

An aerial photograph of a lush green field with a paved road curving through it. The field is divided into sections by a road and some trees. The overall scene is bright and green, suggesting a rural or park-like setting.

PATCHWORK PHILANTHROPY

Philanthropic & public spending blind spots & the Brexit vote

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BACKGROUND

In 2016, the UK voted to leave the European Union. This result not only epitomised a clear division and lack of understanding between people, communities and institutions, but also a discontentment with the status quo. The vote took place in the context of rising inequality¹, with communities across the UK being altered and reshaped, sometimes radically, by the disruptive effects of austerity and poverty. It has been argued that the Brexit vote was, in part, a result of the effects of these disturbances, particularly austerity.

We know that communities have been experiencing the effects of cuts to public services and support, while government and many charitable trusts and foundations are increasingly 'turning to place' as the answer to many of these challenges. Recent studies on inequality and austerity, however, such as the JRF and Localism Commission reports², have shown that Government and Local Government are often failing to address inequality in the UK and meet the needs of local populations³. What is less known is the combined impact that trust, foundation, and charity funding is having on communities and whether these institutions are further compounding a lack of public sector funding and investment in some areas of greatest need.

This piece of work sought to explore these relationships in England and whether there is a link between levels of philanthropic giving (split between trust and foundation funding, and charitable spending), public spending in the build up to the referendum, area deprivation, and the EU referendum vote (see Appendix for technical details on the data sources used).

Philanthropy and Brexit

It is already well-known that there are deprived areas in England that receive lower levels of public spending per head compared to other local authorities. Likewise, Mohan's work on charity deserts (2015)⁴ highlighted that charitable funding is not spread equitably, and some deprived areas receive less philanthropic funding than others. This leaves many already struggling communities lacking the support they need from both the public and charitable sectors.

Goodwin and Heath (2016)⁵ found that the poorest households (i.e. with incomes less than £20,000) were more likely to vote Leave than the richest households. They also found that this was the case for the unemployed, people in low-skilled and manual occupations, and people who feel that their financial situation has worsened, and those with no qualifications. Becker

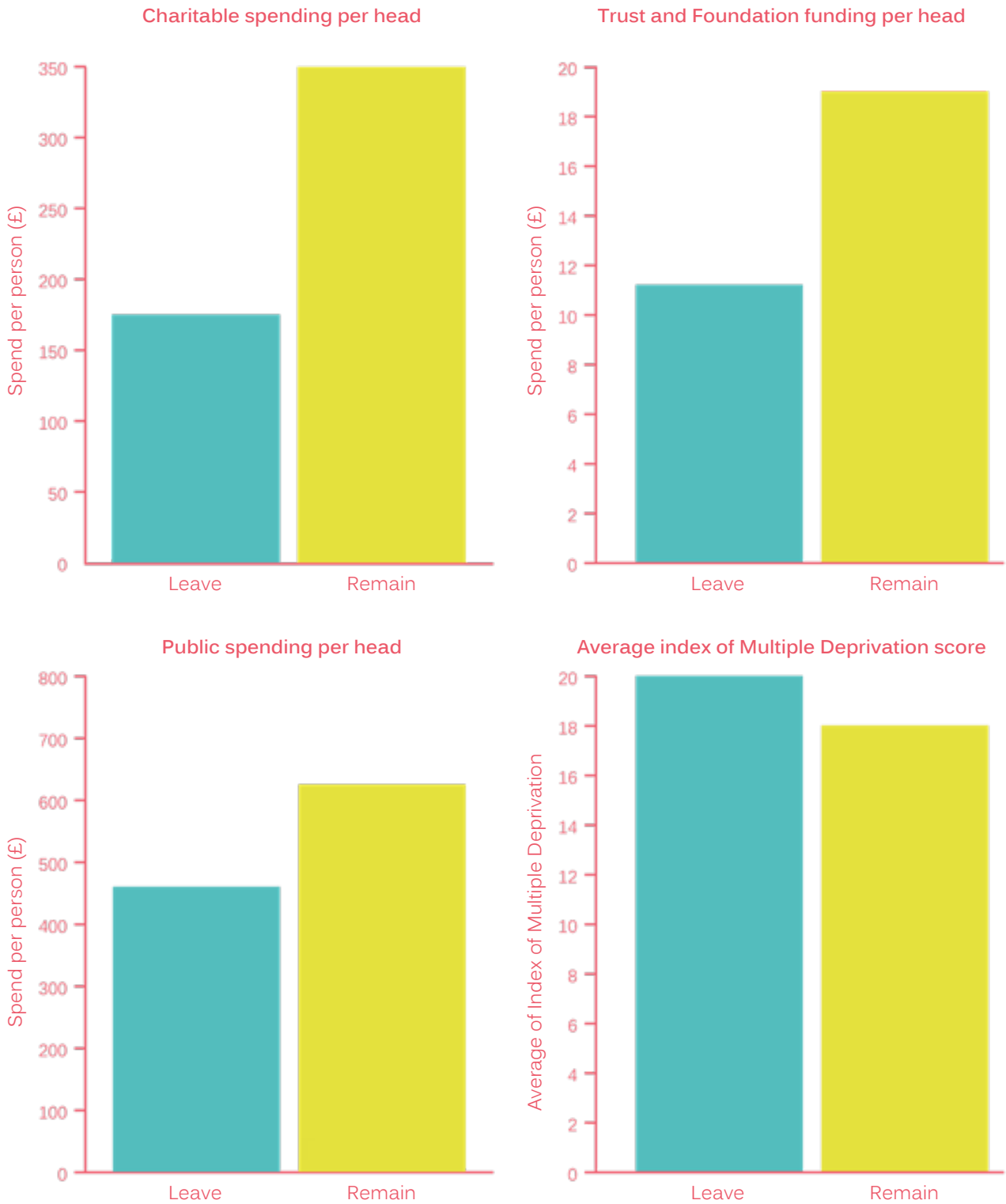
et al (2017)⁶ also found that little or no qualifications was a strong predictor for voting Leave, as were areas with relatively low pay and high unemployment. They also found that the quality of local public service provision had an impact on an area's share of Leave votes.

Therefore, it doesn't come as a surprise that our findings suggest that the fewer resources and provisions available to a community, the more likely they are to want to vote for change. However, whereas previous studies have looked at deprivation and public service provision, studies looking at philanthropic funding and Brexit have tended to look at the impact of Brexit on philanthropy and not vice-versa (for example, see Charitable Aid Foundation, 2017)⁷. In addition to the existing data on the impact of deprivation and public service provision, our **findings show that a lack of philanthropic funding is also a strong predictor for local authority areas voting to leave the EU**. Charts 1-4 illustrate this by comparing average charitable spend, trust and foundation funding and core public spend per head, as well as average IMD for that local authority, in Leave and Remain areas.



FUNDING AND DEPRIVATION BY BREXIT VOTE OUTCOME

As illustrated, Remain areas not only tend to be less deprived but on average, they have also benefited from more funding and expenditure from philanthropic and public bodies. The difference is particularly striking for charitable spend and public core spending, which are highlighted in Table 1.



Sources: Electoral Commission (2016); Charity Commission (2015/16); 360giving (2015/16); Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government (2015 and 2017)

COMPARISON OF AVERAGES ACROSS OUR SIX INDICATORS IN LEAVE AND REMAIN LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Table 1. Showing the average Trust and Foundation funding per head, IMD average, Public Spending per head, Charitable spending per head, Average number of local charities, Combined Metric score for Leave and Remain Local Authority Areas

Indicator	Leave (Average)	Remain (Average)	Measure	Explanation
1.Trust and Foundation Funding per head	£11.29	£19.14	£ funding per 100,000	Total amount for each category divided by relevant population
2. IMD Average Score	19.97	18.04	IMD unit	The average of IMD scores
3. Public Core Spending Power per head	£456	£618	£ spend per head	Total spend for given areas, divided by relevant population
4. Charitable Spend per head	£172	£350	£ spend per head	Total spend for given areas, divided by relevant population
5. Average number of local charities	144	128	Average number of local charities	Total number of charities divided by relevant population in 100,000s
6. Combined Metric – overall score	150	201	Average rank	Standard average of four ranks (indicators 1-4 above) ⁸

Our analysis reveals that the less funding available to a local authority, the more likely residents are to have voted Leave in the referendum. Similar to Becker et al. (2016)⁹ we found that the percent of Leave vote and total spend in an LA area are significantly correlated¹⁰, suggesting that **a lower amount of core LA spending in 2015/16 is a strong predictor of voting Leave.**

Turning to charitable spend, our analysis also reveals a significant correlation between the proportion of a population voting Leave and local charitable spending per head¹¹. **This suggests that the lower the charitable spending in a local authority in 2015/16, the more likely residents were to vote Leave.**

When we looked at trust and foundation funding, we uncovered similar results. The percentage of Leave voters and amount awarded per head are significantly correlated¹². **This suggests that a lower amount of funding awarded per head in a local authority in 2015/16, the higher the percentage of the Leave vote.**

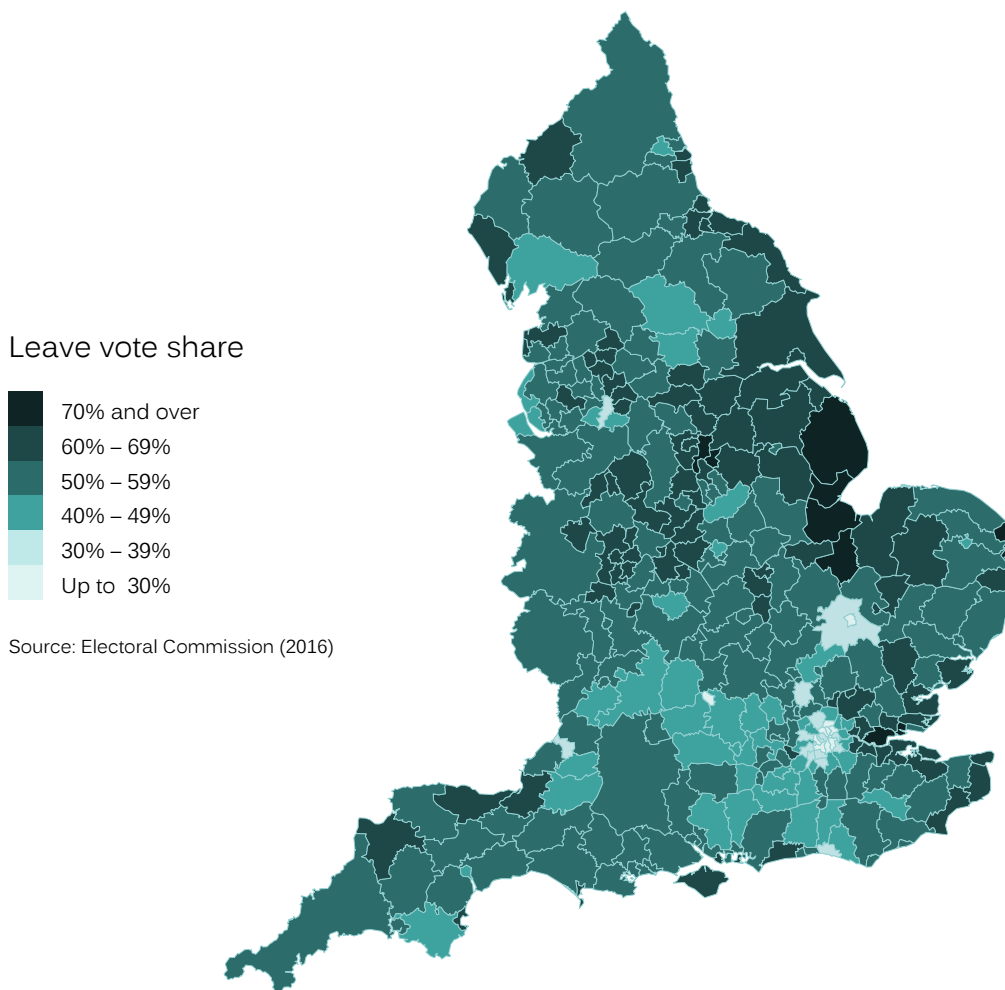
In this analysis we excluded the City of London and Newark & Sherwood because they were significant outliers. Nonetheless, for all remaining areas, our findings suggest that - in addition to deprivation and a lack of public spending - **a lack of charitable spend and trust and foundation funding is also a predictor of voting Leave.** As always, correlation does not necessarily imply causation.

PATCHWORK PHILANTHROPY

When we looked at the geographic spread of the Leave vote (Map 1) public spending (Map 2), deprivation (Map 3), charitable spend (Map 4) and trust and foundation funding (Map 5), we found significant variations across the board. At a regional level, the Midlands had the highest percentage of Leave voters in

England and London the lowest. Boston, South Holland, Castle Point, Thurrock and Great Yarmouth were the individual local authority areas with the highest percentage of Leave voters and Lambeth, Hackney, Haringey, City of London and Islington had the highest percentage of Remain voters.

Map 1 Leave vote share across Local Authorities in England

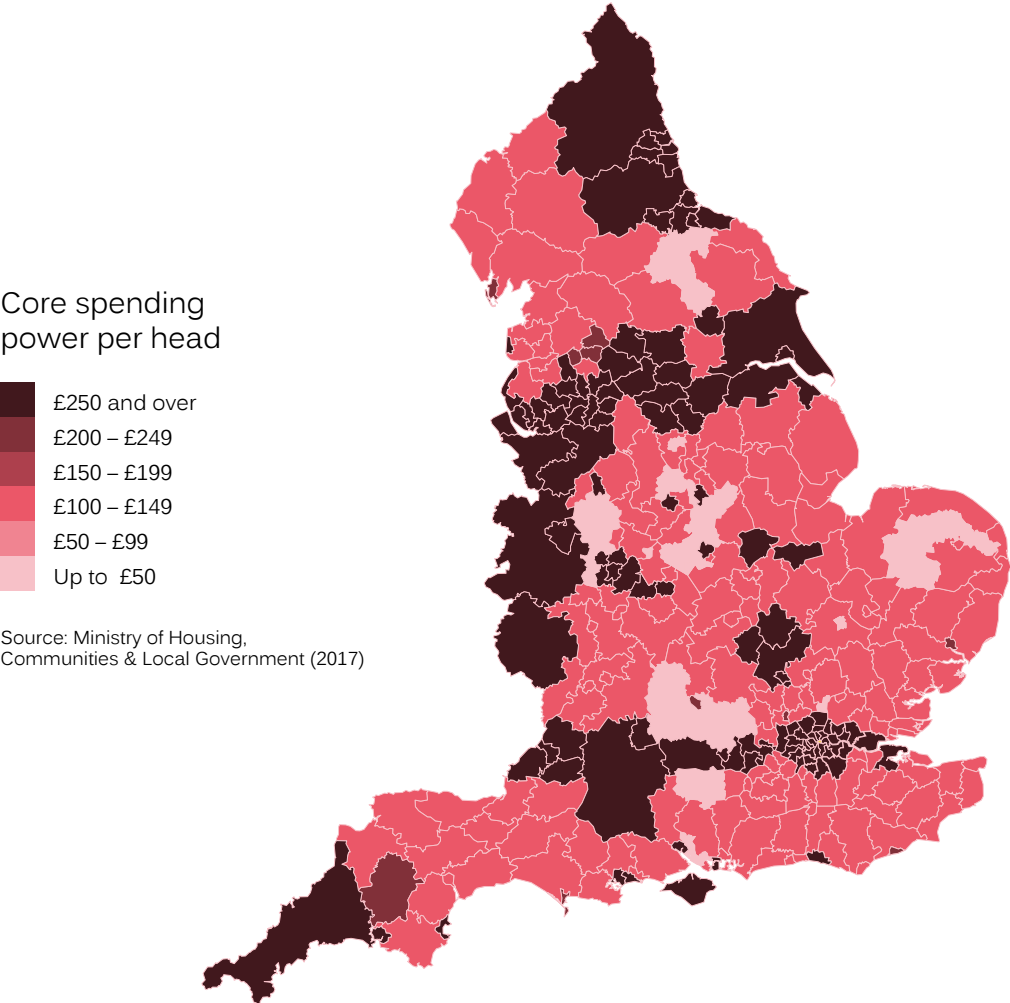


PUBLIC SPENDING AND DEPRIVATION ACROSS ENGLAND

The pre-referendum public spend figures (Map 2) show that London is the region that benefits from most public spend per head in England (2015/16) and the South East benefited from the least (echoing findings from a 2016 parliamentary report

by Keep and Brien¹³). However, because we looked at local authorities rather than regions, we also observed significant variations in public spend across local authorities within regions.

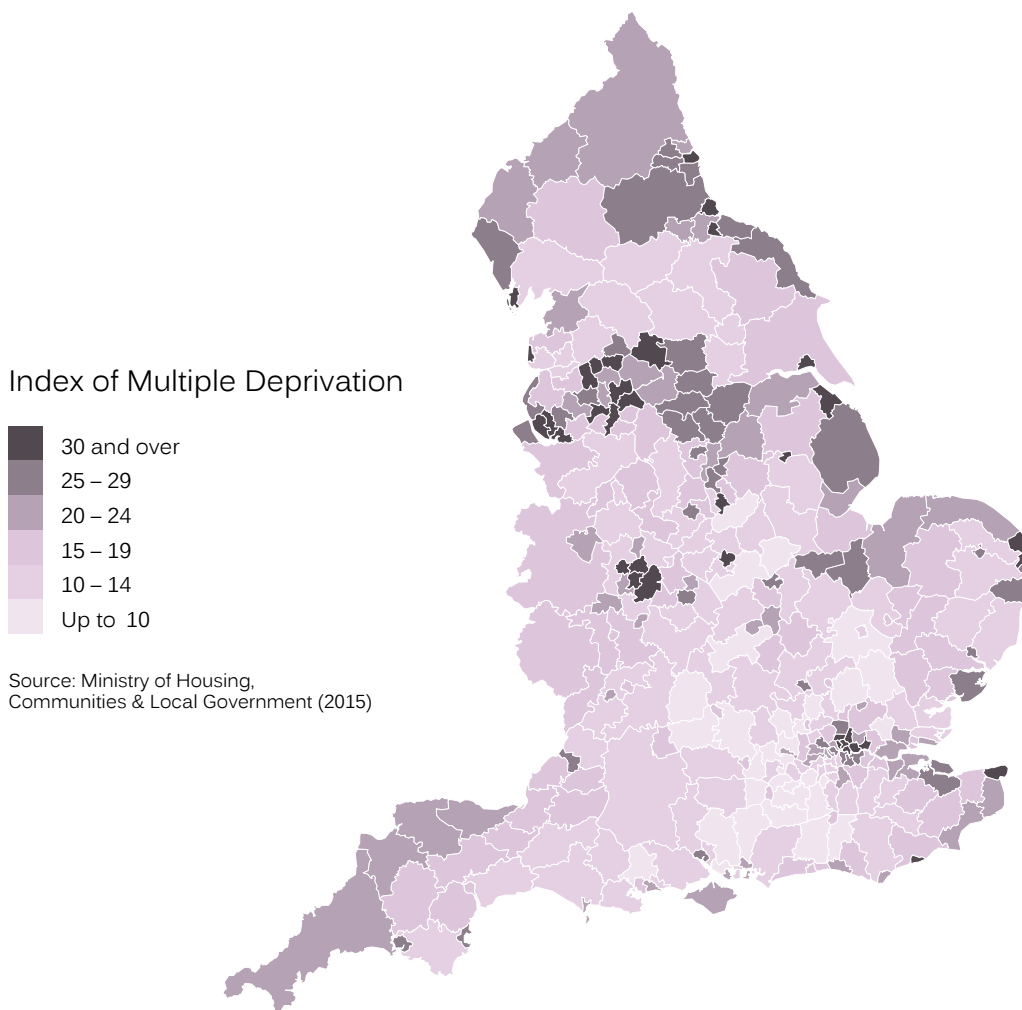
Map 2 Core spending power per head for Local Authorities in England



When we ranked the local authority deprivation levels (Map 3 - highest scoring 1 and lowest scoring 326) and public spend per head (lowest scoring 1 and highest scoring 326) and combined these scores, we found **Chesterfield, Breckland, Mansfield, Tendring and Ashfield** had the highest scores – representing pockets of relative deprivation where public spend is failing

to keep pace with even the national average. In all of these local authorities, over 60% of the population voted Leave. Conversely, the Isles of Scilly, Richmond upon Thames, Rutland, the City of London and Wokingham had the highest scores. With the exception of Rutland which marginally voted Leave, all these local authorities voted Remain.

Map 3 Index of Multiple Deprivation (average score) for Local Authorities in England

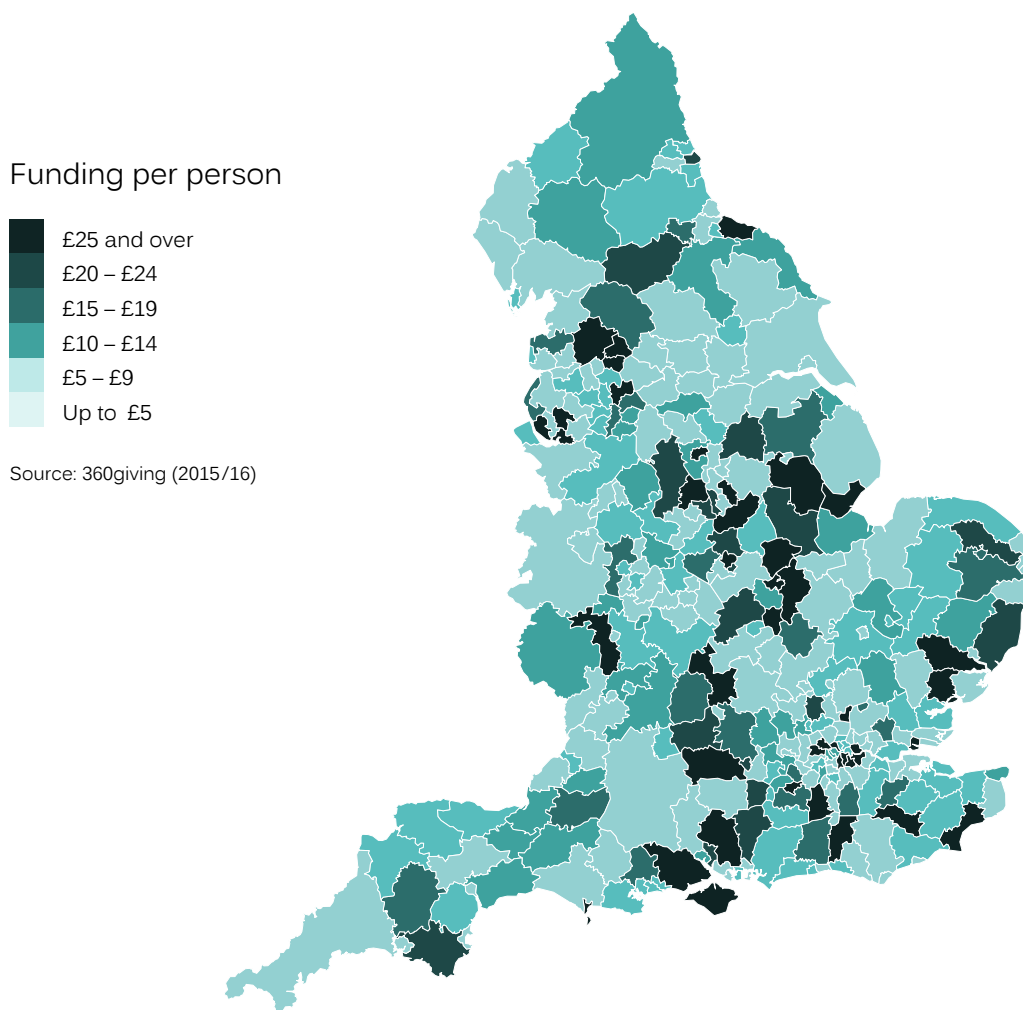


CHARITABLE SPEND AND TRUST AND FOUNDATION FUNDING AWARDED ACROSS ENGLAND

The data on trust and foundation funding underscores **the significance of the Big Lottery Fund as a funder**, with 68.6% of awards in the 360giving dataset we used coming from the Big Lottery Fund. Regionally, we found that **the North West received the highest overall number of**

awards from trusts and foundations, and the East of England the lowest. If we look at the distribution of trust and foundation funding per head (Map 4) and charitable spend per head (Map 5) the spread of this funding is more varied, yet consistent across these two measures.

Map 4 Trust and Foundation funding awarded per person for Local Authorities in England



Overall there is significant variation in philanthropic funding across England. We used 360giving data to look at the number of awards and how much was awarded by trusts and foundations in 2015/16¹⁴. Beneficiary data (i.e. the end users that benefit from this funding) was very limited, so we chose to focus on recipient data (i.e. organisations receiving the funding) which was more comprehensive. We used the recipients' location as a proxy of where trust and foundation funding is being allocated to. We know that the majority of these awards are allocated to small organisations, most of which we are assuming are working in their local authority areas.

We found that the North West received the largest number of awards (2131) and the East of England received the smallest number of awards (962). However, when we look at the amount allocated this told us a different story. London benefited from the largest amount of funding, whereas organisations in Yorkshire received the least amount funding overall from trusts

and foundations. When we calculated the funding allocated per head to different local authority areas, we found that this varied significantly from less than £1 per head in the Isle of Scilly LA area to £981.5 in the City of London. In fact, **the City of London receives almost four times the trust and foundation funding per head as the second highest local authority recipient of funding.**

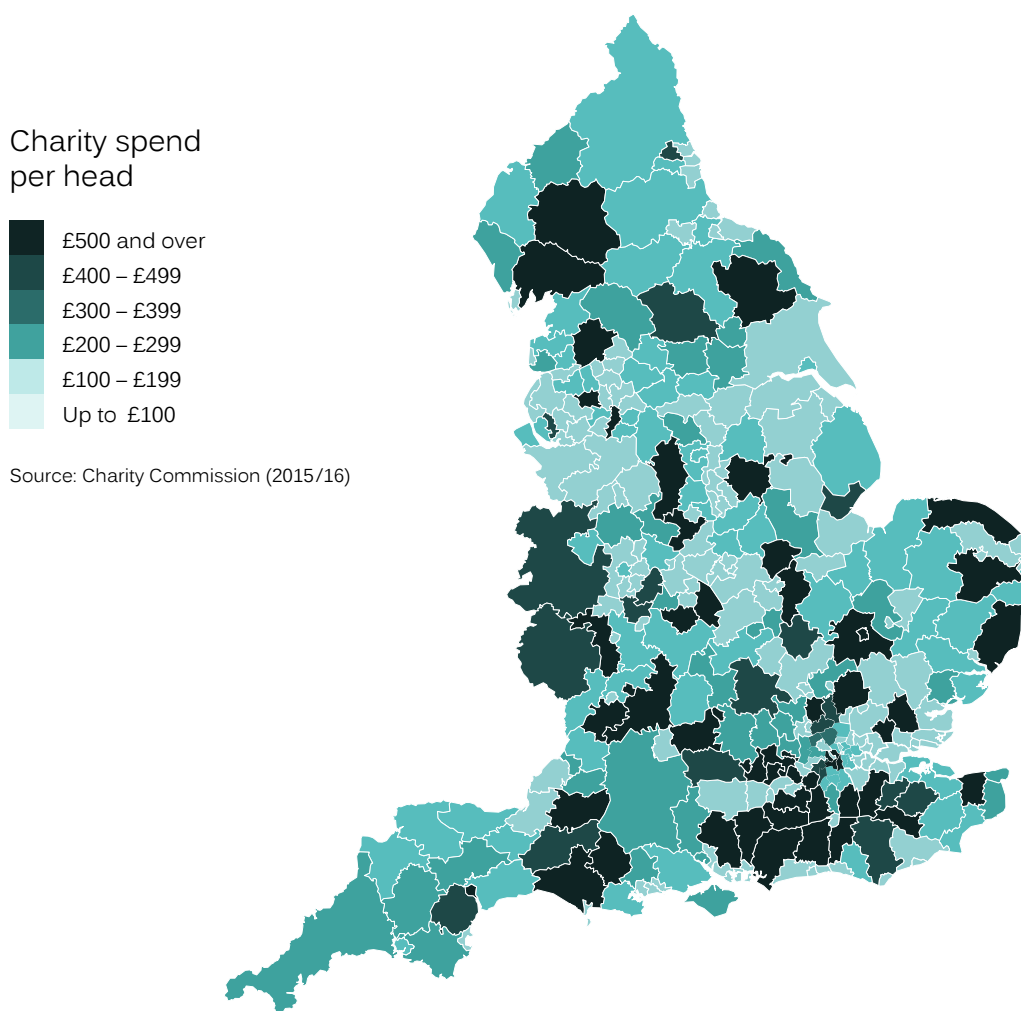
It is important to note that it is estimated that 360giving's data represents about 60% of the overall trust and foundation funding. Thus, there may be some trust and foundation funding that is not being captured in our dataset. Furthermore, many organisations are headquartered in London which may explain why London has been awarded significantly larger sums of money. We were not able to fully account for these recipients in our data due to its limitations and the lack of beneficiary data. Therefore, in order to address these limitations, we also looked at charitable spend as an indicator of philanthropic funding.



When we looked at charitable spend, we focussed on charities that were only working locally¹⁵. Through our selection process, we identified 76,242 charities in England. **The highest number of local charities in England are registered in the South East and the lowest in the North East. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the North East has received the least amount of charitable funding and expenditure, whereas London has received the highest amount.**¹⁶

In the five local authorities with the highest Leave vote, four had a lower than average charitable spend/ trust and foundation funding per head. In order to test this further we explored the variations across our five indicators to identify if there were local authorities that featured consistently across all lists.

Map 5 Charity spend per head for Local Authorities in England



IDENTIFYING HOT AND COLD SPOTS

Using our data, we looked at the 10 local authorities which voted most strongly to Remain and the 10 which voted most strongly to Leave, across our core set of indicators, as well as a combined metric of the four:

1. Rank of public core spending power per head
2. Rank of amount of trust and foundation funding awarded per head
3. Rank of Index of Multiple Deprivation
4. Rank of charity spend per head
5. Combined metric¹⁷

This enabled us to identify where the hotspots were, (i.e. the areas in receipt of highest levels of philanthropic, public and combined spending and lowest levels of deprivation) and the cold spots (i.e. the areas in receipt of lowest levels of philanthropic, public and combined spending and highest levels of deprivation).

Top 10 Leave and Remain areas

In the referendum, eight out of the ten of local authorities with the highest percentage of Remain voters were in London, and, nine out of ten of the top ten local authorities with the highest percentage of Leave voters were in the East of England and East Midlands.

Top 10 Local authorities with the highest percentage of votes to leave the EU

Top 10 Local authorities with the highest percentage of votes to remain in the EU

Boston (75.6%)

Lambeth (78.6%)

South Holland (73.6%)

Hackney (78.5%)

Castle Point (72.7%)

Haringey (75.6%)

Thurrock (72.3%)

City of London (75.3%)

Great Yarmouth (71.5%)

Islington (75.2%)

Fenland (71.4%)

Wandsworth (75%)

Mansfield (70.9%)

Camden (74.9%)

Bolsover (70.8%)

Cambridge (73.9%)

East Lindsey (70.7%)

Southwark (72.8%)

North East Lincolnshire (69.9%)

Oxford (70.3%)

Hot spots for each indicator

We mapped these against the local authorities which scored:

- a) highest on each spending indicator¹⁸ and lowest in the case of IMD
- b) lowest on each spending indicator and highest in the case of IMD

We then created a combined metric to identify “hotspots” of relatively high levels of funding and low levels of deprivation, and “coldspots” of relatively low levels of funding and high levels of deprivation (see Table 3). The breakdown of “hotspots” and “coldspots” for each individual indicator can be found in the Appendix.

Four of the top ten Leave areas were in the bottom ten cold spots for our combined metric. Map 6 highlights the geographic spread of the combined metric and points out the ten local authorities with the lowest score. Bolsover and Cannock Chase, for example, were in receipt of the lowest amount of charitable spend, and had two of the lowest combined metric scores.

All of the 10 local authorities with the lowest levels of charitable spend voted Leave. Nine out of ten were in receipt of the lowest levels of public spending. Six out of ten of the most deprived and of those in receipt of the lowest amount of trust and foundation funding voted Leave too.

Table 3. Top 10 “hotspots” and “coldspots” (based on combined metric)

Red cells = Top 10 Remain voting area; Red font = Remain voting area (not Top 10)

Blue cells = Top 10 Leave voting area; Blue font = Leave voting area (not Top 10)

Hotspots (relatively high spend and low deprivation)

Rutland
Richmond upon Thames
West Berkshire
Windsor and Maidenhead
Camden
Woking
St Albans
Westminster
Mole Valley
Kensington and Chelsea

Coldspots (relatively low spend and high deprivation)

Ashfield
Great Yarmouth
Nuneaton and Bedworth
Tamworth
Bolsover
Mansfield
Newcastle-under-Lyme
Cannock Chase
West Lancashire
East Lindsey

On the other hand, while Tower Hamlets, Blackpool and Knowsley have two of the highest levels of deprivation, they have also benefitted from one of the highest amounts of public spend per head. Yet while Tower Hamlets voted to remain in the EU, Blackpool and Knowsley voted to leave. Blackpool, however, was one of the local authorities receiving least amount of charitable spend.

All three of these local authorities did not feature in the top ten local authorities with the lowest combined metric score. This indicates that not all of the most deprived areas voted to leave the EU. Similarly, as observed by Surrey Heath and South Northamptonshire, not all of the most affluent areas voted to Remain. This also underscores the point that there were other factors impacting on voter decisions.

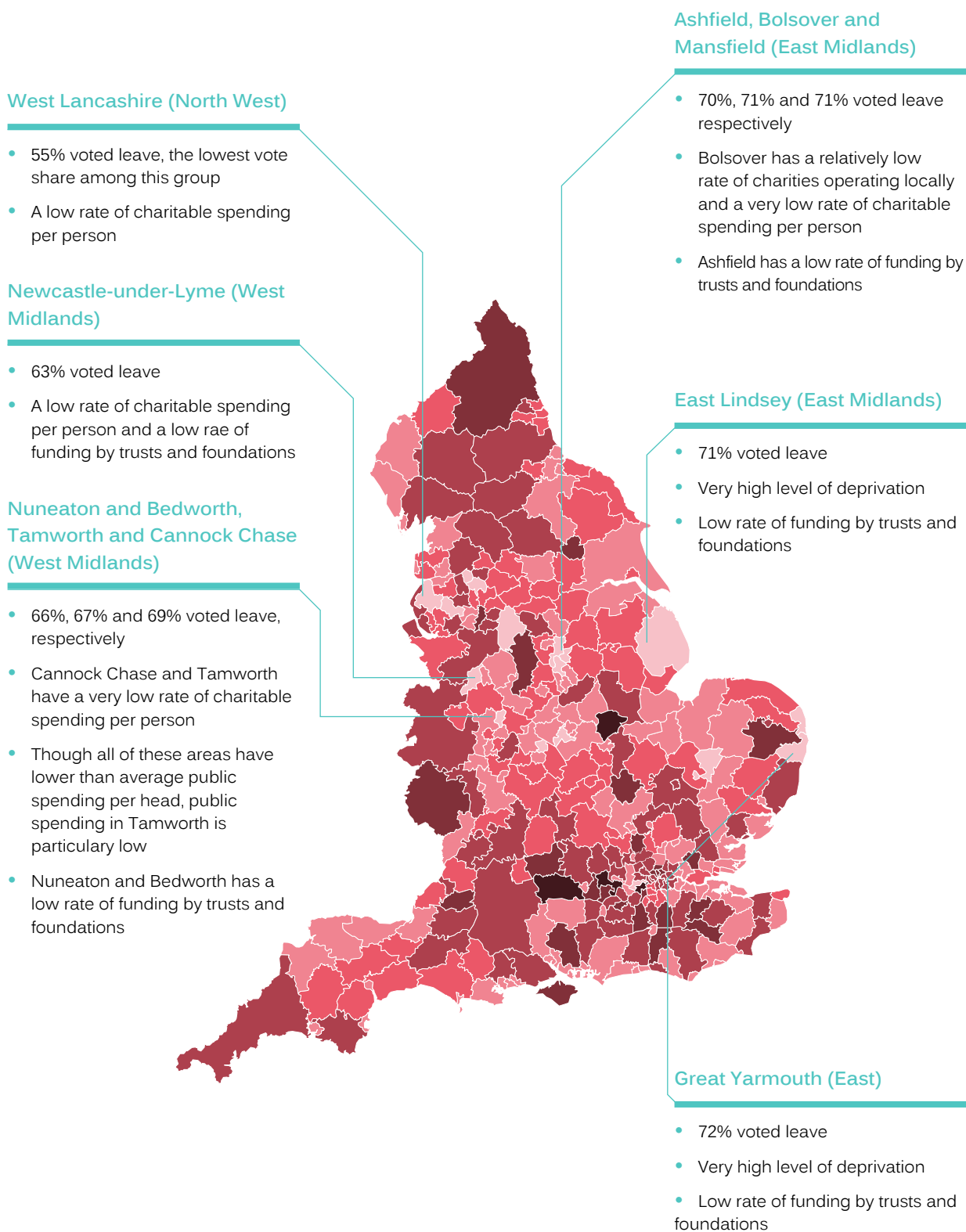
We also found that eight of the top ten local authorities that voted Remain in England, also featured significantly in the top 10 for each indicator (i.e. highest

spend/lowest deprivation). In particular, six out of the top ten Remain areas received the highest level of trust and foundation funding, and four out of the top ten Remain areas were in receipt of the highest levels of charitable spend. However, it is also of note that eight local authorities that voted Leave also featured in the top 10 lists for at least one spending metric (and Rutland is in the top 10 “hotspots” based on our combined metric).

We found that there was significant variation between those local authorities that featured in bottom ten cold spots for each indicator. 53 local authorities appear at least once in the table of cold spots, compared just 37 local authorities which appear in the table of hotspots (see Appendix for detail). This suggests that the same local authorities seem to be benefitting from public and philanthropic spend. Camden, for example, features in the top ten local authorities for the combined metric, as well as those receiving philanthropic and public funding.



Map 6 Combined metric for Local Authorities in England



Note: The combined metric is a standard average of four ranks: IMD, charitable spend per head, trust and foundation funding per head and public spend per head

Sources: Electoral Commission (2016); Charity Commission (2015/16); 360giving (2015/16); Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government (2015 and 2017)

NEXT STEPS

Our findings have only uncovered the tip of the iceberg in terms of the patchwork of philanthropy that makes up England, and the extent to which funding is addressing the needs of the country and its communities. They do, however, present a significant opportunity for further action and exploration which we wish to progress:

1. Drill down our research to ward level – Local authority areas are vast and made up of myriad different communities. In order to explore the implications of our findings for communities, we will need to breakdown our findings further in terms of geographical area and coverage. As illustrated by Becker et al (2016)²³ although local authorities may have voted Leave or Remain, pockets of wards in those areas voted differently and it would be useful to explore what is happening in these different communities and the impact this has on our findings and the implications for the work of funders in the future.

2. Expand our database to include further data on austerity such as cuts to funding, as well as public services – Becker et al (2016)²⁴ in particular, found that the recent UK austerity programme was strongly with voting Leave. They speculated that austerity is likely felt differently across England depending on the demand for public services and transfers in different local authorities. We suggest expanding our data and analysis to include data on austerity.

3. Link our dataset with other community characteristics, needs and demand on services – In our research, we only used the Index for Multiple Deprivation as an indicator of community characteristics and need. There are numerous other datasets, e.g. hospital access, GP prescription rates, quality of schools, wellbeing indices, etc. that allow us to explore the different characteristics that make up the communities that voted to leave or remain. Furthermore, this will allow us to explore further whether local provisions and services are meeting the needs and characteristics of those communities.

4. Compare our data on pre-Brexit to post-Brexit – in the build up to Brexit, we were able to look at the expenditure and funding patterns that led to it. In the aftermath of Brexit, it is important to assess what has changed (if anything) and what impact this is having.

5. Compare our findings in England to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland – Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland will too have their own Brexit story. We know that Scotland for example, voted overwhelmingly to Remain and they are also in receipt of the highest levels of public spending per head. By expanding our analysis to four nations will allow us to expand and strengthen our evidence base and the comparisons and conclusions we can draw from it – while also factoring aspects unique to each nation, particularly NI and Scotland, such as voting patterns in the Scottish independence referendum.

6. Drill down to the most deprived and least funded local authorities to identify communities most affected by these issues and conduct ethnographic/qualitative research to hear the lived experience of residents and understand their unmet needs which both charitable and public sector funders can respond to – Our research was based on quantitative data which gave us a sense of breadth but not depth. In order to fully understand and test our findings and the conclusions we drew from them, we will need to conduct additional qualitative research to understand what is happening in these areas and their communities, what needs to change and how can funding, services and provisions be directed as a result.

7. Drill down to the types of provisions and services being funded - As found by Rohr et al (2017)'s survey²⁵, access to services and provisions is very important to the British public. Becker et al (2016)²⁶ also found that lower-quality service provision in the National Health Service is associated with the success of Vote Leave. Most of these studies are based on perceptions of public services - further research is needed to explore the impact of the types of philanthropic provision and services being funded on the referendum result.

8. All funders need to provide more comprehensive data to 360giving - This will help us gain a more comprehensive picture of trust and foundation funding. We particularly recommend that funders to include more beneficiary information, including location which would help us gain a better understanding of who is benefitting from trust and foundation funding.

Together these findings would enrich our understanding of communities and their needs in the context of the philanthropic patchwork across England. Further work in this area would build an evidence base that could strengthen philanthropic decision-making to create more impactful, sustainable change for the communities that need it most across the UK.



APPENDIX

Data sources

We used 360giving data²⁷ on trust and foundation funding and Charity Commission data²⁸ on philanthropic spending. It is estimated that 360giving data only accounts for 60% of trust and foundation funding and mainly contains information on recipient (by organisation) rather than direct beneficiaries.

Charitable spend data provides a better understanding of where the beneficiaries of philanthropic spend are. Although some charities may be the recipients of trust and foundation funding, charitable spend is also been generated from fundraised income and other activities.

To contextualise this data, we used Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government's (previously DCLG) 2015/16 data on core public spending power²⁹, the Index of Multiple Deprivation³⁰ (IMD), and voting data³¹ from the EU referendum at the lowest possible level of geography.

Rutland, which had the highest combined metric score and was in the top ten local authorities benefitting from charitable spend, voted to leave the EU (albeit by a very narrow margin, of 50.4%). Blackpool is the area in these hotspots which voted Leave most strongly (67.5%) while Barrow-in-Furness and Newark and Sherwood both had just Leave votes of 60.6% and 60.4% respectively.

Hotspots and coldspots

Table 4. Top 10 hotspots for each indicator

Red cells = Top 10 Remain voting area; Red font = Remain voting area (not Top 10)
Blue cells = Top 10 Leave voting area; Blue font = Leave voting area (not Top 10)

	Least Deprived (lowest average IMD score)	Highest Public Core Spending Power per head	Highest Trust and Foundation Funding per head	Highest Charitable Spend per head	Combined metric
Hart	City of London	City of London	City of London	Rutland	
Wokingham	Isles of Scilly	Newark and Sherwood	Cambridge	Richmond upon Thames	
Chiltern	Kensington and Chelsea	Islington	Oxford	West Berkshire	
Waverley	Camden	Hackney	Westminster	Windsor and Maidenhead	
Elmbridge	Knowsley	Westminster	Rutland	Camden	
Mid Sussex	Islington	Camden	South Cambridgeshire	Woking	
St Albans	Hackney	Kensington	Waverley	St Albans	
Rushcliffe	Tower Hamlets	Winchester	Cheltenham	Westminster	
Surrey Heath	Southwark	Rugby	Norwich	Mole Valley	
South Northamptonshire	Blackpool	Barrow-in-Furness	Camden	Kensington and Chelsea	

Table 5: Top 10 Cold Spots

Red cells = Top 10 Remain voting area; Red font = Remain voting area (not Top 10)

Blue cells = Top 10 Leave voting area; Blue font = Leave voting area (not Top 10)

Most Deprived (highest average IMD score)	Lowest Public Core Spending Power per head	Lowest Trust and Foundation Funding per head	Lowest Charitable Spend per head	Combined metric
Blackpool	South Staffordshire	Isles of Scilly ³²	Barking and Dagenham	Ashfield
Knowsley	West Oxfordshire	Wokingham	Bolsover	Great Yarmouth
Kingston upon Hull, City of	Breckland	Runnymede	Blackpool	Nuneaton and Bedworth
Liverpool	Broadland	Rochford	Cannock Chase	Tamworth
Manchester	Hambleton	Hertsmere	Central Bedfordshire	Bolsover
Middlesbrough	Basingstoke and Deane	Uttlesford	South Tyneside	Mansfield
Birmingham	Fareham	Woking	Tamworth	Newcastle-under-Lyme
Nottingham	Eastleigh	Purbeck	Hartlepool	Cannock Chase
Burnley	Hinckley and Bosworth	Hart	Rochdale	West Lancashire
Tower Hamlets	Broxbourne	Christchurch	Slough	East Lindsey



ENDNOTES

1. JRF (2017) LIVING STANDARDS, POVERTY AND INEQUALITY IN THE UK: 2017–18 TO 2021–22 - https://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/default/files/jrf/files-research/uk_poverty_2017.pdf
2. See <https://locality.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/LOCALITY-LOCALISM-REPORT-1.pdf>
3. Becker, S., Fetzer, T., and Novy, D. (2017) 'Who voted for Brexit? A Comprehensive District-Level Analysis' - <http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/dp1480.pdf>
4. Mohan, J. (2015) Charity and social redistribution: the question of 'charity deserts' - <http://www.cgap.org.uk/uploads/PABS/PABS%20chpt%206%20JM.pdf>
5. Goodwin, M. and Heath, O. (2016) Brexit vote explained: poverty, low skills and lack of opportunities
6. - <https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/brexit-vote-explained-poverty-low-skills-and-lack-opportunities>
7. Becker, S., Fetzer, T., and Novy, D. (2017) 'Who voted for Brexit? A Comprehensive District-Level Analysis' - <http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/dp1480.pdf>
8. CAF (2017) Brexit and its impact on charitable causes - https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-research/2336a_brexit-and-charities-infographic.pdf
9. We ranked each of the local authorities across the 4 indicators (deprivation [IMD], core public spend per head, charity spend per head and trust and foundation funding per head) from 1 (lowest level of funding/expenditure or most deprived) to 326 (highest level of funding/expenditure or least deprived). We then divided the sum of the rank scores for each local authority by 4 to obtain an average score. This average score resulted in the combined metric value.
10. Becker, S., Fetzer, T., and Novy, D. (2017) 'Who voted for Brexit? A Comprehensive District-Level Analysis' - <http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/dp1480.pdf>
11. Correlation coefficient -0.39
12. Correlation estimate of $p < 0.05$ and correlation coefficient of -0.4
13. See Keep, M. and Brien, P. (2017) Public expenditure by country and region - <http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN04033/SN04033.pdf>
14. [1] The data used here was sourced from GrantNav: a tool created by 360 Giving to bring together the various datasets published by funders. In our sample we only included trusts and foundations that made grants to 50 or more areas and published data for 2015 and 2016.
15. The scale at which the charity operates (local, national, etc.) has been inferred from various information the charity provides to the regulators, including free text about the operating location plus structured data about areas in which the charity operates. We decided to exclude schools and universities from our sample but included religious organisations.
16. This was based on information provided by each charity which sometimes was flawed or patchy. We know that there is a high concentration of charities in London, particularly in the central London boroughs. Some of this is because large national charities have their base there which we have attempted to filter out, but due to limited information may have missed a small number of charities. However, we also found that there is also an underlying pattern of small charities operating in London which could also account for this disparity.
17. As previously highlighted the combined metric value, is the average score across the 4 indicators (deprivation [IMD], core public spend per head, charity spend per head and trust and foundation funding per head) from 1 (lowest level of funding/expenditure or most deprived) to 326 (highest level of funding/expenditure or least deprived).
18. Public Core Spending Power per head; Trust and Foundation Funding per head; Charitable Spend per head
19. Becker, S., Fetzer, T., and Novy, D. (2017) 'Who voted for Brexit? A Comprehensive District-Level Analysis' - <http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/dp1480.pdf>
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31. See https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/_data/assets/file/0014/212135/EU-referendum-result-data.csv
32. Although the Isles of Scilly received the lowest amount of trust and foundation funding, they also received one of the highest amounts of public spend – and it should be kept in mind that this represents a community of around 2,000 people, compared to the 36,000 of Wokingham or over 140,000 of Blackpool.

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