Commentary on the Concepts and Aims Incorporated in a Proposed Special Survey of Poverty in the United Kingdom.

This note supplements a more general statement made previously of the concepts, aims and methods of a proposed special survey to be carried out in the United Kingdom in 1969. For convenience and clarity it takes the form of a commentary on the main questionnaire to be used as the basis for the survey. This questionnaire will be similar in many respects to that used in the 1968 general survey. This questionnaire itself may be consulted if some matters described below are unclear. Our normal procedure is to interview both the housewife and each earner in the household, usually separately but sometimes together. The earner has to be consulted so that reliable information may be obtained about employment, occupational facilities and income - and sometimes other matters too. The questionnaire is novel in design and can accommodate both sets of answers. We have found that if our objects are to be achieved the average household requires two interviews.

Section I: Housing and Living Facilities

1. Household. The first object of this section is to establish more carefully than is usual the exact composition of the household, taking particular account of visitors and members of the household who may be temporarily or indefinitely away, such as men working at sea or in the transport services. In classifying households we have adopted a form of coding which will allow us to distinguish:

(a) numbers of income units

(b) numbers of children and adults

(c) family structure in a sociological sense (nuclear, depleted nuclear and extended families, distinguished also according to number of generations) and

(d) special characteristics (as for example indicated by the membership of "minority" households - fatherless families, large families, immigrant families, households containing a sick or disabled child or adult, and so on.)

The definition of household is based on common housekeeping and eating some meals together. Counted as members are those away but expected back after an absence of thirteen weeks. Temporary residents (staying less than thirteen weeks) are excluded. Enquiry will be made about absent but attached household members (e.g. in hospital, armed forces, boarding education, children's homes, prison, approved schools, etc.). Careful enquiry will also be made on relationships to establish income unit membership, step-children, boarding lodgers, number of generations represented etc. for careful classification of household type. Enquiry will be made about those born outside the U.K. (and if so where), to identify immigrants. Interviewers will be asked to code persons who are non-white. Age, sex and mental status of each household member will, of course, be ascertained.

2. Overcrowding. The second object of this section is to obtain new as well as established measures of overcrowding. Enquiries about the number of rooms, distinguishing kitchens large enough for the household to eat in, rooms actually used for sleeping and rooms usually heated during winter evenings, when used in conjunction with household composition will enable us to develop and compare several different measures of overcrowding:-

(a) The bedroom standard.

Count all rooms except kitchen (unless large enough to eat in).
Each married couple - 1 room
Each person over 21 - 1 room
Each person under 21 - ½ room providing persons 10 and over can only be paired with same sex
Overcrowding = deficient of one or more rooms

Express as scale
0 Deficient 2 or more rooms
1 Deficient 1 room
2 Just enough space
3 Surplus 1 room
4 Surplus 2 rooms
5 Surplus 3 or more rooms

(b) Ratio of persons per room (census)

Persons per room as defined above
Overcrowding = over 1½ persons per room
Express as scale
0 Over 1½ persons per room
1 Over 1 and up to 1.5
2 Over 0.75 and up to 1.0
3 0.15 and up to 0.75
4 Less than 0.5

(c) Actual overcrowding

(i) Count number of bedrooms
(ii) Allocate rooms as in (a) above
Deduct (ii) from (i)

Examine No. of rooms <u>not</u> used for sleeping in

Scale as follows

0 Kitchen slept in <u>and</u> deficient one or more bedrooms by bedroom standard.
1 Kitchen slept in, <u>no</u> deficiency of bedrooms by bedroom standard.
3 No room other than a kitchen not used for sleeping in and deficient of one or more bedrooms.
4 No room other than kitchen not used for sleeping in but no deficiency of bedrooms.
5 One room other than kitchen not slept in but deficient of one or more bedrooms
6 One room other than kitchen not slept in but no deficiency of bedrooms.
7 As in 6 but surplus of 1 bedroom or other room.
8 As in 6 but surplus of 2 rooms.
9 As in 6 but surplus of 3 rooms.

We will compare the results of applying various scales. The first two can be used for checks with census and survey data. The drawback of (a) the crude bedroom standard is that it makes no allowance for:

(i) the conditions of rooms e.g. a room may be too damp to use
(ii) the size of rooms. It may be impossible to put <u>two</u> persons of 20 of the same sex in one room
(iii) the priorities and needs as seen by the household.

The census standard (b) has similar disadvantages. Moreover it is very crude: 60% of households fall between ½ and 1 person per room.

<u>Actual overcrowding</u> is meant to represent an improvement which takes more account of the actual preferences and problems of the users and ascertains whether, for example, cooking and sleeping occur in the same room.

3. <u>Household Amenities</u>. The third object of this section is to obtain an index of amenities. The amenities we will ask about are:-

(a) Electricity power/light
(b) W.C.(sole/shared)
(c) Sink or basin plus tap(sole/shared)
(d) Bath or shower (sole/shared,) with/without hot water
(e) Cooker (sole/shared,) gas/electric/solid fuel
(f) Yard/garden (sole/shared/size.)

These data will be analysed

(i) by giving weights and adding up scores (2 = none, 1 = shared 0 = exclusive)
(ii) by a priority grading as follows:-

A. Without main amenity	1.	No sink or basin
	2.	Sink or basin but no W.C. and no cooker
	3.	Sink or basin but no W.C. <u>or</u> no cooker
B. Sharing main amenity	4.	Sink, W.C. and cooker, but all shared
	5.	Sink, W.C. and cooker, but two shared
	6.	Sink, W.C. and cooker, but one shared
C. Bath lacking or shared		
	7.	Sink, W.C. and cooker exclusive use, but no bath
	8.	Sink, W.C. and cooker and bath exclusive use, but no electricity
D. Most basic amenities	9.	Sink, W. C. and cooker and bath exclusive use, but electric light not power
	10.	Sink, W.C. and cooker and bath exclusive use, both light and power.

<u>4. Housing Equipment</u> A further object is to establish the "adequacy" of the equipment of the home, in relation to family composition and the equipment of the majority of households. For this purpose we have developed a list of twelve mostly durable possessions - television, record player, radio, refrigerator, washing machine, vacuum cleaner, telephone, central heating, upholstered arm-chairs or easy chairs and carpet - which we believe can serve as a useful indicator.

<u>5. Housing Standard</u> We will also seek a crude indication of housing defects. We will prompt with a list of possible defects and instruct interviewers to probe about their reality and extent and code accordingly.

<u>6. Housing Satisfaction</u> Another object is to examine <u>subjective</u> deprivation and compare it with objective deprivation in relation both to amenities and environment. We will explore subjective attitudes to housing to ascertain whether households think they are overcrowded and what amenities they say they positively would wish to have which they have not got. This goes beyond our present survey. From this data it may be possible to test and redesign the priority grading of amenities.

The home environment we will explore subjective feelings about the neighbourhood and collect facts about leisure space. In the case of households with children we will ask where each child plays (indoors and outdoors) and whether it is safe (from traffic), can be reached by older children safely and unaccompanied and in the case of indoor play spaces whether noisy play annoys neighbours (e.g. flats versus houses, terraced versus detached).

Section II. Employment

This section will identify those at work last week and during the last year. The number of hours worked last week will be ascertained as also the reasons for not working or for working only part-time. Full-time work is defined as 30 hours work or more per week. Occupation and industry will be ascertained to provide the Registrar Generals, Social classifications and for distinguishing between manual and non-manual in Class III and for use in conjunction with data on low earnings for full-time work. Persons claiming to be unemployed will be questioned about steps taken in search for work.

A novel feature of the employment section will be questions to ascertain the number of weeks off work during the past year by cause. This has proved practicable in our present study. We are especially interested to ascertain how unemployment, sickness, unpaid 'holidays' for family reasons (e.g. deputising for housewife, ill or confined) vary by social class, level of earnings when in work etc. This 'work' record is particularly useful for building up annual income later in the questionnaire.

We will also explore when job last changed, how present job acquired, and ask about apprenticeships, years of education, retraining and rehabilitation. We are especially interested to explore the process by which increasing disability affects types of employment and level of earnings.

Section III. The Occupational Environment

This experimental section may or may not be retained depending on results from our present work. We are interested in facilities provided at work for comparisons by levels of earnings, type of occupation, social class etc. The problem is to find whether a sufficiently large proportion of employees in different types of occupation have certain working facilities in common.

The questions we are asking cover the following for the purpose of trying to develop an indicator:-

	Mainly outdoor workers	Indoor workers
1.	Dry and warm place to shelter	Sufficient heat in winter
2.	Tea or coffee provided or available	Tea or Coffee
3.	W.C. provided by employer	W.C.
4.	Washing facilities	Washing facilities
5.	Place to eat	Place to eat
6.	Cupboard or locker (for coat and personal possessions)	Cupboard or locker (Coat)
7.	First aid box	First aid box
8.	Telephone calls (can be made and received)	Telephone calls
9.		Personal possessions (place to lock)
10.		Individually adjustable lighting.

9 and 10 are only asked of indoor workers

No questions are asked of self employed
those with different places of work
those in transport or travelling occupations

The data will be analysed in two ways for comparison:-

(a) By Crude Scores

Good facilities - Having 7 or all 8 of items if working outdoors or 9 or all 10 of items if working indoors.

Fairly good facilities - Having 6 (outdoors) or 8 (indoors).

Adequate facilities - Having 5 (outdoors) or 7 (indoors).

Inadequate - Having 3 or 4 (outdoors) or 5 or 6 (indoors).

Poor facilities - Having less than 3 (outdoors) or less than 5 (indoors).

(b) By a priority grading

0. Lacking W.C., washing facilities, shelter or warmth, first aid box.
1. Lacking three of above.
2. Lacking two of above.
3. Lacking one of above.
4. With all four in 0 no locker, no place to eat.
5. With all four in 0 but either no locker, or no place to eat.
6. With all four in 0 and with locker and place to eat but no tea, no telephone calls.
7. With all four in 0 and with locker and place to eat but without either tea or telephone calls.
8. With all facilities mentioned above.

Sections IV and V. Cash Incomes and Assets. These sections comprise the centrepiece of the questionnaire.

1. Total Disposable Resources. The major aim is to operationalise the concept of resources so that we may get behind the rather superficial and increasingly inadequate concept of cash income, so as to document and understand variations in real standards of living. It should be noted that occupational and government benefits in kind (and in the form of services) account for a very large share of some household' living standards.

We use the term resources to cover the following:-

1. Cash Income
2. Value of garden produce
3. Gifts from relatives in kind (holidays etc.)
4. Current occupational benefits (meal vouchers, cheap or free meals, free or reduced rent, housing from employer and other employer subsidies to current standard of living.
5. Occupational 'insurance' (sick pay, occupational pensions)
6. Government benefits in kind (e.g. uniform grants)
7. Assets (savings of all kinds, cars, consumer durables, etc.)

A major aspect of our analysis and report will be to explore the importanceof an interrelationship between these major types of resources. In the attempt to avoid understatement of incomes, assets, etc. respondents will be asked about almost every possible type and almost every possible source of income. We are convinced that this method obtains much better results than the less complete prompting which is generally used to ascertain income. Immense care will also be taken to piece together the true tax payment picture (going beyond,in this respect, the questions included in the present questionnaire). Similarly we will obtain as much information as possible, again by specific prompting, about fringe benefits, gifts from relatives, etc. Examplesof this approach will be found in Sections III and VIII of the present questionnaire.

In the case of cash income we will ask (and are asking in our present survey) not only for last week's income but for last year's income. The latter is built up partly by careful use of the work record to prompt for receipts of social security benefits, sick pay, pensions, etc., and partly by special attention to variations in earnings (job changes, bonuses, variations in hours worked etc.) This makes it possible to find whether families who were below a poverty line last week were also below it last year on average. We are also trying to explore the worst week during the last year (sickness, unemployment, short-time or basic wages).

The data will be collected in such a way as to make possible analysis of cash income by individual, by income unit and by household. Individual income before tax for full-time work will enable us to identify low wage occupations and industries. We are particularly interested in discovering more about the characteristics of low-paid earners and their households. Individual income after deductions will enable us to study how far married women's work keeps families above the 'poverty line' and how far a household is statistically above the 'poverty line' while certain income units (parents plus dependent children but excluding children at work or retired income units) within the household are below it. Analysis by income unit makes it possible to see how many income units are eligible for supplementary benefit but/are not claiming it. The Supplementary Benefits Commission have co-operated with us in producing an eligibility assessment procedure which can be used in conjunction with our existing questionnaire.

2. Poverty At the first stage our analyses of the distribution of resources and of 'poverty' will be made in terms of:

Income less tax and other compulsory deductions = Gross disposable income

less travel to work cost and work expenses = Net disposable income

less housing cost (rates, rent or mortgage and insurance, notional or actual alterations, decorations and repairs).

(a) This will allow poverty to be measured according to conventional standards, i.e. Supplementary Benefit Levels. For comparisons with Supplementary Benefit Level we will follow the Ministry of Social Security's "Circumstances of Families" report and adopt the following practices:-

(1) Allow capital as well as interest on mortgage.

(2) Allow no disregards

(3) Ignore voluntary payments by relatives except husband's voluntary payment

(4) Ignore income in kind and non-disposable income. It could be argued that luncheon vouchers should not be ignored. But meals out are in part an expense of going to work and some employees receive free or subsidised meals.

(5) Count income from capital and ignore the capital itself.

(6) Ignore any right to discretionary additions.

(7) Allot rent according to S.B.C. regulations (see S.B. eligibility form).

(8) Deduct actual expenditure on insurance and repairs rather than use the S.B.C. standard allowances.

In deciding whether a family is at the S.B.C. level of living by the above procedure, no account is taken of whether or not the family obtains all the benefits for poor people to which it is entitled - free school meals, free milk, exemption from health charges, uniform grants etc. 'Take up' will be studied as a separate issue. It is assumed that a family is at the S.B.C. level of living even if it has all the benefits to which it is entitled but still has a disposable income equal to the S.B.C. scales. Calculations might be made to show the cash value of all benefits for the poor which were not claimed.

(b) It will allow analyses of the dispersion from the mean within each major type of household. These will be based on Net Disposable Income less housing cost. Numbers should be sufficient for analysis of the following types of household:-

one adult pensioner (65 man 60 women)
one adult non pensioner
two adults non pensioner
two adults one or more pensioner
married couple + 1 child
2 children
3 children
three adults
woman plus one child (of interest even though numbers are very small).

In each case households will be compared with the mean for their household type. Some analyses according to age of the adults and according to the generation structure of the household will also be possible.

(c) It will further allow analyses of dispersion from average levels of cash income. The problem here is to find ratios for relating the consumption of different household members. Provisionally it is proposed to use the ratios developed by Leonard Nicholson from his analysis of the Family Expenditure Survey data (or ratios developed after further pilot work). By using these ratios the net disposable income (less housing cost) of households of varying composition can be expressed as the equivalent net disposable income for a one adult household. It is then possible to calculate the mean of the resultant notional one-adult households and calcualate dispersions from this mean.

At the second stage we would hope to relate these three measures of dispersion of income to other major types of resources listed above - particularly assets, occupational benefits and government benefits. Each major type is defined operationally and is represented in particular sections of the questionnaire. We propose two methods of showing the relationship between income as defined and other resources - by converting the latter into equivalent cash incomes (there are alternative ways of doing this, the advantages and disadvantages of which we are currently exploring); and by rank analysis. The latter might be handled in different ways. At the crudest it seems likely that a five-fold rank distribution of different resources as a percentage of the mean (say, 50 per cent and over, 25-49 per cent, plus or minus 24 per cent, minus 25 to minus 49 per cent, and minus 50 per cent or more) would permit interesting preliminary analyses of <u>rank disequilibrium</u>.

Indeed, we believe that an application of the concept of <u>total rank</u> in relation to our broad concept of <u>resources</u> will permit us to make a new, if tentative approach to stratification theory (related in some ways to Lenski's and Landecker's work on status crystallisation and Galtung's work on social ranking.) It seems to us important theoretically to relate poverty systematically (and different groups among the poor) to social stratification. Not only will it be feasible to make descriptive statements about persons and families, say, with no assets who nonetheless have substantial cash incomes and vice-versa, but we should be able to justify a distinction between "total" and "partial" poverty. Thus some people will be poor in respect of each type of resource, though others may be poor only in respect of one type.

At the third and final stage we would hope to develop a measure of poverty based on total disposable resources and the concept of deprivation. A pilot survey of 200 households that we carried out in the autumn of 1967 was too small (in terms of different types of household) to allow this approach to be properly worked out and we recognise that it is still in the exploratory stage. We are in effect proposing to redefine a poverty "line" by operationalising a concept of deprivation. This is further discussed below under Section IX.

Section VI Health and Disability

The primary aim of this section is to discover and measure the numbers of persons who are moderately or severely disabled so that we can assess their living standards. Our central conception of disability is limitation of capacity to undertake ordinary personal, household and social activities, rather than limitation of capacity to work. This concept has been operationalised in a series of national, cross-national and local research studies of old and disabled persons over the past ten years, and has been the subject of intensive pilot work in the past two years by Miss Sally Sainsbury, under our supervision. She has undertaken detailed inquiries among registered disabled persons, mentally handicapped persons and persons randomly selected from an urban population, the results of which have been prepared for publication. In developing our questions valuable advice has also been obtained from Professor Walter Holland of St. Thomas' Hospital, London.

The main instrument is an incapacity index, built up by asking of each individual in the household a series of 9 carefully selected questions about their capacities, these being: to run to catch a bus, negotiate stairs, remove a jug from an overhead shelf, wash down, tie a knot in string, cut toenails, shop and carry a basket of shopping, undertake heavy housework and prepare a hot meal. Depending on whether the individual is able to undertake these activities without difficulty, only with difficulty or not at all, a "score" is built up which crudely reflects the degree of his incapacity. This index will be qualified in application by the use of the results of asking a supplementary series of questions about illness, disabling conditions, deafness and blindness and so on, some of which indicate whether there are restrictions on the capacity for social communication.

Section VII Social Services

The receipt or use of the following benefits or services will be ascertained:-

Welfare Milk
Welfare Clinics
Type of School
School Meals
School Milk
School Attendance (days absent last term and reason)
School Uniform Grants
Costs of attending school (fares, school outings etc.)
Educational Maintenance Allowances
Higher Education
Hospitals
General Practitioner
District Nurse
Spectacles
Hearing Aids
Home Help
Dentist
Prescriptions

In conjunction with other data in this questionnaire it will be possible to ascertain the extent of "non-take up" by those apparently eligible for free welfare milk, free school meals, uniform grants, educational maintenance allowances, 'free' dentures, spectacles, hearing aids, home helps, rate rebates. It will be possible to improve upon previous estimates of the value to different households of government and local authority benefits.and services. However, we recognise that the data we can collect will not be comprehensive. We hope only to gain estimates for the costlier services.

Section VIII Private Help Given and Received

The aim of this section is first to obtain an estimate of the value of goods and services received in the previous twelve months from persons other than an employer, i.e. relatives and friends, as a contribution to the level of living. The second aim is to discover to what extent households are self-sufficient in the sense of depending upon their own resources, i.e. income and services, and not upon goods and services supplied from outside the household.

All previous experience of asking questions about the receipt of income in kind shows that general questions produce gross under-estimates of such income. The more feasible it is to ask about relationships and exchanges with specific persons or organisations the fuller the information that is likely to be supplied. Because of the wide variation in age, the kind of persons likely to be providing gifts and help will also vary widely. We recognise that the method might be even more detailed than that adopted.

Questions are asked about services performed for others and by others for the household. This is unusual. Yet it is likely that some poor families with a good network of support from friends and relatives are able to maintain a comfortable standard of living. By contrast there are likely to be middle-income families who are rather isolated and therefore stretched to the limit in, say, rearing young children, either because there is little unpaid help available or because they have to pay to get the help they need. The value of unpaid services may be greater than of goods in kind to many families. And trying to give estimates of them will also to some extent reveal the "compensations" of the poor.

The section will also allow a crude classification to be developed of variation in degree of social integration or isolation - which can be used as a variable in analysis. This classification will be made in terms of (i) household composition; (ii) whether relatives or friends are seen daily (and weekly); (iii) whether services and gifts are exchanged, received or given; (iv) whether holidays are spent with others.

Section IX Style of Living and "Deprivation"

In this final section the principal object is to find whether individuals and households do not have certain "normal" kinds of diet and other forms of consumption and do not engage in the activities or participate in the customs "normal" for the majority of the population for reasons of lack of resources rather than of ethnic or community culture. We have been experimenting both in our pilot work and in the present survey with a number of questions about diet, other consumption, and activities which we know are answered positively by a majority of the population. The list of "indicators" includes the following

(a) Diet
  (i) type of breakfast (defined in detail)
  (ii) type and quantity of milk purchased
  (iii) type of lunch eaten on Sunday (defined in detail)
  (iv) number of days in week when fresh meat eaten (defined in detail)
  (v) number of days in week when no cooked meal eaten (again defined in detail)

(b) Other Consumption
  (i) How clothes purchased (second-hand; use of clothing clubs and cheques etc).
  (ii) HOUSEWIFE ONLY - when last had new winter coat.
  (iii) Whether has adequate footwear for wet and fine weather
  (iv) whether has no fire on cold days or goes to bed early for lack of fuel
  (v) Pocket money given to children (carefully checked to exclude payment for odd jobs)
  (vi) expenditure at Christmas extra to normal household expenditure
  (vii) whether spends on smoking and betting
  (viii) whether daily newspaper purchased

(c) Participation
  (i) Going on holiday

(ii) Having meal out

(iii) Having evening out (involving expenditure)

(iv) Having friends to a meal or snack

(v) Children having friends in

(vi) Children having birthday party

(vii) Voting in last election

The answers to a selection from the answers to these questions will be combined in an index.

We appreciate that we have to a large extent proceeded "ad hoc" in selecting this list but in principle we believe that similar kinds of lists (i.e. operational definitions of diet and other consumption and social participation) might be developed for diverse societies. We are aware that our list is a bald selection from a wide range of activities and would hope that fuller surveys of expenditure and participation could be carried out in future so that more reliable indices could be developed.

We hope the data will allow us to justify drawing a "poverty line" at a particular level of income or of resources and so give objective precision to the general aim of the whole survey to develop a more comprehensive measure of poverty which might be used internationally. Although there are wide variations in cultural pursuits within any society, we suspect that participation in those which are common tends, statistically, to diminish rapidly below a certain level of income, or of resources, for each type of household. It is, however, difficult in survey conditions to gain even in outline a sense of some families' "style of living". Customs and activities are extraordinarily diverse. We cannot claim to be comprehensive, but only to be using some useful indicators which may be of initial value. Further work would be required to confirm the value and practicality of the approach.

What we must emphasise is that the problem has to be dealt with at three levels. First, we do not expect any individual indicator on its own to be of much value in operationalising a concept of deprivation. There are persons who, for example, live at a high standard but take no breakfast because they want to slim, or who have other ways of celebrating a child's birthday than by giving a party. But we do expect that "multiple" indicators will be found to be fairly strictly correlated with income among similar types of household (pensioners, nuclear families etc.).

So we regard the pattern rather than the individual component as of importance.

Second, we are conscious that the style of living of particular communities or ethnic groups could be mistaken for patter deprivation. The relationship between culture and deprivation is obviously complex (and certainly more complex than Oscar Lewis has so far shown). We would hope to illuminate this important subject. But in general we are assuming that our index of deprivation will be correlated with resources or income rather than with local culture or ethnic group.

Third, we plan to examine statistically the relationship between the index of deprivation and the distribution of resources and, more narrowly, of cash income. A "cut-off" point may be determined in the same way as a sharp increase in the proportion of income spent on food (the Engel coefficient) has been used to justify the "cut-off" point used in recent research by the United States government into poverty.

We also believe that the data will allow us to contribute to knowledge about relative deprivation within families. Our pilot work has shown that some families and some persons, particularly housewives, go without meals or rarely or never have an evening out because of low income.

Finally, in addition to objective and normative (or conventionally acknowledged) deprivation (e.g. supplementary benefit levels) we will describe and analyse subjective deprivation. People may feel themselves to be in need, even if that need is neither demonstrable nor conventionally recognised. Merton, Stouffer and others, and recently W.G. Runciman in this country have used the term "relative deprivation" to distinguish between objective deprivation and consciousness of deprivation. In some ways their concept is very wide and helps us to relate man's interpretation of the social structure with that structure as it actually is. But it is interesting and important that they have given objective inequality much less attention that subjective inequality. We are therefore suggesting that the term "relative deprivation", as it has been used by sociologists and political scientists in the past, is confusing and partial and would be better renamed subjective deprivation so that equal or greater importance can be attached to objective deprivation. We do this by asking a series of questions about people's living standards in relation to (a) their past lives (b) other members of their families (c) the community in which they live (d) the average for the country as a whole.

R e p o r t

of a meeting with Mr R Blunden (Social Survey) 17 xi 66

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At this meeting problems of sampling were clarified but not solved. First, the size of the national sample will have to be at least 20,000 if we want to study all the minority groups we say we do: and even with a sample of this size there will be no guarantee that these groups will be adequately represented. A simple random sample of this size is out of the question both from the point of view of administration and of cost.

It is essential that the sample be confined to a small number of small areas and there are two ways of doing this:

(i) A multi-stage sample with stratification at each stage to ensure a certain degree of representativeness, taking, say, local authority areas as the primary units.

(ii) A quota sample, basing our choice of a few areas, urban and rural, on known characteristics of these areas.

Whichever method we choose the cost of interviewing 20,000 (screening and follow-up interviews) will be at least £60,000 as the cost of each interview will be £3 on average.

The difficulties attached to both of these methods are considerable. If we want to make population estimates then we will have to use the first method as this is based on selecting individuals with a known probability (not necessarily equal). The problem arises in finding suitable stratification factors. This was discussed with Mr Blunden at considerable length. A useful factor to group LAs is the proportion of homes with rateable value below £100 (£200 for London). For grouping smaller areas within LAs, housing data (number of shared amenities, overcrowding) contained in the Census (1961) could be used. These, however, were the only really useful factors Mr Blunden could think of at the meeting.

Grouping areas by the proportion of the population in certain age groups might produce some odd results. For example, South Coast resorts with a large proportion of old people have very different characteristics from other urban areas with large proportion of old people. Unfortunately a lot of data collected about areas and region overlaps and may not apply to a single LA area but to several. For example, Ministry of Labour data on the number of unemployed in different regions is not broken down by local authority. If we choose our primary units bigger than LA areas then the problem of selection within these units increases. We need some expert advice on the technical problems of choosing suitable stratification factors. If we do use this method we may need to ~~[illegible]~~ oversample in certain types of area in order to ensure reasonable numbers in the minority groups. This would involve weighting problems when making population estimates but since the analysis is being done on the computer this should not create too many difficulties.

Rating records are a better sampling frame at the final stage than electoral registers, especially as rating records give some information about the non-respondents.

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The second method still involves the problem of selecting "representative" or "typical" areas. The advantages of doing very intensive studies of a small number of areas are outlined by Chris. The big disadvantage is that we shall not be able to make any statements about the incidence of poverty among certain groups in the whole population.

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On organisation

Mr Blunden suggested that if, by stratified random sampling, we were able to reduce the number of areas to be sampled to a reasonable number (possibly about a score) we might reasonably expect a cost of £3 per interview or slightly more, plus the cost of processing (which might not be inconsiderable).
Given an interviewing period of a year Mr Blunden suggested that, assuming 20 sampling areas, we would need a minimum of 3 interviewers per area. Three interviewers could be expected, given the length and nature of our questionnaire, to carry out 100 interviews a month in their particular area. This would mean 1,200 interviews in each area over the year or a total of 24,000 interviews which is the number we will require to obtain our final number of 20,000.
Mr Blunden suggested that briefing and training of interviewers should be with groups having a maximum number of 20. Central administration would probably be feasible.

On interviewers

Mr Blunden reported that there was no lack of response to advertisements for staff but in the process of selection, training and initial fieldwork, 96 per cent of applicants were rejected by the Social Survey. On our estimate (CB) of £15 per week for an interviewer (or 7s 6d an hour for a 40-hour week) Mr Blunden said that Social Survey interviewers were paid 8s an hour when trained and experienced and 6s an hour on starting. Hourly payment was suggested as being most economical.

On Northern Ireland

Mr Blunden pointed out that because of the small size of this region it must be oversampled to obtain the special populations we require. Special problems in N Ireland were the extreme variation in characteristics of areas close to one another and a low response rate (about 50 per cent) of the natives. The Social Survey is setting up a special N Ireland unit to tackle these problems. The costs and difficulties involved would almost certainly mean that including NI in a national sample would not be worthwhile.

Points emerging:

1 The cost of our national survey, with the maximum reduction of sampling areas compatible with reasonable confidence limits for our sample, will be £65,000 plus;

2 We need expert statistical advice and it might well pay us to have a full-time expert as soon as possible.

CB 18 xi 66

Report

of meeting with Professor Stuart 13 December 1966

present:

Professor Stuart
Professor Abel-Smith
Susan Brown
Hilary Land

This meeting had been arranged in order to discuss the problems of selecting a national sample of 20,000 households for the Poverty Survey and to explore the possibilities of using the LSE computer services to analyse the data from this Survey.

The SAMPLE

Professor Abel-Smith outlined the survey explaining it was hoped to start the fieldwork in Autumn 1967 and continue for a year. The survey would be done as follows:

- a screening interview to ascertain whether the household belonged to one of the special groups
- a longer interview for every tenth household whether a special group or not (this group of 2,000 would provide incidence figures and comparative data for the special groups)
- and a follow-up interview for those belonging to one of the special groups.

A sample of 20,000 was necessary in order to obtain reasonable numbers of some of the special groups. Probably 10 to 12,000 households would be screened out.

Professor Stuart asked whether the possibility of using different sampling ~~frame~~ frames for each of the special groups had been considered (eg: family allowance records for families with two or more children, widows' pension records for widows etc). If this approach was used then the rather wasteful screening procedure would not be necessary although the final sample would be rather "messy". Professor Abel-Smith explained that this had been considered: this was the method used for the pilot studies. There were, however, several major disadvantages. There were some groups who could not be found on any single Ministry or local authority list - fatherless families were a good example - and anyway, some of the most interesting households may be those who are ~~xxp~~ unknown to any authority and are receiving no official assistance. The pilot studies had demonstrated that although a Ministry may possess a nearly perfect sampling frame, because of the problem of confidentiality the households the research team could contact themselves were only 50% of the sample drawn by the Ministry. The non-response rate was far too high. Professor Stuart agreed then that a screening procedure was the only way to get reasonable samples of the special groups. He suggested the following sample procedure.

1 Sample constituencies These have the advantage of being smaller and more uniform in size than local authority areas and so there is less variation within any given constituency. It is true that a sample of administrative districts would be easier to check for representativeness since many figures are collected at this level and few at constituency level. However, this problem can be solved to a large extent by locating constituencies within administrative districts which can be done by means of a map which the Social Survey possesses and Professor Stuart thinks they would allow to be used for this purpose. Constituencies could be stratified by proportion of Labour voters which has been found to correlate highly with social class (Social Survey and other government organisations do not use this because of the political connotations involved, not because it is not useful). In order to make the sample give as many of the groups we are interested in it would be wise to oversample the poorer areas, without of course choosing the entire sample from these areas. Professor Stuart offered to help with deciding the extent to which they should be oversampled and with the weighting problems which will arise from this procedure.

../..

2 Sample enumeration districts within the constituencies chosen at the first stage. These are units of 2000 households (ie: 4 or 5 streets) the Registrar-General uses in collecting census data. These could be stratified by proportion of overcrowded households, proportion of immigrants etc. There is a great deal of data collected at enumeration district level. We should check with the Registrar-General that this information is available for the whole country.

3 Sample addresses (not individuals) from the electoral register Professor Stuart did not feel there were strong objections to using the electoral register provided it was used as a sampling frame for addresses only. He did not say a great deal about this except to recommend a paper written in 1953: "The Electoral Register as a Sampling Frame". He also suggested that the Social Survey be asked to draw the sample for us from the electoral registers as they have all the registers and have people experienced in using them to draw samples.

The NUMBER of AREAS

As regional differences are important and we will want to make some comparisons between regions, we must select constituencies from each of the 11 regions. In order to estimate sampling errors it is necessary to have at least two constituencies within each region and to reduce sampling errors sufficiently to make regional comparisons meaningful and to enable us to stratify, the minimum number of constituencies would be four. We shall need, therefore, about 48 areas. The problem of administering the fieldwork of such a widely scattered sample could perhaps be reduced by using the Social Survey's fieldwork supervisory organization even though we were not using their interviewers. The scatter of the areas could be reduced by choosing areas within each region to be within easy travelling distance of each other. The problem of a widely scattered sample of special groups for the follow-up studies was not discussed in detail although Professor Abel-Smith said that it was hoped each special group could be interviewed by one person.

Professor Abel-Smith asked if Professor Stuart could suggest someone in his department who would be willing to act as statistical consultant to the project working, say, the equivalent of a day a week. Professor Stuart and Professor Durbin or Mr Smith (all of the LSE Statistics Dept) would help with the details of the structure of the national sample and its theoretical implications for the analysis of the data and Professor Stuart suggested a graduate student to help make the necessary calculations etc, and to draw the sample (with the help of the Social Survey at the last stage as mentioned above). This person could also act as our consultant.

The ANALYSIS of the SURVEY

Professor Stuart thought the School's computer services could be used to analyse the data from the survey although at this stage it would be difficult to say whether the Atlas computer or the IBM computer at Imperial College should be used. He thought the School's computer would probably be too small to cope with the bulk of the data although it could be used for parts of the analysis. Susan Brown, who is one of the chief consultants in the Statistics Dept, together with Colin Taylor, could advise on mthods of analysis and with Peter Wakeford, the chief programmer, could help with programming etc. Several standard programmes for survey analysis exist; one of these, amended slightly, would probably suit our purposes. (Susan Brown was very wary of the Atlas MVC programme as it is incomplete and not fully reliable yet.) Professor Stuart pointed out that the right method of analysis can increase the accuracy of final estimates just as much as increase in size can. When making population estimates based on the results of the follow-up groups, rather than multiplying directly by the sampling fraction which often results in an enormous sampling error (as much as 40%), it is better to use regression methods to adjust the final estimate. This involves using the relationships between variables known for the full sample and variables particular to the follow-up group. If this method is used then it is important that the lay variables of the full sample can be punched on the same card as the particular variables for the sub-group. A standard ~~programme~~ programme exists for this method of making population estimates and provided there are not more than 12 lay variables, the School's computer can handle the process. It is also a standard procedure to produce sample errors. (Susan Brown emphasised that doubling punching cards makes most forms of analysis very difficult and so should be avoided.)

Cost The School has access to IBM and Atlas at no cost. However, Professor Stuart is sure that in the next few months a small charge will be introduced. This will be very small compared with commercial rates. When the time comes we should approach the computer manager of the department (he does not exist at the moment but an appointment is to be made shortly !). Meanwhile Peter Wakeford is the person to answer queries on computer time etc.

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PROFESSOR PETER TOWNSEND ✓
MISS SHEILA BENSON
MISS HILARY LAND
MR.ADRIAN SINFIELD
MR.JOHN VEIT WILSON
MR.DENNIS MARSDEN
MR.CHRISTOPHER BAGLEY

DISCUSSION WITH PROFESSOR STUART

Professor Stuart fully appreciated the importance for this Survey of identifying households resident in caravans, etc., and those which had recently moved into houses. He therefore stressed that it was important to use an up-to-date register of electors. He thought we might be able to use the register for which the information is collected by local authorities by the middle of this year, even though it is not yet printed. He suggested that I might write to the Home Secretary, asking whether he would be prepared to write to those particular local authorities which we include in our sample to persuade them to allow us access to their new draft register. If we used the old register, two to three per cent of the names would be out of date.

He suggested that we use the technique of the 'half-open interval' for identifying households which may not be included in the register. The method is described in Yates' book on Sampling Methods. Perhaps Chris would be kind enough to look this up and give us an opinion on it at our next meeting.

As regards the areas, he accepts that we might operate in a total of 40 to 50 and they might consist of 20 to 25 pairs of adjacent constituencies. He recommends that we use the percentage of the Labour vote as the most practical tool for identifying areas likely to have an abnormal proportion of low-income people. He tells me that a book on the last election has recently been published giving more elaborate break-downs than are available in Dodds. It is important that we should have chosen our areas by the spring if we are going to have to approach local authorities to make available their new draft registers for drawing the sample.

All this is his provisional view, but he suggests that we ought to organise a joint meeting towards the end of term or the beginning of the vacation with Durbin as well as himself. By that meeting it is important that we have identified the particular characteristics which we regard as necessary for comparisons with administrative data, e.g. disabled persons registered, etc.

He told me of a statistician, Patrick Carroll, who is anxious to get a job in research. He has just completed his Master's in Statistics. It might be possible to arrange for him to be half-time teaching in the Statistics Department and half-time working with us.

BAS

10th February, 1967.

Report of Meeting with Professors Stuart and Durbin
March 31st 1967

The following points were discussed:

i First stage units:- i Constituencies
ii Local authority admin wear
iii Enumeration districts from 1966 census

ii Number of first stage units
iii Ways of stratifying these units
iv Ways of concentrating them geographically

It was made clear to both Stuart and Durbin that problems of cost and administration would limit the size of the sample to a maximum of 12,000 households. This sample would be treated in two parts: 4,000 households from which sufficient data on income and resources would be obtained to give us a complete and representative spectrum of income, and 8,000 households from which special groups i.e. disabled, fatherless families, etc. would be screened out and intensively interviewed. It was possible that N.A.B. officers would carry out the screening operation and at the same time ask a limited number of income questions. Altogether we would expect to interview approximately 3,900 households from each part of the sample.

Durbin thought the screening operations could be simplified and reduced to a 10 minute interview or, to avoid recalls, sufficient information on the characteristics of the household could be obtained from the neighbours. Even if this procedure resulted in some mis-classification this would not matter too much because not only would we subsequently interview all those accepted, but also a sub-sample of the rejected households. The probability of selection in each would be known and so incidence figures could still be calculated. We were not very happy about this idea and were not convinced that it was a suitable method to adopt.

Constituencies are the best units to use at the first stage because they are roughly the same size (in terms of population) and voting behaviour is correlated sufficiently highly with social class to make stratification on this basis possible. Local Authority administrative areas are very different in size which would make it difficult to chose suitable sampling fractions and although it would be possible to make them into more uniform units by amalgamating some of the smaller areas with the larger ones this is a fairly complicated procedure. More data for comparative purposes is available for local authority areas but this advantage was not considered to outweigh the difficulties in using L.A. areas. Enumeration districts were briefly considered but as it was not certain that the data would be available soon enough and anyway it would be difficult to know how to use the data (we would need expert statistical advice) - the idea of using them was abandoned. Also John Boreham was leaving G.R.O.

It is best to spread the sample as widely as possible because with more concentration, the variance increases enormously. Obviously in terms of accuracy for a given cost it is uneconomic to concentrate the sample beyond a certain amount. (Unfortunately no one knows at what point maximum efficiency occurs). Durbin thought 30 constituencies too small a number and that we should not go below 50. Stuart however, did point out that unlike other surveys where it is not worthwhile chasing up the elusive households: the itinerants, people living in derelict houses, etc., these are the very groups we wanted to be sure to include. This meant the administrative costs in each area would be high and that each new area sampled would increase the total cost significantly. Normally he would recommend 100 first stage units but because of these special circumstances, he would suggest 40.

Are we hoping to get local supervision? Brian explained that this would depend on whether the N.A.B. are going to do part of our interviewing. If they are, then their own administrative offices would be used for the larger part of the sample, leaving us responsible for the 4,000 sample. Stuart thought married women graduates may be glad to help with the interviewing and that where possible we could ~~revisit~~ recruit them locally. It was pointed out, however, that they would tend to live in particular areas - mainly suburban - so they could only be used in a limited fashion.

Stuart and Durbin agreed that the records from which the electoral register is ~~completed~~ compiled would be the best sampling frame. However in order to gain access to it, we should have to get the Home Secretary's permission. Stuart thought a lot depended on high degree of co-operation from the Local Authorities: the more they could tell us about the area the better, so that we knew where there were caravan sites, derilict houses, etc. Based on previous experience with local authorities he was optimistic about our chances of getting this co-operation. If we could not get access to the required records then we should use rating lists. A very small number of constituencies cross Local Authority boundaries, but these are always well known and it would be possible to visit both Authorities if the occasion arose. Our dependance on a more than usual amount of co-operation from the Local Authorities was another reason for having a smaller number of constituencies.

How many regions were we going to divide the country into? We could use the eleven standard regions: Wales, Scotland, North, North West, East and West Riding, West Midlands, East Midlands, South West, Greater London Council, Rest of South East and Anglia. Brian pointed out that we were hoping to include Northern Ireland and Stuart and Durbin agreed that it was important to include it if this was practically possible. However depending on the regional comparison we wanted to make, we could reduce the number of regions to 6 or 7, e.g. Wales and South West, Scotland, Northern Ireland, G.L.C. and South East, Anglia, North and North West, East and West Riding together with East and West Midlands. (Adrian has since suggested taking NEDC regions). If we want to stratify at all, we should either have to reduce the number of regions to 6 or 7 or increase the total number of constituencies sampled. Stuart and Durbin suggested we divide the constituencies in each region into 3 categories: rich urban (high percentage of Conservative vote); poor urban (low percentage of Conservative vote) and rural. We should then select two constituencies from each category in each region. It was important to select two from each category because this would enable us to calculate standard errors and if we wanted to hold up our heads in statistical company we should do this. Standard errors can only be estimated in a rather dubious manner if only one sample point from each stratum

is chosen. Voting figures could be obtained from the Times supplement on the last election (Chris has a copy); from a study of the last election by David Butler and Anthony King of Nuffield College or a study by Berrington. We must define "rural area". Stuart suggests various indications: low population/ square mile, high number of agricultural tractors licenced per county boro, large fruit farming area, etc... It may be obvious in most cases whether a constituency is urban or rural, e.g. all boro constituencies are urban, but there will be a few that will be difficult to classify. The Home Office should hvae information on the population /square mile because this affects the parliamentary candidate's expense payments. We may want to amalgamate rural areas across the regional boundaries in order to get a large enough population in each rural area.

Brian raised the question of choosing constituencies in such a way that they were close together. There is a technique for doing this, but we would need a statistician to help us with this exercise (see Kish "Survey Sampling")

The design of the first stage of the sample does not involve oversampling at all, so there will be no reweighting problems at this stage. If we want to increase the probability of poor households being included in the sample then we can draw a larger number of households from rural areas and from poor urban areas, with correspondingly fewer in the rich urban areas. This is a decision we have to consider further.

The next meeting has been arranged for May 9th at 2 p.m. (to be confirmed by Stuart). It would be useful if Sue Brown attends this meeting.

Meanwhile we must decide on the number of regions we are going to divide the U.K. into and classify all constituencies, into urban rich, urban poor and rural.

April 6th 1967

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R e p o r t   o f   m e e t i n g

with Professors Stuart and Durbin   9 May 1967

The discussion centred on three topics:

(i) regional groupings
(ii) the use of constituencies as first stage units and methods of stratification
(iii) methods of selecting households within the chosen ~~[illegible]~~ constituencies

Regional groupings

Both Stuart and Durbin thought the second regional grouping was a better choice as Anglia is more like East Midlands than the rest of the South-East. However they were doubtful about combining Northern Ireland and Scotland because N Ireland has special interest for this study - ie: large rural population and a high level of unemployment. They suggested that we might try to get extra money for N Ireland so that we can draw a bigger sample there. N Ireland is left out of so many surveys that it would be useful to collect some good data and the ~~[illegible]~~ value of this would outweigh the extra cost involved in interviewing there. The separation of N Ireland need not involve as many as six additional interviewing areas because to ~~[illegible]~~ stratify the 12 constituencies into 3 groups and choose 2 from each would mean ~~[illegible]~~ we were interviewing in half the constituencies. Instead we could consider them in 2 groups: the constituencies in Belfast and the rest which are largely rural (apart from Londonderry).

The regional groupings are as follows:

		Population as % of UK	Number of households
1 Northern Ireland		2.7	324
2 Scotland		9.5	1,140
3 North Western Region		14.0	1,680
4 Yorkshire & Humberside with Northern Regions	8.7 + 6.1 =	14.8	1,552
5 South Western and Wales	6.7 + 5.6 =	12.3	1,278
6 East Midlands and Anglia	6.1 + 2.9 =	9.0	1,078
7 South-East		16.9	2,028
8 Greater London		14.6	1,552
9 West Midlands		9.2	1,104
		100%	12,000

First stage units

Stuart asked what were the disadvantages of using constituencies; what data only available broken down by LA administrative areas were we likely to want for comparative purposes ? For example, we would like to compare the number of disabled found in the sample with the number on LA registers. However, the proportion of ~~[illegible]~~ disabled in the population (excluding blind and deaf) is low - 6/1000 - so the relative standard error of the number of disabled found in the sample in a local authority area is going to be of the order 30 per cent which will make any comparison with individual LA registers meaningless. It will only be possible to make regional comparisons. Much Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Social Security data is only available regionally (although the regional breakdown is not necessarily the same as either the planning regions or the standard regions) so this does not affect our choice between constituencies and LA administrative areas. As the boroughs, urban districts and rural districts contained within each constituency boundary is known, it is possible to use all the census data which distinguishes rural districts. Stuart agreed, therefore, that the availability of comparative data was not seriously limited by using constituencies. Both Stuart and Durbin were interested in the correlations (calculated by Bleddyn Davies and Peter Stone) between voting Left and factors associated with low income. In particular, the high correlation (0.9) with % of the population aged 25 and over who had left school at the minimum school leaving age. The old J-index also correlated highly with this factor. Durbin did point out that as the county borough data had not been standardised to take account of variations in size (which are considerable) - ie: a high proportion, say, of overcrowding in a small borough would carry a weight proportionate to its size for it would count the same as a very large borough with a high proportion of overcrowding - the correlations were slightly exaggerated. However, there was still a strong relationship between voting Left and factors associated with low income, so it was a good single stratification factor to use. The definition of a rural constituency used (over 50 per cent population living in rural districts and no urban district or borough greater than 30,000) seems realistic for this gives approximately one rural constituency in 5, which corresponds with 20 per cent population living in rural districts. Stuart and Durbin did suggest that the population density of some rural districts near large urban areas should be investigated together with urban areas in predominantly rural parts because the distinction between an urban district or borough and a rural district is often based on historical considerations. Rural districts with high density and urban areas with low should then be re-classified. The distinction between poor and rich urban constituencies could be measured by taking proportion of total vote less fringe voters who voted Labour or Left.

.../...

How are we going to select the constituencies from each strata ? There are two alternatives. Constituencies can be chosen with probability proportional to the electorate they contain (ie: so that larger constituencies have a slightly greater chance of being chosen), then taking an equal number of households within each chosen constituency. This is the method used by most market research firms and by Government surveys because this ensures equal number of interviews per area which makes the administration of the survey easier because the workload is automatically shared equally between interviewers in each area. The second method ~~xxxxxx~~ selects constituencies within each strata with equal probability but within the chosen constituencies the number of households selected is proportional to the size of the constituency. <u>In both cases the net result is that every household has an equal chance of being selected</u>. We have to decide whether we want to decrease the chances of the smaller constituencies (ie: the less densely populated, the very rural or declining urban areas) by selecting constituencies proportional to size, remembering that the households within any of the smaller constituencies that are chosen stand a greater chance of selection than households within one of the larger chosen constituencies. Or whether we want to disregard the size when selecting constituencies but take it into account at the next stage by taking a fewer number of households within the smaller constituencies. This means the less densely populated <u>areas</u> do not have a slightly reduced chance of being selected but that once selected, households <u>within them</u> have less chance of selection. A disadvantage of the second method is that unequal numbers within each selected area makes the calculation of sampling errors slightly more complicated. The decision was left until the constituencies have been grouped into strata so that the effects of the two methods can be estimated to some extent.

Are we going to sample with replacement - this makes sampling error calculation easier but it does mean there is a chance of the same area being selected twice. Or we can sample without replacement which complicates sampling error calculations but obviously eliminates any chance of selecting the same area twice.

<u>Selection within constituencies</u>

Do we want to cluster the sample in all constituencies or only the rural constituencies where the population is more scattered ? We should try to ~~xxx~~ cluster the sample in <u>all</u> constituencies because taking a random sample of 250 (this is approximately the number of households/constituency) will mean ~~xx~~ selecting less than 1 in 100 households which is too scattered even for urban areas. Some market research firms cluster households so that 1 in 10 or even 1 in 5 are interviewed (unless there are opinion questions where the risk of interaction ~~xxx~~ is too great). Durbin and Stuart thought 1 in 20 or 30 households would be a reasonable concentration for us. This will increase sampling error slightly but will reduce finding cost and (important for us) recall cost. They suggested ~~xx~~ using either polling districts or wards in urban areas and parishes in rural areas. Census data giving population size, density and ~~xxx~~ age structure is available at ward and parish level, also voting figures in some cases. We could use either for stratification purposes, but if we wanted viting figures we should have to write to the Home Office or the Ministry of Local Government. The number of wards and/or parishes in a constituency varies but we could take, say, 4 wards/constituency and slightly more parishes. (One rural district alone can have 30 parishes and the population of some parishes can be as low as 200.)

The meeting ended with a discussion about selecting proportional to the <u>electorate</u> or to the <u>population</u> of each area. This is a decision affecting all stages of the sample and whichever we choose, it should be used both when selecting constituencies within regions and when ~~xxxxx~~ selecting households within constituencies. Most surveys select proportional to the electorate when using constituencies because calculating population figures is a little tedious (the FES, however, still use the 1955 electorate figures !) The use of population figures increases the chance of selecting areas containing a higher proportion of young children, immigrants etc because they are not accounted for in ~~fixm~~ figures of the electorate. Again this is a decision that can be taken once the constituencies are grouped into strata so that effects of using each can be assessed.

Peter asked whether we can analyse by individuals as well as households. Provided we interview every individual in each selected household (thus still giving every individual throughout the UK an equal chance of selection) it is quite proper to analyse by individuals. We cannot, however, talk of all households of all individuals because this over-represents large households, unless we weight by size of household (it is vital that every punched card has size of household recorded).

Should we oversample in poor urban and rural areas ? Durbin pointed out tha t we should get roughly 2500 households in rural areas - this should give us sufficient information on rural poverty especially as most national samples total 3000 households. Also any increase in the number of rural interviews will increase cost considerably. Peter also explained that as we did not know the incidence of disability, fatherlessness etc in the higher income groups, it might be unwise to concentrate too much on the poorer areas. (However, Stuart did wonder how much we should learn about poverty by interviewing in Hampstead Garden Suburb !)

The next meeting will be arranged when Hilary has grouped constituencies into strata and discussed them with Stuart and Durbin.

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Meeting with Professor Stuart and Professor Durbin - August 17th

Present: Professor Durbin
Stuart
Townsend
Dennis Marsden
Hilary Land

The objects of this meeting were as follows:

1. To explain the aims and objects of the survey to Professors Stuart and Durbin, so that they could advise us as to the best sampling strategy to adopt at the second and third stages.
2. To discuss sampling at the third stage, in particular the question of oversampling in:
   a) All 'poor' areas within each chosen constituency
   b) A few constituencies - say four - two rich, two poor.
   or c) a few special groups by means of special lists from the Ministry of Social Security amd/or by means of a screening procedure - Low wage earners being the group most favoured by the team.
3. To discuss methods of stratification and clustering of wards and parishes within each chosen constituency.
4. To discuss the advantages and disadvantages of using the electoral registers and rating records for drawing a sample of addresses.

Professor Townsend emphasised that we wanted to be able to discuss the particular characteristics of the various groups of the poor as well as measuring the incidence of poverty. With a larger sample of 8 - 10,000 we could do both by taking a simple random sample and screening out certain households, but with a sample of 3,000 we have to work out a strategy which would maximise the information on both counts. There was a possibility still of doing a larger sample with the help of Audit who could conduct the screening operation for us. Professor Townsend expressed doubts about Audit doing any of the long, income questionnaire and as we may not be operating in all the same areas as Audit it might be difficult for us to integrate on 3,000 samples with a sample Audit handled. As Durbin pointed out different sampling structures would cause problems.

Assuming a 3,000 sample we could adopt several strategies (see 3 a), b), c) above). Durbin and Stuart at first were keen on getting special lists and sampling from them because <u>provided</u> the <u>incidence of each special group is known</u>, this is a very efficient method of sampling. Furthermore, the figures obtained from a sample taken from these lists can be weighted to get national figures because the probability of selection is known. However we know that apart from Family Allowance records, Ministry and Local Authority lists of disabled, sick or unemployed are by no means complete. Furthermore there are serious problems concerning our access to these lists which is more important than their completeness which can be checked against the figures obtained from the random sample. Although Moser is now at the C.S.O. and hopes to make such lists more readily available for sampling purposes, this would probably take some time. Durbin and Stuart thought it would increase the efficiency of the sample to oversample the 'poor' areas within each constituency. This procedure would give us more 'poor' households and would not bias on estimates of national incidence because weighting procedures can easily be employed to allow for the different sampling fractions. It would however increase sampling errors in the national estimate. Professor Townsend was concerned that we might under represent the poor living in the rich areas who may be different in character from the poor living in 'poor' areas. Stuart pointed out that with weighting procedures they would not be underrepresented in any national figures but it was true that we would probably not get enough of the poor in rich areas to make precise statements about them as a group. However, surely if we had to choose we were primarily interested in the poor in 'poor' areas and therefore we should employ a strategy that increased their numbers so that we could at least make some sort of statement about them as a group. Professor Townsend agreed.

In order to locate more low wage-earners Stuart and Durbin suggested we could perhaps screen on occupation. Using Ministry of Labour figures we ought to be able to establish which are the low paid occupations in a particular area.

Stratification

Stuart wondered whether we could use the J index for stratification purposes. Although the new rating assessments had increased the numbers eligible for Jury service we might find that among those **not eligible** a very high proportion were poor. The process of stratifying wards and parishes by the J index would be fairly laborious.

The proportion of the adult population who had left school at the minimum school leaving age would reflect the age structure of the population to some extent: the older people are more likely to have left school at 15 or before than younger people. Nevertheless from B. Davies' and P. Stone's figures it seems to be a factor worth trying.

Where there was very little difference in the proportion of the adult population whose terminal age of education was 15 or less there would be little point in stratifying. Where the proportion did differ considerably then we should divide wards into two strata and parishes into two strata and select two from each strata. In order to spread the interviewing over a period of a year we could divide the sample in each constituency into four areas and take one each quarter.

<u>Rating Lists and Electoral Registers</u>

Preliminary investigations by members of the team has shown that the accessibility and the form in which rating lists were kept varied enormously between local authorities. Durbin and Stuart had no objections to using rating lists in areas where they were available to us and in a form we could easily use, and using the electoral registers elsewhere. We should ask the Government Social Survey for their experiences with using the electoral register and rating lists.

Hilary Land,
22 August 1967

UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX AND LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS SURVEY OF POVERTY

Minutes of the Meeting of the Advisory Committee held on October 2nd 1967 at the London School of Economics

1. Apologies were received from Professor Marsh. Professor Titmuss reported that he had spoken to Professor Marsh and asked him if he had any comments he wished to make on the matters before the Committee to put them in writing and send them to Professor Abel-Smith or Professor Townsend. No comments had been received.

2. The Pilot Reports Professors Townsend and Abel-Smith apologised for the fact that the last two pilot studies (the chronic sick and large families) had reached the Committee such a short time before the meeting owing to a typing bottle-neck in the office. They therefore suggested that it might only be possible for the Committee to discuss the reports on the Unemployed and on Fatherless Families. Would the Committee advise in principle on the question of publication?

Miss Rowntree asked whether the purpose of publication was to make available findings or to indicate the methodological lessons which had been learnt in the course of the work?

In the discussion which followed it was pointed out that general conclusions could not be drawn from the pilots for the following reasons. First, the numbers were small. Second, the response rate was low. Third, the studies only applied to particular areas. Fourth, in the case of Mr. Sinfield's study, the material was somewhat out of date. On the other hand, insights could be obtained from intensive interviewing and the illustrative material describing situations as they were was of value. While there was a danger of too much being claimed for the results, the pilot studies contributed to research both methodologically and in identifying particular problems which could arise.

The possibility of a combined research report was discussed which brought together the methodological lessons and indicated the particular problems requiring further investigation in the national survey. While this might be the ideal way of presenting the results of the pilot work, it would involve extensive re-writing and considerable delay. Professors Abel-Smith and Townsend also said that they thought the authors would not welcome this solution.

Miss Rowntree asked where it was intended to publish. Professors Abel-Smith and Townsend said that the series of Occasional Papers on Social Administration would seem to be an appropriate vehicle but it was for the Editorial Committee of that series to decide whether to accept them.

The Committee agreed that if the Editorial Committee decided to accept them, the Advisory Committee should add a Foreword to the studies financed by the Trust which put them in their context, drew attention to the fact that the results could not be generalised for the reasons set out above, and made it clear that the Advisory Committee was not responsible for the conclusions drawn. A draft of such a foreword should be approved by the members of the Advisory Committee before publication.

It was agreed that any detailed comments should be sent to Professors Abel-Smith or Townsend on Messrs. Sinfield's and Marsden's studies before the end of October and on the other two studies by the end of November.

3. Proposal for an Extended Survey Miss Rowntree said that the representatives of the Trust did not wish to raise questions about methodology. That was a matter for other members of the Advisory Committee. They would be very glad if the Committee could arrive at a clear recommendation for the Trust that afternoon, if necessary specifying the exact financial implications. They would be glad to learn whether the results of the proposed extended survey would be something of more than current value and whether also it would be of practical interest. Professor Titmuss suggested that the objects of the survey - particularly as described on page three of the draft proposals - should be discussed as fully as possible. Miss Rowntree then drew attention to the statement that "new definitions and measures of need would have to be explored" and asked for some elucidation.

Professors Abel-Smith and Townsend said that while they considered it to be important to present information about income in relation to supplementary benefit levels and average levels of income they had been aiming all along to produce a new definition of poverty in terms of relative deprivation. That was still a prime object of the research. In the past two years published and unpublished papers had been produced which set this out theoretically. The extent to which a housewife deprived herself for the sake of her children, the inability of a family to own a washing machine, refrigerator and other durable goods, the lack of even mediocre housing, the failure to purchase an overcoat in the previous years and the dependence on second-hand clothing, and the inability to share in ordinary leisure-time pursuits such as an evening out and summer holidays were all examples of deprivation by modern standards. To fall short of modern standards in one or two respects might not be very meaningful but to fall short of such standards in a variety of respects justified regarding such persons and families as relatively deprived or in poverty. In theory it was possible to develop this approach systematically. However, they warned that in practice it was going to be difficult to be sure that the right data could be produced - partly because there were no precedents in research, partly because it was difficult to plan a questionnaire to suit the diverse circumstances of different types of family, and partly because families could not always give the right kind of information (e.g. about children's schooling).

Sir Donald Sargent said he was relieved to learn this since he had for long been unhappy about the use of supplementary benefit levels to define poverty. He believed it would be in many people's interests to develop a new definition. Mr. Nicholson felt that it would be useful if different aspects of poverty - in housing, ownership of durables, schooling and so on - could be separately identified. Miss Rowntree said that Seebohm Rowntree had been concerned with concepts of deprivation in the last work he did before his death.

Professors Abel-Smith and Townsend said that they were planning the work to be of lasting value, in the sense that there would be findings about the nature of family problems and living standards which were unlikely to be greatly affected by marginal changes in earnings and benefit rates. They could also assure the committee that the extension of the work would provide results of immediate practical value - about the "take-up" of different social services by certain minorities, for example. They confirmed that the survey as at present financed (covering 3000 household interviews) would not in their opinion enable them to draw reliable conclusions about certain important minorities. Sir Donald Sargent said that with the benefit of hindsight it was possible to say that the deficiency of numbers in certain minorities of the sample of families recently studied by the Ministry of Social Security (for example, fatherless families and families with sick or unemployed heads) had reduced the value of the survey. At the National Assistance Board many research inquiries had involved samples of larger size. His worry was not that the proposals to extend the survey were unjustified but that the proposals might not go far enough. Mr. Nicholson and Professor Titmuss wondered whether there was scope for reducing the number of minority groups for investigation so that those screened-out could be investigated more fully.

Professor Titmuss said that the principle of the extended survey had clearly gained the approval of the committee.

4. Methodology of an Extended Survey The committee then turned to discuss the alternative methods of study. Professor Titmuss said he was not enthusiastic about the use of students. They would be difficult to recruit, train and supervise. He was therefore opposed to Method V. Miss Rowntree and others supported this view. Professor Titmuss argued that it would be important to the success of any report to be able to say that the universities' fieldwork team had collected all the really important data. He felt it would be best for all the intensive interviews to be under the direct control of the persons in charge. Professors Abel-Smith and Townsend said that while it would be possible for the body of interviewers who were now being recruited and trained to undertake the necessary numbers of intensive interviews, they would not be able to do the screening interviews. Method IV was then formally approved.

5. Follow-up studies In response to a question by Mr. Longman, Professors Abel-Smith and Townsend said that they would still welcome an opportunity to include a modest sum for follow-up research in any application to the Trust. Advantage could be taken both of the skills that existed within the research team and of the opportunity to supplement interviews carried out in four of the constituencies, for example, with information collected from other sources. The committee agreed that this would be desirable if the Trust would be prepared to consider the extra costs.

6. Finance of an Extended Survey Miss Rowntree said that, on the basis this discussion, she was prepared to place the recommendation of the Advisory Committee before Trustees at their meeting on October 13th. She felt, however, that she must stress that the figures to be placed before Trustees should be absolutely final ones. If Trustees were minded to increase the grant to this extent there should be no question of further application (other than the customary provision for adjustments for nationally increased salary scales). Mr. Longman drew attention to the administrative costs which appeared to have been introduced retrospectively by both the L.S.E. and Essex University. It might be right for the universities concerned to apply administrative charges to the additional grant now being requested (though he doubted whether this should include the survey fee to AGB surveys) but he could not see how these could be applied retrospectively to a grant made in 1964. The Committee agreed that this item should be negotiated between the Trust and the Universities direct.

REVISED COST of NATIONAL SURVEY OF POVERTY

Original proposal

1	pilot surveys of minorites	£12,000
2	Research officer on main survey for three years	4,900
3	Secretarial services, travelling expenses PT & BA-S	4,000
4	Costs of interviewing 3000 households (and also coding, punching, tabulating)	22,000
5	Administration	3,800*
	* Including about £1,500 in respect of administrative overheads in respect of period prior to 1 April 1967	
6	Direction of survey 1967-8 (one term's leave BAS & PT)	3,000
7	Extension of survey (5000 screening interviews by AGB + intensive interviews by Essex/LSE team)	25,700
8	Follow-up studies	5,500
9	Statistical consultation	500
10	Administration	2,000
		£84,000

I n t e r v i e w e r s

C o m m e n t a r y

& N o t e s

Household Resources and
Standards of Living
in the United Kingdom 1967-8

University of Essex & London School of Economics

HOUSEHOLD RESOURCES & STANDARDS of LIVING in the UNITED KINGDOM 1967-8

1 Commentary
on the survey and the questionnaire

Beginning with the notable work of Charles Booth, Seebohm Rowntree and A L Bowley at the turn of the century, the investigation of living standards and of poverty has always had an important place in the social sciences in Britain. But a comprehensive national survey has never been carried out. Such a survey is now to be carried out by a team of research workers based on the Department of Sociology at the University of Essex and the Department of Social Administration at the London School of Economics. The work is financed by the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust and is guided by an Advisory Committee consisting of representatives of the Trust; senior personnel of government departments and academic experts in nutrition, statistics and social science, under the chairmanship of Professor Richard M Titmuss. Professor A Stuart and Professor J Durbin have given considerable help with the special problems of sampling.

Objects of the survey

The first object of the survey is to estimate the numbers in the population living at different levels of living, particularly the numbers living in or on the margins of poverty. The second object is to fins what are the characteristics and problems of families and persons with low levels of living and thus begin to explain why they are poor.

Method of approach

Our own pilot work and other research studies have shown that families living on low incomes are far less homogenous than has been supposed hitherto. Fatherless families, families dependent on low earnings, families with a chronically sick or disabled adult and families with an unemployed head have problems which are very different from each other as well as problems which are very similar to each other. Even within these groups there are big differences, as between widows and separated wives, for example. We have come to the conclusion that in establishing people 's needs in modern society and finding how particularly low standards of living might begin to be measured and explained, five steps are necessary.

i <u>Living standards among families of each type need to be compared</u>. We want to be able to distinguish problems which are attributable to poverty rather than family circumstances or social status. In judging at what point families have resources which are adequate for purchases of food and activities which are customary in society we must have good information for families of the same type with relatively high incomes.

ii <u>Living standards of families with relatively low incomes of each type need to be compared with the living standards of families of average composition and income</u>.

iii <u>Variations in living standards over time have to be assessed</u>. A distinction must be drawn between short-term or occasional and chronic poverty, whether due to some combination of family size, rent and low earnings or to absence of earnings (fatherlessness, unemployment, sickness or disability) or to irregular employment.

iv <u>Variations in people's access to the social services and in their environmental facilities and facilities at work also have to be assessed as aspects of living standards</u>. A distinction has to be drawn between partial and total poverty. A family with a very low income may be found living in a modern council house, the father working in good factory conditions and the children of the family attending a newly built school. Paradoxes in living conditions of this kind are increasingly characteristic of societies in which the big corporation and a highly developed "Welfare State" are found.

v <u>The effectiveness of the social services which aim at helping the poor has to be established</u>. We have to check on the extent to which some families apply for certain benefits - for example, free school meals and welfare milk.

In addition to trying to measure and explain low levels of living as found at present, we will study the use of those services which might help to prevent certain types of poverty, now and in the future, particularly longer-term poverty. Thus we are interested in which occupations are low paid, in the effectiveness of education, apprenticeship, job placement, training, retraining and rehabilitation services; in savings, fringe benefits and private insurance; in housing and rent policies; and in health, welfare and family planning services.

Survey design and procedure

A random sample of about 4 500 dwellings from 51 sample constituencies throughout the United Kingdom will be drawn and the households living in those dwellings will be approached for an interview. In many instances a subsequent call may have to be made to interview a husband or another earner so that full information for the household may be collected. Since information is required not only about the household but also about each individual member of the household, the length of the interview will tend to vary even more widely than is usual in surveys. Many of the interviewers will assist in drawing addresses from rating and other lists for inclusion in the sample, following a procedure which has been carefully laid down. The interviews will be spread over twelve months from the end of November 1967 to the same date in 1968.

The QUESTIONNAIRE: GENERAL

The importance of minorities The purpose of many surveys is to obtain information from "ordinary" families. If the questions are found not to fit unusual or uncommon households or if there are difficulties in undertaking an interview, no special measures are taken by those in charge of the work and by the interviewers. In this survey, however, we are particularly concerned to obtain information from representatives of every minority in the country. People who are poor have very assorted circumstances: some are disabled and others are old, have large numbers of children, have been unable to learn to read and write, are immigrants and so on. The more unusual a person the harder the interviewer should endeavour to obtain reliable information. We have tried to allow therefore in the design of the questionnaire for diverse circumstances and we have adopted a form of layout which records answers which apply to each individual living in the household as well as to the household as a whole. But the interviewer should use discretion in making notes to elucidate certain answers and also to collect any information not covered by the questionnaire which seems to be important in arriving at a reliable picture of the individual's or the household's resources.

Information about non-respondents is also more important to collect than in many other surveys. Relatively more of the sick, the aged and those with large numbers of children are likely to have difficulty in granting an interview. Yet relatively more of them are likely to be poor. We must ensure that our estimates of the incidence of poverty are not weakened by lack of information about non-respondents in the sample. We are, therefore, instructing interviewers to do all that is humanly possible to record vital information about the composition of the household, housing amenities and other matters

The importance of the distinction between total and partial poverty For reasons given earlier we must find to what extent families with low monetary incomes also have poor resources in other respects - housing and living facilities, capital assets, fringe benefits and occupational facilities and access to the social services. Groups of questions have to be asked about each of these aspects of living standards and some attempts made to estimate their total value to the individual and to the household.

The importance of the distinction between short-term and long-term poverty At the time of interview some families may have very low incomes through recent adversity such as sickness or bereavement. They will not have been "poor" for very long and some of them will not be "poor" for much longer. In giving estimates of the incidence of poverty we must be able to specify how many people have been poor for long and short periods. It is, of course, difficult to collect information about income at any date in the past, so we confine ourselves to groups of questions designed to establish the current income (ie: last week), the average income (ie: during the last year), together with information about certain abrupt changes in recent years in employment status.

Three measures of poverty

In the survey we envisage applying three measures of poverty:

1) Comparisons with supplementary benefit levels as used by the Government in its own survey;

2) Comparisons with average levels of living (median, for example, and mean income of different types of household and mean disposable personal income);

3) An attempt to identify deprivation on the basis of both

   (a) the levels normally found to be necessary for the standard percentage on food to be spent;

   (b) inability to participate in even a substantial number of the activities and customs followed by the majority of the population of the United Kingdom (see Section IX).

The QUESTIONNAIRE: SECTIONS

Section I
Housing and living facilities

The first aim in this section is to establish more carefully than is usual the exact composition of the household, taking particular account of visitors and members of the household who may be temporarily or indefinitely away, such as men working at sea or in the transport services.

The second aim is to obtain various measures of poor housing:

i) adequacy of basic facilities of dwelling
ii) degree of overcrowding
iii) deficiency of bedrooms
iv) overall facilities of household
v) degree of satisfaction with living faciliti s and environment

Overcrowding will be measured first by applying the Census definition. The total number of rooms is divided by the total number of persons in the household and the resulting ratio will be worked out. We will also use a slight modification of the bedroom deficiency index devised by P G Gray of the Government Social Survey and used in a survey for the Plowden Committee. This index is calculated by comparing the number of bedrooms in the household with the following standard:

i) Each married couple must have one bedroom
ii) Any other person over 21 must have a bedroom
iii) Any two persons of the same sex aged 10-20 must have a bedroom
If any remaining person aged 10-20 cannot be paired with a child of under 10 of the same sex then he or she must have a bedroom
iv) Any two remaining children under 10 must have a bedroom
Any child remaining must be given an additional room

We have introduced the following small modifications:

(a) if an infant of under one year is left after the standard is applied he or she is not assumed to require an additional room;

(b) households comprising more than four persons and any other households with three or more children are assumed to require a minimum of two living rooms, including the kitchen only if it is big enough for the household to eat in, before calculating how many rooms are left for sleeping in.

In developing a "household amenities index" we have simply listed ten items which are now widely available in British homes. Ideally we would have wished to have taken more account of furnishings, wall coverings and curtaining but these vary so widely in substance and quality that it is difficult to be both objective and meaningful.

Section II
Employment

This section has two special aims. One is to build up a picture of each individual's "work-record" over the previous 12 months. Low standards of living are often caused by intermittent sickness or unemployment or by spells of casual employment, for example. The situation at the time of the interview may not be representative of the pattern of work during the year and that is primarily why we are seeking information about the latter.

The second is to find what educational experience people have had, so that we may analyse better the relation between education and standards of living.

Section III
Occupational facilities and fringe benefits

This is an experimental section designed to indicate the nature and adequacy of people's working environment and whether the individual benefits provided by the employer are a substantial supplement to earnings. Since a large part of adult life is passed at places of employment we are concerned to explore whether there are people who experience squalor at work as well as at home. And poverty at work can be real even when poverty is unknown at home.

We aim first to find what facilities are provided for indoor and outdoor employment, beyond those which are necessary for the particular type of employment (e.g. machines, vehicles, blackboards). We appreciate that some of the questions may be inappropriate for people working in certain types of employment and our attention should be called to this if necessary.

We aim second to provide statistical information about the number and characteristics of people who are eligible and ineligible for different fringe benefits. Some people may not have had any sick pay in the past year and yet they are entitled to it. Again, many people are expecting eventually to receive an occupational pension. Such matters as these can make a big difference to the "security" of people's living standards, particularly in middle age. The problem is that individuals, particularly when they are young, are often hazy about the exact benefits they expect to receive. The questions are designed to elicit minimum information.

The third aim is to give exact information about the value of fringe benefits in kind which have actually been received during the year. This will allow us to calculate how important these benefits are to certain kinds of people, including the poor. (It should be noted that questions about fringe benefits in the form of income in kind are included in this section but that questions about fringe benefits in the form of cash income are included, for convenient, in the subsequent Section V.

Section IV
Current Monetary Income

This series of questions forms a centrepiece to the questionnaire and aims to establish what was the total cash income in (a) the previous week and (b) the previous 12 months from any source of each income unit in the household. There are four groups of questions - on earnings, income of self-employed, Government social security benefits, and miscellaneous sources of income. For convenience certain questions on "windfall" income, income from sales, capital gains or loans which has been used for ordinary living expenses, and income from interest and dividends, has been included in Section V as Savings and Assets. More than in any other section of the questionnaire the questions are derived from previous surveys - particularly the income schedule of the Ministry of Labour's Family Expenditure Survey, but also the cross-national survey on old people and the Ministry of Social Security's survey of families. The questions break new ground in the sense of a (a) making searching inquiries of each income recipient in the household and not only the head of household or those in full-time employment; (b) widening the definition of cash income to include capital gains and receipts which have been used for ordinary living expenses during the year; (c) paying particular attention to earnings from occasional spare-time and second jobs, and (d) establishing forms of income for any part of the previous 12 months so that we can give figures for income "last year" as well as "last week". Income in kind is left to Section VIII of the questionnaire. Broadly, the definition of income elaborated by Simons, Kaldor and the Minority of the Royal Commission on Taxation (Kaldor, Woodwock and Bullock) is favoured.(1)

Income of a household does not include payments received by one member of a household from another, e.g. housekeeping, wages of domestic servant. Some of these exchanges are explored in Section IX. Amounts of income should not be entered more than once in different places or in different columns. Providing income is listed under the individual income recipient it will then be possible both to add up a total income for the household as a whole and a total income for each income unit (i.e. a married couple or an adult over the age of 15 who is an independent income "recipient"). It will sometimes be necessary to extract the personal income of an income unit (e.g. retirement pensioners, young persons at work) from the information about the household as a whole in order to analyse the adequacy, say, of social security benefits or compare information from the sample with data collected by the Board of Inland Revenue.

We have also incorporated in this section, for convenience of the interviewer, certain questions aiming to obtain an accurate figure of housing costs (and house value), so that household income, less rents and other costs of housing, can be compared with supplementary benefit levels.

Section V
Savings and Assets

This section aims to establish estimates of the total value of savings and assets owned by the household (the value of an owner-occupied house has already been estimated in Section IV where for convenience,

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1 H Simons: Personal Income Taxation, 1938, pp. 49-50; N Kaldor: An Expenditure Tax, 1955; Final Report of the Royal Commission on Taxation, Cmd 9474, London HMSO, 1955, pp. 355-6

a question was added to other questions about rent, rates and amenities). This will allow us to calculate how many poor families have "reserves" of any kind. It will also allow us to "correct" information about income levels so that we get closer to a true picture of levels of living.

The questions are directed first at savings and second at property - both housing and household or personal possessions. We do not attempt to estimate the value of goods in everyday household use but only articles worth £25 or more which could be sold if necessary to raise money.

Section VI
Health and Disability

Our object here is to discover and measure the numbers of persons who are lightly or severely disabled so that we can assess their living standards. We employ two methods which are based on extensive pilot work. One is to ask whether anyone in the household is suffering from anything affecting limbs, chest or lungs, nerves, etc. The other is to ask whether the individuals in the household (aged 10 and over) can undertake certain specific activities without difficulty, including washing down, tying a knot in string, negotiating stairs and going shopping. The coding is arranged so that a "score" (of 0-18) can be given for each individual which will crudely reflect his capacity to undertake ordinary personal and household activities.

The two methods used in combination will allow us to make estimates of the numbers and kinds of person in the population who are disabled and, in conjunction with income, will make it possible to generalise about the standards of living of households in which one or more of the members are disabled.

Section VII
Social Services

Here there are two objects; to find which social services are utilised by different kinds of family, including the poor, and to make approximate estimates of the total "subsidy" (i.e. money value) received by families from the Government and the local authorities via the social services.

The answers will allow generalisations to be made about the numbers and kinds of eligible families not taking up certain kinds of welfare benefits, e.g. free school meals, welfare milk and educational maintenance allowances. In a minority of cases it may be very difficult to build up a reliable estimate, e.g. the number of consultations with a doctor in the previous 12 months, but such questions have been found in other research to produce fairly reliable results in general. Again, we are not attempting to get comprehensive data but only to get such data as we can about the costlier services.

Section VIII
Private Income in Kind

The aim of this section is first to obtain an estimate of the value of goods and services received in the previous twelve months from persons other than an employer, i.e. relatives and friends, as a contribution to the level of living. The second aim is to be able to describe the characteristics of individuals and of households receiving considerable income in kind. The third aim is to discover to what extent households are self-sufficient in the sense of depending upon their own resources, i.e. income and services, and not upon goods and services supplied from outside the household. (Note that for convenience a question about the value of the produce of garden, small-holding, allotment or farm to a household was included in Section IV.)

All previous experience of asking questions about the receipt of income in kind shows that general questions produce gross under-estimates of such income. The more possible it is to ask about relationships and exchanges with specific persons or organisations the fuller the information that is likely to be supplied. Because of the wide variation in age, the kind of persons likely to be providing gifts and help will also vary widely. All this explains the approach adopted at the start. We recognise that the method might be even more detailed.

Questions are asked about services performed for others and by others for the household. This is unusual. Yet it is likely that some poor families with a good network of support from friends and relatives are able to maintain a comfortable standard of living. By contrast there are likely to be middle-income families who are rather isolated and therefore stretched to the limit in, say, rearing young children, either because there is little unpaid help available or because they have to pay to get the help they need. The value of unpaid services may be greater than of goods in kind to many families. And trying to give estimates of them will also to some extent reveal the "compensations" of the poor.

Section IX
Style of Living

In this final section there are two main objects. The first is to find whether members of the household participate in ordinary cultural and spare-time activities (like going away on holiday, having an evening out regularly and going to sports meetings or club meetings) and have ordinary diets, including milk and fresh meat. The second is to find what internal arrangements are made within the household for financial responsibility for the housekeeping and paying the rent and bills.

We hope the answers will allow us to justify drawing a "poverty line" at a particular level of income or of resources and so give objective precision to the major aim of the whole survey to define and measure the extent of poverty. Although there are wide variations in cultural pursuits within any society, we suspect that participation in those which are common tends, statistically, to diminish rapidly below a certain level of income, or of resources, for each type of household. It is, however, difficult in survey conditions to gain even an outline of some families' "style of living". Customs and activities are extraordinarily diverse. We cannot claim to be comprehensive, but only to be using some useful indicators.

We also hope that the answers will allow us to identify certain kinds of deprivation among families. Our pilot work has shown that some families and some persons, particularly housewives, go without meals or rarely or never have an evening out because of low income.

ESTABLISHING CONTACT In establishing contact a nice balance has to be achieved between a polite insistence that now is the best time for the interview and common consideration for the informant's commitments or indisposition. People sometimes give reasons for not answering questions right away which harden into outright refusals at a second call: yet the reasons may initially be half-hearted or insufficient and further conversation at that time may clear up much of the potential misunderstanding and cause them to say at the end of the interview that they have enjoyed it. The danger is also that a half-hearted postponement on the first occasion, without adequate explanation of the survey, may lead to discussions among household members which lead to a refusal at the second meeting. Some women, however, may be reluctant to talk without their husband's permission and in that case you can offer to "call back when he's in and explain to him". There will of course be genuine reasons for postponement - sickness, going out and so on.

Possible ways of increasing the response on the first visit are as follows.

Always, if possible, go prepared to do the interview first time, and only accept an appointment without question if the informant is clearly unable to see you there and then.

It helps if the informant can see you, physically ! So many working class respondents go on personal qualities rather than the subject of the survey. This has obvious lessons: standing where the informant gets a good look at you and not going out on too dark or wet a night when you might seem like an unwelcome visitation.

Don't push too hard or too soon to get into the house. To do a satisfactory interview, however, you will need eventually to be invited inside.

Each introduction should be clearly and slowly delivered, full but not too full. Extended explanations raise as many doubts as they clarify. The main point is to let the respondent have a good look at you. Further explanations can be pursued inside the house.

Try to pick up and dispel disadvantageous conceptions of who you are !

Visits The sequence of visiting should ideally be:

- Try to complete the interview as fully as possible at the first call. If an interview is obtained try to make an appointment to see the other members of the household from whom further information is required.
- If for any reason the interview cannot take place at the first call, try to make an appointment and leave your letter. Check whether the sick are likely to get better soon. If you suspect this is going to be your last chance of seeing anyone in the household try at least to complete the summary section. If no one is in the house knock on doors on either side to find out when someone will be in. Explain to the neighbours - again carefully, but briefly - that you want to see the family "about a survey of living standards" and that you will explain when you call again.
- On returning for an appointment don't expect to get in without further ado. Proceed as if you are making a first contact and again explain carefully the purpose of your visit. If informant refuses or offers you yet another appointment, try to complete summary sheet (on the pessimistic assumption that you may never see this informant again !).

INTRODUCING the SURVEY You may well need to explain more about the survey than is comprised in the form of introduction suggested at the head of the questionnaire - and you will have to adjust your explanations to the level of understanding of respondents. Some illustrations are given.

But I don't know who you are ! - "I'm from Essex (London) University. Professors Abel-Smith and Townsend are running the survey. I have a letter from them explaining the research a bit more which I can leave you when I go. They'd be perfectly happy to answer any queries."

But what is it all about ? - "There's a lot of discussion nowadays about the standard of living - whether taxes are too high, whether the social services should be improved, whether people have enough to live on. We want to find out the facts - in confidence of course - about you and your family, and ask your opinion on a few matters. First of all, we need to know who lives in your household, what their ages are, whether they are at work and so on."

OR

"We're doing a survey of people's living standards and work and health. There's been a lot of recent discussion on unemployment and we're trying to find out whether people have any kind of difficulties about work, housing, health and so on."

Why pick on me ? There are plenty of others to go to. - "Addresses are just picked out by chance from the voting register - not people's names - and it's absolutely essential for those addresses and no others to be visited so that the results are accurate. /You see, the results of interviewing a cross-section of the population are the same as the results of interviewing everyone - provided you interview a certain number./ The experts (the professors) insist on this. I can't go to any other houses than the ones on my list."

YOU CAN ADD

"I've got to go to the addresses I'm given. Otherwise I'd lose my job."

I'm not sure I want to tell you all these things - "We do treat all information as completely private. People's names are never known by the University as we only leave a number - no name at all - on the questionnaire when we send it in. Then the University adds up all the facts and figures and produces the information in the form of statistics."

IF NECESSARY ADD:

"I'd be grateful if you could at least answer the questions that you don't mind answering. If we reach a question you'd rather not answer, then you've only to say so and I'll move on to the next."

INFORMANTS It is difficult to lay down hard and fast rules about informants: but as a rule you should interview the housewife and wage-earners. It may be that at your first call an adolescent is the only person available to give an interview but in general we suspect that apart from answering those sections which directly concern children, the adolescent members of a household will have only sketchy knowledge of its affairs. In such a case it would be better to return (first completing the summary section in case of a refusal at the next call).

REFUSALS It may happen that in spite of all your efforts you are faced with an adamant refusal. We will on most occasions arrange for someone else to visit such households at a later date.

The INTERVIEW The interviewer should be aware from the start that in its general objectives this survey differs from others. We must do all we can to keep to a minimum the numbers of persons refusing an interview or refusing to divulge details of their income or assets. Among those most likely to refuse may be a high proportion of the very poor, or families handicapped in some way. Yet because this is a poverty survey we must have an adequate representation of unusual or extraordinary households if our results are to be fully representative. Tracking down and persuading such families to give interviews will therefore call for considerable (but tactful and sensitive) persistence, particularly with people experiencing hardships or living in crowded conditions which make tempers short and interviewing difficult. Society is diverse and we are concerned to capture this diversity. Thus the interviewer is encouraged to gain all the information he or she can about minority households: unmarried mothers, deaf people living alone, mentally handicapped persons, persons living in two places, gypsies and so on.

If there is no answer at the first or second call, the third call should be made in the evening or at the weekend (depending on the times of day at which the first two calls have been made). If there is still no answer an attempt should be made to establish from a neighbour (a) when a member of household is likely to be in; (b) if possible, the names, ages and likely occupations of persons living in the household.

Carefully complete your master record and progress sheets after each call.

Pre-coded questions

When some or all of the possible answers are given in the questionnaire (and this applies in most cases) merely indicate which answer was given by neatly ringing the appropriate code number (please take great care on crowded pages of the questionnaire not to make a ring which could be read as either of two code numbers). Here is an example:

Is there gas laid on ?	Yes	1
(Answer: Yes)	No	2

If the answer does not appear on the questionnaire or if you are unsure which code to ring, write down the full reply given and we will decide how to code it.

Do not read out the possible answers unless the word PROMPT appears by the side: in which case they must all be read with equal emphasis so as not to bias the choice of a reply. Care must be taken not to confuse prompting with PROBING.

PROBES should be used where the informant is not answering on the right lines or is giving an insufficient answer, when you should:

either repeat the question

or wait expectantly, saying "Mm ?" or "Yes ?" or repeating the last phrase of what he has just said

or say: "What else would you say about that ?"

or, if the answer requires explanation and the two above methods have failed, ask something like: "What did you mean by that ?"
"How do you mean ?"
"In what way was it ... ?"
"Would you tell me some more about that ?"
"What makes you say that ?" etc

Open-ended questions

When there is an empty space under a question and no indication of the answer expected (or when Other (specify) ________ appears at the end of a list of possible answers), you should write in exactly what the informant said and, if possible, the actual words used. No part of a reply to a question is too insignificant to be overlooked: one of the characteristics of a good interviewer is careful observance of detail.

What do you want to know that for ? OR That's a funny question !

Once you can give a convincing answer to this sort of remark for any part of the questionnaire you really are in command of both subject matter and strategy ! If you are at a loss, say something like: "To be honest I don't know. But it's my job to try and get answers to every one of these questions."

../...

Income and savings questions

It should not be assumed that all or even the majority of people are reluctant to divulge incomes. (For example, the Family Expenditure Survey has a response rate of over 70 per cent for a rather more difficult and prolonged exercise in data collection than we are undertaking.)

To ease the difficulties the questionnaire is designed to lead up to first income then savings (which may be more tricky than income) via some interesting and relatively neutral questions about living facilities. The actual income questions are then asked - and if there is reluctance to give exact amounts, a flash card can be shown which enables informants to indicate a code number corresponding to their income. In extremely difficult circumstances an informant can be asked to write down on paper his earnings (eg: if a wife's presence is inhibiting her husband's replies or vice versa, we supply a list of the most important questions for the individual concerned to complete in writing and hand back to the interviewer for later incorporation in the questionnaire)

Particular points to be borne in mind by the interviewer are:

- The survey asks for a considerable amount of social data, quite apart from income and this may legitimately and truthfully be emphasised in the first approach.
- It will be an advantage (although not essential) to interview in privacy at least for the purpose of obtaining income information. It is necessary to remember, however, that in some lower income groups it may prove an embarrassment to insist on privacy (some families have one communal living room cum kitchen and the only alternative space is an unheated or uncomfortable bedroom) although the request should nonetheless be made where necessary.
- Indications are that the most difficult questions may be those about assets and savings (not income); and that of all groups, the self-employed need the most tact, reassurance of complete confidentiality and dissociation from government 'snooping'.

AFTER the INTERVIEW Leave the letter behind (and a stamped addressed envelope for any promised figures that were not to hand during the interview but were to be furnished). Check each questionnaire as soon as possible after the interview; ensure that all information is recorded and in the right place and that your writing is clear and legible so we do not have to trouble you with tiresome queries. It may be easier to use a pencil during the interview but a ball-point pen (a fine one !) should be used at the checking stage. If you discover one or two mistakes or omissions do not attempt to guess what the answers might have been but try and call back to obtain full or clearer information.

ADMINISTRATIVE POINTS

1 We must keep an up to date record of fieldwork progress throughout the year therefore it is essential that a progress sheet accompanies each summary sheet or questionnaire posted to the office.

2 The nature of our sample demands that the number of households at each address is ascertained accurately and relayed to us swiftly. If you can record this following your first contact so much the better but we know it will not always be possible.

3 The reference number must be written on the first (blue) page (i) of the questionnaire, at the top (or on the summary sheet) as well as on every loose document relating to it, in case they become separated in the office. The reference number is of course taken from the Master Record Sheet.

.../...

4 To ensure a continuous flow of work arriving at the office, please send in each questionnaire or summary sheet on completion.

5 In order not to waste questionnaires we have provided Summary Sheets for those households where no proper interview can be obtained.

6 The master record sheet consists of four parts - A, B, C & D - comprising the addresses in your total sample sub-divided into four lists to be done (roughly) quarterly throughout the year. Those interviewers working in more than one constituency will have more than one set of master record sheets as a set is issued for each area. Information should be recorded on the master record sheet at the same time each progress sheet is filled in to send off to the London office and as you complete work on all the addresses in a master record sheet, please return it to us promptly.

7 We must receive a progress sheet with every returned questionnaire or summary sheet. We should also normally receive one after each call paid to a household where no interview was carried out or if delay in completing an interview for all adults is probable. Describe briefly the outcome of calls made as well as date and time of day. At the bottom indicate as a check for us whether or not there is more than one household at the address.

8 Interviewers will have an identity card with which to establish their good faith. As soon as you start your fieldwork, however, will you please be sure to inform the local police station that you are interviewing in the area so that they can discount and allay suspicious phone calls or personal enquiries.

9 Your working hours should be calculated from the time you leave home until the time you return. Payment is also made for checking questionnaires. It is difficult for us to lay down any set time for this task but we hope that the time spent will gradually decrease as you become more familiar with the questionnaire. Meanwhile please charge for the full time spent: if it is excessive we'll soon write and point this out ! We would rather have these early questionnaires thoroughly checked by the interviewer than have to harry you with further queries when we come to check them ourselves.

Claims for payment MUST BE POSTED SEPARATELY from your work if you wish us to expedite payment. There will be many a day when we have to let unopened packets of questionnaires pile up and it may be two or three days after arrival before we open them and discover a pay claim lurking inside.

DEFINITIONS

Household A household consists of (a) one person living alone or (b) two or more persons living together, having some or all meals together and benefiting from a common housekeeping. List as members (i) persons who have resided in the household for at least 4 weeks and are not expected to leave shortly and (ii) persons who have resided in the household for less than 4 weeks but are not expected to leave again after that period. Treat as a separate household persons living but not boarding with a household in a house or flat. But if a person eats breakfast or any other meal with the household in which he is living, he or she should be counted as part of that household. Persons living in an institution or hotel (ie: staff) will be treated as forming a private household when they occupy separate quarters (even a single room) and do not depend invariably on the services of the institution for meals. Broadly speaking, residents of boarding houses and hotels (NOT temporary guests) and resident staff of hospitals, welfare Homes, nursing Homes and schools are counted as private households for the purposes of this survey. Even though different staff may eat many meals together and depend on a common housekeeping, they should be counted as separate households if they occupy separate sleeping accommodation.

Householder The person who either owns the accommodation or pays the rent. If the accommodation is rent free, then the householder is the person who would normally pay rent but whose occupation provides rent free accommodation.

.../...

definitions continued

Housewife The housewife is the female person in a private household who is in charge of household arrangements such as shopping, cooking and cleaning. She may or may not do the chores herself and she may also be in full or part time employment.

Parentless Family/Unit This comprises a motherless, fatherless or "orphan" family or unit. A motherless family is a household or segment of a household in which there is a child who has no mother and there is neither an adoptive mother, stepmother, foster mother nor 'substitute' mother regularly prese t in the household who is regarded as the father's 'wife'. A fatherless family is a household or segment of a household in which there is a child who has no father and there is neither an adoptive father, stepfather, foster father nor 'substitute' father regularly present in the household who is regarded as the other's 'husband'. An 'orphan' family unit consists of a segment of a household in which there are children who have neither father nor mother and there are neither adoptive parents, foster parents nor 'substitute' parents regularly present who are regarded as living together as man and wife.

Large family with dependent children A household containing at least five children who are supported economically by adults living in the household. In the case of a composite household the children may not be of the same parents. A child who is temporarily or permanently away who is financially supported by an adult in the household is counted. Children over the age of 15 who are living at home but are in paid employment will be included unless their contribution to household expenses amounts to 20 per cent of average industrial earnings (this is around £4 at the present time). The figure is arbitrary and is intended to allow a rough dividing line between those who are substantially and those who are minimally supported in fact by their parents.

3 General

We will from time to time send you pages to add to this section (on interviewing experience, common errors etc). Our notes below are sparse until the revised questionnaire has been tried out in the field.

Use of columns We cannot emphasise enough the importance of recording the relevant information about each member of the household in the correct column throughout the interview. Any cross-coding will disrupt the processing of the questionnaires at our end: but may also mean jettisoning the information if the cross-coding cannot be unravelled.

Refusals to questions If you have a refusal to a particular question do not code 'Don't know' or leave blank: but write in 'Refused' so that we shall not have to return your questionnaire for clarification.

Inconsistencies When any apparent inconsistency is noted during an interview (ie: if the informant contradicts something said earlier or reveals something that may have been germane to a previous question), try to correct it. Say something like: "Did I misunderstand you earlier when you said... ?" If this is not possible (and it might sometimes be tactless or insensitive to reopen the matter) do indicate to us that you were aware of the inconsistency. Write a note on the questionnaire (this will also eliminate much back and forth of questionnaires through the post).

We realise that this is contrary to what a number of you have been trained to do in consumer research interviewing: so try to keep in mind that we do not necessarily want the first reactions to a question; nor are we concerned that you read the questions strictly as they are set out; but we are most concerned that the information we obtain is as accurate as possible.

-oOo-

Section I: Q 10e - a flash card has now been provided for age groups

Q 12 - anyone included here as member of the household must be included throughout the questionnaire

Section II: Q 6 - DO REMEMBER to code the housewife here !

Q 7 - DO ASK THIS QUESTION of the housewife and retired persons as well as other members of the household not at work last week. We are interested in all past work histories.

Q 7b - Employer's or own business - PLEASE BE SPECIFIC. "Engineering" is not sufficient answer: probe - "What do they make ?"

Section IV: - There must be a code (7, 8 or 9) for everyone at the head of this section.

ADMINISTRATIVE POINTS

1 We must keep an up to date record of fieldwork progress throughout the year therefore it is essential that a progress sheet accompanies each questionnaire or summary schedule posted to the office.

2 The nature of our sample demands that the number of households at each address is ascertained accurately and relayed to us swiftly. If you can record this following your first contact so much the better but we know it will not always be possible.

3 To ensure a continuous flow of work arriving at the office please send in each questionnaire or summary schedule on completion and by recorded delivery.

4 The household reference number must be written on the first (blue) page of the questionnaire at the top (or on the summary schedule also at the top) as well as on every loose document relating to it in case they become separated. The reference number is of course taken from the Master Record Sheet.

5 In order not to waste questionnaires we have provided Summary Schedules for those households where no proper interview can be obtained.

6 The master record sheet consists of four parts - A, B, C & D - comprising the addresses in your total sample sub-divided into four lists to be done (roughly) quarterly throughout the year. Those interviewers working in more than one constituency will have more than one set of master record sheets as a set is issued for each area. Information should be recorded on the master record sheet at the same time each progress sheet is filled in to send to the office and as you complete work on all the addresses in a master record sheet, please return it to us promptly.

7 We must receive a progress sheet with every returned questionnaire or summary schedule, as we have said above. We should also normally receive one after each call paid to a household where no interview was carried out or if delay in completing an interview for all adults is probable. Describe briefly the outcome of calls made as well as date and time of day. At the bottom indicate as a check for us whether or not there is more than one household living at the address.

8 Interviewers will have an identity card with which to establish their good good faith. As soon as you start your field work, however, will you please be sure to inform the local police station that you are interviewing in the area so that they can discount and allay suspicions phone calls or personal enquiries.

9 Your working hours should be calculated from the time you leave home until the time you return. Payment is also made for checking questionnaires. It is difficult for us to stipulate any set time for this task but we hope that the time spent will gradually decrease as you become more familiar with the questionnaire. Meanwhile please charge for the full time spent: if it is excessive we will soon write and point this out.

Claims for payment

must be posted separately from your work if you wish us to expedite payment. There will be many a day when we have to let unopened packets of questionnaires pile up and it may be two or three days after arrival before we open them and discover a pay claim lurking inside.

N o t e s

on the Questionnaire

We will from time to time send you pages to add to this section (on interviewing experience, common errors and difficulties etc)

Checking & editing We are checking and editing in green and purple pens: may we ask interviewers to continue to use the more prosaic colours of red, black, blue ?

Front cover Please leave unblemished all the boxes and grids (as well as the surrounding space !) on the front cover as these are for office use.

Use of columns We cannot emphasise enough the importance of recording the relevant information about each member of the household in the correct column throughout the interview. Any cross-coding will disrupt the processing of the questionnaires at our end; but may also mean jettisoning the information if the cross-coding cannot be unravelled.

Refusals to questions If you have a refusal to a particular question do not code DK or leave blank: but write in 'Refused' so that we shall not have to return your questionnaire for clarification.

Inconsistencies & contradictions When any apparent inconsistency is noted during an interview (ie: if the informant contradicts something said earlier or reveals something that may have been germane to a previous question), try to correct it. Say something like: "Did I misunderstand you earlier when you said... ?" If this is not possible (and it might sometimes be tactless or insensitive to reopen the matter) do indicate to us that you were aware of the inconsistency. Write a note on the questionnaire (this will also eliminate much back and forth of query sheets).

We realise this is contrary to what a number of you have been trained to do in consumer research interviewing: so try to keep in mind that we do not want the first reactions to a question; nor are we concerned that you read the questions strictly as they are set out; but we are most concerned that the information we obtain is as accurate as possible.

Employment section Sometimes you will have an informant who is at present a student or housewife but who worked for a month or so at the beginning of the previous twelve month period. They will have to be asked retrospective questions about their work etc that may seem ridiculous. We know this is awkward but please persevere with the questions where you can. We may well drop out many of these people thus disregarding data that you have painstakingly collected but we cannot yet judge whose data should be retained and whose rejected: so we do need you to collect whatever information you can.

Back cover Although you enter the household code in the body of the questionnaire it would be helpful to us if you were to ring it on the back cover as well (if we are looking for a particular household composition for illustrations it's quicker for us to glance at the inside back cover).

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND HOUSEHOLD RESOURCES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

INTERVIEWERS HANDBOOK

1. The "Screening" Interview

(i) Establishing Contact

After briefly introducing yourself and the project on the doorstep to any adult member of the household, ask if you can go inside to get your questions answered. Explain that you may "not take long" but that some people have to be asked "more questions at the end". It is sometimes useful to suggest that they may be unlucky and not have an interview for longer than 20 or 30 minutes. Thus, once they prove to be persons qualifying for a follow-up interview you can say "yours is one of the special families we wanted to pick out and I would like to ask you more questions. Can I go on?" (You can ask if they would prefer you to go on or come back another time, but you are advised to complete the follow-up interview in every possible instance.)

Do not impose yourself if someone in the household is ill or disabled or extremely busy. On the other hand, it is usually advisable to:

(a) secure minimal information about the household and its circumstances from anyone answering the door after specifying an alternative appointment. That is, the first page of the questionnaire must be completed;

(b) make sure that so far as possible the respondent has understood the verbal explanation of your mission. It is usually best to repeat this explanation before leaving and to make every effort to leave an impression of being business-like but friendly;

(c) leave the typed letter of introduction explaining the project;

(d) check whether someone who is ill is likely to get better fairly soon. In the case of a respondent who is permanently disabled or handicapped or is in the same household as such a person it is usually best to persist gently in seeking answers to the questions. People sometimes give reasons for not answering questions right away which harden into outright refusals at a second call; yet the reasons may initially be half-hearted or insufficient and further conversation at that time may clear up much of their potential misunderstanding and cause them to say at the end of the interview that they have enjoyed it.

If someone refuses to answer questions or if you have any reason for supposing that they will be unco-operative on a future occasion, the regional supervisor should be consulted. It may be appropriate for someone else to try visiting the household, or to try an alternative approach. In this survey we must do all we can to keep the number of persons refusing an interview as small as possible. People with inadequate resources, including bad housing and few possessions, are more likely than others to be disabled or have someone in the household who is disabled, to be partly educated or semi-literate, very old or living in crowded conditions which make tempers short and interviewing difficult. The interviewer should be aware from the start that in its general objectives this survey is different from others. It is vital for unusual, odd and extraordinary households, and not only usual or ordinary households, to be properly represented in the results. The interviewer will be encouraged to gain all the information he can about rare cases - unmarried mothers, deaf people living alone, mentally handicapped persons, persons living in two places, gipsies and so on. Society is diverse, and we are concerned to capture this diversity.

If there is no answer at either the first or the second call the regional supervisor should be consulted and, generally, the third call should be made in the evening or at the weekend (assuming that the first two have been made in the day). If there is still no answer, an attempt should be made to establish from a neighbour (a) the names, ages and likely occupations of persons living in the household and (b) when they are likely to be in.

Carefully complete your record sheet after each call and as soon as contact is established with any member of the household COMPLETE THE FIRST PAGE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

(ii) Conducting the Interview

You will need to explain more about the survey than is suggested by the form of introduction given for purposes of illustration at the head of the questionnaire. You will have to adjust your explanations to the level of understanding of respondents. The following are given for illustration.

(a) Yes, but I don't know who you are. "I'm from Essex/ London University. Professor Abel-Smith and Professor Townsend are in charge. I have a letter from them explaining the research which I can leave you when I go. They would be very happy to answer any question."

(b) But what is it all about? "There's a lot of argument about the standard of living - whether taxes are too high, whether the social services should be improved, whether people have enough to live on. We want to find out the facts, in confidence of course, about you and your family and ask your opinions. First of all, we need to know who is in your family, what their ages are, whether they are at work and so on."

(c) Why pick on me? There are plenty of others to go to. EITHER "Addresses are picked out by chance from the voting register and it is absolutely essential for those addresses and no others to be visited so that the results are accurate. (The results of interviewing a cross-section of the population are the same as the results of interviewing everyone.) The experts, the professors, insist on this. I can't go to anyone else." OR "I've got to go to the addresses I'm given. I'd lose my job if I went to any others."

(d) I'm not sure I want to tell you all these things. "We treat all information as private. Peoples' real names are not given in our book. We add up thousands of facts and figures and give lots of statistics." IF NECESSARY ADD -

"I'd be grateful if you could just answer those things you don't mind answering. Please say when we reach a questions you would rather not answer."

(e) What do you want to know that for? OR That's a funny question. Once you can give a convincing answer to this question for any part of the questionnaire you really are in command of both subject matter and strategy. If you are at a loss say something like, "To be honest I don't know. But its my job to get answers to every one of these questions. My boss expects it.

The QUESTIONNAIRE

Preliminary

I to V — The first two pages of the questionnaire must be completed by the interviewer whether an interview is obtained or not. The record sheet must therefore be kept carefully and as soon as it seems likely that he may not secure an interview the interviewer must do what he can to persuade the occupants to provide minimal information and, in the last resort, check innocuous details from a neighbour (eg: length of time at address or number, sex and age of occupants).

Q II(v) — The reference to structural facilities is the same in the question towards the end of the questionnaire (ie: sole use by household of five facilities - indoor flush WC, fixed bath, washbasin, electricity and hot and cold running water).

Q III — This box would normally be completed at the end of the main interview. If the interview is conducted on the day of the first call the information will correspond with that in Qs 1, 2, 5 and 14. If the interview is conducted on a day after the first call the interviewer should check whether the information given also corresponds with what it would have been on that day. Be on the lookout for

(i) absences
(ii) temporary illnesses
(iii) temporary unemployment.

We badly need information about household circumstances on the day of the first call to make more accurate statistical estimates of the incidence of sickness etc in the United Kingdom as a whole.

-oOo-

Q 1 — AGE Age at last birthday. Ring the appropriate summary code. A child aged 1 year and 11 months would be coded 0 and one of 14 years and 11 months 3. Sometimes you will find that it is a bit awkward to follow the rule of listing each member of the household according to age (eg: when a wife is older than her husband) but we believe it is an easier rule to follow than any other. Make sure you stick to it throughout the questionnaire.

Q 3 — RELATIONSHIP to OLDEST MEMBER We require this information to help us sort out households whose circumstances can be compared with each other. You will find that the answers will help you to code accurately the household summary on the page following Q 9. Please avoid ambiguous terms like "uncle","niece", "father-in-law". "Uncle" could mean father's brother or mother's brother or even wife's father's brother or mother's brother. If you can be simple but specific it will be easy for us to identify unusual or complex social units.

Q 4 STAYING the NIGHT This will help both to check on temporary absences as well as lead into the sometimes difficult question of the people who actually comprise the household (Qs 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9).

Q 5 MARITAL STATUS *Women who are married but separated usually volunteer this fact.* Check whether they are separated legally (ie: a maintenance order through the courts) or informally (meaning that at least the spouse in the household accepts that they are not living together and there is no immediate prospect of them living together). You must decide whether to code 2 or 4, depending on the circumstances. If a husband or wife is away for reasons of work or a visit to relatives or friends you would normally code 2. If he has been away for at least three months and there is no prospect of an early return or there is no indication that the absence is attributable to work or a natural visit to family or friends you might feel it more accurate to code 4.

Q 5(ii) *Those coded 1 will automatically be checked as a parentless family* or unit in the Summary at the end of the questionnaire (I) unless they were coded 2 under Q 5 and the husband has been away from home for less than 13 weeks.

Qs 6 to 8 These questions are designed to check on children living temporarily away from home or permanently away from home with at least some economic support. *They are also designed to identify other temporary* absentees or members. In some instances, as a result of the answers to these questions, you may have to amend Qs 1 to 5.

Q 6(f) This is a priority code.

Q 9 Code Y indicates households qualifying for inclusion in Summary at end of questionnaire (I).

Q 10 EMPLOYMENT Check whether any person in fact had a second job last week and code accordingly.

Numbers of hours The total should be for all jobs and should exclude meal breaks. It will often be necessary to find out the number of hours worked by questioning the respondent. If he or she claims not to know ask (a) whether it is a five-day week (b) starting and finishing times. The following may be useful:

starting time:	finishing time 4.30	5 pm	5.30	6 pm
7 am	$42\frac{1}{2}$	45	$47\frac{1}{2}$	50
7.30	40	$42\frac{1}{2}$	45	$47\frac{1}{2}$
8 am	$37\frac{1}{2}$	40	$42\frac{1}{2}$	45
8.30	35	$37\frac{1}{2}$	40	$42\frac{1}{2}$
9 am	$32\frac{1}{2}$	35	$37\frac{1}{2}$	40

Q 10
continued

Reason for not working The distinction between sickness or injury and disability or handicap is not always easy to make and you should normally accept what the respondent says, bearing in mind that sickness or injury implies a condition that will clear up and may be temporary. A woman who is normally in paid employment but has been off work looking after a member of the household should be coded 5 and not as "housewife" (6) even if she also acts as housewife when she has her job. Do not assume automatically that all persons of retirement age are "retired" (code 4). They may say they are unwell or can't get a job and intend to get one. Their reason should be accepted here (leaving Q 17 to distinguish between those who are and those who are not available for work).

Q 11 LENGTH of TIME SINCE WORKING If it is one year or more since he worked put "52".

Q 12 NUMBER of WEEKS OFF WORK in PAST YEAR The correct answers may take time to establish. If there is no obvious interruption of employment (eg: sickness or unemployment) it is usually best to start by saying "How many weeks was he on holiday ?" and build up the picture from that point. It will generally be useful to use the following:

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
- Employed more than 30 hours												
- Employed less than 30 hours												
- Sick												
- Disabled												
- Injured												
- Off work looking after member of family												
- Holiday												
- Other												

Q 13 PART-TIME WORK Our object is to make sure we find out about persons working only three or four days a week, because this can be a form of "concealed" unemployment. Question 13(b) is aimed to find out not whether the respondent believes another member of the household wants a full-time job (we can hardly ask people to report others' feelings) but whether he knows of any obstacle to a full-time job being taken (eg: disability, family reasons) if one was available.

Qs 14, 15, 16 PAID EMPLOYMENT The usual problem about the answers to this question is that they are too general. You must not be satisfied with "civil servant", "engineer", "miner" etc. Make sure you have a description of the level and nature of the occupation (eg: shop assistant) as well as the employer's business (eg: retail shop). Quite often you will be interviewing housewives, some of them with children. You should phrase the question gently: "With your family responsibilities, do you find time to go out to work ?" Probe carefully for a second job. Sometimes this will be similar to the main occupation - particularly people like painters, carpenters, decorators, electricians, company directors and university teachers. Note that Qs 15 and 16 seek last paid occupation and not main occupation in life. The two are not necessarily the same. The summary of occupational status after Q 16 is designed to improve our ability to classify people's occupations correctly and save time in preparing statistics.

Q 17 NOT WORKING This question is designed to help us distinguish between those who are unemployed in the sense that they are available for work and those who are not available for work, such as housewives and those who are sick or disabled.
But there are persons who are on the borderline between sickness or disability and unemployment. Even if a person is drawing sickness benefit or a disability pension you should code him here as 1, 2 or 3 if he is seeking work or is regarded as available for work. The household will then be coded 1 under III in the Summary at the end of the questionnaire (and may also be coded 3, say,under IV and V in the Summary).

Q 18 EARNINGS LAST WEEK The amount written down should be "take-home" earnings (ie: pay less income tax and national insurance contributions). For persons who are paid monthly make the best estimate you can of the amount payable for the preceding week bearing in mind irregular payments such as bonus payments or commission (noting the equivalence figures on the Income Group card). If the respondent or one of the persons in the household is self-employed, ask for his estimate of his normal net earnings after deductions of income tax and national insurance contributions. No attempt should be made to put a cash value of benefits received for services. Exclude holiday pay for a future period. The respondent will not always be well-informed about the earnings of someone else in the household. You should make the best estimate on the basis of the information he or she gives you, paying most careful attention to figures below or around the £15 per week level. If you feel the information needs to be verified directly with the earner in question you should arrange to return to the household. However, you should explain that this is for general information not just information on earnings.

Q 19 USUAL EARNINGS Our object is to check whether low earnings last week were usual. The kind of problem that might arise is of someone getting

(i) a bonus or commission or overtime pay referring to a period previous to last week, or

(ii) unusually high or low earnings because of overtime or short-time.

Please note that the code Y means that the household should be coded under VII in the Summary at the end of the questionnaire.

Q 20 CHILDREN'S EARNINGS The object of this question is to establish whether a child is economically dependent even if he has a paid job. If the child contributes less than £4 a week (about 20 per cent of average male adult industrial earnings) towards his keep he is assumed to depend to at least a significant extent on the household for support and he should be counted towards IIc in the Summary.

Q 21 SOCIAL SECURITY INCOME This information is of considerable value and will allow you to check information sought elsewhere in the questionnaire about unemployment, sickness and disability. If the figure 1 is coded, the number of weeks during which the benefit or pension has been paid should be noted in the adjoining box. For persons receiving a war or industrial disablement pension you should carefully establish what percentage pension it is.

Q 22 GENERAL HEALTH This is an opinion question, related to the age of each person in the household.

Q 23 ILLNESS The informant's interpretation of "ill" or "unwell" must be accepted. The question is mainly intended to identify children normally at school, housewives and retired persons who have been ill for some time.

(a) In the case of persons who are off work you will be repeating information collected earlier.

(b) Note the number of weeks consecutively off school, counting the end of last term as well as the beginning of this term.

(c) In deciding how many weeks a person has been "confined to bed or house" you must count how many weeks it is since the person last went outside the house without any assistance and not in violation of any medical veto.

(d) Find for how many weeks a person has been regularly seeing doctor. Some persons will be ill in the sense that they are convalescing or recovering and may not be confined to the house but will be reporting to the doctor weekly, fortnightly or monthly.

Q 24 DISABILITY Accept the informant's answer and record his version of what the disabil ty is. Do what you can to obtain the best pos ible information but do not worry if the informant's description is vague. We cannot expect clinically reliable information. The main object of this question is to guide you in probing a person's actual capacities in Qs 27 & 28.

Q 25 REGISTERED DISABILITY Each question should be asked carefully about every member of the household.

Q 26 CHECK on DISABILITY These questions are designed to explore whether in fact there is anyone in the household who has a disability not so far mentioned. You may be surprised to learn that these questions sometimes produce positive answers when none have been given earlier.

Q 27 CAPACITY These questions are helpful in showing the extent to which persons can handle their personal toilet and activities. In each case we want to know whether the individual can do this on his own without any help and if so, whether he does it with or without difficulty. Please note that (d) refers to going up and down stairs. If the individual can do one but not the other he should still be counted 2. The same is true of (e) and (f). If someone can dress but not put on shoes he should still be counted as 2. In the case of young children many will of course be unable to cut toenails or dress or bath themselves. They must still be coded carefully because children even of the same age vary in their capacities.

Q 28 CAPACITY for HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT and SOCIAL RELATIONS These questions represent a development of the previous questions and will help us to rate the degree of incapacity of persons already listed as disabled as well as persons on the borderline of disability. In large households these questions will take time to put, but you should resist the temptation to skip them. If we miss the occasional disabled child or adult we will seriously underestimate the total numbers of disabled people in the population as indicated by this survey. If people do not ordinarily do one or other of these activities you should ask "But could he if he had to ?" b) Persons who have arthritic or stiff hands or suffer from Parkinson's Disease will usually be unable to make more than relatively clumsy movements with their hands. Other examples than those we have given (threading needle and attaching plug) may occur to you as being more appropriate in certain contexts. Please use an alternative example if it seems more appropriate to the context, bearing in mind our aim to find whether an individual falls seriously short of the normal capacity to undertake relatively fine operations with the hands. c) Some people are unable either to stand on tiptoe or extend an arm above their heads. d) & e) In both cases we want to know whether a person has difficulty without spectcales or hearing aid. f) This question is intended to find whether the individual has the memory, sense of orientation and intelligence to recapitulate something he has read or seen, even in a very simple way. g) This question helps to indicate persons whose mental processes cannot connect and persons who cannot undertake simple forms of counting. h) This question is intended to identify persons having difficulties in communicating their thoughts and wants to others.

Q 29 IMMIGRANTS Our aim is to identify immigrants, whatever their country of origin, and also distinguish between coloured and white persons, whether born in this country or not. You should decide whether a person is coloured or not, depending on observation and what the informant says. Asians would ordinarily be listed as non-white but Cypriots, Greeks and Italians as white unless they are particularly swarthy. Information about colour as such is less important than in combination with country of origin.

Q 30 ROOMS Give the total number of rooms and divide the total number of rooms, excluding bathroom, scullery and kitchen unless it is also used as a living room, by the total number of persons in the household, ringing the appropriate code.

-oOo-

To: All interviewers
From: Hilary Land

SAMPLING METHOD

Sampling instructions are enclosed for your area. Please try to draw your sample as soon as possible. We realise you may encounter difficulty in getting access to files without a day or two's delay so please ring the authority concerned as soon as you are able. We have promised the local authority officials concerned that you will ring first for an appointment and not just turn up !

If urgent queries or difficulties arise when drawing the sample do not hesitate to telephone me at 01-387-4526.

AS SOON AS YOU HAVE DRAWN THE SAMPLE please send it to me at Skepper House BY EXPRESS POST.

1 December 1967

National Poverty Survey
S a m p l i n g   I n s t r u c t i o n s

1 INSTRUCTIONS for selecting a sample of addresses from a card index or set of Home Office Form A files

Each card or form should represent one address - check whether this is the case with the electoral registration officer. If more than one address appears on a card or form you must count these separately, both when working out the total number of addresses and when counting your sampling interval.

Addresses which refer to dwellings empty at the time of the canvass or at which no one is entitled to vote may be grouped separately. As long as none refer to addresses outside your selected ward, this does not matter. They must be given a chance of inclusion in your sample.

(i) Count the total number of addresses in the ward (unless of course the electoral registration officer can tell you the total, including empty and non-elector addresses)

(ii) Divide this total by the number of addresses to be selected in this ward . This will be your sampling interval

(iii) Your first address will be the Yth where Y is your random starting number, your second the (X + Y)th and so on

(iv) Include an address whether or not an elector was living there at the time of the canvass

If cards or forms have more than one address recorded on them you must be careful to count these addresses separately. If this is the case you may find the (X + Y)th address refers to the second address listed on a card or form, in which case only this address and not any of the others must be recorded.

List the addresses together with any names recorded there (you may find it useful to ask for a particular name when you first call at the address). The number of names will also give you some warning of the possibility of the existence of several households at an address. It would be helpful to us to have any information about non-electors or empty dwellings.

National Poverty Survey

S a m p l i n g   I n s t r u c t i o n s

2 INSTRUCTIONS <u>for selecting a sample of addresses from an electoral register together with canvassers' notes, amendments etc</u>

The electoral register is a list of electors and does not, therefore, include all householders. It is important to represent in our sample addresses at which no one is entitled to vote because they are aliens or are too young, and addresses at which no one was living at the time of the canvass. This is the reason for taking canvassers' notes, amendments, etc. into account.

We require a sample of addresses in which every address has an equal chance of selection. This means we have to adopt a procedure of sampling which takes into account the fact that there may be several electors listed at one address.

(i) Count the total number of different addresses AND the number of additions (less deletions) together with any addresses listed as empty or at which no one is entitled to vote. This means looking at the column of numbers on the right-hand side of the list of electors' names. These refer to the number of the street or road and where there is no number usually the name of the house is printed. Where there are two or more electors the same number or name is repeated. Do not count any road or street number or house name more than once; but note that 14a, 14b and 14c, for example, are <u>three</u> separate addresses.

(ii) Divide this number by the number of addresses required in that ward. This is your sampling interval: (X).

(iii) This time counting every elector together with any amendments or additions made by the canvassers on the register (even if the entry only refers to an address with no name by it and labelled 'empty' or 'no contact'), count to the Yth entry where Y is your random starting number. Provided he or she is the first elector or the first entry to be listed for that address this will be the first address in your sample. Your second will be the (X + Y)th and so on. If you have to reject any address because the elector or entry is not the first to be listed for that address, note that you should still start counting your sampling interval from that elector or entry.

(iv) If you find you have not selected exactly the quota of addresses for that ward do not worry if it is a little over your quota. If, however, you have less addresses then go back to the beginning of the ward, carrying over the sampling interval from the last address selected.

<u>Rural areas</u>

In rural areas the electoral register is published in a different order. Here the electors are listed alphabetically by surname not by street or road order. It will therefore be far too tedious to count the number of addresses. Proceed as follows:

a) Count the total number of electors AND the number of additions (Less deletions) together with any addresses listed as empty or at which no one is entitled to vote.

b) Divide this number by two and a half times the number of addresses required in that county electoral division. This is your sampling interval (X).

c) Counting every elector together with any amendments or additions made by the canvasser (even if there is only an address with no name by it), count to the Yth entry where Y is your random starting number. The address opposite this entry will be included in your sample provided it is the first entry to be listed for that address. To establish this you will have to search for the address among the names listed <u>before</u> this elector or entry in the polling district.

Your second address will be the (X + Y)th entry and so on. If you have to reject any address because the elector is not the first to be listed at that address, note you should still start counting your sampling interval from that elector.

d) If you find you have not selected exactly the quota of addresses for that county electoral division do not worry if it is a little over your quota. If, however, you have less addresses then go back to the beginning of the county electoral division, carrying over the sampling interval from the last address selected.

List the addresses together with any names recorded there (you may find it useful to ask for a particular name when you first call at the address. The number of names will also give you some warning of the possibility of the existence of several households at an address. It would also be helpful to us to have any information about non-electors or empty dwellings.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR DRAWING A SAMPLE OF DWELLINGS FROM RATING RECORDS

We need a sample of separately rated units of dwelling property ('rateable units'). This sample is to be taken from the rating records (Valuation Rolls in Scotland). Usually each separate 'rateable unit' will either be listed on a separate line in the rating ledger or allocated a separate card in a card index system. Recent additions, empty property, etc., may be grouped separately at the end of each ward or parish and not entered in the appropriate street. This does not matter provided none of them refers to addresses outside of your selected ward or parish and they can be treated as a continuation of the list or card index.

1. Count the total number of rateable units in the ward or parish (taking account of additions, empty property, deletions, etc.). If possible, count only those units referring to dwelling property (even if it is standing empty at the time) - not shops, garages, etc., unless there is a dwelling included in their assessment, e.g. House and shop - rateable value £40. Remember that a total figure may refer to several dwellings (e.g. 15-31 Northgate Street; count this as nine items). The rating officer may be able to tell you the total number of dwellings (or domestic hereditaments) or at least advise you on the least laborious method of ascertaining it. (We want the figure to be as accurate as possible.) If it is only possible to ascertain the total number of rateable units (=A) including dwellings and non-dwellings then ask the rating officer whether he knows the proportion dwellings form of the total number of rateable units. If this is, say, two thirds then the total number of dwellings will be approximately $\frac{2}{3}$ x A.

2. Divide the total number of dwellings (whether you have counted them or had to estimate the figure from the proportion they form of the total number of rateable units) by the number of addresses you require for that ward. This will be your sampling interval X.

3. If it is easy to count only the dwelling property, do so and your first address will be the Yth where Y is your random starting number, your second the (X + Y)th, and so on until you reach the end of the ward or parish. You may find that the 'assessment' or other reference number in the left-hand columns of the ledgers help in your counting. DO NOT rely on them implicitly because the original numbering system may have been upset by amendments. Remember to be careful with entries of property belonging to one owner which may be lumped together and not detailed separately, (e.g. 15 - 31, Northgate Street .... 9 houses). Such a block should be counted as nine separate units and the right one of them taken if you should land on such a line. If

you have to count dwelling and non-dwelling units then, using the same sampling interval, you must record every item you land on whether it is a dwelling or not. You will then get more items than the number of addresses required - this does not matter provided you indicate on the list whether or not it is a dwelling or at least contains dwelling accommodation. Go right through the rating records or card index even if you do end up with more dwellings listed than the number of addresses you require. If, however, you end up with fewer dwellings go back to the beginning of the ward and, carrying on your sampling interval, continue your selection procedure until you have the required number.

4. Record as much information about the selected rateable units as you can. The name of the occupier, the gross value and the rateable value of the property would be useful. However, check with the rating officer first - he may object to your recording names.

5. Council property (and Crown property)

Council property for a ward or parish may be recorded as a total figure only in the ledger or card index and for detailed information you will have to refer to a separate volume. (The same may apply to Crown property, although if it is only a very small proportion of the total include it in with the rest of the ward.) If this is the case you will have to sample council property separately (and Crown property is there is a substantial amount). To do this you count the total number of separate council flats or houses. Express this as a proportion of the total number of dwellings in the ward. You must then allocate that proportion of your sample of addresses (say a fifth) to council property and the remaining four-fifths to the rest of the ward. Divide the total number of council dwellings by the number of addresses allocated to them. This will be your sampling interval X_1 Then with random starting number Y_1 your first address will be the Y_1th and the second the $(X_1 + Y_1)$th, and so on.

If you have to follow this procedure, remember before calculating your sampling interval to adjust the number of addresses allocated to the remainder of the ward.

HL 4.12.67

National Poverty Survey

To interviewers
carrying out sampling
in their areas:

Report on sampling procedure

Once you have drawn a sample of addresses we would be grateful if you would put a paragraph or two in writing describing exactly when you drew the sample, who you saw and how you proceeded (particularly how you overcame any difficulties). Please say if you received any help from officials.

This record will be very helpful to us later in assembling an account of sampling procedure for inclusion in the final published report. Detach and use rest of sheet for this purpose please

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N o t e s
on Sampling

Interviewer ________________

Area ________________

National Poverty Survey

I m p o r t a n t

MEMO to Interviewers
from: Hilary Land
on: SAMPLING

11 January 1968

We are anxious to check whether, when drawing your sample, you treated any institution, staff quarters or caravan site that happened to be included in your sampling area as one address with a large number of electors and therefore to be included only if the elector chosen at that address was the first listed at that address (assuming of course that your sampling interval was such that you landed on such an elector).

In some cases we have found staff quarters have separate addresses - eg: Housekeeper's Cottage, Flat 1, 2, 3 etc - so you should have treated these as separate addresses in the ordinary way. In other cases staff are all listed under the same address - eg: Staff Quarters - and similarly people living on a caravan site may be listed altogether instead of at separately numbered caravans. When this is the case, a reasonable assumption is that every elector with a different name represents in practice separate accommodation. Thus every elector with a different name has been sampled as if this was the case. If you have made this assumption when sampling residential quarters or a caravan site we should like to know, not because it is wrong in theory but because when you visit that caravan site or staff quarters you must only interview the elector chosen in your sample OR - if they've moved - whoever happens to be living in the caravan or that part of the staff quarters. THIS IS THE ONLY OCCASION WHEN YOU SHOULD ASK FOR A PARTICULAR NAME AT ANY ADDRESS. You were asked to record names when drawing your samples only for your own information - ie: to indicate to you the likely presence of several households at one address, the presence of an immigrant family etc. EVERYONE LIVING AT AN ADDRESS - whether you have their name or not - SHOULD BE INTERVIEWED.

Some of you have sent me the total number of addresses in each ward or county electoral division together with your sampling interval. If you have not done so, could you send me this information please ?

-oOo-

National Poverty Survey

Skepper House
13 Endsleigh-street WC1
01-387-4526

I m p o r t a n t

Memo to interviewers on CORRECTIONS to QUESTIONNAIRE - SKIPPING INSTRUCTIONS

We find to our dismay that several skipping instructions contain typing errors. Whilst it is often easy to work out what skipping instruction ought to have been given, we recognise that ideally this should not have to be done during an interview ! The bulk supplies of questionnaires held at the office, therefore, are being corrected by hand but there remains the problem of the pockets of questionnaires already distributed to the majority of interviewers. May we ask you to put in by hand the corrections listed below before using these questionnaires ? This is particularly important: from the first batch of questionnaires checked since the start of the survey it is clear (and not at all surprising) that interviewers have not yet had time to get used to the filters and a number of small errors are being made on most questionnaires through not following filters correctly. It should only take about half an hour to enter the corrections and this can be added to the time on the next claim form you send in. We do apologise for the errors that slipped through the net.

Corrections to be entered

p 3/Q 10c	Yes, here SKIP TO 11d alter to SKIP TO 10e
p 5/Q 18	Born outside UK ASK 18a and 18b Born inside UK or DK: SKIP TO NEXT SECTION AFTER COMPLETING CODE BELOW and note that the final 3 codes on this page should be entered for all
p 6/Q 5	IF WORKED 30 HOURS OR MORE: SKIP TO Q 7 alter to Q 8
p 7/Q 7a Q 7c	Never paid employment SKIP TO Q 17 alter to Q 15 Yes ASK Q 7c alter to Q 7d
p 9/Q 11a	ADD a code 9 for Never: and please NOTE that in two or three other points in the questionnaire we have failed to allow for an answer that is similar (ie: Never; None of these; No) in which case write in the relevant phrase and insert a code 9 into the column just as we ask you to do here
p 10/Q 16	Yes - ASK Q 15a alter to Q 16a No and DK - SKIP TO Q 16 alter to SKIP TO NEXT SECTION
p 11/Q 1	NOTE that the bracket for codes 3 and 4 should have extended to code 5
p 14/Q 15	NOTE that a code has been left out (see p 11/Q 4): at least ½ but not all of working time. Should the occasion arise where this would be the proper answer from an informant please insert and use a code 6
p 19/Q 16	HEADING quotes Code 06 in Q 16 which should have read Q 15
p 26/Q 17	LOOK AT p 23/Q 33. There should have been an X code for Does Not Apply here also. Please insert where relevant.
p 27/Q 3	The bracket should extend to all codes 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and X
p 38/Q 19	DK and Does Not apply SKIP TO Q 18 alter to SKIP TO Q 20

PLEASE NOTE ALSO:

p 15/Q 2	CHECK at end of question: there is no space for us to alter by hand the word tax which is a misprint for deductions. We must rely on interviewers to enter the last pay before all deductions listed immediately above
p 15	The first heading on this page should be taken to include all those HAVING HAD ANY PAID EMPLOYMENT LAST WEEK etc - ie: this is the only place we can enter enter earnings of schoolchildren doing newspaper rounds etc. In such rare instances the majority of following questions are not relevant and we leave it to the interviewer's discretion to refrain from asking all of them. But we want the amount they earn.

sb
11 i 68

NATIONAL POVERTY SURVEY
Skepper House 13 Endsleigh-st WC1

M e m o
to interviewers

March 1968

1 MULTI-OCCUPIED DWELLINGS

May we ask interviewers to read again our notes (issued simultaneously with the MRS As) on addresses containing more than one household. Deletions have to be made from your list of addresses if more than one household is encountered at the same address and we cannot do this for you as we will not know whether or not you have already attempted contact with subsequent addresses on the list. If in doubt as to what to do, please do get in touch and seek advice.

2 TEMPORARY RESIDENCE or ABSENCES of MEMBER(S) of HOUSEHOLDS

The notes referred to above will also remind you of what to do in tricky situations where a son comes home at weekends or is away on a work course for several weeks etc. Several times lately the question has arisen whether or not a member of household should be interviewed and included on a questionnaire (because of an impermanent situation within the household). This can be quite a conundrum so please, again, do not hesitate to get in touch if you are in doubt even after re-reading the notes.

3 ALIENS

Please remember that aliens working or studying in this country for a temporary period are excluded from the survey. When encountered a progress sheet should be returned as for a non-effective address.

sb

National Poverty Survey

Notes on

ADDRESSES CONTAINING MORE THAN ONE HOUSEHOLD
EXCLUDED ESTABLISHMENTS
HOUSEHOLDS WHO HAVE MOVED OR ARE ABOUT TO MOVE
HOUSEHOLDS TEMPORARILY RESIDENT AT A SELECTED ADDRESS
HOUSEHOLDS AWAY; HOUSEHOLDS ABOUT TO GO AWAY
ABSENCE OF MEMBER(S) FROM A HOUSEHOLD
INCLUSION OF TEMPORARY MEMBERS OF A HOUSEHOLD

Addresses containing more than one household

All households at an address must be interviewed unless there are more than 6 in which case CONTACT HEAD OFFICE before interviewing any of them. If you have used the electoral register to draw your sample, some indication of the presence of several households will have been given by the number of surnames listed at that address.

Deletions for extra households at multi-household addresses

Multi-household addresses produce additional households above the quota set and in order to compensate for them addresses not yet called on are deleted. Thus if an address contains two households, one address must be crossed off the list. If the address contains three households then two addresses must be crossed off the list and so on. Once an address has been visited - WHETHER CONTACT WAS MADE OR NOT, - IT CANNOT BE DELETED. The deletion must be made whether or not all or any of the households in the multi-household address cooperate.

As many addresses as necessary must be deleted, taking them in order. Thus the first address to be deleted is the next one below the multi-household address which makes the deletion necessary, provided you have not yet tried to contact it. The second address to be deleted is the one below that and so on. Towards the end there may not be enough households left to delete; nevertheless you should try to interview all households at a multi-household address.

Excluded establishments

This survey is concerned primarily with private households. An address which is that of a school, prison, hospital or convent must be excluded UNLESS it contains any private household(s) - for example, a resident warden or housekeeper. In this case only the private household(s) should be interviewed. If there are more than six such households, contact head office as above. A boarding house, hostel or hotel with 6 or fewer boarders at the time of first contact should be treated like a private household (ie: each boarder will be recorded on the same questionnaire). A boarder should not be included, however, if he or she has been in residence for four weeks or less and is not expected to stay for a total period of more than four weeks. If there are more than 6 boarders or residents who qualify to be included, contact the head office. Although a guest house, say, may include 12 guests you may find that 9 of these are temporary. In such a case you can go ahead and interview the remaining three.

We are not interested in households consisting of aliens who are in this country only temporarily (ie: not expecting to settle permanently here) - for example, a household containing members of the US Forces or of the Diplomatic Corps of another country or a visiting professor and his family. If you have any doubts about including such a household, contact head office.

.../...

WHEN WE ASK YOU TO CONTACT HEAD OFFICE we normally mean you to return your progress sheet immediately but if there is urgency, telephone.

NOTES continued

Households who have moved or are about to move

We are interested in recording the situation at an address at the time of first contact. Therefore it is the household(s) now living at the listed address with whom the survey is concerned and no other. People who have moved since the beginning of the survey but before the first call must not be followed to their new address. If a household has moved in since the sample was drawn then they should be interviewed. Households who are about to move at the time of the first call should be interviewed if at all possible before they move. They should only be followed to their next address if

(a) they are moving within the ward or county electoral division in which the interviewer is working;

(b) they are moving to a newly built dwelling (ie: completed since the beginning of October 1967).

Households temporarily resident at a selected address

A separate household living temporarily (ie: for less than 4 weeks OR for 4 weeks and expecting to leave shortly) in a private house or caravan, whether on holiday or not cannot be included. A household permanently living in a caravan is to be included. This applies also to people living in boats.

Households away

If a household is away it should be visited as soon as it returns unless it is to be away for 13 weeks or more - in this case it is counted as a non-effective address.

Households about to go away

If a household is about to go away and it is not possible to interview them before they leave then they should be interviewed when they return unless, as above, they are to be away for more than 13 weeks.

Absence of member(s) from a household

Persons who are felt to be members of the household but are away (eg: students or men at work) should only be included if they have been away for less than 13 weeks and are expected back within the total period of 13 weeks.

Inclusion of temporary member(s) of a household

Persons who have resided in the household for at least four weeks and are not expected to leave shortly, and persons who have resided in the household for less than 4 weeks but are not expected to leave again after that period should be listed as members.

-oOo-

national poverty survey

M A S T E R   R E C O R D   S H E E T

The Master Record Sheet consists of four parts - A, B, C & D - comprising the addresses in your total sample sub-divided into four lists to be done (roughly) quarterly throughout the year. We will send out lists B, C and D well before the end of each current quarter.

Information should be recorded on the MRS at the same time each progress sheet is filled in and sent off to Skepper House. When you have completed work on all the addresses on a MRS then please return it to us as soon as possible.

The first column contains the reference number for the household at the address in the second column. This number must be quoted on all progress sheets, questionnaires, summary sheets or correspondence concerning the household. In the third column we ask you to record the number of separate households living at the address concerned. If you are to interview more than one household at this address you have instructions regarding deletion of following address(es): replace any deletions by re-entering the multi-household address in the second column, noting Household No 2, Household No 3 etc. Thus the second household will have the reference number originally allocated to the deleted address and the final column (Record of visit) will only apply in each case to one household. Eg:

2 0 6 4 3 8 1	6 North-street COVENTRY	1 2 3 4 5 or more	Visit No 1 2 3 4 5 6 Date: 2 i 67 Time: 10am Outcome: temporary illness: to return next week
2 0 6 4 3 9 1	~~14 William-st~~ ~~COVENTRY~~ 6 North-st Household No 2	1 2 3 4 5 or more	Visit No 1 2 3 4 5 6 Date: 2 i 67 Time: 10.15am Outcome: Interview

Those interviewers working in more than one constituency will have more than one set of Master Record Sheets as a set is issued for each area

P R O G R E S S   S H E E T

We must receive a progress sheet with every returned questionnaire or summary schedule.

We should also receive one after each call paid to a household where no interview or no complete interview can be obtained without some delay.

Please fill in your name & constituency, the household reference number given on the MRS and the address only (not the names) of the household. At the bottom indicate as a check for us whether or not there is more than one household at the address (if there is then of course results of visits to Household No 2 would be made on a separate progress sheet as that household would have the reference number originally allocated to the address it replaces on your MRS).

MASTER RECORD SHEET

Sheet A　　Sheet C

Sheet B　　Sheet D

Area ____________________

Interviewer ____________________

Ref Number:	Address	No of h/hds at address:	Record of visit(s)
		1 2 3 4 5 or more* *No: ___	Visit No: 1 2 3 4 5 6 Date(s): Time(s): Outcome:
		1 2 3 4 5 or more* *No: ___	Visit No: 1 2 3 4 5 6 Date(s): Time(s): Outcome:
		1 2 3 4 5 or more* *No: ___	Visit No: 1 2 3 4 5 6 Date(s): Time(s): Outcome:
		1 2 3 4 5 or more* *No: ___	Visit No: 1 2 3 4 5 6 Date(s): Time(s): Outcome:
		1 2 3 4 5 or more* *No: ___	Visit No: 1 2 3 4 5 6 Date(s): Time(s): Outcome:
		1 2 3 4 5 or more* *No: ___	Visit No: 1 2 3 4 5 6 Date(s): Time(s): Outcome:
		1 2 3 4 5 or more* *No: ___	Visit No: 1 2 3 4 5 6 Date(s): Time(s): Outcome:
		1 2 3 4 5 or more* *No: ___	Visit No: 1 2 3 4 5 6 Date(s): Time(s): Outcome:
		1 2 3 4 5 or more* *No: ___	Visit No: 1 2 3 4 5 6 Date(s): Time(s): Outcome:

Progress Sheet

A completed progress sheet MUST ACCOMPANY each summary schedule or Qaire returned

AREA ____________________

INTERVIEWER ____________________

HOUSEHOLD REFERENCE No:

HOUSEHOLD ADDRESS ____________________

____

Result of visit(s):	Visit 1	Visit 2	Visit 3	Visit 4
Date Time Outcome:				

INTERVIEWER If more than one household at above address, please ring total no: 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9+

National Poverty Survey
S a m p l i n g   N o t e

Constituency:

Name of interviewer ______________________

Name & address of electoral registration or rating officer: ______________________

____

____

____

____

Number of addresses to be selected in:

______________ ward/urban district =

______________ ward/urban district =

______________ ward/urban district =

______________ county electoral division =

______________ county electoral division =

SURVEY OF HOUSEHOLD RESOURCES AND STANDARDS OF LIVING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM (1967-68)

SUMMARY INFORMATION SCHEDULE

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
							1	6

(To be completed if an interview proves to be impossible)

Date to which information applies ______

1. Why was even a partial interview unobtainable? — 10

CODE ONE ONLY

	Code
- no answer to ring or knock	X
- potential informant(s) ill	Y
- potential informant(s) handicapped/disabled	0
- potential informant(s) could not give information for reasons other than illness/disability (ASK Q.1 (a))	1
- potential informant(s) refused (ASK Q.1 (a))	2

(a) Why? ______

2. How many calls did you make altogether? — 11

WRITE IN NUMBER

3. Type of accommodation — 12

CODE ONE ONLY

	Code
- semi- or detached house or bungalow	X
- terraced house or bungalow	Y
- self-contained flat in block	0
- self-contained flat in house	1
- self-contained flat attached to shop/business	2
- room(s) furnished	3
- other (SPECIFY) ______	4

4. Number of other households at address — 13

none — 0

5. Is there an internal or external flight of at least 4 steps or stairs to the dwelling entrance? — 14

	Code
yes	X
no	Y

6. Household lives on: — 15

CODE MORE THAN ONE IF NECESSARY

	Code
ground floor	X
basement floor	Y
1st floor (ASK Q.6 (a))	1
2nd (ASK Q.6 (a))	2
3rd (ASK Q.6 (a))	3
4th (ASK Q.6 (a))	4
5th or above (ASK Q.6 (a))	5

(a) Is there a lift in the building?

	Code
yes	6
no	7

7. How long has the (head of the) household lived at this address? — 16

CODE ONE ONLY

	Code
all life	Y
less than 3 mths	0
3 mths and less than 6 mths	1
6 mths and less than 1 yr	2
1 yr and less than 2 yrs	3
2 yrs and less than 5 yrs	4
5 yrs and less than 15 yrs	5
15 yrs or more	6
DK	7

8. Is the house/flat owner-occupied or rented from the council? — 17

	Code
definitely owner-occupied	X
likely to be owner-occupied	Y
definitely rented from council	0
likely to be rented from council	1
definitely other	2
likely to be other	3
DK	4

9. Is at least one of the following INDOOR facilities definitely absent (whether or not shared with other households) - (i) flush W.C., (ii) a sink or washbasin and cold water tap, (iii) a fixed bath or shower, (iv) a gas or electric cooker? — 18

	Code
yes, definitely at least one absent	X
yes, likely to be at least one absent	Y
no	0
DK	1

11. CODE HOUSEHOLD TYPE* (see p.10a and inside cover, main questionnaire)

19	20	21

* Note: after completing Q.10 overleaf

Household circumstances at time of first contact (or call if no contact made)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
(a) Who are the persons living in the household?	22-23	22-23	22-23	22-23	22-23	22-23	22-23	22-23	22-23	22-23
DESCRIBE RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
OF HOUSEHOLD IN EACH COLUMN (e.g. husband, son, or other relationships between members)	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25
(b) Sex male	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
female	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
(c) Age Code age-group *										
	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26
(d) Marital status unmarried	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
married	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
married but separated	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
divorced	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
widowed	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(e) Are you (is he/she) at work? **	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27
housewife	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
retired	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
student	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
pre-school or school child	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
unemployed	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
sick or injured	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
disabled or handicapped	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
employed or self-employed	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
DK	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
(f) What is your (his/her) job?	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28
EITHER Present job and employers (or own) business										
OR Last job										
OR Husband's last job										
*** ☐ ______										
☐ ______										
☐ ______										
☐ ______										

Notes: GENERAL - See p.3a of main questionnaire if you have any queries about relationships or marital status, and p.6a any queries about occupational status.

* Age-groups

CODE	
1	0-1 age-group
2	2-4
3	5-9
4	10-14
5	15-19
6	20-29
7	30-39
8	40-49
9	50-59
10	60-64
11	65-69
12	70-79
13	80 & over

** At the time of first contact (or first call). See p.6a if any queries about occupational status.

*** Write "Inf", "2nd" etc. as appropriate in box and specify occupation as precisely as possible. See Q.10 on p.9 of main questionnaire.

F

A National Sample of Households

The sampling procedure can be considered in 4 main stages.

i) Dividing the U.K. into appropriate regions
ii) Selecting an area unit suitable for sampling within each region
iii) Selecting variables by which to stratify these units and then selecting a sample of them for each region.
iv) Selecting a sample of households from within each chosen area.

Regions

Official statistics are usually based on the 12 standard regions of the U.K. or the 11 planning regions. These are identical except for South Eastern England, as shown below:

Standard Regions

1. South Eastern - Greater London, Surrey, Sussex and Kent
2. Eastern - Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, Huntingdonshire
3. Southern - Oxfordshire, Buckingham, Berkshire, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, Poole in Dorset.
4. South Western - Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorcet, Devon, Cornwall
5. West Midland - Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire
6. East Midland - part Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire (parts of Holland & Kesteven) Rutland, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire
7. North Western - Lancashire, Cheshire, part of Derbyshire
8. Yorkshire & Humberside - West Riding of Yorkshire, East Riding of Yorkshire, Lindsay - part of Lincolnshire
9. Northern - Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland, Durham and North Riding of Yorkshire.
10. Wales
11. Scotland
12. Northern Ireland

The planning regions

Regions 4 - 12 are the same as above. The South East of England is divided differently as follows:

South East - Greater London, Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Essex, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, together with all the counties included in the Southern region above.

Anglia - Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge and Isle of Ely, Huntingdonshire

In order to reduce the number of areas from which the sample will be drawn to 40 or 50, and to allow for some stratification within each region it is necessary to reduce the number of regions from 11 or 12 to 7 or 8. There are obviously several ways in which the regions can be amalgamated but as the division of the sample into regions of the U.K. is a form of stratification it is important to try to combine similar regions and keep separate those which are very different. For our purposes, variations in income between regions are important and looking at average net income before tax/capita[1] the richest region is South Eastern; followed by the Eastern, Southern and West Midlands regions. These are followed by South Western, East Midlands, North Western and Yorkshire and Humberside regions. Next come Wales, Scotland and Northern region, with Northern Ireland the poorest region. There are, of course, big variations within some regions, in particular the Eastern region where the area included in the planning region Anglia is a low income area, Essex is a high income area and Hertford is very high. Bearing in mind these considerations together with the population size of each region, the regions of the U.K. can be divided in the following manner:

1. Scotland and Northern Ireland
2. North Western region
3. Yorkshire and Humberside with Northern region
4. East and West Midlands
5. South Western and Wales
6. Eastern region
7. Greater London
8. Remainder of South Eastern and Southern regions

or 9.5% 2.7%

1. Scotland and Northern Ireland
2. North Western region 14%. pop
3. Yorkshire and Humberside with Northern region
4. South Western and Wales
5. East Midlands and Anglia (as in planning region)
6. South East (as in planning region)
7. Greater London
8. West Midlands

Selection within regions

There are two units of area commonly used for sampling purposes:

i) Local authority administrative areas
ii) Constituencies

The Family Expenditure use the first for their sample as follows. In England and Wales the administrative areas are Greater London boroughs, County boroughs, Municipal boroughs, urban districts and rural districts. There are 899 urban areas and 472 rural districts outside the Greater London conurbates. These administrative areas are divided into 3 strata:

i) Greater London conurbation
ii) Other urban areas
iii) Rural districts

ii and iii are divided between the 10 standard regions of England and Wales which are listed alphabetically. The areas in strata i and ii are divided into six groups based on the J index (1955 rateable values), listing them in ascending order of their J value. Within each J value range the areas

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1. Regional survey of incomes by Coates & Rawstron, based on survey of Personal Incomes by the Inland Revenue published in the Guardian April 1967.

are listed in descending order of their 1955 parliamentary electorate. This allows them to be sampled with probability proportional at the 1955 electorate. Rural districts are not classified by the J index but within each region they are listed in descending order of the 1955 parliamentary electorate. 116 areas are selected. Scotland has different administrative areas, namely cities, burghs and district councils. The sample excludes the crofting counties which only account for 0.6% of the total population of Great Britain. Two main strata are used:

i) urban: cities, large and small burghs and district councils of high population density: i.e. 175 areas

ii) rural: district councils of low population density, i.e. 128 areas

Rateable value/elector is used as a stratification factor for urban areas. The areas are sampled with probability proportional to size of electorate. Twelve areas are selected: in England, Wales or Scotland if the first stage unit has a population of 100,000 or more, a further stage of sampling is introduced by choosing wards with probability proportion of the Electorate. Northern Ireland has two county boroughs which are divided into wards and local authority administrative areas which are divided in 36 urban and 31 rural areas. The areas are listed by County and within each county in descending order of the 1961 population. Ten areas are selected with probability proportional to the 1961 population. 13 addresses are s selected from the rated records within each area.

The Regular Expenditure Survey carried out by the Allan Committee also used local authority administrative areas as first stage units in this instance differential sampling was used.

Constituencies

An example of the use of constituencies as first stage units is given by Anne Cartwright in her study of hospital patients. She chose 12 of the 547 constituencies in England and Wales. She divided the 547 into 2 main groups after dividing them into the 11 standard regions first.

i) Those containing all urban areas - i.e. county boroughs, met. boroughs, municipal boroughs and urban districts

ii) Those containing some rural districts

i) Were listed in order of proportion of electorate who were jurors.

ii) were listed in order of the proportion of the electorate living in rural districts

From these lists she selected every 45th constituency and within each constituency she selected every 22nd person from the constituency electoral registers. This yielded a sample of 29,400.

Which units are more suitable as first stage units for our purposes? This depends on the availability of data a) by which to stratify and b) by which to compare the representativeness of the sample chosen. At first it would seem local authority administrative areas are the better choice because there is a great deal of published data in the Census and elsewhere for each county borough, each administrative county and other urban areas with populations above 50,000. However for rural areas i.e. rural districts there are much less data: population structure, size and change between censuses, density, household dwellings, amenities, overcrowding, tenure, etc. There is little information on the occupational structure of the population of each rural district.

The only data actually based on constituency areas is size of electorate and voting behaviour. However, very few constituencies cross county boundaries (there are 3 partly in Greater London and partly in Hertford, Kent or Surrey) all except one county borough are included in one constituency - 53 of the 81 county boroughs in England and Wales have boundaries coinciding exactly with constituency boundaries. Furthermore the names of the boroughs, urban districts, rural districts contained in each constituency are known, so the data available for use on a constituency basis has the same limitations as that for local authority administrative areas, namely availability of data for individual rural districts. Furthermore, the voting behaviour of local authority administrative areas other than county boroughs or counties cannot be calculated and percent of electorate voting left is one of the best <u>single</u> indicators of low income areas, and certainly much better than the J Index which is much more unreliable when based on the latest rating assessments. The correlations between percentage voting in county boroughs and factors associated with low income are high and in some cases explain more than half the variance.

<u>Correlations with percentage voting left at 1964 General election for County Boroughs</u>[1]

+ 0.6 - workers in industry/occupied males
+ 0.8 - Semi and unskilled workers/non manual workers
+ 0.5 - Percentage of population ● - 14 years
+ 0.7 - Percentage of population over 25 years who left school at 15 or under
+ 0.6 - Percentage of households without exclusive use of bath
- 0.6 - Percentage of households living less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons/room
- 0.8 - admin, managerial and professional workers/economically active males
- 0.7 - Percentage population over 25 years who finished education after 17 years
- 0.4 - Retail turnover/capita

For counti^s and county boroughs togeth the correlations are not quite as high, but still useful and better the populat:on density.

1. Correlations calculated by B. Davies and P. Stone \ all co-boroughs.

Counties (incl. boroughs)

Correlation with population density	Percentage voting left	
0.4	0.5	males sick/economically active males
0.1	0.5	% workers in heavy industry/occupied males
- 0.3	- 0.6	admin, managerial & professional/economically active males
- 0.4	- 0.6	non manual/economically active males
0.5	0.9	% population over 25 years left school at 15 years or less
0.5	0.5	overcrowding

It would be quite feasible therefore to stratify constituencies which are either completely urban or predominantly urban by percentage voting left, thus distinguishing broadly between poor urban areas and rich urban areas. Rural constituencies i.e. those constituencies in which more than 50% of the population living in rural districts and in which there is no urban district or borough larger than 30,000 population are a sufficiently small group (approx. 1 in 5 in England and Wales) to make further stratification unnecessary and in any case, voting behaviour is different in very rural areas, from tha in urban areas. A further advantage of constituencies is that they are similar in size (population) whereas L.A. administrative areas vary greatly.

Using constituencies as first stage units the sample can be drawn as follows. First the constituencies are divided into the 8 regions chosen.

Scotland and Northern Ireland	71 + 12	=	83
Wales and South West	36 + 43	=	79
North West		=	79
Greater London		=	104
Northern and Yorkshire and Humberside	57 + 39	=	96
(West Midlands		=	54
(Anglia and East Midlands	18 + 34	=	52
(Rest of South East and Southern		=	84
or			
(East and West Midlands		=	88
(Eastern	106	(=	40
(Rest of South East and Southern		(=	66

In each region, these constituencies are divided into three strata :

every const above & below av (57%)

i) urban - low proportion voting left (below 57%)
ii) urban - high " (above 57%) "
iii) rural - 50% population living in rural districts

Two constituencies from each strata are chosen (except for Greater London which has no rural constituencies). Within each constituency the electoral register records can be arranged by wards in borough and urban districts and by parishes in rural districts; wards and parishes having first been arranged in desceding order of population density or descending order of size. A sample proportional to the size of the constituency can be drawn taking a random start and drawing every n^{th} address. Or, a selection of the wards and parishes can be selected first and addresses chosen only from these wards and parishes. This would serve to concentrate the sample within each constituency, rather than scatter it throughout, but at the expense of increasing error. Selection proportional to the size of the constituency can be made either with reference to the total population or the electorate. However, as we are using the electoral register to sample households rather than individuals, we could convert population figures with the equivalent number of households, by assuming a constant household size of 3.03 persons or we could estimate the number of households in each constituency and take a sample proportional to this.

Using Local Authority Administrative Areas as first stage units would require a different procedure. Also it would be more difficult to sample Northern Ireland and Scotland as one region because the administrative areas are different. A stratification factor other than voting left would be necessary and it is difficult to find a single one which correlates as highly with factors associated with low income as voting behaviour. Instead a composite factor would have to be calculated using say, percentage of overcrowded households, percentage of manual workers, percentage of population under 15 years age and population density. This calculation could only be done with expert statistical advice. As we want to limit the number of areas finally selected to 40 or 50 it would not be possible to stratify by several factors unless they were made into a single index, or unless we did not want to make regional comparisons. For the purposes of this survey regional comparisons are very important.

Having found a suitable stratification factor, however, a sampling procedure similar to F.E.S. could be used, but dividing urban areas into two strata, not six. It may however be necessary to divide rural districts into two groups those in which population is increasing and those in which the population is declining, (i.e. the less prosperous). Having chosen the areas, the sampling of households could then be carried out as by the F,E.S., using the records from which the electoral registers are compiled and sampling proportional to population size.

The use of constituencies as first stage units has disadvantages, but these are not as great as it would appear on first sight. Local Authority administrative areas, if used as first stage units, would seem to present many more practical difficulties if used for our purposes.

Other problems which need further discussion, with statistical experts are the exact procedure by which we choose addresses within the constituencies selected and the method used for estimating sampling errors. Do we want to oversample in poor urban or rural constituencies, and how do we estimate standard errors? The F.E.S., for example, treats their multi-stage sample as a single-stage random sample. We want to make good estimates of incidence of different groups in poverty in the U.K. so we need to be more accurate in estimating standard errors if our figures are to be really convincing.

Contents of the Sample

The sample of 2,000 households can be expected to produce

Persons by Age

Children under 2	218	
2 but under 5	329	
5 but under 16	1075	
16 but under pensionable age	1770	male
	1758	female
Over pensionable age	289	male
	591	female
Total:	6030	

By Work Status

Working 10 hrs. plus	
Men	1960
Women	956
Retired	363

Households

Accommodation

L.A. unfurnished	600
Other rental unfurnished	324
Rented furnished	62
Rent Free	75
Mortgage being paid	414
Fully owned	400

Size of Household

One person	332
Two " s	617
Three "	413
Four "	365
Five "	184
Six "	71
Seven "	31
Eight "	13
Nine or more persons	10

No. of Workers (10 hours or more)

One worker	868
Two " s	530
Three "	180
Four "	45
Five "	11
Six or more workers	2
None	333

Household Composition

One man or woman	332	of which 195 are pensioners
One man, one woman	538	of which 260 contain one pensioner and 135 two pensioners
Man, woman & 1 child	196	
" " " 2 children	207	
" " " 3 "	97	
" " " 4 "	59	
3 Adults	202	
3 " & child(ren)	144	
Four adults	72	
Woman 1 child	14	
" 2 or more children	11	
Other with children	81	
Other without children	82	

Special Groups

	All	Below S.B. level
Men aged 21 or over earning under £14 p.w.	170	50
Adult under 65 ill or injured 13 weeks in last year	100	30
Disabled adult under 65	100	30
Non white or Eire	80	20
Ill or disabled child	50	8
Bedfast or incapacitated aged	50	30
Woman & adult dependants	40	20
Unemployed 13 weeks in last year	40	30
Short term sick (under 13 weeks)	(100)	
Short term unemployed (under 13 weeks normally employed)	(25)	
Children in Care	51	
Men in Prison etc.	31	
Persons in Hospital	(20)	
Widows under 60	60	
Divorced women under 60	17	

Households receiving Supplementary Benefit

Over pensionable age		(220)
of whom single	185	
married	35	
Sick & disabled under pensionable age		32
married	28	
with children	8	
Widows & women under 60 not registered for employment		21
with child(ren)	14	
Unemployed		(20)
married	14	
with child(ren)	8	
Total S.B. households (no allowance for duplication)		293

Household Composition of S.B. recipients

Households all of members covered S.B. grant.

Single person only	126
Couple only	32
Dependant child(ren) included	18
	176 - 60% of S.B. recipients

Mixed households of S.B. and non S.B. recipients.

Applicants responsible for housing cost	61
Applicants not responsible for housing cost but not a boarder	44
Applicant a boarder	3
	108

Housing Amenity - households

With no W.C.	34
With shared W.C.	128
With no bath	308
With shared bath	82

Overcrowding - Persons per room - households

1966 Census definition counts a kitchen as a room even if not used for eating.

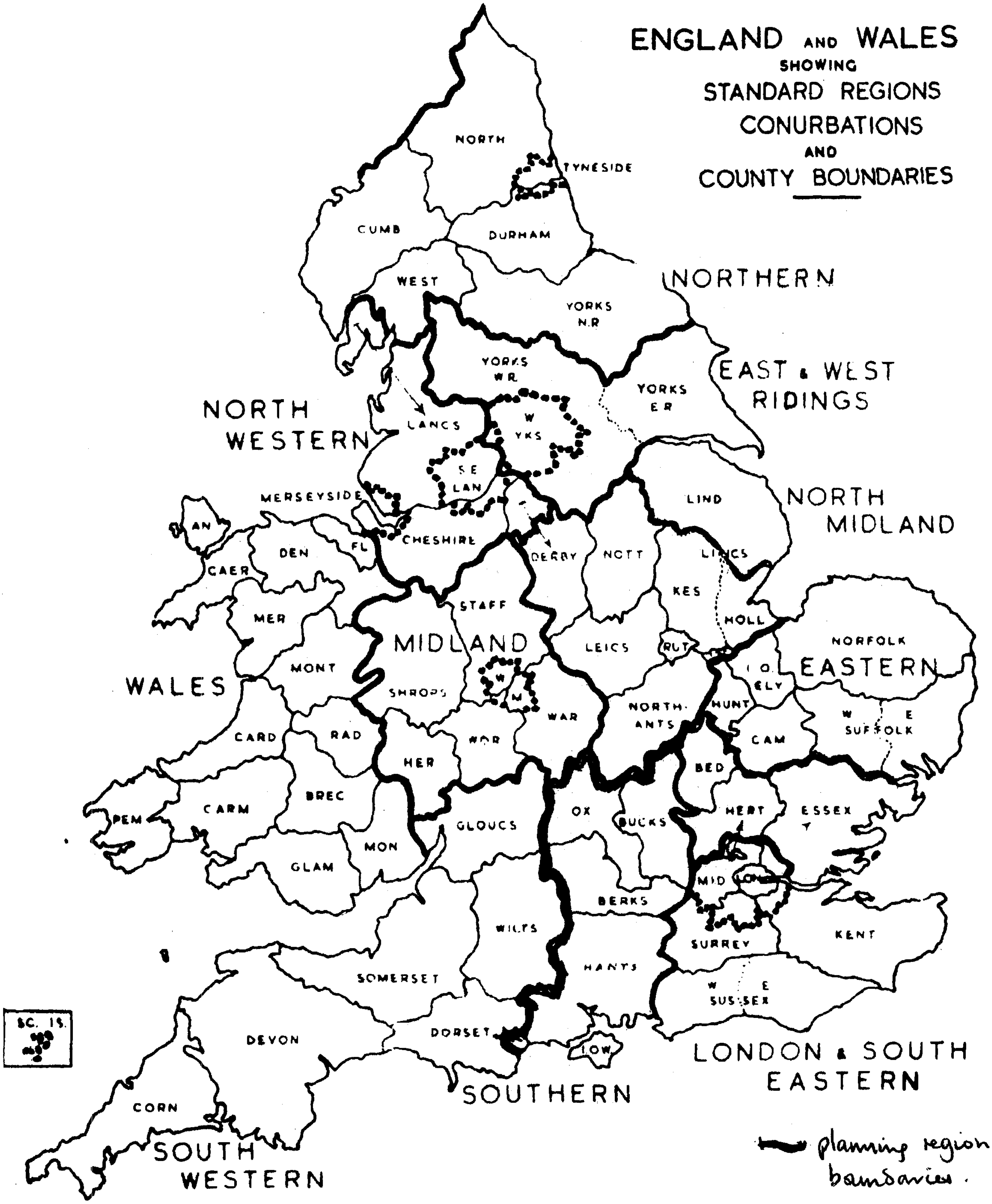
Over 1½ persons per room	32
Over 1 and up to 1½	100
½ and over and up to 1	1186
Less than ½	677

Question for special age groups

Children's play (3/21)	under fives	547
Welfare milk (13/38)	" "	
Child Welfare Clinic (13/39)	" "	
Last baby in Hospital (13/40)	" "	
Children's play (3/21)	5 but under 10	550
Children's play (3/22)	1 but under 10	990
Type of school (13/41)	School children	1200
School meals (13/42-3)	" "	
Missed school days (13/44)	" "	
Costs of school (13/49-58)	" "	
Uniform	Secondary School children	600
Children in to play (15/29)	Aged 3-14	1300
Birthday party (15/39)	" " "	1300
Pocket money (15/40-1)	" " "	1300
Educational Maintenance Allowances (13/59)	Aged 14-18	500
Boarding Education (13/45)	Nos. at Boarding School	25

N a t i o n a l
S a m p l e

WARDS and PARISHES


ENGLAND AND WALES
SHOWING
STANDARD REGIONS
CONURBATIONS
AND
COUNTY BOUNDARIES
NORTH
TYNESIDE
CUMB
DURHAM
WEST
NORTHERN
YORKS N.R
YORKS W.R.
YORKS E.R
EAST & WEST RIDINGS
NORTH WESTERN
LANCS
W YKS
SE LAN
MERSEYSIDE
LIND
NORTH MIDLAND
AN
CAER
DEN
FL
CHESHIRE
DERBY
NOTT
LINCS
KES
HOLL
MER
STAFF
MIDLAND
LEICS
RUT
NORFOLK
EASTERN
WALES
MONT
SHROPS
W
M
I.O. ELY
HUNT
NORTH-ANTS
WAR
W E SUFFOLK
CARD
RAD
HER
WOR
CAM
BED
PEM
CARM
BREC
OX
BUCKS
HERT
ESSEX
MON
GLOUCS
GLAM
MID
BERKS
WILTS
KENT
SURREY
SOMERSET
HANTS
W E SUSSEX
SC. IS.
DEVON
DORSET
IOW
LONDON & SOUTH EASTERN
SOUTHERN
CORN
SOUTH WESTERN
planning region boundaries.

GREATER LONDON

WOOLWICH

St. Margarets

Slade

ISLINGTON N.

Tufnell

WANDSWORTH & STREATHAM

Streatham Hill

HENDON NORTH

Mill Hill

Burnt Oak

LEWISHAM NORTH

South Lee

HORNCHURCH

Upminster

Hylands

SOUTH EAST

THURROCK

Grays

Little Thurrock

AYLESBURY

Aylesbury Northern

<u>Rural</u>	<u>R.D. Aylesbury</u>
	Aston Sandford
	Sandford
	Haddenham
	Chearsley
	Cuddington
<u>Huddenham & Stone</u>	Dintonwith Ford and Upton
	Hartwell
	Stone with Bishopstone
	Kingsey
	Lower Winchendon
<u>Long Crendon</u>	Boarstall
	Brill
	Chilton
	Dorton
	Ickford
	Long Crendon
	Oakley
	Shabbington
	Worminghall

EAST ANGLIA & EAST MIDLANDS

IPSWICH

Whitton

Westbourne

LEICESTER

Knighton

Spinney Hill

GRANTHAM

Sleaford East

Somerby (Grantham)

Rural	North Kesteven R.D.
	Auburn, Huddington & South Hykeham
	Norton Disney
Swinderby	Stapleford
	Swinderby
	Thorpe on the Hill
	Thurlby
	North Hykeham

MELTON

Melton Mowbray U.D.

Rural	Barrow upon Soar R.D.
Quorndon	Quorndon
	Swithland
	Woodhouse
Rothley	Mountsorrel
	Rothley

GUILDFORD

Merrow & Burpham

Stoughton

Rural	R.D. Hambleton
	Cranleigh

DARTFORD

Priory

Rural	R.D. Dartford
Dartford Rural West	Swanley
	Eynsford

BOURNEMOUTH WEST

Central

Moordown N.

LEWES

Seaford U.D.

St Andrews (Burgess Hill U.D.)

Rural	Chailey R.D.
	Barcombe
	Glynde
	Hamesy
	Newick

Barcombe	Ringmer
	South Malling
	St Ann
	St John

NEW FOREST

Milton Central (Lymington M.B.)

Milton North (" ")

Rural	Ringwood & Fordingbridge R.D.
	Harbridge & Ibsley
	Ellingham
Ringwood	Ringwood
	Burley
	Hurn
Burley	St Leonards & St Ives
	Sopley
	Christchurch

S.W. HERTFORDSHIRE

Heath (Bushey U.D.)

Leaverdon (Watford M.B.)

Rubal	Watford R.D.
	Abbots Langley

WEST MIDLANDS

COVENTRY EAST

Lower Stoke

Longford

BIRMINGHAM NORTHFIELD

Northfield

Weoley

OLDBURY & HALESOWEN

Halesowen South — Hasbury Central

Oldbury Central

BRIERLEY HILL

St. Johns

St. Marys

Seisdon R.D

Wombourn

OSWESTRY

East

South

Rural	Ellesmere R.D.
	Ellesmere Rural
	Great Ness
Ellesmere	Little Ness
	Welshampton
	Wem R.D.
Prees	Prees
	Whitchurch Rural
	Whixall
	Wem Rural

SOUTH WORCESTERSHIRE

Malvern 4

Malvern 5

Rural — Pershore R.D.

Abberton

Flyford Flavell

Grafton Flyford

Naunton Beauchamp

North Piddle

Upton Snodbury — Dormston

Kington

Norton juxta Kempsey

St Peter the Great County

Peopleton

Bredicot

Broughton Haskett

Churchill

Spetchley

Upton Snodsbury

White Ladies Aston

Whittington

~~Seisdon R.D.~~

~~Wombourn~~

Bilsborrow

Great Eccleston

Cattrall

Hambleton

Upper Rawcliffe with Tarnacre

Out Rawcliffe

Myerscough

NORTH WEST

NEWTON

	Irlam Ward (Irlam U.D.)	
	Wargrave (Newton U.D.)	
Rural	Great Sankey	) Warrington R.D.
	Winwick	)

SALFORD EAST

Kersal

Crescent

MANCHESTER WITHENSHAWE

Didsbury

Baguley

BOLTON EAST

Great Lever

Attley Bridge

SOUTHPORT

West

Birkdale N.

NORTH FYLDE

Thornton Clevelys (South)

Thornton Clevelys (North)

Rural	Garstang R.D.
	Cabus
	Pilling
	Forton
	Winmarleigh
	Natesby
	Kirkland

Bishop Burton

Cherry Burton

Dalton Holme

Etton

Lockington

Lund

NORTHERN YORKSHIRE & HUMBERSIDE

PONTEFRACT

Carleton (Pontefract M.B.)

Half Acres (Castleford U.D.)

South (Featherstone U.D.)

SOUTH SHIELDS

West Park

Cleadon Park

BRADFORD EAST

Lister Hills

East Bowling

LEEDS N.W.

Far Headingley

Hyde Park

NEWCASTLE-on-TYNE EAST

Dene

Heaton

HALTEMPRICE

Central

Hesle

Rural Beverley R.D.

Leven

Routh

Tickton

Wawne

Woodmansey

NORTHERN IRELAND

BELFAST

Duncairn

Potlinger

FERMANAGH & SOUTH TYRONE

Urban:	Enniskillen East	
Rural:	R.D. (Clogher)	
	Augher	
	Aughnacloy	Rural
Aughnacloy	"	Urban
	Farow Royal	
	Tullyvar	
	R.D. (Omagh)	
	Dervaghory	
	Ecclesville	
Fintona	Fallaghearn	
	Fintona	
	Seskinore	

SCOTLAND

GLASGOW

Parkland

ABERDEEN

Rosemount

Rubislaw

EDINBURGH

Pilton

St Bernards

Corstorphine

COATBRIDGE & ARDRIE

Coatbridge Fourth

Airdrie II

KINROSS & PERTHSHIRE

Dunblane

Aberfeldy

Rural

- Dunblane & Secroft
- Little Dunkeld
- Blair Atholl
- Landward of Kinross

GALLOWAY & WIGTOWN

Kircudbright

~~Aberfeldy~~ Whithorn

Rural

- Kircudbright
- Portpatrick
- Old Luce North
- Crossmichael

THE PROBLEM OF HOUSEHOLD SELECTION

At an earlier meeting I raised the question of whether we had enough four-child families and enough pensioners eligible for supplementary benefit but not applying.

It appears that the £14 cut off of father's net earnings (wholly neglecting wife's earnings) would give us about 98% of families at or below the supplementary benefit level. If our aim were simply to study families below the supplementary benefit level without any comparative data or studies of the disabled, fatherless, etc. this could be used as the one and only screening question. Assuming it could be asked and sufficiently accurate results could be obtained (perhaps using cards of net earnings shown in group), this would be the simplest way of finding potential supplementary benefit level families in perhaps a 3 - 5 minute interview. If we were made to manage on a very tight budget and thus achieve only 3,000 interviews, I think we would need to consider seriously this alternative approach.

Our present plan will yield us the following number of households in which there is both a mother and a father plus children and the <u>father</u> was working 30 hours or more in the previous week.

	No. of households in the G.B. population (thousands)	No. in random sample of 3,000	No. in sample of 10,000
1 child	3,030 (?)	600	
2 children	1,885	380	
3	800	160	
4	300	60	
5	105		75 -120
6 +	70		45

At a minimum, I assume we want a 100 'clean' households in each box. By 'clean' I mean households not complicated by including adolescent wage earners, lodgers, OAP's, etc., when the allocation problem makes interpretation difficult. What we would therefore want to do would be to increase the number of large-family households and not to interview the full number of 1 and 2-child households.

The first step to achieve this would be to screen for four dependent children rather than five. We could moreover lower the £14 net income figure.

Secondly, could we cut down the number of one-child and two-child households by asking this as the first question in the random 3,000 survey? The interviewer could be instructed only to pursue the interview in 1 in 2 cases when there were two dependent children and in 1 in 4 cases when there was one dependent child.

Could we increase the number of five-children-plus households by asking interviewers both in the screening and in the 3,000 (nearly) random survey to ask one fact of the household nearest geographically to the one which contains the respondent? This one fact would be the number of dependent children. One would be tempted also to find out if it is fatherless or non-white - as these facts are also very simply ascertained, We are also short of non-whites and of the sub-groups of fatherless households. I wonder whether the statisticians would rate this out of court. A procedure to define 'nearest' household could be evolved.

<u>Not Applying for Supplementary Benefit</u>

Assuming that about 200,000 households contain old people eligible for Supplementary Benefit but not applying, our 3,000 sample will only yield about 40 such cases. This is not enough. Can we devise a simple way of finding out what the disposable income (after rent and rates) is of elderly households? Thus we can screen them from the figures according to whether they are single old persons or couples and thus collect the 130 we expect to find in 10,000 households.

We can expect to find around 100 cases of persons eligible for Supplementary Benefit but not applying for it who are sick or unemployed in 10,000 households. By our present procedures we will miss most of those who are sick or unemployed less than 13 weeks. Do we want to have in the screening any person of working age who is sick or unemployed and <u>not</u> receiving national assistance? But this would deprive us of a decent study of the wage stop. In general I am unhappy about the 13-week limit imposed in the screening.

B.A.S. 9.5.67.

<u>But</u> in the 3000 sample there will be

(1) 130 households with sick person off work <u>up to</u> 13 weeks

(2) 50 unemployed.

180

(3) ~~##~~330 households with retirement pensioners - surely enough to calculate %ages due for supp. benefit

H.R.8.

Note on Maximising Information for 3,000 Household Interviews

At the time of writing it is impossible to say whether by the autumn we will have the resources (both financial and administrative) to undertake (i) a survey of a random sample of 3,000 dwellings in 48 constituencies in the U.K PLUS (ii) a survey of a further 2,400 comprising the households of 10 minorities selected from an initial "screening" survey of a further 7,000 - 8,000 dwellings.

We have the resources to undertake the first part of this operation and have applied for a grant for the second. We need to consider what strategy we would follow if the application were unsuccessful. Would we continue to do a simple random sample survey of 3,000? Or would we bias the sampling to maximise information about the poor or alter the plan in other ways?

The Objects of the National Survey I(a) We want to show how many people and households in the population are living in poverty. We will present various measures including: (i) how many people have an income less than the current supplementary benefit (formerly national assistance) rates; (ii) how many have incomes less than, say, 60 per cent of the median and (iii) how many have incomes which do not allow them to participate in activities and enjoy benefits which are customary in society (i.e. which are open to the majority of the population of equivalent age).

I(b) There are two crucial features of this approach which, we hope, will allow the survey to contribute substantially to knowledge about living standards in Britain (and more generally in industrial countries). We will try to show how far other resources, and not merely current incomes, contribute to actual living standards. Thus sections of the questionnaire are devoted to FRINGE BENEFITS; SOCIAL SERVICE SUBSIDIES (Direct and indirect); INCOME IN KIND; CAPITAL GAINS AND ASSETS (including housing and cars) and LIVING FACILITIES. This approach means that in

Regions 8-9
Timing change in time

analysis a distinction will be made between "total" and "partial" poverty. Some families with a low income will be found living in good housing and their children attending a new school. Others with a high current income may be living in a slum with few capital assets and other resources.

I(c) The other novel feature about our approach is the attempt to establish what is "customary" for people of different age. We are building into the questionnaire certain questions based on some pilot work which seem to amount to a "Deprivation Index". There is still a lot more work to be done on this and variations need to be introduced for people of different age, but the following are examples: missing breakfast and other meals in recent days; not buying fresh meat in the previous week; children not having birthday party; not having summer holiday away from home; not treating friends outside the home regularly; not having access in the home to a television set; going to work on foot to save money.

How people feel about direction of standard of living-

II(a) Our second broad object is to describe the characteristics of those in poverty as a first step in explaining their poverty. The pilot studies have called attenti·n to the immense diversity of circumstance of families on low incomes. We have identified the following ten minorities of whom a disproportionately large number are in poverty. We would like to devote separate chapters of a report to each minority, but we recognise that with a simple random sample of 3,000 it would be possible to do this only for about four of them.

1.	Families in which one parent is absent	30
2.	Families consisting of woman and adult dependants	20
3.	Families in which there are five or more dependent children	15
4.	Families containing an adult who has been unemployed for thirteen weeks (consecutively or in last twelve months	20
5.	Families containing an adult under 65 years of age who has been ill or injured for thirteen weeks (consecutively or off work for a total of thirteen weeks or more in last twelve months)	50

6. Families containing a disabled adult under 65	50
7. Families containing a disabled or handicapped child including children ill or injured for thirteen weeks or more	25
8. Families containing a person aged 65 or over who has been bedfast or ill for thirteen weeks or more or who is otherwise severely incapacitated	25
9. Families in which there are (a) earners, none earning £12 a week or more (b) adult male earners (aged 21 to 64) earning less than £14 a week	150
10. Families in which there are persons who are (a) non-white (b) born in Eire	40
Total of sub-groups	425
Total allowing for double-counting	300

<u>Strategy</u> There are three alternative strategies in interviewing the 3,000:

(i) Using some stratification factors to increase the numbers per 1,000 of the minorities;

(ii) Obtaining a simple random sample of 2,000 and obtaining a sample or samples of some of the minority groups in the same areas (amounting to 1,000 households);

(iii) Obtaining a simple random sample of 3,000, rejecting after three minutes of interviewing 1,000 "common" households, and then obtaining samples of the minority groups.

In view of the discussion above of the objects of the survey as well as the <u>variable</u> distribution of the minorities among the population, the first strategy seems very doubtful. So far as we are aware, groups 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are widely distributed in the country and unless we concentrated on a particular group it would be difficult to organise the sample in a way which would <u>both</u> produce larger numbers of these groups and make it possible to convert the results into national estimates. The third alternative is more expensive than the second but, if viable, means that we could "gross-up" the results from 2,000 to 3,000.

① → Depth on life-profile 2000
② → 2 areas worst & best-off
③ →

(48)

Procedure Successive reports of the Family Expenditure Survey indicate the following numbers per 1,000 of certain types of household:

		Possible saving per 1,000 screen
One man	40	-
One woman	100	50
One man and one woman	200	150
One man, woman and child	120	60
One man, woman and two children	100	50
Three adults	100	50
Two men or two women	25	-
One man, woman and three children	40	-
Three adults and one child	35	-
Four adults	30	-
Others	210	-
	1,000	360

By asking interviewers to follow a simple rule according to household composition we could eliminate 3 x 360 of the households and so save resources for 1,000 substitute interviews.

The question of supplementary sampling remains. It would be possible, when eliminating "common" households, to approach a neighbouring household, but this is likely to be wasteful since we would still draw a widely varying number of households.

The most feasible alternative is to seek permission from the Supplementary Benefits Commission for the names and addresses of (a) all industrial injury and war pensioners, (b) a sample of families receiving four or more family allowances and (c) men receiving sickness benefit for three months or more and also to seek permission from the Ministry of Labour for the names and addresses of (d) unemployed men in five areas in which we are already working, say, 1. Kinross and West Perthshire, 2. Salford East, 3. Gloucester, 4 Guildford, 5. Wandsworth. Approximately 50 persons in each of the four groups (a) - (d) would be selected in each of the five areas.

Low-wage earners – four areas

P.T.
16 Aug. 67.

Belson Low-wage-earner sample

HR 9

NOTES ON THE POVERTY SURVEY

(Some further questions to be explored)

Housing

Apart from the obvious data on overcrowding amenities and Hilary's very valuable type of data on suitability for children - high flats,

Damp

people underneath, play space - I think we need to probe a bit into housing history:

$3\frac{1}{2}$ 000 chil

Has the family ever been homeless?

Has it ever lived in very bad accommodation - damp, etc.?

Which families got council houses because the housing they were living in was very bad?

Which families tend to live with in-laws and for how many years of marriage?

We want to see whether <u>a history</u> of bad housing leads to chronic sickness in father or mother or ill health mental or physical in children.

In other words, is bad housing a cause of poverty later on - in the family interviewed or in the next generation when the child with poor health becomes an adult.

Chronic Sickness

We want to find out how class-correlated chronic sickness is and what diseases or accidents are class-correlated. Thus we must take care to ask for pre-sickness occupation. It would also be interesting to see how far accidents and further sickness are caused by people taking jobs they ought not to take when they are beginning to be ill. John had an interesting case of this. The man with arthritis who still worked above ground until he fell and had an accident. How far do people with T.B. and bronchitis continue with jobs which are manual and out of doors? How many people actually benefit from re-training courses in so far as they get jobs using their newly acquired skills. John only came across the cases when re-training had failed. Can we be sure we will pick up men who changed jobs for health reasons on their own accord, at the

Have you had spell of unemployment for 3 months or more How long ?

Better paid job in past

~~When~~

Changed job in last 5 yrs

Have you changed job for health reasons redundancy.

initiative of an employer with a good occupational health service as well as by special re-training courses? How far does job change prevent what might otherwise have become chronic disability?

This brings us to one aspect of "the inheritance of poverty". Were some of the chronic sick those who had stunted childhoods due to very bad housing or the poverty of the parents causing bad nutrition while a child. Obviously we cannot expect respondents to remember or know parents earnings. But I wonder whether they can remember whether their parents were chronically unemployed. At least they would know if their father was chronic sick or if they were brought up themselves in a fatherless family.

<u>Unemployment or Very Irregular Employment and Low Earnings</u>

Again we need to find out normal employment. How far is unemployment due to redundant skills? How far could re-training have prevented the situation? Indeed, how much re-training is needed in the whole economy?

Are the chronic unemployed disproportionately the children of the chronic unemployed; the fatherless family; the large family; of the family with a chronic sick head?

How far is age of leaving school related to chronic unemployment?

How far those with low wages those who have "fallen" by being redundant in higher wage jobs? How long have they been in these occupations? How long have they been low paid? Is overtime available? Do we want to enquire into <u>apprenticeship</u> as well as <u>educational</u> history of the sample?

<u>The Fatherless</u>

How far do we want to explore cause? Quite apart from all the very clever psychological factors underlying unmarried mothers and marriage break-up, there are some easier factors and characteristics which might be explored:

<u>Unmarried Mothers</u>: Sex education and attitudes to birth control.

Why do some unmarried mothers keep their baby and others not? What are the characteristics of those who do and those who don't?

Is a later marriage more likely for those who are accepted by their families than for those who are rejected?

At least we want to be sure we know the age at which the mother had the (first) baby?

Do unmarried mothers come disproportionately from fatherless families, from poverty households?

<u>Separated Wives:</u> How far does the cost of a divorce stop people from getting them - or fears about the cost? How far are the separated those who hope their previous husband will return.

<u>Divorced and Widowed</u>: How far do we want to discover re-marriage rates by duration of marriage and age? How do the characteristics of those who re-marry soon afterwards differ from those who do not?

What are the characteristics of the <u>single woman with dependants</u>?

<u>Aged</u>: I am still very interested in those:

(1) eligible for N.A. and yet not applying;

(2) the whole group with no rights to a retirement pension.

<u>Large Family</u>: I do hope we are going to probe deeply into attitudes to and use of family planning.

d r a f t

The Problems
of a National Survey
of Poverty

Introduction The following memorandum is in two parts: a statement of the major problems of sampling, organisation and design as they appear to us at the present time; and an account of our progress towards a solution of these problems.

A national survey of poverty

We wish to investigate two interlinked areas: to find what proportion of the people and of the households of the United Kingdom have an income (defined in very broad terms) which falls seriously below the average; and to investigate the characteristics of those in poverty. We propose to do this by testing the hypothesis that certain groups (including the sick, disabled, unemployed, fatherless families, large families and immigrants) are more liable to poverty than the rest of the population. In order to obtain sufficient numbers of these groups for study, we propose to screen a large random sample of the population of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. This poses two special problems:

(a) If some of the special groups which we propose to screen have a national incidence of one or two per cent (or less with certain types of disability) what should be the size of the major sample in order to obtain numbers in the minority groups sufficient to make reliable estimates about the national incidence of their characteristics ? In other words what will be the sampling error for information about a group that constitutes about one per cent of the population ?

(b) There are grounds for believing that many of those whom we most wish to interview are the kind of people who are least likely to be picked up by a survey (eg: the cognitively handicapped and those in whom personal circumstances militate against responding to a survey enquiry). It thus appears that extra care must be taken with interviewer and questionnaire techniques.

A further problem is that of finding an adequate sa pling frame. The Register of Electors might not contain a substantial proportion of those in whom we are interested - the itinerant and those who do not register as voters through ignorance or lack of interest. We are also interested in caravan dwellers who do not appear on any sampling frame but whose economic circumstances we particularly wish to investigate. We are constrained by the difficulties of organisation and cost. Our calls for finance upon the Rowntree Trust are finite and we have to balance cost with accuracy of sampling and the administrative difficulty of particular designs. We are anxious to find definitive answers to the following questions:

What is the smallest size of a national sample compatible with relative accuracy of estimates about the characteristics of small sub-populations ?

How far can the sample be drawn from areas selected for the incidence of special characteristics (eg: social class, proportion of immigrants, proportion of Labour voters) ?

How far can the sampled households be taken from sub-areas so that the travelling time of interviewers and the national organisation involved can be reduced to a minimum ?

Progress towards solution of these problems

We have explored the possible use of commercial survey organisations for interviewing. However, the results of these enquiries have not been encouraging since we require our interviewers to be particularly patient and skilful and we wish to have a degree of control over their training and field activity. There is a distinct possibility that about half our interviewing team can be made up of officers of the Ministry of Social Security. These officers have special skill and experience in obtaining details of income and of conducting relationships with the general public in a particular way. We are not sure at the present time of the extent to which their approach might "alienate" respondents in whom we are particularly interested. The other half of the interviewers - in our present design - would be specially recruited and trained by us and would ask the specially broad questions about income and the special questions for the minority groups who have been detected in the first screening interview. We are at present writing this screening questionnaire and hope to carry out a pilot survey to test the full questionnaire in the summer, and to begin the full interviewing in the autumn. The limit on the number of interviewers we can employ and train will probably mean that the period of interviewing will take about a year.

With regard to the total number of interviews our present estimate is that our finances will cover about 10,000 interviews, or perhaps less (and not 20,000 or more as we had originally hoped). The problems of stratification and confining the interviews to fairly limited areas thus become of particular importance to us.

We are particularly concerned to investigate fully the technical and theoretical justification for the use of particular stratification factors. One problem is that of the economically poor whose original social class or perception of political process (eg: the "anomie" effect described by Tunstall in Old and Alone) tends to make them abstain, or vote Conservative, and thus makes stratification factors such as Labour voters and low social class composition inappropriate for estimating the likelihood of the incidence of some groups in the population.

In addition we have some misgivings about the technical processes of re-weighting population estimates after the oversampling of particular areas where some groups (eg: large families) might be particularly liable to dwell. We would very much like to have the theoretical and technical rationale of this process explained to us since our past experience of reweighting procedures has not been entirely happy.

We are seeking then a strategy which will allow a maximum number of interviews compatible with the finance we have available to be balanced against the apparent difficulties of oversampling and reweighting.

A further technical problem we are considering is that of our split sample: one part handled by Social Security officers, the other by our own interviewers. We wish to keep these two interviewing processes separate so that the quality of the two types of interviewers can be compared. We are not sure at the present time whether to draw these two samples separately or whether to take them from a single main sample.

With regard to the problem of the sampling frame, we have in mind the following alternatives:

1 Using the electoral register and using Yates' "half open interval" technique to pick up households not on this frame;

2 The Rating Register, interviewing all households within the rated property;

3 Using the list from which the rating or electoral records are built up. These lists are held by local authorities but involve the problem of access.

We have not yet found any solution to the problem of interviewing itinerant groups such as gypsies.

Concerning the analysis of data we assume that we can employ the technique of writing questionnaires for an automatic reading machine which would directly transfer the information on the questionnaire to punched card or tape. We assume that MVC might be suitable for analysing our data (eg: giving cross percentage incidences, calculation of significant differences of incidence between various groups etc) but we have yet to tackle seriously the problem of analysis. We have had a fair experience of questionnaire design but we would be interested in seeking skilful advice on this - for example: from the Survey Research Centre.

PT

A National Sample of Households - The Second and Third Stage

Every constituency in England and Wales is made up of part, one or several boroughs, urban districts or rural districts. There are further divisions: within boroughs and urban districts into wards and within rural districts into parishes. A selection of wards and parishes within each constituency will be made at the second stage in order to cluster the sample to some extent.

The constituencies in the large conurbations may consist of only the part of a large metropolitan borough, whereas the constituencies in rural areas consist almost entirely of rural districts, with one or two small boroughs or urban districts. This means some constituencies are divided into only three wards, others into about fifteen. Some of the rural ones are divided into four or five wards and more than ninety parishes. Before a selection can be made, some way must be found of grouping some of the very small parishes together because some contain only ten or twenty households. We must also find some factor by which to stratify both wards and parishes.

In Scotland the administrative districts are slightly different. There are cities, large burghs, small burghs and district councils. A constituency may consist of a number of wards in a city or large burgh; small burghs and districts in rural areas. A selection of wards, small burghs and districts within constituencies must be made.

Stratification Factors

It is not possible to use voting figures from Parliamentary elections at ward and parish level because they are not published in a suitable form. It would be possible to use voting figures in local elections by which to stratify wards. However, there are several disadvantages in using these figures. Firstly, there is often a very low poll, so the voting figures only refer to a small proportion of the population. Secondly, although in the densely populated urban areas the distinction between Left and Right candidates is as clear as in national elections, in the more rural areas the majority of candidates are often Independants who cannot always be assumed to be Tories in disguise. Thirdly, no data exists on how well voting behaviour in local elections, e.g. the proportion of the voters voting Left, correlates with characteristics associated with low income. I should be very reluctant therefore to use voting behaviour as a stratification factor at the second stage.

The published census reports contain very little data at ward and parish level: population figures, acreage, population density, household figures and extent of overcrowding are all that can be found in County Reports. However, it is possible to obtain unpublished material from the G.R.O. so in fact there is a wide choice of stratification factors. The choice has been made by looking at factors positively correlated with characteristics of poverty and negatively correlated with characteristics of high income. One of the best appears to be the proportion of the population aged 25 years or more who left school at the age of 15 or under. Using data based on administrative counties and county boroughs the following correlations were calculated:(1)

- 0.8 non-manual male workers/economically active males

+ 0.7 semi-and un-skilled workers/non-manual workers (male)

+ 0.5 infant mortality rate, average 3 years (1960-2) per 1,000 popln.

+ 0.5 persons living at a density above $1\frac{1}{2}$ per one/room.

While it is true that these correlations are inflated because no account is taken of the wide variation <u>within</u> counties and county boroughs, these results do suggest that the proportion of the population aged 25 and over with minimum terminal age of education is a fairly good single stratification factor for our purposes.

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(1) Based on calculations made by P. Stone and B. Davies.

Within each constituency each ward and parish will be listed in descending order of the value of this factor, those with a high value being 'poor', those with a low value 'rich'. Wards and parishes should be listed separately to ensure the division of the sample between urban and rural reflects the proportions of the total population within the constituency living in wards and parishes. The number of strata into which the wards and parishes of each constituency will be divided needs further discussion, and will depend on the number of areas we want to sample within each constituency. We may decide to sample every ward where there are only three or four, but take only eight or ten (say) of 60 parishes. The selection will be made with probability proportional to size, as at the first stage but measuring size by number of households rather than number of electorate.

The Third Stage

This needs a great deal more discussion and the way in which we divide the sample between the chosen parishes and wards depends on the objects of the survey. Assuming we are limited to a 3,000 sample, it has been suggested we take a sample of 2,000 households, divided between all the selected areas and chosen so that every household has an equal chance of selection. The object of this sample is to provide us with sufficient income and resources data to give a representative picture of the levels of living of households in the U.K.

The remaining 1,000 households could be chosen in several different ways depending on the kind of information required and the kind of statements we want to make. If we want to increase the numbers of low income households (and the 2,000 sample will only give us about 400 'poor' households) then we should sample only those areas which appear 'poor' by our criteria. In other words we have a 3,000 sample of households chosen with <u>unequal</u> probability, a greater chance of selection being given to households in 'poor' areas. Using weighting procedures to allow for this we could use all the 3,000 sample for orr national incidence figures. If, however, we are only interested in certain groups - immigrants, single women and their dependants or the disabled, for example - then we may want to adopt a screening procedure. As this could only be carried out in all the areas if we are given sufficient funds and the administrative assistance to undertake to visit seven or eight thousand households, some way must be found to concentrate the remainder of the sample if it is only 1,000 in a few areas. The choice of the areas, say six, depends partly on practical considerations, i.e. easy accessibility for the team in Colchester and London and/or the number of available interviewers in an area, and partly on the groups in which we are interested. For example, if we want a larger number of immigrants we can base our choice on census data concerning numbers in wards and parishes born overseas. The more we know about a particular area, the more efficient our screening procedure. Census data, however, will not give us any indication of the areas in which there are large numbers of disabled, for example, (even supposing they are in any way 'concentrated' in areas). In this case there is a possibility that the Ministry of Social Security will provide samples of individuals in receipt of disability pensions, industrial injury benefit, in certain areas.

On the other hand, we may want to choose areas with very different characteristics: a rich constituency in the South East, a poor constituency in London, one in the North East or Northern Ireland and a rural constituency, for example. If we want to look not just at a particular group or groups vulnerable to poverty, but begin to investigate low income households in relation to the employment situation, housing and education provisions in a particular area then we should consider this strategy. The choice depends on the emphasis of the survey: the incidence of poverty or the causes of poverty.

TYPES of SAMPLING FRAME

There appear to be four hypothetical alternatives: (a) the register of electors (b) rating lists (c) valuation lists (d) ecological sampling.

Register of electors

Contains names of British subjects over 21 resident in the local authority areas which the Register represents. Certain information is listed after the names of electors such as the letter J which indicates property of rateable value of £30 or more in London and Middlesex and £20 elsewhere. The J index was a useful indicator of social and economic status but its usefulness has been diminished by the new Rating Acts which have considerably increased the number of people eligible for jury service (J); newly built council estates which contain conventionally low status occupants have a very high proportion of eligible jurors.

The great disadvantage of the electoral register as a sampling frame is that it is impossible to know (except by secondary survey) how many people who are eligible to be on this register are not in fact on it. There are grounds for believing that individuals in multi-occupied dwellings, the itinerant and highly mobile and those detached from the mainstream of society will not be represented, and these may be important groups for the purpose of studying poverty. Studies of coloured immigrants have indicated their serious under-representation on the electoral register. The register will exclude those who cannot claim to be British subjects. Families with a large number of adults would be over-represented in a sample drawn from the electoral register since each adult member represents an additional representation of the family on the register.

Rating lists

Because of the problem of under-representation and mobility which the electoral register possesses the rating lists are a better basis for a sampling frame, if minority groups are sought. Each local authority possesses a list of rates for the valuation of property. The principal difficulty with rating lists is that the form of assigning rates to households may vary between local authorities so great care has to be taken to check that there are not disaprities of this kind in the final frame.

Valuation lists

A recent Ministry of Housing Survey (1966) recommends (to local authorities studying housing conditions):

> The frame from which the sample is selected should preferably be the local Valuation Lists which are prepared and kept by local Inland Revenue Valuation Offices. These are more consistent in form and contain more information than local authorities' Rating Lists, which are compiled from them and which may vary in make-up from one authority to another. Most local authorities will have a copy of the Valuation List for their own area and should, therefore, be able to use it without difficulty. If the valuation list is not available, the rating list is the best alternative frame... if neither of these lists can conveniently be used, it is possible to use the Electoral Register as the sampling frame. This is not recommended except as a last resort....

There remains the problem of obtaining a sample of households from the

the dwellings selected. The solution probably lies in the method outlined by the Social Survey (Gray, Corlett, Frankland, 1950):

> ... The sample thus selected is one of addresses, not households, since any of the selected addresses may contain more than one household and some account must be taken of these extra households at any address... When a sample of 30 households is required in a given district the interviewer is given a list of 30 addresses selected in the manner described above. At any address containing one household only she interviews that household; if any address contains two households she interviews both of them and deletes the next address from her list; if any a dress contains three or more households, she interviews three (but not more), selecting three at random in the few cases with more than three, and deletes the next two addresses from her list. The final sample should thus contain the required number of households. (In the few cases where the next to last address visited in a district yields 3 households or the last yields more than one a surplus of up to two households may be obtained in that district: any such surplus can be rejected at random.) The procedure has been found in practice to yield approximately the correct proportion of households living more than one to an address, though, of course, it is not theoretically bound to do so...

Ecological sampling

This is the principal method used in the United States. It would presumably be used in our survey only if all other frames were rejected. This kind of sampling would involve many procedural and methodological problems.
The technique of ecological sampling is described by Kish under the heading "area sampling". It involves the use of maps to divide urban areas into the sampling unit of a "block" for which some socio-economic characteristics are known. The problem of selecting dwellings within these blocks is extremely complicated, since technically each dwelling should have as good a chance as any other of being selected. Without being able to number the population of the sampling frame, this is extremely difficult. Varying and unknown population densities within the blocks make the problem additionally difficult.

C o n c l u s i o n

On balance the best sampling frame is probably the valuation list or, if this is not available, the rating list. The method of seeking households within dwellings used by the Social Survey should be used in conjunction with these frames.

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References

P Gray, T Corlett & P Frankland: "The Register of Electors as a Sampling Frame", COI 1950

P Gray & T Corlett: "Sampling for the Social Survey", JRSS "A" 1950

Ministry of Housing: "Our Older Homes", HMSO 1966

L Kish: "Survey Sampling", Wiley NY 1965

__The Half-Open Interval__ (Information requested by BAS)

F. Yates (Sampling Methods for Censuses and Surveys, Griffin, London, 1960) outlines the half-open interval as a method for picking up households which are not included in an electoral register, thus removing some objections to the use of the electoral register as a frame. "When drawing the sample, the dwelling unit appearing next in the list to the selected unit is recorded, and the field investigator is instructed to see if there is any other unit on the ground __between__ these two units, and if so to include that unit in the sample. Thus the field investigator might receive the instruction to survey no. 9 in a certain street, with no. 13 as the next recorded unit. If on visiting no. 9 he finds that no. 9A and no. 11 also exist on this side of the street these are also surveyed. The even numbers between 9 and 13 are not included, since the instruction "odds only" indicates that they lie on the opposite side of the street." (P. 68-9).

The method is possible only if the sampling frame corresponds to a geographical pattern on the ground.

Presumably this method would be used in conjunction with the technique of interviewing all households within every electoral address chosen by the sample.

Chris Bagley

February, 1967.

Defining and Measuring Poverty in the National Poverty Survey

Following previous work we start by re-defining poverty in terms of relative deprivation. Individuals and families are in poverty if they lack the resources to have the types of diets, participate in the activities, and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary in society. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities.

Resources. In translating this approach into operational reality there are three steps. The first is to define "resources" and quantify all parts of the definition so that it is additive. This is not so easy as it might seem to be. Some of the difficulties are elaborated in the commentaries on different sections of the questionnaire. To the total of current monetary income (which is annual cash income, including sale of property) we are adding the value of fringe benefits received in the year, private income in kind, and the value of social service benefits (Sections II, IV and VI). These all pose difficulties and we need to spell out our methodology and our decisions in full. But we might also add the estimated annual "income" implied by the use of occupational and living facilities (Sections III and VII). The latter might not be too difficult, in the sense that to the value of the house or flat it is at least possible to add a value for site, garden and possessions. Finally, we are assuming that all capital assets, and not merely housing and possessions, can be translated into equivalent annual "income". What annuity could be paid on the security available?

We need to decide whether to add all seven sub-items together for certain purposes or whether, say, to add only four or five and use the other sections of information only for independent analysis. In any event, we will be able to elaborate and give empirical reality to the theoretical distinction between "total" and "partial" poverty that we have already drawn. This in itself will be a substantial advance in knowledge. Another point is of course that we will distinguish between temporary and permanent poverty. Operationally the former will be people whoss resources are found to be below the poverty line in the previous week, and the latter will be people whose resources have been below the line on average for the past 13 weeks (or 52 weeks, depending on our final decision).

2. The Poverty Line. The second step is to decide what should be the "cut-off" point to distinguish poverty from below-average command of resources. In presenting statistics of distribution we will of course be able to show how many and which types of families have less than 50 per cent or 60 per cent of the mean resources for their type or for all types of household (assuming a solution to the problem of equivalence). The relative distribution of households of different types will in itself add to knowledge. But need we be arbitrary in selecting a "cut-off" point? A "cut-off" could be determined by objective means. Families can be shown to be excluded from the amenities and activities commonly available in society by applying a special index made up of a series of questions (or possibly by coding the answers to certain questions scattered throughout the questionnaire). For piloting purposes we have chosen the following list.

Index of Participation in Social Activities and Amenities

	Adults 18 and over	Children and adolescents
1.	No summer holiday last year	Same
2.	Not stayed overnight away from home last year	Not been to birthday party in last 12 months
3.	Not had relative or friend to stay at home last year	Not had party last birthday
4.	Sent fewer than half average number of cards last Christmas	Not received presents from outside household last Christmas
5.	Not had friend home for tea or drink or meal in last month	Not had friend to play in garden or home in last week
6.	Not treated friend outside to drink or meal in last month	Not played in friend's house or been in friend's house in last week

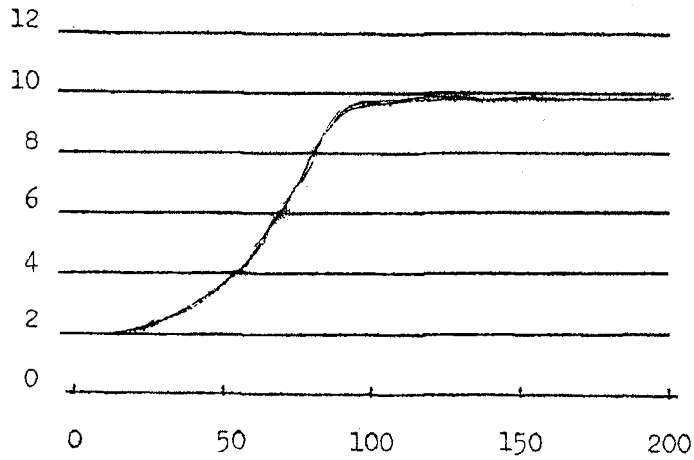
7.	Not had cooked breakfast in last week	Same
8.	Not had afternoon or evening outing in last month (e g cinema, sports match)	Same (e.g. playground, park, as well as cinema or sports match.
9.	Not had butter in last week	Same
10.	Not had fresh meat last Sunday	Same
11.	Sharing bed and/or having poor mattress or no mattress	Same
12.	Deprived self of warmth or other common amenities in last week	Not got entire school uniform and sports equipment advised by school OR, if pre-school, not got both a strong pair of shoes and pair of wellington boots.

This list will have to be revised ruthlessly. We do not assume that the correlation with income will be either invariable or complete. Some well-off individuals will be deprived according to one or other of these indicators. Thus a man may prefer rolls and coffee to eggs and bacon, or not eat meat because he is a vegetarian. Moreover, some very poor individuals may not be deprived according to any of these indicators. Because of thrift or family help they may have outings and holidays, buy fresh meat and so on.

Exactly the same point might be made about the determination of a poverty line by means of an Engel coefficient. The proportion of income spent on food varies irrespective of income at the lower ranges. One family with £12 per week might devote 30 per cent of its income to food; yet a family of exactly the same composition with the same income might devote 40 per cent of its income to food. However, there is a statistical trend, with the proportion spent on food being high at the lower ranges.

We are gambling on there being a similar kind of statistical trend, illustrated in the graph:

Number of activities or amenities fulfilled. Maximum 12



Income as per cent of mean (standardised for household composition

The logic of our approach runs roughly as follows: There are broadly two alternative ways of determining a "cut-off" point or a poverty line. The first is by examining data on food expenditure and total expenditure for households of widely different composition; this we might characterise as <u>the Engel coefficient approach</u>. As Martin Rein(1) and A. Haber(2) have shown, this approach is crude and is by no means convincing. The procedure followed by the Social Security Administration is rough and ready, and we badly need to have better information on the variation in the proportion of expenditure devoted to food for different kinds of household. This information is needed on a large scale (to cover the different income and household groups). Yet it is very hard to collect reliably, especially for poor households and, as far as I am aware, does not properly take account of food consumed outside the home, whether at school, at work or in cafes and restaurants. Finally, how can we apply this approach in the national survey? We are

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(1) Rein M., "Problems in the Definition and the Measurement of Poverty", International Seminar on Poverty, Colchester, April 1967 (to be published).

(2) Haber A., "Poverty Budgets: How Much is Enough?", <u>Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts</u>, Vol.1. No.3, 1966, p.6.

not collecting information about expenditure. We <u>might</u> do some sub-sampling but I doubt whether we could do much unless we selected just one or two principal household types. The main possibility would be to persuade those in charge of the F.E.S. to do a special analysis for us.

The alternative approach is to produce a <u>Cultural Deprivation Coefficient</u>. There are four steps: (a) selection of items for an index - justified by a demonstration that more than 50 per cent of the sample do each of the selected activities or have each of the selected amenities; (b) amalgamation of results into a score for each individual (e.g. 8 out of 12) and, averaged, for each household; (c) expression graphically of scores for each household type, according to income, so as to determine "cut-off" points and (d) estimation of numbers and types of households in the sample which are below the "cut-off" income levels.

3. <u>The Problem of Equivalence</u> Finally there is the problem of deciding whether the "cut-off" points for different types of household are equivalent (and, indeed, of working out equivalence for certain uncommon types of household). Again we have the two alternatives described above. Basically I believe we must keep both options open. We do not know whether the second can be made to work and the risks we are taking to operationalise it in one jump are enormous.

But the former is only slightly less hazardous. We may find that FES data cannot be made available to us. We may find ourselves applying American Engel coefficients to Nicholson's equivalence ratios. But neither American nor British data are entirely satisfactory. Distribution data are sparse and even aggregated data in income groups for some types of household (for example, one person) have not been presented in a helpful form.

Nicholson recognised the problem in 1949, and it is no easier today. As Brian Abel-Smith and Christopher Bagley have noted: "No family expenditure survey has provided data for the calculation of accurate, comprehensive equivalence ratios."[1]

The problem of equivalence might be easier to cope with in the second approach, for the following reasons. It is possible to collect information on these "cultural" items on a sufficiently large and economical scale to allow refined sub-analysis. It is easier to ensure reliability, because the response rate can be pushed much higher than 70 per cent and because the poor are more likely to be able to participate in giving information than they are in a family expenditure survey. Moreover, it is much easier to break information for households into information for individuals, which allows more searching tests of equivalence. Individual food expenditure is difficult to disentangle from household food expenditure. Yet the participation of the individual in common social activities and amenities is rather easier to isolate from the participation of the household in those activities and amenities. For individuals of certain kinds, e.g. men aged 20-25, we hope to be able to estimate the point at which they can be said no longer to participate. We can then examine the incomes of different types of household in which such men are to be found.

At least we should be aware that if we decide finally to rely on the ratios developed by Nicholson (or a modified version of them) it would be logically wrong, or at least untidy, to adopt any other method than that of the Engel coefficient to fix the poverty line.

Discussion

The most worrying aspect of this very provisional sketch of a method of measuring poverty is the concept I have been developing of income-related cultural participation. "The" culture is made up of a series of overlapping sub-cultures. If the national culture is defined

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(1) Abel-Smith B. and Bagley C. "The Problem of Establishing Equivalent Standards of Living for Families of Different Composition." International Seminar on Poverty, Colchester, April 1967 (to be published).

THE DEFINITION OF POVERTY

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Colloquium on Handicapped Families organised by the Bureau de Recherches Sociales and held under the auspices of UNESCO : Paris 10-12 February 1964.

That poverty is still an immense contemporary problem in Britain the United States and elsewhere in the West as well as in other parts of the world has only just begun to seep through to public consciousness. Indeed, there is evidence lately that it has been increasing. I want to trace the history of the information which has become available in recent years. My thesis is that there is no such thing as absolute poverty, that poverty can only be defined in terms of relative needs and that this has profound implications not only for our understanding of society but also for social policy.

Income Standards Since the War

Britain ended the war on a note of high enthusiasm for social reform. A new Education Act had already been passed and a mandate was given for a series of important measures which represented, at the time, the public's detestation of the social order of the 1930's - with unemployment, slums, inadequate medical services - everything that tended to be symbolised by the poor law and the means test. Though some are inclined to forget it now, there was in fact considerable agreement between people of different political opinion on much of the so-called welfare state legislation of the mid- and late 1940's. In the latter stages of the Labour Government's six year term of office, poverty was widely assumed to have been virtually abolished. We had full, or almost full employment; a rising number of married women taking paid employment; the maintenance of high taxation and of systems of rationing and other public restraints or controls; and a web of welfare services which seemed to be preventing everyone from falling below a civilised minimum standard of living. And along came Mr. Seebohm Rowntree in 1951, after carrying out a third socio-economic survey of the city of York, with the conclusion that less than three per cent of the working class population in that city were in poverty.(1) He was supported indirectly at the time and afterwards by economists such as Mr. Dudley Seers Professor Paish and Mr. H. Lydall, who told us that the differences in income between rich and poor were much smaller than they had been before the war - moreover, that this egalitarian trend was continuing well into the nineteen fifties.(2)

Thus were the seeds of complacency and indifference sown. Government

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(1) Rowntree, B.S., and Lavers, G.R., Poverty and the Welfare State : A Third Social Survey of York dealing with Economic Questions London, Longmans 1951.

(2) Seers, D., The Levelling of Incomes since 1938 Oxford, Blackwell 1951; Paish, F.W., "The Real Incidence of Personal Taxation", Lloyds Bank Review, 43, 1957, p. 1; Lydall, H.F., "The Long-Term Trend in the Size Distribution of Income", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Series A (General), 122, Part 1, 1959, p. 1.

departments did not possess research or intelligence units adequate to the task of telling us what exactly was happening.. The social sciences had not yet sufficiently developed to provide good independent evaluation. Several years passed before it was realised that although the post-war achievements were considerable they were by no means as complete - nor, what is just as important as lasting - as was commonly supposed. In a sense the system of public social services in particular was marking time while the rest of society moved on. I take the view that social historians will judge the 1950's as a period of stagnation in British social policy, compared with what went before and even with what has been happening in the last three years.

Articles and books began to appear offering exceptions to what was supposed to be the general rule. The families of those who were unemployed in a cotton recession in Lancashire were shown to be really poor.(1) Miss L.A.Shaw, Mrs. M. Bowerbank and others showed much the same for those who were sick for more than a brief period(2) and Mr. Peter Marris for widows with young children.(3) Mr. Merfyn Turner and Mr. Philip O'Connor(4) gave us accounts of life in lodging-houses and on the roads and Mrs. Audrey Harvey vividly portrayed the problems of the homeless.(5) We learned that there was a gipsy population of some 50,000 and a distinct caravan population of perhaps 150,000 which mostly lived in insanitary as well as penurious circumstances - data carefully reported in The Lancet. There were a number of studies of so-called "problem" families and later of the special problems of immigrants living in overcrowded conditions [illegible] of Dr. J.H. Sheldon about chronic sick hospitals in the Birmingham region(6) and Dr. John Wing Mr. George Brown, Dr. Russell Barton and others about the state of some psychiatric hospitals.(7) I can only refer here to a few of what became a stream of important studies. More people began to admit the existence of "residual" poverty, though the limitations of the studies I have referred to were quickly pointed out. They were usually confined to small localities or were based on interviews with a very small number of people.

Perhaps the first realisation that the problem was large-scale came with the various studies of old people. Since Dr. J.H. Sheldon's pioneering survey in Wolverhampton just after the end of the war we have had in Britain over fifty regional and local studies of the living conditions of old people (in places as far removed as the Orkneys, Aberdeen, Bristol, Liverpool, Sheffield, Oxfordshire and East London), several of them, interestingly enough, carried

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(1) Political and Economic Planning, Social Security and Unemployment in Lancashire, December 1952.

(2) Shaw, L.A., "Living on a State-Maintained Income - I", Case Conference March 1958; and Bowerbank, M., "Living on a State-Maintained Income - II" Case Conference, April 1958.

(3) Marris, P., Widows and their Families, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958.

(4) Turner, M., Forgotten Men, London, National Council of Social Service, 1960.

(5) Harvey, A., Casualties of the Welfare State, Fabian Society, 1959.

(6) Sheldon, J.H., Report to the Birmingham Regional Hospital Board on its Geriatric Services, Birmingham Regional Hospital Board, 1961.

(7) Brown, G.W., and Wing, J.K., "A Comparative Clinical and Social Survey of Three Mental Hospitals", Sociology and Medicine, Studies within the framework of the British National Health Service, The Sociological Review, Monograph No. 5, 1962. Barton, R., Institutional Neurosis, Bristol 1959.

out by general practitioners. Not all of these gave economic data. When they did they showed, as did Dorothy Cole Wedderburn's survey of old people in six areas, that more than half the elderly population, which in the whole population could amount to over three million, lived at or around the national assistance level. It seemed that there were at least half a million old people who would qualify for supplementary national assistance but who were not getting it. So far as the conclusions of economists on the distribution of income are concerned, Professor Titmuss has shattered the statistical basis of the hypothesis of increasing egalitarianism.(1)

The Scale of Poverty

More recently new evidence has begun to show the true scope of the problem. Dr. Brian Abel-Smith and I have been making a new analysis of the national surveys of income and expenditure carried out in recent years by the Government Social Survey for the Ministry of Labour. We attempted to estimate from the surveys of 1953-4 and 1960 how many persons in the population lived at or around the official definition of subsistance - the basic scales of benefit paid by the National Assistance Board at the time of the survey. We found that there were $4\frac{1}{4}$ million, or 8 per cent of the population, in poverty. according to this criterion, in 1953-4 and $7\frac{1}{2}$ million, or 14 per cent of the population, in 1960. A detailed statistical analysis is to be published shortly and although part of the difference between the results from the two surveys might be due to sampling variations and certain changes of method, it is too large to be entirely accounted for in this way.

An independent set of data emerge from re-working the statistics in the reports on the annual national food survey. My colleauge, Dr. Royston Lambert, is shortly to publish a report on nutrition in Britain in which he shows that during the decade 1950 - 1960 the proportion of the persons in the sample whose diet was below the nutritive standard of the British Medical Assocation for two, three or four items increased significantly and that, rather surprisingly, the Food Survey Committee seems to have failed to publicise and investigate the poor standards of large families.(2)

There are other data which point to a relative fall in living standards of certain sections of the population. For example, there has been a slowing down since 1954 in the increase in height of schoolchildren in London of a given age, and data on heights and weights from other parts of the country suggest that this may be a general phenomenon.

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(1) Titmuss, R.M., Income Distribution and Social Changes : A Study in Criticism, London, Allen & Unwin, 1962.

(2) Lambert, R.J., Nutrition in Britain 1950-1960, A Critical Discussion of the Standards and Findings of the National Food Survey , Occasional Papers on Social Administration, No. 6, Welwyn, The Codicote Press, 1964.

More disturbing evidence is emerging from the United States. Estimates of the fraction of the American population living in poverty range from around 20 per cent to 33 per cent. Professor S.M. Miller has spoken of the "rediscovery" of poverty in the United States.(1) Studies undertaken by Dr. James Morgan, Professor Leon Keyserling, Mr. Michael Harrington, Miss Lenore Epstein and others have shown that negroes, the aged, the sick, the unemployed, the poorly educated and the unskilled comprise this large minority.(2) The official monthly publication of the U.S. Social Security Administration contained a recent article by Miss Mollie Orshansky, a member of the Division of Research and Statistics, saying that "some 17-23 million youngsters, or from a fourth to a third of all our children, are growing up in the gray shadow of poverty". Some studies, such as those by Dr. Gabriel Kolko and Dr. Robert J. Lampman, have also shown that the wealthiest one per cent have grown relatively wealthier,(3) while there is other evidence to show that after a real improvement in the income position of low-income groups during the war, there has been no marked improvement since. Dr. Kolko actually found a deterioration in the relative income position of the 20 per cent with lowest income. The level of negroes' incomes is no longer advancing relatively to that of whites. Public and private insurance schemes to make good wage losses during sickness have made little or no headway in recent years.(4) These are just a few of the signs of the retreat from egalitarianism.

Why the Problem is Growing

In Britain as well as the United States the problem has increased and may increase further. Let us ask why there has been an increase from four or five to seven or eight millions in the numbers living at or below the official standard of subsistence (compared with an increase from just over 2 millions to around 3 million persons partially or wholly dependent on national assistance). There has been a relative as well as an absolute increase in the number of persons in the population aged 65 or over, particularly persons aged 75 and over. And pensions and national assistance benefits, as Mr. Tony Lynes has convincingly demonstrated,(5) have not kept pace with average disposable income.

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(1) Miller, S.M., "Poverty and Inequality in America : Implications for the Social Services", Child Welfare, December 1963.

(2) Conference on Economic Progress, Poverty and Deprivation in the United States, Washington, 1961; the main author of this analysis is Leon Keyserling and it is known as the "Keyserling Report"; Michael Harrington, The Other America : Poverty in the United States, New York, Macmillan & Company, 1962; James N. Morgan et al., Income and Welfare in the United States, New York, McGraw Hill & Company, 1962; Epstein, Lenore A., "Some Effects of Low Income on Children and their Families", Social Security Bulletin, February 1961.

(3) Kolko Gabriel, Wealth and Power in the United States, New York, Frederick Praeger, 1962; Lampman, Robert J., The Share of Top Wealth-Holders in National Wealth, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.

(4) Skolnik, A.M., "Income-Loss Protection Against Short-Term Sickness 1948-62" Social Security Bulletin, January 1964.

(5) Lynes, T., National Assistance and National Prosperity, Occasional Papers on Social Administration, No. 5, Welwyn, The Codicote Press, 1962.

Second, there has been a relative as well as an absolute increase in the number of families with four, five or more children, as shown by the annual reports of the Ministry of Pensions. There has been an increase, in fact, in dependency at either end of the life span, but the crucial group are large families. We must remember here that direct family (or child) allowances have been raised only twice since 1948, although other insurance and assistance benefits have been raised seven or eight times. We must also remember that male weekly earnings in many unskilled or semi-skilled occupations are still around £10 or below. The sudden rise in unemployment just over a year ago drew attention to the pernicious effect on large families of the so-called "Wage stop". A man with several children who qualified for an assistance grant larger than his previous wage often found that the grant was reduced by up to two or three pounds. I calculate from the recent report of the Board that nearly half of the unemployed with three or more children who were receiving assistance must have received a reduced grant. The fault lies not so much with the Board as with the government for not improving children's allowances and ensuring better minimum wages.

Large families in the common market countries are better off. For example, Professor Goetz-Girey has shown that the allowances paid to a family with six children in the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium and France range from 42 to 108 American dollars a month, compared with 29 in Britain. The allowances range from 6 to 27 dollars for a family with two children, compared with less than 5 dollars in Britain.(1) The real differences in living standards may be rather smaller than these figures indicate, however. Allowances in kind, by which I mean subsidies for cheap milk and school meals, are of some importance in Britain. Many large families benefit from subsidised public housing, as well as the national health, social insurance and education services. If we were to take account of all redistributive services the large family in Britain might even be found to be in a favourable position in certain respects. No-one has attempted this useful comparative study.

In the common market countries cash allowances play a much bigger role for the large family than in Britain, and do not exist in the United States. Yet in relation to other social security allowances and in relation to gains in total income these allowances have been losing ground.(2) Though there may be exceptions if would appear that in Western Europe generally, as well as in the United States, the large family has suffered a fall in recent years in its standard of living relative to other families. In France, for example, M. Paul Paillat has shown the fall since 1951 and particularly since 1956 in the standards enjoyed by families with only one child and by married couples without children.(3) We may conclude that even if other western countries have not

(1) Goetz-Girey, R., "Prestations Familiales et Salaires des Familles dans l'Europe des Six", Droit Social, Juillet-Août, 1963, pp.426-433.

(2) Ibid, p. 427 and p. 431. See also "Etude Comparée des Prestations de Sécurité Sociale dans les Divers Pays de la C.E.E.", Série Politique Sociale, 1962, No. 4.

(3) Paillat, P., "Influence du Nombre d'Enfants sur le Niveau de Vie de la Famille : Evolution de 1950 à 1961", Population, 1962, No.3.

been experiencing a general increase like the United States and, to a lesser extent, Britain, in the numbers of the population living at subsistence standard they have shown signs of transferring less income to large families than a decade earlier.

There are other reasons for an increase in poverty. The proportion of men in their fifties and early sixties who are chronic sick or disabled has grown. The proportion of persons in fatherless families may also have grown. Widowed and divorced women and wives separated from their husbands who are bringing up small children are a vulnerable group. Unlike parts of Scandinavia, Britain does not underwrite maintenance payments and many women have to turn to the National Assistance Board. Miss Orshansky shows for the United States that between 1950 and 1962 such families increased as a percentage of total families from 6 to $8\frac{1}{2}$.(1) The latter percentage is the same as the current estimate for Britain(2) but appears to be lower than the figure for Germany.(3)

The Ministry of Labour budget data for 1960 showed that of all the persons living in those households at or around the basic standard of subsistence laid down by the National Assistance Board, around 35 per cent were wholly or primarily dependent on retirement pensions, 23 per cent on other state benefits, 4 per cent miscellaneous sick pay, superannuation, etc., but 38 per cent on earnings. The great majority of these households comprised families with several children.

The Difficulties of Using an Absolute or Static Concept of "Poverty".

In 1960, Professor Galbraith's The Affluent Society was published.(4) He did much to reawaken interest in poverty and the role of the public services, but he referred to poverty in terms which suggested that it involved pockets or islands of the population rather than a major sub-stream. He was one of the first to point out that economic growth was not the answer to poverty, that the conditions of certain minorities would not necessarily improve if the nation gave priority to the task of increasing productivity. He argued that the "myopic preoccupation with production and material investment has diverted our attention from the more urgent questions of how we are employing our resources and, in particular, from the greater need and opportunity for investing in persons".(5) What has to be added to his analysis now is that the problem may become endemic in present western society and much more drastic changes than mere improvements in housing and social security benefits will be required to put things right.

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(1) Orshansky, M., "Children of the Poor", Social Security Bulletin, July, 1963, p.6.
(2) Wynn, M., Fatherless Families, London, Michael Joseph, 1964, p.18.
(3) According to Dr. Simon, Ministerialdirektor of the Bundesminiserium für Familien und Jugendfragen, about three million children are in fatherless families, one million of whom "are in the most extreme poverty because their mothers have too little money or their fathers are failing to support them", Bild-Zeitung, 27th October, 1962.
(4) Galbraith, J.K., The Affluent Society, London, Hamish Hamilton.
(5) Galbraith, J.K., op.cit., p.258.

Other American writers have since shown that the islands of population are in fact much larger than Galbraith implied. Their measures, however, are based on the traditional approach to human needs pioneered by Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree at the turn of the last century, and I should like to emphasise this because I believe it is crucial to a new appraisal. In America there is an economy food plan priced by the Department of Agriculture (and there is also a slightly more generous low-cost food plan)(1) which has been used to find which and how many families do not have enough income to buy an adequate diet.(2) Essentially, as in Britain, this assumes that <u>absolute</u> dietary needs can be objectively measured and translated into quantities of meat, vegetables, milk, fruit and so on and hence into a fixed market cost. This is the theoretical basis for many of the attempts to define "minimum" standards for social security in this century. But when we look at the dietary standards worked out by nutritionists and by the American and British Medical Associations the word "objectivity" dies on our lips.

According to the special report in 1950 of a committee set up by the British Medical Association a man who spends the day in bed requires about 1750 calories, if he is up and about he requires another 370, and if he walks for two miles at 3 m.p.h. (striving to allow for an average amount of walking in the day) another 130. For every hour of work if it is sedentary he is allowed another 30, or, if it is exceptionally heavy manual work, as many as 450. Quite what happens if a sedentary worker plays rugby or does ballroom dancing in his leisure hours or has to walk a long way to a bus stop and stand for three hours every day in buses and trains on his way to work we are not told. The recommended figures for different categories are in fact crude averages. The Committee is appropriately reticent about its claims although I have not noticed the BMA reminding the National Food Survey committee of the limitations of this procedure. I know that the problem could be discussed in a lot more detail. My point is that nutritional needs, like the needs for housing, warmth and clothing, are relative, not absolute. I am told that it is possible to live in Calcutta, if barely, on just over 1000 calories a day. Yet in measuring adequacy in the West, estimates tend to vary around 3000. When Rowntree first defined in 1899 what was required if a family was not to live in poverty the income he chose was four or five times larger, in comparative purchasing terms, than the income of the average family today in India. This example provides a sharp reminder of the variability of the "basic" standards which have been used

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(1) See, for example, Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Research Service, <u>Family Food Plans and Food Costs</u>, Home Economics Research Report No. 20, November 1962; and Household Food Consumption Service, <u>Food Consumption and Dietary Levels of Households in the United States</u>, Spring 1955, ARS 62-6, August 1957.

(2) The standard adopted by different States varies, as does the full model budget for meeting basic needs under Old-Age Assistance. See "Meeting Financial Needs", <u>Welfare in Review</u>, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, December 1963.

in the past.

A man's needs depend not only on his physiology and his metabolism but on the climate, the house he lives in, the family and the community of which he is a member and the way he spends his leisure as well as the kind of work he does in the day. This seems obvious enough, perhaps, but the implication is that we can only measure poverty, or meet it, in relation to the resources and style of life currently available in the society under study - which presumably forms an organic or administrative whole. And every society creates psychological and social as well as material needs. Let me give one simple example. Suppose a socio-economic study was carried out of families whose incomes were about to be halved, say, such as families whose heads were about to retire or otherwise to lose their jobs. I am sure that the changes in their consumption patterns would not reflect conventional economic distinctions between "luxuries" and "necessities". An illustrative study along these lines which was undertaken in Lancashire during a recession in the cotton industry in 1952 showed that many families stopped or drastically reduced their expenditure on meat, fruit, milk and so on without abandoning expenditure on children's toys, cigarettes, cinema and sports outings.(1) There are acquired pyschological as well as socially controlled compulsions which are reflected in family consumption patterns. In relation to physical or bodily needs, they should not be underestimated.

To describe poverty, then, is to describe the conditions of families or households receiving much less than the average income of all families or households of the same size and type. They may also experience much less than the average standard of housing and schooling and doctoring and hospitalisation, or they may be unlucky in only one of these respects. Some families have only brief contacts with poverty or with poverty at only one point. Others may be totally immersed. They may live in a slum house, with a poor wage or social security income, served by an overcrowded slum school, a badly staffed and out of date hospital and an employer who is always dodging the Factory Inspectorate.

A Provisional Definition

The way is cleared, then,for a dynamic definition of "poverty". Individuals and families whose financial resources and/or whose other resources including their educational and occupational skills, the condition of their environment at home and at work and their material possessions, fall seriously below those commanded by the average person or family in society are in poverty. "Society" can mean local, national or international society, according to the frame of reference.

Poverty may be total in the sense that a family may, in respect of

(1) Political and Economic Planning, Social Security and Unemployment in Lancashire, December, 1952.

a wide range of resources, fall seriously short of what is usual or average in that society for a family of similar composition. This form of poverty may be experienced by many of those living in the slum areas of a city or the French bidonvilles. Or poverty may be partial in the sense that a family which commands an average income may live in poor housing; the young children may attend a slum school, or the adolescent children may have fewer opportunities than are generally available in society to enjoy secondary and university education, apprenticeship training or other educational, cultural and sports facilities. No doubt it would be possible to develop varied, if related, terminology for example, "financial", "environmental" and "educational" poverty in the analysis of total and partial poverty.

Poverty may be temporary or long-term, and scientific measures of it will of course depend on the different kinds of resources that are available. Persons who, for example, are poor for a few weeks because of sickness may rely on continued payments of wages by the employer, income tax rebates or temporary loans from relatives. Some of the temporary unemployed may rely principally on lump sum redundancy payments. Those who are seriously injured while at work and enter a long period of poverty may rely predominantly on social insurance or assistance and occasional gifts in kind (such as bedding and clothing) from religious and voluntary assocations. They may also require regular medical aid and physiotherapy.

It follows that poverty may be a condition which most individuals experience in at least one respect for at least some part of the life cycle. Definitions which tend to imply that there are "two nations" may be useful only at one point of time in rousing public sympathies for social reforms but it would be wrong to believe that there are two permanently exclusive categories of the population - the rich or comfortably off and the poor.

The term "fall seriously short" is deliberately general. Much will depend on the measure of poverty being used. I have in mind measures of income distribution which show for different countries how many families of a given type have less than say 50% or 75% of the median income for that type of family. Quality of housing, on the other hand, might be measured objectively by using a sociological scale. The choice of the point on any scale at which "poverty" begins must be one based ultimately on individual or collective opinion. It would be possible to establish the extent of agreement among (a) a selected group of professional persons e.g. economists, sociologists or dieticians, or (b) a sample of the general population on the question of the point at which they subjectively feel they <u>would</u> descend or <u>have</u> in the past descended into poverty, and the point at which <u>others</u> would descend or have descended into poverty. Ratings of social status or prestige have been carried out along these lines.

Quantitative measures of the <u>distribution</u> of resources would be necessary. For example, a scale might be devised to establish how many of ten facilities each household enjoys : for example, piped water, indoors W.C., electricity, running hot water, refrigerator, more than 100 square feet house-space per person. Educational resources might be measured in terms of the numbers of children in a class, the educational qualifications of the teacher and so on. It would be possible to show for all families of a particular type whether their children attend classes of average size, according to national standards, or whether the classes are grossly overcrowded. Considerable ingenuity will be required of sociologists and psychologists to further develop objective measures of such a kind to show the relative command of different groups of society on certain resources.

One logical consequence of the above definition which may be worth remarking is that families who are in total or partial poverty may or may not be socially "maladjusted", in whatever sense society applies that term and vice-versa. But there may be a considerable overlap and research is urgently needed to establish whether this is so.

Practical Consequences

If this is how we define the problem it cannot be solved by making grudging offertories to the sick, the retired, the disabled and, now, the workless adolescent and middle-aged persons who are made redundant, while holding out the bait of greater material incentives to a shrinking class of professionals, technocrats and young skilled manual class, We will only make the situation worse by setting in sharper juxtaposition the haves and have-nots. A society can create more poverty in various ways, some of them perhaps unwitting. It can do so by sharpening professional and trade union restrictive practices. Workers who are made redundant or who are otherwise seeking new jobs are excluded from the opportunity of taking them by the necessity to go through prolonged and cumbersome rituals or by ill-concealed social inclusiveness. A society can also create more poverty by conferring more educational opportunities on a minority of the population, as in higher education or special training schemes in a few industries, or even streaming in primary schools, instead of distributing such opportunities widely. It can do so by restricting the scope of a man's job, as in many automative processes, which inevitably restrict the man's adaptability for future employment. It can do so by restricting education and re-training to the young, instead of also to the middle-aged. It can do so, again, by promoting policies which widen existing income differentials. These could take the form of failing to maintain pension rates as wages and prices rise or offering increased rewards to certain professional men and workers whose contribution to production is believed to be crucial. Are professionals and technocrats paid too much? Are they really as interested in having their incomes increased, say, from £2700 to £3500 as they are in the conditions and nature of their work?

By acting from a psychological sense of insecurity and a desire for the recognition of our self-importance, do we attach too much importance, as a society, to professional and social status, to material perquisites, and unwittingly cancel out the effectiveness of the welfare measures we introduce to offset the worst injustices of modern society? The problem is one of redistribution rather than of economic growth - of redistributing social resources more evenly - finding satisfying occupations for the redundant, re-training some of the skilled as well as the so-called unskilled, giving more priority to understaffed schools and chronic sick and psychiatric hospitals and restraining extravagant consumption of some resources.

In his recent book Challenge to Affluence, Professor Myrdal argued how important it was to re-train or train those who were unemployed or in low productivity occupations and otherwise to carry out redistributive reforms if only for the purpose of "stabilising aggregate demand on a high and rising level".[1] I would plead that the case for redistribution can be made on ever stronger grounds, first, that poverty is touched at some stage of the life cycle by a majority of a population (it is not a static problem of "two nations") and that therefore an argument exists in terms of psychological security, and, second, when one takes account of individual loyalties to family, community and workmates there is also an argument in terms of social morale. This seems to me to underlie any plan for promoting economic growth. It is not without interest that to create a sense of national purpose in war and stimulate production as well as persuade the population to endure sacrifices, the Coalition Government of 1940 - 1945 approved a number of equalitarian social measures - raising public assistance rates and old age pensions, introducing welfare schemes for mothers and children and so on. The principle has not been consciously applied in peacetime and yet is very simple. It is one of extending to other areas of social life the basic ethic of medicine, the law and the church, however imperfectly practised, of treating men equally.

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(1) Myrdal, G., Challenge to Affluence, London, Gollancz, 1964, p.68.

The Value of non-disposeable income and income in kind

This note explains our methods of calculating the value of fringe benefits, non-disposeable income and income in kind. Three types were recognized. First, fringe benefits, second private income in kind and third, subsidies from relatives and friends. Together all these add up to a further source of income.

Fringe Benefits. Information was collected in the survey about the fringe benefits available to employees and the self-employed. Not all fringe benefits could be included, but information was collected about a large number of possible benefits. For some exact cash amounts are known while for others we made estimates of their value according to the information collected about each individual

The value of luncheon or meal vouchers is known. The annual value was calculated by multiplying the weekly amount by the number of weeks each individual had worked during the previous twelve months at the time of the interview.

Each employee was asked to estimate the weekly amount saved during an average week if they were eating meals subsidized by their employer. These may have been in the form of cheap meals provided by the employer or meals eaten out and paid for by the 'firm'. Annual values were calculated from these estimates.

For each employee who said they ~~were allowed to~~ used the firm's car for private purposes an estimate of the value to the individual was calculated. Each employee was asked whether the 'firm' paid road tax, insurance, petrol and normal repairs. Information about the approximate value, make and type, and miles per gallon was also collected. Employees were asked to give an estimate of the number of miles ~~they travelled in the~~ for which the car was used. An estimate of the annual value of the use of the 'firm's car was calculated using this information.

Employees were asked to make an estimate of the annual value of goods and services in kind provided by employers. These included free goods, travel outside work, medical expenses and educational fees.

Some employees live in accommodation provided or subsidized by their employer. Those people were asked to make an estimate of the annual value to them of cheap or rent free accommodation.

There are many other fringe benefits which we were unable to include such as the use of telephones, or showering and bathing facilities.

The self employed were also asked to make estimates about the annual value of the use of a firm's car, cheap goods and services and subsidized accommodation.

In addition to the current ~~subsidized~~ subsidies outlined above we calculated the value of occupational insurance schemes to both employee and self employed. A similar method was adopted for both groups of economically active persons. Pension rights were calculated by multiplying the number of years served towards an occupational pension ~~for~~ by the estimated annual ~~by persons on retirement~~ value of pension (plus any lump sum) and by the number of years expected to live after pensionable age.[1] This was divided by the total number of years served towards the pension by [illegible] retirement or the number of years expected to live ~~from~~ in 1968. For most people we knew their expected retirement age (the age of the maturity of their pension) and the number of years served towards the pension. When we did not know the ~~year~~ age ~~on~~ at which

1. Based on the Life Tables for the United Kingdom for both men and women in five year age groups. See, Registrar General's Quarterly Return, 3rd quarter (England & Wales), 1968.

they expected to start drawing their pension, we assumed that it was 63. If we did not know the years served towards the pension we assumed that it was 5 for men under 40, 10 for men between 40 and 49 and 15 for men aged 50-64. This method gives us a current value (1968) of the individual's pension to which someone will not be entitled until he reaches pensionable age.

We also estimated the value of sick pay rights. The average number of weeks of sickness was calculated for each of the following age groups, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-64. For each employed person we were then able to calculate the expected average number of weeks of sickness that an individual would have off work each year until he reached retirement age. It was assumed that people would retire at 65. The value of sick pay rights was calculated by multiplying the proportion of normal earnings received as sick pay minus any sick pay received in previous twelve months by the average annual period of sickness from now (1968) until retirement.

X

Private Income in kind. The value of private income in kind was calculated by summing the estimated annual rental value of various consumer goods and adding to this the estimated profit of home grown food. The rental values of each consumer durable is shown in Table 1. These were estimated from 1971 prices as reliable estimates of average prices for 1968 were not easily obtainable. 1971 prices were weighted to give 1968 prices according to the price index for durable goods.[1] The average annual rental of a black and white television is £26 while the average price for the same is £70. The average life expectancy of a television is 6 years. The average annual purchasing price is therefore £10.2. The rental price is

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1. Department of Employment and Productivity, Employment and Productivity Gazette, August, 1968 and August, 1971.

Table 1. Price, estimated life expectancy and estimated annual rental value of various consumer durables, 1968.

Item	Price (1971)	life expectancy (estimated)	annual rental value (1968)
television (black and white)	£ 70	6	£22.7
record player	£ 25	10	£56
radio	£ 30	10	£ 6.7
refrigerator	£45	20	£ 7.6
washing machine	£80	10	£ 8.9
vacuum cleaner	£ 32	10	£ 7.0
telephone	-	-	£20.0
central heating	£413 † ~~(1968)~~	15	£ 70.1

† 1968.

255% of the purchasing price. Using the ratio as the probable relation between purchasing and rental prices for all consumer durables the average rental value in 1968 for record players, radio's, refrigerators, washing machines, and vaccuum cleaners was calculated. The annual rental value of a telephone in 1968 is known.[1] The average price of gas central heating for normal semi detached three bedroom house was £275-300 in 1968. On average solid fuel systems cost about 10% less. The expected length of life is about 15 years. In that period new parts and labour charges for replacing them will amount on average to £60. On top of this are service costs at £5 per annum. The total cost over 15 years in 1968 for the average central heating system is £413.

The profit of growing own food was estimated by individuals during the interview. An ~~average~~ annual value has been calculated for all households.

1. Post Office Charges, 1968.

NP.

<u>Subsidies from Relatives</u>. There are two types of subsidies from relatives: cash and services in kind. The amount in cash given to and received from relatives is known. The value of cash gifts may in some instances be negative. The annual net value of goods received and given were estimated by multiplying the number of hours of service in the year by the hourly rate for home-helps in 1968/69. (£0.25) Again, a negative value for services in kind was obtained for individuals helping relatives.

~~ umm ~~ EVENTUALLY

Non Disposable Income and Income in Kind - Last Year (only)

(1) Private Income in Kind

Estimate approx ave annual rental value of each item in Q 9 p.2 for 1968-9

Add 1/37 and 1/31/7 - electric cooker - rental value of Consumer Durables
Add 11/30-3 - multiplied by 52 - profit on garden

(2) Fringe Benefits

✓ (a) Current Subsidies

Employees

Add 4/48-9 - multiplied by 3/54-5 - meal vouchers X weeks of work (p.12)
Add 4/51-2 - multiplied by 3/54-5 - cheaper meals X weeks of work (p.12)
Add 4/54-6 - use of car (p.13)
Add 4/58-61 - other (p.13)
Add household card 2/44-6 - cheap accomodation (p.22)
Add household card 2/56-8 - rent free accomodation (p.23)

Self employed

Add 5/32-6 - use of car (p.14)
Add 5/38-40 - cheap goods (p.14)
Add 5/42-4 - cheap home (p.14)

THIS IS THE MOST PROBLEMATIC SUB-SECTION

✓ (b) Occupational 'Insurance'

Add 4/21-5 - sick pay rights
Subtract 6/68/71 multiplied by 3/39 - sick pay received
Add 4/27-31 - value of pension rights (employee)
Add 5/14-18 - value of pension rights (self employed)
Add 4/42-46

1 Check with a coding b marginals to get sense of information 2 Estimate average periods of sickness of different classes (by multiplying sickness weeks as listed on p. 8 with occupation class) 3 express period x earnings, deducting sick pay received.

Pension rights SEE NEXT PAGE Years served towards pension / Years served plus years still to serve (ie. Age of pension minus actual age) X annual value of pension

(3) Subsidies from Relatives

(a) Cash Subsidies

Add 14/67-70

Add 14/64-66 - multiplied by 52 - regular gifts (p.33)
Add 14/71-4 - divide by 5 - major gifts (p.33)
Add 15/16-18 - multiplied by 15/13-15 and divided by 7 - holidays with friends and relatives (p.34)
Subtract 14/52-4 - multiplied by 52 - gifts given

(b) Net value of services received

Add 14/43-9 (hours of services) multiplied by 52 and by shillings per hour (rate of pay of home help 1968-9) - for household altogether (some totals in individual columns)

To find out →

Subtract 14/44-5 (hours of service) multiplied by 52 and by shillings per hour

ALREADY COVERED

(4) Government subsidies

(a) For the poor only

Add 13/47-8 - uniform grants
Add where 13/42/3 is ringed the sum of £..... (free school meals)
Add where 13/38/0 is ringed the sum of £..... (free welfare milk)

(b) General Subsidies and Benefits (subsidy on school meals)

Add where 13/42/2 ringed the sum of £..... (subsidy on school meals)
Add where 13/38/Y ringed the sum of £..... (cheap milk)
Add where 13/43/3 ringed the sum of £..... (free milk at school)

Add where 13/40/Y or 2 ringed and baby under 1 year the sum of £..... or £..... (cost of maternity services)
Add according to 13/41 code the sum of £..... (cost of schooling)
Add where 13/45/1 ringed the sum of £..... (boarding school)
Add according to 13/64 code the sum of £..... (College attendance)
Add where 14/13-15 shows entry multiply by sum of £..... (for different types) (Hospital stay)
Add where X or O ringed for 14/26 the sum of 14/22-23 and 14/24-25 X £..... (G.P. services)
Add where 14/27 X, Y ringed the sum of £..... (Spectacles)
Add according to completion of 14/28-39 certain

Pension rights. We know years served towards pension (If DK assume 5 for men under 40, ~~[illegible]~~, 10 40-49, 15 50-64) and age taking pension (If DK ~~assume~~ or other assume 63)

[illegible] least paid ~~One method~~ would be:
[illegible] years paid towards pension + years expected to [illegible]

(= total expected to be paid after retirement + lump sum)

$$\frac{\text{Years served towards pension}}{\text{Years served plus (years still to serve (i.e. age taking pension minus actual age)}} \times \frac{\text{~~[illegible]~~ annual value of pension plus annuity value of lump sum} \times \text{Years expected to live after pension age}}{\text{Years expected to live from now}}$$

There are many difficulties about this but we may be pioneering something very important. We will need life tables, of course, but these are ~~easily~~ available. If you could think about the procedure in relation to the data, & spell it out, we could then consult certain economists (e.g. Atkinson & Co) to get advice about my formula. Essentially it gives a current value to the pension to which someone will not be entitled until he reaches pension age.

Peter
19 May 71.

D R A F T O N L Y

C o n f i d e n t i a l

Survey of Poverty: University of Essex & London School of Economics
REPORT for the ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEETING on 2 October 1967

Progress Report

Since the last meeting of the Advisory Committee, reports on the four pilot studies have been written and are circulated to the Committee. In some cases there are one or two chapters on specialised aspects which have still to be completed.

The Trust has given authority for the survey aiming at 3000 completed interviews to go ahead. A note on the method of drawing the sample - recommended by Professors Stuart and Durbin - was included in the last report to the Advisory Committee. A total of 51 sample constituencies has been selected and the process of selecting the areas for interview within these constituencies is well advanced. Arrangements are being made to secure that the final sample is drawn from lists which are as up to date as possible. Interviewers have so far been selected and provisionally appointed for three-quarters of the constituencies. A questionnaire has been drafted and is being piloted. The survey is planned to go into the field before the end of the year. Mr John Veit Wilson left us at the end of August 1967. An assistant for Miss Benson, Mrs Brown, took up a part-time appointment from early September.

At the last meeting Miss Rowntree said that the Trustees would like to have a brief statement on (i) what had been achieved so far; (ii) how far the objects of the project had changed; (iii) what degree of simplification would be required if the Trustees were unable to pay for the larger sample. These draft statements follow as the next three sections of this report.

.../...

Achievements to date

Four separate studies have been completed of random samples of

(i) 92 unemployed men and their families on Tyneside;

(ii) 86 families with five or more dependent children in London;

(iii) 116 fatherless families in Northborough and Seaton;

(iv) 65 families with chronic sick and disabled heads in Essex.

Each study was conducted by a separate research worker and based on interviews averaging 2 to 4 hours per family. These studies have a value in their own right as no intensive studies of random families with these characteristics have been undertaken since the war. They have also given leads on what types of question can and should be explored in a national survey when the type of question asked has necessarily to be more narrowly defined. Among the more interesting lessons from these studies are the following.

Disability of various kinds is a common characteristic of the long term unemployed. It is unhelpful to try and make a sharp distinction between short term and long term unemployment. Some 'short-term' unemployed experience recurring unemployment. Technological change does appear to be a considerable cause of chronic and irregular unemployment. Present training programmes and job placement services are not adequate to prevent this unemployment. The burdens of unemployment fall most heavily on the unskilled who have the least adequate resources to bear this brunt. There appear to be far too few opportunities, through job placement and training or re-training, for men in middle-age and for men with partial handicaps. When skilled they sometimes can only find an unskilled job with luck. When unskilled they often find themselves chronically unemployed or prematurely retired.

That chronic sickness and disability cause considerable drops in income has long been recognised. The pilot showed that as the onset of many conditions was gradual the largest drop in income might occur long before the men finally abandoned work. Some of those in work were as disabled as others out of work. While chronic sickness gave men priority in obtaining a council house they did not obtain housing which was suited to their disability. The importance of suitable housing for the disabled was shown by the high proportion of owner-occupied disabled who had moved to suitable housing. Many of the sick were able to work and wanted to work but suitable work was not available for them.

The economic situation of fatherless families differed greatly among the sub-groups - widowed, divorced, separated and unmarried. The separated and divorced lacked the kind of provisions the government had made for the widowed. Only one quarter of the maintenance or alimony to which these women were entitled was actually received. Several women had a much less secure income and sometimes lower income before their marriage broke up than afterwards. The circumstances of these families showed the contrast between total and partial poverty. Some with a house, furniture and appliances, had the same income as others who had virtually no stock of personal possessions.

There is a substantial problem of poor families not receiving the various means tested benefits to which they are entitled. Large famil es have very severe housing problems and these are by no means always solved by being given a council house because many of the latter are unsuited to or too small for their needs.

The Objects of the Project

The aim of the study as originally conceived in 1964 was to collect information about living standards from a national sample of 5000 households and further information from certain minorities by re-visiting small sub-samples. Two general points were made in the original application: that new definitions and measures of need would have to be explored and that the circumstances and problems of the poor could only be properly explained in relation to the circumstances of the rest of society. Special information about the poor would have to be set against general information about those who were living in more prosperous conditions.

These broad objectives of studying poverty and its incidence remain unchanged, but our pilot work has convinced us that the means of reaching them need to be a little different from those originally anticipated. We have come to realise that the poor are far less homogeneous even than had been supposed hitherto and this fact had implications both for measuring the incidence of poverty and explaining how poverty arises. Fatherless families, large families dependent on low earnings, families with a disabled adult and old people living alone or in pairs have problems which are very different from each other as well as problems which are very similar to each other. How then do we determine their needs ? In judging whether their resources allow them to buy an adequate share of the food and other items commonly consumed and participate in activities and customs commonly practised by 'ordinary' families, we have to compare them not only with families of a man, wife and two or three young children but with families of the same type but different income. This naturally affects the design of the study. The mother with a husband in irregular work may be unable to adapt as easily to a carefully planned budget which just attains standards of minimal adequacy for her children as the mother who is widowed or divorced, even when the former's income is on average substantially larger. To decide just where to draw the poverty line for some types of family therefore depends on looking at other families in similar circumstances, but with a higher income.

The second conclusion we drew from our pilot work was that if the true dimensions of poverty are to be measured distinction must be drawn between short-term or occasional and chronic poverty, whether due to some combination of family size, rent and low earnings or to absence of earnings (fatherlessness, unemployment, sickness or disability) or to irregular employment: and also between total and partial poverty. Developments in the modern economy, together with developments in the welfare state, have ensured that the vicissitudes experienced by some sections of the population are temporary - though of course they are nonetheless real for being temporary. Again, these same developments have ensured that the lives of the chronically poor can sometimes be relieved in one or two crucial respects. A family with a very low income may be found living in a modern council house, the father working in good factory conditions and the children of the family attending a newly-built school. The increasing complexity of modern society obliges us to obtain information about living and occupational facilities and social services as well as weekly income.

In the national survey we therefore wish

(i) to make sure that we are able to get information for a sufficient number of relatively 'rare' types of households, thus adding to the number of households to be included in the survey; and

(ii) to widen the search for information from the national sample of households to include rather more about housing, the social services and working conditions than we had originally intended.

Thirdly - and this is new in emphasis - we would like to devote greater effort than originally intended to studying the characteristics of the main sub-groups of the population vulnerable to poverty to find

(a) the extent and degree of poverty in the various groups;
(b) how effective are the services which aim at helping the poor;
(c) what changes in services might help to prevent certain types of poverty now and in the future - particularly longer term poverty. Thus we are interested in which occupations are low paid, in the effectiveness of job placement, family planning, training and re-training services, in savings, fringe benefits and private insurance, in housing and rent policies, in education and apprenticeship, in rehabilitation services.

This approach makes it necessary to have enough of particular types of poor households to form useful conclusions.

This extension in the scope of the survey is proposed mainly as a result of the knowledge we have acquired in our pilot surveys. But there are other reasons. First, certain partial incidence surveys have been undertaken since we first applied - in particular, of retirement pensions and family allowance recipients by the Ministry of Social Security (as it is now called). To be most useful further work needs to be deeper and wider. Secondly, there have been substantial changes in social security and other factors in the last few years which have affected or will affect the numbers in poverty in particular groups (the establishment of the supplementary benefit system, wage-related sickness and unemployment benefits, the announced increases in family allowances, redundancy agreements and the present high level of unemployment).

The design of a survey consisting of 3000 interviews

Later in this paper we return to the case for and possible methods of extending the survey. Miss Rowntree asked, however, at the last meeting what degree of simplification would be required if the Trustees were unable to support a larger sample. We will therefore start by setting out for the comments of the Committee our present proposals for a survey to obtain information from 3000 households on the assumption that no extension proves to be possible. Throughout we mean number of completed household interviews when we refer to size of sample: we assume that 5000 households should comprise the initial sample.

In designing a study with resources to complete approximately 3000 households interviews there are two conflicting considerations. Any attempt to obtain an estimate of the incidence of poverty requires a random national sample. On the other hand any attempt to describe in any detail the characteristics of the different categories of the poor (as a means of improving definitions of poverty and understanding cause) requires that as high a proportion as possible of poor households should be included in the total of households interviewed and thus a sample biassed towards areas where the incidence of poverty is high.

For ascertaining the incidence of poverty there are dangers in biassing the sample towards regions or areas where poverty is believed to be high. Areas of high unemployment may have a disproportionate amount of particular types of poverty mainly associated with lack of employment opportunity for both able-bodied and disabled. On the other hand areas which appear to be affluent may have an undue proportion of poverty caused by high rents, large families or the migration to those areas of the retired. Poverty in rural areas may be different from poverty in urban areas and poverty in growth areas may be different from poverty in declining areas. While it is true that any bias deliberately introduced in the drawing of the sample can be removed by appropriate weights fed into the computer at the analysis stage, there remain difficulties in making detailed breakdowns of a sample which was originally biassed in any direction. Partly because of our lack of reliable criteria to determine which regions or areas should be given excess weighting and partly because of the problems posed for the analysis, we have come to the conclusion, which is supported by Professors Stuart and Durbin, that an incidence survey requires a completely random national survey.

We have considered the possibility of introducing a screening technique in the national incidence survey to determine in a relatively short interview whether a household does or does not contain persons in poverty. We have, however, found that to be sure of complete reliability a screening interview would have to last half an hour or an hour and thus yield no economy. The difficulty is that poor persons can be hidden away in households which are not on average poor: e.g. pensioners, disabled persons or lodgers. Moreover, we believe that a large number of random households need to be interviewed to give an indication of customary levels of living with which deprived households can be compared.

On the other hand, our desire to describe the <u>characteristics</u> of the poor leads us to want as many poor as possible in the sample as the poor can only be usefully studied in fifteen or more separate sub-groups. This is one of the lessons we have learnt from our pilot studies.

Our proposals for a 3000 sample attempt to balance these conflicting aims. We propose to aim at 2000 completed interviews drawn on a wholly random basis from the 51 sample constituencies, to give us a reliable incidence figure and proper controls, both in the sense of giving us data on average households and as a means of knowing how efficient the screening procedure used for the remaining households, has proved in practice. We are well aware that 2000 is on the low side for this purpose.

Instead of carrying out a further 1000 interviews nationally we propose (secondly) to use an abbreviated screening procedure to identify some types of poor households in one of our sample constituencies in four different regions of the country, selected because they have the highest level of unemployment. More than 2000 households will be 'screened' but the cost of even a minimal screening procedure means, however, that only about 150 identified households could be interviewed in each of the four areas - making about 600 altogether. These households will thus be consciously weighted towards the problems of unemployment and low wages. The representativeness of these four constituencies and to some extent the reliability of the screening procedure can be checked by comparison with data in the random sample of 2000. Concentration on only four constituencies for this part of the study has the advantage of reducing the cost of screening by minimising interviewer travel and increasing the proportion of poor households ascertained. It also makes it possible to review the findings against the background of local services and the local employment situation.

The content of the survey

As explained in the paper we presented to the last meeting of the Advisory Committee, we are proposing to concentrate on income in its widest sense rather than on expenditure. This decision is based partly on our desire not to duplicate the Family Expenditure Survey and partly on the fact that the collection of detailed expenditure data reduces the response rate particularly among the elderly and disabled.

We envisage three measures of poverty:

1 Comparisons with supplementary benefit levels as used by the government in its own survey;

2 Comparisons with average levels of living;

3 An attempt to identify deprivation on the basis of both
(a) the levels normally found to be necessary for the standard percentage on food to be spent, and
(b) inability to participate in even a substantial number of the activities and customs followed by the majority of the population of the United Kingdom.

We will attempt to distinguish brief episodes of poverty from chronic poverty and to measure the various safeguards against poverty available to different sections of the population - savings, expectations of occupational benefits and private insurance. We will also ascertain to what extent poor families 'take up' the various services provided to assist them - national assistance, free school meals, welfare milk, welfare food, clothing grants, educational maintenance allowances, rate rebates, subsidised or free holidays for children. To obtain statistically significant figures for the use of some of these services, samples of 2000 and, say, 600 will, however, inevitably be too small even if they allow us to make some estimate of the contribution of the services to families' standard of living. We will also study overcrowding, lack of housing amenity, housing deficits and housing suitability (in terms of child play facilities) to see how far these are correlated with poverty. We will also ascertain the assistance received from family and friends. Data will be collected on hours of work and the working environment.

It will be possible to analyse the data by broad region, by age, by marital status, by type of household, by immediate cause of poverty, by country of origin, by occupation, by social class, by functional disability and a variety of other variables - though again the sample is too small for certain sub-groups to be recorded with statistical reliability. The questionnaire is, moreover, being planned to make it possible to analyse the data by the individuals in each household as well as by the household as a complete unit.

The case for extending the survey

The case for extending the survey is that the poor consist of a large number of principal sub-groups with different characteristics and different problems. The extent of the differences has become clear in our pilot work. Medium term or long term poverty is to be found disproportionately among the following types of household. The estimated number of households of the particular type per 1000 is indicated against each principal sub-group.

	Minorities for whom information will be specially collected:	Numbers per 1000 households
1	Families in which one parent is absent	30
2	Families consisting of woman and adult dependants	20
3	Families in which there are five or more dependent children	15
4	Families containing an adult who has been unemployed for thirteen weeks (consecutively or in last twelve months)	20
5	Families containing an adult under 65 years of age who has been ill or injured for thirteen weeks (consecutively or off work for a total of thirteen weeks or more in last twelve months)	50
6	Families containing a disabled adult under 65	50
7	Families containing a disabled or handicapped child (including children ill or injured for thirteen weeks or more)	25
8	Families containing a person aged 65 or over who has been bedfast or ill for thirteen weeks or more or who is otherwise severely incapacitated	25
9	Families in which there are (a) earners, none earning £12 a week or more (b) adult male earners (aged 21 to 64) earning less than £14 a week	150
10	Families in which there are persons who are (a) non-white (b) born in Eire	40
	Total of sub-groups:	425
	Total allowing for double-counting:	300

Some other groups - eg: retirement pensioners living alone - are sufficiently numerous to allow analysis of sub-samples of the national sample of either 2000 or 3000.

It should be emphasised that this list shows the number of households per thousand in which the incidence of poverty is high. By no means all the households will prove to be poor under any definition of poverty. But the incidence is likely to be much higher than in the population at large. Many of the groups amount to no more than 20 to 30 per thousand households. If only a third of the households prove to be poor, we will achieve only 7 to 10 poor households per thousand of a particular type. This is the reason why we believe it essential to be able to draw upon a total population of around 10,000 to give us a minimum box size of some 100 households in poverty of a particular type. Moreover, without a sample of this size we cannot make useful statements about the extent of the failure of poor families to use the many services provided on a means test basis - supplementary benefit to supplement sickness or unemployment benefit, free school meals, clothing grants, rate rebates etc.

We will also argue that if the most economical techniques are used - and we discuss this in the next section - additional interviews can be added to a survey of this kind at relatively low marginal cost. There are two reasons for this. First, there are substantial overheads in a study of this kind which do not increase with the number of interviews - preparing and piloting the questionnaire, briefing and selecting interviewers, determining coding procedures and computer programming. Secondly, screening procedures can be safely used for extra interviews. We hesitate to use them without also havigg a control sample to enable us to check on the efficiency of the screening. Thus we also see a control sample as an overhead, the cost of which need not increase with the total number of interviews in the survey.

The method of extending the survey

At the last meeting of the Advisory Committee a report was made on the negotiations with the Ministry of Social Security and it was decided to explore the possibilities of a cooperative project with the Supplementary Benefits Commission. On 29 June 1967 the Minister wrote to say that the Department was unable to participate in a conjoint project.

Soon after we received this disappointing news, we sought an interview with Professor Moser, the Director of the Central Statistical Office, to seek his advice on whether any private market research agency might be equipped to undertake the screening of an extended sample. He suggested that we approach Audits of Great Britain. This agency interviews 35,000 households in some 420 areas of Great Britain about their possession of and purchases of consumer durables. Each household is interviewed for four successive quarters. Each quarter 8,000 new households are brought into the survey to replace the 8,000 households which have already given four quarterly interviews.

We have discussed with AGB the possibility of adding a screening questionnaire for our study as a trailer to the questionnaire which they are already using to ascertain purchases of consumer durables. AGB were only prepared to consider this in the case of households being interviewed for the fourth time lest the response rate for their own study be reduced when the time came for further interviews with the same household in their regular programme. On the other hand they were prepared to approach once more households which had dropped out of their survey at an earlier stage or refused to cooperate in the first place. We gave AGB copies of a screening questionnaire which we had prepared when it was hoped that Social Survey or the Ministry of Social Security might be cooperating with us. They reported that this particular questionnaire would be too complex to be handled by all t eir regular audit interviewers. They then agreed to cost out a special 'bespoke' screening job undertaken by their selected interviewers in our 51 sample constituencies. The cost of approaching

10,000 households came to a maximum of about £42,000. If they were to undertake the subsequent interviews with the households identified in the screening process there would be a further maximum cost of £9,000. Allowing for coding, punching and computer analysis, the total cost would be in the neighbourhood of £53,000. (This is Method II in the attached AGB memorandum excluding the cost of coding and analysing the screen.)

We did not feel that we could ask the Trust for sums of this size and have therefore devised a simpler screening interview which we hope will prove to be acceptable to AGB for use by all their regular audit interviewers. The simplified screen is inevitably less precise. But it is obviously uneconomical to bear the cost of some ten per cent of unwanted households being given the main interview if much greater savings could be made in the cost of the screening process. If the simplified screening interview proves acceptable to AGB the cost of adding it to their fourth audit interview plus 'drop outs' and original non-respondents (a total of 8000 households) would be up to £15,000. As, however, this exercise could only be conducted in Audit's 420 areas the main survey would have also to be conducted by their interviewers. This would cost a further sum of up to £17,000, a total cost of up to £32,000. (Method I in the AGB memorandum with adjustment for not processing the interviews 'screened out'.)

There are serious disadvantages in this procedure which are clearly explained in AGB's memorandum and we are disinclined to recommend it. There are dangers that the screening work might not be accurately done. AGB have therefore prepared costings for a Method III. This involves AGB administering, as a purpose built operation, a simplified screen in our 51 selected constituencies. This would cost up to £22,000. If AGB also undertook the final interviews the total cost would be up to £33,000 - a figure which is remarkably similar to the estimate for similar work which we ourselves made without any detailed technical help when preparing the paper we presented to the last meeting of the Advisory Committee.

Bringing in AGB involves a certain amount of duplication. Inevitably we would have to incur 'overheads' in securing that their senior staff familiarised themselves with the questionnaire and worked closely with us on it, in briefing their own interviewers etc. Some of the duplicated overheads could be avoided if the final interviews were conducted by our own interviewing team. The sample design has made it necessary for us to recruit interviewers to cover the 51 constituencies. Under our plan for 3000 interviews each interviewer would only have to complete interviews. We do not think it would be too difficult to increase that number to per interviewer so that all the final interviews were done by our team.

Under this plan, one national sample of 14,500 households would be drawn. Our team would attempt to contact 4,500 random households to achieve 3000 completed interviews. We would also undertake a further 3000 interviews with households screened out by AGB from 7,500 households contacted (out of 10,000 approached). The extra grant needed to achieve this would be some £30,000. It would still be possible to give some extra weighting to four selected high unemployment areas within this total design if it were desired to make comparisons with local data and local services.

Further economy could be achieved if we ourselves attempted to organise the screening, using students to undertake it in their vacations. Many universities are keen that students should have interviewing experience. If we can find students who live in the sample constituencies this method of screening could be very economical. However we are well aware that great care would be needed in the selection of students for the work and supervising them in the field. We would welcome the Committee's comments on this suggestion. By this method it should be possible to complete the whole operation with an extra grant of around £20,000. We appreciate that the recruitment and supervision of the students would be a major administrative operation and that some households identified by students in vacation time may have moved or changed their circumstances by the time we reached them for the main interview.

We therefore see three serious options:

	Extra cost
Screening and final interview by AGB	£33,000
Screening by AGB, final interview by our team	£30,000
Screening by students, final interview by our team	£20,000

We particularly ask for the Committee's advice on the various options.

Sheila

UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX AND LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

HOUSEHOLD RESOURCES AND STANDARDS OF LIVING
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Summary Progress Report to September 1968

In 1964 the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust made a grant of £32,000 to finance (i) four modest pilot studies of minorities likely to be experiencing poverty and (ii) a national survey of the incidence of poverty. The work, directed jointly by Professor Brian Abel-Smith and Professor Peter Townsend, will be coming to an end in early 1969. In 1968 the Trust agreed to award a supplementary grant to ensure the completion of the main survey.

2 Pilot Studies

Four separate studies have been completed of random samples of

(i) 92 unemployed men and their families on Tyneside;

(ii) 86 families with five or more dependent children in London;

(iii) 116 fatherless families in Northborough and Seaton (the fictitious names for towns in the north and south-east of England;

(iv) 65 families with chronic sick and disabled heads in Essex.

The reports on the first three are in the press or are about to go to the press. Dennis Marsden's Fatherless Families is to be published early in 1969 by Allen Lane of the Penguin Press; and Adrian Sinfield's Unemployed in Shields and Hilary Land's Large Families in London will be published during the same period in the series of occasional papers on Social Administration published from the L.S.E. It is not yet decided whether the fourth report can be published in a full form.

In addition to these reports a number of methodological and other papers have been published or are shortly to be published by members of the research team. Some of these bear on the operational elaboration of the concepts of "income", "resources", "poverty", "adult equivalence", and "disability", which were crucial for the main survey. In particular, the team presented papers at a conference of specialists from the United States and Europe, which was held at the University of Essex in 1967, the proceedings of which are to be published by Routledge in 1969.

While the pilot studies of minorities were modest in object and scale, they produced information of value to the design of the main survey, and also helped to prompt major research studies made by the government. The report of the Ministry of Social Security's Circumstances of Families owed at least a little to Miss Land's pilot work and to the report by Professors Abel-Smith and Townsend The Poor and The Poorest published in 1965 and based on secondary analysis of Ministry of Labour data from its Family Expenditure Surveys. Professor Abel-Smith acted as adviser to the Ministry during the course of that survey. The Minister of Social Security announced in September 1968 that the Ministry's research department was to be expanded and that special studies were to be made of families with children, fatherless families and the chronic sick.

3 The Main Survey

The main survey was designed in two parts, the first being much the larger:

(i) To aim at 2,000 completed household interviews drawn on a random basis in 51 sample constituencies in the United Kingdom. The survey was to be conducted during the calendar year 1968 and one 'main'questionnaire to be used for each household. The interviews were to be carried out throughout the 12 months of the year.

(ii) To select four constituencies which were expected to reflect a high incidence of poverty. To screen a total of 2,000 households (500 in each constituency) with a small or "screening" questionnaire to identify the types of household in which a high incidence of poverty would be found. It was assumed that 600 households (150 in each of the four constituencies) would be selected by this method. These 600 households would be re-interviewed with the 'main' questionnaire. This interviewing was to be conducted in two waves - one in spring or early summer, the other in autumn or early winter of 1968.

4 The National Survey

The selection of interviewers started in July 1967. The aim was to recruit interviewers who were (a) experienced, (b) genuinely interested in participating in the research and willing to face the challenge of a long questionnaire often involving several interviews with different household members. Pre-piloting and piloting took place in the autumn of 1967.

The main survey began after Christmas 1967 and is proceeding throughout 1968. In the early months a combination of bad weather, foot and mouth disease and the exigencies of what have proved to be the exigencies of novel survey methods put the work behind schedule. In more cases than we had expected, interviewers have been forced to drop out and replacements have had to be found. This has involved considerable extra costs in advertising, selecting, training and briefing. But by the late spring the rate of interviewing improved and a slightly higher rate in the late autumn will make good the shortfall in the early months of the year.

The response rate so far appears to be higher than we had expected. At many stages we feared that the massive questionnaire we had designed might result in an unsatisfactory response rate. The response rate is about 82 per cent, although about 10 per cent of these represent incomplete interviews. We hope that this rate can be held in the remaining months. At any point of time there are cases where the interviewer has been asked to call back on a later day because an interview is not convenient. One expects a higher proportion of ultimate refusals in such circumstances than in cases where a decision to accept or reject an interview is taken on the spot. On the other hand, our attempts to convert refusals have still to be put fully into effect. We feel it wise to have quite a long interval before another interviewer approaches the household again.

5 The Special Areas

It was decided early on that high unemployment and a high proportion of the population leaving school at age 15 or earlier should be used as criteria for the selection of the special areas. The desire to cover widely different regions, to give special emphasis to N. Ireland (as it tends to be omitted from surveys) and the high unemployment to be found in Ireland, Scotland and Wales led us to select one special area from each of the four parts of the United Kingdom. Our criteria led us to choose Belfast, Glasgow, Salford and Neath (S. Wales).

In the early months of 1968 the screen questionnaire was designed, pre-piloted and piloted. The screen aims to ascertain the following:

(i) The first part attempts to identify the following types of household

Large Families

Fatherless Families

Households with sickness (8 weeks or over) or disability

Households with unemployment (8 weeks or over)

Households with sickness and unemployment (Combining to 8 weeks)

Immigrants

Coloured

Low wages

(ii) To ascertain income from an abbreviated schedule

(a) to see if an income unit might be eligible for supplementary benefit

(b) for use in conjunction with (iii)

(iii) To ascertain whether there is evidence of deprivation in the household.

The average duration of the screen is approximately 25 minutes. We were fortunate in obtaining the help of Spencer Marketing Ltd. in administering the screen. In two of the special areas (Neath and Salford) we decided to recruit a team of interviewers ourselves to complete the final interviews. In the case of Glasgow and Belfast we asked Spencer Marketing to conduct the final interviews for which they quoted just over £5 per interview. Abel-Smith took on responsibility for the Salford and Glasgow surveys and Townsend the Neath and Belfast surveys.

The methods of procedure can be illustrated from the first of the areas to be surveyed. The Salford briefing was on 17th March, 1968. The fieldwork on the main questionnaire was started and completed during the month of April. A total of 302 addresses were visited, of which 21 were non-effective (empty, demolished). There were 16 non-contacts and 37 refusals. Thus a response rate of 81% of the effective addresses was achieved. Of the 228 households given a screening interview 93 (41%) were interviewed with the main questionnaire. This pattern broadly emerged in the surveys undertaken in the other three areas. A second wave of interviewing will take place during the autum of 1968 in all four areas.

5 Checking, Coding and Analysis for the national and special area surveys

A procedure for checking has been laid down and is applied to questionnaires as they arrive. Where necessary query sheets are sent to interviewers which on occasions lead to further visits to respondents.

Early in 1968 we took the decision to produce a preliminary report as soon after the end of the fieldwork period as possible. To avoid the delays which inevitably seem to be involved when use is made of large computers requiring purpose-built and complex programmes, we decided to prepare the preliminary report by using an existing programme on the small L.S.E. computer.

This meant

(i) punching the cards for the income and assets sections (which constitute about half the total cards derived from the questionnaire); calculating and recording the main variables on summary cards;

(ii) extracting by hand the most important information in the rest of the questionnaire on to a transfer sheet. These two operations have now been completed and, after tests of the computer programme, some preliminary data will be produced, probably in November 1968, in advance of the main analysis.

The work for the remaining analysis is well advanced. Coding instructions have been written and are being applied to the checked questionnaires. The checking programme for the income and assets section has been written by Miss Hilary Land.

The drafting of the preliminary report can start on the basis of the first 1,000 questionnaires and simply be amended to incorporate the full 2,000 early in the new year. On this basis it might be possible to publish at least a preliminary report in the autumn of 1969. This is the target at which we are aiming.

Peter Townsend
27th September, 1968

Revised Method of Research (and Estimates of Cost)

The 1968 survey financed by the Rowntree Trust has two major limitations. First, while it will show how many families in the population are poor the numbers in the sample will be too few to allow very much to be said about the component minorities making up this section of the population - such as fatherless families, the chronic sick or the unemployed and their families and families with a handicapped child. Second, numbers will also be too few to allow much to be said about variation in poverty from area to area or about the specifically local determinants of poverty. In applying to the S.S.R.C. for further support we would hope to make good these two deficiencies.

The first requirement implies that we should select a number of districts of different types which are frequently found in the United Kingdom, and which in some exact sense broadly "represent" the principal types of district, and operate a two-stage sampling procedure whereby families not falling into any of the minorities in which we are specially interested are rejected after the first stage, leaving "minority" families for interview at the second stage. The minorities found in the different areas could be added together for purposes of analysis.

The second requirement implies that we should carefully choose a few contrasting districts all with a high incidence of poverty and examine the characteristics of the families in each of these areas, and also study the local economic and social structure and the nature and quality of the local services.

The method and procedure outlined below gives tentative expression of these approaches. We have not yet had an opportunity to discuss the revision with our statistical advisers and prepare detailed financial estimates but the proposals may be a sufficient basis for discussion.

Research Procedure: I. The Selection of Seven Contrasting Districts

The method would be based on surveys undertaken in the past by social scientists, including Mrs. Dorothy Wedderburn and Mr. John Utting (in their Economic Circumstances of Old People) and Miss Ann Cartwright (in her two books: Human Relations and Hospital Care and Patients and their Doctors). This involves the selection at random of from six to twelve districts from a list of either administrative areas or constituencies. Constituencies have the advantage of not varying so much in size. Moreover, our 1968 survey is also being carried out on the basis of a selection of constituencies and it may be a further advantage to choose some of the 51 constituencies in which we are already undertaking work. It would be economical to survey districts where some preliminary work has already been done and where there will usually be the nucleus of an interviewing team. On the other hand, the statistical information for administrative areas, from the Census and local authorities, is much fuller.

On the assumption that, say, seven constituencies would be chosen, they would comprise a list such as the following:-

two predominantly working-class city districts
two predominantly working-class towns
an agricultural area
a dormitory suburb
a prosperous town-and-country district.

We would propose to sample about 1,000 households at random in these districts. First, we would carry out a "screening" interview (averaging about 25 minutes) with all 1,000 households to (a) establish whether the households belonged to at least one of the special minorities, and (b) obtain background statistical data for the population of the area. We have already developed a "screening" questionnaire which we have used in the spring and early summer of 1968 in Belfast, Glasgow, Salford and Neath. Second, we would interview in depth the households falling into the minority categories. The resulting data could then be compared (a) for each district, (b) for each defined minority, with the data collected nationally in 1968.

Research Procedure: 2. The Selection of Special 'Poverty' Areas

Poverty is often heavily concentrated in certain local areas and it is important to find how it may differ from the national pattern and what may be the peculiarly local determinants. We propose to select three areas according to the following criteria: (i) Highest proportion of the adult population leaving school at 15 or sooner (based on Census returns); (ii) Highest proportion of dwellings with poor housing amenities (also based on Census returns) and (iii) Highest proportion of schoolchildren within sub-administrative districts obtaining free school meals. (It may also be possible in selecting the three to pay attention to areas in which there is a high rate of unemployment or of sickness or injury.) In our present 1968 survey we have applied these criteria in selecting, first, the constituencies (i.e. Belfast, Glasgow, Salford and Neath) from among the 51 constituencies in which poverty was likely to be the largest in incidence, and also the poorest wards within these constituencies. Both in terms of numbers of households for interview and procedure adopted, this present work should be regarded as pilot work. We do not have the resources to undertake adequate local research to complement the data obtained in interview. The pilot work, however, will provide a valuable test of the criteria adopted in choosing small "poverty" districts.

The research in these three areas will fall into two parts. First, a two-stage survey will be carried out in the same manner as that described above. Approximately 1,000 households in, say, two small administrative districts within the three constituencies selected will be sampled and "screening" interviews will be undertaken to establish which families belong to certain minorities. Subsequently all those in the special minorities will be interviewed in depth.

Second, supplementary research of the following kind will be undertaken. Information will be obtained for each of the schools, hospitals and other major social agencies, including the employment exchange and the supplementary benefit office serving the districts. Eligibility for local as well as national benefits will be investigated.

Revised Costs

Studies of a limited number of areas can be undertaken more cheaply than a national survey. Fieldwork is cheaper when undertaken in waves, e.g. in 3-4 weeks spells in one area, than steadily over the year. Supervision costs and recruitment costs are much lower since one supervisor can be continuously on the spot instead of travelling backwards and forwards. Moreover there are no costs caused by interviewers withdrawing and replacements having to be found and briefed. We have found a high quality small firm which has been able to give us a low quotation for "screening" for the special area studies we are currently undertaking in the present survey. The character of the proposed new study will be very similar. Thus our costing is much more realistic than in our original application.

The actual day to day running of a survey of this kind depends on the quality of the fieldwork supervisors. We are extraordinarily fortunate in Miss Benson and Mrs. Brown. The former has been wholly trained by us, having worked with us in various capacities for ten years. But for the supplementary research in the special "poverty" areas we will need one research officer in addition.

A provisional costing of the research outlined above can be given as follows:

	£
Screening interviews in 10 areas (initial sample 10,000)	11,000
Final interviews in 10 areas (assuming about 3,000)	15,000
One Research Officer for two years	3,400
Statistical consultation	500
Printing questionnaires, flash cards, etc.	2,750
Postage, stationery, telephones, etc.	1,500
Computer programming, supervision and statistical assistance	2,400
Interviewer supervisor and coding checking supervisor (18 months) (Miss Benson)	2,300
Field supervisor (18 months) (Mrs. Brown)	1,300
Coding (Mr. Jacobson and others)	4,000
Travel and subsistence for research directors and research officer	2,000
	46,150

This cost compares with £54,105 in the previous application.

news from penguins PENGUIN BOOKS 536 KING'S ROAD LONDON SW10 0UH TELEPHONE

POVERTY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM: A Survey of Household Resources and Standards of Living by Peter Townsend

SUMMARY

Main Conclusions

This book shows that (1) poverty in the United Kingdom is more extensive than is generally or officially believed and is Britain's real malaise; (2) that it is rooted in the complex resource structure, principles of allocation of resources and social sponsorship of styles of living and not in individual capacities, minority adversity or community sub-cultures and (3) that the institutions and principles governing the allocation of resources and the promotion of styles of living need to be reconstructed if poverty is to be abolished or substantially reduced. In practice mild redistributive social policies have become less effective and are thoroughly inadequate for the 1980s.

Research Data

The book consists of 1216 pages and it is based partly on reports published during the 1970s but primarily on a representative national stratified sample survey carried out in 1968-69 in which a range of very full data on living conditions, wealth, income, work and use of the social services, were collected. The report depends on information about 2,050 households and over 6,000 individuals, representing the whole population. Four supplementary surveys, covering altogether an additional 4,000 individuals, were carried out in Glasgow, Salford, Neath and Belfast.

Numbers in Poverty

By the state's standard 9 per cent of the population, representing nearly 5 million people, were found to be living in poverty. Another 23 per cent were living on the margins of that standard. The total is larger than given in comparable Government estimates, partly because the poor are underrepresented in Government surveys (for example the Family Expenditure Survey) and partly because net income is measured in less detail in those surveys. But evidence of various types of deprivation, extensively documented by the research, also suggests that the Government's standard of poverty is pitched too low, especially for families with children, and that if a more appropriate "relative deprivation" standard (described in detail in the book) were to be adopted, 26 per cent of the population, or 14 millions, could be said to be living in poverty.

The "Structure" of Poverty

The list at the end gives some idea of the risks of being in poverty. Those risks are highly correlated with occupational class. At one extreme no one in families of professional and managerial people under the age of 60 was in poverty but at the other there were 93 per cent in families of unskilled manual workers with three or more children. The risks are also highly correlated with employment status and dependency. More woman than men are poor. Far more of the retired and the unemployed than the employed and far more disabled than non-disabled people are in poverty. This "structure" holds implications for theory and for policy. Because of the dependency status the risks are highly correlated with age. The highest risks are to be found among those of advanced age, especially if they are disabled, but are also high among children. The risks are lowest in late middle-age, when dependencies are fewest and incomes in relation to costs are relatively favourable (as a result of increments and fringe benefits for example, being obtained with seniority, and mortgage repayments becoming low or having been terminated).

The Rich and the Control of Resources

Detailed information was collected about wealth. The value of income and wealth was combined and account taken of household composition to measure "real" living standards. Even on a wide definition of wealth 5 per cent were found to own 45 per cent of net assets. The top 5 per cent of households averaged £28,000 (equivalent to £100,000 in 1979) and the bottom 5 per cent averaged £31. This is a ratio of more than 900 to 1. And when income is included with wealth in a measure of resources the top 10 per cent of the population have an advantage which is nearly ten times that of the poorest 10 per cent. Wealth is highly correlated with occupational class and people of the professional class account for the majority of the rich. The book argues that origins and inherited wealth not only confer supplementary income but pre-determine educational opportunity and achievement and occupational rank, and hence earnings.

Social Class

The sample were asked for their images of class and invited to assign themselves to a class. Their subjective assessments were also compared with occupational rank and income. On both subjective and objective indicators class is strongly and uniformly correlated with poverty. Class consciousness is rooted in economic circumstances. There is a sharp difference in command over resources between people in non-manual and people in manual occupations, even when male routine, non-manual workers are compared with skilled manual workers. This study therefore provides evidence contrary to the supposition that the income of skilled manual workers exceeds that of lower non-manual workers. The occupational classes of husbands and wives and their respective fathers were combined and show that the higher the number of non-manual, and especially upper non-manual, "influences" the higher the level of assets and income net worth of the income unit. Through the medium of class membership therefore, the maldistribution of resources is created, perpetuated and legitimated.

Deprivation at Work

Working conditions - including period of entitlement to notice, "usual" hours of work, fraction of working time spent standing or walking about, entitlement to sick pay, paid holidays and occupational pensions, and poor conditions and amenities at work - are examined. On such criteria 12 per cent of the employed population (more men than women) could be said to be very deprived and another 30 per cent deprived in their work situation. None of those in professional and managerial groups but 43 per cent of unskilled male manual workers were very deprived.

Deprivation in Housing and the Environment

Housing and environmental deprivation is also highly correlated with occupational class. Altogether, 22 per cent of households were found to experience structural defects, 21 per cent inadequate housing facilities and 11 per cent insufficient rooms. Five per cent had insufficient internal play-space for children and 34 per cent of children aged 1-10 had no safe place to play in the immediate environment of the home. Thirty per cent of the total population but 37 per cent of children under 5, lacked sole use of a garden or their garden was considered too small to sit in the sun (smaller than 100 square feet). Twentyseven per cent experienced some degree of air pollution. In each case the percentage increased with descending occupational rank. The relative disadvantage of tenants living in privately rented accommodation has been documented in other studies and the sector has been declining. This study shows that council housing is taking the place of private tenancies as the sector with the largest numbers of deprived dwellings. Marked divisions of council housing into grades of different quality and desirability have been developing. Perhaps the most surprising result of this study is that when account is taken of tax relief on mortgage interest, inflation and capital gains, owner occupiers are estimated to be paying less absolutely (as well as relatively to income) than council tenants on their life-time housing costs.

Area Poverty

The dispersion of poverty is wide. Northern Ireland was found by a large margin to be the poorest region, followed by Scotland, the North West and Wales. The proportion in poverty is as high or nearly as high in rural as in different groups of urban areas, despite the higher percentage of rich in such areas. National rather than area action to remedy poverty is also implied by the analysis of the findings for different types of district and the four special areas in which extensive interviewing was carried out - Belfast, Glasgow, Neath and Salford.

The Value of the Social Services

The survey measured utilisation of social services, and more detailed estimates of value of services (as distinct from income benefits) than those published by the Government were developed. The imputed income from social service benefits in kind of the richest 20 per cent was nearly four times that of the bottom 20 per cent. This was attributable in large measure to the value of education and mortgage tax relief. However, this absolute value represented 17 per cent and 29 per cent respectively of net disposable income less income from property and investments. The data show that the redistributive functions from rich to poor of the public social services may be considerably weaker than commonly supposed.

Social Minorities

A systematic study of various minorities composing the population shows that poverty is not concentrated overwhelmingly among any particular minority and has its roots in many parts of the social and economic structure.

Unemployment and Sub-Employment

The fact that there is an association between unemployment and poverty is not unexpected but it was also found that a higher risk of poverty continues to be experienced by those who have been unemployed in the recent past. Either they fail to secure jobs with earnings high enough to raise their families comfortably above the poverty line or they are victims of recurrent sickness and/or unemployment and are never in work long enough to establish standards of living which are, on average, above the poverty line. There is a hierarchy of states from whole-time secure employment to continuous unemployment which is associated both with the occupational hierarchy and with the overall distribution of resources. Official measures of unemployment underrate the real extent of unemployment.

The Low Paid

The evidence does not provide much support for an association between personal characteristics of the low paid and wage differentials. For example, even allowing for a range of "personal" factors, women's earnings remain much lower than men's earnings. Low pay is better explained in relation to the characteristics of jobs and their arrangement in a hierarchy within different firms and industries. Low pay is associated with various forms of deprivation in the work situation - poor working conditions, small period of entitlement to notice, unsocial working hours, and lack of fringe benefits. The severity and scope of low pay depends therefore in part on statutory and non-statutory measures to limit work deprivation. The evidence supports the graduated segmentation of the labour market rather than the concept of a "dual" labour market. Different concepts of low pay are compared operationally. Because of variation in income other than earnings, income of a spouse, number of dependants and housing costs, the correlation between low pay and poverty was not found to be marked. Among the low paid, those with children (especially with three or more) are most likely to be in poverty. But for the employment of married women the proportion of families of men in full-time work who were in poverty or near poverty would have increased by over 50 per cent.

The Older Worker

The development of seniority rights in large organisations and the disproportionate increase of such organisations seems to be strengthening the situation and earnings of some employed men in the older age groups - even if they are becoming more dependent than previously on the firm. Thus, the mean value of fringe benefits to men in their fifties and sixties, for both manual and non-manual employees, particularly non-manual employees, is much greater than for younger men. On the other hand, redundancies from certain types of skilled jobs and the lagging of pay and conditions in the old industries, together with the demand for employment of women, is tending to increase the proportion of older male workers occupying the low-paid and insecure jobs. These trends amount to a major new source of inequality and of poverty in society.

Disabled People

The evidence from the survey suggests that the Government estimates of the disabled population are serious underestimates and other studies which are quoted seem to confirm this suggestion. On the basis of the survey it was estimated that just over 7 million people (4.8 million being aged 60 and over) had some, appreciable or severe incapacity, and, according to an alternative measure, 6.6 millions had a disablement condition with specific marked effect on their activities. Even when allowances are made for certain differences of definition and measurement Government estimates appear to be half what they should be. More of the working than of the middle class, particularly unskilled manual workers and their familie are disabled. Increasing incapacity is correlated with falling cash income and 58 per cent of those with appreciable or severe incapacity, compared with 24 per cent of the non-incapacitated, were in households with incomes below or close to the Government's supplementary benefit standard. At successive ages, greater incapacity was associated with greater risk or being poor. When account is taken of assets and other resources, the gap between living standards of disabled and non-disabled people widens. The gap is marked for people at every age. The difference corresponds with differences too in deprivation. Compared with the non-disabled, more of the disabled live in poor housing, have poor facilities, miss cooked meals, eat meat infrequently, are short of fuel and lack winter heating. Fewer have a week's summer holiday. The book argues that poverty among disabled people is explained by societ denying them access to different kinds of resource. This is discussed in relation to the employment and wage system, the social security system, and other resource systems. There are multiplier effects of deprivation from disability which are not fully recognised. Families with a handicapped child are in particular difficulties. A general argument is developed for a comprehensive allowance for disabled people.

Old People

If the income unit is taken as the unit of measurement, nearly 20 per cent of people of pensionable age in the survey, representing 1.7 million, were found to be in poverty, and 44 per cent, representing 3.7 million, on the margins of poverty, according to the State's definition. The elderly poor comprised 36 per cent of all the poor. By documenting sources and levels of resources in relation to social characteristics, the book shows there is a dual process of deprivation. Some old people are poor by virtue of their low life-long class position. Others are poor by virtue of society's imposition upon the elderly of "underclass" status. Those who had held jobs of low occupational status, and whose fathers' status was correspondingly low, were more likely than others to be poor in old age. Conversely, those of high status whose fathers' was also high were least likely to be poor in old age. The double criterion of status divides the elderly into a succession of distinguishable ranks, ranging from the possession of high to the possession of low income and other resources. In moving into old age people tend to separate into two groups, one anticipating a comfortable and even early retirement, the other dreading the prospect and depending almost entirely for their livelihood on the resources made available by the state through its social security system. Partly because of the institutional changes but also because of inflation many non-manual as well as manual workers in later life are denied access to new types of resources or their claim to resources diminishes disproportionately in value. The needs of those who become disabled are particularly acute. Among the implications for policy of the findings are the extension of rights to paid employment on the part of people in their sixties and seventies, a pension structure giving much greater priority to the needs of the disabled elderly and those of advanced age, and an improved share in new resources becoming available as well as better guarantees of income rights during inflation.

One-parent Families

On the basis of the survey it was estimated that at the time there were approximately 535,000 one-parent families, with 1,010,000 dependent children, in the United Kingdom. As many as 49 per cent of the families (and 59 per cent of the children) were found to be in or on the margins of poverty as defined by the State. The figures contrast with 26 per cent of two-parent families (and 34 per cent of children). The greater risk of poverty among such families is explained by the manner in which relations between the sexes are institutionalised in society, particularly in marriage; the direct effects of social policies for lone parents in the past and in the present; and the selective operations of the labour market. Among the implications of the findings for policy are higher rights of child benefit, an allowance for the care of young children, and generally better income rights for home responsibilities on the part of women.

Means-tested Benefits

The book documents the huge scale of unmet need. A higher proportion of those in poverty or on the margins of poverty at any single time than is officially believed are not receiving means-tested benefits. Denial or difficulty of access to resources is inherent in means-tested services and is put forward to explain under-use. Because there is a contradiction or conflict in the services between their poverty alleviation and social-control functions, there is a very uneven outcome. There are likely to be over 1 million elderly people not receiving supplementary benefit when eligible. The book explains the pattern of utilisation and concludes that an alternative strategy of substituting "universal" schemes for "selective" schemes in social security would be preferable.

Conclusion

The object of the book is to define, measure and, in part, explain the extent of poverty in the United Kingdom. It seeks to show first how perceptions and definitions of poverty arise. "What is at stake is whether a society adopts a starvation standard, destitution standard, subsistence minimum standard, or a more generous and broader cultural minimum standard in legitimating part of its management of income distribution. There can be important objective or scientific considerations involved in the choice."

Secondly, it contributes to explanations. "The theoretical approach developed...is one rooted in class relations. Some account has to be given of allocative principles and mechanisms and developments in the pattern of social life and consumption. In all societies, there is a crucial relationship between production, distribution and redistribution of resources on the one hand and the creation or sponsorship of style of living on the other. One governs the resources which come to be in the control of individuals and families. The other governs the "ordinary" conditions and expectations attaching to membership of society, the denial or lack of which represents deprivation. The two are in constant inter-action and explain at any given moment historically both the level and extent of poverty."

Thirdly, the book sketches some of the implications of the analysis for policy. The implications involve the abolition of excessive wealth and income; the introduction of a more equitable income structure and some breaking down of the distinction between earners and dependants; abolition of unemployment; reorganisation of employment and professional practice; and reorganisation of community service. These are explained in the discussion sections of some chapters as well as summarised in the conclusion to the book. "It would be wrong to suggest that any of this is easy or even likely. The citadels of wealth and privilege are deeply entrenched and have shown tenacious capacity to withstand assaults, notwithstanding the gentleness of their legal as distinct from the ferocity of their verbal form. Yet we have observed the elaborate hierarchy of wealth and esteem, of which poverty is an integral part. If any conclusion deserves to be picked out from this report as its central passage it is this, with which, some time, the British people must come to terms."

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