



BENEFICIARY PREFERENCES: 2ND FIELD TEST FINDINGS

26 October 2018

Outline

1. Overview of field test

2. Assessment of individual methods

Small probability training

Method A and B: Individual VSL – Contingent Valuation & Choice Experiment

Method C: Relative Lives

Method D: Community perspective

Method G: Empirical facts

3. Workstream plan

Appendix A: Comparison of results across methods

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Appendix C: Empirical facts – findings summary

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Overview of field test

Field test description

- **2 focus group discussions** focused on exploring the reasons people chose to save lives of different ages, as well as getting in-depth answers to community perspective and empirical facts questions.
- **18 quantitative interviews** focused on capturing individual VSL, including small probability training.
- **18 qualitative interviews** focused on the relative lives, community perspective, and empirical facts approaches.
- **Lower average income, education, and literacy levels** compared to first field test sample.
- Reminder: we dropped Method E (community budget allocation) and Method F (time trade-off) prior to this field test (see 1st field test slide deck).

Results overview

- We were able to address many of our objectives and now have a refined question set across most methods.
- We have better defined a set of criteria that would lead us to recommend using or rejecting each method.

Next steps

Use the final field test to:

1. Test whether we are able to meet these criteria with a larger sample of respondents, directly informing our final recommendations for scale-up.
2. Decide how to interpret and reconcile remaining inconsistencies in respondent responses by:
 - a) Continuing to explore qualitatively how respondents think through our questions, and
 - b) Using Mturk to build a database of responses from a different population that can help us interpret our field test data.

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We have further refined the small probability training module, without compromising understanding

Objective 1: Better test respondent understanding of scale

- We introduced a question to test understanding of scale:
 - *Which road is riskier: 1 in 100 or 2 in 1000?*
 - Only 22% got this question right first time, but an additional 34% got it right within an additional explanation.
 - We added a second question later in the survey to see if respondents truly internalised this understanding; all 4 respondents we asked got it right first time.
- However, we have an insufficient sample to test if respondents pass the external scope test (as a population, pay more for larger risk reductions).

Objective 2: Reduce training time

- We shortened the training module, by reducing the number of explanations, and feel this has not compromised understanding levels.
- The training/test time now takes 10-15 mins (previously 20-25mins).

Objective 3: Find tests that are more sensitive to understanding

- We think that respondents who answered the scale question right (perhaps with one explanation), likely have a good conceptualisation of probabilities.
- The length of time a respondent spends on the training module relative to other respondents seems negatively correlated with understanding.

Understanding of scale remains the biggest barrier to using small probabilities

Criteria	How we'll define success	Current status
Respondents understand small probabilities	>25% of respondents answer all key test questions correctly first time ¹	Across the first two field tests 46% answered key questions correctly first time, and 75% after at most 1 additional explanation.
Respondents conceptualise the scale of probabilities used and apply this understanding to our scenarios	>50% answer the second scale test question correctly the first time. ² Respondents pass the external scope test – we find a (statistically significant) difference between responses at two probability levels.	All 4 respondents asked the second scale question answered correctly. We need more data on this in order to fully assess the scope test.

Recommendations:

1. In the next field test, ensure a sufficient sample to assess the scope test (ideally powered to assess statistically).
2. Re-introduce a single question from the old taking framing to directly compare responses with and without small probabilities, within individuals.

1. This threshold is based on the Bangladesh study; we feel we have sufficient understanding if we reach the same standard.
2. We think that the second test question is more sensitive as we think it is likely that respondents will need at least some explanation to understand this concept. The second question is a better test as to whether they have internalised this information. A study in the UK testing scale understanding achieved 50% with a slightly more complex question.

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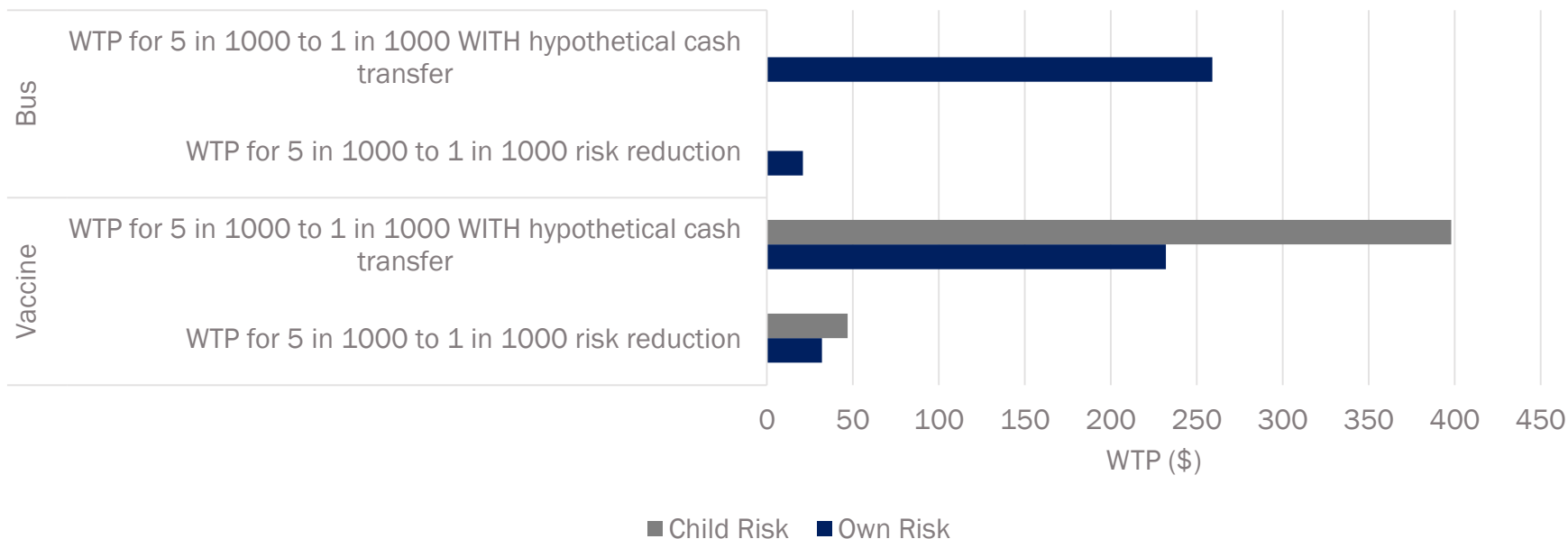
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Method A. We captured the most reliable data for own and child risk using the vaccine WTP framing



- We **prefer WTP over WTA** because most respondents rejected the WTA scenario (they would not give up receiving the vaccine for any amount of money).
- We **prefer the vaccine scenario to the bus scenario** because 1) we were able to successfully capture child VSL using the vaccine framing, and 2) it appears less susceptible to anchoring. It also takes a long time to explain the bus scenario and we have other consistency checks, so we are happy to continue with the vaccine scenario only.

Method A. Offering a cash transfer did elicit higher WTP, but may introduce different biases

There are pros and cons to each potential ‘payment vehicle’ that we could use to collect WTP values:

1. **Initial WTP offer** – we think this is seriously limited by the liquidity constraint.
2. **WTP with a loan** – this may remove the liquidity constraint, but given respondents experience with loans we do not think it does so reliably.
3. **WTP with cash transfer** – we think this effectively removes the liquidity constraint but that respondents may now be anchoring to the value of the cash transfer (we plan to test this by randomising the transfer amount). Additionally, it may have the effect of shifting respondents income, albeit hypothetically, meaning they are no longer representative of the average beneficiary.
4. **WTP in small increments over time** – in the literature respondents are sometimes asked how much they are WTP each month over a long timeframe (e.g. 10 years). We have not trialled this approach as we are concerned respondents will not fully conceptualise the amounts involved and that it may be more cognitively challenging.

With a large enough sample in the final field test we would hope to systematically test some of these assumptions and decide which option produces the most reliable data.

Method A. We recommend using this approach at scale, if it passes the scope test

Criteria	How we'll define success	Current status
Pass both criteria for using small probabilities	[See small probabilities slide]	[See small probabilities slide]
Respondents understand the scenario	>80% ¹ respondents pass the in-built understanding test	97% based on the past two field tests
Respondents accept the hypothetical scenario and are willing to give some value	<20% scenario rejections	7% scenario rejections for own risk, and 15% for child risk, in the past two field tests ²
The effect of anchoring bias and income constraints are limited	Confidence in the values captured when respondents are offered a hypothetical cash transfer	This framing appears to remove a liquidity/income constraint (we see higher values), but we need to find out if respondents are now anchored to the value of the cash transfer

Recommendations

Stick with the refined vaccine WTP scenario and focus on getting sufficient sample so that we can:

1. Determine if we can pass the scope test.
2. Systematically test the potential payment vehicles.

1. For the in-built understanding test throughout we have used a threshold of 80% as losing >20% of the sample because they do not understand would have implications for sample size.

2. This is using the WTP framing, scenario rejection was close to 100% using the WTA framing.

Method B. Electing respondents' switching point is the key challenge of the choice experiment approach to VSL

Objective 1:
Are we able to find respondent switching point between increasing risk and increasing income?

- The median switching point was a **monthly income of \$100** to accept a **annual risk increase of 1 in 1000**.
- The implied VSL of this value is very high, but we think that results may be biased upwards because of the mismatch between monthly income and annual risk in the wording of the question we used – this may lead respondents to not fully conceptualize the total amount of money.
 - We plan to fix this mismatch in the next field test.
- We were able to find the switching point for 42% of respondents.
 - We plan to pair this method with the community perspective in the next field test to better understand the 'non-switchers'.

Objective 2:
Are we able to capture child VSL?

- It was more challenging to use this approach to capture child VSL than the vaccine WTP framing, and we were only able to find the switching point for 2/15 respondents.
 - We plan to continue to capture child VSL via Method A (WTP for vaccine) and the ratios/rankings with Method C (relative lives).

Method B. We aim to increase the number of switchers, and to better understand non-switchers' motives

Criteria	How we'll define success	Current status
Pass both criteria for using small probabilities	[See small probabilities slide]	[See small probabilities slide]
Respondents understand the scenario	>80% respondents pass the in-built scenario test	97% based on the past two field tests (same as CVM)
Respondents accept the hypothetical scenario and are willing to make a decision	<20% scenario rejections	2% scenario rejections in the past two field tests
We see a difference in responses and are able to identify an individual's switching point	We find that <100% make the same choice, and that a reasonable proportion switch their preference when we increase/decrease the income level	Respondents do give different responses but we have a core group of 'non-switchers' who are not willing to trade increased risk for any amount of income

Recommendations

1. Adjust framing to make trade-off between income and risk simpler.
2. Move to the same questionnaire as the community perspective framings to better characterise 'non-switchers'
3. Test switching framework using low stakes choices (e.g. 5 chickens vs 1 goat) to determine if the switching concept itself is a barrier for some respondents

We plan to reintroduce the Taking Framing to provide more context to our VSL results

- We think that:
 - There are a number of reasons why 'Taking Framing' responses would be biased down.
 - We would prefer to use small probabilities if understanding is sufficient and we pass the scope test.
- However, given that:
 - There are still challenges using small probabilities.
 - The taking framing can be included as a single question, so is low cost to add.
- We recommend reintroducing the taking framing in the final field test with the objective of:
 1. Using it as a lower bound on reasonable values.
 2. Directly comparing results to VSL responses.
 3. Collecting qualitative information on how respondents think through the two different question formats, which may help us interpret results.
 4. As with individual VSL, systematically testing which is the best payment vehicle to capture responses.

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Method C. We have identified a set of reasons behind respondents' relative lives choices

- We have identified 4 broad categories and a list of specific reasons, that can now be captured quantitatively.
- This list allows us to collect data on the rationale for responses for each age group – we have provided a summary of the findings from this field test in Appendix A.

Category	Specific reason
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• They are very productive in the economy• They provide for the households (they have dependants)• They will provide for the household in the future (distant)• They are almost starting work to provide for the family• Money has been spent on them and an investment would be lost• They contribute to household responsibilities (non-monetary)
Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• They are decision makers, they offer advice, or they resolve conflicts• They could become future leaders
Biological	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• To ensure continuity of their lineage
Moral	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• They are weak and vulnerable and deserve to be nurtured• Fairness (they deserve to live as they have lived for less time)

- We believe that these reasons demonstrate that respondents are clearly thinking through the trade-off but we are thinking through the rationality of some reasons.
- **Questions for GiveWell:** Is data on these reasons useful for GiveWell? Are there any reasons on this list that GiveWell would consider irrational?

Method C. We are confident that we can reliably collect rankings and ratios with this approach

Criteria	How we'll define success	Current status
Respondents understand the choices	>80% pass the in built understanding test	95% have passed this test across the first and second field test
Respondents weigh-up the decision and give rational responses	>80% of respondents provide a coherent rationale (ideally matching our reasons list - see previous slide)	List of reasons show that people are thinking through their responses

Having determined the design of this method, we are now focusing on which values to use (which age groups, the numbers of lives saved in each scenario etc.) and the sample size requirements to reliably find the rankings and ratios of lives of different ages.

Recommendations

We are considering two options for this method in the next field test:

Option 1: Collect some actual data with this method in the next field test and/or use an SMS survey to build a Kenyan reference database.

Option 2: Not include this method in the next field test, and instead focus on determining the best approach to capture absolute values (methods A, B and D).

The choice of option depends on whether data from this method is useful to GiveWell in the short term.

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Method D. We focused our attention on two potential community perspective framings

Approach

We tested two versions of the community perspective method (previous giving framing)¹:

1. The choice experiment, where the respondent chooses between two programs that both save lives and make cash transfers at different levels.
2. A new version, which is in between the current choice experiment and the previous giving framing. Respondents are given a choice between two programs: a) treats all of the children in the village and saves one life for a cost of \$20k, b) gives 20 \$1k cash transfers to the poorest households.

Objective 1: Can we identify respondent switching points?

There is a core group of respondents (60% for framing one, 50% for framing two) for whom we are unable to find their switching point – no matter how much we increase the number of lives saved. This could mean that:

- Respondent's true preferences are extreme (we think this is unlikely because we know that in practice respondents do not do everything physically possible to reduce their risk).
- The method fails to capture underlying preferences for these respondents (this could be due to social desirability bias, understanding, emotional reactions).

Objective 2: Can we better test if respondents are consistent?

We are able to easily identify inconsistencies in respondent's thinking by comparing responses across these two framings - 26% contradicted themselves. This could mean that:

- Respondents are not fully weighing-up their decisions
- One of the framings (or both) leads respondents to give particular answers

1. We also conducted the budget allocation exercise in focus groups only; we added a unit price to the outcomes which may have made the quantitative data more useful, but this concept was not well understood.

Method D. We will explore the switching issue (like Method B) and reducing inconsistent responses

Criteria	How we'll define success	Current status
Respondents understand the scenarios	>80% of respondents pass in built understanding test	97% across first two field tests ¹
Respondents weigh-up decision and give rational responses	Subjective – based on respondent justifications	Depends whether we consider the non-switchers 'rational'
We find a difference in respondent responses	We find that <100% of respondents make the same choice	True of all framings
We are able to find respondent switching points	Some respondents change their decision when we increase or decrease the levels of life/cash distributed in the choice	Across framings we have found the switching point for 50-60% of respondents
We capture consistent preferences	A reasonable proportion demonstrate consistency of preferences across 2 similar framings	27% gave clearly inconsistent answers in the last field test

Recommendation:

- 1: Use MTurk and IDinsight staff members to build up a reference dataset – including to benchmark responses to these questions to explore if non-switching and inconsistent responses are driven by the questions or to the respondent sample.
2. Continue to use multiple framings as a consistency check.

1. We think this is a slight overestimate as enumerators were not reliably recording the respondents first response at the beginning of the first field test, but we expect the true value is well above 80%.

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Method G. Collecting data on empirical facts is feasible but is time consuming and faces data reliability issues

- We were able to collect data across 6 areas that relate to the value of household members of different ages¹:
 1. Contributions to household income and costs
 2. Contributions to household responsibilities
 3. The impact of the death of different household members
 4. Expected future earnings of children in the household
 5. Willingness-to-pay to support the sick, elderly, and children
 6. Contributions to the community
- However data collection, particularly across the first two categories was very time consuming (~45 mins), and we have concerns about the reliability of the data.
 - E.g. for several households there was a mismatch between their income and outgoing costs, and we feel that recall prohibited this data from being fully exhaustive.
- The findings for each area are in Appendix C

Recommendations:

1. Prioritise a few key pieces of information (either from this list or based on GiveWell input) that it would be most useful to collect and/or collect this information more exhaustively but with a smaller sample.
2. Conduct a more thorough search of existing datasets that might address this objective.

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We recommend completing the final field test and surveying a high income sample in parallel

Final field test

~7th-16th November, 4 enumerators, Kwale region

Questionnaire 1

- Small probability training and CVM VSL (WTP for vaccine)
- Taking framing
- Relative Lives
120-140 surveys

Objective:

1. Find out if we can pass the scope test
2. Collect actual RL and VSL data¹

Questionnaire 2

- CE VSL (village choice)
- Community perspective framings
- +/- Empirical Facts
40-50 surveys

Objective:

1. Better understand inconsistent and irrational responses
2. Refine empirical facts section

IDinsight internal/MTurk survey²

We plan to :

1. Adapt the survey to be completed on a computer
2. Trial running this survey internally with IDinsight staff members
3. Use MTurk to build a dataset of comparable responses from a high income country sample

Objective:

1. Build a reference dataset to help us better understand how to interpret beneficiary responses

1. Note that the sample size for both these would be limited. The aim would be to start to build up a database of beneficiary responses in this setting that could then be compared to responses captured during scale up.

2. We also explored the feasibility of an SMS survey within Kenya, see Appendix D.

Findings from the field test will inform our recommendations for scale-up

Method A.
Individual VSL
– CVM (WTP
for vaccine)



Objective:
Test whether
sample passes
the scope test

If we pass... We recommend using small probability methods

If we fail... EITHER we recommend not using any approach that relies on small probabilities, OR we recommend using probabilities that are most relevant to GiveWell top charities and consider how to incorporate findings into the CEA model.

Method B.
Individual VSL
– CE (villages)



Objective:
Better
understand
switching and
minimize
inconsistent
responses

These methods have potential, and we expect to make progress on this objective in the next field test.

Outcomes of the field test will inform our recommendations for the interpretation of non-switchers and what appear to be inconsistent responses.

Method D.
Community
Perspective
(both framings)



Objective:
Better
understand
switching and
minimize
inconsistent
responses

Method C.
Relative Lives



Objective:
[Dependent on
GiveWell input]

We are confident enough in this method to recommend using it a scale. We could use the next field test to start to collect data using this method.

Method G.
Empirical facts



Objective:
[Dependent on
GiveWell input]

Potential for testing questions under this method, based on advice from GiveWell on what information would be useful.

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Appendix A: We have made progress, but believe we can further reconcile results across framings

Approach to capture implied monetary value of a child under 5	Median value	Main challenges
Moral weights in current GiveWell model	\$14,300	n/a
First pilot – taking framing	\$3,757	Overcoming liquidity constraint – likely biases results down
First pilot – giving framing	\$10mil	Directness of the framing - likely biases results up
VSL 1 – own child’s risk, WTP vaccine framing	\$99,500	Deciding on a payment vehicle, reducing anchoring
VSL 2 – own child’s risk, WTA vaccine framing	>\$1mil	Scenario rejection
VSL 3 – two villages choice experiment	\$1.2mil	Lack of clarity of trade-off (monthly income vs annual risk), 58% not switching
Community perspective 1 – choice between two programs saving lives and giving cash	\$4,000	Lack of clarity of trade-off, 60% not switching
Community perspective 2 – choice between one life and a number of cash transfers	\$40,000	Directness of framing, 50% not switching
Community perspective 3 – budget allocation across outcomes	n/a – unit prices were not sufficiently well understood so we are unable to estimate a value from this data	

Note that most values are based on the most recent field test only and therefore a very small sample size (n<15); we do not recommend taking the values literally.

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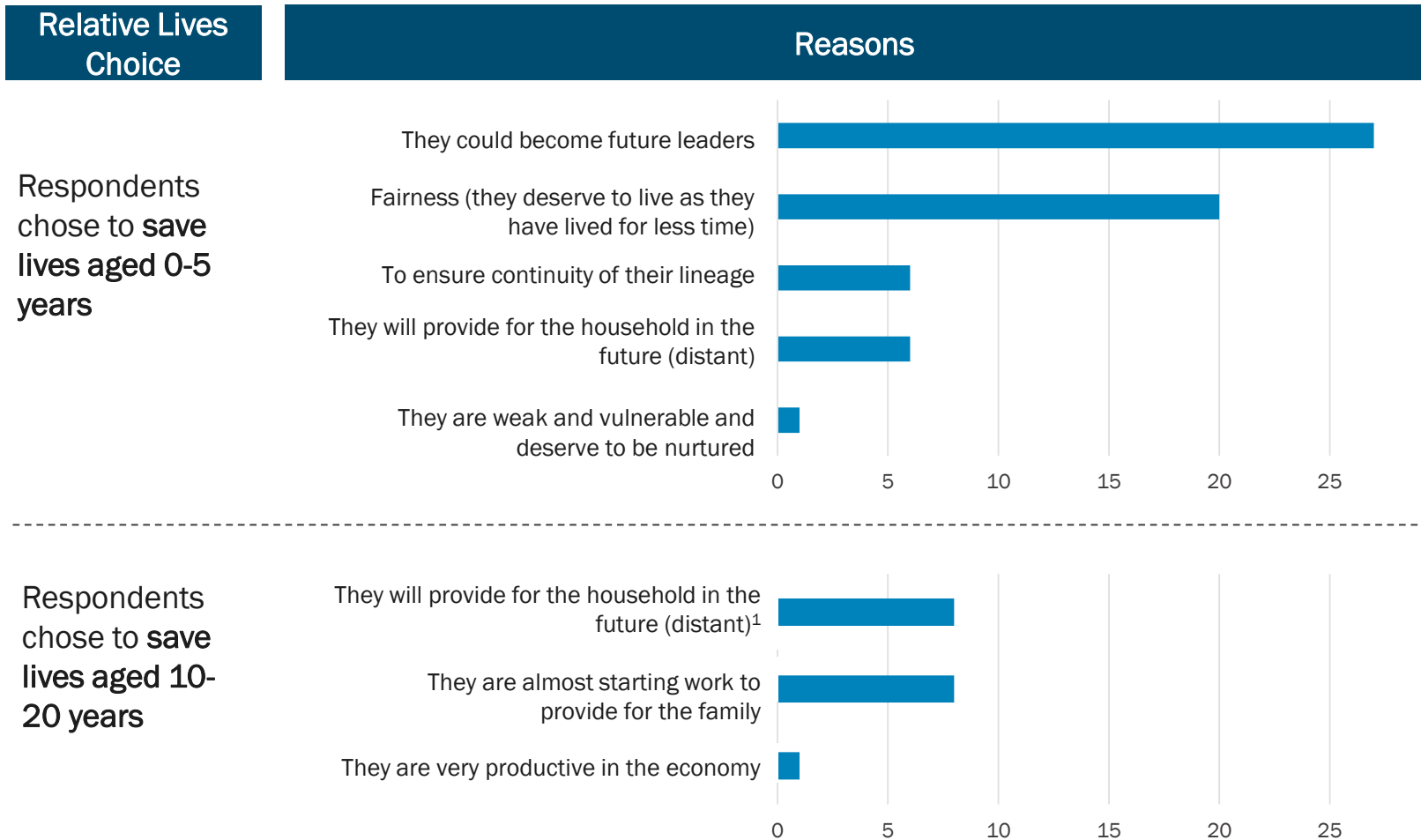
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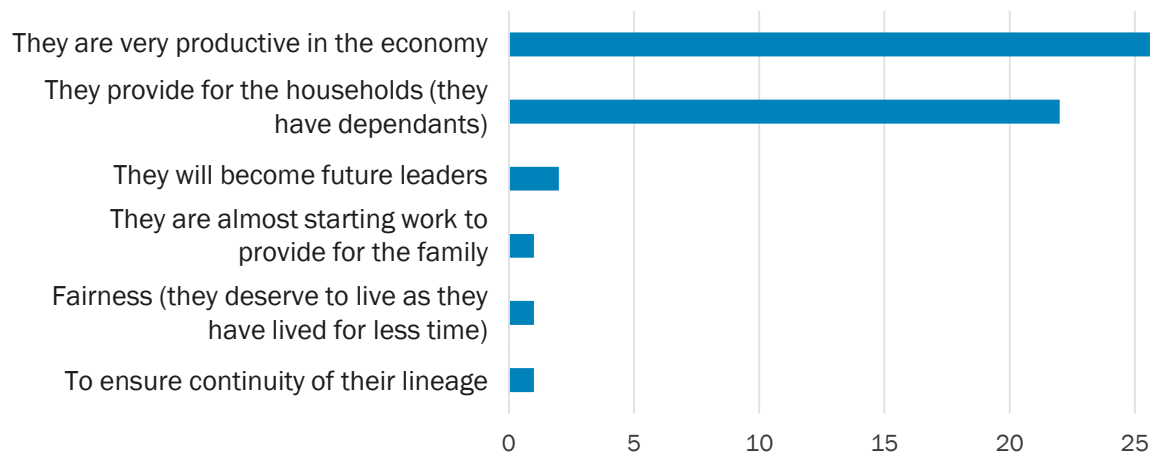
Appendix B: Relative Lives – summary of respondent justifications (1/2)



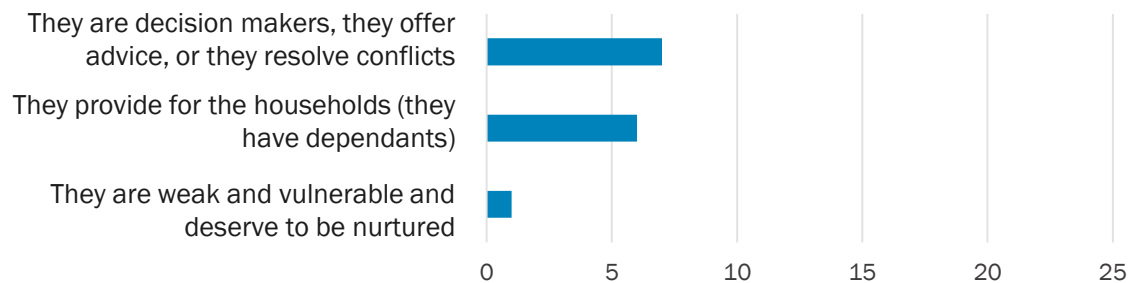
Appendix B: Relative Lives – summary of respondent justifications (2/2)

Relative Lives Choice	Reasons
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Respondents chose to **save lives aged 20-40 years**



Respondents chose to **save lives aged 40-60 years**



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Appendix C: Empirical Facts summary of findings (1/2)

Section	Findings		
Income Contribution	<p>Income contribution by age group</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 20s : 2,000 KSh • 30s: 2,000-10,000 KSh • 40s : 1,000-2,000 KSh • 70s : <1,000 KSh 	<p>Education costs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On average 135,600 KSh. All respondents agree on this calculation • There is no standard fee for public primary schools 	
Household (HH) responsibilities	<p>HH Activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Most important</i> : Cooking & child care • <i>Least important</i>: Cleaning, firewood fetching, gardening 	<p>HH roles / responsibilities (by age):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 years: pick/collect something • 13 years: Cooking, fetching water/wood, cleaning, childcare • 25 years: House leader, cooking, casual work, gardening, childcare, cleaning the compound • 45 years: Casual work, giving advice, making decisions • 65 years: Giving advice, making decisions, cleaning 	<p>WTP for various HH tasks¹:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3,000 – 5,000 KSh for child care • 50 KSh for cooking, per meal • 100 KSh for a day of cooking
Household member death	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If a 0-5 years old dies: Family would plan to have another child in the short term • If a 10-20 years old dies: A smaller proportion said they would conceive again, and others mentioned that they would concentrate resources on remaining children². • If a 20-40 years old dies: This was reported as the death with the largest impact, affecting younger and older members of household alike (e.g., children may drop out of school, or health may deteriorate, and elderly are fully dependent on this group). Also, some mentioned that as husbands would remarry, the state of the house would deteriorate. 		

1. WTP reported by respondents correspond to common wage or market rates applied in surrounding areas; 2. Respondents show awareness of the difficulties of losing the investment already made in the child education.

Appendix C: Empirical Facts summary of findings (2/2)

Section	Findings
Expected earnings	<p>Expected earning from children:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Low expectations:</i> Some respondents reported low values of earning for their children. (e.g., 1,000-3,000 KSh per month)• <i>High expectations:</i> For those that expected their children to obtain a university degree, the expected them to earn more (e.g., 35,000 - 40,000 KSh per month), and to contribute more (e.g., revamp house, or provide a proportion of the salary to the household)• <i>Expected age for contribution:</i> Most respondents referred to a range between 20-26 years old
Support to household member	<p>Willingness to pay to support another HH member¹:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Elderly or sick member: 5,000 – 7,000 KSh• Children: 3,000 KSh• Respondents quoted the local market rate for housework in their responses
Household to community contribution	<p>Contribution of HH members to broader community:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Wife:</i> provide support at funerals/weddings(cooking, cleaning, and collecting firewood), and on general care (e.g., look after sick neighbors)• <i>Husband:</i> provide support at funerals/wedding (e.g., might construct a road), support to the larger community (e.g., building houses, representing villages in water committees), or specific tasks (e.g., ploughing for a neighbor)

1. According to respondents, taking care of an adult requires much more effort, therefore the WTP is higher.

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Appendix D: We considering further iterative testing via SMS or MTurk

SMS

We do not recommend moving forward with an SMS survey at this stage

Advantages

- There are a number of organisations which support cheap SMS surveys and have a database of respondents across Kenya.
- Would allow us to rapidly build a dataset of responses for our simpler methods (such as relative lives).

Disadvantages

- Only allows 160 characters per question, limiting which questions we are able to use.
- Would be difficult to interpret inconsistent responses; it's challenging to find switching points in person and we think it's likely to be more confusing via SMS.

MTurk

We recommend moving forward with MTurk once we have trialled adaptations with IDinsighters

- Quick way to build a database of US responses.
- Can build in tests to ensure respondents properly think through trade-offs (and can give us a sense of how well these tests work)
- Can capture more information than via SMS.

- Risk of automatic or unthoughtful responses.
- Lots of reasons that responses may be different from those given by Kenyan respondents – it may be difficult to distinguish between reasonable differences and issues with our questions.