

To cite this output:

Walker, R, et al (2013) Shame, Social Exclusion and the Effectiveness of Anti-Poverty Programmes: A Study in Seven Countries

ESRC End of Award Report, RES-167-25-0557. Swindon: ESRC.



ESRC End of Award Report

For awards ending on or after 1 November 2009

This End of Award Report should be completed and submitted using the **grant reference** as the email subject, to reportsofficer@esrc.ac.uk on or before the due date.

The final instalment of the grant will not be paid until an End of Award Report is completed in full and accepted by ESRC.

Grant holders whose End of Award Report is overdue or incomplete will not be eligible for further ESRC funding until the Report is accepted. We reserve the right to recover a sum of the expenditure incurred on the grant if the End of Award Report is overdue. (Please see the ESRC Research Funding Guide for details.)

Please refer to the Guidance notes when completing this End of Award Report.

Grant Reference	RES-167-25-0557		
Grant Title	Shame, social exclusion and the effectiveness of anti-poverty programmes: A study in seven countries		
Grant Start Date	1 st August 2010	Total Amount Expended:	£439,715.82.
Grant End Date	31 st December 2012		
Grant holding Institution	University of Oxford		
Grant Holder	Robert Walker		
Grant Holder's Contact Details	Address	Email	
	Oxford Institute of Social Policy Department of Social Policy and Intervention University of Oxford, Barnett House, 32 Wellington Square, Oxford, OX1 2ER.	Robert.walker@spi.ox.ac.uk	
		Telephone Tel: 01865 280374; Fax: 01865 270324; Message: 01865 270325	
Co-Investigators (as per project application):		Institution	
Professor Grace Bantebya Kyomuhendo		School of Women and Gender Studies, Makerere University, Kampala Uganda	
Dr Frederick Golooba-Mutebi until April 2011		Makerere Institute of Social Research	

To cite this output:

Walker, R, et al (2013) Shame, Social Exclusion and the Effectiveness of Anti-Poverty Programmes: A Study in Seven Countries

ESRC End of Award Report, RES-167-25-0557. Swindon: ESRC.

Professor Ivar Lødemel	Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Oslo, Norway
Professor Sony Pellissery	Then at the Institute of Rural Management, Anand, India. Now at the Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion, National Law School of India University, Bangalore.
Professor YAN Ming	Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences,

I. Non-technical summary

Please provide below a project summary written in non-technical language. The summary may be used by us to publicise your work and should explain the aims and findings of the project. [Max 250 words]

A two year qualitative investigation of the nature and consequences of shame associated with poverty was conducted in seven settings located in rural Uganda and India; urban China, Pakistan, Korea and United Kingdom; and small town and urban Norway. The research presented results consistent with the thesis that the shame is always associated with poverty and that this may reduce personal efficacy and contribute to the duration and prevalence of poverty, a process that may be aggravated by policies that stigmatise recipients of social protection.

The results have been disseminated through public meetings and seminars attended by policy makers in five countries and through direct contacts with donor organisations and INGOs; additional academic publication is underway. The research informed the decision to add a principle that governments should have 'respect for the rights and dignity of people covered by the social security guarantees' to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Recommendation 202 agreed in June 2012.

Two follow-up projects have recently received funding. The first, funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council, is to develop a web-based, shame-proofing toolkit to help informal global conversations in the run-up to decisions on the Millennium Development Goals in 2015. The second project, funded by the Norwegian Research Council, is to evaluate selected antipoverty programmes in China, India, Uganda, Norway, the UK and the USA in the light of ILO Recommendation 202, and to develop forms of provision more compliant with the Recommendation for future trial and evaluation.

To cite this output:

Walker, R, et al (2013) Shame, Social Exclusion and the Effectiveness of Anti-Poverty Programmes: A Study in Seven Countries

ESRC End of Award Report, RES-167-25-0557. Swindon: ESRC.

2. Project overview

a) Objectives

Please state the aims and objectives of your project as outlined in your proposal to us. [Max 200 words]

The research explores the contention that shame is a universal attribute of poverty which is common to people experiencing poverty in all societies. It investigates whether shame has internal and external components such that people are shamed because they are poor and feel shame due to being poor - and that both reduce individual agency and increase social exclusion

The research initially seeks within different cultural settings to:

1. Explore the social construction of shame (including its synonyms and antonyms) as expressed in public discourse
2. Identify the cultural coincidence of shame and poverty as revealed in public discourse

Because personal experiences and public understanding of poverty are shaped by cultural expectations and resource constraints, the research will:

3. Investigate how publics conceptualise poverty and people in poverty and whether in thought or deed they contribute to shaming people in poverty;
4. Explore how people directly experience poverty, social exclusion and shame and recognise connections between them.

Finally, to inform the proposed policy analysis, the research will:

5. Investigate how people in poverty:
 - a. Characterise their engagement, or lack of engagement, with anti-poverty programmes
 - b. Perceive programmes as promoting dignity and individual agency or their converse and in what ways.

b) Project Changes

Please describe any changes made to the original aims and objectives, and confirm that these were agreed with us. Please also detail any changes to the grant holder's institutional affiliation, project staffing or funding. [Max 200 words]

There were not changes to the objectives of the project.

To cite this output:

Walker, R, et al (2013) Shame, Social Exclusion and the Effectiveness of Anti-Poverty Programmes: A Study in Seven Countries

ESRC End of Award Report, RES-167-25-0557. Swindon: ESRC.

c) Methodology

Please describe the methodology that you employed in the project. Please also note any ethical issues that arose during the course of the work, the effects of this and any action taken. *[Max 500 words]*

The research investigated the contention of Nobel laureate, Amartya Sen that the experience of shame lies at the 'irreducible absolutist core in the idea of poverty', is always present, and arises from the inability fully to participate in society. Adopting a maximum difference design, fieldwork was conducted in locations in seven contrasting settings: rural Uganda and India; urban China, Pakistan, Korea and United Kingdom; and small town and urban Norway. This design provided a strong test of the premise of universality and provided scope for developing concepts and metrics that could legitimately be widely applied. The underpinning logic was that if there is evidence that shame is associated with poverty in extremely different settings, then this adds weight to the proposition of the universality of poverty-related shame. While such a finding does not necessarily constitute irrefutable proof of the proposition, discovery of a setting in which poverty was not associated with shame would have cast considerable doubt on the idea, logically destroying its credibility.

Before entering the field, dominant values with respect to poverty and shame and their conjunction were explored in each setting via their representation in literature, film and proverbs. Approximately 30 examples of creative writing were sampled from six of the seven study countries (Korea was omitted), typically spanning about 150 years. The samples were constructed with the advice of leading local literary scholars and seeded by, though not restricted to, the literature syllabuses used in secondary schools. The selected texts were analysed adopting the 'New Historicism' approach, employing discourse analysis techniques. From this analysis it was concluded that shame was a recognisable social emotion with similar psychological and physiological manifestations in each society and that, despite cultural and temporal diversity surrounding the meanings of poverty, shame was widely considered to be associated with it.

While standardisation is important in making comparisons, conceptual and functional equivalence were prioritised. Therefore, in selecting people for interview, a judicious balance was sought between the need to facilitate comparison across countries and the desire not to undermine the experience of poverty within particular cultures. Research participants were therefore identified in ways appropriate to each cultural context and depth interviews were subsequently conducted with a total of over 300 adults and children experiencing poverty as judged by local standards. Small group discussions were held with adults and, where possible, with children not in poverty in six of the seven national settings. Interviews were conducted in the native languages of respondents, recorded (with prior permission) and transcribed. Analysis was conducted in the original language to maximise reliability (although in Norway the analysis was undertaken in English).

Finally, analyses were conducted on samples of national and local newspapers to explore popular and policy discourses on poverty before undertaking analyses of policy documents. The principal ethical issue arising concerned the difficulty of obtaining written consent from respondents who were functionally illiterate and under regimes where the written word

To cite this output:

Walker, R, et al (2013) Shame, Social Exclusion and the Effectiveness of Anti-Poverty Programmes: A Study in Seven Countries

ESRC End of Award Report, RES-167-25-0557. Swindon: ESRC.

provokes concern about personal safety. In both scenarios ethical clearance was obtained to take oral consent.

d) Project Findings

Please summarise the findings of the project, referring where appropriate to outputs recorded on the ESRC website. Any future research plans should also be identified. *[Max 500 words]*

The research indicated that adults and children in all the settings very often felt ashamed because of their poverty. Moreover, they were frequently made to feel ashamed, sometimes deliberately by more affluent people around them, by the media that denigrated them, by politicians who presented them as 'a burden' when trying to win electoral support from taxpayers and by officials who processed their claims for assistance.

Congruent with the view prevalent in the, albeit predominantly Western, psychology literature that shame has largely negative results, respondents frequently reported that poverty caused them social and psychological pain. This, in turn, variably led them to engage in pretence, withdrawal, self-loathing and scape-goating. It sometimes resulted in despair, depression and thoughts of suicide. The diverse roles of women meant that they were typically exposed to shaming more often than men although men's failure to match the expectation of being successful providers was a ubiquitous source of shame. Many respondents felt that the odds were stacked against them: they had to survive but they could not fulfil other aspirations in life. .

However, the sense of powerlessness attributable to the shame associated with poverty is not to say that people in poverty lack agency or to explain poverty in individualistic terms. To survive on a low income in very challenging conditions requires considerable skill, inventiveness and fortitude. These qualities, many respondents argued, were made more necessary by societies' dismissal of people in poverty as feckless and lazy, assertions that added to their own sense of failure. Indeed, shame is individually felt but socially constructed and imposed by the non-poor in their discourse and dealings with people in poverty and by the media and governments in the framing, structuring and delivering of policy; the latter conclusion supported by careful policy analyses of anti-poverty programmes in each of the seven countries.

The views of people not in poverty were gathered from group discussions conducted in the same localities as depth interviews with respondents in poverty. While the former differed markedly in their degree of direct contact with people living in poverty, they nevertheless frequently despised and consciously or unconsciously humiliated persons in poverty. Respondents in settings in Uganda, India, Pakistan and Britain often used robust negative language, dismissing people in poverty as being lazy, inadequate and untrustworthy. Accounts of the causes of poverty were predominantly individualistic and often prioritised bad behaviour and weak character. Terminology of respondents in China and Norway were more muted, juxtaposed with structural accounts of the causes of poverty and the

To cite this output:

Walker, R, et al (2013) Shame, Social Exclusion and the Effectiveness of Anti-Poverty Programmes: A Study in Seven Countries

ESRC End of Award Report, RES-167-25-0557. Swindon: ESRC.

possibility of individual misfortune; however, negativity emerged with respect to certain subgroups of people in poverty.

Consistent with the socio-psychological literature, the evidence points to poverty related shame, including stigma associated with anti-poverty programmes reducing self-confidence and undermining people's ability to help themselves. The important lesson for policy that is beginning to have a demonstrable impact in policy making circles globally is that poorly designed programmes, that fail to promote dignity, may be counterproductive and contribute to the perpetuation of poverty.

e) Contributions to wider ESRC initiatives (eg Research Programmes or Networks)

If your project was part of a wider ESRC initiative, please describe your contributions to the initiative's objectives and activities and note any effect on your project resulting from participation. *[Max. 200 words]*

Membership of the advisory committee of the ESRC-funded project Poverty and Social Exclusion in the United Kingdom project (RES-060-25-0052) meant a considerable transfer of ideas including the addition of successful questions on poverty-associated shame in the main national surveys and extensive and on-going exchange with colleagues undertaking qualitative research both on content and method.

3. Early and anticipated impacts

a) Summary of Impacts to date

Please summarise any impacts of the project to date, referring where appropriate to associated outputs recorded on the Research Outcomes System (ROS). This should include both scientific impacts (relevant to the academic community) and economic and societal impacts (relevant to broader society). The impact can be relevant to any organisation, community or individual. *[Max. 400 words]*

As part of the original impact plan, public meetings have been held in Beijing, Anand, Oslo, Kampala, and Oxford and by-invitation seminars have engaged policy actors in China, India, Norway, Uganda and the UK. Conference presentations have been given in Washington, DC, Seoul, Kyoto and Kampala and additional meetings organised with the World Bank, the Department for International Development, the Child Poverty Unit, Oxfam and ADT 4th World. Four academic articles have already been published.

A workshop on the interim results held in Oxford in March 2012 led to a successful bid for ESRC knowledge exchange funding involving partnerships with ATD-Fourth World, Mediae, the Media Trust and Pegasus Theatre.

To cite this output:

Walker, R, et al (2013) Shame, Social Exclusion and the Effectiveness of Anti-Poverty Programmes: A Study in Seven Countries

ESRC End of Award Report, RES-167-25-0557. Swindon: ESRC.

The research presented at the same workshop led to change in research priorities by DFID: 'future work on social protection research will be including the need for more evidence on what works in terms of reducing stigma and increasing self-efficacy at point of delivery'. (evidenced by an email on 28th March 2012 and an accompanying affidavit).

Following the workshop, the European Commission invited Dr Chase presented findings at a seminar in April 2012 dealing with media reporting of poverty issues.

Perhaps the most direct and important impact from the workshop and the research is the addition of a new principle to International Labour Organisation Recommendation 202 which now frames the provision of social protection policies in 185 member countries. The ramifications of this will continue over the decades as the ILO draws up best practice guidelines, governments implement and modify policies and civil society refers to the recommendation to promote accountability and stimulate change to the benefit of people globally. The process by which the research achieved this outcome is described in the following article and can be evidenced by a series of affidavits collected in support of an application for an ESRC Celebrating Impact Award:

Walker, R., Chase, E. and Lødemel, I. (2012) 'The Indignity of the Welfare Reform Act', *Poverty*, 143: 9-12.

The project has led to two further awards:

1 Poverty and Shame: Perspectives and Practices Concerning Anti-Poverty Measures (2013-16) Lead PI: Ivar Lødemel, Oslo and Akershus University College

Funding: VAM-programme of the Norwegian Research Council

2 Helping shape global conversations on poverty up to and beyond 2015: A Shame-Proofing Toolkit (2013): ES/K005529/1

Lead PIs: Elaine Chase and Robert Walker, University of Oxford

Funding: ESRC Knowledge Exchange Funding

b) Anticipated/Potential Future Impacts

Please outline any anticipated or potential impacts (scientific or economic and societal) that you believe your project might have in future. [Max. 200 words]

The project is likely to have substantial policy and scientific impact. The ILO Recommendation 202 is likely to shape the development of social protection policies in the 185 countries affiliated to the ILO. Research proposals are under consideration to work with Oxfam, the ILO and the International Council on Social Welfare to develop a methodology for developing evaluative criteria, through participatory engagement with people in poverty, through which to hold governments publically to account for their actions in relation to social protection

To cite this output:

Walker, R, et al (2013) *Shame, Social Exclusion and the Effectiveness of Anti-Poverty Programmes: A Study in Seven Countries*

ESRC End of Award Report, RES-167-25-0557. Swindon: ESRC.

In addition, Knowledge exchange project ES/K005529/1 is to fund web-based resource designed to sensitise policy makers, practitioners and the wider public to the psychosocial consequences of poverty. Partnerships with ATD-Fourth World, Mediae, the Media Trust and Pegasus Theatre will generate content, while parallel policy work will establish principles and a template to ensure that and welfare policies promote rather than undermine human dignity and agency.

Finally, contracts are in place for three books:

Gubrium, E., Pellissery, S. and Lødemel, I. (2014) *The Shame of It: Global perspectives on anti-poverty policies*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Walker, R. (2013/4) *The Shame of Poverty: Global perspectives*, Oxford: OUP.

Chase, E. and Bantebya, G. (2013/4) *The Shame of Poverty: Global experiences*, Oxford: OUP.

You will be asked to complete an ESRC Impact Report 12 months after the end date of your award. The Impact Report will ask for details of any impacts that have arisen since the completion of the End of Award Report.

To cite this output:

Walker, R, *et al* (2013) Shame, Social Exclusion and the Effectiveness of Anti-Poverty Programmes: A Study in Seven Countries

ESRC End of Award Report, RES-167-25-0557. Swindon: ESRC.

4. Declarations

Please ensure that sections A, B and C below are completed and signed by the appropriate individuals. The End of Award Report will not be accepted unless all sections are signed.

Please note hard copies are not required; electronic signatures are accepted and should be used.

A: To be completed by Grant Holder

Please read the following statements. Tick one statement under ii) and iii), then sign with an electronic signature at the end of the section (this should be an image of your actual signature).

i) The Project

This Report is an accurate overview of the project, its findings and impacts. All co-investigators named in the proposal to ESRC or appointed subsequently have seen and approved the Report.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
---	-------------------------------------

ii) Submissions to the Research Outcomes System (ROS)

Output and impact information has been submitted to the Research Outcomes System. Details of any future outputs and impacts will be submitted as soon as they become available.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
---	-------------------------------------

or

This grant has not yet produced any outputs or impacts. Details of any future outputs and impacts will be submitted to the Research Outcomes System as soon as they become available.	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	--------------------------

iii) Submission of Data

Data arising from this grant have been offered for deposit with the UK Data Service.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
--	-------------------------------------

or

Data that were anticipated in the grant proposal have not been produced and the UK Data Service has been notified.	<input type="checkbox"/>
--	--------------------------

or

No datasets were proposed or produced from this grant.	<input type="checkbox"/>
--	--------------------------