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Abstracts

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## Plenary Sessions

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### Wellbeing and International Development: Promises and Pitfalls

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This paper argues that there is added value from using a concept of wellbeing to interrogate international development thinking and practice. It explains the specific definition of wellbeing that has been employed to direct the WeD research. This is a hybrid definition which combines elements of objective and subjective wellbeing but also seeks to transcend them by recognizing the role of social construction in each. Any efforts to study or use this notion of wellbeing in practice must take account of three dimensions of social being: the material, the relational and the cognitive. The paper goes on to explain the multi-disciplinary research methodology developed by WeD and outlines the range of data generated by it. The paper moves on to discuss some of the promises and pitfalls of a wellbeing approach. The promises arise from the focus on human flourishing as a means of achieving policy coherence; escaping sterile debates over the roles of market and state; the reintegration of the analysis of social change with analysis of growth and human development; and the ways the concept highlights issues of political organisation and power. Potential pitfalls include the traps of individualism; cultural relativism and the relationship to bureaucracies. The paper concludes that the concept of wellbeing can have considerable benefits both for how we understand and might act in international development.



## **Is wellbeing relevant to international development policy and practice?**

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Contemporary international development policy and practice can be viewed as an arena of contest between four discourses, attaching primacy to economic growth, basic needs, human rights and 'the local' respectively. Each has a distinctive and consistent normative position, way of interpreting change and set of prescriptions for action. Section 1 examines the four discourses in relation to a broad definition of wellbeing. Section 2 draws on research by the WeD group in Peru to suggest that positive psychology can usefully add to the portfolio of methods for identifying normative goals and indicators of subjective wellbeing against which Development is planned and evaluated. Section 3 explores the relevance of the concept of wellbeing to political economy analysis at the national level, with particular reference to Peru and to reform of social assistance. It suggests that analysing relational, symbolic, affective as well as material dimensions of social change also contributes to more effective Development. Section 4 suggests how wellbeing is relevant not only to the programming of development, but also to the way it is structured. More specifically, it favours a move towards approaches that are more reflexive, pluralistic, decentralized and holistic. Section 5 summarises the argument and concludes with a discussion of how far the benefits to development policy and practice of a richer conceptualisation of wellbeing depend upon context.

# Negotiating Capabilities, Needs and Resources for Wellbeing

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## A sketch of an account of the human good

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This paper summarises an account of the human good based on non-utilitarian foundations, arising from experience as an economist working on poverty reduction and dissatisfaction with existing conceptual frameworks.

The human good is the property of human lives that gives us reason to be glad they exist. Even given an absolute ranking of possible worlds, any philosophical account of the human good will be an approximation, because no verbal account can capture all ethically relevant aspects of possible worlds. Different approximations are useful for different purposes and contexts. The account draws on both Greek and Jewish residues in English, and on both continental and Anglo-Saxon philosophy.

The account is developed from a schema for describing lifestyles, which, like Aristotle, focuses on activity (not capability or virtue). A lifestyle is defined as a set of regular or occasional activities: the reasons for which they are undertaken: the attitudes held towards them: the experiences derived from them: and the beliefs held about them. A very important complication is that our activities at any moment can be described in many different ways. There is considerable empirical potential in this schema.

Considering each dimension, it is suggested that better human lives have to do with activities performed for their own sake; with activities carried out in a certain spirit; and with positive experiences including pleasure, happiness and joy, but that the implication of taking these terms seriously is towards an ethic of attentiveness. It is also argued that important aspects of the human good are best thought of beyond the individual level.

This account helps to articulate, though not resolve the problems that motivated my enquiry. In particular, it allows us to articulate the sense, quite widely held by development practitioners, that development involves loss as well as gain - difficulties often obscured in the policy consensus.

## Capitalism and Human Flourishing

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Much discussion considers how efficacious capitalism is with respect to some conception or conceptions of human flourishing. Two provisos are vital. First, we can too easily essentialize 'capitalism'. Second, defences of capitalism are in terms of its instrumentality for far more than economic growth. It is also defended as being: a field of freedom; a forcing ground of innovation; a system for widespread involvement in decision making and hence for the growth of skills, knowledge and experience; a mechanism to reward effort and creativity; and a stable basis for political democracy. Each of these defences carries a potential for critical assessment too.

After this clarification, I will focus more on which conception(s) of human flourishing does capitalism promote. Multiple conceptions of flourishing may *exist* under capitalism, but certain types of conception are *promoted* by and in harmony with it. Capitalism does not match existing theorised conceptions of well-being very well – pleasure/satisfaction, preference fulfilment, needs fulfilment, and so on. Its motor of unending restless expansion and destruction seems rather to fit an activist, productivist conception of well-being—activity itself is the good.

Yet paradoxically, the typical conception of work under capitalism is as a cost. Extending capitalist accounting categories from an individual capitalist enterprise to an entire society has profound implications. The results it produces in discounting of future costs and benefits are well-known. I will examine the prior categorization of costs and benefits: the classification of paid work time as a cost, despite extensive evidence that for many people work is a major source of fulfilment. This categorization can produce major distortions in assessments and prioritizations. Can an alternative conceptualization of work be used for a more adequate treatment of human flourishing?

## **The Roles of Human, Social and Cultural Resources in Adapting Livelihood Strategies to Meet Wellbeing Aspirations in Contemporary Thailand**

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The adaptation of livelihood strategies is important if individuals and households in Thailand are to improve their living conditions and meet rising wellbeing aspirations in the context of population growth and increasing pressures on natural resources. Rapid changes in economy and society, and the development of physical infrastructure have enabled a considerable degree of flexibility in changing livelihood strategies at the local level, but it is important that other aspects of adaptation to development and change are considered. This paper draws on the research of WeD Thailand and uses empirical evidence from comprehensive field studies in seven communities in both the South and Northeast Regions of Thailand. The research confirms that most rural and peri-urban households can no longer depend on a single economic activity and that 'pluriactivity' is increasingly common. While farming activities continue to provide an important foundation for livelihoods in rural and peri-urban communities, the trend for young household members to seek non-agricultural or 'modern sector' work outside their communities is increasingly evident. This trend provides important insights for our understanding of the dynamics of wellbeing in contemporary Thailand. The research explores the resource profiles of households and individuals and identifies a number of key factors that differentiate them in the processes of adaptation to change. Social resources are important as these provide networks through which it is possible to make connections to and secure non-agricultural work. Additionally, strongly embedded social resources that appear in the form of strong ties with families and close relatives help in easing obstacles and hardship faced in some processes of livelihood adaptation. Human resource development is also highlighted as providing an important means of effectively adapting livelihood strategies to meet wellbeing aspirations. The educational improvement of young household members plays a significant role in them acquiring "good jobs" in the modern sector, as well as in broadening their opportunities for further learning for continued livelihood adaptation. However, it is also important to take account of the cultural dimensions of these processes. A good education is still highly regarded in much of Thai society and it can defer social status. As such, a 'good education' can be regarded as an important cultural resource in the context of change. But, cultural resources acquire their significance from their foundations in social values. These same systems of value affect a persons' decisions about what "to do" or "not to do" in the process of livelihood adaptation. The study indicates that these decisions differ among different groups of people and this affects the ways in which they adapt to change. Differences in all of these resource dimensions, between regions, communities and household socio-economic categories are discussed and compared.

## **Income, Expenditure and Debt in the Construction of Wellbeing: Does 'Relationship' Matter?**

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The paper discusses the role of income, expenditure and debt in the construction of wellbeing with special emphasis on the 'relational' dimensions. Income and expenditure patterns offer a powerful analysis of how people use resources at their disposal to meet specific needs and enhance their quality of life. The paper offers a statistical analysis of income and expenditure patterns to identify and examine sources of income and priority areas of expenditure. The analysis of income against expenditure reveals the level and extent of people's indebtedness, and how important this is to achieve particular wellbeing outcomes. How people manage their debts becomes therefore an important focus of the paper. The paper also tries to seek to answer the question of 'what does income, expenditure and debt tell us about the particular circumstances of the community in order to have an improved understanding of resources and needs relationship'. It also discusses variations and fluctuations in the composition of income, areas of expenditure, and debt management across sites, class and season. The analysis of the paper highlights the relational dimension of wellbeing as it identifies key actors in the provision of credit, as well as examines the terms or rules under which people interact with these actors. 'Debt' and 'relational' dimensions therefore play the central role in the analysis of this paper.

## **The role of income in mitigating the relationship between resources and needs satisfaction: evidence from Bangladesh**

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Central to the WeD research framework is the relationship between the different categories of resources to which households have access and the extent to which they are able to satisfy basic and intermediate needs. Previous analysis based on the resources and needs questionnaire (RANQ) household survey conducted as part of the WeD project has provided significant evidence across the four countries in which the survey was conducted for the strong association between resources and the extent of need satisfaction (McGregor et al, 2007). Unsurprisingly there is a strong association between access to material and human resources and needs satisfaction; but social resources also play an important role, for example through participation in community activities or having relatives in positions of responsibility in public policy (government or NGO).

There are different channels through which the relationship between resources and needs satisfaction is mitigated, both public and private. This paper is a preliminary investigation looking specifically the role of income in this process, by combining data from the RANQ survey with the results of a household income and expenditure survey conducted on a subset of the same households. Besides looking at the levels of household income in relation to the resources to which households have access (in descriptive terms and through a multivariate model), the paper also presents a profile of the different income sources to which households have access, also looking at the income combinations – and hence diversification – households are able to achieve. It considers the extent to which access to high earning income sources, as well as positive forms of income diversification, are related to the resources to which households have access, also asking to what extent social resources play an important role in this process. The analysis is primarily at the household level because this is the level at which income – and much of the resource data -- is primarily collected.

The paper also briefly considers the links between income levels and sources to which households and their members have access and their levels of needs satisfaction. Unsurprisingly this relationship between income and needs satisfaction is less strong, for various reasons including the intermediate role of expenditure and the importance of intra-household allocation issues. These issues need to be investigated more in future research, both based on further analysis of the quantitative data (to the extent that the survey data enables this) and through combination with qualitative research.

## **The Development of Capability Indicators and their Relation to Life Satisfaction**

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The paper is motivated by sustained interest in the capabilities approach to welfare economics combined with the purported paucity of economic statistics that measure capabilities at the individual level. Specifically, it takes a focal account of normatively desirable capabilities constitutive of a good life and operationalizes that account by means of a new survey instrument used to elicit information about capabilities at the individual level. The paper explores the extent to which these capabilities are co-variates of a life satisfaction measure of utility ('happiness') and finds that many are. Aspects of robustness are explored using standard socio-demographic variables as well as a relatively novel control for personality; in addition, a range of different models are explored and sub-population differences are examined.

Keywords: capabilities, indicators, measurement, human development, welfare, happiness, life satisfaction, controls, personality

## **Social Capabilities and Economic Development**

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Development is different from economic growth. The capabilities approach of Amartya Sen yields important insights into the development process, but has been criticised for having an overly individualistic orientation that puts culture and social structure to one side. But even from a strictly economic perspective, individualistic approaches, including standard growth measures, are deficient for evaluating and measuring development in Sen's sense - the expansion of capabilities. The standard economic growth measure precludes consideration of a broad range of factors which impinge upon the expansion of a nation's capabilities such as income distribution and, most specifically, the positive externalities incumbent upon improvements in the stock of human assets from education; the latter improvements are likely to manifest themselves in ordinary growth statistics with a considerable lag. The presence of such lagged effects on growth is supported with historical and statistical evidence.



### **Ill-health, urban livelihoods and wellbeing in Kenya and Zambia**

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It is alleged that ill-health, especially HIV-AIDS, has devastating effects on both the composition and livelihoods of many urban households and the social networks on which they draw for mutual support, with the result that poverty has deepened and become entrenched and social capital has deteriorated in African cities with high prevalence rates. The paper will present the outcomes of research that examined the livelihoods of urban households living in informal settlements in Nairobi, Lusaka and Ndola. Using a semi-random sample of households (rather than just those known to be in crisis as a result of adult death, severe illness, containing a member with HIV/AIDS or absorption of orphans), and a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, the study attempted to assess the nature and extent of the impacts of ill-health on livelihood strategies and household wellbeing. A comparative analysis of the findings will be complemented by discussion of the conceptual and methodological issues that arose during the study.

Urban Zambia is characterised by long duration chronic poverty – households have generally been poor for a long time, ‘churning’ appears to be limited and people have adapted to their poverty. In Nairobi, in contrast, urban households appear to be better off on the whole than in Zambia, but the economic situation in which they find themselves is also more volatile. These and other findings will be reported in the paper.

Concern that studies which concentrate on households in crisis or under severe stress over-estimate the prevalence of shocks, household breakdown and deteriorating social capital led us to select semi-random samples for the household surveys, complemented by qualitative research (mainly in-depth interviews with a small sub-sample of households and FGDs). This approach has indeed provided a picture of ‘more typical’ households in low income informal settlements, but also encountered a number of methodological difficulties which will be discussed in the paper.

## Poverty Dynamics And Life Trajectories In Rural Bangladesh

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This paper presents interim findings from an ongoing longitudinal study into poverty dynamics and life trajectories in rural Bangladesh. The study integrates a quantitative panel survey of 1787 core households with a sub-sample of approximately 300 qualitative life history interviews with the aim of exploring the dynamics of poverty and the main drivers of change in people's lives. In this paper, we report on the lessons we have learned in integrating the two qualitative and quantitative approaches, present some interim findings based on the data collected in two of the study sites (involving 847 households and 71 life history interviews), and discuss initial implications for policy aimed at reducing poverty and protecting the poorest. We draw particular attention to the importance of shocks and other intermittent events and the 'lumpy' expenditure patterns (involving the costs, *inter alia*, of medical treatment, dowries and weddings, or court cases) they create, which have long-term impacts on people's life trajectories. Because of the periodic 'one off' nature of these events, the serious impacts which such 'lumpy' expenditures have on poor people's lives tend to be missed in many household surveys. Crises associated with the division of households and other family disputes (which are often associated with land or dowries) are also very important sources of decline, even for richer households. As a consequence, many of the life trajectories we observed resemble either upward or downward 'saw tooth' patterns, rather than the smooth process of accumulation or sharp declines that are hypothesised by quantitative analysts. While we find it is sometimes difficult to reconcile qualitative and quantitative findings, we believe that a fully integrated and sequenced approach to the study of poverty dynamics helps to compensate for the blind spots of any single approach, and strengthens the overall research process. The process of understanding differences provided us with many opportunities for mutual learning, and the cross checking and triangulation of findings, and is helping us gain a deeper understanding of the opportunities and challenges that poor people face as they struggle to improve their lives.

## **Destitution Pathways, Risks and Shocks: Case studies of households in the four rural sites of the Wellbeing in Developing Countries Research Project**

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This paper is based on household level data from four rural sites, two in Amhara region (Dinki in Ankober Wereda North Shewa, and Yetmen in Inemay wereda, Gojjam) and two in Oromia Region (Korodegaga in Dodota-Sire wereda, Arsi and Turufe Kechemba in Shashemene wereda East Shewa). The paper considers case studies of households that have moved into poverty and become trapped into destitution particularly over the past 10 years and the effects of social shocks on households' status.

The households included for analysis comprise households studied by the Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD) research project, that showed a marked decrease in terms of livestock assets, consumption and self assessment between 1994 and 2004, selected by economists on the basis of the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey (ERHS) as well as households that were found to be very poor according to an asset index based on the WeD Resources and Needs Survey (RANS), and households that suffered from social shocks.

The paper seeks to understand the factors that underlie processes of destitution and the dynamics of household downward trajectories using data from diaries, adult lives, household standard of living and contentment graphs and timelines, household profiles, histories, shocks, events, and relationships. The paper identifies routes of impoverishment, and describes the complexities of processes through analysing selected in-depth case studies to suggest a more subtle understanding of local realities and people's individual and collective efforts to cope with impoverishment in the selected sites.

# Wellbeing and Development Policy and Practice

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## **Giving to Development: Who Gives to Overseas Causes?**

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Donations to charities working for overseas causes are an important source of funding for development assistance from rich industrialised countries. In the UK, charities of this type that are among the top 500 fundraisers received nearly £1bn in donations in 2004-5. Two-thirds of UK adults believe that international charities make a 'major contribution' to the reduction of poverty in developing countries. But very little is known about charitable donations to development causes. The literature on charitable giving focuses on total donations and does not identify separately the pattern or the determinants of giving by cause. If further charitable donations are to contribute to the funding of the Millennium Development Goals, more knowledge is required of whether and how giving to development differs from giving to other causes. We investigate giving to development using UK household survey microdata that do record donations to different types of charity – in contrast to sources used in almost all the existing literature on charitable donations. We document the frequency (whether any donation is made) and the generosity (the amounts given) of giving to development, contrasting this with giving to other causes. We analyse the clustering of giving by cause: do people who give to overseas causes also give to other causes and hence does overseas giving complement or substitute domestic giving in this sense? We then present simple statistical models of the correlates of giving to development and giving to other causes, focusing on socio-economic background including education and income. The modelling strategy allows for the decision to donate to be determined in different ways from the amounts that are given by people who give.

## **Well-being and Development Policy: Implications for Aid and Financing Public Goods**

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Aid in its various facets is central to the implementation of development policy. Traditionally, aid effectiveness has been evaluated against impacts on economic performance. Recently emphasis has shifted towards impact on poverty reduction: 'enhancing the well-being of the poor' can now be acknowledged as an objective of aid. This paper explores implications for aid policy. Aid can improve well-being directly (through donor-managed projects), indirectly through growth (if this is in some sense pro-poor), and indirectly through aid finance for the provision of public goods (especially public expenditure on social sectors).

In this context of aid, well-being can be interpreted as increased access of the poor to public goods (especially health, education and sanitation) in addition to increasing the consumption of the poor (reducing income poverty). These may be narrow concepts of well-being, but they are appropriate to the remit of aid policy. Given a general belief that aid cannot be accurately targeted on the poor, the objective of enhancing well-being has in practice been addressed by financing social sector spending in the poorest countries or allocating aid to countries where it is most likely to benefit the poor (typically in terms of evidence that growth is in some sense pro-poor). This paper reviews experience in these two areas. First, we review existing empirical evidence for the effect of aid on human development (as a measure of well-being) and poverty indicators. There is some evidence that aid does contribute to human development, but in the poorest countries a major concern is regarding the effectiveness of public spending in increasing access of the poor to public goods. Second, we consider the issue of 'poverty reducing aid allocation' and related concerns of how donors have influenced poverty reduction policy. We derive implications for aid policy, and conclude by considering whose well-being is actually served through aid.

## **Global Policy Making and the Millennium Development Goals: Muddling through or Cock-up and Conspiracy**

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This paper traces the evolution and history of the world's biggest promise – the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's).

It then analyses the processes that converted a ramshackle bunch of US resolutions into a set of globally agreed goals that have and are being used to mobilise \$US 50 billion extra per annum for global poverty reduction.

The conclusion draws lessons from this process of a theoretical and practical (what can activists learn?) nature. It also speculates on whether the long term legacy of the MDG's will be disillusionment with the idea of international development on a global scale.

## Happiness studies and outcome consciousness in international development: exploring the well-being outcomes of education

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Analysis and assessments of well-being are essentially about ensuring that development practitioners, policy-makers and evaluators explore *outcomes* (health, enjoyment, and the quality of life) rather than getting stuck solely on *processes* (technology, infrastructure, GDP, and delivery of services). The 'human development' movement and the Millennium Development Goals have been associated with significant movements towards outcome-orientation. Nonetheless, efforts under these rubrics have remained largely in the middle ground between the means and the ultimate ends of development. Most emphasis has been on outputs and processes like income, schooling, and capabilities rather than on well-being. The inattention to well-being is not entirely due to mere forgetfulness: some key exponents such as Amartya Sen have even explicitly rejected 'happiness' as a policy rubric on moral grounds in the anti-utilitarian tradition.

This paper will explore evidence and analyse potentials for the deployment of happiness (i.e. subjective well-being) as a policy rubric in one specific 'human development' domain: education. This work will be linked with the ongoing DFID-funded 'RECOUP' research programme on educational outcomes and poverty reduction. Although happiness is not an explicit focus of that research programme, I will use the themes and provisional findings of that programme to draw out explicit links and contrasts between a 'poverty reduction' orientation and a 'well-being' orientation. I will also explore the potential for enhancing such research – and eventually for improving educational policy – through a more explicit focus on well-being. Noting that all parents want their children's education to give them the capacity for happiness but that education policies and assessments rarely even mention happiness, I will review literature on education and happiness in relation to other kinds of educational outcome such as income, employment, creativity, fertility, health, and social development.

I will argue that aspects of well-being need to feature in development discourse in three main ways:

- as *policy objectives* (even if some objections to utilitarianism are accepted it is perverse not to recognize happiness as a core policy objective, among others)
- as *instrumental means* for achieving development (people work better and get along with other people better if they are well and happy)
- in the *evaluation and outcome monitoring* of development policies, programmes, and processes (we need to know how wealth and health and knowledge are enjoyed, not just how they are generated and distributed).

I will also briefly explore ways in which the Western academic boom in happiness studies, and the associated incipient attention to happiness among European and North American governments, businesses and civil society leaders, might be extended further into international development studies and policy. The dramatic rise and diversification of happiness studies since the 1970s has only recently been followed by some rather slow, cautious, and piecemeal responses by development policy analysts and development agencies. In rhetorical form, there is increasingly frequent and high-profile endorsement of the possibility that happiness (and well-being more generally) could be an important policy objective and that happiness studies might supply important information for monitoring and evaluation of policy processes and outcomes. In practice, however, there has been as yet very little systematic exploration of the opportunities and pitfalls afforded by happiness studies for would-be reformers or evaluators of policy. Nor is there as yet, in the happiness studies community, a serious movement towards adapting and expanding happiness studies in ways that would make their findings more policy-relevant. Furthermore, both

happiness studies and happiness policy analysis remain largely focused on the quantitative analysis of survey results, and could be greatly improved through the addition of ethnographic and qualitative research and cultural-philosophical analysis. This paper will therefore address the 'happiness studies' community as well as 'development studies'.



## **Caste and Well-being in India**

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Well-being in India is inextricably tied up with one's caste status, with lower castes usually having worse health, nutritional and educational outcomes. Improvements in well-being have also been tied up with the mobilization of lower castes. This paper compares the outcomes of caste mobilizations in two states of sub-continental India, one from the north (Uttar Pradesh) and another from the south (Tamil Nadu). For 15 years, Uttar Pradesh has had a movement to mobilize the 'dalits' and the other backward castes of the state. However, UP's lower castes had before the mobilization began, and still have, the worst social indicators in the state and in the country. Earlier in the last century Tamil Nadu also experienced a mobilization of the dalits and backwards, but managed to transform the social indicators in health, nutrition, fertility and education after independence. Thus, while UP's mobilizers of the dalits have focused exclusively on capturing power, the gains to the lowest castes have been entirely of a symbolic nature. This paper, after analysing the data from two National Family Health Surveys (1992, 1999), addresses the reasons why UP's indicators of well-being, including the health and education status of the lower castes, are much worse than in Tamil Nadu - despite the lower caste mobilization over the last decade and a half.

## **Assessing Quality of Life: Reflections from exploratory research in Syria and Tajikistan**

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The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) is developing a programme to assess changes in the Quality of Life (QoL) in five countries where member organisations are engaged in area-based programmes. As part of the process to develop the methodology and indicators for Quality of Life assessments, exploratory studies, using qualitative methods, have been carried out in Syria and Tajikistan. This paper will reflect on the conceptual and methodological implications of the findings. It will, firstly, explore people's own socially and culturally embedded perceptions of what constitutes a good quality of life, and the domains and resources that they consider important. It will disaggregate findings according to wealth, gender and generation. Secondly, it will propose an appropriate methodology to assess 'quality of life', arguing for combined qualitative and quantitative (or contextual and non-contextual) methods, particularly if the objective is to promote the use of findings for development policy and programming.

## **Autonomy, critical autonomy and social learning: the place of intervention and interveners in promoting well-being**

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The conceptualisation of well-being and the methodological framework outlined by WeD researchers focuses primarily on the poor and disadvantaged. This paper focuses on a different set of actors: those who intervene to promote well-being. It takes as its starting point the 'Theory of Human Needs' framework of Doyal and Gough (1991) to examine whether and how interveners in development are able to exert autonomy and critical autonomy in ways that support improvements in well-being (directly or indirectly). It is argued that autonomy and critical autonomy are as important for those who intervene as for those who might benefit from intervention. Such autonomy is a fundamental part of transformative social learning in which former or dominant knowledges are challenged by experiential knowledges of 'unwell-being'. These processes may occur directly through social engagement between interveners and poor communities, between interveners themselves, and as part of formal learning and capacity-building. The understanding and agency of interveners is a crucial link between the poor and disadvantaged and higher level policy - or between local/place-specific means and policies and global/universal goals (Gough, 2004). The paper reflects on social learning processes investigated in three earlier research projects: an examination of inter-organisational relationships in intervention on behalf of HIV/AIDS widows in Zimbabwe; an investigation into practitioner to practitioner learning in North-South local authority partnerships in UK and Uganda; and research into capacity-building through formal learning programmes in the UK and Southern Africa.

## **Autonomy and development projects: Why do we care?**

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If human development is about the expansion of human capabilities (Sen, 1999) and about leading fulfilled and worthy lives, then individuals must have certain capacity to choose these lives according to their own values and goals. Moreover, this capacity must be effective. Options from which to choose have to be achievable: structural contexts must be taken into account (Nussbaum, 2000). This capacity, instrumental to enhance human development and well-being, is defined as autonomy.

This paper presents a conceptual framework of autonomy that emphasises effective over internal capacities by giving relevance to the inter-relations of individuals and groups in specific contexts that define entitlements. Then, it assesses autonomy in a specific micro-level context: a development project. Individuals' experiences of autonomy evolve in their interaction with project staff, non-government organisations, donors, etc. and how the project came into being and was implemented.

The study draws on four development projects financed by Luxembourg in Nicaragua and El Salvador, related to infrastructure building. Data include project documents, public national reports, external statistics, key stakeholder interviews, focus group discussions and a questionnaire survey. The analysis is primarily qualitative.

The analysis suggests that studying multi-level contexts is necessary to understand experiences of autonomy, and that individuals value to be able to help themselves (Ellerman, 2001). Assumptions about what is best for people (top-down project design), which channels work best (formal vs. informal counterpart), what is participation (working hard or sharing in decision-making) or what is community (whether there is one community) can affect individual autonomy and the capacity of groups to pursue common goals.

Projects can provide people the opportunities to exercise autonomy so that they are better prepared to make initiatives and face challenges (in light of power imbalances). Identifying autonomy as an explicit development objective can help people to be able to promote significant change and defend and increase well-being in their lives.

### **Keywords**

Autonomy, human development, projects, structural contexts, capabilities

## **Gender mainstreaming in Ethiopia: translation of policy into practice and implications on the ground**

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In spite of the growing recognition that 'gender' matters amongst development practitioners and institutions which have translated into efforts to 'mainstream gender', there has been an overall persistence and sometimes aggravation of gendered inequalities. This paper explores these contradictions in the context of Ethiopia. It is widely acknowledged that women in Ethiopia are disproportionately disadvantaged on a number of grounds. Drawing on data from four rural sites from the Wellbeing and Developing Countries ESRC Research group, this paper makes the case for a more complex analysis of gender inequalities and explores how these are embedded in the social and cultural construction of wellbeing. It begins with an investigation of the policies and interventions in place to address gender inequalities at the national level. It then explores how patterns of power at the community, household and individual level are inherently gendered in ways that have particularly negative effects on women. Specific emphasis is given to how these are legitimised through social and cultural norms. It also examines how gender inequalities are being contested at different levels. The paper then concludes with a discussion of the effectiveness of the policies and structures in place at the national level to address gendered inequalities and wellbeing.

## **Migration, Livelihoods and Wellbeing across Four Communities in Ethiopia**

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The paper argues that migration is a social process, in which many households move between rural and urban livelihood options as appropriate to their members' needs through casual, periodic or permanent migration experiences. It capitalizes on recent perspectives on the migration-development nexus and particularly builds on the discourse of the migration –livelihood framework. It argues that although the Sustainable Livelihood Framework helps to explore the agency of migrants in a particular livelihood context, it does not take into consideration migrants' spatial complexities and interconnections. It either focuses on rural or urban livelihoods. Building on recent studies on urban-rural linkages, the paper highlights the importance of the WeD Framework in understanding 'wellbeing' to provide a perspective on how the 'same' migration experience may have different meanings for individual migrants, migrant families or even communities of migrants in different transactions. It further argues that the WeD Framework helps to explore how meanings and values are changing with migration experiences and how these, in turn, shape the identities and wellbeing of individual migrants.

Key Words: Migration, Urban-Rural Linkages, Livelihood, Wellbeing

# Wellbeing, relatedness and collective action

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## Marriage, Family and the Cultural Construction of Wellbeing in Bangladesh

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The focus on 'wellbeing' promises to increase the range of issues or dimensions of life: in shorthand, to go beyond 'the economic'. The signature move is to include people's own ('subjective') perspectives alongside material ('objective') indicators, typically through the language of 'values' and 'goals'. Admission of 'cultural difference' recognises that 'values' will differ from place to place. The notion of 'cultural construction' suggests a more profound challenge. First, it questions the easy opposition of objective versus subjective, or material reality versus people's perceptions. Second, it transcends individualism, showing how individual perceptions are grounded in shared meanings through culture; and how experience is essentially constituted in relation to others.

This paper considers what WeD research on marriage and family relations shows of the construction of wellbeing in Bangladesh. Marriage and family are at the heart of what matters to people in Bangladesh. They are core to all three dimensions of wellbeing WeD identifies: living a good life (values and ideals); having a good life (material welfare and standards of living); and locating one's life (experience and subjectivity). In providing idioms of relatedness, structures of governance, and instantiation of a moral order, marriage and family also constitute social institutions which are foundational to the broader organization of society in Bangladesh. Interpretation draws on a wider discussion of how personal relations are represented and experienced in South Asia. The paper focuses on the ways people conceive and negotiate their relatedness with respect to the three wellbeing dimensions. These reveal a world in which the moral and material are deeply intertwined, where the pragmatics of inter-personal politics configure an over-arching moral order in and through engagement in the mundane.

## **A match made in heaven? multi-methods for researching conjugality in a Ugandan case study.**

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This research emerged from a series of informal discussions between economists, with expertise in experimental economics, and an anthropologist, around shared interests in Amartya Sen's model of cooperative conflicts as a way to understand the intra-household processes which generate gender inequitable unequal wellbeing outcomes. Here I present some preliminary reflections on the methods and findings of the research in eastern Uganda, in an area which is predominantly Gisu. The research is not yet complete but provisional analysis suggests some likely conclusions which are outlined here. The emphasis is on methods, and the ways in which anthropology can enrich the increasingly influential field of experimental economics, as well as the value for anthropology of including experimental outcomes as one element in the multiple sources and perspectives which are needed to triangulate the insights from qualitative methods alone. The surprises in the game outcomes stimulate rethinking not only of research methods but also of the assumptions and explanations inhering in our efforts to identify and explain well-being differentials between husbands and wives.



**Life course, wellbeing and social exclusion. Narratives of older women in Buenos Aires.**

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This study applies a lifecourse analysis to understanding the wellbeing of older people in a socially-excluded setting. Adopting a subjective approach, the study focuses on lifetime relations with children and grandchildren. Analysis of oral histories of 22 older people illustrates the complexity of their lived experiences and the significance of key turning points in making sense of their lives. Informants speak of the anxiety and harm caused by children with problems, of remote relations with successful children, and the insecurity of their neighbourhood. The evidence questions received notions about the links between childbearing and wellbeing in later life.

**Keywords:** lifecourse, Argentina, social exclusion, wellbeing

## **Intergenerational Transfer of Poverty/Wealth in Ethiopia: Evidence from four WeD Research Communities**

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The paper tries to examine how parents transfer poverty/ wealth to their children and how these were governed by the community norms. It aims at understanding how persistent poverty in Ethiopia could partly be interwoven in the social fabrics and calling for relatively effective contextualized interventions in reducing child poverty.

Data used to produce this paper were collected in three different levels of WeD research: the Resource and Needs Questionnaire (RANQ), in-depth household and individual interviews, and, specific open-ended protocols designed to understand the intergenerational poverty/wealth transmissions.

The research output indicated that transfer of wealth required following many alternatives until the child really sets up an independent life. Poverty transmission was largely the inability to invest on the future of the child by poor parents. But as it also involved parents' preference of child work to education, some non-poor people failed to transfer their wealth to their children. Poor parents were more likely to engage their children in income generating activities to maintain the household, whereas non-poor parents needed their children to take on family work. Some poor parents, however, used different mechanisms to invest on their children to become richer adults.

Socio-economic environment, localised norms of entitlement including gender, age and birth order, besides other factors, strongly affected parental investment on education of children. Though parents and children have significant difference in their perception of parents' obligation towards developing children's future, cultural norms appeared to favour the parents and there was no legal sanction which enforces children's expectations.

It emerged that, norms, not only govern transfers of wealth/poverty, but also they themselves were simultaneously transmitted from parents to children. Strong family ties and interdependence between family members guaranteed the transmission of values, attitudes and customs inherited from the older to the younger.

## **Social Analysis and Social Ordering: Destitution and the Durability of Poverty**

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This paper explores poverty as an outcome not of market failure or economics but of social organisation. Starting from an anthropological perspective, which critically interrogates categories as well as objects of analysis, I argue that the way in which poverty is theorised in development obliterates the salience of social organisation as a key factor in determining who gets what and how social harm is distributed. Insights from studies of destitution support this line of argument. Destitution is shown to be a social process of recategorisation of a person's previous entitlements, often predetermined by prior social status. Similar processes of reorganisation are evident in the dynamics of witchcraft accusation in contemporary Africa . Such processes of individuation and the redrafting of what is constituted as legitimate dependency, and hence the right to social support, are not confined to extreme instances of desperate local restructuring as occurs in the case of destitution and witchcraft allegations. They are central to the organisation of modern economies premised on the core normative relationship represented not as those between persons as individuals, but between individuals and markets.

## **Vulnerability and poverty persistence in a capability setting**

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The paper explores the linkages between vulnerability and persistent poverty in a capability setting. It discusses the production of well being within the context of capability theory, especially transformation processes. Focusing on the different components of well being production, the paper reconsiders how vulnerability could result in poverty and persistent poverty. The paper argues in some detail that capability theory can provide a more general model of the linkages between vulnerability and poverty, than existing approaches which rely on assets, income, or life course. It can incorporate non-market factors such as social exclusion as sources of vulnerability and poverty. It also helpful in drawing attention to the interconnectedness of different sources of vulnerability, by providing a framework for considering combinations of vulnerabilities, such as this that characterize old age. The paper discusses how capability theory can be extended to support an improved understanding of vulnerability and poverty persistence. It then considers how this framework could be applied empirically, using a variety of examples. Finally, it concludes by drawing out the main policy implications of adopting this approach. These suggest that integrated anti-poverty programmes, with a multidimensional perspective on poverty, could be most effective in addressing poverty and vulnerability.

## **Well-being and Crises: Household Vulnerability and Resilience in three Bangladesh Communities**

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In general Bangladesh presents a negative image to the global community characterized by its environmental disasters, political instability, corruption and poverty. Contrary to this image, it has also been seen that despite the material hardship, often created through adverse shocks, people's lives are not full of misery. Keeping in mind this broad perspective, this paper will investigate how (i) the shocks experienced by them affect their well-being and (ii) their resilience prepares them to absorb the shocks.

Taking its lead from the local understandings of crises, and using data gathered under the WeD research in sites in Manikgonj District, this paper presents an analysis of how a range of events or shocks affect people's well-being. Focusing on floods and health crises, it demonstrates how events of a different nature affect three main dimensions of people's well-being: their material assets, their household relations and their wider community relations.

The main focus of the psychology literature on well-being or quality of life is on the individual. This paper argues that although this focus is important, it does not allow us to fully understand why people's level of happiness or quality of life does not always correlate with changes in the determinants of their economic position. This highlights the significance of 'household resilience' in overcoming hardship created by the crises. This notion of 'household resilience' requires us to integrate analysis across social and psychological boundaries.

This paper seeks to contribute to a better understanding of 'household resilience' using a notion of 'cognitive homeostasis', suggested by Cummins and Nistico (2002). This is an evolutionary survival mechanism that allows people to remain positive and adapt to adverse environments. This paper also elaborates the process of 'causal pathway' of Cummins' model in explaining the linkage between the resource base functioning and life satisfaction. Finally this paper suggests the socio-economic policy implication of the issues examined.

## **Fluid Identities, exploring ethnicity in Peru**

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This paper analyses information about salient ethnic identities in Peru collected through a survey and follow-up interviews. The results of the survey show that there are not clear boundaries for ethnicity in Peru, not even language; but it does not mean that flexible forms of 'ethnic categorisation' do not exist in the country today. They do.

We find evidence of a strong sense of both ethnic identity and discrimination. The language of the answers is complex and rich, but when the question is narrowed, the answer is delivered with an unexpected strength and clarity. While ethnic prejudice has not only resulted in passivity, denial of the group or alienation, but also, in other instances, in a new appreciation of an individual's own identity; it is clear that it has perverse effects on the appreciation of people's ethnic identity. In a context where prejudice is the norm --against the Indian in the provinces, and against the serrano in Lima--the need for denial or suppression of identity, or the creation of clear differences between groups can be understood. The imperative of this differentiation can include harm to an individual's own group.

The paper also brings insights as to the different effects and consequences of salient ethnic identities.

Most people are aware of the effects of racial and cultural traits on people's chances of getting access to jobs. While much has been accomplished for them or their parents through the process of migration and education, still the most desirable jobs in the private sector seem to run up against the devastating exclusionary power of appearance, whether this is purely aesthetic or ethnic. In the government, access to opportunities comes up against problems of connection and corruption. Power is seen to be in the hands of whites and mestizos. In the provinces, mestizos are aware of their power locally, but in Lima, all agree that power is in the hands of the whites in most institutions of the government, and even more so, in the private sector. Finally, while ethnicity is deeply felt in the private life, it does not crystallize in public sphere. The feeling of a fragmented community and a complex political system results in the frustration of leadership and the belief that any political effort will run into the sand of corruption: too many people from different places to trust, too many different and complex steps to manage the system and too much risk in the informal economy and insecure jobs to get organized.

***"You are not going there to amuse yourself,"* Barriers in constructing wellbeing through international migration: The case of Peruvian migrants in London and Madrid.**

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This paper investigates the processes through which migrants achieve wellbeing and the blocks that they experience drawing on research conducted over a period of eighteen months with Peruvian migrants based in London and Madrid. The findings reveal insights into changes in subjective states that relate to the experience of moving between different cultural systems or repertoires of meaning. The main blocks to achieving wellbeing outcomes are explored as losses at the individual level leading to behavioural shifts such as cultural shedding or cultural learning. It also evidences how lack of social support experienced in the societies of settlement (compounded by changes experienced in the acculturating group) lead to social isolation and acculturative stress undermining the achievement of wellbeing.

## **Wellbeing, Democracy and Political Violence in Bangladesh**

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Contemporary discussions of wellbeing tend to focus on the idea of individual enhancement or flourishing and in so doing, empty the concept of any real political meaning. This paper works from the premise that wellbeing is a fundamentally political concept and that its everyday pursuit is inherently contested, fraught with uncertainty and subject to constant challenge. This argument is developed and illustrated using empirical data from WeD research in Bangladesh. The evidence presented in the paper points to the emergence of a new political landscape in Bangladesh that rests on two linked social phenomena: the deepening of political party activity and the rise of organized groups known as mastaans or musclemen. The overlap between political party activity and mastaan activity is considerable, and comes to mark the boundaries of social interaction; dominate the struggle for valued resources; and inform the articulation of wider social order. The co-existence of the two phenomena introduces an important paradox. On the one hand, the deepening of political party activity heralds the opening up of new democratic spaces in which, in theory, people can address their wellbeing needs in a more direct manner. On the other hand, the fact that musclemen control the rules that govern these new democratic spaces, means that the practical struggle for wellbeing exposes people to an intimidating and violent form of politics. The article will also explore the implications of this paradox for people's experience and expectations of citizenship.



## Rethinking agency in collective action

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Participatory approaches to development have gained increased prominence over the past decade, encompassing ideas about the desirability of citizens actively engaging in the institutions, policies and discourses which shape their access to resources.

Central to participatory approaches is the concept of human agency. Purposive individual action is seen as potentially radical and transformative. Through everyday social practices, participation in public institutions and political engagement people can supposedly re-negotiate norms, challenge inequalities, claim and extend their rights.

In this paper I explore how we need better understandings of the ways in which individual **human agency** shapes and is shaped by relations to others, institutions and social structures. The intention is to explore the factors which constrain and enable the exercise of agency for different people. Why are some individuals better placed to participate, politically engage and shape decision-making than others? Examples from participatory natural resource management are used to conceptually engage with these questions.

The paper examines six dimensions of agency:

- How **moral/ world views** (concepts of the 'right way of doing things', the perceived relationship between social and natural orders, respect etc) shape the exercise of agency.
- How the complexity of **individual identities** impacts upon agency.
- ***How agency is exercised in situations of the unequal interdependence of connected livelihoods.***
- ***How structural limitations shape individuals' ability to exercise agency .***
- ***Agency and embodiment. How the physical capacity to exercise agency affects ability to participate and access resources.***
- ***Emotionality and motivation: the conscious and unconscious 'disciplining' of subjects, which shapes their exercise of agency and impacts on individual and collective decision making***

## **Prospects of Collective Action and Well-Being of Subordinate Groups in Contexts of Inequality and Domination**

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Attainment of well-being through collective action of the poor and the weak remains unrealistic under conditions where domination reinforces social and economic inequality. Even if there is covert resistance on the lines suggested by Scott (*Weapons of the Weak*), it is largely ineffective in making substantial dents in prevalent relationships of domination and exploitation. A crucial question is: under what conditions do subordinate individuals and groups risk collective action which may involve open confrontation with the powerful and the wealthy? While this issue is not problematized in Scott's formulation, there is significant evidence to demonstrate that there can be departures from everyday resistance leading to overt collective action by the poor and the weak. The interesting analytical issues pertain to the factors and mechanisms through which such collective action takes shape, involving transmission of will between individuals, crossing of thresholds of fear, and coordinated group activities, despite apprehension about reactive violence and repression unleashed by dominant groups.

In this paper, I present and analyze selected instances of collective action in contexts of domination and inequality from South and Southeast Asian countries. In particular, case studies of open defiance by poor peasants, wage workers and marginalized groups, based on my own research in Bangladesh, are drawn upon to illustrate the alternative scenarios under which everyday resistance can be punctuated by overt confrontation. A typology of such forms of collective action is presented on the basis of the analysis. It is arguable that a better understanding of these processes can indicate ways of mobilizing subordinate groups that may lead to alternative means of enhancing their well-being. These may be also suggestive of policy implications that are somewhat outside the range of conventional development discourse.

## **Collective Action: Contested Values in the Pursuit of Wellbeing in Thailand**

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There has been longstanding recognition of the potential positive impacts of collective action in development processes. Collective action has variously been argued to have social, political and economic benefits. It may contribute to social capital formation; it may increase the efficiency of democratic institutionalization; and it can also minimize transaction costs in ways that can help to improve economic performance. However, with the increasing acknowledgement that growth or wealth does not simply equate to development, and with growing interest in exploring development from a wellbeing perspective, the issue of collective action demands further attention. Collective action touches on many elements of life that are central to our notions of wellbeing: for example, competence, relatedness, identity and community. This paper examines the link between different forms of collective action and the social and cultural construction of wellbeing in the context of rapid change of Thailand. It is based on empirical research undertaken by the WeD -Thailand team in the South and Northeast, between 2004 and 2007. Thailand has a history in which collective action has been promoted by a number of different development agents; the state, the market, NGOs or civil society, international development agencies such as the World Bank and ADB, and communities themselves. All of these forms of collective action have been intended to have particular outcomes for the people who are involved in them, but in conventional development analysis there has been a tendency to focus only on the instrumental outcomes of the action. Using a wellbeing perspective this paper argues that collective action driven by different agents promotes different sets of values and goals. In villages and communities this means that collective action is a locus where identities and meanings are contested. The extent to which local people can achieve wellbeing through collective action therefore cannot be understood only from an objective welfare perspective; rather it is necessary to consider how the shaping of values and meanings has a broader significance for different people in their pursuit of wellbeing. The paper considers three types of collective action: religious based collective action; saving and credit based collective action; and occupation based collective action, and presents an analysis of three case studies.

## Wellbeing, quality of life and subjectivities

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### **The meaning of wellbeing: a grassroots level perspective – how much of it is visible to the researchers?**

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This paper discusses the grassroots level understanding of wellbeing. There is rich and ever expanding literature on the meaning of wellbeing in development studies. The research community has intensely debated the relationship between wellbeing and poverty. There is recognition and increasing agreement on the inter-changeability of wellbeing and poverty reduction amidst researchers. In recent times wellbeing has been scrutinised under non-income and income wellbeing within the discourse on multidimensionality of poverty. The measurement and the quest for a better understanding of wellbeing in developing countries have never been higher on the international development agenda. The agenda, the debates and research outputs though in a majority of instances are based on quantitative data. The World Bank's comprehensive effort to capture the voices of the poor has come under much criticism for rigour and storytelling. There is paucity of studies that focus on the perception and understanding of poor about their wellbeing in the literature. The current study is an attempt to address this gap.

The paper is based on the findings of the primary research carried out by the author in villages in Dhar district of Madhya Pradesh and Madhubani district of Bihar in India. Three income categories of rural households – those below poverty line, those with marginal landholdings, and those with medium landholdings were interviewed using semi-structured instruments. The paper identifies commonality in the perception of the population at the grassroots level and the researchers in the understanding of wellbeing. More importantly, it draws attention to factors critical in how wellbeing is understood at the grassroots but which may be outside the radar of the researchers. It is envisaged that such a mapping of the understanding of wellbeing has important long-term policy implications for poverty reduction.

## Well-Being is a Process of Becoming: Research with Organic Farmers in Madagascar

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Malagasy players see in export-orientated organic agriculture a way for the island to build upon its historic export strengths (spices, essential oils, medicinal plants and tropical fruits). They point to the de facto organic status of most farming in the country and view organic production strategies as a means for Malagasy farmers to differentiate their produce in the highly competitive world market. However, producing for the export market poses significant challenges for Malagasy farming communities. The promotion of entrepreneurial, individualistic values by private players and NGOs, for example by seeking out and developing 'model farmers', harms norms that prize togetherness. The promotion of certain types of agronomic practice, understood by the international organic agriculture movement to form the heart of good agricultural practice, can seem to undermine the basics of good farming locally. For example slash and burn cultivation is not permitted under organic certification, but has for centuries been employed as a weed and fertilisation management strategy. Manuring is generally considered integral to organic farming, but is 'taboo' in Madagascar. Complying with the rules and regulations of organic farming for export can be very stressful, and change long-standing ways of relating to land.

Despite, therefore, its apparent 'fit' with existing farming practice, 'true' certified organic practice does not necessarily offer a means towards achieving a Malagasy-defined 'good life'. Yet farmers are very interested in the opportunities for much-needed cash that organic farming offers. This presentation will ask: *Is it possible for poor people to set the terms of debate in international commodity chains? How can people engage in the world community, yet protect and develop their own vision of a 'good life'? How can other stakeholders in international commodity chains ensure that their actions do not harm the ability of poor people 'to be this, and to do that'?*

The theoretical framework is inspired by Sen and Nussbaum's work on capabilities, and I will set out nine principles that I have developed which seem important when trying to capture and measure 'quality of life'. Centring the presentation on organic farming is useful because it illustrates how an attempt to 'act ethically' can nevertheless go awry if a conceptual understanding of what 'counts' as a good life is not understood by other, generally more powerful, stakeholders in a commodity chain.

## **Does Mixed Methods Research Matter To Understanding Childhood Well-Being?**

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There has been a rich debate in development studies on combining research methods in recent years. We explore the particular challenges and opportunities surrounding mixed methods approaches to childhood well-being. We argue that there are additional layers of complexity due to the distinctiveness of childhood poverty. This paper is structured as follows. Sections 2 and 3 discuss the nature of mixed methods approaches and tensions. Sections 4 and 5 apply these debates to researching childhood well-being in particular. Section 6 concludes and discusses future work.

## **'Translation is not enough': Using the Global Person Generated Index (GPGI) to assess Individual Quality of Life in Bangladesh, Thailand, and Ethiopia**

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Currently few subjective measures of Quality of Life (QoL) are available for use in developing countries, which limits their theoretical, methodological, and practical contribution (for example, exploring the relationship between economic development and QoL, and ensuring effective and equitable service provision). One reason for this is the difficulty of ensuring that translated measures preserve conceptual, item, semantic, operational, measurement; and functional equivalence (Herdman et al, 1998: 331), which is illustrated by an account of the translation, pre-piloting, and administration of a new individualised QoL measure, the Global Person Generated Index or 'GPGI'. The GPGI is based on the widely used Patient Generated Index (Ruta et al, 1994) and offers many of the advantages of the participatory approaches commonly used in developing countries, with added methodological rigour, and quantitative outcomes. It was successfully validated in Bangladesh, Thailand, and Ethiopia, using quantitative and qualitative methods - open-ended, semi-structured interviews (SSIs), conducted immediately post-administration. Both the measure and method of 'qualitative validation' described later in the paper offer an exciting alternative for future researchers and practitioners in this field. The quantitative results suggest the GPGI shows cultural sensitivity, and is able to capture both the areas that are important to respondents, and aspects of life one would expect to impact on QoL in developing countries. There were strong correlation between scores from the GPGI and SSIs for the area of health, and moderate correlations for 'material wellbeing' (MWB) and children. Weak to moderate correlations were observed between the Satisfaction with Life Scale and the GPGI; however, the highest coefficient was between the GPGI and the most conceptually similar item. Statistically significant differences were seen in GPGI scores between rich and poor, urban and rural respondents, and different countries. Health and material wellbeing scores, derived from the SSIs, also showed a linear relationship with GPGI scores, with a suggestion of curvilinearity at the higher levels, as predicted by a general QoL causal model. In conclusion, the GPGI has great potential for use in this area, especially when supported by extensive interviewer training, and supplemented with a cognitive appraisal schedule.

## **Measuring quality of life in Thailand: a measure using culture-specific items and individual priorities for well-being**

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**Background:** One challenge for the Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD) research programme has been to develop a way of studying quality of life that explores the social and cultural construction of people's wellbeing in four developing countries. This study therefore describes validation of an individualised measure of quality of life (WeDQoL-Goals-Thailand), identifying scales/subscales and determining an appropriate scoring method.

**Methods:** 369 people in Thailand completed the 51-item WeDQoL by interview. Respondents rated (0-2) the perceived necessity for wellbeing of 51 goals (goal necessity), then rated (0-3) their satisfaction with the same goals (goal satisfaction). Weighted goal attainment (possible range 0-6) was computed as the product of necessity and satisfaction. Psychometric validation used frequency distributions, Principal Components Analysis (PCA), item-total correlations and Cronbach's alpha. Analysis of variance, independent t-tests, Spearman's correlation and multiple regression explored socio-demographic, geographic and economic differences in scale and subscale scores.

**Results:** Respondents were aged 15-89 (mean 45.7, sd 18.0); 169 men, 200 women. All completed the measure fully. Based on interviewers' reports, seven items were excluded from analysis. For weighted goal attainment scores, PCA found a 44-item scale (alpha 0.91) and three subscales (community/social/health, alpha 0.90; house and home, alpha 0.80; nuclear family, alpha 0.81). Thai Individualised Goal Attainment (TIGA) scale and three subscales were computed as the mean of contributing weighted goal attainment scores, after excluding any goals considered 'not necessary' for the individual's wellbeing. Scores differed according to age-group, gender, marital status, region, religion, location (rural, peri-urban, urban) and economic indicators. TIGA total scale scores were predicted by being older, married, living in the South and in a non-urban location.

**Discussion and conclusions:** The WeDQoL-Goals-Thailand has excellent psychometric properties. The individualised scale and three subscales reflect each person's individual perspective and are sensitive to subgroup differences. Because the TIGA total scale score is computed from items including those relating to the nuclear family, scores are artificially depressed for younger people without a partner and children. Allowances can be made for this in analysis, or the subscale scores can be used to provide more detailed information about individual experiences of life in the community/social/health arena, the house and home and the nuclear family domains. Similar measures for Ethiopia, Bangladesh and Peru have rather different structures, but each includes a total individualised scale score that reflects both cultural and individual priorities for well-being.



## **Cross Cultural Analysis of the Personal and National Wellbeing Index across three different cities: Bogota, Toronto and Belo Horizonte. Evidences for the emergence of new domains**

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The paper presents a comparative cross cultural research about domains of subjective wellbeing (SWB) and a global measure of Satisfaction with Life as a Whole-SWLS- in three major cities- Bogotá-Colombia; Belo-Horizonte- Brazil and Toronto-Canada-. The three cities studied were selected for comparative analysis as part of a project about city indicators financed by the World Bank across different nations (Hoornweg, Ruiz, Nuñez, Wills, 2006) [\[1\]](#). For this purpose, the Personal and National Wellbeing Indexes- PWI and NWI developed by the International Wellbeing Group- IWG- (Cummins, 1996, 2002) were applied and validated in these cities. The cities chosen have similar democratic institutions but different cultures and standards of living ("objective" indicators of "development"). This comparative analysis enabled exploration of "collective SWB" in urban environments and the relative contribution of social relationships, social class, spirituality and cultural values. The paper presents the validation of SWLS, PWI and NWI measures at the city level. Significant differences were found across cities for the three indexes as well as significant interaction effects with demographical variables. We propose that individual evaluations of SWB may be determined by dispositional factors (top-down), context (bottom-up domains) and cultural values and their interactions. Three additional domains as contributors for SWB are proposed for future research: i) satisfaction with spirituality and religiosity, ii) social status (objective and subjective social class) and iii) cultural diversity as a way to broaden the definition of SWB from the individual to the social by acknowledging the social dynamics that people are embedded in.

## **Needs, Wants, and Wellbeing: Perceived Needs in Northeast and South Thailand**

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The paper explores the relationships between needs and wants both in theory and in the context of the reported perceived needs of people in the Northeast and South of Thailand. This debate is located in a wider discussion about what we mean by wellbeing, and whether it is a concept that can be of use both for our understanding of what people are seeking to achieve in processes of development and what policy-makers can and should be doing about it. Empirical research on needs satisfaction and subjective wellbeing in developing countries is reviewed, focusing particularly on studies eliciting local definitions and priorities. This supports the positive relationship between need satisfaction and wellbeing, and underlines the value of focusing on people's goals as broadly representative of their values and aspirations.

The paper then reports research conducted as part of the Wellbeing in Developing Countries ESRC Research Group's work in seven rural, peri-urban, and urban sites using open-ended and 'closed' questions to explore what men and women from a range of backgrounds and locations perceived as necessary to their happiness. It explores the degree of convergence between perceived needs captured through individualised methods, and those represented or implicit in influential 'universal' and 'local' models.

Finally, the paper concludes by discussing the potential role of measures of need satisfaction as proxies for wellbeing, and the role of the WeDQoL weighted goal attainment scale in particular as a cross-cultural measure of eudaimonic wellbeing. It cautions that while the WeDQoL can provide an accurate representation of people's subjective quality of life by enabling respondents to identify and prioritise the areas that contribute to their wellbeing, this is only part of the puzzle. It recommends that an integrated framework for exploring wellbeing incorporate objective and subjective measures of what people have, what they can do, and what they feel about what they have and can do.

## **Subjective Well-Being from a Developing Country Perspective. Anti-Development in an Upside Down World.**

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This conference presents the wellbeing in Perú perspective in three main areas: epistemological, empirical and ethical. Epistemological issue is stated by an alternative methodological approach to well-being without reliance on externally dictated theories and indicators, through an emic and post-hoc procedure. Empirical results (iteration between ethnographic, in-depth interviews -N=400-, psychometric scales -N=500-; content analysis and structural equation modeling) will be presented with an alternative theory of needs, an alternative satisfaction with the life model and an integrative well-being (which includes personality and values) model which leads to a multilevel theory of social behaviour.

These results provide explanations about why appointed third world countries are higher in world happiness surveys than self appointed first world countries. Two ethical issues will be discussed: (1) If there is evidence that appointed third world countries have different life goals, and different values compared to self appointed first world countries, (and those "third world" goals and values seems to be highly adaptive) and international development programs understand development in their own way, can we conclude that international development is a post-modern way of benevolent imperialism? (2) What is the role of developed countries wellbeing theories and research programs in this process? In addition, some two common sense questions will be discussed: What is the logic behind the international development effort to lead these countries to follow the unhappiness society model? Are there some Emancipatory challenges for the people and academics from subjective wellbeing oriented countries?

## **Enhancing Poverty-Abatement Programs: A Subjective Well-Being Contribution**

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The Millennium Development Goals Declaration placed poverty at the centre of international development goals. In consequence, the abatement of poverty became the main motivation in the design of domestic policies by governments in developing countries and in the design of foreign-aid programs run by international organizations. Poverty abatement also constitutes a crucial performance indicator for local governments and international organizations. Although different poverty measures are computed (such as the percentage of people beneath a poverty line and FGT indices), the Millennium Development Goals implementation mostly follows an income-based conception of poverty; consequently, the main objective of poverty-abatement programs is to get people out of poverty by increasing their purchasing power.

In agreement with MDG's objectives, there has been a proliferation of poverty-abatement programs across Latin American countries. Of special relevance are conditional cash transfer programs, such as Oportunidades in Mexico and Avancemos in Costa Rica. The design and evaluation of these programs is based on the percentage of people who attain income levels beyond an income-based poverty line.

This paper studies the design and evaluation of poverty abatement programs in Latin America. It questions the implicit assumption that maintains that raising the income received by persons automatically translates into greater well-being. It uses a life-satisfaction conception of well-being and a domains-of-life approach to directly question this assumption and to propose well-being enhancing poverty-abatement programs. The paper shows that a subjective well-being approach can be useful in the design of poverty-abatement programs that not only help people to get out of poverty but also to place them in a life-satisfying situation. The paper also argues that subjective well-being indicators should be taken into consideration for the evaluation of poverty abatement programs.

Based on the longstanding tradition of the Leyden school (Goedhart, Halberstadt, Kapteyn, and van Praag, 1977; van Praag, Goedhart, and Kapteyn, 1980; van Praag, Spit, and van de Stadt, 1982; van Praag and Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2004) the paper argues that it is important to conceive poverty as a situation where a person is in low well-being (Rojas 2006) and that a subjective well-being conception of poverty is useful for the design of well-being enhancing social programs. For this reason, the paper distinguishes between income poverty (being beneath the income poverty line) and well-being deprivation (being beneath a low life satisfaction level)

Based on a relatively large survey applied in central Mexico, as well as on another survey applied in Costa Rica, the paper empirically studies well-being patterns out of income poverty (Graph below illustrates these patterns)

The graph illustrates that it is possible for some people to follow a pattern that takes them out of income poverty while remaining in well-being deprivation. Persons can have more income, but it does not necessarily imply having greater life satisfaction. On the other hand, it is possible to follow a pattern that gets people out of income poverty while increasing their subjective well-being. The latter pattern (Pattern B) is highly desirable.

The paper shows that a complete understanding of these two patterns requires a study of other dimensions of life that have been neglected by traditional poverty-abatement programs. The consideration of other dimensions of life (beyond the economic dimension) and a better understanding of the relationship between income

and all dimensions of life is fundamental for the design of well-being enhancing poverty-abatement programs. The empirical analysis shows that there is more in life than the standard of living, and that for many people there are more important domains.

The paper argues that to improve the well-being impact of poverty-abatement programs it is imperative to recognize: First, that persons are complex and that they derive their well-being from satisfaction in many domains of life. Second, that even though the economic domain of life is relevant, it does not determine life satisfaction. Third, that an improvement in income -and, perhaps, in economic satisfaction- is not necessarily accompanied by an increase in satisfaction in other crucial domains of life. Fourth, that it is possible to design programs that expand the positive impact of a raising income on life satisfaction. Fifth, that in order to enhance these poverty-abatement programs it is necessary to go beyond the economic domain of life to consider the impact of public policies in other domains. Sixth, that the sphere of public intervention should not be limited to those factors related to income generation alone.

The investigation ends up discussing some specific well-being enhancing policies to complement poverty-abatement programs. The paper concludes that it possible for public policy to get people out of income poverty while placing them in a life-satisfying situation.

## **Towards a four tiered analysis of links between economic and subjective wellbeing indicators using data from Peru**

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The central purpose of this chapter is to compare how people are classified according to standard economic welfare measures with indicators of how they themselves think and feel. The introduction includes a brief review of secondary literature linking the two in Peru. Data is then presented for each site on resources, income, expenditure, consumption and poverty at the household level. Selected economic and demographic indicators are then compared statistically with (a) an index of global happiness (d) subjective wellbeing indicators derived from the WeDQoL. The conclusion suggests scope for a four tiered analysis of variation in subjective wellbeing that distinguishes between individual, intra-household, household and supra-household effects.

# Wellbeing and welfare regimes

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## Reproducing Unequal Security: Peru as a Wellbeing Regime

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Building on earlier work by Gough, Wood and others on comparative welfare regimes, this paper puts forward a wellbeing regime model with a stronger emphasis upon the security of agency and the social and symbolic dimensions of wellbeing as outcomes. It applies this model to an analysis of Peru in terms of: conditioning socio-political factors; individual's capabilities to negotiate the institutional landscape of state, market, community and household at local, national and global levels; a review of wellbeing outcomes; and the socio-political reproduction consequences of these outcomes for potential societal and regime change with respect to the centralisation of wealth and power, alienation, the political tolerance of inequality and the politics of social identity. Peru is understood as an 'unsettled regime' in the sense that social consensus over the parameters of social policy in terms of stable fiscal frameworks for redistributive social spending by the state remains at best fragile. However the paper departs from Figueroa's reliance upon external transformative shocks to overcome racialised class inequality, and explores prospects for an endogenous and evolutionary diffusion of power through the gradual acquisition of social rights and political freedoms. Such prospects are nevertheless tempered by persistent and pervasive clientelism, unstable economic policy in the context of globalisation, and frequent changes of government reflecting factional roundabouts among a small political class. The paper concludes with some reflection on the added explanatory power of the more complicated 'wellbeing regime' model over its previous 'welfare regime' version. The main argument in favour is that it brings the question of poor people's agency more to the centre of analysis, and with it closer attention to the impact of material resources and welfare indicators upon processes, relationships and institutions.

**Keywords:** Peru; wellbeing regime; clientelism; racialised class structure; inequality; rights; social assistance.

## Cultural constructions of 'wellbeing' in rural Ethiopia: an investigation of competing local models

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The WeD approach to the evaluation of 'being' which we took to four 'exemplar' communities in rural Ethiopia identifies three important perspectives on individual well- and ill- being, which are related to (1) the extent to which universal '*objective*' needs are met or not; (2) the extent to which people can act effectively to pursue goals which are '*relative*' to local models of wellbeing based on values and ideals implicit in local cultures; and (3) personal evaluations of lives, which are '*subjective*'. The research on local models of wellbeing in these four diverse communities revealed three things which are described in the paper. First, the importance attached to collective household, kin and community wellbeing. Second, differences in culturally prescribed goals, norms, instantiations of needs, and needs satisfiers for different kinds of person. Third, appreciable levels of cultural contestation associated with (1) differences in gender and age (all sites) and ethnicity and religion (two sites), and (2) the hybridised absorption of a range of historical and current ideological and religious 'macro' models of individual and collective wellbeing, with their own differing assumptions about universals. These include models implicit in government 'socialism', the donor spectrum between 'liberalism' and 'welfarism', NGO rights-based discourses, and *wehabi* Islamism, Orthodox Christianity, Protestantisms, and Catholicism.

The paper concludes with a discussion of some of the emerging issues in defining wellbeing in developing country contexts. First, we need to better theorise and research 'collective wellbeing'. Second, as we started to do in the Ethiopia research, there is a need for the further conceptualisation of 'persons', taking better account of the effect of differences in 'genderage' on goals, instantiations of needs and harms, the resources or 'needs-satisfiers' which are appropriate for people at different gendered life-stages, and way age and gender affect personal evaluations of lives at different stages. Third, we need to acknowledge more clearly that 'macro' wellbeing repertoires are produced and disseminated by relatively powerful people and organisations (including WeD) who/which (1) want to change the 'preferences' of people with little power in order to improve their life quality in directions they have decided, but (2) have organisational and personal interests which may come to predominate. If the ultimate goal of development is improved wellbeing, then people constructing development research, policy and practice frameworks must: (1) address collective life quality issues; (2) accord equal weight to the needs, goals, and subjective evaluations of toddlers, old women, adolescent boys, young mothers and everyone else, and (3) engage reflexively and dialogically with relevant macro wellbeing discourses, appreciating their origins in unequal global structures and struggles.



## **Wellbeing and welfare regimes in four countries**

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This paper begins to link the earlier 'Bath' research into welfare regimes in developing countries with the WeD research into wellbeing in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Peru and Thailand. It thus presents a qualitative comparative analysis of wellbeing across the four countries. The welfare regime model is modified in two main ways: to include satisfaction with important life goals as a measure of wellbeing outcomes, and to include comparative family and cultural structures as major explanations of welfare regimes. The second section summarises the global context shaping the four countries since 1990 and the combined and unequal reflection of these in the political economies of the four countries. The next four sections consider in turn: welfare and wellbeing outcomes, the 'welfare mix' (the ways states, markets, communities, households and their international equivalents interact to produce wellbeing or illbeing), some of the structural determinants of these, and political mobilisations to protect or change the regime pattern. It concludes by relating welfare regimes to the idea of wellbeing developed within the WeD programme.

## **Wellbeing and welfare states: cross-national comparison of quality of life in market and transition economies.**

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Cross-national comparisons of quality of life in countries in different stages of transition to a market economy, with old and established economies in Europe and USA will yield valuable lessons. Equally interesting will be to compare these transitional economies to a developing country. In this paper we examine differences in quality of life between the different countries of Western, Eastern and Central Europe, Russia and the USA, and some possible explanations for these variations. We then go on to compare quality of life in the Indian state of Kerala to that in the other nations.

Our results show wide disparities in quality of life among these countries with Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands leading the league table. The lowest levels of quality of life were in Russia, Italy and Greece, followed by the Czech Republic and Poland. Countries with high average quality of life tended to have less inequality in quality of life. Compared to social-democratic welfare regimes, other regime types had reduced quality of life. The typology of welfare regime explained 63% of the variation among the countries. When indicators of decommodification and social stratification styles were modelled, 91% of the variation between countries was explained.

Kerala had a quality of life better than Italy, Greece, and Russia. There was a definite gradient in quality of life with education. Muslims had lower quality of life and so did tribal people. Both education and operational measures of capability were strongly predictive of quality of life in Kerala.

From these findings we conclude that state policies, especially those countering market forces, can explain much of the differences among market and transition economies in quality of life. Similarly fostering human capabilities can also enhance quality of life. However, inequalities in quality of life among sub-populations need to be addressed.

From these findings we conclude that state policies, especially those that act to mitigate market forces, can go some way towards explaining the differences among market and transition economies in quality of life.

## **Welfare regimes: a cluster analysis of welfare regimes**

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This paper begins from the framework of welfare regimes in developing countries developed by Gough and Wood et al (2004) and Wood and Gough (2006). This posited the existence of identifiable welfare regimes - comprising welfare outcomes, welfare 'mixes', structural determinants and forms of mobilisation - which tend to reproduce themselves through time. The purpose of this paper is to test this model by undertaking a cluster analysis of a large number of countries across the world in 2000. The method is to cluster countries separately according to welfare (or illfare) outcomes, and the welfare mix, and then to combine the two to identify (or not) distinct welfare regimes. The paper then tests the temporal constancy of these regimes by comparing them with a similar analysis for 1990. Finally, the paper investigates structural correlates of these regimes to provide an initial understanding of their determinants.

## **Happy Planet Index**

### **An index of human well-being and environmental impacts**

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The Happy Planet Index (HPI) was launched in July 2006. It assesses how well nations are faring by comparing their ultimate outcomes (the delivery of happy and long lives for their citizens) with their fundamental inputs (how much of the planet's finite resources they use). The HPI report has been downloaded over 800,000 times since its launch.

The objective of the index is to highlight how ecologically inefficient (so-called) developed nations are at delivering human well-being. The index identifies opportunities for materially lighter lifestyles that are also happier and healthier.

The index uses publicly available data on life satisfaction, longevity and ecological footprint to create a composite efficiency index. For many nations there was no available data on life satisfaction, so regression methodologies were employed to estimate life satisfaction for these nations.

The index highlights that nations with broadly well-being outcomes, such as the USA, Germany and Costa Rica, can have wildly different ecological footprints (the USA's is twice Germany's, which in turn is twice Costa Rica's). Medium development countries (as defined by the UN Human Development Index) fare best, with Latin American countries and Islands of the World doing particularly well. Though no country comes close to what can be considered a reasonable ideal of sustainable one-planet lifestyles that produce decent long lives for its citizens.

The findings suggest that as we globally struggle to organize international affairs to tackle poverty and protect the environment we have been using the wrong road map and are unlikely to reach a desirable destination unless we change our direction.

## **A profound failure of well being? Health professional migration from Ghana and the nature and distribution of costs and benefits**

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There is now a large literature on migration of health professionals from low income countries to work in health services in higher income countries, and the costs and benefits of this migration. While the health literature has concentrated on the harmful effects for populations in countries of origin, the economic literature has been particularly concerned to identify economic benefits. This paper seeks to make a methodological as well as empirical contribution to the understanding of the effects of this form of migration on well being of those involved.

The paper draws on a series of linked pieces of research by the authors and research associates, and particularly seeks to place the economic measurement of gains and losses within a broader framework of human rights and global inequality. We report some results from the use of an innovative methodology to track health service costs of out-migration of health professionals from Ghana, based on fieldwork in 28 Ghanaian health districts in 2004 and other related data collection on training, remittances and health service use. Initial results from this work are compared briefly to assessments of the benefits migrant health professionals bring to UK health service users, and research on the experience of Ghanaian professionals in the UK. Finally, the paper sets this type of analysis in the context of a broader concern with human rights, including the right to leave one's country, and with the ethical obligations that migration in conditions of extreme inequality entail for human rights.

## **Well-being and informal labour markets: A policy perspective**

Johannes Jutting, Jante Parlevliet and Theodora Xenogiani

Emerging evidence points to the existence of a dualistic structure of informal labour markets in developing countries. This view challenges the conventional wisdom that well-being is best pursued by policies that promote the formal sector. In fact, there is emerging evidence that working in the informal sector is (sometimes) a deliberate choice because people are better off than if they remained formally employed. Of course, "better off" means more than just "better paid" -- access to informal security, information networks, social capital are all parts of the informal-sector "pay package" that contribute to the well-being of individuals. This is not to deny that many workers in the informal sector would be better off in a formal setting, nor that there are risks and vulnerabilities that are particularly acute for many in the informal sector. The objective of this session is to discuss the recent evidence underlying this paradigm shift and the policy implications that result.

- 1) What is the relation between formal/informal labour market dynamics and the well-being of workers?
- 2) What explains the appeal of the informal sector (e.g. the existence of a functioning apprenticeship system) for many workers?

## **New strategies for achieving and going beyond the poverty and hunger MDGs: lessons from social protection to address chronic poverty**

Andrew Shepherd and Armando Barrientos    a.barrientos@sussex.ac.uk

This paper synthesises lessons from attempts to introduce social protection in low income countries. It is based on work being carried out in the Chronic Poverty Research, either in preparation for producing the second international Chronic Poverty Report (in 2008) or research on vulnerability as a key cause of chronic poverty – both driving people into long term poverty *and* maintaining them in that state for years at a time. It attempts to integrate: technical lessons about particular approaches to social protection; lessons about impact; and political lessons about the introduction and expansion of social protection in particular contexts of state formation and political development. It concludes that social protection, in particular social assistance, does have an important role to play in reducing poverty in low income countries, that it can be well designed, implemented, afforded, and scaled up, but that there are also limitations of context which can be severe and need to be addressed alongside the promotion of particular appropriate approaches. Although these obstacles may be significant, the paper argues that several of the prejudices about the political and social feasibility of social protection are not well founded; and that social protection can be part of the programme for acquiring a 'developmental state'. In particular, social protection is a vehicle for socialising risk across horizontal rather than vertical social divides. International donors have several important roles to play alongside national governments. The state formation and re-formation arguments are as important as the growth arguments in promoting social assistance. It is vital that LSMS and other instruments are rapidly adapted to evaluate social protection schemes so that, come the approach to the 2015 MDG targets, there is plenty of information available about impact in different contexts. The 2000-2010 period should be treated as a genuinely experimental period, after which firm policies should be in place.

## Poster Sessions

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### **Quality of life and Happiness among Thai Youth**

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This study explores the Thai youth life quality and perception of happiness components perceived by youth. The analysis is based on the data of a study on "Geographical Integrated Research on Poverty Prevention in The Western Thailand: Happiness Indicator" conducted by the Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University.

The study findings reveal that only 10 components out of 26 are vital in improving a quality of life of young people living in Kanchanaburi province. The most important components for a quality of life include living arrangement and domestic appliances followed by demographic component and living condition. The study concludes that living arrangement acts as a physical factor affecting a quality of life of Thai youth.

The study also shows that the level of life quality among Thai youth in Kanchanaburi is 3.22 from 5. The regression analysis pinpoints that level of education, employment, livelihood satisfaction, health and the perception of standard of housing in comparison with their neighbours have positive association with a feeling of happiness. Those components have directly associated with their living condition and economic status of Thai youth.



## **How Can Young Children Tell Us About Their Wellbeing? Exploring the Potential of Participatory Methods within the *Young Lives* Project**

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'Wellbeing' is a key notion for exploring the lives of children over time, given its potential to link the objective, subjective, and inter-subjective dimensions of their experiences in ways that are both holistic and contextualized. For this reason it is one of the core concepts used by *Young Lives*, a 15 year project (2000-2015) that follows the lives of 12,000 children growing up in the context of poverty in Ethiopia, Peru, Vietnam and Andhra Pradesh (India) (see [www.younglives.org.uk](http://www.younglives.org.uk)). Wellbeing is understood in relation to specific risks and protective processes, and reflects the interaction of factors such as values, expectations, and experiences, and the quality of social networks and material environments. Our study explores what these factors mean, how important they are, and how their interaction differs between generations and across life courses.

The paper examines a selection of methods being used by *Young Lives* to capture wellbeing in the context of a range of children's life experiences related to poverty, specific risks and protective processes. The project is innovative in its inclusion of relatively young children in participatory research (aged six to seven), and development of methodologies that can be applied in diverse cultural contexts, marked by variations in children's daily lives, their relationships with adults, and preferred ways of communicating their ideas and feelings. This entails using a mix of methods, including participatory techniques such as 'body mapping' to explore embodied experiences of wellbeing or illbeing, and the Mosaic Approach (Clark and Moss 2001), which treats young children as the 'experts in their own lives'.

Drawing on both a review of the literature on child-focused methods and on recent experiences piloting a selection of methods in the four study countries, this paper reports the development of a methodology that is child-centred, but also acknowledges that every child is embedded within a network of social and economic relationships.

## **Wellbeing and health factors in Developing Countries: The case of Algeria**

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The Laboratory of Educational Processes & Social Context (Labo-PECS) of the University of Oran has recently undertaken a series of "Wellbeing surveys" in the Adult population of Algeria. In the second survey, we have, amongst other matters, examined the effects of health factors on Subjective Wellbeing (SWB) in a sample of 2909 participants (1446 males, 1463 females). Personal Wellbeing Index (PWI), along with some more specific satisfaction domains have been used in order to measure SWB. With regard to health factors, respondents have been asked whether they suffer from a health condition that needs treatment and also to rate the intensity of their daily physical pain, daily anxiety, and daily normal sleep.

In the final analysis, comparisons have been undertaken between the two groups of respondents: 'the health condition group' and the 'no health condition group' in all the aforementioned domains.

The results indicate that in the context of this Developing country health deficiencies generally have the capacity to reduce the overall feelings of wellbeing and life satisfaction. Previous research findings in Developing countries and the specifics of the Algerian health policies have been taken into consideration in interpreting the results.

**KEY WORDS:** Subjective Wellbeing, Personal Wellbeing Index, Algerian Health system, Algerian population

## **Validation of the PANAS scale in the WeD countries**

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The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) was developed by Watson, Clark and Tellegen (1988) and consists of two ten-item scales, one of which measures positive affect (PA) and the other negative affect (NA). It was used by the WeD project to enable comparison with data from a range of population groups worldwide, albeit that this predominantly originated in western countries. Where the schedule has been used with non-western participants, its validity has not been interrogated, and this provided an interesting opportunity for WeD to explore the interrelationship between the universal and the local in the context of psychological measurement.

Interestingly, the two-factor structure of the PANAS found by Watson et al (1988) and in subsequent validation studies, was not found in any of the WeD countries. Additionally, the schedule was found to be problematic to translate and administer and insufficiently comprehensive. In Ethiopia, this led to the production of an Ethiopia-PANAS, which was felt to better represent the complexity of Ethiopian emotional experience. The results from a factor analysis of this extra scale also do not reveal a two-factor solution but when analysed alongside the original PANAS items, they add significantly to the reliability of both the positive and negative affect scales.

The paper concludes that while so-called universal measures of psychological constructs in cultures may not translate to cultures other than those they were developed in, creative adaptation can produce a valid and reliable alternative measure.

## **'Migration in a context of rapid change: Identities and aspirations of the young and mobile in Thailand'**

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Thailand is undergoing a period of immense rapid change; it has been for a century. The processes of this change have been written about by historians, academics and policy makers alike, essentialising the course of this transformation, which has been represented as a linear transformation from a rural economy to a newly industrialised one, with its ultra modern centre of Bangkok. Rural areas and people stand in stark contrast to these ideal 'modern' representations of Thailand and its future directions. This thesis therefore challenges dominant notions of change and development in Thailand.

I focus specifically on the lives and aspirations of the rural poor, especially the young and mobile. Migration is increasingly important for sources of income and has become an important part of the life course of the current generation, meaning that migrants' lives frequently cross over between rural and urban social and cultural contexts. By focusing on the lives of the young and mobile this fieldwork argues that poor rural migrants should be viewed as agents of change, in their own lives and in society. This is done through a collection of life history biographies that I analyse split between two main findings chapters; firstly motivations and experiences of migration by gender and secondly; a cohort, life-cycle and intergenerational analysis which provide the next level of analysis on societal change both in individuals' lives and wider society.

Findings illustrate that there are differences between male and female motivations and experiences during migration and this is seen by the types of migration and length of periods in the city. My findings also point to the importance of autonomy in identity construction as all groups have aspirations for autonomy in the sense of 'ideal personhood', with females in particular trading off particular freedoms by working in the city for greater autonomy and freedom when they return to the village, which nearly all respondents aspire to do. I challenge dichotomies such as 'dutiful daughter vs. modern woman' thinking and rural vs. urban, and instead argue the need for academics to value fusion and oscillations, as these are states of creativity and active self-making. Generational change is happening rapidly, with differences noted in cohorts, thus making life courses between different generations very different, having implications for family relations, self perceptions and therefore also the future of rural areas, people and change in Thailand.

*Keywords: Thailand, Migration, Identity, Agency, Gender, Social and Generational Change.*

## **Consumption and wellbeing: motives for consumption and satisfiers in Peru**

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My research explores how consumption impacts on people's happiness in the seven WeD Peruvian communities. It draws on social science literature on consumption and incorporates the key factors highlighted by the research on wellbeing determinants. Generally, it is accepted that consumption increases wellbeing by lifting people out of poverty and that it has a negative impact if it fails to place them at a higher social position. Other aspects defining consumption such as the symbolic meaning of goods, its pleasurable dimension, the role of goods and services as basic needs satisfiers, etc. have not been systematically approached from the perspective of their effect on wellbeing. The research takes on this challenge by incorporating the most salient features of consumption studied by social scientists through the concepts of *motives*. It draws on psychologists' claim that motives are important in understanding the linkages between wellbeing and people's behaviour.

The research follows a multi-methods approach that takes into account the local specificities of consumption, whilst aiming for a global understanding of the key factors mediating its relationship with human wellbeing; accounting for its objective and subjective dimensions. It uses regression analysis to study how consumption affects happiness through total expenditure and motives. The research finds, as expected, that in the Peruvian communities consumption enhances happiness when it improves basic needs levels and places people above their reference group. People consuming because of hedonic reasons are also happier, but those consuming for social integration are not. Moreover, feeling compelled to buy 'necessities' is negatively associated with happiness. One of the reasons might be the type of satisfiers used.

## **Alleviating depression through international development: potential and risk.**

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This paper provides an overview of the domains of research and practice in which mental health affects, and is affected by, international development, with a particular focus on depression and anxiety. The paper initially reflects on the gradual convergence of concepts deriving from economic, social, anthropological and medical sciences, by comparing and contrasting the origins and development of the notions of wellbeing and mental health. Common conceptual frameworks, measurement challenges in a cross-cultural context, and substantive and methodological complementarities are explored.

A brief review of the literature on poverty and mental illness illustrates the emerging consensus that poverty is both a cause and consequence of mental ill-health, and highlights underlying causal pathways.

Four dimensions in which programmes and policies to alleviate poverty interact with mental health are identified: exclusion, process, participation and outcome. Those who are mentally ill and are eligible to participate in pro-poor assistance programmes or to benefit from pro-poor policies, may in reality be excluded, as a result of the nature of mental illness and the self-imposed or societally imposed isolation it incurs. The process of accessing a programme can be a barrier which disproportionately affects those suffering from mental distress. The bureaucratic hurdles, frequently associated with targeting of national scale programmes, can be stigmatising and lead to psychological distress in addition to financial and opportunity costs. Thirdly, poverty reduction programmes under the umbrella of development necessarily seek to bring about change. Rapid change in particular is associated with mental health fluctuations. Fourthly, favourable outcomes such as improved access to schooling for girls, smoothed incomes, returns to investments, reduced vulnerability to economic risks can provide layers of protection against mental illness.

In conclusion it is suggested that context and programme design and implementation may positively or negatively influence the pathway by which international development affects mental health. Recommendations for further research and policy implications for alleviating the double exclusion experienced by the poor and mentally ill in developing countries are outlined.

## **A qualitative approach to the study of well-being – the advantages of using photo-elicitation**

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The poster reviews the advantages and limitations of 'photo-elicitation' for understanding individual and collective well-being, building on research with people involved in the emergent 'dubstep' music sub-culture in Bristol. It also describes how using qualitative and person-centred techniques enabled an analysis that owed as much to humanist as to 'positive' psychology, despite its focus on happiness and well-being. Photo-elicitation originated within anthropology and sociology and uses visual images such as photographs as a stimulus during the interview stage of research. The process allows participants to discuss feelings and meanings evoked by these images, encouraging a more comprehensive account of reality than through conversation alone.

I employed the photo-elicitation technique to study wellbeing among a group of respondents who identified creativity as central to their lives, and were keen to express this through a participatory research method. The initial brief asked seven prolific male 'dubstep' producers to take up to ten photographs of areas, aspects or things in their lives that affect how good they feel. Music was the prevailing theme and this was expressed through multiple components including intrinsically motivated aspirations and achievements, creativity, relatedness and social activities/ leisure. Other themes were interpersonal relationships, culture and personal growth, health, leisure, environment, nature and weather. The photographs taken by the participant included everyday objects, such as music equipment and food, outside spaces, and people, all of which represented some aspect of their life

The benefits of this method were evident in interview direction as employing photographs facilitated the flow of the interview by breaking down the barriers between the researcher and the participant, enabling the researcher to obtain rich data and a fuller comprehension of individual context. Participants also enjoyed participating in the project and felt the method enabled them to represent their lives as a whole. The photographs were highly beneficial in aiding the interpretation of findings during analysis of the interviews in conjunction with interpretive phenomenological analysis. This enabled the findings to be shared more widely; in this case, the photographs were used as a collective art project to create a Bristol 'dubstep' album sleeve.

Photo-elicitation provided a mechanism for both the interviewee and the researcher to infer meaning through the photographs, since they represented the link between the social and the personal world. The photographs enabled the findings to be analysed individually and based on collective comparative analysis. Photo-elicitation aided the understanding not only of people's concepts and experiences of wellbeing, but also the extent to which these were influenced by their participation in the dubstep sub-culture. In conclusion, the processual and analytical benefits described above suggest that future research on wellbeing within the social sciences should consider using this technique.

## Proposed Indicators Of Psychological And Subjective Wellbeing

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Recent years have witnessed an outpouring on research on subjective wellbeing, and growing calls for some variant of happiness to be adopted as a policy goal of both developing and developed countries. While this emphasis on happiness has also been critiqued on many fronts, it is hard to dispute that psychological and subjective states of wellbeing have intrinsic and instrumental value. In particular, they stand to contribute to a richer understanding of human experience and values, and particularly the importance of its non-material components.

This paper argues that while the new emphasis on subjective wellbeing draws into relief an important topic, its current usage tends to blur many conceptual differences between happiness and satisfaction, and largely to overlook more robust measures of psychological wellbeing. The paper proposes to gather data on psychological and subjective wellbeing. The following criteria were used to choose suitable indicators for inclusion in individual or household surveys. First, the indicators need to be *internationally comparable*. At present, there is a dearth of data available on subjective perceptions in developing countries, particularly as they pertain to psychological wellbeing. Second, the indicators should assess not only the instrumental but also the *intrinsic* aspects of psychological and subjective wellbeing. Third, the choice of indicator shortlists draws on *experience with particular indicators* to date wherever possible, though some of the psychological wellbeing questionnaires have only been used on a very limited basis in representative surveys. Nonetheless, the recommended questionnaires have all exhibited high internal consistency, test-retest reliability, structural validity, and convergent and discriminant analysis.

We argue for a two-pronged approach to measuring *psychological wellbeing* based on: 1) perception of meaning in life – defined by the individual based on his/her own unique potential; and 2) the ability to strive towards excellence in fulfilling this idea. To develop these concepts, we draw upon Steger's Meaning in Life questionnaire (Steger *et al.* 2006), and on Deci and Ryan's measures of the psychological needs associated with goal identification and pursuit, which in turn predict 'optimal functioning' (Ryan and Deci 2000, 2001). To capture *subjective wellbeing*, we argue for the separate measurement of life satisfaction and happiness, and that the satisfaction measure consider both life overall and several distinct domains that are argued to be important. Overall, seven indicators are proposed to cover 1) meaning in life; 2-4) the three "basic psychological needs" of autonomy, competence and relatedness; 5-6) overall and domain-specific life satisfaction; and 7) happiness.



## **Why Relationships matter: Wellbeing and Happiness in Bangladesh**

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Despite Bangladesh's reputation as one of the poorest and most densely populated countries in the world, both qualitative research and anecdotal evidence suggest that its people report higher levels of happiness than those found in many other countries, including developed countries.

The paper explores this apparent paradox by analyzing primary quantitative and qualitative data, and engaging with existing literature on happiness and objective wellbeing in Bangladesh.

The data and analysis identify and offer insights into the 'personal' as well as social or 'relational' values and goals that people in Bangladesh consider important to achieve happiness in life. It also reflects on how different people experience these values and goals in very different ways. This, we argue, leads to a better understanding of the influence of the social and cultural context in the construction of people's happiness.

## **The 'Thai side' of social capital: contestation and cohesion through community groups**

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Collective activities are increasingly part of a strategy of community-driven development, which aims to target desired individual and collective goals. These include improvements in economic wealth and social cohesion, in order to enhance material and relational wellbeing. The concepts of social capital and civil society are used to promote the importance of social cohesion as a good thing in itself, and as a pre-requisite for economic development. However, the assumption in much academic and policy writing is that the mere presence of organisations, including associations, clubs, networks and institutions, will create a civil society that works in the public interest to achieve these wellbeing goals.

To investigate the reality of this assumption, this research explores the effects of community groups in a peri-urban village in Northeast Thailand. The findings of this study question the argument in the social capital literature that increased relationships and connections underpin economic growth. In the research site, villagers had good relationships and the level of interaction on an everyday basis was high. However, they were not coming together for productive economic activities either in or outside the groups, and the effects of the loans provided by the groups on the economic development of the village were small. These findings suggest that the presence of certain groups may actually hinder economic development and cooperation for material gain. In this way, this research adds weight to the argument concerning the contested nature of social capital: both in terms of how it is achieved, and its supposed effects on economic growth and community cohesion.

## Indigenous Peoples perspectives of well-being

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Development interventions have frequently failed to produce positive results or had negative effects on indigenous communities, due to important conceptual differences in the vision about development between development professionals and indigenous peoples. Whereby development agencies have frequently overemphasized the material and economic dimensions of development, indigenous peoples stress the importance of the non-income dimensions, including the social, cultural and spiritual aspects of well-being.

For the first time in Bolivia's history the government of Evo Morales has based its National Development Plan on a holistic view of development which places the concept of people's well-being in the center of its strategy. This raises the key question on how to define an indigenous peoples' perspective of well-being?

This article—based on fieldwork carried out in the Bolivia between 2003 and 2006 — offers an analysis of indigenous peoples' own perspectives on their individual and collective well-being. The article analyzes the different aspects and relationships among the social, economic, political, ecological, organizational and psychological dimensions of well-being. Using the results from the fieldwork in the city of El Alto, Tiahuanacu (highlands), Comarapa (valleys) and Concepción (lowlands), the article highlights the important difference between indigenous communities. The results also show that important difference within communities exists, whereby the views of indigenous women and youth are frequently not being adequately represented by the indigenous leadership. Thus an open question remains on how the central government can base its new National Development Plan on an indigenous perspective of well-being, given the vast cultural and social differences between and within indigenous communities.

**Keywords:** indigenous peoples, well-being, Bolivia, multiple dimensions of poverty, capability approach, social capabilities