



Social Observatory: Towards “Deliberative Development”

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Deliberative Development

- Policy as a Dialogic Process: Prozac vs Therapy
- Focus on Processes that allow constant flow dialogue to determine goals and outcomes and how to achieve those goals.
- From the citizen side: deliberation, citizen action, working towards collective solutions
- Design informed by observation and dialogue.
- Implementation informed by participation of beneficiaries, and feedback loops with adaptive implementation

Participatory Development has not worked very well

- \$80 billion from WB alone. Very mixed results
- Why? (Mansuri-Rao, 2012)
 - Ad Hoc
 - Civil Society Failure + Government Failure
- Organic vs Induced: Problem of scale

How to fix it?

- Needs a “sandwich.” Top has to support the bottom
- Deliberation and community action takes time, has uncertain trajectories, and requires attention to local contextual variation
- “Slow” development. Attention to Process
- Deliberation embedded within electoral democracy

Deliberative Development in practice: The Social Observatory

1. **Long-Term Feedback:** Understanding Impact and Process - Mixed-Method Impact Evaluations
 2. **Everyday Feedback:** Management Information Systems, Decision Support Systems, Process Monitoring
 3. **Citizen/Beneficiary Feedback:** Empowering Deliberative Forums (Gram Sabhas, SHGs), Democratizing Data, Giving beneficiaries a role in improving design and implementation
 - Will Highlight Two Things: Community-based cultural change in Bihar, Participatory-Tracking in Tamil Nadu
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Bihar

How did a large scale community-based intervention induce cultural change and improve gender equality with lower caste groups?

JEEViKA or Bihar Rural Livelihoods Project (BRLP) introduced in 2006

- **GOALS:** Women's Empowerment, Poverty Alleviation, Building Sustainable Livelihoods
 - **CORE:** Facilitated credit intervention. SHG mobilization. 7-12 women. 10-15 per village. Headed by a Village Organization
 - **VERTICALS:** SHGs as a highway. Roll out various anti-poverty programs, nutrition interventions, women centered interventions
 - **FACILITATORS:** frontline workers of JEEViKA that carry out the work of the project in the trenches
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What is the magnitude of change in Phase I? PSM 200 treatment, 200 control villages

Savings and Debt (Diff-in-Diff)	Effect Size (Percent)
Savings	290.63
Percent HH with high cost loans(from 2008)	-43.39
Amount borrowed (New loans)	-46.72

Empowerment (Diff-in Diff)	Effect Size (Percent)
Visit Panchayat Meetings	534.61
Visit local shop	21.54
Visit PDS	58.99
Visit Health Center	44.30
Visit Relative	37.08
Provide input on decisions on Children's Education	36.65
Report having an opinion on politics	333.33

Datta, Upamanyu (2015) , World Development

How did this change happen?

To understand this we tracked a subset of the quantitative sample in different phases of the project with in-depth qualitative methods...

Qualitative Study

- Selected the best paired matches from the quantitative sample
 - Further selection on the basis of field level observation
 - Data was collected from 6 villages
 - 2 villages from Phase 1
 - 2 villages from Phase 2
 - 2 villages are “pure controls”
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Methodology: 12 cycles of data

- Four years of data collection
 - Every three months, five ethnographers entered different hamlets of the village for a week
 - Interviewees were reminded that study is independent from project
 - **Open-ended Interviews and focus group discussion:**
 - Joiners, non-joiners, husbands
 - Most were new informants, a quarter were follow ups
 - Key stakeholders in the village
 - Village heads, religious heads, village council members, moneylenders, landlords, ward members
 - JEEViKA staff
 - Field-level facilitators, state, district and block level officials
 - **Participant Observation**
 - Of group meetings, trainings, workshops, mobilization drives
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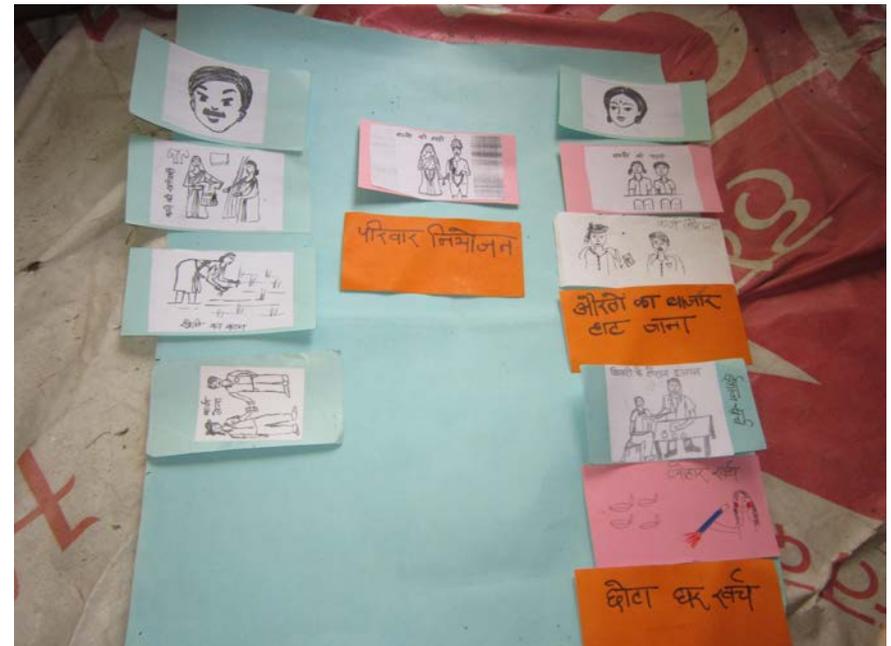
Findings In Control Villages

Caste Hierarchies

- Spatially and socially
 - caste boundaries remain rigid and constrain preferences (Dumont 1980) and *Sanskritization* remains the modus operandi for upward mobility (Srinivas 1962)
 - In the public sphere
 - dominant castes hold key positions in panchayats
 - even in villages with reservations for lower castes and women, dominant castes continue to call the shots via traditional panchayats
 - Recent increase in outgoing migration and political empowerment of lower castes has made a small but not significant dent
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Findings: Control Villages Gendered Practices

- Household decision making dominated by men and in-laws
- Women's physical mobility is circumscribed: women moving freely is seen as symptomatic of male deficiency
- Public sphere and moneylending sphere are considered 'masculine'
- Restrictions are more stringent for women of upper castes: "Women from the Brahmin community will starve to death, but they won't step outside".



Facilitation Step I: Village Entry

“Cultural Match”

- Project did a thorough power analysis / informal information gathering
 - on caste dynamics, land-use patterns, informal moneylending practices, gender norms, nature of existing poverty alleviation and microcredit project
 - Getting buy-in from the village elders, elites, husbands
 - emphasizing economic benefit: cheap credit as “bribe” to allow women to enter project
 - ongoing conversations between elites and facilitators
 - Social mapping
 - to identify and recruit first movers – women who eventually turn into ‘eyes and ears’ of the community and help mobilize other women
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Facilitation Step 2: Mobilization of Women

- **Co-production** of discourse
 - Discourse cuts across caste and is poverty-centric:
 - Flipcharts + encouraging women to share their own narratives of poverty
 - Openly discussing gender norms that constrain participation for women from different castes
 - Making self-help and self-reliance the end goal, rather than jobs or cheap credit
 - **Targeting of households:**
 - Participatory identification of poorest: Getting women themselves to decide on indicators of poverty
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Facilitation Step 3: Ritualization of activities

- Giving women passbooks, money box
 - Encouraging women to rotate calculating and counting tasks
 - Engaging head-on with elite capture and messy politics within SHG
 - Handholding through elections and loan making decisions to ensure equal voice
 - Repeated messaging / re-iteration / indoctrination
 - Through rituals, songs, street theatre, flipcharts
 - Treating Jeevika as a way of life rather than donor funded project
 - Focusing on claim-making skills that spillover outside project (household, community, PDS shops, banks, public sphere)
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How did change come about?

“Nitish has turned women into men”

- JEEViKA, backed by political clout and cheap credit, gave women *exclusive* access to a set of physical resources, symbolic resources, and an institutional environment – all of which were perceived as ‘masculine’ prior to project
 - Norms cannot be changed in a short period of time: a *re-iterative process of collective violation of behavioral injunctions on women is key*
 - This enabled a mini-social movement. Foucault’s “counter-conduct”
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Learning and Adapting from Evaluation*

- Expansion did not go as well
 - Key difference was in how well the project listened
 - Qualitative (Listening) evidence critical in interpreting quantitative results
 - Decision support systems for everyday learning are essential to manage expansion/scale-up
 - Decision Support Systems = MIS + Dashboards
 - Process Monitoring
 - Adaptation Helps Improve Co-Production and Cultural Match
 - *S. Majumdar, P. Sanyal, V. Rao, "On the Frontlines of Scaling-Up," 2017
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CITIZEN FEEDBACK

Participatory Tracking in Tamil Nadu*

* V. Rao, N. Palaniswamy, S. Sakhamuri, RV Shajeevana, C. Xia, "Democratizing Data: Participatory-Tracking in Tamil Nadu, India," (forthcoming)

Origin

- Modernize PRA with new technology and methods
 - Democratizing Data
 - Census of program participants
 - Pilot of 32000 women in PVP
 - Government has requested an extension to 10 million women in Tamil Nadu
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Step I: Develop Questionnaire

- Community Based
 - Uses women's networks
 - Tested by community members with community members
 - Finalized questionnaire should take no more that 30 minutes
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What makes this questionnaire different?

- Overlap in themes covered
 - NSS: 17 %
 - LSMS type survey: 70 %
 - Covered a range of themes:
 - Well-being, Livelihoods, Economic Welfare, Food Security and Nutrition, Empowerment, Access to public services and programs, Political Participation
 - Differed in framing and emphasis
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A sample of questions

Food and Nutrition

How much do you spend on the purchase of vegetables in a month?

Does the person who eats last get enough to eat?

Marriage

What was your age at the time of your marriage?

Was your decision taken into account at the time of your marriage?

Did you marry your relative?

Empowerment

Who makes decisions on assets and loans in your family?

Do you decide on what clothes to wear based on your own preferences?

Have there been any instances of violence against women in your village?

Digital Participation

Can you use a mobile phone on your own?

Can you read and send text messages?

Step 2: Data collection and management

- Participatory
 - Implemented and managed by CBO members
 - PVP project staff- Coordinating role
 - Other Key features
 - Tablet based
 - Data Quality and Validation
 - Designed for users with low digital literacy
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Step 3: Data visualization

→ Empower respondents to analyze and act on their own data

உங்களது காட்சிபடுத்துதல் பக்கத்திற்கு வரவேற்கிறேன். இங்கே நமக்கு ஒரு கிராமத்தை வரைபடக்காட்சி மூலம் அறிந்து கொள்ளும் வகையில் சித்தரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இங்குள்ள வரைபடக்காட்சிகளில் இடம்பெற்றுள்ள ஒவ்வொரு வரைபடத்தையும் அழுத்தும் போது அந்தந்த கிராமத்தின் வரைபடத்திற்கான முழு தகவலையும் ஒப்பிட்டு பார்க்க இயலும். வரைபடத்தை பார்த்த நிமிடத்திலேயே பலமானது அல்லது பலவீனமானது என்று மிக எளிதாக அறியமுடியும். அந்தந்த பகுதியின் சுகாதாரத்தை பொருத்து வரைபடங்கள் பல்வேறு கலர்களில் அமைந்திருக்கும். ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட வரைபடத்தில் சிறந்த சுகாதாரம் மற்றும் அதன் கலர் பிரகாசமாக தென்பட்டால் அங்கு பதிலளித்தவர்கள் அதிகம் மற்றும் சிறந்த பதில்கள் தரப்பட்டுள்ளன என்பது பொருள். நீங்கள் மேலே உள்ள மெனுவை பயன்படுத்தி எந்த பகுதியை வேண்டுமானாலும் தேர்வு செய்து படக்காட்சியையும் மற்றும் ஒவ்வொருவரையும் ஒப்பிட்டும் பார்க்க இயலும்.

all | none

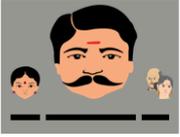


Pilot PVP: Data visualization



Face forces

Who has the dominant voice in household decisions? Dominant parties are represented with larger faces.

	Agamalai - Tribal	H9 Manalathukudusai
<p>Is your opinion accepted related to your child's education and marriage?</p> 		
<p>Who makes the decisions regarding your clothing?</p> 		
<p>Who makes the decisions regarding the number of children?</p> 		
<p>Who makes the decisions regarding when to visit your parents house?</p> 		

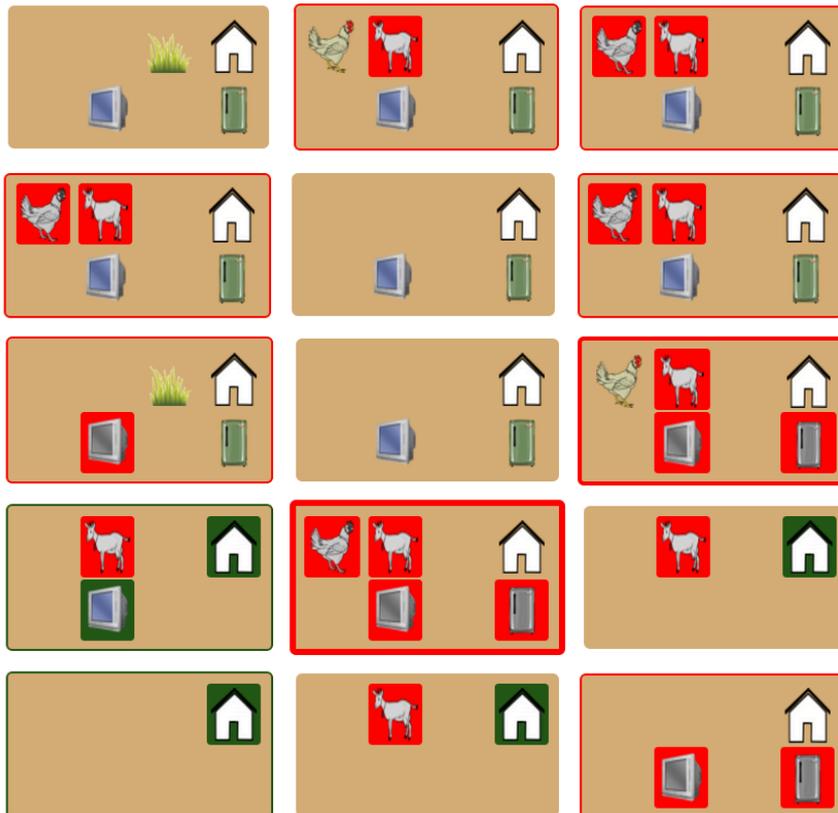
Pilot PVP: Data visualization



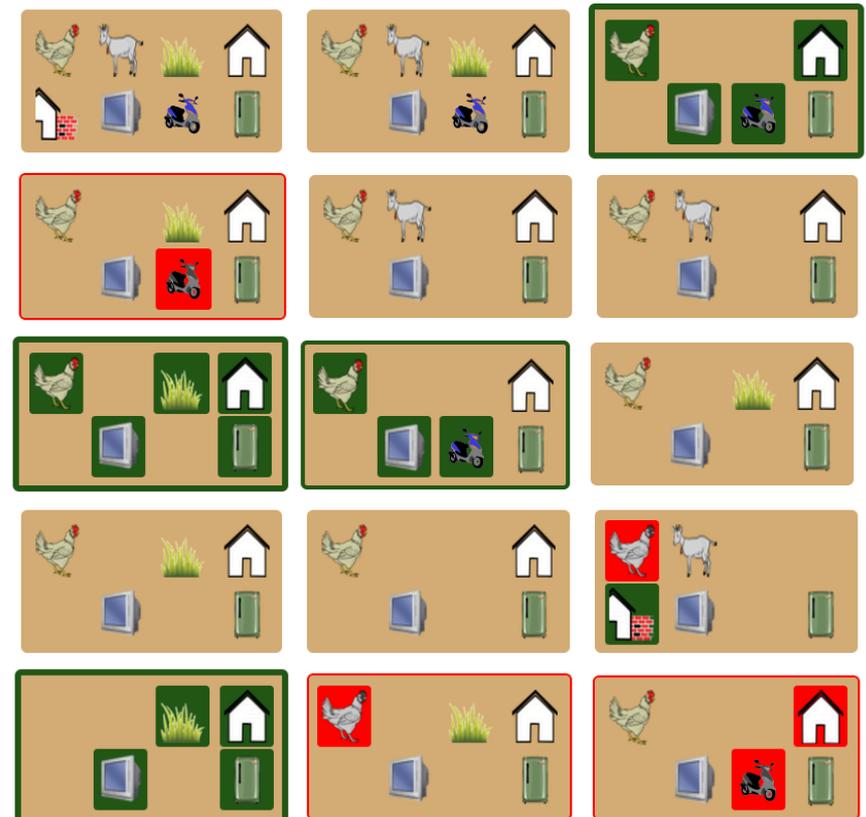
Asset change

The change in assets of families in the village are shown. Green items have been gained in the last five years. Red items have been lost. Unshaded items were in possession both five years ago and now. Click to see different families.

Agamalai - Tribal



H9 Manalathukudusai



Pilot PVP: Data visualization

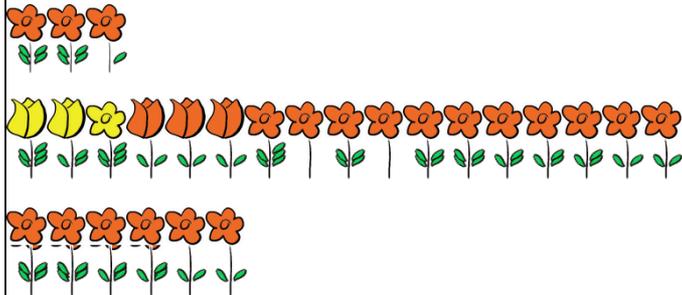


Flowers and marriage

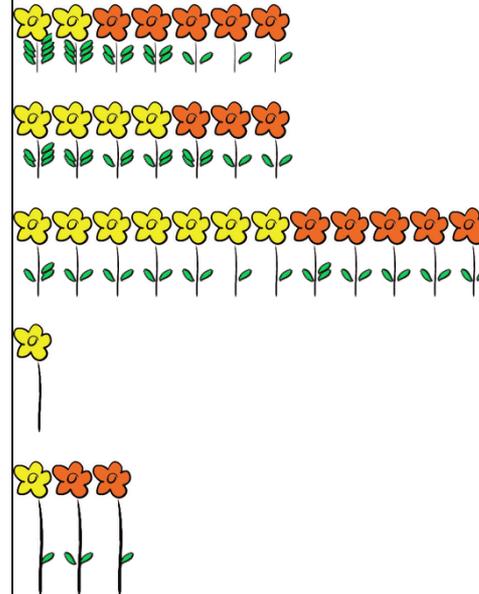
Each flower depicts a bundle of indicators pertaining to marriage. One flower represents one married woman. The height of the flower corresponds to the age at marriage where shorter flowers are women that got married at younger ages. The color of the flower represents whether the marriage was with a blood relative (red) or not (yellow). The type of flower represents whether the woman gave consent (bloomed) to being married or not (unbloomed). The number of leaves represent the number of children in marriage. Click to see different women in the area.

This visualization may be used to see relationships in the data. For instance, are there many short, unbloomed flowers? Are red flowers usually consensual or not? Does consensuality increase or decrease with age?

Agamalai - Tribal



H9 Manalathukudusai



Step 4: Data Feedback



Feedback

- Village Planning
- Gram Sabha – Deliberative Decision Making
- Planning Village Organization Budgeter
- RCT - half the villages randomly received treatment
- PVP had problems unfortunately
- Yet, results show visualized data have better results
- Expansion to rest of Tamil Nadu
- Planning for Indonesia (looking for funding)

Some Uses of Participatory Tracking

- An alternate citizen-based narrative of poverty and well-being
 - High frequency census data
 - Public goods decision making
 - To get us out of our bubbles and understand exclusion from the people's perspective
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More on our website

- <http://socialobservatory.worldbank.org>
- Research: RCT on Jeevika, Text-As-Data to study village meetings, Ethnography of Scaling-Up, another mixed-methods RCT evaluation – “Anatomy of Failure”
- Monitoring Systems: For community based nutrition, for everyday management of large projects

Conclusion

- Deliberative Development is difficult: slow, requires a tolerance of mess, and developing the *capacity to listen and communicate*.
 - Emphasizes Equality of Agency and Voice as much as Equality of Opportunity
 - Interdisciplinary in theory and method
 - Values the good life as expressed by citizens: intrinsically multi-dimensional in poverty definitions
 - Has Implications for rich and poor countries
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