

WID 24

NOTES ON WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT NO. 24

(Case Studies)

CASE STUDY OF THE WOMEN'S COMPONENTS

OF THE

BANGLADESH POPULATION PROJECT

AND THE

SECOND POPULATION AND FAMILY HEALTH PROJECT

This case study is one of a series prepared expressly for discussion by World Bank staff in workshops on women in development. It is in no sense an evaluation of the project, and describes only those of its features which are relevant to the concerns of the workshop.

Office of the Advisor on Women in Development  
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## BANGLADESH POPULATION AND FAMILY HEALTH PROJECT

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This case study was prepared by the staff of The World Bank Office of the Adviser on Women in Development with the assistance of the following consultants: Catherine Overholt, Mary B. Anderson, Kathleen Cloud, and James Austin. The case is to serve as the basis for class discussion rather than to illustrate either effective or ineffective handling of a project situation.

Case Study of the Women's Components of the Bangladesh Population Project  
and the Second Population and Family Health Project

I. The Country Context

In the Republic of Bangladesh, growing poverty since the mid-1960's has brought increasing landlessness, declining real wages and continuous declines in caloric intake for large segments of the population. (See Tables I and II for data on Bangladesh). "Hard core" poverty-- defined as an income level at which only 85 percent or less of recommended minimum caloric intake is met-- was practically non-existent in 1963/64. By 1976/77, 60 percent and 40 percent respectively of the rural and urban population of Bangladesh lived in "hard core" poverty.

Whereas children have traditionally been highly valued in Bangladesh families, as access to land decreases and employment opportunities are scarce, families derive fewer economic benefits from children. Under acute scarcity, the feeding of children through their early teens can overtax non-expandable family resources. As work opportunities on the land diminish, education of children becomes a necessary avenue to productive employment and this further adds to the costs of raising children. The current socio-economic conditions of the rural poor may be exerting pressure for smaller, planned families.

The Government of Bangladesh in its First Five Year Plan (1973-1978) placed very high priority on population control and set as its goal a decline in fertility to replacement level by the end of the century. (See Table I for data on Bangladesh's population). In order to meet this goal, contraceptive usage will have to be extended to about 54 percent of married women. The government estimates that about 25 percent of eligible couples are now ready to accept family planning aids.

A broad-based, multi-sectoral population program was undertaken during the First Five Year Plan and extended during the Second Five Year Plan. In addition, during the Second Plan, the government is undertaking a variety of unconventional efforts to try to meet its ambitious population control goal. These include a four-year birth moratorium to be implemented through community participation with awards being given to successful villages, providing special health care to these villages, raising the legal age for marriage, devising new ways of extending family planning services, expanding the participation of the private sector in the family planning program and developing flexible financial and administrative procedures for the government agencies involved in the program.

A nation-wide family planning delivery system has been developed which uses teams of family planning field workers for home visits and has paramedical staff and physicians stationed in rural family welfare centers at thana health complexes to deliver family planning services and basic maternal and child health care. Several government departments that have extensive contact with the public have integrated family planning information, education and motivation activities into their regular programs. The primary coordinator of most population activities within government

is the Population Control and Family Planning Division (PCFPD) of the Ministry of Health and Population Control. The government also supports family planning activities in the private sector and within the village self-reliant development movement. Believing there are links between population growth and the status of women, it also seeks to promote the social and economic emancipation of women.

## II. Women in Rural Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, as in other countries, poverty tends to affect women more acutely than men. The condition of women in rural Bangladesh is particularly precarious because of their narrowly circumscribed roles within the family and within traditional social organization. Even though actively engaged in productive activities, women are seen as, and often even consider themselves, wholly dependent on male guardians.

### A. Traditional Social Organization and the Value of Children

Families in Bangladesh are patrilineal, patriarchal and patrilocal. Upon marriage, a woman moves to her husband's locality and becomes part of his lineage. On average, women marry at 15.9 years of age while men marry at 24 years. Marriages are arranged and ties of conjugal affection are expected to develop after marriage. Positions within families are hierarchically defined by sex and age so that men dominate women, mothers-in-law dominate daughters-in-law, and newly married wives of younger sons are subordinate to everybody in the husband's family. If difficulties arise, a young woman's family of origin cannot be relied upon to intervene on her behalf. Repudiation or divorce are ever present risks. Young wives are, therefore, prudent to secure their positions within their husbands' families through untiring work and other domestic virtues, through submissiveness to their husbands and mothers-in-law, and by bearing children, preferably sons, in quick succession.

For rural families seeking to expand their holdings, children-- particularly sons-- have through their labor and wage earnings been a decisive advantage. Furthermore, because of women's subordinate roles relative to men, a family could face rapid economic decline and even destitution if the male head dies or leaves without being succeeded by sons who can work the land and back up property claims. Formal administrative structures are weak at the village level and cannot be relied upon to defend legal titles for women without husbands or other male protectors. Sons are, therefore, cherished and indulged from an early age as possible future guardians and providers.

However, recent pressures of population on land, leading to increased landlessness and progressive impoverishment, have weakened traditional support systems based on kinship obligations so that women who formerly could depend on male kin for support frequently find that this support is not now available.

### B. Purdah and the Status of Women

Purdah is still a near-universally accepted value in Bangladesh, guiding women's conduct in public and shaping the respective roles of men and women. The prescriptions of Islamic purdah are based on acknowledgment of sexual desire and aggression as ever-present and difficult-to-control elements of the human condition. Purdah is meant to institutionalize restraint through social controls by limiting contacts<sup>1/</sup> between men and women and by creating sheltered spaces for females.<sup>2/</sup> Koranic prescriptions themselves provide only an outline of how the purdah system is to be defined and one finds great variation among Muslim societies.

In rural Bangladesh women in purdah stay within the family compound or its immediate vicinity. Open fields and public roads are defined as "male space" which women traverse only exceptionally and for reasons determined to be valid by male religious or community leaders. When travelling, women stay in closed conveyances or cover themselves as much as possible. Such strict purdah is, however, difficult and costly to maintain and only a few families in each village can afford to do so. Nevertheless, this way of life<sup>2/</sup> is the ideal and many villagers try as much as possible to emulate it.<sup>2/</sup>

### C. Women's Roles in the Rural Economy

Islam does not bar women from economic activities and specifically safeguards women's rights to proceeds from their own work. The traditional Bengali ideal is, however, that a woman should not work or, at least, should not be seen as needing to work. According to this tradition, women cannot buy or sell in local markets, negotiate on their own behalf or seek paid work when in need. Because of these restrictions, women are, in fact, dependent on male kinfolk or other intermediaries for realizing proceeds from their work and are, therefore, not always able to retain control over their earnings.

Work tasks within family units are strictly segregated by gender. Men work in the fields, buy and sell in the market and manage all contacts with the outside world. In grain production, men do all of the field work including sowing, weeding and tending and harvesting.

Women are responsible for all rice processing and preparation for the next crop. Processing involves husking, parboiling, drying and winnowing. Each of these tasks is time consuming and involves several steps such as preparation of the threshing floor before husking, turning the grains in the sun several times a day for drying, and repeated winnowing both before husking and afterward. Women are also responsible for grain

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<sup>1/</sup> Hanna Papanek. Purdah: Separate Worlds and Symbolic Shelter. In Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 50, No. 3 (1973): 239-325.

<sup>2/</sup> cf. Taherunessa Abdullah and Sandra Zeidenstein. Women's Reality: Critical Issues for Program Design. In Studies in Family Planning. Special Issue, Vol. 10, No. 11/12 (1979): 344-352.

storage. Yields and the sales or consumption value of the rice crop depend directly on the skill with which these tasks are performed.

Women's other direct contributions to the household economy include fruit and vegetable cultivation, animal husbandry and handicraft production of needed household goods and implements such as baskets, quilts, fishnets, etc. They produce, process and prepare all items in the family diet. They prepare the ground for planting of the household garden and fence the area as well. They sow the seeds, water, cultivate and harvest in this area. If there is a surplus, a woman may sell it through an intermediary - usually a child or her husband - in the market. Women are entirely in charge of poultry raising and share the responsibility for cows, bullocks and goats with men. They feed, water and milk these animals with some help from their children. In artisan households, women perform attendant tasks to support their husband's production. Women are responsible for all childcare.

These descriptions of men's and women's activities describe households which, while they may be at a subsistence level, are nonetheless viable economically. In these, women are found to work on average 17 hours per day while men work 11. A number of rural households are below subsistence. In these, men and women have virtually no resources of their own with which to work.

The landless and some small farmers derive about half of total family income from work on other people's farms, trading, crafts or rural public works. In spite of tradition, women are now engaging in all of these activities except trade.

Women's opportunities for wage work are, however, severely circumscribed by very narrow geographic and functional limits. Because of purdah restrictions, a woman will normally seek work only in households which are located within a narrow radius from her homestead and with whom her family has some prior social connection. Functionally women are mainly restricted to domestic work and crop processing. Rice processing accounts for about half of all female employment in rural areas. Women's wages are depressed by the scarcity of such work opportunities relative to the number of women seeking them. When engaged in work on "women crops," women receive about one-third of the wage rate paid to men.

Current government policies favor the mechanization of post-harvest activities. These policies, if pursued, will eliminate some employment opportunities for women. Because yields are lower when rice is mechanically processed, total grain supplies will also be reduced.

#### D. Women's Changing Survival Strategies

Within the recent past, rural society in Bangladesh appears to have changed rapidly in at least two respects: rural women are assuming

more visible roles in work and public life and the desire for fewer children has increased markedly. The experience of the Independence War and civil strife has made women aware that seclusion affords only tenuous protection. These upheavals also increased the number of households that are headed by women who, without male kin, depend for survival on their own resourcefulness and ability to find paid work. These women, and those others who because of landlessness are also impoverished, comprise a number of the households below subsistence. The women of these households are seeking different and broader economic opportunities, rather than the birthing of many sons, for their own survival.

### III. The Project

The World Bank has assisted Bangladesh with two population projects. The First Project cost about US\$45.7 million for which an IDA credit of US\$15 million was approved in 1975. The object of the First Project was to increase the demand for and supply of maternal and child health (MCH) and family planning services. To do this, the project focused on 1) training more MCH and family planning paramedical workers and increasing their numbers; 2) beginning pilot schemes to introduce family life education into the activities of five sectoral ministries and to support women's vocational training; 3) strengthening the mass media's capacity to deal with population topics; 4) building up appropriate research and evaluation capabilities and 5) supporting private sector activities and innovative ideas in family planning.

The Second Project, estimated to cost US\$110 million for which an IDA credit of US\$32 million was approved in May 1979, became effective in July 1980. Six bilateral agencies cofinanced about 60 percent of the costs of both projects on a grant basis. The Second Project also was intended to provide for training of health and family planning personnel and for the extension of family planning through information, education and motivation activities. In addition, it focused on the improvement of maternal and child health and family planning service delivery and on strengthening the Government's capacity for project implementation and for research and evaluation.

In both projects there was a small explicit women's component, supporting three programs which were already operational and expanding them to include family planning elements. The three programs were Women's Cooperatives, Mothers' Clubs and Women's Vocational Training. The project support was undertaken with a view to raising the socio-economic status of women and to making them more receptive to the small family norm. The three schemes covered various target groups and geographic areas. Once incorporated into the Population Projects, the women's programs became pilot projects within Bangladesh's multisectoral population program and were coordinated by the PCFPD. They also became accountable to the Government's Planning Commission for the efficient use of development funds and for their performance in terms of stated family planning targets. In the Second Project, a total of US\$7 million was allocated for these three women's programs or about 6 percent of the total Project costs.

Below, each of the three programs is described in some detail.

#### A. Women's Cooperatives of the Integrated Rural Development Program

The Women's Cooperatives are a program of the Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives. IRDP is active in over 200 of the 473 thanas in Bangladesh where its village cooperatives and thana-level institutions represent virtually the only rural service infrastructure. IRDP officials at the thana and district levels support the women's projects as integral parts of their programs.

In each thana where the women's program is working, there are three female staff: a deputy project officer, appointed by IRDP headquarters, and two inspectresses. Deputy project officers (who must be college graduates) have overall responsibility for program supervision at the thana level. Inspectresses are recruited and hired locally. They work at the village level to motivate women to organize and supervise Cooperatives. At the thana office, inspectresses organize training for rural women and assist in channeling inputs and services to Cooperatives. Inspectresses are required to have completed high school education but often have intermediate degrees.

Women's Cooperatives provide rural women with direct access to small credits, extension education and agricultural inputs. To join a village cooperative society, a woman must acquire at least one share (TK10 = US\$1.63) of society capital. Active members are expected to make further small savings deposits and to attend weekly society meetings. IRDP Women's Cooperatives differ from those for men in that "share capital" acquired by members is not usually used for capital investment in cooperatively owned facilities. Rather, women save cooperatively but use their credits for individual investments.

Women's economic activities are limited in scale by a relatively low ceiling on individual credits. Credits are available to Cooperative members in amounts ranging from Tk25 to Tk500 (US\$1.56 to US\$31.25) for a duration of six to twelve months. Handling fees and interest bring credit charges to no more than 12 percent p.a. which is very low compared to the usurious rates charged by local money lenders. Credit applications must be based on a production plan and are approved by thana authorities for village cooperative societies as a whole. Societies only become eligible for a new loan once all individual loans from an earlier tranche have been repaid. Peer pressure generated by this policy has kept default rates below ten percent so that Women's Cooperatives, more than men's, are very good credit risks.

The extension education element of the Women's Cooperatives Program is organized on a two-tier model. Managers and two other representatives of village cooperative societies attend weekly training sessions at Thana Training and Development Centers. These leaders, who receive travel expenses or an honorarium for their involvement, are, in turn, expected to pass on their knowledge to other Cooperative members at weekly Cooperative meetings. This training builds on skills and abilities which women already have such as poultry raising, small animal husbandry, kitchen gardening and handicrafts. The scope of these



income-generating activities is limited by lack of resources and limited access to markets, and current programs address these particular constraints.

The family planning aspects of the Women's Cooperatives undertaken as a result of the Population Project involve Cooperatives' staff with PCFPD field staff in arranging for education and services. The idea is that, as a group activity, family planning is less sensitive and possibly safer since the Women's Cooperatives can gain information about options in contraception and obtain contraceptive re-supplies or referrals for medical procedures. The Women's Cooperatives have been purposefully organized to include women from across socio-economic classes. The philosophy has been that by getting better-off women involved in work, the onus against work for women will be lessened. This approach extends to the use of family planning services as well. The IRDP women's program also offers nutrition education, primary health care and adult literacy training in collaboration with other Government services or community organizations. These serve further to integrate family planning activities with other aspects of women's lives which affect their status and opportunities.

Under the First Project, activities were initially planned for a three and one half year period which actually extended from September 1975 to July 1980. IRDP had planned to establish 190 Women's Cooperatives in 193 thanas, but was able to surpass this target when additional funds were committed for the women's program due to a devaluation of the taka in 1977. By July 1980, IRDP had established 746 village Cooperatives with a total membership of 31,200 women. Share capital and savings averaged Tk60 per member. One million, nine hundred thousand taka had been disbursed in small credits, benefiting about 25 percent of the membership. Eleven thousand women had started income-generating projects, mainly in agricultural activities. Three thousand and six hundred women Cooperative leaders were taking weekly or monthly training classes at Thana Training and Development Centers. Specialized training had been given to 1,700 women in a number of skills including tailoring, duck raising, horticulture, pond fish cultivation, basic health, adult literacy and simple accounting. About 30 percent of members were estimated to be current users of contraception. Under the Second Project, 1980/81 to 1983/84, the IRDP women's program plans to expand its coverage to 1,200 societies in 40 thanas.

### 3. Social Welfare Mothers' Club

The second women's component of the Population Projects is the Mothers' Clubs program. It is part of the Social Welfare Department's Rural Social Service Project for disadvantaged rural groups which include women without resources, the landless, out-of-school youth, children and the elderly. In consultation with village committees, the Rural Social Service Project seeks to stimulate self-help activities within communities and to identify target groups and needs.

The Rural Social Service Project has a staff of mostly male thana Social Welfare Officers with university degrees in social welfare or social work and of male and female village social workers with intermediate or secondary education. The village social workers receive three months' pre-service training in community development, non-formal education, maternal and child health, nutrition and family planning.

Mothers' Clubs are organized to promote women's income generating activities and to offer functional education and family planning information and services. They meet in donated premises and are open several afternoons each week.

Social Welfare Mothers' Clubs are intended to serve the very poorest. Village social workers conduct household surveys and are given clear criteria for eligibility to Rural Social Service programs. In practice, the very poorest of rural women may simply not be able to attend.

Mothers' Clubs function both as workshops and as social centers. Village social workers who play a facilitating role can, at their discretion, allocate small grants to procure equipment and to set up revolving funds for the purchase of materials. Skill training is offered by part-time trade instructors who are recruited locally for a modest fee and who teach mainly handicrafts and needle work. Assistance is also available in kitchen gardening, poultry raising or other agrobased activities. The Clubs procure materials and help with marketing while the women produce for their own account. The charges for materials enable Clubs to increase their revolving funds. Encouraged by IRDP experience, Mothers' Clubs have added a small credit program.

Family planning is one important focus of the Mothers' Clubs. Upon completion of the First Project, there were 760 Mothers' Clubs which reported 36,000 family planning acceptors recruited among members and other rural women. Among Club members about 30 percent had accepted family planning. In an early evaluation report, Club members were found to be more likely than other village women to have useful skills and to be actively using them to earn incomes. They were also more familiar with some aspects of family health and more likely to be current users of contraception. Under the Second Project it is planned that 840 Clubs will be organized in 21 new thanas and nutrition programs will be organized in 190 of the existing Clubs.

#### C. Women's Vocational Training of the Bangladesh Women's Rehabilitation and Welfare Foundation

The third women's program supported by the Population Projects is the Women's Vocational Training Program of the Bangladesh Women's Rehabilitation and Welfare Foundation. The BWRWF was established in 1972 to help women who were left destitute after the independence war to become self-supporting. After the post-war period, the Foundation continued its professional and vocational training programs to serve widows, divorced or deserted women and women otherwise in distress and their dependents.

The Foundation runs a vocational training program in 34 centers, usually located in the administrative capitals of districts and subdivisions. The centers offer training in a wide variety of trades. These include garment making; embroidery; weaving; cane, bamboo and jute handicrafts; leather and plastic work; jam and confectionary preparation; light agriculture and poultry raising. The choice of production line depends on the local availability of skilled instructors, raw materials and marketing possibilities. Trainees receive a small stipend and are generally trained in two trades, one involving machinery and one manual. Some gender restrictions remain in the training, however. In handloom weaving, for instance, which is the best developed trade in the program, women workers learn to perform only repetitive, manual tasks while the organization of production, maintenance of equipment, materials procurement and marketing remain in the hands of the (male) trademasters or salaried professional staff. Training is, in principle, intended to prepare women for outside employment though a small number of competent workers is retained at production sections attached to the training centers.

Under the First Population Project, additional centers were opened by the Foundation. These had a more ambitious approach, extending women's vocational training to rural areas by opening 32 rural satellite centers in addition to 8 new thana centers. Training was extended at both the thana and satellite centers so that adult literacy, functional education and child-care could be included. Training was conducted in stages: successful trainees from thana centers were to be employed as trainers at rural satellite centers and skilled trainees from rural centers were to practice their trades at Mothers' Clubs or in IRDP Women's Cooperatives.

To run the training program, full-time organizers assisted by two field assistants were appointed to each thana center. Rural satellite centers were each run by a full-time field supervisor.

The women in training at the Vocational Centers are very heterogeneous in terms of age, marital status and educational background. About 25 percent are married women of reproductive age. Thus, family planning motivation aims primarily at women outside the training centers. Trainees are obliged to recruit family planning acceptors in the course of their training. They report, unsurprisingly, that they meet their quotas. Furthermore, having completed their training, skilled women, returning to productive activities and economic security in their own villages, were expected to become local opinion leaders whose influential status and active promotion of family planning would help to change attitudes and increase family planning acceptance.

By July 1980, the Foundation had trained 3,400 women. Seventy-six cooperatives had been formed to assist trained women in organizing productive activities. Records on the employment status of trained women have not been kept. Trainees reported that they had recruited 54,000 family planning acceptors.

Women's Vocational Training appears to be successful in reaching the very poorest women. It effectively serves the women who are actually retained in employment at the centers themselves, though these women generally earn only subsistence level incomes. Newly trained women have not been absorbed, as planned, into the IRDP Cooperatives and Mothers' Clubs, and the BWRWF has not on its own established an adequate follow-up or placement system for its trainees. Women leaving the centers, therefore, have no assurance of finding employment in the areas in which they have been trained.

#### IV. Project Performance

The operational objectives of the women's components of the Population and Family Health Projects were stated primarily in terms of family planning targets and of establishing the required infrastructure to carry out the program. In these terms all three programs met or exceeded their targets. Criteria for women's economic activities were, on the other hand, not established in advance and expectations of the coverage and specific results of the functional education programs were not stated concretely. Therefore, these aspects of the project performance received only uneven attention in project monitoring and reporting.

In their different settings and with varying degrees of emphasis, all three of the women's programs sought to combine training and assistance for income generating activities with literary training, family planning, nutrition and basic health care. Full coverage was achieved only for family planning which with the Population Projects became an integral part of program objectives.

##### A. Geographic Coverage and Coordination

Under both the First and Second Projects, program thanas for the women's components were dispersed throughout Bangladesh. This pattern was adopted with a view towards ultimate country-wide replication of the three pilot approaches. This has, however, made supervision and technical support of field operations difficult.

Because of the PCFPD's role in the inter-departmental coordination of family planning activities, the Population Projects made no specific provisions for coordination among the women's components. As a result, the three women's programs coordinate mostly in the negative, through avoidance of each other's territories. The three programs have become increasingly similar during project implementation, but there have been few consultations on program strategies and only incidental exchanges of technical information. The foreseen complementarity between the Vocational Training and the application of this training to Mothers' Clubs and Women's Cooperatives has not materialized.

##### B. Marketing

In the economic sphere, handicrafts production in the women's components is experiencing marketing problems. Difficulties arise because of insufficient quality control, lack of attractive designs, and the absence of initiative and business skills on the part of field staff who were hired mainly for administrative qualifications.

Under the Second Project, a central service unit was established within the Population Control and Family Planning Division to assist all three components with market surveys, design and quality control. Since the work of the proposed unit is not directly related to family planning concerns, it has never had sufficient priority within the PCFPD. Furthermore, because of the coordination problems discussed above, the common service unit has not had the united support of the three components which it was intended to serve.

On local markets, agrobased household production has a stable, but not unlimited, demand. Present returns as reported in illustrative accounts of enterprises by individual women in the Population Projects are quite high. These could, however, decrease if the present pilot projects are scaled up so that supplies of goods increase significantly.

In all three programs, the economic aspect faces another problem. Procurement and marketing, quality control and design adjustments necessitate overhead costs which are high in relation to the value of the goods produced. For the women's programs, these service functions are, to a large extent, absorbed into the operating costs of the program infrastructure and are not charged to the prices of the goods produced by the women. These goods produced under the auspices of the women's programs, therefore, reach markets at subsidized prices.

### C. Program Costs

Upon completion of the First Project in mid-1980, about US\$976,000 had been expended for Women's Cooperatives, US\$452,000 for Mothers' Clubs and US\$534,000 for Women's Vocational Training. For the Second Project, cost estimates at appraisal were US\$2,387,000 for Cooperatives, US\$3,120,000 for Mothers' Clubs and US\$1,628,000 for Vocational Training, but actual allocations may be much lower, due to an ongoing reexamination of all development expenditures by the Planning Commission.

Cost estimates and expenditures under the Population Projects do not reflect total assistance needs. All three components have benefited from other past or ongoing external assistance to women's development activities in Bangladesh. UNICEF, USAID and several NGOs and mission groups are supporting labor saving or productivity raising technology for women, functional education, primary health care, nutrition and child-weighing, feasibility and marketing studies for women's income generating activities and management training for women. This has kept the program development costs of the women's components low and has enabled IRDP and Social Welfare to adopt already existing program packages for their supplementary activities. Each of the three components has, additionally, been able to obtain supplementary funds from other resources. IRDP has had bilateral assistance from CIDA for program consultants, an evaluation adviser and the preparation of a staff training manual, and from UNICEF for its primary health care pilot project. Mothers' Clubs have been assisted by IUCW, CARE and FPIA with their nutrition and credit programs and with contraceptive supplies.

The Women's Vocational Training Program is receiving support from a UNICEF/ILO expert team.

During the First Project, technical assistance provisions were kept to a minimum. This reflected a general Government policy and an assessment that the women's components would pose few research or development challenges. In retrospect, this proved an underestimation which has been partially remedied in the Second Project. A total of five person-years of advisory assistance was included in cost estimates to strengthen the management and internal evaluation capacities of all three women's programs.

#### D. Evaluation and Monitoring

Impact evaluations of the women's components have been carried out, for the main part, by the External Evaluation Unit (EEU) of the Government's Planning Commission. The EEU has itself been receiving technical assistance under the Population Projects. At the outset of the First Project, the EEU was not well equipped to produce research designs. Some initial impact evaluations were thus conducted prematurely, before extension staff and inputs had been in place for any length of time. More recent EEU studies have been conducted as process-oriented, observation studies which focus on project management and on intermediate factors affecting program results. Evaluation studies are, however, designed without consultation with the department concerned. As a result, program managers are more likely to question the validity of findings than to address problems identified by the EEU. These communication gaps between program administrators and evaluators hamper program follow-up.

Routine performance statistics maintained by the women's programs are uneven, because though reporting requirements are extensive in theory, only a few reports are being prepared on a consistent basis. Field units need more support with the compilation and aggregation of data. Reports primarily cover program results, so that intermediate program management issues such as availability of inputs, application of training and regularity of supervision, are not adequately monitored. On family planning, performance reports are in terms of initial acceptance. Continuation and dropout rates are not carefully reflected.

The First and Second Population Projects attached their women's components to already existing programs for women. Behind this strategy was the belief that population growth is directly correlated to the status and opportunities of women and that family planning will be adopted by women who see its relationship to other aspects of their lives. Each of the three women's programs attracted many women and surpassed its family planning target. Does this result mean that the assumptions of the Projects were true and were the Projects, therefore, a success?

TABLE I

DATA FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Area . . . . .	144,000 sq. km.
Population (Jan. 1978) . . . . .	84.4 million
Population density/sq. km. of agric. land . . . . .	795 people
Percent of population in rural areas . . . . .	91 percent
Percent of rural population that is landless . . . . .	50 percent
Birth rate/1000 (1978) . . . . .	44
Death rate/1000 (1973) . . . . .	19
Population growth rate (1978) . . . . .	2.5 percent
Population growth rate (1951) . . . . .	1.0 percent
Life expectancy (1980) . . . . .	47 years
Percent of total population below 15 years of age. . . . .	46 percent
Dependency ratio (1978: Total population 14 years and below plus 65 and above divided by population 15-64 years).95	
Percent of labor force in agriculture. . . . .	77 percent
Contribution of agriculture to gross domestic product. . . . .	55 percent
Percent of land in rice cultivation. . . . .	80 percent
Average income/capita (1978) . . . . .	US\$91.00
Average income/capita of lowest quartile of population (1978) . . . . .	US\$50.00 equals US\$.14/day

TABLE II  
Bangladesh  
Exhibit I

Basic Indicators

Popula- tion (millions)	Area (thousands of square kilo- meters)	GNP per capita		Average annual rate of infla- tion (percent)		Adult literacy rate (percent) 1975	Life expec- tancy at birth (years) 1978	Average index of food produ- tion per capita(1961 71=100) 1976-78
		Dollars 1978	Average annual growth (per- cent) 1960-78	1960-70	1970-78			
84.7	144	90	-0.4	3.7	17.9	26	47	90

Growth of Production

GDP		Agriculture		Industry		Manufacturing		Services	
1960-70	1970-78	1960-70	1970-78	1960-70	1970-78	1960-70	1970-78	1960-70	1970-78
3.6	2.9	2.7	1.6	7.9	5.9	6.6	5.3	3.8	4.7

Structure of Production

Distribution of gross domestic product (percent)							
Agriculture		Industry		Manufacturing		Services	
1960	1978	1960	1978	(1960	1978)	1960	1978
61	57	8	13	6	8	31	30

Balance of Payments and Debt Service Ratios

Current account balance before interest payments on external public debt (millions of dollars)		Interest payments on external public debt (millions of dollars)		Debt service as percentage of: Exports of goods and services			
1970	1978	1970	1978	GNP		Exports of goods and services	
				1970	1978	1970	1978
..	-302	..	42	..	1.3	..	11.7

Labor Force

Percentage of population of working age (15-64 years)		Percentage of labor force in:						Average annual growth of labor force (percent)		
1960	1978	Agriculture		Industry		Services		Average annual growth of labor force (percent)		
		1960	1978	1960	1978	1960	1978	1960-70	1970-80	1980-2000
53	54	87	74	3	11	10	15	2.5	2.4	2.5



TABLE II  
Bangladesh  
Exhibit 1 (cont.)

Education

Number enrolled in primary school as percentage of age group						Number enrolled in secondary school as percentage of age group		Number enrolled in higher education as percentage of population aged 20-24		Adult literacy rate (percent)	
Total		Male		Female		1960 1977		1960 1976		1960 1975	
1960	1977	1960	1977	1960	1977	1960	1977	1960	1976	1960	1975
47	81	66	103	26	58	8	23	1	2	22	26

Health-related Indicators

Population per:				Percentage of population with access to safe water 1975	Daily calorie supply per capita	
Physician		Nursing person			Total 1977	As percentage of requirement 1977
1960	1977	1960	1977			
..	9,260	..	42,080	53	1,812	78

Life Expectancy

Life expectancy at birth (years)		Infant mortality rate (aged 0-1)		Child death rate (aged 1-4)	
1960	1978	1960	1978	1960	1978
40	47	..	139	29	23

Demographic and Fertility-related Indicators

Crude birth rate per thousand population		Crude death rate per thousand population		Percentage change in: Crude birth rate 1960-78		Crude death rate 1960-78		Total fertility rate 1978	Percentage of women in reproductive age group (aged 15-44) 1978	Percentage of married women using contraceptives 1970 1977	
1960	1978	1960	1978	1960-78	1960-78	1960-78	1960-78	1978	1978	1970	1977
51	46	25	18	-9.8	-28.0	6.1	45	45	..	..	9

Population Growth, Past and Projected, and Hypothetical Stationary Population

Average annual growth of population (percent)		Projected population (millions)		Hypothetical size of stationary population (millions)	Assumed year of reaching net reproduction rate of 1	Year of reaching stationary population
1960-70	1970-78	1980	2000	(millions)		
2.5	2.7	89	143	314	2035	2160

Table III

## WOMEN'S PROGRAM TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF FIRST PROJECT AND PROPOSED TARGET FOR SECOND PROJECT

	Institution	Objective	First Project Target			First Project Achievement				Second Project Target		
			Thanas	Clubs Co-ops Centers	Mem- bers	Thanas	Clubs Co-ops Centers	Mem- bers	Acceptors of Family Planning	Thanas	Clubs Co-ops Centers	Mem- ber
Mothers' Clubs	Department of Social Welfare-Rural Social Services	To provide short-term trainers with little capital for immediate return to resource-less women.	19	760	20,000	19	750	26,400	19,600	40	1,600	48,000
Women's Cooperatives	Integrated Rural Development Programme under Ministry of Rural Development, Local Government, and Cooperatives.	To develop a village-based institution of women to enable them to attain increased economic participation and social independence through improved access to government and private sources.	19	190	5,700	25	500	18,000	9,600	40	1,200	48,000
Vocational Training Centers	Women's Rehabilitation and Welfare Foundation under Women's Affairs Division	To provide professional standard of training on production of marketable products.	8	40	4,880	8	40	2,400	45,000	20	100	6,120