Behavioural Implications in Impoverishment of The Subaltern Sustainable Livelihood Models

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Abstract: There are several causative factors of perpetuation of poverty including economic, social, psychological, political, structural, cultural, environmental and physical. Among these the psychological factors particularly behavioural paradigm focus on social psychological reasons influencing the penetration and perpetuation of poverty. As regards the livelihood models of the poor most of them are not sustainable due to the influence of the behavioural structures and patterns of the poor making them circle around the whirlpool of impoverishment. The subaltern culture force them to stick on to such delimiting behaviours whether it is fatalism, idleness, addiction habits, debts, extravagancy, lack of saving, having no future financial plan and a host of others. It is a conceptual paper to analyse the behavioural implications in the perpetuation of poverty and consequently failure in sustainability of livelihood means. Educational illiteracy, growing unemployment, geographical and climatic hit backs add to the menace. The paper calls for studies on prevailing structures and the need for social work intervention in terms of public participation towards social enterprises and social innovations to tackle the unsustainable nature of livelihood models of the poor. Extracts of interview with community leaders are added to support the theoretical framework. Social work methods, particularly community organization must focus upon this area to find suitable remedy.

Key words: Behavioural implications, impoverishment, subaltern culture, sustainable livelihood

Introduction

Small scale livelihood initiatives are in fast pace in Indian subcontinent with several successful models. Social mobilization is considered as the mass movement to engage people's participation in a process and is used by the grass-root organizations to achieve a common goal. Social mobilization is the process of bringing together all feasible and practical inter-sectoral allies/partners to raise awareness of and demand for a particular programme, to assist in the delivery of resources and services and to strengthen community participation for sustainability and self-reliance. The 'Poverty Alleviation

Paradigm' is based on the principles of self-help to build sustainable livelihoods and sustainable communities; micro finance is often an integrated part of the strategy for poverty alleviation. However most of them die out in the long run or do not contribute substantially in the poverty alleviation process. In search of the causative factors there could be various strategic and societal elements that work out like a whirlpool making poverty 'sustainable' instead of livelihood 'sustainable'.

Poverty and Social Inequality

According to the World Health Organization (1995), 'The world's most ruthless killer and the greatest cause of suffering on earth is extreme poverty.' This statement emphasises the importance of poverty as a variable adversely influencing health. Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon, encompassing inability to satisfy basic needs, lack of control over resources, lack of education and poor health. Poverty can be intrinsically alienating and distressing, and of particular concern are the direct and indirect effects of poverty on the development and maintenance of emotional, behavioural and psychiatric problems.

Vijaya Murali et al (2004), observed that the measurement of poverty is based on incomes or consumption levels, and people are considered poor if their consumption or income levels fall below the 'poverty line', which is the minimum level necessary to meet basic needs. It should be emphasised that for the analysis of poverty in a particular country, the World Bank bases the poverty line on the norms for that society.

Poverty and social inequality have direct and indirect effects on the social, mental and physical well-being of an individual. It is important to note that poverty and inequality are closely linked. Wilkinson (1997) believed that income inequality produces psychosocial stress, which leads to deteriorating health and higher mortality over time. However, the association between income inequality and life expectancy is slowly disappearing and is no longer widely accepted. Those who live in deprived communities, where there is underinvestment in the social and physical infrastructure, experience poor health, resulting in higher mortality for those of lower socio-economic class. The effects of income inequality also spill over into society, causing stress, frustration and family disruption, which then increase the rates of crime, homicide and violence (Wilkinson, 1996).

As the poverty leads to mental health problems it is also correlated with several other factors that spirally perpetuate poverty and make its victims a perennial problem never ever be able to come out of it.

A study by Sukhdeep et al,(2011) showed that non availability of incentive for group leaders had a demotivating effect which may lead to gradual decline in the efficient functioning of SHGs. Antonio A R (2014) studied the paradox of poverty in rich ecosystem of Amazon. It offers an examination of poverty and development in the Amazon, moving beyond the conventional view which places the blame on infrastructure deficiencies, economic isolation or institutional failures. It examines synergistically connected processes that form the persistent poverty-making geography of the Amazon region. The study concluded that overcoming the imprint of poverty on Amazonian ecosystem entails a radical socio-ecological reaction. Additionally, the multiple and legitimate demands of low-income groups do not start from a state of hopeless destitution, but from a position of strength provided by their interaction with the forest ecosystems and with other comparable groups in the Amazon and elsewhere.

David Mosse (2007) studied on Power and the Durability of Poverty: A Critical Exploration of the Links between Culture, Marginality and Chronic Poverty and concluded that the interlocking circumstances of chronically poor cultivators living in deforested uplands, indebted migrant casual labourers on the urban fringes, and the social identities of adivasis and dalits ('tribals' and 'untouchables') subordinated in Indian society. This both highlights particular spatial and social inequalities in India, and reflects on the cultural construction of power; its effects on material well-being and agency, and on the opportunities and constraints in struggles for political representation.

Causality and Perpetuation of Poverty

There are several theories substantiating the causative factors contributing to the perpetuation of poverty.

The Black Report (Townsend *et al* 1992) highlights various explanations for the existing health inequalities, dividing them into four categories: artifact explanations; theories of natural or social selection; materialist or structuralist explanations; and cultural and behavioural explanations.

Artifact Theory

The artifact theory suggests that both class and health are artificial variables, and that the relationship between them may itself be an artifact. It is believed that the failure to reduce the gap between classes has been counterbalanced by the shrinkage in the relative size of the lower socio-economic classes themselves.

Natural Selection

Theories of natural or social selection relegate occupational class to the status of dependent variable, and health acquires the greater degree of causal significance. This explanation suggests that social class I has the lowest rate of premature mortality because it is made up of the strongest and most robust men and women in the population, and that class V has the weakest people. It puts forward the idea that poor health carries low social worth as well as low economic reward, but that these factors do not cause the high mortality.

Materialist Theories

Materialist or structuralist explanations emphasize the role of economic and associated socio-structural factors in the distribution of health. It is difficult to ascribe the premature mortality in the lower socio-economic class to subsistence poverty. Social class and the characteristics associated which belonging to that class have health implications. As poverty is a relative concept, people belonging to a low socio-economic class may be relatively disadvantaged in relation to the risks of illness or accident, or to the factors that promote a healthy lifestyle.

Behavioural Theories

The cultural or behavioural explanations of the distribution of health suggest that its unequal distribution in modern industrial society is the result of incautious lifestyles, wherein people harm themselves or their children by their excessive consumption of harmful commodities and refined foods, and by their underutilization of preventive health care and contraception. It is implied that there are subcultural lifestyles, rooted in personal characteristics and level of education, which govern behaviour. According to the 'culture of poverty' view of Oscar Lewis (1967), human existence in any given environment involves a process of biological and social adaptation which gives rise to the elaboration of a structure of norms, ideas and behaviours. This 'culture of poverty' over time seems to help individuals to cope with their environment. This view firmly ascribes poor health to the behaviour of people themselves, and by implication makes them fully responsible for the untoward outcomes. The implication that the poor are in some respects a homogeneous group has caused this view to be widely criticised by British social scientists (Rutter and Madge, 1976; Holman, 1978; Townsend, 1979).

Susan Harkness et al (2012) studied on the role of institutions, behaviours and culture upon the poverty. According to them the drivers of poverty can be thought of as falling into three categories. First, structural features of the

economy will influence the overall level of poverty: the level of wage inequality; employment opportunities (including for those from ethnic minority groups and disabled people who may otherwise face discrimination in finding work); barriers to work, such as high costs of childcare; and the tax and benefit systems all matter. Second, the characteristics of individuals also matter to their overall risk of being in poverty: for example, poverty is associated with characteristics such as low educational attainment or ill health as well as with family characteristics, particularly lone parenting. But the behaviours and attitudes of people in poverty (or their individual 'agency') may also matter and could provide a partial explanation as to why some individuals are living in poverty. Third, it has been argued that a 'culture of dependency' may exist. The literature has described cultures of worklessness existing both within families and being passed from one generation to the next (leading, for example, to intergenerational worklessness) or as persisting within geographical neighbourhoods. But it is also important to recognise the interrelationship between these drivers; government policy can, for example, influence behaviour by requiring claimants to engage in job search.

The Culture of Poverty

In Indian context the indigenous people who are generally considered as 'subaltern' or the 'voiceless' has the culture of poverty as they fall back on fatalism, no plans for future, semi nomadic in living style mostly habituated in tribal settlements in hills, valleys and forests. The fishermen's community found both in the east and west coastal belt of India again has the culture of 'not saving' for tomorrow. They spend lavishly when there is a 'good catch' and starve during off season.

Unemployment and Poverty

In the developing nations like India unemployment is a major problem. The number of educated unemployed is increasing over the years. Unemployment is the reflection of poverty. Due to lack of employment opportunities, people remain either unemployed or underemployed. Most of these unemployed and underemployed workers are the small and marginal farmers and the landless agricultural labourers. Unemployment prevails on account of various factors such as;

a. Lack of Motivation

Lack of motivation is an important cause of unemployment due to rural poverty. Some of those from rural and also urban youth do not have a motive to work hard or even to earn something. This accounts for the poverty of these groups of people.

b. Idleness

Most of the rural people are lazy, dull and reluctant to work. Hence they rot in poverty.

c. Low Agricultural Productivity

Poverty and real income are very much interrelated. Increase in real income leads to reduction of the magnitude of poverty. So far as agricultural sector is concerned, the farmers even today are following the traditional method of cultivation. Hence there is low agricultural productivity resulting in rural poverty.

d. Unequal Distribution of Land and Other Assets

Land and other forms of assets constitute sources of income for the people from rural settings. But, unfortunately, there has been unequal distribution of land and other assets in our economy. The size-wise distribution of operational holdings indicate a very high degree of concentration in the hands of a few farmers leading to poverty of many in the rural sector.

e. Decline of Village Industries

At present consequent upon industrialization, new factories and industries are being set up in rural areas. Village industries fail to compete with them in terms of quality and price. As a result they are closed down. The workers are thrown out of employment and lead a life of poverty.

f. Immobility of Labour

Immobility of labour also accounts, for rural poverty. Even if higher wages are offered, labourers are not willing to leave their homes. The joint family system makes people lethargic and stay-at-home.

India has nearly 6,00,000 villages and the villagers are mostly illiterate, ignorant, conservative, superstitious and fatalistic. Poverty is considered as god-given, something pre-ordained. All these are the cultural factors lead to abysmal poverty in rural India.

Habitual Factors Leading to Perpetuate Poverty

The major habits of the poor people are various addictions, debts, consumerism and hedonism. Let us analyse them briefly.

Addiction

The Centre for Social Justice has highlighted alcohol and drug addiction as one of their five "pathways to poverty" (Centre for Social Justice, 2006). This analysis describes these behaviours both as causes and consequences

of poverty, leading to a cumulative cycle of deepening poverty that needs to be broken. Yet, while poverty affects more than one in five of the population, serious problems of drug and alcohol addiction are of a different order of magnitude. Best estimates of the number of problematic drug users ('PDUs', defined as users of crack cocaine or opiates), for example, suggest that 0.89 per cent of the population is affected (Hay et al., 2011) while 3.8 per cent of the adult population (1.6 million people) is estimated to be dependent on alcohol (this group is identified using the Adult Use Disorders Identification Test, NICE, 2011).

Problematic drug use (PDU) is also correlated with poverty, as Shaw et al. (2007) report, with those at the "margins" of society most at risk, such as those in care, excluded from school and in contact with criminal justice or mental health services, and homeless people. Shaw et al, also reports evidence which suggests that the poorest communities and those with high levels of unemployment are most affected by PDU. Causal effects include poor social capital within communities and weak family networks. Others link PDU to limited opportunities and structural disadvantages: Buchanan (2004, reported in Shaw et al., 2007) argues that PDU may be a "socially constructed phenomenon that has less to do with individual choice or physical dependence, and much more to do with the structural disadvantages, limited opportunities, alternatives and resources". In particular, he suggests that disadvantage and exclusion were major issues preceding a drugs habit for PDUs.

Debt

In India most of the small scale farmers and businessmen depend upon money lenders for their livelihood investment. If there is crop failure or business loss they are unable to repay the loan often with huge interest. It leads to heavy financial burden and consequent poverty often ends up in suicides. The farmers' suicide is a major problem in India and several Third World countries.

The final pathway to poverty that the Centre for Social Justice (2006) identifies is personal debt. While those with low incomes are at greatest risk of debt, research for JRF has shown that what sets apart borrowing by those on low incomes from the rest of the population is not the fact that they use credit (growing indebtedness over the last decade was widespread as a 'culture' of borrowing grew) but rather their indebtedness often arose because their income levels made borrowing a necessity in order to meet basic day-to-day needs (Dearden et al., 2010). Six in every ten adults living in the poorest income quintile turn to borrowing over a 12-month period (Collard

and Kempson, 2005). For many, serious debt problems result from an accumulation of debt over time as a result of persistently low levels of income. Other research supports the link between low income and borrowing for essentials; for example, Dearden et al. (2010) find that over-indebtedness is typically a result of inadequate income rather than profligate consumption. For those on low incomes, the cost of being indebted is often much higher than it is to those on higher incomes and with more serious consequences.

"The poor pay more for many things – but, arguably, it is the extent to which they pay more for credit that puts the greatest strain on their budgets. In fact, levels of credit use vary little with household income. But, in contrast to people who are better off, people on low incomes borrow more often for necessities and use sources of credit that have higher charges." (Collard and Kempson, 2005)

Consumerism

The Globalization often leads to competitive markets and it promotes consumerism. The poor spends most of their earnings upon consumer goods and often it becomes a life style in certain geographical areas like coastal belt as mentioned above. The 'culture of hire purchase' again leads to consumerist habit and in turn accumulates debt leading to poverty. Hence the consumer behaviour although contributes to economic growth people having low purchase ability it becomes a path way to poverty.

A lot has been said about the society of consumption. Control over others, through processes of possession, domination, and seduction, are the main mechanisms at work here. Possessing material goods (or the wealth that allows possession of them) is supposed to be the natural aim of human action, and the sole source of prestige, respect and social status. This is of course encouraged by advertising and marketing campaigns, that sometimes run very deep, such as those purveyed by the automotive industry. In some cases, one can observe people who withdraw from business and worldly preoccupations, and turn towards the wisdom of India or other far East countries where spirituality is still rooted in the culture. (Gandhi had well defined Indian identity as a spiritual one, opposed to Western "materialism".) This is a reaction against the excesses of the 'possession' values, for which this wisdom substitutes 'detachment'. In general, as James Redfield rightly observed, spiritual consciousness and preoccupations are progressing significantly in the Western countries, in a way or another, as one can see through the clothing or hairstyle fashions, musical trends, or trendy restaurant decor, which express the fascination that Westerners feel for the spiritual far East. Dearden et al. (2010) point to high levels of consumer temptation leading to credit card expenditure among the young, with this debt then carried over into adult life; important life shocks such as having children or relationship breakdown; the onset of disability or ill health; or large unexpected expenditure shocks. Thus consumerism is a whirlpool of impoverishment in the behaviour of the subalterns.

Hedonism

The increased urge to seek pleasures mostly found in the western culture is gradually creeping into the rest of the world. The business community promotes it on the grounds of commercial gains. However the culture of hedonism dehumanizes increasing the rift between the rich and the poor. The poor who are equally ambitious when not able to achieve the materialistic target adopt antisocial means to meet their ends. Further the 'culture of hedonism' empties the financial sources as often emotional gains are not in tune with the income generated. In this culture, personal attractiveness and youth become capital values. Consuming goods can also be a source of this pleasure that is supposed to guarantee happiness in opposition to the sterner former morality, which insisted on the accomplishment of duties and responsibilities, on work and constructive values. Of course, the Communitarian Movement was also on the track as it suggested balancing individual rights with responsibilities.

Social Factors Perpetuating Poverty

a. Education

Education is an agent of social change and egalitarianism. Poverty is also said to be closely related to the levels of schooling and these two have a circular relationship. The earning power is endowed in the individual by investment in education and training. But this investment in people takes away money and lack of human investment contributes to the low earning capacity of individuals. A large body of existing research shows that children from poorer backgrounds do less well in a number of dimensions than their peers. Aspirations, attitudes and behaviours of parents and children matter to their achievements too, and play a potentially important role in explaining why those from low-income families perform less well. Gregg and Goodman's report (2010) finds key differences between children from poorer and better-off homes for pre-school children, those at primary school and children of secondary school age. For those under 5, Gregg and Goodman identify differences in health and well-being (e.g., birth weight, breastfeeding and maternal depression); family interaction (e.g., mother-child closeness);

parenting styles and rules (e.g., having regular bedtimes and mealtimes); and the home learning environment (e.g., reading to children and presence of books). As children go to primary school, the gap between children from poor backgrounds and others grows further. Differences in parental attitudes and educational aspirations for their children, and the greater behavioural problems in children of primary school age from low-income backgrounds, are found to explain around one-third of the difference in progress made between rich and poor children between the ages of 7 and 11.

Socio-economic status forms a huge part of this equation. Children raised in poverty rarely choose to behave differently, but they are faced daily with overwhelming challenges that affluent children never have to confront, and their brains have adapted to suboptimal conditions in ways that undermine good school performance.

The most significant risk factors affecting children raised in poverty are;

- Emotional and Social Challenges.
- Acute and Chronic Stressors.
- Cognitive Lags.
- Health and Safety Issues.

Combined, these factors present an extraordinary challenge to academic and social success. This reality does not mean that success in school or life is impossible. On the contrary, a better understanding of these challenges points to actions, educators can take to help their less-advantaged students succeed.

b. Caste System

Caste system in India has always been responsible for rural poverty. The subordination of the low caste people by the high caste people caused the poverty of the former. Due to rigid caste system, the low caste people could not participate in the game of economic progress. A Shudra was not allowed to become a trader and a Vaisya could earn his bread only by trade.

c. Joint Family System

The joint family system provides social security to its members. Some people take undue advantage of it. They live upon the income of others. They become idlers. Their normal routine of life consists in eating, sleeping and begetting children.

In this way poverty gets aggravated through joint family system.

d. Social Customs

The people from rural spend a large percentage of annual earnings on social ceremonies like marriage, death feast etc. As a result, they remain in debt and poverty.

In this way people are poor because they have little investment in themselves and poor people do not have the funds for human capital investment.

The Family Structures in Relation to Poverty

Susan et al (2012) further states that in the UK, 46 per cent of children in lone-parent families were in relative poverty in 2009/10 compared with 24 per cent of those living with couples. Unfortunately official statistics do not yet give a breakdown by marital status. However, looking at very young children using Millennium Cohort Survey data, Kiernan et al. (2011) find that, when children were aged three, the likelihood of being in the bottom income quintile stood at 21 per cent for those whose parents were married, 38 per cent among cohabiters, and at 81 per cent for those living with lone parents. While incomes are lower for cohabiting mothers than for those who marry, the position of cohabiters is very different in the UK than the US, from where comparative evidence is often drawn. As Kiernan et al. (2011) note, "cohabiting mothers in the UK [are] only slightly more disadvantaged than their married counterparts, cohabiting mothers in the US tend to be far worse off and more closely resemble lone mothers than married ones".

However, these associations between family types and poverty tell us little about causality. The extent of causality is unclear for two reasons: first, groups such as lone parents or teenage mothers may have a greater risk of being in poverty not because of their family status per se but because they are more likely to have other characteristics, such as low educational attainment, which raise the risk of poverty. Second, family structures may not only be a cause but also a consequence of poverty.

In this context an evaluative study is done based on the field action projects of social work education and the available secondary sources unearthed the behavioral implications that constitute into the prevalence of poverty among such livelihood entrepreneurs.

The Major Factors of Prevailing Impoverishment

It may be alcoholism, gambling or similar social evil habits or lack of saving and thrift spending. The under utilization and mismanagement of government funds in livelihood development is another menace to the entire phenomenon. The subaltern culture of inferiority and lack of confidence add to submissive

behavior making slavish the independent efforts made by several NGOs towards sustainable development.

Putting poverty in a broader conceptual framework also constitutes a feature of more recent approaches. The increasing reference to the concepts of vulnerability and livelihoods marks the search for a better understanding of the environment in which poverty takes place and a shift towards more comprehensive poverty reduction strategies (FAO, 2000b). Within a sustainable livelihood framework, reducing poverty does not only involve better income, it also concerns providing broader livelihood-related choices. Expanding livelihood choices involves placing greater emphasis on the interface between agriculture production and other activities. Emerging forms of diversified livelihoods contribute to spreading risk and reducing vulnerability. Vulnerability of the poor restricts their livelihood choices. In many countries vulnerability has increased recently as a result of a growing prevalence of HIV/AIDS and political disturbance. Poverty-reduction efforts, particularly in rural areas, involve reducing poor people's vulnerability.

The deserted regions of Rajasthan we find poor people still cling on to traditional trades irrespective of their less productivity. Inertia is prevalent among the rural employees who are reluctant from any type of livelihood changes.

To explore further alcoholism and use of pan parag or similar drug is a major behavioural symptom found among rural poor. Each day, they spend nearly hundred rupee for such habits. No money is left for saving. Is it the internal psyche and superstitious fate based culture that contributes to such impoverishment or an external suppressive characteristic of the powerful and the affluent? This analytical study makes a breakeven to explore the factors that contribute to the community resistance in making the livelihood projects failed and keeping the marginalized community in poverty throughout. In this study, interviewing the community leaders, the following factors were reported.

- 1. The poor are satisfied with the minimum they earn. They want to enjoy here and now and do not want to save for future as tomorrow is uncertain
- 2. The male workers focus on spending the money on alcohol, and other drugs which empty their pocket.
- 3. The female workers spend the money on dress material and cosmetics and chewing tobacco with betel leaves is one of their habits.

- 4. Although micro finance is running, it does not contribute substantially to the family income.
- 5. The mismanagement of the government fund to be used for sustainable livelihood is another reason why the poverty still persists in the society.
- 6. Increased dependency on fatalism and superstitious beliefs make the rural folk tied down to existing impoverished subaltern structures with no effort to come out of it.
- 7. Lack of confidence and increased fearfulness lead them to be satisfied with the existing situation not ready to venture into any innovative livelihood means.

Evaluating the bahaviour of the employees engaged in Beedi works which covers nearly 75% of housebound work in Dakshina Kannada district, more than 60% of them are having habits of using alcohol, chewing tobacco or pan parag.

Another 40% are satisfied with the current livelihood although it gives only meager income.

Majority of the village workers attribute their poverty to fatalism. They feel that they are born in such and such caste and they are indebted to the higher caste, development and riches are not meant for them. They consider it as a curse of deities who are unfavourable to them due to their past life misdeeds.

Conclusion

The subaltern culture perpetrate poverty due to these studied factors which needs in-depth research both quantitative and qualitative to find out means and ways to remedy such chains that bond the livelihood sustainability towards poverty eradication. The culture of poverty prevails on account of the habits apart from the external economic forces. The social inequality is further widened as a result of fatalistic beliefs by which the poor hardly make any effort to come out of the impoverishing environments. The policy makers need to focus upon the behavioural implications of the impoverishment of the poor to find proper strategies to generate awareness among the poor about these delimiting factors to find suitable remedy. The social activists and those who work for the upliftment of the poor should spend time in helping the poor to get out of the habituating tendencies that perpetuate poverty. Needless to say the responsibility of civic society is greater to improve social capital and community networks through neighbourhood groups that promote sustainable livelihood liberated from the evils of impoverishment.

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