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AN IMPACT MONITORING
AND PROCESS EVALUATION SYSTEM
FOR
SAVE THE CHILDREN (USA)-BANGLADESH

by

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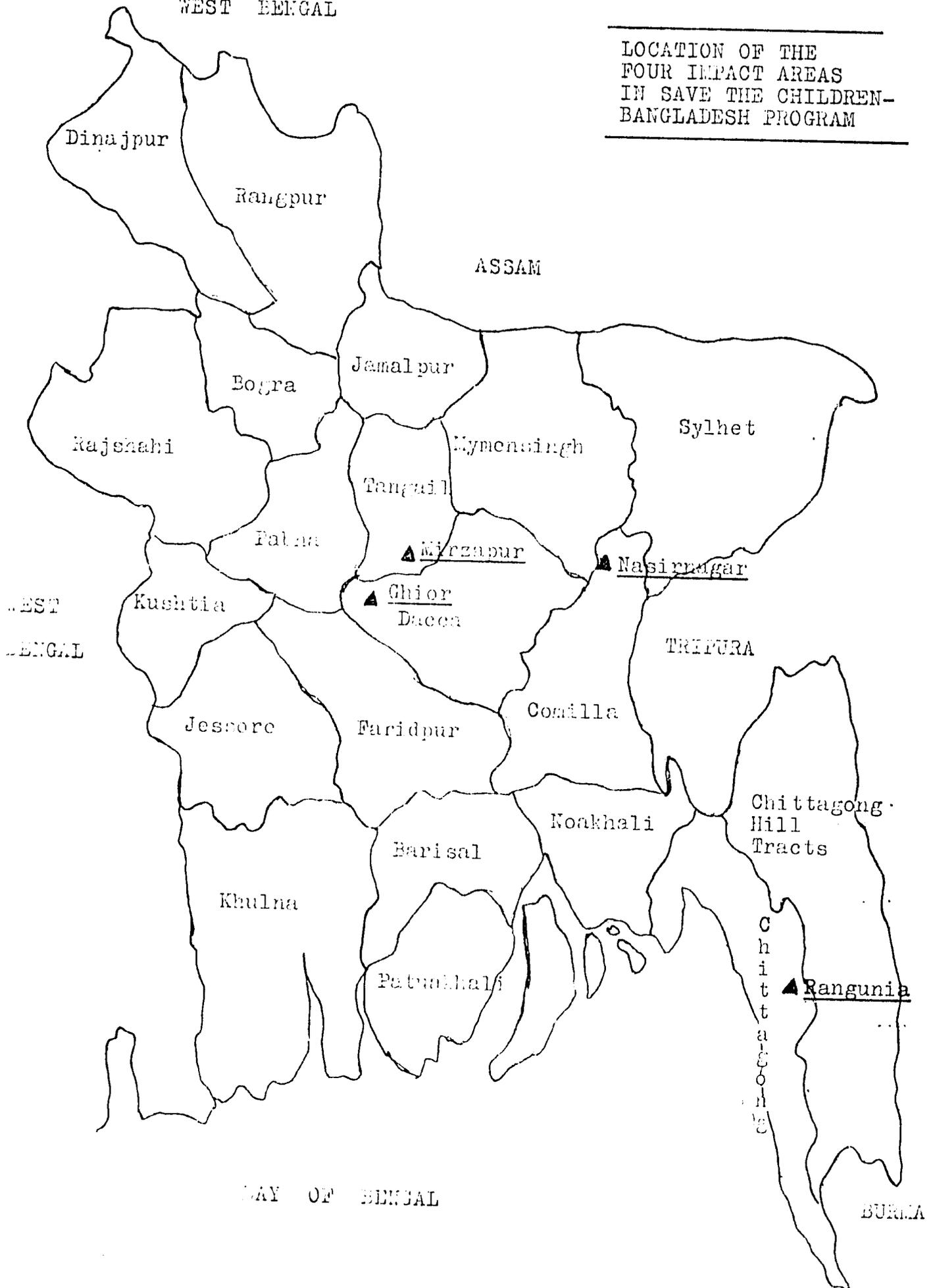
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WEST BENGAL

LOCATION OF THE
FOUR IMPACT AREAS
IN SAVE THE CHILDREN-
BANGLADESH PROGRAM



BAY OF BENGAL

BURMA

GLOSSARY

BADC	Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation
BKB	Bangladesh Krishi Bank
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Assistance Committee
CBIRD	Community-Based Integrated Rural Development
FC	Field Coordinator
KAP	Knowledge, Attitude, Practice
MBO	Management By Objective
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OPG	Operational Program Grant
PDW	Para Development Worker
PQLI	Physical Quality of Life Index
SCF	Save the Children Federation
SDC	Social Development Coordinator
VDC	Village Development Committee
VERC	Village Education Resource Center

I. INTRODUCTION

Save the Children Federation (SCF) of Westport, Connecticut requested that I review their program in Bangladesh. Four objectives were identified (Kale to Gregg, September 23, 1981):

- Assess the overall programmatic strategies and direction of the Bangladesh program with reference to the needs of the communities, the planning and implementation process to date, the modes of community participation and decision-making, and the eventual prospects for self-management;
- Recommend appropriate procedures for establishing programmatic monitoring and information systems, with reference to data collection and analysis at the impact area level, structuring village plans and internal evaluation capabilities;
- Review the strategies for phase-out in selected villages in Rangunia, with recommendations on criteria for the sustainability of the program, appropriate SCF roles, structures of self-management and decision-making, and continuation of wide-based community participation;
- Draft a comprehensive program report which could serve as an information source for the AID final year evaluation of the Bangladesh Operational Program Grant (OPG) which is slated to be carried out in July/August 1982.

The time available, the variations in the respective impact areas, and the absence of any readily available and comparable baseline or impact data precluded a comprehensive program evaluation. Therefore, it was decided that during my 3-week visit (5 through 25 October), I would pay particular attention to designing an information system that would permit the villagers,.... the SCF field workers, the Daeca staff as well as the Westport office to gain a clearer appreciation of what impact was being achieved and what progress was being made by communities in the process of developing the capacity to sustain its own development

activities.

To familiarize myself with SCF's operations in Bangladesh, I visited three of the four impact areas and 10 of the 17 villages. I was able, therefore, to observe the program in action in a number of different situations and environments and to discuss the program with community members as well as field staff. *Attachment I* lists the people interviewed and whose thoughts have contributed to the content of this report.

Thus, while not evaluating the SCF program in Bangladesh, I will include references to various project activities in the course of the report and will assess the overall programmatic strategies and direction as well as suggest means to address the so-called "phase-out" question. Based on discussions of the impact monitoring and process evaluation system as presented in this report, the Bangladesh office feels more confident about carrying out a valid and programmatically useful evaluation of the USAID OPG at its conclusion in mid-1982.

Before addressing the monitoring and evaluation questions, however, it is essential that we examine the programmatic context and review briefly the background of the SCF effort in Bangladesh. This is followed by a section outlining the impact monitoring system — what it should consist of, how it should be used and what it will contribute to the program. Section IV describes a methodology to evaluate the process of community development which allows both the SCF field worker and villagers to understand what has been achieved and what remains to be done

in terms of reaching the ultimate program goal of self-sustained community development. The penultimate section suggests the need for periodic in-depth studies which would address programmatic questions, specific projects or special topics/issues. Such reports would serve the dual function of providing an institutional memory as well as a means of disseminating noteworthy experience. The final section consists of the conclusion.

II. PROGRAM CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

Bangladesh has the unenviable distinction of being among the poorest and least developed countries in the world. The country is burdened by a large (90,000,000) and rapidly growing (approximately 2.5% per year) population squeezed into an area the size of Wisconsin. The population density is over 1600 per square mile, one of the highest of any country in the world. While the estimated annual per capita income is reported as \$130, the vast majority of the 85% of the population residing in the rural areas exist on considerably less. Overall, some 80% of the population is said to be below the "poverty line", ie, their income is not sufficient to cover minimum requirements of food, shelter, clothing, education and health care. All but a few of the more prosperous families in each village are subsistence farmers or landless laborers who struggle to survive. The poverty is reflected in the social development statistics: literacy rate of 20.2% (27.6% for men; 12.2% for women); infant mortality rates of 140-150 per 1000 live births; a life expectancy rate of 48 years. Bangladesh is one of the few countries in the world where men outlive women. In terms of the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI), which is made up of the infant mortality, life expectancy (at the age of one) and literacy rates, Bangladesh scores a 35 and ranks number 110 out of 150 countries (Morris, 1979).

Life in Bangladesh revolves around water. The country is traversed by several of the world's major rivers (Ganges, Megna,

Brahmaputra) and countless tributaries and minor rivers, making communications difficult and time consuming. During monsoon (July through September) over a quarter of the country is submerged. Bangladesh depends on the monsoon for its main crop and dietary staple, rice. When the precarious balance between too much rain (causing ruinous floods) and not enough (causing crop failure and food shortages) is not maintained, the result can be and often is untold misery for hundreds of thousand, even millions of people. Those that suffer most are the large portion of the population that maintain a marginal existence in the best of times. Fortunately for the country as a whole, Bangladesh has enjoyed several good monsoons in recent years and agricultural production has increased to a point where it is conceivable to consider the possibility of the country becoming self-sufficient in cereals. ✓

The socio-political environment in which development must take place is equally important when considering SCF's program in Bangladesh. The villagers are conservative and are not naturally receptive or responsive to new ideas. The freedom of women is severely limited; their movements are often restricted to their houses or immediate bari* by the practice of purdah. The acceptance and adoption of such vitally important practices as family planning is problematic. Moreover, a small socio-political elite dominates the village and enjoys most of the economic benefits (BRAC, 1980). In most cases, the community

* A bari is the smallest subdivision of a village and consists of several houses set around an open court. Several bari make up a para. The number of para in a village depends on its size and physical configuration.

is divided into factions which compete for power and make community-based development difficult.

On the national level, the bureaucracy is highly centralized and operates in an hierarchical manner. The delivery of services to those most in need in the rural areas is often ineffective. Corruption is common and precludes effective management and accountability within the system. The intensity and confidence required to affect behavioral change among the target population (eg., improve weaning habits) are difficult to find among the bureaucrats in Bangladesh as in many other developing (and some developed!) countries.

It was in this challenging and often frustrating environment that SCF launched its program in 1972. Much of Bangladesh was devastated as a result of the War of Liberation. Yet in contrast to most of the international donor agencies, SCF concentrated its efforts from the start on development rather than relief projects. In the mid-1970s, Save the Children-Bangladesh formalized its approach by adopting the village development programming methodology which is common to SCF's operations around the globe and which is referred to as Community Based Integrated Rural Development (CBIRD).*

CBIRD, as applied in 27 countries around the world (from areas in the United States to tiny Tuvalu in the South Pacific) has been described by various people as a methodology, an ap-

* More recently the acronym has been modified so that the "r" stands for "resource" rather than "rural". This permits the term to be applied in urban areas as well (CBIRD Methodology, 1980, p.1). This modification, however, does not apply in the Bangladesh case as its entire program is rural-based.

proach, a philosophy, a strategy, and most recently by Field and Kannagara (1981) as a theory. As defined, however, there is a set of prescribed activities that are required if a community is to faithfully follow and achieve the "process" objectives of CBIRD. They include the identification and assessment of community needs, the formation of representative community organizations, the pursuit of balanced economic and social development, the participation of all sectors within the community, the institutionalization of the development process and the eventual withdrawal of external assistance. Within this outline, great flexibility not only exists but is encouraged. This is demonstrated in Bangladesh by such things as the role of the village sectoral subcommittees, the manner in which the village development committees (VDCs) are elected, the addition of para-based social development workers — all modifications of the general CBIRD model of community development.

The overall objective of SCF's CBIRD approach is to assist communities develop in such a manner as to improve the quality of the lives of all segments of society, particularly the children. SCF's philosophy maintains that a child cannot be helped in isolation; rather, its total environment must be enriched. Thus, while the funding mechanism links sponsors with specific children in a program village, each sponsored child serves as a representative of all the children in the community and the village at large. This allows SCF to provide funds to support development activities which in the long-term will, if successful, mean a better life

for the village children, especially those among the lower socio-economic groups who constitute a priority. By adopting this strategy, SCF has chosen the most difficult and challenging development approach. Not only is basic behavioral change required (eg., improved health and nutrition practices), but the organization attempts to make a homogeneous village out of what has traditionally been a heterogeneous collection of factions. This approach differs radically from the work of such well known groups as the Bangladesh Rural Assistance Committee (BRAC) and Proshika which work only with the poor and landless. By dealing with the entire community and struggling with issues of basic structural and social change, SCF must necessarily face constant and frequently disruption. But it must be remembered that in development (as in physics) there is no movement without friction. While the progress may be slow, the results achieved have a much better chance of surviving.

In Bangladesh the CBIRD methodology has been applied in four impact areas (Ghior, Mirzapur, Nasirnagar, Rangunia). As can be seen in the map (p. ii), the areas are widely dispersed. Three of the four share the characteristic of being close to major highways and relatively close to major metropolitan areas (within an hour and a half drive). In contrast, Nasirnagar is seven to eight hours from Dacca and can be reached only by primitive river craft and foot. The Rangunia area has been the site of intensive government development activity which has complemented and accelerated SCF's work. Despite some differences, all 17 villages are

characterized by the same low standard of living, pervasive poverty, extensive illiteracy, high rate of landlessness, poor health and nutritional status, and oppressive conservative traditions.

SCF's program in the project villages with the date of initiation, population and the team of development workers in each is summarized in Table I. While the mix of workers varies slightly according to impact area (and even by village within an impact area in a few cases), the general staffing pattern corresponds to the CBIRD model. Each impact area has at least one Field Coordinator (FC) who has administrative and leadership responsibilities and serves as the local change agent, facilitator, motivator, innovator, catalyst, monitor, advisor in charge of guiding local development efforts. Along side him (of equal rank) is the more recently assigned Social Development Coordinator (SDC) who concentrates her efforts on social and human development activities - eg., health, nutrition, family planning, education, role of women.

Below the FCs and SDCs a host of support staff are locally recruited. Several impact areas have separate workers for the health, nutrition and family planning sectors; in other cases, the work is carried out by integrated workers like the one referred to as the counterpart (a woman at the village level responsible to the SDC) and Para Development Worker (PDW) who is assigned to a population of approximately 1000 and serves as the "contact person" under the counterpart and SDC. This latter

format has only recently been introduced and plans call for it to gradually replace the sectoral workers.

As shall be evident in the report, the village development committee (VDC) plays a vital role in SCF's Bangladesh program and in the CBIRD approach in general. This 15-member body is partially elected (8 members) and partially appointed (7). The chairman and secretary of the VDC are selected by the VDC members and have considerable authority. A series of checks and balances exist (eg., double signatures on account withdrawals) to ensure integrity. Under the VDC six subcommittees address sectoral issues in the fields of agriculture, education, health, landless, women, youth (each has seven members).

The VDC along with the impact area field staff plan and manage the projects and control the development funds. A village development revolving fund is established and grows by means of grants and loans. The fund permits low interest loans to be made for community development projects. The repayment (the principal plus any interest which ranges from 5 to 10%) replenishes the fund while increasing the amount available for future development work. In Bangladesh the size of the revolving funds vary greatly (from less than Taka 8000 to over Taka 65000^{*}) depending primarily on the type of projects a village has had and the length of time.... the village has been in the program.

The development projects carried out in the villages with the financial assistance of SCF can be grouped into three cate-

* At the time of my visit the rate of exchange was \$1 = approximately Taka 19.

gories: infrastructure (involving activities which benefit the entire community), social development (human services which improve the quality of life of the community members) and income generation (productivity oriented activities aimed at increasing the financial well-being of all or special segments of the community). Table II provides examples of the activities supported under each category.

TABLE II
PROJECTS BY CATEGORY

<u>Infrastructure</u>	<u>Social Development</u>	<u>Income Generation</u>
Bridge Construction/ Repair	Latrines	Joint Farming
Road Construction/ Repair	Health - Medicines	Pesticide Spraying
School Construction/ Repair	Nutrition	Equipment
School Furniture Building	Family Planning	Pumps
Tree Planting	Education (Formal and Informal)	Land Mortgage
Community Center Construction	Student Assistance	Food Processing
Fish Pond Excava- tion	Out-of-School Education	Small Traders Support
Tubewells	Recreation	Mat Making
Culvert Construction	Vegitable/Kitchen Gardening	Net Weaving
	Athletic/Cultural Programs	Cotton Processing
	Youth Club	Weaving
		Rickshaw Purchase
		Pushcart Purchase
		Fish Cultivation
		Dried Fish Marketing
		Cattle/Goat/Poultry Raising
		Boat Purchase
		Sewing
		Irrigation
		Breeding Bull
		Fertilizer Loan
		Rice Husking

The operation of the village-level development activity is directed and coordinated by SCF's Country Director. Since taking charge in November 1978, the present director has provided much

needed stability and continuity. Prior to his arrival, the Bangladesh program had averaged one director per year from its inception, culminating with three in the single year of 1978. Along with the high rate of international staff turnover, there has been an equally disturbing pattern of instability among the local staff. Such personnel changes have apparently adversely affected the SCF program in Bangladesh in several ways, particularly in the lack of an institutional memory resulting in little conception or record of what the program has achieved or how.

My overall observation is that the SCF-Bangladesh program is in the midst of transition. SAVE's programming energies during the 1970's were devoted to initiating community development activities (in the 17 villages in four impact areas) and to introducing the CBIRD approach; this can be referred to as Phase I of SCF's Bangladesh operation. Phase II has only recently begun and is directed to making real and significant improvements in the lives of the villagers.

SAVE can take pride in the community structures which were established during the early stage and which are now functioning in the program villages. While suffering the normal social and political turmoil, progress has been made. This achievement has been noted by the government of Bangladesh which, in its efforts to establish village government (gram sarker), has demonstrated great interest in SCF's experience. The absence of continuity in program leadership resulted in a lack of overall direction and orientation. This can possibly explain the

Personnel

94/15

//

904
positive

concentration on project activities and might have adversely affected impact although this is impossible to verify due to a lack of relevant data.

Phase I

positive

Nonetheless, during SCF's Phase I development work some progress has been demonstrated. This is particularly true in the productive or income generating activities. Among the most successful efforts in this regard has been the joint farming undertakings. Five of the program villages have launched joint farming projects which have brought all social strata together a genuine community effort. The benefits are numerous: improving capacity to afford inputs to increase yields, permitting cultivation in boro (non-monsoon) season, including all landowners (even the marginals). The gains in productivity, while not documented in most cases, are considered by the villagers themselves to be considerable.

Other important income generating activities that are to be commended are those directed at the landless group. The landless sector is of particular concern in Bangladesh since they constitute as much as 50% of some village populations. In a number of villages, SCF has started land mortgaging arrangements which permit those without land to gain access to land belonging to landowners who are in need of cash. Another case is rickshaw... loans to the landless. Again, borrowing money from the development fund, the landless are able to purchase a rickshaw, the principle means of short-haul transportation in rural Bangladesh. The new owners make small monthly payments and after several years own the vehicle and become self-supporting.

positive

positive

The exact number or percentage of landless as-
sisted by such schemes is not readily available. However, the
important point is that SCF, while working within an elite-
dominated environment, has been able to increase consciousness
to a level where at least some benefits are being shared with
the lowest socio-economic groups. For anyone who has worked in
development, especially in Bangladesh, this is a significant ac-
complishment and an indication, perhaps, of greater efforts being
made in the future as local development leadership is diversified
and made increasingly aware of the importance of the need to
maximize the level of participation.

positive

After the income generating projects, infrastructure activi-
ties have been most successful. Of special note is the building
of community cen^{ter}_{ers} which give the VDC and village at large a
place to meet and discuss issues of importance. Significantly,
the VDC and gram sarker often share the same facility, thus en-
couraging and promoting a close working relationship. Road/
path construction has contributed to the economic and general
well-being of several program villages. Probably the most im-
pressive undertaking has been the 1.5-mile road connecting
Goaldangi (Ghior Impact Area) with the highway. With the vil-
lage contributing (in the form of self-help), the road cost a
little more than Taka 50,000, approximately 20% of the govern-
ment's estimate. The road provides year-round communication
with the project village as well as another 10 surrounding vil-
lages. Direct benefits include increased employment opportuni-
ties, eg., rickshaw and pushcart ownership. Other extremely

positive

positive

positive

important infrastructure projects concern schools (repair, furnishing, expansion, construction). It is difficult to conceive of so many village children attending school without the additional facilities. Finally, the building of the Primary Health Center in Mirzapur is a testament to SCF's infrastructure building capacity.

positive

The area in which some strides have been made but considerable work remains to be done is in the social development category. A positive accomplishment, however, has been SCF's latrine installing project. SAVE in several of the impact areas has succeeded in creating an awareness and a perceived need for sanitary latrines. In fact, the demand for latrines has been so great in the Mirzapur area that supply has fallen short. In Baimail, for instance, over 70 latrines have been constructed, and another 40 households have made advance payments for them. Unfortunately, a shortage of cement and construction capacity has resulted in extensive delays in satisfying the need. Nonetheless, SCF is to be commended for raising the villagers' awareness and actually bringing about behavioral change so that 30% of the community has committed their own resources to improve environmental sanitation.

positive

positive

But in the broader perspective, SAVE-Bangladesh's efforts in health, nutrition and family planning sectors would appear less successful. As mentioned, the data required to evaluate the sectoral work are not available. However, from what one can observe and ascertain by talking with the village workers, the villagers, the SCF staff, little impact has been achieved.

... weak health, nutrition, family planning

Social development, therefore, should receive (and in fact is receiving) special attention in Phase II of SCF's program.

With a large portion of SCF funds in Bangladesh being spent on personnel salaries and most of this on staff involved in social development, there is a need to demonstrate that the investment is being effectively utilized. It is precisely in the social development sector that one can identify signs of the transition from a project-oriented program (as in Phase I) to a more broadly based social development effort. This change, however gradual, gives grounds for optimism and permits one to envisage a system for impact monitoring and process evaluation which is discussed in some depth in the next two sections of this report. Without the social development direction of Phase II of the program, it would be very difficult to conceive of such a system and make little sense to recommend its adoption.

hope for
future
studies

There are several manifestations of the "new direction," one of the most important being the move toward integrated community-based workers who will deliver a package of health, nutrition and population control services as well as focus on women's development activities. This realignment of staff makes extremely good sense for several reasons. First, the target group for all the services is women of child-bearing age. Instead of having four different workers visiting the same person infrequently for their respective purposes, now one person will be in constant contact with a small number of women. Secondly, all four of the activities are naturally linked and overlapping, thus one person can and should handle them together. Finally, to affect

long-term behavioral change, intensive interaction between the change agent and target group is required, and the recently introduced Para Development Worker (PDW) gives SCF this capacity. The PDWs are presently functioning in the Mirzapur Impact Area and are scheduled to begin work in Ghior and Nasirnagar Impact areas in the near future.

integrated
services

One would hypothesize that by making integrated health, nutrition, population control services an important part of the program, SCF-Bangladesh will achieve greater overall development impact because this methodology serves as a good entry-point and foundation for other development activities. Moreover, the program will, by necessity, be focusing more attention on those most in need of SCF/VDC assistance. While SCF-Dacca has not considered introducing the PDW staffing pattern in Rangunia, the final decision should rest on an analysis of the impact area's social development level. The potential contribution of the approach is such that it might ^{be} _^ worth introducing, especially if "phase over" is (as a result of the impact and process evaluations) found to be further away than expected.

dangers

Several potential dangers with the PDW-social development direction exist. First, any attempt to create a parallel structure for women's development or even social development must be avoided; the point is that all activities must complement and support each other, the end result being measurable improvement in living standards for all community members. How this is measured is discussed in the next section. Another possible danger that must be avoided is over-burdening the PDWs by having

them do too much. This can be prevented by proper orientation and good supervision which ensures that the most needy are given priority attention.

In addition to the PDW introduction, the emphasis on social development is manifested in the impressive work SAVE-Bangladesh is doing in the area of women's development. Many international agencies currently mention this as a priority; few have demonstrated the commitment or ability exhibited by SCF. The work of the Women Program Officer has been imaginative and has resulted in some important contributions to the field of women in development. Of particular note is the series of flash cards on the subject developed for the orientation of village women on the topic. In terms of specific projects, savings groups and income generating activities (eg., fish drying, food processing, rice husking, goat/poultry raising, net weaving, mat making) have been particularly successful. The comments that follow, therefore, should be considered in light of a program in transition — the foundation has been firmly established, and is now ready for substantial development impact to be achieved (and measured!).

women's development

positive

Since 1977, a portion of SCF's work in Bangladesh has been supported by an OPG from USAID. This grant was provided to adapt and introduce the CBIRD approach in the 17 villages (SCF, 1976). Phase I of the OPG came to a close in 1980; Phase II extends until mid-1982. The purpose of the current phase is stated as: 1) demonstrate the validity of the CBIRD strategy in Bangladesh; 2) achieve increased income levels, increased food production, reduced birth rates, higher literacy rates, improved

OPG

quality of life and a greater degree of self-sufficiency (SCF, 1979, p.3). It is with these objectives, therefore, that we must begin our effort to consider how SCF's program in Bangladesh can most effectively and efficiently monitored and evaluated. By the time that the OPG evaluation is conducted in July 1982, several things might be expected to be found:

- o CBIRD approach operating in all 17 villages and providing a strong foundation for development work;
- o New direction (or Phase II) emphasizing social development initiated and functioning in at least three of the four impact areas;
- o Collection and organization of available/relevant data as described in impact monitoring section;
- o Adoption and institutionalization of the impact monitoring and process evaluation system. In the case of the former, the staff and communities should have been oriented on how the impact monitoring system works and its program implications; moreover, the form should be in use. In the latter case, the staff and villagers should have gone through the process evaluation exercise so that they can, at a minimum, report on its applicability and feasibility.

If these four activities have been accomplished, the OPG will be judged a success (and the report a pleasure to write!).

TABLE I

PROGPAM VILLAGE INFORMATION AND
SCF PROJECT SUPPORT PERSONNEL

Impact Area (District)	Village	Year Initiated	Population (1978)	FC	Project Support Personnel						
					SDC	Counter- part	Paramed. or Nurse	Nut. Worker	F.P. Worker	Office Asst.	PDW
Ghior (Dacca)	Baniajuri	1977	2000	one	two	1	-	-	2	-	-
	Goaldangi	1977	3500	for	for	1	-	-	-	1	-
	Jabra	1975	4000	area	area	1	-	-	1	1	-
	Tarail- Kakjore	1977	2000			1	-	-	1	1	-
Mirzapur (Tangail)	Baimail	1977	2112	one	one	1	-	-	-	1	3
	Dherua	1977	508	for	for	1	-	-	-	1	1
	Ranashal	1977	806	area	area	1	-	-	-	1	1
	Rashiddeop- nata	1975	2784			1	-	-	-	1	2
Nasirnagar (Comilla)	Chairkuri	1977	769	two	three	-	-	-	-	1	-
	Gokarna	1975	3935	for	for	-	-	1	2	1	-
	Kunda	1974	5773	area	area	1	-	-	-	1	-
	Moslandapur	1977	1098			-	-	-	-	1	-
	Nurpur	1976	5506			1	1	-	1	1	-
Rangunia (Chittagong)	Ichamati	1977	2429	one	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
	Kulkurmai	1972	1800	for	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
	Miragajirtila	1973	1290	area	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
	Syedbari	1972	2500		-	-	2	1	1	1	-
		Total	42810	5	6	10	6	5	11	16	7

III. IMPACT MONITORING

Evaluation is described in the Introduction to CBIRD (SCF, 1980, p.20) as an important and respected ingredient of the CBIRD approach. "Evaluation is a serious, constant, and on going process. As much as formal procedure, it is a thought process, a way of approaching work." Although the value and necessity of evaluation is explicitly stated, there is no detailed discussion of evaluation, ie., definition, information on what data should be collected or how it should be analyzed and interpreted. In talking with SCF staff, there seems to be little practical, operational, program-related skill training on evaluation during Westport orientation. Consequently, what is said in terms of monitoring and evaluation in this report may have broader application beyond the Bangladesh program.*

Need to improve in eval.

Westport training sessions weak

An observer of the SCF program in Bangladesh gets the definite impression that development progress has taken place in the project villages over its eight years of operation. Villagers will say that they are better off and that more rice is being produced and that some landless families now have regular means of support. SCF's efforts in infrastructure and social development are also impressive with schools, roads and bridges being constructed and health centers established. Despite positive feelings, however, there is little data to substantiate impact; no readily available statistics on how and to what extent the lives of the

lack of hard data

* It is interesting to note that the report on SCF's Indonesian program by Tomaro, Van Sant, Minis (1980) made many of the same observations on the need for more accurate impact indicators/data.

villagers have improved.

Before we can discuss what is required in terms of practical and effective evaluation of SCF's Bangladesh program, we must define terms. When dealing with development impact I use the term "monitoring" in the sense that a few indicators are chosen and regularly reported on by the field staff. The information derived from the impact monitoring system (when consolidated by village or impact area) gives both the field workers as well as the headquarters administrators an accurate picture of what is or is not being accomplished in a particular location or by a specific worker. If carried out properly, such a monitoring system provides a built-in evaluation procedure in which program performance can be compared to the baseline or any time since the program started. Monitoring in such a fashion becomes a management tool and helps direct and drive the program. An added benefit is that time-consuming, expensive and often inconclusive (in terms of determining cause and effect and attribution) special studies or surveys are no longer required to determine if the program is achieving impact.

few
indicators

To establish a monitoring/built-in evaluation system, the first thing a program manager must do is identify specific program objectives. Impact can only be determined in relation to clearly defined objectives. In fact, what is advocated in this chapter is a simplified management by objective (MBO) system. The Bangladesh program states its objectives in general terms, i.e., to improve the quality of life of a community. This

Need to
identify
prog. objectives

is without doubt a worthy and commendable goal; but at the same time it is very difficult, even impossible, to measure.

Where do we start? There are so many variables and development concerns which are important to a villager's quality of life. All would seem to merit attention. There are, however, a few guidelines which can help select program objectives and indicators. First, the objectives must refer to the entire program rather than specific projects. This corresponds with and supports CBIRD's integrated approach. At the operational level projects at present dominate both the thinking and the activities of the field workers. The project orientation is reinforced by SCF's reporting system. This emphasis on projects leads to a danger of playing "number games" in which the number of projects, number of beneficiaries, number of sponsorships, number of letters are seen as the most important indicators of program success. While this is a natural tendency and apparently satisfies a human need for numbers, it does not provide either the worker or manager with an appreciation of what development is taking place. Focusing on the projects exclusively narrows and restricts perspective. Certainly projects are a vital part of the development work and little can be accomplished without them, but managers and administrators must appreciate that they are means to an end (ie., development) and not an end in themselves.

danger in focusing only on projects vs entire program

Secondly, the general goal of "improving the quality of life" must be disaggregated into several more clearly specified objectives so that progress can be monitored and measured, eg.,

Need for specified objectives

increased literacy, reduced birth rates, improved health and nutritional status, increased food availability.

The third principle in designing an effective monitoring system is the need to focus on impact rather than program inputs which all too often are the primary concern of program managers. The inputs (eg., the number of clinic visits, number of nutrition lectures given, medicines distributed) tell us nothing about the quality of the services and, therefore, are of little help in determining what impact or even what potential impact a program might achieve.

need for
info on
quality of
services

Finally, the indicators chosen to monitor program impact must be few in number and easy for the field staff to collect. By concentrating on several revealing pieces of information, the field worker is more likely to provide complete and accurate data. The field workers are presently required to report a large volume of information to the Dacca office, most of which is "nice to know" but does not tell the administrator/supervisor^s anything about program impact and is of little use for management purposes. By limiting attention to several impact-related indicators, the villagers, field staff and program administrators are constantly aware of and striving to achieve program objectives upon which the indicators are based. As such, the monitoring system serves to provide constant direction and orientation to the overall program and in a sense helps "drive" the development effort.

The specific indicators which I recommend to measure impact in the SCF program in Bangladesh are as follows:

Suggested
indicators

- Agricultural productivity figures;
- Percentage of primary school children (age 6 - 12 years) attending school regularly;
- Percentage of children 6 - 36 months "at risk";
- Percentage of eligible couples practicing contraception;
- Birth rate and infant/child mortality rates.

What do these figures tell us? The first indicator on agricultural production concerns one of the principal SCF activities. The information is important to document the effectiveness of the joint farming projects which are so popular in the five SCF villages in which they operate. Through SCF assistance farmers are able to afford irrigation as well as improved hybrid seed, fertilizer and pesticides. As a result, the farmers are not only able to improve aman (monsoon) production, but are also able to plant a crop during the boro (post monsoon) season when a large portion of the land has traditionally remained fallow or minimally productive.

The only village which has maintained production figures is Kulkurmai (Rangunia Impact Area) and the numbers are impressive. The records go back to pre-SCF days and total production in 1966-67 was 4790 maunds.* This figure more than doubled to 12,368 maunds in 1979-80. In terms of yield per acre, Kulkurmai reports yields of 25 maunds per acre for the aman crop and 40 maunds for the boro in the early 1970s; by the end of the decade this had increased to 45 (an 80% increase) and 55 (a 37.5% in-

* 1 maund = 80 pounds

crease) maunds, respectively.

The average yield figures can be calculated quite easily by taking samples from low, average and high yielding fields in the project area and determining in which category each farmer belongs. The farmers are keenly aware of their yields. The production figures themselves need be reported only once a year, possibly in June after both crops have been harvested. Because yields will vary somewhat from year to year based on the vagaries of the weather, production trends are most important.

Of course there are a number of factors which contribute to production increases, but certainly SCF's work deserves considerable credit. The most important point is that increased production means higher income and greater food availability, both of which are required if the overall objective of improved quality of life is to be achieved. As such, agricultural production (as all of the first four indicators listed) are more accurately described as intermediate impact indicators. They are monitored because any impact that is achieved is predicated on scoring well in these activities.

The second indicator concerns the attendance of children in primary school. Obviously literacy is an necessary factor in the development process, particularly in Bangladesh where literacy rates are so low. Because it is so difficult to determine with any accuracy the literacy rate in a village, a good intermediate indicator can be the percentage of eligible children who are going to school. It is important that emphasis be placed

on the primary level of education. At present a high percentage of SCF's student assistance in Bangladesh is programmed for secondary level students. Stating the indicator as it is forces a community to concentrate on the primary school age children. Once full participation has been achieved among the under 12 year olds, then the secondary level should receive priority attention. Focusing on this number will assist the VDC and SCF to program and target its student assistance funds and other development activities most effectively. For example, a family that cannot afford to send their child to primary school because they depend on the income the youngster contributes to the family budget would be a prime candidate for student assistance as well as inclusion in an income generating scheme. Finally, this indicator indirectly reflects other project (eg., infrastructure development of new or expanded facilities) and non-project (eg., education on value of education and its importance for females) activities.

The third intermediate impact indicator is more complex but can contribute greatly to the effective operation of the program. The health and nutrition status of the most vulnerable segment of the population gives a good indication of how SCF's development work (both income generation and social development).... is succeeding. Moreover, this indicator automatically provides the program with a child-centered strategy as advocated by Arboleda and Dobyms (1981).

The multi-causal nature of both poor health and malnutrition make it difficult and inadvisable to try to monitor cause and

effect relationships — eg., level of parent's education, unfavorable beliefs and habits, family size, parity, birth interval, poverty, non-availability of food, infection, lack of hygiene, poor sanitation. Many managers of programs with nutrition education components are concerned with measuring knowledge, attitude and practice (KAP) in feeding habits. However, the difficulties and lack of reliability of such data makes it more realistic to consider identifying and concentrating services on the "at risk" group. To begin with in Bangladesh over 50% of all mortality occurs in the under five age group. The more precisely we can target program attention, the more effective we can expect to be. Research in India (Shah, 1976) found that over 84% of the children dying in the project area suffered from one or more of the following factors:

- Below 65% of nutritional standard (weight for age)
- No weight gain for three consecutive months
- Weight loss for two consecutive months
- Serious illness (eg., gastroenteritis, measles, T.B.)

This approach has several advantages. First, the percentage of children in the "at risk" group gives the program field workers and managers a good idea of how they are doing in terms of improving the nutritional status of the community's most vulnerable group. Secondly, the at risk methodology serves as a screening/early detection device which permits special attention be focused on those requiring assistance most (some 23% of the under five age group in Dr. Shah's project). In other words, through a simple selection process the village-level worker can practice "manage-

ment by exception", thereby achieving maximum level of efficiency and effectiveness. Finally, the approach is designed so that villagers with little or no education can utilize it. The approach would seem ideally suited to impact areas where PDWs are (Mirzapur) or will be (Ghior and Nasirnagar) operating. Weight charts are being introduced, and the idea of targeting at least by para (giving priority to the "disadvantaged" para) has already been adopted. The at risk criteria most appropriate for the Bangladesh project villages must be determined. In addition, a decision must be made on the best way to screen the population. If weighing proves to time-consuming and complex, the use of mid-arm circumference might be more practical. However, with the PDWs being full-time workers and covering only 1000 population, it is hoped weighing could be used because of its greater sensitivity as well as the educational benefits derived by the mothers. Again, those families with at risk children should be given priority in other SCF development projects, especially in income-generating activities.

Another intermediate indicator of development impact is the percentage of couples practicing family planning. In order to achieve a good score in this activity other program efforts must have had some effect - eg., education (appreciate value and attendance), income generation (decreased need for additional wage earners), health and nutrition (confidence living children will survive). Moreover, the percentage demonstrates the level of trust and confidence established by the village-level workers. Family planning performance may also reflect indirectly how well

women's development activities are doing since increased status, self-assurance and social contact make changes in traditional beliefs and behavior (thus adoption of family planning) easier. The figure of current contraceptive users should be relatively easy to collect.

The most important impact indicator is derived from the vital statistics. The collection of birth and death figures should be a routine activity of the village-level workers, most likely the PDWs who have the most regular and intimate contact with the population. The births will help confirm the contraceptive usage figures. There is a very rough rule that for every 20% of the population utilizing contraceptives there should be a one percent fall in the birth rate:

<u>Contraceptive Usage</u>	<u>Birth Rate</u>
20%	4%
40%	3%
60%	2%
80%	1%

The formula is supported in the case of the Mirzapur Impact Area where in April 1981, 38.5% of the population was reported to be practicing some means of family planning and the birth rate stood at 2.9%. It should be mentioned that the increase ⁱⁿ contraceptive usage is very impressive, up from 21.7% only 14 months before. This accounts for a birth rate some 1.4 points below the national average (which equals a 33% reduction). These figures were collected specially by SCF-Bangladesh's Health Program Officer; it would be preferred to have such data available on a regular

basis so that similar successes can be documented.

Deaths reported by age groups gives important information on infant (under one year old) and child (between one and five years old) mortality rates. Infant mortality is a major problem in Bangladesh. The CBIRD methodology includes all the ingredients required to reduce the infant mortality rates in project villages. Despite this we were told in Gokarna village (Nasirnagar Impact Area) that seven children under one had died in the past month. Incomplete records precluded verification as well as the calculation of an infant mortality rate for Gokarna. However, if the number was in fact true, it is distressingly high. It is hoped that by focusing more specifically on reducing infant and child deaths performance can be improved.

By giving more attention to program intermediate and impact indicators, the proposed monitoring system takes into account all program activities, not merely project work. Much of what makes development "happen" cannot be accounted for by specific project activities. To date there has not been any reporting on development activities which do not directly involve SCF funds. For instance, a counterpart's orientation and organization work among the village women is not directly related to a specific project but do contribute to the achievement of program objectives. The very successful women's savings groups in Mirzapur Impact Area and Kunda village (Nasirnagar) are good examples; no SCF money went into establishing the activity, but they have had a considerable impact on the lives on the participating women and

their families. Thus the less tangible yet important work which is difficult to measure separately is indirectly reflected when considering overall development impact.

Although much of the data that is called for in the impact monitoring system already exists in some form or another, it is not in readily usable form. What is recommended in the proposed system merely selects the most relevant and useful information and presents it in an orderly and systematic manner. It does not require a great deal of extra work; rather the recommended system focuses attention much more sharply on what the program has achieved and has yet to achieve in terms of its overall development objectives. The end result should be a better targeted and oriented program with improved impact and optimal use of scarce resources.

I was pleased to see that a new form recently introduced in the Mirzapur project area (Attachment II) includes many of the items that have been mentioned in the section. This may be explained by the fact that the tasks and objectives of this particular impact area are more clearly defined and focused. It is still possible, however, to eliminate much of the information which is being asked for. For example, there is no programmatic need to know what method of contraception family planning users are employing. While this information should be available at the village level, it need not be reported to impact area or Dacca levels (except for stocking purposes). Nor is it necessary to know the number of drop outs; that information is included in

the monthly figure of percentage of eligible couples contracepting. Neither the clinic treatment records nor the sex of new borns provides any information on program impact and does not help in the management of the program.

In contrast, the recommended form (Figure I) for the monitoring of program impact is extremely simple. The example happens to be a village form; a consolidated version need only list the information by individual impact area village. The form could conceivably be simplified further by showing only the number of births and deaths (again by age) plus the percentage of contracepting couples, primary school attenders and at risk vulnerables, a total of only six numbers. However, for the sake of accuracy and verification, the total number of people in each group plus the number performing as hoped or at risk is called for along with the percentages at least in the initial stage of form introduction.

The field workers as well as the local supervisors and headquarters staff will be able to identify personnel performances which are either well below or above the norm. The proposed impact monitoring system provides rapid (in fact, immediate) information feedback. The workers are motivated by seeing what they have or have not been able to accomplish. The managers are shown where extra attention (orientation, training, supervision) is required. In a closely related matter, staff decisions can now be based on performance. Promotions, sanctions, even terminations can be supported by objective figures, thus reducing

FIGURE I

IMPACT MONITORING FORM

Village: _____

Impact Area: _____

Month: _____

I. Social Development

Para	No. of Births	Deaths		Family Planning			Primary School			Nutrition		
		0-1	1-5	Eligible Couples	Using Contraceptives	%	Total Eligible	Attending	%	Total 6-36 mos.	No. at Risk	%
1.												
2.												
3.												
4.												
5.												
Totals												

II. Agricultural Production (to be reported in June of each year)

Season	Acres Planted	Average Yield/Acre	Total
Aman			
Boro			
Annual Total			

organizational trauma and conflict.

The monitoring system encourages and promotes a results orientation since all activities are carried out in relation to specific program objectives. Some people may fear the loss of vitality and flexibility at the programming level. Quite the contrary is true if the system is utilized properly. In fact, the suggested approach should encourage problem solving at all (but particularly the implementation) levels.

The proposed impact monitoring system is meant only to give an overall view of what development is taking place. It alerts staff and managers to problem areas. The identification of the cause of the problem requires personal observation and analysis. There are too many potential constraints to make it feasible to consider a report form that would identify the specific cause(s) of the problem. The system, therefore, forces supervisors to visit the sites and spend some time learning about the difficulties and determining ways and means to rectify them.

The new focus on impact cannot be introduced without a thorough and well conceived orientation of the staff (headquarters, field and village) as well as the villagers themselves. The concept of someone basing their actions on a set of numbers is not one that is easily accepted in traditional settings. Once everyone understands the rationale underlying the new monitoring system, however, simple techniques can be used to reinforce and get the most out of the procedure. For example, the number of infant deaths during the current calendar could be posted prominently in a village to remind the workers, the VDC and the com-

munity at large that not only is this a priority but also the number reflects overall development progress in the village. Knowing exactly what has been accomplished and what still remains to be done (clearly indicated by the percentage figures), the VDC along with the SCF field staff is better able to make plans and set realistic goals for the coming year. Such exercises presumably will increase VDC awareness and consciousness about their problems and capabilities and make them concerned with performing well. A review of a village's accomplishments at the end of the year can revolve around the plan and targets, with reasons for successes and failures being analyzed.

A starting point for an impact monitoring system as recommended is a good baseline survey. In the past the surveys conducted by SCF-Bangladesh have been cumbersome, collecting more information than was required or could be utilized. With more clearly defined objectives it is now possible to reduce the amount of data collected to only that which relates to the data that will be needed for the impact monitoring reporting system. For example, in the original Mirzapur baseline survey (Hoque, 1980), the number of livestock (cows/heefers/bulls/bullocks, goats/lambs, ducks/chickens, others and a total) is taken. It is not readily apparent how this figure will be used to determine whether or not development has taken place. Even the occupation of the head of household, while always unquestionably included in any and every baseline questionnaire, adds little to our knowledge and cannot be considered important from an impact point of view.

The baseline data on the Bangladesh impact areas varies greatly in quality, quantity and content. The initial surveys were carried out at different times and at different stages in the program. It is important that a standardized baseline survey be taken for the entire program area. While late, it is better than never. This will give a basis for comparisons in the future. The Dacca office is in the process of revising and streamlining the baseline survey format. All efforts should be made to ensure that the data collected in the survey corresponds with the impact monitoring system. It should be possible to establish retroactive birth as well infant and child mortality rates by asking about any children that were born and/or died during the past year. From that point forward, the data provided by means of the newly designed monitoring system should keep the baseline census up to date. The only aspect that would have to be surveyed (possibly biennially) would be the socio-economic categorization. As we shall see in the next section on process evaluation, this is an extremely important aspect to determine the breadth of participation and distribution of benefits in the development activities. The criteria for socioeconomic classification is problematical; Gonoshastya Kendra, another NGO in Bangladesh, has had some success by dividing the community into three groups depending on their surplus (large = rich; small = middle; none or inability to afford two meals a day throughout the year = poor) (Pyle and Chowdhury, 1980). While a more complete formula may be required (to begin with SCF-Bangladesh has used four categories), the point is that the formula should not be complex or overly cumbersome.

IV. PROCESS EVALUATION

Process evaluation is a more complex and difficult matter than the impact monitoring but certainly no less important for the success of the CBIRD methodology. There is less opportunity to quantify and measure the factors or components which make up the process. We must, therefore, rely more on qualitative analysis. Nevertheless, discussions with SCF staff in Dacca and field workers and community members in project villages in Bangladesh make it clear that a systematic approach is possible and feasible and could contribute to accomplishing the ultimate goal of CBIRD, i.e., self-sustaining development in project villages.

The process factors which are identified as the ones that must be evaluated are familiar to anyone who knows and has worked with the CBIRD approach. They are part of orientation; they are mentioned in the Introduction to CBIRD manual; they are readily apparent in SCF field operations. In this section I attempt to define the seven significant factors which are involved in the process and to identify indicators which might guide field staff and program administrators in judging a village's level of progress in the different features. It is helpful to score the performance of a particular village on a scale of 0 (lowest) to 5 (highest) to give both the program staff as well as community members an idea of where they stand relative to the ideal or objective. The quasi-quantitative methodology makes the exercise more comprehensible to all those who must deal with the methodology. It is a fact of life that people relate much more easily and comfortably to numbers than to qualitative descriptions al-

though both contain the same basic information.

It will be noted that several of the factors included in the process evaluation methodology are not discrete; some overlap is inevitable but does not detract from the value of the exercise. The other limitation inherent in the use of scales is the problem of weighting. Certainly one or several of the seven aspects may be more important at a given time or in a particular environment, but this is difficult to take into account in the evaluation methodology as outlined.

The process evaluation system is not perfect, rather it is suggestive and requires field testing to determine its applicability and usefulness. It is a beginning, an initial attempt to address the problem of how do we know what we have accomplished in preparing a village for self-sustaining development and when the exciting day of SCF phase-out (or more appropriately "phase-over" of responsibility to the community) has arrived. This should be the ultimate objective of the organization from the first day CBIRD is introduced and, consequently, must be evaluated on a yearly basis to see what progress has been made and where more emphasis must be placed in the future.

The seven process factors that are included in the evaluation methodology are diagnosis (needs assessment), consciousness (orientation), programmatic involvement, organization, comprehensiveness (participation and distribution), finances (self-help), and linkages. The terms suggested may differ from ones used in CBIRD (given in parentheses) but mean very nearly the same thing.

1. Diagnosis: The first factor is referred to as needs assessment in the CBIRD methodology. I have chosen the term diagnosis because it refers to more than merely identifying problems. We are interested here in the community's ability to collect and analyze data upon which problem identification is based. The same exercise that the SCF staff and VDC cooperate on when determining which projects to approve must become a regular part of the community's development approach. This requires an appreciation for the different types of development (infrastructure, social and income generating) and the need to have a balance of all three in their program. They must also be aware of the need to establish priorities and must develop the ability to do so. This requires an awareness of the needs of special groups (eg., landless, women) as well as community-wide needs. In addition, it is necessary for the community to be able to identify resources and match a broad range of development needs with available resources. Determining whether a village has developed the capacity to competently diagnose its development needs is not an easy matter. One VDC chairman suggested that the best way would be to give a block grant to the committee and see how they program it. While this might not be possible, the idea might serve as the basis of a training session which forces a community to go through the process of identifying and prioritizing community problems. It is expected that the community will gradually assume a greater responsibility in determining the course of its development.

- 0 - No capacity to diagnose development needs
- 1 - Slight capacity to diagnose development needs
- 2 - Some capacity to diagnose development needs
- 3 - Moderate capacity to diagnose development needs
- 4 - Considerable capacity to diagnose development needs
- 5 - Fully capable of diagnosing community's development needs

2. Consciousness: Alternative terms for this component of the process are orientation, understanding and comprehension. That is, the community must have an appreciation of its roles and responsibilities as well as rights, not only in the program but in the development process in general if the village is to carry out development effectively on its own. When SCF introduces its program in a community, the latter is typically divided by factions and under the control of the socio-political elites who take maximum advantage of program benefits. As the program matures it is expected that the community as a whole and the leaders particularly will become aware of what development in the CBIRD sense really means and entails. The leaders, for example, must be aware of the need to develop all sectors of the community. They must also appreciate the importance of all development sectors and be willing to devote resources according to need. Finally, they must understand that it is to their benefit that everyone benefits from the development process. All ... too often the leaders and elites view development as a zero-sum affair - that is, they perceive that there is a limited amount of wealth and power in the village and if the lower socio-economic groups improve their lot that means less for the elites. Instead

they must realize that by having all sections of the village benefit from development, the pie (or roti^{*} in the case of Bangladesh!) actually gets bigger, and as a result there is more to go around. The SCF program in Bangladesh seems to have had some success in getting this idea across. For example, not only are all sections of the community involved in the joint farming projects, but the elites have supported projects which benefit the more disadvantaged sections.

The poorer and less involved elements of society must also be conscious of their rights to be involved in the development process and make demands accordingly when and if the need arises. In addition, the lower classes must be aware of their roles and responsibilities as members of the community and must assume them for the benefit of all (eg., contribute labor in a self-help project).

Instilling development consciousness takes time and involves constant orientation of the villagers, especially their leaders, regarding the benefits of community action and their roles and responsibilities in the process. To do this the administration and field staff of SCF must be fully oriented and conscious themselves so that they can carry out their work effectively.

The question is asked as to what is the likelihood of a community functioning in a constructive manner once SCF is no longer involved and no outside leverage (ie., control of funds) exists. A lot of SCF's success in achieving consciousness in

* A flat traditional bread (like chappati) eaten in Bangladesh.

project village can be attributed to its practice of suspending the program in communities which are not operating properly. This action forces the rival factions within the village to compromise and work out an arrangement so that development work can resume. The current problem in the village of Rasid-deohata (Mirzapur) is significant in this regard. One powerful family is disrupting the program and forced the VDC to take action against them. This indicates a growing level of consciousness and results in the "touts" (exploiters) finding it more difficult to operate. But what will happen once SCF is no longer involved is a serious concern and while alternative arrangements have been suggested,* the ultimate answer rests in the community's and its leaders' understanding and appreciation of the requisites for effective and equitable development. As such, efforts must be made to assess regularly the progress made in the consciousness factor.

- 0 - Completely unaware of roles and responsibilities
- 1 - Slight consciousness and awareness
- 2 - Some consciousness and awareness
- 3 - Moderate consciousness and understanding
- 4 - Considerable consciousness and orientation
- 5 - Fully conscious and oriented in the development process

* One suggestion made in the Bangladesh case is the formation of a committee consisting of the Thana Circle Officer, the local bank director and the Union Parishad (Council) Chairman. The villagers' reaction to such an arrangement, however, is not very positive; they feel the officials would not take sufficient interest in the development of the village. Considerable thought on this important issue is required.

3. Programmatic Involvement: The third factor refers to the willingness and ability of the community to be involved in all aspects of development programming from planning to implementation to evaluation to reformulation of program and projects. As in all seven of the process factors, the villagers' ability to be meaningfully involved in programming activities is expected to be limited during the early stage of SCF's development work. Through example, orientation, training and experience, their skills and competence will increase.

The planning activity should not be confused with the diagnosis aspect discussed earlier. Planning concerns the design of projects that are identified by means of the diagnosis or needs assessment exercise. Implementation includes such things as selecting workers and supervising their work. The SCF program forms selection committees composed primarily of sub-committee members to choose village-level workers such as counterparts and PDWs. Involvement in the evaluation of project progress or local worker effectiveness should also be a responsibility of the community if they are to carry on development on their own. As mentioned, it is expected that the monitoring system outlined in the previous section will assist in the process. Employment of workers from a project village is a very touchy and potentially disruptive issue, especially since many of the educated people who would naturally be the preferred choice are often related to the social and/or political elites. It is difficult to exercise control and enforce accountability

unless the community as a whole is involved in deciding who should be selected and in supervising their performance. Finally, the community must also have the capacity to revise programs in accordance with their findings in the evaluations or the monitoring system.

- 0 - Completely devoid of programming capacity
- 1 - Slight programming capability
- 2 - Some programming capability
- 3 - Moderate programming capability
- 4 - Considerable programming capability
- 5 - Fully capable of planning, implementing and evaluating community-based development program/projects

4. Organization: Self-sustaining development activities cannot be carried out in a community without strong leadership and a viable support system. SCF's CBIRD methodology generally (and Bangladesh is no exception) places a great deal of emphasis on this factor. In the early stages of the development process the VDC will typically consist of and be controlled by the elites. As time passes new elements should be represented.

The shifting of power and position among two rival factions is not an uncommon phenomenon in SCF villages. As is obvious from Attachment III, Nurpur worked out a compromise between Mozammel Hoque's group and an opposing faction. They traded off the chairmanship position each alternate year. This arrangement... came to an end in 1979 when Mozammel became Union Chairman* and, consequently, was no longer eligible for the VDC position.

* A union comes under a thana and is the lowest administrative subdivision; it has approximately 30,000 population.

To be a viable organization election procedures must be accepted and smooth transfer of power established. The management capacities must be present, particularly in handling financial matters. A practice found in several of the VDCs is the holding of money repaid on loans by the secretary. By keeping the funds for an extended period the community leader has what amounts to an interest-free loan. The local people are reluctant to say anything since he is a powerful person. A mature organization should have the capacity to develop safe-guards and a system of checks and balances which will prevent such activities. Moreover, the ability to recover project loans is a good indicator of the community's capacity to carry on its own development work. Generally, the repayment record of SCF projects seems quite good. However, a more accurate appraisal of a village's performance in this regard would be possible if the loan repayment form had one column added to it. At present the village reports the amount of loans outstanding and the amount collected during the month. By adding information on the amount due that month, the managers would be able to compare target and actual repayments. Short-falls could be identified immediately and reasons investigated. This would help minimize the long overdue debts which become increasingly difficult to collect as time passes. The unhappy experience of cooperatives in Bangladesh demonstrates how difficult it is to achieve responsible fiscal management in local organizations.

The subcommittees must also be capable of functioning ef-

fectively. The dispersion of power can be identified as one of the most important aspects of the CBIRD/VDC approach. This dilutes the power of the elite. Their control is no longer absolute and unchallenged. SCF has taken steps in the last several years to ensure this by making it necessary to elect at least one representative from each para to the six subcommittees. This prevents a rich para from dominating the subcommittees, hence the development program. SCF is conscious of the need to diversify leadership and increase the management responsibilities and capabilities of the subcommittees. They are talking about "decentralizing" project programming and are considering ways to finance projects directly through subcommittees. The implications of such a move are great. The power and status associated with the handling of money are considerable, increasing the dilution of elite control and authority while strengthening and broadening alternative community leadership.

It is also extremely important to promote and encourage independent groups such as women and youth clubs which can serve as additional support systems for the development program and projects. The greater the number of viable support groups, the greater the chances of development continuing and being effective. They are potential organized forms of pressure on the VDC to perform effectively as well as alternative means of independent development activity. The groups also provide another setting to develop and train new community leaders. In other words, not all development eggs should be placed in the VDC basket. Along these lines SCF in Bangladesh has done a very credible job developing and sustaining women's groups.

In discussions with the Westport office the question was raised about the need to have two community organizations, the VDC and the Gram Sarkar*, operating in the same village. The latter was formed recently in all 65,000 villages in Bangladesh. We asked a number of village groups about the possibility of merging the two. The response was generally negative. The communities saw the Gram Sarkar as a political entity having law and order and administrative functions. The VDC was seen as an effective (in fact, necessary) development body which was freer of politics and thus more independent. One advantage of the unofficial VDCs is that influentials (elders) who consciously avoid political involvement can involve themselves in VDC-related development work. Without the VDC many genuinely interested and motivated workers would lose their base of operations, meaning that their valuable services would be lost.

An example of the problems faced when dealing with Gram Sarkars can be found in one of the SCF project villages which has two Gram Sarkars as a result of a rival faction bribing a local official to authorize a second body which it could dominate. Moreover, the experience of India's Panchayati Raj and specifically the village councils (gram panchayats) would make one very reluctant to tie one's development hopes to this entity. In India the headmen care little about the development of their villages; they see their position as a means to advance their own careers either in business or politics. Since the villagers do not per-

* Gram Sarkar translates as "village government."

ceive the VDC and Gram Sarkar as having the same function, both should be allowed to coexist even if both officially have overlapping responsibilities.

- 0 - No organizational capacity
- 1 - Minimal organizational capacity
- 2 - Some organizational capacity
- 3 - Moderate organizational capacity
- 4 - Considerable organizational capacity
- 5 - Fully capable of running a viable organization

5. Comprehensiveness: When discussing this factor with the SCF staff, we were never satisfied with this term but could not identify a more appropriate or equally descriptive word. Basically it refers to the breadth of participation in the community's development effort and the equity in the distribution of program benefits.

Projects in several impact areas have classified the population by socio-economic groups (rich, middle, marginal, poor). One of the purposes of the exercise was associated with the health program in which medicine costs varied by category (from 100% for the rich down to 50% for the poor). But the classification has also been used to determine who is participating in the various projects.

In some cases where the data are available the breadth of participation is good. In the 1979-80 Akashi Beel joint farming project in Kunda (Nasirnagar), for instance, a total of 236 families participated (DuVal, 1981). The total number of acres covered was 162. While not classified by socio-economic category (survey not yet carried out in Nasirnagar), the size of land

holdings is revealing:*

Land Holding	No. of Farmers	%	Cummulative %
.07-.31 decimals	84	35.6	35.6
.32-.61 decimals	85	36.0	71.6
.62-.91 decimals	30	12.7	84.3
.92-1.31 decimals	20	8.5	92.8
1.32-2.0 decimals	10	4.2	97.0
2.00-9.0 decimals	7	3.0	100.0

as we can see over two-thirds of the farmers owned plots of three-fifths of an acre or less and almost 86% had less than nine-tenths of an acre. Project benefits, in other words, were widely distributed. Although a breakdown is not available for the same project when it expanded last year to cover close to 400 marginal and small farmers and approximately 650 acres, it is assumed that the participation and distribution was much the same.

In contrast to several of the previously discussed process factors, the comprehensiveness of the community's development can be quantified. To do this records must be maintained by project by the socio-economic status of the participants. This, of course, requires that a survey be conducted in areas where no socioeconomic classification presently exists (eg., Nasirnagar). This should be a priority activity. It is important that participants in non-project funded activities also be included (eg., women's saving groups). The impact monitoring system should direct more attention to the poorer socio-economic groups and

* There is reportedly a problem of a small number of farmers reporting a small^{er} acreage than they should so that their payments will be less. Because land frequently changes hands, it is difficult to confirm land ownership.

encourage greater participation from this sector. An annual review of program participation and distribution should be made by village.

As the importance of women's activities grows within the SCF-Bangladesh program, greater emphasis should be placed on their participation in project activities. This would include effective involvement in VDC and sub-committee affairs as well as women's groups and projects (income generating, social development or infrastructure). The percentage of women (broken down by socio-economic categories) who participate in and benefit from development efforts should be recorded and monitored to ensure broadly based activity. Keeping track of these figures should not present a great problem since the PDWs are in close and constant contact with the women.

- 0 - Exclusively elite male dominated
- 1 - Minimal equity in distribution/participation
- 2 - Some equity in distribution/participation
- 3 - Moderate equity in distribution/participation
- 4 - Considerable equity in distribution/participation
- 5 - Fully equitable in distribution/participation

6. Finances: In the CBIIRD lexicon this process factor is referred to as self-help. Here we give it a slightly broader definition, including cost recovery and community-based income generation activities. It is expected that as a community's development capacity matures, its willingness and capacity to contribute a larger portion of the cost of its development will increase. There must be evidence of a steady progression from extensive dependence on outside funds to greater self-sufficiency.

All efforts must be made to counteract the "welfare mentality" that expects others to carry out development for them (often the case with government programs). The fact that SCF's input will decrease over time must be made absolutely clear from the very beginning of SCF's involvement.

Self-help is obviously a vital part of SCF's Bangladesh program. As important as the amount contributed is the percentage of community members contributing. Some impressive examples of community support can be identified, such as the ^{bridge} being constructed in Minagazirtila (Rangunia) to which an estimated 80% of the village contributed. The villagers' portion of the cost was Taka 5000 and it was raised by collecting small amounts from house to house. Another instance is the construction of the Primary Health Center in Mirzapur. For the most part SCF has avoided the tendency of many community-based programs of accepting a piece of land or building as a donation from a member of the elite, ^{ing} call this community participation and count ^{ing} it as self-help.* Accepting such gifts are tempting but can have a negative impact on the program if (as is often the case) the donor expects (or demands) special treatment, eg., a seat on the VDC every year. Thus one of the attributes of self-help that must be looked for is the rate and breadth of participation (much as in the case of the comprehensiveness aspect).

At the present time, the SCF office in Dacca is discussing ways to improve the calculation and reporting of self-help. The

* One exception is Gokarna where the land for the community center was donated by a wealthy individual.

contribution of labor, cash, in kind is straight forward and does not cause much trouble. However, in the past, calculations have generally been based on project proposal estimates rather than on actual village inputs. Recently SCF has initiated a new policy whereby their project support will be contingent upon the community's contribution having been completed or provided.

The definition of exactly what should be included as "self-help" is also being discussed. There is a general agreement that the time spent by committee and subcommittee members in development-related activities (eg., meetings, contacts with government officials) should be counted. The often encouraged tendency to artificially inflate village contributions by including such things as time spent on income generating activities should be avoided. This practice, in the long run, is misleading and ultimately a disservice since the real level of self-help must be known if we are to determine the ability of the village to sustain its own development. One general guideline might be to exclude any activity whose output directly benefits the individual (ie., participation in income generating projects). On the other hand, if the contribution benefits the village at large (eg., infrastructure or social development project), it can and should be counted as self-help.

definite
self
help

... Oxymoron

The record of SCF-Bangladesh in the area of self-help appears to be impressive. Each of the 17 villages has a community

center to which the villagers contributed money, land, labor and/or materials. In addition, many of the villages have such things as brick roads/paths, bridges, school buildings, all built with the help of the community. Kunda village (Nasir-nagar) has an unique example of self-help; it runs a middle school primarily out of funds raised from the community by means of a 50 paise per maund tax on the rice produced by the villagers. It is, however, impossible at present to know the extent of self-help that has gone into SCF-VDC projects. A simple reporting system must be designed which gives the total cost of the project, the amount contributed by the villagers, the percentage of total cost this represents and how the contributions were distributed by socio-economic category. This can be done on a project-by-project basis and then calculated village-wise annually.

It is also important to know the cost recovery capacity of the community, especially in the social development sector. SCF has made some progress in the health field by charging for medicines. The possibility is being discussed of starting pre-schools in project villages and charging a small amount to cover the cost of the teacher. Such a project would have a dual benefit by giving the mothers more free time while increasing local employment opportunities for women.

Having initiated human services, SCF as well as a few VDCs are concerned about how the recurring costs in the social development activities will be recovered once SCF is no longer involved. As phase-over approaches, the question arises about

the future of the health-related staff (averaging three or four per village) without the exogenous funds. While the villagers may be willing to pay for a portion of the costs, the general poverty level makes it difficult to conceive of full cost recovery from the beneficiaries. A possibility that has been suggested by several village leaders in Rangunia is a one-time block grant from SCF which would permit the community to start an income generating small business, the proceeds of which would cover or at least defray the recurring cost of the social development activities. While the idea offers interesting prospects, caution must be exercised in view of the poor performance in VDC-managed income generating activities (eg., fish culture). Committee management for economic undertakings is rarely successful. More appropriate is arranging for one person to manage the undertaking and share in the profits. Such an arrangement provides better management as well as incentive for the manager to run the undertaking efficiently and effectively.

Block grant

*one
vs many
managers*

Thus, when rating the performance of a village in terms of the finance factor, self-help, cost recovery and the capacity to cover recurring cost must be considered.

- 0 - No community financing capacity
- 1 - Minimal community financing capacity
- 2 - Some community financing capacity
- 3 - Moderate level of financing capacity
- 4 - Considerable financing capacity
- 5 - Fully self-supporting

....

7. Linkages: We often hear that the goal of a development program is to make the community self-reliant. To a certain extent this is true; it must be able to stand on its own and not have to rely or be dependent upon others. But it is unrealistic to expect a village to become completely self-sufficient in its development. There is a continuing need to identify and utilize existing outside resources that can be applied to the community's development effort.

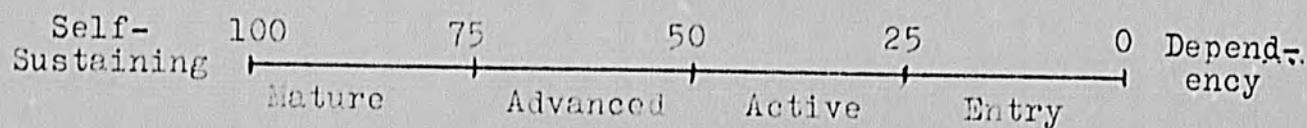
An important part of the CBIRD approach is establishing links between the villagers and outside organizations, agencies and government officials. As a village approaches the self-sustaining development stage, it is essential that the linkages be formed and the capacity be established that will allow the community to take advantage of and draw upon the outside resources. The village leaders and members must have the knowledge of whom to contact and the confidence to do so. In addition, they should know how to present their ideas and project proposals, both orally and written. Finally, the villagers, individually and as a group, must be aware of and practice as required the art of demand making. Rarely will agencies or departments come to the assistance of a village unless demands are presented and, often, the proper person (ie., with political connections) activated. This is a reality and if a community is going to maintain effective development progress after SCF has departed, this capacity must be developed.

SCF has had great success in establishing effective link-
ages ^{between} project villages and institutions. Probably the best ex-
A

ample is the Kunda - Bangladesh Krishi Bank (BKB) relationship positive
in the joint farming project. This was made necessary because
the resources required were beyond the financial capacity of
SCF. In addition, the facilities of the Bangladesh Agricultural
Development Corporation (BADC) have also been utilized for the
supply of pumps in the joint farming project. Links, therefore,
have been established in the case of Kunda; they must be main-
tained and others formed for development to proceed. Meanwhile,
other villages must be educated on what facilities and services
are available and how they can take advantage of them.

- 0 - No linkages established
- 1 - Minimal linkage established
- 2 - Some linkages established
- 3 - Moderate level of linkages established
- 4 - Considerable linkages established
- 5 - Linkages fully established

Once the staff has gone through the exercise of rating a
village's performance on all seven of these process factors,
it is possible to place that particular community on a continuum
which extends from dependency on the one end to self-sustaining
development on the other.



If a project scored perfectly on each of the seven process fac-
tors, it would receive 35 points (7 factors X 5 points). When
converted to a percentage score, this would be 100%. As another

illustration, a village with 23 points would score 66%. The continuum is divided into four parts which correspond to the phases or stage of a community's development capacity, as suggested by Forman (1981). For example, the village scoring 66% would fall well into the "advanced" stage, ie., closing in on the point at which phase-over can begin to be considered.

It is recommended that a community's progress in the development process be reviewed and evaluated each year. The field staff should meet amongst themselves first to evaluate the village's performance. With a good idea of what has been accomplished and a rating given in each of the seven factors, the process should be discussed item by item with the VDC and subcommittees. The exercise not only demonstrates to all present the stage the community has attained, but also identifies where weaknesses lay (ie., the areas which need maximum attention during the coming year). A frank discussion of these issues provides an excellent opportunity to reinforce and refresh the orientation of the villagers in the development process while stimulating them to make more or continued progress in the effort to achieve the self-sustaining/mature phase of the process.

One village leader from Rangunia asked if it were possible to have a VDC sit for a 3-year term. He complained that VDC/ subcommittee elections are disruptive and frequently caused factional friction in a village. The obvious problem with an extended tenure is the lack of accountability; if a non-productive committee could not be unseated, the whole program in a village would suffer. A more sensible arrangement would be

to have the decision on whether to hold an election depend on the annual review of the village's performance in terms of both impact and process. That is, if results are demonstrated and positive progress has been made in the process factors then the VDC would be approved for an additional year. This builds in a merit system and encourages good performance. The quasi-quantitative nature of the analysis makes the decision objective and easier to defend. Because this is a radical departure from normal and traditional approaches in running village affairs, introduction will not be easy and extensive orientation of the community will be required before the new system can be expected to function effectively. As in any proposals, loopholes can be identified (eg., sabotage by a rival faction so that no progress can be demonstrated), but it would appear worthwhile to try. With the field staff on the spot, any irregularities could be monitored.

The impact monitoring and process evaluation system makes it not only possible but actually facilitates the institution of annual village and impact area planning exercises. More local planning has been identified as an important goal of SCF-Bangladesh in a recent internal evaluation (SCF, 1981, p. 10-11), and considerable discussion has been devoted to how such exercises might be conducted. The proposed monitoring and evaluation methodologies provide a convenient means and rational basis for initiating individual village plans.

The data derived from the impact monitoring system together with the process evaluation score also provides a rationale and

V. IN-DEPTH STUDIES

Both the impact monitoring and process evaluation systems involve periodic reporting - the former on a monthly basis, the latter annually. The third type of report that is recommended is in-depth studies which would be carried out as required when a topic of special interest or significance is identified either by the Dacca office or Westport headquarters. The findings would be circulated in the form of discussion papers. They might resemble the recently introduced SCF Occasional Papers series, but instead of being for distribution to the general public, the in-depth studies would go into greater detail and be aimed at a professional audience.

The reports would serve several functions. First, they would provide an opportunity to research and document a topic thoroughly. In the crush of a myriad of program responsibilities, the administrative staff does not have the time to devote to such undertakings. The reporting and administrative procedures and duties are narrowly focused, usually on specific project-related activities, and prevent the whole picture from being developed and presented. In the process, the significance of some of SCF's activities, the lessons learned, the value of a particular development process are not documented. Yet it is agreed, particularly by the SCF-Bangladesh director, that such exercises would be extremely beneficial. First, they would provide an institutional memory, giving new directors or staff access to what has gone on before. In addition, other agencies, organizations and government departments who are attempting to

do the same or similar things would be able to benefit from SCF's experience and expertise. Amendment Number 3 (SCF, 1980) to the OPG mentions the need to be aware of the work of other agencies and organizations and disregards the contributions that SCF could make itself. Development (both inside and outside the organization) will become additive rather than repetitive only with increased sharing of information.

Because the local SCF staff cannot spare the time to devote to such work, alternatives must be considered. Three possibilities exist: a local expert (eg., from the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies); someone from Westport whose specific responsibility it is to write in-depth studies around the world or region; a consultant with a familiarity with and expertise in the topic and program. Two or three months might be required to fully research and write up each study.

During the course of my visit five topics were identified that are possible candidates for this kind of study:

1. Community Organization: Over the almost one decade that SCF has been in Bangladesh, it has accumulated a great store of knowledge and experience relating to community organization in support of community development which should be documented.

Community organization as practiced by SCF differs significantly from such well known indigenous organizations as Proshika and BRAC. The latter has published extensively on its approach which involves the establishment of separate homogeneous organizations of the lowest socio-economic sector (ie., the landless)

whom they are attempting to assist. BRAC maintains no progress can be achieved by working through the existing socio-political structure.

In contrast, SCF has demonstrated with some success that the landless and disadvantaged can^{be} helped along with the entire community. The elites are not circumvented as in the alternative approach. SCF's non-confrontational method may be more practical, realistic and feasible in the long run. However, in the process SCF has learned a great deal about the difficulties and constraints associated with the approach, the need for checks and balances, the importance of orientation and the dispersion and dilution of power. For the benefit of those who might attempt community development elsewhere and are interested in the "whole village" approach, the lessons learned by SCF must be analyzed, documented and shared.

Writing a detailed description of SCF's experience in community organization is particularly important in the case of Bangladesh where the government has recently launched the Gram Sarker movement. The development objectives of these village groups resemble in many respects those of the VDCs. The government's interest in SCF's efforts was exhibited when they chose Rangunia as the site for a 10-day training session for 171 Gram Sarker chairmen and secretaries in April 1981. In July, 86 bank managers underwent the same orientation and exposure to SCF project villages. The government's attention suggests that there is an audience waiting for a systematic presentation of what SCF knows about community organization and its

|| positive

positive

relation to development. In fact, SCF has committed itself to doing this in a letter to USAID (Forman to Buxell, 1980). According to this correspondence, SCF will provide the government information on SCF's program and CBIRD approach to strengthen their rural development program (ie., Gram Sarker effort).

"This gives SCF an unique opportunity to provide an advocacy role, and to use the experience and knowledge gained over the past eight years to help the government." How this was to be accomplished was not mentioned. The in-depth study would provide an ideal format.

A vital role of the studies is to address the implementation questions which are normally overlooked in development. All too often people observe and replicate the form of an intervention (e.g., VDC and subcommittees supported by an FC and SDC, village level workers, revolving development fund) and pay insufficient attention to the essence or the ingredients which make the intervention work. If real progress in the development field is to be made, we must focus on the underlying factors accounting for effective programming.

2. Women's Program: In the last several years women's development projects and activities have been given a high priority within SCF in general (e.g., Levy, 1981) and SCF-Bangladesh in particular. Simultaneously, this has become a "hot issue" in the international development field. The experience gained by SCF in Bangladesh warrants attention since it can contribute to the efforts of others in this new and extremely important field.

From my limited exposure to the efforts being made in women's development by SCF in Bangladesh, there appears to be a number of aspects which are well worth publicizing. They include:

- Difficulties faced by female staff members within the development organization itself;
- Need to orient fully male staffers to the issues to ensure they appreciate how women's development relates to SCF's broader development strategy;
- Sabotage, opposition faced at the village level;
- An analysis of constraints hindering women's growth (social, family, economics, religion, conservatism, illiteracy, male domination);
- Criteria for selection of integrated village-level workers;
- Effective means of portraying women's potential for growth (seed metaphor);
- Development of a set of flash cards on women's issues (presumably a first);
- Ability of village women to handle abstract concepts and express themselves articulately and effectively (at counterpart orientation);
- Potential for mass mobilization (as occurred on 23 January 1980 at Primary Health Center, Mirzapur when more than 300 women from impact area gathered to demand women representation on the Primary Health Center Committee);
- Documentation of successful schemes and activities (eg., savings groups).

3. Joint Farming: Joint farming projects have been carried out in five of the program villages and have been extremely successful. Every time a villager is asked which project has benefited the village most, the response is joint farming. Although a short case history and a project profile have been written on

the joint farming project, more in-depth research is required to document such things as increased productivity and income, decreased dependence on money lenders (mahajons), and broad-based participation by all socio-economic sectors of society.

The village of Kunda expects some 750 acres to be covered under the scheme in 1981-82. Such progress is no mean achievement considering the resistance and reluctance to deal with banks (in this case the BKB) when the scheme was first suggested. The formation of this link has changed the villagers' attitude toward dealing with the formal banking system and provided them with a number of options they never had before. In addition, the joint farming project has demonstrated that farmers, especially the small and marginal ones, are good credit risks; the payback rate has been almost perfect. However, despite the general success of the scheme, problems have arisen. For example, individual landholdings are difficult to verify which can interfere with loan repayment. In addition, many problems were encountered dealing with the BADC which provided the vitally important pumps on a rental basis. As agricultural production and irrigation become increasingly higher priorities of the government, SCF has a responsibility to share what it has learned about implementing a joint farming project.

4. Integrated Health/Nutrition/Family Planning: The move being made by SCF-Bangladesh to transform the sectoral health, nutrition and family planning workers into integrated Para Development Workers is to be commended. The intensive coverage of a population (one worker for approximately 1000 population)

has been found to be an important factor explaining the success of community-based projects in the Indian state of Maharashtra (Pyle, 1979). Pyle and Chowdhury (1980) have pointed out that one reason which might explain the lack of significant impact among community health projects in Bangladesh is the fact that the workers are higher level (largely paramedical) and cover a larger population (4000 to 5000). Thus, SCF's intensive coverage with village workers is among the first such efforts in Bangladesh. Consequently, SCF's chances of achieving impressive impact are improved and, accordingly, their obligation to document their progress is increased. The reason for adopting the pattern, the rationale for integrating programming, how the workers are organized, trained, oriented, supervised and some idea as to cost and effectiveness are all important if people are to comprehend the "essence" of what makes the PDW scheme effective. That is, as in the case of community organization, we must go beyond the form (ie., PDWs) and address the issues dealing with the process or "ingredients of success". This is important for both other organizations as well as the government to appreciate. In this way, if others are interested in replicating the approach, SCF's experience is described in a systematic, operational manner. The new effort, therefore, would benefit from the SCF work and start from that point, making improvements and revisions as required to meet their special situation. Such a report would reduce the number of times the ^{wheel} has to be reinvented!

5. recruitment: The hiring of staff at the village level to

serve in the community is an extremely complex topic. Based on SCF's extensive experience in this matter, a number of points must be considered:

- Selection criteria
- Selection procedure
- Accountability/merit system
- Volunteer versus full time
- Cost recovery of their salary from the community
- Funding of human development personnel
- Sanctions and complications that local workers raise
- Conflicts with elites

This particular topic was suggested by the SCF-Dacca staff and is one which gains in importance as more attention begins to be directed at village-level development workers (not only in the health field) by the government as well as other non-governmental agencies.

VI. CONCLUSION

The SCF program in Bangladesh appears to be innovative, extremely challenging and potentially successful. All the ingredients required to achieve significant development impact are present. So is much of the data by which to determine the extent of impact. What must be done and what has been recommended in this report is that three different types of monitoring/evaluation activities be initiated and carried out in order to ascertain level of program impact, to evaluate progress in institutionalizing the development process, and to document successful development topics/experience, respectively. The suggested approach favors long-term (impact) over the short-term (numbers) changes. The recommended monitoring/evaluation exercises are closely and directly related to increasing the effectiveness of the program as a whole. It closes the circle which begins with planning, goes through implementation, monitoring/evaluation and midcourse program adjustments.

Bangladesh is a good candidate for the introduction of the recommended monitoring/evaluation system. The program has recently begun to enjoy some stability and continuity. Moreover, the elements required to carry out the impact monitoring/process evaluation system are or soon will be in place — ie., socio-economic surveys of the impact areas, intensive coverage through PDWs, collection of statistics, oriented staff/communities. In fact, much of the data that would be required in the proposed impact monitoring system is already being collected; this report suggests ways in which it can be systematically presented

and utilized.

Several complicating factors arise which restrict just how much SCF will be able to draw from the impact/evaluation system. Because of the general deficiency in the original baseline information, it will be difficult to ascertain how much progress or impact has been achieved since the program started in the early 1970s. Moreover, no control groups exist. Neighboring non-project villages could be surveyed to give some indication of their development status without the CBIRD approach. However, ethical and financial constraints make such comparisons difficult. It is more practical to compare project villages with national averages (for infant and child mortality, birth rates especially). The accuracy of the national figures are suspect and certainly conditions between village varies tremendously, but the exercise would give a rough idea of where the village stands relative to the norm. Most important, in fact, is the trend, ie., how a village is doing against its past performance. The hope is that each year the impact indicators will show some improvement over the preceeding year. If that is happening, development can be said to be occurring.

A lot less difficulty might be faced with the process evaluation system because it is safe to assume that all villages start at or close to zero on the dependency-self sustaining capacity continuum. No baseline survey is required to ascertain this. Thus, it is merely a matter of determining the trend in the community's ability to carry on development activities on their own.

For the purpose of Phase II of the OPG, the evaluation planned for mid-1982 can only have limited expectations. Most importantly, SCF-Bangladesh must strive to initiate and institutionalize the impact monitoring/process evaluation system. This in itself would represent a considerable accomplishment and have great implications for the future of Bangladesh program. Secondly, efforts should be made to analyze the existing data at the village level which relate to the impact indicators discussed in Section II of this report. It is possible that if sufficient time is devoted to this exercise, some trend in birth rates and infant/child mortality rates could be identified. SCF-Bangladesh should utilize the Village Education Resource Center (VERC), with whom SCF has had a long and close relationship, to assist in the introduction of the impact monitoring/process evaluation system and possibly in the collection of past impact-related data at the village level; VERC's capacity and interest in doing such work has been established and documented.

The final point to be made is not specifically within the term of reference of my consultancy, but I cannot resist the opportunity to mention the potential value of the impact monitoring system on SCF's publicity/advertising efforts. At present, I (as a representative of the general public) cannot distinguish SAVE's ads from groups such as Children, Inc., Christian Children's Fund and Foster Parents. While realizing the value of the "heart strings" approach, I do believe that a campaign based on proven impact would elicit tremendous support from

the public. People object to bilateral and multilateral foreign aid programs because they are perceived to be ineffective; they support NGO efforts because they are thought to achieve results (Laudicina, 1973). This reason for support should be taken advantage of by SAVE by "selling" its success which can be documented by the field data. Such an orientation would also serve to strengthen the organization's objective and commitment to substantive development impact in its project villages around the world.

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ATTACHMENT I

PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

I. SAVE (Westport)

Pratima Kale	Director of Programming, Asia Region
Brenda Langdon-Philips	Asst. Program Director, Asia Region
Mark Rand	Intern, Asia Region Programming
Jiara Arboleda	Director of Training

II. SAVE (Dacca)

Kenneth Forman	Director
Alex DuVal	Trainee, Program Associate
Syed Nurel Alam	Deputy Director
Aminul Islam	Chief, Program Section
Afzul Hussain	Health, Nutrition and Family Planning Program Officer
Hasina Khan	Women's Program Officer

III. SAVE (Field)

A. Rangunia Impact Area

A.S.M. Saifuzzaman

Field Coordinator

1. Ichamati

Md. Ali Akbar
Deba Proshad Barua
Monju Barua
Sabuj Barua
Md. Abdul Gafur

Chairman, VDC
Secretary, VDC
Nutrition Worker
Family Planning Worker
Clinic Paramedical

2. Kulkurmai

Basar Chowdhury
Abul Chowdhury

Chairman, VDC
Gram Sarker Pradhan (Chairman); Block
Manager in Joint Farming Project
VDC Office Assistant; Gram Sarker Member
Secretary, VDC; Member, Gram Sarker
Former Secretary, VDC
Member, VDC and Union Parishad
Member, Women Subcommittee
Participant, Dry Fish Project
Family Planning Worker
Member, VDC and Gram Sarker.
Villager
Clinic Paramedic
Member, Women Subcommittee

Parimal Kanti Barua
Rukkini Ranjan Barua
Badi Ahmed Chowdhury
Delwar Hossain Chowdhury
Hasina Begum
Serat Begum
Dipali Biswas
Chitta Ranjan Dey
Manik Chandra Dey
Sudhir Ranjan Dey
Ananta Bala Jaladesh

3. Minagazirtila

Md. Sha Alam
Kazi Shamsul Haque

Secretary, VDC
Chairman, VDC

Abul
Ashok Kumar Banik
Sachinanda Barua
Md. Hossain Chowdhury
Azizul Haque
Amir Hossain
Raja Mia
A. Rahman
Ajitar Rahman
Md. Sharif
Abdu Sobhan
Saye Haque Tawkdar

4. Syedbari

Sadequr Nur Sikder
Gura Miah Shawdagar
Kalachand Achajay
Faruque Ahmed
Shamsul Alam
Amyio Prosad Barua
Monikuntala Barua
Mourtuza Begum
Saolhan Chakravorty
Niharika Das
Mahammedul Hoque
Zakir Hossain
Jasimuddin
Abul Kashem
Eklasur Rahman
Shafiqul Islam Sikder

Secretary, Education Subcommittee
Clinic Paramedic
Member, Education Subcommittee
Member, Health Subcommittee
Member, Health Subcommittee
Member, Agricultural Subcommittee
Secretary, Agricultural Subcommittee
Secretary, Youth Subcommittee
Member, Gram Sarker
Member, Landless Subcommittee
Member, Health Subcommittee
Former Chairman, VDC

Secretary, VDC
Chairman, VDC
Clinic Paramedic
Villager
Shop Owner
Member, Agricultural Subcommittee
Family Planning Worker
Secretary, Women Subcommittee
Chairman, Health Subcommittee
Nutrition Worker
Office Assistant
Member, VDC
Rickshaw Owner
Landless (Cow Owner & Mortgage Farmer)
Member, Landless Subcommittee
Gram Pradhan, North Syedbari

B. Mirzapur Impact Area

1. Baimail

Md. Amjad Hossain Mia
Mir Naziruddin Ahmed
Firoza Aktar
Nurzahan Aktar
Rokeya Begum
Dewan Md. Karim

Chairman, VDC
Member, VDC
PDW
Village Woman, Disadvantaged Para
PDW
Office Assistant

2. Dherua

Lutfor Rahman Siddique
Hasson Ali
Delowara Begum
Hazera Begum
Montaz Begum
Nurzahan Begum
Sukur Jan
Abdur Rahman
Sijedur Rahman
Moslem Uddin

Chairman, PHC Committee
Villager, Disadvantaged Para
Woman, Disadvantaged Para
PDW
Counterpart
Mother, Disadvantaged Para
Villager, Disadvantaged Para
Office Assistant, PHC
Office Assistant
Member, PHC Committee

3. Rashiddeohata

Rokeya Hakim	Counterpart
Hosne Ara Khan	Social Development Coordinator
Lutfur Rahman	Former VDC Member
Rezwanour Rahman (Babul)	Secretary, VDC
Surya Quddus	PDW

C. Nasirnagar Impact Area

1. Gokarna

Khaleda Begum	Social Development Coordinator
Saleda Begum	Worker, Sewing Center
Fultara Bibi	Member, Women Subcommittee
Tajumum Bibi	Member, Women Subcommittee
Minu Rani Das	Former Secretary, Women Subcommittee
Anita Rani Das	Letter Writing Assistant
Parbati Rani Das	Nutrition Worker
Rabendra Dev	Primary School Teacher
Swapan Kumar Dev	Office Assistant
Md. Nazib Hossain	Secretary, Education Subcommittee
Ataur Rahman Khan	Primary School Teacher
Sarifa Khatun	Family Planning Worker; Former Chair- woman, Women Subcommittee
Rama Prasad Nandi	Farmer
Anjan Kumar Roy	Member, Education Subcommittee
Syed Zahangir	Former Chairman, VDC
Syed Md. Zahur	Gram Padhan

2. Kunda

Syed Hossain Thakur	Chairman, Union Parishad
Kutubuddin Chowdhury	Secretary, VDC
Siruzul Hoque Munshi	Chairman, VDC
Mokleshur Rahman	Field Coordinator
Rahim Ali	Member, Agricultural Subcommittee
Rahmat Ali	Member, VDC
Atowarunnabi	Social Development Coordinator
Abdul Aziz	Villager
Horicharan Das	Villager
Umarani Dev	Counterpart
Abdus Sukkur Miah	Member, Landless subcommittee
Antar Ali Miah	Member, VDC
Atab Miah	Member, VDC
Chandali Miah	Member, Agricultural Subcommittee
Dula Miah	Member, Landless Subcommittee
Moybali Miah	Member, Landless Subcommittee
Nur Miah	Member, VDC
A. Mutalib	Villager
Bashoki Nomo	Member, Women Savings Group
Debohi Nomo	Member, Women Savings Group
Komala Rani Nomo	Member, Women Savings Group
Shova Rani Nomo	Member, Women Savings Group
Kousolla Rani	Secretary, Women Savings Group
Srikanta Saha	Villager
A. Tohid	Member, VDC

3. Nurpur

Mozammel Hoque (Kaptan Mia)	Chairman, Union Parishad
Md. Dearish Chowdhury	Member, VDC
Chandra Sekor Dev	Clinic Paramedic
Syed Kabir	Office Assistant
Abdul Motaleb	Member, VDC
Fazlur Rahman	Member, VDC
Md. Sorur Rahman	Member, VDC
Kanan Bela Shaha	Social Development Coordinator
Md. Zahir	Member, VDC

ATTACHMENT II

MIRZAPUR FORM

Save the Children (USA)

Health/Nutrition/Family Planning Program

Monthly Progress Report

Village: _____ Month of: _____ Area: _____

1. Family Planning

Total number of fertile couples: _____

Method	Users as of 30th of last month	No. of new users in this month	No. of drop-out in this month	Total users in this month	S T O C K				REMARKS
					Opening stock	Receipt this mo.	Consump. unis mo.	Balance	
Pill									
Condom									
Foam									
Injection									
I.U.D.									
Rhythm									
Ligation									
Vasectomy									

Brief causes of dropout:

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2. Population

Population as of last January: _____

Population as of 30th last month	Number of Births		Number of Deaths 0-5 yrs. Above 5 yrs.	Number of Pregnant this month	Marriage		Migration	
	Boys	Girls			Boys	Girls	In	Out

3. Clinic

Clinic Attendants	For Treatment	For Immunization	Referred
0-5 years			
Above 5 years — Male			
Female			
Out of area			

Expenditure for Medicines _____

Expenditure for others _____

4. Other Activities

- a) Health Education Program:
- b) Sanitation Program:
- c) Nutrition Program:
- d) Kitchen Gardening Program:
- e) Other activities:

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ATTACHMENT III

LIST OF VDC CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES

(BY VILLAGE)

I. Mirzapur Impact Area

1. Baimail

Chairman

Secretary

1977-78	Imtiaz Ali Bhuan	A. Mannan
1978-79	A. Mannan	Imtiaz Ali Bhuan
1979-80	Mozibur Ali	Ansar Ali
1980-81	Ansar Ali	Nazir Hossain
1981-82	Amzad Hossain	Ansar Ali

2. Dherua

1977-78	Abdur Rahman	Khandakar Mozaffor Ali
1978-79	Abdur Rahman	Monsur Ali Sikdar
1979-80	Khan. Mozaffor Ali	Raihan Ali
1980-81	Khan. Mozaffor Ali	Md. Habibur Rahman
1981-82	Md. Habibur Rahman	Khan. Shamsul Alam

3. Ranashal

1977-78	Lutfor Rahman Siddiqui	Reazuddin
1978-79	Reazuddin	Lutfor Rahman Siddiqui
1979-80	Joinal Abedin	Reazuddin
1980-81	Bahar Uddin	Abdur Rashid
1981-82	Not Yet Formed	

4. Rashiddeokata

1975-76	Abdul Khaleque Mia	Mokleshur Rahman
1976-77	Abdul Khaleque Mia	Mokleshur Rahman
1977-78	Abdul Khaleque Mia	Abdur Razzaque
1978-79	Abdul Kader	Nazimuddin
1979-80	Abdul Khaleque Mia	Ali Hossain
1980-81	Abdul Khaleque Mia	Abdur Razzaque
1981-82	Abdul Khaleque Mia	Rezwanur Rahman (Babul)

II. Rangunia Impact Area

1. Ichamati

1977-78	Gawtam Barua	Mohammad Hussain
1978-79	Mohammad Hussain	Dipankar Barua
1979-80	Mohammad Hussain	Amar Kumar Barua
1980-81	Mohammad Hussain	Amar Kumar Barua
1981-82	Md. Ali Akbar	Deba Proshad Barua

2. Minagazirtila

1973-74	Sayedul Hoque Talukder	Osman Ali Talukder
1974-75	Sayedul Hoque Talukder	Md. Hossain Chowdhury
1975-76	Sayedul Hoque Talukder	Md. Hossain Chowdhury
1976-77	Md. Hossain Chowdhury	Sayedul Hoque Talukder
1977-78	Abdur Rahman Dealer	Md. Abul Hossain
1978-79	Sayedul Hoque Talukder	Badan Ali Shawdagar
1979-80	Badsha Mia Chowdhury	Md. Nurul Hoque
1980-81	Badsha Mia Chowdhury	Md. Nurul Hoque
1981-82	Kaji Shamsul Hoque	Md. Shah Alam

3. Syedbari

1972-73	Himangshu Mutshurddi	Nurul Hoque
1973-74	Sattya Narayan Das	Himangshu Mutshurddi
1974-75	Nurul Hoque	Badal Baran Talukder
1975-76	Shafiqul Islam Sikder	Sattya Narayan Das
1976-77	Zakir Hossain	Badal Baran Talukder
1977-78	Gura Mia Shawdagar	Sadequr Nur Sikder
1978-79	Gura Mia Shawdagar	Khair Ahmed
1979-80	Gura Mia Shawdagar	Khair Ahmed
1980-81	Gura Mia Shawdagar	Khair Ahmed
1981-82	Gura Mia Shawdagar	Sadequr Nur Sikder

III. Nasirnagar Impact Area

1. Choirkuri

1977-78	Sathish Ch. Sarker	Md. Musa Mia
1978-79	Samir Ch. Ghosh	Faruque Ahmed
1979-80	Md. Musa Mia	Md. Jashim Uddin
1980-81	Md. Musa Mia	Md. Jashim Uddin
1981-82	Md. Maula Mia	Md. Mustafa

2. Gokarna

1975-76	Syed Md. Zohur	Kasinath Dev
1976-77	Md. Amir Uddin	Biddyuth Kanti Dev
1977-78	Md. Amir Uddin	Md. Hossain Khan
1978-79	Syed Md. Zohur	Kasinath Dev
1979-80	Syed Md. Zahangir	Torun Kanti Dev
1980-81	Syed Md. Zahangir	Torun Kanti Dev
1981-82	Not Yet Formed	...

3. Kunda

1974-75	Monnar Ali Mia	Mohammad Hossain
1975-76	Abdus Sattar Mollah	Ajoy Kumar Dutta
1976-77	Mohammad Hossain	Abdus Sattar Mollah
1977-78	Rashed Ali Bhuan	Kutubuddin Chowdhury
1978-79	Abdur Rashid	Akkal Ali Mollah
1979-80	Rashed Ali Bhuan	Abul Kalam Azad