UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE CHILD

AN ENQUIRY

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UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE CHILD

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This enquiry is part of an international enquiry set on foot by the Save the Children International Union of Geneva, comprising also Austria, Belgium, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Switzerland, and the United States.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE CHILD

Being the Report on an Enquiry conducted by the Save the Children Fund into the effects of unemployment on the children of the unemployed and on unemployed young workers in Great Britain

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

On behalf of the Save the Children Fund, I desire to express indebtedness to Lady Hall and the members of the Committee which has carried out the enquiry of which the report is submitted in the following pages. This Committee, which has considered a mass of documentation, represented many diverse interests : a prominent Conservative Member of Parliament and adherents of both the Labour and the Liberal parties have served as members, together with representatives of the Trade Union movement, of charitable organisations, of educational bodies both administrative and academic, as well as other persons experienced in administration and in social welfare.

To Sir Arthur Huddleston, C.M.G., O.B.E., who made himself responsible for analysing and collating the material and has drafted the report, our thanks are due in special measure for the able fulfilment of an onerous task.

Thanks are also due to the relevant Government departments for the help they have given, to over seven hundred correspondents, official and unofficial, who have furnished information, to Mr. F. N. Tribe, C.B.E., of the Ministry of Labour, Sir William Beveridge, K.C.B., LL.D., Director of the London School of Economics, Miss Nettie Adler, Honorary Secretary of the Committee on Wage-earning Children, the Rev. J. C. Pringle, Secretary of the Charity Organisation Society, for varied advice and help, and

particularly to Professor A. M. Carr-Saunders, Professor of Social Science in the University of Liverpool, who made a careful scrutiny of the report in draft and offered some valuable suggestions.

Certain comments on the report, made by the Council of the Save the Children Fund, will be found in the Memorandum which is appended.

NOEL-BUXTON,
President of the
Save the Children Fund.

40, Gordon Square,
London, W.C.1.

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Report on an Enquiry conducted by the Save the Children Fund into the effects of unemployment on the children of the unemployed and on unemployed young workers in Great Britain

PREFACE

THIS report represents the British contribution to the international study of the effects of unemployment on children and young persons, undertaken under the auspices of the Save the Children International Union, of Geneva.* The international enquiry was set on foot at the repeated request of many of the member organisations and more urgently because the Union felt it was not possible for it fully to carry out its duties based on the Declaration of Geneva (the Child Welfare Charter adopted by the League of Nations in 1924) without the information that such an enquiry could give.

The Save the Children Fund of Great Britain appointed a special Committee of Enquiry, which began its investigation by issuing a questionnaire dividing the subject mainly into two categories—*viz.*, the effects on children of school age and under, due to the unemployment of their parents, and the effects on children and young persons over school age, due to their own unemployment.

The questionnaire was sent to education officers, medical officers of health, school medical officers, clerks to Local Authorities, certain head teachers and assistant teachers, probation officers, officials of child welfare centres,

* The reports on other countries are being published by the Save the Children International Union of Geneva, and may be ordered through the Weardale Press, Ltd., 40, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

women's organisations, heads of settlements, Councils of Social Service, as well as to many individuals with special knowledge of one or other of the aspects with which the questionnaire dealt, in some 180 towns and counties, selected by the Committee as being representative of the country as a whole.

Of the information received, the major part was submitted by medical officers of health, education officers, town clerks, or other officials of Local Authorities, nearly all of whom sent in extremely full replies with most careful documentation; and it is upon these that the report is very largely based. Comparatively few replies were received from unofficial sources, and of these many contained impressions rather than direct evidence; hence the Committee was unable to make use of them to more than a limited extent.

Attention should be called to the fact that the evidence received for the most part relates to 1931—*i.e.*, before the application of the Anomalies Act and the "Means" Test and of cuts in Unemployment Benefit made under the National Economy Act, 1931.

It is of importance to mention that since the enquiry was started the Advisory Committee on Child Welfare of the League of Nations has decided to consider the problem of the effect of the unemployment of the parents on their children at its 1934 session, and has asked that the results of this enquiry shall be put at its disposal; and secondly that the International Labour Office is beginning an enquiry into the effect of unemployment on young persons in the near future.

IDA S. A. HALL,
Chairman of the Enquiry Committee.

May 23, 1933.

COPY OF QUESTIONNAIRE

(*A*) GENERALITIES

1.—Please give your name and qualifications, and state whether the information supplied is based on personal observation and enquiries. Where information is quoted from other sources, please state authority.

2.—Region (county, town, district, village, etc.) or institution (school, etc.) under your administration, or constituting the field of your activities, to which your replies refer.

3.—General character of region—*e.g.*, shipping, docks, mining, industrial, suburban (industrial workers), suburban (commercial workers), rural, etc.

4.—Vital statistics, comparing 1925 with 1931, under the following heads: Population; Birth rates; Death rates; Infant mortality rates, per 1,000 births; Maternal mortality rates, per 1,000 confinements.

(*B*) HOME AND FAMILY CONDITIONS

5.—If you have observed any marked change in the status and habits of the people, how far do you consider this is attributable to unemployment?

6.—Quote any cases in which the reorganisation of families by reason of abnormal economic conditions has affected the outlook, health, or happiness, or the moods and behaviour of the children—*e.g.*, families disrupted by the removal of the father to work in another district, or by the mother's going out to work; or, alternatively, disturbed by the importation into the family circle of other relatives.

7.—Describe any scheme for the provision of allotments, the keeping of small live stock, or other productive work,

which has been developed in your region for the benefit of the unemployed.

8.—Is it possible for the unemployed in your region to supplement their resources, and if so what means do they take to do this? Has there been, to your knowledge, any increase in the disposal of property, in pawning, or in borrowing of money from money lenders?

(*C*) FOOD AND HEALTH

9.—Has any analytical study of the nutrition of any group of children been made in your region? If so, kindly give particulars or reference.

10.—Competent officials are asked to give any available information as to the relative nutritional condition of children at the present time and in 1925. As to the ages 0—2, medical officers of Child Welfare Centres; 2—5, any official or voluntary organisations having knowledge on this matter; 5—14, school medical officers, quoting routine inspections with relative ages; 14—16, examining surgeons under the Factory Acts, welfare workers in industrial concerns and others.

11.—Have you any reason to believe that, owing to reduction of income through unemployment, children are being given inferior food, or are being worse clothed? Is there any evidence that their health is suffering thereby?

12.—Where food of sufficient quantity or quality is obtained for the children, do you find this is done:

(*a*) by deprivation of clothing or boots necessary for health?

or (*b*) at the cost of the health of the parents?

13.—Describe the meals of a typical family entirely dependent on ordinary or transitional benefit, or on out relief.

14.—If possible quote three or four specimen budgets of families wholly or partially dependent on unemployment benefit.

15.—What provision is made by the Local Education Authority for meals or milk at school? What similar benefits are arranged for by voluntary charity?

16.—Is it true, in your region, that deductions are made from relief allowances if the children are given meals or milk under either of the above headings?

17.—Give statistics indicating the prevalence of tuberculosis, rickets, rheumatic diseases, nervous troubles, etc., amongst children and juveniles, comparing 1925 with 1931.

(*D*) HOUSING

18.—If there is overcrowding in your area, has it been aggravated by unemployment, and has the health of the children suffered thereby?*

19.—If there are any new housing estates in your area, occupied in part by the unemployed, how does the health of the children in them compare with that of children in slum areas? Do the children seem to be undernourished in the attempt to pay a rent too high for the family resources?

(*E*) SCHOOL LIFE

20.—What has been the effect of the depression upon the children's school work, as indicated by:

(*a*) your personal observation;

(*b*) examination results (where available)?

Has there been found any need to introduce changes in the curriculum, length of lessons, etc.?

* In general, the Registrar General's standard is to be taken; that is, a house is deemed to be overcrowded if there are two or more persons per room, a child under ten being counted as equal to half an adult. If a different standard obtains in any locality, the recipient of the questionnaire is asked to state what that standard is and to give information accordingly.

21.—Do the children attend school less regularly than formerly ?

22.—Is there more lassitude and inattention among the children than when their parents were in employment ?

23.—Are children doing more work, for payment, out of school hours, either at home or outside ? Local Education Authorities please state whether there has been any relative increase in the number of employment permits issued.

(*F*) MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE

24.—Have any changes been introduced in your region in the scope or administration of maternity and child welfare, nursery school, birth control clinics and kindred services, as a consequence of the present economic crisis—that is to say, have any of these services been discontinued or restricted or, alternatively, have any extensions been made to meet an increased need ? If so, in what way ?

(*G*) THE JUVENILE WORKER

25.—Is juvenile unemployment a really serious problem in your region ? Is it more serious among boys than girls, or *vice versa* ? Is there any marked difference between the 14—16 age group and the 16—18 ?

26.—In connection with the scheme for transference of labour from the depressed areas, are boys and girls sent from your region or brought into it ? If so, with what result ?

27.—Are there courses of instruction run by the Local Education Authority for unemployed boys and girls in your region ? If so, are they considered satisfactory, and do you find that juveniles who have attended them find employment more easily in consequence ?

(*H*) MENTAL AND MORAL WELFARE

28.—What special arrangements, if any, have been made in your area for the welfare of :

(*a*) unemployed men and women ;

(*b*) wives and children of unemployed men ?

29.—How do the unemployed men in your region occupy their time ? For example, are occupational centres in existence or have other means been provided for encouraging the men to occupy their time usefully ?

30.—Is the social attitude of the children affected by the unemployment of their parents ? Do they tend to isolate themselves, or does it strengthen the herd instinct (the formation of gangs) ?

31.—Does the unemployment of the parents affect the attitude of the children towards their future :

(*a*) in the choice of occupation ;

(*b*) in the effort they make to obtain vocational training ?

32.—Has there been any increase of pilfering or other misdemeanours, in particular amongst children and young people, since the beginning of the depression ?

33.—In general, how do the children under your observation to-day compare with children of the same age and standing in 1925 ; that is to say, from the point of view of clothing, cleanliness, manners, discipline, punctuality, etc.

(*I*) FOR CORRESPONDENTS IN RURAL AREAS

34.—It is sometimes stated that distress in rural areas is less acute by reason of local food production. Is there any truth in this ? If so, please give examples.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

In any appreciation of the effect of unemployment on the children of Great Britain there are certain main considerations which must be borne in mind, and it seems desirable to state these at the outset.

The effect of unemployment on children must depend both on material and on psychological factors. The material factors are the resources at the disposal of unemployed parents, out of which they have to support their children. The psychological factors are the effect of unemployment on the morale of the parents with its reaction on their power to make the best use of their material resources and to carry out their natural functions of parental guidance, and the attitude of the unemployed towards the means which might be at their disposal. It is notorious that many whose rights under the Insurance Acts have either been exhausted or are insufficient for their needs refrain from applying for Public Assistance because they feel there is a stigma in so doing.

It is impossible to generalise as to the psychological factors; certain tendencies can be noted, but in the main it must be the case that as there are infinite varieties of human nature, so there are infinite varieties in the reactions of the unemployed to lack of work.

The material factors depend on two main considerations: firstly, what is the provision for the unemployed which is made by the State under various Acts of Parliament; secondly, what is the administrative practice of the authorities administering those Acts? It is most important to keep this distinction clear.

It seems desirable, therefore, to set out clearly what it is understood is the policy of the country as expressed in the various Acts of Parliament, and to consider the problem on the basis of that policy. Attention will be called to any possible gaps within the four walls of that policy, which appear to leave a loophole for suffering on the part of the children of this country, but it is not the purpose of the Enquiry Committee to raise issues involving changes in principle in the Acts of Parliament dealt with. The execution of the policy adopted by Parliament depends very largely on the decision of the administrative authorities, whether national or local, though, in fact, it is at present almost entirely the Local Authorities who have to take the decisions affecting individuals. To appreciate fully the success or otherwise of the policy laid down by Parliament it is therefore necessary to consider variations in methods of local administration in the areas under consideration, taking into account local variations in economic conditions.

Since the investigation was commenced a most important pronouncement has been made on behalf of the Government by the Minister of Health, who announced in the House of Commons on April 12th that it was the intention of the Government to "accept responsibility, both administrative and financial, for assisting all the able-bodied unemployed who need assistance". The effect of this pronouncement is to lessen the importance of past variations in local practice, as the Central Authority will now be responsible for all localities, but as the Bill introducing the change of system will not come before Parliament until the autumn it would seem that a useful purpose will in fact be served by calling attention to those variations, particularly as it is not yet clear to what extent the responsibilities to be assumed by the Government will cover the present local responsibility for the children of the unemployed.

It must be made clear at the outset that the Enquiry Committee had no mandate to empower it to carry out a detailed investigation into the methods of administration adopted by the different Local Authorities, nor indeed had it the machinery to do so. Any such investigations could only be carried out by a body which could put all necessary questions to Local Authorities with a certainty that the information asked for would be forthcoming, and no doubt the new authority to be set up by Parliament in reviewing the practices of all Local Authorities will in effect be carrying out such an investigation.

The Enquiry Committee in considering the replies which have been received to their questionnaire have not, therefore, attempted to consider the pros and cons which may have influenced the various local authorities in their administrative decisions, but they have tried to classify the variations of local administrative practice, and to emphasise such facts as indicate the necessity of establishing a more uniform practice.

The Acts of Parliament which affect the unemployed directly or indirectly may be briefly summarised as follows:

(1) That unemployed workers in insured trades shall receive statutory benefits of amounts varying according to the size of their family, so long as the payments made by them or on their behalf entitle them to receive these benefits within the terms of the Unemployment Insurance Acts.

(2) That unemployed workers in insured trades, who have received all they are entitled to as above, shall receive from the State for further periods Transitional Payments not more than the amount of the Unemployment Benefit referred to above, but that the Transitional Payments shall be reduced below the amount of the Unemployment Benefit to

whatever extent may be found justifiable after taking into account other resources at the command of the family in question. This process is commonly known as the application of the "Means Test" or, more correctly, the "Needs Test", which is defined in the Report of the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance as "a test of needs for Transitional Payments and Out-door Relief".

(3) That Public Assistance shall be given to those members of the community who are in a state of destitution, taking into account all resources at their command, and taking into account the circumstances of the individual case. The fact that a worker is receiving Unemployment Benefit or Transitional Payment does not debar him from receiving public assistance, but such benefits will, of course, be taken into account by the Public Assistance Committee dealing with his case.

(4) In deciding the amount of payments to be made under the above headings, it is the intention to avoid making such payments as involve the recipient being better off unemployed than when employed, and in every case the scale of payments, whether fixed by statute or decided on by Local Authorities, is fixed with this principle in mind.

(5) That persons over a certain age, widows, and children of widows shall receive from the State pensions, under certain conditions.

(6) Free issue of milk can be given at the discretion of the Local Authority to expectant and nursing mothers, and to young children, or issues of milk can be made to such persons on payment of something less than actual cost if the Local Authority considers it right to do so.

(7) Meals can be issued at school to school children either free or on recovery of cost or recovery of part cost, at the discretion of the Local Education Authorities. Milk may be similarly issued, either in lieu of meals or in addition to meals.

This is a statement of the Law at the present time. It should be remembered that reduced scales of benefit came into force in the autumn of 1931 and the "Means" or "Needs" Test early in 1932. Most of the replies received to our questionnaire referred to 1931.

It is for the Local Authority to decide :

(*a*) What deduction from maximum Transitional Payments should be made on account of other resources at the command of the family.

(*b*) What Public Assistance should be given in individual cases, taking all the circumstances into account.

(*c*) The extent to which milk issues should be made, free or on payment, to expectant and nursing mothers and young children.

(*d*) The extent to which school meals or school milk should be issued, and the conditions of payment or free issue.

(*e*) The conditions which should be attached to the grant of Public Assistance, such as attending training centres or enforcing other provisions designed to maintain morale.

It will be seen that there is power for the Local Authority to provide assistance at all ages of a child's life. The replies received indicate that the advantage taken of these powers is almost entirely confined to the infantile and school age stages, though the Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918 does authorise provision being made for children up to five. In certain places there are nursery schools for children

under five where meals or milk are given, but this is far from general.

Hardship to children, therefore, must be due in the main to one of the following causes :

(1) Bedrock inadequacy of the scale of the payments authorised by the State, either generally or for particular classes of families.

(2) Failure, for reasons which may or may not be adequate, on the part of the Local Authority, to do what it is authorised to do by Parliament.

(3) Failure on the part of parents to make the most of what is or can be done for them. This failure may be due either to the individual characteristics of the parents, or to the effect produced on them by lack of opportunity to obtain occupation suitable for maintaining their morale during unemployment.

CHAPTER II

INDIRECT EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

In the introductory remarks it was explained that the effect of unemployment on children depended not only on material or direct factors, but also on psychological or indirect factors.

Indirect effects may arise either from changes of mentality in the parents due to their unemployment or changes of conditions of life due to the loss of the normal employment to which the worker has been accustomed, and the efforts he has made to meet those changes of conditions. The father may be completely unemployed; he therefore has no need to be up early in the morning, and the result may be that the children go to school without breakfast. This may be symptomatic of a gradual change of character. Inertia and lack of vitality among some of the unemployed are a common story among the answers to the questionnaire. That danger appears to be greater in the case of the young men.

SOME INDIRECT EFFECTS

The Medical Officer of Health for Manchester has provided an interesting note on this subject. He states that the older men begin by doing all they can to get work, but that they gradually tend to become despondent and morose, and sometimes go to pieces. When this happens the effect on the children is obvious. He notes particularly the effect on the younger men, who, it is thought, would be less amenable to discipline than formerly (if they got work), while their physique suffers through lack of exercise. Many are chronically unemployed and though in a few cases they do fairly well by taking advantage of all that is done for

them by the State or by voluntary organisations it is obvious that their morale has suffered, and that children brought up in such a home must be under a great disadvantage.

Such effects result, of course, from continuous unemployment far more than from intermittent unemployment, and fortunately there is some reason to think that the numbers of men and women who have been continuously out of employment for long periods bear a small proportion to those unemployed at any one time. In the report of the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance it is stated that in 1930 there were 100,000 men and 3,000 women more or less permanently unemployed, who formed the standing army of the unemployed, and that at that time there were 5½ million men and 1,700,000 women who were subject to spells of unemployment of varying duration. In the case of fifty per cent. of these the amount of unemployment was negligible, in the case of ten per cent. it was serious. The real danger of loss of morale would be among the standing army and the ten per cent.

NATURE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

While no up-to-date estimate of the present position can be given, it is certain that there has been a large increase in this class, as according to the returns in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* the number of men who had been unemployed for periods of over a year in January, 1932, was 300,336 and in March, 1933, the number of this class had risen to 454,036. It is interesting to note that the number of women unemployed for more than a year declined from 36,784 in January, 1932, to 23,810 in March, 1933.

But whether unemployment be chronic or temporary, the importance of doing all that is possible to maintain the morale of unemployed parents is obvious. Married

women are generally fully occupied in their homes, but for the men and the unmarried women the loss of normal occupation may have far-reaching effects, and it is most important that everything possible should be done to provide them with alternative occupation, even if it is only physical exercise. If the occupation can sometimes be helpful to the family, so much the better. Occupational centres where crafts can be practised are mentioned in many replies, and boot repairing seems to be the commonest occupation at such centres.

OCCUPATION NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN MORALE

The National Council of Social Service has taken a keen interest in the establishment of suitable occupational centres. In the Council's view this is not a question affecting the unemployed only, but one which should be approached from an even wider angle. With shorter hours of work and so much part-time employment there are large numbers of employed with spare time on their hands and a desire to widen their interests. The more they can be helped in this direction and can acquire hobbies or interests to fill in their spare time, the more resources they will have which will enable them to maintain their morale in periods of unemployment. The Save the Children Fund is establishing emergency open-air nurseries for the children of the unemployed in connection with some of these occupational centres.

But, it will be asked, is nothing more constructive possible? Something that will definitely increase the means of the unemployed and will enable them to earn their living in a new way? It is outside the scope of this report to consider this subject in detail, but it is obvious that the more useful the occupation the better its effect must be on the morale of the parents, and it is impossible

to emphasise too strongly how much does depend on the maintenance of that morale.

In this connection special interest attaches to the replies which have been received to the question we asked on the subject of allotments. Allotments have the merit that they not only provide the holder with a very adequate occupation, but they also enable him to produce something which will definitely help him to subsist, while the vegetables he produces are of particular dietary value to his children.

ALLOTMENTS

The replies tell a tale of varying success, but it would appear that where the Society of Friends have taken a hand in the organisation of allotments considerable success has generally been attained, and the following notes are largely based on information received from the Friends.

The Society of Friends has ample evidence that employment on allotments organised by their Committee has a beneficial effect on the morale of the unemployed. There is even evidence that in a few cases men have been cured of tuberculosis after taking up this work. One school inspector in South Wales is reported as saying that he could tell by sight when visiting schools which children belonged to parents with allotments, owing to their different aspect.

It is clear that the mere offer of allotments by a Local Authority evokes few or no applications. Some organisation is necessary which gets at the personalities of the men employed, and propaganda is required to arouse interest. It may be that the members of old allotment societies have the time and the inclination to admit the unemployed into their society, but this is not often the case, and as unemployment increases new societies have to be formed which require encouragement and instruction. Once the preliminary work has been done it is the general experience that

the amount of outside help required is not large and that the societies carry on with a moderate amount of encouragement largely given through the medium of local shows.

There are, of course, limits to the extent to which town dwellers can be attracted to allotments ; those living near the centre of great towns are too far away from suitable land. It is impossible to say at what distance this difficulty begins, but it is certain that with the help of cheap transport the difficulties of distance can be largely reduced.

It is understood that the Society of Friends are making enquiries as to the possibility of special cheap transport for allotment-holders, and it would seem that encouragement of this sort by Local Authorities and others responsible for transport undertakings would be well worth giving.

Development of allotments will clearly be of special benefit to children, as the children of allotment-holders will spend much of their time out of doors in healthy surroundings, and there are obvious possibilities of play centres for children at allotment centres, which should make them doubly attractive.

DIFFICULTY OF SUPPLEMENTING UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT

In certain places allotments seem to be the most hopeful means of providing the unemployed with means of supplementing their resources, and at the same time giving them occupation.

It must be admitted, however, that in many places, especially those where unemployment is at its worst, there are little or no means by which the head of the family can supplement his resources. It may be possible for the wife or the elder children to earn something that will help the family budget, but the head of the family too often can do nothing to bring money in.

There are, moreover, some signs that there is a danger of the unemployed being discouraged from looking for

means of supplementing their resources by fear of the operation of the Means Test. If a man thinks that by obtaining a casual job for a day or two he will be no better off because the authorities will deduct the full amount that he had earned from his benefit, he will obviously be discouraged from looking for work.

We believe it is a fact that in all such cases the deduction which is made from the benefit is, in fact, less than the amount of the earnings, though no doubt the proportion of the benefit deducted varies according to the practice of different Local Authorities. The Minister of Labour stated in the House of Commons on May 18 that a leaflet was in preparation which would help to make this position clearer.

It may be that we are attaching undue importance to one or two expressions of opinion in this matter, but it is at least possible that fear of the loss of benefit may discourage many from taking casual work, which would not only increase their resources but would be invaluable in maintaining their morale.

EFFECTS OF ATTEMPTS TO MEET CHANGED CONDITIONS

But the effects of unemployment on morale may not be immediate. It is to be presumed that all unemployed families do their best, in the first instance at any rate, to adjust themselves to new conditions. These efforts take many forms, and some of which may be definitely harmful to the children. The father of the family, on losing his work, may decide to strike out a new line and look for work elsewhere. He may succeed in finding work, but under conditions which make it impossible for him to have his family with him. The result is separation, with its inevitable risks. There are many references to children getting out of hand under such circumstances, as the

mother is unable to control them. Occasionally such separation will become permanent as the parents get out of touch with each other.

In other instances the mother takes the father's place and becomes the main breadwinner of the family. The mother, when at home, has not time to prepare the food properly and the children get worse nourishment than they would were the father at work and the mother at home, even though the actual means of the family may not be decreased. There is an interesting suggestion that in places where the women habitually work the children may actually benefit from the presence of the mother at home, but this has only come from one or two places in Lancashire, and it would be rash to attach too much importance to it.

The commonest form of adaptation to new conditions is probably the doubling-up of families or the taking in of lodgers. This often takes the form of young couples with young children living with their in-laws. Our correspondents report that the result is nearly always unfortunate ; apart from the evils of overcrowding, the old and the young couples get on each others' nerves, quarrels result, and an atmosphere is created which is generally bad for the children.

GENERAL ATTITUDE OF THE UNEMPLOYED

Perhaps the most gloomy and depressing note that is sounded in the replies we have received is that recording a state of helplessness among the habitually unemployed. This must be difficult to avoid in areas where unemployment is on a scale which forces the individual to look to the State or to charitable organisations to solve problems for which no efforts on his own part can provide a solution. It must, however, be recognised that this attitude is far from general and that the way in which the population

as a whole has faced the problems of unemployment has been most admirable.

There are many who prefer to suffer and perhaps let their children suffer rather than apply for help from the Public Assistance Authorities. This is probably partly due to a general spirit of independence and partly to the stigma which seems in many parts of the country to be attached to the receipt of Public Assistance, due to its association with the old Poor Law. The existence of this class shows in what a fine spirit the population as a whole has faced the problems of unemployment, but there is a real danger that the dislike of Public Assistance may cause many parents not to apply for help, which they really need for the sake of their children. It is in our view important that no special stigma should be attached to any particular form of assistance which is available for those who really need it, and we hope that we are right in interpreting the promise of the Government to introduce a Bill "dealing on a national basis with the problem of assistance for those in need of assistance, including those who, having been insured against unemployment, were no longer insured ", as holding out hope that the new organisation to be set up will be such that no feeling of stigma will attach to the receipt of assistance in any particular form. It is in our view especially important that there should be means by which special assistance can be given in an acceptable form to those whose rent is in itself reasonable, but which under the circumstances of the family leaves them with insufficient means to provide their children with reasonably adequate nourishment.

But pending the passing of the promised new legislation the fact remains that there are many who need Public Assistance who do not apply for it because of the stigma referred to above. It is one of the most difficult features

of this enquiry to judge how large this class is. Whatever be its size it is, however, probably right to ascribe the attitude in question more to a general spirit of independence than to a dislike of the stigma referred to above. Below school age there is no means of forming any judgment as to the numbers of children involved, though for the very youngest the help given at the Maternity and Child Welfare Centres may in some small measure counteract the loss of means by the parents. For the children of school age more information is available through school medical inspections, and it should be possible for suffering to be largely obviated through school meals. We deal with this in a later chapter.

MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE CENTRES

One of the most satisfactory features of our enquiry has been the replies to the question on the subject of the maternity and child welfare services. Almost everywhere an increase in these services since 1925 is reported and there can be no question as to their value. We would draw particular attention to the statistics published in the replies to our second questionnaire showing the amount of milk issued at Maternity and Child Welfare Centres. No evidence was received in the replies to the first questionnaire of any curtailment of existing services because of the economic crisis, though it must be remembered that these replies refer mainly to 1931, before the issue of the "economy" Circular referred to on page 32. In this connection it is noteworthy that in four places the replies to the second questionnaire show that the amount of milk issued in 1932 was less than in 1931. Further, it would appear that while in 1931 there had not been curtailment of existing services, there were places where extensions which had been planned had been held up. There can, however, be no doubt that these

services must have been a very big factor in maintaining infant health. The original question asked as to these centres referred only to the amount of curtailment of these services which had been necessary owing to the economic crisis and there is not, therefore, a great deal of information at our disposal as to the details of the work done. We get the impression, however, that the tendency is for those in charge of the centre to concentrate on help to nursing and expectant mothers and to infants. It would seem probable that this is due to Circular No. 1222, September, 1931, from the Ministry of Health, urging Local Authorities to pay special regard in the interests of economy "as to whether particular services were or were not likely to be remunerative, either at once or in the near future, and whether they are required on urgent grounds of public health or other grounds of similar public urgency". We would suggest that in fact services for children between two and five are urgently necessary on grounds of public health.

CONNECTION BETWEEN UNEMPLOYMENT AND BIRTH-RATE AND INFANT MORTALITY

We have been interested to discover whether there was any connection between unemployment and the birth-rate or infantile death-rate, and we publish as an appendix (page 83) a table setting out the relevant figures for certain localities. It would appear that while there has been a general falling off in the birth-rate that falling off varies with localities rather than with unemployment; in particular the high birth-rate in Scotland is noteworthy in spite of considerable increase in unemployment; in Wales alone can a high incidence of unemployment be associated with a marked falling off in birth-rate. There seems to be no connection between unemployment and infantile mortality, which has

decreased in the great majority of the places included in the table.

One of the questions asked by the Enquiry Committee was as to the incidence of certain diseases. We have not received sufficient replies to this part of our questionnaire to draw any definite conclusion, but on the whole there are signs that tuberculosis is on the down-grade, though there may be an increased tendency to early rickets.

INCIDENCE OF PARTICULAR DISEASES

The question as to the social outlook of the children has not produced much information. In one or two replies it is suggested that there is an increased tendency to the formation of gangs, but on the whole little change is reported.

SOCIAL ATTITUDE AND JUVENILE CRIME

We have received more replies on the subject of juvenile crime. Here again it is not possible to draw any very clear conclusions. On the whole very few places report an increase in juvenile crime and those which do report it associate it as much with the cinema as with the effects of unemployment. We have received a copy of a valuable report on the subject drawn up by the Manchester authorities, but most of this is outside the scope of our enquiry. It is thought that juvenile crime is mostly due to the influence of bad companions and that a study of the home conditions of the ring-leaders of juvenile crime would be valuable. On the whole, however, we feel that this is a problem which it would be wrong to treat as part of the effect of unemployment on children, though obviously as unemployment gets less some decrease in juvenile crime may be expected. This would appear to follow from the Home Office Report on Criminal Statistics in 1930, published in March, 1932, giving the distribution of simple and minor

larcenies between the North and South areas of England and Wales, as set out in the following table:

SIMPLE AND MINOR LARCENIES, 1930

Ages	North Numbers	North Percentages	South Numbers	South Percentages
Under 16 ..	4,982	27.7	3,445	21.7
16—21	4,232	23.6	3,953	25.0
21—30	3,861	21.5	3,810	24.1
30—40	2,537	14.1	2,258	14.3
40—50	1,372	7.7	1,323	8.3
50—60	664	3.7	658	4.1
Over 60	310	1.7	390	2.5

The report in question comments on this that "it brings out the great excess of simple or minor larceny in the North, and the unduly large proportion of juveniles guilty thereof. The general result is to reinforce the conclusion that comparatively minor crimes of dishonesty among the young tend to prevail in the industrially-depressed North, and go far to account for its excess of crime".

HOUSING

A brief reference has been made above to the fact that a common method of counteracting the effects of unemployment is the doubling up of families. It is clear that in this way unemployment must accentuate the housing problem of the country, though in some degree it may be eased through dwellings being vacated as a result of doubling up.

The importance of improving housing conditions is well known, but how important it can be to the health of the children of the country is not always realised. Nothing we have received on this subject is so illuminating as the following table received from the Medical Officer of Health, Glasgow, in his report on the medical inspection and treatment of school children.

	Age	Year	No. of Rooms in Dwelling				No. of Rooms in Dwelling			
			1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
			HEIGHTS (inches)				WEIGHTS (lb.)			
Boys	5	1907	39.0	39.9	40.8	41.4	37.2	38.6	39.5	40.1
		1924	40.2	40.3	41.3	41.9	38.1	27.8	39.9	41.1
		1931	41.3	40.7	41.6	42.4	38.4	39.1	40.3	41.6
	9	1907	46.5	47.6	48.2	48.8	51.4	53.2	54.8	56.3
		1931	48.3	49.0	49.8	50.7	55.1	56.6	58.5	60.5
	13	1907	53.4	54.1	55.1	55.8	69.9	72.3	75.3	76.8
		1924	54.1	54.4	55.7	56.9	72.2	73.2	78.1	82.5
		1931	55.3	55.7	56.6	57.6	77.1	78.2	81.4	84.9
Girls	5	1907	38.9	39.9	40.2	41.0	36.6	37.8	38.0	39.2
		1924	39.3	40.1	41.2	41.9	37.3	38.0	38.5	39.9
		1931	40.0	40.5	41.3	42.1	37.1	37.8	38.8	40.3
	9	1907	46.2	46.9	47.7	48.6	49.6	51.4	52.8	54.7
		1931	48.1	48.8	49.5	50.4	53.2	54.5	56.0	58.2
	13	1907	53.9	54.7	55.6	56.4	71.9	73.9	76.3	79.3
		1924	55.2	54.6	56.5	57.1	76.3	76.8	80.0	80.8
		1931	56.0	56.8	57.5	58.5	79.5	82.0	84.3	88.3

Reading the table from left to right it will be seen that the average heights and weights of boys and girls show, with two exceptions, a gradual increase in each age group, according to the size of the house; the larger the house the higher the average height and weight, whether the figures for 1907, 1924, or 1931 be considered.

Reading the table in the downward direction and comparing the average for 1907 with those of 1924 and 1931 respectively, it will be evident that, with two exceptions, an increase has taken place over these years in the average heights and weights recorded for boys and girls.

These figures speak for themselves. While the extent of the benefits to be obtained from improved housing may not

always be realised, it is clear from the replies we have received that the importance of the subject is generally recognised. In all large towns new buildings have been erected to reduce the number of slum dwellers, but what has been done has barely touched the problem. Everywhere, however, we get the same tale that houses on the new estates are expensive and involve a higher rental than that paid under old conditions. These new estates must clearly have improved conditions, but it is almost certain that the very poor have not benefited so much as the class above them.

One of the questions asked referred to the effect of higher rents in such estates on clothing and nutrition. We were anxious to know whether the unemployed living in such areas were stinted in food and clothing owing to the higher rentals. The answers to this question vary considerably, so much so that one is inclined to think that some of our correspondents have been thinking not of the unemployed living on such estates, but of all the dwellers on them. Obviously it must be difficult for the authorities to consider all cases in detail, and any general impression must be influenced by cases of the employed. We are inclined, therefore, to discount replies received stating that the increased rent has had no effect, particularly as those replies which deal with the question in most detail nearly all refer to the difficulties caused by high rent.

While in many cases sacrifices by the parents, particularly the mother, and inferior clothing, may have enabled the higher rents to be paid without the nutrition of the children suffering, especially in areas where school meals are provided, we feel that this is far from being always the case.

A factor which comes very largely into the effect of such rentals is the policy of the Public Assistance Committees of the locality as to grants on account of high rent, and the

extent to which the unemployed take advantage of such facilities as are granted. The scales adopted by Public Assistance Committees vary considerably. Many take the line that there is no scale, and that each case is dealt with on its merits; others adopt the Unemployment Benefit scale or modify it slightly. It is, however, clear that the Public Assistance Committees have the right to increase the grant they make in cases where rent causes hardship, and that in certain localities it is the practice to make grants up to some reasonable maximum corresponding to the excess of the rent paid by an applicant over the rent which it is considered he can afford out of his Unemployment or other Benefit. We have information as to Committees which regard 5s. as the rent payable out of Unemployment Benefit and 12s. 6d. as the maximum rent which should be recognised by the committee. In such areas there is a possibility of a grant up to 7s. 6d. being made because of the rent paid. We are aware that this practice is far from universal, but it is clear that where it exists it offers an unemployed family a means of escape from what may well be an intolerable position. It is probably the case that there are far more cases of hardship due to high rent in which the sufferer has not applied for assistance than in which he has applied and been refused. We would not wish to suggest that there are no cases of help being refused by the authorities which would have prevented suffering but it is probable that in the majority of such cases the real ground for the decision was that the authority cannot deal with cases outside the normal without establishing precedents that would complicate administration unduly.

Much depends on the standard to which the unemployed have been accustomed. A family which has been accustomed to an income of £5 per week must suffer more when reduced to £2 than a family which had lived on a £3 scale.

Much depends on the standard of home management, while the physique of one family may be such that they need more nourishment than another. These are factors which it is difficult for an Authority to take into account, though voluntary organisations can do so.

In the case of housing estates owned by the Local Authority there is another means by which rent difficulties can be alleviated. The Greenwood Act (1930) to facilitate slum clearance provided that rents should be varied according to the circumstances of the tenants, or by granting rebates on standard rent to individual tenants. The circular issued under this Act to Local Authorities laid down the principle that " rent relief should be given only to those who need it and only for so long as they need it ". We have received only one reply which appears to refer to these differential rents. There are also provisions made under the Wheatley Act (1924) which allow of differentiation in individual rents provided that the average rental does not exceed a prescribed standard, but we believe that these provisions have not been used by any Local Authority.

RENT DIFFERENTIATION

In our view the case for introducing such differentiation is overwhelming—the basis should be one which takes into account both the family income and the numbers in the family on lines similar to the Bradford scale for school meals published on page 54. We hope that in time more public Authorities will take up the possibility of rent differentiation, but inasmuch as the proportion of housing owned by public Authorities is small, action on the lines suggested can only be a palliative and not a complete solution of the problem. The main problem can only be solved by varying the benefits given to the unemployed to cover reasonable variations in rent in such a way that no stigma is involved. This may not solve the problem for

everybody, but in the main it should prevent notorious cases such as that recently reported from Stockton-on-Tees where the general mortality rate actually increased among a group of families moved to a new estate. That case may have been exceptional, but there is ample evidence in the replies we have received that high rentals often reduce the benefits to the health of children which normally follow on a move to a new housing estate.

CHAPTER III

THE DIRECT EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

THE system on which Unemployment Benefit, Transitional Payments, and Public Assistance are based in this country is in all cases that the amount of the benefit given varies with the size of the family. In the case of Public Assistance it is unusual to allow more than a maximum of £2 per week. The Unemployment Benefit for a single adult male is 15s. 3d.; if he is married the allowance is 23s. 3d., while 2s. is added for each dependent child. Thus a family consisting of father, mother, and two children receive 27s. 3d.; with eight children the allowance would be 39s. 3d. The maximum Transitional Payments allowed are the appropriate amount under the Unemployment Benefit scale. Public Assistance is at the discretion of the committee dealing with the case, and scales may or may not be laid down, but there is undoubtedly a tendency to approximate to the Unemployment Benefit scale. Grants above that scale are sometimes given as explained in the previous chapter where destitution is caused by high rents which are not in themselves unreasonable. Grants can be made in this way to supplement Unemployment Benefit or Transitional Payments.

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT, TRANSITIONAL PAYMENTS, AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Obviously the age of the children is a very big factor in determining the adequacy of the variations in the scale dependent on the number of children in the family. Unless 27s. 3d. can be shown to leave margins for a family with two children age two-and-a-half and six months, it would

seem that it must be inadequate for a family with two children aged ten and eight.

It would obviously be difficult to frame rules for Unemployment Benefit or Transitional Payments which would differentiate between the needs of families with children of different ages, though something of the sort might be possible in the case of Public Assistance. At any rate, a system which aimed at such differentiation would involve higher costs of administration apart from any additional expenditure involved in varying the present scale of benefits. In practice, however, there is differentiation in many cases. Once a child has reached the age of five and is attending an elementary school it is within the power of the Education Authorities to grant that child free meals or free milk. It is within the discretion of the Local Authorities to decide whether such benefits should be free or should be taken into account when assessing relief given to the family. There is, therefore, machinery under which differentiations can be made in accordance with family needs that vary with the age of the children, and there is reason to think that such differentiations can be adequate. The evidence for this is that in places where school meals are given liberally no falling off in the standard of school nutrition is reported.

POSSIBILITY OF DIFFERENTIATION FOR AGES OF CHILDREN

In this connection it is perhaps worth while quoting the experience of an individual teacher in Wales on the effect on her children of a more liberal policy as regards school meals on the part of the Local Authorities. She writes as follows :

" I have been particularly interested in my own form, which is a form of first-year children. There are thirty in the form, only six of whom have fathers employed fully,

and twenty-one of them have their fathers out of work entirely ; the remaining three are employed part-time. At the beginning of the year only two of these children had free dinners on a malnutrition basis. The class was listless and seemed unintelligent, and the children pale and thin. After a few weeks this was changed and now about twenty have free dinners. There is a noticeable improvement in health, spirits, apparent intelligence, and happiness."

The replies to our questionnaire contain many similar expressions of opinion. But although it is possible to differentiate between families of different ages by means of school meals it is clear that in fact school meals are not given on such a scale that they provide the extra nourishment required by the older children of more than a certain number of necessitous families, while even where they are adequate for this purpose there remains the problem of the holidays, when in practically every locality from which we have had reports no school meals are available.

It is true, therefore, that as the children grow older the difficulty of giving them adequate nourishment when the family income does not exceed the Unemployment Benefit scale must be an increasing one, and it is essential to examine the adequacy of the scale in itself.

OBJECT OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

It must be remembered that Unemployment Insurance was first introduced to tide the insured over periods of temporary unemployment when it was probable that they would have savings or other resources to enable them to supplement their benefit, and that its use as a scale of minimum subsistence during more prolonged spells of unemployment is a comparatively recent development. Clearly it may be adequate as such for one type of family and inadequate for another.

Much has been published recently as to the adequacy or inadequacy of the Unemployment Benefit scale. This obviously depends on what are the minimum requirements for a standard family to keep them in proper health. A dietician attached to St. Bartholomew's Hospital has recently issued suggestions for a week's meals for a family consisting of a father, mother, and three children, ages 12—14, 6—8, and 2—3. The cost of these meals based on prices in November, 1932, was 18s. It is stated that they are barely sufficient in calories and deficient in iron and vitamin D, the number of calories per man per day being 2,712 and iron being 20.8 per cent. below optimum. The family are classified as regards man value as follows:

ADEQUACY OF UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT

Father	1
Mother	.85
Child of 12—14	.90
,, ,, 6— 8	.60
,, ,, 2— 3	.40
Total	3.95

In the Appendix to Volume 3 of the "New Survey of London Life and Labour" Professor Bowley has analysed and listed the views of certain dietetic authorities and has deduced a weekly food scale for a man in moderate work, on 1929 prices. Adjusted to costs in February, 1933, this gives the following for a family:

	s.	d.
Male over 16	5	8
Female over 16	4	10
Male 14—16	4	10
Female 14—16	4	6
Child 5—14	3	10
,, 0— 5	1	10

On this scale the family catered for by the St. Bartholomew's dietician would require 19s. 8d. More recently a report has been published by the *Week-end Review* in its number for April 1st, giving the findings of a committee presided over by Professor Bowley, the other members being Mr. Davison (late Ministry of Labour), Professor Mottram, Mrs. Nicholson, and Miss E. I. Sprott. This committee gives 17s. 6d. for a family consisting of father, mother, and two children over six. The figures for individuals are as follows :

	s.	d.
Males	5	0
Females	4	2
Children, aged 1	2	9
,, ,, 2	3	4
,, ,, 3	3	5
,, ,, 4	3	6
,, ,, 5	3	7
,, ,, 6	3	8
,, ,, 7	3	10
,, ,, 8	4	0
,, ,, 9	4	2
,, ,, 10	4	4
,, ,, 11	4	6
,, ,, 12	4	8
,, ,, 13	4	10

This provides an adult male not engaged in manual work with 3,000 calories 37 grammes first-class protein and sufficient of the so-called protective foods (milk and its products, fresh salads, vegetables and fruits, liver, fish, and eggs) to cover the mineral and vitamin needs.

On this scale the family catered for by the St. Bartholomew's expert would require 21s. 3d. *The Lancet* has

published figures given by four medical experts putting minimum subsistance for a man from 4s. 10d. to 6s. 8d., the average being 5s. 8d. It is noteworthy that the main difference between the scale prepared by Professor Bowley and published in the " Survey of London Life and Labour ", and the scale given by the committee over which Professor Bowley has recently presided, is that the allowance of minimum food for children has been very much increased. It is proposed to base any remarks made on the adequacy of the meals available for the unemployed on the recent report of Professor Bowley's committee to the *Week-end Review*.

The first point to note is that there is a difference in the committee's scale of 1s. between the requirements of a child of ten and a child of two. An allowance, therefore, which may be adequate for a child of two is likely to be inadequate for a child of ten. If we take a family consisting of father, mother, and two children aged twelve and ten, their food requirements on the committee's scale will be 18s. 2d. If the children are four and two instead of twelve and ten the food requirements will be 16s. Unemployment Benefit in both cases will be 27s. 3d. Therefore in the first case there will be 9s. 1d. left for rent, fuel, light, clothing, and cleansing, in the second case there will be 11s. 3d. If rent be 5s., an amount which it is sometimes assumed is the maximum which can be afforded by a family with no resources other than Unemployment Benefit, the first family will have 4s. 1d. available for fuel, light, clothing and cleansing, the second family will have 6s. 3d. In cases where the unemployment is of short duration these margins may be sufficient, at any rate for the family with younger children, but as the period of unemployment becomes more prolonged and replacements of clothes, etc., become necessary it is probable that difficulties will arise. But

whether the unemployment is short or prolonged, it is obvious that where the rent is substantially over 5s. and there are no means other than Unemployment Benefit, the margin for other necessities is too small, particularly in view of the fact that the cost of fuel for cooking and warmth is put at 3s. per week.

It is obvious that if the *Week-end Review* standard is at all correct there must be increasing hardship not only as the children get older, but as families get larger.

The following table shows the minimum dietary requirements on the *Week-end Review* scale as compared with Unemployment Benefit for families of varying size. In all cases we have taken the average cost of a child as the cost for a child of seven.

No. of children	Unemployment Benefit		Food on *Week-end Review* scale		Margin for rent, light, fuel, clothing and cleansing	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
0	23	3	9	2	14	1
1	25	3	13	0	13	3
2	27	3	16	10	10	5
3	29	3	20	8	8	7
4	31	3	24	6	6	9
5	33	3	28	4	4	11
6	35	3	32	2	3	1

NOTES:

(*i*) No allowance is made above for the expense of fuel for cooking. The allowance made in studies of the minimum standard has been 1¼cwt. of coal averaged through the year, or its equivalent in gas, and the cost has been put at 3s. weekly. This includes fuel for warmth, but any reduction on this account would be small.

(*ii*) It is generally assumed by Public Assistance Committees in London that 5s. is the amount of rent which can normally be paid out of Unemployment Benefit.

(*iii*) Costs will be higher than the above when fewer numbers are being catered for, and probably not rise quite proportionately as numbers increase.

(*iv*) In many of the larger families there may be earners.

RESOURCES OTHER THAN UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT

In view of the very small margin available for all but the smallest families, it is important to consider to what extent unemployed families have resources other than Unemployment Benefit or other grants based on the Unemployment Benefit scale.

The following table gives certain facts as regards transitional payments in London for the four weeks ending February 25th, 1933.

TRANSITIONAL BENEFIT CASES DEALT WITH IN LONDON IN THE FOUR WEEKS ENDING 25TH FEBRUARY, 1933

Claims	*Nil* determinations	Partial determinations	Maximum determinations
40,780	6,730	8,244	25,806 (or 63% of the total claims)

"Maximum determinations" are the granting of the same amount as that allowed for Unemployment Benefit: "Partial determinations" are the granting of amounts less than the above; "*Nil* determinations" are the refusal of any grant.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE CASES DEALT WITH IN LONDON IN WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 25TH, 1933

Total able-bodied cases	Assisted by Relieving Officers	Assisted by Committees	Cases drawing Transitional Payments
92,150	1,586	7,629	1,421

A certain proportion of those drawing both Public Assistance and Transitional Payments really only receive interim help from the Public Assistance Authorities. When an applicant is believed to be entitled to Transitional Payments, but the amount may be doubtful, and, in any case, the determination has not actually been made, it is the practice of Public Assistance Committees to adjourn consideration of the case and to ask the Relieving Officer to deal with the case if help is required before the Transitional Payment becomes due. The remainder of those drawing both Transitional Payments and Public Assistance, amounting say to 1,000, must in fact have been drawing maximum Transitional Payments. All those drawing less than the maximum would certainly not be granted Public Assistance, as the Public Assistance Committees would be bound to take into account the means which caused a determination less than the maximum to be made, and those means would disqualify them from receiving Public Assistance.

It follows, therefore, that less than four per cent. of those drawing maximum Transitional Payments also draw Public Assistance.

Now those drawing maximum Transitional Payments must have fallen into one of four classes :

(*a*) Those with small families and low rent with no means beyond the Transitional Payments, but for whom maximum Transitional Payments should in the opinion of Public Assistance Committees suffice.

(*b*) Those with larger families and/or larger rent, with some small additional means which would not be taken fully into account by the committee determining the Transitional Payments to be made. For instance, a family with a young earner drawing 15s. a week or less will only be liable to a small deduction, if any, from their Transitional Payments, while the actual cost of the earners' food and clothing might be substantially less than the amount left to him. If the earner were allowed little or no pocket money there would be a margin left which would enable a higher rent than 5s. to be paid, or which would provide nourishment on the *Week-end Review* scale for other members of the family.

(*c*) Families drawing Public Assistance in addition to Transitional Payments.

(*d*) Families with no other means than Transitional Payments unable, owing either to rent or the size of their family, to provide nourishment for their children on the *Week-end Review* scale, who have either not applied for supplementary Public Assistance, or who have applied and been refused.

The total of the four classes in London was 25,806 in the period under consideration—class (*c*) amounted to approximately 1,000. There is no means of subdividing the remainder into classes (*a*), (*b*), and (*d*), but it is quite certain that (*d*) must be a much larger class than (*c*). It must be remembered that the practice in London as regards Public Assistance grants additional to Unemployment Benefit or Transitional Payments is almost certainly

more liberal than in the country as a whole. In the fourth quarter of 1932 85,418 unemployed persons insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts were in receipt of Public Assistance in England and Wales. The number drawing either Unemployment Benefit or Transitional Payment at that time was very little short of 2½ million. The 85,418 drawing Public Assistance included not only those receiving maximum Transitional Payments, as well as Public Assistance, as in the figures quoted for London, but also those drawing both Unemployment Benefit and Public Assistance and those drawing Public Assistance pending the adjudication of their claims under the Insurance Acts.

LARGE FAMILIES AND EFFECT OF HIGH RENT

One is forced, therefore, to the conclusion that there must be a very large number of families whose standard of nourishment for their children is below the *Week-end Review* scale, especially when unemployment is prolonged. (Certain examples of such families are shown in Appendix IV on page 109.) The effects on the health of the family produced by the long continuance of such conditions can be ascertained only when circumstances permit of their being studied in isolation from other possible contributory causes. We are much impressed by the recently-published report of the Medical Officer of Stockton-on-Tees, which embodies the results of such a study. He found a marked increase of mortality in a community living under such conditions, and for this increase no reason was discoverable except the inadequacy of the margins left for food after expenditure on rent and other necessary items. There will be very special difficulties in the case of really large families. It is clear from the tables set out at the bottom of page 46 that such families, where Unemployment Benefit, Transitional

Payments, or Public Assistance provide their only means of support, will have smaller margins beyond the minimum food requirements of the *Week-end Review* scale than families of normal size will have. In addition, it is almost certain that they will be paying a higher rent than in the case of smaller families, while the practice of limiting normal Public Assistance to £2 per week will make it more difficult for them to get supplementary Public Assistance in addition to the other benefits, even if they decide to apply for such help. Such cases must, indeed, demand special consideration, as any additional help given to them must involve the possibility that families of the lowest grades of earners will be as well off when the father is idle as when he is employed. It is important, therefore, that the steps taken to help these families should consist as much as possible of help to the children in kind and not of additional money payments to the father. In our opinion the best method of helping them is through school meals, and we would urge the importance of every possible step being taken to ensure that school meals should be available for as many as possible of the children of families of the type we have been considering. Unless school meals are available it is certain that there is a very great danger of under-nutrition.

School meals will not completely solve the problem where it is complicated by high rent, and under the existing practice in most places there will be difficulties in the holiday period. Only in Liverpool is reference made in the replies to meals being granted during the holidays, but this practice is permitted by the law, and it seems desirable that more advantage should be taken of this permission.

The above refers to the very special difficulties of large families. With families of a more normal size the real difficulties arise from rent. In the case of families occupying council houses it should be possible to introduce a system

of rent differentiation on the lines suggested in the previous chapter. For those occupying private houses this is clearly impossible and risk of malnutrition to children can only be avoided by a system of supplementary grants such as those made to the 1,000 families in London, referred to on page 48, drawing both Transitional Payments and Public Assistance. We have already referred to the importance of these grants being made in a form which will remove the stigma at present attaching to Public Assistance, and we hope that this will be secured by the new Bill promised by the Government.

CHAPTER IV

SCHOOL MEALS

EMPHASIS has been laid in the previous chapters on the importance of school meals not only for their actual value to the individual child, but as providing almost the only means by which differentiation can be made by State action between the needs of different types of families. Special need may be due to higher rents in consideration of which Public Assistance has either been refused or not applied for, or to a large number of children in a family.

The possibility of such differentiation through school meals is in fact recognised in the practice of some Public Authorities. For instance, in Wolverhampton free meals are allowed for the children where the family income, after deduction of rent and payment for clubs, is less than 6s. per head per week. Where the family income is over 6s. but not more than 6s. 6d. a deduction of 6d. per week is made. Where the family income is over 6s. 6d. and not more than 7s. a charge of 1s. per week is made. Where the family income is over 7s. a charge of 3d. per meal is made. At Cardiff, dinners and milk are provided when the family income, after payment of rent, is below 7s. per head per week when there are two persons in family; 6s. in the case of three or four; and 5s. in the case of five or more. In the case of Bradford, a still more elaborate scheme is in existence, which is set out on the next page.

City of Bradford Education Committee

Provision of School Meals

No. of persons in family	No. of children for whom meals are required	Meals to be granted free or at part cost when the total family income after deducting rent and rates does not exceed the figures in the table							
		Breakfasts & dinners free	Dinners free	Meals at part cost					
				½d.	1d.	1½d.	2d.	2½d.	3d.
2	1	12/–	18/–	19/–	20/–	21/–	22/–	23/–	24/–
3	1	16/6	23/–	24/–	25/–	26/–	27/–	28/–	29/–
	2			24/6	25/6	26/6	27/6	28/6	29/6
4	1	19/–	26/8	27/8	28/8	29/8	30/8	31/8	32/8
	2			28/2	29/2	30/2	31/2	32/2	33/2
	3			28/8	29/8	30/8	31/8	32/8	33/8
5	1	20/–	29/6	30/6	31/6	32/6	33/6	34/6	35/6
	2			31/–	32/–	33/–	34/–	35/–	36/–
	3			31/6	32/6	33/6	34/6	35/6	36/6
	4			32/–	33/–	34/–	35/–	36/–	37/–
6	1	22/–	33/–	34/–	35/–	36/–	37/–	38/–	39/–
	2			34/6	35/6	36/6	37/6	38/6	39/6
	3			35/–	36/–	37/–	38/–	39/–	40/–
	4			35/6	36/6	37/6	38/6	39/6	40/6
	5			36/–	37/–	38/–	39/–	40/–	41/–
7	1	25/8	38/6	39/6	40/6	41/6	42/6	43/6	44/6
	2			40/–	41/–	42/–	43/–	44/–	45/–
	3			40/6	41/6	42/6	43/6	44/6	45/6
	4			41/–	42/–	43/–	44/–	45/–	46/–
	5			41/6	42/6	43/6	44/6	45/6	46/6
	6			42/–	43/–	44/–	45/–	46/–	47/–
8	1	29/4	44/–	45/–	46/–	47/–	48/–	49/–	50/–
	2			45/6	46/6	47/6	48/6	49/6	50/6
	3			46/–	47/–	48/–	49/–	50/–	51/–
	4			46/6	47/6	48/6	49/6	50/6	51/6
	5			47/–	48/–	49/–	50/–	51/–	52/–
	6			47/6	48/6	49/6	50/6	51/6	52/6

No. of persons in family	No. of children for whom meals are required	Meals to be granted free or at part cost when the total family income after deducting rent and rates does not exceed the figures in the table							
		Breakfasts & dinners free	Dinners free	Meals at part cost					
				½d.	1d.	1½d.	2d.	2½d.	3d.
9	1	33/–	49/6	50/6	51/6	52/6	53/6	54/6	55/6
	2			51/–	52/–	53/–	54/–	55/–	56/–
	3			51/6	52/6	53/6	54/6	55/6	56/6
	4			52/–	53/–	54/–	55/–	56/–	57/–
	5			52/6	53/6	54/6	55/6	56/6	57/6
	6			53/–	54/–	55/–	56/–	57/–	58/–
10	1	36/8	55/–	56/–	57/–	58/–	59/–	60/–	61/–
	2			56/6	57/6	58/6	59/6	60/6	61/6
	3			57/–	58/–	59/–	60/–	61/–	62/–
	4			57/6	58/6	59/6	60/6	61/6	62/6
	5			58/–	59/–	60/–	61/–	62/–	63/–
	6			58/6	59/6	60/6	61/6	62/6	63/6
11	1	40/4	60/6	61/6	62/6	63/6	64/6	65/6	66/6
	2			62/–	63/–	64/–	65/–	66/–	67/–
	3			62/6	63/6	64/6	65/6	66/6	67/6
	4			63/–	64/–	65/–	66/–	67/–	68/–
	5			63/6	64/6	65/6	66/6	67/6	68/6
	6			64/–	65/–	66/–	67/–	68/–	69/–
12	1	44/–	66/–	67/–	68/–	69/–	70/–	71/–	72/–
	2			67/6	68/6	69/6	70/6	71/6	72/6
	3			68/–	69/–	70/–	71/–	72/–	73/–
	4			68/6	69/6	70/6	71/6	72/6	73/6
	5			69/–	70/–	71/–	72/–	73/–	74/–
	6			69/6	70/6	71/6	72/6	73/6	74/6

SPECIAL QUESTIONNAIRE TO SELECTED LOCALITIES

In view of the importance which they attach to the question of school meals, the Enquiry Committee picked out a number of places which, from the information received, appear to be typical, and where they felt from the replies that the authorities were interested in the enquiry, and would be willing to help further. These authorities were asked

to fill in a further form which the experience gained from the examination of the first replies showed to be suitable for standardising certain types of information. These replies are shown on pages 84-96 of this report.

The tables on pages 57 and 58 analyse the more important facts set out in the actual replies. Table A shows the unemployment percentages for these towns in 1927 and at the beginning of 1933. It also shows the percentage of children in the schools receiving school meals in 1927, 1931, and 1932, and the proportion of those examined at routine inspections found to be subnormal in nutrition. Table B gives the actual numbers on which the school meals and malnutrition percentages are based.

NATURE OF COMPARISONS POSSIBLE

It is not claimed that all these statistics are strictly comparable, and, in fact, from their very nature, they cannot be so. The unemployment statistics show the percentage of the unemployed, whether insured or uninsured but registered at the Labour Exchanges, to the total insured population in the areas. It follows that any area where the proportion of uninsured to insured is high will tend to show a higher percentage of unemployment than an area where the proportion of uninsured to insured is low. The effect of this must be to vitiate any comparison between town and country, but even among towns it is obvious that the nature of the industries in particular towns must affect the proportion of insured to uninsured, so that no exact comparison of unemployment percentages is possible.

When we come to school meals we have had to decide how to show the variations due to milk only being provided in certain places, meals only in others, and milk and meals in yet others. We have adopted the system of dividing the number of children receiving milk by two and adding the

Continued on page 59.

TABLE A

Locality	Percentage of Unemployed		Proportion of Numbers getting School Meals to Numbers in the Schools			Proportion of Malnutrition to Routine Inspections		
	1927	1933	1927	1931	1932	1927	1931	1932
A.								
Bradford	8.8	17.9	5.2	15.1	15.2	5.4	7.0	4.5
Burnley	11.4	24.2	1.8	5.5	10.1	.05	.5	.6
Cardiff	14.3	31.6	.9	2.5	5.6	1.1	.7	.8
Coventry	3.3	14.0	2.9	12.6	20.3	11.4	6.8	6.8
Glasgow	16.5	33.0	1.9	2.3	3.7	5.5	4.1	3.9
Manchester	9.0	17.7	4.1	7.6	8.3	1.2	.8	.8
Newcastle-upon-Tyne ..	18.5	28.4	5.4	9.1	10.4	20.5	14.8	17.2
Oldham	10.6	30.9	1.9	11.5	17.2	4.4	2.9	.8
South Shields	25.2	45.1	4.8	3.5	5.5	6.3	3.6	3.9
B.								
Leeds	10.4	20.9	.7	2.3	3.8	9.3	11.0	9.2
Rhondda	29.0	40.7	*Nil*	14.0	16.8	5.2	3.9	5.7
Rotherham	7.2	28.9	*Nil*	5.7	5.0	5.0	3.0	4.9
Wigan	16.2	28.3	*Nil*	1.5	1.6	1.3	1.0	1.7
C.								
Bootle	15.7	30.9	.7	2.7	4.1	.4	2.6	3.2
Merthyr Tydfil	46.8	53.3	2.2	9.9	11.5	2.3	5.9	13.0
Middlesbrough	18.0	44.5	1.0	*Nil*	4.2	.6	4.6	6.6
Pontypridd	26.8	58.2	*Nil*	3.6	3.9	.4	15.7	21.0
D.								
Nottinghamshire	8.2	18.8	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	.4	.5	.5
Walsall	13.1	27.8	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	1.9	.4	.4

TABLE B

Locality	SCHOOL MEALS						NUTRITION					
	Numbers in Schools 1927	Numbers fed 1927	Numbers in Schools 1931	Numbers fed 1931	Numbers in Schools 1932	Numbers fed 1932	Routine Inspections 1927	Sub-normal 1927	Routine Inspections 1931	Sub-normal 1931	Routine Inspections 1932	Sub-normal 1932
A.												
Coventry ..	21,250	627	23,650	2,975	25,000	5,073	6,689	763	7,157	488	7,879	533
Bradford ..	35,797	1,873	36,612	5,510	36,688	5,590	16,514	897	18,331	1,289	17,635	797
Manchester ..	114,921	4,739	114,108	8,608	114,678	9,536	32,503	394	30,774	233	32,566	245
Cardiff	35,016	316	35,367	889	35,531	2,004	10,076	106	11,527	85	9,671	81
Burnley	13,634	245	13,209	721	13,247	1,336	4,187	2	4,635	23	4,877	29
Glasgow ..	177,758	3,500	181,763	4,157	183,757	6,724	46,511	2,568	53,565	2,224	50,711	[illegible]
Oldham	19,725	356	18,366	2,113	18,485	3,287	6,060	264	4,970	134	5,495	[illegible]
South Shields	21,614	1,032	21,116	741	21,172	1,155	7,157	452	7,108	256	7,092	276
Newcastle-u.-T.	45,644	2,490	45,000	4,092	44,591	4,871	15,067	3,089	[illegible]	2,299	15,672	2,593
B.												
Rotherham ..	12,029	*Nil*	11,911	682	12,003	601	3,639	182	4,012	120	4,046	198
Leeds	81,510	606	80,211	1,825	80,798	3,037	22,413	2,080	21,384	2,356	24,015	2,200
Wigan	13,605	*Nil*	13,406	200	13,676	225	4,272	56	4,133	43	4,561	78
Rhondda ..	32,519	*Nil*	29,024	4,065	28,253	4,746	9,743	510	8,331	329	8,881	508
C.												
Bootle	12,010	85	11,615	315	11,699	485	3,751	13	3,425	89	3,777	120
Middlesbrough	23,882	234	24,661	*Nil*	24,973	1,044	7,665	48	9,276	431	8,460	555
Merthyr Tydfil	14,762	328	13,401	1,333	13,180	1,515	4,535	105	3,723	218	3,530	458
Pontypridd ..	9,272	*Nil*	8,866	322	8,812	348	2,741	11	1,917	301	2,060	433
D.												
Nott'hamshire	51,943	*Nil*	54,728	*Nil*	55,432	*Nil*	24,608	100	26,049	117	27,064	145
Walsall	17,064	*Nil*	17,243	*Nil*	17,618	*Nil*	5,691	106	4,780	20	5,257	21

N.B.—In order to obtain a fair comparison between localities, the number of children receiving milk has been divided by two, milk thus being treated as half a meal.

Continued from page 56.

result to those receiving meals, and have therefore treated milk as half a meal. But the practice of the medical officers answering our questionnaire has not been entirely uniform, and it is possible that in certain places milk is given with meals without being shown separately. This appears to be the case in Glasgow. We have ignored the amount of meals or milk given from charitable sources; we have ignored meals or milk paid for by the parents; and we have ignored meals and milk paid for by the parents at less than the full cost of the meal. In view of these qualifications it is obvious that comparison between one place and another may be unfair, but that the comparison between one year and another in the same place is much more reliable.

There is one other reason for thinking that the statistics as to school meals may not be altogether comparable. It is obvious that the efficiency of the School Care Committees where they exist must vary to a very large extent. It is an unfortunate fact that such committees seem to exist outside London to a very limited extent. Where these committees are responsible for deciding which children should receive meals and in arriving at their decisions go really thoroughly into individual cases, it is obvious that a smaller number of meals may be more effective than a larger number in places where the meals are granted without so much consideration of the circumstances of each individual family.

On the question of malnutrition comparisons between the two years in the same place can as a rule be fairly made, though a change of medical officer may mean a change of view as to what constitutes malnutrition. Comparisons between localities, on the other hand, must only be made with considerable caution, as standards of malnutrition may vary very much. Some places classify the children as "above normal", "normal", "below normal", and

"bad", others merely classify as "normal" or "sub-normal". It seems at least possible that where there are two classes for children below normal more children will be put into the higher of these two classes than would be the case where there is only one sub-normal class. In view of these possible causes of error and of the possibility that individual medical officers have interpreted our questions in a somewhat different way, we do not feel that comparisons can safely be made between particular places, but it is safe to say that the general trend of nutrition as between the three years is brought out by the tables. From this point of view it would appear that the places specified can be divided into four categories, and we have, in fact, shown them in these categories in the tables on pages 57 and 58.

CLASSIFICATION OF LOCALITIES INCLUDED IN TABLES

Category A consists of towns where though unemployment has increased it is not on the highest level, where there has been a marked increase in the provision of school meals, and where either the malnutrition percentage is definitely satisfactory, or there has been a marked reduction in malnutrition. It should be noted that in the case of Cardiff and Glasgow, the percentage given for school meals probably does not quite fairly represent what is being done. In the case of Cardiff the figure represents the average numbers of children per week receiving meals, in other cases it may be the average number of children receiving some meals in the year. As many children will receive meals for part of the year only, the second method will show a higher percentage. In the case of Glasgow, milk is definitely excluded, but some appears to be given, while an addition should be made for which we have not got the information to assess, for meals paid for by the Public Assistance Authorities and not by the Education Authorities.

South Shields is included in this category in spite of the high unemployment figures because of the large drop in malnutrition due, no doubt, to the liberal school meal policy followed.

In the second category, B, we have included places where as a rule the unemployment percentage is higher, where there has been on the whole an increase in school meals, but where the nutrition is definitely not as satisfactory as in the first category.

Category C consists of places with a high unemployment figure and an increase in malnutrition despite an increase in school meals.

The fourth category, D, consists of places where no provision is made.

Category A therefore includes places where the provision of school meals has not only been sufficient to counteract increased unemployment, but has definitely improved nutritional conditions ; in Category B the increase in school meals has more or less balanced the effect of unemployment but has not been sufficient for a definite improvement to be recorded ; Category C contains places where the increase in school meals has been insufficient to counteract the effects of increased unemployment and there has been a definite falling-off in nutrition ; Category D covers places where no provision for school meals is made.

The comparisons on which these classifications are based are comparisons between 1927 and 1932. It will, however, be noted that in the great majority of cases 1932 is worse than 1931. Only in four places—Oldham, Bradford, Leeds, and Glasgow—are the malnutrition figures less in 1932 than in 1931, and only in Bradford and Oldham, where the increase in school meals has been greatest, is there a substantial improvement recorded in 1932 as compared with 1931. In the cases of Coventry, Manchester, and Walsall

there is no change. In the other twelve places shown on the table there is deterioration. It is difficult not to associate this deterioration with the reduction in the scale of Unemployment Benefits introduced in 1932.

GENERAL INFORMATION AS TO VARIATIONS IN SCHOOL MEALS POLICY

We publish on pages 97-108 information as to a larger number of places, including most of those to whom the special questionnaire was sent, showing the general policy adopted as to school meals, and a few notes as to any special facts which it has seemed worth recording. This information is classified under various districts for which we have information as to the amount of unemployment, the unemployment percentages being given at the top of each section. It should be noted, however, that this classification is not exact, certain places being included in a general neighbourhood to which they are similar, though they may not technically form part of that neighbourhood. The reason for this is that we have not felt we could ask the Ministry of Labour to give us too much detailed information in view of the very large amount of help we have had from them.

In many of these cases we have not had a sufficiently clear reply to the question as to whether nutritional standards have been maintained or not for opinion as to this to be shown in a tabular form. In certain cases statistics are given and these are generally shown in the notes column of our tables. In other cases it is a matter of individual opinion, and the personal factor of the authority giving the opinion comes into the matter so largely that it would be rash to invite comparisons between one place and another. It can, however, be said that there is a very strong consensus of opinion that it is the provision of school meals and/or milk which has prevented worse

consequences to the children as the result of unemployment. Some authorities consider that school meals have prevented any serious consequences, others that there is increased malnutrition, but that school meals have lessened very considerably the amount of malnutrition that would otherwise have existed.

We would draw particular attention to the information given in these tables, showing the variations in practice in this question of school meals and/or milk between the different localities. It will be seen that the practice of Local Authorities varies in marked degree. In some places meals are given to all who are recommended for additional nourishment by the medical authorities, in others only milk is given. Sometimes the decision depends on the income of the parents, and provision is made for meals or milk either free or on payment or on part payment, according to what it is felt can be afforded, as in the instances quoted above. An interesting variation is at Rotherham, where milk is provided for all children certified by the Medical Officer as on the border-line of malnutrition, when income, after rent is deducted, does not exceed 8s. per head per week.

In some cases the locality of the actual school may be the deciding factor in the practice followed. The Local Authority may decide to make provision for meals in certain schools, children in other schools in the neighbourhood requiring meals may be sent to this centre, but there may be schools at a distance from the centre where the number of children requiring meals is insufficient to justify the setting up of a special organisation. Under such circumstances milk only may be given, or possibly nothing.

There are very few authorities where nothing is done to provide either milk or meals. Only two areas to whom the second questionnaire was sent, in fact, do nothing.

In one instance, Walsall, the question of providing milk or meals was discussed by the Local Education Committee, and it was decided that in view of the benefits provided by charitable efforts no provision by the Local Authorities was necessary. The other case is County Nottingham. Here we have no information as to the reason for the decision of the Local Education Committee to do nothing, except the known fact that Nottinghamshire mines are among the most prosperous in the country, but it is obvious that the difficulty of making arrangements for meals, and to a certain extent milk is very much greater in the case of counties than in the case of boroughs. Schools are less concentrated, conditions vary very much more, and the risk that individual schools may not get the provision they ought to is proportionately greater. This applies particularly to villages where the numbers of children for whom special provision may be required may be extremely small, and in view of the difficulty of providing an organisation to deal with them in such places there is a special danger of their being overlooked.

The provision, however, of meals or milk in any one area does not necessarily mean that all the children in that area whose standard of nutrition calls for extra nourishment do in fact receive it. As stated above, there may be areas where provision is made, but where an individual school is too far from a centre, and the numbers in that school requiring meals are insufficient to justify the setting up of a special organisation. It has not been possible to collect reliable information on this question. It would involve a far more detailed enquiry into local administration than could be undertaken by this committee. Nor is it practicable to enquire into the reasons which have actuated Local Authorities in their decisions in this matter. In many places, no doubt, unemployment is not really serious in the

particular area served by the particular school, and provision is really unnecessary.

On the whole it would appear that where unemployment is highest the greatest provision is made for school meals, but it is impossible to reconcile altogether the variation in the numbers fed with the unemployment figures, and the Enquiry Committee cannot get away from the feeling that there are many schools in which children really require extra nourishment, and the arrangements for providing it are either inadequate or non-existent. If this is true it is not because the statutory power to give meals is lacking, but because the Local Authorities have decided not to provide the meals. It has obviously not been possible for this committee to investigate the reasons for such decisions, nor are they the appropriate body to make such an investigation, but it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that unless there is constant enquiry by the Board of Education (School Medical Service) there will always be Local Authorities who will take too low a view of the amount of the provision they should make for school meals and milk.

ADEQUACY OF PROVISION OF SCHOOL MEALS

It is abundantly clear that one effect of increased unemployment has been a substantial increase in the amount of school meals which it has been necessary to provide. We trust that this will be recognised in the proposals to be presented to Parliament in the autumn and that the provision of school meals, in so far as the necessity for them is due to unemployment, will be treated as part of the cost of unemployment, which should be borne by the State and not by the Local Authorities.

CHAPTER V

SCHOOL LIFE

THE effect of unemployment on school life is closely connected with the question of school meals. The number of instances in which any lowering of standards of school work or changes in curriculum are mentioned are very few, and it would probably be wrong to attach too much importance to these few instances, but in a large number of replies it is suggested that it is only because of the provision of school meals that it has been possible to maintain standards. Lassitude is reported far more often, but here again it is more often stated that lassitude has been prevented by school meals than that there has been an increase in lassitude. The quotation on page 41, Chapter III, from a letter from a teacher in a Welsh school, is most significant and is typical of a large number of replies.

In one instance lassitude is definitely associated with employment outside school hours. It is evident that the great majority of the Education Authorities attempt to keep a close control of such employment, though there are occasional suggestions of employment without permit, and apparently the individual employer is not always easy to control. It is clearly right that control in this matter should be strictly exercised. There may be individual cases where the benefit to be got from the earnings is greater than the harm done by the strain put on the child, but the risk that such work will put an undue strain on the school child, resulting in increased lassitude, is obviously considerable. This appears to be generally recognised, and in very few instances is an actual increase in such employment recorded.

School attendance seems to be generally well maintained owing no doubt to the efficiency of the school attendance officers. The instances where a falling off in this respect are mentioned are negligible. In these cases two reasons are given. Firstly, when school meals are provided, there is a definite incentive to come to school; secondly, in nearly every area where unemployment is at all serious arrangements for providing boots for necessitous children seem to exist, generally from voluntary sources. Boots are clearly the difficulty. Non-attendance appears to be frequently caused by lack of adequate footwear in bad weather, but the cause is generally ascertained quickly and steps taken to provide the absentee with suitable footwear. In this connection the prevalence of boot-repairing as a staple occupation for the unemployed at training centres is worth noting.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

While the replies show that school attendance is well maintained, there is a possibility that the causes of such absence as there is have changed. In prosperous times absence may be due to high spirits or encouragement by parents who have money to spare—in hard times these incentives to absence must disappear while school meals may be a definite inducement to attend. A maintenance of the standard of attendance may therefore be combined with an increase in the numbers unable to attend for reasons arising out of unemployment. This is not a point mentioned in any of the replies we have received, but in view of the number of correspondents who mention the prevalence of bad footwear, and the obvious difficulty of insuring that boots are provided as soon as they are needed, it would seem at least possible that even where school attendance as a whole has improved the amount of absence due to poverty has increased.

The replies, therefore, to the questions asked on the subject of school life may be taken as being definitely reassuring, not so much because they reveal an absence of difficulties arising out of unemployment, as because they show that those difficulties have been recognised and largely catered for. Again we have to recognise the importance of school meals and the danger that where these are not provided a certain number of children will not get the benefit they should from school attendance. Again, we must recognise that this is more likely to be the case with large families who have no income apart from Unemployment Benefit, Transitional Payments, or Public Assistance. We would draw special attention to the importance of the School Medical Service, and the periodic inspections of school children carried out by the medical officers. The difficulties of their task are great and comparable statistics are difficult to obtain. Much depends on the opinion of the individual medical officer, while the time when inspections are carried out may affect the results. One medical officer refers to the difference between children on Monday morning after a day's rest and a Sunday dinner, and on Friday afternoon when the family cash is exhausted. Much again may depend on the powers of resistance of individual children; another refers to malnutrition necessitating school meals being found in only one member of a family who all got the same food at home. It is rash, therefore, to deduce too much from statistics in any one place, but the cumulative evidence does seem to be that so long as the efficiency of the School Medical Service is maintained it should be possible to maintain school standards.

IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL MEALS AND SCHOOL MEDICAL SERVICES

Information as to the effect of the depression on school life in a number of places is to be found in the tables on pages 97-108.

CHAPTER VI

JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT

A TABLE is given on the next page setting out the ratios of juvenile unemployment and unemployment as a whole in certain areas. It is important to make it clear that these percentages are not a true comparison as between one place and another. They are the percentages of the unemployed both insured and uninsured registered at the Labour Exchanges to the total number of insured workers. Hence the percentage of unemployment may be lower in a place where the bulk of the workers are insured than in a place where comparatively few are insured, although actually conditions are much worse in the former place. Further, as the proportion of uninsured juveniles, especially girls, to the insured, is higher than in the case of adults, it follows that the percentages in the case of juveniles show an unduly bad picture as compared with the adults.

Except for London, where the figures relate to residents in the area, the figures represent the numbers of unemployed persons on registers of the Employment Exchanges in each area, expressed as percentages of the insured population estimated from the numbers of unemployment books exchanged at those Employment Exchanges.

It will be noted that the percentage of juvenile employment as compared with unemployment as a whole is

Continued on page 71.

Numbers of Unemployed Persons on the Registers of Employment Exchanges in the undermentioned areas, expressed as percentages of the insured population

Area	Percentage Unemployed					
	1927			February, 1933		
	Juveniles	Adults	Total	Juveniles	Adults	Total
Clydeside District—						
Glasgow	14.0	14.2	16.5	23.2	29.3	33.0
County of Lanark ..	13.0	13.4	15.5	26.2	30.1	34.6
Greenock	13.4	21.6	26.3	39.3	36.5	45.0
Tyneside and County Durham—						
Middlesbrough ..	9.9	14.3	18.0	39.3	34.7	44.5
South Shields ..	22.2	19.2	25.2	41.0	36.1	45.1
Newcastle-on-Tyne	12.9	14.7	18.5	27.4	23.5	28.4
Durham County ..	16.2	19.4	26.2	32.0	34.5	43.6
Yorkshire—						
Bradford	5.7	8.7	8.9	4.9	17.4	17.9
Leeds	3.3	10.0	10.4	4.3	20.3	20.9
Dewsbury	16.0	9.5	13.7	20.5	26.4	26.7
Rotherham	14.1	8.1	7.2	25.3	27.0	28.9
Lancashire—						
Liverpool (inc. Bootle)	17.2	12.5	15.7	22.2	26.5	30.9
Burnley	4.1	11.8	11.4	17.0	29.4	24.2
Wigan	11.6	17.3	16.2	17.0	26.4	28.3
Oldham	4.3	10.7	10.6	15.9	30.2	30.9
Manchester	8.9	8.5	9.0	10.5	16.9	17.7
Midlands—						
Coventry	0.7	3.5	3.3	5.5	13.8	14.0
Birmingham	3.9	10.1	9.5	19.7	14.6	15.5
Wolverhampton ..	6.6	12.8	11.6	21.8	23.8	27.3
Walsall	10.4	12.3	13.1	15.5	24.9	27.8
Stoke	5.2	12.7	11.1	11.0	31.0	29.3
Nottinghamshire ..	2.7	7.7	8.2	8.0	16.7	18.8
South Wales and Monmouthshire—						
Cardiff	12.9	11.9	14.3	21.7	27.3	31.6
Pontypridd	26.2	17.8	46.8	31.6	43.3	58.2
Rhondda	9.2	21.0	29.0	35.2	38.8	40.7
Merthyr Tydfil ..	25.6	34.8	46.8	38.6	45.3	53.3
Monmouthshire ..	12.1	10.7	22.4	25.7	33.4	41.7
South of England—						
Southampton ..	14.9	12.8	8.7	24.0	20.2	24.2
London (Administrative County and City)*	4.2	5.5	6.0	6.6	13.4	14.2

* Percentages of *total* population.

Continued from page 69.

CARDIFF: JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE'S REPORT

specially high in South Wales. Particular interest, therefore, attaches to the report which has been received from the Juvenile Employment Committee of the Cardiff Education Committee. It is interesting to note that this is the Seventeenth Annual Report of this body, and that the Junior Instruction Centre has now been in existence for eight years. Obviously juvenile unemployment is no new problem in Cardiff, as an organisation has been in being for many years to deal with it. The Cardiff experience, therefore, is particularly valuable.

There is one very gloomy feature which is emphasised by the committee—numbers on the live register kept by the committee have been steadily increasing. In 1928 there were 691; in 1929, 750. A slight drop in 1930 to 710 was followed by a rise to 907 in 1931, and 1,055 in 1932. This is not the worst of the picture, for the committee points out that the position is proportionately worse than appears from these figures, as the restricted birth-rate consequent upon the war years has involved a greatly-decreased number of school-leavers in recent years. According to the committee, this factor would still have been operating in 1932, but from 1933 until 1937 the effect of an increased birth-rate in the years following the war will be shown in an increased number of school-leavers. Consequently unless there is an increased demand for juvenile labour a considerable increase in juvenile unemployment must be looked for in the next few years.

EFFECT OF WAR ON BIRTH-RATE; SUBSEQUENT NUMBERS ENTERING INDUSTRY

It is the policy of this Cardiff Committee to encourage boys and girls to remain on at school after the age of

fourteen when employment cannot be found for them. It is stated that in respect of the school term ending July, 1932, approximately 850 boys and girls were eligible to leave school, but at the end of the first week of the succeeding school term 226 of these had returned to school. Fourteen weeks later this number had been reduced to 123, the remaining 103 having presumably found employment. We would draw special attention to the importance of retaining unemployed juveniles at school in this manner whenever it is possible to do so.

RETENTION OF UNEMPLOYED JUVENILES AT SCHOOL

It is interesting to note that the committee was able to secure an arrangement by which children under sixteen who were unemployed or drawing less than 10s. per week were allowed to travel on the trams at half price. This was a great benefit to juveniles looking for employment or visiting the committee's offices.

CARDIFF EXPERIENCE

In the year reviewed the number of juveniles placed by the committee declined by 445, but against this must be set an increase of 134 in those placed direct from school.

A reference is made to migration, and it appears that sixty-five boys and forty-seven girls were placed in other areas. Migration into Cardiff was discouraged and was confined to girls from neighbouring districts coming in for domestic service.

The possibility of employment in the Dominions, which a few years ago gave considerable relief, is reported to have almost dried up.

There is an interesting note on Unemployment Insurance administration. The Cardiff employer is a careful student of Unemployment Insurance regulations and divides up the work which he is able to give among as many juveniles as

JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ADMINISTRATION

possible, standing his juvenile employees off in rotation when each has qualified for Unemployment Insurance. Consequently a large increase is reported in the number of claimants for Unemployment Insurance with the minimum of thirty contributions. This may be satisfactory from the point of view of the juveniles, but has involved an increase of £300, or eight per cent., in the amount paid out in the year and an increase of twenty-two per cent. in the number of individual payments, this in spite of reduced benefits and a reduction in the period over which Unemployment Benefit can be drawn by any one individual.

It is, however, reported from Cardiff that this policy has operated against the best interests of a considerable number of girls who are intermittently employed in certain shops, factories, and workshops. The money which they can earn when employed, together with the benefit they can draw when unemployed, appears to be sufficient to enable them to carry on. Consequently it is seldom that they can be induced to accept an alternative employment such as domestic service, in which they can be assured of constant work and a remuneration which, when added to the value of their subsistence, clearly exceeds what they can earn in their present circumstances. When, however, their benefit has been exhausted, their attitude quickly changes.

JUNIOR INSTRUCTION CENTRES

The average daily attendance at the Junior Instruction Centre was 365, made up of 195 boys and 170 girls. Some half of these were compulsory attendants under the Unemployment Benefit regulations and the others voluntary attendants. The committee report that the centre continues to be a popular institution which not only provides a useful training, increases the degree of

employability, checks deterioration of mind and spirit, but also ensures a healthy corporate life.

A similar Unemployment Insurance Bureau has been in operation in Manchester for about the same length of time as at Cardiff, and there are other such bureaux in other parts of the country. In many places, however, juvenile unemployment has only become a serious problem quite recently, and the organisation is probably not so far advanced. It is probably for this reason that the centres at such places are reported generally to be of more use in maintaining morale than in fitting those attending for employment. The importance of these bureaux and of the juvenile training courses connected with them is obvious.

BLIND ALLEY OCCUPATIONS

All reports received refer to the very large amount of "blind alley" juvenile occupation and of the tendency of the juvenile population to drift into such employments. Organisations such as that at Cardiff, which can direct juveniles into the channels which are best for them, must be invaluable, but unfortunately the volume of unemployment at present is so great that many are forced into "blind alley" occupations because there is no other possible opening available.

Blind alley occupations may enable many children to find employment on leaving school and much of the occupation available for juveniles between fourteen and sixteen is of this description. In consequence it seems to be the fact that unemployment is commoner between sixteen and eighteen than between fourteen and sixteen, especially in the case of boys, and several correspondents suggest that the necessity of making insurance payments for juveniles over sixteen is a definite factor tending to raise the incidence of unemployment at that age in all areas where juvenile unemployment is a serious problem.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

WE have pointed out in the earlier parts of this report the importance of all possible steps being taken to maintain the morale of the unemployed. The danger that an attitude of despondency and inertia among the parents will affect the children is obvious. The extent of the danger must depend on the nature of unemployment at any time.

We have shown that the numbers of those unemployed for long periods seem to be increasing, and it is among these that the danger of loss of morale is most serious, though the spirit in which the bulk of the population has faced the problems of unemployment has been most admirable.

Moreover, it is certain that unless there is a quick revival there must be an increase in the next four years in the numbers of the unemployed, involving presumably an increase in the numbers of those habitually unemployed. This must follow on the increased numbers of the entrants into industry to be expected in the next few years as the result of the relatively high birth-rate in the years immediately after the war. It must be remembered that during the last few years the entrants into industry have been reduced in numbers owing to the lower birth-rate in the later years of the war.

With this danger ahead it is certain that the necessity of maintaining morale will become increasingly important. The number of replies we have received stating that new occupational and training centres are being set up indicate that their value is generally recognised, but we would again

emphasise our sense of their importance. Some precautions are, of course, necessary to ensure that production from these centres is not put on to the market in a way that involves unfair competition with the product of normally employed labour.

In its questionnaire the committee asked various questions as to how the children of to-day compare with those of 1925. There is naturally a great variety in the answers, but it can be definitely stated that there has been no general deterioration. In a large number of answers it is stated that clothing is worse, which is only to be expected when the small margins available for so many families, as set out on page 46, are borne in mind. In the majority of answers it is stated that discipline and manners have improved. The indications as to nutrition are much less definite. In this respect it is difficult to rely entirely on statistics, even where apparently clear comparative figures are given. Too much depends on the factor of individual medical opinion and the circumstances of individual inspections for complete reliance to be placed on statistical results, though the general trend of the statistics is, of course, evidence of the greatest value.

The general trend of the statistics is best indicated by reference to the Reports of the Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education. From these it appears that in 1925 the proportion of undernourished children in the schools was 9.5 per thousand, in 1931 it was 11.2 per thousand. It is clear from the information at our disposal that there are places where there has been an improvement in this period. It must therefore be assumed that where there has been deterioration it must have been on a scale which may be much higher than that indicated for the country as a whole by Sir George Newman's reports. Both from the statistics with which we have been supplied and from the

general expressions of opinion of individual authorities we feel that while the amount of actual deterioration has not been great there are an increasing number of cases where there is a serious risk of malnutrition. It is the risk of malnutrition rather than the fact with which we are most impressed, and in this connection we would draw special attention to the large number of localities to whom our second questionnaire was sent, which show a falling off in nutrition in 1932 following on an improvement between 1927 and 1931.

From 1927 to 1931 there was an increase in unemployment, but the general fall in the cost of living and the increase in the provision of school meals appear to have largely counteracted the effect of increased unemployment.

In 1932 not only did the amount of unemployment continue to increase, but there was a reduction in the amount of benefit allowed. This may not have had a serious effect on those whose unemployment was temporary, but must have increased the risk of malnutrition for families subject to prolonged unemployment, and it is certain that there are classes where this risk is very great.

It has been shown that there are three factors which either individually or in combination constitute a risk that the children will suffer, when a family has no means beyond Unemployment Benefit, Transitional Payments, or Public Assistance on the Unemployment Benefit scale. These are : (*a*) rent beyond the figure of 5s. which it is generally considered can be paid from Unemployment Benefit ; (*b*) a large number of children ; and (*c*) children whose ages involve the need for food approximating to the adult scale. The point at which the danger line should be drawn cannot be stated with absolute exactitude—needs of individuals vary too much, and no scale of minimum food costs is

likely to command universal acceptance—but some general conclusions can be drawn.

On the scales laid down by the report of Professor Bowley's Committee to the *Week-end Review* a family of father, mother, and three children aged four, seven, and ten require 21s. for food. Their Unemployment Benefit would be 29s. 3d. If the rent be 5s. this family might be above the danger-line during a period of unemployment of three or four weeks, and below it after a long spell without work. There is obviously room for considerable difference of opinion as to the exact position of such a family, and it is probably true to suggest that it depends less on the actual amount of money at their disposal than on other factors, such as the general state of health of the family, the resources left over from previous employment, and the standard of house-keeping attained, which may in itself depend on the morale of the parents. If, however, the rent is substantially above 5s., the ages assumed for the children are higher, or a larger number of children are considered, the family clearly comes into the danger zone.

The factor which most frequently brings unemployed families into the danger zone is clearly high rent. Here there is a possibility of help if they apply for a supplementary allowance in the form of Public Assistance. It is common knowledge that many persons dislike making such applications, but the fact remains that in many cases such applications are made and granted, and that machinery exists for giving help in this way. There will always be families that will not apply, but it is important to consider whether the various authorities deal with such applications as they receive in such a way as to encourage or to discourage them. We believe that where the excess rent over 5s. is small, applications are often refused and in effect the making of such applications is discouraged. We believe

it to be a fact that when the excess is considerable, applications are generally granted in most parts of London. We have little evidence as to the practice elsewhere, but an examination of certain family budgets which we have received suggests that grants over the Unemployment Benefit scale are unusual, though they appear to have been given in certain cases. The instances of which we have knowledge are, however, too few for general conclusions to be drawn. We are of opinion that when the Government takes over full responsibility for unemployment, supplementary grants on the lines indicated above should be made wherever a high rent, in itself not unreasonable, clearly brings the family into the danger zone, and such grants can be made without infringing the principle that a family must not be better off when unemployed than when employed. There may even be a case for additional grants being given in certain instances which would infringe this principle, but while the authority dealing with the individual case must have discretion to make such grants, we consider they should only be given when there is obviously real hardship and no other means, such as school meals, can be employed to prevent hardship to the children.

Where high rent is not the main cause which brings a family into the danger zone, and the danger is due to the age or number of the children, there can in our view be no doubt that school meals provide the correct solution and that in such cases meals should be given on a scale of payment drawn up on lines similar to that adopted in Bradford as set out on pages 54 and 55 of this report. Such a scale, however, should not be automatic, but allow for consideration of the needs of individual families by the School Care Committee.

For children below school age the real danger is between two and five, and we would emphasise the point that

provision for these children at Maternity and Child Welfare Centres is an urgent matter. There is one other class to which we have not referred and as regards which we have little information—the juvenile who has left school but has not yet found employment. This class is at a stage of development where adequate nourishment is essential, but there would seem to be no special means by which they can be helped. To some extent the problem may be solved by retaining them at school, as is done at Cardiff, when they would, of course, remain eligible for school meals. Where this is impossible the solution would seem to lie in an extension of the juvenile training centres and in arrangements for the provision of meals at these centres.

We have been greatly impressed by the variations in practice of Local Authorities in regard to the provision of school meals shown by the replies. Had it not been for the recent pronouncement by the Government we should have felt bound to conclude this report by a plea for a full Parliamentary or Inter-Departmental Enquiry into the varying practices of Local Authorities, both as regards grants supplementary to normal benefits in cases where high rent, not in itself unreasonable, is the dominating factor, and as regards the provision of school meals. Now that the Government proposes to undertake full responsibility for assisting the unemployed, it is, we hope, right to presume that except where there is a real variation in local economic conditions, local variations in methods of administering the Acts will be done away with. We would urge in particular that the special expenditure involved in supplementing unemployment relief through school meals should be treated as part of the national cost of unemployment, though presumably they would still be administered by the Education Committees. We are convinced that school meals are the best way of recognising the particular

difficulties of families in the danger zone. The provision of school meals by Local Education Authorities has undoubtedly been the biggest factor in preventing serious suffering among children as the result of unemployment, and we trust that the opportunity will not be lost of ensuring that the general standard for provision of meals can be brought up to that of the towns where provision has been made on the most generous scale.

IDA S. A. HALL,
Chairman of the Enquiry Committee.

A. J. C. HUDDLESTON,
Drafter of Report.

May 23, 1933.

APPENDIX I

Table showing relation between Unemployment, Birth-rate, and Infant Mortality

Locality	Unemployment Percentage		Birth-Rate		Infant Mortality per 1,000 births	
	1927	1933	1925	1931	1925	1931
Bradford ..	8.9	17.9	16.63	13.56	95	71
Burnley	11.4	24.2	16.0	13.03	108	86
Cardiff	14.3	31.6	20.6	16.8	92	77
Coventry ..	3.3	14.0	16.3	14.8	77	57
Dewsbury ..	13.7	26.7	17.26	13.65	105	57
Co. Durham ..	26.2	43.6	23.8	19.6	101	85
Glasgow ..	16.5	33.0	23.7	21.1	102	105
Greenock ..	26.3	45.0	24.54	23.4	107	78
Leeds	10.4	20.9	17.3	14.8	91	76
Manchester ..	9.0	17.7	18.63	15.98	96	84
Merthyr Tydfil	46.8	53.3	27.5	15.9	90	105
Middlesbrough	18.0	44.5	25.7	21.36	97	100
Pontypridd ..	24.8	58.2	23.1	16.5	87	74
Rhondda ..	29.0	40.7	22.1	17.5	96	79
South Shields ..	25.2	45.1	23.9	20.7	114	115
			(1927	-19.8)	(1927	-92)
Walsall	13.1	27.8	22.06	19.54	115	74
Wolverhampton	11.6	27.3	19.2	17.1	89	69

The figures are not strictly comparable, as the unemployment figures refer to 1927 and 1933, while the birth-rate and infantile mortality rates refer to 1925 and 1931. We have had so much help from the Ministry of Labour that we have not asked them for more figures than we could help, and 1927 was a more convenient year for them to provide statistics for than 1925, while our original questionnaire to Local Authorities referred to 1925.

REPLIES TO SPECIAL QUESTIONNAIRE REG

	BOOTLE		
	1927	1931	1932 If informati available
Population	76,674	77,160	—
Number of children on Elementary School registers	12,010	11,615	11,699
Percentage of unemployment among insured workers	—	—	Men .. 3 Juveniles 2 Total .. 3
Number of children receiving meals :			
(a) Free milk provided by Education Authority	*Nil*	1930-31 34,970	1931-32 58,904
(b) Milk provided by E.A. on payment		* No provision	
	1927-28	1930-31	1931-32
(c) Free meals provided by E.A. ..	85	315	485
(d) Meals provided by E.A. on payment		No provision	
(e) Free milk provided by voluntary organisations	—	—	—
(f) Free meals provided by voluntary organisations	—	—	—
(g) Milk provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..	—	—	—
(h) Meals provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..	—	—	—
(Cocoa, cod-liver oil, etc., are included as " milk ".)			
Number of children subject to routine medical examination	3,751	3,425	3,777
Number of children found to be subnormal as regards nutrition ..	13	89	120
Please state whether the test employed was by weights or observation ..		Observation	
Amount of milk provided at Maternity and Child Welfare Centres :	1926-27	1930-31	1931-32
(a) Free	£324	£520	£625
(b) For payment	—	£1,198	£968

* Milk is provided by tradesmen for sale to children.

BRADFORD			BURNLEY		
1927	1931	1932 If information available	1927	1931	1932 If information available
293,200	300,900	—	99,270	98,259	98,259
35,797	36,612	36,688	13,634	13,209	13,247
—	—	Men .. 24.5 Juveniles 4.9 Total .. 17.9	—	—	Men .. 22.9 Juveniles 17.0 Total .. 24.2
None	None	—	None	None	None
None	None	None	None	3,600	2,995
1,873	5,510	5,590	245	721	1,336
91,474	158,639	—	None	None	None
	No information		None	None	None
None	None	None	None	None	None
	No information		None	None	None
None	None	None	None	None	None
16,514	18,331	17,635	Ele. 3,593 Sec. 694 4,187	Ele. 3,846 Sec. 789 4,635	Ele. 4,020 Sec. 857 4,877
897	1,289	797	Ele. — Sec. 2 } 2	Ele. 23 Sec. — } 23	Ele. 29 Sec. — } 29
	By observation		Both	Both	Both
£3,947 £1,863	£8,507 £1,646	£8,769 £1,485	274 cases 33,796 pts. 504 pkts. dried All free	298 cases 21,112 pts. None dried All free	Not yet available

	CARDIFF		
	1927	1931	1932 If informati available
Population	225,600 (R.G's. estimate)	223,800 (R.G's. estimate)	R.G's. estim not yet know
Number of children on Elementary School registers	35,016 (mid-year)	35,367 (mid-year)	35,531 (mid-year
Percentage of unemployment among insured workers	—	—	Men .. 3 Juveniles 2 Total .. 3
Number of children receiving meals : (*a*) Free milk provided by Education Authority	—	—	Average p week : 1,60
(*b*) Milk provided by E.A. on payment	—	—	Average p week : 1,07
(*c*) Free meals provided by E.A. ..	Avge. per week : 316	Avge. per week : 889	Average p week : 1,2
(*d*) Meals provided by E.A. on payment	—	—	—
(*e*) Free milk provided by voluntary organisations	—	—	—
(*f*) Free meals provided by voluntary organisations	—	—	—
(*g*) Milk provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..	—	—	—
(*h*) Meals provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..	—	—	—
(Cocoa, cod-liver oil, etc., are included as " milk ".)			
Number of children subject to routine medical examination	10,076	11,527	9,671‡
Number of children found to be subnormal as regards nutrition ..	106	85	81‡
Please state whether the test employed was by weights or observation ..	Wei	ght and obs	ervation
Amount of milk provided at Maternity and Child Welfare Centres : (*a*) Free .. .. (*b*) For payment	(*a*) (*i*) Fresh : 2,462 galls. (*ii*) Dried : 1,244 lb. (*b*) Dried : 37,783 lb.	(*a*) (*i*) Fresh : 7,443 galls. (*ii*) Dried : 2,364 lb. (*b*) Dried : 32,801 lb.	(*a*) (*i*) Fresh 8,448 g (*ii*) Dried 3,44 (*b*) Dried : 24,18

* Elementary † Scheme commenced in Sept., 1932. ‡ Scheme commenced in Oct., 19

COVENTRY			LEEDS		
1927	1931	1932 If information available	1927	1931	1932 If information available
139,000	169,000	182,000 (There was a boundary extension on April 1st, 1932)	477,600	486,400	—
21,250	23,650	25,000 (approx.)	81,510	80,211	80,798
—	—	Men .. 15.6 Juveniles 5.5 Total .. 14.0	—	—	Men .. 28.6 Juveniles 4.3 Total .. 20.9
Nil	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	Approx. 1,378	Approx. 1,859
Nil	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	13,688	10,018
627	2,975	5,073	Dec. 606	Dec. 1,136	Dec. 2,107
5,136	6,956	7,005	3	15	3
Nil	*Nil*	*Nil*	Free milk is supplied in certain schools by voluntary effort of teachers		
Nil	*Nil*	*Nil*	—	—	—
Nil	*Nil*	7,450	In 1931 7,893lbs. malt and cod-liver oil supplied on recommendation of M.Os. In 1932 9,522lbs. was supplied. Cocoa is also issued in many infants' schools, but number of children cannot be given		
Nil	*Nil*	*Nil*			
6,689	7,157	7,879	22,413	21,384	24,015
763	488	533	2,080	2,356	2,200
Both tests employed			For 1931 and 1932 the main criterion was the nutritional quotient—*i.e.*, relation of weight to height		
7,734lb. 14,272lb.	6,158lb. 10,922lb.	9,569lb. 10,610lb.	Dried lb. / Fresh pints 380461/2 / 23980 280601/4 / —	Dried lb.* / Fresh pints† 406631/2 / 39505 27636 / 204641/2	—

* 2,850lb. also supplied to Public Assistance cases at cost of Public Assistance Committee.
† 103 pints also supplied to Public Assistance cases at cost of Public Assistance Committee.

	NEWCASTLE		
	1927	1931	1932 If informatic available
Population	284,700	283,145	Not availabl
Number of children on Elementary School registers	45,644	45,000	44,591
Percentage of unemployment among insured workers	—	—	Men .. 33 Juveniles 27 Total .. 28
Number of children receiving meals :			
(*a*) Free milk provided by Education Authority	—	—	—
(*b*) Milk provided by E.A. on payment	—	—	—
(*c*) Free meals provided by E.A. ..	2,490	4,092	4,871
(*d*) Meals provided by E.A. on payment	242	140	68
(*e*) Free milk provided by voluntary organisations	—	—	—
(*f*) Free meals provided by voluntary organisations	—	—	—
(*g*) Milk provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..	No record	No record	3,652 Childre
(*h*) Meals provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..	—	—	—
(Cocoa, cod-liver oil, etc., are included as " milk ".)			
Number of children subject to routine medical examination	15,067	14,872	15,672
Number of children found to be subnormal as regards nutrition ..	3,089	2,299	2,593
Please state whether the test employed was by weights or observation ..	Both	Both	Both
Amount of milk provided at Maternity and Child Welfare Centres :			
(*a*) Free	Avg. No. of	babies abo	ut 2,500 on f
(*b*) For payment	Avg. No. of	babies abo	ut 1,500 at c
	29 tons free 15 tons at Cost price	29 tons free 19 tons at Cost price	Not available

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE			OLDHAM		
1927	1931	1932 If information available	1927	1931	1932 If information available
Census 1921 303,737	365,522	—	141,400	140,309	141,900
51,943	54,728	55,432	19,725	18,366	18,485
—	—	Men .. 23.1 Juveniles 8.0 Total .. 18.8	—	—	Men .. 37.1 Juveniles 15.9 Total .. 30.9
Nil	*Nil*	*Nil*	—	1,738	2,466
No inform.	6,000	—	—	No records	No records
Nil	*Nil*	*Nil*	356	1,244	2,054
Nil	*Nil*	*Nil*	—	22	23
Approx. 50	Approx. 50	Approx. 50	None	None	None
—	—	—	None	None	None
—	—	—	None	None	None
—	—	—	None	None	None
24,668	26,049	27,064	6,060	4,970	5,495
100	117	145	264	134	45
	Observation		Both	Both	Both
2,092 lb.* 9,003 lb.	6,432 lb. 10,533 lb.	7,798 lb. 11,609 lb.	Value £738 No record	Value £1,840 No record	Value £2,624 —

* Dried milk only. Other foods are sold at centres, but the quantities are not included in the figures given. Only dried milk is issued free.

	MANCHESTER		
	1927	1931	1932 If informatic available
Population	752,000	766,333	768,745
Number of children on Elementary School registers	114,921	114,108	114,678
Percentage of unemployment among insured workers	—	—	Men .. 2 Juveniles 10 Total .. 17
Number of children receiving meals :			
(*a*) Free milk provided by Education Authority	—	—	—
(*b*) Milk provided by E.A. on payment	—	—	—
(*c*) Free meals provided by E.A. ..	4,739 2,029	8,608, for whom 4,491 for whole yr	9,536 4,120
(*d*) Meals provided by E.A. on payment	—	—	—
(*e*) Free milk provided by voluntary organisations	—	—	—
(*f*) Free meals provided by voluntary organisations	—	—	—
(*g*) Milk provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..	—	—	—
(*h*) Meals provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..	—	—	—
(Cocoa, cod-liver oil, etc., are included as " milk ".)			
Number of children subject to routine medical examination	32,503	30,774	32,566
Number of children found to be subnormal as regards nutrition ..	394	233	245
Please state whether the test employed was by weights or observation ..	Observatn.	—	—
Amount of milk provided at Maternity and Child Welfare Centres :			
(*a*) Free	—	—	—
(*b*) For payment			

MERTHYR TYDFIL			MIDDLESBROUGH		
1927	1931	1932 If information available	1927	1931	1932 If information available
80,116	71,480	71,108	133,600	138,900	139,600
14,762	13,401	13,180	23,882	24,661	24,973
—	—	Men .. 55.1 Juveniles 38.6 Total .. 53.3	—	—	Men .. 48.1 Juveniles 39.3 Total .. 44.5
None	654	836	*Nil*	*Nil*	627
—	—	—	*Nil*	*Nil*	3,000
328	1,006	1,097	234	*Nil*	730
None	None	None	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
None	None	None	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
None	None	None	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
None	None	None	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
None	None	None	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
			Nil	300	400
4,535	3,723	3,530	7,665	9,276	6,460
105 routine 58 Special	218 routine 235 Special	458 routine 314 Special	48	431	555
Both	Both	Both	Weight	Weight	Weight
£2,721 —	£2,873 —	£2,935 —	lb. 1,323 6,102	lb. 1,514 4,922	lb. 613 4,489

	PONTYPRIDD		
	1927	1931	1932 If information available
Population	47,960	42,717	—
Number of children on Elementary School registers	9,272	8,866	8,812
Percentage of unemployment among insured workers	—	—	Men .. 63. Juveniles 31. Total .. 58.
Number of children receiving meals :			
(*a*) Free milk provided by Education Authority	*Nil*	644	695
(*b*) Milk provided by E.A. on payment	*Nil*	Prac. none	Practically non
(*c*) Free meals provided by E.A. ..	*Nil*	See (*a*)	See (*a*)
(*d*) Meals provided by E.A. on payment	*Nil*	See (*b*)	See (*b*)
(*e*) Free milk provided by voluntary organisations	No information ; probably *nil*		
(*f*) Free meals provided by voluntary organisations			
(*g*) Milk provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..			
(*h*) Meals provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..			
(Cocoa, cod-liver oil, etc., are included as " milk ".)			
Number of children subject to routine medical examination	2,741	1,917	2,060
Number of children found to be subnormal as regards nutrition ..	11	301	433
Please state whether the test employed was by weights or observation ..	By weights and observation		
Amount of milk provided at Maternity and Child Welfare Centres :			Value
(*a*) Free	£240	£900	£638 approx.
(*b*) For payment	£50	£413	£439

RHONDDA			ROTHERHAM		
1927	1931	1932 If information available	1927	1931	1932 If information available
159,270 (estimated)	141,346	Not known	70,080	69,689	70,130
32,519	29,024	28,253	12,029	11,911	12,003
—	—	Men .. 42.0 Juveniles 35.2 Total .. 40.7	—	—	Men .. 29.5 Juveniles 25.3 Total .. 28.9
Nil	—	—	None	1,363	1,203
Nil	—	—	None	234	983
Nil	4,065	4,746	None	None	None
Nil	—	—	None	None	None
Nil	—	—	None	None	None
Nil	—	—	None	None	None
Nil	—	—	None	None	None
Nil	—	—	None	None	None
9,743	8,331	8,881	3,639	4,012	4,046
510	329	508	5.0%	3.0%	4.9%
Both	(weight and observation)		Both taken into consideration		
£10,770 £1,280	£11,061 £358	£14,270 £342			

	SOUTH SHIELDS		
	1927	1931	1932 If informatic available
Population	123,400	114,200	—
Number of children on Elementary School registers	21,614	21,116	21,172
Percentage of unemployment among insured workers	—	—	Men .. 48 Juveniles 41 Total .. 45
Number of children receiving meals :			
(*a*) Free milk provided by Education Authority	None	None	None
(*b*) Milk provided by E.A. on payment	None	None	None
(*c*) Free meals provided by E.A. ..	1,032*	741*	1,155*
(*d*) Meals provided by E.A. on payment	None	None	None
(*e*) Free milk provided by voluntary organisations	None	None	None
(*f*) Free meals provided by voluntary organisations	None	None	None
(*g*) Milk provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..	150	150	80
(*h*) Meals provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..	None	*Nil*	About 100
(Cocoa, cod-liver oil, etc., are included as " milk ".)			
Number of children subject to routine medical examination	7,157	7,108	7,092
Number of children found to be subnormal as regards nutrition ..	452	256	276
Please state whether the test employed was by weights or observation ..	Both factor	s taken into	consideration
Amount of milk provided at Maternity and Child Welfare Centres :			
(*a*) Free	29,673lb. dried milk	40,231lb. dried milk	49,098lb. dried milk
(*b*) For payment	397 galls. fresh milk (all free)	180 galls. fresh milk (all free)	96 galls. fresh milk (all free)

* Exclusive of meals or milk provided at day, open-air, and myope schools.

WALSALL			WIGAN		
1927	1931	1932 If information available	1927	1931	1932 If information available
102,000	104,300	—	Est. 88,690	Est. 86,150 Cen. 83,537 (April)	Est. 86,506
17,064	17,243	17,618	13,605	13,406	13,676
—	—	Men .. 34.1 Juveniles 15.5 Total .. 27.8	—	—	Men .. 33.2 Juveniles 17.0 Total .. 28.3
None	None	None	—	400	450
None	None	None	—	—	—
None	None	None	*Nil*	—	—
None	None	None	—	—	—
See (*g*) ; part comes from volun. sources			—	—	—
None	None	None	—	—	—
900	1,515	1,700	—	—	—
None	None	None	—	—	—
5,691	4,780	5,257	4,272	4,133	4,561
106	20	21	56	43	78
Both	Both	Both	Height,	weight, and	observation
£677 £359	£1,264 £682	£1,120 £560	117,895 pts.	124,100 pts.	156,950 pts.

	GLASGOW		
	1927	1931	1932 If informat availabl
Population	Calculated 1,130,675	Census 1,088,461	1,094,74
Number of children on Elementary School registers :			
Average roll *all* schools	184,462	184,859	188,005
Roll of children 5-14 years ..	177,758	181,763	183,757
Percentage of unemployment among insured workers	—	—	Men .. 3 Juveniles 2 Total .. 3
Number of children receiving meals :			
(*a*) Free milk provided by Education Authority	No provi	sion separa	te from mea
(*b*) Milk provided by E.A. on payment			
(*c*) Free meals provided by E.A. :			
Average children	3,500	4,157	6,724
No. of meals per annum ..	805,722	1,120,935	1,840,460
(*d*) Meals provided by E.A. on payment	341,043 p.a.	382,759	350,859 speci schools
Nurseries and hostels provided by E.A. on payment or part	641,502 (917)	591,007 (1,382)	559,075 (1,5
(*e*) Free milk provided by voluntary organisations	No	precise info	rmation
(*f*) Free meals provided by E.A. for Public Asstce. Committee ..	49905 (120)	78,402 p.a.	247,222 p.a
(*g*) Milk provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..	Several c	haritable or	ganisations g
(*h*) Meals provided by voluntary organisations on payment ..	perhaps 5	00-1,000 ch	ildren meals
(Cocoa, cod-liver oil, etc., are included as " milk ".)	Sundays.	Precise inf availabl	ormation is e
Number of children subject to routine medical examination	46,511 p.a.	53,565 p.a.	50,711 p.a.
Number of children found to be subnormal as regards nutrition ..	2,568	2,224	2,005
Please state whether the test employed was by weights or observation ..	Observatn.	Observatn.	Observation
Amount of milk provided at Maternity and Child Welfare Centres :	pints	pints	pints
(*a*) Free	1,589,917	2,080,934	1,908,722
(*b*) For payment or part payment	41,318	74,887	57,199

APPENDIX III

Summaries giving General Information as to School Meals Policy and Effect of Unemployment on School Life

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT

	Number of Insured			*Number of Unemployed**			*Percentage Unemployed*†		
	Men	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*
1927 ..	217,120	32,250	357,470	17,015	517	23,681	7.8	1.6	6.6
1931 ..	228,900	34,170	379,880	43,949	2,307	67,009	19.2	6.7	17.6

* Includes uninsured.
† Percentage unemployed, whether insured or not, to insured population.

Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Birmingham		Meals provided when necessary.	Steady increase in meals. Proportion of malnutrition under 2 per cent.
Coventry	Increased lassitude, especially among those employed outside school hours.	Free meals, meals on payment, and milk on payment.	Large increase in meals, marked decrease in malnutrition 1931 since 1927; no change between 1931 and 1932.
Walsall ..	No change.	No meals provided. Voluntary milk scheme.	Nutritional condition stationary. Education Authority considered charity did all that was necessary and decided against meals.
West Bromwich	No appreciable change.	½ pint milk to undernourished necessitous children.	Free milk only started in 1932.
Wolverhampton	Some increase in lassitude, but effects generally slight.	Dinners for necessitous children who apply on family income scale.	Nutrition 1932 worse than 1931. No statement of comparative meals.

CAMBORNE

	Number of Insured			Number of Unemployed*			Percentage Unemployed†		
	Men	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*
1927 ..	2,790	330	3,720	284	2	295	10.2	0.4	7.9
1931 ..	3,010	350	4,000	1,246	35	1,352	41.4	10.2	33.8

* Includes uninsured.
† Percentage unemployed, whether insured or not, to insured population.

Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Camborne	Increased lassitude.	Milk for necessitous cases with additional help from charity.	Children getting inferior food. The Save the Children Fund supplies milk in some cases.

CLYDESIDE

	Number of Insured			Number of Unemployed*			Percentage Unemployed†		
	Men	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*
1927 ..	278,200	35,550	412,710	41,351	4,231	52,406	14.9	11.9	12.7
1931 ..	278,870	36,920	428,520	95,248	7,253	124,849	34.2	19.6	29.1

* Includes uninsured.
† Percentage unemployed, whether insured or not, to insured population.

Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Ayr		Milk as recommended by doctor.	
Glasgow ..	No appreciable change.	Meals free or on part or full payment.	Steady increase in meals and decrease in malnutrition.
Greenock ..	School standards maintained.	Milk at ½d. a cup.	No evidence of suffering from insufficient food.
Lanark County	No appreciable change.	Free food to all who are necessitous.	1925, 2.106 below the average of nutrition. 1932, 2.574.
		Unemployment, 1933: Men, 40.6%; Juveniles, 26.2%; Total, 34.6%.	

DORSET

	Number of Insured			Number of Unemployed*			Percentage Unemployed†		
	Men	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*
1927 ..	26,300	2,610	34,020	1,287	181	1,601	4.9	8.2	4.7
1931 ..	28,560	2,850	37,150	3,247	219	4,075	11.4	8.5	11.0

* Includes uninsured.
† Percentage unemployed, whether insured or not, to insured population.

Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Dorset County		Milk at a penny a day.	
Poole ..	No change.	Self - supporting scheme for milk.	Unemployment not serious.

HAMPSHIRE

	Number of Insured			Number of Unemployed*			Percentage Unemployed†		
	Men	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*
1927 ..	150,690	16,520	202,060	11,266	1,332	13,678	7.5	8.9	6.8
1931 ..	167,730	18,620	227,570	23,424	1,868	28,227	14.0	10.2	12.4

* Includes uninsured.
† Percentage unemployed, whether insured or not, to insured population.

Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Basingstoke	No effect.	No meals.	Little unemployment.
Southhampton	Some lassitude.	Free meals, 5 centres for breakfasts, 3 for dinners ; also free milk on recommendation of M.O.H. if circumstances of parents justify free issue.	

LANCASHIRE

	Number of Insured			Number of Unemployed*			Percentage Unemployed†		
	Men	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*
1927 ..	1,128,050	140,960	1,805,620	133,336	10,715	196,216	11.8	7.7	10.9
1931 ..	1,133,820	138,850	1,867,730	319,463	25,094	527,464	28.2	18.1	28.2

* Includes uninsured.
† Percentage unemployed, whether insured or not, to insured population.

Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Bolton ..	School standards lower owing to malnutrition.	Free dinners to necessitous children.	No statistics given.
Bootle ..	Attendance improving.	Free meals when necessary.	School meals increasing and said to counteract effect of unemployment, but numbers showing malnutrition 280 in 1931 against 71 in 1925 and 319 in 1930.
Burnley ..	Increased employment outside school hours, otherwise no change.	Breakfasts and dinners except on Sunday.	Large increase in meals, malnutrition low, though slightly higher than 1925 or 1927.
Bury ..	Some lack of vitality and increased lassitude. Some increase in work outside school.	Free meals on income scale. Milk in schools not provided by Local Education Authority.	Children receiving inferior food.
Farnworth	Increased employment outside school. Bad footwear affects attendance. No other changes.	Mid - day meals where family income below scale. Milk at very cheap rates.	Some signs of deterioration of health. Mothers suffer.

LANCASHIRE (*Continued*)			
Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Liverpool	Lassitude reported in some cases, but opinions seem to vary.	Dinners for necessitous children on week-days in both term time and holidays.	Meals are on large scale and provision during holidays should be specially noted.
Manchester		Meals provided for necessitous children.	Large increase in meals, substantial decrease in malnutrition.
Oldham ..	Little or no deterioration.	Free dinners and/or milk on family income scale.	School meals have counteracted effects of unemployment.
Salford ..	Increasing lassitude.	Milk on payment only, but dinners at centres when parents cannot feed their children adequately.	Malnutrition common both among employed and unemployed.
Stretford ..	Any increase of lassitude attributed to cinema.	Milk at 1d. for one-third of a pint, which enables it to be given free when necessary.	No great change in nutrition.
Warrington	No great change reported.	No free meals, milk on payment — 1d. for one-third pint, which some get free.	Children do not get right kind of food.
Wigan ..	Scholarship boys show less stamina, otherwise no changes.	1 pint of milk when recommended by doctor, free.	Nutrition 1932 worse than 1931—milk only increased slightly.

LINCOLNSHIRE (SOUTH)

	Number of Insured			Number of Unemployed*			Percentage Unemployed†		
	Men	Juveniles	Total	Men	Juveniles	Total	Men	Juveniles	Total
1927 ..	16,700	1,220	21,020	1,655	125	1,932	9.9	11.5	9.2
1931 ..	18,740	1,980	24,340	3,644	259	4,230	19.4	14.6	17.4

* Includes uninsured.
† Percentage unemployed, whether insured or not, to insured population.

Locality	Effect of depression on school work	General policy as to school meals	Notes
Kesteven ..	Attendance improved. Less outside work. No other change.		Unemployment probably not serious.

NORFOLK

	Number of Insured			Number of Unemployed*			Percentage Unemployed†		
	Men	Juveniles	Total	Men	Juveniles	Total	Men	Juveniles	Total
1927 ..	58,690	7,930	86,000	5,659	377	6,792	9.6	4.7	7.9
1931 ..	62,890	7,900	92,240	11,953	659	15,122	19.0	8.6	16.4

* Includes uninsured.
† Percentage unemployed, whether insured to not, to insured population.

Locality	Effect of depression on school work	General policy as to school meals	Notes
Norfolk County	No noticeable effects.	Mid-day meals at certain schools; milk and cocoa at many schools; in many cases children make a contribution.	
Norwich ..		Meals provided, also milk, to debilitated children.	Malnutrition about stationary, about 1¾%. Number of meals increased three-fold, but only 156 get meals out of over 20,000.

THE POTTERIES

	Number of Insured			Number of Unemployed*			Percentage Unemployed†		
	Men	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*
1927 ..	69,520	11,180	113,800	4,987	657	9,150	7.2	5.8	8.0
1931 ..	70,580	11,470	121,320	18,568	1,279	33,993	26.3	11.1	28.0

* Includes uninsured.
† Percentage unemployed, whether insured or not, to insured population.

Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Rowley Regis		One-third of a pint of milk twice a day to under-nourished and necessitous children.	Malnutrition, 1932, 147 cases, against 40 in 1931.
Stoke-on-Trent	Unchanged.	Free meals and milk in necessitous cases.	Said to be no change in nutritional condition of children, but mothers often seem to be stinting themselves.

SOUTH WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE

	Number of Insured			Number of Unemployed*			Percentage Unemployed†		
	Men	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*
1927 ..	447,020	35,690	519,600	79,558	3,278	85,116	17.8	12.5	16.4
1931 ..	427,160	35,630	502,460	145,287	7,502	160,867	34.0	25.6	32.0

* Includes uninsured.
† Percentage unemployed, whether insured or not, to insured population.

Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Cardiff ..	No appreciable change.	Breakfasts and dinners on family income scale.	Increase in meals, decrease in malnutrition.

SOUTH WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE (*Continued*)			
Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Glamorgan		No meals at school, but some children get a pint of milk.	Malnutrition under 1%. The Save the Children Fund supplies milk in one school.
Merthyr Tydfil		Milk and meals provided.	Increase in malnutrition in spite of increase in meals.
Monmouthshire	"Dull" children more common in schools in depressed areas.	Meals on family income basis; milk in cases of malnutrition on recommendation of medical officer.	Children getting inferior food. The Save the Children Fund supplies milk.
Ogmore and Garw ..		No provision for meals, but milk on certificate of medical officer.	The Save the Children Fund supplies milk and semi-medicinal foods.
Pontypridd	Percentage of attendance high. More employment outside school. Standards low owing to lack of nourishment.	Milk and biscuits only.	Only 695 out of 8,812 got milk and biscuits in 1932, 644 out of 8,866 in 1931.
Rhondda		Milk on medical certificate, free when parents necessitous. Also midday meals. 2% receive meals, 12% receive milk.	School nutrition curve improved up to 1930, since when it has deteriorated. 1932 worse than 1927. Meals 1932 less than 1931 by about 25%, but milk more than double.

TYNESIDE

	Number of Insured			*Number of Unemployed**			*Percentage Unemployed*†		
	Men	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*
1927 ..	202,130	19,920	258,520	48,494	3,068	53,993	24.0	18.5	20.9
1931 ..	197,960	20,750	261,520	71,703	5,597	85,600	36.2	27.6	32.7

* Includes uninsured.
† Percentage unemployed, whether insured or not, to insured population.

Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Bedlingtonshire		Milk on recommendation of medical officer.	Fall in tuberculosis, increase in early signs of rickets.
Darlington	No noticeable change.	Free milk for undernourished.	
Durham County	Vitality lower, attendance less through bad boots.	Milk for children selected by medical officer. Average number of milk meals per day, 14,124.	Unemployment, 1933: Men .. 47.0%, Juveniles 32.0%, Total .. 43.6%
Gateshead	No great changes.	Milk and meals for necessitous children.	Children healthy on the whole, but some suffer through ignorance or neglect of young mothers.
Jarrow ..	No definite change.	Free breakfasts and dinners for necessitous children.	Additional help from Salvation Army. School standard of children higher than before the war.
Middlesbrough	Education Authority considers no evidence of detrimental effect, but individual teachers report some deterioration.	Milk and meals provided.	In December, 1932, teachers considered 9½% of school children badly nourished. Doctors examined all and decided under 3% wanted meals and under 2% milk. The Save the Children Fund supplies milk in certain cases.

TYNESIDE (*Continued*)

Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Newcastle	Opinion of teachers varies — considerable number think there is increased lassitude.	Meals provided at dining centres.	Malnutrition curve fell down to 1930, since when it has risen.
South Shields	Some lassitude. Probably more work outside school hours. Attendance improved.	Children of unemployed get one free meal and also milk if doctor recommends it.	

YORKSHIRE (WEST RIDING)

	Number of Insured			*Number of Unemployed**			*Percentage Unemployed†*		
	Men	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*	*Men*	*Juveniles*	*Total*
1927 ..	743,600	83,550	1,090,240	88,726	4,883	110,781	11.9	6.6	10.2
1931 ..	741,110	84,290	1,110,920	205,048	12,505	281,988	27.7	14.9	25.4

* Includes uninsured
† Percentage unemployed, whether insured or not, to insured population..

Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Barnsley ..	No appreciable change.	Hot dinners at three centres ; milk and cod-liver oil everywhere available when ordered by the doctor.	Free meals increasing and have maintained health.
Batley ..	Increased lassitude not been noted.	Hot milk ; dinners at open-air school.	No adverse effect.
Bradford ..	Attendance less regular ; no other change.	Meals on family income basis.	Increased meals, decreased malnutrition.

YORKSHIRE (WEST RIDING) (*Continued*)			
Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Brighouse	No appreciable effect.	Free meals when necessary.	Juvenile unemployment negligible.
Dewsbury	No noticeable effect.	Hot dinners and/or milk free where family income is below scale and medical officer recommends.	Nutritional condition, 1931, much improved on 1925.
Doncaster		Free meals on recommendation medical officer.	Signs of suffering greater below than above school age. Decrease of severe malnutrition, increased poor nutrition in schools.
Keighley ..	Slight increase in employment outside school; otherwise little change.	Milk on payment and free if recommended by medical officer.	
Leeds ..	No appreciable change.	Milk and meals at school; parents pay what they can.	Children getting inferior food; loss of weight noticeable in many.
Rotherham	No change reported.	Milk on medical certificate, free if family income below scale.	Milk scheme introduced in 1929 and has checked increased malnutrition, but milk reduced in 1932 and malnutrition back practically to 1927 position. The Save the Children Fund supplies milk in certain cases.
Sheffield ..	No appreciable effect.	Breakfasts, dinners and teas on family income scale.	Large increase in school meals has been necessary.

YORKSHIRE (WEST RIDING) (*Continued*)			
Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Spenborough	No change reported.	Hot milk or cocoa and biscuits.	Weight and heights of children generally improved.
York ..	No appreciable difference.	Meals for suitable cases.	Provision of meals sufficient to counteract effects of unemployment; apparently about 4% get meals.

PLACES FROM WHICH NO RELEVANT UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES WERE AT THE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE'S DISPOSAL			
Locality	*Effect of depression on school work*	*General policy as to school meals*	*Notes*
Kettering..	No changes reported.	Canteen for school meals opened in 1932 and milk also supplied free to necessitous children after investigation of family income.	
Lincoln ..	Children have less power of prolonged concentration when parents unemployed for some time.	Mid-day meals provided for necessitous children and others are given free milk.	185 cases of malnutrition in 1932 as compared with 180 in 1925.
Northhampton	No changes reported.	Only 13 children now receive free meals and 425 free milk.	Unemployment not on such a large scale as elsewhere.
Nottingham	No changes. Fewer children employed out of school than formerly.	Breakfasts, dinners and teas provided for necessitous children. Milk on payment, but free to those who cannot afford it.	Nutritional condition of children no worse than in 1925.

APPENDIX IV

Some Selected Family Budgets

These budgets are printed as received, except for obvious corrections, and it will be observed that in one or two cases they do not actually balance. It is not possible to obtain absolute exactitude in matters of this sort, and clearly the general effect of the budgets is not thereby impaired.

I

Locality.—Bermondsey, London.

General Character.—Industrial and docks.

Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and seven children.

Income.—Transitional Benefit	£1	17	3
Public Assistance		6	0
	£2	3	3

	s.	d.
Rent	6	0
Insurance	1	3
Coal	3	9
Gas	1	3
Groceries	9	0
Bread	6	0
Milk	2	0
Meat and Fish	8	0
Vegetables	2	0
Extras	4	0
	£2 3 3	

Breakfast.—Bread and margarine ; Scotch oats at the beginning of the week ; tea, with tinned milk.

Dinner.—Sunday : Small joint of meat, with potatoes and vegetables. Monday : Stew, with potatoes and vegetables. Tuesday : Vegetables only with flour batter. Wednesday : Sausages, with potatoes and vegetables. Thursday : Vegetables only. Friday : Fish and potatoes. Saturday : Stew, with vegetables.

Tea.—As breakfast.

Supper.—Bread and cheese ; cocoa.

II

Locality.—Bermondsey, London.
General Character.—Industrial and docks.
Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and four children.
Income.—Unemployment Benefit, £1 13s. 3d.

	s.	d.
Rent	10	0
Insurance (cannot always be paid in full) ..	2	4
Coal	4	0
Gas	1	6
Bread	3	6
Milk	1	0
Meat and Vegetables	10	0
Extras		11
	£1 13	3

III

Locality.—Bradford, Yorkshire.
General Character.—Industrial.
Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and three children at elementary schools, on meals list (dinners).
Income.—Unemployment Benefit, £1 7s. 6d.

	s.	d.
Flour, 1 stone	1	5
4 oz. yeast		3
1 lb. lard		6
Margarine and butter	1	1½
Sugar, 3 lb.		7
½ lb. tea		9
Cocoa		6
1½ pints milk		4½
Condensed milk		6
½ dozen eggs		10½
1 lb. jam		5½
2 lb. rice		4½
Sundries	1	0
1 stone potatoes		7
Vegetables		3½
Meat and bacon	2	6
Soap, matches, and cleaning materials ..		9
Coal, 1½ cwt.	2	6
Clothing and footwear	3	0
Insurance	2	6
Doctor's bills		6
Rent	4	6
Carried forward	£1 5	10

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	1	5	10
Rates		1	0
Gas			6
	£1	7	4

IV

Locality.—Greenock, Renfrewshire.
General Character.—Industrial.
Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and three children.
Income.—Unemployment Benefit, £1 9s. 3d.

	s.	d.
Bread	1	9
Potatoes	1	1
Vegetables		10
Bacon		8
Margarine		4
Sugar		4
Butter		5
Tin milk		2½
Soap and powders	1	2½
Club	1	3
Society	2	0
Rent	6	0
Instalment, gramophone	1	6
Instalment, chest of drawers	1	6
Tobacco	1	3
Light	1	3
Milk	1	2½
Coal	3	0
Sticks		2
Tea		5
Butcher's meat	2	10½
	£1 9	3

V

Locality.—Greenock, Renfrewshire.
General Character.—Industrial.
Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and four children.
Income.—Unemployment Benefit, £1 11s. 3d.

	s.	d.
Meat and bones	2	1½
Lentils		4
Fish		6
Carried forward	2	11½

	s.	d.
Brought forward	2	11½
Eggs		8
Onions		3
Potatoes	1	4½
Vegetables		4
Barley		1½
Peas		3½
Firewood		4
Rent	8	0
Coal	2	9
Light	1	0
Gas	1	3
Bread	2	6
Milk		9
Jam		9½
Margarine	1	6
Tobacco	1	4½
Clothes, shoe repairs, etc.	5	0
	£1 11	3

VI

Locality.—Greenock, Renfrewshire.
General Character.—Industrial.
Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and four children.
Income.—Unemployment Benefit, £1 11s. 3d.

	s.	d.
Rent	5	0
Clubs, clothes, and dishes	5	0
Coals	2	4
Cigarettes	2	0
Milk	1	9
Tea		10
Bread	2	0
Ham		10
Butter and margarine	1	6
Tea-bread		6
Rolls	1	0
Meat and bones	2	6
Firewood		4
Soap and washing powder	1	2
Light and gas	1	6
Society	1	0
Leather for boots	1	0
Pictures	1	0
	£1 11	3

VII

Locality.—Greenock, Renfrewshire.
General Character.—Industrial.
Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and eight children.
Income.—Unemployment Benefit, £1 19s. 3d.

	s.	d.
Rent	12	0
Gas	3	0
Societies	1	4
Coal	2	3
Milk	2	4
Soap		8
Potatoes	2	0
Margarine	1	0
Tea		9
Sugar		10
Bread	7	0
Meat	2	10
Vegetables		11
Rice		4
Dripping		3
Tea-bread		6
Fish		10
Biscuits		4
Salt and pepper		1
	£1 19	3

VIII

Locality.—Manchester, Lancashire.
General Character.—Industrial.
Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and six children (9 years to 6 months).
Income.—Transitional Benefit £1 15 3
Public Assistance 4 5
£1 19 8

	s.	d.
Rent	8	8
Insurance	1	6
Clothing Club	2	0
Father's shoes	1	0
Coal and coke	3	6

Average amount per week for food .. £1 4 0
(Children at school get dinners).

Milk	3	6
Bread (3-5 loaves at 2½d. each)	5	10
Meat	2	0

	s.	d.
Suet		6
Margarine (5 lb. at 4d. lb.)	1	8
Potatoes (25 lb.)	1	0
Vegetables	1	6
Groceries	7	0
Treacle, tea, cocoa, rice, Quaker oats, soap, Rinso and sugar..	1	0

Breakfasts.—Bread and margarine ; bread and jam ; egg once a week ; bacon fat and fried bread ; dripping and toast ; Quaker oats. Milk pudding or porridge or bread and milk for young children mid-day.

Evening Meal (all except baby).—Potato hash ; toast ; mutton broth and vegetables ; half sheep's head, broth and potatoes ; dumplings added next day and vegetables ; two chops, onions, and potatoes baked in oven ; lentil soup ; toast or bread.

IX

Locality.—Manchester, Lancashire.
General Character.—Industrial.
Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and two children.
Income.—Labour Exchange (Unemployment Benefit or Transitional Payment) £1 5 3
Public Assistance 1 9

£1 7 0

	s.	d.
Rent	6	0
Gas	1	6
Coal	3	0
Clubs	2	6
Food	14	0
Bread	2	0½
Milk		8
Potatoes	1	0
Margarine (3 lb.)	1	0
Eggs	1	9
Cheese		7
Meat and bacon	2	6
Fish	1	0
Vegetables		8
Groceries	3	6

Breakfasts.—Fried bread ; margarine and bread ; treacle and bread.

Dinners.—Fried bacon and cheese and onions ; potato and onion hash ; fried eggs and chips ; poached egg and potatoes ; hot-pot made from 2d.-worth of " melt " (entrails) and vegetables ; pickled herrings ; bread.

Teas.—Bread and jam ; bread and margarine ; corned beef.

X

Locality.—Manchester, Lancashire.

General Character.—Industrial.

Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and one child three years old.

Income.—Public Assistance, £1 13s. 6d.

Rent, gas, clubs and coal ..	£1 1 9	
Allowance for food	11 8	
		£1 13 5

	s.	d.
Milk, 1 pint pasteurised, per day	1	9
Meat and fish (approximately)	1	0
Potatoes (20 lb.)		9
Vegetables		5
Green vegetables		2
Cheese		4
Margarine and dripping		6½
Suet		2½
Bacon		6
Eggs		4
Cleaning materials		4
Flour	1	11
Rice, lentils, sago, semolina, peas, beans, and barley in turn		6
Tea		7
Bournvita for child (1s. 3d.) lasts 8 weeks ..		2
Sugar		8
Yeast and lard		9
Extras for papers and fruit		9

Breakfasts.—Sunday: Fried egg, sliced potato. Monday: Potato cakes. Tuesday and Wednesday: Toast and dripping. Thursday: Bacon, tomato. Friday: Fried potatoes. Saturday: Bread and jam.

Dinners.—Sunday: Potato hash, semolina pudding. Monday: Soup and dumplings. Tuesday and Wednesday: Mashed potatoes, bacon, suet pudding. Thursday: Potato chips with peas or onions, milk pudding. Friday: Cheese, onions, potatoes. Saturday: Potato chips, herrings.

Teas.—Sunday: Muffins (home made). Monday: Bread and jam. Tuesday and Wednesday: Bread and jam. Thursday: Brown bread. Friday: Potato pasty, brown bread. Saturday: Potato pasty, brown bread.

Suppers.—Sunday to Saturday: Milk or cocoa for child, tea adults.

Home-made brown bread, part with sultanas in; home-made white muffins (tea cakes); all jam home made; menu varied each week; child has milk and water or cocoa.

XI

Locality.—Rhondda, South Wales.

General Character.—Mining.

Composition of Family.—Man, wife, boys (6 and 2 years), and girl (9 years).

Income.—Unemployment Benefit, £1 9s. 3d.

	s.	d.
Rent part house	7	0
Insurance, etc.	2	7
Lighting	1	0
Coal	1	6
Doctor		3
Newspapers, etc.		9
Husband's pocket money	2	0
Bread	2	0
Butter	1	6
Meat (imported) and potatoes	4	9
Cabbage, dried peas, etc.		6
Tea		8
Sugar and tinned milk	1	0
Biscuits, cakes, and jam	1	6
Clothing, replacements, etc., soap, cleaning materials	2	2
£1	9	2

Observations.—The baby receives fresh milk from the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre. Home is moderately clean. Bedclothing clean, but shows signs of much wear. Quilts used very thin, augmented by old coats.

Dinners.—Sunday : Joint cooked at the bakehouse, usually half-shoulder of imported mutton, boiled potatoes, cabbage or peas, cup of tea and a piece of shop cake. Monday : Cold meat and warmed-up potatoes if any, if not fresh boiled. Tuesday : Boiled potatoes and butter and bread, tea. Wednesday : Chop or steak (about ½ lb.) for parents, boiled or chipped potatoes ; parents give children a little of their meat. Thursday : Half-cooked meat, corned beef or pressed meat, or occasionally fried bacon or fried egg. Friday : If any money to spare, fried fish and chips, bread and butter and tea. Saturday : ½ lb. liver or 1 lb. sausages, fried or boiled potatoes.

Breakfasts.—Bread and butter, tea. Very little variety.

Teas.—As breakfasts ; sometimes a little cake or jam.

Suppers.—Bread, cheese if any. Sometimes toast and dripping or fried bread.

This household suffers from lack of a cooking oven. Nearly all food fried or boiled. Clothing of mother and children tidy, but of inferior quality. Husband not very handy ; cannot do repairs of boots, etc. ; tries to help with the cleaning.

XII

Locality.—Rhondda, South Wales.

General Character.—Mining.

Composition of Family.—Man, wife, boys (9, 7½, 6½, and 5½ years), and girls (12 and 10 years).

Income.—£1 15s. 3d.

Father unemployed four years, was a repairer in a colliery. Served during the war. Had a good home; all household goods paid for. Saved money, etc., now exhausted through unemployment. A very good family man, mends household goods and all shoes. The mother a splendid woman; house spotless. Mother is getting tired of struggle, sews and converts garments from elder children for the younger ones. Recently has had an illness and the rent had to go into arrears, but is paying off at the rate of 2s. 6d. weekly whenever she can afford to. Finds greatest difficulty in keeping up repairs of worn-out household goods, utensils, and bedclothes.

	s.	d.
Rent, part house	10	0
Insurance and doctor	1	6
Clothing Club	2	0
Lighting	1	0
Coal	1	6
Newspapers, church collection, etc.		7
Bread	4	0
Butter	1	0
Margarine	1	6
Potatoes	1	0
Tea and cocoa	1	0
Cabbage, onions, carrots, etc.	1	0
Apples or pot of jam		9
Cooking eggs or 1 lb. of cheese		9
Flour, sugar, etc.		10
Bacon		9
Tinned milk	1	0
Currants, rice, sago, etc.	1	0
Soap and cleaning materials	1	0
Meat	3	6
	£1 15	8

Breakfasts.—Adults share bacon until finished, usually one rasher daily; bread, tea, occasionally with two cooking eggs mixed with mashed potatoes and fried for family.

Teas.—Bread, butter, or jam; sometimes makes scones.

Suppers.—Bread and butter or cheese; weak tea, cocoa, or coffee.

Dinners.—Sunday: Meat roasted, boiled potatoes, cabbage, or peas; occasionally a pudding made of rice and tinned milk, or bread crusts with tinned milk and one egg. Monday: Cold meat and warmed-up vegetables and pudding if any. Tuesday: Stew with remains of joint with addition of carrots, potatoes, onions, or

leeks ; if cold weather a dumpling of flour or suet is added. Wednesday : Boiled suet pudding with apples or currants, with a sauce of flour and tinned milk. Thursday : Stew made of pieces of meat and bones, with potatoes or boiled parsnips and swedes and fried liver or chop (adults share a little of these among the six children). Friday : Fish (haddock, cheap hake, or cod), chipped potatoes at home.

XIII

Locality.—South Shields, Durham.
General Character.—Industrial.
Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and one child.
Income.—£1 5s. 3d.

	s.	d.
Rent	7	8
Water Rate	1	0
Insurance	1	0
Clothing Clubs	2	0
Coal	2	6
Electric light	1	9
Man's pocket money	1	3
Total	17	2
Food and soap	8	1
	£1 5	3

XIV

Locality.—South Shields, Durham.
General Character.—Industrial.
Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and five children. Living in one room. Public wash-house must be used.
Income.—£1 13s. 3d.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Rent	5	0			
Insurance	1	7			
Coal	4	0			
Gas, at least (on dark days 10d. a day)	3	0			
Clothing Clubs	2	0			
Man's pocket money	2	0			
Public wash-house	1	5			
Total	19	0	to	21	0
Food and soap	12	3	to	14	3
	£1 13	3			

XV

Locality.—Walsall, Staffordshire.

General Character.—Industrial and mining.

Composition of Family.—Man, wife, and five children (ages 6 years to 7 months).

Income.—£1 13s. 3d. Father unemployed.

	s.	d.
Rent (Council house)	9	10
Coal, gas, and electricity	4	6
Bread	4	0
Meat (Sunday 1s., during week 1s.)	2	0
Vegetables and potatoes	1	0
Milk	2	0
Margarine, 3½ lb.	1	9
Tea, ¾ lb.		9
Cocoa, 1 tin		5½
Bacon		6
Lard and flour		8
Sugar	1	0
Jam		7
Peas, etc.		3
Sundries	1	0½
Pocket money (father)	2	4
Clubs and insurances		7
£1	13	3

APPENDIX V

The Declaration of Geneva

Drafted by Eglantyne Jebb and Promulgated by the Save the Children International Union, 1923; Adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations, 1924.

By the present Declaration of the Rights of the Child, commonly known as the "Declaration of Geneva", men and women of all nations, recognising that Mankind owes to the Child the best that it has to give, declare and accept it as their duty that, beyond and above all considerations of race, nationality, or creed:

I. THE CHILD must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually.

II. THE CHILD that is hungry must be fed; the child that is sick must be nursed; the child that is backward must be helped; the delinquent child must be reclaimed; and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succoured.

III. THE CHILD must be the first to receive relief in times of distress.

IV. THE CHILD must be put in a position to earn a livelihood and must be protected against every form of exploitation.

V. THE CHILD must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellowmen.

APPENDIX VI

Memorandum by the Council of the Save the Children Fund

On receiving the report of the Unemployment Enquiry Committee, the Council of the Save the Children Fund desires to make certain observations and to emphasise some of the conclusions to which the Committee has come. In doing so, the Council has in mind—as always—the Declaration of Geneva, which crystallises the Save the Children Fund's ideals in regard to all children, whether of our own or other lands.

Two characteristics of the enquiry will immediately strike the reader of the Committee's report. One is its impartiality. The Council, in setting up the Committee, laid down no detailed terms of reference. It merely desired a general enquiry "into the effects of unemployment on children and young people". It was at once evident that it would be impracticable to cover the whole of Great Britain in the collection of evidence. Such a task could only be adequately carried out by the Government: it was utterly beyond the competence of a small private committee severely restricted in its material resources and anxious to present its report within a few months of its inception. The Committee, however, selected a limited number of areas—urban and county—which in the aggregate may be regarded as fairly

representative of the country as a whole, and while it has given due attention to the black spots in which unemployment and its *sequelae* have reached catastrophic intensity, it has also sought evidence from certain districts in which unemployment is relatively rare.

The other outstanding characteristic of the enquiry is the moderation and restraint with which the report has been drafted. The superficial reader will look in vain for purple patches : but anyone who takes pains to read between the lines and to consider the ample tables presented will find more than sufficient indication that in a country of which the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health (Sir George Newman) could say, only a few months ago, that " there appears to be no measurable sign of . . . impairment of the physique of the children and nothing to show as yet that their health has been lowered ", there are many thousands who must be within the danger zone. At the same time there is also a residuum of children whose health is already impaired and whose future as citizens and as parents is being imperilled by the conditions under which they are now compelled to live. It is the children of both these classes who are the special concern of the Save the Children Fund.

Despite the wide range of sources from which the Enquiry Committee sought evidence — public officials, school teachers, probation officers, women's sections of the Labour Party, charitable societies, social workers, and private individuals in touch with the problem—the great majority of the replies received came from the officials and among these replies statistical returns occupy a very prominent place. It is obvious that statistical returns can only give a general impression which may be at variance with individual experience. The health report of a community of,

say, a thousand persons, of whom the majority are adequately provided for and it may be ten, it may be fifty, children are seriously undernourished and in peril of disease and death, might cause little concern. The death-rate might be "normal", there might be no sickness among the fortunate majority and the plight of the remaining ten or fifty, however desperate their condition, would be statistically negligible. The most humane medical officer of health could hardly be expected to lay emphasis on the existence of this blot on the bill of health of his district. Yet, how different the point of view of the unfortunate minority and how blind the State that would ignore their existence! This is no fantasy. The Save the Children Fund, through its Enquiry Committee, has had before it the health returns—the very consoling health returns—of a large number of representative samples of the nation's children. But it has also received, from other sources, the story of the minority. There is much significance in the turn of Sir George Newman's phrase quoted above: "There is . . . nothing to show *as yet* that the health of the children has been lowered".

The nation must not be lulled into a false sense of security and virtue because, taken as a whole, the standard of the public health and of the nutrition of its children has shown only a small decline during these years of stress. According to Sir George Newman's latest annual report on the health of the school child (1931), the incidence of malnutrition per 1,000 inspections was 11.2 in 1931; in 1930, it was 10.6; five years earlier, in 1925, it was only 9.5. These ratios, it must be remembered, are based on aggregate returns for the whole of England and Wales, so that, allowing for the many cases in which a good nutritional standard is maintained, the incidence of malnutrition in

the worst areas must obviously be much more severe than the average.

The Save the Children Fund, while giving full weight to the official returns which have been examined by its Enquiry Committee, has also before its mind such cases as the school in one of the impoverished districts of South Wales where seventy per cent. of the children rely on the Fund for milk, which, the head teacher avers, in some cases has saved lives and in all maintained the health of the children. This district falls within a county of which the general incidence of malnutrition is reported as being one per cent. only. This is an extreme instance, from one of the blackest spots in the country, but in less degree it can be paralleled north, south, east, and west, throughout Great Britain, where the Save the Children Fund, in co-operation with the National Union of Teachers, is supplying supplementary nourishment—and clothes—to the residuum of children who are in desperate need. Moreover, as the report points out, it is the risk of malnutrition, if present conditions persist, rather than existing incidence of malnutrition, which is a matter for disquietude. Further, it must be remembered, as Lady Hall points out in her preface, that since the enquiry was begun in 1932 the report reflects in the main conditions as they were in 1931. The cuts in unemployment benefit imposed under the National Economy Act, 1931, and the Anomalies Act, 1931, did not come into force until the autumn of that year : nor was the Needs Test operative. Hence, the full effect of the further restriction of means was not felt during the period under review.

The report makes it clear that where a decline in the nutrition and health of school children is recorded it may be attributed to the fact that the provision of school meals has not kept pace with the need. The inadequacy, where

it exists, is due in general to one of two causes: either there is a lack of initiative, or of a sense of responsibility, on the part of the Local Education Authority, which is the Authority empowered under the Education Act, 1921, to provide such meals, or such Authority is so much impoverished that it is not possible to incur the expense of providing meals. In the case of certain rural areas there is a third cause, distinct from either of these—the purely administrative fact that the children requiring food are so few and so scattered that it is impracticable to make provision for them. The report proves abundantly that school meals, where they have been provided, have, more than anything else, alleviated the situation in regard to the health of the children in the present crisis, and the fact that this is so is indeed an ample justification of expenditure on social welfare services of this kind.

The Save the Children Fund desires to draw the attention of the public and of the appropriate authorities to this result of the enquiry, and to emphasise the hope of the Enquiry Committee that in the new legislation, which is to come before Parliament in the autumn, the provision of school meals in so far as the necessity for them is due to unemployment, will be treated as a part of the cost of unemployment which should be borne by the State and not by the Local Education Authorities. In any case it is desirable that the provision of school meals should be extended and that the administration should be rendered more homogeneous. At the present time, in London, the nomination of children to receive school meals rests with the Care Committees, which are efficient ancillary aids to the London County Council Education Committee. Some few of the larger provincial towns also have Care Committees, but in many parts of the country arrangements

for choosing children for this benefit are somewhat haphazard. Selection may depend on the teacher, on the medical officer, on the attendance officer, perhaps on the personal interest of someone having no official connection with the educational services. Further, meals may be provided only on school days—though it is arguable that the children need to be fed on Saturdays and Sundays quite as much as from Monday to Friday, and if they need to be fed during term do they not need meals also during the holidays ?

Germane to the question of school meals is that of medical inspections—for the desirability of recommending a child for this benefit is frequently dictated by the findings of the school medical officer at these inspections. But how inadequate these inspections are ! Three times in the nine years' school life of the elementary school child is the rule for routine inspections, and in the last year for which figures are available—1931—35.7 per cent. (1,759,186) of the children in average attendance were subjected to routine examination. It is true that the actual number of examinees was much larger than this, for at the request of the parents, teachers, school nurses, or attendance officers, no fewer than 1,084,467 other children were referred to the school medical officers for special reasons : thus the total number passed under review was 2,843,653, or 57.7 per cent. of the average attendance.

Nevertheless, the Save the Children Fund considers that there is a strong case for extending the range of the school medical service, so that a more complete study may be made of each individual child's health. The means of detecting cases of malnutrition at present in vogue lack in regularity and in precision. Urgent and spectacular cases may be observed by teachers or by attendance officers, or

by school managers or other casual visitors to schools, but, generally speaking, none of these is specially qualified to judge scientifically the nutritional state of the children. On the other hand, some parents—the more desperate or the less independent—may make application for their children to be put on the school meals list, but there must be many who, through ignorance of the available arrangements, or through *amour propre*, or—a very potent factor—because they fear that the cost of the meals may be debited against their Public Assistance allowance, refrain from taking any such steps. More frequent examinations would, to some extent, overcome these difficulties.

Long before the present crisis, the founder and other leaders of the Save the Children Fund advocated the desirability of raising the school-leaving age, which at present in England is fourteen. Fifteen, which is the age in Scotland, has always seemed a more desirable age, and in the present congested state of the labour market the proposal should receive support for economic reasons as well as because of its importance from the point of view of the welfare of the child himself. The report notes the case of the juvenile who has left school and cannot find employment, and comments on his need for adequate nourishment. It points out that Cardiff has attempted to meet the problem by retaining such juveniles at school—and continuing to admit them to the benefits of school meals—after the leaving age. As the report says, another solution would seem to lie in an extension of the juvenile training centres and in making arrangements for the provision of meals at these centres. Since a young person aged fourteen is no longer recognised as a dependent of his parents, who get no allowance in respect of him, some system of maintenance grants seems to be necessary if he is unemployed during the interval

between school-leaving age and the age of receiving benefit under the insurance scheme which cannot be before the age of sixteen and thirty weeks, and if he does not find employment in an insured occupation may be considerably later. The payment of such grants should be made contingent—as is at present the case of the over-sixteens—on attendance at a junior instruction centre.

The Save the Children Fund is the sponsor of another scheme, carried out with excellent effect in Hungary for many years past. This is the system of "workschools" available for school-leavers who, in an atmosphere not of the factory but of the school, are enabled to learn not only a craft, but work-discipline, are supplied with nourishment and are paid for their work. The main opposition to the extension of the school age in Great Britain comes from the parents, who, under economic pressure, feel compelled to rely on the earning capacity of their children at the earliest possible moment. The children are thus forced into temporary—often blind-alley—occupations, with little consideration for their aptitude for them, or for their future life. They may—and often do, at the present time—throw out of employment an older adolescent who, because he has passed the age of sixteen, demands higher wages and has also become an expense to his employer for National Health and Unemployment Insurance contributions. The workschool scheme offers an alternative which is of educational advantage to the children themselves and also acceptable to the parents.

The Save the Children Fund considers that one of the fundamental problems is that of housing. The graphic tables which the report gives showing the relation between the number of rooms occupied per family and the heights and weights of the children in Glasgow makes this clear.

The question of rent differentiation under municipal housing schemes is discussed in the report, and the opinion is expressed that the case for making further use of existing facilities is overwhelming ; but the Save the Children Fund would go even further and maintain that, to safeguard the welfare of the children of some of the poorest families in the country, legislative provision for rent differentiation should be considerably extended.

Attention may also be drawn to a phase of the problem which does not loom large in the report. The Enquiry Committee sought information as to any changes which had been introduced, in consequence of the economic crisis, into the administration of maternity and child welfare, nursery schools, and kindred services. As the report states, the tendency has been to restrict the development of these services in conformity with the Ministry of Health Economy Circular of September, 1931, but happily there has been little curtailment of a branch of social welfare work which —at any rate so far as nursery schools is concerned—has not yet been developed to a degree commensurate with the needs of the country.

Finally, a word should be said of the psychological and moral effects of unemployment on the children. This can be reflected only to a very limited extent in official statistics, through returns of delinquency, etc., but there can be no question of the deterioration which prolonged unemployment causes. Reports from the Save the Children Fund's open-air residential school for debilitated girls at Fairfield House, Broadstairs, tell what an engrossing subject the matter is ; how anxiously the children look for news of the employment of their fathers and how depressed they are at hearing their efforts to find work have been unsuccessful. And there can be no question but that unemployment

affects distinctly not only the morale of the parents, but that of the children to. This points more than ever to the desirability of multiplying institutions like Fairfield and nursery schools or emergency open-air nurseries on the model of those now being set up by the Save the Children Fund in connection with occupational centres and of making all our elementary schools as attractive as possible by the provision of meals and of adequate and cheerful surroundings. If only this report can serve to stimulate progress in these directions, it will not have been written in vain.

NOEL-BUXTON,
President.

H. D. WATSON,
Chairman and Hon. Treasurer.

The Save the Children Fund,
40, Gordon Square,
London, W.C.1.
May 23, 1933.

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The Save the Children Fund

An Association whose aim it is, irrespective of race, country, or creed, to preserve child life wherever menaced by conditions of hardship or distress, and to raise the standard of child care and protection throughout the World

Founded by Eglantyne Jebb, 1919, incorporated under the Companies Acts, 1908 to 1917, and Registered under the War Charities Act, 1916

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**References to specific towns, etc., in Appendices I—IV are not indexed.

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