

Deprivation takes many forms in every society, and in the next four chapters some of the principal forms will be discussed. People can be said to be deprived if they lack the types of diet, clothing, housing, environmental, educational, working and social conditions, activities and facilities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong. They fall below standards of living which either can be shown to be widespread in fact or are socially accepted or institutionalized. As we have argued, these two standards are unlikely to be one and the same thing. Perceptions of deprivation lag behind material progress or are distorted by class and other vested interests.

A third standard of deprivation can in principle be distinguished, which tends to be implicit in any attempt to define the first standard. People may not fall below a standard of living which can be shown to be widespread, but they may fall below a standard which *could be* widespread, given a reorganization of the institutions and redistribution of the means available in that society. This standard tends to be adopted more readily as an assumption in discussion about societies of the Third World than about industrial societies.

The previous chapter sketched in outline some of the components of styles of living in British society and the extent to which they are diffused, particularly among different social classes. This chapter will first demonstrate what forms of objective deprivation exist in British society and how many people experience them. Because forms of deprivation are so numerous, I will, for convenience, reserve for discussion in subsequent chapters forms of deprivation at work, in housing and environment, and concentrate attention here on material and social forms of deprivation. The chapter will go on to show whether, in what form, and how many, people *feel* deprived, and then show whether such feelings are consistent with different objective measures of deprivation, and in particular whether they are consistent with low incomes and resources.

Forms of Objective Deprivation

Different indices of deprivation were included in the survey. Those affecting work, housing and environment will be principally discussed in Chapters 12, 13 and 14,

Table II.1. Percentages of men and women, and people of different age and occupational class, who were materially and socially deprived in different senses.

Indicators of material and social deprivation	All males and females	Males	Females	Age						Occupational class (8-fold)				
				0-4	5-14	15-29	30-49	50-64	65+	Professional and managerial	Other non-manual	Skilled manual	Partly skilled and unskilled manual	
1. Short of fuel to keep warm at some or all stages during last 12 months	5.2	4	6	8	8	4	4	4	4	6	0	3	5	11
2. Fewer than 6 items in a selected list of 10 durables in household (incl. TV and refrigerator)	21.0	20	21	26	17	21	15	18	41	2	19	32	39	
3. No television in household	8.1	8	9	7	6	8	6	6	16	6	9	11	11	
4. No refrigerator	41.3	40	42	44	37	42	35	39	58	14	37	54	61	
5. Does not have fresh meat most days of the week	19.2	18	21	19	18	14	15	20	36	7	15	18	30	
6. At least one day without cooked meal in last fortnight	6.3	5	8	4	2	5	5	11	13	4	6	6	8	

7. Less than three pints of milk per person per week	12.9	-	-	14	14	15	12	10	11	7	10	14	18
8. Household does not usually have a Sunday joint	20.1	19	21	22	18	18	17	18	33	15	16	19	26
9. Does not have cooked breakfast most days of week	66.7	62	72	73	64	67	69	68	66	59	70	72	78
10. Inadequate footwear for both wet and fine weather (excl. infants)	2.1	1	3	6	3	2	1	1	2	0	1	3	4
11. Second-hand clothing bought sometimes or often by housewife	10.4	11	10	15	16	10	1	0	7	6	5	8	10
12. <i>Housewife only</i> . No new winter coat in last 3 years	-	-	33	-	-	14	27	34	58	21	28	33	43
13. Household spent less than £10 last Christmas	11.4	10	13	8	7	8	6	12	36	3	8	11	20
14. Not had holiday away from home in last 12 months	50.0	49	50	60	45	47	45	48	68	27	42	54	65
15. <i>All aged 15 and over</i> . Not been out for meal or snack to relatives or friends in last 4 weeks	45.1	48	42	-	-	34	46	49	55	28	38	47	58

Table 11.1. - contd

Indicators of material and social deprivation	All males and females	Males	Females	Age						Occupational class (8-fold)			
				0-4	5-14	15-29	30-49	50-64	65+	Profes-sional and mana-gerial	Other non-manual	Skilled manual	Partly skilled and un-skilled manual
16. All aged 15 and over.													
Not had relative or friend for a meal or snack in last four weeks	33.4	36	31	-	-	22	34	32	37	21	28	33	45
17. Children 3-14. Not had friend to play or tea in last 4 weeks	35.9	39	33	35	36	-	-	-	-	22	34	30	53
18. Children 3-14. Not had party last birthday	56.1	60	52	51	58	-	-	-	-	44	45	60	71
19. Children 3-14. Pocket money 10p or less	43.3	44	42	68	41	-	-	-	-	47	41	41	49
20. Not had afternoon or evening out in last fortnight (e.g. pub, sports match, cinema, theatre, dancing, bingo)	40.1	35	43	36	50	21	34	47	60	37	37	40	44
21. Not enough money to have evening out in last fortnight	5.2	5	5	4	7	3	6	5	6	1	4	4	8

NOTE: Numbers on which percentages based for all males and females of all ages vary between 5,814 and 6,078; for any age group, the minimum number is 510; and for any class group the minimum number is 630 in the case of *all* sex and age groups, though it is 201 for housewives and 169 for children aged 3-14.

though some key items will be anticipated in the ensuing discussion. Table 11.1 sets out a long list of items which can either be shown in practice to constitute, or according to conventional opinion do constitute, deprivation. These do not, of course, provide a comprehensive list of forms of material and social deprivation, and information about them might sometimes have been collected differently, or in more detail. Each one of them really needs to be considered in relation to other items rather than singly in reaching an overall judgement of what constitutes deprivation.

Six per cent of the sample had missed at least one day with a cooked meal in the previous fortnight; 5 per cent said they had been short of fuel and 2 per cent had inadequate footwear for both fine and wet weather. As many as 40 per cent had not had an afternoon or evening out in the previous fortnight, including 5 per cent who also said this was because of lack of money. Ten per cent of housewives said that there was no one outside the household upon whom they could rely for help in an emergency, such as illness; 10 per cent that they bought second-hand clothing sometimes or often, and 33 per cent that they had not bought a new winter coat for at least three years. Thirty-six per cent of children had not had a friend to tea or to play in the previous four weeks, and 56 per cent had not had a party on their last birthday. Eight per cent of households lacked a television, and 41 per cent a refrigerator; as many as 21 per cent had fewer than six of a selected list of ten common durables or fitments in the home.

Different forms of deprivation were highly correlated, and we developed two indices, a deprivation index and a durables index, to examine those people experiencing a number of different forms. Table 11.2 shows that 28 per cent of males and 30 per cent of females had at least five of ten selected forms of deprivation, and 7 and 9 per cent respectively had seven or more. More children than young or middle-aged adults were deprived, and more old people, particularly those aged 75 and over, than young people.

Although more of the elderly than of the young, and more children than young adults, experience deprivation, the pattern varies according to type of each sub-component of deprivation. The results of applying a general index will therefore tend to vary according to the sub-components chosen. As we argued in Chapter 6, however, if efforts are made to include among the sub-components a widely representative cross-section of indicators of styles of living, the arbitrariness of the index can be minimized. A higher percentage of children than of all other age groups lived in households which were short of fuel, depended in some measure on second-hand clothing and had inadequate footwear (Table 11.1). A higher percentage of middle-aged than of young adults had not had an evening out or been to relatives or friends, or received them in their homes, than young adults, but the percentage lacking material possessions or facilities in the home was about the same as of young adults, and in some instances was lower.

For all types of deprivation, except the payment of small amounts of pocket

Table 11.2. Percentages of males and females of different age deprived in none or one or more of ten respects.

Deprivation index	Males							All ages
	aged 3-19	20-29	30-39	40-54	55-64	65-74	75+	
0	3	6	5	5	4	2	1	4
1-2	34	37	37	33	32	21	12	33
3-4	35	35	34	39	36	36	32	36
5-6	20	19	19	17	23	29	31	21
7+	7	3	5	6	5	12	22	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	841	392	381	500	342	216	80	2,752
	Females							
0	4	7	4	4	2	1	0	4
1-2	34	38	34	34	28	16	11	30
3-4	38	35	40	39	34	35	22	36
5-6	19	15	16	16	29	33	35	21
7+	8	5	6	7	7	15	31	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	788	415	364	570	356	281	172	2,969

NOTE: Items in deprivation index comprise list as set out in Table 6.3, page 250.

money to children, there was a correlation, and usually a very marked correlation, with occupational class (Table 11.1). Compared with people of professional and managerial class, far more of those in the unskilled or partly skilled manual classes lacked durables in the household, were short of fuel, did not eat fresh meat frequently, drank very small quantities of milk and had not been on a summer holiday.

Subjective Deprivation

To what extent did people *feel* deprived? A variety of questions were asked in the survey. How well off do you feel these days on your income, compared with the rest of your family, other people round here of your age and the average in the country? On the whole, is your situation getting better or worse? Do you think you were as well off, say, ten years ago as you are now? Do you find it specially difficult to manage on your income? Do you think you could genuinely say you are poor now? The exact form of the questions will be found in the questionnaire reproduced at the

end of this book. Other questions were directed at satisfaction with work and pay and are discussed in Chapter 12.

A summary of response is given in Table 11.3. In no case does the proportion of the entire sample expressing a sense of deprivation fall below about 15 per cent - representing over 8 million in the population. More chief wage-earners and housewives tended to feel worse off by comparison with other members of their families living outside the household than by comparison with the national average for people of their age or others in their immediate localities. As many as 30 per cent of chief wage-earners or heads of households said they found it specially difficult to manage on their incomes, and as many as 41 per cent over the age of 35 said they were not as well off as they were ten years previously. Eight per cent, representing 4½ million, said they felt poor all the time, and another 18 per cent sometimes. On the other hand, more people felt better off than felt worse off than ever, the numbers being 34 and 18 per cent respectively. This evidence suggests that expressions of deprivation are more widespread among individual families than is assumed collectively in discussion publicly of social problems.

The data on subjective attitudes present a rather different picture according to social structure from those on material and social conditions. Let us first consider variations according to age. Although more of the elderly than of the young felt poor or worse off than their families, their neighbours or the national average, the difference is in some instances not as marked as one might expect. The number feeling poor increased only gradually from 23 per cent of the under-thirties to 36 per cent of the over-sixty-fives. However, there was a marked increase with age in the proportion of the population saying that their own situation was worse than it had ever been, and a very marked decrease in the proportion saying that it was better than ever. Among all age groups, more people felt worse off in relation to the rest of their families than in relation to their neighbours or the national average.

Secondly, variations in attitude according to class corresponded in some but by no means all respects with the picture presented by different objective measures. The number of people in unskilled and partly skilled manual classes who said they felt poor sometimes or often was 41 per cent, compared with only 7 per cent of those in professional and managerial classes. When asked to relate their situation to that of the rest of the family, neighbours, the national average and their own previous living standards, the differences tended to be less marked. A substantial proportion of people in professional and managerial classes said they were worse off, for example, than the rest of their families. A fifth felt they were worse off than previously in their lives. Nearly a fifth found it difficult to manage on their incomes.

The correlation between different expressions of deprivation was high, but neither was it complete, nor did those expressing extreme deprivation in one respect always even admit less extreme deprivation in other respects. Thus, 39 per cent of those

420 POVERTY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Table 11.3. Percentages feeling deprived in different senses.

<i>Types of subjective deprivation</i>	<i>All men and women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Age</i>				<i>Occupational class (8-fold)</i>			
				<i>Under 30</i>	<i>30-49</i>	<i>50-64</i>	<i>65+</i>	<i>Professional and managerial</i>	<i>Other non-manual</i>	<i>Skilled manual</i>	<i>Partly skilled and unskilled manual</i>
<i>Chief wage-earners and housewives only</i>											
Compared with rest of family feels:											
better off	22.7	26	20	32	26	20	10	38	28	20	15
about the same	46.9	47	46	42	51	46	44	39	45	51	48
worse off	27.4	24	30	25	20	31	41	19	24	27	33
No. =	3,418	1,560	1,858	525	1,355	914	607	366	1,040	1,077	858
Compared with others around locality, feels:											
better off	20.3	22	19	26	22	18	14	35	24	17	14
about the same	58.1	58	58	55	59	58	59	49	54	64	61
worse off	14.7	13	16	12	12	18	19	8	13	14	20
No. =	3,425	1,563	1,862	525	1,353	915	614	369	1,039	1,077	859
Compared with average in country, feels:											
better off	19.9	22	18	20	25	18	10	51	25	12	10
about the same	52.1	51	53	60	52	54	44	32	52	61	51
worse off	20.5	20	21	13	16	21	35	10	15	20	30
No. =	3,420	1,559	1,861	523	1,349	916	614	367	1,038	1,076	855

OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE DEPRIVATION 421

Own situation felt to be:											
better than ever	34.3	37	32	53	41	32	7	42	38	35	27
worse off than ever	18.5	17	19	8	14	22	32	20	16	19	20
known better and worse times	14.5	14	14	12	13	15	19	8	13	15	18
about the same as ever	31.3	30	33	25	30	31	40	28	30	30	34
No. =	3,430	1,566	1,864	525	1,355	918	614	368	1,043	1,079	860
<i>Chief wage-earner or head of household over 35</i>											
As well off as 10 years ago:											
No	41.1	42	38	-	46	40	36	47	42	42	36
Yes	56.8	56	59	-	51	58	62	51	57	55	60
No. =	1,564	1,145	419	-	575	535	438	155	471	475	413
<i>Chief wage-earner or head of household of any age</i>											
Finds it specially difficult to manage on income:											
Yes	29.8	28	36	24	27	30	38	17	25	29	41
No	69.5	72	62	76	72	69	62	82	74	70	58
No. =	2,027	1,553	474	255	761	556	370	209	616	633	515
Feels poor now:											
all the time	7.9	6	13	7	5	9	12	3	6	8	13
sometimes	17.6	17	21	16	17	15	24	4	14	19	28
never	73.4	76	63	77	77	76	62	93	80	72	58
No. =	2,006	1,547	459	252	745	556	439	205	611	631	504

NOTE: Those giving 'don't know' as answers are excluded from the table, and totals therefore of percentages do not quite add to 100.

saying they found it difficult to manage on their incomes also said they never felt poor, and although 91 per cent of those who said they felt poor all the time also said it was difficult to manage on their incomes, 9 per cent said they did not. Much of this would be explained by the different conceptions held by people about what it means 'to manage' and 'to be poor'.

We sought to examine people saying they felt deprived in several different respects. Table 11.4 shows that more women than men among chief wage-earners or

Table 11.4. *Percentage of men and women feeling deprived in none or one or more of five respects.*

<i>Number of types of subjective deprivation acknowledged</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
None	47	31
1	24	22
2	14	16
3	9	17
4	4	10
5	2	5
Total	100	100
Number	1,556	472

NOTE: The five items were feeling that income was worse compared with (a) relatives; (b) people of their age in the locality; (c) the national average and (d) previously in their lives, and (e) finding it difficult to manage on their incomes.

heads of households felt deprived in one or more respects, feeling worse off than their families, neighbours, the national average or than previously in their lives, or finding it difficult to manage on their incomes.

The numbers of chief wage-earners or heads of households feeling deprived in one or more respects were widely distributed by type of household. More people aged 60 and over who lived alone, and more heads of households with four or more children, and fewer heads of households with two or three children, than other types of household felt deprived in at least three respects.

The Interrelationship between Objective and Subjective Deprivation

The relationship between objective and subjective deprivation was marked. This can be shown first without direct reference to income and other resources. For example, the larger the number of types of deprivation from which people suffered the more numerous were the types of subjective deprivation acknowledged (Table 11.5). The progression is marked, and consistent. Among those scoring 0 or 1 on the

Table 11.5. Percentages of chief wage-earners or housewives with different degrees of objective deprivation who felt deprived in none or one or more of five respects.

	<i>Deprivation index (maximum score 10)</i>				
<i>How many of five types of subjective deprivation acknowledged</i>	<i>0-1</i>	<i>2-3</i>	<i>4-5</i>	<i>6-7</i>	<i>8 or more</i>
None	58	52	36	26	18
1-2	32	36	44	36	31
3-5	10	12	19	38	51
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number	305	717	628	305	72

NOTE: For components of objective and subjective deprivation, see Tables 6.3 (page 250) and 11.4.

deprivation index, nearly 58 per cent of chief wage-earners or heads of households replied in the negative to each of five questions about whether they were worse off than their relatives, their neighbours, the national average or their previous circumstances, and felt poor sometimes or always. Among those scoring 8 or more on the deprivation index, over half answered positively to at least three of the five questions.

The same trend applies to other grouped data about deprivation, for example, the lack of different durables or fitments in the household (Table A.28, Appendix Eight, page 1014) and to most of the individual items listed in Table 11.1.

Subjective Deprivation and Income

The broad correspondence between objective and subjective deprivation can be explained only by demonstrating the link between objective deprivation and income or other resources and going on to explore ways in which the latter help to shape attitudes. This link can be shown first in relation to individual items. Thus two thirds of chief wage-earners or heads of households who said they always felt poor, and a half of those who sometimes felt poor, compared with a fifth of those never feeling poor, had net disposable incomes which were below or on the margins of the state's standard of poverty (Table 11.6). Indeed, nearly 90 per cent of those always feeling poor and 80 per cent of those feeling poor sometimes, had household incomes below the mean of their type (Table A.29, Appendix Eight, page 1015). Again, over half those saying they had difficulty managing on their incomes, compared with a fifth of those not feeling any difficulty, lived at this same low standard (Table A.30, Appendix Eight, page 1015).

Table 11.6. Percentages of chief wage-earners or heads of households saying they felt poor always, sometimes and never whose household incomes last year were below and above the state's standard of poverty.

<i>Net disposable household income as % of supplementary benefit scales plus housing cost</i>	<i>Always poor</i>		<i>Sometimes</i>		<i>Never</i>	
Under 100	19	(19)	11	(9)	6	(4)
100-39	46	(40)	42	(39)	16	(15)
140+	35	(40)	46	(52)	78	(81)
Total	100	(100)	100	(100)	100	(100)
Number	153	(417)	328	(967)	1,343	(3,725)

NOTE: Percentages in brackets apply to all persons in such households.

The majority of people, then, reflected in their attitudes to their living standards the resources which they in fact had at their command. This can be illustrated in considering answers to the question how well off they felt in relation to the average in the country. Table 11.7 shows that nearly half those with less than 50 per cent of

Table 11.7. Percentages of chief wage-earners and housewives with low and high net income worth who said they were better off or worse off than or the same as the average in the country.

<i>Net income worth last year as % of the mean of household type</i>						
<i>Compared with the average in the country</i>	<i>Under 50</i>	<i>50-89</i>	<i>90-109</i>	<i>110-99</i>	<i>200+</i>	<i>Total</i>
Better off	7	11	18	40	48	20
The same	42	59	63	43	30	53
Worse off	47	23	13	11	11	21
Don't know	4	7	6	6	11	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	342	1,126	425	546	142	3,423

the mean net income worth last year of households of their type felt worse off, and only 7 per cent better off. These figures were almost reversed among people with net income worth above the national mean.

Personal Denials of Poverty

The whole direction of our analysis so far has been to call attention to the strong relationship not just between objective deprivation and resources but with subjective deprivation as well. The myth of the contented poor is not borne out by the data. Some saying they were deprived, however, had relatively high incomes. When attention is concentrated only on a single expression of deprivation, this point can be illustrated quite dramatically. Thus, about half the chief wage-earners or heads of households with incomes below the state's poverty standard, or on the margins of that standard, said they never felt poor. Moreover, 3 per cent with incomes more than twice the standard none the less said they always felt poor, and another 9 per cent felt poor sometimes. Or again, 56 per cent of those below the standard said they did not have difficulty in managing on their incomes, and 17 per cent of those with incomes of more than twice the standard none the less said they *did* have difficulty in managing. The point can also be made in relation to Table 11.7. A small proportion of those with net income worth of less than half the mean of their household type felt worse off than, and over two fifths the same as, the national average.

These inconsistencies must not be exaggerated. In some measure they can be shown to be functions of the definition of income and of the income unit, the stability or regularity of income, and restricted study of a single question on subjective attitudes instead of a cluster of related questions, as well as the well-known problems of obtaining reliable information about on-going attitudes and income in surveys at a single point in time. This is not to deny the fact that some people feel they can manage and others feel they cannot on the same low incomes, or that some feel poor on incomes which are relatively high. But before resorting to theoretical supposition about groups in the population who seem to live at one standard and yet reflect another in their attitudes, close attention needs to be directed to the conventions and problems of measurement. And more evidence of a preliminary nature giving grounds for the existence of special social factors or pressures in such cases needs to be presented.

I pointed out above that some of the people with the lowest incomes who said they never felt poor none the less said they felt deprived in some other respect related to income. If the measure of net disposable income in the previous year is restricted to the income unit, the percentage of those with incomes below or on the margins of the state's standard who said they never felt poor was 53 per cent. If, however, four other criteria of subjective deprivation are considered in combination, the percentage falls to 35, and if six are considered, the percentage falls to 21, as in Table 11.8. Our evidence therefore illustrates the care with which subjective perceptions of financial status have to be treated. Single indicators of subjective states may be hit and miss (that is, they may not evoke reliable representations of general states); in the way they are worded, indicators may not be interpreted uniformly throughout

Table 11.8. Percentages denying any form of deprivation.

<i>Numbers of forms of subjective deprivation</i>	<i>Incomes less than, or on the margins of, the state's poverty standard</i>	<i>Incomes of 140 % or more of the state's poverty standard</i>
One (whether feels poor)	51	84
Four ^a	35	61
Six ^b	21	51

NOTES: ^aThe first four items in Table 11.3.

^bAdding the sixth and seventh items in Table 11.3.

the population; informants may not use the same reference groups in responding to 'indicator' questions; and, finally, representations of subjective states may need to depend on *degree* as well as number of types of subjective deprivation.

Indicators or measures of resources are equally subtle. Measures adopted in this survey do not cover all the types of resource available to some families in their specific situations. Incomes fluctuate from week to week or month to month. Households lose and gain sources of income and people have different perceptions of time in relation to income.

Despite all these reservations, there remains a genuine problem - even if more limited in scope than hitherto believed by many social scientists - of people with extremely low resources who deny feelings of deprivation. How can this be explained? We will consider those below the state's standard of poverty who said they never felt poor.

We found that they had three distinguishing features:

First, *stability of personal circumstances*. By comparison with others living at the same low standard and saying they felt poor sometimes or always, they had experienced fewer personal changes. More of them had lived at the same address for fifteen years or more. More were of the same social class as their fathers. More said they were as well off as ten years earlier. To these might be added a point about stability in health. When allowing for age, fewer had any degree of incapacity.

Secondly, *frequent social contacts*. More gave hospitality to relatives and friends, went on a summer holiday and had evenings out. To a large extent, this also explains the disproportionately large number of men who were not yet retired among them. So, paradoxically, although they seem to have had more opportunity to become aware through social interaction of their own low standards of living, such interaction seemed to have dispelled some of their own sense of deprivation.

Thirdly, *other feelings of deprivation*. They were not lacking in any sense of deprivation. Over two thirds of the people with incomes below the state's poverty standard, and who denied they ever felt poor, none the less admitted that they were worse off than relatives or neighbours or worse off than they had been in the past.

By comparison with people with higher incomes, more of them said it was difficult to manage on their incomes, or felt worse off by comparison with relatives or neighbours.

Subjective Perceptions of Poverty in Society

Did subjective deprivation correspond with perception of the extent and causes of poverty? One might suppose that more of those who felt poor would have recognized the existence of poverty in society, and that many more of them would have adopted sympathetic attitudes towards the problem. On the whole, our evidence contravenes such supposition. Table 11.9 shows there were similar

Table 11.9. *Percentages of chief wage-earners or heads of households feeling poor always, sometimes and never who believed there was real poverty today.*

<i>Real poverty today</i>	<i>Always poor</i>	<i>Sometimes poor</i>	<i>Never poor</i>
No	38	36	35
Yes	61	59	63
Don't know	1	4	3
Total	100	100	100
Number	157	351	1,459

proportions among those feeling and not feeling poor who failed to recognize the existence of poverty today. The specific question was: 'There's been a lot of talk about poverty. Do you think there's such a thing as real poverty these days?' When we came to examine those who were objectively poor, by the criterion of net disposable income, we found that slightly fewer recognized the existence of poverty, compared with those who were not poor.

Broadly similar findings applied to their attitudes towards the poor. We had asked chief wage-earners or heads of households to describe poverty, and we also asked what they thought could be done about the problem. We attempted to code the different answers they gave in terms of attitude. We identified the following:

1. *Punishing attitudes to poverty*, for example, blaming it on large families, irresponsible unemployed and people 'who live on the Welfare State' (30 per cent).
2. *Punishing attitudes involving immigrants only* (4 per cent).
3. *Expansive or sympathetic attitudes towards all the poor or to different sections* (31 per cent).
4. *Expansive or sympathetic attitudes towards retirement pensioners only* (23 per cent).

5. *Pessimistic or fatalistic attitudes towards eliminating poverty*: 'there will always be those who won't work', 'people who can't fend for themselves', 'the poor will always be with us', 'there are always going to be people who are hopeless at managing. Nothing can be done' (8 per cent).
6. *Optimistic attitudes*: the government was doing something about it; the problem was diminishing and prosperity becoming widespread (13 per cent).
7. *Other attitudes*: teaching people to manage their incomes better, educating people to work harder, helping poorer countries, stop helping poorer countries (1 per cent).

This must be recognized to be only a rough method of categorizing opinion. Some items in the list tend to merge conceptually with others, and there were, of course, statements betraying different kinds of attitude and sometimes inconsistent attitudes. About 11 per cent of statements contained at least two of the above list and were counted twice.

There was not much variation between these expressions of attitude towards poverty and personal admissions or denial of poverty. There was a tendency for people who considered themselves to be poor to be more expansive towards poverty and the poor in general, as well as to retirement pensioners in particular, but it was not marked. There was an equivalent tendency for people who considered themselves to be poor to be less punishing towards those in poverty, and also to be less optimistic about the possibility of eliminating the problem. When we turned to compare these attitudes with the objective criterion of net disposable incomes, there was, again, surprisingly little variation. Fewer of those with incomes below than above the state poverty line thought that poverty existed (54 per cent compared with 62 per cent), and among those who did believe that it existed, slightly more (about a third) took punishing attitudes towards the poor, and slightly less (about a quarter) took an expansive attitude towards the poor in general, though more of them continued to take an expansive attitude towards retirement pensioners. However, these figures have to be treated with caution, not only because of the difficulties of categorizing the descriptive answers that were given to the questions, but also because of the fact that a third of respondents denied there was any poverty and therefore did not express any attitudes towards the phenomenon. What has to be remembered is that many people conceived of poverty as applying to conditions experienced only in their youth or by their parents or grandparents.

A further set of data, however, is not subject to quite so many uncertainties. Chief wage-earners or heads of households were asked to say whose fault it was if there were any people in poverty: the government, education, industry in not providing the right jobs, the people themselves who were in poverty, anything else, or a combination of these. The results are given in Table 11.10. The distribution of attitudes among those who felt poor all the time was rather different from those never feeling poor, but still not markedly different. Thirty per cent, compared with

Table 11.10. *Percentages of chief wage-earners or heads of households feeling poor always, sometimes and never who blamed different factors for poverty.*

<i>Fault for poverty</i>	<i>Always poor</i>	<i>Sometimes poor</i>	<i>Never poor</i>
People themselves	30	38	44
Government	22	14	9
Education	4	5	6
Industry	3	3	2
Combinations of above	33	36	32
Other	7	5	6
Nothing	1	-	1
Total	100	100	100
Number	146	340	1,412

44 per cent, blamed people who were themselves poor, and 22 per cent, compared with 9 per cent, blamed the government. Among all sections of the population there was a tendency to adopt individualistic rather than institutional explanations of poverty. Among those sections of the population who said they never felt poor, the blame for poverty was more frequently laid at the door of individuals than it was among those feeling poor sometimes or always. Conversely, there was less inclination among the former to blame the government.

These findings must be interpreted with caution. The survey method is not the best to elucidate attitudes which are subtle and which tend to vary with situational context. Indeed, at the design stage of the survey this assumption was consciously adopted, and though efforts were made to introduce meaningful attitude questions at appropriate points in the interviews, priority was given throughout to objective measures of resources and behaviour. Little previous work had been done to elucidate the problem and the data afford some basis for further work.

How might the pattern of findings which have been described be interpreted? We have found a marked objective basis, in terms of both measures of material or social deprivation and relative scale of incomes or other resources, for expressions of subjective deprivation. But these perceptions of personal circumstances appear to be largely sealed off from more general or abstract perceptions of society. Some of the poor have come to conclude that poverty does not exist. Many of those who recognize that it exists have come to conclude that it is individually caused, attributed to a mixture of ill-luck, indolence and mismanagement, and is not a collective condition determined principally by institutionalized forces, particularly government and industry. In this they share the perceptions of the better-off. Divided, they blame individual behaviour and motivation and unwittingly lend support to the existing institutional order. Perhaps the two straws of hope in our

analysis are that there are significant proportions among them who are prepared to look to the government for the blame for poverty and who are prepared to adopt expansive attitudes to their fellows.

Objective Deprivation and Lack of Income

The direction of this analysis leads unavoidably back to the substantial and all-important relationship that can be established between measures of objective deprivation and low income. It can be seen for both individual and grouped items. Thus, 42 per cent of housewives who said they often bought second-hand clothing were in households with incomes below the state's standard of poverty, compared with 26 per cent of those never buying such clothing. Forty-four per cent of those not obtaining a new winter coat in the previous three years were in the same situation, compared with 21 per cent.

The relationship tends to be stronger when different items are grouped. Thus there was a high correlation between net income worth (and total resources) and the number of selected durables and fitments in the home (Table A.31, Appendix Eight, page 1016). The correlation remains marked when different social customs and activities are brought into the picture. Table 11.11 gives emphatic endorsement to

Table 11.11. *Percentages of people with low and high net income worth who were deprived in none or one or more of ten respects.*

Deprivation index	Net income worth last year as % of the mean of household type				
	Under 50	50-89	100-109	110-199	200+
0	0	2	4	6	15
1-2	9	25	39	51	50
3-4	23	40	41	33	22
5-6	37	24	16	7	8
7+	31	9	1	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number	480	1,866	706	841	225

NOTE: For list of ten items, see Table 6.3.

the effects of lack of resources, not only in restricting the number of everyday possessions in the home, but on diet, hospitality in the home, summer holidays, afternoons and evenings out and other social activities. Among people whose resources were less than half the mean for their household type, 68 per cent were deprived in five or more of ten respects, compared with only 12 per cent of those with more than twice the mean. Only 9 per cent were deprived in fewer than three respects. Under personal perceptions of deprivation, therefore, rest a whole range of

objective manifestations of deprivation, and under them rest sheer lack of money resources and wealth.

Summary

This chapter sets out to trace the connections between objective and subjective forms of deprivation. It starts by identifying different kinds of deprivation and shows that a substantial proportion in the population, including relatively more children and old people, especially the latter, experience several kinds.

A substantial proportion also feel poor in different senses. For example, 8 per cent of chief wage-earners and heads of households, representing 4½ million, said they felt poor all the time, and 41 per cent of those aged 35 and over said they were not as well off as they had been ten years previously.

Objective and subjective forms of deprivation were found to be strongly correlated. The attitudes of the great majority of the sample towards their own living standards reflected the resources which they in fact had at their command. The myth of the contented poor is not borne out by the data. Although half of those living in poverty said, in answer to one question, that they never felt poor, most of them none the less recognized in other ways that they were worse off than people with high or middle incomes, or than they had been themselves in previous life. The poor who expressed least deprivation tended to be people whose personal circumstances had remained stable and who had more frequent, possibly compensatory, social contacts.

The marked tendency of the poor to admit to feelings of poverty and other forms of subjective deprivation did not, on the whole, extend to their perceptions of poverty in society at large. Compared with the rest of the population, slightly fewer believed there was any poverty. Among those who did believe in its existence, slightly more took punishing attitudes towards the poor in general, though not towards retirement pensioners. And though more of them attributed poverty to the fault of the government and fewer to the fault of people who were themselves poor, they tended to believe that it was individually caused through a mixture of ill-luck, indolence and mismanagement, rather than being a collective condition induced by institutional forces such as government and industry.

The whole direction of the analysis, however, has been to show the powerful relationship between objective manifestations of deprivation, and sheer lack of money resources and wealth, which underlies perceptions of personal deprivation.