

Organizational Culture and Participation in Local Governance: A Study on Infrastructure Projects under LGSP in Bangladesh

A Dissertation

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Statement of the Candidate

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Abstract

There are debates about how far participation has been achieved in the local governance activities in Bangladesh due to its cultural settings. The concept and practice of participation and organizational culture and their different norms and forms do not, in true sense, reflect the desired objectives of people's representation in decentralized local government based in rural Bangladesh. The goal of achieving desired level of popular participation through LGSP has been a challenge for UP in Bangladesh. The study is an attempt to have glance at UP governance status through assessing the participation of the beneficiaries and UP members in infrastructure projects under LGSP and explores the age-old organizational culture of UP that still affect participation in decision making process. Because of time and resource constraints, only one Union Parishad under Raiganj Upazila of Sirajganj District was selected. For the purpose of the study both randomly and purposively selected respondents from the beneficiaries and the elected representatives of UP were questioned with a structured questionnaire. Besides, five randomly selected development projects have also been studied. The study unearths some interesting findings. Though UP members both male and female equally participate in planning implementation and evaluation of the projects, participation of the common people is quite negligible. The desired participation from all walks of life has still been limited to some chosen few from the local elites who have strong economic and political background. Though the elected members express that every circular issued from ministry is followed and people's participation is ensured at every steps of project implementation, the beneficiaries virtually remain in darkness as they do not have knowledge enough to participate in such development issues. Most of respondents from the mass do not have political affiliation to any of the parties. But majority of the UP members have direct political attachment.

The study reveals that most of the respondents (53%) do not know the functions of Union Parishad. Even most of them did not hear about LGSP and its concerned committees as well as TOR of these committees. So it is unthinkable for them to attend the meetings of the committees. Participation in project planning is very low. Even those who have knowledge (23% of total respondents) about LGSP do not participate in the committee meetings. Only 35% of the knowledgeable respondents participated in the committee meetings and of them only 33% were entertained with opinions. In the implementation phase, participation is also very low, almost as like as in the planning phase. Only 32% of the knowledgeable

respondents participated in implementation of the projects under LGSP. It has also been found that participation male respondents are higher than that of the female.

It was taken as a truth that there was centralized control over decision making of UP as a politico- organizational culture especially by the local MP or other political elites. But, in case LGSP, neither most of UP members nor of the mass are with the notion. This is, in truth, a good sign of improving quality of participation in decision making process in project planning and implementation. Though there has been change in terms of politico-organizational culture of UP, little change has been found in terms of people's participation. The reason behind this is supposed to be unawareness of the mass, patron-client relationship between UP bodies and the mass, manipulation in committee formation with the chosen few in terms of personal relationship and a hidden paper-based adjustment of balance of payment of the fund for LGSP. The UP representatives still try to hide information about LGSP and they are completely reluctant to place Sign Board at each of the project area as per the guidelines of LGSP and UP manual mentioning amount of money allotted for. Amazingly, not a single sign-board was found among the five projects and being inquired about it the representatives came with common answers that those were broken up or stolen away. It seems to be true that the culture of adjusting election cost through projects' implementation still affects the participation of common people in project planning and implementation under LGSP. Most of the UP representatives appreciated the local political elites. It leaves a room for doubt that they, with the aid of ignorance of the common people, bring the most socially and politically influential people in manipulating participation. This long existing unholy alliance between the UP representatives and local elites seems still to be practiced in case of LGSP. This culture of UP is persisting as common do not understand or never try to understand the nitty-gritty of project management.

Major policy initiatives are required to avert the situation. Along with bringing transparency in the whole process, improving literacy rate, imparting training to UP members, raising awareness among the beneficiaries through GO, NGOs, print and electronic media are of great significance. Evaluation of the projects must also be done by both competent public and private project teams.

Table of Contents

	Page
Statement	ii
Table of Content	iii
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vi
List of Appendices	vii
Abbreviations	viii
Acknowledgement	ix
Abstract	x
Chapter 1	
Introduction: Setting the Ground	1-4
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Objectives of the Study:	2
1.2 Research Question:	2
1.3 Rationale of the study	2
1.4 Scope of the Study	3
1.5 Methodology:	3
1.5.1 Data Source/Collection:	3
1.5.2 Data Analysis and Presentation:	4
1.6 Limitation of the Study:	4
1.7 Chapter Outline	4
1.8 Conclusion	4
Chapter -2	
Conceptual Overview and Analytical Framework	5-15
2.0 Introduction:	5
2.1 What is culture?	5
2.2 Organizational Culture:	5
2.2(i) Characteristics of organizational culture:	5
2.3 Concept of Local Government and Local Governance:	6
2.4 Participation: Its Conceptual overviews	7

2.5 A Dominant Theory on Organizational Culture:	10
2.5 Factors Conditioning Organizational Culture and Participation in Local Governance	11
2.6 Analytical Framework of the study	13
2.7 Conclusion:	15

Chapter -3

Evolution of Union Parishad and Its Organizational Culture in Bangladesh 16-22

3.0 Introduction:	16
3.1 History of Legal Framework and Political Background of UP	16
3.2 Existing Union Parishad Structure:	18
3.3 Functions of UP As Per Updated Act:	19
3.4 Existing Organizational Culture and Governance Scenario of UPs in Bangladesh:	20
3.5 Conclusion:	22

Chapter - 4

An outline on LGSP Relating Union Parishad 23-34

4.0 Introduction	23
4.1 Union Parishad and LGSP's Program Objectives	23
4.2 Project Structure and Strategy	26
4.3 Formation of Different Committees and Their Functions	29
4.4 The Role of Upazila Cooperative Officer	31
4.5 Upazila Women Members Development Forum	32
4.6 LGSP Implementation and Incremental Capacity Building of U Ps	32
4.7 Conclusion.	33

Chapter-5

Participation vs. Organizational Culture in Projects Implemented by Dhubil UP 34-48

5.0 Introduction:	34
5.1 A Brief Outline on the Study Area:	34
5.2 Socio-Economic Status of the Respondents:	34
5.3 The Projects Undertaken for the Study:	35
5.4 Results of Survey Conducted Upon Beneficiaries:	35

5.4.1: Gender:	36
5.4.2: Age Group:	38
5.4.3Occupation:	36
5.4.4: Education level of Beneficiaries:	37
5.4.5: Income level of the Respondents:	38
5.4.6: Political Affiliation of the Beneficiaries:	38
5.4.7 Respondents' Visit to Union Parishad:	39
5.4.8: Knowledge about Functions of Union Parishad:	40
5.4.9:Knowledge About LGSP and Its Related Committes	40
5.4.10 People's Participation in any of the Committee Meeting:	40
5.4.10: Respondents Participationin Project Planning:	41
5.4.11 Respondents Participation in Implementation of the Projects:	42
5.4.12 Respondents view about necessity of people's Participation in LGSP:	42
5.5 Results of Survey Conducted on UP Members:	43
5.6 Major Findings:	44
5.7Analysis of Major Research Findings:	44
5.8 Conclusion:	46
Chapter-6	
Conclusion: Finding a Way Out	47-49
6.0Introduction:	47
6.1 Recommendations:	47
6.3 Conclusion:	49
References	50
Appendices	56

List of Tables

Table-2.1 Culture of organization	6
Table-2.2 Types of Participation	9
Table 5.1: List of projects under study	35
Table A 1: Respondents' occupation	62
Table A 2: Education level of Beneficiaries	62
Table A 3: Respondents Income Level	62
Table A 4: Age Group of the UP Members	63
Table A 5: Occupation of UP members	63
Table A 6: Educational Status of UP Members	64
Table A 7: Political Affiliation of UP members	64
Table A 8: Political party UP members Belong to	64

List of Figures

Fig 1: Analytical Framework of the Study	13
Fig: 3.1 Organizational Culture of UP	22
Figure 4.1: Schematic Diagram of the Basic Project Strategy	27
Figure 4.2: LGSP Project Structure and Model	29
Figure 5.1: Respondents' gender	38
Figure 5.2: Respondents' age group	39
Figure 5.3: Occupation of the Respondents	39
Figure 5.4: Education level of Beneficiaries	40
Figure 5.5: Income Level of Beneficiaries Figure	40
Figure 5.6: People's Political Affiliation	41
Fig 5.7: Party to which respondents belong	41
Figure 5.8: Union Parishad Visited by Respondents	42
Figure 5.9: Knowledge of Beneficiaries about Functions of UP	42
Fig-5.10: Respondents' Knowledge about LGSP	43
Figure 5.11: Participation of Beneficiaries in the meeting having knowledge	43
Figure 5.12: Respondents' participation in discussion in the committee meeting	44
Figure 5.13: Respondents' participation in the planning of projects	44
Figure 5.14: Respondents' participation in implementation of the projects	45
Fig-5.15: Respondents' view about necessity of People's Participation	45

Figure5.16: Influence made by local political leaders during project planning & implementation	46
Figure5.17: Influence in decision making by UP Chairman	46
Figure A 1: Age group of UP members	65
Figure A 2: Occupation of UP members	65
Figure A 3: Monthly income of UP members	66
Figure A 4 :Political Affiliation of UP members	66
Figure A 5: Political party the UP members attached to	66
Figure A 6: Influence made by govt. officers	67
Figure A 7: Satisfaction of UP members upon the function of govt. officers	67
Figure A 8: action taken as per circulars on LGSP	68
Figure A 9: Influence in decision making by UP Chairman	68
Figure A 10: Influence in decision making by Upazila Chairman	69
Figure A 11: Influence in decision making by local MP	69
Figure A 12:UP members support for oral support for people's participation	69

List of Appendices

Appendix-A Questionnaire “Ka”	56
Appendix-B Questionnaire “Kha”	59
Appendix- C (Socio- economic Profile of the Respondents)	
Table A1-A8	62-67
Figure A1-A12	65-69
Appendix-D (Map A1: Geographical Position of the Study Area)	70

ABBREVIATION

ADP	Annual Development Plan
BGCC	Block Grants Coordination Committee
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DM	District Magistrate
DPDs	Deputy Project Directors
NPD	National Project Director
LGD	Local Government Division
DDLG	Deputy Directors of Local Government
LG	Local Government Local Government Engineering Department (LGED)
LGSP	Local Government Support Project
MP	Member of Parliament
MTBF	Medium term Budgetary Framework
UK.	United Kingdom
NGO	Non –Government Organizations National Institute of Local Government (NILG)
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PSC	Project Steering Committee
OCA&G	Office of the Comptroller and Auditor General
BARD	Bangladesh Rural Development Academy
RDA	Rural Development Academy
SLGDP	Sirajganj Local Government Development Project
SDO	Sub-divisional Officer
SSC	Scheme Supervision Committee
WDC	Ward Development Committee
UPPC	Union Parishad Planning Committee
UFT	Union Facilitating Team
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNO	Upazila Nirbahi Officer
VGf	Vulnerable Group Feeding
UP	Union Parishad
UPZ	Upazila Parishad
UCO	Upazila Cooperative Officer

Organizational Culture and Participation in Local Governance: A Study on Infrastructure Projects under LGSP¹ in Bangladesh

Chapter -1

Introduction: Preparing the Ground

1.0 Introduction:

“In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending, circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But, it will be an oceanic circle, whose centre will be the individual, always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of the villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance, but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integrated units. Therefore, the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle, but will give strength to all within and will derive its own strength from it.”

Mahatma Gandhi²

There are many debates about how far participation has been achieved in the local governance activities in Bangladesh due to its cultural settings. The concept and practice of participation and organizational culture and their different norms and forms do not, in true sense, reflect the desired objectives of people's representation in decentralized local government based in rural Bangladesh. Alink and Kommer (2011) maintain that the different cultural criteria that influence the mental programming of individuals in society also provide important input for organizations. Since the birth of Bangladesh as an independent state, different development partners have tried to develop level of participation but it has been retarded by the successive governments to suit their political needs and twisted the inherited local bodies (Noor, 1986: 88). The result was that local bodies became instable, and this in turn, shakes people's confidence in those bodies (Siddiqui, 1994: 229). The Union Parishads in Bangladesh have shown that the rise and fall of the local government has totally been dependent on political perceptions and attitudes of successive regimes. All attempts to change local government aimed at serving the interest of the rulers rather than the ruled (Jahan, 1997). There are empirical evidences showing changes in the local government in Bangladesh resulting in poor improvement of the socio-economic situation, and low participation of the local people in the development process although those were the written objectives of the governments.

The Constitution of Bangladesh (1972) put emphasis on the need for establishing local government with a representative character (Chapter 3, Article 59). It also implies direct participation of the people in constituting the local body and in managing the affairs of such bodies. However, in the years following the adoption of the Constitution, the spirit of people's participation in local bodies was not always adequately maintained. Frequent changes in the local government structure are partly responsible for this. The extent and quality of people's participation have also been variable (UNESCAP³ Country Paper: 2012).

From the historical account of local government, it has been found that the successive governments placed a kind of local government structure where a culture of nonparticipation

¹ Local Government Support Project

² Father of India's Independence Movement

³ United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

of common mass, local elites, community leaders and even, to some extent, the elected members of Union Parishads .Development practitioners as well as donors(world Bank, UNDP) started emphasizing on decentralization of decision making and development planning and integration people particularly the poor and marginalized through participatory approaches (Obaidullah,2009).But the organizational culture that prevails in UPs in Bangladesh did not help emerge as-‘ self governing’ units and remained under the control of an all powerful national government(Khan,2000:109)

1.1 Objectives of the Study:

Local government has not been a new concept in Bangladesh. It has a long past, strong present and expected future. People’s participation in British and Pakistan regime through local governance was accepted in the management of rural affairs. But the opportunity had always been very restricted and narrows in nature After the independence in 1971, successive governments have pursued decentralization as an important policy measures (Obaidullah, . 2009).Though major reforms measures have been taken , it is alleged that, the avowed objectives of mass participation in development process have never been achieved.(Khan 2009 and Rahman,1995).Promotion of participation through local governance and its culture of participation has never been beyond questions as institutionalization of democratic spirit with direct participation of common people and UP⁴ members has always been poorly valued . The objectives of the study are-

- To assess the organizational culture of UP in terms of managing the infrastructure projects under LGSP

1.2 Research Question:

Does organizational culture matter in managing LGSP project of UP?

1.3 Rationale of the study

Although democracy has brought popular representation to local government in Bangladesh, this has not been accompanied by effective powers and a political culture to enact the local popular will (Aminuzzaman, 2010:3) .The success of participatory process is dependent on the early identification and articulation of an agreed vision and goals (Ames 1997; Mega 1999).Despite the constitutional mandate, the growth of self-governing local bodies as the third tier of governance in the country has been uneven, halting and slow. A developing country like Bangladesh has achieved a little success in promoting good governance through active participation from all walks of life in local government institutes. Constitutionally though a democracy, historical evidence shows that politics has been preserved only for the minor groups of homogeneous elites having common power -structure, culture, and ethos; interacts socially; and intermarries (Kochanet 2000:547). But, over the past two decades, considerable socioeconomic changes have been apparent due to educational advancement and easy accessibility to print and electronic media. As a result, a growing demand for good governance with participation is stepping its strong ground. So a change in the organizational culture of UP has become an imperative in terms ongoing UNDP funded infrastructure projects under LGSP. Again, the second Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) noted that in extending the rural road connectivity ‘more involvement of local government institutions

⁴ Union Parishad, Rural LG Body of Bangladesh

(LGIs) will be made and the LGIs⁵ will be involved in ensuring utilization and maintenance of constructed facilities” (Cited in Aminuzzaman, 2010 p.4).

Hence study on the subject exploring different dimensions of culture of an age old organization like Union Parishad affecting management of infrastructure projects under LGSP will be of great significance not only for the development practitioners but also the national policy makers. With the aid of its findings and extensive analysis the study will help to represent the latest scenario of development governance in the rural areas of Bangladesh. We hope that it would come with notable policy guidelines deriving from the findings of the study in time of policy formulation. Furthermore, it can be of great use for the policy makers to identify the loopholes, if any, in the ongoing process and, resultantly, help them to bring any changes in the policies in the days to come.

1.4 Scope of the Study

It has been agreed that LGSP can play a vital role to activate UPs in Bangladesh by exercising the management of economic and social resources for rural development. It has introduced and demonstrated mechanisms for greater participation of the mass in the selection processes, in community contracting and budget management. As the project introduced minimum conditions and performance criteria for the UPs to be eligible for block grants this system is being applied, most of the UPs have qualified for block grants. The project demonstrated participation in priority setting, budget management and the management of services and infrastructure rehabilitation at the local level. But the organizational culture of Union Parishad, perhaps, has not been brought under consideration and the nature of participation due to cultural practices in the rural Bangladesh needs a special attention of the policy makers. This study explores and assesses the extent of participation of community people/leaders and UP members in the infrastructure projects under LGSP. It also explores the cultural factors causing obstacle to participation by the mass and UP members.

1.5 Methodology:

The title under study seeks to assess the organizational culture of UP in terms of managing the infrastructure projects under LGSP where level of participation by the local community leaders/people and UP members rather than the Chairman acting as the CEO⁶ of UP and his line political or/and administrative superiors. In this case both qualitative and quantitative methods are of real values.

1.5.1 Data Source/Collection:

Both primary and secondary data will be used in the study. To collect the primary data one Union will be selected and five infrastructure projects located at five wards will be randomly selected to conduct study. Secondary data will be collected from available sources like previous research publications, web pages Govt. orders /circulars etc. Two questionnaires, one for interviewing community leaders/people and another for the elected representatives were developed. A variety of data collection tools were used including unstructured interview schedules and discussions in an informal manner. In order to examine the position of primary beneficiaries in project planning and implementation in terms of cultural pattern of the UP, informal interviewing was also done.

⁵ Local Government Institutions

⁶ Chief Executive Officer

1.5.2 Data Analysis and Presentation:

After getting the data collected they will be categorized and analyzed using statistical tools like SPSS, MS Excel and other methods of data analysis available and viable. In some cases, to present findings of data, graphic manner can be used with aid of charts and tabulation presentation.

1.6 Limitation of the Study:

The study is expected to be based on empirical data collection from a Union locating at far from the madding crowd, perhaps cut off from urban settings. But it is not an easy task to collect data from any rural area in country like Bangladesh. Time and resource constraints, having no easy access to rural women and a small sample size may raise difficulties while conducting the research.

1.7 Chapter Outline:

Six chapters having distinctive aspects of the thesis make up this research. Chapter 1 introduces the topic of the thesis. This chapter also covers rationale, scope and limitations of the study. It also includes the methodology applied and chapter outline of the thesis. The second chapter presents conceptual framework for the study. It explains the prevailing concepts of “organizational culture”, “participation” and “local governance” specially highlighting the first one. The third chapter gives a brief outline on the history background of UP in Bangladesh. It tries to explore the scenario of rural local governance through ages affected by culture. The fourth chapter describes LGSP in Bangladesh perspective. The most important one of paper is the fifth chapter. It gives a look of the union under study and contains the findings and subsequent analysis of the study. The sixth /final chapter presents the recommendations followed by a conclusion of the dissertation.

1.8 Conclusion

The socio-economic, politico-economic, gender perspective and religious affairs in rural Bangladesh form a quite distinctive organizational culture in Union Parishads. The level of participation due to cultural dimensions of this tier of local government is historically low. But in case of LGSP, efforts continue to bring participatory approaches into practices shying culture of UP off. This study tries to assess the organizational culture of UP in terms of managing the infrastructure projects under LGSP.

Chapter -2

Conceptual Overview and Analytical Framework

“-Every organization exists in a specific physical, technological, cultural and social environment to which it must adapt-”
(Scott 1998, p12, Cited in Munir *et al.* p.96)

2.0 Introduction:

The main objective of this chapter is to develop a framework for analysis. This chapter has been divided into four parts. The first part, explains important concepts. Major theories and models of implementation have been examined in part two. The factors conditioning organizational culture and people 's participation of in UPs have been discussed in part three Part four presents a framework for analyzing the culture and participation of community people in infrastructure projects under LGSP. In fact, community people's participation and cultural barriers to participation is the fundamental issue that this study endeavors to address. Hence, a clear understanding of the concepts like “culture”, “organization culture”, ‘participation’, “local government” and “local governance” is of utmost significance.

2.1 What is culture?

Kotter and Heskett (1992) define culture as fairly established set of beliefs, behaviors and values contained by society generally. According to Hofstede (1980), culture is the collective thinking of minds which create a difference between the members of one group from another. According to (1990), culture is set of different values and behaviors that may be considered guide to success .Again culture is acquired knowledge, explanations, values, beliefs, communication and behaviors of large group of people, at the same time and same place. (Shahzad *et al.* 2012).So culture is what people think, believe and practice, the values and norms they hold in hearts, the manner and customs they expose to others in the social periphery they live in.

2.2 Organizational Culture:

Now-a-days culture is generally used in the concept of organizations (Kotter and Heskett, 1992). Schein (1995) thinks that organizational culture can be built up by two essentials factors of social group, structural stability of a group and integration of single item in superior standard. From a pragmatic point of view culture can be “designed, altered and modified” (Jamil 2007). Harris and Moran maintain that culture is human action, subjects to alteration, depends on time, place and circumstance. Pettigrew (1979) holds that culture of an organization is based on cognitive systems and helps explain how employees think and make decision combining the multifaceted set of beliefs, values and assumptions that determine ways to organizations to conduct its business. Tichy (1982) takes culture as “normative glue” to hold the overall organization together. According to Schein, (1990) organizational culture makes available base for determination the differentiation surviving in-between the organizations that are doing business in the same national culture.

2.2(i) Characteristics of organizational culture:

Dasanayaka and Mahakalanda (2008) are with the view of maximizing employee's values as rational assets requiring a culture to support logical participation both for individual and

organizational learning, acquisition of new knowledge and readiness to share with others. Schein (1992) tells that organizational culture is very significant today as compare with past. Hodgetts and Luthans (2003), define some of the characteristics of the organizational culture:

- Norms are measured by things like as amount of work done and also the level of cooperation
- Between management and employees of the organization.
- Rules are defined clearly for employee’s behavior associated to the productivity, intergroup cooperation and customer relationship.
- Observe behavioral regularities; illustrate common language and formal procedures.
- Coordination and integration between the organizational units for the purpose of
- Improvement in efficiency to works, quality and speed of designing, manufacturing the products and services.(cited in Shahzad et al 2012)

Jamil (2007) opines that major features of organizational culture centre around two perspectives-“what culture has” and “what culture is”. He explained it with the aid of the table below-

Table-1

Culture is what Organization “Has”	Culture is what Organization “ Is”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture is internal to the organization • Designed created and manipulated by leadership • Culture-free • Organizations as instruments and adaptive organisms • Culture is variable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Culture is external to the organization Difficult to design, create and manipulate Culture specific Organization as root metaphor Culture is an expression of society

Source: Jamil (2007 p.69)

2.3 Concept of Local Government and Local Governance:

Since the time immemorial the notion of local government has been considered to be ground for peoples’ participation in the sub- national political institutions. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) explains local government units as institutional units whose “fiscal, legislative and executive authority extends over the smallest geographical areas distinguished for administrative and political purposes’ (2007, p. 452) A local government is formed to channel the essence of democracy from central to the remote areas. From this point of view, John (2001 p. 34) defined local government as a ‘democratically elected authority that exercises political choices within denoted boundaries’. The spirit is that locally elected body will be in charge of local issues that affect them. So we

can define local government as the governing authority that deals with the public affairs at local levels conducting administrative functions of the central or state government.

Local government is now transforming into *local governance* (Geddes 2005). Bovaird and Loffer defined local governance as: a set of formal and informal rules, structures and processes which determine the ways in which individuals and organizations can exercise power over the decisions which affect their welfare at local levels (2002, p. 16 cited in Waheduzzaman p.52). The Commission on Global Governance took local governance as a development paradigm, and defined local governance as: the sum of the many ways in which individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. Local governance is acknowledged as valuable instrument which brings democratic practices and processes into reality and ensures participatory local development (Khan 2000, p. Aminuzzaman 2006; Cornwall 2004). It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance; as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceived to be in their interest (Commission on Global Governance 1995 cited in Wahduzzaman, 2010 p.51). Geddes (2005, p. 31) views that the 'recent shift from local government to local governance' are pervasive as the local government bodies are particularly focusing on combating poverty and inequality at the local levels making networks with local people. 2000). Thus while in the 'local government' concept, government is the sole actor to provide decisions and services, in 'local governance', government is one of the actors, along with private sectors and citizens, to provide services (Waheduzzaman, p.51). Blair (2000) calls it as democratic local governance, and defines as 'more responsive to citizen desires and more effective in service delivery' (Blair 2000).

So it can be said that when the national govt. comes at the door of the people, to provide basic services ensuring greater access to all sections of the community and empowers them to participate in decision-making processes that affect them. Khan (2000), cited in Waheduzzaman) pointed out that decentralized local government institutions can: build political leadership, guarantee people's participation, create accountable administration and implement people oriented development programmes.

2.4 Participation: Its Conceptual Overviews

'Participation does not refer simply to voting ... [but] requires that individuals have a voice in the decisions that affect them' – Joseph Stieglitz,

Y.C.Yen⁷ first developed the notion of people's participation (Samad, 2002:51 cited in Obaidullah, 2009 p.11). What Korten (1981) said regarding this issues nodding the basic principles of the concept is really mentionable-

Go to the people/Live among the people/Learn from the people/Plan with the people/Work with the people/Start with what the people know/Build on what the people have/Teach by showing; learn by doing/Not a showcase but a pattern/Not odds and ends but a system/Not a

⁷ Founder of the Rural Reconstruction Movement in China.

piecemeal but integrated approach/Not to conform but to transform/Not relief but release (Korten, 1981 Cited in Samad, 2002:51-52)

The definition of participation has undergone many changes through ages. In ancient Greece it was viewed as a matter of voting, holding offices attending public meetings, paying taxes and defending the state (Samad, 2002:49). But, it has become synonymous of “sharing “now a days(Kaler,1999:125).The emergence of the concept of participatory development has changed the notion of governance and decision making(Obaidullah,2009:11. Paul (1990) explains that participation is an active process y which interests groups influence the decision making affecting own well being. Participation has been defined in many ways and its scope and meaning are still open to scholars for debate. Khan(1998)summarizes the definition through the following points. Participation –

- A) is an organized effort to increase control over resources and regulative institutions;
- B) people’s involvement in decision making, implementation, benefit sharing and in evaluation of programs;
- C) people’s capacity to take initiative in development, to become ‘subjects’ rather than ‘objects’ of their own destiny; this can only be achieved through a deprofessionalization in all domains of life in order to make ‘ordinary people’ responsible for their own well being;
- D) involves a reversal of role playing: people should be the primary actors and government agencies and outsiders should participate in people’s activities (cited in Obaidullah, 2009:14)

Participation also known as partnership (Cornwall, 2002:36) . The concept of partnership comes very close to the concept of empowerment. It is a process by which people take an active part in shaping decisions that affect their life. It is also process by which passive beneficiaries, with the help empowerment, turns active actors (Cornwall, 2002:36). What we find in OECD⁸ document in 1994 about participatory Through Local Institutions is worth mentioning –

Participatory development stands for partnership which is built upon the basis of a dialogue among the various actors (stakeholders), during which the agenda is set jointly, and local views and indigenous knowledge are deliberately sought and respected. This implies negotiation rather than the dominance of an externally set project agenda. Thus people become actors instead of being simply beneficiaries (cited in Cornwall, 2002:36).

Finally, it can be noted that participation takes people for actors in development process from planning to implementation, from implementation to monitoring, from monitoring to evaluation and from evaluation to the final sharing of benefits.

⁸ Organization of Economic Council for Development

Different Types of Participation: Participation is directly concerned with control of resources and decision making (Obaidullah 2009:14). There are different types of participation. Hollsteiner (1977) opines that people's participation has six modes, such as i) unofficial or indirect representation of people; ii) co-option of local leaders into planning and administration; iii) choosing the final plan from the given options; iv) ongoing consultation with the community's v) representation of people's spokesman on official or official decision-making bodies; and vi) community control over expenditure of funds. (cited in Samad, 2002:54). Farrington and Babington (1993) finds participation as 'deep' and 'narrow'. When 'deep' participation gets all participation in all phases of decision making, 'narrow' participation gets only a few people involved in the decision-making process. The most clear and notable categories of participation have been offered by J.N. Pretty (1995) with their features:

Table 2.2
Types of Participation

Typology	Characteristics of each type
1 Manipulative participation:	Participation is simply pretence, with "people's" representatives on official boards but who are unelected and have no power.
2. Passive/pseudo participation:	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without any listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals
3. Participation by consultation:	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information gathering processes, and so control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
4. Participation for material incentives:	People participate by contributing resources, for example, labor, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Farmers may provide the fields and labor, but are involved in neither experimentation nor the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
5. Functional participation:	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents. At worst, local people may still only be co-opted to serve external goals.
6. Interactive participation:	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control

	over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7. Self-mobilization:	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems, They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power

Source: Adapted from J.N. Pretty, 'Participatory Learning for Sustainable Agriculture', *World Development*, 23(8), 1995(cited in Khan, 1998:38 and Obaidullah, 2009:15)

2.5 A Dominant Theory on Organizational Culture:

The theory of cultural dimensions by Geert Hofstede(1980)describes the effects of a society's culture on the values of its members, and how these values relate to behavior, using a structure derived from factor analysis and it has been widely used in several fields as a paradigm for research. He developed the model "as a result of using factor analysis to examine the results of a world-wide survey of employee values by IBM⁹ in the 1960s and 1970s. The theory was one of the first that could be quantified, and could be used to explain observed differences between cultures the free encyclopedia).The original theory proposed four dimensions : (a) individualism-collectivism; (b)uncertainty avoidance; (c)power distance (strength of social hierarchy) and (d) masculinity-femininity (task orientation versus person-orientation). A research in Hong Kong inspired Hofstede to add a fifth dimension, long-term orientation, to cover aspects of values not discussed in the original paradigm. In the 2010 edition of *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind* Hofstede included a sixth dimension, indulgence versus self-restraint when co-author Michael Minkov analyzed data from the World Values Survey (www.geert-hofstede.com).

Power Distance Index (PDI): It is the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations and institutions accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. Subordinates acknowledge the power of others simply based on where they are situated in certain formal, hierarchical positions.

- **Individualism (IDV) Vs. Collectivism:** It refers to the degree to which individuals are integrated into groups. In individualistic societies, the stress is put on personal achievements and individual rights. People are expected to stand up for themselves and their immediate family, and to choose their own affiliations. In contrast, in collectivist societies, individuals act predominantly as members of a lifelong and cohesive group or organization.
- **Uncertainty Avoidance Index:** It stands for society's tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity. It is the extent to which members of a society attempt to cope with anxiety by minimizing uncertainty.

⁹ International Business Machines Corporation or IBM is an American multinational technology and consulting corporation. Its headquarter is in Armonk, New York

- **Masculinity vs. Femininity:** It refers to the distribution of emotional roles between the genders. Masculine cultures' values are competitiveness, assertiveness, materialism, ambition and power, whereas feminine cultures place more value on relationships and quality of life. In masculine cultures, the differences between gender roles are more dramatic and less fluid than in feminine cultures where men and women have the same values emphasizing modesty and caring.
- **Long Term Orientation vs. Short Term Orientation:** Long term oriented societies attach more importance to the future. They foster pragmatic values oriented towards rewards, including persistence, saving and capacity for adaptation. In short term oriented societies, values promoted are related to the past and the present, including steadiness, respect for tradition, preservation of one's face, reciprocation and fulfilling social obligations.

2.5 Factors Conditioning Organizational Culture and Participation in Local Governance

“-both formal and informal pressures exerted on organizations by other organizations upon which they are dependent and by cultural expectations in the society within which organization functions-”

(DiMaggio & Powell 1983, p150). (cited in Munir *et al.* p.96)

Not only the geographical features but also the socio-economic, socio-political, politico-economic and cultural backgrounds of the stakeholders plays important roles in determining the level of their participation in decision-making and effectiveness of the LGSP¹⁰ projects undertaken by the LGIs¹¹ (Union Parishads) in Bangladesh. And national political environment, centre-periphery relationship, patron-client relationship and structure of institutions are also of vital importance in this regard. It is also acknowledged that organizational development depends on analysis and identification of the factors that conclude the effectiveness of the organization. The complete knowledge and awareness of organizational culture help improve the ability to examine the behavior of organization which assists to manage and lead (Brooks 2006, cited in Shahzad *et al.* 2012). But there are cultural barriers to achieve fruitful participation in decision-making, project planning and implementation. Though the global trend is towards people-centric development administration, the long persisting organization culture of Union Parishad¹² has proved to be an embargo to smooth process of participation of the relevant stakeholders. So, the main focus of this paper is on the organizational culture of the UP in terms of LGSP projects and the best practices found in managing the projects in the field of local governance Gupte (2004) shows that social, economic and cultural issues play important role in shaping both participation and its outcomes. Social exclusionary practice like gender inequality, religious and cultural factors may undermine participation of certain groups. Samad (2002) mentions that socio-economic background of the people has been influential factor in shaping the participatory outcomes. Socio economic and political backgrounds of stakeholders are so

¹⁰ Local Government Support Project

¹¹ Local Government Institutes

¹² Union Parishad stands for Union Council, the lowest tier of local govt. bodies in Bangladesh working in the rural areas.

important because powerful stakeholders, who are politically, socially and /or economically dominant, for their own interests may thwart the participation of their counterpart (cited in Obaidullah 2009:17).

Participation is the way to improve on traditional ways of making decisions, setting agendas, and devising policy (Rowe and Frewer, 2004:513). But it is not easy to achieve people's participation in any development project. It is not only affected by the environment and culture in which participatory practices take place but also conditioned by the institutional framework, socio-economic, socio-cultural as well as politico-cultural backgrounds of the participants (Cohen and Uphoff 1980, Cornwall 2002, Samad, 2002, Gupte, 2004 and Muhammad, 2010). In 1995, the British Overseas Development Administration (ODA now DFID) mentioned:

Decisions about the extent and type of participation are not only technical but also political....stakeholders have varying degree of power to influence outcomes-and also to decide which other stakeholders may be invited to participate and to what extent ...participation of all or some of those affected may not be in political interests of other stakeholders....stakeholders forming a politically "dominant" culture may not ignore the values and knowledge of other stakeholders and effectively prevent them from participating in decision-making (cited in Cornwall 2002:37-38)

Again, it is really difficult to accept that a state like Bangladesh with complete central authority and democratic autocracy or in party absolutism would try to share power with the common people .Midgley shows four possible types of state Responses to participation:

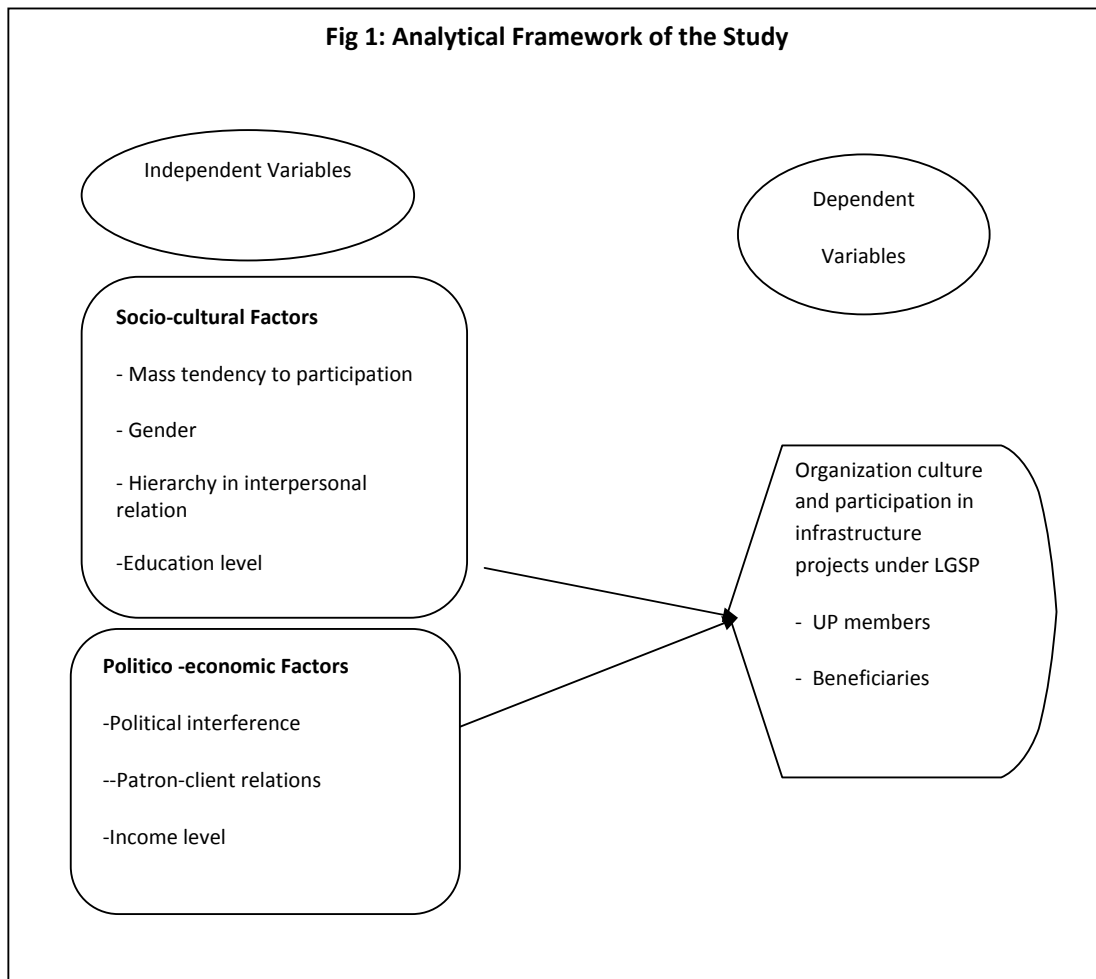
- a) The anti-participatory mode, in which people's participatory initiatives are viewed by regimes as threats and therefore suppressed.
- b)The manipulative mode, in which state-directed or pseudo-participation is used by regimes for some ulterior motives.
- c)The incremental mode, in which regimes support participation but incrementally implement participatory practices.
- d)The participatory mode , in which regimes create environment for effective participation of the common people in governance and decision –making.(Cited in Khan,1998:28 and Obaidullah,2009:18)

Attempts have been made to analyze participation or participatory approaches from different perspectives. For analyzing people's participation in development programs Cohen and Uphoff (1980) have provided a comprehensive model which incorporates three basic and fundamental dimensions of participation: what kind of participation takes place, who participates and how the process of participation takes place (cited in Ahmed, 1987: 16) This model/framework addresses issues like whether participation is voluntary or directed, whether it is manipulative or whether people are really empowered or not. It also includes historical, natural and social factors that shape the nature and extent of participation. Muhith (2000:30) says that a few instrument of central tendency of establishing central control of colonial days still persist in Bangladesh. Similarly, the Union Parishads tend to close the door to participation for the mass in project planning and implementation. Though the UP Act,2009, UP Manual and circulars on LGSP supports the notion bottom up approach of decision-making with active participation of the people and UP representatives(Members)

irrespective sex, the socio cultural portico-economic context always tend to impede participation.

2.6 Analytical Framework of the study

In the present study, Participation by the UP members as well as people’s participation in five infrastructure projects under LGSP at UP level is dependent variable. The existing organizational culture, politico-cultural features, institutional and regulatory framework, socio-economic status of the people, the prevailing gender disparity and educational status have been taken as independent variables. Based on the above-mentioned literatures, discussions of the theory/model and propositions and different findings of the scholars, the researcher aims at presenting the variable through the following analytical model –



The framework is self-explanatory and easily understandable. It shows that there are three factors such as socio- cultural factors, politico-economic factors and regulatory factors which influence the form and mode of participation in rural local government like UPs in Bangladesh. The country had been ruled by the foreigners for long and, resultantly, still bears the colonial legacy in every affairs of life.

The socio-cultural and politico-economic setups are characterized by low literacy rate, gender disparity, patron-client relations between the elected bodies and people, political interference from the local MPs and political elites and undue pressure from political groups and moneyed class. It is generally noticed that people with strong family background enjoy privileges at rural politico-economic set ups and without their consent implementation of any projects is really difficult. Again, Kochanet, 2000:547) finds that historically politics has been the preserve of a very small, relatively homogeneous elite that shares a common education, culture, and ethos; interacts socially; and intermarries. He further says that despite restoration of democracy in the early 1990s, the political arena is dominated by informal networks of patron-client relations (cited in Obaidullah, 2009:210).

There are also general allegations against the UP chairman and UP members that most of them are self-seeking figures and spend much money to get elected and try to compensate for the spent money through different projects. It is not unbelievable that they do not do so in case of LGSP projects. So, there might have avoiding tendency during LGSP projects' planning and implementation instead of ensuring proper participation from the rural people who are mostly illiterate and poor.

A patron-client relationship binds group members with specific norms and values (Jamil, 2007:09). These norms determine role definition and role expectation, i.e. the role of a patron and a client. Tiny land holdings and meager resource possession weaken individualism (Khan, 1983:193). The concept of *mantra kara* (obedience) and *shraddha* (deference/respect) to patrons by a client is an important value in hierarchic society like Bangladesh (Jahangir, 1981:26). Generally, patron suppose to have a few friends but more followers or/and flatterers. Jansen writes (1990:26) --

When people meet for the first time they commonly attempt to establish relative rank. The basis on which they establish rank may vary, but it mainly depends on wealth, lineage, education or difference in age. ..The person who is accorded the higher rank has the "right" to expect respected behavior. Respectful behavior is expressed and ritualized in many ways. There are elaborate rules, developed during centuries of what constitute polite and proper behavior towards a person accorded the higher status. These rules relate to ways of addressing and speaking to the person, ways of looking at the person, or standing and sitting in front of or her. They relate to which issues the poorer can raise in front of the person accorded higher status and how the poorer should praise and show support for the richer--.

Such hierarchism and tight role definitions foster conservatism. A preference is shown for behavior which is deemed to be correct and approved (Chambers, 1992:32). Superior status within a society implies superior knowledge in a hierarchic society relationship those who are lower in rank are treated as children with little choice opportunities (Jamil, 2007:11). According to Thomson *et al* (1990), the cultural context defines one's way of life. This mental programming is rooted deep into one's mind and is referred to as "software of mind" (Hofstede, 1990) Therefore, it is expected that an organization like Union Parishad in Bangladesh runs in such cultural context which suppose to reflect many of the dominant cultural norms in rural Bangladesh in case participation in infrastructure projects' planning and implementation processes under LGSP.

Conclusion:

Though concept of culture and participation in public administration is not new, its application in project management in the rural local government is quite a new idea. Participation creates room for people to establish their control over common resources and helps play dominant role in decision-making. But participation from all walks of people is difficult to achieve. The socio-cultural and politico-economic issue always appears as obstacles to participation. The present study moves forward to identifying the level of participation from mass and UP members in planning, selecting, implementing the infrastructure projects under LGSP. Any other activities, which negate participation, have been left aside deliberately. The framework for organization culture affecting participation has been developed by the researcher for analyzing culture and participation and it will be applied to assess the organizational culture of UP in terms of managing the infrastructure projects under LGSP. The next chapter is going to give a brief outline on LGSP implemented by the Union Parishad in Bangladesh

Chapter -3

Evolution of Union Parishad and Its Organizational Culture in Bangladesh

3.0 Introduction:

Union Parishad has been the longest standing form of elected local government which is responsible for economic, social and community development and, now-a – days, entrusted to fulfill “38 functions. The major functions are planning, coordination and monitoring of local development; construction and maintenance of small-scale infrastructure (roads, bridges, culverts, canals), enforcement of law & order, and settlement of disputes arising out in the rural areas, registration of births, deaths, and marriages along with some other social safety-net programs under different concerned ministries. As the lowest tier of local government UPs help to “achieve more effective local development as well as in contributing to the MDG¹³s is being increasingly recognized and elected councils at this level are long established and politically representative institutions”. (GoB and UNDP Project Document, 2006)

3.1 History of Legal Framework and Political Background of UP:

Colonization has some significance for understanding the process of change and modernization in some countries of Asia and Africa like India Pakistan , Bangladesh, Egypt and Indonesia(Choudury,1978:15)The evolution of the local government system in Bangladesh is almost similar to that of India and Pakistan as these three countries share a common ancient, medieval and colonial history. In one form or another, local governments have been in existence in the Indian subcontinent for long since. There were two types of self-government institutions, i.e. the headman and *Panchayats*. The headman was not an elected official. He used to come of an affluent and influential family in the village. His dominance would come upon two factors: i) all contacts, either political or administrative, between the villager and authorities had to be routed through him and ii) he was in charge of collecting taxes from the villagers. The *Panchayat* had been an elected body with executive and judicial function and most often *Panchayat* was controlled the headman. However, during the *Mughal*¹⁴ rule of India, the *Panchayat* system disappeared altogether as the *Mughals* gave considerable importance to towns. During the British rule (1765-1947) over the Indian subcontinent, a number of experiments were made with the local government system. All these experiments intended to plot a system that would serve their colonial objectives. In Bengal the Village *Chowkidari* Act, 1870 was promulgated to establish union *Panchayats* to facilitate tax collection and maintain *Chowkidars* (village police). This resolution of was important for two reasons: it set out general principles for development of local institutions in the future and provided the rationale behind functions of local bodies. (UNESCAP, Country paper: 2012).The act authorized the District Magistrate to appoint *Panchayet* a at the village level, consisting of five members. The *Panchayet* was given power to appoint the village watchmen, called the chowkidars and to assess and collect taxes to pay the salaries of the *Chowkidars*.However it was fully a nominated body, and refusal to be its member meant a fine of Taka fifty. (Siddiqui 1992:143).It was the of the District Magistrate whether the *Panchayet* members could continue job or not.

¹³ Millenium Development Goals

¹⁴ An Indian Dynasty Founded by Emperor Babur in 1526

Again, Lord Ripon's Resolution on local self-government (May 18 1882) laid the foundation of local self-government in rural India. This resolution was passed in 1885 as the Bengal Local Self Government Act, 1885 (Bengal Act III of 1885). Three tiers of local bodies came into being-(i) the District Board in the district, (ii) the Local Board in a Sub-division and (iii) the Union Committee for a group of villages. Under the Act a Union consisted of a number of villages and each union committee had nine members elected by the villagers but there was no provision for the post of a chairman for the committee.

The next step in the development of local government during the British Rule was the Bengal Village Self-Government Act, 1919, which brought about significant changes in the structure of local bodies when the three tier system was replaced by two tier system-Union Board and District Board. According to this Act, existing *Chowkidari Panchayet* and Union Committee got merged into Union Board. This Board would consist of 6 to 9 members and, of them, two-thirds were elected and the rest were nominated. The system of nomination came to an end in 1946. The president and the Vice-President were elected by the members from amongst themselves. The President would exercise executive powers and delegate some to the Vice – Chairman. The Board was entrusted to maintain law and order by appointing *dafadars* and *chowkidars*, to upkeep schools roads and ponds and to provide basic and medical services. In every sphere of activities, there was a close supervision by the Circle Officers, the representatives of the District Magistrates (Siddiqui, 1992:144-145).

From 1947 to 1958 the common structure of rural local government in the then East Pakistan continued as almost like as the closing days of the British Empire. However, at that time, universal adult franchise in the local government was introduced by the East Pakistan Government. The drastic change took place when General Ayub Khan, who seized power in 1958, introduced a system of local government known as Basic Democracy. In the Basic Democracy Order, 1959 local government was vested in the provincial government and its control over the rural local government was arbitrary. Union Boards were under complete bureaucratic control and one can well ask whether such local government would conform to the spirit of real local governance.

Bangladesh got liberated in 1971 from Pakistan. The approval of the constitution of the country, after a year of independence, emphasized the need for establishing local government with a representative character at all levels (Waheduzzaman, 2010:55). The Article 59 and 60 (Chapter-III of the Part-IV) of the constitution (GOB 1972) of the country states that:

Article 59: Local Government ... in every administrative unit of the Republic shall be entrusted to bodies, composed of persons elected in accordance with law. [Local governments]... may include functions relating to: Administration and the work of public officers; the maintenance of public order; the preparation and implementation of plans relating to public services and economic development.

Article 60: Powers of local government bodies For the purpose of giving full effect to the provisions of article 59 Parliament shall, by law, confer powers on the local government bodies referred to in that article, including power to impose taxes for local purposes, to prepare their budgets and to maintain funds.

Thus the constitution from the beginning directed the local government to grow as an inseparable part of the central democracy to administer development programs with the local people. Since then, a number of steps have been made to review with the rural local

government system in Bangladesh. The Presidential Order No. 22 specified that each union composed of several villages would be divided in three wards; three UP members would be elected from each ward. Besides, provisions were made for the Chairman and Vice Chairman to be directly elected by all eligible voters living within a UP. Just after the independence in 1971, the name of the Union Council was changed to Union *Panchayat* and an administrator was appointed to manage the affairs of the *Panchayat*. But in 1973, the name of Union *Panchayat* was reverted to Union *Parishad*. Further, a more remarkable change took place through the Local Government Ordinance 1976. The Union *Parishad* was formed comprising one elected Chairman and 9 elected members—three members directly elected from each ward, two peasant representative members and two nominated women members. The post of Vice-Chairman was abolished. In 1980, the Local Government Ordinance 1976 was amended and *Swanirvar Gram Sarker* (self-reliant village government) was introduced at the village level, but was abolished by a Martial Law Order in July 1982. “A major change was initiated in the local government system through the introduction of the Local Government (*Upazila Parishad* and *Upazila Administration Reorganization*) Ordinance in 1982. This Ordinance was followed by the Local Government (*Union Parishad*) Ordinance in 1983, the Local Government (*Zila Parishad*) Act in 1988 and the three Hill Districts Acts and *Palli Act* in 1989. The *Upazila Parishad* Ordinance (1982) was particularly significant as this was supposed to help implementation of the decentralization program of the government” (UN ESCAP, Country Paper: Bangladesh, 2012). . A major change was initiated through the introduction of *the Local Government (Union Parishad) Ordinance* in 1983. The Sheikh Hasina government (1996-2001) formed another commission to suggest the structure of local government consistent with democratic spirit and with sustainable base. This commission suggested for a four-tier system: Gram parishad at village level, union parishad at union level, upazila parishad at thana level, and zila parishad at district level. One significant achievement of this government was holding of election in reserved women seats at UPs.(Khan.) Under this ordinance, every Union council shall have one Chairman, nine general members from 9 wards and three women members representing from each three wards. The present law dealing with the Union Councils, i.e. *Local Government (Union Parishads) Act, 2009*, came into effect on 15 October 2009.

3.2 Existing Union Parishad Structure:

There shall be a chairman of Union Parishad directly elected by the voters of the Union. Nine members shall be directly elected from the nine wards constituting the Union. Three seats shall be reserved for women. Each of the women members shall be directly elected by the male and female voters of three wards within a Union. The Block Supervisor (Directorate of Agriculture), Health Assistant, Family Planning Assistant, Family Welfare Worker, Ansar/VDP and all other field staff of government departments working at Union level will be the official members of Union Parishad. They will have no voting right. Representatives from freedom fighters, cooperative societies, disadvantages groups/Professionals e.g weavers, fishermen landless workers, destitute women, etc) will be members of Union Parishad without voting right. (www. lgd.gov.bd).

3.3 Functions of UP As Per Updated Act:

According to Section 47, Schedule II of Local Government (Union Parishad) Act, 2009 the Up is entrusted with the following functions.

- Formulation of development planning for five- years and of different duration; Matters related to education especially ,primary and mass education ;
- Implementation of activities related to health and family planning;
- Taking necessary measures for agriculture, fisheries, livestock and other economic development;
- Taking necessary measures disaster management and control of epidemic diseases;
- Fixation and collection of taxes ,fees and tolls;
- Taking measures for women & children welfare and settlement of family disputes;
- Taking necessary initiatives and providing help to promote sports, cultural activities and social development;
- Taking measures for environment conservation and development ;
- Performing duties vested by the government to maintain law and order and taking steps for that
- Registration of birth and death;
- Protection of public of public place, open space, parks and playground;
- Lighting of public place and roads under the control of UP;
- Plantation & conservation of trees and controlling destruction and stealing of forestry;
- Maintenances and preservation of graveyard, crematorium, places for public meetings and other public properties;
- Prevention of public nuisance and unauthorized entry at public places, roads and highways and the causes thereof;
- Prevention of roads and highways from destruction or any kind of harm;
- Ensuring disposal, removal and management of cow dung and wastes on roads;
- Control of dangerous and crime related business;
- Control of animal slaughter removal of carcasses;
- Controlling construction/reconstruction of new houses, buildings and risky buildings;
- Management and preservation of ponds, wells ,tube wells and other sources of water supply;
- Stopping pollution of sources of drinking water and imposing ban on well ponds or other sources of water which are dubious to be detrimental to public health;
- Controlling or imposing ban on cattle bathing, human bathing washing clothes in wells ponds or other sources of water protected for drinking water.
- Controlling or imposing ban on rotting jutes, *shan*¹⁵ and different types of trees in ponds and other sources of water
- Controlling or imposing ban on leather processing and coloring in the residential areas.
- Controlling or imposing ban on query of rocks /stones or other things digging earth/soil;
- Controlling or imposing ban making brick-field, pottery and the like;
- Taking necessary actions and providing provide continuous help to the government in managing disasters like flood, fire, hailstorm, earth-quake and the like.
- Preserving the list of widow, orphan, poor and vulnerable people providing aid to them;
- Developing and encouraging rural industries and cooperative movement;

¹⁵ A Type of Jute Grown in Bangladesh

- Taking measures for growing more/additional food –grains.
- Managing and controlling of cattle-shed/cattle-prison;
- Managing primary health- care centre;
- Taking additional measures for ensuring facilities, relaxation and securities for residents of the UP;
- Initiating and encouraging e-governance &IT
- Extending helping hands to other organizations engaged in similar functions done by the UPs;
- Other responsibilities given by the government time to time.

(Translated by the author)

3.4 Existing Organizational Culture and Governance Scenario of UPs in Bangladesh:

Reformation of Local government in Bangladesh came into being very distinctly according to the needs of the ruling elites (Westergaard, 2000; Khan and Hussain, 2001). The policy of local government kept changing in line with the change of national government. These changes were and are generally dictated by the urge of legitimizing and widening the narrow base of the power-holders at the national level, both by the cabinet and the parliament. As a result, UPs did not have any opportunity to work as effective tier of governments. Aminuzzaman (2010) says-

“Though several attempts have been made to improve local government in Bangladesh, they continue to be managed and controlled by the central government administrative structures. Independent reviews observed that Bangladesh has not been successful in establishing a decentralized system of governance and accountability”

In a World Bank review of decentralization process in 19 countries Bangladesh ranked lowest in decentralization scale (Williams, 1998 cited in Aminuzzaman ,2010:04). Though UP has been considered as a key strategic sector for improving governance and development in rural Bangladesh in terms of political economy and the constitutional spirit, poor service delivery, poor participation of the mass, poor respond to the demand of the civil society, failure to resolve conflict, incapability to address the technological changes and failure to meet the challenges of the growing urbanization had been and has been of prime concern. Empirical evidences (Akash, 2009, Hossain Rahman, 2006, Majumdar, 2009”.(cited in Aminuzzaman,2010)suggest some

“Invisible but serious challenges that characterize the governance of the rural local government are: i. Continued centralized control over the UP (and thus local government) maintained through the administration and the limited resources at its disposal; ii. Critical role of the MPs and other political stakeholders; iii. The poor understanding of the UP role both among its members and the wider populace; The following matrix presents the overall governance conditions and challenges of rural local government”

Aminuzzaman(2010 :05)summarizes governance scenario of Union Parishad in following points which perfectly reflect the existing organizational culture of this age-old local government body in Bangladesh –

Limited Understanding: Generally most of the people do not understand the functions of UP at large. Community members are not consulted as per directions and they have low expectations of what the UP will accomplish for the benefit of them.

Power of Chair: As the Chairman is placed in a relatively powerful position, and often takes decisions in conjunction with a small circle of associates, UP members cannot provide any guarantee of influence over the activities in which they involve.

Low Awareness of UP Members: It is found that UP members are only partially aware of their formally prescribed responsibilities, and in many cases lack the skills and resources needed to discharge their functions.

Limited and Insecure Revenue Base: The Union Parishads do not have capacity and incentive enough to raise revenue and, therefore, mostly dependent upon grants of the national government

Exclusion of Women: It has proved from different studies and assessments that women members are generally excluded from major decision-making arenas.

Lack of Accountability of Government Officials: As government officials vested to Union Parishads are liable only to their own line departments; they do not consult or coordinate with the UP bodies in accomplishing work.

Highly Centralized Project and Program Design: It is evidenced that the Upazila line staff have limited control over the types of projects to be undertaken at Upazila level. Projects are designed and decisions are generally undertaken at the Ministry level and transferred to the Upazila based line agencies for implementation of the projects.

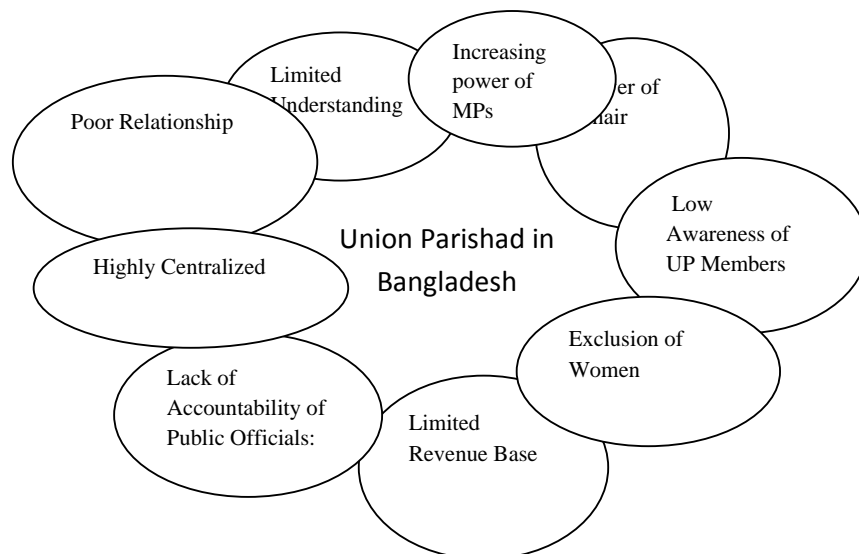
Poor Relationship between Administration and Elected Representatives: Relationship between local officials and elected representatives is defined by suspicion, mistrust, and even hostility. However, this does not “preclude collusion” where this is in “the mutual interest of the parties concerned” (Aminuzzaman, 2010:05).

Increasing Power of MPs over UP Bodies: MPs are only expected to perform a relatively minor and advisory role. But, in practice, their influence at the Union level is “much more extensive and their views tend to outweigh other actors” (Aminuzzaman , 2010:05).

The above mentioned scenario of UP can be presented in following matrix.

Figure. Existing Organizational Culture of UP (Author): Adapted from Aminuzzaman(2010)

Fig: 3.1 Organizational Culture of UP



The figure shows that all the characteristics are interconnected and encircling the Union Parishad in Bangladesh.

In exploring the dimension of South Asian Culture, Pye(1985)points out that Islam contains a creed , a Book, and Brotherhood. The Islamic concept holds that all things and people have a fixed nature, determined by Divine wishes. The laws of state are thought to be manifestation of higher laws and the concepts of authority are absolutist and totalistic. The powerful can act with confidence that to some degree they embody the divine will (Cited in Khair, 1994).

3.5 Conclusion:

This chapter has given a pen-picture of history of Union Parishad with its legal framework and existing structure of UP along with the, major functions, organizational culture and governance scenario. Now we are going to relate infrastructure projects under LGSP with the organizational culture of UP. Before that we must give a brief outline on the LGSP. The following chapter is going to be developed only upon that.

Chapter - 4

UP and Development Management Under LGSP

'Development depends on good governance, and that is the ingredient which has been missing in far too many countries'. (US President Obama during Africa visit, The Age 13/07/09)

4.0 Introduction

In Bangladesh misappropriation of allocated resources due to poor management skill of elected representatives and the staffs of Union Parishad had always been a great concern of the national government. Since inception of the LGSP project which was consolidated and replicated with innovations under the SLGDP successfully demonstrated the effectiveness of greater decentralization and participation in the management of resources in the form of block grants for the delivery of priority projects and schemes at the Union Parishad level in Bangladesh. (GoB and UNDP Project Document, 2006) Virtually, it has generated considerable ownership and enthusiasm on the part of the local population that has been able to witness immense results as a consequence of the systems introduced in terms of the prior allocation of resources at the grassroots. In addition, the project has introduced and demonstrated mechanisms for greater participation of the mass in the selection processes, in community contracting and budget management. As the project introduced minimum conditions and performance criteria for the UPs to be eligible for block grants this system is being applied, most of the UPs have qualified for block grants. The project has been implemented according to schedule and has largely achieved its intended outputs. The project demonstrated participation in priority setting, budget management and the management of services and infrastructure rehabilitation at the local level. Though the outcomes of the project on poverty alleviation, the localization of MDGs or the relevant objectives of the UNCDF/UNDP, are difficult to ascertain, it has raised a need for the future activities to shift towards wide ranged people's participation, development of capacity of Union Parishads to manage their sectoral responsibilities in conjunction with Upazila level departments of relevant ministries. As a result, the project has clearly affected national policy regarding local government.

4.1 Union Parishad and LGSP's Program Objectives:

The Local Governance Support Program (LGSP) ensures accountable, participatory, and effective local governance. As a result, Union Parishads of Bangladesh can more fully

function in a democratic manner. The program seeks to enhance capacity to plan, budget and manage local governance while promoting active citizen participation. Training, technical assistance and other capacity building support is provided to central government, local administrations, locally elected councils and civil society with the following aims (GoB and UNDP Project Documents 2006):

- Improved local government performance and capacity to plan and manage resources and public services transparently
- Strengthened legislative function and process at the local level
- More effective civil society and media participation in local governance
- More conducive enabling environment to sustain and improve effective decentralization.

With the assistance to local governments, media, local elites and citizens LGSP advances its program objectives in five technical areas. Support activities also include training in facilitation and participatory approaches, performance monitoring and evaluation and publications, communication and outreach. Cooperation extends not only to local partners, but also to partners at the national ministries and agencies.

Local Government Management: LGSP assists local governments in providing quality services to their citizens by strengthening management systems for service delivery. LGSP helps communities and local governments prioritize service needs and build a management foundation to effectively deliver services that addresses minimum performance standards for core functions. The project, in addition, provides guidance to national and local stakeholders on service contracting, procurement reform and better local environments for the development of small and medium enterprises.

Budget and Finance: To implement timely and accurate financial and performance reporting system LGSP provides considerable aids in budget making, accounting, and financial management. Resultantly, Union Parishads, with the technical skills to develop performance-based budgets reflecting community priorities, receive information and training on the entire fiscal accounting cycle from properly recording financial transactions to final fiscal year-end accountability, and helps local governments transparently and responsibly meets their financial obligations, manage public assets, and build sustainable revenue streams(UNDP Mid-term Evaluation). In response to specific requests for assistance, this

instance of innovation came to be a great help to understand and implement national regulations on fiscal decentralization .It also helps the internal auditor to build systems to monitor and evaluate financial performance.

Strategic Participatory Planning: In the development of multi-year and annual local development plans, LGSP works with local and national governments to make citizen and stakeholder input as key components. It emphasizes the planning process and helps UPs engage communities to ensure development and efficient resource allocation within community through public consultation. By ensuring more citizen and stakeholder participation, UPs get support of more transparent and accountable planning process and are better informed to design and implement local development plans as per community needs.

Strengthening of Civil Society: To meet the needs of the community, local civil society must be able to advocate for service improvements and monitor the performance of their respective UPs. As LGSP works with citizens and local civil society organizations to ensure that citizens have right to participate in local planning, budgeting and policy decision-making, it can increase opportunities for citizen and strengthen citizen's skills to ensure constructive and effective contributions to rural development policies.

The Second Local Governance Support Project (LGSP II): Seeing a moderate success in SLGSP and LGSP-I the government of Bangladesh move forward to implement LGSP-II Under the Local Government Division (LGD) the LGSP-II will provide increased grant funding directly to all 4500 Union Parishads (UPs) through the multi-year MTBF and institutionalize local government's accountability to citizens through regular ward-level meetings, open budgeting, and regular performance monitoring. The development objective of the LGSP II is to strengthen accountable local governments providing services that meet community priorities, supported by an efficient and transparent intergovernmental fiscal system. This objective is expected to be pursued through four components: (i) fiscal transfers; (ii) accountability and information flows; (iii) institutional development; and (iv) project management. At the national level, the Local Government Division (LGD) of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development & Cooperatives is responsible for implementing LGSP II. In addition, agencies such as the National Institute of Local Government (NILG), Office of the Comptroller and Auditor General (OCA&G), Bangladesh Rural Development Academy (BARD), Rural Development Academy (RDA) and the Local Government Engineering Department (LGED) will support implementation of various project components and activities. Within LGD, a National Project Director (NPD) will head implementation arrangements with support from two Deputy Project Directors (DPDs) and several wings of LGD. This project management set up at the center will be supported by a number of technical specialists. In the field, at the district level, the Deputy Directors of Local Government (DDLGs) will play a pivotal role in project implementation as well as broader monitoring of UPs. They will serve as the link between NPD and sub-national local government units, as well as the link with the district administration headed by the Deputy Commissioner. (www.lgd.gov.bd)

4.2 Project Structure and Strategy:

Being supported by a US\$130 million IDA loan, LGSP appeared to be an integral part of a national policy to accelerate better local governance and local service delivery. (LGSP-LIC Joint mid - Term Evaluation”2010) “Having already developed the overall approach and having demonstrated the viability of managing block grants at the UP level under a predecessor project in Sirajganj District (SLGDP), the principal purpose of the project was to further innovate upon the SLGDP model with new processes and instruments, to capture the lessons learned and then to disseminate the experience of the lessons learned with a view to ensuring the replication and scaling-up of positive models; and ii) inserting the fruit of the lessons learned into the policy development process (Figure-1).”(UNDP: Mid term Evaluation,2010) It is conceived that the SLGDP applied UNCDF’s standard approach to Local Development Funds, adapting this product to local conditions.([www.undp.org.bd/.../LGSP/.](http://www.undp.org.bd/.../LGSP/))

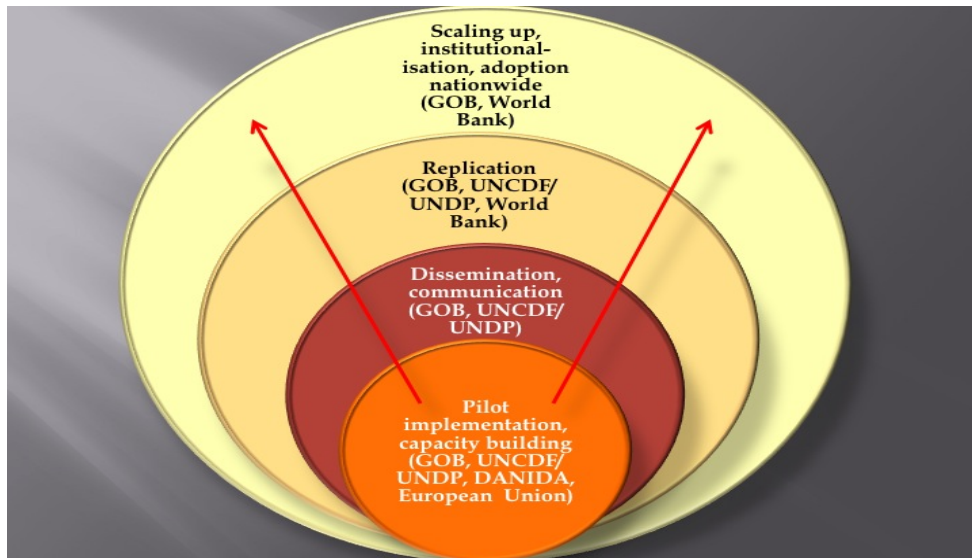


Figure 4.1: Schematic Diagram of the Basic Project Strategy(Source: [www.undp.org.bd/.../LGSP/.](http://www.undp.org.bd/.../LGSP/))

The central institutional focus of the project is the Union Parishad (Figure 2), an entity that has been in existence since the colonial rule of UK. With considerable modification of its structure through the centuries, the UP now is an elected body of 13 members; one from each of the nine wards, three women members (from reserved seats – one from each of three wards) and the chairman elected by the total electorate of the UP. The Union is staffed by a full time Secretary, appointed by the Deputy Commissioner who is head of district

administration and local police (1 Dafadar and 9-12 Gram Police). The UP Secretary is in charge of accounting and record keeping.

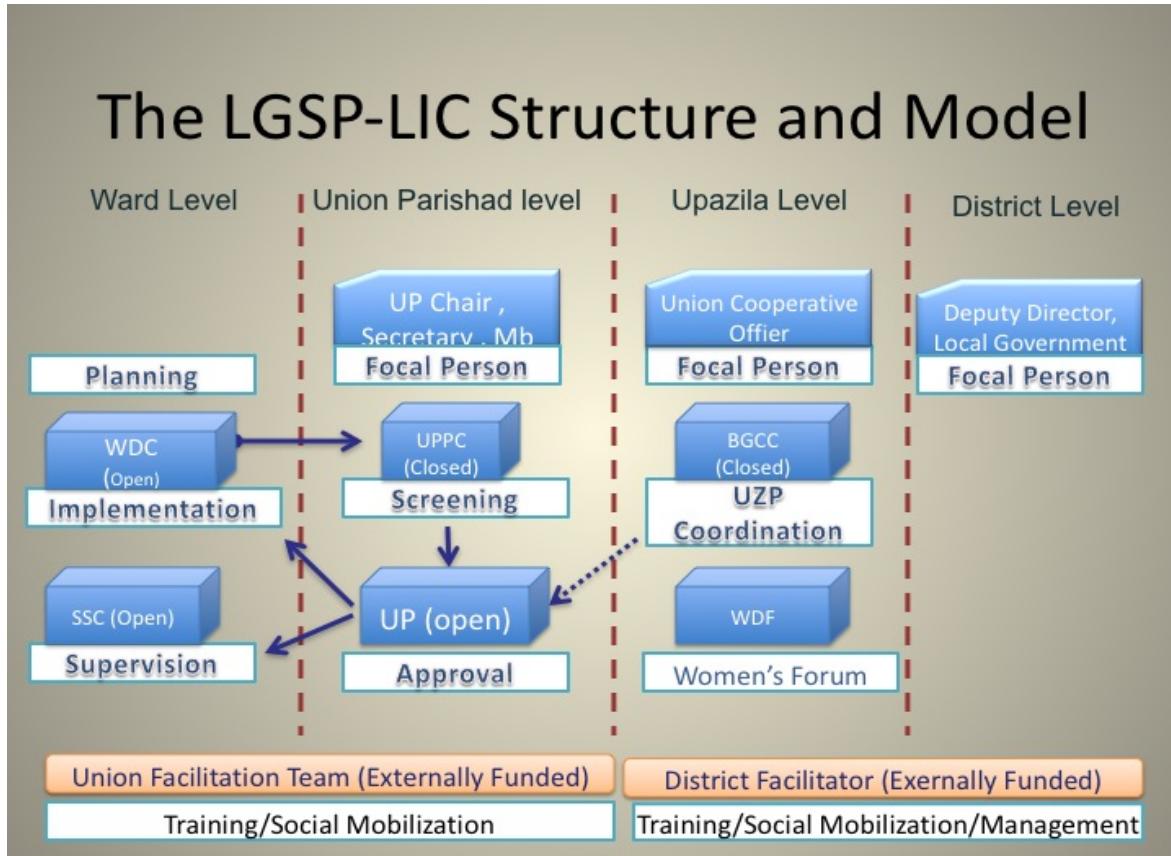
According to The Local Government (UP) Act, 2009 Union Parishad has been assigned with 38 functions which are wide ranging. Virtually, the UPs are generally involved in maintaining law and order including conflicts resolution and administration of justice (village court), selecting and implementing schemes like sanitation programs (latrines), local level revenue collection, distribution of relief goods and Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF), registration of births and deaths, distribution of relief goods during and after disasters, Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF), preparation of list of widows for pension distribution and organization of food/cash for work activities.

The LGSP started with piloting in six districts -- Sirajganj, Barguna, Habiganj, Narsingdi, Feni and Satkhira -- one from each of six administrative divisions of the country. Within the five year duration of the project, 388 Union Parishads had to be covered progressively.

The strategy of the project is based on the following:

- Demonstration of the viability of administering a performance based block grant system at the Union Parishad level in a participatory way.
- Testing the absorptive capacity of the mechanisms at the UP level.
- Application of a participatory, process-oriented approach to planning project identification and prioritization, supervision of implementation and budget management.
- Maximising national and local ownership and maximising sustainability through the strategic use of inputs that external to those of the Government of Bangladesh, the Union Parishad and the community itself; and
- The empowerment of women and the targeting of the poor along with the implementation of pro-poor activities (that can also contribute the Bangladesh's fulfilment of its obligations in the achievement of the MDG).

Figure 4.2: LGSP Project Structure and Model



Source :Joint Mid -term Evaluation Report, UNDP

The project has sought to address several of the widely perceived critical constraints to fiscal decentralization to the UP level. These may be summarized, along with the LGSP-LIC’s response to them as laid out in Table 8.

The Director General of the Monitoring, Inspection and Evaluation Sub-department of LGRD ministry is the National Project Director (NPD). His role is to implement and supervise the daily tasks of the project. Different committees at Union, Upazila and District levels are responsible for implementation of the project. The formation and functions of these committees are discussed below. The committees and their inter-relationship are also illustrated in Figure 4. Committees referred to as “open” are ones that are open to public participation, whereas the ones that are “closed” are restricted to members only.

4.3 Formation of Different Committees and Their Functions:

(i)**Project Steering Committee:** To oversee execution of the program, Project Steering Committee for the entire LGSP is responsible. The Secretary of the Local Government Division (LGD) is the Chair of the committee. This Committee is responsible for program management, observation and guidance at the national level that covers both the LGSP-LIC and the rest of the LGSP.

(ii)**Block Grant Coordination Committee (BGCC):** To avoid overlapping and duplication and to provide overall guidance a BGCC at the Upazila level coordinates project activities. The BGCCs are structured as follows:

Structure of the Committee		Duties
UNO	Chair	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To give guidance and advice for utilizing the grants after evaluation; • To redress grievance with regard to complaints on use grants and UP administration; • To coordinate all development activities of the UPs; • To create opportunities for joint initiative of the UPs; • To take legal action with regard to corruption and irregularities; • To discuss draft development plans and quality of the budget and send the budget to the DC for approval; • To ensure technical support from the concerned departments for the development plans of UPs and estimates; • To discuss and coordinate LGSP activities such as capacity building and audit; • To facilitate peer exchange and learning.
All UP chairmen of the upazila	Member	
Female member of reserved seat	Member	
Members of the Upazila resource team	Member	
One UP member selected at the first BGCC meeting	Member-Secretary	

The BGCC is supposed to meet at least once in every 3 month. The Chairman may call special meetings .The Secretary of the BGCC takes meeting minutes which have to be preserved at the UNO office and are posted to the LGD, DC and all committee members within 15 days.

(iii) Ward Development Committee (WDC): The WDC members are selected by the people in a ward meeting and the lists are submitted to the UP Chairman. This ward committee consists of 5-7 members. Each of female members will act as Chairperson of the Ward Development Committee for a year.

Ward Committee	Duties
Ward Member (Member) - Chair Female Member - Deputy Chair Respected Person - Member Primary School Teacher - Member Social I worker - Member NGO representative - Member	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Organize participatory planning meetings at Ward level; ▪ Complete environmental and social selection process; ▪ Submit the list of selected and prioritized schemes to the UP; ▪ Implement the approved scheme; ▪ Organize quarterly meetings on progress of project at Ward level.

(iv) Scheme Supervision Committee (SSC): The Scheme Supervision Committee (SSC) supervises and monitors all LGSP-LIC funded schemes of the UP funded under supplementary block grants. An SSC is formed in each ward. A member cannot simultaneously be a member of the WDC. At least one-third of the members have to be females. The SSC consists of will be 5-7 members. The SSC members elect their own Chair and Secretary. One member is appointed by the UNO. All other members are selected at an open meeting as is the case of the WDC.

The SSC:

- Monitors and supervises all schemes implemented under the LGSP-LIC in its own ward;
- Monitors for specific quality, quantity, and timeliness according to an approved procurement and implementation plan;
- Informs the WDC about measures to be taken should any problems be identified in implementation and if the WDC does not take any measure, to informs the UP, and further informs the BGCC if the UP fails to address it;
- Assess the environmental and social selection forms;
- Keeps members of the community people informed about quality, efficiency and impact of schemes implemented.

(v) **Union Parishad Planning Committee (UPPC):** The UPPC members have to be endorsed by the UP Chairman every year and approved by the UP and consist of the following members:

Roles of the UPPC in the planning process are as follows:

- Verification and prioritization both eligible and ineligible schemes (received from 9 Wards and 4 Standing Committees) in terms of environmental and social impacts.
- Collection of detail information for estimation and design while inspecting the schemes.
- Prioritize eligible schemes through technical appraisal.
- Submission of technical recommendations of the schemes to the UP.

(vi) **Union Facilitating Team (UFT):** This team is assigned to each Union with 6-9 members. The UFT members will work voluntarily but a nominal honorarium may be arranged. To ensure successful implementation of LGSP each UFT works with the representatives of the UP and Wards. The UP Chairman supervises directly with technical Support of Upazila Cooperatives Officers. This committee regularly keeps contact with different committees. The UFTs:

- Contribute to capacity building of different committees including WDC, SSC, WDF;
- Provide support to participatory planning and open budget preparation at Ward level;
- Provide support to organize all levels of people including the poor, marginalized, backward classes in development and motivational works;
- Update the progress of the ongoing project of their own areas
- Provide support to send the report to Upazila Cooperatives Officer;
- Impart training at the grassroots;
- Participate in different programs organized by the project
- Provide support to the UP in determining tax and collection;
- Provide support to the Standing Committees for being active
- Participate in different development activities.

4.4 The Role of Upazila Cooperative Officer:

To train committee members on participatory work-planning, implementation guideline, monitoring and reporting rules.

- ❖ Provide assistance and advice to the UP on implementing development projects and its management.
- ❖ Provide assistance and advice on developing participatory planning and through different training workshops for development activities;
- ❖ Regularly provide progress report of the LGSP projects in the working area to DDLG and UNO.
- ❖ Provide assistance to UP and Ward level committees in developing participatory planning. Impart training to the UFTs on planning, implementation guidelines, monitoring, progress reporting and financial report preparation under LGSP-LIC
- ❖ Provide assistance to the UP in collecting tenders for implementing schemes.

4.5 Upazila Women Members Development Forum:

The primary role of this forum is to ensure complete participation of women members in the UP, and to provide support to the UP in the socio-economic development of the poor women of the area. The WDF is created at Upazia and district levels. The role and functions of the WDF remain officially rather fluid. And there remains room to develop it further.

A tender evaluation committee has also been established for the review of formal tenders, although to date the size of schemes has been too small to require formal tender processing, falling well below the BDT 200,000 threshold required for tenders.

4.6 LGSP Implementation and Incremental Capacity Building of U Ps

In Unions, under the Local Governance Support Project (LGSP) Unions, specific planning and budgeting guidelines are given and they also impart necessary training on how to use these guidelines. The guidelines developed for implementation of LGSP put emphasis on participatory identification and prioritization of local needs. Through open public meetings with widespread community representation UP members undertake a list of schemes for the ward prepared on the basis of certain criteria such as, short-term and long-term benefits for the community monetary allocation for UP, necessity of the schemes, environmental and social impact, technical feasibility etc. The expected outcome is to improve capacity of the Union Parishads for effective, efficient and accountable delivery of pro-poor infrastructure and services. The broad outputs include the following: (Salauddin, 2010)

- ❖ Direct block grant has proved to be feasible based
- ❖ Community involvement in planning, implementation, supervision and monitoring

- ❖ Efficient use of resources and helps create ownership of the people.
- ❖ UPs have become empowered to undertake development activities of the
- ❖ Community
- ❖ A fair bidding process at the Union level ensures transparency
- ❖ Prepares the UPs to handle efficient contract management.
- ❖ Participatory assessment of performance enhances capacity, transparency and
- ❖ Flexibility in process monitoring and project selection criteria
- ❖ Efficient relations established with Upazila level and
- ❖ Improved strategic development planning
- ❖ Emphasized on enhancing existing woman participation
- ❖ Developed mechanisms related to planning
- ❖ Earmarked funds utilization by women.

On the basis of local demand and public opinion, the Union Parishads covered by the LGSP project have to display significant and replicable efficiency and capability in implementing different development schemes ensuring broad participation of community members. “Building on lessons from monitoring of program implementation, LGSP aims to support government in the development of a national decentralization policy framework over time and in the broader strategy for implementing LGSP nationally. Policy lessons will be monitored and discussed with national decision-makers, just as the lessons learned and best practices from SLGDP contributed to expedite the government’s decision to provide block grants to all the UPs of Bangladesh and introduce performance assessment of UPs. In collaboration with the nation-wide LGSP” (UNDP : 2007) The matrix below depicts the relationship between the roles of LGSP-LIC, the World Bank supported components of the broader LGSP, and the expected outputs:

4.6Conclusion.

LGSP was introduced to take initiative for strengthening UPs with the purpose of ensuring more participation of local people in the development activities, developing efficiency of union parishad, addressing poverty by institutionalizing and capacity building for fiscal transfers, enhancing local revenue mobilization and improving accountability monitoring and evaluation. As an organized long lasting social entity UPs need to have intra-sovereignty within a sovereign state .It has been assumed that LSGP can play a vital role to activate UPs in Bangladesh by exercising the management of economic and social resources for development.

Chapter-5

Participation vs. Organizational Culture in Projects under LGSP Implemented by Dhubil UP

‘Participation does not refer simply to voting ... [but] requires that individuals have a voice in the decisions that affect them’ – Joseph Stiglitz, former Chief Economist of the World Bank and Nobel laureate (Pruitt & Thomas 2007, p. 13).

5.0 Introduction:

From the historical perspectives, people’s participation in rural Bangladesh has been found to be very low in project planning and implementation. In this study, a Union has been selected for measuring the level of participation of the beneficiaries and UP members in five infrastructure projects under LGSP. With the aim of assessing the culture of participation in development projects under LGSP local beneficiaries and the UP members were interviewed through a structured questionnaire for each of the groups.

To analyze the level of participation of the local beneficiaries the infrastructure projects under LGSP, this chapter first of all presents background information about the projects taken in the financial year 2011-12 & 2012-13. After that a general discussion on the selected projects will be presented exploring the reasons of project selection, selection of members of different committees and culture of participation by the beneficiaries. The last section of this chapter deals with the detailed facts addressing the issues like people’s knowledge about Union Parishad, LGSP, Ward Development Committee, Project Steering Committee, Union Facilitating Team and the like. It mainly highlights the level and nature of people’s participation and participation by UP members.

5.1 A Brief Outline on the Study Area:

The study area, Dhubil Union, belongs to Raiganj Upazila under the district of Sirajganj, the first piloted district for LGSP. The Union is among the 9 Unions of the Upazila and only twenty-five kilometers away from the district headquarter. The Union is inhabited by mostly poor, illiterate and semi-literate population where literacy male is slightly higher than the female. Majority of the people directly or indirectly involved in agriculture. Business and services are sources of income for very small number of its total population. The local politics of the area is dominated by the people with strong socio-economic background.

5.2 Socio-Economic Status of the Respondents:

Among the beneficiaries only 52 respondents were randomly selected for the study. To identify whether there is any correlation between socio-economic condition of the respondents and their participation in infrastructure projects under LGSP, pertinent information age, gender, occupation, educational status and level of income of the respondents have been collected. Of the 52 respondents almost 80% were male while the rest were female. Most of the respondents (almost 62% of the total respondents) are between 20-

40 years of age. Majority of the respondents live on agriculture (42.3%),(Appendices) while business holds the second (19.2%) (Appendices) in terms of livelihood pattern. Most of the respondents are poor with less than eight thousand taka as their monthly income and of them 30.4% are extremely poor with monthly income of less than four thousand taka. Almost half of the respondents (52%) (Appendices) are either illiterate or have attended only primary school. The detailed socio-economic picture has been presented in the Appendix-C.Besides, all the representatives (UP members) (Appendices) were also interviewed to bring a comparison between the views expressed by the groups. It has been found that most of them have political affiliation(Appendices) and strong socio-economic background.

5.3 The Projects Undertaken for the Study:

A total of five infrastructure projects under LGSP were selected to study extensively. The list of projects is given in the table below:

Table 5.1: List of projects under study

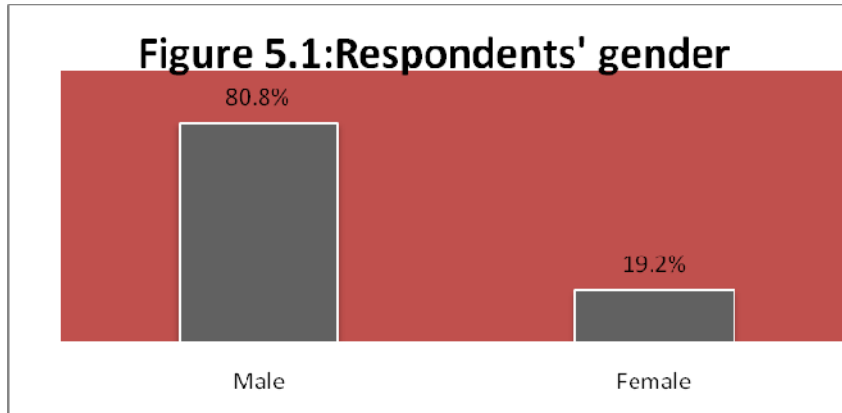
Name of the Projects	Geographical area(Village)	Type of Work Done	Signboard Found or Not	Money Allocated	Year of implementation
Road repairment from the Homestead of Akbar Ali to Homestead of Munsur haji	Betua	Earth Filling	Not Found	68300/Tk	2011-12
Road construction from Taltala Bazar to Hamid Member's Homestead	Dhubil (katarmahal)	Earth Filling	Not Found	68300/Tk	2011-12
Chandrabari to Dwipghar road repairment	Shyamer ghon	Earth Filling	Not Found	68300/Tk	2011-12
Construction of A Pacca toilet at Maltinagar Alia Madrasa	Maltinagar	Construction	Not Found	68300/Tk	2012-13
Tube-well Setting	Maltinagar		Not Found	90300/Tk	2011-12

5.4 Results of Survey Conducted Upon Beneficiaries:

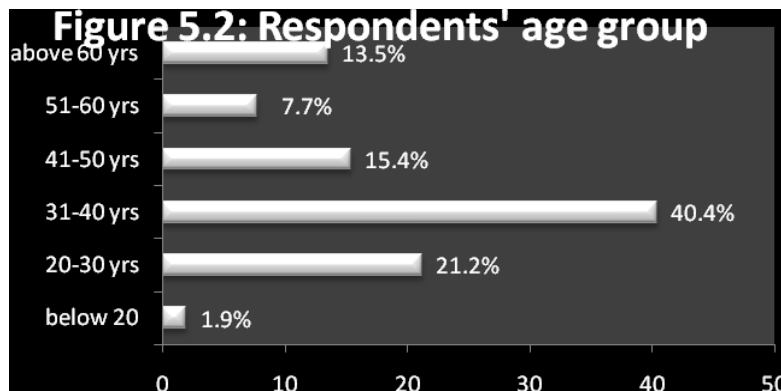
The survey was conducted in different wards under Dhubil Union to find out the level of participation of common people being influenced by the organization culture of rural local

governance. Among the total of 52 participants, almost 50% were purposively and the rest were randomly selected to interview. Two separate questionnaires, as mentioned in the first chapter, had been used to interview the respondents. They were asked about different aspects of LGSP projects. Now we can present the data in terms of various features. First, we feel better analyze the data collected from the common people-

5.4.1: Gender: In spite of trying much female participation did not cross 20% where as male crossed 80% during structured interview in the villages. It proves that women are still reluctant to meet a male surveyor and not easy to speak to a person not known to her.

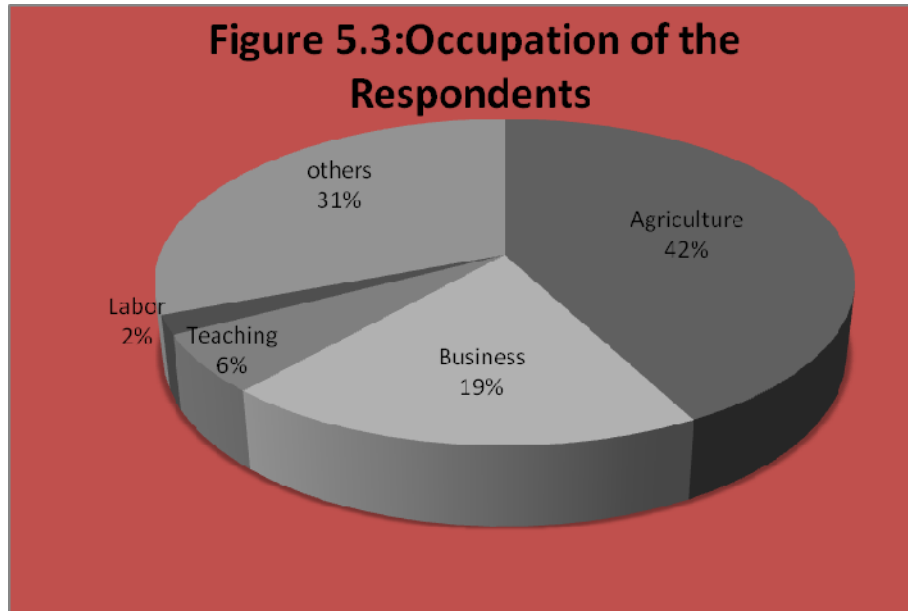


5.4.2: Age Group: The figure shows that people between the age between 31-40 represented more than other age group and old people and the very young people represented much less than mid age people in the survey. It is generally found that middle aged people are the most influential and decision maker in a family where as younger and older have nothing to say in decision making. That’s why it was purposively decided by the author to collect data from the mass having better position in a family so as to reflect the culture in rural local governance in a crystallized way.

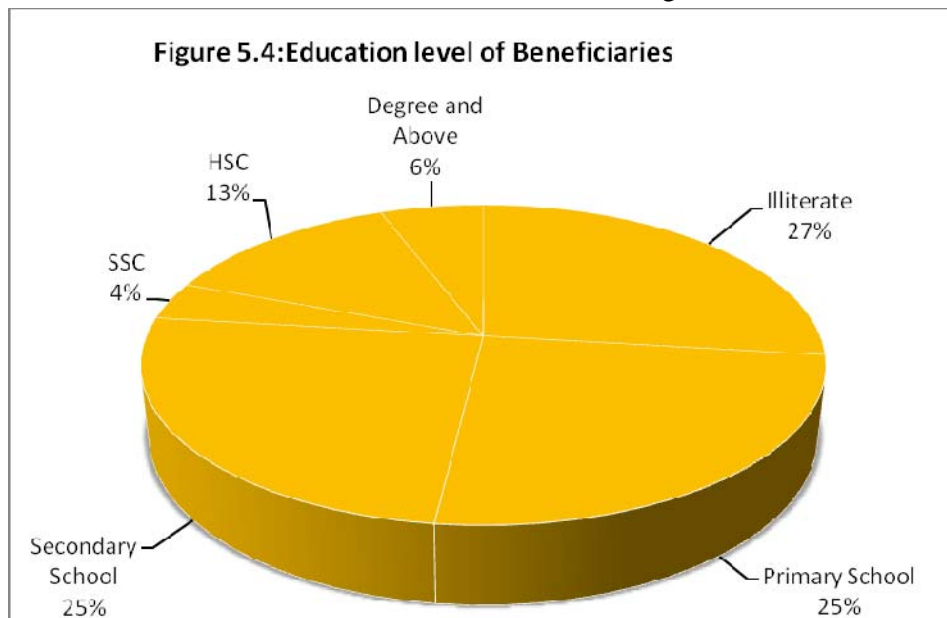


5.4.3 Occupation: As of traditional Bangladeshi rural profession ,most of the respondents among the beneficiaries depend on agriculture; among the category of others, which hold second position, they include housewives, fishermen, imams and muazzins of mosques students; they are followed by businessmen who are mostly shopkeepers in villages of the

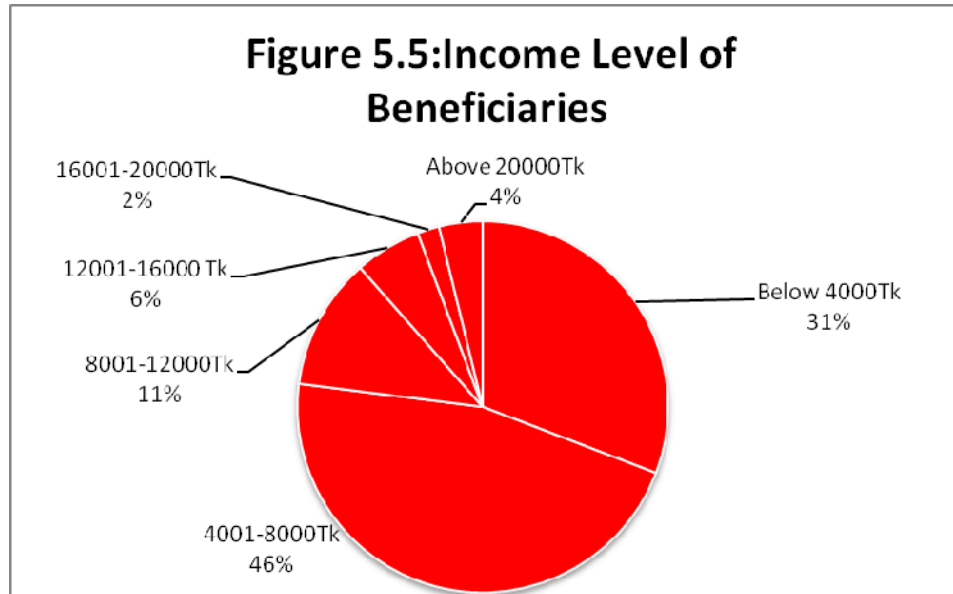
study area; only 6% were involved in teaching who were selected purposively to find whether their participation in the projects was dominant or not and 2% of the respondents were day – labors.



5.4.4: Education level of Beneficiaries: The study(Figure 5.4) shows that as of traditional rural education level more than one fourths of the respondents are illiterate, one fourths attended only primary education and secondary education respectively & very poor number of them received higher education .

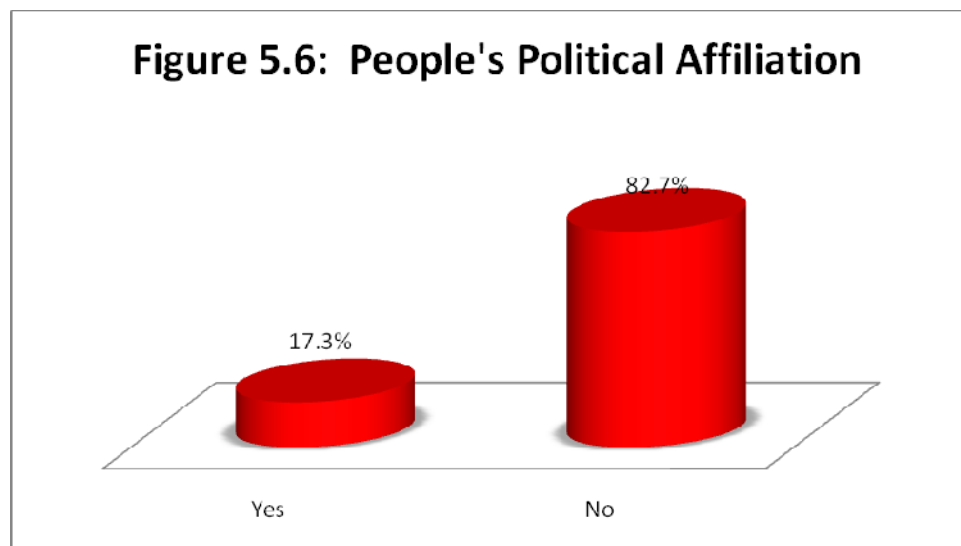


5.4.5: Income level of the Respondents: As of traditional Bangladeshi villages, most of the respondents are poor (77%).Of them 31% are extremely poor whose monthly income is less than



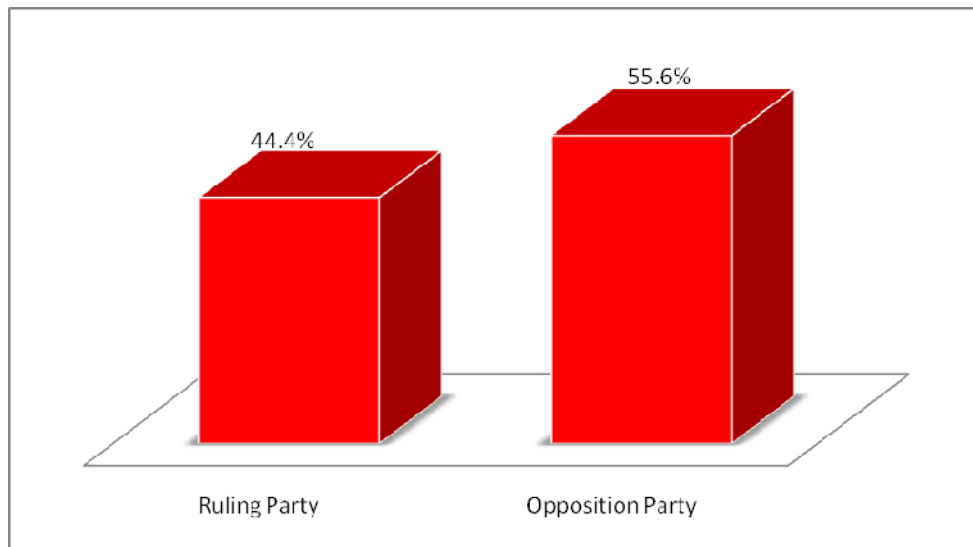
4000Tk (they earn only 1.5 USD or less per day).Only 4% are well off whose monthly income is above 20000Tk per month and the rest belong to the middle class.

5.4.6: Political Affiliation of the Beneficiaries: Though the village people are, now a days, conscious about politics and political parties , most these innocent and simple life-leading respondents of the study area don't have political attachment.

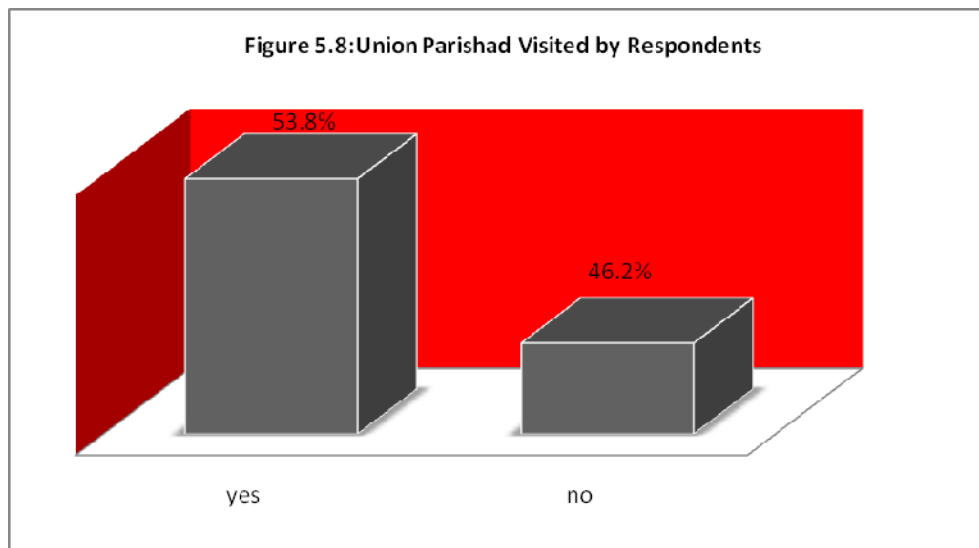


Those who have political affiliation constitute only 17.3% percent of the respondents. Of them 55.6% are with present **opposition party and the rest with ruling party**

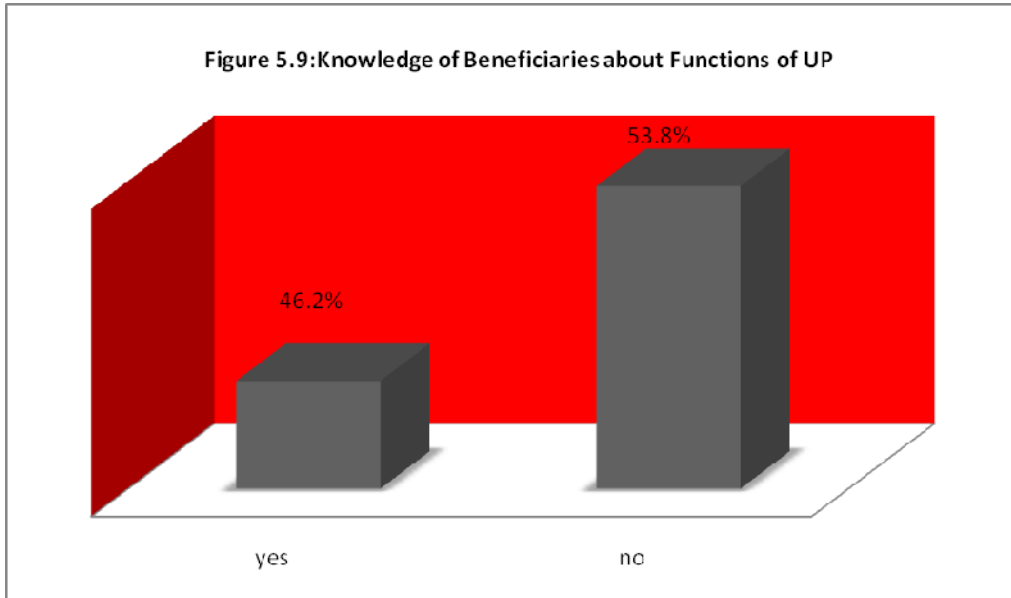
Fig 5.7: Party to which respondents belong



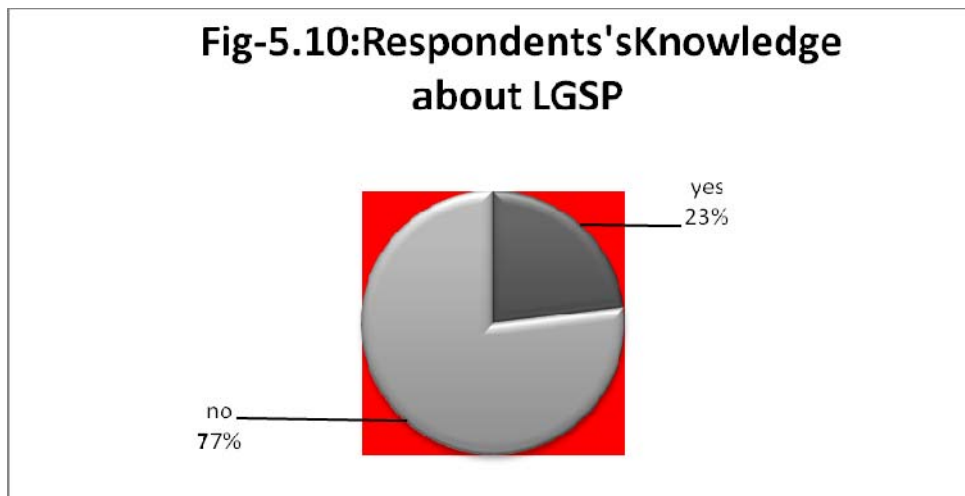
5.4.7 Respondents' Visit to Union Parishad: Being asked about whether they visited their Union Parishad during their life-span or not majority of them (53.8%) answered affirmatively and the rest (46.2), which is huge in terms population, had never visited the UP.



5.4.8: Knowledge about Functions of Union Parishad: Majority of the respondents mentioned that they do not have any idea about the functions of the UP. Only 46.2% (Fig-5.9) of the respondents had knowledge about the functions of UP

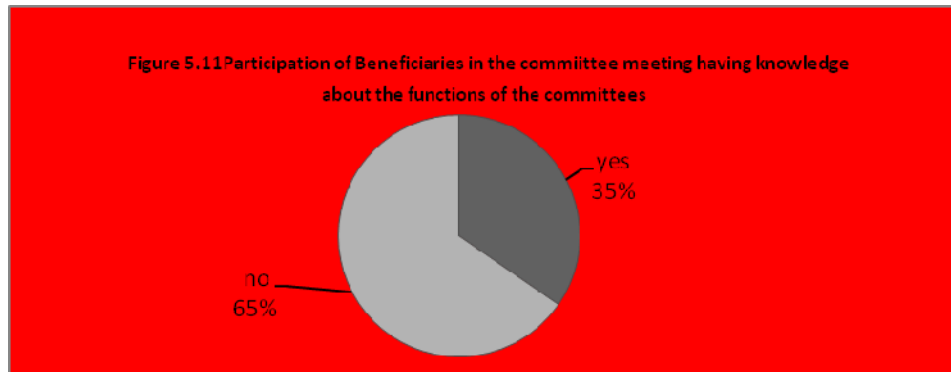


5.4.9: Knowledge About LGSP and Its Related Committes: Though it was expected that LGSP would ensure people participation, only 23% of the total respondents agreed that they know what LGSP really is and 77% of them do not have any aidea about LGSP. Only 10% of the respondents had idea about Project Steering Committee(Appendics), 8% had about Block Grant Committee(Appendics), 15% had about Ward Development Committee(Appendics), 8% had about Union Facilitating Team(Appendics). Again, asking about the Terms of Reference(TOR) of the committees, it was found that among the respondents with knowledge/ idea about the committees, only 10% accepted that they knew about the TOR of the committees (Appendics).

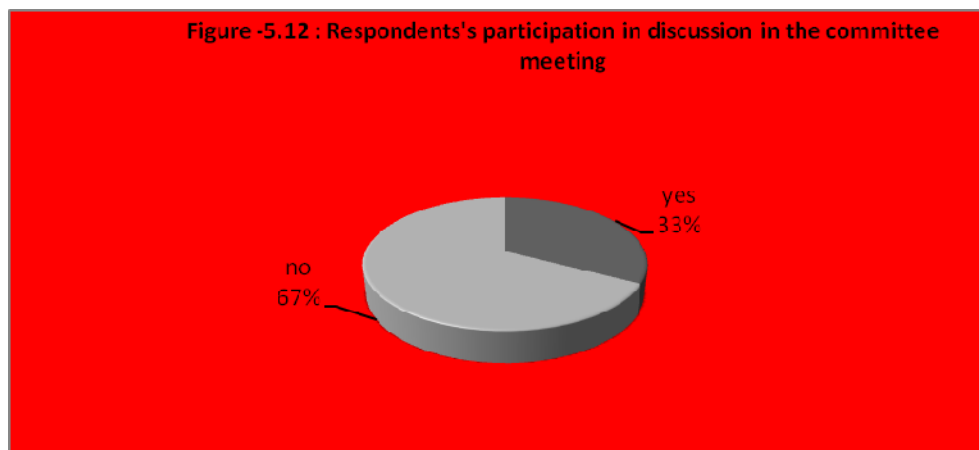


5.4.10 People's Participation in any of the Committee Meeting: Among the respondents having knowledge about the committees only 35% participated in any of the committee

meeting under LGSP and most of them (77%) did not participate. However participation was almost similar in number in the study area.

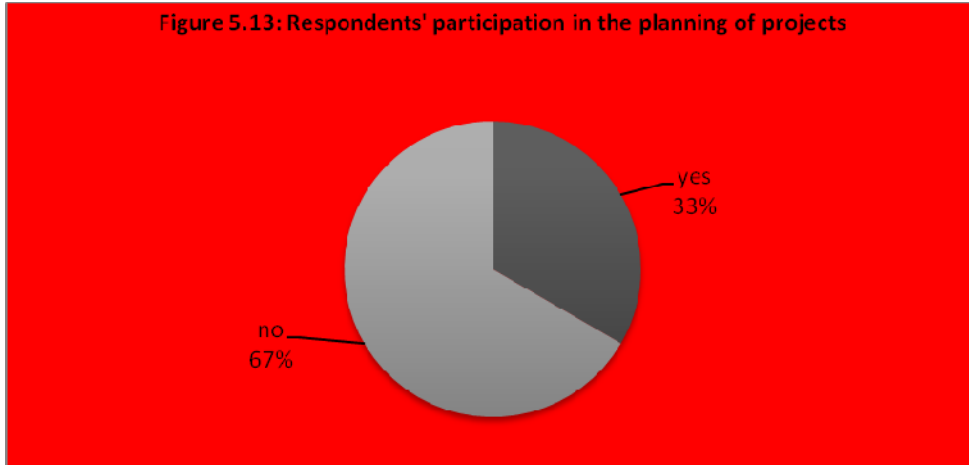


However, 67% of the respondents who participated in the committee meetings reported that they did not participate in the discussion in the meetings and only 33% (Appendix) of the participants admitted that their opinions were entertained and considered by the concerned body .



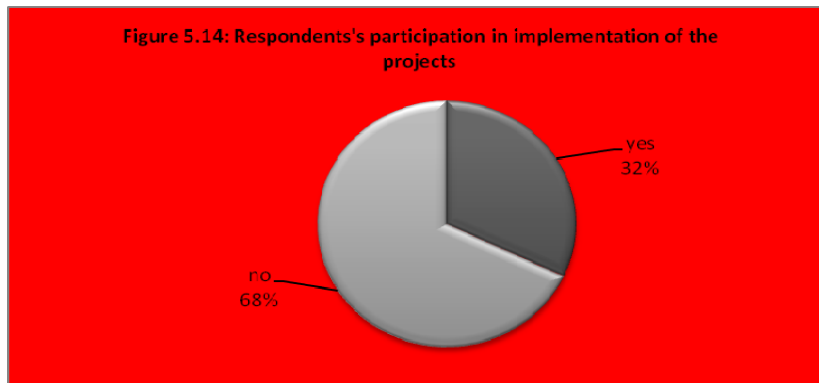
5.4.10: Respondents Participation in Project Planning: Only 33% of the respondents who have idea about LGSP participated in the planning phase of the projects where as most of them (67%) did not participate ever.

Figure 5.13: Respondents' participation in the planning of projects



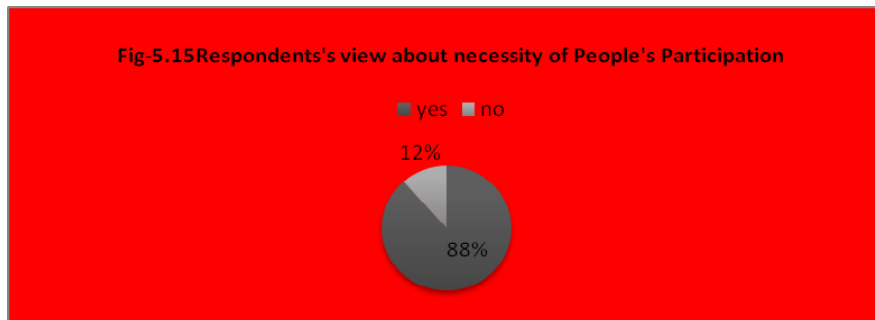
5.4.11 Respondents Participation in Implementation of the Projects: Only 32% of the respondents who have idea about LGSP participated in the implementation phase of the projects and most of them (68%) never participated in project implementation.

Figure 5.14: Respondents's participation in implementation of the projects

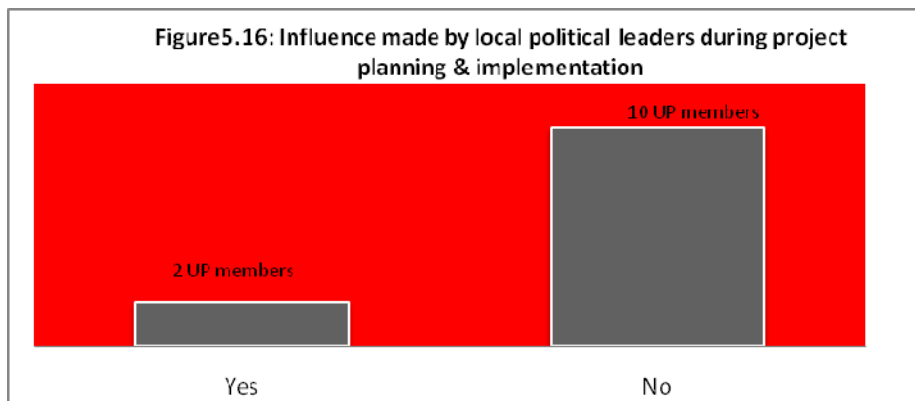


5.4.12 Respondents view about necessity of people's Participation in LGSP: Most of respondents think that there should have participation from all walks of life in both planning and implementation phases of projects undertaken under LGSP.

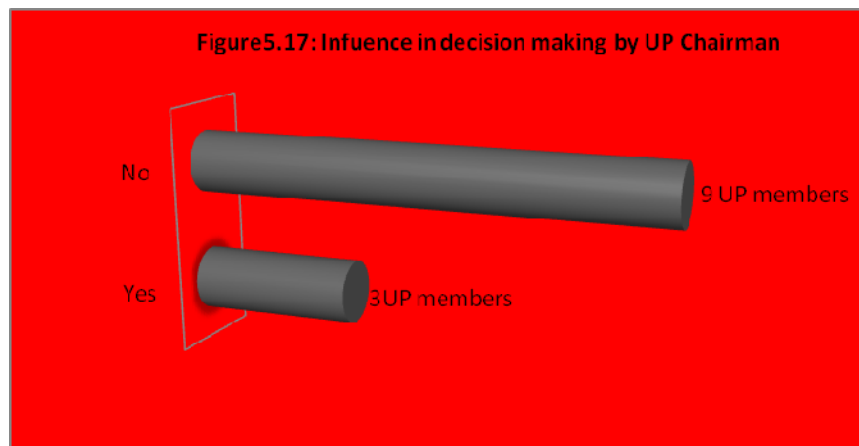
Fig-5.15 Respondents's view about necessity of People's Participation



5.5 Results of Survey Conducted on UP Members: As a part of the study all the twelve UP members (9 male and 3 female) of Dhubil Union Parishad were interviewed on various aspects of LGSP projects. 100 percent of them proved themselves knowledgeable of the number of projects implemented in their respective wards. All the respondents mentioned that discussions take place in the BGC meetings and WDC meetings before taking any project in their respective areas. When asked about the influences made by the local political leaders, only two of them answered in the positive sense (Fig-6.15). But what is amazing is that nine members mentioned that influences are made by the govt. officials (Appendix-) and six of them, however, were satisfied with job done by the Govt. Officials.



Again, when asked about causing influence in decision by the UP Chairman, 3 UP members told that he caused influence in decision making before undertaking any project under LGSP (Fig-5.10); in case of Upazila Chairman and local MP, it was only 1 respectively (Appendices- .)



5.6 Major Findings:

The major findings of the survey are presented below:

- Most of respondents from the mass do not have political affiliation to any of the parties. But majority of the UP members have direct political attachment.
- The study reveals that most of the respondents (53%) do not know the functions of Union Parishad. Even most of them did not hear about LGSP and its concerned committees as well as TOR of these committees. So it is unthinkable for them to attend the meetings of the committees.
- Participation in project planning is very low. Even those who have knowledge (23% of total respondents) about LGSP do not participate in the committee meetings. Only 35% of the knowledgeable respondents participated in the committee meetings and of them only 33% were entertained with opinions.
- In the implementation phase, participation is also very low, almost as like as in the planning phase. Only 32% of the knowledgeable respondents participated in implementation of the projects under LGSP. It has also been found that participation male respondents are higher than that of the female .
- 88% of the total respondents think that both project planning and project implementation need to be done through participation from all walks of life.
- People with strong socio- economic background tend to participate more than people poor socio-economic status. Similarly, people with better educational status participate more than lower educational status.
- In case of UP members, both male and female, the rate of participation is satisfactory. Influencing in decision making, either by the local political elites or local MP, is at tolerable rate.
- The UP members always try to implement projects on earth filling and *kancha* road construction. They do not present before the mass about the options. They are fond of taking these projects as they help deceive people about the quality and quantity of estimated works.
- It has been proved that the non participation of common people in the decision making processes in case project planning and implementation of projects under LGSP has been affected by the age-old culture based on socio-economic and educational status. However political culture has been proved to be almost insignificant in decision making process in the projects under LGSP.

5.7 Analysis of Major Research Findings:

An analysis of the above-mentioned study- findings we can infer with the following significant directives:

- ❖ It has been found that people's participation in deciding priorities, project planning and implementation is very low in the study area.
- ❖ The common mass is characterized by limited understanding. Most of the respondents from the villages do not understand the functions of UP and their expectation is very low from UP in case of getting empowered through participation in decision making process of LGSP.
- ❖ It was supposed that UP chairman always try to influence the decision making process in any development projects. Aminuzzaman (2010:05) finds that Chairman holds a powerful position and decides with the aid of a circle developed by him. But this study proved that this allegation, at least for LGSP, has been disproved. However, there might have a hidden reason of appreciating the Chairman by the majority of UP members which needs further research.
- ❖ The culture of UP was also characterized by low awareness of the UP members. But this study finds that UP members are aware enough to participate in decision making of LGSP. So the age –old culture of Chairman –centric decision making process has been overcome in project planning and implementation under LGSP.
- ❖ There has been proof that women participation in decision making process of LGSP is very low in contrast to male participation. This practice of non participation among this section of society in rural Bangladesh where male domination and socio-religious culture can, to a great extent, be held responsible. But what has been proved to be true here is that the women UP members have come out of these cultural barriers as their rate of participation in LGSP is almost similar to or more than that of male.
- ❖ It was taken as a truth that there was centralized control over decision making of UP as a politico- organizational culture especially by the local MP or other political elites. But, in case LGSP, neither most of UP members nor of the mass are with the notion. This is, in truth, a good sign of improving quality of participation in decision making process in project planning and implementation.
- ❖ Though there has been change in terms of politico- organizational culture of UP, little change has been found in terms of people's participation. The reason behind this is supposed to be unawareness of the mass, patron-client relationship between UP bodies and the mass, manipulation in committee formation with the chosen few in terms of personal relationship and a hidden paper-based adjustment of balance of payment of the fund for LGSP.
- ❖ It has been proved that bureaucratic influence is still persisting in decision making process of LGSP. Both the groups of respondents agreed that influence from government officials play a vital role in project planning and implementation. However, in spite of that, they are satisfied with job done by the bureaucrats. Such a situation unfolds the culture of colonial mental set of the UP or for not being equipped with technical capacity or patron client- relationship between UP bodies and

bureaucracy. Aminuzzaman,(2010:05) perhaps for this reason, measured this relationship between local officials and elected representatives by suspicion, mistrust, and even hostility. However, he says, this “precludes collusion” where this is in “the mutual interest of the parties concerned”. So this culture has been proved perfectly in the study.

- ❖ The aforementioned survey results proved that comparatively rich and educated people participate in project planning and project implementation under LGSP. As a result participation by the poor and less educated people proved to be dramatic low and insignificant.
- ❖ The UP representatives still try to hide information about LGSP and they are completely reluctant to place Sign Board at each of the project area as per the guidelines of LGSP and UP manual mentioning amount of money allotted for. Amazingly, not a single sign-board was found among the five projects and being inquired about it the representatives came with common answers that those were broken up or stolen away. It seems to be true that the culture of adjusting election cost through projects’ implementation still affects the participation of common people in project planning and implementation under LGSP.
- ❖ Most of the UP representatives appreciated the local political elites. It leaves a room for doubt that they, with the aid of ignorance of the common people, bring the most socially and politically influential people in manipulating participation. This long existing unholy alliance between the UP representatives and local elites seems still to be practiced in case of LGSP. This culture of UP is persisting as common do not understand or never try to understand the nitty-gritty of project management.

Conclusion: The survey of this study presents some important findings. The organizational culture of UP still appears to be a strong barrier to participation of the common people which predominantly exists in the rural Bangladesh through ages. Here participation remains limited to the only a chosen few with strong socio-economic background who have attachment, either holy or unholy alliance. Among the respondents from the commoners, the rate of female participation is very low for socio-religious culture of rural Bangladesh. What has been found here is - though LGSP aims at ensuring people’s participation from all walks of life, it is yet to achieve due to organizational culture of UP.

Chapter-6

Conclusion: Finding a Way Out

'We will strive increasingly to quicken the public sense of public duty; that thus...we will transmit this city not only not less, but greater, better, and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us' – Oath of office required of council members in the ancient city of Athens (Shah 2006b, p. 1)

6.0 Introduction:

No one in this world can shun the culture within which he lives. As a result the organizational culture of Union Parishad has been integral part of rural local governance in Bangladesh. Now the question is whether organizational culture matter in managing LGSP project of UP. Since the colonial era, Union Parishad, in either of the forms, has never been considered as a self-governing unit. Rather, it has been taken for an integral part of national government. Quality education in the rural Bangladesh still is not at satisfactory level. Socio religious bondage still today runs after the people's psychological set-ups. Only a chosen few from the rural aristocracy, like before, pervades the level of participation in decision making process in rural local governance and manipulative participation persists for long. The reserve, illiterate, all-abiding sections of the society love depending on the rural dominant figures, with strong economic and educational background, rather than participating in decision making. LGSP has not been in exception. In spite of much effort made by the GoB and development partners, the level of participation is not in the expected level.

The present study on a selected Union was conducted to measure the level of people's participation and UP members in terms of organizational culture relating politico-economic and socio-religious affairs. The findings of the study do not present a satisfactory picture. People's participation in planning and implementation of the development projects under LGSP is amazingly low. Some of participation is manipulated and guided by the local authority. There is high probability of developing a hidden understanding among them for mutual benefit sharing, a culture existing for long in rural local governance.

6.1 Recommendations:

The objective of LGSP is to improve common people's participation in rural local governance by integrating them in planning and implementation stage. Development initiatives in Union Parishad had been failed for ages and LGSP was supposed to arise out of this fallacy. But what we find in the study to be crucial is that, though participation of the UP members is at desired level, participation of the mass is yet to bring into reality due to cultural affairs in rural Bangladesh based on colonial past, present illiteracy and age-old socio-religious beliefs. In view of the domestic and donor-driven compulsions, we can put forward some recommendations to make LGSP more effective and mass-oriented.

- ❖ The poor, illiterate and marginalized people in the villages always lag behind in participatory approaches in decision making processes. As of structure and culture, LGSP has been affected being implemented independently by UP. Through incorporation of NGOs in the development projects under LGSP especially for awareness building about the rights and duties of the mass the desired goal for people's participation can be achieved.
- ❖ The UP chairmen, local elites and UP members seem to be ignorant about the importance of popular participation in development projects under LGSP. They prefer deciding themselves rather than incorporating the people in general. They still have misconception about people's participation in rural development projects they love manipulation instead of raising awareness among the people. By arranging workshops and training programs at the local level as well as at NILG their misunderstandings can be eliminated.
- ❖ Again, the UP chairman and the Up members receive only 1500Tk. and 950Tk. respectively as honorarium. But what we find in practice in the local government election is that they spend much money for being elected. As becomes evident that they need to adjust the election cost through these projects' implementation. It seems that the national government has no headache about the reality of the amounts the representatives are paid off. Recently, honorarium for the representatives of Upazila Parishad has been revised. Similarly, UP representatives should be paid with an honorable amount as per the need of the current market price .Otherwise, it would be ludicrous enough to give them sermon of being honest in bringing people in participatory approaches in LGSP.
- ❖ Incorporation of religious leaders based in villages can be of great help for popular participation. For this government organizations like Imam Training Academy, BARD,RDA can organize training programs for them to raise awareness among them so that they can be instructed to speak some words for five minutes before Friday Sermon(Kthuba) about the spirit of LGSP and motivate people to participate actively in the planning and implementation of the projects.
- ❖ The female members play a significant role in LGSP. It has been grand success in case of female representatives. But such a change the culture of non participation of females living behind the four walls of age old social culture. To mainstream them in project planning and implementation local health workers under Department of Health and Department of Family Planning can be incorporated to raise awareness among the women section of the society so that they can be motivated to voice in project planning and implementation under LGSP.
- ❖ Projects taken for earth filling and construction /repairment of *kancha* roads in villages leave a chance to invigorate corruption as such works are deceptive to village people.The projects taken under LGSP should be need- based there should have instructions that50% of the projects must be taken to supply equipments to

schools/colleges like benches, chairs, scientific instruments which are easily visible and countable. Participation of the conscious section of the society will be ensured here and corruption will also be reduced.

- ❖ Evaluation of each of the projects under LGSP must be done on regular basis so as to get out of major pilferages and loopholes repeatedly occurred. In evaluation of the projects the evaluation team must talk to the beneficiaries regarding their status of participation and give necessary directives for forthcoming projects to be implemented in their localities.
- ❖ Regular inspection and surprise visit by the UNOs and the concerned Tag Officers can help improve participation in the projects under LGSP as they can contact the mass in different meetings frequently. It will help disclose the manner of participation of the people and give necessary instruction to the UP representatives to improve the quality and quantity of participation.
- ❖ In spite of socio-religious barriers both electronic and print media as well as cell-phone connectivity got remarkable popularity in the rural areas of Bangladesh. The cultural barriers to participation can be overcome with the aid of these IT based media of mass communication to which the common people have easy access. Cable TV and community radio can also be the medium of propagation about the functions of UP and mode of planning and implementation of projects under LGSP.

6.3 Conclusion:

The effect of organizational culture on participation of common people in planning, implementation and evaluation of the infrastructure projects under LGSP has been proved to be negative. The culture persisting for ages in rural Bangladesh still influences mass participation in decision-making process of UP. The participation needed for projects under LGSP as per UP manual and relevant circulars issued from the concerned ministry seems to have been maneuvered and guided by the elected representatives and local elites with strong socio-political background. In order to achieve desired participation in infrastructural development projects under LGSP the above mentioned recommendations may help overcome the crisis of local governance.

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Appendices

Questionnaire -Ka For Local People/ Beneficiaries

Dear Respondents,

The questions and answers of this questionnaire will be used for a research purpose only. It aims at assessing the organizational culture of UP in terms of managing the infrastructural development projects under LGSP highlighting the level of people's participation in the local governance(UP).I seek your cooperation as it will help complete this research. It is assured that the answers given by you will only be used for abovementioned research and your name and address will not be disclosed as per research ethics. Thanks in advance for your kind cooperation.

Name of Respondent:

Sex: Male /Female

Village..... Union..... Upazila.....

District.....

1. Age

Below 20 20-30 Year 31-40 Year 41-50 Year 50-60 Year Above 60

2. Occupation:

Agriculture Business Service Teaching Labor others

3. Educational Status:

Illiterate Primary School Secondary School S.S H.S.C Degree and above

4. Income Level (In Taka):

Below 4000 Tk. 4001—8000 Tk. 8001-12000 Tk. 12001-16000Tk. 16001-20000Tk. Above 20000

5. Do you have affiliation to politics?

Yes No

(If yes, go to the question no. 6)

6. Which party do you belong to?

Ruling party Opposition party others

7. Have you ever visited Union Parishad?

Yes No

8. Do you know the functions of Union Parishad?

Yes No

9. Do you know anything about LGSP?

Yes No

(If yes, go to the question no 10 - 16)

10. Do you know about PSC (Project Steering Committee)?

Yes No

(If yes, go to the question no- 11)

11. Do you have any idea about the terms of reference (TOR) of this committee?

Yes No

12. Do you know about BGC (Block Grant Coordination Committee)?

Yes No

13. If 'Yes', do you have any idea about the terms of reference (TOR) of this committee?

Yes No

14. Do you know about WDC (Ward Development Committee)?

Yes No.

15. If 'Yes', do you have any idea about the terms of reference (TOR) of this committee?

Yes No.

16. Do you know about UFT (Union Facilitating Team)?

Yes No

17. If 'Yes', do you have any idea about the terms of reference (TOR) of this committee?

Yes No

18. Did you ever participate in any of the committee meeting?

Yes No

19. If 'Yes', did you participate in the discussion?

Yes No

20. If the answer is 'Yes', were your opinions considered as per your desire?

Yes No

21. Did you participate in planning of any infrastructural development project in your locality?

Yes No

22. If the answer is 'Yes', was your participation spontaneous?

Yes No

23. Were your opinions considered properly by the concerned persons?

Yes No

25. Did you participate in implementation of any Infrastructural dev. project of your locality?

Yes No

26. If the answer is 'Yes', was your participation spontaneous?

Yes No

27. Were your opinions considered properly by the concerned persons?

Yes No

28. Do you think that the development projects undertaken in your locality are implemented through participation of all?

Yes No

29. Did you have any discussion with UP Chairman about any part of infrastructural dev. project?

Yes No

30. If 'Yes', what was the ground for discussion?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Thanks for cooperation

**Questionnaire –Kha
For Elected Representatives of UP**

Dear Respondents,

The questions and answers of this questionnaire will be used for a research purpose only. It aims at assessing the organizational culture of UP in terms of managing the infrastructural development projects under LGSP highlighting the level of people's participation in the local governance(UP).I seek your cooperation as it will help complete this research. It is assured that the answers given by you will only be used for abovementioned research and your name and address will not be disclosed as per research ethics. Thanks in advance for your kind cooperation.

Name of Respondent: Sex: Male /Female
Village..... Union..... Upazila.....
District.....

1. Age

Below 20 20-30 Year 31-40 Year 41-50 Year 50-60 Year
Above 60

2. Occupation:

Agriculture Business Service Teaching Labor
others

3. Educational Status:

Illiterate Primary School Secondary School S.S.C H.S.C Degree
and above

4. Income Level (In Taka):

Below 4000 Tk 4001—8000 Tk 8001-12000 Tk 12001-16000Tk 16001-
20000Tk
 Above 20000

5. Do you have affiliation to politics?

Yes No

(If yes, go to the question no. 6)

6. Which party do you belong to?

Ruling party Opposition party others

7. Do you know how many development projects under LGSP have been undertaken in your union in the financial year 2012-13?

Yes No

8. If yes, how many of them are Infrastructure dev. Projects?

..... Don't Know Cannot remember

9. Does any discussion take place before taking any project?

Yes No

9. Are the local people involved in projects planning and implementation?

Yes No

10. If 'Yes' how are they involved?

.....
.....
.....
.....

11. Have you ever been the member of any project implementation committee?

Yes No

12. Are your opinions considered properly in project management?

Yes No

13. Do the local political bodies/figures exert any influence in selecting as well as implementing these projects?

Yes No

14. Do the govt. officials try to influence in selecting and implementing these projects.

Yes No.

15. Are you satisfied with functions done by the govt. officials?

Yes No.

16. Do the different committee members function as per govt. Circulars on LGSP?

Yes No

17. Do you think the BGCC and other concerned committees sit regularly as per circulars and UP Manual?

Yes No

18. Do you think the UP Chairman always try to impose his decision upon you?

Yes No

19. Do you think the Upazila Chairman influence in selecting the projects?

Yes No

20. Do you think the Local MP always tries to interfere the decision making?

Yes No

21. Do you think LGSP projects need participation from all walks of people?

Yes

No

22. How do you determine the priorities of infrastructure projects under LGSP?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Thanks for cooperation

Table A 1: Respondents' occupation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Agriculture	22	42.3	42.3	42.3
Business	10	19.2	19.2	61.5
Teaching	3	5.8	5.8	67.3
Labor	1	1.9	1.9	69.2
others	16	30.8	30.8	100.0
Total	52	100.0	100.0	

Table A 2: Education level of Beneficiaries

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Illiterate	14	26.9	26.9	26.9
Primary School	13	25.0	25.0	51.9
Secondary School	13	25.0	25.0	76.9
SSC	2	3.8	3.8	80.8
HSC	7	13.5	13.5	94.2
Degree and Above	3	5.8	5.8	100.0
Total	52	100.0	100.0	

Table A 3: Respondents Income Level

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Below 4000Tk	16	30.8	30.8	30.8
4001-8000Tk	24	46.2	46.2	76.9
8001-12000Tk	6	11.5	11.5	88.5
12001-16000 Tk	3	5.8	5.8	94.2
16001-20000Tk	1	1.9	1.9	96.2
Above 20000Tk	2	3.8	3.8	100.0
Total	52	100.0	100.0	

Table A 4: Age Group of the UP Members

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	31-40 years	8	66.7	66.7	66.7
	41-50 year	2	16.7	16.7	83.3
	51-60 years	2	16.7	16.7	100.0
	Total	12	100.0	100.0	

Table A 5: Occupation of UP members

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agriculture	4	33.3	33.3	33.3
	Business	2	16.7	16.7	50.0
	service	2	16.7	16.7	66.7
	Others	4	33.3	33.3	100.0
	Total	12	100.0	100.0	

Table A 6: Educational Status of UP Members

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Primary School	4	33.3	33.3	33.3
	Secondary School	4	33.3	33.3	66.7
	S.S.C	4	33.3	33.3	100.0
	Total	12	100.0	100.0	

Table A 7: Political Affiliation of UP members

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	8	66.7	66.7	66.7
	No	4	33.3	33.3	100.0
	Total	12	100.0	100.0	

Table A 8: Political party UP members Belong to

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Ruling party	3	25.0	37.5	37.5
	Opposition Party	5	41.7	62.5	100.0
	Total	8	66.7	100.0	
Missing	System	4	33.3		
Total		12	100.0		

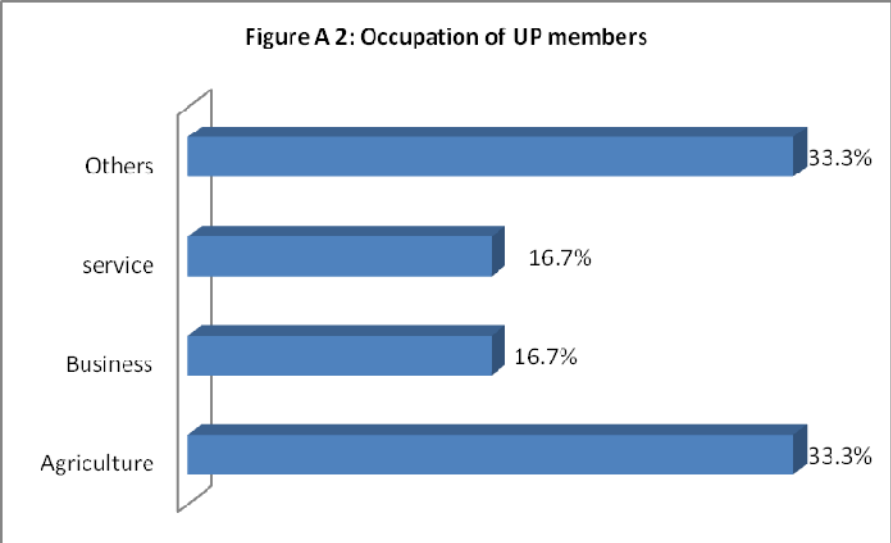
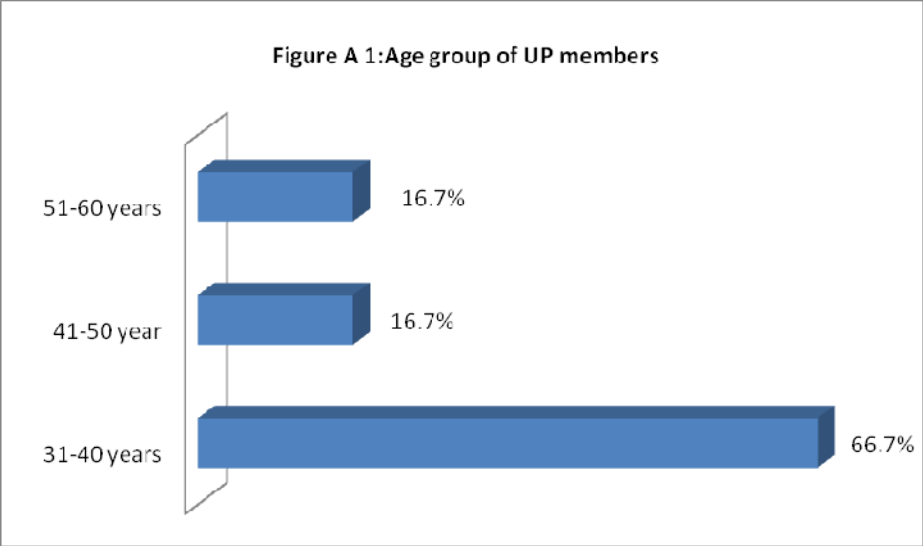


Figure A 3: Monthly income of UP members

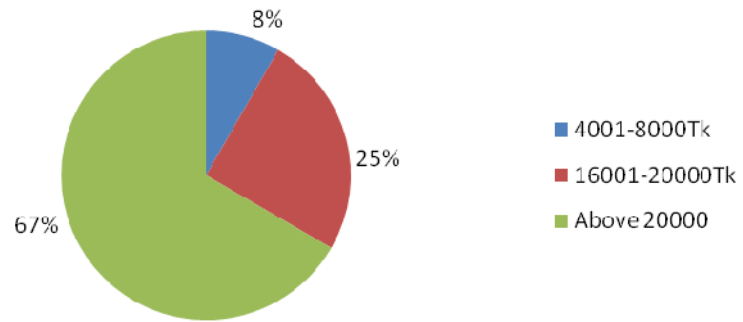


Figure A 4: Political Affiliation of UP members

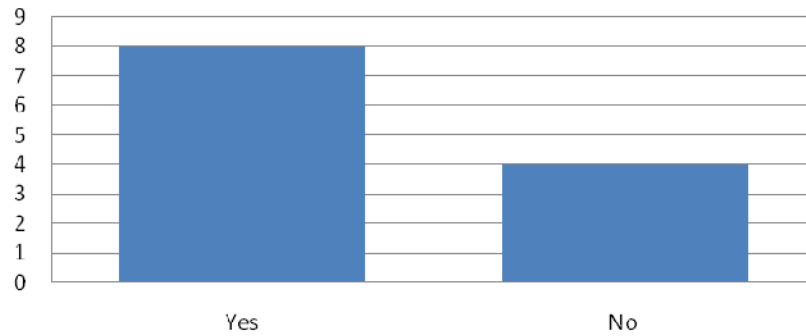
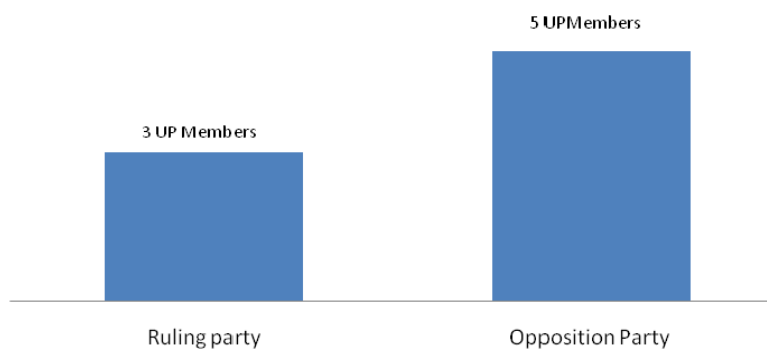


Figure A 5: Political party the UP members attached to



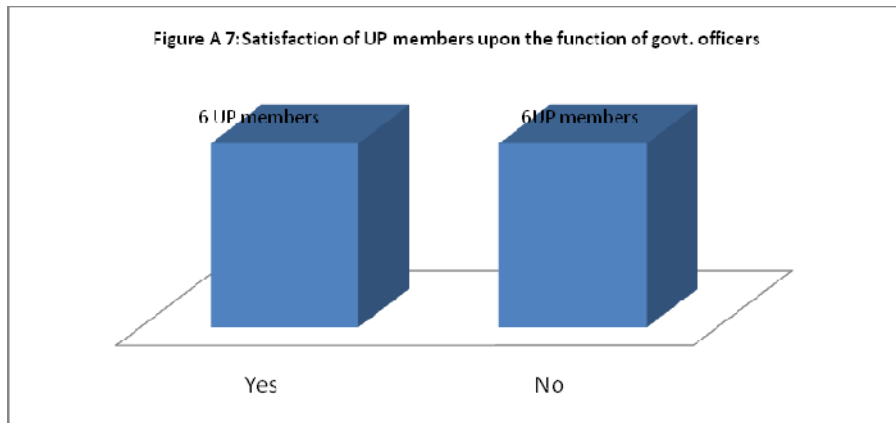
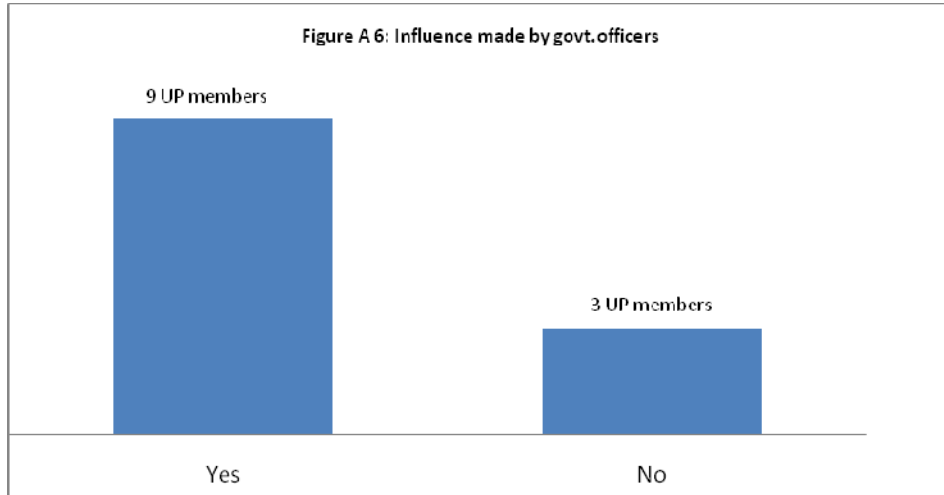
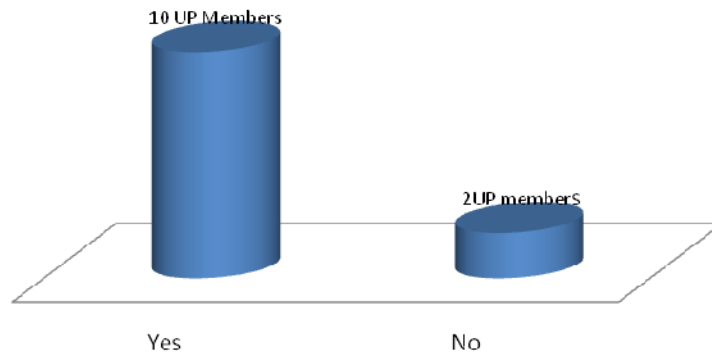
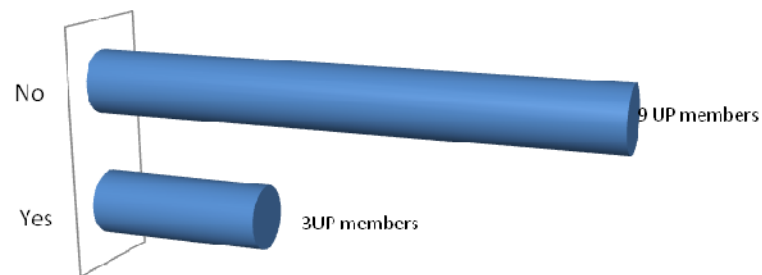
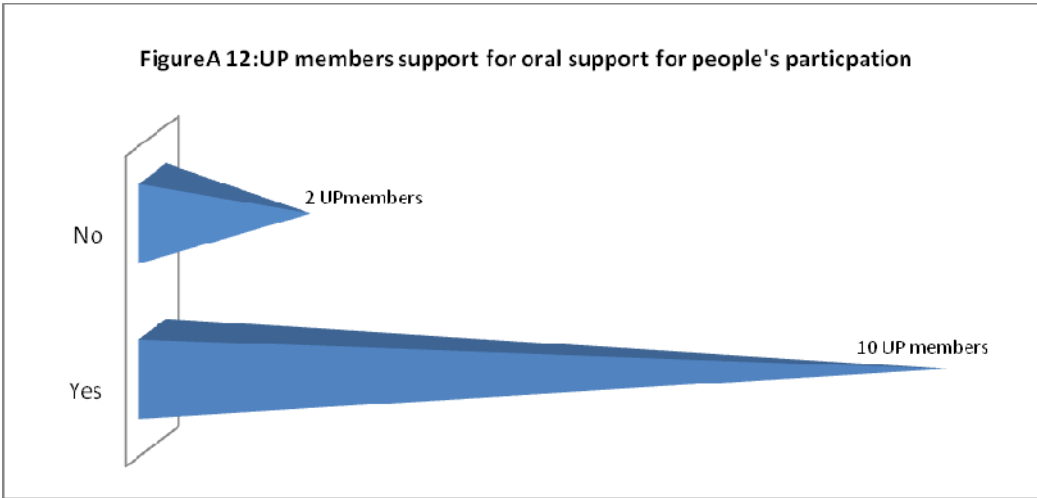
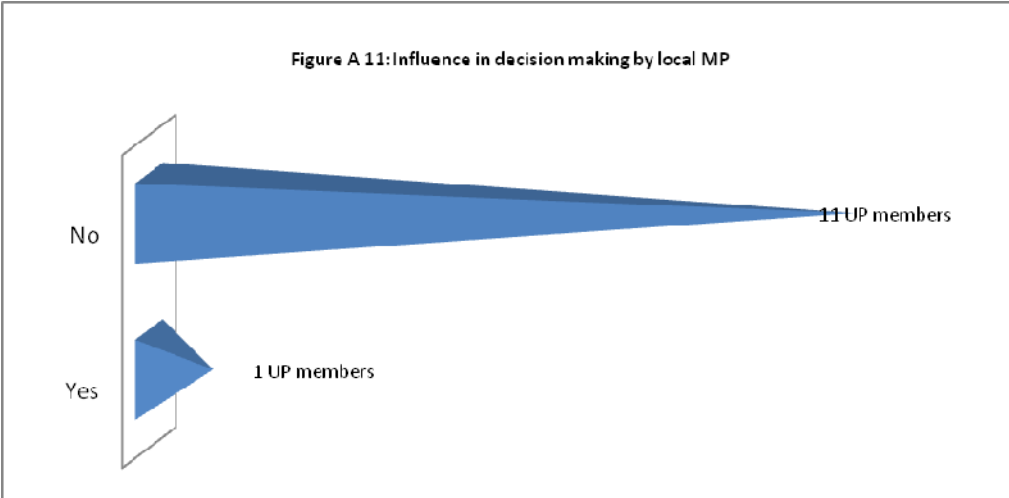
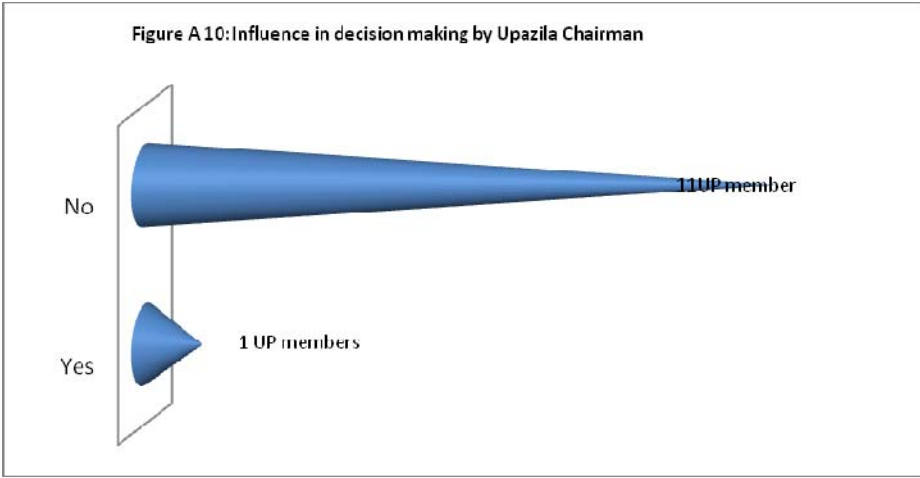


Figure A 8: action taken as per circulars on LGSP



FigureA 9: Infuence in decision making by UP Chairman







Map A1: Geographical Position of the Study Area