

NGO perception of poverty in Bangladesh:  
Do their programmes match the reality?

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## **Abstract**

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This study is conducted assuming that the NGOs poverty perception and poverty reduction programmes do not match with the real causes of poverty of their beneficiaries. The unrealistic programmes of the NGOs in Bangladesh can not contribute to poverty reduction. Micro-credit (MC) and Water and Sanitation (WatSan) programmes of Dustha Shasthya Kendro (Health Centre for the Poor)-DSK and Micro-credit and Governance & Human Rights (G&HR) of Jagroto Jubo Shongho (Juvenile Youth Centre)-JJS have respectively been selected for empirical data. The beneficiaries and the policy level people of these NGOs and programmes have covered in focus group method interview and thus to collect data. The focus group questionnaire was administered under the guidance of variables and the theoretical framework. The main aim of this study is to find out the answer of the questions: *How do the NGOs in Bangladesh, conceive the term poverty? And how do the NGOs select poverty reduction programme?*

The variation, selection, retention and struggle process of evolutionary, ecological and institutional approach of Howard E Aldrich is used in this research. More over, the poverty discourse is also used to get the answer of the research question. The reviewed literature shows how JJS and DSK have changed their strategy as well as programmes. What are the factors which influence JJS and DSK to select programmes? By the name of the resource constrain and survive in the population ecology, the funding agencies play a key role to select NGOs' poverty reduction programmes rather to consider reality of the programme field. The programmes are influenced either by internal or by external factors or by internal and external factors. This is an unrealistic way of programme selection. The empirical data and information shows that JJS and DSK's selected programmes do not match with the causes of poverty of the programmes' areas.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

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*Poverty is hunger. Poverty is lack of shelter. Poverty is being sick and not being able to see a doctor. Poverty is not having access to school and not knowing how to read. Poverty is not having a job, is fear for the future, living one day at a time. Poverty is losing a child to illness brought about by unclean water. Poverty is powerlessness, lack of representation and freedom. Poverty has many faces, changing from place to place and across time, and has been described in many ways. What about poverty in Bangladesh now?*

To know what helps to reduce poverty, what works and what does not, what changes over time, poverty has to be defined, measured, and studied -- and even experienced. As poverty has many dimensions, it has to be looked at through a variety of indicators -- levels of income and consumption, social indicators, and indicators of vulnerability to risks and of socio/political access.

A common method used to measure poverty is based on incomes or consumption levels. A person is considered poor if his or her consumption or income level falls below some minimum level necessary to meet basic needs. These minimum levels of needs are usually called the "poverty line". What is necessary to satisfy basic needs varies across time and societies. Therefore, poverty lines vary in time and place, and each country uses lines which are appropriate to its level of development, societal norms and values.

The meaning of poverty in Bangladesh is also diversified as stated above. By the development criteria Bangladesh is certainly one of the poorest countries in the world, and one of the most difficult in which to get projects going which really promote the development goals (Maloney, 1998, p.1). The causes of poverty in Bangladesh can so far be identified, are : rapid growth of population, lack of employment opportunities, natural calamities (tornado, cyclone, tidal surge, hail storm); a high degree of river erosion, lack of industries and factories; particularly of agro-processing industries; lack of education; lack of skilled labour; lack of capital; faulty land management system; traditional agricultural practices, negative attitude to work and people are generally idle; land disputes; less participation of women in development activities; agricultural commodities do not get fair price; non-availability of fertilizer, seeds and insecticides at a 'reasonable' price; inadequate supply of agricultural loans; and child marriage, polygamy, divorce and superstitions, lack of cooperative attitude; lack of right decision making; landlessness; terrorism and corruption; unequal distribution of resources; over population; prejudice; exploitation; low rate of

wage/salaries; lack of agrarian land; lack of proper planning; unawareness; political instability; problem of easy terms credit facilities; gender inequality; poor health and malnutrition; deterioration of law and order situation; less enjoying of government service ; environmental degradation and so on. This list can be extended. However, among the causes mentioned some of them required direct government interference; like political instability, terrorism, land dispute, etc. But the NGOs in Bangladesh have come forward to remove almost all the causes and thus to reduce poverty. It is to mention that the causes of poverty mentioned above are not spreaded all over the country. People of a particular area have been facing some of the causes of poverty. But except some big NGOs (like BRAC, PROSHIKA, Grameen Bank) almost all the local small NGOs poverty reduction activities are concentrated upon some programmes, such as; micro-credit, women empowerment, education, child care, mother health, awareness building, environment preservation etc. It is to note that most of the NGOs have had micro-credit programme and women empowerment. It seems that the NGOs are confined with some specific programmes for poverty reduction. Rather, right programme for right people at the right place is needed. But is hardly seen in local based small NGOs. What makes the NGOs motivated to select programmes for poverty reduction. It is necessary to make the programmes in consistence with the cause of poverty. Is it the cause of poverty or anything else influencing the NGOs to select the programmes? It is really a big question to the thinkers. Most of the NGOs' activities are centering on the notion of the organization about poverty. It is necessary to conceptualize poverty from social knowledge based. What the local people think about the causes of their poverty? What strategies are required to combat their poverty? The answer of these questions can better address the local reality of poverty. Thus selections of poverty reduction programmes have been found important to reduce poverty from the society. The real causes of poverty influencing the to launce poverty alleviation programmes can make Bangladesh a poverty free country. If it is not Bangladesh will be struggling more to be poverty free. My study will try to concentrate on mainly the cause of selecting the poverty reduction programmes by the NGOs in Bangladesh.

### **1.1. Problem statement**

It is fact that in world history poverty has been identified as a problem in many countries in many phases. The perception of that problem is variously identified (Townsend,1991, p.96). The poverty in Bangladesh is not away from this diversity. 'Around 31% of the rural population presently suffers the indignity of chronic poverty low consumption, hunger and under-nutrition, lack of access to basic health services, illiteracy and other deprivations for



more than a decade. About 24% of the total population currently lives in extreme income-poverty. About 19% of rural households cannot have 'full three meals' a day; about 10% subsist on two meals or less for a number of months every year. While Bangladesh has come out of the "shadow of famine", the problem of starvation still persists. However, 47% people are staying below poverty line and 28% of our population lives under the extreme poverty line. About 40 million people go to bed without meal every night. This observation shows that Bangladesh is a country of poor. Although, several international organizations like IMF, World Bank; Government and Non Governmental organizations have been working for the alleviation of poverty but the success in the field is very negligible i.e. 1% or 1.8% at best each year. Statistics show reduction of poverty in the last five years (1999---2004) from 44.7% to 42.1%. But according to the principles of Millennium Development Goals (MDG), we have to reduce poverty by 1.15% every year' (The Daily Star, May 01, 2006)

But poverty reduction programmes are not so diversified to match with particular problem. 'The design and implementation of appropriate measures to enhance the economic condition of the poor have largely been the prerogative of national governments, though influenced to an extent by large international agencies and individual donors (Newz, 2003, p.38). In Bangladesh public development discourse is heavily influenced by donor agencies (White,1998; cited in Newaz,2003). As a result government efforts harmonized with global trend of coordinated strategy of poverty reduction (Newaz, ibid). The Government's anti-poverty action is more in line with aid discourse than any local knowledge as well as reality of particular people. This limitation of government strategy of poverty reduction gives space to the NGOs to work for poverty reduction. The NGOs working in Bangladesh believe that the individual limitation cause poverty and that can better reduce poverty from the society having cognitive legitimacy. As Suchman (1995a:574) says, 'Legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed systems of norms, values, beliefs and definitions'. Cognitive legitimacy refers to the acceptance of a new kind of venture as a *taken for granted* feature of the environment (Aldrich, 2000. p.230). This led to emerge non-government organizations (NGOs) to work without the interference of external forces, especially in Bangladesh.

The arguments in favour of them are:

1. They believe in community based work.
2. It is easier for them to identify the causes of poverty or to conceptualize poverty
3. Less government interference means less politicization

#### 4. Less bureaucratization as well as red-tapism.

During field visit it found that these arguments are fact to many extents. The NGOs can interact with their clients as of their convenient time and places. The clients feel free to expose their needs to the NGO people. This is a positive gesture to identify the causes of poverty. Though the NGOs have legal or other linkages with the Government but their activities are not interfered by government agencies. Thus NGOs are seemed to be a step towards debureaucratization.

Using these advantages a few big NGOs in Bangladesh have had poverty reduction programmes to combat poverty. Some other NGOs are far away from taking these advantages. The NGOs are mainly facing problems in selecting poverty reduction programmes. There are a number of factors those influencing to select programmes.

Most of the NGOs have linked to external forces, like funding agencies or government organizations. These funding agencies or government organizations act as external forces. These forces may re-route the NGOs routines or programmes for poverty reduction. The NGOs are taking programmes for poverty alleviation through which more funds can be generated and thus to fight scarcity of resources. On the other hand, selective incentive system, internal diffusion, promotion etc within the NGOs and its work groups contribute to select poverty reduction programmes. Besides these some NGOs want to retain those programmes for which they have specialization or standardisation. It limits their discretion to think about alternative poverty reduction programmes which can really help in reducing poverty. To the words of Newaz (2003), 'there is also a trend to professionalism replacing the volunteer spirit. ....professionalism is a direct response to effectiveness and efficiency needs which makes the NGOs deviate from people's desired change to NGOs own agenda.

The NGOs do not have long-term volatility at population level. That's why they cannot cope with their programmes in case of ecological change of their work area. It is rare to make programmes through cumulative research. That is why the programmes are not empirically generalized. It is necessary to take socially constructed programmes. It implies that the poverty alleviation programmes are not institutionalized. The selections of programmes are not interpretative. It is also necessary for the NGOs to allow room for the play of chance and creativity, to treat people as active agents determining their own fates and direct observation of social life in the field. These problems of selecting programmes create an inconsistency between the meaning of poverty and poverty reduction programmes. It is a barrier to reduce poverty from Bangladesh.

## 1.2. Rationale of the study

Dr. Johnson once remarked: "Poverty is a great enemy to human happiness; it certainly destroy liberty; and it makes some virtues impracticable and others extremely difficult." It is truly significant in Bangladesh.

The study of poverty involves both the application of scientific method of definition and measurement and the exercise of normative judgments (Pinke, 1999, in the International Glossary of Poverty). There are a lot of researches about poverty as well as poverty reduction, how far poverty is reduced, what are the causes of poverty the role of government as well as the NGOs to reduce poverty etc. A recent study conducted by Hossain and Moore ('So near and yet so far: elites and imagined poverty in Bangladesh'); published in *Elites Perceptions of Poverty & Inequality* (Reis & Moore ed., 2005). In this research Hossain and Moore have showed how the elites in Bangladesh perceive *poverty* and how do they think to fight against poverty. No research yet to find how do the NGOs in Bangladesh perceive the term *poverty* and what are the *factors* influencing the NGOs to select poverty reduction programmes. It is important to find out what the poverty really is and then to take programmes accordingly. So that poverty can be reduced successfully. This study is not only to innovating the NGOs perception of poverty but also to know the factors which influence them to accept that perception. The NGOs are very active actors to combat poverty in Bangladesh. That is why their ways of perceiving poverty and selecting poverty reduction programmes highly significant in contemporary poverty situation.

In Bangladesh a number of NGOs are working on poverty. But what *poverty* is to those NGOs is important to identify. How far the NGOs consider the local knowledge to identify the causes of poverty is important to analyze. The locally constructed poverty definition needs to be prioritized. If the poverty reduction programmes are consistent with what poverty really is; poverty can be reduced from society. This study has tried to reveal to what extent the NGOs consider the real causes of poverty while they initiate programmes. The researcher believes that conceptualizing poverty in a particular place and time and launching programmes in consistent with that poverty conception can significantly reduce poverty from Bangladesh.

## 1.3. The key words

The key words of this study are poverty, poverty reduction, poverty reduction programmes, NGO and reality.

As mentioned in the beginning *poverty* has many connotation, Still problem exists in defining poverty. But the discourse of poverty used in chapter two (in theoretical framework: absolute poverty, overall poverty, relative poverty and the definition of poverty given by the World Bank. Moreover, poverty is defined also in case of Bangladesh) is commonly used definition of poverty in developing countries.

Absolute poverty is a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to social services (United Nations 1995). Another view considers poverty as low income. To someone poverty is starvation. Poverty has to be 'situated' through time in relation to social and institutional structure ... (Townsend, 1993, p.35).

This study has tried to identify the concept of poverty from NGO point of view in Bangladesh.

The concept of *poverty reduction* means to minimize the gap between the basic needs and availability of those needs.

*The poverty reduction programmes* are the activities of any actor or a group of actors directly or indirectly undertaken to reduce poverty.

The term *Non Government Organization (NGO)* means any group efforts be beyond direct government control. Here, by NGO we mean those organizations which are not a part of government structure but establish and work by the rules and regulations of the NGO Affairs Bureau and the Directorate of Social Affairs of the Government of Bangladesh.

Here, by the term *reality* means the existing situation of poverty of particular group of people in a particular place. There are different definitions of poverty. It is to find out which definition match with the particular people. Or whether there is any other cause of poverty according to the beneficiaries. The poverty reduction programmes according to the poverty causes of the beneficiaries is pragmatic. Thus the local concept of poverty and programme initiation according to those causes is considered as *reality*.

#### **1.4. The Research question**

'..... you cannot find the answer until you have formulated the question well, you often do not know what the public policy question is until you know the answer' (March and Olsen, 1989, p.13). So, research question is important.

This study is trying to find out the answer of the following research questions,

1. How do the NGOs in Bangladesh, conceive the term poverty?
2. How do the NGOs select poverty reduction programme?

### **1.5. Hypothesis**

The study put forward to find out answers of the research questions as set above. For better answers some hypotheses have set to get help for looking into the possible answers to the research questions. The hypotheses are:

#### **1. The NGOs meaning of poverty is not local knowledge based.**

It is needed to articulate the term *poverty* according to the perception of the people for whom the NGO is working. The NGOs hardly consider what the people think about *poverty*. It hinders the NGOs relation with society and also the value upon which the NGOs are established.

#### **2. Selection of poverty reduction programmes do not consider what poverty really is in the area where they have been working.**

The concept of poverty is not elaboration of shared social meanings. That is why the poverty reduction programmes do not match with the reality.

#### **3. The selection of programmes are influenced by external factors like, the donors or funding agencies of the NGOs, GOB programmes internal factors like, NGO's expertise, resource constrain etc.**

Selection of programmes results from fit between organizations and environment. But it retains through internal and external pressure. On the other hand selection of programme is conformity to external norms and these are also retained through transmission of internal and eternal understandings.

#### **4. The poverty reduction programmes do not match with the reality.**

Improper poverty conceptualisation leads to have faulty programmes. Moreover, The selection of programmes are also depended upon some internal and eternal factors of the NGOs. For all these reasons the poverty reduction programmes do not match with the reality.

## 1.6. Research Design:

Either theoretical or empirical study, research design is an important part. According to Yin (1994:19) “the research design is the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study’s initial research question and, ultimately, to its conclusion. It works as a research guide that provides proper direction towards successful completion of a study”. This study follows the following processes to be designed:

### 1.6.1. Research Method:

.....and that theory without method is abstract and aimless .....(Michrina 1996:3)

The main aim of this study is to explore the term *poverty* from NGO point of view, and to look into the programmes taken by the NGOs. How far their conception of poverty and poverty reduction programmes match with the reality. This job has done best by the qualitative approach of research.

The other reasons for applying qualitative approach are:

- ◆ To give a mature definition of poverty. It means definition of poverty is given by cognitive way. The ideas of local people and their feelings of conception about poverty have been highlighted. That is why, poverty definition has been socially constructed and mediated. Thus a mature definition of poverty is provided
- ◆ The discourse of poverty have well guided to draw a relatively accurate, appropriate and correct theory in defining poverty in Bangladesh and the evolutionary, ecological and institutional approach have also shown the right way to select poverty reduction programmes.
- ◆ The discourse of poverty used in this study may help to reveal a socially constructed concept of poverty in Bangladesh. Here poverty can not be quantify rather can be qualify.
- ◆ Poverty is a holistic phenomenon. It is multi-facet and interactive. Such phenomena have been best studied by qualitative approach.
- ◆ The actual findings of the study are beyond anticipation of the researcher. This research is exploratory and inductive in nature.

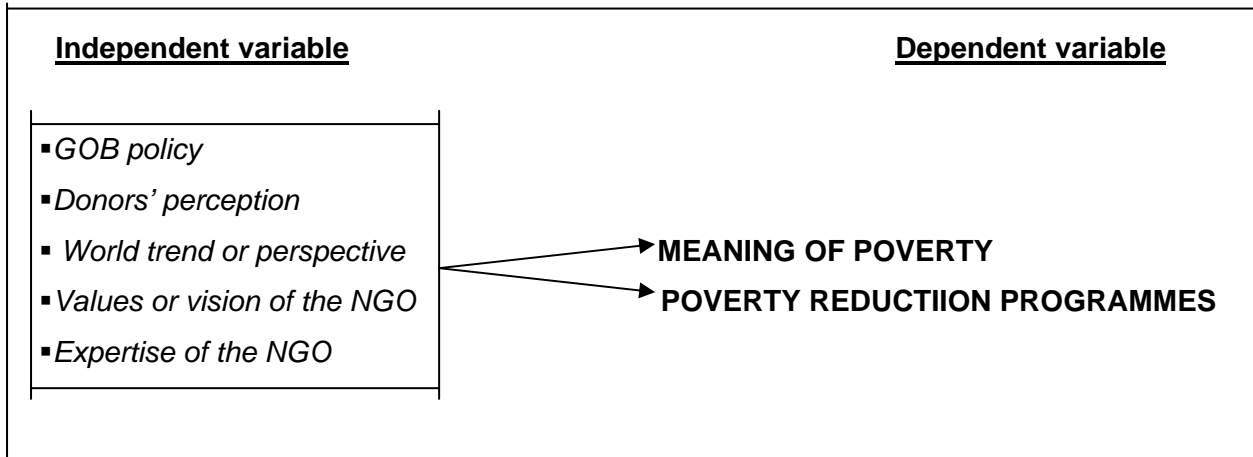
◆ Qualitative research deals more with theory constructing rather than theory testing. This method has guided the researcher to be justified to proceed towards the study with some conceptual notions of poverty in Bangladesh. The researcher has enjoyed freedom to use theories and hypothesis to change as event unfold as there is flexibility in qualitative study. This method has also suited most for some specific purpose; (a) understanding meaning of poverty (b) The context that guide the NGOs to select programmes (c) identifying unanticipated phenomena and influences (d) generating new theories and (e) understanding the process by which actions take place and developing causal explanations. In this study, the qualitative approach has significantly contributed to understand the meaning and context of the problems prevailing in conceptualizing poverty and programme settings by the NGOs.

The qualitative approach of research has been followed by multiple cases study.

As a part of the society I (the researcher) got the opportunity to be the part of the reality. It has been easier for the researcher to be subjective. The study topic is an empirical one. It needs a pre specified procedure. The case study suits most for an intensive study. Exploring the concept of poverty is data driven from the empirical study. It has many variables and few unit of analysis. Another argument in favour of selecting case study is that the study topic (poverty) is a contemporary phenomenon in Bangladesh. At last but not at the least; in this study poverty is described from real life context. It is part of everyday life of the people of Bangladesh. It blurs boundary between case and context.

### **1.6.2. The Variables**

The meaning of poverty depends upon the GOB (Government of Bangladesh) policy, the donors or the funding agencies perception, the world trend of poverty which are independent variables and the meanings of poverty are dependent variables. On the other, hand the poverty reduction programmes depends upon the funding agencies, the GOB policy, expertise of the NGO and the values and vision of the NGOs. These are also independent variables and the programmes are dependent variables. So the dependent variables and independent variables can be illustrated as follows:



### 1.6.3. Unit of Analysis

Amongst from the NGOs working for poverty alleviation in Bangladesh; two NGOs have been selected as cases. There would have some criteria for NGO selection. Preference has been given to select local NGOs having significant poverty alleviation programmes. Moreover, I have looked into convenience in data collection within the time frame, easy access etc.

The selected two NGOs are Jagroto Jubo Shongho – JJS (The Juvenile Youth Organization) and Dustho Shastho Kendro – DSK (The Health Centre for the Poor). The DSK is located in Dhaka the capital of Bangladesh. The Jagroto Jubo Shongho is in Khulna district – the south-west part of Bangladesh.

Attempt is given to explore the factors directing to define poverty and taking poverty reduction programmes by the NGOs. For this purpose, the researcher has analyzed the policy unit and the programme units of both the NGOs.

In programmes level, the beneficiaries or the target group people's attitudes about the cause of poverty have been analysed. More over, emphasis is given to analyse whether the programmes can reduce poverty

### 1.6.4. Data Collection:

Data have been driven from two programmes of Jagroto Jubo Shongho – JJS (The Juvenile Youth Organization) and two programmes of Dustho Shastho Kendro – DSK (The Health Centre for the Poor).

It is attempted to obtain details knowledge about these NGOs. Knowledge related to the location of these NGOs, the organizational structure and their culture, source of funds, the programmes currently operating for poverty alleviation, locale of these programmes, the target groups or the beneficiaries of these programmes. Then two programmes from JJS



and two programmes from DSK have been chosen as cases. Data have been driven from these cases. All these required to have data from both secondary and primary sources.

Interview, direct observation, non-participant observation and physical artefacts have been applied for primary data collection. For primary data collection focus group interview for both policy unit and field unit of JJS and DSK have been administered. A questionnaire guide is used for this purpose. There were five focus groups in JJS and also five in DSK. The total participants were 48. Twenty three participants from DSK and twenty seven from JJS. During field visit in Bangladesh (from mid of June to first of August, 2005 ) following respondents were interviewed:

Unit of Study		Nature of Respondents	Number
Dustho Shastho Kendro – DSK (The Health Centre for the Poor)	Micro Credit Programme (MC)	Top Management	05
		Field Officials	03
	Water and Sanitation Programme (WatSan)	Beneficiaries	06
		Field Officials	03
Jagroto Jubo Shongho – JJS (The Juvenile Youth Organization)	Micro Credit (MC)	Beneficiaries	06
		Field Officials	04
		Top Management	06
	Governance and human rights (G&HR)	Field Officials	03
		Beneficiaries	06
Total			48

The activities of MC and WatSan programmes of DSK and the MC and Governance and Human Rights (G&HR) of JJS were observed at the field level during their routine daily activities. More over, the researcher has talked to some local body representatives of all the programme areas, three concerned government officials and three mid level officers of three donor agencies i.e. World Bank Country Mission in Bangladesh, Plan Bangladesh and Polli Kormo Shohoyok Foundation – PKSF (The Rural Job Assistance Foundation).

For secondary data the researcher has managed to get the relevant publications, brochure, articles concerned, journals published by JJS and DSK, the donors, GOB and other concerned organizations.

#### 1.6.5. Data Analysis:

In case study the process of data analysis involves making sense out of text and image data (Creswell, 2003, p.190). Keeping in mind this idea the following steps are followed to analyse the collected data.

**Step 1.** To organize and prepare data (derived during interviewing the management and field level people of the DSK and JJS and other respondents) by transcribing interviews, typing field notes and sectioning data based on the sources of information

**Step 2.** To go through the data and obtain general sense about the NGOs concept of poverty and the reasons of selecting poverty reduction programmes.

**Step 3.** Data is described and themes have been interconnected into the theoretical model (the poverty discourse and the institutional and ecological approach of evolutionary theory of Aldrich)

**Step 5.** The presentation of the description.

**Step 6.** Finally the data is interpreted and generalized to know how far the poverty meaning the programmes matches with the reality.

### **1.7. Study Limitations:**

No study is beyond any limitations. First of all the researcher was to talk to some of the people out of the research's projected respondents. It was bits difficult to reach those people and whom the researcher could manage to reach have not given as much time as required to talk with them. Especially, the GOB men and the donors were very less interested to talk. But they supplied relevant publications and some documents indeed.

Secondly, it was difficult to maintain the number of focus group participants at the field level. All the beneficiaries as well as the group members of the programmes were interested to take part in the discussion (focus group discussion). They were found very willing to express themselves and to listen to the researcher. It was also difficult to keep the field officials out of discussion. They were intended to interfering the focus group discussion. The researcher took attempt to talk to some other beneficiaries informally out of FGD. It was time consuming.

Thirdly, the researcher knew the field study time frame but felt it would be more interesting to spend more time with some other NGOs. However, all these limitations have not affected the field visit so much in Bangladesh. The response the researcher got from the respondents, has contributed to find out the answers of the pre-posed research questions.

### **1.8. Organization of the thesis:**

This thesis is composed of seven chapters. Research problem, research questions and hypothesis, the research methods, data collection and data analysis strategy, the variables, the unit of analysis etc have discussed in chapter one. Chapter two is about the theory the key concepts used in this study. The evolutionary approach, institutional approach and the ecological approach put forth by Howard Aldrich have taken as the back up of this study. In chapter three the NGOs and their poverty reduction programmes in Bangladesh have shortly discussed while in chapter four is about the studied two NGOs – the DSK and the JJS. The programmes which have studied in these two NGOs are discussed in chapter five. The studied programmes of JJS and DSK have also included in this discussion. Poverty concept of JJS and DSK and programme selection factors have been discussed based on the collected data in chapter five and six respectively. The respondents' opinion is analysed throughout these two chapters. Chapter seven is the concluding chapter. In this chapter findings of this study and the judgement of the hypothesis is discussed. How far the hypothesis are accepted or rejected – is also discussed in chapter seven. Thus the final comments about the poverty perception and programme selection criteria of both JJS and DSK have analysed.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND POVERTY CONCEPTS

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#### 2.1. Introduction

“Researchers need precise tools for their analysis. ...much of the poverty analysis has suffered from a lack of precise definitions which are both valid and reliable” (Gordon & Spicker ed.1999). This study is aimed to know the factors those influence the NGOs poverty perception and poverty reduction programmes. To attain to this aim, poverty discourse is considered to discuss in this chapter so that we can get to know the poverty perception of the studied NGOs. The researcher follows the evolutionary theory promoted by Howard Aldrich (2004) to get the guide lines of finding out the factors those influence JJS and DSK to select poverty reduction programmes. The ecological and institutional approaches have also followed in this regard.

The evolutionary theory favours focusing on activities and structures on which evolution operates such as routines, competencies and jobs whereas others favor bounded entities that carry activities and structures, such as groups, organizations, populations, and communities (Aldrich, 2004). Evolutionary theory is not a set of deductively linked law-like statements (Sober,1984). Rather, a concatenated system of loose, but apparently true and heuristic propositions ... it poses interesting questions, provides clues to their solutions and perhaps most crucially, generates testable hypotheses (Langton, 1984:352). More over, the evolutionary theory can be operated from *four generic process* i.e. *variation, selection, retention and diffusion* and the *struggle* over scarce of resources (Campbell, 1969a). These processes guide to think what is to be selected surviving in competition among the groups as well as organizations. These four principles of evolutionary theory can say the way in particular forms of organizations come to exists in particular environments. Each principle tells about specific factors those modify the organization to a particular direction. Aldrich believes that

“The evolutionary serves as an overarching framework within which the value of other approaches can be recognised and appreciated. The evolutionary approach constitutes a set of concatenated principles and uses multiple approaches to explain particular kind of change (Aldrich: 2004:42).

Variation-retention-selection-struggle model can be used in other series of approaches also. Aldrich (ibid) explained other six approaches, how do they relate to the variation retention

and selection model. The six approaches are population ecology, institutional theory, the interpretative approach, organizational learning theory, resource dependence and transactional cost economics. In this study, the ecological and institutional approaches are used to get the research guide along with the evolutionary approach. The ecological and institutional approaches can also constitute the variation, retention and selection processes as of evolutionary approach.

There are more than two thousand NGOs working in Bangladesh. These NGOs have been operating a number of activities through different types of programmes (states in chapter-3). The NGOs themselves are competing with each other in different perspectives. There is competition for quality of services, strategy innovation, group formation, fund raising, extend external collaboration (set collaboration with other donors and GOB officials), to strengthening internal force by improving skill of the employees and not last but at the list to survive in NGO population of Bangladesh. All these competition as well as surviving activities are pivoted upon the scarcity of resources. Almost all the NGOs, specially the small scale local NGOs have high range of resource shortfall. This resource shortfall effect upon the structures and activities of the NGOs in Bangladesh. This effect produce a new routine for the NGOs as said in the evolutionary approach. And variation is found in programme selection, retention or diffusion tendency is found in programme selection and thus struggling to survive in the population (NGO population) ecology. The ecological approach is mostly tells about how does resources contribute to form the organization and vis-a-visa; how does organizational forms ask for required resources. And thus ecological approach gives more attention to social relation. This approach is also concerned about individual actors' role and their interpretation. This approach helped to analyse how the scarcity of resources guides JJS and DSK to select programmes keeping relation with internal and external relation. The institutional approach tells about the socially constructed nature of organization. How far the poverty concept and activities of the NGOs in Bangladesh have had social grant as well as objectified for their clients.

## **2.2. The evolutionary Approach**

The issue of selecting poverty reduction programmes is studied here in line with the evolutionary theory. The factors caused the NGOs to select strategies or programmes have well explained in this study under the guidance of evolutionary approach manifested by Howard Aldrich (2004). He acknowledged that much is written about organization, its structure and stability rather than emergence and change. His effort is to raise question

about the origin of the organization. He emphasized on emergence and change of organization. It is more important to study about the *process* through which new organizations, populations and communities emerge (ibid:p.:1). His attempt is to use an evolutionary approach to study the *process* of emerging as well as originating new organization, population or communities. Aldrich has identified four principles of evolutionary process of a particular form of organization. The four principles are *variation, selection, retention and struggle*. Aldrich wrote in brief about these four processes;

“Variation, selection, retention and struggle occur simultaneously rather than sequentially. Variation generates the raw materials for selection by environmental or internal criteria; retention process preserves the selected variation. But retention process also restricts the kind of variations that may occur, and competitive struggles as well as cooperative alliances may change the shape of selection criteria.” (Aldrich, 2000.p.33).

### **Variation:**

Variation is noted as an important and very useful process of evolution. Aldrich (2004) describe variation as an evolutionary process as follows,

“Any departure from *routine* or *tradition* is variation, and variation may be intentional or blind. Intentional variations occur when people or organizations actively attempt to generate alternatives and seek solutions to problems. They result from conscious responses to difficult situations, planning sessions, advice from outside consultants, and so forth. Blind variations, by contrast, occur independently by environmental or selection pressures. They result not from intentional responses to adaptation pressures but rather from accidents, chance, luck, conflict, malfeasance, creative exploration, and so forth (Brunsson, 1985; March,1981 cited in Aldrich:2004:p.23). Variations are the raw materials from which selection processes cull those that are most suitable, given the selection criteria” (Aldrich:2004:22 - 23 ).

*Routine* and *tradition* are the stereotype activities of the organizations. So, changing of tradition or routine activities as well as strategies is variation through which new strategy can be selected or evolved. This process is an important tool for selecting new strategy. The actors role is prominent for selecting strategy intentionally and thus to bring changes in current routines. Actors’ freedom for autonomous action can bring solution to the traditional or routinised activities of NGOs and can choose reality based programmes. If the actors do not have freedom for autonomous decision there would have problematic search (for strategy) within the organization and dependent relationships between organizations. This relation may lead to inconsistency between need and strategy.

The blind variation does not explain the solution (ibid:23). Selection of variation follows from their consequences, not from the intentions of those who generated the variations (Langton, 1979; cited in Aldrich: 2004:23). In this process the recurrence, proliferation or extinction of a particular pattern of behaviour or cognition is determined by its consequences, which may well have been unforeseen or even unknown when the acts first occur (Aldrich: 2004:23). It is speculated that the blind variation process may occur mistakes to select NGO strategy, there is chances of misunderstandings. The variation result may surprise the audience as it has poor chance of needful programme selection. The audience and the actors may be indulging in idle curiosity.

So, NGOs strategy evolution is a departure from the routine. Variation as a process of such departure is seemed to be influenced by internal and external factors as the actors have had lack of freedom for taking autonomous decision for programme designing as said in intentional variation process. While in blind process the actors are mostly dependent on consequences. It may keep the actors idle.

### **Selection:**

Selection is the second process of evolution. Strategy is selected in two ways. One is *selection process within organization* that is internal selection process and *selection process organization and population level* that is external selection process. About selection process within organization Aldrich (2004) wrote:

“...within organization and work groups, internal diffusion, imitation, promotion and incentive systems may be selective in ways that are irrelevant or not tightly connected to environmental fitness. This system thus preserves organizational diversity that is not tied to current environmental conditions. Simultaneously they also raise an organization’s risk of disbanding if its divergence from others reduces its resources flow or legitimacy. Organizations that are somewhat protected from their environments may even move away from external relevance, as in so-called “ossified” or “permanently failing organizations” (Aldrich:2004:26).

Three types of selectors have been identified to influence internal selection. The actors are mentioned respectively by Campbell (1969a and 1994), Gimeno et al., (1997) (cited in Aldrich: 2004:26).

- 1) “pressure towards stability and homogeneity”,

- 2) "the persistence of past selection criteria that are no longer relevant in a new environment",
- 3) "the willingness of some organizational founders and leaders to accept a low performance threshold".

*First*, the work groups of the organizations are likely to be stable and homogeneous. This liking is a pressure to the organization. The people want frequent interaction among the group members so that homogeneity is maintained. This cohesion and homogeneous stability within work groups can lead hostility towards out-group. And thus "...they may become sources of opposition and sub-optimization within the larger organization. They thus raise the intra organizational variation and perhaps even become a source of adaptive diversity" (Aldrich: 2004:27).

*Second*, about persistence of past selection criteria which are irrelevant Aldrich (ibid:27) wrote :

"Internal selection criteria may continue as vicarious representatives of past external criteria. Procedures that were once selected because they fit the context may be irrelevant or even maladaptive to current situation. As an organization repeats the practices, reproducing them day after day, members become more proficient at them and thus more likely to continue using them. ...Members may simply continue doing consequent reduction in diversity makes exploratory variations less likely and may reduce fitness in changing environment"

*Third*, the founders of the organization intend to select the repeated programmes which have support from the in-groups activist. It contributes to the organization a low cost strategy. If the available resource oriented programmes are selected; the organization avoids high cost. This type of programme selection produces low performance of the organization. It is said that this low performance is willingly accepted by the founders of the organization.

The *internal stability* on NGOs are found when the actors are more likely to select those programmes for which they have specialised people or to retain cohesion with the ideology of the organization founders, some other NGOs or even to the demand of GOB activities. The NGOs are also tend to copy the previous strategy as well as programmes. Repeating programmes again and again, the actors are assumed to be skilled and the same programmes are selected. There are pressure from internal groups to select the same



programmes so that they are hired again. It happens even though the programmes do not suit to the new environment. Members may simply continue doing what they know best, rather than search for more effective options (ibid:27). In other way, the founder of NGOs are likely to select low performance programmes. Because of low cost. The leader such tendency indicates resource constrain of the NGOs. And thus the NGOs routine is affected.

About *organization and population level selection process (external selection)*; Aldrich cited that

“At the organizational level, organizations founded through maladaptive variations in the technology, managerial incompetence, non-conforming normative orders or other problematic acts are likely to decline in performance. ....At the population level, consistent selection criteria may drive toward a standard set of routines.....Variation that culminate in collective action within a population can blunt or enhance the impact of selection pressures....Collective action can create cooperative alliances between populations of producers, suppliers, and distributors that transform a formerly competitive community into a mutually interdependent populations” (Aldrich:2004:28-29).

The NGOs’ programmes’ selection in Bangladesh is in standard routine while the population as well as the beneficiaries’ demand or programme voices are granted. But if the variation in programme selection is maladaptive, the programme would become incompetence to reduce poverty.

“The selection processes operate by affecting the information and resources available to people, work groups, organizations and populations. Variation in information are filtered through members’ perceptions and incorporated into their interpretations and understandings. Organizational members must act on the information they glean from typically incomplete searches of their environment” (ibid:29).

This have well guided to explain how JJS and DSK’s internal and external selection.

### **Retention:**

Retention is also an important evolutionary process. How does retention works as an evolutionary process is stated in Aldrich’s words:

“The evolutionary process involves the operation of a *retention* mechanism for the selective retention of positively selected variation. Retention occurs when selected variations are preserved, duplicated or otherwise reproduced so that the selected activities are repeated on future occasions or the selected structures appear again in

future generations. ....When environments change slowly, replications of selected variations is the key to continuity in organizational existence. Without the constraints on variation provided by retention mechanisms, gains from selected variations would rapidly dissipate” (Aldrich: 2004:30).

Retention occurs in two ways; *retention within organization* and *organization and population level retention*. Retention within organization is maintained to stabilize those structure and activities of the organization. Official documents are preserved so that those can be referred to for future activities. The intention is to retain the current activities as well as processes. Specialization and standardization of roles limits members’ discretion and buffer organizations unauthorized variation from official policies (ibid). Retention process is mainly found in centralized, authoritative and formalized organization. The organizations’ members are accountable to the central or higher authorities thus organizations get help to select routines, structures and procedures.

It is found that the NGOs in Bangladesh are structurally very rigid. The field level officials hardly have had discretion rather their role is just to carry on the programmes as instructed by higher authorities of the NGOs. Some NGOs are only one man show. Only the boss’s decision is final. It is also found that the NGOs’ head office or central offices are always busy with preparing records, documents and filings. And these are used for future references for programme design and selection.

While *retention in organization and population level* technological and managerial competence is followed by the organizations. Those organizations which survive and already have gained competence become instances for other organizations. The emerging or low profiled organizations have trend to copy the competent organizations. It is important here to consider consequence of the successful organizations. There are some factors for successes of some organizations those factors may not coincide with other organizations.

The NGOs have thus trend to follow or sometimes copy the programmes as well as strategy of renowned NGOs. Especially the small and emerging NGOs strategies are copied from other NGOs. In other cases, the NGOs try to retain or continue those programmes which are widely used in population level assuming that these programmes work better to survive in population.

**Struggle:**

Struggle is to contest to obtain scarce resources. The limited supply of resources causes the organization to contest and thus struggle. Struggle leads to evolve new organization and its strategy. Many organizations struggle for scarce of resource.

“Underlying selection pressures and the search for effective variations lies in the scarcity of resources within organizations, between organizations and between populations. Struggle occurs within organizations, as members pursue individual incentives as well as organizational goals.....Struggle also occurs between populations. When a particular type of organization proliferates, a struggle over resources and opportunities occurs, fuelling the selection process between that population and other populations. Sometimes organizational populations expand rapidly because opportunities are diverse and resource abundant.” (Aldrich: 2004:32).

NGOs’ in Bangladesh largely struggle from scarce of resources. Their programmes are to a significant extent selected as well as designed keeping ahead of this reality.

The principles of evolutionary processes and their application matching with this study have shown in the following chart (taking excerpts from Aldrich: 2004:22).

EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS	DEFINITION
<b>Variation</b>	Change from current routines and competencies, change in organizational forms. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Intentional</b>–active attempt to generate alternative and solutions to problems.</li> <li>▪ <b>Blind</b>–occurs independently of environmental or selection pressures.</li> </ul>

In most cases NGOs intentionally take attempt to generate poverty reduction programmes matching with the problems.

Alternatively, there are NGOs which try to mach programmes keeping consistence with the need for places, time, and people.

<b>Selection</b>	Differential elimination of certain types of variation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>External selection</b>-external forces to an organization that affect its routines and competencies.</li> <li>▪ <b>Internal selection</b>–Forces internal to an organization that affect its routines and competencies.</li> </ul>
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Different external and internal forces dominate the NGOs to select poverty reduction programmes. And thus the main aims (routine) of the NGOs are changed and create a

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mismatch between the real poverty and poverty reduction programmes.

<b>Retention</b>	Selection variations are preserved, duplicated, or otherwise reproduced.
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Most of the NGOs' programmes in Bangladesh have originated because of availability of specialized persons within or outside the NGOs. It has limited their discretion to think about alternative poverty reduction programmes. Moreover most of the programmes are copied or duplicated to reduce cost.

<b>Struggle</b>	Contest to obtain scarce resources because their supply is limited
The Bangladeshi NGOs have been struggling for scarce of resources. It causes them to listen to the donors and other resource factors.	

### 2.3. Ecological Approach

One of the important contributing fields of ecological approach is the strategy literature. It has made organizational survival and failure a salient outcome in studies of organizational performance (Aldrich, 2004, p.47). The ecological model is better used to analyse the strategy and its outcomes in organizations. It is also concerned with aggregation of organizations and the role of individual actors and their interpretations. To the ecologists the *form* of organization and the *niche (the resources)* is to be matched. This *form* and *niche* works in a circular way. The *form* is only apparent because of the *niche* fills it and *niche* is only apparent when occupied by a unique organizational *form* (Aldrich, 2004, p.47). This study has been benefited to get answer of the question *what causes NGOs in Bangladesh to select poverty reduction programmes*. It means that what *form* of the NGOs for what *niche* or vis-à-vis what *niche* of the NGOs is for what *forms*. How far the organizational forms and niches of NGOs match in programme selection.

The ecological approach focuses on the distribution of environmental resources and the terms on which they are available (Aldrich, 2004, p.43). The prime focus of ecological approach is on social relations within organizations. The ecologists think that organizational population can be identified with unit character which response in a similar way to environmental forces. There are distinct combinations of resources upon which populations are dependent. These resources are called *niches*. These niches give support to the populations. Because of the competition for resources within the same environment. Competition pushes organizations towards similar forms, resulting in greater homogeneity or specialization of forms within different niches (ibid, p.43). Such competition is protected by finding niches. One of the significant causes of initiating poverty reduction programmes of

the NGOs in Bangladesh is the survival in the competition and their prosperity. For this the NGOs find niches to be competitive and fit to prosperity. This goes through the process of evolving poverty reduction programmes i.e. variation, selection and retention. These processes are found apparent in this study.

Population ecology has mainly looked for **variation** between organizations, via differences across organizations produced during their founding (ibid, p.43). According to Baum and Singh (1994a) there are some events which are important process to study population. The events are: patterns and founding, transformations and disbanding. High level of volatility generated by these events is a process of evolving activities. It may occur in two ways – intentional and blind. The intentional way is active attempt to generate alternatives and seek solution to the problems. In blind way action occurs independently have environmental or selection pressures.

**Selection** in population ecology models is the cause of the fitness between organizations and their environments. There are external and internal forces that affect the routes and competencies of the organization. The internal and external forces are very important aspects of choosing programmes by NGOs. In most cases the NGOs try to keep fit with these internal and external forces. Among the external forces the donors as well as funding agencies, GOB policies get influence most to define poverty and then to select poverty reduction programmes. The internal forces are the ideology of the NGOs. It produce a vision which guides the NGOs to get knowledge about poverty concept from a particular poverty discourse and thus the NGOs try to define poverty and select programmes. This way of defining poverty and programme selection is found when there is influence of individual actors and their interpretation within the NGOs as mention at the beginning of the evolutionary approach.

**Retention** in population ecology model presumes organizations as structurally inert. There may not have any change in organization or very slow change. In this process the organization produce duplicated or preserved action. The poverty reduction programmes of the NGOs have looked into from this perspective also. How far they are confined within the same programmes in same area. The programme initiation has also looked into from the retention process aspect of ecology model.

The NGOs have been suffering from lack of funds or lack of legitimacy of taking action against poverty. It is analyzed in JJS and DSK by using the struggle process of population ecology.

It is obvious for the NGOs in Bangladesh that they must be concerned about the population for whom the NGOs take attempt to work and how to work for the population. Initially the NGOs are to be concerned about their strategy or programme to be carried out to fulfil the purposes. The NGOs then can not avoid looking upon the resource availability. No strategy can be successful if the resource is matched with the strategy. During the founding of the NGOs resources and strategies are to be matched. This resources and strategy formation is transformed through the programme operation and thus NGOs' activities in Bangladesh can work successfully to combat poverty. But the question set forth here is that *how do the NGOs organize or accumulate resources needed to reduce poverty*. The NGOs hardly raise funds internally. The actors of the NGOs themselves do not contribute to raise fund. Almost all the NGOs have external sources of fund. The sources can be classified in to two fold. One is the beneficiaries who are in course of time become a part and parcel of the NGOs. The common strategy of making funds from the beneficiaries is *micro-credit programme*. It is hard to say that no NGO has had micro-credit programme. Through the field visit experience it can be said that the NGOs micro-credit programmes are a very significant source of creating resources. So, micro-credit programme seems to be important to raise fund of the NGO itself rather than to reduce poverty of the beneficiaries. The other sources are the funding agencies of the NGOs. Among the funding agencies foreign donors, domestic big NGOs, GOB projects are found mostly visible.

The technical resources contribute to a high degree of founding the NGOs and selecting programmes. The actors' expertises direct to shape the NGO *form*. Moreover, availability of the experts as well as consultants diverts the NGO founders to design the programmes. So, both the resources can contribute to select NGOs programmes intentionally or blindly. There are some NGOs who find no other option but to take funds from the donors and design programmes according to the donors' ideas. This is the blind way the NGO programmes are selected blindly by the NGOs to reduce poverty. So, matching between *forms and niche* shows the way of selecting strategy.

*In ecological theory:*

Variation introduced via new organization – meaning that the NGOs programmes as well as strategies varied from its original routine and the new routines are hired or copied from other organizations. A new form of organization is created. Selection results from fit between organizations and environment – the variation of NGOs routines cause them to select programmes fitting with the organization and environment. The environment is considered as the population of the organization. That is why it is called population ecology. In this study; it is expected that the poverty reduction programmes of the NGOs are expected to fit with the

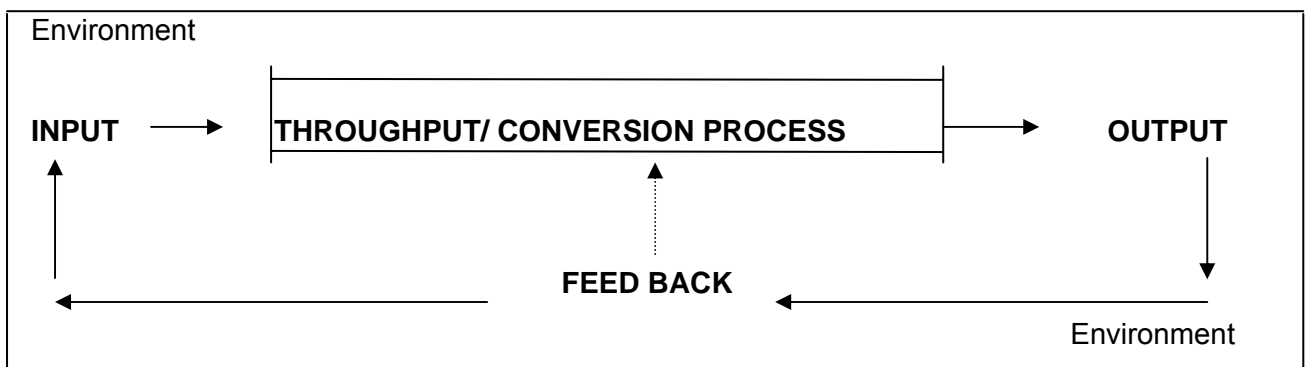
needs of the target group people. This study proposition is that the NGOs programme selection hardly considers the needs of the population rather try to design programmes keeping fit with the guidelines of donors or GOB. Otherwise, the NGOs try to select programmes, beneficiaries or the programme field influenced by the founders ideology or motives. Retention through external pressure and internal inertia – The NGOs programmes are either copied or duplicated. The NGOs efforts are to continue with the same programmes in different areas. It is because of cost effective. The resource constrain is one of the important reasons. The ecological theory is mainly concerned about why and how *resource* causes to *form* strategy. Thus organizations are structurally inert and slow to change. And this causes the NGOs’ programmes to be less reality concerned. Thus programmes selection is not well transformed to combat poverty.

## 2.4. The institutional approach

Aldrich (2004) wrote:

“Institutional theorists emphasise the socially constructed nature of organizations and populations....Institution as a process instilling socially constructed entities with value occurs at all levels of analysis.”

The institutional approach focuses on the *objectified* and *taken-for-granted* nature of organizations and organizational environments, as perceived by the participants (Aldrich, 2004, p.48). In this approach the value-laden character of institution is emphasised here. To Scott (1995:xiv) institutional theory was simply “a continuation and extension of the intellectual revolution begun during the mid-1960s that introduced *open system* conceptions into the study of organizations”. Talcott Parson (1956) gave the first statement on organizational environments as institutional-cultural phenomena. The organizational environments in consistent with open system concept is drawn as follows:



Here, input is concept of poverty which is lacked by knowledge of reality or the concept is driven by funding agencies. It leads to select faulty programmes those have impact on poverty reduction. But the feedback mechanism tells whether the impact is negative or positive. If it has positive impact in the society, the programmes can run. If the impact is negative the input (the poverty concept) rethink or the programmes (the conversion process) needs to be rearranged.

Thus institutionalising the poverty concept and selection of programmes can go through the process of creating reality and depicted actors as creating an external reality that is subsequently objectified, taken as real and internalised by others. This process is described among the social actors as habituation and objectification. Habituation is the rise of patterned problem-solving behaviours, and objectification is the elaboration of shared social meanings attached to these behaviours.

In institutional theory *variation* primarily originated externally and the organization is forced to respond to it, adapt to or imitate it. According to this theory it is to analyse whether the poverty concept and programmes are forced to or adapt to initiate. The *selection* process in institutional theory involved conformity to external norms, symbols, and roles. The actions are copied from external forces. As institutional approach is normative and value-laden the *retention* process is organised through internal and external understandings. The poverty meaning (input) can be shared and transmitted by the society and in consistence with that needful programmes can be selected for reducing poverty. The poverty reduction programmes of NGOs in Bangladesh are usually selected and retained in the way as predicted in the institutional theory.

*In institutional theory:*

Variation introduced from external origins, such as imitation. The NGOs programmes are externally originated and thus programmes varied from its routine. Selection via conformity (to external norms). NGOs' programmes selection is expected to adapt keeping consistent with social norms. What values are existed in the society – needs to be prioritized while selecting programmes. Retention through transmission of shared (internal and external) understandings. The NGOs programmes are copied and retained as of previous programmes or duplicated from other organizations. When such copying or duplication is transmitted through understanding among the beneficiaries and is shared with them; the programmes have chance to match with the reality of the society. But the NGOs' action is significantly transmitted through and shared by those internal and external factors which are not consistent with the reality. Among the external forces the donors and the GOB policy get priority and the prioritized internal forces are the ideology of the NGOs' founders, the



expertise of the NGOs. These result the NGOs to be inert. Change occurs when forced by the funding agencies. Institutionalisation of NGOs' programmes makes many kind of change unmanageable for the and thus inconsistent poverty reduction programmes.

The evolutionary approach has guided this research to know how and why the NGOs routines are varied from and programmes are selected. Why the NGOs retain the same programmes or take duplicated strategy. What happens when the NGOs are facing resource constrain. At the same time the ecological theory gives specific ideas about the relationship between resources and strategy formation. Why and how resource availability or resource constrains shows the ways of NGOs formation as well as strategy selection. The NGOs' variation of routine, programmes selection, retention of strategy prominently depends on resources. This resource constrain leads the NGOs to listen to the external forces and design programmes accordingly. All these factors also cause to consider about internal of expertise. The programmes are designed keeping in mind the NGOs own human and technical resource so that no new manpower in needed to hire. It makes the NGOs economic but it creates barrier to cope with the needs. On the other hand, the institutional theory is more concerned about the socially constructed nature of the organizations. It is also normative and value laden. The social values and norms are to be given priority while selecting strategy. This theory is linked to the evolutionary approach as well as variation, retention, selection and strategy process. Social norms as NGOs external factors are supposed to get priority to select programmes. But most of the NGOs' programmes get funding agencies' priority to select programmes and thus the NGOs routines are varied from the founding. And thus the NGOs' programmes are away from the social norms as well as reality. Simultaneously, the internal norms or the values of the NGOs create obstacle to select population, programme areas. The NGOs' norms keep them confined within a certain circle which is beyond the reality.

So, variation, selection, retention and struggle process are relatively rich to use in evolutionary, ecological and institutional theory. And thus, under these theories the dependent factors of poverty concept and poverty reduction programmes of NGOs are well studied. It is to keep in mind that the variation-selection-retention-struggle processes works simultaneously rather than sequentially. The following table shows that how variation, selection, retention and struggle process works in ecological and institutional approach.

	<b>Ecological</b>	<b>Institutional</b>
<b>Variation</b>	Strategy varies to match organization's form with available resources.	Variation is produced by external forces as well as values of the society.
<i>Departure from the current routine and tradition</i>		

Every organization has had one or more objectives to do. The organization does not only set their objectives but also set the processes to achieve those objectives. What to do, when to do and how to do – is the main concern of the organizations. These are usually designed at the initial stage of the organization. This is the routine of the organizations. This routine is also the tradition of the organization. But the organization can always not continue working with the tradition as well as routine. The organization deviates from its routine. This deviation is change in organization. Thus there occur variation between the initial routine and changing routine. Variation is found not only in purposes but also in strategy or process. To Aldrich (2005:16) “...how often do they change, to what extent, and under what conditions?” The ecological and institutional approaches help to get reply of these questions of changes.

According to ecological approach organization is not changed rather a new form of organization as well as strategy is created. This creation is for *resources*. Every organization gets its *form* to match with available *resources*. Ecological approach is strategy concern. In this approach organization adopt new strategy to fit with the resources and thus survive in the population. The questions regarding to change of NGO programmes depends upon the resource availability and get variation from its original routine. The NGOs are found away from their initial objectives and programmes designing are influenced by resource providing agencies.

To the institutional theorists, organizational change is determined by the *values* perceived by the participants. According to this approach the organization is *objectified* nature which is value laden. This value laden objective of the organization is changed by the influence of the external force of the organization. For the sake of survival; the organization can not overlook this kind of external forces. In Bangladesh the NGOs' programme selection is to a great extent influenced by this sort of external values as well as forces. For example, the micro-credit programme is selected by most of the NGOs to response to the existing poverty values. The poor people's demand is to get *cash* benefit. Those NGOs give more cash benefit by the name of micro-credit, gets more clients. This programme is very much popular to attract the beneficiaries. So, the NGOs poverty reduction programmes changes and MC programme is selected beyond the intention of the NGO actors. Thus the *values* as an external forces influence the NGOs to be changed and varied from the routine.

<b>Selection</b>	Programme is selected keeping fitness	Programme is selected to have
<i>To choose new strategy after being departed from the routine and tradition</i>	between organization and environment.	conformity to external norms, symbols and roles. The actions are copied from external forces.

In ecological approach, the *resource* causes the organization to be varied from the routine and the organization is changed. While changes, the organization selects new strategy and get new form. As the organization keep fit itself and want to survive in the population its strategy is designed not from its original objectives point of view but from the demand of the resource provider point of view. The organization's strategy selections either intentionally or blindly become dependent upon the funding agencies. To the NGOs fund raising is a very tough job. There are some critical issues forefronts of the NGOs. First of all is surviving in the competitive population, secondly; to achieve better performance in terms of service delivery and cost benefit analysis. All these require adequate resources. The strategy is selected keeping in mind the resource availability and thus organization changes by being departed from the routine.

The *selection* process in institutional theory involved conformity to external norms, symbols, and roles. The actions are copied from external forces. Here, the input is taken from the society and the output is also given to the society. The NGOs only process the input for the society so that the people get utility from the output. To think about the programmes' selection the NGOs must look into the values which are infused in the society. Because the values predict the need of the poor people. The value of agricultural society is not same as the values of an industrial society. Their objectives are not same. So, programmes selection is influenced by the external norms as well as values of the society.

<b>Retention</b>	The programmes can hardly keep	Strategy is copied and duplicated by
<i>Duplicated or reproduced programmes</i>	match with internal and external environments	internal and external understandings and transmission.

The NGOs try to operate the same programme in different areas or different programmes in same people. It is because to adjust with the resources. The NGOs try to retain the same programmes or copy the programmes as the NGOs are to consider resource availability. The existing programmes the NGOs are copied to the other areas or for other people than to take a new programme. Moreover, the funding agencies' prescribed programmes are hired without justification. So that the funds can be released easily. In this way the programme selection hardly consider the internal vision of the NGO or the demand from the external beneficiaries. Resource gets priority rather than reality. And the organization is changed from its founding nature.

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When different NGOs work in a same area it is thought that all of them have same understandings about the social nature and need of the people. And the social norms and values are almost equally transmitted to the NGOs. This idea causes the NGOs to copy programmes from one another and duplicate strategy. On the other hand, the changing social objectives are not considered carefully by the NGOs. The NGOs repeatedly continue the programmes but this may go beyond the reality of the society. Thus the organization becomes structurally inert and can not bring required change to the organization.

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<b>Struggle</b>	Struggle to select programmes	Resource constrain of the NGOs
<i>To contest to obtain scarce resources</i>	matching with reality	create hurdle to select programmes keeping in line with socially constructed norms and symbols.

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The NGOs’ main struggling issue is resource scarcity. There is competition among the NGOs in the population. It is mentioned before that there is competition of surviving as well as to provide better services to the clients. Out of these there is also contest among the NGOs to gain resources. Who can get the maximum resource or who can get more resource than others. This competition led the NGOs in Bangladesh to keep the reality aside and change the organizational strategy. The NGOs become more pro-donor than pro-poor as well as pro-beneficiaries. As those NGOs can adopt more the donor’s advice can get more funds. So, from ecological approach perspective, struggling to contest to contest to obtain scarce resources also direct the NGOs struggling to select reality based programmes.

To the institutional approach, this contest to gain more resource keeps the NGOs also away from the socially demanded programmes. Those programmes which are seemed to have social needs can not always be considered. Rather, the NGOs are to consider those programmes for which the donors will release more funds. This way the programmes can not match with the reality.

## 2.5. Contemporary Poverty Concepts:

“People construct organizations to accomplish things they cannot do on their own. Their achievements depend on the knowledge and resources available to them. Which varies from time and environmental context? First, knowledge and resources are culturally embedded and historically specific. Their availability reflects societal conditions at a particular historical conjuncture.....Second, knowledge and resources are also differentially available across environmental contexts. Consequently, organizations founded during the same era may differ, as well. Foundings are thus unevenly distributed across the social and historical landscape.”(Aldrich:2004:75)

So, knowledge is an important actor to construct organization as well as organizations' strategy. This knowledge is also promoted by some organizations or persons in a particular situation for a particular landscape. Some times this knowledge explores transcending the time and geographical boundaries and guide to construct concept in different area for different people. *Poverty* as a concept has been defined and analysed differently by different actors. These actors' concepts of poverty guide the NGOs in Bangladesh to construct poverty concept and design programmes in line with that. That is why to discuss poverty discourse has been important in this study.

There are so many contesting concept of poverty discussed in the society. The concepts are *absolute poverty, overall poverty, relative poverty. etc.* Moreover, the World Bank defines poverty from its way.

**Absolute poverty** was made in the final Copenhagen Declaration (1995) of the World Summit for Social Development which was signed by the governments of 117 countries (Gordon & Spicker ed.p.7, 1999). It defines absolute poverty as 'a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on the income but also on the access to social services (United Nations 1995).

Amartya Sen (1983) argued that 'there is ....an irreducible absolutist core in the idea of poverty. If there is starvation and hunger then, no matter the relative picture looks like there clearly is poverty'

**Overall poverty** is also defined in the final Copenhagen Declaration of the World Summit for Social Development in 1995. Overall poverty was defined in the following terms to differentiate it from absolute poverty:

Overall poverty considers poverty from various manifestation. Lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods, hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness;

homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. ...lack of participation in decision-making and in civil, social and cultural life ( Gordon & Spicker, pp.97-98).

**Relative poverty** defines poverty from comparative perspective. It is derived from the term inequality. Roach and Roach (1972:23) define relative poverty as a standard applying to ‘the bottom segment of the income distribution’. Townsend (1979:915) refers to poverty as a form of ‘relative deprivation’, ‘the absence or inadequacy of those diets, amenities, standards, services and activities which are common to customary in society.’ It has been the dominant model in the discourse of relative poverty.

Relative poverty has two facets. The first premise is the socially defined poverty; attributed in absolute poverty. The second one is the comparison of the disadvantaged people to others in the society who are not poor.

In poverty discourse the **World Bank** has had a dominant definition of poverty. World Bank’s definition of poverty is produced by a ‘*universal poverty line*. It has defined poverty as ‘the inability to attain a minimal standard of living (World Bank 1990: 26). The World Bank’s standard is ‘consumption based’. It comprises of two elements : ‘the expenditure necessary to buy a minimum standard of nutrition and other basic necessities and a further amount that varies from country to country, reflecting the cost of participating in the everyday life of society’ (ibid, p.26). The first element is calculated by food price which make up the diet of the poor. The second element is ‘far more subjective; in some countries indoor plumbing is a luxury, but in other it is a necessity (ibid,p.27). The second element was set aside and the first assessed as *Purchasing Power Parity (PPP)* - \$370 per person per year for all the poorest developing countries (Gordon, 1999, p.148). This is set as poverty line. People living below this *poverty line* are considered as poor. The best known

and most widely used poverty line produced by the World Bank, however, is ‘a-dollar-a-day adjusted measurement for extreme poverty (ibid, p.149)

The World Bank has also defined poverty as a low GNP per capita, supplemented by other criteria such as consumption per capita, under-five infant mortality, life expectancy and primary school enrolment.

The participatory consultation process of preparing Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)<sup>1</sup> for **Bangladesh** have conceptualised poverty in Bangladesh as follows:

*Poverty definition I*

‘Poverty’ as lack of income to meet basic needs (food, cloth, housing, education, health and security). Some of them referred poverty as the inability to have 1850-2221 kilo calorie intake per person daily. The participants also provided other definitions of poverty. These are as follows:

- Poverty refers to a situation where people are deprived of fundamental rights to lead normal life.
  
- Poverty refers to poor access to fundamental rights, economic wealth, and social wealth, cultural and environmental aspects of life. (The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Status Report, 2004, concept drawn from the participatory discussion of Barisal region).

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<sup>1</sup> Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) are prepared by the member countries through a participatory process involving domestic stakeholders as well as external development partners, including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Updated every three years with annual progress reports, PRSPs describe the country's macroeconomic, structural and social policies and programs over a three year or longer horizon to promote broad-based growth and reduce poverty, as well as associated external financing needs and major sources of financing.

## *Poverty definition II*

Poverty is the extreme discrimination in terms of balanced diet, clothing, education, health, and housing, achieving wealth, enjoying equal right of social and political activities and in getting justice.

Poverty means the deprivation of basic needs acknowledged by constitution. (The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Status Report, 2004, concept drawn from the participatory discussion of Chittagong region).

**Among the NGOs** working in Bangladesh for poverty reduction BRAC's (Bangladesh Rural Development Committee) concept of poverty can be used as a significant discourse of poverty.

BRAC realizes that poverty is an enormously complex issue, and as such relies on a holistic approach to address the issue. This includes a focus on income and employment generation, organizing the poor, raising awareness of gender equity, and providing training for the development of human resources.

BRAC thinks that positive change of poor people can reduce poverty. It implies that static or stereotype lives of the poor people are poverty.

While the elites' perception of poverty is to some extent similar to the poverty perception mentioned above. In a study conducted by Hossain and Moore (2005) identified the elites' perception of poverty. The elites in Bangladesh think that "poverty is a matter of life-threatening deprivation. Many poor people struggle simply to survive". "Three main themes dominate elites' conceptions and explanation of persistent mass poverty:

- national economic underdevelopment;
- bad governance;
- the attitudes and behaviour of the poor themselves"



The programmes of NGOs and poverty concept are dependent on knowledge and resources. It is well depicted following:

**INDEPENDENT**

**DEPENDENT**

*KNOWLEDGE ---*

About poverty provoked by different actors; like,  
World Bank, UN, UNDP, GOB, big NGOs,  
local knowledge, scholars and research

POVERTY CONCEPT

POVERTY REDUCTION

*RESOURCE ---*

Technical, human and capital

PROGRAMMES

The universal discourse of poverty and the poverty discourse of Bangladesh have helped to conceptualize poverty from NGO perspective in this study. More over, emphasis is given to cultural – cognitive aspect of poverty in Bangladesh as mentioned in the cognitive pillar of institutions by Richard Scott (Scott, 2001). The main theme of cognitive pillar is meaning formation. And the meaning is formed through social interaction of individuals as well as through social construction. Here, reality is invented not created. The meaning helps to invent reality and to define the role of actors. Cultural cognitive pillar of institution stresses the role played by the socially mediated construction of common framework of meaning. External culture helps to shape internal structure and functions of organization. It is important to address to the local knowledge to conceptualize poverty. How do the local people think about poverty. How far the NGOs are considering local knowledge to define poverty. Proposition is that, programmes designed by NGOs without considering local knowledge about poverty is not reality concerned. The poverty programmes thus would inconsistency with the need. Here, NGOs population are expected to be the actors of poverty concept rather than the other concepts as said in cultural-cognitive aspects.

This cultural-cognitive aspect of organization has proved one of the right ways to invent how poverty is defined by the NGOs in Bangladesh. The NGOs poverty reduction programmes are mostly suited as their activities have cognitive legitimacy and are established upon

cognitive pillars. Defining poverty from cognitive perspective and taking programmes accordingly can reduce poverty in Bangladesh.

## **2.6. Conclusion**

The variation, selection, retention and struggle processes of evolutionary, ecological and institutional approaches have taken to know the factors which influence the poverty reduction programmes of Jagroto Jubo Shongho (JJS) and Dustha Shasthya Kendro (DSK). Moreover, knowledge about poverty has guided to discover how JJS have and DSK defined poverty. In this research design the projection is that there are some variables upon which the poverty concept of NGOs (JJS and DSK) and programme selection depend (Variables section, Chapter - 1). The variables are mainly the external and internal factors those influence JJS and DSK to define poverty and select poverty reduction programmes. The influence of internal and external factors are because of resource constrain for which most of the NGOs are struggling. It cause the variation of JJS and DSK from its routine and thus select programme or retain and copy programmes from others. That is why it is assumed that poverty concept and the programmes are not realistic. The variation, selection, retention and struggle processes of evolutionary, ecological and institutional approaches have been taken as path finder of empirical justification of the assumption.

The poverty concept of JJS is imported from the existing knowledge as provoked by World Bank, UNDP or other western scholar. Poverty knowledge is also hired from the GOB notion. This is elaborately discussed in chapter five of this study. In chapter five it is also discussed how JJS and DSK's attempt to realize their clients' causes of poverty is kept in shelves. The poverty reduction programmes are expected to be designed keeping in mind the causes of poverty of the people of the programme areas. As the poverty perception of JJS and DSK is misled the MC programmes of JJS and DSK and WatSan of DSK and G&HR programme of JJS have become unrealistic. Both the NGOs story and empirical data show that in spite of having intention to take pragmatic strategy to fight against poverty JJS and DSK could not do it as of the original routine. Both they were found departed from the routine and tradition and the most significant cause is resource scarcity. Their programmes are influenced either by internal forces or by external forces. The internal forces are the values of the NGO people, expertise of the existing workforce. On the other hand the external forces are mainly the donors as well as GOB. As JJS and DSK have been struggling for resource constrain they try to duplicate programmes. Is has been possible to analyze whether JJS and DSK can fit their programmes with the environment as well as the population which is said in

ecological approach. Having conformity to external norms, symbols and roles as said in institutional approach. This conformity can ensure realistic programmes. This study dealing with how the poverty concept and poverty reduction programmes of JJS and DSK are influenced by internal and external factors and thus become unrealistic.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE NGOS AND THEIR POVERTY REDUCTION PROGRAMMES IN BANGLADESH**

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#### **3.1. Introduction:**

Bangladesh has been perhaps the most important hearth on the globe for non-governmental organizations. Presently there are approximately 2000 NGOs working in Bangladesh. There are many types of NGOs here for different work approaches. But most of them focus on directly or indirectly poverty alleviation.

Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) have emerged as an integral part of the institutional structure for addressing poverty as well as rural development, gender equality, environmental conservation, disaster management, human rights and other social issues. The NGOs, in order to support social and economic empowerment of the poor, have vastly widened their activities to include group formation, micro credit, formal and non-formal education, training, health and nutrition, family planning and welfare, agriculture and related activities, water supply and sanitation, human rights and advocacy, legal aid and other areas. These organizations mostly follow the target-group strategy under which the poor with similar socioeconomic interests are organized into groups to achieve their objectives.

The Government of Bangladesh has created the NGO Affairs Bureau in 1990 under the Prime Minister's Office. The Bureau enables the NGOs to obtain their registration clearance, approval and permission through a single agency of the Government within a specified time frame. The aim of the Bureau is to ensure quality performance of the NGO sector and its accountability to the state.

With a view to providing a regular forum of dialogue between the Government and the NGOs for increased mutual understanding and cooperation, the Government-NGO Consultative Council (GNCC) has been formed with representatives from the Government, NGOs and the

civil society. The GNCC works as an advisory council toward resolving issues arising out of Government-NGO interaction and collaboration.

The Association of Development Agencies in Bangladesh (ADAB), as an apex body of local, national and international NGOs, aims to play effective roles in facilitating greater unity and coordination of the NGO sector and accelerating poverty alleviation and sustainable development in the interest of the poor. ADAB's primary concerns are to establish inter-NGO relations, exchange ideas and experiences, expand fields of cooperation, remove the overlapping tendency of programmes and working areas, develop organizational skills and establish functional relations and communication with the civil society.

The main concern of this chapter is to address the historical background of NGOs in Bangladesh and its present legal framework. Moreover, the programmes of these NGOs are also relevant to bold mark through which the NGOs have been attempting to reduce poverty in Bangladesh. This will also link between poverty and NGO discussion in Bangladesh.

### **3.2. Historical background of NOGs in Bangladesh**

Non Government Organizations (NGOs) started in Bangladesh on a limited scale as relief providers following the devastating cyclone in 1970 and the 1971 war of liberation. Initially providing relief services and rehabilitation assistance to war-ravaged victims. These NGOs then shifted their development programs and strategies towards community development, giving special preference to the poor and to the powerless segments of Bangladeshi society.

The evolution of the NGO sector in Bangladesh within the framework of the Four Generations of NGOs (Korten: 1990). These are:

- First generation: NGOs put emphasis on relief and rehabilitation work (1971-72);
- Second generation: developmental efforts of NGOs are aimed towards community development (1973-75) with a number of sectoral activities (e.g., agrarian reform, health, cooperatives, etc);
- Third generation: also known as "sustainable systems development" where the NGOs extend the breadth of their programs, ensuring sustainability through undertaking large-scale programs, complementing the national development systems and involving various organizations and institutions (1976-to date); and,
- Fourth generation: which entirely depends on the development phase of NGOs in realizing their vision of society characterized by strong People's Movements?

The first generation NGOs main thrust was to rehabilitate and reconstruct the war ravaged country. After a 9 month's bloody war and then the independent Bangladesh a number of problems came to face. Specially, poverty became the most crucial issue. The newly formed government could hardly face this challenge. Though it was also rooted in the voluntary activities during liberation struggle 1971. Many concerned young people rendered medical and other humanitarian services in refugee camps across the border in India, as well as underground within the country to alleviate sufferings of the war victims (Wood:1994). In post-war reconstruction period, several relief and rehabilitation programmes were launched both with and without international assistance by freedom fighters in different parts of the country (Karim: 2002). These were the pioneers in setting an alternative development process in motion in Bangladesh (ibid). These groups of people came to interaction with the poor villagers and could easily reveal the dynamics of poverty in rural areas. This led them gradually transform their activities from charity and welfare to participatory development actions for poverty alleviation. And through this transformation the NGOs entered into its second generation as Kortzen mentioned. According to Kortzen's NOGs' generation shift; the second generation is also seen very short lived (1973-75). During this times the NGOs role was mainly confined within rural development through agricultural promotion. The cooperative movements in line with Comilla Model was also tried to exercise by the NGOs to boom up agricultural production. The participatory notion for development of the NGOs influenced to adopt such exercise. In addition to that the newly formed development groups (NGOs) tried to give medical services to the poor people. This was because of their health service delivery expertise during independence war in 1971. But all these efforts were in small scale, self reliant and local development initiatives for people's capacity building.

Since 1976 these NGOs have started their activities in large scale. Kortzen termed it as third generation of NGOs. From this time different change and innovation have found in NGOs' activities. They have started to think not only immediate remedy of poverty but also a long term solution of the problem. Their message was to sustain the development. This initiative is in consistence with sustainable development. Sustainability of development initiatives led them to encompass multi dimensional sectors. This notion also led the NGOs to complement the government development initiatives. This third generation of NGOs strategies is seen focusing on achieving policy changes at different levels. This is an indication of Kortzen's fourth generation of NGOs. Because, the NGOs are not only complementing the initiatives and activities of government but also trying to realize their vision of society through people's movement. This research is mainly trying to see how far the NGOs' programmes are trying to prioritize their vision through social reality and can act most effectively.

Over the past two decades, the NGOs have made significant progress and contributions to a country which is still struggling to survive and to rise as a truly independent nation. Through their various development programs and projects such as health, agriculture, agrarian reform, irrigation, credit assistance, among others, these NGOs have served as catalysts, making their development interventions strongly felt in the urban and rural areas. This intervention in many cases seems to be influential.

During the 1990s, international development institutions channeled their resources through NGOs to supplement the government's delivery system to reach the poor with an argument to create indirect pressure on the government to attain efficiency (Newaz: 2003:41). The World Bank Review (1990) compares NGO activities favorably with those of the state and recommends the expansion of NGOs to supplement government efforts and for implementation of services through competition.

Despite the government's ambivalent attitudes towards NGOs, there are still "windows of opportunity" for building meaningful dialogue and mutual collaboration between the government and the NGOs in the promotion of sustainable agriculture and rural development.

The first generation NGOs were formed in Bangladesh with a spirit of dedication to reconstruct the newly independent Bangladesh. To White (1999:321), "clearly that time there was a tremendous surge of 'public spirit', people wishing to do something for the fledgling nation, and it was this what inspired the founders of many of the foremost NGOs today." Jamil (2000:144-145) cited some particular reasons of initiating and evolving NGOs in Bangladesh. The reasons are: (a) a growing dissatisfaction of donor agencies with public organizations which are considered to be slow, rigid, hierarchic and insensitive to local needs and problems, (b) a greater flexibility in NGOs' operation with fewer bureaucratic constraints and increasing favour of NGOs within international community, (c) dedicated and efficient leaders, (d) an increase in foreign aid and humanitarian help to cope with many natural disasters that Bangladesh quite often experiences, and (e) a good information generation strategy by NGOs to convince as well as to invoke sympathy and conscience among the donors. Jamil (ibid) however acknowledges the allegation against mushrooming of the NGOs as being due to foreign funding which is seen by many as a lucrative gateway to resources.

"NGOs in Bangladesh have not originated from Grass Roots Organisations (GROs) in civil society. Rather, it is NGO workers who set up groups, which clients then join to get micro-credit and other services. Most Bangladeshi NGOs are totally dependent upon foreign funds.

The volume of foreign funds to NGOs in Bangladesh has been increasing over the years and stood at just under 18 percent of all foreign "aid" to the country in FY 1995-96" (Ahmad:2001). Donors increased their funding from 464 NGO projects in 1990-91 to 746 in 1996-97, a 60 per cent increase in six years; the total amount disbursed showed a 143 per cent increase over the period (NGO Affairs Bureau, 1998). However, the disbursement of funds to NGOs is highly skewed. The top 15 NGOs accounted for 84 per cent of all allocation to NGOS in 1991-92, and 70 percent in 1992-93 (Hashemi, 1995). NGO dependence on donor grants has kept the whole operation highly subsidised by foreign capital.

NGOs in Bangladesh are managed by two organizations. One the Department of Social Welfare under the Ministry of Social Welfare and the other one is the NGO Affairs Bureau under the Prime Minister's Office of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Only the locally funded organizations which are purely involved in philanthropic activities are managed and administered by the Department of Social Welfare. The apex organ of NGO administration in Bangladesh is NGO Affairs Bureau which was established in 1990. The Bureau is responsible to manage the foreign funded NGOs activities under the Foreign Donation (Voluntary Activities) Regulation Ordinance (FDR), 1978 (Islam in NGO Affairs Bureau Directory: 2003). It was expected that the Bureau would facilitate the NGOs' activities in Bangladesh and ensure their accountability to the state (ibid).

The NGOAB has become the contact point between the State and various foreign and local NGOs receiving foreign donations (Ahmad: 2001). Specifically, the state in Bangladesh requires each NGO to register formally with NAB, and to renew this registration every five years. Each project must be approved in advance by the NAB, as must all foreign funding. Each NGO must receive all funding through a single, specific bank account, and the bank must submit full reports to the central bank, which then reports to the NAB and to the Economic Relations Division (ERD) of the Finance Ministry. The NAB also regulates the use of foreign consultants. For projects and programmes of disaster-relief, requirements are similar but the NAB must decide more rapidly. Each NGO must submit annual auditor's reports to the NAB, having appointed its auditors from the list approved by the NAB (ibid).

The Responsibilities are of NGOAB are asserted by Ahmad (2001) and Islam (2003) are as follows:

- a) Arranging 'one-stop service' for NGO registration and processing of project proposals, NGOs are not required to go to any other office or authority for these purposes. (Circular: Section1:1993).
- b) Approving project proposals submitted by NGOs, releasing project funds and approving appointments of expatriate officials/consultants and their tenure of services (Circular: Section 2: 1993).
- c) Scrutinizing and evaluating reports and statements submitted by NGOS.
- d) Coordinating, monitoring, inspecting and evaluating NGO programmes and auditing their income and expenditure of accounts.
- e) Collecting fees/charges fixed by the government.
- f) Examining and taking necessary action on the basis of reports on NGO programmes.
- g) Enlisting Chartered Accounts for auditing NGO accounts.
- h) Approving receipts of 'one-time contribution' by NGOs. Such contribution is made for buying equipment or for construction of a house/building (Circular- Section 2: 1993).

NGOAB is also responsible for maintaining communication with concerned Ministries/Agencies on subjects related to operations of NGOs in the country and for obtaining views/opinions from these agencies when required. Government ordinance/regulations requires necessary assistance and co-operation from concerned Ministries/Divisions, other Subordinate Departments/Directorates, Divisional Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners for smooth discharge of the stipulated responsibilities of NAB. The Ordinances/ Regulations also require that different Ministries/Divisions of the government and their subordinate offices will consult NAB prior to entering any Agreement Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with foreign and foreign assisted Bangladeshi NGOs. Before signing such Agreements/MOUs the concerned NGO must be registered under section 3(2) of the Foreign Donations (Voluntary Activities) Regulation Ordinance 1978 (Circular: Section 4: 1993). Such agreements (MOU) are usually signed between an NGO and the government for programmes.

The total number of NGOs registered under the NGOAB up to 2003 is 1791(NGO Affairs Bureau: 2003). Based on the level of operation, sources of funding and management pattern; the NGOs in Bangladesh can be categorize into three types (Jamil:2001:146-147). These are:



a) Purely foreign origin NGOs – which may be called international NGOs. Some of these NGOs operate directly and others only fund activities run by local NGOs. These NGOs programmes as well as activities are influenced or guided by their respective countries' ideas and purpose.

b) Local NGOs with foreign fund. These NGOs get financial grants or technical assistance from foreign countries, foreign NGOs or some other overseas donor agencies. These NGOs are known as national NGOs and they have programmes almost all over the country

c) Small NGOs funded and operated locally. These NGOs are to some extent are funded either by national big NGOs or by government or by foreign NGOs or donors. But they are different from the preceding NGOs as they operate their programmes in particular geographical areas. These are small scale NGO.

Ahmed (2001) defines NGOs citing from the World Bank. Here, NGOs (Non-Governmental Organisations) defined as nongovernmental organisations as any group or institution that is independent from government and that has humanitarian or co-operative, rather than commercial, objectives. Specifically, the Bank focuses on NGOs that work in the areas of development, relief or environmental protection, or that represent poor or vulnerable people. But the development as management of NGOs in Bangladesh is not out of government control or administration. The NGOs programmes however are influenced and guided by some external forces like GOB (Government of Bangladesh), donors or funding agencies etc.

### **3.3. Programmes of NGOs in Bangladesh:**

There are almost 1798 NGOs registered under NGO Affairs Bureau (NGOAB) in Bangladesh (NGOAB: 2003). The trends and characteristics of programmes are seemed very broad. The NGOs are rendering those services which are even given by the government. The programmes are not only confined within the humanitarian and emergency relief help but also to organize local as well as initiatives like self-help projects, awareness raising, conscientization, group formation, leadership, training in management skill (Edwards & Hulme 1992, 24 cited in Jamil:2000:147). This strategy seeks the “empowerment” of people which means “the process of assisting disadvantaged individuals and groups to gain greater control than they presently have over local and national decision making and resources, and of their ability and right to define collective goals, make decisions and learn from experience” (ibid).

The NGO Directory published by NGOAB in 2003 has listed all the 1798 NGOs and their main programmes. It is found that all the NGOs listed there have the following programmes : education – primary and mass education, adult literacy, vocational training; health care programmes including hospital services, drug addiction, anti smoking,, disability (both physical and mental), HIV/AIDS, family planning, mother and child immunization; legal aid; awareness building; violence against women; women development; income generation through micro credit and training, human rights, social welfare through orphanage, micro credit, water and sanitation, relief and rehabilitation, agricultural development programme , arsenic mitigation, religious programme, labour law, youth development, disaster management, land reform, child care, rural development, social forestry, fisheries and livestock, poultry, handicraft, environment, local resource mobilization, poverty alleviation, election monitoring etc. This list covers almost 30 types of programmes conducted by different national, local and international NGOs in Bangladesh.

Anu Muhammad (1998, cited in Newaz : 2003) has identified some features of the NGOs' activities and functions in Bangladesh. These are:

**Relief activities, Health and Family Planning activities and education activities:**

These activities can also be termed as 'service activities'. The components of such service spectrum are basic literacy, hygiene, sanitation, basic preventive and curative health services, hospital services for indoor and outdoor patients, and provisions for health insurances.

**Agriculture activities:**

NGOs provide the farmers with agricultural equipment, seeds, fertilizer, irrigation machine etc. - sometimes without cost and some times at cheaper rates. Non land based production activities like fisheries and livestock have identified as relatively neglected areas by formal sector, where NGOs are working by developing their own needs. The prioritization of non land based sources of income generation for the target group, an area which had been substantially neglected by government, is somewhat a NGO innovation (Lewes, 1993). This led to the concentration of effort on poultry, food processing, social forestry, apiculture etc.

**Non-agriculture activities:**

NGOs render income-earning activities especially for poor women and adolescent girls. They extend their services by giving loans to entrepreneurs running small and cottage ventures. NGOs at times by their products and sell those to local and international markets.

**Credit and savings related activities:**

It is argued that almost half of the rural population in Bangladesh are landless and a large section of them are excluded from the access to formal credit and savings activities. The Grameen Bank has pioneered institutional innovations in credit delivery and management, which brought banking to the village and provided organizational substitutes for costly application and collateral requirements with large female memberships. Wahid and Rahman (1993:158) argue that ‘...by providing economic strength through the creation of self employment opportunities, the Grameen bank has been able to reduce the dependence of a section of poor on the rich and thus has shaken the rigid nexus of patron-client relationship’.

**Consciousness raising activities:**

Through these type of programmes the rural poor people have been able to fight against poverty and social discriminations. The main objectives of this programmes are fostering local leadership and reducing exploitation. It emphasises in local institution building and awareness rising of the rural poor people.

**Skills development and productivity enhancement:**

It includes provision of training, technical advises, asses to input and other support services to members, which cover the sectors like irrigation, livestock, poultry, fisheries, social forestry and vegetable cultivation and sericulture. In terms of its supports for skill development of members, some NGOs operate a sub-programme, which mostly experiments with improved farming techniques but does not directly invest in helping members increase their rate of market engagement.

This study is mainly concerning these multifarious programmes. What are the factors those cause the NGOs to initiate all these programmes. Whether these are sufficient enough to match with poverty to reduce. Chapter five will describe about this issue based on primary and secondary data of two sample NGOs.

**3.4. Poverty reduction and NGO programmes in Bangladesh:**

In only a little over three decades as an independent country, Bangladesh has made significant progress in reducing poverty and improving the lives of its people. However, nearly half of its population of 135 million stills lives below the poverty line—as measured by income, consumption, and ability to meet basic human needs—making Bangladesh one of the poorest countries in the world (World Bank:2003).

Poverty reduction in the 1990s was due in large part to strong, sustained economic growth, but another significant factor was government investment in the areas of health, education, social safety nets, and support for micro-credit programs, which provide poor people with loans for the creation of small business enterprises.

Continuation of this progress is facing daunting challenges, however. Incomplete national reforms in areas such as health, electricity, and banking, and increasing losses by government-owned enterprises, are threatening both government budgets and national economic growth. A lack of public confidence in the integrity and efficiency of the country's political and administrative institutions is hindering healthy economic activity, and a population growth rate which remains unsustainable is threatening to erode past progress.

For Bangladesh to continue on its current path of reducing poverty and improving living conditions, it will need to sustain macroeconomic growth at levels higher than in the past; reform public institutions; improve social services; and make stronger efforts to increase participation in the economy by the country's poorest people (ibid). NGO approach to poverty alleviation and human development in Bangladesh includes innovative approaches like conscientization, holistic and minimalist (Newaz:2003). According to the 'conscientization' approach, the roots of poverty are disorganized social, economic and political lives. It requires a long term solution to reduce poverty. So, the awareness building programmes of NGOs have opportunities to work meaningfully in this respect. The 'holistic' approach programmes require focusing on non-formal education, social and political awareness building and political mobilization to confront patriarchal power structure, particularly for women, to address the gender subordination (Ahmed: 1982; Hasan: 1985 cited in Newaz: 2003). On the other hand, the 'minimalist' approach supports providing credit within minimal training or other supplementary support services (Hashemi: 1996; cited in Newaz: 2003). Because, it is assumed that the rural poor need more than consciousness, they need Material assistance to help them generate income (Newaz: 2003).

In respect of poverty alleviation, principal instruments of NGO programmes involve micro credit, skill development and employment generation. The NGO programmes in Bangladesh mentioned in the preceding section are undoubtedly a significant number. But all the programmes are directly or indirectly covered by micro-finance activities which are popularly known as micro-credit programme. It is assumed and to a great extent fact that no other programme can attract the beneficiaries without micro-credit activities. It has also come to prove that micro-credit is the most effective programme to reduce poverty.

It is estimated that nearly 80 percent of the villages in Bangladesh are now covered under NGO activities but not necessarily 80 percent of the poor who need help. About 1,000 NGOs are engaged in microfinance operations. The overwhelming majority of these NGOs are small: the few large NGOs are BRAC, PROSHIKA and ASA. BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) happens to be the largest NGO in the world today. About 95 percent of micro credit disbursed by the NGOs is in the rural areas. As of June 1999, the total number of active members benefiting from NGO programmes stood at 8.7 million, 85 percent of the beneficiaries being women. Micro-credit is provided to the poor for self-employment, income generating activities, afforestation and other poverty alleviating programmes (internet source).

In the early 1980s, a program to give poor, mostly landless people a new chance through small loans was started by Grameen Bank, one of Bangladesh's largest nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), which has also gained status as a specialized bank. Today, Bangladesh's micro-credit program is the largest in the world, and the Government has made providing micro-credit a significant component of its plan for halving the number of people living in poverty in Bangladesh by the year 2015 (World Bank: 2004).

Till June 1999, of all the NGOs, BRAC, PROSHIKA and ASA accounted for 60 percent of active membership, 71 percent of each cumulative disbursement and net savings, 61 percent of revolving loan fund and 72 percent of outstanding loans. The income generating activities, where substantial micro-credit disbursement has been made, include small trade (42 percent), livestock (18 percent), agriculture (13 percent) and food processing (9 percent) (ibid). The World Bank supported micro-finance project launched in 1996 also helped to improve the financial viability of partner NGOs which retail micro-credit, enabling them to borrow funds from commercial banks at competitive interest rates and run their micro-credit programs at a profit. This progress is paving the way for their gradual integration into Bangladesh's formal financial sector.

### **3.5. Conclusion:**

The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – which range from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, promote gender equality and empower women, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, ensure environmental sustainability, develop a global partnership for development all by the target date of 2015 – form a blueprint agreed to by all the world's countries and all the

world's leading development institutions. They have galvanized unprecedented efforts to meet the needs of the world's poorest. These MDGs have been considering as the pivot of developing in the world as well as in Bangladesh centering poverty reduction. In Bangladesh all development activities as well as programmes of government (GOB) and NGOs are projecting in line with MDGs.

The NGO programmes in Bangladesh discussed in the preceding section and in this section cover almost all the 8 MDGs. As partner organizations (PO) of GOB the NGOs have great role to play and fight against poverty in Bangladesh as of global concern. It is fact that all the NGOs can not undertake all the programmes related to fight against poverty. It is also not accurate that people of every corner of Bangladesh simultaneously face all the challenges to overcome poverty. Particular poverty reduction programme/s in particular area for particular people are feasible to reduce poverty. The challenge is especially for the small-scale local NGOs to take action in this way. The locally organized or even some big NGOs fighting against poverty may not give a positive result unless their programmes are not set forth matching with the particular needs of particular people in a particular area.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **JJS AND DSK: AN OVERVIEW**

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#### **4.1. Introduction:**

The main aim of this chapter is to present a brief description of Jagroto Jubo Shongho (the Juvenile Youth Organization; later known as JJS) and Dustho Shastho Kendro (Health centre for the Poor; later known as DSK). The programmes operated by JJS and DSK for poverty reduction is also presented here. The description of these two studied NGOs is focused on the organizational structure and functions (programmes). The structure and function of JJS and DSK is important to know the pattern of these two organizations in connection to the organizational forms described by John B Miner (1993) and Henry Mintzberg (1988).

JJS is located and working in greater Khulna; the south-west region of the country, while the DSK is a Dhaka (the capital city of Bangladesh) based NGO mostly working for slum dwellers of Dhaka city. The JJS is a local NGO working in the region which has not been giving priority for last couple of years in national development programmes. Whereas, Khulna is the second highest administrative division in terms of poverty incidence (Bangladesh Economic Review: 2004). This region has some unique reasons of poverty. Malfunctioning the seaport, salinity of land reduce fertility of agricultural land, gradual decrease of investment in business and industry because of terrorist activities by hooligans, declaring abandon of the nationalised jute industries of this area. All these cause unemployment and thus increasing poverty. Amongst from the other NGOs of this region, JJS is influenced by anti globalization idea. On the other hand, the prime thrust of DSK is to combat poverty of the slum dwellers of Dhaka city. While the slum areas are not included in poverty map used by GOB as well as donor agencies. This NGO also has had political belief. It is backed by the leftist political ideology (socialist as well in former Soviet Union model). It was thought significant to look into the influence of ideological notion of JJS and DSK to conceptualize poverty and programme selection strategy.

#### **4.2. Jagroto Jubo Shongho – JJS (The Juvenile Youth Organization) and the history of their programmes:**

Jagroto Jubo Shongho – JJS has originated as a voluntary organization in 1984. It has put its steps on development endeavour and experiencing more than 20 years in the development arena. It is located in the southern costal region district city Khulna. Its programmes have been operating mostly in greater Khulna district. But it has also

programmes in Bagerhat, Jessore, Satkhira, Narail, Magura and Jhenidah. Development planning on pro-poor issues is really a complex and dynamic issues, especially for the people of the coastal area (Annual Report 2004:3). Intervention are demanded in different socio-economic sectors incorporating different actors and mass people. JJS from its inception since 1984 at Rupsha sub-district of Khulna, is continuously trying to address the contemporary poverty discourse of the locality as well as trying to implement different strategic options to reduce poverty (ibid).

Though JJS has started its journey as a voluntary organization now it has become a potential rights and advocacy platform for the poor, marginal and socially excluded people. JJS believe in a holistic approach of development. Its main aim is to empower the poor and achieve sustainable increase in living standards of those disadvantaged people. JJS's efforts are to perceive development from the perspective of rights within the ethnic diversity, practice and values of Bangladesh (ibid).

The JJS's vision is a confident, responsive and equitable society. Keeping this vision ahead it has had some mission. These are to mobilize people towards participatory environment, poor responsive governance, environment friendly livelihood, gender and children sensitive society where people can get access and control over resources, exercise basic human rights, reduce the marginality and vulnerability and raise voice against structural poverty and non-participatory development initiatives(Annual Report 2004:1). These vision and mission of JJS indicate that by poverty it means not to have equal status of a segment of society. Non participation in development initiatives, gender discrimination and not to have civic rights. Keeping this as poverty in JJS vision; it has excerpted the strategic objectives in its annual report (2004:1). It also stated for whom JJS has shaped programmes. The strategic objectives of JJS are:

1. To strengthen the constituency of poor, disadvantaged, marginal and socially excluded people for promoting their human rights along with gender equity and work and work towards better governance with more accountable public institutions.
2. To promote children sensitivity in the family, society and institutions and to broaden the access to basic and relevant quality education for children and adult illiterate.
3. To raise awareness for prevention of HIV/AIDS among the vulnerable people.
4. To protect women and child trafficking.



5. To mobilize local community and poor occupants for getting sufficient access and control over natural resources to ensure food sovereignty and livelihood security along with conserve environment and severe pollution and external threats.
6. To strengthen community based disaster preparedness and response initiatives especially in case of climatic disaster and raise voice for environmental governance against foreseen and unforeseen hazards.

It is noticeable that the locality of the NGO has diverted it to put forth some unique objectives like, control over natural resources, disaster preparedness and environment conservation. As the locality's economy and lives are centring the world's largest mangrove *the sunderbans* and the sea port. More over, shrimp cultivation has become inevitable economic activities of the people of greater Khulna region which has a controversy to destroy fertility of agricultural land (Rahman: 2004). Almost every year the region is flooded due to high tide and dam collapse (ibid). So, JJS programmes are mainly designed addressing the following group of people:

1. Poor men and women.
2. Poor and marginal occupational groups like, marginal farmers, forest resource users (mawali<sup>2</sup>, bawali<sup>3</sup>, fishermen etc.)
3. Children at high risk job and vulnerable situation.
4. Children getting no quality education
5. Adolescent girls and young women at vulnerable situation in terms of trafficking and violence.
6. Socially excluded people like sex worker<sup>4</sup>.
7. Men at high risk in terms of getting affected and transmitted STD and HIV/AIDS.

### **4.3. Organizational Structure of JJS:**

The JJS has had an explicit organizational structure (Annexure-2) in which the apex position is Executive Director (ED). The ED is the sole position to take all policy decision. The ED administers personnel, financial and projects of the NGO. It is also the position to make external relation. The other positions hierarchically from top to bottom are Programme Coordinator (PC), Project Manager (PM), Project Officer (PO) and Assistant Project Officer (APO). There is one PC for each programme operating in different areas. While there is one

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<sup>2</sup> The people who collect honey from the sunderbans.

<sup>3</sup> The people who collect wood from the sunderbans.

<sup>4</sup> The brothel girls who earn money by sexual activities

project manager in each project who is responsible to organize that project only. Under the project manager there are a number of project officers and assistant project officers. The number of project officers and assistant project officers are depend on the project volume. The project managers and project officers are the key positions at field levels who maintain direct contact with the beneficiaries of the projects.

Another important segment of the JJS organogram is Coordinator Programme Support (CPS) who also works under direct control of the ED. The CPS is responsible to maintain financial, personnel and administrative functions. There are other key positions like, Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E) Officer, Fund Raising and Documentation Officer, External Relation / Communication officer, Internal Auditor, Secretary and Legal Adviser. All these positions work under the direct control of the executive director.

#### **4.3.1 Mintzberg’s Forms of Organization and JJS:**

The functions and responsibility of each position of JJS structure can be found similarity with the six basic parts of the organization mentioned by Mintzberg (1988:276-304).

<b>Mintzberg’s idea about organization’s parts</b>	<b>Position in JJS structure</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
<i>Strategic Apex</i>	Executive Director	Home of top management. Sole Management of organization (JJS)
<i>Middle Line</i>	Programme Coordinator	The position in between strategic apex and operating core.
<i>Operating core</i>	Project Manager, Project Officer and Assistant Project Officer	Basic work of JJS is produced here.
<i>Techno structure</i>	Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E) Officer, Fund Raising and Documentation Officer, External Relation / Communication officer, Internal Auditor, Secretary and Legal Adviser.	The work process and outputs of the JJS is formally designed and controlled
<i>Support Staff</i>	Coordinator programme	They are providing support

<i>Ideology</i>	support and the people outside its operating positioned under him workflow. One man (ED) centered Authoritative forms of JJS organization.
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JJS is also seemed as a *simple structured* organization as mentioned by Mintzberg (ibid). Its structure is simple and no more than one large unit consisting of one top managers (ED). It is also centralize in nature. The prime coordinating mechanism of JJS is *direct supervision* and its leadership pattern is *authoritative*.

#### **4.3.2. Miner's forms of Organization and JJS:**

Miner (1993) has identified and described four types of organization. The JJS's structure and functions found it closer to the *hierarchic* form of organization. 'In hierarchic systems management, being at the higher level plays the key role' (ibid). The extent to which JJS is considered closer to hierarchical organizational pattern is:

- JJS 'work rules are established by management'
- 'Job rules are evaluated by superiors'
- 'Freedom of action is limited by organizational guidelines'
- 'Organizational changes are carried out by management'
- 'Pay levels are based on seniority or hierarchical position'
- 'Job changes are initiated by management'
- 'Risk of failure is assumed by top level managers'
- 'Resources for work accomplishments are allocated by management'
- 'Meeting are called and conducted by management'

This type of organizations is large in scale and old. Management is under specific rules and regulations. In this sphere, JJS is different from hierarchical pattern of organization. JJS is only less than 2 decades old and it is yet not so vast organization. But it has a management and employees and there works are managed under some rules. Though the rules are mostly dictated by the ED as its structure is very simple and has become an authoritative natured organization. In JJS the ED's decision is rule and what and how he run JJS is part and parcel of management. That is why JJS is in authoritative ideology and a simple structured organization.

#### 4.4. Programmes of JJS:

JJS's endeavour to fulfil the objectives and thus to reduce poverty is divided into five thematic areas (JJS: 2003). Each area has different programmes with specific purposes as shown in the following table:

*Table: Programmes of JJS*

<b>Thematic Areas</b>	<b>Purposes</b>	<b>Projects/Campaign</b>
<i>Governance &amp; Human Rights(GHR)</i>	To strengthen the constituency of poor disadvantaged, marginal and socially excluded people for promoting their human rights within the light of humanity and works towards better governance with more accountable public institutions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Campaign for responsive governance</li> <li>• Broad based coalition for advocacy and human rights.</li> </ul>
<i>Child Rights &amp; Quality Education(CRQE)</i>	To increase access to basic and quality education for children and poor people and to mobilize institutions to respond better in child rights issues.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Child right campaign</li> <li>• Quality education campaign</li> <li>• Reflect</li> <li>• Juvenile Justice Projects</li> </ul>
<i>AIDS, Trafficking, Violence and Rights</i>	To raise awareness for prevention of HIV/AIDS among the vulnerable people and to reduce women & child trafficking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Campaign on Human rights on Sex Workers.</li> <li>• Anti-Violence campaign</li> </ul>
<i>Environment, Food Sovereignty &amp; Globalization</i>	To mobilize local community and poor occupants for getting sufficient access and control over natural resources to ensure food sovereignty and livelihood security along with to conserve the environment from severe pollution and external threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Food sovereign campaign.</li> <li>• Save the Sunderbans Campaign</li> <li>• Institution formation for asset building</li> </ul>
<i>Disaster Preparedness &amp; Mitigation</i>	To strengthen community based preparedness and response	

initiatives especially in the case  
of climatic disaster and raise  
voice for environmental  
governance against foreseen  
and unforeseen hazards

*Governance & Human Rights (G&HR)* programme aims to address the regional human rights and governance issues derived from the poor people's view. JJS thinks that the development of Bangladesh is poor governance and weak institutions. The JJS document (2003) asserted that over the years increased corruptions, mismanagement and non-existence of transparency resulted in declining confidence in the public sector and public politics besides increasing the state bureaucracy. To ensure people's rights the JJS thinks that the governance should be pro-people, participatory, responsive, accountable, transparent and efficient. Otherwise rule of law cannot be established and corruption will strongly prevail in the society. This programme does also provide policy and technical support to other programmes and right based campaigns of JJS as a central governance promotion sector. The main campaign issues of this programme are health, primary education and agriculture. The strategy is used to give information to the programme beneficiaries about their rights and privilege in these issues from government sectors.

Under *Child Rights & Quality Education (CRQE)* JJS aims to provide education to the poor and dropped out children, aged between 5 – 10 years. It also provide these children as well as their parents various child right issues at the 'shishu milon kendro'(Children's Centre). There the children learn co-curricular activities like drawing, singing dancing etc. JJS works in this programme with school teachers, UP (union parishad) members, SMC (school management committee).

*AIDS, Trafficking, Violence and Rights* has been working for the prevention of HIV/AIDS and STD in brothels of Bagerhat and Dacope upazila of Khulna District. Through years of experience, JJS explored the reasons behind the marginalization and vulnerability of the sex workers. JJS perform this job by awareness raising about HIV/AIDS as there is no GOB health support. The main purpose of this working area is to raise awareness for prevention of HIV/AIDS among the vulnerable and to reduce women and child trafficking & violence.

*Environment, Food Sovereignty & Globalization* of JJS is to stand for food biodiversity. JJS believes that food security is the non-negotiable rights of all people. However, JJS has been

opposing intellectual property over any form of life. Bangladesh is facing numerous environmental problems; some of these are very distinct in Khulna region (JJS:3003). Among these natural hazards salinity, water logging due to coastal embankments and irresponsible shrimp farming, bio-diversity loss and increase of social conflict due to commercial shrimp cultivation, arsenic contamination in ground water are very common phenomena (ibid). Only sustainable environment management is encouraged by JJS to mitigate contemporary and probable environment hazards.

The main intention of the theme area *disaster Preparedness & Mitigation* make the poor people prepared to face some common disaster of this region. Flood, water logging, cyclone and arsenic contamination are the major climatic hazards of this region that caused income and asset erosion of poor and marginal people. JJS works in collaboration with local government bodies at district thana level and union level and getting experience of hazard mapping and conduct vulnerability analysis for disaster preparedness.

#### **4.4.1. Institution Formation and Asset Building through Micro Credit:**

All these theme areas are the boarder perception and activities of JJS. It is found that within these theme areas JJS have such projects which help JJS to specify their beneficiaries. To JJS words it is *institution formation and asset building*. And the institution is formed and asset building initiatives are taken by micro credit projects. JJS think that the poor people have found helpless without certain amount of *cash money*. Two important things have found important to make JJS programmes accelerated and effective. One is to bring a group of people together and the second is to provide such input to the group of people which motivate them to be or work in group and manage some income generating activities so that they (beneficiaries) can be employed and feel secured. Hence, JJS aim from the very beginning to provide credit to the beneficiaries so that they can build and secure their asset and income position. At the grass root level people's organizations (Samities) are built at first to make them aware about their rights to the government, provide basic knowledge and skill on livelihood and income generation and then disburse credit to them. JJS also make them capable for savings to face foreseen and unforeseen shocks. This process have found during field visit as the prime activities of JJS beyond the thematic areas. And it is also noted that without micro credit activities, it is difficult to bring the target group people together. To the JJS, the poor and marginalized people of the region have two background limitations to implement the activities of the thematic areas. One is lack of capital to work and think for better life and the other one is lack of awareness about their rights and privileges to the government. Though the poor people have right to get credit from the government. But the public institutions have failed to provide credit access to the poor

people. The JJS people argued that these limitations government activities have led JJS to take credit initiatives for the poor people.

So, the researcher has chosen two significant programmes of JJS – Governance & Human Rights and Micro Credit. From the subsequent chapters the researcher will analyse based on the field work activities and primary as well as secondary data how and why JJS has chosen these two programmes.

#### **4.5. Dustha Shasthya Kendro – DSK (The Health Centre for the Poor) and the history of their programmes:**

Dustha Shasthya Kendra – DSK (The Health Centre for the Poor) was initially organized in 1989 to address the health care needs of the slum dwellers in Dhaka. Though its informal activities was started in mid eighties aimed to develop a health delivery system that in long run would be able to run on a self sustained basis. Over the years based on experience DSK has diversified its activities. DSK has already has already completed its journey of 15<sup>th</sup> year. DSK has shown it's committed to address various social and economic problems of the economically depressed and vulnerable people. Among them women are given specific attention to mitigate their poverty and remove vulnerability. In this process DSK has got exposed to various dimensions of development paradigm and continuously different designed and adapt its policies and programmes to address 'development questions' and eventually evolved in its present form.

DSK aims at building strong community based organization, which would eventually be able to plan, prioritized and implement its development programmes through mobilization of its own resources or resources of the government and society upon which they have a legitimate claim. In order to achieve its goals DSK is committed to:

- Render primary health care and family welfare services to the urban and rural poor in general, women and children in particular.
- Undertake illiteracy education programme among the children and adults.
- Exploit all potential options prevailing at the local level to generate gainful employment for the rural and urban poor, with special emphasis on expanding women's participation in the income earning ventures.
- Linking various production inputs, particularly disbursement of credit to the rural and urban poor. So that they can realize available employment opportunities.

- Contribute to improve the living conditions of the urban slum dwellers. To campaign about their right to live and providing legal assistance and shelter if necessary.
- Sensitize the corporate sector, local government and community in general about their role in development process. To facilitate and exchange collaborative arrangements.
- Launching of relief and rehabilitation programmes among the victims in the wake of natural disasters.

These are found the main objectives of DSK.

#### **4.6. Organizational Structure of DSK :**

DSK has three fold organizational structures. There is a 33 member's *general body*, 11 members' *executive committee*, and an 8 member's *central management team* (Annex-3).

The general body comprises of those who are the pioneers of DSK and act as the advisers to the NGO. Usually this body meets at least once in a year. DSK's 11 member executive committee members meets at least six times per annum and participates in all policy level discussion and decision making. Secretary General and Treasure of the executive committee are full time executives at DSK. The executive committee is delegated executive functions to the appointed executives of DSK. The chief executive with support from other directors and coordinators implement day to day activities of the organization on the basis of written accounting, employment and other procedures practiced in the organization. DSK has developed a central management team (CMT) participated by directors and coordinators of different programmes. CMT seats together every two months and takes into account all the programmes and administrative matters of the organization.

Besides these, considering large share of micro-credit programme geographically the organization has divided its programme into six areas. In each area an area manager has been given the responsibility to supervise and administer micro-credit units located in that area and he is also responsible to administer and supervise other projects located in that area.

All programme coordinators at the head office also supervise the specific programmes as per programme needs.

All DSK programmes and projects are monitored by DSK in every 3 months. Monitoring cell comprising of six team members. Besides half yearly internal audit is placed regularly. There is also human resource management unit. The details organogram is shown in annex 3.



#### 4.6.1. Mintzberg's Forms of Organization and DSK:

Based on the above mentioned structure and functions of each units as well as positions, the DSK is found similar with the different parts of organization as said by Mintzberg.

Mintzberg's idea about organization's parts	Position in JJS structure	Explanation
<i>Strategic Apex</i>	General Body / Executive Committee/ Director/ CMT	Home of top management. Collectively sole Management DSK
<i>Middle Line</i>	Programme Coordinator	The position in between strategic apex and operating core.
<i>Operating core</i>	Area Manager, and the staff under him	Basic work of DSK is produced here.
<i>Techno structure</i>	Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E) Audit and Accounts	The work process and outputs of DSK is controlled here.
<i>Support Staff</i>	Coordinator administration and Administrative officers and other staffs under him	They are providing support outside its operating workflow.
<i>Ideology</i>	Delegation of Responsibility among different units	Authority is delegated

#### 4.6.2. Miner's forms of Organization and JJS:

Miner (1993) has identified four types of organization considering the structure and functions of the organization. These are: *Hierarchic Organization*, *Professional organization*, *Task Organization* and *Group Organization*. In *hierarchic organization* key management role is played by the higher level of the organization. The *professional organization* is concerned about the required roles derived from the values, norms, ethical precepts and the codes of the profession rather than the managerial hierarchy (ibid). And the norms and values are knowledge based. The *task organization* is to push and pull of sanction. It is concerned about to complete the task as seen in the entrepreneurship. While the *group organization* based on consensus decision. Majority decision is taken into consideration.

Considering the brief description of Miner's types of organization; DSK is found closer to the group organization as the major decision of this NGO is taken in *General Body* and then execution is directed and managed by the *Executive Committee*. It is also discovered during

the field visit that there are some programmes of DSK which are taken based on the expertise knowledge of the policy level people. More over, DSK's foundation is followed by *socialist philosophy*. In this regard DSK as an organization seems to be a professional type of organization. In DSK; target is set forth in micro-credit programmes, water and sanitation (WatSan) programmes etc. This strategy of DSK is similar to the *task organization*. While, the organogram (in the annexure) shows that there is hierarchy in DSK and the NGO is managed by some rules and regulations and decision flows down from the top. So, DSK can also be considered as *hierarchic organization*.

#### **4.7. Programmes of DSK:**

It is mentioned that DSK was set as a NGO in 1989. Before that a group of social and professional activists started some voluntary health care activities in Dhaka slums from mid eighties. Over the year DSK has come to its present form. And after 15 years of its success DSK has had a number of potential programmes to eradicate poverty from society. At present the programmes of DSK stand as:

1. Primary Health Care Programme
2. Non Formal Education Projects.
3. Revolving Credit programme
4. Hospital projects.
5. Agriculture Project
6. WATSAN project
7. Sewing and Dress making project.

#### **Primary Health Care Programme:**

This programme is followed by a specific design. Generally DSK health care is tied with revolving credit programme. Initially a group is formed and they have to pay a premium for the health services offered. Currently health programme has started a new approach of collecting health premiums. DSK charges 15% percent on credit disbursed. Out of interest amount accumulated 2.5% is kept aside for health care purposes (DSK Annual Report:2004). This programme is linked with hospital program. The health care is provided by DSK's own hospitals which have established and run by DSK to facilitate health care to the group members as well as to the vulnerable poor people.

#### **Non Formal Education Projects:**

This programme of DSK is supported by the government of Bangladesh and a small part by BRAC. In the by-gone period total numbers of education centres opened by DSK were 560.

Among them 445 learning centres have finished their length of operation and 115 are continuing. Education project was spread over in Netrokona, Dhaka, Khulna and Chittagong (ibid).

### **Revolving Credit programme:**

DSK has had a vision that came out of social and economic mission of bringing financial services to the poor and the poorest so that they can come out of poverty. At present DSK is providing Micro-credit to 51,669 families through its 41 branches in 11 upazilas of 6 different districts both in urban and rural areas (Review Report of Micro-credit programme of DSK.2004:2). The urban areas are Dhaka, Khulna and Chittagong metropolitan cities and the rural areas cover Netrokona, Gazipur and Kishorganj district. It is reported in the review report of DSK (2004:02) that the programmes have effectively reduced poverty of people with skill to become self employed. However, not all the poor people have the skill of self employment even though they need the service to come out of poverty. As per the version of the report DSK is trying to develop need based micro finance products to meet the demand of most vulnerable poor people who requires additional support to develop skill for self employment to reduce abject poverty.

“DSK has started micro credit through Grameen Model<sup>5</sup> replication in the year 1992 in one of the Dhaka City Corporation slums. Since then it has served 83,796 families and has disbursed tk.891,786,780 as loan. Present outstanding loans are tk.135,899,919 and total saving mobilized is t.80,047,174 (as of June 2004) and have classified loans of tk.10,915,854”(ibid).

DSK in the mean time has experienced different type of micro finance activities. Like flexible loan and savings, financial services for the poorest, Grameen II model, livestock credit and risk fund etc. All these micro credit activities DSK has been performing in line with and fund support from the donors or some other external forces (ibid).

### **Agriculture Projects:**

The main target of this project is to extend support to the small farmers to effectively develop homestead gardening and thereby improve nutrition of their families. In the reported period agriculture projects were implemented in Netrokona and Kishorganj districts only. But now the programme has expanded its operation.

**WATSAN project:**

DSK has developed a community based model of water point (WP) for the slum dwellers to have access to DWASA's (Dhaka Water and Sewerage Authority) water supply and sanitation system. This community approach to solve water crisis in urban slums has been acknowledged as a success by different development partners (News Headings of Sanitation workshop organized by DSK: 2005). All of the activities are based on the approach of strengthening Community Based Organizations (CBOs), women leadership and behavioural change communication along with financial and social sustainability. Under this project up to 2004 the installation of 111 water points, 238 hand pumps, 1497 slab latrines, 05 cluster latrines, 02 bio-gas plants, 04 mobile water vans, 04 sanitation blocks, 05 community latrines, 01 submersible pump and 01 integrated project have been completed. In total 83,400 people are getting services by WATSAN project in City Corporation. DSK's WATSAN programme has had two related but distinct process of work. One is called *software activities* and another one is called *hardware activities*.

**Software Activities:**

This is for awareness building, motivational and coordination work by DSK frontline staffs. WATSAN. The programme is regularly followed up and the beneficiaries are given motivational lesson. Collection of existing household and community latrines, water points, tube – wells, sanitation blocks, footpath, drainage and solid water management. DSK always has given special emphasis on hygiene promotion activities at field level as well as raising awareness among people through different campaign programme in the sanitation month. Besides regular household visit emphasis is given on some special issues like benefit and importance of sanitary latrines, hand washing etc. In addition to those activities workshops, seminars and meetings have been arranged for awareness and capacity building of the community on safe water system, sanitation and hygiene promotion.

**Hardware Activities:**

During July 2004 to March 2005 192 house hold latrines, 43 deep set tube wells, 14 water points, one community latrine, one water mobile van and two community sanitation complexes were installed in slums (ibid). This type of work is called Hardware Activities of DSK.

So, in WATSAN DSK has had both social movement initiatives (software activities) and the physical or infrastructural (hardware activities) movement to facilitate the slum dwellers.

**Sewing and Dress making project:**

This is one of the small projects covered by DSK to give practical training to the beneficiaries, specially the poor women. The beneficiaries are selected mostly from slum and low-income communities and are trained on specific trade easing their entry into job market. During this period about 300 women were trained in dress making and sewing techniques (Annual Diary of DSK: 2004).

#### **4.8. Conclusion:**

Amongst from these programmes the researcher has chosen the micro credit and water and sanitation (WatSan) programmes. It is planned to find out the factors behind choosing these programmes. Not only has that but also to analyse the factors those caused DSK to select the beneficiaries as well as the operation areas of these two programmes. On the other hand, micro-credit programme and governance and human rights (G&HR) programmes have chosen to analyse. The DSK's organizational structure is more delegated in nature than the structure of JJS. While the JJS is seemed to be authoritarian as well as one man show organization. This internal factor of both JJS and DSK influence to define poverty and programmes selection to a great extent which is discussed in chapter 5 and 6.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### POVERTY CONCEPT OF JJS AND DSK

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#### **5.1. Introduction:**

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the *poverty perception* of two studied NGOs in Bangladesh. The NGOs are Dustha Shasthya Kendro – DSK (Health Centre for the Poor) and Jagroto Jubo Shongho – JJS (Juvenile Youth Organization). Their poverty perception is drawn from empirical data as well as information found during field visit. There is a diversified perception of poverty. *The international Glossary on Poverty*; edited by Gordon and Spicker (1999) have mentioned about two hundred definition of poverty. Scholars, different international organizations have defined poverty derived from their experience and empirical data. Moreover, every government have pointed what poverty is from their specific country perspective. Defining poverty in these ways are the generalized ideas of poverty. But when NGOs like JJS and DSK are going to fight against poverty, they are to identify the causes of poverty of the people for whom they are going to work and thus define what poverty is. Four programmes of JJS and DSK have taken to analyse their way of conceptualizing poverty. Micro-credit (MC) and Water and Sanitation (WatSan) programmes of DSK while Governance & Human Right (G&HR) and Micro-credit (MC) programmes have selected from DSK to get primary data and information. While visiting the fields and the beneficiaries of these projects and talking to the policy level people of both the NGOs the researcher has come to know the way JJS and DSK have defined poverty. The researcher's aim is to see whether JJS and DSK's poverty perception is influenced by the internal and external forces believes and knowledge. JJS and DSK's poverty definition is supposed to be applicable for the people and areas who are the target group people of the NGOs so that the poverty reduction programmes can be realistic as well as pragmatic. This chapter is to put attempt how JJS and DSK define poverty. Whether their poverty concept is biased or convinced by the poverty discourses talked generally which are mentioned in chapter two in this study.

#### **5.2. Empirical Analysis:**

The NGO concept of poverty is drawn from the discussion of both JJS and DSK. The programme beneficiaries and the NGO policy people have their views about the concept of poverty. The micro credit programme (MC) has selected from both the NGOs and governance & human rights (G&HR) programmes and water and sanitation (WatSan) programmes have selected to study respectively from JJS and DSK. The discussion (focus group discussion) with the policy level people, field officials and the beneficiaries of selected

programmes of DSK and JJS have also contributed to reveal the causes and factors to conceptualize poverty in a particular area and for particular people.

### **5.2.1. Micro Credit (MC) Programme of JJS**

The JJS has had total six MC (micro credit) units. Five of them are in Khulna and one is in this brothel located in Kachuapotti at Bagerhat district. 46 sex workers out of 63 of this brothel have brought together in a samity (association). Total numbers of houses (rented) are 105, where 63 adult female reside in. But out of those 63 the JJS's beneficiaries are 46. There in number. There are 42 kids and their maximum age is 11 years and minimum 2 years. All the houses are very tiny. These are made up of mud, bamboo and straw. No gas or electricity connection is in the houses. The place is dirty, wet and highly unhygienic. The interiors are very simple. Those are torned and old. The kids are found with dirty and torned dresses.

In six MC units JJS has total 7700 beneficiaries. All of them are female. To be a loan recipient under JJS MC Programme the beneficiaries is to pay 10 (0.15\$) taka each week during three months to the JJS samity (association). In addition to that each beneficiary is also to pay 15 taka more in the initial week. After three months the beneficiaries can get maximum three thousand taka (46\$) as 1<sup>st</sup> instalment loan from JJS. The beneficiaries are to give 15% interest to JJS while they are refunding the loan. The loan is refunded in 46 instalments with 15% interest. One can get 2<sup>nd</sup> instalment loan after refunding the 1<sup>st</sup> instalment's loan. Loan is given not person based but on skim based. This process of micro credit programme of JJS a commonly followed by other different NGOs and government (GOB).

But the MC programme in Kachuapotti brothel is not similar to the MC programme strategy stated above. Here, the beneficiaries are not given any loan by JJS rather every day each sex worker deposit any amount what she can do to the samity (association). This deposit is saved in the bank in the name of the samity (association). The depositor can get back her total deposited amount when she wants. The depositor is not given any interest or fringe benefit against the amount what she has deposited to the samity's fund. It contrast to the JJS's other MC programmes strategy. JJS gets 15% interest from the loan it disburses to the beneficiaries. JJS gets money from the beneficiaries but give it return without any benefit to the depositors. Though the sex workers deposited amount is invested in other income generating activities (IGA) of JJS. This seems to the researchers as cheating as well as exploiting the most vulnerable poor people. It was asked to the sex workers that why they are depositing their money to the JJS fund without any interest or benefit. They replied to it

they told that they cannot deposit their daily income otherwise. The *dadas* (male brokers) and the *maasis* (female brokers) somehow defalcate their incomes left at the end of the day. As the sex workers are neglected in the society and most of them use pseudo name, they cannot or do not want to get access to any formal banking system to deposit their income. It is seemed to the researcher that JJS has taken opportunity and exploiting the sex workers.

The programme started in 1994 through a survey in this brothel. Later in 1997 JJS formed samity here. In 2001 JJS started in a full format MC programme in this brothel. Initially there were 74 women in this brothel now it has turned to 63. Other moved to other brothels. Some beneficiaries left this brothel with a handsome amount of money but they returned back after while. The beneficiaries are simultaneously given human rights advocacy, safe sex advocacy, knowledge about HIV, adult and child literacy. The brothel is member of *sex workers network of Bangladesh* which is a forum of 14 brothels and other floating sex workers. This brothel takes part in the bi-annual summit of this net work. This brothel also observed *sex workers' day* and *women's day*.

The sex workers consider them poor as they do not have any means to earn and survive. They are isolated from the civic life and live in a dark life – the respondents stated.

The micro credit programme of JJS is varied from the common MC programme practicing in Bangladesh in general and also from the other five MC programmes operated by JJS. It is a departure from the routine of JJS's poverty reduction strategy as well as the tradition of MC programmes in Bangladesh. It is found the MC programme in the kachuapatti brothel is in a varied way because of capital accumulation by JJS. The NGO is found running programmes with the financial help of different donors. No donor is found to provide fund in MC programme in this brothel. During the interview the policy level people acknowledged that the donors are not interested to fund in all projects but JJS is to carry on those programmes. The MC programme here has been giving them input as well as contributing to raise funds for the NGO. They can invest this fund to other programmes or areas. Such strategy of JJS is only because of scarcity of resources. This new *form* of JJS is found for resource limitation (*niches*) as said in ecological theory. Not other programme but the MC programme has been selected to mitigate resource constrain because this programmes has been institutionalised and socially accepted as mentioned in institutional approach. This programme is also varied from the JJS' overall strategies' as mentioned in chapter 4. There are some thematic areas for specific purposes of JJS (see ch.4, pp.4-5) and there are also some particular projects. Among those projects or campaign MC has had no place. So, MC programme is an intentional variation and internally selected as said in evolutionary approach. But in general



MC is not JJS's own creation. It has been originated externally and JJS has just copied it as a duplication as of the prediction of ecological and institutional theories.

### **5.2.2. Governance and Human Right (G&HR) Programme of JJS**

Governance and Human Right is one of the important poverty reduction programmes of JJS operating in Rupsha Upazila in Bagerhat district. The plan was to talk to know how this programme helps the poor people to reduce their poverty. After discussing with a group of beneficiaries of the programme the researcher has come to know that there are some other programmes operating there for the same beneficiaries. The other programmes are: education – adult literacy, health, child care, HIV, agriculture, micro credit etc. JJS has formed VCRF (village citizen's right forum) in each village consisting of 3 female beneficiaries. These 3 female beneficiaries organize other beneficiaries amongst from the village women. This programme has been working since 2001. The main purpose of G&HR is to ensure the facilities rendered by GOB. According to the programme officials; most of the villagers do not know exactly what their rights are and what activities are providing for them by the government. What JJS does is to make the villagers aware under the G&HR programme about their rights and access to the government rendered services. For example, in upazila hospital the patients need not to pay fees to the doctors and they are to be given free medicine from the hospital. But as the poor villagers did not know it the doctors took charge for their services and the patients were not given medicine from the hospital. The poor patients were to buy medicine from outside hospital.

By the G&HR programme the poor villagers have come to know the fact and now they do not pay the doctors in the hospital and ask for medicine from the hospital. There are some more services of government for village people which the service recipients don't know. This ignorance cost the villagers and they are to expense a lot. JJS let the villagers to know their rights and privileges from the government. And also let them to know how to realize those rights. This is termed as governance and human rights to the JJS. In this programme JJS just work for awareness building and make the people united. But their main thrust is the GOB activities. How far the villagers are getting the government rendered services. The question here is how far this programme is sufficient enough to reduce poverty. As JJS has some other programmes for the same people, it has been difficult to assess what programme have mostly been effective or not effective to reduce poverty. Such as micro credit has had direct impact for poverty reduction. The female who is a beneficiary of micro credit programme is also the beneficiary of G&HR, HIV, education agriculture etc. simultaneously. What resulted more effectively to reducing poverty is difficult to say. But what is understood from the discussion is that they have launched these programmes because the donors have

released these. They are both in line of donor as well as in line of GOB activities too. For instance when JJS talk about HIV; it can say something about their success but this success may be for another programme.

This programme is funded by *Action Aid*; a foreign donor NGO. This programme is selected by JJS blindly because of this funding agencies' pressure. JJS also has had internal active attempt to generate alternative strategy. This cause JJS to operate some other programmes in the same area for the same beneficiaries of G&HR assuming that this programme alone is not sufficient to combat poverty of that group of people to the area. There are some other NGOs working in the same area or adjacent localities. JJS is to compete with those NGOs to survive and keep the organization running rather than being inert. So, the other programmes are helping JJS to objectify G&HR programme in line with institutional approach.

### **5.2.3. Micro credit (MC) programme of DSK:**

The studied Micro-Credit programme of DSK is located in a slum of Dhaka city. Total numbers of beneficiaries in this programme are 38 all of them are female. No male can be member of this group. Maximum 40 female can consist a group. The beneficiaries live in a very tiny wood built house which space is about 150 square feet. Almost 4 – 6 people live in those houses. The utensils and other belongings are very torned, old and dirty. It is too much unhygienic. Their daily income is on an average 150 taka (more than 2 dollars).

Initially, each beneficiary is to pay 40 taka to the *samity* (association organized by DSK) as member fee. Then she is to pay 50 taka every week as an insurance fee for 8 weeks. After 8 weeks of paying insurance fee one is eligible to get loan. First time each member can get loan 5000 taka and pay 5720 taka in 46 instalments (in 46 weeks). Then we are eligible to get 2<sup>nd</sup> phase loan amounting 8000 taka. The beneficiaries form *samity* and ask for loan. DSK give loan under some conditions. There is one field officer for each *samity* employed and salaried by DSK who is responsible to form samity, giving loans and collecting the instalment with interest. The beneficiaries invest the money as of our own way. The DSK people are only concerned about to get the instalment regularly.

The beneficiaries of the programme consider them as poor. To them their cause of poverty are: big family size, not to have enough food every day, do not have means to live, having lack of knowledge, having (partly) unemployment. As they told, their poverty can be reduced if both husband and wife can work and think about the family, family size to be kept smaller, their kids can be sent to schools. It is also their belief that they are to try first to improve the situation. DSK can only help by providing loans and advice – how to use the loans. In terms

of decision “the NGO hardly listen to us” told the discussants, “especially in terms of amount of loan and number. It is The NGO decision. Previously DSK gave 9000 taka in 2<sup>nd</sup> instalment but now they have decided to give 8000 taka. Though we do not agree with this decision. They have not listened to us. They do not consider our opinion. They decide and we are to follow it. We do not have alternative we are to retain with this NGO. All other NGOs working here are almost same. However, the loan helps us to some extent. We can try to improve our situation by investing this amount of money”. About the funding of DSK; the respondents told that the loan given to them is their fund. During two months they pay to the *samity* and that creates a fund. The beneficiaries do not know about any other funding agency or donor. It is come from the discussion that the loan is not sufficient. They need more fund. Then it can be more successful in reducing poverty. It is told to the DSK people. But this time they have reduced the amount of loan in 2<sup>nd</sup> instalment rather to increase (from 9000 taka to 8000 taka.). Even though, the programme would have brought change in the beneficiaries’ life. Some of them have bought lands in village. And some other have bought other property and have also improved their living standard have improved.

Though MC programme of DSK has been contributing to reduce poverty of the beneficiaries to some extent but the beneficiaries can not get rid of this programme cycle. The DSK’s intention is to provide loan to the slum dwellers and to get the loan back in time with interest. DSK hardly provide advocacy about how to utilize the loan and generate income of the poor people.

DSK was originated as an NGO as well as an organization to render medical services to the poor people. Its main founder and presently the Executive Director is a physician. He intended to give medical services to the urban poor people. But this MC programme found DSK is varied from its original routine and tradition and has selected such a programme intentionally to keep fit the NGO in the population. This is a duplicated programme from other organizations (NGOs and GOB organizations). But why the programme area is the slums of Dhaka and the beneficiaries are selected from the slum dwellers. The reason is revealed during discussion is political. The founding actors have had political beliefs and they have been trying to explore their vision to the slum dwellers. DSK has selected MC as it has taken grant from the society,

#### **5.2.4. Water and Sanitation programme of DSK**

The studied WatSan programme area is located in another slum of Dhaka city. The slum is composed of almost 15 households. Their houses are built by mud and wood with grass or steel (tin) roof. All are the rented houses. Each house is about 100 to 150 square feet

space. Almost 3 to 6 people live, sleep, cook and eat and in each of those tiny houses. DSK is working in this slum to give pure drinking water and hygienic sanitation facilities as the DSK people believe it as a barrier to overcome poverty.

In reply to the question why do you consider yourselves as poor - the slum dwellers told that those who cannot work or have no means to work, have no food, shelter are poor. And because of these, they consider themselves poor. Pure drinking water and healthy sanitation is regarded as indirect cause of poverty.

Among the direct causes of poverty; lost of land, lack of knowledge about how to build one's working ability is mentioned by the respondents (the target group people of the programme). Most of the respondents have lost their land in the villages where their predecessors had been living. The lost of land is because of river erosion, captured by the local elites etc. The joblessness in their own home village or town is also mentioned as the causes of poverty to them. And these have led them to move to Dhaka and got shelter in this slum. The slum dwellers feel that they need job first and then pure drinking water and healthy sanitation. Food and shelter is the first priority to overcome poverty.

The NGO people told the slum dwellers that they expense a lot for their medication in stomach ache, diarrhoea and other water carrying diseases. If they can use pure drinking water and would have sanitary latrine; they would not have expensed so much money for medication and would also be able to work more. That is why the slum dwellers have been beneficiaries of this NGO. The NGO people do not listen to the beneficiaries all time. It is found during the visit to the slum that the dwellers need some other inputs first rather than pure water and sanitation. It is also observed that the NGO people somehow avoid their clients demand to overcome poverty.

It was come to know during the discussion that every week the NGO people sit with the beneficiaries. The strategy is to get ideas from the beneficiaries as well as to get feed back from them. But it is also noticed during the non – participant observation that the NGO people impose their decision rather to listen to the beneficiaries. Moreover, the NGO programme officials talk much about national politics like what political party most of the beneficiaries belong to, which political party's people frequently come to visit the area and what are their attitudes towards the government. It is also found that the price of per bulk of water set by the NGO is higher than the price of government agency's (WASA – water and sanitation authority) price. But the beneficiaries cannot escape from them. However, the programme is not sufficient to reduce poverty but contribute to a few extents. The

beneficiaries are to pay for the service and as price of water. They have no more idea about the funding of the NGO as well as the programmes.

The decision regarding to the price of water and sanitation cost, how, when and where to establish the infrastructure is important to get to know. There is a meeting every week with the beneficiaries and it is assumed that most of the decisions are taken in that meeting. But during the visit and talking to the beneficiaries it is not proved in practice. There is meeting of the programme officials with the beneficiaries. But the NGO cannot implement as is decided in the meeting. 'We can say my demand and also how to meet up the demand but its implementation does not depend upon my decision or demand' told the participants. There are some other factors in fulfilling the demand conceptualize from the decision making process. They are to wait for a long time and to knock the programme officials several times. While the programme officials are to depend on the government organization and some time to the local government representatives to get action. Thus the programme has not brought any change to the slum dwellers life. They still suffer from stomach ache and diarrhoea. They eat rotten or stale food because they are still poor indeed.

This programme is combination of both specialised and generalist actors of DSK. There are engineers (plumbers) and other officials working in this programme. This programme is also found *variation* from DSK's routine or tradition (providing health services to the poor people). The reasons of being varied from routine and selecting a programme like WatSan has some reasons. One of the important reasons is to provide some internal manpower who have specialisation in plumbing engineering. No new employee is to hire from the out side of the organization. There are external factor also to select the programmes. This factor is the donor pressure. The only donor of this project is Plan Bangladesh which is working only for safe sanitation and pure drinking water. Launching WatSan project in slum is helping DSK to get fund from Plan Bangladesh. From the empirical analysis it has come to know that the programme in the slum is not contributing to reduce poverty in that slum. The slum dwellers told that they need food first rather than pure drinking water and sanitation. They acknowledged that hygienic sanitation and pure drinking water is important but they are to look for food first. The poverty of this slum dwellers is so severe that this programme of DSK is not giving too much utility. But DSK is to launch this programme because of available fund from the donor from this project. So, WatSan is selected through external pressure. Only the scarcity of resources led DSK to listen to from the donor. Moreover, Water and Sanitation has also got a momentum as the Government of Bangladesh has adopted in its PRSP. It has been getting social acceptance and has been institutionalised as said in institutional approach. DSK as an organization has got a new *form* which is caused by resource (*niche*)

limitation as of ecological approach. To select the slum dwellers as target group people is seemed to be intentionally selected. This intention comes from the values of the DSK founders which is *socialism*. This political value led DSK to select urban slum and the slum dwellers to operate the programme.

#### **5.2.5. Factors those influence to conceptualize poverty:**

Both DSK and JJS are local NGOs working for poverty reduction in Bangladesh. Both the NGOs have mixed criteria to set *poverty* in their working areas. But their perception varies from programme to programme. In some programme it is found that DSK has had a survey to determine poverty or the level of poverty. 'We have set some criteria to define poverty,' told the policy group discussants. DSK uses questionnaire to set poverty criteria. These sets of criteria are identified with the help of some renowned economists. Some of the criteria are: income, pattern of housing, utensils used in house hold activities, furniture etc, access to basic needs, like water and sanitation, health, education. Through these artefacts DSK identify poverty and try to reduce these. To DSK, having less than one dollar income a day is considered poor and these people have been giving priorities to bring under poverty reduction programmes. They have categorized poverty under three heads. These are:

*Hardcore poor* – having less than one dollar income in a day. Getting less than 1800 kilo calories in a day. And the people don not have any land.

*Better income poor or vulnerable non-poor* - Those who are not employed and do not have access to any commercial institution to get loan. They are capable to work and earn money through income generating activities. But they have no administrative services. They are better income poor and DSK provides them loan under micro-credit scheme.

*Low income poor* – These types of people do not have even own capacity and administrative access. But their earnings are not sufficient. These types of poor needs to give more support. To let them learn how to work with a few amount of money and what are their rights from the society. We give awareness and advocacy to these types of poor people.

These conceptions of poverty are similar to the conception of the *World Bank (WB)*, *absolute poverty* and *overall poverty* (as mentioned in chapter 2, page 20 - 21). Moreover, the concept of hard core poor and extreme poor is also defined by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), a GOB institution in 1995-96 (stated in GOB *Fifth Five Year Plan, 1997 – 2002*). The Fifth Five Year Plan: 1997 – 2002 (FFYP: 1997 - 2002) defines poverty in Bangladesh as 'economic condition in which one is unable to enjoy a minimum standard of living. It is a state of existing in amounts (of earnings by money) that are too low to buy their

basic necessities of life' (*Fifth Five Year Plan, 1997 – 2002*, p.4, Ministry of Planning, People's Republic of Bangladesh). People having less than 2112 kilo calories and 58 grammes of protein per capita per day is considered as extreme poor (*Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics – BBS, 1995 – 96*, Ministry of Finance, People's Republic of Bangladesh).

DSK considers those as poor who do not have income more than one dollar (approximately 65 taka), who are not aware of their rights, who do not have administrative service support or other amenities to fulfil the basic needs, like food, clothes, shelter, education and health facilities. This is similar to excerpts of FFYP defined poverty as economic, social and psychological deprivation occurring among people lacking sufficient ownership, control or access to resources for minimum required level of living. Both the NGOs' poverty concepts have similarities with the concept of PRSP (Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper)<sup>6</sup> in Bangladesh as 'poverty' as lack of income to meet basic needs (food, cloth, housing, education, health and security). Some of them referred poverty as the inability to have 1850-2221 kilo calorie intake per person daily (Chapter 2 of this thesis, p.22)

In line with these concepts of poverty; the physical artefacts of the DSK's and JJS's studied programmes areas' beneficiaries are not poor in general. Beneficiaries of Water and Sanitation (WatSan) programme and micro credit (MC) programme of JJS have found extreme poor in this respect. While the beneficiaries of the MC programme of DSK and G&HR programme were seemed not so deprived rather have minimum amenities required for passing the days. Each member's daily income is approximately more than 150 taka (more than \$2). Moreover, they were found conscious to say their needs and the way to improve their conditions.

Both DSK and JJS has political vision and their poverty conception is also influenced by those ideology. DSK is founded by 33 people who had socialist<sup>7</sup> political belief. They believe that some people of Bangladesh are not getting access to the support given by the government and these are considered as the main causes of poverty of their programme areas. The JJS also has similar vision. More over JJS listen to from the NGO's beneficiaries and the officials. The NGO people sitting together set their vision and mission. They arrange workshop and get ideas. In this respect JJS's poverty concept is to some extent reflected by

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<sup>6</sup> The Government of Bangladesh has approved PRSP on 16.10.05 entitled as Unlocking the Potential : National strategy for Accelerating Poverty Reduction. In March 2003 the government formulated an Interim PRSP in line with the suggestions of the donors that has subsequently resulted in the formulation of the full-fledged PRSP. It has been adopted in line with the UN millennium development goals in Bangladesh by 2015. All annual planning of Bangladesh will be followed by this PRSP from now instead of five year plan.

<sup>7</sup> Socialism in line with the communist party of former Soviet Union (as mentioned by the one of the participants of the policy group)

the society as well as the people's perception. The top officials of JJS inform that they get ideas from the beneficiaries as input to know their causes of poverty and what they need most.

JJS has some basic ideology. They believe in anti globalization, anti capitalism. They believe in equity. Keeping in mind these ideologies their vision and mission are set forth and lacking of inequality is termed as poverty. So, the ideology as well as vision of the NGO organizers influence in conceptualizing poverty. However, JJS's thinking of poverty is a bit different from the concept of WB. It is said that a person having less than two dollar income per day is poor. But the WB (World Bank) idea is that a person having less than one dollar income per day is extreme poor (Gordon & Spicker, ed., 1999 :149). JJS thinks that a person is not poor having three times meal in a day, has ensured basic health facilities and can send the kids to the schools. Other way it can be said that to pass the day without tension free has crossed poverty line. This idea of poverty matches with the concept of *over all poverty* given by United Nations in Copenhagen Declaration 1985. (ibid: 97)

There are some general causes in Khulna region as articulated by JJS. These causes are:

- Deindustrialization – it causes unemployment. Khulna is an industrial area. The GOB policy of denationalization caused firing of employees. It created unemployment in Khulna.
- Inactive sea port also causes unemployment.
- Salinity of the cultivable land because of shrimp cultivation rather than paddy. It reduces productivity of land. In shrimp cultivation it needs fewer workers than agricultural production. It causes unemployment in agriculture.
- Less investment because of terrorist activities.
- Less priority in GOB development plan.

But none of the JJS programme is directly linked with overcoming the poverty causes mentioned by them as above.

#### **5.2.6. The Poverty perception Actors of JJS & DSK:**

Clearly the poverty perception of JJS and DSK is influenced by the following actors :

- The World Bank (WB)
- Government of Bangladesh (GOB)
- Other large scale NGOs



From the above discussion; it can be drawn that *poverty* conception of both DSK and JJS is influenced by the GOB policy i.e. Five year Plan as well as PRSP. The NGOs' are thinking *poverty* the way it is termed by GOB's documents i.e. PRSP and Fifth Five Year Plan. Moreover, world trend of poverty has internalised by the NGOs. Specially, the WB's ideas are found picking up by these NGOs. There is also relationship between big and smaller NGOs (Newaz, 2003: 64). To Riddle (1995, cited in *Impact of Micro-Credit Programs of Two Local NGOs on Rural Women's Lives in Bangladesh*, 2003: p 64) there is a patron-client relationship between local smaller NGOs and the donors as well as the big NGOs. This relationship motivates the smaller NGOs to hire concept or ideas from the donors. It is found during discussion with the policy level people of JJS and DSK that they feel themselves more accountable to the foreign donors and the big NGOs (the big NGOs have turned into donors to the local and smaller NGOs). The NGOs have mechanism to getting ideas from the poor people but those ideas are hardly reflected. The head office's top officials were found busy to prepare paper for the donors. In addition to that the ideology or values of the NGO organizers influence the ideas of poverty. Hence, the people's perception also tried to bring into consideration as a very important component in this respect. But the *donor dependency* attitudes bound the NGOs to keep the Poor's perception aside. And thus the poverty perception of JJS and DSK is mostly influenced by the individual belief or general poverty knowledge which seems to be unrealistic.

### **5.3. Conclusion**

It is found that the poverty perception of JJS and DSK is similar to the concept of World Bank, UNDP and the policy of Government of Bangladesh (GOB). Moreover, JJS and DSK has also been hiring poverty concept from some big donor NGOs of Bangladesh. These are the external forces which influence poverty perception of JJS and DSK. Among the internal factors individual belief or group belief have found to dictate poverty perception. In JJS; the founder's anti-globalization belief and attitudes cause this NGO not to consider WB and UNDP's perception ideal to define poverty. This belief causes a one-eyed perception. While JJS is found to overlook some basic poverty cause of its working area (Khulna and Bagerhat districts). Cumulative increase of unemployment is the main cause of poverty in this region. This unemployment is because of abandonment of some industries, lack of investment in this region and reduction of agricultural activities for salinity of cultivatable land. On the other hand DSK is influence mainly by its *socialist* values and the internal actors' ideology. Their programmes areas' people told different story of their causes of poverty rather than the cause said by DSK. In the WatSan programme area the water and sanitation is not the prime cause of their poverty. It is observed that DSK tries to articulate lack of pure drinking water and hygienic sanitation as the top most cause of poverty in the slum area. It is because of

governments policy and donors guidelines. To get funds from GOB and donors DSK has to articulate pure water and sanitation as the cause of poverty concept of DSK and in the slum. Thus the poverty concept of JJS and DSK have found unrealistic.

## CHAPTER SIX

### JJS AND DSK: HOW TO SELECT POVERTY REDUCTION PROGRAMMES

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#### 6.1. Introduction

This study was set forth two questions to analyse. One is *how do the NGOs conceptualize the term 'poverty' and what factors cause the NGOs to select poverty reduction programmes*. The empirical study was conducted on micro credit programmes (MC) of JJS and DSK and governance & human rights (G&HR) programmes and water and sanitation (WatSan) programmes have selected to study respectively from JJS and DSK. The discussion (focus group discussion) with the policy level people, field officials and the beneficiaries of selected programmes of DSK and JJS have also contributed to reveal the causes of selecting those programmes to a particular area and for particular people. The empirical study is discussed in the preceding chapter where JJS and DSK's poverty conception is analysed. In this chapter attempt is given to analyze the *factors those influence JJS and DSK to select strategy or programmes to reduce poverty* and last but not at the least, to look into *whether there is any gap between their perception of poverty (discussed in chapter five) and the applied strategies*. How far the NGOs' strategy to reduce poverty match with their meaning of poverty. To what extent the JJS's and DSK's aims of poverty reduction have been affected by external and internal factors. All these analysis in this chapter is done on the basis of the empirical study on four programmes of JJS and DSK which have discussed in chapter five. It is important to look into the analysis from ecological, evolutionary and institutional approaches' point of view. It is also to see how the variation, selection, retention and struggle process of evolutionary approach as well as ecological and institutional approaches (Aldrich, 2004) have better suited to unveil the factors which cause JJS and DSK to select programmes. This chapter will also try to streamline among the variables, theoretical stance and the analytic generalization of poverty and reason of selecting poverty reduction programmes. The method of data analysis used here is mentioned in *data analysis* section of chapter one. The unit of study, number and nature of the respondents have also shown in *data collection* section of chapter one.

#### 6.2. The factors those cause to select poverty reduction programmes of JJS & DSK:

To many extent the poverty concept of NGOs are misguided. The reality does not always match with the NGOs' vision, mission, donors' prescription and the GOB's instruction. This

misguided poverty concept again lead to mismatched poverty reduction programmes. Three important components of NGO programmes can be noted. One, the content of the programmes—i.e. how to reduce poverty or what mechanism or strategy is adopted. Second, the programme areas – what geographical areas would be the span of the programme. And at last but not at the least, who would be the beneficiaries – i.e the targeted group of people for whom the programme is designed. These three are dependent with each other. If the programme content is given priority, it is then looking for that what group of people or in what areas' the programme would bring optimum utility. Other way, where area or locale is preferred, it is then to consider what needs there most to reduce poverty. And when the target groups are determined, it is to bring into consideration what strategy will suit most for reducing their poverty and where to get those target group people. The NGOs are motivated by some factors in ordering these components or selecting of the component/s of poverty reduction programmes. The purpose here is to see those factors which have motivated JJS and DSK in selecting poverty reduction programmes.

At the beginning JJS did design the programme as of their way. But for last two years JJS has been designing the programmes based on the line of PRSP (Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper). According to this strategy they have been addressing all the beneficiaries in light of the programmes. FGD (Focus Group Discussion) is one such tool through which JJS can assess the poverty of the people. The JJS form *samity* (association) in each programme area. They observe the beneficiaries' standard after one year. How s/he entered to the group and what is the change of the beneficiaries after one year. They have assessment of each beneficiary's asset or income at the initial stage when s/he entered in to the group and what is his income and assets or living standard after 5 to 10 years. This assessment helps JJS to know the poor people and how far the beneficiaries could achieve through the programmes. At the initial stage JJS set a baseline. If the base line is crossed it is assumed that poverty is reduced. This standard is set with the discussion of the beneficiaries. They tell that at what standard they would think they are no poorer. Because JJS does not have any baseline survey to fix the standard of poverty. JJS believes that every people have right to get the services given by GOB. The NGO works to make it sure that each of them has got those services. Before launching governance and human rights programme JJS made a survey that how much access people do have to the services rendered by the GOB like, education and health facilities. After 3 years JJS has assessed the access to those services. Whether the people's level of access to GOB services have improved or not. According to JJS, indirectly this survey helps them to know the level of poverty of the area.

To JJS their decision regarding to preparing and selecting programmes, preparing budget etc are pro-people. There are *core management team* and *management team* in JJS. The management team comprises of all the chiefs of the programmes at field level, like unit manager or field officers and the core management team is comprised of the coordinators of each programme. The management teams are the field representatives. The core management team are the policy level people. The core management team talk to the management team and design programmes. The core management team get the feed back of the beneficiaries through the management team. Such feedback is taken July – August in every year. This July – August is called PRRP (participatory review and reflection process) time. This is a workshop held every year. Through this workshop they get input that is reflected in their planning. Every year in August they make plan and set objectives for next year. But it is discovered while talking to the beneficiaries of MC and the G&HR programmes of JJS it is discovered that this participatory process is fruitless. JJS's action is not in line with the results of the PRRP. DSK does not have idea sharing in this way.

While asking to the top officials that beneficiaries' perception is not effecting in programme designing and in other aspects; they acknowledged that there are other factors which affect decision in this regard. The donors play very significant role in decision making. They revealed that we have PRRP, 'we talk to the civil society and the local NGOs and we have our own thinking but none turn into reality unless we get donors support. In donor funded organization we are listening to their instruction and follow their guidelines' acknowledge the top official of JJS. Thus the donors' policy influence to a great extent. Usually, the donors or the large NGOs circulate bid and the NGO is to submit proposals according to the bid. Which NGOs fit most with the bid can get the programmes. In this process the programmes are absolutely guided by the donors. JJS has some programmes which they want to run but they do not get fund. For such lack of fund they are to file up some programmes. Some times JJS tries to run this type of programmes with their own fund but it becomes difficult. There are proposed programmes for which JJS has not got any fund for five years. But some times programmes are carried without the donors' fund, like *children forum*, *the sunderbans forest conservation programme*. JJS has thrust to run programmes as of their own choice but they face hurdle to do so. So, donors' perception of programme selection does not always match with the perception of NGO. The donors always fund for those programmes which match with their perception even though that does not suit to the perception of NGO. Usually, the donor funded programmes are offered by the donors. The NGO offered or projected programmes are not guaranteed to get fund. JJS invest in these programmes from the interest of its micro credit programmes. Thus, the micro credit programmes give energetic

input to the NGOs which benefit is not given to the beneficiaries of the MC programmes but to the other people.

It was asked that why the donors do not provide funds in the programmes which you design and think a feasible strategy for poverty reduction? The discussants made known that maybe the donor is funding for such programmes but we are not getting. Maybe once they gave fund but at present we are not getting. Maybe our policy does not match with the donor's policy. It is a fact there is freedom to carry on programmes without donor funding. Some foreign donors are run by government fund. DUTCH NGO is an instance. It is run by Dutch government fund. So, they are to follow the Dutch government's policy. Whatever our programme is; if it does not suit to the Dutch government's policy the NGO will not provide us fund. Their policy may not match with the need of our society but we try to match with the need of our society. In this regard there is a gap of perception between the Donor NGO and the recipient NGO. Usually the foreign donors or foreign NGOs come to work in Bangladesh to respond to the need of our society not to implement their policy. Here it seems that the donors' initiatives are to impose their policy rather than the societies' demand. From the donor's perspective it is come to know that keeping in mind the society's need they invite designed programmes from the local NGOs through bid. Which NGO fits most is rewarded by releasing funds. The civil society has opportunity to play a role in our decision-making process. There are some other NGOs in this locality. We talk to them and they are a part of our PRRP. The EC (Executive Committee) of this NGO also plays a role to a few extent. We talk to them but their opinions do not reflect so much in programme selection.

In terms of selecting programmes' areas (geographical) the discussants told that they usually select those remote areas where no service has already reached like, the Sunderbans area. Here, GOB services are yet to be received and JJS has a programme there. 'We did so at our initial stage' as noted. But now JJS works in those areas which are identified by the GOB. Moreover, there are some programmes which we run in collaboration with GOB. In this case JJS works in those areas where the GOB has projects. Here, 'we do not have an option' to choose the areas told the respondents. The G&HR programme is like that. JJS has some other programmes in the same area for the same people. Such as micro-credit, education, HIV, food and nutrition, child care, agriculture and adult literacy. Except micro-credit all these programmes are in collaboration with GOB which are funded by Action Aid – an international NGO. Thus, both GOB and donor influence to select geographical areas to select in launching programmes. Though JJS has choices and wants to select programmes in line with their choice but they cannot do this because of resource constraints. The studied MC programme which has been operating in a brothel is selected absolutely by

JJS's own initiative though it is not a micro – credit in that sense. Micro-credit as a term now broadly used to mean very small – sized loans without any collateral (*Fifth Five Year Plan : 1997 – 2002*, Planning Commission, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh : p.13). It is pioneered in Bangladesh by a Grameen Bank<sup>8</sup> project. Since then MC has been operating by giving loans to the beneficiaries so that they can generate their income through different activities. The amount provided by different micro finance institutions (MFI) to the poor people who have less than half an acre of land. The amount varies from 1000 taka to 10000 taka (ibid). The borrowed amount is refunded to the MFI in instalments with interest. The JJS MC programmes in the Kachuapotti brothel is reverse from this system. Here, JJS gets money from the sex workers rather to give them loan. The deposited money is returned to them without giving any benefits. In this the clients do not get opportunity to invest their money to any income generating activities. Rather, JJS makes an amount with the deposits and invest in different projects but do not give its benefit when returning the money to the depositor. JJS acts like a cashier. The result is – no change in the poor sex workers life. That's why they cannot go back to their civic lives and remain poor.

The responses of DSK supported MC programme is a bit line with the trend of this programme in Bangladesh. As stated above the loan is disbursed among the borrowers and got back by 46 instalments with interest. But here DSK does not provide any income generating activities. The purpose of the loan seems to get interest but not to boost the borrowers to organize income generating activities.

In DSK decision is taken in executive committee meeting. The executive committee is comprises of 33 members who have come together motivated by socialist political ideology. As per constitution at least 6 meetings of executive committee are to be held. If necessary more meetings can be held. One General Meeting is also held and there is also an AGM (Annual General Meeting) where the budget is passed. The activities of the year are set there. This is the procedure of decision making of DSK. The decisions taken in the executive committee run the year round. And there is also monthly meetings held in each month that is conducted by the general secretary or the executive director. In these monthly meetings the activity report is placed and these reports guide to take decisions in Executive Committee Meeting. DSK's programme selection is mostly dominated by political motive and the donors' guidelines. The respondents during discussion told that there is a poverty map in Bangladesh. This map indicates the areas where mostly the poor people are leaving. The

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<sup>8</sup> Grameen Bank is the organization which pioneered the institutional innovation of providing micro-credit to massive number of women, inspired government programs in targeting women

GOB, WB, ADB (Asian Development Bank) have made poverty map. We have not made any poverty map but we select programme areas based on this poverty map. More over, DSK works in Dhaka slum which is not included in the poverty. But they told, we have come to feel that the people of Dhaka slum have been living in inhuman life. They are almost one-third (3 million) of the total population of Dhaka city. 'This area selection is our own creation' informed by the policy group respondents. 'In this phase we are not convinced by the donors or other external forces. But initially the Government did not allow and support us to work in slum areas'. It is asked that the people of studied MC WatSan programmes of slum areas have found more than two dollar income a day per person. So, why is it considered by DSK that it should be included in poverty map? In reply the discussants told that In slum area *below one dollar a day income is poverty* concept is not accepted. Here, the poverty indicators are pattern of housing, access to health care, water and sanitation facilities etc. The donors' (WB, ADB) did not have negative attitude to DSK approached fund for working in slum. The WB and ADB wanted to include slum dwellers in poverty map. In 1996 DSK got a small amount for Water and Sanitation Projects (WSP) from WB and UNDP. So, the donors had intention to work for slum poor people. And DSK took it. While the government does not want the slum to cover in poverty map. The government's attitude is that the number of slum dwellers will be increased more if the facilities are increased. The government want to protect people coming to slum from village. DSK does not believe in protecting the flows of people coming from rural to urban areas what government wants. They think this as natural. That is why 'we have objectively initiating programmes for the slum dwellers' told the discussants.

The discussants acknowledged about their financial constrain. This constrain is meet up by the donation from the foreign donor agencies or big local NGOs DSK have started with the donation from the Dutch Embassy. It was a small grant. There they had some guide lines. As soon as the guideline was fixed the money came to the project. Their fund at that time was for health sector and for income generating activities (IGA). We got that money and started health programme and IGA. It is also got to know that the donors have had their own mission. When it matches with the NGO they donate money.

According to the discussants the MC programme can not serve the poorest people. That is why they have launched Water and Sanitation (WatSan) program in slum areas. While visiting to WatSan it is also found that the people are poor indeed. They need first food. To ensure food they are to give works or income generating tools rather programme like WatSan. In the preceding section (5.2.4) it is revealed that this programme depends upon the performance of the government organization i.e. WASA (Water and Sewerage Authority).



It is not cost effective as the users are to pay more than those use WASA's facilities. It is made out of sense that the programme in that slum is politically motivated. The programme itself (WatSan) is followed by the GOB policy, i.e. *Sanitation for All by 2010*. Moreover, a civil society report on water, sanitation and hygiene promotion submitted to government in 2003; suggested that water, sanitation and hygiene promotion should be given priority in PRSP. Because, effectively lowered safe drinking water coverage to only 74% of the population (Ahmed, 2002: pp.11-12). In Bangladesh 13.5% of rural house holds use sanitary latrines. Overall sanitation access including pit latrine is officially stated to be 43.4%, for combined rural and urban communities with an increase of about 1% per annum (WatSan information Booklet, NGO Forum for Drinking Water and Sanitation). At this rate it will take nearly 60 years to cover the entire country with safe sanitation facilities (*Water Aid Bangladesh Report, 2003*). This situation is given NGOs to work more for water and sanitation activities. DSK is exercising this opportunity. But the government's concern is mostly in rural areas. The DSK has no water and sanitation programme in rural areas. DSK's work and concern over Dhaka city's slum for this programme is seemed politically motivated.

It is also found that DSK's programme is also influenced by the expertise of the founders. The executive director of DSK is a physician. So, DSK started with health programme and still have a number of health programmes in different slums. The chief programme coordinator is an agriculturist. That causes to take some agriculture related programmes. These are accredited by the respondents. These two of the executive committee members are full time employees in DSK and 'our opinion gets some priority and we are different from other employees' accredited by one of these two executive committee members.

While talking to one of the former directors of the Department of Social Welfare<sup>9</sup> it is revealed that the NGO people to a great extent choose the senior civil servants' areas to work to get quick approval of the projects and speedy release of funds.

The field work experience found that the DSK and JJS poverty reduction programmes are influenced as well as motivated by some factors. The significant factors are made known both the external and internal factors. In external factors the donors and GOB policy and guide lines are important. These have come to force because of financial constrain. Internally JJS has intention to go with the programmes as of its own way as they told but for financial constrain JJS is failed to do so in general. DSK's motivating factors for programme

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<sup>9</sup> Department of social welfare is an attached department of the Ministry of Social Welfare of the Government of Bangladesh. All the local NGOs in Bangladesh are registered under this department and the NGOs are to release government fund from this department.

selection are mainly their political values, expertise of the policy level people and overall the donors as well as the GOB policy. Now let us see the relevance of the identified factors with the theoretical stance and variable.

### **6.3. Relevance of Theoretical Stance and Variable:**

It has been very much explicit that the poverty reduction programmes like, micro-credit, water and sanitation, governance and human rights are selected not to keep real poverty at the field but to be influence by some internal and external factors which are the independent variables. The factors are:

#### **External Factors:**

- *GOB – as said in PRSP and other poverty reduction programmes.* Currently the Government of Bangladesh has adopted poverty reduction strategy papers. Before formulating this paper, there were a lot of discussion about the term poverty and the ways and means of poverty reduction strategy. More over, the GOB has other action plan to combat poverty. Micro-credit programmes are one of the prominent strategy of GOB. Both JJS and DSK's MC programmes have found to be taken matching with this strategy. This MC programme is hired and copied from GOB as well as from other big NGOs working in Bangladesh. To ensure pure drinking water and sanitation by the year 2020 is GOB plan. So, WatSan programme of DSK is also found to select to be influenced by the GOB strategy.
- *Donors – Plan Bangladesh, Water Aid, Action Aid, World Bank, ADB, UNICEF, Forum for Children, PKSF, BRAC etc.* are the main donors of both JJS and DSK. BRAC and PKSF are funding for specially MC programmes. While specialised NGOs like Water Aid, Plan Bangladesh are funding for water and sanitation. Among other factors, DSK's WatSan programme is the influenced by the fund availability from Water Aid, World Bank and ADB. While the Action Aid, UNICEF, Forum for Children are funding for child and adult literacy, child health and governance programmes. JJS is getting fund available from them which cause them to operate these programmes.

#### **Internal Factors:**

- *Values or vision of the NGO – Socialist political value of DSK and anti globalization ideology of JJS.* To select the urban slum dwellers as the beneficiaries by DSK is because of the socialist value posses by most of the founding actors and current

policy level people of DSK. While the JJS is motivated by the anti-globalization ideology which causes them to work with those programmes which can help to generate local people's awareness and local group feelings.

- *Expertise of the NGO.* It is found that DSK has had a number of specialised people in different areas. The executive director is a physician which led DSK to be found as a health care centre. The programme director is an agriculturist that causes it to select agricultural programmes in suburbs and rural areas. Moreover, they have already some engineers and plumbers working in DSK. To utilize the internal experts, DSK is selecting relevant programmes. Utility of these programmes to reduce their clients poverty seem to come as second thought. The executive director of JJS is a human right campaigner. This notion has motivated him to select programmes.

Now it is to see how do the variation, selection, retention and struggle process of evolutionary, ecological and institutional approaches have operated in the findings.

	<b>Evolutionary</b>	<b>Ecological</b>	<b>Institutional</b>
<b>Variation</b>	JJS and DSK's strategy evolution is a departure from its routine.	Strategy varies to match JJS and DSK's <i>form</i> with available <i>resources</i> .	Programme variation of JJS and DSK is produced by internal and external norms and values.
<i>Departure from the current routine and tradition</i>	The founding strategic objectives (in chapter-4,p.3) of JJS is to address the poor from human rights point of view, the gender and the child trafficking, community based disaster preparedness etc. which was the routine of JJS. Micro-credit programme in brothel causes JJS's variation from this routine.	JJS is found to take MC programme as poverty reduction strategy beyond its routine is only to accumulate resources and thus to match with available resources. DSK is also not in its routine. It has been operating programmes other than the health services and to do so DSK is to get resource assistance from the donors which are not in	The Kachuapotti brothel girls and women needed some one to whom they can trust and deposit their daily earnings to ensure safety savings of their income. As MC programme has already taken social grant, JJS by the name of MC has launce a programme which is

While the DSK's initial aim was to give health services to the poor people. Its objectives were also to work to build strong community based organization with its own resources. But at this stage of DSK, it is no more confined within health services for the poor people. It is also working with the financial assistance of donors rather than its own resources.

its routine.

not an MC in that sense. In the field of G&HR, JJS has also been operating some other programmes. MC is one of them. The field officials told that without offering MC; it is hard to form groups and run other programmes. So, MC as socially objectified norms is selected by JJS.

**Selection**

*To choose new strategy after being departed from the routine and tradition*

Choosing the new programmes beyond the routine both JJS and DSK have selected programmes. JJS and DSK as organizations is changed and evolution of strategy. This change of strategy does not match with the real poverty of their beneficiaries.

The programmes of JJS and DSK can hardly keep match with internal and external environments because of resource constrain. WatSan programme of DSK and MC programme in brothel of JJS is found incapable to combat poverty and do not match with their poverty causes. But the NGOs have been running these programmes only to raise funds and thus overcome resource shortage.

Programmes, specially MC of JJS and DSK are selected to have conformity to external norms, symbols and roles. The actions are copied from external forces.

<p><b>Retention</b> <i>Duplicated or reproduced programmes</i></p>	<p>JJS and DSK both have copied MC programmes from other NGOs in the population. Moreover, they have been running this programme in other areas also without justifying its reality. The WatSan programme of DSK is copying in other adjacent slums of Dhaka city. While the JJS has hired G&amp;HR programme from its donors conception.</p>	<p>The WatSan of DSK programme of DSK is hired from the GOB and donors idea. And MC programme of both JJS and DSK is copied from GOB and the NGO population. This is to match resource crisis.</p>	<p>Strategy is copied and duplicated by internal and external understandings and transmission. JJS has selected brothel as MC programme area. It is the influence of the founding belief. The belief is to work for socially excluded people. The brothel girls are that kind of people. But the programme content (MC) is the product of the values of NGO population. But it can not work to reduce poverty.</p>
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<p><b>Struggle</b> <i>To contest to obtain scarce resources</i></p>	<p>JJS and DSK are to contest to obtain resources from the funding agencies and thus to survive in NGO population.</p>	<p>JJS and DSK have been struggling to select programmes matching with reality</p>	<p>Resource constrain of the NGOs create hurdle to select programmes keeping in line with socially constructed norms and symbols.</p>
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#### **6.4. Conclusion**

At this stage it can be said that:

There is gap among the poverty perceptions of the NGOs (JJS and DSK) – donors as well as GOB and the beneficiaries. The pragmatic strategy to fight against poverty should be to

consider the beneficiaries' perception to select programmes. But both JJS and DSK select programmes in line with the donors perception of poverty. donors' perception of programme selection does not always match with the perception of NGO. The donors always fund for those programmes which match with their perception even though that does not suit to the perception of NGO. Usually, the donor funded programmes are offered by the donors. The NGO offered or projected programmes are not guaranteed to get fund.

DSK also give emphasise the individual actors perception and thus select programmes. and the applied strategies. And the individuals are influence by political ideology. More over, DSK has had some experts who are highly paid. If DSK does not launce programmes matching with the expertise of the experts; it would not be economically viable. Both JJS and DSK is to get some programmes, specially the GOB funded programmes by competing in *bid*. To, win in bid economically viable programme design is given priority keeping aside the reality at the field. Thus the internal and external forces are prioritised to select programmes. It is revealed that the prime cause of such programme selection is scarcity of resource as said in struggle process of evolutionary approach. JJS and DSK have become re-routed and select programmes keeping the real poverty aside. Their programmes have no social objective as said in institutional approach. How far the NGOs' strategy to reduce poverty match with their meaning of poverty. To what extent the JJS's and DSK's aims of poverty reduction have been affected by external and internal factors.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSION

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#### 7.1. Introduction

Poverty has been and still a key issue not only in Bangladesh but also in all over the world. It has been the challenge for the world leaders to fight against poverty. The commitment of the world leaders to meet Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) within 2015 where *eradicate extreme poverty and hunger* is in the top amongst eight goals; proves that the *poverty* issue is highly significant (<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>). Poverty is more challenging for the developing countries like Bangladesh. Resource scarcity, illiteracy of the mass people, political conflict and over all mismanagement of the government as well as corruption have considered as the most challenging factors for Bangladesh to reduce poverty from the society. In Such a gap between scale of poverty and the context; the non-government organizations' (NGOs) efforts got momentum to fill up this gap in Bangladesh. During the long journey of the NGOs in Bangladesh; have also faced challenges to fight against poverty. The challenges come from within the society, from the state, from NGOs themselves as well as from purposive activities of some ill motive driven NGOs. It has been a vital question to the audience that whether the NGOs are successful or not to reduce poverty. Whether the NGOs working in Bangladesh have been nourish some other agenda behind the scene. Whether they have any hidden agenda. In these sort of question mark some NGOs successful performance have already got acceptance by the society as well as by the government itself. But still there are many other NGOs which performance and activities are still in question mark. One of the main reasons of this is the ongoing poverty scale of Bangladesh. Still almost half of the population are living bellow poverty line. There are definitely a number of reasons and argument from the NGO activists and from the people of the society. The gap between real poverty and the strategy chosen by the NGOs is one of the important causes for NGOs' failure in poverty reduction. Here, the researcher has assumed that the NGOs' poverty reduction programmes do not match with the real poverty. It means that the programme areas, the programme beneficiaries as well as the programme contents are not streamlined in many cases. The programme content may have capacity to reduce poverty but in many cases the beneficiaries or the geographical area of the programme are wrongly or ill-motively or biasedly selected. That is why the programmes do not match with the reality. So, it becomes important to get to know the factors those cause the NGOs' to select programme. Before selecting programme content, programme areas and the beneficiaries the NGOs certainly identify the poverty concept. Thinking this the researcher have posed some questions in forefront that *how do the NGOs in Bangladesh,*

*conceive the term poverty and how do they select poverty reduction programmes?* The answer of these questions can justify the pre-assumption of existing problem with poverty and the practicability of NGOs' launched poverty reduction programmes. The researcher has followed some specific method as mentioned in earlier chapters. The answers of the research question have searched by gathering empirical data, information, and relevant secondary documents. Five programmes of two NGOs have selected to look for the answers of the pre-posed research questions which have discussed in chapter five. In this chapter attempt is given to *what have found* from the empirical study. Moreover, how far the theoretical background used in this research (variation, retention, selection and struggle process of evolutionary, ecological and institutional approaches) could effectively guide the researcher for better answer of this research to make an *analytic generalization* of the findings. Last but not at the least, attempt is given to this chapter to see the justification of hypotheses which were assumed at the beginning of this study.

## **7.2. The findings of the study:**

It is found during the field visit and the documents provided by the JJS and DSK and other relevant organizations that these two NGOs have undertaken some quality programmes to reduce poverty of the people of programme areas. But their conceptualization of the term *poverty* is hardly local knowledge based. In many cases they have borrowed concept of *poverty* either from their funding agencies, or from government's perception or from the ideology of the NGOs' pioneer/s. It is also found that the people of programme areas have not been able to free from being their beneficiaries. It implies that the beneficiaries' conditions (level of poverty) have not improved or they are kept inclined to the programmes as well as the NGOs in different ways. The poverty reduction programmes are either exported by external forces like donor agencies and GOB to the JJS and DSK. The expertises of the NGOs' top officials also get upper hand in programme selection criteria. The political motives (DSK is found motivated by socialist political ideology while JJS is found anti globalization doctrine.) influence these two NGOs in programme selection. These factors have led JJS and DSK to keep the real poverty aside in designing programmes. So, It can be said from the empirical study of DSK and JJS that:

- The NGOs' meaning of poverty is not fully local knowledge based. Both the NGOs have hired the concept either from the GOB perception, or from excerpts of different scholars, or from the contemporary global perception of poverty. JJS and DSK have hardly checked the excerpts of this perception with their programme fields' reality.



- In many cases selection of poverty reduction programmes of JJS and DSK do not consider what poverty really is in the area where they have been working. They are to consider some external and internal factors to select programmes.
- The selection of programmes of JJS and DSK are significantly influenced by the factors like:
  1. External factors: the donors or funding agencies of the NGOs, GOB programmes.
  2. Internal factors: NGO's expertise, resource constrain, ideology of the NGO founder/s
  3. Other factors: competition among the NGOs working in the same localities, to retain the beneficiaries as the NGOs' clients etc.

So, the poverty reduction programmes of JJS and DSK to a large extent do not match with the reality.

The evolutionary approach have found applicable in the case of JJS and DSK's programme selection. According to this approach there are variation in evolving organization. This variation occurs intentionally or blindly. In most cases NGOs intentionally take attempt to generate poverty reduction programmes matching with the problems. Alternatively, there are NGOs which try to mach programmes keeping consistence with the need for places, time, and people. The JJS and DSK have found very much intended to initiate relevant programmes. But it is found that these NGOs' programmes varied from their required attempt to reality either intentionally or blindly because of internal and/or external pressure. Selections of programmes are again forced either by GOB, or by donor or by the internal factors as mentioned in the selection process of evolutionary approach. These two NGOs micro-credit, education and governance and human rights programmes are duplicated from other NGOs and to cope with the demand of GOB as well as funding agencies. There found mix reaction among the beneficiaries about the success and applicability of these programmes to reduce there poverty. The MC programmes of JJS in the brothel are not MC programmes totally as practiced in other NGOs and principle followed by PKSF. The WatSan programme of DSK is found politically motivated. DSK has belief in socialist political values and they think that the urban poor slum dwellers can be organized and motivated against the ruling government and thus to coax out the slum dwellers civic rights. Moreover, the WatSan programme is also originated because of availability of specialized persons, like plumbers, engineers etc within or outside the NGOs. It has limited their discretion to think about alternative poverty reduction programmes. The NGO policy level people have acknowledged some of their limitations in selecting programmes but side by side they have

also mentioned about their resource constrain, contest to get programmes from GOB or big NGOs by competing in bids. Thus JJS and DSK have found to struggling and contesting because of scarcity of resources which is a process of evolving (in evolutionary approach) strategy as well as organization.

From ecological (approach) point of view the JJS and DSK's programmes are in many cases are varied from need to practice. It is because of newness of the organization. They want to retain the programmes as expected by the donors. But the approach expect to fit between organization and environment. The WatSan programme of DSK could get access to the slum dwellers as there is tremendous shortage of pure drinking water and hygienic sanitation in the slum areas. The GOB is found inefficient to provide these to the slum areas. So, there creates a demand for pure drinking water and hygienic sanitation in the urban slum areas. DSK has got the chance of such environment to launch a programme like Watsan. Though, during the field visit there found some other need of the studied slum people which are more important to the beneficiaries to reduce their poverty than water and sanitation. Thus getting opportunity of the situation as well as environment (GOB's failure to provide water and sanitation) DSK's WatSan programme helped the organization from being structurally inert and slow. The MC programme of both JJS and DSK is also because of the environment. This programme has become an important mode of JJS and DSK like all other NGOs to generate energetic input of the organization; so that the NGOs can fit between *form and niche (resources)*.

According to the institutional approach JJS and DSK's programmes are expected to change by force. But the question is, who are the actors to force the programmes and thus can cause change, design or shape the programmes? To be pragmatic the actors are expected to be the beneficiaries. But in practice in both JJS and DSK the actors' force the programmes are their beneficiaries rather by the force of donors, other NGOs, GOB and the NGO pioneers' intention as well as ideology.

### **7.3. Justification of the Hypothesis:**

There were some pre-assumptions of this study mentioned in chapter one. The assumptions guided study the researchers to go ahead to find the real answer of the research questions on the basis of the empirical data. At the end of this study and ; it is time to look back and see how far the pre-posed hypothesis are justified. Analysing the justification of the hypothesis is a significant part of findings of this study.

- ***The NGOs meaning of poverty is not local knowledge based.***

There are some actors who contributed to conceptualize *poverty* in different time and places which is mentioned in chapter two: theoretical framework and the key concepts of this study. Here, some key actors were selected who propagated some poverty concepts. The actors are some international organization, renowned scholars and GOB as well as some big Bangladeshi NGOs. At the end of this study, it is found that the JJS and DSK's ideas of poverty are mostly borrowed from those actors rather to generate ideas of the local people as well as the beneficiaries. Both the NGOs have some mechanism to cumulate the beneficiaries' ideas about their major causes of poverty. But these were kept shelved while designing the programmes. So, it is justified to say that JJS and DSK's poverty concept is not on the basis of local knowledge rather influenced by some other actors whose ideas are not realistic in terms of poverty in a particular area for a particular people selected by JJS and DSK.

- ***Selection of poverty reduction programmes does not consider what poverty really is in the area where they have been working.***

DSK's WatSan programme was found inconsistent with the real cause of poverty of the studied slum. They demanded to prioritize unemployment and lack of food as their causes of poverty rather than water and sanitation. While its MC programme was found more surviving programme of the NGOs rather to consider poverty cause of the programme area. The JJS's MC programme is not MC programme in real sense. The brothel girls' do not get any fringe benefit from their deposit. Their lack of money is not as important cause to them as of other causes. The G&HR programme of JJS does have very insignificant impact to reduce poverty of those beneficiaries. JJS launches some other programmes simultaneously on the same people which indicate that G&HR is not sufficient enough to combat poverty.

- ***The selection of programmes are influenced by external factors like, the donors or funding agencies of the NGOs, GOB programmes internal factors like, NGO's expertise, resource constrain etc.***

Proven justification of the first two hypothesis lead to the question if the local knowledge is not considered by JJS and DSK for poverty concept and the selected programmes are not on the basis of considering real poverty then what factors do influence JJS and DSK to select poverty reduction programmes? The information gathered from secondary and primary data help to reveal the fact that the influential factors of programme selection are

the donors or funding agencies, GOB, the JJS and DSK's expertise or specialization and not last but at the least is the lack of fund. Both the NGOs' have pointed their fingers on resource constrain. This factor directs them to supplicate to the donors or other funding agencies.

- ***The poverty reduction programmes do not match with the reality.***

Poverty conceptualises of JJS and DSK is not realistic. It is hired or borrowed from others not from the people for whom the programme is launched. Their programme selection is imposed rather chosen on the basis of the poverty. Thus the WatSan and MC programmes of DSK and the MC programme in brothel and G&HR programme of JJS do not match with the reality.

#### **7.4. Conclusion**

It is found that the main problem of poverty reduction is the gap between the reality of poverty and the poverty reduction programmes of the NGOs in particular of JJS and DSK. The data driven from JJS and DSK and from other relevant sources show that the interdependency among the NGOs – donors –GOB is the key factor of selecting poverty reduction programmes. The interdependent relationship to some extent is found like a patron –client relationship. While talking to the JJS and DSK's policy level people the found their inner intention to select very pragmatic programme but they are very tightly knotted either with their funding agencies or with the rules and regulation as well as formalities of GOB. The main reason of this knot is the resource constrain of JJS and DSK like all other small and local NGOs. This is because the programmes are directed by the donors, GOB.

Moreover, there are some internal factors those are found to guide JJS and DSK to initiate programmes. These are the believes of the NGOs. The DSK's belief is socialism which led them to choose the slum dwellers as the programme beneficiaries and their intention is to launch the programmes where the government is either failed or has negligence. The WatSan programme is its example. While the JJS was found to have anti globalization belief. They try to avoid those donors which are involved in globalization mission. The JJS's MC and G&HR programme are found involved in very much awareness building campaign. JJS and DSK has had some baseline survey to know the causes of poverty of their beneficiaries and thus to conceptualise poverty. But they can hardly take programmes according the beneficiaries poverty perception. The existing poverty knowledge of poverty is very much generalised. The GOB's policy of poverty reduction as well as the causes of poverty is generalised for the whole country. JJS and DSK's poverty concept is hired from those

generalised causes of poverty. Thus variation occurs in JJS and DSK's poverty concept as well as programmes. DSK has already got some expertise in the water and sanitation and micro-credit. This NGO's intention is to retain WatSan programme and try to expand it in the same area though this programme is not realistic there. But DSK can not give up watsan as they have already settled a relationship with there donor and hired a number of specialised people. The G&HR programme is to retain by JJS as it has other programme in the same area for the same people. JJS does not need to invest any additional inputs. Struggling for resource constrain led JJS and DSK to be economy in this way. While the micro-credit programme of both JJS and DSK is selected to create *niche* and thus survive in the competitive NGO field in Bangladesh. Thus the JJS and DSK's poverty reduction programmes as well as poverty concept is away from the reality in the programme areas which hinders poverty reduction.

It is expected that the poverty and the programmes will match. The idea of poverty must be conceptualized by the perception of those for whom the programme is shaped. If the programmes are shaped otherwise, there will remain gap between the poverty and action for poverty reduction – programme will not match with reality. Which is unexpected and enemy of the action against poverty.

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**Questionnaire**

This questionnaire is used as a guide to investigate the NGOs conception of poverty and the reasons the chose the poverty reduction programmes in Bangladesh under the research titled “NGO perception of poverty in Bangladesh : Do their programmes match the reality?. It is a mandatory part of fulfilling the MPA degree from the department of Administration and Organization Theory in the University of Bergen, Norway. The confidentiality of the respondents’ opinion is maintained.

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**Questionnaire guide for the policy level people and programme officials of the NGO:**

- A) Name of the NGO
- B) Location of the NGO
- C) Total programmes in operation
- D) Number of programmes covered for poverty reduction

1. Name \_\_\_\_\_

2. Position in the NGO: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Tenure of the present position: \_\_\_\_\_

4. The process of being in this position: \_\_\_\_\_

5. Career prospect in this position/ the NGO: \_\_\_\_\_

6. Area of specialization (if any): \_\_\_\_\_

7. How many people are working in this NGO? \_\_\_\_\_

8. How does this NGO takes decision? \_\_\_\_\_

9. What is/are the most influential factors of taking decisions?

a) The personal factors

- b) Financial factors
- c) The external factors
- d) Others

10. When has the NGO started its operation? Since then how many programmes have taken for poverty reduction (in the same area)

11. What are the visions of this NGO?

12. Do you know on what ideology this NGO have founded and what is that ideology?

13. What is your view about poverty? \_\_\_\_\_

14. What do you know about notion of the NGO about poverty? \_\_\_\_\_

15. What is the reasons of considering this as the notion of poverty? \_\_\_\_\_

16. Whether you have any ideas about the definition of poverty mainly used by GOB, the donors or some other NGOs in Bangladesh? \_\_\_\_\_

17. Whether this NGO tries to follow any of these ideas \_\_\_\_\_

18. In Bangladesh how you can define poverty: \_\_\_\_\_

19. The areas you have had poverty reduction programmes, what are the main causes of poverty in those areas? \_\_\_\_\_

16. How you have come to know the causes of poverty in those areas? \_\_\_\_\_

17. What do you know about the people of programme areas thinking about the causes of poverty? \_\_\_\_\_

18. How can you generalize the causes of poverty in your programme areas as the causes of poverty in Bangladesh? \_\_\_\_\_

19. What are the programmes initiated by this NOG to reduce poverty of a particular areas?

20. What are the reasons to select the areas for launching poverty reduction programmes?  
\_\_\_\_\_

21. Whether you have financial constrain to select programmes: \_\_\_\_\_

22. How do you meet up such financial constrain \_\_\_\_\_

23. Whether your funding agencies have guidelines to select programmes: \_\_\_\_\_
24. Whether you try to cope with the programmes taken by GOB : \_\_\_\_\_
25. Whether any person of this NGO influences to take programmes \_\_\_\_\_
26. Whether the NGO tries to fit programmes with the necessity to reduce poverty of the people of the programme areas. \_\_\_\_\_
27. Whether the NGO has originated with some vision: \_\_\_\_\_
28. How far the NGO is in line with those visions: \_\_\_\_\_
28. Whether you listen to your target group people before initiating a programme: \_\_\_\_\_
29. Whether the people are capable enough to say so: \_\_\_\_\_
30. How much the programmes are getting support from the local people or the beneficiaries: \_\_\_\_\_
31. Whether your programmes are successful to reduce poverty \_\_\_\_\_

**Thank you very much for your cooperation**

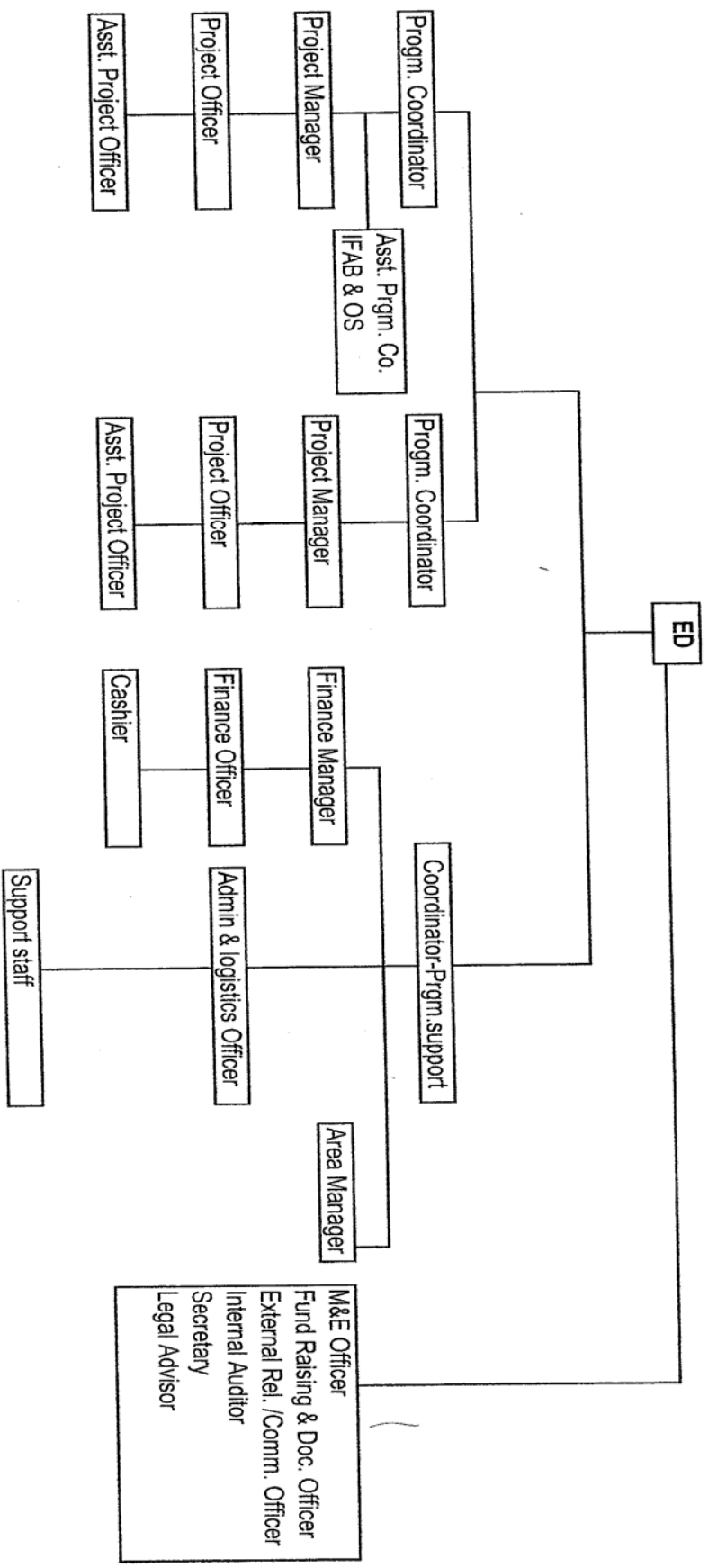
**Questionnaire guide for the Beneficiaries/ the target group people :**

- A) Name of the programme
  - B) Name of the NGO
  - C) Name of the area (where the programme is running)
  - D) Total number of beneficiaries in this programme (male/ female)
  - E) Total number of officials in this programme
- 
1. Why do you think that you are poor \_\_\_\_\_
  2. Mention the causes of your poverty \_\_\_\_\_
  3. How can these causes be overcome? \_\_\_\_\_
  4. Why have you been the beneficiary of this NGO (not other NGOs)? \_\_\_\_\_
  5. When have you been the member of this NGO? \_\_\_\_\_
  6. How have you come to know about this NGO? \_\_\_\_\_
  7. Please tell me the story to become a member of this NGO \_\_\_\_\_
  8. Whether the NGO listen to your causes of poverty \_\_\_\_\_
  9. What is the process the NGO get to know from you? \_\_\_\_\_
  10. How is your opinion considered? \_\_\_\_\_
  11. What do you do if your opinion is not considered? \_\_\_\_\_
  12. How do the NGO try to reduce your poverty/ what are the programmes? \_\_\_\_\_
  13. Whether the NGO's strategy to reduce your poverty sufficient? \_\_\_\_\_

14. What do you do if the NGO programmes fail to meet your expectation? \_\_\_\_\_
15. Whether you know about the funding of the NGO \_\_\_\_\_
16. How is decision taken? \_\_\_\_\_
17. Whether you take part in decision-making process. \_\_\_\_\_
18. What type of problem you have to face to get benefit from the programme? \_\_\_\_\_
19. How can the programme be more successful (in terms of reducing poverty) \_\_\_\_\_
20. Whether the NGO programme have brought any change in your life. \_\_\_\_\_

**Thank you very much for your cooperation**

JJS Bangladesh  
Organogram 2005 (onwards)



Note: APO only applicable for service projects



# Dushtha Shasthya Kendra (DSK) Organogram

