Programme for Built-in Continuous Evaluation of RCTP

1.   Introduction

The programme is directed at studying the effectivity of
RCTP, i.e. at answering the question to what extent RCTP is rea-
ching its goals during a certain period of time. The programme
is designed in such a way that a number (eight) of P.O.'s and
branch managers, who have accompanied me for a training to Sulla,
will have to spend some of their time in systematic data collec-
tion. The results of the built-in evaluation will be complemen-
tary to those of the economic and demographic surveys. If the
programme is implemented additional in-depth studies will even-
tually be needed for two purposes. One is to learn about changes
in the power structure on the union and regional level. For this
a study of the same kind as "The Net" is required. The other is
to collect information on the power structure in areas which are
considered for coverage by RCTP.

In the following pages I shall first point out what infor-
mation needs to be collected in connection with the four objec-
tives of RCTP, i.e. economic upliftment of the target-group;
creation of employment; creation of critical awareness; emanci-
pation of target-people through changes in the power structure.
Next, I shall discuss the way in which the information should
be collected and what this means for the duties of participating
individual RCTP staff. Analytical models and lists of items nee-
ded for the study can be found in the annexe.

2.   The Objectives

2.1   Economic upliftment and creation of employment

One of the signs of the bad economic conditions of landless
people in many areas of Bangladesh is out-migration during the
slack season. The first indicator for economic improvement is,
therefore, a decrease in labour-migration. Other indicators are,
obviously, increased wages, increase in the number of paid
working-days, and an increase in economic activities. Still
other signs have to do with the possibilities of poor households
to spend money. If their income increases this will first be shown
in the following ways: the quality of meals, clothes and housing
will improve and more assets such as plough and cattle will be
owned. Further, more money will be spent on ceremonial occasions,
like Eid, Puja and Wedding celebrations. After some more time
economic upliftment will probably result in a larger number of
poor children going to primary school. Obviously improvement in

the economic conditions will also result in better health, both
because of improvement of nutritional status and the possibility
to spend more money on medicine. Such results are, however, dif-
ficult to monitor. It will be sufficient to pay attention to the
other indicators that were mentioned, as they are all inter-
related.

2.2 The creation of critical awareness

In broad terms this means a change from an awareness which
is more survival-oriented to one which is more emancipation-
oriented. When people are more survival-oriented they tend to
believe that their situation is ordained by fate or by God and
that they themselves cannot change it; in that case they tend
to seek support from patrons; their households, kin-group and
village are seen as the most important social units, and coope-
ration is primarily thought of in terms of these units. When
people are more emancipation-oriented they will be aware that
their situation is to a large extent man-made; they will believe
that it can be changed and have faith in their own capacities
to do so; they will be aware that others are in the same situa-
tion for the same reasons and will recognize the need to coope-
rate with them in order to change their situation. Of course, much
more can be said about these orientations, but here this should
be sufficient.

Whether people are more survival - or more emancipation-
oriented and whether a change is taking place in this respect
can be studied on the level of behaviour and on the level of
ideas. On the level of behaviour we have to study to what extent
the target-people take (collective) action to improve their posi-
tion and to implement their legal rights. More specifically this
means looking whether people support each other in case one of
them is harrassed, and whether people dare to speak out against
officials. A full list of such "signs" is provided in the annexe.
On the level of ideas information has to be collected (mainly
via group-interviews) on target-people's insight in the nature
of exploitation through unequal distribution of food for work,
rationing goods, khas land, relief goods and medical facilities,
and on their belief in possibilities to change this exploitation.
Secondly, we should study their insight in exploitation by money-
lenders, by low wages, by miserable wages condition and un-
paid labour, as well as their ideas about possible alternatives
and their capacities to implement these. Thirdly, we have to look
whether awareness grows among both men and women of the under
privileged position whom have in society and whether such an

awareness is expressed in changing behaviour towards each other.
See the annexe for more details about changes in behaviour.
Finally, we have to study awareness by looking at the unity of
the group and the nature of its leadership. A list with various
aspects of unity and a model for the study of leadership in
RCTP groups can be found in the annexe.

2.3   Changing the power structure

Power is here defined as (1) the capacity to make others
act in accordance with one's goals; and (2) access to resources.
These two sides of power are, of course, closely related. As is
shown in "The Net" on village level, as well as on higher orga-
nisational levels, access to resources is unequally divided.
Change in the power structure means, therefore, first of all
change in the access to and, consequently, in the distribution
of resources. But there is more to it. If the target-people
get more power (which means that others get less) those who
hold more power at present will behave differently towards the
poor, i.e. the expression of differences in power will change.
Examples are invitations to the landless to come to salish
(village court) and improvement in the quality of the meals
which are given to labourers besides their wages. A larger
section of these "expressions" can be found in the annexe.
Next change in the power structure also means change in the
relation between men and women, both in the target-group and
in local society in general. Again, such change will include
more access to resources for the women, and expressions in be-
haviour of both men and women, on the village as well as on
the household level. Examples of such behavioural change are
gradual disappearance of the burqa, less beating of women by
their husband, and more polite behaviour of officials towards
poor women. For more details see the annexure   . Finally
change in the power structure implies change in the structure
implies change in the structure of factions and other political
alignments on village and union level. If there are, for ins-
tances, two factions in a village, the growth of a strong group
of landless people may lead to a merger at the top of these fac-
tions and to rapid erosion of patron-client lies between group
members and village leaders. In case there are factions and the
power of one of the leaders is based on his clientele more than
on access to external resources, organisation of landless people
may ultimately lead to the end of his dominant role in village
affairs. Of course, there is much more to it than these few
examples show, but in this report I have to be concise.

Now, if we return to the various aspects of change in the power structure mentioned above, the following approaches seem important.

a. By monitoring changes in wages, labour conditions, borga conditions, interest rates, we can learn about changes in access to resources. For this purpose a book of records should be kept (see BRAC Research Manual, 1979).

b. We get more information about access to resources by studying the accessability for target-people of local functionaries as U.P. Chairman, Circle Officer, and Officer-in-Charge, and by assessing whether the actual distribution of food for work, ration goods, relief goods, facilities of IRDP, BADC and the Co-op. programme changes in favour of the target people.

c. By monitoring changes in the way power is expressed, both between landless people and "these who have more" and between men and women, changes in the power structure will also become clear.

d. Much can be learned through study of confrontations (including elections). In the annexe an analytical tool which can be used as a guideline for reporting on confrontations is provided.

e. Finally, the village-level power structure has to be studied by looking at factions and other political alignments. In order to do this properly first a base-line record of the existing situation has to be prepared (see annexe for guideline). On that basis it will be possible to periodically assess whether change takes place. Of course, changes on unions and regional level are also tremendously important. I do not think it possible, however, to build this kind of assessment into the present programme. For this purpose occasional in-depth studies of the same nature as "The Net" are required.

2.4 The unintended consequences

Every project has unintended consequences, some of which will be negative in terms of the objectives; proper evaluation should include studying them. The best way to do this is to ask the researchers to be on the alert for them. Unintended consequences of RCTP that can be foreseen are:

a. The possibility that leaders of groups use their (new) position to their own advantage.

b. The possibility that group members loose their motivation and solidarity with others when they become economically more secure; in other words, that they become more individua-
list - oriented.

c. The possibility that because of emphasis on economic groups may become so engrossed and inward-looking, that they lose interest in a larger movement and in confrontations.

d. The possibility that they engage in economic activities by using loans and that a calamity occurs (e.g. mis-harvest), after which they are even more indebted than they used to be.

e. The possibility that failure of a group has a negative demonstration - effect on other target-people.

3. The Collection of Information

a. Among the villages which he covers each of the eight participants in the training should select two. Criteria for selection are: total number of households between 150 and 250; there should exist one male and one female group; if possible there should be some difference between the villages as to the quality of the groups. Both the male and the female group in each of the two villages should be studied.

b. In each of the four groups selected for study, three households should be selected randomly for more in-depth study. They should be visited once every two weeks to enquire about irrigation, income, expenditure, etc. See annexe for more details.

c. Once every three months the researcher should have a group-interview with each of the four groups, to enquire about expressions of power, changes in awareness, etc. See annexe for exact points of discussion.

d. In the group file of each of the four groups, the researcher should add a section for noting odd bits of information about expressions of power, group-conflicts etc.

e. Each researcher should keep a book of records (see Research Manual).

f. Each researcher should make a report on every confrontation that the four groups he studies get involved in. These reports (plus a copy) should be kept in the branch offices.

g. Each researcher should make an outline of the present power structure in the two villages and the leadership situation in each of the four groups. Both outlines (plus a copy) should be kept in the branch office. Changes should be recorded in the three-monthly report.

h. Every three months each researcher should make a report a copy of which should be sent to the Head Office. An outline for this report is given in the annexe.

i. Somebody in the research-section should coordinate the programme and look after the files in Dacca.

j. Each researcher should keep a record of time spent on the study, week by week, during the first three months, so that eventually it can be decided whether the programme is feasible in the present form.

4. Some Final Remarks

a. It is essential that in the three-monthly reports, as well as in the reports on confrontations and group-leadership, never to use real names of people involved.

b. If a general evaluation of RCTP takes place, it should preferably occur at the time that the slack season in most RCTP areas is just over.

c. It is recommended that for the selection of future RCTP areas the amount of out-migration during the slack season be a major criteria.

Dacca, 15th February, 1981
Dr. Pieter Streefland.

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List no. 1: behavioural signs of critical awareness in RCTP-groups

- Solidarity in case one of the members is harrassed by police, touts, employer, etc.
- occupation of khas land
- exertion of pressure on government officers to get in time (e.g. medical) services needed
- high level of participation of members in confrontations with the village elite and their supporters
- participation in election with a candidate of their own; giving joint support to a candidate
- participation in a salish; taking initiative to call a salish
- women become outspoken towards officials
- generally: each action undertaken for implementation of legal rights and improvement of the own situation.

List no. 2: aspects of unity in RCTP-groups

- occurrence of internal conflicts
- nature of leadership (e.g. factions, blockers)
- solidarity in case a member is harassed by police etc.
- level of participation in group activities (including functional education classes)
- social control (e.g. when a member is expelled in order to preserve unity)
- level of group savings.

List no. 3: expressions of positive changes in power relations

- landless people (or their leaders) do no longer have to sit on the ground during discussions with village elites or officials
- landless people are addressed as apni
- officials take time to listen to landless people, treat them more politely and act on their demand
- landless people are invited to salish
- landless people are invited to elite weddings
- improvement of wages and quality of the meals which go with the wages; improvement of borga conditions; improvement of conditions of money-lending by mahajans.

List no. 4: behavioural expressions of changes in the position of the women

- officials take time to listen to the women
- women are able to move around more freely in the village and can travel more easily
- gradual disappearance of burqa
- increase in economic activities of women outside their home
- improvement of the quality of meals women get as payment for working in other people's houses

- women are invited to salish
- women participate in elections with their own candidate
- women are treated more politely by officials, e.g. their leaders get a chair during a meeting and are addressed as apni
- decrease of the number of divorces
- decrease of beatings of women
- communication/co-operation between male and female groups in village and region
- women get a bigger share in decision-making on the household-level as to e.g. the marriage of children, the sale and purchase of assets, family planning

List no. 5: points of discussion for three-monthly group-interview

a. concerning critical awareness

- the access to and distribution of resources such as food for work, ration goods, khas land, medical facilities, fishing rights, relief goods.
  To what extent do the group members perceive the actual distribution as fair or unfair and to what extent do they think they can change it by their own actions.

- the level of interest rates and wages, the nature of borga conditions and the fairness of unpaid labour. To what extent do they think these things should be changed and to what extent do they think this can be done by their own actions.

  (note: keep during the discussion concerning these points the difference between survival-orientation and emancipation-orientation in mind).

b. concerning power structure

- the way group members are treated by others in the village; did it improve or not during the past three months (note: also list no. 3)

- do group members (both men and women) think that the position of women is changing; if positive, how do they feel about the changes.
  (note: for possible changes see list no. 4).

Model for the study of confrontations

1. What is the issue

2. what is the composition of the parties

   - how many group members participate
   - do the landless get support from marginal, small, or middle peasants
   - do any landless people support the opposition

3. which actions take place from both sides

   - date, place, persons involved
   - role of the (group) leaders
   - reaction/support from outside (e.g. other groups, BRAC, police)
   - kind of action e.g. bribe, violence, threats, court case); if action was avoided, why?

4. does mediation take place
    - who mediates, when and hos
    - do both parties accept the mediation

5. what is the <u>outcome</u> of the confrontation
    - assess gains and losses of both parties, as to (financial) strength, experience, unity

    (<u>notes</u>: a) it is <u>extremely important</u> also to analyse confrontations which were aborted by the group members or the elite, and confrontations which are considered as unsuccessful by yourself or/ and by the group members

    b) in connection with the study of confrontations also study the conflict model in the research manual

    c) <u>never</u> use proper names of persons involved in confrontations when describing these
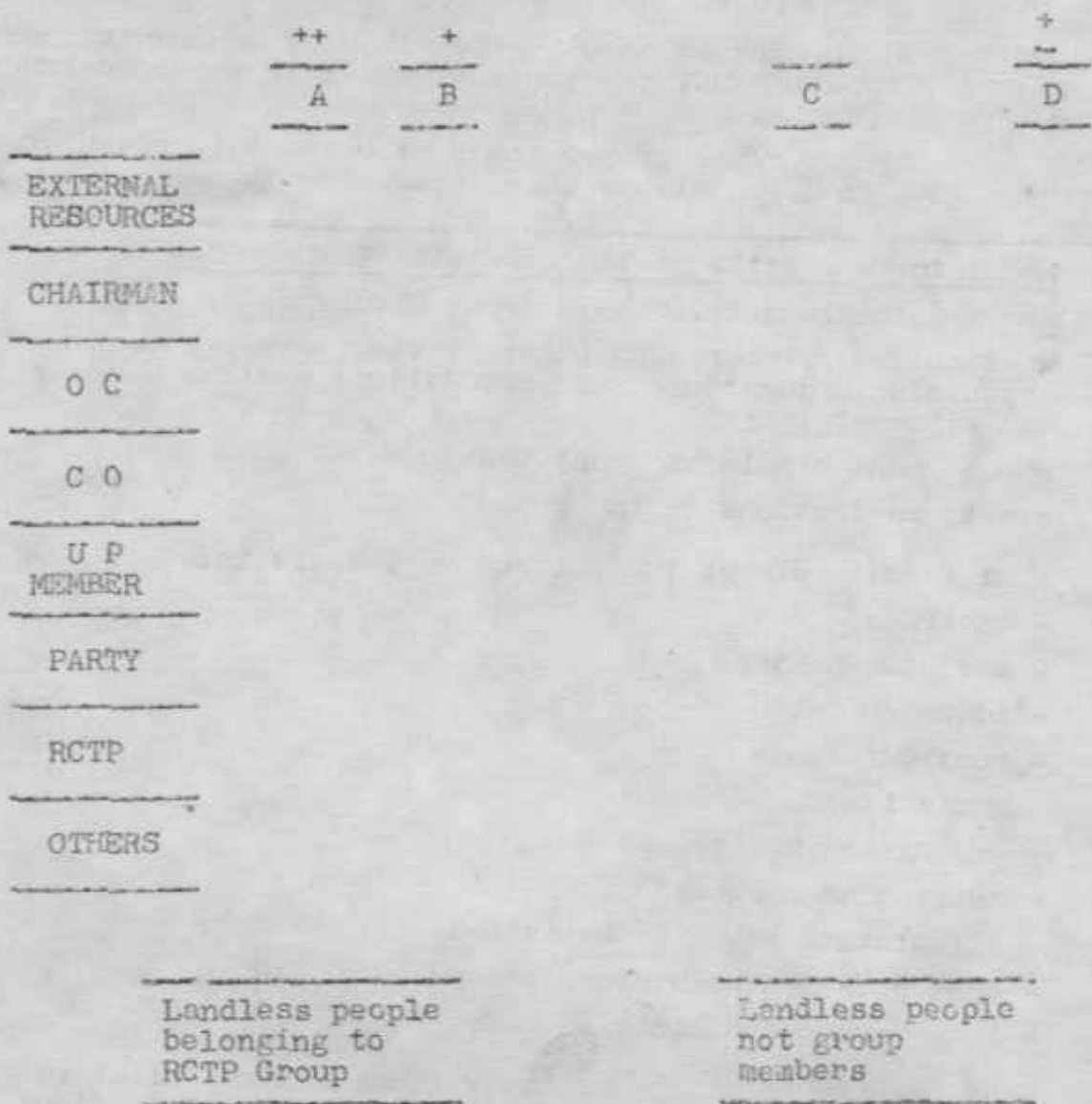

Model for a profile of leadership in ECTP-groups

.1. <u>who</u> are the leaders, sub-leaders; blockers

    <u>what</u> is their background (age; previous experience in organizing; education; main occupation; wealth; honesty and sincerely)

    who is most prominent among them

    are there factions in the group

2. what is the role of the respective leaders in:
    - meetings
    - decision-making
    - idea-generating
    - confrontations
    - mediation
    - organizing new groups
    - motivating members
    - stimulating economic activities
    - communication with other groups
    - inter-group conflicts

3. what are the relations of the various leaders/blockers <u>with outside</u>; i.e. do they belong to a village faction; do they have strong ties (kinship; clientship) with the elite; are they invited to salish; do they have relations with chairman, C.O., O.C., IRDP, Party, U.P. members. If so, what kind of relation.

4. assess whether the leaders/blockers are more survival - or more emancipation-oriented; and assess their ideas on the position of women, the role of BRAC and the importance of confrontations.

    (note: this profile needs to be made only once, but every three months changes in the profile should be recorded, such as changes in the operational team, and group conflicts. <u>Never</u> use proper names).

Guideline for the study of village-level power structure

Below you will see simplified drawings of the power structure
in a village. Simplified, because e.g. marginal, small and mid-
dle peasants are left out. When you study the selected villages
and make your own analysis of the power structure you have, of
course, also to assess the position of those I left out. This
can for instance, be done by studying their position in confron-
tations between elite and landless people. It is very important
that the drawings are only tools. The situation in your villages
may be essentially different. But making your own drawing may
help you to better understand the situation.

I.   Baseline situation

	++	+			+
	A	B		C	D
EXTERNAL RESOURCES					
CHAIRMAN					
O C					
C O					
U P MEMBER					
PARTY					
RCTP					
OTHERS					

Landless people
belonging to
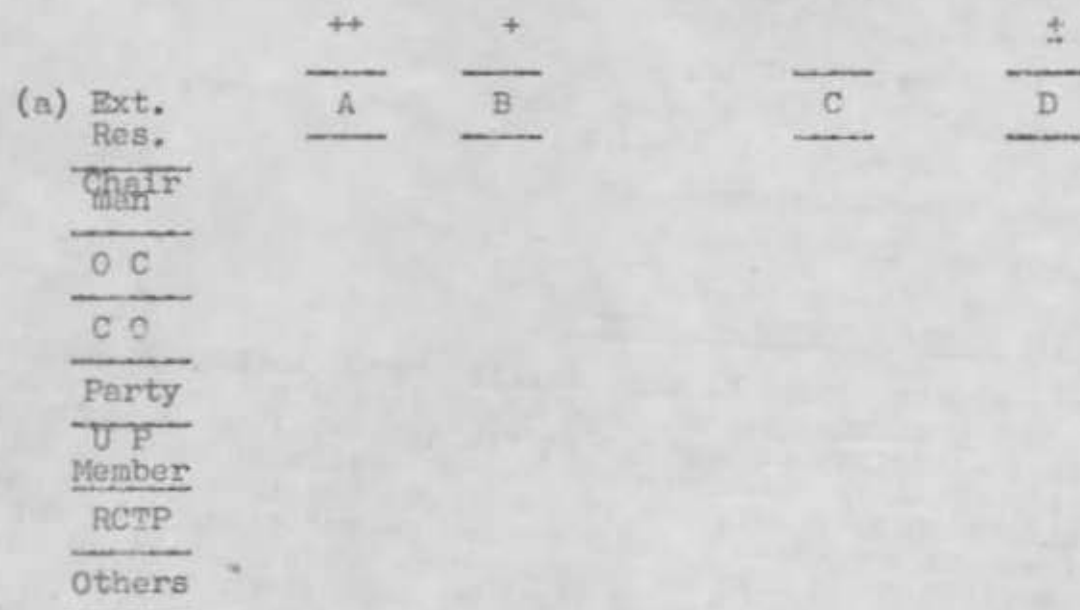RCTP Group

Landless people
not group
members

legend:

A,B,C and D are village leaders. A has most internal resources
(land, rice mill, etc.) which I show by giving him ++. B and D
have less internal resources, and C hardly any (+ and +). Bet-
ween A and B, as well as between C and D, there are strong re-
lations of kinship (gusti) or marriage. The position of A is
extremely strong as he has access to the most important exter-
nal resources. Of course, via A,B also has this access. The
position of C and D is not based on access to external resources,
but on manpower. Both of them are supported by landless people
(may be also by others) with whom they have a strong patron-
client tie (this I expressed by drawing three arrows. The land

less who are united in a RCTP-group generally work for A and B, but do not have strong patron-client ties, hence I drew only one arrow. As will be clear there are two factions in the village which I indicated by a verticle line.

II. Intermediate situation

If changes in the village power structure occur, they may lead to different situations. It may happen that the land-less become more united and also get some access to external resources, while the elite stays divided, though one of the factions (C and D) becomes less important as the basis of power disappears. (See drawing a). But it may also happen that the elite unites and that factions disappear. That the landless group gets some access to external resources, but losses the possibility to work on the land of A,B,C and D, because these mechanize and/or hire labour from elsewhere. In such a situation there is strong polarisation, which I indicate with a horizontal line.

Of course, there may be other possibilities, for instance in the villages you study. Try to analyse carefully and to make a drawing which fits as mush as possible the changing situation in your study-villages.

		++	+			±
(a)	Ext. Res.	A	B		C	D
	Chair man					
	O C					
	C O					
	Party					
	U F					
	Member					
	RCTP					
	Others					

Landless people belonging to RCTP group.

(b)	Ext. Res.	A	B	C	D

Landless people belonging to RCTP group.

Guideline for the study of households

1. baseline

record for each of the households:

- compostion (number, age, education, skills)
- main assets (land, plough, cattle, house)
- main sources of income during the last 12 months of husband, wife, sons
- did the male members migrate in the slack season of the last three years? If so, where?
- how long have husband and/or wife been group members?
- do they have loan from outside (mahajan, IRDP)?

2. bi-weekly survey

- which meals (quantity and quality) did they take; differentiate between men and women.
- which clothes were bought (lungi, saree, children's clothes, sandals)
- which expenses were made for Eid and Puja
- which assets (cattle, plough) were bought
- sources of income during past 15 days (nature of work, wages, quality meals)
- were imporvements made to the house
- were any loans taken from outside

Outline three-monthly report

This report should be concise. It should include a section on unity of the groups and changes in their leadership profile; a section on changes in village-level power structure; a report on the group-interview; a section on changes in expression of power; a section on changes in the position of women; a section on changes in the position of women; a section on time-spent on the study and difficulties encountered; a section on unintended consequences.

best wishes,

Pieter Streefland