at both time points (67.2% at Wave 1, 63.5% at Wave 2), while for mid-income families, there was a dramatic escalation, from 32.5% in Wave 1 to 61.5% in Wave 2 indicating a worsening position for those households living on £20,800 – 51,999 pa. The same pattern held for a question about skipping meals because there was not enough money for food: this was much more common among lone mothers (48%) and for low-income households (45%) and stayed at a similar rate across survey waves, while for mid-income households there was a clear escalation of this form of food insecurity: from 9% at Wave 1 to 30% at Wave 2.

One low-income mother described the impact of food insecurity in terms of credit card debt:

"I took money out of the credit card, I had no choice basically, I needed to get food, I've got bills to pay. I've got to feed me, I've got to feed my son, you know he eats food now, not just milk. So I had to take money out on the credit card".

As expected, few high-income households reported food insecurity, but it did increase over survey waves (6% to 15%).

During the pandemic the local authority issued an emergency appeal, in December 2020, for financial donations to support 31 food banks and food providers supplying residents, in response to a 'huge increase' in demand for food support associated with the pandemic and its financial consequences (Tower Hamlets Council 2020).

Findings from our study indicate that food banks were indeed an essential source of economic support for many families, particularly those from a White/British or Irish background. Nearly half (44%) of White British/Irish survey parents accessed food banks between July 2020 and May 2021. This pattern compares with 22 percent of South Asian survey respondents. As might be expected, accessing food banks was more common among low-income households (41%) but one third (32%) of middle-income households also used food banks. Using food banks was much less common but not absent among high income households (13%).

As other research has shown, food insecurity is a key marker of severe poverty, and has risen nationally during the pandemic lockdowns, to 9% of households by January 2021, through shortages of supply and subsequently through financial adversity (Food Foundation 2021). Use of food banks has also risen markedly (House of Commons Library 2021). In London, the number of three-day parcels distributed by the Trussell Trust doubled between 2019-20 and 2020-21 (from 204,299 to 421,426, the largest number in any region of Great Britain). Food bank users are disproportionately drawn from those claiming or trying to claim welfare benefits, the destitute, those facing significant adverse life events and/or experiencing health difficulties (ibid.).

Survey findings show high levels of food insecurity for low income and lone parent households but also a clear worsening between survey waves for middle income families. Differences in accessing food support between ethnic groups merit further investigation.

Universal Credit and family wellbeing

More than half of low-income survey parents were receiving Universal Credit (UC). By Wave 2 a slight decrease in the percentage of low-income families who received Universal credit was found (from 62.5% at Wave 1 to 55% at Wave 2). A third of middle-income families claimed Universal Credit, and this went up slightly, from 34.6% to 38%. A few high-income families claimed UC at Wave 1 (2.9%) and Wave 2 (7%). One mother described the inadequacy of Universal Credit in relation to employment and its impact on her husband:

"My husband got like depressed because he lost his job, there is no money. Although we got the Universal Credit though but it's not like one thing ... you know how can survive with that money, it's not possible".

Over the two waves of the study an increasing number of low to middle income survey families who experienced food insecurity also claimed Universal Credit (Figure 1).

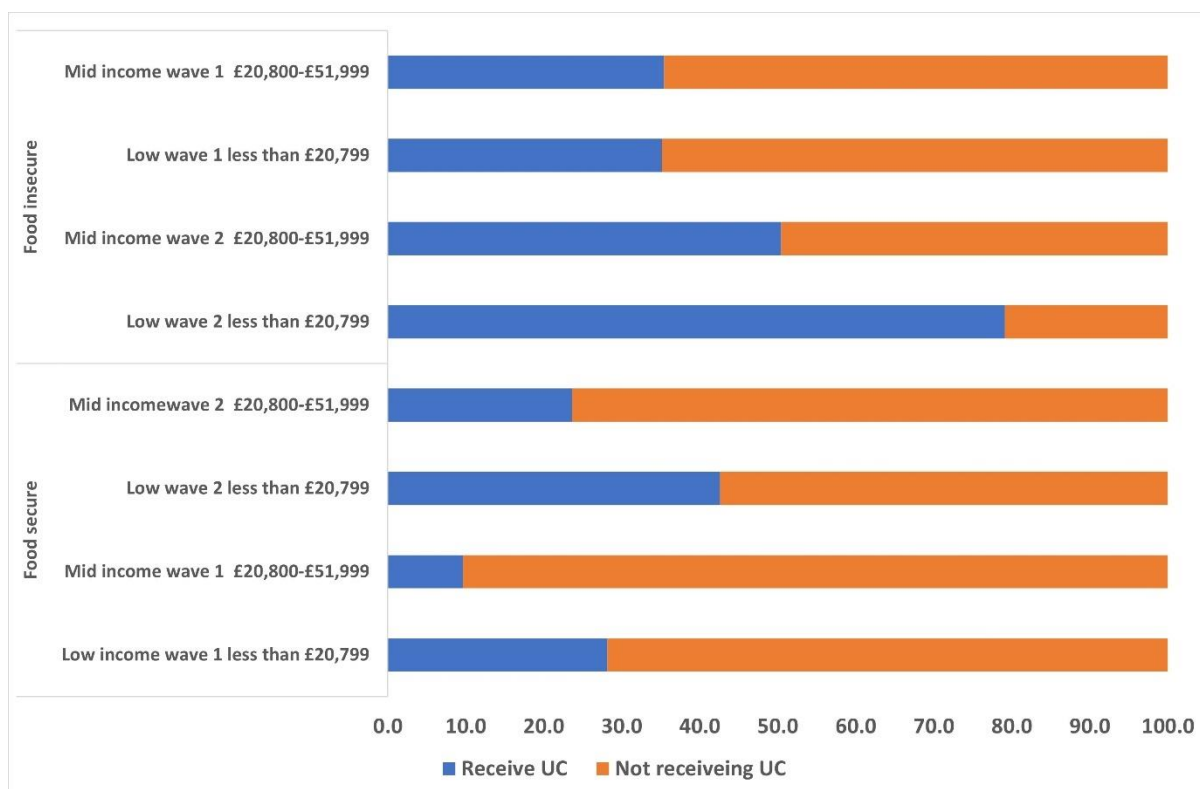


Figure 1 Receiving Universal Credit between July-Nov 2020 and between Feb to May 2021 in households experiencing food insecurity or food security in low and middle income households

Mental health difficulties at a ‘clinical’ level, scoring 10 or more on the Anxiety and Depression scales were more pronounced for lone parents than couple parents and for low-income vs mid- and high-income households, although mental health symptoms were widespread at Wave 1. Between one quarter (25.3% of mid income households) and half (52.6% of lone parents) of survey respondents reported symptoms of depression in July - November 2020. By Wave 2, there was no change for respondents in mid income families, but other groups saw a drop in reporting at ‘clinical’ level. For anxiety symptoms, which were reported by 20 percent of mid income respondents, rising to 40.6% of lone parents at Wave 1, there was, by Wave 2 a slight rise for mid-income respondents, and either no change (couple parents, low-income households) or a fall in reports of anxiety at clinical level (lone mothers, high income families).

Survey parents who experienced financial insecurity and food insecurity were at risk of poor wellbeing in both survey waves. Food insecurity was linked with parental depression and anxiety. Over half (53%) of parents experiencing food insecurity reported an increase in depressive traits or continued depressive traits between July 2020 and May 2021. Similarly, of those parents experiencing food insecurity, almost half (48.6%) reported an increase in traits of anxiety or continued traits of anxiety between July 2020 and May 2021.

Child wellbeing was also notably lower among food insecure households. In households which experienced food insecurity, more parents reported that their child experienced poor mental wellbeing (67%) compared to those whose children without food insecurity experience (33%).

Conclusion

Study findings on the material impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on parents and expectant parents were in line with national findings on the magnification of existing inequalities. Families with young children in Tower Hamlets were at high risk of financial insecurity particularly if on a low income, in a lone mother household or from South Asian backgrounds. Employment, as a source of financial resilience, was most common for fathers, although by Wave 2 nearly two thirds of fathers had experienced a cut in working hours. South Asian and particularly Bangladeshi heritage fathers and mothers were more likely to be unemployed at both time periods (28% fathers, 52% mothers) in contrast to White British/Irish mothers and fathers (25% mothers, 1% fathers). Parents of Indian origin had more resilient employment recovery amongst South Asians. Although mothers had low levels of employment at the start of the pandemic there was a rise by Wave 2 for those in couple households suggesting more capacity for financial reliance in these family types. However, a precarious employment profile was sustained for lone mothers. With pandemic restrictions and without an at-home partner support or accessible and affordable local early childhood education and care services, most study lone mothers were unable to secure extra financial resource from active employment. Parents on non-standard self-employed contracts were also at risk of financial precarity as not always eligible for government income support packages. Of particular concern was that the Covid-19 pandemic increased food insecurity, especially among lone mothers and middle-income households. Many Universal Credit claimants were among those who could not afford a balanced meal. Children whose parents were financially insecure or food insecure had lower levels of physical and mental wellbeing and food insecure survey parents were at risk of depression and anxiety, particularly lone mothers.

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Appendix 1

Research Design and Methodology

The study consisted of two waves of a **community survey** of parents of children under five or expecting a baby and two waves of a qualitative household panel. **Survey Wave 1** with 992 valid responses took place July–November 2020 and **Survey Wave 2** took place February – May 2021. Wave 2 respondents were matched to Wave 1 and there were 620 valid responses making a longitudinal sample with a response rate of 62.5 percent. See Tables 1 and 2 (below) for sample characteristics. Non responders to Wave 2 were more likely to be low income and non-White British/Irish. The community Survey used Qualtrics, an online and phone based multi-language survey tool, and was promoted through borough communications channels with support from specialist voluntary organisations to recruit members of under-represented groups. Data items were drawn from parallel studies (e.g, Born in Bradford, Dickerson et al., 2020; International Network of Leave Policies and Research, Yerkes et al., 2020; Understanding Society). After data cleaning, ‘prefer not to say’ and ‘don’t know’ responses were excluded from analyses. In instances of multiple answers ‘yes most of the time’, ‘yes all the time’ data were collapsed. Using SPSS, descriptive tables, were used to inform this briefing for 1) the Wave 1 sample and 2) the Wave 1 and Wave 2 longitudinal samples. Ethnicity is described in terms of ‘White British/Irish’, ‘South Asian’ (including Bangladeshi, India, Pakistani), and ‘All’ (total sample including all ethnic

groups). We use 'N' to denote the number of responses to any one item; there is missing data in relation to some variables, particularly in relation to service use and access.

The **qualitative Household Panel** members were drawn from the survey and selected to represent ethnic diversity, household structure and income diversity. Wave 1 Panel interviews with 1-3 adult household members in 22 households took place February-April 2021 and Wave 2 interviews with 19 of the 22 original panel households in October-November 2021. Panel interviews were fully transcribed and coded using Nvivo by team members with cross-referencing to moderate interpretation. The steps of thematic analysis were used to establish analytic themes. Miro boards were used to display coded data and create relationships between dimensions of the themes. In this report, 'few' refers to three or under cases, 'some' refers to four-seven cases, half refers to 11 cases and 'most' refers to more than half the cases.

In this briefing paper we refer to **survey** findings and **panel** findings to refer to the community survey and the qualitative household panel.

| HH Income | Parental status | WB/I | | SA | | All | |
|---|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Low (<£20,799) | Parent U5 | 60 | 84.5 | 169 | 91.4 | 304 | 91.3 |
| | Pregnant | 3 | 4.2 | 2 | 1.1 | 5 | 1.5 |
| | Both | 8 | 11.2 | 14 | 7.6 | 24 | 7.2 |
| | Total | 71 | 100 | 185 | 100 | 333 | 100 |
| Mid (£20,800-£51,999) | Parent U5 | 124 | 86.7 | 63 | 85.1 | 234 | 87.6 |
| | Pregnant | 11 | 7.7 | 6 | 8.1 | 18 | 6.7 |
| | Both | 8 | 5.6 | 5 | 6.8 | 15 | 5.6 |
| | Total | 143 | 100 | 74 | 100 | 267 | 100 |
| High (>£52,000) | Parent U5 | 76 | 72.4 | 20 | 80.0 | 142 | 76.3 |
| | Pregnant | 24 | 22.9 | 3 | 12.0 | 31 | 16.7 |
| | Both | 5 | 4.8 | 2 | 8.0 | 13 | 7.0 |
| | Total | 105 | 100 | 25 | 100 | 186 | 100 |
| Total | | | | | 786 | 79.2 | |
| Missing (ethnicity or income not stated) | | | | | 206 | 20.8 | |

Appendix Table 1 Wave 1 survey sample (n = 992) parental status, income bracket and ethnic group

| HH Income | Parental status | WB/I | | SA | | All | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Low (<£20,799) | Parent U5 | 45 | 86.5 | 96 | 90.6 | 175 | 90.2 |
| | Pregnant | 1 | 1.9 | 1 | 0.9 | 2 | 1.0 |
| | Both | 6 | 11.5 | 9 | 8.5 | 17 | 8.8 |
| | Total | 52 | 100 | 106 | 100 | 194 | 100 |
| Mid (£20,800-£51,999) | Parent U5 | 104 | 87.4 | 44 | 86.3 | 179 | 88.2 |
| | Pregnant | 10 | 8.4 | 4 | 7.8 | 14 | 6.9 |

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| | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
| | Both | 5 | 4.2 | 3 | 5.9 | 10 | 4.9 |
| | Total | 119 | 100 | 51 | 100 | 203 | 100 |
| High (>£52,000) | Parent U5 | 56 | 68.3 | 11 | 78.6 | 102 | 75.0 |
| | Pregnant | 23 | 28.0 | 1 | 7.1 | 25 | 18.4 |
| | Both | 3 | 3.7 | 2 | 14.3 | 9 | 6.6 |
| | Total | 82 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 136 | 100 |
| Total | | | | | | 533 | 86.0 |
| Missing (ethnicity or income not stated) | | | | | | 87 | 14.0 |

Appendix Table 2 Longitudinal Sample Wave 2 (n=620), parental status, income bracket and ethnic group

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Study funder: UKRI-ESRC project ES/V004891/1

Families in Tower Hamlets was undertaken as part of UKPRP funded ActEarly: A City Collaboratory approach to early life changes to improve the health and opportunities for children living in areas with high levels of child poverty; Bradford, West Yorkshire and Tower Hamlets, London.

Ethical approval was granted by UCL IOE Research Ethics Committee (REC1366) and Camden NHS HRA (20/LO/1039). Data Protection registration number Z6364106/2020/05/151.

