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#londoncostofliving

London Cost of Living Report

Free School Meals



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FOREWORD

This report is the latest piece of research to show that rising food prices are putting increasing pressure on household budgets and forcing many Londoners further into a cost of living crisis.

The findings of the 'London Cost of Living' survey showed that 78% of parents are concerned with the rising cost of food. Food prices are a particular issue for families, and I was struck by the comments made by parents who are struggling to feed their children due to rising prices, low pay and cuts to benefits.

Last year, I carried out an investigation into food poverty on behalf of the London Assembly which led to the publication of 'A Zero Hunger City: Tackling Food Poverty in London'. This highlighted the scale of food poverty in London, and identified a number of solutions to the crisis.



One of the main recommendations was that Universal Free School Meals (FSM) should be implemented in London. The – benefits of FSM – in terms of alleviating hunger, improving educational attainment and wellbeing, and in removing the stigma behind free school meals that frequently discourages children from low income households accepting their free school meal – are clearly demonstrated by the evidence presented by those boroughs that have introduced the policy and through the pilot projects initiated in 2009. I have seen the positive impact of the policy in Southwark where I live.

The Mayor of London's own Food Board has also published a report highlighting how widespread food poverty is in London and recommended that FSM are introduced, a policy the Mayor supports. This is not because the Mayor is an advocate of universal benefits; it is because the empirical evidence shows that the policy delivers results and the benefits are felt by all children, no matter what their background.

Not only do FSM prevent child hunger and improve educational attainment, it saves parents £500 a year, which is a great way of helping parents who are struggling with rising costs. Parents on higher incomes spend about 1% of their budget on school meals, but this rises to around 4% for those on low incomes, and there have already been reports of parents skipping meals so their children can eat.¹

The London 'Cost of Living' survey showed that 61% of parents support the introduction of free healthy school meals for all primary school children.

Given this level of public support, the Mayor should put his words into action and push for the introduction of universal free school meals for all primary school-age children in the capital and go further by himself piloting universal free school meals at a number of secondary schools across London.

London is the sixth wealthiest city on Earth. The extent of hunger in the capital, particularly among its children, should be considered a national embarrassment.

Children cannot learn if they are hungry, and we need to ensure that each and every child receives the best possible start in life. Our aim should be to take all children and their families out of food poverty. Our aim should be nothing less than to make London a 'Zero Hunger City'.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'Fiona Twycross'.

Fiona Twycross AM

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FREE SCHOOL MEALS: Taking children out of food poverty

“People who are held back by poor diet are more likely to develop vulnerability to food-related diseases such as heart disease, cancer, stroke, and type 2 diabetes, arthritis and mental health issues. Malnourishment is also a barrier for personal development, affecting education and future success.”

FareShare

“The real problem for children in my school is that a significant number of them sometimes go hungry in the holidays because they are not receiving free school meals. Their parents do not have enough food.”

Teacher, London

“London could choose to target investment at significantly extending eligibility for free school meals or making school meals free for all children. Research from the National Centre for Social Research shows how this can help improve nutrition and educational progress for children from less affluent homes, and this is a policy already adopted by some London boroughs, such as Newham, Islington and Southwark.”

Children’s Food Trust

“Foodbanks are not a sustainable response to food poverty because their purpose is to provide short-term support to people in a crisis situation; they cannot provide long-term support to low income families living in poverty. However, we do believe that foodbanks are a sustainable response within the context of providing short-term crisis support.”

Trussell Trust

Quotes taken from London Assembly report – ‘A Zero Hunger City: Tackling food poverty in London’, March 2013.



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WHAT LONDONERS HAVE SAID

In the London-wide cost of living survey, the rising price of food was the second highest price rise of concern.ⁱⁱ Whilst high food prices have cost and health implications for Londoners in general, the impact on children, especially those from lower income backgrounds, is a particular concern. Research has shown that unhealthy diets amongst children impacts on their education and can have long term implications in terms of health and wellbeing.ⁱⁱⁱ

The survey respondents were asked the question:

Do you think that local councils should supply free healthy school meals to all primary school children?

The **majority** of Londoners (66%) stated that they are **in favour** with 16% saying that they are undecided.^{iv}



In September 2013, a roundtable was held at City Hall with industry experts, academics, and other interested stakeholders to examine the benefits of, and evidence for, universal free school meals.^v This roundtable also looked at methods of funding such a scheme.

During this discussion, concerns were raised that teachers frequently report children turning up at school visibly hungry and that child hunger is expected to increase as welfare reform places additional pressures on low-income households.

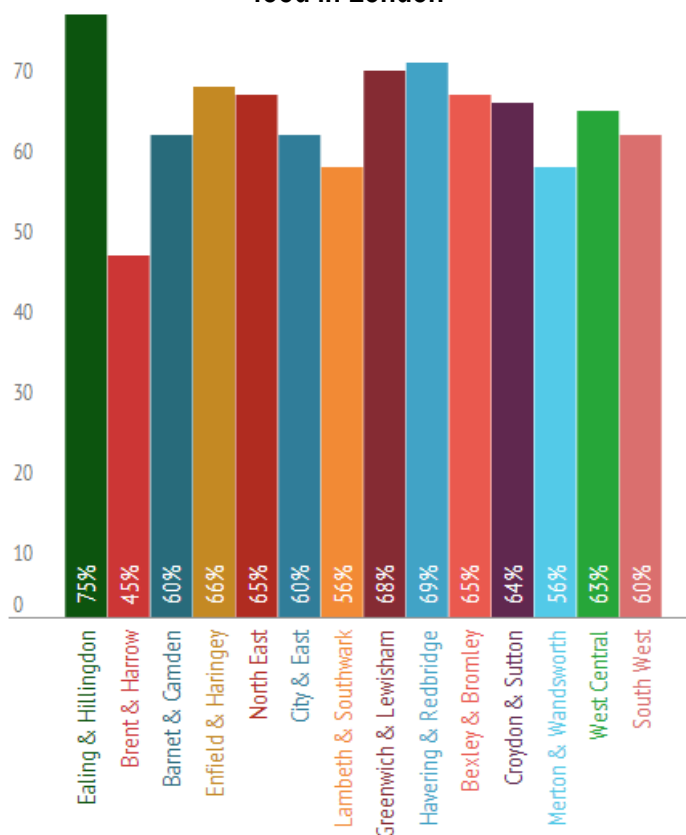
The arguments for free school meals highlighted at the meeting include:

- A hungry child is less able to concentrate in the classroom.
- **Hungry children are more disruptive** and negatively impact all children's education.
- **Only 1 in 10 packed lunches are as nutritious** as free school meals.
- Free school meals save parents around **£500 a year**.
- Children eating together has a positive impact in fostering **better social skills**.
- Evidence from Newham shows that the benefits from free school meals have been **educational attainment and child development**.
- Universal free school meals can **end the stigma** surrounding children who receive free school meals.

FREE SCHOOL MEALS: Taking children out of food poverty

Breakdown by GLA constituency

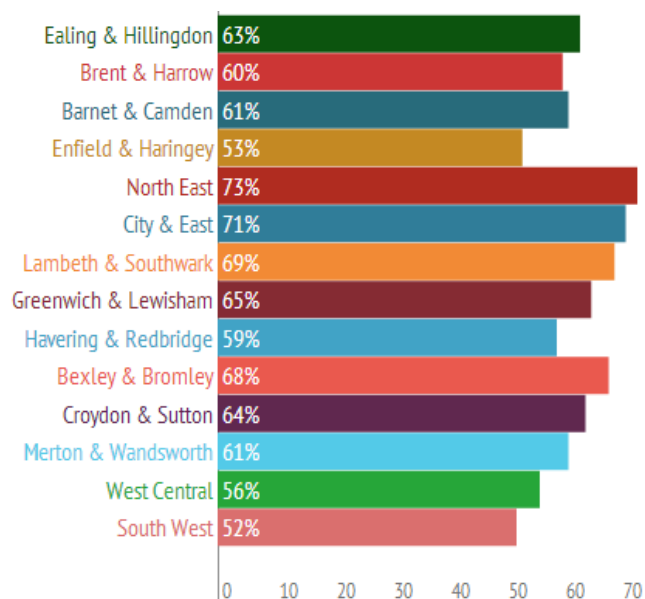
Concerned about the rising cost of food in London^a



^a All constituencies have a sample size of at least 100 for this question with the exception of Havering & Redbridge (80), Bexley & Bromley (60) and West Central (43).

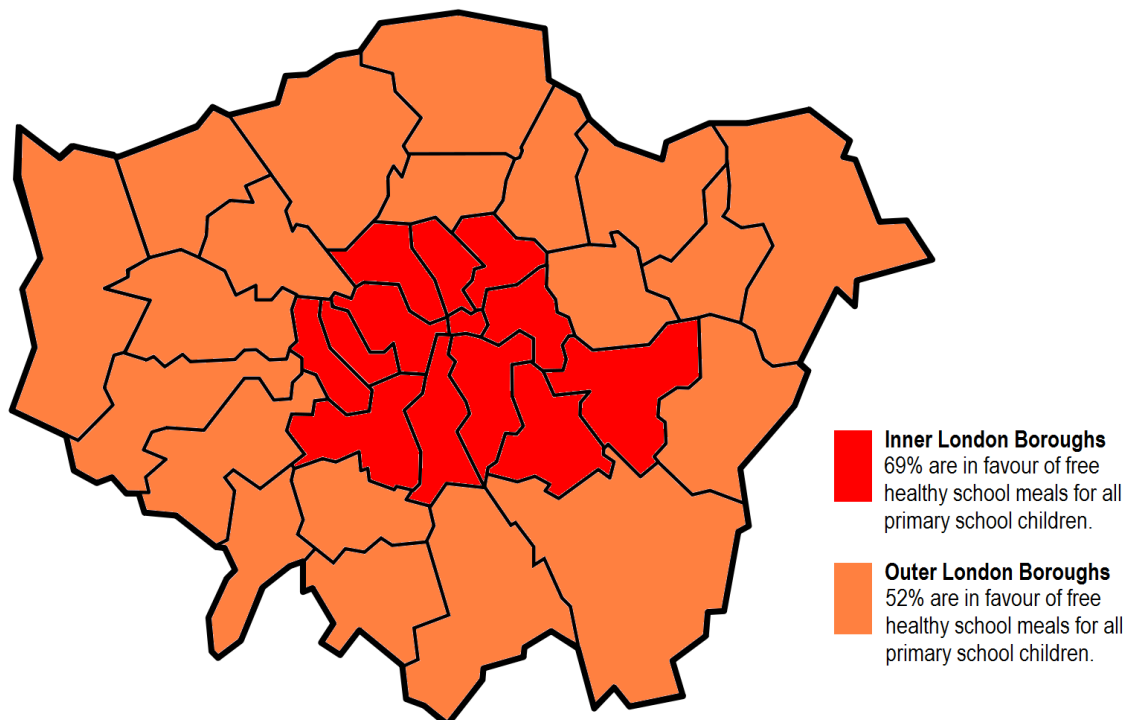
^b Constituents from Barnet & Camden were given a separate paper survey that did not ask this question. This figure is from the 67 online survey returns for this constituency.

Support free healthy school meals for all primary school children^{ab}



FREE SCHOOL MEALS: Taking children out of food poverty

Inner-London vs Outer-London



There is particular support for universal free school meals amongst those living in inner-London with the vast majority in favour. In outer-London, there is also majority support for the move with over half of respondents living in outer-London being in favour.^{vi}

The survey results also show that there is a slightly higher proportion of concern about rising food costs in inner-London compared to outer-London. The results show that 60% of people in inner-London are concerned about rising food costs compared to 54% in outer-London.^{vii}

These figures reflect the growing food poverty crisis in London. Unless the growth of food poverty is tackled, hunger will have detrimental effects on our children's futures both in terms of attainment and health. Research in London's Poverty Profile shows that the child poverty rate in inner-London stands at 43%. In outer-London it stands at 32%.^{viii} Overall 4 in 10 children in London live in poverty.^{ix}

“ ”

Supermarket prices have in some cases doubled in the past 2 years. They are making millions in profit whilst we have a record number of people going to food banks.
Female respondent, Hanwell

“ ”

What my husband and I earn all goes on paying bills and buying reduced food late at evenings in the supermarket. It's becoming too expensive to live.
Parent, West London

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HARDEST HIT LONDONERS

Parents

The survey showed that 78% of parents are concerned about the rising cost of food in London; 13% higher than the average across London. The figures reflect the additional strain on family budgets created by having to support dependents. 61% of parents support the introduction of free healthy school meals for all primary school children.^x

Research undertaken by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation found that a working couple with two children would have to earn an additional £2,550 each compared to a single person with no children to reach an adequate standard of living. They found that a lone parent would be required to earn an extra £8,750.^{xi}

Women

Almost three-quarters of female respondents (71%) said they are concerned about rising food costs in London; 12% higher than the proportion of their male counterparts.^{xii} More than half of women in London (51%) support the introduction of free school meals for all primary school children. This is compared to a significantly higher proportion of male respondents (71%) who support the move.^{xiii}

Research carried out by the Fawcett Society has found that the current austerity agenda has left women facing what it calls 'a triple jeopardy' of cuts to jobs, benefits and vital services. Their research shows that around three quarters of the money being cut from benefits and tax credits is coming from the pockets of women.^{xiv}

BAME Londoners

People from BAME backgrounds appear to be disproportionately impacted by higher food costs than their white counterparts. Almost three-quarters (72%) of BAME respondents said they are worried by rising food prices and a similar proportion (74%) said they are in favour of universal free school meals in primary schools.^{xv} The majority of white respondents are also concerned about the cost of food, with 58% concerned about rising costs.^{xvi}

The 2011 Census showed that 40% of Londoners are from Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic backgrounds^{xvii} and research has shown that half of all people in poverty in London are from BAME backgrounds^{xviii}.

Disabled Londoners

77% of disabled Londoners said they are concerned about the rising cost of food. This is 18% higher than the proportion of non-disabled Londoners that are concerned.^{xix} 70% of disabled respondents said they support free school meals.^{xx} In London, people with disabilities are over twice as likely to be without work as people who are not disabled and have been disproportionately affected by welfare changes.^{xxi} It is therefore not surprising that they are one of the hardest hit groups in the cost of living crisis. More action by the Mayor needs to be taken in order to avert further disproportionate hardship.

FREE SCHOOL MEALS:

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Low income families

Unsurprisingly, those who are working on low incomes are the most concerned about rising food prices. 87% of respondents who claim working tax credit said that they are worried about the rising cost of food.^{xxii} This is 22% above the average across London.

In London, an estimated 174,500 families claim working tax credit. After the North-West, London is the region with the highest number of families claiming working tax credit in the UK.^{xxiii}

Working tax credit is for working people on low incomes.^{xxiv}

FREE SCHOOL MEALS: Taking children out of food poverty

WHAT OTHER RESEARCH HAS SAID

Growing crisis of food poverty

Data from the Trussell Trust has shown that food poverty is increasing across London. In 2009 to 2010, just over 400 people were fed by one of Trussell Trust's London food banks – of which 238 were children. In the three full years since the Coalition Government was elected in 2010, this figure has **increased by over 600%**. In **2012 to 2013**, 34 food banks fed almost **45,000** Londoners including **18,915 children**.^{xxv}

Financial Year	Number of food banks	Number of children	Number of adults	Total	Average number of people per food bank per annum
2009/10	6	238	170	408	68
2010/11	16	2,689	3,690	6,379	399
2011/12	26	5,745	7,094	12,839	494
2012/13	34	18,915	26,044	44,959	1,322
Apr-Dec 2013	38	24,510	38,857	63,367	1,668

The latest data from the Trussell Trust shows that in the eight months between April and December 2013 **63,367** Londoners were fed by one of the organisation's food banks.^{xxvi}

In August 2013, the Mayor of London's London Food Board published its report 'Child Hunger in London: Understanding Food Poverty in the Capital'.^{xxvii} The report found that:

- 42% of parents have cut back on the amount of food they buy in the past year, with **9% of children** (the equivalent of 74,000 children across London) saying they **'sometimes or often' go to bed hungry**.
- **55%** of London parents have **seen their ability to afford food worsen** in the last year.
- For **10%** of London children, their **school lunch is the biggest meal** of the day.

Child hunger at school

A survey of London school teachers conducted by the London Assembly in late 2012^{xxviii} highlighted the extent of hunger amongst school aged children, finding that:

- Over **95%** of teachers reported that **some children arrive at school hungry**.
- Over **77%** who answered a question on this **had taken action to address hunger** amongst pupils.
- Over **60%** of teachers **had given food to pupils** at their own expense.
- Almost 1 in 5 reported **giving food to pupils between one and four times a month**.

Research conducted by Kellogg's^{xxix} found similar results with 71% of London teachers reporting that children arrive at school hungry. 59% said that the number of children coming to school hungry had increased. 15% of teachers said that their school has used food banks.

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Breakfast clubs

Breakfast clubs play a vital role in ensuring that children get a decent breakfast while also helping to provide early morning childcare for working parents.

The London Assembly's 'A Zero Hunger City: Tackling food poverty in London' report^{xxx} found that breakfast clubs can cost between £2,000 and £10,000 a year to run, depending on the cost of food and staff time. While schools can use Pupil Premium funding to run these services, there are also charities that support a number of breakfast clubs in London, including the Greggs Foundation and ContinYou. These charities provide support with start-up costs; the provision of, or funding for, food; and training.

Whilst it is welcome that the Mayor's Fund supports Magic Breakfast to work in 50 primary schools in the seven poorest boroughs, this support applies only to schools in which over 50% of pupils are eligible for free school meals and covers a tiny proportion of the 1,785 primary schools^{xxxi} in London. This means that children facing food poverty who live in areas where there is not a high concentration of deprivation will still be left hungry as the schools do not meet the 50% threshold.^{xxxii}

Hunger beyond the school gates

Whilst schools play a vital role in tackling hunger amongst children both before and during the school day, new thinking is required to extend support beyond the school gates for children who go hungry after school and during the school holidays.

The 'Zero Hunger City' report found that more needs to be done to help children during the holidays when they do not have access to free school meals. Recommendations included information campaigns for parents and carers in order to promote healthy diets. In addition to this, funding was recommended for programmes such as the Magic Breakfast 365 which offers food, cookery skills and exercise classes to children and parents to support them during the school holidays.^{xxxiii}

Food deserts

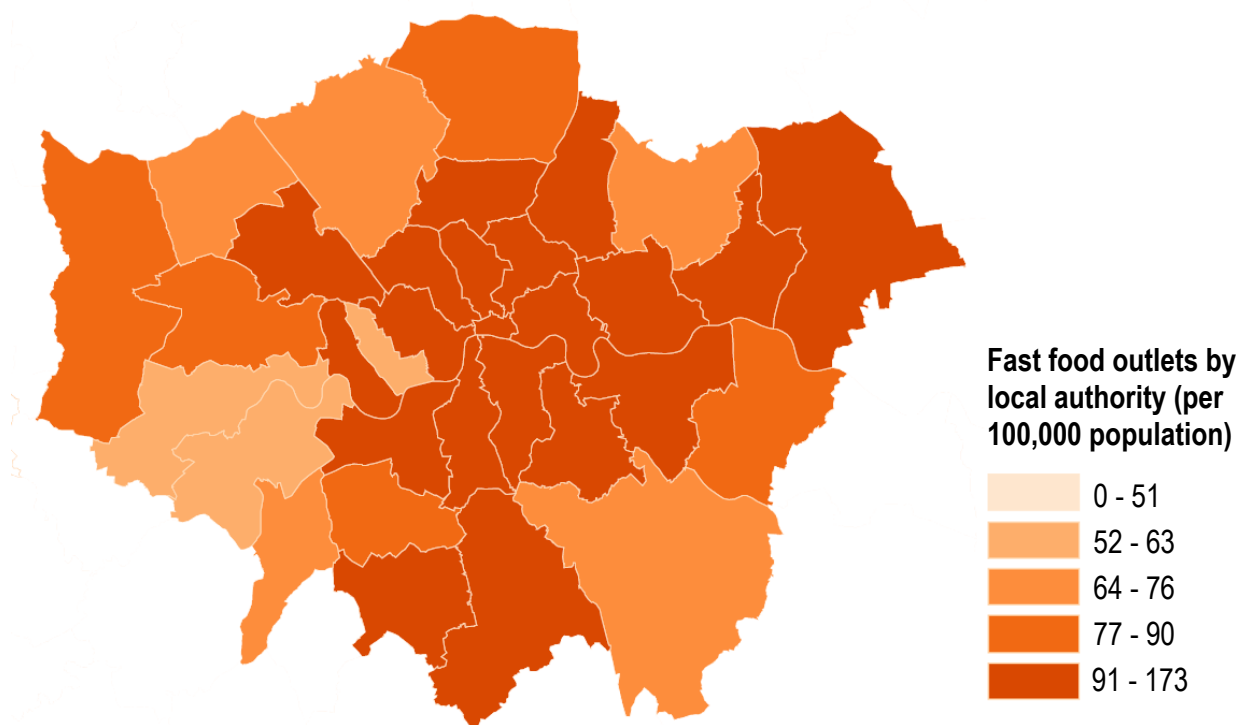
Low consumption of fresh fruit and vegetables is an indicator of food poverty and a lack of access to fruit and vegetables at reasonable prices is a contributor to this low consumption. Food deserts are 'areas where affordable healthy food is scarce or difficult to access'. A food desert exists where reasonable quantities of affordable healthy food are hard to find or if the only accessible outlets that sell this food are costly.

The existence of food deserts in the capital further underlines the need for the universal provision of free healthy school meals for London's children.

A study by the National Obesity Observatory identified a strong correlation between deprivation and the density of unhealthy fast food outlets. This is shown in the following map^{xxxiv}:

FREE SCHOOL MEALS: Taking children out of food poverty

Fast food outlets by local authority



Free school meal pilots

In 2009, the previous Government trialled free school meal pilots in three boroughs in England; Durham, Newham, and Wolverhampton. In Durham and Newham, the provision was made universal to all primary school children. In Wolverhampton, the entitlement was extended to an extra 15% of children in both primary and secondary schools to cover greater numbers of children living in poverty. Altogether, 90,000 children were made eligible at a cost of £28 million which was funded by the Department of Health and the Department for Education. These pilots ran until the summer of 2011.^{xxxv}

- Take-up of free school meals rose from just under 50% in both areas to **72%** in Newham and **85%** in Durham.
- The number of children that ate vegetables at lunch increased by **23%**.
- The consumption of sandwiches fell by **27%**; soft drinks by **16%**; and crisps by **18%**.
- Between **3-5%** more children reached the target levels in maths and English at key stage 1.
- **4%** more children achieved the target levels in English at key stage 2.
- Many teachers said that the **universal free school meal project had helped to foster a sense of cohesion** within their school.
- Simply extending entitlement had limited benefit to children.^{xxviii}

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The School Food Plan

In July 2013 the government published 'The School Food Plan'^{xxxvi}, commissioned by the Education Secretary Michael Gove in 2012 and undertaken by Henry Dimbleby and John Vincent – founders of the Leon café chain. The report found that:

- Parents currently spend nearly **£1 billion a year on packed lunches**.
- Despite clear improvements in the nutritional quality of most school food and a reduction in junk foods since 2005, **there is still room for improvement**.
- Nationally, the take-up of school food remains low, at 43%, and that take-up needs to get above 50% before the system can break even. It currently has to be subsidised with £140 million a year of money from school budgets and local councils.
- Many parents believe a packed lunch is the healthiest option. Yet, **just 1% of packed lunches meet the nutritional standards that currently apply to school food**.
- The School Food Plan recommends that **free school meals should be extended to all primary school children, starting with the most deprived areas**.

As a result of the report the government has agreed to fund universal free school meals for all infant school pupils and allocate money to help schools in the poorest areas establish breakfast clubs^{xxxvii}.

FREE SCHOOL MEALS: Taking children out of food poverty

POLICY ANALYSIS

Desperate need

The evidence shows that there is a real, growing crisis of food poverty in London. The fact that there are now over **63,000** Londoners depending on food banks shows that there is a desperate need to fully address the cost of living crisis in London.

With regards to children; hunger impacts on education and education impacts on employment. There are over 24,000 children depending on food banks. Under the current Mayor, this problem has multiplied year on year. These figures are unacceptable under any circumstance, but even more so in one of the wealthiest cities on Earth. Clearly, something has to be done to ensure these children are well fed and that every child has the best possible start in life.

Impact on lower income families

School lunches cost parents an estimated £500 a year.^{xxxviii} For those earning above £40k, this costs 1% of their income. For those earning the minimum wage, it costs four times as much (4% of their income). Data from the Trussell Trust shows that the top three reasons why people are using London's food banks are benefit delay (24% of users), low income (21%), and unemployment (10%).^{xxxix} These frequent causes of food insecurity further underline the impact of the cost of living crisis on lower income families.

Impact of poverty on children's health and education

Research on child poverty by Barnado's found that three-year-olds from low income households are 2.5 times more likely to suffer chronic illnesses than children in high income households. They also found that infant mortality is 10% higher for infants in the lower social group than the average.^{xl}

Living in poverty as a child also has ramifications for their future academic development. The same research by Barnado's found that less than half of five-year-olds entitled to free school meals have a good level of development at the end of their reception year. This is compared to more than two-thirds of all other pupils. In addition to this, only 36% of pupils entitled to free school meals achieve 5 GCSEs at C or above compared to 63% of pupils who are not eligible.

"Let us do it. What I want is to see London kids getting solid nutrition...
I have surrendered to the universal free school meal lobby."

Boris Johnson, Mayor of London^{xli}

FREE SCHOOL MEALS:

Taking children out of food poverty

RECOMMENDATIONS

Where trialled or introduced locally, universal free school meals has delivered significant results in terms of educational attainment, health and wellbeing, and social development with the greatest benefits being felt by those from poorer backgrounds.^{xiii}

During the government pilots that ran from 2009 to 2011, these benefits only accrued to those schools where eligibility was made universal, with those schools where eligibility was merely extended showing very few benefits compared to the current system.^{xiii} This highlights that universality is the only viable policy tool for delivering these benefits.

It is encouraging to see that even Mayor Boris Johnson is now a signed up supporter of universal free school meals. This is not because he is an advocate of universality – it's because the evidence shows that the policy works and that the benefits are felt for all.

To move forward with this support and **to prevent further child food poverty, the Mayor should:**

- **Introduce universal free school meals for all primary school-age children in the capital.** Initial estimates suggest this would require **an investment of £58.7 million^{xiv}** by the Greater London Authority. This would supplement the free school meals funding already provided to London's primary schools for children from low-income households as well as the new infant school entitlement being introduced from autumn 2014 as part of the implementation of the School Food Plan. It is reasonable to expect that the final cost of universal free school meals would be much less. Emerging best practice among the London boroughs has shown that per head costs can be greatly reduced by making free school meals universal and by jointly procuring food services with other boroughs.
- **Pilot universal free school meals at a number of secondary schools across London for two years.** This would be trialled at schools in boroughs where universal free school meals are already available for primary school pupils so that a fuller evaluation of the longer-term benefits of free school meals can be produced. This would require **an investment of £2.84 million.^{xiv}**

In addition to this, **every school governing body should have a plan to identify and address hunger in schools and to support families in food poverty.** This should include:

- Ensuring the **availability of a free breakfast** for those children who need it, using pupil premium money if necessary.
- **Maximising registration and take-up** among all children who are already entitled to free school meals.
- Using pupil premium money to **provide after-school cooking activities** for those children who need it.
- Advocating action to **address the needs of hungry children during school holidays.**

METHODOLOGY

The London Cost of Living Survey ran from September 24th 2013 until January 6th 2014. Paper surveys were distributed across all constituencies in London and the survey was also available online.

In total, 2,366 Londoners responded to the survey. 872 Londoners answered the paper versions and 1,494 answered the online version. The respondents were self-selected.

The breakdown for the London Cost of Living Survey can be found at <http://cityhalllabour.org/>.

A free school meals roundtable discussion was held at City Hall on Friday 13 September 2013. This was hosted by Fiona Twycross AM and was attended by the following people:

Tim Burns – *Keep Britain Tidy*

Lucy Caton – *The Children's Society*

Malcolm Clark – *Children's Food Campaign*

Hannah Clifton – *London Borough of Newham*

Linda Cregan – *Children's Food Trust*

Professor Liz Dowler – *University of Warwick*

Shona Elliott – *London Borough of Newham*

Claire Everett – *Centre for Food Policy*

Laurence Guinness – *Kids Company*

Mubin Haq – *Trust for London*

Rosamund McNeil – *National Union of Teachers*

André Pinto – *London Borough of Newham*

Ade Sofola – *4in10*

Councillor Richard Watts – *London Borough of Islington*

The term 'rent' in the survey refers to both social and private rent.

Other sources of research can be found in the references.

REFERENCES

- ⁱ ‘Two-thirds of single parents skipping meals to feed children, study finds’ - <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2013/dec/17/single-parents-skipping-meals-welfare-cuts>
- ⁱⁱ London Cost of Living Survey (24/09/13 – 06/01/14). 1,546 out of 2,366 respondents said that they are concerned with the rising price of food in London.
- ⁱⁱⁱ ‘A Zero-Hunger City: Tackling food poverty in London’, London Assembly Health and Environment Committee, March 2013, p.7
- ^{iv} London Cost of Living Survey (24/09/13 – 06/01/14). 1,411 out of 2,137 respondents said that they are in favour of free healthy school meals for all primary school children.
- ^v A roundtable discussion on free school meals was held at City Hall on Friday 13 September 2013. This was hosted by Fiona Twycross AM. The full list of attendees can be found in the methodology section.
- ^{vi} London Cost of Living Survey (24/09/13 – 06/01/14). 608 out of 881 respondents living in inner-London said they support free healthy school meals for all primary school children. 701 out of 1,341 respondents living in outer-London said that they support it.
- ^{vii} Ibid. 528 out of 881 respondents living in inner-London said that they are concerned with the rising price of food. 725 out of 1,341 said that they are concerned.
- ^{viii} London’s Poverty Profile 2013, p23 - http://npi.org.uk/files/3313/8150/0123/Final_full_report.pdf
- ^{ix} <http://www.4in10.org.uk/about>
- ^x London Cost of Living Survey (24/09/13 – 06/01/14) – 194 out of 249 respondents that claim child benefit said that they are concerned about the rising price of food in London. 153 out of 249 of these respondents said they are in favour of free healthy school meals for all primary school children.
- ^{xi} ‘The living standard squeeze tightens as minimum cost of living soars 25% since downturn’ - <http://www.jrf.org.uk/media-centre/minimum-cost-living-soars>.
- ^{xii} London Cost of Living Survey (24/09/13 – 06/01/14) – 923 out of 1,307 female respondents said that they are concerned about the rising price of food in London. 621 out of 1,051 male respondents said they are concerned.
- ^{xiii} Ibid. 662 out of 1,307 female respondents said they support free healthy school meals for all primary school children. 743 out of 1,051 male respondents said that they support it.
- ^{xiv} ‘Cutting Women Out’ - <http://uat.fawcettsociety.org.uk/cutting-women-out/>
- ^{xv} London Cost of Living Survey (24/09/13 – 06/01/14). 193 out of 269 BAME respondents said that they are concerned about the rising price of food in London. 200 out of 269 BAME respondents said they support free healthy school meals for all primary school children.
- ^{xvi} Ibid. 634 out of 1,086 white respondents said that they are concerned about the rising price of food in London.
- ^{xvii} Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales 2011 - http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_290558.pdf
- ^{xviii} ‘Ethnicity, low income and work’ - <http://www.londonspovertyprofile.org.uk/indicators/topics/ethnicity-low-income-and-work/>
- ^{xix} London Cost of Living Survey (24/09/13 – 06/01/14). 126 out of 164 disabled respondents said that they are concerned about the rising price of food in London. 717 out of 1,208 non-disabled respondents said they are concerned.
- ^{xx} Ibid. 114 out of 164 disabled respondents said they support free healthy school meals for all primary school children.
- ^{xxi} <http://www.londonspovertyprofile.org.uk/test/indicators/groups/disabled-people/>
- ^{xxii} London Cost of Living Survey (24/09/13 – 06/01/14) – 83 out of 95 respondents that claim working tax credits said that they are concerned about the rising price of food in London.
- ^{xxiii} Child and working tax credit statistics, p38 – April 2013 - <http://www.hmrc.gov.uk/statistics/prov-main-stats/cwtc-apr13.pdf>
- ^{xxiv} A guide to child tax credit and working tax credit, p3 - <http://www.hmrc.gov.uk/leaflets/wtc2.pdf>
- ^{xxv} Food banks data for Trussell Trust, 2013.
- ^{xxvi} Data provided by the Trussell Trust, February 2014
- ^{xxvii} ‘Child Hunger in London: Understanding Food Poverty in the Capital’ - http://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/GLA_Child%20Hunger%20in%20London_FINAL_1.pdf
- ^{xxviii} ‘A Zero-Hunger City: Tackling food poverty in London’, London Assembly Health and Environment Committee, March 2013, p14.
- ^{xxix} ‘Hard to Swallow: The Facts about Food Poverty’ - <http://pressoffice.kelloggs.co.uk/index.php?s=20295&item=122399>
- ^{xxx} ‘A Zero-Hunger City: Tackling food poverty in London’, London Assembly Health and Environment Committee, March 2013, p20-21.
- ^{xxxi} <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2013>

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- xxxii 'A Zero-Hunger City: Tackling food poverty in London', London Assembly Health and Environment Committee, March 2013, p20-21.
- xxxiii 'A Zero-Hunger City: Tackling food poverty in London', London Assembly Health and Environment Committee, March 2013, p.24
- xxxiv http://www.noo.org.uk/uploads/doc/vid_15683_FastFoodOutletMap2.pdf
- xxxv The School Food Plan, p122 - http://www.schoolfoodplan.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/School_Food_Plan_2013.pdf
- xxxvi http://www.schoolfoodplan.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/School_Food_Plan_2013.pdf
- xxxvii <http://www.schoolfoodplan.com/plan/>
- xxxviii Roundtable discussion on free school meals – Friday 13 September 2013.
- xxxix 'A Zero-Hunger City: Tackling food poverty in London', London Assembly Health and Environment Committee, March 2013, p.9
- xl 'Child poverty statistics and facts' - http://www.barnardos.org.uk/what_we_do/our_projects/child_poverty/child_poverty_what_is_poverty/child_poverty_statistics_facts.htm
- xli London Assembly (Mayor's Question Time) – 20 November 2013 – Transcript of Agenda Item 5 – Questions to the Mayor. <http://www.london.gov.uk/moderngov/documents/b9538/Minutes%20-%20Appendix%20%20-%20Transcript%20of%20Item%205%20Wednesday%2020-Nov-2013%2010.00%20London%20Assembly%20Mayors%20Q.pdf?T=9>
- xlii 'A Zero-Hunger City: Tackling food poverty in London', London Assembly Health and Environment Committee, March 2013, p.23
- xliii Ibid.
- xliv The full costing can be found in the Labour Group's 2014 budget amendment.
- xlvi Ibid.

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