

Social Capital in Nadagari and Nandina Charland Villages

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R8103: FTR - Annex iv

Project R8103

***Consensus for a Holistic Approach to improve Rural-livelihoods in
Riverine-islands of Bangladesh (CHAR)***

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R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

Acronyms

<i>Bongsho</i>	A larger community assemblage consisting of separate Gushti
CBO institution	Community based organisation – used to refer to PAPD
Charlands Chars	Riverine sandbars prone to periodic erosion and accretion AKA
DFID	Department for international development
<i>Fitr</i>	A religious tax
<i>Gram Sharkar</i>	‘Village government’ – lowest government tier at village level
<i>Gushti</i>	A patrilineal kinship group
<i>Haat</i>	A weekly market
ITDG	Intermediate technology group
<i>Jalmohal</i>	A section river channel, temporarily isolated during the dry season
<i>Jama’t</i>	A religious congregation – often focussed around a local mosque
<i>Jama’t Masjid</i>	Friday mosque - larger mosque hosting main weekly service
<i>Karsh Land</i>	Government owned common lands
<i>Khutba</i> mosque	A Friday sermon – most significantly held at a <i>Jama’t</i>
<i>Madrassa</i>	A religious school AKA <i>Masjiel</i> or <i>Mandir</i>
<i>Masjid</i>	A mosque
<i>Masjid</i> committee	Mosque maintenance and secular activities inc. <i>salish</i> , <i>fitr</i>
NRSP	Natural Resource Systems Programme of DFID
<i>Para</i> homesteads	A village/ town neighbourhood; often a cluster of houses/
RCE	Rural community extensionist
RDSM	Rural Development and Social Mobilisation - partner NGO
<i>Salish</i> <i>Jama’t</i>	Traditional conflict resolution mechanism associated with the
<i>Samaj</i> mosque	A residential brotherhood – often focussed around a larger
US	Unnayan Sangha – partner NGO
<i>Union</i> <i>Thana</i>	Lowest administrative boundary usually 4-5 villages – AKA
<i>Upazilla</i>	Second administrative tier consisting of multiple unions
WBMC fishery)	Water body management committee (re. Nandina <i>Jalmohal</i>
<i>Zakat</i>	Voluntary poor alms – one of the traditional pillars of Islam

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

Table 1. Travel Itinerary

Date	Location	Activity
Sun 12 Dec		Arrive Dhaka
Mon 13- Dec	Dhaka to Jamalpur	Travel to Unnayan Sangha (US) office Discussion with ITDG team on social and other research findings
Tue 14 Dec	Nadagari village	Field visit: focus group and key informant interviews
Wed 15 Dec	Nandina village	Field visit: focus group, KI interviews, Jalmohal visit
Thur 16 Dec	US office Jamalpur	Review of field findings with research team Interview and piloting of post PAPD monitoring survey with Nadagari key informant Development of post PAPD database
Fri 17 Dec		Leave Dhaka

Staff participating in field work and focus group sessions

Mr Kamal Hussein	ITDG Jamalpur
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Mr Ireen Akter	ITDG Jamalpur
Mr Farook Hossen	ITDG Jamalpur
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Mr MD Mazharul Islam	Socio-economic specialist and consultant
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Contents

Acronyms

Travel Itinerary

Participating staff

1. Background
2. Aims of the visit
3. Methods
4. The research area
5. Displacement, resettlement and conflict
6. Village institutions
7. Boundary problems
8. Influencers and evolution of CBO organisations
9. Gender
10. Knowledge dissemination
11. Community monitoring
12. Post PAPD impact monitoring
13. Conclusions

Tables

Table 1. Travel Itinerary

Table 2. Village characteristics

Table 3. *Gushti* membership in Nandina and Nadagari villages

Table 4. Post PAPD monitoring sample design

Boxes

Box 1 *Salish* in Nadagari

Plates

Cover – River crossing to Nadagari

Plate 1A. The Jama't Mosque, Nandina

Plate 1B The General Mosque, Nadagari

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Focus group meeting attendance

Appendix 2 – Influencers in Nadagari

Appendix 3 – Influencers in Nandina

Appendix 4 - Social map of Nadagari village

Appendix 5 - Social map of Nandina village

Appendix 6 - Post PAPD monitoring questionnaires

1. Background

The trip was a periodic review of NRSP project R8103, now nearing the end of its second year of field activities. The project is investigating the potential for marginal Bangladeshi communities, living in flood prone 'charland' areas, to formulate their own village development plans through a novel consensual planning process; participatory action plan development (PAPD). Research has taken place in two villages, Nandina and Nadagari, located on the Brahmaputra-Jamuna River System near Jamalpur town in NW Bangladesh.

Two 'micro-PAPD' exercises were undertaken in Nadagari, revolving around construction of a community house and the stocking of a small canal fishery. A community house was also constructed in Nandina, but here, the main focus was on a single macro-PAPD activity, which culminated in securing access to, and stocking of a large '*jalmohal*' water-body. A range of smaller agricultural participatory technology development (PTD) exercises were designed to build trust, foster linkages with external institutions and to engage villagers in the PAPD planning process; the broader project goal. ITDG and Unnayan Sangha (US) also provided humanitarian relief to both villages during flood episodes earlier in 2004.

2. Aims of the visit

The main aims of the visit were as follows:

- To examine the structure, function and evolution of the CBOs (established during the PAPD process) including performance and agreements reached (focus on consensus building rather than micro/macro activities *per se*).
- To assess knowledge of project purpose and activities by a cross section of villagers and the reliability and means of knowledge dissemination
- To gain an improved understanding of project monitoring methods and activities
- To gain an improved understanding of the interaction of existing community institutions with project committees i.e. *gushti* and *Masjid* committees
- To review the process adopted for community- based monitoring
- To develop and advise the post PAPD monitoring and analysis.

3. Methods

- KI interviews with project field staff, community members and secondary stakeholders.
- Focus group meetings with villagers and field staff. Meetings were held in the community houses constructed during the project.
- Observation and interviews during farm walks

4. The research area

Village characteristics are compared in Table 2. Nadagari is a recently established village located on a riverine island recently accreted on a tributary of the Jamuna River. Nandina is a much older, larger and less marginal village located more than 10km from Nadagari, in an area of more stable accretion adjacent to the old riverbed. Settlement in both villages is mostly homestead based, though households appear more widely dispersed in Nadagari. Social maps of the villages produced by ITDG staff are shown in Appendices 1 and 2.

Table 2. Village characteristics

	Nandina	Nadagari
Years BP settled	70-80	13
No. of households	>450 ¹	>300 ²
Mains electricity	None	None
Access	Metalled road under construction	Boat
Markets	Small bazaar in village and larger market in neighbouring village ²	Nearest market 3km on mainland
Religion	100% Muslim	100% Muslim
Political affiliation	BNP	Awami League

¹ Within entire village ² Within the research area – there are more than 2,000 HH in Greater Nadagari

² Only eight to ten businesses are active in the marketplace. The market has been slow to develop as there is a large market in the neighboring village approximately one mile away.

5. Displacement, resettlement and conflict

Most Nadagari villagers moved to the village 11-13 years ago after re-accretion of the sandbar in 1992 (the most recent arrivals, all relatives of existing settlers, arrived three months ago). Some 25-30 years ago the char area was located in the main bed of the Jamuna River. Although the course of the river has moved, villagers estimated that the Char would remain stable for at most around thirty years.

Minal (male aged 35 – Appendices 2 and 4) reported being displaced nineteen times over his life-time. During these episodes he lived with friends and family within a 7-15km range of Nadagari. Many other villagers reported a similar pattern of displacement. The last major flood occurred in 1998, while there were less severe floods several months prior to this visit which also resulted in brief displacement in some cases. Despite this trauma, many present felt that their lot had improved on the riverine char saying; ‘here we have our own land – previously we could only share-crop’.

Settlement of the island char effectively took the form of a land-grab and there is a continuing struggle, mostly at individual household level to legalise their land title. This has created much bad-feeling, occasionally leading to violent

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

conflict. Such is the sensitivity of the issue, that villagers were unwilling to discuss it in any detail. Other recurrent non-violent conflicts are related to cattle grazing (there is no longer any common fallow land). Some respondents also cited 'children fighting' though this could be another expression of adult conflicts. Most villagers in Nadagari were also defaulters on soft loan given during Awami League Government after a catastrophic flood 1998. Loans below 5,000 were written off during a subsequent BNP regime though differential treatment based on political allegiance may have caused further division.

The Nadagari settlers were displaced from several adjacent villages after erosion of the river bank. Although most came from a single village itself called Nadagari (the char and the remains of this settlement are now referred to as Greater Nadagari), a substantial number also came from two neighbouring villages; mainly Shuknagary and a smaller number from Nangla (Appendix 4). During festivals and social occasions the entire island group remains isolated from attached groups indicating increasing differentiation from the mainland 'parent' settlements. This has been reinforced by the establishment of essential institutions including a school, *madrassa* and mosques on the char. However, the mixing of households from separate communities with distinct social traditions and relations formed natural 'fault-lines' for different interest groups on the Char to coalesce around, including the issue of land ownership. Although the micro-PAPD activities were directed at less contentious and seemingly unrelated issues, this power-struggle has clearly been a major constraint in achieving enduring consensus on any collective issue (section 8). Consequently, the existence and the nature of latent and overt conflicts must be carefully assessed before prescribing the PAPD approach.

One hundred years ago, Nandina village came under the old course of the Jamuna River. Villagers were displaced to Assam, Dinajpur and Rangpur. Twenty-five years later, after re-accretion, 25 households returned, of which 75% settled permanently. Much of the subsequent growth was endogenous (section 4). Only ten new households have settled in the last ten years. These came from Patadah and Koira villages under Madargonj Upazilla (Appendix 4). There was also evidence of a power-struggle in the formation of the Nandina CBO. However longer settlement, relatively greater affluence and stability, appears to have increased the relative cohesiveness of this community. For this reason, along with other pre-disposing factors discussed below, the consensus methodology appears to have been much more effectual in Nandina.

6. Village institutions

In the widest sense, institutions refer to any regularised patterns of behaviour and practices that mediate social relationships. This definition incorporates not only more formal corporate institutions, but also reflects the importance of traditional social institutions and informal relations.

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

Focus group participants were asked to rank their village institutions within the broad definition given above. In both villages the mosque was cited as most important, explaining 'we are Muslims!' i.e. spiritual life was placed above secular. Participants were then asked to consider just the importance of secular institutions. In Nandina the project CBO (especially the water-management sub-committee dealing with the *Jalmohal* stocking) and the *Masjid* committee were jointly assigned greatest importance. The *Gram Sharkar* (see below) with 13 members headed by a UP member was deemed to have been 'less effective'. Another participant said the '*Gram Sharkar* may come or go but the CBO is stable' - in fact many members are common to both committees. *Gushti* affiliations were also cited to be of lower importance. Other formal village institutions including the Bazaar committee (currently with ten shops) were designated as 'sister concerns' to the CBO. The general unity brought about by PAPD process was also deemed to have reduced the significance of political affiliations. Although the majority of villagers were traditionally aligned with the BNP - one committee member stated if necessary we will now all [strategically] vote together!

Gram Sharkar: Literally 'village government' the *Gram Sharkar* system was introduced by the then BNP Government in 1982. Based on the Indian Panchayat system, the intention was to devolve decision making power to a council of 12-13 elected representatives at village level. One member of the council is then elected to represent the village at *Upazilla* level. In both villages, the councils were heavily politicised and therefore as indicated above, deemed to be ineffectual and generally held in low esteem.

Gushtis: Focus group participants were asked about the significance of *gushti* and *bongsho* kinship groups in their communities. They described these as 'inherited social characteristics where *gushtis* form branches of larger *bongshos*'. They added, 'there is free inter-marriage between *gushti* clans - unlike Hindu castes'. The system is patrilineal and membership designated by a shared surname. However, the frequent recurrence of common surnames indicates that this alone is insufficient to define a *gushti*. In the past some *gushti* were associated with specific occupations, though this is less common today.

Traditionally *gushtis* were led by one, occasionally two influential households, usually elders. This is still a tradition though today, inheritance of the position is less automatic. In Nandina, Jabar Sharkar was one of the most influential *gushti* leaders, but no household has achieved similar status since his death. Habibur Raman Sharkar, an ex UP. Chairman and president of the CBO, is now the most influential person in the village. No single person has equivalent status in Nadagari.

All of the Sharkars and 80% of the Mondals and Mullahs settled after re-accretion of the village site around 80 years ago. Some 30% of the entire population settled in recent decades (but only ten in the last 10 years). These are mostly male Mondals from Madargonj and Bogara who have married back into the village owing to land pressure elsewhere. Such 'uxorilocal' marriages contrast with a more 'virilocal' tradition; in which women move in with the male

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

family and become part of their *gushti*. Uxorilocal may have lower social status though this was not investigated. Most Sharkars are located in the south of Nandina village, and Mondals to the North. The pattern of settlement in Nadagari (section 5) has resulted in greater mixing of different *gushti* groups.

Mondals in Nadagari and Sharkars and Mondals in Nandina predominated in the focus group meetings reflecting their predominance in both village. In the time available, it wasn't possible to gather further information on the nature of sub-groups within these broader designations, nor was it possible to fully understand the significance of *gushti* membership in terms of the other power-struggles identified in the villages. The information presented above suggests that although *gushti* allegiances remain important in terms of social interaction and hierarchy, demographic / land pressure and the encroachment of modern external 'democratic' institutions in village life have to some extent reduced their influence.

Table 3. *Gushti* membership in Nandina and Nadagari villages

<i>Gushti</i> name	No Households	Years BP settled
Nandina		
Mondal	>200	80% > 80 years
Sharkar	>160	80 years
Khan	50-60	NC
Sheik		NC
Fakir		NC
Shunaru (goldsmiths)		NC
Mullah		80% >80 yrs
Nadagari		
Mondal	270 – 300	11-13 years
Pramanik	5-7	
Khan	3	5-7 years
Sheik	2	
Akand	2	

Within the immediate *para* there are 150 Mondal households, 3 Akand and 1 Pramanik

The Masjid Committee - Broadly there are two kinds of village mosques; the *Jama't Mosque* (Friday Mosque) hosts five daily services, including the main weekly and best attended prayers on a Friday. More numerous and smaller general mosques cater mainly for daily prayers and may or may not cater for Friday prayers depending on their proximity to a *Jama't Mosque*. A *Jama't Mosque* will typically serve one or more villages whereas individual *paras* (neighbourhoods) within a village may each have their own 'general' mosque. There is one *Jama't Mosque* in Nandina, while one *Jama't* and one general Mosque were identified in Nadagari. The Nandina mosque was the most substantial and finest building in the village, while both Nadagari Mosques were of temporary construction attesting to the villages more marginal status.

Each mosque has a board of secular trustees known as the *Masjid Committee* comprised of influential community members (the Imam is not a member).

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

The committee is primarily responsible for the upkeep and management of the Mosque, including recruitment of an Imam. Construction and maintenance costs are mainly met through public donation. The committee also undertakes other important social functions; most significantly informal dispute mediation and conciliation (*salish*). *Salish* remains the main mechanism for dealing with the most numerous low-level, civil disputes. Only when this fails do aggrieved parties resort to law courts which involve greater expense, potential escalation and entrenchment of conflicts. Most villagers appear to have greater confidence in *salish*. Neither party is committed to accept the outcome; the system relies entirely on the trust which is placed on respected local influencers to arbitrate fairly (in practice the input of the third party ranges from mediation to arbitration). *Salish* sessions usually take place after Friday prayers, i.e. at the *Jama't Masjid*. In Nadagari the primary school is also the location for *salish*. Some examples of *salish*, one relating to an ITDG PTD activity are given in Box 1.

Box 1: *Salish* in Nadagari

Case 1. Approximately five months ago a shallow tube well diesel pump was stolen from Giash (an executive member of the CBO). Others in the village, including Shamsuddin, a friend and fellow CBO member, informally approached influential *salish* arbitrators to resolve the problem. After the first *salish* failed, Mizam Uddin (son of a freedom fighter who recounted the story) recommended Giash to file a court case - but a second *salish* resolved the problem. This involved one of the most respected men in the area, Mr Hannif Uddin Mondal, the ex-UP member for Nangla where he lives (2km from Nadagari). Some 5-10 villages regularly invite him to participate in more intractable *salish* events involving bigger problems (trying to avoid the involvement of courts where at all possible). The thief was an influential local person – who agreed to return the remains of the pump he had stripped for spare parts, plus Tk 5,000 compensation. Mizam described Shamsuddin as being honest but inefficient; saying ‘his judgement is clouded by emotion’.

Case 2. A second *salish* was successfully undertaken to resolve the problem of an ITDG donated thresher machine, which one CBO member, Minal Uddin tried to monopolise.

Traditionally considerable influence and status also accrued to the family who donated land for construction of a Mosque. Such households tend to be well represented on local institutions; often inter-generationally. In Nadagari, Mana Mondal, a rich man from the east of the village donated the land for the *Jama't Masjid* Mosque which is used by 250 families. He also holds an executive position on the project CBO. In Nandina, the influential head of the *Masjid* committee; a community leader and ex-*Upazilla* member, is not a member of the CBO as he lives in a neighbouring *para*, although some wish to involve him. In both villages, the members of different *Masjid* Committees will liaise to solve trans-boundary disputes between neighbouring *paras* or communities. Less

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

positively women, who are typically required to worship at home, must rely on male representation if they are to be included in the *salish* process.

These observations point to the successful integration of the CBO with existing village institutions, both modern democratic institutions (mostly externally imposed) and the more traditional indigenous organisations. *Salish* remains an effective conflict resolution mechanism which operates alongside more recent legalistic institutions. Largely for this reason, in both villages focus group participants stated that ultimately they would wish to see the functions of the *Masjid* Committee integrated with the CBO. This could bring benefits in terms of resolving inter-community conflicts and perhaps allowing women greater access to conflict resolution / consensus building mechanisms.

7. Boundary problems

In Nadagari problems were encountered due to the arbitrary delineation of research boundaries (Appendix 4). An area of riverine char with around 200 households was selected; this was necessitated by the large population of 'Greater Nadagari' (>2,000 households). The area included resettled villagers from both Shuknagary and Nadagari while excluding neighbouring family, friends and *gushti* members whose households were located just out-with the boundary. The boundary complexities are also reflected in the fact that Nadagari belongs to an administrative union there are nine wards but only 6 villages. Nadagari is a separate Panchayat and Ward. Nadagari, Nangla and Shuknagary all have separate UP members. Nangla and Shuknagary are both part of Shuknagary *Mouza* and Ward.

Although both groups attended PAPD meetings, the lack of true consensus was demonstrated during the ITDG / US flood relief effort, when some of the 'Nadagari people' tried to exclude 'Shuknagary people'. The conflict was exacerbated by the perception that the different interest groups were preferentially channelling relief to family and friends out-with the research boundary (in fact ITDG targeted relief on households in the wider electoral area which included Nadagari). Bad faith had already been created by an earlier 'food for work' relief programme. After one year the wheat promised by the *Upazilla* executive officer had still not been delivered reflecting the lack of political influence in this marginal village.

Further conflict also resulted from the inclusion of three extension officers on the CBO executive (at the suggestion of ITDG staff - see below) who lived outside the research area and each provide support to 3-4 villages.

No similar problems were encountered in Nandina, where the entire community of around 400 households was incorporated in the research area. RCEs were also successfully incorporated as executives on the Nandina CBO, though in this instance all lived within the village.

8. Influencers and evolution of CBO organisations

Nadagari: Many of the decision making difficulties encountered in Nadagari relate to social divisions which can be traced in large part to the geographical origins of the villagers. While most households originate from the mainland Nadagari and belong to the Mondal *gushti*, over 10% came from neighbouring Shuknagary (within the village, households of the two groups are geographically mixed). Friction between the groups was aggravated by the greater political influence enjoyed in Shuknagary village; for example a local MP living in Madargonj *Upazilla* comes from the village. The tension was also apparent in responses to other questions. For example, in relation to *salish*, Mizam Mondal (see below) suggested that most victims and thieves were former residents of Shuknagary. He also suggested that *salish* activities are divided on sectarian lines between the two *Masjid* Committees in the village. ITDG staff identified the following key influencers in these groups (see Appendices 4 and 5). All were or had been executive members of the project CBO.

1. *Nadagari Mondals:* Nizam Uddin, Zahid, Shams Uddin and Jinna (Jinna was described as being 'a fair and transparent but occasionally an undiplomatic spoiler').
2. *Shuknagary and other 'outsiders' group:* Minal Mondal, Idris, Khalil (RCE livestock), Sharpunkar Khan
3. *Others less clearly allied:* Nurumundi Jahid ('the strongest representative of the poor; fair but not a great convincer'), Abdul Khaliq Mondal, Manjurul Haq (RCE Agriculture)

Overall Nizam, Shams Uddin and Minal appeared to be the most important actors in an on-going power struggle between the first two groups for which the land struggle is also an important underlying cause. The third more passive group of influencers were said to 'suffer' as a result!

Nizam enjoys considerable respect due to his status as a former freedom fighter. He is also a member of the *Masjid* Committee, and was referred to as 'chief advisor to the village'. He is one of the first points of contact for any outsider visiting the village, including ITDG staff. His equally charismatic and eloquent son, Mizam is a primary school teacher and the only graduate in the village. He runs a youth club with 20-25 members which also provides informal credit (at 10% monthly rate) underwritten by shopkeepers on the mainland. The youth club also includes other well educated 'dropout' students – all belonging to the Nadagari group – a second youth group exists in Shuknagary. Mizam is also a member of the Gram Sharkar with political aspirations. Nizam was appointed as the CBO secretary when the first 'interim' committee was established in Dec 03. He soon gave up this position citing 'lack of time' after missing 4-5 consecutive meetings - he visits the local *Upazilla* almost on a daily basis in order to attend a veteran freedom fighter organisation. Other villagers also felt that it was important that a full-time secretary should be a 'keen person'. Beyond homestead cultivation, neither Nizam nor Mizam rely on farming for their livelihood; this may have also

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

influenced Nizam's commitment; given that most of the direct benefits related to ITDG activities were connected to agriculture.

One of the most significant project activities undertaken in the village was the construction of the community house for which there was a unanimous decision taken by villagers (17th Sep 03). Unlike Nandina no suitable CPR was found to focus macro PAPD activities around. Although there is still some *Khas* land, none remains fallow and there is no water resource of comparable size and importance to the Nandina *Jalmohal*.

Because of the potential influence entailed in the provision of such public spaces (section 6), there was competition between donors to provide the land required for construction of the house. The contest was initially between Shams Uddin (then CBO chairperson) and another executive member. When after two months and 4-5 meetings their differences could not be resolved, a third person, Minal was nominated (Dec 15th 03). The house was eventually located at the end of his homestead area, to the south of the village, on an area formally used as a cow pen. Shams Uddin withdrew on condition that the land would be registered with the land office in the name of the CBO. However, Minal who became responsible for 'maintaining the house', still clearly anticipated personal benefits – for example he took it on himself to lend out the solar panel provided by ITDG (to light the house and raise revenue by charging batteries) for social / ceremonial functions – which duly broke down. Similar problems were avoided in Nandina by locating the house on an already common piece of land in the village Bazaar – a shop keeper was allowed to power a light in his shop in return for watching over the house. The relative poverty of the two villages is also reflected in the complete lack of furniture in the Nadagari community house – in addition to wooden chairs and tables there are already plans to install a permanent concrete floor in Nandina.

Conflicts also took place within the two main interest groups. Minal's group became early adopters of many project activities and a conflict followed when a further sub-group lead by Rajak (31yrs), a recent incomer to the village, were excluded from the fisheries group. Rajak's group have no CBO representation. ITDG staff also reported that there was a 'psycho-war' between Shams Uddin and other Nadagari people during the distribution of flood relief. Shams Uddin identified 20 households for relief in an excluded area to the north of the village.

In March 2004 Nizam was replaced by Zahid as CBO secretary, while another ally Mr Jinna replaced Khalil, an agricultural extension officer from Bogara, as treasurer. Although poorly educated, Shams Uddin Mondal, the CBO chairman, is relatively rich with substantial land assets. He also has political aspirations; standing as Union Parishad candidate for which he requires village support. Abdul Khaliq Mondal, vice president of the CBO also appeared relatively un-dynamic. Subsequent evidence indicated that Nizam and others in his group wished to displace these 'less effectual' executive members although they both belonged to the 'Nadagari' Mondal *gusthi*.

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

Early in October 2004 a rebellion was staged against the incumbent CBO committee! Mizam who led the group, described this as a rebellion of young people in the village who were dissatisfied with their performance and leadership, though clearly his own interests were closely allied with his fathers. The group aired their grievances by marching through the village using a megaphone to voice their dissent. This prompted an extremely heated daylong 'self-criticism session during which everyone spoke'. The ITDG staff was also criticised. Some of the main areas of contention, which were also repeated during the focus group meeting, were as follows:

- The first CBO committee was democratically elected at a meeting held at the house of Pir Shokar (another former secretary) in September 2003. Although 'almost all' villagers participated, ITDG dissolved the committee as they felt it had been formed too quickly – literally over night – and this was inconsistent with the goals of the project. It appeared at that time that both ITDG and villagers did recognize that the original committee was weak, and a second meeting was convened a meeting for the 14th of October which most villages attended but no consensus was reached. Prior to the construction of the community house other meetings took place in the homes of (1) Firoz Sharkar (ex. Chairperson) (2) Misar Mondal (lives near mosque) (3) Minal Mondal. These meetings mainly involved members of the executive and very few other villagers. After dissolution of the original executive personnel changes took place on three occasions. Nizam blamed ITDG's intervention for the failure of the committee, as they rather than the villagers ultimately played the major role in its formulation. ITDG justified the subsequent inclusion of external extensionists as means of creating linkages to government line agencies as well as improving technical capacity. Shams Uddin felt that the real committee was only established in April 2004 with the construction of the community house – previously few resources and hence decision making power had been placed within their remit (villagers also felt that there had been more arguments and less freedom of speech when meeting were held in private houses).
- At the onset of the project, villagers were lead to believe that everyone would be eligible to receive 500-1,000 Taka loans from Unnayan Sangha. However in the ITDG design CBOs would not be allowed to retain revolving micro-credit funds. This created confusion and did nothing to strengthen the CBO at the outset.
- There were subsequently irregularities in the distribution of maize and fertiliser inputs provided by ITDG for one of the PTD activities. Cash rather than fertiliser was distributed and the budget was not entirely accounted for. Distribution was co-ordinated by two extensionists; Manjurul Haq and Khalil, who also provided training for 16 participants. Khalil was also the CBO treasurer. There was also general dissatisfaction at the lack of participation by 'local villagers' in co-ordinating the activity.

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

- There were also grumbles regarding other service provision. Firstly on the issue of the threshing machine which was too big and destroyed the straw! Secondly regarding ITDG's failure to provide a promised flood rescue boat. ITDG staff explained that this was withheld because of the community's inability to manage access to the thresher machine without conflict. The executive also failed to collect a financial contribution for the community house which ITDG promised to match on a 1:10 basis. Finally, only the labour to bring the materials to the village was provided by villagers.
- Mizam cited bias in decision making of the existing CBO - both Minal and Shams Uddin had tried to channel relief benefits to relatives in the other part of the village outside the research boundary. He felt this undermined the CBO and that boundaries should be respected.

After the meeting seven CBO members stood down including the chairman Shams Uddin. The youth group also demanded to see the financial accounts relating to maize and fertiliser distribution. At the time of this visit these had still not been handed over to the new treasurer. It was hoped subsequent meetings would result in the formation of a new committee by end of December; around 150 households in the village maintained interest. However, the means by which the committee would be selected still remained unclear, and at the time of this visit there appeared to have been little progress. Nizam suggested that ITDG should arbitrate whether the old executive can remain on the committee. Although arbitration may be one solution, Nizam's phrasing again reveals his own vested interest. He also suggested that powers of the mosque committee (of which he is a member) could be transferred if the CBO were properly constituted.

Nandina: The CBO evolution process was slower in Nandina but the results appear much more sustainable. After the first PAPD process it took almost two years to recruit most villagers. Of some 450 households in the village approximately 200 have been involved in group formation; 56 households in micro activities and 200 households in macro-PAPD *Jalmohal* activity with approximately 60% overlap. Only in April 2004 were nominations and elections for CBO positions were held. Selection of the chairman, a businessman took three days - although described as a good leader, he was often absent and was replaced by Habibur Rahman Sharkar, becoming vice president himself. Habibur (absent from the meeting), an ex UP Chairman was described as the most influential person in the village. Only one other change had taken place since April due to a migration from the village. This resulted in Abdul Quarder taking over as treasurer.

There are a total of 21 persons on the CBO committee including 16 executives and five advisors. The executive includes four secretaries with responsibilities for fisheries, livestock, agriculture and gender. The first three are RCEs - all are volunteers, only the livestock RCE receives a small direct remuneration from community. In addition to the gender secretary there is one other female executive and there are two representatives of poorer households. Abdul Rahman, nephew of the chairman Habibur and one of the

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

more influential members of the committee, is the general secretary. There were reports of an earlier power struggle for leadership between uncle and nephew, which appears to have been resolved leading to the current *status quo*.

Five months later, the water body management committee (WBMC) was established as a sub-committee to manage *Jalmohal* stocking. This had an entirely different executive consisting of 31 members (issued with passbooks) with Wassim Uddin as president. Some 10-12 members are most active including Wassim and Afzal Hussein. Afzal, a second ex UP member (Satari UP, Shatpur) and assistant secretary of the CBO was one of the main coordinators of stocking. WBMC members also meet informally every night at a temporary tea stall constructed near the *Jalmohal* for the purpose of guarding the water body.

Prior to the formation of the CBO 'natural leaders' and influencers, convened periodic issue based meetings. Since formation of the CBO there have been regular monthly meetings and decision-making appears to have genuinely become more consensual. Focus group participants variously made the following observations:

- Previously things were more autocratic; decisions were taken by 'influential leaders' with support on the basis of relational loyalty or patronage. Two or three people imposed decisions resulting in 50:50 splits. Wassim Quarder reported that the need for democracy is now agreed with responsibilities for each of the *gushtis* and factions. Separate meetings are called in each area. Marginalized voices were not heard before, now they are honoured - there is representation from each corner of the village. Another participant reported that Mondal *gushti* is less dominant (there was roughly equal representation of Mondals and Sharkars, the main *gusthis* at the meeting).
- Women could not speak before, whereas four are now present on the CBO and WBMC committees. Nariam one of the female CBO executive members, stated 'there has been a self-revolution! We have exposed weak points and strong points. There has been mental development and confidence building.
- Before *salish* decisions lead to splits among some groups, but after the CBO these groupings have gone. Village politics were the main reason for the groupings; elites demonstrated power by using *salish* as a political tool. Previously there were many groups within groups. BNP politics are less discussed – 'this is now an offstage issue. There is no party, now there is only the CBO party. If needed the whole village will support one party! The *Gram Sharkar* and CBO members are now common, there are no conflicts. The *Gram Sharkar* may come or go with government, but the CBO is stable'.

The development of Jalmohal PAPD is illustrative of the development of the changes in decision-making. Participants in the original PAPD workshop were

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

divided into seven interest groups (1) Richer - more land around *jalmohal*, (2) richer less land, (3) better-off / with or without land, (4) poorer – no land / homestead only (5) fishers, (6) women, (7) leasees of the *jalmohal*. During the final plenary session there was a big argument over allocation of *jalmohal* stocking profits, with group 1 demanding a greater share. Group four refused, pointing out that 'it is not being cultivated just now, and we should all, land owners and non-land owners, receive an equal share', failing which they threatened withdrawal. The land-owning *gushti* said they must discuss the proposal, a separate meeting was held (with no ITDG participation) after which they ultimately agreed. Around 50% of landowners (25 households) agreed to this positive use while another 25 households felt that if it is good for the village it is good for us. The constitution of the CBO was simultaneously adjusted to be more representative of marginal groups including women, the poor and landless.

Approximately 200 households became ordinary members of the WBMC, all of whom donated Tk300 towards stocking, netting and harvesting of the *jalmohal* fishery. However, it appears that the popularity and anticipated potential of the scheme has resulted in a great many more households joining, until now there are as many as 400 households i.e. most of the village. Although shares are limited to one per village household, there have also been offers to buy Tk 300 shares for Tk 500 by some of those out with the village who formally controlled the fishery leases. Several poorer households were assisted with loans by Doolal Mia Monal (one of the 'poor representatives' on the CBO).

As part of PAPD process the village has produced a written five-year plan during which there will be no change in the current shares system i.e. all will contribute and benefit equally. It was acknowledged that if there was a large profit the original leasees and riparian landowners would be more likely to try and reclaim the land so that potentially they may have to lease the *jalmohal* 'but our consensus cannot be broken'.

Seven professional fishermen living in the village will be paid to undertake the harvest and external fishermen excluded (previously the same fishermen could fish only during the monsoon period when the resource reverted to an open access status).

In the meeting questions were also posed regarding the future threats and challenges facing the CBO. Following are some of the responses:

- Abdul Rahman: 'Our mindset is positive; this will sustain the CBO, which will replace ITDG. We have reached the primary level, but we need further support before their withdrawal – this is the main threat. With unity we can face political threats, but we still need more financial solvency; perhaps this will come from the *Jalmohal*?'
- Mariam: 'with your advice we climbed a tree, don't take away the ladder! When the boat starts sinking, if the boatman panics all will die. We have just started learning!'

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

- Important future development issues facing the community are as follows: (1) Completion of the road. (2) Electricity supply (3) more capacity building for flood rehabilitation and management. We would like to begin dealing with these issues before ITDG withdraw.
- The men felt The WMBC fish stocking, seed distribution and maize cultivation were the most practical outcomes. The women felt the community house was the best as they could attend meetings. Other benefits included increased patience, tolerance and self sacrifice.
- With the *jalmohal* we are learning by doing. Whatever the results, if there is transparency no one will mind.

9. Gender

Investigation of the gender implications of the PAPD process were constrained by time and mixed-sex forums. Largely due to the encouragement of ITDG staff, a number of women were incorporated in the executive of both village CBOs. In both focus groups, women only contributed when specifically invited to. Two brothers interviewed with their wives near the Nandina Jalmohal opined that their wives 'had no role in the decision-making process and we do not discuss meetings with them'. Nevertheless the acceptance of women's right to participate in community meetings, sessions appeared to be an improvement on the previous visit when even the right of female ITDG staff to be present was questioned.

Ten women attended the Nadagari focus group. Most influential were Khuki Bewa and Nizam's cousin (Appendices 1 and 2), both members of the CBO executive along with 15 males. Although some had participated in the community house micro-PAPD, they were most satisfied with their participation in household based PTD activities and requested further such initiatives. They felt that financial independence gained from these activities improves their decision-making ability within the house. Savings groups were also started with 25 women, but as yet there has been no loan recovery. Although two area-based women's groups (each with around 45 members) hold independent meetings associated with PTD activity, there was no evidence of any meetings taking place without ITDG facilitation. Asked about the conflicts facing the CBO they stated that 'men should resolve their own conflicts – we don't want to participate in this process, but nevertheless they should be resolved immediately'. No conflicts were reported regarding their own household based activities.

In terms of the main project goals, the ability of women to influence decision-making at the community level still appears low, but requires further clarification.

10. Knowledge Dissemination

Those attending the focus group meeting might be expected to have superior knowledge of the project goals and activities. Consequently an attempt was

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

also made to interview individuals encountered at random during (brief) farm walks.

Two brothers (25-30 yrs) encountered by the Nandina *jalmohal* reported that they were represented by Mr. Chan Mastar (their cousin, a *Madrassa* teacher and influential member of the Sharkar *gushti*) on the CBO. They also heard information about meeting dates via loudspeaker announcements. Both brothers participated in PTD meetings/ activities and the *jalmohal* stocking. Nevertheless both felt that the main purpose of the project was to 'help villagers make a profit'. They also responded for their wives who were also present.

Abdul Jukar (50+ yrs) at the same location felt the main goals were technical i.e. to improve agricultural productivity. Like each of the brothers 'and 400 other families' he contributed Tk300 to the *jalmohal* stocking. He was 'happy to contribute and there will be no problem if it results in a loss'. When asked why, he responded 'because it brought the community together.

11. Community monitoring

In both villages an influential, well-educated person was selected by ITDG staff to act as community monitors since the start of the project. In Nandina, Jamal Uddin (who died recently) was replaced by Abdul Cader Mastar. Both were teachers. In Nadagari, Nizam Uddin an influential former freedom fighter was selected. Nizam subsequently proved to be the leader of one of the factions in the village power-struggle (section 8). Information was also regularly solicited from, Roman, Dullal and Abjal in Nandina and Zahid in Nadagari (Appendix 2). These people became the first contact points when entering the field so the process also became a useful way of engaging influencers. No female community monitors were selected.

ITDG advised on recording methods; etc. Little prescription was give over the methods; diaries, cartoons, pictures were suggested. During the first three months written reports were produced but both formal monitors preferred to give verbal feedback. No formal indicators are used in the process.

12. Post PAPD impact monitoring

During a previous visit three questionnaires were developed to assess the perceptions of different stakeholder groups regarding the PAPD activities; the macro PAPD in Nandina and two micro PAPD activities in Nadagari. The sample design is shown in Table 4. In order to achieve an adequate gender balance, it may be necessary to interview more than one individual per household. Selection should be randomised within each category in Table 4. Inclusion of other groups will be a random consequence of this design i.e. PAPD stakeholder groups, wealth, *gushti*, landed-landless gender, Intra-household, age, PAPD participant and non-participants.

Table 4. Post PAPD monitoring sample design

	Nandina	Nadagari
1. Participant survey	40 Jalmohal PAPD ¹	20 community house ² 20 canal fishery ²
2. Non-participant survey	10	10
3. Secondary stakeholder survey	10	10
Total	50	50

¹Macro PAPD ²Micro PAPD

Surveys 1 and 2 were piloted with villagers before and during the visit respectively. Updated questionnaires (version 2) are presented in Appendix 6. A relational ACCESS database, incorporating all three questionnaires, was also developed to encourage accurate data entry and to aid analysis. Copies of the database and an associated help-file were separately sent to project partners in early January.

13. Conclusions

Clearly in terms of the project goals, the PAPD outcomes were much more successful in Nandina, where there appears to be a strong possibility of achieving beneficial and sustainable change. Results were much less favourable in Nadagari, where, although an almost identical process was followed, there was some evidence of latent conflicts actually being inflamed. A comparison of the pre-intervention situations in both villages can therefore yield useful lessons as to the broader applicability of the PAPD method.

Nandina, a longer settled and relatively affluent village clearly, clearly had much greater pre-existing social cohesion than Nadagari. The ability to conduct a macro PAPD exercise around the *jalmohal* fishery was also instrumental in achieving broader acceptance and unity; there was no comparable 'large-scale' win-win opportunity in Nadagari. Nandina, which had two ex-UP members, also benefited from good linkages and political influence with external institutions which may also have strengthened their negotiating position, particularly with respect to the *jalmohal* fishery. In Nadagari lack of secure title to recently settled land was one of the principle causes of division. This was compounded by social heterogeneity and poorly defined project boundaries. Some fundamental institutional capacity building mistakes also fuelled a sense of grievance; especially relating to transparency and accountability in financial matters.

Nandina's cohesion was also reflected in their successful co-operation with earlier development projects. Under a recent UNICEF water sanitation program implemented by a local NGO, RDSM, the community constructed a deep arsenic-free community ground well with financial contributions from each household. Development initiatives in Nadagari appeared to be characterised by individual micro-credit and loans schemes which may have promoted a dependency culture.

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

In both villages there was an initial desire to incorporate functions of more traditional indigenous institutions such as *salish* into the CBO process. How compatible such functions might be given the more democratic nature of the CBO requires further investigation. Certainly, many of those on *Masjid* committees, Gram Sharkars etc. are also represented on the CBO and in Nandina at least appear to be benefit from the alternative perspectives provided by both systems. Furthermore, whether incorporated or not, villagers appear to be using these highly effective and sustainable traditional institutions as yardstick against which to measure the success of the CBO.

Although hope was expressed that a 'youth rebellion' in Nadagari might revitalise the CBO, there was clear evidence of linkages between this movement and agendas of broader interest groups involved in existing divisions. Never the less representation of younger people appeared poor in both villages; most of those attending the focus group meetings, including a large number of CBO executives, were in their late thirties or older. In Nandina, there was also some evidence of improved woman's representation although their role in collective decision-making is still extremely marginal.

Overall the results suggests that there will be a much greater challenge in implementing the PAPD process in more marginal Charland areas where internal struggles over land access are critical. Other parallel conflict resolution approaches are also required in such instances. Finally, in regard to dissemination of the method, ITDG provided strong advocacy up to MP level in order to secure rights to the *jalmohal*. Serious consideration must be given to the extent to which this could be repeated on larger scale by smaller and less experienced / influential NGOs?

Appendix 1. Focus group meeting attendance

Nadagari community house- 3 Dec 2004

Person / Gender	Institutional position(s)
1. Shams Uddin Mondal (M)	Ex CBO Chairman
2. Minal Mondal (M)	CBO executive member
3. Abdul Khaleque Mondal (M)	Vice president of the CBO.
4. Nizan Uddin Mondal (M)	Ex. CBO secretary
5. Mizam Uddin Mondal (M)	CBO general member
6. Firuz Sharkar (M)	Ex. CBO secretary or chairperson?
7. Pir Shokar (M)	Ex. CBO secretary
8. Jinna Mondal (M)	CBO Tres
9. Khuki Bewa (F)	CBO executive member
10. Nizam's Cousin (F)	CBO executive member
11. Mohamed Ali Zinna Mondal (M)	Current CBO Treasurer
12. Zahid ul Islam Mondal (M)	CBO Secretary
13. Manjurul Haq Sharkar	RCE Agriculture and CBO executive member
14-18. Five other women	Attended meeting but didn't participate
19-22. Three other males	Attended meeting but didn't participate

Nandina community house - 4 Dec 2004

Person / Gender	Institutional position(s)
1. Siraz Mondal (M)	RCE agriculture
2. Gunni Mondal Sharkar (M)	CBO executive member.
3. Wassim Uddin Sharkar (M)	Chairperson WBMC
4. Mujam Al Haq (M)	'Kobbi' Peoples poet and homestead farmer
5. Abdul Mottalid Sharkar (M)	Teacher, Tres. WBMC.
6. Shurud Jarman (M)	General member
7. Najid Uddin (M)	Exec of fish WBMC and professional fisherman
8. Joynal Abedin Sharkar (M)	Vice president of the WBMC
9. Doolal Mia Monal (M)	CBO exec. representing the poorer section of the village
10. Mariam Begum Mondal (F)	CBO exec. representing women (husband is a shopkeeper)
11. Nakjahan Begum Mondal (F)	As above (main interests are homestead pond and vegetables)
12. Wassim Quarder (M)	General member
13. Afjal Hussein Sharkar (M)	Ex UP member (3yrs) Satari UP Shatpur. Asst. Sec. of CBO
	and one of the main coordinators of stocking.
14. Gulam Kibria	Exec. Director RDSM NGO
15. Abdul Goni Sharkar	WBMC VicePres
16. Azizul Haq Mondal	RCE Livestock, CBO executive member
17. Abdul Kalam Azad Fakir	WBMC sec Son in law Habibur Rahman Ex UP Chair
18. Abdul Quarder Mondal	CBO Treasurer and teacher
19. Abdul Rahman Sharkar	CBO Secretary and <i>Madrassa</i> Secretary

R8103: FTR - Annex B-iv

20. Nozibur Mondal WMBC Executive member and professional fisherman
21. Shirajul Islam Sharkar RCE Agriculture and CBO executive member
- 22-23. Two other males Attended meeting but didn't participate

Appendix 2. Influencers in Nadagari

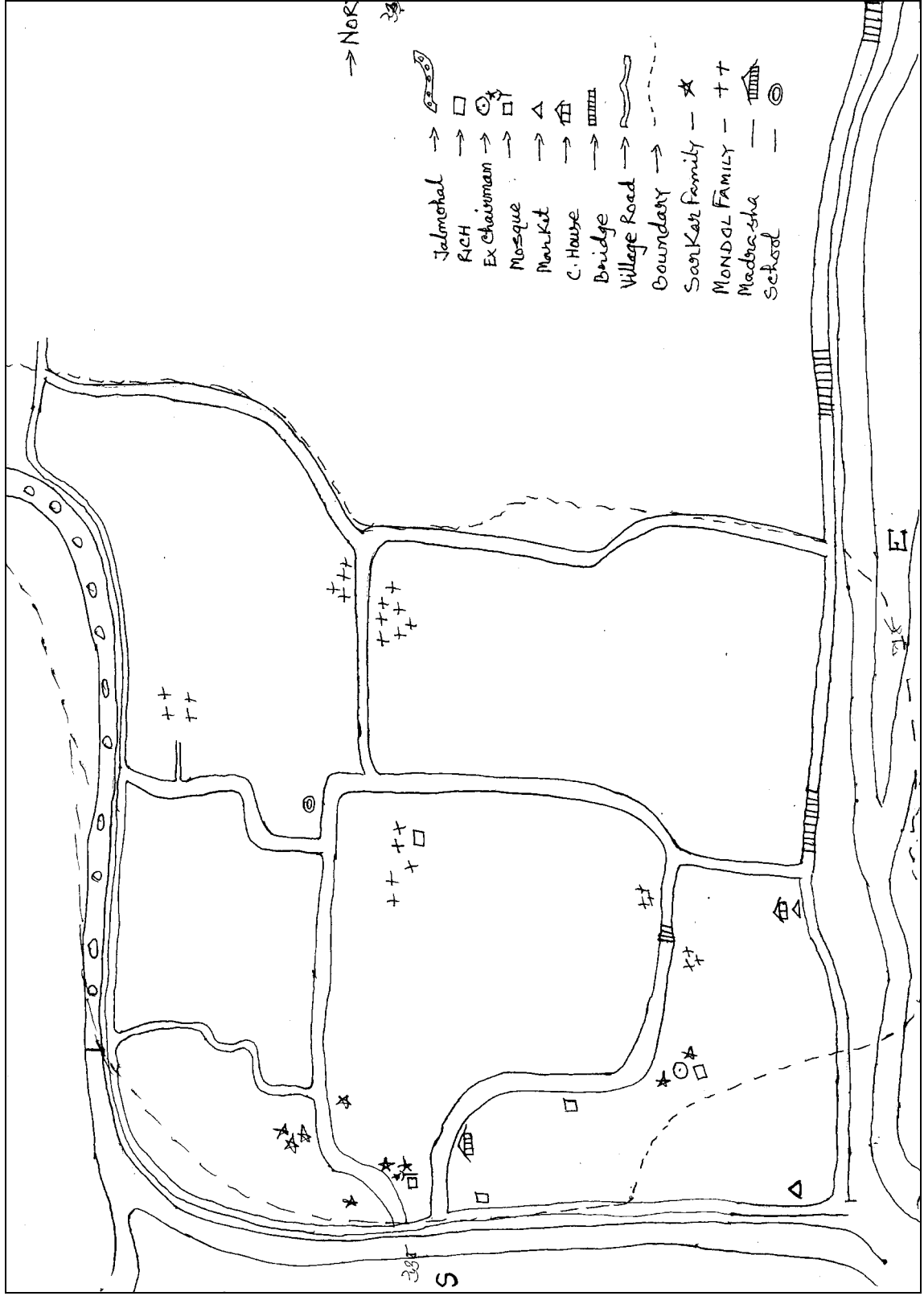
Name	Gushti	Age	Sex	ReIn HHH	Name HHH	Age HHH	Geographic Location	Inst Memb	Years in Org.	Role
1. Minal	Mondal	35	M	HHH			Nr. Com Hse	CBO exec. Gram Sharkar	1 2	Exec Exec
2. Mohamed Ali Zinna	Mondal	45	M	HHH			S. of Com Hse	CBO exec.	1	Tres
3. Zahid Uddin	Mondal	40	M	HHH			East of Com Hse	CBO exec.	1	Sec
4. Nizam Uddin	Mondal	50	M	HHH			S. of Com Hse nr. Gen mosque	CBO exec. Freedom F. Ass	1 30	Chief advisor Exec
5. Mizam Uddin	Mondal	28	M	Son	Nizam Uddin	50	S. Village	Youth Club Teacher	4 6	Pres
6. Nurul Islam	Akand	55	M	HHH			Nr. Gen Mosque	CBO Gram Sharkar	1 2	Exec Exec
7. Shams Uddin	Mandol	55	M	HHH			Nr. Primary School	CBO BNP Party Vill	1 2	Chair/Pres Chair
8. Abdul Khaleque	Mondal	52	M	HHH			Nr. Primary School	CBO	1	Vice Pres
9. Manjurul Haq	Mondal	40	M	HHH			S. Village	RCE Agric CBO	2 1	Exec Exec
10. Khuki Bewa	Mondal	50	M	HHH			S. Village	CBO	1	Exec
11. Firuz Sharkar	Sharkar	55	M	HHH				Ex CBO	1	Sec
12. Idris	Mondal		M	HHH						
13. Abdul Rajak	Mondal		M	HHH						
14. Rumi	Mondal	30	M	HHH						
15. Sharpunkar	Khan		M	HHH						
16. Khalil	Mondal		M	HHH				RCE Livestock CBO exec. Barefoot doctor		
17. Pir Shokar	Monald		MM	HHH						

Appendix 3. Influencers in Nandina

Name	Gushti	Age	Gender	ReIn HHH	Name HHH	Age HHH	Geographic Location	Inst Memb	Years in Org	Role
1. Afjal Hussein	Sharkar	44	M	HHH	NA	NA	Nr. Mosque	CBO Masjid C. Madrassa C. Ex UP	1 2 1 5	Ast Sec Exec Exec Exec
2. Abdul Quarder	Mondal	40	M	HHH	NA	NA	Nr Jalmomhal	CBO Gram Sharkar* Teacher	1 2 10	Tres Bd
3. Abdul Rahman	Sharkar	45	M	HHH	NA	NA	East Nr. Com Hse	CBO Madrassa	1 1	Sec Sec
4. Siraj Ul Islam	Sharkar	50	M	HHH	NA	NA	East Nr. Com Hse	Masjid C. RCE Agric	1 1	Exec
5. Azizul Haq	Mandol	27	M	HHH	NA	NA	Middle village	CBO RCE Livestock	1 1	Exec
6. Abul Kalam Azad	Fakir	42	M	HHH	NA	NA	East Nr. Com Hse	WBMC	1	Sec
7. Wassim Uddin	Sharkar	52	M	HHH	NA	NA	Nr. Mosque	WBMC Masjid C.	1 10	Pres Exec
8. Abdul Mottalid	Sharkar	40	M	HHH	NA	NA	Nr. Mosque	WBMC Masjid C Madrassa Teach	1 3 10	Tres Exec
9. Abdul Goni Mondal	Sharkar	55	M	HHH	NA	NA	Nr. Mosque	WBMC Mosque C.	1 4	Vice Pres Exec
10. Nazzir Uddin	Mandol	48	M	HHH	NA	NA	Tea Hse Jalmahal	CBO Prof fisherman	1	Exec
11. Joynal Abedin	Sharkar	48	M	HHH	NA	NA	Nr. Mosque	WBMC	1	Exec
12. Habibur Rahman	Sharkar	60	M	HHH			East Nr. Com Hse	CBO Ex UP Jatya Party	1 5 5	Pres Chair Convener

* *Biddutshahi* - education promotion in the community

Appendix 5. Social map of Nandina



Appendix 6. PAPD impact monitoring questionnaires (Version 2)
Household ‘post PAPD’ impact monitoring survey

Survey Form 1: Participant Questionnaire (V2 Dec 04)

1. Respondent Details

Questionnaire Code (1 = Participant survey, 2 = Non participant survey) ____

Village Code (1 = Nandina, 2 = Nadagari) ____

Household Number (number households from 01 – 99 beginning at 01 in each village - ensure leading zero is included if necessary) ____

Household code (a four figure number of the form x/y/zz: where x = questionnaire code, y = village code and zz = household number) __ / __ / __ __

Interview Date _____ Interviewer Name _____

Respondent Name _____ Gushti _____

Respondent age _____ Respondent sex _____

Name of household head _____

Relation of respondent to household head? (i.e. HHH, son, wife etc) _____

Describe household location in village (related to social/wealth map?) _____

Wealth rank _____ Macro stakeholder group if relevant _____

2. Household PAPD Participation

2.1 Who in the household participated, what activities (PTD, Micro PAPD, Macro PAPD), how often and what was their role in meeting(s)?

Relation to HHH	Which activities?	Freq of participation	Role / interest in meeting

(Identify respondent if he was one of these participants)

2.2 How did you find out about these activities? (attended meeting, informal discussion with other participants etc)

2.3 What in your view were the main purposes of the ITDG project?

Household level? (i.e. increased yield, income etc...)

Community level? (i.e. regular meetings, planning, community decisions)

2.4 Were the selected PAPD issue(s) relevant to your household or can you identify more pressing needs?

2.5 Did participation in a micro-PAPD lead to you to participate in the Jalmohal PAPD and why?

3. Impact Ranking

What changes in your view occurred in the village/community as a result of these interventions? (Also List any additional change indicators cited by the respondent during the survey)

3.1 Micro PAPD activities

Indicator	+ve or -ve change?	Rank importance to your household*	Comments
Household			
1 Food security			
2 Status			
3 Service access			
4 Knowledge			
5 Income			
6 Income			
7 Labour migration			
Community			
8 Collective planning			
9 Consensus			
10 Fair benefits			
11 Political support			

* Where 1 = most important. Split ranks for criteria which have joint importance Repeat for each PAPD activity that the household participated in?

3.2 Macro (Jalmohal) PAPD - Name of micro PAPD _____

Indicator	+ve or -ve change?	Rank importance to your household*	Comments
Household			
1 Food security			
2 Status			
3 Service access			
4 Knowledge			
5 Income			
6 Income			
7 Labour migration			
Community			
8 Collective planning			
9 Consensus			
10 Fair benefits			
11 Political support			

* Where 1 = most important – see notes.

4. Macro PAPD (Jalmohal)

4.1 What in your view was the purpose of this workshop?

4.2 In your view did the macro PAPD achieve what it set out to do?

4.3 Was anything about the meeting(s) confusing?

4.4 Could you influence the discussion or did other groups dominate the process?

4.5 Was the work shop fair and representative?

4.6 Have you learned anything more about other groups and their problems?

4.7 Do you think that workshop process will lead to new ways of doing things?

4.8 Do you think the macro PAPD process will lead to new and lasting linkages between villagers and outsiders (i.e. UP, Livestock extensionists etc.)?

4.9 Can you describe what was agreed on (i.e. membership criteria, access rules, yield distribution and timing of harvest)?

4.10 If your household benefited would this have been possible without reaching agreements or making plans with other villagers?

5. Future participation

5.1 Would you or your household participate in similar planning meetings / discussions in future?

5.2 Do you think other people may hold meetings like this in the future? (with or without ITDG?), if not why not?

5.3 How would you change things based on this year's experience?

Other notes / Comments:

Household 'post PAPD' impact monitoring survey

Survey Form 2: Non-participant Questionnaire (V2 Dec 04)

Questionnaire Code (1 = Participant survey, 2 = Non participant survey) ____

Village Code (1 = Nandina, 2 = Nadagari) ____

Household Number (number households from 01 – 99 beginning at 01 in each village - ensure leading zero is included if necessary) ____

Household code (a four figure number of the form x/y/zz: where x = questionnaire code, y = village code and zz = household number) __ / __ / __ __

Interview Date _____ Interviewer Name _____

Respondent Name _____ Gushti _____

Respondent age _____ Respondent sex _____

Name of household head _____

Relation of respondent to household head? (i.e. HHH, son, wife etc) _____

Describe household location in village (related to social/wealth map?) _____

Wealth rank _____ Macro stakeholder group if relevant _____

2 PAPD purpose

2.1 What in your view were the main purposes of the ITDG project?

Household level? (i.e. increased yield, income etc...)

Community level? (i.e. regular meetings, planning, community decisions)

2.2 How did you find out about the project and its activities? (informal discussion with other participants etc.)

2.3 Why did you not participate? (i.e. not informed, not important, no time, excluded etc...?)

2.4 Would you like to have been involved and if so which activities?

3. Impact Ranking

What changes in your view occurred in the village/community as a result of these interventions? (Also List any additional change indicators cited by the respondent during the survey)

3.1 Micro PAPD – Name of micro PAPD _____

Indicator	+ve or –ve change?	Rank importance to your household*	Comments
Household			
1 Food security			
2 Status			
3 Service access			
4 Knowledge			
5 Income			
6 Income			
7 Labour migration			
Community			
8 Collective planning			
9 Consensus			
10 Fair benefits			
11 Political support			

* Where 1 = most important. Split ranks for criteria which have joint importance Repeat for each PAPD activity that the household participated in?

3.2 Macro (Jalmohal) PAPD

Indicator	+ve or -ve change?	Rank importance to your household*	Comments
Household			
1 Food security			
2 Status			
3 Service access			
4 Knowledge			
5 Income			
6 Income			
7 Labour migration			
Community			
8 Collective planning			
9 Consensus			
10 Fair benefits			
11 Political support			

* Where 1 = most important – see notes.

5. Future participation

5.1 Would you or your household participate in similar planning meetings / discussions in future?

5.2 Do you think other people may hold meetings like this in the future? (with or without ITDG?), if not why not?

5.3 How would you change things based on this years experience?

Other notes / Comments:

‘Post PAPD’ impact monitoring survey

Survey Form 3: Secondary Stakeholder semi-structured interview:

Conduct with Union, Thana level officials, NGOs, influential persons etc.

Associated with which village? (1 = Nandina, 2 = Nadagari) ____

Secondary Stakeholder No (number stakeholders from 01 – 99 beginning at 01 in each village - ensure leading zero is included if necessary) ____

Secondary Stakeholder Code (a three figure number of form x/yy: where x = village code, yy = secondary stakeholder No) ____ / ____

Interview Date _____ Interviewer Name _____

Stakeholder Name _____ Age _____ Sex _____

Institution _____ Designation / rank _____

Location of Institution and distance to village _____

1. Did any one from your organisation participate in the PAPD process?

2. What was the role of your agency?

3. How did this benefit or disadvantage

a) The villagers,

b) Your organisation?

4. Under what circumstances would you support or reject the villagers plan?

5. In what ways do you think your agency could support the community organisation?

6. What are the main factors that could block or gain your agencies future support?

Other notes / Comments:

Notes on completion of survey forms 1 and 2

Sample stratification: 50% in each village; 10% non respondents in each village; 40% Micro PAPD in Nadagari; Max 40% Macro or Macro-micro PAPD in Nandina or Max 10% Micro alone (i.e. try to get as many respondents who have participated in both micro and macro PAPD as possible?). Randomise selection within each stratum. Aim for a total sample size of 100 including both villages.

Inclusion of other groups will be a random consequence of this design i.e. PAPD stakeholder groups, wealth, bongsho, landed-landless gender, Intra-household, age, PAPD participant and non-participants etc?

Ranking Process: First ask the respondent which indicators have changed as a result of the PAPD process and record in the first column whether these changes are positive (+) or negative (-). Leave the remaining ('no change' rows blank).

Next ask the respondents to rank the negative and positive changes against each other. This will allow us to assess whether positive changes outweigh the negative ones or vice-versa. If the respondent assigns equal priority to two or more indicators these should be given the same rank value.

The indicators used in the process should be collected from focus group meetings prior to the survey. Additional indicators can be added after the questionnaire piloting but should be fixed thereafter. However any new indicators should be recorded. Because respondents rank only indicators which have change the list can be quite long – but try and aim to have no more than 12-15 clustering groups if necessary.

Ranking results indicate only the relative importance of the impacts – the issue of whether the level of impact is sufficient to result in sustained adoption is dealt with in section 5.