Thought you might like to see what the 2 students made of their study of small families, which acts as a rough control group for large families. Some of their data will be useful as comparative stuff — after all some data is better than none provided one recognises its limitations.

REPORT OF THE SMALL FAMILY SURVEY

"I was ever of opinion, that the honest man who married and brought up a large family, did more service than he who continued single and only talked of population."

Goldsmith

Attitudes and opinions about large families have varied according to the beliefs, environment and era of those who postulate them; few, however, can be justified in terms of statistical facts as large families have been the subject of so few pieces of research work. The aim of the "London Large Family Survey" is to try and rectify this omission and to obtain more precise information about large families. -- Why in fact they are large: is it because the parents deliberately wanted a large family, because of religious reasons, or simply because of a mistake? What the effects of a large family are in regard to their budget; whether it means that the mother has to go out to work in order to make ends meet; whether their diet is less nutritious than that of their social peers who have no children; whether they have to forego all holidays and nights out because of lack of money; whether when buying goods they use a method which at the time entails the least outlay of money but which in the long run may prove to be more expensive ... From the information collected in the Large Family Survey (LFS) an attempt will be made to draw conclusions about these and other questions. But what is a large family? For the purpose of the LFS it is a family of more than five children.

One of the most serious disadvantages of large families, it is argued, is that the children tend to reach a lower academic standard compared with those from small families (c.f. Douglas). No attempt, however, has been made to show whether this lack of achievement is entirely due to the size of the family or whether in fact the school could bear some of the responsibility through having failed to realise and cope with the special problems which face both the child from a large family and also the family itself. In an attempt to try and pin point the fundamental influencing factors, a number of questions on education were included in the LFS. The answers to these questions will be studied in conjunction with those from a questionnaire addressed to all the schools which were being attended by children from the large families. But by themselves the conclusions which will be reached from the above exercise will have no evidential value unless they can be compared with the conclusions drawn from similar information, but relating to small families. Hence the raison d'être for the small Family Survey (SFS).

The object of the SFS was, therefore, primarily to provide a sample of small families which could be used as controls for the large families in connection with education. For this reason it was necessary that included in the small family was at least one child of school age. The final definition of a small family for the purposes of the SFS was a family of three or less children, of which one has to be at school. On the assumption that environment is the second most important factor which influences the upbringing of a child - the first being the size of the family - it was decided to find the sample for the SFS by going to the street in which the large family lived, and from their

house to progress by intervals of five houses, until a suitable family was found. If there was no reply from a house, the owner being out, at work, away etc. the following fifth house was tried, and if it was necessary also the tenth but before the fifteenth house could be approached a negative answer had to be obtained from one of the three 'no reply' houses - this often involved a large number of revisits, but it insured that the final sample would not be bereft of families with 'working mums'. In fact out of the total of 71 mothers, 40 either worked full or part time. If in fact a suitable family was found, but an interview was impossible, the chief reason for this being that the mother would not cooperate, as much information as possible was gleaned from the doorstep, but no further attempt was made to locate another family in the same street.

Unfortunately the method of selecting the small families, although it held constant the variable of environment, did not result in the social classes between the two groups being similar (c.f. table 1). Any random sample of the population should contain more units in social class 5 than in social class 1; and because the average size of a family in class 5 is bigger than in class 1 (the average fertility figures are : 2.64 for class 5, and 1.51 for class 1) the sample of families in the LFS was heavily weighted towards the lower end of the social scale. The sample for the LFS should be reasonably representative of the large families of the London population as a whole, but because the distribution of small families across the social classes is not the same as that of large families, the system of taking the large families' addresses could technically not result in a representative sample of small families. A further complication which it was feared would lead to an even greater bias in the SFS sample was that the Ministry of Pensions refused to give the addresses of the 27 families who sent back post cards saying that they did not want to be interviewed. Although there is no way of finding out the class or the income of these missing families, it is probable, all things taken into consideration, that the majority belonged to the top rather than to the bottom of the social scale. The 27 missing addresses gave rise to another problem: it reduced the number of reference points for finding the SFS sample. (the final number of families interviewed in the SFS was 71. - This was 80% of the 93 attempted, 66% of the 107 addresses given by the Ministry of Pensions, and 52% of the original total of 137). Ironically the distribution by class of the sample for the SFS resulted in being much closer to the national picture, than to the sample for the LFS. However, because the sample is not entirely representative of the whole of the London population the results of the analysis can only be interpreted as possible norms and mores of small families, and if a larger survey is taken they should only be used as tentative guide lines.

hence to progress by intervals of five houses, until a suitable family was found. If there was no reply from a house, the other [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] to, the following fifth house was tried, and if [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] but before the thirteenth house could be approached, the sample [illegible] obtained from one of the three 'no reply' houses - this often involved a large number of revisits, but it proved that the final [illegible] families to be omitted [illegible] families with 'no reply'. In [illegible] of the [illegible] of [illegible] mothers, [illegible] worked full or part time. It is not a surprising [illegible], but [illegible] interviews was thus [illegible], the chief reason for this being that the mother [illegible] not cooperate, [illegible] [illegible] as possible [illegible] [illegible] from the [illegible] and no further attempt was made to locate substitutes [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible].

Unfortunately the method of selecting the small families, although it had [illegible] the variable of environment, did not result in an equal [illegible] between the two groups being studied (c.f. table 1). A random sample of the population would contain more families in social class 5 than in social class 1; and because the average size of a family in class 5 is bigger than in class 1 (the average family size figures are : 2.[illegible] for class 5, and 1.[illegible] for class 1) the sample of families in the [illegible] was heavily weighted towards the [illegible] end of the social scale. [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] be representative of the large families of the [illegible] as a whole, but because the distribution of small families [illegible] [illegible] social classes is [illegible] the same, the [illegible] of [illegible] the large families [illegible] [illegible] in a representative sample of small families. A further complication which [illegible] [illegible] lead to an even greater bias in the sample was that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] absences of the [illegible] families who [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that they did not want to be interviewed. Although there is no way of finding out the class or the income of these missing families, it is possible, all things being taken into consideration, that the majority belonged to the [illegible] rather than to the [illegible] of the social scale. The [illegible] wrong addresses gave rise to another problem: it reduced the number of reference points for finding the [illegible] sample. (thus the final number of families interviewed [illegible] [illegible] was [illegible]. - This was [illegible]% of the [illegible] attempted, [illegible] of the [illegible] addresses given by the [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]% of the original total of [illegible]). [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the people [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to the national picture than as the sample [illegible] [illegible]. However, because the sample is not entirely representative of the whole of the [illegible] population the results of the enquiry can only be interpreted as possible trends [illegible] of small families, [illegible] a larger survey is taken they should only be used as tentative guide lines.

The questionnaire

Although the main emphasis of the questionnaire was on education - in contrast with that of the LFS which dealt with the family generally - questions which can roughly be classified under the headings of 'budget' and 'formation of small families' were also asked as it was felt both impossible and meaningless to isolate education per se from the child's leisure activities, and social and economic background. A number of questions, such as knowledge and membership of the P.T.A., the average number of visits that the parents make to the school per year, the way in which the children spend their spare time, whether the parents practice a religion, etc. were only asked in the SFS. So while as far as the LFS is concerned they are superfluous, they did in fact serve a purpose

a) to see whether they would be worth including in a large national survey
b) to see whether they cast any further light on the factors which influence education

One interesting finding was that there appeared to be very little difference in the number of visits that the working mothers paid to the school compared to the non-working mothers. (c.f. table 7a). The information gathered from these particular questions was usually analysed by class, and where it was thought profitable in conjunction with the results of another question. (e.g. views on abortion studied according to the age of the mother. c.f. table 16). In order to facilitate comparison with the LFS wherever it was possible the questions were phrased in the same terms. Very few of the questions were open ended, in most cases they were either of the yes/no variety or the answers were precoded. For a few questions it was necessary to recode after the first week, this was especially important in such questions like that which asked how many new pairs of shoes a mother bought her child every year (the answer to this question varied from as much as 2 to over 20: c.f. table 21). It was also often found necessary to include a 'not sure/don't know' kind of response. The validity of the answers to the evaluation questions is open to doubt, for whereas one mother might feel that 3 hours television viewing per day merited a 'sometimes', for another one hour brought forth 'often', similarly with help in the house, etc... A few questions, either because they applied to so few cases (e.g. those on further education) or because the mother was not in a position to answer them (e.g. the husband's attitude towards birth control) could have been omitted from the questionnaire. But more important, especially bearing inmmind the possibility of a wider national survey, were the questions which were not thought of at the time of making the questionnaire, the answers to which very probably would have revealed an important influence in the parent's attitude towards their child's education. These are namely:

1. The type of school which the parents attended and the level and the age at which they left
2. The father and the mother's parents occupations.
3. What recreational activities the parents shared with their children.

The results

A. Basic

Number of families interviewed : 71
Total number of school children involved : 117
of which 73 were under 11 years
and 44 were over 11 years

of the 139 parents the country of origin was:

Britain	114	82%
Ireland	6	18%
Europe	7	
Other	12	

45 of the families (63%) had been living in their present house or flat for more than 3 years. Of the 26 who had moved there within the last 3 years,

11 had previously lived in the neighbourhood
15 had lived elsewhere in London
3 only had previously lived outside London

The greatest number of the families were Council tenants (35 or 49%), of the rest 11 (15.5%) privately rented their homes, and the remaining 25 (35%) were owner/occupiers. Only in 15 families was there anybody apart from the nuclear family living in the home; the number of these extraneous persons, who on the whole were relatives, never numbered more than three and was frequently only one or two.

The main results of the analysis which follows has been divided into 3 groups: School, Budget and Family. Certain questions, did not neatly fall within one of these categories, for example: How much pocket money does your child receive? - so although the classification of these questions is somewhat haphazardous, it should be borne in mind that the division into groups was chiefly for simplicity's sake, and that they were not intended to be hard and fast.

The method used to analyse the information was to take the coded answers to the questions and to transfer them onto huge unwieldy sheets of graph paper which were divided into the appropriate number of columns. This system, despite its many drawbacks, allowed for great flexibility, and in certain instances, such as on what items the housekeeping money was spent (c.f. table 19), it showed up patterns which might otherwise not have emerged.

B. School

The type of school which the children attended:

Table 4					
	Secondary:	Grammar	14	Technical	2
		Private	1	Special	1
		Modern	14	Catholic	1
		Comprehensive	13		
	Junior:	Catholic	4		
		State	64		
		Private	3		

In 95 cases this was the school that the parents wished their child to attend, in only 12 instances would they have preferred something else, (the main reason why the children did not get to the school of first choice was either because there were no places, or because they were

The results

a. Health

Number of families interviewed : 71
Total number of school children involved : 117
of which 71 were under 11 years
and 46 were over 11 years

of the 117 parents the country of origin was:

Pakistan	14	(20%)
Ireland	6	18%
Europe	7	
Other	12	

45% of the families (53) have been living in Eire (mainly Dublin) for the last 5 years. 18% have come to live in Ireland since (mainly) the last 3 years.

11 had previously lived in the United Kingdom
13 had lived in Northern Ireland
3 only had previously lived outside Europe

The reported number of the families who intend to remain (35 or 49%) of the rest 11 (15.5%) intended returning home, and the remaining 25 (35%) were undecided. Only in 13 families, mostly Europeans, do they have had any misgivings about living in Eire; the number of those experiencing problems, also on the whole very positive, seemed much higher than there and was frequently linked to the.

The main results of the Health Survey are given in detail in 3 sections: Income, Housing and Family. Certain questions, dealt with in the Health Survey and of those interviewed, the question: "Do much pocket money your child receive?" - as although the classification of those questions in accepted psychiatric, it should be borne in mind that the children have grown up in a different culture, and it is not clear were not intended to be hard and fast.

The method used to analyse the data was to take the 'yes' answers and to the questions, to transfer them onto large weekly sheets of paper which were divided into the appropriate number of columns. Thus together, during the same discussion, "Liked for great flexibility", and in certain instances, such as at school where the two accepting money were present (c.f. Table 12), it "helped" by someone which might otherwise not have occurred.

b. School

The type of school which the children attended:

Table 4	Secondary:	Grammar	14	Technical	2
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		Comprehensive	13		
	Junior:	Catholic	4		
		State	64		
		Private	3		

In 25 cases the main reason the school that the parents wished their child to attend, in only 12 instances was it they have relations attending also. (The main reason why the children did not get to the school of first choice was either because there were no places, or because they were

not good enough). However in 10 cases the mother was not aware that she had the right to state her choice, and in a few of these cases she did not even know that a choice existed. One of the interesting results which emerged from this question was not so much how many parents did not get the choice of school they wanted for their child, but to what social class the majority of those who did get their choice belonged; the results confirmed all expectations: the higher the social class the greater the chance that the school was the parents first choice (c.f. table 5). A class bias was also noticeable in the parents feelings towards the school. (c.f. table 5). The 20 parents who objected, were only too willing to explain why they were dissatisfied, 'it's all too easy for the boy to skip off', 'the toilets, well', but most of the complaints were about the teachers helping only the bright, the discipline not being strong enough, or the rapid turnover of teachers. (One child had more than 10 in one term). Because it was felt that some of the mothers who were dissatisfied with the school belonged to the rank and file of perpetual grousers a cross reference was made to the question on P.T.A.s. In 10 cases a PTA did not exist, in 5 cases a PTA was known to exist, but only 2 parents belonged and these came from class 1; of the remaining 5 cases 4 parents did not know whether there was a PTA but anyway did not want to have any more contact with the school, and 1 parent was not sure about the PTA but would like to have more contact.

In general the knowledge of PTAs was very vague. Of all the parents only 22 were members, and only 16 parents, who had children at school with no PTAs, expressed the desire to have more contact with the school. The question of whether the mother worked did not seem to have any bearing on her knowledge of the PTA, or on membership of it (c.f. table 6a)

The results of the question on contact with the school were far more encouraging than those on the PTA. Here again there was a noticeable class distinction (c.f. table 7); however the average number of visits to the schools last year was 2.4, and out of the 117 parents 96 have seen either the teacher, the head, or both during the last year. The amount of contact scarcely appeared to be affected by whether the mother worked or not (c.f. table 7a). In several questions, such as the above, the number of parents has been made to tally with the number of children (i.e. 117), this means that one parent may be counted several times depending on the number of children in the family.

Because it was felt that these two questions on the PTA and the contact with the school were extremely important further analysis was carried out to discover how:

a) new arrivals to the neighbourhood (15 families came from outside the neibourhood)
b) non-British parents (23)

compared with the general norm of the sample.

a) here the number of visits paid to the school within the last term was slightly higher. (65% compared with 59%), but fewer know whether there is a PTA (know of PTA: 23% compared qith 33%; do not know if PTA exist; 58% compared with 36%).

b) here, also, the number of visits paid to the school is fractionately higher, the average number for last year was 2.6 as against 2.4; but the answers to the questions on the PTA are nearer the norm (35% of the mothers know that a PTA exists, and 35% do not know whether one exists or not).

If the result of question 13, at what age did the mother think that her child would finish further education, is anything to go by Mr Crossland should meet little opposition to raising the school leaving age to 16 by 1970. Only 20% (23) of the mothers thought that their child would have left school by the age of 16 years. (c.f. table 9), and in most cases the reason they gave was not that of financial pressures, although this did apply for 5 of which 3 were living on national assistance, but simply that it was the accepted social norm. Whether in fact those mothers, whose child is in a primary school will change their attitude as the child approaches the official leaving age is difficult to foretell. In the case of mothers of older children, the mother often would have liked the child to stay on for further education, but the child, himself, wanted to leave as soon as he was legally allowed to. It would seem that it will be the children, rather than the parents, who will oppose most strongly the raising of the school leaving age.

Children from large families tend to have a high rate of absenteeism, in this they appear to differ sharply with children from small families. Although 66% of the children had missed school at some point during the last two terms, 60% were away for less than two weeks in all, and the reason why they were absent, except in one case, was that of illness (c.f. table 10).

Children from small families are definitely at an advantage where holidays are concerned. Although there still exist a noticeable difference between the number of children in class 1 who go on holiday annually and those in class 5, and also between the length of the holiday of the two classes respectively, it was encourageing to find that 72.5% of the children went on holiday last year, and that 84% of these went away with their parents. (c.f. table 10a). 11 children unfortunately had never been on holiday, and the reason was: lack of money and means (8 of these 11 children came from either class 4 and 5 or from families living on national assistance). The pattern of the parent's holidays follows closely that of the children, including the class bias (c.f. table 22) although the number that go away yearly is slightly lower, for if it is a case of either the parents or the children having a holiday, where there is not sufficient savings for them all to go, the children were favoured usually.

<u>Homework</u> - whereas nearly all the children at secondary school had homework, 99%, very few of those at junior school had any, 11%. On the whole the parents were of the opinion that the children had about the right amount of homework, only 7 complained that their child had too much and

13 even suggested that there should be more. How beneficial homework is to a child depends largely on his attitude towards it and where he does it. It takes a child with great perseverance who can give his full attention to his work, when the room is full of chattering people and the 'tely' is on in the corner. When the mothers were asked whether homework presented any difficulty 5 did in fact mention that the house was not sufficiently big for the child to go off and do his work in a room by himself. In 9 other cases there was no room where the child could work by himself, but the mothers did not see it as a particular problem.

C. Family

Strictly, perhaps, such questions as how the child spends his leisure, whether he belongs to the local library, whether he plays a musical instrument and how much help he gives in the home, do not belong to this section, but as there is no messanine between 'school' and 'family', this seemed the most appropriate place to state the results.

To start by the end first - help in the home. Very few children give no help at all (5%), even those who have just started school help with the washing up, keeping their rooms tidy, etc... The older ones often do most of the shopping, in particular where the mother goes out to work and does not get home till after closing hours, in fact one mother was so dependent on her son doing the housekeeping that when he was punished and kept in late after school she was hard pressed to provide a dinner. Generally there are no set rules about the amount of help, the children simply pulling their wieght, however 27% of the children did have regular duties as well, such as making their beds, etc...

The question on how the children spent their spare time proved disappointing It was hoped that the leisure activities of the children would fall into patterns, but none emerged, perhaps because the sample was too small. It was, however possible to draw some conclusions from the analysis by topic. The answers to how many times a child went to the theatre confirmed the view that this is mainly an upper class occupation; whereas there was no difference by class among those who went to the cinema; television was undoubtedly the most popular pasttime and a large proportion (62%) watched a lot (only 2 or 3 families did not have a television). The number of children who read for pleasure was rather low, but a possible explanation is that since the majority of the children were in primary schools, many of them could not read fluently by themselves. (for figures for all these answers c.f. table 12). The analysis between the leisure activities of secondary children attending different schools, i.e. private, grammar and modern, showed that the school which they attended made no difference, except in the case of going to the theatre where 40% of the children who went to either private or grammar schools went sometimes or often, compared with 14% from modern schools.

Whether a child played a musical instrument or not depended very largely on whether there was a music teacher at the school who could play and on what class the child was in. Very few appeared to have lessons outside the school. (c.f. table 13)

72% of the children were members of their local library, and 39% made a

lot of use of it. The disparity between these two sets of figures is in part due to the fact that although many of the children who are at secondary school belong to their local library, they only use it to implement their school library, and in part also due to the fact that in the case of young children if the parents are upper class they tend to buy books rather than to borrow them from the library. As was expected there was a difference between the membership of those children going to modern schools and those going to grammar and private schools (57% and 80% respectively).

In an attempt to try and mask the switch in emphasis from children to parents, the question of at what age the mother allowed her child to go out by himself was asked. Disregarding the possibility that in certain cases this question was misunderstood, just under 50% had allowed their child to go around by himself before he was 7 years old; here again there was a certain class distinction, the parents from the upper classes being more protective and restrictive than those from the lower classes. (c.f. table 14).

In the initial stages of planning the SFS, it was tentatively suggested that the exercise was somewhat futile for the small family who we interviewed today might well be the embrio of a large family of the future. It was therefore a relief to find that 82% of the mothers do not anticipate having more children. The reason why they do not want to have any more varied widely, in the majority of cases (41%) it was either because they were too old or for private reasons (this latter generally meant that for medical reasons they could not have any more, although in one case it was simply that each time the woman had another child she put on more weight and 'well dear, it can't go on, can it?') In only one instance had the mother decided not to have any more children because of lack of space. Of the rest 12 wanted no more children because it was cheaper, 5 because a small family allowed the parents more free time, 8 because they felt that more children would reduce the opportunities of the existing children and 8 had decided on having no more simply because of social norms. Perhaps it is a sign of a more affluent society that the general attitude towards large families was one of tolerance, which ranged from 'up to the individual' to 'O.K. if they can afford it' (for the actual figures according to attitude, c.f. table 15).

They never do, surely!

A more controversial subject was that of birth control. A method of birth control, for the purpose of the question was understood to be a mechanical method, it did not therefore include the rythm method or coitus interruptus. In all 49% practiced some method, but whereas classes 1 & 2 and 4 & 5 practiced in about the same proportion (circa 70%) far fewer in class 3 used any method (39%). 33 mothers gave information about where they had got the advice - in 13 cases it was from the F.P.A. (here neither class nor age appeared to make any difference), 6 sought advice from their doctors, 3 from friends and the remaining 10 used other sources. The number who told when they obtained the advice was only 21 - but perhaps this in itself is significant; of these 13 sought advice either before or at the beginning of their marriage, and 8 when they decided that they had had enough children.

36 mothers did not use any method of birth control. In 8 cases this was

because of religious reasons, in 18 cases they simply answered that they did not bother, but whether this was because their husbands took precautions, or because they practiced a natural method was not clear; in 7 cases there was no need, and in 3 cases the reason was that they wanted more children.

The attempt which is at present taking place to intriduce some amendments to the abortion law, has been widely publisized in the national press, it was therefore not difficult to get the mothers to express their feelings on this problem, 4 alone refused to make any comment; out of the 67, 12 disagreed with the whole idea of abortion (4 were RCs), 45 would like to see them legal in more cases, and 8 felt that all abortions should be legal. If they were legal 32 would, were they in such a position, consider having one. Although class did not seem to make a difference to the mothers attitude, age certainly did, the older the mother the less she was in favour of abortions (c.f. table 16).

Again with the question on attidues towards sterilisation a few refused to answer (3); while 55 felt that sterilisation was a good thing in certain circumstances, only 33 would consider being sterilised. Where a mother was successfully practicing a method of birth control, although she might feel that sterilisation would be advantageous for some mothers as a fool proof way of preventing unwanted pregnancies, she was unlikely to consider being sterilised herself.
Religion - Although all except one mother professed to have a religion, this did not by any means indicate that they all practiced, the percentage who actually went regularly to a church, synagogue, chapel etc... was 24%. The Jews were the most devout, 63% practiced regularly, then came the Catholics, the members of the Church of England did not score very high : 14% only went to Church every Sunday. Whether or not the parents practiced did not seem to influence the decision to send the children to Sunday school. The total number of children who went to one form of religious instruction or other outside the school was 38, but in 22 cases the parents did not themsleves practice the religion which they believed in.

In certain primitive societies one of the methods of keeping down the size of the family is to delay the age of marriage as regards the girl. Whether, in fact, in a society where methods of birth control are known and practiced, the age of the mother at the time of marriage is an important factor indetermining the size of the family is open to doubt. As far as age at marriage of the mothers in the SFS can serve as any indication, the majority 67% married between the ages of 22 and 25 years, of the rest, 23% were married before they were 20 years old, and 7 did not marry until they were over 25 years.

D. Budget

The main sources of income for the families in the SFS were: the husband's wages, the family allowances, the wife's earnings if she worked and in 3 cases the national assistance allowances. In certain families the income was increased by contributions from the children (7 cases), relations (5 cases); 3 families had lodgers in the house, and one family had assets. An attempt was made to calculate the average income. In comparison with the average industrial wage of £ 18 p.w. (figure produced by the Westminster Bank Review), the average of the sample was considerably higher : £23,83, but the mean of £21.09 is nearer the national average (c.f. table 17a). Since the division into classes is partially determined by the amount that a person earns, the average income by class showed noticeable differences, but the only group which really lagged seriously behind was that which survived with the help of the national assistance board (c.f. table 17). Although 56% of the mothers either worked full or part time, in very few cases did it appear that the primary reason for working was one of sheer necessity to earn more money, in many cases where the children were no longer at home they were bored and lonely and they had taken up work again in order to seek new interests and companionship. That the main object of working is not one of money is partially confirmed by the increase of working mothers in the higher social classes (c.f. table 17b). There was no class difference in the number of hours that the husbands worked, however both the average and the mean were above the '40 hour week'; but here while the average was 43.68 hours p.w., the median was higher: 47 hours p.w. (c.f. table 17c).

At first sight the results of the question on the amount of house-keeping that the mothers received was surprising, it did not appear to depend on the social class to which the mother belonged, however on closer inspection differences were apparent, for whereas in each class the range of housekeeping money was similar, the lower the class the more things it had to be spent on. For example, of the 36 mothers getting between £10-£15 none of those in either class 1 or 2 spent it on rent or fuel, whereas all those in classes 3, 4 and 5 spent it on rent and 56% spent it on fuel. (c.f. table 19 for the figures of the number of mothers receiving different amounts).

Of the 71 mothers in the sample 47 were entitled to family allowances, although one mother did not take advantage of this benefit. The rate of collectio varied from weekly to more than monthly, but the frequency at which it was collected appeared to correlate to a certain extent with the income groups to which the mothers belonged (c.f. table 18). 71% of the mothers felt that the first child should be included, of these 9 had only one child (total number of one child families = 15), and 45.8% would like to see it vary according to the age of the child, for the older the child the greater the expenses incurred. The general attitude question towards allowances had interesting results: of the 6 who felt that they should be abolished the incomes were: 4 above average, 1 average and one did not know, of the 11 who felt that they should be larger, the incomes were: 9 below average, 1 above average and one did not know; of the remaining 31 felt that it was the right amount, 13 would like to see a means test introduced, and 2 were in favour of it being solely for large families. (total response to this question: 63).

[illegible]. Income

The family income of farmers for the Tuesday in the [illegible] week's wages, the family allowance, the children's earnings if any [illegible] in 3 cases the national assistance allowance. In certain [illegible] increased by contributions from [illegible] children (1 case), relations (1 case), 3 families had lodgers in the house, and one family had [illegible] made to output in the average income. In comparison with the average [illegible] of 2 10 p.w. (figure produced by the [illegible] Fuel Survey), the average of the sample was considerably higher: 2[illegible], but the range of [illegible] was considerably higher (c.f. table IV). Under the difference into classes in actually determined by the amount that a person earns, the average income by classes showed considerable differences, but the only group which actually [illegible] earnings behind was that which survived with the help of the national assistance board (c.f. table IV). Although [illegible] children were earned full or part time, it very few cases did it appear that the primary earners for wages were [illegible] of about sufficiently to bring more income, in only about where the children were [illegible] they were [illegible] and Ionely and taken up [illegible] in order to each for [illegible] and entertainment. The main objects of [illegible] in the use of money in variously utilized by the increase of [illegible] in the number of social classes (c.f. table IV). There was no clear difference in the number of [illegible] the industrial status, however, the average [illegible] was above the 40 hour week; but [illegible] the average was [illegible] figure [illegible] (c.f. table IV).

In first place the [illegible] of the question on the number of [illegible] which [illegible] was required, it [illegible] appear [illegible] the social class to which the respondent belonged, however, [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] in each class the [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible], the lower the class the more [illegible] it had to be spent [illegible] example, of the 36 families [illegible] between [illegible] [illegible] in either [illegible] 1 or 2 spent it on rent [illegible], whereas [illegible] in class [illegible] spent it on rent and [illegible] spent it on food. (c.f. table I [illegible]) [illegible] the number of [illegible] and receiving [illegible].

Of the 21 factors in the [illegible] were allotted to family allowance, although one respondent put it [illegible] advantage of this [illegible]. The [illegible] of allowing varied from weekly to more than monthly; but the frequency at which it was collected appeared to correlate to a certain degree with the income groups to which the [illegible] belonged (c.f. table I). If [illegible] the [illegible] fact that the first child should be included, or though 2 and [illegible] the child (total number of the family families = 12), and [illegible] like to see it [illegible] by the age of the child, [illegible] the older the child [illegible] the [illegible] frequency. The general attitude regarding [illegible] was interesting: if the [illegible] the idea that [illegible] should be abolished [illegible] answers: 4 above average, 1 average and [illegible] the 21 was left it should be [illegible] the [illegible] were: 2 below average, 1 above average [illegible] not [illegible] of the remaining 21 [illegible] it was the [illegible], 12 [illegible] [illegible] abolished, and 2 were in favour of [illegible] for large families. (Total [illegible] in the sample is 23).

Most of the children relied on pocket money as a source of 'personal' income, in fact only 6% had regular or occasional paid work. The amount of pocket money that the children received ranged from 6d to over a £. The number who got less than 5 shillings was high: 64%, but on the whole most of the younger ones fell within this bracket and all that they were expected to buy out of it were sweets, comics and toys. The 5.1% who were not given any pocket money at all were also mostly among the younger ones. There was little class difference apart from the fact that none of the children whose mother's were living on national assistance got more than 5 shillings.

School expenses. No parents received money for further education, and although some parents knew that grants were available, others had never heard of them.

School meals and school uniforms were the main expenses which parents had to meet, although once a child has reached secondary school other minor expenses are incurred, but these did not seem to amount to much, in fact only 10 families mentioned regular weekly expenses (in 6 cases it was less than 2/- and in 4 between 2/- and 5/-), generally it seemed the children paid about 2/6 at the beginning of term and that was all. Another minor expense was school travel, 31% went to school by school bus or by public transport, but what this means in terms of expenses is not known for a number who went by public transport had free passes.

More children in secondary school had school lunches than those in primary schools, one explanation for this difference is that most children go to primary schools near their homes and therefore can easily return home in the middle of the day. The total number of children having school lunches was fairly high (70%), but once again there was a class difference, more children from the higher classes had them in proportion with those from the lower classes (for the figures c.f. table 19a). In 10 cases the children had free school meals, but only during the term time, these cases included all the children whose mothers were living on national assistance, 4 who came from either class 4 or 5 and one child from class 3.

School uniforms are generally not compulsory in primary schools, and therefore it was mainly the parents of secondary school children who were faced with the problem of affording their child's uniform. In the 60 cases where school uniform was compulsory all the children had it, and out of the 27 cases where it was optional 26% had it. Just under half the parents complained that they had difficulty in affording it, and this did not exclude those parents in class 1 and 2, although admittedly there were fewer complaints from those in the higher classes than in the lower classes (c.f. table 20). But even those parents who did not have difficulty in affording the uniform, shared the feelings of resentment that the individual articles of the school uniform were so dear.

'How many pairs of shoes do you buy your child a year?'. This question caused a lot of amusement and although the answers varied widely, the average number of shoes bought per year for each child did not differ much from class to class; except for those living on national assistance, the number was about 5 (c.f. table 21). When buying clothes, or shoes for that matter, most of the mothers paid by cash, 45% however did use other methods at times, only one mother never used cash, she solely used the tallyman. Of the other methods

and those most frequently used were providence cheques and clothing clubs (7% and 15.5% respectively). Mothers of small families tend to have more money which they can spend on luxuries, and for many people buying clothes is a luxury. 80% of the mothers had had something new within the last year, and 25% had had something new within the last month. Of the others all either had something within the last 5 years or they dress-made themselves.

The final question was asked in an attempt to find out how much more freedom the parents of small families have compared with those of large families. The total % of parents who never go out in the evening is: 47%, and it varies according to class (c.f. table 22), but in many ways this figure is not reliable, chiefly because it does not differentiate between those parents who cannot go out because they have not enough money, and those who do not either because they work nights or simply because they chose not to.

Conclusion

In view of the fact that the SFS's initial purpose is to act as a control for the LFS the above results are those which it was thought would most help to show up the contrast between the two; it is primarily in this capacity that they should be considered, for by themselves they have not true validity.

If a national survey is later carried out, there is one particular problem which has not so far been mentioned, that should be borne in mind, namely that there are a certain group of families who are not included in either sample. Perhaps it would be more correct to say two groups; these are:

a) those families who have four children

b) and those families who have more than 3 children, but in which less than 3 are still eligible for family allowances.

This survey did not set out to find the answers to any problems, there can therefore be no solutions or conclusions, all that can be hoped is that it may indicate possible clues; and to those who are courageous enough to try and solve the problem of the inequalities of the educational opportunities of children from large families: Bonne chance!

TABLES

6a Parents knowledge of P.T.A. generally and working mothers knowledge

	Parents generally		Working Mothers	
P.T.A. known to exist	39	33%	20	34%
Number who attend	22		11	
Don't know if there is PTA	42	36%	24	40%
P.T.A. does not exist	35	31%	15	26%
Total	116		59	

5. Choice of School

	Yes	%	No	%	No choice	%
Class 1 & 2	22	92	2	8		
3	49	81	8	14	3	5
4 & 5	21	78			6	22
N.A.B.	3	50	2	33.3	1	16.6
Total	95		12		10	

5x Parents' Satisfaction

	Yes	%	No	%
Class 1 & 2	20	83	4	17
3	54	90	6	10
4 & 5	19	70	8	30
N.A.B.	4	66	2	34
Total	97		20	

7. Contact with School

	Last Term			Last Year
	Yes	%	No	Average
Class 1 & 2	18	75	6	2.7
3	33	53	27	2.0
4 & 5	14	52	13	1.4
Total	69	59	48	

7a. Working mothers contact with school

	Last Term			Last Year
	Yes	%	No	Average
Class 1 & 2	10	77	3	2.5
3	20	59	14	1.7
4 & 5	9	75	3	2.0
Total	39	66	20	

9. Age at which child will leave school

16 years and under		%
Class 1 & 2	3	12.5
3	9	15
4 & 5	8	29
N.A.B.	3	50
Total	23	20

10. Numbers absent during last two terms

	No	Total	%
Class 1 & 2	10	24	42
3	40	60	66
4 & 5	20	27	74
N.A.B.	6	6	100
Total	76	117	66

10a. Number who had holiday last year

	No	Total	%
Class 1 & 2	21	24	88
3	50	60	83
4 & 5	12	27	44.5
N.A.B.	2	6	33
Total	85	117	72.5

12a. Leisure Activities

% who spend spare time often/sometimes

	Theatre	Cinema	T.V.	Reading
Class 1 & 2	41.5	22% a lot	75	71
3	11.5	no class	50	53
4 & 5		difference	78	40
Total	19		72	54

13. Musical Instrument

	No who play	%	Have lessons	
Class 1 & 2	6	26	4	
3	12	20	7	
4 & 5	3	11	3	
N.A.B.	1	16.6	1	
Total	22	19	15	13%

14. Age allowed out alone

	Age 1-7	%	7+	%	Not yet & don't know
Class 1 & 2	8	35	15	65	1
3	18	39	29	61	13
4 & 5	16	76	5	24	6
Total	48	49.5	49	51.5	20

15. Attitudes towards large Families

12 Cheaper
1 More Space
8 Better opportunities for existing children
5 Parents more free time
13 Too old
8 Social norm
11 Private reasons

16a. Attitude to abortion according to age by %

Ages	No %	Agree in all cases	More cases	Don't agree
Less than 25 yrs	2			
25 - 35	22	23%	68%	9%
35 - 45	29	7%	80%	13%
45 - 60	17	6%	64%	30%

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17. Average Income

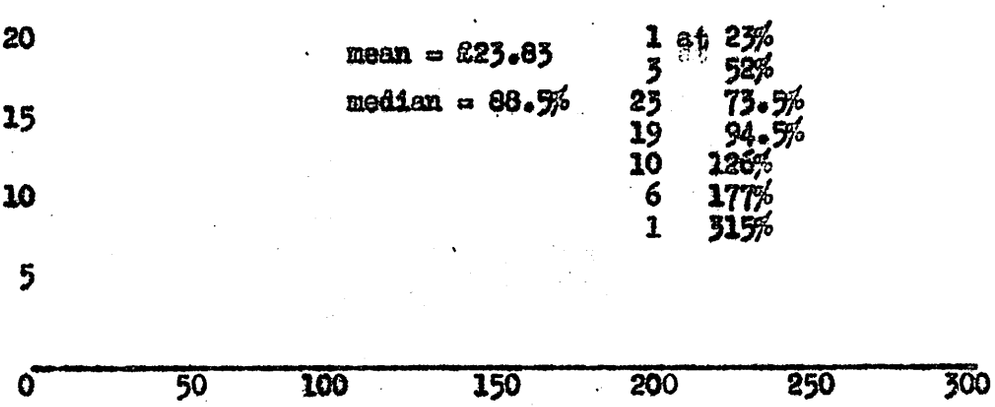
(This was calculated on the basis that those earning e.g. £ 15-£20 actually earned £17.10. 0d.)

Class 1 & 2	£ 32
3	£ 23. 8. 0d.
4 & 5	£ 20.12. 6d.
N.A.B.	£ 10. 0. 0d.

8 wives did not know what their income was.

17a. Income Distribution

No of cases = 63



Income was assumed to be evenly distributed in each case.

17b. Working Mothers

	No	Total	%
Class 1 & 2	8	13	61
3	25	41	61
4 & 5	7	14	50
Total	40	71	56

17c. Hours worked by the Husbands

Hours	No	%
0 - 29	2	3
30 - 44	28	41
45 - 59	30	44
60 +	6	9

In 2 cases it varied.

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18. **Rate of Collection of Family Allowances by Income Groups**

Mothers in group £ 10 - £ 15	collect on average	2.2 weeks
" " £ 15 - £ 20	" "	3.9 "
" " £ 20 - £ 25	" "	5.2 "
" " £ 25 - £ 50	" "	5.0 "

19. **Housekeeping**

The Amounts	No who receive
£ 0 - £ 5	1
£ 5 - £ 7.10.0	5
£ 7.10.0 - £ 10	14
£ 10 - £ 15	36
£ 15 +	6
Communal	9
Total	71

19a. **School Meals** - Those who have them

	No	Total	%
Class 1 & 2	20	24	83.5
3	41	68	68
4 & 5	16	27	59
N.A.B.	5	6	83
Total	82	117	70

20. **School Uniform** - Those who had difficulty in affording it.

	No	Total	%
Class 1 & 2	7	20	35
3	17	35	48
4 & 5	7	10	70
N.A.B.	2	2	100

21. **Shoes** -

	No pairs bought per year on average
Class 1 & 2	5.18
3	5.8
4 & 5	5.7
N.A.B.	2.5

	Number currently owned	
Class 1	16	13.6%
2	42	36 %
3	37	31.5%
4	17	14.5%
5	5	4.25%

22. **Evenings Out**

	Those who never go out		
	No	Total	%
Class 1 & 2	2	11	18
3	21	60	35
4 & 5	7	14	50
N.A.B.	3	3	100
Total	33	71	47

1. Social Class Analysis

	1951 Census	%	Small Families		%	Large Families	%
Class 1	3.3		2	(24)	2.9	5	5.9
2	14.5		11		16.2	4	4.7
3	53.0		41	(60)	60.0	42	49.4
4	16.1		11	(27)	16.2	19	22.4
5	13.1		3		4.4	15	17.6
Total	100		68	(11)	100	85	100

N.B. 1) Total number of small families in sample = 71, 3 families were living on national assistance (6)

2) The figures in brackets, in the small families column, refer to children.