

SOCIAL ANALYSIS AND PROJECT DESIGN
IN THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

REVIEW, RECOMMENDATIONS, GUIDELINES

Final Report

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INTRODUCTION

I. INTRODUCTION

The present report was written under contract to the Agency for International Development, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination. The contractor was asked to assist AID/Missions and AID/Washington to provide guidelines for social analysis in program and project work in order to improve social impact of projects. The term "social" was interpreted to include socio-cultural, socio-political, socio-economic and socio-ecological aspects.

The duties of the contractor were divided into diagnostic and prescriptive phases: (1) review of the present status of social analysis in the Agency through interviews with Agency staff and consultants; (2) identification of any needed changes to improve the performance and impact of social analysis together with development of draft guidelines which could serve as a basis for AID/Washington guidance to AID/Missions overseas.

The preliminary review of social analysis conducted under AID project work, and consultations with AID staff argued that specific questions or issues could not be developed without a prior reconsideration of the major question of timing of social analysis in the AID program and project cycle. It was therefore agreed at the first two review meetings between the contractor and PPC/E staff and other interested staff members, that the project should give initial attention to what kinds of questions should be asked at which stages of program and project work in order that social analysis become more closely integrated with and useful to project design. The contractor agreed with and followed these recommendations.

The recommendations made for integration of social analysis at different stages have taken into account the existing AID general guidelines for project preparation as in Handbook III on Project Assistance. However, the approach to social analysis proposed in the paper will require changes to be made in existing guidelines if it is accepted.

AID/Washington staff, and particularly those with a special interest in social aspects of project work have cooperated fully with the project in the short time available for its implementation. It is recommended that the final product of this contract be distributed to the staff for comments and for field testing of guidelines. Such pre-testing is a necessary step which should precede their incorporation into any instructions to AID Missions.

Monitoring of the use and usefulness of these guidelines is equally important. While some of what is proposed in the report is based on considerable experience, as in the instance of background data gathering, other parts such as social impact prediction and social feasibility analysis are still largely experimental.

Finally, it is important to conduct an annual or bi-annual evaluation of social analysis in AID, to identify weaknesses or failures, and to provide specific support or guidance for those sectors or sub-sectors which require it.

DIAGNOSIS: CURRENT STATUS OF SOCIAL ANALYSIS IN AID

II. DIAGNOSIS: CURRENT STATUS OF SOCIAL ANALYSIS IN AID

The Foreign Assistance Act, as Amended in 1969, and Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, known as the Percy Amendment, are encouraging attention to social development. The New Directions legislation has in particular pointed to the need for attention to the poor and to women in all types of AID development assistance.

In parallel with these Congressional mandates, AID/Washington and AID/Missions staff have become increasingly aware of the role that social issues play in achieving the economic objectives of development.

Both these lines of concern point to more attention to social aspects of AID program and project work. The process that would allow such attention is often referred to as "social analysis." But it must be clearly understood that the term "analysis" should not be taken to refer to an academic or theoretical activity. To be useful and meaningful to AID and to U.S. foreign aid, it must be an eminently practical and development policy and planning related exercise. At a certain point it in fact develops into social design of developmental activities.

This paper argues for and supports two changes in the way that social analysis is presently approached in AID: (1) a greater emphasis on it; (2) increased integration of it into all the major phases of program and project work.

At the present time the majority of social analyses are being done during the latter stages of project work in AID, under the label of "social soundness analysis" or "social impact analysis" or "social feasibility analysis" or "beneficiaries" and "impact on women," or other similar terms. It is to this activity that reference is made when the term "social analysis" is used in this first section of the present paper.

1. Main Problems in Social Analysis

1.1 Quality of Social Analysis

Social analysis as part of development assistance needs to be relevant and useful for planning and implementing development. A large number of AID social analyses are too unfocused and descriptive. They attempt to cover everything instead of selecting the most important information in a given situation for depth analysis. Nor do

they apply their discussion specifically to the project. Other common problems noted in the review have been: focus on the wrong issues; a partial analysis of important questions; identification of social constraints without discussing how they might be dealt with.

Overall there is considerable variation in quality, emphasis, approach, length and style. This indicates the need for more specific guidance on what social analysis should do, and how it should do it. Regular Mission staff cannot be expected to re-interpret and apply the social analysis during the busy project cycle.

1.2 Timing of Social Analysis

It appears that most project related social analysis is presently carried out during the detailed design of the project. Often it is done during the last 6-8 weeks prior to presentation of the Project Paper. This is too late for such analysis to be useful. At this stage AID is already locked into negotiations, a tentative budget, and a general project strategy. If the social analysis leads to any change it is likely to be a minor one (building in of additional technical assistance, altering the relative importance of two components, and so on). The serious problem of social constraints to project success can be identified, but may not be resolved, as observed under discussion of project quality. In the rare instance that analysis leads to rejection of a project or drastic change in project design, it may actually be counterproductive over the long run: Missions may decide to avoid such risk in the future. The Circular Airgram 266 of 1977 on the AID social analysis conference has recognized these problems.

1.3 Use Made of the Social Analysis

Social analysis is currently serving more as a justification mechanism than as a program or project planning tool. Most staff who are familiar with a wide range of social analyses can at best recall less than five (and usually only two or three) instances when social analysis has actually had a marked influence on project design or influenced the acceptance or rejection of a project.

Part of the problem is related to timing of the analysis. A serious danger is that at this late stage the social analysis may not be seen by other design team members and may not even be read by Missions prior to the need to summarize it for the Project Paper. If the analysis contradicts what is proposed by other design team members, it is easier to change the social analysis than the project design. This may account for some clear internal contradictions within social analyses.

2. Constraints in Improving Social Analysis

Interviews with AID staff and consultants have indicated several causes of the three problems referred to above. To the extent that these will continue, they will constitute constraints to improvement. They will also restrict the extent to which any new guidelines for social analysis can be implemented.

2.1 Staffing Constraints

Social sensitivity is important in that it allows those who are not specifically trained to know about host country conditions to learn about them quickly, and to appreciate the importance of the social and cultural context of development. AID staffing patterns do not place adequate emphasis on social sensitivity. Nor are any language skills systematically required which might help in the development of sensitivity among Mission or AID/W staff with field contacts. Additionally, while there is a trend toward more hiring of professionals capable of doing or overseeing social analysis, such staff is still few in number and often of junior grade which limits their influence in decision-making. The maximum in regional bureaus of AID/W appears to be two persons per bureau. Some bureaus such as Asia have no direct hire social scientists other than economists. Many Missions do not have a resident anthropologist, sociologist or political scientist. In Latin America there are 2 or 3 (depending on the definition used) for the Region. In the Near East the situation is as follows: one social scientist IDI in Afghanistan; N. Yemen with one IDI approved for April, 1979; Tunisia to take on an IDI in October, 1978; Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Morocco with no social scientists and no plans to take one on. This situation shifts most of the responsibility for social analysis on consultants and contractors. Often such consultants are called in at the last minute, are not well selected (e.g., no country experience), do not coordinate with the rest of the design team. USAID/Mission learning from their work is minimal. The paper they produce is usually summarized for the PP and annexed. This approach does not represent an efficient use of AID resources.

2.2 Absence of Rewards

Some staff argue that there are no internal rewards in AID for doing quality social analyses. There are also few possibilities for upward mobility of social scientists. As a result, where social analysis competes with other tasks for scarce staff time, and even where it does not, there is little motivation for doing outstanding work.

2.3 Skill and Knowledge Constraints

The Development Studies Program has found a lack of analytical skills to be a major weakness among middle level AID staff. Other AID staff noted that lack of the following kinds of special knowledge also limits the extent to which social (and environmental) issues are discussed with host country governments, and how social analyses are used: (1) knowledge or understanding by Mission staff of the criteria that AID/W uses to evaluate social analyses; (2) lack of general background knowledge about the society and culture of the host country; (3) lack of technical knowledge in special areas such as health, nutrition, population and ecology, which are sometimes needed to perform social analyses; and (4) general lack of knowledge about how a social analysis should be done.

2.4 Political Constraints

Social questions themselves, and particularly those about income distribution, family planning practices and socio-political questions, are politically sensitive.^{1/} They may therefore threaten host country receptivity to loans, and to a lesser extent, to grants.^{2/} This constraint is affecting: (1) whether social analysis draws on some sources of data or uses field studies; (2) what kinds of information the social analysis will be able to provide and how useful and accurate this will be; (3) how the Mission uses the social analysis when it is presented to it. There may also be circumstances in which the Embassy is reluctant to see USAID exercise social analysis lest its findings offend someone in the host government.^{3/}

^{1/} Egypt regards demographic data as classified information. Morocco requires clearances for survey research.

^{2/} Some countries question U.S. motivation for doing social science research, especially when done by non-nationals (e.g., Morocco, Egypt). Others (e.g., Peru, Tunisia) have a strong preference for use of nationals.

^{3/} There have been some reports of Missions "sitting on" social analyses because they were not acceptable politically. These reports have not been substantiated.

2.5 Institutional Constraints

Time constraints, the burden of paperwork and pressures towards meeting financial goals, impose their own constraints on how much investment will be made in background analysis. The time issue is particularly critical for sociologists and anthropologists who find it difficult to do an adequate job in two or three weeks.

Social analysis should therefore be streamlined and made useful so that it can better fit into these institutional constraints. However, institutional constraints should themselves be taken into account in what can be expected of social analysis and of those who are responsible for it.

PRESCRIPTION: A NEW ROLE FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS

III. PRESCRIPTION: A NEW ROLE FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS

The past two or three years could be considered as the stage of awareness and interest creation about social issues and social analysis in AID. The development of it at one particular point in program/project work, and as a required but relatively isolated activity, has therefore served its purpose.

It now appears to be timely for AID to move into the phase of operationalization of social analysis. That is, to make social analysis a useful tool in its development assistance planning. For it to be useful, social analysis should:

- (a) to a lesser or greater extent be a continuous function of USAID and exist at all stages of program and project work;
- (b) be integrated with other activities that take place during program and project design and implementation.

To be able to meet these criteria, social analysis will need to have full institutional support and legitimacy.

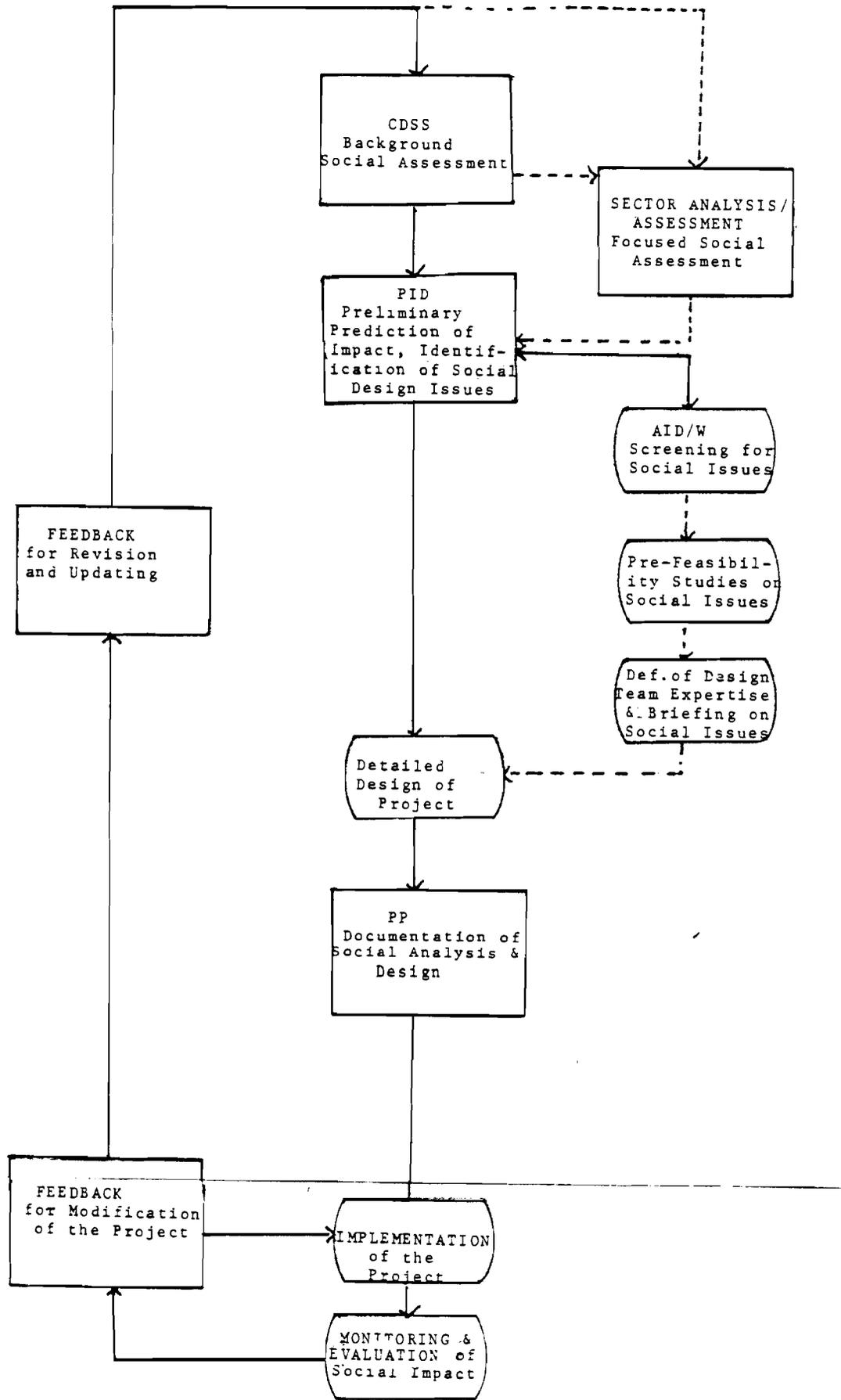
1. Social Analysis as an Integrated Process

1.1 Country Development Strategy Statement

AID development assistance strategy to any country needs to take into account the nature and the causes of poverty in the country if it is to effect any change in these. Understanding of the poor that goes beyond a macro-economic view is needed. Obviously any information at this stage will be inter-sectoral and not be able to go into much micro level detail. But it can still provide a minimal understanding of what the poor and their poverty are like and what major social and socio-political factors contribute to their poverty situation. It should not be assumed that government plans and programs include or are invariably derived from such understanding. Nor that collaborating host country officials are in close enough contact with the poor, or familiar enough with social research about their own country, to be able to supply it.

A good social data base in the CDSS will save using scarce time during rush periods in project identification and design for background information gathering. It will also allow the Mission and the host country government to establish a dialogue on important social issues.

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Social analysis in the CDSS is then a first building block in a process. It supplies essential social information for beginning development planning that will produce both economically and socially sound projects.

1.2 Sector Analysis/Assessment

Social analysis at the sector stage can help sector analysis avoid the danger of doing little more than describe what is going on. The social side of the picture often provides information on obstacles to program completion. It identifies social, socio-political, socio-ecological and cultural constraints to meeting access, efficiency, equity or other sector objectives, and predicts how they relate to social feasibility. But it also identifies possibilities as well as constraints, and in this sense helps define the national and AID sector-related goals and strategies and resource requirements of alternatives. Social analysis accomplishes these functions through relating sector activities to social, political and cultural processes.

1.3 Project Identification

Project concepts or ideas need to be socially sound to lead to quality projects. Thus social information must be included among all the other national and international sources of information which enter into identification of the project concept. Where a good social assessment has been included in the CDSS and/or the Sector Assessment or Analysis, such information will be available and accessible to the Mission and those who collaborate with it in project identification. Where it does not exist or is deficient, it should be collected at this stage; or data collection needs acknowledged for later attention.

The project identification document should reflect the available social information in its identification and description of project beneficiaries. Additionally, it should identify what the main social design issues will be in project design, so that these will be taken into account. Lastly, the adequacy of the social information base for the design of the particular project should be evaluated at this stage so that any measures to improve it can be taken in time.

1.4 Project Preparation

AID loan projects and grants sometimes present a variety of social decision-points. Prior experience in pilot or project form may not exist to help such decision-making. The opinions of policy makers and planners at the central level should not always be relied on as based on a close understanding of local conditions. Additional analysis or pre-feasibility studies may therefore be necessary. Studies to resolve major project social issues need to be done prior to and not after detailed design of the implementation strategy and development of financial plans. They should therefore take place during the early part of the intensive review period.

Results of the studies should be in the hands of the project design team members before, or at the latest, on their arrival in the field.

A final check or appraisal of social feasibility needs to be repeated both in these projects and in those in which no detailed pre-feasibility studies were considered to be necessary. This will allow last minute corrections in design, definition of special conditions, or of studies for implementation and taking account of such social issues during project monitoring and evaluation. Social feasibility analysis is then a two-step process in many projects.

After the final feasibility analysis has been completed, a second prediction can be made of project beneficiaries,^{1/} and project benefits or negative impacts, taking into account constraints which remain to the flow of benefits.

The Project Paper should attempt to improve integration of social analysis. It should also try to avoid some of the presently existing overlap, repetition and ambiguities between technical, economic and social analysis.

1.5 Project Monitoring and Evaluation

Currently social analysis does not play a major role in most project related monitoring and evaluation in AID. One of the several causes is the lack of sufficient attention to social analysis

^{1/} The first prediction takes place in preparation of the Project Identification Document.

and design during project planning. Such design stage social analysis prepares the way for social analysis during and following implementation through identifying critical assumptions about the process of development and flow of benefits which can be monitored; identifying possible negative consequences and distributional questions which should be looked at during project evaluation; identifying longer term social changes which might come about as a result of the project and the early signs which precede them.

Consequently, it is important that the social analysis carried out during project design be integrated into the Logical Framework of the project. A review of Logical Frameworks in presently existing AID projects found very few instances of such integration into the Logical Framework critical assumptions means of verification and indicators. Some illustrations of critical and verifiable social assumptions which AID projects often implicitly make but which do not appear in logical Frameworks are listed.

(a) Rural roads projects or project components assume that the poorer farmers who live in the area will continue to farm the land (that is, they will not be dispossessed or displaced by more progressive farmers or outsiders).

(b) Rural water supplies projects often assume that women are the water carriers and that they will use additional discretionary time for productive pursuits.

(c) Rural health projects often assume that villagers will use the modern services prior to turning to traditional herbalists, spiritual healers, midwives.

(d) Labor intensive rural public works projects assume that better-off farmers will not compete with and displace the poorer farmers or landless from available employment.

These and other similar critical social assumptions AID projects make need to be explicitly stated in the Logical Framework, tested during periodic evaluation, and noted in periodic evaluation reports.

Research and development experience is also showing that there are certain unintended negative effects of projects. For instance:

(a) Irrigation projects can lead to new kinds of health problems.

(b) Resettlement projects can disrupt social cohesion and create social problems.

(c) Introduction of cash cropping can place an additional burden on farm women and result in increase of malnutrition among the farm family.

(d) Involvement of male farmers in well paying rural public works programs can lead to decrease in agricultural productivity.

Such possible unintended negative consequences of projects need to not only be predicted in project design (PID as well as PP stages), but analyzed in periodic project evaluation.

2. Institutional Support Measures

There seems to be general agreement in AID on the fact that more explicit and detailed guidelines for social analysis are needed. A draft of such guidelines exists in Section III.

In this section, several additional institutional measures which would help their implementation are listed.

All these activities have found some support within AID itself although exactly how they should be implemented is not always agreed on. Further work will be needed to decide on some unanswered questions and detail the activities.

2.1 CDSS Review

While social analysis in the CDSS is a relatively new activity, a CDSS review is needed to control the quality of the social analysis. The need for this activity has already been recognized by PPC/E.^{1/} Review and evaluation should also serve to provide guidance, keeping in mind country-specific situations and data collection constraints.

2.2 PID Social Issues Review

Identification of social issues in the PID is vital in order that: (a) USAID Missions and collaborating host country officials recognize what these are at early stages in project design; (b) AID/W be aware of how adequate the social judgment and social analysis capability of the Mission is for the project. All PID documents for projects which might be considered "socially sensitive"^{2/} should therefore be systematically reviewed for their social issue identification. Where the reviewers conclude that the PID is deficient, AID/W should supply additional guidance with PID approval; or require additional information prior to, and conditional to, approval.

^{1/} The PPC/E Work Program recommends and details this review.

^{2/} There is disagreement among AID staff as to whether the same procedures and recommendations for social analysis should be applied to all AID projects or whether some kind of classification according to degree of importance should be attempted. The opinion of the contractor is that a classification is needed.

2.4 Information Diffusion

Information diffusion activities of the Development Information and Utilization service in the Development Support Bureau can also contribute to effective implementation of social analysis. Ongoing DIU distribution of project information or examples to AID/Missions would benefit from having access to AID staff or consultant social scientists on a regular basis. These specialists could identify specific social issues in the replication of the example which discussion could accompany the package sent out by DIU. This would help Missions in deciding the extent to which it is appropriate in their country and how it might need to be modified.

2.5 Monitoring and Evaluation of Social Analysis in AID

Two kinds of support activities are recommended to PPC/E:

- (a) A semi-annual quality and relevance check on social analysis and social design in AID projects. This check could be done by using DIU services to take a number of small sector samples of projects funded during the preceding six months (grants and loans). Social scientists with the relevant sector expertise might read and evaluate the selected projects.
- (b) A bi-annual review of the effects of social analysis and design on project impact. For purposes of this review, two projects from four major sectors could be selected. The main criteria for selection would be (1) the considerable attention given to social analysis and design during project planning, and (2) the innovativeness of the project itself in the country context. Field visits would need to be conducted, all project evaluation documents reviewed, and additional collection of primary data may be called for. These projects should be written up as short case studies. If social analysis is truly proving its usefulness, these studies could be used for purposes of staff development, Congressional presentations, and after 4 years, for a volume of about 16 short case studies of "the social approach to development planning."

2.6 Special Studies

The following studies have been identified as of priority importance and are recommended as such to PPC/Studies Division:

- (a) Analysis of the long-term impact of rural infrastructure projects on land tenure to determine whether displacement of the poor is occurring from improved land.
- (b) Review and evaluation of AID experience in developing responsibility for maintenance of rural infrastructure at the community level.
- (c) Comparison of AID project predictions of beneficial impact on women, with actual project impact on women.
- (d) Review and analysis of AID experience in promoting local participation, to determine: (1) extent to which it is working, and at what levels of decision-making, implementation or evaluation; (2) determination of benefits and costs to the participants and project management; (3) outlining of general procedures for determining when and how the planning of participation should take place.
- (e) Cross-sectoral review of AID project evaluation reports by "social issue" (e.g., health impact, promotion of self-reliance, local participation in decision-making, identification of viable local organizations, and so on) to develop and evaluate AID social policy in these areas.

APPLICATION: GUIDELINES FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS

IV. APPLICATION: GUIDELINES FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS

This section provides draft instructions for performing social analysis at different stages of AID program and project work as an integrated activity.

The guidelines have been written with AID/Mission staff as intended audience. Jargon language is avoided as much as possible.

1. COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY STATEMENT (CDSS)

1.1 Function of Social Analysis

If AID assistance is to help the poor, it needs to begin with an understanding of its target population and its relationship to the overall country context. This understanding needs to go beyond the purely economic. Nor is a knowledge of individual characteristics enough. In the final analysis the social and political structures set limits of how much any assistance can expect to accomplish in terms of equitable distribution of benefits. It also decides what special measures will need to be built into projects to make sure that the poor and women are given every chance to benefit and participation can take place. Essential background information therefore needs to exist in the CDSS. This information will help USAID to:

- (a) make sound decisions about which problem areas and project concepts USAID assistance should focus on, based on social and political data.
- (b) plan that assistance on the basis of a closer understanding of the main AID target population than would be available from country plans and programs and macro level analyses, and on the basis of the structure, character, and motivation of the host country government.

1.2 Types of Information Social Analysis Provides

Social analysis is an interdisciplinary social-science effort. It should draw together a variety of useful information from a number of different sources. Much of it would come from secondary data where this is available. It would include both macro and micro level information, and reflect such disciplines as sociology, anthropology, and political science. Not all information will be quantitative. The value of qualitative analysis should not be underestimated. In general terms, the information social analysis provides at the CDSS stage will be more descriptive and less analytic than it is later in program and project work.

1.3 Illustrations of Questions Social Analysis Asks

There is no one set of questions for CDSS social analysis. Those that are listed below are meant as a flexible list of commonly occurring issues. The list is not comprehensive. Each USAID Mission should be able to exercise its judgment as to which are the most important questions in the host country and emphasize these.

(a) Who are the Poor?

(1) How many people in the country are below the poverty line and where do they live? (How is poverty measured? By whom? How much variation is there within the general group of "the poor" in terms of poverty?)

(2) What are the poor like in terms of such characteristics as: region of origin, ethnic/tribal affiliation, language, religion, sex, educational level, income by amount and composition, occupation, land tenure, and so on?

(3) Do the poor fall into functional social or geographic groupings which might be useful for programmatic in discussion purposes? (e.g., small farmers, landless farmers, other rural

poor, rural/urban poor, indigenous urban poor, nomadic tribes, ethnic grouping, etc.) Is it possible to profile the poor along these sub-divisions?

(4) Has the distribution or extent of poverty altered markedly in recent years? (When? How? Why?)

(b) What is Poverty Like?

(1) How adequate is the quality of life of the poor? (By objective standards? In comparison to those who are better off?)

(2) What is the effective access^{1/} of the poor to employment opportunities (including off-farm employment opportunities for farmers)?

(3) What is the effective access of the poor to useful public/private services (health, education, transportation, communications, market, credit, etc.)?

(4) What is the effective access of the poor to government administrative operations of various kinds?

^{1/} The term "effective access" is used to refer to access, utilization, and benefit from utilization.

(5) What is the effective access of the poor to the local and national political process?

(6) What is the effective access of the poor to vital resources (sources of energy consumable in the household, potable water, land, good soil, etc.)?

(7) Does poverty affect women more than men? (Why? What role do they have in division of labor, what property rights, economic decision-making power, access to income, etc.?)

(c) How is the Social System Organized to Cope with Poverty?

(1) What is the social structure; how rigid is it?

(2) Which are the main cleavages or factions in the country? (Do regional, ethnic, occupational, religious or other factors account for divisions?)

(3) What are the main cohesive elements at the community level? (Are they language, family ties, ethnicity, communal work groups, communal property ownership, unions or other?)

(4) What traditional production, health, credit and other local and regional systems exist for presently meeting real needs?

(5) Does a tradition of community cooperation exist? (Among whom? Is it dying out? Why?)

(d) How is the Political System Organized to Cope with Poverty?

(1) Is the system of government a purely administrative system or are there parallel political organizations that supplement this administrative system (labor unions, political parties, officially recognized artesanal organizations, religious groups, military, youth groups, officially sanctioned voluntary organizations, etc.)?

(2) Is there an official definition of the poor and policy to alleviate it by the political/administrative structure and how does this compare to the distribution of poverty outlined above (a)?

(3) What is the nature and power of the socio-political leadership system at the local and municipal levels?

(4) To what extent does the government census and other data collection mechanisms encourage or discourage collection of data about extent and distribution of poverty?

(e) What Information and Resources Exist for Planning for the Poor?

(1) How adequate is the existing data base for macro social and micro social and micro economic analysis that would help USAID to design socially sound projects?

(2) What additional information might be needed?

(3) What specific studies are proposed by the Mission for the immediate future?

(4) Are there one or more social science research centers in the country with which USAID is now collaborating or could collaborate at a significant professional level? (What is their nature - governmental, semi-governmental, private? Do they operate within a specific geographic or functional area? Do they have a particular research bias or expertise?)

1.4 Manpower and Data Required

(a) Manpower

The CDSS social data base will be drawn upon by later stages of program and project work. It is therefore essential that it be as adequate and correct as is possible, given existing constraints. For this reason an operationally experienced social scientist should be involved. This specialist may be a social or development anthropologist, a development specialized sociologist, a political scientist, or other. Country expertise and experience are essential. Because local experts often have better knowledge of existing sources of information, and better access to them, their use should be seriously considered. If primary data needs to be collected they may also be socially and politically more acceptable for this activity.

Where U.S. experts, universities, consulting firms are used, collaboration with national experts and national institutions should be mandatory. If a long-term relationship can be established between USAID Missions and a social science research and planning group (university, consulting firm, research institution or other) this is beneficial from the point of view of efficiency and effectiveness. Time requirements for collecting and analyzing the CDSS social data base will vary according to what information already exists and the quality of the information. It may vary from 3 weeks to 3 months.

(b) Data

Developing countries often have more available data than appears evident at first glance. Existing data from census, surveys, case studies, government plans and programs, development program and project reports, university theses, dissertations and other research, and so on, should be used to the extent possible. Frequently existing information will need to be re-analyzed and checked for reliability and validity. Secondary analysis may need to be done of existing data. Both quantitative and qualitative data may need to be collected. All sources of information should be noted in the CDSS.

2. SECTOR ANALYSIS OR ASSESSMENT

2.1 Function of Social Analysis

Where sector assessments or analyses are carried out, social analysis can add a new dimension to understanding of the complex of social activities which make up the sector, and how they relate to one another. It performs this function through relating each of these activities to: (a) social political and cultural process and (b) to AID social policy objectives of benefiting women and the poor.

In many cases social analysis will additionally function to redefine the boundaries of the sector through including in it the more traditional or grassroots institutions or mechanisms for coping. These may be closely related to the modern ones in the kinds of needs they meet, and may also be operationally related to them. An example would be the case where the social analysis includes attention to the traditional health care system in a health sector analysis (Annex 1) or the informal credit system in an agriculture sector study (Annex 2).

2.2 Types of Information Social Analysis Provides

Social analysis in sector work should begin with a social justification of the definition of the sector. It should provide information on social appropriateness and the equitable nature of sector organized activities. Where these are modern and formal in nature, most of the analysis would usually be based on secondary data and records, possibly complemented by interviews with informants. Primary data would often have to be collected on traditional institutions and forms of coping, which need to be taken into consideration. Much of this information would be new to host country collaborating officials and to AID/Missions and those who assist them in sector work. Normally information would be qualitative as well as quantitative, particularly information dealing with traditional systems.

A second type of information social analysis provides is information on the behavior, attitudes, beliefs and values of different "actors" or groups of people in the sector, which impede or promote achievement of sector objectives. This kind of information will help Missions decide what major kinds of social constraints they will have to look out for, and know what some important possibilities are for introducing change.

2.3 Illustrations of Questions Social Analysis Asks

Sector analyses and assessments are presently carried out in a variety of ways in AID. The social analysis would need to adapt. The questions listed are again illustrative only.

(a) General Social Overview

(1) What is the importance of the complex of activities which constitute the sector within the overall social and cultural context?

(2) What important historical and cultural antecedents, or recent social or socio-political events or trends are relevant to an understanding of the sector?

(b) Social Analysis of Existing Systems, Institutions

(1) What are the main public, private, traditional/indigenous, or functionally related systems which constitute the sector?

(2) How appropriate, accessible, preferred and effectively utilized are each of these systems? (By the poor, by women, and by different age or ethnic groups which are important to sector strategies?)

(3) What are relationships of cooperation or competition between systems?

(4) What are significant trends within systems towards equity; what are factors which continue to discourage equity?

(c) Identification of Social Constraints and Social Possibilities

(1) Which are the main groups of actors within the sector?

(2) What values, beliefs, attitudes, individual or organized practices, among these could become a constraint in any planned intervention in the sector?

(3) What values, beliefs, attitudes, individual or organized practices among these actors might offer potential for intervention in the sector?

(4) What are the possibilities for participation in the sector; what existing traditions, experience or mechanisms can it build on?

2.4 Manpower and Data Required

(a) Manpower

If there is a major traditional system of activities which needs to be taken into account in the sector (e.g., indigenous health care system) or a need to collect field data on attitudes, motivations, practices and so on, social scientists should be used at the sector stage. Usually anthropologists would be more appropriate to the first task, and sociologists to the second, but exceptions exist. In either case a functional specialization in the particular sector is essential at this stage, in addition to development experience, and country or region expertise.

(b) Data

Both qualitative and quantitative data will usually need to be used. Very little of the kind of information needed will be available in census data or major household surveys. Other sources such as smaller surveys, studies by universities and research institutions, project related data collection, project reports and even live informants will normally need to be used. All sources should be noted. Data required on traditional systems and forms of coping will usually need to be collected in the field.

3. PROJECT IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENT

3.1 Function of Social Analysis

At the project identification stage the main function of social analysis is to predict social impact. Often the project identification goes very little beyond choice of a project idea or concept, and does not develop in detail a project strategy. This prediction will therefore be a preliminary one, but will allow an initial decision to be made by AID/W on the extent to which the project will meet AID policy objectives of benefiting the poor, women, and to some extent, of promoting participation and self-reliance. When the project is better developed, a more accurate and detailed estimation of who will benefit, how, and how benefits will flow, will be possible. A second and more detailed analysis of social impact will be carried out in preparation for, and be documented in, the Project Paper.

A second function of social analysis at the PID stage is to lay the groundwork for design of a socially acceptable project. It does this through predicting what might be the major social issues in the project and evaluating the social data base and existing resources to make sure that these are adequate for dealing with them.

3.2 Types of Information Social Analysis Provides

As AID develops background social assessment in the CDSS and Sector Work PID stage social analysis should be able to utilize this body of information. The major kind of completely new information which may have to be collected during Project Identification would usually be on "felt needs" or the relative priorities of the project concept to the target population.

For instance, it is important to determine whether those who are expected to make household connections will want electricity, water, or sewerage services. Or whether intended beneficiaries from literacy programs will want literacy or whether they actually want to learn about vegetable gardening or child care, and so on. When the benefits the project provides are limited in their usefulness and access to specific groups of

people, those people will have to be interested in the benefits or the project will fail. There is also another reason for determining felt needs. It should not be assumed that there is no relationship between perceived needs and actual needs. The poor farmer or illiterate woman may know best what assistance he or she needs to get out of the poverty cycle.

Additionally, social analysis at the PID stage provides planners with information on what the major issues will be which will determine social feasibility of the project. This information will help the AID/Mission to evaluate its own capability for designing the project and for AID/Washington to evaluate Mission capability, sensitivity, and commitment to AID social policies and strategies.

3.3 Illustrations of Questions Social Analysis Asks

(a) Prediction of Project Beneficiaries

Prediction of project beneficiaries needs to be a serious analytic exercise, which predicts both the good and the harm the project might do. Either beneficial or harmful effects can be unintended. But present prediction of impact rarely goes beyond what the project hopes to accomplish. Prediction of impact at the PID stage is early enough in project work to allow needed measures to be taken and major changes made to maximize benefits and minimize disbenefits of the project.

Some of the kinds of questions planners might ask are listed below.

(1) Who are the primary beneficiaries of the project?

(2) What other intermediate or ultimate beneficiaries will there be? Which of these must benefit if primary beneficiaries are to benefit?

(3) What proportion of all beneficiary groups will the poor account for?

(4) What kinds of direct and indirect benefits will they receive?

(5) What use will beneficiaries be likely to make of the benefits they receive under the project? (Will complementary measures, either in project, design or at the political level, be needed to ensure that expected flow or use of benefits occurs?)

(6) Will the project specifically address and attempt to equalize any existing male/female (or other) differences in opportunity?

(7) What information presently exists on whether those people who are intended to benefit from the project will want what the project offers them?

(b) Prediction of Disbeneficiaries and Non-Beneficiaries

(1) Will any groups or kinds of people be likely to be negatively affected by the project? What will be done about it? Will negative effects outweigh positive impact?

(2) Will any groups or kinds of people in contact with the project be likely to remain completely unaffected by the project?

(c) Social Design Issues

(1) Does the project intend to provide for active participation in decision-making, implementation or evaluation of the project by beneficiaries or other groups involved in the project? (How? Is there an existing tradition and experience with such participation?)

(2) What are the issues which will be most critical in ensuring social acceptability of the project; participation equitable distribution of benefits?

(3) How adequate is the data base for design of a socially sound project? (What additional studies are under way or planned to improve the data base? How will the results of these studies be used in project design?)

3.4 Manpower and Data Required

(a) Manpower

If the CDSS, Sector Analysis/Assessment, Poverty Profile or other background study provides a good social information base, involvement of sociologists or anthropologists may not

be essential at the PID stage. If they exist on Mission staff, they should collaborate. The main input by social scientists who are not economists should occur at the AID/Washington level at the PID stage. They should review all PID documents, with particular attention to how well social issues have been foreseen.

(b) Data

Prediction of project impact and what will determine that impact involves prediction of human behavior. This is the most difficult kind of prediction to make. In this situation it needs to be based on at least three kinds of information: available country data on beneficiaries and their social and political context; social theory; related development experience.

4. PROJECT PAPER

4.1 Function of Social Analysis

The Project Paper documents the issues faced and actions taken to ensure social feasibility and appropriate impact of the project. Most of the underlying processes themselves have taken place much earlier.

(a) As in the PID, there should be a prediction of project impact. But at the PP stage this prediction is documented on the basis of both project concept and a detailed project strategy. It will therefore be a more accurate prediction. In some instances it will modify or contradict the PID prediction, and this should be quite acceptable. An impact statement in the PP is much more likely to fail its function if it adds nothing new to what the PID said, unless of course the project was unusually well developed at the PID stage. Normally the PP analysis of project impact will provide additional information on quantity, types of benefits, and on the maintenance and spread of benefits.

(b) A second function of the PP stage of social analysis is to estimate the social feasibility or acceptability of the project to those individuals, or groups of people and institutions, which will be critical in its success. This will include attention to feasibility of participation and equitable distribution of benefits, where relevant. Any detailed feasibility studies should however have been done during the earlier part of the intensive review process, so that they could be taken into account in detailed design of the project. During the last few weeks prior to PP presentation, only a final appraisal of project feasibility should be conducted.

(c) The third function of social analysis in the PP document is to outline what social analysis will need to be done during project process monitoring and project evaluation.

(d) A fourth function of social analysis is to check the project logical framework to make sure that social assumptions, indicators and means of verification are included.

4.2 Types of Information Social Analysis Provides

(a) Estimations of beneficiaries (and where relevant, disbeneficiaries) should be numerical at this stage. Where possible, constraint analysis should be done to predict any differences between intended and expected beneficiary numbers, and between intended and expected size of the benefits they receive. This will be more important in some kinds of projects than others; for example, in projects where benefits are the kind that various groups will want (e.g., additional income) and which will need to pass through various steps before they reach the primary beneficiaries. It is true that such estimates will never be very accurate, but if nothing else, they will alert those responsible for deciding on and implementing the project to what might happen.

(b) Descriptive and sometimes quantitative information on those values, beliefs, attitudes, practices, organization and any other individual or group characteristics which are believed to be critical to the project, recording how these have been considered by and reflected in the design of the project and its evaluation component. This information should usually be able to be integrated with a discussion of project design and feasibility issues. As social analysis moves toward becoming a more normal and accepted part of project work, it should also fit more smoothly into the Project Paper than it is at present. A section on social feasibility of the project should be short and to the point and not repeat or contradict discussion of economics or technical feasibility.

4.3 Illustrations of Questions Social Analysis Asks

(a) Project Beneficiaries, Disbeneficiaries, Non-Beneficiaries

The Project Paper should discuss the expected beneficiaries. The following kinds of questions will help planners prepare for that discussion:

(1) Who will be the immediate, intermediate and ultimate beneficiaries of the project? Will they benefit directly or indirectly? How many of the intended beneficiaries will probably be the actual beneficiaries, given any remaining constraints?

(2) What criteria are used to define who will be beneficiaries and who will not be?

(3) What proportion of beneficiaries at different stages will the poor account for? (What proportion of the direct and indirect benefits will they get?)

(4) What proportion of beneficiaries will be women? What proportion of direct and indirect benefits will they get?

(5) Will the benefits made available under the project replace something in use prior to the project? (How will the project improve on this? What will be lost?)

(6) Will beneficiaries want what the project offers them? How has this been established?

(7) Which kinds of people may lose under the project, either because they receive a smaller share of the benefits than they are accustomed to, because they receive no benefits, or because the project negatively affects them or their environment? (How has this been taken into account in the project design?)

(b) Maintenance and Spread of Project Benefits

(1) What special measures have been built into the project to ensure that improved programs or facilities continue beyond the project lifetime (e.g., active participation of local people in decision-making, project related training, operational linking of the new with the old, the modern with the traditional, etc.)?

(2) Are the project benefits expected to spread to a wider population? (Through which channels? What special measures have been built into the project to ensure that such spread takes place?)

(c) Social Feasibility of the Project

There is no set technique for conducting social feasibility analysis. The approach outlined below is experimental in its attempt at a coherent formulation and focus which would apply to most sectors and sub-sectors. As such it is relatively new.

A minimal social feasibility analysis would analyze whether the project could be implemented as it stands. That is, whether the people and society involved could absorb the changes. However, due to AID's emphasis on certain critical social issues, the social feasibility analysis needs to go beyond this to see whether special social objectives such as participation and equitable distribution of benefits are feasible.

The list of questions that follows focuses on three main components or dimensions of feasibility: technology, beneficiaries, the socio-cultural context. The process involved in

doing feasibility analysis is one of matching the new with the old, that is, the innovations the project will introduce with what already exists and is accepted. Matching will proceed along those dimensions which are relevant to the type of project.

Feasibility analysis should arrive at (a) a specific conclusion on each critical feasibility issue with associated recommendations and (b) a general conclusion on the total feasibility of the project. It is these summary conclusions which should appear in the body of the Project Paper under Social Feasibility.

(d) General Feasibility

(1) Which are the critical types or groups of people (and formal organizations) to whom the project will have to be acceptable?

(2) What changes in or new kinds of beliefs, attitudes, habits, practices or forms of organization, will the project demand of each of them?

(3) What incentives exist for critical groups for making the changes required of them? (How has the project design maximized the incentives?)

(4) What education or training programs will exist to help them make changes?

(5) What constraints exist to their making the changes? (How has the project design taken measures to lessen the seriousness of the constraints?)

(6) Has project technology and delivery systems in the host country been adapted to the extent possible to minimize these human requirements for change? (e.g., have traditional forms of organization, skills, tools, techniques, been looked at; has anything new been adapted to the old?)

(7) What will the project cost to different groups be in social and economic terms? (Will costs be disproportionately great for the poor? Will they be able to afford them?)

(8) Has the project design allowed enough time for interest and acceptance to develop and change to begin and spread?

(9) Will the social organization and structure be able to cope with and absorb the changes the project promotes? (How will any threats to existing social power or existing social roles be dealt with?)

(e) Feasibility of Participation

(1) What active kinds of participation in decision-making, implementation or evaluation does the project expect among beneficiaries? (Will people be participating individually or in groups? What kinds of groups?)

(2) Is there a tradition of such participation or previous experience which would ensure that it can take place?

(Have the particular kinds of people that the project expects to participate, e.g., poor, women, been able to participate in the past under similar conditions? Will social norms and existing skills allow them to do so now?)

(3) What are the social arrangements through which participation will be developed and channelled? (Have these arrangements taken into account already existing ones? Have they taken into account different factions and conflicts among the target population which might hinder the effectiveness of such arrangements?)

(f) Feasibility of Equitable Distribution of Benefits

(1) What are the economic or social costs of the project? Will these be disproportionately high for the poor or for women? Will they be able to afford them?

(2) What socio-political, socio-ecological or other factors threaten equitable distribution of benefits to poor or women (or others)? What measures have been taken to minimize this problem?

(3) What additional measures have been built into the project to ensure that their share of the benefits reaches and helps the poor and women?

(4) What evidence is there to believe that the measures taken to ensure equity will be successful?

(g) Documentation of Procedures Used to Establish Feasibility

(1) How has social feasibility of the project objectives and strategies been established? (e.g., field studies, desk studies, pilot projects, existing experience, opinions of experts/officials? At what stage in project design?)

(2) What additional analyses or activities need to be undertaken during implementation to ensure social feasibility?

(3) What contingency plans are available in the event that social feasibility predictions prove erroneous?

(h) Clarification of Social Design of the Project

(1) Have attitudinal and behavioral factors been considered in project assumptions, especially at purpose and output levels in the logical framework?

(2) Have non-economic indicators been included, such as social and socio-political ones, to measure the impact of projects on the social or political aspects of the country's development?

(3) Has the selection of means of verification to be used made sure that: there can be measurement of male-female differences; that there is active participation particularly by poor, women; that unintended negative consequences of the project are identified in time and proposed solutions undertaken?

(i) Impact Monitoring/Evaluation

- (1) What arrangements exist in the project for evaluation of project impact on beneficiaries or others?
- (2) What is the budgetary allocation? By whom?
- (3) What are the contracting/administrative arrangements?
- (4) Are unintended as well as intended effects to be looked at?
- (5) Is evaluation timed to allow for development of changes sufficient?
- (6) How will the information the component provides be utilized (as a managerial tool for improvement of the project, as a source of information for updating or detailing of the CDSS or Sector Analysis, for development of host country planning/research capabilities, etc.)?

4.4 Manpower and Data Required

(a) Manpower

If field studies need to be done to establish project feasibility, specialists will need to be involved at an early stage in the intensive review period. Where projects are socially sensitive, social scientists would be involved in the detailed design of the project, often in addition to involvement at the earlier phase.

(b) Data

By the PP stage the Mission and collaborating host country officials should have available to them a range of data for PP use, including background information on the target population (which should exist in the CDSS) and also documents which were used for its preparation. The identification of social design issues as well as project beneficiaries has been progressively developed in the program and project cycle.

ANNEX I

Social Analysis for
Small Farmer Credit Projects

1. Discussion
2. Background Information
3. Key Social Issues

1. DISCUSSION

Small farmer credit projects provide a good illustration of the need for socio-economic analysis. AID and other developing agencies are becoming increasingly aware of the difficulties involved in ensuring that such projects provide expected benefits to small farmers.

The obstacles are often social as well as economic. In the first place, organization, operation and staffing of the credit agencies themselves often tends to exclude the poorer farmer. Such credit institutions often operate from a centralized and distant base which the poor farmer finds difficult to get to; they have complex and cumbersome bureaucratic and formal procedures which they cannot cope with; an oral and written language which they may have difficulty in understanding, involve status and ethnic constraints to small farmer communication with credit agency officials; and demand documentation such as land titles, which farmers may not have in order. Women heads of households may in particular find themselves excluded from agricultural credit because the law does not allow them title to land.

When the small farmer does have access to the credit agencies, he sometimes does not want to use them. Development agencies are beginning to discover what anthropologists have known for a long time: that the small farmer often has traditional forms of coping with his credit requirements. These may be the extended family, village elders or politicians, moneylanders, larger landowners, merchants, or others. Their motives may be economic, social or political. They may have disadvantages, but to the farmer they also have some advantages: the people involved are known and trusted by him; he is able to understand and cope with the procedures involved which are less formal, he may not have to wait as long for the loan, and supervision practices may be less embarrassing to him. They are also there and at hand, and understand his timing needs for the loan, to coincide with seasonal ritual and agricultural activity of the community.

He may also find their interest rates cheaper and terms better than those of the formal credit agencies. Planners are now beginning to realize that by the time the farmer spends money

on travel, adds on bribes or entertainment fees, his opportunity cost of time lost, service charge, and so on, the real cost of his loan is much higher than the interest rate charged.

Finally, even if the small farmer does have access to, and use the credit agency services, he may not benefit from them as intended. One of the family members may become ill, and he needs the money to pay for medicines and health care. His children may need school books or uniforms. Or his investment may not pay off for various reasons. He may not know that it will not serve his purpose if he tries to save money by using only half the specified amount of fertilizer. Or the inputs may not arrive in time. Or he may not be able to get his crops to market due to lack of road maintenance: the dealer may not come to the village, and he may have sold his own animal cart which he used before because he assumed that with the new road he would no longer need it.

In sum, the planning of small farmer credit needs to start with a social analysis which identifies and evaluates existing ways of coping, and the constraints which exist on small farmer access to, use of, and benefit from credit. This will allow an initial decision on whether the concept of a small farmer credit program is socio-economically sound. It will also lay the basis for the design of a credit program which will be appropriate to the needs of the small farmer, and to his socio-cultural context.

It is doubtful that information on small farmer credit needs and existing ways of coping which exists at the central level will be adequate. Primary data collection, usually by economic anthropologists or economic sociologists, will need to be undertaken. Questions about financial transactions tend to be sensitive, and often it will be impossible to use formal survey techniques with written answers. The more open-ended and informal approach to information gathering should serve a double purpose: that of gathering information, and of allowing farmers to participate in decision-making about what is needed and appropriate for them.

2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION GATHERING FOR SMALL FARMER CREDIT PROJECTS/COMPONENTS

The questions listed are meant as a simple general guide for development of terms of reference for AID consultant sociologists or anthropologists and for evaluation and use of consultant work. The list is not meant to be comprehensive, but to highlight commonly occurring questions.

2.1 Overview of Agriculture in the Social Context

(a) What is the land tenure and land use pattern?

(Do small farmers farm their own land, rent it out to richer farmers, rent land from others to farm? What do they grow? Is it subsistence or market oriented, etc.?)

(b) What is the basic agricultural production unit?

(How is agriculture carried out?

What division of labor exists?)

(c) How does the kinship structure affect the small farmer's agricultural activities?

(Does it determine access to land, access to other productive resources, financial responsibilities, land use patterns, etc.?)

(d) What is the nature and power of the local socio-political structure?

(Is it centralized, factionalized involving competing leaders, etc.?)

(e) What general patterns of cooperation, conflict and dependency exist between small and large farmers?

(Do small farmers rent land from large farmers or vice versa? Do large farmers provide credit to small farmers? Are small farmers without land petitioning the government for land reform?)

(f) What general patterns of cooperation and conflict exist between small farmers and the central government?

(Do small farmers view the central government as supportive or as exploiting them? Do they accept government programs and trust government officials?)

(g) What are the historical antecedents and recent trends in agriculture or small farmer-central government relations of which any small farmer credit program should be aware?

(Has land reform been an issue? Is the central government changing its policy towards small farmers?)

2.2 Analysis of Existing Modern and Traditional Mechanisms for Coping

(a) The Formal System of Credit

(1) What modern financial markets exist for farmers?

(2) How accessible are these markets to, and how used by small farmers and women heads of farm families?

(Do the agencies concentrate their efforts on those farmers who are economically better off, better educated, share the same language or culture?)

(3) How appropriate are the organization and terms of these systems for small farmers?

(Do they have complex organizational rules and centralized locations? How flexible are loan sizes and conditions? How appropriate are supervision practices, language and its level of difficulty, and the official definition of a "productive" loan?)

(4) How economically advantageous are loans for small farmers?

(What is the real cost of an average loan to small farmers if one includes the cost of travel, of bribes and entertainment, the service charge, the opportunity cost of time lost, and so on, in addition to the interest rate?)

(b) The Traditional Informal System of Credit

(1) What informal sources of credit exist for small farmers?

(Are these friends and relatives, larger landowners, moneylenders, merchants, rotating credit societies, others?)

(2) To what extent do the poorer farmers and women have access to and use these sources?

(What proportion of actual small farmer financial requirements are obtained from these sources?)

(3) What comparative advantages and disadvantages do these systems have over the formal systems?

(Are they more flexible, based on relationship of mutual trust, have physical proximity, lack of supervision, are more informal,

faster? Do they have higher interest rates, smaller size of loans, stiffer penalties for default, or other disadvantages?)

(4) How economically advantageous are their loans for small farmers?

(What is the real cost of borrowing from each of them?)

(5) What can be learned in terms of techniques/methods from the informal credit system that might be used to improve the performance and effectiveness of the formal system?

(Can they provide ideas on how to be accessible to farmers, or simplification or speeding up of lending procedures, lowering of collection costs, flexibility of interest rates, loan terms, lowering of overhead?)

(c) Identification of Social Constraints and Potential for Small Farmer Credit

(1) Credit Agency Officials and Agents

(i) What values, attitudes, practices, organizational rules, presently exist among formal credit institutions and officials which are unacceptable or disadvantageous to small farmers?

(Do they encourage larger loans, have inappropriate requirements for documentation, have a long time-lag or other?)

(ii) What is the organizational structure, staffing patterns, and reward system within credit agencies?

(How does this affect their effectiveness or credibility with small farmers?)

(2) Small Farmers

(i) What is the attitude and past experience of small farmers vis-a-vis the central government?

(How would this affect their acceptance of government sponsored lending programs?)

(ii) What are general cultural values and attitudes that affect their credit practices?

(These could be related to cash crop production, to being in debt, toward credit; toward thrift; toward repayment of credit; toward leisure/work; and so on. Which might become an issue in acceptability of agricultural credit?)

(iii) What are educational, transport, time or other constraints among farmers which constrain their translating their interest in obtaining credit into action?

(Is literacy level adequate for reading credit applications? For understanding of the financial issues involved in credit? Do they have access to roads and transport service?)

(iv) What is the general attitude of farmers towards accepting economic risk?

(What social or economic considerations enter into risk aversion such as risk of losing social status or social relationships, risk of losing political or ritual power, risk of starvation, etc? How do small farmers attempt to reduce risk in credit operations? Is there a relationship between risk aversion and size of the resource base?)

(v) How widespread are small farmer practices of diversion of credit; of failure in prompt repayment of credit?

(How do these compare to similar problems among larger farmers?)

(3) Traditional Sources of Credit

(i) What is the general attitude of those who act as informal sources of credit to small farmers, towards government credit programs?

(Would they consider them competition and oppose them or not?)

(ii) What is their general motivation for lending to small farmers?

(Do they want to keep or make friends, get political support for election, make money, obtain land or other collateral the farmer might offer?)

3. KEY ISSUES IN SOCIAL DESIGN OF SMALL FARMER CREDIT PROJECTS

Again, the list of questions suggested are intended as a practical guide or check for planners of small farmer credit projects. Different country contexts and situations will determine which are most important and may also indicate additional ones.

This type of list could be used by AID/Bureaus in reviewing PIDs which propose small farmer credit programs, to ensure that they are likely to be socially feasible and will have appropriate social impact.

3.1 Identification of Beneficiaries

(a) What criteria will be used for selection of small farmer beneficiaries?

(Will land ownership/access to land, age, dependent status, annual income or others, be used? How flexibly applied will the criteria be? Will women have access to credit? Will other rural poor who are not farmers have access to credit?)

3.2 Participation Potential

(a) Does the project intend to provide for active participation of farmers in the planning process?

(Will the purpose of such participation be to introduce information on local conditions, or on farmer preferences, to develop a system of local "promoters" or first clients, to develop local supervisory capability, or other?)

3.3 Organization of Credit Operations

(a) Does the project intend to provide credit to individual farmers or groups of farmers?

(How will farmers be organized into cooperatives or associations? Will social cohesion and economic homogeneity of these groups be assured?)

(b) How will it be assured that the defined interest rate can be afforded by, and will be acceptable to the poorer farmers?

(Will they be consulted about it to "pre-test" their reaction?)

(c) Will women heads of farm households have access to credit?

(Will special lending conditions be necessary to ensure that they do?)

(d) Will the credit program examine and attempt to incorporate the advantageous organizational and social characteristics of the informal system of credit?

(Will credit operations be made more personal, credible, decentralized? Will bureaucratic requirements be simplified?)

(e) How will it be ensured that farmers pay back loans?

(Will they understand that these loans are not a reward for cooperation in a government program which makes repayment unnecessary?)

(f) How will it be guaranteed that the farmers use loans for intended purposes and benefit from them?

(Will credit be tied to specific agricultural inputs? Will it be combined with other measures such as technology development and price incentives?)

3.4 Monitoring and Evaluation

(a) Will access to, utilization and impact of the credit operations be monitored and evaluated?

(Will costs of such monitoring and evaluation activities be included under the project?)

ANNEX II

Social Analysis for
Primary Education Projects

1. Discussion
2. Background Information
3. Key Social Issues

1. DISCUSSION

Among the issues that are being considered as relevant in primary education planning in developing countries are the equitable distribution, relevance, and efficiency of education. Social analysis and social design of primary education projects can contribute to all of these.

In almost all developing countries educational opportunities, including those for primary education, are disproportionately distributed between geographic areas, between urban and rural regions, between different social and ethnic groups and between the sexes. In Colombia, the number of students who successfully complete their primary school is relatively ten times larger in urban than in rural schools. Other countries have similar patterns. In spite of improvements in female enrollments during the 1960's, in 1972 only 38% of the students in primary schools and 28% of those in secondary schools were girls in the poorest countries.^{1/} The reasons for such statistics are several. Socio-economic analysis can assist in identification of the differences, and provide a social perspective on causes.

Frequently social analysis will locate contributing factors which educators or economists may miss. These may be attitudes of parents towards education of girls, or the competition between needs for child labor on the farm and in the home and requirements for schooling, or others. Or it may identify reward systems and practices within the education system itself which may affect the quality of, and access to education in rural areas, in certain geographic regions, or for women. Social analysis may also identify alternative strategies for equalizing opportunities such as self-help community construction of schools or of houses for teachers, which may build on traditional co-operative practices in rural areas.

The relevance of education has many aspects. In most countries, one critical issue is the content and methods of primary education in rural areas, and for female as compared to male students. Social analysis can contribute a perspective which allows better identification of points of irrelevance, and design of socially acceptable and feasible solutions. For instance, social analysis can better

^{1/} World Bank, Education Sector Working Paper, Washington, D.C., 1972, p. 15 and Annexes 6-8.

help to predict benefiting area or group response to changes. A number of projects have found communities opposing use of local language or "ruralization" of primary education. Likely parent and community response needs to be better predicted.

The social analysis can also go beyond identification of likely constraints, to propose how educational technology and content can be made more appropriate or outline communication activities which will promote cooperation and acceptance.

Efficiency of primary education again has a number of dimensions. One that social analysis is likely to address is that of child nutrition and health as it relates to efficiency. Malnutrition, hunger and related illnesses affect student performance. While it may be too late to repair permanent mental damage to children which has occurred in the early years of childhood, educational planning can take measures to minimize hunger and common illnesses which also affect performance. Social analysis can both identify the need and help define the best strategy for meeting it.

In sum, social analysis and design can make important contributions to primary education. Education planners will often be able to carry out much of what will be required. However, it may be important to call in a sociologist specialized in education, or an anthropologist, particularly when dealing with education planning in "socially" difficult situations. Examples might be education planning among nomadic populations, very traditional sectors of the population, or when such planning is interested in involving the parents and the community in the education process and program.

2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION GATHERING FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION PROJECTS

The questions listed provide illustrations of the types of issues that social analysis might deal with in primary education planning. There is some obvious overlap with what educators would do. If a specialist other than an educator is responsible for the social analysis, an appropriate division of labor would need to be defined.

2.1 Overview of Education in the Social Context

(a) What general opportunities for social mobility does the social structure allow for economically disadvantaged groups or those with lower status due to sex or ethnic background?

(b) What role does education presently play in the social and economic opportunities available to different poverty groups?

(c) What are the historical antecedents and recent trends in the social order which affect the value placed on and the role of education for the poor, women, or other disadvantaged groups in the country?

2.2 Social Analysis of Education Systems

(a) The Public Education System

(1) What is the distribution of opportunities for access to the public education system?

(Are enrollment, dropout, repetition, absenteeism statistics, significant along sex lines; by income levels, by region of residence, and so on?)

(2) Do differences exist in educational content, quality, relevance, between the public education services delivered to different kinds of students?

(Do they exist between the more affluent and less affluent, rural and urban students, or between different regions?)

(3) Is education directed along sex and racially stereotyped lines?

(Is homemaking, health, sewing for females; carpentry, industrial training, agriculture, for males? To what extent does this reflect real demand versus perceived demand? Do educational materials stereotype women? Do they stereotype certain ethnic minorities?)

(4) How appropriate is the language of instruction to different groups?

(Is it appropriate to ethnic minorities, etc.?)

(5) Are there trends towards equalization?

(What are they? How effective are they?)

(b) The Modern Private Education System

(1) Does the private education system offer an effective alternative to public education?

(2) Who has access to and uses it?

(Do economically disadvantaged groups or those with lower status due to sex or ethnic background have access to this system?)

(c) The Traditional Education System

(1) Is there a widespread traditional system of education other than the family, peer groups, work groups, and so on?

(Do sheiks, Koranic teachers or others like them exist? Whom do they teach? What do they teach?)

(2) What potential is there for cooperation of the traditional and public systems?

(What experience has there been in promoting such cooperation? How has it worked?)

(d) The Modern Media System

(1) Is there an effective mass media based complementary, supplementary or enrichment type system for the primary level?

(2) Who has access to and uses it?

(Do the poorer schools/students have radios, televisions, cassettes? Do the teachers in the rural schools know how to and want to use this system? Do the broadcasts or other channels reach all students?)

2.3 Identification of Social Constraints and Social Possibilities

(a) Primary School Staff and Administration

(1) What values, attitudes, practices, presently exist at administrative or staff levels which are having negative effects on

equitable distribution of opportunities, relevance or efficiency of primary education?

(Are teachers unwilling to be assigned to the more remote rural areas? Do such teachers who are assigned tend to live in nearby towns, teach only 3 or 4 days a week? Do teachers use rote methods or oppose curriculum changes?)

(2) What is the organizational structure and reward system among primary school teachers?

(What is the sex distribution of the teacher corps, of administration? What career opportunities are there for female teachers?)

(b) Students

(1) What duties or obligations interfere with school attendance?

(Do children need to work on the farm, carry water, take care of younger brothers and sisters? Are there differences in these obligations among students in different areas, by sex, by age group, by socio-economic levels? Do they encourage drop-out, seasonal absenteeism, or repetition?)

(2) To what extent does health/nutritional status or hunger become a factor in absenteeism or school performance?

(Whom does it affect?)

(c) Parents and the Community

(1) What value do parents place on children's education?

(Does value placed on education differ for male and female children? Why? Does it differ by ethnic, socio-economic, religious or other differentiating characteristics?)

(2) What has been the tradition and experience in parent/community active participation in education?

(Does the community traditionally help in maintenance or construction of school buildings? Do they help to pay teachers' salaries? Do parents participate in decision-making? What have been the main mechanisms used for such participation? Have they been effective?)

3. KEY ISSUES IN SOCIAL DESIGN OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

The questions listed are intended as an illustrative guide to AID/Bureaus in reviewing PIDs which propose primary education projects, to ensure socially feasibility and appropriate impact. Each region should develop its own list which takes into account special regional considerations.

3.1 Identification of Beneficiaries

(a) Will the project specifically address and attempt to equalize male/female, rural/urban or other differences in educational opportunity?

3.2 Potential for Participation

(a) Does the project allow for teacher, parent or community participation in project decision-making, implementation or evaluation?

(Will parents or communities or teachers help decide location of schools, scheduling of classes, size of classrooms, what should be grown in the school garden or fed to children? Will they participate in upgrading, maintaining or constructing buildings?)

3.2 Organization and Operation of the Education System

(a) How will educational technology (in the broad sense of the term, to include embodied and disembodied technology) be adapted to the socio-cultural context?

(How will ethnic, linguistic, socio-economic, and other differences be taken into account? For instance, will payment for textbooks or uniforms be considered in terms of economic capabilities of parents to pay? Will scheduling of classes take into account the home, farm, marketplace or other responsibilities of children? Will parent associations build on existing patterns?)

(b) What incentives and social arrangements will be provided for appropriate utilization of educational technology?

(Will the community be organized to cooperate in the maintenance of school building/equipment? Will rural teachers be provided with living quarters as an incentive to live where they work? Will a feedback and evaluation system be built into the radio programs with rewards for best schools and teachers?)

(c) What education technology and methodology related skill training or education will be necessary to make sure that it is correctly used and has the expected impact?

(Will teachers need training on how to use radios "actively" Will communities need orientation on the role and functions of parent associations?)

(d) How will the content of education be made relevant?

(Will parents or communities or others be likely to oppose "ruralization" of education, health or family life learning, school gardens, or other innovations?)

(e) What measures will be taken with respect to health, malnutrition, hunger or thirst, which might interfere with student attendance and performance?

(Will water and sewerage facilities be provided or improved? Will students (and teachers) know how to and want to use them or will health education need to be associated? Will school feeding programs exist? How will they be adapted to local dietary needs and preferences?)

(f) Will primary education be operationally linked to parent/community education or development activities?

(Will parallel programs of parent health education exist with student health education? Will school latrines, gardens, feeding programs, attempt at a demonstration effect? Will the school actively participate in or observe community development activities such as environmental sanitation, public works?)

ANNEX III

Selected Illustrations of

Social Analysis and Design

in

AID Project Work

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SOCIAL ANALYSIS AND DESIGN

IN AID PROJECT WORK

BANGLADESH: Rural Credit Project

Good social assessment and feasibility analysis based on an understanding of the informal credit system, to create a basis for social design.

BOLIVIA: Village Development

An outstanding example of a social feasibility analysis for a project which is based on considerable existing experience in the country.

BOLIVIA: Rural Education II - Teacher Training

A thorough social analysis which is particularly notable in its prediction of project beneficiaries.

EL SALVADOR: Centro San Lucas

An example of social assumptions being integrated into the Logical Framework.

ETHIOPIA: Agrarian Reform

An example of thorough and selective assessment of social, cultural and historical aspects related to agrarian reform.

ETHIOPIA: Southern Gemu Gofa Area Rehabilitation

A thorough and operationally focused social analysis.

GUATEMALA: Small Farmer Development Grant

Illustrates design related social feasibility analysis and good prediction of beneficiaries.

INDONESIA: Rural Electrification I

A conscientious attempt to apply social analysis and prediction of beneficiaries and benefits to rural electrification.

JAMAICA: Integrated Rural Development I

One of the better social feasibility analyses in rural development; particular attention to women heads of households.

JAMAICA: Integrated Regional Rural Development

A good social analysis which has not been reflected in the Logical Framework.

KENYA: Rural Roads Systems Project

Outstanding application of social and socio-economic analysis to rural roads.

KENYA: Roads Graveling

Good social analysis, notably in its discussion of the incidence of benefits and participation.

NICARAGUA: Rural Community Health Services

Innovative aspects of social design included in the project: involvement of community leadership in decision making; training of parteras and curanderas of the traditional health system.

PERU: Education Service Centers

Thorough and ballanced social assessment and analysis.

PHILIPPINES: PUSH Project

Good illustration of thorough assessment of the socio-cultural context to include the traditional health care system and communication system; design related analysis,

TANZANIA: Masai Livestock and Range Management Project

Good social assessment and feasibility analysis in the livestock area.

TUNISIA: Siliana Water Improvement/ Environmental Sanitation Project

Includes discussion of appropriate technology; social analysis is weaker.

YEMEN: Rural Water Supply

Example of project design which uses a social approach and mobilizes village self-help.