

Introduction to community maps and directories



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Introduction

Community asset mapping is a way to discover the people, networks, organisations and facilities in a geographical area. The term ‘asset’ refers here to all the positive strengths, gifts, resources, talents and passions held by individuals, networks and cultures. It provides a starting point for understanding the community and recognising the potential of every member to contribute¹.

This paper sets the scene for community mapping by examining the different approaches that are taken, pointing to legal matters and reporting on some of the different ways that community asset maps and directories have been used in the UK. It explores the ethical and practical issues surrounding publication of a community map. Other resources are available that describe how mapping can be carried out² and the ways in which findings can be collated³, standardised⁴ and communicated⁵ directly to ordinary citizens and used by social prescribers⁶ and others in social and health care⁷. Here, I want to discuss why, what, and how information should be placed in the public domain. It has been written in response to the dearth of material on this question⁸.

This guide is being written in the United Kingdom, but international references appear in the text from time to time. A fuller explanation of the approach taken to creating this guide can be found at [How-to-write-in-public.pdf \(peterbates.org.uk\)](http://peterbates.org.uk). It is part of a suite of linked documents made up of the following:

1. [Detecting dark matter](#) demonstrates that a brief internet search will not locate many community resources and therefore mapmakers need to employ other search techniques
2. [Introduction to community maps and directories](#) sets out some concepts and explains what people might be doing when they use these terms.
3. [How to meet your statutory obligations in community mapping](#) brings together the various legal requirements and policy guidance laid upon public services in the United Kingdom.
4. [How to choose between a community or service directory](#) unpacks the arguments for each option and attempts to show that a community directory is a vital element of local life.

5. [How to measure the reach of community directories](#) suggests some key performance indicators for checking whether a directory reflects the community it serves and provides some data about what is currently available.
6. [How to decide what to put in your map of community assets](#) addresses the specifics of how to obtain the data that will form the content of your Directory or map, what counts as data and what should be published.
7. [How to get your group listed](#) helps community groups decide whether to appear in a particular directory or map. This guide may also be useful to people who commission mapmakers.
8. [How to name your dragon](#) catalogues the threats to effective mapmaking in uncharted territory
9. [Goldmining – how to find hidden community treasure](#) offers some strategies which might be adopted by mapmakers in searching for community assets.
10. The [Directory of Directories](#) provides a starting point for people wishing to build a local community directory. Examples of lists which collate material on individual sections of community life in one city include:
 - [Neighbourhood Facebook Groups](#)
 - [Sports and park facilities](#)
 - [Sports clubs and groups](#)
 - [Community kitchens](#)
 - [Active churches](#)
 - [Christian meetings in community languages](#)

Finally here, the [List of English SEND Local Offer websites](#) provides the evidence source for much of the content of these papers.

I am grateful to the many people⁹ who have responded to inquiries and contributed ideas to this group of papers. Please send me your suggestions for further improvements.

Recommendation #1

Describe community assets, not deficits.

What is a community asset?

The term 'asset mapping' has been given a variety of working definitions, including:

- **Land use.** When Jefferson Fox¹⁰ asks indigenous communities about their community assets, he is exploring their history of land use and their recognition of boundaries. This is to help them argue for the protection of ancient land rights against aggressive commercial interests.
- **Population profile.** In Halton, Ontario, apartment blocks where a high proportion of elders live have been mapped to help select locations for support services¹¹. This is sometimes achieved by merging big data from multiple sources¹².

- **Assets of community value.** The UK Localism Act 2011 refers to ‘assets of community value’ which means land, buildings or other facilities that benefit the neighbourhood. The Act requires local authorities to maintain and publish a list of these assets and put safeguards in place to reduce the chance that they are lost to the community by being sold or repurposed.
- **Economic wealth.** Kelsey White¹³ takes an economic view of assets and considers how community development interventions can assist people living in low-income neighbourhoods. She uses asset mapping as a way to increase residents’ income, promote saving and support property ownership. At the interpersonal level, she expects asset mapping to enhance the material wealth of the neighbourhood by attracting inward investment to build community facilities and own them. Asset mapping will identify parks, credit unions, individual learning accounts, community interest companies, foodbanks, community kitchens and similar resources that enhance individual and community wealth. An even broader view would draw business directories into this category¹⁴, since every sole trader, limited company and community business adds economic wealth to the neighbourhood.
- **Equipment and skills.** Norwich [Lumi](#) has identified people and organisations that are willing to lend and listed them on a map of ‘community assets’, rather like a toy or tool library. By mapping where a ladder may be borrowed or where to find a computer expert who would be willing to help, informal exchanges are facilitated without the need of a formal [timebank](#).
- **Civic organisations.** Robert Putnam¹⁵ included voluntary, neighbourhood level, civic organisations within his broad notion of social capital. From this perspective, community assets include all the locally run voluntary organisations that create opportunities for their members to belong, contribute and relate. Some of these civic organisations provide social services or campaign for social justice, but the category is much wider and includes all kinds of interest, leisure and fraternal groups.
- **Informal networks.** Lots of informal networks and groups arise in communities without bothering with a constitution, terms of reference, minutes or treasurer. It may not occur to an active network participant that she is a member of it and not every network member will know everyone else. Yet these networks enable neighbours to borrow a long ladder, jobseekers to hear about openings and pets to be restored to their owners. Formal networks may include local, national and international members and so lack geospatial coordinates enabling them to be rendered on a map, while they can easily be included in a directory.
- **Gifted individuals.** In each community, there will be individuals with unusual gifts and talents. They might be enthusiasts for a hobby, happy to teach a skill or willing to greet newcomers. They might carry the history of the neighbourhood. Bridgebuilders will be well-connected and eager to signpost newcomers to the right person or place and perform introductions.
- **Stories.** [Middlesbrough](#) present residents’ stories as part of their Directory. Ivis Garcia¹⁶ notes the continuing importance of assets that no longer exist in a physical sense but still provide a sense of belonging to a place, bond people in a shared history and enrich memory. Whether this is the huge personality of the baker who used to work on the High Street, the pub where friends met before the pandemic closed it down or the trains that ran before the war, all these things form a shared association with this place. Jane Foot and Trevor

Hopkins¹⁷ add a look to the future and include the potential of unrealised assets, such as people's willingness to buy bread from the bakery startup that is due to open next week, or to band together and self-organise a solution to the issues they prioritise.

- **Events.** Communities are enriched by planning, hosting and simply enjoying events, whether one-off or regular. These appear to some to be ephemeral and insignificant in comparison to long-life groups and resourceful people who dwell in a community for decades, but they have real value. A What's On calendar created by the tourism office may list major events that will draw crowds while neglecting tiny occasions such as a concert by the local community choir or regular live, amateur music in the pub. The best calendars enable people to look back in time as well as looking forward¹⁸. Swindon has developed a [marketing strategy](#) which utilises the calendar of promotional days such as World Mental Health Day.
- **Statutory services.** In the UK, each neighbourhood has a plethora of health, education, community and social services provided directly by national or local authorities or commissioned by them. A service directory¹⁹ will help both professionals and members of the public to draw on them as appropriate. In some areas of provision it is not only a statutory responsibility for the local authority to provide a service, but it also has a statutory responsibility to provide information about these services to the public. Sunderland have advised that providing such information about services for disabled children is a statutory responsibility but there is no parallel responsibility for providing information about adult services²⁰.

The most significant voice in community asset mapping is John McKnight²¹, one of the founders of the Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) Institute, who draws on all these elements to create a rich picture of the positive resources, attributes and contributions of a neighbourhood²². It is notable that ABCD is a required competence for Social Prescribing Link Workers²³. There are other agencies²⁴ who also take a lead in promoting this movement. As the list above shows, other writers and researchers use the same term to refer to different elements or mix them in distinctive ways. This will depend upon the interests of key authors and powerholders, so a Directory written by social care will favour welfare services²⁵ while the tourism department will be eager to list hotels, restaurants, concerts and museums. We must wonder whether librarians pay more attention to those civic groups that leave minutes or other traces that can be archived?

Recommendation #2

Tell readers which kinds of community assets you are including, and do not misrepresent a service directory by naming it a community directory.

Who is publishing community asset maps and directories?

Several groups publish community asset maps and directories, each with their own particular viewpoint, but many fail²⁶ to explain why they are produced, what kind of material is included and how the map relates to similar alternatives. Exceptions include the local offer directories at [Bradford](#) that explains what the local offer is and provides links to equivalent sites in adjacent areas while [Torbay](#) includes all the directories in their region; [Bury](#), which places the SEND Local Offer and the Care Leavers²⁷ Offer side by side; and [Well Aware](#), which provides links to some other directories²⁸

that searchers may wish to use. In contrast, [Hillingdon](#) provides links to the adults directory and another directory promoting [physical activity](#), but no links to other types of community participation. The range of possible maps and directories includes the following:

- i. A group of neighbours may engage a community development worker to support them in coproducing and publishing a map.
- ii. Single-issue campaign or peer support groups may create a resource directory for a specific sector of the community²⁹.
- iii. A discount scheme may provide a list of leisure providers where the discount may be claimed³⁰.
- iv. Librarians collate information about community activities and may publish a directory for a local area³¹.
- v. Programmes such as connect4communities may generate a directory of community assets that tackle the problem of poverty³².
- vi. Social prescribers may generate a list of community assets to which they can refer people³³. Placing this resource online will support citizens to self-refer, assist staff to practice 'digital by default' and perhaps advertise places where digitally excluded citizens can be supported to use online resources.
- vii. The tourism office may maintain a What's On calendar or Directory to stimulate tourism spending and encourage inward investment in the sector³⁴.
- viii. The local authority's estates department may publish a list of 'assets of community' value to manage and reduce asset stripping from neighbourhoods.
- ix. Adult social care services may create a directory to smooth referral pathways or promote inclusive lifestyles by people who draw on their services. Bloom³⁵ observed that since demand pressure on these services is substantial, there are few incentives and a weak history in advertising their own provision, so asking these agencies to take on the job on behalf of the community is unlikely to succeed.
- x. Children and families' services may generate a map to comply with their 'local offer' obligations towards disabled young people or care leavers. Local Offer websites were subjected to a general review of their reports of childcare provision published in 2017³⁶.
- xi. Trade or interest groups may develop a directory as an advertising platform or use registration in the directory as a symbol of quality assurance.
- xii. News media, such as local newspapers, provide listings to increase footfall and sales.
- xiii. An informal community or crowd of GIS specialists may pool information to form a shared, distributed dataset which in turn can drive the production of community maps³⁷.

In any local area, it is unlikely that a separate map or directory all have been created in response to each of these perspectives, but there is likely to be more than one. Mapmakers must compete for their attention but generally do this in their public facing materials by ignoring the existence of the competition. Nor is there much evidence of collaboration behind the scenes, such as working with or coordinating support for different sections of community, pooling investment or sharing updates.

Some limited collaboration does take place. Norfolk County Council has drawn together colleagues working in adult social care who will benefit from creating a really useful [directory](#) and [Northampton](#) has a governance group for its SEND local offer directory. Bury has formed a group called [Friends of the Local Offer](#) which includes community members and where draft policies are discussed and services attend to present their service and explain what information they have provided on the local directory. Islington has adapted Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation³⁸ to form a Pyramid of Parental Engagement³⁹.

In Norfolk the group comprises staff from different departments who meet regularly and work together to ensure that the information it contains is accurate, accessible and comprehensive, while in Northampton the group includes experts by experience from the community and employees from different organisations. The Norfolk manager also attends meetings facilitated by the database designer where all organisations using that particular brand of software are invited to pool ideas and collaborate on shared projects. [Cornwall](#) is in touch with the [National Network of Parent Carer Forums](#) which campaigns for the best possible outcomes for all children and young people with SEND and their families and a few mapmakers may be in touch with the LinkedIn page run by [The Local Offer \(SEND\) Ltd](#). There appears to be no network for social prescribers⁴⁰.

Recommendation #3

Create a map of maps. Consider whether it would help to reduce duplication between maps and directories and create systems where one update action amends several databases. Explain who is making this map or directory, why, and how it relates to the others that serve this neighbourhood or interest group.

Compare asset maps with community directories

Mapmakers may build up their community map in the following layers:

- topological features - rivers, mountains, beaches
- land use - roads, bridges, houses, factories, community and cultural centres
- information gleaned from pre-existing demographic⁴¹ and community directories, such as business, leisure and voluntary organisations.
- Finally, asking local people for their perception of the assets and strengths of the neighbourhood as well as the emotions and stories they associate with it.

This sequence of investigations has its merits. Take for example, topological features as a starting point. Hilltops, rivers and beaches provide opportunities for city dwellers to create parks and footpaths. Once the green spaces of the city are listed⁴², individual sites can be explored to find the club of people who meet here to play football, individuals who walk their dogs here, and volunteers who maintain the heritage garden. The challenge for mapmakers is to use their directory of green spaces as a starting point in the search for community, not an endpoint in itself.

Some community asset mapping practitioners would approach this list from the bottom up, claiming that it is the sense of neighbourhood that defines the edges of this community, the personal networks that carry more freight than roads, and the delight that marks the hotspots where differences interact. Individuals should share their personal maps first, and then people may want to search other sources to add names and contact details so that the people mentioned can be

contacted and invited to participate. Only at the end of the process would these practitioners examine how the community is served by statutory agencies, what population data has to say and how topological features have shaped perceptions.

Starting in the middle of this list is perhaps the most challenging approach, since it concentrates on inter-agency projects and cooperation. For example, the list of football pitches will suggest places where football clubs meet to play, but the local league will contain teams that were previously unknown to the mapmaker. Similarly, exhibition halls will hint at the existence of local art clubs, while religious festivals and community projects will provide opportunities for faith communities to collaborate and perhaps spawn new community initiatives. Finding the sports team, café, bookshop, prayer meeting or history group is not easy, but seeking out the mezza-level organisations will help. The challenge is compounded when there are multiple independent initiatives of this kind, such as in my city where there are several football leagues, none of which make any reference to the others. This means that it can be hard to find out if a particular team active or not, playing competitively or not, and in which league. The only way to find out may be to ask, which can lead to finding the league table and unearthing hitherto unknown teams.

American ABCD practitioners⁴³ create maps that describe a hyperlocal area, such as just one city block. This means that online resources are soon exhausted and mappers need to walk the neighbourhood and talk to people. Life stories and emotions form major features of the map, providing an insight into people's sense of this place⁴⁴. In contrast, directories collect information about venues, voluntary organisations and events and can be huge. For example, the UK's Norfolk Community Directory covers 2,074 square miles and contains 4427 entries⁴⁵, while [Open Street Map](#) is attempting to cover the whole world. There are ten other differences, as follows:

1. The map for a tiny area will emphasise local assets, including the one person who tells their story of connecting with a national agency. In contrast, large directories may be dominated by marketing information provided by organisations that are based outside the area but want to pitch their offer to local people⁴⁶.
2. The question 'How many maps do you want?' generates very different answers. When ABCD practitioners create maps, they are often aiming for a separate map for each individual - a personal map that shows their own sense of the boundaries of their place and the significant locations, people and potential⁴⁷. Such a map helps the person at the centre of it to see what assets exist in their personal community and to make plans if they wish to expand or enrich this map. These individual maps are then shared in a search for the dialogue that arises in relation to their similarities and differences between the maps. In contrast, the municipal authority may complain about a landscape cluttered with too many specialist directories and set itself a goal to rationalise all into one or two⁴⁸.
3. An asset map often favours life stories and perceptions over facts about address, meeting time or admission charge. The most useful people are those who are willing to describe their personal viewpoint, while those who wish to build an inventory of community organisations and groups will value the Connectors⁴⁹ and their extensive networks and contact lists.
4. The direction of travel is a key distinguishing factor between these two approaches. For ABCD practitioners, maps start with individuals and their informal networks, only adding civic organisations and statutory services much later in the mapmaking process. Directory makers start at the other end of this spectrum by collating lists of formal services and then

move to large civic organisations, but rarely journey far enough into community life to find informal networks or significant individuals.

5. In between these two options lies a third kind of community map, never intended to convey organisational data or tell the story of one person's engagement in community, but rather to create an impression of this neighbourhood's resources. Such a map will illustrate the sorts of connections that may be found, but is intended to inspire hope that assets may be available, rather than to specify their identity or exact location.
6. An asset map is not merely a directory of services, since it includes all the ways in which community is manifested, rather than just listing the helping agencies⁵⁰. Welfare providers may appear on the map but they form a tiny proportion of the entries.
7. The process of asset mapmaking is relentlessly positive and appreciative, reframing so-called social problems and deficits⁵¹ by recognising the strengths, resilience and camaraderie that enrich every area⁵². Some asset-based thinkers do not merely add some positives to a list of negatives to make a more balanced picture, but rather, they take the precise elements which historically have been viewed as deficits and reframe them as strengths. This happens when a defiant teenager is recognised as standing up for their principles rather than being criticised for insubordination. Conversations focus on citizenship, participation and contribution rather than needs, eligibility and referral.
8. An asset map is produced by people who share their stories and viewpoints, with the emphasis being on connecting rather than merely collecting, and on what happens during the process of mapmaking rather than the finished map. Contributors may be anonymised and contact details of individuals and community groups are swapped informally. The published output will be a map containing glimpses of community and perhaps a plan for collaborative community development, and emphatically not a directory of people, groups or networks⁵³.
9. It is a voluntary endeavour undertaken by people who choose to be involved rather than a legal duty discharged by public servants who must produce something or as a collaborative effort by the salaried officers of infrastructure organisations⁵⁴.
10. It is one step in a long-term, committed process of community development that is owned, directed and delivered by local people, rather than an end in itself or carried out to achieve a predetermined goal. Community development is a process rather than a snapshot, and is about celebration and enhancement, not merely recording. For this reason, some change agents work with people to create a map that is not a snapshot at a single point in time, but pictures a journey from the past to the future and therefore shows things that appear at different time points, portraying them together on a single map.

For all these reasons, some would argue that producing a directory is a distraction that diverts people from the real work of community building and should not be considered an asset mapping process at all. They would complain that a great deal of the UK public sector has confused process and product, made a service directory and then wrongly named it a community directory and, in so doing, has stolen the terminology of asset mapping and misapplied it to a completely different undertaking. Whilst those who search for community by binning all directories and focusing entirely on face-to-face relationship building will build significant alliances with proximal groups, they will never reach those that lie well beyond their current relationship circle. In contrast, braver people

can scour the directory for an entry that appears impossibly distant from their homeland and then take a quantum leap directly to it, instantly building a connection that holds the promise of radical diversity. In this way, a directory can reduce the number of ‘degrees of separation’ from six⁵⁵ to one, enabling mapmakers to traverse vast distances in a single jump. These arguments are important, but do not really affect the purpose of this paper. Indeed, it is possible to combine these approaches, as shown by Daniel Costie who used ABCD to find out about the community, who then asked for a community directory⁵⁶.

In pursuing our object of exploring the question of publication ethics and practice, I will not be sticking to a single definition of what constitutes asset mapping. Rather, this paper will draw on a range of resources, only some of which are derived from ethically coherent, asset-based approaches. This is because the publication issues that surround the large directory are similar to those raised by sharing a hyperlocal, coproduced and strengths-based map. So, in this paper, and with apologies to ABCD and others who adopt a tight definition, the term ‘map’ will be used for all these manifestations, whether one street or one county; researcher-led or coproduced; hand drawn or software enabled; and formatted as map, directory, inventory, catalogue or diary⁵⁷.

Recommendation #4

Coproduce all your community developments and undertake community asset mapping as one part of this broader programme.

What is the underlying message of the map?

All maps and directories have an ethical dimension⁵⁸ and convey an underlying message about the community, so those who publish or appear in them may be perceived to be supporting that viewpoint. In the light of this, [Murmurations](#) have considered whether or not they should form an ethics committee to oversee their development of tools for community mapping⁵⁹.

The message may be explicit, as when a directory explains quite plainly what it is attempting to collate. Shropshire, for example, declares boldly its intention to ‘encourage local citizens to become more active, increase their sense of community and improve their quality of life’. In contrast, [Norfolk](#) take a broader view by including ‘any organisation who offers services, activities, or events to help people: keep healthy, be sociable, physically active, mentally active, raise their aspirations for educational achievement, help their community, stay independent, feel included, get involved, improve their well-being, stay safe, find suitable care and support, find help looking after their children, and get family support.’

The message is no less powerful when it is obscured by simple acts of inclusion and exclusion, such as the directory of churches which omits those that do not subscribe to their approved doctrine or when a Community Directory excludes faith-based groups that proselytise⁶⁰. The message can be yet more subtle, as when readers assume that the business directory will list only those businesses that support the political ambitions of its sponsor. The message may be unconscious, as when the mappers inadvertently leave out groups that have no online presence. The layout and presentation style of the map will convey a worldview that may favour buildings⁶¹ over networks, people over offices or that promulgates a particular sense of place.

For example, the community directory for [Shropshire](#) is for adults only, with community information for children and families presented [elsewhere](#). While Shropshire needs to be commended for its energy and enthusiasm in creating these two rich directories, the layout might discourage intergenerational connections and deliver a myopic view of community, blinded to half its life through the segregation of children and adults. In [Bradford](#), community organisations are invited to indicate whether they provide universal services (i.e. open to anyone), services for people who need support, or services for people who need specialist support. In a similar way, Plymouth describe services as [universal, targeted and specialist](#) and helpfully provide an explanation for these terms, although it will probably make more sense to education professionals than community groups. Whilst such a division may be a practical way to organise care plans, it suggests to community organisations that they can choose who to include or exclude, in contravention of the ‘access all areas’ principle embedded in disability rights and equalities legislation.

Similarly, [Enfield](#) refer to ‘those who will require a non-specialist/universal offer’ as if it is a limited option, only available to people with mild impairments, rather than open to all. This highlights the non-commutative nature of disability support: while people with few support needs can be legitimately excluded from specialist settings, people with high support needs must not be excluded from the mainstream. Again, [Knowsley](#) provides a list of segregated activities for children with special educational needs and disabilities, explaining that these are the ‘suitable’ places for them and inadvertently implying that universal settings would be unsuitable. In contrast, [Staffordshire](#) tag some entries as part of a ‘core offer’ by which they mean those services paid for by the NHS or local authority. The point here is not to criticise but to illustrate the point that all mapmaking has political and ethical consequences.

Introductions within the directory carry freight too. Rather than suggest that youth activities are about fun, adventure and friendship, [Worcestershire](#) risks scaring parents, discouraging teenagers and deterring community groups with the following worthy goals:

“[groups listed here are] ...reducing children and young people’s vulnerabilities to becoming involved in criminal activity, child criminal exploitation, anti-social behaviour and can assist in providing health routines, peer relationships and develop self-esteem and self-worth.”

The range of community activities that appear in the listing will convey a message too. If the activities are mostly segregated settings, then the directory subtly implies that disabled people should be kept away from other citizens rather than included in ordinary life. For example, the directories for [Bedford](#) and [Essex](#) are aimed at disabled young people, contain few activities open to the public and are dominated by specialist and segregated services. No doubt this is an accidental message rather than an intentional one, but it is unfortunate.

The very existence of the map shifts power and freedoms. Some mapmakers have gone on to regulate community groups and activities by requiring accreditation and encouraging participants to conduct bureaucratic risk assessments. Others may ration the provision of formal services in inverse proportion to the level of social capital in a particular neighbourhood, thus diverting investment away from strong communities. As the power of the map grows, it controls access to information, funding and new members, reframes relationships between community groups, shapes the market, influences interaction between citizen and state and ultimately transforms the nature of the community itself.

Recommendation #5

Ask casual visitors to tell you what they consider to be the underlying message of the map.

Publish or be damned

A community asset map is usually coproduced by people from the widest possible array of sectors in the community, with a real effort put into ensuring that marginalised groups are at the heart of the work. The process can be transformative for the participants as it stirs up their curiosity, celebrates discoveries and captures access solutions. The resulting map is then shared for the following reasons:

- The people who made it together will have built relationships with one another and may want to reconnect at a later date, so the map is a directory of who's who, and a starting point for assets to connect, collaborate and create.
- Seeing the map will help people see their community differently. But if the map is confined to welfare organisations, all the mutual support groups are rendered invisible. If the map is confined to formal organisations, all the individual resources of the community are discounted.
- Anyone in the community may wish to connect with the individuals and organisations that appear on the map, especially those who are engaged in similar or complementary activities.
- Individuals and organisations who do not appear on the map may wish to engage in creating an updated version.
- Seeing the map may help people, including researchers and entrepreneurs, spot patterns and take action to promote what's strong. Comparing versions of the map from different time points reveals how the community is changing.
- Statutory bodies have a duty to provide information about the local community to the local community (see [How to meet your statutory obligations in community mapping](#)).

The term 'publish' is used very broadly here and includes placing a poster in the library, uploading a directory to a website, adding details to an existing directory, posting information from the map on social media, and creating a community newsletter⁶² or booklet. There is considerable variation in the extent to which directories are utilised^{63, 64}. [Dudley](#) has trained volunteers from a wide variety of organisations who staff 30 information points across the borough to support access to the directory while [Bradford](#) provides its information via a Directory and also via a newsletter⁶⁵, annual reports⁶⁶, Facebook⁶⁷, Twitter⁶⁸, Instagram⁶⁹ and Youtube. [Kensington & Chelsea](#) have created a phone app for the Local Offer. [Wirral](#) arranged a large launch event to advertise its redesigned SEND Local Offer website, with live performances and workshops, information and a sensory space, while Ealing produced a [postcard](#) with short, clear messages and [Haringey](#) publish a monthly blog.

Recommendation #6

Before you start collecting anything, decide what will be published – a strategy, anonymised stories or contact details? A directory or a map? Printed matter or online resources?

Whilst Community Asset Mapping has grown out of movements that focus on things going right rather than things going wrong, it is reasonable to consider risks. In short, they are:

- Some individuals and organisations do not want to be found, so refuges and safe houses should not appear, while persons who need to hide from ex-lovers, stalkers and the media need to be able to maintain their privacy. Other gatherings such as a family celebration or private party have a defined membership and are not open to the public.
- Criminals and anyone running a corrosive campaign could use the information in the map to advance their cause. Community maps have been abused to target bombs, spy on terrorists and write salacious news reports.
- Commercial organisations could use the map to locate valuable assets that they want to exploit or add information from it to their marketing database. It is not always easy to distinguish reasonable advertising that helps the economy from unwanted pestering. [Rossendale](#) limit their directory to not-for-profit groups and organisations. Some copyright arrangements permit material to be shared as long as the use it is put to is non-commercial⁷⁰, while the UK government supports use in both commercial and non-commercial endeavours⁷¹. Some mappers, of course, wish to strengthen all facets of community life, including its economic and entrepreneurial activities. Suffolk has a list of criteria defining social benefit under which certain for-profit organisations⁷² may be included in the directory.
- Aggressive and ambitious community organisations could use the map to persuade volunteers and participants to defect from their current projects and join them, stripping human resources from less appealing places. Or cash-strapped service agencies could use the map to find out which areas are well supported by community initiatives and cut provision in those localities⁷³.
- Searchers may wrongly assume that appearance on the map indicates that the activity has been inspected and found to meet performance standards, leading to disappointment and perhaps litigation⁷⁴.
- People who want to regulate the community would remove from the map any activity that fails to meet a designated performance standard.
- More broadly, some directories filter content to ensure entries serve a particular agenda, such as [Shropshire](#), which welcomes information from groups that promote ‘healthy, safe and confident’ living, while [Brent](#) reserves the right to remove obscene, offensive, abusive or racist material along with anything which incites or promotes hatred or intolerance of any group or individual and Herefordshire advise those submitting content to ensure that they do not submit libellous content⁷⁵.
- Some directories aim to remove confusing and contradictory information⁷⁶ so that inquirers are not discouraged from connecting with the organisation.

People who could provide information for the map are sometimes reluctant to do so. This is explored in more detail in [How to name your dragon - identifying the threats to community mapmaking](#).

Recommendation #7

Review the potential for harm that may be caused by publishing your community asset map or directory.

¹ Asset-based approaches have arisen from a number of sources, such as Antonovsky (salutogenesis), Seligman (positive psychology), Wolfensberger (social role valorisation), Cooperrider (appreciative inquiry) and others.

² See, for example, [How to create an online map of community assets - MyCommunity](#). Also NICE guideline (NG44) [Community engagement: improving health and wellbeing and reducing health inequalities](#)

Published: 04 March 2016, para 1.4.2.

³ See, for example, a 2022 review of the work in 8 local authorities at [South research V10 \(website-files.com\)](#)

⁴ Efforts are underway to promote the use of a consistent 'data standard' to community mapping information so that it can be easily transferred from one online setting to another – achieving the goal known as interoperability. [Open Referral UK](#) are especially eager to see this adopted by the human services sector (local authorities, health, housing and voluntary services). Their strategic approach starts with this sector and views community information beyond this field as a potential future goal, well beyond reach at present.

⁵ White S & Foale K (2023) Making a place for technology in communities: PlaceCal and the capabilities approach, *Information, Communication & Society*, 26:6, 1067-1086, DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2020.1767173.

⁶ In the NHS Long Term plan announced in January 2019, NHS England committed to employing 1,000 social prescribing link workers. NHS Digital reported that by March 2021, 1,265 whole time equivalent social prescribing link workers were employed as part of the General Practice Workforce. See <https://arc-gm.nihr.ac.uk/news/blog/BLOG-social-prescribing-link>. The role of Social Prescribing Link Workers is described at [NHS England » Workforce development framework: social prescribing link workers](#). For one account that shows the link between community directories and social prescribing, see Reinhardt G, Vidovic D, Radulescu N, Wotherspoon N (2023). *Toolkit for Social Prescribing: Lessons and Recommendations from a Cross-Sectoral International Social Prescribing Project*. University of Essex Connected Communities project. A small study of the impact of social prescribing for autistic people and people with learning disabilities is reported at [Building-Bridges Social-Prescribing-with-people-with-learning-disabilities-and-autistic-people report 2023-08-18-053206_goyp.pdf \(ndti.org.uk\)](#).

⁷ In June 2023, Professor Eiman Kanjo of Nottingham Trent University received approval for an outline bid for the development of an *Artificial Intelligence Centre for Doctoral Training in Social Prescribing and Social Care*. See also Gordon K, Gordon L, Basu AP (2023) Social prescribing for children and young people with neurodisability and their families initiated in a hospital setting: a systematic review *BMJ Open*; 13:e078097. doi: 10.1136/bmjopen-2023-078097.

⁸ One local UK Council suggests that a diverse group of stakeholders in a community create the asset map and then go and find a community organisation willing to publish it on their website. No further advice is given regarding publication issues. See Preston City Council (2016) *The Community Mapping Toolkit*. [Community-Mapping-Toolkit.pdf \(bettercarenetwork.org\)](#). An inquiry was placed on the ABCD In Action forum on 21/04/2023 and produced no responses.

⁹ **Everyone on List of SEND Local Offer websites has been approached, along with the following:** ABCD Forum (22/04/2023), ABCD Institute (29/04/2023), Rita Agdai (02/05/2023), Charlotte Bennett, Christian Blickem (02/05/2023 via Researchgate), Matthew Bushell (20/06/2023), Care Leavers Local Offer (10/10/2023), Neil Chadborn (30/06/2023), Sherry Clark (08/09/2023), Richard Clinton (20/06/2023), Coproduction Collective (03/05/2023), Suzy Dion (20/06/2023), Eric Knows (16/06/2023), Facebook ABCD in Action (23/04/2023), Mike Frith (16/06/2023), Future NHS Collaboration Platform (01/05/2023), Katie Graham (01/05/2023), Salah Hamad, IVAR (05/10/2023), Jeder, Heather Keam (26/05/2023), Jaki King (21/09/2023), Katherine Limbach (19/06/2023), Liam Maclure (30/04/2023), Local Government Association (08/09/2023), Locality (08/09/2023), MYcommunity (12/05/2023), NAFIS (10/10/2023), NDTi Associates (21/04/2023), NDTi staff (24/04/2023), New Economics Foundation (08/09/2023), Taiwo Christianah Omodan (29/04/2023), Sarah Paine (19/06/2023), Gerlinde Pilkington (02/05/2023), Smirla Ramos (01/05/2023), Researchgate (03/05/2023), Nicole Ruggiano (30/04/2023), Declan Ryan (20/06/2023), Katie Sanders (20/06/2023), Hannu Stewart

(21/09/2023), Graeme Stuart (29/04/2023), Yolanda Suarez-Balcazar (01/05/2023), Twitter (03/05/2023), Dragana Vidovic (06/09/2023), Susie Walker (11/09/2023). **Responses have been gratefully received from Basil Acock, Charlotte Bennett, Stacey Bisson, Helen Bown, Charla Burnett, Mary Busk, Viola Cassetti, Paddy Chandler, Loreen Chikwira, Liz Connick, Stephanie Denning, Peter Ellis, Kim Foale, Lynn Ford, Ivis Garcia, Paul Gutherson, John Hamerlinck, Mike Hattersley, Here2help team, Trevor Hopkins, Niccola Hutchinson-Pascal, Heather Keam, Alex Rucke Keene, Jaki King, Chris Lane, Vanessa Lindsey, Nick Malherbe, Jackie Martin-Kerry, Naomi Matthews, Kathy Melling, [National Cyber Security Centre](#), Alexandra Norman, Sam Howey Nunn, Michael Patrick, Cormac Russell, Ruthe Sawyer, David Smart, Naiema Taliep, Gordon Thorn, Lewis Tracy-Winson, Emma Walker, Keith Walker, Amy Walton and Deb Wisnieski. **Any remaining errors and omissions in this paper remain the sole responsibility of the author.****

¹⁰ Fox, J., K. Suryanata, and P. Hershock (Eds) (2005). *Mapping Communities: Ethics, Values, Practice*. Honolulu: East-West Center.

¹¹ This augments formal elder care settings by adding details of naturally occurring retirement communities – see [Naturally Occurring Retirement Communities \(NORCs\) across Halton, Ontario. - Google My Maps](#).

¹² For an example of maps derived from big data, see [Community Data Platform - Demo - YouTube](#).

¹³ White KB, Resmondo ZN, J'Aime CJ, Pryor BN. Community-Based Asset Security: A Scoping Review. *Progress in Community Health Partnerships: Research, Education, and Action*. 2022;16(1):135-51.

¹⁴ Kolavalli worked with entrepreneurs to publish a list of businesses which was called a 'Community Directory' – see Kolavalli, C (2023), *Community-Engaged Entrepreneurship Research Methodologies to Advance Equity and Inclusion* (January 1). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4345038> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4345038>

¹⁵ Putnam RD (2000) *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon and Schuster.

¹⁶ Ivis Garcia, personal communication June 2023.

¹⁷ Foot J & Hopkins T (2010) *A glass half-full: how an asset approach can improve community health and well-being*. Great Britain improvement and development agency; 2010.

¹⁸ This is reminiscent of the approach taken in Appreciative Inquiry when people are invited to recall a moment when community was at its most beautiful, and then reflect on how such moments can occur more often. See Cooperrider D & Whitney D (2005). *Appreciative Inquiry* (1st ed.). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Some directories (e.g. [Trafford](#)) provide something of a retrospective view by including a 'last checked' date and allowing old entries to remain in place if not superseded. [Gloucestershire](#) updated 1336 of its 1347 entries in the 12 months to July 2022.

¹⁹ For example, the [Hillingdon Family Service Directory](#) is clearly badged as a 'care and support directory' makes no attempt to reach beyond specialist, segregated provision by listing universal community groups and activities. They do point to the [Discover Hillingdon](#) directory, which promotes physical activities.

²⁰ Email from sunderlandinformationpoint@sunderland.gov.uk, September 2023.

²¹ Kretzmann J & McKnight J (1993). *Building communities from the inside out: A path toward finding and mobilizing a community's assets* (3rd ed.). Chicago, IL: ACTA Publications. ISBN 978-0-87946-108-9.

²² Before the internet was available, McKnight's team used 6 methods to find neighbourhood associations in the Logan Square neighbourhood of Chicago (population: 85,000). Just 12 of the 575 associations were found by checking the directory of organisations at the local library. The 6 methods were (1) phone book; (2) asking religious leaders; (3) neighbourhood leaders; (4) the local library's Directory of Associations; (5) newspapers; (6) asking individuals. See O'Connell M (1988). *Getting Connected: How to Find Out about Groups and Organizations in Your Neighborhoods*. Publications Department, Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University - [Getting Connected 1988.pdf \(depaul.edu\)](#)

²³ See [NHS England » Workforce development framework: social prescribing link workers](#).

²⁴ Others active in promoting asset mapping include [Citizen Network](#) and [Action Network](#) and the [National Association of Family Information Services](#). The [National Network of Parent Carer Forums](#) may also be interested and regional groups such as the North West SEND Regional Network that produces occasional newsletters (contact Dr Cathy Hamer on cwh01@hotmail.co.uk).

²⁵ In a convenience sample of 60 community directories related to the SEND Local Offer, 4 listed more than 100 churches and another 7 listed 20-100 churches in their area. Most returns from a search using the keyword 'church' were schools or events that may meet in a church hall, but where a brief glance did not

suggest the obvious presence of an active church. A similar test could be made using any other civic institution that has multiple, widespread and diverse expressions across all English communities.

²⁶ For example, [Newcastle](#) has published a 'support directory' but has no explanation of its purpose, function or relationship with other directories, such as the [Newcastle International Directory](#), [Newcastle Business Directory](#), [Community Buildings](#), [Community Projects](#), and [Newcastle What's On](#).

²⁷ Some local authorities prefer the term 'care experienced' to care leaver. An algorithm is available to establish if the young person is entitled to support – see [Am I a care leaver? - Coram Voice](#).

²⁸ Well Aware list the CQC Directory and national lists of counsellors and life coaches.

²⁹ For example, [Euan's Guide](#) consists of access reviews written by disabled people for disabled people and lists over 10,000 sites. [AccessAble](#) reviews wheelchair access.

³⁰ [Hampshire's Short Breaks Team](#) issue a Gateway Card to eligible persons and publish a list of leisure attractions where showing the card triggers a discount in the admission fee. [Doncaster](#) lists three discount cards.

³¹ See Williams K & Durrance J (2010) "Community informatics" Encyclopaedia of Library and Information Services Third Edition. DOI: 10.1081/E-ELIS3-120034669.

³² An example is the [Hampshire connect4communities Directory](#) funded by the Department of Work and Pensions Household Support Fund.

³³ The role of the Social Prescriber includes finding out what matters to the person and supporting them to problem solve and move towards their goals. As such, only a small aspect of their job may involve signposting them to community groups and activities. A particular kind of social prescribing is conducted online and is being investigated in 2024 as 'digital social prescribing'. A team led by Professor Ian Tucker in partnership with the Social Prescribing Network is carrying out a survey to find out if it is helpful to people experiencing mental health issues. Contact: i.tucker@uel.ac.uk. An alternative explanation of the role of Social Prescribers was offered by Dan Hopewell (op cit), "Social prescribing link workers support clients with 'what matters to them' (them being the client, and not the doctor who made the referral, or the link worker). The agenda is totally set by the client. In London at present the 'what matters to you' needs of clients coming through social prescribing are mainly around support for housing, welfare benefits claims, unmanageable debt, food and fuel poverty. Directories (and onward referrals) are definitely not limited to 'therapeutic activities' and I would estimate that in London referrals to such activities form well under 25% of onward referrals. Social prescribing is definitely not about only meeting a defined health or social care need, and it is very odd that a social prescribing link worker should think that to be the case.

³⁴ For example, see [Visit Brighton](#).

³⁵ Bloom describes the information provided by human services as 'incomplete, fragmented and confused' – see Bloom G 'Averting tragedy of the Resource Directory anti-Commons: A practical approach to open data infrastructure for health, human and social services', Chap 4 in Foster SR & Swiney CF (eds) (2023) *The Cambridge Handbook of Commons Research Innovations* Oxford: Oxford University Press

³⁶ Butler, A, Nhung V & Watson A (2017) *Childcare for all: the role of the Local Offer*. Family & Childcare Trust. Available at [Mapping report 2017.pdf](#)

³⁷ For an example of this kind of crowdsourced community mapping, see [Murmurations - Collaborative Mapping](#).

³⁸ Arnstein SR (1969) A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of planners*. July 1;35(4):216-24.

³⁹ [Microsoft Word - Document1 \(openobjects.com\)](#)

⁴⁰ Personal communication from Dan Hopewell, Director of Knowledge and Innovation at the London Region for Social Prescribing, 3 Jan 2024. Tamara Umasankar, Digital Communications Officer at the National Academy for Social Prescribing suggested the NHS [Future Collaboration Platform](#).

⁴¹ For an example of mapmaking with population-based demographic information, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fwCSRUFUIw>.

⁴² See this example for Nottingham, UK.

⁴³ See [ABCD Institute | DePaul University, Chicago](#).

⁴⁴ For an example, see [What makes Chinatown Chinatown? Talking about change in Washington, D.C. \(arcgis.com\)](#)

⁴⁵ See [Search results | Norfolk Community Directory](#). The count was 4427 on 05/05/2023.

⁴⁶ The SEND Code of Practice explains that the Local Offer must include assets that benefit local people, even if the network or agency headquarters is based elsewhere, or if local people benefit from it by stepping outside the local area to engage with them. See Department for Education & Department for Health (2014, last updated 2020) *Special educational needs and disability code of practice: 0 to 25 years*. Paragraph 4.4. For example, the SEND Local Offer Directory for the London Borough of Merton includes [Disneyland Paris](#).

⁴⁷ See some examples of personal maps at [12 Personal Maps Capture Covid Life Around the World - Bloomberg](#).

⁴⁸ Several local authorities appear to have more than one community directory, such as Kirklees, where the [Livewell Directory](#) and the [Council Directory](#) co-exist, with neither referring to the existence of the other. Norfolk is served by the local authority's [Community Directory](#) and the Church of England's [Brightmap](#).

⁴⁹ Malcolm Gladwell described people who had a huge social networks and sufficient goodwill to perform introductions as 'Connectors'. Gladwell M (2006) *The tipping point*.

⁵⁰ For example, the [AskLion](#) Directory includes services but not communities. When searched in June 2023, the [Plymouth](#) Directory listed just five churches, in contrast to Wikipedia which listed 113.

⁵¹ [Bournemouth, Christchurch and Poole Council](#) uses a heading 'community' on its website. In a vivid example of deficit thinking, this leads to a page that offers resources on unauthorised encampments, domestic abuse, crime and disorder, antisocial behaviour, public spaces protection orders and remedies for littering and flytipping. More positive items appear towards the foot of the page.

⁵² The literature on community asset mapping suggests a complex relationship between asset and deficit thinking. Beaulieu (2002) sees asset mapping as a vital precursor to needs assessment, so that the resources of the community can be kept in mind when considering how to address problems. In contrast, Brown & Stalker merge asset and need data to create a 'full picture'. A reframing approach is described by Foot & Hopkins (2010, op cit) where a smoking reduction initiative enhanced the influence of non-smokers (assets) rather than concentrating on quitters (deficits). See Beaulieu LJ (2002) *Mapping the Assets of Your Community: A Key Component for Building Local Capacity*. Also Brown ME & Stalker KC (2020) Consensus Organizing and Community-Based Participatory Research to Address Social-Structural Disparities and Promote Health Equity: The Hope Zone Case Study. *Family & Community Health* 43(3) pp 213-220, July/September. DOI: 10.1097/FCH.000000000000258.

⁵³ Heather Keam wrote 'asset mapping is not data' (personal communication, June 2023).

⁵⁴ While an ABCD asset map of a single block is created by individuals, a large area will be mapped by agencies, such as in Derbyshire where 13 organisations maintain the [map](#).

⁵⁵ Figyes Karinthy wrote a short story positing that everyone in the world is connected to everyone else by no more than six links formed of personal acquaintance. See Karinthy F (1929) "Chain-links." *Everything is different*. pp21-26.

⁵⁶ Costie DP (2022) *Creating Shared Knowledge: An asset based community development project in Hermiston*. The 2016 report [Building stronger communities in East Sussex](#) includes a list of project partners, but no further contact details.

⁵⁷ This is in line with the findings of Luo and colleagues – see Luo Y, Ruggiano N, Bolt D, Witt J-P, Anderson M, Gray J & Jiang Z (2023) Community Asset Mapping in Public Health: A Review of Applications and Approaches, *Social Work in Public Health*, 38:3, 171-181. DOI: 10.1080/19371918.2022.2114568.

⁵⁸ Harley, J. B. (1991). Can there be a cartographic ethics? *Cartographic Perspectives*, 10, 9-16. Also DiBiase D, Goranson C, Harvey F, Wright D (2009) The GIS professional ethics project: Practical ethics education for GIS pros. *Proceedings of the 24th International Cartography Conference* Nov., pp. 1-11.

⁵⁹ Information given by Oliver Sylvester-Bradley during webinar he hosted on 18 Jan 2024.

⁶⁰ [Sutton's criteria for inclusion](#) in its Community Directory admit 'faith-based groups (but not prothletising [sic])'. The criteria are silent regarding political groups or interest groups such as open water swimmers who seek to gain adherents with fervour and promises of a better life!

⁶¹ Under sections 87 and 88 of the Localism Act 2011, the local authority has a duty to publish a list of assets of community value. This is land and buildings that may or may not be owned by the public sector but has value for the local community. Once designated their sale or disposal is more tightly regulated so that the community does not automatically lose access.

⁶² [Middlesbrough](#) invite their Directory readers to sign up to receive a newsletter too.

⁶³ "The Cambridgeshire Directory is currently accessed through more than 76,000 sessions per month (for

comparison, per month the Suffolk InfoLink website is accessed through 74,000 sessions; the Norfolk Community Directory through 10,000 sessions; the Essex Directory of Children and Family Services is downloaded 341 times; and the Hertfordshire Directory receives 11,100 unique page views.)” Brown W, Salter S, Yap KX, Qu C, Robbins M (2022) [How Can We Best Align Partners and Community Assets to Ensure Whole Communities Can Access Opportunities to Enhance Social Mobility?](#) Page 30. [Northamptonshire SEND Local Offer](#) received around 15,000 page views per month in 2021-22 and [East Riding](#) had a similar score of around 15,000 page views per month in 2022. [Telford & Wrekin](#) averaged 8500 page views per month in 2022.

⁶⁴ The Greenwich community directory received 1,101,586 [unique page views](#) in 2021-22 and reports that “things to do” was the fourth most popular category, after ‘education’, ‘early years and childcare’ and ‘care and support services’. By way of comparison, [Nottinghamshire](#) logged 530,798 sessions in the same period with an average of 2.44 pages per session (=1,295,147 page views). Thus Greenwich averaged 3.9 page views per head, while Nottinghamshire averaged 1.6 page views per head of population.

⁶⁵ [East Riding](#) had 3,216 subscribers to its SEND Local Offer newsletter in 2023. [Reading](#) has published a quarterly newsletter since 2013.

⁶⁶ [Cambridgeshire](#), [Central Bedfordshire](#), [Newham](#) and [East Riding](#) have published their annual report on the SEND Local Offer Directory. [Wolverhampton](#) has published several annual reports, with the most recent dated 2020-21.

⁶⁷ Buckinghamshire have an open Facebook page at <https://www.facebook.com/BucksLocalOffer> and a closed Facebook group at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/buckslocalofferandsend>. [Northamptonshire SEND Local Offer](#) has 3,000 Facebook followers.

⁶⁸ Other mapmakers provide information via Twitter, such as [Southwark SEND Local Offer](#). [Northamptonshire SEND Local Offer](#) has 1,200 followers on its Twitter account.

⁶⁹ [Northamptonshire SEND Local Offer](#) has 800 followers on its Instagram account.

⁷⁰ For example, items that are covered by the [Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-NoDerivs License](#) may be used and distributed in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, the use is non-commercial and no modifications or adaptations are made. The Baptist Union assert that “Unauthorized commercial publication or exploitation of text, images or content of this website is specifically prohibited.” See [The Baptist Union of Great Britain : Copyright Statement](#).

⁷¹ See [Open Government Licence \(nationalarchives.gov.uk\)](#).

⁷² Commercial or profit-making organisations may be listed on Suffolk InfoLink if they satisfy the following criteria: (i) they are community based or represent a significant contribution to their local community; (ii) they provide goods, activities or services that help people to maintain their independence, encourage healthy lifestyles and promote well-being; (iii) they offer opportunities to participate in cultural activities. They name and exclude organisations whose primary business relates to particular financial products such as insurance policies, debt consolidation loans and equity release schemes.

⁷³ Foot J (2012) *What makes us healthy. The asset approach in practice: evidence, action, evaluation*.

⁷⁴ [Wigan](#)’s directory includes the following statement in its disclaimer, ‘We offer an impartial service and we cannot recommend or endorse any providers listed.’

⁷⁵ Herefordshire’s [Talk Community Directory](#) advise “Please take care not to make libellous statements. Under UK law, this means a statement that lowers the reputation of a person or organisation in the eyes of a reasonable person.”

⁷⁶ [Barking & Dagenham](#) have a directory as part of their Family Information Service, but a [sitewide search](#) uncovers another listing that contains quite different addresses and incomprehensible codes. It turns out that inhouse two-letter codes providing unique identifiers for electoral purposes have found their way on to this public list.