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**PART
TWO**

Some Conceptual Reflections

CHAPTER 1

PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT: EVOLUTION OF A PHILOSOPHY
Carlos A. Perez

To say that in the last 15 years participatory research has bloomed is almost an understatement. Participatory forms of research are now accepted and well integrated in development practice, particularly in international development. Although this transformation has not been entirely smooth and devoid of controversies, it represents quite a change from being in the fringes of mainstream social action and research only a decade ago. In this Chapter, I will briefly point out some of the current forms of participatory research, summarize the contributions and opportunities that it brings up for development practice, in general, and discuss the role that participatory research can have to make rigorous ethnographic work. I will also outline some of the challenges that lay ahead to further advance participatory research as a tool for sustainable development, and the role that applied anthropology could play in this endeavor.

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A BIRD'S-EYE OVERVIEW
Participatory research cannot be traced to one source or event. Rather, it reflects a gradual evolution in the paradigm about development. This paradigm shift began in developing countries when national intellectuals and students demanded that they and local peoples have input in development interventions. An additional pressure for increased participation came from the presence of insurgence movements active since the 1960s. At the same time, foundations (such as Ford and Rockefeller) responded to those concerns, and actively promoted participation – and the incorporation of social sciences – in development thinking and action. In short, facing the now obvious limitations of technocratic development models (from "stages of growth" to "green revolution") founded on the prescriptions of "external" experts, development agencies came to accept (often reluctantly) "bottom-up" approaches to development, i.e. increasingly important roles for participants in the orientation and implementation of development projects.

Literature documenting lack of participation in many development projects, and advocating a much needed correction of this flaw began appearing in the 1970s (Cernea, Michael (Ed.), Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Development Projects, the Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1985; Cornell University's Rural Development Participation Review in the 1970s and 1980s; Oakley, Peter, David Marsden, Approaches to participation in rural development, ILO, Geneva, 1984). The actual switch from advocating participation to generating methodologies to incorporate the voices, perspectives and resources of the underprivileged took place in several forms. These included Participatory Research, Participatory Action Research, Farming Systems Research, Rapid Rural Appraisal, and Agroecosystems Analysis, which emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, and Participatory Rural Appraisal which spread in the

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1990s (for an excellent detailed description see Chambers, Robert, The Origins and Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal, World Development, Vol. 22, No. 7: 953-969; No. 9:1253-1268; and No. 10:1437-1454).

Participatory research was inspired by the work of Kurt Lewin (Action Research and Minority Problems, Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 2, 34-46, 1946) and Paulo Freire (Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Seabury Press, New York, 1968) who influenced the adult education thought. Lewin's work in social psychology stressed the need for groups to define common problems and work together to overcome them through a spiral of steps composed of planning, acting, observing and evaluating. Freire was more radical. He emphasized that poor people should be empowered to conduct the analysis of their own reality, and thus free themselves from oppression through "conscientization." Both philosophies found an echo in Participatory Research and Participatory Action Research, two movements so similar that they often cannot be differentiated from each other. Participatory Research encouraged poor farmers in Asia and the US to analyze village power structures and urban biases (see "Convergence," the quarterly journal of the International Council for Adult Education, and Gaventa, John and Helen Lewis, Participatory Education and Grassroots Development; The Case of Rural Appalachia, gatekeeper series 25, International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London, 1991). Participatory Action Research, for its part, guided social change by defining action plans as a group effort with all participants being involved. The plans emerged from research based on group meetings, sociodrama, folklore, oral and visual representation, where people would set the agenda, participate in data collection and analysis, and exert control over the results and the whole process. (Whyte, William F., ed., Participatory Action Research, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, CA, 1991; McTaggart, Robin, Principles for Participatory Action Research, Adult Education Quarterly, Vol. 41, No. 3, 1991).

In a parallel fashion, in the late 1960s and early 1970s a movement was started that tried to change the way agricultural research was conducted. The challenge was to increase the likelihood that technologies, produced by researchers in experiment stations, would be used by small farmers in developing countries. Until then, agricultural research included investigation on crops and biophysical factors under controllable environments, in ways that bypassed farmers and their highly variable, resource poor and risky agroecological and socio-economic conditions, and so technology adaptation rates were low. Interdisciplinary teams of biological scientists, economists, anthropologists and rural sociologists adopted on-farm research as an alternative to research done exclusively in agricultural experiment stations, and farming systems analysis instead of the study of orderly monocropping arrangements. Over time, FSR progressed from using farmers' fields or labor to conduct research designed by scientists, to incorporating farmers as evaluators of technology, to fostering farmers in the design of their own experiments (Shaner, W.W., P. Philipp and W.R. Schmel, Farming Systems Research and Development: Guidelines for Developing Countries, Westview Press, Boulder, CO, 1982). Soon, decision-making, experimenting and technology adaptation by farmers, as well as indigenous knowledge systems became legitimate research focal points (Richards, Paul, Indigenous Agricultural Revolution, Westview Press,

Boulder, CO, 1985; Brokensha, David, D.M. Warren and O. Werner, Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Development, University Press of America, Lanham, MD, 1980). The techniques that FSR used included secondary data reviews, maps, transects, seasonal calendars, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, direct observation, on-farm experimentation, economic return analyses, and farmer varietal selection and technology evaluation. For its part, agroecosystems analysis – developed in the late 1970s in Southeast Asia – emphasized ecological and systems analysis thinking expressed in flow and causal diagrams. Its proponents used also transects, informal mapping, seasonal calendars, bar charts with relative sources of income, decision trees and other decision diagrams, scoring and ranking of technological innovations (Conway, Gordon, Agroecosystem analysis, Agricultural Administration, Vol. 20, 31-55, 1985).

Both FSR and Agroecosystem analysis approaches influenced the development of Rapid Rural Appraisal in the late 1970s. At that time, rural development practitioners were trying to overcome the shortcomings of prevailing rural/agricultural research methodologies that emphasized long-term approaches (including ethnography) and/or questionnaire surveys that often were unmanageable, exhaustive but narrow in their scope, and did not necessarily provide reliable data. The alternative was the so-called "development tourism" that was founded on biased, and partial views which tended to include only those areas close to the road and main towns, more men than women, more influential than disenfranchised people, and the most comfortable (dry and cool) seasons. Over a decade, RRA was built into as a systematic research approach based on many of the techniques that FSR and Agroecosystem analysis had used (secondary data review, semi-structured interviewing, key informant interviews, direct observation, informal mapping, transects, seasonal calendars, decision trees and other decision diagrams, scoring and preference ranking), while contributing wealth ranking, analytical games, portraits and stories, and workshops for participatory analysis and interpretation of the information gathered (McCracken, Jennifer A., Jules Pretty and Gordon R. Conway, An Introduction to Rapid Rural Appraisal for Agricultural Development. IIED, London, 1988).

A group of young men concentrate on their visual analysis. Bangladesh

As an aside, from this overview it becomes clear that although Farming Systems Research, Rapid Rural Appraisal, and Agroecosystems Analysis are considered discrete methodological approaches, they did not develop independent of each other, but rather influenced each other, sometimes overlapped each other, evolved into the other forms, borrowed from each other, and often shared techniques, approaches and even researchers. In fact, those approaches owe their distinctive identity more to their affiliation to different sponsoring institutions than to substantive differences in approach.

FSR, Agroecosystems analysis, and RRA developed research techniques that profoundly altered the way in which socio-economic and agroecological research are carried out. These approaches, however, were effective but not necessarily "participatory". The research agendas were still determined and controlled by

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external researchers. As late as 1988, Rapid Rural Appraisal practitioners, for instance, differentiated exploratory RRAs (open-ended, hypothesis testing); topical RRAs (to address specific issues); and Monitoring RRAs (for development impact evaluation); from Participatory RRAs ("to help involve farming households in all stages of development work.") (McCracken, Jennifer A., Jules Pretty and Gordon R. Conway, An Introduction to Rapid Rural Appraisal. IIED, London, 1988). Participatory research would come of age with Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA).

PRA was developed independently in Kenya (Clark University and National Environment Secretariat) and India (Aga Khan Rural Support Programme) in 1988 as participatory rapid rural assessments geared to facilitate "insiders" (poor rural people) in conducting their own analysis for their own purposes. The seeds of PRA were spread out by the Sustainable Agriculture Programme at the IIED through workshops, manuals, and especially its "RRA Notes" (later termed "PLA Notes" for "Participatory Learning and Action") which are the staple references for PRA practitioners along with the "ILEIA Newsletter" of the Centre for Research and Information Exchange in Ecological Sound Agriculture of the Netherlands. Since then, a myriad of other organizations have contributed to making PRA an established research approach.

Although PRA uses practically all the techniques of RRA, it is most commonly associated with RRA's visual, representational and activity-based techniques (social mapping and modeling, seasonal calendars, institutional maps, diagramming, wealth ranking, gender and social group analysis, matrix scoring, transect walks). Typically, PRA-based research involves a series of meetings with local people, in which several group techniques are used in tandem to elicit information that is discussed collectively and graphically displayed with local materials (stones, beans, sticks, models). This visual information display lends itself well to conducting research among illiterate or semi-literate groups of people. PRA values and celebrates the local communities' knowledge and ingenuity. It continues to be applied predominantly in rural contexts in developing countries, but it is gaining acceptance among researchers who work in literate and developed societies.

PRA is used in the analysis of communities' institutions, livelihood patterns, health, gender differentiation, and wealth distribution. It has been used to analyze the impact of AIDS among low-income urban groups in developing countries, the structure of agrarian societies in Northern countries, as well as working environments in urban industrial settings. It is also used in defining community-identified priorities, planning development activities accordingly, and tailoring services to customer needs. PRA has been instrumental in designing or re-orienting agricultural extension, credit systems, family planning services, and homeless children support groups. It is used to improve technical, adult literacy, and environmental education curricula and practice. It has facilitated the management of areas with high biodiversity value by local populations. It is beginning to be used to inform decision-makers and shape policies in ways that represent the views and realities of the poor and disenfranchised.

Anthropology has had an important influence in the development of Participatory Research. Clearly, a great deal of the methodologies used by the participatory research approaches described above were originally developed and used in ethnological field work. This applies particularly to direct participant observation, interviews with key informants, semi-structured interviewing, group discussions, oral histories and biographies, primary data reviews, communal analysis of secondary data, cross-checking (now termed "triangulation"), interpretation of maps, informal mapping, seasonal calendars, time allocation, livelihood analysis, decision trees, ranking of technological innovations, wealth ranking, risk analysis and economic return analysis (Barlett, Peggy (Ed.) Agricultural Decision Making, Academic Press, Orlando, FL, 1980; Ellen, R., Ethnographic Research, Academic Press, Orlando, FL, 1984; Gross, Daniel, Time Allocation: A tool for the study of cultural behavior, Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 13:519-558, 1984; Smith, Carol (Ed.) Regional Analysis. Vol.1 Economic Systems; Vol. 2 Social Systems, Academic Press, Orlando, FL, 1976; Sylvermann, S, An Ethnographic approach to social stratification: Prestige in a central Italian community, American Anthropologist Vol. 68: 899-906, 1966). At the same time, applied anthropologists participated in interdisciplinary research teams, and contributed with key concepts to participatory research such as the distinction between emic and etic representations, the value of indigenous knowledge and culture, and the importance of establishing good rapport with informants.

FSR, RRA and PRA, in turn, have contributed to anthropology by systematizing, standardizing, and making more efficient many ethnological field techniques. As a result, anthropologists do not have to invent those techniques every time that they undertake field research. FSR, RRA and PRA have also provided anthropologists with solid research tools that resulted from interdisciplinary work. Today, for instance, an agricultural anthropologist could not find a better research manual than CIMMYT's (From Farmer Fields to Agronomic Recommendation, Mexico, 1984). Participatory research has challenged anthropologists to share knowledge and data ownership with the local populations that they work with. Last but not least, as Chambers suggests, participatory research has contributed to make fieldwork a lot of fun.

PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH IN PRACTICE
Efforts to incorporate the PAR, PR, FSR, RRA, AA approaches, particularly into mainstream existing, public and privately funded development institutions, have largely been unsuccessful. If the current trends continue, this will not be the case for PRA. Excitement over PRA has spread among non-governmental development organizations (such as Action-Aid, Aga Khan Foundation, CARE, DFID, OXFAM, Save the Children, UNICEF, Winrock, World Neighbors, and World Resources Institute), donors (Danida, Ford Foundation, GTZ, IDRC, IFAD, ODA, SAREC, SIDA, among others), and some government institutions.

All of this does not mean, however, that participatory research has reached Nirvana. The goal of participatory research has been to enable local people to define research agendas by incorporating their own criteria and priorities, and

using informal, time/cost effective, and rigorous techniques. The data gathered should be rich in detail and more reliable than those gathered through formal surveys. Information is supposed to be communally gathered, owned and tested for reliability. For some, incorporating data obtained through participatory research should ensure that development projects and services are relevant to local populations. For others, the hallmark of participatory research is that it empowers local communities for action planned and implemented by themselves. On all of these fronts, participatory research needs further work.

In the last 7 years PRA has come to assume a core place in participatory research. The unfortunate part is that this takes place when PRA is often being reduced to techniques for "extractive" research, more for the benefit of development agencies than for the empowerment of the local communities (which, paradoxically, is the antithesis of what participatory research in all its forms was intended to be). A great deal of PRA is currently done as one-shot, cursory, mechanistic application of tools and techniques to describe communities and their needs to outsiders.

Group discussions in progress. Bangladesh

However participatory this data gathering process may be – and even if the facilitators are local people--the primary emphasis is on collecting data for development agencies to plan development projects, and not necessarily for local-level planning and empowerment. In some cases, PRA is being used simply to develop and test methodologies. In some other cases, PRA is used to identify the acceptable ways of "marketing" services to local populations. In the worst possible scenario, PRA has been used to legitimize development strategies conceived, implemented and monitored from outside. Clearly, this type of PRA does not necessarily translate into increased awareness and confidence among people, their improved ability to negotiate, or their greater control of the development agenda.

PRA is undoubtedly very important as an opportunity for outsiders (academicians, bureaucrats, middle-class urban dwellers) to be exposed to the realities of the poor, and hopefully challenged in their assumptions about development and poverty. In this context, being part of a wealth ranking exercise, for instance, is far more educational than conducting surveys or reading reports. Training administrators, technicians, policy-makers with PRA is a worthy task, but it is a far cry from using it – paraphrasing Freire – as a practice for local peoples' freedom. The challenge is to ensure that outsiders continue listening and learning from poor people, after the glow of their field experience has faded, lest we risk replacing "development tourism" with "development voyeurism."

Depth in the analysis of social dynamics and complexities is not PRA's forte. This is because of the philosophical populist and empiricist stance that it adopts, and its strong reliance on rapid, public, visual, one-time, descriptive techniques. All current forms of participatory research are grounded in a populist philosophy that is so eager to exult the inventiveness, resourcefulness, and good will of villagers

that cannot bear to accept that those villagers are not a homogenous and socially undifferentiated mass. This is not to say that PRA is gender-blind or unconcerned with social differentiation (virtually all PRA exercises include gender differentiated information, or wealth ranking, nowadays). Rather, PRA practitioners assume that they are able to define through participatory techniques one collective vision for the diverse groups of people that constitute the community, and do not examine critically that the consensus that they have distilled and documented may simply be apparent, masking conflicts among interest groups and local political agendas. Yet, it is not surprising that villagers would be unwilling to publicly clarify to outsiders that whatever has been expressed in the PRA exercises only reflects the view of one segment of the community. Sometimes privacy gets in the way, while some other times it is distrust of development agencies, fear of retaliation from internal and external interest groups (who can be very violent), self-interest, or simply a desire to let laying dogs sleep (Mosse, David, Authority, Gender and Knowledge: Theoretical reflection on the practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal, Development and Change Vol. 25:497-526, 1996). Sometimes, villagers have learned to tailor their responses according to what the development agencies want to hear, and what many agencies want is a very orderly rendition of a much more complicated social reality. This information will only be corrected once trust is gained through relatively long social interaction between researchers and villagers.

History shows that underdevelopment is largely an issue of power and powerlessness among social groups. Currently, however, PRA it is not methodologically prepared to deal with conflict and interest groups. PRA meetings are not enough to ensure that the perspectives and interests of poor people will be heeded by local authorities and elites, project administrators, donors, and any other people who have the capacity to influence societies and economies.

Empiricism is both PRA's strength and weakness. As discussed above, its practical orientation has been extremely valuable in gathering information on agroecological systems, organizational profiles, health delivery mechanisms, to name a few. At the same time, however, many PRA researchers seem to be more concerned with gathering "facts" than interpreting them in social contexts that give these "facts" a meaning. They are more willing to accept extreme variability in crop patterns and yields among farmer fields in a given area, than diversity in goals, intentions and strategies among those farmers. Few PRA exercises start by allowing participants to define their own vision of development, using their own criteria, values, priorities and acceptable trade-offs. Instead, they start gathering "data" on subjects that outsiders have defined as critical, or have defined into discrete categories that seem to reflect Northern, capitalist ideological constructions. This is the case, for instance, when research on environmental issues is targeted to address principally utilitarian concerns on the use of natural resources.

THE FUTURE CHALLENGES

As we have said, the active involvement of anthropologists in participatory research has been beneficial for both participatory research and anthropology. The potential for a much more fruitful mutual influence is enormous. Much of the accomplishments of anthropological theory (and social sciences, in general) are yet virtually untapped in the participatory research practice. Participatory research could become much stronger in its capacity to empower poor people if it drew, for instance, on the political economy literature to understand the local, regional and global roots of underdevelopment. Reflective, cognitive anthropology, could facilitate a deeper understanding of the role of insiders and outsiders in the social construction of something that we wrongly consider to be an "objective" reality. Deconstructivism and feminist discourse could strongly contribute to make stronger an understanding of the structures of power, and how dominant groups define what is then ideologically sanctioned as normal and acceptable for society. All of this would allow villagers to be in better position to re-negotiate power arrangements inside their households and communities, and with authorities and other influential people. It would also be very valuable for development professionals to have a much more critical view of both the role that they and their institutions play in the lives of poor people, and the self-appointed "mandate" to help those people that development practitioners seem to accept as a given.

This, of course, requires a much stronger effort on the part of applied anthropologists to present political economy, cognitive anthropology, feminism and deconstructivist concepts in ways that are more readily relevant and accessible for a wider community of researchers. The onus will be on applied anthropologists to be both practitioners and theoreticians. The likelihood of this happening will increase if anthropologists engage in a deep dialogue with other disciplines and practices. The methodologies that participatory research has been able to muster to date owe their richness to interdisciplinary work in which professional assumptions, concepts and jargon have been challenged in light of different paradigms, experiences and goals. At the same time, increasing the pertinence of social theory to applied participatory research will require a more active engagement of social scientists in the task of contributing to sustainable, equitable, democratic, development, i.e. accepting that, as the young Marx said, the issue is not to understand reality, but rather to change it.

Participatory research – anthropology included – must be action-oriented and problem-oriented research, again. It must be subversive instead of supporting a status quo, practical instead of being oriented toward earning academic prestige, liberating and creative instead of being reduced to techniques and tools, theoretically sound and not merely "fact-finding." For long researchers strongly resisted putting together the art of participatory research into manuals because it was believed that these would freeze inventiveness and limit flexible adaptation to ever-changing conditions. Systematizing methods is not a problem, and in fact it is an important contribution to more rigorous research. There is a problem, however, in reducing methods to tool kits, and blue-printing research (for which a large and profitable market has developed), and getting infatuated with rather mechanistic approaches that sometime become an end in themselves.

Participatory research cannot cease to be inventive. It has to move beyond up-front community assessments and a relatively narrow set of methodologies to include collaborative management of resources, development of technology with farmers, conflict resolution, project design and monitoring, building the capacities of local institutions, and allowing participants to learn and act continuously to gain their own freedom. We all need more of the critical assessments of the accomplishments and shortcomings of participatory research found in the "PLA Notes" (see previous section), and the Overseas Development Institute's "Agriculture and Extension Network" and "Rural Development Forestry Network."

Part 2

CHAPTER 2

PARTICIPATION AND THE PROJECT CYCLE: AN ITERATIVE PROCESS

Michael Drinkwater

1.   Introduction

Although the concept of participation has become a popular one in development activities in recent years, and despite the fact that 'participation' as a word suggests that taking part in an activity over time, in most instances those activities described as participatory are curiously limited in duration. Most frequently it is assessment exercises of various types that acquire the label. Beyond this, if there is any emphasis on community involvement in a development process, the result is usually a very localized development project with relatively little scope or depth.

There are three major reasons for the lack of an actively participatory process, on any significant scale, throughout a project cycle.

♦   Participation as an active process throughout the project cycle frightens development practitioners because of their lack of understanding of what this entails, and the apparent loss of control over activities that this seems to imply.

♦   The lack of understanding of what a 'participatory' process is over time stems a great deal from the fact that this is in fact an inappropriate term. It is more accurate and helpful to talk of an 'interactive' process, since the term 'interaction' requires us to look at the roles and responsibilities of all parties in the process. The trouble with the term 'participation' is that on the one hand it can be used to describe activities where the role of community members is in fact either manipulated or extremely passive, or if this is not the case, where that of the project staff instead becomes rather passive and accepting of anything that community members say. In an interactive process, however, all participants are necessarily active with clear roles, and therefore the process is one of ongoing dialogue, negotiation and agreement.

♦   The third reason for the lack of ongoing participatory projects on any reasonable scale is simply that, even if willing, development practitioners do not know how to achieve this. It is in part because the process is more complicated than people envisage, but more fully because most participatory training people receive stresses methods or tools. This type of training is helpful only if the recipients are then going to carry out the same rather stereotyped and repeated process – some form of participatory appraisal exercise. If practitioners are to go beyond this what they require is a grasp of the principles required, so that they may be both ongoing facilitators of an interactive process, and able to contribute appropriate technical inputs in appropriate ways when required.

In a typology of participation, shown in the table below, Jules Pretty describes seven types of participation. This typology is valuable since it helps illustrate the points made above, as well as providing a guide to the nature of participation and the way it needs to evolve over time as an iterative participatory process throughout the project cycle. It is very easy for participation during the project cycle to fall into the types 3-5 in the table below – 'participation by consultation' (consultation occurs during assessment and then we decide what the project should be); 'participation for material incentives' (food for work projects, in which the infrastructure priorities are decided upon by participants); or 'functional participation' (we encourage the formation of community groups, which assist in the implementation of activities largely decided and managed by the project). The reasons that even well-intended 'participatory' projects often fall into these three categories is very understandable, and is by no means necessarily the 'fault' of the project in this era of increasing donor demands to show results and meet the output performance indicators required by logframe planning.

Nevertheless, if we really do wish to improve the performance of projects by tapping into people's energies and aspirations as fully as possible, it is important that as project and program managers and field staff that we improve our self-awareness of what we are doing, and hence the interactive and iterative nature of project processes. The purpose of this Chapter is to discuss ideas of how to achieve this.

TABLE 1: A TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION

TYPOLOGY	CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH TYPE
1. Manipulative participation	Participation is simply a pretense.
2. Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. Information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
3. Participation by consultation professionals	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. Process does not concede any share in decision-making, and are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
4. Participation for material incentives	People participate in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Local people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
5. Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project.
6. Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local groups or institutions. Learning methodologies used to seek multiple perspectives, and groups determine how available resources are used.
7. Self-mobilization [Local organizational empowerment]*	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used.

Source: Pretty 1995b (in Pretty 1998).

* Community or local organizational empowerment is probably a more relevant term for this last component of the typology.

2.   Participatory Needs Assessment and Project Design

The areas in which development practitioners usually have most experience of working in a participatory way are at the stages of needs assessment, and to a lesser extent, project design. It is comparatively easy to use participatory methods for the purpose of needs assessment since the exercise is usually of a short and fixed duration, yields obvious benefits in being able to persuade donors that the needs the project is addressing are indeed the priorities of the intended beneficiary populations concerned, and does not necessarily commit the emergent project to continuing to work in a participatory manner. In short, the benefits are clear, whilst overall control over project activities – and the needs assessment process itself – need not be diminished.

Nevertheless, if there is a genuine commitment to increasing the role and responsibility of stakeholders over the entire project process, how the interactive tone is set at the outset is extremely important. Interactive processes, or 'interactive participation', as Pretty terms it, are about the mutual empowerment of both project staff and the direct project participants. A hedged process, in which we provide an initial pretense of wanting to be participatory, but then resort back to at best a functional participation, will always be less empowering, since ongoing decision making is retained, not just by the project, but usually merely by a small management elite within it.

For there to be full commitment from the outset to an ongoing interactive enterprise, there has to be an understanding of, and confidence in, the principles that will be adhered to during the whole project – even, and perhaps especially, if it is envisaged that the entire process will take some years to unfold. A starting point for understanding these principles is provided by Chambers' distinction between paradigms of things and people.

TABLE 2:   TWO PARADIGMS - OF THINGS AND PEOPLE

POINT OF DEPARTURE AND REFERENCE	THINGS	PEOPLE
Mode	Blueprint	Process
Keyword	Planning	Participation
Goals	Pre-set, closed	Evolving, open
Decision-making	Centralized	Decentralized
Analytical assumptions	Reductionist	Systems, holistic
Methods, rules	Standardized, universal	Diverse, local
Technology	Fixed package (table d'hote)	Varied basket (a la carte)
Professionals' interaction with local people	Instructing, 'motivating'	Enabling, empowering
Local people seen as	Beneficiaries	Partners, actors
Force flow	Supply-push	Demand-pull
Outputs	Uniform infrastructure	Diverse capabilities
Planning and action	Top-down	Bottom-up

Source: Chambers 1997: 37 (adapted from David Korten)

If a project methodology is to proceed along interactive lines, then the principles of the right hand side need to be embraced from the outset – recognizing that negotiation with donors of some of these principles will be inevitable. Nevertheless, as will be shown subsequently, an interactive process project does not mean that a logframe cannot be produced, nor quantitative, as well as capacity oriented targets, be achieved during the project. The form of these measures will however usually differ from a more conventional and relatively numerical logframe.

A worrying ethical problem often faced during assessment work is the dilemma in taking up maybe several days of people's time to participate in the participatory appraisal and design process, when there is not necessarily any guarantee that a follow-up project will actually be funded and initiated. As in many aspects of working with others, the issue is one of the integrity of the approach – in this instance, essentially, being honest about the purpose and intentions of the exercise.

By way of illustrating how participatory appraisal and design exercises can be undertaken in ways that do establish from the outset with communities an understanding of the key principles on which any follow-up project will be built, two case examples from Zambia and Malawi will be referred to in the following discussion.

CASE 1:
LIVINGSTONE FOOD SECURITY PROJECT, CARE ZAMBIA

The Livingstone Food Security Project began as an emergency drought relief initiative in the Livingstone and Kalomo areas of south-eastern Zambia in 1995. Alongside the food relief scheme, a pilot seed loan scheme was established with 330 farmers, so that their relationship with CARE was not solely one based on relief. During this season, a series of PRA exercises were then carried out in three areas as a basis for designing a longer term food security project. These exercises ended with appropriate drought tolerant seed varieties being seen as an overall priority, and agreement being reached on the key components of a future project strategy across the three PRA areas. During meetings held with a far wider range of communities to discuss, validate and refine the project's strategy, particularly for the initial seed scheme, those communities wishing to participate in this scheme the following season were asked to organize village management committees and to register members wishing to participate in the scheme. They were also asked to have one woman committee member in the three-person committee, to ensure women's involvement. In the first season of the scheme, 180 VMCs were formed and seed distributed to 6,800 farmers; the following year this had increased to 230 VMCs and 9,600 farmers. Since then the VMCs have gone on to undertake a range of activities, and in the last two seasons, have begun to federate into area management committees with the capacity to develop their own external linkages. One of the major reasons for the project's success is that communities have known from the outset that to participate they have to have their own organizational structure. Several VMCs have in fact formed and trained VMCs in outlying villages independent of the project.

(continued)

CASE 2
PARTICIPATORY LIVELIHOOD ASSESSMENTS IN CENTRAL REGION MALAWI
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In June 1997, three participatory livelihood assessment exercises were carried out in the Lilongwe and Dedza districts of Malawi's Central Region, as part of the process of planning a start-up program for CARE in Malawi. Since CARE had not yet established a presence in the country, it was felt important that detailed community level information could be included in the design, even though CARE was in no position yet to guarantee to those communities that it would be able to implement a follow-up program. In the first exercise, this was explained to the group of around 700 people who turned up and took part in the first day's community analysis activities. Nevertheless, participation stayed high throughout the exercise, and the final day's synthesis meeting was also attended by about 700 people. Again, it was stressed that their work would assist CARE in being able to convince donors of their needs and the types of food security improvement strategies required, but that this was no guarantee funding would be forthcoming. When people were asked if they had questions, one of the two asked was the simple statement, 'As you can see, we are hungry, and hope you will be back soon.'

2.1 The assessment process

Methodologically, the Malawi exercise also illustrates well, the iterative nature of the participatory assessment and design process, in this case using a household livelihood security framework. Assessment field exercises were carried out in three different locations, and for each exercise the generic methodology described in Table 3 and the box following was utilized. A team of 10 people were used for the first exercise which functioned also as a training event, and then of these 10, eight were split into two teams of four for the following two exercises, carried out simultaneously. Six of the latter eight people were Malawians, who had limited participatory methods experience, but had not previously worked with CARE. The pre-training and preparation was limited to just two days because of time constraints; as will be discussed, this need not be a constraint.

Each exercise began with an area level meeting, arranged in advance through the senior village headman. During this meeting, a general understanding of economic activities, environmental resource use and change, and historical trends and issues, was built up through a series of activities carried out with the different groups. On the second day, the survey team moved down to work in two villages to conduct more specific analyses of livelihoods and social differentiation. These meetings were followed up with a series of case studies on the third day, which then allowed a good understanding of livelihood issues and trends to be developed amongst the different livelihood categories, and helped confirm overall levels of poverty and vulnerability. These three days of initial analytical activities completed the first iteration of the assessment process. The final day was given over to another area[3] level meeting, during which the results of the analysis were pulled together by the participants into a synthesis of prioritized issues, the cause-effect and linkage relationships between problems, and potential opportunities for their amelioration.

TABLE 3 : METHODS USED AND KEY INFORMATION COLLECTED

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	METHODS	KEY INFORMATION COLLECTED
Community level economic and environmental analysis	Resource mapping and focus group discussions around resource map	Infrastructure, key services, land use, farming systems, land tenure, natural resource base, availability, access, quality, historical changes.
	Historical time line	Historical analysis, changes over time, trends, past efforts.
	Seasonality calendars	Seasonal farming activities, income, expenditure, stress periods, coping and adaptive strategies.
	Venn diagramming	Institutional identification, operation, interaction, level of service, performance.
	Matrix ranking	Economic activities, priorities, performance, trends, gender differences.
Household level social analysis	Identification of livelihood indicators	Economic, social, and environmental criteria used for classifying households by well being.
	Identification of livelihood categories	Difference by gender.
	Livelihood category profiles	Location and names of households.
	Social mapping	Proportional livelihood status.
	Case study and household interviews	Vulnerability, shocks, stress, coping and adaptive behavior.
		Potential opportunities.
		Validation.
Problem prioritization, analysis and opportunity identification (synthesis)	Problem identification analysis	Prioritized problems by gender.
		Problem linkages, causes and effects.
	Cause – effect analysis	Previous efforts, successes, failures.
	Opportunity analysis	Roles and responsibilities.
		Potential opportunities and strategies.

BOX 3

DAY 1[4]

The first day's exercise was conducted at a general community level (attended by people from several villages in the area). The day began by introducing the PLA team to the community and explaining the objectives of the exercise and the following days activities. The community group was then split into smaller sub groups, which in some cases were further divided into men's and women's groups. The different groups then carried out either a resource mapping exercise, historical and trends analysis, seasonality analysis or an institutional trends analysis. At the end of the day, when all the groups had finished, a representative from each group was asked to report back to the whole group explaining the outputs from their group activity. Before departing at the end of the day, local leaders helped the PLA team to select villages for the next two days activities.

DAY 2

The teams returned to the selected villages to begin the household social analysis. Once again the village group was split into a men's and women's group. The groups were first asked to identify a list of indicators that could be used for telling the difference between households. They were then asked to identify the different livelihood categories in their village. The groups then identified profiles for each livelihood category in terms of the list of indicators that they had previously developed. Social maps were then drawn as a means of classifying households in terms of the different livelihood categories. Discussion of any issues affecting the different livelihood categories in terms of shocks; stresses and vulnerability were then held. Finally before leaving the village a given number of households were selected from each livelihood category to be interviewed on the following day.

DAY 3

Households from each livelihood category were visited and interviewed in order to validate and deepen understanding of the nature of the different livelihood categories. An effort was made to consolidate understanding of specific issues and trends, and obtain specific examples of shocks, stresses and coping and adaptive strategies specific to each livelihood category.

DAY 4

The final days exercise was once again conducted at a general community level. The PLA team began the day by presenting back to the community group the previous days findings. The community group then broke up into smaller groups of men and women. The individual groups were asked to identify problems and issues. These were then ranked using the pairwise matrix ranking method. The groups were then asked to identify specific linkages between their list of problems and then further develop their analysis by identifying the cause - effect relationship between problems. Finally the groups were asked to identify potential opportunities and strategies that could address and resolve their previously identified problems. When all the groups were completed a representative from each group was asked to report back to the whole group explaining the outputs from their group activity. The differences in the cause-effect analyses and problem prioritizations did not require resolution at this time. Perhaps the main difference was that women stressed much more than men an interest in small businesses (off-farm IGAs), whereas the men focused more on agriculture (dryland or dimba). These different interests were incorporated in the synthesis cause-effect analysis developed by the survey team (in the chapter) and into our strategy (which focuses on both agriculture and IGAs). Before finally leaving, the community was thanked for their participation and enthusiasm. The next stages of the process for CARE were explained to the community and they were finally invited to ask questions before departing.

Source: Nick Osborne (ed) 'Malawi Participatory Livelihood Assessment Exercise (Synthesis Report), July 1998, CARE Malawi.

Part 2

The information in the box on page 2.17 depicts clearly the process flow over the four days, and the two iterations of the exercise. For this type of process to be feasible, it is imperative that all members of the field team stay on top of what is happening. It is not necessary for people to have a great deal of training to be able to do this; what is essential is adherence to the principle of following a definite daily rhythm throughout the exercise. In this rhythm, the team plans and prepares for the day's fieldwork, then goes out into the field to conduct the work, before returning to document the day's outputs and process notes. Once notes are completed, all work is presented in a plenary session, in which what has been learned during the day is then discussed, before the next day's objectives and agenda are set. Establishing daily, as well as overall, objectives for the fieldwork, helps to remind team members of the type of understanding they are trying to develop, and hence the need to be flexible in the tools they use during the day.

Once the PLA documentation is complete, the third broad iteration, that of project or program design, can be commenced. This in itself is a complex event, likely to consist of several cycles or iterations. To conclude this part of the paper I will continue to refer to the Livingstone and Malawi examples.

2.2   Project design

One of the common dilemmas faced by program managers is the extent to which potential participants in a project should participate in its actual design. Often it is felt that once the participatory assessment has been carried out, we should simply get on with designing the project, since we know best what potential donors are interested in and will accept. Yet, if it is intended that the project remain participatory in nature during its implementation, it will help greatly if participants understand not only how the eventual project activities arose, but participate in the decision-making on these. This should not only improve the appropriateness of the activities, but also ensure there is greater enthusiasm and feeling of ownership for them by participants. Design is, of course, more than just setting on paper the key priorities generated in an assessment exercise, since there are other factors that need to be taken into account – certainly the interests of donors, other available information, what the implementing organisation's capacities and strengths are, and the cost-effectiveness of the proposed strategy. The priority principle though must be to design a program that is likely to succeed. To maximize the likelihood of this occurring once the project is operational, ongoing participation must continue to take place. There are a number of factors involved here.

First, on completion of the assessment, the design team themselves need to pull together an overall synthesis of issues, priorities and opportunities. This may also take into account additional available information to that collected in the field. In Malawi, the PLA team constructed a linkage diagram showing the cause-effect relationships between the different problems and issues identified during the field-work. This diagram became known as the 'IMAP' diagram, following reference by one team member to the 'interactive myriad of accentuating problems' that people faced (Figure 1). Clustering of the problems allowed the team to identify a discrete number of key issue areas, with the central problems of each highlighted and located within a central spine. In turning these issue areas into an initial

strategy – selecting which ones the project should deal with, and potentially how – both the cause-effect and opportunity analyses developed at community level and validated by the assessment team across communities, were extremely important. In general terms, the project should be addressing the most vital causes of circumstances, and not merely symptoms; it should look to generate synergies; and start with activities where there is relative confidence successes can be generated. The opportunity analysis is particularly important with respect to the latter. This can be illustrated with reference to Figure 2, one of the opportunity analyses undertaken during the Malawi exercise.

FIGURE 1: MALAWI IMAP DIAGRAM.
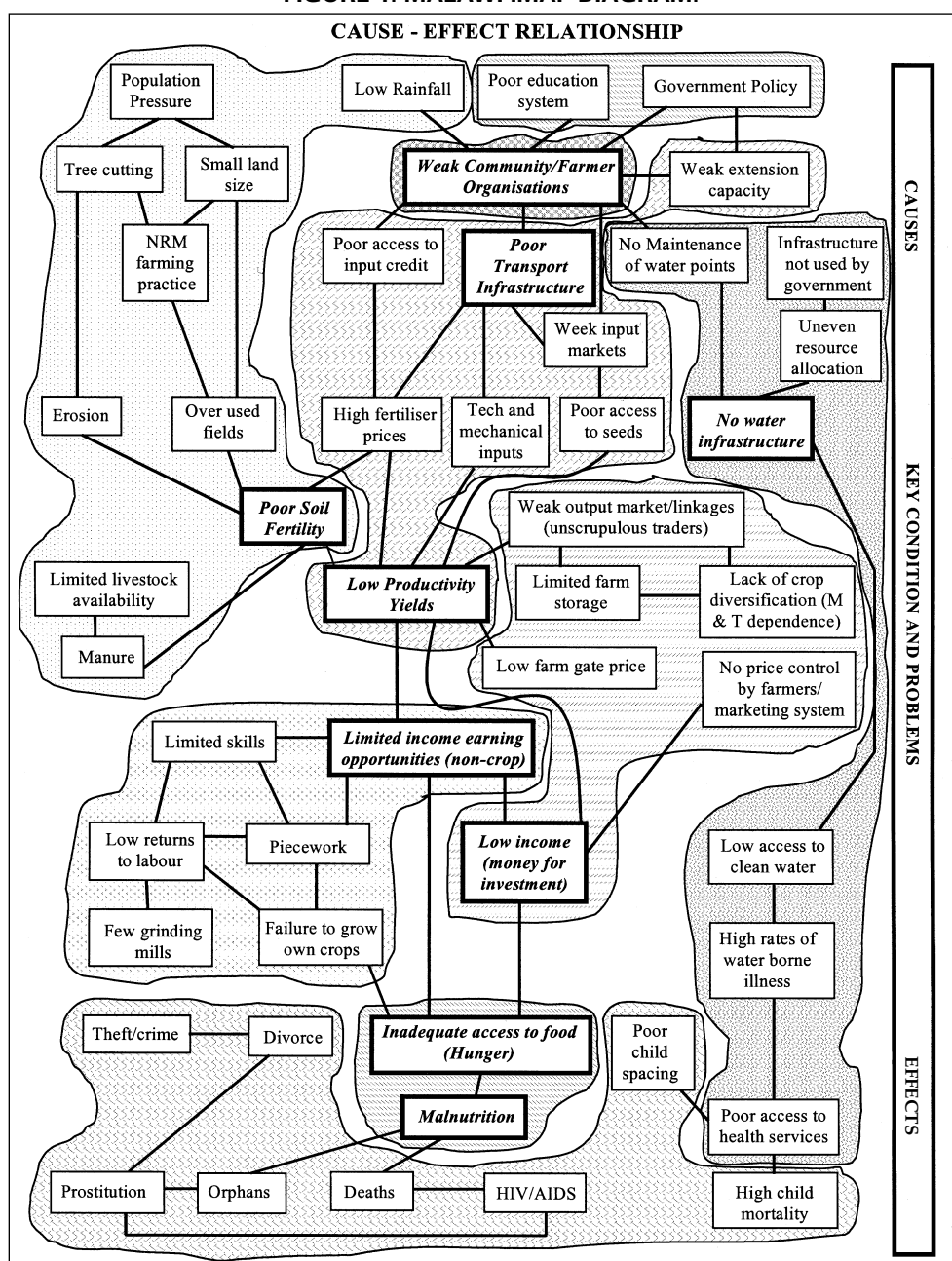
Source - 'Central Regional Livelihood Security Program,' CARE, October 1998.

FIGURE 2: OPPORTUNITY/STRATEGY ANALYSIS, CHITUKULA WOMEN
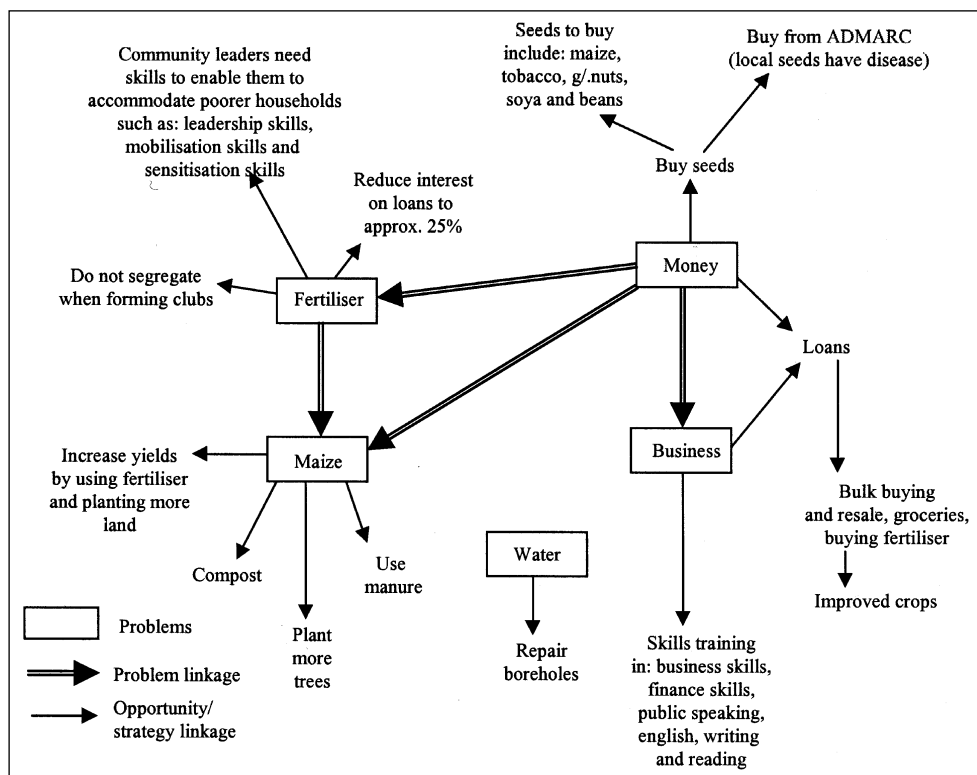
Source: Nick Osborne (ed) 1998

Second, once an outline strategy has been produced, delineating broadly what 'lines of action' the project will have the capacity to pursue, this can be discussed in detail with potential participants, in order to refine the framework and begin the delineation of an operational strategy. Usually this is a lengthy process, which may begin before project funding is secured, and certainly will continue during the start-up phase when a more detailed design is developed.

Third, the design stage, both before and after funding, provides project staff with the opportunity to introduce criteria concerning participation in the project. These may include the type of target groups the project will wish primarily to work with; the types of organizations with which the project will work (whether these should be existing or newly formed structures); whether there might be conditions regarding these organizations, such as on the participation of women; or whether the project will simply be relying on the self-organization or mobilization of participants.

Such criteria can be flexible in nature, and form part of the negotiation process at the community level, but are important in ensuring that the project is as cost-effective as possible in its activities, and best able to tap into and nurture local organizational energies and capabilities. Organization, and a clear strategy for the various ways in which people may participate in a project, are vital to ensuring that the project will be able to scale-up once the overall project approach has been successfully evolved. More will be said concerning participation in implementation, monitoring and evaluation throughout these *Guidelines*.

Illustration of the above points can be provided from Zambia and Madagascar. The outline of the assessment, design and start-up process for the Livingstone Food Security Project is described in Case 1 (on page 2.14). This illustrates how communities were involved throughout this process, in a way which ensured that not only were people's overriding priorities addressed in the early stages of the project (drought tolerant seeds and water supply for domestic and agricultural purposes), but that an organizational structure was negotiated with communities which allowed a huge expansion of the project within just two years. Extremely important too was the encouragement of women to participate fully in the scheme by requesting their membership on the village management committee, despite their secondary status in local traditional culture. This has resulted subsequently in the opening of a substantial debate in some communities on the role and status of women, in recognition that keeping them subservient undermines their ability to contribute to household food security.

A second project from Zambia, formerly the PUSH (Peri-Urban Self Help), and now the PROSPECT project (Program of Support for Poverty Elimination and Community Transformation) working in the urban compounds of Lusaka and Livingstone, is now in its third phase. During the first two-year phase, the project was purely a food for work activity. The design for phase two envisaged movement towards a more participatory process, with infrastructural development activities to be managed through resident's development committees – at this stage, existent in theory rather than practice. As a result, the first year of phase two was given over to establishing these resident development committees more definitively, and to conducting a participatory appraisal and needs assessment (PANA) process that would provide the basis for a detailed project implementation plan. When it was agreed the project would submit an application to DFID for a third phase, at this stage the application had to be vastly more detailed and was subjected to rigorous technical appraisal, compared to the skeletal nature of the second phase proposal and lack of appraisal. Nevertheless, the process nature of the project has been maintained – a process of electing representative residents' structures and conducting a PANA exercise, remains the start-up phase in each new urban compound the project extends into. The far more detailed nature of the third phase proposal reflects the lessons learned by CARE and the donor during the previous phase, the vastly increased size of the target population (250,000 to 600,000) and budget ($3 to $16 million) to be spent over five years, and the role the project is expected to play in the future development of urban development policy in Zambia.

A final example is provided by the new urban livelihoods project in Madagascar, which has the Malagache name, Mahavita. As a Title II project, funded by USAID's Food for Peace, a detailed and tightly structured project proposal had to be submitted, the preparation of which is usually a lengthy preparation process. Yet the Madagascar DAP was prepared, submitted and approved within a three-month period. The support of the local USAID mission was certainly vital, but what also helped a great deal was that from a short, one week participatory livelihoods assessment exercise it was possible to provide an understanding of the livelihoods of the urban poor that was not previously available. Bits of information, such as in the World Bank's poverty assessment document, did exist, which

in turn were both validated by and helped to validate the study, but nothing that provided a complete or coherent account of livelihoods. For the project design, this brief participatory analysis helped in two ways. First it provided a rational justification for the key elements of the proposal. Second, it also provided a logical framework – in the full rather than just technical sense of the word – for establishing key outcome and impact indicators in a way which not only satisfies the generic list USAID have for Title II projects, but which can be participatively agreed subsequently. This is illustrated through the extract from a livelihood profile, generated during the exercise, listed below. Reference to indicators such as those in the table, and the framework whereby they will be finalised once the project starts up, is then made in the project logframe, and monitoring and evaluation plan.

TABLE 4: INDICATORS OF LIVELIHOOD STATUS

	VERY POOR	POOR	BETTER-OFF	RICH
HOUSING	Shelter made of cardboard boxes, or lives outside	Walls made of dried mud or unbaked bricks roof of dried reeds	Small house with 2-3 rooms Outside shower and latrine no electricity	Larger house with 2 or more floors water and electricity
FOOD SECURITY	Only eats when food available and has cash to purchase it Sometimes does not eat all day	2 meals a day, one with rice and one with manioc or rice soup	3 meals a day, 2 with rice and breakfast with bread and tea	Eats all types of food Indefinite number of meals
HEALTH	Consistently poor health No access to health care	Uses public health centers or religious dispensary	Uses affordable private health centers or work-sponsored health centers	Usually fetches a doctor to the home able to buy medicines
FINANCIAL STATUS	Begs or steals for money	Daily earnings spent same day	Earns a salary at end of month, but insufficient to meet monthly expenses Often in debt No savings	No financial problems Has bank account

Source: CARE Madagascar, 'Antananarivo Urban Household Food and Livelihood Security Program,' September 1997.

3.   Participation in Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation

If an interactive participatory process is continued through from the appraisal into the design stage of a project, then it should be feasible for this process to be continued relatively seamlessly thereafter, even if there is a delay between design and approval. It obviously makes a difference if some form of activity is able to take place in the intervening period, as in Livingstone where a food relief scheme and pilot seed scheme were operated through the season proceeding the start-up of the larger food security project. The issues involved in maintaining an interactive process through project start-up and implementation, whether or not there is any preceding activity, are discussed in this section.

3.1   Project start-up

The period between design and start-up, and the nature of the process in between will vary considerably. In the Mahavita case in Antananarivo, because of delays in monetizing the food providing the project funding, there was eventually an 18 month gap between the appraisal exercise and project start-up in specific communities. Nevertheless CARE has managed to have an ongoing presence in the appraisal communities through an urban health project, TOUCH 2000. In other types of circumstances, it may be feasible simply to provide those most involved in the appraisal and design stage with periodic updates of the progress being made in securing funding.

The complication in instances where some form of activity is already ongoing, is if the methodology of the early interventions clashes with the new intentions. For example, the Mahavita project will attempt to work more creatively at community level, and will have different objectives and activities. But in setting this up, it is the experience of the TOUCH field staff which will be drawn upon to inform the new strategy. Indeed, what has been decided is to amalgamate the old and the new into a single urban program, which with the ending of TOUCH in another year, will allow a seamless continuation of an evolving strategy. Nevertheless, since Mahavita will introduce different ways of working, the start-up process in communities – fokontany – for Mahavita, will be to return to the original assessment and regenerate it with the fokontany communities, in order to validate and update it, and begin developing a detailed implementation plan.

The process Mahavita will use will draw from the lessons learned from the participatory analysis and needs assessment (PANA) activity carried out by the PUSH/PROSPECT project in Zambia, as a community level start-up event. This type of participatory start-up activity, illustrated by the PROSPECT project manager in the following diagram, has several aims.

It is firstly, and perhaps most critically, a strategy to establish the institutional mechanism(s) at community level through which the project will work. There are two sets of issues here: whether there are existing institutional structures with whom the project could work, and their adequacy in terms of how specific interest groups of the project – women, poorer households, youth – are represented. If

existing organizations are not representative of the interest groups with whom it is intended the project should work, then a strategic choice process of deciding an appropriate structure has to be worked through. By default this means seeking the establishment of new or amended structures, and hence to the dilemma involved when a project creates its 'own' structures which become dependent on the project and do not survive beyond its particular life span.

Nevertheless, if we are committed to a mission statement of reaching those who are poorer and in greatest need, this does require seeking to stimulate appropriately representative forms. The key here is adherence to two principles. First, such a process has to become part of an internal social debate, and probably too, a wider debate with government. And second, from the outset ownership has to be vested in the appropriate sectors of the community. Some quick examples can be provided. In the Livingstone Food Security Project, participation by farmers in the initial seed multiplication focus of the project was predicated upon them electing village management committees, and having these registering interested participants as seed groups. The project also had a requirement that one woman be represented on the committee, to ensure women's seed interests were met. Since 1995, some 250 such groups have been formed, with a host of implications. For one, with the federation of VMCs into area management committees, communities are beginning to develop representative structures which can much more successfully deal with external institutions on their behalf. And two, women and younger men are in many cases becoming more involved in community decision making, following processes of internal debate in which it has been agreed the value of such has been demonstrated, and therefore the accommodation of the new structures, along with the more traditional lineage authority of elders, has been sought. In short, the VMCs have become integral to a process of social debate and innovation in conservative rural communities, where, as is emerging, women's rights were badly underrepresented, heightening their and their children's vulnerability.

**FIG 3: PROSPECT'S PARTICIPATORY APPRAISAL
AND NEEDS ASSESSMENT PROCESS**
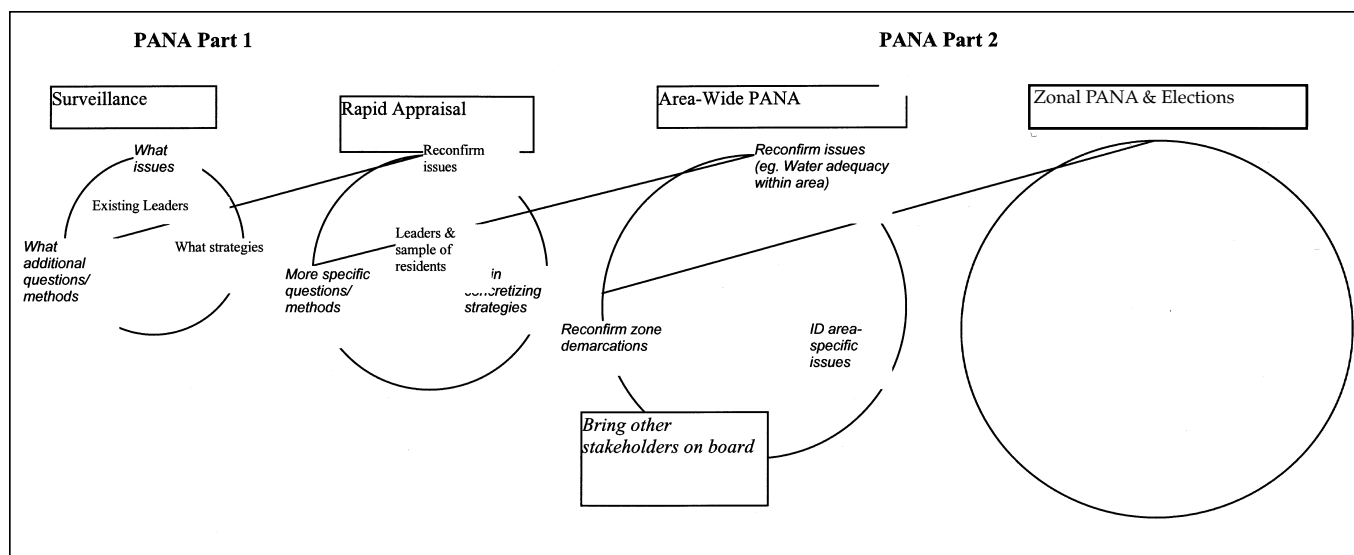
The same has happened with the urban PUSH/PROSPECT project in Lusaka and Livingstone. A rather vague commitment by national and municipal government that compound (urban low-income) communities should be represented by Resident Development Committees, has been turned into a viable and embedded institutional form. RDC's now have a constitutional backing, hammered out and agreed at City Council level, and are formally recognized as the lowest tier of local government, with their relationship to city councilors, previously an arena of sometimes acute conflict, also negotiated.

In both the LFSP and PROSPECT cases, the initial organizational structures encouraged by the project – VMCs and RDCs – have become part of broader, more federated structures, and because it is clear that there is complete ownership of the institutional form by their members, their acceptance by a widening range of external institutions as a viable and representative community structure, has also taken place.

The second role of the start up process is to validate the original needs and strategy identification process more widely, and then to lead this into the development of an initial implementation strategy for the project, with activities, estimated timelines, and roles and responsibilities. As this process often forms the activity around which the institutional form of the project emerges, it may take place over a period of some months. Training of staff, community facilitators and leaders in the participatory analysis and strategizing methodologies is another essential prerequisite of the process. Necessarily, therefore, this period of the project is an acute learning phase. Growing numbers of people, as staff, and members of participating communities and collaborating organizations are coming into contact with the project for the first time, and are grappling with understanding how it will affect their lives. Of course, this is also a decision on just how interested they are in engaging with this new intrusion and what they see as potential benefits. This initial phase establishes very crucially, therefore, an identity in the minds of those coming into contact, and if an inappropriate image is set, it may take substantial effort and time subsequently to amend this satisfactorily.

What is absolutely critical at this stage is to set the interactive tone of the project; not to get things absolutely right. The latter will be impossible anyway. There will be a tremendous amount of learning, conflicts will occur, and strategies will be emergent over longer or shorter periods of time. But attitudes towards, levels of commitment to and belief in the potential value of the project are influenced greatly by the nature of the first contacts. Of course, if the original assessment and design process has taken place interactively, at least some of the critical participants should be expecting this process to happen, but for most this will be their first contact. In projects, such as the Lesotho TEAM project, this start-up process, whilst handled with the right intentions, was not conducted at all efficiently over the first season. A short two day participatory appraisal and planning process in core villages was optimistically intended to result in community action priorities, and some form of household baseline. At this time the project was working with many new and very inexperienced staff, who neither had an adequate understanding of the intended follow up process in villages, nor were used to being expected to think critically and creatively about their work. As a result some 30 or so participatory exercises were completed relatively

quickly, before it was acknowledged that they did not provide a sufficiently detailed understanding of key land use activities and the priority needs associated with these required to develop the experiential learning extension strategy, which was to form the next stage of the project.

This realization led to significant changes being made in the project's internal structure. In particular, vastly more effective team work was encouraged by establishing a series of cross-cutting teams dealing with different themes of the project's work, which required staff, regardless of their formal positions, to take more active leadership roles and to be active learners. A more conscious and explicit effort was taken to outline and then develop a sequenced village level process, and it is on developing this that the two-year pilot phase has focused. The process model is illustrated below.

FIG 4: TEAM (TRAINING IN ENVIRONMENTAL AND AGRICULTURAL MANAGEMENT) PROJECT PROCESS, LESOTHO
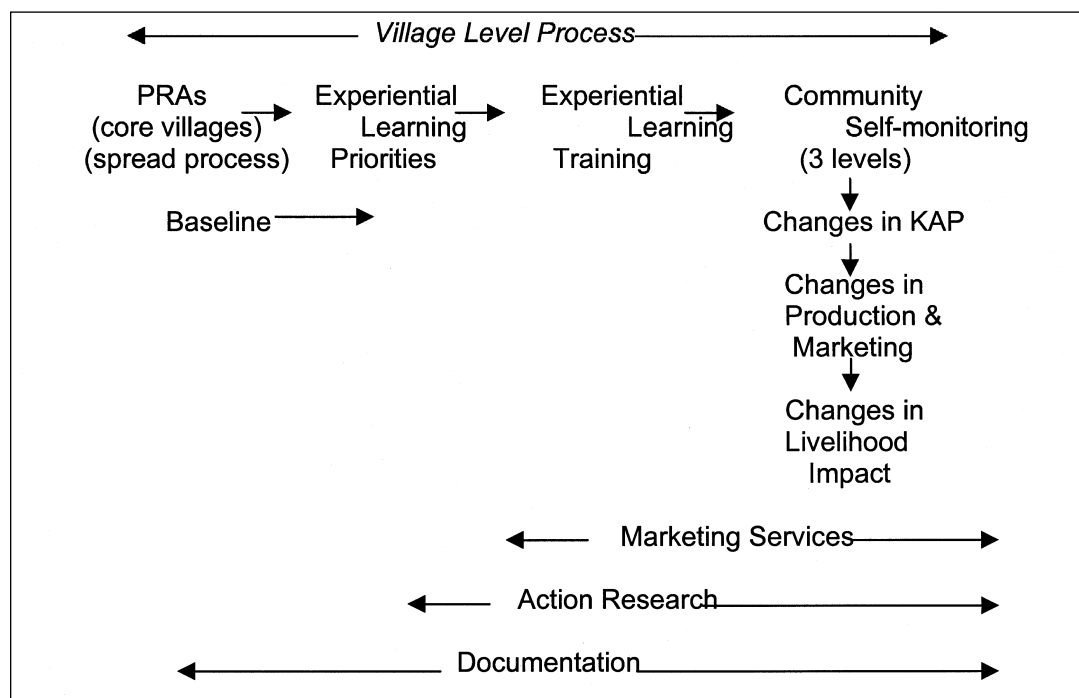
A third need of the start-up process is to establish institutional relationships with major stakeholder organizations. There are two essential points to note here. One is that the way in which we view, and seek to involve (potential) stakeholders, says a lot about our own political savvy, and about our level of ambition as an institution. Playing by ourselves is playing small. Involving a wide range of potential stakeholders from the outset does not mean that all will become immediately involved, but it does mean that we are announcing the project intentions, and are informing organizations and inviting their involvement as and when appropriate. For relevant government and/or NGO partners, this means involving them as

fully as they wish in the start-up design process, so that like the participating communities or groups, their own sense of involvement and the potential value of participation is heightened.

Involving other institutions early in this manner, may well involve difficulties. There will be issues around the degree of involvement and the time required; the level of partner resource contributions and their decision-making roles; and of the pace and nature of the overall project process. All of these issues have to be discussed and negotiated, and decisions reached which are appropriate in the circumstances. This subject will be discussed in more detail in the final section of the chapter.

3.2   Project information

The final requirement of the start-up process is to establish the basis of the project's information system. A framework should already have been established during the participatory appraisal and design process and recorded in the preparation of a logframe or other schematic tool. One of the mistaken assumptions often made about process approaches is that they are necessarily open-ended and preclude effective measurement, or that where measurement is effected, this will be primarily qualitative. This need not be so. Measurement can be highly quantitative. However, there are two characteristics about this measurement that are not part of conventional assessment mechanisms. First, information collecting should move progressively towards self-assessment methodologies, and second, all information should be contextuated.

I will try and describe these points in a little more detail, with some illustration. The most important need during the project design and start-up process is to develop a sense of coherency for the information system as a whole – how the different pieces relate together, and for these to be as minimal as possible. Ideally, just as logframes require a nestling of types of information, this will also occur in the way information systems are established. For example, with the TEAM project in Lesotho, a three-level participatory monitoring process is being established at village level.

At the first level, activity level change resulting from the experiential learning training will be monitored through KAP (knowledge, attitude, and practice) indicators, established in conjunction with the community. Thus, agreeing at the planning stage that soil and water management practices need to be improved (or equivalent practices in other contexts), also results in some listing of existing practices and the types of changes participants hope might be achievable. Developing the KAP indicators expands and facilitates this concept.

The second level of monitoring progress in TEAM will occur through assessing how the KAP changes influence changes in production and marketing systems as a whole (output level), whilst the third level will then monitor the overall effect on household livelihood security (purpose level). All of this will be developed as a single community monitoring methodology. There are more issues to be explored here than can be dealt with immediately. Suffice to note a few comments. One is the obvious feeling that once again we are simply imposing our requirements onto communities. To some extent this has to be true, but since donors are justified in asking us to show the benefits of their investment, it is also

necessarily an acceptable part of our own negotiation with communities. The second step in this is to encourage the use of the information for management purposes within the community itself – by organizations and individuals. For instance, when valid questions (considering the brief time in which it was being developed) were being asked about the development of a participatory livelihood monitoring system with the VIDA project in Nampula Province, Mozambique, a simple then and now exercise was carried out with the two pilot groups. This allowed them to see the changes that had occurred in the proportions of male- and female-headed households in different livelihood categories since the end of the civil war a few years earlier. There were some immediate insights. The situation of many male-headed households, often resourceless at the end of the war, had been gradually improving, but for female-headed households there was a different trend. Their numbers had increased, and there was a larger proportion in the very poor category, suggesting a later return migration of women in this category and a high level of current vulnerability.

Illustrating how the community could monitor its own progress in this way was a fascinating concept to those present and gained immediate support for the methodology, even if its 'interactive' nature was still some way from being assured. In the Livingstone Food Security Project, a similar methodology has been much more extensively developed through two-to three-day community level monitoring workshops. Community facilitators and leaders are introduced to the subject of monitoring in these events and then discuss openly the potential value of information about community (and project) activities to themselves. Following this they define what particular information would be of value (subject), how it might be collected (indicators), by what means (method) and by whom. As with the TEAM project, this information can be of value both to participating households and community organizations.

There is no doubt that such self-assessment methodologies take time to develop. For a start, significant amounts of staff and community facilitator training and interaction are required in order to generate a (relatively) common understanding of why we are working in this way and the potential value to all concerned. This means that more formal approaches may be used at the project baseline stage, to ensure that this task is completed. Nevertheless, the more project staff feel comfortable in setting up the baseline in a participatory way, the more easily it is likely to be linked to future forms of information collecting, and to have value in the longer term.

In a one-day workshop facilitated in Zambia in 1997 on the subject of Household Livelihood Security(HLS), the subject of the coherency of information systems was raised for discussion. Three groups of CARE Zambia program staff were asked to select a key intervention theme of their particular program and show how the themes had been carried through each stage of the program process. A first point to note, is that although the task given to the groups was a relatively abstract one, two of the three groups were able to interpret it extremely well and produce highly meaningful outputs. This is partly attributable to the intrinsic value of a

holistic framework such as HLS, but more to its use within the context of a participatory programming philosophy, in which highly interactive approaches are used in relationships with communities and program partners, and within projects/programs themselves. In short, staff understand the larger whole within which their particular roles lie.

One of the three groups was a combined group from two health sector projects. What they chose to illustrate was a theme that had been identified during ongoing project work, and which had then been used to design a completely new project intervention. In the process, an existing whole child health project was phased out and evolved into a reproductive health project focusing on adolescents (PALS-Participatory Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health). The theme title itself, 'adolescent empowerment', is indicative of a broader perspective being taken than that involved in many health – or other – sectoral interventions. This perspective had emerged from PLA assessment work undertaken in Chawama and other compounds in Lusaka and Livingstone. Even earlier assessment work by the health sector on orphans, using a household framework, had shown up adolescent girls to be an extremely vulnerable target group in the urban townships because of their level of exclusion from health and educational services and their comparative social and cultural 'neglect'. This household focus, which had helped identify the adolescent girls as a target group in the first place, was then carried through in the analytical work undertaken in Chawama and elsewhere. It helped contextualize the girls' situations, and showed clearly how girls from poor families were the most likely and vulnerable victims of unprotected sex, as a combination of their poverty and lack of access to education and health services. The consequences for them - STIs, abortions, becoming unmarried mothers – worked to ruin their present lives and chances of having any form of improved future. The respective roles of both families and the broader social and institutional fabric of which they were part reinforced this situation, were clearly shown and influenced the ensuing PALS[5] project design.

This explains the three sub-themes indicated in the following box in addition to that of reproductive health – empowerment, skills building and income. The point being made is that all three are essential to the successful improvement of these adolescents' reproductive health status. It is not that the PALS project has been particularly directly engaged in income improvement activities. Where possible, though, what it has done is partner with CARE SEAD activities in the same geographic locations, with for instance, direct business management training being provided to health outreach service providers, and some basic financial and business management skills being included in girls' education curricula. An appropriate monitoring system would therefore need to illustrate trends in all the sub-theme areas, since even though the project could not be held accountable for trends in adolescent income, these would have a bearing on the interpretation of reproductive health trends.

BOX 4: HEALTH SECTOR INTERVENTION THEME: ADOLESCENT EMPOWERMENT

(1) *LRSP* - Lessons learned and targeting

(2) Literature Review and Community Feedback

(3) PLA (Chawama) for proposal drafting
- Develop indicators and choose subtheme (Reproductive Health)
  1. Change behavior
  2. Increase knowledge of consequences
  3. Increase attendance at clinics
  4. Change service provider attitudes
- Proposal submitted and accepted

(4) Baseline using PLA approach plus household survey (in Lusaka, Copperbelt, Livingstone), plus in Lusaka using traditional quantitative (to validate)

(5) *Monitoring:* In PALS and Operational Research, we are developing a system with indicators for subthemes (Reproductive Health, Empowerment, Skills Building, and Income)

(6) *Evaluation:* Will use both PLA and participatory evaluation

Linkages to HLS:

At main theme and sub-theme levels, at each of above stages
- Building capability at adolescent, household
  and service provider levels
- Increase and maintain attendance at consumption level

This illustration of how the interpretation of reproductive health trends in PALS will depend on trends in the other indicator areas, leads back to the comment at the start of this sub-section on the need for all information to be contextuated. A challenge of all iterative, participatory processes is for them to cease being narrowly defined 'interventions' and to embrace participating individuals and organizations holistically. This does not mean, as may be supposed, embracing all problems and needs, but it means treating people as whole people, and understanding (and helping them to understand) the linkages in their own lives. Revealing such linkage is an essential pre-condition of any so-called empowerment strategy, and one result will be that it will be possible to interpret (most) information collected in terms of what it says about trends and their affect on these linkages.

One final, related issue in this section is that of attribution. It is commonly held that however well we develop a systematic information system, it will still be extremely hard to attribute output level change to change at project goal level. Put another way, how do we show what has really affected changes in people's lives (or changes within the institutions they are part of)? A participatory process attempts to do this in a simple way; as part of self-assessment methodologies, people are asked to indicate not only what change has occurred in their lives, but to attribute the reasons for this. Methodological means of doing this might be enhanced, but the results, since they are hard to deny, however simply achieved, are extremely powerful.

**TABLE 5 : CASE STUDY OF IMPROVED HOUSEHOLD, PUSH PROJECT
MRS. AKUFUNA FROM LUSAKA**

Upward movement from category 4 (very poor) to category 3 (poor).

INDICATOR	BEFORE Personal Empowerment Training (PET)/ Livelihood Improvement Training (LIT)	NOW
Livelihood category	4	3
Family size	6 – grandmother, mother, 2 sisters, herself and her son	2 – herself and her son
Number of children in school	0	1
Food consumption	2 meals/day beef 1 x week fish 1 x week beans 2 x week vegetable daily nshima with every meal	3 meals/day + tea beef 3 x week fish 2 x week vegetables daily nshima with each meal breakfast = tea, buns/rice porridge with milk
Tenure	House belongs to grandmother 3 rooms mud brick/iron roofing sheets	Has moved – now rents own house K6,000 ($5)/ month 1 room mud/brick/iron roofing sheets
Livelihood activity self	None	Sells groundnuts, vegetables and pre-packed mealie meal from home. Her younger brother helps her.
Livelihood activity husband	Widow	Widow
Assets	None (relatives grabbed all her property when her spouse died)	Bed, mattress, table 2 chairs and a radio
Savings	None	*Opened a bank account in Sept. 1995 – has saved K45,000
		* Belongs to a chilimba group, has saved K50,000 with group, contributing K500 each week since Nov. 1995

NOTE: When her spouse died and she suffered property grabbing, Mrs. Akufuna became dependent on her mother. However, after joining PUSH and attending the PET/LIT course she worked hard and moved out of her grandmother's house. She now rents a room where she lives with her son. She also started her own IGA and opened a bank account where she deposits savings every two months. She says her life has changed for the better.

3.3.   Decentering: institutional learning, negotiating roles, partnerships and disengagement through institutional capacity building

The final subject of this chapter involves several different aspects, but all comes down to a single ability: that of being able to develop management and implementation structures which cease to become dependent on us either as managers or as an organization. It is extremely difficult for us to do this, both as individuals, and as the organization CARE. The two are related. We trust our own abilities as managers and as an organization to implement projects and programs in ways we believe result in high quality activities. This is extremely important to us, since it is particularly our skill as an implementing agency that we take pride in as an organization. Nevertheless, such an attitude in the end can limit our individual and organizational legacies. What we do alone will necessarily be limited in time and space since it can have no continuity. Thus our larger mark is dependent on our developing the individual skill and organizational ability to decenter.

The two aspects are linked because within a centralized management structure it is extremely hard to develop viable and durable partnerships, since those who need to be active in their development tend not to be sufficiently skilled, confident nor empowered to do so. Some distinction needs to be drawn here, since this is not entirely true. In several instances I have witnessed projects with field staff that have done a wonderful job in working with community structures in participatory, adaptive and empowering ways. Yet, frequently, the lessons learned from this experience remain undocumented, and since they are not drawn upon in the wider project management structure, are rarely used in helping to guide the project's overall direction.

This is a complex issue. At one level, the lacuna may be the project's failure to internalize the participatory methodology espoused at community level: more specifically the senior managers lack the confidence and ability to relinquish management control. This is not surprising. As an organization we have yet to understand the need for and to embrace this type of more team, or learning oriented management training, even if it is a logical corollary of more participatory and partnership oriented project approaches. Yet, even if we did want to move more in this direction, there remains the limiting issue of basic capacities. For example, since most field staff are much better at providing verbal rather than written accounts of their activities, they themselves will not capture on paper the richness of their experiences which is revealed in a discussion.

One of the consequences of the above is that the area in which we remain best in partnerships is that of community institutional capacity building, where the relationship is still largely asymmetrical – at least for most of the project process it is. We are used to asymmetrical relationships, either of a capacity building nature where it is hard to avoid a benevolent paternalism, or of a subservient nature with donors, where we ourselves are the unequal partner and feel obliged not to challenge their wants for fear of forfeiting funding opportunities. An interactive

participatory approach perforce requires a relationship that is not one-sided, even if there is an (inevitable) asymmetry in the power relationships involved. Thus rather, we can try to approach donors with a little more confidence in our own knowledge, skills and experience of the reality of poverty in the environment in which we operate. It is our own dignity at stake too, just as we show respect for the dignity of poorer communities by improving the interactive nature of our relationship with them.

CARE's recent efforts in South Africa to establish an institutional strengthening program have been salutary in this regard, and certainly offer a different experience from that garnered in many other Southern Africa countries. Most South Africa NGOs have their origins as 'struggle' organizations during the latter apartheid years, and as a result, even if they have limited capacity and experience, still demand to be treated with respect and democratic equality – i.e. that their views are listened to and taken into account, in negotiating relationships and designing mutual activities. What this entails is commencing a partnership decision process with an interactive rather than the more-or-less one way relationship to which we traditionally use. For example, we rarely provide prospective partners with as much information about our own organization as we request from them, or allow as open a negotiation on our role as theirs.

Nevertheless, the relationship that is more rewarding and enduring is that in which the partner comes to us and says, based on our previous discussions, and what we believe you have to offer, we would like to work with you in these areas, if we can sit down and reach an arrangement that is mutually acceptable. In past approaches, where our aim has often seemed to be to discover whether an organization is 'good enough' to work with us, the concern at root is of course the justifiable one of capacity – does the partner have sufficient commitment at the outset for our work together not to be in vain and to show real benefits. But even if an organization has capacity, without a substantial commitment being made voluntarily, limited benefit will probably accrue from the relationship. Moreover, with commitment, capacity often develops surprisingly quickly. So as a basis for establishing a partnership, it can be argued that commitment is a more important value than capacity.

Let us extend this argument a little further. Increasingly we understand our overall concern in program processes designed to ameliorate poverty and vulnerability to be that of the empowerment of all that are involved. This is part of the growing realization that the old Marxist view of power as a zero-sum game (the oppressor and the oppressed) is limitingly one-dimensional. The legacy which we do owe to those such as Paolo Freire, however, is that power does not spread without a process of consciousness raising. In our contemporary language, this can be defined as a heightened mutual understanding of people's livelihoods and the organizational and individual means whereby these can be made more secure, resilient and enduring. On this basis we can then design, in collaboration with communities and other potential partners, program strategies which will develop the skills and capacities that will lead towards this endurance. Then finally we need to ensure that our own organizational program management principles are equally supportive.

In participatory appraisal work recently conducted in the barrios of Maputo, Mozambique, the interpretation of the country's new democracy is that the system is now one of 'everyone for himself'. With the decay of the previously far-reaching and thoroughly regulative party structures, an institutional vacuum has arisen since the country still has an extremely limited concept and culture of civil society. In this instance, the process of decentering a centralized state is inhibited by the lack of a broader culture of building teamwork, or voluntarily achieving a commitment to cooperation through a belief that mutual benefit can be realized. Developing teamwork at all levels is the necessary prerequisite to being able to establish a strategy of disengagement through institutional capacity building and federation.

The Livingstone Food Security Project has been engaged in a process of encouraging village management committees to federate at area level for some years now. In the original operational areas, project staff spend more time addressing the planning and management capacity of the area committees, and increasingly less time handling technical issues at the village level, for which local facilitators have responsibility. Then, as the area committees strengthen their linkages with external market, government and other structures, the project in theory gradually phases out, providing only an advisory and information systems monitoring role. For some time though, the project's biggest challenge has been to remain relatively in touch with the rate of and nature of the learning which has been occurring at village level.

Two years ago, for example, one of the experienced women field staff was at a meeting when men accused their wives of 'stealing' crops from the fields. What she discovered was that because once grain crops reached the granaries their sale was controlled by men, women were selling some directly from the field in order to yield direct benefit. Men were mainly reinvesting in cattle, and in the patrilocal society; this rendered wives' status less secure. Thus out of this experience, the fieldworker who assumed a greater responsibility for gender in the project, began to explore with men and women, ways of women's interests being better accommodated to the mutual benefit of all. The project though, still faces the challenge of developing the capacity (and structure) to mainstream vital insights of this nature, since being able to facilitate the broad negotiation of such issues locally is vital to the eventual legacy of the project. Similarly, another debate has arisen in some communities about the need for older, traditional leaders to create leadership space for younger men (and women) represented on the village management structures. By enabling this type of internal negotiation of roles and responsibilities necessary to bring about the broader improvement of the lives of different interest groups, through more representative local structures, the project is able to disengage gradually with pride.

Disengagement at the local level is though, by itself, insufficient. The caveat here therefore, is that we also need to have developed relationships, to a greater or lesser extent, with other organizations who will provide ongoing market linkages and technical support. Those organizations with whom we have had to work hardest to establish mechanisms whereby they can continue to provide necessary services in viable ways – such as savings and credit – will be critical partners of the project, since their continued role will be the second level of the project's legacy. The final level of legacy, will be the level of influence reached within the policy structures of government, donor and other national and broader level institutions.

CHAPTER THREE

OPENING DIFFERENT DOORS: USING QUANTITATIVE SURVEYS TO COMPLEMENT PLA FINDINGS

Tamara Fetters

Editor's Note: Ms. Fetters is team leader of CARE Zambia's Operations Research (OR) Unit, and over the past three years, has worked extensively on the adoption of participatory tools into OR methodology. With funding and technical support from the Population Council, CARE Zambia has collaborated with two local non-governmental organizations in mounting an OR study[6] to test the effectiveness of a set of interventions on reducing high risk sexual and reproductive behavior among peri-urban adolescents. The results of this study have been extensively documented, and are available from the Health Sector Coordinator at CARE Zambia. The editors asked Tamara to comment on her experiences using quantitative tools within a participatory framework and to provide advice for others who may be interested in initiating OR studies in their own Country Offices. For more details on the CARE Zambia experience with the OR study, see Kambou (1999).

Decision-making criteria: The decision to use a survey as a complement to PLA findings should begin with a critical look at program objectives and indicators, available resources (both human and financial) and the policy environment. As with any monitoring activity, it is always necessary to determine the appropriate balance between cost, quantity and precision. Ask yourself whether the additional information is really necessary to project implementation, and whether the community, local partners or development agency will use it. If the usefulness of the data is uncertain, you do not need to go to the extra expense and effort of a quantitative survey. Even if you can use quantitative data, you need to decide whether it is worth the risk of drawing attention away from rich data collected with participatory tools, and re-focusing it on simple quantitative indicators that are drawn from data generated by problematic samples. From a methodological point of view, there is a fundamental question: will your sampling frame (i.e., the target group that you identify through participatory means) allow enough power to lend credibility to your results? If not, as John Maynard Keynes once said, "It is better to be approximately right than precisely wrong."

Sampling: At CARE Zambia, we have used survey sampling to supplement qualitative data generated by projects concerned with AIDS orphans, adolescent sexual and reproductive health, water and sanitation, food and livelihood security. The reasons for collecting supplemental data have varied, but generally reflect the following:

☞ The need to provide donors with prevalence rates on a few specific indicators such as condom or contraceptive use or numbers of sexual partners;

☞ The desire to monitor several population-based livelihood indicators over time such as average cereal production per acre;

☞ The desire to follow a cohort of individuals or households over time in order to understand the evolution of their needs and the effect of project activity on the individual or household.

Sampling needs and designs have necessarily varied from project to project. At CARE Zambia, the following sampling designs have been used:

☞ Purposive sampling which stratifies populations on key socio-demographic characteristics that define the general target group and its sub-groups, such as sex and whether an individual is in school or out-of-school;

☞ Cluster sampling which identifies important population "clusters" through a preliminary mapping exercise; these clusters are then purposefully included in order to create as representative a sample as possible of the target group. For example, a representative sample of adolescents from a peri-urban area should include youth who live in households located next to a bar or market, in new sections of a community, within immigrant enclaves and so on.

It is important to note that CARE Zambia has rarely used random sampling, and when used, only on a limited scale. The costs associated with this type of sampling, as well as the level of skill necessary to replace missing cases effectively while in the field, make it difficult to justify its use.

(Editor's Note: As Tamara notes, the cost of such a survey is often beyond what most project budgets can support. A couple of CARE reproductive health projects in Africa have considered linking their baseline surveys to an on-going Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) in order to obtain baseline data on critical impact indicators such as contraceptive prevalence. In this type of situation, CARE arranges with the DHS to over-sample in its catchment areas so that it has an adequate sample for analysis.)

Details from our field experience: CARE Zambia draws its experience in "Participatory Operations Research" from a study exploring the impact of adolescent sexual and reproductive health interventions in urban communities. In this particular case, CARE Zambia and its research partners opted to introduce short, simple surveys that were implemented for two days following the participatory assessments carried out in the same communities. We based our decision to use a quantitative survey on three elements.

☞ First, Zambian health authorities were generally aware of the existence of PRA and PLA methodologies, but felt more comfortable with quantitative research results.

☞ Second, donors as well were seeking quantifiable results that are easily verified and can be justified in a sentence or within a logframe.

☞ Third, given that our study design was complex and our
researchers inexperienced with the participatory tools, we felt
that a quantitative survey was warranted in order to further
validate study results.

In our case, quantitative surveys provided useful supplemental data that added
depth to the team's internal discussions and fueled fires for policy debate. The
quantitative data allowed us to notice issues that we had overlooked during the
participatory exercises, and compelled us to question contentious findings. At
times, the survey results revealed inconsistencies that required clarification with
further study. At other times, the survey results validated findings that were not
entirely substantiated during the participatory exercise.

Here is an example of how quantitative data further illuminated qualitative data.
Throughout the participatory assessments, youth regularly stated that out-of-school
girls are more sexually active than girls attending school. (Refer to the table below
with representative data gathered from a group of 21 girls attending 7th grade in
M'tendere Compound.) During the participatory assessments, the adolescents gave
a number of reasons supporting this perception, namely, that girls in school fear
having to quit school, they are usually taught the dangers of sex in classes and girls
in school are more occupied than those out of school. Out of school girls were
thought to start having sex earlier than all other groups because they needed
money, wanted stable partnerships, had more free time and often exhibited "bad
behavior." Contrary to the belief that being out-of-school increases levels of sexual
activity and decreases age of sexual initiation, quantitative data show that most
young people are initiating sex before they finish primary school. (Refer to the
table below that presents quantitative data gathered in four peri-urban compounds
of Lusaka; these data reflect the experience of both boys and girls.)

	GIRLS (14 – 16 YEARS)				BOYS (14 – 16 YEARS)	
	Proportion (distribution)	Sexually active	Pregnant	Abort Pregnancy	Proportion (distribution)	Sexually active
In-School	40	20	7	5	70	50
Out-of-School	60	40	15	10	30	10
Total	100	60	22	15	100	60

From a PLA exercise held in M'tendere Compound, Lusaka, Zambia with 21 7th grade girls

**NUMBER OF YOUTH REPORTING THAT THEY HAD SEX FOR THE FIRST TIME
WHILE THEY WERE ATTENDING SCHOOL**

	N'gombe (n=281)	M'tendere (n=308)	Kanyama (n-293)	Misisi (n=296)
Yes	212 (75%)	247 (80%)	238 (81%)	220 (74%)

Part 2

The data show that more than 75% of the adolescents were in school when they initiated sex. The proportions are highest in M'tendere and Kanyama compounds where there are more school-going youth who attend school for more years on average. While school may not cause people to engage in sexual activity, these data indicate that school may not act as a deterrent to early sexual activity, and gives rise to important policy and programming considerations for interventions targeting school leavers and in-school youth.

As a result of these quantitative data, our team went back to our PLA analyses, and started paying more attention to dissenting opinions. Generally, these were from girls who didn't believe that there was a difference; these voices were still a minority, however.

> There is no change in behavior between in and out of school. It is even worse for those in school because they want more money for many things. They are even picked in boyfriends' cars.

From discussions with eight girls aged 13-14 years old in N'gombe Compound

Conclusion: PLA research yields relatively quick and low-cost results useful for program design and implementation. At CARE Zambia, we have usually used this type of research methodology as an entry point into an issue or a community to build the partnerships necessary for sustainable project activity. Limited quantitative surveys have the potential to enrich and focus PLA findings. We can improve our use of surveys. How?

☞ by developing questionnaires with the participation of members of the target population;

☞ by creating instruments that also provide a forum for people to voice their opinions on related issues;

☞ by making results manageable and comprehensible to the people with whom you are working; and,

☞ by involving people in the data collection and analysis.

The process of making your research more inventive and participatory can also extend to instruments that are more "traditional" and extractive, and this process is as important as the outcomes of the research. It has been our experience that these tools (both participatory and quantitative/traditional) can even be adapted for use in evaluation and measurement of incidence of specific behaviors or risk factors[7]. It is necessary that innovation and the continued success of these types of participatory evaluation and research methodologies be well documented and shared through fora such as these *Guidelines*.