Table 36 Average incomes of household heads by tenure in Great Britain f per week

Tenure	1972	1976	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	2007	2008	2009
Owners:												
Outright owner	25	59	81	107	157	194	225	281	367	417	440	424
With mortgage	39	96	142	195	267	320	380	461	555	664	643	643
Tenants:												
Local authority	22	58	68	76	93	110	131	140	178	204	203	207
Housing association	-	54	66	88	94	120	145	164	203	221	201	198
Private, unfurnished	19	48	60	77	110	149	223	262	406	375	398	396
Private, furnished	21	57	87	89	161	170	222	333	260	376	418	370

Source: General Household Surveys 1972 to 2007, General Lifestyle Surveys 2008 and 2009.

Notes: Income figures are mean averages for usual gross income of household heads. Local authority tenants includes tenants of new towns. In 2000, the GHS switched from 'head of household' to 'household reference person'. Under this revised definition the highest-earning joint householder, rather than the male joint householder, is defined as the 'household reference person'. Because of this, there is a discontinuity in the series.