

# Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals

by Charles A. Valentine

With the agreement of author and publisher, *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals*, by Charles A. Valentine (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1968) was sent for review, along with a copy of the précis printed below, to 30 Associates. The following responded with reviews: Catherine H. Berube, Edsel Bissesswar, John H. Bushnell, Peter Carrera, Thomas Gladwin, Ulf Hansson, V. K. Kochar, Eleanor Leacock, Oscar Lewis, William Mangin, David Matza, Margaret Mead, Walter B. Miller, and Daniel P. Moynihan. Their reviews appear below, followed by a reply from the author.

## Author's Précis

This is a critical study of ideas about poverty and the poor. Written from an anthropological viewpoint, it focuses on prominent contemporary writings about poverty by social scientists. Examination of crucial issues in this literature leads to proposals in four interdependent areas: (1) the theory of poverty; (2) research methods for validating the theory; (3) public policy to deal with the social problems of poverty; and (4) philosophical positions consistent with these proposals.

The discussion opens by clarifying the central concepts of culture and poverty as used throughout the book. The idea of culture is identified with the consensus that has grown up within anthropology as to the meaning of this term: The whole way of life created, followed, and passed on by human groups. Implications of this concept are briefly explored, including its relationship to ethnographic methodology, to humanist philosophy, and to humanitarian ideology. The essence of poverty is shown to be social inequality and relative deprivation in terms of culturally recognized values. The relevance of this definition of poverty for stratified complex societies with egalitarian ideologies is made explicit. The assertion is made that the twin concepts "culture of poverty" and "lower-class culture" constitute misunderstandings of the poor and contradictions of the idea of culture. Most of the book is devoted to supporting this assertion and proposing

alternative ideas that are more useful or constructive.

An influential source of the sociological conception of "lower-class culture" in America is E. Franklin Frazier's several works portraying the urban Negro poor as utterly disorganized (Frazier 1932, 1939, 1957, 1966). From this background has grown a pejorative, moralistic tradition that has been cultivated by Nathan Glazer, Daniel P. Moynihan, and others (Glazer 1966; Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Moynihan 1965, 1966, 1967a, b). Weak in method and static in theory, this approach prominently displays the contention or implication that poverty is perpetuated primarily by defects in the lifeways of the poor. There is an associated tendency to confuse the ethnic group "Negro" with the stratification category "lower class". This school of thought produces policy which stresses "self-help" and offers for the most part token assistance. In effect, the position is taken that the poor cannot enjoy equality unless they adopt middle-class conventions. To solve associated social problems it is the poor who must be changed, not the society as a whole. The ideological implications of this tradition amount to a lightly veiled Social Darwinism.

The idea of a "culture of poverty" comes from the well-known work of Oscar Lewis, though it has been endlessly popularized and applied by others (Lewis 1959, 1961, 1966a, b; cf. CA 8: 480-500). These writings present serious and thoughtful attempts to develop new ethnographic methods and to adapt the culture concept to elucidating certain

kinds of modern poverty. Moreover, Lewis is an avowed humanist with an explicitly humanitarian interest in the people he studies. His abstractions of the life of the poor are contradicted, however, by his own data, and his methods are inadequate to support his theory. While he describes his own work as an indictment of society—not of the poor—his policy proposals indicate that it is primarily the lifeways of poor people which he believes must be reformed. Focusing on disorganization and pathology in the ways of the poor, he insistently assigns first priority to doing away with the "culture of poverty," not poverty itself.

Thus, in effect and in implications, the notions of "lower-class culture" and "culture of poverty" are much the same. Along with a host of minor variants under different labels (e.g., "cultural deprivation"), these conceptions dominate virtually all public attention to the problems of poverty and clearly guide most governmental policies and programs dealing with the poor, pre-eminently the "war on poverty."

A few social scientists are pursuing a different line of thought. Clark (1965; also HARYOU 1964) points out that the "cult of cultural deprivation" serves to rationalize discrimination against the poor. Gladwin, beginning with early doubts about the scientific validity of the "culture of poverty" (1961), has come to believe (1967) that the "war on poverty," founded on that very conception, is a failure. Liebow (1967) documents the assertion that street-corner men—far from representing a separate culture—strive to live by standard American values but are continually met by externally imposed failure.

Working in part from clues in these and other sources, the author suggests a series of key methodological and con-

# Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals

**Lingjun Ying**



## **Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals:**

## **Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals** Book Review: Unveiling the Power of Words

In a global driven by information and connectivity, the ability of words has are more evident than ever. They have the capability to inspire, provoke, and ignite change. Such is the essence of the book **Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals**, a literary masterpiece that delves deep into the significance of words and their impact on our lives. Published by a renowned author, this captivating work takes readers on a transformative journey, unraveling the secrets and potential behind every word. In this review, we will explore the book is key themes, examine its writing style, and analyze its overall effect on readers.

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### **Table of Contents Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals**

1. Understanding the eBook Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - The Rise of Digital Reading Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - Exploring Different Genres
  - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
  - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
  - Popular eBook Platforms
  - Features to Look for in an Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - Personalized Recommendations
  - Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals User Reviews and Ratings

- Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals Free and Paid eBooks
  - Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals Public Domain eBooks
  - Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals eBook Subscription Services
  - Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals eBook Formats
  - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
  - Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals Compatibility with Devices
  - Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
  - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - Highlighting and Note-Taking Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - Interactive Elements Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
- 8. Staying Engaged with Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - Joining Online Reading Communities
  - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
  - Following Authors and Publishers Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - Benefits of a Digital Library
  - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
  - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
  - Minimizing Distractions
  - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - Setting Reading Goals Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Culture And Poverty Critique And Counter Proposals
  - Distinguishing Credible Sources

13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
  - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
  - Exploring Educational eBooks
14. Embracing eBook Trends
  - Integration of Multimedia Elements
  - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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