

Leads into theoretical approach to subjective understanding of poverty:-

a) Reference group theory (and this would appear to include Rummen's work on relative deprivation). This suffers from lack of explanatory value because the concept of 'reference group' is so catholic that it can nearly be said to be another way of stating that social action is meaningful (in Weber's sense) & takes place in social contexts. Even its post-factum explanations e.g. the American soldier's material 'don't hold water'.

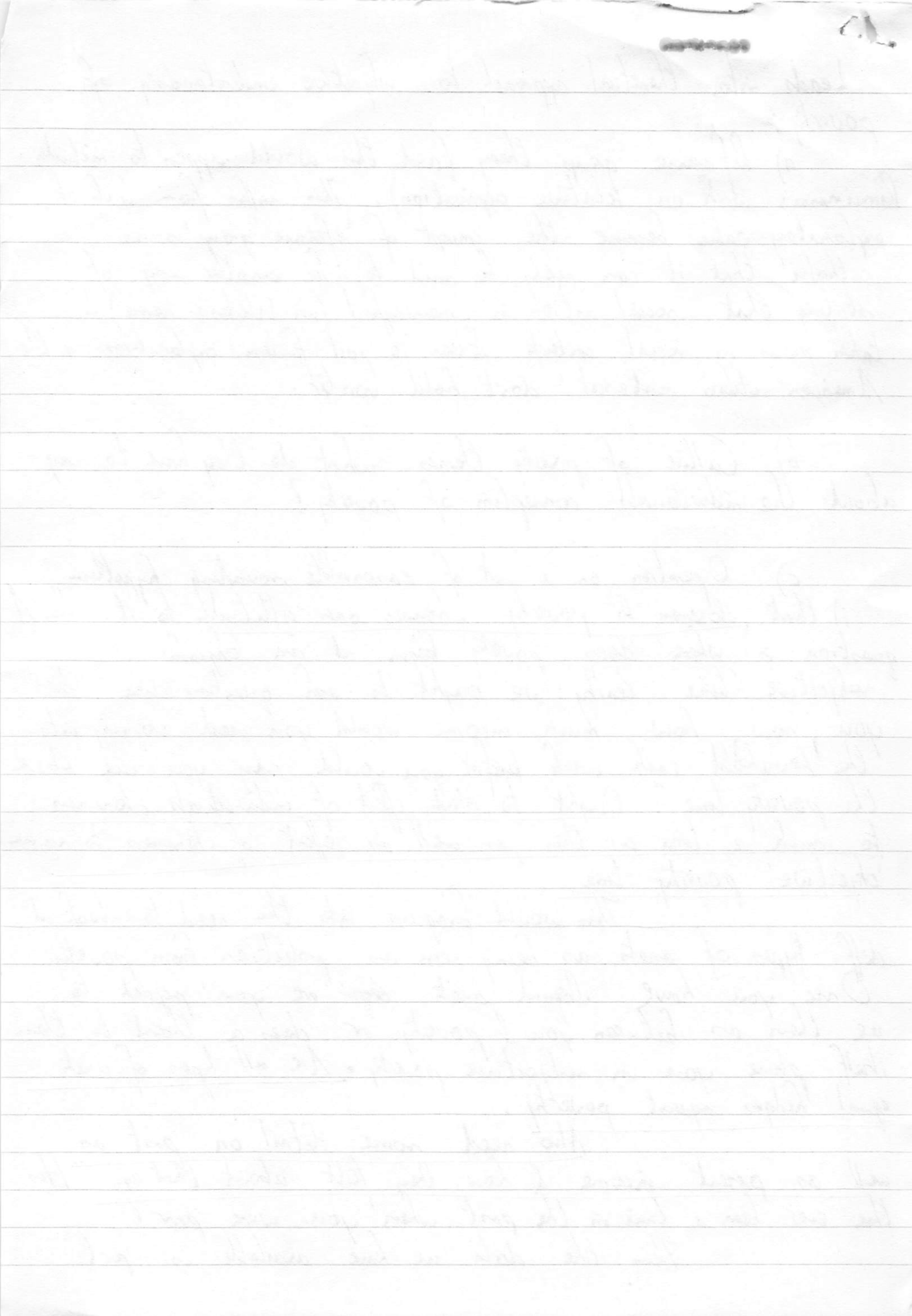
b) Culture of poverty theories - what do they have to say about the individual's conception of poverty?

c) Operation on a set of reasonable sounding hypotheses
i) that closer to poverty changes one's attitude to it. The A question is where does poverty begin at an objective or subjective 'line'. Really we ought to ask questions like "For you, now, how much income would you need coming into the household each week before you could say you were above the poverty line." Ought to study effect of individual's closeness to such a line as this, as well as effect of closeness to some 'objective' poverty line.

This would bring us into the need to look at diff. types of assets as being seen as protection from poverty. One you have illiquid assets ~~then~~ are you prepared to use them as between you & poverty or does a threat to them itself place you in subjective poverty. Are all types of assets equal hedges against poverty.

Also need some detail on past as well as present income & how they felt about that e.g. "Has there ever been a time in the past when you were poor?"

Thus the data we have available is not



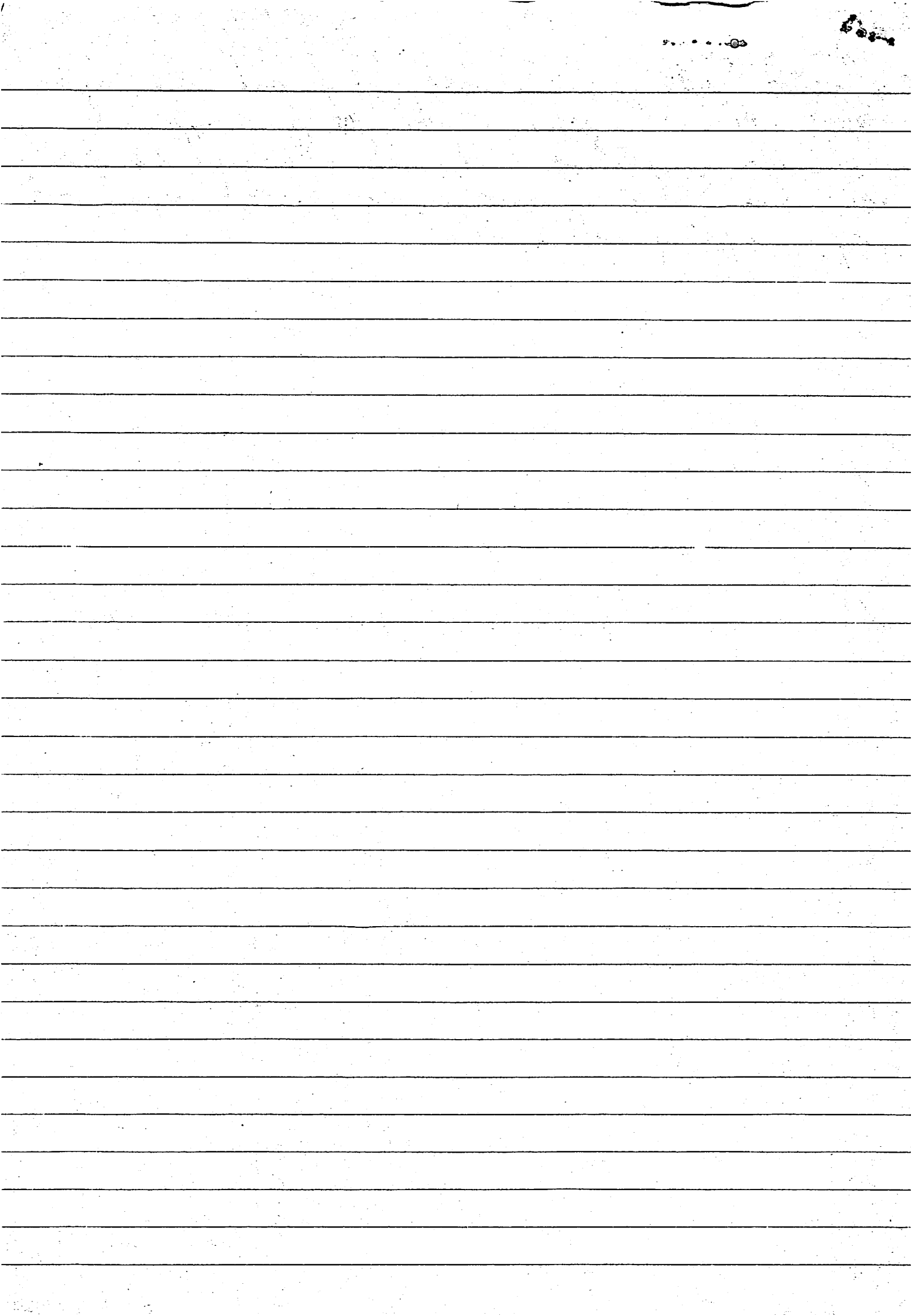
really adequate to deal with all such questions of poverty. Perhaps we can overcome some of these problems of longitudinal study by looking at households of different ages & at different stages in their development (eg. H.H. type I x income in term of S.B. x attitudes to own & existence generally of poverty)

closeness to poverty can also be measured by more objective measures' such as the security of one's job. In an insecure job at age 25 may of course have very little effect on your conception of poverty but at age 50 the same may not be true. Seeing as earned wages/salaries from a job as an employee is the main source of income for most of us it is imp't to look at it as affecting attitudes to poverty.

~~many people will also~~ reference group & work reminds us that ~~the research environment~~ all social interaction is contained within particular social contexts. A questionnaire is not an instrument which enables us to follow the influential changes of social definitions of situations for the most part but we can crudely plumb the depths in some areas. Lack of interesting results will not enable us to disprove any critical hypothesis & interesting correlations will remain interesting only & requiring closer attention by other research techniques but we can still look at crude ^{social} indicators of local geographical area, such as region, urban/rural/urban, high, low, medium income, & ethnicity to see if any interesting relationships emerge. It will be necessary to control for other factors eg. objective poverty, age, or if they appear likely to influence the relationship.

Of course protection from poverty is not just a matter of finance, personal support helps as well. The lonely widow who is managing reasonably well on her ~~own~~ wage may feel much more threatened than the unemployed widow leaning on S.B. but having constant moral & financial (if necessary) help from

relatives & friends. ∴ we must try & make some study, however crude of social networks & personal support & their effect on attitudes towards party. Again the nature of our data makes testing of hypotheses impossible but may go some way in suggesting such hypotheses.



315124201 . Husband (45), wife (39), daughter (9)
company director, ~~and~~ engineering & company. £3000 p.a.
when asked about allowances, benefits, pensions -- nothing from that
"keeping shower".

Father was builder's labourer - he is lower middle class
Better off than rest of family

Better off than others round here.

Better off than average.

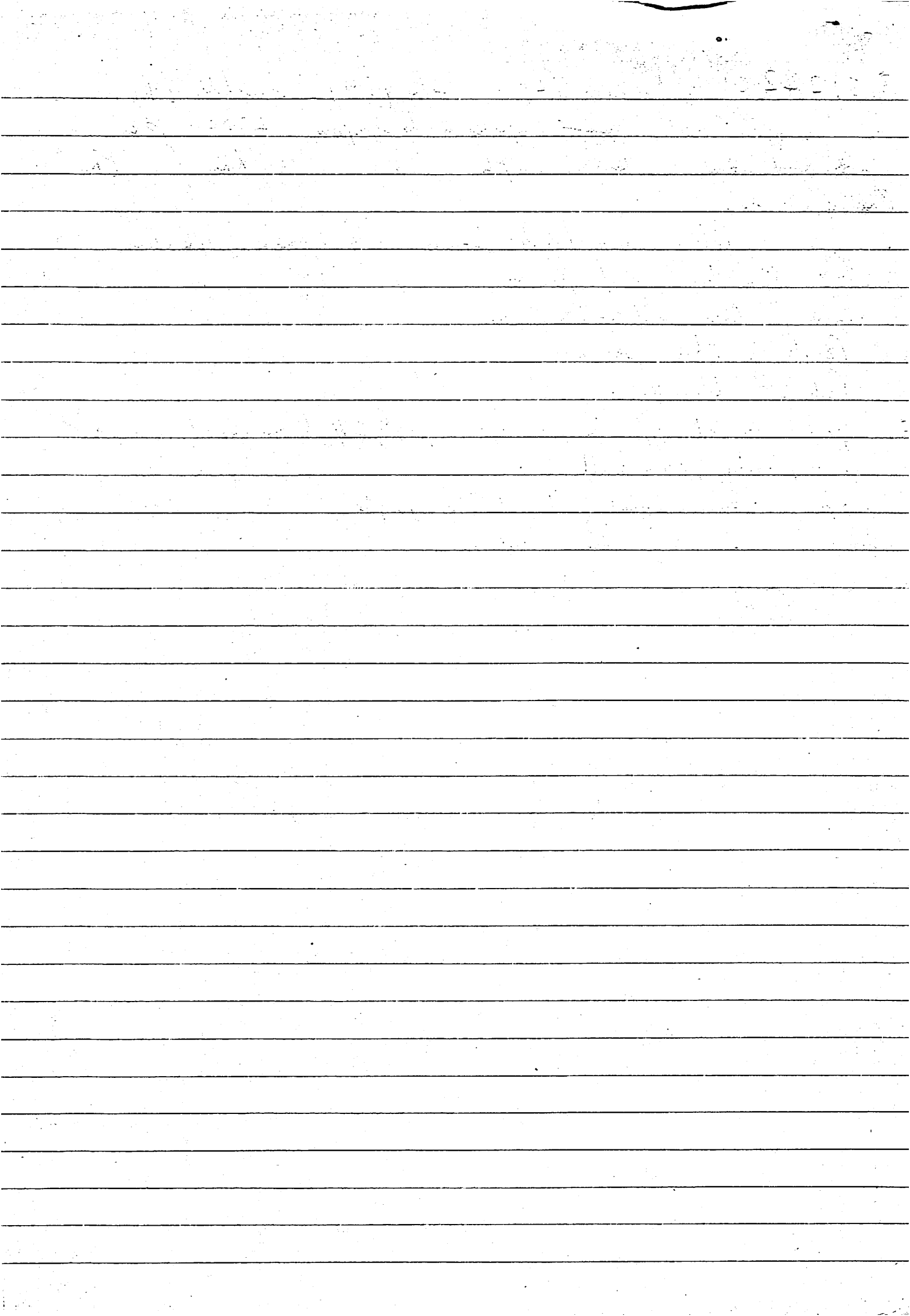
Better off than ever.

not as well off ten years ago. not diff. to manage, never poor.
Is no poverty, our fault.

v.o.p. "undernourished ill clothed people".

d.a.p. "I don't think there is".

Bitter



103/104/01 ~~92%~~ 96%, 1, 4, 2, 6, 1, —

retired, single man ~~now~~ works with scouts 5 nights/week.

v.o.p. "nothing to eat & none to help".

d.a.p. "educate the people".

hsf. never poor.

101237301 53%, 13, 1, 2, 7, 2, Disabled adult under 65
now earning £12+

Mother rich, daughter ill, father dead, finding it diff. to manage
tho. do manage holiday, see some other people etc. Thinks must be
better.

v.o.p. 'braving up a soup kitchen like they used to do.'
no dice party nowadays!

d.a.p. 'if those at the top know they go out of their way to help'.
but there's no dice poverty!

hsf. never "won't like to admit to being poor, you just say you
not well off".

101216101 26%, 7, 2, 8, 4, ~~1~~ 1, —

Man, wife, two kids (shouldn't be included among the poor
self-employed claims

101146401 96%, 4, ^{Revised} 2, U.W., UNSM., None, Disabled adult under 65.

Single woman, off work 18 months with ulcer & anaemia, visited by
relatives for gifts (tho.), were off now, but never poor

v.o.p. 'if couldn't buy food or electricity, luckily haven't had to
buy any clothes.'

d.a.p. "if we had a bit extra we ought to be able to help each
other now".

hsf. 'never'.

1/6 men/2 up to Feb. tried 6 weeks and but was forced to give up
by disability, Would work but for her bad back. (as car team helper)
widowed two years. (council tenant)

On S.D. now + widows pension (£11.08)
(£11.10)

31512401 Self-employed own building firm, wife & even son
old son. "upper working class".

New son, not diff. to manage, better off than average than family & than neighborhood. About the same in in part for ten years ago. Believes poverty does not exist.

U.O.P. "living below an acceptable average standard of living." *

D.O.P. "People should be given more opportunity. I don't agree with people being given things".

315266301 Sales rep. with two working sons & one at college.

"middle class" "lower class" (wife and middle class)

New poor, not difficult to manage, better off ^{savings} than average (wife and more off), same as neighborhood worse off than average in country same as part & as ten years ago. Political for widows

U.O.P. "inability to bring up children as would like except with poor living conditions" *

D.O.P. "worse widows pension"

not among those willing to work, layabouts on family allowance.

we need money to survive - we need regular work for that.

1011051 (144%) (30) (23) 02 £ 01

employed labourer, wife & two young babies

"works" (wife - middle class, more or less) no savings at all. has car £140.

New poor; not diff. to manage. Better off than family (wife

and abt. the same) none as neighborhood, none as average in

country, same as before. Poverty does exist.

U.O.P. "going without food to feed your kids and then

seeing them fall ill because you still can't give them a *

proper home to grow up in."

D.O.P. "provide more jobs and higher wages. To force those

who can't be bothered to work hard to get stuck in."

wife was working until death (in last 6 months) was a relay inspector in an electrical engineering factory.

take home pay £30 - £12 (£7 last week)
paying £26.40 on mortgage / month.

1042450401 0%, 5, no assess, ^{poor}~~poor~~, unskill. manual, never, ^{disabled}bride had disabled.

husband unemployed since war, epileptic, wife housewife, not happy about interview.

v.o.p. "no members, house, food clothes, food" etc

d.a.p. "d.k."

h.f. not poor, not diff. to manage, same as always.

104236301 99%, 3, below not claimed, working, unskill manual, sometimes, —

Retired lady, receives help ^{in kind} ~~members~~, gets visitors.

v.o.p. "no food or no coal, that's partly, poor things."

d.a.p. "I don't know what could be done, it's diff. to say, I don't know."

Higher pensions would help old people.

h.f. sometimes poor, at Xmas not diff. to manage, same as 10 yrs ago.

[was richer even then] better off than other standard of then average could claim S.B. but would prefer not to.

104235301 85%, 3, Received, working, semi skill manual, never, —

Retired lady, stays with relatives a lot & lives on her own house

v.o.p. doesn't exist caused by business.

d.a.p. "make people work for a living"

h.f. never poor, have been better off, same as average, not diff. to manage.

104208101 100%, 5, can't claim, lower middle, skilled manual, never, disabled adult —
under 65.

Retired man & wife, don't see much of relatives.

v.o.p. "not enough to eat"

d.a.p. "nothing"

h.f. diff. to manage, worse off than in past

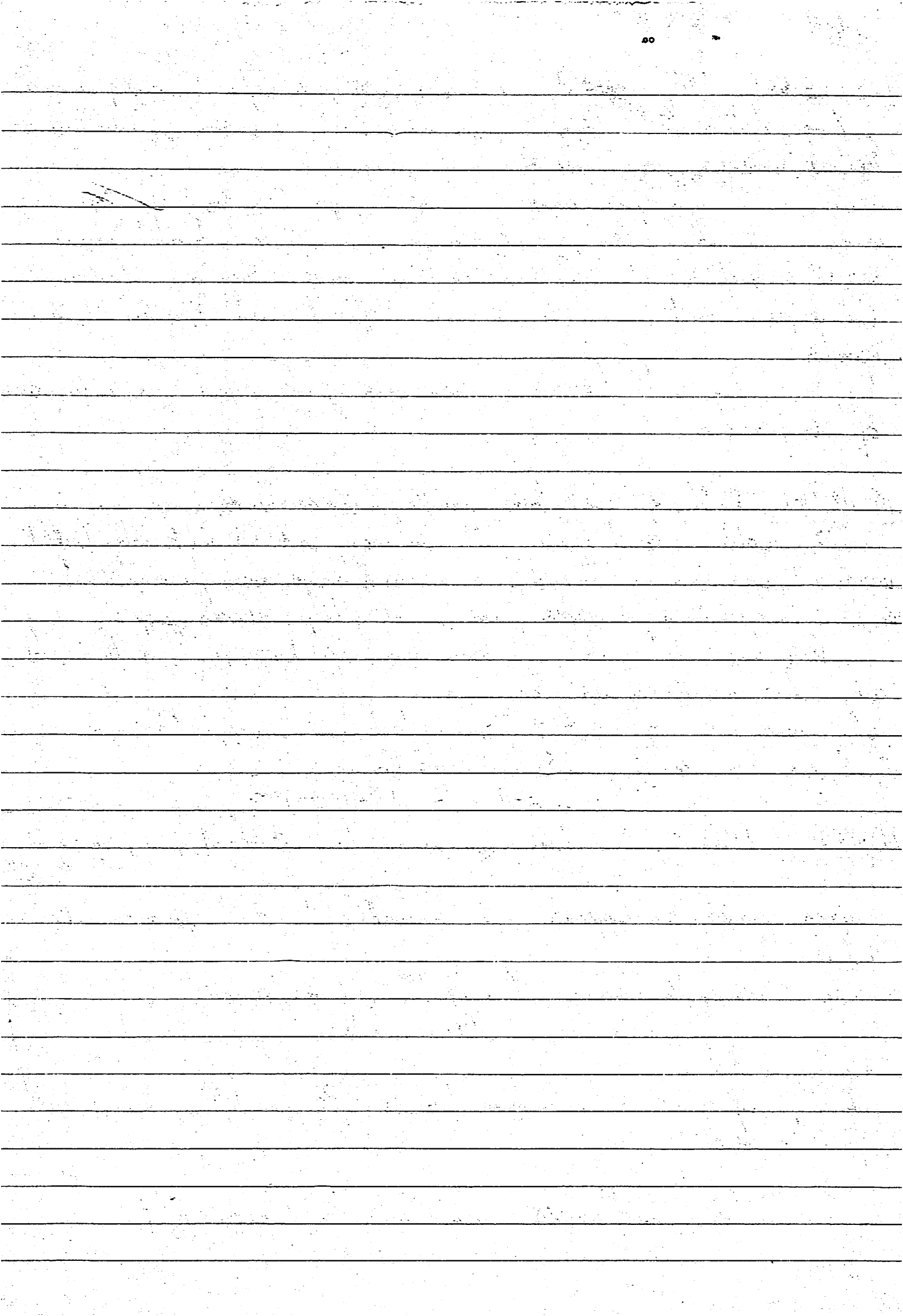
Widowed 8 years. lent, 66 was inspector of paint on fire
extinguishers (not worked for 10 years or more) £200 saved.
she will pay for her fake teeth.

Stays with her late husband's brother &
family alternate week-ends.

105135301 70% ~~Can't~~ 2 can't claim, D.K., uncredable, Sometimes, non-white.
Young student from Singapore, living in bed sit, allowance from relatives.
Goes out a lot. Feels more off than previously.
v.o.p. "when you just manage to live through the day".
d.a.p. "I think that, as far as I can tell, the English social
reserve is good enough. But I don't see much difficulty suffered by
the people I meet - perhaps it's really different with the rest of the
country."
hsf. "I'm a bit hard-up." sometimes poor, feels no with some
of his friends.

105118201 85% 2, Can't claim, middle, routine non-normal, never,
20 year old 'clerical' office with civil service goes out a lot, eating flat let
v.o.p. "person who is incapable of working & has no money for essentials".
d.a.p. "more training for people, more voluntary help between people."
Don't believe in socialism or communism, you know, grabbing from the
rich. I'm an out & out Tory.
hsf. never poor, not diff. to manage [god knows how pays £4 + for rent
& early cars £12/week.] £58 gross / month.
w. £47/month take home pay

105115201 92%, 13, Can't claim, upper working, lower instructional, never, brother-in-law
disabled under 65.
woman separated from husband with husband's rent (77) goes out a certain
extent.
v.o.p. "inadequate housing; bad health & home lessons":
their own fault.
d.a.p. d.k.
hsf. not poor, poor since husband left, is diff. to manage, more
off than before
Innuit, had nervous breakdown when husband left.



1042071 90%, 5, below not claimed, working, semi-skill manual, 65+ husband
Retired couple

"Old people too proud to ask for anything" *

"Teach people the value of money & the things that matter."

"Make people take a job when its offered."

1041423 0%, 9, can't claim, working, Low important, never, ^{6+ kids} borderline disabled under 65
Irish.

"children go without food as well as parents. Women left with kids, husbands left them."

"make people face up to their duties & responsibilities to their families. Work hard, stopped loafers."

~~104~~ 1041292 88%, 10, can't claim, middle, Low important, never, ^{borderline disabled} under 65.
middle class

"real lack of recognition of life"

"better education, better social services but more selective."

1041041 75%, 3, at/above, ~~middle~~ ^{middle} middle, Higher important, Sometimes, ^{borderline disabled} under 65.

"devoted wife especially"

"The man should be informed that there is need for it. Get rid of old people ideas that assistance is charity."

1031463 2%, 7, can't claim, upper middle, don't know,

1031333 99%, 3, ^{Received} ~~Upper working~~ ^{d.k.} upper working, skill manual, never, 65+ husband -
d.k. what you're as well.

"There is no real poverty today now there is the welfare to help out those not so well off. If there is poverty it must be people's own fault because there is enough to go round these days."

"There is not the poverty there used to be everyone can manage to live comfortably today, look at me - I'm happy."

90+ old people's centre everywhere. 1/- a meal!

✓
married 3 years (she now 74). Was an early morning office
cleaner 6 years at L.S.E. 15 years at Law Courts.
Council home helps twice a week.

pension £4.7.0, S.B. - £3.6.0.

husband van-driver for green grocer at Covent Garden. No
pension from employers.

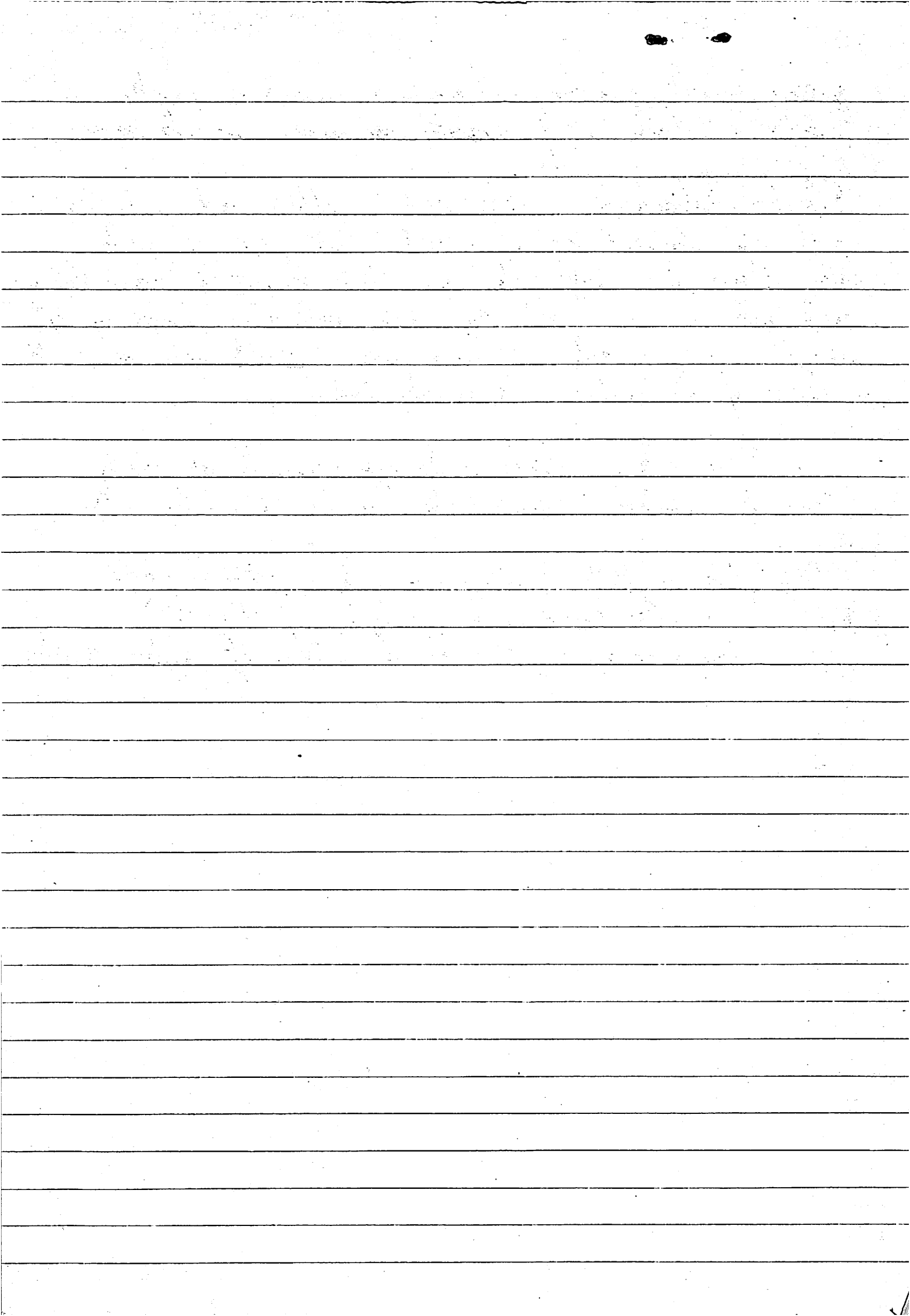
Group Poverty within & others + secondary poverty is not really a description of poverty so much as its causes.

Starvation Subsistence, Rel. pos. to others and rel. pos. part are descriptions of poverty (but, rel. pos. part really contains two diff. cat. i.e. those comparing an indiv. state with his own past experience and those comparing it with the historical part, in which case it could even amount to a denial of the existence of poverty today.

1. Seems to be a tendency to ~~see~~ describe poverty in terms of subsistence, comparatively few see it in the other ways.

2. It does seem to be predom. assoc. with particular groups in society (look at other evidence for the impt. of O.A.P.'s)

3. Little common conception of it in terms of relative poverty



106143301 (continued).

d.a.p. "more benefits for deserving people - they send the wrong people round to interview half the time - then what can't tell a deserving case and often they're not as well."

fault? "The majority of problems can be solved, that of council money is wasted."

106218101 ^{working as a manual crane maker.} retired man & daughter (divorced from husband). Middle class (was fireman at a machine tools makers). Is pretty, sometimes poor himself (though said "generally" when asked when felt poor). Is diff. to manage, none off than family, none off than neighbourhood, none off than average in country. none off than ever (was as well off ten years ago).

v.o.p. "old age pensioners don't get enough for food & heating".

d.a.p. "Government should be changed and give women a chance (daughter)".

1077%

"lower middle class"

103124201 man wife & adult son, all working, no real poverty these days, were poor, not diff. to manage. Not none as family, better off than others around here, better off than average in country, better off than ever. (not as well off ten years ago).

v.o.p. "starvation"

d.a.p. "educating the people to get out of it."

208237301 ^{working class (wife said middle)} man & wife + wife's father (contributory pensioner) heavy mortgage £30-15-0/month. is real poverty. feels poor sometimes much. Does find it difficult to manage. Not none as family, abt. none as people round here, better off than average. better off than ever. (pay no income tax because of high mortgage)

v.o.p. "no bathrooms, toilet up the garden - terrible"

d.a.p. "pay purchase tax on food & petrol much higher (than it is now) - lower income tax. Help O.A.P.s. with more money!"

The first part of the document is a list of names and dates, which appears to be a record of some kind. The names are written in a cursive script, and the dates are written in a more formal, printed style. The list is organized into columns, with names in the first column and dates in the second column.

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106119201

Widow (wife 1945) daughter & lodger.

Third class (daughter says working class). Same as rest of family were off than neighbourhood, abt. same as av. in country none as well off ten years ago. (Exp. some financial hardship when husband died). Not diff. to manage on income. never poor).

v.o.p. "care of people in extremely poor circumstances".

d.a.p. "rent control should be more strictly enforced. Even council rents are extremely high now. I know of one council flat in Edgeware which costs £6-11-0d. a week."

Fault for partly "a combination of these (social & econ.)". In many cases the individual must have no chance of escaping, sometimes our fault, sometimes not."

(She rents privately, furnished, rent £3.03)

126%

106143301

middle class, daughter is audio-typist, mother retired.
handicapped disabled, widow of six years, daughter
pregnant (boyfriend stranded in Australia can't get back for two years). Son away "earning as much money as possible for us". Had an unpleasant brush with Social Security & her friends who have also no "will not have anything to do with them". (When she enquired at Sup. Ben. they suggested she should sell some things of her husband's). Daughters said they didn't need help anyway.

Lt. one wrote to the Queen when council refused to do anything about the garage she was living in, got a reply (was moved out of garage (lived there for 4½ years was coveted by council, had living/dining room & small room overhead). She never feels poor though does find it difficult to manage. Better off ten years ago. (but about the same as ever). None off than rest of family, none off than others around here, none off than average in country.

v.o.p. "I don't know of any personally"

daughter said "I think there are a lot of people who are struggling"



So far we have been discussing only how people conceive of poverty, if indeed, they believe that it does exist. What is possibly a more interesting question, but one which must follow the previous one, is the personal ~~attitude~~ moral & emotional attitude which they take towards it. An attempt was made to analyse these attitudes by considering the responses given to two open-ended questions:-

- i) "what would you describe as poverty?"
- ii) "if there is poverty what do you think can be done about it?"

The individual's responses to these questions were used to put him into one or several of the categories below

A. A Punishing Attitude to poverty, eg. blaming it on irresponsible unemployment or too large families.

B. A Punishing Attitude, which was associated with an anti-immigrant, although not necessarily racial, feeling in particular.

C. Expansive attitude to all the poor or to certain groups of poor individuals.

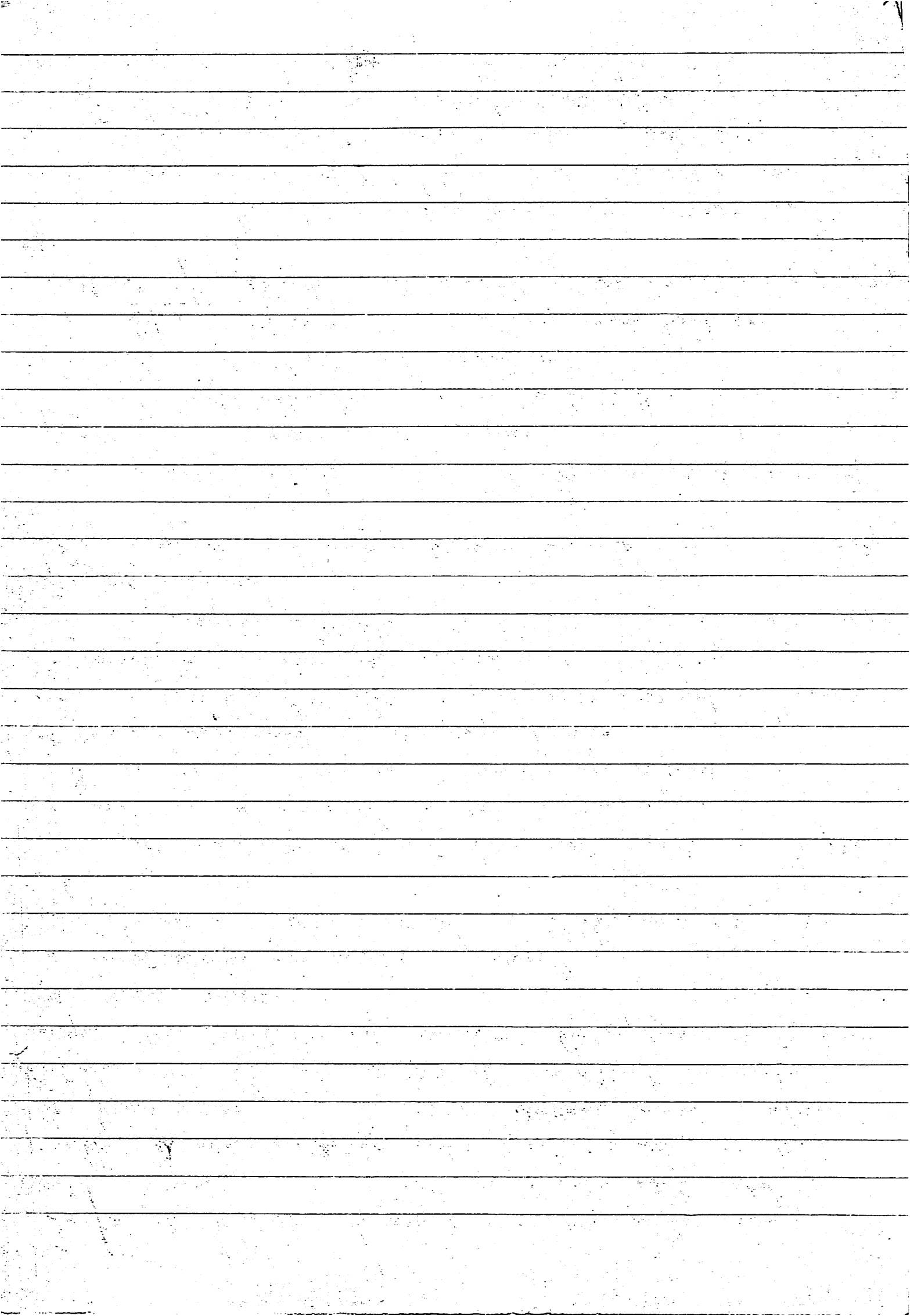
D. Expansive attitude towards the old age pensioners only.

E. Permissive attitude which felt the poor would always be present for personal or other reasons.

F. Optimistic attitude, a feeling that it didn't really exist or was being dealt with successfully.

G. Other attitudes, a category which holds an assortment of attitudes not amenable to the above coding groupings.

The relative frequencies of the responses made can be seen in Table X. Before any discussion can be made of these results it must be noted that only 1338 out of 2495 interviewed households have coded responses on these categories. The reason for this is that only 80% of



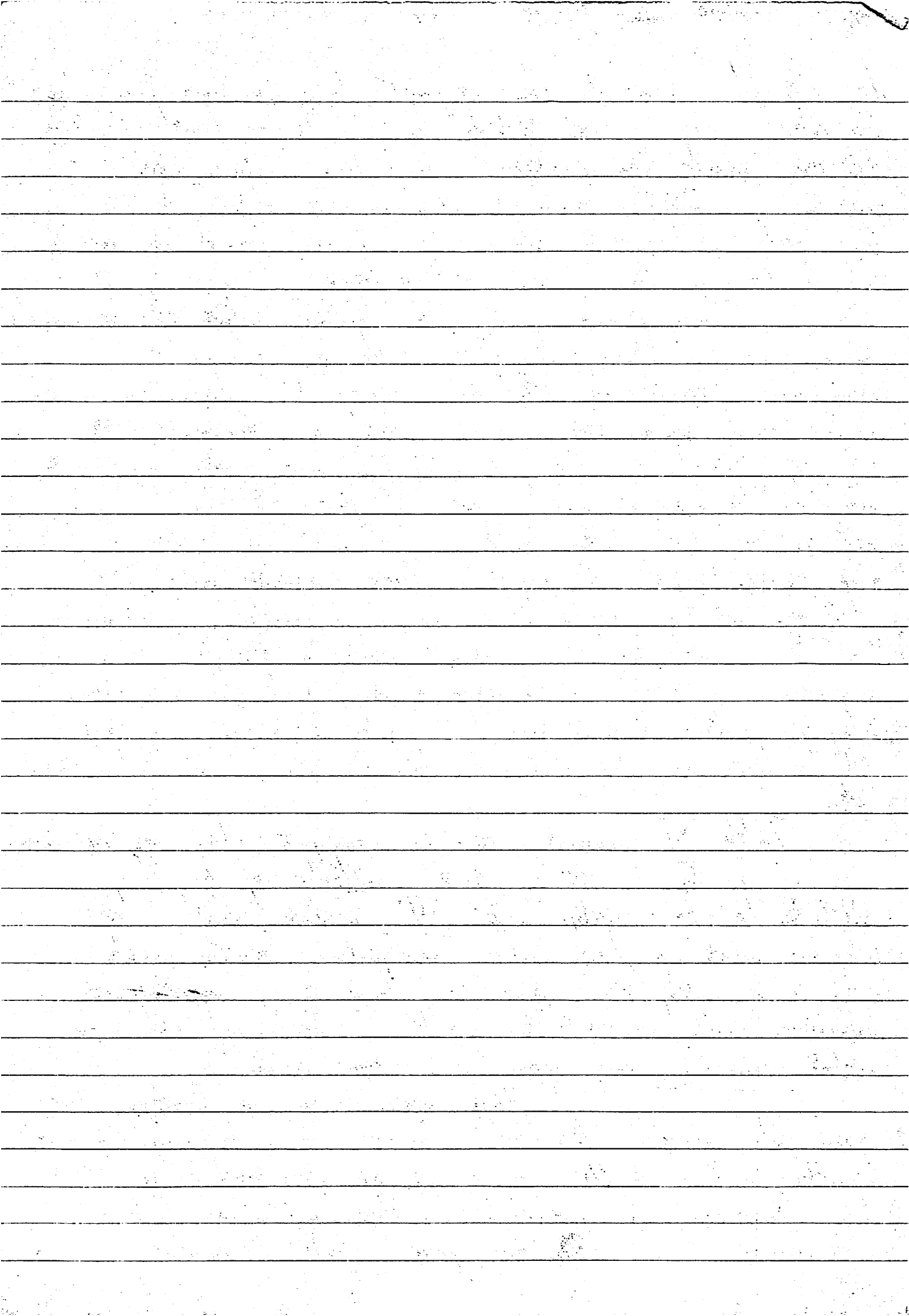
the sample answered the original two questions from which the above categories were coded and furthermore that of those who did answer the question "What can be done about poverty?" 26.9% answered "Nothing" or "O.K." and if they said nothing more than this it was found impossible to put them in the above coding frame.

Having pointed out the limited nature of our sample we can go on to suggest that Table V shows a considerable variation in attitude among the population with the two largest groups being those who are showing some pessimistic attitude to the poor (29.7%) and those who were expansive to two or more groups of poor (31.3%). It is not surprising that the old age pensioners also come in for some explicit support in terms of their association with poverty.

Furthermore we can note that a large number of individuals (13.3%) were categorised as having optimistic attitudes than pessimistic, it should be remembered however, that the optimistic category contains those who feel poverty does not really exist as well as those who feel it does exist but is being successfully dealt with.

Table XI would seem to suggest that an individual's objective poverty is not a good indicator of his likely attitude towards poverty. Table XII, however, which cross tabulates what we have called 'subjective poverty with attitude to poverty' does appear to show some ~~small but~~ variations with answers to the question "Do you think you could genuinely say you are poor now?"

There appears to be a tendency for those who consider themselves always poor to be more expansive towards poverty and the poor in general, as well as to Old Age Pensioners in particular. Those who ~~are~~ feel themselves to be 'sometimes poor' fall somewhere in the



middle of the two other categories, but in all cases the differences are not very large. Consistent with this there is an equivalent tendency for the 'subjectively poor' to be less punishing towards those in poverty, although this tendency does not extend to their attitudes to immigrants.

There also appears to be a slight tendency for the subjectively poor to be less optimistic about the way in which poverty is being dealt with, on the other hand there does not appear to be any difference in their proportion who are pessimistic about the possibility of ever getting rid of poverty.

Basic X-Tabs for Subjective Poverty Chapter

(A) Cf. with obj. deprivation

Net disposable income as % S.B. + H.C. x Whether Poor / Not
x Diff. to change or Income / Not.
Net disposable inc. as % of mean for HHTI. x Poor / Not
x Diff. to change or Income / Not
Gross pay weekly x Whether Poor / Not
x Diff. to change / Not

(B) Cf. with environment & Social Class?

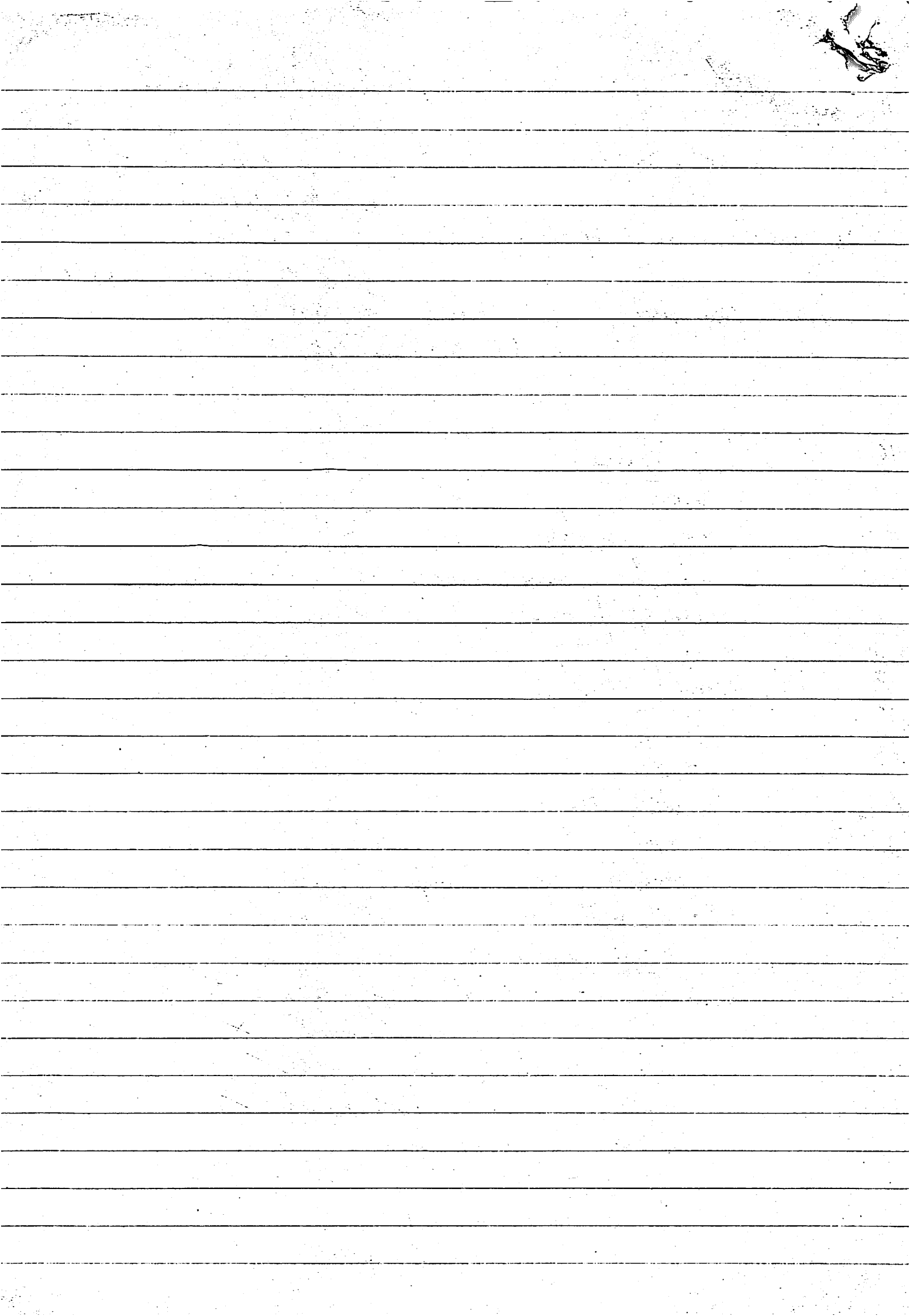
- Region ✓
- Urban, suburban, rural ✓
- high low middle income areas. ✓
- country of origin. ✓

(C) Cf. personal characteristics

- age ✓
- sex ✓
- education ✓
- HHTI ✓
- minority group membership ✓
- disability score ✓

(D) with social deprivation

- ✓ - style of living index ✓
- personal support index x
- ✓ - durable index ✓
- ✓ - household facilities index ✓
- ✓ - overcrowding ✓
- str. defects in house ✓
- lack of fuel ✓
- record hand clothing. ✓



(E)

Personal security

- x ~~ever~~ out of work
- x ~~redundant~~
- x ever h
- x have been off 8+ weeks?
- x have any savings
- x ever lost worked.
- x ever had fall in earnings
- x ever received S.B. / like welfare benefits.

(F)

Job security

- x condition indoors
- x sick pay entitlement
- x holiday pay entitlement
- x satis. with pay
- x satis. with job itself
- x satis. with facilities
- x satis. with security of job
- x notice entitlement
- x pension entitlement.

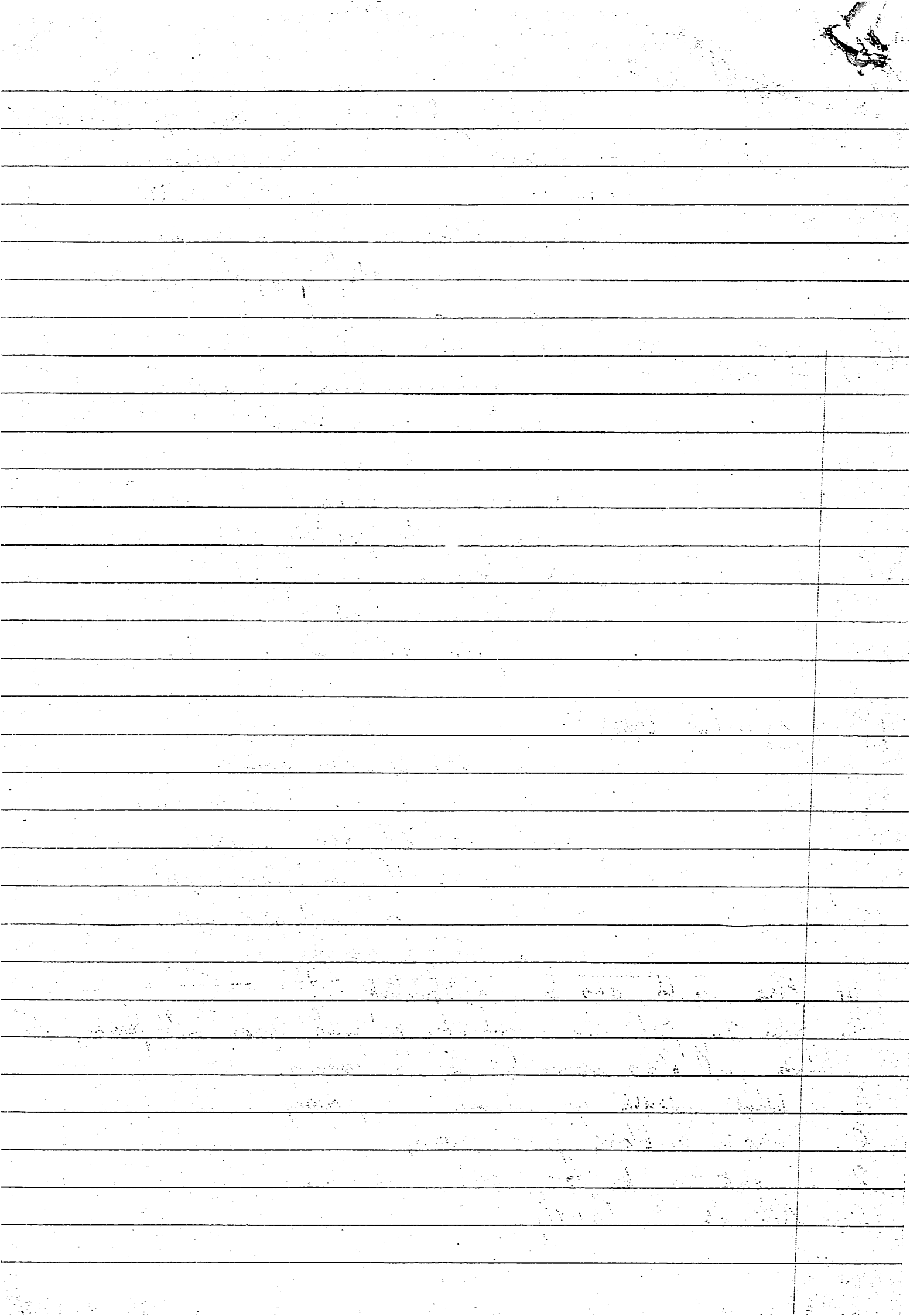
(G)

Subjective deprivation

- x worse off than relatives
- x worse off than local community
- x worse off than average
- x worse off than personal past
- x cf. with 10 years ago.
- x diff. to manage.

All these could also be x-tabulated with

- When they feel poor, week-ends, mid-week, Xmas, with friends, with relatives, with others around here for other reasons.
- What would you describe as poverty.
- Who is to blame for poverty.
- What can be done abt. poverty.
- Attitude to Poverty.



Subjective Depreciation Index. 0-5.

1 point each for

- a) worse off than relative.
- b) worse off than local community.
- c) worse off than average.
- d) worse off than personal part.
- e) diff. to manage or in some.

0-5

Job Insecurity Index.
1 point each for

- a) with a low relative entitlement
- b) no mid pay from employer
- c) no pension from employer
- d) have experienced a big fall in

earnings

e) have experienced an 8+ week spell of work which was covered by job.

$$0 - = 0$$

$$60 - = 1$$

$$80 - = 2$$

$$120 - = 3$$

$$160 - = 4$$