

- ① perception of personal circ. sealed off from <sup>general or</sup> abstract conceptions  
 ② description of poverty partly causal. of society.

## Subjective and Objective Repudiation

The object of this section is to use the data we have available to consider the relationship between the material and social situation of individuals as we have measured it with our measurement of their individual perception of their own situation. In other fields of sociological investigation the importance of considering both objective and 'subjective' definitions of situations is recognised, in the field of social stratification and status for example and more especially in the field of ethnic relations. In the final analysis it must be agreed that what we call 'objective' measurement is just another type of subjectivity, a more professional and consistent type nevertheless.

Any study of poverty must surely be interested in its alleviation as well as its measurement and from the former point of interest the perception of the individuals studied is obviously of relevance in <sup>ascertaining</sup> determining the political and social solutions which are open to us.

There are of course many difficulties involved in measuring subjective self-conceptions in terms of a stigmatising concept like poverty. That it is stigmatising would seem to be borne out by the difference in ~~these~~ numbers of those who are willing to agree that they find it "difficult to manage" (i.e. 29.7% of household heads or chief wage earners giving reply to this question) and the numbers of those who are willing to agree to being poor "sometimes" (348 = 17.5%) or "always" (153 = 7.7%), (i.e. 25.2% = 501). Nevertheless we can see from the first table that of those admitting to being always ~~sometimes~~ in poverty only about 9% say that it is not difficult to manage, while 83.5% of those who say they are never poor also say that it is not difficult to manage. Thus the table given shows the expected relationship between the two questions but it also demonstrates that substantial proportions of those who do not consider themselves ever to be poor do sometimes find it difficult to



① The purpose of the study is to determine the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable.  
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The study of the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable is a complex task. It requires a clear understanding of the variables involved and the relationship between them. The first step is to identify the independent variable, which is the variable that is manipulated or changed. The second step is to identify the dependent variable, which is the variable that is measured or observed. The third step is to design the study, which involves determining the sample size, the data collection method, and the statistical analysis. The fourth step is to conduct the study, which involves collecting the data and performing the statistical analysis. The fifth step is to interpret the results, which involves drawing conclusions from the data and discussing the implications of the findings.

There are several factors that can affect the results of a study. These factors include the sample size, the data collection method, the statistical analysis, and the interpretation of the results. The sample size is important because a larger sample size generally leads to more accurate results. The data collection method is important because different methods can produce different results. The statistical analysis is important because different statistical tests can produce different results. The interpretation of the results is important because different researchers can draw different conclusions from the same data.

manage (i.e. 39.3%). Obviously then it is going to be difficult for us to use a straightforward question such as "Do you find it difficult to manage on your present income?" or "Do you think you could genuinely say you are poor now?" as measurements of subjective poverty in their own right. An alternative measurement will be considered ~~later~~.

~~It should~~ The complications of the topic and also possibly the limitation of our data are also demonstrated in Table II in which we cross-tabulate the response to the question "Do you think you could genuinely say you are poor now?" with that to "Do you think there is such a thing as real poverty these days?" We may imagine that a person who considers himself poor could hardly respond that there is no poverty nowadays but we can see from the table that self-stated poverty has no effect on statements about the existence of poverty in general. This would suggest that perception of personal circumstances is in no way related off from more general or abstract perceptions of society. Unfortunately we do not have such data that we can follow up these questions but present them in order to define our intentions here which are to compare the individual's relative deprivation as measured by our own 'objective' measures with measures of his ~~own~~ perception of his and his household's personal situation.

Table IV shows that there is a definite association between objective and subjective poverty in the direction one would expect but that even so approximately 50% of those in objective poverty according to our S.B. based index of household net disposable income consider that they are never in poverty.

You Poor Now	x	Net Dis. Inc. as % Mean of Hhd. I
Subj. Pov. Index	x	" as % S.B. + Hc
"	v	N.D.I. as % Mean of Hhd. I *
Gross P.	x	Gross Pay / Week / Full time

\* seems to have a stronger relation with Subj. Pov. Index than N.D.I. as % S.B. + Hc.



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## Attitudes to the Poor & to Poverty

This survey has been concerned to examine the extent and nature of poverty in Great Britain, in doing so it has tried to use analytical techniques and definitions which will be acceptable to other professionals and policy makers who are concerned with such problems. It is worth noting, however, that a ~~definition~~ conception of poverty as being below 60% of some income figure or other is not shared by a proportion of the population and as we are professing to study poverty then we should spend at least some time considering the varying 'non-professional' attitudes to poverty and to the poor themselves. We can do so without in any way, detracting from our own 'professional' conception of poverty which is the main concern of our analysis.

In looking at attitudes to poverty, ~~however~~, we run into ~~reverse methodological problems~~ in the context of this study we run into reverse methodological problems, however. There is little need to argue nowadays that 'large-scale', standardised, questionnaire schedules are not the most appropriate ways of measuring the subtle entities we call 'attitudes'. We must, therefore, consider the limitations of the data which we have available before we can ~~then~~ make any other comments on it. The question which we asked was placed at the end of an extremely long interview schedule and we may assume that a desire to get rid of an interviewer who had been there anything up to 4 hours will have effected some of the responses. [we are only getting 80% response rate]

Perhaps a more critical point is that questions such as, "What would you describe as poverty?" or "Would you say that if people are in poverty it's mainly their own fault?" but any situational context in which they can be placed. As Frank Parker has written:-





(4) Then why do some not present such a conception?  
"it could be hypothesized that in situations where purely abstract evaluations are called for, the dominant value system will provide the moral frame of reference; but in concrete moral situations involving choice and action, the negotiated version - or the subordinate value system - will provide the moral framework".

It is by no means sure that there is any such 'dominant' conception of poverty in the poor, but the point is clear that the measurements of conception which we are making as to attitudes to poverty may have little relation to the conceptions which would influence behaviour within the local community or even attitudes towards specific social legislation and policy designed to effect problems of poverty in some way. Nevertheless it may be of some interest to consider what attitudinal ~~positions~~ resources exist that may be mobilised in a variety of behaviours in more specific contexts. This is about all we can claim to do in this section. In doing so we must recognise that we are not trying to test any specific hypotheses, but to make some broad and unspecific generalisations about the nature of opinion in the country.

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<sup>1</sup> Frank Parker - "Class Inequality and Political Order" - Macgibbon & Kee, London 1971. p. 93



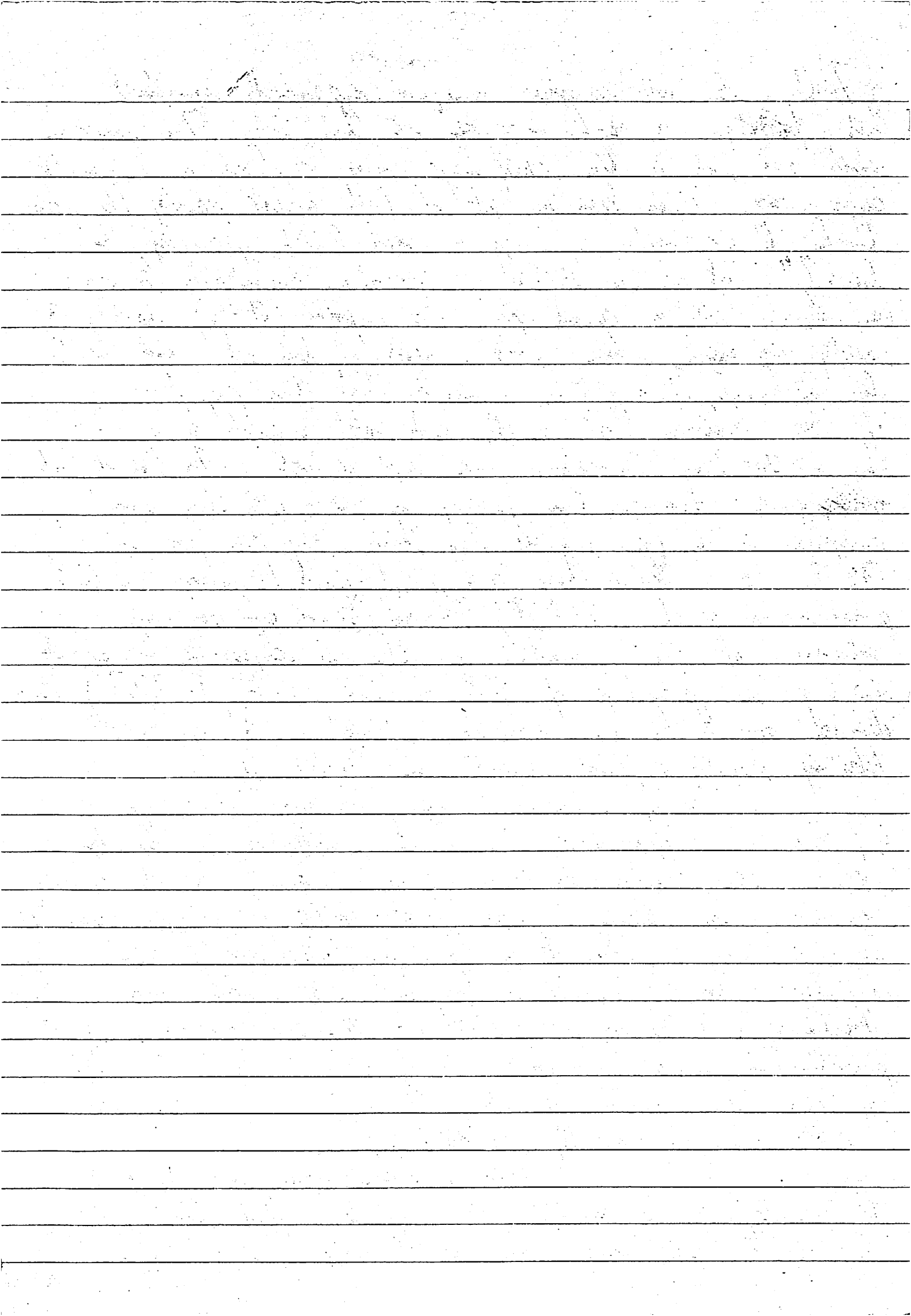


(5)

Firstly we will consider how <sup>many of</sup> respondents considered that poverty did exist ~~in the~~ at that time. The question, which was put to the chief wage earner or head of household only was "There's been a lot of talk about poverty. Do you think there's much a thing as ~~real~~ REAL poverty these days?" Out of the 80.5% of potential households for whom we actually have a coded reply the majority (61.7%) said that poverty did exist while 35.4% said it did not and 2.8% did not know. It might be expected that the proportion of those believing that poverty did exist would be affected by whether they themselves were poor or not. In actual fact, ~~therefore~~ we measure their poverty in terms of their own perception of it (i.e. whether they think they are poor or not, TAB I, or whether they find it difficult to manage on their present incomes or not, TAB II) <sup>rather than in</sup> ~~in terms of~~ our own estimation of their poverty (i.e. the net disposable household income as a percentage of S.B. + housing costs, TAB III) there does not seem to be any appreciable change in the proportions believing poverty to exist or not, see TABLE II.

If on the other hand we look at the differences in response associated with ~~the~~ objective differences in wealth then we see the unexpected result of those who are poorer responding that there is no poverty more frequently, TABLE III. It is not easy to think of a convincing explanation for this association and it is certainly true that those who appear, objectively to be more poor think of themselves as being poor proportionately more. Nevertheless it is worth noting that 53% of those below 100% of the S.B. line do not consider themselves to be in poverty. (TABLE IV)

Thus we have some reason to believe that although a majority of individuals feel that poverty is a reality we cannot easily or obviously associated the





(6)

likelihood of individuals answering to this by considering whether they themselves are well off or not.

The objection may be made that the above questions do not consider exactly what the respondents mean by the concept of poverty. Some attempt has been made to estimate the commonness of different possible views about poverty. All chief wage earners or head of households were asked "What would you describe as poverty?" and the open-ended responses to this question have been coded in the following narrower categories

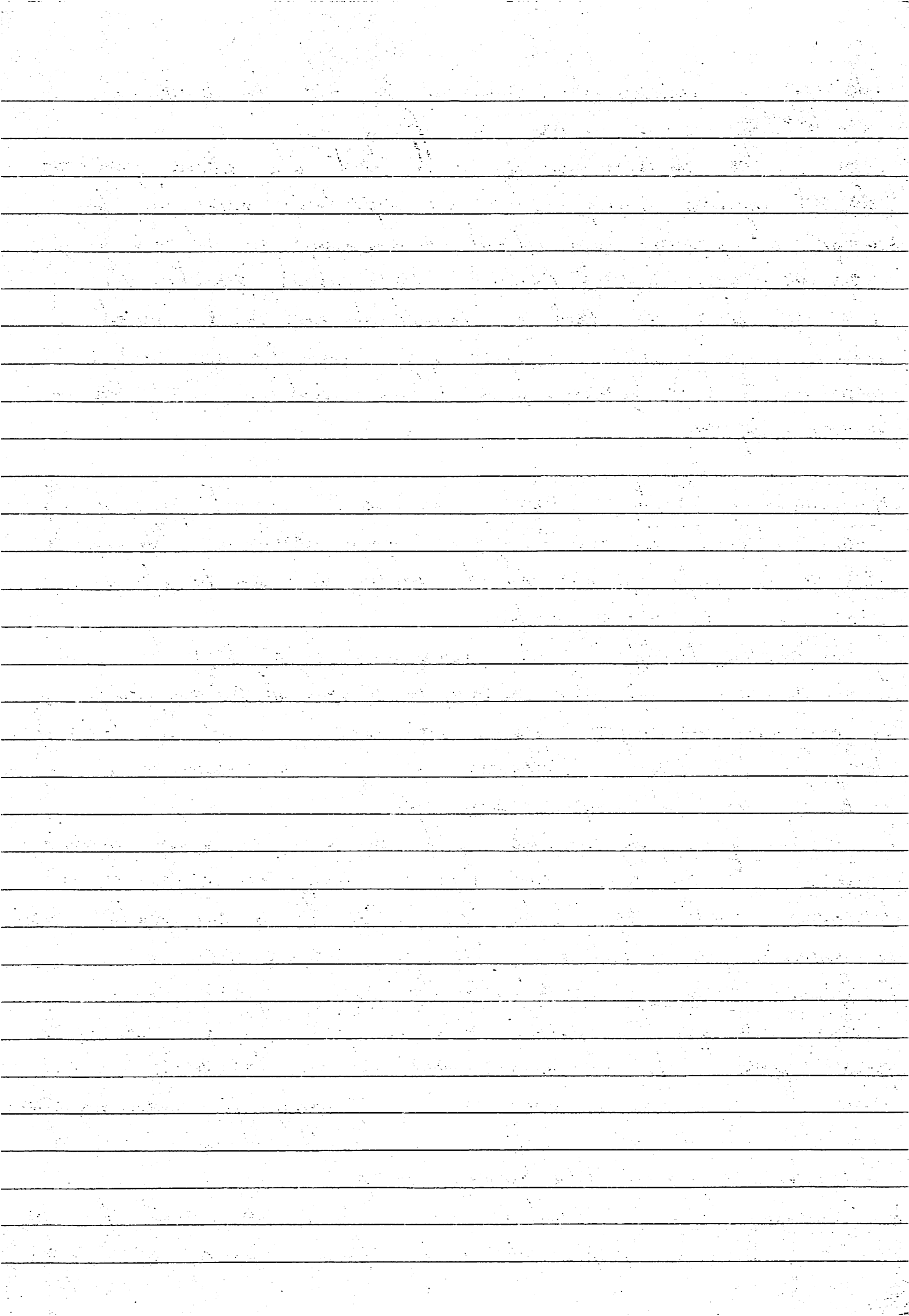
A. Starvation Poverty Poverty conceived of as not fulfilling the basic physical requirements of the human organism. This includes references to specific places abroad which are known to suffer from famine etc. eg. Biafra, India.

B. Subsistence Poverty Poverty conceived of as a degree less severe than starvation but still referring to a lack of certain basics eg. "not having enough food to go to work/school or, nowhere decent to live", "nothing to wear or threadbare clothing", "not enough to live on", "pinch & scrape last days of every week".

C. Relative Poverty in comparison with others, in which poverty is conceived of as having hard times in comparison with others in the same society. eg. "looking the sort of things our society regards as necessities" or "can't enjoy life like anyone else".

D. Relative Poverty compared with the past This really includes two types of comparison with the past, 'firstly with one's personal past' eg. "when a man comes down in the world" or "can't stand a drink like a man used to", secondly, it includes comparison with the historical past such as "not like the Depression", or "not like when my parents were bringing us up".

E. Secondary Poverty which is seen as being the result of some other factor eg. "people who neglect their children", "won't work",





(7)

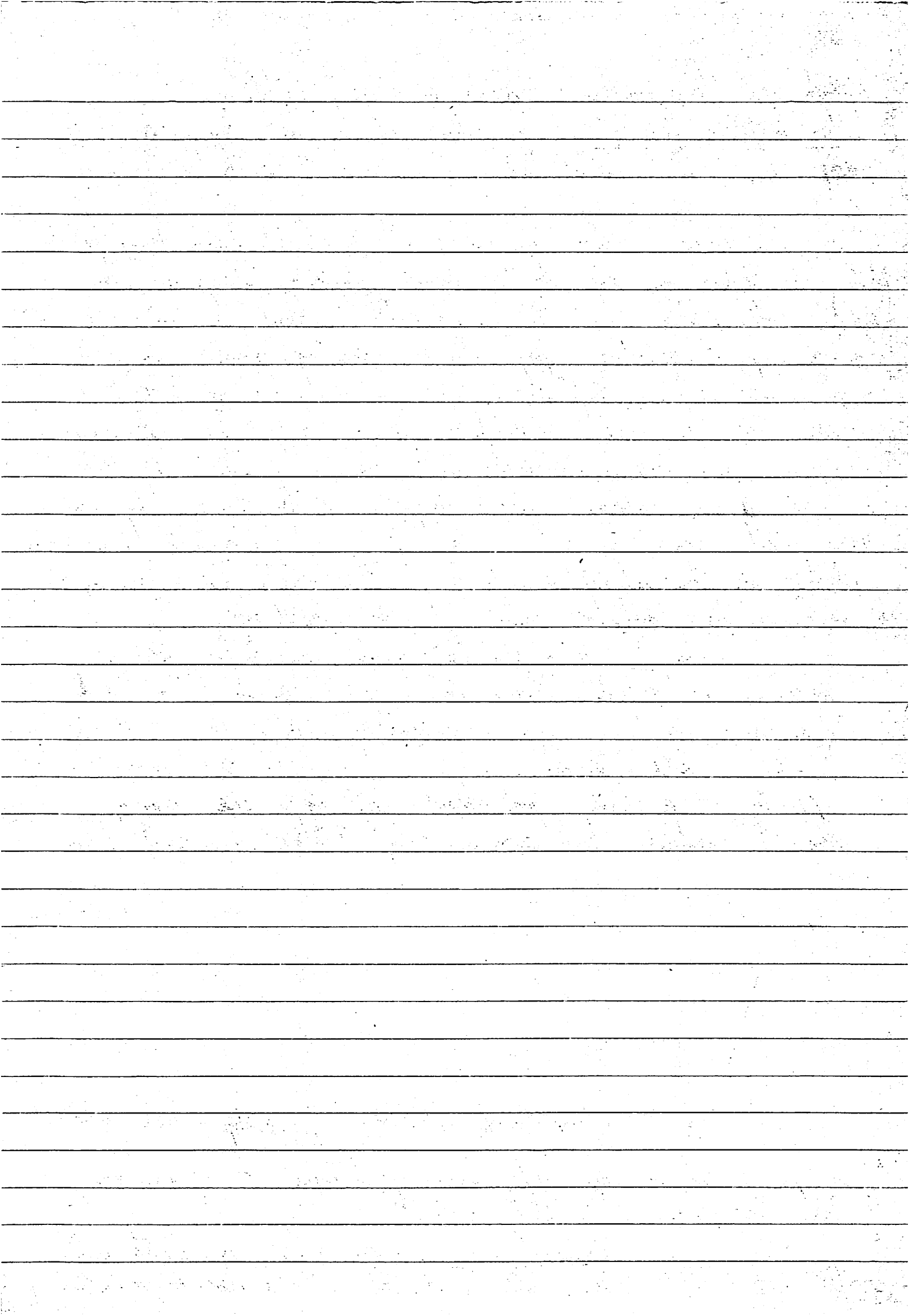
"spend all their money on drink or bingo," "shiftless".  
F. Non-Existent Poverty in which it is not conceived of as a reality eg. "I've never met it," or "don't think there is any."

The answers to the original question were set down long hand and later coded into one of the above categories. Obviously this presented great problems for the coders and it should be mentioned that they were not entirely happy with the resulting structure on their choice. It was very difficult to code answers which are in fact a combination of the above possibilities. It may be that two individuals who may give initial comments that could be coded differently on the above scheme would in fact have turned out to have very similar conceptions of poverty if some prompting had been possible in the interview design. This said, we must again emphasise the tentative nature of our suggestions.

Table V gives the totals and percentages for the responses as coded. This would appear to demonstrate that individuals do have some conception of poverty, though it is not a standardised one. The most common conception is of poverty as a state just above catering for the necessary physical essentials but even so only 32.6% mentioned this

G. Group Poverty Working poverty is here conceived of as people who are financially badly off because of low wages payable families in comparison with their wage.

H. Group Poverty poverty is here associated with specific groups in the society notably the old, but also, disabled, unemployed, gypsies, etc.





type of conception when the question was first put to them. The other most common ~~conception~~ reaction to the nature of poverty question was to mention a specific group of people, although few seem to feel that any such groups could be full-time workers, thus the disabled, and particularly the old-age-pensioners is relatively frequently associated with poverty (21%).

If we associated these descriptions of poverty with other variables then we can see that there is no variation in the relative frequency of these different categories with such things as objective poverty (i.e. net disposable household income as a % of S.B. + housing costs, Table VI) or subjective poverty (i.e. whether state that they are poor themselves now, Table VII) or social class, whether objective (Table VIII) or subjective (Table IX).

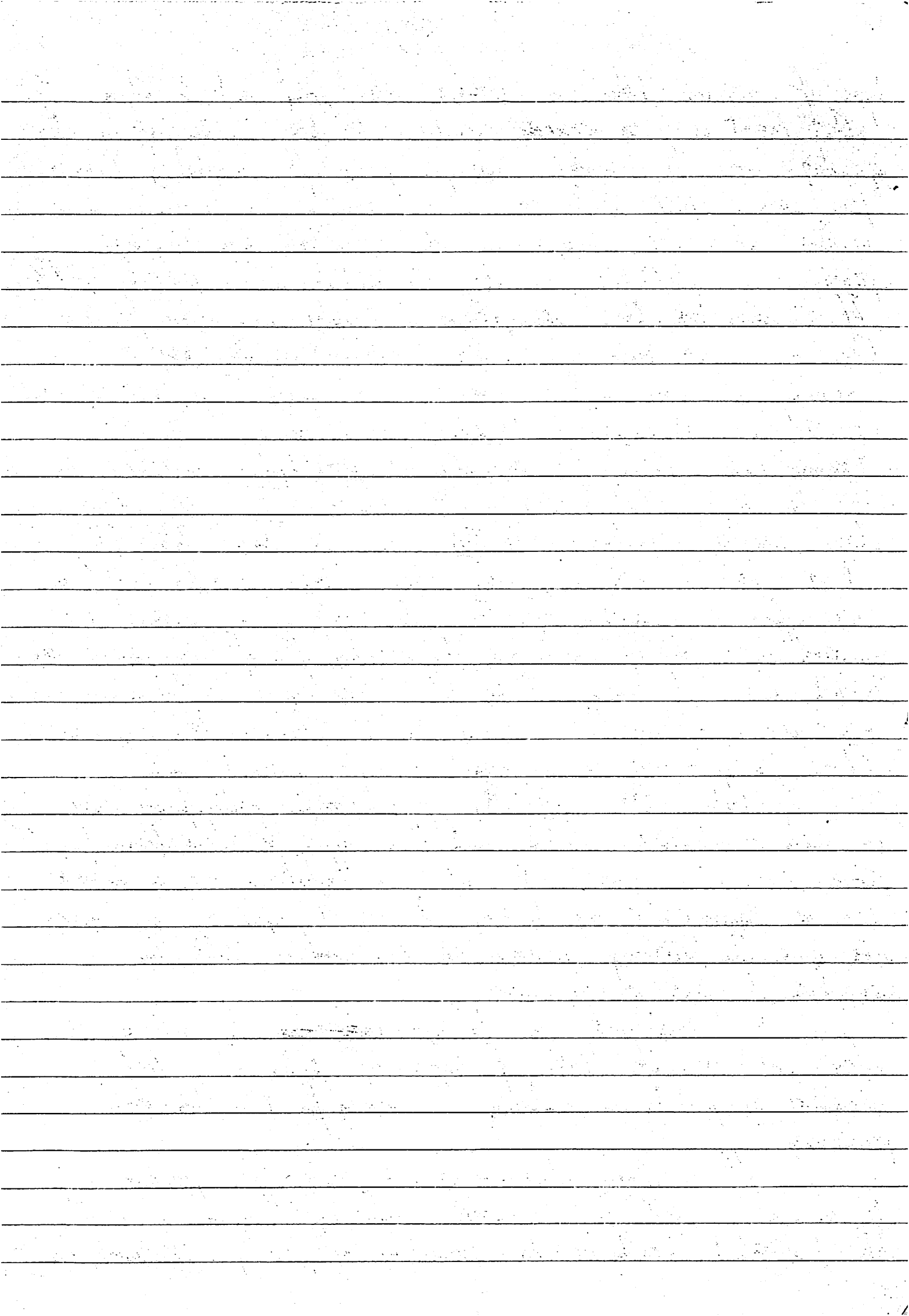
It is, perhaps, not surprising that these variables have no little effect on perception of the nature of poverty because the question was put in such an abstract way, free of any situational context, that it may well be that the responses elicited would not reflect any differences in personal situation between the respondents.

These questions must really await a more critical analysis.

Perhaps the difficulty of categorising individuals' views on such complicated subjects and then trying to relate them to other distinctive characteristics of the household as a whole can be demonstrated by looking at one example of a man who gave the following response to the question about his conception of what poverty was

"You only got to go ~~nowhere~~ to some of the schools and see the state of some of these kids. There shouldn't be poverty nowadays. I'm sorry for the old age pensioners.

It is fairly obvious that he does feel poverty to be a reality, yet he does not make it clear to us in the above comment exactly how he conceives of poverty. Obviously he



(9)

has none companion for the situation of children and old people in poverty. Yet when asked what could be done about poverty he suggested taking away the family allowance and giving old age pensioners more. To suggest that his attitude to the poverty of children and family allowances is inconsistent would be grossly unfair. It may be that his own family situation is influencing his attitude to pensions and family allowances. He and his prematurely retired wife who was arthritic, and his retired mother were living together on a net disposable income of 110% of what they would be entitled to under Supplementary Benefit. He was a skilled manual worker who considered himself 'middle class' and said that he was never poor, although he did find it difficult to manage on his income at the moment. He believes that it is largely the fault of the poor themselves that they are poor.

In other cases the questions were seemingly interpreted in terms of their own immediate situation. Thus a single woman who had been an unskilled manual worker but had been unemployed for 18 months due to her ulcers and anaemia and was receiving supplementary benefit and living at 96% of her full entitlement answered the question about what poverty was by saying "if I couldn't buy food or electricity, luckily I haven't had to buy any clothes". The suggestion is that she was applying the concept of poverty to herself without explicitly saying so. Nevertheless she stated that she was never poor herself. She also seems to have put ~~on~~ a personal interpretation on the question about what could be done about poverty in that she answered "if we had a bit extra we ought to be able to help each other more". At the time she was being visited by relatives but was not receiving any sort of gifts from them.

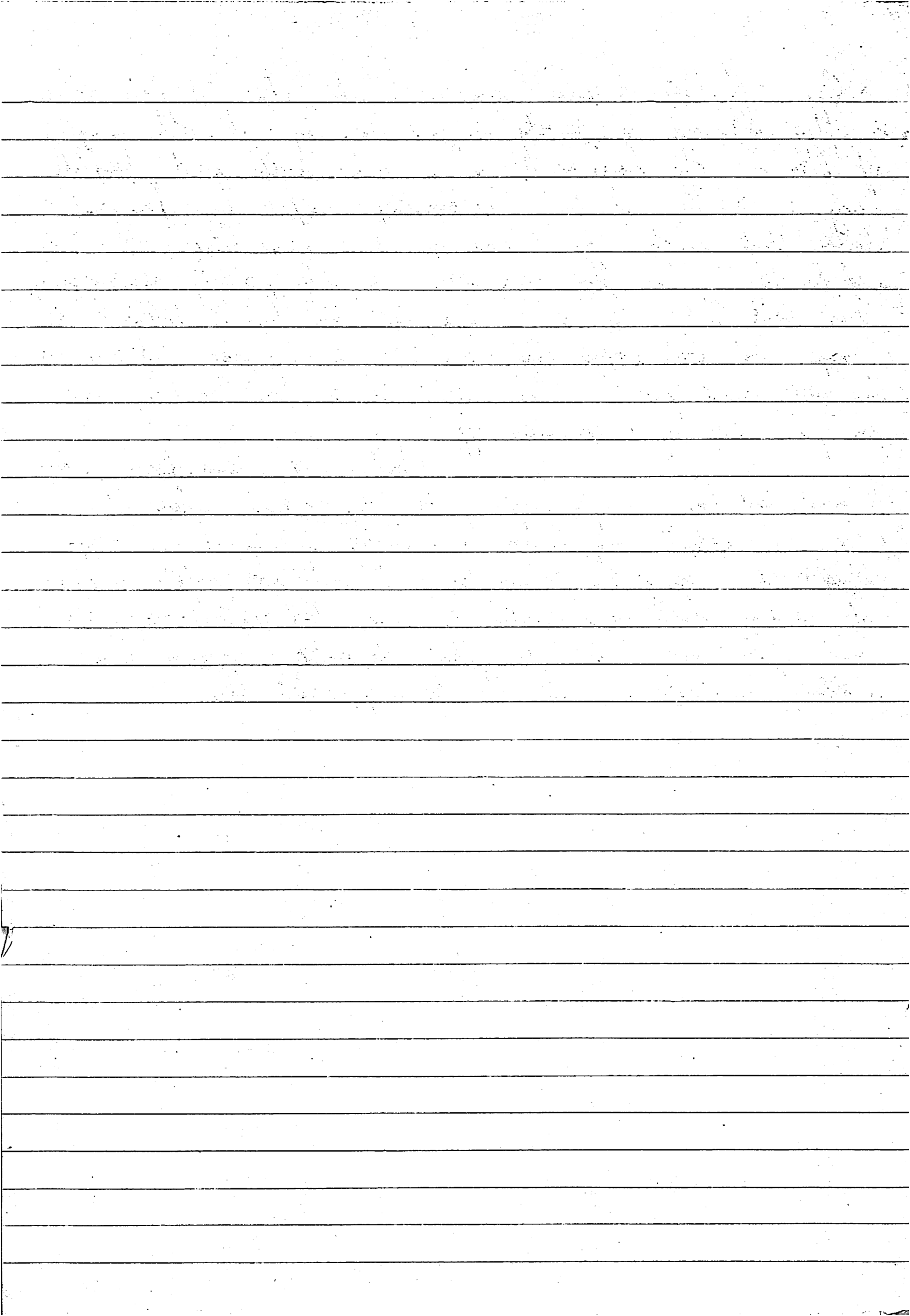




Our difficulties are also compounded by the stigma which is often attached to poverty in our society. A good example of this is the household of a nil mother and daughter living on 53% of the Supplementary benefit level. The mother stated that poverty was "living up in a soup kitchen like they used to do" but that there was no dire poverty nowadays.

She said that she and her daughter did find it difficult to manage and that things had been better in the past but even so they were never poor "you don't like to admit to being poor, you just say you're not well off."

Under such circumstances, where the interviewer has no time to probe deeper and where the coder must accept only what is actually written it is ~~very~~ ~~difficult to~~ impossible for us to deal with the subtle nuances of meaning which are suggested in these short quotations. We must offer them in the hope that the reader recognises the underlying complexities of the figures presented here.

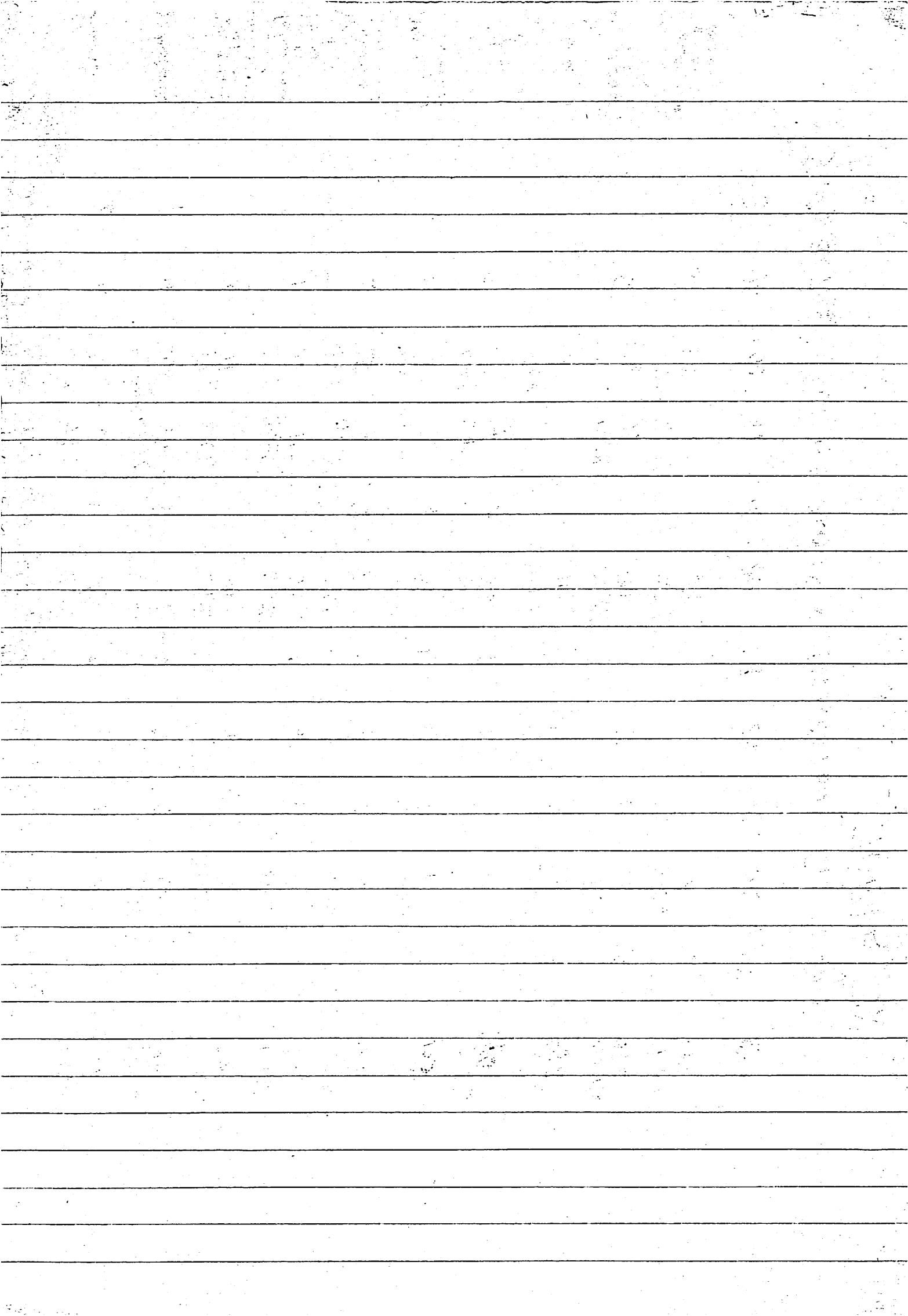




No inception category	Upper	U. Mid.	Middle	L. Mid.	U. W.	Working	Poor	Ordinary	Lower	Cumbler	No inceptio- of class	
Starvation	2	1	6.3% 38	7.4% 6	1	8.3% 72	3		3	9.7% 8	3	7.6% 137
Subsistence	1	11	34.1% 205	40.7% 33	8	30.0% 259	4	7	9	26.8% 22	9	31.5% 568
Rel. poverty with others		1	1.8% 11	2.4% 2		2.1% 18	2	1		3.6% 3		2.1% 38
Rel. poverty to part.		1	2.3% 14	8.8% 11.2%		6.0% 52	1	4	4	6.1% 5	1	4.6% 83
Secondary		2	9.1% 55	8.8% 7	2	8.6% 74	1	3	2	6.1% 5	3	8.5% 154
None existent		1	8.0% 48	1.2% 1	2	7.5% 65	1	6	3	4.9% 4	2	7.4% 133
Other.		3	6.1% 37	4.9% 4	7	8.4% 73	4	1	3	9.7% 8		7.8% 140
D.K.			2.5% 15			1.1% 10		1	2	2.4% 2	3	1.8% 39
Group poverty other		5	21.0% 126	18.5% 15	6	20.6% 178	6	6	6	21.9% 18	6	20.7% 372
Group poverty working.		3	8.6% 52	14.8% 12		7.2% 62			3	8.6% 7	2	7.9% 142
	3	28	601	81	26	863	23	29	35	82	29	1800

SUBJECTIVE SOCIAL CLASS X DESCRIPTION OF POVERTY

TABLE IX



2nd Year Net Disposable Household Income as % of S.B.  
+ Housing Cost.

TABLE VI

	<100%	100-139%	140+%
STARVATION	6.4% 9	6.9% 29	7.3% 915
SUBSISTENCE	32.6% 46	29.4% 124	32.4% 401
RELATIVE TO OTHERS	2.1% 3	2.1% 9	2.0% 25
RELATIVE TO PAST	4.9% 7	7.8% 33	3.7% 46
SECONDARY	11.3% 16	9.0% 38	7.8% 97
NON-EXISTENT	5.7% 8	9.9% 42	7.2% 89
OTHER	9.9% 14	8.8% 37	7.6% 94
D.K.	5.0% 7	2.6% 11	1.1% 14
GROUP (other) POVERTY	16.3% 23	16.8% 71	22.6% 280
GROUP POVERTY (working)	5.7% 8	6.6% 28	8.1% 101
	141	422	1238



# Description of Poverty x Are You Poor Now?

TABLE VII

Description of Poverty	SOME-TIMES POOR	ALWAYS POOR	NEVER POOR	D.K.			
STARVATION	7.8% 27	8.5% 13	7.2% 103	2			
SUBSISTENCE	30.3 105	30.3 46	32.2 462	4			
RELATIVE TO OTHERS	2.6 9	3.3 5	1.7 24	1			
RELATIVE TO PAST	7.5 26	6.6 10	3.6 51	2			
SECONDARY	8.7 30	3.3 5	8.8 126	2			
NO POVERTY	6.1 21	7.2 11	8.2 118	1			
OTHER	9.2 32	9.9 15	7.3 105	2			
D.K.	2.3 8	2.6 4	1.7 25	1			
GROUP POVERTY (other)	20.8 72	21.7 33	20.8 298	4			
GROUP POV. (working)	4.6 16	6.6 10	8.5 122	1			
	346	152	1434	20			TOTAL 1952

It is therefore going to be necessary for us to consider the characteristics of individuals and households which exhibit different combinations of objective and subjective poverty in order that we may understand the relation between the two latter. We can use the following two way table

			OBJECTIVE POVERTY (income as % S.B.+HC)		
			<100%	100-139%	140%
SUBJECTIVE POVERTY	0-1				
	2-3				
	4-5				

moral / presumption.

analysis of warrant

analysis of problem.  
testing of them  
evaluation of project.

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# CONCEPTION OF POVERTY

TABLE V

STARVATION	7.4% 145	7.4
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SUBSISTENCE	31.5% 617	31.4
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RELATIVE TO OTHERS	2.0% 39	2.0
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RELATIVE TO PAST	4.6% 90	4.6
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SECONDARY POVERTY	8.3% 163	8.3
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NO POVERTY	7.7% 151	7.7
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GROUP POVERTY WORKING	7.6% 150	7.6
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GROUP POVERTY OTHER	21.0% 412	21.0
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OTHER	7.8% 154	7.8
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D.K.	2.0% 39	
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TOTAL	2003	
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- DK 1964



View of Poverty	Non Manual	Manual	Routine non manual	Description of Poverty x Anologated Social Class		
STARVATION	5.8% 39	8.5% 94	4.61% 6	All non m 5.7	all man 8.7	
SUBSISTENCE	35.8% 241	28.1% 310	40.0% 52	37.1	28.8	TABLE VIII
REL. TO OTHERS	2.5% 17	1.6% 18	2.3% 3	2.5	1.7	
REL. TO PAST.	2.5% 17	5.3% 59	6.1% 8	3.2	5.5	
SECONDARY	6.5% 44	9.2% 102	7.7% 10	6.8	9.5	
NON-EXISTENT	6.4% 43	7.9% 88	10.8% 14	7.2	8.2	
OTHER	6.9% 47	8.8% 97	3.8% 5	6.6	9.0	
P.K.	1.8% 12	2.3% 25	0.8% 1			
GROUP POV. OTHER	21.6% 145	21.4% 236	17.7% 23	all non 21.3 <del>26.9</del>	} 28.7	
GROUP POV WORKING.	10.0% 67	6.6% 73	6.1% 8	9.5 <del>30.8</del>		
	672	1102 1077	130		28.7	
			789 14 803		1077 879 1956	

Variable to which Obj. & Subj. Both Assoc. in Same Direction

Variable to which Obj. & Subj. Both Assoc. in Opposite Direction.

Variables to which Obj. Assoc. & Subj. not Associated.  
Style of living index. ?  
Durables index. ?

Variables to which Subj. associated but not Objective.

Hhd. facilities index  
Ratio of Persons to Rooms

Variables to which Neither are associated

Environment Index A.

100-443887-100

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\_\_\_\_\_

2017-2018

*[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]*

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[illegible]

If you are measuring earnings distributions by use of absolute figures then it is meaningful to compare one run with another but if you're measuring distribution in terms of a measure based on internal proportions eg. % of mean / median then we will get diff. shaped distribns. according to the popltn. limits of the mean / median eg. will get women distributed over the whole range or bunched at lower end of range

Thus in X-tabulating earnings distributions with other factors will get diff. densities of pattern which may cause you to give diff. interpretations to the nature of the inter-relationship.

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## Objective and Subjective Poverty

1. Impt. of looking at subjective as well as objective view of poverty.

Inconsistencies in the story - maybe caused by method of collecting data.

Relationship between objective & subjective deprivation.

Need for more complex & subtle indicators.

Real  
Any Poverty

Real Poverty & You in Poverty

Diff. to Measure x Per Now.

Per Now x Any Real Pos.

5.0

4.0

Tue. Thurs. 5-6.0

252  
1

1666  
348  
153  
22  
1989  
11

1609  
604  
15  
2028  
11

1383  
591  
15

1989  
1

1609  
26  
1383

604  
17  
521

348  
153

501  
11

X-tn X-tubs. needed

i) You Put Now x Net. Pr. in % S.B. + H.C.