Participation as *Right to Governance*

A Study on Programs of Nongovernmental Organizations of Bangladesh

---

Iftekhar Uddin Shamim

2012

Master in Public Policy and Governance Program
Department of General and Continuing Education
**North South University, Dhaka -1000
Bangladesh**

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

Figures, Boxes and Charts

Dedicated to

My Parents

Acknowledgement

Abbreviations and Glossary

BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
Borkha	Veil, usually put on by Muslim women
COAST Trust	Coastal Association for Social Transformation Trust
DC	Deputy Commissioner
GOB	Government of Bangladesh
Imam	Muslim clerics
LGI	Local Government Institutions
LGRD	Local Government and Rural Development
Nari Bikash Kendra	Women Leadership Centre
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
NK	*Nijera Kori*
PO	Peoples' Organizations
Pourashava	Municipality
RTI	Right to Information
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
UNO	Upazila Nirbahi Officer
UP	Union Parishad
UPZ	Upazila Parishad
VGD	Vulnerable Group Development
WB	World Bank

Abstract

Civic engagement or peoples' participation has received much attention among the academics and governance activists in recent days. Traditional institutions in Bangladesh lack proper representation of those who are disadvantaged and marginalized in the society. Moreover, common people see state institutions such as government machineries as *discriminatory, oppressive and biased*. In this backdrop, it is debated that nongovernmental organizations (NGO) can play an alternative role in engaging beneficiaries of their programs in local government institutions (LGIs).

In relevance to this debate, the study raises two questions: *First*, to what extent, capability of beneficiaries is enhanced after being involved with NGO programs? *Second*, to what extent, the beneficiaries (of NGO programs) are engaged with LGIs? Then, the study, following right based approach to participation, conceptualized an analytical framework in reference to the research questions. It is supposed that NGO programs would promote the inalienable features of the idea "right". In doing so, NGOs would ensure active and meaningful participation of the marginalized in the governance mechanism at local level. Present study, following both quantitative and qualitative methods, is conducted on two NGOs of Bangladesh that work in the remotest areas of Bangladesh. In analyzing the findings of the study, three indexes of participation — Involvement, Capability and Engagement with LGIs — that complement each other, are developed on the basis of a battery of questions. *Involvement* index measures the extent of attachment of beneficiaries with NGO programs. *Capability* index assesses the level of ability of the beneficiaries of NGO programs. *Engagement with LGIs* measures to what extent the beneficiaries are capable to demand their rights to get services from LGIs.

Findings of the study reveal that though NGO programs make beneficiaries capable, these programs are not successful in engaging beneficiaries with LGIs. It is also found that NGO programs are limited in terms of nature and sustenance to make people aware of their rights to governance. In fact, this study shows that the engagement of disadvantaged group of people with LGIs is hindered by some factors. Of them the influences of powerful persons of the locality, the rent seeking of the public officials and fear of public offices are mentionable. So without proper evaluation of the programs and activities of NGOs, peoples' engagement with local government institutions cannot be ensured.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

In recent times, in the discourses of governance and development, the theme of civic engagement or peoples' participation at local government institutions (LGIs) has got wider focus in Bangladesh. Civic engagement as an idea in the field of governance thrives on a number of reasons. *First*, the engagement of non state actors working with the disadvantaged and marginalized group of people would promote and ensure participatory development practices at grass root level (Mohammad 2010:76). *Second*, the dominant discourses of governance in which distribution of power among state and its machineries have been the central focus generate "considerable debate and suspicion" among the academics and practitioners (Aminuzzaman 2006:11).

Traditionally, in Bangladesh, rural civic institutions such as *samaj[1]* play a central role in engaging people with local governance. The traditional rural societies of Bangladesh got to change due to the expansion of market forces, the penetration of formal administrative structures and the construction of rural infrastructures (Lewis 2011). But still "patron-client" relationship defines the boundaries of rural civic institutions. In the changed situation, there is a range of new and emerging class of leaders whose power base is grounded in political linkages.

Given this context, how can nongovernmental organization (NGO), one of the non-state actors, work to establish peoples' right to participate at local governance? It is argued that NGOs, by ensuring participation through their programs, contribute to improve the level of governance at different stages of the society and state.

Moreover, under the circumstance of inefficiencies of governance[2] in Bangladesh, as social leadership does not stand by the neglected section of the society and at the same time, state often

---

[1] Jamil (2007) explained the term. He studied how s*amaj* exerted its influence(s) on bureaucracy. Lewis (2011: 22) noted in spite of fast changes happening in rural Bangladesh, s*amaj* defines the authority and moral order of the society.

[2] World Bank Study (1996 b) depicted the governance of Bangladesh as "preoccupied with process; highly centralized, overly bureaucratic, too discretionary in governance, unaccountable and unresponsive and wasteful" (p. xv).

plays a coercive role, NGO activities significantly flourished in Bangladesh in last couple of decades. The existence of a pluralist service regime bear the testimony of the fact that in a fast changing development landscape of Bangladesh since independence in 1971 NGO has become one of the key forces along with governmental development agencies (World Bank 2007: xi). This study attempts to explore the extent of engagement of beneficiaries of nongovernmental organization (NGO) with local government institutions (LGIs).

1.2 Participation and Governance and its Link with Rights

It is widely acknowledged that participation is of the properties of governance. In Bangladesh, state machineries at local level is often accused of inefficiency, nepotism, lack of accountability and non participation. So it stands 'in the way of development rather than stimulating it' (Jamil 2007: 85). For this reason, academics and activists have advocated the patterns of rule that minimize the role of the state. Many of them look towards NGO led civil society as a 'site of free and spontaneous participation' in the governance of the society (Bevir 2009: 7).

But NGOs have their limitations as a platform in establishing the rights of participation general citizens in the governance system (Chowdhury 2008). It can be noted that first, NGO activities are largely homogenous in kind. They focus mainly on some sectors such as micro credit, health h, education (World Bank 2007: xi); second, in advocacy programs NGOs have become controversial for getting involved with partisan politics. Added to that, their accountability is not beyond question (ibid: xix). The critics argued that claims of NGOs are "self-contradictory" on the ground of their lasting presence in the same position as took over the task of peoples' participation in development activities since early 1970s (Umar 1993:149).

Debate on the performance of NGOs has provoked the researchers and development activists to go deeper into the problem to identify the shortcomings of the idea of participation and its inclusion as such in the governance framework. Generally, peoples' participation or popular participation is often seen as a *precondition* for the sustainability of the development projects. The critic of participation has raised a number of questions such as who are the "people" and why peoples' participation is sought. Yet, in practice, it raises questions. Participation as Oakley and Marsden defined:

> …meaningful participation is concerned with achieving power: that is the power to influence the decisions that affect ones' livelihood. (Cited in Ahmad 1994:88)

This definition continues to influence much on later studies. For example, Mohammad (2010) defined participation as 'active and meaningful involvement of local people'. Drawing inspiration from Oakley and Marsden, in his study Mohammad (2010), while defining peoples' participation, categorized people into two: at one hand, the workers, day laborers, minorities, women folk, on the other hand, local elite businessmen and other enlightened persons of the locality.

Such categorization of people narrowed the scope of participation since distribution of power in a traditional social setting like ours is unequal. Therefore the *fulcrum* of participation has become upset and automatically become biased towards the dominant one. In reality, the voice of the marginalized groups (the workers, day laborers, minorities, women folk) are "unheard" or even *silenced*[3] by the local elites. So consideration of class (who is participating?) and interest (why or how is participation taking place?) in participatory processes is a prerequisite for understanding the idea.

Simply, the way participation is defined and executed has considerable bearing on the governance of an organization, a society or a state. But formal definitions of governance do not take geographical context and culture into consideration.[4]The deficiencies of formal definitions of governance are addressed, to some extent, in the literature on pro poor governance. The alternative and inward looking approach of pro poor governance aims at bringing disadvantaged and marginalized group of people closer to governance processes. Therefore it maps out the ingredients of local level governance in Bangladesh on the basis of the cultural and contextual ingredients. It is argued that without attempting a critique of the existing definition and the system of governance the agenda of the "meaningful participation" in governance framework would be incomplete.

The ground of severe indictment of the prevailing system of governance as depicted in *Box- 1.1* by the "unheard" and marginalized people of the society is indeed a case in point. Therefore the

---

[3] Spivak (1988) in her seminal article "Can Subaltern speak?" argued that Subaltern of the society cannot speak in the existing system. It is not only for this that they cannot speak but the elite of the society create the situation so that the construction of the subaltern can be watched out from the visibility.

[4] Aminuzzaman (2006) catalogued the definitions of governance as pushed by the international bilateral and multilateral development agencies. Haque (2011) observed that most of the causes for the failure of governance in Bangladesh are "contextual and cultural".

problem of governance stems from undefined features of participation which is basically covered by two questions: who is participating and how or what level of participation is taking place? (Ahmed 1994).

> **Box: 1.1 – Unheard Voices of the Poor**
>
> Poor people… perceive government as *discriminatory, oppressive and biased*. Government tends to favor the rich and powerful. Policies and program of the government tend to further strengthen the powerful and the political elites. Poor does not have access to formal institutional borrowing and tend to look at the public administrative system as the 'exclusive domain of the rich and powerful'. At the local level, government is more political than service oriented.
> Source: Salahuddin Aminuzzaman, *Perception of Governance -The Unheard Voices*, Dhaka 2001, *Manabik Shasajja Sangstha*, cited in Aminuzzaman (2006)

The act of participation includes the act of interrogating the methods of participation and system where it takes place. Participants need to be aware of their own identities in a group or organization and the way they participate. If people are unaware of these pitfalls how can participation be active and meaningful? How can participation be active in absence of education or in lack of sound financial footing of the participants?

Through persistent examination of the existing system, *awareness* of self identity of the participants in an organization or group develops. In other way, this awareness of participants leads to the engagement with the institutions- be it government or non government.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

In Bangladesh, in spite of the changes in the government services under the internal and external pressures since 1970s[5], major share of development works are managed by the government institutions. In the backdrop of executive upper handedness in the delivery of public services to people, the culture of "effective" participation in governance is not up to the mark in these institutions (Jamil *et al* 2011: 201, Mohammad 2010). As effectiveness of state gradually diminished, NGOs are encouraged by donors to grow and take substitutive roles in some development areas such as poverty alleviation programs through micro credit, health and

---

[5] Jamil (2007) found how bureaucracy in Bangladesh under internal and external pressures continues to change.

education. Participatory approach in programs makes NGOs popular in the area of development and governance. Presence of civil organizations has created a niche in the governance mechanism. But to what extent this mechanism of NGOs is effective in establishing peoples' right to participate in governance?

1.4 Scope of the Study

Participation of common people in the governance processes has attracted the attention of the policy makers in recent times. It is argued that if citizens are mobilized by NGOs in this regard, then they can participate actively in the processes of governance well. Keeping this perspective in mind, the scope of the study is set to study two NGOs (COAST and RUPANTAR) that have been working for engaging citizens' with the LGIs. From geographical point of view, the area of study of this study is the remotest areas of Bangladesh: one is *Charfassion* Upazila of Bhola district and another is *Mongla* Upazila of Bagerhat district.

1.5 Objective of the Study

The specific objective of the study is:
● To assess to what extent the beneficiaries of NGOs are engaged with the local government institutions of Bangladesh.
The other objectives of the study are:
● To assess to what extent the beneficiaries of NGOs are capable for being involved with the local government institutions of Bangladesh.
● To identify what are the factors that influence the development of capability and the engagement of the beneficiaries of the NGO.

1.6 Research Questions

This study aims at answering some questions about NGO programs on shaping people's participation in the governance system at local level. The answers to these questions explore the level of involvement of beneficiaries' in local development and participatory processes. The research questions of this study are:

1. To what extent, capability of beneficiaries is enhanced after being involved with NGO programs?
2. To what extent, the beneficiaries of those programs are engaged with LGIs?

1.7 Rationale of the Study

Among the policy makers as well as development practitioners, participatory approach to governance has been an increasing concern. Donors' role is quite dominant in the whole issue. After the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, local governance had been prioritized and a large number of programs were undertaken at local level for the improvement of rural people's livelihood integrating them into the web of development and governance.

Yet, little progress has been made regarding institutionalization of participatory culture at local level governance. If peoples' ownership has not been established in those development program or projects, sustainability of the development programs remains questioned. Logically, peoples' ownership demands active and meaningful participation. On the ground of low success in state led participatory processes, the engagement of NGOs and other civil organizations is recommended.

The study explores the level of peoples' capability after their involvement with the NGO activities in Bangladesh. The main focus of the study is to measure the extent of peoples' engagement with LGIs after they are involved and get capable with NGO programs. The present study reasonably makes the point that peoples' participation through the programs of NGO or civil society would also be challenged if the weaknesses of state led participation approach are not addressed properly.

1.8 Structure of the Study

This study is arranged into six chapters. **Chapter 1** outlines the topic and background of the thesis. It sheds light on the objectives, research questions, rationale, and scope of the study. **Chapter 2** focuses on the methods of the study. **Chapter 3** specifically deals with a brief account of exploring participatory practices in local level governance as reflected through NGO programs. **Chapter 4** examines the approaches of participation with special emphasis on right based participation. Then on the basis of right based approach to participation, an analytical framework is developed for this study. It surveys literatures that discuss the current notions of "participation" and its impact on the governance processes. In **Chapter 5** the collected data are presented with analysis. Finally **Chapter 6** puts it together and draws conclusions grass-root people's participation in the governance process.

To sum up: the existing literature on participation and its supposed relationship with NGO activities in Bangladesh provoke us to focus on two points: *One*, so far government agencies are failed to ensure peoples' participation**.** Even experimented in half hearted manner in some public sectors such as Local Government and Rural Development (LGRD) and local government, the results are too insignificant to bring any square impact on the governance at local level (Jamil *et al* 2011). *Two*, keeping the track record of existing governance in mind, NGOs are often expected to bring progressive changes in this area. It is true that due to their highly focused attention on a few sectors such micro credit, health, sanitation, education Bangladesh stands to a good position of human development index especially in South Asia. But at the same time, the point of integrated and comprehensive growth by the NGOs is worth taking from perspective of ensuring peoples' rights in the long run. Put it simply, NGO activities aim at empowering people. The question is whether the idea of empowerment through NGOs' programs makes people aware of their rights of participation to governance or not?

Chapter 2

Methodology of the Study

2.1 Introduction

This chapter offers an overview of the methodology used in this study. The chapter attempts to discuss in detail the methods that are used to collect and analyze data for assessing to what extent, the beneficiaries are capable for getting involved with NGO programs and explore whether NGO programs make them capable to get engaged with the local level governance institutions of Bangladesh.

2.2 Methods of Inquiry

In this study, both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. *First*, quantitative data were collected through questionnaire survey. This survey was conducted among three categories of respondents: the beneficiaries of the NGO programs, the elected representatives of LGIs and government officials. The reason for selecting three groups of people is to understand the idea of participation *as right* from different considerations. Moreover the targeted groups of the study are highly connected with the process of governance at local level in Bangladesh.

Second, qualitative data was collected through interviewing three groups of respondents: beneficiaries of the NGO programs, elected representatives such as Chairman/ member of Upazila[6] Parishad (UPZ) and Union Parishad[7] (UP), government officials at field level and the NGO officials who have been working at policy and field level. Another source of collecting qualitative data is secondary literature such as books, both published and unpublished reports and documents.

In case of quantitative survey, two different sets of questions were devised in Bengali for the distribution among the beneficiaries, elected representatives and government officials. The questionnaire was pre-tested at Gazaria Upazila of Munshiganj district. The field survey was administered in March 2012 in two Upazilas: *Charfassion* of Bhola district and *Mongla* of Bagerhat district.

---

[6] Sub district-one of the lowest administrative units of Bangladesh
[7] the lowest unit of local government in Bangladesh

A set of questionnaire (10) was kept with the representatives and officials of *Mongla* Upazila which they later sent me by mail.

2.3 Sample of the Study

The study was conducted on two NGOs of the country: one was COAST Trust (later only COAST will be used) which works in *Charfassion* Upazila of Bhola district. Another one was RUPANTAR which operates mainly in Khulna division. The data set of RUPANTAR was collected from *Mongla* Upazila of Bagerhat district.

Total respondents of the study were 98. For the purpose of this study the selected respondents were divided into five categories as shown in *Table: 2. 1*.

Table: 2.1 **- Sampling at a Glance**

Survey	
Beneficiaries (Male-Female)	50
Elected Representatives of UPZ and UP	20
Government Officials	20
Interview	
NGO officials	5
Government Officials/ Elected Representatives of UP and UPZ	3
	N= 98

Among the total respondents of beneficiaries, 27 were from COAST and 23 were from RUPANTAR. Respondents for elected officials (n=20) were selected purposively from UPs where the respective NGOs had their activities and in the same manner, government officials (n=20) were also selected having representation of both UPZs (Charfassion and Mongla).

In case of COAST, data were collected from *Nilkamal Union* which is 33 km from the Upazila headquarters and from *Osmanganj Union*, 39 km from Upazila headquarter. *Charfassion Upazila* has noticed the density of NGOs: UNICEF found in a survey that 28 NGO have been operating

in the Upazila another informal survey conducted by Upazila Parishad found that 32 NGOs are working in Charfassion. To be more specific, all the NGOs have their programs in the *Charfassion Pourashava*[8]. During field visit it was noticed that only 6 NGOs had their programs at *Nilkamal* UP and only 2 NGOs were running its programs at *Osmanganj* UP.

To compare the activities of these two NGOs, it was found that RUPANTAR had bigger network and it had more allotment than that of COAST. In 2010-11, the size of RUPANTAR budget was 3.7 million US dollar (RUPANTAR, Internal Report). On the other hand, COAST budget was 2.43 million US dollar (Annual Report, COAST 2010-2011).

2.4 Brief on Two NGOs

Before analysis of the data, it is better to get oriented with the organizational profile of the both organizations. *Table 2.2* shows that RUPANTAR has been more experienced than COAST in the field of working with marginalized people.

To be brief on the activities related with right based approach, COAST promotes all the efforts of right based approach in micro credit programs (Annual Report 2010-2011). COAST has been implementing the program such as "Strengthening Local Governance for Pro Poor Services Delivery". The project aims at improving the responsiveness and the institutional development of projected Union Parishads (UP). It also attempts to enhance the degree of receiving services of poor from the LGIs (Annual Report 2010-11, COAST). The organization has aligned its policies with the existing policies on civic rights of the government such as the *Right to Information* 2010. COAST has introduced recently information disclosure policy with a view to provide more information to the beneficiaries of the programs.

The other NGO of the study, RUPANTAR was the organization founded in 1992. This NGO has been working to promote grassroots democracy and human rights condition at local level. As *Annual Report 2010* of the RUPANTAR highlighted that the organization has been working on different issues of governance and development using the popular medium of communication such as folk song and popular publication.

---

[8] means municipality

Table: 2.2 **- Organizational Profile of the NGOs**

Item	COAST Trust	RUPANTAR
Established	1998	1992
Working Area	Bhola, Chittagong, Cox's Bazar, Feni, Luxmipur, Noakhali, Patuakhali	Batiaghata, Mongla, Dacope, Bagerhat, Morelganj,Patuakhali, Barguna, Mathbaria,Hatiabandha, Syedpur, Norail, Paickgacha
Staff Capacity	785 Male:569 Female:216	620 paid staff (60% of them are women)
Organizational Governance	COAST is governed by a team consisting of 35 members	RUPANTAR is governed by a two-tier governing body comprising a general body (GB) and an Executive Body (EB).
Focused area of Activities	• Social and economic justice • Coastal integrated Technology extension program • Primary health care and Nutrition • Coastal Renewable energy project • Strengthening local governance for proper service delivery project	• Democracy • Human rights • Environment and Disaster • Mass awareness through cultural intervention
Budget	For FY 2011-2012: 181.94 million Taka	For FY 2010-2011: 204.80 million Taka
Source	*A Journey for integration: COAST TRUST, Annual Report 2010*	*RUPANTAR, Annual Report 2010*

2.5 Data Analysis and its Validation

The analysis of quantitative data was done with the help of statistical tools – Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). The researcher collected data that are qualitative and quantitative in nature. The logic of triangulation meaning both quantitative and qualitative methods was applied to validate the findings of the study.

Experts on research methodology argued that generally data collected through survey are not free from error. The errors in data set might show a tendency to be too general (Aminuzzaman 2011: 162). For this reason, the findings of the study generated though quantitative survey need to be cross checked. On these grounds, in the present study, qualitative methods such as interview, secondary literatures were used to cross check and validate the findings from quantitative surveys. Applying both quantitative and qualitative method, it was found that data and information supplement each other.

The limitation of the study lies in the sample size (n=98) and the size of the study area. NGO is big sector in Bangladesh. So selecting two NGOs for study could easily raise the question about the findings to be too generalized. But the issue was addressed by using secondary literature on respective NGOs. Literatures on participation were also used to substantiate the findings from the study.

Another factor that needs to be taken into account is the time frame. Within the stipulated time frame, conducting survey in Bangladesh is a difficult task. During field visits, present author found it often that common women in villages shied away from being interviewed. Therefore the culture of the rural (even in general context too) society in Bangladesh is worth noting for any researcher.

2.6 Summary

This chapter summarizes the methods and the experiences of researcher in conducting the survey. It is worth mentioning that the studies and research on NGOs as an interface between state and citizens are predominantly done by 'command'. But ensuring participation needs a process and this process needs to be monitored (SDC 2008). This study aims at assessing to what extent programs of NGOs are effective in ensuring voice in the governance system. In next chapter, literatures are reviewed to explore the traditions of participation in NGO programs in Bangladesh.

Chapter 3

Peoples' Participation and NGO Programs of Bangladesh

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the traditions of peoples' participation in the NGO programs of Bangladesh since emergence in 1971 on the basis of existing literature. The focus of the chapter is to examine the major approaches and strategies that NGOs adopt to ensure peoples' participation in their programs. It will also highlight the major turnings in NGO approach to participation, its causes and *effect* in the discourse of civic participation of Bangladesh.

NGOs are not-for-profit organizations that address societal needs such as environmental protection, human rights work or development activities and reach primarily marginalized groups (Khan *et al* 2010: 3). The non governmental organization—commonly known as the third sector—is unique innovation in the development landscape of Bangladesh.

The vibrant presence of NGOs made it possible for Bangladesh to get "striking progress on a range of social indicators over the last 15 years" (World Bank 2007). In this period, from 1972 to present time, the role of NGOs is not confined only to the delivery of social services and pro poor advocacy. NGOs have developed commercial ventures in order to link poor producers with markets as well as to develop a source of internally generated revenue for the organizations. Therefore, from economic point of view, now, NGOs are claiming they are contributing to GDP of Bangladesh and this contribution is increasing faster (Mallick 2010:318-319).

3.2 Origin of the NGOs in Bangladesh

NGOs in Bangladesh have grown in three stages (Siddiqui 2002: 429). The *first* stage began with the liberation war which "created a huge local and international relief effort" (Lewis 2011:173). Bangladesh was fortunate during this crucial era, when the organized political sector and bureaucracy seemed incapable of solving its most pressing problems, a group of dedicated and visionary leaders come forward to shoulder the task of social reconstruction (Khan *et al* 2010: 11).

Massive poverty during 1970s and 1980s generated widespread disillusionment with the government based rural development work which consists of top-down attempts to build formal village cooperative societies. The NGO sector in Bangladesh has flourished immediately after independence war in 1971. Relief and development NGOs were therefore established by various sections of the middle class by sincere members of the reformist elite, formal politics and members of emerging middle class seeking to build socially useful careers in social work or in professionalizing works of development aid.

In *second* stage NGOs are considered as the catalyst organizations for the development. Lewis (2011) pointed out that NGO sector in Bangladesh has grown out of the philosophy of self help societies on contact with the external aid resources and advice.

Third stage can be characterized as a period of mainstreaming NGOs seen in different service delivery roles. BRAC is a glaring example in this regard. It began its operation in 1972 and in 1990s it evolved into a multifaceted development agency understanding everything from credit and empowerment to health and education work. BRAC has combined a strong social business management approach to its development work and carefully avoided political pitfalls that disturbed some of its peers.

3.3 Approaches and Context of Participation in NGO Programs

Around mid 1970s, NGOs took community development approach to ensure peoples' participation. They directed their programs to benefit selected groups of poor people with similar economic interests and social identities. Thus development efforts were targeted to a homogenous group of deprived rural poor. Their method was to unite the group and motivate them to serve a common goal. In other words, this target group strategy seeks to maximize the output of their programs as far as a community is concerned.

Participation of the rural elites and the powerful has been an established practice in the society of Bangladesh. Some studies found that this 'practice' is grossly hindering the development activities in a newly independent country (Lewis 2004). So bringing the downtrodden section of the community to participate in the local activities is emphasized strongly in the programs of the first generation of NGOs.

The aim of this approach was to give the rural poor a better organizational base to increase their bargaining power in the labor and tenancy markets. This should allow them to be in a position to influence their own activities, especially those regarding allocation of resources at local level. Participatory activities should give marginalized people the strength to resist the established practices in the governance step by step at local level. By adopting this approach – target group (TG) approach – NGO ensures participation at local. The main purpose of target group approach is to make poor and marginalized capable through training and enhance their level of awareness of the services available at local offices. Ultimately, the sense of achievement (for being capable) makes them organized and thus advances their agenda to the authority. (*Box 3.1*)

Box: 3.1: **Aim of Target Group Strategy**

- The poor must form their own organizations, strong enough to resist countervailing forces.
- The organizations should have the training and assistance of self help organization promoters to allow people to express their felt needs and develop projects identified by them.
- Traditional organizations where the poor functioned only at marginal level should be substituted by proper grassroots organizations.
- The organizations should foster economic programs and non farm activities and projects giving the functionally marginalized people economic assets such as shallow and deep tube wells. (Nag 1989:17)

The question is: to what extent, the target group strategy is successful in enhancing peoples' participation in the programs of the NGOs? And more importantly, does this exercise of participation within the community make them aware of their rights in local governance of the state and society?

3.4 Limitations of Target Group Strategy

The main contribution of NGOs working with small homogeneous group of marginalized people is that they have succeeded in bringing the TG members with the area of governance. But target group strategy has its limitations. As identified in one of the WB (2007) studies that in the 1970s, the target group strategy gave NGOs well-defined and effective entry points into the development arena and the broader fight against poverty. Paradoxically, twenty years later this

strategy seems to limit the magnitude of impacts the NGO programs have on poverty alleviation. It may be necessary for NGOs to reconsider the scope of their target. If NGOs inflexibly insist on targeting the poor as they have defined them, they will miss out possible new dimensions and new need for changes in situation.

Moreover, TG has not been successful in creating any macro effect at local level governance system (Nag 1989: 212). Nag (1989) identified that the main reason lies in the fact that NGOs did not want to clash with the prevailing elite class at local level. In many cases, it is found that NGO leaders were working with the power builders at local governance system.

3.5 Changes in NGO Approaches

Under the military governments after 1975, NGOs became the preferred organizational vehicles for development for many left leaning activists. Initially the work of many major development NGOs was underpinned by critical analysis of existing mainstream approach to rural development assistance by the government and donors.

Many NGOs found that patron-client relationship at local level is the key factor in the reproduction of rural poverty. So these NGOs rejected the traditional approaches to rural strategy in empowering the marginalized landless poor.

The first generation of NGOs in Bangladesh, for example BRAC, initially in 1972, had two different approaches of development: the outreach program which focused on social mobilization and the rural training and credit project which offered integrated credit services. By 1980s, BRAC decided to expand the credit programs and merges its credit programs with Bank project (Lovell 1992:25).

The reason for this change of approach from social mobilization to more credit oriented projects is that social mobilization brought some backlashes from the elite power structure during the martial law regime in Bangladesh. Some big NGOs turned their focus to those projects that are financially beneficial. From mid 1980s, market had been the decisive factor for the enhancement of the financially beneficially projects in Bangladesh. This led to a gradual professionalization of NGOs and an increasing emphasis on measurable achievements of the kinds that social mobilization activities do not lend themselves to with ease.

This change in the approach to development made a large number of field workers of BRAC leave the organization and join the *Nijera Kori* that is operating since 1980s. The main focus of *Nijera Kori* was to mobilize people "to claim their entitlements and demand their rights" from the state.

A prominent explanation of why most NGOs got away from social mobilization and *conscientization* programs was that they were too successful: elites at local and national level were threatened, and the state responded by threatening to cut off their funding channels. It also seems clear that the donor preference was for a more liberal mode of civil society and a stronger focus on service provision. Moreover, NGOs are reluctant to bring any changes in existing power structure of the society. As Lewis (2011) noted that NGO model of conscientizating to organize the poor could not succeed because the programs were not substantial challenges to local power and authority.

3.6 Why the Change Happened in NGO Approach?

The focus on social mobilization of the poor and disenfranchised was not always unique to *Nijera Kori*. It was very much on the agenda of a number of NGOs which emerged in the aftermath of independence in Bangladesh. An evaluation of NGOs conducted by Dutch government in 2000 suggested that this changed largely in response to national factors, namely the imposition of military rule between 1976 and 1991 and the curtailment of mobilization activities by NGOs. However the agenda of social mobilization with stress on egalitarianism and social justice was displaced at the international level. The collapse of socialist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe combined with the ascendancy of a neo liberal agenda within the global institutions had ramifications for development policies within highly aid dependent countries like Bangladesh (Kabeer 2002).

This new thrust reflected donor preference for a model of less radical civil society and for more emphasis on service provision. This shift meant that NGOs were, with some justification, viewed as aid dependent service delivery agents supportive of the military regime through the 1980s (World Bank 2007:4).

3.7 Civic Participation and the Change in NGO Approach of Participation

A recent overview of the state of human rights and democracy concluded two major barriers to civic participation in Bangladesh (Kabeer 2002:13). The *first* was poverty. The poor particularly poor women are at least likely to participate in the process of decision making and accountability, most likely to be marginalized from the mainstream of society and hence vulnerable to the violation of their rights. The *second* was the absence of a culture of rights. Kabeer (2002) added that although there are the finest laws in the country, there is no widespread consensus on the points what constitute justice at the level of community or society and how people can enjoy same rights and how all will be treated by equally by law. As a result, the violation of rights by the privileged group is common in Bangladesh society. So a big gap between the legal instruments and the reality is found in the understanding of justice and access to it.

In this backdrop, NGOs are seen as forces towards democratic pluralist civil society as far as civic participation is concerned. Added to this notion there is another view that NGOs have particular strength in poverty alleviation and sustainable development. Thus the NGOs can play the role of a partner in delivering and enhancing efficiency of public services.

The scope for initiatives and innovative activities by the NGO community depends considerably on the nature of the relationship with the state. Closer understanding and greater confidence between the government both at national and local level and NGO sector would be most helpful for making NGOs' programs and objectives more effective.

3.8 Summary

Though NGOs immediately after independence of Bangladesh focused on the reconstruction of the country, gradually they shifted from their earlier agendas of changing society and culture through mobilization programs. Later they adopted microfinance programs as their main agenda rely on the existing social capital instead of generating new social capital. So creating pro poor governance regime has yet not been successful in Bangladesh.

Chapter 4

Participation Re-examined: A Framework for Analysis

> Participation comes to mean more than taking up invitations to participation, extending to autonomous forms of action through which citizens *create their own opportunities and terms for engagement*. (Cornwall 2000: 3)

The above observation traces the shift in the idea of participation from 'participation by invitation or command' which is traditional and mechanistic in nature to the 'spontaneous' form of citizens' participation for creating 'space' in the governance of the society. This chapter aims at explaining: *first*, the idea of participation as right which is also recognized as right based participation in the development and governance discourses. In doing so, the inadequacies in traditional notion of participation will be highlighted; *second*, on the basis of this discussion a framework for the analysis of the findings from the study will be developed. In fact, the study seeks to find out whether the programs of the non-governmental organizations in Bangladesh carried out for enabling the poor, disadvantaged and marginalized people are effective to get them *engaged* with the LGIs.

4.1 What is Participation?

Since 1980s, among the development and governance practitioners, the concept of participation has become a 'buzzword' (Leal 2007). From political consideration, peoples' participation makes a society open, inclusive and democratic. It is assumed that an interactive and participatory governance system is an outcome of wide spread participation of citizens at political and social sphere of the society.

Since 1960s the idea of participation has been flourishing in three generations:

1st Community development approach to participation: 1960-1970

2nd Project based approach to participation: 1980s

3rd Participation as right to governance: since 1990s onwards

(Cornwall 2000)

4.2 Community Development Approach to Participation: 1960s and 1970s

The community development approach to participation was developed in early 1960s immediately after the decolonization of the Third World countries. The proponents of this approach advocated that the poor and marginalized are to participate in the development activities of the state to get access to the resources and benefits of the state as it was the key agent in the development practices.

Before the advancement of the community approach, the development strategy was top-down and was based on "technocratic and economistic interventions towards greater popular involvement in the development process" (Cornwall 2000:18). In Bangladesh, for example, the famous "Comilla Model" was developed by Akhter Hamid Khan during early 1960s to distribute state patronage among the people.

In 1970s, community development approach sought to modernize the people. The main idea was to eradicate poverty by developing projects for the target groups. The prime goal was to mainstream the poor and the marginalized people, who were termed as the target group, in the development activities. State was the key agent in this process of development.

This dominance of state and its functionaries narrowed the scope of community development approach. The much talked criticisms against Comilla Model is that it worked with the rich farmers and left the landless and large sections of rural poor with very marginal benefits, reveals that true participation of beneficiaries did not take place to the extent it should have. This was largely due to the disregard of the social structure of the village with its diverse group and conflicting interests (Nag 1989: 52-53). As Gujit and Shah (1998) pointed out that the myth of community approach served to deepen the exclusion of some actors, most notably the women folk in developing countries. So to get rid of the limitations of community development approach, the need and concern of peoples' integration was emphasized. The point has become more substantiated by the fact that donor agencies during this period were more concerned about the tensions between participation and gender equity in Bangladesh (Cornwall 2000:28).

4.3 Project Based Approach to Participation: 1970s and 1980s

In 1980s, being inspired by the works of Paulo Freire, an alternative approach of self development re-invented the idea of peoples' participation. It gave rise to the Participatory Actions Research (PAR) movement that underlined the necessity to animate peoples' critical analysis so as to enable people to articulate their own identities and concern and mobilize them through collective action.

The idea of self development captured the tension in the existing community development approach. In this regard, it can be noted that the growth of NGOs in Bangladesh involved in self development of people over the decade provided "an additional spur to efforts to engage people in more active process of self determination" (Cornwall 2000).

In the project based approach of development, the non state actors, mainly the NGOs in Bangladesh take the leadership to ensure participation of people characterized by marginalization and exclusion from formal governance mechanism. Initially, NGOs were committed to their transformative agendas commonly known as conscientization and social mobilization. But later they are deviated from this way due to changes in political power. Donors also had leverage on the changes in the idea of participation. As Kabeer (2006: 14) rightly noted:

> The still-nascent NGO led movement in Bangladesh (based on the issues of efficiency and financial sustainability) with its stress on new ideology (of liberalism). The 1980s, therefore, saw donor led growth sector of the NGO sector in Bangladesh accompanied by a shift away from the politics of social mobilization towards a stress on *empowerment of individual*.

4.4 Participation as Right to Governance: since 1990s

In 1990s, the right based approach to participation has emerged as an alternative discourse of development. The right based approach has appeared as the traditional forms of participation are questioned (Gaventa 2002: 1). There are some limitations in community and project based approaches. In community approach, state is much active in controlling participation. Project approach emphasizes more on "efficiency and management of a project" rather than focusing on "individuality" of people and their spontaneity in participation.

During 1990s the right based approach is developed to make people integrated in the framework of participation. As Oakley defines participation:

> Participation by people in the institutions and system which govern their lives is a basic human right and also essential for realignment of political power in favor of disadvantaged groups and for social and economic development (Oakley 1995 cited in Cornwall 2000: 18).

So right based approach to participation is seen from the citizens' point of view. A citizen is a person who has rights, aspirations and responsibilities in relations to others in the community and in the state. John Gaventa and Camilo Valderrama in their background paper titled 'Participation, Citizenship and Local Governance' (1999) pointed out different forms of participation in a society.

As *citizenship* implies a set of individual rights and includes a broader set of social and civil responsibilities. Recently theorists of governance argue that act of participation in social, economic, cultural and political life of a citizen is part of the broader set of human rights (Malena 1999). In this regard, it is said that the poor and marginalized are supposed to have wider access to resources and knowledge to get involved with the higher level of governance process. As people want to create more "spaces" and want to reconfigure the power structure prevailing between the state and the citizens, they become more involved and concerned with the affairs of the state and policy arena (Malena 1999).

The 'empowered' poor do not come automatically. Persistent struggles around the livelihood or access to services make a person to participate in the system actively and meaningfully. Right based participation has remarkably shifted from narrow "empowerment" point of view to the "engagement" perspective. The "engagement" perspective is also known as the right based approach to participation. This approach refers to participation as one of the rights of a citizen of a country. Emphasis on *rights* is given to understand the right of participation in decision-making in social, economic, cultural and political life should be included in the nexus of human rights (Gaventa 1999).

Thus it is clear that the right based participation does not only attach importance to the move from only being concerned "beneficiaries or the excluded" to a concern with broad forms of engagement by citizens in policy formulations and decision making in key areas which affect their lives. It is also added that the best place to see and understand these new interactions is at

the local level, where the concerns of the grassroots or the locality intersects most directly with those of governance and the state.

4.5 Participation in Governance: NGO as an Interface?

Engagement of the ruled in the governance processes gives legitimacy to the existing order. In case of projects implementation, several studies show that as there is more participation, the success rate of that project is higher (Crosby 2000). But the right based approach to participation means more than mere getting involved in project implementation. This approach presupposes the concept of "citizenship" of people.

Put it simply, the right of participation does not end up with the implementation of a project; rather one project establishes and reinforces the fact of *non-alienability* of one's right to engage in the activities of the community, the society or the state. Eminent development theorists such as John Gaventa, Andrea Cornwall are putting their efforts to develop a framework for understanding the right based participatory perspective.

Andrea Cornwall argued that participation is a dynamic process and this involvement never ends up as long as the citizenship is not separated from a person. She also argued that all projects or community activities ultimately aim to create "space" in the society. Here the task of creating spaces in the community is largely subject to the "capability" of a person.

As "capability" of a person seeks to expand the frontiers of attachment in society. Immediately a person engages for more spaces with other agencies of local governance. It suggests that s/he demands for better services, for better opportunities that would ensure good governance.

So it is clear that other theories of participation do not take *context* into consideration. But right based participation takes context into account in this sense that when a person wants to expand 'space' and keep on negotiating for that, the existing power structure would impede on his/ her way. And the task of negotiating highly depends on situations of the locality or society. As Cornwall (2002) in her essay titled "Locating Citizen Participation" argues:

> Treating participation as situated practice calls for approaches that locate *space* for participation in the *place*s in which they occur, framing their possibilities with references to actual political, social, cultural and historical peculiarities rather than idealized notion …
> (Cornwall 2002)

In the governance discourse, the discussion on mainstreaming participation has been concerned with broader engagement by citizens in decision making processes in the areas that affect their lives (Gaventa 1999). Non-governmental organizations can act as an interface in creating spaces for people in the governance processes. If the programs these organizations are designed to make people involved, build their capability and finally to prepare to engage those beneficiaries with the stakeholders of power, it is possible to ensure peoples' right to participate in governance.

4.6 Analytical Framework

State is still the major actor in governance mechanism that has huge impact on lives of people in Bangladesh. In this field, two recent studies by Obaidullah (2009) and Mohammad (2010) explored the extent of participation in development projects led by the state. Both the authors found that in state led participatory processes at local level, common people are excluded and 'overshadowed' by a few powerful elites. Authors concluded that if civic engagement, aided by local civil society and NGOs at local level, could be enhanced, then this innovation will promote and ensure participatory practices at local level (Mohammad 2010:76). In fact, this is the departure point for the present study.

In doing so, an analytical framework is modeled on basics of rights based approach to participation to assess to what extent NGO programs enable the beneficiaries to engage with LGIs. The basic difference in perspectives with the approaches of participation advanced by the studies of Obaidullah (2009) and Mohammad (2010) is: these studies explored state led peoples' participation in development projects; on the other hand, this framework is modeled on the idea of right based participation. It attempts to explore the level of engagement of those citizens' who belong to an NGO program for a specific period of time. It is believed that those who are involved with NGOs are able to gain capability and therefore engage themselves with LGIs for the necessary services.

Socio-Economic Factors of Beneficiaries
  a. Gender
  b. Income
  c. Educational Qualification

Programs of NGO
  a. Nature of the program
  b. Duration of the program

- Involvement of Beneficiaries with NGO
- Capability of Beneficiaries of NGOs

Engagement of Beneficiaries with LGIs
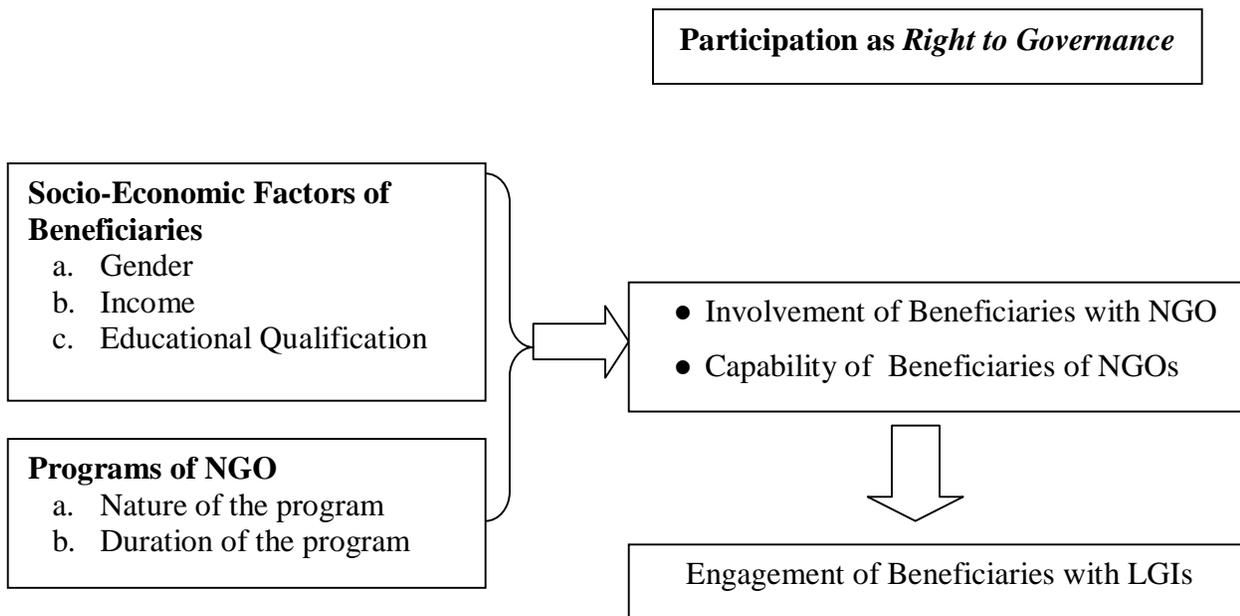
Figure: 4.1- Analytical Framework for Participation as *Right to Governance*

4.7 Involvement of Beneficiaries with NGO Programs

Involvement is considered as one of the indicators of participation in NGO programs. In Bangladesh, the public service provision is narrow and poor because common people are kept out of the decision making process of the development activities at local level.

In this context, in Bangladesh, the achievements of NGO in some areas, for example, poverty alleviation, health, education have already become success stories for other developing nations. In doing all these innovations and achievements, it is argued that NGOs introduce democratic values such as participation in decision making process, building awareness among the beneficiaries of their rights in the systems of governance (Jamil 2007: 104).

The involvement of beneficiaries of NGO programs can be measured by a number of factors: the attachment of beneficiaries with NGO for a span of time, their awareness of the programs, and the culture of discussion in and outside the organization. In modern sense of the term, participation became synonymous of 'sharing' (Kaler, 1999: 125)

4.8 Capability of the Beneficiaries

Participation of a person in a group or an organization is closely linked with the concept of capability or empowerment. Participation, in other words, is the process of making the deprived and marginalized people capable. In a participatory process, which is 'open' to all classes of people- marginalized and the elite, capability of the individuals is the potential barrier for active participation. Put it simply, in such a situation, only the capable persons take part actively and incapable become passive and marginalized in the mechanism of participation.

In rural societies of Bangladesh, the participation is very low because age old traditions such as inequality of gender, social backwardness and other prejudices are strongly present. As a result, common people are reluctant in participating different NGO programs.

Capability of a person assists a person to overcome these socio-cultural barriers. Capability of beneficiaries in an NGO can be characterized by some indicators: training, awareness to change exiting life style, to be aware of the benefits of NGO programs, the scope of doing evaluation about the NGO programs. It is assumed that if the NGO programs take these indicators into account, then the programs would create spontaneous participation in the organization and the society.

4.9 Engagement of Beneficiaries with LGIs

Involvement of beneficiaries with NGO programs helps to attain capability. As it is argued that a capable person is able to participate *actively and meaningfully* in the governance system at local level. Engagement of beneficiaries with LGIs can be measured by the frequency of their visits they pay to these institutions for getting services and benefits.

In context of Bangladesh, it is found that local level institutions are not friendly to people. People are harassed in getting services. So naturally people keep themselves away from these institutions. Forms of harassment include taking bribe, doing favor to the familiar ones, making delay in delivery of services etc.

Socio- Economic Factors and Participation

In assessing the extent of participation of common people in development activities, socio-economic factors such as gender sensitiveness, income, and literacy have direct relationship with the growing awareness of the people. General assumption is that as socio-economic factors are improved i.e. gender quality is maintained, income of the beneficiaries is improved and educational status is expanded, participation happens to be spontaneous, active and meaningful. To the contrary, if socio-economic indicators are poor, participation of beneficiaries is affected. Prewitt (1970) argued that participation in decision making processes, more specifically in politics, is allowed on considerations of some ascribed social and economic statues like sex, income, occupation and education.

4.10 Gender

Gender equality has been an underpinning factor in the idea of participation. Participation is hindered when the role of a male and female is preset as happened in a traditional society. In a rural society of Bangladesh which is predominantly patriarchal and where religion plays a defining role in every sphere of the society, females are excluded from the development activities. Females are undermined as decision makers (Obaidullah 2009).

Studies found that NGO intervention in mainstreaming the women folk in development activities expand their capabilities. The question is: does this individual gain of capability lead to the conclusion that women can engage themselves with local government for seeking necessary public services such as health and education?

Categorically, *positional superiority* of a male member of the society (conversely make a female inferior) acts as block to full and active participation in and out of the private sphere. Often role of a female is *constructed*: in the family, she could not decide on her own. In sessions of the organization, she merely participates but could not take part in decision making. For this lack or less participation in decision making, it is argued that if women can be one of *earners* in the family, they can decide. From this perspective, NGO targets women and integrates them in their micro-credit programs. But in practice the *positional superiority* of males is still a barrier in having successes from these programs. As one study finds:

…debt relations have subordinated poor women and their families to increased domination and exploitation by the NGOs and community members' (Karim 2010: 263).

Therefore, the consideration of integrating women, as decision makers, both in private and public sphere, only through micro-credit programs is not free from flaws. Right based approach to participation experts argue that unless people are trained and thus are made aware of their rights, the benefits could not be sustained. In this regard, it needs to be taken into account that women are not missed out of decision making system even in selecting NGOs programs (Kabeer 2002).

4.11 Income of a Beneficiary

Income makes an individual able. Income of an individual is considered as one of the factors in measuring his or her level of participation in a group or an organization. So, economic condition of people extends the scopes of active participation in local development activities run by LGIs too (Obaidullah 2009: 35).

NGO programs especially micro credit are designed with a view to enhancing the economic capability of people who are disadvantaged and marginalized in the common sense of the term. If the income level of this group of people can be raised they would attain capability and therefore it is taken granted that they would get more access to LGIs.

Enhancement of income gives social mobility to a person. As the income of an individual enhances his or her position raised. The common strategy that NGOs follow is that if the financial resources are made available to the poor on reasonable terms and conditions, they can generate productive self employment (Hossain 1985:124). In early 1980s, when NGOs shifted their strategy from Community Development to Project based approach and to more service oriented programs, it was argued that NGOs following the above strategy, for instance, GB, made positive impact to poverty alleviation (ibid: 129). There are opposite opinions about the fact that micro credit as an enhancer of income and therefore capability. For example, Riaz (2009) argued that NGOs in Bangladesh, works on the basis of existing social capital rather than generating the new one. So the claim of "all-success" in NGOs programs with their prevailing approach as such can easily be put under question (Umar 2007: 147).

4.12 Education of a Beneficiary

Meaningful participation in development activities largely depends on the educational status of community people. An educated individual in the group or organization can take part in decision making process actively. Hence, to explore the level of participation of common people in the governance system, literacy rate or educational status has been chosen as an indicator in this study.

Normatively there is a relationship between education and active participation in the decision making process of LGIs. But in reality there are other opposite findings on the issue of participation. Studies found that educated and advanced section of the community who have good 'image' in the society are reluctant to participate in LGIs because of existing rural environment (Aminuzzaman 2011).

Programs of NGOs

The discussion of this section is two fold: one, the nature of the programs and two, duration of the programs. The rationale is that what type of program and how long NGOs implement underpins the growth of capability of the beneficiaries. For example, Kabeer (2002) in her study on Nijera Kori (NK) argued how the organization made the difference with other NGOs. First of all, the organization does not "see its role as that of an alternative provider of (financial and social) services to either the state or the market, but as an agent of social change, working with the poor to operationalize their rights (p. 64)" in the governance mechanism of the state and the society.

4.13 Nature of NGO Programs

Nature of programs that NGOs implement at local level is an important consideration in assessing the level of capability of beneficiaries. Nature of programs of NGOs can influence the extent of engagement of beneficiaries with LGIs. Development practitioners generate diverse views on the content and nature of programs. The nature of the program of NGOs should match with the agendas of governance and participation. One study finds that one key element of NGO

program should be the establishment of the creative identity of an individual (Rahman 1994: 116).

Literature of COAST generates a key idea in this regard. The idea is "core program approach". It means that the organization will not choose any programs or provide services that are available with the government. Instead of taking such program the organization will develop peoples' awareness, claimant capacities so that they can interact and demand services from the government agencies (Annual Report, COAST 2010-2011: 12).

4.14 Duration of NGO Programs

Duration of NGO program has direct influence on the growth of capability of the beneficiaries. The longer the duration of programs, the higher the capability and ultimately it leads to the engagement of beneficiaries with the LGIs.

In this study, the duration of the NGO programs is taken spanning from 1 year to 5 years. Among the beneficiaries, those who are attached with the program for five years, they are supposed to have higher level of capability, higher level of engagement with LGIs.

4.15 Summary

It is clear that NGOs flourished in Bangladesh as Community development approach fails to improve the level of participation in governance processes of the traditional societies like ours. Project based approach that NGOs have adopted is also limited because it does not emphasize the need of engaging the beneficiaries of the project with the state. Building capability at individual level becomes fruitful when the beneficiaries can demand their rights to receive services from the state organizations at local level. This demand signifies the engagement of the citizens with the state. In this regard, by their programs, NGOs can improve the socio economic conditions of the beneficiaries. If the beneficiaries can achieve capability, then they are supposed to engage with the state. Next Chapter 5 discusses to what extent the programs NGOs are effective in engaging the beneficiaries with the LGIs on the basis of the findings from the collected data.

Chapter 5

Data Presentation and Analysis

This chapter aims at analyzing the data collected from the field in reference to the analytical framework conceptualized in Chapter 4. It is worth mentioning that the objective of the study is to measure the extent of engagement of the beneficiaries of NGOs with LGIs. In measuring this level of engagement, data analysis was carried in two stages. *First*, three indexes – Involvement, Capability and Engagement of the beneficiaries with LGIs – are developed. *Second*, variable wise discussions are provided for understanding the level of participation of the beneficiaries with LGIs.

Participation as *Right to Governance*

The three indexes – Involvement, Capability and Engagement of the beneficiaries with LGIs-sum up the level of participation of beneficiaries of NGOs. These indexes complement each other. The assumption behind this indexing is: if people are involved with the NGO programs, then they will be capable of taking 'active and meaningful' participation in the programs of NGOs. This capability of beneficiaries would lead them to engage with the broader sphere of governance, in this case, with LGIs.

5.1 Involvement of Beneficiaries with NGO

Involvement index measures the extent to which beneficiaries are attached with the programs of organizations. It is measured on the basis of the statements in *Table 5.1*. Culture of interactive discussion both at formal and informal level - within the group of the beneficiaries and their discussion *with* the organization about the problems or issues are the starting points of involvement (Statement 3 and 4). Attachment with the organization for a certain span of time can make the process of involvement deeper and create a sense of belongingness to the organization and the community (statement 1). As a consequence, the attachment with the organization and

the culture of discussion within the group and organizational practices of consultation with the beneficiaries makes them aware of the activities of the organization (statement 2). `

Table: 5.1- **Involvement of the beneficiaries (n=50) with an NGO**

Involvement of Beneficiaries with NGO	*Positive [a]* %	Mean score [b]
1. I take benefit from NGO for last 5 years	64	2.4
2. I am aware of the project from which I take benefit	86	2.7
3. Before taking the project, the NGO officials discuss about the program	68	2.5
4. Before getting benefit from the project, we have talked about the problem within us	70	2.5
Involvement Index (Involve-Index) **(Negative=1, Positive=3)**		**2.52**

Note: For each statement there is three-point (1-3) scale ranging from "negative", "neutral", and "positive". The higher the mean and percentage score, the higher is the agreement with the statement.

    a. Only the percentage for category "Positive" is presented here.

    b. Additive index of engagement divide by all items in table.

The involvement index score is 2.52 which is a bit higher than the average value (=2). It indicates that the level of attachment with the NGO programs is above average. But other nuances of getting involved with NGOs should be taken into account which include socio economic factors and programs of NGOs which this study is supposed to do.

5.2 Capability of Beneficiaries

Capability index measure the level of ability of the beneficiaries of NGO programs. There are some components in capability index as stated in *Table 5.2*. Capability of the beneficiaries is enhanced by the training that NGOs impart to them (statement 1). Now beneficiaries think that they can bring more changes in their life since they are attached with the NGO and they are more conscious (statement 2 and 3). Broadly speaking, whether beneficiaries can evaluate the project of the NGO also determines the fact that to what extent, they have grown capable (statement 4).

And finally whether they are aware of the fact that the suggestions they made during evaluation is taken into account to assess capability of the beneficiaries of NGO programs (statement 5).

Table: 5. 2- **To what extent, the beneficiaries (n=50) are capable for being with an NGO**

Capability of the Beneficiaries	*Positive [a] %*	Mean score [b]
1. NGO gives training to me	94	2.8
2. I am able to change my lifestyle after engaging with NGO	48	2.1
3. I think that I am more conscious since I am with the NGO	48	2.1
4. I evaluate the project from which I am benefited	78	2.6
5. I know that my suggestions during project implementation are accepted	46	2.2
Capability Index (Cap-Index) (Negative=1, Positive=3)		**2.36**

Note: For each statement there is three-point (1-3) scale ranging from "negative", "neutral", and "positive". The higher the mean and percentage score, the higher is the agreement with the statement.
   a. Only the percentage for category "Positive" is presented here.
   b. Additive index of engagement divide by all items in table.

The capability index score 2.36 is slightly higher than the middle value. Another point to note is that it is lesser than involvement index. It indicates the beneficiaries are lesser capable. But normatively it should be in line with the involvement process. As the beneficiaries are more involved, they are more capable.

5.3 Engagement of Beneficiaries with LGIs

Engagement of the beneficiaries with LGIs, in this study, is understood by their ability to demand that government officials "to listen to them in selecting the projects" (statement 1). Now their engagement can be hindered by the different types of "Impediments"- corruption and

favoritism (statement 2, 3 and 4). If they are impeded to get services from the public offices, they can (or do) "protest and inform the proper authority" which is another determinant of engagement with LGIs (statement 5).

Table: 5.3- **To what extent, the beneficiaries (n=50) are engaged with LGIs**

Engagement of Beneficiaries with LGIs	*Positive* [a] *%*	Mean score [b]
1. We demand that government officials should listen to us in selecting projects	92	2.8
2. When I go to office I got impeded in receiving services	94	1.3
3. In receiving government services, I have to go to influential persons	38	1.8
4. In receiving government services, I have to give money	56	1.7
5. When I got impeded I protest and inform the authority	26	1.9
Engagement Index (Engage-Index) **(Negative=1, Positive=3)**		**1.54**

Note: For each statement there is three-point (1-3) scale ranging from "negative", "neutral", and "positive". The higher the mean and percentage score, the higher is the agreement with the statement.

a. Only the percentage for category "Positive" is presented here.

b. Additive index of engagement divide by all items in table. Coding from 2, 3, and 4 is reversed to match other items.

The engagement index (as shown in *Table 5.3*) is 1.54. This score is lesser than the middle value. Another point to observe is that it is lesser than involvement and capability index. It indicates that the beneficiaries are less engaged with the LGIs. The index also shows that people were hindered in getting services from the LGIs (in statement 1, 94percent said positive). In getting the services done from the offices, they either get to influential persons or give money to the people concerned.

5.4 Findings in a Nutshell

To sum up: the findings of three tables: Involvement Index (*Table: 5.1* Involve-Index), Capability Index (*Table: 5.2*- Cap-Index) and Engagement Index (*Table: 5.3*- Engage-Index) show that beneficiaries of the NGO programs are involved more than average level (Average Value is 2). Same thing happened in case of "Capability Index" (Mean Value is 2.36). To the contrary, Engagement Index is far below than the expected level (Mean Value is 1.54).

Chart: 5.1- **Participation as *Right to Governance* Index**
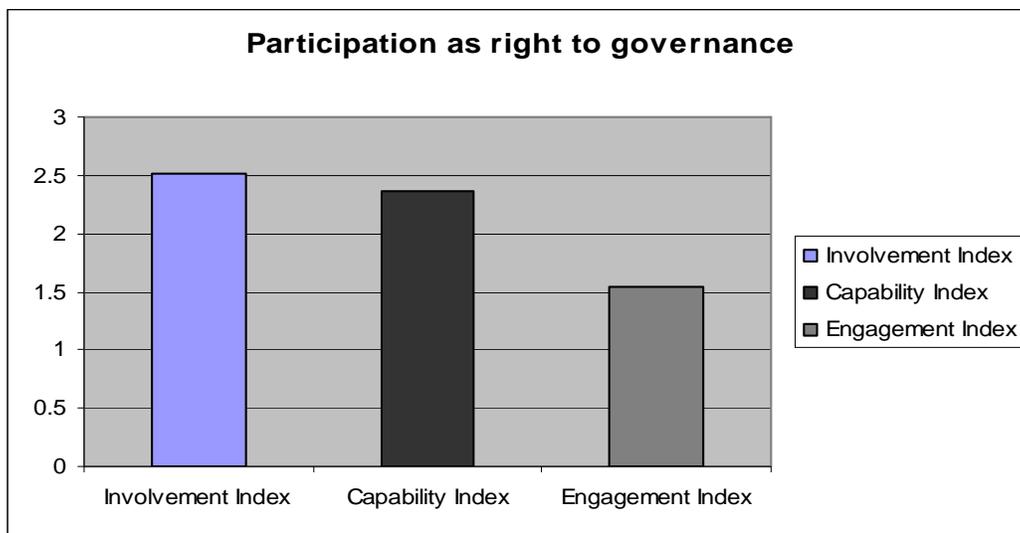
Generally speaking, as the involvement of the beneficiaries enhances, their capability automatically expands. Logically, both Involvement and Capability together should have a combined impact on the engagement of the beneficiaries with local government institutions. But in reality it does not happen. To put it in other words: the beneficiaries of NGO programs are supposed to have more access to the LGIs. But their access to the services provided by local government institutions is inhibited.

One of the prime barriers in peoples' engagement with LGIs is the hindrances created often by the nexus of elected representatives and government officials – in different forms, sometimes rent seeking, sometimes being more process oriented- in catering public services to the people.

The Executive Director of COAST[9] who has the experiences of more than three decades of development works at field level shared his view in this regard:

> In recent years, people have been getting wider access to public offices. But the officials are yet to be pro people.

In the same tone, another chief [10]of NGO argued:

> People have the *demand* for essential services from the government. But Government offices have fundamental limitations in *supplying* those. So there are gaps between the demand and supply side of public services.

Therefore it is clear that peoples' engagement with LGIs is seriously strained by the prevailing practices of services delivery, the attitudes and behaviour of the elected representatives and government officials.

Oppositely, NGOs are criticized for their drawbacks. When asked about the accountability, 60 percent of the respondents – LG representatives and the government officials – replied that NGOs lack accountability (Table: 5.11). NGOs also lack participation of the poor and marginalized of the society in their activities in the proper sense of the term. It is also found that lack of trust on NGOs as the promoter of rights of the people in the governance system blocks participation. When interviewed UNO[11] of Gazaria noted, "*NGO hardly maintain any communication with the Government Offices except some formalities to getting certificates from the office. Moreover their transparency remains under questioned*".

So engagement of the beneficiaries with LGIs is inhibited not only by the government mechanisms but also by the NGOs. In the preceding sections, through variable wise discussions the extent of engagement with LGIs would be explored.

---

[9] Interview with Rezaul Karim Chowdhury, Executive Director, COAST

[10] Rafiqul Islam Khokon, Executive Director of RUPANTAR was interviewed on 20 March 2012

[11] UNO – Upazila Nirbahi Officer, the administrative head of the Upazila.

Factors in Participation

This section offers the variable wise discussion so that the extent of engagement with LGIs can be assessed from broader perspective. Two categories of variables are set for the study: (a) Socio-economic factors and (b) Programs of NGOs. Three factors – Gender, Income and Educational qualification are taken as socio economic factors. Two factors – nature of the programs and duration of the program are considered under the title of programs of NGO.

5.5 Gender and Participation as Right to Governance

NGOs generally take disadvantaged and marginalized women as target group. In the present sample (n=50), female comprises 54 percent and male comprises 46 percent of the total respondents (Appendix: *chart-1*). From *Table 5.4*, it is observed that though female comprises the majority of the sample (27), only 60 percent of them are involved with the NGO activities for last 5 years. On the other hand, male (23) involvement with NGO programs (65.2 percent) is a bit higher for last 5 years.

Table: 5.4- **Gender and Involvement with NGOs (n=50)**

Question	Gender Distribution (%)	
Are you involved with NGO for last 5 years?	Female (27)	Male (23)
	60%	65%

People are less involved with this particular NGO program which aims at connecting them with the local government institutions. This lesser involvement means to be less "capable" which in turn influences the degree of "engagement" of people with the LGIs. It is found from the (Table: 5.10) that the variable "gender" has no significant relationship with the point of involvement with NGO activities and in making the beneficiaries "capable" (r=.175). Added to that, it is also observed that "gender" has no significant relationship with "engagement" of the beneficiaries with LGIs (r=.078).

A group of researchers argued that people, in Bangladeshi culture, generally do not approach the local government institutions for getting their essential services they can avail (Aminuzzaman

2011, Mohammad 2010). In such a society, people usually lack orientation with office procedures or are afraid of visiting the government offices.

Moreover, traditional societies contain conservative elements backed by religion and age-old traditions[12]. Apparently the women are involved with the NGO programs. The reality is that these NGO programs could not free them from the subordinated role the women experience both in family and in society (Karim 2010). In an interview, Fahima, the Upazila Coordinator of COAST narrated her experience in NGO job in the following way:

> In 1997, when I joined the NGO job I used to put on *Borkha*[13]. Yet people criticized me a lot and commented that this lady would take off our faith. In 2001, when I entered a house riding a bike, male member of the house get me out of the house. (Interviewed on 18 March 2012)

Secondary literatures attest also the fact. For example, Ahmad (2007) argued that in majority of cases, the operation of micro credit in Bangladesh is not yielding the desired improvements in the lives of its clients. It is mainly because of the grip of the male dominated culture in Bangladesh which the operation of micro credit fails to address.

Therefore, the NGO programs are yet to make people engaged with the local government institutions. It is validated from the evidences that people from marginalized positions has got feeble voice at Upazila level meetings between Peoples' Organization and the Upazila Administration (Resolution of January and February 2012).

---

[12] There are 738 mosques and religious institutions and 85 Madrasahas in *Charfassion Upazila*. In *Mongla Upazila* of Bagerhat district, there are 150 religious establishments and 16 Madrasahas. Therefore religion has been an underpinning factor in this regard (BBS 2010)

[13] Veil – usually Muslim women put on to cover their head and face.

5.6 Income and Participation as Right to Governance

Table 5.5 shows that income of the respondents varies from 2000 to 10,000 taka. Most of the respondents (52 percent) belong to the second category of income (2000-4000 taka). The third category in respect of income level (32 percent) is TK. 4001-8000. Then, the fourth category (12 percent of the respondents) is Tk.8001-10000.

Table: 5.5 **- Monthly Income of the Respondents (n=50)**

Monthly Income	Percentage
TK. 2000	4
TK. 2001- 4000	52
TK. 4001- 8000	32
Tk.8001-10000	12
Total	**100**

From 'income' point of view, as *Table 5.5* reflects that the respondents are getting capable. The beneficiaries are able to change their lifestyles. 48 percent respondents (*Table 5.2*) replied that they are able to change their lifestyle after being involved with the NGO programs. It is interesting to note that most of the female respondents of *Charfassion* Upazila (27) of Bhola district are involved in income generating activities. Female respondents do not confine themselves in traditional "Housewife" role (only 25 percent say that are housewives). On the other hand, in RUPANTAR sample (23), majorities are male (56 percent) and the profession of the respondents is predominantly agriculture (39 percent). But the income of the population is moderately better. The income level of the respondents from RUPANTAR ranges from taka 2000 to 10,000.

Normatively, financial strength means being capable to take active and meaningful participation in the organization. This capability of a beneficiary ultimately leads to engage with the local governance systems. But the *Table: 5.10* shows that income does not have any significant relationship with the 'Capability Index' (r =.040). On the contrary, the study found that 'income' has significant relationship with the 'Engagement Index' (r = .331*).

More analysis of the findings gives us an interesting clue: the beneficiaries are not capable but they are engaged with the LGIs. Link between the capability and the engagement with LGIs is

missing. In other words, respondents are engaged with LGIs not for the reason that they are capable. Interestingly, the study found that "involvement with politics" influences the engagement of the beneficiaries. Of the total respondents, 62 percent directly or indirectly are involved with politics beyond their peripheral identities.

Direct or indirect involvement with politics helps increase the income of the beneficiaries. The fact was illustrated from the interview with Babul Chandra Seal, President, *Trisena* developed by COAST. As he observed: "No body wants to give us *space* in public offices. Only those who maintain 'connection' with politics or influential persons get favors from these offices." Secondary literatures also establish the fact that political linkage plays a role in getting share of local resources (Aminuzzaman 2011: 201).

5.7 Education and Participation as Right to Governance

Table: 5.6 shows that 40 percent of the respondents passed the elementary education, 20 percent of the respondents completed the secondary level of education, 16 percent of the population completed HSC level of education. It is also found that 16 percent of the respondents are illiterate.

Table: 5.6 - **Educational qualification of the respondents (n=50)**

Educational Status	Percentage
Illiterate	16
Primary	40
Below SSC (above Primary)	20
SSC	16
HSC	8
Total	**100**

Person with minimum educational background is readier to change their lifestyle than an illiterate one. This educational background helps beneficiaries to get attached with the NGO programs (*Table: 5.7)*. As the beneficiaries are more involved with the organization they become more capable.

Table: 5.7- **Involvement in NGO programs and its relationship with educational status***

Question: Are you involved with NGO for last five years?	
Educational Qualification	**Percentage of 'Yes'**
Illiterate	50
Primary	50
Secondary	60
SSC	75
HSC	100

* Only percentage of total 'Yes' (Yes=32, where n=50) is presented in the table.

From *Table 5.10*, it is seen that the variable "Educational Qualification" has significant relationship with "Involvement Index" (r=.356*). It is also noted that capability of beneficiaries

enhances as his or her educational qualification enhances. The relationship between this two variables – education and capability – is also significant (r=.380**).

But educational qualification has no significant relationship with "Engagement Index" (r=.093). One study found that educated class of the society such as school teacher, *Imam*[14] always try to refrain themselves from the "Public" offices being afraid of getting politically colored or socially harassed (Obaidullah 2009).

When asked the question 'Are you involved in NGO programs for last 5 years?' it is found that most of the respondents (*Table: 5.7* presents only educated people) are involved with the programs for last 5 years. Education helps to be more interactive with the NGO programs. Informal and interactive discussions about the problems among the people of an area help beneficiaries to achieve capability. 70 percent of the total respondents answered in affirmative, when asked whether they discuss about a problem of common nature they were facing within themselves (*Table: A-4 in the Appendix*). This ultimately raises peoples' awareness of individual and community problems as well.

Studies found that educated class is more aware of the minor details of the organization (Obaidullah 2009, Mohammad 2010). Education has important bearing on building capability too. When asked about the training of the program, it is found that (*Table: A3*) only 10 percent people are illiterate get training from NGO and rest 90 percent constitutes that section who gets training from NGOs. Education helps to grow more conscious of their rights. The people who are involved with *Trisena*, COAST opine that the educated among them are more active in the organization than the illiterate one.

---

[14] Muslim clerics

5.8 Nature of the program and Participation as Right to Governance

Table 5.8 indicates that the respondents of the survey are predominantly involved with the legal or awareness raising type of programs (56 percent). This kind of programs enhances the capability of the beneficiaries to get more information of the organization they belong. The involvement index (mean value=2.5) also testifies the fact that the beneficiaries are more concerned of the programs that are offered by the NGO.

Table: 5.8– **Nature of services that beneficiaries get from the NGO programs (n=50)**

Nature of the Program	**Percentage**
Micro credit	14
Legal or Awareness Raising	56
Income Generating	18
Health	4
Others	8
Total	**100**

The NGO involvement of the beneficiaries enhances their capabilities. This enhancement of capability is gained mainly through trainings of the beneficiaries. As a result, the beneficiaries feel that they are able to change lifestyle since they join the NGO activities (mean value=2.1 found from *Table: 5.1*).

But better capability does not lead to better engagement of beneficiaries with LGIs. It is found that only 28 percent of the respondents visited LGIs in last 1 months or 3 months, 24 percent of them visited LGI in 6 months or 1 year, 30 percent of the respondents happened to visit LGIs in last five years (*Table A-2* in Appendix).

The beneficiaries opined that the service delivery is often hindered by the corrupt practices existing in the local offices. Respondents (56 percent respondents) opined that they have to give money or exercise power in getting services from the LGIs. 90 percent of the total respondents said that they need to take help of the influential persons to get services from LGIs.

Therefore though capability of the beneficiaries is expanded significantly (r=.307* at <0.05 significance level), the relationship with the variable "engagement" with LGIs is very insignificant (r=.016).

It is mentionable that COAST brought some policy changes since 2009 in line with the right based approach to participation. In 2009, COAST developed Information Disclosure Policy and Complaint Response Mechanism policy for its beneficiaries and officials. Information disclosure policy was formulated to inform the stakeholders on what kinds of information they expect from the organization (COAST Annual Report 2009 – 10). Complaint response mechanism is devised to receive any complaints against any officials, if any, and to handle them in an appropriate manner. These two policies of COAST enhance the capability of the beneficiaries in terms of their right to get access to information about the programs of the concerned NGO. On the other hand, RUPANTAR, though has the few components of right based approach in its mode of operation, it does not have any formal mechanisms to address the right to access to information about the programs or to satisfy the concerns of the beneficiaries.

5.9 Duration of NGO Programs and Participation as Right to Governance

Table: 5.9 shows that 20 percent of the total respondents are involved with the current NGO programs for 1 year. 14 percent of them are involved with NGO for 2 years. 50 percent respondents are with the current NGO program for 3 years. 6 percent people are getting benefits of the current programs of the NGO. 10 percent respondents are engaged with NGO program for more than 5 years.

Table: 5.9 **- Duration of Involvement with NGO (n=50)**

Duration in NGO programs	Percentage
1 year	20
2 years	14
3 years	50
4 years	6
More than 5 years	10
Total	**100**

The longer the involvement of the beneficiaries with NGO, the more they are capable. It is found that the involvement with NGO raises the capability of the people and for this reason, the "duration with NGO program" has significant relationship with "capability of the beneficiaries" (r=.281* where level of significance is <0.05).

But the variable 'duration of NGO program' has no significant relationship with the "engagement" with the local institutions of the state (r=.061). Local governance program that COAST has been operating since 2007 aims at improving the quality of governance and making the services available for the poor and marginalized at local level (Project Proposal of COAST, p. 1). This program integrates the local representatives and government officials along with beneficiaries so that service seekers and suppliers maintain better coordination among them. But some *Union Parishad* Chairmen are reluctant to cooperate with the NGO where they are also part of the project. People of the area also had inertia to get involved with the program of the NGOs. In an interview, COAST official[15] working at *Charfassion* discussed how difficult it was to work with women.

---

[15] Fahima, Upazila Coordinator of COAST Charfassion, Bhola

In some cases, NGO officials communicate on behalf of the beneficiaries with LGIs for the services they are supposed to get. It is because common people do not have access or are afraid of getting to the offices for he services (interview with NGO officials). For example, in the Annual Report 2011-12 of the *Nilkamal Union* four cases (VGD[16] relief for Momtaz Begum, old allowance for Badshah Mia, widow allowance for Jesmine and allowance for disable for Nurul Haque) were mentioned. These instances illustrated well the extent of peoples' engagement with LGIs. So direct engagement of the beneficiaries does not take place as NGO works as intermediary organization between LGIs and the citizens. Similarly, instances are found with RUPANTAR where the leaders of *Nari Bikash Kendra* (Women Leadership Centre) negotiate with the UPZ for the services of the beneficiaries.

Therefore it is clear that the program of NGO, even the point of duration is taken into account does not act as facilitators in engaging people with the LGIs.

---

[16] VGD- Vulnerable Group Development, one of the safety net programs of GOB.

5.10 Summary of the Findings

In the present study, *participation as right to governance* was surveyed using three indexes: involvement, capability of the beneficiaries and their engagement with LGIs. These three indexes are considered as dependent variables too. The independent variables in the study are: Socio-economic Factors (Gender, Income level and Educational status), the programs of NGOs (Nature of the Program and Duration of the Programs).

The data collected through survey was analyzed through SPSS for statistical generalization and found that the relationship between dependent and independent variables as shown in *Table-5.10.*

Table: 5.10 – **Relationship* among the Variables**

Independent Variable	INVOLVEMENT INDEX	CAPABILITY INDEX	ENGAGEMENT INDEX
Gender	.048	.175	.078
Pearson Correlation	.742	.225	.591
Income of the Beneficiaries	.197	.040	.331*
Pearson Correlation	.170	.783	.019
Educational Qualification	.356*	.380**	.093
Pearson Correlation	.011	.007	.522
Nature of NGO Program	.259	.307*	.016
Pearson Correlation	.070	.030	.914
Duration of NGO Program	.259	.281*	.061
Pearson Correlation	.069	.048	.673

*Significant (2-tailed)

The findings from *Table: 5.10* can be summed up as follows:

First, it is found that gender has no significant relationship with participation *as right to governance*. Participation outside the private sphere still has been dominated by the male of the society. In depth interview with the NGO officials working at field level also bear the testimony to the fact.

Second, income has no significant relationship with involvement and capability. But it has influenced significantly the engagement of the beneficiaries with LGIs. It is possible for the reason that people who have good income are involved with politics directly or indirectly and

this political background helps them to earn more. Direct involvement with local politics gives person/ a beneficiary access to the channels of resources distribution. Indirect involvement means a person has to use the medium of others of the powerful network. In a word, the distribution of resources at local level is done on the basis of patronage. So it is clear that those who maintain good connection with local politics their income level expand (Aminuzzaman 2011:201).

Third, education has significant relationship with involvement and capability. But it has no significant relationship with the variable "engagement". Other researches such as Obaidullah (2009) also substantiated the fact that educated people are reluctant to get involved with the decision making processes of the LGI led projects or any activities.

Fourth, the nature of NGO programs enhances the capability of the beneficiaries. But it cannot influence the engagement of the beneficiaries. Beneficiaries demand the services from the LGIs (92 percent as shown in *Table 5.3*). But the nexus between patron politics and government officials are the barriers to get the services.

Fifth, in the same vein, involvement of the beneficiaries with NGO for longer span of time expands capability of the beneficiaries without having any significant bearing on engagement of the beneficiaries with LGIs. Involvement of beneficiaries has significant relationship with capability index. But involvement and capability have no significant relationship with engagement index (*Table: A5)*.

The findings in *Table: 5.12* may pertinently be provocative. If beneficiaries are capable, for their involvement with NGO programs, then why are they not engaged with LGIs? The common notion in case of participation is: if the participants are capable they can create spaces in participatory processes. To the contrary, the findings of the study show that capability is not always the only criterion for participation in LGIs.

From the point of view of NGO and their beneficiaries, so far it is observed that the nexus of government officials and the elected representatives is mainly responsible for the poor engagement of the people with LGIs.

Oppositely, elected representatives and the government officials of LGIs think that NGOs are not beyond questions. NGOs have their gross limitations too. More specifically, the perception (*Table: 5.11*) of both elected representatives and the government officials is that the NGO are not transparent (65 percent) and lack participation (60 percent) in their activities. To argue more

convincingly, the trust literature on institutions and governance in Bangladesh can shed light to understand the limitations of NGOs as civic organizations at local level. The findings of in a survey on institutions of Bangladesh found that NGOs are one of low trusted institutions (52 percent, n=2000) in Bangladesh (Askvik 2011: 103)

Table: 5.11 - **Perception of GO and elected representatives about NGO programs***
(Multiple responses are given by the respondents)

Perception of government officials and elected representatives about NGO Programs	*Positive [a] %*	Mean score [b]
1. NGO lacks participation in their programs	60	5.7
2. NGO lacks transparency in their programs	65	5.6
3. NGO work as partners of GO	43.3	9.01
4. LG has no alternative to delivering services to people	43.3	1.88
5. NGOs maintain a formal communication with GO	60	2.33
GO-NGO Interface Index (Completely agree=0, Fully disagree=10)		**4.90**

* Here n=40, Government Officials=20 and Elected Representatives=20

Note: For each statement there is four-point (0-10) scale ranging from "Completely agree", "Partly agree", "Partly disagree" and "Fully Disagree". The higher the mean and percentage score, the higher is the agreement with the statement.

a. Only the percentage for category "completely agree" is presented here.
b. Additive index of engagement divide by all items in table. Coding of statement 3 is reversed to match other items.

5.11 Summary

At the outset of this chapter, on the basis of an analytical framework, the collected data were presented and analyzed. Findings from the study reflect that in Bangladesh peoples' participation at local level is still a concern. Diverse factors and actors exert their influences in blocking peoples' participation in governance mechanism. NGOs think elected representatives and government officials are mainly responsible for this. On the other hand, elected representatives and the government officials perceive NGOs negatively (*Table 5.11*). This gap between two actors (GO and NGO) in processes and mechanism of governance makes the concern of participation bigger.

Chapter 6

Putting it together and Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The chapter attempts to summarize the findings of the study. Then it draws some conclusions on the basis of those findings in reference to two research questions. In the beginning of the study, in Chapter 1, two research questions were set: One, to what extent, capability of beneficiaries is enhanced after being involved with NGO programs? Two, to what extent, the beneficiaries (of those programs) are engaged with LGIs?

6.2 Putting together the Findings

In answering the first question, two indexes of participation (Involvement and capability) were developed. Then the level of involvement and capability of the beneficiaries of NGOs was measured. *Involvement* index measures the extent of attachment of beneficiaries with NGO programs. *Capability* assesses the level of ability of those units of beneficiaries.

In answering the second question, in the same manner, a separate index (engagement with LGIs) was conceptualized. *Engagement with LGIs* measures to what extent the beneficiaries (who receive benefits from NGOs) are capable to demand their rights to get services from LGIs. These three indexes are developed on the basis of a battery of questions as detailed in Chapter 5. It is mentionable that these three indexes complement each other.

The findings of the study revealed that beneficiaries attained capability (=2.36) which was more than average value (=2) after getting involved with NGOs. Here it needs to be mentioned that involvement index (=2.52) was also higher than the average value. But on the contrary, the study found that the same beneficiaries were not engaged with the LGIs in getting their rights and services. So the engagement index (=1.54) was below the average value.

Then, the relationship between independent and dependent variables was explored. Variable wise analysis was done to generate discussions on the theme of participation in Chapter 5. To recap the findings of the study briefly: gender had no relationship with the indexes of participation,

income had no relationship with involvement and capability, but it was found that gender had significant relationship with engagement index, education had significant relationship with the involvement and capability indexes but showed no significant relationship with engagement index. Both the variables - nature and duration of NGO programs had significant relationship with capability but insignificant relationship with involvement and engagement index.

Therefore, linking up the research questions with the findings, it was clear that involvement of beneficiaries with NGO programs and its contribution in making them capable is in largely significant (out of 5 (Five) independent variables 3 (three) had significant relationship with capability). In reference to second question: the findings showed that capability of beneficiaries *might not always lead* to a significant relationship with engagement with LGIs. Only 1(one) independent variable had significant relationship with engagement with LGIs.

Now, arguing from the perspective of rights based participation, this issue of non-engagement of beneficiaries with LGIs is quite interesting as far as the theorists and practitioners of local governance in Bangladesh are concerned. The main agenda of right based participation is to establish the idea of *rights* (of citizens) as inalienable in the governance systems of a society, a country or an organization. Theoretically, NGO programs should incorporate and promote those values and activities that lead to the establishment of rights and responsibilities of citizens/beneficiaries.

Given a serious look on the findings of this study from right based approach to participation, it was found that both the NGOs operate their programs maintaining relationship with the existing power structures. As a result, the question of peoples' engagement at local level was paid little attention. NGO programs that are targeted to integrate local bodies (UPZ and UP) and beneficiaries at one stage showed limited successes. In case of local government strengthening projects, the participation of common people is guided. It was found that during the coordination meetings between Upazila Parishad and Peoples' Organizations[17] that are formed by COAST on how to improve governance at local level, participation of common people is very low and most notably, the roles and voices of women were found almost neglected (resolution papers of September, October and December 2011 and January 2012 supplied by COAST, *Charfassion*). It should be mentioned that Coordination meeting at Upazila level is supposed to be the decision making level forum of the organizations i.e. PO. It was estimated that women participation was

---

[17] Peoples' Organizations are formed by COAST at Charfassion Bhola.

51

on average 10 percent (where participants were 40 in numbers) in those meetings. In replying the question why the women participation was low, the Upazila Coordinator of the Program, Fahima said that distance of working area (on average more than 33 km) from Upazila headquarters is one cause, another being the fact that it is next to impossible to take women to Upazila without the consent of male members of the family.

One of the serious criticisms against existing regime of NGOs is that they mainly adopt market-oriented and need based approach in their programs. During field visit it is found that the concentration of NGOs in urban areas or in the vicinity has grown more for that reason which is substantiated by the Unicef, Bangladesh baseline survey conducted in 2012. From that perspective, NGOs are more interested to increase number of beneficiaries is more preferable to enhancing the capability of an individual. In this connection it can be said that NGOs are criticized on the ground that they involved with big corruptions and cheating common people through their credit programs (Resolution of NGO coordination meeting of Khulna district).

But this study revealed another interesting finding: training on different laws and orientations with government office procedures can raise the aspirations of beneficiaries to get engaged with LGIs. For example, the *Trisena* (COAST) members of *Nilkamal Union*, Charfassion stopped the child marriage in their locality with the assistance of local administration. Not only that, Babul Chandra Seal, President of *Trisena* informed the present author that they demanded disclosure of information under the provision of *RTI, 2009* about the distribution policies of fishermen allowance to the local union parishad.

Nexus of bureaucracy and politicians serves as block in ensuring peoples' rights at local governance. In public offices, hindrances or harassments in receiving public services by disadvantaged and marginalized are different in forms such as rent seeking, use of political influences, distributing favour to those who have political connections. The practice has been so dominant that even the political opposition is cornered by the ruling party leaders. Ultimately common people suffer from these practices. Local politics of *Charfassion* Upazila is a case in point. It was found that in case of Unions where Chairmen had connections with opposition

party[18] were deprived of getting fair share of allocations from Upazila in implementing development activities.

During field visit, it was revealed to the author (from secondary source) that in Upazilas, the resource and privileges that were allotted for the poor and marginalized people were distributed on the basis of political linkages. People were kept in dark about the allocation of resources and its distribution policies. Respondents (beneficiaries and NGO officials) informed that there were huge claims of corruption against MP and those of his alliance about implementing 100 days income generating works by *Charfassion* Upazila Parishad.

The role of civil servants in creating an integrated more people-oriented service regime comprising both GOs and NGOs at local level in cases were found little or limited. Moreover lack of legal support in integrating the NGOs in the development activities worsens the situation. The official documents collected during the field study substantiate the fact that civil servants remain indifferent about the works of NGOs at local level. For example, the district coordination meetings (Resolutions of district NGO coordination meeting, October, November and December 2011 of Khulna) become largely ceremonial on the grounds that the office arranges meetings and nothing beyond it. At Upazila level, the situation is even worse as Upazila Parishad were found reluctant to hold such meetings on regular basis.

6.3 Implication for Research

The findings of the study show that the engagement level of beneficiaries/citizens with LGIs is below average which implies that they are not properly aware of their rights of services. Moreover it is found that the programs of NGOs are not properly matched with the agenda of right based approach to participation upholding the standards of governance at the local level. The general trend in NGOs of Bangladesh is that they follow need based approach. This has created the space of re-examining the works of NGOs in Bangladesh.

When interviewed on the "evaluation" of NGOs, head of RUPANTAR[19], one of the pioneering non state actors in South West of Bangladesh agreed that it is high time that NGOs be self critical of their activities. He emphasized the weaknesses of researches on NGO:

---

[18] In election of local bodies, though legally party politics is not allowed, in reality it becomes the only criterion for getting allocation and other favors from local government. In fact, controlling the resources at local level, leaders especially MPs make their position dominant in the area.

Most of the researches on NGO of Bangladesh are either donor-commissioned or guided researches. So in their activities NGOs are becoming imitative and less innovative.

One study (SDC 2008) found that in most cases, the programs are funded on the basis of projects in order to scale up the existing channels, processes and mechanisms of citizens' participation. But these projects focus mainly outputs – quantify the numbers in ensuring participation rather concentrate on the upgrading the capability of the beneficiaries. Therefore it can be argued that NGOs programs deserve further study.

6.4 Conclusions

It is clear that NGO intervention in enhancing poor peoples' participation in the governance processes of the society does not go up to the mark as it is assumed. Findings from the study show that NGOs have succeeded in ensuring the level of capability of the beneficiaries. It also reveal that several factors such as the influence of the powerful people, the culture of non participation among the targeted group, the need based implementation of NGO programs rather than social mobilizing strain the processes of participation of those who are marginalized in the governance. In this regard, the study found that the programs of NGOs are not designed to ensure participation of people in the local governance mechanism. The programs lack proper monitoring and evaluation. Moreover, too much emphasize on quantifying numbers of beneficiaries and outputs lead to 'participation by command' (SDC 2008: 38). In fact, these considerations have justified the objective of the study.

---

[19] Rafiqul Islam Khokon, Executive Director of RUPANTAR was interviewed on 20 March 2012

References

Books

Ahmad, Q.K., 2007. *Socio- Economic and Indebtedness-Related of Micro Credit in Bangladesh.* Dhaka: University Press Limited

Aminuzzaman, S. M. (edit.), 2006. *Governance and Development.* 1ˢᵗ ed. Dhaka: Srabon Prokashani in assoc. with Department of Development Studies, University of Dhaka

_____, 2011. *Essentials of Social Research.* Dhaka: Osder Publications

Bevir, M., 2009. *Key Concepts in Governance.* India: Sage.

Chowdhury, F. (Ed.). 2008. *Civil Society* (in Bengali).Dhaka: Kathaprokash.

Cornwall, A., 2000. *Beneficiary, Consumer, Citizen: Perspectives on Participation for Poverty Reduction,* Stockholm: SIDA

Hossain, M., 1985. *Credit for the Rural Poor.* Dhaka: Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies

Jamil, I. 2007. *Administrative Culture in Bangladesh,* Dhaka, Bangladesh: A H Development Publishing House

_____, Aminuzzaman, S. M., Askvik, S., & M. Haque, S. (edit.). 2011. *Understanding Governance & Public Policy in Bangladesh*, Dhaka: MPPG, North South University

Kabeer, N., 2002. *We don't do credit': Nijera Kori.* Dhaka: Nijera Kori

Khan, F. C., Khan, A. & Quddus, M., (edit.). 2009. *Recreating the Commons: NGOs in Bangladesh*, Dhaka: University Press Limited

Lewis, D., 2011. *Bangladesh: Politics, Economy and Civil Society*, UK: Cambridge University Press

Lovell, C. H., 1992. *Breaking the Cycle of Poverty: The BRAC Strategy.* USA: Kumarian Press

Malena, C. (edit.), 2009. *From Political won't to Political will: Building Support for Participatory Governance.* USA: Kumarian Press

Nag, A. C. 1989. *Let the Grassroots Speak*. Dhaka: University Press Limited

Prewitt, K., 1970. *The Recruitment of Political Leaders: A Study of Citizen – Politicians*. New York: The Bobbs – Merril Company, Inc. Indianapolis

World Bank. 1996 (a). *Pursuing Common Goals: Strengthening Relations between Government and Development NGOs in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: University Press Limited

_____. 1996 (b). *Government that Works: Reforming the Public Sector*. Dhaka: University Press Limited

_____. 2007. *Economics and Governance of Nongovernmental Organizations in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: University Press Limited

Articles

Aminuzzaman, S. M., 1998. "NGOs and the Grassroots Base Local Government in Bangladesh: A Study of their Institutional Interactions" in *NGOs Under Challenge: Dynamics and Drawbacks in Development*, Hossain, F. and Myllyla, S. (edit.), Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Department for International Development Cooperation, Helsinki

_____, "Local Governance Innovations: An Assessment of the Challenges for Mainstreaming Local Governance Support Program", in Jamil, I. *et al* (edit.) *Understanding Governance & Public Policy in Bangladesh*, 2011, Dhaka: MPPG, NSU

Askvik, S., 2011. "The significance of Institutional Trust for Governance in Bangladesh" in Jamil, I. *et al* (edit.) *Understanding Governance & Public Policy in Bangladesh*, 2011, Dhaka: MPPG, NSU

Cornwall, A., 2002. *Locating Citizen Participation*, IDS Bulletin, Vol. 33, No. 2

Crosby, B., 2000. *Participation Revisited: A Managerial Perspective*, USAID: Centre for Democracy and Government

Gaventa, J., 2002. "Exploring Citizenship, Participation and Accountability". IDS Bulletin, Vol. 33, No. 2, page 1-11

Gujit, I., Kaul, Shah, M., 1998. "Waking up to power, conflict and process" in Gujit, I., Kaul, Shah (edit.) *The Myth of Community*, London: IT Publications

Haque, S. T. M., 2011. "The Normative Roots of Governance Theories: Prospects and Challenges from Bangladesh Perspective", in Jamil, I., *et al, Understanding Governance & Public Policy in Bangladesh*, 2011, MPPG. Dhaka: North South University

Haque, S.T. M. and Khondoker Shawkat Ali, 2006. "NGO Governance in Bangladesh: Quest for Transparency and Accountability", in S. M Aminuzzaman. (edit.), *Governance and Development*, Department of Development Studies, Dhaka: Dhaka University

Kabeer, N., 1991. "Gender, development, and training: raising awareness in the planning" process, *Development in Practice*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 185-195

Kaler, J., 1999. "Understanding Participation", *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol.21, No.2/3, p. 125-135

Karim, L., 2009. "Democratizing Bangladesh: State, NGOs and Militant Islam" in Khan, F. *et al* (edit.). 2009. *Recreating the Commons: NGOs in Bangladesh*, Dhaka: The University Press Limited

Leal, P. A., 2007. "Participation: the Ascendancy of a Buzzword in the Neo-liberal Era", *Development in Practice*, Vol.17, No.4/5

Lewis, D., 2004. "On the difficulty of Studying 'civil Society': Reflections on NGOs, State and Democracy in Bangladesh", *Contributions to Indian Sociology,* Vol.38, No. 3, p. 299-322

Mallick, D., 2009. "BRAC's Contribution to the Gross Domestic Product of Bangladesh" in Khan, F. *et al* (edit.) *Recreating the Commons: NGOs in Bangladesh*, Dhaka: University Press Limited

Riaz, A., 2009. "NGOs, Empowerment and Social Capital: Lessons from BRAC and the Grameen Bank" in Khan, F. *et al* (edit.) *Recreating the Commons: NGOs in Bangladesh*, Dhaka: University Press Limited

Spivak, G.C., 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Williams, P. and Chrisman, L. (edit.).1994. *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory*. England: Pearson Education.

Umar, B., 1993. "Poverty Trade of Grameen Bank" in Chowdhury, F. (edit.), *Micro Credit: Myth Manufactured.* 2007. Dhaka: Srabon Prokashani.

Research Reports, Monographs, Working Paper

Ahmad, S., 1994. *The Rhetoric of participation Reexamined: The State, NGOs and the Water User at Varanasi*, Working Paper 52, Delhi: Institute of Rural Management.

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS). *District Census, 2010* available at www.bbs.gov.org (accessed on 5.4.2012)

Gaventa, J. and Camilo Valderrama, 1999, "Participation, Citizenship and Local Governance – background paper fro workshop: strengthening participation on local governance",mimeo, IDS, Brighton, 21 – 24 June 1999, www.ids.ac.uk/particip (accessed on 5 March 2012)

Lewis, D., and Abul Hossain, *Understanding the Local Power Structure in Rural Bangladesh, 2008,* Sida Studies: 22

Mohammad, S. N., 2010. *Peoples' Participation in Development Projects at grassroots level: a case study of Alampur and Jagannathpur Union Parishad*, Master's Thesis, Dhaka: North South University

Obaidullah, A. S. M., 2009. *Peoples' Participation in Development Process through Decentralized Local Government*, Dhaka: BRAC University

Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), 2008. *Evaluation of Citizens' Voice & Accountability – Country Case Study: Bangladesh*. Dhaka: SDC

Unicef: Bangladesh. 2012. *District Profile of Bhola*. Dhaka: Unicef: Bangladesh in association of Bhola District Administration

Unpublished Documents of GO & NGOs

COAST. 2010. *Annual Report, 2008 - 09*. Dhaka: COAST Trust

_____. 2011. *Annual Report, 2009 - 10*. Dhaka: COAST Trust

COAST (Bhola), Resolution of Coordination Meeting between Upazila Administration and Peoples' Organization. September 2011. Unpublished, COAST: Charfassion

_____. Resolution of Coordination Meeting between Upazila Administration and Peoples' Organization. December 2011. Unpublished, COAST: Charfassion

_____. Report on Dialogue among the Agriculture, Fisheries and Livestock Department Charfassion Upazila and Peoples' Organization. 28th September 2011. Unpublished, COAST: Charfassion

_____. Report on Dialogue between Upazila Administration and Peoples' Organization on Law and Order. 7th December 2011. Unpublished, COAST: Charfassion

_____. 2012. *Annual Report, 2010 - 11*. Dhaka: COAST Trust

_____. Project Proposal of "Strengthening Local Governance for Poor Service Delivery Project". Unpublished: Not Dated. COAST: Charfassion

RUPANTAR. 2010. Annual Report, 2010-2011. Khulna: RUPANTAR, Bangladesh

Nilkamal Union Parishad. *Annual Report 2011-12*, Charfassion, Bhola.

_____. Project Proposal of "An Alternative Programmatic Intervention to Develop Grassroots Women Leadership in Union Parishads", Unpublished: Not Dated. Khulna: RUPANTAR, Bangladesh

District Administration of Khulna, NGO Coordination Meeting, (October, November, December 2011 and January 2012) Unpublished, Khulna: DC Office, Khulna.

Chart: A 1 – Gender Distribution (%) of the Respondents

Gender of the Respondent
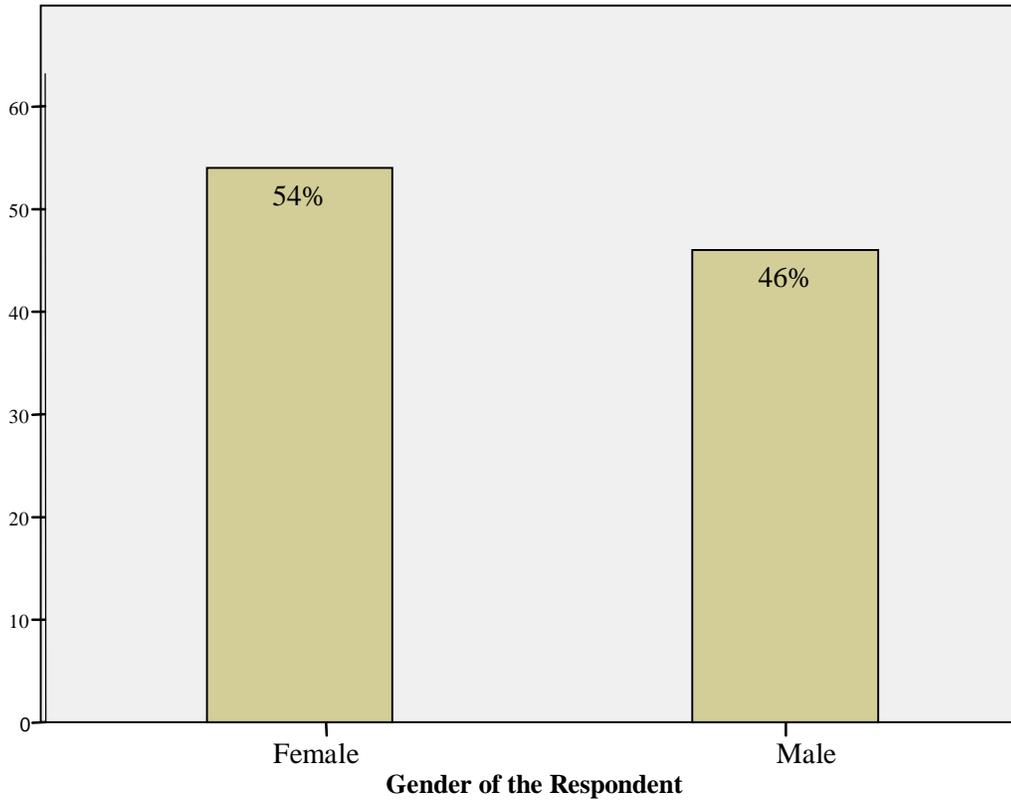
Table: A1- Profession of the Respondents

Profession(s)	Percentage
Agriculture	12
Business	10
Service	14
Laborer	14
Housewife	46
Others	4
	100

Table: A2- No. of visit to LGI by the Respondents (n=50)

Visit to LGIs	Percentage
1-3 months	28
6-12months	24
1-2 year	10
3-4 years	8
In 5 years	30
Total	**100**

Table: A3- Involvement with Politics by the Respondents (n=50)

Answer	Percentage
No	42
Neutral	2
Yes	56
Total	**100**

Table: A4- Informal discussion of the problem within the group*

Answer	Percentage
No	20
Neutral	10
Yes	70
	100

* Data represents only those who have minimum primary education and above

Table: A5- Training of beneficiaries (n=50) received from NGOs

Question: Do you get training from NGO?	
Educational Qualification	**Percentage**
Illiterate	10
Primary	35
Secondary	35
SSC	10
HSC	10
N=	100

Table: A6 **-** Relationship among the (indexes of) Dependent Variables

Variables	**1**	**2**	**3**
INVOLVE-INDEX	-	.650**	.093
CAP-INDEX	.650**	-	.095
ENGAGE-INDEX	.093	.095	-

** Correlation is significant at <.001 level (2-tailed).

List of the Persons Interviewed

1. Nur-e-Alam, UNO, Charfassion, Bhola

2. Mohammad Asaduzzaman, UNO Gazaria

3. Rezaul Karim Chowdhury, Executive Director, COAST Trust

4. Rafiqul Islam Khokon, Founder and Executive Director, RUPANTAR, Khulna

5. Sk. Abdul Qaiyum, Chairperson, Citizen Forum, Khulna City Corporation

6. ShahabUddin, Chairman, Osmangnaj Union

7. Fahima, Upazila Coordinator, Charfassion, COAST Trust

8. Babul Chandra Seal, President, Trisena, COAST Trust

Bangladesh
Upazila Map
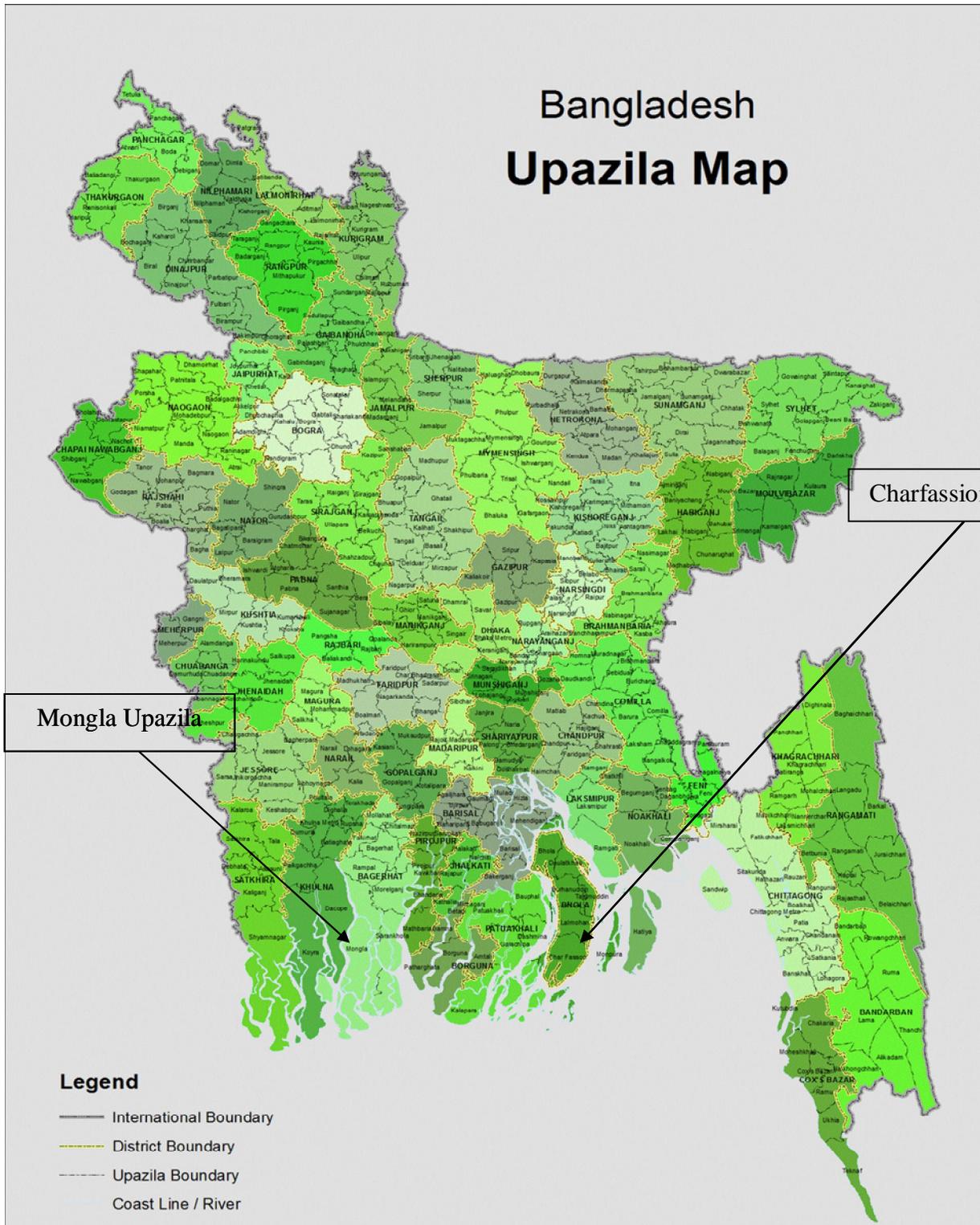
Charfassion Upazila

Mongla Upazila

Legend

—————— International Boundary

—·—·—·— District Boundary

— — — — Upazila Boundary

Coast Line / River

Questionnaire for Beneficiaries of NGO

Name: --- Age: --

Sex: -------------------------- Address --

Name of the NGO------------------------------

Information on Socio economic condition

1. Profession of the beneficiaries:

    a. Agriculture

    b. Business

    c. Laborer

    d. Service Holder

    e. Housewife

    f. Others

2. Educational Qualifications:

    a. Illiterate

    b. Primary

    c. Secondary level

    d. SSC

    e. HSC

    f. Degree or above

3. Monthly Income:

    a. 2,000 tk

    b. 2,001 – 4,000 tk

    c. 4,001 – 8,000 tk

    d. 8001 – 10,000 tk

    e. Above 10,000 tk

4. Are you involved with politics directly or indirectly?

a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

Involvement of Beneficiaries with NGO

5. What type of benefits do you get from NGO?

         a. Micro credit

         b. Legal Suggestions

         c. Income generating Training

         d. Health Services

         e. Others

6. Are you involved with the NGO for last five years?

    a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

7. Are you aware of the present program of the NGO?

    a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

8. Do you discuss about the problems that you experience within yourselves?

    a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

9. Do the NGO officials talk to you prior taking the project?

    a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

10. If discussed, do you offer your suggestions to the NGO officials about the problems?

    a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

11. Do you think that NGO finally incorporate those suggestions in their planning?

    a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

12. Do the powerful people influence the project selection and implementation of NGO?

    a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

13. Do you think that NGO give their own opinion preference to the needs of the people?

    a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

14. Do you think that NGO should discuss with other people of the locality prior taking the project?

    a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

Capability of Beneficiaries

15. Do you get training from NGO?

      a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

16. Do you think that after involving with the NGO, you could change your lifestyle?

      a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

17. Do you evaluate the programs of NGO from which you are receiving benefits?

      a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

18. Do you think that NGO take necessary actions when you inform your suggestions?

      a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

19. Does NGO provide you the information that you seek about any issues of the programs?

      a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

Engagement of Beneficiaries with LGIs

20. Do you think that getting services from LGIs is your right?

      a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

21. Are you hindered in getting services from LGIs?

      a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

22. Do you take help from powerful people in getting services from LGIs?

      a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

23. Do you bribe the officials of LGIs in getting services?

      a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

24. While hindered in LGIs, do you protest or lodge complaint to the authority?

      a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

25. When did you visit the LGIs last?

      a. 1 – 3 Months   b. 6 – 12 Months   c. 1- 2 years   d. 3- 4 years   e. In 5 years

24. Do you think that LGIs should listen to while taking any projects?

      a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

25. Overall recommendations:

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

Thank you for your cooperation

Questionnaire for Elected Representatives/ Government Officials

Name: -------------------------------------- Designation: ---

Tenure: -------------------------- Union/Upazila --

1. Are you aware of the NGO programs in your area?

      a. No   b. Neutral   c. Yes

2. What type of relationship do NGOs maintain with your organization?

      a. NGOs maintain formal relationship

      b. NGOs do not maintain formal relationship

3. What type of participation do NGOs ensure in their programs?

      a. No participation in the real sense of the term

      b. NGOs ensure controlled participation in their programs

      c. NGOs ensure participation of participation for a special
section of people only

4. NGO adopted programs lack participation of common people - do you agree?

      a. Fully agree

      b. Partly agree

      c. Partly disagree

      d. Fully Disagree

5. NGO lack transparency in adopting and implementing their programs - do you agree?

      a. Fully agree

      b. Partly agree

      c. Partly disagree

d. Fully Disagree

6. NGOs work as partner with LGIs - do you agree?

       a. Fully agree

       b. Partly agree

       c. Partly disagree

       d. Fully Disagree

6. NGOs are alternative to LGIs - do you agree?

       a. Fully agree

       b. Partly agree

       c. Partly disagree

       d. Fully Disagree

7. What is/ are the strong sides of the UP/UPZ as institution?

       a. There is peoples' participation in this organization.

       b. This organization has accountability

       c. There is dependable leadership in this organization

       d. People rely on this organization

       e. Government is cooperative with this organization

8. Overall recommendations:
……
……
………………………………………………………………………………………………………

<div align="center">Thank you for your cooperation</div>