

CHAPTER THREE PHASE TWO METHODS AND FINDINGS

THE RICH INFORMATION FROM THE FIRST PHASE OF RESEARCH HELPED TO BEGIN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A CONCEPTION THAT SHOULD UNDERLIE A NEW MEASURE OF POVERTY—THAT IT SHOULD BE MULTIDIMENSIONAL, THAT IT SHOULD BE SCALAR, THAT IT SHOULD BE CAPABLE OF REVEALING GENDER DISPARITIES AT THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL, AND THAT, IN SO FAR AS POSSIBLE, IT SHOULD BE SENSITIVE TO DIFFERENTIAL NEEDS AND UNIQUE CONTEXTS OF DEPRIVATION.

The first phase of research also generated a long list of candidate dimensions that could collectively define the bounds of what should be included in this new measure—counting permissively, 30 or 40 dimensions would be under consideration. But there is a great risk to including all possible dimensions within an individual measure. The conception can become too expansive. The more dimensions that are included in an understanding of multidimensional poverty, the less weight that will be assigned to each. The conception can become too far removed from common understandings of poverty and/or deprivation, and thus unlikely to be taken up in anti-poverty work or have political salience in guiding the allocation of scarce resources. And it can become more expensive and difficult to gather reliable information in a multi-topic survey as the list of included dimensions expands. Furthermore, individuals and institutions in anti-poverty work may have difficulty attending to such a wide array of dimensions.

Purpose

The second phase of research was thus designed to help select from the candidate dimensions generated by Phase 1 those dimensions that should be included in the final measure and to give some

sense of the relative priority those dimensions should have in a composite multidimensional measure of poverty. We planned the second phase to be quantitative, to supplement the qualitative information from the first phase and to provide further guidance on what should be included in and excluded from the measure.

Structure

In the second phase, the same research teams returned to the same sites across all six countries involved in the first phase and conducted individual surveys with participants. There were roughly 100 participants per site, 300 per country, and 1800 across the six countries. In some sites the participants were the same as in the first phase, and in other sites they were not. As in the first phase, participants were informed of the nature of the research and the methods involved, and formally consented to participate.

The second phase survey involved three parts. The first part of the survey collected information about the respondents: their age and ethnic status, the composition of their household and the nature of their work as well as their position in several dimensions, including education, nutrition, and access to water and sanitation. This first section of the survey was designed to allow us to determine whether participant preferences and views varied with respect to their individual achievements or personal characteristics.

The second part of the survey asked participants to evaluate whether a dimension was essential, very important, not very important, or not at all important to determining whether a life was free from poverty or hardship. Before the dimension was evaluated, the interviewer provided a brief description of each dimension, reproduced in the table below. There were two reasons for providing dimension descriptions. First, doing so allowed for standardisation across contexts of the definition that participants would have in mind when evaluating any given dimension. Second, it allowed for a definition of the possible scale of achievement within a dimension and of the range of circumstances encompassed by a dimension, given that some participants may have had limited exposure to others' experiences in particular dimensions of life. Two participants considering food, for example, might have in mind very different deprivations—one considering almost never having a square meal in a day, the other imagining missing one or two meals a week. Therefore, all dimension descriptions include both a sense of what life is like for those who are very deprived in a given dimension and for those who are not deprived in the dimension. The dimensions were described as in the chart below. Then, the researcher asked the participant to decide whether the dimension was essential, very important, not very important, or not at all important to a life free from

poverty and hardship. The candidate list of 25 dimensions was distilled from the first phase reports and the joint analysis workshop, which began the work of drawing out common themes across sites. To be included in the second phase, a dimension had to be considered important by a non-negligible portion of the first round participants, be a plausible candidate for inclusion in a multidimensional measure of deprivation and avoid extensive overlap with other dimensions under consideration.

On the next two pages is the list of the 25 candidate dimensions and their accompanying descriptions.

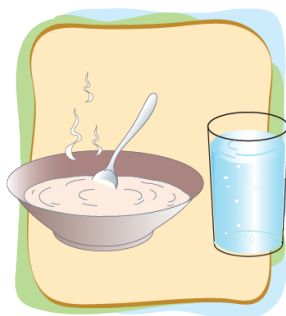
<p>1. FOOD</p>	<p>Some people always have enough to eat and are never hungry or malnourished. They also have variety in the food they eat so that eating is enjoyable. Other people are constantly hungry and malnourished, which often leads to sickness and an inability to work or to learn in school.</p>	<p>8. HEALTH CARE</p>	<p>Some people, when they or their children fall sick, get health care that is provided by well-trained health professionals with access to medical equipment and support services in a clean and safe environment. These people can get the medicine they need to treat their illness. The chances of being cured of serious illness are good. During pregnancy and childbirth women can call on excellent professional care. Other people either can't afford health care or it isn't available of where they live. Medicines they need are too expensive or aren't available. If they get sick, they have to rely on traditional forms of health care or poorly trained health care providers in under-resourced facilities. Their chances of recovering from serious illness are poor. Pregnancy and childbirth carry major risks for both mothers and babies.</p>
<p>2. CLOTHING</p>	<p>Some people have many changes of clothes, including plenty of clothes for special occasions. Others don't have enough clothes (including shoes) to protect them from the weather or from hazards in the environment, and when they go out they often feel that others look down on them because they are not properly dressed.</p>	<p>9. EDUCATION</p>	<p>Some people can read, write and do number calculations at a level adequate for employment in an office. And they can send their children up to whatever education level they think is desirable, with good teachers and facilities. Others can't read and write at all, and they are not able to do simple number calculations. They don't send their children to school, either because schools are not available, or because they are too expensive, or because they think the quality is too low to make schooling worthwhile.</p>
<p>3. WATER (personal and household use)</p>	<p>Some people have plenty of good quality water for all their needs including drinking, cooking, and washing. Others never have enough water, so they're often thirsty, unable to cook or to wash. Whatever water they do have is dirty and unhealthy, often causing sickness.</p>	<p>10. PROPERTY OWNERSHIP & INHERITANCE RIGHTS</p>	<p>Some people have customary or legal rights to own, inherit or control housing, land and other significant property, and they have these rights on a basis of full equality regardless of gender, marital status, family relationships and related issues. There are customary or legal channels open to them to protect these rights if they are threatened. Other people have no such customary or legal rights. They are completely at the mercy of others when it comes to ownership and control of property.</p>
<p>4. SHELTER</p>	<p>Some people have a large house that provides good protection from the weather, has a floor that is easy to keep clean, separate kitchen and living/sleeping areas and privacy for all household members. Other people have shelter which provides little or no privacy or protection from the weather or they have no place to live at all and are forced to sleep on the street.</p>	<p>11. SEXUAL AUTONOMY</p>	<p>Some people are free to choose when and with whom they have sexual relations with. They never feel pressured to engage in unwanted sexual relations to ensure social acceptance or to meet economic need. Others are constantly under pressure to have unwanted sexual relations for social or economic reasons. They have little or no control over when, where, with whom and what form they have sexual relations.</p>
<p>5. TOILET FACILITIES</p>	<p>Some people have a private flushing toilet in the home. Others don't have any toilet facilities and often have to go to the toilet in the open and may have to wait until dark for privacy. The existence of human waste in their environment is a constant problem.</p>	<p>12. FAMILY PLANNING</p>	<p>Some people have unrestricted access to multiple forms of contraception and full freedom of choice in their use. They can call on a full range of professional advice on options for dealing with unwanted pregnancy and get professional medical assistance to safely terminate unwanted pregnancy. Others have no access to any form of contraception. They are not able to get professional medical and other advice on options in respect of unwanted pregnancy, nor can they get professional medical assistance to terminate an unwanted pregnancy.</p>
<p>6. COOKING FUEL</p>	<p>Some people use gas or electricity to cook. This is quick and doesn't cause smoke inside the house. Others have to buy or collect coal, dung or wood, and when these fuels are burned they cause lots of smoke inside the house, resulting in breathing difficulties and other health problems.</p>		
<p>7. ELECTRICITY</p>	<p>Some homes have safe and permanent access to electricity, for multiple purposes including cooking, heating and cooling, lighting, and running appliances such as a television set. Other homes have no electricity at all, or occasional unreliable access through unsafe connections.</p>		

13. FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE	Some people are never subject to physical, sexual or emotional violence, either in the home or outside it, and have no reason to fear violence. Others are often subject to violence and are constantly and justifiably fearful of it.	20. DISCRETIONARY ITEMS (items that are not necessary)	Some people are never able to purchase personal discretionary items such as occasional sweets for themselves or their children, a few soft drinks or alcoholic drinks per week or cigarettes per day, cosmetics, or occasional visits to places of entertainment such as movie theatres. All their money goes on things that are essential. Others can regularly afford these non-essential things that make life more enjoyable.
14. FREEDOM FROM THE DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR OF OTHER PEOPLE	Some people are seldom or never exposed to behaviours such as gambling, drug use, alcohol abuse, and prostitution in their community, and these things have no impact on their lives. Others are frequently exposed to these sorts of behaviours, and find that they have major negative effects on the quality of their lives.	21. DEBT/ASSETS/ ACCESS TO CREDIT	Some people have little or no debt. They have sufficient assets, access to credit or social support networks to offer long-term protection against economic shocks such as illness, loss of employment, or natural disasters. Other people struggle to repay the debts they have. They have few if any assets they can pawn or sell if they need cash urgently, and their social support networks are weak or lack the resources to help. People in this situation are extremely vulnerable to any situation which reduces their income or increases their expenditure.
15. PERSONAL CARE	Some people are always in a position to keep clean and presentable given the standards of their community. They have reliable access to all needed products, such as soap, toothbrush and toothpaste and sanitary products. Others don't have access to these products and therefore often feel uncomfortable in their bodies. They often worry when they go out that others will avoid them or look down on them.	22. PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY FUNCTIONS	Some people are able to participate on equal terms with others in all major community functions such as weddings, funerals, and religious festivals. Other people are never able to participate in these functions, either because of low social standing, lack of suitable clothes or lack of means to purchase gifts or other requirements.
16. FREE TIME	For some people every day comprises work, either for pay or unpaid work such as housework or looking after their children, eating and sleeping. If they have any free time at all, they are too tired to make any use of it. Others have plenty of free time each day, and they have the resources to make this free time enjoyable, for example by pursuing a hobby, relaxing with family and friends or enjoying entertainment.	23. VOICE IN THE COMMUNITY	Some people are always consulted about decisions that have a major impact on their community, and they are able to exercise some influence on these decisions. They feel that their voice counts. Other people are never consulted about important public decisions, and they feel they have no voice at all in these decisions. They feel totally disempowered when it comes to public issues.
17. LOCATION OF NECESSARY SERVICES & RESOURCES	For some people all of the major services or resources they need, such as schools and medical centres are within easy reach. For other people, major services and resources are often a long way from their home, and they have to take long and uncomfortable journeys to reach them. This means that they can't use these services at all, or they use them much less than they would like, or using them means that they have to give up doing other important things.	24. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS	Some people live in families in which all the members cooperate and support each other. Major decisions, for example about the household budget, are made jointly and equally by husband and wife. Other people live in families that offer little or no support to individual members when problems arise, and where major decisions are always made by the same person without discussion with other family members.
18. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT	Some people rarely travel outside the home, village or local community because of social norms or because there is no safe or affordable transport. They have very limited freedom of movement. Others are able to travel regularly outside their local community using comfortable, safe and efficient means of transport.	25. ENVIRONMENT	Some people live in a healthy, attractive and safe physical environment with no significant pollution, waste, or dangerous hazards. For other people, the physical environment is dangerous and unpleasant, with some or all of the following: rubbish lying around, open sewers, constant noise, heavily polluted air and water, and a constant danger of traffic or other accidents.
19. INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION	Some people regularly listen to the radio, watch television and have access to other sources of information. They often use the telephone and the internet. They are well-informed about worldly matters. If they need information about any subject, they know how to use modern means of communication to find it. Others have no access to radio and television, and rarely use a telephone. They have little contact with the world outside their own community, and have very limited access to new information.		

TABLE 5: CANDIDATE LIST OF 25 DIMENSIONS

In the third part of the survey, participants were asked to rank the 15 dimensions most relevant for determining whether an individual's life is free from poverty and hardship. The interviewer presented the participants with visual representations of each of the dimensions (for example, a picture of a classroom for education, a picture of a health clinic for health care, a picture of a community discussion for participation in the community, and so on). With these 25 pictures in front of the participants, participants identified the first most important dimension, then the second most important dimension, then the third, until 15 dimensions had been ranked. After ranking 15 dimensions, participants were asked if they wanted to rearrange any of the pictures to adjust their stated rankings. Finally, participants were asked whether any additional dimension not included in the pre-selected set of 25 candidate dimensions should be included in the top 15 and to state where this dimension (had it been included) would fall in the top 15.

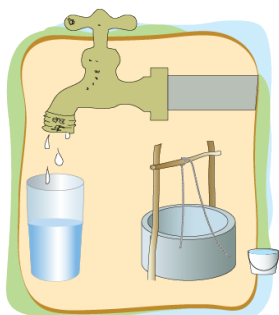
Here we show the pictures used by the research team in Mozambique:



1. FOOD



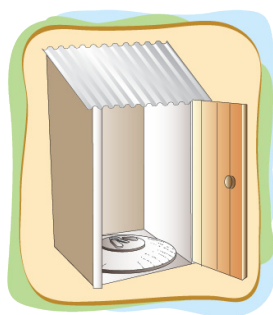
2. CLOTHING



3. WATER (PERSONAL AND HOUSEHOLD USE)



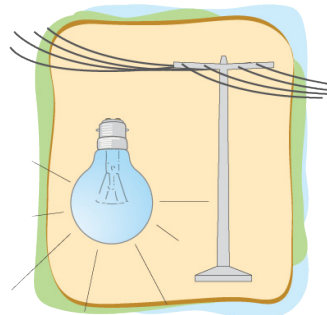
4. SHELTER



5. TOILET FACILITY



6. COOKING FUEL



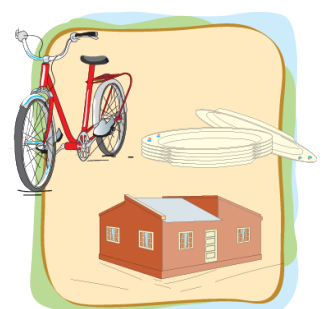
7. ELECTRICITY



8. HEALTH CARE



9. EDUCATION



10. PROPERTY OWNERSHIP AND INHERITANCE RIGHTS



11. SEXUAL AUTONOMY



12. FAMILY PLANNING



13. FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE



14. FREEDOM FROM DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR OF OTHER PEOPLE



15. PERSONAL CARE



16. FREE TIME



17. LOCATION OF NECESSARY SERVICES AND RESOURCES



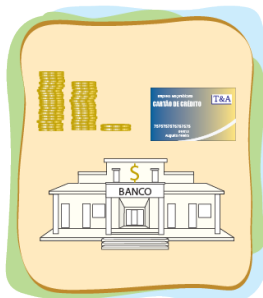
18. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT



19. INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION



20. DISCRETIONARY ITEMS (ITEMS THAT ARE NOT NECESSARY)



21. DEBT /ASSETS /ACCESS TO CREDIT



22. PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY FUNCTIONS



23. VOICE IN COMMUNITY



24. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS



25. ENVIRONMENT

Summary dimension rankings: overall and by gender

Summary rankings of the dimensions are provided below.³⁰ For the purposes of this table, dimensions that were not ranked by participants were counted as being ranked 20th. This builds in a 'penalty' for those dimensions that were not ranked by a given participant.³¹ Clearly, adjusting the size of the penalty, or eliminating it altogether, modifies the overall performance of the dimension.

	Ranked in top 15 by x proportion of participants (percentage)	Average rank: female participants	Average rank: male participants	Average rank: gender difference	Average rank: all participants	Statistically significant difference between female and male rankings
Food	95.2	3.43	3.67	0.24	3.55	
Water	94.8	4.75	4.81	0.06	4.78	
Shelter	92.3	5.07	5.94	0.87	5.51	*
Health Care	90.1	7.57	7.82	0.25	7.70	
Education	88.5	8.22	7.74	-0.48	7.98	
Toilet	79.4	9.28	10.34	1.06	9.81	*
Clothing	74.3	10.33	9.48	-0.85	9.91	**
Cooking Fuel	71.5	11.01	11.79	0.78	11.40	*
Electricity	71.3	11.26	10.99	-0.27	11.13	
Family Relationships	78.7	11.96	11.92	-0.04	11.94	
Personal Care	64.5	3.07	13.64	0.57	13.36	*
Environment	65.4	14.24	13.65	-0.59	13.95	**
Family Planning	55	14.25	14.55	0.30	14.40	
Information & Communication	54.8	14.67	14.96	0.29	14.82	
Freedom & Violence	49.5	14.84	15.29	0.45	15.07	
Location of Services	50.7	15.22	14.58	-0.64	14.90	**
Voice in the Community	48.7	15.75	15.70	-0.05	15.73	
Free Time	46.6	15.66	15.91	0.25	15.79	
Freedom of Movement	47.1	15.92	15.59	-0.33	15.76	
Participation	48.1	15.99	15.40	-0.59	15.70	**
Property	39.1	16.28	15.39	-0.89	15.84	**
Debts/Assets/Credit	36.2	16.65	16.22	-0.43	16.44	
Sexual Autonomy	24.7	17.71	17.65	-0.06	17.68	
Disruptive Behavior	23.1	17.96	17.64	-0.32	17.80	
Discretionary Items	8.4	19.29	19.26	-0.03	19.28	

* ranked higher by females

** ranked higher by males

TABLE 6: SUMMARY RANKINGS BY DIMENSION

30. Data is available to enable more detailed analysis, for example, by country, age, gender and rural/urban location.

31. To avoid this problem, we could have asked participants to rank all 25 dimensions. However, it became clear through pre-testing that participants did not have strong preferences on the relative priority of dimensions near the end of the list. This is an entirely sensible view. While one might have strong thoughts on whether food or water should top the list of relevant dimensions, it is more difficult to come up with reasons as to whether entertainment or freedom from disruptive behaviour should be ranked last since neither is considered to be of great importance.

A few initial remarks are in order regarding the ranking of dimensions by participants before explaining in the next chapter the selection of dimensions that will constitute our recommended measure of deprivation.

There are two important limitations to the ranking exercise that are worth noting here. When an individual provides an ordinal ranking of dimensions (1st, 2nd 3rd etc.), this provides no information on how much more important one dimension is compared to another. We know that participants tended to rank food higher than water, but we do not know how much more important food was than water. Furthermore, when participants are asked to rank dimensions they had in mind, through a description provided by the researcher, we gained a sense of the very low end and rather high end of the dimension. But because we did not ask the participants to rank particular increments within each dimension, such as ranking the increment between the first and second meal of the day as compared to the difference between a private flushing and public flushing toilet, we do not know whether participant rankings might change if they considered particular increments as opposed to the whole dimension. Freedom from violence, for example, might have scored much higher if participants were considering an increment at the low end of the spectrum, where very badly off people are subject to regular, severe physical and sexual violence. We will discuss the issue of increment weighting in more detail in the final chapter.³²

There was considerable consistency across sites and participants in the ranking of dimensions. Familiar dimensions of deprivation, including food, water, shelter, and sanitation, all scored relatively highly across sites and participants. While some dimensions were more highly ranked in some sites or by some participants, there was no radical variation in rankings in most sites for most participants.

There were fewer gendered differences in ranked dimensions than we might have expected. Although there are statistically significant differences in the ranking of 9 of the 25 candidate dimensions, these differences were still modest. No dimension exceeded more than a one position difference between men and women. Of course, as noted above, a ranking exercise does not provide information on the cardinal significance participants might attach to a particular dimension. This fact may mask where greater differences between men and women do occur.

Those dimensions which registered statistically significant differences between men and women do not necessarily track common perceptions about what would be important to women and men. Men gave higher rankings than women to property rights, participation in the community, the location of services, the environment, and clothing. Women gave higher rankings to personal care, cooking fuel, education, and shelter. We do not have information from participants about why they ranked the dimensions as they did. One might speculate

that men, generally as heads of households and more likely to have socially prescribed responsibilities for home and land ownership, market participation and community governance, would prioritise property rights, participation in the community and the location of services. Alternatively, women, with socially prescribed responsibilities for caring for the family and meeting certain social standards in public appearance, might prioritise education, cooking fuel, shelter and personal care. However, such speculation cannot account for why men had ranked slightly higher the environment and clothing, while women had ranked higher shelter.

In the next chapter, we explain how we moved from the information generated in the first and second phases to our construction of a multidimensional measure of poverty that would be piloted in the third phase.

32. The research team put considerable energy into attempting to devise a ranking exercise that would ask participants to compare particular increments of achievement within a given dimension, as opposed to comparing entire dimensions. In the end given the large number of candidate increments and the challenges of doing fieldwork, practical and cognitive constraints prevented such an exercise from going forward.