Process Documentation on the Implementation Aspects of the CFPR/TUP Programme

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Introduction

Since the opening phase of the Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction (CFPR) and Targeting the Ultra-Poor (TUP) Programme, BRAC’s Research and Evaluation Division has been conducting a process documentation research (PDR) on the programme. The PDR has been following the chronological and consecutive events of the programme. The PDR covering the Targeting Phase of the project has been synthesized and submitted in a final report, ‘The Stories of Targeting.’ The present report takes the PDR one step further and studies the implementation processes of the programme.

After selecting the ultra poor households through an operational criterion, the CFPR/TUP Programme distributed different types of assets among the targeted ultra poor (TUP). Broadly, this particular phase is known as ‘Assetization.’ However, along with assetization, health and social development are also two significant components of the CFPR/TUP Programme. The programme is based on an approach that puts social development, specifically a rights-based approach to health and socio-political empowerment at the forefront of the agenda. The PDR, during the targeting phase has attempted to address the multiple dimensions of poverty, recognizing that material assets alone cannot interrupt the cycle of extreme poverty. For optimal assetization, the programme has to rely on the support of socio-political assets, as well as, acknowledge that health and enhanced capability of individuals are the preconditions of enterprise development. Thus, the service delivery of the CFPR/TUP programme incorporates different types of services including health, education, security, and asset based technical services. This is one of the main reasons for stressing the presence of Health (H-PO) and Social Development Programme Organizers (SD-PO) at the field level, along with asset specific Technical POs.

Services provided by the programme

At the field level, the Programme Organizers (PO) provide different services to the participants, such as:

- Technical POs (T-PO) are responsible for distributing assets and enterprise development. Asset specific T-POs train participants on rearing and developing assets. In addition to monitoring the development process of assets, s/he also focuses on asset security.

- Health POs provide health education to the participants to ensure healthy practices by the women. Health POs also establish a health network by linking the existing health providing institutes and individuals to provide participants with quality health services at minimum cost.

- SD-POs initially play the role of improving the capacity and capability of TUP participants through providing a basic level of education. To raise awareness about their rights, the SD-POs spread social messages. To reduce the social barriers and constraints at the community level, s/he mobilizes the activities of the Gram Shabiyak Committee. On an individual level, s/he tries to provide the participants with legal aid and a vast range of social services.
The Graph below illustrates the various Programme services delivered by POs at the field level.

**Figure 1**: The different services provided by T-POs, SD-POs, and Health POs

- **TECHNICAL PO**
  - # Asset specific training
  - # Technical services
  - # Security service
  - # Marketing

- **Social Development PO**
  - # Capacity building through education and Campaigning
  - # Mobilizing GSCs activities to reduce social constraints.
  - # Legal Service
  - # A wide range of social services
  - # Engage in multidimensional trouble shooting

- **Health PO**
  - # Disseminate health knowledge
  - # Ensure and monitor healthy practices
  - # Provide basic level treatment
  - # Establish health network
  - # Take care of other members of TUP households

- **TUP Participants**
Research methodology

Study unit

Programme implementers and Programme participants are the two major stakeholders at the field level functioning of the programme. The TUP Programme Organizers (responsible for social development, health and specific assets) are linked to the targeted ultra poor (TUP) participants through their roles and activities at the grass-roots level. Besides these two stakeholders, other secondary stakeholders are, to a lesser extent, also connected with the programme. Furthermore, some individual representatives of the community including local elites get involved in the process through structured entities, such as, the Gram Shobayok Committee (GSC). Thus, the study covers the activities of these stakeholders and the interactions between them. The process documenters have documented major activities, actions, and process of assetization and enterprise development of the ultra poor.

Study area

Three field researchers have worked in three different locations of the PDR in Domar upazilla of Nilphamari, Taragonj upazilla of Rangpur and Barhatta upazilla of Netrokona districts.

Data collection

BRAC recruited four process documenters (PD) with an academic background in anthropology to conduct the research. The PDs were trained on qualitative research methodology in general and more specifically, on tools and techniques appropriate for process documentation research. They were sent to a CFPR/TUP programme area for an orientation/exposure to various activities of this new programme.

After completing the targeting phase, the PDR team started documenting the assetization phase. Three PDs stayed at the Area Offices with the programme people and observed the miscellaneous activities of POs: the extent of participations of TUP members, the activities of GSC; all in all, the diverse processes of the assetization phase. The PDs did not necessarily follow a strict rule of observation; rather the PDR team depended on the flexibility of PDs to be able cover the fluidity of unpredictable realities.

Tools and techniques

Data were collected mainly through participant observation. The field researchers participated in the activities as observers. They also gathered information through informal conversations and group discussions. During the events, they took notes, recorded their observations and conversations concerning various activities related to the Programme, as well as, the responses and reactions of various stakeholders. They always updated their field notes in the form of a diary at the end of the day, which is a more coherent account from their jotting down during the activities. They observed and documented several complete...
cycles of the procedure including community responses and reactions during and after the various stages of the implementation process.

*Data processing*

Two data consolidators went over all the field reports several times. During their review of the data, the consolidators looked for general trends and patterns, as well as, the exceptions to them, within the different stages of intervention. Through this assessment, the consolidators categorized the data into three broad areas, which in turn resulted in three distinguished chapters on tasks of technical, social development and health POs. In addition a fourth chapter is attached to this report that contains the responses of community people to the programme. The fifth chapter contains recommendations.
CHAPTER ONE: ASSETS, ASSETIZATION AND ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT

Assetization and enterprise development are major ventures of the CFPR/TUP programme. The PDs were assigned to observe some selective activities of the T-POs, as it was not feasible for three process documenters (PD) to track the entire process. Process documentation covered the major activities, actions and processes of assetization and enterprise development. Consolidators tried to provide a comprehensive picture of this area; they began with the enterprise selection process. However, documentation of successive phases is not based on a particular asset or an area. The consecutive phases of the programme are described by case studies focused on livestock assets and nursery.

The Responsibilities of Technical POs

The tasks of T-POs are asset-specific. The T-PO is the main person responsible and is attached with all the phases of enterprise development. Asset-specific T-PO begins her/his specified tasks from enterprise selection and generally maintains a consecutive order then onwards:

Illustrated below are the consecutive activities of T-POs (livestock)

Figure 2: The consecutive activities of T-PO (Livestock asset)
Enterprise selection process

After the final selection, the programme offers a specific asset from a set of choices to a TUP participant according to their suitability and competency. There are different types of assets provided by the programme including livestock, such as cows, birds, and goats; leased land for nursery; capital and equipments for small trade, etc. Firstly, the asset-specific T-POs conduct the asset distribution, which is finally nominated by the Regional Sector Specialist (RSS). The selection criteria for providing particular assets incorporate several factors, such as, the physical condition of TUP members, location and condition of the houses/residences of TUP members, and non-household factors (Geo-physical and environmental situation).

While, the recipient’s decision-making power in selecting the appropriate asset is crucial in enterprise development, considering the different factors influencing the search for a proper asset is equally important. In that sense a comprehensive asset selection process must include both competency and consent of the participant to design better enterprise development projects. The case study below gives a picture of the asset selection process.

Searching for suitable bird rearers

All asset-specific T-POs have their individual targets to fulfill a specific number of receivers within their enterprises. The T-PO of Barhatta, Netrokona was in charge of poultry. He had a target of selecting 50 bird rearers from 169 TUP households located in 36 villages. He started the selection process through visiting the villages. After entering a TUP courtyard, the T-PO first observes whether there is adequate space to build a shed for the birdcage. Secondly, he looks for if the space receives enough sunlight. If there isn’t adequate sunlight, that household is disregarded for the TUP project. The T-PO then goes on to ensure that the selected area is not flood prone. Lastly, after taking into account the geo-physical and environmental situation, the T-PO considers the physical ability of the recipient recognizing that poultry needs regular effort and attention on the part of the participant.

If the requirements outlined above are met, the T-PO notes down some basic information from the participant concerning her household. Then he discloses the purpose to the participant and discusses the objectives of the TUP programme. He then gives the prospective participant a comprehensive picture on rearing birds, detailed information on other facilities like capacity building training, health services, technical services and subsistence allowance; and finally notifies her of the level of responsibility and commitment that is required on her part order to join the programme.

Not all women are receptive to the idea of rearing chicken as an enterprise; some show their reluctance to become bird rearers. Usually the T-PO excludes those members. In this manner the T-PO (Poultry) of Barhatta primarily selected 50 households for poultry and gave that list to RSS for further door-to-door verification. The purpose of this verification is to assess:

- If the selected recipient is an actual TUP member,
- If the recipient was made fully aware of the programme by the PO,
- If the recipient was hiding any important information,
• If the decision was imposed on her,
• If the environment is suitable for poultry rearing,
• If the woman is really interested in rearing poultry, and
• If she is capable of adequately maintaining poultry.

The RSS rejected 20 out of 50 selected participants in the course of thorough verification. The reasons behind rejecting those women were:

• The RSS rejected 10 participants living in two villages that remained water locked during the rainy season, which meant the houses were inaccessible by rickshaw or van carrying bird feed during that time. Although those women were interested in poultry, the RSS suggested cow rearing due to geographical constraints.
• Three participants were rejected for showing a gradual lack of interest in the project.
• Three women were denied poultry rearing activities because of a shortage of candidates necessary to form the standard 8-person group activity.
• Four were denied assets, as they were unable to make decisions without depending too frequently on their husband’s consents. This led the RSS to conclude that such behavior would have an undesired affect on the programme.

Skill development training

The programme provides "asset-specific skill development" training to transfer basic entrepreneurship skills into skills targeted towards specific enterprise development projects. Presently the programme is organizing a 3-day long systematic training sessions and monthly refreshers on poultry, dairy, nursery and other income generating activities such as, producing sanitary napkins, shoes, etc. Respective T-POs provide continuous technical support to programme participants as well. A dairy training session covered by the PD is described below:

*The way they come close to programme:

- **1st day:** Fifty cow rearers were divided into three groups made up of 16/17 participants each. The group that was documented was composed of 17 women. The dairy training session, which was held at Ikorchaly TUP AO, was supposed to start at 9.30 AM. Initially, training started with the presence of only 11 women, 3 came within the next 15 minutes and the rest didn’t come. The T-PO (Dairy) inaugurated the first day of the training and described the main purpose of training and discussed the usefulness of cow rearing.

**The name card**

There was a rumor that BRAC officers were converting the asset receivers into Christians by putting a seal on their chests. It was the wearing of name cards in the training sessions that generated this kind of emotions. The T-PO of Barhatta helped everyone to put on their name cards during the training session and assured them that the card would be used for identification only and that there was no underlying intention to convert them into Christians.
On the first day the T-PO informed the beneficiaries about the rules of participation and asked them about their past experiences with cow rearing. He presented an outline of the 3-day course indicating what he would teach them during this period. The first day of teaching included lessons on variation of cows, good varieties, cow feeds and the scientific method of rearing.

- **Second day:** All the 17 members attended the training session on time on the second day. They greeted the trainer with the *Salam* as they had been taught on the previous day. Initially, the T-PO reviewed the topics covered on the first day by asking the participants questions. Then he discussed at length the topics of cow feed; scientific techniques for building cowsheds, how to look after both healthy and sick cows including cow illnesses, treatments and pregnancy care. During the second day it was observed that the attention span amongst participants was greater.

- **Third day:** On the third day, all the participants came earlier than the scheduled time and passed the extra time by performing and listening to native songs (*Geet*). The last day session placed emphasis on disease, illness, treatment, and immunization of cows. After a second briefing on scientific ways of building sheds; the T-PO told the women that the programme would provide major elements, such as tin sheets for building the cow sheds; but the women were responsible for collecting minor elements like bamboo, rope, etc. from the community. He also warned them that they had to build the cow-hut within the next 3 days; otherwise the assets would be taken away from them.

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### Eligibility for attending training

- During one session, the T-PO asked about the 4 women who were absent. In response to the inquiries about *Aloka*, the other participant said that she had gone begging that morning. After a while *Aloka*’s daughter came to attend the training as instructed by her mother to do so. However, the T-PO didn’t allow her to attend as a replacement.

- A woman attending the training was found not to be a selected member and consequently was not given the chance to continue in the sessions. The T-PO told the field researcher that this kind of intrusion was common because non-targeted community members thought that their presence at the training would also get them assets.

“*If you take training sincerely and rear cows accordingly, you will prosper in life. We will educate you and make you aware of your rights so that none can cheat you. If people recognize you as a knowledgeable person, you will earn their respect.*”

* [The T-POs speech, 2nd day session]

Using the money they got for attaining the training

In the evening of the 3rd session, the PD visited the residences of two TUP cow receivers. They told the PD that they would use the 75 Taka they had received for attending the training session to buy bamboo or employ labor to build the sheds.
During the training session along with the T-PO, other programme staff also dispersed information in their respective fields. Through the 3-day long training session, participants get a comprehensive picture of the programme, gradually becoming familiar with it.

Building the sheds of livestock assets

The programme trained participants on scientific techniques for building livestock sheds. Participants were informed that each of them would get 4 corrugated tin sheets to build the shed. The programme stated explicitly that the women had to build their sheds on their own and had to collect other materials like bamboo, rope, etc. from the village community with the help of the G.S.C. The shed building process was similar in all intervention areas. Following, is a particular case showing the difficulties that emerged through the changes in programme instructions that lead the participants to spend more money in building sheds.

*The shifting instructions cause imprudent spending*

During a training session on goat rearing held in Barhatta, Netrokona, the programme trained participants on scientific techniques of building hygienic goat sheds. T-PO instructed them that the most important element for a proper interior was to construct a dais (*macha*) 12 inches above the ground. The dais should be made of bamboo and covered with movable bamboo mats to avoid leg injuries of goats. The mats should also be slightly slanted in order to channel out goat urine. The movable covering mat requires regular washing to maintain hygienic conditions in the sheds. The gate of the shed should be placed in between the living room and the goats’ homestead to avoid theft. The fencing of the gate needs to be placed in a way that allows adequate sunlight and air.

Every participant collected three tin sheets from the Barhatta TUP Regional Office, while other necessary materials such as, bamboo was collected from the village and the market. Almost all the participants were able to gather all the necessary materials. BRAC provided G.I string, bamboo etc. to those unable to collect all the materials. TUP members in this area didn’t get much help from the village community. That’s why the majority of them had to buy the materials from the market. The average cost of building the sheds was Tk. 300-500. Most participants had to borrow money to build the sheds.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Shifting instruction of building the sheds of goats:</th>
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<td>Goat receivers in this area had to spend a large amount of money to build sheds, compared to the average cost due to inconsistent instructions giving by programme. As the programme had changed its previous instructions, receivers had to rebuild the sheds according to the new instructions. In a few places, some of them had to restructure it three times. Initially, the T-PO told the goat receivers that the ground floor of the shed should be about 2-inches above the floor. After completing most of the sheds in this manner he changed his mind and said that the sheds should be built at floor level. In order to follow these instructions, many receivers had to break their earlier sheds and reconstruct the whole thing again. This change of decisions caused unwise spending in construction. The project became even more costly since the village community didn’t provide the participants much help to begin with.</td>
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Asset purchase

The respective staff of the Area Office buy certain types of assets such as goats, cows, equipments of small trades etc. from the local markets. Other assets like birds and seedlings are provided through BRAC’s own production. The task of asset purchasing in most cases is conducted by the asset-specific T-PO; some times other staff go with the T-PO especially when purchasing a large amount. The news of TUP programme spreads quickly among the neighboring villages through shoppers and sellers, because programmers usually purchase large quantity of assets from the surrounding areas. The process documenters covered one case of buying goats and two cases of distribution in their reports.

Big buyer in a small bazaar: Members selected for goat rearing are given 5 goats each; among which at least one has to be with offspring or expecting. That’s why the T-PO (Goat) has to buy a large quantity of goats for all probable goat receivers. The required number of goats is usually not available in one market because local buyers hardly buy at that scale at any given time.

At Samganj bazaar: BRAC presents itself as a big buyer in the market who is visiting neighboring bazaars to purchase goats. Its appearance creates a wave in the whole market, which is exactly what happened in the case of the T-PO who arrived at Shamganj bazaar. The entrance of the T-PO shocked the other businessmen (Pikar) who came to buy goats at competitive prices. These businessmen soon allied themselves against the T-PO, since they assumed BRAC was negatively influencing their businesses. At first, they angrily reacted to the T-PO’s activities. Having failed to prevent the T-PO from buying, the businessmen developed more strategic means of intrusion. They spread out within the passageways of the market in a tactical way to refrain the farmers from selling their goats. Their intention was to purchase the goats from the farmers themselves and then sell them to BRAC at a higher rate. In some cases, the middlemen took goats from the original sellers and assigned some young boys to sit down besides the goats as sellers. When this tactic failed, they tried to disguise themselves as sellers and tried to sell the goats at a lower price. When both the strategies failed, they began to spread rumors among the sellers that BRAC had come with large amounts of money, so they would buy at any price the sellers demanded. From the very beginning, the T-PO (Goat) was aware of these cunning activities and thus took time to watch the market. The last strategy succeeded to raise the prices of the assets. As the T-PO was aware of this, he decided to change market.

At Mohonganj bazaar: As the PD and the T-PO entered, one of the middlemen stated to BRAC officers, “Today's bazaar is for us, and you can't purchase today."

At Asuakanda bazaar: A middleman said to them, “You have come even here! Tell us what should we do? If you propose than we are even ready to beg.” Then that middleman warned his fellow traders that, “BRAC has come today to carry away the goats in trucks. You can't purchase today.”

After buying goats from another bazaar of Fhulpur upazila, the T-PO and the PD started towards the Area Office at around 10 PM. The goats were being transported by Tempo. Suddenly some strangers stopped the tempo near a place called Thakrokona with possible for mugging. But after taking a closer look, they declared, “Oh these are BRAC’s goats that will be distributed among the poor.” And they left the T-PO and PD alone.
The news that ‘BRAC is buying goats to distribute among poor people’, spread quickly through the surrounding bazaars and as a result, increased the prices of goats. This forced BRAC to buy the goats at comparatively higher prices. Sometimes the T-PO faced unwanted situations when returning to the Area Office after purchasing the goats. Once two policemen demanded money, but the T-PO tackled them.

In another instance, the T-PO (Cow) of Domar Area Office was had a contract with a broker and a regular van driver of BRAC to help purchase the cows. The son, husband or brother of the receiver were also encouraged to get involved in the process. They were keener to make a good purchase, as the cow would be their asset. Thus it was useful to involve the family in the purchasing process.

**Asset distribution**

Generally participants have to sign an acceptance form to take the assets. At that time the T-PO informs them of some conditions related to asset transfer. The high-ranking officers of the TUP programme try to attend these asset distribution programmes as much as possible. Generally, the Area Office can distribute the assets that come from BRAC’s own production, like birds on the spot. Assets like goats or cows, which come from local market, take longer, and often can’t be distributed immediately.

*The goat distribution at Barhatta*: the T-PO (Goat) of Barhatta Area Office had to depend on local markets to collect goats. It was tough for him to collect the required number of goats all at once from one market. As soon as he managed to buy several goats, he informed the numbers to the Area Manager through his mobile phone. The Area Office arranged necessary number of the receivers immediately. That day the programme was able to distribute goats to five receivers and the Area Coordinator was present at the distribution programme. Each participant was given 5 goats worth Tk. 3,600-3,900 on average.

Finally she was chosen by toss
Cows are viewed as precious assets among the TUP participants. The Domar T-PO came to the Area Office to distribute cows among some members, but faced trouble. When two members showed equal eagerness for a red healthy cow and neither of them was ready to give it to the other. At last, the T-PO tossed a coin to let fate decide who gets the cow.
CHAPTER TWO: OWNERSHIP, COMMUNITY REACTION

This chapter examines some critical issues like ownership, community reaction towards assetization, etc. Most of the time it has been observed that the participants have strong feelings of ownership concerning their assets which may result in some tensions. The first part of this chapter focuses on the feeling that is evoked by participants about their assets. The section focuses on ‘Community response towards assetization’. In the third part, we scrutinize popular beliefs, views and rumors regarding assetization. Here the aim is to unpack various positions and opinions of different local stakeholders on assetization and more generally set straight the fact about activities of BRAC as a non-government organization (NGO). The last part focuses on the way participants face social pressure.

The relation between asset and asset receivers

In many cases it has been observed that the receivers take great care of their assets and worry about their security, which leads one to believe that they feel a high extent of ownership on BRAC provided assets. On the other hand some cases show that tensions can arise with regard to the question of ownership. It was observed that the feelings of firm ownership could be malformed into uncertainty in the absence of proper advocacy.

Syara’s sole resort: Syara is a much talked about ultra poor woman from the Bethgara site. She joined the poultry project of BRAC for the first time. This brought affluence to her life. The chickens become the sole focus of her abandoned life. She used to feed the birds ‘Jilapy’ (a kind of Bengali sweet) because she liked ‘jilapies’ very much. One evening, the PD found her crying besides the bare cages, as the T-PO (Poultry) had taken away the chicken to sell. Syara was so upset due to the loss of her birds that she couldn’t eat for the next couple of days.

She cried out and told the PD that she had lost her birds for lying to the T-PO. She told the T-PO that her birds had a decreasing rate of yielding, while in reality, they were at the peak of their production. The reason behind hiding the real figure was that she wanted to keep some of her savings to buy food and kerosene for herself. However, the altered figures of egg production influenced the T-PO to sell off the chicken. Thus, Syara was unable to buy any kerosene for lighting her room.

Manikjan brought net for her cows:
When Manikjan’s cow gave birth to a baby calf, 10 TUP staffs went to her house to see the new offspring. The PD described the joyful moment as happy as Eid. The PD was surprised to see that although she had no mosquito net of her own, Manikjan had bought one (worth Tk. 400) for her cow. She said, "I can suffer myself but can’t let the silent cow suffer.”

The woman who wished to take her cow at the marriage ceremony:
Foyjun, one of BRAC’s cow rearer was invited to a wedding ceremony in the adjacent village. She was undecided about whether or not to take the cow with her. She was very tense about letting the cow out her sight, as the safety and security of cow was her prime concern.
She was always alert:

Nehar was very suspicious of her son-in-law, who once stole Tk. 5,000 from her house. Now she was worried about her goats. To make sure no one stole her goats at night, she used to tie the goats with a rope and attach it to her wrist. Moreover she kept matchboxes, a light and a weapon (ballam) near her when she slept. She was always alert and prepared to save her new assets.

The examples mentioned above are just a few among many of the extent to which receivers felt protective over their assets that were given to them by BRAC. Their caring attitudes towards the animals and their continuous concern over their safety, health and productivity indicate a secure sense of ownership. Beyond these practicalities, an almost emotional attachment can be noted between the receivers and their assets. This sometimes resulted in the prioritization of the welfare of their assets even over their own well-being.

When tensions emerge:

Three separate days of a bird-selling event presented below are relevant that they correspond to a time when participants became confused regarding their ownership of assets.

- **1st day:** The T-PO went to the Bedhgara spot with a middleman to sell TUP participants’ chickens, as yields had fallen. Every poultry rearer knew that it was not profitable to rear birds at that stage; regardless they were quite reluctant to sell off their assets. Two members directly refused to do so. The members who gave up their assets didn’t feel very good about it either. Jamila was very disappointed after giving away her birds to sell and felt depressed. She said, “Suddenly they came and took away the birds.” The neighbours were exclaiming, “The birds are over, hence the game is over.” Other neighbours told Aloka, “They have taken away your birds. Now they will forcibly send you to the tea estate of Sylhet where man-eaters will eat you.”

- **2nd day:** The next day the SD-PO was sent to address those two members who refused to give away their birds to the T-PO. Taskina said to the PO, “When you gave me the chicken, you told me that they were donations, now you come to get the birds back!” At last the SD-PO managed to mitigate her anxiety. Although Taskina preferred to sell the birds by her own means, she gave the money back as savings.

- **3rd day:** After some days, while the PD was visiting an adjacent spot, he heard a rumor that, BRAC has sent the army to get back their birds.” There was gossip circulating in the village that TUP participants were basically laborers for BRAC and BRAC officials only used the participants to raise its chickens before taking them back.

It has been observed that the feelings of strong ownership among some TUP participants can be interrupted on occasions like asset selling. The neighbours’ comments and remarks also play a vital role in creating false assumptions. However, these issues can be effectively tackled by initiating a more participatory selling process that involves participants as central actors in selling of their assets. Above all, the lack of understanding among participants...
about savings and the cyclic nature of poultry rearing need to be addressed meticulously through campaigning.

**Community response to assetization:**

The programme identified that community support is integral for the sustainable development of TUP participants. The Gram Shohayok committee was designed to involve local elites in the development process of TUP members. Some cases, however, show the absence of expected support from the local community; new livelihood practices of the TUP members being constrained by jealousy and ill feelings of neighbours, etc. We present some of these cases below:

- A TUP cow rearer is bound to sell milk at a much lower price to her rich neighbour, because if she doesn’t do so the rich neighbour will not allow the participant to walk her cow through the field.
- A neighbour dug a big whole at the entrance of a TUP household to hamper the cow from moving freely.
- A TUP woman told BRAC officials, “Rich men now don’t want to give us leftover straw, because they are jealous as we received assets.”

**The broad areas of social reaction:**

One PD was specifically assigned to observe the grey lines within community reactions. The PD preferred to work in an area where goats would be immediately distributed among some selected TUP participants. The PD observed that the participants were seeking help from the community to build the sheds for their goats. Programme staff, TUP participants and the local elite interacted with each other during this phase of the project. It was the perfect instance to observe the prevailing social reactions and streams of opinion within that community. The PD talked to many non-TUP people from different economic situations and stakeholders; He found that many people didn’t respond with ease to the free distribution of goats. They found it suspicious that BRAC was giving away goats to people. It was also observed that some local elite threatened asset receivers to return their assets to BRAC. A tension was observed among the local elite, who believed that transferring assets to poor would result in their losing control over the participants, mainly through the loss of cheap labour. Simultaneously, supportive attitudes were not present even within the community. As such, the experiences were frustrating for both the BRAC officials and the TUP participants. The cases presented below portray the diverse opinions and reactions of various stakeholders in the programme.

*The local elite whose interests have been affected by the programme:*

Many TUP participants worked as domestic workers for local elite before joining the BRAC programme. They were a source of cheap labour for them. After joining the dairy programme, these women and their families became busy with their assets and had very little time to work for others as domestic helpers. This could be one of the reasons why the elite were reluctant to help TUP participants. Moreover, instead of helping these women, the local elite often engaged in spreading propaganda and rumors against the programme in
specific and BRAC in general. Some of them even threatened TUP participants not to take assets.

Mina, who had previously worked as domestic helper for a local elite, visited the household after joining the TUP programme to ask for bamboos, but was refused due to her recent involvement in BRAC programme.

When TUP participant Kokila’s rich neighbour was asked to help Kokila, she angrily replied, “She has the ability to build sheds, has paddy in her house, but doesn’t build them by her own means. It is ‘if it can be obtained free then beg again.’ Policy.”

The people who have been cheated for a long time: The most deprived segments of the locality are sometimes very cynical of any philanthropic intervention led by government or NGOs. As they have previously experienced not receiving resources promised to them by GO or NGOs, a large portion of them remain doubtful about assetization.

The neighbour of Jaheda said, “Why would I give her bamboo, she is supposed be the chairman/member, tell her to buy it from the market.” Another neighbour reacted, “You are going to give her goats and reap benefits from it, then why should we bear the cost of providing bamboo.”

Some poor people believe that assetization should include all equipments. They said, “BRAC should also give bamboo and other staff along with assets.”

Some poor people were suspicious of assetization. Their main statement was: “You are obviously not giving all this without any reason. Please disclose your hidden agenda to us,”
The ultra poor who have not been included in the programme:

The neighbouring non-targeted ultra poor were envious of the TUP participants, and often tried to demoralize them by presenting depressing interpretations of the programme.

A female neighbour warned Rehana, “Come out of BRAC, if you want to live. You will be included in Shomity, but if you fail to provide the Kisty, they will come with police and take you away.”

Another neighbour said, “BRAC has employed you as a labourer. When the goats grow up, they will seize the cattle and not give you any thing in return.”

A woman nearby agreed with this remark and added, “They will sell you in India.”

Those who think that BRAC is working as a foreign agent to destroy the Iman of Muslims: Many villagers accused BRAC of destroying the purdah of women. They thought BRAC was abusing the village women, which in turn meant destroying the Muslim faith. In Chanpur village, the villagers even composed a song based on these sentiments.

The first two lines are—
“BRAC has resorted at the chest of Mumins
The women have become unveiled in the name of BRAC”

The most popular rumor is, “This is a venture of Christians. When you will die, BRAC will take your body and put a seal on it and proceed to arrange for a Namaj facing east.”

How participants encounter dominant social construction

The women, who became targets of negative remarks from the community, were initially embarrassed since in the larger community there have been deep rooted negative sentiments about BRAC activities. Their embarrassment, however, soon faded when they began to see the benefits of assetization. Gradually, they became increasingly comfortable and instead of listening to baseless rumors, they tried to use their own judgments.
A daily labourer said, “Previously there were many men and women worked at elite households. Now there is a shortage in the labour force to harvest their crop, as those labourers are now busy with their own assets. That’s why elite are telling in this way.”

Goat rearing has brought remarkable change in the participants’ lives. A new unity based on mutual interaction has been established amongst them. As local elite are neither sympathetic towards them nor offer them any social support, they have established a supplementary support system among themselves. Assetization has brought the ultra poor closer to each other.

Tahashil’s mother of Kandapara said, “People are saying that the assets that BRAC has given us, came from the Christians.” Then the PD asked her to disclose her own opinion. She replied, “Religions are personal matters. Whether assets come from the Muslims or the Christians doesn’t matter, since I got it without any cost. So I will rear the goats carefully. If that helps me to put food on the table, I don’t need to know where it comes from.”

The daughter sitting by her mother instantly said, “The cast (Jat) becomes an issue when the rice is available.”

Mutual support within TUP community:

Sheturany’s neighbour came to BRAC office on foot, crossing a 5 km trail, to give the news that Sheturany’s goats were ill.

Rehana came with her neighbour’s goats for vaccination at BRAC office.

It is observed that many TUP members look after each other’s goats.
CHAPTER THREE: THE AREA OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The objective of this chapter is to raise some issues that came out of the cases and events present in these reports. This in turn can help the programme take a closer look at the activities of TUP Social Development Programme.

The responsibilities of Social Development PO

Social development is a vast area of intervention, consisting of several events and activities. Simultaneously, the responsibilities and workloads of a SD-PO are enormous. On an average, a SD-PO covers about 50 households. His/her everyday work is scheduled through a weekly calendar. In the first week, the SD-PO carries out home visits to teach TUP members some basic learning skills, such as counting and signing, and also provides her with information on some social and health issues. The following week focuses on social mobilization; a diversity of works ranging from arranging meetings of Gram Shohayak Committee to hospitalizing patients with serious health problems from TUP households. In the third week, s/he conducts group discussion with the members. Along with all these specified tasks, a SD-PO has to take some responsibilities regarding health service and enterprise development. This type of diversified, vast and cross cutting work gives a SD-PO the opportunity to build rapport with TUP members. At the same time, this very interaction can also expose her/him to different types of social problems, conflicts and difficulties. In fact, the success of the TUP programme largely depends on the SD-POs ability to effectively deal with conflicts and difficulties.

Stages of the SD-PO's home visiting process

The consecutive phases of a SD-PO's home visiting process have been discussed separately in this part.

Entering home:

When a SD-PO enters a house, when s/he asks for a sack to sit down on instead of a chair or bench, a representational practice to breakdown the hierarchical relation between members and staff is observed with the ground acting as an equalizer. The TUP lady usually sits after she has washed her hands and legs. She brings a plastic bag containing a notepad, an information book and a savings book. Usually she knows on which day the SD-PO will visit and prepares herself mentally. The response to these visits, however, is not similar for all members. Some older members pretend to be very busy when the PO visits their houses. They express their displeasure unambiguously by saying; “One of my feet is already in the grave (Kobore ek pao), why do I need education at this stage?” The SD-PO, generally a man of patience, does not restrain his efforts so easily. He applies different techniques to draw her attention back into reading. The PO is used to calling the older ladies ‘Amma’ (mother). He will usually say to the TUP member, “You mean the world to me, now seat by me and read for a few minutes otherwise I will lose my job.” Some times he encourages the member by saying, “Amma you are becoming the best.”
Checking homework:

Very often members are found not doing their homework giving the excuse of overloaded domestic work. Some members complete their home task by using the help of others. However, an experienced PO can easily detect this and puts pressure on them to confess and warns them not to do it again. As a SD-PO previously threatened them that he would take back their enterprises if they didn’t concentrate on education, some women tried desperately to memorize the ten issues mentioned by the SD-PO, thus only being able to recite them, instead of understanding and conceptualizing them. It has been observed that they can deliver the ten issues from first to last, but are unsuccessful at articulating them separately.

Evaluating performance:

The SD-PO had been teaching the women to count for the last ten months, but still most of them make mistakes. A member named Aliga was unable to write her name, even after the training given by the SD-PO. The SD-PO tries his best to teach them. May be there are some other reasons for their bad performances. For example, it has been identified that members do not have enough scope to do exercise in their notepad. Moreover, as the notepad is counted as an official document they have limited space to practice.

Informing social issues:

After reading and writing, the SD-PO discusses social issues. There are six specific social issues:

1. Rural judiciary (bichar) system
2. Dowry
3. Child marriage
4. Marriage registration
5. Marriage separation
6. Divorce

Along with these six social issues, the SD-POs also disseminate four health issues among the TUP members. At each visit, s/he focuses on a specific issue. It has been observed that the members take these issues simply as matters to memorize. They do not take these teachings seriously and fail to see the advantages of implementing these in their lives. For example, as Howaton said on one occasion, “We know dowry is a bad practice. But I had to give dowry for my daughter. So I will take it in the case of my son’s marriage.” Some women describe child marriage as a marriage of joy (Hausi).

Asking problems:

After providing information on different issues, the SD-PO asks the TUP member about her problems. Some women talk about their poor health, others describe their scarcities. The SD-PO tries to provide solutions according to the extent of the problems. Sometimes the SD-PO supplies some medicines and birth control pill to sick TUP members and married women. Sometimes the SD-PO eases the quarrels between husband and wife. He also
inspects the condition of the various enterprises, inspects the shelters for goats and birds to see if they are clean or not. In case of emergency he contacts the Health and Technical POs.

It was found that the visits to the homes of TUP members ensured that the SD-POs get personally involved in many spheres of the their lives. However, despite the firm effort of SD-POs, there are problems that should be dealt with in future projects.

- In most cases, the TUP members are not spontaneously participating in learning. As education is a matter of human rights for all citizens, and basic education is a necessity to build an enterprise, it is desirable to engage the members in some form of schooling.

- Secondly, instead of using notepads, the use of slate and chalk would be better for writing practice.

- Thirdly, taking into account local conceptualization of child marriage and dowry can help the programme design more flexible and contextual method of information campaigning.

**SD-POs’ social mobilization process**

A number of cases of social mobilization process encountered by the SD-POs are presented in this section.

*Managing violent husbands:*

There are two cases of violence against wives, which are cited here. The first one stands for the SD-PO's success, and the latter one reveals an interesting phenomenon causing gender domination within conjugal relation.

Sirajul, husband of a TUP member, used to beat his wife violently and frequently. The beating got so serious that once Sirajul fatally wounded his wife, cracking her skull open. The SD-PO threatened Sirajul that if he continued in this manner, he would be sued for beating through the *Ain Shoboata Kendra* and eventually could be jailed. After that Sirajul stopped beating his wife, assuming that if his wife complained to *Ain Shoboata Kendra* he might be imprisoned. When the researcher met Sirajul he looked rather sad and explained, “Now I can’t beat my wife properly.”

The corresponding response to BRAC’s power of filing cases was found in open commentary. Sometimes the PD had to hear this kind of comment, “The truck has spoiled roads and BRAC has spoiled women.” Many expressed their feelings in this way, “After the arrival of BRAC, women can’t be stepped on their tails (*Laje para deya jay na*) because now they are more capable and if something happened to them, they would file a case against us through BRAC.”

Aisha refused to send her birds back to BRAC for sale, because she knew if she sent them back, her husband, Hamid would beat her senseless for it. Aisha told the SD-PO and the PD, “You are helping me by providing birds, but nobody want to see my success, they
misguide my husband.” During the conflict with other women neighbours, they told her, “You have made BRAC as your bhatar (a term of abuse, stands for husband); you are eating BRAC provided chickens, therefore you have become vein glorious (Tel barse). If anything is said, you will complain to your bhatar.” As Hamid, the husband heard all these comments, he felt extremely insulted and as a consequence, took control over his wife’s assets. The extent of his anger was such that it could not be mitigated by the joint efforts of the SD-POs and the Gram Sabhaok Committee.

Child marriage and dowry:

TUP member Marjina and her husband informed the SD-PO that they had good news! Marjina told him that their daughter Rupia was getting married. They had to pay Tk. 10,000 to the bridegroom’s party as dowry and therefore asked the SD-PO to give back her savings worth Tk. 1,000. After entering the house, the SD-PO discovered that Rupia’s age had been registered as 18 years to avoid the legal problems of age at marriage, while she was only 11-12 years old!

While this is a reprehensible act if we consider the context of this child marriage, we can see another face to the story. The economic state of Rupia’s family was vulnerable. Moreover Rupia’s parents felt insecure since some young boys were disturbing her regularly. In this situation, Rupia’s parents arranged her marriage to secure her future. Even Rupia consented to the proposal and once met with her predestined husband in the chili field. Rupia’s parents saw this marriage as a means to provide safety for their daughter. If the SD-PO succeeds to perform his duty and can stop this marriage, then who will take the responsibility of saving this young girl from the current and upcoming threats of some young men?

Tackling a serious patient promptly:

Jamila Khatun spent a lot of money on X-rays and visits to a private doctor for her only son. The doctor told her that her son needed an immediate operation. Surprisingly, she was unaware of Shushasta and any kind of medical assistance provided by the BRAC. When she found no solution, she finally came to BRAC with Tk. 50 in her hand. The SD-PO took the case very seriously; instead of going to the field he took them to Shushasta and spent the whole day with them in the hospital. There was a small fund in BRAC to bear the cost of treatments, but it was lengthy process to collect the money. Moreover, the amount was not sufficient. The SD-PO bore all the expenses, buying the medicine and paying for other costs, which added up to approximately Tk. 500. His prompt involvement helped Jahangir to get better quickly.

Dilemma with ownership:

As yield of eggs had decreased at the Bethgara spot, the T-PO took a wholesale buyer to the spot with the intention of selling all the birds in the area in one day. Though every one sent back their birds, Taskina denied to do so. The SD-PO went to Taskina’s house to motivate her. After seeing the PO, the old lady repeatedly told the SD-PO, “Give my savings of Tk. 3,600 and then take back your birds.” She expressed her frustration and said, “My relatives hate to eat at my house due to the bad smell. I have made savings by cleaning the droppings
throughout the year, now you want to take the birds without giving me my savings. What is the matter?”

A widely spread belief in the village was that BRAC had involved the members as labourers and had no intention of giving them any benefits. When the PO came to take the birds, her preconceived ideas drove her to vehemently protest against taking the birds away. At last, after a few days, the SD-PO tackled the situation by telling the PD that there should be a meeting with the TUP members before selling their birds to avoid any misunderstandings regarding sale of birds and savings. Many members falsely believe that BRAC would not give them profits earned from the sales and would keep their savings.

During the social mobilization process, a SD-PO has to be prepared always to tackle any unexpected situation. Sometimes, he will need to face sensitive circumstances, which could expose him to certain challenges. By analyzing the above-mentioned cases encountered by the SD-PO, we raise some points that can provide the programme with an insider look at ongoing activities.

- BRAC’s power/institutional capacity for filing legal case has an important effect on the village community. BRAC’s legal aid assistance has been playing a vital role at the grassroots level in reducing violence against women within conjugal relations. Despite the existence of patriarchal domination within village communities, many TUP members are now taking independent decisions to build their own enterprises. This has become possible because BRAC has been providing institutional support to encourage women in their entrepreneurial activities. As family life is highly sensitive to external contact, any interference should be carefully considered and put into cultural context. The support of the community representatives will facilitate the task.

- BRAC primarily deals with women. Male POs frequently appear at the courtyard of female members, providing them with assets and BRAC’s legal assistance in their favour. This kind of contact influences villagers in believing that BRAC acts as a bhatar to the women. This type of abusive term may constrain the gender cooperation within marital relations, thereby leading to disruptions in the programme.

- Throughout the year, TUP members have been taught by SD-POs about the negative consequences of dowry and child marriages, but a different scenario occurs when they face these issues in the personal lives. There remains a huge gap between learning concepts and applying them to real life.

- By considering both legal rights and the reality behind Rupia’s marriage, what could the SD-PO have done in this case? Besides exercising individual judgment, does BRAC hold any institutional position to deal with this kind of dilemma that is flexible and changes in different contexts?

- Along with the health PO, the SD-PO has to take some responsibility for TUP members’ health. Their coordinated and complementary efforts should have positive consequences on health servicing even in urgent situations.
• Administrative procedures to use the health fund caused procrastination in the example mentioned earlier and failed to respond in a case of emergency.

• TUP members are yet to fully comprehend to what extent they are the owner of assets given by BRAC.

• A broad-based meeting with the members before taking their birds to sell would play an important role to resolve the misinterpretation and confusion among the villagers regarding the ownership of assets.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE AREA OF TUP HEALTH

The responsibilities of H-PO

The Health Programme Organizer (H-PO) disseminates four important health issues through visiting the TUP household. These are 1) vitamin A, 2) family planning, 3) water borne diseases and 4) de-worming. They listen to TUP members about their health concerns and disseminate health information on the above-mentioned areas in order to better educate the TUP members. They follow up whether or not the members of TUP households are translating their learning into practice. They also assist patients of TUP households’ to seek treatment at the Community Health Centre, BRAC Shushasthya Thana Health Complex, and Rangpur Sadar Hospital. Moreover, they provide antenatal and postnatal care to the members.

Difference in style and approach between two H-POs

The process documentation on observed activities of the H-POs in Taraganj, Domar and Gomnati areas concretely show the difference in style and approach between them. It was observed that the activities regarding health issues and health matters have been continued smoothly by the H-PO in Taraganj with the cooperation of the SD-PO. She was spontaneous, dynamic and sincere, and encouraged TUP members not only to memorize, but also to conceptualize the health issues.

On the contrary, the activities regarding health issues and health matters have been poorly managed by the H-PO working in Domar and Gomnati. The PO was recently switched in Health Intervention of CFPR/TUP Programme from Social Development programme. She was deployed at a new working area without yet being familiar with her duties or the geographical locations of many of the villages within her jurisdiction. The PO also had to deal with some awkward situations as a result of the former PO's mistakes. For example, in one case, the former PO had written a father’s name instead of a husband’s name, recorded the age of a TUP member as 42 years instead of 20 years, and recorded a TUP member as incapable instead of "under the reproductive age." Last but not least, she pressed TUP members to memorize her name first and then concentrate on health issues.

The points that emerge are:

- It is revealed that the aforementioned difference stems mainly from the factor of training as one PO had proper training on health issues and matters whereas the other did not have the necessary training.

- It appeared that the gender difference of the process documenters had a profound impact on observing the activities of the H-PO and the SD-PO, incidents, and events on health. It was observed that the female process documenter was more sensitive to issues like family planning and some women's illnesses, whereas the male process documenter was often not allowed to be present at meetings between the PO and TUP members thus affecting the quality of data.
The H-PO and health networks

The H-PO creates and maintains a network of local health service providers to assist the TUP members along with their family members to seek treatment. The health network generally comprises of BRAC shasthya sebikas, community clinics, upazila health complex, the district hospital and the Gram Sabayok Committee. The H-PO tries her best for the TUP household members to seek treatment from this health network at subsidized prices. It was revealed that good relationship of the H-PO with this network played a significant role in seeking treatment by the TUP household members. An institutional arrangement is needed to make this network sustainable and functional.

For example, the H-PO in Taraganj has built up a good relationship with the doctor at the Upazila Health Complex. Since she has very close link with the health complex, she always tries her best to use this link to get free or subsidized medicine for TUP participants. A TUP participant's husband needed anti-rabies vaccine after being bitten by a dog. The H-PO used her relationship to get a discount on the injections, and the price was reduced from Tk. 1,400.00 to Tk. 400.00.

The following case illustrates the importance and the challenges in maintaining the linkages between various levels of the health network.

The SD-PO and H-PO admitted a TUP participant to the Rangpur Sadar Hospital for a uterus operation. The operation took place three days ahead of the schedule. However, the H-PO and SD-PO were not informed about the change in the schedule of her operation and consequently none of them could be present at the hospital during the operation. None of the participant's family members and no BRAC workers were present during the operation. The patient's sister spread rumours that BRAC had admitted her to the hospital to kill her. This rumour caused a lot of tension and reaction amongst the community members. In such circumstance, more senior level BRAC employees visited the community to alleviate the situation. In doing so, at first they listened to the villagers with patience. Then they tactfully explained BRAC's positive role, the convenience of the doctor and the hospital, and unintended absence of both the POs at the hospital during her operation, which took place before the schedule.

In this particular case the H-PO and SD-PO's network with the hospital played a positive role in getting treatment for the TUP participant despite their absence during her operation. However, they did not link up with more local networks (the Gram Sabayok Committee) and did not consult the participant's family members properly. This created confusion and tension in the community.

In Domar and Gomnati areas, most of the TUP members do not contact shasthya sebikas for consultation and medicine even after falling ill. On the contrary, in Taraganj, a considerable number of TUP members visit the shasthya sebikas for consultation and medicine including oral contraceptive pills and iron tablets. The shasthya sebikas collect oral contraceptive pills and iron tablets from the government hospital and distribute these among the TUP members at a cheaper price. They also measure blood pressures for the TUP members and carry out pregnancy and diabetes tests. She also provides antenatal care and postnatal care to pregnant women after delivery. There is a growing tendency that TUP members from the
nearby villages prefer to seek treatment from the Upazila Health Complex, community health clinic or the shasthya sebikas, because they can receive treatment at a lower cost from there. Besides, now they are comparatively more aware of health issues and risks, because of their access to health information. It is worth mentioning that the SD-POs mobilize Gram Sabayak Committee to raise funds for treatment of TUP members. It was observed that TUP members from the villages located far away from the Upazila Health Complex do not seek treatment to the same extent due to distance. They often cannot travel such distances without a male family member.

From the above findings one can see that the health network is composed of many players at different levels. While the network may be very effective at certain levels, others need to be improved. The Programme needs to look at the network as a whole and improve its effectiveness at all levels.

Comments

- The H-PO and SD-PO should inform the members of the Gram Sabayak Committee before hospitalization of any TUP member and keep constant liaison with the doctors and the hospital.

- For sustainable health networks, interactions of many players at different levels should be placed under an institutional system. If it can be promoted onward, then its scope can be expanded to provide better health care not only for TUP households, but for other poor people within the community, as well.

Health messages

The H-POs have been educating TUP members and their neighbours about Vitamin-A, family planning, water borne diseases, worm infestation, and de-worming. It was observed that the TUP members do not apply their knowledge into practice regarding cooking vegetables as per what they have learnt from the H-PO. Despite their preliminary understanding of how to wash, cut and cook vegetables, they do not follow these instructions. They were advised not to pour out starch during cooking rice, but some TUP participants pour starch while they cook rice, in order to feed their cows or goats that starch.

In Domar and Gomnati areas, the H-PO tried to assess what were the contraceptive methods the TUP members adopted. Contraceptive methods adopted by women include oral pill, ligation, vasectomy, injectable, copper-T, etc. The H-PO also distributed oral contraceptive pills, condoms and injectedable contraceptives among TUP members as per their requirement.

In the Taraganj and Ekorchali areas, some TUP members have described their knowledge about the following contraceptive methods.

- *Norplan* (Norplant)
- *Kabati* (Copper -T)
- *Bori* (oral Contraceptive pill), and
- *Belun/Obat/Robart/Aaja Condom/Raja Condom* (Condom).
The H-PO highlighted the importance of family planning. It was revealed that while the women knew that when they forgot to take the oral contraceptive pill, their husbands should use condoms, they did not use condoms, as their husbands disliked that. It appears that widows, divorced, and women out of reproductive ages show greater disinterest towards this discussion. However, she advised them to share their learning with their married daughters, daughter-in-laws, and neighbours.

In Taraganj, the H-PO very often explains to TUP members the importance of family planning method in general and permanent family planning method in particular to motivate them. The H-PO recommends permanent forms of birth control (tubectomy) for certain TUP members: usually those who already have more than two children and such TUP members whose husbands live outside their homes. From the experiences and observations, the H-PO gained insights that generally those TUP members whose husbands irregularly visit their wives do not use/take temporary or time bound contraceptive methods (oral contraceptive, IUDs, Copper-T, Norplant, etc.), they can be impregnate by their husbands and the men also do not want to use condom during sexual intercourse.

The H-PO very often cites the following example to this category of TUP members to convince them for tubectomy. The example is briefly narrated below. The TUP member, Begum, was abandoned by her husband after the birth of their second daughter. However, her husband returned home after she had received assets from the TUP programme. Soon, she became pregnant again and her husband deserted her once again. The H-PO advised her to undergo a tubectomy operation after giving birth to her baby to prevent unwanted future pregnancies. She willingly underwent the operation.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Case of Maya's Husband</th>
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<td>Maya’s husband suffered from the pain associated with his hydrocele a few years back. Currently he had no pain. But a few days back her husband felt his old pain associated withhydrocele. Her husband talked to the H-PO about his recurring symptom of hydrocele. Then the H-PO consulted with the doctor of Upazila Health Complex about the pain Maya’s husband. After that consultation, the H-PO deliberately made the decision for a hydrocele operation. Maya’s husband was taken to the Upazila Health Complex for the operation. The doctor, after diagnosing him, concluded that he did not need such an operation. The H-PO not only suggested that he undergoes the vasectomy operation, but she persistently tried her best to motivate him (with a little coercion) to undergo the operation. She tried to entice him by offering him money and a lungi he would receive. At one stage, he agreed to the operation. When he returned home, he informed his family that BRAC forced him to undergo this operation and wept that he will now never have a son. Mahidul’s incident, and his version of BRAC’s role in it, spread throughout the village creating very strong anti-BRAC sentiments. These sentiments were so prevalent and so extreme, that BRAC officials did not enter the village for over a week.</td>
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In Domar, the H-PO uses a mix of strong encouragement and mild coercion in receiving the consent of participants or participants' husbands to these permanent forms of birth control. However, in certain cases, these operations have led to adverse community reactions. There were two cases of vasectomy operation that went ahead without enough consultation in Domar and Gomnati areas.
The TUP participant Maya and her husband Mahidul Islam had three daughters and lived in the Betgara village under Domar Upazila of Nilfamari district. They received chicken from the TUP programme last year. Consequently their economic condition had improved to a certain extent. They now longed for a son who would light the lamp of lineage (Bangshar bati jalano). Despite their longing for a son, the H-PO not only advised the TUP participant to undergo tubectomy operation, but also made her agree to undergo the operation. According to Maya, problems arose with her husband following the operation and led to a tragic event, which had long time implications on their household. The case is presented above.

Meanwhile Mahidul gradually became too weak due to mental anxieties and stress. As a result, now he is not being able to do any work for his livelihood. The TUP participant took her husband's vasectomy operation as sinful task to Allah. She also believes that it has profound impact on their elder daughter's severe illness. The reason behind this belief, according to her, there was an incident that the elder son of a father who underwent vasectomy operation died after the operation. Now they are worried about survival of their daughter. The TUP member repeatedly asks, "Since, I agreed to accept permanent family planning methods, why my husband was forced to undergo surgery?" The field researcher thought that he should talk to the RC of the CFPR/TUP programme to know about the matter with Mahidul's vasectomy operation and its consequence. Accordingly, he talked to the RC of CFPR/TUP programme to investigate into the matter. He wondered how come the RC of CFPR/TUP programme could make a negative comment on Mahidul's vasectomy operation like, which is presented below. The RC of CFPR/TUP programme stated 'Mahidul's vasectomy operation' as Mahiduler Khashi Kora. Last but not least he did not express any sympathy and empathy for Mahidul at all even in the context of his concern emerged from his vasectomy operation.

**Yet another case**

In another incident, the husband of a TUP member agreed to undergo vasectomy operation, since they had three offspring already. So, her husband went under the vasectomy operation willingly. After couple of days the TUP member could notice her pregnancy, and she suspected that her pregnancy might occur after her husband's vasectomy operation. The news of her pregnancy even after her husband's vasectomy operation was spread out among the villagers like rumour, which also created confusion and thus caused humiliation to her as well. During the field researcher's investigation he was appraised by the H-PO that still the husband needed to use condom in sexual intercourse or the TUP member needed to use some other forms of birth control at least for twenty days after the vasectomy operation. Since they were not advised/prescribed to use a temporary contraception by the doctor or the H-PO, so they did not use any contraceptive method. But the implication of all those negligence on her pregnancy is great one, which caused embarrassment to the TUP member in her community and doubts were now being cast on her 'chastity'.

From the aforementioned incidents it can be said that a more thorough process whereby TUP participants feel included in the decision-making and more informed about the operation and its consequences itself, may help avoid negative consequences.
The H-PO discusses with TUP household members how water borne diseases and worm infestation can be prevented. Women have to use safe water and sanitary latrine, use sandals while using the latrines, wash their hands and mouth after defecation, keep foods covered, cut their nails, wash and clean their living quarters, and clean the houses of chicken/goats/cows’ using cleaned clothes, etc.

In Taraganj area, some TUP members understand that dysentery, diarrhoea, *patla paikhana* (watery stool) are water borne diseases. The members of the TUP households are used to defecating in *dola bari* (open place). Though most of them state that they use their right hand to hold the *badna* (a pot somewhat looks like a tea kettle use for washing the bottom after defecation) when they go for defecation. A few of them did not know which one is their right hand. Most of the households cannot afford the cost for latrine and tubewell with concrete platform. In Taraganj area, majority of the tubewells lack concrete platform and only a few households own latrines. Some of the TUP members comment that there is no concrete platform for tubewell in the compound of BRAC Office at Gomnati either. It is worth noting that many TUP members demand tubewells, while they show disinterest towards latrines to some extent. One PO commented that since they do not have *man-samman* (honour), they do not use the latrines. The PO's logic behind this comment is that the people of the locality do not use latrines even though they have been given latrines constructed by BRAC. In one area, using latrines by the TUP household members had been determined as a precondition to getting subsistence allowance from the PO of the CFPR/TUP programme. For this purpose, the SD-PO used to watch whether the members of TUP household used their latrines or not. However, it is important to note that the state or situation of latrine use has been improving gradually.

It has already been mentioned that BRAC provides the TUP members with slabs and rings to construct latrines. But the participants questioned the quality of slab and rings prepared by BRAC. At least one of the TUP members commented that the quality of rings and slabs were so bad that the rings and slabs she bought were broken while unloading those materials from rickshaw van. In Domar, the ownership of land was a precondition to get latrine and tubewell from BRAC at free of cost. As a result, the poorest of the ultra poor without any land did not receive tubewells. They felt frustrated at the exclusion. On the contrary, those TUP members who were given the tube well wept with delight/joy and celebrated their gains with flourish. The impact on gender relations of receiving free tubewell from BRAC is easily understood from the changing attitudes of the husbands of TUP participants. Their husbands became more respectful towards the women once they got tubewells from BRAC.

In response to the PO’s advice on washing their hands and faces, some TUP members commented that only Hindus would wash their hands and faces. On the other hand, after the project implementation, the TUP members now remember the tablets for de-worming every six months. Most of the members of the TUP do not use sandals, because they aren't used to it and don’t feel comfortable in sandals.

**Comments**

- Most of the TUP members do not apply their knowledge into practice regarding washing, cutting and cooking vegetable. They also pour rice waters while cooking rice, and often feed the rice water to their cows or goats.
• It should be campaigned amongst the Muslim TUP members that cleanliness is part of the *Iman* (religious faith/piety/fidelity), so they should keep their houses, clothes, and their bodies clean.

• The uneven distribution of tubewells has negatively affected the relationship between TUP members and the POs. This issue needs to be addressed.
In this chapter, consolidators identified some areas and raised some issues that they marked as important. However, these are seen as points that can alert policy designers of important issues concerning the TUP programme than being formulated as recommendations. The information presented below has been compiled from different reports presented in previous chapters.

**Education**

A more useful and functional measure is desirable to engage older participants in schooling. Instead of using notepads the use of slate and chalk would be better for practice, as the notepad is insufficient for writing practices.

**Campaigning social message**

Sometimes it is very difficult to campaign against child marriage or dowry specifically in those areas where these are practiced frequently. The programme can initiate campaigns for improving relationships among married people, and the SD-PO can play a positive role in this regard.

**Dilemma with ownership**

It has been observed that the feelings of strong ownership of some TUP participants created a negative impact in selling the assets. The neighbours’ comments and remarks also played a vital role in thinking differently. But it is possible to tackle this issue by initiating a more participatory selling process. This can help participants play a more central role in selling their assets along with the programme organizers. Their active participation would help ease some of the tension too.

**Household coverage**

H-POs have to cover a wider range of households compared to the workload of the SDs and T-POs. This wide-ranging coverage can hamper the quality of health service provided by H-POs. Reducing the coverage will enhance the quality of health service.

**Health network**

The health network is composed of many institutions and individuals at different levels. While the network is very effective in certain spheres, there are challenges in others. In many areas this network is playing an efficient and positive role mainly based on individual capacity of H-POs. Institutionalizing this network is necessary to bring it beyond the individual competence.

**Health message**

Sometimes it has been seen that the textual languages of health messages are not clear to the participants. The communication methodology that is used to provide information will have to be innovative and more conscious of the ways in which poor people communicate.
Tubewell vs. latrine

While the members eagerly show their desire for tubewells on the one hand, they seem to be reluctant to set up sanitary latrines on the other. Without having a tubewell, a latrine will not work and tube wells are treated as valuable assets in the village area. This should be mentioned and stressed when the programme designs and implements awareness campaigns regarding latrine.

Common ownership

The programme distributed some tubewells to selected TUP households. This distribution created disappointment and annoyance among participants who did not receive tubewells. Indeed this selective distribution has lead to breaking down their unity. If the programme initiates common ownership systems on the tubewells that could reduce the tension.

In-house capacity building

Vaccination of TUP livestock depends on external factors. The T-PO has to rely on the capacity of the Upazila Livestock Office for vaccination. However, the government sector is flawed in this matter, and often causes unnecessary delay in vaccinating TUP livestock. Therefore in-house capacity building is important for the Programme.