

SMALL FARMER PERSPECTIVES: WORLD DEVELOPMENT AS SEEN FROM ITS WAKE

Rae Lesser Blumberg

University of California, San Diego

Agency for International Development

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Small farmers are the principal intended beneficiaries of the Agency for International Development's rural assistance programs. Yet AID-funded research on the impact of development is not often done from their perspective. When management in the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination's Center for Development Information and Evaluation (PPC/CDIE) resolved to study this important topic, two apparently divergent approaches were put forth for the proposed research on "small farmer perspectives":

- A "purpose level" approach that would focus on the delivery and adoption of modern agricultural services/inputs and their immediate consequences for various categories of SFs.
- A "goal level" approach that would ask various groups of SFs about their lives - their work, income, well-being and changes therein - and then try to work backward toward the planned interventions of AID and other "change agents."

Rather than choose between these two approaches, it is the central recommendation of this paper that both be investigated - in a sequential and synergistic manner beginning with the "purpose level" approach.

In order to tie together the two approaches, a unifying conceptual framework is proposed that encompasses them both. The framework (see Appendix B) is developed from AID's own implicit paradigm of development, as recently published in its Blueprint for Development (1985).

This framework delineates AID's overall objective: "broad based economic growth" for low income people. The means used (i.e., AID's interventions) include the direct provision of agricultural services and inputs to SFs. AID's interventions are assumed to lead to a linked chain of outcomes, or AID development goals. Specifically, AID asserts that "broad based economic growth" is that which leads to both increased employment (on- and off-farm) and increased agricultural production for low income people. It assumes that both increased employment and agricultural output lead to increased income. Increased income, in turn, is assumed to lead to enhanced well-being and satisfaction of "basic human needs." With respect to small farmers, it should be emphasized that the main bridge between AID's "purpose level" interventions and its assumed chain of "goal level" consequences is the assumption that the delivery and SF adoption of modern agricultural practices will, in fact, increase their production. Are all these assumptions justified? Under what conditions do they hold? All of the research proposed in this paper can be encompassed under this conceptual framework. Accordingly, these assumptions can be subjected to integrated empirical test from the SF perspective.

The "purpose level" research should be done first, for a number of reasons. It is logically prior in the conceptual framework; it is simpler, better defined and more easily operationalized than the "goals level" approach; and it follows up on a prior evaluation series recently completed by CDIE, which explored the delivery of agricultural services. Further, it focuses on an area - the delivery and adoption of modern agricultural services/inputs - that has just been identified as the least successful of AID's diverse assistance efforts (Culbertson, et al., 1985, concluded this after examining 308 recent AID projects).

It is recommended that the "purpose level" research focus on three key issues. First, do small farmers obtain modern agricultural services from AID-promoted sources, the "indigenous" system (ranging from relatives to local shopkeepers), or do without them? Second, are these services delivered in a manner that facilitates their successful adoption by SFs? And, third, does their use actually lead to increased output?

These three key issues flow directly from the recently completed CDIE evaluation series on delivery of agricultural services. The first issue explores the extent to which AID-promoted sources provide "coverage" to SFs. The second issue asks to what extent the service in question, as delivered, is: (1) appropriate to the user, (2) compatible and timely for the user, (3) profitable for the user, (4) affordable by the user, and (5) acceptable to the user in terms of its level of risk/uncertainty. (The first three points emerged as the main variables affecting successful delivery/adoption in the prior agricultural services evaluation series; points (4) and (5) are additional considerations suggested in this paper.) The third issue, on increased yields, provides the bridge between the proposed "purpose level" and "goal level" research projects. This is because (as can be seen in Appendix B) increased agricultural output is considered by AID to be a "goal level" consequence of its interventions.

It is recommended that the "purpose level" research adopt an eclectic and innovative methodology combining qualitative (Rapid Rural Appraisal) and quantitative (survey) techniques. It is suggested that a "process methodology" approach be used for a first prototype study that will help clarify the research questions. Then a series of three or four replications should be carried on more or less concurrently, once the prototype is successfully completed.

It is suggested that an Advisory Task Force of Washington, D.C.-area consultants be formed, chaired by the CDIE manager for the proposed "small farmer perspectives" research. It is also suggested that although the prototype research will be longer and somewhat costlier than the typical CDIE-funded impact evaluation, it will lead to the saving of both time and money in the proposed replications.

Among the steps recommended for the prototype "purpose level" research are the following:

- Choose a site for a prototype study that has both a substantial history of prior AID assistance and a rich extant data base;
- The top suggested candidates for the prototype study are either Northeast Thailand or one of the two Latin American sites (Paraguay and the Dominican Republic) where the previous "delivery of agricultural services" evaluation series took place.
- Adopt the organization plan suggested by CDIE's Ray Solem; this entails a U.S. Study Coordinator, who reports to the PPC/CDIE Manager, and who supervises a qualitative researcher (the "Context Person") and a host country survey expert (the "Survey Team Leader"). If possible, it would be desirable to use a host country graduate student to collect the most time- and labor-intensive qualitative data.
- Begin the research with a "diagnostic visit" in which the U.S. Study Coordinator first selects the locally resident "Context Person" and "Survey Team

Leader" and then does a preliminary set of Rapid Rural Appraisal interviews with small farmers. In this way, the SFs themselves can help to define the research project from its very inception.

- For the actual prototype study, a "semi-control group" approach should be utilized, so that several villages that received high levels of AID-promoted services will be contrasted with one or more villages that did not receive the services in question.
- The sample for the prototype study should be designed to measure both intra-household (gender) and intravillage (class, ethnicity) variation. Specifically: (a) both the principal male and female(s) of the household should be interviewed; (b) all the poorest strata should be included (e.g., SFs, landless, semi-landless), and (c) areas with more than two principal ethnic groups should be avoided for the prototype.
- The prototype study involves a staggered series of activities, stretched out over about 30 weeks (subsequent replications are, of course, shorter). Nevertheless, because of the sequencing, no individual has to be contracted for more than four months (about 17 weeks - see Appendix G).
- In terms of sequencing, first the bulk of the qualitative data should be collected. The survey is done last, and the questionnaire should not be finalized until the Rapid Rural Appraisal data have sketched in the broad picture. Furthermore, the "Context Person" should accompany the survey team, in order to gather further cross-validating data that will help interpret the survey results.

If all goes well with the proposed prototype study, a minimum of three replications - lasting no more than about four months from start to final report but using the same basic methodology and content - should be undertaken more or less concurrently. (Various proposed sites for the replications are discussed in the body of the paper.)

The proposed "goals level" study might ultimately prove to be even more important than the "purpose level" approach, but it is considerably more complex and exploratory. While this will affect the methodology and research agenda proposed, the following is suggested for the content:

It is recommended that the "goals level" study should ask various subgroups of small farmers about their lives and development-induced changes they have undergone - in order to establish the "conditions under which" the chains of assumed causal links in AID's development paradigm do or do not hold. Furthermore, it is recommended that the central variable for the "goals level" study should be income, given its pivotal position in AID's assumed chain of development outcomes.

Ultimately, it is hoped, a full-scale "second round" of research will address these topics in each of the sites where the "purpose level" research had been carried out. But this will be so costly that a series of preparatory research activities are proposed. These involve three preliminary research endeavors and a major workshop.

The first two recommended "goals level" research activities can be carried out simultaneously while the prototype "purpose level" research is in the field. Specifically, these involve (1) a series of "State of the Art Papers" (SOAPs), and (2) a computer analysis of part of the enormous Philippine Bicol panel study.

First, it is recommended that five SOAPs be contracted, to explore current knowledge concerning each of the assumed causal relationships in AID's implicit development paradigm:

- the relationship between increased agricultural production and income;
- the relationship between increased employment and income;
- the relationship between increased income and measures of well-being;
- the relationship between agricultural services use and yields.

The fifth SOAP would be a synthesis paper integrating all the above.

Second, it is recommended that a partial analysis of the huge Philippine Bicol data set be contracted. The most valuable sort of analysis would cut costs by including only a modest-sized (random) subsample of the thousands of cases on tape. But it would attempt to explore at least two of the relationships delineated in the previous paragraph - and do so in a framework that compares the same respondents' positions in the 1978 and 1983 panel waves. Finally, because the stripped down numbers in the Bicol data set require qualitative contextual data for meaningful interpretation, the computer analysis must be followed by a brief Rapid Rural Appraisal study of some of the same SFs included in the full sample. This qualitative phase can be undertaken either by some of the Filipino social scientists who worked on the original study or by the researcher(s) who will be doing the series of three "rapid restudies," discussed below.

Third, it is suggested that as soon as draft reports on the first two activities are available, a final preparatory research phase begin. This entails a new methodology, developed for this paper, which is termed "rapid restudy." "Rapid restudy" is designed to be an exploratory research technique that promotes broad and serendipitous insights into complex phenomena.

"Rapid restudy" involves sending the same researcher(s) to study the same general problem in three specific and different sites where a firm foundation of relevant previous data exists. Although it can be done by one person, it is strongly recommended that a team of one male and one female be used. This assures that adequate data on both genders can be collected, avoids the possible bias of a lone researcher, and permits the two social scientists to exchange ideas and insights.

In this case, the problem to be explored is whether the sequences/causes of change in the SFs' lives match those assumed in the AID development paradigm. It is suggested that the researcher(s) first visit the site where the prototype "purpose level" research had been done. Then, two additional sites would be visited - but these would be areas that had received AID-promoted interventions other than agricultural inputs/services. This is because the "second round" goals research is envisioned as being relevant for a wider array of AID development efforts. (Several possible sites, including the Philippine Bicol area, are discussed.)

Following all these steps, a major workshop should be held, to review "lessons learned," and make recommendations concerning the scope and size of the "second round" of "goals level" research. Finally, it is recommended that the findings of the research proposed in this paper be disseminated in a broad and timely manner. These findings could have pathbreaking use for small farmers, AID, and our understanding of the process of development.

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Rae Lesser Blumberg
University of California, San Diego

I. INTRODUCTION

How does development look from the perspective of the "small farmer"? Although the "small farmer," as a generic term (hereinafter, SF),* represents the principal intended beneficiary of the Agency for International Development's assistance programs, few AID evaluations address his/her views. This is understandable in terms of Agency constraints. The impact evaluation series of the Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE), for example, typically fields a three- or four-person team for three or four weeks. Their overloaded Scope of Work of necessity stresses project issues. The team members' 16-hour days are so crammed full with interviews with all the far-flung project, Mission, line ministry, etc. people that they must contact, there is time for little else. So the persons who often get short shrift are the beneficiaries themselves, the SFs. There is usually some attempt to talk with some SFs, but more often than not, the few interviewed are those closer to the road, closer to the project, and closer to the implicit idea of what a SF should look like (e.g., a middle-level male peasant from the main local ethnic group who participates in the main project interventions). Thus, the fact that the project - and development - may differentially affect the poorer and the better off SFs, the male and the female, the younger and the older is not a new idea. It's only a rarely explored one; one of the reasons for this is that often, there just isn't time.

All involved in the current effort by CDIE to conceptualize a "small farmer perspectives" evaluation series agree that the research must start, and not just end, with the target group. All are agreed, in short, that the most important view must be that of the small farmer (see the drawing in Appendix A). And all

*Generically, "small farmers" encompass full- and part-time farmers, agricultural laborers, and other rural village residents, of all the lower income classes and both sexes, who are dependent on the agricultural production system to eke out their livelihood.

are agreed that an innovative combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies are needed. But there remains a genuine divergence of opinion as to where to place the most emphasis. Specifically, two main approaches to the content of the proposed studies have been advocated: (1) the "purpose level" approach that would concentrate on the delivery and adoption of agricultural inputs /services and their immediate consequences for various categories of SFs; and (2) the "goal level" approach that asks people about their lives - their work, income, well-being and changes therein - and then tries to work backward toward the planned interventions of AID and other "change agents."

A brief rationale for the first, "purpose level," approach might state:

The delivery of agricultural inputs and services is frequently problematic. AID and other donors' programs (what we term the "interventionist" system) may be reaching only a small and biased proportion of SFs. Moreover, other constraints may exist (e.g., SF inability to increase risks), so that many of the SFs targeted may not be able or willing to adopt the higher productivity modern practices being promoted. Under those circumstances, they must rely on locally available resources (what we term the "indigenous" system), or do without. What proportions of SFs are supplied by "interventionist" vs. "indigenous" systems for different inputs and services, vs. "doing without"? How do these groups differ by factors such as class/size of holdings, sex, ethnicity, etc.? What are the positive and/or negative results of getting various agricultural services and inputs from the "interventionist" vs. "indigenous" sources, vs. not getting them at all - as seen from the perspective of different subgroups of small farmers?

A brief rationale for the second, "goal level," approach might assert:

AID operates on the basis of an implicit theory of development. This theory makes many causal assumptions. It first assumes that the interventions it promotes are adopted. It then assumes that these interventions lead to increases in production and/or employment. In turn, these are assumed to lead to increased income. Finally, it is assumed that all of these increases - especially increased income - lead to enhanced well-being and fulfillment of "basic human needs" for all members of the SF household. But if one began to interview SFs about their lives, how things have changed, and the principal reasons they perceive, would they even mention interventions promoted by AID and the other donor agencies? Would they see them as positive? Would they provide validation for AID's assumed causal sequence, or would their stories highlight conditions under which interventions did not have the hypothesized chain of consequences? And how would these experiences vary among different subgroups of SFs - e.g., among landless/very smallholders/not-so-smallholders, among male/female, among older/younger, among those nearer/farther from the road, etc.?

Answers to both sets of questions could help enormously in enhancing AID's development assistance efforts aimed at small farmers. Although they approach the problem from opposite directions, it is not clear that the two approaches are mutually exclusive. In fact, I suggest, both rationales can be linked together conceptually - and spatially - in Figure 1. That Figure (see Appendix B) diagrams AID's implicit theory of development as presented in its first long-range strategic plan, Blueprint for Development (1985).

What I shall propose in this paper is based on my contention that both the "purpose level" and the "goal level" approaches can, indeed, be integrated under the same conceptual umbrella. This means, I suggest, that they can be investigated in a sequential and synergistic manner. This research should begin with the "purpose level" approach, which is both more clear-cut and logically prior (in AID logframe terms).

This paper is based on my work in CDIE, including numerous meetings and brainstorming sessions with key CDIE staff and many others; the CDIE Workshop on Small Farmer Perspectives held on September 23-24, 1985; and the literature reviews and reconceptualization I undertook on my return to San Diego. I am especially indebted to W. Haven North, Ray Solem and Paula Goddard for their valuable insights and input.

The remaining four parts of this paper are organized as follows: Part II expands the rationales for both purpose and goal approaches, including their linkage. The purpose level study, it is argued, flows smoothly from prior research already conducted under CDIE auspices. Part III proposes a research plan and sites for the purpose level study. Part IV presents a multi-phased and eclectic strategy for investigating the goals level approach - which involves much more complex research problems than the purpose study. Part V provides summary recommendations.

II. WHY STUDY SMALL FARMERS? TWO (INTERTWINED) RATIONALES

A. The "Purpose Level" Agricultural Services/Inputs Approach

The "purpose level" approach builds on a solid foundation. Ray Solem of CDIE has recently completed his series (encompassing five impact evaluations and a synthesis report) on the delivery of agricultural services such as credit, fertilizer, extension, etc. In my view, three major research issues emerge from that series which virtually beg for field follow-up from a small farmer perspective. Taken together, these three issues provide a coherent framework for a purpose level SF study. In brief, these can be termed (1) the "coverage" issue, (2) the "conditions for successful delivery/adoption of agricultural services" issue, and (3) the "agricultural services link to increased production" issue.

1. The "coverage" issue. Development agencies have been promoting various institutional forms of agricultural services to small farmers for many years. After all this time, what proportion of SFs get their credit, advice, marketing assistance, fertilizer, etc. from (a) these institutional, or "interventionist" sources, vs. (b) the "indigenous system" (which can incorporate the results of earlier development efforts)- or (c) do without the modern practices promoted? By a stroke of luck, the team evaluating Paraguayan credit co-ops for Ray Solem's series came across a study that addressed the "coverage" issue. It revealed that less than 2% of Paraguay's SFs were being reached by "interventionist" credit (Solem, et al., 1985:x). The remainder relied on the "indigenous" system of village shopkeepers, relatives, friends, etc., or didn't use credit at all. Is this finding a fluke - an extraordinarily low figure among Third World nations - or something that might typify many of the poorer developing countries?

To Ray Solem, the "coverage" issue is the most compelling topic for the purpose level research. While a number of field studies have included a few questions on use/sources of various agricultural services, there does not appear to

have been any systematic study that concentrates on coverage as seen by the SF. To investigate this, it would be necessary to ask more than a simple "do you use agricultural service X (e.g., fertilizer) and, if yes, where do you get it?" Rather, it also would be necessary to ask about how positive or negative their experiences had been in getting agricultural service X and whether they were aware of alternate sources. In this way, we could learn about the strong and weak points of "interventionist" vs. "indigenous" sources of agricultural services, which could be extremely useful in designing better projects. Is it that most SFs would love to get the service from an "interventionist" source but aren't able to because there's not enough of it to go around and they aren't in the "in group?" Or do most SFs find that the "interventionist" service, as delivered, is more of a problem than a solution? If it takes too many visits and complicated forms to process a credit application, it may not be worth it to the SF, to give one example. Similarly, if the fertilizer arrives too late for spring planting, or the farmer can't mobilize the added labor needed to successfully raise the new seed's crop, or can't afford to wait for the check from the government marketing board, the SF may rely on even overpriced "indigenous" sources, or pass entirely. In short, the "coverage" issue leads us to examine the "conditions for successful delivery/adoption of agricultural services," our next issue.

2. The "conditions for successful delivery/adoption of agricultural services" issue. To explore this issue, we can start from the conclusions of the synthesis paper. According to that report (Solem, Wilcock, et al., 1985:vii), three conditions must be met for an agricultural services delivery project to succeed:

1. The service must be appropriate to the user, that is, technologically feasible and financially desirable.
2. The delivery of the service must be compatible and timely to the user.
3. Utilization of the service must result in profit for the user (emphasis added).

These conditions are stated more from the perspective of project success than that of the small farmer. As usual, despite hard-working attempts, there just was not enough time to ask enough SFs about these issues. Exploring these three conditions from the SF perspective would broaden considerably the net cast to capture the "coverage" issue. Appendix C gives preliminary versions of the kind of questionnaire that would be applied in a "coverage" study (the illustrative questions cover two agricultural services, credit and fertilizer). A thorough examination of the "conditions for success" issue would substantially expand the questionnaire required. Moreover, I suggest, adopting the SF perspective would necessitate looking at several additional "conditions for successful adoption."

First, is the SF able to afford to adopt the modern agricultural services promoted by the "interventionist" system? For many of the poorer SFs, even a new modern agricultural service/input that passes muster on all other counts may prove impossible to adopt if there are cash "up front" costs that must be incurred. As discussed by Kumar (1978), Indian nutrition/feeding programs that required the recipient to visit the program's facilities during normal business hours failed to reach the targeted most-needy group. Those mothers couldn't afford to forego income-generating activities and/or incur additional expense in getting to the program sites. Similar economic constraints affect SF adoption practices.

Second, do the modern agricultural services/inputs increase (or potentially increase) the SF's level of risk/uncertainty? If so, there are strong grounds for the SF to reject the promoted practice. Research has shown that SFs who operate very close to their "social survival line" (i.e., with little if any cushion for absorbing losses) are better off minimizing risk and avoiding uncertainty (risk involves a situation where the various outcomes that are most likely to occur and the probabilities for each outcome are known, at least approximately; uncertainty exists where there are question marks about outcomes and/or their expected probabilities of occurrence). Few agricultural services/inputs projects underwrite

risks for the SF. Additionally, the experiences of decades of development projects indicate that many of the modern agricultural practices promoted actually have higher variances - especially variance of yields - than the lower productivity traditional practices they aim to supplant. Food crops, in particular, grown by poor SFs are characterized by low variance of yield, as well as low productivity. The "indigenous" system is typically such that (barring infrequent major catastrophes) local family and community sources - relatives, friends, the local shopkeeper/moneylender - can be called upon to tide a SF over a yield that fell just a little bit below the SF's "social survival line." But if the downside risk for the modern practice could result in deep, frequent, and/or unpredictable shortfalls below the SF "social survival line," the indigenous system could be swamped. And with no bail-out in sight, so could the SFs. (Appendix D summarizes the discussion of risk vs. uncertainty.) In short, there is a strong case for considering risk/uncertainty as an additional "condition for successful adoption."

Third, if we are to understand the "conditions for successful adoption" of modern agricultural services/inputs, we must deal with the fact that small farmers are not a monolithic group. As noted, the poorest SFs are the least able to handle additional risk/uncertainty, and, therefore, the least likely to be able to adopt an innovation that would increase their exposure (see, e.g., Cancian, 1980). Thus, the proposed SF study must be designed to assure that adequate numbers of poor and very poor farmers are represented. Furthermore, the various "conditions for successful adoption" vary not only by class/land tenure situation among the SF population, but also by male/female. This means that within the SF household, the principal male and the principal female might have quite different configurations on these "conditions for successful adoption." For example, if most of the profit from use of the modern agricultural service goes to the male SF while most of the additional work was done by the female SF, the

prospects for sustained adoption of the improved agricultural service are clouded.

In sum, a strong case can be made for disaggregating SFs both within the community (by class/land tenure position) and within the household (by sex and age). This disaggregation would not be confined to the "conditions for successful delivery/adoption" issue, but would extend to all facets of the proposed purpose level study. In this way, we could illuminate which subgroups of SFs (a) are best vs. worst covered by AID-promoted interventions, (b) may fail to adopt due to problems with the delivery system vs. personal constraints, and (c) experience positive vs. negative results.

Thus, it would seem that a purpose level study that followed up the key findings of Ray Solem's recent agricultural services evaluation series, and did so in the disaggregated manner delineated above, could make a very significant contribution to development knowledge. In fact, something has just occurred which elevates the proposed purpose level study's potential contribution from "very significant" to the major leagues of "important and path-breaking research." A major new study has just concluded that the chief bottleneck in AID's development assistance activities involves precisely the issues discussed above, especially the "conditions for successful delivery/adoption."

In September, 1985 Development Alternatives presented a report by Culbertson, et al. to CDIE. Its data analysis revealed that of all the development sectors, it was agriculture that was most problematic. How? Specifically, the main problem with agriculture projects turned out to be that the agricultural inputs/services packages that AID was promoting frequently failed to be transferred. Why? The report itself is worth quoting on this subject, since its conclusions rest on an impressive data base - a review of 263 Project Evaluation Reports (all those received in AID/Washington in 1984) and 45 Inspector General's Project Audit Reports (all those issued in FY1984):

The 1984 reports reveal that many agricultural development projects aimed at effecting the adoption and use by small farmers of more productive modern cultivation practices are falling short of their goals. The increases in local, regional and national productivity and income envisioned in these projects are not being realized, despite the fact that the required technologies are available. In most countries the reason for this is that the delivery systems for technologies inputs are inadequate in reaching the great majority of rural farm families. In some countries there is another reason: the cultivator deliberately and after due consideration declines to adopt the new technologies, even though the required physical inputs, and an extension service to deliver them, are available (pp. v-vi, emphasis added).

In other words, the Culbertson, et al. report highlights the importance of both the "coverage" issue (the delivery systems of the interventions fail to reach the overwhelming bulk of SF households) and the "conditions for successful adoption" issue (many cultivators explicitly fail to adopt the new interventions).

In Part III, it will be argued that both the "coverage" and "conditions for successful adoption" issues can be conveniently included in a single SF questionnaire. While such an instrument would be a good deal longer than the preliminary and partial questionnaire in Appendix C, it should still be readily administratable in an interview which is not excessively long. (In fact, some of the questions in the Appendix C instrument already touch on the proposed "conditions for successful adoption" variables.)

Meanwhile, however, for both empirical and conceptual reasons, we must introduce one more issue into the proposed purpose level SF study - the link between use of promoted agricultural services/inputs and yields.

3. The "assumption that ag. services use leads to increased production" issue. AID's promotion of modern agricultural services/inputs is predicated on the assumption that their use results in higher output. An empirical reason for questioning this assumption comes from Ray Solem's recently completed agricultural service delivery evaluation series. Specifically, in the Dominican Republic evaluation, it was found that even where SFs were getting credit, it did not neces-

sarily bring about increased agricultural production (Araujo, et al., 1985:5):

Published analyses and our own econometric work failed to attribute any independent impact of the credit subsidy on rice production...Knowledgeable informants claim that the improvement in rice production came as a result of technical innovations that were already underway...Productivity increases in the 7 years before the first loan averaged 8.7 percent per year, whereas in the 7 years since the first loan yield increases have averaged only 1.7 percent per year (p. 5, emphasis added).

Such a finding is far from unique in the development literature; many more cases could be cited in which an assumed increase in output due to use of an AID-promoted intervention never materialized. AID, nonetheless continues to make this assumption, including in the just-published Blueprint for Development.

The conceptual reason for investigating this assumption comes, in fact, from the Blueprint for Development. The implicit theory of development contained therein is turned into an explicit model in Appendix B (Figure 1). The Agency assumes that its direct interventions to SFs (the agricultural services/inputs listed in Box C) will lead to increased agricultural production (Box 2 in the diagram). A glance at the diagram shows that this assumed causal connection constitutes the major link between AID's purposes or means (listed in the lettered Boxes A, B and C) and its desired chain of goal-level outcomes (listed in the numbered Boxes 1-4). Thus, exploring this third issue allows us to cross over from the purpose level to the goal level.

I argue that it is very desirable to do so. If the purpose level study includes some aspects of goals, this will lay the foundation for a subsequent goal level study of the same population. In this manner, the goals level research would be made vastly more simple and efficient. Moreover, the logic of following up the prior purpose level ag. services evaluation series necessitates collecting data on, at minimum, two goals level topics. First, as argued here, data on production levels are needed. Second, information on profit is needed in order to

follow up on one of the three conditions for "successful delivery/adoption of agricultural services" emphasized in the Solem, Wilcock, et al. synthesis report. (The report stipulated that "utilization of the service must result in profit for the user" - 1985:vii.) This entails asking, in at least a cursory manner, not only about yields, but also about prices and income, so as to arrive at an assessment of profit.

Finally, in order to round out the purpose level study, I would urge including a minimum number (perhaps just 1 or 2) of questions on SF well-being. As a probe, the SFs would also be asked if the use of the agricultural services/inputs in question had affected their welfare, and how.*

Ray Solem is rightly concerned about overloading the purpose level study with too many (extraneous) goals level issues. Nevertheless, I suggest that including these few goals level questions need not add unduly to the length of the basic questionnaire. The majority of the SFs could be given only a small number of questions on yields, prices, income and well-being. Deeper and broader information on the impact of the agricultural services/inputs under study would be obtained by means other than the standard questionnaire, as part of the proposed multi-method study. All of this will be addressed in Part III. But first let us consider an expanded rationale for (ultimately) undertaking a goals level study from the SF perspective.

B. The "Goals Level" Approach: Exploring Assumed Causal Links in AID's Development Paradigm

A convincing rationale for undertaking a goals level study seems a necessity, given that all signs point to this being a much murkier and complex research topic. In the long run, however, the goals level approach may prove the more important study. This is because a goals level approach is concerned less with any

*We would seem ethically compelled to ask SFs if the interventions pushed out via the project pipeline actually worked and helped, and compare the responses of AID service users with those using "indigenous" system services - or none at all.

specific AID intervention than with the logic of its entire development paradigm. There thus would seem to be a strong justification for a study probing what small farmers tell us about their lives - in order to assess the validity of the causal chain that AID invokes as the ultimate rationale for all its development activities.

As mentioned, AID's rationale is presented in its just-published Blueprint for Development. That document avers that although its means are shifting, its overall aim and goals remain the same. AID still sees its basic mission as promoting "broad based economic growth" that benefits low income people.

According to the document, AID's means are shifting away from direct interventions that reach SFs, such as the delivery of credit, fertilizer, seeds, etc. (i.e., the contents of Box C in the diagram in Appendix B). Instead, the means now being increasingly emphasized are those known as the "four pillars" of development: policy dialogue, private sector, institution building and technology (these are listed in Boxes A and B of the diagram).

Nevertheless, whether by the increasing numbers of projects based on the "four pillars" or the diminishing numbers of projects delivering agricultural services/inputs, the achievement of "broad based economic growth" remains the aim.

"Broad based economic growth" is defined as promoting both (1) increased employment (on- or off-farm) and (2) increased agricultural production.* Both of these are assumed to result in (3) increased income. In turn, increased income is assumed to result in (4) enhanced well-being and satisfaction of "basic human needs." Particular emphasis is given to achieving four of these basic needs : alleviation of (a) hunger, (b) disease and early death, (c) illiteracy and lack of education, and (d) unmanageable population/fertility pressures.

But are these assumptions valid? To what extent do they hold in reality?

*If both consequences fail to occur (i.e., increased employment and production for low income people), we may have growth (e.g., of GNP) but we won't have true development in AID terms.

What is the use of increasing yields if the farmgate price is below production costs? The reason for such a situation may vary from the state of the world market for that particular commodity, to the host country government's distorted factor prices, to wonderful weather that produced bumper crops that glutted the market. The SFs may not be aware of world commodity markets or the intricacies of their government's anti-rural pricing policies. But they are very aware of their immediate calculus of costs and benefits. And a technical package that produces increased yields but not break-even income may be considered a devastating failure by the farmer even if the agricultural project is considered a rousing success.

Similarly, if the SF does, indeed, receive increased income, but there is less food locally available to spend it on - or food prices have risen faster than agricultural income - this is not development from the small farmer perspective. (Appendix E lists similar "conditions under which" the assumed causal links from increased employment and increased agricultural production to increased income may apply, and also "conditions under which" the assumed causal link from increased income to increased well-being/"basic human need" satisfaction" may hold.)

Once again, it is also necessary to investigate these assumptions from the standpoint of different subgroups of SFs, i.e., disaggregate. Do the assumptions hold true for the more, as well as the less, vulnerable? Is income concentrating among the (relatively) better off SFs? If so, projects may be successful while people suffer. Similarly, is income shifting from female to male hands? In such a case, a number of studies indicate that even if income to the SF household goes up, it may not result in less hunger and better nutrition (see, e.g., Kumar on Kerala, India (1978); Stavrakis and Marshall on Belize (1978); Guyer on Camerons (1980); and Blumberg on Guatemala (1985)). It appears, from these studies.

that when females have independently controlled income, they tend to focus their spending more on food, children's education and other "basic human needs." In short, the connection between greater income and less hunger/malnutrition may depend on intrahousehold patterns of who gets, controls and spends the income.

Income thus seems to be the pivotal point in a goals level study, and it clearly must be investigated from a disaggregated approach within the community and within the household. But it's not enough to investigate only current sources and uses of income - even if we expand our net to "full income" so that we can capture in-kind as well as cash income flows. Timing is another crucial source of variation: we would want to know about how these sources and income control/expenditure patterns had changed over time. A small farmer might give quite different responses if queried in the hungriest weeks before harvest vs. after harvest vs. other points along the agricultural calendar. And a farmer might give a very different picture of how these sources and income control/expenditure patterns had changed over time if questioned in a brief survey vs. being interviewed repeatedly and at length in a "life history" approach.

The above considerations clearly complicate even a modest goals level study. The task is also complicated by the fact that there are multiple "conditions under which" the assumed causal links do or do not apply - as is indicated in greatly oversimplified form in Appendix E.

The final complication of the "goals approach" is that it is patently difficult to hang this complex chain of development sequences onto a specific "peg" - AID and other donor-funded interventions - when these were almost certainly only a small part of what was going on as perceived by the SF. The saving grace of the proposed goals level research is that it may not be necessary to successfully trace change in SFs' lives all the way back to particular development projects (although this obviously would be desirable). I suggest, however, that the illumi-

nation of the assumed causal links in AID's development paradigm is a sufficient accomplishment in and of itself.

Furthermore, as stated, the advantage of having an overarching conceptual framework (see Appendix B) that encompasses both the purpose- and goals-level approaches is that one can tie together two sets of studies.

As noted, the purpose level and goals level approaches overlap in that both give (at least cursory) attention to increased agricultural production by SF households. Accordingly, the research strategy developed in Parts III and IV of this paper would be to first investigate the purpose level problem of sources of agricultural services/inputs, the conditions for their successful delivery/adoption, and their short-term effects on yields (and profits). As will be discussed in Part III, this will entail the collection of qualitative and secondary contextual data on the target group/area, as well as quantitative survey data on the three agricultural service issues discussed in the previous section. Next, one would return to the same area to do the broader and more difficult (but perhaps more important) goals level study. In addition to the far-ranging interviews that an exploration of the assumed causal links would necessitate, one could attempt to work backward to the service/inputs delivery that had been explored in the first study. (Part IV also will present other approaches to collecting goals level data beyond the "second round" strategy proposed at this point.)

In conclusion, the purpose level study is much easier to research, since we are, basically, "swimming downstream" from interventions to immediate effects. But by linking the purpose level study both conceptually and geographically with a subsequent goals level investigation, it should be possible to carry out both approaches, synergistically. Let us now attempt to see how this may be done.

III. THE PURPOSE LEVEL STUDY: EXPLORING SMALL FARMER EXPERIENCES WITH AGRICULTURAL SERVICES

As I propose it, the purpose level study is a straightforward follow-up of the three key issues that emerged from the just-completed evaluation series on the delivery of agricultural services. These issues involve: (1) coverage - proportions of SFs of different subgroups (e.g., more than 5 acres/less than 5 acres, male/female, etc.) who get the service in question from AID-promoted vs. "indigenous" sources - or forego it entirely; (2) conditions for successful delivery/adoption of the service as seen by different SF subgroups (extent to which service is appropriate, timely, profitable, affordable, and not too risky/uncertain); and (3) the assumption that use of the service leads to higher yields.

A. How It Would Work: A Scenario for a Prototype Purpose Level Study

In this section, I will set out a methodology that combines qualitative contextual data with quantitative survey data in addressing these three issues. Because both the conceptualization and the suggested methodology are already fairly well-defined, I will not recommend an initial literature search phase. Instead, I will begin the recommended procedures with the creation of an advisory group:

1. Form an Advisory Task Force. A small group combining CDIE and local Washington people should be formed. They would review this report and its recommendations and provide guidance on the most suitable place for the prototype round of the purpose level study. They would also help clarify the proposed variables, data collection techniques, and organizational/logistical issues.

a. Chair: Ray Solem of CDIE, who coordinated the previous evaluation series on delivery of agricultural services and will be coordinating the present proposed series.

b. Members: A possible list could include -

- Ken Kusterer, Chair of the Sociology Department at American University.

He could provide insight on the eclectic methodology mix he used in Guatemala (see below), and on intrahousehold and community research issues.

- Ken Swanberg, Independent Consultant. He could provide guidance on (1) survey research, in which he is expert, and (2) "diagnostic evaluation" - which involves going to the SFs to get their perspectives on what the key issues are before the study becomes too locked in.

- Shubh Kumar, IFPRI. She is an agricultural economist and the author of what is generally considered the breakthrough study (1978, on Kerala, India) disaggregating household effects on income and child nutrition. She is currently involved in intrahousehold research in Zambia but will be in the U.S. in December and January.

- From CDIE: To the extent of their availability and interest, W. Haven North and Paula Goddard. Additionally, Krishna Kumar, who, with Ray Solem, worked on the "agricultural services task force" in the September 23-24 workshop. Other CDIE people could be brought in based on their expertise in a topic being considered by the Advisory Task Force - and their interest and availability.

c. November meeting: A meeting on November 21, 22 or the morning of November 27 would seem desirable, if feasible for Ray Solem and other key people. The subject of the meeting would be first steps toward the purpose level prototype study, and it could include the recommendations of this report. Rae Blumberg will be in Washington during that period attending a "women in development" workshop scheduled by CDIE (on November 25-26). Therefore, she could be available. The two primary topics would seem to be (1) whether the three issues proposed for the purpose level study constitute an adequate or excessive research problem for the time and resources available, and (2) the best location for the prototype round of the proposed study.

2. Choose a first choice and back-up site for the prototype study. As

will be further elaborated below, a strong case can be made for Northeast Thailand as the site for the prototype study in this series. Alternatively, it could be argued that the prototype should be done in one of the sites studied in the previous evaluation series on the delivery of agricultural services; in that case, the Dominican Republic or Paraguay would be the top candidates (see below).

a. Move toward Mission approval of the chosen site.

b. Consider a reconnaissance mission for Ray Solem if the first choice site is one in which he has not previously worked.

3. Adopt the organization plan for the prototype study presented by Ray

Solem to the 9/23-24 workshop. As can be seen in Appendix F, four positions are

involved in the proposed organization plan. These include three levels of hierarchy. At the top level is (1) the PPC/CDIE Manager (Ray Solem). Reporting to him is (2) the Study Coordinator. This person would be U.S.-based and would be good at integrating conceptual, methodological and logistical elements of the study. The third level of hierarchy would consist of two positions: (3) a "Context Person," who would spend about four months in the field. The person would use a variety of Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) techniques to generate qualitative data and review secondary data; the net result would be to spin a "contextual cocoon" around the survey data collected by (4) the Survey Team Leader. Whereas the Context Person could be either a U.S. social scientist or a host country social scientist, the Survey Team Leader is clearly designated as a host country national. Moreover, while the Context Person could be either an anthropologist or rural sociologist/sociologist, the Survey Team Leader should be a sociologist with extensive experience in rural-based sample surveys. More detail on the content and timing of each of these four people's jobs will emerge in the next two sections (III-B and III-C), below.

4. Once Mission approval is obtained for the prototype location, contract the U.S. Study Coordinator. The Study Coordinator's contract should include at least a week's lead time to permit him/her the opportunity to read relevant materials on the study and prototype site available in AID/Washington; review any relevant academic and development literature; and conduct telephone or personal interviews (depending on the person's home base) with appropriate informants, in both the U.S. and prototype country.

5. Arrange a "diagnostic" or RRA exploratory visit to the prototype site to first identify host country institutions/personnel and then talk with SFs. Acting on the suggestion of Susan Poats and Ken Swanberg, I am recommending a preliminary "diagnostic" trip, so that direct contact with a wide array of SFs

would be at the top of the research agenda. No matter how logically consistent, theoretically sophisticated and methodologically elegant the proposed research plan might be, it is stamped, "Made in the U.S.A." - and by "experts." So the first order of business is to test the study's preconceived notions against the reality of the SFs' perceptions. In order to do this in the way which will best promote the study, the diagnostic visit would begin by identifying possible resource people, institutions and data sources needed for the field work. A prime order of business would be to locate (1) host country survey team leader candidates, and (2) any locally-resident social scientists who might be contracted for the "context person" position. If this were done in the first week or so of the probable 2-3 week visit, it might be possible to have the candidate(s) accompany the PPC/CDIE Manager and Study Coordinator to the field for at least 2-3 days of the time spent conducting unstructured interviews with SFs. This would enable the Manager and Study Coordinator to assess the personal suitability of the candidate(s).

- a. Use as one criterion for selecting the survey team leader that person's familiarity with (or willingness to master) portable computers that would be used to begin processing survey results in the field.
- b. Ascertain how an appropriate portable computer could be supplied to the survey team leader in a timely manner if the person does not have access to one. (All things being equal, however, a person with the requisite computer experience and access to the right sort of hardware is greatly to be preferred.)

6. Once final plans, timetable and budget are prepared and approved, contract the Context Person and Host Country Survey Team Leader. Both would be given contracts for approximately four months, but it would be preferable (see below) if the Context Person does some preliminary field work before the survey questionnaire is even drafted: almost all methodologists agree that a survey is the last step in an exploratory study (which this is). Then, in order to make the Context Person's contract fit within the budgeted time, there could be a period of about six weeks - during which time the survey data is analyzed by the survey team leader - when the Context Person would be "off contract."

(The survey team person would be on a continuous four-months contract.)

a. Attempt to arrange for at least one host country graduate student in the social sciences to work under the supervision of the Context Person. As will be seen below, the Context Person will need to spend about one month of his/her contract accompanying the survey team to their various village sites. Some of the data the Context Person should gather is quite labor-intensive and available only via many weeks' work. An inexpensive and ideal solution would be to hire a local grad student who could be "parked for the duration" in one or two villages, with periodic supervision by the Context Person. In this way, the Context Person's time is made more free and flexible.

7. Adopt a process methodology in which the qualitative/contextual data is gathered first and used to refine the content of the survey questionnaires, which are prepared later. Based on Ken Kusterer's idea, I am recommending the use of a "process methodology" for the prototype study. In this way, the survey questionnaires' content - the last act of the research drama - would be locked in only after a good deal of the qualitatively-gathered information were known. Thus, the final survey would be the "frosting on the cake" - it would provide numbers to back up the more qualitative, "softer" approaches undertaken by the Context Person and any graduate assistants.

a. Among the Rapid Rural Appraisal techniques used in gathering this qualitative data are: group meetings, key informant interviews, historical digging/chronology of prior donor/government interventions in the area, history of significant local events, in-depth life history interviews, examination of Mission and public records, secondary analysis of existing studies, etc.

8. Adopt a "semi control group" approach in which one or more villages known to have received few/any of the services are contrasted with the villages having more intensive interventions. In practice, this means that a minimum of three villages should be selected to represent a particular target area: two which had substantial degrees of AID-promoted interventions and one which received far fewer services. The "semi control" villages should be chosen to be otherwise as comparable to the more affected villages as possible.

9. Adopt a sampling strategy in which (a) two or three class strata of SFs, (b) principal male and female(s) of each sampled household, and (c) major local

ethnic groups are explicitly included. Clearly, class/land tenure position constitutes a major dimension for analysis. Although the proposed series is known as "small farmer perspectives," we should not exclude those below the level of the "small farmer" in the villages sampled: landless/semi-landless day laborers or part-time farmers also should be included. Thus, the sample might well be stratified (or, at minimum, data analysis disaggregated) into three locally-relevant class/land tenure strata. This would permit disaggregation of SFs into the poorer vs. the not-so-poor, while also including a stratum of "not (even) SFs." Equally important, disaggregation within the household is impossible unless the principal male and female(s) of that household are interviewed. Since one of the major contributions that the proposed purpose level study should make is based on its inclusion of both within-community (class) and within-household (gender) variation, such a sampling strategy is a keystone of the whole approach. Finally, the matter of ethnicity must be dealt with. Given all the complexities of the prototype study it would seem to be a mistake to undertake it in an area with numerous distinct ethnic groups. Although it may not be necessary to insist on a single ethnic group-area for sampling convenience, it would be desirable to choose as the prototype site an area which has, at most, two major ethnic groups that must be taken into account in sampling.

10. Adopt a time schedule that permits researchers on the prototype study to backstop each other's efforts. As will be further discussed below, this will involve more site visits by the Study Coordinator than might be needed in subsequent replications. First, the Study Coordinator should be present to guide the Context Person and any graduate assistant(s) in the collection of qualitative data that are needed before work can even begin on a draft questionnaire. (This first "set up" visit can be fairly brief.) Second, the Study Coordinator should return when the preliminary contextual data are available - by which time the Sum

vey Team Leader should have completed work on the sampling frame. The purpose of this visit is to aid in the design, pretesting, and hectic first days of actual administration of the survey questionnaire. All this may well take a month before the instrument - and the interviewing process - are functioning as intended. In order to maintain the "marriage" of qualitative and quantitative approaches that characterizes the proposed methodology, it is also suggested that:

a. The Context Person should accompany the survey team from village to village so that he/she can work together with the Survey Team Leader during the nightly questionnaire checking and the early morning logistical meetings that are standard procedure in most field surveys. But during the day, the Context Person should continue qualitative research, while the Survey Team Leader should begin analysis (using the portable computer).

b. It is desirable that the first village to receive the survey be the one in which the graduate student is working, so that entree is facilitated and preliminary interview results can be validated against data already gathered by more qualitative, in-depth means.

c. Although the U.S. Study Coordinator leaves the field after the first few days of interviewing, when the "bugs" have been worked out of the questionnaire and procedures, he/she should leave the Survey Team Leader with a mutually acceptable work plan to begin analysis during the period of field interviewing (approximately one month). Similarly, the U.S. Study Coordinator should leave the Context Person with a mutually acceptable work plan for data remaining to be collected.

11. At the conclusion of the survey interviews, the U.S. Study Coordinator should return to help complete the analysis and block out the study report. At this point, all the principal actors would be reunited in a central location. The Context Person would be back for the final couple of weeks in his/her contract; as mentioned, the Survey Team Leader's four-month contract would be continuous. During this period, complex analyses needing the U.S. Study Coordinator's guidance would be run. Then, with input from the context and survey experts, the final report is blocked out in draft form.

12. Back in the U.S., the Study Coordinator writes the final report and presents it, orally and in writing, to CDIE, so that a timely decision can be made on replications. Depending on how well the research came out and what has

been learned, a decision should be made by the PPC/CDIE Manager (Ray Solem) and CDIE management about proceeding with at least three fairly simultaneous replications. Presumably, tentative Mission clearances would have been received in the prime replication sites - assuming that signs from the field had been positive enough so that such clearances would have been sought. Before proceeding with the replications, however, the substantive and organizational "lessons learned" of the prototype should be discussed and pondered by CDIE people, the U.S. Study Coordinator and the Advisory Task Force. In this way, appropriate modifications of content, procedures and organizational structure could be implemented.

B. Where It Would Work: Two Cases for Prototype Sites

1. The case for Northeast Thailand. When Haven North gave the original charge for the "small farmer perspectives" evaluation series, he suggested that countries be chosen where: (1) AID had a long history of investment in a variety of projects that were expected to affect small farmers, (2) there had been prior work by CDIE in the form of impact evaluations or special studies, and (3) there was a rich data base, including, if possible, sampling frames for survey research and intrahousehold-level data or, at the very least, class-differentiated intravillage data.

Northeast Thailand fills all three criteria, and then some. Additional desiderata include: (1) CDIE is contemplating a country study that could uncover much of the macrolevel and historical context that is needed to provide the basis for interpreting the village-level results; (2) there are at least three Thai-resident U.S. social scientists who are potentially available to work as the Context Person; two of them are at Kan Kaen (sometimes transliterated as Khonkaen) University, supported by U.S. foundation funds, and very knowledgeable and involved in a rich, already-extant data base; (4) the available data base is reported to in-

clude some 22 Rapid Rural Appraisal studies that provide information on many of the villages and variables the purpose level study might encompass; (4) there is an on-going project in the area (AID's Northeast Rainfed Agricultural Development, NERAD), which:

- a. already has recent intrahousehold data (the type least frequently available - yet potentially most valuable - for a study such as the proposed purpose level research), in the form of a study conducted by the internationally renowned Ingrid Palmer;
- b. has just been studied by CDIE - Anamaria Long did one of the 10 case studies for the "women in development" research on the NERAD project;
- c. could provide a convenient base (and perhaps even some help) for the proposed prototype research;

and (5) Kan Kaen University has expertise in both RRA and survey, so that both the Context Person and the Survey Team Leader could be contracted from those with some connection with it; for the Context Person, locally-resident expert U.S. candidates include:

- a. Tom Kirsch, presently at Kan Kaen, recommended to David Steinberg by Biff Keyes, the leading Thai expert in the United States (Keyes is an anthropologist at the University of Washington);
- b. Terry Grandstaff, an ecological anthropologist also at Kan Kaen University. He has a Harvard Ph.D. and is ex-West Point. David Steinberg hired him for an earlier stint with AID. Currently, he is the resident expert in RRA, and is involved in the 22-odd projects recently carried out in the area (in fact, he is the person who organized the Ford Foundation-funded RRA conference to which Anamaria Long was invited);
- c. John Chamberlain, who lives in Bangkok, but is married to a Northeast Thai woman and often works in the area. A Lao and Northeast Thailand specialist, he is described by David Steinberg as professionally and personally well-qualified - knowledgeable, reliable and thorough.

In short, a strong case can be made for undertaking the prototype study in Northeast Thailand.

2. The case for replicating a site from the agricultural services delivery evaluation series - either the Dominican Republic or Paraguay. These two sites fill two of the three criteria suggested by Haven North: (1) both have been the

beneficiaries of a long series of AID projects aimed at small farmers, and (2) both have been the sites of prior work by CDIE. They also offer the additional advantage, of course, of having been studied on precisely the issues that are central to the proposed prototype research. It appears, however, that they do not have the rich data base - and certainly not the intrahousehold and RRA data - characterizing the Northeast Thailand site.

- The Dominican Republic. The report by Araujo, et al. (1985) is based on fieldwork in October 1983. The report provides provocative but unquantified information that could justify a follow up. Some examples: (a) Many farmers continued to use the "indigenous" credit system (relatives, neighbors, intermediaries, landlords, and store owners), despite its high rates, to avoid the delays and complicated procedures of AID-backed government credit; (b) credit, thus, was not the main constraint; (c) rather, a policy and institutional environment in which the government pursued pricing and exchange rate policies that harmed domestic agriculture - and undermined the project - proved the chief obstacle; and (d) contrary to project assumptions, evidence did not indicate that project credit led to higher outputs and income.

Although the authors claim that "interviews with many household members in the beneficiary group constituted the main source of information" (1985:ix), this data base is neither quantified nor presented in systematic fashion. Thus, it would seem potentially rewarding to return to the island to try to follow up the earlier findings. Since October 1983, some of the government's most anti-rural pricing and currency exchange rate policies have been eliminated (at IMF insistence). Has this enhanced the effectiveness of public sector rural SF credit? Unfortunately, however, the country has been gripped by continuing economic crisis since early 1984 (April 1984 food riots, for example, left some 60 people dead). This might distort the results that could be expected from a follow-up study.

- Paraguay. Fieldwork apparently took place in 1984, in a country marked by much less government involvement in the agricultural sector than in the Dominican Republic. Paraguay also has had exceptional government continuity in the decades of Stroessner's rule. A 1974 sociological study showed that in areas not served by co-ops, some 71% of SFs (0-5 ha. of land) got part or all their credit from private traders/storekeepers - in: "a modern-day version of the colonial 'patron' system" (Solem, et al., 1985:1). Indeed, the evaluation team found data showing that less than 2% of SFs were served by the formal credit system. In this environment, CREDICOOP has been struggling since the early 1970s.

One of the most intriguing findings is that:

In areas where CREDICOOP's member credit unions are active, the private trader has had to be more competitive...Credit union members and nonmembers alike have benefited from the competition. It is increasingly difficult for private traders to exploit their farmer clients...The great emphasis CREDICOOP member credit unions put on education has further accentuated the impact of such competition. The role and techniques of private traders form a central part of the sales pitch given to prospective members. The private trader's argument that sale of \$100 worth of seed and fertilizer for \$120 worth of cotton, due in 3 months, is somehow different from interest is debunked. The trader's tendency to undervalue the cotton when delivered is also exposed. Even prospects who do not join the credit union, or neighbors of credit union members who discuss these subjects over the back fence, reap the benefits of credit union education (1985:16, emphasis added).

Thus, the grounds for a fascinating and useful follow-up study can be seen. Not only could the relative strengths and weaknesses of the "interventionist" and "indigenous" system be investigated and compared from the SF perspective, the interaction between them could be studied. This, in and of itself, could make a substantial contribution to development knowledge and practice. Therefore, although Paraguay is no longer a focus of AID action, a prototype study there might be well justified. All three issues could be explored in a framework comparing CREDICOOP and private trader procedures and results. Moreover, since CREDICOOP also provides inputs, technical assistance and marketing, additional comparisons might be made in a follow-up study.

C. When It Would Work: Timing Considerations for the Prototype Study

In this section, the length and phases of the work of the major participants are suggested in a preliminary way.

U.S. Study Coordinator: Total Time Contracted=4 Months (about 17 weeks)

- Preparation time (reading relevant documents, interviews, etc.) = 1 week (minimum).
- First "diagnostic" trip (locating resource people, institutions, data, and spending 1-2 weeks in the field, interviewing a representative, purposive sample of SFs via RRA methods) = 3 weeks (maximum)
- Second "set up" trip (working with Context Person and any graduate assistants to get them started on the qualitative data collection, in accordance with a mutually agreeable work plan) = 2 weeks
- Third "survey" trip (working with Survey Team Leader - and Context Person - to finalize and pretest a survey questionnaire, and then accompanying the survey team in the first few days (perhaps 1 week) of interviewing; during this period, a mutually agreeable work plan also would be worked out with the Survey Team Leader for completing the less complex aspects of computer analysis prior to the Study Coordinator's return) = 4 weeks
- Fourth and final trip (first working with the Survey Team Leader for about 1 week to complete the more complex data analyses (e.g., index construction and runs), and then working with all the principals together to block out conclusions and the draft of the final report; input would be provided by the Context Person, Survey Team Leader and any graduate assistants) = 3 weeks
- Completion of final report at Study Coordinator's home base in U.S.; oral as well as written presentation to CDIE = 4 weeks
- Note that the 17 weeks of work are not continuous. Rather, there are gaps (1) between the second and third trips, while the Context Person is collecting the qualitative data, and (2) between the third and fourth trips, while the remainder of the field interviews and all but the complex analyses are being directed by the Survey Team Leader.

Context Person: Total Time Contracted=3-1/2-4 Months (about 15-17 weeks)

- Participate in "diagnostic" trip (assuming person is locally resident) = 1 week (minimum; 3 weeks=maximum, which would reduce other phases to min.)
- Work with Study Coordinator in "set up" trip = 2 weeks
- Carry out qualitative analyses that must be done before questionnaire construction = 4-5 weeks
- Participate in survey phase (work with U.S. Study Coordinator and Survey Team Leader to formulate and pretest questionnaire; accompany survey team to field) = 6-7 weeks (almost surely will require 7 weeks)
- Return to work with U.S. Study Coordinator and Survey Team Leader to block out conclusions and draft final report = 2 weeks.

Survey Team Leader: Total Time Contracted=3½-4 Months (about 15-17 weeks)

- Participate in "diagnostic" trip (very optional) = 1 week (maximum)
- Direct survey phase (formulation and pretesting of questionnaire; field interviews and preliminary data analysis) = 8 weeks
- Post-field analysis of data using portable computer = 4-6 weeks (since analysis usually takes more time than planned, 5 weeks is a reasonable minimum)
- Final analyses with U.S. Study Coordinator and participation in blocking out of conclusions and drafting of final report = 3 weeks
- Note that if the Survey Team Leader does not participate in the "diagnostic" trip, his/her time would be continuous - however, it would start about 6 weeks later than the Context Person's main contract. Note also that the Context Person's contract would have a gap of 5-7 weeks between the completion of the field surveys and the beginning of the final two-week "conclusions and draft" phase, i.e., however long it took the Survey Team Leader to analyze the data after coming back from the field.

Graduate Student Assistant(s): Total Time Contracted=3½-4 Months (15-17 weeks)

- It is strongly recommended that at least one grad student be hired to live in one or two villages during a four month period (minimum of 3½ months) that would begin during the "set up" visit by the U.S. Study Coordinator. Certain types of data, especially that having to do with intrahousehold variables and the agricultural cycle, are very labor-intensive and/or must be collected over a period of several months. Thus, adding 1-3 grad students would not add too much to the budget, but could have a high payoff in (a) providing detailed "contextual" data that otherwise are too time-consuming to be collected, and (b) providing much of the data base that would most facilitate the "first cut" goals level study that I shall discuss below as the "rapid restudy" approach.

All in all, although no one person need be contracted for more than about four months, the total time elapsed for the prototype research will be around 6-7 months.* This assumes that the clock starts running when the U.S. Study Coordinator begins the one week allotted for literature review and interviews, and stops when he/she delivers the final report to CDIE. Replications will be faster.

D. Possible Replication Sites - a Preliminary List

1. The "loser" of the prototype candidates. At least one of the two locations not chosen for the prototype should be included in the replications list, unless additional information surfaced that eliminated it. It is not necessary to review the qualifications of Northeast Thailand and Paraguay. Concerning the

*See time line in Appendix G.

Dominican Republic, it is also worth mentioning the following selling points:

- Although no intrahousehold level data were included, a major agricultural survey was done about a decade ago.
- CDIE may conduct a country study there, carried out by Michael Zak.
- The country offers an attractive combination of local social science talent, manageable size and convenient logistics. It is also strongly recommended by Hunt Howell of the Interamerican Development Bank.

2. Kenya - Western and/or Nyanza Provinces. In order of preference, Kenya seems to rank next. There is a rich data base there, including a government household survey that has been collected over a long period of time. There is a long history of AID and other donor involvement. There is excellent local social science talent with prior experience working in this part of Kenya. There are large numbers of relevant studies by U.S. social scientists, some of them (such as the studies of agricultural extension by Kathleen Staudt, an ex-IPA in AID's Office of Women in Development who is now a University of Texas-El Paso professor) focused on AID projects. Moreover, there have been previous impact evaluations done by CDIE. Finally, IFPRI is currently engaged in a major study in Nyanza Province (involving a survey of about 550 SFs and intensive anthropological case studies of about 50 of them) that is generating highly detailed intrahousehold data - much of it on very-hard-to-measure flows of "full" or "total" income. Gaining access to these data, and the contextual data also being collected (the study researches the consequences for income and nutrition of a switch from semi-subsistence agriculture to cash cropping of sugar cane), could provide an invaluable foundation for a purpose level study in the same general area.

3. Malawi. Here the attractions are a rich data base that extends to the intrahousehold level and encompasses both male and female farmers. The data base has been generated by a highly competent government research unit. Its gender-disaggregated aspects are the work of Anita Spring, a University of Florida anthro

pologist with previous AID experience and an excellent background in development research. Another attraction is the ongoing impact evaluation of Malawi's higher education, which is being carried out by Gary Hansen - since this could further integrate the work of CDIE people and studies. Although there are active AID projects in Malawi now, there is no long, rich history of intervention - as in all the other candidates mentioned to date. Thus, on the one hand, effects may be more easily attributable to AID efforts. But, on the other hand, there will have been less time elapsed for impacts to manifest themselves.

4. Philippines - Bicol IRD. Research on this massive IRD project has been going on for a decade, and the huge panel study has generated so much data it fills the entire core of a mainframe computer when it is run. The problem is that it hasn't yet been run in its entirety. A 1978 survey involved 12,000 individuals in 1,900 households and included over 3,000 variables - all in stripped-down quantitative form. Some of these data, especially the health and nutrition and population data, have been analyzed by Barry Popkin (a professor at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) and a number of Philippine social scientists (many of them associated with the Ateneo of Manila, which designed the study). The 1983 panel wave was a restudy; some 9,000-10,000 individuals are included, all repeats from the 1978 survey. Now the project has ended and the money and time have run out. The 1983 data have been cleaned and checked and are ready to be run, either alone or in comparison with the 1978 data. There are possibilities for intrahousehold analysis. It should be stressed, however, that the AID data emphasize infrastructure, rather than delivery of agricultural services/inputs. Thus, there is much information on roads, electrification and irrigation. Some 100 barangays are included in the study and it is known exactly when each barangay got which infrastructure. Although some agricultural services data are on tape (e.g., crea-

dit), Barry Popkin is less familiar with this aspect of the study. Moreover, Don Wadley (who worked on the project for years) downplayed the inputs and adoption variables as a major focus. The main attraction of the Bicol site is that one could complement newly gathered field data with the enormous computerized data set described above. Barry Popkin has approached CDIE about analyzing a small part of these data. As will be discussed below, the Bicol is also a candidate for a preliminary round of the "goals level" study. Thus, since my recommendations are geared toward a multi-stage approach in which an initial purpose level study is followed by a goals level investigation, the Bicol makes a quite interesting and appealing site for replicating the purpose level research.

5. Ecuador. If a second Latin American site were to be included, it would be desirable to represent the Andean region. Current crises in Peru and Bolivia indicate that Ecuador might be a better choice, at least at this time. There are a number of points in its favor. It has a long AID history, prior CDIE research (an impact evaluation of a rural electrification project), and an abundance of highly qualified, dedicated social scientists. Some of the best have banded together in local, private sector, research institutes. The institute considered by many to be tops in its field specializes in studies of the highlands, where a number of AID projects have been located - including one of the rural electrification installations studied in the CDIE research. Additional data sources also are available, ranging from Ph.D. dissertations on the highlands small farmers to government rural surveys. These have two shortcomings, however: lack of explicit links with AID interventions and lack of usable intrahousehold data. Still, there are enough positive points to make Ecuador a serious possibility.

E. Why Such an Elaborate Prototype Study? Some Considerations

The proposed (and preliminary) time line in Appendix G assumes that four

people (one a U.S. professional with a high daily rate) will get contracts of approximately 17 weeks each and that the prototype will take a maximum of 30 weeks from the day the U.S. Study Coordinator starts reviewing documents to the day he/she presents the final report. Why such a long, complicated and expensive study?

First, the model for this approach was the four-month study of the Guatemalan agribusiness project by Ken Kusterer. Using host country nationals at the junior social scientist and interviewer levels, and budgeting on a shoestring, he did the study for \$40,000. That was in 1980. This study proposes a more elaborate prototype precisely because, in the best case scenario, the research will be replicated in at least three other locations. It is to be hoped that the replications could be kept to a four month timeframe and a budget not appreciably greater than Kusterer's, adjusted for 1986 prices. But the prototype must have more time and money if the replications are to be accomplished efficiently and at relatively low cost.

The prototype will need more visits by the Study Coordinator than any subsequent replication because the conceptual and logistical problems will have to be worked out as they arise. If the Study Coordinator's solutions are good ones, he/she should be able to coordinate the replications more or less simultaneously. The proposed research is pathbreaking. As such, it needs enough time and flexibility to solve the challenges of cutting edge research. Nevertheless, even though the prototype represents a longer and more ambitious study than previous CDIE evaluations, it is considered fairly small, fast and cheap from the standpoint of the typical survey research project.

Among the methodological innovations this study could realize is a way for the best of RRA and survey techniques to be combined. Instead of burdening respondents with a long questionnaire, contextual and complex variables would be obtained by RRA - sometimes from the survey respondents themselves - in the collaborative approach proposed. Essentially, the Context Person, aided by the Study Coordina-

tor, first do enough groundwork so that the survey can be sharp, short and focused. Then, during the actual survey, the Context Person would be able to identify completed interviews that warrant further follow-up. People whose background characteristics or answers to the survey indicated that they would be appropriate - and willing - candidates for group meetings, in-depth interviews, etc. could be revisited by the Context Person before the survey team had left the area. In this way, the amount of information on the villages and the most important categories of SFs could be maximized.

In sum, the justification of doing such an elaborate prototype study is based on the following:

1. A better prototype study will permit better, faster and cheaper replications.
2. A better prototype study will help lay the groundwork for a "second round" study at the goals level, since the goals level study would require most of the same contextual information - and survey results - obtained by the combined RRA/survey prototype.
3. Refining the combined methodology proposed here would make a significant contribution to development over and above the purpose level study delineated above.
4. The prototype study proposed here is sufficiently encompassing to make what should be valid and reliable statements about SF receipt of and results from AID-promoted agricultural inputs/services. As such it represents a cumulation of knowledge that builds on a prior CDIE evaluation series on this topic. Such an integrated, sequential effort is rare in the development field and a contribution in its own right.
5. The study will take the perspective of the small farmer - in fact, disaggregated subgroups of SFs - rather than the project. On these grounds alone, it is justifiable.

IV. THE GOAL LEVEL STUDY: EXPLORING SMALL FARMER EXPERIENCES WITH DEVELOPMENT

As proposed here, the goals level study will ask various subgroups of SFs about their lives and well-being and how these have changed in recent years. The objective is to explore the internal logic of AID's development paradigm, which assumes that the following four relationships are causally, and invariably, linked: (1) that use of AID-promoted agricultural inputs/services leads to increased yields, (2) that increased yields/agricultural production lead to increased income, (3) that increased employment (on or off farm) leads to increased income, and (4) that increased income leads to enhanced well-being/ basic human needs. Emphasis will be given to relationships (2), (3) and (4), since the purpose level study will explore (1) as one of its three central issues. In talking about their lives and "how development has treated them lately," will SFs even mention AID-promoted interventions targeted to them? If, at the end of an interview, SFs are asked leading questions about the interventions known to have been targeted to them, will their responses corroborate what AID assumes takes place?

It should be noted that central to assumed relationships (2), (3) and (4) is the variable of income. Accordingly, the proposed research strategy will attempt to have SFs delineate their "full income" (involving in-kind as well as cash flows) and trace both forward and backward linkages of that income. An important element of the research strategy will be intrahousehold disaggregation of income flows, control patterns and expenditure responsibilities/patterns.

However, exploring the proposed income-linked relationships is not an easy matter. Two of the difficulties are: (a) the complexity of the variables and the difficulty of reliably and validly inferring backward from the current situation to prior AID-promoted interventions, and (b) the labor-intensive techniques needed to arrive at precisely quantified measures of the variables. Accordingly, a full-scale "second round" goals level evaluation series will be the last step in the proposed research approach. As preparatory stages, three research activities and a workshop

will be proposed. These are timed to take place during the period in which the purpose level prototype study and subsequent replications will be carried out. The idea is to have the results of the purpose level research and the preparatory stages of the goals level research available at about the same time. Then, both sources of knowledge can be used to inform what appears to be a costly decision for CDIE: how to proceed in a "second round" evaluation series focused at the goals level.

Specifically, the three research activities proposed are: (1) a series of "SOAPs" - "State of the Art Papers" that explore what is known about each of the assumed causal relationships summarized on p. 34, (2) computer analysis of how at least one of these linkages actually worked out in the Philippine Bicol - coupled with some supplementary RRA to provide the contextual data needed to fully interpret the computer results, and (3) what I term "rapid restudy" - in which one or (preferably) two researchers go back to (a) the site of the prototype purpose level study, and (b) at least two other well-studied research sites not yet studied for the purpose research, in order to achieve a heuristic, holistic overview of how the AID-assumed causal relationships actually worked out in the lives of diverse SFs. The "rapid restudy" would utilize RRA, but would be relatively novel in that it would involve the same researcher(s) applying the same conceptual framework to roughly the same issues in several far-flung and differing settings. Let us examine each of these three proposed activities in turn, and then turn to the workshop, and finally, the "second round" goals level evaluation series.

A State of the Art Papers to Synthesize Existing Knowledge

I propose that four (or perhaps five, see below) "SOAPs," or State of the Art Papers, be commissioned to summarize and interpret just what is known about the "conditions under which" the three causal assumptions involving income do or do not hold among various SF subgroups. (These three assumptions are the yields-income, employment-income and income-well-being links diagrammed in Appendix B.)

I am suggesting a SOAP on each of these three links, a fourth one on the assumed agricultural services-yields link (this is optional), and a fifth paper synthesizing the commonalities and contrasts found in the other literature reviews.

As it happens, I once participated in precisely this sort of exercise (funded by the Office of Rural Development in AID's Bureau for Science and Technology). The topic involved the relationship of rural development and fertility, and various pieces of the puzzle were commissioned as SOAPS (e.g., rural income and fertility, value of children and fertility, role of rural women and fertility, etc.). Then several synthesis papers were prepared from the individual SOAPS and a workshop was held to discuss what had been learned. (I did one of the synthesis papers.) Happily, quite a bit was learned by way of the SOAPS. With luck, the proposed goal level SOAPS and synthesis paper will provide a corresponding degree of illumination.

It is suggested that the SOAPS authors be chosen through a consultative process involving CDIE management, the members of the proposed Advisory Task Force, and one or two senior level development experts, such as Michael Horowitz, head of Institute for Development Anthropology. IDA has an IQC which could be used to carry out the proposed SOAPS. They could write one or more of the papers and oversee the entire process. It may be possible to save money by using a dissertation level researcher for one or two of the SOAPS, but the synthesis paper, at least, should be done by a broadly knowledgeable and experienced development expert.

In terms of timing, these SOAPS could begin at any point deemed convenient by CDIE. In writing the Scope of Work for the contracts, it should be specified that both the academic and the applied development literature be surveyed. The Scopes should present no problem, since the content of each proposed SOAP is fairly clear-cut, even at this early point.

All in all, the SOAPS approach raises the level of sophistication of the tra-

ditional literature review at least one notch. And, traditionally, a literature review is considered the first step in illuminating complex new areas of inquiry. In short, there would seem to be every reason to proceed with the SOAPs as the first activity in researching goal level issues from the SF perspective.

B. Computer Analysis of Goal Level Relationships in the Philippine Bicol Data Set, and Supplementary RRA.

Earlier, in the discussion of possible sites for replication of the purpose level study, the huge Philippine Bicol data set was discussed as a reason for undertaking research there. It should be reiterated that the data from this two-wave panel (1978 and 1983) are more relevant for the goals level research than the purpose level study. This is because there is not a great deal of information on agricultural inputs and services. Rather, there are vast amounts of data on when particular barangays got particular types of infrastructure, and what happened to yields, employment, income, nutrition and other variables. It would be so expensive to trace out all of these complex interconnections, however, that it would be preferable to begin with a much less ambitious set of analyses.

The exact content and cost of the "first cut" analysis would have to be worked out among CDIE management, the Advisory Task Force and Prof. Barry Popkin. One highly valuable "chunk" would be the relationships between (1) receipt of a given type of infrastructure, (2) effects on agricultural production, (3) effects on prices and other selected income variables, and (4) effects on one or two selected measures of well-being/basic human needs, such as hunger/nutrition. Since (1) receipt of the infrastructure is known, by date, for all barangays, only the subsequent consequences would have to be computer-analyzed. If this could be accomplished for the \$30,000 figure that was tentatively discussed as a "ballpark estimate," the groundwork could be laid for a much less common accomplishment: RRA with a random subsample of SFs, in order to get the in-depth context needed to "clothe the naked numbers."

The value of being able to randomly select SFs from the panel study and reinterview them, using qualitative techniques, is both self-evident and high. The prime advantage of a random sample is that one can make inferences from the sample to the larger population from which it was drawn. The prime advantage of going back to the same respondents is that for a small subsample, it is financially feasible to tap into the hundreds of relevant variables available on these people for 1978 and 1983 - and then link up these other, computerized, variables with what is learned in the new qualitative interviews with these same individuals.

Opportunities for such a powerful - and relatively inexpensive - research strategy are few and far between. I urge that this one be seized. The exact nature of the RRA could involve one of two possible approaches. On the one hand, one could contract one or more of the Ateneo of Manila social scientists who worked on the original research to go back and get contextual data on a mutually agreed upon list of topics. These data would be used in the interpretation of the computer results. On the other hand, the RRA phase of the Bicol research could be accomplished as one of the "rapid restudy" missions proposed below. Barry Popkin is going to the Philippines around December 6. It would seem useful to talk with him again before his departure, so that he might explore the possibilities for the RRA phase of the research. Then, on his return, arrangements could be made on delineating and beginning the computer analysis phase. It should be emphasized that there is no necessity for the SOAPs to precede the proposed Bicol research. Just when each of these two proposed research activities might begin should be left to the mutual convenience of the CDIE people and researchers involved.

C. "Rapid Restudy": A Holistic and Synergistic Approach

Whereas the two research activities proposed above, the SOAPs and the Bicol computer/RRA study, can begin at any time and would seem desirable to carry out

concurrently with the purpose level prototype study, the third goals level research activity should await its completion.

One of the activities I undertook on my return to San Diego was a fairly comprehensive literature review of the most important articles on Rapid Rural Appraisal. Among the articles reviewed were Beebe, 1985; Rhoades, 1982; Frankenberg, 1985; Collinson, 1979; Collinson, n.d.; Chambers, 1979; and Carloni, 1985. From this wealth of material, I sought ways to sharpen the "rapid restudy" method I shall propose. Essentially, however, what I am suggesting is drawn on the methodology I evolved (out of necessity) during the "women in development" research I undertook in spring 1985, under AID funding. Let me describe it.

This research was funded by the Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean, but it was part of a larger PPC/CDIE project evaluating the progress of a decade in the area of "women in development." To the point, since I had worked on the project since its inception and have long been involved in theory and research on WID, I was able to go to the field with both a conceptual framework and a research agenda. This enormously facilitated my RRA, since I had a clear idea of which variables I needed to explore and which could be legitimately ignored.

Even more important, in both countries where I conducted my RRA, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, I was doing what amounted to a restudy: I was able to use parts of the questionnaires and the samples from others' research on the same projects. Although in neither case was the previous research identical to what I was doing, I was able to greatly increase my efficiency and depth of knowledge by building on previous efforts.

For example, in Guatemala, I explicitly attempted to follow up Ken Kusterer's fine 1980 study of the ALCOSA agribusiness project, which I had recast as a "WID natural experiment." Kusterer's first rate, four-month study included both data on intravillage variation (by class) and some intrahousehold information (by gender).

His original purpose was substantially different from the WID concerns that guided my 1985 restudy of his three villages and processing plant employees. Nonetheless, by going to the same locations, hiring the same skilled host country researchers he had used, and using parts of his questionnaire, I so dramatically cut the time, cost and difficulty of gathering new WID-related data that I was able to accomplish in less than three weeks what otherwise would have taken me well over three months to achieve.

Furthermore, by doing two research studies on the same topic, I was able to further enhance my "economies of scale" and "multiplier effects." First, I did considerable preparation on both cases before going into the field so that I already had insights derived from two projects to bring to bear on my first case study, in the Dominican Republic. And, as mentioned, the research had been conceptualized in advance, both by CDIE and by me.

As it happened, I was able to build on prior efforts in the Dominican Republic study as well. I used as my "handle" the questionnaire by Rebecca Reichmann of AITEC/Accion International, who had studied the same project the previous year. Her research on this informal sector urban credit project also had included gender so I had a solid base to build on. I retained almost half her questionnaire items and used a subsample of her respondents for the bulk of my interviews. After a very efficient study, I had a whole new set of insights to bring to my second location, Guatemala. These served to bring into better and sharper focus what I was to investigate there.

The "rapid restudy" methodology I used was constructed fortuitously rather than deliberately. But it worked. It provided cross-fertilization and synergy to my two case studies. Since I wrote up my cases after I had done both of them, I was able to further benefit from my "dual restudy." All told, I believe that this methodology approximately quadrupled what I could have learned had I gone

into one country, "cold," for three weeks of RRA.

At this point, I would like to generalize from my experience and recommend "rapid restudy" as the model for the first field phase of the goal level research. I don't believe that anyone has formalized a methodology for this approach, although I do not claim to be the first person who has ever done a quick restudy of a population previously investigated by a more elaborate field research project. Essentially, the steps recommended below are based on the techniques that emerged serendipitously in my recent WID research - with one significant addition.

¶ As the result of reviewing the RRA literature, I would also recommend that if it is at all financially feasible, the "rapid restudy" be undertaken by a team of two researchers, one male and one female. In this way, they could divide the research labor in a way which maximizes their access to all SFs, while offering them the opportunity of comparing notes and thus coming up with a more comprehensive picture of the SFs studied. Such a two person team thereby eliminates the biggest drawbacks of the lone observer: the possibilities of that observer forming biased or idiosyncratic conclusions, and the fact that the observer's gender will hinder some areas of data collection. (Incidentally, Carloni, 1985a, found that IFAD missions consisting of a male IFAD mission leader and a female social scientist Monitoring and Evaluation/WID consultant were most effective in enhancing social soundness knowledge that contributed to successful project implementation. None of the other RRA authors surveyed noted the increased efficacy that a cross-sex RRA team could provide, although a few mention the need to interview both male and female SFs.)

Here are proposed steps for a "rapid restudy" of the goals level issues:

- As soon as the prototype purpose level research was in first draft form, the person(s) carrying out the "rapid restudy" could read it, discuss it with the U.S. Study Coordinator, and (assuming prior Mission clearance) leave for the field.

- By this time, some of the SOAPs would have been completed, along with part of the Bicol analysis. The "rapid restudy" researcher(s) would have spent up to one week's preparation time going over these materials, along with the emergent conceptual framework.
- The conceptual framework would be based on this report, Appendix B, and any subsequent refinements and reconceptualizations emerging from the Advisory Task Force, the SOAPs, and the Bicol analysis.
- The objective would be a holistic restudy of a (hopefully) random subsample of the prototype study's SFs. With so much available data on the SFs and the villages, the researcher(s) would be able to quickly zero in on the causal chain assumptions identified in the conceptual framework.
- The researcher(s) would use all the usual RRA devices - group meetings, key informants, follow-up interviews with a selected subsample, etc. - in order to ask about both (a) the current situation, and (b) the situation X years ago. Then the researcher(s) would ask about the changes and the SFs' perceived attribution. At this point, holistic understanding takes precedence over quantitative data. (The "hard data" phase of the goals level research would come in the subsequent "second round.")
- At the end of no more than three weeks, the researcher(s) would analyze impressions for a first draft report and then leave for a second "rapid restudy" site. Since the main criterion for choosing this site would be a rich data base that touched on at least some of the variables to be explored, the researcher(s) would once again have a foundation on which to build. (See below for possible candidates for the additional "restudy" sites.)
- The process would be repeated for a third "rapid restudy" site. By this time, the researcher(s) would have refined the questions asked of SFs and would have some preliminary hypotheses about development as seen from the SF perspective, whether these were formalized or not. Thus, the third site research provides a very important addition to the proposed methodology.
- Afterwards, the results of the three site researches would be used to cross-fertilize the final interpretations. The final write-up of results would be via a document in which each case study chapter would be written so that it could stand alone, but would be preceded and followed by chapters that compared and contrasted the results in terms of the larger conceptual framework.

Among the possible candidates for the second and third "rapid restudies" are:

1. The site not selected for the prototype research. If the prototype was done in one of the two Latin American sites studied in the prior ag. services evaluation series, Paraguay or the Dominican Republic, then the "loser" would be Northeast Thailand. Given its impressive RRA and intrahousehold data base, it would make a very strong candidate for the second "rapid restudy" site. If, how-

ever, the prototype had been carried out in Northeast Thailand, the "loser" sites, Paraguay or the Dominican Republic, might not be such strong candidates for the "rapid restudy," given the relative paucity of their extant data bases.

2. The Nyanza Province, Kenya site of the IFPRI study. This PPC/FDPR-funded study is currently investigating the effects of switching from semi-subsistence agriculture to sugar cane cash cropping; the key consequences being studied are the impacts on (a) income, and (b) nutrition. Both qualitative anthropological data on about 50 families and survey data on over 500 are being collected, along with general contextual information. Once again, a relevant data base seems to be present for the variables of interest in the goals level research.

3. The three Guatemalan highlands villages studied by Ken Kusterer in 1980 and myself in 1985. These were contract grower villages for the ALCOSA agribusiness project, and between the two previous studies and the project documents, enough information is available to make an attractive possibility for a goals level "rapid restudy" site.

4. The Philippine Bicol. Here, the "rapid restudy" could be used for a double purpose: on the one hand, it would fit into the three-site "rapid restudy" methodology proposed. On the other hand, it would constitute the RRA phase for Barry Popkin's proposed computer analysis. Because of the possibility of linking computerized variables and qualitative data on the same cases, this is an extremely strong candidate.

D. The Workshop to be Held Prior to Proceeding on the "Second Round" Research

The consensus of the workshop held on September 23-24 was that both purpose and goal level approaches should be pursued. For the goal level research, the main suggestion was that it should involve an income study, and that this income study encompass a full agricultural year. It was proposed that a combination of qualitative and survey techniques be used for gathering data during this 12

month period. To undertake a series of 12-month income studies in around four countries would involve a huge investment from the standpoint of CDIE. To embark on such an ambitious and costly venture without sufficient groundwork would be extremely counterproductive. Accordingly, my suggestion is that before any final decision is made on the suitability, scope and size of any "second round" income/goals level study, another workshop should be held. Its purpose would be to assess what had already been learned and to come to recommendations concerning the nature of any further research that might be needed for the goals level approach.

Specifically, the workshop would involve the people who had participated in the purpose level studies, and the three preliminary research activities suggested for the goals level approach: the SOAPs, the Bicol computer analysis and RRA, and the three-site "rapid restudy." All documents that had been generated by the above studies would be distributed to the participants before the workshop. All would be asked to come prepared with (a) an assessment of the main lessons learned and the remaining gaps, and (b) recommendations about what needs to be done (if anything) to complete the goals level approach and fill in any other important gaps in knowledge. It would be very desirable - although quite difficult - to request that these assessments/recommendations be circulated in advance.

The workshop could begin with presentations by CDIE people concerning the history and objectives of the two interrelated evaluation series. It could then proceed to summary presentations by each participant of his or her paper on (a) and (b) above. Following ample time for discussion of the various assessment/recommendations papers, the workshop could proceed to working group sessions in which several subgroups would be created. Each subgroup would formulate suggestions concerning the "second round" goals level research - if they decided that, in fact,

a "second round" would be needed. It is probable that the workshop would need about a day-and-a-half to get to this point.

Two additional sessions seem called for. In the first, the subgroups would report on their suggestions about the "second round." In the final session, all the participants would discuss each subgroup's suggestions and try to hammer out some final recommendations concerning how to proceed. Had enough already been learned? If not, would research as elaborate as a 12-month income study be advisable, or would some shorter, less expensive research be sufficient? The workshop would end with the participants' concluding views on these questions.

Before a final CDIE decision concerning the "second round," however, it would be useful to have one person - possibly the author of the SOAP synthesis paper, or someone who had done the "rapid restudies" - write up the principal highlights and final recommendations of the workshop.

This final workshop document would be presented to CDIE management, which would then sift through the various research and synthesis reports generated by the two linked evaluation series. By this time, it is hoped, a considerable degree of new knowledge would have been gained about what development looks like from the small farmer perspective.

If CDIE's decision would be to proceed, then some version of an income study involving both qualitative and quantitative/survey methods would presumably be undertaken in several countries where the purpose level studies had been done. This would complete the circle, so to speak.

At this point, I feel that it is premature even to speculate whether something as elaborate as 12-month income studies would be needed. It is quite possible that the series of purpose and goal level research activities suggested above would generate a complete enough picture to eliminate the need for so grand a finale. Regardless of whatever last act is chosen, however, the earlier ones represent a unique opportunity to generate cumulative knowledge about AID's

primary target group, small farmers. In the final analysis, the fact that this report has delineated how both the purpose and goal level approaches could be carried out should be considered an opportunity, not "fence straddling." These two approaches do have common points of intersection, and in attempting to carry them out in a sequential, synergistic manner, CDIE might be underwriting a quantum leap in our level of understanding of both small farmers and the development process itself.

V. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

How do the forces of planned and unplanned change look from the perspective of Third World small farmers - the principal target beneficiaries of the Agency for International Development's assistance projects? Once the management of AID's Center for Development Information and Evaluation resolved to study this important but neglected topic, two approaches were put forth for the research:

- The "purpose level" approach would focus on the delivery and adoption of agricultural inputs/services and their immediate consequences for various categories of SFs.
- The "goal level" approach would ask various groups of SFs about their lives - their work, income, well-being and changes therein - and then try to work backward toward the planned interventions of AID and other "change agents."

Rather than choose between these two approaches, it is the central recommendation of this paper that both be investigated - in a sequential and synergistic manner beginning with the "purpose level" approach. The rationale for beginning with the "purpose level" study is three-fold: it is logically prior in the conceptual framework that is proposed as the unifying thread for the overall research; it is simpler, already well-defined, and easily operationalized; and it follows up on a prior evaluation series recently completed by CDIE, which explored the delivery of agricultural services. A fourth reason also can be offered: the "purpose level" study also should be easy to "sell" to various AID constituencies, especially field Missions. This is because the delivery and adoption of agricultural services already is known to be a problem area for AID. The latest documentation, by Culbertson, et al. (1985), underlines this as the biggest shortfall encountered in a study of 308 recent aid projects. Thus:

RECOMMENDATION 1: Sequentially investigate the "purpose level" and then the "goals level" approaches to the "Small Farmer Perspectives" evaluation series.

RECOMMENDATION 2: Adopt an overarching conceptual framework that unifies the two approaches and fosters a synergistic enhancement of knowledge (a suggested framework based on AID's own development paradigm is presented in Appendix B).

For the main content of the "purpose level" study, it is suggested that three key issues identified in the just-completed "delivery of agricultural services" impact evaluation series be followed up. These issues are: (1) "coverage" - what proportion of various SF subgroups get specific modern inputs/services from (a) AID-promoted "interventionist" (planned change programs/organizations) sources, (b) "indigenous" sources ranging from family to local shopkeepers, or (c) neither - i.e., do without the service in question; (2) "conditions for the successful delivery/adoption of agricultural services" - specifically, to what extent is the service in question (a) appropriate to the user, (b) compatible and timely for the user, (c) profitable for the user, (d) affordable by the user, and (e) acceptable to the user in terms of its level of risk/uncertainty; and (3) "testing the assumed relationship between agricultural service use and increased agricultural production" - to what extent did adoption of the service actually lead to increased yields for various subgroups of SFs. All of the above issues (except (2d) and (2e), which are the author's suggestions) were identified as principal findings or areas of concern in the previous ag. services delivery evaluation series. By investigating these variables, adding several questions on how SFs' well-being was affected by the agricultural services in question, and collecting enough "contextual" data to round out our picture, a rather sharply-focused study could be carried out. Thus:

RECOMMENDATION 3: The content of the "purpose level" research should focus on whether (a) small farmers obtain certain agricultural services from AID-promoted or other sources; (b) these are delivered in a manner that facilitates their adoption by SFs, and (c) their use leads to increased yields.

For the methodology of the "purpose level" study, it is suggested that a combination of qualitative (Rapid Rural Appraisal) and quantitative (survey) techniques be employed. After a general recommendation to that effect, further details will be outlined in a series of sub-recommendations:

RECOMMENDATION 4: The methodology of the "purpose level" research should spin a "cocoon" of qualitative contextual data around a relatively brief sample survey of small farmers.

In order to carry out the proposed "purpose level" evaluation series on small farmers, the following steps are suggested:

RECOMMENDATION 4a: Form an Advisory Task Force chaired by the PPC/CDIE Manager for the proposed evaluation series.

RECOMMENDATION 4b: Choose a site for a prototype study that has both a substantial history of prior AID assistance and a rich extant data base; although the prototype research will be longer and costlier than subsequent replications, it should pay for itself in facilitating shorter, better and more economical replications.

RECOMMENDATION 4c: The top suggested candidates for the prototype study are either Northeast Thailand or one of the two Latin American sites (Paraguay and the Dominican Republic) where the previous "delivery of agricultural services" evaluation series took place.

RECOMMENDATION 4d: For the prototype study, the organization plan devised by Ray Solem should be adopted; this entails a U.S. Study Coordinator, who reports to the PPC/CDIE Manager, and who supervises a "Context Person" qualitative researcher and a host country Survey Team Leader. In addition, it would be desirable to use a host country graduate student to collect the most time- and labor-intensive qualitative data.

RECOMMENDATION 4e: A "process methodology" should be employed, in which the first step is a "diagnostic visit" - so that input from small farmers can be built into the research from the start; otherwise, the small farmer perspectives researched might be defined by "experts," rather than the SFs themselves.

RECOMMENDATION 4f: A "semi-control group" approach should be utilized, so that several villages that received high levels of AID-promoted services will be contrasted with one or more villages that did not receive the services in question.

RECOMMENDATION 4g: The sample should be designed to measure both intrahousehold and intravillage variation. Thus:

- both the principal male and female(s) of the household should be sampled;
- the sample should include all the poorest strata (e.g., landless and semi-landless) of the SF community
- the sample should be located so that no more than two principal ethnic groups are included (i.e., more heterogeneous sites are avoided).

RECOMMENDATION 4h: It is suggested that about 30 weeks be allotted for the prototype study, from the day the U.S. Study Coordinator begins AID/Washington briefings to the presentation of the final report. Nevertheless, because of the staggered nature of the suggested research activities, no person connected with the prototype need be contracted for more than four months (about 17-weeks).

RECOMMENDATION 4i: It is suggested that the survey questionnaire not be finalized until most of the qualitative contextual data already have been gathered by Rapid Rural Appraisal techniques, and that the "Context Person" accompany the survey team in order to collect additional cross-validation data.

RECOMMENDATION 4j: If the prototype study goes well, a minimum of three replications - lasting no more than about four months from start to final report - should be undertaken more or less concurrently.

RECOMMENDATION 4k: Candidate sites for the replications include:

- the non-chosen candidate for the prototype (see Recommendation 4c);
- Kenya's Nyanza or Western Province, or Malawi;
- the Philippine Bicol area;
- an additional site such as an Andean country, e.g., Ecuador.

Turning to the "goals level" study, it is suggested that the research should focus on testing the internal logic of AID's development paradigm as it is played out in the lives of various groups of small farmers. At the "goals level," AID assumes a series of sequential causal relationships. Specifically, both increased employment and increased agricultural production are assumed to result from AID's interventions aimed at small farmers. These, in turn, are both assumed to lead to increased income. Finally, increased income is assumed to lead to enhanced well-being and satisfaction of "basic human needs." An examination of the assumed chain of goal-level events (see Appendix B) reveals that the pivotal variable in the chain of assumed causality is income. These observations provide the rationale for a series of recommendations concerning the "goals level" research.

RECOMMENDATION 5: The "goals level" study should ask various subgroups of small farmers about their lives and development-induced changes they have undergone - in order to establish the "conditions under which" the chain of assumed causal links in AID's development paradigm do or do not hold.

RECOMMENDATION 6: The central variable for the "goals level" study should be income, given its pivotal position in AID's assumed chain of development outcomes.

Because a full-scale "second round" of studies of the goals level/income variables (i.e., in all the sites where the purpose level research had taken place) would be a more complex undertaking than the purpose level research, it would be costlier. Therefore, in order to provide the best possible base for a CDIE decision on whether such an elaborate "second round" was justified, an initial

set of three research activities are proposed. These would be completed prior to the necessity of making any final decisions on the "second round" of goals research. In fact, a workshop will also be proposed between the completion of the set of three goals level research activities and the initiation of the full-scale "second round" research.

The next group of recommendations deals with the three research activities:

RECOMMENDATION 7: While the prototype "purpose level" study is in the field, the first research activity for the "goals level" research can be begun: a series of "State of the Art Papers" (SOAPs) on current knowledge concerning each of the assumed causal relationships in AID's implicit development paradigm.

RECOMMENDATION 7a: There should be a minimum of four SOAPs papers contracted:

- the relationship between increased agricultural production and income;
- the relationship between increased employment and income;
- the relationship between increased income and measures of well-being;
- a synthesis paper integrating all the above SOAPs;

in addition, a fifth SOAP would be desirable, on the main link between "purpose level" development interventions and AID's assumed "goals level" outcomes:

- the relationship between use of agricultural services and yields.

RECOMMENDATION 8: Concurrently, a second "goals level" research activity can be undertaken: the computer analysis phase of a study of the Philippine Bicol Integrated Rural Development region.

RECOMMENDATION 8a: The Philippine Bicol computer analysis should include a minimum of two of the goals level relationships (see Recommendation 7a) included in the 1978 and 1983 data; it is suggested that the analysis be done by Barry Popkin of the University of North Carolina.

RECOMMENDATION 8b: Full interpretation of the Philippine Bicol computer data will be stymied unless contextual data are also collected; this should be done by use of Rapid Rural Appraisal techniques and carried out either by experienced Bicol researchers or the person(s) carrying out the "rapid restudies" recommended below.

RECOMMENDATION 9: The third research activity can begin as soon as the prototype "purpose level" research, the SOAPs and the Philippine Bicol computer analysis are ready in draft form: this is a new methodology developed for the present paper, referred to as "rapid restudy."

RECOMMENDATION 9a: Although "rapid restudy" can be done by one person, it is strongly recommended that a team of one male and one female social scientist be used; this assures that adequate data on both genders can be collected and avoids the possible bias of a lone researcher.

RECOMMENDATION 9b: In "rapid restudy," three sites would be visited for three weeks each - the site of the "purpose level" prototype, plus two other sites where recent data on some "goals level" variables had been collected.

RECOMMENDATION 9c: It is suggested that the second and third "rapid restudy" sites be places where interventions other than delivery of agricultural inputs/services took place, i.e., where other types of AID projects had been carried out and researched.

RECOMMENDATION 9d: Possible candidates for the second and third "rapid restudy" sites include the site in Kenya's Nyanza province where an IFPRI study currently is investigating goals-level variables, the Phillipine Bicol, where the "rapid restudy" could collect the contextual data needed to interpret the computer analysis, or the Guatemalan villages where two previous studies have been done on small farmer contract growers for an agribusiness project.

RECOMMENDATION 9e: The "rapid restudy" research would attempt to gain a holistic, qualitative insight concerning the various relationships delineated in Recommendation 7a, and relate these findings to the more precise data already collected in the sites being restudied.

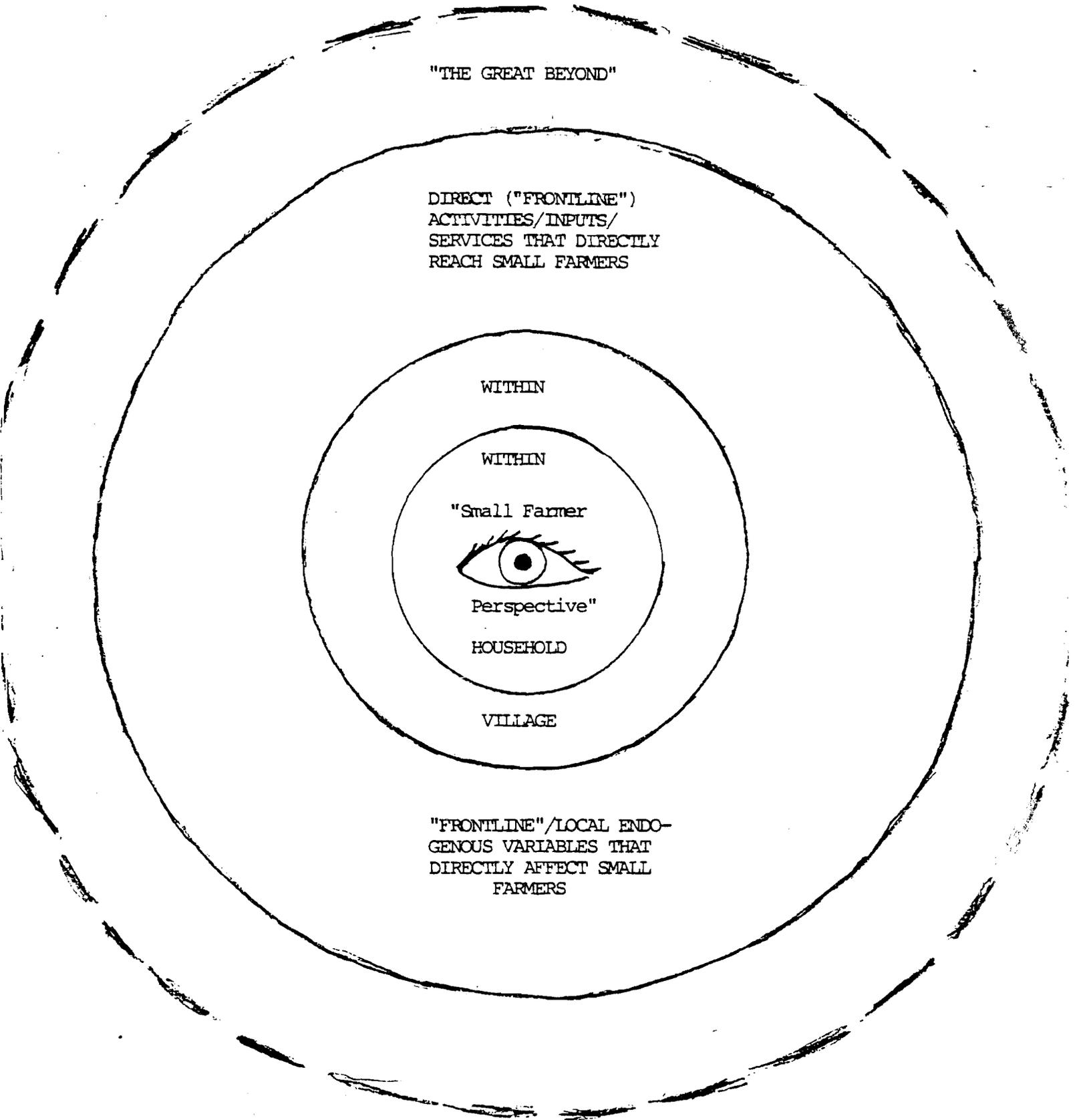
RECOMMENDATION 9f: It is suggested that the major strength of the proposed "rapid restudy" methodology is its use of the same researcher(s) to study the same general problem in three specific and different sites where a firm foundation of previous data exists: important new insights may be gained from this procedure.

RECOMMENDATION 10: As soon as the "rapid restudy" phase has been completed, an intensive workshop should be held. The workshop would review the lessons learned from all the "purpose level" and "goal level" research activities to date. Its major objective would be to make recommendations concerning the full-scale "second round" research at the goals level.

RECOMMENDATION 11: Although it would be premature to give detailed suggestions about the "second round" research at this time, it is considered very likely that this study will revolve around income: sources, intrahousehold control, and disposition of "full income" (cash and in-kind) and how these have changed.

RECOMMENDATION 12: Finally, continuing attention should be given to timely dissemination of findings - both as the "bits and pieces" become available and at the end, when the full picture can be constructed.

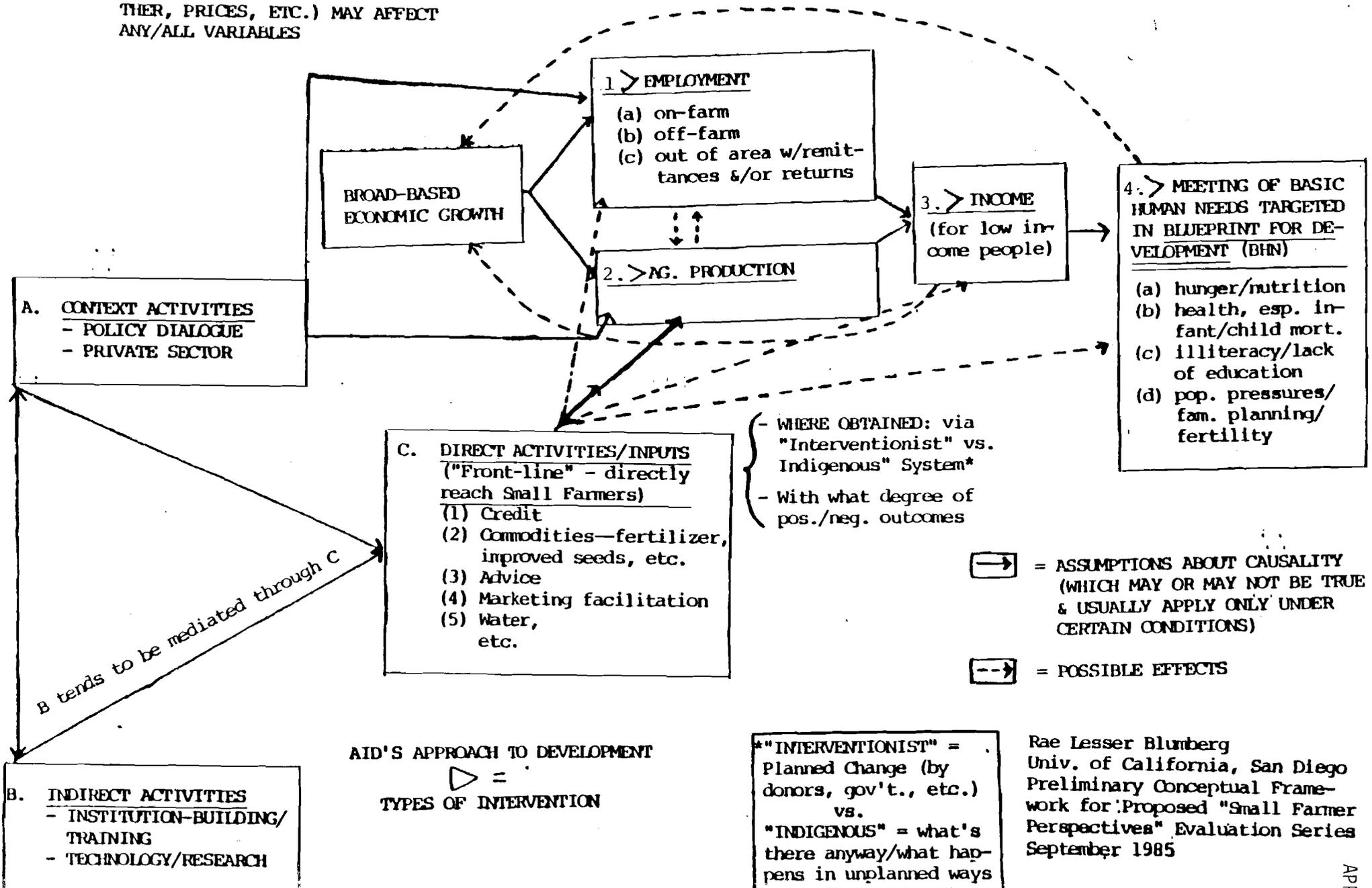
In conclusion, it is suggested that the research proposed in this paper is justified for a number of reasons. First, the paucity of information from the perspective of small farmers provides the most compelling rationale. Second, the fact that a conceptual framework exists - drawn from AID's own development paradigm, no less - means that the various "bits and pieces" of the research can be interpreted as part of a larger whole. The proposed sequential research thus offers the potential of breakthrough findings that can help small farmers, AID, and our understanding of the development process.



NOTE: EXOGENOUS FACTORS (AT LEVELS RANGING FROM LOCAL TO INTERNATIONAL, INVOLVING WEATHER, PRICES, ETC.) MAY AFFECT ANY/ALL VARIABLES

AID'S IMPLICIT FRAMEWORK MADE EXPLICIT - ITS THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT BASED ON "BROAD BASED ECONOMIC GROWTH" AND ASSUMED OUTCOMES

KEY: A, B, C = MEANS/PURPOSES
1, 2, 3, 4 = ENDS/GOALS



- WHERE OBTAINED: via "Interventionist" vs. Indigenous" System*
- With what degree of pos./neg. outcomes

→ = ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT CAUSALITY (WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE TRUE & USUALLY APPLY ONLY UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS)

- - -> = POSSIBLE EFFECTS

AID'S APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT
▷ =
TYPES OF INTERVENTION

*"INTERVENTIONIST" = Planned Change (by donors, gov't., etc.) vs. "INDIGENOUS" = what's there anyway/what happens in unplanned ways

Rae Lesser Blumberg
Univ. of California, San Diego
Preliminary Conceptual Framework for Proposed "Small Farmer Perspectives" Evaluation Series
September 1985

I. Fertilizer

A. Last year, did you use fertilizer on any of your crops?

No Yes

1. If no, why not? _____

2. If yes,

a. On which crop(s)? _____

b. Where did you get it? _____

c. Did you have difficulties with any of the following:

(1) Supply (not enough/favoritism)? _____

(2) Timing? _____

(3) Price? _____

(4) Quality or right kind/wrong kind? _____

d. Were there any other problems?

e. How did you pay for it?

f. In your opinion, did the fertilizer make any difference in your yields? (ask for each crop)

(1) No Why?

(2) Yes How much? Lot Some Little

B. This year, do you plan to use, or have you used, fertilizer on any of your crops?

No Yes

1. If no, why not? _____

2. If yes,

a. On which crop(s)? _____

b. Where will/did you get it? _____

3. If source is different from previous year, why did you change?

4. Do you know any other sources where you can get fertilizer?
_____ No _____ Yes

5. If yes,

a. What do you consider the best source? Why?

b. What do you consider the worst source? Why?

II. Credit

Farming is so expensive these days that many people have to borrow money or purchase supplies on credit in order to have what they need.

(With Regard To Cash Credit)

- A. Last year, when you needed money, from whom did you get it (eg. relatives, friends, local shopkeeper, rotating credit fund, bank)?

Did you get what you needed? Yes No: why not? _____

1. If you borrowed money, for what purpose?

- a. Clothing
- b. School Supplies
- c. Medical Emergencies
- d. Farm Supplies
- e. Other (Specify) _____

2. In applying for and receiving the loan, did you have difficulties with any of the following:

- a. Location (far away/hard to reach)? _____
- b. Repeated visits required? _____
- c. Paper work? _____
- d. Timing (get it when you needed it)? _____
- e. Treatment (courteous)? _____
- f. Cost (interest rates/fees)? _____
- g. Terms (period/size of payments)? _____
- h. Extra payments necessary for approval? _____
- i. Encounter favoritism? _____
- j. Receive less than needed? _____
- k. Special requirements/collateral? _____

3. With regard to the procedures for borrowing money:

a. What was the most difficult problem?

b. Would you say that borrowing money was _____ very easy, _____ easy, _____ difficult, or _____ very difficult?

4. Was attaining the loan worth the effort?

a. _____ No Why not? _____

b. _____ Yes How? _____

5. Have you had difficulty repaying the loan on time?

a. _____ No

b. _____ Yes Why? _____

B. This year, have you borrowed, or do you plan to borrow, money from any source? _____ Yes _____ No

1. If no, why not? _____

2. If yes, for what purpose?

a. _____ Clothing

b. _____ School Supplies

c. _____ Medical Emergencies

d. _____ Farm Supplies

e. _____ Other Specify: _____

3. If yes, from whom did/will you borrow money? _____

4. If source is different from previous year, why did you change?

C. For those who answered no to both last year and this year, where have you gone when you needed to get money (record up to three cases)?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

D. For those who have borrowed money at least once, do you know of any other sources where you can get a loan?

_____ No _____ Yes

1. If yes, specify sources: _____

2. Which do you consider:

a. The best source? _____

Why? _____

b. The worst source? _____

Why? _____

(With Regard To In-Kind Credit)

A. Last year, where did you go when you needed supplies on credit?

Did you get what you needed? Yes No

1. If no, why not? _____

2. If yes, what type of supplies?

a. Clothing

Identify Source: _____

b. School Supplies

Identify Source _____

c. Medical Emergencies

Identify Source _____

d. Farm Supplies

Identify Source: _____

e. Other Specify: _____

Identify Source: _____

3. If yes for any of the above, are you generally satisfied (GS) or not satisfied (NS)? If you had any problems, please specify:

| | <u>GS</u> | <u>NS</u> | <u>Specify The Problems</u> |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| a. Clothing | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| b. School Supplies | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| c. Medical Emergencies | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| d. Farm Supplies | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| e. Other | _____ | _____ | _____ |

B. This year, did you get, or do you plan to get, any supplies on credit? Yes No

1. If no, why not? _____

2. If yes, what type of supplies?

a. _____ Clothing

Identify Source: _____

b. _____ School Supplies

Identify Source _____

c. _____ Medical Emergencies

Identify Source _____

d. _____ Farm Supplies

Identify Source: _____

e. _____ Other Specify: _____

Identify Source: _____

3. If you have received credit from any of the above, are you generally satisfied (GS) or not satisfied (NS)? If you had any problems, please specify:

| | GS | NS | Specify Any Problems |
|------------------------|-------|-------|----------------------|
| a. Clothing | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| b. School Supplies | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| c. Medical Emergencies | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| d. Farm Supplies | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| e. Other | _____ | _____ | _____ |

C. For those who answered no to both last year and this year, where have you gone when you needed supplies on credit? (Record up to three cases.)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

D. For those who have ever received supplies on credit from any source, do you know of any other source where you can borrow supplies that you purchased? _____ No _____ Yes

1. If yes, specify sources: _____

2. Which do you consider:

a. The best source? _____

Why? _____

b. The worst source? _____

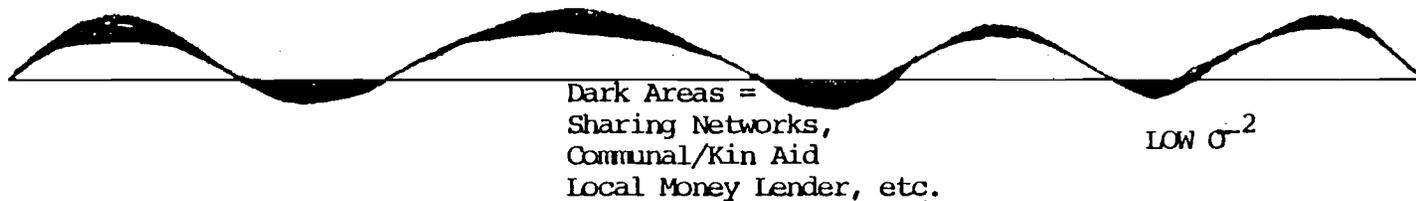
Why? _____

WHY SMALL FARMERS MAY NOT BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN/BENEFIT FROM DIRECT INPUTS

APPENDIX D

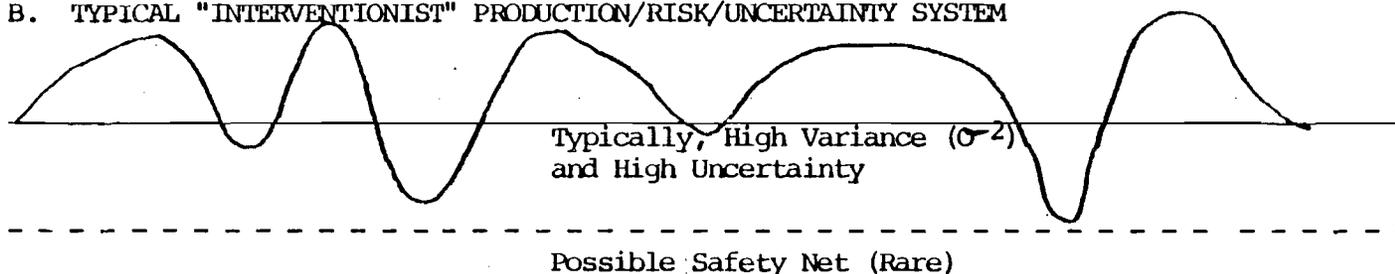
A. INDIGENOUS PRODUCTION/RISK/RISK INSURANCE SYSTEM

"SOCIAL SURVIVAL" LINE →



B. TYPICAL "INTERVENTIONIST" PRODUCTION/RISK/UNCERTAINTY SYSTEM

"SOCIAL SURVIVAL" LINE →



C. RISK (TO BE MINIMIZED) vs. UNCERTAINTY (TO BE AVOIDED), THE CLOSER ONE IS TO THE SOCIAL SURVIVAL LINE

| RISK | | |
|------|------------------|-----|
| X | P | +/- |
| 1 | $\frac{+}{-} \%$ | ++ |
| 2 | $\frac{+}{-} \%$ | + |
| 3 | $\frac{+}{-} \%$ | + |
| 4 | $\frac{+}{-} \%$ | - |
| 5 | $\frac{+}{-} \%$ | -- |
| . | . | . |
| . | . | . |
| . | . | . |
| n | n % | ? |

| UNCERTAINTY | | |
|-------------|------------------|-----|
| X | P | +/- |
| 1 | $\frac{+}{-} \%$ | + |
| 2 | $\frac{+}{-} \%$ | ? |
| 3 | ? | ? |
| ? | ? | ? |
| ? | ? | ? |
| . | . | . |
| . | . | . |
| . | . | . |
| ? | ? | ? |

APPENDIX D

EXPLORING THE ASSUMED CAUSAL LINKS IN AID'S IMPLICIT
 FRAMEWORK: SOME "CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH" THEY APPLY

II. THE ASSUMED LINKS FROM >EMPLOYMENT AND > AG. PRODUCTION TO >INCOME
 AND FROM >INCOME TO >BHN/WELL-BEING

>EMPLOYMENT → >INCOME

- Only to extent it's wage/remunerated employment (if just greater work for some family members, w/o direct benefits, may → inefficient labor allocation & no increase in income)
- Only to extent non-farm/out of area employment by small farm hh members returns some income
- etc.

>AG. PRODUCTION → >INCOME

- Only to extent prices (by govt. policy &/or market volatility) are above production costs
 - Only to extent marketing channels are facilitated (e.g., have passable roads to get crop to market at harvest time)
 - etc.
-

>INCOME → >BHN/WELL-BEING

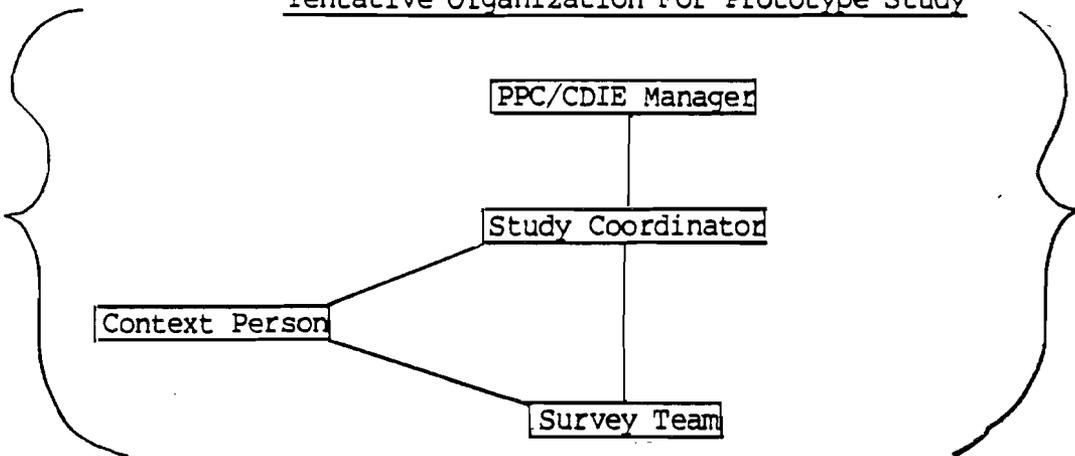
- Depends on what's available to spend it on) - within households (sex/age);
 -) - within area
 - Depends on who gets to spend it and how spending decisions/patterns occur) sub-groups (land tenure/class/ethnic, etc.)
 - Depends on how (fast) inflation affects income vs. BHN costs,
 - etc.
-

PRELIMINARY ORGANIZATION PLAN

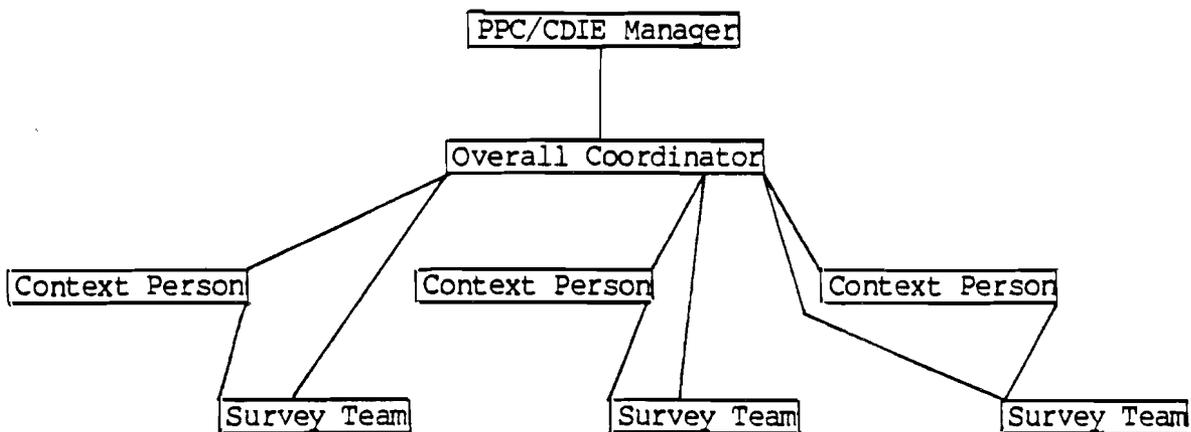
Plan is for an initial prototype study for "debugging", followed by a series of additional studies to be carried-on simultaneously. Length of work is four months, with work staged as follows:

- (1) Study Coordinator..months 1 to 4.
- (2) Context Person.....months 2 to 4.
- (3) Survey Team.....months 2 to 4.

Tentative Organization For Prototype Study



Tentative Organization For Three Simultaneous Follow-up Studies



Study areas will be selected based upon heavy donor involvement over a long period of time. "Purpose Achievement" questions will focus on services provided by donor projects (eg. credit through an agricultural bank or fertilizer through a parastatal) and seek to determine attribution. "Goal Achievement" questions will be more open-ended. Interview will also be conducted in control areas to ensure fair interpretation of the results.

TENTATIVE TIME LINE FOR PROTOTYPE STUDY

| <u>WEEK</u> | <u>STUDY COORDINATOR</u> | <u>CONTEXT PERSON</u> | <u>SURVEY TEAM LEADER</u> | <u>GRADUATE STUDENT</u> |
|-------------|---|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | Lit. review | | | |
| 2 | 1st trip: locate others, RRA w/SFs | | | |
| 3 | " | diagnostic RRA w/SFs | RRA w/SFs (optional) | |
| 4 | " | | | |
| 5 | clear w/CDIE, Mission; 2d trip: set up main RRA | begin main RRA | | arrive in (1st) village for RRA |
| 6 | " | " | | " |
| 7 | | " | | " |
| 8 | | " | | " |
| 9 | | " | | " |
| 10 | | " | | " |
| 11 | | " | begin sampling frame | " |
| 12 | 3d trip: set up survey | help set up survey | draft questionnaire | " |
| 13 | " | " | " | " |
| 14 | " | " | pre-test | " |
| 15 | begin field survey | begin field survey | begin field survey | " |
| 16 | | " | " | " |
| 17 | | " | " | " |
| 18 | | " | " | " |
| 19 | | | begin analysis at home base | |
| 20 | | | " | |
| 21 | | | " | |
| 22 | | | " | |
| 23 | | | " | |

TENTATIVE TIME LINE FOR PROTOTYPE STUDY

| <u>WEEK</u> | <u>STUDY COORDINATOR</u> | <u>CONTENT PERSON</u> | <u>SURVEY TEAM LEADER</u> | <u>GRADUATE STUDENT</u> |
|--------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 24 | 4th trip: set up final anal- ysis; block out report | | work on complex analysis w/SC | help w/ analysis |
| 25 | draft report | draft report | draft report | draft report |
| 26 | " | " | " | " |
| 27 | write final report in U.S. | | | |
| 28 | " | | | |
| 29 | " | | | |
| 30 | present final report to CDIE (oral & written) | | | |
| <u>TOTALS (WEEKS WORKED)</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>17</u> |