

Citizens' Perspectives on Poverty in Edinburgh: Consequences and Solutions

Part 1: Attitudinal Survey
A Report for the Edinburgh Poverty Commission
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Main Messages

The Scottish Poverty and Inequality Research Unit and the Poverty Alliance were commissioned by the Edinburgh Poverty Commission to explore experiences and attitudes towards poverty in Edinburgh. Part of this work involved finding out what the people of Edinburgh think about poverty in their city. We achieved this through a survey that reports from a representative sample of the city's population. The report that follows provides a fuller account. Here, we describe our evidence base; summarise the key findings under ten headings; and present ten recommendations.

What did we do?

We shared an online survey over a seven-week period, ending January 31st 2020. This survey comprised a combination of closed and open-ended questions, some of which replicated those used in the British Social Attitudes Survey, allowing what the people of Edinburgh think to be compared to what the wider population of Scotland and Great Britain. We used a range of approaches to reach out to citizens in Edinburgh, receiving 728 responses from a survey population that was representative of the Edinburgh population in terms of the socio-economic profile of where they live in the city (the respondent profile closely matched the city profile, according to the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation) and the economic activity status of respondents. However, to strengthen the evidence base, we weighted the results to ensure that they also represented the city's demographic profile (age and gender, in addition to deprivation area status). We generated headline findings for the city as a whole, and then explored differences among the people of Edinburgh. We identified those differences that were statistically and substantively significant. We then re-examined the data to determine which of these differences were the 'drivers of difference' among the people of Edinburgh. Before drawing conclusions and reaching recommendations, we reviewed the open-ended comments to ensure that we took account of what else the people of Edinburgh considered to be important if we are to understand the consequences and devise local solutions to tackle poverty in Edinburgh.

What did we find?

1. Tackling poverty is important: 91% of respondents stated that it was “very important” to tackle poverty in Edinburgh. Less than 2% thought that it was “not very important” or “unimportant”.

2. Poverty is present in Edinburgh: 84% of respondents stated that there was “quite a lot” of poverty in Edinburgh. The vast majority of the remainder (14%) considered that there was “some” poverty in Edinburgh. Less than 2% thought that there was either “none” or “very little” poverty in Edinburgh.

3. A collective effort: On average, respondents identified five bodies (from a list of nine), which they considered to be responsible for tackling poverty in Edinburgh.

- **Government.** There was strong support for all levels of government taking responsibility for tackling poverty in Edinburgh, i.e. Scottish Government (97%), City of Edinburgh Council (94%) and UK Government (88%). This was reinforced when opinion was expressed on who was most responsible for tackling poverty, with more than nine out of every ten people identifying a level of government as being most responsible, i.e. Scottish Government (38%), UK Government (36%) and the City of Edinburgh Council (17%).
- **Local Businesses and Employers.** Significantly, more than half of respondents considered that local businesses and employers had a responsibility toward tackling poverty locally (57%). The proportion of those according a role for business was higher than for voluntary organisations and community groups (52%), Edinburgh Community Planning Partnership (50%) and NHS Lothian (31%).
- **Personal and Familial Responsibility.** Although a significant ‘minority’ opinion, relatively fewer respondents considered ‘people experiencing poverty’ (35%) or ‘friends/relatives of people experiencing poverty’ (26%) should be responsible for tackling poverty. On the other hand, a small minority considered that people experiencing poverty were most responsible for tackling poverty (5%).

4. A complex problem: On average, respondents identified nine reasons for people living in poverty in Edinburgh.

- **Work Doesn't Pay Enough.** The most common explanation provided for poverty in Edinburgh (86% of respondents) was the belief that work did not pay enough. This explanation was reinforced when respondents were asked to identify the most important reasons; 25% considered this to be the most important reason for poverty in Edinburgh.
- **Disability in the Household.** A similar proportion of respondents (83%) cited disability as a contributory factor, although this was not considered to be the main reason by many (less than 1%).
- **Inequality.** Although five other factors were considered by more people to contribute to poverty in Edinburgh, inequality was the reason that was considered to be the main reason by most people (27% considered inequalities to be the main reason for poverty in Edinburgh, while 73% considered it to be a contributory factor).
- **Other contributory factors were identified by the majority, including:**
 - **Alcoholism, drug abuse or other addictions** (79%). Interestingly, only 4% considered this to be the main cause of poverty in Edinburgh – this stands in sharp contrast to prevailing attitudes in Scotland/UK, in which this is considered to be the most important single reason for poverty.
 - **Inadequacy of social benefits.** Social benefits not paying enough (69%) and 'lack of entitlement to social benefits and not being able to work' (65%).
 - **Cannot access affordable housing** (79%). Interestingly, more people in Edinburgh (than Scotland/GB as a whole) seems to perceive this to be a particular problem in Edinburgh.
 - **Structural problems.** In addition to inequalities, discrimination was identified by the majority as a reason (61%).
- **Other clusters of reasons were found to have dimensions with majority support and others with minority support:**
 - **Family matters.** Family break-up or loss of a family member (76%), generational pattern (40%), and too many children in the family (19%).
 - **Other work-related reasons.** Adults being out of work for a long time (64%), adults not wanting to work (29%), and adults not working enough hours (26%).
- **Geographical factors were 'only' supported by a (not-insignificant) minority.** Living in a poor-quality area (41%).

5. A multi-faceted approach to tackling poverty. No single strategic approach garnered support for what should be the ‘main goal’ of tackling poverty in Edinburgh.

- **Facilitating change.** Two fifths of respondents considered that “improving the chances of people to escape poverty” should be the main strategic goal of tackling poverty in Edinburgh (37%). The next most favoured goal was “directly reducing the number of people living in poverty” (33%).

6. Poverty is a localised problem in the city of Edinburgh:

- **Local incidence.** Almost four fifths of respondents reported a significant amount of poverty in their local area, with 36% reporting “quite a lot” and 43% reporting “some”. One in five reported that there was “very little” poverty in their area (19%).
- **Bigger problem in Edinburgh beyond their neighbourhood.** Notwithstanding that the majority reported a significant local presence, recognition was given that poverty was more prevalent elsewhere (50%), with a further 28% considering that poverty in their local area was comparable to other parts of Edinburgh.

7. Local issues: The open-ended responses that amplified the responses to fixed-response questions highlighted that there are a number of issues that might be considered to be particularly important in the local context of Edinburgh. Of note were the following:

- **High cost of living in Edinburgh.**
- **Concern with the lack of affordable housing.**
- **Sense that the city functions for the benefit of elites, visitors and shorter-term residents.**
- **City divided between core and periphery.**
- **National government is failing, but the City of Edinburgh Council still has some responsibility for tackling poverty in the city.**
- **Work must be rewarded with adequate pay.**
- **There are many examples of positive local action.**
- **There is a strong commitment to make Edinburgh a better city.**
- **Action needs to be more collaborative and better co-ordinated.**
- **People with experience of poverty need to be involved in decision-making (not only listened to).**

8. An Edinburgh viewpoint? For many issues, the key finding was a shared viewpoint among the people of Edinburgh. This is most notable in terms of views on (i) the importance of tackling poverty; (ii) awareness of how much poverty is present in Edinburgh; (iii) some of the reasons that contribute toward poverty; and (iv) the importance of all levels of Government in tackling poverty. On the other hand, there are issues for which opinion is more fractured and there are some significant differences of opinion among groups. Although these differences of opinion tend to be more of a matter of variations in the extent to which there is agreement, rather than fundamentally different opinions, it is important to note that:

- **Experience conditions attitudes.** Those who encounter poverty more often and with more personal experience of poverty are more empathetic toward people experiencing poverty. However, it must be stressed that there is a broad base of support for measures to tackle poverty in Edinburgh, regardless of experience.
- **The self-employed.** Although this should only be regarded as a speculative conclusion – given the low number of respondents who were self-employed – the outlook of the self-employed differed significantly to others in Edinburgh; preferring anti-poverty strategies that offered opportunities for people to help themselves, rather than focusing on lifting people directly out of poverty.

9. A collective, rather than a personal, experience:

- **Personal experience.** The majority of respondents reported that they had never experienced poverty in their lives (60%). Only 6% reported that they were currently living in poverty. Consistent with previous research, people in Edinburgh seem to be less likely to identify themselves as living in poverty, when compared to evidence of levels of poverty in Edinburgh.
- **Direct experience.** Two thirds of respondents reported that they encountered poverty in Edinburgh on a daily basis, with 30% reporting that they “see a lot” of poverty every day and 38% reporting that they “see some” poverty every day.

10. Interest in the work of the Commission: More than one half of the respondents to the survey indicated that they wanted to find out more about the work of the Edinburgh Poverty Commission (55%).

Our recommendations

1. Be bold: Four fifths of Edinburgh's citizens believe that it is 'very important' to tackle poverty and that there is 'quite a lot' of poverty in the city. There is a strong mandate for a bold approach to tackle poverty in Edinburgh.

2. Be progressive: There is widespread belief that Edinburgh is not meeting the needs of all of its citizens, and that the way in which the city functions exacerbates rather than tackles inequality. Working towards a less divided Edinburgh would appear to be strongly supported by the majority of its citizens.

3. Focus on making Edinburgh a city for citizens: Although citizens are proud of their city and although many recognise the positive value tourism, festivals and higher education, there is a desire to rebalance the city focus to deal more directly with the pressing concerns of its most disadvantaged. At least, this must start with the recognition that many are not benefitting from significant investment and contemporary development in the city.

4. Engage and mobilise lived experience: Involving those with lived experience – both those living with poverty and those working with those who are living with poverty – should be valued not only 'in principle'; there is much to be learned from the those encountering poverty that will improve decision-making and increase the likelihood of achieving positive outcomes through solutions that are a 'better fit' to need.

5. Explore the significance of the 'Edinburgh cost of living': Living in Edinburgh is reported to be beyond the means of many, including those in full-time employment. It would be useful to think of ways in which the city can become more affordable to its citizens and to consider whether there is a need for consider the merits of an 'Edinburgh living wage', as a tool to understand affordability, if not to enable everyday living in the city.

6. Understand experience, but acknowledge that commitment to tackle poverty extends beyond those living in poverty: In many ways, those who

have experienced poverty differed in their understanding of issues, when compared to the majority who have not. However, further work should recognise the tendency toward consensus and share opinion on poverty in Edinburgh; the majority of those not experiencing poverty, are supportive of action to tackle it.

7. Acknowledge consensus, without ignoring minority positions: The self-employed emerged as an interesting group, with some opinions that were outliers in relation to majority opinion. To a lesser extent, differences of opinion were notable among private sector workers (compared to those working in the Third/public sectors). Although it would be unhelpful to overstate these differences, there is a need to better understand the thoughts of those working outwith the sectors traditionally understood to be closer to those experiencing poverty.

8. Focus on affordable housing: There is local concern over the extent to which housing is meeting everyone's needs in Edinburgh. The unintended and adverse consequences of contemporary developments need to be addressed, both in terms of changing perception that Edinburgh's investment is prioritising the needs of its most disadvantaged citizens and in terms of making city living more affordable to more of its people.

9. Focus on making work pay: There is local consternation that work is not rewarding everyone and that too many of Edinburgh's workers are not attaining a wage that allows them to live life to a decent standard, let alone escape poverty. More needs to be done by those responsible for the labour market in Edinburgh to ensure that work delivers adequate remuneration.

10. Make it everyone's business: Respondents conveyed a commitment to Edinburgh and a strong desire to make Edinburgh a better city, by tackling inequality and poverty. It is clear that this is conceived as a city-wide effort, although responsibility for leading this work may rest with the City of Edinburgh Council (or some other city collective). Scotland's city of business should make it its business to tackle poverty. This will only be achieved through an effective collaborative, with a shared vision and a collective sense of purpose. However, everyone should understand what is within their reach to address and take the steps required to do what is necessary within their domain and with their resources to contribute to eradication of poverty in the city.

1. Introduction

We live in a city with amazing opportunities, experiences and resources. We are surrounded by resourceful, creative people. More needs to be done so that this cultural, social and material wealth is enjoyed by everyone who lives here (and we need more honesty and clarity on the poverty being experienced by people in our communities).

(Woman from Mountcastle, aged 30-39, working in public sector, previously experienced poverty)

This report seeks to inform the work of the Edinburgh Poverty Commission, an independent group launched in November 2018 that seeks to work in a collaborative manner to identify the steps needed to end poverty in Edinburgh. One of the specific aims of the Commission is to “listen to learn from the voices of citizens in Edinburgh who are struggling to get by”. This report contributes to that goal, but also extends its reach to engage the broader population who are not struggling to get by, but who live and/or work in the city.

The research aimed to provide an overview of attitudes toward poverty in Edinburgh, largely adapting validated questions from the British Attitudes Survey and utilising harmonised population profile questions from national surveys in the UK. An online survey was used to canvass opinions of the people of Edinburgh on (i) the nature and extent of poverty in Edinburgh, and (ii) actions that might be used to tackle poverty in Edinburgh. The survey was also used to shape the design of follow-on research (Robertson et al., 2020), which brought together four groups of Edinburgh citizens to explore their understanding of (i) the impact of poverty in Edinburgh and (ii) priority actions to tackle poverty in Edinburgh.

The number of surveys that were completed and the population spread of those completing the survey enabled the research objectives to be achieved; 728 surveys were completed over a seven week period (from December 10th 2019 to January 31st 2020).

We start by describing how the research was conducted (section 2). Sections 3 and 4 of the report situate this local research against the wider canon of knowledge on attitudes toward poverty in the UK. The key findings from the fixed response questions are reported in section 5, which comprises eleven sub-sections, each of which focuses on one theme from the survey. The penultimate section shares and discusses the key issues identified by Edinburgh’s citizens in response to the open-ended question in the online survey and when providing additional comment to their answers to the fixed response questions. Our report is structured as follows:

- Our approach (section 2)
- Attitudes toward poverty in GB (section 3)
- What should we expect for Edinburgh? (section 4)
- What Edinburgh thinks (section 5)
- Issues for Edinburgh (section 6)
- Conclusion (section 7)

2. Our Approach

We are not lazy, uneducated people as your survey suggests
(Self-employed man, aged 30-39, previous experience of poverty)

2.1 – Introduction

In this section, we describe and appraise how the online survey was administered. It is not a full technical report; rather, only the key information is presented to assist readers to better understand the research, and to reach judgement on its strengths and limitations. Further technical details about the survey research can be provided on request.

2.2 – Survey Design

Professor McKendrick of the Scottish Poverty and Inequality Research Unit (SPIRU) designed the survey, with the support of the wider research team and the Edinburgh Poverty Commission.

The final survey comprised 23 questions and took respondents, on average, six minutes to complete. Two of the questions were in relation to ethical principles of informed consent (Q1 and Q2) and three of the questions were in relation to the work of the Edinburgh Poverty Commission and the possibility of getting involved in follow-on research (Q21 – Q23). Six questions were posed for the purpose of population profiling (Q15 – Q20), leaving twelve substantive questions, which focused on poverty in Edinburgh (Q3 – Q14). The survey is presented in Annex 1.

Six of the substantive questions on poverty in Edinburgh made minor adaptations to questions and response options that have been validated (Blake, 2009) and used within the British Social Attitudes Survey (Q3 – Q8). Adaptations were made to the question wording of each to give focus to the city of Edinburgh, rather than Great Britain as a whole. For example, to find out how important it was to tackle poverty, rather than ask “How important or unimportant do you think it is to reduce *child poverty*?” (*emphasis added*), this survey asked, “How important or unimportant do you think it is to reduce poverty *in Edinburgh*?” (*emphasis added*); the same response options were offered, providing a basis for comparing Edinburgh responses to those for Great Britain or Scotland, as a whole. For the two questions that canvassed opinion on responsibility for tackling poverty (Q5 and Q6), three amendments were also made to the response options, i.e. City of Edinburgh Council was named instead of local government, and two additional response options were added (Edinburgh Community Planning Partnership and NHS Lothian). The additions and amendments reflected a desire to canvass the opinion of the people of Edinburgh on the

role of key local public bodies on tackling poverty in Edinburgh. Otherwise, these questions facilitate direct comparison of Edinburgh with Scotland/Great Britain data from the British Social Attitudes Survey.

Six additional questions on poverty were introduced to canvass opinion on matters of local importance that did not have an equivalent in the British Social Attitudes Survey (Q9 – Q14), one of which was an open-ended question to afford respondents the opportunity to share thoughts on issues not covered in the survey (Q10). Some of the fixed response questions had been used previously in Scotland in a nationwide online survey for the STV Children’s Appeal that aimed to canvass opinion on tackling child poverty in Scotland (McKendrick, 2014) and in research for Aberdeenshire Council (McKendrick et al., 2018).

Four of the six profiling questions (Q15-17, Q20) used the question and answer formats recommended by the Scottish Government as part of their core and harmonised questions for social surveys in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2017).

The survey progressed through several iterations before it was judged ready for distribution. The survey tools (questions and answers) and introductory text were reviewed by a team of student researchers on Work Placement at SPIRU, the wider research team and the Edinburgh Poverty Commission, who approved the final version of the survey prior to launch.

The online survey platform, SurveyMonkey.com, was used to manage the survey. This was a platform that was familiar to the research team and which provided the full functionality required to administer an effective online survey in an ethical manner.

Survey design is always a compromise between functionality and coverage. To include questions on all issues of interest would have made the survey unwieldy and may have compromised survey completions. Although it may have been interesting to canvass opinion on other issues pertaining to poverty in Edinburgh, on balance, the final survey ensured that opinion was canvassed on the most important issues without asking too much of respondents. The questions in the survey were fully-functional and although they did not always meet the needs of every respondent – for example, one respondent did not draw a distinction between the multiple response format (Q5) and most important format for the paired questions on who was responsible for tackling poverty (Q6), they served their purpose in permitting almost all respondents to share their thoughts on each issue.

2.3 – Ethics

The Ethics Committee of the Department of Social Sciences at Glasgow Caledonian University approved the survey, and the wider research of which it is part. At each stage of the research design and administration, steps were taken to ensure that the research adhered to recommended practice for online surveys. Specific steps taken included:

- Providing respondents with detailed information about the purpose of the research and the research requirements, to ensure that participation was based on informed consent.
- Disabling the function that allows IP addresses to be collected for online surveys.

- Offering opt-out and additional options for every survey question, e.g. rather not say, don't know or 'Other'.
- Only collecting personal details (names and contact details) of respondents who want more information about the work of the Edinburgh Poverty Commission, or who would like more information/involvement with this research and storing this in line with General Data Protection Requirements.
- Storing research data securely, for example, password protecting data files.
- Removing personal details (names and contact details) from data files and storing in line with General Data Protection Requirements.
- Ensuring that no respondents are identified by name in the published report arising from the research.
- Offering respondents the opportunity to receive copies of the survey results.
- Offering respondents the opportunity to become more fully involved in the research.

2.4 – Survey Distribution

The survey was launched on Tuesday 10th December 2019, and was re-launched in January 2020, with an end date of Friday 31st January 2020.

It is acknowledged that online surveys have disadvantages, compared to the approach taken in those social surveys that aim to generate official statistics. In particular, online surveys are not equally accessible to the total population. Of note:

- The survey is less accessible (inaccessible) to those whose English language skills are less well developed.
- The survey is less accessible (inaccessible) to those who do not have personal access to online computing and personal e-mails.
- Those with stronger opinions on poverty may have been more highly motivated to complete the survey.

Furthermore, the limited time frame in which this particular online survey was live, when taken together with the primary mechanism for distribution through public sector agencies, determined that workers in the public sector were more likely to respond than those working in other sectors, or those who were not economically active.

Several steps were taken to broaden the reach of the survey across the Edinburgh population, thereby minimising potential bias.

- Edinburgh Council promoted the survey through its internal e-mail network and Twitter feeds.
- The Edinburgh Poverty Commission publicised the survey through its website, contact list and social media platforms.
- Edinburgh Council was asked to promote the survey through its staff intranet.
- The Poverty Alliance promoted the survey through its social media platforms.
- SPIRU identified Facebook pages for community groups within the city of Edinburgh. This was an extensive exercise that involved SPIRU Student Researchers identifying appropriate pages in Edinburgh neighbourhoods (working to a brief prepared by Professor McKendrick). Page administrators were then approached by a SPIRU

Researcher (Shaun McPhee) and asked to share the weblink with their community and to post the link on their community page.

- Professional contacts of the research team were approached and asked to complete the survey and forward a link to other contacts living and working in the city of Edinburgh.

The next section reports on the extent to which the survey population is representative of adult Edinburgh population.

2.5 – Appraising the Survey Population

As described above (2.2), the survey included key questions that allowed the survey population to be compared to the total population (adult population of the city of Edinburgh) (Q15-17, Q19, Q20) and three further questions that allowed us to better understand the survey population (Q13-Q14, Q18).

Table 2.1 describes the profile of the 728 survey respondents. Non-response rates to individual questions were generally very low, e.g. 4.3% for ethnicity, 3.8% for age, 3.6% for gender and 3.4% for employment status. The exception was postcode. In addition to the 14.3% who did not provide an answer, 14.0% provided a partial postcode that could not be used to determine the datazone in which they lived. Only 505 respondents provided an Edinburgh postcode, which allowed their datazone to be identified and, in turn, the SIMD status of the respondent's residential environment to be determined.

On the whole, and despite some limitations, the survey returns were sufficient to explore whether there was any attitudinal variation among sub-populations (e.g. comparing men and women). However sufficient numbers does not imply that the survey population is representative of the total population. **Table 2.2** compares the profile of the survey population to the profile for the City of Edinburgh as a whole. The findings are generally reassuring, with the survey population broadly representative of Edinburgh population in terms of economic status, ethnic status and Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) area profile. However, women were over-represented among survey respondents, as were middle-aged adults (as opposed to younger and older age groups). Furthermore, **Table 2.1** reports that only 5.8% of the survey population perceived themselves to be currently living in poverty; this is far lower than an Edinburgh City Council estimates 82,000 (16%) adult live in relative poverty after housing costs in Edinburgh (Edinburgh Poverty Commission). Even allowing for the tendency for self-reported counts of poverty to be lower than estimates of poverty using official statistics (Dominy and Kempson, 2006), Edinburgh citizens currently experiencing poverty seem to be under-represented.

Consequently, it was prudent to weight the survey responses to ensure that the survey population better represented the population of the city of Edinburgh. Population estimates for the city of Edinburgh were accessed from the National Records of Scotland, which allowed the adult population to be profiled according to gender, age and SIMD status combined. SIMD and age were grouped for the purpose of calculating weightings (see 2.7 and **Table 2.3**). However, as many respondents were not able to provide a postcode, the operational sample for the analysis is reduced to 533 after weightings are applied.

Table 2.1: Respondent Profile

Domain	Options	Count	Percentage
Age	18-19	2	0.3%
	20-24	16	2.2%
	25-29	53	7.3%
	30-39	155	21.3%
	40-49	183	25.1%
	50-59	168	23.1%
	60-64	56	7.7%
	65 and over	67	9.2%
Gender	Male	208	28.3%
	Female	488	66.6%
	Describe gender in other way	6	0.7%
Work Status	In employment, employee	512	72.7%
	In employment, self-employed	39	5.5%
	In employment, on training scheme	2	0.3%
	In employment, unpaid family worker	2	0.3%
	In employment, unpaid volunteer	7	1.0%
	In employment, other employment	10	1.4%
	Not in employment, student	16	2.3%
	Not in employment, looking after family	9	1.3%
	Not in employment, short-term sick or injured	3	0.4%
	Not in employment, long-term sick or disabled	16	2.3%
	Not in employment, waiting results of job application	6	0.9%
	Not in employment, no jobs are available	2	0.3%
	Not in employment, do not want employment	1	0.1%
	Not in employment, retired from paid work	76	10.8%
Not in employment, other reason	2	0.3%	
Other	1	0.1%	
Work Sector	Private	119	21.5%
	Public	271	48.7%
	Third	166	29.8%
SIMD Decile	1	23	4.6%
	2	36	7.1%
	3	33	6.5%
	4	46	9.1%
	5	32	6.3%
	6	39	7.7%
	7	60	11.9%
	8	48	9.5%
	9	50	9.9%
	10	138	27.3%

Continued overleaf

Continued

Ethnic Group	White, Scottish	456	65.4%
	White, Other British	145	20.8%
	White, Irish	20	2.9%
	White, Gypsy/Traveller	1	0.1%
	White, Polish	5	0.7%
	White, Any other White ethnic group	38	5.5%
	Any Mixed Ethnic group	9	1.3%
	Pakistani, Pakistani Scottish/British	3	0.4%
	Indian, Indian Scottish/British	3	0.4%
	Bangladeshi, Ban'eshi Scottish/British	1	0.1%
	Chinese, Chinese Scottish/British	3	0.4%
	Any other Asian	2	0.3%
	African, African Scottish/British	1	0.1%
	Caribbean, Carib' Scottish/British	1	0.1%
	Black, Black Scottish/British	2	0.3%
	Arab, Arab Scottish/British	2	0.3%
	Any other ethnic group	5	0.7%
Poverty Engagement	See a lot of poverty every day	228	32.5%
	See some poverty every day	263	37.5%
	See some poverty several times per week	127	18.1%
	See poverty about once per week	41	5.8%
	See poverty about once per month	17	2.4%
	See poverty, but not every month	19	2.7%
	Never see poverty in Edinburgh	6	0.9%
Poverty Biography	Never lived in poverty	382	57.0%
	Lived in poverty previously, previously, as a child	162	24.2%
	Lived in poverty previously, as an adult	168	25.1%
	Currently live in poverty	39	5.8%

Table 2.2: Respondent Profile, Survey Population and Total Population Compared

Domain	Options	Survey Population		Total Population (City of Edinburgh)	
		Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Age, Adults	18-19	2	0.3%	12,050	2.8%
	20-24	16	2.2%	44,660	10.3%
	25-29	53	7.3%	55,449	12.8%
	30-39	155	21.3%	88,266	20.4%
	40-49	183	25.1%	65,110	15.1%
	50-59	168	23.1%	62,420	14.5%
	60-64	56	7.7%	25,619	5.9%
	65 and over	67	9.2%	78,060	18.1%
Gender, Adults	Male	208	29.9%	208,423	48.3%
	Female	488	70.1%	223,211	51.7%
SIMD Decile	1	23	4.6%	29,664	5.7%
	2	36	7.1%	39,697	7.7%
	3	33	6.5%	33,239	6.4%
	4	46	9.1%	44,124	8.5%
	5	32	6.3%	36,159	7.0%
	6	39	7.7%	40,045	7.7%
	7	60	11.9%	38,396	7.4%
	8	48	9.5%	42,996	8.3%
	9	50	9.9%	57,692	11.1%
	10	138	27.3%	156,488	30.2%
Ethnicity	White, Scottish	456	65.4%	-	70.3%
	White, Other British	145	20.8%	-	11.8%
	White, Irish	20	2.9%	-	1.8%
	White, Polish	5	0.7%	-	2.7%
	White, Other	39	5.6%	-	5.2%
	Asian, As'n Scot/Brit	12	1.6%	-	5.5%
	Other	19	2.8%	-	2.8%
Economically Active	Active	572	81.2%	-	81.7%
	Inactive	132	18.8%	-	18.3%

Source: National Records of Scotland (2019); City of Edinburgh Council (2019)

Table 2.3: Weightings

Gender	Age	SIMD Decile	Total Population (Edinburgh)		Survey Population		Weighting
			Count	Share	Count	Share	
Males	18-29	1/2/3	9,964	2.31%	4	0.81%	2.862462179
	30-39	1/2/3	8,491	1.97%	8	1.61%	1.219649055
	40-49	1/2/3	6,539	1.51%	4	0.81%	1.878526715
	50-59	1/2/3	6,139	1.42%	9	1.81%	0.783828686
	60older	1/2/3	7,937	1.84%	3	0.60%	3.040193003
	18-29	4/5/6/7	17,987	4.17%	8	1.61%	2.583656524
	30-39	4/5/6/7	17,261	4.00%	9	1.81%	2.203887759
	40-49	4/5/6/7	10,267	2.38%	12	2.42%	0.983169383
	50-59	4/5/6/7	8,910	2.06%	8	1.61%	1.279834304
	60older	4/5/6/7	12,179	2.82%	17	3.43%	0.823244312
	18-29	8/9/10	25,453	5.90%	7	1.41%	4.178370696
	30-39	8/9/10	18,501	4.29%	16	3.23%	1.328743797
	40-49	8/9/10	16,159	3.74%	14	2.82%	1.326332693
	50-59	8/9/10	16,008	3.71%	11	2.22%	1.672285484
	60older	8/9/10	26,628	6.17%	20	4.03%	1.529940644
Females	18-29	1/2/3	11,158	2.59%	5	1.01%	2.564380007
	30-39	1/2/3	9,427	2.18%	15	3.02%	0.72218469
	40-49	1/2/3	6,346	1.47%	23	4.64%	0.317057668
	50-59	1/2/3	5,673	1.31%	11	2.22%	0.592633405
	60older	1/2/3	9,627	2.23%	8	1.61%	1.382824337
	18-29	4/5/6/7	20,872	4.84%	11	2.22%	2.180406211
	30-39	4/5/6/7	16,017	3.71%	32	6.45%	0.575171326
	40-49	4/5/6/7	9,353	2.17%	35	7.06%	0.307078153
	50-59	4/5/6/7	8,835	2.05%	31	6.35%	0.327499687
	60older	4/5/6/7	14,590	3.38%	11	2.22%	1.524153249
	18-29	8/9/10	26,725	6.19%	17	3.43%	1.806486923
	30-39	8/9/10	18,569	4.30%	39	7.86%	0.547129257
	40-49	8/9/10	16,446	3.81%	44	8.87%	0.429510355
	50-59	8/9/10	16,855	3.90%	34	6.85%	0.569660189
	60older	8/9/10	32,718	7.58%	30	6.05%	1.253232136

Source: National Records of Scotland (2019); Author's Calculations

In the report, data are presented without confidence levels. This is solely for the purpose of ease of data interpretation. It is not asserted nor implied that the percentage figures presented are highly accurate estimates of the attitudes of the adult population of Edinburgh. Rather, it is contended that – given the steps taken to improve generalisability – the evidence can be presented as broadly representative of the prevailing attitudes in Edinburgh at the point of survey administration.

2.6 – Data Cleaning

Data were cleaned in four stages, prior to data analysis. A pre-cautionary principle was applied; changes were not made to the original responses if there was significant doubt over meaning. In these instances, data were recorded as missing.

First, errant codes were corrected. The use of the online survey tool eradicated errors that were associated with data entry, and question routing ensured that respondents only answered questions that were relevant to them (e.g. only asking current employees to indicate the sector in which they worked). However, there were two types of error in the way that survey respondents recorded their postcode, i.e. an extra space was inserted between component parts, or no space was inserted between the outward code (postcode district, comprising between two and four characters, e.g. EH1, EH21) and the inward code (postcode sector, i.e. the last three characters of the postcode). Seventy-five edits were made to the postcodes. This was necessary as the full postcode, properly constituted, was used to identify the datazone to which the postcode belonged, which in turn allowed us to identify Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) rankings for the home residence of survey respondents. The Scottish Government’s online postcode converter tool was used to convert postcodes to datazones and associated SIMD rankings (Scottish Government, 2020).

Second, data were appraised to identify any inconsistencies within the data. For example, some of the multiple response questions offered the option of ‘don’t know’ in addition to the listed answer options. ‘Don’t know’ was included as a response option to capture the opinions of respondents who were unable to offer an opinion to the question. However, in a very limited number of cases, some respondents indicated ‘don’t know’ in addition to selecting listed options. It is reasonable to deduce that the respondent positively identified relevant answers, but then selected ‘don’t know’ to indicate uncertainty over whether there were any additional relevant answers. In this instance, don’t know was de-selected to give confidence that remaining ‘don’t know’ options indicated only those who were unable to answer the whole question.

Third, many questions offered the opportunity for respondents to select ‘Other’ and then to describe their response. This was important so as not to constrain respondents to provide a response with which they did not agree. However, in a limited number of cases some of the ‘Other’ options described one of the fixed-response options. In these instances, ‘Other’ was de-selected and the listed answer was selected instead.

Finally, to enable counts to be automatically generated for multiple response answers, i.e. to count the number of reasons given for poverty in Edinburgh (Q7) and the number of

agents considered to have responsibility for tackling poverty in Edinburgh (Q5), system missing response were converted to zeros where the respondent had answered the question, but had not selected that particular option. The judgement was made that where no responses were given to any of the options, the respondent had missed the whole question, rather than chosen not to select any of the options. Counting these as missing avoided inflating negative responses.

2.7 – Data Analysis

Data analysis was pursued systematically through five stages, following data cleaning.

First, frequency counts were generated for the weighted survey population to provide an Edinburgh-wide overview for each issue. Headline findings were often generated from these frequency counts.

Second, response distributions for each variable were appraised to identify whether it was useful to generate different variations of the same. New variants of existing variables were created to facilitate further data analysis if there was substantive significance in the new variable and sufficient responses for the new response options to provide functionality for subsequent analysis. For example, the number of response options to the question on the importance of tackling poverty in Edinburgh (Figure 5.2) was reduced from four options ('very important', 'quite important', 'not very important' and 'not at all important') to two options ('very important' and not 'very important') to facilitate cross-tabulations to ascertain whether some sub-populations were more or less likely to consider it important to tackle poverty in Edinburgh.

Third, new variables were generated from the original variables. For example, the multivariate question on 'experiences of poverty at different stages of the lifecourse' (Q13) was used to create a new single variable of poverty across the lifecourse. Similarly, data could be combined for each of the individual options across the paired questions on reasons for poverty (Q7 and Q8) and responsibilities for tackling poverty (Q5 and Q6); new variables were created which determined whether each was a (i) main reason/responsibility; (ii) contributory reason/responsibility; or (iii) not a reason/responsibility.

Fourth, exploratory bivariate data analysis was pursued to establish whether there were any significant variations across the population. The results of this analysis are detailed in Annex 2. Appropriate tests of correlation (for ordinal data) or association (for nominal data) were used to identify whether any differences were statistically significant, with the standard threshold of 95% significance deployed as the indication of this. In general, differences were explored for each poverty issue by age, gender, socio-economic status of locality (datazone deprivation status), personal poverty biography, employment status, and sector in which the respondent was employed (if appropriate). In this report, for ease of reading, we report the findings as descriptive results (using tests of association for nominal data). Where the reporting of ordinal data have been simplified in this manner, readers should be assured that the reported finding was also upheld with correlation data analysis.

Finally, multivariate analysis was deployed to explore interactions between factors that appear to have explanatory value (those identified through the bivariate analysis of the previous stage as exhibiting significant differences) to reach a deeper understanding of explanations for variations among the people of Edinburgh. In turn, this progressed through three steps. First, for each issue, interactions among those profile variables (gender, age, employment status and employment sector) for which there were statistically significant differences were explored. This allowed us to determine which differences might be explanatory and which differences might only be descriptive (i.e. those that are significant only as a result of the underlying influence of another explanatory factor). Second, this analysis was undertaken among the poverty variables (poverty biography, how often poverty is encountered, SIMD status of residence and perception of how much poverty prevails in local area). Finally, the interactions were explored between profile (from step one) and poverty variables (from step two) that appeared to have explanatory value. This allows us to distinguish between differences that are descriptive and those that are explanatory. The analysis that leads to these conclusions is not presented in this report; however, the conclusions are reported for each theme in section 5 of the report.

2.8 – Conclusion: Appraising the Survey Data

Online surveys are not unproblematic and the same degree of confidence in findings cannot be attributed to online surveys, compared to social surveys administered using more conventional survey techniques. On the other hand, this survey of attitudes toward poverty in Edinburgh achieved:

- A sufficient number of survey returns to explore differences among sub-populations
- A survey population that was broadly representative of the wider city population
- An application of weightings to increase confidence in the extent to which the survey population is representative of the wider city population.

As a barometer of opinion, this research achieves its goal.

The approach taken throughout the report is to describe the city-wide position for each issue. Without losing sight of majority opinion, differences are then explored among sub-populations to determine whether particular groups are more closely associated with some attitudes toward poverty in Edinburgh. Reference is only made to statistically and substantively significant differences in this report. To improve readability, detailed patterning of responses is presented for each issue in Annex 2. The main body of the report focuses on the key findings.

3. Attitudes Toward Poverty in the UK

3.1 – Introduction

In this section, we introduce the wider body of work on attitudes toward poverty in GB (3.2 and 3.3) and share key findings from the British Social Attitudes Survey, for both Scotland and Great Britain, as a whole (3.4).

3.2 – Researching Attitudes Toward Poverty

The history of researching attitudes toward poverty in Great Britain is as long as the history of researching poverty; not least, because the way in which poverty is conceived in research is revealing of underlying attitudes towards the issue (Townsend, 1979).

Recently, the work of Frameworks Institute, funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, has been presented as something of a game-changer (Volmert et al., 2016). Drawing upon a mixed method of qualitative research techniques (expert interviews, ‘cultural models’ interviews and ‘sidewalk’ interviews), it describes the expert view of poverty, contrasts this with the public view of poverty, leading the Frameworks Institute to propose specific frames that resonate with how people understand poverty. The implication - and firm recommendation – of this attitudinal-based research is that the way in which we talk about poverty has consequences for the likelihood of a favourable public response. In short, by understanding what people think about poverty, we are better placed to engage, and gain public support for preferred policy objectives.

This is not the only qualitative research to explore attitudes toward poverty in GB (e.g. Golding and Middleton, 1982; Hall et al., 2014; Scottish Government, 2015, Shildrick and MacDonald, 2013), nor is it the only research to argue that prevailing attitudes toward poverty must be better understood in order to inform effectively (e.g. McKendrick et al. 2008; Sinclair et al., 2009).

Furthermore, there is a long tradition of using quantitative research to better understand British public attitudes toward poverty and related issues. A rich seam of research has been published over many years, including the seminal work of Park et al. (2007), as well as many others (Pantazis et al., 2006), much of which has drawn on the data collected through the British Social Attitudes Survey (Hudson et al., 2016; Dunn 2017; Clery and Dangerfield, 2019). This current study of attitudes toward poverty in Edinburgh complements and extends this work.

3.3 – On Researching Poverty in the *British Social Attitudes Survey*

3.3.1 – On the *British Social Attitudes Survey*

The National Centre for Social Research has administered an annual British Social Attitudes Survey since 1983 (Marshall, 2017). Every year, over 3,000 people are asked a wide range of questions about life in Britain. Questions are repeated periodically to allow attitudes to be compared over time. The survey population is designed to be representative of the British population, as a whole, with data collected by trained researchers who interview participants in their own home.

3.3.2 – *Geography of the British Social Attitudes Survey*

In 2018, 3,879 respondents completed the British Social Attitudes Survey, of which 9.1% were from Scotland (353 respondents). The sample was weighted to ensure that the Scottish sample was representative of the British population as a whole (8.7%), giving a weighted sample of 337 people from Scotland in 2018. Sufficient returns are available to compare Scotland to Wales and English regions. However, the size and design of the survey means that it is not possible to present data for sub-national units within Scotland

3.3.2 – *Canvassing Opinion on Poverty*

The inaugural British Social Attitudes Survey in 1983 included three specific questions on poverty, two of which were never repeated (canvassing opinion on ‘real poverty’) and one which was repeated in 1994 (whether ‘knowing about poverty’ was a desirable quality for a councillor). **Table 3.1** lists the questions that have specifically asked about poverty between 1983 and 2018. To this list could be added an additional series of questions that canvass opinion on closely related issues (such as inequality, income (re)distribution, attitudes to welfare, and attitudes toward social security) and specific issues which might be understood to be aspects of poverty (such as begging).

A suite of child poverty questions was introduced to the British Social Attitudes Survey around the time that the UK committed to eradicate child poverty through the *Child Poverty Act 2010*. Adaptations are made to these validated questions (Blake et al., 2009) to examine the same issues for Edinburgh as a whole.

Table 3.1: Poverty in the British Social Attitudes Survey

Question	Years
Definition, Real Poverty. About what real poverty is nowadays. Which comes closest to your own view?	1983
Definition, Real Poverty. Do you think there is such a thing as real poverty in Britain today?	1983
Definition, Poverty. Would you say that someone was or was not in poverty if (1/3 definitions)?	1986, 1989, 1994, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2010, 2013, 2018
Importance of Tackling Child Poverty. How important or unimportant do you think it is to reduce child poverty (only asked if they think there is child poverty in Britain today)	2009, 2012, 2014
Extent, Real Poverty. About real poverty in Britain today. Which comes closest to your view.	1986, 1989, 1994, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2013, 2018
Extent, Child Poverty. Some people say there is very little child poverty in Britain today. Others say there is a quite a lot. What comes closest to your view?	2009, 2012, 2014, 2016
Extent, Child Poverty. Of every 100 children under 16 in Britain, about how many do you think live in poverty?	2001, 2008
Trends, Past. Over the last ten years, do you think that poverty in Britain has been increasing, decreasing or staying the same?	1986, 1989, 1994, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2013, 2018
Trends, Future. Over the next ten years, do you think that poverty in Britain will increase, decrease or stay the same?	1986, 1989, 1994, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2013, 2018
Reasons, Child Poverty. About why children are in poverty in Britain. Is this best explained? [list of 16 separate possible explanations]	2009, 2011, 2012
Reasons, Child Poverty. Which do you think is the main reason that might best explain why children are in poverty in Britain?	2009, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016
Reasons, Living in Need. Why do you think there are people who live in need?	1986, 1989, 1994, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2009, 2010
Experience, Contemporary. How often do you or your household feel poor nowadays?	1986, 1989, 1994, 2018
Experience, Life Course. Looking back over your life, how often have there been times in your life when you think you have lived in poverty by the standard of that time?	2000, 2003, 2006, 2018

Experience, Life Course. If you think you've lived in poverty rarely, occasionally, often, or most of the time, was this [three options]?	2000, 2003, 2006
Responsibility for Tackling, Child Poverty. Who do you think should be responsible for reducing child poverty in Britain? [list of 6 separate possible agents]	2009, 2011, 2012
On Government. Do you think the government should spend more money to get rid of poverty?	1986
On Government. ... Do you think that British governments nowadays – of whichever party – can actually do very little or quite a bit to reduce poverty?	1994, 1996
On Government. Do you agree or disagree that The government should spend less on benefits for the poor?	1987, 2009
On Government. ... Do you think that the poor in Britain get too much help from government OR the poor in Britain get too little help from government?	1991
On Government. ... How much do you agree or disagree that the poor in Britain get too little help from government?	1991
On Local Government. About the qualities which are important for a local councillor to have. Is it important ... know poverty?	1983, 1994
On Schooling. About things taught in school. How important is it that schools teach each of these to 15 year olds? ... concern for minorities and the poor	1985
On Immigrants. About immigrants from non-western countries. We mean asylum seekers and other immigrants from Asia, Africa, South America and the Caribbean ... Just your best guess – out of every 100 people that live in income poverty in Britain, how many do you think are non-western immigrants?	2009
Crime. How effective do you think reducing poverty would be to help prevent crime?	1991, 1996

3.4 – The Importance of Tackling Child Poverty

What BSA asked	How important or unimportant do you think it is to reduce child poverty (<i>only asked if they think there is child poverty in Britain today</i>)
When this was asked	2009, 2012, 2014
Why this matters	Asked around the time when the UK Government committed to eradicate child poverty in the UK through the <i>Child Poverty Act 2010</i> (Kennedy, 2014), this is a useful indication of whether the public consider this to be an issue worthy of government focus.
Headline	Perception of the importance of tackling child poverty has been stable through time, with the vast majority considering this to be ‘very important’ (83.8% in 2014), and the majority of the remainder considering it to be ‘quite important’ (14.9% in 2014).
Does everyone agree?	<p>For all sub-populations, the majority perceive tackling child poverty to be ‘very important’. However, there are some significant differences in the strength of opinion: the following sub-populations are <i>less</i> likely to think that tackling child poverty is very important (all 2014 data).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age. Older adults (77% of 55+ year olds, compared to 88% of 17-34 and 87% of 35-54 year olds) • Education. Those with no school qualifications (77% of 55+ year olds, compared to 88% of 17-34 and 87% of 35-54 year olds) • Employee Status. Self-employed (82%, compared to 87% of employees) • Gender. Men (82%, compared to 86% of women) • Religion. Non-Christians (77%, compared to 85% of those without religion and between 81% and 85% for Christian denominations). <p>On the other hand:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Region. Scottish residents are <i>more</i> likely to think that tackling child poverty is ‘very important’ (93%, compared to English regions (ranging from 79% to 85%) and Wales (84%). <p>No significant differences were evident for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marital Status • Employment Status.

3.5 – How Much Child Poverty is There

What BSA asked	<p>Some people say there is very little child poverty in Britain today. Others say there is a quite a lot. What comes closest to your view?</p>
When this was asked	<p>2019, 2012, 2014, 2016</p>
Why this matters	<p>Also (see 3.4) asked around the time when the UK Government committed to eradicate child poverty in the UK, it is helpful to understand what the public think is the scale of the problem, when assessing the prospects for public support for any child poverty policy intervention.</p>
Headline	<p>Understanding of the extent of child poverty has been stable through time, with the vast majority either perceiving that there is ‘some child poverty in Britain today’ (45.9% in 2016) or that there is ‘quite a lot of child poverty in Britain today (40.5% in 2016).</p> <p>Only a very small minority perceive that there is no child poverty in Britain (2.6% in 2016).</p>
Does everyone agree?	<p>Differences were evident in terms of how much child poverty was thought to prevail in Britain (all 2016 data).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Region. Scottish residents were more likely to think there was ‘quite a lot’ of child poverty (51%), compared to English regions (ranging from 34% to 46%) and Wales (41%) • Religion. Non-Christians were more likely to think there was ‘very little’ or ‘no’ child poverty (41%, compared to 11% of those without religion, and between 12% and 17% for Christian denominations • Age. Middle-aged adults were more likely to think there was ‘quite a lot’ of child poverty (49% of 35-54 year olds, compared to 38% of 55+ and 33% of 17-34 year olds) • Education. Those with no school qualifications were more likely to think there was ‘very little’ or ‘no’ child poverty (22%, compared to 12% of those who left school with qualifications) • Employee Status. The self-employed were more likely to think there was ‘very little’ or ‘no’ child poverty (17%, compared to 11% of employees) • Gender. Women were more likely to think there was ‘quite a lot’ of child poverty (45%, compared to 35% of men) • Marital Status. Divorced/separated were more likely to think there was ‘quite a lot’ of child poverty (55%,

	<p>compared to 39% of currently living with partner, 39% of never married and 31% of widowed)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment Status. Students were more likely to think that there was ‘some’, rather than ‘quite a lot’ of child poverty, e.g. the proportion thinking that there was ‘quite a lot’ of poverty was 17% of students, compared to 27% of the employed, 28% of the unemployed, 34% of those looking after the home and 24% of retirees.
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3.6 – Explanations for Child Poverty

What BSA asked	Which do you think is the main reason that might best explain why children are in poverty in Britain? <i>In 2009, 2011 and 2012, opinions were also canvassed on contributory reasons.</i>
When this was asked	2009, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016
Why this matters	Once more (see 3.4) asked around the time when the UK Government committed to eradicate child poverty in the UK, it is useful to know whether the prevailing approaches to tackle (child) poverty, are those that the wider public understand to be the primary reasons for poverty.
Headlines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No single explanation is thought to be the main reason for child poverty in Britain by any more than a minority of the population (the reason that was the most popular ‘only’ gained support from 15.6% of the population in 2016). • ‘Alcoholism, drug abuse and other addictions’ was thought to be the main reason for child poverty by the highest proportion of Britons in 2009, 2012, 2014 and 2016. However, the proportion of the British public holding this opinion has fallen from 20.3% in 2009 to 15.6% in 2016. • The proportion of the British public who think that the main reason for child poverty is ‘because of inequalities in society’ has more than doubled between 2009 and 2016 (rising from 4.7% to 10.8%) • There has been a shift in the perception of work-related factors as the main reason for child poverty. The proportion perceiving that ‘their parents do not want to work’ is the main reason for child poverty has fallen from 17.8% in 2011 (the most common reason that year) to 7.3% in 2016. In contrast, the proportion perceiving that the main reason is that ‘their parents’ work doesn’t pay enough’ has increased from 9.1% in 2009 to 13.8% in 2016.

<p>Does everyone agree?</p>	<p>Where statistically significant differences were found, the key differences among sub-populations were as follows (all 2016 data):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Region. Scottish residents (and East Midlands residents) were most likely to think that ‘alcoholism, drug abuse and other addictions’ was the main reason for child poverty (25% and 26%, respectively, compared to other English regions (ranging from 6% to 20%) and Wales (13%). Scottish and London residents were also most likely to identify ‘inequality’ as the main reason (15%, compared to between 5% and 13% for other English regions, and 9% for Wales). • Religion. Non-Christians were more likely to think that ‘alcoholism, drug abuse and other addictions’ was the main reason for child poverty (21%, compared to 14% of those without religion and between 15% and 17% for Christian denominations). • Age. Older adults were more likely than middle-aged and younger adults to identify reasons related to family change, i.e. family break up or loss of family member (11%, compared to 6% and 6%, respectively) and too many children in the family (6%, compared to 4% and 1%, respectively). • Education. Those with school qualifications were more likely to think that inequalities in society was the main reason for child poverty (13%, compared to 4% of those who left school with qualifications). • Employment Status. Those looking after the home were more likely to think that ‘alcoholism, drug abuse and other addictions’ was the main reason for child poverty (28%, compared to 15% of students, 14% of the employed, 13% of the unemployed, and 17% of retirees). The employed and unemployed were more likely than the others to consider that inequalities were the main reason (13% and 15%, respectively, compared to between 7% and 8% for the other groups). • Employee Status. The self-employed were more likely to think that ‘alcoholism, drug abuse and other addictions’ was the main reason for child poverty (21%, compared to 13% of employees). • Gender. Women were more likely to think that ‘alcoholism, drug abuse and other addictions’ was the main reason for child poverty (18%, compared to 13% of men). • Marital Status. Widowed were more likely to think that ‘alcoholism, drug abuse and other addictions’ was the main reason for child poverty (22%, compared to 15% of currently
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	living with partner, 16% of never married and 15% of separated/divorced).
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3.7 – Responsibility for Tackling Child Poverty

What BSA asked	Who do you think should be responsible for reducing child poverty in Britain?
When this was asked	2009, 2011, 2012
Why this matters	Once more (see 3.4) asked around the time when the UK Government committed to eradicate child poverty in the UK, It is useful to know which agents are those which the wider public understand to be the primarily responsible for tackling poverty.
Headlines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority of the British population think that Central government has a responsibility for tackling child poverty (78.4% in 2012). • The British public believe that there is a shared responsibility for tackling poverty, with on average four agents accorded a role for tackling poverty. • The most significant change between 2009 and 2012 was an increase in the proportion of the population who accorded responsibility to local government (from 54.5% to 61.8%). • Less than one-half of the population think that people in poverty (41.8% in 2012), friends/relatives of people in poverty (30%) and charities (28.1%) have a responsibility for tackling child poverty in Britain.
Does everyone agree?	<p>Here, we focus on attitudes toward local government, first identifying those who were more likely to think that local government had a responsibility (all 2012 data).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age. Younger adults (66%, compared to 63% of Middle-aged adults and 57% of older adults) • Education. Those with school qualifications (65%, compared to 53% of those who left school without qualifications) • Gender. Women (64%, compared to 60% of men) • Employment Status. Students (69%, compared to 64% of the employed, 59% of the unemployed, 64% of those looking after the home and 55% of retirees). <p>No significant differences were evident for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Region

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Religion• Employee Status• Marital Status
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3.8 – Experience of Poverty Over the Life Course

What BSA asked	Looking back over your life, how often have there been times in your life when you think you have lived in poverty by the standard of that time?
When this was asked	2000, 2003, 2006, 2018
Why this matters	It is useful to understand the extent to which poverty is perceived to have been experienced among the wider population.
Headline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-half of the population reported that they had never lived in poverty (49.9% in 2018) • The proportion of the population who report that they had never lived in poverty increased between 2000 and 2006 (from 50.9% to 57.1%), but fell back again in 2018 (to 49.9%) • Almost one in ten of the British population reported that they had often lived in poverty (8.5% in 2018).
Does everyone agree?	<p>Differences were evident in terms of lifetime experience of poverty (all 2018 data).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Region. Scottish residents were less likely to report that they had never experienced poverty (38%, compared to English regions (ranging from 46% to 58%) and Wales (51%)) • Religion. Non-Christians and Catholics were less likely to report that they had never experienced poverty (41% and 44%, respectively), compared to 50% of those without religion, 55% of Anglicans and 52% of those from other Christian denominations • Age. Middle-aged adults were less likely to report that they had never experienced poverty (44% of 35-54 year olds, compared to 50% of 55+ year olds and 57% of 17-34 year olds) • Education. Those with no school qualifications were less likely to report that they had never experienced poverty (39%, compared to 56% of those who left schools with A-levels [or equivalent], 51% of those with HE experience, and 47% of those with O-Level [or equivalent] at A-C grade) • Marital Status. Divorced/separated were less likely to report that they had never experienced poverty (38%, compared to 51% of those currently living with partner, 52% of the never married and 50% of those widowed) • Employment Status. The unemployed and those looking after the home were least likely to report that they had

	<p>never experienced poverty, (34% and 32%, respectively), compared to 69% of students and 55% of retirees.</p> <p>On the other hand:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employee Status. The self-employed were less likely to report that they lived in poverty ‘often’ or ‘most of the time’ (6%, compared to 11% of employees) • Gender. Men were more likely to report that they lived in poverty occasionally, often or most of the time (28%, compared to 33% of women).
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3.9 – Conclusion

The British Social Attitudes Survey provides insight into what the people of Great Britain and Scotland think about poverty. Some attitudes are stable and some shift through time, although these attitudinal shifts are not generally marked. Although there are differences of opinion among sub-populations, these tend to be by degree, rather than fundamental points of divergence in attitude.

4. What Should We Expect For Edinburgh?

Edinburgh is one of the richest cities per head in the UK. Where does all the money go?

(Self-employed man, aged 30-39, previous experience of poverty)

4.1 - Introduction

In this section, we reflect on the significance for Edinburgh of what is already known about poverty in Scotland and attitudes toward poverty in Britain.

4.2 – Lessons from the British Social Attitudes Survey

From the patterning of responses to the British Social Attitudes Survey, we might expect that the people of Edinburgh – as with the rest of Great Britain – consider it to be very important to tackle child poverty; either perceive that there is ‘some’ or ‘quite a lot’ of child poverty; contend that government has the greatest responsibility for tackling child poverty; identify no single reason as being the predominate explanation for child poverty; and to find that one-half of the population have experienced poverty in their lifetime.

On the other hand, this research in Edinburgh is concerned with poverty as a whole, rather than child poverty. It is conceivable that attitudes may diverge across these issues. For example, it is conceivable that the public may be more sympathetic to tackling child poverty rather than the poverty of working-age adults, reflecting the belief among some that, unlike adults, children have had no agency in determining whether or not they experience poverty. Furthermore, it should also be acknowledged that attitudes can shift through time, and the British data against which the new Edinburgh data are compared, are now several years old.

It is also significant that there appears to be some significant Scottish divergence from the British position on many attitudes toward poverty. Notably, Scottish residents were even more likely than those in the rest of Britain to consider it ‘very important’ to tackle child poverty; that there is ‘quite a lot’ of child poverty in Scotland; that ‘alcoholism, drug abuse and other addictions’ and ‘inequalities in society’ account for child poverty; and were more likely to have reported that they had experienced poverty in their lifetime. It would be reasonable to expect that attitudes in Edinburgh are closer to these Scottish norms, than the British ones.

Together, these necessitate caution when comparing the Edinburgh data to attitudinal data for Great Britain (or Scotland) as a whole.

4.3 – Edinburgh’s population profile

Edinburgh is a city of many contrasts, at once affluent, but with significant pockets of enduring deprivation in which poverty is prevalent (Scottish Government, 2016). Edinburgh is also a youthful city, certainly in relation to Scotland as a whole (National Records of Scotland, 2018). As the exploration of the British Social Attitudes Survey data suggest, there are significant points of variance in attitudes toward poverty among the GB population. Although – as with the British and Scottish overviews – a general dominant position is to be expected on many issues pertaining to the poverty, it would also be prudent to expect contrasts among the population of Edinburgh, and for the Edinburgh average to more closely reflect the attitudes of those sub-populations that are more prevalent in Edinburgh.

5. What Edinburgh Thinks

As a GP in [*Area known from deprivation in Edinburgh*] and former resident of Wester Hailes I have encountered many people struggling to get by on ESA and similar basic benefits. There is no financial headroom to manage unexpected costs or benefit sanctions causing people great stress and making it easy to fall into debt causing further pressures for the family. These stressors often contribute to or trigger mental illness creating an even more depriving environment for any children in the family. Under these intensely stressful conditions it becomes difficult for people to have the creative thinking to problem solve their way out of poverty to improve their prospects. Life becomes a bleak daily battle to make ends meet with no obvious way out.

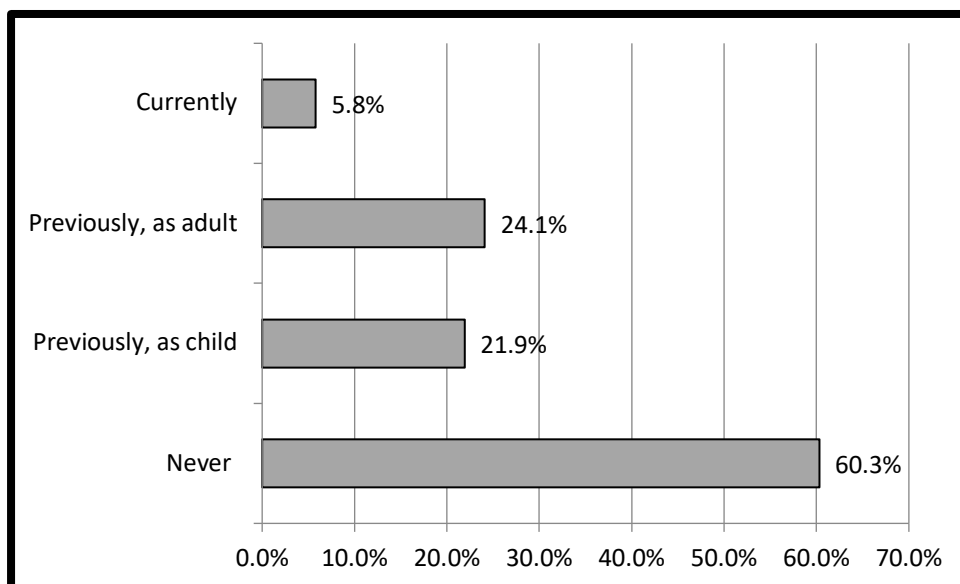
(Woman from Juniper Green, aged 30-49)

5.1 – Introduction

We canvassed opinion on eleven issues to better understand what the people of Edinburgh think about poverty in their city. This section reports the findings from the survey completed by 728 Edinburgh City Residents. The survey findings are reported for each survey question. For each, we explain what we asked and why this is important. We report the overall results (the headline) and, where possible and taking great care, compare what the people of Edinburgh think to those of Scotland and Great Britain as a whole. Here, in the main body of the report, we state the differences among the people of Edinburgh, cross-referencing the reader to the relevant part of Annex 2, where more detail is provided for each. As we explained in section 2.7, some of these differences are inter-connected; we therefore, state which of these differences might be considered to be the ‘drivers of difference’, i.e. the root causes that explain differences among the people of Edinburgh. For each theme, we conclude by identifying the key issues arising from this analysis.

5.1 – Who in Edinburgh Thinks They Live in Poverty?

Figure 5.1: Self-assessment of Poverty Over the Lifecourse, Edinburgh residents 2020

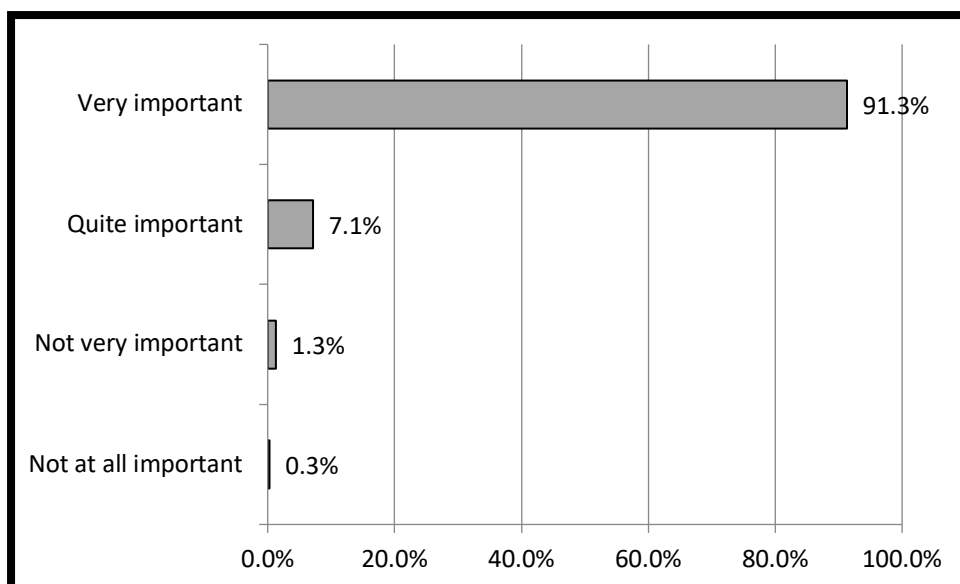


What we asked	We asked, 'Looking back over your life, have there been times in your life when you think you have lived in poverty by the standards of that time. Please select all the times when you have lived in poverty?' This was a multiple response question and respondents were invited to choose from four point scale : (i) I have never lived in poverty; (ii) I currently live in poverty; (iii) I have previously lived in poverty as an adult; and (iv) I have previously lived in poverty as a child. Respondents could also indicate that they "didn't know" or that they would "rather not say".
Why this matters	If local interventions are to be targeted at people experiencing poverty, it is useful to know how many people identify (and who identifies) as living in poverty.
Headline	The vast majority of Edinburgh residents think that they have "never lived in poverty" (60%) and only a small minority think that they "currently live in poverty" (6%).
Is Edinburgh different?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The findings for Edinburgh are broadly comparable to what prevails in GB (as evidenced through the British Social Attitudes Survey) • However, comparing Edinburgh data (Figure 3.1) with GB data (see 3.8), suggests that people in Edinburgh are

	<p>slightly more likely to report that they have never lived in poverty.</p>
<p>Key differences among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>As is outlined in more detail in Annex 2.1, there are some differences among the people of Edinburgh. Notably, the following are more likely to perceive that they have experienced poverty:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age: Older residents • Employment Status: Not retired and not in paid employment • Live in a Deprived Area: Living in one of Edinburgh’s 30% Most Deprived Areas.
<p>Issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Targeting initiatives at people experiencing poverty may be challenging if this relies on Edinburgh citizens’ self-identifying as living in poverty • Although the majority do not, a significant proportion of Edinburgh’s citizens report that they have had previous experience of poverty. Engaging the Edinburgh public should be cognisant of this; it can be an asset (where there is heightened awareness of living with poverty), but also a challenge (for example, where attitudes toward poverty are hardened having left poverty behind, or where the poverty that was experienced is different to the contemporary experience of poverty in Edinburgh). • It is important to be aware of the sub-populations who report atypical experience. If experience of poverty matters in how anti-poverty work is to be approached, a different approach may be required for these groups. Notably, those perceiving that they have never experienced poverty, includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age and Employment Status: 89% of those aged under 30 and in paid employment, compared to 33% of those aged under 30 and not in paid employment • Living in a Deprived Area: 71% of those living in the least deprived parts of Edinburgh, compared to 31% of those living in the most deprived parts of Edinburgh. • Notwithstanding the association between living in a deprived and reporting personal experience of poverty, it should be noted that almost one third of those living in the most deprived parts of Edinburgh report that they have never experienced poverty in their lives (31%) and almost one third of those living in the least deprived parts of Edinburgh also report having experienced poverty at some point in their lives (29%, although only 3% of these report currently experiencing poverty).

5.3 – The Importance of Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh

Figure 5.2: How important do the people of Edinburgh think it is to tackle poverty in Edinburgh, 2020



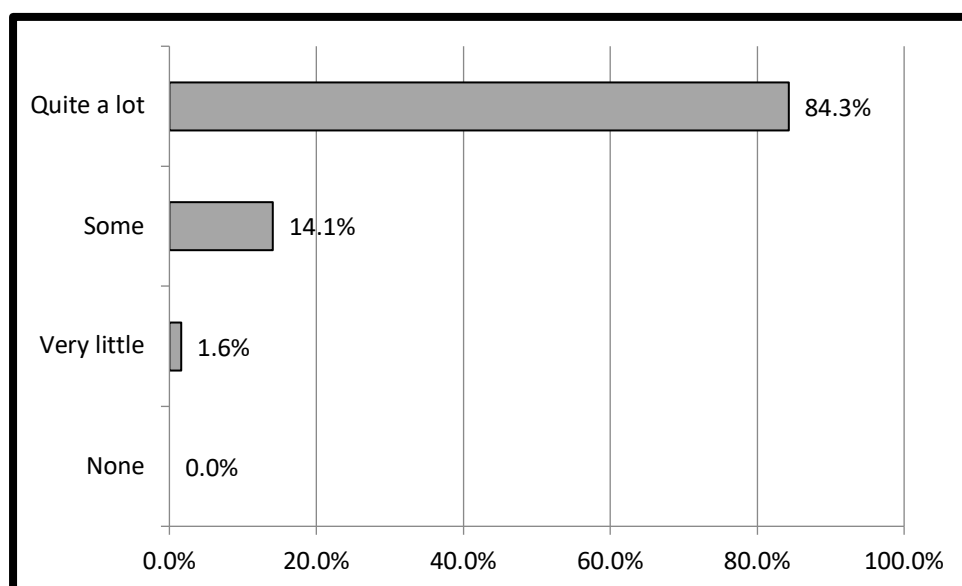
What we asked	We asked ‘ <i>How important or unimportant do you think it is to reduce poverty in Edinburgh?</i> ’ Respondents were invited to express their opinion on a four point scale, ranging from ‘very important’ through ‘quite important’ and ‘not very important’ to ‘not at all important’; respondents could also indicate that they ‘didn’t know’ how important this was.
Why this matters	This provides an indication of the extent to which the public in Edinburgh think that this is an issue that should be tackled in their city.
Headline	The vast majority of Edinburgh residents think that it is “‘very important’” to tackle poverty in Edinburgh (91%). Furthermore, the majority of the remainder think that it is “‘quite important’” to do so (7%).
Is Edinburgh different?	A comparison of the Edinburgh (2020, focused on poverty), with similar data from GB as a whole (2014, focused on child poverty), suggests broad similarity, but greater belief in the importance of tackling poverty in Edinburgh. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The vast majority considered it to be ‘very important’ (83.8% for child poverty for GB in 2014, and 91.3% for poverty for Edinburgh in 2020. The majority of the

	<p>remainder in each consider it to be 'quite important' to tackle (child) poverty.</p>
<p>Key differences among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>As is outlined in more detail in Annex 2.2, there are some differences among the people of Edinburgh. Although the majority of all of the following sub-populations think that it is 'very important' to tackle poverty in Edinburgh, relatively fewer of these groups hold this opinion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age: Younger citizens • Gender: Men • Employment Status: Self-employed • Employment Sector: Private sector workers • Encountering Poverty: Those who do not encounter it daily. • Perception of Local Incidence of Poverty: Perceive less poverty in local area.
<p>Drivers of difference among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>More detailed analysis (multivariate analysis) suggests that some of the differences among the people of Edinburgh that were described above might not be drivers of difference once the effect of the other factors are controlled. Following this more detailed analysis, the drivers of difference (causal influences), which account for variation among Edinburgh citizens have been identified as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • * Gender: But only among those who do not encounter poverty daily. • * Employment Status: But only among those who do not encounter poverty daily. • Employment Sector. • Encountering Poverty. • Perception of Local Incidence of Poverty.
<p>Issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The vast majority of people in Edinburgh believe that it is important to tackle poverty in Edinburgh. • It is important to be identify those sub-populations, for which there are more people who do not consider it to be "very important" to tackle poverty in Edinburgh. Enlisting support for anti-poverty work may require a different approach for these groups. Notably: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11% of men do not think that it is "very important" to tackle poverty in Edinburgh (rising to 26% if they do not encounter poverty daily), compared to 7% of women • 27% of the self-employed do not think that it is "very important" to tackle poverty in Edinburgh (rising to 50% if they do not encounter poverty daily), compared to 8% of employees

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 28% of those working in the private sector do not think that it is “very important” to tackle poverty in Edinburgh (compared to only 4% of those working in either the public or Third sector).• 17% of those who do not encounter poverty daily and 25% of those who think there is none or very little poverty in their neighbourhood do not think that it is “very important” to tackle poverty in Edinburgh (rising to 31% of those who do not encounter poverty daily and who think that there is none or very little poverty in their neighbourhood)
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5.4 – How Much Poverty is There in Edinburgh

Figure 5.3: How much poverty do the people of Edinburgh think is in their city, 2020



What we asked	We asked ‘ <i>How much poverty do you think there is in the city of Edinburgh?</i> ’ Respondents were invited to express their opinion on a four point scale, ranging from “quite a lot’ through ‘some’ and ‘very little’ to ‘none’; respondents could also indicate that they ‘didn’t know’ how important this was.
Why this matters	In seeking to better understand the nature of public support for anti-poverty action in Edinburgh, it is helpful to find out how prevalent in their city the Edinburgh public perceive poverty to be.
Headline	The vast majority of Edinburgh residents think that there is “quite a lot” of poverty in Edinburgh (84%). Furthermore, the majority of the remainder think that there is “some” poverty in Edinburgh (14%)
Is Edinburgh different?	A comparison of the Edinburgh (2020, focused on poverty), with similar data from GB as a whole (2016, focused on child poverty), suggests broad similarity in terms of recognition, with one key difference – people in Edinburgh were much more likely to perceive that there was “quite a lot” of poverty in the city (84.3%); in GB as whole, for child poverty in 2016, opinion was more evenly split perceiving that there is “some child poverty in Britain today” (45.9% in 2016) and that there is “quite a lot” of child poverty in Britain today (40.5% in 2016).

	Only a very small minority in both perceive that there is no (child) poverty.
Key differences among the people of Edinburgh	<p>As is outlined in more detail in Annex 2.3, there are some differences among the people of Edinburgh. Notably, the following are less likely to agree that there is a lot of poverty in Edinburgh:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age. Those falling between the oldest and youngest age groups • Employment Status. Self-employed • Employment Sector. Private sector employees • Encountering Poverty. Those who encounter poverty less frequently • Perception of Local Incidence of Poverty. Those who perceive less poverty in their local area.
Drivers of difference among the people of Edinburgh	<p>More detailed analysis (multivariate analysis) suggests that some of the differences among the people of Edinburgh that were described above might not be drivers of difference once the effect of the other factors are controlled. Following this more detailed analysis, the drivers of difference (causal influences), which account for variation among Edinburgh citizens on how much poverty they perceive there to be in the city have been identified as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • * Employment Status. But only among those who perceive there to be either some/quite a lot of poverty in their local area • Employment Sector. • Encountering Poverty. • Perception of Local Incidence of Poverty.
Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A clear majority of people in Edinburgh think that there is a lot of poverty in Edinburgh. • It is important to be aware of the sub-populations who are more likely to perceive lower levels of poverty in their city. Enlisting support for city-wide anti-poverty work may require a different approach for these groups. Notably, the following do not consider that there is “quite a lot” of poverty in Edinburgh: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 34% of those working in the private sector, compared to 12% of those working in the public sector and 8% of those working in the Third sector • 43% of the self-employed, compared to 15% of employees • 32% of those who do not encounter poverty daily and 35% of those who think there is none or very little

	poverty in Edinburgh (rising to 44% of those who do not encounter poverty daily and who think that there is none or very little poverty in Edinburgh).
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5.5 – The Core Basis for Public Support for City-Wide Anti-Poverty Action

Table 5.1: The importance of tackling poverty in Edinburgh, by perceptions of how much poverty is in Edinburgh, Edinburgh residents 2020.

<i>Table percentages</i>			
How important to tackle poverty in Edinburgh			
How much poverty in Edinburgh	Very important	Not ‘very important’	<i>Cases</i>
Not ‘quite a lot’	9.9%	5.8%	83
Quite a lot	81.3%	3.0%	443
<i>Cases</i>	479	47	525

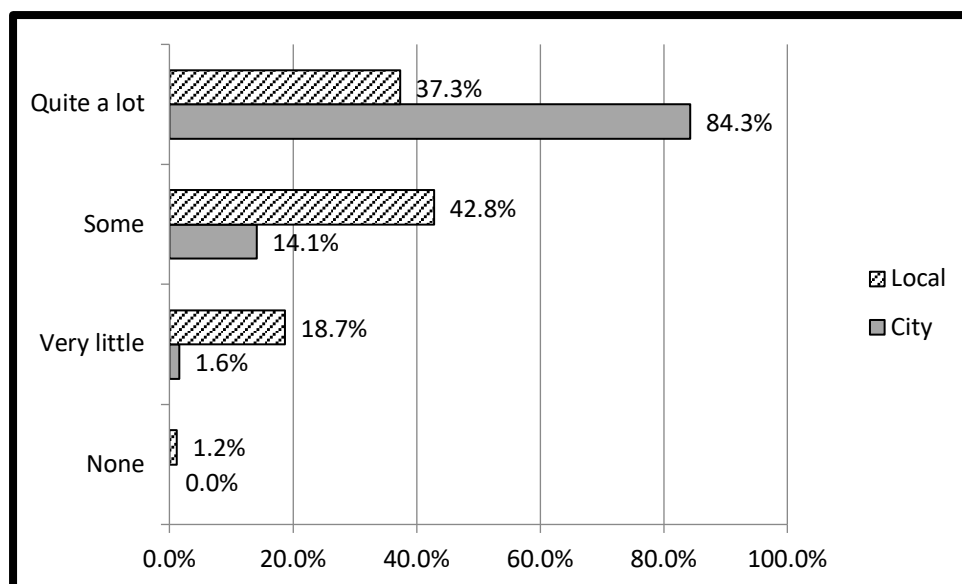
What we asked	As reported above, we asked the Edinburgh public, how important it was to tackle poverty (5.2) and how prevalent poverty was in Edinburgh (5.3).
Why this matters	Taken together, these data can provide evidence for whether there is strong support for taking action to tackle poverty in Edinburgh, i.e. those who both consider that there is “quite a lot” of poverty and that it is ‘very important’ to address it.
Headline	The vast majority of Edinburgh citizens think it is both “very important” to tackle poverty in Edinburgh and that there is ‘quite a lot’ of poverty in the city (81%)
Is Edinburgh different?	<p>A comparison of the Edinburgh (2020, focused on poverty), with similar data from GB as a whole (2014, focused on child poverty), suggests significant differences.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Very important” and “Quite a lot”. is not the majority opinion for GB as whole (only 39.8% of the GB population held this opinion, compared to 81.3% for Edinburgh). • In GB, the perception was more common that it is “very important” to tackle (child poverty), but that there is only some (child) poverty. 37.3% of the GB population held this opinion. • Also more significant for GB as a whole is the minority view that it is “quite important” to tackle (child) poverty and that there is some (child) poverty. (9% hold this opinion).

<p>Key differences among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>As is outlined in more detail in Annex 2.4, there are some differences among the people of Edinburgh. Notably, those least likely to hold the opinion that would be appear to be more supportive of anti-poverty action (very important to address, and a lot of poverty in the city) are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age. Those between the oldest and youngest age groups. • Gender. Men. • Employment Status. Self-employed • Employment Sector. Private sector. • Encountering Poverty. Less frequent encountering poverty. • Perception of Local Incidence of Poverty. Perceive less poverty in their local area.
<p>Drivers of difference among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>More detailed analysis (multivariate analysis) suggests that some of the differences among the people of Edinburgh that were described above might not be drivers of difference once the effect of the other factors are controlled. Following this more detailed analysis, the drivers of difference (causal influences), which account for variation among Edinburgh citizens on whether they perceive it to be both important to tackle poverty and that there is a lot of it in the city as a whole have been identified as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • * Gender. But only among those who do not encounter poverty daily • * Employment Status. But only among those who do not encounter poverty daily • Encountering Poverty. • Perception of Local Incidence of Poverty.
<p>Issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The evidence would suggest that there is strong public support for action to tackle poverty in Edinburgh (the vast majority both think that it is important to tackle it and that it is important to do so). • There would appear to be much stronger support for tackling poverty in Edinburgh, than is typically expressed when canvassing opinion on tackling child poverty in GB. • It is important to be aware of the sub-populations who attach lower importance to tackling poverty and are more likely to think that poverty is less prevalent across the city. Enlisting support for anti-poverty work may require a different approach for these groups. Notably, this outlook is held by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 50% of the self-employed (10 of 20), compared to 18% of employees, but among those who do not encounter

	<p>poverty daily, this rises to 70% of the self-employed (7 of 10), and 34% of employees)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 24% of men, compared to 14% of women, but among those who do not encounter poverty daily, this rises to 48% of men (and 25% of women)• 37% of those who do not encounter poverty daily and 44% of those who think there is none or very little poverty in their neighbourhood (rising to 51% of those who do not encounter poverty daily and who think that there is none or very little poverty in their neighbourhood).
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5.6 – The Local Prevalence of Poverty Across Edinburgh

Figure 5.4: How much poverty do the people of Edinburgh think is in their local area and city as a whole, 2020



What we asked	We replicated the city-wide question (5.3), with a local question, which asked ‘ <i>How much poverty do you think there is in YOUR LOCAL PART OF the city of Edinburgh?</i> ’ As with the city-wide question, respondents were invited to express their opinion on a four point scale, ranging from “quite a lot” through “some” and “very little” to “none”; respondents could also indicate that they “didn’t know” how important this was.
Why this matters	As for the city-wide question (5.3), in seeking to better understand the nature of public support for anti-poverty action in local areas within Edinburgh, it is helpful to find out how prevalent the Edinburgh public perceive that poverty is in their local area.
Headline	Almost all Edinburgh residents perceive that there is poverty in their local part of Edinburgh (98%).
Is Edinburgh different?	These local data have not been canvassed in the British Social Attitudes Survey.
Key Differences among the people of Edinburgh	As is outlined in more detail in Annex 2.5, there are some differences among the people of Edinburgh. Notably, the following groups perceived higher levels of poverty in their local area: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age. Older residents

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender. Women • Employment Sector. Public or Third Sector employees • Experiencing Poverty. Those who have experienced poverty • Encountering Poverty. Those who encounter poverty more frequently • Living in a Deprived Area. Those living in one of Edinburgh’s 30% Most Deprived Areas.
<p>Drivers of difference among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>More detailed analysis (multivariate analysis) suggests that some of the differences among the people of Edinburgh that were described above might not be drivers of difference once the effect of the other factors are controlled. Following this more detailed analysis, the drivers of difference (causal influences), which account for variation among Edinburgh citizens on their perception of the prevalence of poverty in their local area have been identified as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • * Age*Gender. Age differences only matter, (i) among men in least deprived areas; (ii) among men and among women in the most deprived areas. • * Employment Sector. But sector of employment only matters for those living outside the most deprived areas. • Experiencing Poverty. • Encountering Poverty. • Living in a Deprived Area.
<p>Issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although Edinburgh is an affluent city, with many affluent neighbourhoods, the majority of Edinburgh citizens still recognise poverty that there is poverty in their neighbourhood • Recognition of poverty is higher for the city as a whole, compared to the neighbourhood. Expressed differently, lower levels of neighbourhood poverty do not prevent citizens from acknowledging poverty in the wider city • It is important to be aware of the sub-populations who report lower levels of local poverty. Some of this difference confirms expectations, i.e. it reflects personal experiences of poverty and deprivation in Edinburgh. For example, the proportion reporting that there is “quite a lot” of poverty in their local area is as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 16% of those living in Edinburgh’s least deprived areas, compared to 69% of those living in Edinburgh’s most deprived areas • 27% of those who have never experienced poverty, compared to 52% of those who have previously

	<p>experienced poverty and 55% of those who currently experience poverty</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 21% of those who encounter poverty at most weekly, compared to 31% of those who encounter it daily and 61% of those who encounter it several times per day • This rises to: 82% of those who currently live in poverty and live in one of Edinburgh’s most deprived areas; and 88% of those living in one of Edinburgh’s most deprived areas who report that they encounter poverty several times a day. • However, variation across the population in Edinburgh extends beyond the geography of deprivation. Notably, those perceiving there to be “quite a lot” of local poverty includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 7% of private sector workers in the least deprived areas perceive that there is “quite a lot” of poverty in their local area, compared to 16% of those in the same areas who work in the public sector and 17% who work in the Third sector. • Among men in the most deprived areas, 57% of those aged under 40 (12 of 21) thought that there was “quite a lot” of poverty in their area, compared to 96% of those aged 40 and over (23 of 24). • Among women in the most deprived areas, 34% of those aged under 40 (8 of 24) thought that there was “quite a lot” of poverty in their area, compared to 88% of those aged 40 and over (22 of 25). • Among men in the least deprived areas, none of those aged under 40 (51) thought that there was “quite a lot” of poverty in their area, compared to 18% of those aged 40 and over (12 of 56). • Age differences seem to matter, but only for clearly defined sub-populations. Care must be taken not to over-generalise understanding of deprived areas among men and among women.
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5.7 – The Core Basis for Public Support for Local Anti-Poverty Action

Table 5.3: The importance of tackling poverty in Edinburgh, by perceptions of how much poverty is in their local area, Edinburgh residents 2020.

<i>Table percentages</i>			
How important to tackle poverty in Edinburgh			
How much poverty in LOCAL area	Very important	Not ‘very important’	<i>Cases</i>
None or very little	14.0%	6.0%	<i>104</i>
Some	40.2%	2.6%	<i>224</i>
Quite a lot	37.0%	0.3%	<i>196</i>
<i>Cases</i>	<i>478</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>525</i>

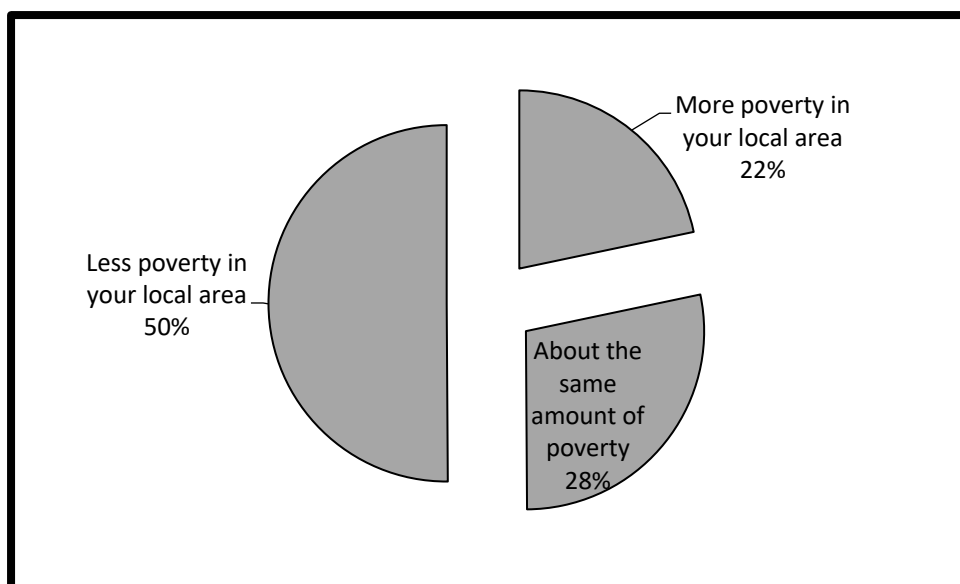
What we asked	As reported for city as a whole (5.4), we asked the Edinburgh public, how important it was to tackle poverty (5.3) and how prevalent poverty was in their LOCAL AREA within Edinburgh (5.5)
Why this matters	As for the city-wide question, when pairing data on importance and incidence, these data can provide evidence of the strength of support for taking action to tackle poverty locally within different parts of Edinburgh, i.e. those who both consider that there is “quite a lot” of poverty in their local area (5.5) and that it is ‘very important’ to tackle poverty in the city (5.2).
Headline	Edinburgh citizens were largely split between those who think it is both “very important” to tackle poverty in Edinburgh and that there is “quite a lot” of poverty in the city (37%), and those who think it is both “very important” to tackle poverty in Edinburgh and that there is “some” poverty in the city (40%).
Other key findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The distribution of opinion when importance is combined with incidence for their local area within Edinburgh is very similar to the GB outlook for child poverty in 2016. • The self-employed and, more generally, those working in the private sector are much less likely than others to think that it is both “very important” to tackle poverty in Edinburgh and that there is “quite a lot” of poverty in their local area (Annex 2.x).

<p>Is Edinburgh different?</p>	<p>As noted above (5.5), data on local prevalence of poverty have not been canvassed in the British Social Attitudes Survey. Interestingly, the distribution of opinion when importance on tackling poverty is combined with perceived local incidence of poverty is very similar to the GB outlook for child poverty in 2016 (when the results from 3.4 and 3.5 of this report are combined, they are very similar to what is reported in Table 5.3).</p>
<p>Key Differences among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>As is outlined in more detail in Annex 2.6, there are some differences among the people of Edinburgh. Notably, those least likely to hold the most favourable opinion (very important and a lot of poverty in their local area) are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age. Younger citizens. • Gender. Men. • Employment Status. Self-employed. • Employment Sector. Private sector. • Experiencing Poverty. Those with less experience of poverty. • Encountering Poverty. Those who encounter poverty less often. • Living in a Deprived Area. Those living beyond the most deprived parts of Edinburgh.
<p>Drivers of difference among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>More detailed analysis (multivariate analysis) suggests that some of the differences among the people of Edinburgh that were described above might not be drivers of difference once the effect of the other factors are controlled. Following this more detailed analysis, the drivers of difference (causal influences), which account for variation among Edinburgh citizens on whether they perceive it to be both important to tackle poverty and that there is a lot of it in their neighbourhood within the city have been identified as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment Sector. • Experiencing Poverty. • Encountering Poverty. • Living in a Deprived Area.
<p>Issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The evidence would suggest that there is moderate public support for action to tackle poverty in Edinburgh (a significant proportion of citizens both think that it is important to tackle it and that there is much local poverty) • Nevertheless, there would appear to be less strong support for tackling poverty locally in Edinburgh, than for the city as a whole

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is important to be aware of the sub-populations who would appear hold opinions that offer weaker support for local anti-poverty work. Enlisting support for anti-poverty work may require a different approach for these groups. Some of this difference reflects confirms expectations, given personal experience of poverty and deprivation in Edinburgh. Those considering that it is “very important” to tackle poverty in Edinburgh and that there is “quite a lot” of poverty in their local neighbourhood, include <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 68% of those living in Edinburgh’s least deprived areas, compared to 16% of those living in Edinburgh’s most deprived areas • 27% of those who have never experienced poverty, compared to 51% of those who have previously experienced poverty and 55% of those who currently experience poverty • 13% of those who encounter poverty at most weekly, compared to 31% of those who encounter it daily and 60% of those who encounter it several times per day • This rises to: 82% of those who currently live in poverty in one of Edinburgh’s most deprived areas and 85% of those living in one of Edinburgh’s most deprived areas who report that they encounter poverty several times a day. • Notably, those considering that it is “very important” to tackle poverty in Edinburgh and that there is “quite a lot” of poverty in their local neighbourhood, include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 19% of those working in the private sector, compared to 42% of those working in the public/Third Sector • 18% of the self-employed, compared to 38% of employees
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5.8 – Relative Incidence of Poverty Across Edinburgh

Figure 5.5: How does poverty in their local area, compare to the rest of Edinburgh, Edinburgh residents 2020



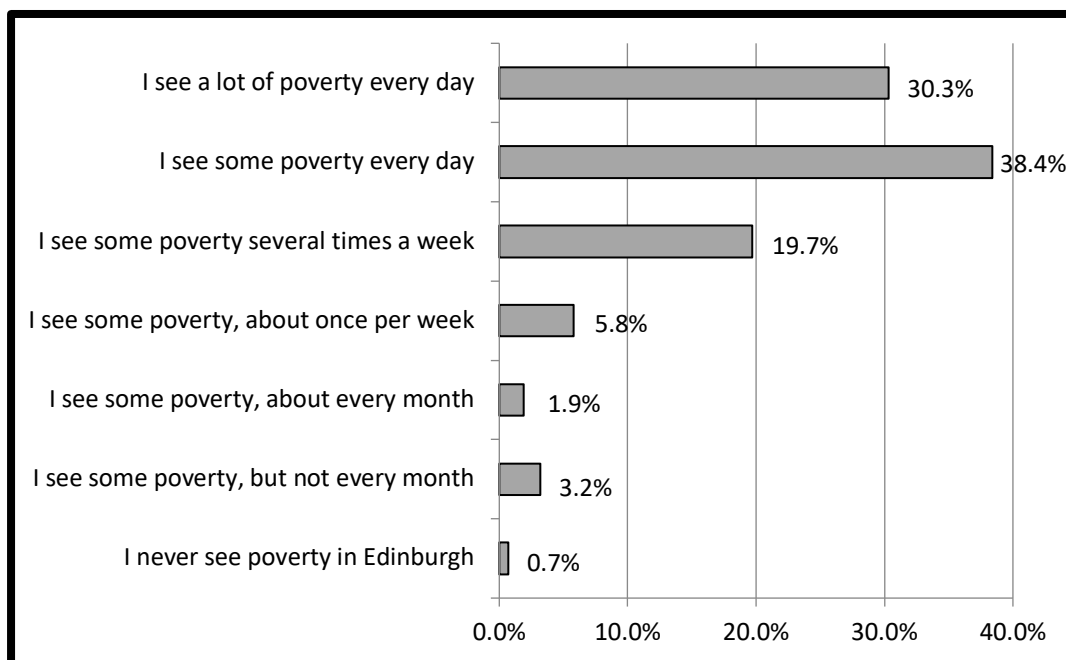
What we asked	We asked ‘ <i>Compared to the rest of Edinburgh as a whole, is there ...?</i> ’ and then offered respondents three options, ranging from “more poverty in your local area” ‘about the same amount of poverty’ to “less poverty in your local area”; respondents could also indicate that they “didn’t know” how important this was.
Why this matters	It is useful to find out whether residents of Edinburgh perceive poverty to be more of a local, or a city-wide issue. It is also interesting to compare local perceptions of poverty to the reality of the local geography of poverty in Edinburgh.
Headline	One-half of those responding to the survey perceived that they lived in a part of Edinburgh that had “less poverty” than the city as a whole (50%).
Is Edinburgh different?	These data have not been canvassed in the British Social Attitudes Survey.
Key differences among the people of Edinburgh	As is outlined in more detail in Annex 2.7, there are some differences among the people of Edinburgh. Notably, the following were less likely to think that poverty was lower in their area, compared to the rest of Edinburgh: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age. Older citizens. • Employment Status. Retired.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment Sector. Private sector employees. • Experiencing Poverty. Those with less experience of poverty. • Encountering Poverty. Those who encounter poverty less frequently. • Living in a Deprived Area. Those living beyond the most deprived areas in Edinburgh. • Perception of Local Incidence of Poverty. Those who perceive that the level of poverty is low in their area.
<p>Drivers of difference among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>More detailed analysis (multivariate analysis) suggests that some of the differences among the people of Edinburgh that were described above might not be drivers of difference once the effect of the other factors are controlled. Following this more detailed analysis, the drivers of difference (causal influences), which account for variation among Edinburgh citizens on whether they perceive their neighbourhood to have more poverty, compared to Edinburgh as a whole, have been identified as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • * Age. Only matters for those living in those areas that are neither perceived to have the most or least poverty. • * Employment Sector. Only matters among those previously experiencing poverty. • Experiencing Poverty. • * Encountering Poverty. Only matters outside the most affluent areas • Living in a Deprived Area. • Perception of Local Incidence of Poverty.
<p>Issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Given that this survey population is representative of the city of Edinburgh, we would have expected an even distribution of response across the three response options: thus, Edinburgh citizens appeared to under-estimate neighbourhood poverty, in relation to the wider city. • On the other hand, perceptions of relative neighbourhood poverty are consistent with personal experiences of poverty and deprivation in Edinburgh. The proportion of a sub-population who perceive that there is more poverty in their local area, relative to the rest of Edinburgh is as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13% of those who have never experienced poverty, compared to 31% of those who have previously experienced poverty and 46% of those currently experiencing poverty

- 5% of those living in the least deprived areas, compared to 64% of those living in the most deprived areas
- 5% of those who encounter poverty at most weekly, compared to 44% of those who encounter poverty several times a day
- None of those living in areas perceived to have ‘none or very little’ poverty, compared to 27% of those living in areas with ‘some’ or “quite a lot” of poverty.
- This rises to: 73% of those living in the most deprived areas who encounter poverty daily; 69% of those who encounter poverty several times a day and perceive that there is “quite a lot” of poverty in their local area; and 70% of those living in the most deprived area who perceive their to be “some” or “quite a lot” of poverty in that area.
- However, variation across the population in Edinburgh extends beyond the geography of deprivation. It may be helpful to note population groups that are more likely to under-represent their area’s local share of poverty in Edinburgh. Notably:
 - Outwith the least and most deprived parts of Edinburgh, 12% of those aged 60 and over, compared to 25% of those aged under 60; however, there is huge variation by age across area types, e.g. 64% of those aged under 60 in the most deprived areas, 5% of those aged under 60 in the least deprived areas, compared to the 25% beyond least/most deprived Edinburgh.
 - 10% of those working in the private sector, compared to 29% of those working in the Public/Third Sector; however, if they also previously experienced poverty, this rises to 11% for those working in the private sector, 34% of those working in the Public Sector, and 51% of those working in the Third Sector.

5.9 – Encountering Poverty in Edinburgh

Figure 5.6: How much poverty do you encounter in Edinburgh, Edinburgh residents 2020



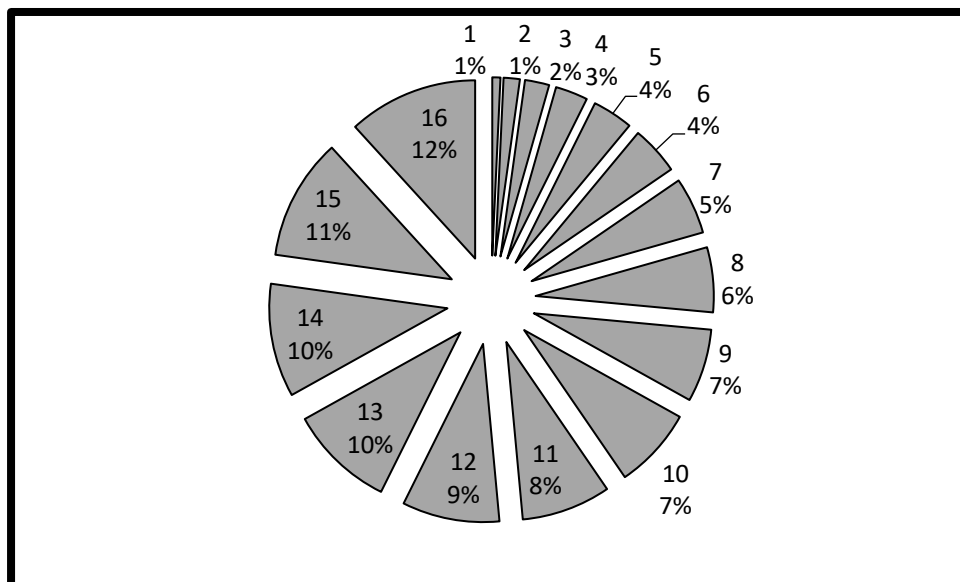
What we asked	We asked ‘Which of the following best describes how often you come across poverty in Edinburgh?’ Respondents were presented with seven ‘positive’ options, ranging from “I see a lot of poverty every day” through to “I never see poverty in Edinburgh”; respondents could also indicate that they would “rather not say”.
Why this matters	It is important to establish how frequently the people of Edinburgh directly encounter poverty in their city. Encountering poverty should be distinguished from being aware of poverty (5.3 and 5.5).
Headline	Two-thirds of Edinburgh residents reported that they encountered poverty in Edinburgh every day (69%). The vast majority of the remainder reported that they encountered poverty several times per week (20%).
Other key findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only one in ten Edinburgh residents report that they encounter poverty in Edinburgh no more than once per week (12%) • One-third of Edinburgh residents report that they encounter “a lot” of poverty in their city every day (30%).

<p>Is Edinburgh different?</p>	<p>These data have not been canvassed in the British Social Attitudes Survey.</p>
<p>Key differences among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>As is outlined in more detail in Annex 2.8, there are some differences among the people of Edinburgh. Notably, the following were least likely to encounter poverty:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age. Retired. • Employment Status. Retired and self-employed. • Employment Sector. Working in private sector. • Experiencing Poverty. Those with less experience of poverty. • Living in a Deprived Area. Those living beyond the most deprived parts of Edinburgh. • Perception of Local Incidence of Poverty. Those who perceive that the level of poverty is low in their part of Edinburgh.
<p>Drivers of difference among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>More detailed analysis (multivariate analysis) suggests that some of the differences among the people of Edinburgh that were described above might not be drivers of difference once the effect of the other factors are controlled. Following this more detailed analysis, the drivers of difference (causal influences), which account for variation among Edinburgh citizens on how frequently Edinburgh citizens encounter poverty have been identified as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • * Age. Only matters among those who have never experienced poverty. • * Employment Status. Only matters among those who have never experienced poverty. • * Employment Sector. Only matters among those who have never experienced poverty. • Experiencing Poverty.
<p>Issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority of Edinburgh citizens report that they encounter poverty every day. • If we understand that citizens' experience of encountering poverty in Edinburgh should be taken into consideration when devising anti-poverty work, then population with atypical experiences should be acknowledged. Reports of encountering poverty are consistent with other personal experiences of poverty in Edinburgh. Notably, the proportion of sub-populations who do not encounter poverty daily are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 37% of those who have never personally experienced poverty in their lives report that they do not encounter

	<p>poverty daily in Edinburgh (compared to 10% of those who currently experience poverty)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 33% of those who do not live in Edinburgh's most deprived areas report that they do not encounter poverty daily in Edinburgh (compared to 23% of those who do).• However, variation across the population in Edinburgh extends beyond poverty experiences. Notably, the proportion of sub-populations who do not encounter poverty daily are:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Among those who do not currently live in poverty, 43% of those aged 60 and over, and 30% of those aged under 60• Among those who do not currently live in poverty, 53% of the self-employed, and 32% of employees• Among those who do not currently live in poverty, 48% of those working in the private sector, and 24% of those working in the Public/Third sector.
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5.10 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh

Figure 5.7: How many reasons were provided to explain poverty in Edinburgh, Edinburgh residents 2020



What we asked	<p>We asked two questions to find out what the people of Edinburgh thought were the reasons for poverty in Edinburgh. First, we provided a list of sixteen response options and asked them to identify all of those that they thought were reasons for poverty in Edinburgh.</p> <p>We then presented the same list, but asked them to identify the main reason for poverty in Edinburgh.</p> <p>For both question, respondents could also indicate that they “don’t know”, or could have provided an “Other” option.</p>
Why this matters	<p>Finding out what the people of Edinburgh think are the main reasons for poverty in Edinburgh is central to the work of the Edinburgh Poverty Commission.</p>
Headline	<p>Two reasons were reported by one-quarter of Edinburgh residents as being the main reason for poverty in Edinburgh, i.e. inequalities in society (27%) and the work of adults not paying enough (25%). Furthermore, one in seven Edinburgh residents thought that the main reason for poverty in Edinburgh was that social benefits did not pay enough (13%).</p>
Other key findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On average, Edinburgh citizens identified 9.4 reasons for poverty in Edinburgh (when presented with a list of sixteen options).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From a fixed list of possible explanations for poverty, ten were identified by the majority of Edinburgh residents as being a contributory reason for poverty in Edinburgh.
<p>Is Edinburgh different?</p>	<p>A comparison of the Edinburgh (2020, focused on poverty), with similar data from Scotland and GB as a whole (2016, focused on child poverty), suggests some similarities.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Everything matters to somebody. In GB, Scotland and Edinburgh, every one of the fifteen suggested reasons for child/poverty was considered to be the main reason by at least one respondent. Two reasons feature in the top three. Work not paying enough and inequalities in society featured were among the three most commonly identified reasons for child poverty in GB and Scotland, and for poverty in Edinburgh. <p>On the other hand, there are also significant differences.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Although there is no overly dominant main reason for poverty, there is more agreement in Edinburgh on the main reasons. In 2016, the most common single reason (for child poverty) was identified by only 16% in GB, 25% in Scotland and 27% in Edinburgh (for poverty in Edinburgh in 2020). Similarly, the three most commonly identified reasons only had the support of 40% of those in GB, 50% in Scotland and 65% in Edinburgh. Alcoholism, drug abuse and other addictions. In 2016, this was the reason that most people in GB (16%) and Scotland (25%) identified as the main reason for child poverty. Only 4% of Edinburgh citizens perceived this be the main reason for poverty in Edinburgh in 2020. Work Not Paying Enough. Although among the three most commonly identified reasons for child poverty in GB and Scotland, and for poverty in Edinburgh, more people in Edinburgh considered this to be the main reason (25%, compared to 10% in Scotland and 14% for GB as a whole). Inequalities in Society. Similarly, although among the three most commonly identified reasons for child poverty in GB and Scotland, and for poverty in Edinburgh, more people in Edinburgh considered this to be the main reason (27%, compared to 15% in Scotland and 11% for GB as a whole). Affordable Housing and Social benefits not paying enough. Almost twice as many identified these are being the main reason, compared to Scotland and GB as whole, i.e. (respectively, 6.3%, compared to 2.6% and 3.7% for

	affordable housing; and respectively, 13%, compared to 4.8% and 5.1% for social benefits).
Key differences among the people of Edinburgh	<p>In Annex 2.9, we explore differences in the number of explanations that were provided by the people of Edinburgh to account for poverty in their city. Thereafter, in Annexes 2.10 through 2.25 we explore differences of opinion for individual reasons. Here, we only detail differences in the extent to which the people of Edinburgh accounted for poverty in terms of the lack of affordable housing (Annex 2.11). Notably, the following sub-populations were more likely to consider the lack of affordable housing to be a contributory factor explaining poverty in Edinburgh:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age. Younger citizens • Gender. Women • Employment Sector. Those working in Third Sector • Encountering Poverty. Those who encounter poverty more frequently • Perception of Local Incidence of Poverty. Those perceiving high levels of poverty in their local area
Drivers of difference among the people of Edinburgh	<p>More detailed analysis (multivariate analysis) suggests that some of the differences among the people of Edinburgh that were described above might not be drivers of difference once the effect of the other factors are controlled. Following this more detailed analysis, the drivers of difference (causal influences), which account for variation among Edinburgh citizens on whether they perceive that the lack of affordable housing is a contributory factor explaining poverty in Edinburgh have been identified as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • * Age*Gender. Gender matters, but only among younger citizens who do not encounter poverty daily • * Gender*Employment Sector. Sector matters, but only among men who encounter poverty • Encountering Poverty. • Perception of Local Incidence of Poverty.
Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As becomes apparent in 6.3.3. affordable housing has been identified as a particular local problem impacting on poverty (and social justice) in Edinburgh. • It is important to be aware of the sub-populations who would appear to more strongly inclined to acknowledge the problem of affordable housing in Edinburgh. Enlisting support for tackling this issue may usefully draw on positive input from these groups. Notably, the lack of affordable housing in Edinburgh is acknowledged to be a problem by:

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Only 75% of women aged under 30, and 61% of men aged under 30 if they do not experience poverty daily (but this rises to 95% of men under 30 and 87% of women under 30, if they encounter poverty daily).• 95% of men working in the Third Sector acknowledged this as a problem, compared to 70% of men working in the public or private Sectors .• 82% of those who do encounter poverty daily and 84% of those who think there is “some” or “quite a lot” of poverty in their neighbourhood.
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Figure 5.8: Reasons that explain poverty in Edinburgh, Edinburgh residents 2020

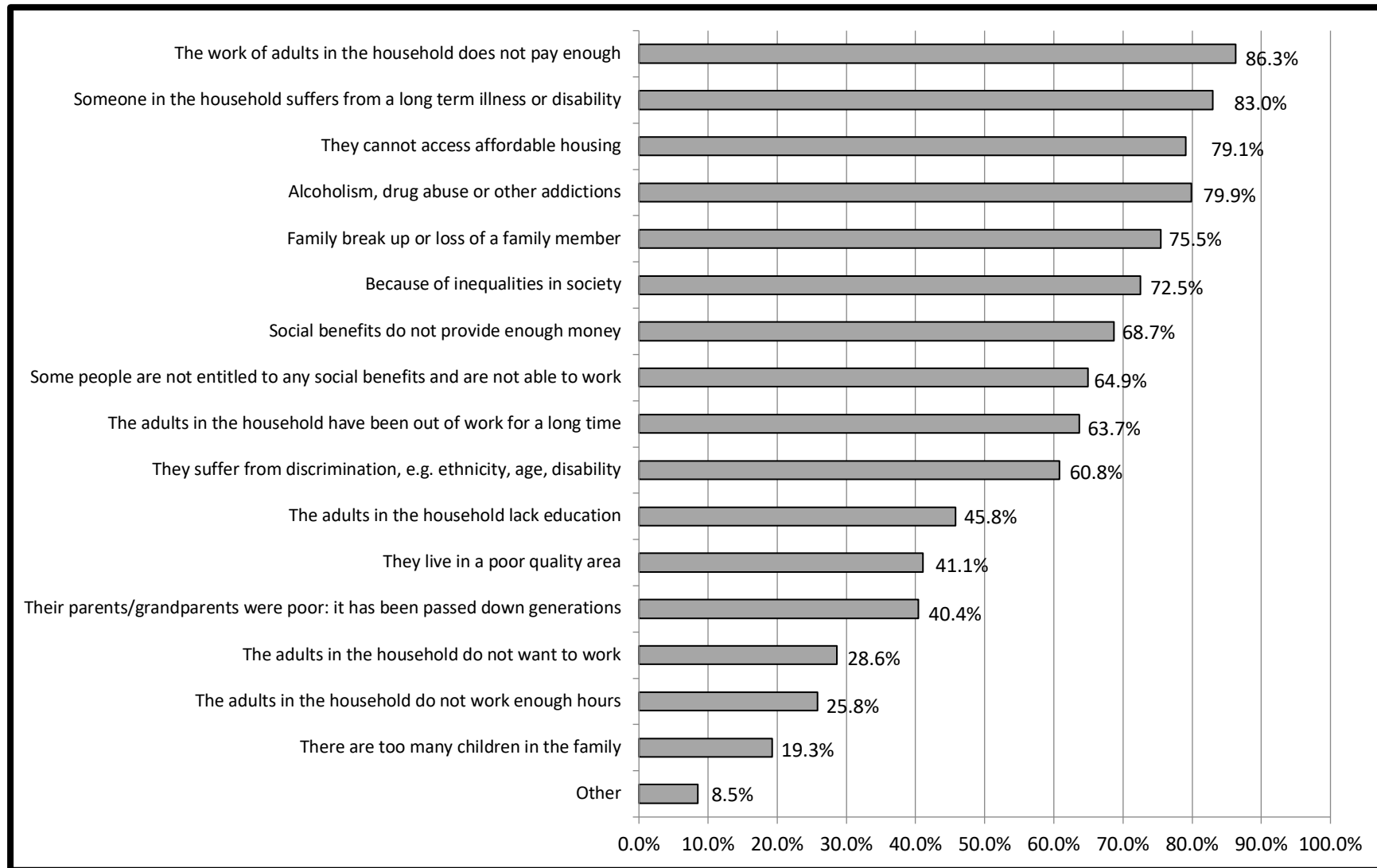
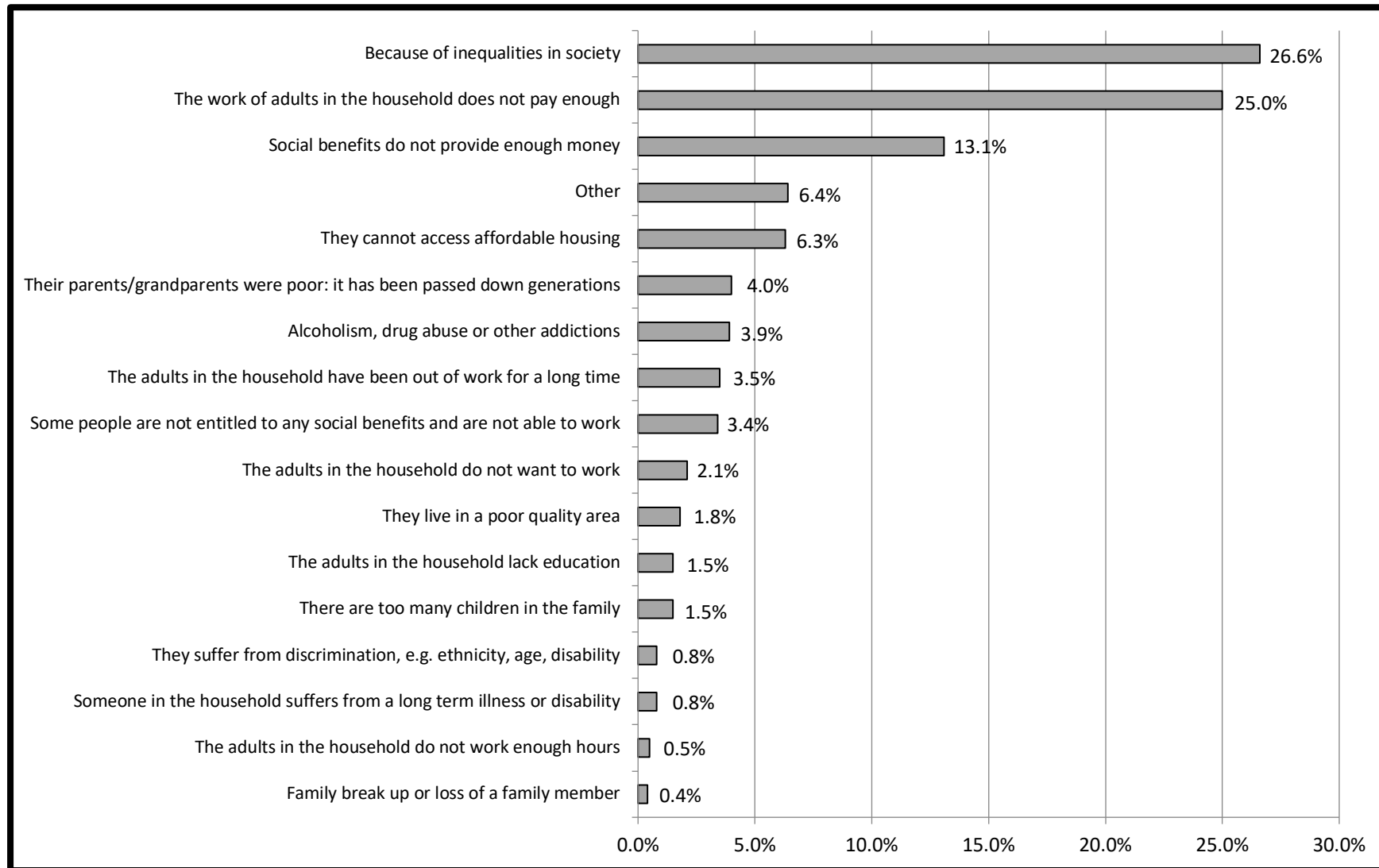


Figure 5.9: Main single reason that explains poverty in Edinburgh, Edinburgh residents 2020



5.11 – Responsibility for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh

Figure 5.10: Responsibilities for tackling poverty in Edinburgh, Edinburgh residents 2020

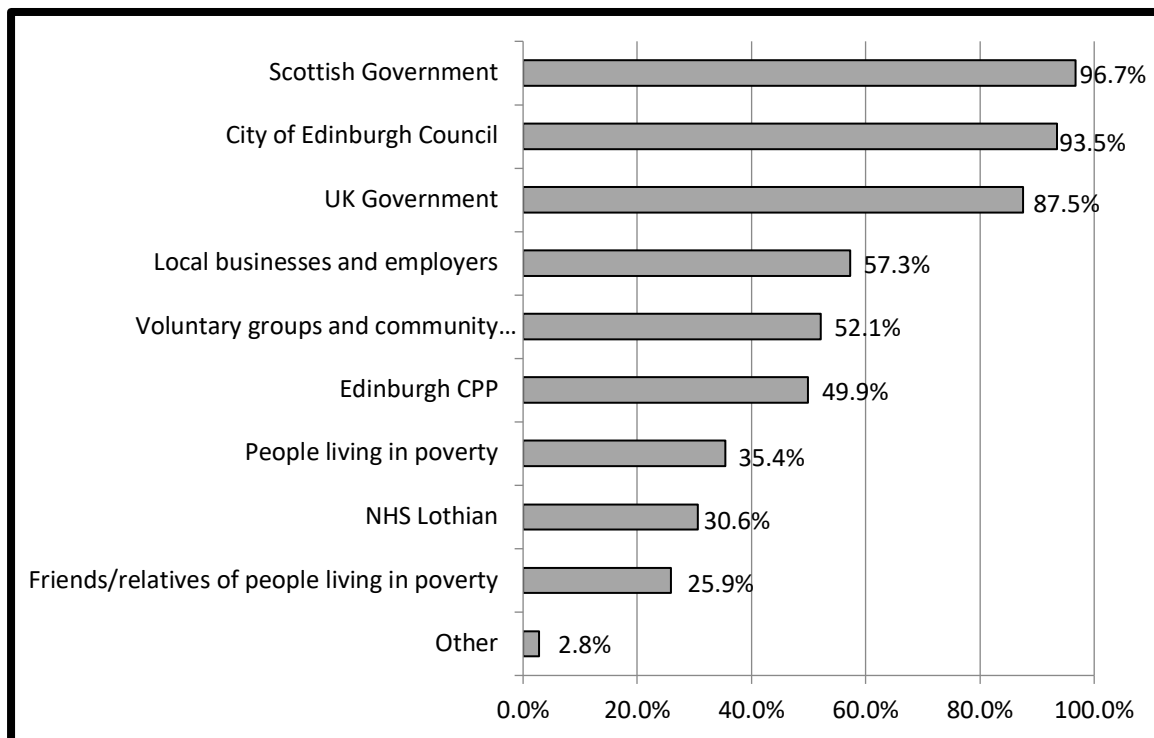


Figure 5.11: Main responsibility for tackling poverty in Edinburgh, Edinburgh residents 2020

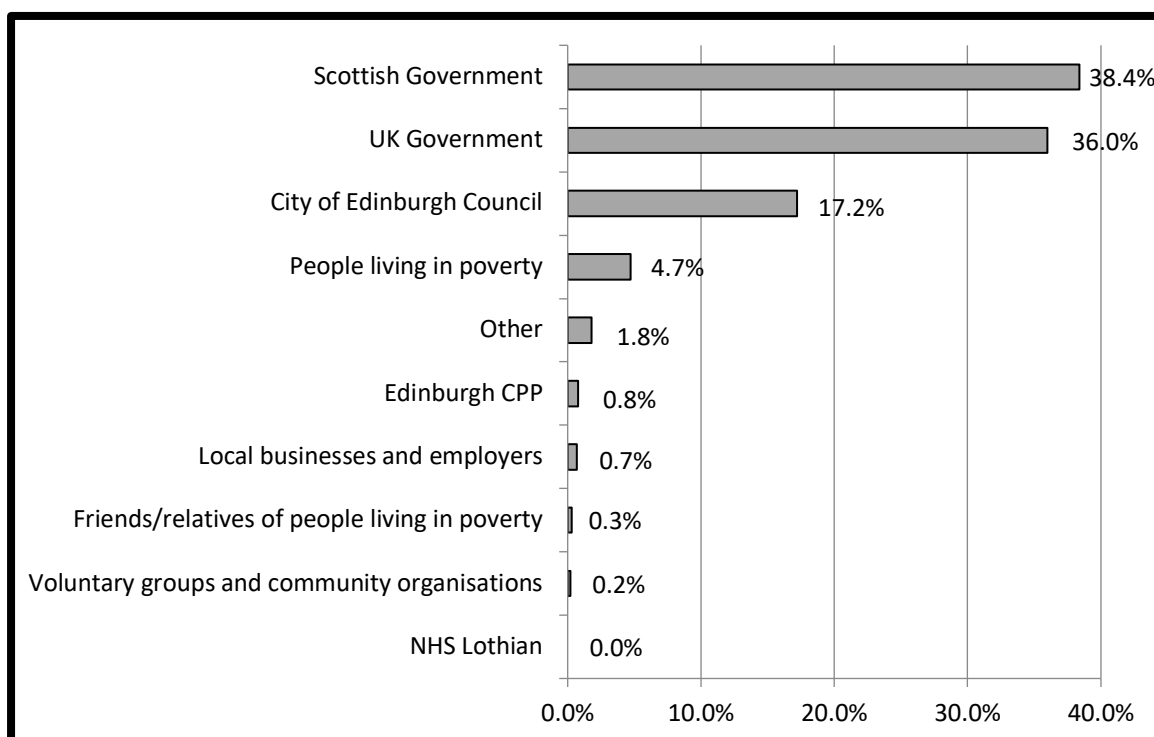
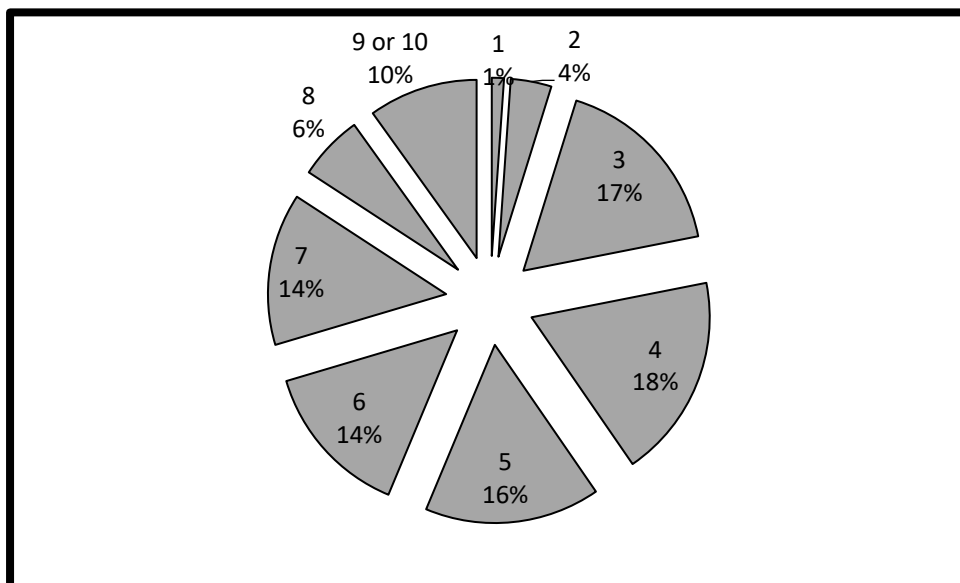


Figure 5.12: Number of agents with responsibility for tackling poverty in Edinburgh, Edinburgh residents 2020



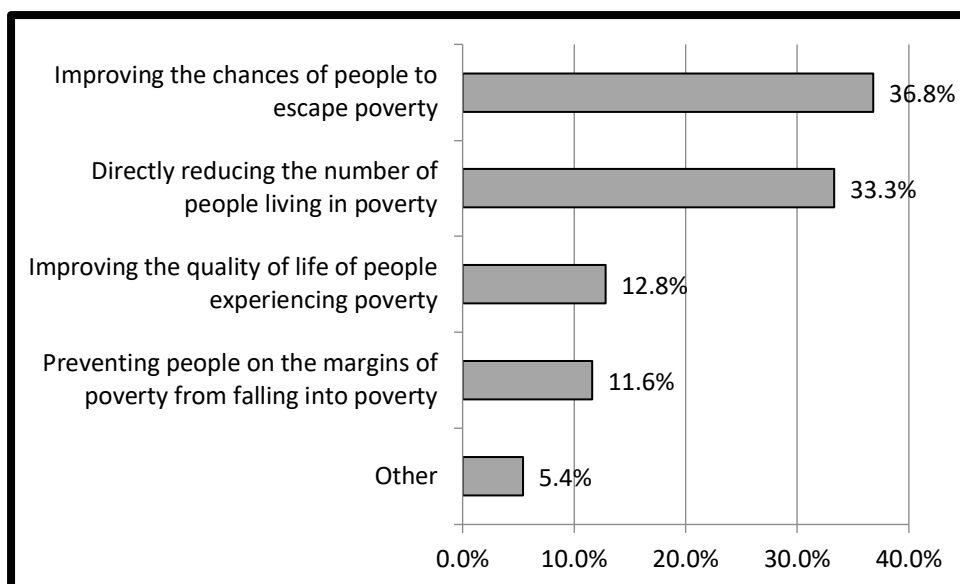
<p>What we asked</p>	<p>We asked two questions to find out who the people of Edinburgh thought were responsible for tackling poverty in Edinburgh.</p> <p>First, we provided a list of nine response options and asked them to identify all of those that they thought were responsible for tackling poverty in Edinburgh.</p> <p>We then presented the same list, but asked them to identify who was most responsible for tackling poverty in Edinburgh.</p> <p>For both question, respondents could also indicate that they would “rather not say”, or could have provided an “Other” option.</p>
<p>Why this matters</p>	<p>The Edinburgh Poverty Commission is primarily concerned to tackle poverty in Edinburgh. It is useful to know who the people of Edinburgh think has responsibility for tackling this problem.</p>
<p>Headline</p>	<p>The vast majority of Edinburgh residents think that tackling poverty in Edinburgh is the responsibility of government, particularly national (UK and Scottish government).</p>
<p>Other key findings</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The vast majority of Edinburgh residents think that the City of Edinburgh Council has a role to play in tackling poverty in the city (94%), with almost one-in-five thinking that the City of Edinburgh Council is primarily responsible for tackling poverty in Edinburgh (17%).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Notwithstanding that government is considered to have primary responsibility for tackling poverty in Edinburgh, around one-half of Edinburgh residents think that local businesses and employers (57%), voluntary groups and community organisations (52%) and the Edinburgh Community Planning Partnership (50%) have a responsibility toward tackling poverty in Edinburgh • On average, Edinburgh citizens identified 5.3 agents who they think have responsibility for tackling poverty in Edinburgh.
<p>Is Edinburgh different?</p>	<p>A comparison of the Edinburgh (2020, focused on poverty), with similar data from Scotland and GB as a whole (2012), suggests some similarities.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most people think that Central government has responsibility for tackling poverty. In GB, Scotland and Edinburgh, central government was the agent considered by most to have responsibility (78% for GB, 75% for Scotland and 88% for the UK Government in Edinburgh). • Only a minority (albeit a substantial minority) consider that people closely involved with the experience of poverty (those living in poverty and their families) have a responsibility to tackle poverty. For example, responsibility of people experiencing poverty for tackling their own poverty was accorded by 42% in GB, 38% in Scotland, and 35% in Edinburgh. <p>On the other hand, there are also significant differences.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many more people in Edinburgh accord responsibility for tackling poverty to government – central and local. For example, 94% accord a responsibility to local government in Edinburgh, compared to 62% in GB and 53% in Scotland. • Many more people in Edinburgh accord responsibility to charities. 52% accord a responsibility to local government in Edinburgh, compared to 28% in GB and 19% in Scotland.
<p>Key difference among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>In Annex 2.26, we explore differences in the number of explanations that were provided by the people of Edinburgh to identify who is responsible for tackling poverty in their city. Therefore, in Annexes 2.27 through 2.35 we explore differences of opinion for individual agents. Here, we only detail differences in the extent to which the people of Edinburgh accorded responsibility to Edinburgh City Council (Annex 2.27). Notably, the only difference evident were according to:</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encountering Poverty. Those who encounter poverty more frequently.
<p>Issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although many more citizens of Edinburgh think that tackling poverty in Edinburgh is primarily a responsibility of national government, the vast majority perceive that this is a responsibility (albeit a subsidiary one) of the City of Edinburgh Council. • More work is required to extend the belief that tackling poverty in Edinburgh is everyone’s business. • There is very little variation among the people of Edinburgh, although a larger minority of those who do not encounter poverty in Edinburgh do not consider this a responsibility of the City of Edinburgh Council. Even so, a clear majority of this group perceive it to be a responsibility of the Council.

5.12 – Strategic Priority for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh

Figure 5.13: Preference for strategic priority for tackling poverty in Edinburgh, Edinburgh residents 2020



What we asked	We asked, ‘ <i>What do you think should be the main goal of local action to tackle poverty in Edinburgh?</i> ’ and then offered respondents four options, i.e. “improving the quality of life of people experiencing poverty”; “improving the chances of people to escape poverty”; “directly reducing the number of people living in poverty”; or “preventing people on the margins from falling into poverty”. Respondents could also indicate that they “didn’t know” and were offered the opportunity to present an “Other” goal.
Why this matters	Anti-poverty strategy is often multi-dimensional. It is useful to find out what the people of Edinburgh would like to prioritise.
Headline	The majority of Edinburgh residents are split between one of two strategic goals for tackling poverty, both of which focus on reducing poverty for those currently experiencing it.
Is Edinburgh different?	These data have not been canvassed in the British Social Attitudes Survey.
Key differences among the people of Edinburgh	As is outlined in more detail in Annex 2.36, there are some differences among the people of Edinburgh. Notably: improving the chances of people to escape poverty was favoured by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age. Older citizens.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment Status. Self-employed • Employment Sector. Those working in private sector. • Experiencing Poverty. Those with least experience of poverty. • Encountering Poverty. Those who encounter poverty less frequently. <p>Notably, directly reducing the number of people living in poverty was favoured by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age. Youngest citizens. • Employment Sector. Those working in Third Sector and Public Sector. • Encountering Poverty. Those who encounter poverty more frequently. <p>Notably, preventing people on the margins from falling into poverty was more likely to be favoured by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age. Youngest citizens.
<p>Drivers of difference among the people of Edinburgh</p>	<p>More detailed analysis (multivariate analysis) suggests that some of the differences among the people of Edinburgh that were described above might not be drivers of difference once the effect of the other factors are controlled. Following this more detailed analysis, the drivers of difference (causal influences), which account for variation among Edinburgh citizens in the preferred strategic priority for tackling poverty have been identified as:</p> <p>Improving the chances of people to escape poverty was favoured by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • * Age*Employment Status. Age variation matters among employees • * Experiencing Poverty*Encountering Poverty. Encounter poverty matters among those who have never experienced it. <p>Directly reducing the number of people living in poverty was favoured by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encountering Poverty. Those who encounter poverty more frequently.
<p>Issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority of citizens in Edinburgh favour a strategy that either reduces the number of people living in poverty or enables people to lift themselves out of poverty. It would be useful to reflect this in substance and presentation of planned work. • It is important to be aware of which approaches particular sub-populations who be inclined to favour. Enlisting

	<p>support for tackling this issue may usefully draw on support from these groups. Notably:</p> <p>Improving the chances of people to escape poverty was favoured by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 62% of the self employed (compared to 44% of employees aged over 30 and 22% of employees aged under 30).• 20% of those currently living in poverty and who encounter poverty daily (compared to 46% who encounter poverty daily, but no longer live in poverty). <p>Directly reducing the number of people living in poverty was favoured by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 40% of those who encounter poverty daily, compared to 26% of those who do not.
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6. Issues for Edinburgh

6.1 – Introduction

The primary value of this research is drawn from the fixed response questions to the survey that were presented in section 5 of this report, i.e. it delivers a systematic analysis of attitudes toward poverty in Edinburgh. However, it is useful to allow the people of Edinburgh to share additional insights, drawn from their awareness, experience and encounters with poverty in Edinburgh, as fixed response survey questions constrain what respondents are able to convey. Therefore, we ended the survey by inviting the people of Edinburgh to ‘*use the space below to share any experiences or thoughts that they[you] have about tackling poverty in Edinburgh?*’

In this section, we present the findings in five sections, most of which comprise sub-sections, i.e. Edinburgh issues (6.3), core themes in UK poverty (6.4), on people experiencing poverty in Edinburgh (6.5), agents of change (6.6) and values (6.7). We begin by considering two themes that emerged, each of which is important in framing how we interpret these findings. A full list of sub-themes covered in this section is presented below:

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6.2 – Understanding Thinking on Poverty in Edinburgh

6.2.1 – Dominant Themes

The significance of issues and the importance of insights shared in response to open-ended questions are not solely determined by the frequency of response. Researcher judgement has been deployed in interpreting this evidence, with some significant insight being drawn from themes that were not widely discussed. On the other hand, it is important to reflect on the themes that seemed to concern or engage more of Edinburgh’s citizens. Table 6.1 summarises the themes covered most often.

All of the themes listed in Table 6.1 are covered in this section of the report, e.g. the concern raised by one-in-five respondents that work must provide adequate remuneration is discussed in 6.4.1. On the other hand, the insights provided to other themes that were raised less frequently are also considered, e.g. stigma and discrimination in 6.5.5.

Table 6.1: Twenty Themes Most Commonly Referenced in Responses to Q10 of the Edinburgh survey

Rank	Theme	% of Cases	Cases
1.	‘Issues Work reward/pay’	19.9%	57
2.	‘Issues: Support Services and Networks’	13.2%	38
3.	‘Edinburgh Inequality’	12.9%	37
4.	‘Issues: Housing supply and cost’	12.5%	36
5.	‘Issues: Education’	10.5%	30
6.	‘Cross-sector coordination’	10.1%	29
7=	‘Government: Social Security system’	9.8%	28
	‘Issues: Housing cost’	9.8%	28
	‘On Poverty/Poor: Deprived Areas’	9.8%	28
10.	‘Edinburgh: Strategy direction or approach’	9.1%	26
11.	‘Issues: Homelessness’	8.7%	25
12.	‘Issues: Work accessing’	8.0%	23
13=	‘Government: Social Security levels’	7.7%	22
	‘Issues Food’	7.7%	22
15=	‘Edinburgh: Cost of Living’	7.0%	20
	‘On Poverty/Poor: Experience’	7.0%	20
17=	‘Issues: Housing AirBnB’	6.6%	19
	‘Issues: Housing supply’	6.6%	19
19=	‘Edinburgh: Tourist orientation’	6.3%	18
	‘Government: Social Security/work interface’	6.3%	18
	‘On Poverty/Poor: Complex Routes to Poverty’	6.3%	18

Source: Author’s analysis of responses to Q10 of the survey.

6.2.2 – Confirmatory, Supplementary or Inconsistent Insights?

A cursory comparison of the open-ended data and fixed-response data confirm that the issues that were considered by most people in Edinburgh to be the most significant reasons for poverty (Figure 5.8 and 5.9) are the same ones for which additional comment was most likely to be offered (Table 6.1). In particular, remuneration through work, inequality and affordable housing feature prominently in both and are clearly key concerns of the people of Edinburgh. For these issues, the open-ended responses reinforce the importance of the issue and provide additional insight into the nature of the problem.

There is similar congruence from both sources with regards to responsibility for tackling poverty; cross-sector co-ordination features prominently in the open-ended responses, which is consistent with the wide range of agents who were accorded responsibility for tackling poverty in the fixed-response survey questions (6.2.2). Furthermore, the responsibilities of the national governments (UK and Scottish) featured prominently in both.

On the other hand, the open-ended question seemed to afford an opportunity for additional issues to be discussed in greater detail, e.g. the tourist-orientation of the city and the problems caused by AirBnB. Interestingly, education as a cause/solution to poverty featured more prominently in the open-ended responses.

On the other hand, respondents were less motivated to freely express opinions on a wide range of issues that featured as fixed-response options in the survey, e.g. long-term limited illness, disability, family break up, poverty through generations and discrimination. Open-ended comment was provided on all of these issues, but not to any great extent.

6.2.3 – An Edinburgh View?

The objective of this research has been to understand what people in Edinburgh think about poverty. Notwithstanding, the exploration throughout section 5 and in Annex 2 of the differences among the people of Edinburgh in the intensity with which particular views are held, e.g. how much poverty do we think prevails in Edinburgh (5.4), what emerges in many instances is close to a consensus, or at least a strongly dominant majority opinion.

While it is important to identify and understand the Edinburgh view, it is equally important not to ignore minority opinions or discordant voices. Differences of opinion are more marked for some issues. One such issue that polarises opinion is attitudes toward begging on Edinburgh's city centre streets, which some who want to provide and support (1), others who are sceptical of their poverty (2) and those who perceive that there is genuine begging and exploitative begging (3).

1. I feel Edinburgh is a very divided place ... For so long as we have ... rough sleepers, ... and Edinburgh citizens feeling they have no hope of anything better, we need to do all we can to speed the structural changes to end inequality.

- (Woman from Mountcastle, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
2. I don't give to those European beggars who are out to get money and have houses send them back.
(Woman from Haymarket, not in employment, never experienced poverty)
 3. Great increase of begging in Edinburgh, but these are not local people. It is a widely held belief that these are beggars working for gangs who bring them to the UK. Unfortunately this makes people reluctant to help them, which will have a negative knock-on effect on people who are begging and are genuinely homeless.
(Retired man, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)

In this section of the report, our objective is to acknowledge both majority and minority viewpoints.

6.2.4 – A Complex Problem

Many respondents acknowledge that tackling poverty is not straightforward. This was evident in number of options that were selected to the questions that asked citizens to identify all of the reasons for poverty in Edinburgh (5.10) and all of the agents who were responsible for tackling poverty in Edinburgh (5.11). Furthermore, when asked to identify what was the main reason for poverty in Edinburgh (Figure 5.9) and who was primarily responsible for tackling poverty in Edinburgh (Figure 5.11), several offered additional comments to either question the sensibility of asking for a main reason or main agent of change, or to qualify that others were also responsible. The complexity of poverty was also a strong theme to emerge in the open-ended comments, with this complexity expressed in terms of causes (4,5,6,9), effects and experience (7,8) and solutions (9,10):

4. In my experience, the reasons for poverty are often complex and multi-faceted.
(Woman from Davidson's Mains, aged 40-49, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
5. It is often not an isolated incident or cause that places people in poverty, but a sliding scale of accumulating factors. Some factors make people more vulnerable than others.
(Woman from Balerno, aged 40-49, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
6. The reasons for an individual's poverty are invariably complex, starting with education difficulties at school, complex personal welfare needs, difficulties accessing benefit payments (e.g. lack of access to free computer time), low skill level leading to low wages. There are so many factors and each case is different such that one cannot really generalise.
(Retired man from Morningside, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)
7. Working in an area of multiple deprivation within the city I understand it is a multifaceted and complex situation.
(Woman from Stenhouse, aged 25-29, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
8. So many factors relate to poverty, health, personal circumstances, education, employment, disability, caring for someone, being parents, poor housing, cost of gas & electricity. Being able to access good quality food.
(Woman from Edinburgh North West, aged 50-59, not in employment (temporarily sick or injured), currently experiencing poverty)

9. There are so many things that could be tackled - I'm not sure exactly the best way to do this as there are many reasons for poverty.
(Woman, aged 60-64, not in employment (long-term sick or disabled), previously experienced poverty)
10. It is a complex and multi factorial issue that will require a concerted and joint effort to tackle. From health and education to resilience, there are many different individual and overlapping factors to consider.
(Women from Leith, aged 30-39 public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

The second extract is particularly significant in that it acknowledges both a temporal dimension, i.e. that poverty can be the result of an accumulation of stressors experienced through time, and an apparently random dimension, i.e. at the point of vulnerability, some people may seem more susceptible than others. Taken together, it would be misleading to draw the spurious conclusion of personal failing as an explanation for poverty at the tipping point – family X didn't become poor as a result of factor 1, unlike family Y who also experienced factor 1, with the implication being that family Y were lacking resilience – rather, differential impact of a poverty-inducing factor may reflect a weakened ability to resist on account of prior experiences.

6.3 – Edinburgh Issues

6.3.1 – Edinburgh Cost of Living

Many reported that Edinburgh had become a more expensive city in which to live (11-13, 16), to the point that many who work in the city cannot afford to live there (11, 12). The issue of who can afford to live within the central city (13) is a theme to which we will return (6.3.6). The Edinburgh cost of living is considered not only to be a matter of household economics; a sense of not belonging to the city is experienced by some as a result of being priced out (14), while others report a diminished quality of life (15). One outcome is a flight to the periphery (16-18), a move (or series of moves – 18) that is presented as forced migration, rather than a conscious decision for a suburban life. Although this move may make it easier to buy or rent (16-18), the cost of living in the periphery is not always found to be lower than that experienced in the central city (18-19) and there is an adverse impact on the quality of family life when commuting becomes part of working life (19). What is clear from all these accounts of city life (11-19) is that many in Edinburgh are seeking city-living, but are finding that this is increasingly becoming beyond their reach.

11. Edinburgh is an expensive place to live - people who work in the city should be able to afford to live in the city.
(Woman from Portobello, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
12. ...pay higher wages (minimum and living are still not sufficient for the costs of living in Edinburgh).
(Woman from Leith, aged 40-49, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

13. I am in full time employment for CEC and cannot afford to live in the city. The cost of living in Edinburgh is astronomical and the city only appears to cater for the very wealthy, students and tourism.
(Man from Whitecraig, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
14. Edinburgh is an expensive place to live many families feel alienated from the life of the city due to costs.
(Woman from Edinburgh South-West, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
15. Edinburgh is an expensive city and many people find it hard to have a proper life.
(Self-employed man from Craigour, aged 30-39, previously experienced poverty)
16. People from Edinburgh cannot afford to live in Edinburgh and are increasing being forced to city margins by high property values and high rents.
(Man, aged 50-59, not in employment (long-term sick or disabled), previously experienced poverty)
17. Those that work in Edinburgh are more often forced to live on the outskirts, as property is bought up en masse by unscrupulous landlords or communities eroded by short term lets through Airbnb or student accommodation.
(Man from South Queensferry, aged 30-39, working in the public sector, previous experience of poverty)
18. Rents have increased too much in the twenty years I have been a tenant in the city. Gradually I have moved further out with each lease and by now there really is no difference in rents from the centre to the margins, especially because in the poorer area I live now I have to pay through the nose for electricity and gas via meter keys.
(Woman from Lochend, aged 30-39, not in employment (temporarily sick or injured), currently experiencing poverty)
19. Families moving outside the city to access housing face high commuting costs & lose out on time with their children.
(Woman from Crewe Toll, aged 40-49, working in the public sector, never experienced poverty)

As with the profile of those living in the city (6.3.6), housing is another theme to which we will return (6.3.3).

6.3.2 – Transport

One unintended consequence of moving to the periphery to find accommodation within budget is the addition of transport-related commuting expenses to the household budget (6.3.1). Some respondents reported that they found it difficult to meet the cost of travelling to the city, with the consequence of losing out on opportunities (20-21). The increasing cost of transport was also reported to outstrip increases in wages (20, 22), placing more strain on already over-stretched household budgets.

20. I find that bus fare is too much for me to manage and as a result I cycle and walk a lot more. However this isn't possible in inclement weather and my mental health combined with the prohibitive travel expense keeps me indoors away from job and social opportunities. I marvel at the rate of increase in bus fare since I came to Edinburgh, relative to the tiny movement in wages.

- (Woman from Lochend, aged 30-39, not in employment (temporarily sick or injured), currently experiencing poverty)
21. Transport to the centre of the city can be expensive and time-consuming and can mean that people who live in the poorer periphery of Edinburgh have a lack of opportunities and miss out on the big events that bring the city together.
(Woman from Canongate, aged 30-39, working in the public sector, never experienced poverty)
22. Bus fares also cost more taking fa[r] larger percentage of income when trying to get employment. Could those outwith the central bus fare area be given bus passes to access things such as mental health support job centre access etc.
(Retired woman from South Queensferry, aged 60-64, never experienced poverty)

While there was acknowledgement of investment in transport (23, 24), there was a sense in which this investment was misplaced, or not truly benefiting the most disadvantaged in the city (23, 24). Concern was expressed that emerging transport priorities did not understand the critical importance of private (non-electric) vehicles in enabling families to engage in opportunities (24). Priorities for transport spending were articulated in terms of improving provision to deprived communities (25), increasing subsidies to those who need them (26) and removing subsidies from those who do not (27).

23. Local authority places higher priority to transport than poverty and social care. Its spending priorities are wrong.
(Man from Burdiehouse, aged over 65, in employment, never experienced poverty)
24. ... before you force our cars off the road confident this is the only way we can transport our children to night clubs/classes as the only ones we can afford we have to travel to often in the dark and not getting home until late. Consider the only holiday our children might get once a year is a camping trip in the highlands. Rich people can afford new electric cars, we can't.
(Self-employed man, aged 30-39, previously experience poverty)
25. The city has long become unaffordable to live in. Improve and invest in transport links and schemes such as just eat bikes to deprived communities e.g. west Edinburgh, north Edinburgh. Build a city that serves its citizens first, tourists second.
(Woman from Ardmillan, aged 25-29, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
26. Provide reduced cost travel to those who need it- make free travel for the elderly means assessed. A lot of wealthy elderly people benefit from discounts and freebies that would be better redistributed to the needy.
(Woman from Craigeith, aged 50-59, private sector employee, never experienced poverty)
27. ... subsidies for public transport could greatly improve the lived experience and opportunities available to those living in poverty
(Woman, aged 25-29, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

Transport experiences reinforce the sense of inequality and injustice that was expressed in reference to cost of living – a theme that is addressed directly in 6.3.5.

6.3.3 – Housing

As evidenced in Table 6.1, housing was one of the key concerns expressed by citizens of Edinburgh. Time and time again, the opinion was expressed that there was a lack of affordable housing in Edinburgh (28-35). The language that was used to describe the challenge emphasised the scale of the perceived problem, e.g. shameful (28), huge problem / issue (29, 35), crisis (30) and emergency (33). Unsurprisingly, tackling the shortage of affordable housing is considered to be a priority (30-31). Although for some the problem is the rising cost of housing in the central city (6.3.1), the solution was often presented as a need to increase the supply of affordable housing throughout the city (32-33). There is also the hidden cost of being able to meet housing costs on a low income; a sense of being ‘trapped’ and unable to advance their life project is also conveyed (34). For some, AirBnB exacerbates the problem (35); for others (see below), it is one of the root causes.

28. The lack of affordable housing in Edinburgh is shameful.
(Woman from Morningside, aged 30-39, public sector employee previously experienced poverty)
29. Affordable housing in the city is a huge problem.
(Self-employed man from Newington, aged 50-59, never experienced poverty)
30. Firstly, the housing crisis and shortage of affordable housing needs to be dealt with.
(Woman from Baughtlin, aged 30-39, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
31. Decent housing should be a priority, poor quality or temporary accommodation is a major factor on people’s lives.
(Woman from Roseburn, aged 40-49, working in the third sector, never experienced poverty)
32. We should provide good solid houses in a variety areas mixed in with other housing and no stigma.
(Retired woman from Edinburgh South East, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)
33. ... more affordable housing is needed in every single area as a matter of emergency.
(Woman from Firhill, aged 30-39, public sector employee, currently experiencing poverty)
34. ... having wages and being on benefits now do not cover rent for people. People are trapped in over priced private rents with no way of saving anything.
(Woman from Firrhill, aged 30-39, public sector employee, currently experiencing poverty)
35. The lack of affordable housing to rent & to buy is a huge issue. Air Bnb has exacerbated this problem.
(Woman from Crewe Toll, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

Housing affordability was most often expressed in terms of the spiralling cost of private sector rents, (36-39), particularly in the city centre (36-37), but also beyond (36). Citizens were clear about the drivers of rent increases, which were AirBnB lets/tourism (37-41, also 35), property investment (38, 40-41), and student accommodation (40-41). Although this

refers to the working of the private property market, there is a belief that Edinburgh City Council could perform a stronger regulatory role (40).

36. It's clear to me that housing costs within and even around Edinburgh City have risen dramatically in the last few years - wages are increasingly swallowed by rental costs. This is unsustainable and I feel the effects of this, despite considering myself to have a reasonable wage.
(Woman from Leith, aged 30-39, working in the public sector, previously experienced poverty)
37. I think the local authority should take urgent action to control the private rental sector in Edinburgh, exploring the introduction of rent controls, and looking at how to manage the proliferation of airbnb properties and the negative impact on rent prices in the city centre.
(Man from Canonmills / Bonnington, aged 40-49, working in the public sector, currently experiencing poverty)
38. ...the buying of properties from the 5% rich who are then renting them out at unaffordable rates meaning its almost impossible to gather the money for a house deposit for first time buyers. Don't get me started on air bnb.
(Woman from Leith, aged 25-29, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
39. I am concerned about escalating costs of good quality rented property and in particular on the impact of excessive no. of AirBnB.
(Woman from Marchmont, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
40. Restrict private student accommodations and toughen up rules on short term lets and Airbnb INCLUDING flats that are usually occupied by the owner/spare rooms/lodgers. Restrictions of foreign investors building luxury developments.
(Woman from Ardmillan, aged 25-29, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
41. While certain areas are being renovated and sold as lifestyle brands, others languish without even decent waste collection or properly resourced schools. Those that work in Edinburgh are more often forced to live on the outskirts, as property is bought up en masse by unscrupulous landlords or communities eroded by short term lets through Airbnb or student accommodation.
(Man from South Queensferry, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

Housing problems are also expressed in terms of quality, in addition to affordability. Once more, the private rented sector is identified as the main problem. Concerns were expressed over landlord's lacking motivation to improve their properties (42-43); these were concerns over the liveability of properties, rather than the amenities (43-44). Affordability and quality were inter-connected, with those barely able to meet housing costs, experiencing a vulnerability in the private rented sector that left them poorly placed to call for basic improvements (42); on the other hand, and somewhat counter-intuitively, paying more in rent was not considered to be a way to ensure higher quality (43-44). Concerns were also expressed that the steps taken by the Scottish Government to strengthen the operation of the private renting market (46) and by the City of Edinburgh to manage housing allocations (45) were having adverse unintended consequences for some of the city's least comfortable households.

42. Because finding accommodation has proven so hard each time I've needed to move (adverts for properties are inundated, viewings ridiculously competitive) I live in fear of challenging my landlord by asking for things like needed improvements.
(Woman from Lochend, aged 30-39, not in employment (temporarily sick or injured), currently experiencing poverty)
43. The landlord has no motivation to improve conditions as the demand for flats is so high. So you can be paying over £800 for a damp flat that you can be thrown out of in two months. Things shouldn't be like this in the 21st century.
(Woman from South Gyle, aged 30-39, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
44. I didn't quite realise how bad until I moved to Colinton from Falkirk and felt like I was in some other dimension. The rents in Edinburgh have to be a major factor ... My rent is double what I paid in Falkirk and with terrible maintenance through the private letting agency, including having no boiler for a year.
(Woman from Bonaly, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previous experience of poverty)
45. There is a lack of access to affordable housing, many people work full time but barely cover the rent and council tax they pay. They can't afford to rent but don't earn enough to buy. Council housing has approx 15 year waiting list Even mid market rent is unaffordable to single people. I have 3 children so am not allowed to rent a 2 bed house it has to be a 3 bedroom. To rent a 3 bed mid market you need to earn 27000 a year so are pushed into private let's as there are less restrictions on size and earnings.
(Woman from Wester Hailes, aged 40-49, student, previously experienced poverty)
46. The cost of renting Housing is diabolical in Edinburgh. Changes to the law giving more security of tenure have resulted in landlords/ agents being reluctant to take on renters on low income. The huge rise in air B and B means less flats are available to long-term renters.
(Retired woman from Southside, aged over 65, current and previous experience of poverty)

Citizens acknowledge that much public money is already being invested in housing, although concern is expressed at the proportion of that spend that is directed to temporary housing solutions (47-48); not only is this presented as 'wasteful' spend, it is also presented as spend that does not achieve longer-term solutions (47-48) and spend which has the effect of accommodating vulnerable families in sub-standard housing (47).

47. £millions are spent on temporary housing which is provided by B&Bs which are not up to standard. They are dirty, disgusting and not where CEC should be housing people and families. We need much better permanent and temporary housing - safe, clean, warm, energy efficient.
(Woman from Mayfield, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
48. I cannot understand how the city of Edinburgh can afford to pay £43 millions for temporary accommodation but not build its own temporary accommodation, employ well trained and experienced staff and just spends money for temporary accommodation, and in a case giving £6 millions to one provider? I don't understand how is possible, not just Edinburgh city council, but all local authorities in Scotland spend £600 millions for temporary accommodation but cannot build

social housing and affordable housing to ensure that people have at least a roof over their head.

(Man from Drylaw, aged 30-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

More generally, some citizens expressed concern at the ability of the city to address the problem of poverty as a whole (a theme to which we later return in 6.6.6). However, housing was a domain for which it was perceived Edinburgh solutions could be found (49), although others disagreed that Edinburgh had total control over this issue (53-54). The complexity that is poverty (6.2.4) was evident in the solutions that were suggested. Citizens asked for acknowledgement of the unintended consequences of the contemporary drivers of growth in the property market (50-52) and that a more interventionist approach was required to legislate the market (53-55) and to increase the supply of affordable housing (53-55), and not only on the city periphery (55).

49. To some extent I'm not sure what we can do with respect of some types of practical solutions when benefits keep getting cut by Westminster, but one area we can start immediately is in housing.

(Woman from Edinburgh South-West, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

50. ... make the links between out of control property development and loss of community space - which impacts on mental health and isolates people; actively tackle rent increases and facilitate better access to good quality, affordable homes.

(Woman from Leith, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

51. The lack of affordable housing for Edinburgh residents also seems linked to the demand for tourist accommodation and student flats. Again, it is individuals and corporations profiting massively from these property investments whilst depriving Edinburgh's poorest citizens the opportunity to live in affordable accommodation.

(Man from Oxfangs, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

52. There is not enough social housing and rents in Edinburgh are sky high. Housing benefit doesn't always bridge the gap. This forces people to the margins of the city, where it may be more expensive and time consuming to get to work.

(Woman from Leith, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

53. ... the Scottish Government over rules planning decisions in favour of student accommodation, (Leith Walk being the recent exception to the rule) and Edinburgh City Council is utterly shameful in allowing every multiple occupancy request and air b n' b licence.

(Self-employed man from Newington, aged 50-59, never experienced poverty)

54. Mass tourism makes huge amounts of money for some but takes away thousands of homes which become airbnb. It destroys communities right across the city, not just in the centre. The council drag their heels and the Scottish Government chose not to support Andy Wightman's attempt to curtail short term lets. The city decision makers need to stop talking about the millions of pounds tourism bring in (to whom?) and start thinking about poverty - about the irony of all that money going to a few, and many citizens falling into poverty. They need to take fast

action on housing to stop airbnb, to improve the state of private housing (landlords not interested in repairs) and increase social housing.

(Public sector employee with previous experience of poverty)

55. Edinburgh Council are constantly touting their brilliant numbers of building "affordable" housing, 100% of which is on the periphery of the city, yet we seem to have no coherent plan to address the homelessness crisis and no apparent investment in new social housing. Hotels and "luxury accommodation" keep getting approval, including landmark buildings on the Royal Mile, Princes Street, St Andrews Square, at the same time the hoteliers association have admitted they have more rooms that they can fill. The Sisters of the Poor care home is bizarrely being given over to even more student housing, when one would think that a building that previously housed a socially run activity might be a perfect place to convert into social housing.

(Woman from Edinburgh South-West, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

Housing solutions extended beyond making general comment on the need for regulation (or the private sector) and supply (of public housing). Specific actions were suggested for each, such as introducing a tax on properties offering short-term lets (56), restricting availability (56), tightening landlord regulation (57) and capping rent levels (56). Actions were also suggested beyond this, i.e. the Council's own debt management practices (58) and improving the quality of social housing (59). For some, truly affordable housing needed to feature more prominently in visions of what Edinburgh should become (61).

56. Bring in a bedroom tax for hotels, B&B & Air B&B. Restrict Air B&B to a fixed number of weeks per year. Introduction of rent caps. Private rental costs are out of scale to pay.

(Woman from Trinity, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

57. As well as the need to provide more affordable housing, the council needs to have a tighter regulation of private sector landlords and Air BnB.

(Man from Edinburgh West End, aged 60-64, private sector employee)

58. Council to take a hard look at its own direct actions in pushing people into debt e.g. on rent arrears.

(Retired woman from Edinburgh New Town, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)

59. Social housing is often bleak and not well maintained. Houses are often let in very bad condition, with no chance of improvements for the families moving in. It is often bleak and uninspiring.

(Woman from East Craigs, aged 60-64, in employment, previously experienced poverty)

60. Let's build social housing and not pretend housing that costs £150k to buy is cheap!

(Self-employed woman from Edinburgh South, aged 30-39, never experienced poverty)

61. Housing cannot be seen as a commodity. They should be as homes. The new City Plan 2030 needs to prioritise housing as homes as part of a wellbeing economy.

(Woman from Edinburgh City Centre, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

Although citizens are concerned at the injustices of city life (6.3.5), it is clear that those responding were committed to the city and wanted an improved quality of city life for the most vulnerable residents.

6.3.4 – Homelessness / Begging

The most striking manifestation of problems with the housing sector is the public presence of homelessness, typically on city centre streets. Many citizens were aware of homelessness (62-65), observing that it had increased (62-63), it was incongruent with the vibrancy of the city in the visitor season (64) and that it was an affront to the contemporary city (65). Although there was concern with the problem, the nature of the problem was conceived in different ways, ranging from: the obligation to help (66); opining that other groups/issues should be the focus on anti-poverty actions (67); to a disbelief that this was a poverty problem, or at least one that has Edinburgh origins (68).

62. Homelessness seems to be more prevalent than ever before, and is certainly a scary symptom of rising poverty throughout Edinburgh.
(Woman from Leith, aged 25-29, working in the private sector, never experienced poverty)
63. Homelessness is on the rise and more people are having to sleep out.
(Woman from Edinburgh South-West, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
64. ... during the summer and festive months but also walk pass numerous people sleeping or begging on the streets as I go about my daily life.
(Woman from Leith, aged 40-49, public sector employee, no experience of poverty)
65. It is a scandal that people in this day and age should have to resort to this undignified way of life.
(Retired woman from Liberton, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)
66. Don't know enough about what is considered to be living in poverty. But taking this to mean those who are living in the streets or for whatever reason can't feed or cloth themselves, then it should be a naturally felt obligation on us all to do what we can to help.
(Self-employed man from Liberton, aged over 65)
67. ... like other cities poverty is very obvious with the significant number of street sleepers and beggars etc. But I don't believe this group of people suffering poverty should necessarily be the primary focus. In part because my sense is that this cohort are on the streets for various reasons, but to some extent by virtue of their own choice.
(Man from Edinburgh South-East, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
68. Great increase of begging in Edinburgh, but these are not local people. It is a widely held belief that these are beggars working for gangs who bring them to the UK. Unfortunately this makes people reluctant to help them, which will have a negative knock-on effect on people who are begging and are genuinely homeless.
(Retired man, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)

Beyond these strong opinions with straightforward implications, were the sharing of professional (69) and personal (70) experiences that demonstrate the complexity of the

challenge that homelessness presents (69 and 70). These testimonies convey the multi-faceted nature of the problem (69-70); the ways in which support systems may fail to achieve their ends (69) or be lacking (69); the ways in which the homeless may be exploited by some, while being vilified and marginalised by others (69); the importance of offering escape routes, while acknowledging the challenges in accessing these (69-70), and the hidden personal problems that may lie behind the visible behaviours that lead some to blame them for the problems being experienced (69-70).

69. Many on the street suffer from trauma, mental health issues, addiction problems leading to behavioural issues. Many end up excluded from mainstream services and support networks and social benefits and a lack of employment. Our rough sleeping community suffer discrimination and stigma making it harder to build on their strengths and assets. The lack of mental health services, no street drinking wet service in the city centre and access to healthcare on the streets means they suffer more acutely during extreme weather events. Those with no recourse to public funds, often have no formal identity documents, access to money, benefits or health care. They are often exploited by low wages or working in unofficial jobs cash in hand just to get from day to day. Many have bad diets, drink excessively and take drugs available on the streets. We need to create new routes out of poverty and pathways to official employment so they can achieve a reasonable income to improve their living standards.

(Man from Meadowbank, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

70. I suffered myself, redundancy seen me lose my home and fall into the homeless crisis. I couldn't afford to work, suffers depression and nearly committed suicide as a result. I managed to avoid the drink and drug path thankfully. And for me affordable housing made all the difference allowing me a base to get back in full time employment and pull myself out the mire. I know many aren't as fortunate and each case has different requirements. Some do not want to work or help themselves. Many are lost to drink and drugs but affordable housing and a good living wage would make a huge difference to those that want it.

(Man from Craighour, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previous experienced poverty)

Concern is expressed that the problems in the housing market will exacerbate the problem (71) unless action is taken to increase the supply of affordable housing (6.3.3). Increasing provision tailored at those who are homeless (75), providing more resource to those who are well and best placed to support them (72), committing to the Housing First approach (73), providing a helpline (74) and employing an Ombudsman with specific responsibility for homeless persons (75).

71. As the cost of living increases more and more people will become homeless. The only way to avoid this becoming a massive problem is by increasing dramatically the social housing stock and by expanding the person centred support services to people on being at risk of homelessness.

(Man from Drylaw, aged 30-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

72. More resources need to be given to charities, where people walk the streets, helping the homeless tackle immediate problems. For example, providing safe places to sleep and eat.

(Woman, aged 20-24, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

73. For rough sleepers and other homeless people, the Housing First approach where people are housed before any attempt is made to tackle any underlying problems makes sense to me - how can we expect folk to say give up drinking while on the streets and that cider may be the only positive thing that happens to them all day or it's the only way they can get through the day/night.

(Woman from Canonmills, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty,)

74. There should be a homeless person's Ombudsman or at least a 24 hour helpline with practical assistance.

(Retired woman from Liberton, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)

75. There should be more accommodation for those currently having to sleep rough.

(Woman from Liberton, aged over 65, working in private sector, previously experienced poverty)

The tenor of comment on homelessness was largely supportive of actions to tackle the problem that was being experienced by those living on the street; notwithstanding, that some considered that there are other priority issues/groups (67). As was discussed earlier, and as was reported here (68), a distinction is drawn between homelessness and begging. Attitudes to the latter are often harsher and less supportive (2,3,68).

6.3.5 – Inequality Within

It has already been demonstrated through the survey results (3.6) and in the preceding testimony (6.3.1 – 6.3.4) that inequality within Edinburgh is a concern of many. There was a strong belief that Edinburgh was a divided city with much inequality (76-79). Inequality was presented as a problem to be addressed (77-79), rather than a to-be-expected consequence of how a city should function. For some, it has been a problem for some time, and has been intensifying (78).

76. I feel Edinburgh is a very divided place.

(Woman from Mountcastle, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

77. I find it very upsetting to see the levels of inequality in Edinburgh

(Woman from Leith, aged 30-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

78. ... people in the city have for some years been growing unhappy with inequality, but no-one's been listening.

(Public sector employee with previous experience of poverty)

79. ...there is way too much inequality in the city.

(Woman from Leith, aged 40-49, working in the public sector, no experience of poverty)

The source of Edinburgh's inequality is attributed to various parties. For some, it is national government – more specifically, the UK government, and the strategies pursued, which are believed to have widened pre-existing gaps (80-81). For others, the problem is rooted with the private sector and its inability to filter profits back to the community from which it is sourced (81). However, many believe that the decisions taken in Edinburgh at least

exacerbate (81), if not generate inequality across the city (82-84). Within Edinburgh, the decisions of the private sector (81), individual households (82, 84) and Edinburgh City Council (83) are thought to generate the problem.

80. Everything seems to have become worse following years of Westminster's austerity policies. The lack of state provision for the common good coupled with the desire to reduce taxation levels has made the gaps between rich and poor greater.
(Retired woman from Bruntsfield, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)
81. The distribution of wealth is shocking - governments and corporations are filling their pockets and it doesn't trickle down enough it remains with the fat cats and officials... the amount of money Edinburgh attracts over the summer festival and the Christmas market is phenomenal - where is that money? and where are the local businesses at the market? This money is not filtering back into the community (apart from the disgustingly low wages given to the people working front of house).
(Woman from Leith, aged 25-29, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
82. Edinburgh is becoming a Scottish Disneyland. A city divided, city centre wealth and tourism, festivals galore for visitors while the ghettos of Wester Hailes and Muirhouse remain crime ridden hellholes for any child to grow up in. Fee paying schools, healthy nourished children who can afford to receive a quality education and aspire to careers while the bottom percentile of children living in deprivation are unable to believe that anything will change.
(Woman from Dalry, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
83. Edinburgh is one of the richest cities per head in the UK. Where does all the money go? We live in rundown areas where there is litter, bins that have been vandalised and never replaced, no clubs for kids/teens so they run riot on a night out of boredom, street lights take months to repair, parks are damaged and never repaired, kids aren't being given life lessons on right and wrong so the cycle never changes. We are angry that all the money and attention is on the affluent areas.
(Self-employed man, aged 30-39, previously experience poverty)
84. The high proportion of children attending private schools widens inequalities further and makes Edinburgh feel like a divided city.
(Woman from Crewe Toll, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

Poverty and inequality are related, but are not the same thing. For some, inequality is the root cause of poverty (85), while for others, inequality is understood to be a problem in its own right, albeit one that is less important to address (86). Expanding upon the notion that inequality is a root cause of poverty, there was acknowledgement of spend being skewed in favour of generating profit for those who are already advantaged (87), a perception that decision-making was exacerbating this inequality with the full knowledge that this would be a consequence (88) and that the unintended consequence of pursuing private education was that the state sector was left with a higher proportion of children with additional needs (89), with consequences for the educational experience of the majority of Edinburgh's children.

85. I believe the main driver of poverty is societal inequality and successive government policy.
(Woman from The Grange, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
86. Directly reducing the number of people living in poverty should be the main goal in tackling poverty but the social inequalities within Edinburgh also need to be tackled.
(Woman from Haddington, aged 40-49, public sector employee working in Edinburgh, never experienced poverty)
87. In a city that attracts so many visitors and creates vast amounts of income for a select group of entrepreneurs, eg. Underbelly, it is a disgrace that the most deprived of us that live here do not benefit at all. Investment in the city's infrastructure seems to only serve tourists and those who profit from their presence.
(Man from Oxbgangs, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
88. ... discuss publicly the choices made by us all that purposely leave large swathes of our fellow citizens behind.
(Man from Edinburgh North-West, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
89. There is a large number of children in private education in Edinburgh compared with the rest of Scotland meaning the state schools have a large number of children with additional support needs and the funding should reflect this.
(Woman from Leith, aged 30-39, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

Local solutions to Edinburgh inequality were identified. The objectives seemed less concerned with equality than with equity. The sense was that there was injustice with spend being oriented toward those with advantage (90-91, 94). For some, the objective is to redress the balance (91, 94), while for others it is to 'bend-the-spend' for progressive ends (90, 92). The large scale investment of Edinburgh Council in recent years was criticised on the grounds of being less relevant (if not irrelevant) to the needs of the city's most disadvantaged; re-prioritising spend on the most disadvantaged (90-91). Local income redistribution (92) and asset sharing (93) were also suggested as possibilities. For many, re-dressing the imbalance is a goal from which all would benefit (95-95).

90. We just are hard working people on low incomes in areas that are forgotten about. Fix our areas then build £50,000,000 venues in the city centre, put more police on our streets before you spend another £200,000,000 on trams most of us in these areas will never use.
(Self-employed man, aged 30-39, previously experienced poverty)
91. City of Edinburgh council must ensure that equity is a priority in our city and focus on nurturing our disadvantaged youth in a realistic way not just persist in reinventing initiatives which do not change life long goals and aspirations. Make the festivals about OUR young people. Have them in the summer holidays so OUR young people can meet authors and actors. Make them a priority. It's that simple.
(Woman from Dalry, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
92. Edinburgh is a wealthy City. We can take action to redistribute income and wealth locally.

(Retired man from Gracemount, aged over 65, previous experience of poverty)

93. I'm concerned about the lack of usable greenspace and pollution in less affluent neighborhoods. So I think the vast facilities of the private schools should be shared with the rest of the city and I think there should be more opportunities for children from all backgrounds to mingle and learn together.

(Woman from Stockbridge, aged 40-49, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

94. Poverty is a man-made condition which results from some governments / institutions / members of society deliberately blocking the access of others to their fair share of the wealth of that country. Until we understand the advantages of sharing, our society will remain deeply flawed and divided.

(Woman from Leith, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

95. I believe that in some instances tackling poverty needs to be "sold" in more affluent areas - reducing poverty makes the city a better place for everyone - including those who are doing well already.

(Woman from Stockbridge, aged 40-49, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

6.3.6 – Orientation Beyond

Injustice is not only limited to the distribution of resources among Edinburgh's citizens. As already alluded to (6.3.1), there is a strong sense that the city is functioning for the benefit of visitors, short-term residents, and those within the city who benefit from providing for these groups. In contrast to those from Edinburgh who benefit from tourists, visitors and students, there is a sense of that many citizens are disadvantaged as a result (6.3.1, 96). This injustice leads some to question the merit of extending assistance to others beyond Edinburgh (96).

96. ... council seems to be centred on building student accommodation and yet there are not enough council houses, which means private rent which is unaffordable which means not enough money to feed their families. If we can't house and feed & house our own people then why are we taking in refugees.

(Retired woman from Saughton, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)

In the context of this examination of attitudes toward poverty in Edinburgh, there was no recognition of the positive value of students and little recognition of the positive value of tourism for the most disadvantaged. On the contrary, as noted above, many considered these to exacerbate the problem of poverty (91-110). The City of Edinburgh Council (99-100) and the wider 'city' (97-98, 100-101) were criticised for focusing attention on groups considered 'Other' to the city population. For some, this was led to ignoring the needs of the local populous (98-99), while for others the needs of the local populous were actively marginalised in order to cater for the needs of 'Others' (100-102). Underbelly, the London based company responsible for managing key events in the city was strongly criticised by many (103-105). More generally, there were criticisms of the orientation toward providing for tourists (106-108) and students (109-110).

97. ... the city only appears to cater for the very wealthy, students and tourism.

- (Man from Whitecraig, aged 40-49 , public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
98. The city seems to be run for the benefit of tourists and short term visitors such as students and does not reflect the requirements of the local community.
(Woman from Edinburgh South-West, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
99. In my professional opinion Local Government and CEC only target tourists and students - they are not interested in the people living in Edinburgh.
(Woman from Piershill, aged 60-64, in work, previous experience of poverty)
100. There is a feeling that the local authority are more concerned about the needs of visitors basically profit over people.
(Woman from Edinburgh South-West, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
101. It feels that the city is moving towards becoming even less accessible to people with less money ... I hate the trend that prioritised public space for people with money (Xmas markets, closing parks for private events, st James centre) and hope to live in a kinder, less profit driven and more inclusive city!
(Woman from Leith, aged 30-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
102. The clear and present chastising of people in need, pandering to big event companies and tourists interests over the needs of, and for, the community they serve, is the root of so much suffering and despondency felt.
(oman from Edinburgh Old Town, aged 50-59, in employment, currently experiencing poverty)
103. It is also beholden to London Company Underbelly and will waive planning permission even though directly related to structures that hundreds of thousands of people use. Edinburgh is for rent. Ethically unsound.
(Self-employed man from Newington, aged 50-59, never experienced poverty)
104. In a city that attracts so many visitors and creates vast amounts of income for a select group of entrepreneurs, eg. Underbelly, it is a disgrace that the most deprived of us that live here do not benefit at all. Investment in the city's infrastructure seems to only serve tourists and those who profit from their presence.
(Man from Oxfords, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
105. It is embarrassing to live in a city environment where so much is spent on events via Underbelly etc and yet poverty is clearly visible on every street corner
(Man from Edinburgh North-East, aged 40-49, private sector employee)
106. Build a city that serves its citizens first, tourists second.
(Woman from Ardmillan, aged 25-29, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
107. Believe in start spending money on the people of Edinburgh instead of tourism.
(Man from Edinburgh North-West, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
108. ... less expenditure on cultural activities for the rich and famous, at least until poverty is diminishing. and that means the Festival too.
(Retired woman from East Edinburgh, aged 65+, previously experienced poverty)

109. Student accommodation is all very well but what about our youngsters and people on low incomes?

(Woman, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

110. At the moment a huge amount of new developments appear to focus on student accommodation and the rent levels seems to suggest that the priority is wealthy students, often from overseas. For young people in Edinburgh who are either in poverty or on the margins of it, the chances of them escaping it and securing affordable accommodation in central Edinburgh, close to job opportunities seems increasingly remote.

(Woman from Willowbrae, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

Several adverse implications of Edinburgh tourism for people experiencing poverty in Edinburgh were identified. On one hand, it was perceived that tourism draws poverty into the public domain, the assumption being that tourists are likely to respond positively (111). Providing holiday accommodation is considered to reduce the housing supply, directly creating homelessness (112), as well as creating stressors for the private renter market by reducing the supply available to city residents (113, 114) and weakening the sense of community and amenity in neighbourhoods favoured for tourist lets (114-115).

111. Tourism doesn't help either - it probably creates incentives to beg.

(Man from Edinburgh City Centre, aged 30-39, private sector employee)

112. ... the rise of rough sleeping - but the unregulated growth of holiday accommodation at the expense of homes to live in has also been a contributory factor.

(Man from Edinburgh West End, aged 60-64, private sector employee)

113. Many of the rentable properties are also now being used exclusively as tourist rentals.

(Man, aged 50-59, not in employment (long-term sick or disabled), previously experienced poverty)

114. Mass tourism makes huge amounts of money for some but takes away thousands of homes which become airbnb. It destroys communities right across the city, not just in the centre. The council drag their heels and the Scottish Government chose not to support Andy Wightman's attempt to curtail short term lets. The city decision makers need to stop talking about the millions of pounds tourism bring in (to whom?) and start thinking about poverty - about the irony of all that money going to a few, and many citizens falling into poverty.

(Public sector employee with previous experience of poverty)

115. Within the city centre itself there is a big focus on tourism and students which can mean some key facilities for residents of the city centre are overlooked and this can embed poverty. For example the only grocery store in the near vicinity of Canongate/Holyrood is an expensive and small Tesco Metro which is a very expensive shop for everyday foods (much more expensive than larger supermarkets) but without access to a car or cheap public transport it is difficult for people who experience poverty to shop elsewhere. I live in the city centre and because there's a lack of useful shops nearby it's impossible to easily purchase really basic things to maintain my flat.

(Woman from Canongate, aged 30-39, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

This is not to suggest that residents were anti-tourist (or anti-student). The concerns seemed not to propose the removal of these groups from city life; rather, the concern was perceived imbalance in favour of these groups at the expense of the city's most vulnerable. The positive value of tourism for the city, and the need for more of the city's residents to harness the potential this offers was also acknowledged (116).

116. Better education around jobs, prospect & earnings. If the government won't invest in new future industries then the local authorities need to look at how we educate individuals in work in our tourism industry. This should become core to Scottish education. We have children that live in Edinburgh that have never even seen the castle in person. How do we expect them to want to work and advance if we can't give them the basics of our city?

(Man from Ardmillan, aged 25-29, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

6.4 – Core Themes in UK Poverty

6.4.1 – Work That Pays

As reported in 6.2.1, a concern that work was not providing a just reward was the key concern that was reported to both the fixed response survey questions and open ended comments. This reflects a growing concern in the UK with in-work poverty. In general a sense of injustice was reported (117), with consternation expressed that working people should be using food banks (118-119), be unable to pay their bills (120) and be reliant on tax credits to supplement their income (121). Although there is an undercurrent of expectation that unskilled or low-skilled work returns low pay (132-133), extract 121 suggests that work is not adequately rewarding semi-skilled labour (i.e. an additional needs assistant) and that some workers are not been recognised for the level of work that they do.

117. We just are hard working people on low incomes in areas that are forgotten about.

(Self-employed man, aged 30-39, previous experience of poverty)

118. Work should pay - and no working age person should have to use food banks that have become common place.

(Woman, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

119. I help to run a foodbank and free food table. My experience is that the users are disabled, long-term unemployed, on very low wages (mum of 9 year old, works for minimum wage in supermarket- she and daughter hadn't eaten for two days.

(Woman from Edinburgh South, aged 60-64, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

120. I've also worked in extremely low income jobs that meant I couldn't afford all my bills.

(Woman from Edinburgh North-West, aged 30-39, not in employment, current and previous experience of poverty)

121. I work as a Pupil support assistant in mainstream school but do the job of an additional needs assistant but my wages does not reflect this however even their wages does not reflect the job they are expected to do daily. We are so poorly paid that tax credits top up our wages, I wish so much That I didn't Have to claim this as I work so hard everyday.

(Woman from Gilmerton, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

The concerns expressed in wider society over the way in which zero hours contracts are being used was widely reported as a problem (122-125); by definition, these are associated with uncertainty (123). However, it was also noted that those using such contracts do not always follow what is considered to be fair work practices, in the example provided, not providing references to future employers at the end of contract (125). Similarly, concern was expressed at the level of remuneration and that it falls below that of a living wage (126-131).

122. The Scottish Government should pass a law to ban zero hour contracts which push people with jobs into poverty.
(Self-employed woman, from Liberton, aged 40-49, previously experienced poverty)
123. Many people in poverty are working - but are receiving zero contracts and not sure how much they will earn from week to week. They struggle to make ends meet while trying to hold down a job.
(Woman from Currie, aged 60-64, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
124. Zero hours contracts should be abolished.
(Respondent who chose not to provide demographic profile)
125. Zero hours contracts should be banned as they leave people like my son in a very vulnerable position moving from agency to agency between construction companies with nobody willing even to give a single paragraph reference.
(Man from Gilmerton, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
126. Employers must pay the living wage.
(Man from the West End, aged 60-64, not in employed (does not need or want employment), previous experience of poverty)
127. Adequate levels of pay for all citizens would help to reduce the poverty in Edinburgh.
(Woman from Northfield, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
128. Poverty is increasing in working households due to wages not rising in line with costs of living.
(Woman from Leith, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
129. ...wages for the lowest paid are so low that a working poor class has developed.
(Man from Gorgie, aged 40-49, public sector employee, current and previous experience of poverty)
130. I believe low/poor wages are a big factor in forcing people to live in poverty.
(Woman from Polwarth, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
131. There are too many children in poverty in Edinburgh, and most of them have working parents. To bring both these children and their parents out of poverty, they need to be paid more.
(Woman from Craighleith, aged 20-24, third sector employee, mixed ethnic background, never experienced poverty)

The strategies to ensure that work is fairly rewarded extended beyond paying the living wage (126) and banning zero hours contracts (122); a wide range of interventions were suggested (132-140), including not blindly focusing on moving people out on social security and into the world of paid work if that work is low paid (and by implication, offering a different form of poverty - 132), focusing on in-work development to facilitate career progression (133-134, 136) with actions to be targeted at both employees (133, 136) and businesses (134), safeguarding the rights of workers in low paid work (135), not enacting a benefit penalty for those who are engaging in career-related study (136), strengthening the support infrastructure around work and home life (137-138) and strengthening business commitments to Fair Work practices (139). Living wage and minimum hours commitments were also conceived as elements of wider strategies to achieve fair work in Edinburgh (140).

132. ... less of an emphasis of getting people off benefits and into low paid jobs.
(Woman, aged 50-59, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
133. Building self worth and confidence can help lowly paid, entry level workers to work their way up and increase wages or salary.
(Retired man from Grange, aged over 65, previously experienced poverty)
134. There needs to be economic policy that encourages business start up and scale to create jobs, higher skilled jobs and higher paying jobs. Businesses need to invest in training, particularly digital skills to improve performance and profitability. Cost of running businesses should be such that businesses can afford to pay the living wage and invest in skills - non-domestic business rates, affordable business premises, cost of employment, good transport.
(Woman from Granton, aged 50-59, private sector employee, never experienced poverty)
135. Also very concerned about rights of workers in low paid jobs e.g. contracted out workers in council jobs like cleaners.
(Woman from Marchmont, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
136. People should be allowed to study and do courses without it affecting their benefits and be able to gain experience and skills to move forward into a work place.
(Woman, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
137. Improve working patterns to accommodate child care, heavily subsidised after school provision.
(Woman from Drylaw, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
138. Make working and having a family easier, currently it really doesn't pay to work if you have to fork out on childcare.
(Woman from Morningside, aged 30-39, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
139. ... concerted effort to engage employers to support and incorporate Fair Work practices and make the Scottish Business Pledge commitments, in particular the elements around the real Living Wage, providing sufficient hours of work and fair contracts.
(Woman from Leith, aged 20-24, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

140. Changes to living wage economy and having minimum hours commitment from business, retail and the service sector could make a big difference - the unpredictability of some contracts and not knowing how many working hours, makes it difficult for individuals to plan ahead and know in advance one's level of household income.

(Man from South Queensferry, aged 60-64, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

6.4.2 – Work First

For some, the problem of work was less an issue of remuneration or volume of work. Against the concerns expressed by the majority (132, and 6.4.1 more generally), there was support expressed for a 'work first' strategy, i.e. where the overarching goal is to shift people off benefits and into paid employment (141-142). This is viewed as the long-term solution to poverty (142), rather than the short-term interventions that are considered to perpetuate poverty, albeit ameliorating the impact. Personal testimonies were shared, historic (143) and contemporary (144), which shared the positive impact that work had on life histories. While work-first seems to place the onus on the individual to make change, there is acknowledgement that third parties have important role to play in assisting this transition (145).

141. Get people in employment.

(Respondent who chose not to provide demographic profile)

142. Poverty is linked to income. Even with good benefits, income maximisation, childcare support and good housing, it is the fact that employers and work which will lift and keep people out of poverty. Links to the world of work are essential for a long term sustainable change otherwise you end up with public sector paying for services and household income that just isn't available and cannot be the long term solution. Employability is the key.

(Woman from Leith, aged 50-59, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

143. I think people need to be responsible for their own families and not expect hand outs and instead work as hard as they can to pay bills. My parents were not wealthy but we were clean well fed and educated.

(Self-employed woman from west of Edinburgh, aged 50-59, previously experienced poverty)

144. In my experience, what got me out of poverty was getting a good job and the opportunity of a worthwhile career. Without such quality employment I felt nothing was sustainable.

(Man from Abbeyhill, aged 50-59, private sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

145. Education and opportunity and hope are vital for people to lift themselves out of poverty. To work and feel satisfied that you are valued is very important. People do not want to live in poverty but very hard to get out of debt or become employable after being out of work for sometime. Job clubs and Christians against Poverty are providing good resources to help people with these 2 specific issues.

(Woman from Silverknowes, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

6.4.3 - Social Security/Work Interface

As was suggested (6.4.1), there is a sense among many in Edinburgh that work is not rewarding many citizens adequately or fairly. Although the (in)adequacy of remuneration has featured writ large throughout the history of labour relations, in recent years the living wage has emerged as a constant point of reference in debates over work. To some extent it has displaced concerns over the social security/work interface as the primary concern. On the other hand, the interface between social security and the world of paid work remains the concern of many. On balance, the emphasis seemed to be placed on the inadequacy of remuneration for work, rather than the generosity of benefits (146-147). Although many efforts have been made to reduce the taper that de-values the added income generated through paid work by removing benefits, this remains a concern (148-149). This is not considered to be only a problem with the national social security system, it is considered to be a problem in Edinburgh with regards to the way in which passported benefits can be accessed (150).

146. Make work pay so they are better off working not staying on benefits.

(Woman from Drylaw, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

147. If wages were more appealing than benefits perhaps more people would help themselves out of poverty.

(Woman from Gilmerton, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

148. I'm currently unemployed and pregnant and don't qualify for benefits as my husband earns £20 over the designated amount. The system is not built to help people out of poverty. It's built to keep people down and in poverty. The world of work isn't working for everyone.

(Woman from Edinburgh North-West, aged 30-39, not in employment, current and previous experience of poverty)

149. With Universal credit for instance, working more reduces the help you get by 75p in every £1 earned.

(Woman from Polwarth, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

150. The benefits towards breakfast and afterschool clubs is another all or nothing system. A parent gets a slight salary increase which tips them out of the eligibility bracket, they end up with less money per month, "proving" that it doesn't pay to work sometimes!

(Woman from Gracemount, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

Responses to the challenge of the work/social security interface are interpreted as rational. Although it is possible to view the decision not to optimise labour market participation as an example of responsible parenting (151), more typically, it is understood as a rational decision on the basis of household economics, i.e. benefits pay more than work (152-154). Rational it may be, but this is not welcomed, with the fault being levelled either at an overly generous benefits system (152-154) or personal preference (155-157).

151. Also childcare costs more than what mums are being paid so it's no wonder mums either leave their jobs and end up relying on benefits, if you're going to be broke anyway, you may as well spend time with your child!
(Woman from Firrhill, aged 40-49, private sector employee)
152. Some people receive so much money in benefits, that they don't feel the need to work.
(Self-employed man from Clovestone, aged 30-39, previously experienced poverty)
153. There are too many people choosing not to work because they will earn less than their benefits.
(Woman from Longstone, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
154. There are jobs for many! The benefit system is too generous.
(Self-employed man from Liberton, aged 50-59, never experienced poverty)
155. I have seen so many people that are perfectly healthy and capable and young that refuse to go to work and demanding benefits and complaining that it's not enough money!! I think it's sad.
(Woman from Viewcraig, aged 40-49, public sector employee)
156. A reliance on benefits makes it easy to stay out of work in a society which is increasingly incapable of dealing with emotions and issues in a positive and progressive manner.
(Man from Clermiston, aged 30-39, public sector employee previously experienced poverty)
157. There's a big number of people who don't work by choice, and prefer to rely on social benefits.
(Self-employed woman from west of Edinburgh, aged 50-59, previously experienced poverty)

Personal testimony conveys the difficulty that some have faced in transitioning from social security to paid work (158-159). Some take the position that there is failing in others who do not endure the hardship of transition (158), while others only stress the difficulties that were encountered, without drawing observation on what others should do (159). These biographies reinforce the point that the interface between social security and work does not function in a way that is supportive, but also that – with commitment and sacrifice – the transition is possible. Some of the solutions that have been implemented to reduce the adverse impact of the taper are criticised for having adverse unintended consequences (161), although there remains support for being able to supplement benefits with income generated from part-time paid work.

158. Currently I get no benefit and had to take out a loan as i am studying a fulltime course, (which is only 16 hours) and having to work 2 jobs as well as find any other part time work to supplement my income. Unfortunately there are too many people pandering to the nanny state and organisations are guilty of this as well, people should take responsibility for themselves and take the finger out.
(Man, aged 50-59, student, never experienced poverty)
159. I wanted to work and I wanted to progress so I made the decision to work (in a low-paid cleaning job) and pay the housing costs. This was a huge struggle and left me without money every single month, and led me to rely on payday loans and eat very little food, and use no heating etc. I escaped the trappings of poverty by

returning to education and attending university. I am thankful that I was able to do this, though it again, did involve sacrifice as I attended full time college and lived on £80.00 disposable income a month for a year which is not easy as an adult (nye, impossible).

(Woman from Leith, aged 30-39, working in the public sector, previously experienced poverty)

160. People who are on benefits should be helped, allowed, encouraged to do part time work to supplement their benefits and this should NOT be treated as extra income.

(Man from Gilmerton, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

161. We should look at those who limit their working hours in order to claim benefits. Provide free after school childcare for all primary school children to allow parents more flexibility to secure employment.

(Retired woman from Leith, aged 50-59, never experienced poverty)

6.4.4 – Cuts to Funding/Services

Austerity has already been acknowledged (80 in 6.3.5). Local cuts to budgets (162), staffing (162) and services (163) in Edinburgh were identified. Concerns were expressed that these cuts were often to critical services (162) and that the actual cost of these cuts would be much greater with the loss of what was considered to be preventative spend (163). Although the root cause of these cuts were attributed to national government (164), criticism was levelled at the City of Edinburgh Council for not being more forthright over the nature of these cuts (which are not efficiency savings) and the impact that these might have (164). The implications of these cuts were wide-ranging, described as covering poorer environmental management (166), uneven investment across Edinburgh (166), reductions in public services (167), higher costs for using amenities (167), stresses in key service areas (168) and a transfer of responsibility from the local state to other public bodies and Third Sector organisations (168).

162. ... budgets continue to be reduced and staff in critical areas depleted. I believe things are worst now because of these cuts and it situation is worsening.

(Woman from Leith, aged 60-64, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

163. As services in Edinburgh are cut (as has been the case), the poverty gap increases.

Investment in public services and the Voluntary Sector is considerably cheaper than dealing with the effects of poverty in the long term i.e. health issues, poor educational attainment, substance use, imprisonment, unemployment, etc.

(Man from Oxfords, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

164. Budget cuts from Westminster spill over into the Scottish Government budget which in turn dictates how much money local authorities have to spend.

(Self-employed woman from Morningside, aged 60-64, public sector employee)

165. I feel there's been a lack of transparency over the impact of year on year cuts to Council services - we need to stop calling them efficiency savings, this suggests the issue is just that the system isn't good enough when the issue is that we don't have the money to deliver the level of support and services needed for everyone to flourish in our society. The Council need to be more direct about how our services and society are underfunded and under resourced.

- (Woman from Mountcastle, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
166. Compare the street cleaning/landscaping/grass cutting/litter picking/graffiti removal schedules of Granton v.s. Stockbridge.
(Woman, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
167. ... more difficult for working people in Edinburgh to get by, as prices for amenities soar and public services are reduced to tatters.
(Man from South Queensferry, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
168. The first areas to be cut tend to affect the most vulnerable. Social services are struggling. More demand is placed on charities. Teachers and police are doing the work of social services because we no longer have good care for the elderly, and people with mental health problems.
(Retired woman from Bruntsfield, aged 65+, never experienced poverty)

6.4.5 - Social Security

The significance of social security for tackling poverty in Edinburgh has already been acknowledged in terms of harmonising the interface between social security and work (6.4.3). It was apt to acknowledge social security in this way in this report, as some citizens were concerned that the way in which the social security system operated was hampering the ability of work to act as a route out of poverty. Although social security can be formulated and delivered locally (in Edinburgh – see also 174), and although a significant element on social security is now controlled in Scotland (174), the largest share of social security remains the responsibility of the UK government, which is delivering a UK-wide system. This reserved domain was widely criticised by citizens, which should be acknowledged in this report (169-174); concerns were expressed over the levels of social security (169-173), recent Welfare Reform (170, 172) and sanctions (171), with all comment conveying a sense of injustices at the way in which the system functions.

169. People on job seekers allowance £140 per fortnight is ridiculous no one can pay bills and buy food and essentials on this paltry amount something needs to be done.
(Woman from Craigentenny, aged 50-59, not in employment, currently experiencing poverty)
170. I worked in Housing Management for over 25 years and my experience is that the introduction of Welfare Reform has affected all households who need help. and created an increased level of poverty. The system is extremely cruel and complex. Before the introduction of Welfare Reform my colleagues didn't refer people to food banks and school uniform banks. I don't like living in a society of such inequalities and I retired from my job as I felt I was essentially implementing cruel UK govt. policies. I did meet many people living in abject poverty, it was very upsetting to meet families with nothing.
(Retired woman from Morningside, aged 60-64, previous experience of poverty)
171. As a GP in [*well-known deprived area in Edinburgh*] and former resident of Wester Hailes I have encountered many people struggling to get by on ESA and similar basic benefits. There is no financial headroom to manage unexpected costs or benefit sanctions.

- (Woman from Juniper Green, aged 30-39, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
172. I work with people who have limited capacity to work through disability and have had their benefits reduced, increasing their poverty.
(Woman, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
173. Cutting people's benefits when they are already desperate and unable to cope financially also has to be addressed. The worst decision ever was to cap rental payments for families in the private rental sector. Landlords then proceed to make tenants/families homeless, they then have to be housed in temporary accommodation, a B&B or a hotel, surely this is not cost effective.
(Woman from Edinburgh South-West, aged 50-59, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
174. The UK government makes inadequate financial provision for the benefits it controls. It doesn't make enough funds available to enable the Scottish Government either to use its devolved powers to significantly reduce levels of poverty or to provide the means for local authorities to provide all the local services which could help to alleviate poverty.
(Retired man from Fountainbridge, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)

6.4.6 – Taxation

As for social security (6.4.5), this is a realm over which there is a degree of local and Scottish-national control, while at the same time the bulk of responsibility remains with the UK Government. One of the logical consequences of identifying inequality as a problem in Edinburgh (6.3.5) is the suggestion that progressive taxation should be used to tackle the problems associated with this (175). Interestingly, there was clear support expressed for progressive taxation to be introduced in Edinburgh, for the greater good (176-178).

175. Those who have a reasonable income need to pay more tax and for this to be distributed in a way that promotes Wellbeing rather than simply economic growth.
(Retired man from Morningside, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)
176. There are limited options for tackling poverty at the city level, as social security, taxation are generally matters for the Scottish and UK Governments, while over 80% of local government funding comes via the Scottish Government.
(Man from Morningside, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
177. Edinburgh is a wealthy City. We can take action to redistribute income and wealth locally.
(Retired man from Gracemount, aged over 65, previously experienced poverty)
178. Council tax freeze was a bad idea. Council tax should increase further to pay for education, support for vulnerable children and adults and social care. Provide information to residents on the real costs. The upcoming Council tax rise will cost my household x 4 a total of 2 x Costa coffees per month. Money that many households can easily afford.
(Woman from Trinity, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

6.5 - On People Experiencing Poverty in Edinburgh

6.5.1 – Misunderstanding

Garnering public support for actions to tackle poverty can be based on empathy for unfortunate 'Others', commitment to the common good (either as a matter of justice, or an understanding that more equitable societies are better for all), or to minimise potential risk to self, given the belief that poverty might befall anyone (179).

179. Anyone can have a change in life circumstances that plunge them into poverty.
(Woman from Portobello, aged over 65, public sector employee)

Research participants were motivated to comment on poverty in Edinburgh, suggesting an awareness of the problem, or at least an awareness that some in the city consider it to be a problem. However, some also suggested that there was a general lack of awareness of poverty in the city (180-183), specifically from those living in parts of the city with less of it in their midst (182-183). Others were more concerned about a skewed understanding of poverty (184-187), with the highly visible begging on city centre streets thought to be misleading understanding of the wider populous who are affected by poverty in Edinburgh (185-186). The opening and closing extracts (180 and 187) suggest that the information we have on poverty in Edinburgh is inadequate to understand the true nature of the problem.

180. ... we need more honesty and clarity on the poverty being experienced by people in our communities.
(Woman from Mountcastle, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
181. Educate more people on the numbers and facts about poverty in Edinburgh.
(Retired woman from Fairmilehead, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)
182. I am sure that most people in Edinburgh are unaware of nearly all those who live in poverty because it doesn't show in their more comfortable areas.
(Respondent who chose not to provide demographic profile)
183. Millionaires in Morningside complain about bins, or potholes or free music tuition, do they really understand the suffering fellow citizens experience?
(Woman, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
184. I know through my own work there are so many misconceptions about those experiencing poverty in Edinburgh.
(Woman, aged 30-39, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
185. All this [begging] negatively impacts] how people think about "poverty" in Edinburgh. In reality most poverty is "invisible" and much more widespread.
(Man from Edinburgh City Centre, aged 30-39, private sector employee)
186. Preconceived ideas must be challenged. Poverty is not just about beggars in the street; it's the single parent trying to care for their child on part time wages, it's the family who's breadwinners are in low paid work or unemployed, it's 100's of variations that people just don't know or think about. If widely known maybe a more proactive role from the public, local authority & government would be forthcoming to resolve this problem.
(Man from Leith, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

187. Personally, I feel there is a lack any real understanding about what poverty really is. The measures/indicators used are not realistic - when folk are living without a proper bed, basic flooring and a cooker, or never had a new winter coat etc. - even if they have a home. Social housing is often bleak and not well maintained.

(Woman from East Craigs, aged 60-64, in employment, previously experienced poverty)

Misunderstanding is not only a problem in skewing public perception; it was reported that misunderstanding poverty was leading to decisions being taken that were blind to poverty in the city, or were inappropriate for addressing the experiences of particular groups experiencing poverty, such as disabled people (189).

188. ... before you spend another £200,000,000 on trams most of us in these areas will never use. And before you force our cars of the road confident this is the only way we can transport our children to night clubs/classes as the only ones we can afford we have to travel to often in the dark and not getting home until late. Consider the only holiday our children might get once a year is a camping trip in the highlands. Rich people can afford new electric cars, we can't. The inequality in Edinburgh and the blindness of the council to the real issues is shocking.

(Self-employed man, aged 30-39, private sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

189. With disability there is a huge gap in understanding even the basics of what disabled people need One size does not fit all.

(Woman, aged 50-59, not in employment (long term sick or disabled), previously experienced poverty)

There are those who have very firm views on the nature of poverty and the way in which poverty is experienced in Edinburgh, not all of which are sympathetic to the experiences of those living with poverty. Decision-making will be considered in more detail later (6.5.4), but it is important to note that some considered those living in poverty to making poor consumption decisions (190), generating income in socially unacceptable ways ((choosing to live on benefits (190-191), selling drugs (191)) and exhibiting a lack of social responsibility (191). Others were also critical of the decisions being taken by people living in poverty, but tended to understand the root cause of being the way in which services were allocated (192) and the ways in which people were marginalised from city life (193 – see also 6.3.1).

190. ... everyone is talking about poverty but i bet 99% of them will have an expansive list of broadband / tv / phone packages, tables and smart phone for the every child and themselves. spending several hundred pounds on a buggy that will last a cpl of years and then another for another year or so for every child. i believe it is a way of life for people to not bother wanting or getting a job because they get benefits and making income from selling fake good, cash in hand jobs and selling drugs.

(Man, aged 50-59, student, never experienced poverty)

191. I am yet to meet someone in poverty who does not know the system. Whilst it is a big issue especially when you consider how many children are born into poverty. For me, poverty is a symptom rather than the actual source issue. The source issue is individual social responsibility, or rather the lack there of.

(Man from Clermiston, aged 30-39, public sector employee previously experienced poverty)

192. In the area I grew up in there was a definite poverty culture whereby generations of families didn't work, and it was encouraged to have a baby in order to get a house. Many people I know were denied help or social housing and told that if they had a child they'd get more help.
(Woman from Leith, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
193. Very negative mindset among poorest in Edinburgh. Need Edinburgh city to make them feel like they belong in the city.
(Self-employed woman from Ferniehill, aged 40-49, current and previous experience of poverty, mixed or multiple ethnic background)

In sharp contrast to the sentiments expressed over decision-making (particularly, 190-191), others reserved their criticism for this way of rationalising poverty (194). More prevalent was the understanding that while people may be responsible for the decisions that they take, to truly understand these decisions, leads to an analysis, which in turn draws the conclusion that there are other root causes for these decisions and behaviours (195-198). Those working with the very most vulnerable seemed to position destructive consumption (drink and drugs) as a response to poverty, rather than its root cause (196-198).

194. ... stop blaming people in poverty for their misfortune, it's disgusting!
(Woman from Baughtlin, aged 30-39, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
195. When people are truly impoverished they are unable to secure work, feed themselves or their families, function in society.
(Woman from Longstone, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
196. When people can not meet their basic needs, they will try to escape the emotional stress of it, often through substance misuse. Intervention needs to happen earlier to prevent people from ending up in this position, even just paying people fairer (higher) wages for the work they do. If people can make ends meet, they will avoid falling into the vicious cycle of poverty and self-sabotage that it brings.
(Man from Edinburgh East, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
197. Having worked with homeless people I have become aware that many of our young people have lacked education, had no nurturing by adults/parents and don't know how to live a quality life out of poverty. Drugs and alcohol are easy 'escape routes' from anxious and troubled lives which then trap people in poverty. There is also poverty of spirit with people hardened by their knocks in life and unable to see the light at the end of the tunnel. Lack of supportive family and friends mean that people become trapped, stuck and unable to find a way out of poverty.
(Retired woman from Kaimes, aged 60-64, never experienced poverty)
198. ... poverty have generally not had good role models in relation to budgeting and other basic life skills, making it harder for them to make good choices about managing their money. Living in areas where multiple people are making these poor choices makes it harder to break out of what can become a cycle of bad choices. This is especially the case with people who struggle with addictions. I think people feel helpless and hopeless about their situation which leads to them feeling that whatever choices they make, nothing will change in their lives.
(Man from Leith, aged 40-49, in employment, never experienced poverty)

6.5.2 – Deprived and Affluent Edinburgh

The differences between rich and poor Edinburgh have already been discussed with regards to cost of living (6.3.1) and inequalities within the city (6.3.5). Inequality was also the reason that was most commonly identified by the people of Edinburgh as being the main cause of poverty in Edinburgh (27% perceiving this to be the single most important reason for poverty in Edinburgh – Figure 5.9).

Inequality was understood to have a clear geographical expression and to be an everyday experience for many in parts of the city (199-201); those working within these communities perceive this to be an enduring aspect of neighbourhood life (200), although opinions were expressed that poverty had intensified in recent years (199). The specific problems living in deprived areas presents were multiple, covering food poverty (199, 204), housing poverty (200), environmental incivilities and anti-social behaviour (202, 207), lack of leisure opportunities (202), under-resourced schools (203), lack of community assets (204) and an impoverished environment (202, 205-206), educational under-achievement (207, 209), substance abuse (207, 208), poorer health outcomes (206-207), violence (207) and heightened demand for early intervention (210). It is considered that some of these outcomes are themselves responses to deprivations (202, 207-208).

199. I have worked in Niddrie/Craigmillier over a number of years and it is at its worst at the moment. I work in a school and we are struggling to feed and home families.
(Woman, aged 30-39, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
200. I work in an early years centre in a deprived area of Edinburgh. The level of poverty I see on a daily basis is abhorrent children are suffering and it's very cyclical for families.
(Woman from Mountcastle, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
201. I currently work in education in Westerhailes and see the direct results of poverty on children every single day. These children deserve the same rights and quality of life as their contemporaries who lead lives far removed from all the issues that poverty brings with it.
(Woman from Polwarth, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
202. We live in rundown areas where there is litter, bins that have been vandalised and never replaced, no clubs for kids/teens so they run riot on a night out of boredom, street lights take months to repair, parks are damaged and never repaired, kids aren't being given life lessons on right and wrong so the cycle never changes.
(Self-employed man, aged 30-39, private sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
203. While certain areas are being renovated and sold as lifestyle brands, others languish without even decent waste collection or properly resourced schools.
(Man from South Queensferry, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
204. Compare somewhere like Gifford to similar sized housing scheme within Wester Hailes and compare how well served Gifford is in terms of community assets and how little residents of some housing schemes actually have by comparison. The number of children at risk of holiday hunger in Wester Hailes is shocking.

- (Man from Longstone, aged 40-49, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
205. I'm concerned about the lack of usable greenspace and pollution in less affluent neighborhoods.
(Woman from Stockbridge, aged 40-49, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
206. Many poorer areas lie outside the city centre The periphery of Edinburgh also seems to suffer from poorer quality environments (car-centric streets, less green space, or less well maintained green space) which can contribute to ill health.
(Woman from Canongate, aged 30-39, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
207. Living in poor areas exposes impressionable young people to situations not conducive with raising their quality of life (eg. Dropping out of school, attending schools lower on the league table drugs and alcoholism, crime, gangs and teenage pregnancies).
(Woman from Leith, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
208. Living in areas where multiple people are making these poor choices makes it harder to break out of what can become a cycle of bad choices. This is especially the case with people who struggle with addictions.
(Man from Leith, aged 40-49, in employment, never experienced poverty)
209. Poor standards in some schools in poorer areas also has a lasting impact on young people and resets the system, both through lack of ambition, qualifications and reputation.
(Woman from East Craigs, aged 60-64, in employment, previously experienced poverty)
210. Early years support is vital in disadvantaged areas to boost confidence.
(Retired man from Grange, aged 65+, previously experienced poverty)

These uneven experiences are presented as an injustice (211-212), with strong opinions being expressed that the experiences in deprived areas are not experienced in more affluent areas (211) and that local power structures are such that affluent areas are being given preferential treatment (212).

211. We are angry that all the money and attention is on the affluent areas.
(Self-employed woman from west of Edinburgh, aged 50-59, previously experienced poverty)
212. Better areas continue to hold the power, with some elected members seeming out of touch, and therefore merely protect their own.
(Woman from East Craigs, aged 60-64, in employment, previously experienced poverty)

Although the range and intensity of problems that present in deprived parts is not disputed, the opinion was also expressed that poverty was present outside the most deprived parts of the city (213-216), including in its most affluent areas (215). It was reported that this could be isolating in that the community assets (which were assumed to be present in deprived parts of the city) were lacking (213-214, 216). It was also reported that experiencing poverty in affluent areas has the added burden of setting them apart from the wider community, driving the poverty underground (216).

213. Poverty can happen in any part of Edinburgh. Growing up on benefits in an affluent area of Edinburgh meant that it was more isolating to be poor when there were no community centres to make connections and gain support and capacity building opportunities.

(Woman from Edinburgh City Centre, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

214. The City of Edinburgh is widely thought of as an affluent area. Being born and bred here, I believe there are large amounts of poverty that go widely unnoticed or challenged unless you live in a "typically deprived area" e.g. Muirhouse, Pilton, Craigmillar, Niddrie. Many individuals living in areas thought of as more affluent, may also be experiencing poverty and there is little community work, youth groups or access to services that may mitigate the impact of poverty in comparison with more deprived areas.

(Woman from Blackhall, aged 25-29, working in the private sector, never experienced poverty)

215. Much of the poverty is hidden by more affluent streets ie South Queensferry is described by some as gold plated yet there are several pockets of poverty that then get widely ignored as funding is aimed at much larger areas which penalises people in this situation.

(Retired woman from South Queensferry, aged 60-64, never experienced poverty)

216. It is important to identify that people experience poverty in all areas of Edinburgh and not just the traditionally regarded "poor areas". Families experiencing poverty in "so called affluent areas" can have difficulty accessing help and support as there is no infrastructure in these areas to tackle poverty or even support individuals and families. The difficulty in these areas can be to identify those affected eg property rich cash poor. It can be difficult for people to stand up and be counted as it is not the norm amongst their peers. Whilst I accept that particular areas deserve to receive the majority of the support it is important that help and support is available to ALL people in Edinburgh experiencing poverty.

(Retired man from Wester Broom, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)

6.5.3 – Lifeskills support

For some, the decision-making of people experiencing poverty should be understood against the wider backdrop of the stressors that present in everyday life. It has already been argued that what may appear to some to be poor lifestyle decisions may be desperate or rationale responses (196-198). On a different tack, there are others who identify that either a misdirected moral compass (217-218), or a lack of basic skills, underpin what are considered to be poor decisions in everyday life (219).

217. For me, poverty is a symptom rather than the actual source issue. The source issue is individual social responsibility, or rather the lack thereof.

(Man from Drylaw, aged 30-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

218. I've seen people putting out their cigarettes before going into a food bank! I believe cigarettes are now around £10 per pack! I can feed a family with £10.

(Self-employed man from Liberton, aged 50-59, never experienced poverty)

219. Parents of all social classes often do not know how to parent or what a child needs to thrive, and there is no community to help them do so. Those with lower incomes may be less able to provide these things even if they do know. The emotional abuse, poor relationships and lack of emotional resilience that can be part of or result from poor parenting contribute to both poor lifelong mental health, which can trigger other problems (addiction, poor planning) that can lead to poverty. And the abuse is passed down the generations. Society has forgotten the basics.

(Woman from Morningside, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

Perceptions that skills were lacking were prevalent for two areas - ability to cook (220-221) and ability to manage money (220-224). The tenor of comment varied between those who seemed to criticise the individuals for the decisions they were reported to make (218-219, 222, 224) and those who believed that the pressing issue was to educate them, or provide support, to ensure that 'better' decisions were made (220-221, 223). A role for the school education system was identified (221), as well as the support being provided through the public sector (223).

220. ... educate people how to cook and budget their money rather than buying 3 cases full of soft drinks, 25 frozen meals for 1 and 3 extra large multibuys of crisps!

(Man, aged 50-59, student, never experienced poverty)

221. Education for parents and breaking cycles. More education in schools on how to manage money and make affordable meals. Home economics classes in schools charging £60 a year is not even accessible to the children who need these classes to learn how to make a meal from scratch. Children in poverty are living on takeaways and convince foods with parents who don't know how to cook themselves. They enter a cycle of dept they can't get out and no one has ever helped them on how to manage money.

(Woman from Edinburgh South, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

222. My personal experience with witnessing poverty in Edinburgh has always been related to people having poor financial skills e.g. spending too much without having money in the bank - that kind of poverty can only be resolved by the people themselves.

(Woman from Viewcraig, aged 40-49, public sector employee)

223. Many of my clients do not know how to prioritise their own and their dependants' true needs. The money they do have is often spent on a whim rather than planned and with foresight. Plus, the notion that there is " just not enough money" is prevalent. Making the best of the money that is actually available is an art and learning about the resources actually available is a process you need help with from agents knowledgeable in this field.

(Woman from Little France, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

224. There is genuine poverty and secondary poverty because of poor money management.

(Retired man from Liberton, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)

Education solutions were not limited to a perceived need to improve cooking skills or money management. A broader education on life and lifestyle, with far-reaching re-orientations envisaged in the way that life is led (225-228), presented both as 'tough love' (225), a

support mechanism (226-228) and an obligation for those working in education and support sectors (226).

225. Educating children on dysfunctional lifestyles so they understand their choices better.
(Woman from Southside, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
226. Building up people's confidence through encouragement to have less children, educate the ones they have & feeding their brains & bodies. (No Ironbrew/Warbartons and Crisps!) There's an ingrained fatalism & sense of "victimhood" that paralyze people and keeps them from "getting out" of their poverty in Scotland.
(Woman, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
227. I have not been in poverty or do not know people in poverty which makes it harder to make judgements. However I feel supporting children in school, better education and care and support for children in poverty may help these children achieve more than their parents in the future. I believe if children don't get the support or encouragement for their education, then they will end up on lower paid jobs or no jobs and more likely to live in poverty.
(Woman from Grange, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
228. Support to help people cope for whatever reason is a good starting point, assistance to learn and develop skills so they can eventually support themselves.
(Woman from Edinburgh North West, aged 50-59, not in employment (temporarily sick or injured), currently experiencing poverty)

6.5.4 – Stigma and Discrimination

The anti-poverty sector has recognised for some time that the stigma experienced by people living in poverty is a problem in its own right, a point acknowledged by people in Edinburgh (229). Stigma may result from misunderstanding (6.5.1, 231) and may lead to poverty solutions being proposed that focus on the supposed failings of those experiencing poverty (6.5.4) and, as extract 230 suggests, can be fuelled by the way in which poverty is represented in the media. This leads to a divided city (6.5.2, 231) and tends not to acknowledge the structural factors that discriminate against people experiencing poverty (232). Although not understood to be a primary cause of poverty (Figure 5.9), the majority of people in Edinburgh perceived that discrimination contributed to poverty in Edinburgh (Figure 5.8).

229. ... we need to tackle stigma about poverty.
(Woman from Clermiston, aged 50-59, working in the third sector, previous experience of poverty)
230. We live in a society where the poor are blamed for being in poverty via the media, attitudes are negative and judgemental. This affects how people vote and the wrong people are in power. If we promote kindness and strive for a more caring society, perhaps it will affect voting and the right people will get in to power and change the policies. Kindness might sound a bit 'meh' but that is what I think changes people. Thanks for allowing me to say my peace.
(Woman, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

231. Too many assumptions are still made about 'deprived' areas in Edinburgh. The language and stigma this creates sidelines whole areas of the capital and perpetuates them and us thinking which is apparent in the delivery of public services. Many of these 'deprived' areas have a long and deep history of challenging inequality and perceptions and tackling the direct effects of poverty through community action. They are being let down by the withdrawal or reduction of funding to the voluntary sector, failures to engage on new development and poor services.

(Woman, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

232. I witness a high number of people doing their best in the face of great adversity. The long standing discrimination against areas in Edinburgh, the discrimination faced with respect of gender / race / culture.

(Woman from Granton, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

Stigma was understood not only to be a response of some to how they understood poverty, but was also thought to contribute to it (233-237); significantly, the focus on portraying some groups negatively makes it more difficult to acknowledge and build on their 'strengths and assets' (234). Independently of ineffective service delivery, stigma was also presented as a barrier to services being utilised (235-236). Although not everyone was in favour of universal provision (cross-reference), some identified this as a means to reduce the stigma of utilising services.

233. Local partners are all responsible for tackling poverty and the discriminating words and actions that perpetuate poverty.

(Man from Leith, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

234. Our rough sleeping community suffer discrimination and stigma making it harder to build on their strengths and assets.

(Man from Meadowbank, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

235. There is a huge amount of bureaucracy for struggling families and overwhelming stigma that stops those in need accessing services.

(Woman from Shandon, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

236. If being poor was no longer a stigma but rather a quite common project to be worked on, as it is in many people's lives, these people in question could come out into the open and sit together with other like-minded folks in order to discuss the best ways out of this negative, self-perpetual circumstance.

(Woman from Leith, aged 60-64, working in the third sector, previous experience of poverty)

237. Interventions deployed to tackle poverty should be as far as possible open to all people to reduce stigma and ensure that as many people living in poverty are reached.

(Woman from Port Seton, aged 50-59, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

6.6 – Agents of Change

In discussing Edinburgh issues, issues prevalent in UK debates on poverty and on how people experiencing poverty are represented, much reference has been to the agents considered to be responsible for tackling poverty in Edinburgh. This was also considered more directly in 3.7 of this report, in which citizens of Edinburgh identified who was responsible for tackling poverty in Edinburgh (Figure 5.10) and who was primarily responsible for it (Figure 5.11). Here, we consider some of the key themes to emerge for who were reported to be agents of change.

6.6.1 – Cross-sector co-ordination

There was much recognition of the need to work collaboratively (238-242). This reflected the complexity of the problem (6.2.4, 239-240), and the belief that poverty comprises multiple dimensions (239-240). More than merely multi-agency in form, some expressed the need for this to involve closer working among partners (238, 240).

238. A systemic approach is needed with multi-agency cooperation.
(Self-employed woman, from Liberton, aged 40-49, previously experienced poverty)
239. In my experience, the reasons for poverty are often complex and multi-faceted. It would, therefore, seem to me that a multi-agency approach to tackling poverty is essential.
(Woman from Davidson's Mains, aged 40-49, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
240. It is a complex and multi factorial issue that will require a concerted and joint effort to tackle. From health and education to resilience, there are many different individual and overlapping factors to consider.
(Women from Leith, aged 30-39 public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
241. A properly funded multi agency approach is required to end poverty.
(Man from Leith, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
242. Tackling poverty needs a multi layered approach.
(Woman from Leith, aged 60-64, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

The need for multiple agents of change is, in part, recognition that agents make unique contributions (243). However, opinion was also expressed on *how* this partnership should function (244-246), in addition to *who* should contribute. We conclude this section by considering values (6.7), but it should also be acknowledged that opinions were expressed on the values that should underpin cross-sector collaboration to tackle poverty. It was argued that this should be non-judgemental (244), closely co-ordinated (244), undertaken with a sense of shared responsibility (245), truly inclusive (246), open-minded (246) and should position people experiencing poverty at the heart of the strategy (246).

243. Ending poverty in Edinburgh will require different actions from different groups.
(Woman, aged 30-39, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

244. A joined up, judgement free plan is needed.
(Woman from Moredun, aged 40-49, not in employment (long-term sick or disabled), currently experiencing poverty)
245. The reasons they are in poverty are manifold, as your questionnaire suggests. The "cure" is not singular. It has to involve the participation in and collaboration of social and political bodies and much self-searching by all members of society who have to ask "Am I my Brother's keeper?" -as well as self - searching by the poverty stricken themselves.
(Retired woman from Liberton, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)
246. Success out of poverty is meaningful when people are provided an opportunity to do it for themselves. This will only happen for the majority if everyone works together - community, families, individuals, local authority, churches, local groups and government. Providing people with hope is what I believe can transform Edinburgh.
(Woman, aged 30-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

Although some lamented the current position on collaboration (247), others pointed to successful examples of collaboration in Edinburgh (248).

247. There are so many organisations, both public and third sector that are meant to help but communication is not good, there should be more things directed at the people themselves.
(Woman from Leith, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
248. ... this takes many approaches and requires a high level of co-ordination across many agencies. The Chamber of Commerce's work in developing Edinburgh as part of the CITIESCANB global network is one aspect. The NHS Lothian Thrive assembly is another. The opportunities created by the development of public sector localities is another and there are many more.
(Man from Restalrig, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

6.6.2 - Private Sector

Although it has already been reported that there was both implicit and explicit criticism of the private sector with regards to the failings of the labour market to provide adequate remuneration for work (6.4.1) and for ways in which private enterprise was marginalising the more disadvantaged in Edinburgh (6.3.1), there is also recognition that this also suggests that there is the means to tackle poverty should the resources of the private sector be used in a more equitable manner (249).

249. Changes to living wage economy and having minimum hours commitment from business, retail and the service sector could make a big difference - the unpredictability of some contracts and not knowing how many working hours, makes it difficult for individuals to plan ahead and know in advance one's level of household income.
(Man from South Queensferry, aged 60-64, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

On the other hand, there was criticism that some companies – more specifically, larger corporations - were not contributing a fair share to the common good from the profits that they were generating (250-251). Examples of progressive practice in Edinburgh were noted, both from local companies (252) and corporations (253), as were examples of innovative work from beyond Edinburgh that could be replicated in the city (254). There was belief in the value of enlisting the support of the private sector as a cornerstone of anti-poverty strategies that focused on employability (255).

250. ... big companies should be forced to pay taxes the same as everyone else and be given fines if they do not treat their employees fairly.
(Respondent who chose not to provide demographic profile)
251. The government should increase taxation on big companies.
(Man from Leith, aged 50-59, public sector worker, currently experiencing poverty)
252. The food wastage schemes from restaurants and shops could be encouraged further.
(Woman from Bonaly, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
253. Many people are facing difficulties with ID/bank accounts - this could be a focus? Many times you need a bank account to be paid benefits. You cannot get a bank account without ID. Only Barclays offers this type of easy set up account.
(Woman from Leith, aged 25-29, private sector employee, never experienced poverty)
254. [Manchester] led a very successful campaign to reduce homelessness. ... This idea could be replicated in Edinburgh, which sees international conferences all year round. I'm sure that many big companies would be keen to do this as part of their Corporate Social Responsibility Agenda.
(Retired woman, Mayfield, aged 60-64, never experienced poverty)
255. Engage employers in a movement to end poverty in Edinburgh by working with chosen employability intermediaries to make opportunities available and working with employability agencies and government agencies to enhance their skills in employment to enhance their earnings potential.
(Man, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

6.6.3 – Third Sector

As local government has responded to financial pressures with the paring back of services – whether presented as efficiency savings, or presented as cuts (cross-reference – 6.4.4), the role of the Third Sector in tackling poverty has become more prominent. Interestingly, the Edinburgh public think that the responsibility for tackling poverty rests much more with government (Figure 5.10); although there may be a mismatch between what should happen and what does happen. It is acknowledged that the Third Sector already fulfils a key role in tackling poverty in Edinburgh (256) and that the scale of the work being undertaken by the sector to this end has increased in recent years (257).

256. So much great work happening out there already by a range of charities, who lack funding.
(Woman, aged 30-39, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

257. Food Banks have increased in Edinburgh over the years and I am aware of this by speaking to staff involved in the Edinburgh Food Project.

(Woman from East Calder, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

Consternation was expressed at the funding system, both for the difficulties faced by small organisations in accessing funding (258) and at the system whereby kindred spirits might be 'forced' to work against each other in order to access funding to continue their work (259).

258. Empower grassroots organisations with easy to access/ no jumping through hoops, simple one page application forms that can be done on any device for small grants up to £5k.

(Self-employed woman from Edinburgh South, aged 30-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

259. Does the funding basis for some organisations work against their collaborating more in the best interests of the individual in need rather than their own needs or targets as an organisation?

(Man from South Queensferry, aged 60-64, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

In addition to recognising the contributions being made by the Third Sector (256-257) and the challenges they face (258-259), many citizens acknowledge critical interventions (260) and much successful anti-poverty work being undertaken across the Third Sector in Edinburgh (261-266), addressing problems related to food (261, 265-266), housing (261), debt management (264-265), access to employment (265), addictions (265), clothing (265) and family support (265).

261. I did sleep rough for around a week when I was younger and couch surfed for another until the dole office believed I was homeless. Yes I went hungry but was too proud to ask for help from food bank, I even stole a pack of razors to go to an interview as I didn't have money. Thankfully "Shelter" gave me help with a deposit for a flat.

(Man, aged 50-59, student, never experienced poverty)

262. Let's lift red tape in the city, let's build projects like the Change Center (David Duke MBE), let's listen to people who have been there- let's stop telling people what they should do and how they should spend their money. Let's take radical steps and shout about the even more radical change.

(Self-employed woman from Edinburgh South, aged 30-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

263. There are some fantastic organisations who support people in poverty, Edinburgh Helping Hands being a great example.

(Man from Sighthill, aged 40-49, private sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

264. I know a number of people who have become debt free by accessing a good debt counselling service such as Christians Against Poverty.

(Retired woman from Roseburn, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)

265. Many of my experiences with tackling poverty has been through our church. Amazing organisations like CAP Christians against poverty helps with those in addiction, getting back to work, debt counselling and debt help. We also offer a food bank with additional supports including cooking classes, work experiences in

our community cafe, clothing and toy provision for families. We also offer free counselling services and long-term pastoral care.

(Woman from Barberton, aged 30-39, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

266. Food banks and schemes such as Cyrenians Pantry (where you can select 10 food items for £1 fortnightly) are great but it's sad in a way that people are reduced to having to rely on these schemes.

(Woman from Craigmillar, aged 40-49, in employment, previously experienced poverty)

However, and as was suggested through the survey data (Figure 5.10) what is, is not considered optimum. The opinion was conveyed that the Third Sector is intervening to address the failings of government (267-268).

267. At the moment, third sector and community groups are working to reduce the numbers of people in poverty, but they shouldn't have to be.

(Woman from Mayfield, aged 25-29, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

268. Food banks are taking responsibility for the people the UK government are failing.

(Man, aged 40-49, not in employment (long-term sick or disabled), previously experienced poverty)

6.6.4 – Support Network

Although the opinion was expressed that tackling the complex problem of poverty would involve the participation of many agents of change (6.6.1), this can also create challenges. Against the aspiration for straightforward access to the advice and support that would assist people experiencing poverty (269), many considered the landscape to be confusing with many organisations offering similar services (270-271); the desire for single points of contact – the person-centred solution – was expressed. On the other hand, some personal testimony acknowledged the positive contributions of what might to others appear as a bewildering range of support (272).

269. Easier access to advice and support to move out of poverty.

(Man from Crewe Toll, aged over 65, volunteer, never experienced poverty)

270. There are a number of well meaning organisations that have set up to help:- Food Banks, Debt Advice, Welfare Advice etc. However, there is a lack of a coordinated approach and this creates duplication of effort. An Edinburgh ADVICE Network should be set up to coordinate the approach.....If there is already one in existence then I don't know about it, which means it's not coordinated.

(Man from Comley Bank, aged 60-64, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

271. The number of potential sources of information and advice could be bewildering for an individual seeking help ... The idea of a single point of contact for any individual in need could have an attraction in terms of more seamless information flow and almost an advocacy role in support of their situation? Could such a role be taken on by well trained volunteers? Perhaps this already exists. No-one can possibly know everything and the idea of a super database doesn't seem realistic.

(Man from South Queensferry, aged 60-64, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

272. I must also deliver my utmost gratitude to HMRC, City Council of Edinburgh, Shelter, Dr. Wink at NHS's Whinpark Medical Centre, CHAI and nevertheless, Mrs. Ruth Smith and advisors and team at Broomhouse Outreach, Citizens Advice Scotland.

(Self-employed man from Baberton, aged 50-59, previously experienced poverty)

Although there may be some disagreement over whether it is best to provide a simplified framework of support, or to have one in which many can play a supporting role, there is a sense that there is a clear need to strengthen the support that is available to people experiencing poverty (273-277). This is not only conceived as direct support for the individual; it is often understood as support that enables the individual to support those around them and/or to achieve secondary goals, i.e. helping them to help themselves (273-275). This support is also conceived as developing supporting communities (276) and through providing support that is not goal-oriented beyond the immediate interaction between supported and supporter (277).

273. I feel that reducing poverty needs to be more than just giving people more money. I think that educating people, working with/supporting families to help ensure that people can see a way out of poverty and providing support (be that childcare, financial or otherwise) to people who are trying to improve their circumstances.

(Woman from Oxgangs, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

274. Supporting parents in order to support their children.

(Self-employed woman, from Liberton, aged 40-49, previously experienced poverty)

275. Support to help people cope for whatever reason is a good starting point, assistance to learn & develop skills so they can eventually support themselves.

(Woman from NW Edinburgh, aged 50-59, not in employment (temporarily sick or injured), currently experiencing poverty)

276. Stronger communities and an improved quality of life would raise resilience through better self-esteem, less isolation, better self-confidence, and local opportunities.

(Woman from Balerno, aged 40-49, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

277. Providing ample support networks to people experiencing poverty is key as poor mental health and desperation can be a direct result of poverty and people need help, even just someone to listen.

(Woman from Canonmills, aged 40-49, private sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

It was also clearly conveyed that providing support is not straightforward (278-282). The importance of a strong and stable relationship to guide the supported through the transition was stressed (278), the delivery of which is more difficult to achieve in practice. Some of those in need to support are experiencing challenging times (279-280), which is demanding of the skillset required to engage in a way that is sensitive to circumstance. Providing support can also be very demanding emotionally for those providing support. As is clearly evidenced in extract 281 below, support is time-consuming, demanding, but ultimately

critical in supporting well-being and, in extreme cases, protecting life. The reality, however, is that public sector professionals traditionally tasked with this work, are unable to deliver the support required, given strains on capacity (282).

278. Engages individuals and families experiencing poverty - creating a relationship of trust that explores immediate- short term- medium term and long term solutions to lift them out of poverty and build their capacity and resilience to remain out of poverty - case managing people through the various support and inputs they require with ONE continuous relationship that supports them towards their long term aspiration.

(Man, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

279. Many on the street suffer from trauma, mental health issues, addiction problems leading to behavioural issues. Many end up excluded from mainstream services and support networks and social benefits and a lack of employment.

(Man from Drylaw, aged 30-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

280. Expanding the person-centred support services to people on being at risk of homelessness.

(Man from Drylaw, aged 30-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

281. A number of years ago I supported a couple of people who had got into debt because of mental health issues and these mental health concerns made it extra difficult for them to get out of their situations. One person was suicidal because of it and the other became more depressed. In both cases it took the intervention of someone else to get on top of the situation. The right support was vital but remember that the support needs to be accessible to the person. It took a lot of time to build up trust to enable the person to even begin to tell me the problem. In all in probably took 3 or 4 times longer than it would ordinarily.

(Woman from Restalrig, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

282. Front line staff in social work do not have the time to address the structural issues or work intensively with people in poverty to address the reasons for their poverty. We are only scratching the surface, dealing with the symptoms and not the causes.

(Woman, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

An external support network is important, as otherwise outcomes are dependent on whether support of the wider family is available; not everyone has access to this support (283). Where it is available, the support of family is often critical in assisting people to overcome income stresses (284).

283. Lack of supportive family and friends mean that people become trapped, stuck and unable to find a way out of poverty.

(Retired woman from Kaimes, aged 60-64, never experienced poverty)

284. We had to move to the outskirts of the city as we just could not afford to live closer. We were only able to buy due to help of parents for deposit, otherwise due to house prices, we couldn't afford it on our income. It would be very easy for us, and I'm sure many others in this situation, to fall into poverty from this position.

(Woman from South Queensferry, aged 30-39, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

6.6.5 – Involvement of People Experiencing Poverty

Involving people experiencing poverty in discussions in matters that pertain to them and in decision-making for action to tackle it lies at the heart of the mission of Edinburgh Poverty Commission, and other anti-poverty organisations in Scotland, such as the Poverty Alliance and the Poverty and Inequality Commission. The commitment to listen to the voice of experience, and act upon it, was also expressed by Edinburgh citizens (285-286). This was not only judged to be the 'right' thing to do; it was considered by some to be a prerequisite for successful anti-poverty action (287-289).

285. Decisions about services that improve quality of life for people experiencing poverty should be made with participation of people who are experiencing poverty.

(Woman from Lochend, aged 30-39, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

286. The voices and experiences of those living in poverty and experiencing the marginalisation this brings need to be listened to and the work we do to change our society needs to be driven from this.

(Woman from Mountcastle, aged 30-39, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

287. At the heart of any anti-poverty strategy must be the value of respect - that definitions of success are not imposed on those grappling with poverty and the journeys we encourage folk to take are ones they design and we support - this is not something we fix in others but we help create the context for folk in poverty to choose how best to fix for themselves.

(Man from Restalrig, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

288. Actually talk to the people and see what are the main concerns, nothing can change if you don't get fully involved.

(Woman from Dalry, aged 20-24, student, never experienced poverty)

289. Success out of poverty is meaningful when people are provided an opportunity to do it for themselves.

(Woman, aged 30-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

At the heart of the concern to involve people experiencing poverty is the importance of acknowledging their assets (290). Involving people experiencing poverty is also a community matter (291-293). Once more, the perception that the City of Edinburgh Council was listening to the powerful and advantaged, at the expense of the marginalised was expressed (293, 6.3.5); although engagement was acknowledged, concern was expressed over how effective this was (293).

290. What does not help though are when services set up to solve poverty that fail to recognise the agency present in the individual themselves that can often be a significant driver in change: look for the strengths and the assets in the person - don't make presumptions about their perceived 'helplessness'. This is partly a result of outmoded thinking when delivering something to a 'client' - a passive relationship - which also isn't helped by the way services are commissioned. Funding is handed out based on targets more closely linked to service output, not

meaningful interaction with the individual as a person, with their own capabilities taking centre-stage and the agency's working from this as the core.

(Man from The Grange, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

291. Along with mitigating damage where possible, build strong, united, well-informed communities, re/connect them to political structures - or pressure political structures to them so they have a voice and can use it effectively to co-produce and exert influence over decisions that affect them.

(Woman from Lochend, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

292. I think a more 'community led approach' is needed to address poverty in Edinburgh. Engaging with communities to find out what is important to them is essential. It's not a one size fits all approach, more needs to be done in each locality to address this.

(Woman from Marchmont, aged 25-29, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

293. Edinburgh Council needs to co-produce services with the people most affected by services. That is not just a tick box, leading question consultation online, this is in-depth face to face development sessions that have more weighting than the industry leads of Edinburgh that get disproportionate access to decision makers to frame the agenda in their commercial interest, over the needs of communities.

(Woman from Edinburgh City Centre, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

While there was a clear belief expressed in the value of engaging people experiencing poverty, the value of expert opinion was also acknowledged. In contrast to those seeking a collective, Edinburgh-wide commitment and solution, a minority opinion was that contributions were more important if provided by experts – be they professional (294), or those with direct experience of poverty.

294. I have answered because as a professional working on fuel poverty I think my experience and views carry some weight, but there could be plenty of people with no relevant experience answering.

(Man from Portobello, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

6.6.6 – National Government

This report is primarily concerned to capture what the people of Edinburgh think about poverty in their city, and to identify the local actions that are required to tackle poverty in Edinburgh. However, and as has been made clear so far (e.g. Figure 5.10 and Figure 5.11) and in observations already shared (6.4.4), tackling poverty in Edinburgh takes places within a wider framework in which decisions made by national government in Edinburgh and London impact directly.

For some, the ultimate responsibility for creating and tackling poverty rests with national government (295-298). National government is required to take action (298) and to lead the way in prioritising anti-poverty goals (295-297).

295. Although I do think that the Council, NHS, community partnership etc. have a role to play in supporting those experiencing poverty and that they can influence policy to improve life chances and quality of life, I do not believe it is their role (by which I mean, not within their capability) to reduce poverty. A change in high level policy direction is required for that - at Westminster and Scottish Government level
(Woman from The Grange, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
296. I believe that tackling poverty needs to come right from the top, the UK and Scottish governments. Without buy in at this level, it is virtually impossible, as we do not have the correct policies to shape our services and welfare provisions and implement effective strategies to tackle poverty.
(Woman, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
297. Together, in partnership things can happen, move, shift and be transformed but this initiative needs to be led and supported from the highest levels of government and high level networks.
(Retired woman from Kaimies, aged 60-64, never experienced poverty)
298. Action has to be taken by governments (Westminster and Scotland).
(Respondent who chose not to provide demographic profile)

The observations about the role of national government are not benign (299-305). Rather, and in particular, the actions of the UK Government in recent years were criticised for increasing poverty (303) and intensifying the poverty that is experienced in Edinburgh (305). The decisions were thought to be political choices (300, 305) and had a stepped impact by constraining what the Scottish Government could achieve (301, 304). Opinion was expressed that the negative impact of national government was likely to continue in the years ahead (303-304).

299. I believe the main driver of poverty is societal inequality and successive government policy.
(Woman from Portobello, aged over 65, public sector employee)
300. Everything seems to have become worse following years of Westminster's austerity policies. These are shown not to work as they put more people out of work, therefore raising less taxes. The lack of state provision for the common good coupled with the desire to reduce taxation levels has made the gaps between rich and poor greater.
(Retired woman from Bruntsfield, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)
301. Budget cuts from Westminster spill over into the Scottish Government budget which in turn dictates how much money local authorities have to spend.
(Self-employed woman from Morningside, aged 60-64, public sector employee)
302. Austerity policies at a U.K. level have made things much worse and this should be noted.
(Woman from Newhaven, aged 40-49, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
303. The UK government makes inadequate financial provision for the benefits it controls. It doesn't make enough funds available to enable the Scottish Government either to use its devolved powers to significantly reduce levels of poverty or to provide the means for local authorities to provide all the local

services which could help to alleviate poverty; I can't see this situation changing significantly under the present UK government.

(Retired man from Fountainbridge, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)

304. To some extent I'm not sure what we can do with respect of some types of practical solutions when benefits keep getting cut by Westminster.

(Woman from SW Edinburgh, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

305. The systems that exist to support the most vulnerable in society do not do so.

These systems aim to punish poor people, treat them unfairly and plunge vulnerable people further into poverty. This government should be thoroughly ashamed of itself. I'm talking about WM government.

(Woman from Craigmillar, aged 40-49, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

Although the strongest ire was reserved for the UK Government, the Scottish Government was also considered to be at fault (306-308), as it was not making full use of the tools at its disposal (306-307) and was considered to be wasteful in some of its spend (308). Criticisms of 'wasteful spend' were levelled both at items deemed to be unnecessary (i.e. baby boxes in 308) and spending on populations who did not need items (i.e. against universal provisions in 308).

306. The Scottish Government needs to use its devolved powers to the max to alleviate poverty and reduce the risk of more people falling into poverty. Use its powers to improve social security, clamp down on airbnbs and give the council funds to build more social housing at affordable rents.

(Woman from Merchiston, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

307. There is more Scottish Government can do in addition to such things as the carers allowance supplement payments.

(Woman, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

308. 1: Stop the SNP wasting money on expensive projects across all schools and target them in areas that have more need. For example, Nicola Sturgeon's reading project in the last few years was a complete waste of money. Children in private schools don't need free books to be blunt. 2: Stop the SNP wasting money on ridiculous initiatives across society issues such as "baby boxes" for newborns. Or only target those in need.

(Woman from Buckstone, aged 40-49, private sector employee, never experienced poverty)

There were also several calls for the Scottish Government to address the particular needs of defined population groups, including disabled people (309) and ex-offenders (310).

309. REAL support should be given by employers & Government to keep those with disabilities in work. I have a recognised mental health condition and have recently experienced discrimination by my employer (Ironically NHS who should have a better understanding of mental health). I believe there is a disbelief of mental health illnesses in the workplace - too often seen as a pretence. There is such a lot of pressure to attend work regardless of poor health. All too often employers apply

the bear minimum of "Reasonable Adjustments". "Reasonable" is too vague a term. If there was proper guidance for employers to show what can be done to support (mental) illness i.e. Government subsidies to help people participate in sports/exercise and guidance from organisations, which better understand different types of illnesses, about real support.

(Woman from Slateford, aged 60-64, not in employment, current and previous experience of poverty)

310. When a family member gets out of prison, there is no help to get people the right skills, the government should offer financial incentives to the targeted industries (such as construction) to take on and train ex-prison people. To get them working solid hours to keep them busy and not back on to doing mistakes that will get them back into prison.

(Woman, aged 30-39, not in employment, any other ethnic group)

6.6.7 – Edinburgh City Council

311. In terms of addressing poverty in Edinburgh - whilst poverty is obviously linked to wider UK government policy and deeper educational, generational, social inequality - responsibility must lie with CEC. However, I also appreciate that cities attract people in poverty from the regions and thus there is a wider Scottish Government responsibility.

(Man from SE Edinburgh, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

The primary purpose of this report, and the wider work of which it is part, is to inform the future direction of the City of Edinburgh Council and its partners, as they look to tackle poverty in Edinburgh. Although national governments were criticised for the role they have played (and actions they have not taken) in recent years (6.6.6), there was also acknowledgement by some that there was local responsibility for Edinburgh's poverty (311). On the other hand, there was also awareness of good work being undertaken locally to tackle poverty (312) and the potential for this to have positive impact (313). On the other hand, not everyone was fully supportive of interventions being Council-led (314).

312. Edinburgh Council continues to play the biggest part working in the front line of poverty, and the poverty of aspiration. I'm aware of the policy of positive preventative measures to de-escalate, avert, improve the lives of the most marginalised in the community.

(Man from Portobello, aged 50-59, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

313. The Council has the ability to lead the way by investing in services that can lift people out of poverty and prevent people falling into poverty. Improve the output from schools so that future generations have opportunities and aspirations.

(Man from Leith, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

314. Problem is there is little trust in Edinburgh Council that they would use such funding appropriately. The culture in Government and local authorities need to change too. There needs to be more leading by example, too much waste on unnecessary purchases and too much time spend in meetings rather than taking action.

(Woman, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

The funding cuts that were referred to earlier (both in 6.6.6 and one directly in 6.4.4) are acknowledged in Edinburgh. These cuts are thought to hamper the ability of the City of Edinburgh Council to deliver its statutory commitments (315-316) and to provide adequate support to the charities, which depend on it (315). There is also criticism at the way in which funds are used within the Council (315).

315. A lot of our statutory services in Edinburgh for all ages and the charities that support them are under resources and short on staff or in silos - our public funds need to be invested in people as a whole and not in silos or issues, this includes poverty.

(Woman from Gordie, aged 30-39, third sector employee)

316. The lack of funding / funding squeeze has had a massive effect on statutory organisations being able to tackle poverty i.e. cut backs on council spending.

(Man from Comley Bank, aged 60-64, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

Ways in which the City of Edinburgh Council could improve practice are considered to extend beyond funding practices (315). A wide range of actions were identified by the people of Edinburgh (317-321), covering a wide range of subject areas, as is clearly evident in extract 317. The actions involve extending services (317), improving how services are delivered (317), be preventative in orientation (317), lessen problems of those currently experiencing poverty (318-319), strengthen its provision for people in crisis (318), be concerned with quality and not just quantity (317-318), use its regulatory and procurement powers to improve the practice of others (317, 319-320), be mindful of making fully inclusive decisions (319), prioritise spend to tackle poverty (320), make decisions in conjunction with people experiencing poverty (320), commit to robust evaluation (321), avoid short-termism in anti-poverty activity (321) and work toward an overarching goal that overcomes fragmentation of purpose (321).

317. The Council can help support the creation of meaningful and worthwhile jobs; do better at preventing homelessness; improve how homeless people are treated when they are in the system; improve drug and alcohol services; improve mental health services; ensure landlords adhere to best practice with regard security of tenure. Local partners are all responsible for tackling poverty and the discriminating words and actions that perpetuate poverty. The Council has the ability to lead the way by investing in services that can lift people out of poverty and prevent people falling into poverty. Improve the output from schools so that future generations have opportunities and aspirations.

(Man from Leith, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

318. Poverty initiatives should focus on progressive policies that reduce costs for low income residents in the city including childcare; encourage creation of sustainable good quality jobs and support people facing barrier to employment to overcome them and protecting and strengthening investment in essential services that provide a safety net for people in crisis including homelessness services and crisis payments for destitute migrants with no recourse to public funds.

(Woman from Lochend, aged 30-39, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

319. Decision making by local authorities should as far as possible ensure that events taking place are accessible for all. For example, Christmas and other holiday festivals. Many of these are not accessible to people living in poverty. As such around a quarter of the population are unable to access many local festival and events. Contracts awarded by local authorities should wherever practicable for any work, events or acquisitions should consider the impact of this on the reduction/impact of people living in poverty.

(Woman from Port Seton, aged 50-59, public sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

320. New policies and spending decisions could be assessed against poverty reduction strategy and spending priorities shifted to ensure limited resources are targeted at measures that will reduce poverty. Decisions about services that improve quality of life for people experiencing poverty should be made with participation of people who are experiencing poverty.

(Woman from Lochend, aged 30-39, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

321. Even projects which have shown true progress in opening up unique opportunities to access openings/courses for young people from these areas, e.g. into journalism, lost their funding, due to the continued project approach' taken by Govt where we just go from one trial approach to another, without any effective assessment of what works or doesn't. Community Planning is just one example. The issues are exacerbated through a lack of robust longer-term planning with a culture of delivering measurable improvements. There's a need for strong leadership and partnership working and a determination to change from the top down - It's too fragmented, need delivery against one overarching holistic plan for 'health and wellbeing' rather than, the raft of plans/strategies we have now.

(Woman from East Craigs, aged 60-64, in employment, previously experienced poverty)

In addition to making suggestions about what to improve, caution was urged to ensure that the City of Edinburgh Council are alert to avoid unintended adverse consequences of their anti-poverty work (322-323), one of which was a belief that Edinburgh would draw in those from beyond its boundaries if it became known as being a place in which the problems of people experiencing poverty could be addressed (323). As for the Scottish Government (312), there was concern over what was considered to be 'wasteful spend', supporting the preferences of comfortable citizens (324).

322. As an organisation it is worth the Council making sure that its policies and practices don't have the unintended consequences of exacerbating the challenges for individuals and families facing poverty and life on low incomes.

(Man from South Queensferry, aged 60-64, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)

323. If easy solutions to escaping poverty are given to people then they will be taken and attract more poor people to Edinburgh to partake of those solutions... this should be born in mind when designing these solutions - and is why giving every homeless person a home and a hundred thousand pounds is a none starter, it is not sustainable even if it was achievable in the first instance (which it patently isn't given the generally available funding for these projects) because Edinburgh alone could continue this funding for all the poor people in the UK (and beyond) who hear about the project and come to Edinburgh to partake of it... this is why

Edinburgh would do better to work with other places (mostly cities) that have large numbers of poor and work together to find solutions that help tackle the problem for all those places, meaning that fewer people would move from other areas to strain systems only available in Edinburgh.

(Edinburgh Old Town resident, previously experienced poverty, mixed ethnic background)

324. Stop free school buses for middle class children who chose to go to a school out of catchment. For example, we live in one of the most affluent areas of the city and many children have chosen to go to Catholic schools or the specialist dance school at Broughton. Children receive a free bus pass for this yet many of their parents are very wealthy doctors - this is not right when so many children in the city are living in poverty.

(Woman from Buckstone, aged 40-49, private sector employee, never experienced poverty)

Collaborative working has already been identified as a necessity for anti-poverty action in the city (6.6.1); specifically, it was argued that the City of Edinburgh Council could work collaboratively to influence the quality of employment in the city (325), improve work across the Third Sector and with social enterprise (326), provide resource support (327), move beyond partisan positions when taking decisions (328) and exert pressure on the Scottish Government to ensure that its actions benefit the citizens of Edinburgh (329).

325. Employers have a big role to play but local and national governments can influence what types of employers operate in the city and can use their influence to attract good ones to come and support exiting ones to improve.

(Woman, aged 30-39, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

326. ... work on joined up initiatives with the voluntary sector and social enterprise.

(Woman from Leith, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

337. A lot of our statutory services in Edinburgh for all ages and the charities that support them are under resources and short on staff or in silos - our public funds needs to be invested in people as a whole and not in silos or issues, this includes poverty.

(Woman from Gordie, aged 30-39, third sector employee)

338. The authorities, local and governmental, need to be prepared to tackle the problem with seriousness and stop talking on party political lines and agree like they should also be doing with the NHS. A cross party and helpful agency group should be formed to tackle this problem.

(Retired woman from Roseburn, aged over 65, never experienced poverty)

339. Councils should help to ensure that the Scottish Government designs social security policies that will positively impact on citizens living in their area.

(Woman from Newhaven, aged 40-49, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

There is also acknowledgement that good practice beyond Edinburgh can inform the path taken locally (340). More generally, there is an appetite for more radical approaches (340-343). These are described as being person-oriented (341), removed from partisan politics (342) and being free of the organisational constraints that characterise how Council's work (343).

340. Building communities and supporting local people to take control of their own solutions is a core principle which we know works but it needs supported by changing how resources are accessed - examples such as the Wigan Deal, the work by Preston Council on procurement, the support for families on the edge of care in the LoveBarrow model and the work of Perth and Kinross Council on providing rooms in residents homes for young people presenting as homeless as just some models we could usefully learn from.
(Man from Restalrig, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
341. I believe that Edinburgh is the ideal location to attempt a more radical approach that: Engages individuals and families experiencing poverty creating a relationship of trust that explores immediate short term, medium term and long term solutions to lift them out of poverty and build their capacity and resilience to remain out of poverty case managing people through the various support and inputs they require with ONE continuous relationship that supports them towards their long term aspiration.
(Man, aged 50-59, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
342. Services are not joined up to look at the overall complex needs of people in poverty. Councils focus on short-term cuts or service problems that are driven by political agendas rather than taking long-term cross-party collaboration with other organisations (like NHS & Police) to really commit to long-term action.
(Woman, aged 40-49, public sector employee, never experienced poverty)
343. Our public funds need to be invested in people as a whole and not in silos or issues, this includes poverty.
(Woman from Gordie, aged 30-39, third sector employee)

6.7 – Values

In addition to proposing more radical approaches to tackle poverty in Edinburgh (6.6.7), there was also a sense that work to tackle poverty in Edinburgh should be underpinned by a clearly defined set of values that would not only signpost action, but would provide guidance as to how decisions would be taken and actions pursued (344-352). Calls were made for an approach that was more inclusive (344), kinder (344, 351), was respectful (352), was more caring (351), fostered a sense of belonging (345), was grounded in a sense of social responsibility (347), but did not remove individual's responsibility for their own circumstance (350, 352) are to be encouraged. It was felt that this would amount to a shift in mindset (346-347), although not all were sure that this was possible (348), at least not without significant and wide-ranging interventions (349).

344. I hate the trend that prioritised public space for people with money (Xmas markets, closing parks for private events, St James centre) and hope to live in a kinder, less profit driven and more inclusive city!
(Woman from Leith, aged 30-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
345. It's not just about economic poverty. People need to feel they belong rather than being on the fringes of society.
(Woman from SW Edinburgh, aged 50-59, private sector employee, previously experienced poverty)

346. There is one solution to tackling poverty in Edinburgh. It will take a mind shift in society, government and business working together to tackle it.
(Man from Liberton, aged over 65, private sector employee, never experienced poverty)
347. I'd like to see a sea-change in attitudes, with a greater sense of social responsibility across the board, from the individual to institutional level.
(Man from SE Edinburgh, aged 50-59, private sector employee, never experienced poverty)
348. This is a really difficult thing to change given that we live in a global capitalist based world - unless we directly give people money and change wider societal structures and ideology I don't know how we can really effectively tackle poverty!
(Woman from Gilmerton, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
349. We need huge system change and redistribution of wealth to truly tackle poverty- we can try to minimise the impacts of it, but if we're not making huge changes around housing, childcare, wages, taxes we'll only ever be responding after it's already happened.
(Woman from Abbeyhill, aged 20-39, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)
350. Try the Scandinavian model, but without taking away the individual's freedom & making the individual dependent on the State (rather than the family & community). Build on communities; young & old thrive on "doing for others." and everyone must have some kind of "moral" compass & sense of self.
(Woman, aged 50-59, public sector employee, never experienced poverty, any other white ethnic group)
351. If we promote kindness and strive for a more caring society, perhaps it will affect voting and the right people will get in to power and change the policies. Kindness might sound a bit 'meh' but that is what I think changes people. Thanks for allowing me to say my peace.
(Woman, aged 40-49, third sector employee, previously experienced poverty)
352. At the heart of any anti-poverty strategy must be the value of respect - that definitions of success are not imposed on those grappling with poverty and the journeys we encourage folk to take are ones they design and we support - this is not something we fix in others but we help create the context for folk in poverty to choose how best to fix for themselves.
(Man from Restalrig, aged 50-59, third sector employee, never experienced poverty)

7. Conclusion

This report has shared what a representative sample of Edinburgh citizens think about poverty in their city. It is clear that poverty is perceived to present in Edinburgh and that it needs to be tackled. In some respects, it would appear that there is stronger commitment to tackle poverty locally here in Edinburgh, when compared to the appetite to tackle poverty more generally across Scotland and GB.

Our recommendations are drawn from what the people think. We offer ten:

- 1. Be bold:** Four fifths of Edinburgh's citizens believe that it is 'very important' to tackle poverty and that there is 'quite a lot' of poverty in the city. There is a strong mandate for a bold approach to tackle poverty in Edinburgh.
- 2. Be progressive:** There is widespread belief that Edinburgh is not meeting the needs of all of its citizens, and that the way in which the city functions exacerbates rather than tackles inequality. Working towards a less divided Edinburgh would appear to be strongly supported by the majority of its citizens.
- 3. Focus on making Edinburgh a city for citizens:** Although citizens are proud of their city and although many recognise the positive value tourism, festivals and higher education, there is a desire to rebalance the city focus to deal more directly with the pressing concerns of its most disadvantaged. At least, this must start with the recognition that many are not benefitting from significant investment and contemporary development in the city.
- 4. Engage and mobilise lived experience:** Involving those with lived experience – both those living with poverty and those working with those who are living with poverty – should be valued not only 'in principle'; there is much to be learned from the those encountering poverty that will improve decision-making and increase the likelihood of achieving positive outcomes through solutions that are a 'better fit' to need.
- 5. Explore the significance of the 'Edinburgh cost of living':** Living in Edinburgh is reported to be beyond the means of many, including those in full-time employment. It would be useful to think of ways in which the city can become more affordable to its citizens and to consider whether there is a need for consider the merits of an 'Edinburgh living wage', as a tool to understand affordability, if not to enable everyday living in the city.
- 6. Understand experience, but acknowledge that commitment to tackle poverty extends beyond those living in poverty:** In many ways, those who have experienced poverty differed in their understanding of issues, when compared to the majority who have not. However, further work should recognise the tendency toward consensus and share opinion on poverty in Edinburgh; the majority of those not experiencing poverty, are supportive of action to tackle it.

7. Acknowledge consensus, without ignoring minority positions: The self-employed emerged as an interesting group, with some opinions that were outliers in relation to majority opinion. To a lesser extent, differences of opinion were notable among private sector workers (compared to those working in the Third/public sectors). Although it would be unhelpful to overstate these differences, there is a need to better understand the thoughts of those working outwith the sectors traditionally understood to be closer to those experiencing poverty. Poverty solutions need to avoid disenfranchising key groups within the city.

8. Focus on affordable housing: There is local concern over the extent to which housing is meeting everyone's needs in Edinburgh. The unintended and adverse consequences of contemporary developments need to be addressed, both in terms of changing perception that Edinburgh's investment is prioritising the needs of its most disadvantaged citizens and in terms of making city living more affordable to more of its people.

9. Focus on making work pay: There is local consternation that work is not rewarding everyone and that too many of Edinburgh's workers are not attaining a wage that allows them to live life to a decent standard, let alone escape poverty. More needs to be done by those responsible for the labour market in Edinburgh to ensure that work delivers adequate remuneration.

10. Make it everyone's business: Respondents conveyed a commitment to Edinburgh and a strong desire to make Edinburgh a better city, by tackling inequality and poverty. It is clear that this is conceived as a city-wide effort, although responsibility for leading this work may rest with the City of Edinburgh Council (or some other city collective). Scotland's city of business should make it its business to tackle poverty. This will only be achieved through an effective collaborative, with a shared vision and a collective sense of purpose. However, everyone should understand what is within their reach to address and take the steps required to do what is necessary within their domain and with their resources to contribute to eradication of poverty in the city.

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Annex 1: Our Survey



Edinburgh Poverty Barometer 2019

Are you ready to complete the survey?

1. Would you like more information before deciding whether to complete the survey?

- No thanks, take me to the first question
- Yes please - can you give me a little more information about the survey before I decide



Edinburgh Poverty Barometer 2019

About the Survey

WHAT IS THIS ALL ABOUT?

The Edinburgh Poverty Commission wants to find out what people living and working in Edinburgh know and think about poverty in their city. This survey is part of a larger project, which aims to prioritise future action.

WHY SHOULD I COMPLETE THE SURVEY?

YOUR opinion matters to us. If we are to inform and improve policy, it is important that we find out what ALL people in Edinburgh think about poverty in their city.

WHAT IF I DON'T THINK THAT POVERTY IS A PROBLEM IN EDINBURGH?

That's a legitimate opinion that we need to hear. This is a survey for all the people of Edinburgh.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY POVERTY IN EDINBURGH?

Poverty is living on a low income - that is, one that is below what is required to afford what most households typically have.

CAN I LET OTHER PEOPLE KNOW ABOUT THE SURVEY?

Yes please! Feel free to share the link to the online survey.

HOW LONG WILL IT TAKE TO COMPLETE THE SURVEY?

No more than 10 minutes.

WHEN DO YOU NEED THE SURVEY COMPLETED?

Ideally, by Friday November 29th 2019.

WHAT IF I CAN'T OR DON'T WANT TO ANSWER ONE OF THE QUESTIONS?

No problem. Skip that question and move on to the next question.

IS IT CONFIDENTIAL?

Yes. The only person with access to the survey data is Professor John McKendrick of Glasgow Caledonian University (who is managing this survey for the Edinburgh Poverty Commission). He will ensure that no individual is named or can be identified in the results.

WILL MY DATA BE STORED SECURELY?

Yes. Data will be password protected and will be stored in a way that reflects best practice for online surveys.

WHAT WILL BE DONE WITH THE RESULTS?

Professor McKendrick will write a short report to inform the work of the Commission. The findings may also be written-up for publication.

WHERE CAN I GET A COPY OF THE RESULTS?

The Edinburgh Poverty Commission will make the results available early in 2020 via their website.

2. Would you like to complete the survey?

Yes

No



Edinburgh Poverty Barometer 2019

Thinking About Poverty in the city of Edinburgh in 2019

3. How important or unimportant do you think it is to reduce poverty in Edinburgh?

- Very important
- Quite important
- Not very important
- Not at all important
- Don't know

4. How much poverty do you think there is in the city of Edinburgh?

- None
- Very little
- Some
- Quite a lot
- Don't know

5. Who do you think should be responsible for reducing poverty in Edinburgh?

(Select ALL of those you think should be responsible)

- UK government
- Scottish government
- City of Edinburgh Council
- Edinburgh Community Planning Partnership
- NHS Lothian
- People living in poverty
- Friends/relatives of people in poverty
- Local businesses and employers
- Voluntary organisations and community groups
- Don't know
- Rather not say
- Other (please specify)

6. Who do you think should be the MOST RESPONSIBLE for reducing poverty in Edinburgh?

- UK government
- Scottish government
- City of Edinburgh Council
- Edinburgh Community Planning Partnership
- NHS Lothian
- People living in poverty
- Friends/relatives of people in poverty
- Local businesses and employers
- Voluntary organisations and community groups
- Don't know
- Rather not say
- Other (please specify)

7. Which of the following are the reasons that might best explain why people are living in poverty in Edinburgh?

(Select ALL that you think are reasons)

- Some people are not entitled to any social benefits and are not able to work
- Social benefits do not provide enough money
- Someone in the household suffers from a long term illness or disability
- Family break-up or loss of a family member
- The work of adults in the household doesn't pay enough
- Alcoholism, drug abuse or other addictions
- The adults in the household have been out of work for a long time
- They live in a poor quality area
- There are too many children in the family
- The adults in the household lack education
- The adults in the household do not work enough hours
- The adults in the household do not want to work
- Their parents/grandparents were also poor: it has been passed down the generations
- They suffer from discrimination eg ethnicity, age, disability
- They cannot access affordable housing
- Because of inequalities in society
- Other reasons
- Don't know

8. Which do you think is the MAIN reason that might best explain why people are in poverty in Edinburgh?

- Some people are not entitled to any social benefits and are not able to work
- Social benefits do not provide enough money
- Someone in the household suffers from a long term illness or disability
- Family break-up or loss of a family member
- The work of adults in the household doesn't pay enough
- Alcoholism, drug abuse or other addictions
- The adults in the household have been out of work for a long time
- They live in a poor quality area
- There are too many children in the family
- The adults in the household lack education
- The adults in the household do not work enough hours
- The adults in the household do not want to work
- Their parents/grandparents were also poor: it has been passed down the generations
- They suffer from discrimination eg ethnicity, age, disability
- They cannot access affordable housing
- Because of inequalities in society
- Other reasons
- Don't know

9. What do you think should be the main goal of LOCAL action to tackle poverty in Edinburgh?

- Improving the quality of life of people experiencing poverty
- Improving the chances of people to escape poverty
- Directly reducing the number of people living in poverty
- Preventing people on the margins of poverty from falling into poverty
- Don't know
- Other (please describe below)

12. Compared to the rest of Edinburgh as a whole, is there

- More poverty in your local area
- About the same amount of poverty
- Less poverty in your local area
- Don't know



Edinburgh Poverty Barometer 2019

About You

We ask these questions for two reasons. First, it allows us to check whether the survey is representative of the population of Edinburgh. Second, we will be interested to explore whether experiences and opinions vary across different groups.

Can we re-assure you that none of these questions will be used to identify who you are.

13. Looking back over your life, have there been times in your life when you think you have lived in poverty by the standards of that time? *Please select all the times when you have lived in poverty*

- I have never lived in poverty
- I currently live in poverty
- I have previously lived in poverty as an adult
- I have previously lived in poverty as a child
- I don't know
- I'd rather not say

10. Please use the space below to share any experiences or thoughts that you have about tackling poverty in Edinburgh?



Edinburgh Poverty Barometer 2019

Thinking About Poverty in the your part of Edinburgh in 2019

11. How much poverty do you think there is in YOUR LOCAL PART of the city of Edinburgh?

- None
- Very little
- Some
- Quite a lot
- Don't know

14. Which of the following best describes how often you come across poverty in Edinburgh?

- I see a lot of poverty every day
- I see some poverty every day
- I see some poverty several times a week
- I see some poverty, about once per week
- I see some poverty, about every month
- I see some poverty, but not every month
- I never see poverty in Edinburgh
- Rather not say

15. What is your age?

- 17 or younger
- 18-19
- 20-24
- 25-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60-64
- 65 or older
- Rather not say

16. Are you

- Male
- Female
- I identify my gender in another way (please describe below)

17. Which of the following best describes your current work status?

- In employment, as an employee
- In employment, self-employed
- In employment, on a Government employment and training programme
- In employment, as an unpaid family worker
- In employment, as an unpaid volunteer
- In employment, other employment
- Not in employment, student
- Not in employment, looking after family home
- Not in employment, temporarily sick or injured
- Not in employment, long-term sick or disabled
- Not in employment, waiting results of job application
- Not in employment, no jobs are available
- Not in employment, not yet started looking
- Not in employment, do not need or want employment
- Not in employment, retired from paid work
- Not in employment, other reason
- Rather not say
- Other (please specify)

18. In which sector do you work?

- Private sector
- Public sector
- Third sector
- Other / Unsure (please describe)

19. What is the postcode of where you live?

(the only reason we ask this question is so that we can describe the type of neighbourhood you live in)
If you do not know your full postcode, please give your full address instead - once again, can we re-assure you that this will only be used to profile where you live.

20. What is your ethnic group

- WHITE, Scottish
- WHITE, Other British
- WHITE, Irish
- WHITE, Gypsy/Traveller
- WHITE, Polish
- WHITE, Any other White ethnic group, please describe
- Any Mixed or Multiple ethnic groups, please describe
- Pakistani, Pakistani Scottish or Pakistani British
- Indian, Indian Scottish or Indian British
- Bangladeshi, Bangladeshi Scottish or Bangladeshi British
- Chinese, Chinese Scottish or Chinese British
- Any other Asian, please describe
- African, African Scottish or African British
- Any other African, please describe
- Caribbean, Caribbean Scottish or Caribbean British
- Black, Black Scottish or Black British
- Any other Caribbean or Black, please describe
- Arab, Arab Scottish or Arab British
- Any other ethnic group, please describe

Other (please specify)

21. Do you want to find out more about this research or the work of the Edinburgh Poverty Commission?

- Yes
- No



Getting involved and finding out more

Visit <https://edinburghpovertycommission.org.uk/> to find out more about the work of the Edinburgh Poverty Commission.

22. Would you be interested in taking part in an Experience Panel to discuss poverty in Edinburgh? This would involve meeting three times in Edinburgh between December 2019 and February 2020. Please note that we are keen to speak to both those who have experience of poverty (past or present) AND those who do not have any experience of poverty.

Yes

No

23. As you might be interested in taking part in the panel discussions, please leave your contact details.

Your first name

Your family name

Your e-mail address

Your telephone number

Annex 2: Attitudinal Variations Among Sub-Populations

A2.1 – Perception of Experiencing Poverty Across the Lifecourse

No sub-population is more likely than not to report that it currently lives in poverty, although there is some variation in perception across groups.

- **Employment Status.** Those who are not retired and not in paid employment are most likely to report that they have lived in poverty at some point in their lives (74%, compared to an Edinburgh average of 40%); they are also more likely to currently live in poverty (33%, against an Edinburgh average of 6%). Only 3% of those in paid employment consider themselves to be currently living in poverty.
- **Age.** Younger residents (aged under 30) are much more likely to report that they have never lived in poverty (81%, compared to 54% of the rest of the population).
- **Employment Sector.** No differences.
- **Gender.** No significant differences.

As might be expected, there were significant differences across the most/least deprived parts of Edinburgh

- **Deprivation Area Status.** Those who live in the most deprived areas are least likely to report never having experienced poverty (31%, compared to 71% of those living in the least deprived areas and 59% of those living outwith the least/most deprived areas).

A2.2 – The Importance of Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh

In most instances, the majority of all sub-populations think that it is “very important” to tackle poverty in Edinburgh, there is some variation in the degree to which this is the majority opinion. In terms of holding this majority opinion:

- **Employment Status.** One quarter of the self-employed do not agree (27%, compared to 8% of the remainder of the population); significantly more than those in paid employment (9%), not in paid employment (6%) and the retired (6%).
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector are much less likely to agree (72%), compared to those working in the public sector (96%) and the Third Sector (96%).
- **Age.** Younger residents are less likely to agree (87% of those aged under 40, compared to 94% of those aged 40 and over).
- **Gender.** Women are more likely than men to agree (94%, compared to 89%)

More complex is the patterning of response according to personal poverty profile.

- **Deprivation Area Status.** There are no significant differences across sub-populations.
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Not a statistically significance difference (although all 29 of those currently experiencing poverty considered it to be ‘very important’, while 10% of those not currently experiencing poverty did not).
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty daily are much more likely than those who do not to perceive that it is ‘very important’ to tackle poverty in Edinburgh (96%, compared to 81%); this rises to 99% for those who encounter poverty ‘several times daily’, and falls to 77% of those who encounter poverty ‘at most, weekly’.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Perceived higher levels of local poverty are associated with more agreement with the majority opinion, i.e. 70% of those who think there is ‘very little’ or ‘no’ poverty locally, 94% of those who think there is ‘some’ poverty locally and 99% of those who think there is ‘quite a lot’ of poverty locally.

A2.3 – How Much Poverty is There in Edinburgh

In most instances, the majority of all sub-populations think that it is “quite a lot” of poverty in Edinburgh, there is some variation in the degree to which this is the majority opinion. In terms of holding this majority opinion:

- **Employment Status.** Almost one-half of the self-employed do not agree that there is ‘quite a lot’ of poverty in Edinburgh (43%, compared to 15% of the rest of the Edinburgh population).
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector are much less likely to agree (66%), compared to those working in the public sector (88%) and the Third Sector (92%).
- **Age.** Older residents are most likely to agree (92%), although younger adults (up to 29 years old) are next most likely (86%); otherwise, extent of agreement increases with age.
- **Gender.** Not a statistically significance difference.

More complex patterns were evident for personal poverty profile.

- **Deprivation Area Status.** There are no significant differences across sub-populations.
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Not a statistically significance difference (although the proportion agreeing that there is ‘quite a lot’ of poverty, ranged from 83% for those who had never experienced poverty, 86% of those who had previously experienced poverty and 93% of those who currently live in poverty).
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty daily are much more likely than those who do not to perceive that there is a ‘quite a lot’ of poverty in Edinburgh (91%, compared to 68%); this rises to 97% for those who encounter poverty ‘several times daily’, and falls to 56% of those who encounter poverty ‘at most, weekly’.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Perceived higher levels of local poverty are associated with more agreement with the majority opinion, i.e. 65% of those who think there is ‘very little’ or ‘no’ poverty locally, 85% of those who think there is ‘some’ poverty locally and 93% of those who think there is ‘quite a lot’ of poverty locally.

A2.4 – The Core Basis for Public Support for City-Wide Anti-Poverty Action

In most instances, the majority of all sub-populations think that it is “quite a lot” of poverty and that it is ‘very important’ to tackle it in Edinburgh. However, there is some variation in the degree to which this is the majority opinion:

- **Employment Status.** One-half of the self-employed agree (50%); significantly less than the rest of the Edinburgh population (83%).
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector are much less likely to agree (58%), compared to those working in the public sector (85%) and the Third Sector (91%).
- **Age.** Older residents are most likely to agree (90%); younger adults (up to 29 years old) are next most likely to agree (84%), although otherwise, extent of agreement increases with age. Younger residents are also most likely to think that it is not important to tackle it and there is not a lot of poverty (9% of under 30s). Almost one third of those in their thirties do agree that it is very important to tackle poverty and there is a lot of it in Edinburgh (30% do not agree).
- **Gender.** Women are more likely than men to agree (86%, compared to 76%)

More complex is the patterning of response according to personal poverty profile.

- **Deprivation Area Status.** There are no significant differences across sub-populations.
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Not a significant difference, although those currently live in poverty are more likely to consider that it is ‘very important’ to tackle poverty and that there is ‘quite a lot’ of it (93%, compared to 80%).
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty daily are much more likely than those who do not to perceive that there is a ‘quite a lot’ of poverty in Edinburgh and that it is ‘very important’ to tackle it (89%, compared to 64%); this rises to 96% for those who encounter poverty ‘several times daily’, and falls to 56% of those who encounter poverty ‘at most, weekly’.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Notwithstanding the very small number who perceived that there was no poverty in their local area, it is notable that only a minority of this group (43%) held the majority opinion. More generally, perceived higher levels of local poverty are associated with more agreement with the majority opinion, i.e. 57% of those who think there is ‘very little’ poverty locally, 83% of those who think there is ‘some’ poverty locally and 93% of those who think there is ‘quite a lot’ of poverty locally.

A2.5 – Perceived Local Prevalence of Poverty Across Edinburgh

The majority of all sub-populations were equally split between perceiving that there was either “quite a lot” or “some” poverty in the local area. Once more, however, there is some variation in opinion among the people of Edinburgh.

- **Gender.** Women were more likely than men think that there is ‘quite a lot’ poverty locally (41%, compared to 32%).
- **Employment Status.** Not statistically significant differences.
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector are much more likely to perceive that there is ‘none’ or ‘very little’ poverty in their local area (41%), compared to those working in the public sector (16%) and the Third Sector (13%).
- **Age.** Younger residents (aged under 40) are less likely to think that there is ‘quite a lot’ of poverty in their local area (31%, compared to 42% of residents aged 40 and over).

Perceptions of local poverty strongly reflected personal poverty profile.

- **Deprivation Area Status.** Those living in the most deprived areas were much more likely to perceive ‘quite a lot’ of local poverty (70%), compared to those in the least deprived area (16%) and those living in areas beyond these extremes (49%).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those who had never experienced poverty were much more likely to perceive that there was ‘none’ or ‘very little’ poverty in their local area (23%), compared to 19% of those who had previously experienced poverty and 3% of those who currently live in poverty. Similarly, they were much less likely to perceive ‘quite a lot’ of poverty locally (27%, compared to 52% and 55%, respectively).
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty daily are much more likely than those who do not to perceive that there is a ‘quite a lot’ of poverty in their local area (44%, compared to 21%); this rises to 61% for those who encounter poverty ‘several times daily’, and falls to 13% of those who encounter poverty ‘at most, weekly’.

A2.6 – The Core Basis for Public Support for Local Anti-Poverty Action

There is some variation in the degree to which sub-populations shared the same opinion:

- **Employment Status.** The self-employed were less likely to report that they lived in an area with ‘quite a lot’ of poverty and that it was ‘very important’ to tackle poverty (18%, compared to 38% of the rest of the Edinburgh population).
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector are much less likely to report that they lived in an area with ‘quite a lot’ of poverty and that it was ‘very important’ to tackle poverty (19%, compared to those working in the public sector (43%) and the Third Sector (40%).
- **Age.** Younger residents (aged under 40) were less likely than older residents to consider it to be ‘very important’ to tackle poverty and that there was ‘quite a lot’ of poverty in their part of Edinburgh (31%, compared to 42% of those aged 40 and over).
- **Gender.** Women were more likely than men to perceive it to be ‘very important’ to tackle poverty and that they lived in an area with ‘quite a lot’ of poverty (40%, compared to 32%).

More marked differences in the patterning of response were found for personal poverty profile.

- **Deprivation Area Status.** Those living in the most deprived areas were most likely to perceive it to be ‘very important’ to tackle poverty and that they lived in an area with ‘quite a lot’ of poverty (68%, compared to 16% of those living in the least deprived areas and 49% of those living outside these extremes).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those who currently live in poverty are most likely to perceive it to be ‘very important’ to tackle poverty and that they live in an area with ‘quite a lot’ of poverty (55%, compared to 51% of who have previously lived in poverty and 27% of those who have never lived in poverty). Similarly, those who currently live in poverty are much less likely not to consider that it is both ‘very important’ to tackle poverty and that there is not much poverty locally (none or very little), i.e. 3%, compared to 24% of those who have previously experienced poverty and 26% of those who have never experienced poverty.
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty daily are much more likely than those who do not to perceive it to be ‘very important’ to tackle poverty and that they lived in an area with ‘quite a lot’ of poverty (60% of those who encounter poverty several times per day, compared to 31% of those who encounter it daily and 21% of those who encounter it ‘less than daily’).

A2.7 – Relative Incidence of Poverty Across Edinburgh

There is a little variation in the degree to which sub-populations shared the same opinion:

- **Employment Status.** The retired were more likely to perceive that there was less poverty in their local area (66%, compared to 49% of those in paid employment, and 36% of those not in paid employment).
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector are much more likely to report that there was less poverty in their area, compared to the rest of Edinburgh (65%, compared to those working in the public sector (48%) and the Third Sector (38%).
- **Age.** Older citizens were more likely to perceive that there was 'less poverty in their local area, relative to the wider city (60%, compared to 47% for the remainder of the population).
- **Gender.** No statistically significant differences.

Once more, marked differences in the patterning of response were found for personal poverty profile.

- **Deprivation Area Status.** Those living in the least deprived areas were more likely than those living in these least deprived areas to perceive that there was 'less poverty in their local area (75%, compared to 13% of those living in the most deprived areas and 36% of those living outside these extremes).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Perceiving lower levels of local poverty is associated with the perception that there was relatively less poverty in their local area compared to the rest of Edinburgh, i.e. 95% of those who think there is 'very little' poverty locally, 62% of those who think there is 'some' poverty locally and 10% of those who think there is 'quite a lot' of poverty locally.
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those who currently live in poverty are less likely to perceive that there was less poverty in their local area, relative to other parts of Edinburgh (15%, compared to 39% of who have previously lived in poverty and 61% of those who have never lived in poverty).
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who do not encounter poverty daily are much more likely than those who do to perceive that there was less poverty in their local area, relative to other parts of Edinburgh (62% of those who do not encounter poverty daily, compared to 45% of those who encounter it daily).

A2.8 – Encountering Poverty in Edinburgh

There is a little variation in the degree to which sub-populations shared the same opinion:

- **Employment Status.** The retired and the self-employed were least likely to encounter poverty at least once daily (49% and 46%, compared to 72% of those in paid employment, and 82% of those not in paid employment) and several times daily (9% and 14%, compared to 34% and 38%, respectively).
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector are much less likely to report that they encounter poverty at least once daily (55%, compared to those working in the public sector (77%) and the Third Sector (74%) and several times daily (11%, compared to 39% and 44%, respectively).
- **Age.** Retired citizens were least likely to see poverty at least once daily (60%, compared to 71% for the rest of the population). Similarly, 20% of the retired population reported encountering poverty in Edinburgh at most once-weekly (compared to 9% of the rest of the population)
- **Gender.** No statistically significant differences.

Once more, marked differences in the patterning of response were found for personal poverty profile.

- **Deprivation Area Status.** Those from the most deprived areas were more likely to encounter poverty several times daily (53%, compared to 23% of those living in the least deprived areas and 29% of those living outside these areas).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Perceiving higher levels of local poverty is associated with being more likely to encounter poverty at least once daily, i.e. 41% of those who think there is 'very little' poverty locally, 71% of those who think there is 'some' poverty locally and 83% of those who think there is 'quite a lot' of poverty locally; the same pattern prevails for several times daily (8%, 24% and 50%, respectively).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those who currently live in poverty are more likely to encounter poverty at least once daily (90%, compared to 75% of who have previously lived in poverty and 63% of those who have never lived in poverty).

A2.9 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: Number of Responses

There is no significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations identified similar number of reasons for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector are more likely to identify fewer reasons (51% identified nine or fewer, compared to those working in the public sector (35%) and the Third Sector (38%).
- **Employment Status.** Those who were economically active without pay were more likely to identify more reasons, e.g. 26% identified fourteen or more reasons, compared to 12% of the rest of the population, while 22% identified fewer than nine reasons, compared to 40% of the rest of the population.
- **Age.** No significant or consistent difference.
- **Gender.** No significant difference.

There are differences in the patterning of response were found for personal poverty profile.

- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those who currently live in poverty are more likely to identify fewer reasons for poverty (57% identified nine or fewer reasons, compared to 36% of those who do not currently live in poverty).
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty most frequently are least likely to identify fewer reasons for poverty (34% of those who encounter poverty at least daily identified fewer than ten reasons for poverty, compared to 50% of those who do not encounter it every day).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No statistically significant difference.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Perceiving higher levels of local poverty is associated with being less likely to identify multiple reasons, i.e. only 32% of those who think there is 'very little' poverty locally identify less than nine reasons, compared to 40% of those who think there is 'some' poverty locally and 47% of those who think there is 'quite a lot' of poverty locally.

A2.10 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: Inequalities in Society

There are some significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations identified inequalities as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector are least likely to identify inequalities as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh (40%, compared to 24% of those working in the public sector and 18% of those working in the Third Sector).
- **Employment Status.** The self-employed were most likely not to recognise this as a reason (46%, compared to 27% of the rest of the population). Those who are economically active without pay were more likely to consider this to be the main reason (50%, also compared to 25% of the rest of the population).
- **Age.** The youngest (aged under 30) were more likely to consider that 'inequalities in society' were a reason for poverty in Edinburgh (80%, compared to 70% of those aged 30 and over).
- **Gender.** No significant difference.

There are contrasting significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty more frequently are least likely not to identify inequalities as a reason for poverty (19% of those who encounter poverty daily, compared to 43% of those who do not encounter it every day).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Perceiving lower levels of local poverty is associated with being less likely to identify inequality as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh, i.e. 44% of those who think there is 'none' or 'very little' poverty locally, compared to 21% of those who think there is 'some' poverty locally and 25% of those who think there is 'quite a lot' of poverty locally.
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant or consistent differences.
- **Deprivation Area Status.** Those from the most deprived areas were least likely to identify this as a reason (64% of those from the most deprived areas, compared to 79% of those from the least deprived areas and 69% of those outwith the most/least deprived areas).

A2.11 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: Lack of affordable housing

There are some significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations identified inequalities as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Age.** Those aged under 30 were much more likely to think that the lack of affordable housing contributed to poverty in Edinburgh, i.e. 89% for those aged under 30, compared to 76% of the those aged 30 and over.
- **Employment Status.** No significant difference.
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the Third Sector were most likely to identify this as a reason (only 11% did not, compared to 24% for Public sector employees and 30% of private sector employees).
- **Gender.** Women are more likely than men to identify ‘the lack of affordable housing’ as contributing toward poverty in Edinburgh (83%, compared to 75%).

Once more, there are significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty less frequently are less likely to identify the lack of affordable housing as a reason for poverty (72% of those who did not encounter poverty daily, compared to 82% of those who do not encounter it every day).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Perceiving lower levels of local poverty is associated with being less likely to identify the lack of affordable housing as being a reason for poverty in Edinburgh, i.e. 37% of those who think there is ‘none’ or ‘very little’ poverty did not identify this as a reason, compared to 14% of those who think there is ‘some’ poverty locally and 19% of those who think there is ‘quite a lot’ of poverty locally.
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant differences.
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference.

A2.12 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: The adults in the household lack education

There are no significant variations in the degree to which sub-populations identified ‘the adults in the households lack education’ as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Status.** No significant difference.
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the third sector were least likely to acknowledge this as a reason (39%, compared to 49% of those in the public sector and 51% of those in the private Sector).
- **Age.** No significant or consistent differences.
- **Gender.** No difference.

There are few significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty most frequently are least likely to acknowledge this as a reason (39% of those who encounter it several times per day, compared to 44% of those who encounter it daily, 51% of those who encounter it several times per week, and 59% of those who encounter it at most once-weekly)
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those currently experiencing poverty were least likely to acknowledge this as a reason (24%, compared to 49% of those who have never experienced poverty).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** Those from the least deprived areas are most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (53%, compared to 36% from the least deprived areas and 41% for those outwith these areas).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Although statistically significant, no consistent difference. Those perceiving themselves to from areas with the most poverty (quite a lot) and least poverty (none or very little), were more likely than those from areas ‘in-between’ (some) to consider this to be a reason, i.e. 57%, 50% and 36%, respectively.

A2.13 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: Someone in the household suffers from a long term illness or disability

There are limited significant variations in the degree to which sub-populations identified 'someone in the household suffers from a long term illness or disability' as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Status.** The self-employed are less likely to acknowledge this as a reason (64%, compared to 84% of the rest of the Edinburgh population).
- **Employment Sector.** No significant difference.
- **Age.** No significant or consistent difference.
- **Gender.** No difference.

There are significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those who currently experience poverty are less likely to acknowledge this as a reason (62%, compared to 85% of those who have never experienced poverty and 85% of those who previously experience poverty).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** Those from least deprived areas are more likely to consider this a reason (88%, compared to 72% of those from the least deprived areas and 82% of those outwith the most/least deprived areas).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Those who perceive themselves to be from areas with more poverty (some or quite a lot) were more likely to consider this to be a reason for poverty (85%, compared to 75% from those who describe their area as having none or very little poverty).
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** No significant difference.

A2.14 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: They suffer from discrimination, e.g. ethnicity, age, disability

There are limited variations in the degree to which sub-populations identified ‘they suffer from discrimination’ as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Age.** The oldest were most likely to acknowledge this as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh (89% of those aged 60 and over, compared to 81% of those aged under 60).
- **Gender.** Women were more likely to acknowledge this as a reason (65%, compared to 55% of men).
- **Employment Status.** Those who were not in economically active without pay were most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (77%), compared to those in paid employment (62%), the retired (52%), and the self-employed (36%).
- **Employment Sector.** Those in the Third Sector were most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (68%, compared to 62% of those working in the public sector and 51% of those working in the private sector).

There are some significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those encountering poverty more frequently are most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (67% of those who encounter poverty daily, compared to 49% of those who do not encounter it every day).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Those who live in an area that they consider to have ‘no’ or ‘very little’ poverty are least likely to acknowledge this as a reason (48%, compared to 65% of those in areas with ‘some’ poverty or ‘quite a lot’ of poverty).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant difference, although those currently living in poverty (without previously living in poverty) were least likely to acknowledge this as a reason (31%, compared to 62% of those who have never experienced poverty, 61% of those who have previously experienced poverty and 69% of those who experience it and have experienced it in the past).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant and consistent difference.

A2.15 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: They live in a poor quality area

There are limited significant variations in the degree to which sub-populations identified 'they live in a poor quality area' as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Status.** Those were not in paid employment were most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (63%), while the self-employed (23%) and the retired (31%) were least likely; those in paid employment (42%) and those who are not in paid employment (42%) fell between these extremes.
- **Age.** Those aged under 30 were much more likely to think that area quality contributed to poverty in Edinburgh, i.e. 52% for those aged under 30, compared to 38% of the those aged 30 and over.
- **Employment Sector.** No significant difference.
- **Gender.** No significant difference.

There are few significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Those living in areas perceived to have the most poverty are most likely to acknowledge this as a reason for poverty, 49% of those living in areas with 'quite a lot' of poverty, compared to 37% of those living in areas with 'some' poverty, 'no' poverty or 'very little' poverty.
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty daily as most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (46% of those who encounter it daily, compared to 31% of those who do not).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those who have never lived in poverty are less likely to consider that social benefits do not provide enough money as being a reason for poverty in Edinburgh (65%, compared to those who have experienced poverty in their lives (73%)).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference.

A2.16 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: Social benefits do not pay enough

There are some significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations identified inequalities as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Status.** The retired were most likely to recognise this as the main reason (26%, compared to 16% of those not in paid employment and 11% of those who are in paid employment). The self-employed were most likely not to think that was not a reason (43%, compared to an average of 31%).
- **Age.** Older residents (aged 60 and over) were more likely to think social benefits not paying enough was the main reason for poverty in Edinburgh, i.e. 21%, compared to 11% of the those aged under 60.
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector were less likely to identify this as a contributory reason (58%, compared to 70% of those working in the Public/Third Sector).
- **Gender.** No significant difference.

Once more, there are significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty less frequently are more likely not to identify social benefits not paying enough as a reason for poverty (25% of those who encounter poverty daily, compared to 45% of those who do not encounter it every day).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Perceiving lower levels of local poverty is associated with being more likely not to identify the level of social benefits as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh, i.e. 45% of those who think there is 'none' or 'very little' poverty locally, compared to 29% of those who think there is 'some' poverty locally and 27% of those who think there is 'quite a lot' of poverty locally.
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant differences.
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference.

A2.17 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: Some people are not entitled to any social benefits and are not able to work

There are no significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations identified 'some people are not entitled to any social benefits and are not able to work' as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Status.** Those who are not in paid employment are more likely to acknowledge this as a reason (73%, compared to 63% of those who are self-employed or waged). Conversely, those who are not economically active are most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (88%, compared to 64% of the rest of the Edinburgh population).
- **Employment Sector.** No significant difference.
- **Age.** No consistent difference.
- **Gender.** No significant difference.

There are significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty more frequently are more likely to acknowledge this as a reason for poverty (71% of those who encounter poverty daily, compared to 52% of those who do not encounter it every day).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant difference.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** No significant difference.
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No consistent difference (those living outside both the most and least deprived areas were least likely to consider this a factor, i.e. 57%, compared to 70% for both least/most deprived areas).

A2.18 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: The adults have been out of work for a long time

There are limited significant variations in the degree to which sub-populations identified ‘the adults have been out of work for a long time’ as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Status.** The self-employed and those who are economically active without pay are most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (82% and 78% respectively, compared to 62% of those in paid employment 42% of those who are not in paid employment and 70% of the retired).
- **Age.** No significant differences.
- **Employment Sector.** No significant difference.
- **Gender.** No significant difference.

There are few significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those who currently experience poverty are less likely to acknowledge this as a reason (33%, compared to 68% of those who have never experienced poverty and 68% of those who previously experienced poverty).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No difference.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Although statistically significant, no consistent difference. Those perceiving themselves to from areas with the most poverty (quite a lot) and least poverty (none or very little), were more likely than those from areas ‘in-between’ (some) to consider this to be a reason, i.e. 71%, 69% and 54%, respectively.
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** No difference.

A2.19 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: Work does not pay enough

There are some significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations identified inequalities as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the public sector were more likely to think of this as a contributory reason (91%, compared to 86% of those in the Third Sector and 79% of those in the private sector).
- **Employment Status.** The self-employed were most likely not to recognise this as a reason (32%, compared to 13% of the rest of the Edinburgh population), while those in paid employment were most likely to acknowledge that this was the main reason (29%, compared to 5% of the self-employed, 12% of those not in paid employment and 18% of those who are retired).
- **Age.** The youngest were more likely to identify this as the main reason for poverty in Edinburgh (39% of those aged under 30, compared to 20% of those aged 30 and over).
- **Gender.** No difference.

Once more, there are contrasting significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty less frequently are more likely not to identify work not paying enough as a reason for poverty (24% of those who encounter poverty daily, compared to 8% of those who do not encounter it every day).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Perceiving lower levels of local poverty is associated with being less likely to identify work not paying enough as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh, i.e. 29% of those who think there is 'none' or 'very little' poverty locally, compared to 10% of those who think there is 'some' poverty locally or 'quite a lot' of poverty locally.
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant differences.
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference.

A2.20 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: The adults in the household do not work enough hours

There are no significant variations in the degree to which sub-populations identified ‘the adults in the households do not work enough hours’ as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Status.** Those who are economically active without pay were most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (42%), compared to the retired (28%), those in paid employment (25%), those who are not in any employment (20%) and the self-employed (18%).
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the third sector were least likely to acknowledge this as a reason (18%, compared to 29% of those in the public/private sectors combined.
- **Age.** No consistent difference.
- **Gender.** No difference.

There are no significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those currently experiencing poverty were least likely to acknowledge this as a reason (10%, compared to 28% of those not living in poverty).
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** No significant difference.
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** No consistent and significant difference.

A2.21 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: The adults in the household do not want to work

There are limited variations in the degree to which sub-populations identified 'the adults in the households do not want to work' as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector were least likely to acknowledge this as a reason (41%, compared to 28% of those in the public sector and 20% of those in the Third Sector).
- **Employment Status.** Those who are self employed were most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (52%), compared to 28% of the rest of the Edinburgh population, i.e. the retired (31%), those in paid employment (28%) and those who are not in employment with pay (24%).
- **Age.** No significant or consistent differences.
- **Gender.** No difference.

There are limited significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those experiencing poverty most frequently are least likely to acknowledge this as a reason (24% on those who encounter it daily, compared to 38% of those who do not; this rises to 53% of those who experience poverty at most weekly).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** On the margin of being a statistically significant difference, with those currently experiencing poverty being least likely to acknowledge this as a reason (14%, compared to 31% of those who do not currently live in poverty).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No consistent and significant difference.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** No consistent and significant difference.

A2.22 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: Alcoholism, drug abuse or other addictions

There are limited significant variations in the degree to which sub-populations identified 'alcoholism, drug abuse or other addictions' as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Status.** Those in paid employment are least likely to acknowledge this as a reason (77%, compared to 88% of the remainder of the Edinburgh population, i.e. 91% of the self-employed, 90% of those not in paid employment and 86% of the retired).
- **Employment Sector.** Those in the private sector were most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (85%, compared to 76% in the public/Third sector combined).
- **Age.** No consistent differences by age, with both the oldest (60 and over) and youngest (under 30s) being most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (84% and 88%, compared to 75% for those between these age groups).
- **Gender.** No difference.

There are few significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those who currently experience poverty are less likely to acknowledge this as a reason (59%, compared to 83% of those who have never experienced poverty and 81% of those who previously experience poverty).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** No significant or consistent difference.
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** No significant or consistent difference.

A2.23 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: Their parents/grandparents were also poor: it has been passed down the generations

There are limited variations in the degree to which sub-populations identified ‘their parents/grandparents were also poor: it has been passed down the generations’ as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Age.** Broadly, younger age groups were more likely to acknowledge this as a reason, i.e. (46% of under 30s, 50% of those in their 30s and 41% of those in their 40s, compared to 31% of those in their 50s and 35% of those aged 60 and over).
- **Employment Status.** No significant difference, although those who are self employed and those who were not in employment were most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (64% and 58%, respectively), compared to the retired (39%), those in paid employment (38%), those who are economically active without pay (39%).
- **Employment Sector.** No significant difference.
- **Gender.** No difference.

There are no significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** No significant differences, although those encountering poverty least frequently are most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (50% of those who encounter at most weekly, compared to 36% of those who encounter it several times daily, 42% of those who encounter it daily and 39% of those who encounter it several times per week).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant and consistent difference.
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No difference.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** No difference.

A2.24 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: Family break-up or loss of a family member

There are limited significant variations in the degree to which sub-populations identified ‘family break up or loss of a family member’ as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Status.** The self-employed are less likely to acknowledge this as a reason (57%, compared to 76% of the rest of the Edinburgh population, i.e. 74% of those in paid employment, 84% of those not in paid employment and 83% of the retired).
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector are less likely to acknowledge this as a reason (64%, compared to 78% of those working in the public sector and 75% of those working in the Third Sector).
- **Age.** The likelihood of acknowledging this as a reason increases with age, e.g. 88% of those aged 60 and over, compared to 70% of those aged under 30, 69% of those aged 30-39, 76% of those aged 40-49 and 74% of those aged 50-59.
- **Gender.** No significant difference.

There are no significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No statistically significant differences, although those who currently experience poverty are less likely to acknowledge this as a reason (62%, compared to 77% of those who do not).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** Those from the least deprived areas are more likely to consider this a contributory explanation (82%, compared to 70% from those living outside the least deprived areas).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** No significant difference.
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those encountering poverty daily are more likely than those who do not to consider that the loss or a family member or break up is a reason for poverty in Edinburgh (78%, compared to 70%).

A2.25 – Explanations for Poverty in Edinburgh: There are too many children in the family

There are limited significant variations in the degree to which sub-populations identified 'there are too many children in the family' as a reason for poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Status.** The self-employed were most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (41%), compared to 18% of the rest of the Edinburgh population, i.e. the retired (21%), those in paid employment (17%) and those who are not in paid employment (22%).
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector were most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (27%, compared to 21% of those in the public sector and 11% of those in the Third Sector).
- **Age.** No significant differences.
- **Gender.** No significant difference.

There are few significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who do not encounter poverty daily are most likely to acknowledge this as a reason (28% compared to 16% of those who encounter it daily); this rises to 37% for those who experience poverty less than weekly
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant and consistent difference.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Although statistically significant, no consistent difference. Those perceiving themselves to from areas with the most poverty (quite a lot) and least poverty (none or very little), were more likely than those from areas 'in-between' (some) to consider this to be a reason, i.e. 28%, 21% and 14%, respectively.
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No difference.

A2.26 – Responsibility for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh: Number of Responses

There is limited variation in the degree to which sub-populations identified similar number of agents with responsibility for tackling poverty in Edinburgh:

- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector are much more likely to identify fewer agents with responsibility (16% identified seven or more, compared to those working in the public sector (38%) and the Third Sector (35%).
- **Employment Status.** Those who were economically active but unwaged were more likely to identify a high number of agents with responsibility (54% identified seven or more, compared to 28% of the rest of the Edinburgh population); similarly, only 11% identified three or fewer agents, compared to 23% of the rest of the Edinburgh population.
- **Age.** No significant difference.
- **Gender.** No difference.

Once more, more marked differences in the patterning of response were found for personal poverty profile.

- **Deprivation Area Status.** Not statistically significant.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Perceiving higher levels of local poverty is associated with being more likely to attribute responsibility to more agents, i.e. only 20% of those who think there is 'very little' poverty locally identify seven or more agents with responsibility, compared to 26% of those who think there is 'some' poverty locally and 39% of those who think there is 'quite a lot' of poverty locally.
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those who currently live in poverty are more likely to identify fewer agents with responsibility (17% of those who have never experienced poverty identified three at most with responsibility, compared to 26% of who have previously experienced poverty and 35% of those who are currently living in poverty).
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who do not encounter poverty more frequently are most likely to identify more agents with responsibility for tackling poverty (39% of those who encounter poverty several times per day identified at least seven agents, compared to 28% of those who encounter it daily and 23% of those who do not encounter it every day).

A2.27 – Responsibility for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh: City of Edinburgh Council

There is no significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations accorded responsibility for tackling poverty to the City of Edinburgh Council:

- **Employment Status.** No significant difference.
- **Employment Sector.** No significant difference
- **Age.** No consistent difference.
- **Gender.** No difference.

Similarly, there were no significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who do not encounter poverty least frequently are least likely to accord primary responsibility to Edinburgh Council (10% of those who encounter poverty at most weekly, compared to 18% for Edinburgh as a whole). Similarly, only 6% of those who encounter it most frequently think that Edinburgh Council has no responsibility for tackling poverty, compared to 15% of those who encounter poverty at most once-weekly.
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** No significant difference
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant difference

A2.28 – Responsibility for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh: Edinburgh Community Planning Partnership

There is some significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations accorded responsibility for tackling poverty to the Edinburgh Community Planning Partnership:

- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the Third sector were most likely to attribute some responsibility for tackling poverty in Edinburgh to the Edinburgh CPP (64%, compared to 26% of those working in the private sector and 58% of those working in the public sector).
- **Age.** No consistent difference through the age groups.
- **Employment Status.** Those who are economically active without pay are most likely to accord some responsibility for tackling poverty to Edinburgh CPP (77%, compared to 49% of the rest of the Edinburgh population).
- **Gender.** No significant difference.

Similarly, there were some significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Those from the areas that were perceived to have the most poverty were more likely to accord responsibility to Edinburgh CPP (56% for those who described their local area as having ‘quite a lot’ of poverty and 52% of those with ‘some’ poverty, compared to 34% of those with ‘none’ or ‘very little’ poverty).
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty daily are most likely to accord some responsibility to Edinburgh CPP (55% of those who encounter poverty daily, compared to 39% of those who encounter it ‘less than every day’).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant difference, although those who currently experience poverty were less likely to attribute responsibility to Edinburgh CPP (38%, compared to an average of 50%).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference.

A2.29 – Responsibility for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh: Voluntary Sector and Community groups

There is some significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations accorded responsibility for tackling poverty to voluntary organisations and community groups:

- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the public sector were most likely to attribute some responsibility for tackling poverty in Edinburgh to the voluntary organisations and community groups (63%, compared to 36% of those working in the private sector and 50% of those working in the Third Sector).
- **Age.** The oldest (65% of those aged 60+) and youngest (54% of those aged under 30) are more likely to accord responsibility for tackling poverty in Edinburgh to voluntary organisations and community groups, i.e. compared to 45% of those in their thirties, 49% of those in their forties and 44% of those in their fifties.
- **Employment Status.** Those who are not retired, but not economically active are least likely to accord responsibility to voluntary and community groups (30%, compared to 53% of the rest of the Edinburgh population).
- **Gender.** No significant difference.

Similarly, there were some significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Those from the areas that were perceived to have the most poverty were more likely to accord responsibility to voluntary organisations and community groups (60% for those who described their local area as having 'quite a lot' of poverty, compared to 48% of those with 'some' poverty, 'no' poverty or 'very little' poverty).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those who currently experience poverty were less likely to attribute responsibility to voluntary organisations and community groups (35%, compared to 54% of those not currently living in poverty).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference.
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** No difference.

A2.30 – Responsibility for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh: Local Businesses and Employers

There is some significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations accorded responsibility for tackling poverty to local businesses and employers:

- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the public sector were most likely to attribute some responsibility for tackling poverty in Edinburgh to the local businesses and employers (69%, compared to 48% of those working in the private sector and 55% of those working in the Third Sector).
- **Employment Status.** No significant difference.
- **Gender.** No difference.
- **Age.** No consistent and significant difference.

Similarly, there were some significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty daily are more likely to accord responsibility to local businesses and employers (63% of those who encounter poverty every day, compared to 46% of those who do not).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Those from the areas that were perceived to have the most poverty were more likely to accord responsibility to local businesses and employers (62% for those who described their local area as having 'quite a lot' of poverty and 59% of those with 'some' poverty, compared to 44% of those with 'none' or 'very little' poverty).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference.
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant difference.

A2.31 – Responsibility for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh: NHS Lothian

There is some significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations accorded responsibility for tackling poverty to voluntary organisations and community groups:

- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the public and Third sectors were most likely to attribute some responsibility for tackling poverty in Edinburgh to the NHS Lothian (44%, and 40%, respectively), compared to 13% of those working in the private sector).
- **Age.** No significant or consistent difference.
- **Employment Status.** The self-employed, the retired and those not in employment are less likely than those in paid employment and those who are economically active without pay to accord some responsibility for tackling poverty to NHS Lothian (18%, 17% and 9%, compared to 34% and 56%, respectively).
- **Gender.** Women are more likely than men to accord responsibility to NHS Lothian (34%, compared to 26% of men).

Similarly, there were some significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Those from the areas that were perceived to have the most poverty were more likely to accord responsibility to NHS Lothian (41% for those who described their local area as having ‘quite a lot’ of poverty, compared to 28% of those with ‘some’ poverty and 17% of those with ‘none’ or ‘very little’ poverty).
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty most frequently are most likely to accord some responsibility to NHS Lothian (41% of those who encounter poverty ‘several times daily’, compared to 31% of those who encounter it daily and 21% of those who encounter it ‘less than every day’).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those currently living in poverty were less likely to attribute responsibility to NHS Lothian (14%, compared to 31% of those who do not currently live in poverty).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference.

A2.32 – Responsibility for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh: People experiencing poverty

There is no significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations accorded responsibility for tackling poverty to people experiencing poverty:

- **Employment Sector.** No significant difference.
- **Age.** No significant or consistent difference.
- **Employment Status.** No significant difference.
- **Gender.** No significant difference.

Similarly, there were some significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty daily are least likely to accord some responsibility to people experiencing poverty (31% of those who encounter poverty daily, compared to 44% of those who encounter it 'less than every day').
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant difference.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Although statistically significant, no consistent difference. Those perceiving themselves to from areas with the most poverty (quite a lot) and least poverty (none or very little), were more likely than those from areas 'in-between' (some) to consider people experiencing poverty to have a responsibility for tackling poverty, i.e. 41%, 47% and 25%, respectively.
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference.

A2.33 – Responsibility for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh: Friends/relatives of people experiencing poverty

There is no significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations accorded responsibility for tackling poverty to the friends/relatives of people experiencing poverty:

- **Employment Sector.** No significant difference.
- **Age.** No consistent difference.
- **Employment Status.** No significant difference.
- **Gender.** No significant difference.

Similarly, there were some significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty least are most likely to accord some responsibility to the friends/family of people experiencing poverty (37% of those who do not encounter poverty daily, compared to 25% of those who encounter it daily).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Those from the areas that were perceived to have the least poverty were more likely to accord responsibility to the friends/family of people experiencing poverty (35% for those who described their local area as having 'none' or 'very little' poverty, compared to 23% of those with 'quite a lot' of poverty or 'some' poverty).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant difference.
- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant difference.

A2.34 – Responsibility for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh: Scottish Government

There is some significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations accorded responsibility for tackling poverty to the Scottish Government:

- **Age.** 20-24 year olds were much more likely to accord primary responsibility to the Scottish Government (79%, compared to 39% for the whole survey population).
- **Gender.** Women were more likely to accord primary responsibility to the Scottish Government (44%, compared to 32% of men).
- **Employment Status.** No significant difference.
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector were less likely to accord a responsibility to the Scottish Government (93%, compared to 98% of public sector workers and 97% of Third Sector workers).

Similarly, there were some significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who do not encounter poverty least frequently more likely to accord primary responsibility to the Scottish Government (48% of those who do not encounter poverty every day, compared to 35% of those who encounter poverty daily).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** Those from the least deprived areas were more likely to accord primary responsibility to the Scottish Government (45%, compared to 30% in the least deprived areas and 35% of those living outwith the least/most deprived areas).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Although statistically significant, no consistent difference. Those perceiving themselves to from areas with the most poverty (quite a lot) and least poverty (none or very little), were least likely than those from areas 'in-between' (some) to consider the Scottish Government to have a responsibility for tackling poverty, i.e. 93%, 96% and 99%, respectively.
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant difference.

A2.35 – Responsibility for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh: UK Government

There is some significant variation in the degree to which sub-populations accorded responsibility for tackling poverty to the Scottish Government:

- **Gender.** Men were more likely to accord primary responsibility to the UK Government (42%, compared to 31% of women).
- **Employment Status.** Those who were not in paid employment were more likely to accord primary responsibility to the UK Government (54%, compared to 36% of those in paid employment and 29% of those who were retired and 14% of the self-employed); almost one quarter of the self-employed attributed no responsibility to the UK Government for tackling poverty in Edinburgh.
- **Age.** On the margins of statistical significance was the finding that no 20-24 year olds accorded primary responsibility to the UK Government (compared to an average of 36% for the whole survey population).
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector were most likely not to attribute any responsibility to the UK Government for tackling poverty in Edinburgh (21%, compared to 11% of those working in the public sector and 6% of those working in the Third Sector).

Similarly, there were some significant differences in the patterning of response for personal poverty profile.

- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty daily are more likely to accord primary responsibility to the UK Government (42% of those who encounter poverty every day, compared to 24% of those who do not).
- **Deprivation Area Status.** Those from the least deprived areas were more likely to accord primary responsibility to the UK Government (44%, compared to 30% in the least deprived areas and 40% of those living outwith the least/most deprived areas).
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Those from the areas that were perceived to have the most poverty were more likely to accord primary responsibility to the UK Government (42% for those who described their local area as having 'quite a lot' of poverty, compared to 38% of those with 'some' poverty and 21% of those with 'none' or 'very little' poverty. Similarly, those from areas with least poverty were less likely to accord any responsibility to the UK Government (74% of those from areas considered to have 'none' or 'very little' poverty, compared to 91% of those from areas considered to have 'some' or 'quite a lot' of poverty).
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** No significant difference.

A2.36 – Strategic Priority for Tackling Poverty in Edinburgh

There is some variation in the preferences across sub-populations:

- **Employment Status.** The self-employed were much more likely to favour ‘improving the chances of people to escape poverty’ (62%, compared to 38% for the rest of the population).
- **Employment Sector.** Those working in the private sector were most likely to favour improving the chances of people to escape poverty’ (51%, compared to 36% of those working in the public/Third sectors combined). On the other hand, private sector workers were least likely to prefer to ‘directly reduce the number of people living in poverty (26%, compared to 35% of public sector workers and 44% of Third Sector workers).
- **Age.** Variations are complex, with preferences for ‘improving the chances of people to escape poverty’ increasing by age (21% of under 30s, compared to 51% of 60s and over). The youngest citizens were most likely to prefer both ‘directly reducing the number of people living in poverty’ (44%, compared to 27% of those aged 60+) and ‘preventing people on the margins from falling into poverty’ (19%, compared to 12% for Edinburgh as a whole).
- **Gender.** No significant differences.

Once more, marked differences in the patterning of response were found for personal poverty profile.

- **Deprivation Area Status.** No significant differences.
- **Perception of Poverty in Local Area.** Although statistically significant, no consistent difference. Those perceiving themselves to from areas with the most poverty (quite a lot) and least poverty (none or very little), were more likely than those from areas ‘in-between’ (some) to identify ‘improving the chances of people to escape poverty’ as the main priority for tackling poverty, i.e. 47%, 50% and 26%, respectively, and less likely too prioritise ‘directly reducing the number of people living in poverty’ 32%, 22% and 44%, respectively.
- **Life Course Experience of Poverty.** Those who currently live in poverty are least likely favour ‘improving the chances of people to escape poverty’ (18%, compared to 42% of those not currently living in poverty).
- **Daily Encounters with Poverty.** Those who encounter poverty less frequently are much more likely to favour ‘improving the chances of people to escape poverty’ (63% of those who do encounter poverty at most weekly, compared to 42% of those who encounter it several times per week and 34% of those who encounter it daily). On the other hand, those who encounter poverty more frequently are more likely to prefer ‘directly reducing the number of people living in poverty’ (40% if encountered daily, compared to 26% if not).