

## *Chapter 4*

# Concepts of Poverty

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## Introduction

The social security of citizens, as well as their poverty, have passed, in the past century, through various stages of scientific interest. The original Rowntree poverty research has developed into a number of approaches that depend principally on the ideas of subsistence, basic needs, and relative deprivation (Townsend 1993). Any classification, however, is inherently biased by the author's contextual preferences and the limitations of his or her knowledge. Regardless of how detailed, analytically far-reaching, and imaginative it may be, any such effort shows only a tentative organizing of a specific field of human knowledge. Another classification, which is at present more frequently in use, makes a clear distinction between absolute and relative poverty, silently incorporating the notion of (in)equality into the debate.

Heated debate about the conceptual problems of poverty and its measurement among such scientists as Townsend, Piachaud, and Sen (Townsend 1993) shows that this social science field is far from being without conflict. It was Piachaud (1987) who particularly stressed the question of whether the poor have an "opportunity to choose" at all, but the problem of which concept is more productive in explaining the incidence of poverty and its rate left this question merely "untouched". Apart from a lack of material resources, the poor also suffer a lack of opportunity to choose their lifestyle. They have no opportunity to choose whether to eat meat or vegetables, being forced to consume them in insufficient quantity and quality. Hence, dilemmas such as whether to be a vegetarian or have five o'clock tea are locally "coloured" and also reveal cultural preferences. What counts substantially is living involuntarily in conditions that are below what is commonly considered to be a decent standard of living. It appears that the poor are forced to live a life of lack of various resources. Therefore, what should be observed in poverty investigation is

primarily the way of life of the poor in terms of social characteristics such as gender, age, education, race, etc., and secondarily the lifestyle and feeling of deprivation. In accordance with expectations, the incidence and rate of poverty and the risk of impoverishment in terms of the lack of various resources dominate most observations. Unfortunately the measurement of resources is also frequently reduced to disposable income. These questions of conceptualization and measurement were transcended to a certain extent by Nordic social scientists who established "the third stage in measuring poverty", applying Titmuss's idea of "command over resources" (Erikson and Åberg 1987).

Regardless of how productive these conceptualization debates are, they focus on poverty as observed by Westerners in the West. A global perspective on poverty research is missing from their (re)consideration. This lacuna can to some extent be remedied in the "state-of-the-art" on poverty research in this book, which extensively documents an enormous variety of approaches employed in non-Western regions. Social scientists from these regions productively apply poverty concepts "produced in the West" to specific local conditions but they employ a unique conceptual framework as well. In this respect, they frequently abandon observation of the incidence of poverty that is strictly limited to the individual level. They also consider this phenomenon at the intermediate level and at the macro level with respect to groupings and stage of development. It has been proved elsewhere (see Ahmad et al. 1991, for example) that the macro perspective contributes a fresh aspect to the stock of poverty knowledge by focusing primarily on poverty seen as the result of the impact of various "macro" processes and structures, such as business cycles, the economic structure, regional development, politics, and international relations. It is not the individual inability to adapt to changes at the macro level alone that should be considered as poverty's "prime cause", but these processes themselves. Interestingly enough, the poverty investigation "boom" in Western regions was initiated by employing social indicators in measuring poverty as both an economic and a social phenomenon. Evidence has shown that this venture was conceptually framed by the basic human needs idea (Doyal and Gough 1991; Drewnowski and Scott 1966), but this was soon "replaced" by the micro level perspective, reducing poverty simply to the individual experience and situation.

In contrast to this broadening of the poverty concept perspective, an opposite direction can also be revealed. The "(mal)nutrition" or lack of food approach to poverty is applied particularly

in Asia and Africa. Despite the widespread reduction in the subsistence approach to food, it demonstrates that the incidence of poverty in these regions differs significantly from that observed in the West. Hunger and poor shelter and clothing, frequently accompanied by ill health, illiteracy, overcrowded housing, and totalitarian political regimes, are features that would move any social reformist, active either a hundred years ago or today.

Given the different contributions to the global stock of poverty knowledge, it makes sense to diversify the concept review in this chapter. The guiding principle in this is to consider the dominant "Western" concepts, on the one hand, and those poverty concepts that are coloured by specific features in other regions on the other hand. In this respect the reviewed concepts can be classified into two major categories. The concepts employed in Western Europe and North America make up the first category and, although revealing many local characteristics, they are considered to be poverty concept classics. The second category consists of concepts employed in poverty investigations in other regions.

All the findings and conclusions arrived at here relate only to the reports on the "state-of-the-art" of regional poverty research compiled in this handbook. Therefore they ought to be evaluated in the light of this fact. Apart from this, it could be concluded that a worldwide "communication" of poverty concepts is needed. Poverty conceptualizations in the West could be fruitfully and productively improved by the judicious introduction of contributions from the non-Western regions. Then poverty conceptualizations would "sound" more global. Moreover, certain other fields of social science fields have already experienced a similar undertaking. For example, dependency theory has to date usually been employed in framing modernization in the Third World. Over the past decade, the modernization theory and dependency theory have been linked together to enable better explanation of underdeveloped Western regions and sectors. It would seem that if lacunae fail to be conceptualized by the tools in use, the intervention of fresh tools is needed. Therefore the implicit intention of this chapter is to draw attention to such potential for future directions in this field.

## Poverty concept classics

Various social scientists employ different principles in classifying applied poverty concepts and if a common dividing line is applied, a dichotomized picture appears. The classic poverty

concepts can be grouped around two pillars. The first one deals with poverty “causes”, focusing on (the lack of) resources, and the second one deals with poverty “outcomes”, observing them by means of a poor way of life, poor living conditions, and customs and attitudes towards poverty. The concepts making up the first category are labelled “Anglo-Saxon”, “indirect”, or “subsistence”. However, they are far from dealing with the prime causes of poverty, although from the individual’s position and everyday life situation they might appear to do so. Concepts labelled “continental”, “direct”, or “basic needs” and “relative deprivation” make up the second category. It is hard to say whether this distinction is the only possibility, but it represents an attempt to bring together the variety of poverty concept classifications as presented in Figure 4.1. Different labels frequently mislead the reader to conclusions about dissimilarities among reviewed conceptualizations; therefore looking at similarities is an important aspect of this venture.

Frequent debates on the explanatory capacities of the poverty concepts, e.g. between Townsend, Piachaud, and Sen (Townsend 1993), undoubtedly showed that the subsistence idea applied in the poverty “causes” concepts offers a more transparent and less ambiguous picture of poverty. On the other hand, it was proved to be weak in sketching the broad range of incidence of poverty and demonstrated a considerable lack of in-depth analysis. In contrast, the poverty “outcome” concepts cope with wide variations in poor living conditions. They provide a clear distinction between opportunity and choice, but remain vague as regards the distinction between way of life and lifestyle.

Poverty “causes” concepts	Poverty “outcomes” concepts
<i>Main labels</i>	
Anglo-Saxon	Continental
Indirect	Direct
Subsistence	Basic needs
	Relative deprivation
<i>Major topics</i>	
Lack of resources such as:	Poor situation as regards:
Money	Living conditions
Material assets	Way of life
Capital (physical, human)	Customs
Time	Attitudes towards poverty

Figure 4.1 The double pillar classification of poverty concepts

The Western poverty concept tradition, taking into account the (lack of) resources aspect, can be reviewed in terms of various classifications as discussed in detail in subsequent chapters of this book. The “Anglo-Saxon” conceptualization focuses on distributional issues: the lack of resources at the disposal of an individual or a household is of principal interest. The lack of disposable income and opportunities can be seen as an indirect conceptualization of poverty, as stressed by Ringen (1987). In the USA, the subsistence concept of poverty is employed either in absolute terms (e.g. the “Orchansky index”) or in relative terms (e.g. the median).

Among the fresh contributions from these countries, Douthitt (1994) conceptualizes poverty as “time-adjusted”, focusing on families with young children that need time as well as money to provide child care, to prepare meals, and to perform other housekeeping functions. This “time approach” can be interpreted as one form of social capital that might be considered in conceptualizing poverty. It is not only the deprivation of the adult who is unable to spend time with the children that is considered, but, more importantly, the deprivation of the child. The child does not get the cultural and intellectual stimulus that interaction with adults can provide.

The “net earnings capacity” concept is an interesting innovation (Haveman and Burton 1993) that concentrates on the potential to generate income that households with working-age adults would have if they were able to use their human and physical capital to full capacity. Capital assets are taken into account, as well as personal characteristics such as age, gender, education and race.

The direct conceptualization of poverty concentrates on the “outcome” aspect of the poverty situation. It deals primarily with living conditions, stressing either a poor way of life or poor consumption standards or attitudes towards living in poverty. Furthermore, as employed in the “continental” conceptualization of poverty, relational issues (inadequate social participation and integration of the poor into the broader society) are the focus of consideration. This approach relates to Townsend’s conceptualization of poverty as relative deprivation, in which participation in the customary lifestyle of a particular local community is the central issue.

The Nordic approach to living conditions represents a special contribution to the relevant stock of knowledge. Two major points of departure – first, poverty must be visible, and, second, poverty is not how people feel but how people live – shape this attempt to analyse the issue of poverty. It is seen as an

accumulation of social deprivation and represents a “third stage in measuring poverty” (Ringen 1985). This approach combines the ideas of income-related measurement and living conditions research. In Ringen’s terms (1988), observation of income offers only indirect evidence of poverty. The additional criterion is the actual inability to reach the minimum standard of living owing to a lack of material resources. Data are consequently needed on income, assets, and other material means and on actual well-being in terms of housing, health, education, work involvement, etc. This kind of reasoning comes close to Townsend’s idea of a deprivation index. In Swedish poverty research, a “consensual poverty approach” is added, which specifically investigates people’s attitudes towards material consumption and the actual patterns of consumption. One purpose is to replicate the pioneering study of Mack and Lansley (1985), who define poverty as “an enforced lack of socially perceived necessities”. A similar orientation was adopted by Douthitt et al. (1992), who applied Duesenberry’s “emulation hypothesis” to prove that people consume not just relative to their income. On the contrary, they basically follow the consumption pattern of the reference group. Furthermore, as Duesenberry claims, the higher the income, the less the reference group consumption pattern is followed. In the USA, Mayer and Jenks (1993) have found that the distribution of basic necessities is less unequal than the distribution of household income. Moreover, the distribution of household expenditure is less unequal than the distribution of household income. Therefore, they argue in favour of developing a way of measuring the material well-being of households similar to the measurement of income, expenditure, and consumption patterns, which brings them close to the Nordic approach where poverty measurement is confined to the measurement of outcomes.

The regional reports in this book mention few qualitatively orientated poverty studies, and the poverty culture approach is almost absent. It seems that the American tradition presented particularly in Oscar Lewis’s works and Herbert Gans’ (1992) works attracts few followers. Anthropological methods and devotion to particular research topics such as the marginalization of the poor, the underclass, the feminization of poverty, and the subculture of the poor attract less research interest than the topics already mentioned. As stated in the Nordic report (Chapter 16), this “outcome” aspect of poverty concepts has attracted interest to any great extent only in Nordic poverty research. Apart from this, “the social history of the poor”, particularly in terms of life history analysis, is not a perspective that appears in

the presentations in this volume. Consequently, the Americans, at least, await their Dickens in vain. As Harrington (1981) stated, the poor need (an American) Dickens who would describe their language, their psychology, and their conception of life. To be poor means to have less access to those resources that are viewed as common in a local community. To be poor means to be an alien in one's native country and in its culture. If this perspective is abandoned, poverty as a pattern of socialization in which children adopt values and psychological characteristics from their poor parents (Corcoran et al. 1985) remains unrevealed.

Social features such as gender, race, age, and education (Haveman and Burton 1993), by which the most vulnerable and truly disadvantaged social groups (Miller 1994) are brought into focus, attract limited analytical attention. In contrast to scarce employment, the introduction of social variables into poverty research means a return to the "original" sociological perspective on poverty that was abandoned a decade ago.

Despite the variations, the subsistence idea of poverty, which dominates the poverty "causes" concept, attracts the vast majority of investigators. The poverty "outcome" concept arouses substantially less interest, regardless, perhaps, of its most productive development, e.g. Mack and Lansley's (1985) approach and the Nordic approach. What is most striking is that the basic human needs conceptualization has been virtually abandoned. Decades ago it represented a fresh view of poverty, considering it in terms of both individual experience and local community conditions (Drewnowski and Scott 1966). Nevertheless, it has recently gained a certain renewed analytical interest (Doyal and Gough 1991).

## Regional variations on poverty concept classics

Regardless of the classification principle employed, the classic poverty concepts show a common feature: they consider poverty simply as an individual and, less frequently, a group experience. Moreover, it is believed (e.g. Piachaud 1987), that extreme poverty as described by Charles Dickens has been eradicated. In contrast, empirical evidence, particularly from Asia and Africa, fails to prove the same for these continents. The lack of food for many groups of people affects poverty investigation in these regions to a considerable degree. Furthermore, the significant impact of the stage of national development on the incidence of

poverty, specifically in Asia, is the second feature distinguishing poverty conceptualization in this area from the concepts in operation in the West. Any consideration of poverty focused on either a national or an international perspective should include these factors.

Empirical evidence on poverty investigation in Asia undoubtedly proves that the concept of poverty is far from being constant and that it has temporal, contextual, and spatial attributes. In certain cases, poverty can be conceptualized as a "disequilibrium phenomenon" and, hence, ephemeral and transient. Apart from being a significant economic problem, poverty also has fundamental social and political implications. The major perspectives employed in poverty investigations focus on access to sufficient food on the one hand and on the stage of development on the other. In terms of the differentiation between poverty "causes" concepts and poverty "outcomes" concepts, both perspectives can be considered as dealing with the poverty "causes" aspect. Furthermore, both perspectives deal with (the lack of) resources as the core issue (although at different levels), and therefore this "level" innovation should be explored more carefully. The poverty "outcome" concepts fail to attract the same conceptual interest.

At the micro level, the poverty concepts applied focus primarily on individual experience. The lack of sufficient food marks the consideration of poverty in India in particular. It can be focused either on cereal consumption or on adequate food or command over commodities; limited particularly to food intake and the consumption basket, the "(mal)nutrition" approach prevails. Reviewing the poverty concept either in South Asia specifically or in Asia in general, poverty is conceptualized either as extreme poverty, in terms of calorie intake per day, or as material poverty, defined as a lack of the means to satisfy purely material needs such as food, clothing, and shelter. Specifically in India, some criticism has been addressed to the overworked "diet" approach, with the proposal that it should be replaced by the level-of-living approach. In contrast to these poverty conceptualizations, investigators in Korea observe poverty primarily in terms of a lack of money, stressing either household expenditure or distribution of income. Furthermore, they also explore the subjective perception of living conditions, which brings them close to the "outcome" aspect of poverty concept classification.

The poverty situation of various groups of people dominates consideration at the intermediate level. It is observed as mass poverty related to minority poverty, particularly exploring whether it encompasses a large majority of the population or



certain minority groups. The "cumulative long term" concept, focusing on particular groups such as children and pregnant or breastfeeding women, is also employed.

Because poverty is far from being just an "individual" matter, although it is frequently considered as such, observation at the macro level adds a productive contribution to a better understanding where overwhelming impoverishment of societies and particular regions is the core research subject. The "regionalization" concept considers poverty separately as a rural phenomenon and as an urban phenomenon in India, Korea, and China.

Poverty as a side-effect of economic development is viewed as resulting in unemployment, a high infant mortality rate, the prevalence of malnutrition, and low literacy rates such as in the Philippines. It is also seen as "seasonal poverty" in rural areas, or as "cyclical" poverty in Sri Lanka, where the extent of poverty significantly depends on electoral cycles, which can be another factor determining the living conditions of the poor. The fact is, governments tend to lower the cost of living and to create additional employment opportunities in preparation for an election. "External poverty" is observed with respect to the non-poor, which brings this approach close to understanding poverty as a function of wealth (Gans 1992). Like "natural poverty", it can be a result of malfunctioning of the socioeconomic system and underdevelopment.

China's poverty investigations in particular reveal a strong "macro level" orientation. Poverty is conceptualized with respect to different "economic development" theories. The most influential initiatives come either from Rostow's theory of economic growth, stressing different stages of economic development or from theories distinguishing between the (active) centre and the (inactive and disadvantaged) periphery. Theories of a dualistic economic structure and its potential for transformation frame poverty research where it is observed in relation to different growth capacities in various sectors.

A twentieth-century Dickens could be left without words but without work too, if we compare modern England with the England of a hundred years ago. Shifting his interest to Asia, he could be deeply frustrated by observing the range and rate of destitution and misery. Asia's poverty investigators attempt to transcend this embarrassing situation by introducing novelties to the stock of poverty conceptualization in particular, and poverty knowledge in general. They do observe the phenomenon in terms of locally adjusted classic concepts by focusing on malnutrition and respecting the subsistence idea of poverty. Apart from this, it ought to be stressed again that they broaden the

poverty conceptualization by contributing the fresh idea of its investigation at the macro level as well. According to this innovation, poverty may be considered as an individual situation but it must be observed primarily as resulting from “macro-level” processes in the economy, in politics, and in society. Western poverty investigators apparently abandoned this perspective long ago. The social exclusion concept, by which the incidence of poverty is related to civil rights on the one hand and “macro” processes on the other, should overcome this deficiency. Moreover, in this respect Townsend (1993) advocates introducing the perspective of “social structure” and global economic relations. Hence, the “non-Western” poverty conceptualizations undoubtedly show that the West could learn some lessons from this part of the world, too.

The predominance of subsistence concepts focusing on the lack of resources also shadows poverty investigation in Africa, although they mutate into a number of varying approaches that reflect local features. Though poor living conditions are far from ignored, the prime focus is on food and malnutrition. Similarly to Asia, particular vulnerable groups, such as women and displaced persons in East Africa, are recognized; on the other hand, the significant difference between rural and urban poverty is taken into consideration as well. Interestingly enough, in Anglophone West Africa (Nigeria and Ghana) an absolute and a relative approach serve as an “umbrella concept” for developing a concept in terms of social inequality and a poverty culture. This concept has been developed in response to criticism of the original concepts. More specifically, it has been argued that the poverty concepts employed should transcend the limitation to the micro level, which focuses primarily on personal income and expenditure. Poverty should be seen in the context of access to all forms of resources and facilities provided by or within a nation, and therefore socioeconomic factors ought to be taken into consideration as well. The macro-level perspective of poverty conceptualization may not yet have matured. As a criticism, however, it may accelerate productive development in this respect, at least.

To a limited extent, South Africa’s poverty conceptualization has undergone a similar development. Research started with a very simple approach that focused primarily on white people, and poverty was defined very subjectively. A major step forward was made by an explicit examination of the nutritional basis of poverty and by analysing the distribution of the whole population – blacks and whites. Surveys that followed dealt with

varying standards of living, employing a similar concept but viewing poverty predominantly as a relative condition. The second Carnegie Inquiry broadened poverty concepts further. It was suggested that researchers should go out into the country to listen to the poor people in order to be able to understand poverty. Unfortunately, tensions between in-depth case study scientists and the advocates of representative data led to constant switching between the two concepts. Nevertheless, the above suggestion initiated the quiet but valuable inclusion of the in-depth "anthropological" approach to poverty studies. The question "Where is your next meal coming from?" neatly sums up this evolution in poverty research and clearly reveals the shift from focusing on the "statistical" individual to the concrete individual and groups who are truly disadvantaged, as Wilson (1990) provocatively remarks.

Poverty conceptualization in the Western area that is excluded from "producing territories", e.g. New Zealand, the Mediterranean basin (Israel, Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey), and Central and Eastern Europe (the former Yugoslavia, Hungary, the former Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the former Soviet Union), reveals, on the one hand, the widespread strict adoption of classic concepts and, on the other, a lack of local adjustment in employing them. The range of specific local contributions to poverty knowledge varies, but investigators in other regions, e.g. in Asia and Africa, have shown more imagination in applying the classic poverty concepts in their analysis.

Regardless of the variation in poverty research approaches, lack of resources is the major subject investigated and poverty "causes" concepts provide the most frequently used framework. The subsistence idea of poverty applied in terms either of low income or household expenditure or of economic hardship is the leading concept. Poverty "outcome" concepts frame poverty observation less frequently, and if applied they relate to living conditions (Poland, the former Yugoslavia) and relative deprivation (Hungary). Additionally, social scientists from Hungary and the former Czechoslovakia seem to be concerned with studying the historical roots of poverty as well, focusing on official or scientific poverty considerations.

However, in Central and Eastern Europe it is frequently overlooked that both welfare strategies and their consideration should incorporate the basic assumption of an unstable society that is different from that in the West. Apart from this, poverty trends in these countries should be considered in terms of the welfare state concept as well. Full employment and the high

employment of women had a greater impact on social welfare than the welfare state concept and the social policy model implemented. Moreover, the following question arises: What is the desirable type of society in these countries? What really counts? A new philosophy of change that apparently fails to restore impoverishment but provides greater access to various welfare and different income resources? Rising above the poverty line in terms of the poor "taking off" would represent the desired qualitative change.

In contrast to the above view, recent poverty research in Israel takes a multidimensional view, using income, housing density, and number of dependent children as parameters and stressing the degree of deprivation caused by factors such as social unrest and protests. A second type of research deals mostly with the social mobility of lower-income categories, stressing their disadvantaged position. This analytical orientation substantially connects both types of investigation to the sociological survey classics, i.e. social stratification and mobility research. Moreover, poverty is grasped conceptually and analysed indirectly by a combination of the social stratification and mobility approaches and a living standards approach. Analysts are primarily concerned with social inequality and particularly with "vulnerable" categories – groups at risk of poverty such as the unemployed, immigrants, and ethnic minority groups. This represents a fresh contribution to the stock of knowledge about poverty from the Western territories considered.

Poverty research conceptualization in Latin America has its own locally adjusted framework, too. The poverty issue is frequently framed in terms of permanent income insufficiency, resulting in a critical lack of basic necessities. This reveals the poverty "causes" concept to be the most "attractive" source employed for building the conceptual background. Apart from this, investigations of minimum living standards and other, locally produced concepts regard poverty from the "outcome" aspect, viewing it as a situational syndrome in which a combination of underconsumption, malnutrition, precarious housing conditions, and low education is stressed. Or it can also be considered in terms affecting future events and processes in potential, which is particularly important for public policy makers. The concept of a situational syndrome has a contextual relationship with the Nordic standard of living approach, stressing the multidimensional and complex nature of the phenomenon and viewing it as a "vicious circle", which brings it close to the classic poverty concepts.

## Conclusion

Of the classic concepts, the subsistence idea of poverty in terms of a lack of resources has proved to be the most popular worldwide, but it shows very clear local variations that differ in both range and extent. Local innovations and fresh contributions to the global stock of poverty knowledge, particularly with respect to the perspectives of stage of development, social stratification, and mobility, should also be stressed. However, the findings and conclusions arrived at enable us to consider a tentative poverty conceptualization. It is far from being merely a combined macro and micro level of poverty assessment, which is once again preferred as an analytical perspective. The need to transcend the view of poverty as an individual condition at the micro level primarily stimulates the search for a framework that would include the social inequality perspective as well as the social system perspective.

Claims that the poor, either as individuals or as groups, should be observed as a function of the rich (Wilson 1992), and that poverty should therefore be (re)considered as a function of wealth, prove that the vast majority of concepts currently employed are inadequate. Regional poverty conceptualizations reveal an “escapism” in cases where attempts are made to apply the available poverty concepts to specific local circumstances. Again, it could be assumed that the further the country is from the West, the greater the need for a genuine mutation of the classical concepts. On the other hand, poverty in the West also needs to be reconsidered from a macro/micro perspective and should include a social inequality perspective.

Regarding the above suggestions, which come from different parts of the world, it might be concluded that a holistic approach to the issue of poverty would present a way out from the “hyper-individualization” of the poor, since it is individual living conditions that are the subject of the main analytical efforts with regard to poor local communities. Such a “holistic” and “structural” view of poverty can also serve as a guide to the “highways and byways” of the specifically local incidence of poverty.

Using this approach, poverty could be observed as a three-level phenomenon. At the micro level, two approaches could frame poverty investigation. In terms of an “anthropological” perspective, the meaning of poverty – its smell, colour, and sound, its cry and its whisper – would be the core subject. Social indicators can also serve as measures for investigating living

standards and social inequality. At the intermediate level, various vulnerable and disadvantaged groups could be observed, taking into account a similar framework. At the macro level, a "development" approach could be applied, analysing poverty in terms of economic and political processes in the national and international perspective.

To be fair, the above contextual suggestion is rather utopian, but its main aim is to stress that poverty as a phenomenon that should be considered from a much broader perspective than occurs in the vast majority of investigations, where strict individualization in terms of both the incidence of poverty and its eradication has been the leading context and strategy. A maturing of poverty investigation could be achieved by the global interweaving of different concepts. The pictures of poverty thus produced would, perhaps, "sound" richer. This handbook proves it is possible.

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