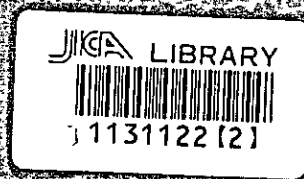


# Final Report on Joint Study on Rural Development Experiment (JSRDE) Project

Edited by

Yoshihiro Kaida  
Saleha Begum  
Haruo Noma  
A.K.M. Obaidullah



Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD)  
Comilla, Bangladesh



Japan International Co-operation Agency (JICA)  
Dhaka, Bangladesh

March 1996

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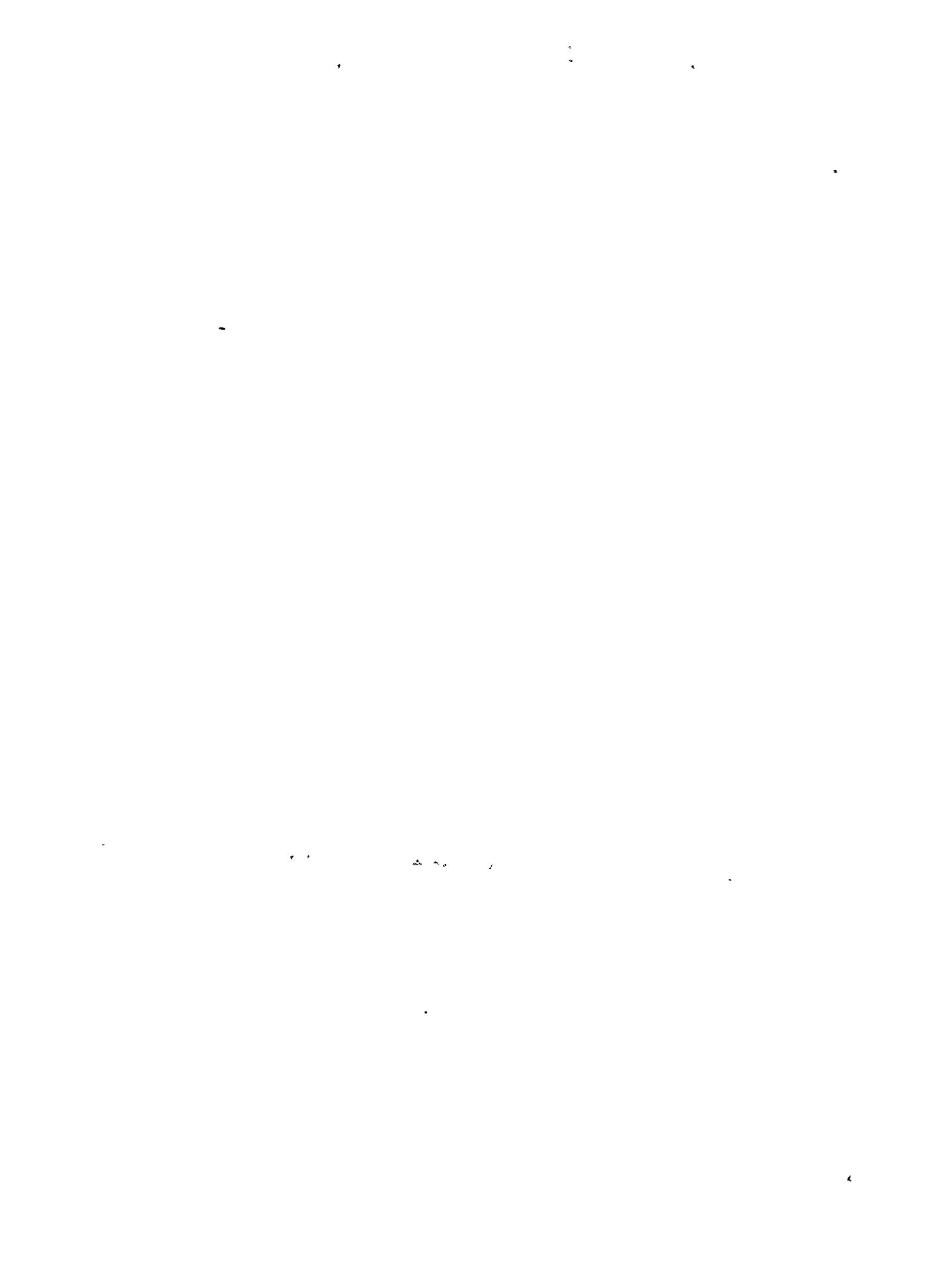
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A.K.M. Obaidullah

## **Executing Agencies**

Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD)  
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

## **Collaborating Agencies**

Kyoto University, Japan  
Bangladesh Agricultural University, Mymensingh  
Rural Development Academy, Bogra  
Bangladesh Rural Development Board, Dhaka

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**Address of correspondence**

JICA Bangladesh Office

Plot No. NW(C) 1, Road No 62/63

Gulshan, Dhaka-1212, Bangladesh

Phone : 600062, 604285, 603723

Fax : 883398

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The struggle for the development of the countryside in Bangladesh has a long history of success and failure. The problem came to focus during the later part of the British rule due to recurrent famines causing social and economic degradation. Thereafter the struggle for rural development started to surface as a policy of the Governments and as a philanthropic exercise of some social and economic reformers. The efforts for rural development continued to get preference in the subsequent plans. It reached its peak after the liberation of Bangladesh. Rural development effort started to get highest preference along with momentum after 1971. Both Government and non-Government organizations stepped in the field of rural development with new ideas, concepts and concerns. As a result various approaches have been introduced to achieve the broad goal of rural development. In the midst of this effort it is gratifying to know that the Joint Study on Rural Development Experiment (JSRDE) project has been able to dovetail a promising conceptual model and structural framework for rural development in Bangladesh.

The effort has been made jointly by Japanese experts and Bangladeshi counterparts for the last eight years in two phases, first from 1986 to 1990 and second, from 1992 to 1995. The first phase was implemented as a fact finding project under the title of Joint Study on Agricultural and Rural Development (JSARD) followed by the Joint Study on Rural Development Experiment (JSRDE) project addressing the problems identified during the first phase. The action research project implemented during the second phase has been able to achieve its objective. We are happy to know that the evaluation report found the project suitable for further expansion as a pilot project.

Both the phases of the project have provided gainful and productive opportunities to both Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Dhaka and Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Comilla to work together for the development of a workable structural framework for rural development in Bangladesh with active co-operation from Japanese expert team headed by Professor Yoshihiro Kaida, Kyoto University, Kyoto, Japan, Bangladesh Agricultural University (BAU), Mymensingh, Rural Development Academy (RDA), Bogra and Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB), Dhaka. The Japanese team and their Bangladeshi counterparts did a commendable job for which they deserve special thanks.



Thanks are also due to the staff who worked hard for the project in Dhaka office, regional office and field offices and experimental villages. Our gratefulness will remain incomplete if we do not express it to the villagers of project villages without whose cooperation and active participation the development of the conceptual model and framework of rural development would not be possible. We also thank the editors and authors for their hard work in preparing this final report of the project. We hope, this report will be of use to policy makers, planners, researchers, practitioners and others concerned with rural development in Bangladesh and other developing countries.



(Morimasa Kanamaru)  
Resident Representative  
JICA, Bangladesh



(Md. Mahe Alam)  
Secretary  
Rural Development and  
Cooperatives Division  
Ministry of LGRD &  
Cooperative.

... (faint, mostly illegible text) ...

## **PREFACE**

Bangladesh-Japan Joint Study on Rural Development Experiment (JSRDE) project was fielded in January, 1992 and completed successfully in December, 1995. The broad objective of this action research project was to develop a workable conceptual model of structural framework for rural development of Bangladesh. At the end of the project period it appears that the objective has been fulfilled. The Evaluation Report prepared by the Government also confirms that the project has been successful to develop a structural framework for rural development in Bangladesh and recommended its further expansion as a pilot project.

Behind this success the contribution of both Japanese and Bangladeshi scholars and experts was remarkable. The quest for a model or structural framework for rural development in Bangladesh started from the first phase of the project, namely Joint Study on Agricultural and Rural Development (JSARD) ending up in Joint Study on Rural Development Experiment (JSRDE) project with promising results. This Final Report on the project includes data of both the phases. It will thus provide an opportunity to the readers to study the gradual growth of the framework.

The report is divided into five chapters. The first chapter deals with historical background of the two phases of the project. The second chapter discusses the basic approaches of the second phase of the project. The third and fourth chapters are the main parts of the project that deal in detail with the village level activities, their rationale and the growth of the structural framework on the basis of four basic approaches. The fifth chapter presents the future programme while the last chapter is a documentation of relevant records of the project.

Whatever were the constraints, the purpose of the Joint Study on Rural Development (JSRDE) project has been achieved. For this achievement the contributors, both Japanese and Bangladeshi, deserve laudable appreciation. The Final Report on Joint Study on Rural Development Experiment (JSRDE) has tried to present an exhaustive account of the development of conceptual framework for rural development. The report is expected to be of interest to those who are working in the field of rural development in Bangladesh.

**Editors**

## **Acknowledgement**

In the past 10 years, if including the JSARD activities that started back in 1986, the Team members of both JSARD and JSRDE have shared, with a great number of government official of the two countries, the pleasures and pains of strenuous work for the common goal, that is the development of rural and agrarian sector of this predominantly agricultural country. Special thanks must go to the members of Advisory Committee for this project headed by Secretaries of the sponsoring Ministries, who shared most of the pains for guiding the Team.

The Team of Japanese and Bangladeshi experts and counterparts is also grateful to Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Embassy of Japan, Planning Commission of the Government of Bangladesh, Rural Development Cooperative Division (RDCD) of the Ministry of LGRD & Co-ops., the Evaluation Team and Dr. S.M.H. Zaman, Senior Advisor, JICA for their Sincere co-operation extended in every field of the project implementation beginning from project formulation to conclusion and its evaluation.

The Team members are also indebted greatly to a large number of staff who worked hard for the projects in Dhaka office, regional office at BARD and experimental villages of Aira in Sherpur Thana in Bogra, Dakshin Chamuria in Kalihati Thana in Tangail, Panchkitta in Burichang Thana in Comilla, Austodona in Barura Thana in Comilla and Fanishair in Faridganj Thana in Chandpur. The largest portion of the credit of this study, if any at all, will to the villagers in five experimental villages, without whose cooperation and active participation this study had not been carried out from its outset.

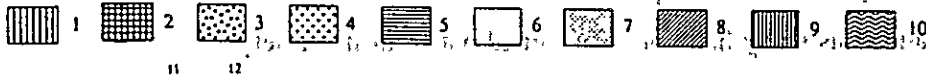
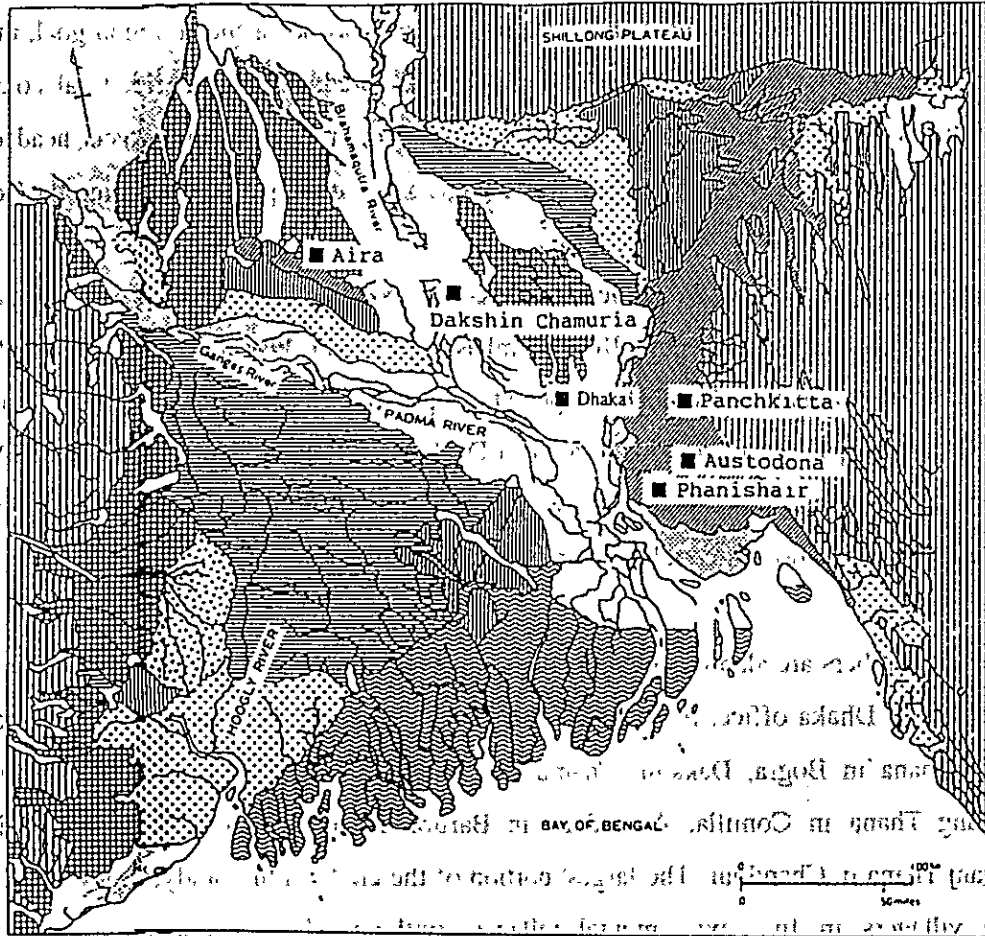
On behalf of the project we would like to express our gratitude to all the relevant persons for their hard work and cooperation in the implementation of the project.

December, 1995

Editors

# JOINT STUDY ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT EXPERIMENT (JSRDE) PROJECT

## LOCATIONS OF THE PROJECT VILLAGES THROUGH MAP



- 1 Mountains and hills
- 2 Pleistocene terraces (Barind)
- 3 Alluvial fans
- 4 Emerged or uplifted alluvial surface
- 5 Flood plain mainly formed by former large rivers
- 6 Flood plain (young alluvial surface)
- 7 Active flood plain
- 8 Swampy flood plain
- 9 Swampy depression (Haor)
- 10 Delta front lowlands
- 11 Beach ridge and dunes
- 12 Fault

Sources: Umitsu Masatomo, 1985 "Regional Characteristics of the Landforms in the Bengal Basin" Studies in Socio-Cultural Change in Rural Villages in Bangladesh No. 1, Tokyo Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Umitsu Masatomo, 1987, "Bengaru Teichi ni okeru Tansetsu Kankyō no Hensen to Chūtei Henka" (Historical changes in the alluvial environments and landforms in the Bengal Basin), ibid. No. 7

	<u>District</u>	<u>Thana</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Geographical Feature</u>	<u>Distance from Thana H.Q.</u>
Dakshin Chamuria	Tangail	Kalihati	2,665	Jamuna Flood-plain	17km
Panchkitta	Comilla	Brichang	1,813	Tippera Plain	28km
Austodona	Comilla	Barura	413	Tippera Plain	30km
Phanishair	Comilla	Faridganj	1,442	Lower Meghna Floodplain (outside CIP)	12km
Aira	Bogra	Sherpur	864	Barind	7km

## PROJECT OUTLINE

**Name of the Project :** Joint Study on Rural Development Experiment. (JSRDE) Project

**Executing Agencies :** Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Comilla

Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Bangladesh

**Collaborating Agencies :** Kyoto University, Kyoto, Japan

Bangladesh Agricultural University (BAU), Mymensingh

Rural Development Academy (RDA), Bogra

Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB), Dhaka

**Project Sites :** The Action Research is experimenting in 5 (five) villages in Bangladesh.

These are :

- (a) Dakshin Chamuria village, Kalihati Thana, Tangail District (Flood-prone village located in a flood plain of the Lohajon river, one of the distributaries of the Jamuna);
- (b) Fanishair village, Faridgong Thana, Chandpur District (Located outside the CIP embankment in the lower Meghna floodplain, hence flood-affected);
- (c) Panchkitta village, Burichang Thana, Comilla District (one of the BARD's and CIRDAP's model village and well known for its KSS's activities);
- (d) Austodona village, Barura Thana, Comilla, and
- (e) Aira village, Sherpur Thana, Bogra District.

**Objective :** The main objective of the project is to pursue problem solving and action oriented experimental approach by identifying the needs of the villagers through community participation. Thus building up a framework of rural development for

Bangladesh. To attain the objective the project is being implemented through four basic approaches.

**Basic Approaches :**

- (a) To unite the two groups in a village, one is the traditional social organization oriented to religious and disciplinary norm and the other is the economically motivated group for rural development.
- (b) To identify and make good use of ecologically sustainable appropriate farming technologies.
- (c) To fill the gap between and link the two prime institutions, Union Parishad and Gram (para) to promote rural development.
- (d) To encourage and promote villagers' non-agricultural job opportunities outside the villages, especially at growth centres.

## **LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS**

- Chapter 1 : Yoshihiro Kaida
- Chapter 2 : Yoshihiro Kaida and Saleha Begum
- Chapter 3 :
- A. M. Solaiman, Koichi Usami, M. Mizanur Rahman
  - B. M. Mazharul Islam, Akinobu Kawai, Kichiji Yajima, Swapan Kumar Dasgupta
  - C. M. Masudul Hoque Chowdhury, Shiro Mukai, Keshav Lall Maharjan
  - D. S.M. Altaf Hossain, Habibur Rahman, Kazuo Ando, Muhammad Salim, Haruo Uchida, Keiko Yoshino
  - E. M.A. Mannan, Haruo Noma, Feroz Hossain
- Chapter 4 All Members
- Chapter 5 All Members
- Chapter 6 Saleha Begum, Haruo Noma, M. Mazharul Islam, A.K.M. Obaidullah

# NAME OF THE CONTRIBUTORS

(Alphabetically)

## Japanese

Akamatsu, Shiro

Ando, Kazuo

Fujita, Koichi

Itagaki, Keiko

Kaida, Yoshihiro

Kawai, Akinobu

Maharjan, Keshav Lal (Nepalese)

Mukai, Shiro

Noma, Haruo

Usami, Koichi

Yajima, Kichijiro

Yoshino, Keiko

Yoshino, Keiko

Saleha Begum and Shohela Begum

Altaf Hossain, S.M.

M. Mannan, M. Akhtaruzzaman Khan, M.

M. Habibur Rahman, M.

Khairul Hoq, M

Mannan, M.A.

M. Masudul Hoque Chowdhury, M.

Mazharul Islam, M.

Mizanur Rahman, M

Saleha Begum

Salim, M

Solaiman, M

Swapan Kumar Dasgupta

Waliullah, S.M.



**HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF JSARD--JSRDE PROJECT**

Rural development exercises and experiences in Bangladesh over the last four decades provide a major opportunity to analyse and examine the trend of socio-economic changes in the country. Various concepts and approaches were tested to find out appropriate frame-work for rural development. We have had our experiences on community development, peoples participation, integrated approach, target group approach, comprehensive approach, *swanirvar* approach and area development approach, etc. Some of them though established a number of learning experiences; viz. the trickle down effect of community development approach but these did not prove successful, rather it became a top-down approach. These were influencing rural development processes in Bangladesh. As it was explained, "during pre-liberation period, rural development was a field of exploration. After the liberation, i.e., during Bangladesh period, there came the explosion of rural development concepts and approaches" (Ahmed, 1993).

In this country rural development efforts have been supported by a large number of government and non-government agencies. The Joint Study on Rural Development Experiment (JSRDE) Project is also in the line of such efforts which started from April 1992 and will be completed in December 1995. It is an action oriented research project initiated on the basis of the experiences gained during an earlier research study entitled "Joint Study on Agricultural and Rural Development" (JSARD), conducted from 1986 to 1990 under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Agriculture, Bangladesh and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). The basic ideas of the present action oriented research has been developed during the course of the earlier research.

The current JSRDE Project (1992-95) has a foregoing project of JSARD (Joint Study on Agricultural and Rural Development in Bangladesh) which was implemented for four years from 1986 to 1990, under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Agriculture (GOB) and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Many of the basic ideas which are used in the current JSRDE Project were developed in the course of the earlier project activities. This introductory paper presents how these ideas have been transplanted in the current programme.

## 1. Objectives and Approaches of the JSARD

The objectives of JSARD are described below :

- a) To find out methodologies for linking "village studies" with "studies for development planning" of rural areas.
- b) To identify the "key indicators or factors" for agricultural and rural development.
- c) To sort out, from the key indicators some workable basic issues for implementing a proposed second phase of the research project, which will focus on action oriented research of "rural development experiment".
- d) To understand comprehensively the test village in its entirety from within.

The approaches employed in the JSARD included the followings:

- a) To classify agroecological zones, and to choose, from the representative zones, the regions and farming communities to be studied.
- b) To employ the <sup>1</sup>SIV approach, in the participatory observation method.
- c) To employ an interdisciplinary approach by a group of researchers of diverse disciplines.

## 2. Composition of the Project Team and the Villages Studied

Table 1 shows the breakdown of the research project into component projects, as well as the number of researchers involved in each according to the research institutions of their affiliation. Table 2 lists the 8 villages selected in the 5 regions.

---

<sup>1</sup> SIV = Settle in village

**Table 1. JSARD Village-Settled and Component Studies**

	KU	BAU	BARD	RDA	DU
Team Leader	1	1	-	-	-
Agro-ecosystem	1+2	1+2	-	1	-
Farming system	1	1+2	-	-	-
Hydrology and water management	1+3	1	-	-	-
Land system and reclamation	1	-	-	-	1
Rural economics	2+3	1	-	1	-
Rural sociology	1	1	1	-	-
Demography	2+1	-	1	-	-
Geography	1	-	-	1	-
Institution building	1	-	1	-	-
Local level planning	1	-	1	-	-
Total	13+9	6+4	4	3	1

Note: a+b = researchers + graduate students

**Table 2. Characteristics of JSARD 8 Study Villages**

District	Village	Physiography	Household number
Tangail	Dakshin Chamuria	Floodplain	380
Kishoreganj	Jawar	<i>Haor</i>	1,334
Chandpur	Gobarchitra	In CIP	109
	Fanishair	Outside CIP	212
Comilla	Panchkitta	Tippera PL.	260
	Kamairbag	Tippera PL.	101
	Austodona	Tippera PL.	73
Bogra	Tetulia	Barind	160

CIP: Chandpur Irrigation Project

In order to ensure that all the villages chosen would be studied from a coherent and comprehensive perspective, it was arranged that young researchers from Kyoto University, including a number of graduate students, would be stationed in each of them, to be joined by counterpart researchers from Bangladesh Agricultural University, Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development at Comilla, and Rural Development Academy at Bogra, who would visit them once a week or so. On the whole, the researchers from Kyoto University were interested in a comprehensive approach which would allow them to understand the villages in their entirety through inquiries into a wide range of factors, including the natural environment of each village, its population, social system, educational institutions, the farming techniques and cropping system prevalent in it, the farm household economies, the

occupational structure and the migration of its residents.

On the other hand, the counterpart researchers of Bangladesh were interested more in specific component research themes, namely, water management, flood, cropping system, weeds, micro-demography, village leadership, institution building, and so forth.

The field surveys were undertaken intensively over an approximately three-year period from June 1986 to June 1989.

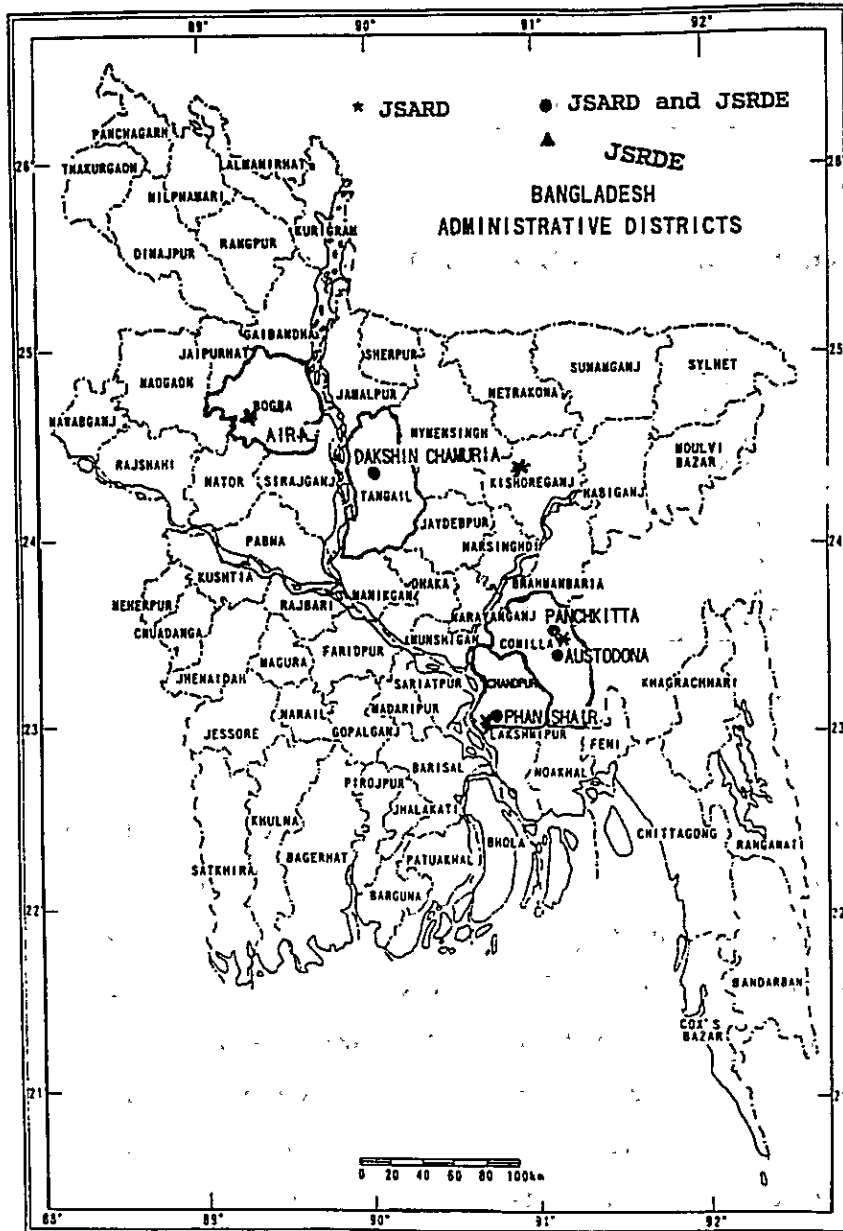


Figure: 1 Location of Project Villages

### **3. Major Findings in the JSARD Project (1986--90)**

Some of the specific findings include:

- a) The socio-economic study on the SIV approach is essential in providing not only basic data and the means to use them, but also in-depth information concerning structures, leadership and social tension in the villages.
- b) Some studies have emphasized the importance of development by group activities, creation of job opportunities, interaction between supply and demand of labour and institution building. Others have stressed the importance of extension services, credit supply, education and training. In addition, interactions among local governments' administrative units, merchants and villagers have been examined from historical, sociological and economic perspectives.
- c) The expansion of Boro rice cultivation in irrigated fields has brought about a drastic change in the existing cropping systems and has increased and stabilized rice production remarkably. On the other hand, traditional technologies which were adapted to the given environment were evaluated favourably as environment- resilient technology. It was suggested that more efforts should be directed, both in research and extension, to more rational use of the environment-adaptive farming techniques, traditional experiences, wisdom and technologies endemic to the local good farmers.
- d) Detailed surveys on the distribution of cropping patterns revealed a close relationship between cropping pattern and micro topography. Identification or classification of local land units at a village level should provide a basic set of information for improving cropping systems.
- e) In connection with the above, it was suggested that an adaptive land use of "combined rice, fish, fruit, vegetable and poultry" farming may be developed according to the given micro- topographic and hydrologic conditions.
- f) Gaps in concepts, motivations and strategies of the development plans among the different administrative organizations and the villages seemed to have unfavourable

effects on the implementation of development programmes.

- g) Governmental endeavours to extend development efforts to the villages tend to be blocked because of administrative dislinkage between the upazila, the union and the village. The lowest social unit appropriate to handle the development project has not yet been identified. The UCCA-KSS two-tier cooperative system was devised to have development programmes work in the villages, but the KSS could not functioning as expected. Many KSS have become loan channeling organizations and do not represent the interests of the majority of villagers.

#### **4. Some General Problems and their Solutions Identified in the JSARD Project (1986-90)**

The key questions are :

- a) How can agricultural production be increased so as to make the rural economy self-sustaining, not only from technological but also from socio-economic aspects?
- b) How can the living conditions of the villagers be improved, particularly the landless households who represent the majority of the population? Rural landlessness is of such great magnitude that creating employment opportunities for landless and small farmers becomes equally as important as increased agricultural production. The question is, again, how?
- c) How the functional gap can be closed between the Upazila center and the village?

Since 1983, the Upazila has emerged as the most important center for development administration. The upazila system has delegated enough power and authority to the Upazila Parishad for preparation and approval of all development schemes. The system developed for transmission of development policies and skills to the village level, however, has proved not adequately effective. The personnel posted at the Upazila center with technical knowledge hardly think of working in the villages, nor are the village representatives sufficiently convinced to come to them for knowledge and skills. The intermediate personnel are equally ineffective in establishing a meaningful linkage between these two vital groups, i.e., the

Upazila center and the village. These people are supposed to be the "friends, philosophers and guides" of the local people; but in practice very few of them are known personally in the villages.

Most of the rural development projects planned by the Upazila and upper level administrative tiers are normally implemented through the Union Parishad, by mobilizing chairman and Parishad members. Other government services including health care, veterinary services, postal services, flood relief operations, and development projects sponsored by major NGOs like CARE are also designed to go through the Union administrative machinery.

It was found that the Union chairman, and even the Union Members who are elected by general vote of all eligible villagers are still 'strangers' as the election constituency covers some 15 to 30 villages with more or less 25,000 people. Villagers are not linked with the Union Parishad physically, administratively, economically, psychologically; rather they are more firmly attached to the Upazila center.

Development work at the grassroot level is seriously hampered by villagers' mistrust and lack of confidence in their so-called leaders. The people who, because of their involvement with the development organizations, claim to be leaders of the village are often detested by the rest of the villagers as being no difference from 'touts'.

It has been learned and observed that the traditional leaders (*Matabbor*) often exercise great power of control over the people of their own community, or sometimes over those in the neighbouring communities. The villagers in return have confidence in their pious sincerity and leadership. These people usually do not stand for any public election, nor are they inclined to take up the leadership in development programmes.

The result is a gap between the "development center" and the "locates for development". The breakdown of the "link pins" may be the greatest problems of rural development in Bangladesh.

The link pins do not work, not only because of lack of enthusiasm on the part of local

government officials, but also because the link pins are structurally missing. With nobody officially representing the village at the Union and Upazila Parishad, most of the people are kept uninformed of development activities by the governments. In this situation, a lack of interest prevails among the villagers. With no information penetrating into the villages, the implementation of development projects becomes a part of the "political play" among the local elites who monopolize local politics.

Is there any solution to this lack of linkage? What if the village were to become the lowest-tier administrative unit, sending its own representative to the Union, or directly to the Upazila Parishad? Here, "village" refers to any entity which has (a) an appropriate population of, say, more than 1,000, (b) a clear physical boundary, and (c) people who share a common sense of belonging to the community, that is the neighbourhood community. The village can be a *Gram*, or in many cases a community called *Mauza*. Through this "formal" administrative channel, the government would at least be able to disseminate its administrative will more easily, and there would be less of a communication gap.

At the important workshop held in Dhaka in August 1989 to review near-final outcome from the JSARD Project, an enthusiasm culminated to propose a fresh project in order to try out some of the possible solutions identified in the JSARD Project on an experimental basis. Four basic concepts with which the fresh experiments were conducted had been squeezed out in the process of this exercise.



## CHAPTER 2

### JSRDE'S BASIC APPROACHES

#### 1. Main Concept and Basic Approaches

Four guiding concepts were formulated on the basis of the foregoing research findings. These are as follows :

- a) Organizing villagers in the village institution in its entirety, with leaders selected from the smallest cohesive social groups in the village;
- b) Establish the village institution linkage with the local administrative institutions, i.e., Thana and Union Administrations;
- c) Enhance complex land-use systems by applying need-based appropriate technologies, and
- d) Create off-farm job opportunities by bringing closer cooperation between rural and urban agencies and VICC-versa rural in order to alleviate rural acute problem of landlessness and underemployment.

With the espousal of these concepts by participating members, the Joint Study on Rural Development Experiment(JSRDE) Project was launched in April 1992 in order to pursue an "alternative approach" to rural development in Bangladesh. The present project is being sponsored by the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives and JICA and executed by the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Comilla with the cooperation of participating organizations. These are: Kyoto University (KU), Japan; Bangladesh Agricultural University (BAU), Mymensingh; Rural Development Academy (RDA), Bogra and Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB), Dhaka.

During our present experimentation we tried to conduct indepth studies with the above mentioned concepts on a small test sample.

"At the end of the project period we shall try to analyze from our test-data how the rural institutions could be made more efficient and effective to

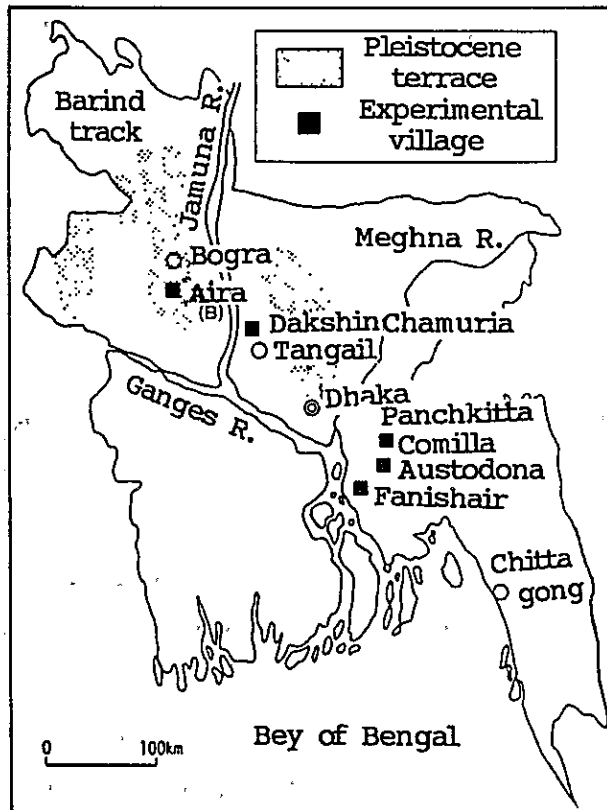
- offering proper facilities to majority of the villagers.
- linke up these with the local administration so that the latter could offer more services to play a vital role in the rural development activities.
- use potentialities of these for improving locally available appropriate technologies.
- create off-farm job opportunities for the villagers."

## 2. Villages Under Study

In the research phase of the JSARD Project eight villages were chosen from various agro-ecological zones (AEZ) to identify key questions and clues for the rural development in Bangladesh. Among them five villages from four districts were selected for experimental phase of JSRDE. The details about the study villages and the collaborating agencies responsible for the experimentation are shown in the following Table 1 and Figure 1 :

**Table 1 JSRDE Experimental Villages**

Village	Thana	District	Special Features
1. Aira	Sherpur	Bogra	The village located in typical level Barind tract.
2. Dakshin Chamuria	Kalihati	Tangail	Flood-prone village located in flood plain of Lohajong river, one of the distributories of the Jamuna.
3. Panchkitta	Burichang	Comilla	The village lies above the normal flood level in Tippera plain area.
4. Austodona	Barura	Comilla	This village is located in Meghna estuarine flood plain and Tippera plain area.
5. Fanishair	Faridgonj	Chandpur	Located outside the CIP embankment in the lower Meghna floodplain, hence flood-affected area.



**Figure - 1 Location of Experimental Village**

### **3. Some Notes on the Basic Concept of JSRDE**

#### **(a) Village Institution**

Poverty is the overriding problem of Bangladesh, although various development projects were used to alleviate such malaise by introducing various forms of interventions, which could be classified for clarity into institutional, technological and disadvantaged- focused efforts in different forms of rural development programmes. The underlying assumption behind all such interventions were capable to promote income and employment opportunities by augmenting the production potential in the rural areas. The initial rural development intervention which took place in the rural milieu of Bangladesh (the then East Pakistan) was the cooperative movement initiated as a government sponsored programme during 1960s. In course of time it was observed that the rigid regulations of cooperatives were likely to have discouraged dynamism of development activities.

During experimentation we observed that the Bangladesh village, or *Gram*, however, was found to have a tightly woven network of informal social groups. These are represented by firm traditional leaders called *Matabbors* who are selected from among the cohesive social units as *Para* or those comprising of people involved in *Salish* (Local Court trials) in different regions. The leadership is, in most cases, expected to function not for development but to sustain social norms and ethics of village life. It was often observed, however, the group of such leaders who formed the *Salish* group played an important role in building up of village infrastructures of common interest, i.e., maintenance of schools, *Madrassa*, mosque compounds, *Hat/Bazar*, village roads and the introduction of village post offices, rural electrification, etc.

Further, it was also observed that village social system in Bangladesh included some negative notions as: (a) the elusiveness of Bangladesh villages, (b) the weakness of village solidarity, (c) the operation of a power-structure by village elites who control and exploit weaker fellow villagers, and (d) the operation of village elites sometimes as "touts" in rural development projects. These notions may arise in the face of competition for scarce economic resources.

In view of the above issues the JSRDE Project has experimented the "community approach" in forming the village institution, rather than the "target group approach", and encouraged villagers to establish a *Gram*-based institution involving all the household. The leaders are selected from the smallest cohesive social groups such as *bari*, *para*, *Salish* or sometimes *gusti*, (clan), according to the prevalent social conditions. We observed that through "community approach" maximum number of villagers could be involved in the development processes both as a receiving mechanism as well as an institution.

The membership of the Village Committee selected from the villagers proved to be almost identical with the group of village *Matabbors*. What sets the new committee apart from the group of *Matabbors* should, in our view, be "openness" or transparency in procedures for disseminating information from local government institutions regarding development policies and mode of policy formulation, service delivery etc. If this sharing of information is lacking among those concerned, the Village Committee will surely fail. To avoid the rigidity of the

formal village institution we suggest an informal village institution for effective development. We believe that the main reasons why many of the traditional village institutions have so far been inefficient in coping with development activities are the rigidity of the formal institutions and the concentration of leadership within the hands of local power elites.

#### **(b) The Linkage**

Bangladesh had a long history of three tier local Government system. The tiers are District, Sub-division<sup>1</sup> and Union. At the Union level a representative body called Union Parishad (UP) exists, and it has been functioning uninterruptedly despite changes of regimes at the national level at different times. But the UP is mostly kept outside the development works carried out by the Government and non-government organization (GOs and NGOs) except the cases of small infrastructure building and relief operations. Therefore, JSRDE Project has attempted to innovate the proper way of linking up and involving the UP in the process of rural development more efficiently.

At present most public services of the line departments, including rural development, are administered at the Thana level. Some particular services are delivered to the rural people at the Union and even Ward level, including those of family planning, health, livestock and agricultural extension.

But these services are sometimes almost invisible to the villagers. The causes of this crucial defect are : (a) most of the services are rendered with almost no coordination among Thana level officers and the respective field assistants, (b) the services are delivered by the development agents to some individuals bypassing village institutions, if any, and (c) the services accordingly tend to be monopolized by powerful leaders of villages.

On the whole, there are gaps -- geographical, administrative, economic as well as cultural and even psychological -- that separate officials of different levels and villagers. These gaps must

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1 During the mid 60s, the Thana Council became the major center of activities for the rural development. Later on in the mid 80s, the sub-divisions were dropped and converted to districts.

be bridged in one way or another in order to streamline the rural public services, which are of prime importance in rural development.

Bridging the gap between villages and local government institutions at Thana and Union levels were considered to be a formidable task. After a thorough investigation of this gap, JSRDE members noticed that it was the result of an information gap, ignorance of the villagers about various service delivery and lack of initiative of the nation building departments (NBDs) workers. This gap can be closed by simply making "information flow" to the public and by coordinating various activities of service delivery agencies.

To facilitate a smoother flow of the services already available in one form or another, JSRDE approached Thana officials and helped them organize bodies to coordinate their service delivery activities with the leadership of a TRDO (Thana Rural Development Officer) at the Union level. JSRDE is urging the Union administration to establish service centres at the Ward level, where interested villagers could go and interact with field assistants of NBDs and other related agencies, who would be posted there on fixed days of week or month. Where field assistants would be ready to serve the villagers, people would come and try to interact with them.

In our view, activities for rural development should involve more streamlining of the "existing" services of the government rather than costly special investment project. Therefore, in our proposed rural development model we focused on Union Parishad as the centre of development activities.

### **(c) Need-based Appropriate Technologies**

We wish to see that diversified and multiple farming will become the guiding principle for landuse in Bangladesh. One indispensable prerequisite for the development of sustainable agriculture in Bangladesh, we believe, should avoid over-dependence on rice cultivation, and try to establish a "combined rice, fish, fruit, vegetable and poultry complex" well adapted to the environmental conditions of each locality.

Any effort on the part of scientists and also extension workers must start by identifying the

real needs of the farmers. It is necessary to draw up a plan identifying clearly what sort of technologies are really needed in the villages, what "indigenous" technologies should be saved, improved and put to active use; what sort of modern techniques and managerial know-how should be introduced afresh, and their respective roles should be. We observed that many villagers, with their scarce resources and knowledge, are not capable to use or improve the appropriate technologies. We felt village organization can take an effective role to help the villagers in this regard.

#### **(d) Off-farm Employment Opportunities for Income Generation**

The limitations of agriculture and large-scale manufacturing sector in absorbing much of the rapidly growing labour force diverted development planners to plan in terms of diversification of rural economy. More and more interest is mounting to promote and expand various rural off-farm activities. Rural off-farm activities, in general, were looked upon as a possible source for jobs for the rural landless poor and as a safety valve for pre-empting migration into already overburdened urban centres.

It was found that many of the villagers earn their meagre cash income at nearby *Hat/Bazars* by selling commodities like a bagful of rice, a few house-reared chickens, a dozen eggs, a basketful of home-grown vegetables, and a hand-made fishing net, etc. The most effective development strategy for them may be to encourage them to "drop out of agriculture" safely by creating more off-farm job opportunities, which may be enhanced by bringing villages closer to towns and bringing towns closer to villages. This strategy has two implications - (1): the provision of off-farm job opportunities in a direct manner, and (2) the provision of physical and economic linkages between the village and the town by means of roads, *Hat/Bazar*, electrification, telephone communication, postal and banking services, etc. These would surely enhance both on-farm and off-farm job opportunities for both landed and landless population in the area.

Through JSRDE we tried to introduce some of the above "infrastructure" on a very limited scale, e.g., improvement of village roads, linking *Paras* or *Baris* with Union road networks, road repair beside a mosque, improvement of a *hat* ground and access road, etc. Our experience showed that some of the infrastructures helped the villagers to have the

opportunities of creating new job opportunities. Some examples are as follows: during infrastructure building villagers can work as day labourers, for various infrastructures constructions needed extra earth which created ditches where the villagers cultivated fish and other suitable crops and with the improvement of the roads it became easier for them to bring the suitable commodities to the growth centres. Establishment of Postal system helped them to create their own capital through thrift savings. Electrification would be helpful to set rural industries, etc.



## CHAPTER 3

### FINDING FROM VILLAGE ACTION RESEARCH

#### A. REPORT ON PANCHKITTA VILLAGE:

##### 1. Introduction

In the context of rural development, a variety of action oriented research projects have been implemented to identify their feasibility. The findings so far provide many materials to discuss on the relation between framework and strategic menu which are supposed to influence each other as an evolutionary cycle. In particular, it seems to be of interest whether or not the former as a foundation could behave flexibly to embrace the diversity of the latter. For instance, while it is evident that Comilla model in the 1960s and 1970s achieved agricultural development by way of infrastructural improvement and modern farming technologies. The limited success, what is called, in replicating the Comilla model at the national level is a worthy lesson to re-think the relation between the above-mentioned two factors in consideration to locality as an entity at the starting point of JSRDE in Panchkitta. In addition, what extensional stage of rural development can the famous Comilla model village assist for successful completion.

Meanwhile, keeping such four principal perspectives as institution, linkage, farming technology and off-farm job of JSRDE in mind, several scenarios of rural development have been sought. Action projects, thus, in Panchkitta have been implemented so as to identify optimum canvas (viz. functional/flexible quality) as framework and paints (viz. organic combination) as a menu. It draws attention as well as interest that Panchkitta lies in a certain point of extension of the Comilla model. What the Comilla model has got stocked in the experiences of the population of Panchkitta could be perceived to be a given condition whenever new developments are introduced by JSRDE. Therefore, much efforts have been made to avoid vicious repetition of unsuccessful activities experienced so far. Even though a project was repeated due to popular needs, JSRDE has tried obstinately to introduce something new in both planning and implementation. Intangible capability building rather than physical success got more attention.

Hereinafter, the text is based on the suggestive result of monitoring and bitter experiences in

the process of planning and implementing action programmes along the popular perception. Especially, harmonious and functional relationship has been looked into among cooperative societies as an externally introduced leadership; *Gram* as a community; Union or Thana as local administration, and the third party, namely JSRDE as an intervener. In the context of rural Bangladesh, the aspect is integral to channelising and enhancing development efforts and activities in the village.

## 2. Panchkitta at a Glance

Panchkitta is lying on the south edge of Mokam Union (Figure 1), which belongs to Burichang Thana in Comilla District. It is bounded on the east by Kotwali Thana, on the south by Barura Thana, and on the west by Chandina Thana. Mokam Union comprises 3 wards. Panchkitta is one of 12 *Grams* located in Ward No.3. Historically, Panchkitta and its neighbouring 4 *Grams* have form Kedarpur *Mouza*.

### 2.1. Agro-ecological Setting

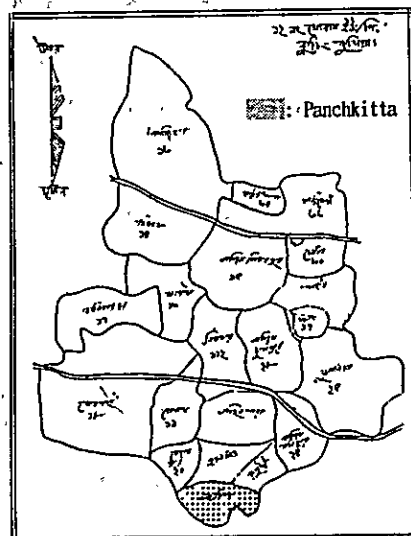
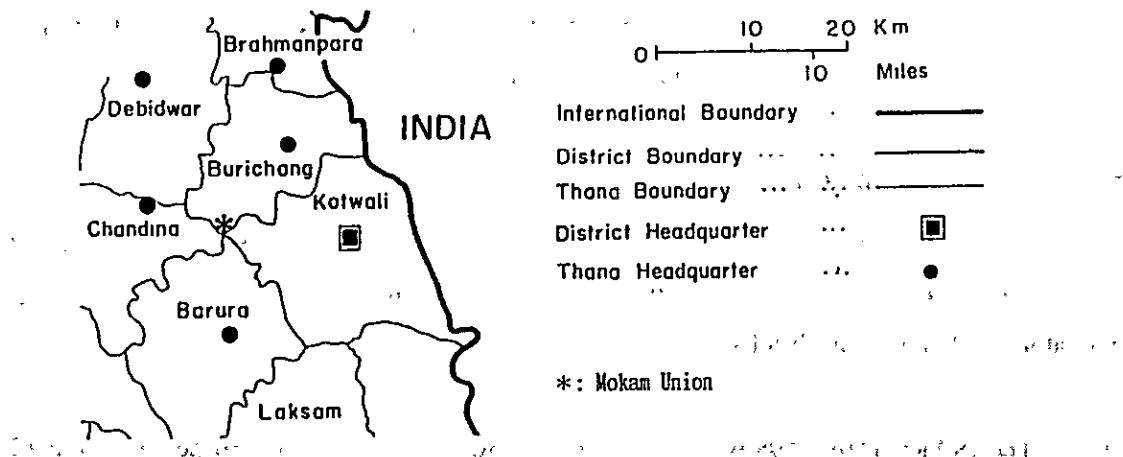
It belongs to agro-ecological subregion 22d. Several characteristics could be outlined as follows. Shallowly to moderately flooded. Flooding is said to be early due to rapid rise of flood levels following heavy rainfalls in the neighbouring hills. Actually, flood damage may occur in some areas of Mokam Union during June to August. In Panchkitta the inundation level of medium low land may rise upto a level of knee depth. The mean annual rainfall is moderate (2500 mm). The land type ranges from medium-high to medium-low. The soil type is noncalcareous alluvium. The texture is sandy loamy.

### 2.2. Agriculture

The mean operational land holding size is about 0.92 acre (1986). The land tenure systems are practiced by *Borga* (50:50 sharing of production but not cost); *Khazna* (lease and land *Bondok* (mortgage). Twenty to thirty percent (1986) of owned farmland and operated farmland would be mobilized. As of 1986, 71 farm households mobilized farmland left out while 136 farm households mobilized in. It does not necessarily result to be a concentration of land to large farms. Since the weight of *Borga* is comparatively low and the others are always accompanied by cash, their prevailing landholding arrangements are interpreted as means of investment and capital procurement. It has been increasing among the small/medium classes.

Especially, these are important economic opportunities to landless and small farmers and are highly noteworthy in terms of intra-village capital circulation.

Sixteen cropping patterns are practiced and can be classified as either rice-based or vegetable-based. Double rice crops (Boro + Aman or Aus + Aman) are feasible without serious soil moisture problems. More suitable farmland may be used for triple rice crops. If possible, Aman can be followed by Rabi vegetable. Only a few farmland may be intensively used around 300 percent. Medium high land may be double or triple cropped for



**Figure 1** Location of Panchkitta and Mokam Union, Burichang Thana

vegetable production by intercropping, relay and mixed cropping. According to a certain survey, approximately 50 percent of labour forces are hired for transplanting and harvesting. For threshing, however, only 10 percent of labour forces is hired and most of them consists of female family members and relatives.

Livestock production or fish culture is a minor and supplementary enterprise to individual household. Due to lack of capital and land, all households can not afford to engage in livestock production. Even small animals such as goat, duck, and chicken are not raised by small farm class. For instance, less than 50 percent have within 0.5 acre or less land holding. Consequently, gross product value of animal and fish amounts to be yearly Tk.242 (1986) per capita while livestock asset value is Tk.450 (1986) per capita.

### **2.3 Socio-economic Characteristics**

Panchkitta is a typical rural village in Comilla region. Socio-economically it belongs to Comilla Sadar Thana but administratively to Burichang Thana. The Socio-economic key indicators of this area are briefly shown in Table 1.

1. The JSARD (1986-1989) survey in 1986 show that 541 out of 780 persons from 12 to less than 60 years age are employed. Two hundred fifty five (including 143 female) are engaged in full-time own farming, 81 in own farming + as hired farm labour; 23 in own farming as hired farm labour + nonfarming; 59 (2 female) in own farming + business; 26 in own farming and service; 35 (6 female) in full-time hired farm labour; 3 in hired farm labour and business and 59 (5 female) in full-time nonfarming jobs. Their full-time employment therefore, is limited to 65 percent of labour force in employment but the extent of part-time farm household job is consequently high. Therefore, the primary industry can absorb 89 percent of the total labour force with jobs, as full-time or part-time while such informal jobs as rickshaw pulling, petty trading, paddy husking etc. are prevalent rather than service in the local labour market. Comparatively, seasonal/regular migrant labour forces to urban centres are not found so much. However, the disguised unemployment is unavoidable and the extent of unemployment appears to be 30 percent (1986). In the recent years, number of persons going abroad for jobs are gradually increasing.

**Table 1. Socio-economic Characteristics of Panchkitta (as of 1993)**

<b>Location</b>		<b>Education Facility</b>	
3km to major road		primary school in village	
3km to Union office		Moktab* in village	
16km to Comilla town		high school in Union centre	
28km to Thana office		college in Union centre	
<b>Population &amp; Households</b>		<b>Landholding (ownership)</b>	
population	1,813	landless	21 H.H. ( 7.2%)
male	949	upto 2.50 acre	254 (87.3%)
female	864	2.51 to 5.0 acre	12 ( 4.1%)
muslim	99%	more than 5.0 acre	4 ( 1.4%)
households	291	Gini coefficient	0.54 (as of 1986)
<b>Occupation (households)</b>		<b>Infrastructure</b>	
farming	40%	production: 1 DTW and 13 STWs**	
agricultural labour	18	cooperative: CVDP membership	
service	18	204 households	
business	9	136 male	
rickshaw pulling	8	80 female	
day labour	6	177 children	
others	1	electrification: 137 households	

Source: JSRDE Census Survey (1993)

Note 1) \*: Persian name of religious school for rural Moslem children.

\*\* : as of November, 1995.

2) H.H.: household.

2. The majority, even now, are small farms. Arrangement of land tenure does not significantly relieve the disparity of land ownership. Small farms occupy 71 percent of cultivable land, medium farms 20 percent, and large farms 9 percent. Green revolution brought about by way of DTW (Deep Tube Well) and STW (Shallow Tube Well) and MVs (Modern Rice Varieties) has transformed cropping patterns. DTW has been electrified to replace diesel power as seen in 1986. STW has individually increased to 13 facilities and 7 of them are electrified, comparing with 4 diesel type facilities as seen in 1986. In terms of irrigated acreage, the former's limitation due to lack of longer canals is supplemented by the latter. Land use and other inputs, thus, have been intensified by introducing MV Boro and vegetables. In the recent years, 20 percent of cultivated acres are seasonally used for vegetable production

while the main crop is still rice. Dissemination of MV rice has resulted in around 100 percent and has enabled to achieve an average yield of 32.4 maund (1200 kg) per acre, in 1986. It is said that individual farm management hires on an average of 68 percent of the total labour input (1986) from both inside and outside Panchkitta. As of 1986, the mean household economy has shown that farming alone can not generate enough income for livelihood and 51 percent of total income comes from farming, 38 percent from nonfarm activities, and 11 percent from hired agricultural jobs. The mean per household annual income amounts to Tk. 20,065.

3. In early 1970s the cooperative society was formed in Panchkitta. With a bitter experience of bankruptcy due to mismanagement and misuse of fund and property. The KSS (Krishak Samabay Samity) was re-organized in 1975. Since then four other cooperative societies were established in response to government policy viz Children Cooperative Society (1979), Women Cooperative Society (1980), Landless Cooperative Society (1980), and Youth Cooperative Society (1980). In 1984, in accordance with a programme of BARD (Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development) these five cooperative societies were merged into a Comprehensive Village Development Programme (CVDP). Afterward, members of the CVDP Cooperative Society (CVDPCS) have been institutionally provided with training and credit. Besides, it is worthy of note as rare experiences that Community Information and Planning System (CIPS) project had been implemented with cooperation and participation BARD and has just introduced "seed capital" of Tk.15,000 (1986) to Panchkitta so as to raise its own capital in a sense though it was CVDP Cooperative Society rather than village that played a role of actual subject of implementation.

### **3. First Approach of JSRDE**

The key-points and relevant background which have persuaded us to take the first step to undertake JSRDE at Panchkitta, that is, to establish a common popular ring of receiving body as a community are presented in the following paragraphs.

#### **3.1 Implication of JSARD: Intention and Behavior**

Popular recognition of current condition, regardless of being internal or external, is an integral

factor to subjective tackling and is helpful to avoid possible misalliance of positive activities. As a matter of fact, lack of farmland, draft animals and instable input prices are identified as problems from the viewpoint of individual interest. They accordingly feel inclined to invest to those rare fixed assets. Part-time farm household is widely preferred as an ideal type and such off-farm job opportunities are strongly expected to be available in the neighbouring local labour market. In terms of energetic subject the cooperative is highly appreciated as a step for development. The integratedness is abstractedly sought as a direction towards future, that is diversification of enterprises and services. This demand is applicable to the qualification of leaders in the future.

Furthermore, JSARD opines that while production increment and living improvement with the poor and landless in view and the functional gap between Thana/Union and village are commonly recognized key issues. Panchkitta is shown a location-specific clue of vegetable marketing as organization and collectiveness toward the future. Besides, the following are tasks ahead in practice; (1) lack of draft animals, (2) adoption of new and modern technologies, (3) cooperative marketing, (4) cooperative use of agricultural machinery, (5) extension of livestock production, (6) petty business; and (7) creation of self-employment. Afterwards, various development activities have been brought in, despite of conventional manners, due to the comparatively advantaged relationship to BARD or KTCCA etc. and the leadership of the cooperative society.

### **3.2 Development Prior to JSRDE**

In Panchkitta the CVDP's cooperative society has been a main initiator of involving the population in development activities by either way of being individual and collective participation. At a glance, development of capital has been mostly introduced externally through governmental programmes and NGO rather than internally through self-reliance. Occasionally the population and the cooperative society have improved intra-village social infrastructures such as Moktab, mosque, and school etc. by bearing the most portion of the cost by means of donation. Construction and repairment of roads linking to neighbouring villages and the Union centre, digging and dredging old canals, and tree plantation beside roads etc. were implemented by Union or Thana development plans. Table 2 shows, including the interim period i.e. after completing the JSARD project in 1986 and before initiating the JSRDE project in 1992, which institution/organization played a key role in each process like

initiation, financing, implementation, and coordination/monitoring. It can be seen that the *Gram* itself has a keen interest in development affairs. The CVDP's cooperative society appears to be effective leader enabling to encourage the population.

**Table 2. Role-Sharing in Development Activities Among Organizations**

organization role	cooperative society	Gram	Union/ Thana	NGO
initiator	B, C*, D, E, F	A, C, D*, E*, F*, G		
financing	B, C	A, C*, D, E, F, G	E*	B*
implementation	B	A, C, D, F, G	B*,E*	
coordination	B, C	A, C*, D, E, F, G	B*	

Note 1)

- |                               |                                |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| A: road construction,         | B: road re-construction        |
| B: tree plantation,           | D: digging/dredging old canals |
| E: repairing school buildings | F: building Moktaab,           |
| G: building mosque.           |                                |

2) \*: high involvement/participation

Regarding individual economic activities, members of the CVDP's cooperative society have obtained such facilities as DTW and rice mill which were installed by KTCCA loan, being greatly subsidized by the government programme. In addition, such opportunity as credit for income generating activities like goat rearing, cattle fattening, poultry, craft making, fish culture, rickshaw pulling, and other petty businesses have benefited them. The financial source was owed to KTCCA and other institutions. Some of non-members have also utilized those facilities and credit service of the CVDP's cooperative society.

### 3.2 Prevalent Leadership as Pre-condition

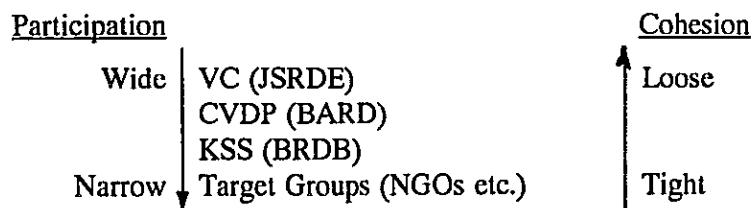
The people perceive that there are several types of leaders covering such aspects as religion,



rural politics, youth, women, cooperative society, and *Gram* as a society. Their functions are not necessarily specialized in a certain aspect. Though leaders of the cooperative societies are different to social leaders, (what is called *Matabbar*), like being modern against being traditional. As a matter of fact the multiplicity of leadership can be seen among them to some extent (Table 3) and has resulted to reduce the possible conflict by taking social leaders in to the cooperative societies. Due to development activities over years cooperative leadership tends to surpass social leadership. Cooperative itself has become a small giant domestically.

### 3.3 Forming a Village Committee

"Organizing" a receiving/coordinating body must be a key process to materialize latent energy. To observe the entity of organizations ranging from institution to group from the viewpoints of both width and depth of participation is suggestive to identify the quality of comprehensiveness. The village-level organizations in Panchkitta can be classified as below. The width can be measured by the number of members. The depth means the extent of cohesion of the organization. The more practical and clearer the objective/motivation is, and furthermore, the more informal the formation. The smaller the organization is as a group and the transaction cost remains least. The voluntary cohesion, accordingly, tends to be impropotional to both the width of participation and the institutionality.

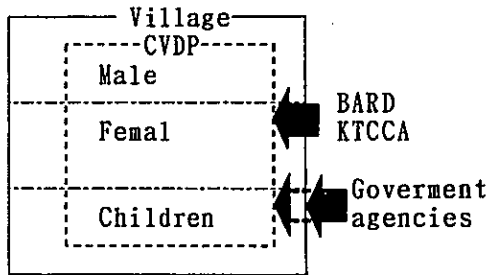


Whether or not the existing institutions must be re-structured depends primarily on the membership ratio of the CVDP's cooperative society. In fact, 30 percent of all the households do not enroll in the CVDP's cooperative society due to such perception as unwillingness, lack of capability to do weekly-saving, and fear of losing own saving. In fact, it will be hard to expect 100 percent enrollment. Assuming that a community embraces the population and works as a social body of participation regardless of membership. Therefore, JSRDE proposed to form a VC (Village Committee) as a representative of the community. It is to be kept in

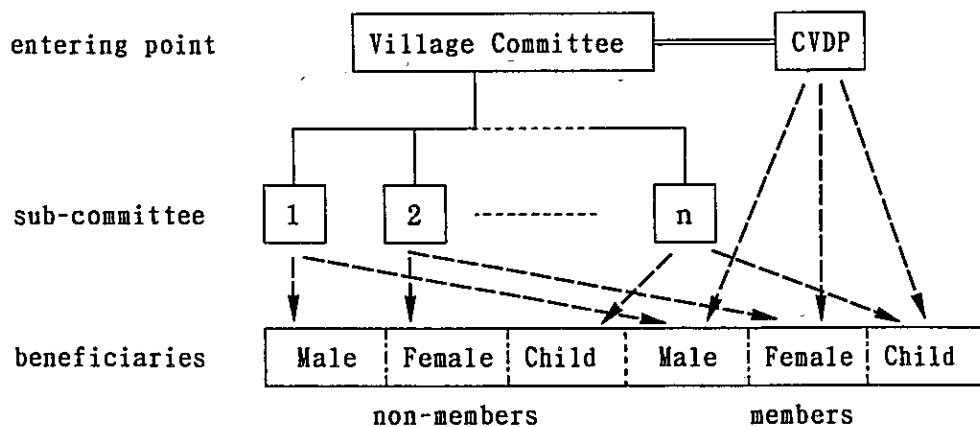
mind that the VC is not hierarchically stronger than the CVDP Cooperative Society and wishes to harmoniously and bilaterally work together with the CVDP's cooperative society. Functionally, the VC is a body to coordinate a variety of development affairs as well as action projects of JSRDE.

Furthermore, so as to control the monopoly of management by a few leaders and to provide more OJT (On the Job Training)-like opportunities of cultivating leadership, JSRDE has formed sub-committees to administer action projects sponsored by JSRDE. The sub-committee is also a leading body to link with other institutions inside and outside Panchkitta. As a whole, the structural framework of relevant bodies toward rural development under JSRDE in Panchkitta can be shown in Figure 2.

Under CVDP programme



Under JSRDE



## 4. Thoughts Behind the Comprehensive Skeleton of JSRDE, Panchkitta

### 4.1 Institution

An institution in a village is a kind of subjective entity and is supposed to play a vital role of involving the relevant population in purposive activities for socio-economic development. A variety of leaders have individual and collective roles to perform development activities. Several leaders have behaved by face/name of a institution. Hereinafter, two major organizations are compared to show several characteristics.

#### 4.1.1 CVDP's Cooperative Society (CVDPCS)

A committee called "managing committee (MC)", comprising 9 elected members which manage the affairs of the CVDP Cooperative Society and is placed as an executive decision-maker. Most of them are social leaders and youth leaders with different length of experiences in management in other organizations (Table 3). As a whole, the comprehensiveness of leadership is ready enough to do rooting at various occasions. The MC meeting, as a principle, is held once in every month. In the first three weeks of the month three separate meetings are held for male, female, and children members respectively, while the fourth week is used to hold a joint-meeting of all the categories of members. Along the 4 layer meeting the consensus can be formed on the basis of reviewing activities and subsequent decision. However, the actual state of attendance shows a strong leadership of the MC, in other words their profound dependence on the limited leaders.

**Table 3. Additional Leadership of 9 Managing Committee Members**

age	leadership	class in terms of landholding
55	social leader	medium (2.51-5.00 acre)
50	social leader	medium
25	youth leader	medium
40	social leader	medium
40	religious leader	large (5.01 and over acre)
26	none	small (2.50 and less acre)
28	social leader	medium
55	religious/women leader	small
45	social leader	small

Note) there are 2 religious leaders, 17 cooperative leaders, 4 youth leaders, 10 social leaders, 2 political leaders and 1 women leader.

As a trial, furthermore, CVDP manages to hold a Union Coordination Meeting (UCM). It would be presided over by Union Chairman with the attendance of Union Parishad members, nation-building departments' field staff, BARD, and representatives from the CVDP's cooperative societies rather than the village. In fact, villages without CVDP's cooperative society are set aside. The agenda of meeting is routinized. What is worse, such occasion has already turned to be a place of directly demanding or appealing infrastructural improvements to Union Parishad. The CVDP's cooperative society consequently appears to be like an advantaged pressure group. It is simply because Union Chairman is not institutionally committed to coordinate activities of nation-building departments' field staff in response to current issues reported by CVDP's cooperative society. Besides, field staff themselves do not work under the control of Union Chairman. That is, it has resulted in step over the edge of the ring in terms of adjustment.

#### 4.1.2 Village Committee

JSRDE has a perception that Village Committee (VC) is a ring where all the population enter without considering membership. Even though all the households join the CVDP Cooperative Society, it can not form the Village Committee. CVDP is afraid because the rigidity of membership does not match the vagueness of *Gram* society as foundation. However, as a matter of fact the VC have managed to be comprised of several leaders from both members and non-members of the CVDP's cooperative society through the positive intervention of JSRDE. For instance, in the first response to the propose of JSRDE all the 7 members of VC were members of the CVDP cooperative society. Afterward, the members were reduced to 5 persons, namely 3 members and 2 non-members of the CVDP's Cooperative Society. Despite this a member joined the CVDP cooperative society later, the consequent imbalance of representativeness has not intentionally remedied yet.

The VC plays a role of filter between a village and the outer world. Initially, its purpose was that the VC maintained and coordinated linkages with CVDP's cooperative society, KTCCA, Union Parishad, nation building departments at the level of Union or Thana, and other institutions. The VC members meet once in every month to review activities of sub-committees and projects as a whole and maintains records and accounts by cooperation of the CVDP - cooperative society. On the other hand, the undesirable excessive leadership

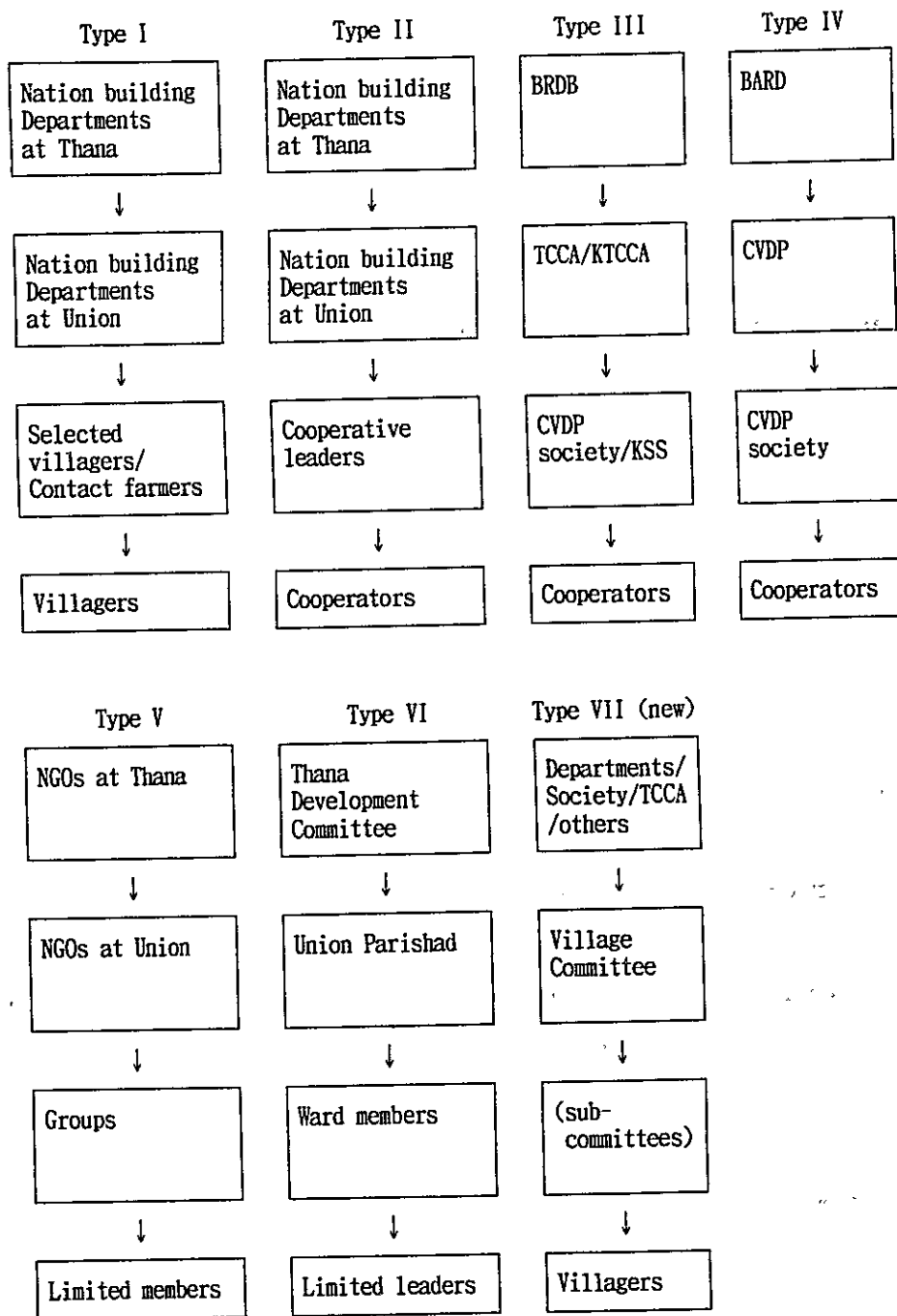
of the VC were undeniably seen in (1) the appointment of members of sub-committee for action projects. This was a duplication of members. Such an act helped to maintain to some extent an independence from the VC. Therefore, it was tried as a primary intervention of JSRDE a sub-committee comprised of one VC member and 4 beneficiaries. Subsequently through discussion it was changed by the sub-committee of one VC member, 2 beneficiaries for the year, and 2 beneficiaries for the future. As a matter of fact, this was not observed rigidly especially, no body was interested to become a member without any benefit.

#### **4.2 Management of Action Programmes**

Herein, the attention is paid to the lateral relationship among the VC, sub-committees and the outer institutions. The VC is in charge of preparing a plan for undertaking development activities by way of absorbing the popular needs within a limited JSRDE budget. It coordinated the activities of sub-committees. Furthermore, in accordance with necessities, it could approach to the CVDP's cooperative society and the nation-building departments. As a whole, the prevalent networks are aimed to be restructured to accurate linkage and information flow.

The sub-committee monthly meets with relevant beneficiaries and review their activities. They try to solve imminent problems of project activities. Reminder for repayment of installments is often given to beneficiaries. That is, members of sub-committee sometimes visit them and give social pressure, while advising them on different aspects. The VC do not directly work at grass root level but regularly meet with the relevant sub-committees, considering to collect installments from the beneficiaries. Sub-committee itself is accountable to the VC for collecting installments.

The mechanism shown in Fig. 3 though it may look formalistic, yet one can select any one of several channels until information and materials reach organizations groups and individuals. Different media and leadership are closely involved, however there is no mode to select and condense information which flows inwardly to and outwardly from the village. Besides, it can be seen that there are no media to relieve eventually an uneven distribution of information among the people. From the viewpoint of actual flow and leading media, a thin network with the texture being lack of horizontal threads might be felt in Table 4. Therefore, JSRDE has introduced a new radiate network of Type VII.



**Figure 3 Information Channels (6 ordinary types and 1 new type)**

**Table 4. Kinds of Information Flown and Media by Channel Type**

<b>type of channel</b>	<b>information</b>	<b>medium</b>
<b>I</b>	a	1, 2, 5
<b>II</b>	a, b, c	1, 7
<b>III</b>	d, e	6, 7
<b>IV</b>	d, e	6, 7
<b>V</b>	d, e	9
<b>VI</b>	f	7, 2
<b>VII</b>	a, b, c, d, e, f	8

- Note
- 1) types of channels are shown in Figure 2.
  - 2) kinds of information are as follows;
    - a: technology for agriculture, livestock and fishery.
    - b: family planning
    - c: sanitation
    - d: training
    - e: input supply
    - f: road construction
  - 3) kinds of medium are as follows;
    - 1: demonstration
    - 2: personal contact
    - 3: meeting
    - 4: discussion
    - 5: leaflet/brochure
    - 6: notice
    - 7: contact with MC
    - 8: contact with VC/sub-committee
    - 9: contact with groups

Looking back to their behavior so far, as a matter of fact, the MC of CVDP Cooperative Society took initiatives to establish a linkage with BARD, KTCCA, and other nation-building departments at Thana level rather than Union level by a manner of being given. In most cases, though being natural due to membership, their services have reached only to the members and not to all the people. From the viewpoint of easiness in approach and delivery to village, almost the Union level nation-building departments' field staff have tended to visit only the cooperative society or perform their duties without paying attention to all the households. So a gap in service delivered by Union level officials has thus consequently existed among the population, despite the publicity to do nothing with a membership of specific organization. To minimize a similar gap the VC decided to attend the Union Coordination Meeting with the MC of CVDP's cooperative society to represent the whole *Gram*.

### 4.3 Credit Operation

Capital is one of the most essential input for production in on-farm and off-farm activities. Its own capital being scarce, a variety of credits become important supplementary sources of capital. Except for private money lenders, the CVDP Cooperative Society at the village level and commercial banks at the Union/Thana level supply formal credit for the population. The CVDP's Cooperative Society have extended credit service up to some of landless or assetless non-members. However, in reality it appears that informal credits have been utilized much and that not a few households involuntarily utilized loans of commercial banks, which would impose invisible costs and bribe to debtors, due to lack of capital of the CVDP's cooperative society.

Loans of the CVDP Cooperative Society have been made available by loans from KTCCA, revolving fund (or seed money) introduced by the CIPS (Community Information and Planning System) project, and supplementary profits generated by own enterprises like DTW and rice mill. The contribution of saving and shares of the members is not major. The members would individually apply to the society, describing his/her needs to invest in economic activities. Through verifying the repayment of previous loan, social behavior, attendance at weekly meetings, saving, and especially accountability, the managing committee makes a list of selected applicants. Their total demand and the budget for credit are examined. If the former is within or equal to the latter, the required amount of loan is provided for individual applicant. Otherwise, a further pruning is done by means of eliminating some applicants whose necessity of loan is not so essential. The managing committee is responsible for encouraging debtors to duly pay installments. It consequently ensures the collection of loans. On the other hand, if there is adequate budget some assetless non-members could receive credit from the CVDP's Cooperative Society by a procedure that there must be guarantors of two members who should recommend their applications at the time of submitting to the CVDP's cooperative society.

The CVDP's Cooperative Society thus, has enough experiences in multiplying capitals by way of loans. JSRDE presumes firstly that the VC has decided to utilize a certain value of development fund as loans. Activities embodied by those loans must be opportunities for trying new linkages with above-mentioned opportunities as well as coordinating interests



among the population regardless of the CVDP's Cooperative Society membership. The second task indicates how the VC utilize, namely return the consequent profits of interests to the *Gram*/population rather than increase the beneficiaries of loans. In other words, infrastructural improvements are planned/tried to facilitate by the fruit of such development fund, considering complementary financial contribution of the population.

## **5. Implementation of Action Components**

Though there might be repetition to some extent, herein are described how action programmes have been managed, if necessary, using a few case studies. Table 5 shows which of the four principal perspectives place focuses on the major action programmes respectively. Apparently, the four perspectives are correlated rather than divisible.

### **5.1 Selection of Programmes and Their Beneficiaries**

Table 6 shows several steps of selecting activities as programmes and their beneficiaries. It is common that the VC first announces the relevant opportunities, the popular demands are collected and opened at the general meeting to which the villagers attend in response to their interests. In 1993, 19 kinds of action programmes were made with popular participation at a general meeting, regardless of JSRDE's budget and its limitation. Not to say a "recopy" of development menu so far, it appears to be a repetition and shows how so much trainings leaders have attended to. Despite of being proposed as their demands by villagers, their prioritizing was actually infeasible to both of the village and JSRDE. Instead, JSRDE always persisted in selecting appropriate programmes along the clues of JSARD by way of forming a consensus with a larger participation of the population. On the other hand, some comparatively strong leadership is observed for identification of beneficiaries (Table 7). It appears to be attributed to their much interest to facilitate redeeming loans. Though the detail could be referred to some cases later, it usually appears that an opportunity is what they are given by way of persuasive recommendation rather than what they apply for voluntarily. It is a leadership that recommends to them for taking care of. It is observed that the poor and small farmers, usually behave so. It is apprehended that there is an unavoidable paradoxical relationship between leadership and participation due to less patience of the former.

**Table 5. Action Components and their Relation to Key Clues**

clue programme	institution	linkage	farming technology	off-farming	period
powertiller	***		**		Dec. 1992
goat rearing	*	*			Dec. 1993 Feb. 1995
rice-cum-fish	**	*	***		Mar. 1994 Mar. 1997
milch cow rearing	*	**	*		Feb. 1995 Mar. 1998
seed/nursery	*	*	**	*	Jan. 1995 Dec. 1995
joint-marketing	***	**	**	***	Oct. 1994
infrastructure	***	**			Aug. 1995 Jan. 1996

Note 1) the extent of relationship is as follows;

\*\*\*: high, \*\*: medium, \*: low.

2) the outline of each project are shown in Appendix 1.

**Table 6. Selection Procedures of Programmes and their Beneficiaries**

item	programme	beneficiary
1st step	VC informs village leaders, cooperators, and villagers orally and by miking	VC informs village leaders, sub-committee members, cooperators and villagers orally
2nd step	VC invites project proposals at a general meeting	VC and sub-committee enlists the names of interested villagers at a general meeting
3rd step	Individual villager gives proposals	List of preliminarily selected beneficiaries is prepared at a VC and sub-committee meeting
4th step	VC and villagers jointly prioritize the proposals	Final list of beneficiaries is prepared by VC
5th step	Finalization and selection of proposals by VC and villagers	VC declares the names of beneficiaries

**Table 7. Outline of Action Project in Panchkitta**

programme and its budget (Tk.)	beneficiaries and its breakdown (persons)						
	cooperative society			landholding			
	total	member	non-member	large	medium	small	landless
power tiller (62,656)	(252*)	-	-	-	-	-	-
goat (25,000)	40	21	19	0	17	8	15
fish-cum-rice (31,590)	9	7	2	2	5	2	0
milch cow (60,000)	13	9	4	0	4	8	1
seed/nursery (8,000)	8	6	2	1	5	2	0
joint-marketing (20,000)	2	2	0	1	1	0	0
infra-rehabilitation (43,000)	**	-	-	-	-	-	-
total (207,246)	72	45	27	4	32	20	16

Note) \*: including 110 beneficiaries of neighboring villages.  
 \*\*: It includes road repairment and culvert construction. Beneficiaries can not be specified.  
 Figs. in parenthesis indicate the allotted budget in Tk.

## 5.2 Power Tiller

It is the first action programme of JSRDE itself undertaken in December, 1992. Two aspects could justify the mechanization of tillage. One is based on an economical reasoning, being ascribed to JSRDE's intention itself. The other is farming system with problem resolution in view. Especially, it is worthy of note to introduce power tiller but not the tractor.

Due to various reasons described later, mechanized tillage was already limitedly practiced since 1986 in Panchkitta and neighbouring villages. The mechanized tillage were almost done on contract basis by external agents who own the machinery or those seasonally procure the machinery on lease. Both the tractor and power tiller competed with each other to capture the market. Especially, power tiller tended to increase rapidly in terms of number on the basis of individual ownership like a case of STW. Thus, the following issues have become socio-economically impending tasks for the near future; (a) how to stop and return the

outflow of cash to the village and (b) collective use and management by the villagers in place of evil induced by private and external ownership. Especially, multi-use of detachable engine and collective capacity of raising capital have made a decision of procuring such a power tiller.

DTW and STWs have revolutionized Boro rice cultivation or vegetable cultivation by irrigation in the dry season. Especially, switching on to Boro rice has provided a scope to cultivate Aus rice between Boro and Aman seasons, that is triple rice cultivation. This intensification necessitates quick turnovers between crops. Besides, for cultivating vegetables, one after another, throughout the year mechanical tillage could save time and result to minimize turn over time between rice and vegetable cultivations in certain months. Moreover, small farmers and landless sharecroppers do not have bullock power and thus hire bullocks from larger farmers. However, their hiring is not generally at the discretion of them. Due to the owners' convenience and competition of their own tillage it would naturally delay timely tillage work of the small farmers. In addition, bullock ploughing is surprisingly costlier than mechanical one.

For scheduling the use as well as managing the power tiller, a sub-committee was formed with seven-members. Particularly at the regular monthly meetings accounts and records were carefully reviewed. At the moment two drivers were screened out of several applicants and were trained to operate the power tillers. The areas cultivated up to November, 1995 (that is in almost 3 years) were 85, 116 and 34 and 41 acres respectively in Aus, Aman, Boro, and Rabi crops (1993). The net income amounted to Tk.33,106. The demand for use of power tiller was increasing gradually. One of reasons is the demand from neighbouring villages. However, at the high peak of demand, it is a fact, that some farmers are still hiring tractor for land preparation due to time constraints. The tractor service are used approximately by 138 farmers in Panchkitta and 63 farmers in neighbouring villages (1994).

### **5.3 Goat Rearing**

This programme is targetted for the poor households, introducing improved varieties and their participation in activities with off- farm self-employment. Though it is not a new thing but the Tk. 25,000 budget with 25 beneficiaries, has been naturally made along the experiences

of several types of loan programmes. Voluntary applicants in response to announcement of the relevant programme and additional applicants recommended by the VC are seen at the first general meeting. Since the desired new variety is not available at local markets, the number of allottees then increased to 40. At the subsequent general meeting the beneficiaries have similarly decided by voluntary option and recommendation. Keeping the principle in mind, such 40 beneficiaries are contentedly the landless and distressed households.

Forty nannies were procured at the local market and distributed these to the 40 beneficiaries by January, 1994. On an average, the loan value was about Tk.625 per goat. The repayment condition was as follows : 7.5 percent per annum of interest rate with 15 monthly installments. Furthermore, the allottee is obliged to pay Tk.2 at every installment so as to accumulate their risk fund which may be utilized to relieve the loss in case of death of allotted nanny. Fortunately, there have not been any defaulting cases until the end of the programme. Owing to the efforts of sub-committee members rather than the voluntary regular payment, all of loan and interests have been duly redeemed. However, none of VC and the sub-committee members have regrettably noticed to repay the risk fund to each of the 40 beneficiaries until the intervention of JSRDE.

#### **5.4 Rice-cum-fish Culture**

There is enough availability of rain water for about 6-7 months in a year and irrigation water in the remaining months. It could be interpreted as a potential area of fish culture. On the other hand, rice field adjacent to *Bari* is not utilized effectively resulting in low yield due to several other reasons. So, taking it into account, to utilize rice field as supplemental water reservoir, rice-cum-fish culture project has been launched in a limited way in a suitable location in the village. A small shallow tank was dug in one portion of or adjacent to a larger rice plot and the boundary "dike" of the plot was be raised up to a level so that fishes remained inside the plot during the rainy season. The fish thus could be reared both in the tank as well as in the rice field. Firstly, the VC walked around to examine the location and condition and then identifies several potential sites. Then, the VC inquired whether the owner had a desire to take up this project. In fact, the VC could manage to satisfy 9 beneficiaries by recommending some of them after little persuasion.

JSRDE cut down the first relevant budget with an idea of bearing some cost by self-reliance and negotiating with the VC. A total amount of Tk.31,590 was distributed to 9 farmers as credit for three years by November, 1994. The condition was as follows: (a) 7.5 percent per annum of interest rate and (b) three yearly installments. Besides labour cost, fish feed and fingerlings were considered as cost items. After deciding beneficiaries, the sub-committee was formed which supervised the actual implementation. As of November 1995, on an average, one debtor could repay only 1.1 (37%) of 3 installments in 1995. In the meantime, as a demonstration effect ten similar new ponds for fish culture were dug up.

### **5.5 Milch Cow Rearing**

Nutritional concern, income generation for the landless, and alternation of draught animal (that is bull) induced by the introduction of power tiller are basic and initial motive of JSRDE. The original plan proposed by the VC was to procure and distribute 5 milch cows as three year credit in kind. At the first general meeting, comparatively five richer farmers were selected or voluntarily applied. Then, it was revised through two processes. (a) the VC himself took the risk and (b) JSRDE provided more opportunities. Through long discussion with JSRDE the decision was as follows : (a) increase to 15 beneficiaries to get calves. However, due to the existing risk, the attention to the poor got eliminated unfortunately due to a sense of uneasiness and non-reliability of the VC members rather than JSRDE. Some of these beneficiaries were persuaded and recommended by the VC at the general meeting.

The total credit budget was Tk. 60,000. Approximately Tk.4,600 of credit, on an average was given to a beneficiary with the following condition (a) per annum an interest rate of 7.5% and (b) with 18 installments for repayment. Comparing with goat rearing programme, the clause of risk fund was not adopted. As of November 1995, that is almost 1 year after initiation, except one beneficiary who never repaid the installments so far, the redemption is well performed, with a mean recovery of 4.8 (80%) of 6 installments.

### **5.6 Quality Seed Production**

This programme aims at smooth extension of pedigreed seed production as well as income generation. In particular, the main object is to reproduce seeds of improved or new varieties locally which could be supplied by the extension office or the market itself. It will hopefully

strengthen the base of seed production technology to some extent. Thus, each of 8 beneficiaries received one year loan of Tk.1,000 with the following conditions : (a) per annum interest rate of 7.5 percent and (b) with installments (January 1995 to December 1995).

## **5.7 Joint-marketing of Vegetable**

In the neighbourhood of Panchkitta there are two local weekly wholesale markets of vegetables. The Kabila (2.5km) has a market on Fridays and Kalakochua (6.5km) on Thursdays. In the vegetable season (November to March) one can see the loading of vegetables on truck in the morning along the Dhaka road at Nimsar (2.4km), which is the Union centre. How could they utilize such locational advantage as part of development action?

### **5.7.1 State of Marketing and Market of Vegetables**

While what is called vegetable businessmen, some of whom are villagers themselves, directly procure vegetables at the farm gate or deal in unharvested vegetables at the field. In general there are several types of brokers who would transact vegetables at the local wholesale market. For instance, at Kabila: (a) retailer (*Khuchra*) and whole saler (*Piker*) from the neighbouring market areas like Comilla town, Chandina, Barura etc. They come and purchase vegetables from farmers. Then, they carry these by truck or rickshaw etc. and sell vegetables at their own shop or to local small businessmen or retailers. (b) share-business by local whole saler (*Piker*) and urban stockist (*Arotder*). On the basis of contract they procure their business capital by 50:50 share. Firstly, they together purchase and carry vegetables to the sales centre in Chittagong. When 50 percent of the vegetables are sold, the local broker comes back to Kabila and purchase vegetables for the second time by using the gross sales income. Then, he carries these to the sales centre. At the moment he receives the purchase capital for the third time by means of the gross sales income from the remainder of vegetables. Simultaneously they liquidate the profit and loss of the first business. Since then, they would divide works into purchase by local broker and sale by urban dealer. They do such businesses once or twice a week. (c) share-business by a few local wholesaler (*Pikers*). On the basis of share they procure the business capital. They together purchase vegetables at Kabila and hire a truck to carry vegetables to the sales centre in Dhaka, Chittagong, Shylet, Noakhali etc. One

of them accompany the truck to the sales centre and commits a sale to the *Arotder* at the wholesale market. He stays there until all vegetables are sold out. After paying a commission of Tk.70 per Tk.1,000 gross sales value to the dealer, he goes back to Kabila and liquidates the profits and loss. In case these local brokers are confronted with lack of capital the dealer provide a hand-loan without any interest. Sometimes they make a contract of transacting vegetables in terms of kind, volume, and price etc. (d) contract sale between local whole saler (*Piker*) and urban stockist (*Arotder*). It is a duty of local whole saler to procure the necessary capital. On a weekly basis the contract is made, for instance price, volume, kinds, considering the market condition. Local wholw saler is obliged to supply adequate vegetables within one week after contracting with each other. Such business often deals in vegetables with good quality for exports. Sometimes they make a contract of volume and kinds only. In this case the local whole saler may receive actual sales proceed one week later.

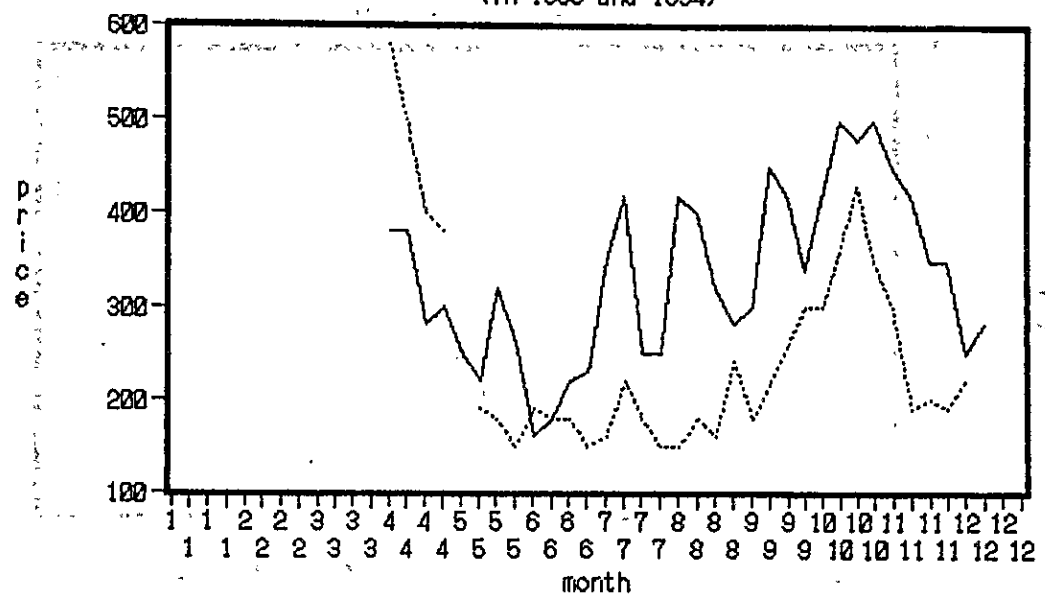
A suggestive fluctuation of price in terms of month as well as year is shown in Fig. 4. A similar trend can be identified for other vegetables. It implies that several devices can create profitable business chances. For instance, earlier shipping could ensure higher profitable price. How to bear the consequent higher risk in production and forming a price, however, is a task to solve.



Photo 1 Cauliflowers are taken to bigger market by truck



Price of Longbean (Tk. per md.)  
(in 1993 and 1994)



Price of Cauliflower (per 100 pieces)  
(in 1993 and 1994)

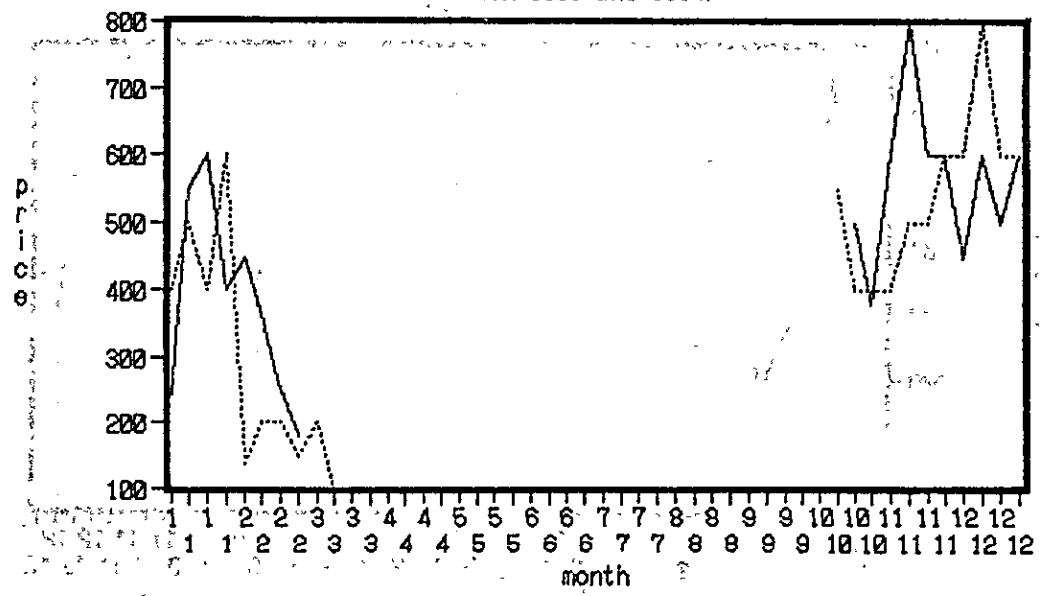


Figure 4 Price of Longbean, Cauliflower, Potato and Cabbage (I)

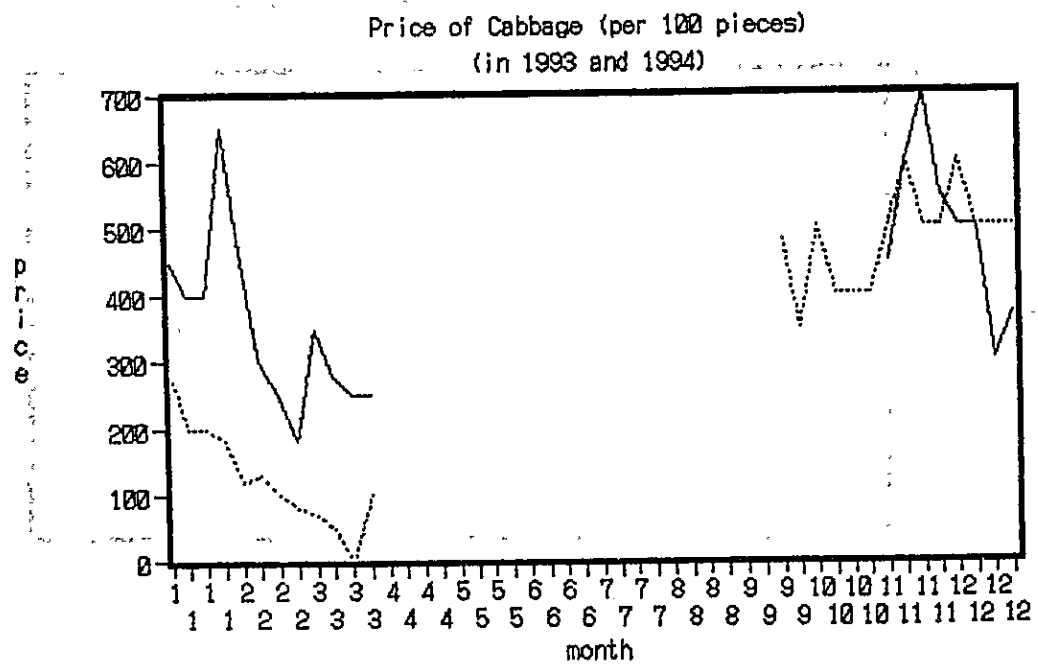
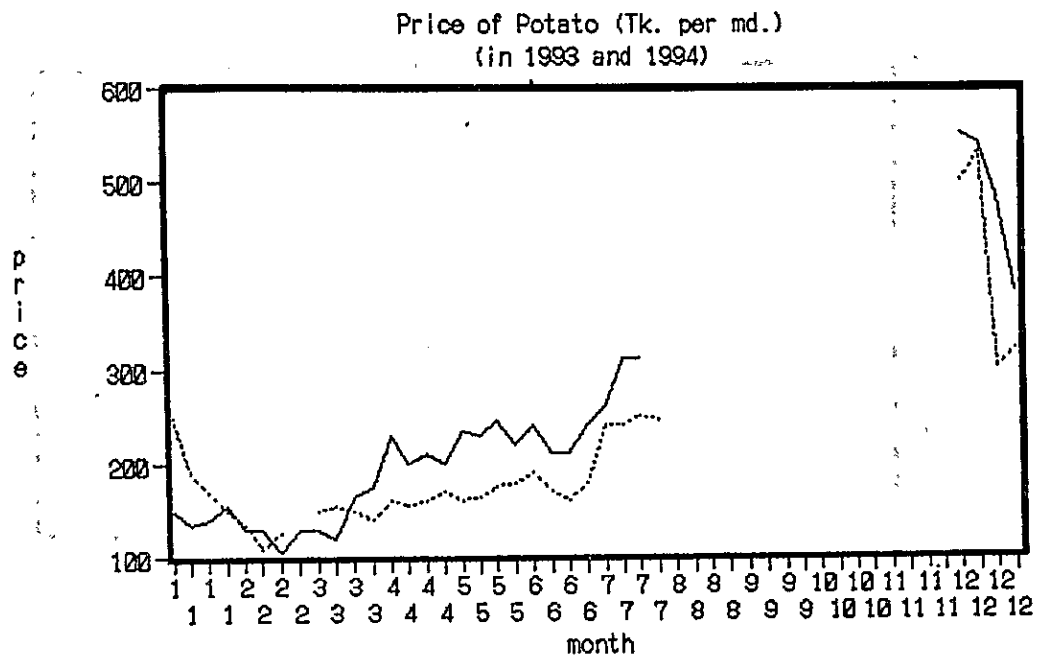


Figure 4 : Price of Longbean, Cauliflower, Potato and Cabbage (II)

### 5.7.2 Ideas of "Joint Marketing" and Their Materialization

Joint-marketing of vegetables, therefore, was proposed by JSRDE rather than the VC on a comprehensive experimental basis for the purpose of (1) gaining higher sale-price by better bargaining power induced by scale of economy, (2) returning a marketing margin, which was gained by middlemen or local wholesaler (*Pikers*), to producers, (3) bringing up a village-level entrepreneurial body which linked to urban markets, and consequently (4) diversifying cropping patterns to ensure availability and higher sale-price. Until the population have come to perceive these points, there may arise a few hard conflicts against JSRDE. Until JSRDE tried an impatient intervention, the VC prepared and persisted on a infeasible and shallow plan of marketing which was against the principle of JSRDE and costed Tk. 10 lakh consisting of truck, trolley, building, working capital, and risk fund etc. Afterward, JSRDE's nearly rejection encouraged the VC to submit a revised plan. The content was as follows, but were still far from JSRDE's expectation: (1) two collecting and shipping centres in the village, (2) cooperative society as a dealer, and (3) to get working capital and risk fund from JSRDE. As a matter of fact, due to lack of clarification in respect of whose responsibility and distributing profit and loss the cooperative society could not afford to implement marketing itself. As a result, so as to initiate what was feasible and perceived by the population the third plan was accepted, including following items: (1) engage two local entrepreneurs and provide a loan (1 year, 10% interest rate per annum, weekly installment) as working capital; (2) two collecting and shipping centres in the village, (3) setting up two boards on which current weekly market prices would be shown (4) survey of cropping patterns and production/supply volume of vegetables, and (5) collecting market information by the new local entrepreneurs.

The reality enforced a few changes in the purpose (1). The prevailing vis-a-vis transaction at the wholesale market suggested a limited bargaining power of the economic scale. Alternatively, an earlier vegetable harvest and shipping prior to the peak season ensured higher price. However, the complementary factor to enable the sustainable marketing was not arranged as preparation for risk, despite of intensive discussion and motivation. That is, pooling of price and the risk fund which is to compensate a loss at the time of lower market price than the production cost were beyond the consideration because of their deviated interest to profit sharing only. Anyhow, though the two villagers were selected out of 11 villagers,

who were already engaged in vegetable business by some manners. At the general meeting, one volunteered and the other joined after persuasive recommendation. The purposes (2) and (3) were complementary to each other. Despite of JSRDE's wish that some of the development fund could be alternatively used as the risk fund for a while, and a loan from the development fund as working capital for buying vegetables. The two villagers thus established vegetable business by collecting and shipping vegetables from neighbouring villages as well as Panchkitta. To be unfortunate, except that the two merchants directly ship to and transact vegetables at major urban centres like Dhaka and Chittagong, there was no difference from the usual other merchants in terms of marketing channels and manners. As to the purpose (4), it was a resultant reaction to the market. JSRDE, therefore, conceived that (a) the locally established two vegetable merchants should collect market the demand and negotiate the condition to gain favourable price with wholesalers of urban centres. In order to encourage the two merchants to negotiate well, the VC tried to estimate the vegetable supply for the year based on the present cropped areas or the neighbouring villages. The cropping patterns could be modified in accordance with the market demand and the consequent production adjustment to bring about a better condition of transaction achieved by the two vegetable merchants. In addition, with the purpose of the potential test and motivation 7 demonstration plots of cropping patterns were introduced in cooperation with the relevant block supervisor (BS) of the Department of Agricultural Extension (DAE) and through discussion on marketing with neighbouring villagers. Besides, the BS recommended 9 patterns of cropping vegetables (Figure 5) in response to our request "what cropping patterns enable to harvest/ship vegetables at the higher market price along with earlier or later harvest and shipment". The sub-committee tries to provide some clues of cropping diversification along production adjustment with each farmer in cooperation with the BS.

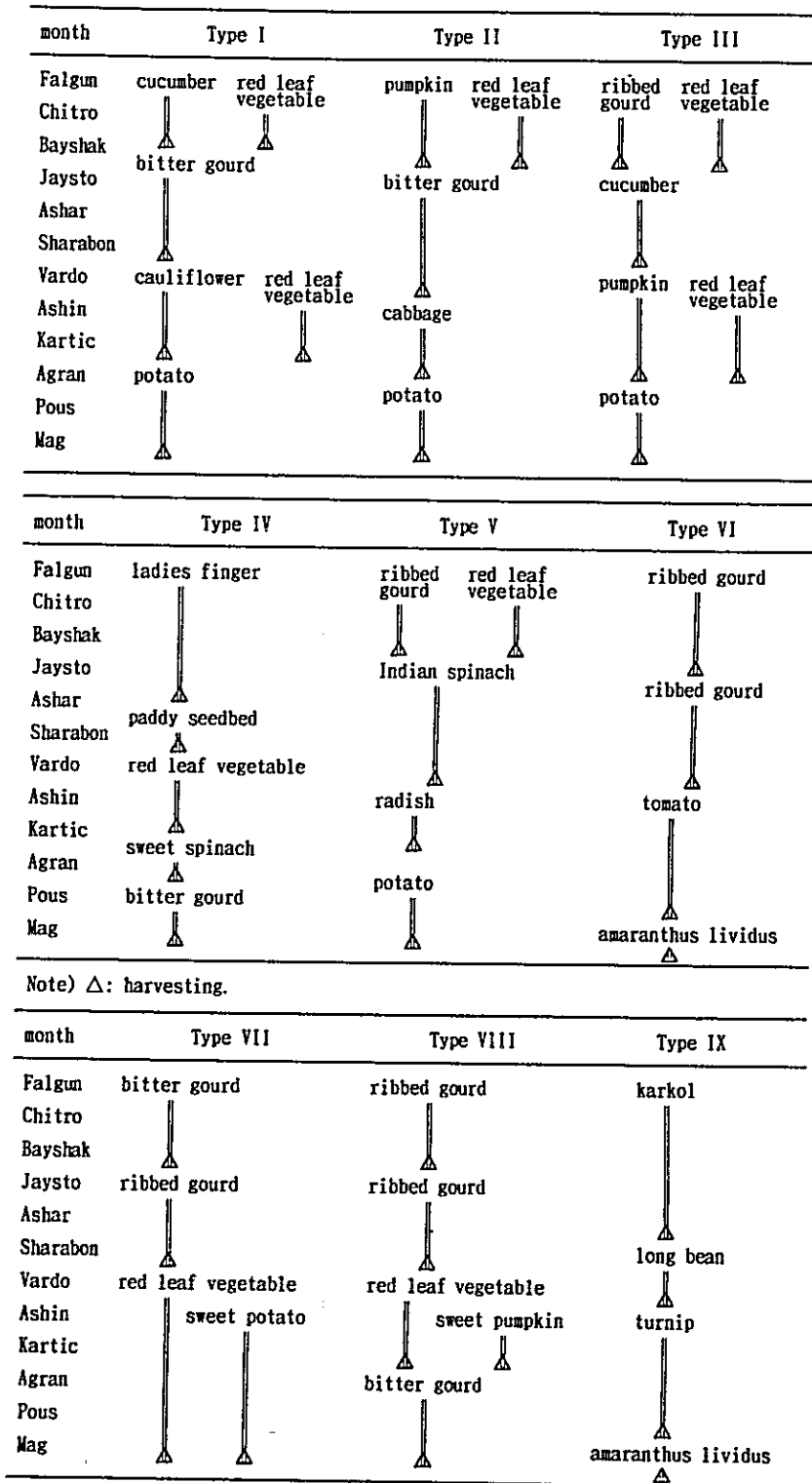


Figure 5 Cropping Patterns recommended by Block Supervisor

As a reference, by the way, those two vegetable merchants actually played a role of Piker and marketed vegetables worth of Tk. 22,400 in the peak season and Tk.4,900 in the slack season, utilising the working capital of Tk. 10,000.

### **5.8 Infra-rehabilitation**

Behind this action such tasks as (1) management of common technologies and (2) inter-village coordination have been intentionally assigned to the Gram, that is, the VC, by JSRDE. Feeder road, which is to be repaired by Thana administration and CARE, now to be considered as an object of approach. Through reaching a consensus at general meetings in Panchkitta and certain coordination meetings with neighbouring villages, road repairment and culverts as popular needs have been proposed without any consideration of limited budget. It shows a cost sharing like own mobilizable resource : external resource = 3 : 7. Unfortunately there is no contact with Union Parishad and CARE etc. and own resource in fact are described "voluntary work". However, because of limited JSRDE's budget against their large demand for external resources, the proposal has revised in haste to the 3 year action plan which designs to do rehabilitation on a basis of one site for the respective year. The first year action plan is to implement road repairment in cooperation with JSRDE. There is no reaction of the VC as well as the villagers to a simple encouragement of JSRDE like one brick from one household as a subscription in kind. Now it is pending how one can deal with the culverts which can be a common construction by the popular efforts. Anyhow, the JSRDE was successful to inspire members to undertake common challenges and solve it combinedly.

### **5.9 Water Latrine**

The initial steps was drawn up to utilize the capital and interest profits of goat rearing programme. It was almost half year after the termination of goat rearing programme that they took viable steps to formulate the subsequent programme.

Then, the water latrine programme was proposed with an initiative of the leader which was passed smoothly along with other proposals at the general meeting. After the survey on the state of latrines by the VC, the 100 beneficiaries were selected and recommended. The one

year loan (Tk.240) in kind was provided with the following condition: (a) A service charge of Tk. 24 being equivalent to 10 percent interest rate per annum and (b) to be repaid by 12 installments. JSRDE did not intervene in the planning process. The VC made a decision to manufacture the chambers etc. at the village so that the possible cost reduction would enable to increase the number of beneficiaries.

## **6 Training : take-off from unilateralness**

### **6.1 Passive Opportunities So Far**

Members of the CVDP Cooperative Society attend different training courses provided by KTCCA, BARD and other nation-building departments at Thana or Union levels: Non-members were consequently limited to a few. This was due to different approaches taken by other institutions outside the rural organizations rather than *Gram*.

In fact, this society being a member of KTCCA, its manager could participate in the weekly training course offered by the routine work of KTCCA. It was a regular practice with pre-selected topics. It is being more of an financial incentive and all the participants received TA (traveling allowance) and DA (daily allowance). Any manager of the member cooperative societies may or may not attend those training courses. The attendance did not always ensure that the information or knowledge gained at the training could be shared among the members only with those allowances which such a system neither encourage nor complete the managers responsibility.

Meanwhile, CVDP itself designs and organizes skill development, management, and job-oriented training courses in order to fulfill the needs of the project proposal. After designing the programme of training in cooperation with resource persons from the level of Thana or District, dates are fixed and invitation are extended to CVDP cooperative societies to send their members to attend the training course. So, it is evident that during planning and designing the course the participants have no say, consequently their needs may or may not be met. Sometimes no course is organized along the demand of participants because of depending upon the provision of the project proposal. So it might be said that the members have no role to play in planning and designing and tend to be indifferent to the training course.

## 6.2 Take-off from Unilateralness

To minimize the gap JSRDE has tried a new type of "bottom up" basis of procuring information at the cost of the existing harmful "top down" system. It was found to be helpful in solving problems in the course of implementation and prevent recurrence of problems in the future. For instance, after receiving the nannies the beneficiaries found that some goats got infected by disease and others did not take food or not conceive. Accordingly, after discussion at the meeting of sub-committee with beneficiaries, all of them came to a consensus for organizing a training course to solve those problems, including other topics such as housing, feeding, calf rearing, and nursing etc. Afterward, the VC and the relevant sub-committee proposed a support to JSRDE. However, subsequently it was realised that the training could not solve few problems like (a) beneficiaries could not select relevant topics, (b) sub-committee could not individually decide plan, and finalise a programme, (c) VC could not afford to organize a training course independently, and (d) beneficiaries as well as VC and sub-committee could not make any contact with relevant officials. Consequently, JSRDE had to intervene as an intermediary by way of finding pertinent accesses which enabled the VC and the relevant sub-committee to visit concerned offices for training arrangement. It is regrettable that JSRDE could not get Union-level officials to link with Thana-level offices. In other words, the prevailing delivery systems of government services could not be utilized adequately leaving an psychological barrier between the population and local government officials. For more professional demands like knowledge, more attention were paid to Thana and District whether these were problem oriented or ready made answers taken from the text books.

For organizing trainings, JSRDE provided honorarium to resource persons for the training in the village but no facilities to the beneficiaries which was different practice from that case of KTCCA and CVDP. Besides, it was also a feature that a trainee made a token contribution as the training fee from the stance of beneficiary charges. For instance, trainee paid Tk. 5 for goat rearing, Tk.17 for rice-cum-fish culture, Tk.20 for milch cow rearing, and Tk.3 for sanitation. These fees were spent on transport cost to communicate with resource persons and other costs for arranging the training. However, it was questionable to what extent they could realised that they had to pay fees to procure information through training.



## **7: Review on Popular Participation in Action Project**

JSRDE though did not provide enough opportunities so far, the popular involvement in action programmes was reviewed with respect to planning and implementation etc. For such purpose 39 persons were randomly interviewed through structured questionnaire. Lastly the finding was presented with a summary.

### **7.1 Planning Process**

When the VC first went to the project area he could realize that there was no source to get desired information. The people showed distrust and had a vague idea about the project objective. Consequently important degree of motivation could not be achieved. So they then realized that their awareness could be improved by providing the project income benefit. Such lack of knowledge and coordination about the project specially the objectives would induce uncontrollable number of additional proposals.

As for remedy, they expect to discuss well and coordinate at the general meeting. However, the following facts are referred to which had the least participation in the meetings due to-

- a) pre-occupation to their respective job and
- b) too much dependence on their leader.

### **7.2 Implementation Process**

On the occasion of forming the relevant sub-committee they are confronted with lack of capable persons. They feel inclined to leave the matters to the VC. There is a high competition to become a beneficiary. To solve a problem of selecting beneficiaries the task is given preferably to the joint-meeting. The VC, and the relevant sub-committee, despite of less attendants at meetings. As to meetings, problems are as follows: (a) There is no specific person responsible to call a meeting, (b) punctuality and attendance are not maintained. Paradoxically they hope that the VC would take initiatives and interfere much, while they perceive that their attendance is hindered by such subjective reason as lack of interest and unwillingness.

### **7.3 Interests and Leadership: Individual, Gram, Extent**

Observing their activities during three years, so far, we just noticed that there were some

similarities in terms of powerfulness and exercising power between village and cooperative leaders. The outlook and behavior of the latter differed a little from those of the former. The cooperative leaders got opportunities to hold regular meeting with members and ad-hoc communication with such external institutions as nation-building departments and KTCCA etc. Especially, communication was established by the arrangements or convenience of those institutions rather than leaders. In fact, they provide their service and fulfill their duties with the help of leaders. These leaders themselves also maintained mutual interests and relationships by various manners. Whenever development workers and field staffs of nation-building departments etc. visited village or cooperative society, leaders came forward and cordially received those guests for their own interests and benefits. They showed own interests to hear and discuss with those informants and also necessarily entertained them. It was apprehended that a leader with a property might feel inconvenient to function as a change agent.

Generally leaders took decisions through mutual discussion, especially to procure available service from nation-building departments etc. In some cases two types of leaders mutually discussed such matters together. There was a tendency of leaders to include their nearest relatives in available activities and facilities for developments. Provision of all-participation in such matters of interest inspite of the society leaders sometimes created a gap among members and take decisions without ensuring participation. Despite of such fact, the decisions are made through due participation and discussion. Consequently, whether or not being benefited might be a core to motivate a participation. Even at the meeting of cooperative society, most of the members were found absent and the attendance were limited to some regular and specific persons. For instance, by inviting 40 beneficiaries and of 5 members the sub-committee to a meeting by oral/verbal notice, the attendance was tragically limited to 9 beneficiaries and 4 sub-committee members. So, reflecting the fact, JSRDE tried to inform the concerned authority to give a written notice of 3 to 4 days prior to calling a meeting. They understood that it was an effective mechanism of communication. However, decision was still taken unilaterally by leaders without any questioning and explanation of attendants.

Popular experiences at the cooperative society during the last several years has cultured a certain behaviour, that is to say, that planning activity etc. are assignments of local leaders. They were afraid that there were senses of responsibility and personal relationship susceptible

to complaint and criticism behind popular silence at the meeting. It might be an instance of misled participation mind that how they could deal with irregularities of routine businesses. For instance, in the cooperative society, the person concerned engaged his supporters with underground rooting to avoid the matter tactfully and amicable settlement. When the proposal was powerful, the issue was brought to light and the necessary action taken to release him from the responsibilities. Sometimes such released persons formed a group and encouraged them to play a role of opposition by pointing the defects, even being minority.

## **8 Some Lessons from Action Projects**

### **8.1 Reassessment of Institution**

JSRDE managed to get a VC that represented a *Gram* of Panchkitta by embracing all such subjects as group, body, and institution as well as villagers as individual, after bitterly experiencing unexpected resistance of the CVDP- Cooperative Society against including a few representatives from non-CVDP members in the VC members. Their emotional conflict appeared to be based on the confidence cultivated through developmental activities so far on behalf of cooperative society. Eventually the VC formed a committee that comprised of 3 functionaries from the CVDP Cooperative Society and 2 functionaries from others. Four similar problems arose at the time of proposing to an important sub-committee under the VC. The concerned members were firstly monopolized by the CVDP Managing Committee and the VC members even with a few duplication. It was apprehended that no form a "committee" was thought to be a formality and, what was worse, it resulted in too much concentration of authority, in other words decision-making. Therefore, JSRDE intervened and restructured, for example, a sub-committee by comprising 1 VC member, 2 beneficiaries, and 2 non-beneficiaries, after a tough negotiation with the CVDP cooperative society.

Union Coordination Meeting was operated under the name of CVDP Cooperative Society. Accordingly, villages without CVDP-Cooperative Society were more or less segregated out of the Union Coordination meeting. They tend to be away from the development and administration services of the Union Parishad because the CVDP Cooperative Society became a pressure group by the guidance of the CVDP. That was just a reflection of person-to-person relationship which became harmful to the public service and administration.

The lessons thus learnt through the implementation of the VC in Panchkitta could be summarized in the following way, namely :

- (a) An appropriate organization/body in a village may not always accord to a "*Gram*" community. The former sometimes weakens rather than strengthen the solidarity of *Gram*. Though it was the best that the *Gram* community itself was a comprehensive organization, but as expected it was weak and lacked experience. If it was taken as an organization, the *Gram* community must be flexible enough to embrace any other organization and groups that exist in the village.
- (b) Institution tends to be conceived and established duly authorized by the relevant governmental body. It provides in a limited way an unilateral access to a certain organization or group. The worse, thing that due to the easiness almost all the departmental field staff utilize the institution only. It has created different deviation in various aspects. A "*Gram*" of popular participatory community, therefore, should be institutionalised with a trusted leadership of VC which could be designated to act as a bilateral coordination body of village affairs.
- (c) For outside world the VC could be an avenue to the *Gram* community, and for the villagers the VC can act as an exit to encounter the outside world. The VC as a ring would be given an authority to contact with the outside world when "institutionalised". The VC could better be trusted so that even though certain organizations or groups approached by external agencies, the received information/resources received could be fed back to the VC with a popular authority rather than an externally given authority.

## **8.2 Credit as Self-reliance**

In Panchkitta, credit (loan) services were operated using fund made available by both internal and external sources. The fund must be perceived as a common trust fund or a development fund for the "*Gram*". The related management and supervision worked better to be committed to the "*Gram*" to some extent. Unlike loan programmes of commercial banks, the interests generated by operating loans to the villages could be recycled within the village at an interval of certain time. For instance, these could be utilized for improving small rural infrastructures of common concern/interest along intra- and inter- village coordination. This opportunity may be supplementary resources and the development budget of local government must be first ensured by the tax revenue and could play a role of motivation. What is important is the

actual feeling that such resource as tax and interests paid by villagers are returned to their living needs. This could be justified by several realities namely :

- (a) By an empirical principle and for risk-aversion, the larger credit went to the rich and the smaller to the poor. This widened economic disparity between the two classes.
- (b) It could not be easily avoided without reserving the interests of loans inside the village. The entity of an organization important takes care of loan operation with low interest.
- (c) The widened disparity could be compensated to a certain extent by investing the interests in such public goods as small-scale infrastructure while loan beneficiaries are increased by way of capital increment.

## 9. Conclusion

Experiences of JSRDE at Panchkitta show that Village Committee, though being rather misleadingly named, is a key institution of a vague community. It flexibly coordinates and involves the population in development activities and also maintain as much as possible linkages with nation building departments at the Union level. As far as being accompanied by a certain authority, groups and organizations established by name of institution-building had better be conceived to be under the umbrella of a *Gram* community. Not a cooperative society but *Gram* as a community is the first entity. The latter is not necessarily lying on concentric circles of cooperative society. Under the prevailing rural atmosphere there is a tendency that the cooperative society only have prematured and ironically surpassed a *Gram* community. So that the VC could qualitatively catch up with a community, the available information and resources must be commonly shared through the VC as a convergent node, presuming the restructure of least linkages between *Gram* and Union. The VC itself, furthermore, is required to keep in mind the importance of experiences in managing the common infrastructures and trust fund. Furthermore, so as to reduce the monetary burden that has been imposed to leaders as part of what is natural, in other words to remove a hindrance to become a leader, is also important that the trust fund as a common asset that generates the profits through loans and ensures reasonable management of the VC.

Taking a continuous participation into consideration, two to three years plan rather than single year plan is necessary. Single year plan is likely to fail due to "competition for scare annual

resource". One is to remember that the quick person always wins the race. By contrast, two to three years plan enables to draw the popular attention in a sense by promising possible opportunities in the following years. Those promising beneficiaries naturally have interests in how to revolve capitals. Otherwise, they are led to giving up such opportunities due to own indifference.

Thus, assuming that the given external condition could be improved in a sense of linkage and then a certain subject which were already cultured in the community of *Gram*, a certain skeleton of rural development could be drawn follows from the viewpoint of exercising possible opportunities of participation. The trust fund as a generator is to be revolved by a manner of intra-village circulation as well as self management and part of the profits gained could be returned to maintain infrastructure and social welfare. Consequently the *Gram* could be ensured to create continual opportunities of practices in fact.

#### Notes:

- 1) Herein; infrastructure includes physical, organizational, and administrative aspects as components.
- 2) These key words were identified at the Workshop on Mid-Term Review of Joint Study on Rural Development Experiment Project held on December 7th and 8th, 1993 at RDA, Bogra.
- 3) Being based on the interview with several informants:
- 4) Being based on interviewing all non-member households.
- 5) The management is carried out as follows: plot owner cultivates crops and the joint-marketing committee (JMC) provides all input costs, using JSRDE budget. Plot owner has to return 40 percent of the gross product value to JMC.

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**Photo 1** Japanese and Bangladeshi Experts are discussing with the villagers about their problems

## Appendix 1, Villagers' Proposals for 1994 Action Programmes

item	value	redemption period and installments	interest rate	beneficiaries
kind	(Tk.)	(year, times)	(%)	(person)
tubewell for potable water	125,000@	2, 24	7	50
modern fish culture	102,500	3, 9	7	10
sewing for women	35,000	1, 12	7	10
cattle fattening	42,360	0.25, 1	3	20
poultry rearing	68,220	1.5, 12	7	15
rice husking	80,000	1, 12	-	10
rickshaw	70,000	1, 12	10	10
milch cow rearing	150,000	-	-	10
deep tubewell	-	-	-	182
fertilizer distribution	119,220	3, 12	7	2
HYV seed distribution	48,000	3, 12	7	1
mechanized cultivation	730,000	4, 48	5	291
drainage and irrigation	260,000	-	-	291
horticulture nursery	76,000	3, 36	5	1
water shield latrine	40,000	1, 12	5	100

Source: JSRDE Field Survey.

Note) -: not available.



**Appendix 2 Kinds of Marketed Vegetable and Its Number of Farms by Month  
(in Panchkitta, 1993 crop year)**

Magh	Falgun	Chaitro	Baishak
<i>potato (29)</i> <i>pumpkin (4)</i> <i>cabbage (4)</i> <i>long bean (1)</i> <i>tomato (1)</i> <i>mustard (1)</i>	<i>potato (213)</i> <i>tomato (9)</i> <i>eggplant (8)</i> <i>pumpkin (7)</i> <i>chilli (5)</i> <i>long Bean (3)</i>	<i>long bean (41)</i> <i>pumpkin (11)</i> <i>eggplant (6)</i> <i>chilli (5)</i> <i>tomato (5)</i> <i>sweet potato (4)</i> <i>sweet pumpkin (4)</i> <i>white gourd (3)</i> <i>snake gourd (2)</i> <i>potato (1)</i> <i>melon</i>	<i>long bean (25)</i> <i>cucumber (9)</i> <i>snake gourd(8)</i> <i>bitter gourd(4)</i> <i>eggplant (2)</i> <i>chilli (2)</i> <i>potato (1)</i>
Jaysto	Ashar	Srabon	Vadro
<i>long bean (52)</i> <i>bitter gourd (17)</i> <i>snake gourd (6)</i> <i>cucumber (6)</i> <i>eggplant (2)</i> <i>pumpkin (1)</i> <i>white pumpkin(1)</i>	<i>long bean (37)</i> <i>snake gourd(17)</i> <i>bitter gourd(15)</i> <i>eggplant (7)</i> <i>cucumber (7)</i> <i>white pumpkin(1)</i> <i>ladies fingure(1)</i> <i>Kakrol (1)</i>	<i>long bean (22)</i> <i>bitter gourd (6)</i> <i>cucumber (6)</i> <i>snake gourd (5)</i> <i>kakrol (1)</i> <i>white pumpkin (1)</i> <i>arum (1)</i>	<i>long bean (19)</i> <i>bitterourd(8)</i> <i>snake gourd(3)</i> <i>eggplant (1)</i> <i>raddish (1)</i> <i>pumpkin (1)</i> <i>cucumber (1)</i> <i>ribbed gourd(1)</i>
Ashwin	Kartic	Agrahayan	Poush
<i>long bean (24)</i> <i>bitter gourd (10)</i> <i>snake gourd (7)</i> <i>cucumber (6)</i> <i>lalshak (6)</i> <i>pumpkin (2)</i> <i>tomato (2)</i> <i>eggplant (2)</i>	<i>long bean (20)</i> <i>bitter gourd(9)</i> <i>lalshak (8)</i> <i>cucumber (5)</i> <i>snake gourd (4)</i> <i>potato (4)</i> <i>arum (1)</i> <i>chilli (1)</i> <i>potato (1)</i>	<i>cabbage (3)</i> <i>lalshak (2)</i> <i>bitter gourd (2)</i> <i>raddish (2)</i> <i>potato (1)</i> <i>pea (1)</i> <i>eggplant (1)</i> <i>snake gourd (1)</i> <i>long bean (1)</i> <i>long bean (1)</i> <i>cauliflower (1)</i>	<i>potato (85)</i> <i>cabbage (18)</i> <i>raddish (7)</i> <i>eggplant (3)</i> <i>pumpkin (3)</i> <i>bitter gourd (2)</i> <i>cucumber (2)</i> <i>lalshak (2)</i> <i>sweet pumpkin (1)</i>

Source: JSRDE Field Survey.

Note): *Italic* means that the relevant vegetable is cultivated by 10 and over farms.

**Appendix 3 Volume (md.) Vegetable Produced by Planned Cropping Patterns  
(estimation, from Feb. 1995 to Feb. 1996)**

month	potato	red leaf vegetable	long bean	bitter gourd	green chilli	snake gourd	cauliflower
Falgun	11,940	4			28		
Chitro				1	40		
Bayshak		12	454	464	9	486	
Jaysto		4	316	341	5	318	
Ashar		4	28	10	3	8	
Sharabon		62	253	135		117	
Vardo		83	230	133		161	
Ashin		143	34	30		13	
Kartik		636	19				6
Agran		152	6				83
Pous		71	12	8	5		73
Mag	324	19	6	7	3		94

month	white pumpkin	eggplant	cabbage	radish	pumpkin	tomato	cucumber
Falgun		62	15		23	60	
Chitro	10	75			15	38	
Bayshak	188	87			27		
Jaysto	151	60			7		133
Ashar		19			6		
Sharabon	112	20			6		8
Vardo	40	14			15		
Ashin	10	15			23		15
Kartik		12	73	18	68		
Agran		12	73	18	68		
Pous			17	201	42	24	
Mag			303	28	33	24	

Source: JSRDE Field Survey.

Note 1) unit: mound (md) = about 40kg

2) besides, ladies' finger (40mds), bean (44mds), sweet pumpkin (53mds) etc. are produced.

#### Appendix 4 Volume of Vegetables Marketed by Farmers (Panchkitta in 1991, 1992)

kind (unit)	crop season	Aman (1991)	Rabi (1991)	Boro (1992)	Aus (1992)
potato (md.)		1,002.45	6,545	308	n.a.
cabbage (piece)		29,375	3,000+15md.	n.a.	n.a.
raddish (md.)		153.2	28	n.a.	n.a.
bitter gourd (md.)		45.2	189.25	346.75	300.25
lalshak (md.)		84	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
long bean (md.)		59.75	325.5	1,330	712
cauliflower (piece)		12,650	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
pumpkin (piece)		1,715	3,460	250+20md.	2,160
eggplant (md.)		18	62.95	109.25	33
snake gourd (md.)		8.25	95.25	274	233.2
white pumpkin (piece)		280	350	815	855
datashak (md.)		39	399.75	n.a.	14.5
red leaf vegetable (md.)		11.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
chilli (md.)		3	34	7.5	n.a.
tomato (md.)		n.a.	18.5	14	15
cucumber (md.)		n.a.	77	376.5	195.5
karkal (md.)		n.a.	4	n.a.	29
melon (piece)		n.a.	n.a.	160	n.a.
swcet pumpkin (piece)		n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1,420

Source: JSRDE Field Survey.

Note) n.a.: not available.