

The Psychology of Poverty: Cognitive, Identity, and Institutional Dynamics—An Integrative Approach in Global and Overseas Contexts

Catherine Hervé^{1,2}

¹Laboratoire DIRE (EA 7387), Université de La Réunion, Saint-Pierre, France

²Department of Social Careers, IUT de La Réunion, Université de La Réunion, Saint-Pierre, France

Email: catherine.herve@univ-reunion.fr

How to cite this paper: Hervé, C. (2026). The Psychology of Poverty: Cognitive, Identity, and Institutional Dynamics—An Integrative Approach in Global and Overseas Contexts. *Psychology*, 17, 793-803. <https://doi.org/10.4236/psych.2026.177039>

Received: June 11, 2026

Accepted: July 20, 2026

Published: July 23, 2026

Copyright © 2026 by author(s) and Scientific Research Publishing Inc. This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution International License (CC BY 4.0). <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>



Open Access

Abstract

The psychology of poverty has become a major field of research over the past decade, moving beyond deficit-based and individualizing explanations toward an understanding of poverty as a context that shapes cognition, identity, and social participation. This article provides an integrative narrative synthesis of research in cognitive, social, developmental, and institutional psychology. It brings together scarcity theory (Mullainathan & Shafir, 2013), economic stress models (Conger et al., 2010), research on poverty-related stigma (Walker, 2014; Tyler, 2020), and studies of subjective poverty. Subjective poverty is understood as individuals' perception of their own economic situation relative to others, regardless of their objective level of income. The article also conceptualizes psychological manifestations of poverty as adaptive responses, that is, functional psychological adjustments developed under persistent environmental constraints rather than indicators of individual deficits. La Réunion is used throughout the paper as an illustrative overseas case study, demonstrating how structural inequalities, insularity, and higher living costs may intensify well-established psychological mechanisms observed in international research. Within this perspective, institutional dynamics refer to the ways welfare systems, educational institutions, healthcare services, and labour-market organizations shape everyday experiences of poverty, influence access to resources, and affect psychological well-being. The article proposes an integrative framework combining cognitive, identity, and institutional dimensions and concludes by discussing implications for research, social policy, and professional practice aimed at reducing cognitive burden, strengthening dignity, and improving support for vulnerable populations in overseas contexts.

Keywords

Poverty Psychology, Scarcity, Subjective Poverty, Stigma, Cognitive Functioning, Institutional Dynamics, La Réunion

1. Introduction

Poverty has long been interpreted through models centred on individual characteristics, psychological dispositions, and behaviours. Approaches derived from the concept of a “culture of poverty” (Lewis, 1966) contributed to the idea that disadvantaged populations shared specific traits—such as present-oriented thinking, dependency, or limited planning abilities—that were transmitted across generations. These perspectives have since been widely criticized for their essentialist assumptions and limited empirical support (Small et al., 2010).

From the 1990s onward, a major theoretical shift occurred. Research in stress psychology (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), Conservation of Resources Theory (Hobfoll, 1989), and the Capability Approach (Sen, 1993) progressively redefined poverty as a constrained social environment characterized by uncertainty, vulnerability, and restricted opportunities rather than as a set of individual characteristics. Within this perspective, many psychological manifestations associated with poverty are better understood as adaptive responses—functional adjustments developed to cope with persistent environmental constraints—rather than as personal deficits.

More recent developments in cognitive, social, and developmental psychology have extended this perspective by demonstrating that economic scarcity affects executive functioning, emotional regulation, decision-making, and future-oriented thinking (Mullainathan & Shafir, 2013; Haushofer & Fehr, 2014). At the same time, research on stigma and subjective poverty—defined as individuals’ perception of their own economic position relative to others regardless of objective income—has shown that the psychological consequences of deprivation extend well beyond material resources. They are embedded in processes of social comparison, symbolic disqualification, and the internalization of social norms concerning success, responsibility, and merit.

The present article argues that a comprehensive understanding of poverty requires integrating three complementary dimensions: cognitive processes, identity construction, and institutional dynamics. Institutional dynamics refer to the ways welfare systems, educational institutions, healthcare services, and labour-market organizations shape daily experiences of poverty, influence access to resources, and contribute either to psychological vulnerability or resilience.

This framework is illustrated through the case of La Réunion, which is considered here as an illustrative overseas case study rather than as an exceptional situation. The island provides a particularly relevant context because several mechanisms documented in international research appear especially pronounced due to

structural inequalities, insularity, and higher living costs. According to [Insee \(2024a\)](#), 36.1% of the population lived below the poverty line in 2021, compared with 14.9% in mainland France, with nearly one in two minors affected. In addition, consumer prices are on average 9% higher than in mainland France, with substantially larger differences for food products ([Insee, 2023](#)). In such a context, poverty cannot be reduced to a lack of financial resources; it constitutes a daily experience characterized by constrained material trade-offs, heightened visibility of social inequalities, and sustained cognitive pressure.

Rather than presenting La Réunion as a unique case, this article uses it to illustrate how internationally established psychological mechanisms may be intensified in overseas territories facing structural socio-economic constraints. The objective is therefore to propose an integrative analytical framework combining cognitive, identity, and institutional perspectives while highlighting the importance of territorial context in shaping the lived experience of poverty.

2. Objective and Subjective Poverty

Contemporary poverty research distinguishes between objective poverty, defined through measurable indicators such as income, employment status, or material deprivation, and subjective poverty, which refers to individuals' own perception of their economic situation relative to others. This distinction builds upon [Festinger's \(1954\)](#) theory of social comparison, emphasizing that people evaluate their circumstances not only against objective standards but also through comparisons with relevant social groups.

A growing body of international research demonstrates that subjective poverty constitutes an important predictor of psychological well-being. Even among individuals with comparable income levels, those who perceive themselves as poor consistently report higher levels of anxiety, depressive symptoms, perceived stress, and lower life satisfaction ([Delhey & Kohler, 2006](#); [Chang et al., 2020](#)). These relationships suggest that the psychological consequences of poverty cannot be explained solely by material deprivation. Rather, they emerge through continuous processes of social comparison, perceived relative disadvantage, and the internalization of cultural norms regarding success, autonomy, and personal responsibility.

Beyond income itself, subjective poverty reflects everyday experiences of insecurity, uncertainty, and reduced control over one's future. It therefore represents an essential psychological dimension of poverty, complementing objective socio-economic indicators and helping to explain individual differences in adaptation among people living under similar material conditions.

The case of La Réunion illustrates how these internationally documented mechanisms may become particularly salient in overseas contexts characterized by persistent structural inequalities. The coexistence of high poverty rates, marked income disparities, geographical insularity, and a higher cost of living makes social comparison especially visible in everyday life. Under these circumstances, subjective poverty is shaped not only by relative income but also by repeated experiences

of constrained consumption, restricted life choices, and difficulties in projecting oneself into attainable futures.

Recent empirical evidence reinforces this interpretation. [Alivon & Ricci \(2024\)](#) demonstrate that water and energy insecurity are closely associated with low income, unemployment, and precarious occupational situations in La Réunion. Their findings illustrate how material deprivation extends beyond financial resources to affect everyday security, social participation, and personal dignity. Consequently, poverty should be understood as a multidimensional experience encompassing economic, cognitive, social, and symbolic dimensions rather than merely a deficit of material resources.

3. Economic Stress, Scarcity, and Cognitive Functioning

A substantial body of international research has demonstrated that poverty influences cognitive functioning through persistent economic stress and the experience of scarcity. Rather than reflecting limited cognitive ability, many observed psychological effects arise from the continuous need to manage constrained resources and uncertainty.

Scarcity Theory ([Mullainathan & Shafir, 2013](#)) proposes that limited financial resources capture attention toward immediate needs, creating a “tunnelling” effect that narrows cognitive focus while reducing the mental resources available for planning, problem-solving, and long-term decision-making. Experimental studies have confirmed that financial concerns can temporarily impair executive functioning, reasoning, working memory, and cognitive flexibility, independently of individuals’ underlying intellectual abilities ([Mani et al., 2013](#)).

These findings are consistent with broader psychological models of stress, particularly Conservation of Resources Theory ([Hobfoll, 1989](#)), which argues that the threat or actual loss of valued resources constitutes a major source of chronic stress. Under persistent economic insecurity, individuals must constantly allocate cognitive and emotional resources to meeting basic needs, leaving fewer resources available for future planning, learning, or self-regulation.

Importantly, these cognitive changes should not be interpreted as personal deficits. Rather, they represent adaptive responses to environments characterized by uncertainty, repeated trade-offs, and limited opportunities. From this perspective, behaviours frequently described as impulsive, short-sighted, or poorly planned may instead reflect rational adaptations to contexts in which immediate survival takes precedence over long-term optimization.

The case of La Réunion illustrates how these internationally documented mechanisms may be intensified in an overseas territory marked by structural socioeconomic inequalities. High levels of precarious employment, unstable income, and elevated living costs contribute to a sustained state of financial vigilance for many households. Recent data from [Santé publique France \(2025\)](#) indicate elevated levels of anxiety and depressive symptoms among individuals experiencing financial hardship, while national evidence reported by [Hazo \(2025\)](#) confirms the

close relationship between economic insecurity and deteriorating mental health.

Taken together, these findings suggest that poverty generates a cumulative cognitive and emotional burden that extends well beyond material deprivation alone. In overseas contexts such as La Réunion, structural constraints may amplify these processes, reinforcing the need to interpret cognitive functioning within its social, economic, and territorial environment rather than through an individual-deficit perspective.

4. Stigma, Identity, and Institutional Relations

International research consistently demonstrates that poverty is not only a condition of material deprivation but also a socially stigmatized status. According to Goffman (1963), stigma produces a “spoiled identity,” requiring individuals to manage negative social representations in their everyday interactions. Poverty is frequently interpreted through moral judgments, whereby financial hardship is attributed to personal failure, lack of effort, or insufficient responsibility rather than to structural inequalities.

Recent studies have shown that poverty-related stigma operates through several interconnected psychological mechanisms. Beyond external discrimination, individuals may internalize negative stereotypes, leading to lower self-esteem, increased psychological distress, social withdrawal, and reduced help-seeking behaviour. Anticipated shame and fear of being judged also contribute to the non-take-up of social benefits, even when individuals are legally entitled to them (Baumberg, 2016). Consequently, stigma not only affects psychological well-being but also reinforces material disadvantage by limiting access to available resources.

These processes are closely linked to institutional dynamics. Institutions do not simply administer social policies; they also shape how poverty is experienced, interpreted, and managed. Welfare agencies, schools, healthcare services, and labour-market institutions may either reduce or amplify the psychological burden associated with economic hardship. These processes are closely linked to institutional dynamics. Institutions do not simply administer social policies; they also shape how poverty is experienced, interpreted, and managed. Welfare agencies, schools, healthcare services, employment services, and labour-market institutions may either reduce or amplify the psychological burden associated with economic hardship. Administrative complexity, repeated eligibility assessments, fragmented support systems, and lengthy bureaucratic procedures may create what Herd and Moynihan (2022) describe as *administrative burden*: the learning, compliance, and psychological costs imposed on citizens when accessing public services. Such burdens may increase cognitive load, reinforce feelings of inadequacy, reduce trust in institutions, and discourage eligible individuals from seeking assistance. Conversely, institutions that promote accessibility, continuity of care, transparency, and person-centred support can strengthen dignity, perceived agency, and social participation. Conversely, institutions that promote accessibility, respect, continuity of care, and person-centred support can strengthen dignity, trust, and

perceived agency.

This institutional perspective is particularly relevant because poverty is experienced through repeated interactions with public services. The quality of these interactions influences not only access to financial or social support but also individuals' perceptions of legitimacy, belonging, and social recognition. Institutional environments therefore become active components of the psychological experience of poverty rather than merely external contexts.

The situation in La Réunion illustrates how these internationally documented mechanisms may become particularly visible in overseas settings marked by structural inequalities and limited access to certain services. Economic hardship, high unemployment, and geographical constraints may reinforce dependence on public institutions while simultaneously increasing concerns about social judgment. Institutional encounters may therefore be perceived as evaluative rather than supportive, contributing to distrust, avoidance, and delayed access to healthcare or social assistance. Recent evidence concerning unmet mental-health needs further suggests that help-seeking remains strongly influenced by issues of legitimacy, accessibility, and stigma.

Taken together, these findings support the view that poverty-related psychological difficulties emerge not only from economic deprivation itself but also from the social and institutional environments through which poverty is experienced. Integrating institutional dynamics alongside cognitive and identity processes therefore provides a more comprehensive understanding of the psychology of poverty and better reflects the multidimensional framework proposed in this article.

5. Development, Adolescence, and Aspirational Horizons

International research has consistently shown that childhood and adolescent poverty has long-term consequences for cognitive, emotional, and social development. Prolonged exposure to financial hardship is associated with chronic stress, reduced educational opportunities, and cumulative disadvantages that influence developmental trajectories throughout the life course (Conger et al., 2010). These effects arise not only from limited material resources but also from the interaction between family environment, neighbourhood conditions, educational opportunities, and institutional support.

Developmental psychology increasingly emphasizes that young people's expectations for the future are socially constructed. Educational aspirations, occupational ambitions, and perceptions of attainable life opportunities are shaped by both objective living conditions and the symbolic environments in which individuals grow up. In this respect, Appadurai's (2004) concept of the capacity to aspire provides a useful theoretical framework by suggesting that aspirations are themselves unequally distributed social resources.

The case of La Réunion illustrates how these mechanisms may operate within an overseas context characterized by structural socio-economic constraints. According to Insee (2024b), young people from La Réunion are less likely to leave

the island to pursue higher education than those living in comparable French regions, and marked social inequalities continue to shape educational trajectories. Rather than interpreting these patterns as evidence of limited ambition or motivation, they may be understood as realistic adaptations to perceived opportunity structures, economic uncertainty, and geographical constraints.

In this perspective, apparently modest aspirations should not automatically be viewed as indicators of low motivation or reduced psychological potential. Instead, they often reflect rational responses to environments in which access to higher education, professional mobility, or stable employment is perceived as uncertain or difficult. Such adaptive expectations illustrate how poverty influences not only present decision-making but also future-oriented identity construction.

These observations reinforce the broader argument developed throughout this article: psychological consequences of poverty extend beyond immediate economic hardship to influence how individuals imagine, evaluate, and plan their future. Understanding developmental trajectories therefore requires integrating cognitive, social, institutional, and territorial dimensions within a common analytical framework.

6. Psychosocial Resilience

Contemporary research no longer conceptualizes resilience as a fixed individual characteristic or a personal capacity that some people possess while others do not. Instead, resilience is increasingly understood as a dynamic ecological process emerging from continuous interactions between individuals and their social, family, community, and institutional environments (Ungar, 2011; Masten, 2014).

From this perspective, resilience in situations of poverty cannot be explained solely by psychological traits such as optimism, motivation, or perseverance. Rather, it depends on the availability of supportive relationships, access to education and healthcare, stable employment opportunities, social protection systems, and community resources that enable individuals to cope with adversity while maintaining a sense of dignity and agency.

International evidence suggests that resilience is strengthened when individuals experience supportive institutional environments capable of reducing chronic stress and reinforcing social participation. Conversely, prolonged economic insecurity, repeated exposure to stigma, administrative complexity, and fragmented support systems may progressively erode individual coping capacities, even among highly motivated individuals.

The case of La Réunion illustrates both the strengths and the limits of psychosocial resilience in structurally disadvantaged environments. Family solidarity, intergenerational support, neighbourhood networks, and community ties frequently constitute important protective factors that help individuals cope with economic hardship. These informal resources often compensate, at least partially, for limited material resources and contribute to psychological well-being.

However, resilience should not be romanticized. Informal solidarity networks

cannot permanently compensate for structural inequalities, persistent unemployment, or unequal access to education, healthcare, and economic opportunities. Presenting resilience solely as an individual responsibility risks obscuring the institutional and socio-economic conditions that shape people's capacity to adapt.

Within the integrative framework proposed in this article, resilience should therefore be understood as the outcome of interactions between cognitive processes, identity construction, social relationships, and institutional environments. This ecological perspective reinforces the central argument that psychological responses to poverty are fundamentally embedded in broader social and territorial contexts rather than residing exclusively within individuals.

7. Discussion

The present review supports a multidimensional understanding of poverty that integrates material constraints, cognitive functioning, identity processes, and institutional dynamics within a single analytical framework. Rather than representing separate explanatory perspectives, these dimensions interact continuously throughout the lived experience of poverty.

The evidence reviewed suggests that many psychological manifestations traditionally interpreted as individual deficits are more appropriately understood as adaptive responses to environments characterized by persistent uncertainty, economic insecurity, and restricted opportunities. Difficulties in planning, decision-making, emotional regulation, or future projection should therefore be interpreted within the broader structural contexts in which they emerge rather than as indicators of reduced individual capability.

Within this framework, the case of La Réunion should not be regarded as an exceptional situation but rather as an illustrative example of how internationally documented psychological mechanisms may become intensified in overseas territories affected by structural inequalities, geographical insularity, and higher living costs. The territorial context highlights the importance of considering local socio-economic conditions when interpreting psychological outcomes associated with poverty.

The review also demonstrates that institutional environments constitute a central component of the psychology of poverty. Welfare agencies, educational systems, healthcare services, and labour-market institutions influence not only access to material resources but also experiences of dignity, legitimacy, social participation, and trust. Consequently, institutional practices should be considered integral to psychological adaptation rather than merely external policy contexts.

Beyond synthesizing recent literature, this review also proposes a conceptual contribution by integrating three psychological levels of analysis—cognitive processes, identity construction, and institutional dynamics—within a single explanatory framework. While these dimensions have often been examined separately, considering their interactions provides a more comprehensive understanding of how poverty shapes psychological functioning across diverse social and territorial

contexts.

8. Limitations

This article has several limitations. First, it is a narrative synthesis based primarily on existing theoretical and empirical literature rather than on original empirical data. The proposed integrative framework therefore reflects the current state of knowledge without testing causal relationships directly. Second, although La Réunion provides a particularly relevant overseas case study, caution is warranted when transferring these conclusions to other overseas territories, whose institutional arrangements, historical trajectories, and socio-economic conditions may differ substantially. Finally, further comparative empirical research would be valuable to examine how cognitive, identity, and institutional processes interact across different territorial contexts.

Despite these limitations, the present synthesis contributes to the growing body of research advocating a contextual and multidimensional understanding of poverty. By integrating cognitive psychology, social psychology, developmental psychology, and institutional analysis, it offers a conceptual framework capable of informing both future research and professional practice.

9. Conclusion

Contemporary psychological research increasingly converges toward a contextual understanding of poverty, recognizing that many of its psychological consequences reflect adaptive responses to constrained environments rather than individual deficits. Integrating cognitive, identity, and institutional dimensions provides a more comprehensive framework for understanding how poverty shapes everyday functioning, psychological well-being, and future life trajectories.

Throughout this review, poverty has been conceptualized not merely as insufficient material resources but as a multidimensional experience involving chronic cognitive load, social comparison, stigma, institutional interactions, and unequal access to opportunities. The illustrative case of La Réunion demonstrates how these internationally documented mechanisms may become particularly pronounced in overseas territories characterized by structural inequalities, geographical insularity, and higher living costs.

This integrative perspective carries several practical implications. First, simplifying access to social benefits and reducing administrative complexity may help alleviate the cognitive burden experienced by economically vulnerable populations. Second, improving access to community-based mental-health services and reducing poverty-related stigma may encourage earlier help-seeking and strengthen psychological well-being. Third, educational, vocational, and youth-support policies that acknowledge territorial constraints while expanding opportunities may reinforce young people's capacity to aspire and participate fully in society.

More broadly, these findings suggest that effective responses to poverty should

move beyond exclusively economic indicators to consider the cognitive, psychological, and institutional conditions that shape people's everyday lives. Public policies that strengthen dignity, trust, participation, and equitable access to resources are likely not only to reduce material deprivation but also to improve psychological well-being and social inclusion.

Finally, future research should continue to explore the interactions between cognitive processes, identity development, and institutional environments across diverse socio-economic and territorial contexts. Such work may contribute to the development of more integrated public policies capable of addressing both the material and psychological dimensions of poverty.

Future empirical studies should examine the proposed integrative framework using comparative data across overseas territories and mainland populations.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

References

- Alivon, F., & Ricci, O. (2024). Précarité hydrique et énergétique à La Réunion: Analyse des déterminants à l'aide d'un modèle probit bivarié. *Revue économique*, 75, 453-482. <https://doi.org/10.3917/reco.753.0453>
- Appadurai, A. (2004). The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition. In V. Rao, & M. Walton (Eds.), *Culture and Public Action* (pp. 59-84). Stanford University Press.
- Baumberg, B. (2016). The Stigma of Claiming Benefits: A Quantitative Study. *Journal of Social Policy*, 45, 181-199. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0047279415000525>
- Conger, R. D., Conger, K. J., & Martin, M. J. (2010). Socioeconomic Status, Family Processes, and Individual Development. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72, 685-704. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00725.x>
- Chang, Q., Peng, C., Guo, Y., Cai, Z., & Yip, P. S. F. (2020). Mechanisms Connecting Objective and Subjective Poverty to Mental Health: Serial Mediation Roles of Negative Life Events and Social Support. *Social Science & Medicine*, 265, Article ID: 113308. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2020.113308>
- Delhey, J., & Kohler, U. (2006). From Nationally Bounded to Pan-European Inequalities? On the Importance of Foreign Countries as Reference Groups. *European Sociological Review*, 22, 125-140. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jci047>
- Festinger, L. (1954). A Theory of Social Comparison Processes. *Human Relations*, 7, 117-140. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872675400700202>
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Prentice-Hall.
- Haushofer, J., & Fehr, E. (2014). On the Psychology of Poverty. *Science*, 344, 862-867. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1232491>
- Hazo, J. B. (2025). *Santé mentale: Un état des lieux au regard de la situation financière, de l'orientation sexuelle et des discriminations subies*. Études et Résultats, n° 1340, DREES.
- Herd, P., & Moynihan, D. P. (2022). *Administrative Burden: Policymaking by Other Means*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Hobfoll, S. E. (1989). Conservation of Resources: A New Attempt at Conceptualizing Stress.

- American Psychologist*, 44, 513-524. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066x.44.3.513>
- Insee (2023). *Des prix plus élevés de 9% à La Réunion, jusqu'à 37% pour l'alimentaire*. Insee Analyses Réunion, n° 83.
- Insee (2024a). *En 2021, le taux de pauvreté s'élève à 36% à La Réunion*. Insee Flash Réunion, n° 268.
- Insee (2024b). *Plus d'entrées en BTS qu'ailleurs, peu de départs vers l'Hexagone*. Insee Analyses Réunion, n° 95.
- Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, Appraisal, and Coping*. Springer.
- Lewis, O. (1966). *La vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty*. Random
- Mani, A., Mullainathan, S., Shafir, E., & Zhao, J. (2013). Poverty Impedes Cognitive Function. *Science*, 341, 976-980. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1238041>
- Masten, A. S. (2014). *Ordinary Magic: Resilience in Development*. Guilford Press.
- Mullainathan, S., & Shafir, E. (2013). *Scarcity: Why Having Too Little Means So Much*. Times Books.
- Santé publique France (2025). *Baromètre de Santé publique France 2024—La Réunion*. Santé publique France.
- Sen, A. (1993). Capability and Well-Being. In M. Nussbaum, & A. Sen (Eds.), *The Quality of Life* (pp. 30-53). Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/0198287976.003.0003>
- Small, M. L., Harding, D. J., & Lamont, M. (2010). Reconsidering Culture and Poverty. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 629, 6-27.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716210362077>
- Tyler, I. (2020). *Stigma: The Machinery of Inequality*. Zed Books Ltd.
<https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350222809>
- Ungar, M. (2011). The Social Ecology of Resilience: Addressing Contextual and Cultural Ambiguity of a Nascent Construct. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 81, 1-17.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.2010.01067.x>
- Walker, R. (2014). *The Shame of Poverty*. Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199684823.001.0001>