

**Program Development Office
for
Integrated Coastal Zone Management Plan
(PDO-ICZMP)**

**Institutional Arrangements
for ICZM**

Models of Good Practice

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BADC	Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation
BARC	Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council
BCAS	Bangladesh Centre for Advanced Studies
BIP	Bhola Irrigation Project
BIWTA	Bangladesh Inland Water Transportation Authority
BPC	Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation
BRDB	Bangladesh Rural Development Board
BWDB	Bangladesh Water Development Board
CBFM	Community-Based Fisheries Management
CBO	Community-Based Organizations
CDS	Coastal Development Strategy
CDSP	Char Development & Settlement Project
CG	Coast Guard
CIDA	Canadian International Development Assistance
CWBMP	Coastal and Wetland Biodiversity Management Project
CZPo	Coastal Zone Policy
DAE	Department of Agricultural Extension
DANIDA	Danish International Development Assistance
DDP	Delta Development Project
DLRS	Directorate of Land Record and Surveys
DLS	Department of Livestock Services
DMB	Disaster Management Bureau
DOE	Department of Environment
DOF	Department of Fisheries
DPHE	Department of Public Health Engineering
DWMP	Dampara Water Management Project
ECFC	Empowerment of Coastal Fisherfolk Communities (Project)
ECNWRC	Executive Committee of the National Water Resources Council
EMG	Embankment Management Groups
ERD	Economic Relations Division
ESCAP/UN	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
FAP	Flood Action Plan
FD	Forest Department
FEC	French Engineering Consortium
FEJB	Federation of Environmental Journalists, Bangladesh
FFG	Fish Farming Groups
FPCO	Flood Plan Co-ordination Organization
FPS	Flood Policy Study
GNAEP	Greater Noakhali Aquaculture Extension Project

LGED	Local Government Engineering Department
LGI	Local government Institutions
MOEF	Ministry of Environment & Forest
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MOWR	Ministry of Water Resources
NEDA	Netherlands Development Assistance
NEMAP	National Environmental Management Action Plan
NGO	Non Governmental Organizations
NWMP	National Water Management Plan
NWP	National Water Plan
NWPo	National Water Policy
NWRC	National Water Resources Council
O&M	Operation & Maintenance
PD	Project Director
PDO	Program Development Office
PDO-ICZMP	Program Development Office - Integrated Coastal Zone Management Plan
PIP	Priority Investment Program
PoE	Panel of Expert
PP	Project Proforma
PPCP	People's Participation and Consultation Program
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSC	Project Steering Committee
PTD	Participatory Technology Development
RLC	Resource Learning Centers
SC	Steering Committee
SRP	System Rehabilitation Project
TAPP	Technical Assistance Project Proforma
TC	Technical Committee
ToR	Terms of Reference
TRM	Tidal River Management
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WARPO	Water Resources Planning Organization
WFP	World Food Programme
WMA	Water Management Associations
WMC	Water Management Committees
WMF	Water Management Federation
WMO	Water Management Organizations
WPAG	Water Policy Advisory Group

1 INTRODUCTION

Coastal zone of Bangladesh presents a nexus of a range of vulnerabilities and of unrealized potentials for economic development that makes it distinct from the rest of the country (MOWR, 1999b; PDO-ICZMP, 2004a,c). Despite resource constraints, various government agencies have been carrying out programs for vulnerability reduction and livelihoods improvement but the impact of such interventions has been negligible. The main reason for such an outcome is fragmented planning and implementation that will hardly yield optimal benefits. While the problems the country faces are complex and multi-faceted in nature, demanding the knowledge, skills and efforts of a number of agencies for their mitigation or resolution, the government agencies have generally shown their preference for unilateral action. This is a generic problem of administration in Bangladesh and is more acute in the coastal zone due to its physical and socio-economic conditions. After a few missed opportunities¹ at initiating an Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM) program, Government firmly decided in 1999 to process and start up an ICZM program for accelerated development of the coastal zone. By instituting such a program, Government intends to promote a culture of integrated planning and management of coastal development that will bring about qualitative changes in the physical and socio-economic conditions of the people living in the coastal zone without adversely affecting the critical eco-systems.

1.1 Scope of Study

Government assigned the responsibility of initiating the process of ICZM to the Ministry of Water Resources (MOWR) as the lead Ministry and the Water Resources Planning Organization (WARPO) as the lead Agency. A Program Development Office (PDO) was set up to assist the WARPO develop a framework for the development of the coastal zone under the guidance of an inter-Ministerial Steering Committee and an inter-Ministerial Technical Committee.

1.2 Approach to Program Development

The PDO started its operations in 2002 and would continue till the end of 2005 by which time it will facilitate formulation of a Coastal Zone Policy (CZPo), a Coastal Development Strategy (CDS) and a Priority Investment Program (PIP). The CDS has been designed to be prepared inductively by a number of supporting studies that will provide the required inputs. These studies have rightly been called “building blocks” for the reason that these are both inputs to higher level exercises as well as outputs of systematic investigations.

Integrated management connotes a management sub-culture of its own: among other things, it believes in a holistic approach to issues as opposed to a fragmented approach, in consensus building and partnership development as opposed to unilateral action, in cooperation as opposed to dictation, in participatory management as opposed to bureaucratic dominance, and decentralized service delivery and decision-making at different levels of government as opposed to a strong centralized management (Scialabba, 1998). This kind of management is something alien to the administrative culture of the country. Recommendations for instituting an integrated system challenge the current ways of doing business with consequential changes in power relationships. The changes of success

ICZM differs significantly from the existing methods of work and it may not be possible to implement it through a sharp break with the present. This will have to be introduced slowly and gradually over a long time period: it has to be built upon the existing management practices. For these reasons, it is essential to understand the evolution of the current practices and look for the points of entry for the designed interventions. An integral part of this exercise consists in collecting information on policies, programs and strategies that were followed and institutions that were involved in carrying out different programs in the past and are also being continued now. There is lot of information available on the issues raised. There is thus a need to collect and critically analyze this information to facilitate a common understanding of the relationships among them.

Several studies, conceptualized and executed in the above mode, are then used for producing specific outputs. PDO activities over the project period centers round the following six strategic outputs:

- Coastal Zone Policy
- Coastal Development Strategy
- Priority Investment Program
- Enhancing Livelihood Capacity
- Enabling Institutional Environment
- Integrated Knowledge Base

These outputs are related to each other and cover many common grounds. Each output draws upon the others and the CDS draws upon all towards developing an ICZM program that can be implemented.

1.3 Focus of the present study

The present study is focused on discovering the conditions under which it is possible for a diverse set of institutions, with differing goals and methodologies, to agree to work on a common program for service delivery to the people at the grass-root level. In the context of this study, institutions include both the **organizational arrangements** and the **set of basic rules** (laws, regulations and customs) for the purpose of achieving specific policy goals (Le Moigne, *et al*, 1994). In their every day life, people come in contact with institutions at different levels for meeting their various needs: at national, regional, district and village levels. It is their expectation that their problems would be solved by these institutions, including customary rights, traditions, social norms as well as more formal types of organizations. Some issues reflect national interests and processes while others are more regional in character. These have to be resolved at higher levels of administration. There are yet others that are predominantly local and should be managed at this level. Spatial dimension is thus an important consideration for laying out the organizational arrangements to ensure that the requirements of both system integrity and decentralized service delivery are met within a system framework. The spatial dispersion of the organizations and their intra- and inter-organizational linkages would be important issues for consideration.

The other issue for consideration would be the actual behavior of the organization. As organizations

analysis of these mechanisms with reference to both time and space will provide us the institutional profile wherefrom it will be possible to assess the existing organizational arrangements and rules and their compatibility or otherwise with the needs of an ICZM Program.

1.4 Institutional Process Analysis

The organization of the Government of Bangladesh and the rules and procedures for the conduct of its business are detailed in the Rules of Business (GOB, 1996) and has been discussed further in other studies (Huda, 2001). No attempt is made here to repeat the material already presented elsewhere. The purpose here is to make a functional analysis of the public sector institutions in Bangladesh so far as these relate to policy, planning and management of development activities.

1.4.1 Planning function

Planning is an elusive concept and is defined variously by persons following their own predilections. For our purpose, we look at planning as essentially a political process where the planners and the politicians try to reconcile the competing demands and needs with current resources, provide a sense of the future for the polity and maintain coherence in the priorities that are politically determined (Bryant and White, 1982). It is an attempt to deal holistically with a system of problems in contrast to problem-solving. The essential components of a planning framework thus consists of (i) a long-term vision that allows reasonable time for its realization, (ii) a holistic approach that takes into account the complementarities and trade-offs of different policy prescriptions, and (iii) a set of alternative propositions with costs and benefits for a political determination of the priorities. These components indicate that planning exercise is not an autonomous activity and gets its guidance from the policy making process in the country. Policy and planning are parts of the larger system and any discussion of the one will involve reference to the other.

1.4.2 Policy formulation at different Levels²

Policy formulation is the first step in the planning process. This is the most important core function of a Ministry on subjects allocated to it. However, no Ministry can by itself either formulate a policy or implement it. For this reason, inter-ministerial consultation is a necessary step in policy formulation. According to the Rules of Business (GoB 1996), consultation with the designated Ministries is mandatory and no policy proposal of a Ministry can be considered by the Cabinet if it has failed to consult the relevant Ministries.

Ideas for policy development may come from diverse sources including: influential individuals, professional associations, NGOs, local government bodies, donors, Planning Commission, Parliament and its various standing committees, Ministries and Agencies and the Council of Ministers including the Prime Minister. The process of policy formulation may formally start at the agency level or on important issues, it may be initiated at the Ministry level. The draft policy goes through various stages of inter-Ministerial and stakeholder consultation. At this stage, it may undergo several revisions before it is placed before the Cabinet. With the final approval of the Cabinet, a draft policy becomes the formal policy document of the government.

All policies are, however, not approved at the Cabinet level. All national and sector level policies

policies. Most of the Ministries have been created to look after a particular sector or sub-sector. Within the framework of national policies, these Ministries release their sectoral policies. The MOWR has issued the National Water Policy which is an example of a sectoral policy. The third level of policies may be designated as **departmental policies.** These policies are developed to assist the agencies carry forward their tasks within the broad framework of the sectoral policies. Examples of such policies are agricultural extension policy, land settlement policy, marine fisheries policy and food procurement policy and innumerable other policies contained in official circulars, memos and correspondences. Sometimes these are also codified as laws and rules or regulations having the force of law. In the last category belong the **local level policies** that are made occasionally by the field level officials who are responsible for implementation of all the higher level policies. Policies and other supporting documents cannot cover all the points needed for their successful implementation. It is also not possible to anticipate all implementation issues at the policy making level. Policies have to adjust to the ground level conditions that differ significantly from location to location and project to project.

The national and sectoral policies are macro-level policies and generally cover all major issues confronting a particular subject or sector. These are substantive in nature and provide the necessary guidelines for follow up planning activities. The departmental and local level policies are operational in nature and their impacts are limited to particular operations only.

For a variety of reasons, the record of successful policy achievement in its original formulation is rare. Some policies never see the light of the day as they fail to reach the necessary political agreement. Others languish because there are either no champions or funds. Still others die a premature death because the much needed agreement of the concerned officials could not be obtained despite efforts by its principal sponsor. The small percentage of policies that ever get implemented do not exactly achieve the goals with which the process had begun: the final version of the policy document may be far removed from what the original sponsors had intended. Since policy making involves many actors with divergent views on concerned issues, compromise and accommodation are the principal virtues in getting something going. Narrow departmental attitudes are the major stumbling blocks towards formulating a generally acceptable policy.

1.4.3 Planning at different Levels

Like policy formulation, planning exercises are also conducted at different levels on different dimensions. Long-term National Plans, prepared by the Planning Commission with the support and co-operation of the Ministries and the sector agencies, provide the overall macro-economic and development framework. Recently, the Economic Relations Division of the Ministry of Finance has almost finalized the preparation of *A National Strategy for Economic Growth, Poverty Reduction and Social Development*, popularly known as PRSP, which will provide the development framework for the next twenty-five years. Within that framework, different Ministries will adjust their own Master Plans for implementation. These plans again are required to be consistent with the National Plans and the various sector policies. In recent times, significant amount of harmonization at national level planning could be achieved due to the practice of consultations with all stakeholders at all levels.

What has been going on in the name of local level planning is a collation of wish lists collected from stakeholders in consultation meetings held at village and union levels. These are then further scrutinized at the Union Parishad level and the screened list is then presented before the Upazila Development Committee. This Committee further reviews all such proposals received from the different unions under the jurisdiction of the Upazila and on the basis of priority formulates the Upazila level development plan. Both the national and local level planning has some mechanism of ascertaining the preferences of the local people; what is missing is the connection between the two levels of planning. National level planning is induced from above and its inputs from the ground level is largely demand driven while the demands of local people as reflected sometimes in the Upazila plans lack their integration with the national and regional planning.

Notwithstanding the National Plan and the various other sector plans, it has been difficult to enforce planning discipline in the selection of individual projects. Planning process suffers routinely in Bangladesh due to lack of a political will to enforce strict planning and fiscal discipline. Every successive regime has taken recourse to over-programming, mainly to accommodate rather belated political requests. These late additions are included in the planning document without subjecting them to the rigor of a proper appraisal (Mahmud, 2002). The irony is that sometimes these unplanned and unapprised projects get priority in fund allocation over the regularly programmed ones.

1.4.4 Implementation at different Levels

Policy implementation has been more problematic than its formulation. Though policies may be developed at different levels, chances of their success depend on a very high degree of coordination among them. National level policies should help create the enabling economic, institutional and regulatory framework under which policies drawn at the sector level can be implemented at departmental and local levels. Policy making at the national level thus envisages clear, unambiguous and transparent policy direction. Similarly, sector institutions must also frame their own policies by avoiding ambiguities and contradictions among each other's policy pronouncements. A survey carried out under a study commissioned by the PDO-ICZM examined the implementation status of 16 national level policy documents (PDO-ICZMP 2003b). The survey extracted a total of 321 policy statements relevant for coastal zone, of which only 47 had been implemented over an average period of 5 years between the publication of a policy and the time of the survey. The implementation record varied between agencies and Ministries. A few had made significant progress, progress made by few others were moderate while the majority had recorded hardly any movement towards implementation. The survey confirmed the theoretical assumptions that the Ministries, in most cases, had not taken the pains to set their own house in order through dissemination of policies down the line and generating motivation and commitment for their pursuit in addition to tackling the difficult task of harmonization and coordination of policy and its implementation with other agencies (PDO-ICZMP 2003b). Information sharing is an important first step in building trust and confidence. Public sector institutions in Bangladesh have habitually been found lacking in free flow of information. Important policy decisions that need to be disseminated across the board are found restricted to a few people at the top.

dysfunctions (Huda, 2001) due to lack of proper linkages with each other and impeded communication flow. Despite many attempts in the past, CBOs have not taken roots and service delivery is still dominated by temporary project organizations that mostly disappear after the close of project activities. Unless sustainable local level institutions are developed and maintained, equitable and effective service delivery will remain ever problematic.

1.4.5 The Issues

The institutional phenomenon derived through a functional analysis of planning and implementation functions, both in terms of spatial and temporal dimensions of the concerned institutions, brings to the fore the issues that need to be addressed in the study. These may be formulated in the following terms:

On Integrated Planning

- i. Within the overall institutional milieu, is there any example of an institutional framework that has been successful in carrying out an integrated macro-level planning?
- ii. If there are examples, what are the conditions under which a diverse set of organizations agree to work on a common program?
- iii. Does the planning framework cover regional and local level planning? If not, can this be extended to developing sub-regional and local level planning?
- iv. What are the mechanisms for ensuring an interface between the institutions and the public affected by their policies?
- v. What are the mechanisms for ventilation of local and sub-regional points of views on development issues at higher levels, particularly at national and sectoral levels?
- vi. What are the mechanisms for conflict resolution?
- vii. What are the roles of the civil society, the private sector and the NGOs in the formulation of an integrated plan?

On Implementation of an Integrated Plan

- i. What are the organizational arrangements for implementing an integrated plan?
- ii. Is there any institutional mechanism to oversee that there are no deviations from the plan parameters during the implementation phase of certain plan components?
- iii. What are the mechanisms for ensuring an interface between the implementing institutions and the affected public?
- iv. What have been the respective roles of the public agencies, NGOs and the private sector in the implementation of an integrated plan component?
- v. What are the mechanisms for conflict resolution?
- vi. What is the level of institutionalization of CBOs and if this is poor, how can a sustainable system be developed? Do we have some viable models or good practices that can be tested

1.4.6 Methodology

As already mentioned, this study is expected to deliver one of the five structured outputs that will be used, among others, for formulation of CDS. The basic information for an analysis of the issues listed above is expected to be available from a number of supporting studies commissioned by the PDO. Based on their focus and scope, these studies can be listed under the following categories:

National Level Institutional Studies

1. Institutional Review of selected Ministries and Agencies (Huda 2001)
2. Coastal Zone Management: An Analysis of different Policy Documents (PDO-ICZMP 2003a)
3. Status of Implementation of selected National Policies (PDO-ICZMP 2003b)
4. A Systems Analysis of Shrimp Production (PDO-ICZMP 2003d)

Studies on Cross-cutting Issues

1. NGOs in Coastal Development (PDO-ICZMP 2003h)
2. Current and Potential Role of the Private Sector (PDO-ICZMP 2004b)
3. The Process of Policy and Strategy Formulation (PDO-ICZMP 2003g)
4. Coastal Zone Profile (PDO-ICZMP 2004c)

Local Level Case Studies

1. Local Level Institutional Arrangements in Khulna-Jessore Drainage Area: A Case Study (PDO-ICZMP 2003c)
2. Local Level Institutional Arrangements in CDSP: A Case Study (PDO-ICZMP 2003f)
3. Review of Local Institutional Environment in the Coastal Areas of Bangladesh (PDO-ICZMP 2003e)
4. Local Level Institutional Arrangements in ECFC Project: A Case Study (PDO-ICZMP 2003i)

The above studies give valuable insights into the institutional dynamics in the coastal zone. However, with the exception of the CDSP case study, others do not cite any imitable model of good practice. They are useful though in a negative sense in as much as they show the practices that have not worked.

In view of the above, it was not considered desirable to confine the search for models of good practices to the above studies only and the search was extended to some other studies and reports that contain a few success stories.

In the next Chapter, an attempt would be made to develop a conceptual framework that will identify the main features of the good model in some concrete terms so that the findings from the various case studies are compatible, to some degree, with them. The remaining Chapters would present the

2 THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study is searching for some models of good practices for integrated planning and management that can be adopted for an ICZM program. Thus far we have expressed our intent in vague and abstract form. The time has come for giving some concrete shape to our notion of good practices. There has to be, at least at a theoretical level, a construct of ideal institutions that would have the capacity to carry forward the practices of integrated planning and management that the mainstream management practices have not succeeded in doing so far. Such a construct will have to be built around the development challenges faced by the coastal zone, the implications of those challenges for institutional arrangements, and the approaches, skills, tools and techniques required to be adopted by the institutions to meet those challenges. Though the conclusions will be theoretically derived, the analysis will be based on existing information available in the literature. This is not an institutional analysis of existing institutions: it is rather a theoretical construct of what institutions should be like. This is done for the purpose of developing a conceptual framework against which the findings of the various case studies will be compared. We shall attempt to develop the framework in three stages: (i) first, delineate the development challenges faced by the coastal zone, (ii) then, analyze their implications for institutional arrangements, and (iii) finally, outline the main hallmarks of these arrangements against which the findings from the case study materials will be compared.

2.1 Development Challenges faced by the Coastal Zone

Coastal zone offers many opportunities for economic development and livelihoods improvement of the poor: their scope has, however, been limited in the past due to exposure of the coastal people to different kinds of vulnerabilities. A critical task would be a conceptualization of the vulnerability context for designing specific development initiatives.

2.2 The Vulnerabilities

Many of the vulnerabilities coastal people face are the products of the natural environment of the coastal zone. The coastal environment is dominated by huge river flows, strong tidal and wind actions and tropical cyclones and their associated storm surges. Tropical cyclones are formed in the south east of the Bay due to depression and move towards the east coast of the country. Such a tropical cyclone becomes deadlier when associated with water surge caused by a large mass of water at and around the storm center. During the last 125 years, over 42 cyclones hit the coastal area: 15 occurring during the last 30 years (MOWR, 1998). These occurrences leave behind a trail of destruction and misery and further worsen the living conditions of the poor.

The network of rivers also brings a heavy load of sediments estimated at around 2.4 billion tons per year. River flow and tidal and wind actions generate a dynamics of morphological change that lead to accretion and erosion. Both accretion and erosion in the Meghna estuary are prominent. Though the net accretion rate per year is 8 sq.kms and this trend is expected to continue in the foreseeable future, the victims of erosion suffer untold miseries due to landlessness and pauperization.

Cyclones and erosion pose major threats to livelihoods. There are some other vulnerabilities that

Bangladesh continues to remain a heaven for the polluting industries. Majority of the industries established in the coastal cities of Chittagong and Khulna are commissioned without any built-in safeguards against pollution. The effluent and waste generated by these industries are dumped in the rivers that are finally destined for the marine waters. Due to lack of waste treatment plants, domestic sewage also finds its way to the Bay of Bengal (ESCAP, 1987). Agricultural waste and pollution from other sources have not reached an alarming proportion but, unless regulated, they also pose potential threats to the sustainability of the coastal ecosystems (Pagiola, 1999).

The coastal zone of Bangladesh has also been subject to serious eco-system degradation. Of the seven ecosystems of importance identified by the *Bangladesh National Conservation Strategy* (GOB and IUCN, 1997), coastal ecosystem is considered to be the most critical from the point of view of conservation. The important components of this system consist of mangrove forests called the *sunderbans*, wildlife, and fish and other aquatic living organisms in coastal and marine waters. Drying up of sundari trees of the *sunderbans* and silt deposition are considered as threats to its integrity. Marine water is home to at least 475 species of finfish and 56 species of prawns. Overexploitation and the crude method of collecting shrimp fries have been depleting the stock of some of these species.

In addition to the vulnerabilities created by nature, there are the following set of vulnerabilities that limit the development of livelihood in coastal communities (IDA, NEDA and WFP, 1999):

- Widespread poverty, limited livelihoods opportunities and poorly developed economic linkages, including poor access to markets, that are even more severe than in other parts of Bangladesh;
- Poor level of service provision and very poorly developed institutional structure that make the isolation of many coastal areas worse; and
- Highly unequal social structure with a small powerful elite dominating the mass of people, allied to high levels of conflict and poor law and order.

2.3 The Opportunities

Despite the hostility of nature, the coastal area is rich with many resources. Fish in the estuaries and the sea constitute a major coastal resource despite a gradual decline of many species of marine and shellfishes in the Bay of Bengal due to their indiscriminate exploitation. However, brackish water aquaculture has come out as the most promising activity in the field. Bangladesh enjoys very favorable conditions for this type of fish culture. It has been projected that by ensuring disease-free larvae and following a semi-intensive method of culture, foreign exchange earnings from this industry can be more than doubled to US\$ 800 million by 2010 from the present level of US\$ 300 per year (DOF, 2002a)

Bangladesh has one of the largest mangrove eco-systems in the world. The natural mangrove forests in the southwest of Bangladesh, known as the Sunderbans, cover an area of 6, 00,383 ha. Shoreline mangroves are recognized as a buffer against storm-tide surges and have often been noted for their ability to stabilize coastal shorelines. It provides livelihood to about 100,000 people engaged in

2.4 The Development Challenges

Reduction of vulnerability is the main development challenge for the coastal zone. Vulnerability is the degree to which an individual or a system is susceptible to or unable to cope with adverse effects of change brought about by factors beyond his immediate control. The combination of external forces constitutes the vulnerability context and consists of the variability, trends and shocks in the components of the same resource base. A reduction of vulnerability would involve both containing the vulnerability context and increasing the opportunities. However, this relationship between vulnerability and opportunities is not straightforward and is complicated by other factors.

In the wake of creating opportunities, human activities have posed as threats to bio-diversity. Ill-planned and ill-managed development activities carried out in the past have already created serious problems relating to degradation of critical habitats, depletion of natural resources stock, water pollution and other adverse effects. More than half the people of the coastal communities live below poverty line. Exploitation of the coastal resources is the only source of living for a majority of these people. In the process, undoubtedly they cause lot of damage to the ecosystem either by over-exploitation, premature harvesting or wastage. Any restriction on their current activities without opening up new opportunities will spell disaster to these people living close to the edge of bare survival. The case of shrimp fry collection in the marine water is a case in point (DOF, 2002b). Hundreds of thousands of people including children and landless women heads of households are engaged in catching of shrimp fry with fine mesh bag nets and push nets. With the fine push nets, they not only catch the precious shrimp post-larvae but also more than 100 varieties of different larval fish. An estimated 99% of the catch is discarded. This activity is seriously depleting the marine fish stock and the way to save these resources is to regulate the fry collection activity. However, these fry collectors are the poorest of the poor and the most disadvantaged. Before taking any action on conservation, serious thought must be given to their alternative source of livelihood.

The development challenge of reducing vulnerability and of exploiting economic opportunities would, at the least, consist of the following interventions:

- Increasing the availability of local resources
- Increasing the access of households to the available local resource
- Changing the variability, trends and shocks that are part of the vulnerability context
- Accommodating multiple competitive uses by finding out the complementarities and the trade-off for minimizing conflicts
- Balancing the imperatives of conservation with the needs of development

All these will have implications for institutional arrangements of an ICZM program.

2.5 Implications for Institutional Arrangements

The development challenges facing the coastal zone entail the containment of the vulnerability context and expansion of livelihoods opportunities. As has already been seen, the two goals may not always be compatible and the conflicts would have to be mediated through finding out complementarities and trade-offs. The development scenario is further complicated by the goals of

executed in such a manner that its life is not coterminous with the life of a project that may sponsor it initially. It is expected to build its own capacity to operate and maintain the institutions for uninterrupted delivery of services to the people. In the other sense, it means sustainable use of resources. The criterion for sustainable use is that a resource is not to be harvested, extracted or utilized in excess of the amount which can be regenerated (Clark, 1992). Both these dimensions of sustainability are highly desirable for ICZM but, for a variety of reasons, hard to achieve. Institutions now operating in the coastal zone find it difficult to achieve sustainability due to the phenomena of diversity and complexity that characterize the profile of the coastal zone.

2.6 Diversity

The economy and society of Bangladesh are becoming more diverse with every passing year due to the impact of overall economic development, globalization and operation of the market economy (Toufique and Turton, 2002). The image of Bangladesh as a predominantly rural and agrarian economy is fast disappearing. More and more localities are being rapidly urbanized generating demands for utilities and services that had hitherto been unavailable in those areas (World Bank and BCAS, 1998). The farmers are getting involved in non-agricultural livelihoods in large numbers along with farming and, increasingly, they derive incomes from multiple sources. People wishing to take advantage of these new livelihood opportunities must draw heavily on a range of assets: human, social and financial assets are fast becoming as important as natural assets once were. Access to these assets enhances the capacity of households to shift from one livelihood to another or to combine livelihood strategies.

The societal changes have the most visible impact on the rural institutions. Some of these changes will affect the poorer sections of the community negatively. The traditional patron-client relationship is on the decline, threatening the sense of security of the poorer members of the community. Similar is the fate of extended family networks, traditionally an important safety net for the poorest families. Local resources, such as, fuel wood, common grazing land and fishing grounds, once available to the poorest, are dwindling (Rozario, 2002). There are, of course, other developments that will help the poor get out of the poverty trap over time. One such development is the evolving tenurial relationships. Sharecropping arrangements are giving way to fixed-rent tenancy and medium term leasing arrangements (Saha, 2002). The availability of micro-credit to large segment of women has facilitated women empowerment (Khandker, 1998). The provision of three reserved seats for women in each union parishad has added a new dimension to gender equality and has opened a forum for women's participation in decision-making. The institutional players are much more diverse and many more in number. Informal institutions, social structures and class formation in rural communities are in rapid flux. Traditional power structures based on the historic social structures are gradually and slowly giving way to new power relations mediated by market forces (WARPO, 2000c).

The evolving diversity has empowered people and communities that had so long been disenfranchised. In the existing organizational arrangements, most of the public agencies have their field units at different levels of administration. However, both in the matter of planning and management of development work and delivery of services, the stakeholders have hardly been

spheres of one's life were controlled by bureaucratic organizations. In keeping with the demands of time, new kinds of organizations have surfaced intruding into areas that were considered exclusive domains of the public sector organizations. Though not yet done comprehensively, the process of delineating the respective roles of the public and the private sectors has begun. Government has already started withdrawing from commercial activities that can be done better and more economically by the private sector. The services of the NGOs are actively sought by the government to complement its efforts in service delivery, institution building and mobilization of people for specific purposes. A number of civil society organizations are operating on raising awareness or building support on burning issues facing the society. Diversity at social level corresponds to the rise of diverse organizations.

2.7 Complexity

As society becomes more and more diverse, it gets more and more complex. This complexity is visible in the efforts of organizations to balance the needs of differentiation with the imperatives of integration. As a society begins to make a transition from a pre-modern to modern stage, it becomes more rationalized in the management of its resources. Greater mobility of resources—human, physical and technical generate demands for high level of specialization. It was under these imperatives that the British established a system of strong central government administration by creating, among others, a number of specialist government agencies responsible for looking after one or more natural resources or functions (Ali, 1993). Thus was started the legacy of what may be called the “departmental administration” in the late eighteenth century which is going strong even now. Jealous protection of its domain, single-minded pursuit of its mandate despite adverse externalities and blockage of lateral entry into higher management ranks are the cultural norms of a department (Downs, 1967). In more recent times, the Government created another set of organizations called the semi-autonomous or autonomous corporations with more administrative and financial powers for expediting service delivery in areas considered crucial for economic development. However, in their breadth of vision and mode of delivery of services, these turned out to be no different from the government departments. “Departmental administration”, understood as the pursuit of narrowly defined mandates despite their negative externalities, has until very recently been the principal mode of administration in the country irrespective of whether a particular agency is a government department or a public sector corporation.

The issue of sustainability in the face of growing diversity in all spheres of life calls into question the relevance of differentiated organizations. Problems faced by people in their daily life are often multidimensional in character defying the ability of a particular organization or discipline to even comprehend them, not to speak of their solutions. Rapidly changing technology and techniques of work, stiff competition, relocation or dispersion of production units pose real threats to the livelihoods of many people. There is no uniform solution to all these problems. Scarcity of resources and the possibility of their alternate uses bring further complexities into an already complex situation. Too many people chasing too little resources or different people wanting to use a particular resource in different ways may give rise to social conflicts. Such conflicts appear in many forms. These are mostly local, between the same type of users in one place (fishers vying for fishing rights in the same water body), between different type of users in the same place (shrimp versus rice

protected the crop lands from stray animals. With rapid growth of population, scarcity of land became more acute and the traditional system of accommodation completely broke down (Brandon, 1998). A new system, in conformity with the current realities, has not yet emerged and that is at the root of resource use conflicts.

In these rapidly changing social and economic conditions, the efficacy of narrowly focused unilateral action has become highly suspect. This does not mean that people are asking for the elimination of specialized organizations. In the present day world, they are very much needed but in a much better shape than they are now. There has to be recognition that the more the organizations are differentiated, the greater are the needs for managing more internal and external interdependencies. Further, interdependencies become more and more complex corresponding to the levels of complexity of the issues to be addressed. For meeting the development challenges, these differentiated organizations need to work in conjunction with other organizations at different levels of their operations.

2.8 Institutional Arrangements for Integrated Planning and Management

Institutions in Bangladesh, rich in tradition but conservative in approach, have clung to status quo for a long time to the detriment of the interests of the disadvantaged and the poor. Of late, they have been exposed to the new development challenges brought about by rapid social and economic changes. Sustainability has emerged as the overarching issue that has to contend with the attendant phenomena of expanding diversity and growing complexity. Integrated planning and management are considered keys to meet these emerging new challenges and the task is to devise new institutional arrangements that will facilitate the process.

The proposition to devise new institutional arrangements could be contentious: this is, however, ventured from a belief that institutions could be both an obstacle to and an opportunity for development. Institutions can be turned into great facilitators of integrated and collaborative action if the norms, rules and behavior pattern for collaboration for a given constellation of institutions are identified in a transparent and participatory manner. Once a consensus is reached about the new rules of the game, individuals can transcend the limitations of acting in isolation (North, 1995).

These new institutional approaches may be called a partnership approach to development. This is a process under which a constellation of organizations express their willingness to work together and get things done in a collaborative way for the common good. At a broad level of generality, the following four elements constitute the basic foundations of a partnership approach.

- 1. Commitment.** Partnerships require a long range view as well as a willingness, over time, to relinquish some organizational controls in favor of shared governance. There are three main indicators of this level of commitment:

- a. Trust** is absolutely key to long term successful partnership. Trust builds on an explicit organizational track record as well as personal relationships where people routinely deliver on promises made. Effective partnerships are characterized by an alignment between what is said and what is done between people of the partner organizations. The creation and maintenance of an open and unfettered line of communication among all

about the work that lie ahead. It is a process whose moving forces are the growth of consciousness, group identity, solidarity and motivation.

- c. Developing *written agreements or letters of understanding* among the partner organizations are important in sustaining partnerships. The process of negotiating the agreement helps to identify shared goals and clarify expected results. It also clarifies the respective duties and responsibilities of all the partner organizations. This reduces the scope of unintended conflicts and facilitates smooth operation of activities.
2. **Mutual Benefits.** People or organizations will only come together for collaborative action only when they will find some incentives to do so. Perceived mutual benefits are the bonds that will bind the individuals or organizations together on a long term basis. Some of the benefits could be as follows:
- a. *Material gains* in terms of access to resources, services or markets, productivity increase, security from various shocks and threats, increased income or such other things that are valued by the members of the partner organization that improve the livelihoods conditions and quality of life of the people.
 - b. *Sharing risks* and the *willingness to take risks* may result in new or revised programs, new services, and new opportunities being created that would not have been otherwise possible.
 - c. *Developing process, product, or service innovations* and *new ways to deliver programs and services* that were part of the design or might have come about as unintended consequence of the program activities.
 - d. *Empowerment* that motivates the poor to become more active in initiating interventions that help them overcome poverty. The process of constructing group identity, improving economies-of-scale, strengthening collective bargaining power, acquiring new skills and upgrading knowledge base progressively builds economic and social power.
 - e. *Achieving results* that are problematic through isolated action due to either non-cooperation or, sometimes, outright hostility of other relevant organizations.
3. **Governance Structure.** Partnership, by definition, is a constellation of organizations who are guided by their own rules and procedures. For the purposes of running a collaborative program by a variety of organizations it is essential to put a governance structure in place prior to actual launching of a program. Governance structure defines the various roles that partners will play and ensures that all partners understand and accept these roles. Among other things, the governance structure, will define the following:
- a. *Determination of nature and type of organization.* Whether the program would be executed through drawing on existing organizational resources or a new organization would be set up
 - b. *Mechanisms for Policy Direction and Co-ordination.* Who would be responsible for these intricate and sensitive functions? What are the criteria for this determination?

- d. **Financial Management.** Would program funds be centrally managed or allocated on the basis of program components to different partners? If these are centrally managed, who would be responsible for overall financial management and control? Who would maintain the program accounts and be responsible for audit and meeting the audit objections?
 - e. **Monitoring and Evaluation.** Who would be responsible for this job? An outside agency or an internal organization unit? What would be the terms of reference for such a unit?
4. **Networking.** This refers to building up of collaborative action among locally formed groups and their interaction with local and higher institutional levels. These two levels of networking are detailed below:
- a. **Horizontal linkages** signify a process which mobilizes locally coordinated collaborative action of small groups and establish linkages between these groups and other local level institutions. Once groups are stable and operational, they may like to link together in inter-group associations. These secondary level organizations help small groups obtain larger economies-of-scale, tackle bigger community problems, enhance bargaining power of the poor and provide them with a platform for interaction with the public sector agencies operating at local level and other local government organizations.
 - b. **Vertical linkages** link the CBOs with higher level institutions. Given the highly centralized nature of decision-making and concentration of power at the center, it is necessary for the local level organizations to have access to those centers of power and decision-making. For scaling up their small operations and mainstreaming their posture for development, there can not be any alternative to vertical linkages for the CBOs.

In the next couple of Chapters, a number of successful cases of integrated planning and management would be reviewed in the light of the conceptual framework developed in this Chapter and a number of good practices deduced for adoption and use in the CDS.

3 INTEGRATED PLANNING THROUGH PARTNERSHIP AND MODELS OF GOOD PRACTICE

Planning exercises still rest securely in the respective domains of the majority of the Ministries and the agencies under their control on subjects allocated to them by the Government. Continuous pressure from different quarters on some key sectors of the economy to manage development activities in a comprehensive, sustainable and environment-friendly manner had been exposing the limitations of isolated and unilateral planning towards achieving those goals. Initially under pressure and subsequently being convinced of the benefits of integrated planning through partnership with other organizations, a handful of agencies have completed the task of producing integrated plans. If subsequent follow up of the plans by the concerned authorities is a criterion of success, the following plans selected here for this review are all success stories:

1. **Flood Action Plan (1990-1995)**
2. **National Environment Management Action Plan (1992-1994)**
3. **National Water Management Plan (1998-2001)**

This review will consist of two parts. The first part will be devoted to constructing a narrative of the cases on the basis of available secondary sources. Additionally, persons connected with the implementation of the projects will also be interviewed to collect additional information and verification of the data collected. The focus of the narratives would be to set in a sequential order all the important institutional processes that were instrumental in the accomplishment of the tasks. The second part would be used to collate all the information collected in relation to enabling institutional environment for integrated planning and to present, in a coherent and systematic manner, a tentative list of good practices that may be considered for adoption under ICZM.

3.1 Narrative of the Plans

3.1.1 Case 1: Flood Action Plan

The Flood Action Plan (FAP), contrary to popular belief, was essentially a master-planning exercise for developing a flood plan which would, in the long run, provide a comprehensive and durable solution to the recurrent flood problem so as to create an environment for sustained economic growth and social uplift (FPCO, 1995). The idea for the Plan preceded a number of other developments that have a bearing on its genesis and formulation.

Precursors to the FAP

Bangladesh suffered two consecutive severe floods in 1987 and 1988. The flood of 1988 had surpassed all previous records of loss to life and property and drew attention of the international community for assisting the country in finding lasting solutions. By November, 1988, Government had already produced a National Flood Protection Program to tackle the problems of recurrent floods in the country. This was followed by four studies with multilateral and bilateral donor support and three bilateral studies carried out jointly with India, Nepal and Bhutan. Later, in 1990, a team of experts from China, in close association with national experts, prepared a long-term plan for river

various efforts to prepare a program of studies and pilot projects to get a better understanding of the flood problem and a donor's consortium endorsed the FAP in 1989 (World Bank, 1989).

Government followed similar institutional processes for all the four donor-supported studies. These processes and procedures were instrumental in setting the tone of integrated planning through partnership and were later adopted in the processing of the FAP studies. The UNDP study, known as the Flood Policy Study (FPS), has remained the most influential of the four studies and the processes followed there would be summarized here representing typical institutional arrangements for all the other studies.

The first important element in the formulation of the FPS process was the process of consensus building among the principal stakeholders in the Government. The President's Secretariat set the ball rolling by broaching the idea of a comprehensive flood study with both the Planning Commission and the MOWR. There was some hesitation from the MOWR's side on this initiative on two grounds. First, the Ministry had already prepared a report on flood for immediate and short-term rehabilitation. The Ministry had also planned to expand the terms of reference of the consultants for the National Water Plan-Phase II (NWP-II) to enable them to carry out relevant exercises for medium and long-term flood protection strategy as an integral part of overall water management strategies. Secondly, the Ministry felt a little threatened by the overtures of the Planning Commission apprehending undesirable interference in its works. This fear was quickly allayed by the latter by assurances that the MOWR will be in charge of the study and the Planning Commission would only be marginally involved in its role as a coordinator. This role would be nothing more than what has been allocated to it by the Rules of Business of the Government.

The next task was the finalization of the Terms of Reference (ToR) for the study. The Planning Commission had already prepared a draft which was sent to all relevant Ministries for their comments. An inter-Ministerial meeting was held at the MOWR where all the comments were considered. After modification of the draft in the light of deliberations in the meeting, the MOWR then sent it to the Planning Commission who forwarded it in that form to UNDP. The latter accepted the draft and agreed to finance the study for a period of seven months from November, 1988 to May, 1989.

The project was to be executed by a multi-agency and multi-disciplinary Study Team under the guidance of an inter-Ministerial Steering Committee (SC) (GOB and UNDP, 1989). The SC was headed by the Secretary, Planning Commission with the Secretaries of Irrigation, Agriculture, Fisheries, Local Government, Roads and Shipping as members. Important agency heads were also included in the SC. The principal task of the Committee was to provide necessary policy guidance and ensure inter-ministerial co-ordination. The Study Team consisted of expatriate and local specialists. The local team of specialists was headed by the Joint Secretary, MOWR and included officials from the Ministries of Communication, Shipping, Agriculture, and Fisheries as well as technical people from the concerned agencies. Couple of professionals from different universities was also included in the Team.

Frequent consultations and free exchange of information among different organizations, professionals and parallel programs were distinguishing features of the project preparation process.

FAP Organization and Processes

The FAP is a synthesis of the four donor-assisted studies and consists of 26 components, of which 11 are Main Components consisting of regional and project-oriented activities and 15 are Supporting Studies (World Bank, 1989). The Plan was programmed for five years (1990-1995) as the first of several stages towards developing a comprehensive system of flood control to meet the long term objectives of the Government.

FAP Organization

FAP was conceptualized as a multi-sector and multidisciplinary plan to consider, not only the engineering approaches but also the actions of all other stakeholders dealing with water including the synergies and externalities that are created, for an integrated and comprehensive approach to flood management. It was primarily for this reason that it was not considered appropriate to locate the FAP project in the principal water sector agency of the government, namely, Bangladesh Water Development Board (BWDB). The project, to be credible to other stakeholders, needed a new locus. In a strategic move, Government decided to set up an independent office, designated as the Flood Plan Co-ordination Organization (FPCO), for the conduct of the FAP studies directly under the control of the MOWR. That this move was solely guided by the motive of creating an environment for multi-sector approach to flood management and not to deny the BWDB the exercise of its mandatory role is evident from the fact that majority of professional positions were occupied by civil engineers from BWDB including that of the Chief Coordinator/ Chief Engineer. A reasonable skills mix was ensured in the staffing of the FPCO by placing a team of multidisciplinary professionals.

FAP Processes

The mandate of the FPCO was to coordinate, supervise and review the various activities and studies taken up under FAP initiative. The organization was supported on technical and coordination matters by a Panel of Experts (POE) composed of national and international experts of different disciplines (FPCO, 1995). In close collaboration with the POE, the needs of technical coordination were met by three committees operational at three different levels: Inter-agency Working Groups (WG), a Review Committee (RC) and a Technical Committee (TC).

The MOWR constituted 9 WGs by drawing experts from FPCO and from the concerned Ministries and agencies. The principal task of a WG was to prepare a first draft of the ToRs. This would then be reviewed by experts fielded by different donors, POE and FPCO along with the members of the WG that had drafted it. Once the draft was agreed upon, FPCO set the ToR in an agreed standard format suitable for inviting proposals from consultants. At the same time, FPCO prepared a Technical Assistance Project Proforma (TAPP), a standardized format for processing technical assistance proposals with the Planning Commission. The TOR was then submitted to the TC for review and approval while the TAPP was forwarded to the Ministry for scrutiny and onward transmission to the Planning Commission for final approval (FPCO, 1995).

A Review Committee was also constituted by the MOWR with the Additional Secretary of the Ministry as the Convenor and World Bank Coordinator, donor representative, POE representative

with them as needed. Informal exchanges of views amongst the consultant teams were also found effective and encouraging.

The Technical Committee was the highest level committee at the bureaucratic level headed by the Secretary, MOWR with representatives from relevant Ministries and agencies as members. This Committee was responsible for clearing all project documents and ensuring inter-ministerial coordination.

Participation

FAP approach to regional and project planning was designed to produce proposals that were technically, economically, socially and environmentally sound. There had been two basic thrusts to this approach. The first was to provide the basic data and the analytical framework needed to diagnose land and water management problems and to predict the effect of alternative solutions. The second was to deploy the coordinated skills of experts to such fields as hydraulic engineering, agriculture, agricultural economics, soil science, fisheries, public health, social science and ecology.

Such a planning approach was still highly technocratic, although somewhat broad based, compared to pure engineering approach found in the earlier plans. The necessity to establish a methodology of participation at grass-root level was felt with the initiation of FAP: but this remained a major weakness of its planning exercise. (WARPO, 1998). FPCO issued the Guidelines for People's Participation (GPP) to lay down this methodology. As most of the FAP studies had to proceed concurrently while the preparation of the GPP was under progress, people's participation got differential coverage under different projects---ranging from consultations through Rapid Rural Appraisal technique to quite rigorous efforts. Despite these deficiencies, consultations were carried out in pilot projects and regional studies but their impact were marginal at best.

Communication

FAP has been quite open and transparent in communicating the processes and outputs of its study. FPCO, assisted by the POE, maintained continuous contact with donors and other relevant agencies, monitored progress of activities and rendered technical guidance in conducting FAP studies by the consultants. FPCO organized innumerable seminars, workshops, conferences, inter-ministerial meetings and public meetings attended by people from different segments of life. These meetings immensely helped in concluding the studies with proper recommendations.

FAP also organized four annual conferences for disseminating its approaches to planning, methodologies followed, and tentative outcome of various studies. Various comments made by the participants provided important inputs to enriching the evolving FAP processes and outcomes. The proceedings of the conferences, other reports and papers were circulated widely to all concerned including the participants of the conferences.

The MOWR also had occasion to discuss the various FAP issues in the meetings of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on the MOWR and got valuable feedback from the legislators.

3.1.2 Case 2: National Environment Management Action Plan

NEMAP Organization and Processes

Even a few years back, awareness level about environmental concerns was rather low. That environment is a critical element in the sustenance of humans and their habitats got an official recognition with the creation of the Ministry of Environment and Forest (MOEF) in 1989. Prevention and protection of the natural environment became a declared policy of the Government. Towards realizing that policy, Government also approved in 1992 a National Environment Policy and Guidelines for an Environment Action Plan. It is against this background that the NEMAP process was initiated.

Organization

The NEMAP process was coordinated by a National Project Director who also happened to be a Joint Secretary of the MOEF. He also headed the Steering Committee that was charged with coordination of various project activities. Despite the recognition that the active participation and cooperation of the relevant line Ministries and agencies were necessary for implementing the NEMAP, they were not involved in a formal way nor was there any role for them during the third phase, which was the most important of all. The entire process of the third phase was monopolized by the NGOs and the consultants while the MOEF and the Department of Environment were content with their passive roles. Failure of establishing a participatory process in the case of FAP could be explained in terms of lack of prior experience with such a process but ignoring the established practice of involving relevant Ministries and agencies on such a cross-sectoral issue as environment is really inexplicable. Not taking on board the relevant Ministries and agencies during the most constructive phase of the work was a serious strategic mistake and the NEMAP's implementation has been suffering on that account.

Process

Environmental issues encompass all sectors and are mixed with the others in such a complex web that it is difficult to isolate them for appropriate action. The NEMAP process succeeded in ultimately finding its way almost near the end of the exercise. It learnt its way by doing and gaining experience. This learning by doing passed through three distinctive phases (NEMAP,1996):

- The first phase activities were carried out during 1992 by a team of national consultants. In this phase, the main focus was on identifying environmentally threatened locations or regions across the country and suggesting remedial or preventive measures. The Report produced after detailed surveys succeeded in identifying a number of environmental hot spots, such as, the haor basin, barind, chars, coastal eco-systems and Madhupur and other forest areas. However, it was evident quickly that taking remedial actions was impossible due to fragmentation of government activities among various line Ministries. Implementation of an environmental program needed the agreement and support of all the Ministries that have stakes in such a program.
- A second phase of activity was undertaken in 1993 by a team of national and international consultants who initiated a series of discussions with the different line Ministries and agencies regarding their involvement in programs aiming at preventing environmental

genuinely tried to identify the most pressing environmental issues, non-inclusion of the NGOs and other civil society institutions created a void in the process. They pointed out that NEMAP would not be able to achieve its objectives through the instrumentality of the government alone without the active support and cooperation of the common people. This realization resulted in a series of discussion by the MOEF in 1994 to develop a suitable methodology to ensure people's participation in the preparation of an action plan that would not only reflect the views of the government but also of the people from different segments of life.

Participation

NEMAP had recognized the imperative of public consultation through people's participation at the end of their Phase-II exercise. It was decided to involve the people in the planning process itself so that the Plan reflects their concerns and priorities. It was evident that such a process could not handle a large number of people and a methodology needs to be worked out for a workable participatory process. The Coordination and Review Committee of the project formulated a consultation process plan that developed criteria for selecting people for these consultation workshops as well as mechanisms for obtaining inputs from different professional groups and others not participating in the workshops. A total of 23 grassroots workshops, 5 regional workshops and 6 professional or expert group workshops were held in a year's time. The preliminary findings of all these workshops were presented at a National Workshop attended by the Prime Minister and her cabinet colleagues to muster the highest level political commitment to the Plan.

Further consultations were held on the preliminary draft by holding another series of six workshops around the country. On the basis of the feedback received, major modifications were made in the draft final plan. The final NEMAP document was given shape by a Synthesis Group consisting of experts from different disciplines as well as rapporteurs and facilitators from the NGOs.

Communication

In addition to a very strong consultation process that was commended by the participants for its two way communication between experts and common people, various other measures were also taken to inform the public about the NEMAP process and its outputs. Electronic media was used liberally through different programs. The print media was also involved in the entire NEMAP process through the FEJB and other journalists.

3.1.3 Case 3: National Water Management Plan

The approved version of the National Water Management Plan (NWMP) finally set at rest, for the time being, the quest for integrated master-planning on water resources that had begun with the formulation of a National Water Plan under the Master Plan Organization and the FAP studies under the FPCO. The FAP had culminated in the Bangladesh Water and Flood Management Strategy Report prepared in 1995 (MOWR, 1995). That strategy recommended that Government should formulate a NWMP that addressed the various issues raised in the FAP studies and that a comprehensive NWMP should be prepared within that framework. Government quickly accepted

of planning through partnerships: however, these were instrumental, to a large extent, both in a positive and negative sense, in creating an environment for integrated planning. The NWMP had the benefit of the experience of earlier attempts at integrated planning and was careful in avoiding the past mistakes and in further refining the good practices. This would be evident from the organization that was set up for the execution of the work and the processes that were followed.

Organization

Some 35 government agencies under the control of 13 different Ministries are identified with functions relevant to the water sector (WARPO, 2000a). NWMP was to look into the interests of all these entities within the overall objective of developing a comprehensive, integrated and equitable water resources management system. There was thus a need for devising institutional mechanisms that would ensure the active participation of all these agencies in addition to allocating enough space to members of the public, private organizations, NGOs, professional organizations, civil society institutions and other interested stakeholders for constructive engagements with the experts. Various institutional mechanisms were used, some already practiced in the past and others, new.

The MOWR and the WARPO were designated respectively the lead Ministry and the lead agency to carry out the planning exercise. The Director General, WARPO was appointed as Project Director (PD) with overall responsibility of project implementation. For ensuring multi-sector participation and a multi-disciplinary focus, various committees and groups were formed. Following the existing practice, an inter-Ministerial Steering Committee (SC) was set up with the Secretary of the MOWR as the chair and representatives from other Ministries and agencies, NGOs and other professional bodies as members. The SC was mandated to assist the PD in his work by ensuring inter-ministerial co-ordination, removing bottlenecks, resolving conflicts and reviewing progress of work as per schedule. Matters that could not be resolved at the SC level were to be referred to the Executive Committee of the National Water Resources Council (ECNWRC) headed by the Minister of the MOWR and other relevant Ministers and senior officials of the government as members. Policies and strategies related to water management were to be finally referred to NWRC, headed by the Prime Minister, with a reasonable mix of people having stakes in water as members.

At the technical level, a number of expert groups were established to provide necessary guidance, support and information to the project professionals (WARPO, 1998):

- A **Water Policy Advisory Group (WPAG)** was set up to advise the Secretary of the MOWR on drafting the NWPo, strategic issues in general and the future mandate of WARPO. WPAG had also a role in over-seeing NWMP, particularly in the context of fulfilling the aims of the NWPo.
- An **Independent Panel of Experts (IPOE)** made up of national and international experts was also appointed to assist the Director General, WARPO in implementing the project. IPOE provided advice to the DG to ensure that the NWMP aims and objectives, as set out in the TOR, are achieved. In contrast to earlier studies under the FAP, the WPAG and the IPOE were encouraged to be involved pro-actively in the project programs and were closely associated with different stages of the Plan formulation.

the preparation of the Inception Report (WARPO, 1998). Discussion Groups were formed on each of the topics to be covered in the Report. The Groups comprised one member each from WARPO, the Consultants, the IPOE and the WPAG. In general, the Groups went through a summary of the relevant Annex and exchanged views on the scope and content of each. The process, though time consuming, proved an effective method of ensuring that the topics were considered from a variety of viewpoints, and that as many sources of information as possible were consulted. After preparing a draft Inception Report in this mode, it was placed before a wider group of stakeholders consisting of concerned government agencies, NGOs, other invited guests and the press. This was followed up with a series of meetings with the individual agencies and with NGOs to discuss their comments in detail. Finally, the draft report together with the comments received were scrutinized by the IPOE and based on tripartite discussions a final version of the Report was prepared and placed before the SC. The Reports were approved by the SC, sometimes with slight modifications that were also incorporated for its circulation.

This approach was followed meticulously and more comprehensively by involving the communities in all successive stages of the Plan formulation. This may more appropriately be described in terms of its focus on participation.

Participation

The planning process adopted by NWMP differed radically from that applied to the NWP and FAP. Much greater emphasis was given to a bottom-up approach, the involvement of the NGOs and the private sector, and to social and environmental issues, rather than just technical and economic factors, in the planning and selection of development activities and projects (WARPO, 2000b). People's participation, with its extensive consultation process at all levels, coupled with effective inter-agency co-ordination, was the means by which effective bottom-up planning was sought to be achieved. The People's Participation and Consultation Program (PPCP) was devised as the principal instrument to identify the views of a wide cross-section of people at each stage of the project. The approach for the PPCP was based on the successful NEMAP model, with some modifications, notably the return visits to check on interpretations before proceeding to the next stage of discussion.

NWMP identified three groups of actors for consultations for the future success of the Plan: a cross section of water using community, representatives of the NGO's being key practitioners in community development and representatives of the 35 government agencies, concerned to greater or lesser degree, with water (WARPO, 2000b). Three rounds of consultations were held at the community level. In Round 1, people identified their water-related needs, problems and constraints and suggested their preferred options for future water resources management. These would include institutional and legal as well as technical options. Based on these findings, the NWMP planning team formulated a range of options for presentation and discussion in Round 2. The aim was to give the participants the full details and implications of each option, including those which on technical, cost or other grounds, were not considered feasible, in order to obtain their reactions, opinions and further suggestions. Based on the Round 2 conclusions, a draft Water Sector Development Strategy and Program, with a portfolio of projects, was prepared for discussion in Round 3. In the light of discussion in Round 3, the NWMP was finalized for presentation to ECNWRC and NWRC for final

cutting issues. One of the enduring legacies of the NWMP is the fully established People's Participation and Consultation System (PPCS).

3.2 Models of Good Practices for Integrated Planning

Despite differences in their goals, approaches and methodologies, the three cases reviewed here had all aimed at ensuring integrated planning through partnerships. In order to assist the ICZM program to develop a framework for integrated planning, it is possible, based on the experience of these projects, to draw the following models of good practices:

Practice 1: Policy context affecting all partner organizations is harmonized prior to undertaking integrated planning exercises.

Integrated planning encompasses a number of government Ministries involving more than a sector. Each Ministry declares its vision, mission and goals through releasing approved policy documents. There may be inconsistencies, incompatibilities and conflicts in them. Since inter-organization collaboration is involved, there is a need to harmonize these policy conflicts prior to venturing on a common program.

Practice 2: Government designates a lead Ministry and a lead Agency to enable them to start the process of partnership development.

Getting organizations together to work on a common program involves lot of preparatory work like preparing a Concept Paper and processing it through the various channels of the government. Some organizations need to take the lead to start the process. Normally the Ministry and the Agency having the biggest stakes in the proposed activities are selected to assume the leadership roles.

Practice 3: Successful partnerships are broad-based and include key stakeholders from the beginning.

Integrated planning is the most effective when the exercise is able to capture a broad range of perspectives, resources and expertise. Successful partnerships must work to engage all the relevant Ministries and government agencies, NGOs, private sector organizations, civil society organizations, professional groups, community organizations and other interested members of the public from the start. When members join the partnership late, they miss out on the process of establishing the partnership's goals and objectives and the relationship that result from such shared work.

Practice 4: The lead Ministry/Agency engages in several rounds of discussions with the prospective partners on the goals and broad outlines of the proposed planning activity on the basis of available documents.

These documents may be available from a variety of sources and in many forms. In the case of the FAP, for example, the World Bank project document and all other post-1988 flood studies provided the context for FAP studies. The previous experience of inter-ministerial collaboration on Flood Policy Study had made the task easier. Similar circumstances also prevailed in the case of NWMP.

Practice 5: Successful partnerships establish clear institutional arrangements that define partner roles and responsibilities.

Practice 6: All partners are involved actively in all stages of preparation of the Inception Report.

Inception Report formally and, in some detail, sets the methodology of work and the respective duties and responsibilities of the partner organizations. This is the first opportunity for all the partners to know about the project in some greater detail. This is also the stage where they can seek and get clarification on issues and influence the modification of approaches to work. Involvement at this stage helps build commitment. The NWMP benefited greatly by intensively involving all its partners in the preparation of the Inception Report.

Practice 7: The Project Steering Committee (PSC) ensures continuous involvement of the top level management of the partner organizations, smooth operations of the project and the required coordination of project activities.

In any kind of integrated work involving a diverse set of institutions, conflicts and implementation bottlenecks are bound to appear. PSCs have proven their efficacy in resolving these issues amicably.

Practice 8: Ministerial level Committees provide the needed political support, policy directions, higher level coordination and resolution of matters referred to it by other Committees at the bureaucratic level.

Partnership development is greatly facilitated by political commitment and continuous support by the political leadership. Various Ministerial level Committees now functioning under the Chairmanship of the departmental Ministers provide a formal forum to express continuity of such support. The National Committees headed by the Prime Minister further crystallizes the process.

Practice 9: Independent Panel of Experts provide technical support to the project professionals in dealing with complex issues within the framework of integrated planning.

Government Ministries and agencies in Bangladesh do not have much experience of carrying out integrated planning through partnerships. The institutional issues apart, the technical issues to be addressed need to be defined, scoped and approached in radically different ways. Developing these analytical frameworks and methodologies could be contentious and controversial and need to be mediated by subject matter specialists who are not directly involved in the planning process. Both the FAP and the NWMP got invaluable support and advice from these groups of people.

Practice 10: Technical Committees and various Contact Groups bring the diversity of views and approaches to focus and help in the formulation of integrated plans.

Integrated planning, by design, seeks to take a holistic approach to specific sector issues and must provide the opportunity for diverse views to be articulated and considered. The above forums provide these opportunities to all the partners. By their very intense interactions, they also help in keeping alive the interests of the various partner organizations in the project activities till the end and also in follow up actions. All the three projects reviewed had the benefit of the services of these forums.

Practice 11: A well-planned and well-executed public consultation program in different administrative jurisdictions of the country helps project authorities to obtain the views of

cannot be accommodated. For the success of integrated planning, there is no alternative to a well-planned and well-executed public consultation process.

Practice 12: Final output of integrated planning is a blending of top-down and bottom-up approaches of planning.

In a partnership, each partner operates in a unique environment, bringing different strengths, knowledge and resources to the mix. The representatives of the Ministries and the agencies, large NGOs, donors, and the consultant teams that normally constitute the professional group in a project organization represent the elements of a top-down approach. They possess the technical knowledge as well as the political, financial and administrative responsibilities and powers in running large operations. Their skills are needed in developing appropriate planning frameworks. However, their knowledge about the life and livelihoods of people is sketchy, derived as they are largely from secondary sources. These imperfections must be rectified through direct consultation with the people at large. They are living through the multitude of the problems they face every day and they know very well what they need to improve the quality of their lives. Public consultation program is the bottom up approach that helps the project authorities to obtain the view of the public on issues under consideration. Professionals at the project head office will assimilate the raw data collected through the consultation process with the planning framework already developed and prepare the final output.

4 INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT THROUGH PARTNERSHIP AND MODELS OF GOOD PRACTICE

Like integrated planning, Bangladesh has also some experience in integrated management, though not specifically as a well-designed follow up of a master plan. Anticipating that integrated management would be an integral part of an ICZM program, Government provided a broad guideline in its policy document as the point of departure for further development of the concept (MOWR, 1999). It clearly stated that "the administrative culture of Bangladesh is not supportive of an area-based super agency with a mandate to control all aspects of coastal zone development. Line Ministries and the national-level agencies under their control do not relish the phenomena of infringement upon their jurisdiction. What has succeeded in the past is coordination at planning level leaving implementation to respective line ministries and agencies." The implications of this policy guideline in terms of institutional arrangements for integrated planning and management are illustrated in the figure below:

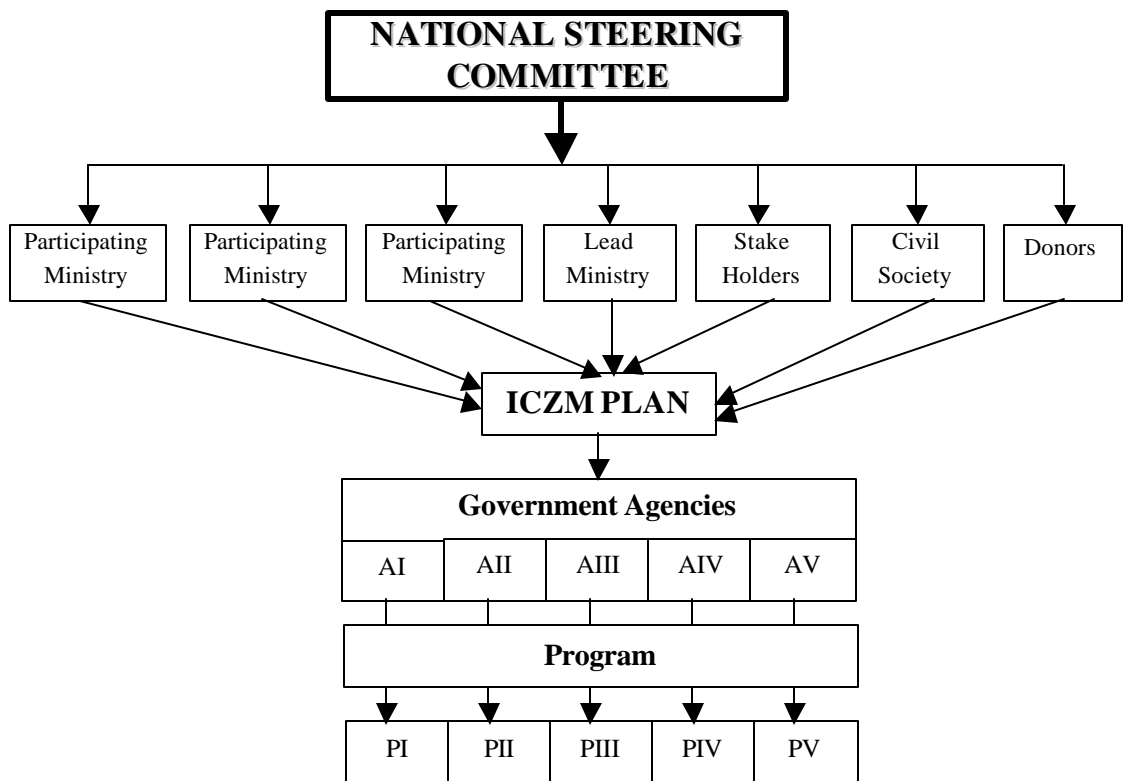


Figure 1: Central Planning and Program Implementation by Agencies

(Legend: A1, AII etc. mean the agencies while P1, PII etc. mean the programs pursued by each Agency)

Integrated management with program implementation through respective agencies has not always succeeded. Notable examples are the Coastal Embankment Rehabilitation Project and Agricultural

individual level becomes critical for management more than planning for the reason that the program is largely executed through the line agencies.

4.1 Assessment of Institutional Capacity

As a part of the ICZM preparatory work, an institutional review of fifteen agencies most intimately connected with the activities in the coastal area was carried out (Huda, 2001). The agencies reviewed are listed below:

Table 1: List of Agencies Review for Assessment of their Institutional Capacity

Sl.No.	Name of the Agency	Name of the Administrative Ministry
1	Water Resources Planning Organization (WARPO)	Ministry of Water Resources
2	Bangladesh Water Development Board (BWDB)	Ministry of Water Resources
3	Local Government Engineering Department (LGED)	Local Government Division
4	Department of Fisheries (DOF)	Ministry of Fisheries and Livestock
5	Department of Livestock Services (DLS)	Ministry of Fisheries and Livestock
6	Department of Environment (DOE)	Ministry of Environment and Forest
7	Forest Department (FD)	Ministry of Environment and Forest
8	Directorate of Land Record and Surveys (DLRS)	Ministry of Land
9	Department of Public Health Engineering (DPHE)	Local Government Division
10	Disaster Management Bureau (DMB)	Ministry of Food & Disaster Management
11	Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (BPC)	Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism
12	Bangladesh Inland Water Transport Authority (BIWTA)	Ministry of Shipping
13	Coast Guard (CG)	Ministry of Home Affairs
14	Department of Agricultural Extension (DAE)	Ministry of Agriculture
15	Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council (BARC)	Ministry of Agriculture

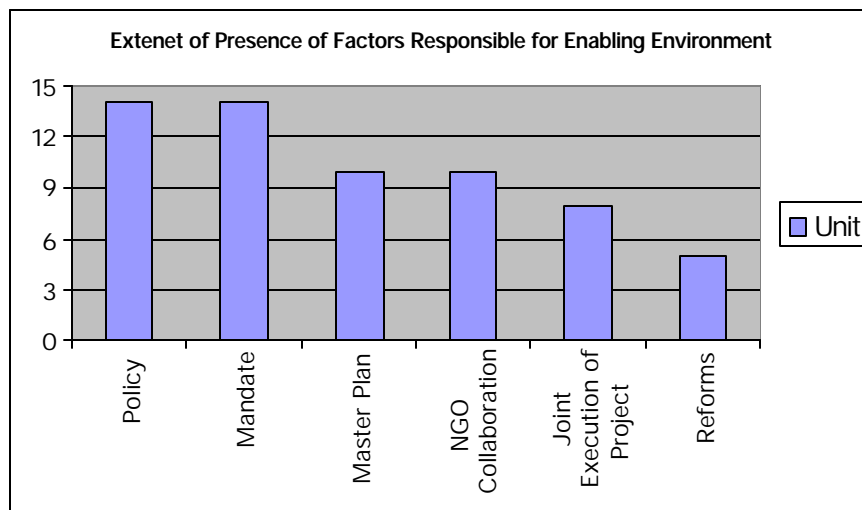
Ten attributes were considered as critical indicators of institutional capacity and these were isolated for an assessment of the *extent* to which these attributes are present in these organizations. Briefly, these are:

- **Mandate**
Does the organization possess a clear and unambiguous mandate to pursue its activities?
- **Policy**
To the extent are its policies adequate and appropriate towards achieving the sectoral goals and are in harmony with other related policies of other sectors?
- **Regulatory Standards**
Are the regulatory standards adequate to ensure conservation without obstructing the process of development?
- **Status of Human Resources**
Does the organization have a plan to develop human relations skills of its staff, to enable it to work with the staff of other organizations?

- **Capacity-Building**
What steps have been taken by the management of the organization to improve its capacity for better delivery of services?
- **Prior Experience of Participating in Joint Programs**
Does the organization have any prior experience of participating in jointly executed programs?
- **Experience of working with NGOs**
Does the organization have any experience of working with the NGOs?
- **Innovative Approaches to Institutional Reforms**
What steps is the organization taking to cope with the dynamics of change?

The outcome of the investigations has given a mixed picture. On certain items, the known institutional problems continue as before. In one phrase, these may be labeled as “organization and management” issues. Due to centralized control on all financial, personnel and planning matters, individual Ministries and Agencies are unable to take any action for removing these problems.

Despite persistence of the “organization and management” issues, the review has revealed a very satisfactory disposition with regard to a number of other important criteria. The *extent* of achievements on items on which positive developments have been noted in the study are shown in the following graph:



Out of the 15 organizations, only 4 (BWDB, LGED, DAE and BARC) had scored on all the ten elements: others were lacking in more than one. However, other than the Coast Guard, the remaining 11 organizations were found to have reasonably articulated sector policies to guide and steer their future course of action. Nine of these organizations (excepting DOE and BPC) have shown their willingness to work with the NGOs and the private sector.

few projects in sequence. For this purpose, four projects implemented by the Bangladesh Water Development Board (BWDB) in collaboration with other agencies at different time intervals were studied. The projects were all inter-sectoral in nature, involved more than one agency and the identified components were highly connected with each other for the achievement of common goals. To the extent the scope of the projects and their different components reflected the core functions of the BWDB, it was designated as the lead agency with the MOWR as the lead Ministry. As the process of partnership development passed through a number of experiments, these were also quietly changing the role definitions of the different partners. These changes were quite substantial in terms of building trusts and perception of mutual benefits of all partner organizations. Four distinct patterns are discernable. These are briefly discussed one by one.

4.2.1 Model-I: Assumed Cooperation

The case under review is a Dutch-assisted project called the Delta Development Project (DDP). The project started up in 1981 and was completed in 1989. The project aimed at integrated development of land, water and human resources in two polders in southwestern delta of Bangladesh. Provision of such basic facilities as primary education, primary health care and access to pure drinking water was crucial for the success of the project. However, none of the concerned public agencies had any presence in the project area to provide such services. In desperation, the BWDB assumed the role of these service providers in the hope that the concerned agencies would come ultimately and follow through the groundwork done by it. Unfortunately, the assumption that the field units of national agencies would automatically take over functions within their mandate does not most of the times come true (Dutch Supervision Mission, 1989). Lack of fund and absence of a proper field outfit dissuade them from assumption of their otherwise mandated responsibilities (Wilde, 2000).

4.2.2 Model-II: Induced Participation

A second approach to inter-agency cooperation is built around a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed between a lead agency and another service delivery organization. The BWDB had taken recourse to this approach under the IDA-financed "System Rehabilitation Project" (SRP). The SRP became effective in 1989 and was completed in 1997. In 1992, the first MOU was signed by the BWDB with the BRDB. The latter was expected to participate in the project activities through formation of different kinds of groups consisting of poor men and women. Another MOU was signed between the BWDB and the DAE to ensure the latter's involvement in the BWDB projects.

The impact of the MOUs on intended cooperation was minimal. MOU with the DAE was virtually ineffective from the start. The understanding at national level did not percolate down the line to the subproject level. An evaluative study had found some impact in only one subproject out of 35 of them. The BRDB played a more noticeable part but again was prevented from doing more due to serious lack of understanding between the field level officials of the two agencies (Soussan *et al*, 1998).

The rather unsuccessful experiments in the SRP on obtaining cooperation from other relevant agencies pointed to the need for devising mechanism that would be more attractive and binding to the parties. Developing an integrated program requires tremendous amount of preparatory work and

other participating agencies for the reason that the funds so received are net additions to their own development budget. They also do not have to pass through the rigorous process of scrutiny for approval of projects to the extent the lead agency does. The latter, however, keeps one important lever of control. Despite its multi-sectoral character, the lead agency maintains central control over fund disbursement, tendering process and contract award, selection and appointment of consultants and other project management activities. This central control is ensured through a single project document called the “Project Proforma” approved in favor of the lead agency.

The third approach was adopted for the Bhola Irrigation Project, Phase I, (BIP-I) financed by the Asian Development Bank. The project began in 1984 and was completed in 1990. The project’s principal objective was defined as providing year-round irrigation water in order to increase agricultural production. The BWDB was the lead agency responsible for the overall implementation of the project. Other partners in the project were the Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) responsible for command area development, farmer group formation and training activities; the Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation (BADC) responsible for sale of low lift pumps and the Bangladesh Petroleum Corporation responsible for procurement and distribution of diesel fuel. The outcome of the project has been evaluated as a moderate success. Only sixty percent of the expected incremental pumps had been installed and the benefited area is only 68 percent of what was appraised. The project made downward revisions of its physical targets and could not use 45 percent of its estimated budget (ADB, 1991). One of the reasons for this shortfall was central control of the project activities by the BWDB even on those components for which there were different implementing agencies.

4.2.4 Model- IV: Cooperation through Full Partnership

The deficiencies of the third model were rectified in the follow up project taken up for implementation on completion of the first phase of the BIP. In the BIP-II, there were five partner organizations with the BWDB as the lead agency. This time the concerned agencies made sure that they had full control over their respective components. Under this new arrangement, each of the participating agencies was allowed to process and maintain separate Project Proformas (PP) that detailed out the physical components of their work and financial outlays. Each of them got full control over finance and management of its own components. The Project Office also consisted of representatives drawn from the participating organizations, the Project Director being selected from the lead agency. The lead agency was responsible for overall coordination of the activities of the project besides implementing its own components.

Internal evaluation of the project implementation arrangements as well as evaluation of project performance by outside agencies point to better coordination under this model compared to the performance of the previous ones. This model has been gaining acceptance as a preferred model of choice for many agencies. It contains the basic elements of an institutional design for carrying out an ICZM program in Bangladesh consistent with the thinking of the Government on this issue.

4.3 Models of Good Practice for Integrated Management

On the basis of the findings of the institutional review of the fifteen agencies and the other case

resources development policy and experience of working with the NGOs and other partner organizations constitute the basic minimum for the creation of this environment.

Practice 2: Government designates a lead Ministry and a lead agency for processing and implementing a project/program.

Project or program development is a long drawn process and sometimes may take years before it is ready for actual implementation. Preparatory activities like pre-feasibility and feasibility studies, pre-appraisal and appraisal, preparation of the project concept paper and the project proformas and various other administrative arrangements and memoranda of understanding to be executed with a number of agencies require dedicated time and attention of a focal point in the government. For administrative convenience, it is now a standard practice to designate a lead Ministry and a lead agency for carrying out the pre-project activities and, later on, for implementation of the project/program. The Ministry/agency that has the highest stakes in a program/project is normally designated as the lead Ministry/Agency.

Practice 3: The lead Ministry/agency takes necessary steps to: (a) include all the stakeholders, (b) involve them intensely in all pre-project activities and (c) take them into confidence in setting up the institutional arrangements.

These are all confidence building measures to facilitate an environment of mutual trust and respect for each other. These are also essential for sound partnership development for integrated management.

Practice 4: Partner roles, duties and responsibilities are clearly defined in the respective project proformas approved for each of the participating organizations.

Project proforma, popularly known as PP, contains such necessary project details as project rationale and objectives, executing agencies, project organization, project components, implementation arrangements, phasing of project activities, detailed cost estimates and their phasing, project audit, and monitoring and evaluation of project activities. Project implementation may not start unless the executing agency has an approved PP in hand. PP materials are normally extracted from the materials available in the project preparatory documents. An approved PP indicates an authorization by the Government to start the implementation of a project and incur the authorized expenditures. Partner organizations now want full financial and operational control through the instrumentality of their own project proformas rather than being tied with a common one under the control of the Project Director. These are the reasons why partner organizations want to bank so much on PP. Under these arrangements, most of the project activities including financial management are decentralized at organization level. The Project Director, however, retains control over overall co-ordination, procurement of goods and services, monitoring of progress of implementation, maintaining project accounts and auditing, maintaining liaison with the donors and taking care of other common service functions.

Practice 5: A project organization is set up keeping in view the needs of the project and sensitivities of the partners.

As has been seen in the BWDB case studies, partner organizations are now seeking not only to

Practice 6: A number of Committees at various levels ensure the smooth implementation of the program/project and overall coordination of the activities of different partners in achieving program/project development objectives.

It is now a standard practice to set up an inter-ministerial Project Steering Committee (PSC) to periodically review the progress of implementation, remove implementation bottlenecks, resolve inter-agency conflicts, ensure overall coordination and clear or recommend various measures connected with project implementation. Most of the Ministries have also high profile Ministerial Committees working as the Executive Committee of a National Committee headed by the Prime Minister. These high level Committees also provide the necessary guidance, coordination and support to the project authorities in the execution of programs/projects of national significance.

5 PARTNERSHIP AT THE GRASSROOT AND MODELS OF GOOD PRACTICE

For purposes of analysis, institutions were clustered under four categories to examine their respective roles in integrated planning and management. In the first cluster belong the central government Ministries and agencies having interest in both policy and its implementation. Their policies and directives are carried out by the field units of the agencies who form the second cluster. The local government institutions (LGI) form the third cluster and are expected to bring the local perspective in planning and implementation. In the fourth cluster belong the community-based organizations (CBO) representing the grass-root level and are expected to receive the services from the other three clusters. In an ideal world, this is what the governmental system ought to be, geared to the goal of an effective and efficient service delivery system for its people. This is essentially a picture of a system that tries to synchronize the bureaucratic operations with the “encounters of everyday life” of the local people.

5.1 Organization Gap at the Grass-root Level: The Need for the CBOs

The ideal situation hardly corresponds to reality in Bangladesh. Under pressure from centralizing tendencies, local government has become more and more an extension of the central administrative structures. Whatever little autonomy is left is non-operational due to lack of firm decisions on the future of the Zila and Upazila systems. Though elections are regularly held for the Union Parishads, their capacity for service delivery is limited due to fund constraints (PDO-ICZMP, 2003e). The CBOs are mostly supply driven and are created to meet donor requirements. In such conditions, they fail to take roots and collapse soon after the withdrawal of donor funding. There is thus a huge organization gap at the local level that has adversely affected the overall development of the country.

A large part of the organization gap at the local level can only be filled up by local community based organizations. The conditions of service delivery to the community are such that the field units of public bureaucracy will not in all cases be the most appropriate instrument. Attempts at service delivery by the government agencies have generally yielded poor results due to (i) their limited reach, (ii) their inability to sustain necessary local level action, (iii) their limited adaptability to local circumstances, and (iv) their creation of dependency (Korten, 1983). For these reasons, historically, Bangladesh has supported the concept of development through the involvement of the community. In the 1950s, it started experimenting with community development programs, but it did not succeed due to its failure to establish horizontal and vertical organization linkages (UN, 1974). In the 1970s and 1980s, Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) was the preferred development ideology. Cooperatives are central to the IRDP approach as effective instruments for organizing the rural people and for creating institutional bases wherefrom they can take part in other development activities undertaken in the rural areas. With the enforcement of strict organizational discipline and supervision, its programs for input delivery had achieved laudable successes. Unfortunately, the decision to expand the model all over the country without considering its capacity to expand and its involvement in the supply of subsidized agricultural inputs led to serious erosion of its discipline and takeover of the IRDP organizations by the substantial farmers (Abdullah *et al*, 1976; Khan,

other in matters of detail. The group thus formed could encompass more than one community or a professional group within a community. For our purpose, we will designate all these grass-root organizations based on groups as community based organizations (CBOs). Broadly, CBOs can be divided into two categories: (i) groups that are formed and initially operated on the advice and support of external agencies, mostly NGOs and (ii) groups that are born through the drive and initiative of the local people and are initially sustained through their own efforts. The people-initiated CBOs have longer lasting lives compared to the externally induced ones. A few in the latter category have also attained sustainability. Since the large majority of the cases are externally induced and this is going to dominate the development scene for many more years to come, the four case studies picked up for review belong to this category.

5.2 Sustainability of the CBOs: Evidence from the Four Cases

People are the means and the end of development. Encouraging community participation in the design and delivery of goods and services, through partnerships among government, business, NGOs and CBOs can enhance their supply. But effective citizen participation does not come easily: the lack of sustainability of the CBOs is a case in point. In order to understand the conditions that are more favorable than others to the formation, development and sustainability of the CBOs, four projects, reported to have some success on that score, are reviewed. It is not the intention here to offer blueprints of successful CBOs for universal application. Nevertheless, a limited generalization in terms of deducing a few models of good practice would be possible for consideration by the ICZM program. We would begin with a brief description of the CBOs in the context of the project objectives and then critically analyze the main issues. In the last section, a few models of good practice would be recorded on the basis of our findings in the four cases.

5.2.1 Case 1: CBOs in Khulna-Jessore Drainage Rehabilitation Project

The Khulna-Jessore Drainage Rehabilitation Project (KJDRP) was financed by the Asian Development Bank and executed by the BWDB as the lead agency. The main objective of the project was to create favorable conditions for the local people to pursue their livelihoods in farming and fishing by removing the drainage congestion in 127,800 ha area of Khulna and Jessore districts in south-western Bangladesh. The problem of water-logging in the area is a legacy of the Coastal Embankment Project executed during the late 1960s. While the embankments had facilitated an increase in agricultural productivity of the area and sustained it for more than a decade into the late 1980s, they had also induced morphological changes in the embanked rivers and creeks leading to siltation to such an extent that most of them became inoperative. In 1988, the government launched a project to remedy the situation by means of structural solutions. This, however, was not acceptable to the local people and the project was cancelled. In 1995, government made another attempt to solve the water-logging problem by undertaking the KJDRP. This time also the methodology consisted of a number of structural measures along with some non-structural ones. Again, the people raised serious objections to the structural measures fearing resurgence of the same problems after a few years and insisted on permanent solutions that will work with the natural system. This forced the project authorities and consultants to formulate options reflecting the preferences of the local people. In the course of long three year's interaction among different stakeholders, the project

Steps Towards Group Formation

The entire episode shows the power of the voice of the people that led to the cancellation of one project and to substantial modification of engineering approach and design in another. In fact, KJDRP exemplifies an informal initiative of local people in resisting a project and in modifying the approach of another that were considered harmful to their interest. These protests were not a one time phenomenon but continued on several occasions till the concerned authorities conceded to their demands. This coming together of the people on common causes had prepared the ground for formalizing their community organizations according to the institutional norms of the BWDB. This is a case of a merger of informal and locally initiated CBOs into a formal one (PDO-ICZMP, 2003c).³

Some initial difficulties were encountered due to the existence of more than one guideline for group formation. However, the NGOs engaged for this purpose handled this carefully under the guidance of the Water Management Division of the BWDB. The NGOs also carried out programs for institutional capacity building for the WMOs at different levels.

Participation Process

The threat of water-logging and salinity intrusion were the common bonds that held the people together and motivated them to form groups for continued protection of their interests. Under this project, four-layers of water management organizations (WMOs) were created including 500 water management groups at the base level and 9 registered water management associations (WMAs). The WMAs are the key local level institutions for water management. They became the joint partners with the BWDB in carrying out O&M tasks in their respective zones. The WMAs also played a proactive role in the following matters(PDO-ICZMP, 2003c):

- Participated in stakeholder consultations and influenced the modification of the overall drainage plan
- Provided inputs to the social and environmental impact assessment studies as well as to the IWRM and O&M studies
- Participated in the identification of works in the final two years of the project
- Authorized structural designs and supervised civil construction works

Financial Arrangements

Operational funds are needed for running organizations. Four sources are identified: membership fee at the WMG level, income derived from leased out land under control of BWDB, donor and consultant contribution and contribution by the Executive Committee members. The amount of savings varied according to the size of the population. Part of this fund was used for income-generating activities by the group and sometimes some amount was disbursed among members as credit. The proceeds received from leased out lands were to be used for O&M purposes. Overall, the financial arrangements are not satisfactory and the CBOs will have to work them out fast before their very existence would be at stake.

5.2.2 Case 2: CBOs in Char Development and Settlement Project-II

Char Development and Settlement Project-II (CDSP-II) is a miniature area development project. The overall objective of the project is to contribute to the socio-economic development of the *char* areas in southeastern Bangladesh by settling landless households in the newly accreted chars and by extending support in developing the necessary infrastructures and arranging the needed services. Among other things, the project aims to facilitate access to (i) natural capital (land allocation), (ii) physical capital (embankment, regulator, drainage *khal*, road, bridge, culvert, tubewell, cyclone shelter etc), (iii) social capital (by creating environment for better group cohesion and solidarity through creating various grass-roots institutions and linking them up with other organizations), (iv) human capital (better health and hygiene, education and skills training) and (v) financial capital (savings and credit) (PDO-ICZMP, 2003f)⁴.

Steps Toward Group Formation

The CDSP-II is the continuation of a long legacy of working in the *char* areas of southeast Bangladesh under such projects as Land Reclamation Project and the CDSP-I. Experience in forming and developing CBOs in those projects came in handy for doing the same for the current project. CDSP-II broadly divided the roles of the CBOs into two distinct stages: one relating to planning functions and the other to O&M functions. Sub-polder (SPC) and Polder Committees (PC) are formed for collection of data, identification of beneficiary groups, exchange of views on project plans and activities and interaction with the various line agencies of the government. When the polders are fully established, the PCs and the SPCs are abolished and their places are taken by Water Management Committees (WMC) and Water Management Federation (WMF). There are currently 13 WMCs based around the sluice gates who operate and maintain the sluice gates. Given the importance of the sluice gates in the water management and overall development of the project area, it is no wonder that the Committee activities center round the gates. The WMF is the coordinating body of the WMCs. For management of tubewells, separate Tube Well Groups (TUGs) are also formed. All these constitute the O&M institutions for the proper operation and maintenance of the infrastructures like water management systems, roads, bridges, culverts and water supply and sanitation. To assist these O&M institutions in the discharge of their duties, special groups, such as, school management committee, labor contracting committee, cyclone shelter group and farmer's group are also formed to look after specific tasks. In our subsequent discussion on the CBOs in this project, we will only discuss the O&M institutions as their sustainability is our concern. The planning institutions are, by design, temporary.

Participation Process

WMCs are the basic units for instituting a participatory O&M process. Members present their area-specific issues for discussion in their respective forums. Usually the President or the Secretary fixes the agenda for a meeting and decisions are taken on the consensus of the majority. The WMCs prepare the maintenance plans and the annual action plans and are involved in the entire process of scrutiny and revision by the BWDB, the line agencies and the project authorities. Contentious issues are also discussed in the regular and emergency meetings of the different committees and unresolved

of funding to be able to continue with their mandated functions. The practice followed in the predecessor projects of O&M funding through the projects discourage the WMCs to look for opportunities for local resource mobilization. To the extent the CDSP-II CBOs are formed through external intervention by an outside NGO, there is a lack of a sense of ownership. The NGO and the project authorities are motivating the CBO members to generate their own resources. There are frequent discussions on this issue in different forums but nothing concrete has emerged yet. For operation and maintenance, there is an understanding between the WMCs and the government departments relating to sharing of financial burden. In the past couple of seasons, the WMCs are found to meet their commitments while their government partners fail to meet their obligations. Concerned people are aware of the problems and trying to resolve this. Lack of compliance of mutually agreed obligations cuts at the root of the spirit of partnership and to be remedied quickly. The funding uncertainty keeps the fate of the CBOs hanging and poses the greatest threat to their sustainability.

Horizontal and Vertical Linkages

The CBOs are horizontally connected with other relevant organizations in the area including the officials of the line agencies and the Union Parishads, though this relationship leaves much to be desired. One of the cardinal principles of CDSP-II has been working through the existing institutions and not to bypass them. This approach has also helped it scale up the activities of the project and connect it with the mainstream development activities of the government in the area. It has thus been able to complement its efforts through the active participation of all the concerned line agencies of the government.

5.2.3 Case 3: CBOs in Greater Noakhali Aquaculture Extension Project

The Greater Noakhali Aquaculture Extension Project (GNAEP) is a Danish International Development Assistance (Danida)-supported project being executed by the Department of Fisheries (DOF). The project started in July 1998 and would end in June 2006. The project covers the three districts of Noakhali, Lakshipur and Feni, consisting of 15 upazilas and 169 unions. The overall goal of the project is to improve the lives of the poor fish farmers by raising their income through the promotion of improved and sustainable cultivation practices (Alam and Demaine,2003).⁵

Encouraged by the results of a pilot program carried out in three upazilas for rice-prawn polyculture in water-logged areas, the GNAEP has expanded its programs in other areas. The strength of the program lies in its success in linking all the chains in the production and marketing cycles by facilitating the development of the necessary institutions. Since the relationship from production to marketing are highly interdependent in terms of money income at each level, a long enduring bond among them is expected to hold ensuring the sustainability of the entire enterprise. In this chain of interrelationships, CBOs play important roles that need to be explicated.

Steps Toward Group Formation

The Fish Farming Groups (FFGs) are the core of the GNAEP and the target beneficiaries. Households owning homestead of not more than 0.8ha and earning an income of Tk 30,000 or less

The formations of FFGs are facilitated by the Field Trainers (FT)) who are locally recruited by the NGOs. They are oriented for their jobs through training and refresher courses given by the officers of the DOF, NGO and DANIDA staff and through cross visits facilitated by GNAEP. Trainings are on issues ranging from integrated farming system, gender development, savings, and facilitation and appreciation of PRA tools (Participatory Rural Appraisal). FTs also play a major role in conducting the consultation process among all interested stakeholders.

Participation Process

In introducing the prawn culture, the project has tried to avoid the typical transfer of a standard technology to the new farmers, emphasizing rather simple culture methods in the first instance. The farmer education process follows the principle of Participatory Technology Development (PTD) whereby farmers are involved in the whole process from planning to impact evaluation of the activities taking place in their villages. Farmer groups manage the technology development and extension process in the villages with the facilitation of the project FTs. The process results in much quicker acceptance of the farming system by the farmers.

Since production and marketing of prawns are the main concerns of the FFGs, they spend considerable time on productivity issues. All production possibilities are discussed by the FTs with the target group farmers and alternative options are tried as a result of the process of consultation. One of the low cost, and therefore sustainable, mechanisms used to promote a coordinated approach to the delivery of technical assistance is the use of Resource Learning Centers (RLC) established in every Union in the Greater Noakhali area. Most of the RLCs are located as an extension of a village tea shop or adjacent rooms of a village pharmacy or variety shops. It is provided free of charge by the owner. The idea is that any time of the day, typically in the late afternoon, poor farmers can get together for informal discussions with the Government field staff from the DOF, Agricultural Extension and Livestock Services, NGO service providers and private sector input providers on subjects of mutual interest. GNAEP also organizes training for CBOs on leadership, organizational management and integrated farming.

Financial Arrangements

Since the CBOs in the GNAEP are engaged in commercial operations, they have couple of sources of funding to finance their operations. NGOs provide credit to FFG members for integrated farming activities charging a flat interest rate of 12% p.a. In many cases, the Depot holders also help them by making advance payments for their produce. There is also an informal market of delivering inputs on credit. FFG members take advantage of these sources as they deem suitable for them.

Horizontal and Vertical Linkages

Fish processing and marketing pass through a number of stages: each stage performing an important function toward achieving the common goal. Sustainability of any operation at any stage depends critically on its backward and forward linkages. There are three important links to the production cycle: seed, feed and technical advice. Matters relating to technical advice have already been discussed. We will see how the subjects of seed and feed are handled.

Memorandum of Understanding with a local NGO in Hatiya to facilitate the marketing of dried fish to local businessmen involved in the feed business. The manufacture of feed and the overall supply of inputs are partly organized through CBOs, some of which have developed from the prawn-farming groups.

The prawn marketing has also an extensive network as may be seen from the following figure:

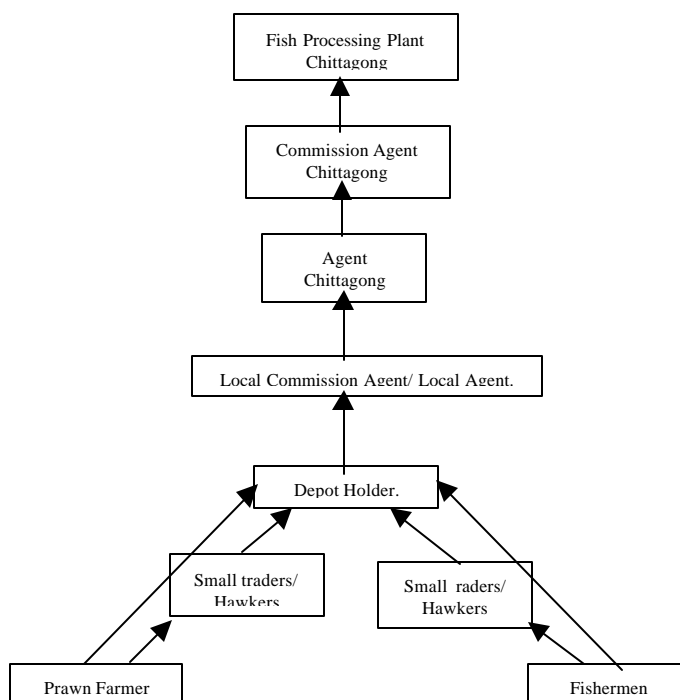


Figure 2: Existing prawn marketing channel in Noakhali

The project has been as relentless in setting up the marketing network as that of input supply. The Project has facilitated the establishment of prawn purchasing agents of selected processing plants in Noakhali to receive prawns from the FFGs.

The FFGs are vertically linked with the higher levels of government through various Committees. There are a hierarchy of Committees, starting from the Upazila to the District and finally to the Project level. Meetings of these Committees are regularly held to review the progress of monthly activities and presentation of monthly program plans. These meetings are participated by DoF, NGO and DANIDA representatives.

5.2.4 Case 4: CBOs in Dampara Water Management Project

The Dampara Water Management Project (DWMP) covers an area of 15,000ha and is located approximately 140 km northeast of Dhaka. In every monsoon season, the overflowing Kangsha river floods over 70 percent of the project area. Annual flash floods occur up to five times a year, causing

Participation Process

The project was conscious about the benefits of participatory process for its long term sustainability. Rather than paying lip service and trying to cover up initial deficiencies, the project went through a very open and transparent process of beneficiary participation from its very inception. People had since long lost their faith in the fairness and equity of the BWDB in dealing with two important sub-components of any water infrastructure project: alignment of embankment and compensation of acquired land. It is a common allegation that in determining the alignment, BWDB shows extreme parochialism by leaving out the land of rich and influential people, even though some of these could be marginal and very apt in including valuable agricultural land of poor people. Moreover, they acquire more land than is required for the work. The stories about compensation payment of land acquired have now become legends. Reports on cases abound where compensation money have not been paid in decades.

In such a situation, the project achieved two milestones. Firstly, by following an open and transparent participatory process, it succeeded in drawing an embankment plan that saved prime agricultural land, restricted the requirement to bare minimum needed for embankment and was able to meet the engineering requirements. This process of alignment fixation along 9.5 km stretch involving 322 plots of land and 1200 co-owners of the plots took four months and the decisions were made by consensus.

In the matter of land acquisition, the actions taken for payment of compensation for the acquired land reached new heights of accomplishments. Having decided on alignment, the concerned landowners worked with the government and the project authorities for transfer of the land as quickly as possible so that construction work can start on schedule and they get their compensation early. In Bangladesh, land acquisition is a complex process with each step defined by law and with no short cuts. The DWMP complied with all the provisions and did not seek any special dispensation but worked closely with the land authorities and the people. Whereas the land acquisition process including compensation payment normally takes 12-18 months, DWMP was able to achieve it in less than eight months. All the landowners were paid compensation before the commencement of construction work. This is also a very rare event in the history of civil construction work in Bangladesh (BWDB and CIDA, no date).

Steps Toward Group Formation

The participatory process through which the project beneficiaries decided on their embankment alignment and received their compensation money had left a lasting impact on their psyche about the benefits of getting involved in things that are important in their lives. The flash floods prior to the construction of the embankment were playing havoc with their lives and livelihoods. They will not take any chance with its sustainability and would maintain and operate the infrastructures for their own benefit. Along the embankment, Embankment Management Groups (EMGs) were being formed as work progressed. With the completion of physical works, 12 EMGs were formed and were operational. Additionally, one Regulator Operation and Maintenance Committees for the two regulators was formed with 16 Village Development Committees for the 16 most affected villages by the operation of the regulators. Two O&M Manuals, one for embankments and structures and the

costs of periodic and emergency maintenance while the groups will cover the cost of preventive maintenance. Rather than the beneficiaries paying for maintenance, a system has been devised whereby they will earn an income for their maintenance activities. This O&M financing in DWMP is based on an embankment forestation agreement between the BWDB and the EMGs. DWMP research identified the plants that could be grown at the edge of the embankment without threatening its integrity. Each group under the guidance of DWMP planted a combination of 13000 fruit and timer trees, vegetables and vetiver grass along the 9.5 km stretch of the embankment. The plan has succeeded in generating enough revenue for O&M of the embankment after the close of the project in December, 2003 (BWDB and CIDA, No date).

Horizontal and Vertical Linkages

The project was so designed as to establish the necessary horizontal and vertical linkages for all project components including the EMGs with all concerned institutions. Horizontal linkages were established early on among the groups during the planning stage and it continued through implementation to subsequent O&M. Several enhancement programs were included in project implementation that involved inputs from a number of government agencies: Department of Fisheries, Department of Agricultural Extension, Department of Public Health Engineering and the Department of Social Welfare. Local offices of these Departments linked up the CBOs with the mainstream activities of the government. The EMGs have firmly established themselves and continue to draw the attention and support of the BWDB as a rare example of successful institution building at the grass-root level.

5.3 Models of Good Practice for Partnership at the Grass-root

The four instances of partnership at the grass-root reviewed here are the outputs of recent development initiatives in the field. Of the four projects, KJDRP, CDSP-II and GNAEP are ongoing, though first two embed long legacies of the past. The DWMP has just been completed. In the strict sense, none of the projects qualifies for an institutional evaluation of the CBOs created by it. However, in the absence of any better example of any CBO, it was thought appropriate to look at them for their continued success in their field and try to deduce some models of good practice. It needs to be emphasized that the local problems are so local in nature that it would be impossible to look for universal applicability on the basis of these micro level success stories. Despite these methodological limitations, it is possible to point to some good practices that can be taken recourse to across the board.

Practice 1: Group is the most viable unit of organization for community development.

Group normally consists of 10 to 20 people. Administratively, they are manageable for purposes of face to face interaction, training, delivery of services, monitoring and evaluation. Group strengthens localized social capital accumulation process by mobilizing self-help capacities, progressive skills development, and local resource mobilization (savings, indigenous knowledge) in order to improve ultimately the group members' human, natural, and economic resource base and their political power. The approach reduces costs at both ends: the service delivery costs of government, NGOs and the private sector. and the access costs of the poor in obtaining the services.

Practice 3: Clear prospect of getting some material benefits is the driving force behind the decision to join a group.

For the poor people, time is a scarce resource. Unless the objectives of joining a group is clear to him and he is convinced of the favorable opportunity cost of his joining a group and giving his time, he will not be motivated to join. He must clearly see as to what material benefits he is getting and at what cost. Poor people cannot afford the luxury of listening to lip services without any prospect of real help to alleviate some of his sufferings.

Practice 4: Small size and homogeneity of members are the hallmarks of better performing groups.

A key element in the success of the CBOs is the formation of small groups based in the neighborhood, the kinship group, the community or the village. Small size facilitates face-to-face direct communication among members for better decision-making while homogeneity ensures internal cohesion of the group and reduces the scope of conflicts. It is now an established fact in Bangladesh that small and homogenous groups of rural poor have been much more effective than large heterogeneous groups.

Practice 5: Appropriate measures are taken for capacity building of members immediately after the formation of the groups.

The ideal strategy is to base a group on already existing collaborative links between group members. This helps the growth of consciousness, group identity and solidarity. However, in order to accomplish their mission, they need to acquire new skills and upgrade their knowledge. This can be done through participatory learning processes. This process describes an interactive learning process that enhances the co-operation and problem solving capacities of the poor. Normally an outside agent assists as a catalyst in group development and withdraws from the group on its attaining maturity.

Practice 6: Groups are given financial support at the initial stage of their operation for building their financial capacity.

Groups consisting of rural poor need financial support for starting up. Once the groups have attained a certain level of maturity in terms of managerial skills, group cohesion and the proven ability to manage group money successfully, access to external credit/funding mechanisms is encouraged to further enlarge group investment level and improve economies of scale. Access to external money and repayment conditions are best organized on a group responsibility basis.

Practice 7: Groups attain a better chance of sustainability when the service delivery organizations create economic opportunities for them by contracting out services or leasing out properties of which the groups themselves are the beneficiaries.

This is a pattern that has been evolving during the past decade. A number of government agencies have entered into maintenance agreements with the beneficiary organizations under which they carry out the maintenance work as contractors or enjoy the lease of land and water within the project area for income-generating activities. Part of the fund so generated is used for maintenance work and part

Practice 8: Once groups are stable and operational, they are encouraged to link together in inter-group associations.

These secondary level organizations help small groups obtain larger economies of scale, tackle bigger community problems, strengthen the negotiating power of the poor, and in more efficiently building inter-group solidarity and developing links between the “bottom” and the “top”.

Practice 9: Successful grass-root organizations build up collaborative networks with formally existing public institutions at the local and higher institutional levels.

Disadvantaged rural populations do not just lack horizontal cooperation linkages. They also lack institutions and organizations which help them link up and interact with decision-making at higher levels. It is, therefore, essential to develop networks, partnerships and alliances between grass-root organizations and other civil society organizations, NGOs, private sector and key decision makers in government line agencies. This is essential for scaling up operations and mainstreaming local concerns of regional or national significance.

Practice 10: Continued group membership is contingent upon continuation of benefits that had originally motivated the members to join in the first instance.

Grass-root organizations are mostly formed in Bangladesh in fulfilling donor conditionalities. During implementation of a project, donors finance many group activities without any plan for sustainability of those activities in the post-project phase. There is no well thought out exit strategy for donor withdrawal with the result that the groups are suddenly faced with financial problems. This result in discontinuation of all group activities and reason enough for the members to leave the organization.

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