

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WASHINGTON, D. C. 20523 <b>BIBLIOGRAPHIC INPUT SHEET</b>		FOR AID USE ONLY ARDA <b>BATCH 84</b>
1. SUBJECT CLASSIFICATION	A. PRIMARY Social sciences	SB00-0000-0000
	B. SECONDARY Anthropology	
2. TITLE AND SUBTITLE The role of anthropology in the Agency for International Development, workshop report		
3. AUTHOR(S) (100) McPherson, Laura; (101) Workshop on the Role of Anthropology in the Agency for International Development; Inst. for Development Anthropology, Washington, D.C.		
4. DOCUMENT DATE 1978	5. NUMBER OF PAGES 93p.	6. ARC NUMBER ARC
7. REFERENCE ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS  AID/PPC		
8. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES (Sponsoring Organization, Publishers, Availability)		
9. ABSTRACT This report summarizes a one-day workshop on "The Role of Anthropology in A.I.D.", held in Washington, D.C., on May 27, 1977. Three major points emerged, all relating to Social Soundness Analysis (SSA): SSA should be integrated into all stages of development of a project, since a major weakness of past efforts was that SSA was introduced too late to be effective; SSA should be incorporated into the Development Assistance Program document assessing development prospects for a country, region, and/or sector; and more full-time persons capable of making SSA's must be employed by A.I.D. at all levels. Papers presented include: Office of Rural Development; An Aid to Mission Social Science Analysis; Social Analysts and Analysis in the Near East Bureau; Social Analysis in the Asia Bureau: Some Issues and Comments; and State of Social Science Analysis in the Latin America Bureau. In the past, many people responsible for shaping development assistance assumed that low income non-western peoples' productive practices are governed by tradition and that their economic behavior is non-rational or significantly less rational than that of "modern man". They believed that traditional societies are static and that development required the destruction of constraining traditional institutions. Today development practitioners recognize that traditional production systems are usually well adjusted to local conditions and their fluctuations and that traditional producers make conscious and recurrent decisions about the use of productive assets, the organization of labor, marketing, savings and investment. In short, existing institutions persist because they meet real needs, and new organizational forms will be accepted only if they meet these needs more effectively. Essential information about the social environment and its relevance for development can be obtained through social analysis by trained experienced social scientists.		
10. CONTROL NUMBER <b>PN-AAF-575</b>	11. PRICE OF DOCUMENT	
12. DESCRIPTORS AID Analysis Meetings Social Sciences	13. PROJECT NUMBER	
	14. CONTRACT NUMBER AID/PPC	
	15. TYPE OF DOCUMENT	



AID/PPC  
PN-AAF-575



**WORKSHOP REPORT**

**THE ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

edited by  
**Laura McPherson**

**INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGY, INC.**

P.O. Box 45, Westview Station • Binghamton, New York 13905, U.S.A. • Telephone 607/798-2643



The INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGY, Inc. was organized in June 1976 under the not-for-profit laws of the State of New York:

To apply the skills of anthropology and related disciplines to improve the planning, implementation, and evaluation of development projects (both domestic and foreign) so that the assisted peoples are able to participate more effectively in the development process and to benefit thereby more directly.

To provide linkages between development social scientists and institutions in the United States and programs of social and economic development as defined by governments and donor agencies.

To promote and undertake research at both the project-identification and project-implementation level, in the general areas of social soundness and impact analysis. Research actions are designed to identify ways to increase the involvement of the local people in the conceptualization, planning, implementation, management, and assessment of problems and development actions. The research efforts identify and analyze local strengths and capacities upon which developmental actions can effectively be based.

To develop techniques of research and training, both in the United States and in the developing countries, and to support the capacities of these countries to undertake their own development social science research. The Institute advises universities on curricula in development anthropology, and will seek to provide financial support for student training.

To promote bibliographical studies and to disseminate information relating to development anthropological research and training, in the form of workshops, seminars, colloquia, and publications.

To provide related anthropological assistance to universities, donor agencies, governments, and development contractors.

#### Board of Directors

David W. Brokensha, Ph.D. (Oxford), Secretary  
Professor of Anthropology  
University of California-Santa Barbara

Michael M Horowitz, Ph.D. (Columbia), President  
Professor of Anthropology  
State University of New York at Binghamton

Thayer Scudder, Ph.D. (Harvard), Vice President  
Professor of Anthropology  
California Institute of Technology

WORKSHOP REPORT

THE ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

*Edited by*

Laura McPherson

INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGY, INC.

BINGHAMTON, NEW YORK

January 1978

Report written pursuant to  
Contract No. AID/otr-147-77-64  
Agency for International Development

THE ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

May 27, 1977

A Workshop

Report of the Workshop	1
I. Introduction	1
II. Anthropology and AID	2
III. Content and Timing of Anthropological Inputs	3
IV. Personnel Considerations	13
V. Use of Individual and Institutional Host Country Social Science Capabilities	22
VI. Summary	25
Appendix A - Papers Prepared for the Workshop by AID Bureaus	26
1. Office of Rural Development: An Aid to Mission Social Science Analysis	27
2. Social Analysts and Analysis in the Near East Bureau	33
3. Social Analysis in the Asia Bureau: Some Issues and Comments	58
4. State of Social Science Analysis in the Latin America Bureau	68
Appendix B - Workshop Participants	75
Appendix C - Airgram on "Social Analysis Conference"	78

## I. INTRODUCTION

This is a report of a one-day workshop held in Washington, D.C., on May 27, 1977, on "The Role of Anthropology in A.I.D.". The workshop was arranged and conducted by the Institute for Development Anthropology, Inc., under contract from PPC/AID. The report summarizes the workshop discussions, and does not necessarily represent the views of the Institute for Development Anthropology or its directors.

Three major points emerged from the workshop, all relating to Social Soundness Analysis (S.S.A.).

1) SSA should be integrated into all stages of development, beginning with the initial surveys and continuing through project identification, design, implementation and evaluation. A major weakness of past efforts has been that SSA has been introduced at too late a stage to be effective.

2) Going a step further, SSA should be incorporated into the Development Assistance Program, or the comparable document that assesses development prospects for a country, region, and/or sector. Further analysis will need to be made for each specific project, but this would be much facilitated by the availability of a basic report.

3) In order to achieve these aims, the Agency must employ more full-time persons capable of making SSA's; these people should be distributed at all levels (especially at senior levels) both in Washington and in the field. While short-term consultants may—if carefully selected and properly supervised—make useful supplementary contributions to SSA's, they can seldom work effectively alone. They need the support and cooperation of both full-time Agency analysts and host country counterparts at various levels.

## II. ANTHROPOLOGY AND AID

Anthropology and AID have had a long-standing, well-documented and often uneasy relationship that can be traced back 25 years. The Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) of 1961 as amended (1973, 1975) gave a new impetus to the need for social analysis in the design and implementation of AID projects when it called for increased emphasis on projects submitted by host governments that "directly improve the lives of the poorest of their people and their capacity to participate in the development of their countries," projects that will provide "opportunities for the poor to better their lives through their own efforts."

One result of this mandate has been the requirement that the Social Soundness Analysis (SSA) be included in all proposed AID projects. Doubts among AID personnel about the soundness of social analysis have renewed interest in dealing with the old, vexing question: "What is the appropriate role of anthropologists and other development-oriented social scientists in the AID program?" This workshop explores some of the more significant aspects of that question in the hope that the proper role of the anthropologist will be clarified.

### III. CONTENT AND TIMING OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL INPUTS

The anthropological perspective can be viewed as both an input to and an output from the current labor-intensive, participatory development policy—known as the "New Directions"—that emerged in response to the FAA as amended in 1973 and 1975. Anthropology has a contribution to make to the AID programming process at three basic levels: a) policy formulation and assisting with Development Assistance Programs for each country or region; b) specific project analyses and reviews; and c) ex post facto evaluation of projects and programs. (See the paper "Social Analysis in the Asia Bureau," in Appendix A of this report.) Particularly since 1975, the second level—specific project analyses and review—has become institutionalized in the "Social Soundness Analysis" (SSA) required as part of the project authorization cycle. Although such analytical levels and formalized outlines may be useful for the purposes of discussion, *the need exists for the anthropological perspective to be fully integrated throughout the AID policy and programming structures.* Organizational changes that would have to be made to accomplish this integration would require that special attention be paid to both content and timing of anthropological inputs.

A. Content. Most workshop participants stressed that it was at the first level—that of policy formulation—where the role of the social sciences has been the most neglected in AID. Even the extremely socially sensitive amendments to the Foreign Assistance Acts, particularly those of 1973 and 1975, did not lead to the employment of social scientists in top-level AID positions from which they could influence policy. Although much progress has been made by the Agency in use of anthropologists at the other levels and for other tasks, *if these more immediate levels are to become effectively used in the Agency structure, senior-level social scientists must be placed in positions from which they*

*can both support and generate substantive and methodological studies which can then become the basis for policy.*

At the second level--specific project analyses--the current required Social Soundness Analysis is too often perceived as a non-essential component of the project design, a superfluous section tacked on to fulfill Handbook guidelines. (For the format of an SSA, see AID Handbook 3, "Project Assistance," Appendix 5A.)

Examples of poorly conceived and poorly used SSA's were cited. Several consultants said that they had been asked to perform analyses after projects had been approved in principle. Others noted cases in which anthropologists had been encouraged to write positive reviews, despite evidence that the projects were not entirely successful. Some mission personnel fear that the SSA, when properly executed, might show that no outside intervention could be entirely free of undesirable consequences.

On the positive side, several people told of experiences in which good SSA's had improved project design and/or revision. One example was a feasibility study, at first viewed by some Mission personnel as particularly condemning, which later led to several sound project alternatives that had not previously been considered. A geographic bureau paper emphasized how the only projects in that bureau which clearly responded to the "New Directions" were those in which social scientists had been involved from the beginning, and in which the SSA was clearly the focal point of all other analyses. *Workshop participants saw a clear correlation between successful projects in which the SSA was written prior to or in conjunction with other project analyses, and not after-the-fact.* Some participants thought that the SSA, possibly with some revision, should become the operational focus of specific project design.

In a discussion of possible changes to be made by the new administration,

workshop members observed that the current SSA format was only a "first cut" attempt at fulfilling the Congressional mandate and designing more socially sensitive projects, and that if the SSA does not come to be more generally accepted, perhaps other methods of insuring socially sensitive projects should be investigated. However, the SSA would not be viewed so critically if anthropological contributions were more fully integrated into other levels of the AID process (i.e., policy formulation and DAP's, and ex post facto evaluations). Looking at the goal of "socially sensitive projects" overall, one outside consultant suggested four kinds of contributions that anthropological expertise could make to a modified decision-making process that is likely to improve AID performance:

- a) It can assist in making objectives commensurate with the "New Directions" more explicit. Senior-level social scientists, working with decision-makers in policy formulation, can insure that guidelines spell out areas on which to focus country programs, sector assistance, and specific project intervention. At present too many projects are unable to do better than to state their specific project goals in such vague terms as "to improve the quality of life of the rural poor."
- b) It can broaden the range of alternatives considered both at the macro-strategy stage and later in the "fine-tuning" (project design and implementation) stage. This area is especially relevant to the Mission Director, who must often choose between alternative project proposals in pursuit of overall sector goals. Mission Directors who support the use of social scientists at this level often get more effective and more feasible projects underway.
- c) It can improve the chances that statements of the expected conse-

quences of the proposed intervention will be more specific and more accurate. To acquire skill in this activity may be difficult for some social scientists oriented to academic research and publication. It requires going outside the comfortable territory of structural analysis and hard evidence, and venturing into forecast and conjecture in an uncertain environment. There are rarely enough data to establish narrow confidence limits. Nevertheless, what AID and the host country need is the informed and carefully constructed opinion of people with knowledge of specific conditions, relevant experience from elsewhere, and good judgment. This informed opinion must go beyond window dressing, rationalization, and advocacy (as in misused SSA's) to include the potentially serious side effects, risks, and negative consequences of the proposed intervention, and should suggest contingency plans for coping with them.

- d) It calls attention to the limitations in the information and analysis available for planning the intervention. This appraisal of information availability is the basis for decisions about building-in data collection, monitoring, and evaluation systems, and other feedback devices for more effective planning.

Many participants thought social scientists have a significant role to play in ex post facto evaluations of projects and programs even though the activity itself may be troublesome. Several in-house people noted that a major problem with the use of social scientists in these types of evaluations is that, being brought in late on projects which have not been significantly influenced by social science perspectives, they often are inclined to write negative reports that cast them in an adversary role in relation to project personnel.

While some projects may be too socially unsound to help, anthropologists

usually strive to offer not merely negative reports finding fault with implementation, but a broader evaluation which suggests alternative strategies and solutions to problems, suggestions which will appear feasible to the programmer.

Other participants argued that ex post facto evaluations should not be viewed as an opportunity for a major anthropological input, pointing out that such evaluations, written after-the-fact, may never get fed back into the system to support any constructive changes. This view was merely another impression of the workshop's consensus position, that the contribution anthropology can make to the implementation of socially sensitive projects consistent with the New Directions is not to be looked for in the form of the discrete, self-contained report, aloof from the practical difficulties of Agency work; rather, we must seek to put anthropologists in positions in which they can speak, be heard, and be talked back to, positions in which they can participate in the risks of policy-making, take pleasure in seeing socially sound policies work out in practice, and suffer their share of the blame when projects are ineffective.

B. Timing. Although the social soundness analysis provides a format for an anthropological contribution to the AID project design process, provisions for a systematic review of SSA's in the project review process appear to be lacking. This lack is due in part to the shortage of mid-level and senior-level Agency social scientists, a point which will be further discussed in the next section of this report. It is due also, however, to the lack of rigid criteria for evaluating the SSA. In other words, even if a country or region submits a hundred projects with good SSA's, there may be no one to review them within a theoretical framework nor is there any base-line or year-zero information against which to measure their worth. Good SSA's within the Agency files are not used to their best advantage; they have their use attached to their respective projects, but they are rarely integrated into the larger system or

disseminated as examples of specific area or topical interests. They are not often used as a basis for future programming, nor are they updated or revised. Their potential for use in generating improved policy guidelines is seldom realized.

If the number of mid- and senior-level social scientists with central roles in policy and decision-making processes could be increased, then the use of social science skills earlier in the development process might be possible and more socially sensitive interventions would result. In terms of current AID procedures, anthropologists should collaborate in the writing of the Development Assistance Programs, and overall sector analyses that are developed for each country or region. With proper social science inputs, the DAP's would then contain the necessary sociological information on which to base sound operational policy prescriptions. The DAP's and sector analyses should include on-going research with built-in feedback mechanisms to fill gaps and strengthen the overall country program. Conscientious project designers have sometimes found it necessary to write eighty-page Project Identification Documents (the current first level of a specific project proposal) in order to compensate for gaps in existing DAP's. Socially sound and complete DAP's could increase the use of pilot projects, encourage more research on actual indicators of change before substantial funds are committed and generally promote more innovative and useful programs.

*In short, the social scientist who fully participates in the writing of the DAP can use data and survey techniques to define effectively the scope and conduct of a country/region program that is more consistent with the New Directions. With the DAP thus providing a socially sound framework for country programming, the social component of specific project analyses could be more efficiently presented, could be more problem-oriented instead of general in*

approach, and could be better integrated into other aspects of project design. Anthropologists would no longer be required to spend many hours writing basic descriptions of local organizations, for example, but could focus on developing and testing (or designing research to test) specific questions and alternative solutions that would further the probability of project success. Social analysis at the DAP level (or at the "rural sector assessment") would become the integrating factor in the country development program.

C. Ex Post Facto Evaluations. Discussion of the view that the DAP itself should provide basic information, research priorities, and information on data gaps led to a discussion of the expanded and more timely use of social scientists in ex post facto evaluations of programs and projects. Anthropologists could offer more constructive and positive recommendations if they worked on either of the following two potential evaluation systems.

- a) ex post facto evaluations of specific projects, with concomitant feedback of recommendations to the decision-making unit. This approach was suggested in relation to a new trend in programming mentioned by a senior officer. He observed that, primarily as a result of the "New Directions," there is an increased use of project phasing. In project phasing a Phase I project is viewed as "a project in search of a project," with built-in research to test various alternatives and to provide base-line data. The anthropologist could then be used in the evaluation of a Phase I project early on to assist in the design of the future phases, not to criticize or to inhibit project implementation. The officer noted that as the Agency moves further in the implementation of the mandate and gains confidence in the concept of starting on a small scale there should be increased use of these phased projects.

b) , research and evaluation of case histories of various projects in which social scientists have been involved in decision-making and implementation. This would be useful in conjunction with comparative topical studies (e.g., river basin development or cooperative formation) in analyzing various tested approaches. The general assumption underlying this suggestion was that projects that had involved social scientists from the beginning would exhibit characteristics that distinguish them from other projects, and that the study of such projects would lead to revised programming processes.

Several participants offered an approach to solving the problems of ex post facto evaluations through project design that would provide for on-going reporting and evaluation, with possible research devoted to specific problems, throughout the life of the project. The information emanating from these reports--both on-going and problem-specific--would be continuously fed back into the project management unit, which would assimilate the information and make changes where and when necessary. The skills of the anthropologist come into particular play in this system in the design and execution of the various reporting mechanisms; the use of host country social scientists and their on-the-job training was assumed to be integral to this process.

Although the built-in system provides ideal access to desired information, it cannot be used in every program or project. Certain projects, e.g., those which encompass a variety of ecological zones and ethnic groups or social classes, would lend themselves to this approach much better than others. Such a project would contain a rational basis for comparative analysis which would be of particular interest when dealing with one specific sector, such as re-settlement or adoption of technology. If the zones to be monitored are carefully selected for their cross-reference appeal, projects and evaluations of

this nature could provide valuable insights for planning interventions in the same sector in other regions.

Several AID officers mentioned new Agency programs that are supportive of this combination of on-going and problem-specific research at the central level. The creation of the new Development Information System gives AID a memory in terms of projects and programs completed and/or underway by Fall 1977. The System's main purpose is to collate all relevant documents into a project file, and then through an abstract and key word index provide almost immediate references on economic and social data, strategies tried and tested, and various other relevant data. The officer associated with the System said that it will provide for an integrated annotated bibliographic response and analysis, but that specific anthropological materials may not be cross-indexed. He also noted that the System will be connected to other systems (e.g., abstracts of doctoral dissertations) and will thus be able to provide Agency personnel with fairly complete literature searches.

A second Agency office which is promoting the continuous integration of the social sciences at all levels of the AID process is the Rural Development Office of the Technical Assistance Bureau. As discussed in Appendix A of this report, TA/RD is undertaking a new program of applied research which responds directly to its needs. The program is in the process of supporting both centralized and diffused research in certain substantive areas of development, including area development, off-farm employment, land tenure, participation of local people, and various methodologies for rural development data gathering and analysis. As the program gets underway, it will be able to provide Mission personnel with assistance and with selected consultants to aid in the design, implementation, and evaluation of more socially beneficial programs.

These basic programs, and the various specific and integrated tasks dis-

cussed in this section, should facilitate AID's ability to carry out the Congressional mandate. As these programs and tasks become more accepted within the overall development process, socially sensitive projects that actually fulfill their goals of self-sustaining social and economic development should more frequently be achieved.

#### IV. PERSONNEL CONSIDERATIONS

Specific tasks and timing notwithstanding, much of the emphasis of the workshop was on the basic issue of personnel: numbers, levels, uses, career patterns, and contracting on long- and short-term. The primary means of institutionalizing the social sciences within AID will be by building up the necessary cadres of skilled personnel particularly at the intermediate and senior levels, and then by complementing them through the use of carefully selected consultants. *Within the framework set forth by the "New Directions," the demand for services of social scientists must be filled if policy is to effectively be formulated and implemented.*

A. In-House Anthropologists. The "New Directions" and subsequent guidelines for social analyses were presented to AID during a time of general uncertainty about AID staffing, i.e., during the 1974-75 "reduction in force." In spite of this uncertainty, it was recognized by various AID officers that the Agency did not possess the adequate technical capacity to make, review, evaluate, or even contract for such analyses on the scale required. Since that time, the Agency has made progress in identifying skills needed and recruiting people to fill identified positions, but much remains to be done.

A simple review of the absolute numbers involved was offered by one senior AID officer. He suggested that one could safely assume approximately 100 projects requiring social analyses per each of the four geographic bureaus, or 400 SSA's at a minimum to be undertaken in the course of a year. As of late May 1977, an in-house memorandum listed 22 people within the Agency, who identified themselves as anthropologists, and 29 other types of social scientist. Fewer than 25 of the total were direct-hire. Nine were International Development Interns (IDI's) of junior level status. The Agency must make a greater effort in hiring qualified individuals, particularly at middle and senior levels,

if the need for social science inputs is to be adequately satisfied.

The need for social scientists within the Agency having been emphasized, workshop discussion revealed an increased supply available for employment. Several academic and professional society participants commented that more and more professionals are becoming interested in applied research and development anthropology in addition to, or as an alternative to, university careers. The number of first-rate graduate students from major departments who indicate a desire to work in development was considered particularly gratifying. Partly this interest among younger anthropologists is a response to the rhetoric of the Congressional Mandate, which has made an association with government ideologically more attractive than it seemed to be a few years ago. Partly it is due to the experiences many students had in the Peace Corps, which has led them to seek careers combining social science and social activism. And partly it is due to the intellectual excitement of being able to test and apply the theories, methods, and procedures of anthropology and the other social sciences to specific projects involving social and cultural change.

Most participants accepted the premise that both a supply and a demand for increased numbers of social scientists exists; the questions discussed thus became where and at what level to place them, and how to use them effectively within the Agency. A brief discussion of possibilities, and current problems encountered at each level, follows:

- 1) IDI, or Junior Level. The international Development Intern is the major means of recruiting direct-hire social scientists into the Agency. IDI's are usually placed in geographic bureaus as anthropologists, rural development officers, or assistant program officers. They usually possess a fair degree of technical expertise and some field experience, but have somewhat low positions in the AID hierarchy in which they must function.

The problems of placement were well articulated in several workshop papers. The IDI usually seems to start out in the Agency in a position and at a level commensurate with his or her ability. However, the new trainee in the social sciences is also perceived as having a role in the Agency structure that has not been clearly defined by custom—the scope of the trainees work and the trainee's relationships with other AID officers have not been institutionalized. As a trainee, and often one younger than many colleagues, he or she is expected to create the role of the anthropologist, evolve his or her own scope of work, and then persuade the necessary higher-ranking officials that this role and definition of duties are compatible with the other duties of the sub-bureau or Mission. It is a great deal to expect that the IDI will independently establish an acceptable role, especially since there are few intermediate or senior level social scientists the IDI can use as a model. Thus, for many, the job quickly becomes more generalized in response to the existing structure, and the opportunity is lost for fully exercising professional skills. (This is a problem not only for anthropologists but also for other professionals in AID.)

One working paper made particular suggestions regarding the lack of vertical and horizontal integration within the system. The paper suggested that the anthropologist-IDI can emphasize his or her role as an area "expert," thus enhancing personal and professional status in the eyes of possibly skeptical colleagues. Other discussants noted the tendency of the personnel system to place IDI's with recognized area expertise outside their particular geographical areas, which decreased their usefulness. Such personnel practices reflect the generalist orientation of the Agency as a whole, and it is not an accident that individuals with high regional expertise, including linguistic fluency in both the colonial and at least one indigenous language, are sometimes assigned outside their area of competence. The workshop generally agreed that the pro-

fessional identity crisis of IDI's would be best resolved through placement of intermediate and senior social scientists on a full-time basis within the Agency, thus creating institutionalized role models for junior officers. Creation of such a pyramidal structure would also provide incentives for emphasizing professional technical skills as a means of advancement, and would reduce the need to assume generalist roles.

2) The Intermediate Level. Participants saw the primary tasks of social scientists at intermediate levels as twofold: a) the provision of timely and relevant inputs into the programming process, and b) the on-going training of existing Mission staff, particularly project officers.

The first task has been covered in some depth in Section III of this report. This intermediate level could be of most use in the Missions, where the social analyst could serve as a liaison with host country social scientists and as a "broker" for various consultants and technical personnel. One consultant suggested that Mission-based social scientists should have expertise in several topics, and experts on groups and problems in the area should be called in as available and necessary. Others argued for a different emphasis, with the Mission-based officer developing a country expertise and calling upon topical experts as specific problems arose. It was conceded that the ideal personnel placement would allow for a social scientist in each Mission or regional office, with additional social scientists in Washington for review and synthesis purposes. Both area and topical specializations are required; the mix varies with time, place, and problem.

The second role of the intermediate level, the on-going training of other personnel, is a less formalized requirement. Certain specific tasks were mentioned, such as assisting project managers in selecting and briefing consultants as well as in evaluating and using their final reports within the context of the

project. The Mission anthropologist and other officers should have continuous interaction, including participation in Mission policy and decision-making meetings. At times the anthropologist may have to insist on being included, but positive recommendations that would help other technicians do their jobs more effectively would in the long-run be respected. Encouragement of project designers to use host country social scientists in interdisciplinary work was also emphasized.

3) The Senior Level. Most workshop participants, including non-anthropologists, were in agreement that the "New Directions" stressing maximum participation in, and distribution of, benefits to the poor require that social scientists contribute to policy decisions at the macro-level in Washington; however, there was lack of agreement on how this contribution could best be made. One AID officer suggested that in order for anthropologists to attain this level, they should be in line-management positions within the Agency--even at the sacrifice of a professional identity. Others argued that the Agency does recognize the need for a socially sound policy, and that anthropologists of senior standing, with strong theoretical backgrounds, would serve the purpose better than those subsumed in "generalist" perspectives. Senior level social scientists could correct the Agency's tendency to view solutions to problems in fairly narrow sectoral terms (e.g., agriculture, health, education) without fully appreciating the linkages between the sectors.

Specific tasks at this level were also suggested. One obvious task would be for senior anthropologists to sit on Agency policy-making bodies at both the central and bureau levels, and on the Research Advisory Committee.

Access to top-level personnel and awareness of the operational dimensions in decision-making processes were deemed primary requirements. A second task would be to assist in review of the DAP's and of Mission and Bureau Annual

Budget Submissions, thus assuring establishment of systematic mechanisms for review of these documents from a social soundness perspective. Senior level anthropologists, with a voice in policy-decisions, would support continuing lower-level assessment of both substantive (a.g., area studies) and methodological knowledge, and then integrate research priorities into policy instruments.

The proposed senior, intermediate, and junior levels and their operational functions within the Agency would thus create a pyramidal and institutionalized role for social scientists and social sciences in AID. The proposals would also promote the diffusion of "New Directions" policies both horizontally and vertically in the Agency structure, providing an integration that is now often lacking.

B. Consulting Anthropologists. The function of the consultant was generally viewed as the same as that of the in-house officer, except that the consultant would be used on more specific problem-oriented contracts. Both groups of participants at the workshop agreed that as more career social scientists were placed at the various levels in the AID staffing pattern, more efficient selection and use of consultants would be possible.

Specific examples of current problems with the use of consultants were discussed. One common criticism was that of timing; the Agency often expected an academic to be available during the school term with no more than a few days' notice. Apart from the obvious problems that this causes to university authorities, it does not leave the consulting anthropologist the time necessary for preparation--to do a full search of the literature nor to review the current state of the art in the problems or area to be addressed. Several consultants mentioned that because many AID officers do not understand the potential uses of consulting social scientists, terms of reference of contracts were often confused. Consultants should be consulted in the writing of their terms of reference (at

least until AID has enough staff anthropologists to insure that the terms are suitable), with appropriate time and funding allotted for a search of the literature and for hiring host country social scientists where appropriate. Consultants also requested that Mission personnel be encouraged to identify and provide liaison with host country scholars with whom the consultant could collaborate, however informally. The approach outlined in Section III above of including built-in monitoring and evaluation systems within projects was considered to be of particular importance in that it allowed for anthropologists to establish on-going and systematic relationships with projects and project personnel over time, thus alleviating many of the problems mentioned above.

Implicit in the specific problems expressed by consultants was the larger issue of the definition of the anthropologist's reference group, and the establishment of concrete standards of performance for anthropologists. A conflict was perceived in that AID needs anthropologists to write operational in-house documents often based on less-than-optimal data, while the consultant's academic community looks for more scholarly work. Although a few consultants commented that AID might consider the possibility of allowing academic consultants to retain their publishing rights, most participants felt that AID should clarify its standards and the consultants would then comply. Formalization of standards for consultants would not only assist consultants in organizing their own work, but would persuade possibly reluctant contractors to recruit qualified people. Again, it was thought desirable to use the same consultants over time on major projects, to give them ample opportunity for testing hypotheses.

One suggested set of standards was offered, using the following criteria:

- Field Experience. Highly rated candidates have considerable experience in rural areas of the region in development-related work or research. Occasionally an individual is included with less intensive field experience because the geographic and/or topical competence concerned is otherwise unavailable.
- Language. Ideally the applicant speaks at least one local language

competently, and the relevant national language as appropriate. The ability to handle the local language is an indication of depth of intimacy with the material, and implies the likelihood of the applicant's being able to develop at least a working grasp of another language if called on to work in a new area.

- Consulting Experience. Higher ratings are given, ceteris paribus, to applicants who have been engaged in consulting work, and who have had to prepare reports for an agency that respond to specific development-oriented questions.
- Writing. Good academic publications demonstrate a keen and analytical mind; also important are reports to governmental and private agencies. Such reports should show an ability to recognize the critical elements in a situation, to gather appropriate data, and to present a crisp and clear report—with readable indications of policy implications. Applications were invited to list and submit examples of writing they felt were pertinent, and these were carefully considered. Also considered were the statements that each person was invited to include with the application.

Through maintenance and expansion of instruments such as a roster, the Agency might formalize a network of potential consultants who could provide better and more timely advisory assistance to Missions and to host countries.

As the Agency continues to recruit social scientists at all levels on a direct-hire basis, some of the pressure to use short-term consultants might decline. There is much to be gained, however, from an expanded use of Personal Service Contractor and I.P.A.,\* who work with Agency personnel for a period of from one to four years. They thus become fully conversant with Agency needs and procedures without being committed to them on a career basis, and they can provide an objective or at least independent perspective since their long-term career expectations lie elsewhere.

Programs such as that of TA/RD (see Appendix A) support the role of anthropologists in AID; this section has emphasized the need for more generalized use, as both direct-hire and as complementary consultants, in order to further insti-

\*I.P.A. refers to the Inter-Governmental Personnel Act through which a person from one department or agency is "loaned" to another for a period of time.

tutionalize the integral role the social sciences can play in the AID development process.

Summary of Types of Anthropologists

A. In-House

- (1) Interns (junior): mostly at Washington; have specific technical expertise and intensive field experience in one geographical area; often face problems of their roles being unclear.
- (2) Intermediate level: usually located at missions; broader experience of field situations; two important functions - as "brokers" with both host country social scientists and with consultants; also serve to make AID personnel more aware of dimensions of social analysis.
- (3) Senior level: located in Washington; broad development backgrounds; should both review particular projects and also influence policy.

B. Consultants: useful for specific projects and programs; although good general background is required, they must be given opportunity to acquire close knowledge of particular projects.

V. USE OF INDIVIDUAL AND INSTITUTIONAL HOST COUNTRY

SOCIAL SCIENCE CAPABILITIES

The desirability of involving host country anthropologists in development-related work was emphasized throughout the workshop. Current policy dictates the maximization of scarce local resources, which include host country personnel. Workshop participants emphasized the use and up-grading of individual skills and called for more conscious AID interventions aimed at enhancing local institutional capabilities. Two major areas of collaboration and training were stressed

A. Collaboration between host country and AID/consulting anthropologists.

Both in-house and consultant participants noted the need for AID to promote the participation of host country social scientists in development processes. These people can help the new officer or topical specialist in identifying relevant area literature more quickly than is possible were the individual to attempt a personal search. Agency social scientists and Mission personnel would also benefit in such collaborative efforts from the knowledge of host country area specialists and from information gathered in on-going research that might not have been published in the United States. In the execution of specific studies, the host country anthropologist can identify culturally-relevant data points and thus obviate the need for several test questionnaires; identify possible experienced enumerators; and determine gaps in existing data that could be filled in the course of the study. Participants did recognize the wide variation in numbers and skills of social scientists, comparing different countries. In some countries, the few qualified social scientists are already grossly over-burdened, and cannot be expected to accept extra tasks; in other countries, social scientists can do much more.

The AID anthropologist can perhaps offer the individual host country social

scientist a somewhat wider perspective and range of literature than might have been encountered in the course of his or her studies. He or she can also offer a professional perspective on the local person's own research in a milieu in which professional colleagues and opportunities for collaboration are scarce. The AID anthropologist can also offer suggestions as to priorities for research, thus enhancing the individual's ability to get support.

The establishment of formal and informal linkages between American and host country institutions is also a desirable goal of collaboration. These linkages could include provision of scholarships and research grants as well as funding for professional colloquia, conferences, and publications. On-the-job training for junior American and host country graduate students in applied anthropology was stressed as being of particular importance in areas where formalized schooling neglects field experience, or emphasizes only urban-related research. In short, each country's anthropologists can provide the others with a much wider range of literature, experience, and methodology than might otherwise be available for individuals working in isolation.

B. Collaboration between host country anthropologists and other technicians working in development. While the workshop emphasized the necessity for institutionalizing the social sciences within AID, the necessity for institutionalizing their contributions to host country development programs and agencies was also brought out. The guidelines established through the "New Directions" to provide for self-sustaining social and economic development subsume the specific challenge of creating a demand for social science services in countries where other skills may be viewed as having higher priority.

AID officers--anthropologists, agronomists, fisheries experts, and population planners--should attempt to include host country social scientists in project design, implementation, and evaluation. The creation of

a skilled cadre of local personnel possessing interdisciplinary development expertise would greatly strengthen the capability of most LDC's to design and manage their own development projects. As these people move up in various administrative posts, they would bring their broad social science background to influential positions from which they could affect local and national policy-making.

One other benefit of collaboration between host country anthropologists and technicians of other disciplines is relevant in countries where there is a reluctance to permit foreigners direct access to the rural populations; the local anthropologist can identify topics of local significance. This anthropologist would also serve as a "culture broker," assisting the technicians in adjusting their expertise to the local conditions and resource base.

Use of local anthropologists by both AID social scientists and other technicians should be thought of in the same terms as use of AID anthropologists within AID. They can be hired on long- or short-term basis, for topical or areal expertise, and for broad background or specific problem-oriented studies. They serve a twofold purpose in assisting AID in carrying out the Congressional Mandate, and in assisting their own countries in design and implementation of more socially sensitive programs.

VI. SUMMARY

This summary should be read in conjunction with Appendix C (AIDIO Circular A266, dated 7-13-77), a brief report of the "Social Analysis Conference." As this report admirably summarizes most major points, there is no need to restate them in detail here.

1. The "New Directions" in A.I.D. policy stresses the need to aim programs at the rural poor, to promote participation by the people in their development, and to encourage integrated rural development.
2. From this follows a need to involve anthropology and anthropologists more closely with development programs and projects.
3. Anthropologists should assist at several levels:
  - a) in the preparation of policy, programs and projects for specific countries or regions;
  - b) in the analysis of projects, specifically by Social Soundness Analysis;
  - c) in the evaluation of programs and projects;
  - d) in a review of policy.
4. To be effective in achieving these aims, anthropologists should be:
  - a) involved at the earliest stages of proposal preparation;
  - b) integrated into A.I.D. procedures;
  - c) recruited at senior levels.
5. Anthropologists can help to:
  - a) sharpen the focus of development;
  - b) suggest alternatives;
  - c) describe probable consequences, both positive and negative;
  - d) take into account all appropriate information.
6. Host country individuals and institutions need to be more effectively used in the Social Soundness Analysis.

## APPENDIX A

## PAPERS PREPARED FOR THE WORKSHOP BY AID BUREAUS

1.	Office of Rural Development: An Aid to Mission Social Science Analysis	27
2.	Social Analysts and Analysis in the Near East Bureau	33
3.	Social Analysis in the Asia Bureau: Some Issues and Comments	58
4.	State of Social Science Analysis in the Latin America Bureau	68

Note: the Africa Bureau has made substantial use of both direct hire and contracted anthropologists. The revised paper describing this activity was not available at press time. For further information, contact the Institute for Development Anthropology.

Office of Rural Development:  
An Aid to Mission Social Science Analysis

TA/RD is committed to fostering practical and effective application of social science analysis to problems which confront AID missions. Its program brings together a multidisciplinary social science perspective for the specific purpose of assisting missions to design and implement projects which are socially sound as well as technically feasible. The following is a brief overview of the TA/RD program and is intended to be suggestive of ways the Office of Rural Development can support missions in their overall attempts to employ the tools of social science to promote development.

I. Purpose and Objectives

The primary function of the Office of Rural Development is to provide assistance to missions and regional bureaus in dealing with problems of rural development. It makes this assistance available in three major ways--improving their access to consulting services, supplying information on rural development in a form usable to practitioners, and promoting applied research which can impact quickly on operational problems of rural development project identification, design, implementation and evaluation.

II. Substantive Focus

A central component of TA/RD's efforts to aid missions in carrying out rural development activities is an applied research and consulting

approach to selected "critical problems" in rural development. TA/RD has identified a number of specific issues which it believes to be of particular importance to rural development. These substantive areas are as follows:

1. Area development deals with practical design and implementation of area rural development projects including the selection criteria, spatial relations, relationship to local government institutions (including problems of implementation), management of land, water and other rural resources, problems of resettlement and colonization, and rural works.

2. Rural Financial markets deals with questions of credit, savings mobilization and the role of financial institutions in rural development.

3. Off-farm employment addresses strategies and methods for generating employment to supplement agricultural employment.

4. Rural market systems examines equity, employment and "multiplier" aspects of rural market systems within the broader perspective of market efficiency.

5. Integration of income-producing and social services activities addresses the problem of "integration" in rural development, what it means analytically and operationally including planning and project activities at national, regional, and local levels. Methods are explored for developing complementarities between increases in agricultural production and health, nutrition, education, and off-farm employment opportunities.

6. Land tenure deals with problems of access to land and related water rights problems, policy instruments available for influencing access and use, and the legal and technical issues of rural resource administration and reform. Particular attention will be given to national level policy considerations regarding asset distribution and regulation.

7. Participation focuses on the institutional aspects of access to economic opportunity, collective community action and decision making, the distribution and organization of public authority as it relates functionally to the development process, and the equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of the growth process.

Particular attention will be given to policy and institutional factors which influence the distribution of development benefits to the poor. In this connection, the appropriate role of indigenous informal community structures in the development process will receive careful attention.

8. Population and rural development explores consequences of population growth for rural progress and determinants of fertility reduction which can be addressed through rural development program activities.

9. Rural development strategies addresses sources of rural development theory; experience in approaches to rural development programming; and alternative approaches which practitioners may draw upon in designing their operations.

10. Methodologies for rural development data gathering and analysis focuses on approaches to investment in information for rural development. It considers alternative data gathering and analysis techniques for generating rural development planning and implementation information.

### III. Program Activities

In each of the substantive areas developed above, a number of services are provided:

1. Direct mission support. TA/RD offers direct support to missions by consulting on program and project identification, design, implementation, and evaluation; assisting missions and their host governments to develop country rural development research strategies; and supporting country-specific programmatically relevant rural development research.

2. Consulting network formation and management. TA/RD is making a systematic effort to create and formalize a network of specialists and experts in each substantive problem area who can provide better and more timely advisory assistance to missions and EDCs. The TA/RD staff represents a number of social science disciplinary perspectives of particular relevance to rural development. It is actively engaged in attempting to identify and establish long term relationships with well known as well as younger lesser known competent anthropologists and other social scientists who have backgrounds, interest, and expertise in the above critical problem areas and rural development in general.

3. Research and consulting management. Not only is TA/RD endeavoring to build collaborative relationships between consultants and missions but it also seeks to provide practical guidelines on how missions can best employ advisory services. After the consulting networks are formed, it will produce materials on determining the nature of consulting needs, suggested scope of work for various problems, and guidelines on evaluating the quality of consulting work.

4. Problem exploration—state of knowledge papers. Current state of knowledge papers are being developed in a number of "critical problem" areas. Written from a practitioner's rather than an academic perspective, the papers will provide conceptual frameworks for development strategies in each subject area and present existing knowledge and theory with appropriate differentiation by geographic region.

5. Information dissemination. Information dissemination activities such as publications, seminars, workshops, short training courses, etc. will be carried out to ensure that AID personnel and their counterparts working in rural development are kept informed of useful developments in each critical problem area.

### Research

Though not a major emphasis in the overall program, some formal research is being undertaken in selected areas of rural development, including case studies on particularly crucial examples of success or failure and general studies aimed at filling gaps in rural development knowledge. For example, a major study entitled Strategies for Small Farmer Development has been completed which explored the relationship

between participation in decision-making by small farmers and project success in a sample of 36 projects in developing countries. Another ongoing research project is examining alternative strategies which could be used by AID to encourage and support local organizations in carrying out development activities.

#### IV. Summary Comments

While the above description has stressed TA/RD's emphasis on rural development, attention should be called to ways in which the program can contribute to missions' overall efforts to employ social science analysis in complying with AID's "New Directions" policies. Of special importance is the establishment of more effective consulting services available to missions as well as guidelines for more fruitful employment of this advisory assistance. An important dimension of the strategy is the aim of increasing the capability of mission staff to utilize, and/or undertake themselves, social science analysis at all stages of a project from identification to final evaluation, and not just in the social soundness analyses. Toward this end, TA/RD stands ready to aid individual missions and host countries in applying social science knowledge and methodology in the most effective way possible with particular, though not exclusive, focus on the problems of rural development.

## SOCIAL ANALYSTS AND ANALYSIS IN THE NEAR EAST BUREAU\*

Peter Benedict  
May 1977

The four geographic bureaus of AID differ greatly in their style of work and in patterns of staffing. These differences, in part, can be attributed to factors such as bureau leadership, organizational change over time, and the special requirements of respective countries and regions. Any discussion of experiences to date on the implementation of social soundness analysis and use of Agency direct-hire social science staff resources should begin with an understanding of Bureau contextual factors.

The purpose of this discussion paper is to highlight those processes, within the Near East Bureau, which support and impede the task of institutionalizing social analysis in project assistance. The intention is to raise issues which are perhaps common to other Agency social science personnel as well as to highlight problems peculiar to the Near East as a culture area, and as a complex arena of American foreign policy.

I. Status of Bureau Social Science Resources

First, some good news. The Near East Bureau, newly formed as a result of Agency reorganization in the autumn of 1975, was the first geographic

\*The views presented in this paper are those of the author, and do not necessarily represent the view of A.I.D., the Near East Bureau, or any of its offices.

bureau to respond to the Administrator's concern to employ direct-hire social science staff. A small group of senior Bureau administrators formally and informally followed two staffing principles for the new bureau: a) to obtain staff with current field experience in the Near East, and b) to obtain professionals with disciplinary skills required to help implement Congressional guidance related to "new directions" programs. Positions were approved for two behavioral scientists (one of whom would be additionally concerned with programs where women are primary beneficiaries), an economist, a development administration expert, a rural development officer, a private and voluntary organization specialist, and a new human resources/science/technology division. Within the Agency the gap between approving positions, classifying them, and actually filling these classified positions with capable people is often great. Current plans for staffing field Missions with professionals capable of designing or doing social analysis exist, but implementation is slow.\*

The Bureau's direct-hire record can be outlined as follows:

1. Behavioral Science Advisor: Peter Benedict, Anthropologist  
(recruitment/hiring took 9 months)

\*The situation of field Missions is as follows: Afghanistan, an anthropologist assigned since 1971; Tunisia, a social scientist soon to be replaced; Egypt and North Yemen, interest in creating a position; Morocco, Jordan, and Syria, no plans.

2. Behavioral Science Advisor/Women in Development: Ann Van Dusen, Sociologist/Anthropologist (employed after extensive delays due to problems of GS classification)
3. Rural Development Specialist: John Blackton, Rural Development Interdisciplinary Skills (lacking any GS classification for rural development, Blackton is employed as an Agricultural Management Specialist)
4. Rural Development Specialist: Grace Langley, Anthropologist (classified as a Foreign Service, Research Evaluation Officer for Programs)
5. PVO Officer: Just classified as a GS-13 job. A search is underway for a person with both PVO and Near East experience plus interdisciplinary skills.
6. Development Administration Officer: Position not yet classified.
7. Economist: Position not yet classified.

The present three staff are assigned to the Office of Technical Support, Division of Sector Planning and Rural Development, within the Bureau. Ideally, this Division, designed to be interdisciplinary in nature, provides the Bureau with technical services "in the design and application of sectoral analysis (economic, social, institutional, policy), statistical procedures, systems analysis, computerization, and sectoral assessment/planning methodologies for country program and project

planning needs . . ." In attempting to carry out the more feasible of these broad requirements, these individuals work across sectors assisting staff in the Divisions of Agricultural Development, Human Resources and Science/Technology, and Health and Nutrition. The total professional staff of Technical Support (NE/TECH) is 19, plus 7 vacant approved, but not yet all classified, positions for senior professionals.

To supplement direct-hire social science staff, Agency policy established several ways to procure additional assistance.

1. Stand-by consultants - Through a special contract, and within Bureau and Agency ceilings, the Agency can contract for up to 130 working days of a specialist's time in any one year. One anthropologist is currently working with NE/TECH, and six more social scientists, all specialists on the Near East, have been requested by the Bureau from Personnel almost two months ago. As yet, these requests are still pending. Even when action occurs, it will require 60-40 days to complete security checks on them. Our experience in utilizing this feature of Agency policy has not been very satisfactory. The policy of the Personnel Office to classify consultants at a given grade level, often much lower than our professional assessment of the quality of consultant services, means that quality talent is difficult to obtain. The generic

problem is a perceptual gap between the Personnel Office and Agency technical staff on how to evaluate services required, on rates of adequate compensation, and on defining what social analysts, as opposed to other specialists, do. The same problem is evident when dealing with Agency contract personnel.

2. Services of consultants to deliver a well-defined product also can be obtained under a Purchase Order. Again, a non-competitive mode of procuring services, this type of contract has been useful for a short-term activity, e.g., writing of an evaluation, producing a bibliographic essay, analyzing a development issue. Difficulties occur when the specific needs of a task such as number of trips to U.S. institutions, secretarial support, or travel to AID/Washington come into conflict with policies of the contract office, policies which are uniformly applied to all contracts.

3. Social science consultant services for work abroad are obtained through various means, e.g., (non-competitive) personal service contract (PSC), or through a firm with which AID has a special continuing contract (IQCs). The PSC is a contract made directly with an individual. Its usefulness is often limited by the amount of time it takes the AID contract office to complete contract arrangements and the limitation of PSCs to work done abroad. The time now required to complete such contracts, 4-6 weeks, could be

dramatically reduced if each geographic bureau had a contract officer within the Bureau to facilitate communication with the Office of Contracts.

Basic to all these arrangements is the need to develop a roster of consultants who are known not only to AID/Washington staff, but who eventually become familiar to Mission staff. Bureau social science staff are working to develop a network of relations with Near East specialists. Area expertise is a key factor for selecting both direct-hire staff and consultants. It has also been the single most difficult notion to put across to AID management and program personnel.

Two other avenues of obtaining assistance should be briefly mentioned. The International Development Intern (IDI) program will probably be discussed during the workshop. There are problems with the program which have already received considerable attention. In the Near East Bureau, these have included: misplacement of social science IDIs through field assignments which do not take into account prior fieldwork experience; Mission assignments for IDIs which probably will not utilize their skills as social scientists; limited career prospects for social scientists within the Agency; an inadequate program to take advantage of IDI talent during their brief tenure in Washington prior to assignment to the field; and the use of IDIs in Washington to fill gaps caused by understaffing, TDYs, leave, etc.

A second mechanism is the Agency's Graduate Work Study Program. This program permits the Bureau to hire graduate students, generally for a 90 day period, to work on Bureau projects. The student must be able to apply this work to graduate program requirements, e.g., in place of graduate research and/or reading courses. We have just begun to utilize this program, and will have our first participants this summer. There is a potential here for establishing functional links with Near East academic programs in the U.S. Further thought should be given to how we could extend this to include graduate students from host countries of the region.

The Bureau, with impetus provided by NE/TECH, has also tried to bring academicians together for conferences with AID staff to discuss development issues related to the Bureau's work. Conferences have been held on Rural Life in Afghanistan; Development in Yemen; and others are planned for Education in Afghanistan; Labor Flows in the Middle East; Biology, History, and Islam, etc.

In brief, the Near East Bureau, although new in organization, has moved to create positions for social scientists and to recognize the need for staff with knowledge of the region. In addition to NE/TECH, the Office of Development Planning (NE/DP) also undertakes social analyses in the form of program/project evaluation and review of country development strategies. Direct-hire staff in that office

such as Frank Denton, Peter Sellar, Joan Silver and Annette Binnendijk, are involved in analysis, planning and design of development activities with evident social impact. The presence of such staff and the nature of the Bureau's development programs offer additional opportunities for social science inputs into the program process.

## II. Opportunities for Utilization of Social Science Staff within the work of the Bureau

There are a number of distinct features of the foreign assistance program in the Near East which must be kept in mind when assessing opportunities for social analysis.

1. Distinction between Development Assistance (DA) and Security Supporting Assistance (SA). AID's authority is found in two separate authorization bills. Development Assistance includes bilateral development assistance, the disaster relief programs, and provisions for U.S. contributions to certain U.N. and O.A.S. programs. The hoped-for authorization for FY 1978 is approximately \$1.3 billion, an increase of 20% over FY 1977. This type of assistance is programmed in line with Congressional guidance as expressed in the Foreign Assistance Act--a set of programmatic concerns referred to as "the new directions." Social analysis theoretically becomes a necessary component of project design under development assistance guidelines.

There are four countries in the Bureau covered by development assistance guidelines. These are:

	(FY 1977 Planned Obligations)
Afghanistan	\$21,722,000
Morocco	3,255,000
Tunisia	10,108,000
Yemen (North)	15,826,000
(+ Regional)	<u>2,610,000</u>
	\$53,521,000

By "new directions" program areas:

(In Millions)

Type	Total	Food/Nutrition	Pop/ Health	Educ/ Human Resources	Other Activities
Loan	4,500	4,500	—	—	—
Grant	<u>49,021</u>	<u>24,702</u>	<u>18,319</u>	<u>2,500</u>	<u>3,500</u>
	53,521	29,202	18,319	2,500	3,500

The Agency-wide authorization for Security Supporting Assistance (SA) is \$2.2 billion for FY 78, \$900 million larger than development assistance. SA assistance is authorized where the U.S. seeks "to promote economic and political stability in selected countries whose well-being is important to the security of the U.S." This assistance often takes the form of cash transfers for direct budget support.

(Jordan, Israel) and large scale capital development loan and grant activities.

There are five major countries in the Bureau covered by security assistance. These are:

(Est. FY 1977)

(In Millions)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Loan</u>	<u>Grant</u>
Egypt	700.0	670.0	30.0
Syria	80.0	78.0	2.0
Jordan	70.0	20.5	49.5
Israel	735.0	245.0	490.0
Portugal	65.0	64.0	1.0

To these can be added Spain (\$10 m) and the Middle East Special Requirement Funds of \$30.4 million, of which \$3 million is for private and voluntary efforts in the West Bank and Gaza.

Two features of SA funding are important for our purposes: a) in practice, direct budget support, loans and grants for capital development programs, and commodity import activities normally do not entail any social analysis, and b) the funding cycle and timetable for completion of project designs and their implementations tend to preclude any possibility of undertaking serious social analysis. In fact, this entire aspect of the foreign assistance program is exempt from Congressional directives

on the types of aid referred to as "new direction" programs, although a recent amendment to the FAA (not yet enacted, but likely to be) encourages greater effort to conform SA to the guidelines of "the new directions" provided this does not detract from political and strategic objectives. At the moment only a miniscule portion of project assistance activity in SA countries receives social analysis attention. Since social analysis is largely a derivative of Section 102 of the FAA with its concern for benefitting the poor majority, and since the Section has not been applicable to Part II of the Act (SA), minimal attention has been paid to social soundness analysis in preparing SAA projects.

In summary:

- Development assistance programs, wherein social analysis is a requirement, amount to \$53.5 million, as compared to SA programs in the principal countries of the Near East amounting to \$1,718.1 million.

- Further, within the DA program of loans and grants, only a small percentage of funds are technical assistance grants--activities which could permit the greatest utilization of social analysis. Capital development loan and grant activities in these four countries have included only perfunctory social analysis.

2. Two of the DA countries are among the least developed countries of the world--Yemen Arab Republic and Afghanistan. Project or sector specific social research in both countries is rare, data miniscule, and the number of indigenous social scientists and research institutions are few. For these and other reasons, social research for project

preparation has been slower than elsewhere in the region. Where time is a factor in the preparation of projects, the inadequate data base in these countries and the amount of lead-time which is often required for quality social research tends to preclude undertaking sufficient analysis for project design.

3. Despite the quantity of academic social research on the Near East, the number of local and foreign social scientists who have an interest in applied or policy-related research is few. AID direct-hire professional staff is purposely small, and the Bureau must continue to rely upon outside contract specialists to help design and implement projects. For the most part, AID's network with development resources does not include many specialists with Near East interests (e.g., AID-university links under 211(N) grants, the "top fifty" development consultant firms, the "indefinite quantity contract (IQC)" firms, and the large amount of centrally funded research activities of the AID Technical Assistance Bureau). The continued reliance on outside intellectual resources and, in particular, on the U.S. private sector on the one hand, and the absence of real competence on the Near East, suggests that we may need to undertake a program to develop that competence in select U.S. institutions.

4. There is considerable concern on the part of host governments about the U.S. motivation for social science research on some countries

especially when such research is carried out by foreigners. This is true in Afghanistan, Morocco, parts of Yemen, and Egypt. Egypt regards basic demographic data as classified. Maps in Afghanistan have been withdrawn from public circulation. Tunisia prefers research to be carried out by its own nationals. Morocco requires clearances for survey research. While we in AID view research as a necessary component of sound project design, our motivation is often not understood.

Before turning to experiences to date on the implementation of social soundness analysis in the Bureau, it would be useful to outline the ideal working situation given some of the constraints mentioned above. The role of social science staff in the Near East Bureau has been largely a function of the tasks assigned to the division to which they are attached. The Sector Planning and Rural Development Division has broadly defined the role of its social science staff as follows:

- To provide the Bureau with technical skills in the analysis, planning and design of interdisciplinary rural development projects through working with Mission staff and specialists in other sectoral divisions of NE/TECH.

To provide the Bureau with technical skills in undertaking social analysis for all loan and grant development activities in conjunction with Mission staff and other offices of the Bureau such as

Capital Development and Development Planning.

- To assist in reviewing and formulating country Development Assistance Programs (DAPs).
  - To participate in sector assessments and analyses and in cross-disciplinary studies related to Mission objectives.
  - To maintain liaison with other AID offices and development assistance agencies concerned with social analyses and projects in interdisciplinary rural development.
  - To maintain contact with social scientists and institutions in the host countries linking Missions to resources where appropriate.
  - To seek resources in U.S. academia and consultant firms with technical skills and areal expertise.
- To promote research and conference activities in support of Mission program needs.

This list of inter-related tasks places emphasis on the primary task of backstopping Mission project design efforts through frequent TDY visits to the field, and through advocacy for Mission activities during the AID/Washington review process. It assigns to such staff the tasks of examining the links between development issues, interests

of AID and the host government, and needs of beneficiaries. When used adequately, such staff can also verify accomplishments and document failures in AID's programming. Many of the tasks outlined above are also common to professionals in other disciplines in the Bureau, e.g., agriculture, health, education, development administration.

### III. Institutionalizing Social Analysis Concerns within the Work of the Bureau

Despite Bureau leadership in encouraging greater inclusion of social analysis in the program process and the presence, for the first time, of a still inadequate number of direct-hire staff, the record is far from heartening. The problems are manifold. The major components seem to relate to: a) skepticism or inadequate understanding of what constructive role social analysis can play in improving programming; b) the documentation and review constraints which Agency bureaucracy imposes on itself lessen the possibility of incorporating quality social analysis; and c) the persistent notion shared by some Agency officers that social analysis is a phase, and that the fad will fade in due time. In fact, Agency policy can and does shift rapidly from one development focus to another.

Clearly the Agency is structured along well-defined lines consisting of historically derived roles such as administrators, generalist program officers, loan officers, program managers, and a bevy of

"hard" development-related disciplines, e.g., engineers, agricultural specialists, training experts, education and other technicians. The ranks and quality of the technicians, it should be observed parenthetically, are said to have declined perceptibly during the past four years. The generic category of social science staff, leaving aside the fine distinctions between sociologists/anthropologists/political scientists, etc., is a reconstituted and resurrected "expert" category which once again has been made a part of the Agency. Most people with enough tenure in the Agency can recite a litany of past experiences with Agency social scientists in the expansive days of community development. This discussion pertains more to the experiences of Washington-based staff with rather formal job descriptions and with a legitimacy derived only from Congressional guidelines concerning "new directions" program activities. The problem of role and status in operational terms has to do with clearly relating the need for social analysis to the consequences of implementing "new directions" program activities, and with finding some "political" base within Agency structure with authority to decide whether social analysis requirements are to be treated seriously or not.

There are several ways of relating to the work of the Agency which, based on our experiences, are of limited value in their extreme forms:

- The "regulatory" role. Identification of social scientists only with the strict implementation of a specific policy (social

soundness analysis) is an effective way of being "turned off," isolated from the more systemic work of the Agency, and of gradually diminishing chances of influencing anyone's work.

- The "trouble-shooter" role. Quick trips to field Missions to "evaluate" how well the country program is doing in building social analysis into technical assistance activities is a sure means of never developing an effective backstopping role.

The "reviewer" role. The AID program process permits numerous occasions to review program development in committee or in the form of written comments. Generally by the time that the project reaches the formal committee at the Project Review Paper (PRP) level, it is too late to comment constructively on project elements or to recommend any additional design work.

The "academic-in-residence" role. There are needs within the Agency for research and studies of development issues which are not directly tied to actual country programs or projects. The everyday language of a regional bureau is an operational one. Successful projects and well-constructed program strategies are the bases upon which careers are constructed and performance evaluated. A theoretical "bent" and a tendency to resort to disciplinary jargon have uncertain value among colleagues with other concerns.

The above, plus other types of encounters, tend to cast social analysis staff in an adversary role. In many cases, during the past year, a social science input into the program process has been interpreted as "negativistic" or obstructionist which, if taken seriously, could hinder the program process and slow the obligation of funds.

What has been the experience of our very few social scientists in fitting into the program process in the Near East Bureau? There have been a series of first priority tasks which have taken the best part of the past six months. These are:

- The establishment of meaningful dialogue with field Missions has entailed a slow process of coming to know Mission staff and their needs, and undertaking project design tasks or evaluations which often are clearly outside the social analyst role. Aiding in the design of entire projects (as opposed to a social feasibility requirement only) and project implementation tasks have been useful ways of introducing NE/TECH resources to Missions, not exclusively as social science staff but as Bureau project design and/or management staff.

- The attempt to be selective in terms of where to expend time has followed one priority criterion, namely, to enter an activity as early as possible. The pre-PID stage is ideal, and the interval between the PID and PRP is also suitable. Starting with interdisciplinary rural development projects, social science staff are now becoming

involved with project design work in education, health and nutrition, and vocational training.

An important but slower developing linkage is between NE/TECH and the Office of Capital Development (NE/CD). Agency and Congressional concern over "new directions" program concerns in capital loans and grants, hopefully, will ultimately lead to increased opportunities for early looks at CD project development by social science staff. This is already somewhat occurring for Jordan and Tunisia. Organizational changes involving CD and TECH will not solve this problem.

- Lastly, there is an ongoing educative process for which social science staff can take some credit. The socio-cultural context of programs and projects is becoming of greater concern to some program management staff. More attention is now given to the relation of factors such as Islam, ethnicity, political and social structures, local government and decision-making to the development process. Country differences in political systems, economic constraints, and national objectives are being perceived by program management staff who previously used development terms too gross for such a complex culture-area as the Arab Near East. Much of this would have happened without the presence of social science staff; however, the casting of events and processes into the language of an anthropology of modernization has helped to sensitize individuals to the importance of a regional context.

During these past six months a number of operational problems have been identified. Some are malleable and simply require time; others seem intractable. A list of constraints, without an effort to rank severity, would include the following:

- The social soundness analysis (SSA) requirement at the present time has no teeth. Few projects will be rejected and/or reconsidered in the program process because of: a) the lack of social analysis; b) the inadequacies of an existing social soundness statement; or c) the admonition of an analysis which points to project assumption difficulties. Some program staff understand this and use the review process to propel a project along when additional design work would somehow clog-up an already sluggish pipeline of projects.

- In many cases SSA is accepted as strictly a procedural requirement resulting in a process of boilerplating which isolates SSA from the rest of the project.

The program cycle often defeats the effort to respond constructively to improve project design through a SSA agenda. The two-week rush from PRP project committee to the Near East Advisory for judgement eliminates the possibility of returning a project to a Mission for social analysis at a critical stage. NE Advisory provisional approvals can often lead not to greater analysis, but to postponing SSA to early stages of implementation (including SSA in a Phase I of

of a project). At the PID level, the five page concept paper often lacks any indication that a SSA need exists or will exist. These comments extend to other feasibility requirements such as economic and environment. The program process to be effective must become decycled, and if SSA review is to be treated seriously, it must have some legitimacy as an element in the review process.

- The project committee system must become more of a technical review process including both direct-hire and consultant social science staff. At present too many projects move through the review process without adequate technical analysis. Perhaps the best place to provide the technical review is at the Mission itself—a process which would include host country specialists and foreign consultants with country experience.

- More social science capability must be developed in field Missions through direct-hire staff and a network of local consultants. Washington TDY staff can and should help in project design, but Missions can do much more to improve project design by in-country review of "project soundness."

- There is a tendency of program management staff to identify SSA needs with technical assistance projects, and within that category, with rural development projects in particular. As pointed out above, more capital development activities need to be included in social

soundness discussions, and for this Bureau in particular, Security Supporting Assistance countries should receive the same attention as to project design as Development Assistance programs.

- Given the volume of potential assistance activities in need of social analysis, the few Bureau social science staff should not be engaged as project managers responsible for the implementation process, e.g., procurement of contractor services and equipment, seeking training opportunities, etc.

- Lastly, the tendency to develop an adversary role with Bureau program staff can be reduced if a more operational approach were adopted with regard to the questions: for whom and what purposes will the SSA serve? What type and amount of information is needed to carry out the objectives of the project? What is a practical assessment of methodology and duration of study given the time and money allowed? What is the relation of data needs (not particularly data gaps) to project assumptions? There is obviously a limit beyond which an operational orientation toward social science research in support of project needs can be interpreted as a compromise of objective academic standards. Unbiased social analysis and/or social commentary is necessary within a large bureaucracy which is often unable to develop an effective memory or to apply uniform standards. However, efficiency,

expediency, and relevance are meaningful criteria within a complex arena of varying interests, needs, and time horizons.

A section could be devoted to the many Near East Bureau activities which could be cited as successful products of social science staff involvement. These would include: SSAs of individual projects; some sector analysis work; a focus on "women-in-development" concerns within projects, studies and committee work; AID-funded workshops and conference activities; and projects in new inter-sectoral program areas, e.g., urban development and labor in migration. These successful Bureau experiences deserve mention as the less positive engagements do. It seems more timely, however, to signal problems and to push ahead with a search for solutions to generic Agency problems than to tout detailed achievements.

#### IV. Areas in Need of Work

This section really should be an outcome of the workshop. In the Near East Bureau, there are a handful of important activities which are receiving some attention at the moment and should obtain more. These are:

- Greater use of host country social scientists and institutions, e.g., underway in Jordan, Egypt, Tunisia.

Build-up of a useful network of U.S. consultants with area expertise available when opportunities and needs occur, e.g., consultants on stand-by basis, one or two IQCs with Near East competence, PSCs.

Development of an improved program of training in social feasibility analysis for Mission program and technical assistance staff.

Heightened selectivity for working on those projects where social analysis will make a difference and where Mission interest in such is high.

- Development of much greater support from Mission Directors to implement a programmatic concern with social analysis within their own country program.

In many respects it is fortunate that the role of "social science specialist" is not yet an expert status within AID. Expertness tends to be an Agency occupational hazard leading to disciplinary isolation and the "boilerplating" of individual responsibilities. Legitimacy for the social sciences in AID will in large measure originate from two sources: a) the demonstration of quality program development and management skills on the part of social science staff that surpass those of the regular Agency program staff (this shouldn't be difficult

for social scientists weaned on the analysis of structures and processes), and b) continued pressure from Agency leadership and Congress for accountability of program and projects fostered under the "new" mandate of 1973.

Social Analysis in the Asia Bureau: Some Issues and Comments.

William H. Jansen, USAID/Manila and Carl A. Durto, ASIA/TR

I. Introduction.

In general the implementation of social analysis into the operations of the Asia Bureau has just begun. The requirement for explicit social analysis was instituted in April 1975, reported to Congress in July 1975, and formalized in Handbook 3 in September 1975. The Asia Bureau recognized its lack of in-house capability to implement the guidelines; however, the process of identifying the number and kind of trained personnel needed to satisfy the above requirement has been very slow.

Social analysis was first employed through contractual arrangements following the now famous 1975 airgram on social soundness. And, in the spring and in the fall of 1976, the Asia Bureau arranged to acquire two direct-hire Ph.D. anthropologists through the IDI program. They have been offering their professional services in ASIA/TR and to the missions through short TDY assignments. The position for a senior social science advisor was approved within the Advice of Ceiling No. 01-77, dated November 11, 1976. Placement in this position is presently being finalized.

Thus the present staffing for the Bureau in the area of social analysis included: 1) one GS-13 slot for a social scientist in Washington; 2) two direct hire social anthropologists (one in the Philippines, and one in Washington); two long-term contractors (1-2 years: one in Pakistan and one in Nepal); 4) several short-term (1-3 months) for

specific projects. It is evident that additional direct hire social analysis will be needed in the Asia Bureau if it is to meet its social analysis needs.

Social analysis within the Bureau must be understood within the wider context of current needs and requirements in the process of policy/program formulation, of project documentation and review, and of evaluation. For the purpose of this paper it may be useful to address three basic questions: why? what? how?

## II. Why Social Analysis?

This question is still frequently heard within the Bureau. This is due to the very newness of the use of social analysis. There is a lack of knowledge about social analysis and the ways social analysts can contribute to the project development process. Implicitly, a lack of acceptance of the need or value of social analysis follows a lack of knowledge. Social analysis tends to be approached as just another requirement cluttering up the real business of loans and grants. This means that social scientists working already in the bureau must not only attend to the analysis of social variables; they must also work to be included in the project design and review process.

Social scientists must spend much of their time just to establish a place among those regularly consulted about projects. That "place" as a functional part of the project system does not yet exist. At present, any inclusion into the project review process stems solely

from personal support with project officers, not from an institutionalized acceptance. Not until the social analyst is normally sought out as a representative of social analysis skills (rather than as a personal acquaintance who may have a contribution to make) will social analysis become a functional component in the project design and review process within the Bureau.

Why then social analysis? Social analysis is clearly an effort to respond to the changing perspectives of the Agency, which in turn tries to respond to the changing needs of the developing countries. In the past development projects were often designed and their success measured in terms of political gain, technical efficiency, and economic cost-benefit analysis. Thus, for example, success in an agricultural project could be simply measured by increases of aggregate outputs valued at some market price value. The new policies or "new directives" are clearly expressed in the 1973 amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, in subsequent legislation, and in AID manuals and directives, and they may be summarized as follows:

- a. Shift toward the needs of the rural poor;
- b. Emphasis on collaborative style and full participation of beneficiary groups in project planning, implementation, and evaluation.
- c. Trend toward technical assistance and building of human resources. The overall concern then is the integral development of people, and this calls for a thorough understanding of the complex social issues related to nutrition, health, education, etc.

and a systematic integration of development projects into a people's culture.

The present directives for social analysis in the Agency fall under different categories: social soundness analysis, analysis of the role of women in the development process, impact on environment, and impact of the project on fertility and population. There is an urgent need to integrate these requirements into one social analysis statement which would adequately cover all these major areas of concern.

### III. What Are the Major Social Analysis Needs in the Asia Bureau?

Social analysis needs are varied and appear at different stages and different levels of the Bureau's operations. However, there are three critical moments when social analysis inputs are especially valuable: policy and country programs preparation, project analysis and evaluation.

#### a. Policy and country programs preparation.

Social analysis should be an integral part of individual country DAPs. Much of the descriptive material for the general socio-cultural setting can be included within the DAPs; individual project analysis would provide project-specific documentation. The social analysis section in a DAP can further be used to assist in the development of PIDs more closely attuned to the social conditions of the country - a kind of pre-social analysis. Ethnic groups, social organization leadership and kinship patterns, land tenure and agricultural practices, social stratification, and similar

general socio-cultural information could be selectively included in a DAP. To date, country DAPs have not included systematically sections with social information relevant to planning purposes.

b. Project Analysis.

Theoretically, all projects entering the funding review process in Washington must have a social soundness analysis.

Although what the contents of a social soundness analysis should contain are vague at the very least, this analysis must be specifically oriented to the given projects' design. Flexibility of the analysis is necessary in order for the analysis to be adaptable to the context of the project -- an essential if the analysis is to be a planning tool that refines a project design.

Project managers require specific information and specific suggestions in order for them to be of value. This means that the project social analysis should be done early enough (prior to PRP) in the conceptual stages of a project development so that the results can be effectively incorporated in the project's design. Perhaps the major contribution the project social analysis can make to the design effort is to help ensure that the project possesses a "cultural fit" to the specific social setting. Benefit incidence, spread effects, and other sections of Appendix 5A of Handbook 3, of course, offer contributions as well.

c. Evaluation.

A very significant use of social analysis lies in project evaluation. Through the examination of social factors which have

contributed to the successes and failures of a project, a great deal is learned for the planning of other projects for areas of similar socio-cultural setting. A record of the kinds of social issues which have arisen from particular kinds of projects in Asia is also valuable. For example, it is already known that projects involving resettlement tend to produce certain social side-effects. It is important to have an evaluation history of social factors affecting Asian health projects, agricultural projects, family planning, etc. At present, there is no full-time social analyst for evaluation purposes.

#### IV. How?

Social science inputs cannot be expected to work miracles, but they are vital for the successful development and implementation of projects within different socio-cultural milieux. However, they have to be made specific and operational both within the Agency's and host country's institutional framework, both in terms of personnel and bureaucratic procedures.

So far the Bureau has dealt with social issues in the following ways:

- a. Ignoring them. The overwhelming concern has been financial, economic, political, and often technical.
- b. Paying lip service through "cosmetic statements". These statements have often been written by uninterested staff with little or no background in the social science field.

- c. Contracting. In some instances contractors were hired to execute social analysis but due to the present staffing patterns the following constraints were frequently encountered:
- 1) Contracts were signed with firms of engineers who, although qualified in their own profession, lacked the sensitivity and skills to deal with social soundness issues.
  - 2) Contractors were qualified social scientists and produced good-quality work, but the Agency lacked the in-house capability to incorporate their findings into project design and implementation.
  - 3) Contractors - social scientists and others - did not respond to AID requirements either because these requirements were not clearly spelled out in the scope of work, or because of conflicts of interest and situational factors.

Social analysis could be best implemented within the Bureau by:

a) strengthening social science contracting operations.

a) In-house expertise.

Given the social analysis needs outlined above, the most immediate need is the strengthening of social science in-house capability both in Washington and in the field. Washington's major use of social analysts stems from a project review and advisory role.

The field also requires the presence of social analysts who can become an active part of project planning and design. Without that presence, the use of a social analysis will remain peripheral to the heart of project conceptualization. Another very important advantage to having social analysts posted in Asian missions is the close contact

to a given social setting which a mission affords. In this way, a mission social analyst can acquire a familiarity with the social patterns of a country impossible to achieve from Washington. This familiarity will produce higher quality social analysis and benefit the mission through a ready availability of information or advice for project design.

The need for mission social analysts is only beginning to be met. Three of the Asian missions have acquired a social analysis staff (two contractual employees and one direct-hire). Other missions obviously still face the need for social analysis expertise. Until that expertise is commonly present both in Washington and the field, the Bureau social analysis capability will be incomplete.

#### b. Contracting

Due to the fact that the requirements for project social analysis alone exceed the present supply of trained social analysts in the Asia Bureau, social analysis expertise must be sought from outside the Agency. Much of this contracting until now has been done without the use or consultation of Bureau social science offices. But to properly follow the contracting process, a scope of work must be written with a knowledge about the kinds of issues that must be addressed or the methodologies likely to produce viable results.

The selection of a qualified contractor also necessitates an applicant review process in which the reviewers are knowledgeable about social analysis qualifications. Without this review capability, the Bureau runs the risk of paying for substandard analyses which do little for the planning process or for meeting the obligations of Congressional Guidelines. There is a pressing need for Bureau

social analysts in this area.

V. Recommendations.

1. Social analysis requirements for the Agency in general and for the Asia Bureau in particular need to be redefined.

- a. Requirements at various stages and levels of the Bureau's operations, e.g., policy/program, project documentation, evaluation, need to be identified and operationally structured.
- b. Present requirements, which call for separate social soundness analysis, analysis of the role of women in the developmental process, analysis of the impact on environment, and the analysis of the impact of a project on fertility and population, need to be integrated into one social analysis statement.

2. Specific operational procedures for social analysis within the Bureau need to be developed and tested at various stages and various levels, e.g., RAP preparation, project documentation, evaluation. For best results, for example, social analysis should be executed at the very beginning of project documentation, i.e., PID or pre-PID stage.

3. Staffing within the Bureau should adequately reflect the social analysis needs and requirements.

Specifically:

- a. At least three regular social analysis positions should be slated in Washington. One position is not

enough for the review of all DAPS, projects documents and evaluations.

One social science analyst should specialize on evaluation planning and review.

b. Each mission should have one social analyst. The methodological and theoretical design benefits, and the practical benefits in implementation, from having mission social scientists are substantial.

As noted above, the field is the only place where a social scientist can acquire a meaningful familiarization with a country's social and cultural patterns and where social analysis can become a real part of the project conceptualization and implementation process.

4. Finally, methodological tools for social analysis need to be refined and tested. The Mission in the Philippines has begun this task.

State of Social Science Analysis  
in the  
Latin America Bureau

by

William G. Kaschak  
Contract Social Science Advisor

I. Introduction

As is the case with the Agency as a whole, the institutionalization of social science analysis in the Latin America Bureau is relatively recent. Although some anthropologists and rural sociologists were involved with Latin American programming efforts in AID's early days (there was also limited involvement in predecessor organizations), they did not enjoy direct hire status. Rather they were employed on a consultancy basis to meet special needs.

The institutionalizing process began with an administrative decision by the Agency in April of 1975 to include a social analysis of potential beneficiaries in the design of projects. This decision initiated within the L.A. Bureau a process of "gearing up" in order to meet the social analysis requirement. As will be pointed out below, the Bureau has in the past two years taken positive measures to include the social science perspective in the development of programs and design of projects. To be sure, considerable progress must still be made for social science to make its fullest contribution, but those problems which do exist are essentially attributable to "growing pains" or a period of adjustment to a new dimension. Bureau administrators are committed to including social analysis as a normal part of its working procedure, and they are making a concerted effort to bring this about.

## II. Status of Social Science Analysis in the L.A. Bureau

The status of social science analysis in the Latin America Bureau is best characterized as currently acceptable and continually improving. In the first instance the Bureau has contracted (November 1976) a Social Science Advisor for its Washington staff. This person has been charged with the responsibility of improving the quality of social science inputs regarding the project development process. The Bureau has facilitated the execution of this responsibility in a number of ways: (1) access to and right to critically review all project documents at every stage of development; (2) participation in the project deliberations of the Development Assistance Executive Committee (DAEC); (3) inputs into post DAEC review guidance cables to missions; (4) direct access to all technical and finance offices within LA/DR for the purposes of collaborative planning; (5) TDY trips to field missions to conduct social analysis for project papers; and (6) an active role in the identification of qualified social scientists and consulting companies to undertake project related social analysis.

Secondly, Bureau management has expressed a sensitivity toward the inputs which social science can make in the project development process. Moreover, it has put this sensitivity into action as is evidenced by the range of activities in which it has encouraged the Bureau's Social Scientist to be involved.

Thirdly, in addition to the contractor in Washington there are professionally trained social scientists working full time in two missions; a third person is in language training and will be assigned overseas before July 1, 1977. The activities of these people are complemented by individual social scientists and consulting companies on Personal Services and Indefinite Quantity Contracts.

Fourthly, as a result of the above efforts the social soundness components of Project Papers are evolving from nonanalytical notations to meaningful analyses of target groups which feature potential sociocultural constraints to project implementation and success and suggested strategies to overcome or at least neutralize the constraints.

### III. Progress Still to be Made

Although significant progress has been made in the LA Bureau since the April 1975 directive requiring social soundness analysis, there is room for further improvement. Constraints exist which must be overcome if social science is to make its fullest contribution.

Within the Bureau there are two areas which retard the contributions currently being made by social scientists. The first is the adversary role into which they are sometimes unwittingly cast. The recently established "New Directions" have placed demands, particularly in the context of project development, on Mission field staffs, which were not present in the past. Included among the new requirements are the social analysis, and statements on the role of women, environmental impact and population planning -- all or most of which are areas of concern for the social scientist. These demands have added to the process of developing projects and by extension have increased the workloads of overseas staff members who are in most cases already overworked. These new requirements are regarded by some field staffers as extraneous hurdles which hinder the real task of development as they conceive it. With appropriate understanding of the function of social science analysis, the concept of project design is certain to be broadened.

A second internal problem area which limits the contribution of the social scientists is the manner in which they are used in developing projects.

Currently the social scientists tend to be called into projects at a rather late date (normally after the PRP review). By this time the design has become fairly rigid and needed alterations are difficult to perform. It seems reasonable to suppose that if social scientists were involved at an earlier stage (early post PID would be ideal), their inputs could be used to greater advantage. In the first instance, earlier involvement and closer collaboration between the social scientist and the other technicians would lead to increased internal consistency in designs. Moreover, potential sociocultural constraints could be identified sooner, thereby allowing more time to devise suitable corrective strategies; understanding of early intervention should create better projects.

Furthermore, the quality of country program formulation and project design would be improved if social scientists participated in the basic Mission planning document (DAP). Involvement at this juncture would enable the social scientist to develop material covering, for example, general social organization of the country as a whole as well as significant geographic regions; land tenure arrangements; migration patterns; change tendencies; ethnic groupings, etc., which would be applicable to a number of projects over a span of several years. In turn this would free up significant amounts of time currently used to develop such material for each project to focus more closely on project specific matters.

Without doubt the major reason for these adjustments is the recent entry of social science as an integral part of programming and planning. In the past the tasks of formulating programs and designing projects has been carried on primarily by finance officers and technicians with "core" discipline development training (economists, engineers, and agriculture, education, and health and nutrition specialists). Social science simply

was not stressed as a part of the Agency's nor the Bureau's way of doing business. As a result it was and continues to be an area that requires explanation and understanding of the majority of the Bureau's staff while such concerns are being institutionalized as part of programming and project development processes. It is in effect the "new boy on the block," and like other new additions to a bureaucratic system must and is going through a process of acceptance.

The burden for gaining such acceptance lies, as it should, clearly with the social scientists working within the Bureau. Staff members need to be oriented in the social sciences. It behooves the anthropologists and sociologists to inform and to educate their colleagues in the normal work-a-day context of their applicability. Moreover, the social scientists must demonstrate through high quality work that they in fact can make significant and relevant contributions to improving programs and projects. If successful on both counts, it seems reasonable to assume that social scientists will become an institutionalized part of the Bureau's working order collaborating closely with their colleagues to generate quality programs and projects. In addition, if Bureau managers and administrators, especially at the level of the field missions, become convinced that social scientists are capable of making valuable inputs, their participation will be sought at the earliest possible time.

Over the past eight months there are indications that acceptance is in fact occurring. Social scientists in the Bureau report that initial skepticism, in the cases in which it was encountered, has turned into respect when their contributions improved the design of the projects. Moreover, Bureau management has encouraged its contractor anthropologist as well as those social scientists in the field to become involved in development of projects

as early as possible. The fact that the AID/Washington contractor anthropologist is making inputs at the earliest phases of the project cycle rather than joining it in midstream is facilitating earlier involvement.

#### IV. Assessment of the Impact of Social Science Analysis

PPC has asked that an assessment be made of the impact of social analysis on project development. It seems that at this point such an assessment is premature. Coordination of social science activities via the Bureau's Social Science Analyst contractor has existed for only eight months. Projects which have received the benefit of this coordinated activity have a projected life span of from three to five years. It is simply too early to measure the effect of increased LA efforts in this field. All we can say at this point is that the LA Bureau is making a concerted effort to give due consideration to sociocultural factors in the development of projects.

#### V. Strengthening Linkages between AID and Social Science Institutions

It seems that the issue is not so much a matter of strengthening existing links as establishing new ones in the proper direction. Traditionally the main link has been to academia -- university professors hired for short term consulting assignments. Far too often the criticism within AID of the products generated by this type of consultant is that they are largely unintelligible to anyone outside of the discipline and questionably relevant to the matters at hand. If AID continues to seek technical assistance from the university community, it is strongly suggested that the Agency encourage anthropology faculties to concentrate on those concerns which are relevant to AID. These include an emphasis on such areas as quantitative data gathering techniques, programmatic problem-solving methodologies, work in development-related disciplines (education, health, agriculture) and strategies to deal with large populations (the rural poor of a nation and not a village).

Faculties which may still view applied work as a second class endeavor should be avoided.

Further, AID should reinforce existing and form new linkages with consulting companies and private free lancers located both in the States and overseas. The growing number of professional anthropologists found within this group generally possess a number of qualities (familiarity with related disciplines, education, public health, agriculture, experience in working in development, facility with quantitative techniques, and often high level language proficiency and intimate knowledge with the local setting as a result of extended stays overseas) which make them preferable to those who have remained in the traditional anthropological exposure.

Finally, recent years have seen the growth in numbers of national social scientists in the LDCs with high quality professional backgrounds. Although employed little to date, their training, work experience, and first-hand knowledge of the local scene could make them a valuable resource for consulting work in the future.

LA/DR:WGKaschak:jvc:8/1/77

## APPENDIX B

## WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

Aronson, Dan  
AID, Regional Economic Development Services Office/West Africa \*

Barton, Clifton  
AID, Bureau for Technical Assistance

Berg, Robert  
AID, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination

Blankstein, Charles  
AID, Bureau for Technical Assistance

Blue, Richard  
AID, Development Studies Program

Brown, Ellen  
Consultant

Cernea, Michael  
The World Bank

Cochrane, Glynn  
Department of Anthropology  
Syracuse University

Cummings, Randy  
AID, Afghanistan

Dutto, Carl  
AID, Asia Bureau

Ewart, Ned  
Consultant

Foster, George M.  
Department of Anthropology  
University of California, Berkeley

Gallaher, Art, Jr.  
Society for Applied Anthropology, *and*  
Dean, College of Arts and Sciences  
University of Kentucky

Gallup, Cynthia  
AID, Honduras

Greeley, Edward  
AID, Regional Economic Development Services Office/East Africa

Hammond, Peter  
Consultant

\* Note: affiliations listed are as the date of the Workshop.

Hirabayashi, Edward  
AID, Africa Bureau

Hoben, Allan, *Workshop Co-Chairman*  
AID, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination

Horowitz, Michael M, *Workshop Co-Chairman*  
President, Institute for Development Anthropology, Inc., *and*  
Department of Anthropology  
State University of New York at Binghamton

Ingersoll, Jasper  
AID, Development Studies Program

Kaschak, William  
AID, Latin America Bureau

Kelley, John  
AID, Honduras

Keyser, James  
AID, Near East Bureau

Langley, Grace  
AID, Near East Bureau

Lerner, Eugene  
AID, Senegal

McPherson, Laura  
Institute for Development Anthropology, Inc.

Murdock, Muneera Salem  
Institute for Development Anthropology, Inc., *and*  
Department of Anthropology  
State University of New York at Binghamton

Plunkett, Hugh  
AID, Pakistan

Philly, Michael  
AUD, Bureau for Population and Humanitarian Assistance

Poe, Karen  
AID, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination

Randlov, Allan  
AID, Bureau for Technical Assistance

Scott, Richard  
AID, Afghanistan

Scudder, Thayer  
Vice-President, Institute for Development Anthropology, Inc., *and*  
Division of Humanities and Social Sciences  
California Institute of Technology

Shakow, Alexander  
AID, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination

Skinner, Elliott P.  
Director, African American Scholars Council, Inc., *and*  
Department of Anthropology  
Columbia University

Slattery, John  
AID, Bureau for Population and Humanitarian Assistance

Steinberg, David  
AID, Near East Bureau

Tendler, Judith  
Consultant

Van Dusen, Roxanne  
AID, Near East Bureau

Vermeer, Donald  
AID, Development Studies Program

Wallach, Irving  
American Anthropological Association

APPENDIX C

AIRGRAM ON "SOCIAL ANALYSIS CONFERENCE"



CONTINUATION

80

POST	NO.	CLASSIFICATION	PAGE	PAGES
AIDTO CIRCULAR A		UNCLASSIFIED	2 OF	6

Conference

The conference, which took place on 27 May, was sponsored by PPC. Most of the direct hire and contract people who have been working on social analysis of projects and programs participated, along with staff members and consultants for other development agencies and other AID officials. Papers were submitted in advance of the meeting. A report on the proceedings is now being prepared, and it will be sent to field missions which are interested.

Experience

AID has made substantial progress during the past two years. It is probably ahead of other assistance agencies. But social analysis is not yet well understood or used in the field or Washington. Many AID people view social analysis as distinct from and peripheral to the analysis of development problems. To some, the term "social" implies welfarism or a kind of settlement house or non-economic approach to development.

In many cases, social analyses have been performed only as an after-thought or as a mechanical attempt to meet a formal requirement when projects are submitted for Washington approval. Missions and bureaus following this approach have put heavy reliance on outside consulting firms, without in-house experts who can assure that the analyses meet and are used for more substantive purposes.

On the other hand, some AID missions and AID/W bureaus have recruited social scientists to perform social analysis responsibilities, and while there are problems, the experience has been positive.

The Need for Social Analysis

AID's social analysis requirement reflects our concern about the impact of development on low income people, and our understanding that development projects and programs will not succeed unless they engage the interests and energies of the poor majority as well as of those who exercise political control and administrative authority.

In the past, many people responsible for shaping development assistance assumed that: (1) low income non-western peoples' productive practices are governed by tradition; (2) that their economic behavior is non-rational or at least significantly less rational than that of "modern man"; (3) that traditional societies are static; and (4) that development requires the destruction of traditional institutions since they are constraints that prevent peasants from pursuing their rational self-interest.

UNCLASSIFIED

CLASSIFICATION

PRINTED 6-66

CONTINUATION

81

POST	NO.	CLASSIFICATION	PAGE	PAGES
AIDTO CIRCULAR A		UNCLASSIFIED	3 OF	6

Today, by contrast, development practitioners and scholars are coming to recognize that: (1) traditional production systems are usually better adjusted to local ecological, economic and political economic conditions (and their fluctuations) than was previously believed; (2) traditional producers make conscious and recurrent decisions about the use of productive assets, the organization of labor, marketing, savings and investment; (3) experimentation, innovation, and calculated risk taking are commonplace practices, even in communities uninfluenced by extension services; (4) in economic and demographic terms most traditional societies for which information is available have been dynamic and have undergone continuous adjustments or changes; and (5) development is unlikely to occur unless it succeeds in building on existing ecological, socio-cultural, and economic systems which represent effective and responsive ways of controlling access to productive assets, organization of production, averting risk and accretional capital formation. Innovations on technology and improvements in infrastructure are needed, of course, and changes in existing institutions will occur. But we must recognize that existing local institutions persist because they meet real needs, and new organizational forms will be accepted only if they meet these needs more effectively.

The "discovery" of traditional producer reasonableness has profound implications for development policy and programs. If peasant behavior is the product of reasonable decisions (from the peasants' point of view, though not necessarily from that of the government official, the expatriate advisor, or "the economic system") and if peasant asset management reflects an optimization strategy rather than the sheer weight of tradition, then development programs must place for more emphasis on analyzing existing systems, identifying and making available technology and opportunities that are of substantive value in the context of the circumstances particular low income groups face and less emphasis on generalized "improvements", salesmanship, and "enlightenment".

Recognition of small producer rationality does not simplify the task of development planning. On the contrary, it makes it more complex; for the ecological, social, micro-economic and political-economic contexts in which producers make decisions vary through time and according to region and locality. The response of a farmer to a high yield, short stemmed variety of wheat may depend, among other things, on the extent to which he or she is dependent on straw to bring his oxen through the critical dry season. The farmer's willingness to adopt row planting will depend on an estimate of the opportunity costs of the additional labor inputs.

The farmer's response to credit or employment opportunities may be affected by membership in local social groups that regulate an assessment of more obvious factors such as expected returns, farm-gate prices, the rate of inflation, local (i.e., non-modern) opportunities for savings and investment and whether or not increased cash income will contribute to an increase in prestige power or status in the community. Similarly, a peasant's willingness to send a child to government school will be affected by farm labor requirements, assessment of the practical value of education in the local community and an estimate

UNCLASSIFIED

PRINTED 6-19

POST	NO.	CLASSIFICATION	PAGE	PAGE
AIDTO CIRCULAR A		UNCLASSIFIED	4	OF 6

of probable remittances or support in old age should the child leave the community; and the desire to sire, foster or "put out" a child are affected to local conditions

For effective development planning and results, variations in the context of producer decision making are crucial. Identical policies, programs, and projects may have very different impacts in differing ecological, ethnic, economic, and political-administrative environments.

### Relation to Work of AID Missions

It is never possible to be fully satisfied that we know everything we need to know. On the other hand, essential information about the social environment and its relevance for development can be obtained through social analysis and continuing access to social scientists with the training, experience, and willingness to advise and participate in our work.

This should be done at all stages of our work. The conferees said that the use of social analysis in DAP preparation, sector analysis, and project identification not only improves the quality and coherence of the program but it also increases the efficiency of the mission staff by eliminating weak projects at an early stage, thereby avoiding later frustrating and time-consuming problems in design and review.

In many missions social analysis has been used only for project design feasibility studies. This has led to serious problems. Too often basic information on vital issues such as traditional farm management systems, household decision making, land tenure, the role of local social organization in risk aversion and indigenous medical practices has been brought to the attention of the mission staff only after projects have been formally proposed. This has led to friction between social analysts and mission or host country personnel, incomplete and less than frank reporting in project documentation, delays in project approval, and expensive additional research efforts to fix up what is basically an unsound project.

It is evident from the shared experience of social analysts and other AID personnel working in field positions that properly selected social analysts can make their most effective contribution to the attainment of Agency objectives if they are full-time employees of the mission. In this role the analyst is able to make a significant and on-going input into all aspects of program planning project identification, implementation and evaluation.

Instead of working separately on social analyses to be used in project design for cosmetic purposes the analyst adds perspective and information on a wide range of project issues.

CLASSIFICATION	PAGE	PAGES
UNCLASSIFIED	5 OF	6

By raising potentially troublesome issues before mission staff time or host country commitment have been invested in a project the analyst becomes a contributing member of the mission team instead of an adversary. Moreover, he/she can help to raise and deal with sensitive issues that cannot be discussed in official documentation but are crucial to considerations of program success and benefit incidence.

### Recruitment

Establishing criteria for selecting appropriately qualified social analysts was a major topic of workshop discussion. This issue was discussed in relation to full time in-house mission social analysts, host country social analysts, and non-local short-term consultants.

The selection of an in-house full time social analyst is of critical importance because the mission's ability to identify its analytical needs, to select analysts for specific tasks to supervise their work and to incorporate their findings into mission activities will all be affected by his judgment.

Four types of criteria should be taken into consideration. First, the mission social analyst should have experience in field research, preferably at least a year of micro-research in the cultural area if not the country where he/she will be working. This is important because he/she will be familiar with local institutions and subtle cultural cues. While an experienced analyst can become familiar with a new region, it is a time-consuming process and is difficult to do under the press of other duties. In so far as is possible it makes sense to regard previous experience in the area as well as specific research experience as resources which will enhance the analysts contribution to the mission.

Second, he/she should have a working knowledge of social research theories, concepts, and methods, and, equally important, demonstrated ability to relate these to the planning and implementation of development programs. In addition to this general background, the analyst may be expected to have special competence in at least one appropriate sub-field of developmentally oriented social science, including development anthropology, cross national sociology, cultural ecology, human geography, political science, and economic history.

Third, the mission analyst should have proven (at the FSI-3 level or better) competence in at least one of the major languages of the area. This skill is particularly important in countries where large proportions of low income people are not familiar with the language of the colonial elites. Access to the views of these people requires the ability to communicate directly and informally with them. Dependence upon interpreters may still be necessary at times but it should be minimized.

AIDTO CIRCULAR A 266

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 6 OF 6

Fourth, the analyst should be able to act effectively as a research manager. Because of limitations of time and the sensitivity of some topics the analyst cannot personally conduct all required research. Experience in training and supervising field staff and in working in collegial relationships with host-country professionals and officials is vital as is an understanding of how research activities can be executed on time, within budget, and in response to the needs of the mission. These managerial and interpersonal skills are generally not taught in formal academic social science training, but they are acquired through experience in university or other administrative positions.

The Agency's heavy dependence on consultants for social analysis has created difficulties for consultant and mission alike. Many of these difficulties can be overcome by improving the criteria and process of selection. The general qualifications for a social analyst consultant are similar to those for a full time mission analyst. More emphasis should be placed, however, on the consultant's substantive and methodological specialization. Many Agency personnel have failed to distinguish between subdisciplines such as medical, economic, and urban anthropology and have given little attention to whether the prospective consultant specializes in the study of large dams and resettlement or family planning.

More appropriate selection of consultants requires a clearer idea of what the consultant is to do, better rosters of social analysts, and above all a decycling of the use of analysts so that the best qualified candidates can be located and given adequate lead time and scheduling flexibility.

Other ways of improving the effectiveness of consultants include the provision of adequate time for library research in the United States or elsewhere and consultation with host country social scientists, greater freedom to work in the project area unaccompanied by other members of the feasibility team, and repetitive use of the same consultants. All of these recommendations reflect the fact that social analysis is more complex and time consuming than many more technical tasks.

Workshop participants reported excellent results in working with host country social scientists and research institutions where they are well developed and have time available. In addition to using local social analysts in project design and implementation, several missions have initiated projects to strengthen host country social analysis capacity through support for training and applied field research. These efforts seem particularly promising since they help to communicate the new directions perspective to those responsible for development planning in the host country.

#### Comment

Please send comments, questions, and requests for the forthcoming report to PPC/PDA/CP.

VANCE

CABLE ROOM PLEASE SEND TO LIST P

UNCLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGY, INC.

1. Michael M Horowitz, ed., Colloquium on the Effects of Drought on the Productive Strategies of Sudano-Sahelian Herdsmen and Farmers: Implications for Development. September 1976.
2. Richard Tutwiler, Muneera S. Murdock, and Michael M Horowitz, Problems and Prospects for Development in the Yemen Arab Republic: the Contribution of the Social Sciences. December 1976.
3. David W. Brokensha, Michael M Horowitz, and Thayer Scudder, The Anthropology of Rural Development in the Sahel: Proposals for Research. July 1977.
4. Laura McPherson, ed., The Role of Anthropology in the Agency for International Development. January 1978.

INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGY, Inc.

P. O. Box 45

Westview Station

Binghamton, New York 13905