Theories of Poverty

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PART I:
MULTIPLE SOCIAL SCIENCE
PERSPECTIVES OF POVERTY

Theories of Poverty:
Findings from Textbooks
on Human Behavior
and the Social Environment

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ABSTRACT. Social work is distinguished from other helping professions and social science disciplines by its primary concern with poverty. It is unclear, however, how well social work students understand various theories of poverty or how this understanding informs their practice with those who live in poverty. This article attempts to begin answering this question through an analysis of poverty content in 14 frequently assigned textbooks in Human Behavior and the Social Environment (HB&SE) courses. The four criteria for assessment are as follows: (1) The context
in which poverty is discussed; (2) The extent to which the theme of poverty is diffused throughout the textbook; (3) The extent to which poverty is viewed in terms of the interaction between human behavior and the social environment; and (4) The extent to which poverty is described as a universal condition. In general, the 14 textbooks devote little space to poverty content and fail to address these four criteria. The analysis concludes with recommendations to help social work educators incorporate more poverty content in their HB&SE curriculum.

KEYWORDS. Poverty, human behavior and the social environment

INTRODUCTION

One of the most prevalent and pervasive social problems in the United States is poverty. In the United States, far too many people live in conditions of poverty or near poverty; in 2002, an estimated 12.1% of all people in the United States were considered poor (Rank, 2005). Given the significance of this condition and the commitment of the social work profession to seek its eradication, to what extent is the description and analysis of poverty a key component of social work education? How are students of social work educated about the theories of poverty in order to understand its causes and ultimately advocate for social policies related to the social, economic, and political systems? In particular, how well do social work students understand the impact of poverty on human behavior and how does this understanding inform their practice with those who live in poverty? Some of the answers to these questions can be found, in part, by assessing the most frequently used textbooks in required courses on human behavior and the social environment.

As required by the accreditation standards of the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE), accredited undergraduate and graduate programs include at least one foundation course on Human Behavior and the Social Environment (HB&SE) in their core curriculum. In order to assess the extent to which the impact of poverty on human behavior and its role in the social environment is addressed in foundation courses, the most frequently assigned HB&SE textbooks were analyzed. Given the strong influence of psychology and sociology on the construction of
HB&SE content in social work education, this analysis begins with a discussion of how these two major social science disciplines create explanatory theories of poverty. Following this overview, the analysis proceeds with a description of the content on poverty found in the most frequently required HB&SE textbooks. The analysis concludes with the identification of key issues for social work educators and recommendations for incorporating poverty content in their HB&SE courses.

**HUMAN BEHAVIOR OR THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT?**

While both psychology and sociology appear to be moving towards a view of poverty that includes an integration of human behavior and social environment, this has not always been the case. Traditionally, psychological theories focus more on the individual and their behavior, while sociological theories of poverty emphasize the role of the social environment.

In the introduction to *Poverty and Psychology: From Global Perspective to Local Practice* (2003), Carr and Sloan note that research by psychologists in the second half of the twentieth century identified the source of poverty primarily in the individual and, therefore, developed interventions that focused on changing human behavior rather than the social environment. For example, they describe how McClelland proposed that those living in poverty suffered from a deficit of Need for Achievement (NAch), a character trait that motivates the successful person to strive for success. Similarly, in the 1980s many psychologists explained the circumstances of those at the bottom of the economic ladder in terms of attribution theory, which posits that those who accomplish the least in life often blame their failures on themselves. These two examples tend to support interventions designed to change the behavior of the individual in order to escape from poverty with little or no regard for the impact of the social environment.

According to Carr and Sloan, perspectives that emphasize the negative personal characteristics of those living in poverty have been replaced in recent years by those that recognize the positive aspects of human behavior (e.g., coping with stress and managing risk with resilience) and the situational context in which this behavior occurs. Psychological theories of poverty that include resilience and the capacity to overcome one’s environment are now gaining prominence within the field of psychology. However, the individual continues to serve as the major unit of study and intervention.
A more sociological view of poverty is reflected in Rank’s (2005) book *One Nation, Underprivileged* (2005), which argues that the root cause of poverty lies not within individual failings, but within the structural failings of American society. He contends there is an implicit assumption in the American ethic of individualism and its emphasis on self-sufficiency; namely, that the rich are hard-working and deserve their rewards while the poor are impoverished because of personal inadequacies. In contrast, Rank provides evidence that poverty is caused by inadequacies of economic and political structures to provide sufficient opportunities for all Americans, thereby perpetuating poverty. In particular, Rank proposes the economic failing of the United States lies in its inability to provide suitable employment for all Americans. As long as the labor market is structured to perpetuate a “natural unemployment rate,” a certain percentage of workers will always be unemployed and others forced to accept low-wage work that keeps them near the federal definition of poverty. In addition, he points to the lack of social supports and inadequate safety nets to assist low-wage earners and those living in poverty. He notes that political decisions restrict social policies from effectively addressing poverty rates in the United States Welfare programs have historically failed to raise families out of poverty, and recent budget cuts for welfare programs and tighter restrictions on eligibility create further difficulties for poor families. Rank calls for a rejection of the old poverty paradigm of blaming the victim and replacing it with a new paradigm that seeks explanations and solutions in social institutions.

These two examples of the psychological and the sociological perspective on poverty have much to contribute to one’s understanding of HB&SE. Carr and Sloan suggest that human behavior both contributes to and results from poverty, providing some theoretical support for the strengths perspective found in the practice curriculum of social work programs. Rank argues that efforts to modify the individual will fail if they are taken without a complete restructuring of the social environment based on the recognition of the universality of poverty and its impact on everyone in the United States. In addition, the pervasiveness of poverty can lead to higher taxes related to funding health and education services, increases in crime, and the potential deterioration in the American values of liberty, equality, and justice. It is beyond the scope of this analysis to incorporate the various approaches taken by other social science disciplines to explain poverty but they are described elsewhere in this issue.
While the goal of the HB&SE curriculum is to present the two perspectives, human behavior and the social environment, as well as the reciprocal relationship between the two, it is also beyond the scope of this analysis to assess the progress being made to implement this goal. Instead, the focus is to determine how poverty is presented and explained in the major HB&SE textbooks currently in use. An assessment of 14 HB&SE textbooks provides the major findings for this analysis.

**METHOD OF ANALYSIS**

Based on a review of graduate-level social work textbooks on human behavior and the social environment conducted by Taylor, Austin, and Mulroy (2004), 14 textbooks (Appendix: Section-1) were selected for this analysis of poverty content. In their study, they reviewed and clustered the textbooks into three categories: (1) life cycle textbooks, (2) systems theory textbooks, and (3) theory textbooks. The six “life cycle” textbooks featured the developmental stages of individuals across the life span, the five “systems” textbooks focused primarily on the various systems situated in the social environment (e.g., individuals, families, groups, organizations, or communities), and the three “theory” textbooks emphasized such theories as structural-functionalism, conflict, and empowerment.

For this analysis of poverty content, the content of each textbook was examined and this examination included the table of contents, preface, index, and individual sections that featured a discussion on poverty. As part of this review, other poverty-related concepts were identified (e.g., social class, inequality, social exclusion, homelessness, and unemployment). The following criteria were used to assess each textbook’s treatment of poverty after tabulating the total number of pages in which poverty appears (and then converted into a percentage of the entire textbook):

1. The context in which poverty and related concepts are described (such as a specific chapter or section devoted to poverty);
2. The extent to which the concept of poverty (e.g., causes and impact) is diffused and applied throughout the text;
3. The extent to which poverty is explained in terms of the interaction between human behavior and the social environment;
4. The extent to which poverty is described as a universal condition rather than a social aberration.
While the focus of this analysis is on HB&SE textbooks, it is apparent that the topic of poverty emerges in other areas of the social work curriculum. One of these areas is social policy, and these courses frequently include poverty in the context of describing and analyzing social policies and programs designed to address poverty. As a result, a similar content analysis was conducted on the five most frequently updated editions of social welfare policy textbooks (Appendix: Section-2). These textbooks devote, on average, a larger percentage of pages to poverty and poverty-related issues than their HB&SE counterparts, ranging from 4.8 to 24.1% of the text. Most of these social policy textbooks limit their discussion of poverty to the history and requirements of means-tested public assistance programs, particularly “Temporary Assistance to Needy Families,” and do not discuss theories that explain the causes of poverty or its potential impacts. While the criteria for assessing the HB&SE textbooks do not directly apply to the social policy textbooks, there was one notable exception. In their social policy textbook, Karger and Stoesz (2002) allocate two chapters to the structural influences on poverty and various intervention strategies. Other social policy textbooks treat poverty as one of many examples of a social problem to be assessed using policy analysis frameworks. For example, Popple and Leighninger (2004) devote the first six chapters of their textbook to developing a policy-based framework and apply this model to poverty in Chapter 7. However, with the exception of Karger and Stoesz (2002), these social policy textbooks provide only minimal information about the causes and impacts of poverty found in the multiple social science theories of poverty. This small sample of frequently edited/updated social policy textbooks provides further evidence that the theories of poverty are minimally addressed in the major textbooks utilized in the social policy area of the curriculum, where one might expect more attention and analysis.

There are a number of limitations to our analysis. First, it relies upon the HB&SE textbooks identified in a national study on textbooks that had been utilized in 2002 (Taylor, Austin, & Mulroy, 2004) rather than gathering more recent data to see if other HB&SE textbooks have been more frequently adopted. Second, an in-depth review of all pages in each HB&SE textbook was not conducted, possibly missing important information that was not noted in either the table of contents or the index. Finally, the three co-authors of this analysis divided the responsibility for analyzing one cluster of the three types of textbooks with minimal attention to inter-rater reliability; one co-author reviewed life cycle textbooks, another reviewed systems textbooks, and another reviewed...
theory textbooks. Given these limitations, it is clear that further study of the poverty content in HB&SE textbooks is needed.

**FINDINGS**

**Life Cycle Textbooks**

The total percentage of pages that included poverty and poverty-related terms in the six life cycle textbooks range from 1.8 to 5.4% of the text. In some cases, poverty is not even listed in the index. Taylor et al. (2004) identified a life cycle textbook as one in which the majority of the content emphasizes the developmental stages of individuals and/or families across the life span.

The context for describing poverty in the six life cycle textbooks can be illustrated in three different ways: (1) integrated throughout the text, (2) combined with other risks or barriers to healthy development, or (3) located in a section devoted specifically to poverty. Three of the textbooks (Germain & Bloom, 1999; Saleebey, 2001; Urdang, 2002) describe poverty, unemployment, or homelessness in many different chapters, without any discernible pattern. For example, Germain and Bloom offer a brief critique of potentially disempowering language used by human service staff working with poor people. They include this content in a chapter focused on birth and infancy, and then later mention the impacts of homelessness in a chapter on childhood. Other textbooks focus on risks for healthy development (Ashford, LeCroy, & Lortie, 2001; Hutchison, 2003) by discussing poverty in sections with titles such as ‘Social Hazards’ and ‘Risks’ related to various stages of the life cycle. While Hutchison only includes poverty as an important risk factor up to and including middle childhood, Ashford et al. briefly explore the impact of poverty at every stage of the life cycle. Finally, the textbook that develops a specific nine-page section on poverty entitled “Poverty: Impacts of Social and Economic Forces” focuses primarily on social systems and middle adulthood (Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 2004). In this section Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman (2004) provide information about measuring poverty, the causes of poverty, the impacts of poverty, and a discussion of competing theories of poverty (e.g., culture of poverty, functionalism, conflict theory, and interactionist theory).

The second criteria used to assess the HB&SE textbooks featured the extent to which poverty is addressed throughout the text. While the
life cycle textbooks make an attempt to explain some of the causes of poverty, they do not address the impact of poverty across the life span. Two of the textbooks emphasize the structural causes of poverty. Saleebey (2001) criticizes the inadequacy of the United States welfare system and the public’s reluctance to help those truly in need, while Urdang (2001) considers the economic and political factors that can lead to poverty. These two textbooks, as well as Hutchison (2003), generally restrict their discussion of the impact of poverty on childhood (e.g., under-funded public schools in poor neighborhoods), as well as developmental delays, poor health, and mental health. Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman highlight the psychological impact of poverty related to the internalized scorn of society and the acceptance of their inferior social status. Only Ashford et al. (2001) briefly identify the risk factors associated with poverty from birth to death.

With respect to the third criteria related to explaining poverty in terms of the interaction between human behavior and the social environment, the majority of the textbooks note that aspects of the social environment lead to poverty which, in turn, impacts human behavior. Only Urdang (2001) and Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman (2004) attempt to characterize this interaction as reciprocal. Urdang (2001) views “economic factors are one of the most compelling aspects of life affecting (and being affected by) human behavior” (p. 127), noting that economic forces are the result of human behaviors by those in positions of power. Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman (2004) view the behaviors of citizens and practitioners as critical for changing the environmental factors that impact on the poor, rather than focusing on the behaviors of those attempting to cope or escape from poverty.

The fourth and final criteria for assessing HB&SE textbooks relates to the universality of poverty. Four of the life cycle textbooks view those living in poverty as a distinct population, living a life that the majority of Americans do not witness or understand. Urdang contends that, while poverty is an aberration, anyone can experience periods of unemployment and endure its subsequent stresses. Only Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman explicitly promote the idea of the universality of poverty, maintaining “that the majority of Americans will encounter poverty firsthand during adulthood” (p. 436).

None of the six life cycle textbooks adequately address the four criteria used to assess these textbooks. Poverty receives a minimal amount of attention in all of these textbooks and when attention is given, there is little emphasis on the theories of poverty that explain the causes and impacts of poverty.
Systems Textbooks

Five widely-adopted HBSE systems textbooks were included in this analysis. The total percentage of pages in which poverty is discussed in each of the textbooks ranges from 2 to 12%. A systems textbook is defined by Taylor et al. (2004) as one that focuses primarily on the social environment, including chapters on individuals, families, groups, organizations, or communities.

Poverty is described in these systems textbooks using a variety of contexts. Schriver (2004) focuses on poverty in specific chapters related to gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, family units, and individuals where demographic factors provide the context. Longres (2000) discusses poverty in the context of culture and ethnicity, featuring the experiences of minority families living in poverty. Pillari and Newsome (1998) describe poverty in the context of other structural problems (e.g., homelessness, unemployment, and oppression) but not as a specific social problem that impacts human behavior. Hutchinson (2003) characterizes poverty in terms of social inequality that pervades different social systems, but gives little attention to the similarities and differences between poverty and social inequality. While Kirst-Ashman (2000) devotes several introductory pages to the topics of oppression, and social and economic justice, there is no other discussion of poverty elsewhere in the textbook.

In terms of the second criteria related to the diffusion of poverty content throughout the text, the number of pages allocated to the development of poverty in relation to other topics is very low. Schriver focuses on the impacts of poverty on the behaviors of certain populations but does not address theories that explain the causes of poverty. While Longres describes poverty from a family perspective, there is also little attention to the causes of poverty. Pillari and Newsome give a description of families living in poverty by contrasting them with those in social classes but do not explain the impact of poverty on these poor families or the role that groups, organizations, and communities play in addressing poverty. Although inequality is the main focus of Hutchinson’s book, it is not clear how poverty relates to the different systems presented in the textbook. Finally, Kirst-Ashman does not discuss poverty in the text, and there is no explication of its causes or potential impacts.

The third criterion for assessment involves the reciprocal relationship between human behavior and the social environment. Schriver argues that poverty is a result of the failure of systems in the social environment...
that can affect human behaviors and other systems. He explains as follows:

One critical consequence of the omission of concern for social environmental processes is failure to consider the impact of poverty and oppressions on development. Traditional perspectives often fail to question how individual developmental experiences and outcomes might be very different for persons living in poverty and/or faced with oppression from the larger environment because of gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, or disability than for financially well-off persons not faced with oppression. (Schriver, 2004, p. 169)

There is no evidence that the other four systems textbooks define the causes and impacts of poverty in terms of the interaction between human behavior and the social environment.

With respect to the fourth and final criteria for assessment regarding the universality of poverty, only Schriver clearly presents poverty as being a universal condition that requires efforts to reduce it. It is not possible to assess the other systems textbooks with respect to universality because of the insufficient attention given to poverty throughout the textbooks.

Systems theory focuses on the complex and interdependent relationships between people and their environment, and yet poverty, which could potentially impact these various relationships, generally receives very little attention in the five systems textbooks. The proportion of each text dedicated to the topic of poverty is minimal and therefore most of the systems textbooks do not meet the four criteria used for assessment.

**Theory Textbooks**

The three theory textbooks were also assessed using the four criteria noted in the Methods section. The total number of pages describing poverty and theories of causation and impact range from 0.2 to 7.9%. A theory textbook is defined by Taylor et al. (2004) as one that emphasizes multiple theoretical perspectives in the field of social work, including psychodynamic theory, systems theory, and cognitive behavioral theory.

The theory textbooks discuss poverty within a variety of contexts, but none of the theory textbooks include a chapter or section devoted entirely to poverty. Bloom and Klein (1997) mention the poverty-related
terms such as ‘class’ and ‘social stratification’ in two of their ‘Debates’ sections, but the word poverty could not be found in the text. Greene (1999) makes brief reference to poverty as a result of institutionalized oppression. The other textbook (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 1998) allots more space to poverty and poverty-related terms, primarily related to the theoretical framework of structural-functionalism and devotes a major section of a chapter to explanations of inequality using conflict theory.

In terms of the extent to which the concept of poverty is diffused and applied throughout the textbook, none of the theory textbooks provide a description of the causes and impacts of poverty. Robbins, Chatterjee, and Canda include poverty in a broader discussion of systems theory but only from the perspective of its role in maintaining a particular social system. None of the other theories identified in this textbook make any reference to the causes, conditions or impact of poverty. A range of theories are also offered by Greene, with poverty only mentioned as a form of institutionalized oppression within the context of the ecological perspective. Similarly, Bloom and Klein do not address poverty and its related concepts in any of the three sections in which they debate the philosophical, theoretical, and empirical issues related to HB&SE.

None of the theory textbooks utilized the concept of poverty to explain the interaction between human behavior and the social environment and none of them made reference to poverty as a universal experience. The authors of the three theory textbooks do not appear to perceive poverty as an important subject for HB&SE courses that would utilize their textbooks. Similar to the findings described above for the life cycle and systems textbooks, the theory textbooks do little to address the four criteria used in this analysis.

**INTERPRETATION**

Based on the preceding assessment, the 14 most frequently assigned HB&SE textbooks do not reflect an understanding of poverty that draws upon theories developed in an array of social science disciplines. Content devoted to poverty and its related terms comprise a very small percentage of the total pages in each text, often only briefly mentioned in one or two sentences. Generally, the textbook authors devote very little space to a discussion of poverty and appear to miss many opportunities to fully incorporate theories of poverty within their respective frameworks. For example, the life cycle textbooks generally do not describe
the impact of poverty across the life span, the systems textbooks do not link poverty to the various systems that comprise the social environment, and the theory textbooks do not reflect much interest in the theories of poverty found in other social science disciplines. With the exception of two life cycle textbooks and one systems textbook, poverty is not addressed in terms of the reciprocal relationship between human behavior and the social environment. The majority of HB&SE textbooks locate the causes of poverty solely within the social environment. Finally, only one life cycle textbook and one systems textbook regard poverty as a universal condition.

CONCLUSION

This study analyzed the poverty content of fourteen of the most frequently adopted human behavior and the social environment textbooks. Six life cycle textbooks, five systems textbooks, and three theory textbooks were assessed using criteria developed, in part, from psychological and sociological perspectives on poverty. These criteria included: (1) The context in which poverty is discussed, (2) The extent to which the theme of poverty is diffused throughout the textbook, (3) The extent to which poverty is viewed in terms of the interaction between human behavior and the social environment, and (4) The extent to which poverty is described as a universal condition.

This analysis raises a number of issues regarding the treatment of poverty in human behavior and social environment textbooks. Beyond a call for an expansion of poverty content, the question of how to improve HB&SE textbooks is not a simple one. In an effort to foster dialogue and debate on the ways to enrich the HB&SE curriculum with more content on poverty, the following questions are designed to stimulate student and faculty discussion:

To what extent are the theories of poverty-related primarily to an understanding of the social environment or human behavior? Clearly the concepts noted in this analysis that related to psychology and sociology helped to frame a debate on this question. However, the micro perspectives of psychology and the macro perspectives of sociology also need to be informed by concepts found in political science, economics, and anthropology with regard to the mezzo perspectives of group behavior.

If most HB&SE textbooks focus predominantly on human behavior and this orientation matches the vast majority of faculty who teach HB&SE from a psychosocial perspective, then, to what extent is this ori-
entation an issue that emerges from the limited attention given to poverty in the discipline of psychology? CSWE accreditation standards calling for HB&SE courses to feature the reciprocal interaction between human behavior and the social environment suggest that faculty educated in the psychological tradition may need to reach out to faculty educated in the other social science fields in order to enhance their course content and related readings.

If one of the functions of HB&SE is to synthesize relevant social science research and theories, then, how reflective is HB&SE content of current research, especially related to poverty? Both psychology and sociology are moving towards an integration of human behavior and the social environment, yet this trend is not reflected in the 14 textbooks reviewed in this analysis. In addition, social science disciplines other than psychology and sociology seem under-utilized in the HB&SE curriculum.

Which of the following seems most important: (1) understanding the impact of poverty at every stage of the life course (e.g., childhood, adulthood, aging), or (2) understanding the reciprocal nature of poverty in terms of how it impacts behavior (as a force in the social environment); or how human behavior influences the social environment of poverty? While it is apparent that poverty has a different impact on a child than on an older adult, the life cycle textbooks do not acknowledge this phenomenon and the systems theory textbooks do not adequately address the reciprocal relationships.

If poverty is a central concept in the history and identity of the social work profession, how should it be linked to the major fields of practice (child welfare, mental health, health, aging, corrections, etc.)? The 14 textbooks in this analysis consistently ignore major fields of practice, suggesting that the behavior of a child in a child welfare environment is similar to the behavior of a child in a health care environment, thereby ignoring the differences in behaviors as well as the differences in the social environment of service delivery.

If one of the functions of HB&SE is to inform practice (i.e., provide concepts and frameworks that assist practitioners in making assessments at the micro, mezzo, and macro levels), then how well are the theories of poverty understood in order to assess clients? The case is currently being made throughout the CSWE standards about the importance of a variety of demographic factors in assessing the needs of clients (ethnicity, race, gender, age, ability, sexual orientation, spirituality, etc.). It is not clear that the causes and impacts of poverty are receiving similar attention in the client assessment process. Therefore, the challenge
facing educators and researchers is to find ways to integrate the multiple social science theories of poverty into a broader conceptualization of human behavior and the social environment.

In conclusion, social work is distinguished from other helping professions by its unique focus on poverty and poverty-related issues, and this should be reflected in HB&SE textbooks and courses. This analysis serves as a call for dialogue regarding the reframing of HB&SE curriculum content to include more attention to the theories of poverty.

REFERENCES

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APPENDIX

Section 1: HB&SE Textbooks Reviewed

Life Cycle Textbooks

Systems Textbooks


Theory Textbooks


Section 2: Social Welfare Policy Texts Reviewed