



# Consumer Income

Series P-60, No. 71  
July 16, 1970

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE/Bureau of the Census

## POVERTY CONTINUES TO DECLINE IN 1969

(Advance data from March 1970 Current Population Survey)

About 24.3 million persons were below the poverty level in 1969, according to the results of the Current Population Survey conducted in March 1970 by the Bureau of the Census. Between 1968 and 1969, the number of poor persons was reduced by 1.1 million, or by 4.3 percent. During this period there was a decline in the number of both white and Negro persons who were poor. Negroes comprised three-tenths of all poor persons in both 1968 and 1969. The number of poor persons who were either members of families with a male head or male unrelated individuals declined by 8 percent during this one-year period. However, there was no measurable change in the number of members of poor families with a female head and poor female unrelated individuals between 1968 and 1969. The decade of the 1960's has witnessed a sizable reduction in the proportion of persons living in poverty. The ratio of poor persons to the total population was 12 percent in 1969 as compared with 22 percent in 1959.

In 1969, family members under 18 years of age accounted for 35 percent of all white persons below the poverty level as compared with 54 percent of all Negroes who were poor. In contrast, persons 65 and over made up one-fourth of all poor white persons and only one-tenth of the Negro poor.

Persons in families with a female head and female unrelated individuals constituted 43 percent of all poor persons in 1969. Of these persons, 37 percent were Negro.

There was about the same number of families below the poverty level in both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas in 1969. Of the poor families living in metropolitan areas, about 60 percent were central city residents. Negroes accounted for 40 percent of all poor families living in central cities as compared to 15 percent of those residing in suburban rings.

In 1969, it would have taken 10.1 billion dollars to raise the income of all poor families and unrelated individuals above the poverty line, about the same amount as in 1968. Whites accounted for about 72 percent of the total income deficit in 1969.

The median income deficit for poor families was about \$1,000 in 1969. It was \$900 for white families and \$1,250 for families of Negro and other races. The difference in the median deficit between white families and those of Negro and other races is accounted for in part by the smaller size of the average poor white family. The deficit per family member was about \$320 for families of both racial groupings.

The incomes of poor families headed by men were closer to the poverty level than those of families headed by women. About 30 percent of the poor families headed by men had incomes within \$500 of their respective poverty lines as compared to 20 percent for those poor families headed by women. The deficit per family member for

families with a male head was \$300 as compared to about \$400 for families with a female head.

This report excludes inmates of institutions and unrelated individuals under 14 years. It includes only those members of the Armed Forces living off post or with their families onpost. The poverty threshold for a nonfarm family of four was \$3,743 in 1969 and \$2,973 in 1959. For more detailed definitions of the terms and concepts used in this

report, see Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 68. More detailed poverty data for families and persons will appear in a report in this series to be issued later this year.

Since the estimates in this report are based on a sample, they are subject to sampling variability. Moreover, as in all field surveys of income, the figures are subject to errors of response and nonreporting.



**Table 1. Persons Below the Poverty Level in 1959 to 1969, by Family Status and Sex and Race of Head--Continued**  
 (Numbers in thousands. Persons as of March of the following year)

Family status	1969 <sup>r</sup>	1968 <sup>r</sup>	1967 <sup>r,1</sup>	1966 <sup>r</sup>	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959
<b>PERCENT BELOW POVERTY LEVEL--Continued</b>												
Persons in Families With Male Head and Male Unrelated Individuals												
Total.....	8.0	8.8	10.1	10.8	11.6	13.2	15.1	15.4	16.9	18.1	18.5	18.7
In families.....												
Head.....	7.4	8.3	9.6	10.3	11.2	12.8	14.6	14.9	16.4	17.6	18.0	18.2
Family members under 18 years <sup>2</sup> .....	6.9	7.3	8.7	9.3	10.0	11.1	12.5	13.1	14.3	15.4	15.4	15.8
Other family members.....	8.8	10.2	11.5	12.6	13.4	15.7	18.2	18.0	19.9	21.0	22.3	22.4
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over.....	6.5	7.0	8.3	8.7	9.6	10.9	12.4	12.9	14.1	15.4	15.3	15.3
25.3	25.4	26.9	29.3	27.7	28.9	32.0	34.8	36.5	36.0	36.1	36.1	36.8
Persons in Families With Female Head and Female Unrelated Individuals												
Total.....	38.3	38.9	40.6	41.0	43.8	46.0	45.9	48.4	50.5	49.5	49.5	50.2
In families.....												
Head.....	38.1	38.7	38.8	39.8	43.1	46.0	44.4	47.7	50.3	48.1	48.9	49.4
Family members under 18 years <sup>2</sup> .....	32.3	32.3	33.3	33.1	35.1	38.4	36.4	40.4	42.9	42.1	42.4	42.6
Other family members.....	54.4	55.2	54.3	58.2	61.3	64.2	62.3	66.6	70.2	65.1	68.4	72.2
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over.....	17.3	17.8	18.9	18.6	22.2	24.5	24.3	26.0	28.8	29.8	28.3	24.0
38.5	39.2	44.7	43.5	45.4	46.2	49.3	50.0	51.0	52.4	50.9	52.1	

<sup>r</sup>Based on revised methodology for processing income data; see Series P-60, No. 68, for explanation.

<sup>1</sup>Due to coding errors, data for 1967 are not strictly comparable with those shown for 1966, 1968, and 1969. It is estimated that this error may have overstated the number of poor families in 1967 by about 175,000 and the number of poor persons by approximately 450,000.

<sup>2</sup>Other than head or wife.

**Table 2. Negro Persons Below the Poverty Level in 1967 to 1969, by Family Status and Sex of Head**  
 (Numbers in thousands. Persons as of March of the following year)

Family status	Persons in families and unrelated individuals			In families with male head <sup>1</sup>			In families with female head <sup>1</sup>			
	1969	1968	1967 <sup>2</sup>	1969	1968	1967 <sup>2</sup>	1969	1968	1967 <sup>2</sup>	
	Total.....	7,215	7,616	8,476	3,380	3,809	4,594	3,837	3,807	3,892
In families.....										
Head.....	6,409	6,839	7,677	3,093	3,527	4,315	3,317	3,312	3,362	
Family members under 18 years <sup>3</sup> .....	1,326	1,366	1,555	609	660	839	718	706	716	
Other family members.....	3,879	4,188	4,558	1,640	1,947	2,293	2,239	2,241	2,265	
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over.....	1,204	1,285	1,564	844	920	1,183	360	365	381	
	806	777	809	287	282	279	520	495	530	
PERCENT BELOW POVERTY LEVEL										
Total.....	32.3	34.7	39.3	21.5	24.7	30.0	57.9	58.6	61.6	
In families.....										
Head.....	31.2	33.7	38.4	20.8	24.1	29.7	58.3	58.9	61.6	
Family members under 18 years <sup>3</sup> .....	27.8	29.4	33.9	17.8	19.9	25.3	53.2	53.2	56.3	
Other family members.....	39.7	43.1	47.4	25.3	29.8	35.3	68.1	70.5	72.4	
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over.....	20.0	21.7	27.1	17.0	19.2	25.1	34.1	32.6	36.1	
	46.0	46.3	49.3	35.3	35.1	36.0	55.4	56.6	61.3	

<sup>1</sup>For unrelated individuals, sex of individual.

<sup>2</sup>Due to coding errors, data for 1967 are not strictly comparable with those shown for 1968 and 1969.

<sup>3</sup>Other than head or wife.

Table 3. Selected Characteristics of Families Below the Poverty Level in 1969

(Numbers in thousands. Families as of March 1970)

Selected characteristics	All races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
All families.....	51,237	4,950	9.7	46,022	3,555	7.7	4,774	1,326	27.8
<b>AGE OF HEAD</b>									
14 to 24 years.....	3,524	528	15.0	3,056	373	12.2	443	151	34.1
25 to 54 years.....	32,321	2,522	7.8	28,936	1,702	5.9	3,096	782	25.3
55 to 64 years.....	8,314	658	7.9	7,516	465	6.2	729	182	24.9
65 years and over.....	7,078	1,243	17.6	6,515	1,014	15.6	507	211	41.7
<b>EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HEAD<sup>1</sup></b>									
Elementary school, total.....	12,840	2,371	18.5	10,852	1,666	15.4	1,866	675	36.2
Less than 8 years.....	6,693	1,685	25.2	5,207	1,098	21.1	1,405	564	40.1
8 years.....	6,147	686	11.2	5,645	568	10.1	461	111	24.1
High school, total.....	23,162	1,687	7.3	20,984	1,190	5.7	2,025	475	23.5
1 to 3 years.....	8,104	871	10.7	7,026	554	7.9	1,034	308	29.8
4 years.....	15,058	816	5.4	13,958	636	4.6	991	167	16.9
College, total.....	11,711	360	3.1	11,130	322	2.9	440	25	5.7
1 to 3 years.....	5,220	228	4.4	4,914	197	4.0	257	23	8.9
4 years or more.....	6,491	132	2.0	6,216	125	2.0	183	2	1.1
<b>NUMBER OF FAMILY MEMBERS UNDER 18<sup>2</sup></b>									
No members.....	21,410	1,745	8.2	19,821	1,462	7.4	1,457	259	17.8
1 and 2 members.....	18,973	1,499	7.9	17,032	1,082	6.4	1,763	402	22.8
3 and 4 members.....	8,433	1,045	12.4	7,372	677	9.2	967	350	36.2
5 members or more.....	2,421	662	27.3	1,798	334	18.6	588	315	53.6
<b>NUMBER OF EARNERS</b>									
No earners.....	4,337	1,755	40.5	3,799	1,336	35.2	503	395	78.6
1 earner.....	19,251	2,131	11.1	17,568	1,572	8.9	1,540	530	34.4
2 earners.....	20,125	816	4.1	17,953	522	2.9	1,990	282	14.2
3 earners or more.....	7,524	248	3.3	6,702	125	1.9	742	119	16.0
<b>EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF HEAD</b>									
Employed.....	40,294	2,147	5.3	36,571	1,549	4.2	3,415	575	16.8
Unemployed.....	1,169	210	17.9	987	128	13.0	164	76	46.2
In Armed Forces or not in labor force.....	9,774	2,593	34.9	8,465	1,878	30.1	1,195	676	62.2
<b>WORK EXPERIENCE AND OCCUPATION GROUP OF LONGEST JOB OF HEAD</b>									
Worked.....	43,114	2,702	6.3	38,943	1,882	4.8	3,821	785	20.5
Professional and managerial workers.....	14,173	659	4.6	13,637	577	4.2	396	68	17.2
Clerical and sales workers.....	5,921	216	3.6	5,472	169	3.1	405	43	10.6
Craftsmen and foremen.....	8,948	311	3.5	8,414	257	3.1	494	49	10.0
Operatives and kindred workers.....	8,337	499	6.0	7,175	314	4.4	1,112	181	16.3
Service workers incl. private household.....	3,088	510	16.5	2,277	257	11.3	777	251	32.3
Nonfarm laborers.....	2,105	285	13.5	1,565	175	11.2	519	109	21.0
Farmers and farm laborers.....	543	222	40.9	404	132	32.6	118	83	70.6
Did not work.....	7,112	2,188	30.8	6,163	1,619	26.3	881	540	61.3
In Armed Forces.....	1,011	60	6.0	916	55	6.0	73	2	(B)

<sup>B</sup> Base less than 75,000.<sup>1</sup> Head 25 years old and over.<sup>2</sup> Other than head or wife.

**Table 4. Families and Unrelated Individuals Below the Poverty Level in 1969, by Type of Residence and Race**  
 (Numbers in thousands. Families and unrelated individuals as of March 1970)

Residence	All races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
<b>FAMILIES</b>									
United States.....	51,239	4,950	9.7	46,024	3,555	7.7	4,774	1,326	27.8
Metropolitan areas.....	33,150	2,416	7.3	29,335	1,651	5.6	3,466	720	20.8
Central cities.....	14,704	1,484	10.1	11,759	872	7.4	2,740	582	21.2
Suburban rings.....	18,446	932	5.1	17,576	779	4.4	726	138	19.0
Metropolitan areas of 1,000,000 or more.....	17,823	1,164	6.5	15,542	737	4.7	2,096	408	19.5
Central cities.....	7,472	751	10.1	5,666	398	7.0	1,693	337	19.9
Suburban rings.....	10,351	413	4.0	9,876	339	3.4	402	71	17.7
Metropolitan areas of under 1,000,000.....	15,327	1,252	8.2	13,793	914	6.6	1,371	312	22.8
Central cities.....	8,095	519	6.4	7,700	440	5.7	324	68	21.0
Suburban rings.....	7,232	733	10.1	6,093	474	7.8	1,047	244	23.3
Outside metropolitan areas.....	18,089	2,535	14.0	16,689	1,905	11.4	1,308	606	46.3
<b>UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS</b>									
United States.....	14,452	4,851	33.6	12,473	3,962	31.8	1,752	806	46.0
Metropolitan areas.....	10,175	2,907	28.6	8,664	2,337	27.0	1,325	508	38.3
Central cities.....	6,378	1,872	29.4	5,096	1,400	27.5	1,166	428	36.7
Suburban rings.....	3,797	1,035	27.3	3,568	937	26.3	159	80	50.3
Metropolitan areas of 1,000,000 or more.....	6,076	1,561	25.7	5,154	1,251	24.3	840	279	33.2
Central cities.....	3,729	1,001	26.8	2,911	729	25.0	754	245	32.5
Suburban rings.....	2,347	560	23.9	2,243	523	23.3	86	34	39.5
Metropolitan areas of under 1,000,000.....	4,099	1,346	32.8	3,510	1,085	30.9	485	229	47.2
Central cities.....	1,450	474	32.7	1,326	414	31.2	73	46	(B)
Suburban rings.....	2,649	871	32.9	2,184	671	30.7	412	183	44.4
Outside metropolitan areas.....	4,277	1,944	45.5	3,809	1,625	42.7	427	299	70.0

B Base less than 75,000.

**Table 5. Persons Below the Poverty Level in 1969, by Family Status, Type of Residence, and Race**  
 (Numbers in thousands. Persons as of March 1970)

Residence and family status	All races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
<b>METROPOLITAN AREAS, TOTAL</b>									
Total.....	130,017	12,320	9.5	112,440	8,200	7.3	15,824	3,855	24.4
In families.....	119,842	9,413	7.9	103,776	5,863	5.6	14,499	3,347	23.1
Head.....	33,150	2,416	7.3	29,335	1,651	5.6	3,466	720	20.8
Family members under 18 years <sup>1</sup> .....	44,733	5,032	11.2	37,238	2,786	7.5	6,805	2,142	31.5
Family members under 6 years.....	13,942	1,769	12.7	11,357	945	8.3	2,369	795	33.6
Other family members.....	41,959	1,965	4.7	37,204	1,426	3.8	4,227	484	11.5
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over.....	10,175	2,907	28.6	8,664	2,337	27.0	1,325	508	38.3
Persons under 65 years.....	118,477	9,984	8.4	101,827	6,204	6.1	15,022	3,542	23.6
Persons 65 years and over.....	11,539	2,336	20.2	10,613	1,996	18.8	802	312	38.9

See footnote at end of table.

**Table 5. Persons Below the Poverty Level in 1969, by Family Status, Type of Residence, and Race--Continued**

(Numbers in thousands. Persons as of March 1970)

Residence and family status	All races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
<b>CENTRAL CITIES</b>									
Total.....	57,781	7,760	13.4	44,392	4,527	10.2	12,439	3,068	24.7
In families.....	51,403	5,888	11.5	39,296	3,127	8.0	11,273	2,640	23.4
Head.....	14,704	1,484	10.1	11,759	872	7.4	2,740	582	21.2
Family members under 18 years <sup>1</sup> .....	18,313	3,229	17.6	12,740	1,490	11.7	5,237	1,685	32.2
Family members under 6 years.....	5,857	1,147	19.6	3,965	522	13.2	1,781	608	34.1
Other family members.....	18,387	1,175	6.4	14,797	765	5.2	3,296	374	11.3
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over.....	6,378	1,872	29.4	5,096	1,400	27.5	1,166	428	36.7
Persons under 65 years.....	51,530	6,330	12.3	38,861	3,370	8.7	11,793	2,818	23.9
Persons 65 years and over.....	6,251	1,430	22.9	5,531	1,157	20.9	647	250	38.6
<b>OUTSIDE METROPOLITAN AREAS</b>									
Total.....	69,831	11,969	17.1	62,791	8,468	13.5	6,525	3,359	51.5
In families.....	65,554	10,025	15.3	58,982	6,843	11.6	6,098	3,060	50.2
Head.....	18,089	2,535	14.0	16,689	1,905	11.4	1,308	606	46.3
Family members under 18 years <sup>1</sup> .....	25,055	4,789	19.1	21,804	2,983	13.7	3,012	1,741	57.8
Family members under 6 years.....	7,636	1,530	20.0	6,537	925	14.2	980	577	58.9
Other family members.....	22,410	2,701	12.1	20,490	1,955	9.5	1,778	712	40.0
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over.....	4,277	1,944	45.5	3,809	1,625	42.7	427	299	70.0
Persons under 65 years.....	62,471	9,509	15.2	56,034	6,404	11.4	5,953	2,983	50.1
Persons 65 years and over.....	7,359	2,459	33.4	6,757	2,065	30.6	572	376	65.7

<sup>1</sup>Other than head or wife.**Table 6. Weighted Average Thresholds at the Poverty Level in 1969, by Size of Family and Sex of Head, by Farm-Nonfarm Residence**

Number of family members	Total	Nonfarm			Farm		
		Total	Male head	Female head	Total	Male head	Female head
1 member.....	\$1,834	\$1,840	\$1,923	\$1,792	\$1,569	\$1,607	\$1,512
Under 65 years.....	1,888	1,893	1,974	1,826	1,641	1,678	1,552
65 years and over.....	1,749	1,757	1,773	1,751	1,498	1,508	1,487
2 members.....	2,364	2,383	2,394	2,320	2,012	2,017	1,931
Head under 65 years.....	2,441	2,458	2,473	2,373	2,093	2,100	1,984
Head 65 years and over.....	2,194	2,215	2,217	2,202	1,882	1,883	1,861
3 members.....	2,905	2,924	2,937	2,830	2,480	2,485	2,395
4 members.....	3,721	3,743	3,745	3,725	3,195	3,197	3,159
5 members.....	4,386	4,415	4,418	4,377	3,769	3,770	3,761
6 members.....	4,921	4,958	4,962	4,917	4,244	4,245	4,205
7 or more members.....	6,034	6,101	6,116	5,952	5,182	5,185	5,129

**Table 7. Size of Income Deficit for Families Below the Poverty Level in 1969, 1968, and 1959,  
by Sex and Race of Head**

(Families as of March of the following year)

Size of income deficit and sex of head	All races			White			Negro and other races		
	1969	1968	1959	1969	1968	1959	1969	1968	1959
<b>ALL FAMILIES</b>									
Number.....thousands..	4,950	5,047	8,320	3,555	3,616	6,185	1,395	1,431	2,135
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
\$1 to \$499.....	26.8	26.8	27.0	30.0	29.7	30.1	18.4	19.6	18.4
\$500 to \$999.....	23.8	23.5	25.3	24.1	24.7	26.8	22.9	20.5	20.7
\$1,000 to \$1,999.....	27.2	28.0	30.7	25.5	26.2	29.4	31.3	32.7	34.3
\$2,000 to \$2,999.....	14.9	13.5	11.6	14.2	12.3	9.7	16.5	16.9	17.2
\$3,000 and over.....	7.4	8.1	5.4	6.1	7.2	4.0	10.8	10.2	9.4
Median income deficit.....	\$987	\$993	\$956	\$906	\$907	\$868	\$1,246	\$1,260	\$1,280
Mean income deficit.....	1,283	1,278	1,179	1,200	1,195	1,080	1,494	1,487	1,465
Deficit per family member.....	327	312	284	336	319	273	310	298	309
<b>FAMILIES WITH MALE HEAD</b>									
Number.....thousands..	3,148	3,292	6,404	2,492	2,595	4,952	656	697	1,452
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
\$1 to \$499.....	30.5	30.7	29.5	32.3	32.4	32.3	23.2	24.2	20.2
\$500 to \$999.....	24.8	25.0	25.7	24.8	26.1	27.2	24.7	20.6	20.5
\$1,000 to \$1,999.....	25.4	26.7	29.3	24.5	25.4	28.5	29.0	31.4	32.0
\$2,000 to \$2,999.....	13.0	11.1	10.7	12.8	10.1	8.8	13.7	14.8	17.3
\$3,000 and over.....	6.3	6.6	4.8	5.5	5.9	3.3	9.0	9.0	10.0
Median income deficit.....	\$885	\$875	\$895	\$842	\$818	\$815	\$1,063	\$1,112	\$1,259
Mean income deficit.....	1,174	1,154	1,117	1,130	1,096	1,019	1,342	1,369	1,449
Deficit per family member.....	297	277	260	309	285	250	264	257	287
<b>FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEAD</b>									
Number.....thousands..	1,803	1,755	1,916	1,063	1,021	1,233	739	734	683
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
\$1 to \$499.....	20.3	19.6	18.9	24.6	22.9	21.3	14.2	15.2	14.3
\$500 to \$999.....	22.0	20.6	23.4	22.4	20.8	24.7	21.4	20.2	20.5
\$1,000 to \$1,999.....	30.1	30.5	35.7	28.0	27.9	33.5	33.2	34.2	39.5
\$2,000 to \$2,999.....	18.1	18.2	14.6	17.6	17.8	13.3	18.9	18.8	16.9
\$3,000 and over.....	9.4	11.0	7.5	7.3	10.7	7.0	12.4	11.6	8.5
Median income deficit.....	\$1,240	\$1,290	\$1,165	\$1,110	\$1,176	\$1,085	\$1,385	\$1,445	\$1,330
Mean income deficit.....	1,473	1,511	1,386	1,364	1,447	1,325	1,629	1,600	1,497
Deficit per family member.....	380	379	379	403	416	386	354	341	368

**Table 8. Distribution of Poor Families and Unrelated Individuals and Aggregate Income Deficit  
in 1969, by Family Status, Number of Family Members Under 18, and Sex and Race of Head**

(Families and unrelated individuals as of March 1970)

Number of family members <sup>1</sup> and sex of head	Number below poverty level (thousands)			Aggregate income deficit (millions)		
	All races	White	Negro	All races	White	Negro
Total.....	9,801	7,517	2,132	\$10,120	\$7,273	\$2,687
All families.....	4,950	3,555	1,326	\$6,351	\$4,266	\$1,994
Male head.....	3,146	2,492	609	3,696	2,816	822
No family members under 18.....	1,438	1,236	190	1,166	.995	160
With family members under 18.....	1,708	1,256	419	2,530	1,821	661
1 and 2 under 18.....	745	591	143	956	765	177
3 and 4 under 18.....	563	417	132	861	627	214
5 or more under 18.....	400	248	144	710	430	270
Female head.....	1,804	1,063	718	2,656	1,450	1,175
No family members under 18.....	307	226	69	239	165	60
With family members under 18.....	1,497	837	649	2,417	1,284	1,115
1 and 2 under 18.....	753	491	258	932	626	299
3 and 4 under 18.....	482	260	218	864	455	404
5 or more under 18.....	262	86	172	622	202	411
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over.....	4,851	3,962	806	\$3,769	\$3,007	\$692
Male.....	1,379	1,048	287	1,162	852	270
Female.....	3,472	2,914	520	2,607	2,153	423

<sup>1</sup>Other than head or wife.