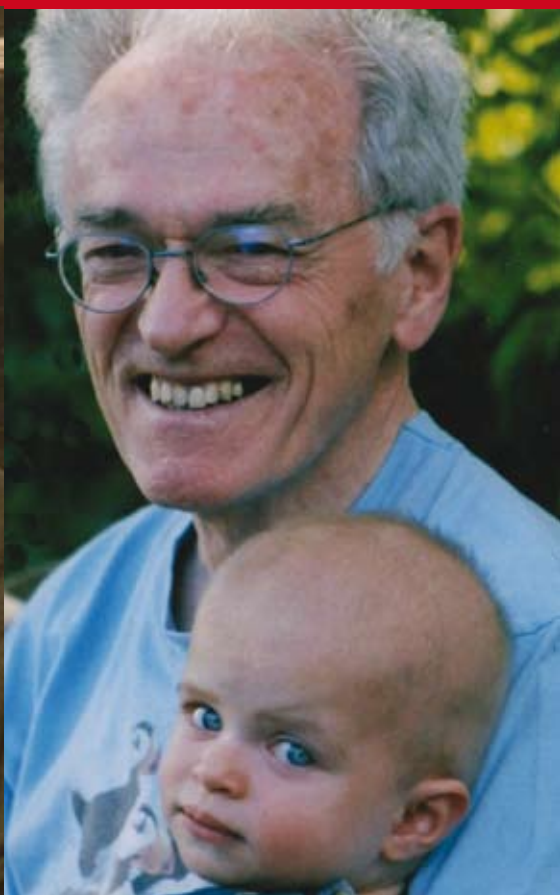


PETER TOWNSEND

Professor of International Social Policy, LSE and
Emeritus Professor of Social Policy, University of Bristol



COMPLETE LIST OF PUBLICATIONS 1948–2008



FIRST UNITED NATIONS DECADE FOR THE
eradication of poverty
(1997-2006)

Department of Social Policy, London School of Economics and Political Science
and also
Townsend Centre for International Poverty Research,
8 Priory Road,
Bristol BS8 1TZ

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Biographical outline

Academic position–2008

Professor of International Social Policy, London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), 1998– (where he was also Acting Director of the Centre for the Study of Human Rights 2002–03) and Professor Emeritus and Senior Research Fellow in Social Policy, University of Bristol, 1993–.

Educational career

[Following birth in 1928 in Middlesbrough and the family move to London in 1932] Fleet Road Elementary School, London County Council (1935–1939); scholarship to University College School (1939–46). After compulsory national service in the Army (1946–48) he read philosophy (Philosophy, Logic, Ethics and Psychology – then described as the Moral Sciences Tripos) for his BA degree in two years (allowable under war and immediate post-war regulations) at St John's College, Cambridge University (1948–50) and then read Social Anthropology (specialising in the West Indies) there for a further third year (1950–51). He gained a scholarship to the newly founded Free University of Berlin and was a sociology postgraduate student there (1951–52). He became Research Secretary of the social services research section of Political and Economic Planning (the forerunner of the Policy Studies Institute, 1952–54), Research Officer at the Institute of Community Studies (1954–57), and then Research Fellow and Lecturer at the LSE (1957–63). He was one of the first two academic appointees at the new University of Essex in 1963 and was Professor of Sociology there from 1963 until the end of 1981, when he went to Bristol (1982–93). He became Pro-Vice Chancellor, University of Essex (1975–78); Director of the School of Applied Social Studies, University of Bristol (1983–85 and 1988–92). Altogether he served as a Chair or Head of Department at Essex and Bristol for a total of 18 of the 30 years teaching at the two universities. After a spell beforehand of six years teaching and undertaking research at the LSE (1957–63) he returned there in 1998 to teach and do research. He was Acting Director of the Centre for the Study of Human Rights at LSE (2002–03) and was afterwards Chair of the Advisory Board of the Centre until 2007.

He was Michael Harrington Distinguished Visiting Professor of Social Science at City University New York (1991–92). He became Doctor of the University of Essex (honorary degree awarded for university work and services) (1993). He

was later awarded honorary doctorates for contributions to the social sciences, to sociology and to social policy from the University of Teesside (1994), The Open University (1995), the University of Edinburgh (1996), the University of Lincolnshire and Humberside (1997), the University of York (2000), Strathclyde University (2002), the Baptist University of Hong Kong (2005) and the National University of Ireland (2006). In 1999 he was among the first academicians elected to the Academy of Learned Societies for the Social Sciences (now the Academy of Social Sciences). He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy (FBA) in 2004.

Principal non-academic activities

Child Poverty Action Group

Among founding members 1965, Chair 1969–89, Life President 1989–.

Disability Alliance

Founder member (with Alan Walker) 1973–74; Chair 1974–99, President 1999–.

Fabian Society

Member 1947–; Elected Member of Executive Committee 1958–89; Chair 1965–66; Chair of Home Policy, Social Policy and Research Committees for 15 years; Vice President 1989–.

Labour Party

Served on policy sub-committees with small breaks 1955–87, and was appointed to serve on formal Labour government research working parties 1969–70 (mental handicap); 1977–79 (inequalities in health – report of a research group under the Chair Sir Douglas Black).

International agencies

During 1960–90 he served in various capacities for UNESCO, the World Health Organization (WHO) and International Labour Office (ILO). He was consultant to the United Nations (UN) (1993–95) during the preparations for, and at, the World Summit for Social Development at Copenhagen in March 1995; and was a member of a UN Management Development Programme mission to the Republic of Georgia in 1994. Consultant/expert to the European Union (EU) (1998); UNRISD (1999); the Royal Danish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (the Copenhagen Seminars 1997–2001); and UN Division

for Social Policy (2001). He was a member of a UNICEF research team (2000–04). In the 1990s and early 2000s he undertook cross-national research and administrative assignments for the EU, ILO, the US Institute of Health and the Public Health Department of Harvard University. Many of the activities in the last decade have revolved around the Copenhagen initiative attempting to establish scientific measures of ‘absolute’ and ‘overall’ poverty. He became consultant for the ILO and Department for International Development (DfID) during 2005–08, working with colleagues at both LSE and the University of Bristol, preparing a research review of social security, human rights and poverty.

Acknowledgements

Helen Anderson for generous work typesetting and editing earlier editions of this list of publications.

PETER TOWNSEND

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS 1948–2008

These are listed by year, and are classified by ‘minor’ (usually brief articles); ‘paper’ (longer articles, broadcasts, lectures); ‘*paper’ (substantial papers, booklets or pamphlets); ‘**’ or ‘***’ (major publications – according to scale). A large number of typescripts, including some for books as well as papers, are not listed below. There are some exceptions, including papers that were reproduced and circulated, say, within a country visited or to all members of an association. Formal lectures and speeches are not listed here, unless they were circulated widely or later published. Book reviews are mostly excluded.

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1948

- paper ‘Old Age and Industry’, *Varsity*, Cambridge, 27 November (an account of the work of Alan Welford and others in the Psychology Laboratory).
- minor ‘Bertrand Russell Denies Atom War Reports’, *Varsity*, Cambridge, November (based on an interview with the philosopher).
- minor ‘Cambridge Takes Lead in Crime Research’, *Varsity*, Cambridge, 4 December.

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1949

- minor ‘Should the Student Marry?’, *Varsity*, Cambridge, 23 April.
- minor ‘Teaching is Either a Sacrifice or a Vocation’, *Varsity*, Cambridge, 30 April.
- minor ‘Cambridge Poets Smoulder in their Solitude’, *Varsity*, Cambridge, 21 May.
- minor ‘Jazz at Cambridge: Soho and Trinity College are Unique for Bongo and Be-bop’, *Varsity*, Cambridge, 11 June.
- minor ‘Writing in Cambridge is Rich and Vigorous’, *Varsity*, Cambridge, 15 October.
- minor ‘Experimental Psychologist’, *Varsity*, Cambridge, 22 October (profile of Professor Sir Frederick Bartlett).
- minor (with Ruth Townsend) ‘Christianity at Cambridge: Where Does it Stand?’, *Varsity*, Cambridge, 26 November.
- minor ‘Flamboyant Librarian’, *Varsity*, Cambridge, 3 December (profile of C.D. Bicknell).

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1950

- minor 'Where Do We Go?', undergraduate page, *The Spectator*, 12 May, p 643.
- minor 'An Educational Experiment', *Varsity*, 28 October (from a series of 'Insight'-type investigations of university conditions by a research panel).
- minor 'I'm not a Communist But...!', *Varsity*, Cambridge.
- minor 'Pacifism', *Varsity Supplement*, October (an exchange with Norman St John Stevas).
- minor 'Spectator Experiments', *Varsity*, Cambridge, 4 November.
- minor 'Reluctance to Support Use of A-Bomb – Report of a Survey of University Opinion', *Varsity*, Cambridge, 2 December.
- minor 'Pandit Nehru', *Varsity*, Cambridge, 14 October (editorial proposing the new Chancellor).
- minor 'Ministerial Wiles', *Varsity*, Cambridge, 21 October (editorial on Herbert Morrison).
- minor 'Panic in the Streets', *Varsity*, Cambridge, 2 December (editorial on the Korean War).

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1951

- *paper (edited with Ruth Townsend) *Varsity Handbook*, Cambridge, 150 pages. An introduction for new students to the University of Cambridge.
- paper 'The Free University of Berlin', *Cambridge Today*, Cambridge.

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1952

- *** (edited, with an Introduction by E.M. Forster) *Cambridge Anthology*, London, Hogarth Press, 184 pages (including two short stories by Peter Townsend: 'All Done by Mirrors' and 'The Yellow Balloon').
- *paper 'Poverty – Ten Years After Beveridge', *Planning*, no 344, Political and Economic Planning, London, pp 21–40. This is a review of developments following the publication in the war years of the report on social security by Sir William (later Lord) Beveridge.
- *paper 'Social Security and Unemployment in Lancashire', *Planning*, no 349, Political and Economic Planning, London, pp 113–36. This is based on interviews carried out with unemployed people and visits paid to social security offices during a recession in the cotton industry in 1952.

- paper 'Not Specialists Only: The Technical University of Berlin', *Times Educational Supplement*, 15 February. Written during the tenure of a sociology studentship at the Free University of Berlin.
- *paper 'Social Security: A General Review', *Political and Economic Planning*, 28 pages. Limited circulation.

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1953

- *paper 'Cost of the Social Services 1938–1952', *Planning*, no 354, Political and Economic Planning, London, pp 1–12. This is a review of changes in the costs of the welfare state before and after the war.
- *paper 'Schools under Pressure I: The Shortage of Teachers', *Planning*, no 358, Political and Economic Planning, London, pp 265–78. This paper and the next were written at a time when the large increase in the birth rate after the war was beginning to affect school intakes.
- *paper 'Schools under Pressure II: Buildings and Costs', *Planning*, no 359, Political and Economic Planning, London, pp 281–300.
- paper 'Prospect from Five to Ten', 'After the Deluge' and 'Overcrowded Classrooms', series of three articles in *The Times* and *Times Educational Supplement*.

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1954

- *paper 'Providing for Pensions', *Planning*, no 364, Political and Economic Planning, London, pp 93–116. This was an early attempt to interpret the rapid increase in number of retirement pensioners.
- *paper 'Measuring Poverty', *British Journal of Sociology*, June, pp 130–7. This had been provoked by the earlier work in Lancashire on need among unemployed people and in reviewing the progress made on the implementation of the Beveridge Report. It reflects a lifelong preoccupation with the definition of a family income to meet need.
- paper 'Cost of the British Social Services', *Social Security Bulletin*, US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, DC, February.

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1955

- *paper (with Brian Abel-Smith) *New Pensions for the Old*, Fabian Research Series, no 171, London. This attempted to break away from the

minimalist thinking about pensions in the Beveridge Report and elsewhere. In some ways the subsequent discussion of national superannuation and, much later, the state earnings-related pension scheme, can be traced back to early statements such as this one.

*paper 'The Anxieties of Retirement', *Transactions of the Association of Industrial Medical Officers*, London. This criticised the empirical basis of a fixed pension age.

*paper 'The Family Life of Old People', *The Sociological Review*, December, pp 175–95. A short rehearsal of the subsequent book.

1956

minor 'Five Hundred Over Sixty: A Community Survey of Ageing' (Review), *Economica*.

1957

*** *The Family Life of Old People*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, October, 284 pages. Based primarily on interviews with a random sample of 203 people of pensionable age living in Bethnal Green, London. Second impression 1961, third impression 1969. Revised edition with new concluding chapter 'Postscript 1963' published by Penguin Books in 1963, 331 pages (reprinted 1968, 1970, 1974, 1977). Translated into Japanese and published in Tokyo, 1973 and 1975. The book showed the relevance of kinship networks and relations within the extended family of three and four generations to both membership of community and individual development through the generations. It also showed how state policies conditioned the 'success' or otherwise of ageing. Of special interest are the methods of adapting the family 'tree' to the exposition of the family networks of those alive at any single time, and of inviting respondents to keep diaries. Of special interest to policy development are the arguments for sheltered housing and attendance allowances – both taken up publicly and subsequently introduced by the British government.

** (with Richard Titmuss and Brian Abel-Smith) *National Superannuation: Report of a Technical Sub-Committee on the Introduction of a National Superannuation Scheme in Britain*, London, Labour Party, 122 pages. Peter Townsend and Brian Abel-Smith were primarily responsible for writing 'The Detailed Provisions of the National Superannuation

Scheme', pp 54–122, with Peter Townsend dealing primarily with Chapter 1 (including passages on women) and Brian Abel-Smith with Chapter 2. The collaboration seemed to work well and with cross-party backing the scheme could have reduced poverty among elderly people for the foreseeable future while consolidating what might be called the psychology of substantial investment in the national economy. The proposal foreshadows proposals put forward on behalf of the government first by R.H.S. Crossman (his bill 'fell' in 1970) and second by Barbara Castle (1974–76) leading to the State Earnings-Related Pension Scheme.

- *paper 'Family Relationships: Method and the Study of the Old Person', in *The Need for Cross-National Surveys of Old Age*, International Association of Gerontology, report of a conference in Copenhagen in October 1956); also in *Mens en Maatschappij, Tweemaandel i jka Tijdschrift*, Amsterdam; and in *Longevita*, Milan (with the title 'Metodo per lo studio dell anzio in famiglia'), March.
- paper (with Angelo Pagani) 'Il Lavatore in Vecchiaia', *Technica ed Organizzazione*, May.
- paper 'The Right to Work in Old Age', *Fabian Journal*, London, July, pp 18–24. An illustration of the developing problem of ageism.
- paper 'Metodo per lo Studio Dell'Anzio in Famiglia', *Longevita*, March–April, pp 45–50.
- paper 'Contributo allo studio delle relazioni familiari', *Longevita*, Milan, November, pp 175–80.
- minor 'Two Studies of Kinship in London', *Case Conference*, April, vol 3, no 10, pp 310–11.
- minor 'New Pensions for Old', *Socialist Commentary*, June, pp 7–9.
- minor 'The Social Reasons for the Pensions Plan', *The Westminster Review*, London, August.

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1958

- *paper 'Sociology and the Relationship Between Man and Wife', *Case Conference*, London, April. An attempt to relate extended family relationships to both marriage and equal opportunities.
- *paper 'A Society for People', MacGibbon and Kee, September, pp 93–120 (long essay contributed to a book of personal declarations entitled *Conviction*, edited by Norman Mackenzie.) A shortened version also published in the *New Statesman*, 18 October, pp 523–30.

- *paper 'Work and Activity Towards the End of Life', in *Report of a European Seminar on the Individual and Social Importance of Activities for the Elderly*, New York, UN.
- paper 'The Concept of the Extended Family', *Longevita*, Milan, November.
- *paper *The Home and Welfare Services for the Aged: 1945–1958 and Beyond*, report no 379 for the Labour Party's Study Group on Social Security and Old Age, April, 75 pages.
- minor 'Welfare Myths', *The Spectator*, 12 September.

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1959

- ** (with Brian Rees) *The Personal, Family and Social Circumstances of Old People*, London, LSE (second and third impressions, 1959), 80 pages. Report of an investigation carried out in England in 1959 to pilot a future cross-national survey of old age.
- *paper 'The Extended Family and the State', in *Report of the Fourth International Congress of Gerontology*, vol III, held in Merano, Italy in July 1957.
- *paper 'Social Surveys of Old Age in Great Britain: Historical Retrospect 1945–1958', *Bulletin of the World Health Organisation*, vol 21, pp 583–91.
- paper 'Developing Criteria for Measuring the Social Health of an Ageing Population: Family Relationships', in *Report of the Fourth International Congress of Gerontology*, Merano, Italy, July 1957.
- paper 'The Truce on Inequality', *New Statesman*, 26 September (an exchange with Harold Wilson). Harold Wilson replied in the following week.
- paper 'C.S. Walton', *Phoenix*, September (a biographical note on the headmaster of University College School).

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1960

- paper 'Private Homes for the Aged: "I: Too Many Restrictions", and "II: Case for Greater Public Control"', *The Times*, 17 and 18 May.
- paper 'The Institution and the Individual', *The Listener*, 23 June (third programme broadcast).
- minor (with Robert Pinker) 'Residential Care of the Old and Handicapped', *Municipal Journal*, 14 October.
- minor 'How to Build up our Social Services', *Tribune*, 11 November.

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1961

** (with Caroline Woodroffe) *Nursing Homes in England and Wales – A Study of Public Responsibility*, National Corporation for the Care of Old People, 72 pages. This study reported the results of a survey of a representative random sample of 227 nursing homes. The social problems of the private ownership and management of residential institutions for vulnerable people are considerable. This research produced results still (ironically) relevant to conditions in comparable institutions at the turn of the 21st century.

*paper 'The Development of Health and Welfare Services for Old People, 1946–60, Association of Directors of Welfare Services, July.

paper 'Freedom and Equality', *New Statesman*, 14 April.

minor 'Survey of Families Living High in New Blocks of Flats', Interim Report in *Two to Five in High flats. An Enquiry into Play Provision for Children Aged Two to Five Years Living in High Flats*, London, The Housing Centre, May. Although unfortunately only a summary, this early study of the disadvantages of high blocks of flats (carried out by a small team of LSE students) was followed by many others – with the eventual abandonment of tall blocks as suitable accommodation for families.

minor 'A Pioneer Student of Poverty', *The Guardian*, 28 August (Seebohm Rowntree).

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1962

*** *The Last Refuge: A Survey of Residential Institutions and Homes for the Aged in England and Wales*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 552 pages. This study investigated a random sample of 180 public, voluntary and private residential institutions in which elderly people lived. There were interviews with chief officers and managers as well as residents. The author stayed and worked in two of the institutions. Among items of interest are the 'inventory' approach to different kinds of residential institutions, the representative sampling of both institutions and their residents, the index of 'incapacity for self-care', and the attempt to represent the argument of the report in a series of photographs.

*paper 'The Meaning of Poverty', *British Journal of Sociology*, September. This reopened and attempted to pursue some of the issues discussed in the 1952 paper.

- paper 'The Purpose of the Institution', in C. Tibbitts and W. Donahue (eds) *Social and Psychological Aspects of Ageing*, Columbia University Press.
- minor 'The Meaning of Poverty', *New Statesman*, 20 April, pp 553–4 (an early, popularised version of the subsequent longer paper in the *British Journal of Sociology*).

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1963

- *paper *The Family Life of Old People*, London, Penguin Books, 311 pages. New paperback edition of 1957 book with new Postscript: 'Moving Towards a General Theory of Family Structure', pp 235–55.
- *paper 'A Provisional Measure of Incapacity for Self-Care', in W. Donahue, C. Tibbitts, and R.H. Williams (eds) *Psychological and Sociological Processes of Ageing: An International Research Seminar*.
- *paper 'The Argument for Gradually Abandoning Communal Homes for the Aged', *International Social Science Journal*, vol XV, no 3.
- paper 'The Timid and the Bold – An Examination of Plans for Health and Welfare', *New Society*, 23 May.
- paper 'New Directions in Welfare', *Hospital and Social Service Journal*, May.
- paper 'The Man Inside: Idealism and Athletics', *The Listener*, 27 June.
- *paper 'Ten Year Plans for Social Services for Old People', *Report of the Proceedings of the Welfare Conference 23–24 April 1963*, Association of Municipal Corporations, County Councils Association and London County Council, pp 31–41.
- paper 'Alternativen einer konstitutionel len Fursorge', *Wir Sind Eine Familie*, Dokumentation Deutsche Gemeinschaftsaufgaben, 3, SPD, Bonn. The German SPD followed a practice of inviting a few outside 'experts' in certain subjects to give lectures during the annual party conference. This was a tradition attributed to Willy Brandt, who attended.
- paper 'Sampling the Populations of Hospitals, Nursing Homes and Residential Institutions', paper presented to an international social science research seminar in Gerontology, Markaryd, Sweden, August. Unpublished but widely circulated.
- paper *The Family of Three Generations in the United States, Denmark and Britain*, Report of an International Social Science Research Seminar in Gerontology, Markaryd, Sweden, August.
- minor 'The Shadow of Poverty in the Age of Plenty', *The Observer*, 24 February.
- minor 'The Test of Socialism', *New Statesman*, 19 April.

paper 'The Sources of Poverty', lecture given to College of General Practitioners, 24 November. Circulated to members.

1964

- *** *The Last Refuge*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul. A special abridged edition in hardback and paperback (250 pages) of the 552-page first edition of 1962. The text is heavily revised to suit the condensation.
- *paper 'Family and Kinship in Industrial Society', in P. Halmos (ed) *The Development of Industrial Societies*, Proceedings of the Conference of the British Sociological Association, April, *Sociological Review Monograph*, no 8, October.
- paper 'The Place of Older People in Different Societies', *The Lancet*, 18 January, pp 159–61. Full version in *Age with a Future, Report of the Sixth International Congress of Gerontology*, Copenhagen, 1963, Munksgaard.
- paper 'Poverty in Western Countries', *Handicapped Families*, report of a colloquium organised by the Bureau de Recherches Sociales and held under the auspices of UNESCO, Paris, February.
- paper 'Prisoners of Neglect – Psychiatric Hospitals in Britain', *The Observer*, 5 April. Summary also in *The Nursing Mirror*, April.
- paper 'Illusions and Realities of Community Care', in *Report of the Conference of the Scottish Old People's Welfare Committee*, Edinburgh, 2 April.
- paper 'The Sources of Poverty', *Journal of the College of General Practitioners*.
- minor 'Health: Where the Cupboard is Bare', *New Statesman*, 10 April.

1965

- *** (with Brian Abel-Smith) *The Poor and the Poorest: A New Analysis of the Ministry of Labour's Family Expenditure Surveys of 1953–54 and 1960*, London, Bell, 78 pages. This book helped to confirm the continued existence of large-scale poverty, despite the welfare state measures of the war and early post-war years. It therefore represents an early example of the doubts that began to be expressed by scientists and statisticians about the link that was assumed to exist between rising GNP and social progress. The book used minimum government benefit scales to explore the numbers in the population, both in and not in paid employment, whose disposable incomes did not reach, or only barely reached, the minimum. This could be regarded as a *de facto* definition of poverty by the state, but not as a scientifically derived measure. The

- book is also an early example of independent secondary analysis of income and expenditure data collected by government departments.
- *** (with D. Wedderburn, and with the assistance of Sylvia Korte and Sheila Benson) *The Aged in the Welfare State: The Interim Report of a Survey of Persons aged 65 and over in Britain, 1962 and 1963*, London Bell, 150 pages. (Peter Townsend is author of Part 1 on Community Care, pp 6–74, the summary, pp 129–34 and Appendix 1, pp 140–3.) This formed part of a more general programme of research (see *Old People in Three Industrial Societies*, 1968, below).
- *paper 'The Effects of Family Structure on the Likelihood of Admission to an Institution in Old Age', in E. Shanahan and G. Streib (eds) *Social Structure and the Family: Generational Relations*, report of a conference on the family at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, November 1963, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall. This demonstrated that small variations in family structure and family organisation were correlated with the likelihood of being admitted to residential institutions.
- paper 'The Argument for Comprehensive Schools', *Comprehensive Education*, Winter; also in E. Hillman (ed) *Essays in Local Government Enterprise*, vol 3, London, Merlin, 1966, A summary was published in *The Guardian*, 30 September. This called attention to the evidence, particularly overseas evidence, which showed that the 'pool of ability' was much larger than conventionally assumed.
- paper 'The Scale and Meaning of Poverty in Contemporary Western Society', in P. Townsend, J. Berliner, S.M. Miller and E. Clague, *Dependency and Poverty*, Colloquia 1963–64, The Florence Heller School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, Waltham, MA, Brandeis University.
- minor 'The Fate of the Elderly', *The Observer*, 18 July.

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1966

- paper 'The Changing Role of the Older Person in Our Society', Opening Address to the first Canadian Conference of Ageing, Toronto, January, *Proceedings*. Summary version published in *Ontario Housing*, 1966.
- paper 'Old People in Psychiatric and Geriatric Hospitals, Nursing Homes and Residential Homes', in H. Freeman (ed) *Psychiatric Hospital Care*, London, Baillière, Tindall and Cassell.
- paper 'Foreword', in P. Hunt (ed) *Stigma: The Experience of Disability*, London, Chapman.

- paper 'The Four Generation Family', *New Society*, 7 July. Reprinted in several readers including B.L. Neugarten, *Middle Age and Aging*, Chicago, IL, Chicago University Press, 1968.
- paper 'Family Relationships of the Aged in the United States, Denmark and Britain', in *Proceedings of Seminars 1961–65*, Duke University Council of Gerontology.
- paper 'How Many Poor? – Labour's Record', *Poverty*, no 1, Winter.
- minor 'Two Million Children in Poverty', *Where?*, 25 May.

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1967

- *paper 'Poverty, Socialism and Labour in Power', *Fabian Tract*, January, 32 pages; also in *Socialism and Affluence: Four Fabian Essays*, Fabian Society, published as a short book later that year with co-authors Brian Abel-Smith, Richard Titmuss and R.H.S. Crossman. Critical of the first two years of Labour government, this is a call for 'a more single-minded and large-scale strategy to achieve greater social equality'.
- *paper 'The Disabled in Society', lecture read at the Royal College of Surgeons, 5 May, published by the Greater London Association for the Disabled, 32 pages.
- paper 'Policies for Racial Equality', in A. Lester and N. Deakin (eds) *Policies for Racial Equality*, Fabian Research Series no 262.
- paper 'Pensions Not Means Tests for the Disabled', *New Society*, 28 September.
- paper 'Il Nuovo Concetto di Poverta in Riferimento a Societa in Via di Sviluppo e a Societa Industrialmente Progredite', *Centro Sociale*, Anno XIV, N 74–5. Also as *The New Conception of Poverty as Applied to Developing and Advanced Industrial Societies*, World Congress of Sociology, Evian, 1966.
- paper 'A Government Department of Social Planning', paper read at a government conference on the social services, Lancaster House, London, 2 December. Published in part as 'The Need for a Social Plan', *New Society*, 14 December, pp 852–5.
- paper 'The Disabled Need Help', *New Society*, 28 September, pp 432–3.
- minor 'Means Tests – To What End?', *The Guardian*, 4 October.
- minor 'Mr Wilson's Social Advance', *Tribune*, 13 October.

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1968

- *** (with Ethel Shanas, Dorothy Wedderburn, Henning Friis, Paul Milhoj and Jan Stehouwer) *Old People in Three Industrial Societies*, London and New

York, Routledge & Atherton, 478 pages/ (Peter Townsend was author of Chapter 1, pp 1–17; Chapter 4, pp 71–101, Chapter 5, pp 102–31; Chapter 6, pp 132–76; Chapter 9, pp 258–87; and Chapter 14, pp 424–54.) The methodology was rare. Research teams in the three countries devised and agreed a common questionnaire, which was applied to a random sample of elderly people. For all concerned it was a major exercise. The work was part of a larger research programme. A second report on the elderly in Britain (originally intended to be larger in scale) was published (with Dorothy Wedderburn) as *The Aged in the Welfare State*, 1965. A third book, with a provisional title *Old People in Hospital*, with Sheila Benson, was regrettably not finalised and published, although 400 pages of a draft report were assembled.

- *paper (with M. Reddin and others) *Social Services for All?*, London, Fabian Society, 122 pages. (Peter Townsend was responsible for Chapter 1, pp 1–6 and Chapter 10, pp 106–11.)
- paper 'The Limitations of the Supplementary Benefits Commission', a speech to the Northern Ireland Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG), reproduced in the press, 9 November.
- paper 'Family Welfare and Seebohm', *New Society*, 1 August.
- paper 'The Difficulties of Negative Income Tax', *Fabian Tract*, no 384.
- paper 'Problems in the Cross-National Study of Old People in the Family: Segregation Versus Integration', *Interdisciplinary Topics in Gerontology*, vol 2, Basel, New York, Karger.
- paper 'Does Selectivity mean a Nation Divided?', *Fabian Tract*, no 384.
- paper 'Marx and the Soviet Family', *New Statesman*, 13 December.
- minor 'Equal Pay for Children', *Sunday Times*, 21 September.
- minor 'The Needs of the Old', *New Society*, 12 December.
- minor 'We Cannot Have White Socialism', *Tribune*, 10 May, speech given at a rally in Oxford in the wake of Enoch Powell's provocative speech on 'race'.

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1969

- *paper 'Foreword: Social Planning for the Mentally Handicapped', in P. Morris, *Put Away: A Sociological Study of Institutions for the Mentally Handicapped*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul. (Peter Townsend's chapter was 23 pages.) The research was financed by the National Society for Mentally Handicapped Children (later Mencap). The foreword summarises the history of attempts to categorise people with

mental disabilities and exclude them from society. It argues 'first, that the accumulating evidence of social influences upon intelligence has weakened if not destroyed the eugenicists' case for social segregation; secondly, that the evidence from other countries, notably the Soviet Union, throws grave doubt on the hospital as the right environment for the care of the subnormal, and finally that the social, occupational and emotional needs of the great majority of the subnormal might be met better within various forms of sheltered family or community care than in existing hospitals and hostels'.

- paper 'Miten tutkia Köyhyyttä' ('A Sociologist at Work'), *Sosiologia*, Finland, 2.
- paper 'Needs and Leadership Strategies in the Planning of the Mental Health Services', address at the National Association for Mental Health Annual Conference, 20 February in *New Ways with Old Problems*, Report of the Proceedings of the Conference, London, NAMH.
- paper 'Strategies in Meeting Poverty', concluding paper presented at an international conference on Family Poverty and Social Policy, Manchester, 20 September. Limited circulation.
- paper 'The Need for a Development Plan for the Mentally Handicapped', Proceedings of the Conference of the National Society for Mentally Handicapped Children, 12 December, in *The Road to Community Care*, National Society for Mentally Handicapped Children, 1970.
- paper (with R. Brooke and F. Field) *A Policy to Establish the Legal Rights of Low Income Families*, London, CPAG, 12 pages (a memorandum to the Lord Chancellor).
- paper 'The Government's Approach to Social Policy: Devaluation in 1967 and Social Security in 1972', text of address to CPAG, Brighton, 30 September. Limited circulation.
- minor 'Unfinished Business: The White Paper on Social Security', *The Guardian*, 29 January.
- minor 'Foreword', in *Mental Illness in Four London Boroughs*, Psychiatric Rehabilitation Association, London.
- minor 'Equal Pay for Children', *Sunday Times*, 21 September.
- minor 'Problems of the Subnormal', *Times Educational Supplement*, 19 September.
- minor 'Critique of the Open Group', *New Society*, 18 September.
- minor 'Social Policy: International Ideas', *New Society*, 25 September.
- minor 'Half a Loaf, Half a Fish: Inequality in Old Age', *Tribune* 7 November.

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1970

- *** (ed) *The Concept of Poverty*, London, Heinemann Educational Books, 260 pages. (Peter Townsend was author of the Introduction, pp ix–xi; Chapter 1, pp 1–46; and Chapter 5, pp 100–13.) Paperback edition published in 1971. This was intended to prepare the way for a large-scale programme of research into poverty. The book pulled together early work on poverty in Europe and the US, and discussed explanations of inequality in first and third worlds and their different experiences of poverty. The conference was planned partly to sharpen and improve the national analysis of poverty in the UK – in relation to the succession of survey research mounted at LSE and Essex from 1964.
- *** (with D. Wedderburn) *The Aged in the Welfare State*, third edition, London, Bell.
- ** (with others) *The Fifth Social Service*, London, Fabian Society, 159 pages. (Peter Townsend's contribution, 'The Objectives of the New Local Social Service', pp 7–22.)
- *paper 'Revolution in Community Welfare', *The Lancet*, 5 September, pp 513–15.
- *paper 'Family Poverty and Social Policy', CPAG conference, September 1969. Limited circulation.
- *paper 'Incomes Policy for Families' (primary authorship, with Frank Field, of policy statement), later published as a 32-page booklet entitled *Poverty and the Labour Government*, London, CPAG. This argued that 'in many ways the plight of poor families is now worse than when the [Labour] Government took office'. The report provoked a public furore and the evidence was vigorously disputed by government ministers. In appendices in the booklet some of the exchanges between the Minister of State at the Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS) and the joint authors, Frank Field and Peter Townsend, are reproduced.
- paper 'Foreword', in *Mental Illness in City and Suburb*, Psychiatric Rehabilitation Association, London.
- paper 'The Future of the Social Services', in *Report of a Shotton Hall Conference on the Development of Welfare Services*.
- paper (with R. Brooke and F. Field) *A Policy to Establish the Legal Rights of Low Income Families*, London, CPAG, 12 pages (a memorandum to the Lord Chancellor).
- paper (with F. Field) 'Poverty and the Labour Government', *The Spokesman*, Summer.

- paper 'The Reorganisation of Social Policy', *New Society*, 23 October, pp 722–4.
- minor 'Poverty in England', *The Guardian*, 27 May.
- minor 'Poverty among Children, the Disabled and the Aged', *Poverty*, no 14, Spring.
- minor 'To Patronise the Poor: The Family Income Supplement Bill', *The Guardian*, 30 October.
- minor 'Our Future Now a Pattern is Set', *Evening Standard*, 29 October.
- minor 'Harold, Can you Spare a Dime?', *The Guardian*, 27 May.

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1971

- *paper 'The Problems of Social Growth': (1) The Problem of Inequality series; (2) The Problem of Poverty articles; (3) Under-investment in the social services, *The Times*, March; (4) Social Planning in the 1970s, pp 9, 10, 11 and 12.
- *paper 'Trends in the Distribution of Resources in the United Kingdom: 1938–1970', paper presented to a conference at LSE on The Distribution of Income, November. This paper was subsequently updated and included as a chapter in *Poverty in the United Kingdom*, 1979, 65 pages. An improved version of this lengthy paper was embodied in Chapter 4, *Poverty in the UK*, 1979.
- paper (with Tony Atkinson) 'The Advantages of Universal Family Allowances', *Poverty*, no 16/17, Winter.
- paper 'The Fifth Social Service: Alternative Paths of Development', address to the first annual conference of the British Association of Social Workers, Birmingham, 13 February.
- paper 'The Political Sociology of Mental Handicap: A Case-Study of a Policy Failure', address to a regional conference of the World Federation for Mental Health on Action for the Retarded, 27 March–1 April, Dublin. Proceedings published by the National Association for Mental Health.
- paper 'A Plan to Help the Low Paid: The Reform of Earned Income Relief', *Poverty*, no 18, Spring.
- paper 'Foreword' in D. Bull (ed) *Family Poverty*, London, Duckworth.
- paper 'Criteri di Misurazione e Analisi della Povertà nei Paesi ad Alto e a Basso Reddito', *La Rivista di Servizio Sociale* (Studi di Scienze Sociali Applicate e di Pianificazione Sociale), Roma.
- minor 'Mental Handicap: Need for More Help', *Sunday Times*, 27 June.
- minor 'Human Need in Ulster', *New Society*, 25 November.

minor 'Poverty', *Wyvern*, no 71, 26 November.

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1972

- *** (edited with N. Bosanquet) *Labour and Inequality: A Review of Social Policy 1964–1970*, London, Fabian Society, 302 pages. (Peter Townsend shared authorship of Chapter 1, pp 5–11 and was sole author of Chapter 6, pp 274–301.)
- *paper 'Politics and the Statistics of Poverty', *Political Quarterly*, 43, no 1, January, pp 103–12. This is an early example of the argument for independent statistical analysis to balance the tendency of government statistical output to be influenced directly and indirectly by ministerial but also 'establishment' or state ideology. DHSS statisticians replied in the following issue.
- *paper 'The Needs of the Elderly and the Planning of Hospitals', paper presented at a seminar at the University of Exeter, 2 March in R.W. Canvin and N.G. Pearson (eds) *Needs of the Elderly for Health and Welfare Services*, University of Exeter, 36 pages.
- paper 'The Ageing Worker in the United Kingdom', paper presented to a colloquium of the European Social Research Committee of the International Association of Gerontology, 1–3 April 1971, International Centre of Social Gerontology, Paris.
- *paper 'The Scope and Limitations of Means-Tested Social Services in Britain', paper presented to the Manchester Statistical Society, read 20 February, proceedings of *The Manchester Statistical Society*, pp 1–31.
- *paper 'The Older Worker in the United Kingdom', *Elderly People Living in Europe*, International Centre of Social Gerontology, Paris, pp 154–94.
- paper (with D. Wedderburn) *Problems of the Aged in Denmark, Britain and the USA*, National Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan.
- paper 'Policy Strategies for the Vulnerable Minority of the Aged', paper presented to the Royal Society of Medicine, 20 December. Limited circulation.
- paper 'Social Policy and Socialism', Fabian Autumn Lecture, Fabian Society. Limited circulation.
- paper 'Inequality and the Labour Government', *The Listener*, 27 April, pp 558–9.
- minor 'Foreword', in *Mental Illness in a Northern City*, Psychiatric Rehabilitation Association, London.

minor 'Green Paper in its Social Context: Implications of the Negative Income Tax Plan', *The Times*, 23 October.

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1973

- *** *The Social Minority*, London, Allen Lane, 319 pages. This collection of papers, articles and chapters illustrates the broader conception of 'minority' favoured by the author. In addition to minority ethnic groups there are those who 'are assigned to a special category or status on account of their appearance, physical condition, manner or speech, their family or residential situation or their position in relation to the labour market, and who are regularly treated as second-class citizens'. They can include older people and people with disabilities, homeless families, social security claimants, one-parent families and even large families.
- *paper 'Poverty as Relative Deprivation: Resources and Style of Living', in S.M. Lipset and S.M. Miller (eds) *Poverty and Social Stratification*.
- *paper 'Urban Planning, Slums and Poverty', paper presented to the Royal Institute of British Architects, 25 April 1972.
- *paper 'Everyone his Own Home: Inequality in Housing and the Creation of a National Service', *Journal of the Royal National Institute of British Architects*, January, pp 30–42. This calls attention to the persistence of slum conditions long after new policies have been introduced to eliminate them, and yet the failure even to measure the spatial and other material advantages derived year by year by rich people from those self-same housing policies. The paper argues for a new strategy with three ingredients: '(i) social ownership of rented housing; (ii) the extension to tenants of the rights and privileges of owner-occupiers, and (iii) the development of a system of flat-rate housing allowances for particular housing needs'.
- paper 'The Role of Pressure Groups in Social Change', lecture given at the University of Tampere, Finland, 28 March 1972. Limited circulation. Summary published in Finnish.
- paper 'The Right to Occupation: A Study of Three Occupational Systems for Old People in Long Stay Hospitals and Residential Homes in Britain', paper presented to the Third International Course on Social Gerontology: Leisure and the Third Age, 16 May 1972, International Centre of Social Gerontology, Paris.

- paper 'A Social Policy Needed for Northern Ireland', 14 June 1972 (a memorandum prepared on behalf of CPAG and presented to the Minister of State for Northern Ireland). Limited circulation.
- paper 'Enabling the Disabled', *The Guardian*, 2 May.
- minor (with Alan Walker) 'An Aid Scale for Disabled Children', *The Times*, 23 January.
- minor 'The Disabled are the People who Really Need an Incomes Policy', *The Times*, 10 December.

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1974

- *paper 'Poverty as Relative Deprivation: Resources and Style of Living', in D. Wedderburn (ed) *Poverty, Inequality and Class Structure*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp 15–41. This sets out in some detail the advantages of using 'relative deprivation' as the key concept in formulating a scientific definition of poverty. A longer version of this paper can be found as Chapter 1 in *Poverty in the United Kingdom* (below, 1979).
- *paper 'Inequality and the Health Service', the Sir Geoffrey Vickers Lecture, given at Middlesex Hospital Medical School on 6 February, *The Lancet*, 15 June, pp 1179–90 (see also 1977 below). This anticipates some of the principal themes and arguments addressed in the Black Report (see 1980 below). 'The [mortality] data are of immense significance... The trend of growing inequality is securely established.'
- paper *The Failure to House Britain's Aged*, London, Help the Aged, 15 pages.
- paper 'The Social Underdevelopment of Britain', *New Statesman*, 25 February, pp 283–8. This is a summary account of the failings of policies introduced by the Heath government.

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1975

- *** *Sociology and Social Policy*, London, Allen Lane, 371 pages. This collection of papers, articles and chapters develops the relationship between sociology and social planning, embodying structural analysis and the analysis of specific policies. The analysis of policies, and of policy institutions, should, it is argued, lie at the heart of sociological theories of social change. The argument extends to the problems of reorganising the responsibilities of government and local authorities,

as well as professions and social services. Questions of power are a recurrent concern.

*paper *Poverty and Disability: The Case for a Comprehensive Income Scheme for Disabled People*, London, Disability Alliance, 20 pages. Primary authorship of this statement, prepared shortly after the foundation of the Disability Alliance and adopted as the basis of the work of the Alliance, July. Much of the work was motivated by three ideas: to interpret and treat disability in terms of functional performance and not origin or medical or administrative category; to define and measure severity; and to compare rigorously severe with less severe disability or non-disability. The consequence may be for scientists as well as professionals and administrators to deal more equitably with physical and mental disability, and more sensitively with people experiencing different degrees of disability.

*** (with Dennis Marsden, David Lee, Anthony McCashin and Phil Holden) *The Determinants of Educational Attainment*, London, Department of Education and Science (DES), 146 pages (plus 56 pages of questionnaires). Draft report to the DES on the basis of interviews with a sample of 600 schoolboys. The project began in 1969 and was directed by Michael Lane. Among the findings a linear association is demonstrated between 'middle-classness' of a student's extended family (not only parental class) and length of stay in sixth form and higher education. The report was not published, but given limited circulation.

paper 'Problems of Introducing a Guaranteed Maintenance Allowance for One-Parent Families', *Poverty*, no 31, Winter/Spring.

paper 'The Cycle of Deprivation: the History of a Confused Thesis', *The Cycle of Deprivation*, papers presented to a national study conference at the University of Manchester in 1974, October. This places Sir Keith Joseph's 'cycle of deprivation' in historical context. The theme is regularly revived and the poor impugned in new language.

paper 'The Objectives of the New Local Social Service', in E. Butterworth and R. Holman (eds) *Social Welfare in Modern Britain*, London, Fontana.

paper (with F. Field) 'A Social Contract for Families', Memorandum to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, November 1974, *Poverty Pamphlet 19*, London, CPAG, May, 45 pages.

paper (with C. Pond, P. Lewis and A. Walker) *Inflation and Low Incomes*, London, Fabian Society.

paper 'Inflation and Low Incomes', *New Statesman*, 6 August, pp 245–7.

- paper 'Help for the Disabled', *New Society*, 24 July.
- paper 'Money for a Million Children', *New Statesman*, 27 June.
- minor 'Action not Promises', *New Psychiatry*, 18 December.
- minor 'The Wrong Pips Squeaking', *The Guardian*, 10 July (article on those worst hit by inflation).

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1976

- ** *Disability Rights Handbook for 1977*, London, Disability Alliance, 38 pages. The first edition of a handbook, which, because of changes in government laws and regulations, came to be rewritten and updated every year.
- *paper *The Difficulties of Policies Based on the Concept of Area Deprivation*, Barnett Shine Foundation Lecture, Queen Mary College, University of London. An updated version subsequently incorporated into a chapter in *Poverty in the United Kingdom*, 1979.
- *paper 'The Sociology of Ageing: Residential Homes and Institutions', in *Old Age – Today and Tomorrow*, London, British Association for the Advancement of Science.
- paper 'Area Deprivation Policies', *New Statesman*, 6 August, pp 168–71.
- paper 'How the Rich Stay Rich', *New Statesman*, 1 October, pp 441–4.
- paper 'The Social Meaning of Income and Wealth Data', evidence presented to the Diamond Commission on the Distribution of Income and Wealth, and at Fabian Seminar, 6 March. Limited circulation.

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1977

- ** *Disability Rights Handbook for 1978*, London, Disability Alliance, 40 pages.
- *paper 'Inequality and the National Health Service', in J.M. Tanner (ed) *Developments in Psychiatric Research*, London, Hodder and Stoughton. This is a revised and updated version of the *Lancet* article, 1974 above.
- paper 'Public Expenditure Cuts', in J. Gray and E. Wilson (eds) Report of the Discussion Conference on *The Social Wage*, London, National Steering Committee Against the Cuts, pp 23–7 and pp 32–4.
- paper 'The Unrepentant Democratic Socialist', *New Statesman*, 15 April, pp 487–8 (an appreciation of Barbara Wootton).
- minor 'The Disability Alliance: Collaboration to Achieve a New Deal for Disabled People', *Responaut*, Autumn/Winter.

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1978

- ** (with Alan Walker and Irene Loach) *Disability Rights Handbook for 1979*, London, Disability Alliance, 46 pages.
- paper 'The Need for a Full Employment Policy', in M. Barratt-Brown et al (eds) *Full Employment*, London, Spokesman Books, pp 8–13.
- paper *The Choice Between Family Support in the Community and Segregation of Client Groups in Residential Institutions: A Review of Joint Financing Schemes*, London, Disability Alliance.
- *paper *The Failure to House Britain's Aged*, London, Help the Aged.
- paper 'Costing a Disablement Allowance', *Community Care*, July.
- paper 'Social Policy in Conditions of Scarcity', *New Society*, 10 May.
- paper (with A. Walker) *Response to the DHSS on the Report of the Royal Commission on Civil Liability and Compensation for Personal Injury*, London, Disability Alliance.
- minor 'Despite our Fervour We Have Now Created an Underclass', *Help Age International*, no 8, March/April (an article extracted from a pamphlet).

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1979

- *** *Poverty in the United Kingdom: A Survey of Household Resources and Standards of Living*, London, Penguin Books and Allen Lane, 1216 pages, published in the US, University of California Press. The book represents the culmination of a programme of 15 years of research. A decision was taken by the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust in 1964 to finance pilot studies on fatherless families, large families, and unemployed and disabled people (Dennis Marsden, Hilary Land, Adrian Sinfield and John Veit Wilson), to be followed by a national survey. In 1967–68, following pilot work, lengthy interviews were completed with 2,052 households, including 6,045 people, in 630 parliamentary constituencies throughout the UK. Another 1,514 households, including 3,539 people, were later interviewed in four poor areas of Belfast, Glasgow, Salford and Neath (to secure representative information for the populations of the poorest areas). The plan was to publish a relatively short report quickly. This plan was reluctantly abandoned, because of unanticipated changes of personnel and the teething problems in developing computer analysis in major universities, like London and Essex. The rich haul of data had not been properly anticipated. A decision was taken instead to prepare a complex and more comprehensive analysis of the empirical data, adding

a short history of the subject and an account of income trends in the UK in the 1970s following the interviews. Such a report, it was believed, might stand the test of time. The aim was also to establish an elaborate baseline on which others might build. The contribution to knowledge might be more enduring than a snapshot survey report, hastily put together. There were mixed reactions to publication in 1979. Despite the rich empirical evidence of widespread social need, the measure of poverty was believed by some to be greatly exaggerated. The concept of relative deprivation certainly provoked a lot of discussion, although the concept was often misinterpreted. The central scientific value of a sociological perspective was either not really absorbed (for example by many economists) or regarded with scepticism. Some unusual features of the report did not attract much scrutiny. One was the analysis of multiple deprivation. Thus, comparatively little attention was paid to certain forms of deprivation, like deprivation at work, deprivation of the performance of familial roles and environmental or locational deprivation. Much attention, by contrast, had always been paid to housing and dietary deprivation – both of these having a much higher scientific and popular profile. The report gave data about multiple deprivation (covering 60 indicators). However, it was the summary (of 12 indicators) that attracted most publicity rather than the 'network' of related evidence of deprivation. Another unusual, and overlooked, feature was a substantial chapter on the rich. And a third feature was a chapter on the cumulative 'classness' of occupational class within families. One result of particular interest was the larger absolute payment estimated to be made by the average council tenant for housing over the lifetime, compared with that made by the average homeowner.

** (with Irene Loach and Alan Walker) *Disability Rights Handbook for 1980*, London, Disability Alliance, 53 pages.

*paper 'The Development of Research in Poverty', in DHSS, *The Definition and Measurement of Poverty*, London, HMSO, pp 15–45. This enlarged on some of the themes of the major report on poverty in the UK and argued for a combined measure of income and wealth and for other improvements in method.

paper *The Government's Failure to Plan for Disablement in Old Age*, London, Disability Alliance, February.

paper 'Inequality at the Workplace: How White Collar Always Wins', *New Society*, 18 October.

- paper 'La condizione degli anziani nella societa industriale matura', in P. Guidicini (ed) *La Condizione Anziana Oggi*, Milan, Franco Angeli Editore.
- paper 'Getting the Message Across: A Summary of Poverty in the United Kingdom and an Interview', *Poverty*, no 44, December, pp 15–23.
- paper 'Social Policy in Conditions of Scarcity', *New Society*, 10 May, pp 320–2.
- paper 'Inequality at the Workplace: How White Collar Always Wins', *New Society*, 18 October, pp 120–3.
- paper 'An Interview', *Social Work Today*, 6 November, pp 14–21. A long account of the origins of the 1968–69 survey of poverty, and an extensive review of the book, edited by Nathan Goldberg.
- minor 'Prospects for the 1980s', *Sunday Times*, 30 December.

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1980

- *** (co-editor with Nicholas Bosanquet) *Labour and Equality*, London, Heinemann, 312 pages. (Peter Townsend was author of Chapter 1, pp 1–23). This emulated the 1972 book with a similar title and reviewed the Labour government's record in the late 1970s.
- *** (with Sir Douglas Black, Jerry Morris and Cyril Smith) *Inequalities in Health: Report of a Research Working Group*, London, DHSS, 417 pages. Dr Stuart Blume was Scientific Secretary and Dr Nicky Hart Research Fellow to the Group. The Working Group was appointed in 1977 by the Secretary of State at the DHSS (David Ennals) to review information about differences in health status between the social classes; to consider possible causes and the implications for policy; and to suggest further research. The report was presented to the new Conservative government in April 1980. In a preface of three paragraphs the new Secretary of State, Patrick Jenkin, condemned the report. His department chose to issue only 250 duplicated copies of the typescript during the August Bank holiday, 1980. The health professions and the media reacted angrily to this dismissive treatment of report and subject. Many summaries were subsequently published and widely discussed. A slightly condensed version was published by Penguin Books. The two most important scientific conclusions of the Working Group's review were that inequalities in mortality had been growing during the 1950s and 1960s, and that, among the different causes of the unequal pattern of premature mortality, material deprivation was by far the most important. Although genetic inheritance and individual lifestyle (including smoking) contributed to the explanation of premature

deaths, it was material deprivation that dominated the picture and deserved priority in policy and further scientific investigation.

- ** (edited with Alison Cooper and Alan Walker *Disability Rights Handbook for 1981*, London, Disability Alliance, November, 62 pages.
- *paper (with Alan Walker) 'Compensation for Disability: The Wrong Course', in M. Brown and S. Baldwin, *The Yearbook of Social Policy in Britain, 1978*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- *paper 'The Care of the Elderly in Britain and Japan', Tokyo International Council on Social Welfare, March. This was the published version of a lecture first delivered in Tokyo in April 1978 to the Japanese National Committee of the International Council on Social Welfare.
- paper 'Politics and Social Policy, an Interview', *Politics and Power 2*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp 99–111.

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1981

- *** (with Francis Cripps, John Griffith, Frances Morrell, Jimmy Reid and Stuart Weir) *Manifesto: A Radical Strategy for Britain's Future*, London, Pan Books. (Peter Townsend was responsible primarily for chapters entitled 'From Him that Hath' and 'Social Services for All', pp 182–220, as well as other passages.) In the early 1980s there was profound disappointment with the achievements of successive governments and this book is one of the attempts to construct a new strategy from a structural review of national economic and social problems.
- *** (edited with Alan Walker) *Disability in Britain: A Struggle for Rights*, Oxford, Martin Robertson, 220 pages. (Peter Townsend contributed two chapters, on the employment quota, pp 52–72, and on elderly people with disability, pp 91–118.) During the 1970s people with disabilities found their voices and there was a growing literature re-interpreting their rights.
- ** *An Alternative Concept of Poverty: How it Might be Applied in National Case Studies in Developing Countries, with Special Reference to Social, Educational and Cultural Forms of Deprivation*, Division for the Study of Development, UNESCO, Paris, 51 pages. Prepared at the invitation of UNESCO, this attempted to derive conclusions for development from a comparative analysis of poverty in different countries.
- ** *The Family and Later Life*, Unit 23 in Course on Contemporary Issues in Education (E200), Maidenhead, The Open University Press, 44 pages.

- ** (with Sally Robertson and Alan Walker) *Disability Rights Handbook for 1982*, London, Disability Alliance, December.
- * (with D.G. Bull) *Poverty and Welfare*, Sussex Tapes (60-minute cassette).
- *paper 'The Structural Dependency of the Elderly: A Creation of Social Policy in the Twentieth Century', *Ageing and Society*, vol 1, no 1. This paper analyses the state's role in creating dependency among older people – through policies addressed to retirement, pensions, hospital and residential care and community care.
- paper 'Criticisms of the Proposed Cuts in the Government's Statistical Services', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Summer.
- *paper 'Future Policy Trends: Problems of Implementation and their Resolution', in J. Kinnaird, Sir J. Brotherston and J. Williamson (eds) *The Provision of Care for the Elderly*, Churchill Livingstone, pp 68–80.
- *paper 'Towards Equality in Health through Social Policy', *International Journal of Health Services*, January, pp 63–75.
- paper 'Foreword', in B. Showler and A. Sinfield (eds) *The Workless State*, Oxford, Martin Robertson, pp xi–xvii.
- *paper 'Guerrillas, Subordinates and Passers-by: The Relationship Between Sociologists and Social Policy', *Journal of Critical Social Policy*, September, pp 22–34.
- paper 'Peter Townsend Replies', *New Society*, 29 September (reply to David Piachaud on poverty).
- paper 'New Policies to Promote Health in Recent Controversy in Britain', one of the Kaiser Lectures, Centre for Health Studies, Yale University, 11 May. Limited circulation.
- minor 'New Look Urged at Old', *Morning Star*, 24 June (article extracted from speech at a Help the Aged Conference).
- minor 'By Restricting the Flow of Information the Government is Restricting the Right to Free and Open Discussion of the Industrial Economic and Social Conditions of Britain', *The Guardian*, 15 July.
- minor 'Poverty in the UK', *Books and Issues*, nos 3–4 (an interview).
- minor 'Shirley Williams Fails to Grasp What Has Happened in our Society', *Tribune*, 24 April (an article based on her book *Politics is for People*).

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1982

- *** (edited with Nick Davidson) *Inequalities in Health*, London, Penguin Books, 240 pages. (Edited version of 1980 publication with new introduction, pp 13–34.) This is the slightly condensed version of the

- 1980 DHSS report, which was designed to explain what had happened at the initial publication, as well as summarise relevant research published from 1980 onwards.
- ** (with Sally Robertson and Alan Walker) *Disability Rights Handbook for 1983: A Guide to Income Benefits and Services*, London, Disability Alliance, December, 120 pages.
- *paper 'Memorandum of Evidence on the structure of Personal Income Taxation and Income Support', Treasury and Civil Service Sub-Committee, Wednesday 5 May, HMSO.
- paper 'The Policy Implications of a Positive Approach to Health', *Health Visitor*, vol 55, no 3, pp 97–101.
- paper 'A Partnership Between People: The Problems of the Development of Day Centres for Physically Handicapped People', *Community Care*, 4 March.
- paper 'An Alternative Anti-Poverty Programme', *New Society*, 7 October, pp 22–3.
- paper 'Poverty, Disability and Retirement', *Proceedings of the Greater London Pensioners Conference*, 24 March, London, GLC.
- paper 'Preface', in R.H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*, Harvester Press, pp 1–5.
- paper 'The Costs of Children', conference of the National Council for One-Parent Families on The Financial Consequences of Divorce, 28 May. Limited circulation.
- paper 'Poverty and Health Among Children', The Colston Society Lecture, Bristol, 30 March. Limited circulation.

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1983

- *paper 'A Theory of Poverty and the Role of Social Policy', in M. Loney, D. Boswell and J. Clarke (eds) *Social Policy and Social Welfare*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, pp 58–82. This took account of some of the many contributions to the debate about poverty since the 1979 publication of *Poverty in the UK*.
- *paper (contributor) *Priorities in Research*, edited by Sir J. Kendrew and J.H. Shelley, Proceedings of the Fourth Boehringer Ingelheim Symposium held at Kronberg, Taunus, 12–15 May, 1982, Amsterdam, Oxford, Princeton, Excerpta Medica.
- paper 'A Strategy Needed to Counter the Enforced Dependency of Elderly People', *Inequality and Older People*, Report of the Age Concern Scotland Conference, Edinburgh, May, pp 3–18.

- paper 'A New Chapter in the History of the Quota Scheme', *Bulletin of the Disability Alliance*, Autumn, pp 1–4.
- paper 'Preface', in Kenneth Pardey, *Area Policy and Area Strategies: The Origins and Lessons of the British Experience*, Sociological Review Monograph.
- paper 'The Government Must do its Sums Better on Disability', in S. Robertson et al, *Disability Rights Handbook for 1984*, London, Disability Alliance, December, pp 124–7.
- paper 'The Deepening Problems of Poverty: Latest Government Statistics', *Disability Rights Handbook for 1984*, pp 127–9.
- paper 'The Growth of Mass Poverty in the 1980s', Report of Annual Meeting of National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux.
- paper 'The Pursuit of Equality', *Poverty*.
- minor 'Rejoinder to *Rethinking Social Inequality*', *Network: Newsletter of the British Sociological Association*, October, 27, pp 11–13.
- minor 'Considerable Cause for Concern' *Yours*, published by Help the Aged, vol 10, no 7 (an article on government proposals).
- minor 'Low Incomes and Health', in *Proceedings of a Conference on 'Patients' Needs First'*, organised by the Association of Community Health Councils for England and Wales, 15 November, pp 13–16.
- minor 'Rich and Poor', *Comment* on Channel 4, 7 November. Reprinted.
- minor 'Marie Brown – A Tribute', *Poverty*, no 55, August.

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1984

- *** (with Roger Lawson and Robert Walker) *Responses to Poverty: Lessons from Europe*, London, Heinemann, 337 pages. (Peter Townsend wrote Chapter 1, pp 1–27 and contributed to Part V.) This is a selection of papers prepared for a cross-national conference.
- ** *Fewer Children More Poverty: An Incomes Plan*, Department of Social Administration, University of Bristol, 58 pages.
- ** (with Don Simpson and Nigel Tibbs) *Inequalities of Health in the City of Bristol*, Department of Social Administration, University of Bristol, 50 pages. This used indicators of material deprivation to show the big differences in premature mortality between rich and poor areas of the city.
- *paper *Why Are the Many Poor?*, London, Fabian Society, Tract no 500, 36 pages. The first pamphlet of the Fabians (3 pages) was given this title, and is reproduced at the start of this 500th pamphlet, which reviews progress since 1884.

- *paper (with B. Abel-Smith) *Social Security: The Real Agenda*, London, Fabian Society, 40 pages.
- paper 'The Development of an Anti-Poverty Policy', in J.C. Brown (ed) *Anti-Poverty Policy in the European Community*, Policy Studies Institute, pp 37–71.
- paper 'Koyhyys Euroopassa Käsité, teoria ja politiikka' ('The Conceptual, Theoretical and Policy Problems of Poverty in Europe'), plenary paper to the Finnish Social Policy Association, Jyväskylä, Finland, 21 October, *Sosiaalipolitiikka*.
- minor 'A Rejoinder on Poverty', *Social Policy and Administration*, vol 18, no 2, pp 165–67.
- minor (with J. Sipilä) 'Peter Townsend in haastattelu', *Sosiologia*, vol 24, no 1.
- minor 'Beyond Poor Images: How Britain's Poor are Treated and What we Can do About it', Introduction at the CPAG's AGM, 12 May. Limited circulation.
- minor 'The Poor are Still With Us', *The Guardian*, 3 October.
- minor 'Poverty in Europe: Making it an Issue', *Fabian Society*.

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1985

- ** (with Don Simpson and Nigel Tibbs) 'Inequalities in Health in the City of Bristol: A Preliminary Review of Statistical Evidence', *International Journal of Health Services*, vol 15, no 2, pp 637–63. This is an edited version of the 1984 paper.
- *paper 'A Sociological Approach to the Measurement of Poverty', *Oxford Economic Papers*, vol 37, pp 659–68. This is a critical response to a 1983 lecture by Amartya Sen, which was published in *Oxford Economic Papers*. In some respects the exchange illustrates the differences between economists and sociologists in analysing poverty.
- paper 'Poverty and Anti-Poverty Strategies', Sheila Kay Memorial Lecture, Birmingham, British Association of Social Work. Circulated to members.
- *paper 'From Welfare State to Social Development: Current Conflicts over the Future of the Welfare State', in *Social Concerns in the 1980s: Thought and Action in Social Policy*, European Centre for Social Welfare Training and Research, 1974–1984, Occasional Papers no 12, Vienna, pp 23–38.
- paper 'Poor Britain', *Poverty*, Autumn, no 61, pp 24–5.
- paper 'Basic Needs', in A. Kuper and J. Kuper (eds), *The Social Science Encyclopaedia*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp 63–4.

- *paper 'Note on the Disabled Population of Working Age' (Annex 8), in *Manpower Services Commission, The Report of the Working Group to Consider Certain Suggestions for Improving the Effectiveness of the Quota Scheme*, Sheffield, MSC Employment Division, pp 80–102.
- paper 'Preface: Mr Fowler's Black Hole: What Future for Social Security', in R. Silburn (ed) *The Future of Social Security*, London, Fabian Society, pp 2–6.
- *paper 'Surveys of Poverty to Promote Democracy', in M. Bulmer (ed) *Essays on the History of British Sociological Research*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp 228–35.
- minor 'Meeting the Needs of the Elderly', *Local Government Information Unit Bulletin*, November.
- minor 'To the Blind New Sight – The Growth of Poverty in Britain', in *Mission Alongside the Poor*, Methodist Church House Mission Division, London.

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- *** (with Peter Phillimore and Alistair Beattie) *Inequalities in Health in the Northern Region: An Interim Report*, Newcastle and Bristol, Northern Regional Health Authority and Department of Social Administration, University of Bristol, 252 pages. This report applied the methods of the 1984 Bristol study to the 686 wards of the Northern region, showing the high correlation between material deprivation and premature death.
- ** (with Paul Corrigan and Ute Kowarzik) *Poverty and the London Labour Market*, London, GLC, 104 pages. This was a hurriedly produced report of the 1985–86 London survey, caught by the abolition of the GLC in 1986.
- *paper 'The Ideology and Instruments of Social Planning', in P. Bean and D. Wynes (eds) *Barbara Wootton: Social Science and Public Policy; Essays in her Honour*, London, Tavistock, pp 9–40.
- *paper 'Ageism and Social Policy', in C. Phillipson and A. Walker (eds) *Ageing and Social Policy*, London, Gower, pp 15–44. This is a revised and updated version of the argument first set out in the 1981 paper on 'The Structural Dependency of the Elderly'.
- *paper 'Why are the Many Poor?', *International Journal of Health Services*, 16, no 1, pp 1–32. This is an edited version of the 500th pamphlet published by the Fabian Society in 1984. It was given the same title as the first pamphlet in 1984.
- *paper 'Social Welfare in the 1980s: An Overview', *The Domesday Project*, London, BBC, 16 pages.

- *paper 'A Matter of Class: Reflections on the Growth of Poverty in the United Kingdom in the 1970s and 1980s', First Annual Lecture of the British Association of Social Work, Birmingham, and also in *Poverty*, no 65, Winter 1986/87.
- paper 'Foreword: Democracy for the Poor', in M. McCarthy, *Campaigning for the Poor: CPAG and the Politics of Welfare*, Beckenham, Croom Helm.
- paper 'Poverty', in E.J. Hansen, *Vor tids Fattigdom (Poverty of our Time)*, Copenhagen, Hans Reitzels.
- paper 'Poverty and Health: Health Needs in their Social Environment', in M. Andres and J. Lansley (eds) *The People's Health: Health Policies and People's Needs in the Mersey Region*, report of a conference organised by the School of Extension Studies, University of Liverpool, in collaboration with the Advanced Nursing Unit, November 1984, Liverpool Polytechnic.
- paper 'Poverty, Power and Community', *Poverty Today*, Occasional Paper no 7, Centre for Theology and Public Issues, University of Edinburgh.
- minor 'Meeting the Needs of the Elderly', *Local Link: Bulletin of the Local Government Information Unit*.
- minor 'Foreword: Excluding the Poor', in P. Golding (ed) *Excluding the Poor*, London, CPAG.
- minor 'Paradigms of Poverty: A Comment', *Journal of Social Policy*, vol 15, no 4.

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- *** (with Paul Corrigan and Ute Kowarzik) *Poverty and Labour in London*, Survey of Londoners' Living Standards, Report no 1, London, The Low Pay Unit, 134 pages. This is an extended and improved version of the 1986 interim report, with chapters on the feminisation of poverty and on the rich.
- *** (with Peter Phillimore and Alistair Beattie) *Health and Deprivation: Inequality and the North*, London, Croom Helm, 214 pages. The publication of the Black Report in 1980 prompted a number of research studies on area deprivation and ill-health, and this report ranked all 686 wards in the northern region in both respects. Among items of special interest are the two sets of combined indices of deprivation and ill-health (with a correlation coefficient of 66%), which have been used in subsequent research on the allocation of resources for healthcare; and the (unexplained) higher mortality of Middlesbrough when compared with Sunderland.

- ** 'The Case for Restraining Outer City Development: The Problem of Growing Social Divisions in Britain and Especially in Metropolitan Regions such as Greater Manchester in the 1970s and 1980s', evidence presented on 6 October to a Public Inquiry into a number of major retail proposals in the Greater Manchester Area under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1971, Consortium of Seven Local Authorities, 76 pages.
- *paper (with R.G. Mullan) 'Peter Townsend: An interview', in *Sociologists on Sociology*, Croom Helm, 25 pages.
- *paper 'Deprivation', *Journal of Social Policy*, vol 15, no 2, pp 125–46.
- *paper 'Conceptualizing poverty', in Z. Ferge and S.M. Miller (eds) *The Dynamics of Deprivation, A Comparative Study in Europe*, London and Vienna, The Gower Press, pp 31–44.
- *paper 'Poverty in Europe', in Z. Ferge and S.M. Miller (eds) *The Dynamics of Deprivation, A Comparative Study in Europe*, London and Vienna, The Gower Press, pp 63–94.
- *paper 'The geography of poverty and ill-health', lecture to a Joint Meeting of the Economics and Sociology Sections of the British Association for the Advancement of Science on 'Social Inequality and Health Care', *Health and Economics*, edited by A. Williams, London, Tavistock, pp 37–67.
- *paper A matter of class', *Poverty*, no 65, pp 12–14.
- *paper (P. Convery, P. Corrigan, U. Kowarzik and D. Taylor) *Hidden Unemployment: The True Measure of Unemployment in London*, Survey of Londoners' Living Standards, Report no 2, London Unemployment Unit, 19 pages.
- paper 'Poverty and Health', in C. Walker and A. Walker (eds) *The Growing Divide: A Social Audit 1979–1987*, London, CPAG, pp 82–7.
- minor 'London – The Divided City', *London Daily News*, 4 June.

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- *** (edited with Nick Davidson and Margaret Whitehead) *Inequalities in Health: The Black Report and the Health Divide*, London, Penguin Books, 400 pages (with a joint introduction of 28 pages). Margaret Whitehead was commissioned by the Health Education Council in the late 1980s to examine the stream of research reports on inequalities of health following the publication in 1980 of the Black Report, and prepared a report for the Council that adopted a similar structure (and also attracted wide publicity). The two reports were natural companions within the covers of one volume.

- ** *Inner City Deprivation and Premature Death in Greater Manchester*, Policy Research Unit, Tameside Metropolitan Borough, 84 pages. This analyses material deprivation in relation to premature mortality, ill-health and birthweight in 192 wards of Greater Manchester.
- ** (with Brian Gosschalk and Helen Lancaster) *Service Provision and Living Standards in Islington*, report of a survey in Islington by MORI in 1987 for the Council, London Market and Opinion Research International, 155 pages plus appendices. (Peter Townsend primarily responsible for two chapters.)
- paper 'Deprivation and Poor Health in Cumbria', in C. Seale (ed) *Deprivation and the Quality of Life in West Cumbria*, report of a conference at Whitehaven, Cumbria on 12 February, Voluntary Organisations Liaison and Training Service, Whitehaven.
- paper '1948 to 1988 – The State of the Nation's Health and the Case for a New Kind of Health Policy', in 40th anniversary commemorative volume on the National Health Service of *Update*, Siebert-International, London, 6 pages.
- paper 'Combating Poverty', in E. Hanna (ed) *Poverty in Ireland*, Social Study Conference Publications, Portlaoise, Laois, Ireland, 15 pages.

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1989

- *paper (with D. Gordon) 'What is Enough? New Evidence Allowing the Definition of a Minimum Benefit', in House of Commons, Session 1988–89, Social Services Committee, *Minimum Income*, Memoranda laid before the Committee, 579, London, HMSO. This has a strange history. The Social Services Committee of the House of Commons asked for evidence to be submitted about the adequacy of low income. The question always has been relevant to the levels of benefit entitlement decided by the government of the day. This paper was among the evidence submitted. It represents an attempt both to deal with the criticisms of the objective basis of a poverty line first set out in *Poverty in the United Kingdom*, 1979, and to provide an operational measure of the minimum income needed by some principal types of household. The Select Committee did not, in the event, provide an opportunity for oral evidence to be given by witnesses, and, although published, the evidence attracted little or no press scrutiny. Shortly afterwards, the Select Committee was reconstituted as two separate committees, one dealing with health and the other with social security. The evidence was

- based on a representative sample of 2,700 Londoners interviewed at length about incomes, employment and deprivation during 1985–86.
- paper 'Le Revenu Minimum d'Insertion: Le Projet Francais', in B. Kouchner (ed) *Les Nouvelles Solidarites*, Actes des Assises Internationales de Janvier, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, pp 124–39.
- *paper 'Individual or Social Responsibility for Premature Death? Current Controversies in the British Debate about Health', *Zeitschrift für Sozialreform*, vol 35, nos 11–12, November–December.
- *paper 'The Social and Economic Hardship of Elderly People in London: New Evidence from a Survey and a Discussion of the Influence of Social Policy Upon Current Trends', in A.M. Warnes (ed) *Policies and Elderly People in Great Britain*, Special Issue of *Generations*, Bulletin of the British Society of Gerontology, no 9, Spring, pp 10–30.
- paper 'Poverty: Our "Greater Divide"', *Community Care*, 4 May.
- paper 'The 1989 Disability Campaign', *Disability Rights Bulletin*, Northern Ireland, March, 10 pages.
- paper 'Poverty: Retreat from Meaning', *Community Care*, 27 April.
- minor 'Foreword', in M. Fairclough, *Poor Law: From Government Claims to Real Effects of the 1986 Social Security Act*. A study of the experience of Bristol claimants and welfare rights advisers, South Bristol.
- minor 'Slipping through the net', *The Guardian*, 29 November.
- minor 'Onderzoek naar sociale ongelijkheid', *Gezondheid und Politiek*, April.
- minor 'Poverty Knocks: The Links Between Want and Sickness', *New Statesman & Society*, 29 September.

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- paper 'Impoverishment and the Labour Market in Europe', a plenary paper given to a European Commission seminar on 'Poverty, Marginality and Social Exclusion in the Europe of the 1990s', Alghero, Sardinia, 23–25 April.
- *paper 'Living Standards and Health in the Inner Cities', in S. MacGregor and B. Pimlott (eds) *Tackling the Inner Cities*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp 93–126. This used data specially collected in the London survey of 1985–86, which showed the statistical correlation between deprivation and ill-health.
- paper 'Widening Inequalities in Health: A Rejoinder to Rudolf Klein', *International Journal of Health Services*, vol 20, no 3, pp 363–72.

- *paper 'Individual or Social Responsibility for Premature Death? Current Controversies in the British Debate about Health', *International Journal of Health Services*, vol 20, no 3, pp 373–92.
- paper 'The Relationship Between Deprivation and Ill-Health: New Evidence', *Update*, July.
- *paper 'A Sociological View of Inner City Health', *State of the Art*, Proceedings of Eleventh National GP Trainee Conference, Newcastle, 14 pages.
- *paper 'Inner City Deprivation and Social Polarisation in London', in N. Negri (ed) *Poverta in Europa: Trasformazione Dello Stato Sociale*, Milan, Franco Angeli Press (and special edition of *Quaderni di Sociologia*), based on Symposium sponsored by Goethe-Institute of Turin, 19–20 November 1987, 30 pages.
- paper 'Are Health Needs What They Seem to Be?', in E. de Leeuw, C.B. ter Stege and G.A. de Jong (eds) *Research for Healthy Cities*, proceedings of a conference sponsored by the Netherlands Society of Public Health and Science, in collaboration with WHO Europe, *European Journal of Health Services*.
- paper (with D. Gordon) 'Let Them Eat Cake: The Idea of Meeting Minimum Needs is Abandoned', *Low Pay Review*, June, pp 6–9.
- paper 'The Relationship Between Deprivation and Ill-Health: New Evidence', a paper given to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, 17 May.
- paper 'And the Walls Come Tumbling Down', speech to CPAG conference on 'Europe: A Fairer Future for the UK?', in *Poverty*, no 75, Spring.
- paper (with J. Franks, S. Vass and M. Kahn) 'The Progress of the National Debate on Health in 1990' in *The Cleveland Health Legacy: A Community View*, Cleveland County Council.
- minor 'The Future Composition and Direction of the Fabian Society', *Fabian News*, vol 102, no 1.
- minor 'Jekyll and Hyde: The Global Market Threatens the Professional Elite As Much As Thatcher', *New Statesman*, 3 August.
- minor 'Continuing Health Inequalities', *Update*, 1 May, p 998 (a response to John Fry).
- paper 'The Way Ahead: Which Way?, The 1990 Disability Campaign', *Disability Rights Bulletin*, London, Disability Alliance.

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- *paper *The Poor are Poorer: A Statistical Report on Changes in the Living Standards of Rich and Poor in the United Kingdom 1979–1989*, Statistical Monitoring Unit, Department of Social Policy and Social Planning, University of Bristol, March, no 1, 67 pages. First in a series of reports.
- *paper *Meaningful Statistics on Poverty 1991*, Statistical Monitoring Unit, Department of Social Policy and Social Planning, University of Bristol, June, no 2, 21 pages.
- *paper (with Dave Gordon) 'What is Enough? New Evidence on Poverty Allowing the Definition of a Minimum Benefit', in M. Adler, C. Bell, J. Clasen and A. Sinfield (eds) *The Sociology of Social Security*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, pp 35–69. This is an edited and shortened version of the 1989 paper with the same title.
- paper 'Deprivation and Ill-Health: New Evidence', *Nursing*, September, pp 11–15.
- paper 'Rethinking Anti-Poverty Strategies: The Last 25 Years and the Next', *Poverty*, no 78, Spring, pp 14–16.
- paper 'Poverty and Deprivation in Britain 1979–1990: Mrs Thatcher's Ministrations', plenary lecture, Conference on Poverty, Self-Help and Welfare, Social History Society, Cambridge, 3–5 January 1990, 24 pages.
- paper 'Evading the Issue of Widening Inequalities of Health in Britain: A Reply to Rudolf Klein', *International Journal of Health Services*, vol 21, no 1, pp 183–9.
- paper 'Tales of Future Past', *Society Special*, London and New York, *New Statesman and Society*, 1 February, pp 23–4.
- paper 'Labour Markets, Polarisation and Trends in Deprivation in London', paper given at a forum on 'Economic and Social Deprivation and the Structuring of the Labour Market in Industrialised Countries', Geneva, International Institute for Labour Studies, 43 pages.
- minor 'The Black Report: Rejoinder to P.M. Strong', *Journal of Public Health Medicine*, pp 231–2.
- paper 'Hard Times: What Prospects for European Social Policy?', *European Labour Forum*, no 6, 1991–92, pp 4–9.
- paper 'Six Million Poor Are Poorer', *The New Review of the Low Pay Unit*, no 10, June, pp 8–10.
- paper 'Foreword', in S. Becker (ed) *Windows of Opportunity: Public Policy and the Poor*, London, CPAG, October, pp 1–3.

- paper 'Introduction' in A. Pepper and L. Curtice, *Total Participation, Total Health*, report of a conference held at the King's Fund Centre for Health Services Development, Tuesday 11 June 1991, London, King's Fund Centre.
- paper 'Poverty and Labour in London: The European Dimension', opening address to a conference of NUPE, NALGO and COHSE, Congress House, London, 31 October, London, NUPE, 15 pages. Limited circulation.
- paper 'Poverty and Social Polarisation', in Eurocities, *Cities and Social Policies in Europe*, contributions to the European Congress on Social Welfare, Barcelona, March, Ajuntament de Barcelona, on behalf of the Eurocities Social Welfare Commission, pp 205–13.
- paper 'Poverty, Deprivation and Ill-Health in London and Other Cities', paper presented to a symposium held in Hanover, 23–26 May on 'The Future of the Medium-Sized City', 25 pages. Unpublished.

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1992

- *** (with Margaret Whitehead and Nick Davidson) *Inequalities in Health: The Black Report and the Health Divide*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 450 pages (third edition, extensively revised and updated). Margaret Whitehead rewrote much of her 1988 report on the health divide and Peter Townsend shared with her the preparation of a new introduction (28 pages).
- paper 'Poverty: The Power of One: The US and the International Agencies', *New Statesman*, 18 September, pp 18–21.
- *paper *Hard Times: What Prospects for European Social Policy?*, The Eleanor Rathbone Lecture for 1991 (full version), University of Liverpool (on behalf of 12 Northern Universities), Liverpool University Press, 25 pp.
- *paper *Unfinished Statistical Business?*, Bristol Statistical Monitoring Unit Report no 3, Bristol, Department of Social Policy and Social Planning, University of Bristol, March, 24 pages. This was the third of the Bristol reports that illustrate the need for alternative statistical analysis independent of government.
- paper 'Introduction', in *The Poor in Britain from 1579*, Colchester, John Drury, 10 pages. The book is a bibliography covering a library on Poor Law history.
- paper 'Are the Days of the Welfare State Numbered?', lecture to one of the Monday Seminars of the Faculty at Queens College, City University of New York, 2 March, 10 pages.

- paper 'Social and Economic Impacts of the European Community', address to the Socialist Scholars Conference, Borough of Manhattan Community College, New York, 25 April, 12 pages. This was one of four talks given at the conference, others being on the general election in the UK, the health reforms and poverty.
- paper 'Poverty: An International Perspective', paper presented to a seminar at the Department of Sociology, Graduate Center, City University of New York, 1 May, 16 pages.
- paper 'Trends in Poverty in Britain: International Causes, National Consequences', paper presented to a Faculty Seminar of the Departments of Economics and Sociology, University of Notre Dame, 28 April, 14 pages.

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1993

- *** *The International Analysis of Poverty*, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 291 pages. This book invokes the principles of cross-national analysis used in *The Concept of Poverty*, 1970, to develop a scientific and/or multicultural intellectual treatment of the idea. It argues for the use of a common concept internationally, for a theory or explanation which is neither culture-bound nor economic and individualistic, and *therefore* for state and international policies of a more structural and equitable kind (as between 'races' and cultures as well as between individuals, sexes and age groups) to resolve the problem. As a social rather than individual phenomenon poverty invites structural analysis and structural solution. The book discusses current conditions in third world countries like India and Kenya as well as in Europe and the US. It calls attention to social polarisation as a global and not merely UK or US trend, and identifies multinational companies and international agencies as prime agents of this trend.
- *paper 'New York and London: Urban Poverty and International Causes', paper given at the Session on the Rights of Citizenship and Social Policies, First International Congress on Urban Degradation and Poverty, University of Bologna, Italy, 12–14 May, 1992. Published as 'New York e Londra, poverta urbana e cause internazionali', in P. Guidicini and G. Pieretti, *Le Residualita Come Valore: Poverta Urbane e Dignita Umana*, Milan, Franco Angeli, pp 90–112.

- *paper 'The Effects of Deprivation on Health', in *Proceedings of the 22nd International Medical Advisory Conference*, London, sponsored and published by the Brewers and Licensed Retailers Association, pp 139–63.
- paper 'The Dangerous Reality of Two-Tier Europe', lecture given under the auspices of the Piltdown Partnership, University of Edinburgh in connection with 'The Alternative Summit', 10 December 1992, 12 pages. Unpublished.
- *paper 'Measures of Social Class and Influence on Access in Britain', paper presented to the Committee on Health Services Research, Medical Care Section, American Public Health Association, 8 November 1992, 15 pages. Unpublished.
- paper 'Poverty in London and Europe', lecture to a conference on 'Trade Unions and Europe', organised by the London Division of NUPE, Grand Committee Room, House of Commons, Westminster, London, 26 November 1992, 25 pages.
- paper 'American Czarism: The Aftermath of the Los Angeles Riots', paper for the Michael Harrington Center, City University of New York, 8 pages. (An edited version of the article entitled 'The Power of One' was published on 18 September 1992 in the *New Statesman*.)
- paper 'The International Welfare State', *Fabian Review*, vol 105, no 2, pp 3–6.
- minor 'In the Ghetto', *New Statesman and Society*, 21 May.
- paper 'Relative Deprivation', in W. Outhwaite and T. Bottomore (eds) *The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth Century Social Thought*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- paper 'Poverty', in W. Outhwaite and T. Bottomore (eds) *The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth Century Social Thought*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- *paper 'Underclass and Overclass: The Widening Gulf Between Social Classes in Britain in the 1980s', plenary address at the annual conference of the British Sociological Association, Plymouth, March 1989, in M. Cross and G. Payne (eds) *Sociology in Action*, London, Macmillan, pp 91–118.
- *paper 'The Repressive Nature and Extent of Poverty in the UK: Predisposing Cause of Crime', keynote speech at the 11th annual conference of the Howard League on Poverty and the Criminal Justice System, 8–10 September. Shortened version in *Criminal Justice*, Journal of the Howard League, vol 11, no 4, pp 4–6.
- paper 'Developments in Poverty Research', an interview with Kam-Wah Chan in *Poverty*, a special issue of *the Journal of Policy Viewers*, Hong Kong, January, pp 75–80.

- paper 'Universality', presented to the annual conference of Citizens Income, LSE, 9 July.
- *paper *International Social Policy: The Case for a Social Development Programme as an Integral Component of a Collaborative International Strategy*, evidence submitted to the Commission on Social Justice, Occasional Paper, Department of Social Policy and Social Planning, University of Bristol, 23 pages.
- paper 'So Wrong Mr Cline: Pensions and Child Benefit: A Reply', *Fabian Review*, vol 105, no 4, September.
- paper 'Hard Times: What Hopes for European Social Policy?', in K. Coates and M. Barratt-Brown (eds) *A European Recovery Programme: Restoring Full Employment*, Nottingham, Spokesman Books.
- minor 'The Politics of Poverty and Health', open letter to the Secretary of State for Health, Virginia Bottomley, *British Medical Journal*, 30 January. (The Secretary of State replied on 13 February.)

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- *paper 'The Need for a New International Poverty Line', in *Old and New Poverty in the Welfare States: A Challenge to Reform our Social Security System?*, report of a Euroseminar sponsored by the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, London and Berlin, Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, 17 pages.
- *paper (with Peter Lee) *Trends in Deprivation in the London Labour Market: A Study of Low Incomes and Unemployment in London Between 1985 and 1992*, research report forming part of the Labour Institutions and Economic Development Programme, DP/59/1993, Geneva, International Institute for Labour Studies, 38 pages. This is based on interviews with a small number of unemployed and low-waged individuals first interviewed in the London survey of 1985–86.
- *paper (with Peter Phillimore and Alastair Beattie) 'The Widening Gap: Inequality of Health in Northern England, 1981–1991', *British Medical Journal*, vol 308, pp 1125–8.
- *paper 'Introduction: The North in a Wider Context 1981–1991', in P. Phillimore and A. Beattie, *Health and Inequality: The Northern Region 1981–1991*, Department of Social Policy, University of Newcastle, 10 pages.
- *paper 'New York and London: Urban Poverty and International Causes', in P. Guidicini and G. Pieretti (eds) *Urban Poverty and Human Dignity*, Milan, Franco Angeli, pp 107–26.

- *paper 'Possible Solutions for Poverty Alleviation', in M.-T. Meereboer (ed) *Social (In)Security and Poverty as Global Issues*, Poverty and Development: Analysis and Policy no 10, The Hague, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Development Corporation Information Department, pp 83–93.
- paper 'Think Globally, Act Locally', *European Labour Forum*, vol 13, pp 2–9.
- paper 'Battlelines: The Construction of an Alternative, and More Effective, Health Policy to that of the Conservative Government', in *Better Housing, Better Health: Towards a Real Strategy for Health*, report of a conference on 26 April, London, Socialist Health Association, pp 2–4.
- paper 'The Need for an International Welfare State', in A. Jinkinson K. Livingstone et al, *The Future of the Welfare State*, Campaign to Defend the Welfare State, London, Unison, pp 7–8.
- paper 'The Principle of Welfare: Reactions to the Newly Published Report of the Commission on Social Justice', presented at a day conference of the Transport and General Workers Union on 'In Place of Fear: The Future of the Welfare State', Commonwealth Institute, 7 pages. Also published in *The Morning Star*, Thursday 10 November.
- paper 'We Have a Fair Way to go: the Links Between Social Justice and Social and Economic Development', *New Statesman*, 25 March, pp 18–19.
- paper 'The Rich Man in his Castle: In Britain Inequality is Spiralling out of Control', *British Medical Journal*, vol 309, 24–31 December, pp 1674–5.
- paper 'In Place of Fear: What Future for the Welfare State?', *European Labour Forum*, vol 14, Winter 1994/05, pp 2–5.
- *paper 'Mission Report on Public Sector Management: Social Support and Safety Net Measures in the Republic of Georgia', New York, UNDP, 22 pages.
- paper 'Targeted Socio-Economic Research', contribution to the design of a programme of 'Research into Social Integration and Social Exclusion in Europe', DG XII, 14–15 June, in G. Martinotti and B. Rhode, *Report on the Workshop*, Brussels, Commission of the European Communities.

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- *paper 'Poverty in Eastern Europe: The Latest Manifestation of Global Polarization', in G. Rodgers and R. Van Der Hoeven, *New Approaches to Poverty Analysis and Policy – III: The Poverty Agenda: Trends and Policy Options*, Geneva, International Institute for Labour Studies, pp 129–52.

- *paper *The Rise of International Social Policy*, School for Policy Studies, no 1, Bristol, The Policy Press, 22 pages (based on a public lecture at the University of Bristol).
- *paper 'The Need for a New International Poverty Line', in *Old and New Poverty: The Challenge for Reform*, London, Rivers Oram Press.
- *paper 'Worsening Global Inequalities and their Relevance to Britain', Adrian Wilson Memorial Lecture, address to 1994 conference of the Association of Social Science Teachers in Birmingham, 9 September 1994, *Social Science Teacher*, vol 24, no 2, Spring, pp 2–7.
- *paper 'Persuasion and Conformity: An Assessment of the Borrie Report on Social Justice', *New Left Review*, no 213, September/October, pp 137–50.
- *paper (with Peter Lee) 'A Study of Inequality, Low Incomes and Unemployment in London, 1985–1992', *International Labour Review*, vol 133, nos 5–6, pp 579–95.
- *paper 'The Structural Causes of Social Polarisation and Growing International Poverty', in R. Franklin (ed) *Global and Local: New York/London Through the Prism of Race, Class and Ethnicity*, papers updated from a conference organised by the Michael Harrington Center for Democratic Values and Social Change, 30 April–1 May 1993, Minnesota University Press, Chapter 16.
- paper 'Poverty: Home and Away', *Poverty*, no 91, Summer, pp 9–12 (based on a speech entitled 'An International Campaigning Strategy: Must the Number of Children in Rich and Poor Countries in Poverty go on Increasing?').
- *paper 'Turning the Clock Back 100 Years', in S. MacGregor (ed) *The Other City: People and Politics in New York and London*, New Jersey, Humanities Press International.
- *paper (with Alan Walker) *The Future of Pensions: Revitalising National Insurance*, Discussion Paper no 22, London, Fabian Society, 30 pages. A pensions strategy is the key problem in the next government's strategy for social development, and this is the culmination of a number of papers on the Borrie Commission report and related issues. Ironically the timing of the pamphlet coincides with the 40th anniversary of a Fabian pamphlet on the same subject published in 1954.
- *paper (with Alan Walker) *New Directions for Pensions*, no 2, Socialist Renewal, European Labour Forum, Nottingham, Russell Press, 48 pages. This is an updated version of the Fabian discussion paper, with an additional six pages of commentary on events.

- paper 'International Social Policy: Changes Following the Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development', paper presented to an international seminar on 'Development, Technology and Agency', under the auspices of the Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry, 26 May, Rome, Centro di Ricerca e Documentazione.
- paper 'Will the Rich Countries Pay More Attention to Problems in their Own Backyards?', *International Social Development Review*, vol 1, no 1, New York, United Nations Department of Public Information, pp 12–18. This is a retrospective review of what was, and was not, achieved by the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995.
- paper *Community Pensions: The Future of the Basic State Pension*, report to the Blackpool Pensioners' Parliament, Winter Gardens, Blackpool, 16 May, London, National Pensioners Convention, 15 pages (an answer to the Borrie Commission).
- minor 'Key Objectives of Social Policy', in *Economic Policies for Full Employment and the Welfare State*, A Campaign to Defend the Welfare State/Full Employment Forum pamphlet, London, p 11.
- minor 'London Pensions: Today and Tomorrow', *London Age*, no 4, London, Age Concern, pp 7–8.
- minor 'Advancing Social Development', book review of World Bank and UNDP contributions to the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen, March, *Development in Practice*, vol 5, no 3, August, pp 266–7.
- minor 'Note on Strategies for Development', *The Newsletter of One World Action*, Spring, p 10.
- minor 'The Biggest Political Question: What Future for Welfare?', *Tribune*, 2 December.

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- *paper 'The Struggle for Independent Statistics on Poverty', in R. Levitas and W. Guy (eds) *Interpreting Official Statistics in the 1990s*, London, Routledge, pp 26–45.
- *paper 'Global Poverty: Is the Problem Becoming Impossible to Solve?', no 1, Shukutoku University Occasional Papers, October 1995, 33 pages. Widely circulated. Translated and published in Japan (based on a lecture in Japan).

- *paper 'The Rise of International Social Policy: Choices for the United Kingdom and Japan', no 2, Shukutoku University Occasional Papers, October 1995, 23 pages. Widely circulated (based on a lecture in Japan).
- *paper 'The Effects of Social Polarisation and Deprivation on Health', no 3, Shukutoku University Occasional Papers, October 1995, 32 pages. Widely circulated (based on a lecture in Japan).
- paper (with Kwabena Donkor) 'An Alternative Strategy: Establishing an International Welfare State', plenary address at an international seminar on 'Economic Restructuring and Social Policy: 1. Global Restructuring and Social Policy', organised jointly by the UN Research Institute for Social Development and the UN Development Programme, New York, UN, 21 pages. An updated version was given to a conference organised by Research Committee 19 of the International Sociological Association in Pavia, 14–17 September 1995.
- paper 'Stakes and Dragons: Funding or Pay-as-you-go? The Key Decisions in Welfare State Policy', *European Labour Forum*, 1996, Summer, pp 9–11.
- paper 'Pioneering Anti-Poverty Policies (Brian Abel-Smith)', *Poverty*, pp 5–6.
- *paper 'Will the Rich Pay More Attention to Problems in their Own Backyards?', *Social Policy and Social Progress: A Review Published by the United Nations*, special issue on the social summit, Copenhagen, March 1995, 1996, New York, pp 35–8.
- *paper 'The Poor and the Poorest Re-visited', in J. Carrier et al (eds) *Social Policy in Theory and Practice: A Celebration of Brian Abel-Smith's Work*, 8 November. Circulated but not published.
- minor (with Barbara Castle) 'Here's how we can all be better off', *The Guardian*, 17 September.

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1997

- ** (with David Gordon, Jonathan Bradshaw and Brian Gosschalk) *Absolute and Overall Poverty in Britain in 1997: What the Population Themselves Say*, Bristol, Bristol Statistical Monitoring Unit, University of Bristol, 66 pages. Following the 1995 World Summit on Social Development, this was the first attempt anywhere to measure absolute and overall poverty. Using the subjective method of measuring poverty, 20% of a representative sample of the population defined themselves as living in absolute poverty, and 28% in overall poverty.

- *paper 'Redistribution: The Strategic Alternative to Privatisation', in A. Walker and C. Walker (eds) *Britain Divided: The Growth of Social Exclusion in the 1980s and 1990s*, London, CPAG, pp 263–8.
- *paper 'The Poverty Line: Methodology and International Comparisons', in D. Gordon and C. Pantazis, *Breadline Britain in the 1990s*, Aldershot, Avebury, pp 49–70.
- *paper 'The Impact of Poverty on Health', King's Fund Conference, November, 30 pages.
- *paper 'Privatisation: The Search for the Right Balance Between the Public and Private Sectors', *Background Papers: Conditions for Social Progress: Humane Markets for Humane Societies*, Second Copenhagen Seminar, Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Copenhagen, 35 pages.
- *paper *Changing the Direction of Pensions Strategy*, evidence submitted to the Minister of Pensions, Government Pension Review, 36 pages.
- *paper 'Poverty and Policy: What Can We Do About the Poor?', *Sociology Review*, vol 7, no 1, September, pp 15–19.
- minor 'Privatising Poverty', *Community Care*, 3–9, July, pp 30–1.
- minor 'The Gift Relationship', review in LSE Newsletter.

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1998

- ** *The Future World of Work*, European Social Policy Forum 98, Brussels, 24–26 June, Brussels, European Commission, DGV, 29 pages. This was prepared for the third European Social Policy Forum, as one of three major themes to be discussed. Successive drafts were discussed with officials in DGV of the European Commission and with an Advisory Committee. Whether the European social model could be sustained depended on resolving problems to do with stubbornly high rates of unemployment, new multiple patterns of work, an increasingly unequal distribution of income, enlargement of the Union, the weakness of existing so-called social 'safety nets' and the difficulties of managing equity in a changing mix of public service and private employment.
- ** (with Jonathan Bradshaw, David Gordon, Ruth Levitas, Sue Middleton, Christina Pantazis and Sarah Payne) *Perceptions of Poverty and Social Exclusion 1998*, report on preparatory research, University of Bristol, Centre for International Poverty Research. This is a report of a pilot project – leading to the Joseph Rowntree Foundation's Millennium Poverty Survey – designed to update the consensual method of measuring poverty by Joanna Mack and Stewart Lansley. Details

are given of methods of measuring absolute and overall poverty as defined at the Copenhagen Summit on Social Development and of operationalising the concept of social exclusion.

- *paper 'Ending World Poverty in the 21st Century', *Radical Statistics* 68, pp 5–14. Also published in the *Journal of Contemporary Health*, 7, autumn, pp 47–9.
- *paper 'The Construction of a Poverty Line and the Implications of Measurement for Policy', in *Poverty in Scotland – Information for a Change*, Glasgow Caledonian University, Scottish Poverty Information Unit, pp 2–8.
- *paper (with Barbara Castle) 'Fair Shares for Pensioners', *The New Review of the Low Pay Unit*, vol 51, May–June, p 11.
- *paper (with Barbara Castle, Bryn Davies, Hilary Land, Tony Lynes and Ken Macintyre) *Fair Shares for Pensioners*, evidence to the Pensions Review Body, London, Security in Retirement for Everyone, 38 pages. This pamphlet was one of a stream of publications produced by the co-authors, severally and individually during the period 1996–2001. It represents the attempt to construct an alternative policy on pensions to that being proposed by the Labour government, and was a last-ditch attempt to change the course of policy.
- *paper 'New Governance: World-Wide Social Polarisation, Trans-National Corporations and the Structural Hierarchy of Power', *Background Papers: Political Culture and Institutions for a World Community*, Copenhagen Seminar for Social Progress, Royal Danish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Copenhagen.
- *paper *Will Poverty Get Worse Under the Next Government? Privatisation Versus Redistribution*, City Chambers, Edinburgh, New Waverley Papers, University of Edinburgh, 27 pages (edited and updated version of lecture, 24 April 1997).
- *paper (with David Gordon) 'Success Measures: Response to the Government Green Paper on Welfare Reform', *Radical Statistics*, vol 70, Winter, pp 58–66.
- minor 'For the Benefit of Tony Blair', *Tribune*, 13 February.
- minor 'Field of Broken Dreams: Focus on Labour's Green Paper Welfare Reforms', *News of the World*, 29 March.

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1999

- ** (with Paul Thompson) *Peter Townsend: Life Story Interview*, Qualidata, ESRC Qualitative Data Archival Resource Centre, University of Essex, Qualidata, 253 pages. This is an edited transcript of interviews with Paul Thompson, carried out from June 1997 to February 1999. The interviews were intended to illustrate the history of the development of society and social policy as experienced during one person's lifetime.
- *paper 'Poverty, Social Exclusion and Social Polarisation: The Need to Construct an International Welfare State', plenary address in S. Shaver and P. Saunders, *Social Policy for the 21st Century: Justice and Responsibility*, proceedings of the National Social Policy conference in Australia, 21–23 July, Centre for Social Policy Research, Sydney, vol 2, pp 1–23.
- *paper (with Sir Douglas Black, Jerry Morris and Cyril Smith) 'Better Benefits for Health: Plan to Implement the Central Recommendation of the Acheson Report', *British Medical Journal*, 318, no 7185, 13 March, pp 724–7.
- *paper 'Inequalities in Health: The Need to Construct More Comprehensive Health Policies', in S. Waller, A. Crosier and D. McVey (eds) *Inequalities in Health: A Series of Seminars held by the Health Education Authority*, London, Health Education Authority, pp 67–77. Previously also published also as an Occasional Paper by the Health Education Authority, 14 pages.
- *paper 'Ending World Poverty in the Twentieth Century', in D. Gordon and C. Pantazis (eds) *Tackling Inequalities: Where Are We Now and What Can Be Done?*, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp 211–31.
- *paper *New pensions for Old: The Key to Welfare Reform*, Bristol, Townsend Centre for International Poverty Research, 32 pages.
- paper 'A Structural Plan Needed to Reduce Inequalities of Health', in D. Gordon, M. Shaw, D. Dorling and G. Davey Smith (eds) *Inequalities in Health: Evidence Presented to the Independent Inquiry into Inequalities in Health*, chaired by Sir Donald Acheson, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp xiv–xxi.
- paper 'Twelve Reasons why Child Benefit Should not be Taxed', Social Security Committee, House of Commons, Session 1998–99, Fourth Report, *Child Benefit*, 1999, HC114, London, The Stationery Office.
- paper 'Foreword', in D. Gordon, M. Shaw, D. Dorling and G. Davey Smith (eds) *The Widening Gap: Health Inequalities and Policy in Britain*, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp x–xvii.

paper (with Barbara Castle, Paul Flynn and Tony Lynes) *Pensions as of Right for All: A Response to the Green Paper*, London, Eunomia Publications, 18 pages.

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2000

*** (with David Gordon, Jonathan Bradshaw, Sue Middleton, Christina Pantazis, Ruth Levitas, Laura Adelman, Julie Williams, Sarah Payne and Demi Patsios) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain, 2000*, York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 101 pages. This book reports research into poverty designed to provide a scientific basis for the rapidly growing international debate. The objective was to produce a more focused measure of poverty, with rigorous methodology, than previously attempted, and to try it out in Britain but with implications for other countries. There were novelties as well as continuities in the research. It was built on the deprivation analysis in the 1979 book, listed above, but also the aborted London poverty survey of 1985–86 reported in the joint work of Gordon and Townsend (1993), the parallel work of Mack and Lansley (*Poor Britain*) and the subsequent book (*Breadline Britain*) edited by Gordon and Pantazis. The Office for National Statistics set an important precedent for joint work with independent research scientists by providing a follow-up sub-sample from their standard General Household Survey and undertaking the interviews to collect the necessary data. To set up the survey and analyse the data social scientists in four universities combined forces. (Peter Townsend was co-author of Chapters 1, 5 and 6.)

*paper 'Prisoners of the Global Market: Social Polarisation and Poverty', in J. Baudot (ed) *Building a World Community: Globalisation and the Common Good*, Copenhagen Seminars for Social Progress, Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Copenhagen, pp 230–52. The book is the culmination of a series of remarkable discussions attempting to consolidate some of the positive outcomes of the World Summit on Social Development, held in Copenhagen in 1995. The Danish Government, and especially its Minister for Overseas Development, hosted a series of seminars, the proceedings of which were not always well publicised. Many of the papers offer a commentary on international social developments – and policies – in the late 1990s.

- *paper 'Ending World Poverty in the Twentieth Century', in D. Gordon and C. Pantazis (eds) *Tackling Inequalities: Where Are We Now and What Can Be Done?*, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp 211–31.
- paper 'Policies to Reduce Poverty and Premature Mortality in Scotland and the UK', and 'Perceptions of the Necessities of Life: Scotland and England Compared', with oral evidence, Select Committee on Scottish Affairs, *Inquiry into Poverty in Scotland*, 9 February, Minutes of Evidence, House of Commons HC 59–v, London, The Stationery Office, pp 123–45.
- *paper 'The Case for Structural Policies – National and International – to Reduce Health Inequalities', in I. Forbes (ed) *Health Inequalities: Poverty and Policy*, London, Academy of Learned Societies for the Social Sciences, pp 60–70.
- *paper 'Policies to Meet Growing Poverty in Europe', in J. Pacolet (ed) *Trade, Competitiveness and Social Protection*, papers drawn from a conference organised by the Jean Monet European Centre, Leuven, Belgium, 14 December, 22 pages.
- paper (with Christina Pantazis and David Gordon) 'Perceptions of the Necessities of Life, Scotland and England Compared', Select Committee on Scottish Affairs, *Inquiry into Poverty in Scotland*, 9 February, Minutes of Evidence, House of Commons HC 59–v, London, The Stationery Office, pp 123–7.
- *paper 'Post-1945 Poverty Research and Things to Come', in J. Bradshaw and P. Sainsbury (eds) *Researching Poverty*, from the proceedings of the 1998 centenary celebration to mark Seebom Rowntree's first study of poverty in York, Aldershot, Ashgate, pp 5–36.
- *paper (with David Gordon) 'Poverty, Social Exclusion and Social Polarisation: Applying the UN Declaration and Programme of Action on Absolute and Overall Poverty to All Countries', in Centro de Estudos Para a Intervencao Social (Centre for the Study of Social Intervention), *Probeza e Exclus Social (Problems of Social Exclusion)*, report of a seminar in November 1999, Lisbon, Portugal, pp 91–101.
- paper 'The Case for Poverty Surveys', in N. Yeates and E. McLaughlin (eds) *Measuring Social Exclusion and Social Class*, Belfast, Department of Social Development, pp 57–70.
- minor 'Turning Pensioner Poverty Around', column on SocietyGuardian.co.uk, 18 November.

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2001

- *** (edited with David Gordon) *Breadline Europe: The Measurement of Poverty*, Bristol, The Policy Press, 465 pages. (Peter Townsend was the co-author of Chapters 1, 5 and 18.) The book reports European work to establish a scientific and international basis for the analysis and reduction of poverty. It also breaks new ground in building on the definitions of 'absolute' and 'overall' poverty originally adopted by 117 countries at the World Summit for Social Development at Copenhagen in 1995 and illustrating the impressive range of work going on around Europe into poverty. Absolute poverty is not supposed to exist in a country like Britain, but on the basis of the definition agreed by 117 governments at a World Summit in 1995 17% of a national sample of the population, representing 10 million, ranked themselves as living in absolute poverty. The most dramatic increases in Europe in extreme forms of poverty in the last 10 years had occurred in Eastern Europe and the republics of the former Soviet Union. Several chapters of the report – dealing particularly with Russia, Hungary and Poland – show the extremely severe situation being faced by many millions of people – partly as a consequence of the international agencies and governments failing to accept the need for policies on adequate income, especially the part played by modernised social insurance and a legal minimum wage, and the policies on adequate basic public services. International financial agencies and governments had failed to stop poverty growing because they had chosen not to treat it as a common global problem open to scientific investigation. The agencies had also not sought to show, with hard evidence, which policies had been successful and which unsuccessful according to impact and timing. The poverty line had to be treated as a scientific threshold, like the risk of excessive global warming or the risk of premature death from radiation or pollution.
- *** *Targeting Poor Health: Professor Townsend's Report of the Welsh Assembly's National Steering Group on the Allocation of NHS Resources (vol 1)*, Cardiff, National Assembly for Wales, 118 pages. A national group was created to examine the formula by which £4 billion at the time was annually allocated to the NHS in Wales to find how it could be spent more equitably and justifiably, by area, to reduce inequalities of access to health services as well as overall inequalities of health. In the course of the inquiry, a research report (vol II) developing a more robust formula prepared under the direction of David Gordon was also

published. To reduce inequalities in health and access to healthcare the overall report recommended three things to the Welsh Assembly: (1) to adopt a direct needs formula for the allocation of NHS resources more equitably by area; (2) to improve financial information, particularly in tracing costs to recipients of care; and (3) to establish a dual strategy for health covering action outside as well as inside the NHS. The report was accepted by all parties in the Welsh Assembly Government, and a Standing Committee was established to implement the recommendations. As a first step early in 2004 most of an additional £30 million was allocated to five of the local health boards, among the total 22, whose funding was found to be furthest below the average required to meet the health needs of local populations. As the basis for allocating funds a new 'direct needs' formula was devised. It is based on the Welsh Health Survey, which provides detailed information about the conditions of health of a substantial representative sample (30,000) of the population of Wales. Among 18 indicators covered are arthritis, back pain, respiratory illness, heart problems, mental illness, cancer and diabetes. The survey is unique to the UK and in 2004–05 was extended in scale to provide data for the populations of 22 local health boards, and in its scope by age to children. The formula displaces previous methods of using service utilisation as a proxy for need, and the data are considered to be more comprehensive, practicable and reliable than alternatives on offer. A second novelty has been to pilot *advocacy* and *equity training grants* in selected areas. These illustrate respectively changes that have to be made both outside and inside the NHS to reduce inequalities in health. The publication of the report followed 16 months' intensive consultation and research. In those years it gradually became clear that for administrators as well as politicians the primary problem was willingness to establish how the present formula worked, and where the money went. There was no other basis for effective new planning.

- *paper 'Policies to Reduce Poverty and Social Exclusion in Wales', Select Committee on Welsh Affairs, *Inquiry into Social Exclusion*, 15 February, London, The Stationery Office,. Also in Welsh Affairs Committee, Third Report, Session 1999–2000, *Social Exclusion in Wales*, Volume II, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices, pp 411–16.
- *paper (with Christina Pantazis and David Gordon) 'Perception of the Necessities of Life: Wales, England and Scotland Compared', Welsh

- Affairs Committee, Third Report, Session 1999–2000, *Social Exclusion in Wales*, Volume II, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices, pp 416–19.
- *paper 'The UK Model of Welfare from a Policy Perspective: Can it be Used in Constructing an International Welfare State?', in *Policies and Instruments to Fight Poverty in the European Union: The Guarantee of a Minimum Income*, Lisbon, Portugal, Institute of Development Studies, pp 111–31. Also published as a CD-Rom.
- *paper (with David Gordon and Christina Pantazis) *The International Measurement of Absolute and Overall Poverty: Applying the Copenhagen Definitions to Britain*, no 5, Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey of Britain 1999 Working Papers, Bristol, Townsend Centre for International Poverty Research (web pages).
- *paper (with David Gordon and Christina Pantazis) *Absolute and Overall Poverty in Britain in 1999: What the Population Themselves Say*, no 6, Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey of Britain 1999 Working Papers, Bristol, Townsend Centre for International Poverty Research (web pages).
- *paper 'Poverty and the Inauguration of the Welfare State', Institute of Welfare Conference at the Ministry of Defence, Bristol, 2 July, 12 pages. Circulated only.
- *paper 'Making Quality Count: Putting Reliability into Number-Crunching', in *Celebrating Classic Sociology: Great Qualitative Research of the 20th Century*, Qualidata Conference at the University of Essex, 5–6 July, 10 pages. Circulated only.
- *paper 'What are the Causes of Health Inequality?', in A. Oliver, R. Cookson and D. McDaid, *The Issues Panel for Equity in Health*, London, Nuffield Trust, pp 76–9.
- *paper 'Peter Townsend – 1928–', in B. Holman, *Champions for Children: The Lives of Modern Child Care Pioneers*, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp 127–55. This chapter gives Bob Holman's account of a working life, partly with the aid of an interview he carried out, but also drawing on interviews painstakingly recorded by Paul Thompson for Qualidata at the University of Essex (listed above under 1999).
- paper (author Janet Fink) 'Historians and Social Science Research data: An Exploration of the Peter Townsend Collection', *History Workshop Journal*.
- minor 'Labour Needs to Loosen the Purse Strings to Have a Real Impact on Poverty', 8 June, *Comment*, SocietyGuardian.co.uk.
- minor 'Reaping the Harvest of Neglect', 26 September, Afghanistan, *Comment*, SocietyGuardian.co.uk.

minor 'Humanitarian Coalition Must Start With Children', 10 October,
Comment, SocietyGuardian.co.uk.

minor 'Making the World's Only Political Forum Work', 15 November,
Comment, SocietyGuardian.co.uk.

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2002

*** (edited with David Gordon) *World Poverty: New Policies to Defeat an Old Enemy*, Bristol, The Policy Press, 454 pages. (Peter Townsend is author or co-author of Chapters 1, 14 and 17, the introduction and Appendices A and B.) This book asks whether existing international and national policies are likely to succeed in reducing poverty across the world. It concludes that they are not: that a radically different international strategy is needed. National policies can then adapt to help fulfil the UN Millennium goals. Policies intended to operate at different levels – international, regional, national and sub-national – ranging from those of international agencies like the UN and the World Bank through to those of national governments and groups of governments and local and city authorities – are examined and found not to be interrelated even in elementary ways. The underlying assumptions in the anti-poverty policies that exist of the causes and extent of poverty are brought into the open and discussed. Key aspects of social policy, like 'targeting' and means testing, de-regulation, reduction in public expenditure and privatisation, are considered in detail, especially as they have been applied to certain countries of Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa, and to China and India. Detailed review of structural adjustment and successor policies like the 'Social Funds', the 'Social Dimensions of Adjustment' (SDA) and the 'Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Structural Adjustment' (PAMSCAD) finds that for many years the World Bank strategy on poverty has been unsuccessful. The declared aims of the Bank to increase economic growth, invest in the human capital of education and in social safety nets for vulnerable groups are shown to be indirect, imprecise, overly long term and sparing in resources and coverage – and hence inefficient and ineffective. A novel feature of the book is the strong link it makes between policies to establish human rights and necessarily universal anti-poverty policies. The book is a companion volume to *Breadline Europe: The Measurement of Poverty*, Bristol, The Policy Press, March 2001. Its scope is international rather than predominantly European and its focus is on

anti-poverty policies rather than the scale, causes and measurement of poverty.

** (edited with David Gordon, Shailen Nandy and Christina Pantazis, with Alberto Minujin, Jan Vandemoortele and Ceema Namazie) *Child Rights and Child Poverty in Developing Countries*, report to UNICEF, Bristol, Townsend Centre for International Poverty Research, University of Bristol, 24 pages. This is a very short version of a report prepared for UNICEF and submitted in the same year. The research represents a new attempt internationally to directly measure child poverty and to relate such measurement to the fulfilment in different countries of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The analysis is based on social surveys carried out in different countries according to a standard pattern, rather than on census and administrative data used in the past, that are seriously incomplete and relate only indirectly, through households or parents, to children. The measure of child poverty is based on data about multiple forms of deprivation. The measure of child rights is based on two alternative measures of fulfilment of child rights, one of which is related to the country surveys, and the other to the tables of statistical indicators published by international agencies like the World Bank and UNDP. Effectively a new source of data is compared with a conventional source of data for a large number of countries. The differences in the results obtained are sometimes considerable and are therefore controversial.

** *Targeting Poor Health: Next Steps. Consultation Response. Report to the Health and Social Services Committee of the National Assembly for Wales*, Cardiff, National Assembly for Wales, 105 pages. The 2000 report described above was issued for formal consultation in Wales in October 2001, and following written and spoken comments made by many organisations and individuals a commentary and analysis was prepared for the National Steering Group of the original review. This consultation report was approved in February 2001 by the Health and Social Services Committee and then the National Assembly for Wales itself. The key summary of recommendations will be found in Section 3 of the report. These include the 'dual strategy', improved information about expenditure on health, and a new 'direct' formula for purposes of re-directing resources.

*paper 'Can Europe Help to Re-organise International Social Policy?', in *Social Policy in Greece and the European Union: New Challenges, Trends and Reform Prospects*, first conference of the Hellenic Social Policy

- Association, Democritus University of Thrace, 10–13 May, 2001, 20 pages. Circulated only.
- *paper 'The Role of the UN: Directing Global Resources to the Rural Poor', expert group meeting on 'Globalisation and Poverty Reduction: Can the Rural Poor Benefit from Globalisation?', Division for Social Policy and Development, UN, 8–9 November 2001, New York. Circulated only.
- *paper "'The Restoration of 'Universalism'": The Fall and Rise of Keynesian Influence on Social Development Policies', prepared for the UNRISD project on Social Policy in a Development Context, Geneva UNRISD (published November 2002 and due for inclusion in forthcoming UNRISD report). Also www.unrisd.org in a development context.
- *paper 'Targeting Poor Health: Next Steps', Consultation Response, report to the Health and Social Services Committee of the National Assembly for Wales, Cardiff, National Assembly for Wales.
- paper 'The Future for the Welfare State', conference for Labour Party members and Trades Unions, London, Socialist Campaigns Group. Circulated only.
- paper 'Pre-Budget Briefing on Child Poverty', All-Party Parliamentary Committee on Social Policy. Circulated only.
- minor 'An Appreciation: Barbara Castle', *The Guardian*, 8 May.
- minor 'Peter Townsend', biographical article, *SPA News*, Newsletter of the Social Policy Association., May/June, pp 1–5.

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2003

- *** (with David Gordon, Shailen Nandy, Christina Pantazis and Simon Pemberton) *Child Poverty in the Developing World*, report for UNICEF, Bristol, The Policy Press, 36 pages (summary from full report of 112 pages). This represents the analysis envisaged a year earlier in the interim report, setting out the unexpectedly large proportion of children experiencing severe deprivation – using seven indicators of basic human need – food, water, sanitation, information, education, health and shelter. Severe deprivation in relation to two or more of these indicators was treated as meeting the Copenhagen criteria of 'absolute poverty'. Cross-national data are drawn from a new source, namely the Demographic Health Surveys (DHS) and Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS). Using these more comprehensive (and reliable) survey data the authors found that in five regions of the developing world 37% of all children (or 674 million) were in absolute poverty. The report also draws attention to the indeterminate or indirect effects of previous and

current policies related to economic growth, overseas aid and forms of debt relief, which have not been successful in reducing the numbers in poverty, and concluded that international policies needed to take a different direction. An international fund for children should be set up, based on revenue from a new international financial tax, allowing developing countries to draw amounts specifically for the introduction or enlargement of schemes of child benefit in cash or kind – designed to reach children directly.

- ** (with Bryn Davies, Hilary Land, Tony Lynes and Ken Macintyre) *Better Pensions: The State's Responsibility*, Catalyst Working Paper, Catalyst, 56 pages. This reflects a final effort of a group of experts working on pensions to steer the 1997 government back to the successful pensions strategy developed by a Labour Party team first in the mid-1950s and then by successive Labour governments in the late 1960s and mid- and late 1970s. The recommendations would now of course be updated to meet modern global conditions of increasing inequality. Acceptance of the strategy meant re-embracing universality, gender rights through working life and child-rearing, intergenerational solidarity and re-distribution from working life to retirement, and from rich to poor, by pooling individual contributions graded according to income. Money purchase schemes were proving under New Labour to be poor value for money and were not providing an assured level of retirement income.
- ** (with Bryn Davies, Hilary Land, Tony Lynes and Ken Macintyre) 'The Emperor's Clothes: Pensions Policy Exposed', evidence to the Inquiry on Pensions by the Work and Pensions Committee of the House of Commons, London, The Stationery Office. This is the earlier and more formal version of the above paper that sought to influence one of the parliamentary inquiries.
- paper 'Relative Deprivation' and 'Poverty', in W. Outhwaite (ed) *The Blackwell Dictionary of Modern Social Thought*, second edition, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- *paper 'The Rights of Children to Survival and Health: Time to Secure their Freedom from Poverty', *The Lancet*.
- *paper (with Bryn Davies, Hilary Land, Ken Macintyre and Tony Lynes) *The Emperor's Clothes: Pensions Policy Exposed*, evidence to the Inquiry on Pensions by the Work and Pensions Committee of the House of Commons, London, The Stationery Office.
- *paper (with David Gordon, Jonathan Bradshaw and Julie Williams) 'The Concept and Measurement of Poverty', in D. Gordon, R. Levitas and C.

Pantazis, *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain: The Millennium Survey*, Bristol, The Policy Press.

*paper (with Ruth Levitas, Jonathan Bradshaw and J. Johnson) 'The Concept and Measurement of Social Exclusion', in D. Gordon, R. Levitas and C. Pantazis, *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain: The Millennium Survey*, Bristol, The Policy Press.

video *Peter Townsend on 'Poverty in the United Kingdom', A Study in Quantitative Methods*, The Classic Collection, Twickenham, Halovine.

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2004

*paper 'From Universalism to Safety Nets: The Rise and Fall of Keynesian Influence on Social Development', in T. Mkandawire (ed) *Social Policy in a Development Context*, UNRISD, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp 37–62. Prompted by a meeting sponsored by the UN Research Institute for Social Development this paper argues that after being relegated by the majority of economists to legendary status Keynes now personified a strategy in waiting. He had cut the ground beneath the feet of classical and neoclassical economic theory in the 1930s and the policies that he recommended had worldwide acceptance in the war years. Not only was he instrumental in helping Europe recover from the 1939–45 war but his universalism and contribution to social development – through minimally adequate living standards and public services – was greater than supposed. He left his mark on the consolidation of social security in the US and of the post-war welfare in all industrialised societies, and despite the early distortions of his proposals for the Bretton Woods institutions and the ascendancy from the 1970s of monetarism and then neoliberal economics, his ideas are becoming vital again today if the inequalities being generated by the global economy are to be resolved.

*paper 'Re-thinking International Social Policy to Defeat Poverty', in M. Petmesidou and C. Papatheodorou (eds) *Poverty and Social Exclusion Exandas*, pp 115–58 (in Greek).

*paper *The World Trade Organisation: The Role of the EU post-Cancun*, 16th Report of Session 2003–4, HL Paper 104, 'Minutes of Evidence', London, The Stationery Office, pp 10–17.

*paper (with Simon Pemberton, David Gordon, S. Nandy and Christina Pantazis) 'The Relationship Between Child Poverty and Child Rights: The Role of Indicators', in A. Minujin, E. Delamonica and M. Komarecki (eds) *Human*

- Rights and Social Policies for Children and Women: The Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS)*, New York, The New School, pp 47–62.
- paper 'Fighting Child Poverty Through Direct Policies', *In Focus*, Newsletter of the International Poverty Centre, Brasilia, UNDP, March, pp 3–5.
- paper* 'Reducing Child Poverty: A Review of Tried and Untried Policies in the Developing World', conference sponsored by UNICEF and the New School University, New York, April. Circulated only.
- paper 'Reflections on Becoming a Researcher', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, vol 7, no 1, pp 19–27.
- paper 'National Assistance and the Rediscovery of Poverty: The Poor and the Poorest', in S. Becker and A. Bryman (eds) *Understanding Research for Social Policy and Practice: Themes, Methods and Approaches*, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp 5–7.
- *paper 'Brian Abel-Smith', in H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- *paper 'Reforming Global Social Policy to Defeat Poverty', Hellenic Social Policy Association, inaugural annual lecture, 20 November 2002, Athens, Exandus.
- paper 'Poverty', in A. Kuper (ed) *Social Science Encyclopaedia*, London, Routledge.
- paper 'Relative Deprivation', in A. Kuper (ed) *Social Science Encyclopaedia*, London, Routledge.
- paper 'Basic Needs', in A. Kuper (ed) *Social Science Encyclopaedia*, London, Routledge.

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2005

*** *Inequalities in Health: The Welsh Dimension 2002–5*, Welsh Assembly Government, 122 pages. This is the final report in a close association with the Assembly for Wales during more than four years. The first reports are listed above under 2001. This report builds on the work of the Standing Committee on Resource Allocation established by the Welsh Assembly Government in 2002 and chaired by Peter Townsend. The legacy of poor health and inequalities in health in Wales and later information is described. The interdependence of action needed on equity in access to service, improvements to be made in healthcare and action to deal with material and social deprivation are featured. Among the issues picked out are UK government policies that affect health in Wales; development of reliable data about the monetary

value of different healthcare services to individuals and households; and how resources and the valuation of healthcare needs are matched for all local health boards in Wales. The boards can play the key role in reducing inequalities in healthcare at every level of service. From the resources they receive each year they could regularly review how those resources should be allocated more equitably in their budgeted expenditure. They should be allowed and strongly encouraged, especially by means of the introduction of new forms of professional training about deprivation, and by consultation with NHS leaders about the needs of people in relation to different types of service, to play this role. Annual allocation of resources: the principle that target shares in the allocation of healthcare resources could be achieved by differential growth – agreed in a pilot decision in 2002 by the Assembly – but the speed of implementation and subsequent stages to establish equity were not proposed in detail and issued for acceptance. Inequalities in health are becoming very serious and extensive counter-action outside as well as inside the NHS is required. A number of recent reports by the Assembly have prepared the ground. The possibility of drawing up, with other relevant organisations, a concerted programme to reduce material and social deprivation, prevent ill-health in the first place and enhance life chances, by monitored stages, should be considered by the Welsh Assembly Government. In the UK non-devolved policies have a crucial impact on the socioeconomic conditions that underlie unequal health. The levels of Child Benefit and Incapacity Benefit are two striking examples. The Welsh Assembly Government cannot control this aspect of policy but it can, and should, make serious representations on issues that make a huge difference to the health and well-being of people in Wales. And in a research programme (1) The development of the direct needs model, and of the Welsh Health Survey on which it relies, should form part of a much wider, all-embracing programme of research and development on inequalities in health and social care; and (2) an individual patient tracking healthcare costs model should be introduced by stages to improve capacity to address healthcare needs efficiently.

*paper 'An End to Poverty or More of the Same?', *Lancet*, vol 365, no 9468, 16–22 April, pp 1379–80.

*paper 'Poverty and Human Rights: Multi-Dimensional International Measurement', International Poverty Centre, UNDP, Brasilia 29–31 August (www.undp.org/povertycentre).

- paper 'Introduction', Equity Training and Advocacy Grants – learning from the pilot programme, Public Health Strategy Division 3, Welsh Assembly Government, pp 5–7.
- *paper (with David Gordon) 'Rights-Based International Indicators: Poverty and the Rights of the Child', Metagora Forum OECD, Paris, 24 May. Circulated in proceedings.
- *paper (with David Gordon, M. Irving and Shailen Nandy) 'Multidimensional Measures of Child Poverty', UNICEF sponsored international conference, New York, New School, April.

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2006

- ** (with V. Adebawale, F. Bennett, R. Cadbury, R. Exell, R. Lister, D. Piachaud, A. Rahman, A. Robinson and P. Toynbee) *Narrowing the Gap: The Fabian Commission on Life Chances and Child Poverty*, London, Fabian Society, 226 pages. The Commission met frequently and through a succession of drafts eventually constructed a comprehensive and detailed account of the social and psychological conditions of children in the UK, with radical recommendations for government action.
- *paper 'Poverty and Human Rights: The Role of Social Security and Especially Child Benefit', *Hong Kong Journal of Social Work*, vol 40, nos 1/2, Summer/Winter, pp 3–32.
- *paper 'Policies for the Aged in the 21st Century: more "structured dependency" or the realisation of human rights?', *Ageing and Society*, vol 26, pp 161–79. (Peter Townsend had contributed the first paper to be published in this journal in 1981 and was invited, 25 years later, to address the themes and conclusions of that paper.)
- *paper 'Reconstructing the Social Security System in the 21st Century to Solve the Developing Problems of Poverty and Access to Human Rights', *Social Security Studies*, Beijing, China, vol 1, pp 25–37 (in Chinese). This lecture was given in April at the People's University of China (Renmin University) at the invitation of Professor Zheng Gongcheng.
- paper 'Poverty in the Mediterranean region: Applying Human Rights Strategy', in M. Petmesidou and C. Papatheodorou (eds) *Poverty and Social Deprivation in the Mediterranean area: Trends, Policies and Welfare prospects in the New Millennium*, Bergen, CROP, pp 374–98. This is the concluding chapter of the book that derived from an original conference held for intending authors from nearly all the countries bordering the

Mediterranean, and Peter Townsend was invited by the editors to draw the material together.

- *paper 'Introduction', *Compendium of Best Practices in Poverty Measurement*, Rio Group, Expert Group on Poverty Statistics, Rio de Janeiro, pp 15–34.
- paper 'What is poverty? An Historical Perspective', *What is Poverty?*, Concepts and Measures, Poverty in Focus, UNDP International Poverty Centre, Brasilia, pp 5–6 (www.undp.povertycentre.org).
- *paper "“Absolute” and “Overall” Poverty: The Copenhagen Approach to the Fulfilment of Human Rights', *Global Social Policy*, vol 6, no 3.
- *paper (with David Gordon and Christina Pantazis) 'The International Measurement of “Absolute” and “Overall” Poverty: Applying the 1995 Copenhagen Definitions to Britain', in C. Pantazis; D. Gordon and R. Levitas (eds) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain: The Millennium Survey*, Bristol The Policy Press, pp 71–88.
- *paper (with Christina Pantazis and David Gordon) 'The Necessities of Life', in C. Pantazis; D. Gordon and R. Levitas (eds) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain: The Millennium Survey*, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp 89–122.

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2007

- ** *The Right to Social Security and National Development: Lessons from OECD Experience for Low-income Countries*, Issues in Social Protection, Discussion Paper no 18, Geneva, International Labour Office, 50 pages. The research was commissioned by DfID for a joint review by the ILO, GTZ and DfID of the relevance of social security in OECD countries to the developing countries in seeking to defeat poverty. The economic development policies advocated by the international financial agencies had failed to reduce the number in extreme poverty over a period of several decades. Universal public social services and social security systems had been treated as aberrations of the past rather than as institutions necessary to the future. Since 2000 the strengths of comprehensive or universal public social services and social protection or security payments have begun to be recognised, partly at the instigation of international organisations such as the ILO and UNICEF. Recognition of the strengths in particular of (i) contributory social insurance and (ii) tax-financed group benefits on behalf of children, disabled people and the elderly, may follow. These two types of benefit – long-established in OECD countries – are ‘universalistic’ measures; they are not ‘selective’ or discriminatory on means testing. Once the

part to be played by both of these, especially the first, comes to be fully recognised cross-nationally the urgent re-formulation of development policies to reduce poverty is likely to be welcomed – and bring tangible success. In aiming to reduce poverty, establish basic social services and meet individual adversity, OECD countries have come to spend an average of one eighth (12.6%) of their GDP on public social security cash benefits, and altogether more than a fifth (20.9%) on public social services and social security, excluding education. All member countries of the OECD have substantially lower rates of poverty as a consequence. And high social security spending is often consistent with above-average economic growth.

Comprehensive social insurance and tax-financed group schemes covering everyone in certain population categories account for much more than half such OECD expenditure, and means-tested social assistance for the smaller part. Universal coverage of children, disabled and older people are the bedrock measures. The more conditional and maybe punitive forms of selective social assistance are counter-productive for social cohesion, well-being and productivity.

The OECD percentages of national income committed to the public social services and social security dwarf those currently committed by the developing countries and show how the problems of poverty and social instability can gradually be overcome. But in global conditions the developing countries can build similarly effective systems only if global players like the rich governments, transnational corporations and international agencies recognise they have to play their necessary part – like company employers in the 19th century who previously contributed a large share of the funds required to guarantee minimal security inside and outside work. Social security schemes involving entire populations and categories of the population like young children and disabled people can be phased in by stages in the poorest developing countries. International social security is coming to stay.

** (with David Gordon, M. Irvine and S. Nandy) *The Extent and Nature of Absolute Poverty*, final report to DfID: R:8382, Centre for International Poverty Research, University of Bristol, 53 pages. This research followed the work reported above under 2002 and 2003 of developing a more accurate and reliable measure of multiple deprivation (representing absolute poverty) among children by extending the methodology to adults as well. The aim was to construct a measure for the entire world population. Almost a quarter of the world's population were found

to be absolutely poor (1.4 billion people). Rates of absolute poverty were higher among children than adults, and higher among females than males. (Report presented to the sponsors, DfID, with publication forthcoming.)

- *paper 'Mediterranean Poverty and Conflict: Applying a Human Rights Strategy', in C. Chinkin, D. Downes, C. Gearty and P. Rock (eds) *Sociology and Politics of Denial: Crime, Social Control and Human Rights – Essays in Honour of Stanley Cohen*, London, Willan Publishing, pp 284–303.
- *paper 'Why do we Need Social Protection and Social Security Systems?', *Entwicklung & laendlicher Raum* (Agriculture and Rural Development), no 3, pp 1–7. This is a short, crisp, version of the report for the ILO described above.
- *paper 'Using Human Rights to Defeat Ageism: Dealing with Policy-induced "Structured Dependency"', in M. Bernard and T. Scharf (eds) *Critical Perspectives on Ageing Societies*, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp 27–44.
- *paper 'World Poverty: New Policies to Defeat an Old Enemy', in P. Herrman and S. Herrenbrueck (eds) *Changing Administration – Changing Society: Challenges for Current Social Policy*, New York, Nova Science, pp 77–96.
- *paper (with Simon Pemberton, David Gordon, Shailen Nandy and Christina Pantazis) 'Child Rights and Child Poverty: Can the International Framework of Children's Rights be Used to Improve Child Survival Rates?', *Public Library of Science (PLoS) Medicine*, vol 4, no 10, 0001–4 (www.plosmedicine.org/).

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2008 (as at February 2008)

*** (editor) *Social Security: Building Decent Societies*, Geneva, ILO, approximately 320 pages (publication forthcoming). Following the research for the ILO described above under 2005–06 Peter Townsend was invited to edit a volume containing papers of both industrialised and developing countries for the three sponsoring bodies: ILO, GTZ and DfID. The book reviews why social protection systems in general, and social security in particular, are not actively promoted in the low-income countries as a prime means of reducing poverty and contributing to economic and social development. Among the key issues are the historical development of social security in OECD countries and what in particular has brought about the relevant institutions in those countries; the relationship between growth, poverty reduction, state building and social security in OECD and

middle income countries; whether growth, national wealth and an 'effective state' have been necessary pre-conditions for, or positive outcomes of, social security; whether there are trade-offs in OECD countries between growth and social security; what wider functions are being served by social security systems in, for example, tackling inequality and exclusion, reducing social conflict, managing demand in the economy, improving the efficiency of labour markets and protecting workforces; how far, and in what respects, social security in high-income and low-income countries is sustainable and affordable, especially in relation to the impact on job markets; and what lessons might be derived from such cross-national analysis for low-income countries in the context of the challenges they currently face in achieving the Millennium Development Goals, building effective states and accelerating their own economic and social development.

**paper *Investment in Social Security: A Possible UN Model for Child Benefit* (publication forthcoming). International aid policies have been relatively unsuccessful for several decades for countries in conditions of desperate adversity. A practical alternative is to work on the principle of participatory international funding for universal Child Benefit, which will have more direct and immediate effects in raising family living standards. A century and more ago OECD countries financed universal social security systems to reduce poverty through national taxation and employer contributions. National agreements for social security became wholly acceptable to business. The same principle may be used today for the low-income countries but must differ in method because the economy is now global. A Currency Transfer Tax, supported by employer contributions from transnational corporations, could directly benefit children. A universal benefit for children, in cash or in kind, would attract worldwide support. It could prove to be not just a salvation for the world's children, but regain public respect for the work of the international agencies on world social development and the fulfilment of the Millennium Development Goals. Substantial resources can come from the international agencies, countries with the biggest economies and transnational corporations. A century ago employer contributions helped substantially to finance social security in each of the newly industrialising countries. Transnational corporation contributions and a new international tax scheme could do the same today. A CTT of 0.2%, compared with a standard fee of 2 or 3% charged by firms for currency exchange at airports, would raise a very large sum

for a UN Investment Fund for children and, with urgent investment in national infrastructure, quickly diminish child poverty.

- *paper *Using Human Rights to Reduce Inequalities of Economic and Social Development*, public conference on 'World inequality: A challenge to globalisation', sponsored by the Egmont Institute, Brussels, Belgium [publication forthcoming].
- *paper 'Marginalisation and social exclusion dimensions of poverty', in B.A. Andreassen, S.P. Marks, and A.K. Sengupta (eds) *Poverty and Human Rights: Economic Perspectives*, sponsored jointly by the Programme on Human Rights in Development, Harvard School of Public Health, the Centre for Development and Human Rights, New Delhi, and the Norwegian Centre for Human Rights of the University of Oslo, for UNESCO [publication forthcoming]
- Paper *1909-2009 – Beatrice Webb and the Welfare State*, for Fabian Society programme marking the centenary of the publication of the Royal Commission Minority Report on the Poor Law [publication forthcoming]

Titles of possible future books

- *** *A Year in the Life of a University Teacher*
- *** *Child Rights, Child Poverty and Development*
- *** *International Social Policy and Human Rights*
- *** *The Impoverishment of Britain*

