DESSERTATION

ON

Activities of Advocacy Civil Society in Bangladesh- A Critical Analysis

Approved as to style and content by

Dr. Akbar Ali Khan

Supervisor

Visiting honorary professor

BRAC University

Submitted by

Md. Nazmus Sadat Salim

Senior Assistant Secretary

BRAC UNIVERSITY ID NO-05272013

E-mail- sadat-dipti@yahoo.com

MA in Governance and Development

Center for Governance Studies

BRAC UNIVERSITY.

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Abstract

Civil society organizations are defined as means by which the citizens advance and defend their interests in public life through collective action. The role of civil society in a multi-party democracy especially in the developing countries is very important. A strong civil society is a precondition for sustainable democracy. Empowering civil society contributes to consolidating and strengthening democracy.

Civil society organizations are working in Bangladesh since the inception of the country. They are implementing many programs focusing on violence against the poor and women, prevention of dowry and early marriage, establishment of land right of the poor, ensuring rule of law and good governance, election monitoring, reducing corruption from society and conservation of environment and fostering sustainable development.

The dramatic expansion of NGOs in Bangladesh is in line with the international experience in 1990s when donor encourages CSOs in the whole collapse of soviet commune. Much of CSO activities are donor-funded.

This paper focused on the advocacy CSOs in Bangladesh. It examines the following issues. First, it examines the validity of the hypothesis that advocacy civil societies in Bangladesh are donor driven. An analysis of advocacy of civil societies in Bangladesh supports this hypothesis. This study suggests that most of CSOs in Bangladesh are "Civil Society by design " and not spontaneous.

Second, the stakeholders in advocacy civil society projects are interviewed to determine whether stakeholders were really involved and interact by these projects. An analysis of the available data indicates that more of the projects are altogether unknown to the beneficiaries.

Thirdly, this is a widespread belief that there is no transparency in the CSOs and they are not accountable to anybody except the donors. A survey undertaken of this study shows that most of the advocacy CSOs, who are vocal champions of transparency and

Abbreviations

ADAB (Association of Development Agencies in Bangladesh)

AVAB (Association of voluntary Agencies in Bangladesh)

ADB (Asian Development Bank)

ASK (Ain O Salish Kendra)

BELA (Bangladesh Environmental Legal Association)

BLAST (Bangladesh Legal Aid and Service Trust)

BRAC (Bangladesh Rural **Advancement Committee)**

BNP (Bangladesh Nationalist Party)

CSO (Civil Society Organization)

CPD (Centre for Policy Dialogue)

DANIDA (Danish International Development Agency)

DFID (Department For International Development)

DW (Democracy Watch)

FNB (Federation of NGOs in Bangladesh)

FEMA (Fair Election Movement Association)

GDP (Gross Domestic product)

NGO (Non Governmental Organization)

NGOAB (Non Governmental Organization Affairs Bureau)

RDRS (Rangpur Dinajpur Development Service)

TIB (Transparency International Bangladesh)

UNDP (United Nations Development Program)

WB (World Bank)

accountability, do not at all share information about the income and expenditure with anybody except donors. They are completely free to initiate any project and expend any amount of money without following financial norms. There is no proper mechanism to hold them accountable and answerable for their activities. The only government regulatory organ NGOAB does not have sufficient trained manpower and technologically advanced methods to monitor and supervise the large volume activities of the CSOs. The founders of these organizations act as a perpetual head of the organization, and there is nobody to challenge any of their decisions. Though the donors finance them, they are accountable to nobody.

Finally, this study examines the hypothesis that CSOs, by propagation democratic values, promote social harmony and cooperation. The experience of Bangladesh contradicts this hypothesis.

In recent time, many civil society organizations have been accused of being involved political activities. The whole NGO communities Bangladesh has been divided into two groups based on political affiliation. The fragmentation of ADAB and creation of FNB intensified unhealthy conflicts in NGOs.

This study highlights the need for formulation and implementation a comprehensive code of conduct containing the issues of transparency, accountability and corporate governance for the CSOs. Because of the unwillingness of advocacy CSOs to share essential information with researchers, it is very difficult to appraise them. Further research should be undertaken on this area with the assistance of NGOAB.

Chapter One

Introduction

Background:

Civil society has been defined as "the means by which the citizens advance and defend their interest in public life through collective action" (Kumi Naidu and Rajesh Pandy). Civil Society Organizations and NOs are used interchangeably, though by definition NGOs fall within the purview of CSO. Non-Government organizations of Bangladesh have been playing a commendable role in development, poverty reduction and social transformation of the country since inception of the nation. In Bangladesh, there has been a dramatic expansion in the size, scope, and capacity of CSOs over the last fifteen years (World Bank, 2003). There are about 45 thousands CSOs working throughout the country. This sector is now a growing area of employment. Several million people are working in this sector and getting direct or indirect benefit from participation in the activities of this sector. This sector operates multi-billion dollar programs and projects. This expansion has been possible due to the supportive and facilitative attitudes of the government. Donors are increasingly diverting their funds to this sector. They feel more comfort with the activities and achievements of CSOs. CSOs are implementing various programs including poverty reduction through providing micro credit, heath-care facilities, basic and informal education, promoting good governance and sustainable development, protection of environment etc. Donors are attracted with their activities, as they feel CSOs are performing better than their counterpart government in many ways.

The mushrooming of NGOs does not necessarily mean that this sector is performing magnificently (Udaya, W). NGOs have recently been criticized for their partisan role, functions, transparency, and accountability and of their corporate governance. Tensions are rife and are increasing among the government, donors and private business sectors for their alleged activities and privileges they are availing. Government is accusing them for misappropriation of fund and partisan activities (World Bank, 2005). Donors maintain that CSOs are not going to the completely excluded sections of the society with their programs, business people are accusing them that CSOs are making business by running profitable activities and thereby

distorting marketplace. It is widely held that NGOs as an international community lacks the transparency and accountability in terms of finances, agenda, and governance (McGann, J and Johnstone M, 2006). Most of the organizations are heavily dependent on donor funds and will not be sustainable if the donors withdraw their financial support. Some organizations are more interested in party politics than in redressing the suffering of people. The governing boards of these organizations are almost permanent and do not tolerate any difference opinion from the employees and beneficiaries. Another important problem is that the heads of these organizations are not generally accessible to common people and they are static for a long period. Therefore, their claim of working for the poor may not be valid. There is also a view that CSOs especially those are engaged in advocacy and awareness building do not play significant role to reduce the suffering of the people. Most of their activities and claimed successes exist in papers and not real, the expenditures on such projects are not justified. The study examines the activities and tries to have a better understanding about some critical issues relating to CSOs of Bangladesh.

Objective of the study:

Advocacy Civil society organizations are not old in Bangladesh. There are several hundreds of civil societies who are working on advocacy across the country focusing on issues affecting the poor (e.g. violence against women, dowry, land right, good governance, election monitoring and access to justice, housing and education). Recently a few organizations are accused of stretching their advocacy work into partisan political activity and electioneering. The paper will examine these issues. World Bank observes that most of the organizations suffer from lack of financial accountability and transparency. It is alleged that *these organizations are financed by the donors and accountable to none.* Civil society organizations in Bangladesh were not developed spontaneously; rather they were established by design. Many of their claim success lies on paper and many of their expenditures are not targeted to benefit the poor. Moreover, financial malpractice may be discernible in the budget and activities of many organizations if they were scrutinized properly. Their annual report and audit report is not scrutinized properly by the regulatory agency and is not posted in the public space like their relevant web sites. Their board is not constituted in transparent and participatory way and most of the board

members are taken from the near kin and from like-minded persons. These issues will be examined in the study. The paper will mainly focus on the following areas-

1. To identify who are the main advocacy civil society working in Bangladesh and the areas in which they are working.
2. To obtain a clearer understanding of the activities of the civil society in Bangladesh and their alleged partisan role will also be examined in the study.
3. To examine the hypothesis that CSOs are established by design, not spontaneously.
4. To make an assessment whether CSOs are transparent in their activities or not.
5. To make specific recommendations about how the civil society organizations can be made strong and effective partner of the government in the development of the country.

Rationale of the study:

Civil society sector is a booming sector in Bangladesh. NGOs are part of civil society and civil societies do not have separate legal entity in Bangladesh. The annual growth rate of NGOs in Bangladesh is in double digits. The process of globalization and re-introduction of democracy and expansion of telecommunications, market transformation and economic integration accelerate the growth of this sector (World Bank, 2006). There were 382 NGOs when NGOAB was established in Bangladesh. At present there are 2054 NGOs working in Bangladesh (NGOAB, August 2006). World Bank estimates that total aid to the NGOs rose from an average of $232 million (0.7% of the GDP) between 1990-95 to $326 million (0.7% of GDP) between 1996-2004 while total aid to the government fell from annual average of $ 1.62 million (4.9% of GDP) to 1.35 billion (2.9% of GDP) during this period. As a result, the share of the aid to NGOs as a portion of total aid to Bangladesh has risen from 14.4% in the first half of nineties to 24.3% since then (*World Bank, 2005*). According to the latest information of NGOAB from 1991, the NGOs of Bangladesh have received 243155204289/ taka from different donors. It is widely accepted that NGOs are more efficient in their work and can implement their activities more effectively and efficiently. They also have a lower overhead, a more efficient management structure, and programs that reach to the poor more effectively. In national GDP, NGO's contribution is more than two percent. The Grameen Bank alone claimed to contribute more than one per cent (Styles, W.K, 2000) They claim that they are

significantly contributing to poverty reduction process. These organizations have clearer edge over the government in implementing many projects, such as catering informal education to the poor, especially to the girls, delivering micro- credit to the poor women and delivering primary health care to the uncovered groups. They often work in the remote areas, where government officials are not present. Through innovative methods, they have proved that the unbankable poor are bankable.

In contrast, there is a growing concern for financial transparency, accountability and corporate governance of many of the civil societies. Audit reports done by selected audit firms leave much to be desired and do not reflect financial state as well as output and performance of those organizations. Moreover, these reports are not available or posted in the public place (such as relevant web sites). Most of the NGO boards show common features, that the board is composed of family and kin members and of the like-minded persons and these boards continue for a long period. There is no internal democracy in selecting the members of the boards. Most of the founders of these organizations act as a life long head, within the affairs of the organization, his decision is supreme, and disagreement is not tolerated. There are also rivalries among these organizations in implementing many programs. Therefore, it causes a huge resources and *manpower wastage (Udaya Wagle, 2006)*. Another common concern is to their focus of their accountability. One can argue that they will be accountable to the people for whom they are working, similarly they will be accountable to the donors, because of obvious reason that they are funding their projects, and finally to the government. However, in Bangladesh they are fully accountable to nobody perfectly. Every party has interest in NGO activities but no one has the courage to ask specific questions regarding their programs, performances and genuine benefit to the people they claim for *(Udaya Wagle, 2006)*. There is hardly any empirical evaluation of the effectiveness and transparency of civil society in Bangladesh as yet. If people ask about their activities, they avoid them, if government asks, they complain against the government to the donors and when some donors ask about their program implementation they go to the other donors. Actually, John Briscoe echoed the problem nicely as saying ("...*the NGOs are becoming a parallel state, financed by foreigners and accountable to nobody" (John Briscoe, 2002)*. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the role of CSOs in terms of their transparency, accountability and impact on society and their organizational governance.

4

Scope and limitations of the study:

The role of civil society in a multi- party democracy especially in the developing countries is very important. In Bangladesh, their rapid growth suggests that the government is supportive and friendly to their activities. Side by side, it is important to determine whether their rapid growth in size is contributing to redress the proclaimed objectives of these organizations. This growing sector is a puzzle to the general citizens. Particularly the activities of the advocacy civil society in Bangladesh need proper and objective evaluation. There is not much study about the activities of Advocacy CSOs in Bangladesh. The study primarily attempted to examine the transparency, accountability and effectiveness of their activities. However, most data on CSOs are zealously guarded. Due to time and resource constraint, an effective and detail search for collecting data about the effectiveness of their activities was not possible. A more comprehensive study on the transparency, accountability and effectiveness of NGOs should be undertaken.

Structure of the paper

The study is divided into seven chapters.

"Introduction" spells out background, objective of the study, scope and limitations of the study, rationale of the study. Chapter two discusses the research design and methodology in the backdrop of the hypothesis of this study, and also analyzes the strengths and weakness of data used in the study. The third chapter revises the main thesis on the literature on civil society. The fourth section describes the characteristics of major CSOs in Bangladesh. Chapter five examines the achievements and activities of major CSOs in Bangladesh.

Chapter six scrutinizes the major findings of chapter five in the light of six case studies of major NGOs in Bangladesh. Final section summarizes the main findings of the study and set some recommendations for improved effectiveness of CSOs.

Chapter Two: Methodology and Data:

Methodology:

This chapter aims at explaining the research methodology and data used in the study. The selection of appropriate research methodology is contingent all the type of hypothesis of this study. It therefore starts with all outline of the hypothesis of this study and summarizes the basic questions raised in the study. In the next section, research methodology for examining three hypotheses is discussed. Finally, it discusses the methods of collection of data and then strengths and weakness of data.

The study relies both on primary and secondary data. Primary data were collected with the help of a questionnaire, discussions and personal interviews with the respondents. The selection of the respondent CSO organizations was problematic as the number is huge. There are several thousands of civil society organizations (including NGOs) working in different areas of Bangladesh. Under the Foreign Contributions (Regulation) Ordinance-1982, a total 2054 NGOs have taken registration from NGOAB (NGOAB, 2006). There are also other agencies that are registering NGOs for conducting their activities. The Social Welfare Ministry, the Cooperative Ministry, Family Planning Ministry and Women, and Children Affairs Ministry are other agencies that register the NGOs in Bangladesh. If these registration agencies are taken into account for counting registration of NGOs, then the total number of NGOs will be more than fifty thousands. These organizations are working in diverse areas. Micro-credit operation, facilitating education to the disadvantaged sections, providing relief and rehabilitation, delivering primary health care services to the uncovered sections of the society and advocacy and awareness building of the people are major areas where these organizations are working. It will be an impossible task to assess their activities, financial transparency, and accountability in terms of their performances. There is another methodological problem in differentiating CSOs from other NGOs, though by definition NGOs are included within the purview of the CSOs. In Bangladesh, there is not a separate body to supervise CSOs. Therefore, it is not clear what are the exact numbers of CSOs and in which area they are working. There is another problem, same organization is working with micro- credit, service delivery and advocacy and motivational activities. Therefore, there is not a clear-cut list of

6

Advocacy CSOs in Bangladesh. For the purpose of the study, 10-12 prominent CSOs, which are working exclusively in advocacy and motivation, are taken for the list of CSOs. In the World Bank report titled "Economics and Governance of NGOs in Bangladesh", there is a list of some advocacy civil society. Based on the list and the directory of NGOAB of NGOs the following10 exclusive advocacy civil society organizations have been selected for the field study. Their activities, objectives, source of funding, composition of boards, their performance will be analyzed objectively.

Data Collection:

In this study, both primary and secondary data had been collected. For this purpose questionnaire method, interview, discussion with the relevant personnel and Internet searching have been used. Moreover, significant amounts of secondary data have been collected from NGOAB through personal contact and from some CSOs. But due to non-cooperation and evasion by the selected CSOs primary data collection from some organization was not possible. Despite the strenuous efforts to get data from all the selected CSOs, only a few organizations furnished data. (TIB, FEMA, Democracy Watch and BLAST) Consequently, secondary information was collected from NGOAB, from web site of the concerned CSOs and from newspapers.

A structured questionnaire had been prepared to collect information from the CSOs. A questionnaire was also prepared to collect data from NGOAB. In collecting data, directors of ADAB and FNB were interviewed. Some civil societies did not furnish information. Their relevant web sites have been searched and some information has been collected from the source. Secondary information was also collected from newspaper. So, the study was completed mainly based on secondary data. Some detailed case studies have been done elaborating their objectives, activities, expenditure, and real output of the projects, as well as their transparency and accountability issues.

One hypothesis of the study was that in the event of reasonable transparency and accountability, data on CSOs should be readily available. This hypothesis was not supported by the experience of data collection of the study.

Table-1 of the next page summarizes the names of CSOs where information on finances are not readily available and the organizations, which are not transparent.

Table No- 1: List of Transparent and non-Transparent CSOs

Name of CSOs approached	Broacher	Audited balance sheet	Annual Report	Board of Management
TIB	yes	yes	yes	yes
CPD	no	no	no	no
Democracy Watch	no	no	no	no
FEMA	yes	no	no	Yes
BELA	no	no	no	No
BLAST	yes	no	yes	Yes
ASK	no	no	no	No
Nari Udduk Kendra	no	no	no	No
Bangladesh Manobadhikar Commission	no	no	no	No
ODHIKAR	no	no	no	no

From the above list only TIB furnishes all information. CPD, Democracy Watch, BELA, ASK, Nari Udduk Kendra, Bangladesh Manobadhikar Commission and ODHIKAR did not provide audit report, broacher, annual report and a copy of their board of management. FEMA and BLAST provide partial information.

Hypothesis and Research Questions of the study:

The primary objective of the study was to examine transparency and accountability of the CSOs. However, the CSOs do not share the relevant information with the public. As a result, the scope of the study was narrowed.

The study focused on some basic questions relating advocacy civil society in Bangladesh. These questions are as follows:

- ❖ Are CSOs transparent in sharing their basic information with the public specially the financial matters?

- ❖ Are these organizations accountable for their activities to anybody and how do they maintain their accountability?

- ❖ Are their activities influenced by party politics create conflict and division in the society, especially awareness building and motivational activities?

- ❖ Who is responsible for monitoring and supervision of the activity of these organizations? How much is monitoring and supervision by the government and donors is effective?

- ❖ Why there is a dramatic expansion of CSOs after 1990? Are they developed spontaneously or are they developed deliberately?

However, these are the questions the researcher sought for answer in the study. The researcher vehemently tried to get the information through questionnaire, but most of the CSOs do not show the relevant information. As a result, the scope of the study was narrowed.

Chapter Three: Review of the Literature on Civil Society

Theoretical Review of the literature of civil society

A strong civil society is a precondition of strong democracy. Empowering civil society contributes to consolidating and strengthening democracy. But the question is what civil society is and how civil society contributes to having a strong democracy? Most of the thinkers of civil society agree on a point, that civil society has an institutional core constituted by voluntary associations outside the sphere of the state and the economy (Flyvbjerg, B, 1998).

Both Hebermas and Foucault highlighted their work on essential tensions on modernity. This is the tension of consensus and conflict. How the contesting and opposing views of modernity put forward society is the underlying strength of their writings. Hebermas is the philosopher of *Moralitat*, based on consensus. Whereas Foucault is the philosopher of *wirkhche Historie*, told in the term of conflict and power. Both of the philosophers wanted to build a strong society based upon democracy with the empowerment of civil society in opposing ways. According to Hebermas consensus and communicative agreement among the contesting parties in the society is essential for democracy. The goal of Hebermas's theory of communicative action is that of clarifying the presuppositions of the rationality of process of reaching understanding, which may be presumed to be universal because they are unavoidable. Hebermas develops his inter subjectivity approach to modernity using the concept of communicative rationality. According to Hebermas human beings are democratic beings, as homo democraticus. Hebermas explains validity is defined as consensus without force; a contested norm cannot meet with the consent of the participants in a particular discourse unless all affected can freely accept the consequences and side effects of a controversial norm. Hebermas states: Argumentation insures that all concerned in principle take part, freely and equally, in a cooperative search for truth, where nothing coerces anybody except the force of the better argument and communicative rationality.

Validity and truth are ensured where the participants of a given discourse respect five key processual requirements of a discourse ethics: 1). No party affected by what is being discussed

should be excluded from the discourse; 2) all participants should have equal possibility to present and criticize validity claims in the process of discourse; 3) participants must be willing and able to empathize with each other's validity claims; 4) existing power differences between participants must be neutralized and 5) Participants must openly explain their goals and intentions.

Foucault on the other hand holds the view that conflicts are true pillars of democratic society. Government and society that suppress conflicts invites their own ruin. So, conflicts may not be viewed as dangerous, corrosive, and potentially destructive of social order. In a Foucauldian interpretation-suppressing conflict is suppressing freedom, because the privilege to engage in conflict is part of freedom.

Societies, which suppress conflicts, are oppressive. If society contains conflicts, there is good reason to caution against idealism that ignores conflicts and power. In real social and political life self-interest and conflict will not give way to some all-embracing communal ideal like Hebermas. Indeed a more democratic society allows more groups to define their own specific ways of life and the individuals to select the form in which such groups are composed and legitimizes the inevitable conflicts of interest that arise between them. One, who is more tolerant of differences, will be more compatible with the pluralization of interests. In a pluralist society conflict becomes an inevitable part of this concept of civil society. Thus, civil society does not mean civilized in the sense of well- mannered behavior. In strong civil societies, distrust and criticism of authoritative action are omnipresent. Moral outrage is continuous; because actual authorities inevitably violate whatever ideal norms civil society has for justice. A strong civil society guarantees the existence of conflict. An understanding of civil society and of democracy must therefore be based on thought that places conflicts and power at its centre.

Definition of civil society organization:

Thinking in historic dimensions, civil society is a fairly new force on the global landscape. While community groups, churches and religious groups, the media or political interest groups have long played an important role on a local and national level, it is the more proactive involvement in global problems of non-governmental organizations, which has only in recent decades transcended the national level. In the areas of development, the environment or human rights, NGOs have added a new dimension to traditional politics and have helped humankind to find new forms of addressing our global problems. Today, it is no longer contentious to say that without the active involvement of civil society we would live in a world ridden with much more violence and human rights abuses, burdened with greater social injustice and equipped with less sensitivity to the ecological problems we are facing (Eigen, p 2006).

The concept of civil society is not new; it has been contested within political philoshophy, sociology and social theory for hundreds of years. What is new is the emphasis on the concept over the last decade- civil society has become a buzzword within the international development. Its significance is that it acts to reduce poverty, promote democracy and achieve sustainable development (Pollard, A and Court. J, 2005).

The civil society sector is not only emerging as a clear societal actor in many parts of the world; it is also quite varied in its nature and composition. For this reason definition of civil society, vary considerably based on different conceptual paradigms, historic origin, and country context. There is no universally accepted definition of civil society. However, all observers agree that civil society refers to the voluntary participation by average citizens and thus does not include behavior imposed or even coerced by the state (Hauss, Charles (Chip, 2003,).

Civil society is the understanding that it is fundamentally a political concept, which is what distinguishes it from other term much in use today, including the voluntary, independent, third, philanthropic, non-profit or non-governmental organization (NGO) sector. Each of these terms describes characteristics of civil society, but none of them provides the defining feature. In

short, civil society is a political concept because it is concerned with exercising power to advance and defend the economic, social, and political interest of the citizens (Naidoo k and Tandon R, 1999*).* Civil society organizations (CSOs) encompass a broad range of independent and heterogeneous group and organizations. They are established on the direct initiative of individual members or groups in society and do not belong to the official governmental, political or administrative systems at any level (ACC Network on Rural Development and Food Security, 1998).

Defining the meaning of civil society is very difficult because the term is laden with theoretical assumptions, unresolved problems and value judgment. According to Hegel's oft cited but ultimately unsatisfactory definition (Ottaway, m, 2005), civil "society comprises the realm of organizations that lie between the family at one extreme and the state at the other." While superficially clear and logical, the definition generates a lot of conceptual confusion and some political booby-trap. The result is that very few scholars and virtually no practitioners of democracy promotion now accept such a broad definition in practice even if they cite it.

Center for civil society and governance of Hong Kong University defines civil society as a social value and a set of social institutions. As a value, civil society may be seen as a reflection of the views and needs of the community, which may be expressed independently of the state. As a set of social institutions, civil society refers to the social organizations and groups, which are distinct from, yet interact with, the government, the market and the family (Center for Civil Society and Governance, UHK, 2006). But in reality civil society lacks both social value and social institutions, which could shape the society in positive direction.

Center for civil society- London school of economics outlined a very comprehensive definition of civil society. It defines civil society in the following manner/—

"Civil society refers to the arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of state, family and market, they are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organizations, such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations and advocacy groups" (Wikipedia, 2006).

13

Defining problem of CSOs

The definition is clear in one point: civil society is not the whole society; it is not the entire web of social institutions and relations, but only part with any degree of precision. Citing the realm of voluntary associations between the family and the state does not provide sufficient clarification. Three problems deserve special attention: (1) distinguishing organizations that are truly voluntary from that are not; (2) determining whether all voluntary organizations between the family and the state deserved to be considered civil; (3) and determining whether there is a conceptual difference between civil society and political society. There are many organizations where becoming member is not a free choice or voluntary decision, at the same time all voluntary organizations are not civil from either point of view. The most popular organization of Palestine Hamas and Hezbullah of Lebanon is regarded as a terrorist organization by Israel and the USA, though many countries regarded them as liberation organizations. Similarly becoming member of a political party is also voluntary choice, but political party is not considered a civil society at all.

Legitimacy of Civil Society Organization:

It is commonly held that the legitimacy of governments is derived from the people. Similarly, the legitimacy of civil society rests with the people although it is differently structured. While many non-governmental organizations can claim a mandate to speak on global concerns and represent those interests unrepresented in the traditional political process, they are not accountable to direct democratic control. Often, these organizations are not even democratically structured internally. What legitimizes them is concern about issues that are not being dealt with adequately in both national and international theatre, a concern about problems that often go beyond the limited reach of nation-state. Also, many problems are simply ignored and neglected by governments or addressed in a fashion that does not take into account the legitimate interests of those affected by governmental action. In addition, the legitimacy of not-for-profit organizations is further fostered simply because they are what they are: their concerns do not arise out of self-interest or profit-orientation but from people who care about the public interest, the well-being of both the local and the global community (Eigen, p).

14

Because the goals of civil society are diverse, types of civil society vary. A list of types of civil society institutions may be seen below;

- ❖ Non-governmental organizations
- ❖ Private voluntary organizations
- ❖ Peoples' organizations
- ❖ Civic club
- ❖ Trade unions
- ❖ Gender, cultural and religious groups
- ❖ Charities
- ❖ Social and sports clubs
- ❖ Cooperatives
- ❖ Environmental groups
- ❖ Professional associations
- ❖ Academic
- ❖ Businesses
- ❖ Policy institutions
- ❖ Consumers/ consumers organizations
- ❖ The media
- ❖ Citizens militia
- ❖ Religious organizations
- ❖ Civic groups
- ❖ Community organizations and
- ❖ Clubs.

From the above analysis three major conclusions may be drawn. *First*, types of civil society vary enormously. However, in developing countries all types of civil society organizations did not show their emergence spontaneously, many of them were transplanted from the advanced societies. *Secondly,* at the theoretical level there are differences of opinion on the role of civil society. According to one school, civil society promotes consensus while according to another school it promotes conflicts. In real life they may contribute to both dissemination democratic values, which promote consensus and articulation of dissatisfaction with the prevailing order, which may generate conflict.

Chapter Four: Advocacy civil society organization in Bangladesh:

Over the last decade, CSOs, including NGOs, peoples' movement, trade unions, women's federations, formal and informal associations, grass-roots coalitions and indigenous peoples' organizations, have emerged as a powerful force for social justice and equity across and within borders (UNDP, 2006). The roots of nongovernmental organizations (NGO) in Bangladesh can be traced back to the colonial period, when private charities and philanthropic groups were formed to establish or maintain schools, hospitals and orphanages (ADB, 1999).

Emergence of Civil Society Organizations in Bangladesh:

NGOs emerged to undertake relief and rehabilitation during the floods, famines and cyclone devastation following the violent struggle for independence and, over the next two decades, gained influence as arenas by organizing the rural people and disseminating both social and economic resources to a geographically dispersed population (Feldman, S 1997). The leading NGOs of the present cut their organizational teeth on post war relief activities in1970s. Their initial radical edge was blunted early on as most NGOs began to prioritize service provision over conscientization and mobilization work in 1980s. The growing focus on service delivery reflected donor preferences for a less radical model of civil society and for more emphasis on service provision. NGOs themselves began to recognize that efforts to mobilize the poor without providing them with economic inputs were unlikely to succeed. This shift meant that NGOs were, with some justification, viewed as aid dependent service delivery agents supportive of the military regime in the 1980s. It was during the late 1980s that donors began to fund NGOs on a large scale, particularly a small group that now includes the largest organizations, BRAC, Grameen Bank, ASA, RDRS and Proshika. Initially, NGOs were oriented toward relief and reconstruction. They worked on a geographic area basis and helped communities recover from the floods and the war by bringing basic supplies into affected areas and distributing them. Some organizations were influenced by the Comilla Experiment of the 1960s and looked to provide a way in which poor farmers could improve their prospects through village-level cooperatives.

During the 1980s, the targeted approach was refined and developed. Many NGOs felt that poor were best helped by encouraging them to mobilize themselves around issues. Following the

practices of Latin American NGO that have developed the work of Paulo Freire, Bangladesh NGOs adopted the approach of conscientization in the hope that this empower the poor to improve their own lives by demanding justice from the state.

Four current trends in the Bangladeshi NGO community are:

- Replication by small NGOs of models developed by larger NGOs
- Organizational expansion of a few NGOs with fund from aid sources
- Formal programs for poverty alleviation and in some cases empowerment of the poor.
- The tendency of large, well-funded NGOs to enter into contracts with the Government for training and project implementation

Meanwhile, another transformation had been taking place in government institutions. Inefficiencies in delivery of goods and services led the Government, with support from its development partner, to take measures to break monopolies and allow the market mechanism to operate (ADB, 1999). NGOs filled the vacuum created by the failure of both the Government and the market to deliver services. Some view this process of NGOification, informalization, or individuation as devolution of control from an effective bureaucracy to a committed cadre of grassroots workers. Others see it as a move to usurp control by a visionary NGO community over a bankrupt state sector, leading to a new form of donor assistance that demands the privatization of resource allocation (Feldman, S 1997). The rise of non-profit sector in Asia is related to negative consequences of rapid economic development in these countries. They point out that Asian governments have not been able to bring about equitable economic development, thus the NGOs have struggled for alternative development policies and strategies leading towards sustainable development (JCIE). A new phase in NGO advocacy work began with the emergence of multi-party electoral democracy in Bangladesh in 1990s. By the mid 1990s, development NGOs began to build new alliance and develop new strategies for influencing and establishing official policies and practices, in collaboration of other branches of civil society (World Bank, 2005). In these regard it is important to remember that the government was playing a very facilitator role providing many privileges for the growth of CSOs.

Significance of CSOs in Bangladesh:

Bangladeshi NGOs had a noticeable impact on society by program innovation in development efforts. The recognized success stories in micro-credit, non-formal education, and primary health care, by the Grameen Bank, the Association of Social Advancement, the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, and Gonoshahasthaya Kendra, are being replicated in other countries. There are three different perspectives regarding the significance of NGOs in Bangladesh.

- ❑ NGOs are a force for democracy with alternative development models and empowerment of disadvantaged groups and the community
- ❑ NGOs have particular strengths in poverty reduction and sustainable development.
- ❑ NGOs enhance efficiency of public sector service delivery

NGOs in Bangladesh have concentrated their efforts in the following activities:

- ◆ Micro credit
- ◆ Employment and income generation
- ◆ Formal and nonformal education of children and adults
- ◆ Health, nutrition and family planning
- ◆ Establishment of effective democratic process at the grassroots level
- ◆ Ensuring good governance and fair electioneering
- ◆ Women's right
- ◆ Poultry and livestock
- ◆ Water supply and sanitation
- ◆ Human rights and legal aid
- ◆ Protection of environment

NGOs are also becoming increasingly significant in their policy advocacy roles.

Major issues taken up so far have been drug policy, breast feeding, reproductive rights, land reform, and rights of tribal, primary education and flood action. With increasing emphasis on policy advocacy, NGOs working in these areas are showing much promise.

Major Advocacy Civil Society in Bangladesh:

There is no readily available comprehensive list of civil societies who are exclusively engaged in advocacy activities. Most of the civil societies have various areas of activities including advocacy and awareness building. Major NGOs also have their own advocacy program. BRAC, Proshika MUK, RDRS, ASA, etc. are carrying out advocacy work on numerous issues. Moreover, there is not a separate agency either in the government or in private sector to monitoring the activities and maintaining coordination among the advocacy civil societies. Those who work with advocacy programs do not have their own platform. So, a comprehensive and accurate list relating the activities of advocacy civil society is not available. NGOAB maintains a directory of NGOs in Bangladesh where information relating to registration, head of the organization, and area of activities is mentioned. In this directory, the total number of NGOs is 2054. In another report of the World Bank titled Economics and Governance of the NGOs in Bangladesh has lists seven advocacy civil societies. Consulting both directory of NGOAB and the World Bank report the following may be identified as major advocacy civil societies in Bangladesh:

1. CPD
2. TIB
3. FEMA
4. Democracy Watch
5. BLAST
6. BELA
7. ASK
8. ODHIKAR
9. Nari Uddyog Kendra
10. Bangladesh Manobadhikar Commission etc.

The basic information about the major civil society advocacy groups is furnished below.

1. FEMA:

FEMA is non- partisan, non-political and non-profit organization emerged as an election watchdog body in July 1995. FEMA is the alliance of 180 NGOs and civil society groups involved in election monitoring and voter registration. FEMA's main activity is monitoring

parliamentary, Union Parishad and Municipal elections. This involves deploying thousands of monitors in pooling booths on election days as well as longer-term activities such as voter registration and post dispute resolution (There is no evidence that FEMA has a record of working for post election dispute resolution). This is a national level organization having its branches in 64 districts of the country for the promotion of democracy and other related activities in the country for putting the democratic institutions on sound footing. FEMA has focused on election and election related activities including electoral reform and civic education program for the grassroots people.

FEMA has established working relationship with the Bangladesh Election Commission in the course of formulating recommendations for improving the quality of election. FEMA always plays a constructive role and help the election commission in its efforts to conduct free, fair and impartial election.

2. Democracy Watch:

Democracy Watch (DW) is a prominent CSO working in promotion of democracy and good governance in Bangladesh. It was established in 1995.

The goal of DW is to promote democratic culture and values in Bangladesh

Objectives:

♦ Promote good governance and develop leadership qualities.

♦ Increase awareness about democracy in the community

♦ Impart education for awareness building and leadership training.

Activity:

1. It conducts training and runs projects with a vision to build awareness on democracy and good governance.

2. It also carries out research and opinion pool on different social and political dimensions.

3. It runs courses on lifestyles, Democracy Training Program, Internship Project with the parliamentarians, IELTS, Basic Computing and English or General Purpose.

4. Side by side, it conducts quiz, seminar, workshop, dialogue and debate on various issues of democracy.

3. Bangladesh Environmental Lawyer Association (BELA):

BELA is an important advocacy civil society in Bangladesh established in 1993, though it has started its mission in 1991 as an advocacy group of young lawyers. It is a non-governmental, non-profit and non-partisan organization and has taken registration from NGOAB in 1993.

Objectives:

The objectives of BELA are to ensure a sound environmental and ecological order for all using legal mechanism as a tool. In pursuance of these broad objectives, the organization has set forth in specific terms, amongst others. These are the following objectives: -

❑ To study policies, strategies, laws, bylaws, institutions and traditions to develop an appropriate environmental jurisprudence.

❑ To survey and examine legal, quasi-legal and non-legal issues of environment and to formulate necessary policy, legal and institutional recommendations.

❑ To provide legal assistance and services to government and non-government organizations.

❑ To promote environmental awareness and disseminate to the people.

❑ To organize legal measure to protect environmentally sensitive and fragile Eco-system

❑ To undertake legal and administrative actions to protect environment and ecological system.

Major Activities:

To achieve the objectives, BELA is emphasizing the following activities:

1. **Research and publication:** Information on environmental regulation was scattered in various documents and no single document containing environmental law was available. BELA, therefore, undertook a number of research works and published for sale. Besides, BELA quarterly publishes two newsletters, in English and in Bengali.

2. **Public Awareness, Education & Training:** BELA regularly conducts training, workshop and seminars to build awareness and consciousness amongst people. NGO workers, government officials, students, professional bodies, participate in these programs.

3. **Public Interest Litigation (PIL):** BELA very often instituted Public Interest Litigation (PIL) on High Court Division. They claim that the success is remarkable. BELA issues legal notice against the violator of environment at first. If it does not work then it sues cases against them. In many cases BELA has won and thereby the sanctity of the environment was protected.

4. Center for Policy Dialogue (CPD)

Center for Policy Dialogue (CPD) established in 1993 by eminent economist of Bangladesh Professor Rehman Sobhan with support from leading civil societies. CPD has emerged as the leading think-tank in Bangladesh. On many occasions, CPD becomes successful to inducing decision, both the government and opposition to take part in discussions on important policy issues. A board of trustees 12 prominent citizens in the country directs CPD.

Activities:

CPD's civil activism in policy-related areas is operational zed through various means, which are implemented through concrete initiatives. These include:

Knowledge generation through research and analysis, creation and management of data and information base.

Policy awareness raising through dialogues, networking, information dissemination and mobilizing support of the civil society.

Policy influencing, at both national, regional and international levels, by involving policy makers in the dialogue process and by contributing to preparation of global policy documents and national policy briefs.

Capacity building, by way of organizing policy appreciation workshops for policy-makers and other important stakeholders.

5. Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB)

Transparency International Bangladesh, (TIB) the national chapter in Bangladesh of the Berlin-based Transparency International, is an independent, non-government, non-partisan and non-profit organization with a vision of Bangladesh in which government, politics, business, civil society and the daily lives of the people shall be free from corruption. From its inception in 1996, TIB has been advocating administrative reform to improve transparency, exposing official corruption, and conducting research on related issues. TIB'S aim is to curb corruption and improve governance in the public, private and non-governmental sectors through greater accountability, transparency and participation in order to achieve sustainable development. TIB is engaged in grassroots mobilization through Committees of Concerned Citizens, which aim

to generate demand for good governance at the local level. TIB is committed to values of democracy, justice, rule of law, transparency, accountability, integrity and impartiality.

TIB's research dissemination, campaign and advocacy initiatives are geared to policy and institutional reforms for elimination of corruption, and thereby reducing poverty and promoting sustainable development.

Advocacy activity of TIB

The key objective of TIB's advocacy program is to catalyze policy reform and institutional changes conducive to meeting its vision and mission. It also aims at expanding the TIB constituency through increased citizens' participation in anti-corruption movement nationally and locally. Tools applied for advocacy include:

- Dissemination of research/survey/report card findings.
- Using research findings in building public opinion, and lobbying with the concerned authority for policy reform and institutional change.
- Directly engaging with the government
- Building and working with local watchdog bodies and coalition with other institutions
- Membership building and expanding support groups
- Information dissemination at local level through AIC and
- Media campaign.

6. Bangladesh Legal Aid and Service Trust (BLAST):

Bangladesh Legal Aid and Service Trust began in 1993 by providing legal aid services to the poor, and has moved on to legal literacy campaigns and networking of NGOs involved in good governance. A main activity is public interest litigation which it has filed in the following areas; employment discrimination, public examination, illegal land acquisitions, construction and property development, iodine deficiency in salt, slum evictions, abuse of power by the police and other executive agencies.

Mission of BLAST:

The mission of BLAST is to provide greater access to justice to poor and disadvantaged women, men and children through the development of expertise, institutions and mechanisms relating to justice, dispute resolution and service delivery which are effective, equitable, poor-

friendly, forward-looking and gender contributing to the development of a society based on the principles of rule of law and order and justice for all. More specifically the objective includes the following:

- Striving to reduce inequality by increasing access to justice for the poor and the disadvantaged;
- Instituting public interest litigation for the protection of the constitutional and legal rights of the unorganized and powerless;
- Pursuing legislative advocacy and policy reform, as well as lobby for enactment equitable laws and policies for the benefit of the poor; and
- Collaborating with other organizations for strengthening the effectiveness and impact of delivery of legal aid and services to the poor.

7. ODIKAR

ODIKAR is an NGO formed in 1994 as a coalition of human rights and organizations with a view to promoting human rights in the country as a whole.

Objectives:

- ➢ Promotion of human rights
- ➢ Advocacy for incorporation and ratification of various international instruments by the government.
- ➢ Documentation and investigation of human right issues
- ➢ Promotion of human right education and legal literacy
- ➢ Promotion and integration of human rights through democratization process
- ➢ Raising of mass awareness on rights and duties
- ➢ Campaigning and monitoring for free and fair conduct of electoral process to ensure voter rights
- ➢ Organizing seminar, workshops on human rights related issues.

8. Bangladesh Manobadhikar Commission (BMC) is a non-government non-political, voluntary human right-based organization, which is established on the basis of universal human right declaration of United Nations. This organization extends legal aid to the socially and legally oppressed and harassed helpless people to fight against social and

economic unjust and violation of human rights by powerful and vested groups in the society. Not only this, the organization works to uplift the helpless people as independent and self-sufficient through various income generating programs. BMC was established in 1986 in Dhaka. The main goals, aims and ideals of BMC are as follows:

1. Social Development
2. Legal Aid
3. Fact-finding Investigation
4. Emergency activities
5. Deliver Health Service
6. Education and Training and
7. Environmental Conservation

9. Nari Uddug Kendra:

Nari Uddug Kendra (NUK) is a non-government women development organization, established in 1991. NUK emerged with its organizational efforts towards institutionalizing gender and women's human rights in the development process, based on increased concern regarding women's extreme vulnerability to poverty, lack of decision-making power, susceptibility to violence and insecurity, and overall marginalization in the development process. NUK's development intervention, therefore, concentrates on ensuring genuine integration of women along with men into social leadership, access and control over family and public resources, development policy formulation and targeted program intervention. As such NUK's entire development effort is concentrated towards empowerment of women and advancement of all human kind.

10. Ain O Salish Kendra (ASK) is a non-government organization started in 1986. ASK is working to attain the following objectives.

❖ To promote principles of gender, social justice and human rights
❖ Create an environment to establish the rule of law
❖ To enable the disenfranchised to protect their rights irrespective of class, caste, community, ethnicity, belief, gender or age.

Ask is delivering legal aid for dispute resolution through counseling and meditation at ASK office and four legal clinics in Dhaka city and outreach legal support through meditation and litigation in 21 districts.

Conclusion:

From the above discussion, it is clear that most of the CSOs in Bangladesh are established in recent time to appropriate the surge of aid. They are working with a wide range of areas from laws, human right, child and women empowerment election and good governance issues to sustainable development, environmental conservation and delivering training on various income generating activities and awareness building. The perception of general people about the activities of these organizations is mixed. Most of the activities are not targeted to benefit the uncovered section of the society. These organizations suffer acutely from transparency and accountability debate. In next chapter, some projects they have implemented will be discussed.

Chapter Five

Achievements, transparency and Accountability of Advocacy Civil Society Organizations in Bangladesh

The CSOs of Bangladesh especially the advocacy civil societies are very active and vibrant to redress many societal injustices. They are playing important role on many issues ranging from ensuring good governance, promoting electoral process, strengthening local government, combating corruption, delivery of legal services to the poor and disadvantaged group of society and conservation of environment and plantation. Some of these achievements are described below:

> ➤ Building voice and accountability: Civil society provides people with the space for association, reflection and action. In many developing countries representative institutions are often weak and elections fall short of being free and fair; as a result, civil society organizations may more credibly claim to represent voiceless citizens. It plays a crucial role in empowering and representing the poor in policy formulation at local and national level. Civil society has a role to play in improving state services through monitoring, demanding transparency and accountability and ensuring inclusive access to services. It can provide a voice for communities and help ensure that they are also accountable. The position of civil society means that it can make a distinct contribution in resolving conflict.

> ➤ Providing humanitarian assistance and services: Civil society has historically played an important role in providing services and relief to poor people, particularly in fragile state. Civil society can play a valuable role in service delivery. To achieve universal provision of services and avoid duplication and uneven distribution however, civil society's service provision should aim to fit within nationally or locally owned strategies. Civil societies can effectively and promptly reach with humanitarian aid to the vulnerable areas.

> ➤ Developing new approaches: civil society can play an important role identifying, piloting and replicating innovative approaches to service delivery. Approaches in common use by civil society organizations can improve service delivery much more widely.

Civil Societies Organizations are established by design not spontaneously

Given the proclaimed objectives of CSOs, they should spring up spontaneously. It is however alleged that CSOs in Bangladesh were created deliberately. They do not represent voluntary or spontaneous activity of altruistic people. Civil Society in Bangladesh did not appear as a consequence of human interaction. It can be more clearly said that civil society is the result of deliberate collective action to advance societal interests and the public good (Naidoo. K and Tandon, R,). However, ideally it is thought that creation of CSOs was a spontaneous and voluntary activity of some philanthropic persons but real evidence on establishment of civil societies lead to contrary conclusions. Since, by nature they are non-profit and act independently outside the state, they were regarded as vital social force to bridge the diversities and conflict within societies. However, the development of CSOs in the developing countries is not seen as volunteer or spontaneous. They are developed as an interaction of both international and domestic forces. Stiles (2002) properly articulated the idea as "intermestic" development circle for the initiation of CSOs in the development countries. He argued that CSOs are not established by design they are crated deliberately.

The emergence of CSOs as a social and political force became evident mainly after 1990s. Some international political and policy changes pave the way of the development of civil society in different dimensions. The fall of Berlin Wall, end of Cold War and collapse of Soviet Union resulting in the creation nation states in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The reaction against Washington Consensus followed by neo economic liberalization encouraged the dramatic expansion of CSOs globally. At this time the donor communities reached a consensus on three points about funneling aid to the recipient countries. They all favored overlapping goals: 1) to help developing countries become more financially stable and open to the world economy 2) to make development assistance more effective and efficient and 3) to nurture and develop civil society institutions (Stiles, W. K).

The end of cold war and emergence of USA as only superpower in the Uni. -Polar world gives the opportunity to help democratic movement throughout the world instead of supporting the

authoritarian governments. At that time, popular democratic movements overthrew many authoritarian governments. Civil Societies played very important roles in these movements.

International economic policy was also favorable for the development of CSOs. Under the new policy agenda, NGOS are seen as vehicles for democratization and development and as essential components of a thriving civil society. This conception resulted in a nearly tenfold increase in aid being channeled to NGOs. Donors started to apply political conditionality for development assistance. They brought to the fore a number of issues like, good governance, free and fair election, respect of human rights, transparency- accountability, responsiveness of state organs, as because these institutions are either not developed or do not work effectively in the developing countries. The inclusion of NGOs and community groups in development projects has moved beyond a mere cost benefit analysis and liberalization strategy. Different donors have been promoting NGO participation for more explicitly political ends: to strengthen civil society and the process of social participation in the new democracies. During the last few years, these financing agencies have become increasingly explicit in acknowledging that democratization is both necessary for the development process and a desirable goal as an end in itself (Bebbington, Anthony, and Graham Thiele, eds 1993, Non- Governmental Organizations and the state in Latin America: Rethinking Roles in sustainable Agricultural Development. New York, Routledge.).

The following two explanations clearly tell that the CSOs of Bangladesh are established by design, they are not created spontaneously.

1. Most of the CSOs are established in recent years and were set up at the inspiration of donors.
2. CSOs are exclusively manned by a few entrepreneurs.
3. Most CSOs are dependent on foreign fund.
4. The transparency and accountability issues in CSOs are not adequately addressed though they are the most vocal on these issues.

Bangladesh experienced a surge of CSOs after 1990. The causes, which they espouse, are not at all new. Such organizations should have sprung up long time back. The fact that this did not happen raises doubt about the spontaneity of these organizations. But this had not happened in Bangladesh. Most of the civil societies in Bangladesh have been established after 1990. This particular year is very important both nationally and internationally. In the year 1990 the

autocratic regime in Bangladesh fell through popular democratic movement. Multi party democracy, human right and good governance issues came to prominence. Internationally an important event "Berlin wall" was demolished just a year before 1990 and Communist Soviet Union disintegrated in that year. Many new countries were born and western type democracy was established in these countries. Multi-party democracy came into operation and parliamentary democracy was established in Bangladesh in 1991. Many new organizations to help democracy and democratic institution were created with the help of the donor countries/ communities. Consequently, CSOs came into focus both in Bangladesh and in globally.

Table No-2: Year of establishment of CSOs in Bangladesh:

Se. No	Period	Number	Percentage
1	85-90	2	20%
2	90-95	7	70%
3	95-2000	1	10%
Total		10	100%

CSOs are created by a variety of people. Lawyers, development practitioners, industrialists, educationists, ex-civil servants' etc. joined hands in setting up CSOs. Their motives are not clear. . If we analyze the board of the CSOs it would be clear that various group of people established Civil Society. Family member or like-minded people dominate most of the boards of CSOs. In one CSO, except one member, all the members in the managing board are close relatives. The only exception who was a friend of the founder of the organization. In most cases, the boards consist of like-minded people. However, in all organizations the founders seem to have unlimited veto power. Most members of board perform ornamental functions but have very little influence on the actual operations of the organizations.

This huge aid flow allured local social and development activists to create CSOs in the developing countries. Most of the CSOs are established with the help of foreign fund. Without foreign fund, no CSO can run their program and they mobilize very low local resources. All CSOs of this study are fully dependent on foreign fund.

Foreign donors are also partly responsible for the development of CSOs. The governments of developing countries are accused of non-transparent, non- responsive, non-accountable activities and disrespectful to human rights and rule of law. Donors lavishly supported the effort for creation of CSOs as they are supported to articulate voice from inside of the people to promote and strengthen these issues, which contribute to overwhelming growth of CSOs in the developing countries.

Transparency and Accountability of CSOs

Civil societies are very critical about the transparency of the public sector. They view public sectors as intransparent in their activities. So, they allege, general people are being deprived from public services. The story is not true only for the public sectors. In terms of accountability from the other perspective, however neither the policy nor the academic communities have systematically analyzed the funding, transparency and accountability of NGOs (McGann. J and Johnstone, Marry, 2006). It is increasingly a major concern that the civil societies organizations, particularly those that are involved in advocacy work, are coming under increasing pressure to improve their transparency and accountability (Civicus- Acting Together). It is evident after analyzing and comparing NGO activities that NGOs on the whole are not more transparent than other organizations. Transparency refers more to processes, procedures and values that ensure accountability and influence on organization's day-to-day work (Naidoo, K 2006). As CSOs generally don't need to be legally accountable to anybody for their activities, so they are tempted to be less transparent. There is no clear agreement to which CSOs should be accountable (Wagle, U). There are many constituencies NGOs are expected to serve, they can report to the government, people, board and donors. One can argue that they are accountable to all, while also to nobody, because every party has interest in NGO activities, but no one has the mechanisms to examine and scrutinize their programs and performance. It is also because board members often are uninvolved in their program activities. Actually, NGOs are financed by donors and accountable to nobody.

. Questions are often raised about their operational styles, appointment procedures, financial accounting standards, salaries, integrity and benefits, etc. A recent study has revealed several types of weakness in financial management among NGOs in Bangladesh (Wahab, N, 2005). The key areas of shortcomings are: a) lack of knowledge on basic book keeping, b) lack of

31

clarity about the basis of accounting and c) a low level of awareness on accounting standards, resulting in non-compliance with fundamental pre-requisites of financial reporting (Iftekharuzzaman, 2005). Most of the NGOs do not reveal their financial information anywhere. They are not transparent and efficient in reporting about their programs and strategies. They do publish annual report in a very expensive and attractive style. But they hardly contain substantive information regarding programmes, vital financial information and institutional strategies. This gives rise to skepticism about accountability and transparency of these organizations. An extensive web search about the financial information of the CSOs has failed in getting information except TIB.

Why Civil Society accountability-transparency is must

Nobody or no organizations should be given total freedom in their activities. Their program and expenditure should be transparent as well as they should be held accountable to somebody. The issue of transparency and accountability for the CSOs is a prime need. They work for the vulnerable, disadvantaged groups in the society. Government cannot reach such clientele. Therefore, any impropriety of activities in the name of the poor will severely affect them. There is a widespread expectation that NGOs aren't profit oriented, they are voluntary organizations dedicated to public services and they should be more humane, community oriented, efficient, cost effective, frugal and transparent than the government. The public sector of the society is held accountable by the parliament, Comptroller, and Auditor General. In public sector, every tier is accountable to the higher tier for any improper or wrong doings. Public representatives are liable to maintain accountability to the constituencies at least when the election comes. There are many instances where the most powerful and influential leaders were defeated because they lost the trust of the people. The issue of accountability for private sector is more decisive. Profit making organizations are answerable to the board of directors who have vested stakes. They are also at the same time accountable to the customers as they have choices to reject or buy their products at any time. Bangladesh is a model of NGO activity in the world especially for micro-credit operation. The lack of transparency in   NGO sector is perhaps their greatest vulnerability, and must be addressed internationally in order to ensure the integrity and continuity of the work of NGOs (McGann, J and Johnstone, M). The transparency-accountability of the CSOs is needed for their own survival. If CSOs do not

perform on the basis of their stated vision, mission and programs, they may not survive. Only moral obligation is not enough to survive.

Transparency implies the willingness of an organization to share information with outsiders. Most of the CSOs in Bangladesh are very reluctant to share their information with others. Only four CSOs furnished information in the questionnaire though ten CSOs were interviewed. TIB furnished satisfactory information mentioning everything required in the questionnaire. Democracy Watch did not provide information on program finance, audit report, name of the permanent employee with their salaries. FEMA another Civil Society did not furnish relevant information though the researcher had visited FEMA office thrice. They did not share information audit report, annual report, and information on the board. Regarding audit report the answer of FEMA it was not possible to show it. CPD, ASK, BELA, ODHIKAR, BMC refused to provide any information. The researcher collected some annual reports and other information of some CSOs from NGOAB. In the annual report of BLAST the information regarding ongoing projects and their budget were not available. An intense web search of the concerned CSOs failed to furnish financial information. So, it will not be illogical to come to a conclusion that most of CSOs have something to hide. The business firms justify such behavior on the ground of business secrets. CSOs are themselves are the greatest champions of transparency in the government but they are no less secretive than most of the public organizations.

Fund misappropriation of some CSOs:

The monitoring and overseeing mechanism over NGO activity is weak both from the viewpoint of donors and the regulatory agency. The existing financial and public procurement rules are not applicable to NGOs. Moreover, they do not have their own financial rules. They are free to take any project and they can spend any amount at their wish. So, they are likely tempted to be less accountable and less transparent in their activities and expenditure. This gives ample opportunities to some NGOs for misappropriation of funds. One loophole in their budget is that estimates of most of items are excessively high. As a result, there may be misuse of fund in procurement. Recently six NGOs have been accused of misuse of funds. Danida has unearthed the case through their own investigation that Democracy Watch, Massline Media Center, Bangladesh Manobadhikar Samonnoy Parishad, Action on Disability and Development, Brotee

and Bangladesh Society for Enforcement of Human Rights have misappropriated the Danida funds (The Daily Star, 2006). These organizations misappropriated fund in 2003 UP election monitoring project. All the organizations except the BSEHR have refunded the misappropriated fund. Refunding back the money to the donor means their activities and credibility are not out of questions. It is a clear example that these organizations lack proper accountability and monitoring obligation.

NGO Board lacks of good governance:

Most NGOs in Bangladesh have well-defined organizational structures as per governmental requirement. But there are some ambiguities about the role of the board member. In most cases, the board's members are not elected. Even where elections take place, they are just formalities. In fact the board members are hand picked nominees of the management. The nature and composition of the board and/ or executive committee of many NGOs are arbitrary, symbolic and often the boards are dominated by family members or friends or like-minded persons (Iftekharuzzaman, 2005). As a result, some relevant questions of good governance and accountability of these organizations for example, who dominates the meeting, who takes decisions on important matters, tenure, rotation, nomination of the chief executive and other board members are hardly raised. Nobody raised questions on financial matters. In most cases the board members have no idea about their responsibilities, they do not aware of the activities of the organization and mostly the financial matters of the organizations. They appear in the meeting just to authenticate the decisions of the chief executives. Stakeholders outside of NGOs- greater civil society or beneficiary groups or their representatives, donor organizations, and NGO umbrella bodies- have no interest in or means to ensure good governance and accountability of the chief executive. In most cases they lack service rules and code of conducts, very few are concerned or even aware of the need to adopt policies to avoid conflict of interest and gender discrimination or even sexual harassment in work place. The operations of one advocacy group GSK were suspended, as there was strong agitation against the chief executive for alleged chaos of sexual harassment.

Political role of Civil Society: Do they unite or divide the society?

One of the important roles of CSOs is to create consensus, to resolve conflicts and to unite the society. They should not invite conflicts and divisions, rather unite the society. CSOs bring different conflicting sectors and diverse opinion together. Obviously, there may be diverse opinion and conflict of interest in the society. Society advances to a positive direction accommodating all the diverse interests groups. If society fails to accommodate the diverse interests then society may regress. Civil Society play a catalyst role and bring all the parties engaged fighting each other resolving their differences and conflict of interests.

In Bangladesh it is observed that CSOs do not play their role in redressing tensions and stress of the society. CSOs are not united themselves. They are divided ideologically or along political lines. They pose contrasting views about various branches of the society. They are creating chaos, conflicts, and divisions, which mislead people. Many of them are also involved in partisan politics. They sometimes encourage narrow partisan interests. Consequently, they lose legitimacy and credibility as neutral development catalyst as they talk to and act like political organizations. Political role of CSOs arouse controversy and conflict both within and outside the sector. Fragmentation of ADAB and creation of FNB is the direct result of their narrow partisan division and distrust. Both parties branded each other as supporter of a specific political ideology. In order to understand the roots of the conflict, the role of CSOs in Bangladesh politics should be understood.

CSOs are not political parties. They are supposed to be non-political, neutral. They should keep same distance from all political parties. Some CSOs are involved and accused of working in favor of some political parties in the name of civic awareness and education. There is a gray area in the legal framework for NGOs in Bangladesh with the definition of political activities and to what extent NGOs can be involved in political activities (World Bank, 2005).

Both civil society and political parties seek to influence policy decisions. But the political role of civil society is indirect: civil society groups do not aspire to control the government and exercise power, but see their role as that of influencing policies in the public interest. In contrast, political party wants to assume power and control the government directly (Ottaway, M, 2005). Political activities of civil society should focus either on civic education or advocacy

for democratic reform and ensuring good governance. Civic education programs seek to convey the basic meaning of democracy as well as teach about the political and institutional mechanisms of democratic systems. In its most sophisticated advanced form, civil education is also training for political activism: citizens are encouraged to scrutinize the actions of politicians, to lobby them to enact reforms, and to hold them accountable by voting them out of office. Advocacy civil society that attracts international support focus on human rights, women 's rights, legal reform, judicial and administrative reform, making election process free from flaws and occasionally environmental sustainability (Ottaway, M, 2005). The advocacy activities focusing these issues are the legitimate consensus of CSOs. Direct support through campaign and mobilizing people in favor of any political party or candidate is outside the preview of CSOs activities. The role of civil society in Bangladesh is far from the ideal. The civil society in Bangladesh is hierarchically structured with numerous apex organizations. Each one is closely tied to a different political party for its funding and decision-making and implementing the party program. They are protected by the traditional freedom of expression, but have a general tendency to seek accommodation rather than confrontation with public institutions. The social movement perspective sees the civil society as oppositional, rather than accommodating. This view portray that civil society is a liberating social forces that challenges the hegemony of other sectors. It is inherently politicized activist and is at the root of all revolutionary movements (STILES, w. Kendall, 2002). The following chart reflects the political affiliation of civil society organizations of Bangladesh;

Table NO-3 : Political Affiliation of Selected Bangladeshi Civil Society Institutions

Party	Trade Union	Chamber of Commerce	Student Group	Newspaper
BNP	Bangladesh Jatiyatabadi Sramik Dal	Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce	Chatro Dal	Dinkal
AL	Jatiya Sramik League	Dhaka Chamber of Commerce	Chatro league	Ittefaq
Jatiya Party	Jatiya Sramik Party	-	Chatro Samaj	Janata
Jamat	-	-	Chatro Shibir	Sangram

Source: Stiles, W. K, 2002, Civil Society by Design, Praeger Publishers, Westport

The degree of penetration of civil society by politicians is extreme. As we see from the table, labor union, professional associations, university groups, chamber of commerce, media both print and electronic media are identified by primarily by their political affiliations. Even NGOs also have been the target of partisan co-option, which some believe has been successful (Stiles, w k, 2002). NGO work that is based on mobilization of the poor through group formation, leadership and institutional development for democratic transformation at the grassroots levels, can be perceived to have political implications, which may be viewed to be against the interest of one political camp and conversely to promote that of another. NGOs are often criticized as being involved in partisan politics or undertaking activities with political outcome and implications. The problem came into sharp focus in the wake of 2001 parliamentary elections when large and influential organizations were alleged to have used their programs and organizational resources to the detriment of alliance that came to powers. It drew fierce reaction from the government, but also within the NGOs sectors (Iftekharuzzaman, p, 19).

Political leaders, student leaders of AL, BNP, JP, Jamat and some progressing student leaders, general students and common people were interviewed on the role of civil society. Political leaders and student leaders view some civil society as good and others as bad. Leaders of BNP and BNP backed student wing opine that Democracy Watch, and BRAC are good. Leaders of AL and AL back student wing branded them as BNP- affiliated organizations. According to them, Proshika plays a vital role to establish secular views in the society.

Table NO - 4: Conflict/ tension creation by CSOs in society

Serial No	Name of respondent	Total No	No of respondent who think that CSOs create conflicts	Percentage
1	Leaders (political and student)	20	16	80%
2	General Students	20	12	60%
3	Government Servant	20	10	10%
4	Total	60	38	

The views of political leaders, students leaders and general students and government servants were sought on the role of CSOs.. 80% respondents from political and student leaders said that CSOs are not creating consensus in the society. 60% general students of the sample answered that CSOs are not creating consensus in the society. 50% government servants of the sample view the role of CSOs in creating consensus and unity in the society is not satisfactory. Most of the respondents opine that most civil societies undertake controversial or political program or activities, which create divisions among general people. The ideal for creating social capital by the civil society is far from reality in Bangladesh. In fact the recent division in ADAB illustrates the divisive tendencies in CSOs in Bangladesh.

Fragmentation of ADAB and establishment of FNB:

ADAB is the national apex organization of the local national and international NGOs, who are engaged in development of Bangladesh. It was formed in 1974 as Association of Voluntary Agencies of Bangladesh (AVAB). It was renamed as Agricultural Development Agencies in Bangladesh (ADAB) in 1976 as their activities were in the field of agricultural and food production. In 1993 it was again renamed as Association of Development Agencies in Bangladesh and the acronym ADAB remained the same. As of January 2000, ADAB had a membership of 1071 organizations. After 2001 elections ADAB leadership was accused of party politics resulting resentment and division among the members of ADAB. A more disturbing recent development has been a clear-cut polarization within the sector. The apex organization for NGOs is perceived to have lost its credibility as truly representative and non-partisan umbrella organizations. The rift came to surface in 2000 when the then Chairperson of ADAB called on the then leader of the opposition (BNP). Those who supported the meeting were branded as BNP sympathizer and those opposing it as pro-Awami League, the then ruling party. This was followed by allegations against a section of the ADAB leadership's partisan role in the 2001 general elections, which led to resignation of a number of member organizations citing controversial decisions, unconstitutional steps and undemocratic practices. More than 45 leading NGOs including BRAC, the largest NGO in the world, Nijera Kori, RDRS, ASA, and CAMPE quit ADAB accusing its leadership of using the apex forum of NGOs for political ends (The daily star, 24 December, 2002). They alleged that ADAB has lost its credibility due to the stubbornness of its leadership, controversial decisions,

38

unconstitutional steps and undemocratic practices of the present leadership. Mr. Aminul Islam, director of ADAB claims ADAB has not fragmented, about 60 pro-government NGOs leaded by BRAC have withdrawn membership after the new government assumed power, but after that 100 new organizations joined ADAB. He termed those who have formed FNB as pro-BNP and Jamaat and at present FNB has no visible activities. He at the same time denied that ADAB has linkage with AL. According to him, ADAB strongly believes the spirit of liberation, secularism, women empowerment and good governance. Therefore, if anybody or any organization including any political party works to achieve these goals, then ADAB will support them. ADAB does not believe political use of NGOs, but ADAB respect individual right to participate any political activity. This disgruntled group according to ADAB version eventually went on to form a new umbrella organization called the Federation of NGOs in Bangladesh (FNB). FNB started activities as a parallel organization for NGOs in 2003 with a leadership of BRAC, the largest in the world. The director of FNB stated that the main objective of FNB is to protect and promote the interest of NGOs as a whole. At the same time FNB works to keep the NGOs community free from any kind of political involvement. He denied that FNB was formed with government patronization. FNB maintains close contact with the government for the greater interest of the NGO sector. The situation is still evolving and it remains to be seen how the leading NGOs and their heads confront these complex challenges. Failure to resolve the differences they have created will definitely hinder in future development of CSOs in Bangladesh.

Another case of political partisanship of CSOs is Proshika's conflict with the BNP government:

Proshika, one of the largest NGO in Bangladesh maintains a close relation with AL. The relationship of Proshika chief with AL is well established. When AL launched a movement for a neutral caretaker government in mid 1990s, Proshika played a prominent role in this campaign drawing criticism from within and outside the NGO sector for being involved in a highly sensitive issue. Proshika chief has been actively interested from its inception in mobilizing people against anti-liberation and anti-fundamentalist forces, which had gone against an important political party and allies of the present government. It evoked much resentment in the BNP and Jamaat-I-Islami. It is alleged that in 1996 Proshika was heavily

involved in voter education programs along with other NGOs, which was considered to pro AL activity by the BNP (World Bank, 2006). The effort of Proshika influenced, that election. Because, Jamaat-I-Islami won only three seats (Stiles, w.k). The controversy was revived when an opposition program to topple the government in 2004 was launched. The opposition set a deadline 30th April as the day for toppling of the government. The government apprehended that Proshika was involved to mobilize its thousand hundred of workers in Dhaka keeping in line with the opposition program to throw the government out. The government accused Proshika chief and other officials of plotting with the main opposition party to overthrow the incumbent government (World Bank, 2005). The Proshika chief denied all allegations leveled against them. He termed the allegations as false and asked the government to show evidence (The Daily Star, May 5, 2004). Government arrested Proshika chief along with other key personnel and froze its accounts and stopped the flow of outside assistance. Due to funding crisis the activities of Proshika had to be scaled down. Hundreds of its workers left the organization since they were not getting salaries. Millions of beneficiaries were sufferers as most of the programs of Proshika were suspended.

The above allegations suggest that though CSOs are vocal champion of transparency and accountability of public sector, they themselves are not transparent and accountable. They often refuse to furnish basic information about themselves to researchers. Most of the CSOs in Bangladesh are politically politicized. Because of their political linkage, they have contributed more to division than unity in the society. The boards of the most of the CSOs are puppets in the hands of the management. Funded by donors they owe no loyalty to their beneficiaries. They seem to be accountable to themselves.

Chapter Six

Some Case Studies of Advocacy Civil Society Projects

Though advocacy civil society groups are secretive about their activities and finances t hey have to furnish detailed information on the projects undertaken with foreign assistance to NGO affairs bureau. An analysis of the projects of advocacy of civil groups may be seen in the table no-5. There are nine advocacy civil society organizations that received foreign assistances. The largest assistance was received by Transparency International Bangladesh, which received Tk. 36 crores from donors. The second largest recipient of aid for advocacy work is Center for Policy Dialogue, which receives about Tk. 18.62 crore from donors. The third largest recipient of aid is FEMA which received 3.79 crores. BELA and Democracy Watch followed it.

The major projects of Advocacy civil Society Organizations are analyzed below:

Dozens of ACSOs are working in Bangladesh they are implementing their programs on many issues ranging from ensuring good governance and empowering women to conservation of the environment and poverty reduction through training and human resource development. Their activities become prominent and widespread both in terms of fund spending and in terms of multiplicity of their projects. Donors are also lavishly channeling funding to them. These funding lacks proper scrutiny and accountability both by donors and NGOAB. CSOs are in many ways not enough transparent in their activities especially in financial matters. No CSOs have web page containing name of projects, total fund of project, which are funding to these projects, what are the objectives, how many peoples are working and spending details of the projects. Subsequently, activities of these organizations are not bringing qualitative change in society. Many targets of the projects implemented by these organizations are not achieved. Most of CSOs do not have grassroots level organizations. Projects are not taken in prior consultation with different stakeholders and would be beneficiaries of the projects. Aspirations and need of the people are not reflected in the set targets. So, most of the cases, people are not known to the projects and have little impact on society. I have collected projects information of some organizations from NGOAB. After analyzing the information, I have come to the point

that after 1990 billions of dollars have been spent in advocacy work by the CSOs, but mentionable achievements are not seen or achieved.

Table No- 5: List of projects taken by some Advocacy CSOs:

Name of the Project	Name of the NGO	Donor	Total Fund	Duration
Farmer's Right to Livelihood	BELA	South Asia Watch on Trade, Economy and Environment, Nepal	4050095/	January 2005 to July 2007
Building Adaptation Strategy to Climate change for selected draught and flood prone areas of Bangladesh	BELA	NOVIB-OXFAM, Netherlands	7200000/	January 2006 to December 2007
Activities of Democratic Local Governance Program	Democracy Watch	RTI, International USAID	2760000/	February 2006 to December 2006
Ensuring free and fair election through voter list monitoring	Democracy Watch	The Asia Foundation	1539080/	January 2006 to June 2006
Functioning Local Government through Awareness advocacy and capacity building	Democracy Watch	ARD, Bangladesh	5309975/	April 2003 to September 2005
Civic awareness program: Support to the elected process	FEMA	European Union, Dhaka	15061980/	April, 2006 to March 2007

Monitoring of the voter registration process	FEMA		2291250/	December 2005 to December 2006
Trade related Research and Policy influence	CPD	Canadian International Agency	168500552/	2004-2009
Eradicating poverty in south Asia through the empowerment of the poor	CPD	International Development Agency, Canada	17776000/	July 2003 to June 2006
Making Waves: National Integrity Program Phase 2	TIB	DFID, DANIDA, SIDA And NORAD	360000000/	September 2002 to August 2006
Women's Economic Legal Rights	Bangladesh legal Aid Service Trust	The Asia Foundation	2300000/	January 2004 to June 2005

1. Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers Association (BELA) has taken two projects entitled *"Farmer's right to livelihood"* and *"Building adaptation strategy to climate change for selected draught and flood prone areas of Bangladesh"*. South Asia Watch on Trade, Economy and Environment, Nepal and NOVIB-OXFAM Netherlands has funded these two projects to the taka ofTk.4050095/ and Tk.7200000/ respectively. The main objectives of the project Farmer's right to livelihood are as follows:

1. To make strategic intervention which will contribute to securing farmer's, rights to livelihood in the context of the liberalization, globalization and WTO agreements
2. Assessing the likely impact of liberalization, structural adjustment and globalization and recommend strategies to optimize gains and mitigate the adverse impact on traditional resources and livelihood earners.

3.   Assessing the impact of international, national and sub-national legislation and covenants on customary and traditional regimes of the farmers.

4.   Undertake lawful advocacy and campaigns to influence policies and practices in favor of farmers.

25 people of different strata of the society in Dhaka are asked about the project of which 18 respondents answered they heard the name of the organization and all 25 people told they had not heard the name of the project.

The objectives of the project *"Building adaptation strategy to climate change for selected draught and flood prone areas of Bangladesh"* are to make documentation of existing coping strategies and practices in relation to flood and draught. These strategies would be categorized based on their effectiveness and outcomes. The study will also arrange for wider disseminating practices among non-governmental organizations. The ultimate objective of the project is to suggest sustainable good practices to address flood and draught. About the project, the same 25 people were the respondent and the result was same. None of the respondents heard the name of the project. Both these projects were research projects, which had little impact on the society at large.

2. **"Activities of Democratic Local Governance Program"** and **"Ensuring free and fair election through voter list monitoring"** are the two projects, which are recently implemented by Democracy Watch. RTI International and The Asia Foundation have awarded Tk 2760000/ and Tk 1539080/ respectively for the two projects. The main objective of the project *"Activities of Democratic Local Governance Program"* is to ensure *strong local government at all levels that are pro-people, accountable and responsive.* The project activities will execute priorities identified by the government of Bangladesh and other local and international development partners in the poverty reduction strategy paper, adopted by the government of Bangladesh in 2005. The project will create awareness and demand amongst constituencies on the role and functions of local government and initiate policy debate/ deliberations through MPs to accelerate the process of establishing a responsive and effective local governance system in Bangladesh. 25 people were asked about the project. They stated that they did not know about the project.

Another project implemented by Democracy Watch is *"Ensuring free and fair election through voter list monitoring."* The project was implemented in 8 upazilas in 8 districts. Opinion of 30 – people in two upazilas were collected. They were asked about activities of the project. All the respondents claimed that they did not see any activity of the project.

4. FEMA has implemented two projects recently, *"Civic awareness program: Support to the electoral process"* and *"Monitoring of voter registration process"* at a cost of Tk 1.5 crore and Tk 22.9 lac respectively. The objective of the first project is to build up the capacity of the polling agents and election agents for transforming them into efficient and knowledgeable agent so that he/she can perform the functions of a party/candidate agent effectively and can guard against all sorts of fraudulent practices at the polling booths by the dishonest and corrupt polling officials as well as the political activists. 20 political leaders and activists of different political parties were asked whether they were trained as election agent or heard the name of the project. 90 per cent respondents answered that they did not hear about the project. Thus the impact of the project was very limited.

The name of the other project of FEMA is *"Monitoring of voter registration process"*. The objectives of the project are:
1. To free the voters from the curse of injudicious and uninformed voting.
2. To ensure maximum accuracy in the voter list by exclusion preventing inclusion of names of dead, fictitious and unqualified persons and inclusion of qualified persons who are left out of the electoral rolls.
3. To promote informed and judicious voting eliminating influences of undesirable and unscrupulous elements of the society. 20 persons of Rajshahi and Dhaka were selected as respondents. They were asked about the project. They said that they were not aware of activities of the project

4. CPD has implemented a project entitled *"Eradicating poverty in South Asia through the empowerment of the poor"* at a cost of Tk 17776000/. The main objectives of the projects were the overall objectives of the project are to help enhance the capacity of South Asia's poor to compete in markets. The project will identify interventions that

help redress inequities in asset ownership and help transform the poor into stakeholders in the corporate sector of the national and global economy, emphasizing equitable access to quality education and health care and enhancing the democratic power of the poor.20 poor people living in the slum in Dhaka city were asked about the project. They have not at all heard the name of the project. CPD is implementing another project naming *Trade related Research and Policy influence*. The cost of the project is Tk.168500552/. Canadian International Development Agency assisted the funding. The objectives of the project are:

1. To monitor the implications of multilateral trading regime in important sectors of the economy through commissioning of research studies and conducting of dialogues and discussions.
2. To prepare policy briefs to provide policy inputs to GOB.
3. To raise awareness about the impact of issues originating in the multilateral trading system through holding of national dialogues.
4. To publish research studies and dialogue reports
5. To organize trade policy appreciation workshops for mid-level government officials, academics, journalists and students.
6. To develop database and Web site for facilitating research and dissemination of research outputs and to develop research and documentation center for providing better access to resource materials.

The concerned officials of the Ministry of the Commerce, GOB and concerned officials of FBCCI, DCCI and MCCI were interviewed about the ongoing project of CPD. The officials of the ministry know the name of the project. Secretary, to the Ministry of Commerce is the chairperson of the Trade related Research and Policy Influence project. Every year, CPD conducts a meeting in the conference room of the Ministry. The officer of WTO cell told CPD did not send the resolution of the meeting or the decision of the

meeting. Sometimes, Commerce Ministry put some specific suggestions, but CPD did not incorporate the suggestions in their published text.

The views of the business officials about the project activity are not same. The officials of DCCI termed the project a very positive and beneficial one for the business body. CPD invite them in the trade policy appreciation workshops, seminars. CPD presents the trade related policy in a very simple way to the business people, so the project is very helpful to them. The officials of the FBCCI and MCCI put a different view about the project. They said that they did not know about the project specifically. They were never asked to attend the workshop/ seminar held under the project. As they did not know about the project, so the question of getting benefit from the project does not arise.

5. Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB) has recently implemented its much talked project *"Making Wave: National Integrity Program Phase 11"* at a cost of Tk.360000000/. The main objectives of the project are to curb corruption and improve governance in the public, private and non-governmental sectors through greater accountability, transparency and participation in order to achieve sustainable economic development, which relates to the objectives of the National Plan of the Government of Bangladesh.

1) Improvement of educational practice and procedure, ensuring best use of educational facilities, and to create social awareness & responsibility to maximize the utilization of educational expenditure, and to create awareness among the students about their responsibility to the society.

2) Ensure the availability of necessary health service for the citizens and to develop the health facilities and to improve the quality of service.

3) Increase citizen's awareness in relation to the various utility services in order to reduce system loss and to develop an efficient management within these institutions.

4) Develop a favorable environment in order to encourage both local and foreign enterprises through greater mobilization of resources.

25 people of different sector of society were asked about TIB and its activities. All respondent said that they heard about TIB and it is working to fight corruption through publishing the

47

stories of corruption of different sector of the government, organizing workshops and seminars in different part of the country to make people conscious about the curse of corruption.

6. Bangladesh Legal Aid Service Trust (BLAST) implemented the project "*Women's Economic Legal Right*" at a cost of Tk.2300000/. The Asia Foundation has funded the project. The objectives of the project are:

a) The objective of the trust is to secure that the operation of the legal system promotes access to justice and to provide free legal aid by suitable schemes or in any other way to ensure that opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen/person because of economic or other disabilities.

b) Increased awareness of women's economic rights and women's legal rights.

c) Advocacy of women's economic rights.

d) Public interest litigation on sex discrimination in the work place.

e) Litigation on behalf of the economically disadvantaged women workers.

Law and policy forum, pertaining to women worker's right.

20 people of different strata of society asked about the project. 50% of among them told that they were aware of BLAST activities and 60% respondent (lawyers) answered they knew the project activity.

The above analysis shows that most of CSOs projects are dependent on foreign aid. An analysis of the data on expenditure of these projects may be seen in annexure 1-9. One major item of expenditure is salary of the project staff. The percentage of this expenditure varies from 22.5 to 63 percent. There are three projects where the share of salary is very high compared to other projects. They area:

1. Monitoring of Voter List Registration—salary cost 63 percent of the project cost.

2. Eradicationg of poverty in South Asia—salary cost 56 percent of the project cost.

3. Trade related research---59 percent of the total cost of the project were expensed for salary

The first project was undertaken by FEMA and the other two by CPD. It may be mentioned that there was no allocation for salary in Democracy Watch project entitled "Democratic Local Governance Program". About two third of the total allocation of the project is earmarked for meetings and workshops. However, the estimates of same of the projects are not transparent. For example, about 40 per cent of total allocation of National Integrity of TIB is earmarked for other and contingency expenditure. However, local contribution to donor-assisted projects is insignificant. Most of the projects are dependent on foreign aid for O and M expenditures like salary. On the face of it, most of the projects appear to be unsustainable.

The impact of these projects also seems to have limited. In most cases, stakeholders do not know anything about the objectives and the operations of most projects. TIB's activities appear to be visible to most stackholders who observed that they were aware of TIB's efforts. CPD's projects on Trade related Research seem to be an exception. At least some stakeholders seem to be satisfied with the project. However, compared to other national project, the clientele of the project is limited. In most cases, the operations of the CSOs are limited to a small client. It is doubtful whether they can bring any significant contribution to the society.

Chapter- Seven

Summary and Recommendations:

Advocacy civil society organizations in industrial countries originated spontaneously. In Bangladesh, the main impetus for civil society organizations came from outside. They did not spring up automatically. They are what Stiles describe, as "civil society by design". The main findings of this study on advocacy civil society organizations in Bangladesh may be summarized as follows:

1. Ten civil society organizations were analyzed in this study. Only two civil societies were established before 1990. Seven organizations were established in the period of 1990-1995, one organization was established during the period of 1995-2000.

2. In Bangladesh, Civil Society Organizations are working in many areas from the inception of the country. They are implementing many programs focusing on violence against the poor and women, prevention of dowry and early marriage, establishment of land right to the poor, ensuring rule of law and good governance, election monitoring, reducing corruption from society and conservation of environment and fostering sustainable development.

3. All major CSOs are heavily dependent on foreign funding. No organization (except, Democracy Watch, which collect some user fee for English teaching and training) has carried out any project with their own resources. If the donor fund were withdrawn, none of them is likely to survive. These organizations lack explicit strategy for attaining financial, economic and social sustainability. The dependency of foreign funding of CSOs is an important reason for their being not accountable to the government for their activities.

4. Only four CSOs have furnished information in response to questionnaire soliciting data. TIB's information was complete and contained latest audit report. The other three did not give detailed information, especially in financial matters and program descriptions. Six CSOs refused to furnish any information in spite of several written and verbal request to all of them. Even some organizations argued that they do not belong to the civil society, for example,

the official of ODHIKAR did not understand civil society, as the official claim ODHIKAR is not a civil society organization; rather it works human right related issues.

5. The partisan role of some CSOs generated controversy and tensions both within the sector and outside of the sector. The general view about the sector is that they are creating tensions and conflicts in the society. They are engaged in carrying out political mission under the banner of advocacy and education. Some CSOs are held responsible for working on behalf of political parties on the eve of election. Most types of civil societies are closely affiliated with political party. Political ambition and activities of CSOs makes them controversial.

6. It is the general view of all CSOs that they are accountable for their activities to the donors. Most of them felt that NGOAB is an unnecessary hindrance. The problem of accountability for the CSOs lies in the organizational shortcomings of the NGOAB. NGOAB does not have sufficient manpower and organizational capacity to monitor and supervise the activities of CSOs. At present NGOAB has only 18 officers to monitor and scrutinize the activities of more than 2000 CSOs with thousand projects implemented by them. When NGOAB started its activities, the manpower was same as it is now, though the number of CSOs has increased manifold.

7. NGOAB lacks data bank. Basic information of NGOs is not kept systematically and in an organized way. The important data such as number of projects, financial involvement of the projects, and classification of NGOs based on their activities, information relating to supervision and monitoring results are not kept centrally. There is no research, evaluation and training section in NGOAB. The members of the staffs are not properly equipped with modern technological knowledge. Therefore, without sufficient organizational capacity NGOAB cannot ensure transparency and accountability of CSOs. They are using technologically sound and advanced methods. Without equipped with technologically advanced methods and having trained manpower, NGOAB can not ensure effective result in terms of transparency, accountability and effectiveness of the activities of CSOs.

Recommendations of the study:

Composition of the board: The board of the CSOs is neither representative nor accountable. The present style boards are puppets in the boards of management. The boards are staffed with relatives, friends and cronies. General bodies also display same traits. A person should be prohibited from being member of executive body for more than two terms. The head of the organization and the chief executive should not be the same and there should be balance of power between the two. The power and authority of the two should be explicit and clearly defined. The board members should be well conversant with their roles and responsibilities and they should understand the consequences of their decisions. The minutes of the board should be available in the office and in the web sites.

Strengthening organizational capacity of NGOAB:

The NGOAB is the only regulatory organization of more than 2000 NGOs in Bangladesh. Manpower and organizational capacity of NGOAB is not adequate. The manpower did not increase since 1991 and it remains unchanged since its inception. Monitoring and supervising of the activities of a large number of NGOs is extremely difficult for a limited number of officers of NGOAB. The bureau is not equipped with modern technologies. The member of the staffs is not properly trained to handle the modern sector. So, increase of manpower, proper training for the staff and introduction of modern technologies are very necessary for proper monitoring and supervision of the activities of the NGOs.

Improvement of audit system:

The existing audit system of CSOs leaves much to be desired. NGOAB has enlisted audit firm. NGOs are given liberty to choose any one from the list for auditing their activities. The corrupt practice lies in the enlistment of audit farms. To stop this corrupt practice, NGOAB should establish a separate auditing unit and DG, NGOAB would determine who would be given task to audit a particular CSO. NGOs will not know who will go to audit a NGO before going to the organization. An officer will lead the audit team. Audit reports should be publicly accessible. Proper scrutiny of the budget before approval is necessary for effective internal control.

Internal Financial Management Policies:

CSOs should develop management and financial policies, service rules, reporting and documentation guidelines from an early stage of their development. Financial policies should provide details on accounting conventions, depreciation, revenue sources, taxation, and recognition of government grants. Procurement policies should be in line with public procurement policies. Arbitrary procurement is to be avoided.

Financial Transparency:

Public concern about CSO could be met if there were a consistent set of disclosure requirement and in general greater information on NGO programs, funding, expenditure, and employees with name, qualification, and salaries. Ensuring public access to NGO activities as a whole would be an important part of strengthening public accountability. This information should be freely available in head and branch offices, making copies available at public libraries and relevant web sites.

Political activity:

Definition of political activity and to what extent a CSO can be involved in political activities should be explicit. Political activities broadly defined, comprise a range of activities from public education to electioneering in favor of a candidate or party. This type of political involvement should be strictly impartial. No activity in the name of motivation and public awareness is to be allowed. No body should be allowed to use any NGO for political purpose.

Conclusion:

Advocacy CSOs can contribute a lot through motivation and mobilization on various socio-economic, political, environmental and governance issues. The need for social development, social change and formulating national policy on many important issues are acutely felt. They are working hand in hand with the government in many areas. CSOs have comparative advantages to work with the unprivileged section of population. Therefore, their contribution to social change is urgently needed. Bangladesh is a growing democracy. Democratic institutions are not well established and are not functioning effectively. Many of the institutions are not responsive and tolerant of the views of the others. In the existing democratic situation of Bangladesh winners take all. The opposition and minority views are hardly heard. In this perspective, CSOs role as catalyst and responsible player of vibrant social transformation is overwhelmingly important. This is why donors increasingly feel comfortable to work with CSOs and trust them. They divert money to NGOs for social and economic advancement of the poor on the assumption that they are more effective than the Government. However, the Government cannot and do not supervise their activities. The issue of transparency, accountability, composition of the board, financial malpractice, effectiveness of their activity and political activity in disguise of motivation and awareness building are major concerns regarding advocacy CSOs among the government, business bodies and conscious citizens. CSOs should formulate their code of conduct and enforce it.

With this purpose, a high-level committee can be constituted comprising NGOs representatives, expert of NGO sector, donor's representatives and government officials. After analyzing the roles and activities of these sectors, the proposed committee may be asked to formulate a detailed strategy about how to reduce the public concern. The strategy would focus on transparency, accountability, finance, governance, relation with government and rationale of the programs of the CSOs, which will be based on internationally best practices and standard. Once this code of conduct is developed, it would be implemented and monitored by a high-level body of the government and NGO sector partnership. CSOs can play a vital role fostering sustainable development and ensuring component of good governance minimizing tensions and conflicts in the society and articulating the demands of the unheard and unrepresented section of the society.

Reference:

1) ADB, 1999, *A Study of NGOs- Bangladesh,*
   http://www.adb.org/NGOs/docs/NGOBangladesh.pdf viewed on12 August 2006.

2) Briscoe, J. 2001, *Two decades of change in a Bangladeshi village*, Economic and Political Weekly volume xxxvi Number 40, October 6 2001.

3) Center for Civil Society and Governance, University of Hong Kong.
   http://www.hku.hk/ppaweb/form/CCSG- viewed on 22 July 2006

4) DFID, 2006, *Civil Society and Development: How DFID works in partnership with the civil society to deliver the millennium goals,* http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/civil-society-dev.pdf#search=%221)%09Civil%20Society%20and%20Development%3A%20How%20DFID%20works%20in%20partnership%20with%20the%20civil%20society%20to%20deliver%20the%20millennium%20goals%22 viewed on 11, August 2006.

5) Eigen, P, nd. *The Role of Civil Society,*
   http://magnet.undp.org/docs/efa/corruption/Chapter05.pdf#search=%22THE%20ROLE%20OF%20CIVIL%20SOCIETY%2C%20PETER%20EIGEN%22 viewed on 4 august 2006.

6) Feldman, S. 1997, "NGOs and Civil Society: (Un) stated Contradictions", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol.554, page, 46-65.

7) Flyvbjerg, B 1998, Hebermas and Foucault: Thinkers for Civil Society? The British Journal of Sociology, vol. 49, No. 2, 210-233

8) Hauss C. (Chip), 2003, *Civil Society, Beyond Intractability organization*
   http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/civil_society/ viewed on 10, August 2006.

9) Iftekharuzzaman, 2005, *NGO Governance in Bangladesh: Challenges and Outlook,* Workshop report 16-18 Manusher Jonno, Dhaka

10) Islam, A (2006), Director, ADAB, interviewed September 7, 2006

11) Islam, T (2006), Director, FNB, interviewed September 6, 2006.

12) McGann.,J and Johnstone. M, 2006, "The Power Shift and the NGO Credibility Crisis", *The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law,* vol 8 issue 2 January 2006
    http://www.icnl.org/knowledge/ijnl/vol8iss2/art_4.htm viewed on 8 September 2006.

13) Naidoo, K and Tandon, R, 1999, Civil Society at the Millennium, Kumarian press inc, 1294 Blue Hills Avenue, Bloomfield USA

14) Naidoo, K, 2006, *Civil Society and the Powershift*, CIVICUS World Assembly 2006 http://www.civicusassembly.org/TheWorldAssembly/CivilSociety.aspx viewed on 4 august 2006.

15) Ottaway, M.2005, *Civil Society,* Politics in the Developing World edited by Peter Burnell and Vicky Randall, 2005, Oxford University Press

16) Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2004, sixth edition, 0xford University Press

17) Pollard A and Court J, 2005, *How civil society organizations use Evidence to influence policy process*, Global Policy http://www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/intro/general/2005/07evidence.pdf#search=%225)%093) %09How%20civil%20society%20organizations%20use%20Evidence%20to%20influence %20policy%20process%22 viewed on 10, August 2006.

18) Stiles, W. K, 2002, Civil Society by Design, Praeger Publishers, Westport

19) Yamamoto, T. nd. *Emerging Civil Society in the Asia Pacific Community Non-Governmental Underpinnings of the Emerging Asia Pacific Regional Community*, A 25th Anniversary Project of JCIE, JCIE 25.

20) UNDP, 2006, *UNDP and Civil Society Organization: A policy of Engagement*, United Nations Human Development Report http://www.undp.org/cso/policies/pdf/UNDPCSOPolicy.pdf#search=%229)%09UNDP%2 0and%20Civil%20Society%20Organization%3A%20A%20policy%20of%20Engagement %22 viewed on 3 August 2006.

21) UNDP, 2003, *Building a pluralistic network, encouraging civil society participation in country level thematic groups.* ACC Network on Rural Development and Food Security, United Nations Human Development Report http://www.rdfs.net/OLDsite/en/themes/Amay98ae.htm viewed on 5 August 2006.

22) The Daily Star, 2002, "*20 more NGOs quit ADAB*" August 23 2006

23) The Daily Star, 2003, "*Proshika chief ask BNP Secy Gen to show evidence*" August 23 2006.

24) The Daily Star, 2006, Six NGOs accused of misuse of funds, August 23 2006

25) Wagle, W. 2006, *Civil Society Sector in the Developing World*, http://www.pamij.com/99_4_4 wagle.html viewed on 5 August 2006.

26) Wahab, N 2005, Riview of Financial System of NGOs of Bangladesh, Bangladesh Freedom Foundation, Dhaka.

27) Wikipedia, 2006, Civil Society, viewed on 12 August 2006
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/civi_society viewed on 5 August 2006.

28) World Bank, 2005, The Economics and Governance of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Bangladesh, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit South Asia Region.

29) World Bank, 2006, *Civil Society*,
http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/CSO/0,,contentMDK:20101499~menuPK:244752~pagePK:220503~piPK:220476~theSitePK:228717,00.html
Viewed on 24 June 2006.

Annexure List

Annexure-1: Farmer's Right to Livelihood

Major Components	Total Expenditure
Personnel (salary)	943546.00
Research and Studies	587743.00
Publications	873944.00
National level workshop, 3 in number	655236.00
Networking and Communication	262102.00
Travel	395134.00
Overheads	334400.00
Total	4050095.00

Annexure-2: Building adaptation strategy to climate change for selected draught and flood prone areas of Bangladesh.

Serial no	Description	Expenditure
1	**Salary Chief Executive**	709800
2	Salary, staff	2020200
3	Salary, Consultants	840000
4	Workshop	1050000
5	TA/DA and local convince	800000
6	Video and photography	180000
7	**Publication**	80000
8	Printing stationary	120000
9	Information material, documentation collection from different sources	120000
10	Postage	24000
11	Phone, mobile, fax	30000
12	Utilities	72000
13	Entertainment	48000
14	Office maintenance including security	96000

15	Vehicle and equipment maintenance	144000
16	Audit	60000
17	Miscellaneous expenses	64000
18	Overhead service charge	372000
19	Total	7200000/

Annexure-3: Monitoring of voter list registration process

Break up of the budget:

Se. No	Description	Expenses
1	Salary	745000/
2	Computer with multimedia	40000/
3	HP Printer	15000/
4	Furniture, phone, fax, photocopier etc. rental basis	124800/
5	Accommodation for office	93000/
6	Day long training for 108 observers	47050/
7	Traveling Allowance	11000/
8	Daily Allowance	11000/
9	TA & DA for trainers	10800/
10	Logistics for training	11250/
11	Forms development and printing	12000/
12	Poster and leaflet develop and printing	60000/
13	Traveling for coordination &follow up monitoring	240000/
14	Observation of activities of RO, ARO and information collector (Honorarium for consultant, supervisor & observer)	240000/
15	Draft and final voter list collection	202400/
16	Writing of report	50000/
17	Printing of report	75000/
18	Press conference	20000/
19	Courier, phone, fax, photocopying, internet, bank charge, Audit, conveyance etc.	138000/
20	Miscellaneous	140950/
21	Total	1178350/

Annexure –3: Activities of the democratic local governance program

Break up of the Total budget:

1. Policy forum formation meeting—50000/
2. National level stakeholders meeting—50000/
3. Policy forum meeting—180000/
4. Pre-budget public hearing—55000/
5. Information strategy development workshop-125000/
6. Strategy sharing meeting-50000/
7. Action plan workshop-50000/
8. Sustainability planning workshop—150000/
9. Capacity building workshop-12-480000/
10. Policy forum concept note—125000/
11. Report printing and dissemination—75000/
12. Press release and supplementary—50000/
13. UP and community orientation—50000/
14. Monitoring and follow up—30000/
15. Local government festival—450000/
16. LG information collection 80000/
17. LG Information dissemination—80000/
18. Monthly newsletter—480000/
19. Newsletter distribution—120000/

Annexure –4: Functioning Local Government through Awareness advocacy and capacity building

Break up of the budget:

Se. No.	Description	Expenses
1	Salary	1795601
2	Transportation	30045
3	Activity support cost	301010
4	Activity	2932179
5	LG content analysis (Research and Evaluation)	202137
6	Audit cost	40000
7	Total	5309975

Annexure -5: Civic awareness program: Support to the electoral process

Break up of the budget:

Se. No	Description	Expenses
1	Accommodation for this project	480000/
2	Training, Seminar, Workshop, Motivational inputs, 200 training courses for 6000 polling agents	3480000/
3	Lodging and per diem for project personnel	600000/
4	Daily allowance for participants	1440000/
5	Travelling allowance for participants	1440000/
6	TA/DA for consultants and project personnel	806380/
7	District level press conference	320000/
8	National conference	150000/
9	Visibility actions	50000/
10	Customs duty and sale tax	3600/
11	District administration and communication	300000/
12	Staff orientation daily allowance	10000/
13	Resource person honorarium	5000/
14	Venue for district level	250000/
15	Development of training manuals	80000/

16	Printing of manuals	800000/
17	Printing of forms and format	50000/
18	Transportation rental	360000/
19	Furniture and fixture rental	240000/
20	Computer rental	72000/
21	Computer printer rental	36000/
22	Multimedia projector rental	40000/
23	Overhead projector rental	40000/
24	Fax machine rental	80000/
25	Digital video camera rental	140000/
26	Camera rental	20000/
27	Photocopier machine rental	40000/
28	Cell phone rental	54000/
29	Air conditioner machine rental	90000/
30	Office/equipment repair	120000/
31	Maintenance	180000/
32	Office supplies and stationers	60000/
33	Core team meeting cost	60000/
34	Postage and courier bill	60000/
35	E-mail and internet bills	180000
36	Telephone-fax and mobile bill	60000/
37	Electricity	6000/
38	Gas	12000/
39	WASA	60000/
40	Audit and evaluation	100000/
41	Audit fee	1280000/
42	Baseline survey	64000/
43	Total	15061980/

Annexture-6: Eradicating Poverty in South Asia through the empowerment of the poor.

Break up of the Budget:

Se. No	Description	Expenses
1	Salary	100266930
2	Seminar/ Workshop	2101426
3	Traveling allowance and daily allowance	1801223
4	Stationary and supplies	711000
5	Communication and Networking	1066500
6	Reference material	267480
7	Publications of research papers & Dialogue report	600408
8	Research expenses	960653

Annexture-7 : Trade Related Research and Policy Influence

Break up of the budget:

Se.No	Description	Expenses
1	Salary of the local personnel	1003452712
2	Training	21076000/
3	Seminar/ Workshop/Conference	3740000/
4	Office Accommodation	3300000/
5	TA/DA for project personnel	10560000/
6	Equipment	2200000/
7	Others	24171840/
8	Total	168500552/

Annexure-8: Making Waves: National Integrity Program Phase 11

Break up of the Budget:

Se. No.	Description	Expenses
1	Furniture	5810000/
2	Salary of the Personnel	97377396
3	Training	24935641
4	Seminar	16386750
5	Office accommodation	11838057
6	Office equipment	11683700
7	Vehicles	6920000
8	Travels	15893008
9	HO& BO expenses	26979809
10	Contingency	15000000
11	Others	127175639
12	Total	360000000

Annexure-9: Women's Economic Legal Rights

Break up of the Budget:

Se. No.	Description	Expenses
1	Furniture	59082
2	Salary	1048418/
3	Workshop	172500/
4	Office Accommodation	144000/
5	Office Equipment	100000/
6	TA and DA for project personnel	36000/
7	Printing and publication	138000/
8	Stationary	18000/
9	Audit fee	30000/
10	Utilities	54000/
11	Postage and mailing	9000/
12	Equipment operating expenses	27000/
13	Recruitment expenses	20000/
14	Labor court cases	300000/
15	PIL cases	40000/
16	Research, Book and reference material	40000/
17	Investigation, documentations, field survey and reporting	47000/
18	Other operating cost	18000/
19	Meeting	9000/
20	Total	2300000/