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Peoples Participation
For Institutional Development
Re-Examined

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Dr. M. S. Zaman
Consultant UNDP New York
FPCO/GOB Dhaka Bangladesh

June 13-August 12, 1993

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Foreword

I am grateful to the PoE Chairman Mr. Nurul Huda and the FPCO Chief Engineer Mr. M.H. Siddiqui BU for advising me in shaping the outcome of my assignment. In addition, my brief interaction with Mr. M. Asafud-dowlla, Secretary, Ministry of Irrigation, Water Development and Flood Control, and Mr. Ross Wallace, FAP Coordinator, World Bank helped me understand many aspects of the Plan. I had fruitful discussions with, among others, Dr. Mizanur Rahman Shelley, Dr. M. Shawkat Ali, Dr. M. Shamsher Ali and Mr. M.A. Samad all engaged in institutional development efforts of the FPCO. Mr. Masud Ahmad, Institutional Specialist, FPCO, was too willing to help and advise. I sincerely thank Mr. Q.I. Siddique, Chief Engineer, LGED, Mr. Habibur Rahman Akanda, Senior Management Specialist, LGED, Mr. Carlos D. Isles of Northhydraulics (SRP) and many other Water Board, FPCO and concerned experts for their help and cooperation. Particular mention must be made of Sayed Magrub Morshed, Director General, BRDB for his cooperation. In Tangail Project Director Mr. Obaidur Rahman and Technical Assistance Director Mr. H. Visser were of great help. In the FPCO, I am particularly grateful to Mrs. Nilufar Begum and her staff for providing me with necessary logistics and secretarial assistance. Lastly, though not the least, I thank Mr. Khondokar A. Hafiz, Assistant Resident Representative, UNDP, Dhaka who, as usual, was always there to help and advise.

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Executive Summary

This paper is the result of mainly documentary studies backed by a field investigation into the Tangail Compartmentalization Pilot Project. As the title suggests, the study is centered around the concept and practice of People's Participation in project cycle. In addition, a synthesis was made of a Report on FPCO and related issues and some comments on them. This was kept apart and annexed. The main points of the content of the paper and observations made are given below for a ready appraisal of the study.

1. People's participation in selected FAP Reports was discussed. It was assumed that out of the concern expressed in such reports on the importance of people's participation in project cycle, the Guidelines For People's participation was prepared. These guidelines were tested in the Tangail Pilot Project.

2. People's participation in System Rehabilitation Projects (SRP), Early Implementation Projects (EIP) and Intensive Rural Works Programme was studied in order to complement the main study.

3. The outcome of the above served as an agenda for preparing a draft outline of a manual for operationalization of the Guidelines For People's Participation.

4. The synthesis of the Report on FPCO and other related issues served as a basis of a proposed draft outline of an Institutional Development Programme.

Findings and Observations

1. Preparation of the guidelines was in itself a contribution to the efforts of the MIWDFC to implement the Flood Action Plan and other FCDI projects involving people at low level as a key variable in project planning and implementation. However, guidelines have an inherent tendency to bound the implementors by procedural rigidities and restrict their initiative to act by praxis and exercise their judgment in case by case and compel them to function within the stipulated directives- however flexible they were intended to be. One feature of the guidelines seems to be the assumption that people are there, participation will take place and the task is simply to organize them to participate. Such assumption seems to be based on mistaken premises. People have to be organized and motivated enough to become aware of their responsibilities and act in their self-interest. This is not to say that the people of Bangladesh are ignorant of what is in their advantage and what is not. The fact is in the absence or near absence of institutional and organizational infrastructures and lack of immediate benefit for a very hard pressed people, participation on their part in

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project cycle will be difficult to achieve. So in addition to establishing institutional and organizational infrastructures, proper attention should be given to overcome certain constraints that mark the Bangladesh power-structure.

2. Applicability of the guidelines were tested in the Tangail Pilot Project and it was found that essentially there was little variation in their respective approach to the planning process. However, since Tangail Pilot Project has not yet been implemented and since no summative evaluation of the project can be made at this stage, it will be premature to make any definitive judgement regarding their applicability to concrete situation of development. Still, in-depth content analysis of the guidelines would suggest that some more thoughts could be given on the economic viability of operation and maintenance of completed projects and devising ways and means to provide short term benefit to those who would be expected to be engaged in sustaining project.

3. People's participation in SRP is mainly organized for their operation and maintenance. Stress is laid in this mode on organizing farmers for water management and articulation of their demands. In the EUP, strategies followed to organize participation concern setting up of project committees, ensure local government control and management control through privatization. However, EIP experience is best understood by its method of forming Labour Contracting Societies (LCS) both for O&M and Implementation purposes of completed projects.

The LGED Projects (RESP and IDP) seek to involve local people in the project cycle and build up local level O&M capability. Involvement of destitute women groups through LCS is another aspect of LGED efforts at income generation and employment creation for the rural poor. LGED experience also indicates that it can efficiently handle small projects and mobilize local authorities, motivate local elite for project success. This way the LGED can earn the confidence of central organizations in their ability to manage smaller components of larger projects. It can also make a significant contribution to institution building by minimizing the risk of project subversion by elite interferences in project planning and implementation.

4. The proposed draft outline of manual for the guidelines of people's participation may contain the following elements:

a. Integration of the change agents with the people for organizing participation.

b. Village mapping should be made to get a total picture of the socio-economic and topographical conditions prevailing in the project area.

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c. Training of beneficiaries is essential to enable them operate and maintain projects, also to educate them about their rights and privileges and responsibilities in the development process.

d. Formation of Planning Committee for each project is considered vital in a bottom-up planning process.

e. An Interface Model of Planning has been proposed to encapsule the above, backed by a proposal for a contributory water raate syste for providing the beneficiaries with short term benefit and a self-sustaining method of meeting O&M costs on a long term basis. The model also seeks to devise a practical method of organizing participation.

6. There are differing points of views regarding the future of of FPCO after 1995. FPCO will have to continue till the disposal of its assigned task in 1995 and then assume different role and function under changing circumstances as long as the Flood Plan continues.

At the outset, it can be assumed that during the implementation stages the FPCO will have to take the responsbility of coordinating among different projects, deliver advices, monitor their progress aand evaluate their performances. As regards its location, merger, etc. the task is to find out the appropriate place/organization for the purpose. The question whether or not it should remain with the Ministry itself, or be merged with WARPO or any other organization can be worked in detail by concerned experts with the assistance of the O&M (Organization and Method) wing of the Ministry of Establishment.

One compromise solution can be to transfer FPCO to WARPO aas a separate wing without disturbing its administrative structure. That is to say, WARPO caan be reorganized as Waater Management Authority (or any other name) having two separate wings or Directorates: The Directorate of Planning, Research and Development (the existing WARPO set-up) and the Directorate of Coordination, Monitoring and Evaluation (the existing FPCO).

The Authority will be headed by a Director General/Chairman while each Directorate will be headed by a Chief Engineer. The Authority should fully functionally autonomous having administrative accountability to the MIWDFC.

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In view of the need for technical expertise, advice and accumulated knowledge and experience the POE has acquired, the Panel should continue to function throughout the Plan Period. The Panel can be located somewhere in between the two Directorates being directly responsible to the Director General/Chairman of the proposed Authority. The Panel can provide services not only to the Authority/Ministry, but also to all other concerned organizations and if necessary to other Ministries and Departments. The private sector can also get the benefit of its services on payment of a fee. The Panel should be staffed by highly qualified and experienced retired/on-service civil servants, academics from the universities and other professionals. It should have the option to hire services of expatriate experts when necessary under technical assistance, grants and loans.

Chapter I

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1. Background

The notion of Peoples participation has become an integral part of development efforts all over the world. This is particularly so when it is frequently mentioned in relation to irrigation, flood control and drainage management dealing with technology, water, soil and above all people at different levels.

The TOR of the consultant concerned the following areas: 1. Review of the Report on @Guidelines for Peoples Participation@; 2. Review of previous reports, suggestions and recommendations on institutional development in Thana and District levels; 3. Discussions with FPCO, PoE, BWDB, DAE, LGED, DPHE, etc. on relevant issues particularly with EIP and SRP of BWDB; 4. Assessment of potential for expanding the institution and role of peoples participation; 5. Assessment of the institutional process to ensure effective and pragmatic way of achieving peoples participation in planning, implementation, operation and maintenance of FAP projects; 6. Integration of the recommended institutional techniques of peoples participation with existing institutions under BWDB and other government offices in Thana and District levels and 7. Review of the observations made on the peoples participation in the Flood Action Plan during the third International Conference and incorporate them in the feasibility studies of different priority investment projects emanating from the regional studies.

The consultant, immediately on arrival in Dhaka, held meetings with Mr. Nurul Huda, Chairman, Panel of Experts, Mr. M.H. Siddiqui, BU, Chief Engineer, FPCO and Mr. Khondokar A. Hafiz, Assistant Resident Representative, UNDP, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

For Review and Synthesizing purpose, the consultant was given the following reports: 1. Draft project Document FAP 26 Institutional development Programme); 2. Needs Assessment Report; 3. Comments on Needs Assessment Report; 4. Report on FPCO and related issues (by Dr. M. Shawkat Ali) and with a Note (by Dr. M. Shamsher Ali); 5. Comments on 4 by W.F.T. van Ellen; 6. Comments on 4 by Jim Dempster; 7. Guidelines for Project Assessment; 7. Guidelines for Peoples Participation; 8. Environmental Impact Assessment Guidelines.

As preparatory to a field visit to tangail (Tangail Pilot Project FAP 20), a joint meeting followed with Mr. Nurul Huda, Chairman, PoE, Mr. M.H. Siddiqui BU, Chief Engineer, FPCO, Dr. Mizanur Rahman Shelley, Dr. M. Shawkat Ali, Dr. M. Shamsher Ali and Mr. M.A. Samad- all engaged in the institutional development efforts of the FPCO.

It may be mentioned here that the consultant had earlier carried out two assignments in the Flood Action Plan. Some of the areas in the TOR (as for example 4&5) have already been taken into

consideration by him during his last assignments. Besides, review of previous reports on institutional development at Thana and District levels (there are 460 Thanas and 64 Districts each having its own characteristics for participation in development efforts) and integration of BWDB techniques and other government offices seemed to be a task of long term research nature.

However, while going through the reports, and having a series of meetings with concerned experts in the field, coupled by insights gained in a field visit to Tangail, it became clear to the consultant that the TOR in fact touched the tip of an iceberg and unless some further elaborations were effected, the output of the mission may not be a complete entity. Accordingly, the consultant preferred a revised TOR which was discussed at the FPCO. However, in view of the exigency for operationalizing the Guidelines for Peoples Participation (prepared by the FPCO) during actual implementation of FAP and other FCDI Projects, the TOR was revised in the following manner: The Guidelines for Peoples Participation is to be made operationalizeable during actual implementation stage of the FAP or other FCDI Projects. With this principal theme in view the following documents, among others, can be examined:

1. Guideliens for project Assessment;
2. Guidelines for Peoples Participation;
3. Environmental Impact Assessment Guidelines;
4. FAP 20 (Tangail);
5. FAP 20 (Serajganj)
6. FAP 4;
7. FAP 5;
8. FAP 6;
9. FAP 12 and 13
10. FAP 16

The above exercise is to be intermingled with meetings, discussions, etc. with concerned experts and officials of GOB to ascertain current thinking in the field and in different settings of development. The output of this exercise can serve as the genesis of a Draft Peoples Participation Manual Outline on the basis of which a Manual can be prepared- a follow-up action for a later time.

Reports handed over for review and synthesizing purpose can be treated and shown separately and annexed.

2. Theoretical Dimension of the Study

Recognizing the fact that not much work has been done in the field of peoples participation for FAP and other FCDI Projects and that any realistic participatory framework is yet to emerge in the context of Bangladesh, the number of documents and reports available for review and analysis was considered adequate for the purpose of the present assignment.

Of these reports, only the Guidelines for Peoples Participation was prepared solely for the purpose of guiding the project staff for organizing the needed peoples participation in the different phases of the project. The two other reports- also Guidelines, concerned assessment of project viability and environmental impact assessment as their primary and main focus, peoples and beneficiary participation receiving residual although mentionable treatment. As a matter of fact, the conceptual dimension of Peoples Participation features in almost all FAP Components particularly FAP 4, FAP 5, FAP 6, FAP16 and FAP 20 has been treated as a case study to complement the review of the Guidelines for Peoples Participation. It is assumed that care has been taken to incorporate all these concerns of conceptual nature as well as the feedback received from time to time from consultants in the field while preparing the Guidelines for the Peoples Participation.

Method

The technique of discursive analysis has been applied to review the reports. This technique allows the consultant (and the researcher) the freedom to derive and collate data from one source to other whatever may be their nature or characteristics. This technique was considered most useful in the present study in view of the fact that the consultant was required, not to be bound by the specificity of FPCO reports alone, to derive necessary units of analysis from various sources, often of divergent nature, sources like text books, Bank Reports, AID Reports. Added to this were inter-personal communications in various Departments, Ministries, other consultants and people in actual field- all engaged in some way or other in pursuing the seemingly elusive task of either enlisting peoples participation as a means to achieve a given objective or as an end in itself for institution building or both.

The technique of contextual analysis was applied to the study to arrive, hypothetically at least, an understanding of peoples participation at different levels of implementation from grassroots through project management to policymaking. Institutional analysis is a method of analysing why organizational arrangements lead or do not lead to the production and delivery of specific goods and services. It assumes that people are rational beings and make choices according to their preferences based on self-interest or costs and benefits. This technique is contextbound and also therefore leads to an understanding of institutional arrangements within an organization, inter-organizational relationships, the factors that cause or deter actors to respond or to shy away from project demands.

Further, in interpreting data, the technique of self-interpretation, the technique of analogy and authoritative technique were used to analyze the empirical evidences entailing in its wake a spreadover effect block by block.

Strategy

Reviews of the reports- particularly the review of the Guidelines for peoples Participation-were made with a double objective. First, it was intended to see to what extent the Guidelines took into consideration the participatory concern (conceptual though) in various FAP reports and elsewhere. Secondly, it was intended to see to what extent the Guidelines in fact were being adhered to in a given situation- in the present case in the Tangail Pilot Project. Since the assignment involves an effort towards preparing a draft outline manual for peoples participation, it was necessary to probe into similar exercises being carried out elsewhere - in the present case in the System Rehabilitation Project (SRP) of BWDB and Intensive Rural Works Programme (IRWP) of LGED. Some of Early Implementation Projects (EIP) were also discussed. The purpose in this was the search for a more or less comprehensive picture of the Peoples Participation Syndrome in the context of change and development in Bangladesh.

Equipped with insights from this three-prong efforts at organizing peoples participation and by observing the process in concrete developmental situation, agenda setting for the preparation of a draft outline manual for peoples participation could be aspired. With the above frame of reference, theoretical framework of the study may have the following dimensions:

1. Peoples Participation in FAP Reports leading to the preparation of the Guidelines for peoples participation to be adhered to in actual project implementation like the case of Tangail Pilot project;
2. Peoples Participation as perceived and practised elsewhere in the present case in SRP and IWRP in order to gain a comparative dimension and
3. An effort towards setting the agenda for preparing a Draft Outline of Manual for Operationalizing the Guidelines for Peoples Participation in the implementation of FAP and other FCDI Projects by sensitizing 1&2 against 3.

Structure

The report has been structured in a traditional 5-Chapter-1-Annex Format. The strategy adopted in this is to derive a spreadover effect of the main theme of peoples participation throughout the chapters uninterruptedly although each chapter, treated on its own as building block, can rest on its own foot independently. Following this Introductory Chapter, discursive analysis of reports and documents accompanied by a case study of Tangail Pilot Project form the core of Second Chapter. The Third Chapter seeks to find out the nature of Peoples Participation in SRP and IRWP in order to gain a comparative dimension. In Chapter IV, an attempt has been made to lay down the foundation of a Proposed Draft Outline of Manual for Peoples Participation. Chapter V or the Concluding Chapter is based on some afterthoughts and reflections on the main theme of the study.

Interviews, field visits, other reviews of reports on institutional development, working notes, notes and references have been annexed.

Chapter II

Peoples Participation and Development

1. Introduction

No development studies literature now a days is complete without a reference to the concept of Peoples Participation in the process of development. In actual development administration, peoples participation is being seen as a key variable for the success of development projects. The notion of sustainable development has become synonymous with that of peoples participation in different stages of the project cycle. This is mainly because project failures in many cases have been attributed to lack of peoples participation in maintaining the completed projects. Flood Control, Drainage and Irrigation (FCDI) Projects embodies a socio-technical process in which technology, water, soil and people in flesh and blood comprise the project environment. Peoples participation in such a process is therefore not an abstract construct. It is concrete resource and input which can contribute to sustainable project output as well as long term institutional development in a context marked by absence or near absence of institutions and organizations. Peoples participation therefore, in FCDI context, has at least two dimensions: the first leading to the second. Peoples participation in planning, designing, implementation and operation and maintenance of a project is a resource or input that can assure project success. The planners acceptance of the capacity of the people to think rationally, make choices and exercise that choice (based on cost-benefit consideration) is in itself a part of reorientation of the attitude of irrigation bureaucracy. This resource or input into the very planning stage can in fact ensure peoples participation in the other stages of the project cycle. Participation in this mode can also contribute to better project management. The process however at least over a period of time will lead to the gradual empowerment of the people. This power of the people derived through their participation in the project cycle can help eliminate their dependency syndrome, create dependable sources of income, responsiveness and accountability for both project managers and themselves and ultimately resulting in changing their behavioural pattern congenial for development. Recognizing such implications, almost all FAP Components have stressed the need for peoples participation in order to attain sustainable project benefit and institutional development.

Following this line of thinking and considering the importance of the variable of peoples participation in project formulation, the FPCO has already prepared three Guidelines- Project Assessment Guidelines, Guidelines for Impact Assessment and the Peoples Participation Guidelines. In addition, two volumes of Impact Assessment Manuals have also been completed.

In this Chapter, relevant aspects of FAP Components, the Project Assessment Guidelines, the Environmental Impact Assessment Guidelines, the Environmental Impact Assessment Manuals will be briefly discussed.

A Review of the Guidelines of Peoples Participation will be the main focus of attention in the discussion. This will be done with a two-fold objectives: first to find out the intent of the authors and its relevance to its content and secondly to attempt at a rapid on the spot appraisal as to what extent they differ from or meet the contextual demands in a rapidly changing concrete situation of development like that of Tangail Pilot project. On the basis of this and experience gathered in the field during past missions, an attempt will be made to prepare a Draft Outline of Manual for Peoples Participation in FAP and other FCDI Projects in Bangladesh.

2. Peoples Participation in FAP Components

The concept of peoples participation feature in almost all FAP components. Of them however mention may be made of the following in view of their relatively more pronounced emphasis on the concept.

1. FAP 4: South East Area Water Management Project

In this component, the notion of beneficiary participation has been used to denote its extended version- peoples participation- in all stages of project planning and implementation.

Since peoples participation involves the whole community, the kind of participation for different community groups and the type of organizations needed to express that form are to be laid down. In addition, a workable mechanism has to be devised to facilitate peoples participation. Peoples participation thus assumes importance because of its contribution to project preparation and subsequent project sustainability. This has been enumerated under headings of objectives and steps of peoples participation. The organizational and procedural aspects are mentioned in a wider socio-cultural environment where articulation, organization and preferences of local communities are judged and taken into consideration in planning with matching contributions from official agencies, national and international NGOs, donor groups and other interest groups through a structured process of public consultation.

FAP 6. North East Regional Water Management Project

Peoples Participation in this study is considered as an integral part of environmental planning, assessment and management of development efforts. Peoples participation according to this study assumes a wider connotation and refers to the involvement of interested parties- particularly local communities in different stages of a project. The interested parties are: 1. local community residents and leaders; 2. relevant government officials and elected officials; 3. scientific and professional groups including NGOs; 4. development proponents or implementors; 5. donor country officials and their constituents.

The form of peoples participation in regional planning recommended and practised in this study is public consultation for exchange of information between technical experts and interested parties. The interested parties consulted included the following: 1. landowners; 2. sharecroppers; 3. persons employed in farming, fishing and navigation.

In this study the categories of local community residents and leaders have not been spelt out. The consultation process also did not involve the vulnerable groups, marginals or the residuals of the society.

FAP 12&13: Operation and Maintenance Study

These two studies mainly concern a number of case studies of Operation and Maintenance of FCDI Projects of the Water development Board. The method of Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) has been used to study the projects. Peoples participation in these studies is restricted to the phase of Operation and Maintenance of some completed projects mainly through various committees. The studies also seek to analyze the nature of linkage between the Water development Board and local government institutions and organizations to reflect the participatory dimension of development process. Prospect of peoples participation under private initiatives has also been indicated.

Of the case studies made, particular mention may be made of Meghna-Dhonagoda Irrigation Project (MDIP) in Matlab Upazila (now abolished) of Chandpur District in the South-Eastern Region of Bangladesh. This project has hit the headlines of many big NGOs (BINGOs) of the country regarding its environmental aspects.

Institutional structures for O&M of the project involve the following:
1. efficiency in O&M including collection of water rates and 2. close coordination of agricultural activities through farmers organizations within the project area. Such structures need to be set up and operated at four levels from the project management down to the village and will look like the following:

Project Level- Project Coordination Committee;
Upazila (Local Government) Level-Upazila (Local Government) Committee;
Union Level- Union Irrigation Association;
Village Level- Turnout Irrigation Association (TIA)
These committees are to be responsible for the implementation and coordination of strategies, plans, and programmes within the service area of the system. The structures and functions assigned to them respectively are the following:

Project Coordination Committee: Structure-Heads of various Departments posted at project level and directly involved in agricultural development, input supplies and grassroots level institution building; Project Director: of the rank of Superintendent Engineer; function: responsible for overall agricultural development, including watermanagement, mobilization of resources, etc.

Upazila Committee: no structure provided: function- responsible for coordination among union irrigation associations and mobilization of agricultural input and credit;

Union Irrigation Associations: no structure provided; function-identification of water management problems, etc., provide guidance to the beneficiaries on construction of structures; settle claims among beneficiaries;

Turnout Irrigation Association: no structure provided; function-ensure equitable distribution of water; excavation and maintenance of field channels; arrange agricultural credits; minor repairs; resolution of disputes; preparation and execution of water distribution schedules and realization of water rates.

The studies by applying RRA found that: 1. official contactors were not yet formed; 2. no detailed O&M guidelines were provided; 3. O&M Manual provided by the BWDB but concerned officials were not prepared to implement it; 4. there was no justification for setting up separate committees in a project which was sited in one Upazila.

The studies while looking at the LLPs formed under private initiatives found LLP Committees working well and concluded that people were interested and capable of organizing themselves for water management purpose and that beneficiaries are willing to pay for services received. The LLP Committees comprised the following parties: 1. maintenance contractor who supplies LLPs; 2. irrigation contractor who ensures water delivery; 3. revenue collector who collects water charges;

4. general members who receive irrigation water and who coordinates operations and makes debt recovery. The studies found that the linkage between the BWDB, the central agency concerned with FCDI projects and the local government and LGED are merely closely in touch with local coordinations, are weak. A system of district level Steering and Coordination Meetings exists, but it is not effective enough. LGED is assisting in the preparation of five year plans for Upazila infrastructure development (the Upazila Plan Books), but the process only involves the opportunity for the water Board to comment on Upazila proposals and there is no formalized system for the local authorities to comment on the BWDB proposals.

2.4 A Rapid Appraisal

People's participation in the Meghna-Dhonagoda Project is being formalized through different levels of committees like the Project Coordination Committee at the project level and local government level committee and Union Irrigation Association and Village Turnout Irrigation Association.

Almost all of them suffer from constraints of organizational nature. Rapid Rural Appraisal of the committees showed lack of detailed O&M guidelines and the inability of the concerned BWDB staff to implement the guidelines as such. The appraisal also questioned the justification of setting up separate committees in one project which was sited in one upazila.



The linkage between BWDB and Upazila and LGED was also found to be very weak and the existing district level Steering and Coordination System ineffective. BWDB could offer comments on project proposals of LGED/Local Government while the latter had had no scope to comment on project proposals of the former.

The other finding in the RRA is that the LLPs formed under private initiatives were found to be working well leading to the conclusion that people were interested and capable of organizing themselves for water management purpose and that beneficiaries were willing to pay for services received.

FAP 16: Environmental Study:

This study aims at assessing the adverse environmental impacts of water development projects and guidelines in order to mitigate or avoid adverse effects in planning, designing and operation and maintenance of FAP projects. Under this study, Environmental Impact Assessment Guidelines and two Volumes of Environmental Impact Assessment Manuals have been prepared. Both the Guidelines and Manuals have underlined the importance of peoples participation in the assessment process.

FAP 20: Tangail Compartmentalization Pilot Project/Serajganj Compartmentalization Pilot Project

In these projects peoples participation both as a concept and a method has been extensively discussed. To date Experiments made in this field so far and results obtained in the process will be discussed in the Case Study of Tangail Pilot project under Section 6.

3. Guidelines For Project Assessment

The guidelines for assessment have been prepared to assist the field staff and consultants engaged in Regional Water resource Planning Studies and feasibility studies for investment projects under the Flood Action Plan. These guidelines conform to widely accepted techniques for the economic appraisal of investment projects as used by the World Bank and other International Financial Institutions and Development Agencies. The guidelines however take into consideration the importance of the assessment of social and environmental effects likely to follow in the wake of project implementation and seek to quantify them into the economic analysis of the project. In order to achieve this, such assessment will develop into a multi-criteria analysis to organize and bring together in a single framework of costs and benefits impacts and effects of a project whether they are valued, quantified or only is subjected to qualitative assessment.

The Guidelines thus do not scope peoples participation as an explicit objective in assessing a project.

4. Guidelines for Environmental Impact Assessment

These Guidelines have been prepared to study and make environmental evaluation of regional plans and projects under the Flood Action Plan. Following similar guidelines used in advanced and other developing countries, also by many governments and donor agencies, these Guidelines have been tailored made for Bangladesh. The main purpose of the guidelines is to ensure that only those projects are taken up for implementation which are environmentally sound. The guidelines will assist the planners to identify such projects.

The EIA guidelines are in fact the environmental and social counterparts of the Project Assessment Guidelines and the two are to be applied together in the overall assessment of a project. Much importance has been attached to peoples participation in a framework of bottom-up approach to planning.

Conceptual aspect of peoples participation has been explained under Objectives and Steps of Peoples Participation. Procedural aspect has been mentioned under Scope of Peoples Participation.

Concept in this study relate to the following: project sustainability through participation; identify important environmental elements of the project through participation; delegate to people a decision-making role for environmental impact assessment purpose; obtain data based on knowledge and experience on both technical and socio-cultural issues; eradicate or minimize possibilities of social conflicts arising out of project implementation and ensure that institutions and procedures are established for peoples participation in the project cycle as well as non-structural aspects of a project. In all this, participatory rural appraisal methods (PRA) are to be used. Development of an organizational context of the participation include inter alia guaranteed representation of resource user groups.

Procedural aspect of participation mainly relate to apprising the villagers the content of project or planning proposal, response of the project team to community concerns and place the project proposal to a macro-level audience comprising official agencies, NGOs and donor groups and other interested parties for their review like the following: 1. Local Government Agencies, Community Groups and NGOs operating in the project area; 2. A Project Review Committee comprising representatives from the Ministry of Irrigation, Water Development and Flood Control (MIWDFC), concerned Ministries, Knowledge NGOs working and selected professional and academics and 3. The Department of Environment (DOE) which is the final authority to review and approve EIAs and for giving environmental clearance to all projects in Bangladesh.

Manual for Environmental Impact Assessment Vol. 1 (March 1992) and Draft Manual 2 (September 1992) have been prepared to operationalize the EIA Guidelines. Since the principal focus in this study will be on the feasibility of applying the Peoples Participation Guidelines to actual project planning and implementation in a participatory mode of

development, a brief assessment of these two manuals relating to Peoples participation will be in order.

1. Manual for Environmental Impact Assessment Vol. 1 March 1992:

Considering peoples participation as an integral component of environmental impact assessment guidelines, lack of peoples participation in a top-down planning approach has been identified as main cause of project failures. The Manual lists the following to correct the position:

1.a bottom-up approach to planning involving people at all levels of development planning; 2. handing over completed projects to the people so that they develop the necessary sense of awareness of the fact that they are owners of the projects; 3. participatory rural appraisals to ascertain the views of the local community; 4. discussions with regional and local representatives; 5. site visits, field trips, presentations, public displays; 6. model demonstration projects; 7. information brochures, meetings, debates, seminars, workshops, comment solicitation, mass media materials in Bangla; 8. public hearings and consultations; 9. budgetary provision for non-formal education to help the poor and illiterate participate in the discussions; 10. an open system of decision-making and implementation.

Manual Vol. 2 September 1992:

Peoples participation or participation of the affected groups in all phases of project design and implementation has been considered in this volume as key to achieving project sustainability. The primary objective of peoples participation concerns the issue of sustainability of projects (project/intervention is intended for the benefit of the people). A secondary objective is to formulate strategies for negotiation and conflict resolution.

Peoples participation according to this manual will take place at pre-feasibility stage and feasibility stage, also in between the transition from pre-feasibility to feasibility thus completing the line. Participation at pre-feasibility stage will run through six categories of interrelated often overlapping activities: 1.data collection with the help of NGOs; 2. re-orient approach and attitude of the people by carefully eliciting their choice and preferences in matters of project relevance; 3. use of PRA method to involve local population in major project design scoping for a. identification of vulnerable groups; b. needs identification and tapping resources; c. identification of adverse project effects outside the project area; d. use of local knowledge to determine ecological impact as project consequences; e. ascertaining the extent of popular support for the project; f. use of peoples perception of ways of mitigating adverse project side effects; g. recording preferred options of the people regarding project relevance; 4. identify and consult leaders and groups in four socio-economical and political areas from bottom to upwards: a. vulnerable groups, migrants and landless/assetless; b. social and professional groups having access to

other resources like patent and government rights for trade and commerce likely to be affected by project implementation; c. traditional leaders including village Matbars, Immams/Priests, School teachers and Local Government Officials; d. Government Agencies at Upazila/District level. 5. convening post-PRA public meeting as a stepping stone towards organizing formal peoples project committees in the feasibility phase; 6. reporting of the activities to the planners.

Participation at feasibility stage

Participation in the feasibility stage of a project will be intensified and formalized in three ways: 1. establishment of Peoples Project Committee (PPC); 2. organizing scoping sessions at union parishad, upazila and district levels for small projects and for larger projects at the capital city with senior government officials, donor representatives, NGO representatives, the media and other interested parties; 3. create provision for an institutional mechanism to accommodate dissenting views of the adversely affected groups (through the PPC).

In between pre-feasibility to feasibility stages, EIA Team social organizers should organize affected social groups comprising poor and vulnerable communities- landless cultivators, marginal fisherfolk, destitute women, tribal and religious minorities, and so forth. In this the Manual recommends for the use of BRAC and NGO approaches to do the job. A detailed social stratification map should be prepared for the purpose.

Following similar guidelines used in advanced and other developing countries, donor agencies, etc. these guidelines have been tailor made for Bangladesh. From this, it is possible to infer that the guidelines are products of more desk work than actual field investigation in Bangladesh.

Conceptually, the main concern of the guidelines relates to environmental assessment of new projects involving people as an important variable. The method of Participatory Rural Assessment is to be applied to do the job. Procedurally, village citizens, official agencies, NGOs and donor agencies, local government agencies have been identified as principal actors in the process of such assessment. The two volumes of Manuals, although not yet officially approved, are based on broad assumptions having a static view of the society and not actual conditions prevailing in rural Bangladesh.

Both the EIA and the Manuals appear to suffer from lack of empirical evidences as very little attention has been paid to any systematic analysis of environmental consequences of some projects which are being considered as environmentally degrading. As for example, much useful data could be derived from (environmental) assessment of Barisal Irrigation Project and Meghna-Dhonagoda Project which are being discussed at various forums as having caused considerable environmental hazards.

5. Guidelines For People's Participation : A Review

5.1 Introduction

These guidelines were prepared by the FPCO along with two other guidelines- the Guidelines For Project Assessment and the Guidelines For Environmental Impact Assessment. Read together, they should form a package tools for the planners and implementors to prepare and implement only those projects which are economically viable, environmentally sound and institutionally sustainable.

However, interlinked as they appear to be, each should stand on its own footing both for planning and implementation purpose and therefore need to be operationalized during actual planning exercise and project implementation.

One aim of this review is to find out the intent of the authors vis-a-vis its content, its compatibility with the two other Guidelines already discussed. Further, in actual implementing conditions as in Tangail Pilot Project, the applicability of these guidelines will be tested. The underlying objective in this is to make an effort to operationalize these guidelines, either in their original form or in any proposed amended version (as the case may be) during actual project implementation. This exercise will be carried out in Chapter IV after looking at similar guidelines, if any, being applied to similar situations elsewhere (Chapter III)

5.2 Structure and Organization of the Text

5.2.1 Objective

Objective of the Flood Action Plan is broad enough to include inter alia creation of an environment in which agriculture, fisheries, integrated rural and urban development ultimately ensuring quality of life for those living in the flood plain.

The objective of the Guidelines For People's Participation has not been clearly stated anywhere. The term People's Participation is also not defined in any systematic manner. Rather participation is to be seen as a kind of commitment of the people to a project expressed through their involvement in different phases of project cycle like needs assessment, project identification, prefeasibility, feasibility, design and construction, operation and maintenance, monitoring and evaluation of a project at local level. This is to be done not by the traditional approach to planning in which decision is made by professionals and specialists but through a system of participatory decisionmaking. This alternative approach is in line with the Perspective Plan of the GOB (1990-95) where notions of human resource development and People's Participation are fused together having identical meaning.

5.2.2 Method

It appears that no clear method has been applied in the preparation of the guidelines. It also appears that the concept People's Participation is being conceived as an information gathering technique complementing other techniques like Rapid Rural Appraisal, Participatory Rural Appraisal, Sample Survey, and so forth. However, it is not clear whether the the guidelines are the products of empirical evidences based on field investigations, practical experience or an outcome of textbook models tailored for Bangladesh in course of some desk work. In any case, no methodology features under any article, clause or sub-clause of the text.

5.2.3 Strategy

It is not clear what strategy has been adopted in either structuring the text or formulating the guidelines leading to any self-sustaining mode of participation of the people as an input or variable in project planning or policymaking. The linkage between participation and institutional development is shown as a statement and not by way of any analytical framework based on field studies.

5.2.4 Prescription

Formation of a Planning Team of experts from different disciplines is the principal instrument responsible for managing and organizing people's participation in the various stages of a project and participation itself (which has earlier been considered as stages of project cycle).

The other method recommended for organizing peoples participation is the formation of Project Committee (PCC). This Committee, or sub-Committee under it where necessary, will have specific roles to play in different contexts representing the interests of the social groups who could be affected by the implementation of the project. The responsibility of forming such committees will vest in the respective Ministries engaged in the development milieu. Side by side, the Planning Team will also encourage formation of specific socio-economic interest groups and resource users to organize themselves in order to protect their intrests irrespective of the size of the project. Consultation process speaks of discussions, possibly between the PPC and such interest groups organized by the PPC. Consultation and a further stage of that negotiation do not mean merely apprising the people of the project plan or its content. Consultation is conference seeking counsel, advice and information. Negotiation is to arrive at mutual settlement of dispute or claim through consultation. Where consultation of such nature is lacking, there is hardly any room for negotiation either.

Funding or budgeting for operation and maintenance of completed projects has been given scanty treatment. Only some heads of possible sources of revenues have been mentioned in a cursory manner without elaborating any of them.

It is clear from the above that the guidelines framed are meant for the project staff and not for the beneficiaries or those outside the project. The content and the structure of the guidelines could be problematic for majority project staff, even other practitioners, to have a clear grasp as to their logical sequences and far more than that to apply them to concrete developmental situations. Testing of the guidelines in an actual project cycle setting, as for example the Tangail Compartmentalization Pilot Project, therefore will be useful both for the academics and the practitioners.

Participation in the guidelines seems to be a case of resource input for the purpose of ensuring project sustainability. Participation in this mode does not reflect the concern for institution building vital for development efforts. That the core of participation relates to the creation of an environment in which demand-led projects will fill the agenda of the national planners has eluded the thought pattern embedded in the guidelines. Being predominantly a case of guidelines for project staff (including PT and PCC), the Guidelines For peoples Participation suffer from a top-down bias.

5.3 Critique of the Guidelines

A systematic review of the Guidelines For People's Participation will boil down to the following points:

1. Financing (of both O&M and other aspects involved in the gamut of people's participation like interest group organization, water users association, etc.) is missing;
2. Institutional mechanism to ensure participation is fragile;
3. The political economy of participation- is it cost-free? Is it "politically" valuable to retain people's interest?
4. Information documents are missing;
5. Legal and Institutional Rights of the People in local infrastructure: are they feasible?
6. How to avoid/minimize free-rider problem? Guidelines silent on this.

Further

1. The Guidelines For people's Participation are a broad set of recommendations. These recommendations need to be translated into "action points" to achieve maximum benefits from the Flood Action Plan.
2. Action-oriented projects need to be implemented to test the robustness of these guidelines.
3. The institutional mechanism to implement the guidelines need further elaboration. In this regard, experiences gained by other participatory rural and water development programmes and projects in Bangladesh like Grameen Bank, BRAC, Proshika can be usefully incorporated into the guidelines.
4. The guidelines deal with the financing aspect rather cursorily. The success of the guidelines in sustaining people's interests in

flood/water management programmes and projects depends crucially on the ability to make such programmes/projects self-financing or self-sustaining, at least in terms of operation and maintenance of completed projects. Majority of flood control, drainage and irrigation projects fail due to lack of proper maintenance and operation. A detailed study should be carried out to suggest concrete measures to mobilize local resources to operate and maintain such programmes/projects.

5. Although participatory approach to FCDI management issues has emerged as the most promising line of enquiry, it is also widely accepted that this approach is not without "costs". All village citizens who are expected to participate in the various stages of the project design and implementation can be expected to have positive opportunity costs of their time and energy. This implies that the material benefits of the project must be seen to exceed their costs. The guidelines must be implemented in such a way that all possible benefits of the project are captured as accurately as possible to ensure people's continuing interest in those projects. The guidelines do not pay sufficient attention to mechanisms needed to hold these benefits. It assumes that these benefits exist and that these benefits exceed all forms of costs. More work is needed to highlight this aspect of project design and implementation.
6. The guidelines do not address the issue of developing permanent legal and institutional rights of the people in FCDI management programmes and projects. Ways ought to be found to create and institutionalize some form of "property rights" of local people in these projects to ensure their long-term viability.
7. The guidelines are silent on synchronizing private interest with collective welfare. It is not altogether impossible to find instances where a particular private interest may come in conflict with general good. The guidelines need to elaborate on this possible source of conflict and suggest concrete measures to overcome/mitigate such conflict.
8. In all participatory approaches to development, one recurring problem is that of "free-rider" in which an individual is seen to appropriate as much benefit as possible, yet shrinks away from discharging his part of responsibility. This can become an acute problem in medium or large-scale projects where it becomes extremely difficult to monitor individual "input" into a project and his claim on the final "output". This problem gets compounded in situations where no distinct mechanism exist to separate various functions to be assigned to individual participants in the project. Here, too, the guidelines could have benefited from the experience of Grameen Bank, BRAC and similar participatory programmes to suggest measures to overcome/minimize "free-rider" problem.



9. The guidelines should elaborate on the mechanism of information dissemination both within a project and across projects, to gain better understanding of evolving situations.
10. The guidelines suggests that the Participatory Planning Team should include several types of specialists. It however omits the need for an economist in the team. This should be reconsnidered in view of the embedded economic dimension of the participatory process.

5.4 Some Observations

Preparation of the guidelines was in itself a contribution to the efforts of the MIWDFC to implement the Flood Action Plan and other FCDI Projects involving people at low level as a key variable in project planning and implementation. However, guidelines have an inherent tendency to bound the implementors by procedural rigidities and restrict their initiative to operate by praxis and exercising their judgment in case by case and compel them to function within the stipulated directives- however flexible they were intended to be. An element of training perhaps could be added to the guidelines to water down, if and when necessary, the rigidity of the guidelines in their actual application. Such training should be a joint effort on the part of the project management and other interest groups or change agents like the local government organizations and institutions, central government agencies and NGOs operating in the field having identical interests.

In the proposed formative evaluation of the Tangail Compartmentalization Pilot Project, efforts will be made to see to what extent the guidelines were applicable to actual development situation. The other aspect of the exercise could be to elaborate the content and utility of such training programmes in order to organize participation (from above) and institutionalize it (from below) at low level of development.

6. Tangail Compartmentalization Pilot Project

6.1 Introduction

This pilot project under the Flood Action Plan (FAP 20) is intended to carry out experimentation of the different yet complementary segments of the concept or model of controlled flooding and drainage through a system of compartmentalization and sub-compartmentalization of the project area. Compartmentalization is basically a management unit in which the involvement of the beneficiaries is considered essential for its success. Bottom-up approach to planning will be the core of the Tangail Experiment in water management system based on people's participation and its institutionalization.

In this proposed formative evaluation of the pilot project, attempt will be made to show to what extent the Guidelines for People's Participation are being applied or applicable to organize people's participation and its use as an input in a bottom-up approach to project planning.

6.2 Objectives

The objectives of the Pilot Project is to establish a realistic and sustainable water management system through a combination of organizational and institutional elements like the following:

1. involving local population in project cycle;
2. providing disadvantaged groups with employment opportunities with special attention being paid to destitute women;
3. ensure necessary linkages between project officials and the local government and the beneficiaries with the bifold objective of project formulation for meeting the needs of beneficiaries and at the same time minimize tension and conflicts between groups within the project area and those located outside in the interest of better project performance;
4. educate project beneficiairies on their responsibilities for operation and maintenance of completed projects;
5. propose necessary legislation for payment of water rates by the beneficiaries.

6.3 Strategy

These objectives are to be realized by planning and designing of the compartments, their implementation and by construction and maintenance of compartments. The right approach to planning and operation will evolve only after a series of experiments. Beneficiary involvement in the project cycle and establishment of linkages between the concerned central agency (in this case the BWDB) and the local government will result through an institutional mechanism of consultation for participation and formalizing the linkages into committees and councils as the case may be. In construction and maintenance of compartments, the rural and urban poor will be engaged in a part of all earthwork to be undertaken. Labour Contracting Societies (LCS) will be formed with these poor and contracts for such earthwork will be awarded directly to them to eliminate the middlemen. Landless, particularly women, will be engaged in carrying out routine maintenance work for a wage or a right to cultivate embankment sides and khas land.

6.4 People's Participation in the Project Cycle

6.4.1 Participation in Planning and Design

Tangail compartment was divided into 16 sub-compartments. A multidisciplinary team of experts conducted a needs assessment of the people of the project area. Data collected by such assessment and recommendations made by the concerned experts on the basis of that were then fed into the process of planning, development and design of the compartment and sub-compartments.

The method applied in the needs assessment were (i) Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and (ii) Consultation with different interest groups.

RRA included group interviews of randomly selected individuals from some interest groups at convenient locations. The subject of discussion centred around the need of the FAP and the proposed BWDB project. Comments or reactions from the interviewed were considered important participatory data for feeding into the planning process. A total of 25 sub-compartments were thus surveyed.

Consultation with selected village people was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, interest groups were consulted separately. In the second phase, representatives of each interest group were consulted. In addition, elected representatives of the villagers like Union Parishad Chairmen, Ward members, and other rural elites like school teachers, knowledgeable persons, etc. were consulted.

In a number of sub-committees consultation has been completed and construction work is going on. However, consultation process will continue till the beginning of the monsoon and construction work in other places will commence early next dry season. Construction work in the remaining areas will be covered during the coming dry season and construction work will begin in 1994-95.

6.4.2 Participation in Implementation

During implementation, about 30-50% of earth work will be reserved for the LCS. Work contracts have already been provided to 11 LCS during 1992-93 construction year.

The necessary procedures to ensure the above are being prepared. However, this is one of the many proposed aspects of participation in project implementation. The main thrust still lies in the effort to institutionalize the process of participation. This effort will centre around the existing local institutional arrangements involving local interest groups, concerned official and non-official agencies and public representatives. Once all these actors are fenced together to agree (or disagree) to certain aspects of project implementation, consensus building can take place fostering a sense of ownership of the project in question on the part of the entire community.

Conceptual in nature, this process is to be formalized by some organizational development committees. For the purpose, a three-tier organizational setting is being developed:

1. Water Users Groups (WUGs)- at the beneficiary level;
2. Sub-compartmental Water Management Committee (SCWMC)- at the sub-compartmental level and
3. Compartmental Water Management Committee (CWMC)- at the compartmental level.

The proposed WUG will comprise representatives from farmers and fishermen managing field level water distribution around a chalk (landblock) of each sub-compartment. The proposed sub-compartment water management committee will be concerned with the task of planning and

operation of sub-compartment. The SCWMC will be formed by officials, various field staff of the central government and NGO representatives. The CWMC, responsible for operating, managing and maintaining the project, will be formed by the representatives from each SCWMC, NGO, public representatives and district and thana level officials of the concerned central government departments. The Project Director will be the Chairman of the committee. This committee when needed will liaise, negotiate with other committees from adjoining compartments for inter-compartment water distribution matters.

The main aim of institutionalization and its coverage by the above organizational framework is to develop mechanisms for operating and maintaining the compartmental water management system to be developed under the pilot project.

6.4.3 Participation in Operation and Maintenance

A compartment is a management unit in which the involvement of the beneficiaries is considered essential for its success. The modus operandi of such involvement is to be developed and formalized in order to achieve sustained project benefit.

7. A Formative Evaluation

7.1 Introduction

In this brief historical description two main themes will be underlined. First, the nature and the present status of the implementation of Tangail Pilot Project will be highlighted. Secondly, some references will be made to point out the similarities or points of departure between the methods of participation of the project and the guidelines prepared for the purpose.

7.2 Present status of implementation of Tangail Pilot Project

An understanding of the Report presented at the Third Conference on Flood Action Plan by FPCO (May 17-19, 1993) and other available literatures and documents on the subject indicates implementation of the project in its real sense has not yet began although a lot of preliminaries, no less vital in the process, have been worked out and set in motion. These preliminaries contain a great deal of what ought to be done; what should be avoided, and possible trade off between conflicting demands. All these look like more a discussion of theoretical nature perhaps still perhaps in a bid to discover the appropriate mechanism to handle the issue of participation during both pre-planning stage and implementation process of a project cycle. However, it has been made clear, quite frequently at that, such insight and practical lessons could be gained only gradually over a period of time during actual planning and implementation stages of a project.

7.2.1 Completed Activities

Field visit to project site showed that a number of old FCDI structures within the project sites has been repaired or innovated and necessary steps taken to maintain them by the project management. The beneficiaries, at least the immediate ones, showed adequate interest in their effectiveness. The Slimpur-Koratia embankment project was a case in point which underwent such overhauling.

7.2.2 On-going Activities

A good number of project sites has already been selected and new structures installed. Around them will be formed water users groups at the beneficiary level, sub-compartmental water management committee at the sub-compartmental level and compartmental water management committee at the compartmental level. All these are still in their formative stages and their future outcome can be tested only when the process is completed and a summative evaluation of their effectiveness is aimed at. At the compartmental level however tension and conflicts of interest persist. The main structures at such level will include large regulators on the banks of swelling rivers (or rivulets) in order to control and regulate water flow within the project area. But such regulation may adversely affect the interest of the outlying areas situated outside the boundaries of the project. Committees therefore are being formed having representations from both the sides to overview such water regulation so some balance could be struck, between project benefit and adverse consequences of project implementation.

7.2.3 Linkages and Inter-organizational Relationships

Success of the pilot project will largely depend on its capability to set up linkages with the social, economic and cultural environment of the project. Similarly, the project must also be able to establish the much needed inter-organizational relationships for coordination purpose as well as receiving the benefit of goods and services from other concerned official, non-official and local government agencies.

Linkages with with different interest groups, elites and local political organizations are being networked through various committees and councils of the project. Through such linkages, the project expects to promote community harmony, avoid conflicts and function in a properly organized working environment.

The project management is required to work in coordination with concerned field staff representing various official, non-official and local government agencies.

Getting down to brass-tacks, this will amount to an effort at evolving a coordination mechanism to iron out possible differences among the concerned field agents with regard to their respective function, jurisdiction, rank and status. District Coordination Committee exists at

every District for coordination purpose so that development efforts are not hampered due to lack of participation on the part of the field agents. A pilot project like the Tangail one has to find out how to get the benefit of such coordination. The District Commissioner is the Boss of such committee. It will therefore be logical for the project management to find ways and means to involve the District Commissioner (or his Representative) in project activities to elicit necessary cooperation from the concerned agencies.

7.3 Applicability of the Guidelines in Tangail Pilot Project

7.3.1 Introduction

The Guidelines for People's Participation have been reviewed pointing out some of their weaknesses that might handicap their application to concrete situation of development.

In the Tangail Pilot Project, the various methods of organizing people's participation have also been discussed.

In this section, an attempt will be made to show to what extent the guidelines were followed in the Tangail Project and the rationale behind any deviation, if any.

7.3.2 Application of the Guidelines

The Guidelines advocate a participatory decision-making process involving different interest groups and also those mute and powerless marginals including destitute women.

However, the principal instrument in organizing people's participation is a multidisciplinary Planning Team of Experts who will be available both in the head quarters and the field. This apparent contradiction in the methodology perhaps can be overcome by locating the planning team of experts at the apex of the project and engaging local change agents in conducting the ground work. These local change agents can be put together into what is being termed as Project Committee or sub-Committee. The multidisciplinary team then can also take part at a later stage of the process. It is also possible to infer that in view of the implementation of the guidelines by the management itself in most cases, there lies an inherent top-down bias in the guidelines although the intention of the authors seem to be quite otherwise.

The guidelines recommend people's participation in five phases of the project cycle. These are: 1. Prefeasibility Planning; 2. Feasibility Planning; 3. Detailed Design; 4. Implementation and 5. Operation and Maintenance.

In the Tangail Case, the process has been shortened and people's participation is considered essential in three distinct stages of the project cycle. These are: 1. Planning and design; 2. Implementation and 3. Operation and Maintenance.

In essence, however, the three stages of pre-feasibility, feasibility and detail designing of the guidelines roughly correspond to the planning and design stage of the project cycle as envisaged in the Tangail Pilot Project. In both cases, the techniques of rapid rural appraisal and participatory rural appraisal have been proposed.

Although implementation of the Tangail Pilot Project has not yet started in full swing, it can be fairly observed that most of the techniques for organizing people's participation proposed in the guidelines are being adhered to, often in modified forms, in the Tangail Project. In any case, it will be quite premature to make any conclusive opinion at this stage as to their effectiveness in fostering people's participation at different levels of project planning and implementation such as low or grassroot level, project management level and policymaking level. Such assessment will demand a summative evaluation of the project long after its implementation.

It may, however, be mentioned that both the guidelines and the Tangail Pilot Project methodology for organizing people's participation seem to have neglected two most vital aspects of the process of participation. These are: 1. Consultation and Negotiation with the beneficiaries as well as the affected; 2. Funding of the Operation and Maintenance of completed projects on a self-sustained basis and 3. Voluntary involvement of the Local Government Machinery in project planning and implementation (i.e. beyond those pertaining to itself e.g. LGED projects). These issues will be taken up for discussion in Chapter IV wherein an attempt will be made to operationalize the guidelines in actual conditions of development.

8. Summary

In this chapter people's participation in development process has been discussed. Most of the discussion remain confined to literature study. Field investigation was made in Tangail while making an attempt at a formative evaluation of the Tangail Compartmentalization Pilot Project.

The literatures selected for study were all FAP study documents. People's participation in all of them featured prominently. The following literatures were studied:

1. North East Regional Water Management Project

People's participation in this study is considered as an integral part of environmental planning, assessment and management of development efforts. People's participation according to this study assumes a wider connotation and refers to the involvement of interested parties-particularly local communities in different stages of a project.

2. Operation and Maintenance Study

These two studies mainly concern a number of case studies of operation and maintenance of FCDI projects of the Water Development Board. The method of Rapid Rural Appraisal has been applied to study the projects. People's participation in these studies is restricted to the phase of operation and maintenance of some completed projects mainly through various committees. The studies also seek to analyze the nature of linkage between the Water development Board and Local Government institutions and organizations to reflect the participatory dimension of development process. Prospect of people's participation under private initiative has also been indicated and highlighted.

3. Environmental Study

This study aims at assessing the adverse environmental impacts of water development projects and guidelines in order to mitigate or avoid adverse effects of planning, designing and operation and maintenance of FAP projects. Under this study, Environmental Impact Assessment Guidelines and two volumes of Environmental Impact Assessment Manuals have been prepared. Both the guidelines and manuals have underlined the importance of people's participation in the assessment process.

4. Tangail Compartmentalization Pilot Project

In this project people's participation both as a concept and a method has been extensively dealt with. To date experiments made in this field and results obtained in the process have been documented.

5. Guidelines for Project Assessment

Although the guidelines do not see people's participation as an explicit objective in assessing a project, they nonetheless can be of significant use for the field staff and consultants engaged in Regional Water Resource Planning Studies and Feasibility Studies for Investment projects under the Flood Action Plan.

6. Guidelines for Environmental Impact Assessment

These guidelines have been prepared to study and make environmental evaluation of regional plans and projects under the Flood Action Plan. Although the guidelines are products of more of desk work, tailored for bangladesh conditions, their main purpose is to ensure that only those projects are taken up for implementation which are environmentally sound.

7. Guidelines For People's Participation

These guidelines were prepared by the FPCO, mainly for the planners and the field staff to ensure people's participation in different phases of the project cycle in order to gain sustainable project benefit as well as to create an awareness among the beneficiaries (and also non-

beneficiaries) regarding their sustainability in their own interest. Although the guidelines suffer from a top-down bias, its preparation in a documentary form is in itself a significant contribution to development literature.

8. Applicability of the Guidelines

Applicability of the guidelines were tested in the Tangail Compartmentalization Pilot Project and it was found that essentially there was little variation in their respective approach to planning process- both considering people's participation in different phases of project cycle as vital to project success. However, since the Tangail Pilot Project has not yet been fully implemented and since no summative evaluation of the project could be made at this stage, it will be premature to make any definitive judgement regarding their applicability to concrete situation of development. Still, in-depth content analysis of the guidelines would suggest that some more thoughts could be in the fitness of things regarding the economic viability of operation and maintenance as well as prescribing practical ways and means for short term benefit for those to be engaged in sustaining the project.

The institution building efforts conducted through the programme, with donor assistance, led to the creation of Local Government Engineering Bureau (LGEB) which now has become a full fledged Department (LGED).

With the termination of the program (1986), a more comprehensive Rural Employment Sector Programme (RESP) was undertaken. The RESP has two main components: Infrastructure Development Project (IDP) and Production and Employment Project (PEP) focussing on rural poor group formation and employment generation (through participation in Projects and organising growth centres for trading and commercial purpose).

The IDP involves women and landless groups in execution and maintenance of various projects for income generation and employment, and it includes a number of small water management schemes. Maintenance work is done by (i) landless labour groups; (ii) labour contracting societies and (iii) local contractors.

The landless groups are organized by field assistants at the project level and the cost is borne by the (Upazila) Parishads. In some cases, maintenance is done by women groups, mostly through LCS.

LGED project cycle comprise the following phases: project identification; planning; implementation, group formation; hand over and transition and O&M.

With the advice and assistance of the LGED technical staff, local people are asked to identify problems and suggest solutions. Although no definite method is followed in such activities, planning is done through such identification exercise.

Participation in project implementation is made through formation of Local O&M Committees. These Committees are formed through informal discussions with various interest groups at some earlier stages. The procedure followed is that the local authority organizes general meetings with some local elite presiding. LGED staff act as the facilitators. Thus the procedure involves participation of more or less all the segments of the rural society (including NGOs). The process is fairly democratic. Nonetheless, it is also a case of top-down method of group or committee formation.

Once a project is completed, the LGED hands it over to the local authorities for management and other purposes. The process includes training programmes for the intended beneficiaries as well as those to be entrusted with the actual responsibility of looking after the project. The LGED has also prepared detailed manual for O&M of Small Scale Flood Control and Drainage Schemes.

The LGED contribution in institution building efforts mainly concern establishing O&M capability and local resource mobilization for small scale project sustainability. This may lead to the observation that smaller components of large BWDB projects can be well looked after by the LGED. Since LGED is the technical arm of the local government, such

arrangement could help expand local government capability in small scale project planning and implementation.

In addition, the strategy to involve the local elite into the project planning and implementation process can minimize the risk of interference into project benefit deliveries by influential powerful groups.

5. Summary

In this chapter the nature of people's participation in the projects of two other agencies like the BWDB and the LGED has been discussed. Two projects of the BWDB- the System Rehabilitation Project (SRP) and the Early Implementation Project (EIP) were taken up for discussion in view of their participation components. The other discussed, for the same consideration, was the Intensive Rural Works Programme (IRWP) of the Local Government Engineering Department (LGED).

People's participation in the SRP is mainly organized for the operation and maintenance of the rehabilitated projects. Stress is laid in this mode on organizing farmers for water management and articulation of their demands.

In the EIP, strategies followed to organize participation concern establishment of project committees, ensure local government control and management control through privatization. However, EIP experience is best understood by its method of forming Labour Contracting Societies (LCS) both for O&M and Implementation purposes of completed projects.

The LGED projects (RESP and IDP) seek to involve local people (participation) in the various stages of project cycle. The main features of this effort are to build up local level O&M capability and local level resource mobilization and provide training to beneficiaries and O&M hands. Involvement of destitute women groups through LCS is another aspect of LGED effort at income generation and employment creation for the rural poor.

LGED experience also indicates that it can efficiently handle small scale projects and mobilize local authorities, motivate local elite for project success. This way the LGED can earn the confidence of central organizations (in the present case BWDB) in their ability to manage smaller components of larger projects. It can also make a significant contribution to institution building by minimizing the risk of project subversion by elite interferences in project planning and implementation.

Chapter IV

Participation For Working Together

1. Introduction

In this chapter an attempt will be made to lay down the foundation of a proposed draft outline of a manual for people's participation. This exercise in fact will concern some aspects of the problems in operationalizing the guidelines for people's participation.

Quite logically, in such an attempt, first some references will be made to the applicability of the guidelines to real conditions (as in Tangail Pilot Project). Following this, a proposed draft outline will be placed for consideration of practitioners, academics and future researchers. A Summary will highlight the main points of discussion.

2. Guidelines in Practice

Applicability of the guidelines were tested in the Tangail Pilot Project and it was found that essentially there was hardly any variation in their respective approach to planning process. However, since the Tangail Pilot Project has not yet been implemented and since any summative evaluation of the project can be made only long after its completion, it will be pre-mature to make any definitive conclusion on the applicability of the guidelines to real project conditions.

However, an in-depth content analysis of the guidelines (backed by some praxiological interpretation of the thought pattern of the authors) would suggest that some more thought could be given on the economic viability of the Operation and Maintenance and devising some practical ways and means for short term benefit to meet the opportunity cost of those to be actually involved in sustaining a project.

2.1 A Proposed Draft Outline

2.1.1 Introduction

The notion of people's participation in project cycle has assumed great importance in development literature as well as among the practitioners themselves mainly because of the fact that operation and maintenance of irrigation, drainage and flood control structures is now a global concern. This stems from the fact that many such projects have either failed or proved unsatisfactory due to their poor maintenance.

A number of factors can be readily available for consideration in discerning the causes of such popular apathy towards project maintenance. Of them the following may be noted with interest:

1. Absence of people's experience in genuine participation- people include all interest groups particularly beneficiaries and farmers;

2. Absence of genuine participation in planning, design and implementation of projects (which follows from 1);
3. Absence of feeling of ownership of the project by the beneficiaries;
4. Absence of provision of short term benefit out of participation;
5. Absence of planning for long term benefit in project maintenance;
6. Absence of appropriate method in organizing participation and its institutionalization;
7. Absence of Property Right of the beneficiaries.

It is with this scenario that the following draft outline is proposed.

2.2. Text

Beneficiaries of projects in Bangladesh have been used to heavy government involvement in most development efforts. People of all interest groups consider project maintenance the responsibility of the government and wait for official assistance to operate and maintain projects. This is one of the main reasons for the lack of experience on the part of the people in project formulation or management. It will take time and experience to overcome such obstacle. Inter/intra village conflicts and a divided beneficiary groups also fail to achieve the needed collaboration required in operation and maintenance of completed projects.

Much of the above could indeed be removed had there been any tradition or mechanism to involve the people in the different phases of the project cycle. People immediately benefited or affected are not involved in project planning, design, and implementation. In such state people are not expected to have any commitment to either maintain the project or articulate their demands for new projects in their own interest.

It is common wisdom that one does not normally care much for what is not his/her. Many FCDI structures are neglected today by the very people for whom they were built simply because they lack a sense of ownership of the project. As long as the beneficiaries consider themselves mere recipients of goods and services of government and donor institutions, O&M responsibilities would not occur into their mind. It is only when they feel that the projects are truly their own property that this attitude can change.

Most practitioners assume that people will be there to participate in the project cycle because by doing so they will be ultimately benefited. What they fail to appreciate is the fact that the people are engaged in hard struggle for their bare survival and without any immediate gain in cash and kind they would hardly come forward to involve themselves in any of the phases of the project cycle.

The idea that project implementation can in the long run benefit the entire project area easily escapes their calculation of things. This is not only because they had not been properly consulted or negotiated with in case of a dispute during project planning and implementation, but also because of the fact they have not been properly made aware of pros

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The idea that project implementation can in the long run benefit the entire project area easily escapes their calculation of things. This is not only because they had not been properly consulted or negotiated with in case of a dispute during project planning and implementation, but also because of the fact they have not been properly made aware of pros

and cons of the project itself. Consultation and negotiation apart, the issue of beneficiary right and its legal protection has hardly occurred in the minds of many policymakers.

To encapsulate the above and then to implement them, it is necessary to formalize the process into viable organizations and institutions. Organizers and institution builders in this field have gone a long way in conducting various experiments through different approaches. But the degree of success and failures in this have varied in different areas under different socio-cultural settings.

2.3 Structure

In order to organize realistic people's participation for meaningful purpose, the following outline is suggested in the Bangladesh condition—although shifting of emphasis of certain aspects will take place in different areas having their own unique traditions and habits and also the nature of the projects themselves.

1. Integration

In order to organize participation, motivate the beneficiaries and initiate group formation, the change agents have to immerse themselves into village communities to understand their culture, economy, history, and life style of local people. The outcome of this process, (which in fact strongly resembles something like the participant observation method) is expected to result in their acceptance by the people not as outsiders but as one of them. During this process, the change agents (who could be extension workers) can also earn the respect of the poor, know their culture and conditions. This way they themselves may undergo basic attitudinal changes so vital for appreciating the conditions of the vulnerables and the marginals.

2. Village Mapping

Village mapping is essential in all project planning and implementation likely to affect the villagers. In this the change agents can solicit advice and help from teachers, students, matbars, and the elderly.

The purpose of this exercise is to help determine the actual benefitted areas of the proposed project through data supplied by the people themselves.

Village mappings are an update of old mouza maps. Such updating can reduce the possibility of conflict of interests, litigation, etc. among the villagers. Improvements in village infrastructures (like new roads, additional houses, mosques, etc.) are noted. Cropping patterns are also indicated. The maps can identify location and number of farm lots of each cultivator. The maps can indicate the extent of local people's knowledge of their communities which can be used as important input in the planning process.



3. Inventory of Project Beneficiaries

In most cases, the participation of majority in project planning and implementation cannot be ascertained unless a list of project beneficiaries is prepared (this can also neutralize the problem of free riders to a great extent). It is also necessary to know the beneficiaries so that they can be organized into groups, associations or societies, as the case may be.

With the help of selected farmers, school teachers, students and elderly members of the community, the change agents can do the job fairly efficiently within a reasonable period of time.

4. Training

Training of beneficiary leaders, and those to be involved in project planning, implementation, operation and maintenance will be an important component of the work schedule of the change agents. A training package may include the following components:

1. inform the participants about the objectives of FCDI projects;
2. enhance their leadership potentials so that they could become more efficient in acting as catalysts, motivators, opinion makers, and mobilizers of other farmers/villagers;
3. develop a plan of action for better participation of people in operation and maintenance activities;
4. make farmers/villagers aware of the roles of women in development;
5. make them understand the importance of people's participation in the successful implementation of FCDI projects; and
6. motivate farmer-leaders to assist the change agents in mobilizing farmers for operation and maintenance activities.

The method of training should be an inductive one in the sense both the trainers and trainees benefit from each others' knowledge and experience.

5. Planning Committee

Once the above process is completed, attention should be given to the formation of planning committee for each project or sub-project. The committee will be composed of local people representing various sectors of the community. The committee will draft a development plan containing suggestions on how to bring about the desired or anticipated project benefits. It will also incorporate what people think for improving the embankment, where to locate the structures, what repairs are needed on the regulator, what areas can be used for income generating activities like fishpond or prawn culture and what small/cottage industries are viable to sustain operation and maintenance activities.

The planning committee then presents the plan at a general meeting for comments and inputs, revision and modification. Finally the plan thus prepared and approved at the grassroot level is presented to the

project authorities for discussion, negotiation and eventual implementation.

This way, in fact, planning will be nearer to the concept of bottom-up planning which ultimately, over a period of time, is expected to give rise to demand led project activities. The planning process originating from the people themselves involve both the people and the government for joint negotiation purpose. This procedure underlies the theme of popular ownership of the project and that the government merely assist them to implement the project. In addition to the planning committee, a project monitoring committee should also be organized to monitor construction activities to ensure quality control. However, formation of an operation and maintenance committee will supervise and ensure project maintenance for sustained project benefits. In brief, the components thus identified in the planning process are the necessary ingredients of what can be called an Interface Approach to Planning. In this approach, the issues of the extent of beneficiary participation, short term gain for the participants, contributory water rate for the beneficiaries, a self-sustaining circuit for operation and maintenance and long term benefit from institutionalization of the process can be articulated.

3. An Interface Approach to Planning

3.1. Introduction

An elaboration of this approach has been made by the author in his last assignment report. However, since the present subject matter of discussion mainly concern people's participation issues, some of the pertinent aspects of that approach may be recuperated to complement the present discussion.

3.2 A Proposal For Contributory Water Rate System

The question of water rate payment by the beneficiaries seems to be on the active agenda of the irrigation bureaucracy. Some kind of legal measures to compel such payment is also in the offing. However, in the interest of institution building and creating among the farmers a habit to pay for facilities received, the project authorities can introduce a system of contributory water rate for a period of four years in the following manner:

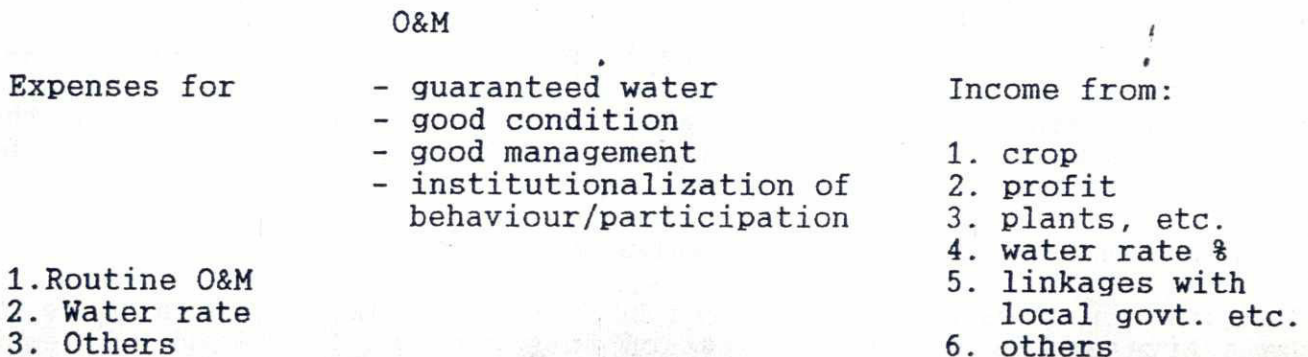
Year 1:	Project contribution at 80%
	Beneficiary contribution at 20%
Year 2:	Project contribution at 60%
	Beneficiary contribution at 40%
Year 3:	Project contribution at 40%
	Beneficiary contribution at 60%
Year 4:	Project contribution at 20%
	Beneficiary contribution at 80%
Year 5:	Project contribution at .0%
	Beneficiary contribution at 100%

Water rate payment by the beneficiaries is contingent upon the projects ability to lower its staffing cost and keep its efficiency up. The project must maintain facilities in good conditions so that the users can afford to pay for its maintenance. Because only a reliable delivery of services will enable the farmer to earn enough profits permitting him to pay the cost of O&M of the system, Or else, if O&M declines, water supply declines, so does the ability to pay for maintenance leading to an economically and environmentally vicious circle.

3.3 A Self-Sustaining O&M Circuit

In the Bangladesh context a package incentive for the farmers and its operationalization are expected to help them form a habit to pay for services received and institutionalise the process through a self-sustaining circuit. Such incentive package should also include elements of social recognition for good performances and other culturally appreciated mode of behaviour of the participants. The best committee can be singled out and rewarded on various socio-religious occasions.

A self-sustaining circuit containing income, expenses, incentives and so forth for meeting O&M costs at structure level, and in the long run at project level can be worked out in the following diagram



Farmers

Self-sustaining O&M Circuit

From the above diagram it is seen that farmers or beneficiaries should also have adequate networking or linkages with extra-project bodies like the Zila Parishad, Union Parishad, District Administration, NGOs and so forth. Such linkages will help them gain access to managerial and financial resources to survive on a long term basis. Such a strategy will help them to finance O&M costs at local or project level and the entire O&M cost in the long run.

One precondition for the successful operationalization of the circuit will be for the project management to drastically lower its staffing cost and keep its efficiency up. If the total amount of water rate is taka five crore then the total amount of O&M cost should not exceed that amount. Besides, tangible exercise of authority, in addition to persuasion, is also necessary to obtain the desired level of participation by the people. Change agents/extension workers can look after the persuasion task. But to use authority and get compliance thereof the system needs legitimacy in the eyes of the local people (which itself tantamounts to institution building). This means that legal instruments and the means to enforce them are the other conditions for the implementation of the model. Thus, as for example in the case of water rate assessment, its realization and penalty for non-compliance have to be provided for under legal coverage. In addition, the means to enforce such a law should be clearly established.

The GOB is at present contemplating to initiate such legal procedures for introducing water rate as well as assigning the responsibility for its implementation to specific organization. The process involves political issues, administrative capability and management and financial incentives (which should also cover the change agents/extension workers rewards for their achievements).

It has been noted that the issue of local resource mobilization has not been given adequate attention either in the Guidelines For People's Participation or in any other concerned guidelines. The capacity of the local governments in Bangladesh to mobilize enough resources to meet their development costs and then embark upon further development works remain restricted in view of their ingrained structural anomalies and poor resource base (which is not unique in the Bangladesh case alone). Nonetheless, necessary resources can be obtained to meet the O&M costs of FCDI projects by the combined application of the above two concepts: introduction of a contributory water rate system (short term) and implementation of a self-sustaining O&M circuit (long term).

3.4 Organization of Participation

3.4.1 Introduction

The proposed draft outline of participation manual, in addition to the issue of local resource mobilization, contains at least five distinct though sequential components. These are: 1. Integration; 2. Village Mapping; 3. Inventory of Project Beneficiaries; 4. Training & 5. Planning Committees (followed by Monitoring Committees and O&M Committees).

Some suggestions have also been made to convert them into action oriented programme components. However, the problem of their actual operationalization still lies in the absence of a scientific methodology for the purpose. In the Inter-face Model, a five-step method has been proposed to overcome this problem in a realistic manner under the objective conditions in Bangladesh.

3.4.2 A Five Step Method

In this method, irrigation bureaucracies can reach the "cutting edge" of development- an area which eludes the grasp of most public bureaucracies engaged in policy planning for development. The national planners will have to come forward to reach the grass root developmental edge and the following five steps can be, at least tentatively, proposed to do the job.

Step-1 Change agents/extension workers are sent out on a reconnaissance or fact finding mission to gather information about population characteristics, land holding patterns, community preferences, leadership style. This can be done by interviewing poor farmers, beneficiaries, local leaders and local government officials and through some modified form of participant observation (Integration Phase). Extension meetings can then be arranged to see if there is any demand-led project needs or to sale the project ideas which the national planners have in mind.

Step II On the basis of information gathered and feedback received in the extension meetings, a household or base line survey involving beneficiaries can be initiated. Such a process will provide for the creation of a basis of a reliable data base so vital for successful project planning and implementation.

Step III Once the necessary local data is collected and analysed, policy planning/designing process of the project ensues. The views/preferences of the beneficiaries and the knowledge of the locality can form important input into the planning and designing of the project. The planners will be coming back to to the locality, consult the beneficiaries to ascertain whether or not their design is based on correct or mistaken premises. If land is to be acquired- the planners can negotiate with the affected parties directly so that they are adequately compensated and resettled wherre necessary. Efforts should be made to ensure that the poor and the vulnerable are not adversely affected and are not forced to join the urban slums. Such consultation wwill also help the designers choose sites, clarify land ownership issues and get clear views about the formation of beneficiary committees who will ultimately be responsible for O&M of the completed projects. By this time, the change agents will have organized the farmers/beneficiaries and help them form their committees elected democratically or on consensus basis and to which membership for all farmers of the concerned area will be compulsory.

Step IV With the firming up of the implementation date of the project, the planners have been able to make a realistic assessment of the beneficiary capability to participate in the implementation of the project. Accordingly, small works requiring unskilled or semi-skilled labour can be given to them. The implementation period will also offer an opportunity for imparting training to the beneficiaries in operation and maintenance of the project when it is completed. By this time beneficiary committees already formed can, with the help of the change agents, begin to develop the O&M manual and learn how to handle documents, contracts, etc. needed to for undertaking financial and other agreements with concerned agencies. This will also make them aware of their property right or right to the project itself and motivate them to rally round their elected representatives to take up their cases to the Parliament as and when necessary. Such training and close involvement of the beneficiaries into the project cycle and with the official agents helping them in participation is expected to imbibe into them a sense of ownership of and commitment to the project. This will also help create a bondage between them and the government as partners in a common game of development and foster a spirit of working together which is the essence of modern democratic states.

Step V The project thus completed can then be handed over to the beneficiary committees or the local government, as the case may be. The beneficiary committees have been formed, trained and motivated and are now expected to undertake the task of operating and maintaining the structures. The project planners have also been satisfied (if it is the case) that the local government or the committees have the required capability to manage the project. The apex of the project management, for the large projects, is to remain with the national government because of their complex nature of O&M and also for ensuring project efficiency to meet the demands of the beneficiaries. Summative evaluation of the project will involve a time frame in which both the apex management and the beneficiaries can participate together. Such joint evaluation can form the basis of proposals, if necessary, for modernization or rehabilitation of the project. This can also help identify the need, if any, for new project proposals which in fact amount to demand-led projects the very core of bottom-up planning process.

The above tentative set of indicators for beneficiary participation in the project cycle can be derived from this hypothetical construct of the interface model. Although this based on field experiences and a rapid assessment of some existing mode of beneficiary participation in O&M, future researchers/consultants can test the model's applicability to concrete situations of development in Bangladesh and elsewhere.

8. Summary

In this chapter an attempt has been made to establish the foundation of a proposed draft outline of a manual for people's participation. The text and structure of the outline contain factors responsible for popular apathy towards participation and some suggestions to overcome such problems.

Integration of the change agents with the people is considered the first step towards organizing participation. Village mapping is needed to get a comprehensive picture of the socio-economic and topographical conditions prevailing in the project area.

An inventory of project beneficiaries has to be made in the interest of project implementation. This is also necessary to organize the beneficiaries into groups or assoons so that they can meaningfully participate in the project cycle.

Training of beneficiaries has been considered an essential element for the purpose of O&M of completed projects, also to educate them about their rights and privileges and responsibilities in the development process. Formation of Planning Committees for each project is considered vital in a bottom-up approach to planning process.

Lastly, an Interface Model of Planning has been offered to encapsulate the above, backed by a proposal for a contributory water rate system for providing the beneficiaries with short term benefit and a self-sustaining method of meeting O&M costs on a long term basis. The model also seeks to devise a practical method of organizing participation.

Chapter V

Concluding Observations

In this chapter conclusions are expected to be drawn out of the discussions made and findings arrived at in the previous chapters. But the very nature of the subject- People's Participation in Project Cycle in Bangladesh context- poses problematic for making any definitive conclusions. Instead, it will be pragmatic to offer some observations of tentative nature.

The concept of people's participation in different stages of the project cycle came to prominence in the wake of widespread project failures, particularly in donor supported countries. Donor supported projects failed or did not perform upto satisfaction principally because of lack of operation and maintenance of the project. The recipient countries could not provide the necessary fund to administer or manage O&M of completed projects. Large projects of complex technological nature could be administered and also managed provided sufficient fund and technical resources were available. But problems arose mainly in Flood Control, Drainage and Irrigation Projects which needed to be managed at the very low levels involving active participation on the part of the people themselves. This fact being ignored, both in the planning process and in actual project implementation and its operation and maintenance, both recipient countries and the donors turned their attention to finding some ways and means to involve the people themselves not only in managing the projects but also mobilizing the resources at meet the cost involved. It is with this background that in a heavily flood prone country like Bangladesh, the importance of people's participation in the project cycle has gained momentum.

But then ambiguities persist both in the concept itself and its application to actual conditions of development. First question can be made as to the exact identity of the term people. Who are the People? What kind of participation we are talking about? Is it only for the purpose of meeting O&M costs of completed projects? Or it is also being considered as a factor for the democratization of the society as a whole?

The guidelines prepared for people's participation (which is central to the present study) seem to have taken an ambivalent stand towards these issues. However, it appears that the main concern among the policymakers (and also the donors) is regarding the sustainability of investment projects so that project benefit lasts enough at least to justify the investment made.

One striking feature in the guidelines (as in other related documents) is the assumption on the part of the authors that people are there, participation will take place and the task is to organize them to participate. Such assumption, at least in the Bangladesh context, seems to be based on mistaken premises. Because, people will have to be

organized and motivated enough to become aware of their responsibilities, and act in their self-interest. This is not to say that people of Bangladesh do not understand what is in their advantage and what acts will bring them profits and gains. The fact is that in the absence or near absence of institutional and organizational infrastructures and lack of immediate dividend for a very hard pressed people, participation on their part in planning and implementing projects will be difficult to achieve. So in addition to establishing elaborate institutional and organizational infrastructures for educating and training the people, proper attention is to be given to overcome certain constraints that mark the Bangladesh power-structure. Some of the constraints can be identified as following:

1. weak local government dependant on central government for both decision making and resources;
2. inegalitarian power relationships among various groups and segments;
3. lack of local managerial, financial and organizational skills;
4. lack of capacity of the poor to articulate their demands.

These constraints are to be carefully considered by the planners while designing the projects.

The process of participation and its articulation into effective organizations is a political process. Local organizations can help promote beneficiary participation. But it is the function of management to combine the two and translate the mechanism of participation and organization into actual practice and promote development process. Implementation of an Institutional and Organizational Development Programme therefore becomes a pre-requisite of organizing people's participation both for the immediate objective of O&M of FCDI projects and bringing about democratisation of the society as a whole.

Annexes

1. Comments/synthesis: Report on FPCO and related issues

Introduction

The report on Needs Assessment Survey (FAP 26 Institutional Development Programme) by Inge-Merete Hirosholmen and Flemming Koch (UNDP Dhaka 16 June 1992) was not accepted by the FPCO/GOB mainly because of what the concerned (national) experts thought it (the report) did not follow the stipulated TOR of the assignment in question. Some of the main criticisms levelled against the report included the following:

1. The report did not address the issues related to and assess the needs of an institutional development programme;
2. The report did not identify the institutions that may be involved in the implementation of the Flood Action Plan;
3. The report instead ventured into matters that lay outside the scope of the TOR.

In short, the report was considered unacceptable, although useful as background material for the preparation of an Institutional Development Programme/Project Document (a future task perhaps to be taken up by the FPCO).

As it received enough critical responses from concerned experts resulting into its virtual rejection, it will not be a worthwhile exercise to carry out a fresh post-mortem of the report. Therefore, as advised by the FPCO, an attempt could be made to synthesise the main issues and concerns in the following reports and comments related to, principally at least, the future structure, function and role of the FPCO itself vis-a-vis an institutional development programme for the implementation of the FAP.

1. Report on FPCO and other related issues by Dr.A.M.M. Shawkat Ali (POE);
2. Accompanied Note by Dr.M.Shamsher Ali (POE);
3. Comments on the Report by W.F.T. van Ellen (POE);
4. Comments on the Report by Jim Dempster (POE)
5. Response to the comments by Dr.A.M.M.Shawkat Ali(POE).

It may be noted here that since the other members of the Panel of Experts (POE) refrained from making any immediate report or comments because of their pre-occupation in drafting other reports for the FPCO, the present discussion will be restricted within the limits of the above reports and comments only.

In this brief discussion, the report and the comments will be subjected to some kind of analysis in order to explore the possibilities of arriving at their synthesis which can then be used as a stepping stone towards preparing a realistic project document on an institutional development programme for the implementation of the Flood Action Plan.



and the investment FCDI Projects that might be generated out of the FAP Studies. An attempt at an analysis of the reports and comments will look for distinctions between and among the authors. A synthesis, if it is possible to aspire for, will endeavour to bring forth some amalgamation of the distinctions and merge their respective strengths and qualities, avoiding, as far as possible, ambiguities to create a desirable outcome.

In order to carry out the above task, the following tentative method can be of some use:

- Step I : Analyse Dr. Shawkat's Report to derive (i) institutional issues dealt with and (ii) organizational proposals made to operationalize (i);
- Step II Analyse Note and Comments on the Report in order to sharpen the main focus of the Report;
- Step III Brief discussion of the Response on the comments to fill in the gaps or any possible missing links in the synthesising exercise;
- Step IV Use the output of the exercise as a basis/input of a proposed draft outline of an Institutional Development Programme which can be realistically implemented for the Flood Action Plan.

This 4-step method to discern the content (as well as intent) of the report/comments will therefore serve the dual purpose of synthesising the report and comments and using its result as a basis of a proposed draft outline of an institutional development programme.

I. Report on FPCO and related issues

As the title indicates, this report is about the Flood Plan Coordination Organization (FPCO) and some other related issues like that of its continuation or termination under changed circumstances. In this report the author has made a formative evaluation of the FPCO in relation to its (i) review mechanism and inter-organizational linkages/relationships (institutional aspect) and (ii) offered a set of recommendations as to its future structure and role under changes circumstances (organizational aspect).

The report is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the procedural aspects of the FPCO and the inter-organizational relationships it has established and developed in discharging its functions. The second section deals with the future role of the FPCO after 1995 when its term expires and projects generated out of FAP studies are taken up for investment purposes.

Section I

This section begins with the institutional framework of coordination that FPCO has prepared to discharge its functions. This coordination provides a review mechanism for all FAP reports. The review mechanism comprises a 4-step procedural ladder of project administration.

The 4-step review mechanism involve the following :

1. Review Committee of FPCO

This committee is entrusted with the following tasks: (i) review inception/draft final reports; (ii) firm-up recommendations on each report and (iii) place the recommendations before the Technical Committee. The FPCO committee comprises concerned representatives from almost all relevant agencies like the World Bank, Donors, Panel of Experts, FPCO, and the Ministries.

2. Technical Committee

This committee is responsible for reviewing comments of FPCO review committee, approving (or disapproving) the reports received from the latter and recommending them to Implementation Committee for necessary action. With the secretary of the Ministry of Irrigation, Water Development and Flood Control (MIWDFC) in the chair, the Chief Engineer, FPCO, WB Coordinator and representatives from other concerned GOB agencies sit on the committee.

3. Implementation Committee

This committee is responsible for reviewing and approving the recommendations of the Technical Committee. Headed by the Minister, MIWDFC, this committee is represented by senior officials of the Ministry and other concerned Ministries.

4. National Flood Council

This is the highest body for the review of FAP progress and responsible for reviewing and approving the recommendations of the Technical Committee. This council is headed by the President and other senior members of the GOB.

In addition to the above review procedure, inter-organizational relationship between FPCO and the BWDB and other concerned ministries and agencies takes place throughout the planning cycle. FPCO liaise and coordinate with the BWDB at each stage of planning. This is done through 26 designated experts of each side. Other concerned ministries, agencies and field organizations maintain similar relationship with the FPCO.

The review procedure backed by such elaborate inter-organizational networking appears to be a satisfactory system to meet the needs and requirements of all the parties involved. However, the effectiveness of

this system is to be examined in the context of the work-load of the committees and its timely disposal. Besides, the system does not include the element of People's Participation as it is being perceived in different FAP studies (besides the presence of Ministers in the committees). It is also not clear to what extent the Guidelines For People's Participation are followed in actual project planning.

Of the review committees, the author is of the opinion the Implementation Committee has become redundant due to its action limited to only Greater Dhaka Flood Control Project. The review mechanism therefore should be cut short by eliminating this stage of review.

The original TAPP which set up the FPCO (term expiring in 1992) was revised to extend its term till 1993. This was done to help complete the preparatory phase of the FAP by 1992 and its final version by 1993. The revised TAPP also indicates that the preparation of the final version of the FAP may well run into the year 1994. This apparent contradiction in time schedule may pose problematic in the actual disposal of FPCO function. The fact is that FPCO is entrusted with the task of generating at least two specific outputs. These are: (i) preparation of a preliminary and consolidated FAP by 1991 and (ii) a FAP update by mid 1992 with the results of all the interim reports. But in absence of information documents, it is not possible to say that this task has been satisfactorily accomplished.

The other related aspects to the above is the question of a provisional FAP for 1995-2000 to be produced by 1992- to be followed by an update or a final version by 1993. It is not possible to ascertain whether this was done due to lack of sufficient information in the matter.

The TAPP also stresses the need for conducting a needs assessment survey of the institutions needed for the implementation of the different components of the FAP. This should precede the formulation of a PRODOC for an institutional development for the purpose under FAP component 26. All these issues of critical nature should be subject to in-depth scrutiny particularly in relation to the question of the time frame provided for the FPCO as the latter has to dispose of its business by 1993 or 1994 as the case may be setting the process of implementation of investment projects. However, the investment stage that has began with the implementation of few projects (evaluated by the donors) is a misnomer in the sense that these projects in question are offshoots of past projects and did not generate out of FAP studies. The principal task of the FPCO, in the light of the above, is to complete the preparation of the final version of the FAP with a list of concrete and specific investment projects by 1993-1994. The question of preparing an institutional development programme should be considered only after this task has been completed.

The Panel of Experts through some internal auditing came to the view that the FPCO could in fact complete the study phase by 1993 and during 1994-95 it must complete the phase of investment involving preparation and finalization of feasibility reports, finalization of contracts

regarding their funding and so forth. Such optimism, according to the report, does not hold any ground judging the performance of the FPCO in this regard.

Section II

In this section the report examines the PRODOC in question relating to the functions of some concerned organizations involved in the preparation and implementation of the FAP. On the basis of this and the review of the FPCO performance as detailed in Section I, the report offers a set of recommendations regarding the future structure and role of FPCO when it expires its term of existence. Taken together, the above could be considered as an attempt at founding a stepping stone for the development of an institutional development programme for the implementation of the Flood Action Plan, investment projects generated out of the studies of the FAP and other FCDI projects old and new. On completion of this exercise, the report makes a 9-point recommendations covering the entire subject under discussion.

The main concern of the PRODOC is about a proposal for combining the functions of the FPCO and the WARPO and the entailed structural arrangement then could be located within the MIWDFC. The justification behind such proposal lies in the fact that while WARP will be responsible for the National Water Plan, FPCO could be instrumental in producing the Plan itself. The functional linkage between the two is therefore well spelt out. The structural linkage between them is however to be worked out since FPCO ceases to exist after 1995 and it has not yet been decided as to what should happen to all the accumulated results of intensive research work and extensive field investigations that FPCO has conducted during its life time in discharging its assigned functions.

The main activities that the FPCO could undertake during this phase are the following:

1. Monitor and evaluate the progress of implementation of FAP projects;
2. Ensure timely and corrective actions as appropriate for smooth implementation;
3. Monitor and evaluate O&M of completed projects;
4. Prepare and update future projects, consistent with the objectives of National Water Plan.

The Needs Assessment Survey Report had made a strong case for the Water Resources Planning Organization (WARPO) to take over FPCO after 1995. The report (under discussion) reveals that while the FPCO does not favour the idea of its merger or amalgamation with the WARPO, the Ministry does. The report did not consider the suitability of some other organizations like the BWDB or RRI to take over FPCO either.

After an in-depth examination of all such issues, the report offers a 9-point recommendations of which three should be mentioned in the interest of the present discussion. These are:

1. FPCO will need to continue upto 1995 to complete its assigned task;
2. An in-depth examination of the suitability of WARPO as successor of FPCO from 1995 onwards should be carried out by the POE;
3. There is a need to activate the Technical Committee led by the Secretary of the Ministry to closely monitor the FPCO activities.

Summary

The report has made a formative evaluation of the activities of the FPCO, examined the gaps and inconsistencies between the concerned TAPP and the PRODOC. After a detailed examination of FPCO's review mechanism and work progress, the report comes out with the following findings:

1. The review mechanism appears to slow down the process and at least one of its stage- the implementation committee- has become redundant in view of its only and sole pre-occupation with a particular project;
2. The time schedule set for FPCO to complete its assigned task seems to be unrealistic in view of its work progress to date;
3. FPCO and the Ministry do not see eye to eye regarding the proposal of WARPO being the successor organization for the FPCO. The suitability of WARPO to take over FPCO should therefore be appropriately examined;
4. The gaps and inconsistencies between the concerned TAPP and the PRODOC should be clarified and removed;
5. The Ministry should closely monitor the activities of the FPCO.

II Comments on the Report

Two comments of van Ellen and Jim Dempster respectively were available. An accompanying Note (with the report) also came. Before going through the comments, the accompanying note may be discussed.

An accompanying Note by Dr.M.Shamsher Ali

This short note accompanied the main report. In this the author, a member of the POE suggested some methods to be followed to prepare an institutional development programme, also some contents of the proposed programme.

However, the methods did not appear to have any roots into any acknowledged branch of methodology which can be termed as scientifically sound and valid. In any case, advice administered to utilize the good office of the Open University in order to disseminate information, knowledge and techniques regarding various aspects of FAP and institution building could serve as useful input into policy planning and project formulation.

Comments by W.F.T. van Ellen

The comments are made on the two central issues in the report: how did FPCO perform so long and what will be its role and institutional setting during the future stages of FAP.

If the performance of the FPCO was not satisfactory, the organization has to be strengthened to ensure better functioning. In any case, FPCO cannot be held responsible for delays due to procedural requirements of the donors or the GOB. In some cases, delays were deliberate in order to improve the quality of the output.

The top level institutional arrangements and structures should take note of the fact that institutional performance at field level ultimately yields the dividend. It is therefore necessary to analyse institutional shortcomings and requirements at local level to make a complete or comprehensive judgment about the performance or delivery of goods and services of an intermediate agency or for that matter at the top level as well.

The emphasis of FAP has gradually shifted from mainly flood protection to water management thereby extending the boundary of the administering agency in question. The need for sustainability, inter-linked with O&M of completed projects has been stressed. Management of environment and participation of the affected people in all phases of project are prerequisite for sustainability. Administrative structures and democratic institutions should be strong enough to create and organize such management capability and participation at local level respectively.

Since local organizations involving management and participation will be of significant importance in a sustained development process, local level organizations should also be involved in planning and design of projects.

Coordination between central government policymaking and implementing agencies and the local level organizations is necessary for planning and implementing FAP components. Such consultation and coordination process will eventually lead to future institutional development particularly at local level.

In view of the expanding scope of FAP components (shift from flood control to water management), more ministries should be involved in order to make FAP interventions effective and sustainable. A balanced package of ministerial responsibility should be used for the purpose.

To achieve such coordination, package responsibility and institutional building more emphasis has to be laid on inter-organizational relationship. This means an integrated approach has to be taken in dealing with the FAP or water management issues both at national and local level.

FPCO has to continue its job of coordination efforts to ensure consistency and quality of the preparatory studies. As for the future of FPCO, WARPO can look after the responsibility of obtaining quality research and studies. But for coordination purpose, one FPCO will be needed- whether it is the same organization under a different nomenclature or located under a different agency- perhaps the Planning Commission. Such a body should be comprised of a small highly qualified

professionals, assisted, if when necessary, by specialists drawn from a panel of experts, mainly local and some expatriates.

The task of this new FPCO will be to coordinate all efforts in the field of water management to make them sustainable. Monitoring function lies with the respective agencies involved in water management.

In the interest of better coordination, the (proposed) new FPCO should have field offices in line with the principle of decentralised administration.

Summary

It appears that the commentator had problems in appreciating the prevailing bureaucratized administrative culture in Bangladesh. The concern expressed for the need for a decentralized type of administration is a reaction to such conceptualization (although local government development efforts are going on for a long time in Bangladesh)

In any case, the shift from flood control to water management demands active involvement of concerned agencies. Much coordination efforts will be needed to translate such shift into action.

Development of local level administration and involvement of field level agencies in water management is also a function of both top level policymaking and coordinating efforts on the part an organization like FPCO.

There should be a new FPCO comprising professionals, assisted by experts both local and international, located under a different agency like the Planning Commission. This is being perceived as a natural corollary of the ensuing expanding scope of FAP as water management for the entire country.

Comments by Jim Dempster

Jim's comments are restricted to the importance of FAP management at regional, project and local levels (lacking in the report) dealing with the various aspects of the implementation of the Flood Action Plan. The main thrust of his arguments lies in the fact the question of institutional development should not be kept in abeyance until there is a completed FAP investment programme.

A proposed structure for an institutional development programme should be introduced now involving the encompassing aspects of such programme namely: Institutional Framework for FAP in which institutions at national, regional and project level are confirmed and requirements for improving/strengthening are identified; Institutional Development Programmes in which the capabilities and capacities of respective organizations are enhanced to meet the demands for implementing and sustaining FAP projects and programmes.

A practical system should be set up for implementing the FAP, presumably as a part of a modified National Water Plan which should also ensure that duplication of functions in related organizations could be avoided. For this, the special POE report should be given due consideration by instituting an in-depth evaluation of the FPCO functioning and possible requirements for coordination, monitoring and evaluation that will commence with the FAP project implementation. Similar assessment is also needed to determine the feasibility of incorporating FPCO functions within the structure of WARPO.

The comments also stress the need for organizing effective coordination activities among different official, local and non-government agencies to enrich FAP projects with multidisciplinary inputs including social and environmental considerations.

The comments are incomplete.

Summary

The comments lay special emphasis on the importance of developing an institutional framework and institutional development programme for the implementation of FAP. This task should not be delayed as without the needed institutional and organizational infrastructure plans (projects/programmes) cannot be put into action.

The comments also suggest that the report of the POE on the performance of the FPCO should be followed up by further necessary evaluation of the FPCO activities. In addition, an assessment of the WARPO capability should also be made to see if it can absorb the functions of the FPCO in the interest of FAP implementation.

Response of Dr.A.M.M.Shawkat Ali

On Jim's: The agreement referred to by the POE on the deferment of the institutional development programme is not very clear. What was the agreement? In favour of starting the programme now or defer it till the completion of the investment projects?

As for the type of institutions/organizations needed for managing projects at local level- much will depend on the individual characteristics of the projects themselves. Project has three phases: planning phase, implementation phase and O&M phase and participation should be there in each phase of the project.

The choice of institutions to ensure participation seems to be a difficult one. An in-depth examination is necessary to determine the utility of local government, NGOs or beneficiary-based organizations to organize such participation.

The question of structures at national and regional level will depend on identification of existing institutions for planning, implementation and O&M, assessment of their present capacity and based on that

determination of the needs for strengthening. Some uniformity does exist at the national level although at the regional level the structures will be required to conform to the requirements of national level and project specifics.

On van Ellen's

The superstructure of FAP and that at the bottom are interrelated. However, the nature of the structure at bottom level will vary from project to project.

The relationship between administrative institutions and democratic ones is a matter of constitutional and legal nature and of political-administrative tradition.

The work/performance of the POE demands discussion. It is necessary to consolidate the work already done by the POE.

FPCO has not been blamed for any unsatisfactory performance. Delays in the delivery of services have been pointed out in view of the organization's defined time schedule and in order to create an awareness among the FPCO management in this respect.

A Synthesis

In synthesizing the contents, intentions and various prescriptive undertones marking the report and the comments, it will be useful first to list down the points of agreements and disagreements of the concerned authors.

Points of Agreements

1. Importance of institutions at national, regional and local levels;
2. Requirements for strengthening of institutions and organizations;
3. Capacity building of institutions;
4. People's participation in different phases of project cycle;
5. Continuation of FPCO till 1995 to enable it complete its task;
6. Merger/amalgamation of FPCO functions with another organization;

Points of Disagreements

1. Timing of preparation and implementation of an institutional development programme for the implementation of FAP;
2. Bureaucratized centralized administration versus Decentralized administration;
3. Nature of functions of FPCO after 1995;
4. Location of FPCO after 1995;
5. POE activities and their evaluation/consolidation.

The Report was made by a national expert (western educated senior civil servant). The thought pattern of the author seems to be, and quite logically so, tradition-bound and tainted by western norms.

The (two) commentators come from different cultural contexts and are also bound by their respective norms and values.

Still, working together in an environment of rapid social change and in the pursuit of a common goal (of development), a remarkable degree of understanding and mutual appreciation for each others' perspectives are noted. All of them are concerned in development and change. It is only shifting of emphasis here and there that may create an impression of differing attitudes towards a common goal. This is quite discernible in the analysis of their respective ideas and views.

With this preliminary remarks, the first step in the proposed synthesis will be to (i) consolidate the points of agreements both category and context wise. The second step will seek to amalgamate the points of disagreements with an effort at neutralizing their edges.

The third and final step will be to present them as a basis of a proposed draft outline of an institutional development programme for the implementation of the Flood Action Plan.

1. Institutional Issues

Appropriate institutions are necessary at national, regional and local levels to implement the Flood Action Plan. There should be an assessment of the existing institutions at all these levels and an effort should be made to reform or reorganize them or to create some new ones where necessary.

At national level, the review mechanism of the FPCO gives ample evidence that there is room for improving the procedural method. The implementation committee, as for example, has virtually become redundant. It therefore should either be eliminated or activated. The FPCO being responsible for coordinating the FAP activities has to continue till 1995 so that it can complete its assigned task.

At regional level, institutions do exist. But the need is to streamline their activities and put them into operation at the right time in the right mix.

Even at local level, institutions are not lacking. In addition to local government infrastructures and organizational resources, associations, societies, clubs, etc. exist and often found working satisfactorily. Still, the reality is that most of them exist in a moribund state and in many instances they have ceased to exist due to various constraints of social and economic nature. The need is to reorganize/restructure and activate them. New institutions will be required to involve people's participation in irrigation management and flood control activities. The issue of people's participation seems to be a recurrent theme not

only at the grass root level, but also at regional and national levels. It is now being acknowledged that people's participation is essential in every phase of project cycle for sustainable development as well as to democratize the society as a whole.

Local government can play an effective role in this respect. But it is the project management, cutting across boundaries of local, regional and national levels, that has to shoulder a great chunk of responsibility in institution building activities.

The issue of local resource mobilization seems to be missing in the reports examined although concerns have been made in respect of cost recovery, O&M cost, and so forth.

2. Organizational Issues

As in a computer, if institutions are the software, organizations are the hardware. In other words, most institutions need to be formalized through well-built organizations. National level organizations mainly include the Ministry of Irrigation, Water Development and Flood Control, Water Development Board, Water Resources Planning Organization (WARPO), River Research Institute, Flood Plan Coordination Organization (FPCO), and other concerned ministries and departments. Coordination between and among them is difficult to achieve causing delays in policymaking and implementation.

At the regional level also coordination problem can be singled out as the main obstacle in the process of implementation. Most project managements have to operate within the domain of regional and local level administration. Consequently, in view of the need for input from different field agencies, project implementation can be delayed and hampered due to lack of timely coordination between project management and the other concerned agencies.

At the local level, the weaknesses of local government structures and lack of resources are the main causes in initiating decentralized type of administration.

At the bottom or grass root level, organizations either do not exist or remain in a non-functional state. Different types of organizations will be needed to deliver particular kind of goods and services in a water management system. Special attention has to be given to formalize people's participation into viable and effective organizations who will be able to articulate their demands and assist in goal setting, formulating plans of action, monitoring and evaluation activities in addition to O&M of completed projects.

It appears from the report that the preparation and implementation of an institutional development programme should be deferred till the investment phase of the FAP is over. One reason for this has been ascribed to a proposal in the TAPP to conduct a detailed needs assessment survey for the institutions involved in the implementation of

the various components of the FAP (it is assumed that this will be a different assignment in addition to the one already done). The commentators on the other hand suggest that the project document in question should be prepared now and that its implementation should not be delayed. Arguments for such proposal relate to the fact that without proper institutional infrastructures and organizational coverage, no plan can either be initiated or implemented.

The report notes gaps and inconsistencies between the TAPP and the ProDoc. It is possible that while ironing out such discrepancies, the TAPP embargo against an institutional development programme can be removed. In that case, work on institutional development programme can start at an appropriate time.

There are differing points of views regarding the future of FPCO after 1995. Reading between the lines, it appears that these are more of the nature of degree than kind. FPCO will have to continue till its disposal of its assigned task in 1995 and then onwards assume different role and function under changing circumstances as long as the Flood Plan continues.

At the outset, it can be assumed that during the implementation stages the FPCO will have to take the responsibility of coordinating among different projects, deliver advices, monitor their progress and evaluate their performances. As regards its location, merger, etc., the task is to find out the appropriate place/organization for the purpose. The question whether or not it should remain with the Ministry itself, or be merged with the WARPO or any other organization can be worked out in detail by concerned experts with the assistance of the O&M (Organization and Method) wing of the Ministry of Establishment.

Still, one compromise solution can be to transfer FPCO to WARPO as a separate wing without disturbing its administrative structure. That is to say, WARPO can be reorganized as Water Management Authority having two separate wings or Directorates: Directorate of Planning, Research and Development (the existing WARPO set-up) and Directorate of Coordination, Monitoring and Evaluation (the existing FPCO).

The Authority will be headed by a Director General/Chairman while each Directorate will be headed by a Chief Engineer. The Authority should be fully functionally autonomous having administrative accountability to the MIWDFC.

Although the report has mentioned that the work of the POE should be consolidated and if necessary evaluated, very little discussion seems to have been made (in the comments as well) regarding the future of the Panel. In view of the need for technical expertise, advice and the accumulated knowledge and experience the POE has acquired, the Panel should continue to exist throughout the Plan period. The Panel can be located somewhere in between the two Directorates and will be responsible directly to the Director general/Chairman of the proposed Authority. The Panel can provide services not only to the

Authority/Ministry, but also to all other concerned organizations like the BWDB, RRI, etc. and if necessary to other Ministries and departments of the Government. The Private sector can also get its benefit by payment of necessary fees and charges.

The Panel however should be staffed by highly qualified and experienced national experts including retired high ranking experienced civil servants, academics from the Universities and other professionals. It should have the option to hire the services of expatriate experts when necessary under technical assistance, grants and loans.

Using the above tentative synthesis output as a basis, a proposal for a draft outline of an Institutional Development Programme may be offered. Such an outline, taking into consideration of institutional and organizational requirements at different levels, may have the following institutional variables.

Institutional Development Variables

1. Leadership- to break status quo and generate new ideas and carry them through;
2. Doctrine- principles, objectives, strategies, etc.
3. Resources- for capacity building, financing, etc.
4. Programme- chart of action to implement and follow;
5. Internal Structure- on the basis of job description, qualification,
6. Linkages- enbaling, functional, supportive, diffuse, etc.

With the above frame of reference, organizational variables can include the following.

1. National Level: specific objectives and methods to attain those objectives; inter-Ministerial/Departmental etc. coordination; clear and fast channel of communication; concerned Ministries, Departments, etc.
2. Regional Level: Coordination among different field agencies, etc.
3. Project level : Project Management (leadership, internal structure, bureaucratic re-orientation, etc.), assist in organizing people's participation;
4. Local Level : Local Government organizations; coordination; local resource mobilization;
5. Users Level : People's participation, groups organization, O&M, short term and long term project benefits;

The proposed institutional variables encapsulated into the above five stage organizational development (reform, restructure, rehabilitation, etc.) can form the ingredients of a realistic Institutional Development Programme applicable to Bangladesh conditions. Development and implementation of such a programme is a complex process having a long

gestation period. But, as observed before, without necessary institutional infrastructures and organizational capability, project implementation will fail to attain desired results.

2. List of Persons met and Places visited

Mr.M.Asafuddowla	Secretary, MIWDFC, GOB
Mr. Nurul Huda	Chairman, POE, FPCO, GOB
Mr. M.H.Siddiqui	Chief Engineer, FPCO, GOB
Mr. Ross Wallace	Coordinator FAP WB Dhaka
Dr.Mizanur Rahman Shelley	Member, POE, FPCO, GOB
Dr.A.M.M.Shawkat Ali	Member, POE, FPCO, GOB
Mr.A Samad	Member, POE, FPCO, GOB
Dr.M.Shamsher Ali	Member, POE, FPCO, GOB
Syed Maghrub Morshed	Director General, BRDB, GOB
Mr.Q.I.Siddiqui	Chief Engineer, LGED, GOB
Mr.H.R.Akanda	Institutional Specialist, LGED
Mr. Carlos D.Isles	Advisor, SRP. BWDB, GOB
Mr. Khondokar A.Hafiz	Asstt. Resident Representative UNDP, Dhaka
Mr. Obaidur Rahman	Project Director, Tangail Pilot Project, Tangail
Mr. H.Visser	Technical Assistance Advisor Tangail Pilot Project Tangail Tangail
Field Staff	
Local People, Elected Representatives, Landless, Destitute Women, other Groups	Tangail

3. Notes and References

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