

822 BD98

Library

UNESCO International Water
and Sanitation Centre
Tel: +31 70 30 633 60
Fax: +31 70 35 078 64

Government of Bangladesh
Ministry of Local Government
Rural Development and Cooperatives
Department of Public Health Engineering

Government of the Netherlands
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Directorate General of
International Cooperation

18DTP A DPHE Project working with Dutch Aid
Drinking Water..Sanitation..Hygiene Education



822-BD-15777

Project Office : 190 Arambagh, Motilheel C/A, Dhaka-1000 Bangladesh

Government of Bangladesh
Ministry of Local Government,
Rural Development and Co-operatives
Department of Public Health Engineering

Government of the Netherlands
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NEDA, Netherlands
Development Assistance

**NETHERLANDS - BANGLADESH DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION PROGRAMME
DPHE-DUTCH ASSISTED WATER SUPPLY, SANITATION AND DRAINAGE PROJECTS**

18 DISTRICT TOWNS PROJECT

**WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT
AND HYGIENE EDUCATION
IMPACT STUDY**

PART 2.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

DECEMBER 1998

PROJECT OFFICE, 17/A MONIPURI PARA (SANGSHAD AVENUE), DHAKA
LIBRARY IRC
PO Box 93190, 2509 AD THE HAGUE
Tel.: +31 70 30 689 80
Fax: +31 70 35 899 64

BARCODE: 15 7 7 7
LO: 022 B098

This report was written by Suzanne Hanchett with assistance of 18DTP staff and consultants: Cindy Geers, Rafiqul Islam, Qumrun Nahar, and Jennie van de Weerd. Survey interviews and data entry were conducted by PRAXIS (Mohidul Hoque Khan, Director). Technical assistance for 18DTP is provided by a consortium of three Netherlands consulting firms, DHV, IWACO, and BKH, and three Bangladesh consulting firms, AQUA, BETS, and DEVCON.

List of Abbreviations

18DTP	18 District Towns Project for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene Education
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Planning
CSC	Community Sanitation Center
NGO / CSC	All-female team hired on contract to do hygiene education, sanitation promotion, and other duties
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
Division	A project-defined grouping of towns, not identical with national administrative division
DPHE	Department of Public Health Engineering, part of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development, and Cooperatives (counterpart agency for 18DTP)
HEP	Hygiene Education Program
HTW	Hand tubewell
<i>kacca</i>	Roughly, crudely built; rural style (contrasted with <i>pucca</i>) [pronounced: <i>kuchha</i>]
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODS	Organizational Development Specialist; over-all supervisor of project division or pourashava-level project work
PD	Project Director, a DPHE official
PO	Project Office, under direction of Team Leader
<i>pucca</i>	Proper, well made; used to refer to concrete, urban-style buildings (contrasted with <i>kacca</i>) [pronounced: <i>pukka</i>]
PWSS	Pourashava Water Supply Section (managed by PWSS Superintendent)
SAE	Sub-assistant Engineer
SDE	Sub-divisional Engineer
SMC	School Managing Committee (made up of local people and government employees; every primary school has one)
TEO	Thana Educational Officer
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WATSAN Committees	A network of thana-level or union-level committees established by DPHE and UNICEF to manage local water and sanitation improvements
XEN	Executive Engineer

Women in Development and Hygiene Education Impact Study

Table of Contents

Executive Summary

Part 1.

Summary Report

- 1.1 Background and Introduction
 - 1.1.1 The 18 District Towns Project (18DTP): Background Information
 - 1.1.2 Terms of Reference
 - 1.1.3 Evaluation Methodology
 - 1.1.4 Outline of the Report
- 1.2 Women in Development: Summary of Findings
 - 1.2.1 Trial and Error in Women in Development (WID)
 - 1.2.2 NGO/CSC Teams
 - 1.2.3 The Hand Tubewell Caretaker Training Program
 - 1.2.4 Gender Training: Introduction
- 1.3 Evaluation of the Hygiene Education Program
 - 1.3.1 The Hygiene Education Program: A Brief Overview
 - 1.3.2 Program Impact Indicators: Household Survey Findings
 - 1.3.3 Evaluation of the 18DTP School Program
- 1.4 Community Participation: General Comments
 - 1.4.1 Formal Participation Efforts
 - 1.4.2 Informal Approaches to Participation

Part 2.

Women in Development

- 2.1 Trial and Error in Women in Development (WID)
 - 2.1.1 The Rise and Fall of the Female Masons
 - 2.1.2 WID and the Water Supply and Sanitation Committee (WSSC)
 - 2.1.3 NGO/CSC Teams
- 2.2 Hand Tubewell Caretakers
 - 2.2.1 The Hand Tubewell Caretaker Training Program
 - 2.2.2 Economic Status of the HTW Caretaker Households
 - 2.2.3 Hygiene Education Levels
 - 2.2.4 Practical Experiences and Constraints
 - 2.2.5 Spreading Knowledge to Others
 - 2.2.6 Attitudes Toward Women Doing Tubewell Repair
 - 2.2.7 Further Training Needs and Tool Distribution
 - 2.2.8 Comparison Between Towns
 - 2.2.9 Summary and Conclusions

- 2.3 Gender Training
 - 2.3.1 Introduction
 - 2.3.2 Description of Group Sessions and Initial Reactions
 - 2.3.3. Project Office Post-training Communication
 - 2.3.4 Six Month Follow-up Findings
 - 2.3.5 Field-level Planning for Future Gender Training
 - 2.3.6 Summary and Conclusions

Part 3.

Hygiene Education

- 3.1 Overview of the Hygiene Education Program and NGO/CSC Teams
 - 3.1.1 The Hygiene Education Program: A Brief Overview
 - 3.1.2 Hygiene Education Methods
 - 3.1.3 The NGO/CSC Teams: Status, Constraints, and Skills
- 3.2 Program Impact Indicators: Household Survey Findings
 - 3.2.1 Demographic Characteristics of Sample Groups
 - 3.2.2 People's Perceptions of Project Hygiene Education Services
 - 3.2.3 Domestic Water Use
 - 3.2.4 Sanitation
 - 3.2.5 Hand Washing Practice
 - 3.2.6 Solid Waste Proposal
 - 3.2.7 Water and Sanitation Knowledge
 - 3.2.8 Family Health Status
 - 3.2.9 Summary and Conclusions
- 3.3 The 18DTP School Program
 - 3.3.1 Introduction
 - 3.3.2 The 18DTP Hygiene Education School Curriculum
 - 3.3.3 Monitoring the School Program
 - 3.3.4 Teachers' Comments on Child Health
 - 3.3.5 Problems, Successes, and Future Plans
 - 3.3.6 Impact of the School Program
 - 3.3.7 Summary of Findings
 - 3.3.8 Conclusions

Annexes

- 1.1 A Terms of Reference
 - B Impact Assessment of the 18DTP Women in Development, Hygiene Education, and Community Participation Programs; Preliminary Findings and Recommendations
- 2.3 Gender Training Materials and Notes
- 3.2 A Brochures Distributed to Beneficiaries
 - B Questionnaire
 - C Supplementary Data Tables
- 3.3 Sample Curriculum Materials: 18DTP School Program

Women in Development and Hygiene Education Impact Study

Part 2. Women in Development

Table of Contents		Page
2.1	Trial and Error in Women in Development	2 - 1
2.1.1	The Rise and Fall of the Female Masons	2 - 3
2.1.1.1	Cancellation of the Female Masons Program	2 - 5
2.1.1.2	Female Masons Program: Conclusions	2 - 7
2.1.1.3	Lessons to be Learned	2 - 8
2.1.2	WID and the Water Supply and Sanitation Committee (WSSC)	2 - 9
2.1.2.1	Composition and Responsibilities of the WSSC	2 - 9
2.1.2.2	WSSCs in Phase / Batch III	2 - 10
2.1.2.3	WSSCs: Conclusions	2 - 12
2.1.3	NGO/CSC Teams	2 - 14
2.2	Hand Tubewell Caretakers	2 - 15
2.2.1	The Hand Tubewell Caretaker Training Program	2 - 15
2.2.1.1	Program Evaluation Objectives	2 - 15
2.2.1.2	Evaluation Methods	2 - 16
2.2.2	Economic Status of the HTW Caretaker Households	2 - 16
2.2.3	Hygiene Education Levels	2 - 16
2.2.4	Practical Experiences and Constraints	2 - 17
2.2.5	Spreading Knowledge to Others	2 - 18
2.2.6	Attitudes Toward Women Doing Tubewell Repair	2 - 18
2.2.7	Further Training Needs and Tool Distribution	2 - 20
2.2.8	Comparison Between Towns	2 - 21
2.2.9	Summary and Conclusions	2 - 22
2.3	Gender Training	2 - 23
2.3.1	Introduction	2 - 23
2.3.1.1	Objectives of the Training	2 - 23
2.3.1.2	Participants	2 - 24
2.3.1.3	Curriculum and Training Methods	2 - 24
2.3.1.4	Sociological Assumptions	2 - 26
2.3.2	Description of Group Sessions and Initial Reactions	2 - 27
2.3.2.1	Group 1: DPHE and Project Officers	2 - 27
2.3.2.1.1	Professional and Personal Interests	2 - 27
2.3.2.1.2	Gender Issues in the Project	2 - 28
2.3.2.1.3	Situation Analyses	2 - 28
2.3.2.1.4	Initial Reactions	2 - 29

2.3.2.2	Group 2: ODSs, XENs, and SDEs	2 - 30
2.3.2.2.1	Professional and Personal Interests	2 - 30
2.3.2.2.2	Gender Issues in the Project	2 - 30
2.3.2.2.3	Situation Analyses	2 - 31
2.3.2.2.4	Initial Reactions	2 - 32
2.3.2.3	Group 3: PWSS Superintendents	2 - 32
2.3.2.3.1	Professional and Personal Interests	2 - 32
2.3.2.3.2	Gender Issues in the Project	2 - 34
2.3.2.3.3	Situation Analyses	2 - 35
2.3.2.3.4	Initial Reactions	2 - 36
2.3.2.4	Group 4: NGO/CSC Supervisors	2 - 37
2.3.2.3.1	Professional and Personal Interests	2 - 37
2.3.2.3.2	Interaction with Trainers	2 - 38
2.3.2.3.3	Gender Issues in the Project	2 - 38
2.3.2.3.4	Situation Analyses	2 - 40
2.3.2.3.5	Initial Reactions	2 - 42
2.3.3	Project Office Post-training Communication	2 - 43
2.3.4	Six Month Follow-up Findings	2 - 43
2.3.4.1	Recall of Training Messages	2 - 43
2.3.4.2	Impact of Training on Work	2 - 45
2.3.4.3	Participants' Recommendations about Future Gender Training	2 - 47
2.3.5	Field-level Planning for Future Gender Training	2 - 49
2.3.6	Summary and Conclusions	2 - 49
2.3.6.1	Effectiveness of the Training	2 - 50
2.3.6.2	Specific Gender Issues in the 18DTP	2 - 51
2.3.6.3	Recommendations	2 - 52

Annex

2.3 Gender Training Materials and Notes

List of Tables

Table 2.2.1	Men's and Women's Responses to the Question: Are Women Equally Capable to Men, if Equally Trained in Tubewell Repair? Percentages, by Household Type (Household Sample Survey)	2 - 19
Table 2.3.1	Project Gender Issues Identified by NGO Supervisors	2 - 39
Table 2.3.2	Six Month Follow-up Questionnaires Received	2 - 44
Table 2.3.3	Six Month Recall of Training Message	2 - 44
Table 2.3.4	Reported Impact of Training on Participants' Work	2 - 45
Table 2.3.5	Reasons for Supporting or Opposing Further Gender Training	2 - 48

Part 2. Women in Development

2.1 Trial and Error in Women in Development (WID)

The 18DTP uses a 1980s-style "women in development" (WID) approach, rather than the more neutral "gender" approach of more recent projects. WID programs basically try to ensure that women benefit from a project at least to the extent that men do. The initial impetus for such programs came from 1970s research by Esther Boserup and others demonstrating that technical projects supposed to benefit a society actually could decrease women's social and economic status. Since that time many researchers and other development specialists have found that socio-economic effects of technical projects are never evenly distributed, and that social impacts usually are not gender neutral. Current "gender" studies allow for the possibility of men losing out and try to study differential impacts from a more neutral perspective.

As the Phase III Project Document states:

"In this Project much effort was made to improve the position of women. The Project attempted to contribute [to] women's development in a number of disciplines.... Involvement of women has been done at most stages of Project implementation " (1995:9,11)

The best statement of 18DTP WID objectives was made by a consultant, Sharmeen Murshid, in 1992:

"For 18DTP WID means the increased participation and involvement of women within each specified component of the project, which would aim at skill development, income generation, gender awareness and visibility of WID within the framework of the project." (Murshid 1992:4)

Although WID was introduced at the donor's (RNE's) initiative -- and did not appear in the counterpart's (DPHE's) Project Proforma -- it was not an alien idea to Bangladeshis. Indeed, the project's WID concept was embraced enthusiastically by key Bangladeshi staff members. The influence is clear of participatory community development theory propounded by respected thinkers such as Akhter Hameed Khan of the Comilla Project. Thanks to such thinkers, WID and participatory community development had by 1990 found their way into the nation's Fourth Five Year Plan. A DPHE document remarks proudly on the agency's efforts to adopt the new WID approach:

"Women in development is a fairly recent addition to the general development process in Bangladesh. The fourth five year plan (1990-1995) states that women's development must be part of the mainstream of development. It is now general government policy to include a WID component in almost every ministry with a development program."

The context of the 18 DTP offers an exceptional opportunity for the development of women in a professional field which has traditionally been dominated by men. The Public Health Department which is basically hardware engineering centered, for the first time has incorporated within it a software component which includes women's development " (DPHE Water Supply and Sanitation Projects Half Yearly Report [n d], p 13)

Visible as WID is in almost all aspects of the project, genuine, whole-hearted support for WID concepts, however, was never widespread in either DPHE or the Project Office. DPHE, for example, continually postponed scheduled workshops on WID and Hygiene Education in 1992-93, until the idea was dropped. The Project Office showed ambivalence in various other ways, such as canceling support for key WID functions with minimal community consultation.

Project reports from 1991 onward, echoing familiar community development themes, argued that to be sustainable, the project structure must guarantee maximum community involvement, especially that of women, who bear most responsibility for household hygiene and who form the habits and values of future generations. 'Participation of the community at several levels is essential for the functional implementation of the Sanitation Program', as one report stated. (BKH 1991. para 4 3) Latrine equipment was to be affordable. Local people were to produce it. And information about why and how to use it was to be available at the local level.

The Community Sanitation Center (CSC) was the key to this approach between 1991 and 1996, when most physical work was done in Batch-I and Batch-II towns. The 'CSC', as it came to be known, was formed in each town as the local focus of equipment production and sound hygiene practice. Intended to survive the end of the project, the CSC was a place *and* an institution. Latrine parts were to be produced there by trained female masons, who, some expected, would eventually form viable production cooperatives. The female-chaired Water and Sanitation Surveillance Committees would use the CSCs as their base of operations. Hygiene educators (later, NGOs or 'CSC' teams) also would work there, supervising production and promoting latrine use in the community. Physical and educational activities promoting safe water use also centered on the CSC. The PWSS (Pourashava Water Supply Section) office was located within the compound. And if hand tubewell caretakers expanded their role to conduct community activities, the CSC would provide space for these as well. In those towns where latrine demand warranted it, a CSC was to be built in each ward.

In brief, WID, community participation, institutional development, and 'software' project functions (hygiene education, sanitation promotion) were seen as parts of a whole. And the CSC was to be the place where it all came together.

By 1998 the Community Sanitation Center as a physical place was still visible in all towns, but the program concept had changed to the point where it was hardly recognizable. Pourashava Water Supply Sections and NGO/CSC teams' offices were still located there. But two other essential groups had disappeared: the female masons and the WSSC. The project continues to strive for sustainability, but ideas about the means to this end have changed. These changes deserve a brief review as the project end approaches.

2.1.1 The Rise and Fall of the Female Masons

During the first part of the 18DTP (1991-1996) it was project policy to train and employ 'female masons' to produce latrine parts in a Covered Production Area (CPA) within each Community Sanitation Center¹. The rationale was two-fold: involving community people in producing their own facilities and providing 'income generation' opportunities for poor women. The former PD's consultant/advisor, who set up the program, argued that this program could stimulate profound social change: 'Female masons could learn sanitation step-by-step', he said. 'They would know how to build, install, and maintain latrines. They would educate their children' (November 1998 interview notes). An August 1992 progress report defined the program's objectives:

"This project activity, if successful, will achieve several objectives the production of cheap latrines right in the neighborhoods for which they are meant, improving the health conditions, the provision of an additional income source for the poor; and a stimulant for raising the gender-consciousness in women. Training courses in latrine production have been held before in Bangladesh, what makes this 18DTP activity unique is that it involves women " (DPHE, Fourth Half Yearly Report, Feb -Aug 1992, p. 19)

The 1991 plan was to require that production teams provide and pay their own laborers on the basis of units produced. Women's family responsibilities would be accommodated, perhaps by 'having more women working for shorter daily periods' than men would work. But the women's teams, working on a 'no work no pay' basis, were to be required to maintain quality standards and production schedules. (BKH 1991, para 4.2.2) Selected NGO teams were to supervise production on a daily basis, under guidance of two senior DPHE masons. (DPHE Sixth Half yearly Report, p. 14)

Women were trained by DPHE masons to make concrete latrine pans, goosenecks, slabs, footrests, and rings, using prefabricated molds. Among the trainees, some were assigned 'mason' jobs, while others were hired as low-skill laborers. The two week training courses began in February 1992 in four Batch-I towns (Narail, Magura, Shariatpur, and Manikganj). By August 1992 almost all training was completed². Nearly 100 women were trained in a total of 11 towns³. (MConsult 1995:50) Each trainee group consisted of eight women 'from the poorest section of the population'. The initial report was optimistic:

"The selected women are intelligent, eager to learn, industrious, and quite able to master the techniques involved -- sometimes to the unconcealed amazement of their male environment. At the end of the training period they should be able to produce all the components of the standard latrine, assemble them and satisfy the quality standards." (DPHE Half Yearly Report, Sept. 1991 - Feb. 1992, p 14)

¹ There never were CPAs in: Barguna, Bhola, Jhalokati, Lalmonirhat, Meherpur, or Satkhira.

² Bhola and Jhalokati opted out of the sanitation program (DPHE, Sixth Half Yearly Report, Jan.-June 1993, p. 13)

³ The 11 towns were those of Batches I and II, except Bhola and Jhalokati namely, Magura, Manikganj, Narail, and Shariatpur in Batch I, and Joypurhat, Lalmonirhat, Moulvibazar, Naogaon, Nilphamari, Panchagarh, and Thakurgaon in Batch II

This early impression was confirmed in 1998 by the Manikganj NGO/CSC supervisor, who provided some background on the women. Most already had experience with earth works, she said, so social criticism was less than might have been expected. The individuals who sought this work were mostly self-supporting and happy to get the higher pay that latrine production provided. One, she remembered, was divorced. Another's husband was paralyzed. One extremely poor Hindu woman had small children to feed.

Before the first latrine was produced, complaints and management problems interfered. The chief complaint, at least the one mentioned in reports, was that CSC production posed 'unfair competition with ..commercial producers'. Project officers also were concerned that the eight-woman teams would not be able to produce at fast enough rates to meet project latrine requirements. Selection of NGO staff was slower than expected, so production supervision arrangements were not made in time. Nonetheless, the decision was made to proceed with the program during the Batch-I/II phase. But for Batch-III 'the whole program will be reviewed'. (DPHE Fifth Half Yearly Report, Sept.-Dec. 1992, p 29)

Production of latrine parts by female masons started in mid-1993. NGO selection and associated management problems caused a delay of almost one year between training and commencement of work. Expenses were covered under the 'Technical Assistance' (TA) fund, discretionary monies available for the Team Leader's use without involvement of DPHE. After 1995-96 the TA fund was transferred to each pourashava chairman, who claimed reimbursement as Category B (general Imprest account) expenses.

Despite earlier optimism, the work started on an unenthusiastic note. Immediately after announcing the imminent start of production, the Sixth Half Yearly Report also announced that the program would not last:

"Many questions have arisen concerning the Sanitation Program The Advisory Team feels that the time has come for a thorough review of policy and implementation matters and is taking steps in this connection " (p 14)

Some problems arose with materials procurement, as the July-December 1993 report (p. 21) also mentioned, by way of explaining why private producers probably would be making latrine components in the future. At the end of 1993 in Joypurhat the project experimented with contracting out production work to private producers

The quality of the female masons' work is still a matter of debate. Some staff members claim that it was excellent, and others that it was poor. According to several staff members, the women tended to be careful workers and had a lighter touch than men in removing molds. The Seventh Half Yearly Report (July-December 1993) raised the issue of component quality. But in this report problems were blamed on pourashava and DPHE supervisors: 'It has been suggested that Pourashava SAEs and DPHE SAEs receive technical training in this respect in order to be able to check the quality of the produced latrine components'. (p. 21)

The former PD's consultant / advisor, who was responsible for the program, claimed that quality control was better when female masons produced components than it was with private contractors. 'Contractors', he said recently, 'were high-handed people accountable to no one'. Other staff members also mentioned quality problems with contractors' products and schedules⁴.

DPHE's own limitations affected the sanitation program. DPHE was found to be 'very much production-oriented without giving sufficient attention to the installation and proper use and maintenance of latrines'. (Seventh Half Yearly Report, p.22) But there already had been indications that production standards were variable, and DPHE supervision of female masons was weak. The agency's marketing skills were so limited that some DPHE production centers had been closed because of low sales, according to a UNDP-World Bank report⁵.

2.1.1.1 Cancellation of the Female Masons Program

Early in 1994 the project, as expected, announced that female masons would not be trained or employed to produce latrine parts in Batch-III towns. Their involvement ended in mid-1996. Although various explanations were offered for the decision to cancel, the former Team Leader felt that the program, which he perceived as being 'contrary to social structure', was more trouble than it was worth:

"Experience shows that socially oriented projects only succeed if they are embedded in the existing social structure. This counts specifically for the motivation and acceptance of a technology or facility. For delivery methods and extension aspects using NGOs or [local organizations] is important. Women play an important role but to solely use female groups seems incorrect and contrary to social structure. Participation in construction of latrines is very difficult to realize and 'takes a very long breath' [Dutch expression, meaning requires a big effort]. Using local masons seems a better option." (Draft Plan of Operations, June-July [1991/92], p.23, hand written note)

Another memo from the former Team Leader expressed his view that there were better ways to enhance women's participation than 'income generating activities' (IGA). Commenting on a 1992 proposal for another WID IGA project⁶, he said, 'Drawbacks for women's participation are generally low educational level of women vis-à-vis men and the cultural setting which prevents essential information reaching women and prevents men from accepting women as equal partners in development....' He proposed several alternative ways the project could help women, including: gender awareness training 'for men to accept women as equal partners in the working environment'; retaining female contractors or drivers; and sponsoring women to get engineering training.

In a 1998 conversation, 4-6 years after writing these notes, the former Team Leader described the female masons program as 'a catastrophe'. He said that the women had not learned anything useful; nor had they produced enough components. The two main reasons for

⁴ November 1998, personal communication

⁵ *Situation Analysis of the Water Supply and Sanitation Sector in Bangladesh*, cited in DPHE Seventh Half Yearly Report (July-Dec 1993), p 22

⁶ Soap production at the CSC

canceling the program were (1) the women produced latrines too slowly and (2) they were competing unfairly with local, private producers. He had calculated that, at the rate they worked, it would have been 2005 before project demand would be met. He strongly disapproved of the former PD's consultant/advisor's approach, implying that it was a waste of project time and resources.

For his part, the former PD's consultant / advisor in 1998 expressed the opinion that the Project Office managers had been rather naive. They were persuaded to cancel it by social and economic arguments, but there were strong rumors that the true impetus to cancel came from corrupt individuals. Their problem was that the small scale of CSC production made it difficult to steal cement and other materials. And project surveillance made it impossible to "make line" with the female masons themselves, that is, to take a cut of their pay. Managers persuaded to cancel were not trained in 'the social dimension of sanitation', he said, and gave no importance to 'village people'⁷

Public statements about the cancellation were more upbeat. Freed from the need to do production work, it was said, the 'CSC could function as a real Community Sanitation Center in the sense that it should give information at the same time of course promoting latrine/sanitation consciousness and latrine installation, use and maintenance. (Seventh Half yearly Report, July-Dec. 1993, p. 22) Use of private contractors would free project staff from the burden of supervising production. 'This allows the project to concentrate on the installation of the latrines and the hygiene education of the beneficiaries instead of the building of latrines'. (Briefing Notes for the Evaluation Mission, 1994, p. 16) In the Ninth Half Yearly Progress Report (July-Dec. 1994), the decision to engage private producers was explained as a way 'to simplify procedures'. (p. 15)

The Phase II Final Report (Technical) briefly explained the decision by saying that 'Unfortunately the quality of the products was poor and the timely implementation was lagging far behind. [So] in 1994 it was decided to discontinue the training for female masons and to order the parts from contractors'. [from computer - no page number] Staff members sympathetic to the female masons program have said that contractors' production rates were not as fast as anticipated.

As the project withdrew from latrine production, an effort — how much effort is unknown -- was made to get jobs for the female masons with selected private contractors. This was not successful. Contractors demanded, for example, that women work 12 - 15 hour days, as men would; and many women considered this an unacceptable demand⁸. Most of the women presently either are unemployed or doing the kinds of menial jobs they did before the program had trained them: sewing, cooking, earth work, and agricultural labor⁹. One former female mason, however, is known to have achieved high status as head of a labor crew in Thakurgaon¹⁰.

A 1995 evaluation report said that fewer than 40% of all trainees ever had found employment with the project. And 'since their skills are rather limited', it seemed unlikely that the female masons would ever be hired by the private contractors. (MConsult 1995:50)

⁷ November 1998, personal communication

⁸ Former PD consultant / advisor, 1998, personal communication

⁹ Information from Manikganj NGO supervisor, 1998

¹⁰ Information from Thakurgaon PWSS superintendent

2.1.1.2 Female Masons Program: Conclusions

The female masons program collapsed for reasons that were more complex than those presented in official reports. Multiple factors were at play. First was the initial community development concept itself. It appears in retrospect to have been based on an overly romantic assumption that somehow ordinary 'people' would work together harmoniously for their own benefit in the CSC. Economic class differences would recede to the background, and the needs of the poor would prevail over those of the rich or corrupt.

Another factor was the weak commitment of several managers — in both DPHE and the Project Office -- to either WID, community development, or poverty alleviation ideals on which the program concept was based. Private entrepreneurs' demands captured the attention of project staff as soon as they were expressed

A review of documents shows that the female masons program already had lost crucial management support before production had begun. So poor performance was at best an insignificant reason for cancellation.

During the time in question there were several difficulties and disagreements between the Project Office and DPHE, according to various staff members. The individual responsible for the female masons program, indeed, its main creator and advocate, was the consultant advisor to the Project Director, who was of course a DPHE official. According to several reports, there was considerable personal animosity between him and both the former Team Leader and the former Deputy Team Leader. This no doubt was caused, at least in part, by the prevailing tension between the two offices. These problems may not entirely explain the demise of the program, but they surely did not support its survival either.

The decision to abandon the program was sometimes blamed on the women's own work and slow production schedule, but these seem to be among the least of the problems. The women certainly would have improved and sped up production under other conditions. But they did not have enough opportunity to prove their worth as latrine parts producers. More important may have been weaknesses on the DPHE side, although few would be willing to say this.

Social attitudes, assumed by the former Team Leader to be entirely negative, probably would have supported the women's continuing latrine production work. The women selected as female masons, after all, were of poor classes whose need for manual labor jobs in construction or earth works was already widely accepted in Bangladesh by the 1980s, although some middle class men with little insight into the situation of poor women still refused to accept it. As an expatriate, the team leader may not have understood this fact and perhaps tended to believe that the opinions of those around him were typical. He was greatly persuaded by the idea that the female masons' role was socially unacceptable.

2.1.1.3 Lessons To Be Learned

This policy had inadequate support at high levels of project administration, as organizational shifts and successful local maneuvering showed. Any project policy to promote the interests of poor people and subsidize employment and training will need strong political and managerial support to ensure concerted effort and resources. Considering the many ways that such a project can be sabotaged, careful monitoring by policy-makers of managers' decisions also is essential.

- ***Implication***

Planners should not assume that project managers will support unpopular project policies. Effort is required to ensure that such policies get their proper share of project resources.

The female masons program foundered largely because of the poor fit between project objectives and managers' attitudes. Being well educated and relatively well off, such men, whether Bangladeshis or expatriates, tend to have little understanding of the living conditions and social norms of other classes, even if they favor women's rights and economic advancement as abstract principles.

- ***Implication***

Government workers and technically trained expatriates alike need careful orientation/training (and some re-thinking of any personal stereotypes they may have) if they are to promote community development on the participatory/WID model.

Social goals were sacrificed for economic reasons. Although originally a WID/community development program, the training and employment of female masons was defeated by economic (privatization) and managerial pressures more than by discriminatory attitudes about women doing manual labor.

- ***Implication***

Planners undertaking social development activities within large projects need to consider how to maintain a balance between social and economic development goals -- formal or informal.

Corruption apparently was a factor — though to an unknown extent — in the decision to terminate the program. There is no remedy for this problem except vigilance and honesty. But it is important to recognize that things are not always what they seem.

The women themselves are sometimes blamed for defeat of the female masons program, but this is an unwise and unfair simplification of what really happened. They may have benefited from the temporary rise in income, but the loss of an expected career opportunity must have been a devastating disappointment to some.

- ***Implication***

This history may serve as a reminder that poorly conceived or managed programs do influence people's lives. Well funded programs have a responsibility to avoid raising false hopes or blaming the most vulnerable for problems over which they have no control whatsoever.

2.1.2 WID and the Water Supply and Sanitation Committee (WSSC)

In contrast to the female masons program, the WSSC program encountered more obviously gender-related obstacles. Like the female masons, this other cornerstone of project WID/participation policy was abandoned.

2.1.2.1 Composition and Responsibilities of the WSSC

A 10-member WSSC was formed in every ward of each project town as an official body of pourashava government¹¹. Pourashava by-laws change was planned but never done. Nonetheless, the project created terms of reference for the WSSCs and then left it to each chairman to set them up within broad guidelines, including firm WID requirements that (a) at least 50% of members should be females; (b) the chair of each WSSC should be a female ward commissioner; and (c) the member secretary also be a female, an employee either of a project NGO or the Pourashava Health Section. Other requirements included beneficiary representation. (1990 Terms of Reference, summarized in Van de Weerd and Nahar 1998 :7) The project had high hopes for the WSSC as a guarantor of community involvement and a promoter of women's empowerment. Referring to it by a former name, the Water and Sanitation Surveillance Committee, and assuming that the WSSC was performing its duties of beneficiary selection and general community oversight as per 1990 guidelines [Non-Technical Items], a 1991 document recommended that its functions be integrated into the CSC framework:

"The WSSC would identify with the Community Sanitation Center in their ward and be encouraged to use it as an operational base. The WSSC sanitation functions will be to promote community involvement in the Sanitation Program, support and monitor the performance of the NGO managed Community Sanitation Centers, and advise the Pourashava Council through the Supervisory Board, on sanitation implementation.. education and other matters relating to the Sanitation Program in their ward [italics added] The WSSC should also bring health related sanitation and water supply issues to the attention of the Pourashava Task Force on health." (BKH 1991, para 4.3.3)

Specific responsibilities of the WSSC as outlined in the Terms of Reference were:

- To identify beneficiaries for hand tubewells and latrines, mobilizing beneficiaries to make their required contributions after approval by the chairman;
- To play a vital role in all social mobilization and communication campaigns related to the project;
- To act as a representative of the community in the areas of water supply, sanitation, drainage, and health education;
- To perform the essential task of conveying the community needs to pourashava authorities, allowing pourashavas to meet the public's demands and enhancing project sustainability;

¹¹ Until recently there have been three wards per town, but there now are nine.

- For members, To motivate inhabitants living in their own neighborhoods to behave in a hygienically responsible way; To make day-to-day contact and organize more formal approaches to dissemination of health messages (Project Document 1995:8; Van de Weerd and Nahar 1998:7).

The project's WSSC Terms of Reference give detailed instructions on meeting schedules and WSSC communication responsibilities. (Van de Weerd 1998:8) According to the TOR, each WSSC member should visit 10 beneficiary households per month to promote good use of facilities, disseminate health messages, and identify problems. Any problems should be reported to the PWSS immediately. And at monthly ward-level meetings problems and solutions should be discussed. Minutes of ward-level meetings should be shared with the Pourashava Chairman and the Project Office. The WSSC chair, a Pourashava Council member (appointed), is expected to discuss problems at monthly Council meetings. And once in three months a pourashava-level meeting should bring together all three WSSCs. Few if any WSSCs ever actually complied with these instructions, if they knew about them at all.

Chairmen, for various reasons, did not actually appoint female WSSC chairs until 1994. One reason beyond their control was the dissolution of all pourashava governments in 1993, with concomitant dissolution of all pourashava decision-making bodies, including WSSCs.

Once they were appointed, those WSSCs that did prepare latrine beneficiary lists were, it seems, mostly ignored by locally influential people wishing to distribute these valuable facilities to their own supporters. According to several informal reports, the WSSCs' main function in latrine distribution tended to be signing off on lists actually prepared by others.

As the 1991 description shows, plans for the WSSC assumed the existence of certain other pourashava decision-making bodies -- the Supervisory Board and the Pourashava Task Force on Health (later, on Hygiene Education). These two committees, like the WSSC, were formed but never active. An organogram locating the WSSC within pourashava (local government) structure therefore was not relevant to actual program operations. Pourashava chairmen and commissioners selected WSSC members and made most project decisions without involvement of any the above-mentioned bodies.

2.1.2.2 WSSCs in Phase / Batch-III

Unlike the female masons program, the WSSC survived with continued high expectations into Phase/Batch-III. The Phase III Project Document stresses the need to promote women's role in local policy development through the WSSC. (The degree to which managers actually agreed is far from clear.) As the document explains, 'The WSSCs consist [of] more than 50% women. WSSCs are organized and oriented in such a way that they can contribute to the policy and decision making process of the water and sanitation program'. (p. 9)

The Project Document, while critical of their actual performance¹², stresses the WSSCs' importance to sustainability of project achievements:

"The sustainability of the 18DTP depends amongst others on the involvement and participation of the community Therefore 18DTP takes care of the issue of community participation To that effect, the Water Supply and Sanitation Committees (WSSCs) have been crated in all towns The WSSC is a voluntary organization, which consists of representatives from various institutions and of beneficiary representatives The total number of WSSC members is 30 (10 from each ward) " (p. 7)

Since most beneficiary selection already was done by the beginning of Phase/Batch-III and political communication was not occurring as originally planned, the project policy changed to emphasize the hygiene education functions of the WSSC:

"The major role of the WSSC is expected to be in the Hygiene Education Program Thus the Project wants to equip the WSSC further with knowledge on how to motivate the population and also with tools such as flipcharts, posters, etc , to follow up on the education " (Project Document, 1995:27)

Specific measures to strengthen the WSSC were identified in the Project Document. They were to receive legal authority through by-laws change at last. They were to be trained, assisted and monitored. These activities were to be done 'on a priority basis, since a proper functioning WSSC will greatly contribute to the ultimate health objective of the Project... It is important that the WSSC will make the population aware of the value of a properly functioning water supply system.' (p.22) Rather than strengthening the WSSC, however, the project office terminated support for it in 1998. This decision, though understandable in view of problems with WSSC functioning, represented abandonment of a crucial project WID component.

A thorough review in 1997 and other evaluation studies have identified the many problems of the WSSCs, such as: misunderstandings about their role, irregular meetings, financial administration problems, lack of involvement in actual beneficiary selection -- a responsibility of which many were ignorant, and others. (Van de Weerd 1998) The project office was found to have provided almost 'no guidance'. (Ibid., p.12) The planned connection with the CSC did not materialize, as shown by the 1997 complaint that the WSSC has 'no fixed place to hold meetings'. (Van de Weerd and Nahar 1998:13)

Viewed through a WID lens, the WSSC's main problem -- namely, its lack of authority or power to do its project job -- can be seen to have its source in the established Bangladesh gender-power nexus. Women have less power than men in public life. In politics it was and is rare for a woman to be elected to public office. Almost all are appointed. Female commissioners (appointed), therefore have little or no political strength vis-à-vis male officials (elected), especially the all-powerful (and always male) pourashava chairman, who appointed the WSSC members. This fact more than any other has hampered female-chaired WSSCs' capacity to act

¹² Weaknesses identified were: Lack of legal authority, Nobody taking responsibility for good or bad WSSC performance; Poor meeting attendance, Lack of membership and activity during 1994-94, when pourashava bodies (including the Council) were dissolved, DPHE not reimbursing expenses on a timely basis; recent engagement of female chairs (Project Document 1995 9)

By requiring that it be chaired by a woman, the project thus put the WSSC in a situation that was unacceptable to powerful men in all or most project towns. The 1997 study showed this in various ways. '...Male commissioners felt insulted when they were passed for the chairmanship'. (p.11). In Meherpur, Sherpur, and Thakurgaon male WSSC members insisted on being called 'advisors', so as not to be put in the humiliating position of serving under the authority of a female chair (1998 workshop notes). In WSSCs male commissioners succeeded in dominating the process despite project WID requirements.

The result, in brief, has been that while the WSSCs were allowed to exist, they were not granted the decision-making role the project had intended for them. 'The Pourashava ignores the WSSC and [does] not take action after a complaint'. (p.13) And 'decisions taken in WSSC meetings are never implemented' (12) About the all-important, politically sensitive job of beneficiary selection, this task the WSSC 'cannot perform, because the [pourashava] chairman will not let them'. About beneficiary selection, delays were often blamed on the infrequency of WSSC meetings.

Unlike some other project WID requirements the WSSC was set up in a way that allowed it to be by-passed or thwarted without direct penalty. (A parallel requirement, less easily disregarded, was provision of sanitary latrines and hand tubewells in women's names, a condition of receiving project facilities) The consequences of sabotaging the process were borne only by the project administration itself and by poor beneficiaries: somewhat embarrassing, weak performance of a project-formed body and delayed approval of distribution lists.

2.1.2.3 WSSCs: Conclusions

The main problem of the WSSC, its powerlessness, has its source in Bangladesh political and social structure. But the project also has responsibility. It set up the WSSC in a way that (in retrospect clearly) made the negative outcome inevitable. One mistaken assumption was that community participation goals — i.e., empowerment of poor people — would be served by the creation of a new municipal council body under the authority of the pourashava chairman. Having given authority to pourashava chairmen to organize their WSSCs as they saw fit, the project relinquished control over this project community development function.

Having little interest in the project's idea of the WSSC as a mechanism for community participation, most chairmen soon transformed the committee into a different type of body than the project originally had envisioned. Pourashava chairmen and male commissioners could *and* did bypass WSSCs when making local facility-distribution decisions. But they ultimately complied with project requirements by producing more or less acceptable beneficiary lists.

Viewed abstractly, the situation was one in which already-established, legitimate political bodies (chairman and male commissioners) usurped functions the project had assigned to artificially created, new institutions. A further vulnerability of the WSSC arose, when, as a formal pourashava body (albeit a powerless one), it shared the pourashava's political difficulties in the 1993-94 take-over by national government and was formally dissolved.

The chairmen, despite their typically high-handed way of dealing with the WSSCs, still found it difficult to inform their WSSCs that they would no longer receive project support. Most left this unpleasant task to project staff. (10th Quarterly Progress Report, April-June 1998, p. 31) This suggests that some, at least, had acquired a degree of local political value to the chairmen, however variable, over the life of the project.

Once facility distribution decisions mostly had been made, at the end of Phase II, the project tried to re-direct the WSSC toward voluntary performance of hygiene education functions, which some but not all members gladly performed. This shift in project policy, however, created inevitable confusion between the HEP roles of the paid NGO/CSC team and the unpaid WSSC. Many (perhaps especially the low-income WSSC members) asked themselves why they should work as volunteers when others were being paid to do the same kind of outreach work.

By the time of Phase III the project concept had changed to the point where WSSCs, not having become official bodies, were redundant, Project Document endorsement notwithstanding. Hygiene education was being done by NGO/CSC staff members. Institutional development efforts focused on the PWSS, where some women are getting jobs, and otherwise building up the legally established pourashava departments (Pourashava Conservancy Section/PCS, perhaps also Health Section/PHS). Project-based training and other human resources work in project towns, therefore, also has bypassed the WSSCs. The CSC has not become the holistic community development force that early project staff had envisioned. WSSCs no longer have any physical or organizational place in the project.

It is important to conclude with the observation that, Bangladesh political structure is changing along with other aspects of society. A few women here and there have been standing for election rather than accepting appointed positions. The one elected woman commissioner in a project town, Ms. Daisy of Netrokona, was interviewed by WID consultant Sharmin Murshid in 1991. Having suffered enough 'humiliation' as an appointed commissioner, including not being invited to important meetings, Ms. Daisy defeated 15 men in an election. Once in office as an elected official, she found others treating her with more respect. The Netrokona Pourashava Chairman was especially supportive. 'They had to accept her in all meetings'. 'She feels that her status as an effective ward commissioner has gone up considerably and the men show her that respect' More women should stand for election. Her own 'actual success is the best motivator'. (Murshid 1992.32-33)

What remains of the former WSSC is a handful of 'volunteers', some very energetic, who may receive new kinds of attention as parts of re-named groups. In abandoning the WSSC, the project supported powerful men's resistance to allowing women to take a leadership role. This outcome has an understandable logic, but from the WID point of view it is a defeat. There are various ways to regard this history. Was the female-led WSSC a hopeless fantasy to which few managers actually subscribed? Was it a clumsy job of institutional development? Or was it an idea ahead of its time?

2.1.3 NGO/CSC Teams

An all-woman team has been employed since 1995 in each town (and earlier in some towns) to promote use of hygienic latrines and conduct hygiene education activities. As they have proven themselves to be reliable workers, their scope of work has expanded. Two specifically WID observations about the teams are: (1) women are generally considered to be more honest than men by project staff and some local officials interviewed; (2) the women have a tough job enforcing project guidelines when these annoy locally powerful men. There are rumors that team members have at times been subject to abuse by such men; as women they have great difficulty defending themselves. Further comments about the position of the NGO/CSC team are made in the discussion of findings on gender training and hygiene education.

2.2 Hand Tubewell Caretakers

2.2.1 The Hand Tubewell Caretaker Training Program

The hand tubewell caretaker program has been the most enduring and successful of all 18DTP WID activities. The Project Document for Phase III emphasizes the importance of hand tubewell caretakers to over-all WID objectives

"Only women were selected and trained as tubewell caretakers. The introduction to their roles in water supply and sanitation as caretakers and motivators may lead to an elevation in women's status." (p 10)

Caretaker training began during Phase II of the project, in August 1992. By July 1998 77 percent (or 3224) of the women had received caretaker training. PWSS superintendents conduct most of the training with support of NGO/CSC staff; project office staff also do some. Project tubewells are installed in these women's names. The caretakers' specific duties are:

1. To clean the platform with a rubbing agent, brush, and broom;
2. To perform minor repairs without calling officials;
3. To share the water with neighbors not having their own tubewells;
4. To use tubewell water for all purposes;
5. To arrange a sillage connection to a waste water outlet or soak pit;
6. To oil/grease nuts and bolts,
7. To call mechanics for major repairs.

Caretakers also are expected to promote safe hygiene practices among their neighbors. It is project policy therefore to be sure they all receive hygiene education.

The Bangladesh arsenic problem has caused the project recently to modify message 4, 'Use tubewell water for all purposes', in towns where arsenic has been found in tubewell water¹³. During the last months of the project a significant effort is under way to educate the public about arsenic hazards. Tubewell water now is recommend for all purposes *except* drinking and cooking. The present study, however, has been done to evaluate the effectiveness of work done under the earlier assumption, that tubewell water was safe.

2.2.1.1 Program Evaluation Objectives

The purposes of this evaluation are (1) to determine whether caretaker training has fulfilled the project's poverty alleviation and WID objectives; and (2) to identify specific constraints to effective performance of tubewell caretaker duties. In addition (3) staff and beneficiary suggestions for future caretaker training will be reviewed.

¹³ Arsenic has been found in tubewell water of six project towns: Magura, Manikganj, Meherpur, Narail, Satkhira, and to a lesser extent in Sherpur.

2.2.1.2 Evaluation Methods

Focus Group Discussions

Between August and October 1998 staff conducted focus group discussions with a total of approximately 104 female caretakers in ten towns: Barguna [10], Lalmonirhat [12], Magura [12], Manikganj [9], Moulvibazar [12], Netrokona [5], Nilphamari [11], Satkhira [9], Sherpur [14], and Thakurgaon [10].

Key Informant Interviews with Men

To supplement focus groups, 16 men were interviewed, 14 of whom were caretakers' husbands. Ten PWSS superintendents also were interviewed about caretaker training.

Sample Household Questionnaire Interviews

The household survey sample included a total of 346 caretaker households in 17 towns. Most respondents (74%) were the female caretakers themselves, but in some households (26%) respondents were other household members (30 were men). These are households which happened to come up through a random sampling of various types of project beneficiaries, rather than being intentionally selected as part of the sampling method. There were no caretaker households in the Thakurgaon sample.

2.2.2 Economic Status of HTW Caretaker Households

The caretaker program has been conducted in accordance with the project's long-term objective of improving "health conditions and living environment of the population... with special attention to the poor sections ..." (p.1, Project Document) Almost half (47%) of the randomly sampled caretaker households were found to be poor or low-income; half were middle-income; and a few (3%) were high income.

Caretaker households' economic status, however, was found to differ somewhat from one town to another. In seven towns more than half were medium or high income: Shariatpur, Manikganj, Moulvibazar, Sherpur, Netrokona, and Naogaon .

2.2.3 Hygiene Education Levels

Virtually all caretakers have received the package of services that the project intended to provide to them. And they are disseminating the hygiene messages they learn. A large majority (91%) of caretaker survey respondents were found to have received intensive hygiene education from the project, and most of the rest (6%) indicated having received at least some. They also demonstrated a commitment to use of safe water and sanitary latrines in focus group discussions.

2.2.4 Practical Experience and Constraints

One-half of the caretaker questionnaire respondents said they had repaired their tubewells, about half with assistance from others. Women in focus groups differed in their levels of practical experience. In each focus group there were a couple of women whose detailed knowledge of tubewell structure indicated considerable expertise. In some cases women's own reluctance or husbands' attitudes had prevented them from performing repairs, but in others there was no need because equipment was of good quality. Women's lesser experience with mechanical repairs is one constraint that could be removed by careful training and follow-up.

Some women earn money repairing others' tubewells, as focus groups and other interviews revealed. The full extent of this is not known. But considering the generally low income levels of most project caretakers, the training may have unintentionally provided an earning opportunity for some women.

According to male and female interviewees, many women still feel uncomfortable purchasing spare parts in the bazar and must depend on men to do it. However, there were a few in most focus groups who said they now purchase parts themselves, although they may have had problems doing so at first. These changes reflect some general trends, not just project influence. Although women in most areas of Bangladesh still have problems attending weekly markets in the countryside, more and more are shopping in urban centers.

Location of tubewells within or outside of compounds greatly affects caretakers' capacity to do repairs. Reconciling caretaker duties with *pardah* was mentioned in all focus group discussions. The location issue is of great importance, but there is no simple solution to the problems associated with it. If tubewells are enclosed, female caretakers themselves are more free to do repairs and maintenance. But such enclosure inevitably limits others' access to safe water. In one focus group most caretakers, whose tubewells are enclosed within their compounds, said that others were welcome to take drinking water away in pots, but not necessarily to wash their utensils or bathe at the tubewell.

Focus Group Notes

In case the tubewell is located outside the compound some women said it might be possible to cover the head. The sari could serve as a sort of protective wall. But others argued with this suggestion, saying it was too difficult and uncomfortable to do tubewell repairs while veiled.
(Satkhira, October 1998)

There is a conflict/contradiction between two project policies. Because of *pardah*, the project's hygiene education message to 'use tubewell water for all purposes' conflicts with the WID mandate to increase women's status by providing caretakers with opportunities to develop and use new technical skills.

2.2.5 Spreading Knowledge to Others

A remarkable finding of focus group discussions is that some women are training others in tubewell repair. They train their relatives -- daughters, sisters, and others -- and their neighbors. One Moulvibazar focus group participant had not been trained directly by the project, but her mother (now deceased) had told her 'everything', and she is an active caretaker.

Their impact on neighborhood hygiene knowledge is said to be great in some cases, but the extent is impossible to determine.

2.2.6 Attitudes Toward Women Doing Tubewell Repair

One Project assumption mentioned above is that the caretaker training program might improve women's status. It is worthwhile therefore to review evidence that such improvement has or has not occurred. 'Status' change shows in various ways. One is facility ownership (or, more accurately, use rights and responsibilities). This has indeed occurred for more than 4000 women. The project has established an important principle by providing facilities 'in women's names' and training women as HTW caretakers. Several interview respondents, especially husbands and PWSS superintendents, said that society accepted such project policies in order to obtain project benefits. But many do not accept them whole-heartedly.

Comment of a Sherpur Caretaker's Husband

(Age: 32, Occupation: Rice Mill Laborer)

- His wife regularly repairs the HTW. He already had taught her some things about HTW repair before she got the training, because she needed to do it when he was not at home.
- His wife is very interested in HTW repair and very capable. Others ask her advice and assistance. Her status has increased.
- Women are capable if trained, but they do have smaller brains and less strength than men.
- Since liberation women have come forward. Now HTWs are being installed 'in women's names'. Whether people like it or not, the status of women is changing.

Suggestion

More training for [men and] women. Men alone have the ability to diagnose mechanical problems and determine what repairs are needed; women do not have this ability. But women can use training, and can train others.

Another sign of status change is the attitudes of others, especially men. Heart-felt or not, significant changes in attitude have occurred. Several caretakers commented that people had teased them at first, and some said their husbands still objected. But it was generally agreed that most people (including husbands) have become accustomed to their doing this work, and in fact very much appreciate it. Most of husband confirmed these statements. The ten men all said that minor tubewell repair, though a new job, was an appropriate domestic role for women. Four, however, said it was only so if *purdah* were not violated -- i.e., that women stay within the home and/or not go to the bazaar to buy parts.

Male interviewees agreed that attitudes toward women's work are changing. But a majority (9 of 16) of husbands or male community members commented that, because women have 'smaller brains' than men, and are therefore less intelligent, women never could be as capable in technical matters as men. Some older women in focus groups said the same thing. Of 14 caretakers' husbands interviewed in-depth, seven expressed pride in their wives' technical accomplishments, but six others — some of whom had learned tubewell repair from their wives -- emphasized that they were doing some or all of the work. Two claimed to be unaware that their wives' had received caretaker training. Two stressed trained women's fear, lack of confidence, and other constraints more than their skills. The comments of half the husbands seemed very condescending.

The large majority of both male and female questionnaire respondents said they consider females to be equally capable in hand tubewell repair, if equally trained. It seems likely that this answer was perceived as the 'right' one by the respondents. Focus groups and personal conversations are more reliable indicators of people's true thinking. Table 2.2.1 presents survey interview findings.

Table 2.2.1 Men's and Women's Responses to the Question, Are Women Equally Capable To Men, if Equally Trained in Tubewell Repair? Percentages, by Household Type (Household Sample Survey)

Respondent	HTW C/T Households		Non-C/T Households		Total
	M	F	M	F	
Female is equally capable	97%	91%	92%	94%	94% (n=2657)
Female is not equally capable	3%	9%	8%	6%	6% (n=183)
Total	100% (n=35)	100% (n=309)	100% (n=365)	100% (n=2131)	100% (n=2840)

Female caretakers themselves were found to have mixed attitudes toward their caretaker skills. Some felt very confident, but the majority of those in most focus groups had not had enough practical experience to feel very confident. Several women were discouraged by others' negative comments. Nonetheless, several interviewees mentioned (without prompting) that their status improved as others came to appreciate and depend on their newly acquired technical skills.

Although changes have occurred, the most serious constraint faced by caretakers in all places still seems to be social attitudes against women getting and using technical training. These attitudes cause relatives and others to belittle their accomplishments or ridicule them -- perhaps even to prevent them from performing caretaker duties. The Barguna superintendent said that some husbands -- saying that women are not skilled and they do not like for them to move around -- had come to his office to complain about tubewells being installed in women's names with women as caretakers. Similar problems were mentioned elsewhere. Other 'constraints' mentioned by interviewees -- women's supposed lesser intelligence or lesser physical strength -- are justifications of existing norms more than actual explanations of women's limitations.

2.2.7 Further Training Needs and Tool Distribution

Not all caretakers have been trained. Completion of basic training was planned for 1998, but various factors created delays. The main reason seems to be that PWSS superintendents had other priorities, mostly associated with installation or management of piped supply systems.

HTW caretaker training was not as good as it might have been in every town. Most PWSS superintendents felt that the training should have been longer, at least two days, in order to provide an opportunity for some hands-on experience. They also mentioned the need for follow-up training for the present cohort of caretakers

A Case Study: One Caretaker's Situation

Banesa Begum, resident of Kath Khor, a fringe area in Ward 2 of Sherpur, is about 30-35 years old. She is married to a man of 35-40; and they have a son and two daughters. Only the youngest daughter goes to school. Her husband, who cannot speak, must communicate through body language. He earns a meager living as a day laborer. She too takes day laboring jobs on neighbors' lands during certain seasons, when she is paid in food instead of money. Though both work as hard as they can, the couple is struggling hard to make ends meet. The family home is a small hut.

Before she was contacted by the project, Banesa Begum carried household water from afar. They used pond water or depended on the good will of neighbors to use others' tubewells. And the family had no sanitary latrine, so they defecated wherever they could. There was never enough clean water, and the family often suffered from diarrhea, dysentery, and worms.

Having been identified as one of the 'poorest of the poor' in Sherpur, Banesa Begum was contacted by project staff, who recommended that she be given a sanitary latrine. The latrine was installed about one and a half years ago. She learned from the pourashava women how to properly clean and maintain it. She does all the cleaning of pan and platform herself. Her husband, being a man, does not want to share this work with her. She also tries to collect her garbage, keeping it in a fixed place, so that her house and compound remains neat and clean.

She appeared very motivated to learn about hygiene, so they also suggested that she be appointed as caretaker of a nearby hand tubewell. The tubewell, which had been installed by the pourashava many years before, was not functioning properly. The pipe was choked up. So the project had repaired it and constructed a new platform in 1996.

In 1997 she got trained on hand tubewell repair and maintenance. This training increased her enthusiasm, as she was then able to do minor repairs on tubewells. Since then she has repaired the project tubewell several times by herself.

She buys spare parts with money collected from other users. This is not an easy task. People here often lack money. Another constraint she faces is that, as a woman, she cannot shop in the bazaar on her own. She depends on male relatives to do that for her.

Banesa Begum shares her knowledge and experience with others. She has taught her children, her neighbors, and other community people about good hygiene practices. She feels proud to be able to do this. She thinks that her tubewell repair training and her attempts to motivate others have improved her social status. Other people like to listen to her advice.

Men's and women's opinions differed on the question of whether men should also receive training. Most of husbands recommended extending the caretaker training program to include men. PWSS superintendents also thought that husband-wife pairs should be trained.

But women said that, although men need more sensitization about women's involvement, actually training men would probably reduce their own opportunities to do this work. The project has created a new, special opportunity for women with potential economic benefits, and they wish to preserve the status that their knowledge brings.

An idea that came up in several interviews was for very skilled caretakers to get advanced training for either paid repair work (a PWSS superintendent's suggestion) or to train others.

Some trainees never received the tools they were supposed to get. (Those without tools borrow them from their neighbors.) Almost three-fourths of all questionnaire respondents (73%) said they had tools, and two-thirds (66%) could show those tools to the interviewer. There were differences between towns, however. In the majority of towns 69-90 percent said they had tools. In a few others, however, more than 40 percent said they did not have any tools: Nilphamari, Panchagarh, Joypurhat, Narail, Moulvibazar, and Naogaon. There were rumors that some officials had distributed tools to their relatives and supporters.

Some other practical problems interfere with tubewell repair. Spare parts are not always available in the market, or they are the wrong size (e.g., O-rings or foot valves). In Magura there was mention of problems with defective equipment, both tara pumps and moon pumps, also were mentioned in interviews.

2.2.8 Comparisons Between Towns

While doing interviews, staff members observed some interesting variations in caretakers' experiences. In **Barguna and Satkhira**, *pardah* norms seemed to be a greater constraint than elsewhere. In **Lalmonirhat**, however, caretakers had a more positive attitude toward their work and seemed to get more support from their families and communities. Four **Thakurgaon** caretaker interviewees purchased all their own spare parts without much difficulty; and they received much encouragement from the PWSS superintendent. **Magura** caretakers, who use tara pumps, had more technical problems finding spare parts than others. They had to call mechanics for most repairs. Few caretakers, therefore, were active. In **Manikganj**, where the project provides either tara pumps or moon pumps, caretakers are more active and more skilled than in some other places. The PWSS in early 1998 organized neighborhood-based caretaker training (a change from the usual PWSS office venue). This apparently was so successful, that none of the trainees have needed mechanics since they were trained. The **Moulvibazar** focus group was unusually active. Of 12 participants, seven do their own work and more than elsewhere had taught others how to do repairs. **Netrokona** caretakers seemed to be unusually well-informed, knowledgeable about tubewell mechanics (tara/moon pumps), and to have a positive attitude. One focus group member had built up a strong reputation for her skills with both men and women of her neighborhood. The **Nilphamari** PWSS Superintendent encourages pourashava mechanics to improve the knowledge of any caretakers who call for assistance with repairs. In Nilphamari three WSSC

members (of Ward 3) are caretakers; they provide informal advice and guidance to others in their neighborhoods. **Sherpur** caretakers also were unusually skilled and inclined to share their knowledge with neighbors and relatives. The Sherpur caretaker training program, newly begun only in late-1997 or early-1998, has generated much enthusiasm.

2.2.9 Summary and Conclusions

Caretaker training and hygiene education for tubewell recipients is one of the more consistent non-technical project components. The concept has not changed, but it has expanded. Since 1997 NGO/CSC teams have been expected to motivate caretakers as “change agents” who promote hygiene improvement among their neighbors. Survey findings indicate that indeed caretaker training has reached mostly poor and middle-income households, as intended, and that it has been supplemented with hygiene education as per project guidelines. Support from the pourashava, however, is uneven. Tubewell related activities may compete with other project components (house connections) for PWSS superintendents' attention.

The Project has challenged some conservative social norms by insisting that tubewells (like latrines) be installed in women's names. This practice has caused local controversy. The long-term impact is impossible to predict. Social attitudes toward the special place bestowed by the project on female caretakers are variable and changing. All evidence indicates that the caretaker training program thus has contributed to fulfillment of the project's 'women in development' objectives despite some resistance.

Once begun, the caretaker training developed a momentum of its own, at least in some places. In every town except Satkhira one or more woman was found to have trained several others on her own initiative. Some have used their new skill to earn income, also an unplanned WID benefit of the project.

The quality of the caretaker training itself could have been better. Considering low educational levels of most trainees, more time and practical experience should have been allotted. The limit of one day may account for variations found from town to town in activity levels of caretakers, since it means that only those already motivated are likely to make good use of the brief training course. Furthermore, caretaker training and tool distribution targets have not been met.

2.3 Gender Training

2.3.1 Introduction

This review of the 18DTP's 1998 Gender Training Program has two purposes. The first is to assess the effectiveness of gender training within the framework of the project. Analysis of training approaches and participants' reactions during and after the training, together with any resulting action plans, will show its impact on the diverse groups of trainees. The second purpose is to investigate specific gender issues that came up for discussion during training sessions, as a way of clarifying our definition of the project's gender aspect. Details of group discussions will highlight several specific issues.

Methods of study were: detailed observation of the four training sessions; informal discussion about the training and people's reactions in the office setting (and documenting spontaneous remarks); in-depth interviews with a few trainees soon after the training; a six-month questionnaire on people's memories of the training and its impact, if any, on their work; and review of some staff members' follow-up plans to expand gender awareness in the field.

2.3.1.1 Objectives of the Training

Training objectives were defined (as per Project Document guidelines) in the letter of agreement with USHA, the training consultants:

"Gender workshops will be conducted for DPHE, the Pourashava, the NGOs and the hand tubewell beneficiaries. The general objective of these workshops is to introduce gender sensitivity in the water supply program and to strengthen coordination linkages for better management of gender issues. The NGO staff shall be trained more specifically on issues to introduce gender sensitivity in water supply at community level."

For field-level personnel, this was considered to be Training for Trainers, presumably increasing participants' ability to train or lead others, or at least to effectively communicate key gender concepts in the working situation.

Project staff had several advance meetings with the trainers and provided them with background information on the project. It was assumed that the trainers, who had no previous experience with water-sanitation related training, would adapt their curriculum accordingly. However, they did not do so at first. So the first two groups' training was done with minimal relevance to project activities.

2.3.1.2 Participants

In February and March 1998 gender training was provided to 68 people in four distinct groups:

1. Group 1: Sixteen DPHE and Project Officers plus other central office staff or consultants;
2. Group 2: Twenty mid-level Project managers (ODS, SDE, and XEN, all males);
3. Group 3: Sixteen Pourashava Water Section (PWSS) Superintendents (all males);
4. Group 4: Sixteen NGO/CSC Supervisors (all females).

The first group, which included three expatriates, was trained in English. The other three sessions were conducted in Bengali. Written materials for each unit were provided in either English or Bengali.

There was a plan also to offer training to others with important project responsibilities, especially pourashava chairmen, but this was not done. As some current chairmen would be out of office after the forthcoming elections, it seemed best to wait. It also became clear that the curriculum might need improvement if it was to have any positive impact on other trainee groups.

Each of the four groups received a somewhat different course, although the same general outline was used for all. Certain units were expanded or contracted. Training staff (a group of men *and* women) rotated some duties from session to session. A sociologist, Dhaka University's Professor Mahmuda Islam, was brought in to discuss gender socialization/child development with Group 1. An expert in communication, Anish Barua, spoke to Groups 3 and 4. The first two groups received one day's training, and the others received two.

2.3.1.3 Curriculum and Training Methods

Each training consisted of the following nine units:

1. Personal Introductions (of both trainers and trainees)
2. Biological Sex as Distinct from Social Gender
3. Division of Labor
4. Gender Relations: A Theoretical Framework (Economic, Political, Social, and Cultural Aspects)
5. Socialization of Male or Female Children
6. The Trainer as Change Agent: Communication and Motivation
7. Situation Analysis (review of case studies, presented in Annex 2.3)
8. Role Play: Seeking Solutions to Problems Encountered [Groups 3 and 4]
9. Review and Summing Up; Action Planning [Groups 3 and 4]

Objectives were not discussed in the first two groups, but in later training sessions participants themselves were invited to define training objectives as their session began. All participants had an opportunity to describe the ways that gender influenced project organization. Some, but not all, groups discussed specific action plans.

Basic messages presented to all groups were

- Biological sex (in Bengali, *praakritik lingo*) is different from socially produced gender (in Bengali, *saamaajik lingo*). Biology does not determine social gender relationships or division of labor. Being 'socially constructed', gender relationships can be changed, but biology cannot
- Social norms force compliance with gender rules, and those who do not comply suffer ostracism and other punishments 'If you do not follow society's norms, you will be terminated'.
- Most work done by one gender actually could be done by the other; there is great cultural variability in gender division of labor. Reproduction is the only work determined by biological sex.
- In economics, males tend to dominate; economic motives create and reinforce gender power differences.
- Gender planning needs to be 'gender sensitive' rather than 'gender blind'. And presuming choice in matters where power relations determine behavior is an error. Distinguish 'practical gender needs' (short-term) from 'strategic gender needs' (long-term social goals).

The presentation format alternated between lecturing and participatory exercises. Some exercises generated enthusiasm or amusement. In one exercise on division of labor, for example, participants' cards identifying male and female tasks were placed on a board at the front of the room under their respective gender labels. Asking participants to close their eyes, the trainer switched the labels, identifying all 'female' tasks as performed by males and vice-versa. This always got a laugh and stimulated thinking on which tasks did and did not need to be performed by a biological male or female. At the end of the exercise the only tasks dictated by biological sexuality were those directly related to reproduction (breast feeding, giving birth, providing sperm/ejaculation)

The well-known, well qualified gender trainers, USHA organization directors and staff, used a generic model rather than adapting their curriculum to specific characteristics of this project. They did so, they explained, because it was essential that trainees understand certain general principles if they were ever to be expected to modify the gender aspect of their work. The trainers said that their approach usually demands five days; but the project contracted only for one or two days with each group.

Trainers' examples and general comments were occasionally inappropriate. Except for case studies provided by project staff, they referred mainly to rural life, although the project is an urban/small town. The theoretical framework assumed a middle class point of view and stressed middle class life and issues (i.e., men work and women stay home; inheritance issues). This may have been appropriate for staff consciousness-raising, but there was not enough attention to the concerns of the many project beneficiaries who are poor women.

USHA trainers, in collaboration with Project Office staff, modified their approach, incorporating more and more information on water and sanitation as they progressed from one training to the next, and significantly improving the focus. But the two initial sessions suffered because they were not adequately prepared in advance to relate project issues to their established curriculum.

Despite initial efforts to make training relevant to project activities, most training time was spent on discussion of abstract sociological or historical issues. Project-specific matters were not discussed in detail in all groups. Minimal if any training time was allocated to a scheduled planning activity intended to operationalize concepts taught. It was clear that some trainees felt it was irrelevant to their actual job performance, even though they may have appreciated the training as an educational experience.

2.3.1.4 Sociological Assumptions

Content was based on commonplace Bangladesh social norms and gender stereotypes. For example, Professor Mahmuda Islam summarized Bangladesh assumptions about gender differences. Men are assumed to be physically strong, intellectually superior, alert, and active. Women are stereotyped as physically weak, intellectually and emotionally dependent on males, delicate, and more emotional. One Bangladeshi participant in Group 1 expanded on this analysis, saying, 'Here we assume that [a child's] blood comes from the father's side. We never consider that the child carries the mother's blood also'.

The trainers, though certainly knowledgeable about Bangladesh stereotypes and gender theory, took an approach to social life that implied more universal conformity to and agreement about gender norms than actually exist. These issues are now subject to vigorous, possibly even violent dispute. By taking this approach, referring continually to a general point of view that was indeed familiar to all participants but was not actually shared by all, trainers communicated their basic messages. But they also alienated some participants who might otherwise have been more receptive to the training. In brief, though some simplification may have been necessary, debate about basic facts of Bangladesh life (i.e., diversity in norms and gender relationships) was not adequately encouraged.

The gender socialization process, for example, was simplistically compared to 'pouring liquid clay into a mold, [people are] made that way'. This metaphor makes gender identity seem to lack variety, to be more unchangeable than it actually is. It also eliminates the creative possibilities, of women and men (even girls and boys) coming up with new ideas about structuring social relationships. If people are actually formed like clay pots, how has human social and cultural diversity come about over time?

The issue of how much flexibility or variation is possible in Bangladesh gender roles came up in connection with one case study, that of **Sushila**, a girl with boyish habits who is harshly punished and ultimately submits to prevalent behavior codes. Each group discussed this (hypothetical) case differently, reflecting a broader range of attitudes within the trainee groups than the trainers themselves acknowledged. These and other participant comments during training sessions underscored the degree to which Bangladesh society is changing, or at least struggling. There were major differences of opinion among male trainees about the idea of gender equality. And it became abundantly clear that familiar stereotypes and gender assumptions nowadays were being defended and/or challenged all around. These debates weaken the force of a statement made in every session, that: 'Society will not accept me as a member if I don't abide by norms, values, and practices that society demands'. 'Society' is not one, unified *thing*, much as some would like to see it as such. A complex system such as Bangladesh society is now struggling (with mixed results) to accommodate multiple, even contradictory social styles (including gender roles).

2.3.2 Description of Group Sessions and Initial Reactions

Each training was observed and detailed notes taken. Initial reactions were elicited or overheard during breaks and in the training itself -- i.e., listening to trainees' various questions and comments. In subsequent days and weeks the consultant informally asked some participants, as opportunities arose, what they thought of the training. Gender issues and gender training also were the subject of informal joking and conversation among staff, especially during the month of the training.

During the training sessions each of the four groups adopted a distinctive style of behavior. Each group also -- formally or informally -- identified what it saw as the key gender issues of concern in the project. The trainers' related to each group differently -- more or less patiently, more or less openly, and with varying degrees of communication success.

2.3.2.1 Group 1: DPHE and Project Officers (Project Office, February 25, 1998)

2.3.2.1.1 Professional and Personal Interests

This one-day training was provided to a well educated group of 16 participants. They all were economically well-off (or at least middle class) and technically trained. A couple of the men's wives worked; others' were housewives. They were comfortable with theoretical discussion though largely skeptical about its relevance to project work. Expatriate participants did not share Bangladesh cultural assumptions about gender but nonetheless participated actively.

Some trainees in this group, as in others, were religious Muslims. Religion (Islam) got more attention in this training than in the others. The message from Professor Mahmuda Islam, reflecting a widespread Bangladeshi feminist position, was that religious practice is man-made, as the prophets were human beings, and has been developed to the benefit of males, although an alternative view is possible. Some trainees perceived such comments as attacks on religion, but others agreed that multiple interpretations were possible. Some excerpts from the day's discussion follow:

- Participant asks trainer: Why do you say that our religious prophets discriminated against women? Trainer (female): They interpreted religious texts to their own advantage. We're going to draft a national policy for women in development. A high male official said [the Prime Minister] should persuade women to pay more attention to him and other men.
- Participant: We should acquire some examples from the Holy Q'uran. Trainer (female): In the Prophet's last speech he said, 'From this day onward, men and women should be equal to each other' It's not just for men or women. Participant: Good, give us a specific text quote in this kind of workshop. Trainer: In Shari'a law women [inherit] half the portion of their brothers. We think civil courts should decide these things. Other female trainer: In India they have changed greatly. So have other Muslim countries. They have changed Shari'a law. Other Participant: The fundamental concept of pilgrimage (*hajj*) is not just going to Mecca, but that from the time of the pilgrimage I should not harm others or ever sin. Hindus regard bathing the Ganges in the same way.

2.3.2.1.2 Gender Issues in the Project

During the training this group, like others, listed their ideas about how gender patterns get involved in the project. They more or less agreed that:

Men

Have power as chairmen and [elected] commissioners. Control of project money and materials is in the hands of males. PWSS staff are all male, with only two exceptions. Some WSSC members are males. In Pourashava Conservancy Sections almost all staff, including sweepers, are males. Public latrines are used mainly by men.

Women

Are hand tubewell caretakers, hygiene educators (NGOs), WSSC chairs and some members, the few remaining female masons, and a few sweepers. No public toilet users are females.

There was some concern, in response to one of the case studies, about whether female hand tubewell caretakers are actually able to perform their duties in the present social climate. One expatriate participant suggested that if they are not, then the project's gender equality goals may conflict with 'project goals' of providing functioning equipment (This concern was expressed by an expatriate consultant.)

2.3.2.1.3 Situation Analyses

Specific comments during case study discussions revealed participants' relatively conservative approach to gender issues. During discussion of **Sushila** (Case No. 6)¹⁴, most seemed to accept the necessity of making the girl conform to Bangladesh standards of feminine behavior. They observed that unless she did, 'her father could not arrange a marriage for her when she attained maturity'. 'Her family would be shamed because they could not control her'. Generally, as one participant said, 'Society does not allow a girl to behave like boy'. Her tendency to beat up boys, all agreed, brought shame to all 'males, who control society'.

She finally conformed and stayed inside, they said, because 'she realized that her behavior was not acceptable to society', which forced her to conform. (One re-emphasized that she was forced to conform, rather than going inside willingly.) 'She became more normal, according to our social standards'

After she becomes normal, Sushila, who once climbed trees 'like a paratrooper and playing with the wildest boys', loses her balance on a bus. Discussing why, group members speculated that 'She had become weak while confined in the house'. Or possibly, 'The loss of freedom created frustration, and she was mentally tortured [disturbed]' (One expatriate speculated that she may have tripped on her clothing.) There was general agreement (tinged perhaps with pride?) that jumping on and off busses in Bangladesh demands some experience and agility that she apparently lacked.

The other case discussed was that of **The Non-functioning Tubewell** (Case No. 1 and 1a), whose female caretaker was not allowed to repair it because of social pressure. A female commissioner who tried to summon a meeting to discuss the problem found others reluctant

¹⁴ Case numbers refer to materials in Annex 2.3.

to attend. Participants suggested that male members of the family may not themselves have known how to repair, even though they disagreed with the woman's doing it. But anyway, as men usually are not responsible for water collection, the lack of a functioning tubewell would be less of a problem for men than for women. It was generally agreed that some gender training would benefit this family.

About the female commissioner's lack of effectiveness, it was pointed out that if women were elected, they would have more influence. One participant assumed that male council members 'consider themselves to be superior because they are elected, not appointed'. One suggested that the men might have 'something more interesting to do than go to such a meeting'. It was generally agreed that 'equality through education and training' would help this situation. There is a general need to 'create awareness among male members of families, commissioners, and others on involvement of women, in one staff member's words. 'Attitude change' came up again as the solution to most of these problems.

2.3.2.1.4 Initial Reactions

Jokes provided clues to some people's actual concerns about changing gender relationships. For example one comment evoked a big laugh from other participants. One was made in response to the question, 'What did you do this morning?', one man said, 'My wife at her breakfast while I washed up'. This was funny because the woman was disregarding the norm to serve her husband his food before eating hers.

Asked for their reactions during breaks and shortly after the training, participants made the following comments:

- I am not sure women are so badly off in every way. (expatriate)
- They are already preaching to the converted, as far as we westerners are concerned. And anyway (later comment), women have their own ways of influencing men through manipulation. (expatriate)
- This seems rather useless, but it's an amusing break. (expatriate)
- I am thinking about my family. This is interesting. (Bangladesh man whose wife works outside the home)
- My wife is a housewife. That's her job. This is interesting but probably not relevant to the project. (Bangladeshi project staff)
- I am learning about training, how to train. I can use some of these techniques in training PWSS staff. (Bangladeshi staff member, male)
- I already agree with all this. But anyway, my work does not have a gender component. (Young Bangladeshi technical expert)

There was much joking in the project office after this session. One male project officer in particular started to tease the women, saying things like, 'Well, now that we know we're all the same, maybe we can stay in the same room when we go out to the field!'

Two participants in this training later spoke with other groups (Group 3 and Group 4), introducing the topic of gender in their own way. Both politely recommended that the groups pay close attention, although one of these had expressed some objections to the trainers' approach to gender in the office shortly after the training.

2.3.2.2 Group 2: ODSs, XENs, and SDEs (Project Office, February 26, 1998)

2.3.2.2.1 Professional and Personal Interests

Participants in this one-day training, like Group 1 participants, were well educated. They were younger on average than Group 1 members but not junior staff. Most seemed to be around age 35 - 45. They all were handling significant project responsibilities (ODS's manage all the work of 3 - 6 towns, for example). The aggressive intelligence and jovial but take-charge manner of most clearly suited them to their current work.

One ODS rejected the social concept of gender outright during the first few minutes: the sharp divisions between women and men, he said, were made by God. The extreme contrasts of opinion within the group were already evident. In an interview on the day before the training another ODS had expressed an entirely different point of view:

"As long as women don't earn and don't develop their personalities, they won't advance. The husband is everything. Parents give priority to boy children. These kinds of social attitudes defeat them at early ages. Earning their own money and education about their rights is needed. Improving general education levels will help too. Clothing is part of the problem. Saris reduce women's capabilities. If they wore pants, they would function differently. Of course, there is regional and cultural variation."

This was the most unruly of the four groups. From the beginning of their one-day training, some of them loudly expressed impatience with trainer's exercises, with the trainer's method of communicating through examples, and so on, sorely trying the trainers' patience. Others indulged in side comments and discussions. Five of the twenty drifted in late during the first two hours, one loudly complaining as he arrived that he had not received an invitation. Many yawned and had side-conversations as the end of the day approached.

The trainers mentioned later that they sometimes find this kind of disruptive behavior, which they attribute to anxiety about the subject. There was evidence of anxiety, to be sure, but it probably did not account for all of the group's impatience. In a few cases important comments or questions -- whether "reproduction" includes child-rearing or just child-bearing; why the trainers did not recognize that very poor people have different household gender roles than middle class people -- were treated dismissively. There were several remarks about the lack of connection to project activities and the inappropriateness of rural examples.

2.3.2.2.2 Gender Issues in the Project

A number of project specific gender issues were discussed:

Men

Perform certain types of water- and sanitation-related tasks, such as supervision of project operations (a reference to the participants' own jobs); arrangements for pure drinking water (buying buckets, for example) and household sanitation facilities.

Women

Have other duties, such as (trained caretakers doing) minor repairs on hand tubewells; preparing tubewell to produce safe drinking water; and educating children to use pure drinking water and sanitary latrines.

Near the end of the session one ODS explained that the project originally emphasized women's roles more than men's because 'Women suffer more from water-borne diseases', so making them responsible would improve their health. Women's work has increased through this project, he continued, but we still need to figure out ways to make things work more smoothly for them.

2.3.2.2.3 Situation Analyses

Comments on case studies indicated general group awareness of female beneficiaries' needs and Bangladesh gender issues. There was a vigorous debate about whether society's rejection of the tomboy **Sushila** (Case No. 6) was proper or not. While Group 1 members and some in Group 2 observed that such an adventurous, aggressive girl might have trouble getting a husband, others commented that as society is changing, she might marry well despite having a nonconformist personality.

Discussing **The New Latrine** (Case No. 2), in which the mother and daughter were more interested in a latrine than was the father, group members made perceptive comments:

"The women wanted their own latrine so they would not have to wait until night to use the latrine 'Shame' forces women to go to the latrine at night This is much more important for women than men, who can urinate anywhere. The latrine would save the women from getting kidnapped when they went out for toilet at night. [But] having a latrine causes extra work for them, since women have to arrange extra water "

Group 2 discussed the project's abandoned **Female Masons** program (Case No. 4). In discussing the question, 'Why did the masons get less pay?', group members made several apt comments. They pointed out that because of poor 'awareness', women are generally assumed to be less skilled than men. They acknowledged that women who seek such jobs are likely to be the only earning members in their households. But because 'no men were there to help them bargain', they were vulnerable to being exploited by contractors. Or possibly, one said, they felt insecure.

Discussing **Communicating with Piped Water Customers** (Case No. 5), in which a PWSS superintendent is having difficulty promoting house connections, gender biases in project operations were acknowledged:

- The PWSS discusses problems only with [male] home owners. This approach leaves out both women and renters from decision-making process.
- NGO women could help because they talk regularly with women and other community people. One contrasted this approach with that of PWSS staff who, he said, do not like to share their information with others.

2.3.2.2.4 Initial Reactions

There were abundant jokes and witty criticisms made throughout the day. One man got a big laugh during the discussion of economics. He announced that he had asked his wife to give him Tk. 10 in the morning, but she would not give it to him. He said this contradicted the trainers' statement that 'all decisions are made by men'.

In a subsequent conversation one ODS, a religious man, declined to comment. Another said he had found the training useless since, 'The women I know aren't especially oppressed'. He said that the Project Office had 'selected the wrong trainer', and that 'we all thought [one woman trainer] was too arrogant'. He said many group members were angry with her.

2.3.2.3 Group 3: PWSS Superintendents (USHA Training Center, March 11 and 12, 1998)

2.3.2.3.1 Professional and Personal Interests

This two-day training was provided to a relatively young, technically trained group, consisting of 15 men mostly well under age 40 and one older man. All are officially reporting to pourashava chairmen, but unofficially to the Project Office. Some said they appreciated the change of venue to the USHA office, where they felt more free to express themselves than they did the Project Office.

Some members of this group were already immersed in debates about feminism in Bangladesh; they had read the works of Taslima Nasreen, for example, and other strongly feminist social thinkers.

The session started out on a positive, friendly note. One superintendent said in his welcoming speech, 'I expect some new things from this training. We are all technical people, busy with technical things. We appreciate a chance to think about new, more enjoyable topics'. The USHA trainer explained that this was a 'Training of Trainers', and that the trainees were considered as change agents.

At a morning tea break there was a noisy debate among four or five participants about whether religion was an appropriate subject of discussion in this training. One or two defended the Holy Quran, saying that it says women and men have the same rights. Others objected: in reality, they said, there is discrimination against women, who can have only one husband, although men can have up to four wives. When the group noticed that the consultant was listening, they reduced their discussion to whispers. The role of religion persisted as a theme in the discussion, different participants agreeing or disagreeing with strict Islamic codes. One of the younger participant said that a limit on women's involvement in the project, even if they are interested, is that 'Religion blinds them'. The older, religious man said during role-play about female caretakers, 'Our religious leaders say, you should do your own work.'

There was some interest within the group in discussing the relationship between gender and intelligence. One man raised the point of men's brains being larger than women's, which he argued, made men more intellectually competent. The trainers did not encourage discussion

on this topic, beyond pointing out that women are 'more observant than men' and repeating the message that biology does not determine social roles.

There were more opportunities for creative expression in this session than in the previous two. Participants expressed themselves through drawings and role play, for example, as well as through verbal questions and comments. These opportunities maintained higher levels of interest in Group 3 training than in Groups 1 or 2.

The trainers had developed new methods that improved focus by the time they conducted this session. They started with introductory statements from all participants in which expectations from this training were mentioned. These same expectations were reviewed in a final "evaluation" session. Most people expressed their sincere wishes to better society through their work and to improve their understanding of gender through the training. They appeared to be an idealistic lot

Individuals' Training Objectives

During the introductory session, participants identified numerous subjects they wished to have addressed in the training:

1. Work-related

- See how men and women can work together;
- Improving women's skills;
- Promoting evolution of women's work: making it socially and culturally acceptable;
- Improve communication about non-technical issues,
- Learn how to communicate quickly with women;
- Learn how to motivate pourashava women to take house connections, reduce water wastage, and pay their [water] bills;
- Learn how to incorporate women in the workplace;
- Improve the water and sanitation sector.

2. Promotion of Equality in Gender Relations

- Learn how to remove old thinking about women -- especially traditional assumptions about women's work;
- Learn techniques to decrease the differences between men and women,
- Reduce discrimination against women,
- Use Islam to prevent gender discrimination, which is not acceptable to Islam;
- Investigate how men and women can share in social progress;
- Learn how to serve women

3. Consideration of Bangladesh Gender Issues

- Understand the differences between men and women;
- Increase gender-related knowledge;
- Find out the basic rights of men and women,
- Consider religious issues.

4. Other/General

- Develop socially and nationally/Service to humanity;
- Participate in the training.

An initial exercise provided an opportunity for expression of participants' ideals and the ways they see their work in relation to society. (Their images and explanations are in Table A-2.3.1, in Annex 2.3).

2.3.2.3.2 Gender Issues in the Project

Gender-related project concerns were identified by each participant. This was the first group to discuss ways in which gender relationships actually affected their own work, rather than just speaking abstractly about gender division of labor. (Their comments are presented in full, by division, in Annex A-2.3, Table A-2.3.2.) The main issues mentioned were:

- Social and religious customs make it difficult for us men to talk to female customers. Some refuse to talk to us, even if they are interested. If we do talk to women, men of the town, including commissioners, may complain.
- Women's names and addresses are not public information. So it is difficult to find women to talk to.
- Poor women want to listen to us but do not have time. More well-off, educated women have time but are not so interested.
- Many women are too busy with housework to talk with us.
- (One man) If I invite one woman to receive tubewell caretaker training, she brings others with her. If I invite 20 people, 60 actually come.
- Our local committee (WSSC) includes some commissioners. But the people on it are not working. And we ourselves are not well enough trained [to assist them].
- There are no women working in DPHE.

These concerns were not equally shared by all participants, as subsequent discussion showed. Poverty and lack of awareness, it was agreed, were common in all project towns. But not all participants had the same difficulties in communicating with women. Some women do speak with men and cooperate with them, it was said. There also was disagreement about local committees' (WSSC) activity. Some WSSC's were said to work much better than others. But it was generally true, they agreed, that appointed women commissioners do not command sufficient respect with others, and men object to the fact that women chair the WSSC's.

Regarding women's economic disadvantages, one religious man pointed out that his marriage contract requires that he provide all his wife's food and shelter needs. So, he said, she does not need to go outside. The trainer replied that women's economic dependence has important disadvantages, but the participant was not persuaded. Other participants seemed interested in the economic discussion and exploring the reasons why women do not do as well in the workplace as men.

As in other sessions the 'quota system', by which women are appointed to office rather than being elected, came up for discussion. An excerpt from the notes (of Gender Theory, Political Aspects) will provide the reader with the flavor of the conversation:

Trainer

Which class of people are in power? Not the poor and landless. How many of them are in parliament? Running for office requires money above all. All of the people in politics are rich. Women have much less wealth than men, their capacity to run for political office is less

Participant

What about the quota system? That puts women in office.

Trainer

We're talking about rights. If you look at the social norms, they are against women in political office, because women are supposed to take care of their husband, and they're less likely to have income than men are. Now it's changing. Some union chairmen are women. I'll explain the reasons to you later. [She did not do so.] Quotas are to lift up people who are 'backward'. When government decides to set a quota, women should stand up and demand their rights, not just take the appointments.

Multiple participants (agree and add)

There is more to gaining a parliamentary seat than money. People's support also is needed.

Trainer

Yes, but without money you can't do it. If Sheikh Hasina's son were alive, could she be Prime Minister? If Zia were alive, would Khaleda Begum be leader of BNP?

2.3.2.3.3 Situation Analyses

Case study discussions were not observed in Group 3. Instead there was role-playing. Participants produced short skits in four role-play exercises. Each skit was intended to present a solution to a previously identified problem. Problems and solutions enacted were:

Problem 1

Women's poorer job-related skills.

Solution Enacted

The 'Boss' urges his employees to make more of an effort to recruit women and offer them training.

Problem 2

Volunteers or NGOs do not work in a coordinated manner.

Solution Enacted

Volunteers say that if more funds are provided, they will do a better job of motivating the public.

Problem 3

Social and religious barriers to women coming forward.

Solution Enacted

A hand tubewell caretaker's husband demands that he be trained instead of his wife. A staff person says that men do not allow him to speak to their wives; and women are pressured not to become caretakers because 'it's not women's work'. The project boss urges his staff to 'bring the people and train the people'.

Problem 4

Women's lack of public identities; general subordination to men.

Solution Enacted

Two water supervisors have some trouble finding a woman's house until they ask for her as 'wife of her husband. The family has not installed the walls and roof around their project latrine because they cannot afford to do so. Staff suggest to the man that he allow his wife to work and earn the money needed, and she says she is willing to work. But he is against it. So they are advised to discuss it among themselves. When they return six months later, the wife has been earning money. And the family has a cement superstructure over their latrine. The couple has adjusted their housework routine; the husband helps more than he used to, since his wife is now working

Other Observations

This group received an effective training unit on communication methods. The unit presented complex ideas in readily understandable form -- how to understand body language, for example. Key points, many repeated by participants during the final "learning points" review, were:

- Use your words carefully. There may be a gap between intention and understanding. Know your audience.
- Communication is a two-way process, not just a question of sending and receiving messages. A middle zone of understanding develops in every communication event.
- Less than one-third of communication is successful; 70 percent is unsuccessful.
- Remember that language and specific terminology differs from place to place.
- Be empathetic. If you are talking with a rickshaw-puller, think about his life
- Everyone has their own ideas and experience Understand that, and share your point of view in a respectful manner.

2.3.2.3.4 Initial Reactions

Group 3 participants were more active and interested in the training than were those of Groups 1 and 2 Their role-play comments suggested that most have faith in their own powers of persuasion, and that they could devise solutions to some common problems, especially that of contacting female house connection customers.

Reactions to the communication presentation were especially positive, judging from the final summing-up session. Participants reviewed the most important things they learned: 'Before it was senders and receivers But now both sides will communicate. 'We have learned how to successfully communicate what is important'. 'Negative messages don't have a long-term impact; positive messages are more effective'. 'What we say to another person, check whether they understand that message'.

One superintendent was interviewed about three weeks after the training was over. He said that the training was good, and he wished it had been longer. He has always been curious about gender issues and reads the writings of feminist writers such as Taslima Nasreen and Humayn Azad. His fellow superintendents in five other 18DTP towns also read these

works¹⁵. What he learned from this training was that 'Gender is not just about women's rights. There was much information about men too. This was a satisfactory training for that reason'. Certain points could have been covered better, but over-all it was a useful training for him. He criticized the trainers for seeming 'to avoid our comments. They kept saying there wasn't enough time'.

2.3.2.4 Group 4: NGO/CSC Supervisors (USHA Training Center, March 18 and 19, 1998)

2.3.2.4.1 Professional and Personal Interests

Group 4 participants, all female, were women with important project responsibilities but less actual work experience than participants in other groups. They were mostly age 25 - 40.

Like Group 3, Group 4 opened with general statements introducing themselves and their social improvement goals through pictorial images. (These statements are described in Table A-2 3.3, in Annex 2.3) Group 4 members' ideals were similar to those expressed in Group 3, but with the more feminine emphasis on emotions ('I like flowers'), personal service, and self improvement.

Their introductory statements clearly showed that some NGO supervisors saw themselves as social service volunteers more than as professional women; or, at least, they considered 'voluntary worker' as an acceptable way to explain their employment to others. During the discussion occasional mention was made of the fact that some people resent their being paid to do hygiene education and sanitation promotion work. From other interviews, we know that this has been a regular complaint of WSSC members, who do much of the same work, but entirely as unpaid volunteers.

This group differed from the others in its relative lack of concern with 'religion', i.e. fundamentalism, except as an obstacle to progress. There was no debate about whether was right or wrong to discriminate against women, or whether religion supports discrimination. There was more agreement on gender equality goals in this group than in the other three.

Their mention of day labor and construction work during division of labor discussion reflected their greater empathy with poor people than those in the other three groups. This probably reflects the fact that their work brings them into contact with poor people.

Individuals' Training Objectives

Participants' hopes and expectations for the training, summed up in introductory statements, emphasized improved cooperation between the sexes; improving women's social status; and social service:

- We should try to understand each other here. I hope for a complete definition of 'man' and 'woman'.
- I expect to learn how men and women can work together without discrimination or embarrassment /'shyness'.

¹⁵ The six towns are: Magura, Manikganj, Moulvibazar, Narail, Satkhira, and Thakurgaon

- From this course I will learn and teach others how to remove discrimination; I can use what I learn to give women more priority.
- I want to do voluntary work, promoting equal rights.

2.3.2.4.2 Interaction with Trainers

The style of interaction between trainers and participants was distinctively different in Group 4 from the other three groups. There was much lecturing of the women, who sat politely (though showing signs of boredom) Most of the trainees were soft-spoken and passive, compared to men of the other three groups. They were kept waiting for longer times after breaks

The executive director of USHA, a female, conducted only two units. All others were conducted by three men, one of whom, the director's husband, adopted a teaching-preaching manner with minimal opportunity for trainee participation. He gave a 1/2-hour lecture on the evolution of patriarchy through human history during one of the early sessions. When asked (by the consultant) why he was lecturing so much, he explained that it was urgently important to impart much information to these women, and there was not enough time for extended discussion. He apparently saw the NGO supervisors as a sort of vanguard in his organization's crusade to promote gender equality in Bangladesh. But his way of working with them, and occasionally that of the other men as well, was that of a man controlling and talking down to women. The woman trainer's approach, in contrast, was more interactive, issue-focused and stimulating to participants

The male trainers were appreciative of the femininity of their trainees and expected (accurately in some cases but not in all) that their gentlemanly attitude would be an asset in the training. A woman with singing talent was asked twice to entertain the group; she complied once. During the first day's lunch someone in the group commented negatively on the fact that all trainers were male. The USHA director's husband, who was doing most of the lecturing, countered playfully with the remark that 'We don't usually hear women complaining about seeing a man's face. Usually we like to look at people of the opposite sex'.

The presenter in the Communication unit spoke less abstractly to Group 4 than he had to Group 3. He used more examples, presumably because of the lower educational level of Group 4 trainees. Participants' responses to his presentation were clearly less enthusiastic than responses of Group 3 members.

Male trainers reinforced the women's own emphasis on self improvement with statements such as, 'If you want to know a situation, you have to understand yourself, be open, go to others'. Or, 'Whenever people want to work, they must understand their own strengths and weaknesses. If I don't know myself, I cannot meet my expectations'. Such instructions were not given to the other three groups

2.3.2.4.3 Gender Issues in the Project

Participants paired up to identify specific gender issues in the project. As these women's 'workplace' is the beneficiary household, they emphasized family relationships. The comments of each pair are described in Table 2.3 1.

Table 2.3.1 Project Gender Issues Identified by NGO Supervisors

Project Gender Issue Identified	Notes
<i>Interference by Powerful People</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influential people object to development work, especially free latrine distribution. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious people, fundamentalists, object to distribution of latrines in women's names. They say a man's name (father, husband, or son) should be used instead. 	
<i>Obstacles to Working in This Job</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men resent women earning income. 	In discussion some object, saying that not all men resent; only certain groups do.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NGO women workers aren't as well respected by the people as government workers are. 	Many in the group agreed with this statement and added their own comments.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We ourselves do not have enough training 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Husband objects to his wife doing volunteer work. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men generally object to increasing the number of volunteer workers. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female HTW Caretakers: We train them to repair tubewells, but their husbands object when they actually do the work. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women won't take latrines or tubewells without husbands' permission. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women wait for their husbands to come and actually decide to take latrines 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If the latrine platform or pan is broken, women are more bothered than men. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We don't get help from the female beneficiaries themselves. Women living in traditional ways don't want to change. 	Project officer in group objects to this statement; says beneficiary women do help.
<i>Social / Cultural Constraints on Women</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tradition and custom require that women obey their husbands and not make decisions without them. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women can't leave the 'home and stove', even if they want to. 	

Although not obviously a 'gender' issue, interference by influential people is, because as women, the NGO supervisors have almost no ability to defend themselves against such pressure on their own. They only can do so with support from other influential men, such as chairmen or commissioners. In cases where the men pressuring them *are* chairmen or commissioners, they have serious problems.

2.3.2.4.4 Situation Analyses

Role-play Exercises

Role-play exercises on the second day -- facilitated effectively by the female director of USHA -- expanded on some problems identified earlier. Problems and solutions enacted were:

Problem 1

Influential people interfere in the project.

[Participants: Narail, Manikganj, Lalmonirhat, and others]

Situation

A rich man comes into the office and demands a free latrine. He scolds them when they explain project rules; says he was not aware of these rules.

Conclusion (no solution)

He leaves the office, but threatens them on his way out. 'I will see you', he says, meaning that the chairman will be called to punish the women

Problem 2

Husbands object to HTW caretakers doing their work.

[Participants: Thakurgaon, Panchagarh, and other]

Situation

An NGO motivator visits the home with a project tubewell that is not being properly maintained. NGO worker is one day late. Woman says, 'My husband creates barriers' to doing the work. She at first says her husband is not at home but then brings him forward to discuss the problem.

Solution

The NGO workers talk to the husband, but in the end the wife herself persuades him, saying, 'Our children will live, not die, if I do this work. God will reward us'.

Problem 3

Communication skills of NGO workers are not good enough.

[Participants: Bhola, Magura, Moulvibazar]

Situation

NGO workers go to a house where children have diarrhea and immediately tell her that if she installs a sanitary latrine, the children would be more healthy. They say to her, 'You are too poor and weak'.

Conclusion

The workers think about their approach and realize it is best to start with some general conversation about daily life activities. They also think about the fact that it is rude to mention to someone that they are poor

Case Study Discussions

Five case studies were discussed. The interpretations of Group 4 were different from those of Groups 1 and 2. There was a more critical approach to social norms.

Case Study 1

During the discussion of this case male trainers did far more of the talking than they did in other groups. But participants' empathy with the tomboy, **Sushila** (Case No. 6), was evident. Like other groups, they said that she would have trouble getting married and could cause suffering to her parents if she did not adopt more feminine manners. But one participant observed that the reason she would be rejected is that 'All her masculine behavior would provoke male groups' -- implying that the problem was power, not social norms. Another said, 'She is non-traditional, rebelling against our social traditions. That is the reason for her suffering. If she doesn't learn to perform duties expected of a daughter-in-law, her life won't be secure' -- implying that conforming to social norms is a conscious choice, not just an automatic result of socialization.

Like participants in the other groups, these women observed that for Sushila to beat up boys caused problems because it humiliated males and reversed normal hierarchical relationships. There was some joking about how she might have hit the boys in their genital areas.

Case Study 2

During other case study discussions, participants became more active than they were in discussing Sushila. Discussing **The Non-functioning Tubewell** (Case No. 1), participants focused in on the power-play at the base of the problem. They said that men, who do not have to carry water and are not aware of the importance of pure drinking water, fear that their power and control would decrease if women did repairs. Group members seemed to agree that 'Women can do any kind of work if given responsibility'. It is logical, they added, that women should do the repairs rather than wait around for men to come and do them.

Case Study 3

In the case of **Two Unavailable Tubewells** (Case No. 3), in which male-female avoidance requirements prevented access to two tubewells, one near a men's hostel and one inside a walled compound with a new bride, they suggested that the problems could be solved by negotiating compromises which took into account all parties' needs. In an animated discussion participants observed that women would spend extra time to collect safe water if necessary, especially as they became aware of the health effects of using unsafe water.

Case Study 4

There was an especially animated discussion of the case of the **Female Masons** (Case No. 4) facing the problem of others harassing them when they worked for the project, and later hired by a contractor. Comments ranged from idealistic to cynical. 'The project wants women to be more independent, to bring women up to the same level as men', one said. Another added, 'We want to support women laborers'. It was agreed that the teasing, a reaction to women doing non-traditional work would have reduced their interest in doing the work.

Other, more cynical comments were: 'The contractors only want to hire the women because the donor wants them to'. Or, 'The contractor can easily exploit women. [who] get less salary'. So, it is in the contractors' interest to hire them, not the project's decision at all.

Several participants, familiar with the actual case, expressed some common views. For example, they said that women producing latrines were more conscientious than men. They took more time, but the quality of their work was better. They said 'mental disturbances' probably were caused by the teasing.

Participants were not entirely sympathetic with female masons, however. Some said that they did not have the same work habits as men. And their tendency to 'sit at home' reduced their work speed and general productivity.

Case Study 5

During the discussion of **Communicating with Piped Water Supply Customers** (Case No. 5), a situation in which a PWSS superintendent gets help from NGO women as he tries to persuade women to take piped supply house connections, this group's comments were generally similar to those of others'. But they emphasized limitations caused by men's attitudes more than those caused by women's restrictions. For example, they generally agreed that PWSS staff, being male, usually prefer to talk to men. The NGO workers, who are women and visit houses every day, claimed to understand community people better than PWSS staff.

Concerning household decision-making and women's ability to talk with unrelated men, one participant added a comment not heard in other sessions:

It depends on the income. If I earn money, I can tell my husband that we should spend money on a house connection. but a woman who doesn't earn can't tell her husband so much.

This training session ended with a short discussion of possible activities participants might initiate when they returned home.

2.3.2.4.5. Initial Reactions

Three weeks after this training four Nilphamarı Division NGO/CSC supervisors were asked what they thought about the training. Their comments were generally enthusiastic, but obviously influenced by the fact that the staff member interpreting was responsible for organizing the training. One said, 'I understood about division of labor and so on, but in this pourashava women's problems are many. Men here are not likely to understand or change much, but anyway, I now understand why'. She continued: 'This can help me in the selection of volunteers. If they want to be volunteers but their husbands object... we now will approach the men. We will stress the over-all development benefits of having women work too'. 'We make suggestions', she said, that they should take up gardening or poultry rearing. But their husbands say, "I'll do. You just sit". We can encourage them. And we must also talk to the husbands'.

The second supervisor felt she had been educated. Before the training, she said, 'we had the wrong ideas about the rights of men and women. Now we can discuss these when we go out to do hygiene education. Some very poor husbands do not allow their wives to go out to work. We can emphasize the things we learned in working with beneficiary families'.

Another supervisor, who also said she was more inclined now to talk to husbands of female beneficiaries, said that she had learned that, 'We live in a society and also are limited by prejudice. But we ourselves create and use the prejudices. We see ourselves as inferior. Now I see men and women as equally capable'.

A fourth supervisor said she had learned that we 'women should depend on ourselves, not on others'. She complained about commissioners teasing her team members, saying, 'You're not good enough'. From the training, she said, 'Now we know we are'. She said that she had told her team about all this the day before our conversation. They will use their new ideas to motivate volunteers to come forward.

2.3.3 Project Office Post-training Communication

Shortly after the four training sessions were over the Project Office sent a letter to NGO/CSC supervisors and PWSS superintendents about possible follow-up plans in specific towns. The letter urged them to make local plans and reassured them that they would receive project support and assistance if they did so.

One follow-up activity was undertaken by the Project Office itself. Gender -- specifically 'How to work with men (beneficiaries)' -- was added to the agenda of a series of planned "refresher courses" for NGO/CSC teams.

2.3.4 Six Month Follow-up Findings

In October 1998 a follow-up questionnaire was distributed to all workshop participants. A total of 30 questionnaires were filled out (either in Bengali or English). In a couple of cases people declined to fill out the questionnaires rather than say negative things about the training. One PWSS Superintendent who did not participate in the training filled out a questionnaire, saying that he had increased his confidence in female staff members. Table 2.3.2 indicates the groups from which questionnaires were received.

2.3.4.1 Recall of Training Messages

Respondents were asked to mention any one training message they remembered, whether they agreed or disagreed with it. Comments are summarized in Table 2.3.3, below. Responses included one "message" *not* actually communicated in the training: that gender roles are based on biological differences (Item 3 in the table).

Asked whether they had thought much about the matter since participating in the training, only one member of Group 1 had thought about it 'often', but no Group 2 respondents had. Among Group 3 members, ten had thought about the subject only 'occasionally', 'rarely', or 'only just now in response to this question'; and one had thought about it often. Four Group 4 members had thought about it 'often', and three, 'occasionally'.

Table 2.3.2 Six Month Follow-up Questionnaires Received

From	Total Participants	Number of Questionnaires Returned (Participants Only)
Group 1: Project Staff DPHE, Consultants	16	8 (50%)
Group 2: ODSs, SDEs, XENs, FDSs	20	4 (20%)
Group 3: PWSS Superintendents	16	11 (69%)
Group 4: NGO Supervisors	16	8 (50%)
Total	68	31 (46%)

Table 2.3.3 Six Month Recall of Training Messages

Remembered Messages *	Mentioned by
1. Biological differences do not determine social gender roles (women's innate capabilities similar to men's) - message accepted	13 people Groups 1 (2), 2 (2), 3 (4), and 4 (5)
2. Biological differences do not determine social gender roles - message remembered but partly / fully rejected	3 people Groups 1 (1) and 2 (2)
3. Gender roles are based on biological differences (men's greater physical strength)	2 people Groups 1 and 4
4. Goal of gender equality - accepted	1 person Group 1
5. Goal of gender equality - rejected **	2 people Group 1
6. Rights of men and women (theory / debate / conservatism about 'discrimination' against women)	5 people Groups 1 (1), 3 (2), and 4 (2)
7. Theory: Socialization of children	1 person Group 4
8. Practical planning ideas	1 person Group 3
9. Case Study: 'Tomboy Sushila'	6 people Group 4
10. Learned through role-play about men's / women's work in hygiene education; role-play was enjoyable / realistic / helped to identify solutions	4 people Group 3
11. I said during training, 'Woman is the field where man plants seeds'.	1 person Group 3
12. Gender Theory - I asked a question that trainers could not answer	1 person Group 1
13. No Message Remembered	2 people Group 1 and 3

* Multiple responses possible

** Perceived as supporting a goal of female social domination (by 1 person)

These responses show, at least, that (a) people tend to remember those training subjects in which they are actively, not passively engaged -- e.g , something they themselves did, as with role-play, or an opinion they expressed. And (b) people may think they heard something they did not hear, as in the case of two respondents' remembering' the opposite message from that communicated.

2.3.4.2 Impact of Training on Work

Training participants were asked to mention any specific way that the gender training had affected their work, their plans, or even their thinking about gender in the project. Their comments are summarized in Table 2.3.4

Table 2.3.4 Reported Impact of Training on Participants' Work

Positive Comments, that Training *	Mentioned by
1. Improved communication with housewives about water connections/bill payments/ not wasting water	4 people Groups 3 (3) and 4 (1)
2. Inspired me to give female staff more responsibility.	2 people Group 3
3. Helped me train others.	4 people Groups 1 (1) and 4 (3)
4. Was useful in planning/doing my work.	2 people Group 4
5. Sensitized me to: gender aspect of water-sanitation sector; the need for men and women to cooperate; the need for greater involvement of women.	6 people Group 4
6. Made me aware of the need to include men in tubewell caretaker training and hygiene education.	1 person Group 4
Negative Comments, that Training *	Mentioned by
1. Promoted a negative image of men.	1 person Group 1
2. Was not necessary, because the gender aspect of the project does not need improvement.	1 person Group 1
3. Had no relevance to my work; was not used.	15 people Groups 1 (5), 2 (4), and 3 (6)

* Multiple responses possible

Group 1 and 2 respondents (all but one) made negative comments. Their lack of perceived relevance to project work is not surprising, considering that (a) in the training offered to these two groups the relevance to project work was not apparent at all. Furthermore, even if it had been clearer, (b) some of these trainees were opposed to the concept from the start and not likely to have their attitudes changed by a one-day session. Even those supporting the principle of gender training had negative comments. One Group 1 participant who was already active in planning field-level gender training commented, for example, that, 'This training did not make any linkage between the content of the sessions and gender in water and sanitation'.

Influence of the training has extended to others who did not participate directly. At least some PWSS superintendents and NGO supervisors are known to have communicated what they learned to field staff soon after the training.

Asked to explain any 'problems or successes' encountered in following up in the workplace, respondents of Groups 1, 3 and 4 made the following comments:

Group 1

- NGO staff are the best agents to disseminate field-level messages about gender relation in water-sanitation programs.
- Project staff joke, tease, and criticize us when we try to apply training principles in the field.

Group 3

- Housewives still are reluctant to speak with men, but we now know that women staff can help us to communicate with them
- People's low levels of gender knowledge still prevent us from directly communicating with housewives. (1) Our women do not express directly their interest in water improvement, sometimes because they fear their parents/husbands.(1)
- Women are responsible for most water wastage, but we still do not have effective ways of persuading them to change their habits. I am worried about this issue.
- The NGO teams have been very effective in hygiene education because of their skills in creating positive relationships between men and women.
- [Intended as a negative comment:] NGO supervisors have become more confident after receiving the gender training.
- We have increased house connections and payment of overdue water bills (arrears) because of the training:

'A housewife persuaded her husband to pay the bill after we talked to her, but her husband complained to us later about this'

Group 4 (Some Made Multiple Comments)

- We have succeeded in involving both men and women in promotion of cleanliness and maintenance of facilities. (3)
- Women's attitudes have changed. They are more willing to join group meetings than they used to be.
- Men and women both think that Allah himself has determined male/female tasks. So they are not willing to discuss this matter. Fundamentalists are especially opposed to such discussion. When people do agree to talk with us, especially if we contact them often, they understand and cooperate with each other.
- If all of us are trained, we will replicate good gender patterns within our own organization (PWSS and CSC/NGO teams) Then we can succeed with this program.
- We ourselves are making more of an effort to persuade men to allow their wives to work outside the home and otherwise come forward. Some husbands' attitudes are changing, as they understand the economic advantages of women earning income or educating daughters. (2)

One day I visited field with my staff and observed some men working in a field. A girl was riding by on a bicycle, and the men were laughing at her. I asked them why they were laughing, and they replied that it looked odd to see a girl riding a bicycle — only bad girls do that sort of thing. The day before, they said, a girl had fallen off a bike, and they all had a good laugh. Then the staff and I explained, It is very difficult for a man to earn enough money to provide three meals per day for his family. Some women in poor households are trying to arrange food along with men. Is that bad? Since women take more responsibility anyway for families, what is the harm in their improving family solvency?

Some attitude changes mentioned are, of course, caused by economic and social changes in society as a whole, not just to the gender training. Sending more girls to school and letting poor women earn income — these are established social trends in Bangladesh.

Reports of success, though very small in number, do strongly suggest that the better quality of training received had an inspiring effect on participants in Groups 3 and 4. The receptiveness of most group members, however, clearly also has been a factor. They probably would have made sincere efforts to include or improve women with any form of encouragement from the project. The perceived educational value of the training, nonetheless, gave them confidence to stand up and conduct project business in accordance with their pre-existing values.

The Group 1 participant's comment about many project staff making fun of gender-related work is significant. It shows that the project, although officially endorsing 'women in development' goals, may be sending mixed messages to field staff.

2.3.4.3 Participants' Recommendations about Future Gender Training

Participants were asked whether they would recommend this training to others and why or why not. Comments from Group 1 and 2 members were surprisingly positive, considering their generally negative tone on other points. Comments are summarized in Table 2.3.5.

One PWSS superintendent blamed the training for a dismissed employee's filing a court case against the project. (The NGO employee who filed the above-mentioned court case was not a trainee.) This statement shows how dangerous some consider the promotion of gender equality ideas through such training. It is not likely ever to be 100% acceptable. The recommendation that trainers be more 'neutral' has merit, in the sense that some moderately conservative people might be persuaded to reduce economic discrimination against women. But planners also need to acknowledge that extreme fundamentalism and feminism (in any form) are irreconcilable opposites.

Table 2.3.5 Reasons for Supporting or Opposing Further Gender Training

Reason / Comment *	Mentioned by	Training Recommended
Improvement in 'awareness' of staff and/or beneficiaries will result (or) Training can improve cooperation between men and women in household hygiene or hand tubewell maintenance.	12 people Groups 1 (4), 2 (1), 3 (3), and 4 (4)	Yes (12)
Recommend, with suggestions about modifying the approach: ⇒ Use more politically and religiously neutral trainers. ⇒ Expand to more DPHE officials, pourashava council members, project officials, and beneficiaries. ⇒ The curriculum needs improvement: better orientation to 'women in development' / gender topic; analyze positive and negatives of women through activities, identify factors influencing gender relations and promote use of disaggregated data; list important characteristics of self-reliant women. ⇒ Recommend to do together with other local clubs / national organizations (IFADEP, OVA, women's organizations)	4 people Groups 1 (3) and 4 (1)	Yes (4)
Training would improve project staff's willingness to promote development for female beneficiaries/equal rights for all human beings.	2 people Group 2	Yes (2)
Program planning/general project benefits would result.	2 people Groups 2 (1) and 3 (1)	Yes (2)
Training can improve consumer relations (re. house connections)	1 person Group 3	Yes (1)
Negative. Training encourages female staff insubordination	1 person Group 3	No (1)
No Comment	8 people Groups 1 (1), 2 (1), 3 (3), and 4 (1)	Yes (4) Not sure (4)

* Multiple responses possible

2.3.5 Field-level Planning for Future Gender Training

Within six months of receiving gender training PWSS superintendents and NGO supervisors in nine project towns¹⁶ had prepared plans to train others about gender aspects of water and sanitation. These plans reflect careful follow-up efforts by Project Office staff with Group 3 and 4 members, who were urged to collaborate. Gender training topics will include: gender as a social not biological fact, division of labor, socialization, women's rights, roles of men and women in sanitation, and analysis of problem situations.

2.3.6 Summary and Conclusions

As both project staff and consultants were doing this training for the first time, there were initial problems with organization and content. The most serious problems were:

- The lack of clarity about the objectives of the training. Neither staff, trainers, nor participants (especially the first two groups) were clear about why this activity was being conducted.
- The connection to water, sanitation, and hygiene education was not clear enough, especially in the first two sessions

The four groups received different trainings, in terms of both style and content. Groups 1 and 2, consisting mostly of managers and central office staff, received a generally poor quality of training. It was not participatory, and it did not relate directly to project goals or activities. Groups 3 and 4 (PWSS superintendents and NGO supervisors) had more scope to express themselves. And the content of their trainings was appropriately project-related.

In three of the four groups, those in which all or most participants were male, religious issues came up for discussion and debate. This is an inevitable part of such work in contemporary Bangladesh, and various suggestions arose to avoid potential conflicts in future training sessions, especially one to present material in a more 'neutral' manner.

It is important for expatriate advisors and the donor to understand that "religion" is multi-faceted matter, not a uniform approach. Many different points of view are justified by reference to the Holy Q'uran — some pro-WID and others rigidly patriarchal. Being an observant Muslim does not necessarily preclude support of project WID objectives. The proper Islamic view of gender is under intense discussion in Bangladesh nowadays. And USHA has worked hard during the past decade to persuade religious leaders to understand and accept changing gender roles and relationships, as the dialogue quoted in the Group 1 training description shows.

¹⁶ Staff of Nilphamari Division (Lalmoirhat, Panchagarh, Naogaon, Thakurgaon), Magura Division (Narail, Magura), Manikganj Division (Manikganj, Netrokona), Jhalokati Division (Shariatpur)

2.3.6.1 Effectiveness of the Training

Despite several criticisms of their approach made in this report, USHA, the training consultant, provided a satisfactory service over-all. They made up for initial deficiencies by making the curriculum closely relevant to project work as they gained more experience. Their willingness to improve and general competence in gender issues demonstrated a strongly professional approach

The lack of focus and the inflexible training approach, in combination with already high levels of anxiety about the subject, made the training less effective for the first two groups than for the second two. Observations of the training itself and follow-up interviews demonstrate the validity of a standard training principle, namely, that people learn more from active participation than from passively watching or listening to others. Role play and discussion of case studies were especially participatory and effective training techniques, as was the discussion of gender-based division of labor, done with an element of surprise, as roles got reversed while people's eyes were closed.

The participation principle, however, is difficult to implement in a strongly hierarchical society such as Bangladesh. Gender and social class distinctions can and do undermine even the best intentions. This was true in the case of the training for female NGO supervisors: it was controlled for long periods of time by well-meaning but domineering men. It also is true in the field.

The two groups that received the better quality of training also have been the most active in following up on what they learned in field situations -- changing their own work patterns (for example, giving female staff more responsibility) or training others. These two groups also have received supportive follow-up attention from the Project Office.

Despite the fears of some senior staff that this training would lead the project into a negative, anti-male type of feminism, the tone of all follow-up work seems to be very positive and promoting of more cooperation between men and women in water and sanitation-related activities, plus encouragement of poor families to increase their income by allowing women to work outside the home. PWSS superintendents, at least some of them, seemed to learn the most from the training, which might help them improve customer service for house connection users.

Positive outcomes, however, cannot all be attributed to the training. Some trainees (most of those in Groups 3 and 4) were highly predisposed to accept and use the messages communicated. Those who were not thus predisposed probably did not change much because of the training

The most significant outcome of the training thus far has been the preparation of follow-up plans to increase gender awareness regarding water and sanitation in nine project towns. It is especially interesting that PWSS superintendents and NGO/CSC teams have responded to Project Office suggestions and collaborated in five of the towns.

It is important to note that almost all trainees, even those who got little from the experience, would recommend this training to others, even if only as an awareness-building exercise. Some recommended this, of course, with the proviso that changes would have to be made.

2.3.6.2 Specific Gender Issues in the 18DTP

Observation of training sessions provided an opportunity to clarify the kinds of gender issues that arise in connection with this (or another comparable) project's work. Opportunities and obstacles got expressed. Abstract ideals (for and against gender equality) were affirmed. Specific situations were reviewed and debated. Ways to overcome perceived obstacles got tested in role-play

Several important gender issues were highlighted in the training sessions:

- ***Project Staff Have Strong and Differing Opinions About Women in Development***
Some are clearly interested in promoting women's rights and reducing discrimination through the 18DTP, while others feel that gender and project work are best kept separate, whatever the official documents prescribe.
- ***There Is Room for Change***
Project personnel's expectations about women's roles or working capabilities affect opportunities provided for women through the project. Some are giving the matter serious thought, as are many others in Bangladesh. There is scope for improved cooperation and collaboration between male and female staff members, as well as improved ways of working with both male and female beneficiaries.
- ***Male and Female Water and Sanitation Roles and Needs Differ***
Male and female beneficiaries' water and sanitation needs and problems differ somewhat. Women need private latrines more than men do. Women tend to be more inconvenienced than men by broken tubewells. Women are in charge of household water handling and need to learn about not wasting water. Within the household control of money and decisions about large expenditures (purchasing or maintaining project equipment, e.g.) differs from one class to another but is known to cause problems between husbands and wives
- ***Differing Political Opportunities of Men and Women Have Affected the 18DTP Community Participation Program***
The fact that women are appointed to office rather than being elected may detract from female officials' ability to lead others, or even to command enough respect to bring others to a meeting. The project requirement that WSSCs be chaired by females was discussed as an important reason for committees' uneven performance.
- ***Social Restrictions Affect Local Government's Capacity to Communicate with All Water Users***
Female *pardah* (seclusion) and social invisibility — e.g., neighbors' not knowing women's names — make it difficult to contact or include women. Male project staff who do communicate with women may receive complaints from community members. The staff themselves may have conservative views that limit their capacity to communicate directly with female customers.

If and when they are contacted, however, female customers or beneficiaries can help to promote project objectives. They may persuade their husbands to pay water bills, for example. And they are likely to be strongly motivated to maintain project-provided facilities, especially latrines and tubewells.

- ***Men Need Encouragement to Support Project WID Objectives***

It is important to work with HTW caretakers' husbands and other men, who may strongly object to women taking on important water/sanitation responsibilities. Many men probably can be persuaded to help instead of hindering the work.

- ***Gender and Power Conspire to Create Difficulties***

Influential men are known to try to co-opt project equipment or try to direct activities in directions that will benefit them personally or politically. There probably is no easy solution to this problem. Few staff or beneficiaries are able to stand up to such people. Training is not likely to affect their attitudes, which result from their economic and political aspirations or a determination to maintain established hierarchies and defeat rivals.

2.3.6.3 Recommendations

As more gender training is to take place before the end of the project, a few things staff might keep in mind are listed below.

- ***Improve Focus and Define Objectives or Action Points***

The training needed greater focus and several modifications. Objectives must be identified and clearly communicated to any future trainees. The reasons for discussing gender in a water and sanitation project must also be clarified, if only during the training itself. Every training session should conclude with a well-focused discussion of how and why the training could affect specific project work.

Objectives need definition from two points of view — that of the project and that of participants themselves. Project personnel should be prepared to explain why they perceive a need for more gender sensitivity *within the context of 18DTP activities* when they introduce the trainers to any new participant groups. Points that might be stressed would be: need for local government to minimize water wastage and make sure that piped water customers pay their bills; health benefits and risks of men's and women's differing hygiene practices; roles and responsibilities of men and women in the water and sanitation sector. Obtaining the trainees' gender ideas and personal training objectives, as was done in Groups 3 and 4, is an effective starting point to which reference can be made at the end of the training. It also tends to bring out the best in people and may help them to stay focused.

- ***General Approach and Theory***

The 'gender equality' concept is highly controversial and sensitive. Even well-meaning project personnel sometimes mistook it for an effort to promote women's domination or a western-style battle of the sexes. A more acceptable concept is 'gender equity', in which both males and females are respected and cooperating, but with differences recognized.

The difference between biological sex and social gender is a very important one and should be maintained. But it could be presented in a more subtle way than it was in the sessions observed. For example, there are 'reproductive' activities conducted by males — child rearing is one

The trainers' approach to theory was effective, judging from the discussion it promoted. It also made connections between gender division of labor and social class or economic issues in ways that were new even to well-educated participants. As abstractly interesting as it might have been to a few, however, the long lecture delivered to Group 4 on the evolution of patriarchy was inappropriate to this type of training.

The lack of attention to specifically *urban* and contemporary life was a serious problem with the training observed. There is a need to develop an information base and examples on division of labor in urban environments and populations. Agricultural examples, while still understandable to most Bangladeshis, must be mixed with new, urban ones.

Complexity and controversy also need to be acknowledged. There are now multiple, competing ways of managing gender relationships in Bangladesh. The trainers' approach was more simplistic than it needed to be.

There also is a need for more discussion and emphasis on social class differences, which are critically important in the water and sanitation sector. Life in slums and in fringe areas of large towns is the reality for much of this project's sanitation and hygiene education program. Poor people are the main beneficiaries of latrine and tubewell programs. Too many of the trainers' comments assumed a middle-class point of view. This was almost acceptable in Dhaka, but it would be completely out of place in much gender training in district towns.

Trainers' efforts to persuade participants that women are oppressed or discriminated against were strongly resisted by many men (but fewer women). In any future training activities, the woman-as-victim idea should receive less emphasis. There are ways to talk about gender-power relationships and economic inequalities without implying that women are weak or suffering — indeed, some women skillfully manipulate these structures to their own advantage, as many men know. A more balanced approach would be more successful, although no one

- ***Expand Participatory Techniques***

The use of role-play and case study discussion was clearly effective. It should be expanded in any future training sessions, with minimal use made of teaching or preaching. More case studies could be developed (or solicited from trainees themselves), perhaps as a special exercise in itself. This might enable project staff and beneficiaries from one town to learn from those in other towns, spreading learning along with other benefits.

- ***Training for New Groups of Participants***

Expansion must be done carefully and with clear expectations defined. Work with field-level staff, beneficiaries, or potential volunteers could be extended along the lines already defined. But training for pourashava chairmen or council members is not likely to be much use unless they themselves express interest in it, and a curriculum is developed to which they can easily relate.

There are several ways that a connection could be made. One point to mention is that national policies promote gender equity in all sectors. Thus gender is a prominent feature of the nation's Five Year Plans. The issue of election vs. appointment for female officials is one specific way that national policy affects the project. Data could be gathered on male and female literacy rates for each pourashava, sex ratios, and other statistical indicators of gender discrimination. In sum, careful homework should be done in preparation for the planned sessions with pourashava chairmen

- ***Support Field Staff Training Activities***

PWSS superintendents' and NGO staff members' proposals to extend training to field staff and project beneficiaries are worthwhile and deserving of project support — both financial and technical. Supervision from central office and possibly also consultants will ensure consistent quality in this activity. If it is to be conducted, it should be done as carefully as possible. It would be advisable to define clear objectives and evaluate outcomes and impacts through inexpensive but rigorous methods.