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Relative Deprivation and Social Justice

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The Institute of Community Studies

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RELATIVE
DEPRIVATION
AND
SOCIAL JUSTICE

*A Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality
in Twentieth-Century England*



by
W. G. Runciman



LONDON
ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL

Appendix 1

	Sample %	Registrar General %
Urban	82	80
Rural	18	20
Total	100%	100%

Comparison with the Registrar General's figures for age, however, shows a less good fit. This is principally because the Electoral Registers used were at a late stage of their life at the time when the sample was drawn, with the result that voters in their 20's are necessarily under-represented. The figures are:

	Sample %	Registrar General %
21-29	10	17
30-39	18	20
40-49	21	19
50-59	23	19
60+	28	25
Total	100%	100%

Out of the 2,000 voters whose names had been drawn, a total of 247 (12.3%) were either dead, permanently moved, not known or traceable at the given address, or the property was found to be empty or demolished. The effective sample was thus reduced to 1,753. Of these, 169 refused to be interviewed, 71 were not found at home despite successive recalls, 44 could not be interviewed on account of illness, 40 were away temporarily, and 14 could not be interviewed for miscellaneous other reasons. Out of the effective sample, therefore, a total of 338 voters (19.4%) could not be interviewed. In other words, the success of the sample, measured in terms of the productive calls as a percentage of the effective sample, is 80.6%. This figure may be compared with the result obtained by the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, who carry out a three-monthly readership survey based on a national random sample. Their figure for a total of four samples drawn between July 1960 and July 1961 is 77.2% of an effective sample of 16,464 voters.

APPENDIX 2

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

NOTE: Question 4 was included at the request of Dr. Michael Young for a purpose not connected with the present study.

		Codes																								
ALL INFORMANTS																										
Q. 1(a)	First of all, could you tell me how long you have lived in this district?	Up to 1 year 1 Up to 5 years 2 Up to 17 years (1945) 3 No move since war 4																								
INFORMANTS WHO HAVE MOVED SINCE WAR (Codes 1, 2 or 3)																										
Q. 1(b)	Could you tell me where you moved here from? (Add if necessary—Was that urban or rural?)	Urban-rural 6 Rural-urban 7 No change 8 From abroad 9																								
ALL INFORMANTS																										
Now could I ask you one or two details about your family?																										
Q. 2(a)	Are you married?	Married 1 Single 2 Widowed 3 Divorced or separated 4																								
IF CODES 1, 3 or 4																										
Q. 2(b)	How many children do you have? Did you have any children who died? (Code total number including those who died)																									
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>No. of children</td> <td>None</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>6</td> <td>7</td> <td>8</td> <td>9</td> <td>10+</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Code</td> <td>Y</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>6</td> <td>7</td> <td>8</td> <td>9</td> <td>X</td> </tr> </table>	No. of children	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+	Code	Y	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	
No. of children	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+															
Code	Y	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X															
ASK ABOUT ALL LIVING CHILDREN																										
Q. 3(a)	How many children do you have under the age of 15 years?																									
IF CHILDREN UNDER AGE 15																										
Q. 3(b)	At what age do you expect them to leave school?	Did not attend 5 At minimum age 1 Above minimum age 2 Some of each 3 D.K. 4																								
Q. 3(c)	How many children do you have over the age of 15?																									

Appendix 2

			Codes
IF CHILDREN 15 AND OVER			
Q. 3(d)	Did they leave as soon as they could or did they stay on at school longer than they needed?	Left as soon as could Stayed on Some of each D.K. Did not attend	7 8 9 0 X
ASK ABOUT ALL LIVING CHILDREN			
Q. 3(e)	Do or did any of them attend (or do you expect any of them to attend) a fee-paying school?	Yes No Depends D.K.	1 2 3 4
Q. 3(f)	Do or did any of them have (or do you expect any of them to have) any education beyond school?	Yes No Depends D.K.	5 6 7 8
IF YES (Code 5 at Q. 3(f))			
Q. 3(g)	What kind of further education?	University Technical College Evening classes Other D.K.	1 2 3 X Y
Q. 4 ALL INFORMANTS WITH CHILDREN (INC. ADULT CHILDREN)			
	Where was your mother (or if man, your wife's mother) living when your first child was born?	Less than 1 mile away 1 mile but less than 5 miles 5 miles but less than 20 miles Further away	1 2 3 X
	HAND CARD A Which one of these would you say? N.B. This question refers to the mother's permanent home at the time.	Dead at time of birth D.K.	0 Y
ALL INFORMANTS			
Q. 5(a)	What is the job of the head of your household?	AB C1 C2 DE	1 2 3 4
	Occupation.....		
	Industry		
N.B. See manual: follow usual social grade rules.			

Appendix 2

			Codes
ASK ALL INFORMANTS			
Q. 6(a)	How many members of your household are there? (Record in space provided)	No. Adults 16+ No. Children 5-15 No. infants 0-4 Total	
Q. 6(b)	How many people, including yourself, are in paid employment, either full or part time? If informant works ring code X as well as total number working	One Two Three Four Five Six Seven plus	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
IF INFORMANT IS HOUSEWIFE ASK			
Q. 6(c)	Do you work? Is that full-time or part-time employment?	H/W full-time H/W part-time H/W does not work	8 9 0
ASK ANY OTHER INFORMANT			
Q. 6(d)	Does the housewife in your family work? Is that full-time or part-time employment?		
ALL INFORMANTS			
Q. 7	What was your first job? N.B. For married women ask about first job before marriage.	AB C1 C2 DE Never worked before marriage	1 2 3 4 5
	Occup.....		
	Indus.		
ASK ALL INFORMANTS			
Q. 8	Would you say that, generally speaking, you and your family were financially better off, worse off, or about the same as a year ago?	Better Worse Same D.K.	1 2 3 4

Appendix 2

		Codes
Q. 9(a) Do you think there are any other sorts of people doing noticeably better at the moment than you and your family?	Yes No D.K.	1 2 3
IF YES TO 9(a)(Code 1) ASK Qs. 9(b)(c):		
Q. 9(b) What sort of people do you think are doing noticeably better?		
RECORD ANSWER IN FULL		
.....		
.....		
IF YES TO 9(a)		
Q. 9(c) What do you feel about this, I mean, do you approve or disapprove of this?	Approve Disapprove Indifferent D.K.	9 0 X Y
ALL INFORMANTS		
Q. 10(a) Some people say that manual workers are doing much better nowadays than white-collar workers. Do you think this is so or not? Other specify:	Yes Qualified Yes No Qualified No Other D.K.	1 2 3 4 X Y
.....		
Q. 10(b) Do you think that manual workers ought to do as well as they are doing compared with white-collar workers?	Yes No D.K.	8 9 0
ASK ONLY OF NON-IRISH AND NON-WEST INDIAN INFORMANTS		
Q. 11(a) What about foreign immigrants to this country such as the Irish or West Indians—some people think they are doing too well at the expense of British people. Do you think this is so or not?	Yes No D.K.	1 2 3
IF YES AT Q. 11(a) (CODE 1 at Q. 11(a))		
Q. 11(b) Has this affected you personally in any way?	Not asked Yes No	4 5 6
IF YES (Code 4 at Q. 11(b))		

Appendix 2

		Codes		
Q. 11(c) In what way would you say it has affected you? Other specify:	Housing Other way	7 X		
.....				
ALL INFORMANTS				
Q. 12(a) Does your household have a T.V., telephone, car, fridge, washing machine, record player, central heating?				
FOR THOSE ITEMS NOT ALREADY OWNED				
Q. 12(b) Would you like one? ASK (c) and (d) FOR THOSE ITEMS WANTED AT (b) (i.e. code 1)				
Q. 12(c) Do you expect to get one in the next 2 or 3 years?				
Q. 12(d) Do you think other people are managing to afford.....?				
Items	(a) Have Yes No D.K.	(b) Like Yes No D.K.	(c) Expect Yes No D.K.	(d) Other people Yes No D.K.
T.V.	1 2 3	1 2 3	4 5 6	7 8 9
Telephone	4 5 6	1 2 3	4 5 6	7 8 9
Car	7 8 9	1 2 3	4 5 6	7 8 9
Fridge	0 X Y	1 2 3	4 5 6	7 8 9
Washing machine	1 2 3	1 2 3	4 5 6	7 8 9
Record player	4 5 6	1 2 3	4 5 6	7 8 9
Central heating	7 8 9	1 2 3	4 5 6	7 8 9
IF ANY YES's AT (d) (i.e. Code 7's)				
Q. 12(e) What sort of people are you thinking of? Record in full ONE ANSWER ONLY			
.....				
ALL INFORMANTS				
Q. 12(f) Is there anything I haven't mentioned which you or your household particularly need?	Yes No D.K.			
Specify:			
.....				
.....				

Appendix 2

ALL INFORMANTS: HAND CARD D

Q. 13(a) Could you tell me which of the things on this card you already have?
(Ring one Code in grid below)

FOR ITEMS NOT OWNED

Q. 13(b) Would you like to have a?
For items not owned but wanted, 'No' at 2(a) and 'Yes' at 2(b)

Q. 13(c) Do you think other people are managing to afford a?

Items	(a) Already have			(b) Would like			(c) Other people		
	Yes	No	D.K.	Yes	No	D.K.	Yes	No	D.K.
(i) A house you own	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6
(ii) A fur coat for your wife	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y
(iii) Foreign holiday travel	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6
(iv) Spare bedroom for visitors	0	X	Y	7	8	9	0	X	Y
(v) 1st class travel on trains	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6
(vi) Private education for children	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y

N.B. "A house of your own" includes house being bought on mortgage.
IF ANY 'YES's' at (c)

Q. 13(d) What sort of people are you thinking of?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

Specify:

Appendix 2

Q. 14(a) Would you like to move out of your present district? Yes 1
No 2
D.K. 3

IF 'YES' (Code 1 at 14(a))

Q. 14(b) Is this anything to do with the sort of Yes, district 4
district (you think) it is? Yes, anything to do with work 5
Other reason (specify) Yes, want another house 6
Other X
D.K. Y

IF INFORMANT IS MARRIED WOMAN ASK:

Q. 15(a) Would you say you were satisfied with your husband's Yes 1
present position as far as income is concerned? No 2
D.K. 3

IF 'NO' (Code 2 at 15(a))

Q. 15(b) Is that more because the job he is doing is Worth more pay 4
worth more pay, because you need more Need more money 5
money or for some other Husband retired, pensions only 6
reason? Worth more pay and need more money 7
Code other reasons in full: Other X
D.K. Y

OTHER INFORMANTS

Q. 15(c) Would you say you were satisfied with your present Yes 1
position as far as income is concerned? No 2
D.K. 3

IF 'NO' (Code 2 at 15(c))

Q. 15(d) Is that more because the job you are doing Worth more pay 4
is worth more pay, because you need Need more money 5
more money, or for some other Retired, pensions only 6
reason? Worth more pay and need more money 7
Code other reason: Other X
D.K. Y

Appendix 2

		Codes	
FOR ALL MARRIED HOUSEWIVES ASK			
Q. 16(a) Would you say you were satisfied with your husband's present position as far as prospects for getting ahead are concerned?	Yes	1	
	No	2	
	D.K.	3	
ALL OTHER WORKING INFORMANTS (i.e. Code X at Q. 6(b))			
Q. 16(b) Would you say you were satisfied with your present position as far as prospects of getting ahead are concerned?	Yes	4	
	No	5	
	D.K.	6	
ASK ALL OTHER UNEMPLOYED OR RETIRED INFORMANTS			
Q. 16(c) Would you say you were satisfied with your previous position as far as prospects for getting ahead were concerned?	Yes	1	
	No	2	
	D.K.	3	
Q. 16(d) Would you prefer (have preferred) to be in a job where you did have a chance of getting ahead?	Yes	4	
	No	5	
	No better chance	6	
	D.K.	Y	
ALL INFORMANTS			
Q. 17(a) What income do you think is necessary for you (your husband) in order to maintain a proper standard of living for people like yourself?	<i>Yearly</i> Under £350	<i>Weekly</i> Under £7.10s.	1
	£351 to £500	Over £7.10s. to £10	2
	£501 " £650	" £10. " £12.10s.	3
	£651 " £800	" £12.10s. " £15.	4
	£801 " £1,000	" £15. " £20.	5
	£1,001 " £1,500	" £20. " £25.	6
	£1,501 " £2,000	" £25. " £30.	7
	£2,001 " £3,000	" £30. " £50.	8
	£3,001 " £4,000	" £50.	9
	£4,001 " £6,000		0
	Over £6,000		X
			Y
	D.K.		
Q. 17(b) What sort of people are you thinking of when we talk about 'people like yourself'?			
.....			
.....			
.....			

Appendix 2

		Codes
Q. 18(a) If a son of yours was actually choosing a job at the moment, would you rather he chose a manual or a non-manual job? (Probe: Assuming there was nothing special he wanted to do.)	Manual	1
	Non-manual	2
	D.K., up to him, etc.	3
Q. 18(b) If he had the choice of a foreman's job at £20 a week or a schoolteacher's job at £15, which would you prefer him to choose?	Foreman	4
	Schoolmaster	5
	D.K., up to him, etc.	6
Q. 19(a) Would you like any son of yours to have a university education? (Probe: Assuming you had a son about to leave school now.)	Yes	7
	No	8
	D.K., depends, etc.	9
Q. 19(b) Suppose you had a son who was able to pass the exams, would you expect him to be able to go to Oxford University?	Yes	0
	No	X
	D.K.	Y
Q. 20(a) What social class would you say you belonged to?	Upper/Upper Middle	1
	Middle	2
	Lower Middle	3
	Working	4
	Other, D.K., none, etc.	5
DO NOT READ OUT LIST		
IF CODE 5 AT Q. 20(a)		
Q. 20(b) If you had to say middle or working class, which would you say?	Middle-Class	6
	Working-Class	7
	D.K.	Y
ALL INFORMANTS		
Q. 20(c) What sort of people do you mean when you talk about middle/working class (informant's class at (a) or (b))		
RECORD IN FULL		
.....		
.....		
.....		
Q. 20(d) What sort of people do you mean when you talk about middle/working class (class not coded at (a) or (b)).		
RECORD IN FULL		
.....		
.....		
.....		

Appendix 2

		Codes	
Q. 21(a) Could you tell me what your father's occupation was?	AB	1	
	C1	2	
Occupation.....	C2	3	
	DE	4	
Industry	Not known	5	
Q. 21(b) What social class would you say he belonged to?	Middle, upper or lower	6	
	Working class	7	
	Other, specify	X	
	D.K.	Y	
Now could I ask you a few questions about politics?			
		22(a)	22(c)
Q. 22(a) If there was a General Election tomorrow, which party would you support?	Conservative	1	6
	Liberal	2	7
Q. 22(b) Have you always supported..... (party coded at (a)) since 1950?	Labour	3	8
	Other	4	9
	Refuse	Y	
	D.K., none	5	0
IF CHANGED (Code Y at (b))			
Q. 22(c) Which party did you support previously? (Code in column (c) above)	Always	X	
	Changed	Y	
IF NO CHANGE (Code X at (b))			
Q. 22(d) Could you tell me the main reason why you have always supported/support party? RECORD BELOW			
IF CHANGED (Code Y at (b))			
Q. 22(e) Could you tell me the main reason why you changed? RECORD BELOW			
SEE MANUAL	Job, class, status	1	
	Habit, family, friends, neighbours vote that way	2	
	Party's image—as competent to govern	3	
	Party's other virtues, policies (any)	4	
	Informants' needs, welfare benefits, tax remissions	5	
DO NOT READ OUT LIST	The candidate	6	
	Would be Liberal but none standing	7	
	Negative attitudes to other parties	8	
	D.K., non-voter, no answer	Y	
	Other reasons, specify below	X	
Double codes are possible			
.....			
.....			
.....			

Appendix 2

		Codes	
Q. 23(a) Do you think most people like yourself vote the same way as you, or do you think they vote differently?	Same	1	
	Differently	2	
	D.K.	3	
Q. 23(b) What sort of people are you thinking of? Probe: How would you describe them?			
.....			
.....			
IF SUPPORTER OF LABOUR PARTY ASK 24(a) FIRST, OF CONSERVATIVE PARTY 24(b) FIRST AND OF LIBERAL PARTY 24(c) FIRST. THEN ASK OTHER TWO PARTS.			
Q. 24(a) In general, what sort of people do you think vote for the Labour party?	Class, job, income, workers, etc. Supporters of ideology or policy Low status, uneducated, ignorant people Age group, incl. pensioners Region, district	1 2 3 4 5	
	Other answers (specify)	X	
		
	D.K.	Y	
Q. 24(b) In general, what sort of people do you think vote for the Conservative party?	Class, job, income, the rich, etc. Supporters of ideologies or policies High status, education, style of life, right minded, sensible, etc. Age group, incl. pensioners Region, district "Getting ahead" new, prosperous wkg. class	1 2 3 4 5 6	
	Other answers (specify).....	X	
		
	D.K.	Y	
Q. 24(c) In general, what sort of people do you think vote for the Liberal party?	Class, job, income Supporters of ideologies or policies Age group, incl. pensioners Region or district New white collar, prosperous wkg. class People fed up with both other parties People between two other parties	1 2 4 5 6 7 8	
	Other answers (specify)	X	
.....			
.....			
.....			
	D.K.	Y	

Appendix 2

ALL INFORMANTS				Codes	
Q. 25(a)	Do you think the present government is doing enough for people like yourself?	Yes No D.K.	1 2 3		
IF 'NO' (Code 2 at 25(a))					
Q. 25(b)	What more do you think they ought to be doing for people like yourself?	Class or job category Personal needs, security, housing, etc.	4 5 X		
	Other (specify)				
		D.K.	Y		
Q. 26	Some people think the House of Lords ought to be abolished on the grounds that it is undemocratic. What do you think?	Yes No D.K., indifferent, qualified Yes or No	1 2 3		
Q. 27	Would you say that you were for or against the Welfare State? N.B. If necessary mention "National Health and so on"	For Against D.K., indifferent qualified Yes or No	5 6 7		
Q. 28(a)	Will you look at the items on this card. They are things which some people think the State should provide. Could you tell me if you think the State should provide them for everybody—with a Means Test, without a Means Test, or not at all?				
		With Means Test	Without Means Test	Not at all	D.K. indiff. etc.
(i)	Family allowances for the first child as well	1	2	3	4
(ii)	Subsidised rent on house or flat	5	6	7	8
(iii)	Free legal aid	1	2	3	4
(iv)	Unemployment pay at full rate as long as unemployed	5	6	7	8
(v)	Free university education for all who can pass exams.	9	0	X	Y

Appendix 2

		Codes
Q. 28(b)	Is there anything you think the State ought to be providing you or your family with but isn't at present? No/D.K.	0
	Yes (1)	
	(2)	
	(3)	
	(4)	
Q. 28(c)	Is there anything you think the State is providing you or your family with that you don't really need? No/D.K. Yes—Family allowance	0 1
	Yes (2)	
	(3)	
	(4)	
Finally, could you give me one or two more details about yourself?		
Q. 29(a)	What is your religion? Church of England Roman Catholic Low Church None Other (specify)	1 2 3 4 5
Q. 29(b)	When did you last go to church? Within a month Within last year Not for over a year Never attend Would attend but can't D.K.	7 8 9 0 X Y
		Yes belong
		Yes attend
Q. 30(a)	Do you belong to any T.U. club, or other association? (1)	
Q. 30(b)	Have you attended its meetings in the last six months? (2)	
	(3)	
	(4)	
	(5)	
	(6)	
	(Check ✓ in columns provided)	

