Working Paper 2003-12

Community Based Poverty Monitoring in Sri Lanka: Methodological and Conceptual Issues

S.T. Hettige
Markus Mayer

S.T. Hettige: Professor of Sociology, University of Colombo
Markus Mayer: Coordinator/ IMCAP, University of Colombo
This work was carried out with the aid of a grant from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC)-funded Poverty and Economic Policy (PEP) research network [www.pep-net.org].
Community Based Poverty Monitoring in Sri Lanka:
Methodological and Conceptual Issues

S.T. Hettige,
Professor of Sociology
Markus Mayer,
Coordinator/IMCAP
University of Colombo

Draft paper to be presented at the PEP network meeting to be held in Hanoi, Vietnam, November 4-8, 2003. Not to be quoted without the permission of the authors.
Community Based Poverty Monitoring in Sri Lanka: 
Methodological and Conceptual Issues

S.T. Hettige, 
Professor of Sociology 
Markus Mayer, 
Coordinator/IMCAP 
University of Colombo 

Abstract

There is, without doubt, an increasing acceptance today, that poverty is not solely about economics and that one has to go well beyond purely economic terms in order to understand processes and causes of poverty. However, what seems to be of foremost importance is on the one hand to focus more on the community as the level for data collection, and on the other hand, even more importantly, to identify new indicators that – rather than pointing to an increase or decrease of poverty as such within a given community, region or country – to uncover the underlying factors and processes that drive people into poverty, keep them in poverty, or help them to move out of poverty. These factors and processes may also operate at different levels, i.e. individual, household, community, regions, country and world system. Though they are not necessarily amendable to measurement in quantitative, statistical terms, they can often be observed in real life situations at the community level.

To increase the knowledge on various dimensions of poverty, transient as well as chronic forms of it, case study research is being undertaken in a number of selected locations in Sri Lanka with active involvement of the community and University graduates with a rural background as facilitators. Within these empirical

---

1 This study is based at the Institute of Policy Studies in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Key researchers are affiliated to the project on Improving Capacities for Poverty Research (IMCAP) at the University of Colombo, Sri Lanka. Other researchers engaged in this work are Nishara Fernando and Sonali Senaratne.
investigations, firstly the characteristics of desired life chances/aspirations for specific target groups are looked at in a gender-, caste/class- and age-specific differentiation. Secondly, for the evaluation of possible causes for an increase or decrease of marginalization of certain communities or individuals, the analysis focuses on economic and social factors and risks that ensure or that threaten an adequate and desired livelihood. When focusing on social groups the analysis has to incorporate questions regarding identity formation/self-esteem, social integration/social capital, and rights in regard to political and socio-cultural participation.

Any community based poverty analysis has to take structural processes impinging on individuals into account as well. Coping strategies in regard to such structural processes on the other hand can differ substantially between communities, regions and time. The temporal dimension for any community-based analysis is quite critical. It can range from such sudden incidents as loss of employment to inter-generational accumulation and transmission of assets and capabilities.

Similarly important, empirical research on poverty should not focus entirely on the poor alone, because the poor do not exist in isolation of their wider environment, particularly, the non-poor. Poverty is usually a relational phenomenon. In other words, an analysis of economic, social, political and cultural relations that poor people are engaged in, is critical for a proper understanding of the changing life chances of the poor. The local community can also provide a critical vantage point to observe multifarious interactions and transactions between the poor and the outside world.

To capture the degree of deprivation of different social constituencies, six analytical dimensions could be put together to evaluate the availability of the “space of life chances” and its scope for potential restriction/enhancement. Although divided into external and internal factors, this division serves more an analytical purpose, whereas in reality they would be closely interlinked. The dimensions “ecology”, “economy” and “politics” mainly investigate external factors that influence life chances positively or negatively. An important aspect of analysis is linked to the impact of structural processes and changes, such as – in the ecological sphere - pressure on environmental resources (due to climatic change, new forms of land use, overpopulation, lack of technical advice for sustainable agriculture, etc.). In the economic sphere, problems and challenges emerging from the restructuring of national and regional economies under the impact of globalization, and existing mismatches between education and employment, are important dimensions to examine. In the political sphere, the differing structures of social dominance within different political orders have to be
studied, e.g. by looking at institutional regulations for decision-making on different (national, regional, local) levels and the structures of local level authorities and civil society organizations.

On the internal side “identity-formation”, “social integration” and “recognition of human rights” are three dimensions mainly investigating the potential of groups or individuals to counter structural or external restrictions of their life chances through effective resistance and own action. Again, the aspect of change is an important component for analysis. Changes in local culture and regional identities form the degree of self-esteem for people to act. The level of social integration (in family, community or wider societal structures) constitutes the scope for individual initiatives. Both dimensions are closely linked to the capabilities of social groups for the formation of public action. These capabilities, built mainly on recognition of human rights of individuals - ultimately provide the prerequisites for empowerment.

In our study we do not confine to monitor poverty or changes in the welfare status in terms of various individual and household attributes. We extend the scope of the monitoring exercise to cover relational and contextual aspects as well. A key hypothesis guiding community based poverty monitoring would be that causes of poverty are rooted as much in the attributes as in the diverse relations that the poor have with the wider environment. This is explored in the context of different communities where the pilot studies are conducted, namely an urban poverty pocket, a rural setting, an estate sector location and a conflict affected area.
EXPOSURE

Ecology
“crisis”
pressure on environmental resources

Economy
“restructuring”
mismatch between education and employment

Politics
“new order”
structures of social dominance

Space of Life Chances
(Psychosocial Well-Being)

self-esteem and cultural practices

Identity
"new identities"
Formation

scope for individual Initiatives

Social
"transitions"
Integration

capabilities for the formation of public action

Human Rights
"empowerment"
Recognition

RESISTANCE

Draft: Markus Mayer
based on concepts from:
Baulch 1996; Bohle 2001; Chambers 1989, Friedmann 1992;
Johnston/Taylor/Watts 1995; Mayer 2000; Mayer/ Salih 2002;
Sen 2000; UNDP 2000; Watts 2000
1. Introduction:
It is widely accepted today that conventional macro economic analysis of poverty is inadequate to understand and explain the dynamics of poverty. Though attempts are often made to examine the nexus between macro economic policies and poverty, our understanding of how macro processes impinge on the life chances of the poor remains largely impressionistic. This is partly due to the difficulties in establishing a clear causal connection between macro economic processes on one hand and poverty on the other. Moreover, poverty itself cannot be easily measured in quantitative terms as there is often a strong subjective element involved in the definition of poverty.

Despite various poverty alleviation strategies adopted by governments in numerous parts of the world, many poor people continue to remain poor while others manage to get out of poverty. On the other hand, some non-poor people might slide into poverty due to various circumstances. How do we explain these dynamics of poverty? Aggregate date collected from time to time can be very useful in tracing trends over time and space but can hardly shed any light on micro processes at household and community levels. On the other hand, micro level field studies conducted over a period of time using survey as well as qualitative techniques including case studies can often uncover dynamics of poverty in great detail. Given the small size of the sample and the limited geographic area covered by such studies, monitoring can be continually done over a long period of time, using the same sample of families for the purpose. This does not however mean that we do not have to use a time tested conceptual and methodological framework. For an effective data collection strategy can be devised only if we develop and use a comprehensive conceptual framework adequate for capturing complex poverty dynamics even in a small field area.

On the other hand, conditions prevailing in diverse communities can differ considerably due to various social, economic, political, ecological and cultural circumstances. This applies not only to the characteristics of poor families but also their linkages to the wider economic, social, political, ecological and cultural environments. On other words, even when we undertake micro level studies, it
is necessary to select field sites carefully so that they capture the diversity in the above regard as much as possible.

The present paper is intended to document the pilot phase of the research project on community based poverty monitoring undertaken by the author and others in a number of selected field sites Sri Lanka as it has unfolded there over the last few months. This phase of the research will be completed by the end of the year leading to the development of conceptual framework and research instruments that can guide the second phase of this study.

2. Field Sites and Methodology

Field studies in the pilot phase are conducted in four communities that represent varying socio-economic conditions. They are:

a) An urban settlement outside Colombo where several hundred displaced poor urban families are resettled.

b) A dry-zone, coastal fishing community in Southern Sri Lanka where incomes are derived from both fishing and small scale agriculture.

c) A village in Northern Sri Lanka where the settlers have been adversely affected by the ethnic conflict that has raged in the region since the early 1980s and

d) A plantation worker community in the central region where the local economy is based on both tea plantations and village agriculture.

The above four communities differ from one another in many respects. They are located in different agro-climatologically zones. Sample populations differ in terms of the livelihoods, ethnic composition, access to social infrastructure facilities, etc.

Any community based poverty analysis has to take into account the structural factors or processes that impinge on the life chances of individuals and households. It is assumed that these structural factors can vary across different settings. Therefore it is necessary to build such variations into the
research design. Another important dimension is change over time. In other words, it is critical to carry out observations continually over an extended period of time. While some changes may be sudden as in the case of loss of employment or an unexpected illness episode, change can also be incremental such as acquisition of assets or skills.

Empirical research on poverty should not focus entirely on the poor, because they do not exist in isolation of the wider environment, in particular, the non-poor both in the locality as well as outside of it. In fact, poverty should be conceptualized as a relational, rather than an attributional phenomenon. An analysis of economic, social, political and cultural relations that the poor people participate in can be critical for a proper understanding of the changing life chances of the poor. The local community can nevertheless provide a very useful vantage point to observe multifarious interactions and transactions between the poor and the outside world.

It is in view of the above that we do not wish to confine ourselves to monitoring poverty or changes in the welfare status in terms of various individual and household attributes. In other words, we extend the scope of the monitoring exercise to cover relational and contextual dimensions as well. A key hypothesis guiding the current community based monitoring exercise is that causes of poverty are rooted as much in the attributes as in the diverse relations that poor have with their wider environment. We intend to explore this hypothesis in the context of the selected communities.

3. Attributional and Relational Aspects of Poverty

Any attempt to understand poverty cannot ignore the main attributes of the poor. In other words, we need to examine poverty in terms of its extent and nature. This requires us to develop a comprehensive profile of the poor so that the changes in their welfare status can be monitored over a period of time. In the case of the present study, we developed an interview schedule in order to collect the necessary data from the households. This instrument can be administered periodically so
that the panel data collected from time to time can be used to monitor changes in the community poverty profile. The main areas covered by the instrument are as follows.

**Figure 3: Indicators of monitoring changes in the welfare status (output indicators)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Demography</td>
<td>Type and size of family; dependency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Health and nutrition</td>
<td>Morbidity and nutrition status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Water and sanitation</td>
<td>Type of water source and toilets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Shelter</td>
<td>Quality of housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Security</td>
<td>Crime, armed encounters, violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Income, livelihood, expenditure</td>
<td>Households above/below poverty, employment/unemployment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Education and literacy</td>
<td>• Elementary enrolment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Second year enrolment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Basic literacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Political participation</td>
<td>Participation in community organizations, participation in the political process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Infrastructure and utilities</td>
<td>Access to roads, electricity, telephone, information, transport etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Assets</td>
<td>Land, equipment, skills, savings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Poverty profile is an analytical device for summarizing information on income, consumption, patterns, economic activities and living conditions of the poor. (WB, 1993:16) as quoted in Tudawe (2002).

As mentioned before, if we were to move from an analysis of poverty to an explanation of poverty, it is necessary to identify its causes, which are rooted in a wider context, extending beyond poor individuals and their households. This could be done only if our conceptual framework is broad enough to capture such contextual attributes and factors. In other words, the data we collect should not only relate to the attributes of the poor and their households but also to wider structures and processes. While some of the latter are confined to the local community, i.e. village, etc. others may extend well beyond the local boundaries. i.e. wider ecological context, regional and national economy, class, caste and ethnic relations, etc. The factors relating to this wider context can be presented as follows. (See figure)
As one might imagine, the data relating to the wider context cannot be collected in the way that we collect data on individual or household attributes. While the secondary data drawn from institutional sources can help a great deal to understand the wider context, extensive field observations, in-depth interviews and case studies constitute the most important sources of information as regards the relational aspects of poverty. What is noteworthy here is that much of this data is of a qualitative nature. It is due to this reason that we cannot use conventional survey techniques to collect such data. Collection of observational, qualitative data is also time-consuming.

4. Present State of Community Research

As mentioned earlier in the paper, we began our field research a few months ago. Having developed the survey instruments and guidelines for qualitative research, research assistants were deployed in two communities. In order to test the validity and efficacy of the survey instruments, a purposive sample of households were surveyed. The sample included sixteen households in each location drawn from among local residents who fitted into one or the other of the four categories of households we identified based on key informant interviews and wealth ranking data already available. The sixteen households were divided into the following four categories:

(a) Currently poor, but earlier non-poor,
(b) Currently non-poor but earlier poor,
(c) Those who have always been poor
(d) Those who have always been non-poor

Based on the household data collected from the sixteen families, an attempt has been made to develop household profiles in order to determine the major differences between different categories of households. It is hoped that, when the entire community is surveyed, we would be able to divide the population into the above four categories and develop panels of baseline data to be used for monitoring changes in the poverty profile in each of the communities. In the next few pages, a brief account of the sampled households is presented.
4.1 Age Structure of Poor and Non-poor Households
Table 1 gives the age structure of the family members of the sample households. It is significant that the poor households have more small, dependent children than the non-poor households indicating a higher level of child dependency. Middle aged population is larger among non-poor households.

4.2 Educational Attainment
There is no major difference between the poor and the non-poor groups with respect to educational attainment though illiterate people are fewer among the non-poor.

4.3 Current Activity Status
Casually employed persons are almost equally present among the poor and the non-poor households. On the other hand, permanently employed people are mostly found among the non-poor. So are those engaged in business activities. It is also significant that there are more skilled persons among non-poor households.

4.4 Presence of Chronically Ill Persons
It is significant that chronically ill persons are equally found among both poor and non-poor households. Most of these persons suffer from asthma and diabetes. As regards the expenditure on health care, there is no significant difference the poor and the non-poor households.

4.5 Food and Nutrition
As one would expect, more poor households than non-poor households report shortage of food as measured in terms of adequacy of food and skipping of meals etc.

4.6 Community Participation
There is no major difference between the poor and non-poor households in terms of the extent of community participation. What is noteworthy however is that a majority of households do not participate in community associations, in both urban as well as rural areas.
4.7 Social Networks
Reliance on primordial relationships for support is equally significant among both poor and non poor households. The same is also true for neighbours.

4.8 Income Generation
As one would expect, the gap between the poor and the non poor in terms of income is quite significant. While most of the poor earn less than 4500 rupees per month only a minority of non-poor earn an income below this level. A sizable proportion of non poor households earn over 7000 rupees a month. It is also significant that the number of income earners is greater among non-poor households, whereas in a majority of poor households there is only one income earner. What is also noteworthy is that the number of dependents appears to be higher among poor households, in comparison to non-poor households. Most of these dependents are children and unemployed persons.

4.9 Expenditure on Food and Medicine
It is significant that the expenditure on food is greater among non-poor than among the poor. On the other hand expenditure on health appears to be equally high among both the poor and non-poor families. It may be that the poor divert their resources into health care, away from even food.

4.10 Savings and Adequacy of Income
Poor households report much less savings than the non-poor. It is also significant that the non-poor depend on formal institutions like banks than non-institutional channels, as one would expect the non-poor have much higher levels of savings than the poor. Turning to the adequacy of income to meet family needs over the last month, it is significant that most poor households report inadequate income, whereas only a minority of non-poor households reported inadequate income.

4.11 Housing Conditions
Significantly all the sample households own their houses though the nature of housing conditions varies between poor and non-poor households. With respect to construction material most non-poor
households have used permanent and more expensive construction material for the walls, the floor and the roof. Most poor households have houses with one room with no separate rooms whereas all the non-poor households have more than one room.

4.12 Environmental Problems

Even though both poor and non-poor households report various environmental problems, poor households tend to mention problems that affect their livelihoods. i.e floods and droughts. On the other hand, most non-poor households report general environmental problems that affect their quality of life.

5. On-going Field Research

Research team is currently engaged in the collection of household data in all four communities in order to develop a comprehensive and comparable data base. This would help develop a detailed profile of poverty at both household and community levels. Once different households are identified in terms of objective criteria, researchers can begin to collect qualitative data using interview and observational techniques. The main objectives of this pilot phase of research are:

(a) To develop a conceptual framework that is robust and comprehensive enough to provide for a causal analysis of poverty,

(b) To develop a battery of data collection techniques that enable us to collect data relating to both attributional and relational aspects of poverty,

(c) To draw some tentative conclusions as to how some people move out of poverty and others remain entrapped in poverty and,

(d) To identify factors and processes which underpin dynamics of poverty at individual, household and community levels.

In the second phase of the study that will be implemented during the course of next year, it is hoped to use the already developed methodology and the conceptual framework to carry out longitudinal monitoring of poverty in the selected communities. Long term monitoring of poverty, i.e. inter-generational transmission of poverty, can be critical in some situations. It is necessary to identify
factors and processes that influence such transmissions, as indicated in the following figure (see Figure 2).

6. Summary ad Conclusion

So far in the present paper, an attempt has been made to document the progress of the pilot phase of the project on community based poverty monitoring in Sri Lanka. Researchers have been able to develop a conceptual framework for the on-going study, finalise survey instruments and guidelines for qualitative research and put together profiles of a sample of households based on data already collected. Already in the pilot phase, researchers have made an attempt to develop a broad conceptual framework that enables them to capture relational aspects of poverty as well. A key assumption here is that causes of poverty are likely to be rooted as much, if not more, in the diverse relations that the poor have with the wider environment, as in their individual and household attributes. In fact, many of their attributes themselves may be the products of their wider politico-economic and socio-cultural relations.
Figure 2: Framework for Monitoring of Inter-generational Transmission of Poverty at Household Level

Present Generation
- Decreased food consumption
- Malnutrition
- Ill-health
- Low productivity
- Increased health costs

Withdrawal from
- Education
- Lack of skills
- Low wages
- insecurity

Lack of savings/
- Indebtedness
- Level of qualification
- Poor housing
- Lack of investment
- Lack of assets

Vulnerability
- Insecurity
- Lack of assets
- Low birth weight - children
- Poor growth
- Low achievement
- High cost of health

Next Generation
(Inter-generational transmission)
- High dependency ratio
- Low wages / income
- Lack of access to education, Training, skills
- Poor job prospects
- Lack of assets
- Low achievement
- Poor growth
- Low birth weight - children
- High cost of health

capital
/sanitation
/low wages / income
### Figure 3: Measures of welfare status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit of observation</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Type of data</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Household</td>
<td>- Size/composition</td>
<td>- No. of dependents over the total (children/aged)</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Dependency ratio</td>
<td>- Nature of income / livelihood</td>
<td>Periodic (Panel data)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Occupation/livelihood</td>
<td>- Land ownership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Assets</td>
<td>- Productive equipment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Liabilities</td>
<td>- Mortgages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Debts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>- Education</td>
<td>- Level</td>
<td>Continuous/Periodic (Panel data)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Qualification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Skills</td>
<td>- Training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Skills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Employment/unemployment</td>
<td>- Permanent/regular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Casual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Skilled/unskilled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Disabilities</td>
<td>- Mental</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Physical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Political</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td></td>
<td>District</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Productive resources** | - Land  
- Water  
- Natural resources | **Projects/Programs** | - Nature and types of projects | **Periodic** |
| **Social infrastructure**  
- Schools/health etc. | - Type of roads / transport  
- Nature of schools  
- Health services | **Power relations** | - Structure of political authority | |
| **Composition** | - Ethno-religious  
- Caste  
- Occupational | **Resource flows** | - Savings / credit | |
| **Social/cultural/political divisions** | - Ruling party/Opposition  
- Parties/Factions  
- Domination / subordination | **Social infrastructure**  
- Health, education, transport etc. | - Nature of health, education, transport services | |
| **Economic infrastructure**  
- Towns, roads, Banks | | | - Distance to towns  
- Urban services available  
- Access to services | |
Figure 4: A broader framework for monitoring poverty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes</th>
<th>Unit of observation</th>
<th>Relational Aspects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natural resources</td>
<td>Region/District</td>
<td>Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td></td>
<td>Political authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic structure</td>
<td></td>
<td>Resource flows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy, resource infrastructure, income distribution, employment</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>social structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cultural relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size, composition, assets, dependency</td>
<td>Household/Family</td>
<td>political divisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age, education, skills, aptitudes, occupation, health status</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>cohesion/conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty profile</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sibling position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Causes of poverty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5: Relational Dimensions of Poverty and Deprivation

Regional identities / Sense of disparities /

Higher social structures

Regional economy

Village social structure (class, ethnicity, caste, etc.)

Culture and identity / conflict

Village economy (production, services, exchange, employment)

Political relations / institutions

Ecology / natural resources / populations / constraints

Social networks / capital / social infrastructure

Household / family / individual

Regional politics / institutions

District / provincial social infrastructure

Agro-climate zone
Figure 6: Guidelines for qualitative/in-depth interviews on relational aspects of poverty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area/ Dimension</th>
<th>Local</th>
<th>Issues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village economy</td>
<td>- Connection to village economy</td>
<td>External economic links</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Exchange relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Property relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecology</td>
<td>- Dependence on natural resources</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Vulnerabilities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Coping strategies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social networks/</td>
<td>- Social support</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infrastructure</td>
<td>- Social infrastructure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(education, health, transport, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power relations</td>
<td>- Participation in local politics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Associations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Domination/subordination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Conflict/violence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social structure</td>
<td>- Class, caste, ethnic relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Prospects for social mobility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture/identity</td>
<td>- Sense of belonging</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Identity formation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>