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POVERTY IN HUNGARY
Using the Concept of the Proportional Deprivation Index

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Abstract: The author summarizes the results of employing a new method, the proportional deprivation index (PDI). The novelty of the approach is the weighting of deficits in specific dimensions. The PDI takes two things into account: the lack of living condition components owing to scarcity of resources and the importance people attach to the lack of these items. According to the author's opinion the central components of this new concept may play a part in the empirical analysis of the problem of exclusion vs. integration. On the basis of the comparison of deprivation and income poverty and the analysis of these according to various socio-economic factors the author concludes that the investigations based on disparate concepts have led to very similar results. However, certain dissimilarities are also observable, thus the simultaneous application of the concepts may/will provide a more differentiated and nuanced understanding of poverty and disadvantage.

Keywords: poverty, proportional deprivation index, exclusion, integraton

Studying the literature on poverty research one will soon realize that this particular field lacks a universally accepted paradigm, measuring poverty has no yardstick all regard as valid. Though the majority of approaches can be fitted in one of the four types defined by such concepts as *absolute* or *relative, income poverty* or *deprivation,*[1] the most frequently employed concept in cross-national comparisons is that of *relative income poverty.* At the same time we must point out that we are continuously seeing new efforts in poverty research that result in hard-to-classify approaches. The present study endeavors to present such a new approach: we wish to introduce and interpret the concept of relative deprivation weighted by population standards (opinions). We shall also supply demonstrative data and perform partial comparisons with the most frequently used relative income concepts. This approach is in keeping with our previous notions and practices (Andorka and Spéder 1996) of employing a number of poverty concepts simultaneously to arrive at a more differentiated picture of poverty.

The method we are about to employ, that of the *proportional deprivation index* (PDI) was, as far as we know, first elaborated by Bradshaw and Halleröd (Bradshaw et al. 1998; Halleröd et al. 1997).[2] It takes its starting point from the area of

1 These approaches and the assumptions behind them are given a detailed treatment in Chapter 3 of my recently published work (Spéder 2002).

2 Research done by Andreß also points in this direction (Andreß und Lipsmeier 1995).

multidimensional social disadvantages and the Towsendian practice and concept of measuring the material status of individuals and families with the complex of living conditions. The novelty of our approach is weighting deficits in specific dimensions. We are taking the living condition indicators selected by earlier researches on the basis of theoretical considerations as well as on empirical evidence and assign them different weight – not according to statistical distributions[3] or analyst decisions but based on *people's opinions,* i.e. the minimum standards observable in their responses.[4] The questionnaire includes a question to the effect whether respondents regard a specific living condition component as a necessity for a 'decent' life. Thus we will have a good idea of what percentage of the people regard a specific component indispensable. The more people hold a given living condition indispensable, the more weight will be given to its lack of possession in the summary index.

The central components of this new concept – i.e. the measuring of minimum social standards and the identification of components deemed indispensable for a decent standard of living – may play a part in the empirical analysis of the problem of *exclusion vs. integration* which enjoys high currency these days (Room 1995; Kronauer 1998; Ferge 2000). Without going into a detailed presentation of it, we will mention only that as a result of a politically motivated and initiated shift of emphasis, poverty quite often gets 'renamed' as *exclusion.* The modification of the meaning of this concept (or the meaning of the modification of the concept) is not quite without reason. One approach regards as poor those people who command so little resources (income) that this defeats their capacity to participate in regular everyday life. Thus a low level of resources leads to exclusion from participation and social integration. Therefore we can call these resource-based exclusion approaches *structural* approaches. At the same time, we question the wisdom of having new (pairs of) concepts at this level of analysis, because for this purpose, poverty and (multiple) deprivation are perfectly well suited. The concept we employ here, the inclusion of *respondents' opinion* makes individual judgment and social norm formation parts of the process of defining poverty. That is to say, it goes beyond the structural social disadvantages in that it complements it with people's opinions and the norms inherent in these opinions. We hold this to be one of the determining characteristics of the concept of exclusion which attempts to go beyond the concept of poverty. Who are those people who not only command little resources but also lack the 'extras', i.e. the circumstances of life that the majority ('society') deems necessary for 'a decent life'.[5] The grounds for exclusionist or stigmatizing processes may be structural situations as well as prejudiced opinions, norms or life styles regarded as important by the majority or a dominant minority. Therefore we are of the opinion that the concept detailed below will assist us in the interpretation of exclusion.

In the first stage, our paper will analyze the 'social standards' of the living conditions under investigation. Next we will establish the proportional index of material status and define material deprivation on its basis. Subsequently, we shall

3 As, for instance, in the case of the "Z-scores".

4 On the basis of this, the concept must be grouped with the subjective approaches.

5 Separate treatment is necessary for those who opt for different lifestyles on their own volition.

compare deprivation with relative income poverty. Finally, we shall investigate who is stricken by one or the other or both types of poverty.

Our data collection was part of an international effort.[6] It took place in Hungary in November 1999, with 1510 respondents included in the sample. The sample has been weighted by age group, education, gender and residence – and we are using them throughout the analysis.

THE HUNGARIAN STANDARDS FOR MINIMUM LIVING CONDITIONS

So first we will look at what proportion of the population deems specific living condition components as necessary for making ends meet. We will also examine what components are judged to be 'desirable' and what components are thought of as 'unnecessary'. The first look at *Figure 1* will tell us that there are relatively few components that the majority of the population (over 80%) deem indispensable for minimum survival. The two components mentioned by most as absolute necessities (to have one cooked meal a day and to have a bath in the apartment) are really basic human needs. At the same time, the ratio of goods and activities which less than one-fifth of the people think necessary, is rather high: 8 out of the 19. These are: owing a PC, owing a VCR, owing a washing machine, having own pension plan, eating out once a month, having guests, replacing old furniture, buying new clothes regularly and having a week's vacation once a year.

We cannot then say that Hungarians are overly 'magnanimous' when delineating the circle of goods and activities regarded as necessary for a decent living. The austerity of these minimum standards is even more noticeable when compared with responses in other countries *(Table 1).*

6 The cross-national comparative research is under the direction of WZB, Berlin, with the participation of Germany, Sweden, Italy, Turkey, Greece, and Slovenia (Delhey et al. 2001).

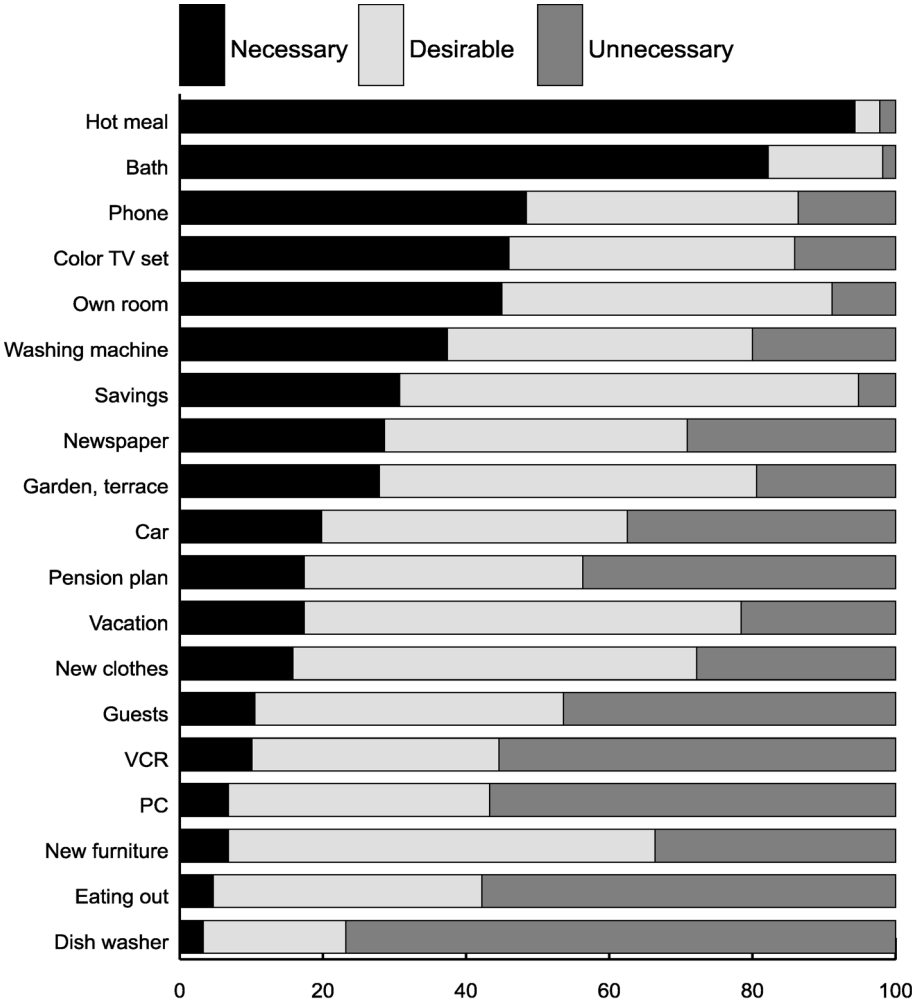

Figure 1. What is necessary for a decent life?

Source: Euromodul, NKI.

Table 1. The proportion of people deeming the listed items as necessary for decent living in different countries

	Hungary	East Germany	West Germany
Having one hot meal a day	94	91	87
WC, bath or shower inside the apartment	82	93	92
Color TV set	46	72	59
Everyone having own room	45	55	48
Phone	43	76	74
Automatic washing machine	37	92	88
Monthly savings of at least 5000 forints	30	43	38
Subscription to a newspaper	29	34	27
Garden, terrace, or a balcony overlooking pleasant surroundings	28	19	20
Car	20	61	46
At least one week vacation a year	17	34	29
Having own pension plan	17	27	36
Regular acquisition of new clothes	16	26	24
Having friends over once a month	10	17	18
VCR	10	15	12
Replace old furniture	7	19	15
PC	7	13	14
Eating out once a month	5	12	12
Dish washer	3	12	20

In the case of every single component, the ratio of those thinking it indispensable is the lowest in Hungary. One exception is the "one hot meal a day," the other, the "terrace or garden" component. In the first case the lower level of living, in the second case, we assume that the importance of owning land for agricultural self-sufficiency is reflected.

The lower standard levels characterizing Hungary make sense from the perspective of the modernization hypothesis (Zapf 1994) and conforms to the logic of welfare economics (Atkinson 1989). These approaches posit that with the increase of material welfare (GDP) and the availability of resources, there is an increase in the scope of the routinely consumed goods and activities. Thus the figures for Hungary are lower

because the country lags behind Germany in material wealth and economic performance. However, when we compare the two parts of Germany, we will uncover relations contradicting the above hypothesis. It is well known that price-adjusted income levels are still higher in West Germany (Noll und Habich 2000). At the same time, in ten instances, more East Germans regard specific components as indispensable than West Germans. Only with two items (own pension plan, dishwasher) do we have a higher level of aspiration in the West. So the comparison of the two parts of Germany seems to contradict modernization and/or welfare economic expectations.[7] The divergent figures ('social standards') for the two parts of Germany highlight the fact that even within one society the mechanisms by which people form their perceptions of adequate living conditions are also tied to historical time and social relations.

We can examine whether there are differences between social groups in their perceptions of components necessary for a decent life *(Table A1).*[8] Obviously, the direction and strength of relations will not be the same in all the categories. In summary it seems that younger and better-educated people (white collar people, college graduates) will have a higher level of aspiration for the 'minimum standard' of living *(Table A1).* Income status also influences responses, but to a degree below expectations. The aspiration level of poor people in certain areas (e.g. separate room, new clothes, color TV) does not lag behind that of others *(Table A1).* So it may be assumed that the availability of resources is not an exclusive determining factor here. We can also detect some peculiar, though unsurprising relations as well. The necessity to buy new clothes scores high with young people and women. The inclusion of the possession of a color TV set in the minimum standard is most frequent with people of 'middle' positions (vocational education, clerical or skilled labor). Finally we must also point out that the distribution of responses by the different items is relatively low.

We have also looked at the relations between the minimum standards and those possessing the specific living condition component. The connection is strong but not a determinant one *(Table A2).* A specific item is not deemed necessary because the respondent possesses it, but those who possess an item are more likely to deem it indispensable than others.

THE PROPORTIONAL DEPRIVATION INDEX (PDI) AND A FEW OF ITS CHARACTERISTICS

There are two factors taken into consideration when calculating the PDI. On the one hand we measure which items (goods or activities) the respondents have to do without on account of budgetary constraints ("want it, but cannot afford it").[9] On the

7 The comparison of the two parts of Germany cannot be undertaken here. We presume that the causes behind the demonstrated distribution may be traced to German unification, the much lower Eastern equality level and to other factors. For more detail on this, see Noll und Hablich 2000.

8 The tables marked with "A" are to be found in the *Appendix.*

9 A separate line of questions asked respondents whether they "possessed the items" "wanted them but couldn't afford them" or "didn't have them for other reasons." The responses are shown in the appropriate figures.

other hand we did not treat the unaffordable components the same way, but took into account the degree to which the responding population held the item necessary or superfluous. For instance: if someone "cannot afford" a bath in the apartment, his deprivation index goes up by 0.82. If the same person cannot afford a personal computer, his deprivation index goes up only by 0.07. Similarly, a TV set for which there was no money to buy increases the deprivation index by 0.46 and the lack of new clothes by 0.16. Finally, we add up all the values for unaffordable components for a household thus adjusted. The resulting figure is the PDI. Because of the way the figure is calculated, those that are better off will have a lower deprivation index and those whose deprivation index is higher are the ones worse off.

Looking at the plotted results, we can see that there is no significant segment of the Hungarian population with a deprivation index of zero *(Figure 2)*.[10] The chart shows us values for every five percentiles and demonstrates that for a good while the PDI exhibits an almost linear increase. The incline becomes sharper at around the 80th percentiles.

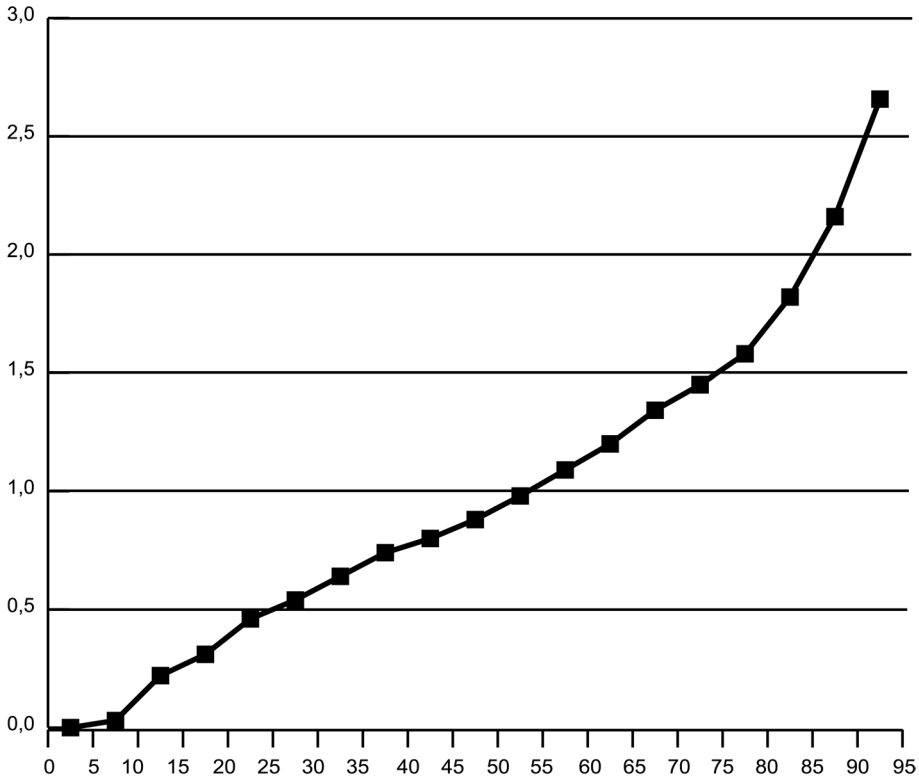

Figure 2. The P5, P10,… P95 values of PDI

10 This describes around four tenth of the population in Germany (Böhnke und Delhey 1999: 22), even though there an item not possessed gives a bigger increase to the deprivation index due to its different weight.

What is the relationship between the equivalent income, which is also often used to indicate welfare status, and the PDI arrived at above? It is quite obvious that increases in income (resources) result in increased power to purchase goods and activities. The actual relation fulfills this expectation: the two variables are in strong converse relation to each other, i.e. those with higher income will have lower PDI.

At the same time, the correlation is not as high as we expected (-0.33). Our presumption was that income would be an unequivocal determinant of welfare status. However, this does not seem to be the case. One reason for this might be that there is a difference between perceived minimum standards and the practices of the individual consumer. However, if we calculate the not weighted (not proportional)[11] value for the deprivation index, the correlation between income and PDI seems to be no stronger (-0.32).

	Equivalent income	Proportional deprivation index	Unadjusted deprivation index
Equivalent income	1		
Proportional deprivation index	-0.331	1	
Unweighted deprivation index	-0.3176	0.8825	1

Figure 3. Correlations between selected variables (Person's)

We would probably be in error to attribute the unexpected looseness of the correlation to powerful factors outside the influence of income. We would point to the fact that the present deprivation situations are greatly affected by past income processes (Gordon 1999). As far as the household dynamics of income is concerned, we have a rather precise picture of it following the analysis of Hungarian Household Panel (HHP) data (Spéder 1999). The deprivation index contains a number of components (goods or activities) for whose possession a lengthy period of saving money is necessary. To come up with a low deprivation index value, one must have either a long-term stable income situation, or in case income-instability, a high, albeit intermittent income. Time also has a demonstrable effect on households that have been together for a long time (older people). Obviously, they have had longer time to accumulate the goods and other life circumstance components in question. This is of course not saying that we must not take into account factors outside the domain of income. We only suggest two such scenarios: first, the respondents might have inherited the items in question or received them as gifts. Second, we must not discount the possibility that some respondents simply made the same income go farther. Finally, we must not forget that our index does not handle unorthodox lifestyles too well. For one might be earning the same money but score higher on the PDI if he or she spends money according to minority preferences. At this point in the analysis, we must reiterate one of the major issues here: what we are interested in doing is determining

11 In this case, the lack of each item increases the deprivation index by one.

extremely disadvantageous situations and for this purpose, an overstatement of the majority opinions is highly defensible.

The above considerations have helped to shed light on why the proportional deprivation index differs from equivalent income, the method almost exclusively used to determine the current welfare status. What also follows from this is that those stricken by income poverty will not be the same as those 'deprived'.

Relative income poverty and deprivation

As indicated in the introduction, the use of PDI makes it possible for us to compute a different measure of poverty. The concept of income poverty, as well as the often-used relative income poverty, looks at the *resources* available to the households. Descriptions of deprivation, on the other hand, look at *realized welfare* to determine what levels and standards of living people enjoy. Unfortunately, even deprivation research cannot avoid the problem of having to define the group of life circumstance components (goods and activities) the lack of which renders somebody deprived or poor ('drawing the line'). Obvious poverty presents little difficulties: if a person possesses nothing he might safely be regarded poor. But the lack of which of the 22 listed components is sufficient or compelling to regard somebody poor? The limiting, defining decisions are left to the researcher to be made on his/her own, or on the suggestion of nutrition professionals. We decided to employ the method used in relative income poverty research: the definition of dividing lines.[12] Income poverty is said to affect those earning less than 50% of the average income – so we regarded as deprived those people whose deprivation index was twice the average. The 60% income poverty line was equated with 1.67 times the average deprivation index. This method enabled us to arrive at the poverty ratios and deprivation values listed in *Table 2.* The deprivation limit, equated with the 60% poverty line, must be very close to the point where the values of deprivation start to increase sharply.[13]

Table 2. The ratio of the poor and the deprived in the population, 1999

	50% poverty line	60% poverty line
Income poverty	10.2	18.3
Deprivation	12.4	16.9

Both poverty lines 'carve out' a similarly sized part of the total population. We know that the two initial variables are interrelated but we do not know the specific ratio

12 Which is at variance with the method as employed by Böhnke and Delhey (1999).

13 We must point out that Townsend in his research drew the line of deprivation on the basis of the correlation of the income situation and the deprivation variables (Townsend 1979). Pichaud (1987) questioned the objectivity of this. If there is a breaking point, which is conceivable on the basis of *Figure 2,* it seems to support Townsend's concept.

of the overlapping population of the two categories. Those that are disadvantaged according to both approaches – i.e. those that are both deprived and income poor – constitute less than half of those belonging to the same category *(Table 3)*.

Table 3. Income poverty and material deprivation, 1999

	50 % poverty line	60 % poverty line
Not poor	81.6	71.3
Income poor	6.1	10.9
Deprived	8.3	10.4
Deprived and poor	4.1	7.3
Total	100	100

As we have indicated earlier, there is a very good reason for the difference between the deprived and the poor population even though deprivation status has a lot to do with income and income potential. The most important reason for the difference lies with the fluctuating character of income and the welfare positions based on income (Spéder 1999) because living conditions on the long run are more contingent on long-time 'permanent income' that can exercise a corrective influence over fluctuations in income over time. Which is to say we must take into account the time necessary to create the specific living conditions. The comparison of the two disadvantageous situations will lead us to the conclusion that it is safe to assume that those who fall below the line according to both approaches — i.e. the 'truly' poor — are in the worst position.

Risk analyses for deprivation and 'true' poverty for specific social groups were carried out simultaneously. *Tables A3* to *A5* contain a fourfold division of 'poverty groups.[14] These four groups are as follows:

- The *deprived* whose deprivation index is higher than 1.67 times the average.
- The *deprived only* who belong to the category of the deprived but not to that of the poor.
- The *income poor only* whose equivalent income is below 60% of the average but are not deprived.
- The *poor and deprived* who belong to both categories simultaneously.

Analyzing the data by *demographic factors* will present us with such significant differences between groups as we have seen in the course of (income) poverty analysis *(Tables A3 and A4).* The difference between men and women is not great though one will notice a slight disadvantage of women. This must be attributed to an above-average deprivation risk of those households where women are over-represented (e.g. single parent families). On the other hand, couples and 'mature families' seem to be exposed to the least amount of poverty risk. The deprivation risk of nuclear families hovers around the average *(Table A4).* The picture becomes a little bit

14 These groups – specifically the first and the third and fourth – overlap.

differentiated when indicators of the family cycle – such as the number of children and the age of the youngest child – are taken into account. Unarguably, those with no children are in the best position. Those with one or two children are only somewhat worse off than the average while those with more are much worse off. This is true from the perspectives both of poverty and deprivation: 27% of families with more than two children are in the deprivation zone and 16% of them are truly poor, which is twice the value of the national average. Looking at the family cycle it is at its beginning that we find the highest deprivation and true poverty *(Table A4).* Almost one-third (27%) of those with children under seven years of age can be regarded as deprived and 16% of them are truly poor. That there are many financial hurdles to clear at the beginning of the family cycle is shown by the distribution by age group. With increase of age, deprivation gradually decreases. This seems to confirm our assumption that the proportional deprivation index is the 'impression' of a longer-term financial status. The situation is far from this unequivocal when we look at the age distribution of those who are only income poor.

Our picture of poverty becomes more nuanced when we take the *residential situation* into account. Before going on to analyze the data, let us point out that there is a recurring motif in debates over the application of income poverty: namely, that income poverty analysis ignores the fact that life is not uniformly costly and rural living circumstances enable people to turn to partial self-support in order to defray costs. Deprivation analysis contributes to this issue as well. The data seems to confirm that poverty rates decline as we go from villages (at 25%) to urban areas and Budapest (7%) *(Table A3).* On the other hand, deprivation analysis draws the line between villagers and city dwellers (first column of *Table A3*). The second column of the same Table shows that the ratio of those 'only' deprived is highest in the villages and Budapest. That is to say, we see no evidence to support the thesis that rural self-support (i.e. cost-cutting) would render the high, above-average poverty risk of villagers 'unreal'. The hypothesis can only be tested through a multi-variable analysis. On the basis of this we can say that cost-cutting strategies can counterbalance income poverty risks in cases (such as small cities and Budapest) where the deficiency is not great to begin with and poverty risks are not the highest.

Finally, let us turn to the traditional societal factors. The correlation between *education* and deprivation risks is evident *(Table A3).* The lower the level of completed education, the higher the deprivation risk. While 28% of those with less than primary education had been found to be in disadvantageous financial situation, the figure for those with higher education is 5%. The same is even more manifestly true in the case of those truly poor. Looking at *occupation and social position groups* we can discern obvious tendencies even if the case volume is very low in certain groups: almost no 'white collar' worker lives in deprivation or in true poverty *(Table A5).* Skilled workers are above the average while unskilled workers fall below the societal average; the latter group being the only disadvantaged one among those in employment. In all poverty categories, the risks are highest when it comes to the unemployed. Over one-third of them (37%) are deprived and over one-quarter of them (27%) are both deprived and poor. The financial situation of stay-at-home mothers is also disadvantageous. We have always known their income position to be very weak, but now it seems that their living conditions are no better since almost one-third of

them fell into the 'deprived' category. They constitute the second most disadvantaged group in the category of the truly poor. The groups of old-age pensioners cannot uniformly be regarded as disadvantaged, which is consistent with the results yielded by poverty analysis. Certain of their groups (older people living alone) are not as threatened by deprivation as by income poverty, presumably because of the accumulation of goods in their lives. Those receiving disability pensions however are worse off than the average *(Table A5)*.

Having analyzed the various social groups from the perspective of deprivation and 'true poverty' we can conclude that *by employing a proportional deprivation index based on both public opinion and objective material status* we have arrived at results very similar to the ones obtained through income poverty survey. There is a great number of social groups that are at high risk from the point of view both of income poverty and material deprivation. These groups are: multi-children families, single parents, families with small children, people with low level of education, the unemployed forced out of the labor market, those 'employed' in the household (stay-at-home mothers or on maternity leave) and those on disability pension. At the same time, there are two factors through the application of which we will find differences between those deprived and those income poor. In the case of income poverty, the specific age of adult respondents made little difference, whereas material deprivation increases as the age indicator decreases. Places of residence can also make a difference: a Budapest residence increases the risk of becoming disadvantaged from the point of view of deprivation, but decreases it from the point of view of income poverty.

We need to emphasize that it is the truly poor who are in a hopelessly disadvantaged situation. They are the ones who had lacked appropriate resources to establish an adequate level of living conditions and continue to subsist on meager resources in their day-to-day existence.

SUMMARY

In this paper we have endeavored to establish a general material welfare indicator, in keeping with the new lines of poverty research. The proportional deprivation index (PDI) takes two things into account: the lack of living condition components owing to scarcity of resources and the importance people attach to the lack of these items, i.e. how indispensable they regard them for a decent living. The material situation index thus arrived at exhibits strong correlations with equivalent income and relative poverty but is by no means identical with them. In our thinking, this index measures the material status of families over a longer period of time and covers an entire accumulation period. In this, it shows similarities with permanent income (Friedman), the 'n-times poor' variable (Spéder 1999). On the basis of (a) the comparison of deprivation and income poverty and (b) the analysis of these according to various socio-economic factors, we can conclude that the investigations based on disparate concepts have led to very similar results. However, certain dissimilarities are also observable, thus the simultaneous application of the concepts will provide us with a more differentiated and nuanced understanding of poverty and disadvantage.

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APPENDIX

Table A1. Ratio of people deeming the listed items as indispensable for decent living by some socio-economic variables

Groups	Living conditions						
	Own room	WC/Bath room	Yearly vacation	New clothes	Color TV	Savings	PC
Ages							
18–39	42	86	20	20	41	34	8
41–59	51	82	21	17	52	31	8
60–	40	75	9	8	46	25	3
Education							
Less than primary	37	68	5	6	40	17	1
Primary	42	78	10	16	45	25	4
Vocational	47	80	12	16	50	31	5
Secondary	48	90	31	19	46	37	9
Higher	48	93	30	18	45	42	18
Economic status and group							
Higher management*	57	93	37	31	36	60	19
Intelligentsia	44	93	30	16	39	42	16
Clerical	51	91	29	21	52	35	14
Independent	54	91	33	25	51	40	16
Middle management*	42	97	35	22	33	41	14
Skilled worker	49	84	19	15	50	37	4
Unskilled worker	43	81	15	16	48	25	4
Unemployed	48	80	13	13	40	25	5
Maternity benefits	45	79	16	24	46	27	10
Old-age pension	43	80	11	10	49	26	3
Income poverty status							
Not poor	44	82	18	15	46	31	7
Poor	45	72	8	13	40	23	4
Sample average	45	82	17	16	46	30	7

* Item number below 50

Table A2. Distribution of respondents who possess and deem necessary an item for a decent living

Goods and activities	The item is possessed and necessary	Holds the item necessary
Own room	50	79
WC/Bath	87	94
A week of vacation	37	52
Car	38	87
Color TV	48	98
Washing machine	46	90
Savings	53	47
Having guests	28	61

Table A3. Ratio of those belonging to a specific poverty group in given social groups

	All	Deprived but not poor	Poor but not deprived	Poor and deprived
Gender				
Male	15	7	12	8
Female	19	13	10	7
Age				
–29	23	12	10	12
30–39	19	13	13	7
40–49	16	5	15	12
50–59	15	12	12	4
60–69	14	13	7	2
70–	10	7	7	3
Residence				
Village	22	13	14	11
Town	15	7	13	9
City	10	8	9	3
Budapest	14	12	3	2
Education				
Less than primary	28	13	8	16
Primary	24	12	16	12
Vocational	17	12	11	6
Secondary	9	7	8	2
Higher	5	4	5	1
Total	17	10	11	7

Table A4. Ratio of those belonging to a specific poverty type in given social groups

	All	Deprived but not poor	Poor but not deprived	Poor and deprived
Number of children				
None	14	11	8	3
1	20	9	15	12
2	19	9	14	11
3+	27	10	19	16
Family				
Single	14	13	3	2
Couple	11	7	7	4
Single parent family	28	16	17	13
Nuclear family	18	9	15	9
Three generations	19	11	11	9
Adult child and parents (‘mature family’)	11	9	7	3
Other	23	14	14	10
Age of youngest child				
–6	27	12	11	16
7–14	21	9	18	13
15–18	21	10	16	11
19–24	9	5	10	8
Total	17	10	11	7

Table A5. Ratio of those belonging to a specific poverty type in given social groups

Occupational and social group	All	Deprived but not poor	Poor but not deprived	Poor and deprived
Higher management*	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Intelligentsia	(10)	(7)	0	3
Clerical	8	13	5	
Independent	3	3	14	0
Middle management*	13	11	8	2
Skilled worker	23	14	15	9
Unskilled worker	37	13	21	27
Unemployed	29	12	18	17
Maternity benefits	10	9	4	1
Disability pension	27	13	18	14
Student*	16	9	2	4
Total	17	10	11	7

*Item volume below 100

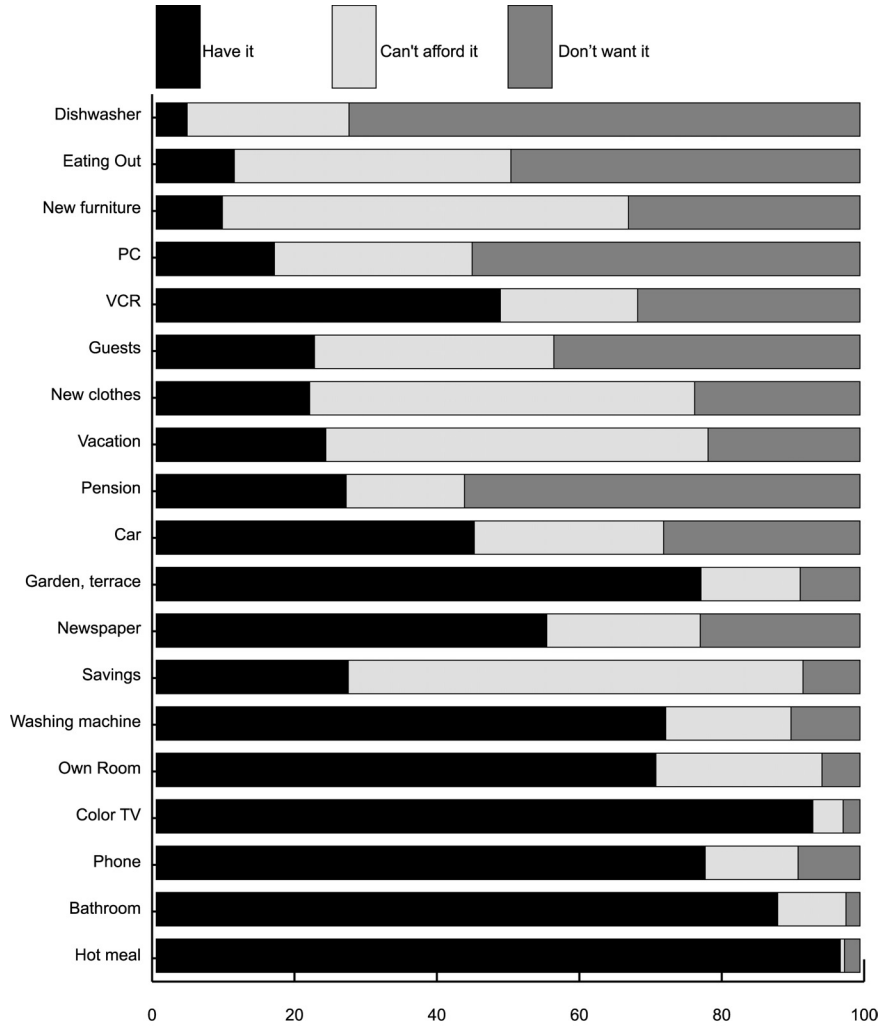

Figure A1. What do Hungarian families possess?

Source: Euromodul, DRI.