COPING STRATEGIES FOR "MAKING ENDS MEET": FINDINGS FROM A COGNITIVE RESEARCH STUDY AT THE U.S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

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I. INTRODUCTION

Our society is continuously being faced with challenges associated with economic uncertainty. This economic uncertainty can be related to downsizing by companies, changes in the role of government, increased life spans, and changes in the composition of families.

Concerns arise over income security resulting in economic strain. Changes resulting from economic uncertainty motivate individuals and households to initiate various adjustment or coping strategies as they strive to meet their basic needs. Other individuals and households use strategies which result in their actually "getting ahead." How people deal with changes and their implementation of various coping strategies will strongly influence whether these individuals are winners or losers. The assumption that people are motivated to change behaviors because of the discrepancy between ideal (i.e., standard) and actual situations (i.e., level) makes sense, but it is also well accepted across different theoretical literatures.

The major survey problem when measuring subjective phenomena such as possible coping strategies and income adequacy is the susceptibility to nonsampling error. Any change, temporary or permanent, in or around the responding subject (mood, experience, weather) may alter that subject's perceptions, interpretations, and conclusions- if only for a moment. Likewise, the context of the interview itself, the order in which questions are presented, and even the characteristics of the interviewer may affect the respondent's subjective assessment. In such cases, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether changes in subjective assessments represent true

variation resulting from a change within the subject or the intrusion of measurement error into the survey process. As a result, the effective use of subjective questions must absolutely depend upon (1) clear, precise, and unambiguous language, (2) non-arbitrary response categories, and (3) clearly defined concepts. Only in this way can surveys overcome the vulnerability of subjective questions to measurement error.

The purpose of this paper is to report on work being conducted within the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), in conjunction with the Bureau of the Census, on subjective or cognitive assessments of economic well-being. The study was designed primarily to help us understand how individuals think as they are asked questions related to income adequacy; information about coping strategies was collected as part of this process. Here we focus on the coping strategies that individuals and households use or say they would use if necessary to "make ends meets." Since most American adults are confronted daily with the delicate task of balancing their income and expenses, it seems reasonable to expect them to have a rather well-developed budgetary sense and understanding of how they make ends meet. Consequently, the task of listing strategies that help them maintain that balance between income and expenses in pursuit of their personal goals should not be unfamiliar to them.

Once we gain a better understanding of questions like the ones we pose in our study, greater progress can be made to combine subjective assessments and objective measures of economic well-being. This information can be used to help us understand better the data that we already collect related to income and expenditures and other "objective" measures of levels of living, assist in our development of data collection instruments, and broaden our array of economic statistical measures. We should also be

able to test various consumption theories such as the life-cycle hypothesis and the relative income hypothesis, develop equivalence scales, measure individual welfare functions, conduct tests of utility maximization in consumer behavior, quantify habit formation and preference formation, and produce sufficiency thresholds (for references see Garner, Stinson, and Shipp 1996). In addition, with improved question wording and survey questionnaires, policy makers should be in a better position to design and implement improved maintenance and transfer programs for the more needy in our society.

The remainder of this paper is organized into four sections: study design, methodology, results related to coping strategies, and conclusion. The study was designed by staff within the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), with data collected by the BLS and the University of Michigan Institute for Survey Research. Funding was provided by the BLS and Bureau of the Census.

II. STUDY DESIGN

Our study was designed primarily to address four main research questions:

- 1. How do respondents interpret such terms as "minimum income," "sufficient income," "necessary expenses, " and "monthly household income?" Since these terms are not defined for respondents, the range of possible interpretations needed to be determined.
- 2. Are there potential order effects when asking respondents to make subjective assessments? For example, when respondents are asked to assess satisfaction with their income, are their ratings affected by questions immediately preceding those asked about their expenditures? The possibility exists that consideration of one's expenses may create a comparison that may temporarily raise or lower one's evaluation of income.
- 3. How do respondents use response categories such as "good/bad," "sufficient/insufficient," and "delighted/terrible?" Are these the appropriate terms for assessing people's attitudes and emotions about their income? What metric should be used for the scale range?

4. How easy or difficult is it for respondents to make subjective assessments of their income? How accurately do respondents review their economic situation when making subjective assessments?

To address these four main research questions, a two-prong strategy of qualitative testing consisting of cognitive interviews and focus groups was used. The successful application of such qualitative methodologies requires that as many differing viewpoints as possible be gathered, so that a full range of ideas and opinions may be observed. In order to extend the breadth of views expressed, our study is designed to include three types of family composition, three levels of income, and five sites spread across the United States. The result is a three-by-three design matrix (based on household type and income group) with a total of nine cells; not all sites are represented by each cell in the matrix. At least five (5) interviews and one (1) focus group was conducted in each cell.

Based on our own evaluations and earlier work, ¹ we expected that spending patterns impinge upon one's attitude toward income, so we decided it was necessary to include a range of household types reflecting diverse expenditure patterns. We screened participants and categorized their household types as:

- 1. single adults with no children under 18 years-of-age in the home,
- 2. adults (either single or sharing expenses with another adult) with children under 18 years-of-age in the home,
- 3. adults sharing expenses, but with no children under 18 years-of-age in the home.

We defined the levels of income as either (1) low, (2) medium, or (3) high.

These are determined separately for each geographic area in which testing is conducted.

Using July to December 1994 Income Percentile Data from the Current Population

¹Garner and de Vos (1995).

Survey (CPS), ² staff from the BLS ³ adjusted these estimates to the March 1996 level using the CPI-U for all items. ⁴ These estimates represent taxable household income in the appropriate metropolitan statistical areas and do not include the cash value of food stamps. The income ranges for each area are divided into thirds for each of the three household types.

The five sites were selected to provided national coverage, as well as some urban/rural differentiation. The sites were Miami, Los Angeles, Detroit, Baltimore, and West Virginia. In this paper, we present summary results from all of the interviews. The Miami, Baltimore, and West Virginia focus groups and cognitive interviews were conducted by research psychologists and other staff members from the BLS. Data from individuals living in the Los Angeles and Detroit areas were collected by a team of researchers from the University of Michigan Survey Research Center, under contract with the BLS. Data were collected during the late spring and summer of 1996.

III. METHODOLOGY

Our choice of two qualitative methodologies, *focus groups* and *cognitive interviews*, reflected our lack of even the most basic information concerning the ways that respondents would react to these types of questions, scales, and concepts. We had no prior hypotheses driving our data collection. Instead, we were attempting to (a) simply observe the procedures and strategies respondents use when making subjective

² Special thanks are extended to Kathleen Short of the Census Bureau for producing these ranges. Earlier ranges were produced by Bill Passero using CEX data but we decided later to use the CPS data for selecting our subsamples.

³Thanks to Wolf Weber for this conversion.

assessments, (b) hear the language they use when discussing these topics, and, ultimately, (c) see these issues from the respondents' perspective by encouraging and assisting them in articulating their own unique perspectives on the world.

A. Focus Groups

In our focus groups, respondents were asked to discuss the concepts of "minimum income" among themselves. Specifically, we asked them:

- What amount of income would they need to "make ends meet" and how did they decide upon this amount?
- What expenses would be covered by "enough money to make ends meet?" What would this amount of money purchase?
- What things in their lives determine the amount of income a family needs "to make ends meet?"

In addition, participants were asked to evaluate different "levels" of income. For instance, they were asked to describe the differences between "good" and "bad" amounts of income. A similar discussion was raised for the distinctions between "sufficient" and "insufficient" incomes. Participants were asked to consider what elements or events might cause the dividing points between "good and bad" or between "sufficient and insufficient" incomes to fluctuate. Finally, participants were presented with the "delighted/terrible" scale and probed for their reaction to, as well as their understanding and use of its response categories.

B. Cognitive Interviews

For this study, several tasks were drawn from the repertoire of cognitive laboratory techniques. The interviews begin with a concurrent think-aloud task, through

⁴ No CPI-U data were available for the Detroit/Ann Arbor area for March 1996. The alternative for updating the income ranges was thus to average the CPI-Us for February 1996 and April 1996 to make the

which the participants were able to describe their thoughts while answering either the MIQ and an alternative "minimum spend" question. Participants were first "taught" to create an answer out loud by having the procedures explained and demonstrated. They were then requested to talk through all the issues and problems they had as they arrived at , their answer to the question. As the answers emerge, the interviewer followed up with probing questions to gain additional details and understanding. Participants were asked to rate their confidence in the answer they provided and to paraphrase some of the concepts in their own words. Such strategies are generally used to identify difficulties in understanding question wording or concepts, recall strategies, and the participants' reactions to the question. ⁵

A second technique used was an "income sorting" task directed toward assessing the ways that participants evaluate income. Two versions of the task were used for each participant. In each case, cards were arranged in front of the participant that were labeled either "Very good," "Good," "Bad," "Very Bad" or "Sufficient," "Insufficient." Participants were then handed a stack of cards with dollar amounts written on them, ranging from \$250 to \$6,000 in \$250 increments. Participants were instructed to think about all the members of their household and their expenses and then to evaluate each dollar amount as monthly take-home pay. The evaluations were made by placing each dollar amount into an appropriate category. After all the cards had been sorted and the difficult gray areas between categories recognized, the interviewers probed the decisions. Participants were asked to discuss how they decided to categorize the dollar amounts,

adjustment.

what the income amounts categorized together had in common, and what their lives would look like with the varying categories of income.

A third task was a series of short answer questions using the "delighted/terrible" scale.

"Satisfaction" assessments ran the risk of being affected by preceding questions that make specific information salient, thereby creating temporary standards of comparisons, affecting judgments, and causing later responses to be higher or lower by comparison. So in order to test for this possibility, a series of questions was asked for which participants were to use the "delighted/terrible" scale to identify how they felt about expenses such as the cost of feeding their families, eating out in restaurants, buying clothes, health care, transportation, school tuition, and housing. Half of the participants were asked to assess their family incomes *prior* to expenditure assessments; half of the participants were asked to evaluate their family incomes *after* the evaluation of expenses. Participants were also asked to discuss the "delighted/terrible" scale and to describe the meaning of the various categories.

In order to understand more fully the meaning of 'making ends meet,' we asked respondents to tell us what their lives would look like if they could NOT make ends meet. Their responses were a fascinating description of coping strategies and emotional reactions. Life in which you were "not making ends meet" was outlined as a series of behaviors undertaken to curb spending and increase earnings, along with a number of negative emotions running in tandem.

⁵ T. J. DeMaio and J. M. Rothgeb. "Cognitive Interviewing Techniques in the Lab and in the Field." In Answering Questions, N. Schwarz and S. Sudman (eds.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1996, pp. 177-195.

In closing, the interview participants answered a series of short debriefing questions.

These questions probed their reactions to the interview itself, what they liked best and least during the interview, what was easiest and most difficult, and their ideas for other questions that we could ask to more fully understand their subjective experience of the *yin* and *yang* of income and expenses.

IV. RESULTS

A number of psychologists have argued that it is through our efforts to exercise control over our lives by making decisions and adjusting our behavior that we show ourselves to be most human (Adler, 1930; de Charms, 1968; White, 1959). Our respondents clearly demonstrated this fundamental human urge to take charge of their own existence. Repeatedly, they described ways they might adapt to new economic constraints, curtail their spending, and attempt to regain fiscal ascendancy (see Appendix). Echoing the economizing tactics detailed by Van Raaij and Eilander (1983), these strategies seem generally to be directed at adjustments to (1) price, (2) quantity, (3) quality, and (4) lifestyle. Examples generated by our respondents in each of these categories are listed below.

Adjustments to Price

- look for sales
- buy second-hand goods
- shop with coupons
- buy generic products
- eat cheaper foods
- move to cheaper lodgings
- buy a cheaper automobile
- pay cash to increase awareness of spending

Adjustments to Quantity

- limit new clothing purchases
- stretch personal hygiene supplies
- limit amount of insurance coverage
- take fewer car trips
- limit entertaining, dating, recreation
- make fewer long-distance telephone calls
- conserve electricity and gas
- limit laundering of clothes
- eat fewer snacks and skip meals
- no eating out
- limit church tithes and charity donations
- postpone home repairs
- postpone health procedures
- limit hair cuts or hair styling

Adjustments to Quality

- move to more dangerous, but cheaper, part of town
- buy smaller home
- make gifts instead of purchasing them
- trade-in a new car for an older model; keep automobiles longer
- give up specialty vehicles (e.g., vans, motorcycles)
- buy food that `keeps you going' (e.g., macaroni, oatmeal, rice, pasta)
- stop buying fancy cuts of meat, fresh vegetables or fruit
- use cloth diapers instead of disposables

Adjustments to Lifestyle

- move in with family or friends
- take in a roommate/boarder
- have children spend a week with their grandparents
- drop out of college
- give up private schools for the children
- come out of retirement and work
- take on multiple jobs (e.g., get a night job)
- borrow from family and friends
- borrow from the bank
- sell possessions, cash-in investments
- accept gifts from Churches
- change from driving one's own car to walking, bicycling, or using public transportation
- go to nature parks for free entertainment
- find edible plants and/or can one's own produce
- do home repairs and all housework oneself
- find a husband

Along with the notion of regaining control over one's economic situation is the issue of "predictability." By changing one's behavior, not only does one attempt to remedy unpleasant economic conditions, but one may also seek to re-establish the predictability of events. A number of psychologists have suggested that this "cognitive control" is an integral feature of coping (Averill, 1973; Greer et al., 1970; Lemer, 1970, 1971). Our respondents alluded to their need for a predictable economic situations when they told us that income insufficiencies would cause them to experience worry and stress. As they said:

"(Having insufficient income means) I will always have to worry how I would pay my other bills."

"With the bad income, it's dark and uncertain; there's struggle. There's a real insecurity level that comes in here in the bad (income amounts). You're living from day-to-day."

"(With very bad amounts of income), I'd be worried about the future. I'd worry a great deal about the future. " (Unpublished BLS report--- Thesia, I don't know exactly how we should reference this here)

In some cases, our respondents mentioned the possibility of being so worried by not making ends meet that they would become "depressed." Researchers have viewed depression as having many components, including the loss of self-esteem and motivation resulting from the uncontrollability of outcomes. But the negative emotions that accompany depression are considered to result from the expectation of bad events, since one is generally not depressed by good events, even when they are uncontrollable (Abramson et al., 1978). At least three factors are credited with intensifying the negative emotions that accompany depression:

1. the desirability of the unobtainable outcome or the aversiveness of the unavoidable outcome,

- 2. the degree of uncontrollability, and
- 3. perceptions of internal factors, such as lack of ability, as the cause of negative outcomes. (Abramson et al., 1978, p. 65)

Another factor that may contribute to the cognitive discomfort of "not being able to make ends meet," is the comparison with one's prior experiences of economic comfort. According to Thibaut and Kelley (1959) one's current experience is driven, in large part, by that to which one has become accustomed. These past experiences create a backdrop of expectations or "comparison level" against which all new experiences are measured and from which their meaning is drawn (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959, p. 81). The classic example is that of driving 60 miles per hour for several hours and then feeling agitated if one must creep along at 40 miles per hour, whereas that same 40 miles per hour seems quite rapid after being stalled in a traffic jam (Deutsch and Krauss, 1965, p. 117). Again, the effect of this comparison with prior standards was reported by our respondents:

"(With very bad income amounts) my children would probably go into depression and become very upset not knowing why they don't have the things that they used to have... it would be bad for them, especially mentally and physically."

"The family as a whole, I think, would suffer just from the negative attitudes that would come out of the frustration of not being able to meet the necessary bills. And there would be frustration involved in the small luxuries that we do have, if we could not have those." (Stinson 1997)

When situations become uncontrollable and unpredictable, when one's actions do not appear to be successful in remedying aversive events, the result may such profound psychological distress that many kinds of maladaptive responses begin to appear. These responses may include feelings of helplessness, self-destructive activities, or even physical disease (Wortman and Brehm, 1975, p. 278). Among the actions cited by a

couple of our respondents in response to the prospect of economic despair was the possibility that one, in fact, may just give up and commit suicide. As they said:

"With bad income, you feel pressure, tension, frustration; this is where fear begins. With the very bad (amounts), a lot of people feel suicidal. They feel worthless and depressed.".

"Very bad income brings depression. There's a sense of futility. You might even seek desperate measures to get out."

7 would be very depressed, I'm sure. My health would probably decline " (unpublished BLS report)

There is also some evidence from the animal literature that when organisms encounter uncontrollable negative stimulation, they will begin reflexive fighting. That is to say, many species will indiscriminately strike at any target, including innocent bystanders, when confronted with physical pain or even frustration when previous rewards are withheld. While this may appear to be maladaptive behavior, such aggressive responses may actually be rewarding in the face of uncontrollably aversive situations (Ulrich & Azrin, 1962). In humans, this may be manifested by hostility and aggression toward the agents causing the uncontrollable events and may generalize to others who are close to them (Brehm, 1966). Once again, our respondents alerted us to this possibility when they described family fighting and marital strain resulting from straitened economic situations.

"(If we couldn't make ends meet), it'd be a lot more stress in the family. I could see us blaming each other for lack of income and blaming each other for spending too much... it could be drastic enough to lead to separation. Part of the fact that led to the divorce in my first marriage was small income. Money always seemed to be a factor in arguments."

"(If we couldn't make ends meet), I would imagine that there would be a lot of stress in the marriage. Talking to my friends, that is one of the biggest things they argue about. The stress in marriages is about making ends meet. There would be a lot of stress in the marriage."

"(If you couldn't make ends meet), it would be chaos. There would probably be a lot more fighting in the house... arguing. "(unpublished BLS report)

Taken all together, we see from these respondent reports that "not being able to make ends meet" produces discomfort on many levels. On the one hand, there is physical discomfort produced by having to make sacrifices and changes to decrease spending and increase available funds. The behaviors which our respondents reported to us represent many alternatives for coping with this financial struggle (see Appendix). On the other hand, there is also a cognitive component which accounts for a great deal of the distress resulting from not being able to make ends meet. Repetitive thoughts dwelling upon one's economic insufficiencies create worry and fear. Furthermore, if one judges oneself to be ineffectual in dealing with the difficulties, not only is the worry and stress magnified, but the effect may be so severe that inactivity and depression result (Bandura, 1982).

V. CONCLUSION

Our research on subjective assessments of economic well-being have provided us with insight into how individuals, families, and households cope, not only during periods of economic uncertainty, but each day. With this added knowledge, we in the federal statistical community hope to be able to improve our data collection instruments which are used to monitor the economic situation of these groups. We live in a world increasingly characterized by economic uncertainty, research such as this, helps us to understand how we are getting by or getting ahead.

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APPENDIX: COPING STRATEGIES

Living quarters:

LOW income	MEDIUM income	HIGH income
Give up apartment; live with family or friends	Give up rental; live with family or friends for free	Live with family or friends for free
Move into "emergency housing"/women's shelter		
Find a roommate		
Get different roommate who	Take in boarder	
could pay more Have children spend a		
week		
with their grandparents Move into a motel	Move into single hotel	
Wove into a moter	room	
Have 2 people in single		
apartment; have 3 people in 2-bedroom apartment		
Find cheaper rent	Live in more dangerous,	Get cheaper, smaller
	but	apartment; move into
	cheaper part of town;	co-op; move to cheaper
	low-	part of town
36	rent, subsidized housing	
Move to cheaper part of the	Move to cheaper part of the	Move to cheaper part of the
country Be homeless	country Be on the streets	country
Be nomeless	Sell home	Sell home
	Refinance mortgage	
	Move into lean-to in the	•
	woods	
	Give up home with a pool	
	Buy a smaller home	Buy cheaper, smaller home
Drop out of college	Drop out of college	
	No private school for children	No private school for children
		No extra classes for
		children
		(art, piano lessons)
1	i de la companya de	

Education:

Employment:			·
	Get full-time work	Get full-time work	Both spouses work
	Get additional work	Get multiple jobs; extra hours	Get multiple jobs; night job
	Get better paying job Find job closer to home	Get better paying job	Get a better paying job
		Find jobs outside the local area	
		Come out of retirement and do part-time work	Come out of retirement and work
			Spouse work for free in family business

	LOW income	MEDIUM income	HIGH income
Obtain cash:	Borrow money from family or friends	Borrow from family	
	Take out bank loan Use savings Turn to street crime Sell possessions	Take out bank loans Use savings Scrounge around Sell possessions Turn hobby into source of	Take out bank loan Use savings/401 K Sell possessions
		income (crafts) Cash in investments	Sell stocks, the family business, rental property other assets Rent out some assets Refinance assets
Consumer goods:			
	Limit clothes, shoes Limit soaps, shampoos etc.	Limit new clothing Stretch personal hygiene supplies	Limit new clothing Modify household spending
	No TV	No TV	No TV
	No cable Limit hair cuts/beauty salon	No cable No beauty parlor	No cable
	Buy generic products No beer or cigarettes No video rental	No beer	Buy generic products
		No magazine or newspaper subscriptions	
		Look for sales Buy clothes at rummage sales Make your own clothing	Look for sale rack Shop at garage sales
		Accept clothes from Churches Use clothing vouchers	
		No home renovations Make gifts instead of purchasing them	Make gifts instead of purchasing them
·		No books or Internet No new furniture or household decorations	Limit book purchases No flowers for the home
			Limit spending on toys for

	children
	Make scheduled purchases

	LOW income	MEDIUM income	HIGH income
Health care:	No visits to doctor No eye-doctor No dentist	No dentist Do without braces Children get glasses & dentistry, but not the parents Pay minimum on doctor's bill	Give up safety net of living near doctors and hospital Postpone certain health procedures Give up other things, but keep health care
Insurance:			
	No car insurance No health insurance No malpractice insurance	No car insurance; limit car insurance No health insurance No life insurance Cut back on home-owner's insurance Change deductible on car insurance	Limit amount of coverage Use life insurance as a source of revenue
Transportation:	Limit use of car No car repairs Trade-in car for older model Give up car; ride public transportation Use bicycle	Take fewer trips No car repairs Drive an older car; keep the car longer Give up car; ride public transportation Walk everywhere Borrow parent's car	Sell new truck and get older one Give up car

Get a smaller car Give up specialty vehicle (van) Give up second vehicle Don't wash the car	Get cheaper car Give up specialty vehicle (motorcycle) Give up second vehicle
Give up leased car	

	clothes
Wash clothes by hand	
	No dry cleaning

Money management:

LOW income	MEDIUM income	HIGH income
Use the credit card to cover	Go into debt	Accumulate debt until
expenses month-to-		credit
month		is exhausted and then sell
		things
Make a budget	Go on serious budget	Prioritize expenses and
	and the second second	budget; more short-term
		planning
No spontaneous spending;	Cut corners; any	Bend and do without;
every expense calculated	controllable	financial considerations
and planned	expense should be cut	play heavily in all family
	down	decisions
Call and arrange partial		
payment of bills Pay some bills every other	Pay some bills every other	Pay some bills and not
month ("Round Robin")	month ("Checkers")	others
Consolidate debts	monur (checkers)	
Pay cash to increase	Pay cash	
awareness of spending		
Wait and see what comes		
through for the next		
month		
Declare bankruptcy		
Gradually pay off debts in small amounts each		
month	·	
	Live like a pauper	
	Do not go into debt; do not	
	spend money you don't	
·	have	
		Look for sales
		Go unprepared for
		emergencies Shop with coupons
		Shop with coupons Put all money back into
		your
		business & take no
·		income
		Be more risky and daring
		in
		investments

Credit cards:

		_1
Use credit cards to meet	Use credit cards to meet	Lisa andit cards to seven
needs; use as safety net	needs	Use credit cards to cover some expenses
Give up credit cards	Give up credit cards	Give up credit cards; reduce number of credit cards
Use credit cards to consolidate debts		

	LOW income	MEDIUM income	HIGH income
Food:			
	No eating out Limit the amount of snack food	No eating out Limit the amount of snack food; no beer	No eating out Bring your own coffee instead of buying it outside
	Buy food that "keeps you going"	Eat filling food: macaroni &	
		cheese; oatmeal; rice; pasta	
	Eat less; go hungry; fast Buy cheaper food	Skip meals; buy less food No fancy cuts of meat, fresh	Limit the amount of food Eat cheaper foods; no rich eating
	Eat at someone else's home	vegetables or fruit; generic Take free meals with family	
	Use food stamps	Use food stamps; go to food	
		distribution services Find edible plants Can your own produce	
		Move into subsidized housing with prepared meals cooked in bulk	
Other:			
	Defer the conception/birth of a child Use cloth diapers instead of		
	disposables	No Church tithes or charity Replace cash donations with volunteer labor	No charity donations
		Go on welfare Delay house repairs	Go on a subsidy Delay house repairs or improvements; no landscaping
		Give up/commit suicide Do home jobs yourself	No maid services; limit

	Get a husband	help around the house
	Live on Social Security	Live on Medicare
		Depend upon other people
		to
	·	care for you
		No spending money for the children
· ·		Turn to positive
		motivational
	ŀ	books & religion
		Limit kid's extracurricular
		activities
		Give up therapy