Gender socialization and capability deprivation on child urban poverty: Experiences of Malaysian Indian women

Nithiya Guna Saigaran, Premalatha Karupiah, Parthiban S. Gopal

School of Social Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia

Correspondence: Nithiya Guna Saigaran (email: nityaah@gmail.com)

Abstract

Child poverty is a crucial component of the urban poverty issue, especially in developing countries, such as Malaysia. The negative effects of deprivation due to gender socialization and capability expansion during childhood are likely to have more difficulty escaping poverty as adults. This study shows the influence of gender socialization experiences of Indian women living in poverty and the state of development of their capabilities due to the constraints faced in their household during their childhood. Hence, Amartya Sen's capability approach was applied throughout the study to be able to analyze the gender complexities in poor households in two selected urban areas: Seberang Perai Tengah and Timur Laut in Penang, Malaysia. Data were collected from in-depth interviews with ten urban poor Indian women participants who retrospectively described their experiences growing up in poverty during their childhood era. The finding of this study reveals traditional feminine norms, unequal distribution of resources and differential treatment of boys and girls as three important themes. The themes reaffirm that girls face differentiation based on their gender and unequal access to resources in the household. The implications of these findings of the study ensure us to revisit the child poverty from gender lens with more in-depth and multidimensional perspective.

Keywords: Amartya Sen, capability approach, child poverty, gender socialization, Indian women, urban poverty

Introduction

This paper explores the issue of child urban poverty from Sen's Capability Approach perspective and offers possible policy based or solution based strategies that will empower female children to overcome poverty. Child urban poverty refers to impoverishment of children growing up in poor households who are devoid of basic rights of survival and development because of the marginalization living in a challenging living environment (Huston et al., 1994). These children depicted as most vulnerable portion of urban poor because of their tendency to prolong the impoverishment to the next generation. This study centered its focus on child urban poverty from the experiences of Malaysian Indian women during their childhood. Urban areas become focus of the people in order to have a quality life by getting good employment opportunities and living environment. (Suryandari, 2012).

However, when the urban environment is not apt in catering for the needs of the people, impoverishment occupies the lives of some segments of urban people and isolates them from the mainstream development (Narayanan & Rostam, 2017). Urban poverty can be defined in two ways: an absolute standard on a minimum amount of income needed to sustain a healthy and minimally comfortable life, and as a relative standard that is set based on the average standards living in a nation (Coulton & Pandey,1992; McDonald & McMillen, 2011). Urban poverty is a unique urban phenomenon that has the potential to affect humans in different ways based on their age, gender, race, class, geographical and societal setting (Mok et al., 2007).

Children poverty is scantly addressed issue in most of the poverty researches. Infact, child poverty has the potential in resulting lifelong effects mentally, physically and emotionally (Minujin et al., 2006). Therefore, children as the by-product of urban poor families would widen and contribute to the intergenerational poverty cycle (Collins et al., 2010). Those children's socialization in the poor households make them as most vulnerable group of children to the poverty compared to other group of children (Klasen et al., 2015) with very limited resources such as food, health and education (Huston et al., 1994). Notably, female poor children face critical deprivation and dysfunction because of the bias and differential treatment of boys and girls in their family (Amish & Rakodi, 1994; Duncan et al., 1994).

Studies show that most female children who grew up in poor and underprivileged household often ended up being underemployed or unemployed because they have been systematically isolated from development (Klasen et al., 2015). This process is clearly explained in Sen's capability approach where he emphasized that resources play an important role in creation of what they are *"able to do"* and *"able to be"* in their life, which he refer to as capabilities and functionings (Sen, 2001; Evans, 2002). If their capabilities are nurtured very well, they are able to achieve their functionings (Evans, 2002; Thompson, 2002). In reality, poverty itself is a multifaceted problem and studying it requires a multidimensional perspective. Hence, individual as a unit of analysis emphasized by the CA has the potential to have a multidimensional perspective towards poverty. (Biggeri et al., 2013) because each individual has different levels of access to the resources in the household. Hence, this approach highlighted that female children experiencing urban poverty have significant capabilities in changing the impoverished situations of their family in the future because a person's capabilities are significant in alleviating poverty (Sen, 2013). Unfortunately, the capabilities' development is disrupted when there is a process called gender socialization in childhood. Gender socialization refers to a more focused form of socialization where children are trained of their gender roles based on the sex assigned to them at birth (Giddens, 1993). This process intends to socialize a child to become a member of the society and culture where he or she lives in by meeting the requirements of the roles, stereotypes and characteristics that have been designed by various socializing institution such as the family, peer groups, media and school.

Childhood is a crucial period in the development of capabilities of an individual. Capability deprivation and enhancement will determine the level of the development of a person in their future (Alkire, 2008; Nussbaum, 2013). The term of capability deprivation particularly to support the argument that income is not the sole reason for impoverishment, but the deficiency and fragile condition of the capabilities (e.g. education, employment and health) were the reason for prolonged poverty (Sen, 2012). Compared to other members in the poor households, female children are seen as the deciding factor of the existence of the poverty in the next generation because they are nurturers of the family. On the other hand, if their capabilities are protected and encouraged in a positive way then poverty of the next

generation may be controlled or even reduced. One of the major limitations of poverty studies in Malaysia is its limited focus on female children in impoverished households. Since most of the previous studies focused on household as the unit of analysis and based on the household income, the experiences of children from the poor household often became invisible (Jenkins, 1991). Apart from that, previous researches that have been done in Penang, Malaysia were often focused on quantitative data rather than qualitative data. Therefore, this paper intends to explore the issue of female children urban poverty from the capability approach perspective, which is qualitative in nature narrated by Malaysian Indian women in Penang. The outcome of the study suggests policies in line with the capability approach perspective to empower the deprived children to break the poverty cycle in the near future.

Methods

Study design

A retrospective study design was used. In this study, information related to childhood experiences of gender socialization among female adults were collected. Through their sharing, the researchers explored the deprivation experienced by them. This study design was selected because the outcome of interest (in this study, poverty issue) already occurred at the time when the study was initiated. Hence, the study will investigate the past life of these poor Indian women by focusing into their gender socialization experiences which in turn leads to capability deprivation and finally relegated them as an urban poor till adulthood.

Sampling procedure and participants of the study

Participants for the in-depth interviews were selected through purposive sampling. Recruitment of new participants for the study was discontinued once data saturation was achieved. Hence, ten women participants were purposely selected from poor households that had mean household income of RM2928 or lower and from the bottom 40 percent income category in Penang, Malaysia. The profile of these participants (which encompasses age, occupation and level of education) who participated in this study is duly listed (Table 1).

Table 1. Participants' profile

No	Pseudoym	Age	Occupation	Education level
1	Infromant 1	37	Housewife	PMR
2	Informant 2	41	Housewife	Form 2
3	Informant 3	40	Nanny	Form 4
4	Informant 4	43	Gardener	Standard 6
5	Informant 5	37	Housewife	Standard 5
6	Informant 6	42	Clerk	Form 5
7	Informant 7	47	Food stall helper	Form 3
8	Informant 8	39	Cleaner	Form 3
9	Informant 9	45	Sewing clothes	PMR
10	Informant 10	44	Company worker	Form 5

Incidentally, all the poor Indian women participants in this study grew up in households that experienced intergenerational poverty (referred as poor households who have lived in poverty for at least two generations). The participants who were selected are from

Seberang Perai Tengah and Timur Laut districts in Penang, Malaysia. All these participants are identified as Tamil. The age of the participants is between 35 to 45 years old and they grew up in the 1980s and 1990s when urbanization rapidly spread across in Penang. They were interviewed and asked about their growing up experiences in an urban area like Penang. They recollected their growing up experiences as urban poor and narrated in detail. All the interviews were conducted in Tamil and were recorded with the consent of the participants.

Interview procedure

The interview procedure consisted of open ended and structured questions that deal with gender socialization experiences in two selected capabilities: education and domestic work. A number of gender socialization questions that cause an impact on both capabilities, were asked. In terms of education, (e.g. How did your parents treat you and your male siblings in terms of education? Do you recognize any differences in preferences given to you and your male siblings? How did you parents react when you or your male siblings did not follow the rules set in the house?) In terms of domestic work, (e.g. How did your manage your time in doing housework? What did your parents teach you about the doing housework? Did your male siblings share workload with you? How did you manage your current housework?). These questions were formulated at the inception of the current analysis.

At the start of the interview session, the researcher explained to the participant the purpose of the study and asked her consent to participate in this study. They were asked to share their gender socialization experiences, connecting and reflecting how it affects their various aspects of life in terms of education and domestic work. Interview protocol was used as a guide to interview all the involved participants but the questions were not asked in the same order. The interview session lasted about 45 minutes. Each session was recorded and later transcribed.

Data coding and analysis

The recordings were originally recorded in Tamil and were transcribed in Tamil first before being translated to English. Since the process involved two languages, the transcriptions were done professionally and checked for accuracy. The transcription of each recording was ten to fifteen pages and they were coded in several phases of interviews. The transcripts we read to get the overall picture of the women's life and their experiences in poverty. Subsequently, identification of specific themes that are directly related to their experiences as a child living in poverty in an urban setting was carried out after the second reading by the researcher. In addition, other emerging themes were also identified in this process. These segments were marked in NVivo11, qualitative data analysis software, and the related segments of the interviews were separated and reviewed for the identification of the prominent themes. In this paper, all participants involved were assigned pseudonyms to secure the confidentiality.

Results and discussion

Analysis of the interview transcripts revealed three overarching themes related to gender socialization: differential treatment of boys and girls, traditional feminine norms and unequal distribution of resources. After the themes are discussed, it is followed by some policy suggestions.

Differential treatment of boys and girls

One prominent theme that is identified among the selected participants is differential treatment among sons and daughters in the family. When asked about their growing up experiences in their household, eight out of the ten participants mentioned, that their mother treated them differently as compared to their male siblings. This is due to the fact that the patriarchy values were dominant in their families. In this system, the males were highly valued and they have the controlling power in the family, especially when they are holding status as son, husband or father (Sultana, 2011). One of the respondent named Informant 9 explains how her father and brother were holding power in the family as follows;

> "…In my family males are very important… whenever my mother cook, my father and brothers will eat first..then only we (mother, herself and her sisters) will eat….before that we cannot eat…its like a unwritten law in my family…and they are the one always being asked about what to cook everyday….my mother will ask them and cook..she have not ask me even for once….." (Informant 9, age 44).

Therefore, they were socialized with certain values and norms through direct or indirect socialization process in the family. The males were given special treatment in the household, but the females were treated as secondary options. Consequently, these women were systematically isolated since childhood. One of the participants explained that discriminatory treatment occurred in her family in terms of food allocation, and she felt that the differentiation based on gender is a very common thing in Indian families.

Besides, domestic work is also found to be a significant theme to determine the distinctive gender roles that were practiced vividly among sons and daughters. Domestic work is made as the compulsory task for daughters while sons were free from such tasks. When asked about gender roles (in terms of the domestic work allocation) for men and women in the family, one participant reported as below:

> "…Housework, you mean?...Oh that's compulsory for girls in my home… we, four of us... if the cleaning and washing work is undone, our mother will scold us… My brother does not need to do any domestic work, we are the only ones needed to complete all the tasks….My mother will not allow and she does not like my brother to do housework because she used to say housework is for women only, not for men… if men do housework, it's a shame for the family…." (Informant 1, aged 37).

From the response above, it shows that girls were being raised to believe that housework or domestic work is destined only for women. Furthermore, the responsibility of daughters to do housework was seen as a sign of respect and honor of the women's family; hence, they were required to hold up the respect for the rest of their lifetime: in their parents' house, in their in-laws' house and in their son's house. Girls were often punished for not performing domestic tasks while boys may be 'punished' for performing domestic tasks (being ridiculed or insulted for doing domestic work) which further cements the gender division of labor in the household. For some participants such as like Informant 1, the differential treatment and punishment strengthened the division of labour. As a result, she could not access and enhance her progress in life because she does not have time to focus on her capabilities (in terms of time, paid work, health, education and so forth). Her valuable

time was invested solely to the housework. The division of labour that experienced by Informant 1 was unbalanced and unequal compared to her brothers and had deprived her functioning (what they can be) in order to enjoy the life that she wanted.

Traditional feminine norms

In Indian families, feminine and masculine norms were systematically taught to the sons and daughters in the family. Feminine norms often suppress and degrade the capability and functions of women, especially when they were expected to learn domestic roles as daughter, housewife and mother. In all these three roles, they were controlled by patriarchal values where their services were systematically sucked to strengthen up the men's position and status in the society (Sultana, 2011). The 'ideal' form of these three roles often emphasizes the sacrifice of women in terms of their energy, time, feelings and so forth for the sake of their husband, children and their family. Nine out of ten participants of this study agreed about the teaching of the feminine norms in the family. One of the participant Informant 2, explained;

> "For my mother.....she always wanted us (daughters) to be obedient, do not speak against parents…we need to follow the rules of our father….so my mother, she does not prefer us talking a lot….. restrict our movements outside of the house and…... Every time I want to go out, I need to inform my father and brother.... only if I get permission from them, I can go out…if not, I cannot….but I have noticed that my brothers did not have to get permission to go out…once I ask about it to my mother and she said that they are males so they do not have to ..they be like going out and coming in anytime …they did not even bother to inform anyone at home …my parents very fine with it and they never questioned them …they are always given freedom to go wherever they want…" (Informant 2, aged 41).

From explanation of Informant 2, she faced more restrictions in the household when compared to her brother. Her freedom of movement and freedom of speech were completely under control of her parents unlike her brothers who had complete freedom in exercising their behaviours and communication. Hence, capability of Informant 2 in terms of movement and being vocal in expressing her opinions and thoughts were deprived because of the traditional feminine values being taught by her parents. While the brothers' capabilities were holistically developed, the deprivation is clearly seen when Informant 2 explained that she is always scared to deliver her opinions, and even scared to go out from her house to be more productive (e.g., she still needs her husband's approval or permission to go out to attend family function and even to go to work) and it limits her capabilities to employment, networking with other people and to exercise her freedom in speech and movement. Another respondent explains how the mother strongly emphasized the traditional feminine norms in her family:

> "…My mother is very strict….me and my sister always need to be very careful in our behavior…we are not allowed to go out from home after 7pm....the dress always need to be careful, and modern dress strictly not allowed…I like to dress modern but because of my parents were quite strict, I can't wear…." (Informant 8, aged 39).

Like mother of Informant 8, women in poor families also played a crucial role in transferring these norms to their children unless they have the realization that the impoverishment that they were exposed to in their childhood is one of the main reasons why they were the most vulnerable group in the poor households. If they had strong belief in the patriarchal system, they would teach their daughters to accept the system - to be subordinate to the male members in the family, first to their fathers and brothers, then to their husbands when they get married and their sons in the future. One of the respondent explained how her mother has taught about the traditional norms as below:

"….After I reach my puberty, my mother was very strict with me….whatever I do always criticized…I cannot play outside with friends…cannot go out unless accompanied by my brothers…I feel so suffocated with those rules…sometimes will get angry and argue with my mother…she always told its for own good, anything women do must be approved by males of the family…that shows she is obedient and respect the family…when I get married, she always mention to me that I need to obey the husband like how I obey my father and brothers…" (Informant 10, age 44).

The practice of different norms for the men and women has caused them to accept the fact that men are powerful in the family and women are subordinates who are expected to assist men whenever necessary. These traditional values reinforce the patriarchal system with a strong message that men are valued and women are not. Even when the daughters get older, the male superiority still exists and their male siblings started to control them. Clearly, from their childhood till their death, they were destined to be devoted followers of the male supremacy hence further depriving their capabilities.

Unequal distribution of resources

Resources are very important for the development of capability of children. Knecht (2012) mentioned that resources are the primary means that which help to pursue one's personal goals. Generally, there were five types of resources, such as: income, education, time, social resources and physical resources (such as physical health). Unfortunately, the distribution of the resources is not always equal in a household because it depends on the value system practiced by the family. When it comes to Indian families where patriarchal values are highly prioritized, men are seen as holding the authority for all the resources gathered in the household regardless their age or position in their family. One of the participants, Informant 7 explained as below on how her father as a man has the power to manage income (resource) even though it belonged to the whole family:

"…My father was unemployed for two years, and at that time my mother is the only is working……it was very difficult but every time she get salary, my father will take it from her….he will decide what to buy, what to do and how much money need to give to children…everything…he is the one decide and spend the money…" (Informant 7, aged 47).

As an example, even when the men in the household are unemployed or retired, they often have full access of the household resources. After them, automatically the rights and authority are transferred to their sons. Thus, women and daughters in the same household are isolated from owning the resources because owning the resources clearly depicts the power

one has in them. The inequality that occurs affects women's development where they are denied their rights and power. This problem becomes even worse in impoverished households because limited resources have to be used to support the 'most' important members of the household (male children). One of the participants reported as below when asked about the distribution of the resources, especially the opportunity in giving education to the daughters in her family:

> "...At that time, it's so difficult ...me and my sisters] stopped going to school …my brothers study a bit further than us, until form 5,…. just for the certificate…me and my sisters studied until 6th standard only…my father said that our brothers need to study further in order to get good job and give money for the family…and that time he only have money to support my brothers…" (Informant 4, aged 43).

Even though they are capable to be fully functional as men, denial or limited resources will determine what they are "able to do" and "able to be" in the future (Thompson, 2002). In poor families, the unequal distribution is quite severe because the resources are limited and only will be given to the person considered as the most important in the family and in patriarchal family, males were defined as the most important members hence, the resources will be fully allocated for men and women were totally denied to access the resources. Since women will be married off to another family, the daughters are not seen as deserving the resources since they are only beneficial to their in-law's family rather than their own family. Using resources for male children is seen as investment for future care of the parents because male children are expected to take care of the parents in their old age while female children are seen as liability as they will be married off to another family. As a result, they were totally distanced from accessing the resources, even though at times, they were the contributors of the resources.

> "…My brothers were doing better in school, so they continued their studies…I think perhaps because they do not have to do housework…but I was doing a lot of the house chores, so I could not pay attention to my studies. Then, my elder sister got married, and there was no one to baby sit her child…Therefore, I had to discontinue my studies and stayed at home and babysit her child..." (Informant 5, aged 37).

Above statement of Informant 5 denotes that she was occupied with the burden of the housework while her brothers' were free from the responsibility in the household. Because of the over investment of time into housework, she admitted that she could not focus on her studies (as she did not have time to do revision etc.) and hence, she was unable to progress in her education. Moreover, she thinks that the housework was destined for her as she is a woman and therefore she became the nanny for her nieces and nephews. Unlike Informant 5, her brothers, had the chance to focus on their studies and pursue higher education. Therefore, now they are employed in high paying jobs. This clearly reflects that, in terms of education, she (Informant 5) experienced deprivation but not her brothers. Education is an important resource that has the power to uplift the life of the receiver based on the level of it. Since the education is available as an option for Informant 5, her capability deprivation and poverty issue were unavoidable.

Policy recommendations

The experiences of the participants showed the barriers and difficulties faced by girls growing up in an impoverished households and how differential treatment of girls; socialization of traditional feminine norms and unequal distribution of resources were contributing to their capability deprivation. Sen emphasized that understanding of poverty requires a multi-dimensional approach, therefore policies used to alleviate poverty needs to take a similar approach (Dawood & Khoo, 2016). Policy formation for such case is difficult and complicated because it involves the patriarchal values and culture that has been practised mostly by their parents and family members. As a result, the role of the school as one of the main socializing agent in society is also crucial and need to be given special attention. Malaysian education system in principle, gives much emphasis on inclusive education and the holistic development of students (Grapragasem et al., 2014). Therefore, it is crucial to ensure that education policies at school level ought to educate the students so that children, women and men are treated equally and just.

Furthermore, the public also needs to be educated that women are capable of achieving goals, just like men without any limitation and restriction. Even though the creation of the capabilities stemmed from the family, school plays an important role in designing the children's future. The rationale is children spend so much time in school and this platform can be used in enlightening them on various aspects of capability expansion so that negative stereotype on girls are not indoctrinated. In Malaysia, a child spends 12 to 14 years in school (from preschool until secondary school) (Grapragasem et al., 2014). Based on the capability approach, education does not only refer to reading, writing and speaking but also to life skills such as leadership, critical thinking and cooperation with teammates and independence. These life soft skills are often missed among the female children compared to male children because undeniably schools are sometimes very much encouraging the gender roles (assigning head of classroom to males and secretary position to female students), that are taught by family, in the classroom setting (Blumberg, 2007). It advocates the male supremacy and women subordination culture in the mind of the students.

The accountability doing any roles regardless gender students should be exposed with real-life models, for an instance, stay home dads, female pilots, male nurses, and female bus drivers. Similarly, curricular activities and programs need to be designed in a way that there is no gender difference, for example, female students should be exposed to diverse activities like football and leadership programs, which currently are still dominated by boys. With such activities, female students will learn the values such as leadership, being mentally and physically strong. Hence, that would stimulate their belief that they have the capabilities and talents, though they were initially exposed to the stereotyped masculine and feminine values in their family. Apart from that, in terms of sports, boys and girls should be encouraged to take up sports, which are of their interests rather than being 'encouraged' to take up a particular kind of sports (e.g. football for boys or netball for girls). Incidentally, education system that includes life skills and excludes gender differentiation will enable both male and female students undergo holistic development as well as capability expansion. In addition to this, schools which are close to urban poor neighborhood need policies not only related to poverty but also giving due recognition that poverty is different for girls and boys. While, there is various aids given by the school to poor students, it is important to acknowledge that problems faced by girls from poor household are more critical vis-à-vis boys as far as education is concerned because resources as well as opportunities are unequally distributed at home. Female children from urban poor households not only need constant supervision in the schools, but they may need other supports such as counseling despite of gender

discrimination and marginalization at their home. Besides, they need to be given constant attention and motivation to nurture their capabilities. Eight out of ten participants in this study discontinued their education because the parents could not afford to give them pocket money or pay for the fees because the needs of their male siblings were prioritized.

Therefore, apart from financial support for poor female students, schools may need to include other kinds of support to encourage them to continue their education and develop their capabilities. Children who are dropout (like Informant 5) from the school need to be attended personally by the school representatives or the neighborhood committee members. Students identified as having high probability of dropping out, need to be provided with constant observation, evaluation and counseling so that development of their capabilities will not be affected. Along with that, specifically targeted programmes, and workshops need to be planned as well as held in urban poor areas to identify talents and special skills (such as technician, sewing clothes, designing, cooking or doing small-scale businesses etc.) of those dropout children. In order to make sure that those programmes gives long term impact, government and non-governmental agencies need to collaborate with educational institutions in order to aid the children financially, mentally and socially until their talents and skills are well established.

Conclusion

This paper highlights child urban poverty from gender socialization and capability approach perspective. Children are often neglected when it comes to traditional approach of poverty that only upholds household as unit of analysis and income as measurement of the poverty. Using the experiences of Indian women in Penang, this paper gives a glimpse of how poverty affected them individually during their childhood and highlights the importance of taking into account the individual experience of poverty as suggested by Sen (2001). Differential treatment of girls, emphasis on traditional feminine norms, and unequal distribution of resources contributes to the deprivation, are the few poverty contributing factors, inter alia, experienced by Indian women when they were growing up. The study argues even though poverty affects the male children, they had privileges which were not available to the female children. Hence, development of the male children's capabilities remains in prominence to date. Apart from family institutions, the government and NGOs too should play an important role in addressing the plight of child poverty especially in relation to gender socialization and capability deprivation. Unless the right thing is done to them, right thing will not happen to them.

References

Alkire, S. (2008). *Choosing dimensions: The capability approach and multidimensional poverty* (2nd ed.). (pp. 3-10).London, Palgrave Macmillan.

Amish, P., & Rakodi, C. (1994). Urban poverty: Issues for research and policy. *Journal of International Development*, *6*(5), 627-634.

Biggeri, M., Trani, J., & Mauro, V. (2013). The multidimensionality of child poverty: Evidence from Afghanistan. *Social Indicators Research, 112*(2), 391-416.

Blumberg, R. (2007). Gender bias in textbooks: A hidden obstacle on the road to gender equality in education. Retrieved from http://unesdoc.unesco.org.

Collins, K., Connors, K., Davis, S., Donohue, A., Gardner, S., Goldblatt, E., & Thompson, E. (2010). *Understanding the impact of trauma and urban poverty on family systems: Risks, resilience, and interventions*. Baltimore, MD, Family Informed Trauma Treatment Center.

Coulton, C.J., & Pandey, S. (1992). Geographic concentration of poverty and risk to children in urban neighborhoods. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *35*(3), 238-257.

Dawood, S.R.S., & Khoo, S.L. (2016). Poverty eradication, government role and sustainable livelihood in rural Malaysia: An empirical study of community perception in northern Peninsular Malaysia. *Geografia Malaysian Journal of Society and Space*, *12*(8), 61-70.

Duncan, G. J., Brooks-Gunn, J., & Klebanov, P.K. (1994). Economic deprivation and early childhood development. *Child development*, *65*(2), 296-318.

Evans, P. (2002). Collective capabilities, culture, and Amartya Sen's development as freedom. *Studies in comparative international development*, *37*(2), 54-60.

Giddens, A. (1993). *Introduction to sociology* (2nd ed.), United Kingdom, Polity Press.

Grapragasem, S., Krishnan, A., & Mansor, A.N. (2014). Current trends in Malaysian higher education and the effect on education policy and practice: An overview. *International Journal of Higher Education*, *3*(1), 85.

Huston, A.C., McLoyd, V.C., & Coll, C.G. (1994). Children and poverty: Issues in contemporary research. *Child development*, *65*(2), 275-282.

Jenkins, S.P. (1991). Poverty measurement and the within-household distribution: Agenda for action. *Journal of Social Policy*, *20*(4), 457-483.

Klasen, S., Lechtenfeld, T., & Povel, F. (2015). A feminization of vulnerability? Female headship, poverty, and vulnerability in Thailand and Vietnam. *World Development*, *71*, 36-53.

Knecht, A. (2012). Understanding and fighting poverty – Amartya Sen's capability approach and related theories. *Social Change Review*. *10*(2), 153-176.

McDonald, J., & McMillen, D. (2011). *Urban economics and real estate: Theory and policy* (2nd ed.). New Jersey, John Wiley & Sons.

Minujin, A., Delamonica, E., Davidziuk, A., & Gonzalez, E.D. (2006). The definition of child poverty: A discussion of concepts and measurements. *Environment and Urbanization*, *18*(2), 481-500.

Mok, T.Y., Gan, C., & Sanyal, A. (2007). The determinants of urban household poverty in Malaysia. *Journal of Social Sciences*, *3*(4), 190-196.

Narayanan, S., & Rostam, K. (2017). Impak sosial pembangunan Bandar Baru Putrajaya terhadap penduduk asal: Kes isi rumah yang dipindahkan ke Taman Permata, Dengkil, Selangor. *Geografia Malaysian Journal of Society and Space*, *8*(4), 75-87.

Nussbaum, M. (2013). *Creating capabilities* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, Mass, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Sen, A. (2013). *Development as freedom* (4th ed.). New York, Anchor Books.

Sultana, A. (2011). Patriarchy and women's subordination: A theoretical analysis. *Arts Faculty Journal*, *4*, 1-18.

Suryandari, R.Y. (2012). Urban farming and its impact on local communities and urban environment: A case study of West Jakarta and Tangerang, Indonesia. *Geografia Malaysian Journal Society and Space*, *8*(3), 12-22.

Thompson, J. (2002). Women and human development: The capabilities approach. *Australasian Journal of Philosophy*, *80*(1), 111-113.