THE DIGNITY REPORT

Three years of research on
dignity & international development

Report by Tom Wein
Table Of Contents

Introduction

4       Foreword by Dr. Neela Saldanha
5 - 7    Why should you care about dignity?
8 - 10   Literature Review

Our Studies

14 - 15  Why Dignity Matters: Recalling Disrespect Makes us Less Happy and Less Empowered
16 - 17  Defining Dignity in Kenya: Power is Always Present
18 - 19  African Feminism and Dignity: Listening Better is a Feminist Value
20 - 21  Correlates of Disrespect: Place matters to experiences of respect
22 - 23  Dignity and Health: An Example to Follow?
24 - 25  Cash Transfers: A More Respectful Way of Doing Aid
26 - 27  Apologies: A Sincere Sorry Counts For a Lot
28 - 29  Small Acts of Respectfulness: We Must Do More Than the Basics
30 - 31  Dignity in The Charity Sector: Support For a Culture of Dignity
32 - 33  Charity Donations: Fundraising on Respectful Development

Conclusion

35 - 36  The Dignity Agenda
37       Afterword by Professor Cait Lamberton
39       References
40       Credits
INTRODUCTION
I remember the day clearly. New Delhi, India. The aid agency had a problem. The people they were giving the nutritious free food packets to didn’t want them. ‘They feed it to their cows’, the agency folks told us, sadly. And indeed, the packets did look like ... cattle-feed. Nutritious but drab. As though the agency could not be bothered to delight and entice people to eat nutritious food. As though the tastes of the people receiving it didn’t matter because they were poor. I couldn’t articulate why this made me so angry. After all, it’s just marketing!

Or is it? When I read about dignity, I felt a lightbulb go off in my head. Good packaging matters, it isn’t just marketing. It matters, as that cliched tagline reads “because you are worth it.” Every one of us is worth it. Unfortunately, we don’t always affirm this most basic of facts about what it means to be human. And, despite our good intentions, we may overlook dignity in ways that matter to the people we serve. I think back to more times than I can count where I carried out research and never once thought about going back to participants to tell them what we did with the data they so generously shared with us. There wasn’t time. Or what about the charity adverts I produced, where I didn’t pay enough attention to how we portrayed the people we were trying to help. After all, a particular picture was moving enough to get more money for the charity and that would help them more, wouldn’t it? So many times when my ambitions of affirming dignity clashed with time scarcity, in-built biases and even good intentions.

Even after recognizing this, I was slow to make progress. It is easy to find examples after the fact, far harder to figure out how to improve. The literature on dignity is vast and, for a practitioner, not always easily comprehensible. There are few practical recommendations.

This is why this report is so important. It is a starting point to tackle this important but difficult topic. What is dignity? What are the consequences of not affirming it? Do particular types of development aid affirm dignity more than others? What works when one has disrespected others? This report discusses these and other questions in a rigorous and yet accessible way with many examples and studies.

I hope you will find it as useful and insightful and hopeful as I did. And I look forward to us collectively building on The Dignity Agenda.
Why Should You Care About Dignity?

What we know about dignity:

- **Differs by place**
  Dignity is a standalone concept, but experiences of it vary greatly around the world place matters.

- **Support from the public and the sector**
  People say they would donate 60% more to a more respectful charity.

- **Disrespect causes harm**
  Disrespect is common and painful. In 13 Afrobarometer countries more than 50% said public officials do not treat them with respect. In Nairobi it was associated with feeling significantly less happy and less empowered.

- **There is also support in the development sector**
  79% of US non-profit professionals say they are personally committed to raising dignity with their colleagues.

If you run a business in Hargeisa, Somaliland, here’s how you pay your taxes. A group of men, some of them armed, turn up at a time of their choosing. They make an arbitrary calculation of what they can get from you, and send you off to wait for hours to pay. They may arrest you or your employees without warning, or shut down your shop. Women face sexual harassment. People are not treated as equals, with no choice or chance to consent. They are not recognised as dignified humans. That’s Somaliland - but from meagre meal boxes to Windrush, we’ve seen many examples of disrespectful governance in the UK. Bureaucracies of all kinds struggle to see the full dignity of those they serve.

This disrespect is common, and it is harmful. Afrobarometer data shows that in 13 of 34 African countries more than half the population do not feel respected by public officials. When we do not treat people with respect, we have evidence from the lab that they are less happy and less empowered, less cooperative, and more prone to conflict. They are also less healthy. By contrast, when we affirm people’s dignity, good things happen. Democracy functions better and political tribalism diminishes. These are imperatives to do better for public health, democracy, social justice and development.

**What do we mean by dignity?**
Dignity is inherent to all people, regardless of who they are or how they act. Because people have dignity, they are entitled to respect. We respect people better by ensuring choice, equality and representation - these are the three pathways. Dignity is not something that only belongs to
people of a certain rank, or who carry themselves in a certain way.

So, what would a Dignity Agenda look like? There’s a set of practical, evidenced steps we can take to build more respectful international development. The first and simplest of these is to routinely measure respectfulness. Then we can start testing improvements, tracking progress and making conscious trade-offs. We should talk about dignity within our institutions, because we have evidence that doing so makes people five times more likely to commit to a dignity agenda themselves. We should engage with those who experience disrespectful treatment in their own lives, who are ten times more likely to commit to dignity, and those who perceive that the organisation doesn’t practice what it preaches, who are eight times more likely to do so. We can test which types of aid are more respectful. We have good evidence that cash is more respectful than in-kind aid. We have reason to think that small acts of respectfulness - using people’s names and giving them a choice of appointment time - don’t make much difference to the receiver’s experience.

There’s a whole world of things still to test. In an online experiment, members of the public gave 60% larger (hypothetical) donations to charities that promised to emphasize dignity. If we do start to institute a Dignity Agenda, we can count on support from the public and from the sector.

**Conclusion**

We are bringing practical tools to this previously unwieldy subject, making sure you can use it for good. We have research projects underway to look at the impact of listening, apologies, research ethics and global measurement. We’re building measures, conducting training workshops and consulting, forming new research partnerships, and advocating for cultures of dignity across development. In this report, we summarise the results of the ten studies we’ve conducted.
RESTORING HUMAN DIGNITY TO ITS CENTRAL PLACE: SETS OF A PROFOUND RETHINKING OF ECONOMIC PRIORITIES

Duflo & Banerjee

YOU’RE COUNTING THE WRONG THINGS. YOU’RE NOT COUNTING DIGNITY OF PEOPLE.

Winnie Byanyima
Dignity is discussed all the time. The literature on dignity is vast; one paper estimates that 1200 books and 11,000 articles were published on dignity in English from 1970-2003 (Witte, 2003, cited in Jacobson, 2007). It is often announced as an objective and outcome in aid and development programs. It underpins narratives of rights and egalitarianism, and many of the associated domestic and international political projects. For researchers, it is implicit in most approaches to research ethics. It sits alongside, but is distinct from, a number of crucial concepts in development discourse, such as capabilities, wellbeing, and empowerment.

Dignity in Aid and Development
Dignity is much discussed in development. Reports and headlines often invoke dignity. Claims are often made that particular initiatives or programs respect people's dignity - or fail to do so. Important work has been done all across the international development sphere, with relevant research concerning the links between dignity and economics, migration, conflict, gender, disability, political contest and movements, rights, medicine and global health, as well as important work in dignity and psychology. The most sustained engagement with dignity in international development is the 'Dignity and Displacement' project by the Overseas Development Institute’s Humanitarian Policy Group (Holloway & Grandi, 2018). For the full picture of how dignity relates to all these sectors, you can read the ever-expanding live literature review on our website. Yet all this discussion of dignity does not always translate into careful examinations of the term; it is sometimes used as a convenient catch-all for all our pleasant aspirations, rather than a term with specific moral force supported by a rich philosophical tradition.

Dignity in Western Philosophy
A sharp distinction is made in much of the modern Western (mostly secular) philosophical literature between 'merit-based' and 'moralized' conceptions of dignity (Debes, 2017). The moralized version is most relevant to our work. Moralized dignity is a universal, characteristic, inalienable quality of persons, which entitles its holders to 'recognition respect'. It is an inherent or unearned moral worth or status, which all humans enjoy equally (Debes, 2017). Your dignity can be offended against, but it cannot be lowered or taken away, no matter how badly you are treated (Debes, 2017). Simply because each person has dignity, they should be treated with respect. This respect is called 'recognition respect'. It is the sort of respect due simply because you recognize a person's dignity, and people do not need to do anything extra to earn that respect (Dillon, 2018). This interrelates in complex ways with work by philosophers such as George Kateb, Jeremy Waldron, Martha Nussbaum and others, in ways we do not examine here - see the full literature review on our website for more.

dignityproject.net
Non-Western Ideas of Dignity

Dignity varies across the world. For example, Rohingya use ijjot to mean social identity, religious practice and economic self-reliance (Holloway & Fan, 2018). Syrians use karama to mean rights, respect and independence through self-reliance (Grandi et al, 2018). Holloway (2019) draws definitional comparisons between dignity among displaced populations in Afghanistan, Colombia, the Philippines and South Sudan. In South Sudan, there is no one definition of dignity, though there is a consistent feeling that being counted and then not provided for is disrespectful. In Afghanistan, dignity was closely intertwined with honour, with the ability to provide proper conditions for women being important. In Colombia, Angel identifies six ideas of dignity: no discrimination or stigma; removing dishonor by speaking the truth; treating aid recipients like adults; control over the future; disrespectful social distance from international aid workers and bias from local aid workers; and the practical dignity emphasized by women versus the more moral claims made by men. Among those displaced in Mindanao in the Philippines, the main translation preferred by participants was maratabat, connoting the respect accorded to a particular rank, status, or way of life, and the pursuit of those things.

Several writers have argued that there is a further distinctive (Southern) African conception of dignity. Metz has argued that dignity in African thought is defined relationally, as “a person is a person through other persons’ or, alternatively, ‘I am because we are”, which he says is expressed in “the Nguni word for humanness (ubuntu)” (Metz, 2010; for more, see Hoffman & Metz, 2017). Other scholars like Molefe (2016) and Coundouriotis (2006) have also contributed to this debate. Ikuenobe (2016) combines their approaches, arguing that dignity is communitarian, but that the capacity for dignity must be realised through individual agency. Depending on the specific African tradition, we might develop our humanness and achieve that self-realisation by communing with Gods, ancestors, with the life force inherent in all objects and beings, and with other humans in our communities (Metz; Düwell et al, 2014). Overall, explains Augustine Shutte, “our deepest moral obligation is to become more fully human. And this means entering more and more deeply into community with others. So although the goal is personal fulfilment, selfishness is excluded” (Metz; Düwell et al, 2014). Once again, in our full literature review, we trace the particularities of Islamic, Jewish, indigenous American, Hindu, Chinese, and other ideas of dignity.

When we examine how traditions and experiences of respect and dignity vary, the most important factor in the literature is by place - which may be related to ideas of cultural syndromes (Leung & Cohen, 2011) or to how the society is organised (Lindemann; Düwell et al, 2014). Other sources of important variation include gender, age, individualism-collectivism, Global North-Global South and by research method.
Some conclusions
The moralized version of dignity is most productive for our uses. It offers a metaphysical grounding for this project - ‘we all have dignity’, and an immediate consequence - ‘therefore we ought to show one another recognition respect’. It also provides a second consequence - where this respect is not given, people have a right to claim it. In tying ourselves to one tradition, we provide clarity and respond to the criticisms above that dignity fails in part because it is insufficiently defined.

Debes (2017) also offers a flexibility which allows us to draw together many of the other approaches - including non-Western ones. Debes does not offer a detailed account of what constitutes recognition respect. It seems likely we will find common concerns - representation, agency and equality seem to recur often in different approaches - but at the heart of our work can be a simple question: did this person feel respected.

Mattson and Clark (2011) use the concept of sufficiency to unfold an elegant summary of the aim of the dignity project: to develop “a concept of dignity that allow for broad participation and contextual sensitivity in application, yet was specific enough, transcending local contexts, to allow for a productive global conversation.” That in turn implies that some fusion of qualitative and quantitative methods is essential to the resolution of these research questions, a point which will be taken up in future work. At the moment though we have examples of application of dignity in studies that are presented in the next section of our work.

Conclusion

Although how dignity is viewed or even defined across the world might vary, one thing is clear: dignity is interwoven with development and humanity as a whole. Therefore, it is important for practitioners working in the development sphere to always ensure dignity is upheld in their programs and in their interactions with each other as well as with the communities that they work with.
WHAT is DIGNITY?

INALIENABLE PERSONHOOD

RECOGNITION RESPECT

REPRESENTATION CHOICE EQUALITY
WE WOULD PREFER TO HAVE RESPECT... UNFORTUNATELY, THESE THINGS HAPPEN ONLY TO THE RICH PEOPLE
Mathare, Nairobi participant

THEY SHOULD NOT TREAT US AS IF WE WERE CHILDREN & DECISIONS SHOULD NOT BE MADE WITHOUT CONSULTING US. THIS IS DIGNITY.

Colombian IDP in ODI research

Construyendo La Paz
OUR STUDIES
“Being treated as a human being while working at my retail job is the best example that I can give about feeling dignity. When people don’t want to take up your time and respectfully ask their questions without over intruding is when I felt dignity. Sometimes, people want to push you around like you’re a slave and not seem to notice that I am also a human being. When people treat others like people, that is the best example of dignity,”

- 21 Year Old, Male, USA
Most would agree that when dignity is denied, no one feels very good. But what do we really know about what happens when our dignity is disrespected? How do we cope with such experiences?

In a January 2021 study using the Prolific panel, we tried to gain some insight into these questions. We asked about 800 US-based participants to write about a situation in which their dignity was affirmed or denied, or simply to write about their prior day. People wrote between 3 (for example, “at my job,” or “with my family”) and 200 words – and it wasn’t only what they said, but how they said it, that provided new insights into the experience of dignity.

The findings from the stories revealed that when dignity is denied, those who are disrespected often experience bitterness and anger, but when dignity is affirmed, people feel respected and valued. We also conducted linguistic analysis of these stories, to see what happened to people’s cognition and emotions in these narratives. We found that any discussion of dignity – whether affirmed or denied – tended to cue thoughts about some emotions: disgust, fear and sadness all played equivalent roles in dignity-related stories, but the denial of dignity was linked with more mentions of anger, less trust and less hope than the affirmation of dignity or the discussion of one’s past day.

After the open-ended responses, the participants were randomly assigned to complete a follow-up measure. The results from the measure indicated that, controlling for employment and income, people who wrote about their dignity being affirmed saw their overall status in life as marginally higher than those who wrote about it being denied. In contrast, people who wrote about their dignity being denied were slightly less willing to donate any of their time to researchers in need of input on subsequent surveys. Given that the opportunity to help others has been shown to be a powerful means of restoring well-being, this suggests that people may get stuck in a cycle of indignity, where their psychological state interferes with their ability to contribute to the world around them.

A related study done by the Dignity Project and Busara Center for Behavioral Economics in Kibera slums, Nairobi, found that experiencing disrespect is associated with less happiness and less empowerment. This study involved asking 239 participants about their experiences of disrespect. When asked to recall the last time someone was disrespectful towards them, participants listed feelings of annoyance, disgust, boredom, anger, and sadness (see chart). This study also found that experiencing more disrespect was also significantly associated with feeling less happy and less empowered. 71% of the participants identified at least one social group that is not usually respectful towards them – from NGO workers to medical staff to police officers.

With: Shelmith Kariuki, Jennifer Adhiambo, Catherine Lamberton, & Sakshi Ghai

Implications

Everyone has dignity. Because they have dignity, we have a duty to respect them. We don’t need a reason to do so; it’s important in its own right. When dignity is denied, people feel it, and recalling disrespect evokes a host of negative emotions, and less willingness to donate time. Therefore, if we care about whether people experience less anger, more trust and more hope, we need to pay close attention to their dignity and respect it. Dignity is also an important topic for policy and programmes to take account of, and for researchers to study.
Defining Dignity In Kenya: Power Is Always Present

“There is a relationship between the able guy and the struggling man. There is respect here where the able person has built a dustbin here so that the neighbor can throw the litter in there rather than disposing of it anywhere, because if he litters the trash anywhere it will affect the people on the slope and if it rains all the trash will be carried to the doorsteps of the people down there. That is why the able man had built a bin to avoid problems and respect his neighbors ... Hence there is a mutual respect between the two ... So these two people try to live in a way to maintain peace.”

- MSJC participant
In Spring 2019, the Dignity Project and Mathare Social Justice Centre together examined how residents of Mathare, an informal settlement of Nairobi, defined dignity. This study involved conducting focus group discussions and a participatory photo competition with the residents. The residents of Mathare offered their own unique definition of dignity. They said the following:

“We all have dignity. That is why we show respect to those in our groups. We communicate well and work together. There is a purpose to this: it lets us discharge our God-given duty to care for one another. But fully respecting people isn’t something everyone can do. Some stuff we can all do, like being polite in our speech and observing social codes. We may win recognition by showing our unique qualities. But to be truly respectful, you need more: self-respect, a firm foundation, and autonomy. To get that, you need a lot of things - many of which are denied by a government, and society is abusive and sometimes murderous. In that situation, you get derailed. You find other ways of winning respect: money, power, and violence.”

This definition is echoed in the Kenyan constitution, which uses dignity somewhat loosely, but several times links it to social justice, equity and positive protection for individuals.

Dignity in Mathare is about recognising the uniqueness in other individuals - and the environment and society that denies this. Syrian refugees are quite similar. For them, karama means rights, respect and independence through self-reliance. South Africans take a similar view: they talk about the chance for each person to realise themself. That’s different to Rohingya refugees, for them, ijjot is about expressing the group’s social identity and religious practices. And in China, zunyán is more about national pride.

Western philosophers are quite similar to Mathare: they agree everyone has dignity, and therefore we should respect them - through autonomy, equality and recognising their individuality. However, Western philosophers differ from Mathare’s view of dignity because they don’t worry so much about the environment and whether you have the ability to be respectful - they just say you should do it.

With Jennifer Omae, Debrah Opiyo and MSJC.

Implications

The Mathare definition of dignity reminds us that ideas of dignity vary around the world, but power and politics are always present. Their warning that when dignity is denied people might find other ways of gaining respect, such as through violence, highlights the importance of ensuring we respect the people we interact with and, promoting social justice. We respect people better by ensuring choice, equality, and representation in our societies, recognising the dignity inherent in all humans.
“In feminism we embrace the question of Dignity because that is the core of women owning women, and their body, their mind, and their soul ... It brings back to holiness of women, holiness of femininity and the right to be, and the ‘freedom from’ but also ‘freedom to’. So in the feminism, pan-African feminism to which I pledge my allegiance, we do say our famous saying that, “I’m a Feminist, no ifs no buts, no however”, and that calls everyone to treat me for who I am without an exception and without qualifiers, and that’s where the question of dignity comes. So everyone has to be accorded the highest level of respect, the highest level of support without qualifiers and that’s all I call dignity,”

- Mwanahamisi Singano

As governments have raced to respond to coronavirus and its ensuing humanitarian consequences, many people have been left out. What would a #DignifiedResponse to coronavirus look like?

At the end of April 2020, FEMNET, an African...
feminist organization, launched a campaign asking just that. In a series of Twitter conversations, 706 users made 1,700 posts on that hashtag. Those tweeters made clear that “#DignifiedResponse is a MUST”, “because human dignity is above everything.” We analysed those Tweets (using the Vicinitas analytics tool) and spoke to FEMNET Head of Programmes, Mwanahamisi Singano, to understand what dignity looks like to African feminists in the midst of a public health emergency.

Female health and work are especially related to dignity
Responding to FEMNET’s campaigns, many tweeters argued that a dignified response would be one that attends to the challenges faced by women. Respondents highlighted violence against women, menstrual hygiene, and medical care in pregnancy and childbirth. Others focused on basic needs, highlighting that women may need particular support when it comes to (informal sector) income, food prices, masks and employment protections. These areas were mentioned far more often than (for example) education, energy or water. To achieve really respectful development, Singano said, the response of governments must be transformational.

Police violence violates dignity
The most widely circulated Tweet on the hashtag related to an incident in the Kenyan city of Kisumu, in which citizens protested the arrest of a man for not wearing a mask, by police who were themselves maskless. This was one of a series of incidents in which Kenyan police attempted to enforce public health measures through arbitrary violence. FEMNET’s Mwanahamisi Singano explained that resisting this sort of violence had been inherent to the campaign from the start.

Dignity means listening to everyone’s stories
Tweeters made clear that listening is at the heart of a dignified response. Several tweets urged governments to practice “two-way communication”. Many urged governments to include women and people with disabilities in their planning. Singano emphasised this point: “we do believe that Dignified Response needs to be inclusive … We also believe that Dignified Response needs to be just, it shouldn’t in any way undermine one group over the other.”

All of this is feminist
Singano argued that dignity had served a useful purpose, as a flexible campaign term that could be applied to many different areas. Yet more than that, she drew a direct link between dignity and feminism. “The choice of the word Dignity is because, one, we are a women’s rights organization, but also we are a feminist organization and the question of dignity comes at the core of our being.” In its insistence on an ethic of care and in the way it demands that each person be heard and fully valued, dignity has a close relationship with much feminist thinking.

With: Mwanahamisi Singano and FEMNET

Implications

Dignity is a feminist value; it centers inclusion and listening, posits female health and work as having a special relationship to dignity and is mobilised for contested political battles. When designing policies, programmes and research, we have to consider the way ideas of dignity intersect with these political battles. Dignity clearly resonates with a wide audience of African feminists, whose views on dignity have rarely been studied. In her centering of Ubuntu, Singano follows Motsamai Molefe and other thinkers in proposing a distinctive African conception of dignity.
Correlates Of Disrespect: Place Matters To Experiences Of Respect

Place matters in Kenya; Twaweza responses to ‘In your opinion, do leaders in your community put enough effort into being respectful?’ by region

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When it comes to dignity, location matters. Politics and identity, not so much. That's the hint we might draw from secondary analysis of AfroBarometer and Twaweza datasets. Between 2016 and 2018, AfroBarometer asked 45,823 people in 34 countries: “In general, when dealing with public officials, how much do you feel that they treat you with respect?” Extending our analysis, we also looked at another dataset from Twaweza Sauti za Wananchi which regularly polls a panel of East Africans on social issues. In 2018, they asked 1,680 Kenyans “in your opinion, do leaders in your community put enough effort into being respectful?”

In Twaweza data, 26% of Kenyans said ‘no’, their leaders did not put in enough effort into being respectful towards them. 33% of Kenyans said ‘yes’, their leaders did put enough effort into being respectful towards them. 35% said ‘somewhat’. In Afrobarometer data, 19.6% said they were ‘not at all’ treated with respect, 24.6% said ‘a little bit’, and 29.4% said ‘somewhat’, 22.7% said ‘a lot’, and 3.8% replied ‘don’t know’. We conducted a series of exploratory analyses.

Place matters?
When we examine the Afrobarometer data, there is some limited relationship between country and feeling that public officials do not treat you with respect (x²=.27, p=<0.001). Participants in Gabon, Nigeria, South Africa, Malawi, Cameroon, and Liberia seemed particularly to feel that they are not treated with respect - while participants from Cabo Verde, Lesotho, Sao Tome and Principe, Niger, and Tanzania seemed particularly to feel that they are treated with respect - than would be expected had the two variables been independent. We find similar results in the Twaweza dataset. Here, there is some limited association between both language and region, and believing that leaders in your community do not put enough effort into being respectful (x²=.3 and x²=.26, both p=<0.001).

Effort matters?
There is some association between experiencing a problem and reporting that it was resolved, and believing that leaders in your community do not put enough effort into being respectful (x²=.35, p=<0.001). This result was principally driven by those answering that ‘no [their problem has not been resolved], and nothing is being done to resolve them nor in the process of being resolved’.

Is dignity a standalone concept?
A lot isn't related to dignity. Political behaviours, social behaviours and identity markers were all unrelated to experiences of respectfulness. Dignity seems to be a unique, standalone concept – not just a proxy for something else. That seems to be in line with an experiment we did with Busara, in which small acts of respectfulness did not spark greater altruism, self-efficacy, or wellbeing.

With: Ernest Hapuczi, AfroBarometer, & Twaweza

Implications
We need to learn across many countries and regions, and be cautious about generalisations from one place to another. This is because when it comes to dignity, location matters. We should be cautious about generalising between places, and provide especially strong theoretical and empirical support for any generalisations we hope to make.
“Healthcare is a moment when individuals are particularly vulnerable, when power imbalances are very stark, and when the most personal aspects of our lives are practiced upon by a bureaucracy.”
One critical area for dignity is in healthcare. Whether patients are treated respectfully is of urgent concern for many medical researchers - for its own sake, and because disrespectful treatment leads to worse health outcomes (Mann & Gruskin, 1995). Healthcare is a moment when individuals are particularly vulnerable, when power imbalances are very stark, and when the most personal aspects of our lives are practiced upon by a bureaucracy.

One source of data is the NHS VOICES survey of bereaved people. From 2011-2015, the UK Office for National Statistics asked those who cared for a patient in England how they were treated in their final months, including whether they were treated with dignity and respect. In the most recent data, in all the rated care settings, a majority of respondents said that their loved one was always treated with dignity and respect; there is not an epidemic of disrespect in the NHS. However, there are wide gaps between the best and the worst. Hospice doctors and nurses take exceptional care to be respectful, while care home staff, hospital doctors and hospital nurses lagged up to 33 points behind the best performers. This ranking has remained consistent across the years the survey was taken.

That is not to say that things have remained static. Though hospital staff have remained at the lower end of the heap, they have improved significantly over time. Dignity and respect from hospital nurses increased significantly from 48% in 2011 to 54% in 2015. Similarly, dignity and respect shown by hospital doctors increased from 57% to 60% over the five years in question. One important variance is in place. An analysis of location in the 2011 dataset shows that Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly Primary Care Trust Cluster was the top performing area across all five care settings. Of the 50 clusters examined, 26 did not meet the performance target for treating patients with dignity and respect in any of the five care settings. We are reminded of the importance of place - over other factors - in explaining variance in experiences of respectful treatment by government officials across the developing world.

In an examination of the 2011 data, patients in the most deprived areas of England were less likely to be treated with dignity and respect, and less likely to get a choice about where they died. This difference did not emerge in care homes or hospitals. It may be that institutions such as these are better able to build their own independent cultures of care, while services in the community are more affected by the struggles of the surrounding area.

The final important variation in how people were treated was by the disease they were suffering from. Consistently across the years, cancer patients have been treated with significantly greater dignity and respect than patients with cardiovascular or other diseases. This may point to the role of strong societal narratives that position cancer as a particularly prominent disease. Such narratives are important in communicating and transmitting cultures within institutions.

**Implications**

Healthcare is a field that has done a lot of thinking on how to treat people with respect. Policy and programmes in other areas can emulate that. Questions of dignity and respect don’t only occur in developing countries - rich countries and all sorts of bureaucracies wrestle with it too. The improvement among hospital staff in the UK shows that it can be done - but the variations by care setting, place, deprivation and disease show that we must take careful account of the context before making recommendations on how to do better.
Cash Transfers: A More Respectful Way Of Doing Aid

“I do find that cash transfers increase feelings of autonomy and produce more favourable views of the implementing organisation than non-cash interventions. When comparing cash transfers directly to common development programs, the point estimates indicate no difference in impacts and confidence intervals rule out large differences”

- Jeremy Shapiro
What types of aid are more respectful? Giving cash, it turns out, is more respectful than other forms of in-kind aid, because it grants more autonomy to the recipient.

Jeremy Shapiro’s 2019 study, published in World Development, compares the impact of different aid goods, and particularly whether it matters that recipients get to choose what they’ll receive. One of the outcome variables is an early set of questions around dignity and autonomy. Through a randomized controlled trial, low-income Kenyans were randomly selected to receive either a particular development program (agricultural extension, agricultural inputs, poultry transfers) or an amount of cash equal to the cost of the program. Prior to receiving any intervention, researchers elicited respondents’ indifference point between cash and the program in question. Subsequently, participants were randomly assigned to receive a program or a cash transfer equal to its cost.

Jeremy summarises the results as follows: “Regardless of recipients’ valuation of, or preferences for, specific interventions, the study finds that cash transfers increase feelings of autonomy and produce more favourable views of the implementing organisation than non-cash interventions. When comparing cash transfers directly to common development programs, the point estimates indicate no difference in impacts and confidence intervals rule out large differences.

We do find that cash transfers increase feelings of autonomy and respect compared to non-cash interventions. Cash transfer recipients score 0.13 standard deviations (CI = 0.05 to 0.20 standard deviations) on an index of autonomy-related questions. They are more likely to believe they are trusted by the implementing NGO, that the aid they received was tailored to their needs, and that they were treated as an individual. They are less likely to report being treated with contempt by the implementing organisation, that they were persuaded to make a particular choice, but report that they feel less able to ask the NGO for what they need.”

Suggesting questions for this study was the first bit of work by the Dignity Project. It’s also a major finding: in our quest to find ways of being more respectful, one simple one is to switch to cash. It is yet more evidence in favour of making cash the default form of aid.

The findings on cash transfer indicate that aid interventions have welfare implications in addition to the end goals of those programs. Thus, aid organizations and governments should consider a holistic view of recipient welfare, including the perceptions of the recipients of aid to the programs targeted to them.

With: Jeremy Shapiro

Implications

There are practical things we can do right now to make aid more respectful. The first of these is converting more in-kind aid programmes into unconditional cash transfers, which are seen as more respectful by their recipients.
Research shows that good apologies include seven things:

- Identification of a wrongful act
- Statement of apologetic intent
- Promise that the offense will not reoccur
- Emotional expression of remorse, sorrow and embarrassment
- Explanation for why the violation occurred
- Expression of responsibility for the offense and Reparations

On average participants ranked the apology as a 4-5 (‘neutral’ to ‘agree’) on the 7-point Likert scale.
Organizations in international development can at times cause serious harm, even when they do not intend to do so. Genuine apologies should be made when these situations occur, but sincere acknowledgment of mistakes are rare. However, apologies are important because they can be a means to create a dialogue between the offender and the offended, improving relations between the perpetrator and the victimized group by leading to a reduction in victim aggression and the need for more punishment (Lazare, 2006; Wohl et al., 2011). From this, it follows that apologies can also lead to a greater willingness to reconcile and to forgive, confirming the notion that apologies are fundamental in conflict resolution and general social support, as they produce “emotional change” in others (Wohl et al., 2011; Frantz & Bennigson, 2005).

We studied whether an offer of reparations makes an apology more effective, and how we can help organizations in international development issue more respectful apologies. To answer this question, we developed a survey experiment, administered through SurveyMonkey to participants in Colombia. The aim of the experiment was to test if after an unintended but serious harm, an apology that included an offer of concrete reparations (over a control with no reparations, or another treatment group of vague reparations) impacted our measures of interest.

Participants in our study were presented with a vignette detailing an offense that had been committed by an International Aid Organization in their community and were asked to imagine that the scenario was real. Then, participants were asked to answer measurement questions as if the vignette had actually happened. After the vignette, we presented participants with an apology issued by the International Aid Organization and then asked participants a series of questions to determine (1) their assessment of the ‘goodness’ of the apology, (2) how well the apology respected their dignity, (3) the sincerity of apology, (4) the participant’s self-efficacy, and (5) whether they would welcome the organization back to their community to continue their mission.

Our findings found no substantial evidence to conclude that vague and concrete reparations significantly affected participants’ feelings of respectedness, power restoration, apology sincerity, or apology goodness. This indicates that a good apology may include an offer of reparations, but it is not what makes or breaks a good apology. There can be instances in which an apology without reparations is just as effective as one with reparations.

With: Rex Chng, Niyati Patel, Jordan Sessa, and Karla Terroba

Implications

Organizations should always purpose to uphold dignity in their programs to avoid doing harm to the public that they interact with. However, when harm is done, organizations should assess their situation and take the time to understand what the victims really care about before offering reparations in every case. To remedy a harm done by an organization, the Dignity Project suggests interventions such as holding public forums, facilitating interaction outside of giving aid, visiting people who were harmed to understand their needs, hiring community members in positions of leadership, and committing to internal re-designs after transgression.
Attendance Rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1: Name</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2: Name plus Choice</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
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“Small acts of respectfulness – giving choices over time and using names – do not affect participation, altruism, self-efficacy or wellbeing. Being recognised by name or given a choice of what time to attend did not make people significantly more likely than those in the control group to show up. It did not make them significantly more altruistic, bring them higher self-efficacy or higher wellbeing.”
Working with the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics, we conducted a laboratory study into the effects of small acts of respectfulness. This study was inspired by the fact that we don’t know much about the consequences of respectfulness: what happens when you treat people more respectfully? Do small acts of respectfulness generate other positive changes, such as greater participation, altruism, self-efficacy, or wellbeing? Dignity is surely entangled with other concepts, such as empowerment, but we don’t know how just yet or what respectfulness means to people.

Our study design
We invited 2,000 respondents from Kibera to the Busara Lab by text message, a day before the sessions. Participants were randomly put into one of three groups:

Control: they received the default invite message

T1: they received a message recognising them by name

T2: they received a message that included both their name and a choice of attendance time

We sought to answer the following questions: do more people show up? Whether they attended the lab or not was our first outcome measure.

Are they more altruistic?
For the 239 people who attended the lab session, we reinforced their treatment by reminding them of the messages they had received. Then we looked at whether this increased altruism (in a Dictator game).

Are they more empowered?
This was measured via the proxy of self-efficacy.

Are they happier?
This was measured via the proxy of wellbeing.

What we learned
It turned out that small acts of respectfulness – giving choices over time and using names – did not affect participation, altruism, self-efficacy or wellbeing. Being recognised by name or given a choice of what time to attend did not make people significantly more likely to show up than those in the control group (see chart). It did not make them significantly more altruistic, bring them higher self-efficacy or higher wellbeing.

Is respectful development valuable?
In this experiment, small acts of respectfulness do not lead to greater effectiveness or positive results in these domains. We did however find that it is important to solve disrespect because it is associated with negative effects on wellbeing and self efficacy and our participants routinely experience that disrespect. If we are to tackle disrespect, we need to do more than just the small, easy things.

With: Shelmith Kariuki and Jennifer Adhiambo

Implications

Some of the easy things we might do to be more respectful might not make much difference. We have to push for more fundamental change in our ways of working to be truly respectful. Respectfulness is always intertwined with expectations. When people expect to be treated well, higher dose treatments are needed. Although our results indicate that small acts of respectfulness are not enough, respectfulness is important in its own right. We don’t need to see positive effects in other domains for this to be important.
A large majority of surveyed US non-profit staff are committed to discussing dignity. Many are even prepared to put their paychecks on the line to do so. They think their organisations would be willing to commit to at least some actions to be more respectful of those they serve, like listening better. That’s excellent news for the movement towards dignity. Leaders can give their teams permission to challenge dignity by asking them to reflect on how they experience disrespect. Those who detect hypocrisy and who experience disrespectful treatment themselves are especially likely to respond.”
In April 2020, we surveyed 407 members of SurveyMonkey’s panel of US non-profit professionals. 79% were personally committed to raising dignity with their colleagues, as an issue where they could do better. That reinforces our sense that this is a moment for dignity - a time when a longstanding rhetorical commitment can result in real and lasting progress toward respectful treatment for all.

A sector open to real change
Not only are people prepared to take action – many say they are willing to make sacrifices to do so. 52% strongly or somewhat agree that they would take a pay cut to work at an organisation that was more respectful. When asked if they would insist on more respectful treatment, even if it meant their organisation served fewer people, 39% somewhat or strongly agreed (and a plurality, 42%, neither agreed nor disagreed; just 18% strongly or somewhat disagree). Respondents say they are willing to put their paychecks on the line, and prioritise quality over quantity, to ensure that people’s dignity is properly respected.

What are they prepared to do?
The most popular of the suggested interventions are smallish changes to practice. Many involve listening better, through research practices. 64% thought their organisation would ‘very likely’ or ‘somewhat likely’ be willing to commit to always addressing people by name. 60% thought their organisation would ‘very likely’ or ‘somewhat likely’ be willing to hold informal listening conversations with those it serves. 59% offered similar support for incorporating measures of respectfulness into routine monitoring and evaluation, and 55% thought their organisation would very or somewhat likely be willing to commission new research. 54% thought their organisation would offer beneficiaries more choice and autonomy in its processes.

Who drives support for dignity?
The dissenters. Discussion of dignity in charities is pretty common – and most of this audience doesn’t think it is hypocritical. 48% somewhat or strongly agree that dignity is something their organisation talks about often, and 44% think this about their sector. Just 15% somewhat or strongly agree that their organisation doesn’t practice what it preaches, and just 17% feel the sector doesn’t practice what it preaches. Only 21% of US non-profit professionals say they frequently experience disrespectful treatment. Yet, it is those who dissent who are really pushing for change.

Creating a culture of dignity? Invite reflection
We ran a small experiment as part of this study. Participants were told that ‘When we put dignity first in our work, it makes a difference.’ Alongside this, they randomly saw one of several messages that focused on eliciting positive emotions (joy, and satisfaction), and negative emotions (annoyance, and disgust). None of the experimental treatments made people more likely than the control to say that they would be willing to take a paycut. The results of the the experiment suggest that of the tested messages, the highest performing is the one that invites people to reflect on themselves on how disrespect feels.

With: Shelmith Kariuki, Mark Mills and Jo Meredith Hardy

Implications
The charity sector is a sector open to real change, and you can build a culture of dignity through practical tools. But in order to do so we must listen to the right people - especially those who have experienced disrespect themselves. Leaders can give their teams permission to challenge dignity by asking them to reflect on how they experience disrespect. Those who detect hypocrisy and who experience disrespectful treatment themselves are especially likely to respond.
Charity Donations: Fundraising On Respectful Development

Impact of respectfulness treatment on donations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean Donation</th>
<th>Mean Donation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>Some Respectfulness Treatment</td>
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Receiving some respectfulness treatment prompts significantly higher donations (p=0.07)
Respectful development is the right thing to do. But charities should know that there’s also a business case for it. People up their donations when giving to a charity that takes care to be respectful. Respectful development is the right thing to do. But charities should know that there’s also a business case for it. People up their donations when giving to a charity that takes care to be respectful.

In an experimental study through Amazon’s MTurk, we asked 660 people how their donations would change in response to various efforts by a charity to be respectful.

**This is what they said:**
Participants are willing to donate more if the charity mentions investing in efforts to recognise individuality, equality, or autonomy (p=0.07).
Treatment 1 - Individuality drives greater donations compared to control (p=0.02). Participants donate a mean of $31 more when a charity mentions efforts to recognise individuality.

If a charity wants to invest in an initiative to be more respectful, participants are less likely to say a charity should invest in the initiative if it reduces the number of people it serves by 500 (T1) or 250 (T2). However, if the charity goes ahead and does so, they are willing to up their donations in response (p=0.1). There is a sweet spot here: if the costs of the respectfulness initiative mean the charity serves 5% fewer people, they up their donations from $64 to $93. If the initiative means serving 10% fewer people, donations rise from $64 to $82.

In some ways these results support our past research that indicate that when people are treated with dignity they feel valued as human beings and, therefore, are willing to volunteer their time to researchers. Our past works also indicate that when dignity is denied people feel it, and recalling disrespect evokes a distinct emotional profile. Everyone has dignity, and because they have dignity, we have a duty to respect them. This can explain why the public is interested and ready to donate more to organizations they perceive as caring and respectful.

With growing interest in racial and gender equality issues as well as the clamor for more actions to deal with climate change, the findings of this study shed light into how organizations dealing with issues in this sphere can attract more donations to advance their causes.

**Implications**

These results highlight the importance of investing in dignity and making it a core value for organizations, especially those that rely on donations. If you get this right and do build that culture of dignity in your organisation, you can count on wider public support and you can even fundraise on it.
CONCLUSION
Dignity and its relationship to international development should be studied in greater depth. It is an important concept in international development and aid, with a major role to play in debates around economics, displacement, conflict, gender, disability and more. Drawing on the previous literature review, we can identify five main research questions - see the next page.

There is a strong base of research that approaches dignity philosophically, and there is a need only to apply that to international development, as Holloway & Grandi (2018) have done, and as Wein (2020) does. When it comes to measurement, there is some existing work to draw on, but little has been directly applied to international development. A good start has been made on conducting descriptive research among several populations, but the vast majority of the world has not yet been covered. No research has been identified on how to increase support for respectfulness, and there is consequently no base of research to begin to draw on.

**Measuring respect**

In development studies, there have been few attempts at measurement. Yet even among these, there is significant variation in topics covered even when measuring identical interactions in similar contexts. As yet, all the identified measures have been in the form of surveys, and there has been no published attempt to develop incentive compatible measures. The Dignity Project creates open access, ready-translated tools to help people measure whether their program is respectful. We’ll have a new scale, carefully validated across cultures, coming soon.

**Describing the operation of dignity**

There are many opportunities to examine different social situations. When it comes to associational and predictive studies, there are a couple of major existing datasets that should be analysed. These could yield new understandings of what demographic and other features are associated with experiencing respect.

**Increasing perceptions of respectfulness**

When we are ready, there are plenty of ideas available to us, including better feedback and listening, different types of representation, different procedures for consent, and for accountability. We can replicate existing work. We can test strategies based on seeing people, giving them choices and treating them as equals. We’ll be investigating all this and more, as the Dignity Project progresses.

In understanding the relationship of dignity to international development, a profusion of possible studies offer themselves. Scholars of international development, political science and microeconomics have been paying increasing attention to dignity. As that circle of researchers expands, there is plenty of room for many more projects. We hope our work at Dignity Project will help guide them.

**Beyond research**

Beyond that, we need to start building cultures of dignity within organisations. We need to highlight those who are already doing good work, and create practical ways to do it yourself within your organization. Those who care about dignity need to come together to advocate for more respectful international development. Our work continues.

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Please join the Dignity Collective, our new network that commits to uphold and promote dignity around the world. For more details please get in touch. [https://dignityproject.net/about-us/](https://dignityproject.net/about-us/)

The Dignity Project offers consultancy and training to deepen a dignity agenda, and we are happy to speak to your organisation. [https://dignityproject.net/how-we-can-help/](https://dignityproject.net/how-we-can-help/)
1. How is dignity to be defined?

2. How can respectfulness be measured?

3. How does dignity & respect operate?

4. What acts increase perceptions of respectfulness & what are the consequences of that?

5. How does international development regard dignity & what actions will increase support for a dignity agenda?
When I first encountered The Dignity Project, the only thing I had to offer was a deep conviction that dignity mattered. As the quotes in this report demonstrate, I wasn’t first or alone in this: world leaders, philosophers and eminent scholars (and perhaps you) – had elucidated the same conviction with force and clarity. But what did it mean to believe that? What could we do with it, practically speaking?

What emerges in this report not only defines that conviction, but also heightens our shared responsibility to continue the work outlined here. We can do so being confident in four things.

Firstly, dignity matters. It affects people’s sense that their lives are good, shapes their beliefs about the world around them, changes their willingness to help others, and affects their thought processes. While a lot of research remains to be done, it’s unclear that there are many other subjective phenomena that so radically alter our sense of selves and of the world as does experiencing respect or disrespect.

Second, dignity is not someone else’s problem. Every interaction we experience, design, measure, propose or manage asks us to decide whether or not the affirmation of dignity matters to us or not. Just as we learned in the “nudge” era that there is no neutral choice architecture, we may begin to realize that there is no truly neutral dignity architecture. We care enough to design for dignity or we don’t.

Third, dignity can be handled with rigor. If we do care, we have tools we can use. We can measure the extent to which people feel their dignity is respected. We can listen to and analyze stories about experiences of humiliation and respect, capturing the emotions and thoughts associated with those experiences. The more we do this, the more we’ll learn about the way that dignity changes over time, its long-term effects, and its potential to measurably enhance development, psychology, and business.

Finally, dignity may not be easy. The last two decades have given us a blossoming garden of low-cost, highly-scalable tweaks that seem to yield miraculous returns. As the work on apologies discussed here suggests, those who want to work on dignity may till a different kind of field. Further, there may be pushback on the concept of dignity; though some data suggests that people acknowledge that meaningful respect may have costs, there will also be voices questioning its relative worth.

If we accept these as certainties, our convictions about dignity are translated into incredible opportunity. We have a language to share ideas and tools to develop rigorous explorations. We can listen across disciplinary and geographic boundaries, educate our organizations, and track dignity’s progress (or see its vulnerability) as history unfolds. Most importantly, we can find concrete ways to celebrate the immense worth of the people with whom we are lucky enough to share the planet – deliberately, comprehensively and tangibly.

I hope that in whatever area you work, you feel more empowered to do this than you may have before reading this report, and that you will contribute your voice, passions, questions and challenges to the conversation.

With hope and respect,

Cait Lamberton, PhD
Without dignity there is no freedom, without justice there is no dignity & without independence there are no free [people]

Patrice Lumumba

We will learn to live together, co-operate with one another, & recognise the dignity of others, or we will perish.

Barack Obama
References


Written by Tom Wein for The Dignity Project.
The Dignity Project is a campaign for more respectful international development. For more, see dignityproject.net


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Page 10: A young man looks out from behind a tree. Photo by Waqo.

Our Studies: Friends Ibrahim Onyango and Billy Ochieng pose back to back. By Calvin Ochieng.


Page 16: Portrait of Jack Okoth, Alex Neymar. By Calvin Ochieng.

Page 18: Portrait of Lexiona Lucy and Sarafina Cate. By Calvin Ochieng.


Page 24: Two Kenyans exchange money. By Colin Crowley / Creative Commons.

Page 26: Calvin Ochieng, Jacky Njeri, Kayla Achieng.

Page 28: John Okolla at demonstration. By Calvin Ochieng.

Page 30: Stanley Otieno and Peter Njuguna play in the water. By Calvin Ochieng.

Page 32: Portrait of boy. Photo by Esteban Castle from unsplash

Conclusion: Portrait of Antony Stephen. By Calvin Ochieng.

STORIES MATTER.

Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess & to malign, but stories can also be used to empower & to humanize.

Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity.

-Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie