THE EFFECT OF ENTITLEMENT AND PATRONAGE ON EMPOWERMENT

A CASE STUDY ON A DEVELOPMENT PROJECT IN BANGLADESH

by

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DECLARATION

Student number: **6129-807-7**

I declare that *"The Effect of Entitlement and Patronage on Empowerment. A Case Study on a Development Project in Bangladesh"* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I submitted the dissertation to originality checking software. The result summary is attached.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

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ABSTRACT

Sustainable development empowers poverty-affected people and communities by strengthening their capabilities. HRDP, a Bangladeshi development agency aims to achieve this goal by offering literacy classes and primary school education. In recent years, they have encountered obstacles to their empowerment strategy. Socio-cultural mediated expectations and moral obligations impeded the capability approach.

This case study seeks to research the effects of entitlement and patronage on the empowerment of people in one of their projects. To be able to understand these structures and to determine possible implications for the asset-based approach, 14 interviews and two focus-group discussions with local stakeholders have been conducted in the village of Gabtali, Bangladesh.

Findings revealed that people desire to invest their own assets to increase their well-being, but expect assistance for this to happen. The study suggests aligning expectations and obligations with the capability approach and also suggests a few ideas how this could be accomplished.

KEY TERMS

Bangladesh; Empowerment; Entitlement; Livelihood; Local Community; Patronage; Poverty; Project; Sustainable Project Impact; Social and cultural norms/aspects.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABCD   Asset-Based Community Development

CBO   Community-Based Organisation

CMB   Code Matrix Browser

CRB   Code Relations Browser

DFID   Department for International Development

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

GTM   Grounded Theory Method

HRDP   Human Resources Development Projects

NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation

OECD   Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

RLS   Rural Livelihood System

SD   Sustainable Development

SDG   Sustainable Development Goal

SL   Sustainable Livelihood

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation aims to examine the effects of entitlement and patronage, two common norms in the culture and society of Bangladesh, within an existing community development project of the NGO 'Human Resources Development Projects' (HRDP).

The first chapter introduces the case study by giving information about the background to the research problem, presenting the research objectives and explaining the significance for development, especially in the context of Bangladesh. Furthermore, it describes the extent of the study, the key terms and the applied ethical standards of conduct.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Bangladesh is a beautiful, riverine and very fertile country. Though small in size (147,570 km²), it contains a massive population of 161 million. With almost 1,100 people per square kilometre, Bangladesh is the world's most populous (non city-state) country (Fischer-Weltalmanach 2016:54). Although the economy has grown 6.3% on average over the past few years, 40.7% of Bangladesh's population still suffers from multidimensional poverty. This means that close to 65 Million people are severely deprived in terms of education, health and standard of living. Considering the national poverty line, about one-third of the population is defined as poor (UNDP 2016:218). Currently, Bangladesh is ranked at 139 out of 188 countries on the Human Development Index (HDI) (:200).

According to a project worker, the vision of HRDP is to alleviate poverty by educating and equipping poor people with skills that will enable them to earn their own incomes. To reach this goal, the activities are focused on elevating the role of women in society, providing skills training for employment, and improving the education for children. The aim is to give the very poor and neglected people of Bangladesh self-esteem, and to help them and their communities to acquire the needed skills to improve their well-being. This should not only transform individual lives, but eventually impact entire communities. Since the start of the projects in 2011, HRDP has established 105 primary schools and as many literacy classes in 105 villages, covering five of the 64 districts of

Bangladesh. At the time of the field research, 300 children and 100 adults (mostly women) were enrolled in the district of Bogra alone. These programmes offer the participants the opportunity to receive basic education and to learn to read and write without needing to leave the boundaries of their own communities. For the sake of sustainability, HRDP pursues different ways to engage and empower the local community from the very start of the projects. For example, the teachers for the literacy classes and primary schools are chosen for being capable, local women, who are nominated and supported by the local village council. Although continuously trained and supervised by HRDP, they are part of the community and live there as well. In addition, communities are expected to provide the needed training facilities. For example, establishing a village primary school typically involves utilising an existing metal sheet-covered shed (Rana 2018:1).

Because empowerment and community participation "reinforce people's own sense of agency" (Narayan et al. 2009:30), they are critical to ensure sustainability in development projects. This is widely recognised by scholars and development practitioners around the world (AGEE 2013:24; Buckland 1998:236; Chambers 2007:19; Hahn 2010:124; Monaheng 2001:135; Myers 2011:174); White 1996:6). However, many of the NGOs working in Bangladesh do not fully involve the existing social capital of the participating communities, because their projects are still predominantly designed, funded and managed from the outside. Lasting community empowerment takes place only when communities own and fully participate in their projects and are able to bring in their indigenous social capital (Buckland 1998:236–237).

In recent years, it has become obvious that the projects of HRDP were struggling to become more sustainable. When the author of this dissertation interacted with development practitioners to prepare a project visit in the autumn of 2015, which was part of the practical project in the honours programme of Development Studies, several people mentioned the influence and obligations of the extended family. They had observed that the connection between people's assets and HRDP's development outcomes seem to be affected by socio-cultural factors, such as family obligations (Bushell 2015:1; Disbury 2015). While visiting the projects, several issues related to cultural and social factors, repeatedly came to the surface: the perception of poverty, the role and expectations

of family relationships, and the dominant effect of entitlement and patronage in society (Eschbach 2016:10-11; Mallick 2014:22). While becoming acquainted with Bengali culture, it became evident that the so-called *personalization of authority*[1] has multiple implications. The behavioural composite of patronage expectation and authoritarianism tend to lead not only to weak institutions, but they can also impede development processes: instead of taking responsibility for their livelihood, people from every social group, and even institutions, lean on patrons to meet their needs. This is often done by communicating personal and economic limitations, while at the same time expressing an inherent right (entitlement) to be helped (Gardner 2012:48; :138–139; Maloney 1991:49–51). Considering such power dynamics and looking at the state of the NGO – which suffered under poor leadership and weak empowerment structures – the researcher concluded: cultural and social factors, which shape the beliefs and attitudes of people, may impact the success or failure of development projects in a major way. These factors influence the ways in which leaders and staff view issues and make decisions – with both positive and negative results.

Bringing the conclusions of the visit into the context of human development, it became obvious that the focus of this dissertation needed to be on the effects of entitlement and patronage on empowerment. After further research and consideration, the following problem statement emerged:

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Entitlement and patronage are two dominant, socio-cultural factors in Bangladesh's society. Conversations with development practitioners and personal observations have both revealed that the behavioural composite of patronage authoritarianism and entitlement expectations affects HRDPs community development projects, and ultimately the people's empowerment. The culturally-informed choices of beneficiaries and local staff seem to influence their livelihoods in various ways; sometimes to the extent that they become reliant on the project, rather than using their rediscovered capabilities to move themselves out of poverty. Based on these issues, the resulting hypothesis to be studied

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[1] A term, defined by social scientist B.K. Jahangir – cited in Maloney 1991:46 – explaining the collection and use of materials for personal purposes and/or further distribution to people in need, due position or societal status.

are 'obstacles to empowerment' due to entitlement and patronage. Therefore, this dissertation seeks to answer the following questions:

➢ **Research question**

How do the concepts of entitlement and patronage impact the empowerment of beneficiaries and project staff of a local community development project in Bangladesh?

➢ **Sub-questions**

▪ How do beneficiaries and project staff understand their role in the community development project?

▪ What are the main challenges with regard to empowerment and what implications do they have for the work to be accomplished by the project?

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

➢ **Primary objective**

The primary objective of this dissertation is to research the effects of entitlement and patronage on the empowerment of people in a local development project in Bangladesh, with the goal of discovering the impact upon the mode of operation, staff development and leadership style. It is expected that an empirical, qualitative study, based on the capability approach, will help to clarify these structures in order to overcome obstacles to empowerment.

➢ **Secondary objectives**

Due to the asset-based emphasis of this dissertation, the secondary research objectives focus on the communities' resources:

▪ Discuss the relationship between culture and development.

▪ Compile information on the concepts of entitlement and patronage in Bangladesh.

▪ Study the concept of empowerment in the framework of the capability approach.

▪ Explore the effect of entitlement and patronage on empowerment among project staff and beneficiaries.

1.4 IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The awareness of the influential role of culture in development practice has been slowly growing since the 1970s. Meanwhile, cultural aspects are being considered as one of the main reasons for the success or failure of development projects, and are even seen as a precondition for social and economic development. Therefore, this study is based on the hypothesis that the full dimensions of poverty can only be understood and overcome once cultural factors are acknowledged and embraced (Holenstein 2009:34; Kusch 2007:78; Maggay 2016:21; Marana 2010:8–9).

From a global perspective, a shift in recognising the relevance of culture in development debates and practices has definitely taken place. However, when considering the situation in Bangladesh, such a 'general paradigm shift' – according to Kusch (2007:79)[2] – has not yet occurred. Even though it is no secret that social relationships and economical structures within Bangladesh are strongly influenced and shaped by cultural norms and values, often being rooted in religious systems and colonial heritage, the truth is that, until recently, not much attention has been given to its effects on development projects (Rahman 2005:2-5). Although there would be various phenomena to look at, Professor Rahman from the Department of Development Studies at the University of Dhaka directly points out the plight of patronage:

> One of the numerous manifestations of hierarchy in Bangladesh society is patron-client relation between two parties. Those people who have control over the mode of production, resource accumulation and resource distribution in the state are the patrons and the rest are clients. Dependency of vulnerable groups over the stronger group is a key feature of this patron-client relationship (Rahman 2005:6).

However, the impact of patron-client relationships is still underestimated among many academics and development practitioners. Most of them view today's influence of patronage and entitlement mainly within the intrigue of formal political systems, and seldom in the reception of, and participation in, local development programmes (Huq 2016:13). Although civic engagement and social connectedness have definitely changed the nature of patronage in society, the political side of it has persisted until today, especially in rural areas (Leonard et al. 2010:476).

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[2] Original German citation: "[…] der 'generelle Paradigmenwechsel' (Katherine Marshall) hin zur Wahrnehmung der Relevanz von Kultur […]".

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to expose the effects of entitlement and patronage on empowerment within one specific development project in Bangladesh. The results of the study should help to clarify and hopefully overcome the obstacles to empowerment, with the goal of making the project more effective. Although the negative aspects of existing power structures in the culture of Bangladesh cannot be entirely eliminated, they can be made visible. In turn, some constructive practical leadership approaches may then be suggested. May the outcome of this dissertation help to change the mindset of all stakeholders, and further contribute to more empowerment, resulting ultimately in poverty alleviation and the well-being of people, even in other projects and programmes.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The qualitative, empirical case study has been carried out in Gabtali, a rural sub-district in the northern part of Bangladesh, about 20 kilometres away from the city of Bogra. This sub-district was specifically chosen because HRDP has implemented a variety of projects in various village settlements in the area over the past seven years. Its staff is able to assist the researcher in performing the necessary interviews in their community development projects (which focus on empowerment through education) in the given time frame. Another key reason is that they apply the *Asset-Based Community Development* (ABCD) approach, which is, according to Mathie and Cunningham (2003:476) "*a strategy* for sustainable community-driven development". The long-lasting relationship of the researcher with the NGO and the trust between the local community and their project workers were also important factors in the decision to focus on Gabtali for this case study.

The examination was conducted over five consecutive days, within four small villages in close proximity to each other. The majority of the male adults are either peasants or day labourers with work in the nearby rice fields and brick fabrics. Women generally stay at home and take care of their families. The education level is low, especially among adult women, of which 90% are illiterate. In consideration of this fact, the interview questions and focus-group discussions were deliberately created to be very simple. By using illustrations and metaphors, it was mostly possible to connect the interview guideline with the

knowledge and environment of the people studied. Even though the language barrier has been noted as a potential limitation to the research, it has been largely overcome by the help of local translators trained in Bogra's higher secondary colleges.

While case studies generally have limited transferable content, the results of this study might be usable within other rural contexts of the country, because it was completed in a farming community and among Muslims (about 75% of the Bangladeshi population follow the religion of Islam (Houscht 2017) and therefore represents the situation of the majority of people in Bangladesh.

1.6 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS AND TERMS

For the purpose of this study, the following definitions will be used:

Beneficiaries: The people referred to as beneficiaries are those local community members, who directly benefit from HRDPs community development project and have participated in this case study. Beneficiaries include parents of children attending HRDPs village primary schools and students of HRDPs literacy classes.

Empowerment: Empowerment is often understood in political terms but must be seen as a broader system of various interventions involving economic and social processes (Maggay 2016:92). These multidimensional means enable people to gain control over central areas of their lives and help them to develop capacities and structures from their own assets (Pfahler 2010:151). In short, empowerment gives people freedom to live a life worth living (Sen 2001:74).

Entitlement: Entitlement enables an individual or a group of people to legitimately demand provisions for livelihood. In order to benefit from something one does not have access to, but feels entitled to (e.g. food), one makes claims to the available systems of social connections (Gardner 2012:155; Ghafur 2000:261–262,:271; Sen 1981:45). Bangladesh's entitlement-system is in essence a culture of giving and receiving 'gifts' with strings attached. Rather than being 'pure', such donations under the umbrella of 'community engagement' are deeply implicated in social relationships, dependency and obligation (Gardner 2012:138–139).

Livelihood: A livelihood consists of everything which sustains life – the material and non-material world – and therefore includes emotional resources (Holenstein 2009:30). Livelihood security is one of the basic means to well-being, is interlinked with the capabilities of people, and is built on the principles of equity and sustainability (Chambers 1997:11). In other words, livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities of individuals or groups which are required to make a living (Kindernothilfe 2014:11).

Local community: A local community is a group of interacting people with collective, shared identities and resources of value (like the common use of the same environment) (Barrett 2005a:217). The local community observed in this case study, which is part of the development project, is not homogenous and there are power differences among its inhabitants.

Patronage: Patronage manifests itself in a consistent, personal, but informal relationship between two people or groups of unequal status and power, for the purpose of exchanging valued resources. This culturally rooted, endogenously-enforced, informal system is essentially based on power difference because it is governed by norms and actions which lead to the extensive construction and maintenance of social inequality (De Wit & Berner 2009:931-932). One of its manifestations is the presence of patron-client relationships between the advantaged (patrons) who control resources, and the disadvantaged (clients) who must seek the patron's favour to gain access to resources (Huq 2016:16).

Poverty: Poverty has many causes and can therefore not be limited to economic needs. It is the result of systematic disempowerment of people in socio-economic, political, bureaucratic and religious areas of life (Christian 1994:335). When talking about poverty, it is fundamental to look, according to Amartya Sen (1981:6), "[…] at both ownership patterns and exchange entitlements, and at the forces that lie behind them". The reasons for poverty lie in its multidimensional aspects (Bradshaw 2007:15; BRIDGE 2001:4; Maggay 2016:96; Sachs 1997:290–291).

Project: The undertaking of a development programme that is cooperatively designed, planned and carried out by the stakeholders for the purpose of the empowerment of individuals and the increased well-being of the local community in which the project is taking place (IFRC 2003:60; Monaheng 2001:128).

Project staff: The project staff is a group of individuals directly involved in the development project who lead or oversee its implementation. They consist of local community members, as well as assigned leaders and supervisors from the outside. The majority of them are paid by the NGO.

Sustainable project impact: Sustainable project impact has been achieved when people, as a result of the development project, are able to meet their needs without compromising the ability of their descendants to do the same (United Nations - General Assembly 1987:41). The general approach to realising this goal is to give people the perspective of freedom, by encouraging them to see value in their own resources and by strengthening their capabilities (Chambers 1997:11; Mathie & Cunningham 2003:475).

Social and cultural norms/aspects: Social norms are informal regulation mechanisms, which have a strong influence on the decision-making and behaviour of people. Because they are often the result of historical circumstances, an accumulation of practise and also self-reinforcement, social norms are seldom chosen by those who are subject to them (World Bank 2015:51). Culture can be defined as a societal design of life or as a strategy to shape the human entity. Cultural norms are always collective phenomena, because they are – at least for some period of time – shared by people who are or were part of the same social environment. They are like a collective spirit which distinguishes members of a group or a category of people from others (Hofstede 1997:4).

1.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

To ensure human dignity, social justice and respect and fairness, the study adheres to a clear ethical standard of conduct. Its application will protect all people involved from any exposure, vulnerability, manipulation or disadvantages within the community and/or the NGO. The ethical considerations are comprised of the following themes: informed consent, voluntary participation, respect, no harm, confidentiality and anonymity. They are in compliance with UNISA's current *Policy on Research Ethics* (UNISA 2016) and are elaborated in section 4.4.2 (Ethical standard of conduct) of this dissertation.

1.8 OUTLINE OF DISSERTATION

The study is subdivided into six chapters that conform to the present UNISA model and are summarised as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction

The first chapter introduces the reader to the case study. The components include information about the background of the research problem, the problem statement, the defined research objectives and the importance and scope of the study. It also provides short definitions about the key concepts used.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Chapter two explains the theoretical framework of *Culture and Development*. A short historical review of the cultural dimensions in development, followed by a description of culture and the concepts of development, reveals the relationships between these two, and thus also the relationship between entitlement and patronage with empowerment. To be able to understand the purpose of development – the empowerment of people in the context of their capabilities – the researcher provides insights into the capability approach presented by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum and finishes the chapter with an appeal for an asset-based approach, which has also been applied in this study.

Chapter 3: Entitlement and Patronage

The results from the literature review are presented in chapter three. Beginning with general definitions, the author then provides specific insights about how entitlement and patronage have developed in the context of Bangladesh. This has been done by studying historical events and the influence of religion, and by assessing anthropological and sociological literature. As a result of these findings, the chapter concludes with a presentation of a structure for the empirical research.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

The previous chapters lay the foundation for the design and realisation of the empirical research as described. Chapter four shows how the chosen methods, tools and techniques have helped to standardise the research in order to ultimately prove the academic relevance of this case study.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis

Chapter five contains the analysis of the data, gained by 14 interviews and two focus-group discussions. It reveals how the data analysis was performed, presents and discusses the results and gives some primary indications about the discoveries made. To be able to compare the analysed data sets, the chapter ends with a consolidation and triangulation of the results.

Chapter 6: Interpretation and Résumé of Findings

The purpose of chapter six is to incorporate the outcomes of the data analysis into the secondary research objectives and to present a summary of the key findings.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

The last chapter draws the final conclusions of the case study. After commencing with a number of practical recommendations based on the findings, the researcher reflects the used methodology, suggests a few topics for further research and finishes the chapter with a final summary.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The objective of this chapter is to present *Culture and Development* – a sub-research area of *Development Debates & Issues* – as the theoretical framework for this study and to explain its connection to the research objectives.

To be able to bring the two studied cultural factors into the context of development and to refer to the actual ideas and beliefs about the phenomena studied, a theoretical or conceptual framework is needed. This analytical tool will help to make conceptual distinctions, capture ideas and systematize results. By utilising it throughout the whole research process, it will also make it also simple to remember and apply the research results in practice (Maxwell 2013:39). The conceptual framework, according to Miles and Hubermann (1994:18) "[...] explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied – the key factors, constructs or variables – and the presumed relationships among them". The function of the chosen framework is to shape the whole research design. This includes assessing and defining goals, developing realistic and relevant research questions, selecting appropriate methods and identifying validity threats to the conclusions of the research.

Applying *Culture and Development* as the conceptual framework of this study will help clarify the linkage of entitlement and patronage with empowerment and should make it possible to compare these socio-cultural aspects with the social and human capital of the people studied. While using it as a conception or model to study the assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that support and inform this research, it may also expose the real impact of entitlement and patronage on the development project. In contrast to the literature review, the conceptual framework is constructed and not found. Although it incorporates pieces, which are borrowed from elsewhere, the structure is purposely built to be able to tackle the research objectives (Maxwell 2013:39-41).

2.1 OVERVIEW OF CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

A general awareness about *Culture and Development*, their relationship to each other and the impact for the development practice began in the 1970s and 1980s (Marana 2010:7). Before that, culture as socio-economic factor was given only minor attention in development practice, as it was not relevant in the predominant neo-liberal growth theories during these times. Culture was simply

considered as applied art, linked to the concept of cultural identity (Kusch 2007:80; Marana 2010:7).

2.1.1 Historical background

The first official call to acknowledge culture within international cooperation came from the UNESCO during their Paris conference in 1966 (Marana 2010:2). While defending the equal dignity of all cultures in Article I of the *Principles of international cultural-cooperation*, the declaration made another clear statement in Article V about "[…] a right and a duty for all peoples and all nations, which should share with one another their knowledge and skills" (UNESCO 1966:87–88). To be able to build on these principles and with the intention of studying ways of contributing to cultural development, the UNESCO called Ministers of Member States to Venice, Italy in 1970. During this first intergovernmental conference exclusively arranged in relation to culture, the conceptions of 'cultural development' and 'cultural dimension of development' were debated (Marana 2010:7–8). The 24 resolutions in the final report made several recommendations to include culture in public development actions. One argument was that, according to resolution No. 12, "[…] cultural development is one of the essential factors in general development and that the economics and sociology of culture are among the least investigated aspects of cultural policy" (UNESCO 1970:22).

Even though one could conclude that the 24 culturally-focused resolutions did not impact development practice until the early 1980s, it must be acknowledged that some of its early ideas are still valid today. A prominent example is the recommendation of Resolution No. 7[3], which is clearly mirrored in the *Sustainable Development Goal* (SDG) *No. 4.7*:

> By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development (United Nations - General Assembly 2015:17).

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[3] "[…] life-long education leads to more active participation in culture, in the belief that the enrichment of the cultural life of the masses must go hand in hand with the promotion of material prosperity" (UNESCO 1970:19).

The real breakthrough for the launch of culturally-related development policies took place during the so called *MONDIACULT-Conference* in 1982. As a result, the declaration of that *UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies* revealed an irrevocable link between culture and development and provided the working basis for the actions that followed. Thus Article 16 concludes:

> Balanced development can only be ensured by making cultural factors an integral part of the strategies designed to achieve it; consequently, these strategies should always be devised in the light of the historical, social and cultural context of each society (UNESCO 1982:2).

Therefore, it is evident that culture offers context, values, subjectivity, attitudes and skills on which development processes take place (Marana 2010:8–9). Discussing these findings further, the UNESCO World Commission on Culture and Development under the coordination of Javier Pérez de Cuellar came to the conclusion, that even the best development efforts are endangered to fail, if the human factor – a complex web of relationships and beliefs, values and motivations, which lies at the very heart of a culture – is neglected (Fukuda-Parr 2000:278; Marana 2010:10; Perez de Cuellar 1996:7–11).

Although a clear co-dependency was revealed many decades ago, it has been a long path for culture to become an integral part of sustainable development. Even during the 1970s – the second development decade – when ecologists and environmentalists started to promote less econometric concepts of development (which led to what is known as sustainable development), culture continued being side-lined, because development was still too closely linked to economic growth (Marana 2010:4). One important reason why holistic thinking did not totally disappear was the famous *Brundtland-Report 'Our Common Future'*. It comprised sustainable development (SD) as a component of the international development thinking and helped pave the way for three overlapping spheres of SD, aiming for the improvement of human well-being through economic security, ecological integrity and social equity (Escobar 1996:53–54; Sneddon, Howarth & Norgaard 2006:255–256). The *World Commission on Environment and Development* made clear, that to attain sustainability, economic growth needs to be de-emphasized while at the same time the environmental and social dimensions of development need to be strengthened (Howarth 2012:38). This resulted in forming illustrations like the one portrayed below:
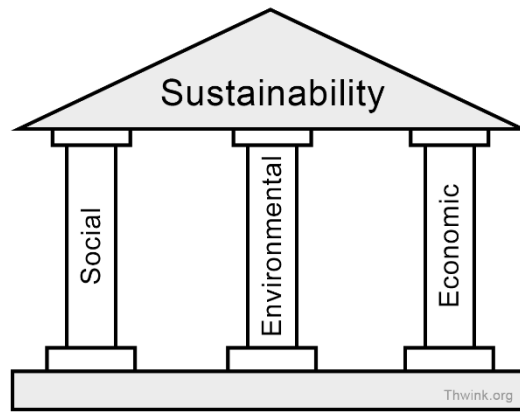
Figure 2.1: The three Pillars of Sustainable Development

(Source: Thwink.org 2014)

Although connecting these three aspects was already a major change in development practice, the *World Commission on Culture and Development* rightly observed eight years later, that development is still not sustainable and even endangered to fail, if the human factor is absent. Without building culture into broader development strategies, poverty alleviation, human dignity and well-being cannot be achieved (Kusch 2007:78; Marana 2010:10–11; Perez de Cuellar 1996:8). One statement in the action plan is noteworthy (:48): "Development divorced from its human or cultural context is development without a soul."

2.1.2 Forward strategy

As result of the three decade-long debate, it has become evident that culture must be a substantial part of sustainable development. A lot of the planet's environmental problems and definitely all of its social and economic problems have their roots in culturally-based activities and decisions. Without the dimension of culture, development is not sustainable (Dessein et al. 2015:14–15). This resulted in demanding a fourth pillar to be added to the sustainable development model. Even though public support was at first very small and the arguments of people like George Yúdice or John Hawkes ('The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability') seemed not to be heard, it became increasingly clear that without culture, sustainable development is incomplete (Marana 2010:4). To make it visible, they demanded adding culture as a self-standing 4th pillar in the chart. They claimed, that through its framing, contextualising and mediating way, culture has a very influential role in society and is therefore able to balance the

three existing pillars and guide sustainable development practice between them (Dessein et al. 2015:7).

Javier Pérez de Cuellar, together with the *World Commission on Culture and Development*, rightly concluded that it is inevitable to build cultural insights into these broader development strategies, resulting in new questions that need to be answered. He proposed to look into the following issues:

> What are the cultural and socio-cultural factors that affect development? What is the cultural impact of social and economic development? How are cultures and models of development related to one another? What are the cultural dimensions of individual and collective well-being? (Perez de Cuellar 1996:8).

Similar questions triggered the formation of this study. In reference to chapter 1.2 *Background of the Research Problem*, the author concludes in accordance with the UNESCO commission, that "the cultural dimensions of human life are possibly more essential than growth" (Perez de Cuellar 1996:14). To ensure sustainable development, it is therefore not only important to acknowledge culture as a fundamental dimension of each development process, but also imperative to integrate its factors into development strategies (Marana 2010:9).

2.2 THE FRAMEWORK OF CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

Culture is a substantial part of (sustainable) development because many of the planet's environmental problems and definitely all of its social and economic problems have their roots in culturally-based activities and decisions (Dessein et al. 2015:14). This conclusion effectively summarises the previously presented need to connect culture and development.

Before explaining the conceptual framework in detail, it shall be presented in a graphical form (see figure 2.2 on the following page). This will help specify who and what will and will not be studied and show how the relationship between culture and development is understood (Miles & Hubermann 1994:18).
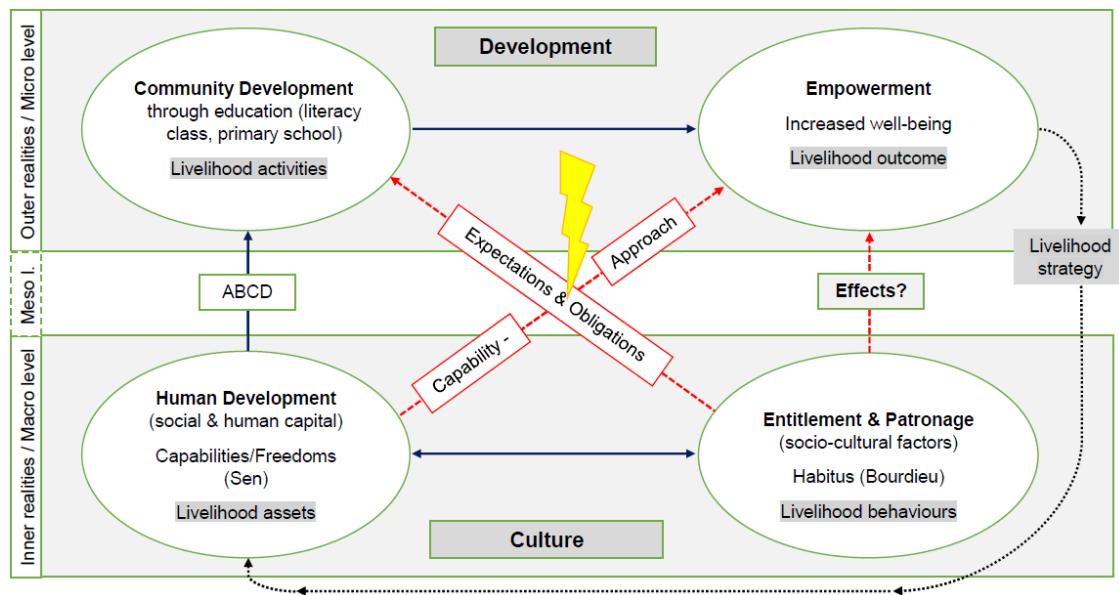
Figure 2.2: Conceptual Framework of Culture and Development

Guided by this figure, the role and impact of both culture and development and their relationships shall be explained on the following pages.

2.2.1 Describing culture

To be able to define the roles of culture in and the relations to the various types of development, one must first explain what is meant by culture (Dessein et al. 2015:20). Culture – along with human nature and personality – makes up one of the three unique levels in the mental programming of people. The distinctiveness between these levels is seen in their role and how they are attained. Human nature is universal and inherited within one's genes. Personality is specific to the individual and both inherited and learned. Culture, however, is always a historically formed collectivistic phenomenon specific to a group or category, learned from one's social environment and usually shared with people who live in a similar social environment (Beer 2012:66–67; Hofstede 1997:4; Hofstede & Hofstede 2005:3–5).

According to Williams[4] (1976:87), "culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language". The reason, according to his essay, is due to the intricate historical development of culture, and more importantly to its relevance and indisputable impact in other systems of thought.

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[4] Raymond Williams was a Welsh Marxist academic who made foundational statements in the field of cultural studies.

The meaning of the word 'culture' has changed over time and depends much on the context and understanding of people. It originates from practical interactions with nature (cultivating land – referring to its Latin origin) and goes as far as the cultivation of the human mind and behaviour. In research and policy, three main connotations are generally used: The general process of intellectual, spiritual or aesthetic development; a particular way of life (of a people, period or group); and as works and intellectual artistic activity (Beer 2012:60; Dessein et al. 2015:21; Hofstede 1997:3; Williams 1976:87–93).

Similarly, Geert Hofstede and his co-authors conclude that culture is not a universally accepted concept, mainly due to the fact that there are many different ways to define it. They argue that the only agreement among scientists is that culture relates to the social world and demonstrates how groups of people structure their lives (Hofstede et al. 2002:40). Culture "[…] is the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others" (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005:5). In other words: Culture is a societal design and a strategy of life, which shapes the human entity in different dimensions, ultimately influencing people's social behaviour (Käser 1998:282; Triandis 2004:2). In her own definition, Melba P. Maggay names these dimensions specifically: "By 'culture' we mean historically transmitted patterns of meaning embedded in structures, worldviews, beliefs and value systems" (Maggay 2016:92).

Societal practices have their roots in the 'habitus', a sociological term often used and described by Pierre Bourdieu (Krais & Gebauer 2002:5–6). Thus we speak about 'habitus' or 'incorporated capital', when culturally-shaped norms and behaviours of individuals and groups become an integral part of people's lives. Likewise it can be said, that habitus is the state when internalised social capital[5] turned into being (Bourdieu 1992:56). The habitus of a person brings to the surface what make him or her to a societal being: The belonging to a specific group or class and the cultural imprint he or she has received from it (Treibel 2006:226). In this sense was Bourdieu's view of culture was "[...] a form

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[5] Social capital is the total of the given or potential resources connected to the possessions of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships, which are based on recognition and mutual acquaintance (Bourdieu 1992:63).

of capital in which people and societies invest their time and material resources"
(Clague & Grossbard-Shechtman 2001:8).

Even though cultures are often considered as closed systems of norms and values, they experience constant change. The main reason for this is that each culture evolves from its own human society (Beer 2012:68). In his book *Cultural Anthropology*, Herskovits (1955, cited in Triandis 2004:16) described this fact with the following statement: "Culture is the human-made part of the environment".

While sharing the conclusion that it is difficult to provide an adequate definition of culture, Harry C. Triandis proposed the following statement as consensus:

> Culture is a set of human-made objective and subjective elements that in the past have increased the probability of survival and resulted in satisfactions for the participants in an ecological niche, and thus became shared among those who could communicate with each other because they had a common language and they lived in the same time and place (Triandis 2004:22).

The differences in defining culture result in divergent ways of examining culture. Some socio-anthropologists focus on its emic[6], others on its etic[7] and some even on both of these aspects. For Triandis, the essential point in defining culture lies in a dual approach: to study its representatives within their physical environment and to examine historical factors which shaped their beliefs (Triandis 2004:22–27). Consequently, it must be acknowledged that culture represents a matrix for particular ways of life where systems, values, worldviews and motivations, as well as ethical and moral choices, drive individual and collective strategies and actions, including development agendas (Dessein et al. 2015:32). By applying these realities within the empirical, qualitative case study, it will help explain how these human-made elements – entitlement and patronage – objectively and subjectively affect the empowerment of its staff and beneficiaries.

2.2.2 Concepts of development

In contrast to culture, development is concerned with people's improvement of subsistence of life and therefore represents the upper stratum of the diagram.

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[6] Relating to or analysing cultural phenomena from someone who participates in the culture studied (Merriam-Webster 2018).

[7] Relating to or analysing cultural phenomena from an outside perspective (Merriam-Webster 2018).

It illustrates the community development activities as livelihood strategies with the aim of achieving empowerment and ultimately well-being.

Before looking at some concepts of development, it would be helpful to understand its original meaning. A general and quite metaphoric definition comes from Gustavo Esteva, a Mexican-born political activist and well known post-development advocate:

> In common parlance, development describes a process through which the potentialities of an object or organism are released, until it reaches its natural, complete, full-fledged form (Esteva 1992:3).

By using the analogy of the natural growth of plants and animals, Esteva points out that the ultimate goal of development is to enable organisms its own genetical potential. If that purpose fails, the plant or animal will unfold into an anomaly instead of prospering into its intended design. Such a transformative pattern of development that moves towards its intended purpose, has its roots in the Age of Enlightenment. From the late 18th century onwards, scientists and sociologists began using evolution and development as interchangeable terms (Esteva 1992:3–6). The rise of the colonial powers in the 20th century shaped the development formula again, at least until the second development decade in the 1970s: Evidenced by their striving for productivity and wealth, the development goals of the dominating western nations were primarily politically and economically focussed. As a result, the term 'development' has been understood, sometimes still today, as an approach by the wealthy (west) to become wealthier – often at the cost of the poor (Nuscheler 2012:30; Rist 2010:252).

Today, after having worked through various processes on a global level, the international community, multinational companies and NGOs primarily use a much more holistic and integrated approach. This goal is expressed within the declaration of the resolution from the 70th UN General Assembly which mandated the 17 SDGs to come into effect by January 2016:

> We resolve, between now and 2030, to end poverty and hunger everywhere; to combat inequalities within and among countries; to build peaceful, just and inclusive societies; to protect human rights and promote gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls; and to ensure the lasting protection of the planet and its natural resources. We resolve also to create conditions for sustainable, inclusive and sustained economic growth, shared prosperity and decent work for all, taking into account different levels of national development and capacities (United Nations - General Assembly 2015:3).

This is a massive shift of view and practice, moving development away from products towards people and their capabilities (Chambers 1997:9) by asking what a specific person is able to do and to be (Nussbaum 2011:20). In light of this, development is now generally defined as an integral and participative approach to improve the conditions of poor people according to their own criteria, capabilities and goals, as long as these attempts do not harm others and comprise mutual global responsibility (AGEE 2013:24). Consequently, all development methods and activities must seek to attain its overarching objective: the well-being of (poor) people (Myers 2011:26).

Well-being is described, according to Robert Chambers (1997:9), "[…] as the experience of good quality of life". This is the counterpart to ill-being and goes much beyond the understanding of poverty in economic terms. It contains all dimensions of life – well-being or ill-being in social, mental, spiritual and material/physical spheres (:9-10). Ravi Jayakaran, an Indian development expert and former colleague of Chambers, refers to the same areas and describes poverty as a lack of freedom to grow in them (Jayakaran 1996:14; Myers 2011:131). Jayakumar Christian, a long-time development practitioner and National Director of World Vision India, takes these findings a step further: While describing poverty also as a disempowering system, he adds culture into his framework of interacting systems, influencing the well- or ill-being of people. Although writing from a Hindu background, he insists that every culture has beliefs that disempower people and therefore needs to be considered as influential (Myers 2011:123–128). The reasons that development should cover all aspects of life (i.e. economic, political, social, religious and cultural) lie in their controlling patterns. Partly as a result of the non-poor dominating the poor, all these systems and processes and the relationships that result out of them have the potential to be oppressive and disempowering (Christian 1994:334-335; Hahn 2010:124; Myers 2011:15).

Without a clear conception of human nature and people's abilities, it is impossible to alleviate poverty in its multidimensional facets. Therefore it must be the imminent goal of any development activity to unfold and help empower people's capabilities (Nussbaum 1999:204–205). In this sense, development – based on the different assets of livelihood (i.e. human and social capital) – is nothing

more and nothing less than enabling human freedoms. Its core aim is to enhance people's capacities through practical livelihood activities as a strategy to empower people's livelihood, by which they will experience increased well-being. On a community level, this often happens through the *Asset-Based Community Development* (ABCD) approach (see section 2.5). The ABCD approach is, according to Monaheng (2001:125), "[…] aimed at empowering communities and strengthening their capacity for self-sustaining development".

By taking into account that development relies on all four pillars (social, environmental, economic, cultural; as explained in section 2.1.1) equally, the researcher concludes that development is always a result of intentional and unintentional processes of change and evolution with the desire to achieve a better life in all its facets (Dessein et al. 2015:21; Jabareen 2008:183). To be able to reverse the spiral of disempowerment, any development assistance must consider not only economic, social and environmental aspects, but also cultural factors in their activities and strategies to empower the powerlessness.

2.2.3 Linking culture and development

In recent years various concepts, such as the *Sustainable Livelihood* (SL) framework of the UK Department for International Development (DFID)[8] and the *Rural Livelihood System* (RLS), a slight adaptation by NADEL[9], have been designed to present and analyse people's livelihoods in the context development. These people-centred frameworks serve to better explain and analyse the main factors and their relationships to one another, which affect the livelihoods of the poor. One aspect is the impact of culture in development (DFID 2001:13). The SL framework regards culture as one of the transforming processes that has access into and influence on people's livelihood assets (i.e. human, social, natural, physical and financial capital). Culture, revealed in societal norms and beliefs, systematically frames people's livelihood and restricts their opportunities for development (:33–34). Consequently, in order to pursue the targeted livelihood outcomes, the DFID approach considers not only the

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[8] The DFID SL framework was created to present the main factors that affect people's livelihoods and the common relationships between these. Full image see figure A.1 in appendices A.

[9] NADEL is a postgraduate course on development at ETH Zürich. They blended DFID's SL framework with the Rural Livelihood System (RLS) framework, a nine-square mandala representing the nine bases, spaces and orientations of people's livelihood (Nadel 2007). See figure A.2 in appendices A.

vulnerability of poverty affected people, but it also draws attention to structures and processes which might threaten their own resources (DFID 2001:3; NADEL 2007:21). The RLS framework – based on a nine-square mandala – is a practical tool to gain a holistic perspective on contexts, goals and strategies of people's livelihoods. Along with other facets, culture plays a key role in the context of livelihoods. Its impact is reflected within the family and collective orientation squares in the RLS mandala (NADEL 2007:23–25).

Even though this study focusses only on two specific socio-cultural factors, the pattern of these SL frameworks will be a help in discovering their impact upon the mode of operation, staff development and leadership style. Additionally, the livelihood viewpoint will support a responsive and participatory approach to addressing the research problem. By reflecting upon the two culturally affected behaviours within the assets or capabilities of people, the researcher desires (a) to understand the effects of entitlement and patronage and (b) to help discover those empowering livelihood strategies, which have a positive influence on the community development project and result in increased well-being. In other words: Creating an awareness of the negative facets of entitlement and patronage (livelihood behaviours) might help to maximise human development, resulting in people's empowerment.

To be able to achieve this goal, this dissertation follows a scientific path (details see 4.1). By using a distinct methodological approach, the *Meta-science*, in this case 'cultural sociology', will be connected with the *Real-life objects* of people partaking in the development project. Through that, various socio-cultural phenomena discussed in literature – which are part of people's assets and are revealed in their behaviours – will be connected with the activities and outcomes of the community development programme (Barrett 2005:6–7).

The coupling of culture and development has implications for the conceptual framework of this study (see figure 2.2): Illustrated with the vertical bar at the bottom, displaying people's behaviours and assets on the same level, the study aims to expose any interplay between entitlement and patronage with human development. In other words, the study shall reveal reciprocity among these specific socio-cultural factors (habits) and the social and human capital (capabilities or freedoms) of people in the local development project. However, the

Culture and Development framework is also diagonally connected. Commencing with *Entitlement & Patronage*, the researcher seeks to find out if and how culturally-imprinted choices in terms of entitlement and patronage directly influence strategies in the studied *Community Development* project. The other diagonal line is between *Human Development* and *Empowerment*. It reflects the necessity of determining how people's livelihood assets can be enhanced through the capability approach. Eventually, these two intersecting lines reveal the degree of impact on the capability approach, due to the socio-culturally-imprinted choices of both individuals and the community.

2.3 DEVELOPMENT AS EMPOWERMENT

Since the primary objective of this dissertation is to research the effects of entitlement and patronage on the empowerment of people, the conceptual framework consequently needs to explain why development and empowerment appear on the same level and how they relate to each other. As previously explained, community development exists for the purpose of promoting human development. Its strategy is to empower communities and their inhabitants by strengthening their own capacities (Monaheng 2001:125). Before explaining how this takes place in development practice, it must be acknowledged that empowerment includes confronting and eradicating those power structures that make people dependent, powerless and poor (Bradshaw 2007:5; Chant 2008:190). Therefore, the nature of power structures and the way they are revealed in the context of the community development project has to be studied.

2.3.1 The nature of power structures

Power is a very important development issue. Poverty, as well as the transformation that needs to take place from disempowerment to empowerment, is a result of the interplay of several power forces/areas. They include, according to Maggay (2016:96), "[…] power relations (political and other structures), physical resources (resource base and infrastructure), and people (the nature of the community, its culture and life system)". Similarly, most development literature in Bangladesh also references about three levels of power structures: formal institutions of governance, informal relationships, and empowerment. The latter is mainly connected to community organising, civil society and NGOs. Although this dissertation focusses on the third aspect, it is crucial to recognise that they

do influence each other. Especially as formal governance structures and informal social processes seem to affect the empowerment of the powerless more than anything else (Lewis & Hossain 2009:26).

Within sociology, power is often described as the ability of its holders to exact compliance or obedience of other individuals to their will (Lewis & Hossain 2009:27). This understanding is based on the statement of the well-known British political and social theorist, Steven M. Lukes, who says: "I have defined the concept of power by saying that A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests" (Lukes 2005:37). Other scholars like Foucault (1980) described the nature of power multi-dimensionally, as it also operates through other than formal routes. One aspect is the socio-culturally-shaped power structures (i.e. when local and state officials secure their own interests due to their status). As stated in Kabeer, Kabir and Huq (2009:9), "[...] they exercise more indirect forms of power in the sphere of civil society through their hegemony in the field of culture and ideology".

As for Bangladesh, this more fluid, pervasive and socially embedded power is a daily reality within the different spheres of societal life (Kabeer 1994:229). Examples, according Lewis and Hossain (2009:28), are "[...] men's attempts to mobilise resources to promote their own and gender interests, and [...] their devising 'rules of the game' which disguise inequality and self-interest". Patronage in Bangladesh is effectively such a 'rules of the game', which appears in formal and informal relationships. Its pervasive clientelism is both constraining and facilitating social life and livelihoods (:94).

But the influencing factors of patronage are broader: Due to growing market forces, multiple layers of power structures and their economic reliance, villages in Bangladesh are increasingly dependent on the relationships and structures of the wider society. On the micro-level, peasants depend on local actors such as religious leaders, land owners and NGOs. The relationships and dependencies on the meso-level go farther than the land-based power-structures of the immediate village. They operate at an intermediary level through officials of local governments, representatives of development NGOs, contractors and state politicians. Normally, these actors do not live in the villages but control them through multiple relationships. The macro-level operates through national and

global players, as well as NGOs and state bureaucrats. Although their structures are seen in the villages, they control village affairs through regulatory power (Mannan 2005:281).

Mannan's chart illustrates these multi-levelled power structures well:
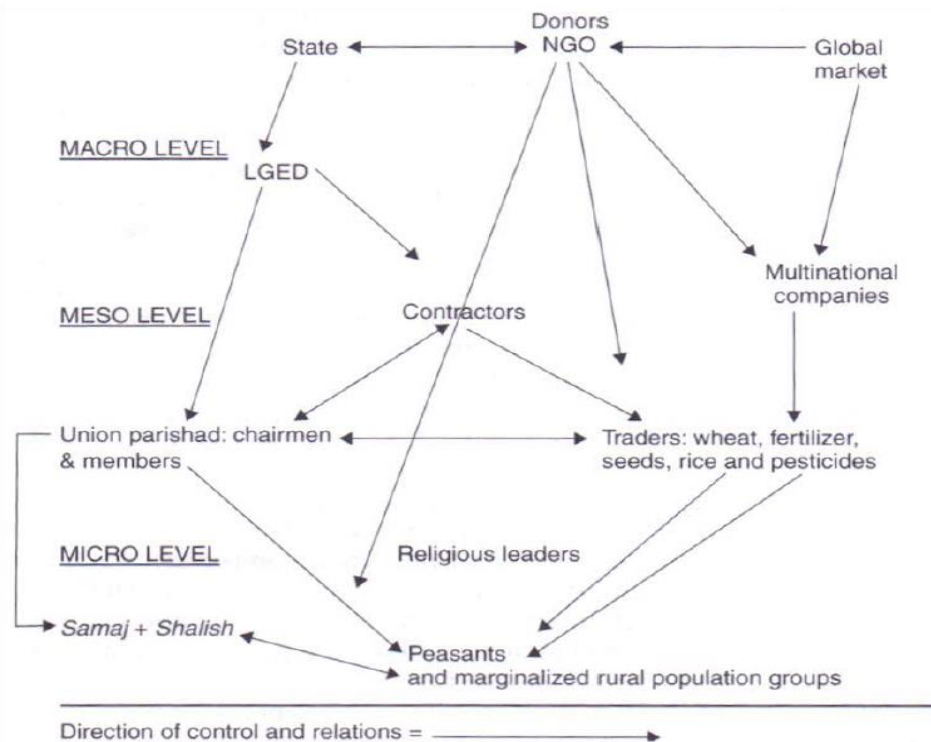
Figure 2.3: Rural Power Structures in Bangladesh

(Source: Mannan 2005:282)

2.3.2 The impact of empowerment

Due to deeply embedded entitlement expectations and patronage structures, one must first acknowledge that such power structures truly exist and cannot be easily changed. Researching the effect of these socio-cultural factors on the empowerment of people follows as a second step.

Empowerment is often understood in political terms, but should be seen as a broader system of various interventions involving economic and social processes (Maggay 2016:92). Through multi-dimensional approaches in economic, social and societal areas (e.g. with Self-Help Groups), people are enabled to gain control over central areas of their lives and are helped to develop capacities and structures from their own assets (Pfahler 2010:151). In other words, empowerment creates an inner strength and confidence in people – a

key factor to moving out of poverty. Having been enabled to use and enhance their own capabilities and assets, people will then be able to make personal choices to take action and achieve their desired goals. Due to experiencing accumulative success, their self-confidence will increase and new opportunities will arise (Hahn 2010:124; Narayan, Pritchett & Kapoor 2009:27; Kindernothilfe 2014:11).

A commonly-used strategy to promote empowerment is participation. It has actually become the dominating theme in the work of most NGOs around the world (White 1999:314). By enabling and involving people to consider options, make decisions, and take collective action to fight injustice, they will not only participate in overcoming the causes of poverty, but also become stakeholders in their transformed lives and communities once development assistance from outside has ceased (White 1996:8–9). As a result of true community participation, people gain the power to influence the decisions that affect their lives in every aspect. On the other hand, one must be aware that without empowerment, participation is always ineffective (Monaheng 2001:135). However, participation as empowerment can only function if the community itself is ready to become organised to meet their own perceived needs (Buckland 1998:236). This means that participation and empowerment are interdependent. It is therefore crucial to do everything possible, to help people discover their capabilities, and to give them the space to exercise them for their own well-being. In summary, empowerment gives people the freedom to live a life worth living (Sen 2001:74).

2.3.3 Practical implications

Once we see development from this perspective, it becomes obvious that an adequate and holistic conception of poverty reduction goes far beyond market economy strategies. Well-being can only be achieved if community development is focussed on enhancing all aspects of the lives and freedoms of people (Sen 2001:14). Or in other words, if development as empowerment requires to looking at the various power-structures, it has to include the human and cultural contexts of the people involved (Perez de Cuellar 1996:48).

Besides considering economic and environmental aspects, it is therefore crucial to have a careful look at socio-cultural factors. They appear to influence not

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only development activities but also the strategies that allow people to achieve human dignity and well-being (Marana 2010:10–11). Poor people rely heavily on social networks, because relationships are often the only thing they have. Social networks help them to define their sense of self, the identity upon which individual behaviour is based. On the other hand, individual identity along with their influential social networks can create behavioural expectations or norms which in turn impede individual choice. In that sense, it would be dangerous to reduce the social dimension of smallholder micro-economic behaviour to economic instrumental effects. Without considering the role and value of social relations, pure economic prescriptions will not bring sustainable change in poverty alleviation (Barrett 2005a:214–216). One such example is the World Bank´s *Community Empowerment and Social Inclusion Learning Programme*. This structurally related programme did not affect prevailing power relationships within communities, because it set its focus on strengthening ties between communities and external stakeholders. Instead, inequalities between people and communities actually increased and that created even more injustice and poverty (Ballet, Sirven & Requiers-Desjardins 2007:368–369).

This dissertation attempts to go to a deeper level. When researching the roles and expectations of people in the development project, the behaviours, attitudes and mindsets of all stakeholders will receive special attention. Hopefully, this will create an awareness of the influences of entitlement and patronage on their livelihoods. After analysing the impact on the empowerment processes, the study might also produce ideas for corrective procedures to overcome possible negative facets of entitlement and patronage (Chambers 2007:19).

2.4 EMPOWERMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF CAPABILITIES

Assuming that conscious and unconscious choices in relation to entitlement and patronage will influence any livelihood strategies – and in this sense have an effect on empowerment – the central question is: How do they affect the capability approach and what could be done while using this approach to minimise negative effects as much as possible? Referring to the graphical chart of this conceptual framework (figure 2.2), this question is visualised by the two diagonal arrows intersecting while connecting *Human Development* with *Empowerment* and *Entitlement & Patronage* with *Community Development*.

2.4.1 The significance of capabilities in development

The capabilities or freedoms of individuals are the basic building blocks in the analysis of development, presented by Amartya Sen[10] and Martha Nussbaum[11]. The importance is two-fold: First, the success or failure of a society is always evaluated by substantive freedoms that its members enjoy. Second, freedom is a foundational element of individual initiative and social effectiveness (Sen 2001:18). Thus, Sen not only came up with a new definition of development, "[...] the process of expanding human freedoms" (Sen 2001:36; UNDP 2016:1), but he also became instrumental in framing the *Capability* (or *Human Development) Approach* and recommended the use of a comparative quality-of-life assessment, to gain understanding about social justice in the respective society (Nussbaum 2011:17).

Capabilities are, in effect, what a specific person is able to do and to be (Nussbaum 2011:20). They typically refer to a combination of functions a person is able to achieve (Sen 2001:75). The capability approach in development is according to Nussbaum (2011:20), "[...] a single, relatively unified approach to a set of questions about both quality of life and basic justice". It is an alternative to the gross domestic product (GDP) approach and has therefore mainly been elaborated upon in the context of international development policy. It focuses on people in poorer nations who struggle to improve their quality of life (Nussbaum 2011:15). Instead of aiming for equal distribution of basic goods only – a characteristic of utilitarian and quasi-Rawlsian approaches – Sen insisted upon studying how goods empower (or disempower) people and how these goods affect them. Since this approach looks at individuals and their own opportunities for freedoms, consequently the key question for a development agency to ask is "What is each person able to do and to be?" (Broderick 2018:30; Nussbaum 2011:18; Sen 2001:74). This question has much significance, because people can only participate in development processes if they are aware of their own capabilities (Sen 2001:76). Development activities of NGOs will only make a

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[10] Indian economist and philosopher born in Dhaka (Bangladesh). Sen first articulated the *Capability Approach* in the 1980s, because social debates about development had failed to interact with fundamental issues regarding ethics, human rights and individual freedoms. Since then, the approach has become a popular measure in human development (Sneddon, Howarth & Norgaard 2006:262; Wells 2003).

[11] American philosopher who collaborated with Sen during the 1980s. Like Sen, she advocated for the idea that capabilities secure the freedoms of people. However, she argued the necessity for a threshold of central human capabilities (Maboloc 2008:4).

lasting impact on the poverty trap, if community participation and empowerment in the context of capabilities are key features in their strategies (AGEE 2013:24). This kind of empowerment puts the focus on the assets of the people and enables them to meet their felt needs through their own resources (Buckland 1998:236; Monaheng 2001:128).

The purpose of the *development as freedom* approach as proposed by Amartya Sen is to expand the substantive freedoms people have (Sen 2001:3). It is a tool in the evaluative analysis for assessing change and in the prescriptive and predicative analysis for seeing freedom as elementary factor in rapid and sustainable poverty alleviation (:297). The utilization of the capability approach helps shift the development goal of an institution or agency from a mere economically-driven agenda about income shortage, towards the more inclusive issue of capability deprivation. Instead of focussing on poverty as a result of low income only, the capability approach seeks to find out the factors which rob people of their own basic capabilities (:20). Referring to the primary objective of this dissertation, the researcher pursues this goal and hopes to be able to draw conclusions for the ultimate purpose in development – empowering people, so that they themselves are able to increase their well-being.

2.4.2 Tackling the lack of freedom at its root

If development as freedom according to Sen (2001:17) "[...] involves both the *processes* that allow freedom of actions and decisions, and the actual *opportunities* that people have, given their personal and social circumstances", then we must also look at the contrary: Unfreedom can arise, if people experience inadequate processes or insufficient opportunities for goals they ultimately would like to achieve. The matter of fact is, that poor men and women – when explaining their situation – frequently express a sense of hopelessness, powerlessness, humiliation and marginalisation (Narayan 2000:32). Such capability failures are often a result of discrimination and marginalisation, and usually indicate the urgent need for institutional and public policies that are just and fair (Nussbaum 2011:19). If development is about promoting human capabilities, then it also requires the removal of the causes of unfreedom, like poverty, poor economic conditions and systematic social deprivation, as well as repression and autocracy (Sen 2001:3).

Although it is obvious that such factors influence people's well-being negatively, the author questions if such problems are actually the root problem of their unfreedom. Considering the situation in Bangladesh – poverty and hunger are definitely not directly related to the production and availability of food. Although, nowadays the agricultural sector contributes only about 16% to the GDP, Bangladesh is able to produce all staple foods for the entire population on its fruitful land. Also the rising annual GDP growth – 7,1% in 2016 – and the scaling into a *lower middle income group* by the World Bank since 2015 are valid indicators, that there must be deeper reasons for capability deprivations than the absence of food and low level of income (Houscht 2017; World Bank 2017). However, the truth is that according to the latest Human Development Report, 40.7% of Bangladesh's population suffers from multidimensional poverty (UNDP 2016:218).

While searching for the root cause of people's unfreedom, Sen himself concludes that freedom is not only threatened by autocratic political structures or depriving market economies (Sen 2001:5–8). He rightly points out that social values and prevailing cultural manners influence the freedom or unfreedom of people strongly:

> Prevailing values and social mores also affect the presence or absence of corruption, and the role of trust in economic or social or political relationships. The exercise of freedom is mediated by values, but the values in turn are influenced by public discussions and social interactions, which are themselves influenced by participatory freedoms. Each of these connections deserves careful scrutiny (Sen 2001:9).

Linking Sen's observation with the problem statement of this dissertation, the researcher concludes that human development cannot be detached from people's behaviours, because human choices and actions always have a cultural imprint. They influence the performance of capabilities with both positive and negative results.

It appears that beneficiaries' and staff's choices, which are rooted in their livelihood behaviours, influence their livelihood strategies – and by that the whole cycle of SL (livelihood assets, activities and outcomes). By helping people to recognise the effects of these two cultural and social norms upon their lives, and the implications on the development project, the study aims not only to

tackle people's unfreedom at its root, but also hopes to trigger a desire to discover and implement practical steps to improve their well-being despite prevailing cultural imprints.

2.4.3 Overcoming the dilemma by overarching values

As a result of the previous explorations about the relationship between culture and development, it becomes clear that culturally-imprinted choices easily affect capabilities. Pictured in the graphical illustration of the conceptual framework (figure 2.2), the conscious or unconscious behaviours of people seem to impede their own assets, which are meant to be used for their good. In light of the research objective, the author assumes that entitlement as well as patronage are able to disrupt people's own human and social capital. It is therefore likely that their behaviours influence the well-being of individuals and communities (Sen 2001:53; :162–163).

If the development of capabilities is threatened by culturally-affected conscious and unconscious choices, how is it possible for a development agency to overcome this dilemma? Interestingly, Martha Nussbaum – while generally supporting Sen's philosophy of human capabilities – argues that people's freedoms should not be performed in functional ways only, but should include the notion of true human dignity, because only human nature itself is able to provide a foundation of ethics (Kleist 2003; Nussbaum 1999:9; 2011:24–31). For her, Sen's capability approach to empower people is directionless, if people are only enabled to choose their basic freedoms. And she adds that attaining a good, just and dignified life is only possible with an overarching value-conception in place (Nussbaum 1999:19).

Considering the socio-cultural power dynamics of entitlement and patronage, which seem to impede freedom, the author agrees with Nussbaum that these issues can only be overcome, when people engage and interact in a respectful, non-discriminating, equal and just way with other human beings (Nussbaum 2011:34). From that viewpoint, her *theory of goodness*, drawn from Marx and Aristotle, makes sense. However, due to his Christian faith, the author of this study disagrees that life in goodness and equity is achieved by good deeds

based on human efforts only. From a Christian worldview[12] and conception of man, perpetual and altruistic life-promoting values ultimately come from the source of life – God, the creator himself. The biblical account of creation (Genesis 1-2[13]) reminds us that before the Fall of mankind, humans were comprehensively whole. Life was meant to be in holistic communion with God and fellow human beings – a life in 'Shalom' (Flessa 2002:33). But even after the Fall of Man, the creator God revealed himself to people, with a desire for justice and wholeness (Ferris 2005:313).

Various Hebrew scriptures give account of God's care for the poor and the marginalised and his provision of life-saving refuge for persecuted and displaced people (Ex 23:6-12; Lev 19:10-15; Num 35:6-34; Deu 15:7-11). The liberation of the Hebrews from slavery in Egypt exemplified God's goodness to people (Ex 3:8). But it was more than that: He told the Israelites to practice a *Year of Jubilee* every 50th year, so that everyone living in bondage, due to economic, political or social-cultural reasons, would be set free to live out their capabilities again (Lev 25:8-25). Finally, God's desire for man to live a liberated, redeemed and meaningful life – well-being in all aspects of life – became a reality by allowing his own son, Jesus Christ to die on the cross for all the power-abuse and selfishness of humankind (Eph 1:7) (Faix 2012b:68–93).

But what about other Faiths? Do not all religions seek to give meaning to people and to shape any given culture? Melba Maggay, a Christian social anthropologist agrees with such an intervention. She represents the position, that any religion shapes culture and the life of its people:

> Religion is the substructure of culture. Unknown to most of us, it is the underlying presupposition behind much of our values, our worldviews and ways of relating to the material environment (Maggay 2016:24).

In addition to claiming that any prevailing religion is like a root to its host culture and their values, she points out that as a consequence, religion directly affects people's behaviours: "[...] it is religion that shapes the worldview orientation of a culture" (Maggay 2016:65). She explains comprehensively how this ultimate source actually impacts every aspect of life:

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[12] Worldview, according to Jayakumar Christian (2011:152–153) "[…] serves as the lens through which people perceive, organises people's responses to life's experiences and events, and becomes the most critical element in shaping relationships."

[13] Biblical references have been taken from the New Living Translation (NLT 2007).

> Spirituality is the 'soul' of religion, which in turn embodies it in cultural and socio-logical form. It is embedded in institutions, coded in theologies and creeds - which systematically set forth a set of beliefs about God and the worlds - and routinized into cultural norms which are then dramatized by ritual re-enactments and other recurrent patterns of communal behaviour (Maggay 2016:xx).

Referring to Nussbaum's *theory of goodness*, this would imply that whatever spirituality or religious influence a group of people has will determine their cultural value orientation and ultimately affect – in one way or another – the capability approach of a development agency. For a capability approach to be able to succeed, human development needs to be supported by livelihood behaviours, which are based on a life-giving spirituality. Or in other words: Without a redeeming spirit, human goodness will not sustain. That is why faith should always be an integral part of holistic development activities. Because if development is not carried out holistically, it will not be sustainable (Bangert 2011:3; Holenstein 2009:34; Marshall 2013:173).

To be able to overcome the dilemma that people's choices threaten human freedoms, the researcher proposes to seek livelihood strategies based on a Judean-Christian worldview as revealed in biblical scriptures. If the socio-culturally-imprinted behaviours of entitlement and patronage are redeemed by such spiritual truths, people's choices may not affect theirs and other's capabilities in disadvantageous ways. Instead, the Creator-God's goodness will empower them to activate their creation-conditioned capabilities to live a life worth living.

2.5 THE APPROACH OF ASSET-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (ABCD)

Summarizing the thoughts so far, it can be said that the way we see and do development work will either deepen the disempowering story (i.e. people believing that poverty is unavoidable and inescapable) or it will release them from the bondage of false narratives and power structures. To be able to achieve the latter, it is necessary to patiently enter the people's story, affirming the life-giving aspects of culture, and sensitively criticising those aspects which destroy and oppress the empowerment of people (Maggay 2016:21). Consequently, one goal of this research is to find out how the local community and project staff perceive their roles in terms of their capabilities or assets. The chosen tool to accomplish this intention is the *Asset-Based Community Development* (ABCD)

approach. Within the conceptual framework, the ABCD approach connects *Human Development* with *Community Development* (see figure 2.2).

2.5.1 ABCD as an overarching methodology

ABCD is an alternative to the needs-based approaches in development practice. It is based on the assumption that communities can propel the development process themselves as they identify and mobilise their own assets to enhance their livelihoods. Located within the capability approach, ABCD pays special attention to the assets rooted in social relationships (i.e. people's gifts and talents, social relationships). As a community-driven development strategy, it strives to maximise people's assets, resulting in self-sustainable community development projects and empowered stakeholders (DFID 2001:10; Mathie & Cunningham 2003:474).

The purpose of ABCD is to build communities from the inside out. Instead of being dependent on experts, institutions and finances from the outside – a typical needs-based approach – local groups are empowered to recognise and use their own capabilities and assets to escape the spiral of poverty (Mathie & Cunningham 2003:475). It acknowledges the principle that the best approach for empowering people is to foster their own imaginations, power, local contexts and processes within a sufficient time-frame (Narayan, Pritchett & Kapoor 2009:8). ABCD does not attempt to make people dependent on so-called development programs but strives to give them the perspective of freedom. In practice, this could mean helping communities to build an inventory of their assets and encouraging them to see value in their own resources that would otherwise have been ignored, unrealised, or dismissed. By unrealised assets, one should think more widely than just personal attributes and skills alone. They also include relationships among people through social, kinship, or associational networks. As a matter of fact, ABCD highly emphasises the power of local networks. Because they should and can drive community development processes, one of its strategy is to activate these informal networks as well (Mathie & Cunningham 2003:475).

Viewing the purpose of the ABCD approach in light of the remarks about Sen's *freedom* or *capability approach*, it can be concluded that the methodology of

ABCD is a practical approach to link the concerns of *Human Development* with the ultimate aim of *Community Development*:

> The ends and means of development call for placing the perspective of freedom at the centre of the stage. The people have to be seen, in this perspective, as being actively involved - given the opportunity - in shaping their own destiny, and not just as passive recipients of the fruits of cunning development programs (Sen 2001:53).

The subjects of human development are people who are enabled to contribute their own capabilities in the form of knowledge, skills, material resources, relationships and socio-cultural intelligence to increase their well-being. The latest *Human Development Report* from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) affirms this view:

> Human development is about enlarging freedoms so that all human beings can pursue choices that they value. Such freedoms have two fundamental aspects - freedom of well-being, represented by functionings and capabilities, and freedom of agency, represented by voice and autonomy (UNDP 2016:1).

However, the authors of the report assert that human capabilities can only be built, if communities are enabled to participate actively in the processes that shape and improve their lives (UNDP 2016:2). The ABCD approach is a valid strategy to ensure that this great ambition will become reality in people's lives and communities (Mathie & Cunningham 2003:476).

2.5.2 ABCD as a needed approach for SD in Bangladesh

Community participation is critical to ensure sustainability in development projects. However, many NGOs operating in Bangladesh do not fully involve the existing capacities of the participating community, because their projects are still predominantly designed, funded and managed from the outside. Even though there is much evidence in socio-economic improvement (such as the increase of assets in human and physical capital), their short-term bias has prevented the full mobilisation of indigenous social and political capital. Lasting community empowerment only takes place, when communities fully participate in their own development and are able to utilise their indigenous social capital (Buckland 1998:236–237). Shayer Ghafur, a Bangladeshi researcher, comes to a similar conclusion. Referring to a study about vast urbanisation and its implications for development, he proposed a full involvement of people's capabilities: "The positive alternative path […] puts people first by banking on their often elusive social capital" (Ghafur 2016).

Consequently, to reduce poverty, approaches are needed in which communities not only take their own initiative to break out of their unfreedoms, but are also given the needed opportunities from social, political and economic institutions (Narayan, Pritchett & Kapoor 2009:18). The interplay between the community and different agencies is extremely important. Although poverty-affected communities may lack economic assets, they are always able to contribute local knowledge, expressed in three inter-related capacities: the natural, the social and the spiritual. Endogenous development[14] aims at exactly these capabilities, because it pursues local control over the development process and the preservation of the benefits of development within the local area (Millar 2014:639-640).

HRDP desires to involve the local community and their capabilities through the whole project cycle as well as possible. As they practice an "ABCD-like" strategy, the development agency builds as much as possible on local knowledge and resources – complemented by appropriate external ones. By doing this, they desire to ensure that the community is the owner of the project and that the results of it are retained within the community, or at least in the local area.

2.5.3 ABCD enhances culturally-shaped capabilities

The ABCD approach is more than a general tool for the sake of sustainable community-driven development. To be able to research the effects of entitlement and patronage on the empowerment of people, the use of this concept during the field research has helped the researcher to recognise how the various culturally-shaped capabilities of the community affect people's empowerment. While the practice of such an asset-based approach might inform about critical power issues, the researcher's intended aim is to uncover hidden potential these socio-cultural factors bring forth. Another aspect of utilising this method is stimulation of ownership: By focussing on local knowledge during the interviews and focus-group workshops, the intention is that stakeholders should not feel that they are clients of the study, but hopefully that they are the owners of the results (Mathie & Cunningham 2003:474-477).

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[14] An African alternative to modernisation and development. Endogenous development is mainly based on locally available resources and local knowledge, including socio-culturally-imprinted values and aspirations, but is open to integrating outside knowledge and practice (Millar 2014:637-640).

Enhancing culturally-shaped capabilities has received more attention lately. The reason for this consideration is growing empirical evidence that the concept of social capital contributes significantly to community development. Case studies and conversations with development practitioners have revealed how socio-cultural norms, rules and regulations, social networks, power relations, peer pressure, social structure and leadership roles are key factors in the formation and handling of social capital. They are all influential aspects in sustainable community development (Bhuiyan 2011:541-542; Costa 2015; Fang & Loury 2005:13; Holenstein 2009:34; Kusch 2007:78; Mabanza 2012:12).

It would be unrealistic to try to change deeply-embedded cultural norms and values, like entitlement and patronage, through this study. The hope, though, is to help stakeholders understand that their behaviours do influence livelihood strategies and therefore interfere with any capability approach. By revealing predictable negative aspects, the results shall create awareness about the issues, provide ideas to overcome them, and motivate stakeholders to make the best use of their given capital, despite these prevailing cultural norms. Following the concept of ABCD will help provide contextualised results which can be applied in people's livelihoods – not as simple facts, but hopefully in a way that they are able to extract real benefits from it.

CHAPTER 3: ENTITLEMENT AND PATRONAGE

The issue behind the research problem illuminates various effects of entitlement and patronage upon the empowerment of individuals and communities in Bangladesh. In this chapter, the author presents the results of the literature review in order to explain the functioning of entitlement and patronage, especially from its specific context in Bangladesh. To be able to achieve the latter, a look into history, religious influences and present socio-cultural aspects is needed. The information provides the necessary context for the empirical research.

3.1 GENERAL DEFINITIONS

The purpose of this section is to define entitlement and patronage from its overall understanding and existence in development practice. Detailed explanations about country-specific factors influencing these systems will be given in the following sections.

3.1.1 Entitlement

Entitlement is generally understood as 'what one has title to' or 'the right or claim to the ownership of something'. In terms of one's 'title', there are different types of reasons (e.g. moral, legal and de facto) to be entitled (Gasper 1993:707). In market-economy societies, entitlement is defined in terms of exchanging personal possessions, self-produced products, or one's labour and inherited resources, for another form of commodities. The exchange of goods (entitled to receive) takes place either through production, or trading or by a mixture of both. Based on the expectancy that the exchange of the investment will be compensated in equal measure, people often use the term 'exchange entitlement' for such trades (Sen 1981:3; 1987:199; 1991:36–37).

However, when considering the reality of injustice, underdevelopment and poverty in many parts of the world, 'exchange entitlement' becomes a much more complex issue than implied in such a Western definition. There is an overall recognition among development practitioners and academics that poverty – often revealed in the unavailability of adequate food – is an direct result of so-called 'entitlement failures' (Gardner 2012:155; Kotze 2001:231; Sen 1981:1; 1991:37; Sobhan 1991:79). It is therefore necessary to consider not only polit-

ical and economic factors, but likewise to examine societal facets affecting 'entitlement failures' (Kotze 2001:237). The reasons lie in divergent socio-culturally shaped perceptions and the practice of ownership and entitlement relations. These reciprocal patterns have a great influence on whether people vulnerable to poverty are empowered or not (i.e. by appropriate contacts, education and skills). Amartya Sen, known for his rather specific entitlement definition[15], mentions this fact in his foundational essay about entitlement and deprivation:

> In understanding general poverty, or regular starvation, or outbursts of famines, it is necessary to look at both ownership patterns and exchange entitlements, and at the forces that lie behind them (Sen 1981:6).

While probably no one in the world questions the right of all people to be nourished with sufficient and nutritious food, it is obvious that each society has different rules and forces to execute ownership patterns. Sen describes the universal right of access to food and the need to protect this right in the following way:

> Ownership of food is one of the most primitive property rights, and in each society there are rules governing this right. The entitlement approach concentrates on each person's entitlements to commodity bundles including food, and views starvation as resulting from a failure to be entitled to a bundle with enough food (:45).

To be able to realize his entitlement thesis, Sen suggested the use of social protection programmes to assert food entitlement and reduce the vulnerabilities of the poor (Akerkar, Joshi & Fordham 2016:47; Sen 1981:45–51).

His pioneering entitlement approach has made a considerable impact in alleviating poverty all around the world. However, his 'ownership thesis' is based on formal or legal rights between states and its inhabitants. They do not include entitlement claims made on the basis of social norms and obligations – factors which are very important, especially in Asian and African societies. Even though Sen's idea – to plan and mentor social protection programs – might be a useful tool for providing nourishment and other entitlements for well-being, it does not address any culturally-shaped power issues (Akerkar, Joshi & Fordham 2016:46). In their study aiming to understand the concept of *culture and entitlement*, Akerkar, Joshi and Fordham explain their assumption clearly:

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[15] Sen's approach is based on the analysis of famines and focusses primarily on legal entitlement relations in the form of social contracts between a state and its citizens (Akerkar, Joshi & Fordham 2016:48).

> [...] entitlements as claims are mediated through multiple notions of rights and so-
> cial relationships of power. The multiple notions of rights imply that legally author-
> ized entitlements and rights are not the only moral category used to make claims;
> rather there are socially mediated moral claims which also make their effect felt in
> the society. As social relationships of power, moral economies and local political
> economies also affect the way in which entitlements are realized by people (:48).

The importance of studying the behavioural aspects of entitlement and its im-
pact on empowerment is even more true in situations like Bangladesh, where
starvation is not the main aspect of poverty. Food inadequacy, due to legal
trade entitlement failures was – according to Sen's case studies – definitely an
issue during the great Bengal famine of 1943 and the 1974 famine of Bangla-
desh (Sen 1981:49–85; :132-153; Sen 1991:37). But the causes of poverty in
today's Bangladesh, and even formerly (according to scholars' criticisms of
Sen), need to be considered in terms of the socio-cultural significance of enti-
tlement (Gasper 1993:696–697).

The entitlement on commodities and services has a normative role in Bangla-
desh. The system, which is totally entangled in social relations, has its roots in
Bengal's 'moral-economic traditions' which originates in the pre-modern time-
period. According to research in the Duniyapur district, two systems of entitle-
ment can be discovered:

> One based around formal claims and inclusion in the benefits of global capitalism
> via a functioning state, employment, social welfare and so on, and one based
> around informal social connections, which entitle those with sufficient connected-
> ness to a share of resources in the name of charity, 'looking after one's own' and
> patronage (Gardner 2012:155).

These facts reveal a much broader impact than Sen's 'exchange entitlement'
concept. Bengalis feel entitled to a share of the wealth and prosperity that ex-
ists, for it is their moral right (Greenough 1983:837; Maloney 1991:42). The
cause is truly to be found in social norms and values (Ghafur 2000:271).

3.1.2 Patronage

Patronage and entitlement, in essence, function on the same premises and for
the same purposes: Both systems are based on social relations which are main-
tained for the purpose of acquiring and exchanging goods and securities for
livelihood (Gardner 2012:138; Loewen 2017:23; Saller 1982:1). But there are
two main differences: Entitlement expectations generally come from socially or
materially deprived people who need help, while patronage is usually executed
from the other side – by people with influence and available resources. The

other typical quality of patronage is that it manifests itself in consistent, personal but informal relationships between two people or groups of unequal status and power, for the sake of the exchange of valued resources (De Wit & Berner 2009:931). This is how it looks in practice:

The first of its manifestations is the presence of patron-client relationships between the advantaged (patron[16]) who controls resources, and the disadvantaged (client[17]) who always seek the patron's favour to get access to the resources (Huq 2016:16). A needy person seeks help from a patron because of his or her affluence and authority, and the ability to connect to people with even more resources and power. The patron, on the other hand, deliberately offers help to potentially loyal people, for the purpose of receiving honour and praise (Crook 2015:1). The more clients a patron has, the bigger his/her status and control is. A client usually doesn't mind, because he/she views the patron as a parent who protects and provides for his/her needs (Loewen 2017:24).

Secondly, patronage serves as an economic exchange system to attain basic needs, especially when people are without a job. Typically, a patron makes a physical contribution (food, money, housing, job) and receives something social (loyalty, obedience, and praise) from the client in return. Thus, a key concept within patronage is the obligation to exchange resources – often in the form of a gift – on the basis of reciprocal, interdependent relationships between patrons and clients (Gardner 2012:142; Georges 2014; 2016). This reciprocal aspect is well-described by Breman (1974:18):

> […] a pattern of relationships in which members of hierarchically arranged groups possess mutually recognised, not explicitly stipulated rights and obligations involving mutual aid and preferential treatment. The bond between patron and client is personal, and is contracted and continued by mutual agreement for an indeterminate time.

The following chart is a simplified, but helpful illustration of the operating mode:

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[16] The Latin word *pater* translated into English means 'father'. Likewise patrons are mostly male and therefore become like father-figures to their clients (Loewen 2017:24).

[17] Originating from the Latin *cluens* ('to heed, to hear, or to obey') clients are generally people who seek help for genuine needs in life (Loewen 2017:24).
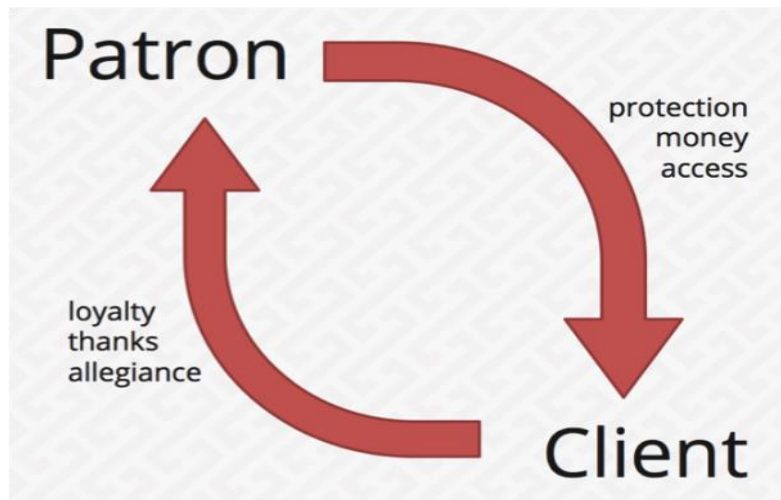
Figure 3.1: Diagram Patron-Client Relationship

(Georges 2016)

A third characteristic is the consistency of these rather informal relationships. Although voluntary, patronage relationships are – due to mutual, personal and particularistic responsibilities – quite standardised within people's own socio-cultural environment. The obligations between the actors are interpersonal and relate to their personal goods. And even though there are institutionalised rituals, each party is free to enter or leave such a relationship on a voluntary basis (Huq 2016:14). In the *Majority World*, the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is common that a patron is expected to be a respected leader who blesses and benefits others. But it would be too simplistic to define a patron as someone who distributes favours such as material help. Patronage includes various social roles, such as settling community issues, facilitating discussions, commencing relationships and performing social obligations respectfully (Georges & Baker 2016:148-149).

While these characteristics paint a meaningful picture of the patronage system, the practice often displays a different picture. Instead of being helped to foster their capabilities for the purpose of empowerment, people who seek assistance often become socially and hierarchically bound to patronage:

> The crux of the patron-client model is a hierarchical and personal bond between patron and client, rooted in an unequal distribution of resources which facilitates an exchange of differing kinds of resources (Edwards 2013:Kindle-Positions 2073-2075).

As Edwards shows, people have no option to choose whether they want to participate in it or not. They are, rather, morally obligated to share resources

and to receive thanks and praise in return. The cost for not participating in this system would not only be a great social offence, but also a disgrace for both parties and their families (Georges 2016). Another case study in Bangladesh has revealed this complexity: Patrons are not only expected to provide help and assistance for those to whom they are socially related, but they can also be accused of being corrupt, if they fail to distribute support, or when the support they distribute is perceived as unfavourable help (Gardner 2012:206). Although this study has its focus on a local community development project, it is worthwhile to mention that the pressure of paternalism is equally present on the national and international levels. Confronted not only with the task of empowering poverty-affected people, NGOs and government agencies face similar pressures when being asked: 'What can you do for them?' This puts them into awkward ideological conflicts, which can lead into paternalistic interventions with a colonialist touch (Ntibagirirwa 2016:14). The reality of such pressure is especially true in *Honour-Shame Cultures*[18], where it is more important to follow the traditions of the family or community than personal convictions. By following the standards of the social environment, personal moral views might be ignored. And to make sure that no one is losing face[19], clients often feel obliged to overlook malpractices of their patrons (Loewen 2017:10–11).

Another difficult aspect of patronage is that power differences in patron-client relationships lead to the extensive construction and maintenance of social injustice and inequality. This is often a result of the typical low level of accountability in these relationships (Georges & Baker 2016:153). Clients – pressured with strings attached to the help given – are doomed to slide into even greater dependencies, resulting in further marginalisation and discrimination instead of empowerment and well-being (De Wit & Berner 2009:931–932; Ghafur 2000:275; Nussbaum 2011:19). In patriarchal societies like Bangladesh, social injustice is also a result of gender inequality. Especially in rural areas, male-controlled values and norms are institutionalised and influence people's identities and behaviours. While men are generally labelled as patrons (because they

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[18] Honour-Shame cultures are societies where the collective identity matters. Honour and status is fuelled by relationships rather than achievements. Life is about securing a network of connections and relationships and therefore tends to be more sensitive to hierarchy and social rank (Georges 2017a).

[19] Losing face takes place when a person is not able to comply with actions as a result of expectations, which have been laid upon him/her due to his/her social role (Hofstede 1997:80).

ought to be the breadwinners, decision-makers and controller of resources), women are seen as clients and as such are expected to subordinate themselves under men. The result of such patriarchy is that women are often deprived of human rights and opportunities to become empowered (Ghafur 2000:275; Hossain 2012:396; Karim et al. 2017:2).

3.2 HISTORICAL AND SOCIETAL BACKGROUND

Entitlement and patronage have existed for many centuries, especially in collectivistic societies where reciprocal relationships are essential to sustain life. This part of the literature overview will begin by providing important background information about the formation and the original purpose of entitlement and patronage. After that, specific insights into historical events and the religious situation of Bangladesh – both of which have had much influence in the way these two socio-cultural aspects have developed and still function up to this day – will be presented.

3.2.1 Institutionalised care

Among peasants in lineage-based societies, it is a right and obligation to inherit land. This land-entitlement functions as a social norm under which each household, being a member of the community, is allowed to access the amount of productive land needed to sustain its livelihood (Jansen 1990:25–26). Today, however, the original land-based entitlement system gradually penetrates all societal structures and needs, far beyond family circles of farming communities. The main reason for this is that land ownership shifted away from peasants. Instead, workplaces became the main instrument of people's entitlement relations (Goetghebuer & Platteau 2005:361; Hoff & Sen 2005:171; Sen 1981:145).

Patronage is governed by culturally-rooted and historically-affected social norms which usually influence structures of a society over a long period of time. The nature of relationships in patron-client dominated societies is based on kinship[20]. These family bonds remind people constantly that they are structural subordinates of their kin and their claims are made on the basis of such relationships (De Wit & Berner 2009:931–932; Gardner 2012:143). While loyalty to

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[20] While kin represents a group of persons of common ancestry, kinship is the relationship between those by family-bond-related people (Merriam-Webster 2018).

the group is an essential element in collective societies, people are expected to share their resources with those in need (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005:87). That is why patronage and entitlement, in all their forms, are quite common in poverty-affected countries. Poor people tend to rely on these systems to safeguard livelihoods and obtain access to persons and institutions of value to them. This means that expecting help from their relatives or intermediaries is given much more focus than engaging in horizontal institutions or becoming involved in collective social activities. However, the impact of the moral obligation to help and be helped can be seen within all social levels and in economic life. Entitlement and patronage provide mutual support for people in societies who have no security schemes (i.e. health care), or where institutions (i.e. schools) and economic systems are not easily accessible. Despite the prevailing disadvantages created by a lack of education and restrained capabilities, co-dependencies give people at least some sort of self-worth and value which they would not otherwise have (Gardner 2012:41; Loewen 2017:24; Schenk 1989:113).

3.2.2 Interdependent throughout history

Over the last 4000 years, many different people groups have come to Bengal and shaped its history and culture (Houscht 2017). First mentioned in the early Sanskrit literature as a deltaic kingdom known as Vanga, Bengal became exposed to Buddhism in the 4th century BC. Despite the strong influence of Buddhism, Bengal was predominantly Hindu by the 10th century, when the first Muslim raids hit northern India. In 1576, only 238 years after separation from the Delhi sultanate, Bengal itself was completely invaded by Mughals, a ruling Muslim dynasty of Turkic-Mongol origin. Since then, Islam has become a major factor in political, societal and cultural life, with the result that today's Bangladesh has the world's second-largest ethnic Muslim community (143 Million, which is 89% of the population) (Houscht 2017:1; *The new encyclopaedia Britannica* 1997:868). Islamic moralities, expressed in social care and giving alms to the poor, helped the poorest to avoid starvation. However, the downside of relying upon help and charity through personal connections to the better-off, is that it eventually resulted in patronage-like dependencies (Gardner 2012:48).

Today's societal norms, rules and systems, and the way Bengali people perceive patrons and authorities, are also rooted in economic and political events.

The activities of the British *East India Company* in Bengal between the 16th - 19th-centuries caused both hierarchies and interdependencies between rulers and their servants, as well as latent suspicions about multinational activities (Dowdeswell et al. 2013:91). Their policy of patronage and playing various groups against each other destabilised the governance of Bengal, damaged its economy and created many interdependencies (Gardner 2012:60). The following 190 years of British colonial rule – between 1858 and 1947 – and the 24 years of Pakistani military dictatorship – between 1947 and 1971 – were not better: Entitlement expectations and patronage obligations continued to grow. But there are also positive examples. Shortly after the second world war, hundreds of thousands of Bengalis received financial loans through their local networks, which enabled them to migrate into western countries to work for better wages and send their money back home (:75–79).

Although Bangladesh became independent in 1971, the way people related to each other did not really change. In fact, governance in Bangladesh has been more influenced by patronage and self-interest than by accountability and transparency. Instead of mobilising resources internally, economic development is still strongly dependent on aid support (Schendel van 2009:150). Interdependencies express themselves in patron-client relationships between the advantaged (patrons) who control resources, and the disadvantaged (clients) who constantly seek the patron's favour to get access to the resources (Huq 2016:16).

Reviewing the history of Bangladesh, it can be said that it is filled with contradictions: Entrepreneurship and growth were mixed with constant change of rulers, wars and stagnation, plus the frequent and severe occurrence of environmental disasters. Standards of living have gradually increased – at least for some – but that has resulted in extreme inequality. National NGOs like Grameen Bank and BRAC are applauded for their pioneering work on micro-loans, but the reality of poverty in a country exceeding 160 million people, and expecting an additional 25 million within 15, years is stunning (Gardner 2012:17; :42-43; UNDP 2016:224). In all of these events, entitlement and patronage have played and still play a major role. To be able to gain access to resources and social protection, people depend heavily on social relationships (Gardner 2012:233-234).

3.2.3 Devoting life to the rule of religion

Even though people in secularized western nations may have different viewpoints, it is quite evident that many of the world's cultures find their philosophical and social centres in their religions (Maggay 2016:18). As the substructure of culture, religion forms the underlying presupposition behind many of our values, our worldviews and ways of relating to the material environment (:24). In addition to the influence it has had on its history, Bangladesh's religious roots also need to be examined in relation to entitlement and patronage.

Buddhism, Hinduism and – since the 13th century – Islam, have shaped the religious and therefore also the social and cultural structures of Bengal. Worship of the Hindu-God, Shiva, was widespread among the peasants in rural areas. The invasion of Muhammad Bakhtiyar and his Turkish cavalry in 1204 laid the foundation for a predominately Muslim society (Schendel van 2009:27; Houscht 2017). From this point onward, Islamic elements were gradually indigenised into the pre-existing beliefs in eastern Bengal, which centuries later – after the liberation war in 1971 – became the nation of Bangladesh (Eaton 2013:49-50).

Since the late 20th century, after decades of uncertainties, Islam opened new perspectives for the rural poor. Many of them have moved to the cities and its agglomerations. Around newly built mosques, new communities were formed which have helped people to obtain work and accommodations. Islam has thus increasingly provided the place of belonging that many in this context have been searching for (Schendel van 2009:254). Those who stayed back in their villages were not exempt from devoting their lives to Islam. Due to strong, culturally imprinted structures in rural areas, Islamic scholars receive much room to speak out about Islamic rules and make community members compliant to them and the majority religion (Wagener 2006:3). But the main reason for the growth of Islam is a gradual, sometimes even forceful, incorporation of indigenous (mostly Hindu) communities into a Muslim-oriented devotional life which is, in fact, total submission to Allah (Eaton 2013:53; Wagener 2006:2). As one looks at the following issues, it is important to keep in mind that religion shapes culture and the values that spring from it (Maggay 2016:24; :65).

3.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS

To get specific information about the cultural and social context of entitlement and patronage in Bangladesh, the researcher assessed anthropological and sociological literature. Anthropology is – broadly defined – the study of cultures. Cultural anthropology focuses upon the diversity of ways in which human beings think, and how they establish and live out their social lives (Rapport & Overing 2000:92; Käser 1998:282). Or according to Hofstede and Hofstede (2005:4): "Culture consists of the unwritten rules of the social game." Sociology is the scientific study of society. It looks at patterns of how people and institutions relate to and interact with each other (Merriam-Webster 2018).

3.3.1 Interdependency in relationships

Bangladesh's society can – from a historical viewpoint – be defined as hierarchical with a considerable power gap between the higher and lower classes. Its citizens accept a ranking system, in which everybody has a specific place. As already mentioned in section 3.2, societal classifications have their roots in the Hindu caste system and the Islamic doctrine of submission, as well as in the colonial heritage of Bangladesh. Since then, the interdependencies and obligations between different social structures have become a deeply-embedded cultural norm (Hofstede 2017; Houscht 2017; Huq 2016:16).

Throughout his book, 'Behaviours and poverty in Bangladesh', Clarence Maloney confirms that entitlement and patronage are historically-transmitted patterns which are deeply embedded in the structures, worldviews, beliefs and value systems of Bangladesh's society (Maloney 1991). Considering the overall objective of this dissertation, the role of culturally-shaped relationships seems to be the most crucial subject to examine. They display, according to White (1999:314), "[…] a degree of informality[21] within a hierarchy of reciprocal responsibilities, in which everyone knows their place". Due to such power dynamics, informality is – besides governance and empowerment – an important theme in Bangladesh's development literature (Chowdhury 1978; Jansen 1990:25-26; Karim 1990; Lewis & Hossain 2009:26; Mannan 2005:280-283).

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[21] Informal relationships are typical in Bangladesh's power structures. Its pervasive character (clientelism) is both constraining and facilitating to social life and livelihoods (Lewis & Hossain 2009:96).

By exploring the culture of Bangladesh through the lens of his 6-D Model©, Geert Hofstede came up with a very high power-distance (score of 80). This means, that people are used to hierarchical order in which everybody has a place. Or in his own words: "[...] subordinates expect to be told what to do and the ideal boss is a benevolent autocrat" (Hofstede 2017:1).

Considering the social position of an individual, his or her power and competency to make decisions is defined by a widespread, culturally-shaped patronage system (Gardner 2012:16; :41; :60; Houscht 2017). Bangladeshis live in a complex pattern of obligations and counter-obligations. Everyone is expected to distribute these obligations downwards to fortify her or his position (Maloney 1991:47). Therefore, it is not surprising that the very poor make claims to food or finances via their insistence on social connections to the better-off. They draw upon the moral imperative of wealthier individuals to look after their own people in need (Gardner 2012:48; :155; Sen 1981:45). But it's not only the poor – anyone who needs to get access to resources utilizes kinship, patronage and other forms of relationships (Gardner 2012:194). Because this 'culture of giving and receiving' takes place within existing societal structures, every stakeholder knows how to perform in order to fulfil mutual expectations:

> In what we might think of as 'traditional' patron–client relations in Bangladesh, the donations/'help' given by patrons is reciprocated by clients in the form of labour, political loyalty, devotion and so on. Within this context, giving and receiving are part of a long-term relationship, in which the expectations of both parties are reasonably clear (Gardener 1012:143).

The main point in this statement is the reciprocity or mutuality. This is not only one of the key features of patron-client relationships (Georgiev 2008:31), mutual dependencies are, as mentioned in section 2.3.1, a deeply-rooted tradition in Bangladesh's culture. One example of these are informal financial arrangements like private loans given by family or community members. Although they are more convenient and flexible than loans from a bank or NGO lending organisation, they are not reliable. And what makes it even worse, according to Collins et al. (2009:57), is that they "[…] rely too heavily on kindness, goodwill, and norms of mutual obligation", resulting in more dependency instead of freedoms. Surprisingly, people in Bangladesh are aware of the negative aspects of obligations and the need for change but fail, according to Maloney (1991:64), "[…] in applying this in modern and inherently impersonal institutions".

Other areas where culturally-shaped reciprocal structures come into play are the multiple-inheritance systems, with many heirs to a family land plot, individual property rights to land, and the scarcity and unequal distribution of land (Goetghebuer & Platteau 2005:361; Jansen 1990:25–26; Ng'weno 2001:118). Such dependencies, which typically take place in proximate relationships, are also a form of entitlement, but are generally known as indulgence. Indulgence is a widely-perceived sign of favour and affection in Bengal society. By this, powerful and resourceful people are expected to share their goods with the needy. Even though indulgence is most obvious in family relationships (e.g. parents spoil their children with overflowing care and goods), it also happens in any other hierarchical relationship, for example between clients and their landlords or patrons. Due to their social status and wealth, landlords are obligated to nurture their tenants, ultimately resulting in a deep dependency (Gardner 2012:40; Greenough 1983:837–840).

Entitlement and patronage also affect institutional affairs. A case study from India, conducted by Joop de Wit and Erhard Berner, shows that relationships between municipalities, NGOs and Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) on one hand, and CBOs and local communities on the other, are asymmetric, uneasy and, due to a lack of trust, often a hindrance to empowering people. To ensure community capacity, community participation and community empowerment, relationships should be as democratic as possible. These relationships have to be rooted broadly within the community where development is taking place (Cox 2009:964; De Wit & Berner 2009:928-931).

3.3.2 Subordination to the collective

As a result of the rural, self-sustaining way of life over hundreds of years, Bengalis have, in essence, an individualistic personality type. However, due to a lack of overarching institutions, as well as historical events, already described in section 3.2, patronage and authoritarian personalities have evolved and served as a substitute to enabling functioning relationships among the rural community (Maloney 1991:51).

According to Geert Hofstede, Bangladesh must be considered as a collectivistic society (Hofstede 2017:1). He defines collectivism in the following way:

> Collectivism [...] pertains to societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetimes continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005:76).

This means that individuals easily subordinate their personal goals to the goals of the collective they belong to, such as their family or tribe (Triandis et al. 1988:324). The collective nature of society emerges particularly strongly within the family system. It manifests itself through shared rights and obligations among a wide range of near and distant relatives (Hoff & Sen 2005:171). The analysis of two cases in Bangladesh and India revealed, that social connectedness and civic engagement is often people's most obvious social capital by which they are able to contribute to community development (Bhuiyan 2011:534). Especially in rural Bangladesh, it is common to take responsibility for the poor in the neighbourhood. Blood relatives are the first ones to which help is offered, but other villagers are also cared for because they are looked upon as locals who have long-lasting relationships to the same patrons (Gardner 2012:142; Hofstede & Hofstede 2005:87).

Social relationships, and the availability of resources that are subsequently provided, are truly essential means of development, if practiced in just and contextualized ways. They give people a place of belonging and identity (Bhuiyan 2011:542; Fang & Loury 2005:47). However, even though collective beliefs and activities may seem to be virtues when viewed from the outside, they do not necessarily empower poverty-affected people (Monaheng 2001:135; Narayan et al. 2009:41). The collective identity of subordination not only shapes social interaction, but also influences the formation and maintenance of people's personal identity. That is one reason why people who suffer from chronic underdevelopment find it difficult to break out from 'their own culture of poverty' (Fang & Loury 2005:12). Another aspect of subordinating everything to the collective, is that people become rather dependent on others and subject to their wills. Instead of being fostered in their own capabilities, they forsake their own ambitions and become prone to hierarchism and power abuse. Similarly, collective submission can also create situations, where subordinates make undesirable decisions only to get access to desperately needed short-term resources (Huq 2016:16). Geof Wood, summarises this issue accurately with the term 'destructive uncertainty'. The result is stunning:

> The dangers of not being a client, of not being protected, of losing 'membership' of the local commander-led community are immense. Better to be with the devil you know (Wood 2003:468).

Such statements, coupled with previously mentioned points, show the dramatic impact of these socio-cultural obligations: People are more bound to their family, community and even ruthless patrons and are therefore ready to discount their future in favour of survival in the present. To be able to conform to such socio-cultural practices, it is even considered acceptable to disobey the law, because being subordinate to patronage is always the higher value. As long as the action fulfils its purpose and does not bring shame on the persons involved, it is absolutely socially legitimate to break rules and laws (De Wit & Berner 2009:931; Hofstede 2017; Maloney 1991:62–64; :65–66).

In summary of the studied literature thus far, it can be said that entitlement and patronage still have a huge impact on people's livelihoods and the projects in which they are involved. These social and cultural norms play, using the words of Huq (2016:18), "[…] a crucial role in shaping the extent and the nature of participation and collective action in community development projects". On the other hand, it would be unfair to blame entitlement and patronage for unsustainable community development projects. As a result of the first encounter with the complexity of culture and development, during her field work in the late 1980s and her continuous observations for more than three decades, Kathy Gardner concluded very accurately what the researcher has discovered so far:

> [...] the aim of self-reliance is out of step within a context where livelihoods are patched together via a web of social relationships which are sometimes supportive and sometimes exploitative yet nonetheless are vital for survival (Gardner 2012:184).

This statement underlines not only the blessings and curses of entitlement and patronage, but it also supports the conceptual framework of this study which shows an anticipated clash between people's choices (based on their beliefs and attitudes) and the desire to empower them through the capability approach.

3.4 CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

If entitlement and patronage truly affect the empowerment of people, the ultimate question is 'How?'. This takes us back to the research question of this

study: *How do the concepts of entitlement and patronage impact the empowerment of beneficiaries and project staff of a local community development project in Bangladesh?*

To be able to find the needed answers through empirical research, the author of this case study formulated the research questions around three thematical areas, following the example of three 'Clusters of Moral Themes' (see appendix A.3) by Richard Shweder and his fellow researchers. In their study on cross-cultural concepts of self and moral reasoning, they described in "The 'Big Three' of Morality and the 'Big Three' Explanations of Suffering", how the three clusters of moral themes – autonomy, community and divinity – helped to explain how cultures define the value and essence of human beings (Shweder et al. 1997:119-169). Although their categories (autonomy, community and divinity) focus on the moral reasoning of human beings in general (whereas entitlement and patronage are outcomes of cultural-shaped norms), their approach reveals a clear interconnectedness between people's capabilities, socio-cultural factors and their purposes for life (Georges 2017b; Shweder et al. 1997:119–169).

The chosen areas for this study comprised the personal aspirations of the people under research, their felt expectations and obligations from the side of the community in terms of entitlement and patronage, and any possible future implications for their empowerment. This made it possible to order the main findings from the conceptual framework and literature review into the following theoretical concepts, which provided a helpful structure for the data collection and the start of the data-analysing process.

3.4.1 Personal aspirations

This case study supports the generally-accepted postulate that the ultimate aim of development is to improve the well-being of poverty-affected people (Chambers 1997:9; Myers 2011:26), by finding out what personal desires, hopes and dreams beneficiaries and local staff have concerning their purpose of life in all its aspects. The reason for choosing this approach, is that the powerlessness of the poor is more than a simple deterioration or low level of income, but rather a result of a series of processes and systems that disempower the poor (Christian 1994:335). As a matter of fact – using the words of Sen – "[...] poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities" (Sen 2001:87). To be able to

strive for equity and justice and defeat the disempowering story, it will be necessary to foster people's capabilities instead. One way to do this is to patiently enter the people's story, affirming the life-giving aspects of culture, while sensitively criticising those aspects which destroy and oppress the empowerment of people (Maggay 2016:21; Save the Children 2012:2).

To reach this goal in the context of the case study, people in the project were purposely asked about their personal aspirations for life and what they believe is significant for their own well-being. Expressing interest in them calls upon their free agency and eventually helps to release their own capabilities, which is the ultimate purpose of every development process (Sen 2001:4).

3.4.2 Moral expectations and collective obligations

Besides listening to people's dreams, it has also been very crucial to hear from them if and how entitlement and patronage affects their daily lives and general living conditions. Obviously, when considering the nature and economic growth of Bangladesh during the last few decades, one must question why disempowerment and poverty are still such prevalent issues. Reviewing what was said about historical and societal facts as well as socio-cultural aspects of the country thus far, the attentive observer comes to the conclusion that the culturally-shaped moral expectations of entitlement and the collective obligations of patronage may play an important role. This would also underline the argumentation of Sen (1981:1): "Starvation is the characteristic of some people not *having* enough food to eat. It is not the characteristic of there not *being* enough food to eat." There are enough resources available – the question is, how one is able to get access to them. Although he emphasises the issue of starvation, Sen's capability approach helps us to put our focus on ownership structures and the impact they have on relationships and people's livelihoods. If disempowerment is a result of unfree and unjust relationships, by which some become subordinates while others abuse their status, then that is reason enough to focus this research on exactly these issues (Myers 2011:15; :143).

3.4.3 Future implications

This study seeks not only to research the challenges and possibilities of entitlement and patronage in relation to empowerment, but it shall also help to identify possible implications for the ongoing project work, especially for the mode

of operation, staff development and leadership style. Besides giving some practical examples to make the project more sustainable, it is hoped that it may also help the leadership to adequately face the socio-culturally-imprinted pressure. In fact, entitlement and patronage can put any NGO in an awkward situation. One cause is that due to adaptation to the local culture, the NGO sooner or later functions in a local way – for good and bad (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005:19). The other implications are people's expectations: While empowering beneficiaries and local project staff for the purpose of their well-being, and fostering participation for the sake of sustainable development, NGOs are likewise confronted with expectations from the community. The two main reasons are that Bengalis simply feel entitled to a share of wealth because it is their moral right (Greenough 1983:837–840) and that patronage can make an NGO (often perceived as 'patron') morally obligated to share their resources with those in need. This is especially true for a western-based or supported organisation. Due to their status and perceived wealth, their role can lead to confusion, tensions and stresses in relationships with nationals, because they expect them to provide help (Georges & Baker 2016:147–148). If the NGO isn't aware of such expectations and does not handle the implications appropriately, projects are in danger of failing to fulfil their ultimate purpose, the empowerment of people (Maloney 1991:42–48).

Although common for a shame-honour environment, it is striking in this case that all three areas seem to be concerned with the status of the individual and his or her connection with others in the community and the NGO. By researching the different arrangements of relationships in the community and how they relate to each other, this study opens a door to understanding people's expectations towards each other and the NGO. It is anticipated that the results will help to create practical ideas for handling entitlement and patronage in such ways that beneficiaries and staff will be truly empowered to participate in sustainable development without strings attached (Chambers 1997:11; Jayakaran 1996:14; Monaheng 2001:135).

The following chapter will provide detailed information about the design and methodology of the research and how these guidelines will be applied in the case study.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Empowerment in the context of capabilities puts the focus on the assets of the people, by enabling them to meet their felt needs through their own resources. Consequently, the main goal of this research is to find out how the beneficiaries and project staff perceive their individual roles in terms of their capabilities or assets, and how entitlement and patronage influence people's empowerment – the ultimate aim in development work. The purpose of this chapter is to present the design of this case study and to explain the methodological aspects that enable it to achieve this goal. Besides clarifying the concepts used, it will give insights into the used data collection and capturing methods, and will end with an overview of the applied data-analysis procedure utilised during the fieldwork.

4.1 EMPIRICAL RESEARCH PARADIGM

This part of the chapter enables the reader to understand the general philosophy of science and describes the empirical research paradigm of this case study. Departing from the problem statement and guided by the theoretical framework, the empirical research paradigm impacts the way the researcher conducts the study and is therefore a key component of the research design. The empirical standards provide guidelines for a systematic and transparent approach throughout the whole theory-generation process (Glaser & Strauss 2005:42).

4.1.1 Principles of empirical social science

Empirical science builds its knowledge upon a real, existing world and functions under the criteria of systematic and coherent procedures (Faix 2007:45). To be able to achieve this principle, the researcher analyses and explains social measurable phenomena with scientific research methods (:18; :44-46). Therefore, the purpose of examining a community development project of HRDP Bangladesh is to explore the perceptions of beneficiaries and staff, regarding entitlement and patronage, in order to understand the effects upon their empowerment. It is desirable to obtain relevant results for the respective development praxis. Because *Development Studies* is a branch of social science, the study has to comply with its principles.

By following a clear, scientific, theory-building process, according to Lamnek (1995:58), it will be possible to pursue a process-oriented approach in alignment with the research objectives. Figure 4.1 presents the process in graphical form:
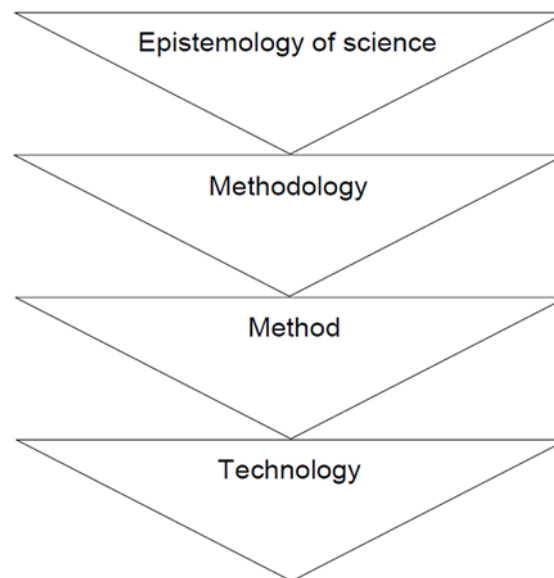
Figure 4.1: Theory-Building Process according to Lamnek
(Source: Lamnek 1995:58)

Adhering to these principles helps prevent the researcher from misguiding perceptions, despite possible inter-subjective views due to early contact points with the real-life praxis in Bangladesh (Faix 2007:44). In other words, previous knowledge does not need to be disregarded, but will be connected to theory-guided preliminary work as viewed in figure 4.1 and linked to comparable empirical studies (:20).

The openness for subjective view – which is especially true in qualitative research (Helfferich 2009:21) – can, of course, cause problems, because the researcher can never approach reality with the absence of preconceived ideas. To be able to avoid misinterpretations due to personal prejudice, it is very important that the researcher remain sensitive and aware that he or she brings previous experience and knowledge into the study. A well-defined theoretical perspective (epistemology) and a clear view of the reality (ontology) underpins the theoretical perspective and the chosen methodology (details see section 4.1.3). Ensuing this strict path of empirical science, it must be possible to arrive

at inter-subjective answers for the research questions (Glaser & Strauss 2005:13; Kelle & Kluge 2008:18–21).

4.1.2 Capability approach as empirical paradigm

Following a clear theory-building process also has another effect: The results of the study are comparable with prevailing scientific research, because the pre-set structure is guided by scientific paradigms. Thomas Kuhn was instrumental in shaping this term (Faix 2007:51). He believed that the models and theories we have are rooted in an overarching theory, the so-called scientific or empirical paradigm (Kuhn 1973:25). Subordinating empirical research to a distinct paradigm is accomplished, when a generally-acknowledged example of scientific praxis provides a model, by which scientists are able to make methodological and social decisions. In other words: Paradigms are generally-accepted scientific achievements that grant experts commonly accepted models or frameworks to research real-life issues and to reach solutions that are empirically comprehensible (Faix 2007:54; 2012a:8; Kuhn & Krüger 1987:32–35).

The empirical paradigm of this study is rooted in the assumption that the individual nature (including the freedom to choose) of each person, stays absolutely central in human development. The primary focus is on capability achievements of people involved and not on quantitative project achievements. Sustainable success in community development is rather qualitative – when people's freedoms or capabilities are enlarged, so that everyone involved is able to pursue the choices they value (Nussbaum 2011:18–19; UNDP 2016:1). Or in the words of Sen (2001:18): "Greater freedom enhances the ability of people to help themselves and also to influence the world, and these matters are central to the process of development."

By placing the study within the capability approach – a distinct paradigm in human development – the empirical qualitative case study is clearly situated in the area of sociological research. This will make it possible to contribute the findings to a wider area of social science, even though the study focuses only on one specific development project in Bangladesh.

4.1.3 The three worlds of research

To be able to better understand the interwovenness of research paradigms, methodological approaches and the object of the research, the South African

Sociologist, Johann Mouton, invented a helpful framework, presented in the following chart (figure 4.2):
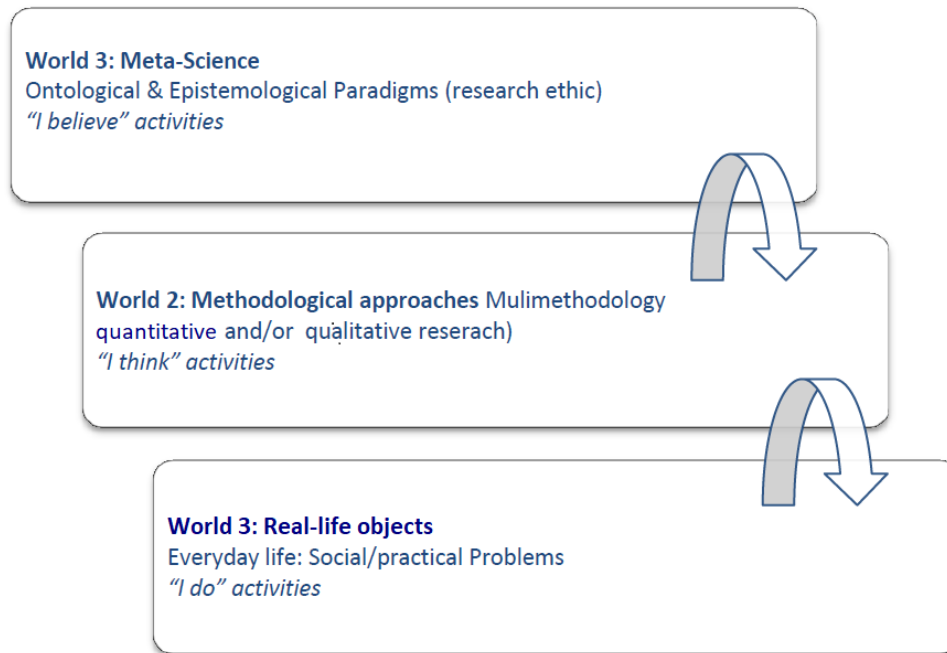
Figure 4.2: Three Worlds Framework based on Mouton
(Source: Faix 2012a:2)

He described his so-called *Three Worlds Framework* as "[…] a tool or instrument that helps to organize one's thinking about science and the practice of scientific research" (Mouton 2013:141). The overall purpose of the *three frames of reference* is to specify how to reflect the scientific world in an empirical way. Under the premise of a clear research ethic and while connected to suitable methodological approaches, the simple structure reveals how a real-life phenomenon is translated into a specific research problem. The arrows effectively display how the different worlds (1 with 2 and 2 with 3) respond with each other in cyclic ways. Despite the fact that the researcher will constantly move between the different worlds, the world of science (World 2) will help to bring *truth knowledge* into *lay knowledge* (World 1). This is done by critically reflecting each research decision with the world of meta-science (World 3). Such overarching meta-disciplines as research ethics and the sociology of science enable the researcher to submit each decision during the research process to various quality checks, in order to attain truthful and valid results (:138–142).

The conceptual framework of this study reflects the three worlds of research in such a way, that the research problem originates out of development praxis.

Relationships between people of unequal status (patronage) and the expectation to be cared for as needy (entitlement) are concepts which seem to affect people in the case study (World 1). With the help of methodological approaches (e.g. qualitative research within World 2), the researcher seeks to determine what effects these socio-culturally-shaped values and norms have on the empowerment of the people involved in the project. By examining the findings and research problems on light of the prevalent empirical paradigm – the capability approach within the sociology of culture (World 3) – the researcher has been able to link the real-life object with the meta-science to be able to get an empirical answer to the research question (Faix 2012a:2–3).

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

After having described the *Empirical Research Paradigm*, the foundational principle for the design and methodology of this study, the subsequent step is to define and explain the classification and the functionality of the research. Clarity about the approach used and the processes is essential to handling the large amount of data with appropriate methods. It will not only reduce the risk of making faulty combinations and/or systematic biases due to a specific method, but also prevents the researcher from illustrating a hypothesis without any methodological verification (Durkheim 1995:73–74; Maxwell 2013:128).

The following explanations give further insight into the methodological realisation of this case study.

4.2.1 Qualitative approach

The methodology of empirical research is guided by the problem statement (Faix 2007:44; Helfferich 2009:26). Since the purpose of this study is to explore the personal perspective of beneficiaries and project staff, the qualitative approach has been identified as the most suitable way to find answers to the research question (Flick 2010c:19; Helfferich 2009:21). It brings people's ideas, meanings, values and perceptions together in a practical manner, clarifies questions and helps shape theory (Maxwell 2013:67). By choosing to study a

specific case in the context of community development, the strategy of the empirical examination is to investigate a phenomenon[22] within its real-life context; to be able to explore a theory[23] out of the collected and analysed data and refer it back into social reality. The dissertation is therefore classified as descriptive and explorative (Faix 2007:77; Froschauer & Lueger 2003:70–73). An appropriate method to attain the objectives of such a study is to make use of the *Grounded Theory Method* (GTM) of Glaser/Strauss. The GTM is a qualitative research approach, developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss. Through its inductive method and analysis, it enables the researcher to develop a subject-based theory from phenomenon, which complies to all criteria of good research (Strauss & Corbin 1996:8; :18-22; Glaser & Strauss 2005:8). The theory is built on sociological facts (retrieved from data) and the relationships among them, which result from statements about one phenomenon or numerous phenomena (Durkheim 1995:38–39). Another distinction is that data collection, data-analysing and theory building complement each other in reciprocal processes. This is achieved through theoretical sampling; the constant comparison of data to theoretical categories, and by focussing on theory development via theoretical saturation of categories (Glaser & Strauss 2008:30; Hood 2010:163).

Considering these attributes, the GTM was found to be the right tool to realize most of the processes in this case study. Due to practical and cultural reasons, certain aspects, such as the data collection, were not fully in line with the GTM's mode of operation. Likewise it is important to note that the outcome of the case study does not have to be a theory, but might simply be an empirical postulate – a result of a legitimate induction process which began with the phenomenon (Durkheim 1995:218). The premise should also not be used to prove the conceptual framework. Although the latter has helped to clarify and specify the research area for the purpose of staying focussed, the chosen GTM will ensure that the developed hypothesis comes from the data (Noerager Stern 2010:114). It will be neither possible to change cultural norms nor to come up with a perfect

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[22] Phenomena in sociological terms are norms and the correlating behaviour of people. To be able to prove the reality of phenomena empirically, it is necessary to observe, describe and classify them, and to determine the empirical viewpoint, under which they become sociological facts (Durkheim 1995:30).

[23] A theory is, according to Maxwell (2013:48), "[…] a set of concepts and ideas and the proposed relationships among these, a structure that is intended to capture or model something about the world."

description of the problem area, but the ultimate aim of the empirical research will be to simply develop a thesis that describes the underlying behaviour and the effects of the studied socio-cultural norms.

4.2.2 Methods of data collection

This case study utilised several different data collection methods – a common approach in qualitative research. The main reason for combining methods is to gain greater depth in understanding the research problem, and to be able to verify the data quality and to improve it, if necessary. Integrating several epistemological and methodological approaches into the research process will ultimately provide the most complete result (Faix 2012a:7; Schoonmaker-Freudenberger 2003:4). This goal is achieved by triangulation, expansion and purposeful interviewing. Triangulation means that at least two different research methods are used to check and balance each another. It reduces the risk that the conclusions of the researcher will only reflect the outcome of one of the methods used, and it helps to grant a wider understanding of the issues which are to be researched. The second reason for using multiple methods is to gain information about various aspects of the studied phenomena. This complementary or expansive approach – often accomplished by the means of observations (i.e. by protocolling after each interview) – broadens the range of facets addressed by the researcher (Kurz, Kubek & Schultze 2013:85; Maxwell 2013:102–103).

The decision to choose the following methods as sources for data acquisition for this study, was based on the research subject and the available possibilities (Helfferich 2009:26):

4.2.2.1 Half-standardised interviews:

The use of a half-standardised interview guideline enabled the researcher to make specific enquiries into the subjects to be researched, while granting interviewees enough space to express themselves freely (Flick 2010b:229; Helfferich 2009:179). The needed knowledge base for the interview guideline was attained by examining literature in the areas of human development, asset-based community development and cultural and social anthropology, as well as writings about Bangladesh's historical and religious context. The main findings have already been presented in chapters two and three. With these results, a

semi-structured questionnaire has been designed, tested and slightly modified before its actual use (details see 4.4.1). During the research visit in the sub-district of Gabtali near Bogra in March 2018, 14 interviews among beneficiaries and project staff were conducted. The use of this structured procedure enabled the researcher to uncover subjective views about social patterns in relation to entitlement and patronage and its impact on empowerment. It also helped to expose unconscious motives in the corresponding beliefs and attitudes of the interviewees. The half-standardized interview questions proved to be not only necessary for the work with the translator, but they also supported the conversation verbally, and guided it thematically for the purpose of receiving the needed answers to the research question (Flick 2010b:221; Helfferich 2009:38; :43).

4.2.2.2 Focus Groups:

A helpful way of combining semi-structured interviews with another method is to conduct focus groups as a follow-up. As an alternative and popular participative research method in development practice, focus groups are often facilitated as part of *Participatory Rural Appraisals* (PRA)[24]. This qualitative research technique is focussed on collecting data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher (Morgan 1996:130). As an asset-based community development tool, it engages the community to gather information, helps them to see and invest their capabilities and fosters ownership in the overall empowerment process (Caspari 2010:368-269; Morgan 1996:135; Nagele & Williams 2013:2). Compared with other means – the real strength of the focus group lies in providing insight into the sources of complex behaviours and motivations in a participatory way. It helps to draw upon respondents' attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and reactions in a way that would otherwise not be feasible through individual interviews (Gibbs 1997:2; Morgan & Krueger 1993:3). Conducting two focus-group sessions – the first with twelve beneficiaries and the second with seven project staff – has proved to be a good tool to explore the research question in a deeper and more economical way. It also

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[24] PRA is, by the definition of Chambers (2012:2), a „[…] family of approaches, methods, *attitudes and behaviours* to enable and empower people to share, analyse and enhance their knowledge of life and conditions, and to plan, act, monitor, evaluate *and reflect*".

made it possible to follow up on various issues raised by the interviewees. The group discussions helped to increase people's interest in the subject, engaged their opinions about it and produced practical ideas for further study.

4.2.3 Key variables and conceptualisation

The main purpose of the research design is to determine the needed components, and to display the execution of the data-capturing and data-analysis processes (Flick 2010a:252). Flick (:253) proposed a helpful list of key variables which have been considered for this case study. The following chart gives a good overview of the steps performed:

- Presenting the research problem & defining the research objectives
- Constructing the theoretical framework
- Reading relevant literature
- Defining research methods and instruments
- Describing the sampling strategy
- Designing and testing the interview guideline
- Collecting data through interviews and focus groups
- Transcribing the interviews
- Coding and analysing the data according to the GTM
- Triangulation of interview data with focus group data
- Interpretation of results and discussion of findings
- Reflections, conclusions and recommendations

Figure 4.3: Chart of Research Design

Other important aspects in the conceptualisation of the research design are available resources, such as time, finances and the availability of people. They accompanied the study from the conceptualisation phase until the end.

4.3 SAMPLING AND SELECTION TECHNIQUES

As mentioned earlier, the power of the GTM lies in the constant comparative analysis, theoretical sampling and the theoretical saturation of categories. (Hood 2010:152). The purpose of theoretical sampling is to generate an objective-based theory by using strategically chosen samples (Glaser & Strauss

2005:53; Miles & Hubermann 1994:27). It is, according to Glaser and Strauss (2008:45) "[…] the process of data collecting for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges."

However, a pilot examination of Bangladesh made clear that it would not be possible to execute theoretical sampling in its intended way. The amount of time such a process would consume would require living in the community until the sampling were completed. Due to cultural circumstances as well as organisational and linguistic constraints, this was not a feasible option. Therefore, the decision was taken to use *selective sampling* instead. Selective (or purposive) sampling is another accepted sampling technique within the GTM (Morse 2010:235). How this was accomplished will be explained in the following sections.

4.3.1 Selective sampling

In selective sampling, the relevant attributes for the chosen case, their feature characteristics and the size of the qualitative sample are settled before the start of the field research. Each of these three sampling qualities are determined according to the research question, theoretical considerations and previous knowledge about the research area (Kelle & Kluge 2008:50). They build the foundations for making the right decisions for two reasons: It must be certain that the case is adequately represented to achieve the needed generalisability and that the data is collected according to its intended purpose (Helfferich 2009:173–174). The possibilities of multiple comparisons can be endless, and to be able to keep the data-collection focused and limited to the actual need, it is therefore important to make clear sampling decisions in terms of the needed actors, contexts and issues (Glaser & Strauss 2008:47; Miles & Hubermann 1994:22).

As a result of taking these guidelines into consideration and relating them with the findings from the preliminary research visit to Bangladesh, the following sampling criteria have been defined and applied as a sampling strategy for the interviews as well as for the focus groups:

4.3.1.1 Relevant attributes

Participants in the empirical research project are part of the municipality of Gabtali, near Bogra, and participate in the community development project of HRDP. The local community consists primarily of a peasant population, which is strongly influenced by Islam. Due to socio-economic factors and the structural setup of the project, it was impossible to engage a balanced number of male and female participants in the empirical research. Because literacy class students are generally women, the fathers of primary school children are out at work during daytime and all primary school teachers are ladies, the selective sampling process resulted in 13 adult women and one man participating in the interviews (see table 4.1) and 17 female and two male participants in the focus-group discussions (see table 4.2).

4.3.1.2 Feature characteristics

In accordance with the research question, the people examined were beneficiaries and project staff. The first group included adults who had recently completed a nine-month long literacy class and parents of children who were currently attending one of HRDPs three-year long village primary schools. Both features had to be equally represented. The second group of people researched consisted of local staff members of HRDP in the roles of current primary school teachers and former literacy class teachers (within HRDP these are always women), and their supervisor – a male staff member. All of them were locals who had known HRDP at the time of the data collection for at least six months.

4.3.1.3 Number of participants

A medium-sized sample in qualitative research contains between six and thirty interviews (Helfferich 2009:173). Using triangulation, by combining the half-standardised interviews with two focus-group sessions, the original number of the interviews necessary for the study was determined to be twelve – half of them beneficiaries and the other half staff members. However, the number of the interviews was raised to 14 during the field research, because they did not last as long as the planned 60+ minutes. The main reason for this was that the interviewees with little or no education were not particularly responsive. Their

answers were usually quite simple and short. The projected number of people participating in the two focus groups were between eight and ten.

In summary, the sampling attributes are: number of participants, their indicator, gender, age, education, profession, role in the project and the number of years they have been connected to the project. The tables containing the feature characteristics of the chosen interviewees and focus-group participants are inserted in section 4.3.2 and 4.3.3. These sections also explain the practical procedure of choosing the interviewees and participants for the two focus groups.

4.3.2 Sampling for interviews

To be able to conduct at least twelve interviews, the researcher asked the leadership of HRDP Bogra to suggest – in accordance with the defined sampling strategy – 20 possible interview partners. Ten of them had to be either, in equal proportions, parents of primary school children, or participants of the locally-run literacy classes. It was also possible to add a leader from the village community. The other ten people suggested had to be staff of HRDP, also in similar numbers, either primary school or literacy class teachers. Because the teachers are all women, and it was beneficial to also include the viewpoint of male staff members, it was suggested that one or two of their supervisors be added.

Although the communities were informed well in advance, and the search for participants in the villages of Gabtali had been carried out by a leading staff member of HRDP three weeks in advance, the sampling lists filled in with the proposed names were never returned. The people who fit the sampling criteria simply arrived at the agreed meeting point. After the explanation of the purpose and method of the interviews, and the introduction of the interviewees, the researcher had to select people according to the sampling strategy right before the first interview started. Another organisational challenge was that the 14 interviews conducted had to be carried out in four different locations. Although they were not very far apart from each other, visiting each of these different cluster settlements of Gabtali, where HRDP operates its projects, meant that it took additional effort to conduct the interviews. The positive aspect of these spread-out samples, however, was that it ultimately provided a broader representation of people participating in the interviews, because they definitely came

from different families (Helfferich 2009:173). The following table displays the attributes:

Table 4.1: Attributes of Interviewees

Sampling List Interviews - Case Study Bangladesh March 2018							
#	Indicator	Sex	Age	Education	Profession	Role in Project	# years
1	LCT1	F	18+	H.S.C.	Housewife	Literacy C. Teacher	1
2	LCP1	F	30	none	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	1
3	LCP2	F	50	none	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	0,5
4	PSP1	F	29	none	Housewife	Parent of PS Student	6
5	PSP2	F	26	M. College	Homemaker (Widow)	Parent of PS Student	1
6	PST1	F	26	H.S.C.	Teacher & Housewife	Primary S. Teacher	6
7	PSP3	F	25	none	Housewife	Parent of PS Student	7
8	LCP3	F	50+	none	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	7
9	PSP4	F	35	none (tailoring)	Housewife	Parent PS S. / Lit C. S	8
10	PST2	F	27	none	Teacher & Housewife	Primary S. Teacher	4
11	PSP5	M	37	Cook	Cook, currently farming	Parent of PS Student	1
12	LCP4	F	60+	none	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	1
13	LCT2	F	19	H.S.C.	Private Tutor/Housewife	Literacy C. Teacher	1
14	PST3	F	25	H.S.C. (a-level)	Teacher & Housewife	Primary S. Teacher	6

4.3.3 Sampling for focus groups

Sampling in focus groups is usually referred to by the term *segmentation*. By creating groups that consist of particular categories, it is easier to discuss specific research topics among the different groups. It also enables the researcher to build comparative dimensions (e.g. employed/unemployed, educated/uneducated) into the entire research project and helps to stimulate discussions because participants have common ground (Morgan 1996:143–144). Due to the fact that the culturally-shaped expectations and obligations in the given village community are perceived differently, depending on people's roles, status and intellectual ability, the segmentation of beneficiaries (FCB) and project staff (FCS) into different focus groups proved to be a helpful and wise sampling decision. The separation of students and parents of students from HRDP's teachers and supervisors helped to facilitate discussions of sensitive issues among people who live in similar livelihood circumstances.

The group size was another important aspect in the design principle of the focus groups. While smaller groups are more appropriate with emotionally-charged

topics, because they encourage higher participant involvement, larger groups work better on neutral topics because the emotional factor of each individual is less meaningful (Morgan 1996:146). With the given topic, it was appropriate to ask HRDP to suggest 26 people complying with the sampling criteria, to ensure that in the end each group comprised approximately eight to ten participants.

The sampling features from the beneficiaries and project staff that participated in the two focus-group discussions are listed in the next table (4.2):

Table 4.2: Attributes of Focus-Group Participants

Sampling List Focus Groups - Case Study Bangladesh March 2018								
#	Indicator	Sex	Age	Education	Profession	Role in Project	# years	Remarks
Beneficiaries								
1	FGB	F	30	none	Housewife	Parent of PS Student	1	
2	FGB	F	23	none	Housewife	Parent of PS Student	1	
3	FGB	F	25	none	Housewife	Parent of PS Student	1	
4	FGB	F	22	none	Housewife	Parent of PS Student	1	
5	FGB	F	26	M. College	Homemaker (Widow)	Parent of PS Student	1	(PSP2)
6	FGB	F	22	none	Housewife	Parent of PS Student	1	
7	FGB	F	45	none	Housewife	Parent of PS Student	1	
8	FGB	F	35	none (Lit. class)	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	2	
9	FGB	F	30	none (Lit. class)	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	2	
10	FGB	F	18	none (Lit. class)	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	2	
11	FGB	F	50	none (Lit. class)	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	2	
12	FGB	F	50	none (Lit. class)	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	2	
Project Staff								
1	FCS	M	25	H.S.C.	Merchant	Primary S. Supervisor	4	
2	FCS	F	25	H.S.C.	Teacher & Housewife	Primary S. Teacher	6	(PST3)
3	FCS	F	27	H.S.C.	Teacher & Housewife	Primary S. Teacher	4	(PST2)
4	FCS	F	26	H.S.C.	Teacher & Housewife	Primary S. Teacher	1	
5	FCS	F	21	H.S.C.	Teacher & Housewife	Primary S. Teacher	1	
6	FCS	F	27	H.S.C.	Teacher & Housewife	Primary S. Teacher	4	
7	FCS	M	27	H.S.C.	Project Coordinator	Sports Development	6	

4.4 DATA COLLECTION ELEMENTS

To be able to execute the data collection, three essential elements had to be considered, prepared and verified: The interview guideline, the practical feasibility of the research, and the protection of those who participate in the study. This was a logical step after taking the decision where the case study would take place and what sampling strategy would be used.

4.4.1 Interview guide

As a consequence of using qualitative interviews as the primary source for data gathering, questions had to be developed to find answers to the research question and its sub-questions. Based on the conclusions from the literature review, which were summarised in the *Considerations for the Empirical Research* (see section 3.4), a suitable interview guideline was created. Being aware of the challenges of communicating through a translator, from previous visits to Bangladesh, it became clear that a half-standardised interview guide would be the best option to conduct at least twelve interviews with local people who are directly involved in one of HRDP's community development projects.

The main purpose of using half-standardised interview questions was to facilitate a mutual dialogue, where the subjective views of the interviewees about entitlement and patronage and their effects on empowerment could clearly be discovered (Faix 2007:147). Besides leaving room for a natural flow of conversation and spontaneous discourse, these in interview questions (prepared in advance) helped to specify what the researcher wanted to understand from the people asked, especially as questions and answers had to be translated from English into Bangla and vice-versa (Maxwell 2013:101).

The designing process was driven by four criteria proposed by Flick (2010b:229): Why should this question be asked (theoretical relevance)? What should be asked (content)? Why is the question formulated in such a way (articulation, clearness)? Why does this question belong in this specific order (structure)? After an introductory part to get to know the interviewees and to raise their interest, the main three thematic blocks dealt with personal aspirations, moral expectations and collective obligations, and the implications of empowerment. The questions in the fifth and last block gave people the opportunity to make personal suggestions about how they would like to empower others if they were given the opportunity, and to share or discuss other topics, if they so desired. In case a question was not relevant or too difficult to answer, a pre-designed substitute question could be asked instead. The interview guideline can be viewed in appendix C.

4.4.2 Pre-tests

With the provisional interview guide in hand, an exploratory research visit to Bangladesh was conducted in October 2017. The three-day visit proved to be helpful in testing the planned research methods, checking on organisational matters for the upcoming field research in March 2018, and examining possible issues which could have implications for the ongoing process of the study. The infield pre-test phase comprised of these activities:

Meeting with leadership: The purpose of meeting the leadership group of HRDP's regional office in Bogra was to present the aim of the case study, receive feedback about the proposed plan for the data collection, talk about cultural and ethical issues when conducting the interviews and focus groups and plan the necessary organisational matters.

Visit of villages: Visiting two different villages helped the researcher to understand the organisational set-up of HRDP's educational projects on the village level and to develop an understanding of the local ownership. The travel to and from the projects also gave clarity about the transportation and time needed to reach these remote places.

Testing of methods: The most important aspect of visiting the communities was the opportunity to pre-test the interview questions. With the help of two informal group meetings, one with teachers and another one with a mixed group of staff (teachers) and beneficiaries (former literacy class students), the majority of the prepared key questions could be tested. Due to time constraints, the test interview could not be carried out in the village, but was done with a staff member in the main office in Dhaka.

In summary, it can be said that the various pre-test activities served to develop a better understanding of the perceptions and theories held by people, and to identify more dimensions of entitlement and patronage and its effects on empowerment in general. The observations and informal conversations helped the researcher to grasp people's ideas, meanings, values and perspectives in such a way, that it provided enough clarity and perspective to be able to complete the design of the research methodology (Maxwell 2013:66-67). In addition, five important observations were made, which were given special attention during the preparation phase for the data gathering visit:

1. Questions containing the terms 'patronage' and 'entitlement' couldn't be used. It was not possible to translate them directly into Bangla because the majority of the people, especially the less educated, did not understand the expressions denoting them. Although they were aware of these cultural behaviours, they would never use such terms in Bangla. As a consequence, the questions needed to describe their meanings with very simple words. If that did not help, it was necessary to have people describe real-life situations between persons of unequal status (patronage) or the social expectation to be taken care of (entitlement) and then have them explain the functionality and impact upon their lives. Meeting and talking to villagers also revealed the reality that people give rather short answers to concrete questions. To help them to share deeper thoughts, the questions needed to relate to concrete examples they experience on a day-to-day basis. This required an overhaul of the interview guide and a simplification of the questions, all the while ensuring that they still served their original, intended purpose.

2. Both informal group discussions revealed strong hierarchical social structures. It became evident that uneducated participants would keep silent and let the educated participants speak. Similarly, the teachers (all females) would wait until the supervisor (male) had spoken or had given them permission to speak. As a result, it became clear that the people needed to be divided into a focus group of beneficiaries only and a group of just project staff. To foster conversation and to avoid the situation that the same people speak each time (due to group size and gender of the individuals), the groups could be divided into small groups.

3. The primary school (bamboo-framed hut, covered with corrugated iron sheets) was not an ideal place for conducting interviews and focus groups. Due to its public character, children and adults were congregating outside the building. Their presence and noise were disturbing and did not create the needed safe atmosphere for conducting interviews and focus groups. To be able to create an environment where the participating people could speak for themselves and feel heard, all individual interviews and focus-group sessions needed to be conducted in an undisturbed place, preferably in the courtyard of a private home (Erler 2013:420). If this was not possible

and an interview with a woman had to be done inside, due to cultural requirements, another woman needed to stay nearby.

4. Finding a highly capable and unprejudiced translator was one of the key elements of the successful data gathering. The person needed to be unknown by the community and could not be related to HRDP in any way. Before starting with the interviews, a meeting with the translator for introduction, training and conducting at least one test interview was necessary. This should preferably be the same person for the whole time.

5. Respect and honour are key features in this culture. Holding to the local customs and manners shows esteem for the people and helps reach their hearts for open conversations. It was therefore necessary to become well-informed about general societal values and plan enough free time into the schedule, to be able to connect well with the community. In addition, information about the research and the ethical standard of conduct needed to be worked out and distributed to the participants prior to the data acquisition.

4.4.3 Ethical standard of conduct

Ensuring human dignity, social justice, respect and fairness, and protecting all people involved from any exposure, vulnerability, manipulation or disadvantages within the community and the NGO has been a top priority during the whole process of the study. To be able to protect the participant's feelings, interests and rights at all times, all data has been handled with trust and discretion (Mouton 2013:243). The ethical standard of conduct was achieved by realising the following five considerations, previously summarised in section 1.7:

Informed consent: A handout with the purpose of the research and the rights of the participants was distributed or read aloud by a leading HRDP staff member when looking for participants three weeks prior to the project visit. Every participant chosen to take part either in an interview and/or in one of the focus groups, received a Bengali translation of the consent form. Before the start, they gave their consent with their signature or right thumb impression on the original English document. If participants could not read or write, they were assisted by the translator. The papers can be found in appendix D (*Participant Information Sheet)* and appendix E (*Consent Form)*.

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Voluntary participation: Although 14 adult persons were needed to partake in the interviews and another 14-20 for the two focus groups, participation was absolutely voluntary! No one was forced to participate in any part of this research. Even when people agreed to participate, they were allowed to withdraw up until the start of the interview/focus group. They were also informed about their right to have their data deleted after the recording, in case they felt that they did not want it to be used in the study.

Respect: Literature study and previous visits to Bangladesh (including the preliminary research and several skype calls with leading staff members of HRDP), helped the researcher to understand the social and cultural values to be able to conform in an appropriate manner. All translated and distributed documents, as well as the interview guide were checked and approved by two different people. To ensure cultural sensitivity when relating with the local community, the research visits in the villages of Gabtali were accompanied by a leading staff member. Participants were also verbally assured before starting an interview or focus group, that their personal and communal view would be respected and not challenged.

No Harm: Being aware of the possibility that HRDP staff, as well as local beneficiaries, could be or feel exploited when participating in interviews, no other staff or community member were allowed to join in, unless the setting of an interview required it and the interviewee agreed to be accompanied.

Anonymity: Another feature to prevent people from any possible harm was to keep the information given anonymous. This was done by using pseudonyms instead of the participant's real names. Their answers in this study have been either generalised or attached to a neutral indicator.

Confidentiality: Personal information about participants will remain confidential at all times and no information will be released by the researchers that may lead to the identification of individuals. Due to the reflective nature of the focus-group discussions and to safeguard personal opinions, each partaker has been asked not to talk to people outside of the group about any content.

4.5 DATA CAPTURING AND CONVERTING

A unique feature of well-collected, qualitative data is the focus on real-life situations. The natural setting of a local context provides the best place to explore

the anticipated phenomena and its influencing aspects on people's capabilities. Such real, causal and experiential life-facts make the data rich and comprehensible (Miles & Hubermann 1994:10–12).

With a modified interview guide, plus the needed general knowledge about entitlement and patronage and the local situation at hand, a two-week research visit to Bangladesh was conducted in March 2018. Five of the nine days spent in Bogra were used to carry out 14 interviews and two focus groups in four different settlements of Gabtali, a sub-district of Bogra (diary and map see appendix F). The following segments explain how the interviews and focus groups were conducted and how the data was converted to be analysed.

4.5.1 Realisation of data gathering with interviews

As travel consumed up to four hours a day, not more than four interviews could be conducted, even though they usually did not take longer than 30-35 minutes each. This included the translation of questions and answers into English. The rather short duration was not anticipated. Besides not being so talkative, many participants had limited time, because they either had to be at home when their children came home from primary school, or they were expected to work in the household. The shorter duration was the main reason why 'bricolage'[25], a typical method in qualitative research, was applied by adding two interviewees. Hence, it was during these two additional interviews that it became obvious that no additional data could be found due to lack of new answers to the issues raised. This meant that the point of theoretical saturation was achieved (Glaser & Strauss 2008:70).

The interviews were recorded with an audio-recorder. Significant observations were written down after each interview in a documentation sheet. This also contained some relevant information (i.e. gender, age, education, role in project) about each participant. It proved to be true that listening is challenging and takes time and energy. Especially due to the translation into and from Bangla, it demanded a high level of attention and receptiveness of all people involved (Anderson et al. 2012:7).

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[25] 'Bricolage', a term coined by the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss, means adapting the situation spontaneously and creatively using what is available to come up with a unique solution to the problem (Maxwell 2013:42–43).

4.5.2 Realisation of data gathering with focus groups

To be able to build on a few specific subjects raised during the interviews, the two focus groups were purposely conducted in one of the places where interviews were taken previously. Unfortunately, only one beneficiary who had been interviewed previously was able to participate together with another eleven women who had not been interviewed at all. Due to this unforeseen situation, the rather large group of beneficiaries was split into two groups, which enabled more interaction among them. The creation of such a spontaneous sample opened up the possibility of triangulating and discussing the summarised results from the small-group discussions between both groups together.

The location, though, had consequences for the staff group: With the exception of two, all the other participants had to travel to the small settlement, with the result that the second focus group contained only seven participants. The five women and two men were split up into two small groups so that the male participants stayed together. This helped not only to overcome cultural barriers, but it also gave the opportunity of distinguishing views due to their gender and different roles.

In contrast to the interviews, people participated actively in the discussions, with the result that both focus-group gatherings lasted close to two hours. Within the safety of the group, people discussed their views freely, even regarding sensitive topics, and several times came to some sort of conclusion (Morgan 1996:137; :139). Another great benefit was that the group interviews were fully participative. The method gave people a voice, helped them to discover issues and even provided a place to debate possible solutions to overcome these. Therefore, the main role as researcher was to facilitate participation and enable participants to express and enhance their own contextual and specific knowledge (Chambers 2007:19-23). This was done by providing a set of questions to be discussed in smaller groups and then sharing the main findings with everyone else. The advantage of such questions prepared in advance (see appendix G) was that it helped the groups to stay focussed on the subject and that it made the results comparable with each other (Morgan 1996:142). Another great effect of the focus group was that the questions raised helped the researcher to investigate the complexity of behaviours and motivations of the studied subjects, because the 'group effect' facilitated the detection of beliefs

and attitudes quite well (:139). One example was a lively discussion at the end of the focus group among staff, where several people spiritedly shared their dilemmas of feeling pressured by family members for financial contributions simply because they are paid staff members of HRDP.

4.5.3 Transcription of audio-files

Following the research visit to Bangladesh, the English audio-files of the 14 interviews and two focus-group sessions were transcribed to document-files by a native English speaker (see appendix H). Transcription is the graphical display of a conversation between people, including their vocal and non-vocal behaviour (i.e. laughing, pausing, speaking) (Kowal & O'Connell 2010:438). The latter was almost impossible to accomplish, because it was difficult for a non-Bangla speaking person to detect vocal gestures of Bangla-speaking interviewees, if the emotions were not reproduced during the translation into English. This handicap was bypassed by making notes of observations after each interview. It helped not only to bring context and objectivity to subjective information, but it also prevented the researcher from being too narrowly selective while analysing the transcriptions (Miles & Hubermann 1994:51–56).

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

To obtain answers to the research question, the next step in the research process was to analyse the previously-gathered data. Data analysis in qualitative research consists of three activities: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification. However, much of the data reduction had already happened during and even before the actual data-collection period – by choosing this specific case, the conceptual framework, the data collection approach and by defining research questions (Miles & Hubermann 1994:10–12; :58).

Following an approach adapted from the *Grounded Theory Method* (GTM) made it possible to study the observed obstacles to empowerment, due to the influencing systems of entitlement and patronage. This inductively-guided and systematic data-analysis method has helped to achieve this goal by finding conceptual categories and their properties in the collected data. (Bryant & Charmaz 2010:14; Strauss & Corbin 1996:7–8). Through the utilisation of a distinctive coding method – which is the heart of data analysis in grounded theory – it became possible to record, open, conceptualise and reorder data in a new way

to be able to detect and understand the phenomenon (Faix 2007:86; Strauss & Corbin 1996:39). Besides labelling concepts for the purpose of describing the phenomena, codes are an important tool for retrieving data more efficiently, in that they support and accelerate the whole analysis process greatly (Miles & Hubermann 1994:65).

The coding procedure is categorised into three types – open, axial and selective coding (Böhm 2010:476–477). The use of MAXQDA 2018[26], a professional QDA software, designed for qualitative data and mixed methods research, aided this data-analysis process. The following three points explain the process and how it was achieved:

4.6.1 Open coding

Open coding is a process of different phases, in which data is broken up, explored, compared, conceptualised and categorised. The process comprises several ways of labelling and assigning text to temporary categories, characteristics and dimensions (Kuckartz 2010:75).

The first phase commenced after becoming familiar with the transcribed interviews by reading them thoroughly and having them imported into MAXQDA 2018. After opening the interviews electronically, the initial task was to search in a deductive pattern through the texts and match words, sentences and text passages with a number of previously designed categories, also known as 'conceptional codes'. The main categories – as already described in 3.4 – evolved before the data-analysing process; on the basis of the conceptual framework, the findings during the literature review and the interview guideline. Due to the research question, it was also appropriate to add *empowerment* and *disempowerment* as conceptional codes in the first cycle of open coding.

As there is no defined rule to generate categories, their creation and the coding of text was solely based on the interpretation of the researcher (Kuckartz 2010:58). However, the underlying principles for the construction of codes during the open-coding process was based on a deductive, inductive and abductive pattern. Deductive data-analysing means that individual cases are submitted to an existing general rule. In practice, it meant that the individual interviews

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[26] Detailed product information: http://www.maxqda.com.

were scanned for words, statements or passages which refer, for example, to "collective obligations"; if they matched, they were coded as such (Faix 2007:67; Reichertz 2010:279). Induction does the contrary, it moves from the particular to the general. This means that interviews were analysed without pre-determined theory-guided categories. The coding was done by studying all particular cases and then concluding with a conceptual category (Bryant & Charmaz 2010:15; Faix 2007:69). The third determination in coding happens abductively. This research pattern argues a hypothesis as a result of rejecting, modifying and combining existing elements. It appeared in this study as a mental process, where current knowledge was brought together in a way it has never been thought of before (Kelle & Kluge 2008:104; Reichertz 2010:281).

The decision was taken to apply a second round of open coding to review, modify and sort the results anew. Since the focus had changed to an inductive pattern, data was analysed by looking at all of the interviews again. Subsequently, the codes had been combined and reordered into other or new categories and sub-categories, resulting in a richer grouping and refining of data. This could mainly be observed within sub-categories, also known as characteristics. The regrouping of the categories into smaller sets helped to identify emerging themes to better configure and explain the phenomenon (Miles & Hubermann 1994:69). To be able to break up categories and their characteristics in an analytical way, sub-categories have been inspected and where needed, dimensional characteristics (e.g. others/self) were added. By describing the characteristics with different features of social relationships, it was possible to create sample-specific profiles for and by that (Faix 2007:90; Kuckartz 2010:76).

Besides a list of codes, the result of the coding process has also been a considerable number of corresponding memos in the form of text. These memos were created throughout the coding process in that ideas and comments – for the purpose of transparency and traceability – were written down (Böhm 2010:477).

4.6.2 Axial coding

After developing several categories during the open-coding phase, the task of the axial-coding phase was to systematise or group the categories in a new

way, by revealing their connections due to similarities and cohesions in content (Kuckartz 2010:77). Hence, the main task was to bring the different categories, sub-categories and dimensions in a inner or axial relationship, so that thereby the various categories could be reassigned to the central phenomenon of the texts. This was possible by utilising the coding paradigm of Strauss and Corbin (1996:75) which consists of six aspects: Phenomenon to which action is directed, causal conditions for the phenomenon, features of the context, intervening conditions, action and interactional strategies, plus the consequences of action and interactions (Faix 2007:92–93; Kelle 2010:202).

Causal conditions
What led to the situation?

Context
What are the features/ prerequisites for the issue?

Phenomenon
What is the issue?

Interv. conditions
What caused or hindered a reaction?

Consequences
What are the results of actions and strategies?

Strategies
How do stakeholders handle the phenomenon?
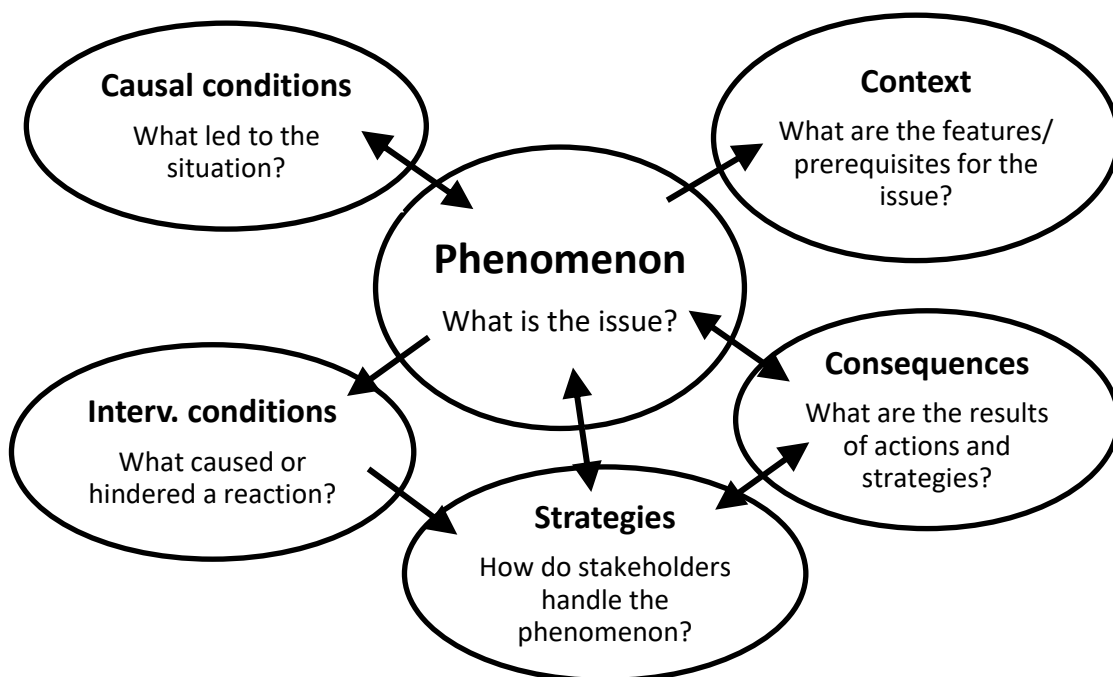
Figure 4.4: Coding Paradigm according to Strauss and Corbin

(Created based on Strauss & Corbin 1996:75)

During the process of axial coding, the researcher observed the replication of distinct patterns, repeated relations between categories and dimensions and the formation of new categories. This resulted in a loose web of relationships (Faix 2007:93). The completion of the axial-coding phase allowed the data-analysing process to reach a more abstract level, which led directly into the third phase, the selective coding.

4.6.3 Selective coding

Selective coding is basically axial coding on a higher level of abstraction. A key category is chosen to be able to develop the conceptual center-point of the

grounded theory. Other relevant categories will be connected to it and therefore put into relation with the central concept (Breuer 2009:92).

The tool used for that procedure was Strauss's coding paradigm, as explained and diagrammed previously. The construction of one or even several core categories was achieved by allocating the phenomena back to the code tree and by that onto the research question. The reduction of the research question implied the comparing of categories, sub-categories and dimensions with each other (Faix 2007:252–262). In essence, this meant connecting the interviews with each other again for the purpose of analysing data upon their validity, reliability and credibility (Strauss & Corbin 1996:106). The results were newly discovered and newly combined patterns through which core categories came into being, as well as validated data and a grounded and complete theory (:109).

A great support for analysing the texts in all three coding processes was the use of MAXQDA 2018 software. It made it possible to visualise the results in all three procedures and to relate them to each other. This included a lexical search by which it was possible to filter the terms used by each occurrence as well as each use by individual interviewees. It helped in the visualisation of key aspects in terms of their use (Faix 2007:189). The *Code Matrix Browser* (CMB) helped to present which codes had been assigned to which documents and how many document segments from each document have been assigned for each existing code. The *Code Relations Browser* (CRB) made it easy to recognise relationships between codes (MAXQDA 2018).

In summarising this chapter, it can be said that the design described and the realisation of data analysis has served to produce an empirical answer to the research question. The GTM made it possible to analyse socio-cultural facets with a real-life development issue in such a way that it became possible to describe, understand and address the impeding effects of patronage and entitlement upon the empowerment of people in the project. How this was achieved will be presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter takes the reader through the actual data-analysis process and presents and discusses its results step by step. By following the standardised and systematic coding procedure – as explained in the previous section, the researcher was able to extract and distil theoretical concepts and structures for the purpose of developing a grounded theory out of the phenomena (Breuer 2009:69). The coding process basically consisted of reviewing and dissecting the transcribed interviews and the results from the focus groups in such a way that the interrelations between the different parts were held intact. This was accomplished by segregating and combining data retrieved and by reflecting upon the information gained (Miles & Hubermann 1994:56). However, the aim of the coding process was not to identify the true sense or the true meaning in a particular case, but to discover, collect and group possible or potential meanings of data or of segments of data. While being aware of personal preferences and styles – which might influence analysis processes in a particular way – the approach enabled the researcher to retrieve beliefs about socio-culturally-shaped concepts and their dimensions empirically. This resulted in a concrete description of the observed phenomena and the effects upon empowerment in the case study (Breuer 2009:78–79; Glaser & Strauss 2008:39).

After the findings were presented from the open and axial-coding procedures of interviews and focus groups separately, they were triangulated by making use of the selective coding process and finally analysed by relating them back to the research objectives.

5.1 INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

According to the previously presented data-analysing procedure (see 4.6), the coding of the individual interviews took place in three consecutive steps. Unless clearly mentioned, the data of beneficiaries and project staff have not been compared with each other in the open-coding process (see explanation in 7.2).

5.1.1 Results of open coding

A first open coding was conducted after importing the 14 interviews into the MAXQDA 2018 software. While reading through the texts, passages relating to each other were deductively coded by moving them into one of the five categories described in section 4.6.1. The first open-coding phase already showed a

comprehensive outcome. Due to their similarities or distinct differences, most of the data could be moved into one or several conceptual codes, resulting in 235 codings allotted to the respective categories. Table 5.1 gives insight into the breakup of the codes. It is worth mentioning that the two categories with the most codes mirror the theme of the research question.

Table 5.1: Code System Interviews – 1st open coding

Codes	Frequency	Percentage
Moral expectations and collective obligations	82	34,89
Empowerment	54	22,98
Personal aspirations	44	18,72
Future implications for the project work	37	15,74
Disempowerment	18	7,66
Total	**235**	**100,00**

Besides coding, 138 memos were also created to record important observations, methodological comments and ideas for the successive, theory-building process. One example is the following memo:

> Besides honour and income, the job as literacy and primary school teacher also brought her much fulfilment and happiness (Memo 123).

Although the teacher with the indicator PST2 shared extensively about the importance of prestige and financial security through the job, she also expressed much satisfaction and joy in being a teacher. Without noting this observation – written down in the *Interview Documentation Sheet* – one could conclude that she enjoys her position simply due to her status and benefits. This remark encouraged the researcher to review all notes and memos, resulting in sub-categories like "Contentment in life" and "Ability to develop others", which have been created to be used during the second open-coding phase.

While reading through the interviews a second time, the accounts of the beneficiaries and project staff were coded mainly inductively. The refinement of the five original categories during the second open coding resulted in the creation of 23 sub-categories and 11 dimensions, which almost doubled the total number of coded segments from 235 to 468 (see table 5.2 on the following page).

Table 5.2: Detailed Code System Interviews – 2nd open coding

Categories	Characteristics (sub-categories)	Dimensions	Coded segments	%	Docs
Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)	Investing personal assets & skills		23	4,91	12
Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)	Striving for freedom		40	8,55	14
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Failure to fulfil...		25	5,34	11
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Dependencies [due to]	patronage obligations	23	4,91	13
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Dependencies [due to]	entitlement expectations	12	2,56	6
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Expecting to be helped [by]	institutions	7	1,50	4
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Expecting to be helped [by]	HRDP	21	4,49	10
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Expecting to be helped [by]	influential/rich people in general	10	2,14	8
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Expecting to be helped [by]	family and social structures	2	0,43	2
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Honour and respect [by]	others	22	4,70	11
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Honour and respect [by]	self	10	2,14	6
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Financial security [through]	cost-free supplies	9	1,92	7
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Financial security [through]	work/employment	12	2,56	9
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Financial security [through]	money & financial assets	12	2,56	10
Implications for Projects (Activities)	Developing stakeholders		5	1,07	5
Implications for Projects (Activities)	Equality & appreciation		16	3,42	12
Implications for Projects (Activities)	Participation		11	2,35	7
Implications for Projects (Activities)	Strengthening of assets		12	2,56	8
Implications for Projects (Activities)			15	3,21	9
Empowerment (Outcomes)	Contentment in life		12	2,56	7
Empowerment (Outcomes)	Outcomes of project activities		39	8,33	14
Empowerment (Outcomes)	Hope for the future		30	6,41	13
Empowerment (Outcomes)	Ability to develop others		16	3,42	10
Disempowerment	Joblessness/unemployment		2	0,43	1
Disempowerment	Abusive or absent relationships/leadership		9	1,92	5
Disempowerment	Lack of knowledge/education		26	5,56	13
Disempowerment	Neglected by society		3	0,64	2
Disempowerment			7	1,50	4
Disempowerment	Financial struggles/poverty		15	3,21	10
Disempowerment	Unequal social structures		22	4,70	10
TOTAL			468	100	

Although the dimensions in the category "Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)" – containing the core theme of the research problem – could not be

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coded with a continuum such as 'little' or 'much', the chosen dimensions helped reveal some interesting facts: ten of the 14 interviewees (with a total of 21 coded segments) expect help from HRDP to become empowered. Eleven of them (on 22 occasions) said that honour and respect are absolutely necessary to achieve personal well-being. It was also remarkable that only half (7) of the interviewees indicated (9 times) that free school materials and aid from NGOs and the government would grant them financial security. The majority placed their expectations mainly on work/employment and other financial resources such as loans.

Table 5.3 gives an account of the number of codes belonging to the respective categories, with terms slightly adapted to better reflect the assigned codes. It can also be observed that the four identifiers (behaviours, assets/capabilities, activities and outcomes) from the conceptual framework were added for the purpose of staying clearly focussed on the research question.

Table 5.3: Code System Interviews – 2ⁿᵈ open coding

Codes	Frequency	Percentage
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	165	35,26
Empowerment (Outcomes)	97	20,73
Disempowerment	84	17,95
Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)	63	13,46
Implications for Projects (Activities)	59	12,61
TOTAL	**468**	**100,00**

Compared to the first open coding, the main changes appeared in the categories "Disempowerment" (plus 10,29%) and "Investments & Aspirations" (minus 5,26%). The main reason for the increase of codes in the category "Disempowerment" was the application of a primarily inductive approach. Text passages coded with the category "Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)" often comprised one, or sometimes even several characteristics (sub-codes) from the category "Disempowerment". The following conversation with PSP3 exemplifies this fact:

> *Disempowerment\Abusive or absent relationships/leadership: (whole text)*
> *Disempowerment\Unequal social structures:*
> *Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)\Failure to fulfil:*
> *There is nobody like that. Those who are rich don't want other people growing up. [They say:] 'I am rich, so I'm always rich. The poor will always be poor.'*
> *Interviewer: Is there a possibility that some rich people are able to help you, and what do you need to do that they get your attention, that you need help?*

Disempowerment\Abusive or absent relationships/leadership:

No, nobody, there is nobody.

Interviewer: *Could you do them a favour?*

Answer: *No, nobody can (Interview PSP3:23-27).*

This circumstance could be an indicator that unequal social structures, as well as absent and abusive relationships are disempowering factors in people's relationships generally and that they generally appear in conjunction with entitlement expectations and patronage obligations. The *Code-Relations Browser* (CRB), presented later in this section (see table 5.6), will provide more insight into this and other similar observations.

Lexical Analysis

In addition to the code system presented in table 5.2, a lexical analysis was also performed. After coding the three words that had been mentioned most frequently by the interviewees, and could not be misunderstood due to translation, a list of interesting topics emerged:

Table 5.4: Results Lexical Search Interviews

Codes	Frequency	Documents	Percentage
Lexical search**Job/work**	64	13	92,90
Lexical search**Money**	47	13	92,90
Lexical search**Loan(s)**	17	4	28,60

If in 92,9% of the interviews (13 out of 14), beneficiaries and staff mentioned "Job/work" 64 and "Money" 47 times, it could be an indicator, that these factors are not only significant in relation to their own well-being, but might also be related to entitlement and patronage and its effect on empowerment. However, it is important to view the results of the lexical analysis not as results but only as indications. Due to their quantitative nature, a qualitative evaluation of the content in the statements cannot be done.

Code-Matrix Browser

Another helpful tool in the data analysis with MAXQDA 2018 was the *Code-Matrix Browser* (CMB). It visualised the connections – so called code-clusters in the form of squares – between the interviews (columns) and the frequencies of the codes (rows) appearing in each interview. The results per category and the top frequencies (≥ 20 codes) in sub-categories are summarised as follows (full CMB chart see appendix B.3):

- Category "Expectations & Obligations": 165 codes (5-20 codes each interview)
    - "Expecting to be helped": 40 codes in 13 interviews (1-5 each)
    - "Dependencies": 35 codes in 14 interviews (1-6 each)
    - "Financial security"; 33 codes in 14 interviews (1-6 each)
    - "Honour and respect": 32 codes in 13 interviews (1-6 each)
    - "Failure to fulfil expectations and obligations": 25 codes in 11 interviews (1-5 each)
- Category "Empowerment": 97 codes (3-11 codes each interview)
    - "Outcomes of project activities": 39 codes in 14 interviews (1-4 each)
    - "Hope for the future": 30 codes in 13 interviews (1-4 each)
- Category "Disempowerment": 84 codes (2-10 codes each interview)
    - "Abusive or absent relationships/leadership": 26 codes in 13 interviews (1-4 each)
    - "Unequal social structures": 22 codes in 10 interviews (1-4 each)
- Category "Investments & Aspirations": 63 codes (2-8 codes each interview)
    - "Striving for freedom": 40 codes in 14 interviews (1-5 each)
- Category "Implications for Projects": 59 codes (1-9 codes each interview)

Using these cumulations of coded segments, it became possible to draw a few initial assumptions. The top code-clusters refer directly to the problem statement as they reveal not only the general expectations of beneficiaries and staff to be helped, but also the different dependencies due to social, cultural and economic factors. A few examples:

Dependencies within the community development project and HRDP as such:

> *I am receiving some books and notebooks, because they [the project] give it for free, and it's very good for us (Interview LCP2:13).*

Socio-culturally-affected patronage obligations within family structures interfering with entitlement expectations and the personal capabilities of the interviewee:

> *[…] if the HRDP will give me the opportunity to teach there, then I will continue. Actually, my family has to give me permission to do it, or to do something. That is most important. […] actually, I need the family's permission. Then I can continue this project and my dream. Because I'm married, I need my husband's permission. But if I was single, I would need my parent's permission (Interview LCT1:25-33).*

Client-patron expectations and dependencies due to economic factors:

Interviewer: So do you like being dependent on people with high status?
Yes, I like it because many poor people have no work, no type of business. Some-
times they depend on rich or high-status families, because they give them help,
and sometimes rice. This type of vegetables they give them - for living - this type
of help (Interview LCP4:57-58).

Exemplified by these statements, relationships appear to be the key element for the functionality of entitlement and patronage.

Due to the uneven number of beneficiaries and project staff participating in the interviews, a comparison of codes between these two interview sets was not possible, unless the values were adjusted proportionally. Looking at the table below, it can be observed, that the only sub-category where project staff score lower than beneficiaries is "Failure to fulfil expectations and obligations". What could be the reason for that?

Table 5.5: Comparing Expectations & Obligations within Interview Sets

Code System	Beneficiaries		Staff	SUM
∨ 🔴 Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)		*		0
🔴 Failure to fulfil...	19	10,5	6	25
> 🔴 Dependencies [due to]	18	10	17	35
> 🔴 Expecting to be helped [by]	24	13,3	16	40
> 🔴 Honour and respect [to]	14	7,8	18	32
> 🔴 Financial security [through]	17	9,4	16	33
∑ SUM	92	51	73	165

(* Inserted figures are adjusted results (codes) from the nine beneficiaries in proportion to the five interviews done with staff members.)

As employed teachers, project staff have a recognised status in the village and therefore experience much less pressure to fulfil patronage obligations. The downside is that they are much more concerned with other characteristics: to be honoured and respected by their subordinates, their dependency (entitle-ment expectations) on HRDP as employees and consequently their financial security through their job with the development agency. All points are quite well-reflected in the answer of the literacy class teacher LCT2:

It [the role and employment as teacher] has benefited us. I have firstly learned
many things from there. I gained extra knowledge and made good friendships with
the villagers. Like as an aunt type of woman. I got a salary from there and have
spent it on my studies (Interview\LCT2:7).

Mentioning the "aunt type of woman" led to the following memo:

> Being called an aunt by the students is a huge honour for this 19 year old woman who is a literacy teacher in the community development project. An aunt is someone superior, someone who has knowledge, wisdom and power (Memo 44).

Although the literacy class teacher is less pressured to fulfil expectations and obligations, the overarching element in this and the previous examples seems to be dependencies in relationships. As a central category and presumed phenomena, dependencies in relationships connect all the other (sub-)categories.

In summary, it can be said that the primarily inductive data-labelling approach during the second open-

coding phase helped to move the individual, particular cases to a few general themes (Bryant & Charmaz 2010:15). The results are 23 sub-categories bundled in five categories that stand in a conceptual relationship with the apparent phenomena.

Code-Relations Browser

By making use of the *Code-Relations Browser* (CRB), another tool provided by the MAXQDA 2018 software, the researcher was able to expose the relationships between codes. To visualise not only totals, but also possible different outcomes between the beneficiaries and project staff, the CRB was run separately and the results placed into a combined table (see table 5.6 on the following page). This enabled the researcher to distinguish possible differences in expectations, attitudes and behaviours due to their role in the community development project.

The image on the following page displays – in the columns described with "Sum" – the totals of the code-relations within the five core categories. The larger the numbers, the more code relations have been assigned within the answers of the 14 interviews. The columns with "B" are the results from beneficiaries and those with an "S" are the ones from project staff. Figures marked in yellow are significant outcomes among these. Numbers marked in blue are noteworthy outcomes from beneficiaries and the ones in green from project staff.[27]

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[27] Due to the uneven quantity of interviews in both sets, numbers can't be compared 1:1 but have to be interpreted proportionally. That is the reason the results of project staff are more significant and thus colour-coded in the case of an even outcome.

Table 5.6: Code-Relations Browser – Interviews

Code-Relations Browser (y-axis) \ (x-axis)	Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities) B	S	Sum	Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours) B	S	Sum	Implications for Projects (Activities) B	S	Sum	Empowerment (Outcomes) B	S	Sum	Disempowerment B	S	Sum
Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)															
Striving for freedom	0	0	0	15	8	23	11	4	15	15	6	21	5	2	7
Investing community assets	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Investing personal assets & skills	0	0	0	6	6	12	3	4	7	2	4	6	0	2	2
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)															
Failure to fulfil...	0	0	0	3	1	4	3	3	6	0	0	0	22	5	27
Dependencies [due to]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
patronage obligations	3	1	4	7	5	12	1	1	2	0	2	2	3	2	5
entitlement expectations	0	0	0	4	4	8	3	2	5	1	2	3	2	4	6
Expecting to be helped [by]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
influential/rich people in general	2	0	2	2	2	4	1	1	2	1	0	1	3	1	4
HRDP	4	5	9	5	5	10	5	2	7	2	5	7	1	1	2
institutions	3	1	4	2	0	2	3	0	3	0	1	1	1	1	2
family and social structures	0	0	0	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
others	0	0	0	6	6	12	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
self	0	2	2	1	2	3	0	2	2	0	5	5	1	0	1
Financial security [through]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
money & financial assets	4	2	6	2	2	4	1	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	0
cost-free supplies	1	0	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	1	1
work/employment	4	3	7	1	4	5	0	0	0	1	6	7	3	0	3
Implications for Projects (Activities)															
Equality & appreciation	1	0	1	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
Participation	1	2	3	2	3	5	1	2	3	0	2	2	5	3	8
Strengthening of assets	5	2	7	4	1	5	1	2	3	0	2	2	1	0	1
Developing stakeholders	6	2	8	8	3	11	2	3	5	1	0	1	5	1	6
Empowerment (Outcomes)															
Ability to develop others	2	4	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	0	1	1
Outcomes of project activities	4	0	4	4	10	14	1	2	3	2	2	4	0	1	1
Hope for the future	11	4	15	3	8	11	1	2	3	4	5	9	4	1	5
Contentment in life	0	2	2	0	3	3	0	2	2	1	2	3	1	0	1
Disempowerment															
Neglected by society	0	0	0	3	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cultural and religious practices	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	3
Joblessness/unemployment	3	0	3	7	0	7	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	3
Lack of knowledge/education	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	3	3	0	3
Abusive or absent relationships/leadership	2	0	2	10	6	16	3	1	4	2	0	2	6	0	6
Financial struggles/poverty	0	1	1	7	4	11	4	1	5	1	0	1	2	0	2
Unequal social structures	0	2	2	11	7	18	3	4	7	0	2	2	4	0	4
TOTAL			93			222			93			97			111

Legend:

15	≥ 15 co-occurrences in all interviews (if **bold**)
7	7–14 co-occurrences in all interviews
(cyan)	significant co-occurrences among beneficiaries
(green)	significant co-occurrences among project staff

To describe the connections, two examples shall be given: the characteristic "Failure to fulfil expectations and obligations" with 27 co-occurrences has the most relationships with codes in the category "Disempowerment". Although not portrayed in the table above, they are distributed between "Unequal social structures" (13), "Abusive or absent relationships/leadership" (8) and with three

contacts each within "Financial struggles/poverty" and "Neglected by society" (see below). Significantly, 22 of the 27 co-occurrences belong to the nine interviews with beneficiaries. This is another indicator that beneficiaries fail more than the employed project staff to fulfil entitlement expectations and patronage obligations. The figure below reveals the reasons:

Code System	Failur...	Dise...	Negle...	Cultur...	Joble...	Lack ...	Abusi...	Finan...	Uneq...	SUM
⌄ Expectations & Obligations (Behavi...										0
Failure to fulfil...			3				8	3	13	27
⌄ Disempowerment										0
Neglected by society	3						2		1	6
Cultural and religious practices										0
Joblessness/unemployment							1	1	1	3
Lack of knowledge/education										0
Abusive or absent relationship	8		2		1			1	2	14
Financial struggles/poverty	3				1		1			5
Unequal social structures	13		1		1		2			17
Σ SUM	27	0	6	0	3	0	14	5	17	72

Figure 5.1: Relations "Failure to fulfil/Disempowerment" Beneficiaries

The second largest number of co-occurrences is in the sub-category "Striving for freedom". All 23 occurrences overlap with codes in the category "Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)". A closer look at the figure below shows that they refer to the sub-categories of "Financial security [through]" (10), "Expecting to be helped [by]" (9), "Dependencies [due to]" (3) and "Honour and respect [to]" (1).

Code System	Striving for freedom
⌄ Investments & Aspirations (Assets...	
Striving for freedom	
⌄ Expectations & Obligations (Behavi...	
Failure to fulfil...	
⌄ Dependencies [due to]	
patronage obligations	3
entitlement expectations	
⌄ Expecting to be helped [by]	
influential/rich people in g...	2
HRDP	5
institutions	2
family and social structure	
⌄ Honour and respect [to]	
others	
self	1
⌄ Financial security [through]	
money & financial assets	5
cost-free supplies	
work/employment	5
Σ SUM	23

Figure 5.2: Code-Relations Browser – Extraction "Striving for freedom"

This might be a valid indication that beneficiaries and project staff have many aspirations for life, and that they are ready to invest their capabilities and assets. Thus, the outcome of their own development seems to be restricted to and dependent on social relationships due to entitlement and patronage.

5.1.2 Results of axial coding

The second stage of data-analysing – the axial coding – systematises the categories from the open coding in new ways and reveals their connections due to similarities and cohesions in content. For this purpose, the coding paradigm model of Strauss and Corbin (1996:75), as diagrammed in section 4.6.2, has been applied. The previously-developed categories and sub-categories have been examined in light of the extent to which they relate to the anticipated *phenomenon*. This was done by exploring *causal conditions* which led to the phenomenon, features of the *context* for the issue, action and interactional *strategies* the actors used to handle the phenomenon, *intervening conditions* that caused or hindered reactions, plus the *consequences* of these actions and interactions (Breuer 2009:86; Kelle 2010:202). In those cases where divergent effects among beneficiaries and project staff occurred, results have been documented separately.

1. Phenomenon

The open-coding process has already provided a number of indications that the obstacles to the empowerment of people, which were observed, seem to be connected to dependencies due to entitlement and patronage. Therefore, the researcher decided to elaborate this finding further. The following three accounts illustrate the appearance of the phenomenon *dependencies in social relationships* very well:

> *Here is a good relationship between poor and-high status families. Because the high-status families always need the poor families' help. As in labour, when they are working on the land. So they hire labour from poor families, and that's why they make a good relationship with poor families.*
> Interviewer: *So you're saying that people with power and high status, they are actually dependent on the poor families?*
> Answer: *Yes.*
> Interviewer: *So do you like being dependent on people with high status?*
> Answer: *Yes, I like it because many poor people have no work, no type of business. Sometimes they depend on rich or high status families, because they give them help, and sometimes rice. This type of vegetables they give them - for living - this type of help (LCP4:54-58).*

When I get my salary, I spend it on my studies. It is also a big support for my family. They have no pressure to carry the costs of my studies. I have met many people, like R., brother Z., the HRDP team, and I have made a very good relationship with them. This has been great for me and my family (LCT2:25).

Actually, it has a bad effect on my life, because whoever gives me financial help, then he expects more than hard work, or like that. It has a bad effect on my life (LCT1:44).

These descriptions reveal several areas of dependencies. But before unfolding the context of the issue in detail, it is necessary to look at the causes.

2. Causal conditions for dependencies

Causal conditions are preconditions for such dependencies. Without them, these dependencies would not exist. The question to be asked is therefore: what led to the phenomenon?

The following examples, divided up into two main causal conditions, provide insight into a few occurrences and incidents which led to the development of the phenomenon.

Poverty and unemployment prompt people's expectations to receive financial help and to be given a job:

I have to struggle. All villagers are poor (PSP3:37).

Interviewer: *Do poor people in the village have expectations of the rich people? And what expectations do you have?*
Answer: *Only for working. That they provide or improve themselves.*
Interviewer: *So your expectation of the rich is that they give you work?*
Answer: *Yes (PST2:62-65).*

If anyone offers me a job, then it would cost some money. If I would give them some money, then they would give me a job (LCP3:39).

I just have an expectation, I have a son who is jobless. If anyone could give him a job, it would be very good for us (LCP3:65).

If anyone would come and help me/us, I would first ask for farming help, and get some land for farming, for rice, potatoes (PSP4:39).

So if someone gave us money as a gift, we could use all of this without returning any of it. It's for free (PSP4:59).

Although they are very obvious causes, poverty and unemployment are not the only causes for dependencies. Another eminent factor is the way community members relate to each other. Culturally-shaped structures and behaviours motivate people to seek and provide help for their personal survival or benefit. They are expressed in different reciprocal obligations people are expected to perform within their social environment:

> Interviewer: *What social virtues or values are necessary in Bangladesh society to attain a good life, to have a good life? Are there things that we need to do and believe for life to be good? Can you give some examples?*
> Answer: *Actually, my family has to give me permission to do it, or to do something. That is most important (LCT1:26-27).*
>
> *Because I'm married, I need my husband's permission. But if I was single, I would need my parent's permission (LCT1:33).*
>
> *[…] When rich people give some money, then they give LOTS of pressure. "Do this, do this!", this type of mental pressure (LCT1:52).*
>
> *I have to complete my study or college. Then I will get a certificate. I also need my family's support, it will be helpful to achieve my dream (LCT2: 23).*
>
> *Some rich families help poor families with food, financial support. And other rich families don't give this type of support to poor families (LCT2:67).*

These examples expose a mix of causal conditions leading to the phenomenon, comprising economic, social and cultural aspects in the lives of project staff and beneficiaries. Looking for possible causes among project staff and beneficiaries separately revealed some group-specific causal conditions.

Project staff are generally well-educated employees of HRDP and have a good status in the community. Although not earning as much compared to teachers in other NGO-owned schools, they are respected by everyone:

> *If I compare (this school) with other educational institutions, then I think she is getting a low salary from this school (PSP2:9).*
> *But now, my family is also happy about this education and all the villagers have become… [ehm]*
> Interviewer: *Honouring? They honour you?*
> Answer: *Yes. Now I am doing well and all the villagers are happy (LCT1:19-21).*

Other than the interviewed literacy students and the parents of the school children, HRDPs teachers face less are fewer interdependencies with rich people:

> Interviewer: *Why do you believe that it is necessary to help some rich or influential people, before they give help to you?*
> Answer: *I am an educated person, so if I don't give them any help, it's not an issue (PST2:38-39).*
> *There are good relationships, but the rich people don't help the poor people (PST3:54).*

Although feeling esteemed through their own status and job, they are well aware about some causal conditions other people in the community face. According to their answers, they acknowledge the issue of inequality – often reflected in dysfunctional, absent and abusive relationships – that socially- and/or economically-deprived people face:

> *Here, a rich person doesn't speak to poor people. Like, they don't meet them and they don't talk to them. It's the culture in this village, and nobody can talk or meet the poor or rich people (LCT1:56).*

And some rich families don't talk to the poor families, so this type (LCT2:65).

And people who are more rich, they are living in the city areas (PST1:57).

There are good relationships, but the rich people don't help the poor people.
Interviewer: *Why don't they help the poor families?*
Answer: *These people, rich families, don't want the poor families to do well (PST3:54-56).*

The rich families will destroy the relationship with the poor families, because they don't want to be equal.
Interviewer: *They don't want equality?*
Answer: *Yes. So that's why they will break up the relationship with poor families (PST3:66-68).*

While sharing examples of social injustice within their community, they expressed a deep desire for functional and equal relationships in the community. Ideas about what could be done and how they would invest their own capabilities to empower the community will be presented in point five (strategies).

Analysing the answers of beneficiaries for specific causal conditions they face, a few more factors appeared. The two sub-categories of disempowerment issues used by beneficiaries only, were "Joblessness/unemployment" and "Neglected by society". Unemployment, and the feeling of being disregarded, makes beneficiaries far more vulnerable to not succeed in life than project staff. Considering the lack of education as one of the main factors, the causal conditions of their dependencies on others are unemployment, no – or inadequate – education and a general disregard by and disconnectedness from society:

My husband is not working now […] (LCP2:27).

It's very bad for us, because nobody can earn money through a job. It's very harmful (LCP3:43).

[…] many poor people have no work, no type of business (LCP4:57).

And I am also looking for a job, for myself (PSP2:21).

The main problem is, no income, so no one can help the family. That's why they are feeling very down (PSP4:31).

Before the literacy class, I could do nothing about the reading and writing (LCP1:23).

Actually, I could not read and write before, and now I can write and read. My daughter also is learning here, still learning here (LCP2:15).

Now we can count the money, and also sign papers, nobody can cheat us (PSP3:11).

Nobody here [to help]. Because I am poor and nobody can help me (LCP2:37).

Because there is nobody here, because all are poor (LCP3:25).

I am not an important person, and that is why I am not able to go to powerful persons (PSP2:37).

Nobody is here in this village. Nobody can help each other (PSP3:37).

The last four statements gave some indication that absent and/or abusive relationships are another major factor in the lives of beneficiaries. Nineteen coded segments (compared to only 7 among project staff) point to the high importance of dependencies in social relationships on their livelihoods. The answers given reflect a deep dissatisfaction about missing or insulting relationships to and from people they actually expect help from:

> *Nobody is here in this village. Nobody can help each other. Only you have to do something, and what can I do? I have to struggle. All villagers are poor.*
> Interviewer: *So if someone were to come here and say, I would like to help you, then what would you ask them?*
> Answer: *Nobody can (PSP3:39).*
>
> *They told me to "do this", and said that it would be beneficial. But it was not, it was harmful. Now I can understand what is harmful and what is helpful (PSP4:13).*
>
> *No, I can't find a way for myself, to make a relationship and get help from powerful people (PSP2:39).*
>
> *Nobody can help me, because I don't know these types of people (LCP2:45).*
>
> *They [the rich people] give no time to poor people, they maintain their status (LCP1:49).*

3. Context for dependencies

The context contains features which belong to the phenomenon, such as the formation and intensity of events and incidents (Strauss & Corbin 1996:81). To detect these attributes, the following question had to be asked: what are the prerequisites for the issue in the livelihoods of people interviewed?

Dependencies in relationships manifest themselves in several different contexts of people in the case study. They range from existing relationships in the family, to the societal environment, as well as to new relationships gained as a result of having benefited by or being involved in the development project. By taking a look at the sampling list (see table 4.1), it can be observed that all interviewed people, except for the male participant (PSP5) and the widowed woman (PSP2), are housewives. Besides caring for their own children, the twelve married women have to fulfil many responsibilities and obligations in their multigenerational homes. They run the households, are responsible for looking after the animals and are also expected to work on their plot of land. The obligation to care for the needs of the family and culturally-shaped altruism became apparent at the end of nearly every interview. The females immediately left the interview location for home, while the male participant took time for more small talk.

The economic situation, intertwined with the expectations and obligations from the family, gives them little freedom to develop themselves. When asking the mother of a child attending the primary school about the preconditions to fulfil her dream to become a teacher, she answered:

> *First I need permission from my husband, then I need permission from my neighbour*[28] *(PSP1:25).*

The answer of a literacy teacher was/is similar:

> *I also need my family's support, it will be helpful to achieve my dream (LCT2:23).*

Their answers reflect the socio-culturally-affected patron-client structures in families. For a woman, it means that the realisation of her dreams relies upon the agreement of her husband as well as that of other relatives, whom she needs to respect.

The opinion of the community is also a feature for the phenomenon. PSP4 shared about culturally-shaped norms and the influence they had on her life as she was growing up:

> *It's pretty difficult, because we were nine sisters. No brothers. It was difficult for us, and harmful. My father was the only man, going out to work. And there were all of us women staying at home (PSP4:29).*

Having four girls and no boys, she finds herself in the same situation as her mother. The prospects for life are threatened as a consequence of having no male descendants:

> *The main problem is, no income, so no one can help the family. That's why they are feeling very down.*
> Interviewer: *Because the boys can go and attain a job, but the ladies can't?*
> Answer: *No the ladies can't, because the villagers won't accept this (PSP4:31-33).*

The subordination to culturally-rooted communal beliefs keeps people dependent on others. This makes it challenging to empower the disadvantaged.

The role of institutions is another prerequisite for the phenomenon. The most highly-mentioned element was loans given by banks and big development agencies like BRAC. Loans are often the only way to be able to fulfil financial obligations (i.e. paying the dowry to the family of the future son-in-law) and paying for goods (i.e. seeds, fertiliser) when families have no savings.

> *It's very good, because many people, say 80% of people take some loans from the bank. They receive the money, and they do business. Who has no house to*

---

[28] The so-called neighbour could be the father-in-law or an uncle, because parents and siblings often live in the same compound (Memo 58).

> *live in, are able to build a house. Or also farming, it increases their future. It's very good, not harmful (LCP4:46).*

> *The bank gives us the loan, for cows, goats, land (PSP4:47).*

Although these two examples reveal the advantages of loans, people like-wise also shared about their disadvantages: the repayment with high interest rates and the feeling of being bound to the lenders, because they take their land and buildings as a mortgage.

> *When I received the money loan, like as a limited amount, and when I have to return this amount, then I have to give a big amount. That's very bad, and it has a bad affect for us (LCP1:41).*

> *The bank would first need to check the house, to see if I can repay the loan. So if I can't pay back the loan, they would be able to sell my house.*
> Interviewer: *They take it as a mortgage?*
> Answer: *Yes, as mortgage. If I have land, then the bank takes the land as mortgage. Then they will give us the loan. If I have no property, only a rented house, then it's not enough for the bank (PSP4:51-53).*

Banks and money lenders are important features in the context of the phenomenon. Their products create dependencies – at least until credits or loans are paid back – which can be both good and bad for the people in the development project. The government and their institutions also play a role in this aspect. A literacy class student (LCP4) shared about their corrupt power-structures and how they abused their power to cheat the powerless:

> *They tried to destroy this project, because my husband was good thinking. They didn't like this type of idea, so they cheated us (LCP4:24).*

However, shortly after, she expressed her desire to see her son in a government job:

> *I have only one dream for my son. That he gets a government job, then my dream will come true (LCP4:26).*

She also mentioned that she and the other villagers expect to receive help from the government. But being a woman, she would not be able to make a request. To be able to do so, she would need an intermediary:

> *My relatives are also searching for this type of person, to go to a political leader.*
> Interviewer: *So you need like a middle person?*
> Answer: *Yes.*
> Interviewer: *So do you have this middle person here in this village?*
> Answer: *I have no person or relative like this (LCP4:36-40).*

The hurdles to attaining institutional support, along with the feeling of being at the mercy of a bank or the government can be rather disempowering:

> *Actually, it has a bad effect on my life, because whoever gives me financial help, then he expects more than hard work, or like that. It has a bad effect on my life (LCT1:44).*

The presence of HRDP, which seeks to empower people through education, is perceived well in the community:

> *HRDP actually helped them [the community]. At first, the main thing was this literacy class, and now that they are active they can understand the social work and how they can live in the village with development. HRDP helped to teach them this (LCT1:7).*
> *HRDP has helped us with education, books (PSP4:73).*
> *It's a good quality school (PSP5:13).*

When asking the interviewees what makes HRDP`s development project special for them, 12 of the 14 mentioned the free school utilities. A few samples:

> *People are more benefited by HRDP in this area, because children are getting free instruments, like pencils and books, they are getting freely without cost, and that is why they benefit more (PSP1:17).*
> *Everyone is getting help from this project, because the books and pencils are free. We need this type of project, it is very helpful (PST2:17).*
> *I am receiving some books and note books, because they [the project] give it for free, and it's very good for us (LCP2:13).*
> *HRDP gives us free books, notebooks, and things. Government schools don't. It's hard to make it (LCP3:27).*

Although the community perceived the outcomes of HRDPs community development project positively, their presence creates a number of expectations, which teachers and HRDP are obligated to address:

As employees, the five literacy class and primary school teachers (LCT1, LCT2, PST1, PST2, PST3) face financial expectations from their families.

> *I also have to support my family, that's the main reason [for working]. Some people or families do not receive family support, so they can't spend money on education.*
> Interviewer: *So you first have to support your family?*
> Answer: *Yes (LCT2:59-61).*
>
> *If I do a better job, it will be very helpful for my family.*
> Interviewer: *How would it be helpful? How would it help your family? Do you have some examples?*
> Answer: *If I get a bigger job, or bigger salary, then we will take some land for more farming. So this type of help, will help my family. The main plan is land (PST2:27-29).*

The commitment of HRDP to provide education for the community as well as paying its teachers creates both an expectation from the community and an obligation for HRDP to deliver ongoing, good quality education.

> *I believe that education is always needed everywhere. That's the main thing. I also think, those who never go to a school have no ability to get this, this education.*

> *But HRDP now carries this and everyone can now study here and be clever from this studying (LCT1:13).*
>
> *Now that I am involved with the HRDP school, and my student's parents expect from me that I provide good education to their children.*
>
> Interviewer: *Does the village chief expect something from you because you are a teacher?*
>
> Answer: *The chief of my village also expects that I provide good education, he wants to make sure that every child gets a good education from the school. Because this [the primary school] is the base time. The base [foundation] of education. So that is why they are focusing on the base time, because all children should have a good base [basic education] (PST1:51-53).*

Finally, the teachers also expressed their desire to continue to work with HRDP beyond the usual terms (nine months for literacy classes and three years for primary schools). The financial aspect of their employment under HRDP is very significant to secure their livelihood and to fulfil their dreams.

> *Also, a dream is always staying with HRDP. With my children, my husband, my family (LCT1:15).*
>
> *If I get a bigger job, or bigger salary, then we will take some land for more farming. So this type of help, will help my family. The main plan is land (Interview PST2:29).*
>
> *I have no big dreams, but I have little dreams. After I have completed three years of the class, then HRDP will give me a once-time opportunity to teach them (PST3:21).*
>
> *I want to continue teaching this class, after 2 years, after 3 years (PST3:77).*

4. Action and interactional strategies to handle dependencies

Action and interactional strategies are projected means to overcome, deal with or react to a phenomenon perceived under a set of conditions. They are process-related as well as goal-orientated and have consequences, even though they are not always carried out deliberately. Actions and interactions which failed, as well as intervening conditions which fostered or hindered their achievement, must also be considered (Strauss & Corbin 1996:83-84). For this reason, the question to be asked here is: how do the stakeholders handle the phenomenon?

One way stakeholders handle the phenomenon is by respecting and honouring closely related people. Living in an environment where the patron-client system is not optional but rather a moral obligation, people know that by honouring and respecting others, they can also expect certain types of benefits, such as money and protection in return (Georges 2016). This approach appears, among others, in the *Code-Relations Browser* as a result of the seven occurrences of code-relations between "Dependencies [due to] patronage obligations" and

"Honour and respect [to] others". Interviewees shared several examples of the importance of honouring those with a higher status due to the way patronage functions. This can be the husband, the father, a community or a political leader:

> *If I need money, a powerful person can borrow me money.*
> Interviewer: *What do you need to do in turn, that they borrow you money?*
> Answer: *They will lend me money because I respect them and they trust me to give the money back (PSP1:47-49).*
>
> Interviewer: *Mhm, ok. And, are they, what can that rich person or influential people expect from you?*
> Answer: *Actually, my good behaviour. That's all (LCT1:41-42).*
>
> *If I get good results from college, with a good certificate. My family will be appreciated, then it's a big support for me. They will be happy with my certificate and results (LCT2:29).*
>
> *Relationships just depend on behaviour. If I show good behaviour like greeting people with a hand shake then I will have good relationships (PST1:37-39).*

A further strategy that was discovered, which people practice is the fostering of existing relationships, while at the same time seeking new ones, through which they are able to make entitlement claims for their livelihood security. The root cause of dependencies lies in the connection between the expectation to receive and the obligation to give – the social relationship through which the exchange takes place (Gardner 2012:142). The case study revealed that people perceive the moral tradition of giving and receiving within relationships both as normal and necessary for their own survival. They take it for granted that all conduct of life is based on reciprocity:

> Interviewer: *Mhm, ok. And in Bangladesh there is a tradition about giving and receiving gifts. What does it mean for you in your daily life?*
> Answer: *It is good! Because if anyone needs anything, then they have to invest money and time. And it will be good for your future, or for your next day. Like, if you want a good study or higher education, then you have to give some money, a big amount. So that's why it's very good (LCT2:50-53).*

Another person explained the purpose for relationships and the way in which they are fostered as follows:

> *Obviously it is very good. If we can do it, it is very good.*
> Interviewer: *How does it work, how do you do it in your family, practically? If someone gives you a gift, do you have to give a gift back?*
> Answer: *If someone invited me, then I will invite them too. Like for a meal, for tea, or snacks (PSP1:51-53).*

The conversation with LCP4 is a good example of how one expresses the expectation of a good job and the implications it brings with it. She is a former literacy class student and has at her age (she was the oldest interviewee) much

life experience. Besides explaining patronage structures in government and political leadership – often mingled with bribery, she also shared about her and the villagers' expectations to receive help from the government and NGO-like organisations. She believes that the problems of her family would be solved, if her son received a well-paid government job. How could this become a reality?

> *[…] we first have to make a good friendship with political leaders, and then if they get my son the government job, we need to also give them money (LCP4:28-30).*

Besides giving honour and respect, creating and cultivating relationships is one of the most important action-points necessary to be able to fulfil entitlement expectations and patronage obligations. The key to receiving favour, for example being helped with finances or a job, is to build and sustain the right relationship. Therefore, the first priority is to pursue the needed relationship (Memo 24). However, being a woman it would not be possible for her to make the necessary connections to male politicians:

> *I can't make a good friendship, because I'm a woman (LCP4:32).*

She is dependent on help from the right people to build the needed relationship through which the expected financial incentive could be paid:

> *I can make a friendship, because of my male relatives. They can arrange this type of meeting with leaders, so in this way I/they can make a friendship (LCP4:34).*

While interviewing beneficiaries and project staff, people used the opportunity to express their personal pleas for help. Showing interest in their lives created an atmosphere of mutual understanding and – in their eyes – a relationship through which they received the chance to express their needs:

> *I need a sewing machine and to learn about tailoring (LCP1:21)*
> *I want some development (LCP2:25).*
> *I just have an expectation, I have a son who is jobless. If anyone could give him a job, it would be very good for us (LCP3:65).*
> *If anyone would come and help me/us, I would first ask for farming help, and get some land for farming, for rice, potatoes (PSP4:39).*

More expectations surfaced, when giving interviewees the opportunity to share what their personal approaches to empowering the community would be, if they were the HRDP project director:

> *If I were the director of HRDP, I would help the people who are more poor, I would give them money (PSP1:63).*
> *My main and first plan would be to help other villagers with money. And make them a workplace, give them a job. And also for my family (PSP4:77).*
> *I would give all the villages loans, to improve themselves (LCP4:66).*

Actually I have more expectancies. I want to make it bigger than now, as in more school, more teachers, that the education side grows (LCT1:80).

At first I would search for who cannot come to school because of financial problems, who is very poor. I will take them and invite them to school. And then I will help the financial problems, with poor families, who have nothing. So that they can buy food for their families. So this type of family, I would help with finance (LCT2:71).

Although not communicated explicitly, it can be concluded that beneficiaries and project staff seemed to base their desires to help and be helped on their experiences as stakeholders of the project and on the relationships they gained through it.

Other significant observations were made when evaluating the connections between the sub-category "Striving for freedom" and the category of "Empowerment (Outcomes)". The interviewees mentioned a number of objectives, which might enable them to overcome the dilemma of being bound by social relationships, patronage obligations and poverty in general. An aspect that was mentioned throughout all the interviews was the provision and benefit of primary school education for the children and literacy classes for adults. Everyone spoke very positively about the empowerment of individuals and families through HRDP's educational project. Some examples:

Now I am like a free woman after getting this education, after completing this class. I am feeling very well, because the villagers don't want the girls to work. My family asks, why do girls need a job or education? But now, my family is also happy about this education and all the villagers have become [happy] (LCT1:19).

My first dream is that my children grow up with education and they get a bright future. If they complete their studies, they can get a job anywhere and carry a bright future (PSP5:21).

If all villagers would get educated, through this literacy class, then the next generation would be educated and it would be very good for the village (LCP1: 59).

I see a good impact, good influence from the school, because other children are influenced and want also getting educated from this school (PST1:23) .

I would provide such a school. There are many older people who can't write their names, I would help them learn this. And also to read books and write. I would make a very good education and teach them through HRDP (PST3:73).

The main purpose of HRDP's literacy class is to enable illiterate people to learn to read and write. One outcome of this is that people are able to break out of abusive relationships, as one former literacy class participant shared:

It is going very well with us, because now I can read and write. Also, reading the will. […] After I started the class, I am much better. I am feeling very clever. Nobody can cheat me (PSP4:7-11).

> *We have become very strong through this class. Now we have more knowledge after finishing the literacy class. We have learned many things. Nobody can cheat now (LCP4:15).*

Dependencies are a major issue for illiterate people. To buy or sell something (i.e. to read a contract), they are dependent on those who can read. Because of this, they can never be sure that what they have been told is the same as what they are signing by thumb-print (Memo 25).

The phenomenon of dependencies encourages people not only to be released from such bondage, but they also long to escape poverty by finding a decent job. The need for having work – of getting a job was communicated in all but one interview. Interestingly, several times people communicated the necessity in the form of a wish or request:

> *If anyone offers me help, then I would want a job. It would be very helpful for me and my family (LCP3:37).*
>
> *In the future, maybe I'll get the teaching job. But right now I am unemployed, so if there is any possibility for you to get me a job, I'm asking for a job (PSP2:63).*
>
> *My main aim or dream is that my children will be students with this type of education, like they will do primary school and college and that they will become strong with education. That they can become a good person, like as a doctor or engineer, something like that. Also, a dream is, always stay with HRDP (LCT1:15).*

However, there were interviewees who did not make direct entitlement claims. By sharing a number of ideas where they would be willing to invest their personal capabilities and assets, they communicated some additional actions and strategies to handle the phenomenon. They involve four action areas: Good education for all, skills training, locating financial resources and the desire to create opportunities for work:

> *What I would have to do first, is to make the education strong. And I would spread it to all villagers (LCT1:68).*
>
> *I would focus on employing people, I would try that everyone gets work in the village (PST1:71).*
>
> *At first, my first dream is to teach ALL of the villagers. Because when they are educated they can do any type of job. And also, those working in home, as a house wife or grandmother, this type of woman, to teach them tailoring (PST2:70).*
>
> *And also, to teach all villagers to read and write. Actually I arrange for them some help which will [contribute to] their simple life, which [got] created for themselves, for their living (LCP1:57).*
>
> *My main and first plan would be to help other villagers with money. And make them a workplace, give them a job. And also for my family (PSP4:77).*
>
> *I would give all the villages loans, to improve themselves (LCP4:66).*

Although people have a desire and ideas to see the community empowered by investing their own capabilities, the answers also indicate a wish that an NGO like HRDP must help in order to make this happen.

The same attitude was apparent when looking at the answers of the five teachers. While still believing that the best way to empower the community is to educate its people and provide sustainable jobs, four of the five employees also mentioned the importance of being connected with HRDP. The interactional strategy for their personal empowerment was to remain connected to HRDP, which can be seen in these answers:

> *[…] Also, a dream is, always stay with HRDP. With my children, my husband, my family. Like that, the main dream (LCT1:15).*
>
> *I have met many people, like R., brother Z., the HRDP team and I have made a very good relationship with them. This has been great for me and my family (LCT2:25).*
>
> *I just want to be a teacher, because I didn't have good opportunities before. I like this provision (PST1:17-21).*
>
> *I had a dream when I was little, that I would become a teacher and teach all the village children. And they would grow up with education, and do all kinds of jobs, like business. And it's very helpful for me, I would get very famous (PST2:19).*
>
> *I have no main [big] dreams, but I have little dreams. After I have completed 3 years of the class, then HRDP will give me another opportunity (PST3:21).*

As a result, the main action strategies to overcoming dependencies proposed by the interviewees can be summarised as follows: honouring and respecting people, seeking and fostering relationships, creating work opportunities, providing good education available to everyone, offering skills training and making use of further assistance (including employment) from HRDP.

5. <u>Intervening conditions related to dependencies</u>

According to Strauss and Corbin (1996:82), intervening conditions are broad and general circumstances, which affect action and interactional strategies. These conditions consist of the social, political and cultural environment as well as people's personal background (i.e. gender, economic status, education). Keeping this in mind, the question to be asked is "what caused or hindered a reaction?" By having a closer look at the hindrances people face when reacting to the phenomenon, it was discovered that interviewees shared many accounts which were directly connected to patronage and entitlement. A few examples:

A major interfering cause is the reciprocal character of entitlement and patronage. When asking interviewees how the moral tradition of giving and receiving gifts influences their daily life, it became evident that culturally-affected behaviours lead to and keep people in some sort of bondage to each other:

> *When rich people give some money, then they give LOTS of pressure. "Do this, do this!", this type of mental pressure (LCT1:44; :52).*

> *If anyone offers me a job, then it would cost some money. If I would give them some money, then they would give me a job (LCP3:39).*

Another hindrance to breaking away from dependencies is the 'mercy factor' in entitlement and patronage. This intervening condition is rooted in fatalism, a wide-spread concept in Bangladesh's hierarchical society (Rahman 2005:12). The result is that both subordinates and patrons are dependent upon the goodwill of the other. Some examples:

> *Yes, if the HRDP will give me the opportunity to teach there, then I will continue (LCT1:25).*

> *It just depends on government. And if government wants, it can give us a job. Because we are registered (PSP2:25).*

> *Actually there is no difference. HRDP also doesn't offer money and others also don't offer money or jobs (LCP3:57).*

> Interviewer: *So do you like being dependent on people with high status?*
> Answer: *Yes I like it because many poor people have no work, no type of business. Sometimes they depend on rich or high status families, because they give them help, and sometimes rice. This type of vegetables they give them - for living - this type of help (LCP4:57-58).*

However, even though patrons and clients are dependent on each other, it is only the poor who are deprived. Their disempowerment is a result of unequal social structures as two teachers recount:

> *There are good relationships, but the rich people don't help the poor people.*
> Interviewer: *Why don't they help the poor families?*
> Answer: *These people, rich families, don't want the poor families to do well (PST3:54-56).*

> *The rich families will destroy the relationship with the poor families, because they don't want to be equal.*
> Interviewer: *They don't want equality?*
> Answer: *Yes, that's why they will break up the relationship with poor families (PST3:66-68).*

> *And some rich families don't talk to the poor families, so this type (LCT2: 65).*

The visualisation of the *Code-Relations Browser* (table 5.6 in section 5.1.1) exposed a high concentration of disempowerment factors related to the failure to fulfil entitlement expectations and patronage obligations. By having a closer

look at these co-occurrences, different causes of inequalities which disadvantaged people face in social relationships were uncovered. Split up into sub-categories, they appear as follows:

- Gender-based inequalities due to cultural circumstances:

  I am not an important person, and that is why I am not able to go to powerful persons (PSP2:37).

  It's pretty difficult, because we are nine sisters. No brothers. It's difficult for us, and harmful. My father was the only man, going out to work. And there were all of us women staying at home (PSP4:29).

  The main problem is, no income, so no one can help the family. That's why they are feeling very down (PSP4:31).

  No, the ladies can't, because the villagers won't accept this (PSP4:33).

  I have no idea, because I am a woman (LCP4:52).

  Actually, the first example is: now I am like a free woman after getting this education, after completing this class. Now I am feeling very well, because the villagers don't want the girls to work. Girls don't need a job, don't need to work. My family asks, why do girls need a job or education? (LCT1:19).

- Social inequalities due to economic conditions/status:

  It is a different relationship. Rich people and poor people are not similar. Because one is rich, one is poor. They can't make a good friendship (LCP1:45).

  I have no back-up and no good background, and that's why nobody can help. If I have a good background, or some money, then all will be possible. Then I could be friends with someone who has a big status (PSP4:69)

  There is not a good relationship, because rich people don't meet or talk to poor people. They maintain their status.
  Interviewer: *Why do you think they don't talk with poor people?*
  Answer: *They keep the distance, because they have money and power, and they don't want to make a friendship with the poor people. If anyone makes a friendship, they become equal (PST2:49-51).*

  Here, a rich person doesn't speak to poor people. Like, they don't meet them and they don't talk to them. It's the culture in this village, and nobody can talk or meet the poor or rich people (LCT1:56).

  It's painful for poor families. If anyone from a rich or middle-class family, it's not painful for them (LCT2:55).

  And some rich families don't talk to the poor families, so this type (LCT2:65).

- Accomplishment inequalities due to marginalisation or powerlessness:

  Nobody can help me, because I don't know these types of people (LCP2:45).

  No, I can't find a way for myself, to make a relationship and get help from powerful people (PSP2:39).
  I think I am unimportant, because I have no power (PSP2:41).
  Poor people can't do everything that they wish. But powerful people can do everything they wish, because they have a lot of powers (PSP2:51).

  There is nobody like that. Those who are rich, don't want other people growing up (PSP3:23).
  Nobody is here in this village. Nobody can help each other (PSP3:37).

- Job inequalities due to a low societal status or the lack of finances:

  Yes sometimes people get a job faster, because they are more powerful. And that is why they are getting a job (PSP2:35).

  If anyone offers me a job, then it would cost some money. If I would give them some money, then they would give me a job (LCP3:39).

  It's very bad for us, because nobody can earn money through a job. It's very harmful (LCP3:43)

Looking at the above list, it is remarkable to discover that almost all responses came from beneficiaries. The few replies from project staff (LCT1, LCT2 & PST2 – grey-shaded) are of an informative character, showing their awareness of the issues. But due to their employment and status in the community, they, as individuals, seem not to be much affected by these inequalities anymore.

These results are an indicator that the four socio-culturally-affected inequalities are able to cause or hinder a reaction when people interact with the phenomenon of dependency. They have the capacity to threaten the development strategy, especially the empowerment of those in the local community who are not project staff.

6. <u>Consequences of the action strategies due to dependencies</u>

Actions and interactional strategies, when practiced to overcome dependencies, lead to certain results or consequences for people, places and circumstances. Consequences also arise as a result of falling short of an action or interaction. That is one reason that results and consequences are not always foreseeable (Strauss & Corbin 1996:85). The question to be asked is: what are the results of actions and strategies?

Although facing the pressure of dependencies, people seem to have no issue with honouring and respecting others, because they receive honour and respect in return, due to the reciprocal character of patronage. The results are twofold: it guards the reputation of people on the giving, as well as on the receiving end (Loewen 2017:10), and it helps pave the way for reaching personal goals. The latter is revealed in the answer of a literacy class teacher upon the question, "[…] what is needed for your dream to become a teacher to become a reality?"

  I have to complete my study or college. Then I will get a certificate. I also need my family's support, it will be helpful to achieve my dream (LCT2:23).

The result of pursuing honour and respect toward the family is that they feel esteemed and will therefore make every attempt to help their daughter to accomplish her goals. This could be an indicator of why people purposefully embrace this strategy. The obligation is on both sides and can put shame on either party, if honour and respect are not returned in a meaningful way. The same teacher also shared about the impact of her good study results:

> *If I get good results from college, with a good certificate, my family will be appreciated, then it's a big support for me. They will be happy with my certificate and results (LCT2:30).*

The answers show that being honoured is not only a result of a person's good behaviour to the family (e.g. respecting the view of the father), but also an outcome of personal achievements. They bring honour to the family and through that raise their reputation in the community.

Another literacy teacher shared that her investment in the elderly members of the community empowered not only them but herself as well. By helping them to read and write, she honoured their superiority (due to their older age) and received respect and thankfulness in return.

> *All the villagers are happy about this type of work, because there are many older people learning here (at HRDP). It's a good job, so all are happy (LCT1:35).*

The importance of honour and respect, and the positive consequence of applying it in the village also becomes visible through the story of primary school teacher, PST2. The opportunities she might receive as a result of her investment in the community seem to be even more important than her investment in the education and future of the village children:

> *If the villagers' children are growing up with education, then my name will be bright.*
> *I will become very famous.*
> Interviewer: *So when you become famous, what doors will open up to you for the future?*
> Answer: *Everybody can respect me, and think about me, if any type of teaching job opens up at another school or college, then it will be good (PST2:13-15).*

The new opportunities appearing as a result of honouring and respecting others seem to outweigh the dependencies they create. By realising this important element of patronage in daily life, all parties involved seem to eventually benefit from it in one way or another. That could be a reason why people in the project apply this interactional strategy when dealing with the phenomenon. However, a prerequisite for honouring and respecting others is having social relationships. Without them, it is not possible to achieve personal goals or to make any

basic entitlement claims for livelihood. The consequence of the strategy of seeking and fostering relationships is that people in the project take every opportunity to make friends with influential and better-off people and – as a result – entangle themselves in various expectations and obligations:

> Interviewer: *Ok. How can you show good behaviour to influence people, so that they are friendly to you?*
> Answer: *I make a good friendship with them (LCT2:48-49).*
>
> Interviewer: *So what does the good powerful person expect from you, so that he can help you?*
> Answer: *I have no idea.*
> Interviewer: *Do you need to show appreciation, or friendliness?*
> Answer: *Yes I should behave well (PST1:46-49).*
>
> Interviewer: *How do you maintain and keep the relationship good? What do you need to do that it stays good?*
> Answer: *Only for good relationship, and good behaviour. As in, "Hi how you doing? Yeah I'm fine". This type of relationship (PSP5: 48-49).*
>
> *My main expectation is help for my dreams to come true. Not money, not house. Money and house is not the main reason, not my main dream.*
> Interviewer: *But are there people who are needed to make this happen?*
> Answer: *Yes. A rich person, they can help (LCT1:39-40).*
>
> *Actually, it has a bad effect on my life, because whoever gives me financial help, then he expects more than hard work, or like that […] (LCT1:44).*
>
> *Yeah. When rich people give some money, then they give LOTS of pressure. "Do this, do this!", this type of mental pressure (LCT1:52).*

The consequence of seeking and fostering relationships to make entitlement claims is not always as demanding and straining as in the last instance. But to be able to achieve something for their livelihoods, people in the project remain under the pressure of attempting to enter into relationships with people who are better-off:

> *I just have an expectation, I have a son who is jobless. If anyone could give him a job, it would be very good for us (LCP3:65).*
>
> *In the future, maybe I'll get the teaching job. But right now I am unemployed, so if there is any possibility for you to get me a job, I'm asking for a job (PSP2:63).*

NGOs and their partners – for example, when they visit the project – need to be aware that any sign of interest in people's lives creates relationships, which legitimates people to communicate their entitlements to the better-off.

As previously seen, the education of children and illiterate adults has a positive effect among the community; it helps them break out of disempowering structures. A number of parents have confirmed this and if they were the directors of HRDP, would chose to focus on more and better quality education:

> *I would focus on the education system, so that children could get more quality education (PSP1:65).*
>
> *At first I would strengthen the education (PSP3:56).*
>
> *I have no questions, just expectations. If they continue the classes for free at HRDP, it will be very good for the villagers. And it will be strong.*
> Interviewer: *What do you mean by 'continue'?*
> Answer: *It will be good if the school continues for an unlimited time [indefinitely] (PSP5:63).*

The cost-free education for the community and the work opportunities it created for a few, did indeed empower the local community. Their prospects for a better future seem to be directly linked to the continued, free provision of education, skills training opportunities, financial resources and job opportunities provided from the outside. Therefore, they desire that HRDP continues and even expands the existing educational projects:

> *If I were the director of HRDP, I would help the people who are more poor, I would give them money (PSP1:63).*
>
> *My main and first plan would be to help other villagers with money. And make them a workplace, give them a job. And also for my family.*
> Interviewer: *So you believe that money is the most important and immediate need, to help the people here?*
> Answer: *Yes (PSP4:77-79).*
>
> *[…] and I would also focus on employing people, I would focus on trying that everyone would get work in the village (PST1:71).*
>
> *If the project could give books, and pencils, as gifts to children. It would make us happy (PST2:72).*
>
> *If I want to help, then I would have to receive something from the organisation.*
> Interviewer: *So to be able to help, you also need help from others?*
> Answer: *Yes (PSP2:55-57).*

Given a taste of a hopeful future and being connected to an organisation that has the capacity to help, people apparently presume that HRDP will continue to provide free education and jobs for teachers as well as skills training, financial resources and work for the unemployed. The consequence of following the community's culturally-informed expectations and obligations is that it keeps people dependent on the programmes of the agencies, rather than setting them free to use their own capabilities and assets. Committing to their expectations could have the effect that it might diminish HRDP's asset-based community development strategy.

However, a few interviewees eagerly shared about their own capabilities and their desire and willingness to invest them for the empowerment of people in the community:

> *And also, those working in home, as a house wife or grandmother, this type of woman, to teach them tailoring. So they can make clothes and sell them. That's the main dream (PST2:70).*
>
> *There are many older people who can't write their names, I would help them learn this. And also to read books and write. I would make a very good education and teach them through HRDP (PST3:73).*
>
> *And also, to teach all villagers to read and write. Actually I arrange for them some help which will [contribute to] their simple life, which [got] created for themselves, for their living (LCP1:57).*
>
> *[…] I have to teach more people. And I'm not really illiterate, because I completed the H.S.C. I can also teach them, my family. So they are my future possibilities (LCT1:23).*
>
> *First, if anyone needs some cow, goat or hens, this type of farms, I would help them. This type of help, who needs something, then I would…*
> Interviewer: *Would provide a cow or a goat…*
> Answer: *Yes, this type of help, I would have to make a plan (LCP3:61-63).*

Due to their status and income, staff members are socially-respected and economically-privileged people. They are constantly torn between their power and entitlement expectations. Here are a few examples:

> *I am an educated person, so if I don't give them any help, it's nothing. So it will be a good friendship with them, but they will also be a help to me. Like any type of discussion, or information, so that's why we can make a good friendship with them. And help each other (PST2:39).*
>
> *The main point is I am an educated person. They can come to me for learning, they can bring their children to me. That's the first reason they come to me (PST2:41).*
>
> *Actually here there are many poor people who did not carry the tuition fees. Then I will give them free tuition (LCT2:49).*
>
> *If I gain for my life, then I have to first get the higher education. It is also hard work for me. I also have to support my family […]. Some people or families do not receive family support, so they can't spend money on education (LCT2:59).*

Being educated and having the status of a teacher make employees into patrons within their own communities. For this reason they face the obligation to fil a role as caretaker for those who are less fortunate. Besides that, they are confronted with expectations from their own kin. A literacy teacher explained what it all meant for her:

> *I have to complete my study or college. Then I will get a certificate. I also need my family's support, it will be helpful to achieve my dream (LCT2:23).*
>
> *When I get my salary, I spend it on my studies. It is also a big support for my family. They have no pressure to carry the costs of my studies. I have met many people, like R., brother Z., the HRDP team and I have made a very good relationship with them. This has been great for me and my family (LCT2:25).*

Besides these negative aspects of the expectations created by having work and money, the staff and beneficiaries also shared about its joys:

I have gathered knowledge from HRDP about how to teach children. I have learned that from this school. So this is my experience. […] I am very happy (PST1:67-69).

This type of job, and the salary I get, is very helpful for my family. I am very happy with it.

Interviewer: *Besides for your salary, are there some other effects, or results, for your life?*

Answer: *I have become very happy since having the job and salary (PST2:23-25).*

Actually the first example is: now I am like a free woman after getting this education, after completing this class. Now I am feeling very well, because the villagers don't want the girls to work. Girls don't need a job, don't need to work. My family asks, why do girls need a job or education? But now, my family is also happy about this education […] (LCT1:19).

Being able to teach the nine-month-long literacy class noticeably empowered the young woman in the last example. The job gave her self-worth and honour, important elements for the general well-being of women in a collectivistic and generally paternalistic society like Bangladesh (Memo 34).

It became obvious that the financial source of income is only one of the aspects that makes the available work opportunities so meaningful for people. The other one is that they provide space for community members to invest and develop their skills which gives them the needed value, contentment and hope for their future.

Table 5.7 on the following pages offers an overview with the key findings from the axial-coding process, using the data from the 14 interviews.

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Table 5.7: Summary Axial Coding Interviews

Note: If the aspects relate specifically to either beneficiaries or project staff, then they are displayed in the relevant column (left = beneficiaries; right = project staff).

All	
Beneficiaries	*Project staff*
Phenomenon	
Dependencies in social relationships (leading to obstacles in empowerment)	
Causal conditions	
• Poverty and unemployment • Culturally-shaped structures and behaviours • Abusive, dysfunctional and unequal social relations	
• Unemployment • No or insufficient education • Social inequalities (especially among uneducated and unemployed) • Disconnectedness / no relationships	• Employee of HRDP • Respect in community due to status
Context	
• Expectations from kin (immediate family and relatives) • Opinions from the community concerning cultural norms • Roles and power-structures of institutions (NGOs, banks, government) • Presence of HRDP in the community (free education & school materials)	
	• Financial demands from the family • Expectations to deliver ongoing and good quality education • Terminated employment with HRDP
Action & interactional strategies	
• Respecting and honouring people with whom one has a relationship • Seeking and fostering relationships, if needed through a mediator/broker • Taking advantage of the free education offered by HRDP • Providing more and better education for all community members • Offering skills training opportunities • Locating financial resources • Seeking to create jobs	
	• Staying employed with HRDP

Intervening conditions

• Reciprocal character of entitlement and patronage (patron-client reliance) • Fatalism holding people dependent upon the mercy of the benefactor • Unequal social structures in the community	
• Gender-based inequalities due to cultural circumstances • Social inequalities due to economic conditions/status • Accomplishment inequalities due to marginalisation or powerlessness • Job inequalities due to a low societal status or the lack of finances	

Consequences

• Honour and respect does not only fulfil cultural obligations, it
    o paves the way to achieve dreams and meet personal needs
    o guards and raises the reputation of all people involved
    o creates self-esteem and personal contentment
• Seeking and fostering social relationships paves the way to make entitlement claims, but
    o demands a high standard in practicing socio-cultural behaviours
    o puts mental pressures on people; can create bondage instead of freedom
    o makes the NGO and any visitors targets on which expectations van be placed
• Making use of the free education helps break out of disempowering structures, but
    o fosters new expectations for continued cost-free development projects
    o keeps people dependent on HRDP and impedes the capability approach
• Encouraging the desires and ideas of beneficiaries and project staff to invest their personal capabilities for the empowerment of others has the positive consequence that HRDP
    o changes from a benefactor role to a training and coaching role
    o gives the ownership of the community development into the hands of locals	

	• Due to their status and employment, project staff are both in danger of abusing their power, and of being confronted with the obligation of financially caring for their kin and others in need. • Having work and money available gives contentment and hope for the future.

5.2 FOCUS GROUPS

The data for this section came from the two focus-group discussions (one each with beneficiaries and project staff) that were conducted in workshop-like settings. The participative approach allowed specific issues to be discussed in a deeper and more reflective way. This approach made it possible to retrieve well-thought-through results, even though the English translation was merely a condensed version of the group activities.

The audio-recorded and transcribed outcomes were used to triangulate data from the focus-group discussions with the results from the interviews. The process helped to compare and validate data to study the same phenomenon. If different phenomena appear, the technique is also suitable to prove if and how they depend on each other (Durkheim 1995:205). To be able to relate the findings of the interviews and focus groups with each other, the same open-coding and axial-coding procedures have been applied. Due to the much smaller amount of data from the focus groups, it was decided to abstain from undertaking a selective-coding process.

5.2.1 Outcomes of open coding focus groups

The first open coding, using the same categories, brought the following result:

Table 5.8: Code System Focus Groups – 1st open coding

Codes	Frequency	Percentage
Moral expectations and collective obligations	16	24,24
Personal aspirations	14	21,21
Future implications for the project work	13	19,70
Disempowerment	13	19,70
Empowerment	10	15,15
Total	**66**	**100,00**

The table shows a balanced allocation of the coded segments into the five conceptual categories. Although it indicates a good breakup of the questions, it reveals the need for dividing the codes into sub-categories and dimensions to be able to detect emerging themes which help to describe the phenomena. To achieve this goal, a second open coding was carried out. The summarised outcomes are presented in table 5.9 on the following page.

Building on the sub-categories created during the open coding of the interviews, and focussing on an inductive and partly abductive pattern, 78 additional coded segments were added to the code tree.

Table 5.9: Code System Focus Groups – 2ⁿᵈ open coding

Codes	Frequency	Percentage
Disempowerment	44	30,56
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	27	18,75
Implications for Projects (Activities)	26	18,06
Job-related development outcomes	21	14,58
Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)	18	12,50
Empowerment (Outcomes)	8	5,56
Total	**144**	**100,00**

Due to the typical, asset-based approach used in focus groups, a new category and a few additional sub-categories have been added. Comparing the outcome of second open coding with the results of the first open coding, it changed the code system, the frequencies of the coded segments and the breakdown of codes significantly. These changes were mainly a result of questions number one to three, focussing on specific development needs and question number four, where participants shared about existing assets contributing to their empowerment.

As the desired development outcomes were primarily associated with the availability of work or jobs, it made sense to bundle those 21 segments into a new category called "Job-related development outcomes". The ten suggestions about the community's capabilities have been moved into the new sub-category "Investing community assets". For this reason, the largest frequencies can be seen in the characteristics of "Strengthening of assets" (12) and "Developing of stakeholders" (11), which belong to the category "Implications for projects (Activities)". Details can be found in table 5.10 on the next page:

Table 5.10: Detailed Code System Focus Groups – 2nd open coding

Categories	Characteristics (sub-categories)	Dimensions	Coded segments	%	Docs
Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)	Investing personal assets & skills		5	3,47	2
Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)	Investing community assets [NEW!]		10	6,94	2
Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)	Striving for freedom		3	2,08	1
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Failure to fulfil…		3	2,08	1
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Dependencies [due to]	entitlement expectations	3	2,08	1
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Dependencies [due to]	patronage obligations	2	1,39	1
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Expecting to be helped [by]	institutions	5	3,47	2
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Expecting to be helped [by]	HRDP	1	0,69	1
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Expecting to be helped [by]	influential/rich people in general	2	1,39	1
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Expecting to be helped [by]	family and social structures	2	1,39	1
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Honour and respect [to]	others	7	4,86	2
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Honour and respect [to]	self	0	0,00	0
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Financial security [through]	cost-free supplies	0	0,00	0
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Financial security [through]	work/employment	1	0,69	1
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Financial security [through]	money & financial assets	1	0,69	1
Implications for Projects (Activities)	Developing stakeholders		11	7,64	2
Implications for Projects (Activities)	Equality & appreciation		1	0,69	1
Implications for Projects (Activities)	Participation		2	1,39	2
Implications for Projects (Activities)	Strengthening of assets		12	8,33	2
Empowerment (Outcomes)	Outcomes of project activities		3	2,08	1
Empowerment (Outcomes)	Hope for the future		2	1,39	1
Empowerment (Outcomes)			3	2,08	1
Disempowerment	Cultural and religious practices [NEW!]		9	6,25	1
Disempowerment	Joblessness/unemployment		8	5,56	2
Disempowerment	Abusive or absent relationships/leadership		4	2,78	1
Disempowerment	Lack of knowledge/education		10	6,94	2
Disempowerment	Neglected by society		0	0,00	0
Disempowerment	Financial struggles/poverty		8	5,56	2
Disempowerment	Unequal social structures		5	3,47	2
Job-related development outcomes	Financial security [NEW!]		2	1,39	2
Job-related development outcomes	Education [NEW!]		7	4,86	2
Job-related development outcomes	No child labour [NEW!]		2	1,39	2
Job-related development outcomes	General well-being [NEW!]		5	3,47	2
Job-related development outcomes	Peaceful cohabitation [NEW!]		5	3,47	1
TOTAL			144	100,00	

Legend:

■ Newly created (sub-)categories

■ Not used sub-categories

■ Coded segments with high frequencies and/or used by both focus groups

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At first glance, the table sheds much light on the reasons for disempowerment (i.e. "Lack of knowledge/education" and "Joblessness/unemployment"), and the need for developing stakeholders through education and strengthening the local assets by creating work opportunities. The following statements exemplify some of the most often mentioned disempowering factors:

> *The main problem is the money problem (FCS:54).*
>
> *We need a job, to be able to give our children a bright future, to send them to school. That's the main thing (FGB:8).*
>
> *We had no way to get the job or education (FGB:10).*
>
> *There are many [social] gaps between juniors and seniors. This makes gaps among those who are different in age (FCS:20-24).*

Yet the codes in the table also reveal multiple reasons for the disempowerment of the community. They are displayed by the use of several codes for the same answers. In the following example under "Disempowerment\Lack of knowledge/education", "Expectations and Obligations (Behaviours)\Honour and respect [for]\others" and "Lexical search\money":

> *The first reason is the parents. They don't send their children to school. Money problems are also a reason for this. The community don't agree with the children [to be educated]. The community also goes with the parents' decision (FGB:29).*

The lack of money is only one of the many disempowering factors. An important reason why many children miss out on education is connected to the parents' superior role reflected in patronage. The parents' decision to keep their children at home has to be respected and honoured by the community, government and NGOs – even if it will impact the children's future in negative ways.

The connectedness between entitlement expectations and the communities' assets surfaced during the fifth question. After having assembled a comprehensive list about personal capabilities of the participants and resources of the community, it was asked "what additional help they would need from the outside to be able to make best use of their own capabilities and assets" (full questionnaire, see appendix G). Both outcomes from the two small groups among project staff are quite essential to understanding the role of entitlement expectations in this case study. The codes used (in square brackets) affirm this:

> *[Investments and Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)\Investing community assets]*
> *[Expectations and Obligations (Behaviours)\Expecting to be helped by\institutions]*
>
> *We can get some loans from some of the NGOs here, like TMSS, Usha, BRAC, and Grameen Bank. And we can make our own business. The government gives*

> *free relief, like medicine, books and pencils. The government also gives money to the seniors, like as a pension (FCS:72).*

> **[Investments and Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)\Investing community assets] [Expectations and Obligations (Behaviours)\Dependencies due to entitlement expectations]**
>
> *Going to NGOs. Government gives relief twice a year, also pension. They also give scholarships to children in the primary school after 3 months. During/after floods, the government gives some relief. Free treatment in the government hospitals. Also books and pencils from the government (FCS:74).*

Reviewing these statements led to Memo 171 and to the following presumption: Although people seek to be developed in a sustainable way and are also willing to invest their own capabilities and assets for their well-being, the day-to-day reality of life appears to be different. As long as goods and assistance are provided for free, beneficiaries and project staff seem to rely rather on those sources than investing their own resources. Even though it means that they make themselves dependent on people and institutions.

After discussing the existing assets, questions number five to seven were used to find out if and how the utilisation of these assets are influenced by the beliefs and attitudes that result from entitlement and patronage. Especially the group of project staff provided useful facts[29]. The answers illustrated the 'culture of giving and receiving gifts' and the reciprocal dependencies between the advantaged (patrons) and disadvantaged (clients) quite well. The stories of people reveal that such dependencies manifest themselves mainly within close family relationships and among people who have regular encounters with each other:

> *At first my mother called me, and asked for money. That's my mother's expectation. Other family members (younger sister, nephew), also say "I need this, I want this", these type of expectations. So because I have a job and am earning money, they expect these things from me. And the community members and villagers, expect money when the road is damaged and needs repairs. Sometimes neighbours expect money for their daughter's marriage. This type of help. Some expect money so that they can complete their education, because I have an education and have a good job (FCS:87).*

Although the exercise encouraged beneficiaries and project staff to make use of their own assets and capabilities, both groups revealed insecurities about taking concrete steps forward without receiving help from the outside:

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[29] 15 out of 20 coded sequences in the category "Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)" came from project staff whereas only 2 out of 7 came from the group of beneficiaries. One reason for the rather low frequency among beneficiaries was that this focus group had to be shortened due to time constraints.

We have to discuss our ideas with the NGOs, and bring them a plan. Show them our planning (FGB:49).

How can we show [present] them our plan? (FGB:53).

We have to first to get to know someone in the NGO. Or send someone who knows someone in the NGO.
Interviewer: *You have to make contact, and make relationship?*
Answer: *Yes. Make relationship with known persons in the NGO (FCS:82-84).*

Considering these answers, it is likely that both individuals and the community do need support in their development. But before giving more training, advice and encouragement, HRDP and the stakeholders should be aware about the influences of entitlement and patronage. These structures impact people's attitudes, as well as the way support is provided and perceived and could therefore easily diminish their empowered assets again.

The *Lexical Search*, using the same parameters as with the interviews, revealed a similar result when comparing the ranking of the totals (table 5.11).

Table 5.11: Results Lexical Search Focus Groups

Lexical Search	Job/Work	Money	Loan(s)	SUM
FGB (Beneficiaries)	14	6	1	21
FGS (Project Staff)	11	13	3	27
TOTAL	**25**	**19**	**4**	**48**

However, it can be observed that project staff speak more about money than about having a job. The reason might lie in the fact that they – contrary to beneficiaries – have a paid job within HRDP. As employed staff, the effects of entitlement and patronage relate more to the expectations and dependencies of their environment and less to the expectations and obstacles to obtaining a job:

Sometimes neighbours expect money for their daughter's marriage. Some expect money so that they can complete their education, because I have an education and have a good job (FCS:87).

When we leave the office, the gateman also expects money for treatments or other problems (FCS:94).

This issue of expectations and an initial recommendation were recorded in a note at the end of the focus group: employed staff suffer from the expectations of their family, relatives and the community they live in, because it is known that they receive a salary from HRDP. This is definitely something that needs to be taken into consideration when hiring, training and developing project staff (Memo 176). Including this note, 35 memos were created during the open-coding phases of the focus groups, 23 as a result of the focus group with project

staff and 13 as a result of the data analysis of the focus group with the beneficiaries. This outcome underlines the fact that the focus group with the project staff generated many more insights into the studied phenomena than the group interview with the beneficiaries.

5.2.2 Outcomes axial coding focus groups

The results from the *Code-Relations Browser* (table see appendix B.4) were, once again, helpful in detecting the most important axial relationships between the various categories that emerged during the open-coding process. By focussing on the clustered categories, the following paradigmatic model was developed:

1. <u>Phenomenon</u>

The processes and outcomes of the focus groups affirmed that the beliefs, attitudes and actions of stakeholders are always attached to social relationships. Therefore, the researcher continued to investigate the issue about dependencies in social relationships. When asked how to bring the needs of the community to the attention of others, the focus groups concluded the following:

> *We have to first to get to know someone in the NGO. Or send someone who knows someone in the NGO. […] make relationship with known persons in the NGO (FCS:82-84).*
> *We have to discuss our ideas with the NGOs, and bring them a plan. Show them our planning (FGB:49).*

People pursue contact with others inside and outside the community to obtain help, even though it creates reciprocal dependencies. The answers given for question number seven illustrate the issue within their immediate social environment quite well:

> *At first my mother called me, and asked for money. That's my mother's expectation. Other family members (younger sister, nephew), also say "I need this, I want this", these type of expectations. So because I have a job and am earning money, they expect these things from me […] (FCS:87).*
> *When we get our salary, all is spent on our children and family members. Others expect we have good relationships with them and through [that they would get] extra education/tuition for free (FCS:89).*

Staff members, due to their status and income, are obligated to respond to the entitlements of their kin and share their salary with them. Like the interviews, these stories led the researcher to the conclusion that the cause for obstacles to empowerment must be located in the dependencies people face in their social relationships.

2. Causal conditions for dependencies

When discussing the needs, problems and issues in the villages of the Gabtali area, both groups determined unemployment to be one of the main causes for the lack of money and for the poverty in the community:

> *Poverty. No jobs (FCS:13). Unemployment, no possibility to get work, poverty (:16). The main problem is being jobless, having no job (:25).*
>
> *Girls need a job (FGB:4). We need a job, to be able to give our children a bright future, to send them to school. That's the main thing (:8).*

The other major issue leading to the phenomenon of dependency is the inability of people to access good quality education with costs, due to no or inadequate sources of income. The consequence of missing out on education beyond primary school is that adults do not get decent work opportunities and therefore stay dependent upon assistance from the outside.

> *We need a job, to be able to give our children a bright future, to send them to school. That's the main thing (FGB:8). We had no way to get the job or education (:10).*

Other preconditions for dependencies are culturally-affected structures. They determine the way people believe and conduct their lives. An example discussed was families that have no or hardly any men. Without a breadwinner, generally menfolk in the culture of the case study, a family will not be able to generate enough finances to cover the expenses for the education of their children. The group of beneficiaries shared a concrete case:

> *Her family has no male person in the family. They can't get educated because they have money problems (FGB:20).*
>
> *Some families have no males, only females. Therefore they have no money. Only literate and educated persons can expect a good quality job (FGB:22-23).*
>
> *The main problem is some families don't have fathers or brothers to get jobs and earn money […] (FGB:27).*

Without work and money, people cannot send their children to school. But without a good education, they also do not get jobs with which they are able to earn enough money for their livelihood. It is a spiral of disempowerment.

Relationships are the central point of the discovered phenomenon. If they are absent, malfunctioning or abusive, people face disadvantages, because the culturally-affected socio-economic care system (that includes entitlement claims) will not work. According to local staff members, the unmet needs have their roots in malfunctioning relationships, especially between different age groups:

> *[We] have no good relationships.*
> Facilitator: *Who has no good relationships?*
> Answer: *The villagers, and in this community (FCS:49-51).*
>
> *There are no good relationships within the community. We have discussion problems (FCS:58).*
>
> *There are many [social] gaps between juniors and seniors. This makes gaps (FCS:20). If there is no gap between seniors and juniors, then there will be very good behaviors because they can also make a good friendship (:34).*

When talking about the causes of bad relationships, the group unanimously answered: "The main problem is the money problem" (:54). While trying hard to escape the poverty trap, the different community members seem to disagree how this should be achieved. This seems to be the main issue for their relational problems. Another cause mentioned was the inability to generate finances due to the lack of skills training.

> *We want training, to improve ourselves (FGB:42). Actually some people have a sewing machine but they are not trained to use it (:44).*

To be able to use their own tools for their well-being, people need training.

3. Context for dependencies

If unemployment, resulting in a lack of financial resources, seems to be the main cause for dependencies in the community, the question that needs to be answered now is "what are the features for these dependencies?" In light of the massive socio-economic challenge they face due to poverty, the groups mentioned several prerequisites for the phenomenon that need to be considered.

One feature seems to be a mixture of issues which keep children away from education: an ignorance about its value, the need for children to work at the parents' farm or elsewhere to earn money, and patriarchal family structures:

> *The first reason is the parents. They don't send their children to school. Money problems are also a reason for this. The community doesn't agree with the children [that they would be educated]. The community also goes with the parents' decision (FGB:29).*

In order to avoid violating cultural values (e.g. honouring and respecting superiors), the community subordinates their ambitions to the short-term efforts parents make for the survival of their families, at the sacrifice of the long-term future of their offspring.

The dowry-system was also mentioned as an aspect of this issue. The obligation of the bride's family is to provide gifts, money or property for the family and household of the future husband:

> *First problem noted is the dowry problem. When marrying, the girl's family has to give lots of types of wealth, like money, furniture, gold. These types of ornaments to the man's family. And it puts a lot of pressure on the girl's family (FCS:4; :6)*

The culturally-affected financial entitlement of the groom's family implies that the bride's family need to take loans to be able to fulfil their commitment and not lose face. This, in turn, makes them dependent on banks and money lenders. As a consequence, the family has to save money to be able to comply with the dowry requirement, instead of being able to invest in the education of their offspring. What makes the matter worse is the widespread belief in fate or magic and the fear of being chastised if a certain ritual is not followed:

> *Superstition. That's the main problem in Bangladesh, and also the village area (FCS:14). If there is no superstition, then it would stop early marriage (:34).*

The nature of superstition is that it has the effect that children are married off at young ages, which means that dowries are due earlier. Another implication is that these young people have no or insufficient education to obtain work, resulting in new dependencies in order to to secure the livelihood of their new families.

The presence of NGOs (like HRDP) and government organisations, and the help given to the community are also prerequisites for dependencies. As a consequence, people are used to receiving assistance free of charge:

> *Government gives relief twice a year, also pension. They also give scholarships to children in the primary school after 3 months. During/after floods, the government gives some relief. Free treatment in the government hospitals. Also books and pencils from the government (FCS:74). The government also gives money to the seniors, like as a pension (FCS:72).*
>
> *If anyone or the government carries the education fees, or everything, then it will be possible to make a bright future (FGB:33).*
>
> *We need support, from government or/and from social workers […] (FGB:36).*

Because the community has benefitted in the past from institutions and NGOs in the form of free primary school education, school utilities and help after natural disasters, they feel entitled to receive ongoing support if needed.

4. Action and interactional strategies

Both focus groups see the main strategy for handling the phenomenon as the provision of job opportunities for adults in the community. According to them, work would provide the needed finances, diminish poverty and enable people to live a life in freedom:

> *We need a job, to be able to give our children a bright future, to send them to school. That's the main thing (FGB:8).*
>
> *It [the problems] would be solved after we get jobs [...] (FCS:27).*
>
> *Yes. If they have no poverty, it will be going good, the problems would be solved (FCS:29).*
>
> *If unemployment is solved, it will be great for the family and give the children a bright future (FCS:42).*

The enthusiastic examination of existing local assets and capabilities during the focus group with the project staff exposed a strong desire among them to invest themselves for the well-being of the community. They came up with a variety of possible work places and ideas to create more sources of income:

> *Here is a big factory, the rope factory. Own [private] businesses. Some own also vehicles. Computer training center. The own business means, there are cow farm, chicken farm, and tailoring. Some can grow fish in the ponds. Farming. A brick factory. They can buy vehicle and rent it (FCS:62-64).*

When discussing the question among the group of beneficiaries, it did not produce concrete results. Instead, they expressed the necessity to be trained by others first in order to be able to create the needed job opportunities:

> *We could buy a sewing machine as there is some money. Actually some people have a sewing machine but they are not trained to use it (FGB:44).*
>
> *We want training, to improve ourselves (FGB:42).*

For the beneficiaries, the main requirement for getting jobs is being educated. Having witnessed the impact of HRDP's literacy classes and primary schools, they would like to see these educational projects be continued:

> *We had no way to get the job or education, but now they get education through the literacy class and we are improving their children's futures (FGB:10).*
>
> *Now we and our children can get educated through the literacy class.*
> *Here we are various types of educated people, as in a little bit and a higher educated person. We can get further education if we are literate. [...]. Literate and educated people can expect to get a job (FGB:12-14).*

The group of project staff – mostly teachers – never mentioned education as a necessity to obtain work. After presenting the question: "if there were no unemployment anymore, what would the implications be for the family?", they answered:

> *It [the problems] would be solved after we get jobs. No stealing, no more robberies. Children would get educated. And families get peace. It will make an ideal family and society (FCS:27).*
>
> *The education level would be increased. Everybody will be conscious, and get peace in return - in the family and in society (FCS:33).*
>
> *If everyone gets educated, then they don't follow superstitions. This will be good for them (FCS:43).*

Although concluding that there must be an education problem when considering the social and cultural issues of the community, they seem to believe that quality education for all is a result of people having paid work – not vice versa. Work will not only reduce the economic poverty of the community, but will also enable the adequate education of its people. This will help the community to better understand the implications of cultural beliefs and norms, such as superstition and the dowry system, and will enable them to break loose from the bondage that they create.

After assessing the community's needs and resources in both focus groups, the stakeholders not only had valuable results in their hands, but they also became aware of the need to take further steps to be able to create job opportunities. Consequently, the group of beneficiaries proposed the following:

> *We have to discuss our ideas with the NGOs, and bring them a plan. Show them our planning.*
> Facilitator: *Who has to show a plan, the village people?*
> Answer: *Yes, we as village people who want to increase our future (FGB:49-51).*

Their approach is to work on a plan that shall be presented to an NGO for further input. Besides that, they ask for practical help in the form of skills training:

> *We need support, from government and/or from social workers. Someone who trains us in handmade things, handcrafts. If we can get this type of training, we can improve ourselves (FGB:36).*

Although the project staff had already proposed a list of concrete ideas, they – like the group of beneficiaries – concluded that financial support from NGOs is imperative to be able to implement their action strategies:

> *We can get some loans from some of the NGOs here, like TMSS, Usha, BRAC, and Grameen Bank. And we can make our own business (FCS:72).*
>
> *Here is a local NGO, named the Grameen Bank. We can get a loan from there [them], and make our future bright and strong. There is another NGO called TMSS. They can help in this way too (FGB:46-47).*

It is obvious that people in the community have a great desire to increase their well-being. However, their action strategy also contains the request for assistance from outside the village community.

5. Intervening conditions

For families facing economic hardships due to unemployment, social inequalities and culturally-shaped beliefs, the only way to survive is to make entitlement claims. But if people have no or no good relationships with others in their nearby

environment, it is almost impossible for them to receive any support. When asked: "is there already someone here who can help?", the groups answered:

> *There is nobody here (FGB:38)*
> *Here are no strong leaders (FCS:45).*

The issue that hinders the community from applying their strategies for empowerment is not that they have no ideas. The problem is that they seem to have no capable leaders in the community who are able to give encouragement, assistance or guidance to help them transform their ideas into realities.

> *We have no plan (FCS:54).*
> *There are no strong leaders here who can lead us (FCS:56).*

Another factor that hinders the ability to react to the phenomenon is the expectations people put on those who are better-off financially or as a result of their status. In an irritated tone, project staff shared some examples of how entitlement claims from the kin and community put a huge obligation upon them:

> *At first my mother called me and asked for money. That's my mother's expectation. Other family members (younger sister, nephew), also say "I need this, I want this", these type of expectations. So because I have a job and am earning money, they expect these things from me. And the community members and villagers expect money when the road is damaged and needs repairs. Sometimes neighbours expect money for their daughter's marriage. Some expect money so that they can complete their education, because I have an education and have a good job. That's my own personal experience (FCS:87).*
>
> *When we get our salary, all is spent on our children and family members. Others expect we have good relationships and to get extra education/tuition for free (:89).*
>
> *Many people, villagers understand that HRDP is a foreigner company, or foreign project, so people assume that those who work there are earning more money, higher salaries. So that's why people expect them to give (:96).*

It is obviously easier for people in the community to continue to practice the systems of entitlement and patronage to achieve their immediate needs – even though it inhibits them from being empowered for the long-term future – than it is to overcome these socio-culturally-affected dependencies by making use of their own capabilities.

6. <u>Consequences of the action strategies</u>

When reflecting upon the ways stakeholders handle the phenomenon of dependency, the subsequent question is: what are the results of the strategies aspired to for community members and HRDP as a development agency? According to the participants, work opportunities and the availability of quality education and skills training would solve various problems in their community:

It [problems] would be solved after we get jobs. No stealing, no more robberies. Children would get educated. And families get peace. It will make an ideal family and society (FCS:27).

If we have no poverty, it will be going good, the problems would be solved (FCS:29).

If everyone gets educated, then they don't follow superstitions. This will be good for them (FCS:43).

Both strategies combined also support the realisation of the capability approach: instead of being forced to make entitlement claims, people are enabled to make use of their own knowledge and tools and will be able to take full responsibility for their own lives, as well as the lives of people entrusted to them. The results are equally-empowered women and men of all generations, living peacefully together in their community:

The education level would be increased. Everybody will be conscious, and get peace in return - in the family and in society (FCS:33).

If unemployment is solved, it will be great for the family and give the children a bright future (FCS:42).

We can get a loan from the NGO, and make our future bright and strong (FGB:46).

[…] we are improving our children's future (FGB:10).

The perspective for a promising future, though, will require more than just financial security, due to education and available work opportunities. People that are enabled to use their capabilities and are entrusted with responsibility usually share their experiences with others. A glimpse of this excitement appeared at the very end of the focus group with beneficiaries, when one women raised the following question:

How can we show [present] them our plan (FGB:53)?

This inquiry was made after the group had concluded that they needed to discuss their ideas with the NGO (FGB:49). It revealed their desire to take concrete steps to improve their well-being, but it also revealed an expectation and an appeal to be helped. This might be a great chance for HRDP to intensify their ABCD approach by training and coaching locals with leadership potential in project cycle-management. However, the danger also exists that people will continue to look to them as benefactor – and remain dependent upon HRDP, if the parameters (expectations, goals, roles, time-line etc.) are not discussed and agreed upon.

Table 5.12 on the following page provides an overview of the key findings from the axial-coding process, using the data from the focus groups.

Table 5.12: Summary Axial Coding Focus Groups

Phenomenon
Dependencies in social relationships (leading to obstacles in empowerment)

Causal conditions
• Unemployment (resulting in lack of money and poverty in general) • Higher education is difficult to access (due to inadequate sources of income), making it impossible to find decently-paid work • Cultural restrictions for women to take paid jobs • Relationships that do not function, especially between different age groups • No or little skills training

Context

• Children miss out on education due to
    o   an ignorance about the impact of education
    o   the needed sources of income and labour-force on the family's land
    o   patriarchal family structures subordinating women and children
• Community is obligated to honour parents due to cultural norms
• Dowry system creates financial struggles, often leading to debt
• Belief in superstition causes early marriages and unfinished education
• Presence of NGOs and government institutions
• Being used to receiving assistance after natural disasters

Action & interactional strategies

• Creating work opportunities in the community by
    o   assessing the needs and opportunities, assets and capabilities
    o   making a plan and discussing it with NGOs
    o   receiving training and (financial) support from NGOs and institutions
    o   investing one's own assets and capabilities
• Making quality education and skills training available for everyone
• Seeking advice and assistance to develop and implement ideas

Intervening conditions
• Absent relationships to influential/rich people who could provide help • Lacking local leaders that are capable to provide guidance • Obligations to provide financial assistance (creating pressure for HRDP staff)

Consequences
• Social and economic problems are being solved • Empowered people that take responsibility for the community • Invitation for HRDP to intensify the ABCD approach and serve as trainer/coach • Clarify expectations and roles of stakeholders to avoid creating new dependencies

5.3 CONSOLIDATION AND TRIANGULATION OF DATA

This third phase in the data analysis was used to consolidate the outcomes of the open and axial-coding processes and to compare the results from the focus-group discussions with the results from the interviews. Subsequently, the researcher applied the selective-coding tool to bring the central phenomenon back into the centre of the research. This is done by analysing the categories developed during the axial-coding process and deciding on the core categories that are relevant for the theory building of the study. They reveal the central theme of the given data and integrate other categories found (Strauss & Corbin 1996:95–96). After recapping the results from the focus-group discussion, the two data sets were triangulated by providing a summary of the key findings from the research.

5.3.1 Results of selective coding interviews

The core categories for the data, gathered through interviews, were formed by asking some questions (e.g. what was the focus of the previous results, what is it all about, what have I learned from the case study, which correlations exist?) and summarising the findings in a few sentences (Böhm 2010:482–483).

<u>Central theme of the *phenomenon*</u>

The phenomenon that presented itself at the beginning of the study was "obstacles to empowerment". It emerged from the background information about the research problem and helped define the problem statement and research objectives. However, when exploring the effects of entitlement and patronage among project staff and beneficiaries, "dependencies in social relationships" was exposed as the core category and central theme of the phenomenon. The data revealed that these culturally-affected concepts make people dependent on each other. They influence the capability approach of the community development project in such a way, that they emerge as hindrances to achieving the ultimate purpose of the project, the empowerment of people. For this reason, the obstacles to the empowerment – observed within the community development project – are consequences of dependencies. The challenge in people's attempts to overcome poverty is that the systems of entitlement and patronage blocks them and makes them reliant on their kin, patrons, NGOs etc., instead of becoming empowered through the relationships with them.

Central theme of the *causal conditions*

After comparing the results from the axial coding with the outcomes of the *Code-Relations Browser* (table 5.6), it became apparent that the core category for *causal conditions* is "disempowerment". Although much has been achieved by the community and HRDP towards alleviating poverty in recent years, disempowerment is still the overarching theme leading to the phenomenon of dependencies. People face disempowerment in all four dimensions of sustainable of development:

- Economic, due to the lack of income, as many experience unemployment and people are not educated or trained for employment.
- Social, because people lack relationships, or experience them in abusive, dysfunctional and unequal ways.
- Environmental, as their livelihood is regularly devastated due to natural disasters such as flooding[30].
- Cultural disempowerment, because some structures and behaviours evolving from entitlement and patronage make people reliant upon the support and good-will of others.

Central theme of the *context*:

Although culture as such enriches life, the study exposed that the system of entitlement and patronage creates various expectations and obligations. The beliefs and attitudes, emerging from these cultural norms, influence not only life in the community, but also the way in which people perceive their needs and personal roles in light of the development project. Examining the interviews has revealed that the expectations of individuals, families and the community, as well as the obligations of people and organisations related to them, are the main prerequisites for dependencies among the stakeholders of the project. Therefore, the central themes of the context are "expectations" and "obligations", two interwoven features, belonging to the concepts of entitlement and patronage.

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[30] A devastating flood took place in this area seven months prior to the research visit.

Central theme of the *action strategies*

Relating the results of the *Code-Matrix Browser* (see table in appendix B.3) to the outcomes of the axial coding, it became apparent that both beneficiaries and project staff have a deep desire to reduce the causes of unfreedoms in their lives. With 40 codes in the 14 interviews, the category "Striving for freedom" – together with "Expecting to be helped" – has the most marks. This is a strong indicator that they no longer want to face disempowerment, but are earnestly seeking ways to develop their capabilities to secure their livelihoods. Stakeholders believe that their well-being will increase once the community has sufficient access to work, and education and skills training is available for everyone. Jobs would not only help solve their financial problems, but would also diminish relational issues and educational disadvantages that they have faced thus far. However, their action is linked to the belief that they need assistance to make all this happen. They are also aware that their expectation to be helped will require an investment from their side as well. Another strategy is creating and cultivating respectful and honouring relationships with influential people who are able to support and safeguard their interactional strategies for the purpose of making livelihoods secure. Due to these findings, the overarching strategy and central theme for handling the phenomenon is "developing secure livelihoods" through specific means such as creating job opportunities and providing good, quality education for all community members.

Central theme of the *intervening conditions*

Dependencies in social relationships often come with a high cost for the ones seeking favour. Relying on the mercy of a benefactor creates all sorts of pressures and uncertainties, especially when expectations or obligations cannot be met due to all sorts of inequalities. As a result of the many examples of discrimination that were shared by the stakeholders, "inequalities" has quickly emerged as the central theme of intervening conditions. They are not only part of the phenomenon, but they also have the power to destroy the chosen strategy to overcome dependencies.

<u>Central theme of the *consequences*</u>

Overcoming dependencies in social relationships with the strategy of developing secure livelihoods has both positive and negative consequences. One example is the needed relationships to develop secure livelihoods. In an environment that is strongly influenced by the system of entitlement and patronage, seeking and fostering social relationships can both accelerate or impede this strategy. If people are not aware of the different forces that relationships are composed of, it will be difficult to intentionally make use of the aspects that empower, and to avoid those that that disempower people. The conclusion that must be drawn from the results of the axial coding is that there is a need for "creating awareness" of the implications of the action strategies chosen.

5.3.2 Synopsis and comparison of data sets

The triangulation process finishes with a brief synopsis of the analysed data from the focus-group discussion and a short comparison of the outcomes from the two data sets (interviews and focus groups).

The focus-group discussions revealed that beneficiaries and project staff are well aware of the impact of dependencies in social relationships. To be able to break out from of disempowering conditions of poverty and socio-culturally-affected systems – shown in the beliefs and attitudes of people – project staff and beneficiaries desire to create sufficient job opportunities that fit the skills of people in the community. Making quality education available for everyone and requesting assistance to handle the action strategies are also part of their plan. Although being conscious of factors that may obstruct the success of that strategy (e.g. lack of local leaders and relationships to influential people), they believe that the approach will not only solve their social and economic problems, but also increase people's capabilities, resulting in personal satisfaction and hope for their future:

> *Yes. If they have no poverty, it will be going good, the problems would be solved (FCS:29).*
> *People will be encouraged by work, jobs (FCS:37).*
> *Yes. If anyone gets a job, they can make a bright future (FGB:20).*

The distinct difference between the two groups is their approach. Project staff believe that the creation of jobs would generate the needed financial resources to give community members a chance for education. This would enable them

to better understand and deal with the effects of socio-culturally-affected expectations and obligations, so that would no longer be dependent upon others. Beneficiaries, on the other hand, put their initial focus on education and training. They believe that if people in the community were well-educated, they would be able to obtain sufficient jobs and henceforth be freed from disempowering structures.

Comparing the results of the interviews and focus-group discussions with each other, reveals only a few insignificant discrepancies:

Phenomenon: The analysed data from the 14 interviews and two focus-group discussions attest that "dependencies in social relationships" is the central theme and the primary cause of obstacles to empowerment.

Causal conditions: Both groups see the lack of income as a result of unemployment, the lack of inadequate or inaccessible education opportunities, culturally-affected structures and social issues (i.e. either lack of, or bad and abusive relationships) as the main (disempowering) factors that result in dependencies. The focus groups also mentioned deficits in skills training. A precondition that appeared during the interviews, only among project staff, was their employment with HRDP and the status they had gained in the community since being hired as teachers.

Context: The categories developed from the axial coding of the interviews relate strongly to the expectations and obligations of entitlement and patronage. The categories from the focus groups represent different, more general socio-culturally-affected features. Even though themes such as the obligation to honour patrons and the presence of NGOs – that instil entitlement expectations – are mentioned, not all categories are directly linked to "expectations" and "obligations".

Strategies: The strategies of the focus groups include creating work opportunities, opportunities for training and education, and also asking for support to make these aims possible. The interviews generated additional categories that are based on the concepts of entitlement and patronage and will function as action strategies. However, the central theme of both data sets is without a doubt "developing secure livelihoods".

Intervening conditions: According to the interviews, the general circumstances which cause or hinder a reaction can be broadly defined as "inequalities". These result from unequal social structures and from societal beliefs. Fatalism and the strong reliance upon a patron are also hindering factors. The categories from the focus groups mainly describe the implications of demographic segmentation (i.e. absent relationships to influential people and lack of local leaders), which in effect affirm the reality of inequalities as well.

Consequences: After summarising the results of the actions proposed by the interviewees, the central theme that emerged from it was "creating awareness" of the effects of entitlement and patronage. The request for assistance by the focus groups affirms this need. Their desire to take concrete steps to increase their well-being is directly linked to an expectation and appeal to be helped. Besides training and coaching stakeholders to enable them to take full ownership of the projects, it is also crucial to educate them about the effects of entitlement and patronage to avoid the formation of new patron-client relationships.

The analysis of data extracted from the 14 interviews and two focus-group discussions and the comparisons of the results from those two sets provided distinct answers to the research questions. They are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6: INTERPRETATION AND RÉSUMÉ OF FINDINGS

The objective of chapter six is to refer the results from the data analysis back to the research question and its sub-questions. This is done in two steps: by discussing the outcomes on basis of the research objectives and by providing a summary of the key findings.

6.1 EXPLANATION BASED ON RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Returning back to the purpose of the case study has helped to extract those theoretical concepts from the segmented data, which were needed to develop a grounded theory out of the phenomenon. The following four points provide an explanation for the hypothesis, that entitlement and patronage seem to cause 'obstacles to empowerment' in HRDPs community development project.

6.1.1 Reason for capability failures

Since the realisation of this case study was based on the capability approach, the task of the researcher was not to create a list of income shortages, but rather to uncover the factors that deprive people from applying their own inherent capabilities. That is the reason that the data gathering aimed at exploring the beliefs and attitudes of people in the development project. Although the interviews, and especially focus groups, exposed a number of deficits in the community, the questions prompted people to reflect upon their own roles in the project and the relationships they have with others. The questions also exposed expectations and obligations within the community and towards the project, and showed how all these aspects impact people's well-being. The results – detailed descriptions in sections 5.1 and 5.2 – showed that the main reason for the obstacles to empowerment which were observed, are dependencies. While already suffering from poverty due to financial, educational and social deprivations, it became apparent that the culturally-affected entitlement expectations and patronage obligations in social relationships are a considerable factor contributing to the capability failures among people in the community. Even though the lack of work and money are the most often-mentioned topics in the data, hunger was never mentioned. Instead, the focus groups proudly shared about existing assets and personal skills that could be used to develop secure livelihoods. According to beneficiaries and project staff, the hindrances to achieving this strategy are inequalities, reflected in unequal social structures

which they depend upon to sustain their livelihood. Therefore, the main reason for capability failures are people's dependencies in social relationships.

6.1.2 Cultural context of stakeholders

Furthermore, the data analysis uncovered the culturally-embedded patron-client system as a major prerequisite for dependencies among the community studied. To sustain their poverty-affected-lives – due to unemployment, inaccessible education and socio-culturally-affected structures – community members are morally obligated to seek or give favour from/to a patron/client. The current system – of entitlement and patronage – nurtures the inclination to subordinate personal needs and goals to the collective, as well as to anyone who is viewed as superior. In the context of the case study, women are usually those who suffer the most under the beliefs that determine the social structures of the community. Two examples highlight this:

> *[…] villagers don't want the girls to work. Girls don't need a job, don't need to work. My family asks, why do girls need a job or education (LCT1:19)?*

> *First I need permission from my husband, then I need permission from my neighbour (PSP1:25).*

Although honour, loyalty and allegiance to superiors brings about protection, as well as access to resources for inferiors (see figure 3.1), the deep-rooted concepts make it hard to empower the disadvantaged. The interdependency on the family and community seem to outweigh the opportunities given by the NGO.

6.1.3 Role of project staff

The focus-group discussion and the five interviews with project staff revealed that they face the same capability deprivations as the people they serve. Even though they earn a salary, the teachers are not exempt from the disempowering structures because they live in the same community and therefore in the same socio-cultural environment as the beneficiaries of the project. However, they face – due to their education, the status as teachers, and the earnings they receive as employees of HRDP – fewer inequalities than the beneficiaries who participated in the research. But this fact does not free them from being confronted with entitlement and patronage. When considering all the shared expectations and obligations they have faced in the past and are still facing – leading to dependencies on and from their families and other people with whom they have relationships, including HRDP as employer – quite the contrary is

true. For this reason the question is, "how can HRDP ensure that their investment in the capabilities of their staff does not create new dependencies between them and the NGO and also between them and their social environment?" The following point and various remarks in section 6.2 discuss this issue further. Section 7.1 suggest a few measures, which may help project staff to deal with these issues in an positive way.

6.1.4 Consequences for HRDP

Having worked in the community for several years, HRDP and the village community have built good relationships with one another. Although they are a prerequisite for the accomplishment of the development project, these relationships can easily produce dependencies between the NGO, the community and individuals such as the project staff. The challenge for HRDP is to sensitise their own staff, as well as the other stakeholders of the project to the effects of entitlement and patronage on their own empowerment. Once they recognise the effects behind these concepts (i.e. impeding the capability approach), their appeal for assistance in developing secure livelihoods is less likely to create new dependencies. Instead, HRDP should be free to assist the community, when planning and implementing their strategies with their own assets, without strings attached.

Being aware of the impact of expectations and obligations, the local community and HRDP should be able to enter into a mutual partnership, where expectations and responsibilities are clearly defined. The implications this has in terms of the mode of operation, staff development and leadership style will be discussed in the form of recommendations in section 7.1 in the final chapter.

6.2 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The main outcomes of the research are presented according to the secondary research objectives. Since the first three points were thoroughly elaborated in chapters two and three, the remarks in sections 6.2.1, 6.2.2 and 6.2.3 will only feature those findings from the data analysis, which highlight points from the theoretical part of this dissertation. The goal of this presentation is to clarify the impact of entitlement and patronage on the studied development project of HRDP.

6.2.1 Interconnectedness of culture and development

The axial-coding process confirmed the close proximity between culture and development. As a result of bringing the different categories, sub-categories and dimensions – formed during the open-coding processes – into axial relationships, every new core category, except for the phenomenon, contained themes from both subject areas. This outcome of the data-analysis process underlines the previous hypothesis, that it will not be possible to understand and overcome the full dimensions of poverty, without recognising and embracing the cultural factors (see section 1.4). While the interconnectedness of culture and development within *causal conditions*, *context* and *intervening conditions* is unquestionable, it was significant to discover that the *action strategy* as well as the *consequences* also contain both elements of the *Conceptual Framework* (see figure 2.2). The practical implication of this finding is that the issue of this case study – dependencies in social relationships – can only be resolved, if the development strategies recognise the insights about entitlement and patronage.

6.2.2 Contradicting aspects of entitlement and patronage

The literature review in chapter three exposed that entitlement and patronage are culturally-influenced values and norms which affect all spheres of life in Bangladesh. The research confirmed that the livelihood behaviours of beneficiaries and project staff are deeply rooted in their society and impact the way people handle their lives and the circumstances in which they live. The continuous appeals for help and the many stories that people shared about the impact of obligations and counter-obligations verified the impeding effects of entitlement and patronage on people's empowerment. On the other hand, the case study also revealed positive effects. The ambitions of stakeholders to develop sustainable projects, in which they can invest their assets – complemented by outside support – seem to have their roots in the expectations and obligations they are daily confronted with in entitlement and patronage. Until now, everyone in the community (including project staff) has been used to being on the receiving end of the project. Even though people want to make use of their capabilities, they find it difficult to effect a change of attitude. The deeply-embedded beliefs, that they are all clients and the development agency is the patron, which

provides for their needs, obstructs their desire to strive for freedom without outside help.

However, instead of ignoring the appeals for help to make their plans succeed, HRDP could enter a mutual partnership and support the community with intentional training and mentoring the communities so that they are able to implement their projects themselves. The requirement, though, would be to transform the aims of entitlement and patronage on the basis of altruistic and life-promoting values as already proposed in section 2.4.3. This hast the potential to not only redeem abusive relationships, but also to create positive interdependencies between people who aim to serve each other for the empowerment of the other. Instead of looking at entitlement and patronage merely as disempowering and abusive systems (as most Westerners do), such a new and redeemed approach to interdependencies between people could provide a new perspective for empowerment in the context of Bangladesh. A view that has likely been lost in today's Western societies (Georges & Baker 2016:150-153).

6.2.3 Releasing people from capability deprivations

Studying the concept of empowerment in the framework of the capability approach clearly revealed that entitlement and patronage influence not only the behaviours of the local community, but also the development of their individual capabilities. The deeply-embedded belief that well-being depends on receiving or giving favour from/to others, creates unhealthy interdependencies, which eventually rob people of the ability to make use of their own basic capabilities.

Observations in the project and the analysed data confirmed that both project staff and beneficiaries of the project have a deep desire to become free from disempowering structures. They are even willing to invest any available assets, including themselves, to make this happen – as long as help is provided. Thus in the mindset of stakeholders, the prerequisite for their empowerment is to address entitlement claims to those who seem to be better-off (Memo 150). Considering the reciprocal patterns of entitlement and patronage, their expectation to be helped might be reasonable. Nevertheless, the impact on empowerment is considerable: Besides creating unhealthy dependencies, such socio-culturally-mediated moral claims restrict people from realising their own assets, resulting ultimately in capability deprivations. However, by providing people

with perspectives of freedom through the appreciation of locally-available assets, it should be possible to overcome such capability deprivations. The focus-group discussions confirmed, that the *Assed-Based Community Development* (ABCD) methodology is a very good strategy to analyse the community's needs, assets and aspirations. It unleashes the capabilities and fosters the imaginations of people for a life of freedom. HRDP's development activities will only make a lasting impact, if community participation and empowerment in the context of capabilities are key features in their strategy. Without these two features, the project will not be sustainable because the agency will be solely occupied with fixing income shortages instead of releasing people from capability deprivation.

6.2.4 Conclusions from the research

The following key findings resulted from exploring the effects of entitlement and patronage on empowerment among project staff and beneficiaries (fourth secondary research objective). They summarise the analysed outcomes of the 14 interviews and two focus-group discussions. The conclusions shall help to shed light on the beliefs and attitudes of the local community, so that HRDP and other NGOs working in similar environments will be able to conduct their mode of operation, staff development and leadership style accordingly.

The case study revealed that the root cause for the disempowerment of people in the project is not entitlement and patronage itself, but poverty. The most often mentioned reason for poverty was the lack of income, because there are not enough (or not proper) work opportunities, or education and training facilities available. Besides disempowering people, the other consequence of poverty is that it makes people dependent on relationships with others. Because seeking and maintaining friendships is already one of the most important cultural virtues in Bangladesh, people make full use of it to secure their livelihoods as well as possible.

Entitlement expectations and patronage obligations appear predominantly in the context of stakeholders' immediate relationships. Without them, the phenomenon – dependencies in social relationships – would not emerge in such dimensions. The examples, shared during the interviews and the focus-group discussions, revealed that entitlement and patronage are fundamental features

in people's relationships and generally not even regarded as disempowering or hindering factors. The opposite is true: in their effort to escape poverty and to increase their well-being, beneficiaries and project staff seek and maintain relationships wherever they can. The concepts of entitlement and patronage provide the legitimation to rely upon the help and charity of people, who are viewed as socially and economically better-off.

The following example shows that the only conditions are (a) to have such relationships with benefactors and (b) to be prepared to subordinate to their will:

> *We have to make good friendships, don't argue with others, make others happy (LCP3:45).*

To satisfy others for the purpose of being helped, stakeholders are even willing to disregard their own opinions. The reason for this is that both entitlement and patronage are not only built into relationships, but are also cultivated by honour and respect. Honour and respect are the main means to create and sustain relationships and thus one of the primary strategies of the local community to develop secure livelihoods. By honouring and respecting others in the close, social environment, beneficiaries and project staff can expect certain benefits in return (e.g. free resources, money, work), because benefactors are culturally obligated to provide them. They know that refusing entitlement claims from socially-related people would bring shame on them and diminish their own reputations (Gardner 2012:206).

The interviews with the teachers, generally perceived as patrons by those who have no work and no education, have shown that they make every attempt to be regarded as honourable and respected community members. The honour and respect received from being a good teacher makes them "famous" and is a door-opener for their personal development and well-being:

> *If the villagers' children are growing up with education, then my name will be bright. I will become very famous. […] Everybody can respect me, and think about me, if any type of teaching job, opens up at another school or college, then it will be good (PST2:13-15).*

The honour and respect teachers receive – as a result of empowering community members through the literacy classes and primary schools – improve their present capabilities and provide a long-term perspective for their lives. The entitlement claims of beneficiaries, primarily presented in the form of money, free education and other complimentary provisions, generally offer only short-term

help. Such bleak prospects for life verify the findings made in the literature review: Entitlement and patronage – although interconnected – function in hierarchical and unequal ways. Because of this, entitlement does not have the same effect for a person who seeks help, as it does for a benefactor who provides help, even though the latter is culturally obligated to do so. Clients are always on the disadvantaged side, while patrons, controlling the resources, are advantaged (De Wit & Berner 2009:931; Georges 2016; (Huq 2016:16). The consequence of this and other inequalities that appeared in the case study is that the factors that hinder an appropriate reaction to the phenomenon are not the same for beneficiaries as they are for project staff (see *Intervening conditions* in table 5.7 and the remarks to it in section 6.1.3).

One of the two most revealing outcomes of the research was that project staff and beneficiaries suggested more or less the same strategies. To be able to overcome dependencies in social relationships, due to disempowerment and socio-culturally-affected expectations and obligations, both groups proposed creating work opportunities and full access to quality education for everyone. They believe that these two action strategies will not only provide secure livelihoods, but will also decrease harmful dependencies once people's financial and educational challenges are solved. The many statements from interviewees about the positive impact of HRDP's community development projects in their lives – revealed in the second highest code frequencies of "Empowerment (Outcomes)" (see table 5.3) – validates their hope for a better future.

The following examples highlight how education and job security are key elements in the empowerment of beneficiaries and project staff: two mothers who recently completed HRDP's nine-month-long literacy class shared how the course enabled them to read, sign papers and also to better understand disempowering structures in their environment:

> *After I started the class, I am much better. I am feeling very clever. Nobody can cheat me (PSP4:11).*
> *There are many benefits. Now we can count the money, and also sign papers, nobody can cheat us (PSP3:11).*

They obviously gained much self-esteem and are now better protected from abuse (Memo 88).

The teaching jobs, provided by HRDP, gave the five, interviewed, community members a completely new prospect and hope for their future. Two examples:

> *When I get my salary, I spend it on my studies. It is also a big support for my family. They have no pressure to carry the costs of my studies (LCT2: 25).*
>
> *This type of job, and the salary I get, is very helpful for my family. I am very happy with it. […] If I get a bigger job, or bigger salary, then we will take some land for more farming. […] The main plan is land (PST2:23-29).*

Receiving a chance to practice and expand personal capacities, while earning a salary, gives project staff the outlook for a future that is shaped by her or his own capabilities (e.g. living in freedom by cultivating one's own land).

The following key finding was rather surprising. Interviewees and focus-group participants demonstrated a great desire and willingness to invest the community's assets, as well as their own capabilities for the empowerment of people in Gabtali. However, they asked at every opportunity – in interviews as well as during the focus-group discussions – for both financial and other support to see their action strategy become a reality. The general justification for their appeal was that the community lacks influential and capable people to provide the necessary help and leadership. Those who do exist are either not reliable, have been abusive, or do not care.

Being accustomed to the free provision of education and school materials, community members also expect HRDP to give other forms of assistance (free of charge). Even though it would require a significant investment from any NGO to see their action strategy fulfilled, beneficiaries and project staff assume that HRDP must provide help, because of the long-standing relationship between the community and HRDP. A study of the mechanisms of 'informal social protection' in Bangladesh confirmed that "the *extent* to which entitlements can be claimed depends upon degrees of relatedness […]" (Gardner and Ahmet 2009, cited in Gardner 2012:156). Considering these issues, it was not surprising that at the end of the focus-group discussion with beneficiaries one main question stood out: "How can we show them our plan?" (FGB:53). Although being aware that their expectation contains an entitlement approach towards a 'patron' that has the possibility of creating (new) reciprocal dependencies if not handled well, the researcher still encouraged them to approach the leaders of HRDP. As long

as HRDP is aware of the socio-cultural implications of entitlement and patronage, they should be able to initiate the first steps for the sake of the well-being of the community (Memo 151).

The problem is not that people are not willing to invest their existing capabilities to develop secure livelihoods, nor that HRDP has failed to practice an asset-based development strategy. The real issue is that the expectations, obligations and counter-obligations of the people in the project cause interdependencies, which create real obstacles for the practice of the capability approach. Even the best development strategy will fail if the NGO and the community members are not aware that they are part of a culture where expectations and obligations are deeply-embedded patterns. Without uncovering them, entitlement and patronage will continue to obstruct people's capabilities, with the consequence that they will fail to escape vicious cycle of dependencies. In other words: empowering people in the project involves more than removing merely economically-produced capability failures. If the stakeholders of the project have no idea how to deal with the concepts of entitlement and patronage, beneficiaries will continue to stay dependent on the protection, resources and connections of the HRDP. Likewise, HRDP and their staff remain dependent on the honour, devotion and allegiance of the people intended to be empowered.

Looking at the key findings in light of Amartya Sen's *development as freedom* approach (see sections 2.4.1 & 2.4.2) and Martha Nussbaum's *theory of goodness* (see 2.4.3), the researcher comes to the following conclusion: the deprivation of people's capabilities through social values and cultural manners (in this instance, by the impeding forces of entitlement and patronage) is the root cause for the disempowerment of people in the project. The researcher agrees with Nussbaum, that such capability deprivations can only be overcome with an overarching value concept that promotes respectful, non-discriminating and equal interactions in social relationships (Nussbaum 2011:34).

As already elaborated in section 2.4.3, the author of this dissertation suggests focusing on life-promoting values rather than cultural values that deprive people of their God-given capabilities. Such a value concept may change the mind-set of the people in the project, release them from dependencies and thus increase their well-being.

The second suggestion is to deliberately make use of stakeholders' aspirations for better lives. If people's appeal for supporting their ambitions could be connected with the disposition of their personal and the community's assets, the impeding forces of people's expectations and obligations might transform into a 'partnership' that improves HRDP's ABCD approach and possibly people's empowerment.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter starts off with practical recommendations for the field work of HRDP. The methodological reflection presents the discoveries made after applying the chosen research design and methods. The chapter closes with suggestions for further research and a closing summary of the whole dissertation.

7.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations have been developed from the key findings of objective number four (see 6.2.4). They sum up a number of practical points for HRDP to adapt their mode of operation, staff development and leadership style, to hopefully lessen the negative effects of entitlement and patronage on the empowerment of people in the development projects in which they are involved. It is anticipated that they will also provide ideas and food for thought for other NGOs working in similar contexts.

7.1.1 Implications for the mode of operation

To support people in their desire to develop secure livelihoods without creating new dependencies, HRDP may need to readjust their function and activities by considering these points:

- Re-evaluate the role and purpose of HRDP and define a set of principles (i.e. "do's and don'ts") to enable sustainable development in an environment where people are influenced by entitlement and patronage.

- Train and coach locals in project-cycle management: to be able to choose, plan and manage the projects themselves – the projects which they believe will most impact the well-being of the community.

- Facilitate gatherings (e.g. focus groups) with people from the community, to assist them when exploring needs and assets, and to support them when creating ideas to develop secure livelihoods.

- Encourage/support in an advisory role and under clear terms of service, the creation of work opportunities, educational projects and other strategies of the community (e.g. a social care system/community emergency fund for people with special needs) to reduce dependencies.

- Entrust the community with responsibilities, which fit their capabilities, and should possibly create more ownership for their project.

- Establish practical guidelines to which community members who are stakeholders of the project are able to subscribe to, so that any given or received support will be detached from personal preferences.

7.1.2 Implications for the staff development

Special attention should be given to staff members – to decrease the various dependencies they face due to their role, and to be able to set an example of serving others without strings attached:

- Educate project staff on the way in which entitlement expectations and patronage obligations impact people's beliefs, attitudes and actions and what effects they can have on their own and on the community's empowerment.

- Coach teachers and supervisors in most effectively dealing with the felt obligations towards the community and the needs and expectations from their kin, due to the income they receive as employees of HRDP.

- Create a work atmosphere where people are empowered to do their jobs well, are entrusted with responsibility and serve each other wholeheartedly.

- Build cultural insights into the training and mentoring programme for project staff.

7.1.3 Implications for the leadership style

In a culture where every leader is perceived as a patron, it is necessary to exemplify a counter-cultural leadership style, to avoid being entangled with various expectations and obligations. The following are two concrete ideas:

- Exemplify a visionary and servant leadership style that does not obstruct responsibilities and helps others to fully use their own capabilities.

- Advocate justice in the organisation and throughout the projects, to reduce inequalities that arise from culturally-rooted expectations and obligations, unequal social structures and abusive power structures.

7.2 METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTION

This section presents the methodological discoveries made during the data-analysing process. They are significant observations about the design and re-alisation of the research that might have changed the process and outcomes of the study, if they had been considered and performed differently.

The effects of entitlement and patronage on the empowerment of people in one of HRDP's development projects in Bangladesh were analysed on the basis of empirical data collected by interviewing 14 local people and by conducting two focus-group discussions. Although the selective sampling procedure proposed an equal attendance of beneficiaries and project staff within both data-gathering methods (see 4.3.2 & 4.3.3), cultural and organisational issues made it impossible for more project staff to participate. Because of this, the goal of at least six participants in the interviews was not achieved. Not having equal representation of beneficiaries and project staff, it was difficult to adequately compare the number of codings between the two groups during the open-coding process (see table 5.5).

The limited availability of project staff during the data gathering process and the nonexistence of male teachers restricted the researcher in gaining a wider variety of data material. Involving more beneficiaries, who were all uneducated women, could not compensate them. Because they were unable to provide substantial new aspects to analyse and compare, it unfortunately triggered theoretical saturation prematurely.

The professional translation of the interview guideline into Bangla proved to be a very good decision. The main advantage was that it helped the translator to become familiar with the questions. However, the low educational level of beneficiaries made it almost impossible to ask the questions as they had been prepared. Instead, the researcher had to explain the content with more words, sometimes with illustrations. This proved to be a major challenge for the translator. His limited knowledge of the concepts of entitlement and patronage made it difficult to translate the adapted questions straight away into Bangla, which sometimes resulted in inconsistent data, especially when comparing the answers between beneficiaries and project staff.

The use of the ABCD approach as an overarching methodology for this study enabled the researcher to conduct the interviews and focus-group discussions in a sensitive and affirming way. Asking questions about their capabilities, personal aspirations and the community's assets, triggered much excitement and created many ideas about how their own social, human and even economic capital could be used for the well-being of the community. Although sharing many examples about dependencies they face as poverty-affected people and the need they have to escape disempowering structures, the focus on their own assets definitely provided a perspective of freedom for all people involved.

As a consequence of the participative way the focus groups were conducted and the linguistic impossibility of recording all the small-group conversations, the researcher received fewer direct answers to the research question than expected. The positive side of the setting was that it helped community members to discuss real-life situations. It also prompted them to think about possible solutions to overcoming dependencies by making use of their assets and skills (Schoonmaker-Freudenberger 2003:5). Although fostering a desire to take initiative for their own empowerment, it also created quite a few situations where the realities of entitlement and patronage came into focus. For example at the end of one session, when staff members asked: "We did an interview for you, so what's the benefit for us?" The concepts of patronage imply that honour and respect will not only fulfil an important cultural obligation, but will also create opportunities to place entitlement claims on people with whom one has a relationship. After honouring the researcher by discussing the issues of the study, for them it was culturally legitimate to raise such a question. Being caught by surprise, the researcher was not able to give an appropriate answer. To avoid disappointment and the feeling of rejection, any future researcher needs to ensure that both parties are able to communicate their expectations and limitations beforehand (FCS:100; Memo 192).

When entering into the axial-coding process, it quickly became apparent that there were only a few significant differences between project staff and beneficiaries, because they all belong to the same village community and face similar issues. As a result, it was decided to abstain from relating the two groups with each other, and to focus the analysis on the common results instead. That is the reason that only a limited number of substantial features, which are unique

to a specific group, have been presented. The implication for the research question is that the results from the interviews with project staff and beneficiaries could not be compared with each other in a satisfactory way. For this reason this study offers no comparable indicators of how to specifically deal with these two groups in light of the phenomenon. However, this restriction did not impede the research objective of this dissertation in any substantial way. It was still possible to research the effects of entitlement and patronage on the empowerment of people in the project, to be able to discover the impact on the mode of operation, staff development and leadership style. It was also possible to suggest some practical ideas in these three areas to reduce negative effects on the capability approach and to strengthen the assed-based development strategy of HRDP.

7.3 TOPICS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Due to the limited scope of this case study, not all identified subjects could be covered in the field research. For this reason the author of this study suggests a few topics for future research:

- In this study it was not possible to research in detail the distinct differences between project staff and beneficiaries. Because of this, research could be conducted on the particular roles in the project and to what extend entitlement and patronage affect the different perceptions about community development. Such a study could possibly reveal if and how HRDP achieved has their asset-based development strategy.

- A comparative study of the concepts of entitlement and patronage and their impact on empowerment in other development projects within shame-honour-dominated cultures could prove if the findings of this case study are also transferable to other contexts.

- A study could attempt to determine what kind of life-promoting, overarching values would be needed to redeem people from life-destroying dependencies, and encourage them to make full use of their God-given potential to be able to live a life of freedom.

7.4 SUMMARY

The obstacles to the empowerment of people in HRDP's development projects are a result of stakeholders' dependencies in social relationships. In their attempt to move themselves out of poverty, people rely more on relationships that function on the basis of reciprocal expectations and obligations than on their own capabilities. Embedded in Bangladesh's society and rooted in its history, the systems of entitlement and patronage have the tendency to impede community development and the empowerment of individuals. The case study affirmed that the steps people generally take to enlarge their freedoms are restricted within reciprocal relationships, where clients make their moral claims to the better-off, and patrons are obligated to provide charity towards their clients.

However, the research revealed that beneficiaries and project staff have a deep desire to develop secure livelihoods by investing their own assets and capabilities. The ideas range from creating work opportunities, offering education and skills training for everyone, as well as requesting assistance to realize these goals. This, and many other appeals for help during the data gathering, exposed the deeply-embedded entitlement and patronage structures in people's beliefs and attitudes. There is an expectation that anyone who has expressed personal interest, and whom they view as superior, provide support to increase their well-being with any means possible. To be able to overcome such socio-culturally-shaped dependencies that prevent people from making full use of their own assets, two main points should be considered:

HRDP and the stakeholders in the community need to be aware that the socio-culturally-mediated moral claims of the villagers create dependencies instead of freedoms. Implementing alternative, life-promoting values that advocate the equality and empowerment of everyone – regardless of circumstances and background – liberates people, gives self-esteem and provides hope for their future. HRDP should also consider purposefully making use of the positive aspects of entitlement and patronage. This could be done by connecting the desires and capabilities of the local community with resources from locals who are better-off, and HRDP's expertise in developing sustainable community development projects. Instead of jeopardising the empowerment of people, the alignment of expectations and obligations with the capability approach should help to reduce the obstacles to empowerment, despite the prevailing cultural norms.

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APPENDICES

APPENDICES A – GRAPHICS

DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Framework:
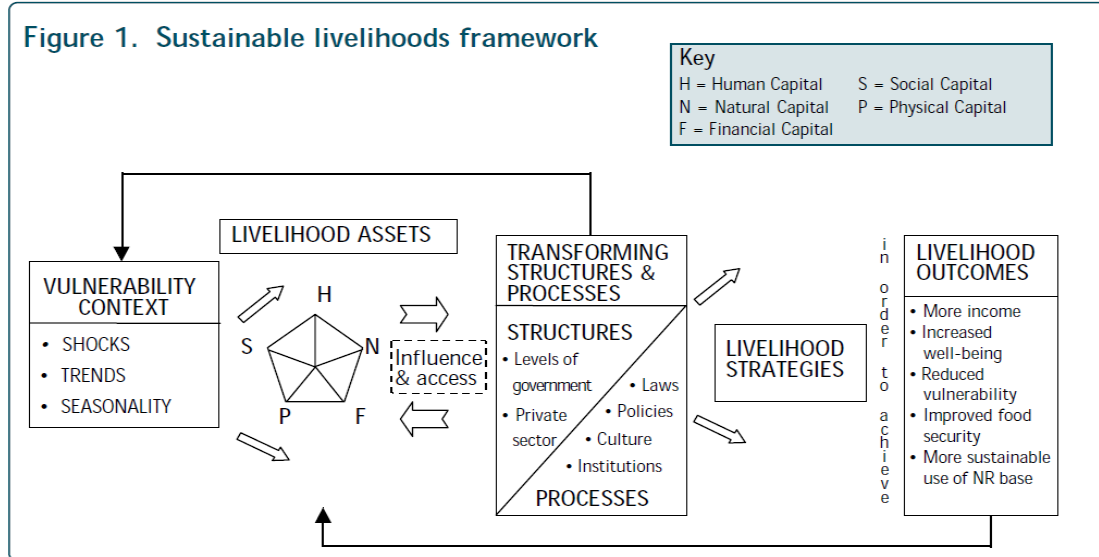
Figure A.1: DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Framework

(Source: DFID 2001:13)

Combined Livelihood Approaches blending DFID's & NADEL's Framework:
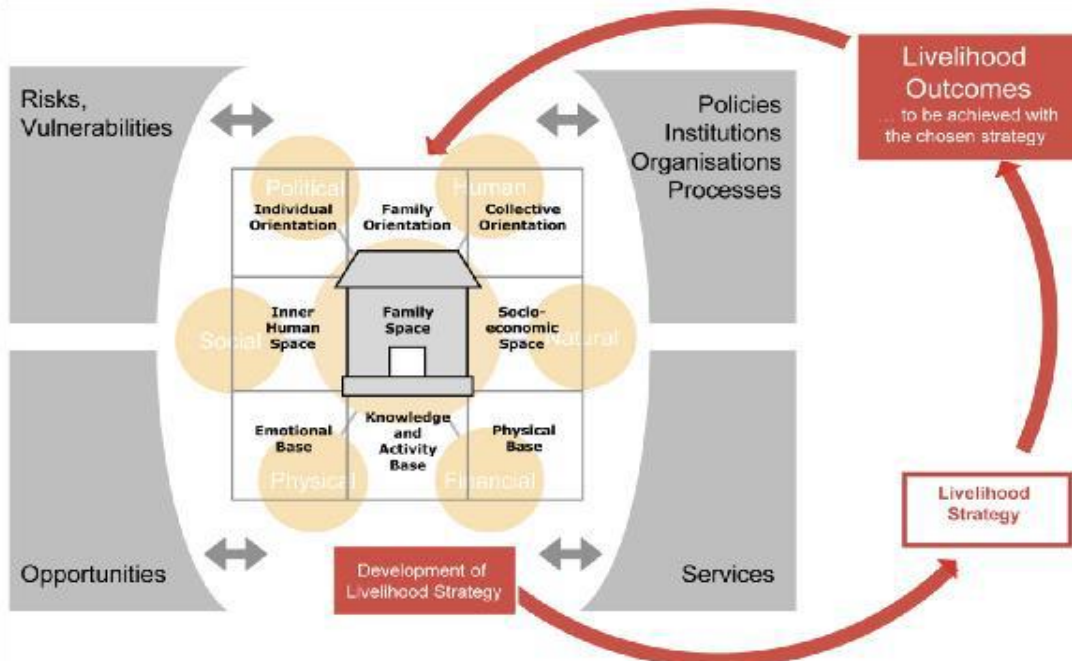
Figure A.2: Blended Livelihood Framework

(Source: Nadel 2007:28)

Clusters of Moral Themes:

Society as Moral Order

Legitimate Regulation
Rational ——→ External, Objective

Beast ————————————→ Communitas ————————————→ Angel

Autonomy	Community	Divinity
Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
Harm, Rights, Justice	Duty, Hierarchy, Interdependence, Souls	Sacred Order, Natural Order, Sanctity, Tradition
Individual as a Preference Structure	Actor in a Play	Way of Life
	Role-Based Social Status	Practice
	Family	World-Soul
obligations come from being a person	obligations come from being part of a community	displaying dignity by showing ultimate concerns
free agent	social, not just selfish	human, not beast
agency	community	heroic enchantment
appetities	holism	soul memory
free contact	sacrifice	angelic side of human nature
marketplace	membership	hermit-yogi

Figure A.3: Clusters of Moral Themes

(Source: Shweder et al. 1997:139)

APPENDICES B – TABLES

Table B.1: Sampling List Interviews

Sampling List Interviews - Case Study Bangladesh March 2018

#	Indicator	Sex	Age	Education	Profession	Role in Project	# years	Remarks
Interviews								
1	LCT1	F	18+	H.S.C.	Housewife	Literacy C. Teacher	1	
2	LCP1	F	30	none	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	1	
3	LCP2	F	50	none	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	0,5	
4	PSP1	F	29	none	Housewife	Parent of PS Student	6	
5	PSP2	F	26	M. College	Homemaker (Widow)	Parent of PS Student	1	workless
6	PST1	F	26	H.S.C.	Teacher & Housewife	Primary S. Teacher	6	
7	PSP3	F	25	none	Housewife	Parent of PS Student	7	
8	LCP3	F	50+	none	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	7	
9	PSP4	F	35	none (tailoring)	Housewife	Parent PS S. / Lit C. S	8	
10	PST2	F	27	none	Teacher & Housewife	Primary S. Teacher	4	
11	PSP5	M	37	Cook	Cook, currently farming	Parent of PS Student	1	
12	LCP4	F	60+	none	Housewife	Literacy C. Student	1	
13	LCT2	F	19	H.S.C.	Private Tutor/Housewife	Literacy C. Teacher	1	
14	PST3	F	25	H.S.C. (a-level)	Teacher & Housewife	Primary S. Teacher	6	
Focus Groups								
F1	FGB	F	18-40	generally none	generally houswives	Beneficiaries		Focus Group
F2	FCS	Mixe	20-35	generally H.S.C.	teacher, supervisor, staff	Project staff		Focus Group

Table B.2: Results Data Analysis of Interviews (2nd open coding)

Categories	Characteristics (sub-categories)	Dimensions	Coded segments	%	Docs
Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)	Investing personal assets & skills		23	4,91	12
Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)	Striving for freedom		40	8,55	14
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Failure to fulfil...		25	5,34	11
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Dependencies [due to]	patronage obligations	23	4,91	13
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Dependencies [due to]	entitlement expectations	12	2,56	6
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Expecting to be helped [by]	institutions	7	1,50	4
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Expecting to be helped [by]	HRDP	21	4,49	10
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Expecting to be helped [by]	influential/rich people in general	10	2,14	8
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Expecting to be helped [by]	family and social structures	2	0,43	2
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Honour and respect [by]	others	22	4,70	11
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Honour and respect [by]	self	10	2,14	6
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Financial security [through]	cost-free supplies	9	1,92	7
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Financial security [through]	work/employment	12	2,56	9
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	Financial security [through]	money & financial assets	12	2,56	10
Implications for Projects (Activities)			5	1,07	5
Implications for Projects (Activities)	Developing stakeholders		16	3,42	12
Implications for Projects (Activities)	Equality & appreciation		11	2,35	7
Implications for Projects (Activities)	Participation		12	2,56	8
Implications for Projects (Activities)	Strengthening of assets		15	3,21	9
Empowerment (Outcomes)	Contentment in life		12	2,56	7
Empowerment (Outcomes)	Outcomes of project activities		39	8,33	14
Empowerment (Outcomes)	Hope for the future		30	6,41	13
Empowerment (Outcomes)	Ability to develop others		16	3,42	10
Disempowerment			2	0,43	1
Disempowerment	Joblessness/unemployment		9	1,92	5
Disempowerment	Abusive or absent relationships/leadership		26	5,56	13
Disempowerment	Lack of knowledge/education		3	0,64	2
Disempowerment	Neglected by society		7	1,50	4
Disempowerment	Financial struggles/poverty		15	3,21	10
Disempowerment	Unequal social structures		22	4,70	10
TOTAL			468	100	

Table B.3: Code-Matrix Browser Interviews (after 2nd open coding)

Code System	LCP1	LCP2	LCP3	LCP4	LCT1	LCT2	PSP1	PSP2	PSP3	PSP4	PSP5	PST1	PST2	PST3	SUM
Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilities)															0
Striving for freedom															40
Investing community assets															0
Investing personal assets & skills															23
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)															0
Failure to fulfil…															25
Dependencies [due to]															35
Expecting to be helped [by]															40
Honour and respect [to]															32
Financial security [through]															33
Implications for Projects (Activities)															5
Equality & appreciation															11
Participation															12
Strengthening of assets															15
Developing stakeholders															16
Empowerment (Outcomes)															0
Ability to develop others															16
Outcomes of project activities															39
Hope for the future															30
Contentment in life															12
Disempowerment															2
Neglected by society															7
Cultural and religious practices															0
Joblessness/unemployment															9
Lack of knowledge/education															3
Abusive or absent relationships/leadership															26
Financial struggles/poverty															15
Unequal social structures															22
∑ SUM	31	32	32	36	44	40	24	31	34	45	23	29	31	36	468

Table B.4: Code-Relations Browser – Focus Groups

(The most obvious connections are colour-marked)

Code-Relations Browser / x-axis	Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilit)			Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)			Implications for Projects (Activities)			Empowerment (Outcomes)			Disempower-ment			Job related development outcomes		
	B	S	Sum	B	S	Sum	B	S	Sum	B	S	Sum	B	S	Sum	B	S	Sum
Investments & Aspirations (Assets/Capabilitie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Striving for freedom	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	6	0	6	5	0	5
Investing community assets	1	0	1	3	4	7	6	3	9	1	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Investing personal assets & skills	1	0	1	1	5	6	2	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Expectations & Obligations (Behaviours)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Failure to fulfil…	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0
Dependencies [due to]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
patronage obligations	0	3	3	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
entitlement expectations	0	1	1	0	3	3	0	3	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Expecting to be helped [by]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
influential/rich people in general	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HRDP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
institutions	4	1	5	0	1	1	6	0	6	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
family and social structures	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Honour and respect [to]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
others	0	2	2	0	4	4	0	3	3	0	0	0	2	3	5	0	0	0
self	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Financial security [through]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
money & financial assets	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
cost-free supplies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
work/employment	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Implications for Projects (Activities)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Equality & appreciation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Participation	1	1	2	1	2	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Strengthening of assets	5	2	7	3	2	5	1	2	3	0	2	2	2	1	3	0	1	1
Developing stakeholders	3	3	6	2	10	12	2	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2
Empowerment (Outcomes)	0	3	3	0	3	3	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ability to develop others	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Outcomes of project activities	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hope for the future	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Contentment in life	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disempowerment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neglected by society	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cultural and religious practices	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	3	3
Joblessness/unemployment	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	3	6	9
Lack of knowledge/education	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	2	3	1	2	3
Abusive or absent relationships/leadership	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Financial struggles/poverty	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	3	4	0	4
Unequal social structures	2	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	4	2	6
Job-related development outcomes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No child-labour	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
General well-being	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	1	5	3	0	3
Peaceful cohabitation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0	0	0
Financial security security	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	2
Education	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	5	11	2	0	2
TOTAL	*29*	*18*	*47*	*15*	*46*	*61*	*23*	*30*	*53*	*6*	*8*	*14*	*33*	*25*	*58*	*28*	*15*	*43*

Legend:

15	≥ 9 co-occurrences in all interviews
7	7-8 co-occurrences in all interviews

significant co-occurrences among beneficiaries

significant co-occurrences among project staff

APPENDIX C – INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

Interview Guideline - Case Study Bangladesh (Half-Standardised Interview)

Research Question:

How do the concepts of entitlement and patronage impact the empowerment of bene-ficiaries and project staff of a local community development project in Bangladesh?

Sub-questions:

- How do the project staff understand their role in the community development pro-ject?
- How does the local community perceive it's role in the community development project?
- What are the main challenges in regard to empowerment and what implications does this have in the project work?

Themes	Key Questions	*Tentative Questions*
1) Introduction	For how long are you part of this social development pro-ject of HRDP?	*How did you get involved?*
	How do you/your family ben-efit from the project?	*What makes this project spe-cial for you?*
	Please share with me what (social or family) develop-ment means for you person-ally?	*Why do you believe is the em-powerment of people through such a project so important?*
2) Significance of well-being (-> Personal aspirations)	What is your dream for life and what needs to happen that it will become reality?	*What is practically needed to live a satisfactory life?*
	How has the literacy class (…your child's attendance in the pri-mary school / …your work in HRDP) impacted your well-being?	*Can you share one or two ex-amples how it affects your present life/livelihood?*
	In what ways has the project changed your/your family's future possibilities?	*What kind of possibilities have emerged for you as a result of the literacy class (primary school/involvement with this pro-ject)?*

3)	Socio-cultural expectations of entitlement and patronage (-> Collective obligations)	What social virtues are necessary to attain a good life? What can you expect from a person with many resources and higher social status to fulfil your dream? What can he/she expect from you as subordinate? How does the moral tradition of giving and receiving gifts work in your daily life?	*What behaviours need to be respected to reach this goal?* *What do people in your family, local community and HRDP with higher status expect from you?* *If you are unable to please people with gifts, what effects does this have for you?*
4)	Impact on empowerment (-> Future implications)	How do relationships between people of unequal status (= patronage) and the virtue to be cared for as needy (= entitlement) affect people in this village? If there are similar arrangements of relationships in the project, how do you experience and perceive these? How does entitlement and patronage influence the success of development?	*Can you give me practical examples from your daily life?* *What are the expectations of these people and what are their specific roles in the village or project?* *Do you see any obstacle for the empowerment and well-being of people and communities?*
5)	Final question	If you were the director of the project, what would you do differently to be able to empower people? Are there any other topics you would like to share or discuss?	*What ideas do you have to make the future of the people in this village bright?*

07.02.2018 - PE

সাক্ষাৎকার বিষয়ক সহায়িকা- কেস স্টাডি, বাংলাদেশ (মাঝারি মানের সাক্ষাৎকার)

গবেষণাধর্মী প্রশ্ন:

বাংলাদেশে পরিচালিত স্থানীয় সমাজ বা গোত্র উন্নয়ন প্রকল্পের সুবিধাভোগকারী জনগোষ্ঠী এবং প্রকল্প কর্মচারীদের উপর ক্ষমতায়নে মালিক ও পৃষ্ঠপোষক- এই প্রত্যয় বা ধারণাটি কিভাবে প্রভাব বিস্তার করে থাকে?

সংক্ষিপ্ত প্রশ্নসমূহ:

- সমাজ বা গোত্র উন্নয়ন প্রকল্পে কর্মচারীরা তাদের ভূমিকা সম্বন্ধে কী বুঝে?
- সমাজ উন্নয়ন প্রকল্পে এর ভূমিকা বা অবদানকে স্থানীয় সমাজ বা গোত্র কিভাবে গ্রহণ করে থাকে?
- ক্ষমতায়নের পথে প্রধান প্রধান ঝুঁকিসমূহ কী কী এবং প্রকল্প কাজের মধ্যে কী কী বিষয় জড়িত রয়েছে?

মূল বিষয়	মূল বা প্রধান প্রশ্নসমূহ	সম্ভাব্য প্রশ্নসমূহ
১) সূচনা বা ভূমিকা	আপনি কত দিন যাবৎ HRDP-র এই সমাজ উন্নয়ন প্রকল্পে অংশগ্রহণ করছেন? আপনি কিংবা আপনার পরিবার এই প্রকল্প হতে কিভাবে লাভবান হচ্ছেন? দয়া করে বলুন যে, আপনি ব্যক্তিগতভাবে কোন্ কোন্ উন্নয়নগুলো (সামাজিক অথবা পারিবারিক) পছন্দ করেন?	আপনি কিভাবে এটির সাথে যুক্ত হলেন? আপনার কাছে কোন কোন বিষয় এই প্রকল্পকে বিশেষ করে তুলেছে? আপনি কেন বিশ্বাস করেন যে, এমন ধরনের প্রকল্পের মধ্য দিয়ে লোকদের ক্ষমতায়ন এত বেশী গুরুত্বপূর্ণ?
২) সুখ-সমৃদ্ধির তাৎপর্য বা গুরুত্ব	আপনার নিজের জীবনের জন্য আপনার স্বপ্ন কী এবং বাস্তবিকভাবে আপনার জীবনে তা ঘটবার জন্য কী কী প্রয়োজন? আপনার সুখ-সমৃদ্ধিতে শিক্ষামূলক পাঠগুলো (প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয়ে আপনার সন্তানের উপস্থিতি / .... HRDP-তে আপনার কাজ বা চাকুরী) কিভাবে প্রভাব বিস্তার করে থাকে? কোন কোন উপায়ে বা পথে এই প্রকল্প আপনার কিংবা আপনার পরিবারে ভবিষ্যৎ সম্ভাবনাগুলোকে পরিবর্তীত করে থাকে?	বাস্তবসম্মত উপায়ে বা পন্থায় একটি সন্তোষজনক জীবন ধারণের জন্য কী কী প্রয়োজন? আপনি কী এমন একটি কিংবা দু'টি উদাহরণ দিতে পারেন যা আপনার জীবন/জীবিকার উপর প্রভাব বিস্তার করে? শিক্ষামূলক পাঠ (প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয় / এই প্রকল্পের সাথে সংযুক্ত থাকা)-এর ফলস্বরূপ কোন কোন সম্ভাবনাগুলো আপনার জন্য পরিচালিত হয়েছে?

৩) মালিক এবং পৃষ্ঠপোষকদের সামাজিক-সাংস্কৃতিক আকাঙ্ক্ষাসমূহ	একটি সুন্দর জীবন অর্জনের জন্য কী কী সামাজিক নীতি বা নৈতিকতার দরকার রয়েছে? অনেক ধন-সম্পত্তি বা টাকা-পয়সাওয়ালা এবং সামাজিকভাবে উঁচু মর্যাদাসম্পন্ন কোন ব্যক্তির কাছ থেকে আপনি কী প্রত্যাশা করতে পারেন? অধস্তন বা নীচু স্তরের লোক হিসাবে আপনার কাছ থেকে তিনি কী প্রত্যাশা করতে পারেন? গতানুগতিক ধারায় আবর্তিত বা পুরানো কাল থেকে চলে আসা এই কথা- 'দেওয়া এবং নেওয়া'-র বিষয়টি কোন কোন পথে আপনার দৈনন্দিন জীবনকে প্রভাবিত করে থাকে?	এই লক্ষ্যে পৌঁছানোর জন্য কী কী মূল্যবোধ অথবা কাঠামোর দরকার রয়েছে? আপনার পরিবারের লোকজন, স্থানীয় সমাজ বা জনগোষ্ঠী এবং উঁচু মানের মর্যাদাকে সঙ্গে করে HRDP আপনার কাছ থেকে কী প্রত্যাশা করে? আপনার সকল সুখ-সমৃদ্ধিতে মালিকপক্ষ কিভাবে প্রভাব বিস্তার করে থাকে?
৪) ক্ষমতায়নের প্রভাব	অসম মর্যাদার (=পৃষ্ঠপোষক) লোকদের মধ্যকার সম্পর্ক এবং প্রয়োজন অনুযায়ী নৈতিকতা বা নীতি বজায় থাকা (=মালিক বা অভিভাবক)- এই দু'টি বিষয় আপনার গ্রামের লোকদের উপর কিভাবে প্রভাব বিস্তার করে থাকে? যদি এই প্রকল্পে সম্পর্কের সমরূপ ধারা বজায় থাকে, তবে আপনি কিভাবে সেই অভিজ্ঞতা লাভ করেন এবং সেগুলো গ্রহণও করেন? কিভাবে মালিক এবং পৃষ্ঠপোষক উন্নয়নের এই সফলতাকে প্রভাবিত করে থাকে?	আপনি কী আপনার দৈনন্দিন জীবন থেকে বাস্তবধর্মী কোন উদাহরণ দিতে পারেন? এই সব লোকদের প্রত্যাশা কী এবং এই গ্রামে কিংবা প্রকল্পে তাদের সুনির্দিষ্ট ভূমিকাসমূহ কী কী? আপনি কী লোকদের মাঝে এবং সামাজিক ক্ষমতায়ন ও সুখ-সমৃদ্ধির জন্য কোন ধরনের বাধা দেখতে পান?
৫) চূড়ান্ত বা শেষ প্রশ্ন	আপনি যদি এই প্রকল্পের পরিচালক হতেন তাহলে আপনি লোকদের ক্ষমতায়ন করতে অন্যদের তুলনায় ভিন্নতর বা আলাদা ধরনের কী কী কাজ করতে পারতেন? এর বাইরে আপনার কী এমন আর কোন বিষয় আছে যা আপনি শেয়ার করতে কিংবা আলোচনা করতে পছন্দ করেন?	আপনার জীবন ও জীবিকার জন্য কী ধরনের প্রভাব বিস্তার লাভ করতে পারতো?

UNISA | university of south africa

EMPIRICAL QUALITATIVE RESERACH

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Ethics Clearance Ref. No.: 2017_DEVSTUD_Student_20
Title: The effect of entitlement and patronage on empowerment. A case study on a development project in Bangladesh.

February 21st, 2018

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is Philipp Eschbach and I am doing research towards a MA in Development Studies at the University of South Africa. I am inviting you to participate in this case study entitled *The Effect of Entitlement and Patronage on Empowerment.*

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

This study is expected to collect important information that could give a better understanding about the effects of cultural concepts on development projects. By researching the impact of relationships between people of unequal status and the virtue to be cared for as needy, I seek to discover how they affect the development of people related to the specific project of HRDP in the Upazila of Gabtali (Bogra District). It is desired that the lessons learned from the assessment of this case study contribute to the general knowledge about such concepts and to provide ideas how to overcome possible negative to make sure empowerment is not at risk.

YOU MAY LIKE TO ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

Why am I invited to participate?

I obtained your contact details from HRDP in Bogra. You are invited to take part in this research because we feel that your experience as community member or staff member/stakeholder of HRDP can contribute much to this case study. If you accept, you will be asked to take part in a personal interview and/or a discussion with approx. 10 other persons with similar experiences. All together there will be about 25 people participating in this study.

What is the nature of my participation in this study?

The study involves individual interviews with twelve people and two focus groups meetings between March 13th and 24th, 2018. The interview will take place in a safe place in Gabtali. It

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will be conducted with the help of previously prepared and into Bangla translated interview-questions. Your answers will be simultaneously translated into English by a translator and recorded. Each interview will take between 60 and 90 minutes. In the focus group meetings, we will ask questions about the subject of this study and give you time to share your knowledge. The discussion will also take place in Gabtali and last about two hours.

The interview as well as the entire group-discussion will be audio-recorded, but no-one will be identified by name in the report. The tape will be kept safely. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else except the researcher will have access to the tapes.

Can I withdraw from this study even after having agreed to participate?

Participating in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form before the start of the interview or focus group meeting. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What are the potential benefits of taking part in this study?

There will be no direct benefit to you, but your participation is likely to contribute to expand the success of the development project(s) of HRDP which in turn shall have positive effects for your personal and the overall development of the community.

Are there any negative consequences for me if I participate in the research project?

You do not have to take part in this research if you do not wish to do so, and choosing to participate will not affect your involvement with or work in HRDP in any ways. You may stop participating in the interview at any time that you wish without your role or job being affected. While every effort will be made, I cannot guarantee that other participants in the focus group will treat information confidentially. There is a risk that participants may share some personal or confidential information by chance, or that you may feel uncomfortable talking about some of the topics. For this reason, I advise you not to disclose personal sensitive information in the focus group. You do not have to answer any question or take part in the discussion if talking about the topics makes you uncomfortable.

Will the information that I convey to the researcher and my identity be kept confidential?

You have the right to insist that your name will not be recorded anywhere and that no one, apart from the researcher and identified members of the research team, will know about your involvement in this research. Your personal information will remain confidential at all times and no information will be released by the researchers that may lead to the identification of

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individuals. Your answers will be given a code number and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting methods such as conference proceedings. A report of the study may be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in such a report. While every effort will be made by the researcher to ensure that you will not be connected to the information that you share during the interview and/or focus group, I cannot guarantee that other participants will treat information confidentially. Before starting the focus group, I will ask you and others not to talk to people outside the group about what was said in the group.

How will the researcher(s) protect the security of data?

Hard copies of your answers will be stored by the researcher for a minimum period of five years in a locked cupboard in Asten (Austria) for future research or academic purposes; electronic information will be stored on a password protected computer. Future use of the stored data will be subject to further *Research Ethics Review* and approval if applicable. Information will be destroyed if necessary (e.g. hard copies will be shredded and electronic copies on any data storages will be permanently deleted).

Will I receive payment or any incentives for participating?

You will not be provided any incentive to take part in the research. However, we will provide your travel expense if applicable. You should explain and justify any costs incurred in adherence with the principle of fair procedures.

Has the study received ethics approval?

This study has received written approval from the *Research Ethics Review Committee* of Unisa's Department of Development Studies (*Ref. No.:* 2017_DEVSTUD_Student_20). A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you so wish.

How will I be informed of the findings/results of the research?

If you would like to be informed of the final research findings or you require any further information from the researcher, please contact me by phone (+43 7224-65917) or e-mail (philipp.eschbach@gmail.com). The findings are accessible for one year.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.

Philipp Eschbach

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অভিজ্ঞতালব্ধ মানসম্মত গবেষণা
অংশগ্রহণকারীদের দেওয়া তথ্যাবলী শীট

</div>

Ethics clearance Raf. No..2017-DEVSTUD-Student-20

শিরোনাম: ক্ষমতায়নে মালিক (অভিভাবক) এবং পৃষ্ঠপোষক (কর্মচারীর) প্রভাব। বাংলাদেশের উন্নয়ন প্রকল্পে পরিচালিত একটি কেস স্টাডি।

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ফেব্রুয়ারি ২১, ২০১৮

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প্রিয় সম্ভাবনাময় অংশগ্রহণকারীবৃন্দ,

আমার নাম ফিলিপ এসকবাক এবং আমি দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের উন্নয়ন বিষয়ক পাঠের স্নাতকোত্তর (এমএ)-র একজন ছাত্র এবং এই পাঠের অংশ হিসাবে আমি আমার গবেষণা কাজ করছি। আমি আমার গবেষণার বিষয় "ক্ষমতায়নে মালিক (অভিভাবক) ও কর্মচারী (পৃষ্ঠপোষক)-র প্রভাব" এই কেস স্টাডিতে স্বতঃস্ফূর্তভাবে অংশ নেওয়ার জন্য আপনাকে সবিনয় আমন্ত্রণ জানাচ্ছি।

পাঠ বা অধ্যয়নের উদ্দেশ্য কী?

এই অধ্যয়ন বা পাঠ গুরুত্বপূর্ণ তথ্যাবলী সংগ্রহের প্রত্যাশা করে যাতে করে উন্নয়ন প্রকল্পগুলোর উপর সাংস্কৃতিক প্রত্যয়গুলোর প্রভাব সম্পর্কে স্পষ্ট একটি ধারণা দেওয়া যেতে পারে। অসম মর্যাদার লোকদের মধ্যকার সম্পর্কের প্রভাব এবং প্রয়োজন অনুসারে গুণাবলী বা নৈতিকতার প্রতি যত্নশীল হওয়ার বিষয়টি গবেষণা করার মধ্য দিয়ে আমি এই বিষয়টির খোঁজ করি যে, বগুড়া জেলার গাবতলী উপজেলায় কর্মরত বিশেষ করে HRDP প্রকল্পের সাথে সংযুক্ত লোকদের উন্নয়নে এটি কিভাবে প্রভাব বিস্তার করে থাকে। এটি প্রত্যাশিত যে, এই কেস স্টাডি হতে প্রাপ্ত পাঠ্য শিক্ষা এমন ধরনের ধারনা সম্পর্কে সাধারণ জ্ঞান বিস্তারে অবদান রাখবে এবং ক্ষমতায়নের বিষয়টি যে কোন ধরনের ঝুঁকিতে নেই তা নিশ্চিত করতে কিভাবে সম্ভাব্য না-সূচক বিষয়কে অতিক্রম করতে হয় সে সম্পর্কে চিন্তা-ভাবনার যোগান দেবে।

নিচের প্রশ্নগুলো জিজ্ঞাসা করার ব্যাপারটি আপনি পছন্দ করলেও করতে পারেন
আমাকে কেন এই গবেষণায় অংশগ্রহণ করতে আমন্ত্রণ জানানো হলো?

আমি HRDP, বগুড়া হতে আপনার সাথে যোগাযোগের সকল বিবরণ পেয়েছি। আপনাকে এই গবেষণায় অংশ নিতে আমন্ত্রণ জানানো হয়েছে, কারণ আমরা বেশ অনুভব করতে পারছি যে, সমাজের একজন হিসাবে অথবা HRDP- এর একজন কর্মচারী কিংবা সুবিধাভোগী ব্যক্তি হিসাবে আপনার যে অভিজ্ঞতা তা এই কেস স্টাডিতে অনেক বেশী অবদান রাখতে পারবে। যদি আপনি এই আমন্ত্রণ গ্রহণ করেন তাহলে ব্যক্তিগতভাবে আপনার সাক্ষাৎকার নেওয়া হবে এবং/অথবা আপনার মত অভিজ্ঞতা সম্পন্ন অন্যান্য আরও প্রায় দশ (১০) জনের সাথে আলোচনা করা হবে। সব মিলিয়ে প্রায় পঁচিশ (২৫) জন লোক আমার এই কেস স্টাডিতে অংশগ্রহণ করবেন।

এই গবেষণায় আমার অংশগ্রহণের ধরণ বা প্রকৃতি কেমন হবে?

উক্ত গবেষণার মধ্যে মার্চ মাসের ১২ এবং ২৪ তারিখের মধ্যে ব্যক্তিগতভাবে বারো (১২) জনের সাক্ষাৎকার নেওয়া এবং দু'টি আলোকপাতকৃত দলের সাথে সভা করার বিষয়টি যুক্ত রয়েছে। এই সাক্ষাৎকারপর্ব গাবতলী উপজেলার একটি নিরাপদ স্থানে অনুষ্ঠিত হবে। এটি আগে থেকেই প্রস্তুতকৃত

এবং বাংলায় অনুবাদ করা সাক্ষাৎকার-প্রশ্নসমূহের সহযোগিতায় পরিচালিত হবে। আপনার উত্তর তাৎক্ষণিকভাবে অনুবাদকের মাধ্যমে ইংরেজীতে অনুবাদ করা হবে এবং তা ধারণ (রেকর্ড) করাও হবে। প্রতিটি সাক্ষাৎকার ৬০ থেকে ৯০ মিনিটের মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ থাকবে। আলোকপাতকৃত দলের সভায় আমরা এই অধ্যয়ন বা গবেষণার বিষয় সম্পর্কে প্রশ্ন জিজ্ঞাসা করব এবং এ বিষয়ে আপনার প্রাপ্ত জ্ঞান শেয়ার করার জন্য সময়ও দেওয়া হবে। দলীয় আলোচনা সভাও গাবতলীতে হবে এবং তা দুই ঘন্টাব্যাপী স্থায়ী হবে।

সাক্ষাৎকার পর্বের মত সকল দলীয় আলোচনাও ধারণ (রেকর্ড) করা হবে, কিন্তু প্রতিবেদনে কাউকেই নিজ নিজ নামে চিহ্নিত করা হবে না। এই টেপ বা ফিতাটি নিরাপদে সংরক্ষণ করা হবে। যে তথ্যাবলী ধারণ করা হয়েছে তা হবে খুবই গোপনীয় এবং কেবলমাত্র গবেষক ছাড়া আর কেউ-ই এগুলো নিয়ে কাজ করতে পারবেন না।

অংশগ্রহণে রাজী হওয়ার পরও কী আমি এখান থেকে নিজের নাম প্রত্যাহার করতে পারব?

এই অধ্যয়ন বা গবেষণায় আপনারা যারা অংশগ্রহণ করেছেন তারা সকলে স্বেচ্ছাসেবক এবং এখানে অংশগ্রহণ করতে বা সম্মতি দিতে আপনি আইনগতভাবে বাধ্য নন। আপনি যদি এই গবেষণায় অংশ নেওয়ার সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়ে থাকেন তাহলে আপনার কাছে রাখার জন্য আমার এই তথ্য সম্বলিত কাগজগুলো দেওয়া হবে এবং ব্যক্তিগত সাক্ষাৎকার অথবা আলোকপাতকৃত দলের সাথে আলোচনা-পর্ব শুরুর আগেই আপনাকে একটি লিখিত সম্মতিপত্রে স্বাক্ষর করতে হবে। যে কোন সময় এই গবেষণা হতে আপনার নাম তুলে নেওয়ার ক্ষেত্রে আপনি সম্পূর্ণভাবে মুক্ত, এক্ষেত্রে কোন কারণ দেখানো ছাড়াই আপনি নিজেকে গুটিয়ে নিতে পারবেন।

এই গবেষণায় অংশ নেওয়ায় আমার কী কী উপকার বা সুবিধা হবে?

এটি প্রত্যক্ষ বা সরাসরিভাবে আপনার কোন উপকার করবে না বটে, কিন্তু আপনার এই অংশগ্রহণ HRDP- এর উন্নয়ন প্রকল্প (প্রকল্পসমূহ)-র সফলতাগুলোকে চারিদিকে ছড়িয়ে দেওয়ার ক্ষেত্রে অনেক অবদান রাখবে যা মূলত আপনার ব্যক্তিগত জীবন তথা সমাজ বা গোত্রের সার্বিক উন্নয়নে ইতিবাচক প্রভাব বজায় রাখবে।

এই গবেষণায় অংশগ্রহণ করলে আমার জন্য কোনরূপ নেতিবাচক ফল হবে কি না?

আপনি যদি ইচ্ছা না করেন তাহলে এই গবেষণা কাজে আপনার অংশগ্রহণের দরকার নেই। আর যদি অংশ নেন তাহলে আপনি HRDP- এর সাথে যুক্ত থাকলে কিংবা সেখানে কাজ করলেও তার উপর কোনরূপ প্রভাব পড়বে না। আপনি ইচ্ছা করলে যে কোন সময় এই সাক্ষাৎকার পর্বে অংশ নেওয়া থেকে বিরত থাকতে পারেন। সব প্রচেষ্টা সম্পন্ন হতে হতে আমি আপনাকে এই নিশ্চয়তা দিতে পারি না যে, আলোকপাতকৃত দলের মধ্যে থাকা অন্যান্যরা তথ্যগুলো গোপন রাখবেন। এখানে এরূপ ঝুঁকি থেকেই যায় যে, অংশগ্রহণকারীরা অসাবধানতাবশত কিছু কিছু ব্যক্তিগত অথবা গোপনীয় তথ্য অন্যান্যদের সাথে শেয়ার করলেও করতে পারেন। এই কারণে আমার পরামর্শ হলো- আপনি আপনার ব্যক্তিগত কোন সংবেদনশীল তথ্য কখনই আলোকপাতকৃত দলের মাঝে প্রকাশ করবেন না। এখানকার বিষয়সমূহ সম্পর্কে কথা বলা যদি আপনার কোন অস্বস্তির সৃষ্টি করে তাহলে আপনাকে অবশ্যই কোন প্রশ্নের উত্তর দিতে হবে না কিংবা দলীয় আলোচনায় অংশও নিতে হবে না।

আমি এই গবেষণায় যে সব তথ্য জানিয়েছি সেই সব এবং আমার ব্যক্তিগত পরিচয় কী গোপন রাখা হবে?

আপনার নাম যাতে রেকর্ড বা ধারণ করা না হয় সেজন্য জোর খাটানোর অধিকার আপনার রয়েছে, এক্ষেত্রে কেবলমাত্র গবেষক এবং গবেষণা দলের চিহ্নিত ব্যক্তিবর্গ ছাড়া আর কেউ-ই এই

গবেষণা কাজের সাথে যুক্ত থাকার বিষয়টি জানবে না। সব সময়ের জন্য আপনার ব্যক্তিগত তথ্যগুলো গোপন রাখা হবে এবং গবেষক কর্তৃক এমন কোন তথ্য প্রকাশ করা হবে না যা কোন ব্যক্তিকে ব্যক্তিগতভাবে চিহ্নিত করতে পারে। আপনার দেওয়া উত্তরগুলোতে একটি নির্দিষ্ট কোড নম্বর দেওয়া থাকবে এবং একটি প্রক্রিয়ার মধ্য দিয়ে কোন ডাটা বা উপাত্ত, প্রকাশনা অথবা গবেষণা প্রতিবেদন পদ্ধতির মধ্য দিয়ে আপনাকে তুলে ধরা হবে। এই অধ্যয়ন বা গবেষণার একটি প্রতিবেদন ছাপনানোর জন্য দেওয়া হবে, কিন্তু অংশগ্রহণকারীদের ব্যক্তিগতভাবে এরূপ প্রতিবেদনে প্রকাশ করা কিংবা তুলে ধরা হবে না। গবেষকের সব ধরনের প্রচেষ্টা এটি নিশ্চিত করে যে, আপনি সাক্ষাৎকার দেওয়ার সময়ে কিংবা আলোকপাতকৃত দলে থাকবার সময়ে যে সব তথ্য দিয়েছেন তার সাথে আপনি আর যুক্ত থাকবেন না। আমি আপনাকে নিশ্চয়তা দিতে পারি না যে, অন্যান্য অংশগ্রহণকারীরা এই সব তথ্যগুলোর গোপনীয়তা রক্ষা করবেন। আলোকপাতকৃত দলের সাথে কাজ শুরু করার আগে আমি আপনাকে এবং অন্যান্যদের বলব যে, এই দলের মধ্যে যে সব বিষয় বলা হয়েছে সে সম্বন্ধে আপনারা দলের বাইরের কোন লোকের সাথে কোনরূপ কথাবার্তা বলবেন না।

গবেষক/গবেষকবৃন্দ কিভাবে উপাত্তগুলোর নিরাপত্তা রক্ষা করবেন?

আপনার উত্তরমালার হার্ড কপিগুলো গবেষক কর্তৃক অন্ততপক্ষে পাঁচ বছরের জন্য ভবিষ্যৎ কোন গবেষণা অথবা প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক কোন উদ্দেশ্যে অস্ট্রিন (অস্ট্রিয়া)-এর আলমারীতে তালাবদ্ধ করে রাখা হবে; আর ইলেকট্রনিক উপাত্তগুলো পাসওয়ার্ড দেওয়া যায় এমন কম্পিউটারে সংরক্ষণ করা হবে। ভবিষ্যতে ব্যবহারের জন্য রাখা তথ্যগুলো পরবর্তীকালের Research Ethics Review এবং নৈতিক অনুমতির প্রয়োজন হলে বিবেচনা করে দেখা হবে। প্রয়োজন হলে তথ্যগুলো ধ্বংস করে ফেলা হবে (উদাহরণস্বরূপ: হার্ড কপিগুলো সম্পূর্ণভাবে নষ্ট করতে হবে এবং ইলেকট্রনিক কপিগুলো স্থায়ীভাবে বিলুপ্ত/ধ্বংস করে ফেলতে হবে)।

গবেষণায় অংশ নেওয়ার জন্য কী এখান থেকে আমাকে কোন টাকা-পয়সা কিংবা উপঢৌকন/উপহার দেওয়া হবে?

গবেষনায় অংশ নেওয়ার জন্য আপনাকে তেমন কোন কিছু দেওয়া হবে না, তবে প্রয়োজন অনুযায়ী আমরা আপনাকে কেবলমাত্র যাতায়াত খরচ প্রদান করব। আপনার উচিত হবে এর সাথে সম্পর্কিত খরচগুলোর বিষয়ে সর্বোচ্চ সততা এবং নীতিবোধ বজায় রেখে পরিস্কার একটি ব্যাখ্যা প্রদান করা।

এই গবেষণা বা অধ্যয়নের কী কোন নৈতিক অনুমোদন আছে?

এই গবেষণা বা অধ্যয়নটি দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ডেভেলপমেন্ট স্টাডিস- এর রিসার্স এথিকস্ রিভিউ কমিটি কর্তৃক নীতিগতভাবে অনুমোদন লাভ করেছে (Ethics clearance Ref. No..2017-DEVSTUD-Student-20)। আপনি চাইলে এই অনুমোদনের চিঠি গবেষকের কাছ থেকে নেওয়া যেতে পারে।

এই গবেষণা হতে প্রাপ্ত ফলাফল কিভাবে আমাকে জানানো হবে?

আপনি যদি চান যে, চূড়ান্ত গবেষনার বিষয়গুলো আপনাকে জানানো হোক কিংবা আপনি যদি গবেষকের কাছ থেকে আরও কোন তথ্য পেতে চান তাহলে দয়া করে এই নম্বরে (+৪৩৭২২৪-৬৫৯১১৭) যোগাযোগ করুন কিংবা ই-মেইল করুন (philipp.eschbach@gmail.com). আগামী এক বছরের জন্য এই গবেষণা হতে প্রাপ্ত ফলাফলগুলোর খোঁজ করা যাবে।

তথ্য নির্ভর এই পৃষ্ঠাগুলো ধৈয সহকারে পড়ার এবং এই গবেষণা কাজে স্বত:স্ফূর্তভাবে অংশগ্রহণ করার জন্য আপনাকে আন্তরিকভাবে ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি।

ফিলিপ এসকবাক

CONSENT FORM

For Participants of the Study **"The Effect of Entitlement and Patronage on Empowerment. A Case Study on a Development Project in Bangladesh."**

Ethics Clearance Ref. No.: 2017_DEVSTUD_Student_20

I …………………………………………………………………. hereby consent to participate in the research to be undertaken by Philipp Eschbach for his dissertation at the University of South Africa (UNISA).

I understand that the purpose of the research in this development project of HRDP Bangladesh is to study – with the help of interviews and focus groups – the effects of entitlement and patronage on empowerment.

Data will be used for research purposes for a dissertation towards a Master of Arts degree in Development Studies with the same aims and objectives.

I acknowledge

> 1. that the aims and procedures of the research have been explained to me.

> 2. that I voluntarily and freely give my consent to my participation in this research.

> 3. that my personal and communal views on social and cultural values are always respected.

> 4. that my participation will not cause any harm, both during and as a result of the research.

> 5. that the information given by me will be kept confidential and I have the right to stay anonymous. The analysed information will be generalised and not be attached to me.

> 6. that I understand that aggregated results will be used for research purposes and may be reported in scientific and academic journals.

> 7. that I am free to withdraw my consent at any moment until two weeks after giving my consent, in which event my participation in the research study will immediately cease and any information obtained from me will not be used.

Please select one option:

> ☐ I want to be named in this research, so that my contribution to this research can be acknowledged. Quotes of me shall appear with my name.

> ☐ I do not want my name to appear in this research. All information in this respect must be anonymous.

Signature: ………………………………………… Date: ………………………………

সম্মতিজ্ঞাপন পত্র/ফরম

অংশগ্রহণকারীদের জন্য অধ্যয়নের বিষয় হচ্ছে, **"ক্ষমতায়নে মালিক (অভিভাবক) এবং কর্মচারী (পৃষ্ঠপোষক)-দের প্রভাব। বাংলাদেশে পরিচালিত উন্নয়ন প্রকল্পের উপর একটি কেস স্টাডি।"** Ethics clearance Raf. No..2017-DEVSTUD-Student-20

আমি . . . . এই মর্মে দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ছাত্র ফিলিপ এসকবারের গবেষণাপত্রে অংশগ্রহণ করার সম্মতি প্রদান করছি।

আমি বুঝতে পারছি যে, সাক্ষাৎদানকারী ও আলোকপাতকৃত দলের সাহায্য নিয়ে HRDP, বাংলাদেশ-এ উন্নয়ন প্রকল্পে এই গবেষণার উদ্দেশ্য হলো অধ্যয়ন করা. যার মূল শিরোনাম হলো ক্ষমতায়নে মালিক ও পৃষ্ঠপোষকদের প্রভাব।

এই গবেষণা থেকে পাওয়া তথ্য-উপাত্তগুলো একই লক্ষ্য ও উদ্দেশ্যকে সঙ্গে করে উন্নয়ন বিষয়ক স্নাতকোত্তর লেখাপড়ায় ব্যবহৃত হবে।

আমি স্বীকার করি যে,

১. এই গবেষণার লক্ষ্য ও প্রক্রিয়াসমূহ আমার কাছে ব্যাখ্যা করা হয়েছে।

২. আমি স্বেচ্ছায় ও স্বাধীনভাবে এই গবেষণায় আমার সম্মতি প্রদান করেছি।

৩. সামাজিক ও সাংস্কৃতিক মূল্যবোধের উপর আমার ব্যক্তিগত ও সার্বজনীন দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি সব সময়ের জন্য প্রশংসিত।

৪. বর্তমান সময় এবং সেই সঙ্গে গবেষণার ফলাফলে আমার অংশগ্রহণ কোনরূপ ক্ষতি সাধন করবে না।

৫. আমি যে সব তথ্য দিয়েছি তা গোপন রাখা হবে এবং এখানে বেনামে বা ছদ্মনামে থাকার অধিকার আমার থাকবে। বিশ্লেষণধর্মী তথ্যগুলো সাধারণের মাঝে ছড়িয়ে দেওয়া হবে এবং তা নভাবেই আমার সাথে সংযুক্ত হবে না।

৬. আমি বুঝতে পারি যে, এখান থেকে পাওয়া ফলাফল গবেষণার উদ্দেশ্যে ব্যবহৃত হবে এবং সেগুলো কোন বৈজ্ঞানিক এবং শিক্ষামূলক পত্রিকায় ছাপানোও হতে পারে।

৭, আমার সম্মতি জ্ঞাপনের পর থেকে দুই সপ্তাহ না হওয়া পযন্ত যে কোন সময় আমার এই সম্মতি তুলে নেওয়ার ব্যাপারে আমি সম্পূর্ণভাবে মুক্ত বা স্বাধীন।

দয়া করে নিচের যে কোন একটি বেছে নিন:

☐ আমি চাই যেন এই গবেষণায় আমার নাম যুক্ত থাকে, সেই সঙ্গে এই গবেষণায় আমার যে অবদান রয়েছে তা যেন স্বীকার করা হয়। আমার উদ্ধৃতিগুলো আমার নিজের নামেই দেখতে পাওয়া যাক।

☐ এই গবেষণায় আমার নামের উল্লেখ না থাকুক। এক্ষেত্রে যাবতীয় তথ্যাবলী বেনামে বা ছদ্মনামে প্রকাশ করা হোক।

স্বাক্ষর: ……………………………………. তারিখ: ………………………………

পরিচিতি নম্বর (প্রযোজ্য হলে): ……………………………

APPENDIX F – DIARY AND MAP OF THE CASE STUDY

Diary of Case Study from 12. - 25. March 2018

Purpose	Data gathering in a local development project of HRDP Bangladesh to undertake an empirical qualitative case study about the effect of entitlement and patronage on empowerment.
Time	12. - 26. March 2018
Place	Gabtali upazila (a sub-district of Bogra)
Goals	Conducting 12+ informant interviews and two focus-group discussions in a participative way within of 5-6 working days.
Researcher	Philipp Eschbach, Student at Unisa, South Africa
Pursued Degree	Master of Arts in Development Studies

Date / Time	What	Who
12.03. 08:00	Arrival (landing) at DAC with EK 582 from Dubai.	P
afterwards	CBCB centre: Meeting with leading staff & training.	P, HRDP
evening	Meeting with DL at YMCA: Future involvement.	P, DL
13.03 morning	Meeting with PB: Exchange knowledge about patronage and entitlement. Test interview.	P, PB
afternoon	Meeting with D.T. board.	J, Board
14.03.	Travel to Bogra by bus (9h due to extensive roadworks); Preparations during journey.	P, R
evening	Settle in home of Z. & family (accommodation)	
15.03. morning	Meeting at Bogra office with staff to prepare research (coordinate procedures & appointments);	P, R, Z,
	Meet translator: Procedures, schedule, testing.	P, TL
afternoon	Down-town: Shopping, lunch, coaching	
evening	Sirjakandi: Participate in birthday party of T.	P, R
16.03.	Off-Day: study during morning; Lunch w. Z. family	
afternoon/ev.	Sightseeing to Gokul Meth & eating out.	P, R
17.03. morning	Meeting in HRDP office for preparations; travel to Durgahata (1.5h due to traffic); Introduction, sampling and conducting 3 interviews; Lunch in village.	P, TL, R,
		P, R, TL, 3 I
	Back to Bogra; Evaluation and paperwork;	
mid-afternoon	Meeting with T&D trainees, 5 of its former teacher	P
late afternoon	and students of HRDP; evening at hosts.	P, R,
18.03. morning	Meeting in HRDP office; briefing of Wadid (alternative translator as TL is ill); 10am travel to Moddhomarcho; Introduction, sampling, 3 interviews;	P, R, TL, 3 I
mid-afternoon	Back to Bogra; Lunch out; evaluation & preparation,	P, R
evening	Evening with host family	

19.03. morning	Meeting in HRDP office; 9am travel to Sanai Pukur – accident on the way (lost front wheel on CNG); Introduction, sampling, 4 interviews. Back to Bogra; Lunch in restaurant.	P, R, TL, 4 I
mid-afternoon	Evaluation, paperwork & preparations.	P
evening	Meeting and dinner with staff.	P, R, H
20.03. morning	Meeting in HRDP office; 9am travel to Bilshorolia; Introduction, sampling, 4 interviews; Lunch in village; Back to Bogra	P, R, TL, 4 I
mid-afternoon	Prepare programme & questions for focus groups.	P
evening	Shopping at market; Dinner & sharing with hosts	P, Z, S
21.03. morning	Preparation of focus groups with TL at HRDP office;	P, TL
	Travel to Moddhomarcho; Visit HRDP Village Primary School; Focus group with beneficiaries (12);	P, TL, 19 I
afternoon	Focus group with project staff (7 people);	
late afternoon	Returning to Bogra; Dinner out	P, TL, R
22.03. morning	Evaluation in HRDP office; Visit of 5 HSS (Sports Projects); Lunch with teachers;	P, R
mid-afternoon	Evaluation; Preparations for team meeting	P, R, Z
late-afternoon	Participating and sharing with fellowship;	P, local staff
evening	Walk through Bogra; Dinner with hosts	P, Z, S
23.03. morning	Day off: Rest and personal study	P
afternoon	Caleb training with R.; Int. Trade Fare & shopping	P, R
evening	Dinner at hosts, evaluation and closure	P, Z, S, PB
24.03. morning	Travel with PB back to Dhaka, Q&A with PB	P, PB
mid-afternoon	Meeting with director at HRDP headquarters	P, J
evening	Dinner out with HRDP director and family	P, J + family
25.03.	Dhaka office: Evaluation, D.T. meeting, shopping	P, J + others
evening	Prepare for departure; 22:00 to airport	P, J
26.03. 01:40	Departure at DAC airport with EK 585 to Dubai	P

Acronyms:

P = Researcher (Philipp Eschbach)

J = National director of HRDP

Z = Regional leader HRDP Bogra

R = Organiser/leading staff member HRDP Bogra

TL = Translator

I = Interviewee

Map of the Gabtali (Sub-district of Bogra):

Figure F.1: Map of Gabtali with Places of Research

(Source: LGED 2018)

APPENDIX G – FOCUS-GROUP QUESTIONS

Questions to discuss with Project Beneficiaries:

1.) What are the biggest (development) needs in your village so that you and your family are able to have a bright future?
Discuss in small group and come up with 3-5 specific issues.

2.) What would be different in your life if they would be met?
Discuss in small group and share 3-4 points with everyone.

3.) What is the reason for the current situation? Why have the needs not been met yet? Discuss in small group and share your answers in the big group.

4.) What projects, personal skills and resources are already available in your community which you yourself could contribute? Discuss in small group and write a list of items. Present your list to the others.

5.) What additional help would you need from people outside of this village? Who are those people who could help you?
Discuss in small group and make a list, ordered in priorities.

6.) How can you bring your needs to the attention of those people or groups? What do they expect from you instead? Discuss in big group.

7.) How could HRDP help you to further develop your skills?

Questions to discuss with HRDP Project Staff:

1.) What do you think are the biggest (development) needs in the villages in the Gabtali area? Discuss in small group and come up with 3-5 specific issues.

2.) What would be different in the people's life if they would be met?
Discuss in small group and share 3-4 points with all.

3.) Why do you think are those needs not solved yet?
Discuss in small group and share your answers with the big group.

4.) What projects, personal skills and resources are already available in the community you work in? Alternatively: How could you as HRDP staff best find out about the present capabilities of the villagers?
Discuss in small group and write a list of items. Present your list to the other group.

5.) What additional help would be needed from the outside? Who are those people? Discuss in small group and make a list, ordered in priorities.

6.) How can you bring your needs to the attention of influential and "rich" people? What do they expect from you instead? Discuss in big group.

7.) Do the village people expect you to help them more since you work as teacher/staff with HRDP and how do you (are you able to) handle this pressure?
Share in big group.

APPENDIX H – TRANSCRIPTIONS

Transcriptions of Interviews:

<u>LCP1</u>

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; LCP1 (180317_0017) = Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: For how long have you been part of this social development project of HRDP?
3	Int: Like one year.
4	Philipp: How did you get involved? How did you know that you can do literacy class?
5	Int: When I saw other people were admitted here, in this literacy class, then I was interested and I also got admitted.
6	Philipp: How have you and your family benefited, from doing this 9 months of literacy class?
7	Int: Now I can write my name, and also type on the mobile. And I can also read. That's the main affect on my life. Now I can do everything.
8	Philipp: How does this affect your family? I assume you are married and have children…
9	Int: Now I can teach my children.
10	Philipp: Ok, good. So what makes this project, HRDP, special for you?
11	Int: It's making me good.
12	Philipp: What do you mean, what does 'good' mean? Can you give an example?
13	Int: It's good.
14	Philipp: Mhm, happy?
15	Int: Yeah, I am happy.
16	Philipp: Ok, great. So can you share with me what social family development means for you personally? Like not the project of HRDP, but what does education, development, mean for you?
17	Int: It is good for my life, because now I can read and write everything and I can teach my children.
18	Philipp: Ok, yes. So, what is your dream for life and what needs to happen that this will become reality?
19	Int: Actually my main dream is that I can make my family very easy, that I can give my family an easy life. Like a sewing machine, you can use to tailor clothes. I can tailor clothes, that's the main dream. That I can make myself very established.
20	Philipp: Mhm, ok. So what do you need that this happens? What do you need, for example, that life is easy for your family? That they can tailor clothes and so on…Do you need any help, and which help?
21	Int: I need a sewing machine and to learn about tailoring.
22	Philipp: Ok. Now how has the literacy class you attended, impact your wellbeing?
23	Int: Before the literacy class I could do nothing about the reading and writing. Now I can do both, reading and writing.

24	Philipp: Because you can now read and write, are there now some possibilities that you can start to do or pursue? And which ones?
25	Int: Can you make the question simpler?
26	Philipp: Yes. You said that you can now type on your mobile phone, read something. How will you apply this in your daily life?
27	Int: When I teach my children, then I can help them. I can also make a phone call easily.
28	Philipp: Ok, so for example you can have your own contact with your friends because you can dial the phone yourself…
29	Int: Yeah.
30	Philipp: Good. So a different question. What social virtues are necessary to have a good life, or what social values do you need in living together, ehm, to have a good life?
31	Int: That's the same question as before…
32	Philipp: Ok, I'll ask a different question. Do you have any expectations from people who are rich or who have influence in this village?
33	Int: My main expectation is, who is this person. I don't need to do anything, but I want to make it. I want to make myself rich. That's the main expectation.
34	Philipp: Ok. How do you think this will happen? To make yourself rich…
35	Int: I can make myself rich with hard work, like with a sewing machine, tailoring work, because I'm a lady. So I can use the sewing machine.
36	Philipp: Ok. So can those rich people expect something from you, or do they expect something from you? And what?
37	Int: Nothing.
38	Philipp: Ok. So in Bangladesh there is a moral tradition about giving and receiving gifts. How does this, what does this mean in your daily life?
39	Int: It has a bad affect, because this giving and receiving, this problem, is mainly loan "this type" [probably meaning "for example"], it's very bad for life.
40	Philipp: So, you said loans. Lending money. What makes it bad, to get a loan?
41	Int: When I received the money loan, like as a limited amount, and when I have to return this amount, then I have to give a big amount. That's very bad, and it has a bad affect for us.
42	Philipp: Mhm.
43	Int: I'm talking about the interest.
44	Philipp: Ok. So then you have rich people, poor people, people with influence, less in-fluence. How does this affect the relationships in this village? The different social status, how does it affect relationship in this village?
45	Int: It is a different relationship. Rich people and poor people are not similar. Because one is rich, one is poor. They can't make a good friendship.
46	Philipp: So can you give me an example, of what this looks like?
47	Int: The rich people give no time to poor people.
48	Philipp: They give no time?
49	Int: They give no time to poor people, they maintain their status.

50	Philipp: Ok. Their status. Thank you. In HRDP, is there a similar situation between people who have many things to say and people who have nothing to say?
51	Int: HRDP said that if you complete the literacy class, then you can make yourself strong and you can do anything, like as a job, private work, this type of…
52	Philipp: Mhm. But within the project of HRDP, do you feel a separation between your teacher and the students? Is there, and the other leaders of HRDP, is this like one family or is this also like rich and poor?
53	Int: All are equals, no separation.
54	Philipp: Why do you think there is no separation in this project?
55	Int: They are very friendly. They work with us and they don't make any gaps as a teacher as a student. All are the same position, all are gathering there.
56	Philipp: That's very nice to hear. So, if you were the director of this project, HRDP, would you do something different to be able to help the people in this village?
57	Int: I have to do the education first. The situation is making me strong. And also, to teach all villagers to read and write. Actually I arrange for them some help which will [contribute to] their simple life, which [got] created for themselves, for their living.
58	Philipp: Mhm. Ok. This is a very good desire you have. So if all villagers would be able to read and write, what difference would it make for the village here? What would be different?
59	Int: If all villagers would get educated, through this literacy class, then the next generation would be educated and it would be very good for the village.
60	Philipp: Ok. So you think also about the future of your children?
61	Int: Yeah, I'm thinking about the future of my children.
62	Philipp: Do you have children, and how many?
63	Int: I have a son, he is reading in primary school. And I have a daughter, she is in the literacy class.
64	Philipp: Ok good. Are there any questions you have? Do you want to add something?
65	Int: I have no questions. I am very happy to meet you.
66	Philipp: Thank you, I'm also happy to meet you. Send my greetings to your family.

LCP2

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; LCP2 (180317_0018) = Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: My first question to you is, for how long are you part of this social development project of HRDP?
3	Int: 6 months.
4	Philipp: How did you hear about this project?
5	Int: I heard first about education. Then I took my daughter to the school.
6	Philipp: Ok, so your daughter is currently at the village primary school.
7	Int: Yeah.
8	Philipp: Which year is she doing?

9	Int: She is seven.
10	Philipp: I mean, which class?
11	Int: Class two.
12	Philipp: Good. How does your family benefit from this project, from the literacy class and from primary school?
13	Int: I am receiving some books and note books, because they (the project) give it for free, and it's very good for us.
14	Philipp: Mhm, ok. So what makes this project, and the school you could participate in, special for you? What did you learn there?
15	Int: Actually I could not read and write before, and now I can write and read. My daughter also is learning here, still learning here. And they give books and notebooks for free, otherwise I couldn't buy it. It's very good for us.
16	Philipp: Ok, wow. So, for you and your husband, you're farmers…what does it mean, this social or family development program, for you as a family?
17	Int: My husband is very happy about this project. He's very happy for this, and now we can read and write. And that's why we're very thankful for HRDP.
18	Philipp: Can you husband read and write?
19	Int: A little bit.
20	Philipp: But now you can help him…
21	Int: Yeah I can help.
22	Philipp: Ok, that's good. What is your dream for life, what is your desire for the future?
23	Int: My first hope is, I have to pray and say thank you to God. And that my children become good or increase in becoming very educated people, improving their lives. That's the main dream.
24	Philipp: So to improve your life, what do you need, what help do you need, that you and your children can improve their lives?
25	Int: I want some development.
26	Philipp: What do you mean by development? Do you have some examples?
27	Int: My husband is not working now. So we are hopeful about our children, that they can make themselves strong with this class, they can get educated and become strong people. That's the main expectation.
28	Philipp: Will your children then be able to support you when you get older? Is this something that you hope for?
29	Int: No I (or we) don't depend on our children, I have to make myself strong. It's not certain that they will help me or not.
30	Philipp: So do you have any ideas of how you can make yourself strong?
31	Int: I am searching for a job which will give me a good position.
32	Philipp: Do you have an idea of what kind of job you would like to do?
33	Int: Yes, tailoring.
34	Philipp: So can I say, through the literacy class you learned to read and write, and now the next step is tailoring?

35	Int: Yes, the second step is tailoring.
36	Philipp: So is there someone in the village, or someone, who could help you to fulfill this dream of becoming a tailor?
37	Int: Nobody here. Because I am poor and nobody can help me.
38	Philipp: Are there people here in this village or in your family, who have influence or maybe money, who could help you?
39	Int: Nobody.
40	Philipp: So HRDP has helped you to learn to read and write. Can you expect from other people, to help you, like from rich and influential people? And what is needed that this can happen?
41	Int: No, nobody can help me.
42	Philipp: Ok, so I think I want to pray for you that you find people who will be able to fulfill your dream.
43	Int: That's a good idea.
44	Philipp: Yes. So if there would be someone who could help you. So if there was someone to help you, what would they require from you?
45	Int: Nobody can help me, because I don't know these types of people.
46	Philipp: Ok. In Bangladesh there is the tradition of giving and receiving gifts. Do you experience this in you family and how do you do this?
47	Int: I don't receive any gifts, I'm neutral.
48	Philipp: So, you said your husband is a farmer. Is he a day labourer or does he own his own land?
49	Int: My husband is an owner and he is a day labourer, and he is working his own land.
50	Philipp: So does he need to pay back money to an owner, to an owner of land or so?
51	Int: He has to pay tax, government tax.
52	Philipp: So he has to pay government tax regularly. Is this a burden for you and your family? And how do you do this?
53	Int: He has to pay once a year. It depends on how much land you have.
54	Philipp: But government are people who have a big status. How do you relate with them, do you have a good relationship or no relationship?
55	Int: I don't see them. But my husband sees them when he pays to the municipality office, so I can't say anything about them.
56	Philipp: But your husband doesn't fear those people, they are nice and friendly?
57	Int: They are friendly.
58	Philipp: Ok good, I'm glad. So if you were the director of the project here, if you had influence, what would you do differently to help people fulfill their dreams?
59	Int: I want to help all the villagers. That's the main dream.
60	Philipp: Mhm. Do you have any idea how you could help?
61	Int: I would help them by giving them some money, and through hospitality.

62	Philipp: Like an open house, with food and shelter?
63	Int: Yes, this type of hospitality. And also give them money, to help improve their lives.
64	Philipp: That's a very nice virtue of yours, you have a big heart for people. Maybe my last question: If everybody would think like you, with a big heart and desire to help, what difference would it make in this village?
65	Int: Yeah, I am feeling very happy.
66	Philipp: Yes. Do you have anything you want to ask me, or anything to add.
67	Int: Nothing, thanks.
68	Philipp: Thank you.

LCP3

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; LCP3 (180319_0023) = Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: How did you become part of the literacy class last year? Who asked you to become a student?
3	Int: Brother R.
4	Philipp: How did you and your family benefit from the literacy class?
5	Int: It has many benefits, now we can read, write, and also write letters. We couldn't before, but now we can.
6	Philipp: What makes this project of HRDP, the literacy class, and the primary school, special for you and the village?
7	Int: It is a very big help to us, and also for the villagers. Nobody could sign or read anything, but after this class, all can do this.
8	Philipp: What is your dream for your life, and what needs to happen that it becomes reality?
9	Int: I only just have a plan, I have to grow up more, and teach, and learn more from this school. That is the main thing.
10	Philipp: That wasn't clear. Your plan is to…?
11	Int: Only to read and write.
12	Philipp: This is your dream, only to read and write?
13	Int: Yes. Because I am growing old, and I have no other plans/dreams.
14	Philipp: But for your children and grandchildren, how do you think the literacy class and primary school will help them for their future?
15	Int: It is very helpful for my family and grandchildren.
16	Philipp: What and how will it help?
17	Int: It is very good.
18	Philipp: Is there a possibility for your grandchild, him/her to continue after primary school?
19	Int: Yes, it is possible.

20	Philipp: Do you have some examples? What could he do in the village?
21	Int: Nobody was interested in reading, writing and learning, but after HRDP, now everyone is interested. It is very helpful for the villagers, now they can use the mobile, sign things, and read books.
22	Philipp: Are there other people in your village, or in Gabtali, who could help you to have a good future?
23	Int: Nobody can help.
24	Philipp: Why do you think that nobody can help you?
25	Int: Because there is nobody here, because all are poor.
26	Philipp: But if someone would come and say, "I want to help you"? What would you ask this person for, how could they help?
27	Int: I have no expectations, just that education would make us strong. HRDP gives us free books, notebooks, and things. Government schools don't. It's hard to make it (????) 9:09.
28	Philipp: So government schools don't give you books and pencils?
29	Int: No.
30	Philipp: So you have to buy it yourself, if your child goes to a government school?
31	Int: Yes.
32	Philipp: Why do you think the government school makes you buy it yourself?
33	Int: It's very painful [hard] for us, but it's compulsory for us to buy them.
34	Philipp: But why do they make you buy it? Is there another possibility?
35	Int: No. I have to buy.
36	Philipp: Is there a way you can encourage rich and influential people to help you? What could you do for them, that they say, "We want to help you in the village"?
37	Int: If anyone offers me help, then I would want a job. It would be very helpful for me and my family.
38	Philipp: So, to be able to get a job from anyone, do you need to give this person something to make this person happy? What could you do to get a job?
39	Int: If anyone offers me a job, then it would cost some money. If I would give them some money, then they would give me a job.
40	Philipp: So do I understand right? You actually have to pay someone, so that this person gives you a job?
41	Int: Yes.
42	Philipp: Why do they ask you to pay, that they give you a job?
43	Int: It's very bad for us, because nobody can earn money through a job. It's very harmful.
44	Philipp: So how can you have a good relationship with other people in this village? What do you need to do to have a good and friendly life? Are there any virtues or behaviours that you have to respect or live out?
45	Int: We have to make good friendships, don't argue with others, make others happy.
46	Philipp: You said, don't argue. Why are you not allowed to argue?

47	Int: We have to always be friendly.
48	Philipp: So how do relationships between people with a lot of money and influence, and people in your village, affect the way you deal with each other?
49	Int: Nobody can help us. I have a son who is jobless, but nobody can offer him a job.
50	Philipp: Because you don't have money.
51	Int: Yes.
52	Philipp: With HRDP, do you also have to give them money, that they help you?
53	Int: No.
54	Philipp: Why do you think you don't have to give them money?
55	Int: Nobody can offer or give them money.
56	Philipp: But what is the difference between HRDP and others? Because HRDP helps you for free, and others help you only if you give them money…
57	Int: Actually there is no difference. HRDP also doesn't offer money and others also don't offer money or jobs.
58	Philipp: But HRDP offers literacy class and school for free. Do you have to pay for this?
59	Int: No, it's free.
60	Philipp: So if you were the director of HRDP, what would you do differently to help the people in this village?
61	Int: First, if anyone needs some cow, goat or hens, this type of farms, I would help them. This type of help, who needs something, then I would…
62	Philipp: Would provide a cow or a goat…
63	Int: Yes, this type of help, I would have to make a plan…
64	Philipp: Yes, you have a big heart for the people. I feel this. And I wish for you that it continues and that you experience that God will be your help. Any questions?
65	Int: I just have an expectation, I have a son who is jobless. If anyone could give him a job, it would be very good for us.
66	Philipp: Yes. I will think, remember, and pray for him that he would get a job.
67	Int: He is doing nothing, that's why he can't get married. Because the girl's parents don't accept a jobless man. So that's why we have a big problem.
68	Philipp: Thank you for your openess to share. I appreciate this.

LCP4

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; LCP4 (180320_0027) = Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: How was it possible that you could become involved in the literacy class?
3	Int: My grandson was studying there, so that's how I got involved.
4	Philipp: Was he in the primary school or the literacy class?
5	Int: The literacy class. My husband's brother's son.

6	Philipp: Ok. That's your nephew. So your nephew was studying in the literacy class and then they invited you to come as well?
7	Int: Yes.
8	Philipp: What did you learn there?
9	Int: At first we learned the alphabet. In the book, there are ideas about farming land, and also house keeping, like cooking, and cleaning.
10	Philipp: So this was all part of the literacy class?
11	Int: Yes.
12	Philipp: So, how did your family benefit now from the fact that you have been able to attend the literacy class?
13	Int: We have been benefited, because now we can read and write our own names. We are able to increase our knowledge, making our futures bright and strong.
14	Philipp: So why do you believe the education of people, through literacy class in this village, is so important?
15	Int: We have become very strong through this class. Now we have more knowledge after finishing the literacy class. We have learned many things. Nobody can cheat now.
16	Philipp: Why did people cheat you?
17	Int: Now we don't need other type of people for this, so nobody can cheat.
18	Philipp: Have you been cheated before, and why did people cheat you?
19	Int: Nobody can cheat us and our family.
20	Int: My husband was a very simple guy, so he didn't need others, he was very simple before he died. So now nobody can cheat me anymore.
21	Philipp: So nobody can cheat you anymore, and before you were cheated many times and years ago?
22	Int: Yes, years ago I was cheated many times. My husband and his younger brother earned some money and bought some land. They also donated this land to the primary school, state school.
23	Philipp: Did they get cheated when they did this?
24	Int: Many people cheated them. They tried to destroy this project, because my husband was good thinking. Some people didn't like this type of idea, so many people tried to cheat them.
25	Philipp: Yes, this is very sad. So you have a lot of experience, because you have lived many years of your life. Do you still have a dream, or some hope for your family? What dreams do you have for them?
26	Int: I have only one dream, for my son. That he gets a government job, then my dream will come true. My son completed an honors degree.
27	Philipp: How is it possible for him to get that government job? What does he need to do so that they will give him this good job?
28	Int: If we go to some political leaders and give them some extra money, then it will be possible that he gets the job.
29	Philipp: Ok, so besides giving these influential people money, are there other behaviours necessary to get help or fulfill a dream?

30	Int: We need both, because we first have to make a good friendship with political leaders, and then if they get my son the government job, we need to also give them money.
31	Philipp: So how can you make a good relationship with political leaders or leaders of your union?
32	Int: I can't make a good friendship, because I'm a woman.
33	Philipp: Then how can a man do this?
34	Int: I can make a friendship, because of my male relatives. They can arrange this type of meeting with leaders, so in this way I/they can make a friendship.
35	Philipp: What do they need to do that they make a good relationship?
36	Int: My relatives are also searching for this type of person, to go to a political leader.
37	Philipp: So you need like a middle person?
38	Int: Yes.
39	Philipp: So do you have this middle person here in this village?
40	Int: I have no person or relative like this. They are trying to…their own power, or own in…
41	Philipp: They are trying to increase their own power?
42	Int: Yes. They are trying to put themselves…actually, my son also tried to put himself, to show his skills/possiblities. Because he completed his honors, and has enough knowledge for this government job. So that's why he's trying to…
43	Philipp: Impress?
44	Int: Yes.
45	Philipp: Ok, yes. So, in Bangladesh you have the tradition about giving and receiving gifts. How does it work here in the village? Is it something you practise, and how does it work?
46	Int: It's very good, because many people, say 80% of people take some loans from the bank. They receive the money, and they do business. Who has no house to live in, are able to build a house. Are also farming, it increases their future. It's very good, not harmful.
47	Philipp: So a loan, will there be some problems when people take a loan?
48	Int: No.
49	Philipp: Is everybody able to pay it back in time?
50	Int: Yes, everyone.
51	Philipp: And if someone can't pay it back in time, what happens?
52	Int: I have no idea, because I am a woman.
53	Philipp: Ok, so you said that political leaders have a lot of power. How does the relationship between such people with a lot of power, and people here in the village. How does it affect the relationship?
54	Int: Here is a good relationship between poor and high status families. Because the high status families always need the poor families' help. As in labour, when they are working on the land. So they hire labour from poor families, and that's why they make a good relationship with poor families.

55	Philipp: So you're saying that people with power and high status, they are actually dependent on the poor families?
56	Int: Yes.
57	Philipp: So do you like being dependent on people with high status?
58	Int: Yes I like it because many poor people have no work, no type of business. Sometimes they depend on rich or high status families, because they give them help, and sometimes rice. This type of vegetables they give them - for living - this type of help.
59	Philipp: Do you also have to give something in return, to the people with high status?
60	Int: Here has BRAC helped many times, because the bank gives the loan with low interest. And everyone, everyone gets the loan and they are doing the business and other types of jobs. And they invest there, and they benefit there, and make some profit there. So that's why here there are no poor families…
61	Philipp: There are no poor families?
62	Int: Yes, all are established. A little established, not high established.
63	Philipp: So if people with high status help you, do they expect help from you? That you give them help, and what kind of help?
64	Int: No.
65	Philipp: So my last question, if you were the director of this project, what would you do different to be able to help the people in this village?
66	Int: I would give all the villages loans, to improve themselves.
67	Philipp: That's a good idea. Do you have any questions?
68	Int: No.
69	Philipp: Then thank you very much.

LCT1

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; LCT1 (180317_0016) = Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: So thank you for doing the interview. I will ask you now some questions. For how long have you been a part of this project from HRDP?
3	Int: I have worked in HRDP for nine months and I am currently working there.
4	Philipp: How did you get involved? Which person asked you? How did it happen that you started to work as a teacher for the literacy class?
5	Int: At first, I met the brother Z. and brother R., and they told me about HRDP and the literacy class, and then I started to work with them.
6	Philipp: Thank you. So how do you or your family benefit from the project, from the work you have done as a teacher?
7	Int: HRDP actually helped them. At first, the main thing was this literacy class, and now that they are active they can understand the social work and how they can live in the village with development. HRDP helped to teach them this.
8	Philipp: Ok. You just said something, HRDP helped you and the village about development. Can you tell me what 'development' means for you and how did they help?

9	Int: Actually I'd like to highlight education development. This HRDP, they can help us, as like a, we can sign everywhere with our name. Also in English. Many villagers, like the older guys, the older people, they can't write on papers…
10	Philipp: mhm
11	Int: So now they can write in Bangla, and ALSO in English. They don't now need finger-prints. So the main thing is education development, I like it. It's my first choice.
12	Philipp: Ok. So why do you believe it is so important that development helps to empower people?
13	Int: I believe that education is always needed everywhere. That's the main thing. I also think, those who never go to a school have no ability to get this, this education. But HRDP now carries this and everyone can now study here and be clever from this studying. I like this most of all.
14	Philipp: Thank you. Now a different question: What is your dream for life, and what needs to happen that this dream becomes reality? Or your vision for life?
15	Int: My main aim or dream is that my children will be students with this type of eduction, like they will do primary school and college and that they will become strong with education. That they can become a good person, like as a doctor or engineer, something like that. Also, a dream is, always stay with HRDP. With my children, my husband, my family. Like that, the main dream.
16	Philipp: Thank you. So you have been the literacy class teacher. How has this work as a teacher impacted your well-being, your doing good?
17	Translater: Can you ask a different question please?
18	Philipp: Ok. Can you share one or two examples of how the work, your work as a teacher last year helped you to, for your life? Did it make a difference to your life, being a teacher? I guess you had an income, for example as well.
19	Int: Actually the first example is: now I am like a free woman after getting this education, after completing this class. Now I am feeling very well, because the villagers don't want the girls to work. Girls don't need a job, don't need to work. My family asks, why do girls need a job or education? But now, my family is also happy about this education and all the villagers have become…
20	Philipp: Honoring? They honor you?
21	Int: Yes. Now I am doing well and all the villagers are happy.
22	Philipp: This is very nice. I am happy for you. So in what ways, now that you have been empowered and the people see that girls can do good work, in what ways has this changed your family's future possibilities?
23	Int: Ok. Now I want to do, I have to teach more people. And I'm not really illiterate, because I completed the H.S.C. I can also teach them, my family. So they are my future possibilities.
24	Philipp: So you want to continue to be involved as a teacher in the future?
25	Int: Yes, if the HRDP will give me the opportunity to teach there, then I will continue.
26	Philipp: Ok thank you. What social virtues of values are necessary in Bangladesh society, to attain a good life, to have a good life? Are there things that we need to do and believe, for life to be good? Can you give some examples?
27	Int: Actually, my family has to give me permission to do it, or to do something. That is most important.

28	Philipp: Is this like honor? You have to honor your family and then they give you permission?
29	Int: No, actually I need the family's permission. Then I can continue this project and my dream.
30	Philipp: Ok, ok. So from whom do you need to get this permission in your family?
31	Int: From my husband.
32	Philipp: When you are married, then from your husband. And when you are single? It's your father, I guess…
33	Int: Because I'm married, I need my husband's permission. But if I was single, I would need my parent's permission.
34	Philipp: Ok. Are there other people in the village, for example, or in society that you need to respect? So that you can get something, and attain your visions and dreams?
35	Int: All the villagers are happy about this type of work, because there are many older people learning here (at HRDP). It's a good job, so all are happy.
36	Philipp: Mhm. I mean it more generally. When you do something, when you want to achieve something, to whom do you need to go to get permission in the village? Beside your husband, but are there other people you need to respect, to hear from them?
37	Int: No, no one else needs to give me permission.
38	Philipp: Ok, thank you. Another question: what can you expect from a person who has many resources, like money, a house, or maybe has a higher social status, to fulfill your dream?
39	Int: Actually my main expectation is help for my dreams to come true. Not money, not house. Money and house is not the main reason, not my main dream. Philipp: But are there people who will, who are needed to make this happen, in society?
40	Int: Yes. A rich person, they can help.
41	Philipp: Mhm, ok. And, are they, what can that rich person or influential people expect from you?
42	Int: Actually, my good behaviour. That's all.
43	Philipp: Ok, thank you. In what way does the moral tradition of giving and receiving gifts influence your daily life? Because in Bangladesh, it is important giving gifts, and receiving…How does it influence your daily life?
44	Int: Actually it has a bad affect on my life, because whoever gives me financial help, then he expects more than hard work, or like that. It has a bad affect on my life.
45	Philipp: Mhm. Would you say it puts pressure on you? Or, what kind of pressure does it put on you?
46	Int: Actually it's like a mental pressure.
47	Philipp: Mental?
48	Int: Yes, mental pressure. Like, they do it and it's very tough…like a mental torture.
49	Philipp: Mental structure?
50	Int: Mental torture.
51	Philipp: Torture?

52	Int: Yeah. When rich people give some money, then they give LOTS of pressure. "Do this, do this!", this type of mental pressure.
53	Philipp: Mhm. So this mental pressure they put on you, what would you need to do in return then? What do they expect from you to do?
54	Int: I need some help from more people, like political help, or police help. Every place has, though, like members?. You know members or officials like the village chairman. So I think this is the kind of help I need.
55	Philipp: Ok yes. So just going into my next question: In this village, how do relationships between people of unequal status, like people in higher positions and people with/in lower positions, with less money…How does it affect the life here in this village?
56	Int: Here, a rich person doesn't speak to poor people. Like, they don't meet them and they don't talk to them. It's the culture in this village, and nobody can talk or meet the poor or rich people.
57	Philipp: It's like a separation?
58	Int: Yes.
59	Philipp: Like two classes?
60	Int: Yes, two classes. But not all rich people are this type. Some people are good, they make good friends with poor people. It's like that.
61	Philipp: Mhm. Is it similar in the relationship in the project, here at HRDP? You shared about the village, there is a separation, between poor and rich, people of influence and less influence. How is it within HRDP? How do you experience it?
62	Int: Actually HRDP is very good. HRDP makes no difference between who is rich, who is poor. They make good friends with all. There is no separation.
63	Philipp: Good. Great, thank you. How does this difference between rich and poor, or people with a lot of influence and less influence, influence the success of development? Like of training, of education. What do you think? Does it actually have an influence, this separation, to educate people in a village?
64	Int: An educated person has a different way of thinking. Like who is rich, who is poor, they don't make a difference between them. So educated people don't make this separation. It is, make a good friend. It (education) teaches us to make good friendships. It has no separation.
65	Philipp: Ok. So would you say that development through education will actually help to diminish, to cut, this separation?
66	Int: Yes it's possible for education to break this separation. Because education has…an educated person doesn't just see who is poor who is rich. So it's possible to break the separation.
67	Philipp: Ok good, thank you. So we are almost finished now. Just last question, second last question: If you were the director of the project, of HRDP or so, would you do something different to empower the people of this village? Any ideas?
68	Int: What I would have to do first, is to make the education strong. And I would spread it to all villagers. This village has people with (autesty/leprosy/autopsy?) 32:52, you know?
69	Philipp: What has it?
70	Int: Autesty. As in no hands, no legs.
71	Philipp: Oh handicapped people?

| 72 | Int: Yes, handicapped. I would make them educated. Nobody likes these types of people, but I would give them a chance to get educated. |

| 73 | Philipp: Mhm, very good. So if you would do that, what impact, what difference would that make for your life, and for your family, and for you husband? If you would use your gifts to educate handicapped people? |

| 74 | Int: Actually my family would have no problem, because if handicapped people also get skills, my family would also be happy. And they would support me. |

| 75 | Philipp: Ok, and what difference would it make for the handicapped people? |

| 76 | Int: Handicapped people will get educated and they can then do a job anywhere. And government will support them. If they get educated, it will be very good for them. |

| 77 | Philipp: Mhm, ok. So they have a future prospective. |

| 78 | Int: Yes, it's obviously good. |

| 79 | Philipp: Thank you very much. So is there anything from your side that you would like to ask, or add? |

| 80 | Int: Actually I have more expectancies. I want to make it bigger than now, as in more school, more teachers, that the education side grows. |

| 81 | Philipp: Mhm, ok. So you would like to increase what has been done, and you would like to be part of it? |

| 82 | Int: Yes. |

| 83 | Philipp: Thank you. I pray for you that your dreams become a reality. Thank you very much for this interview, it was very interesting. Very good, thank you. |

LCT2

| 1 | **Philipp = Interviewer; LCT2 (180320_0028) = Interviewee (Int)** |

| 2 | Philipp: Since one year you have known HRDP. How did you get involved to become the literacy class teacher? |

| 3 | Int: Here is a woman, named Rina and she asked me if I wanted to join the project. So that's how I joined HRDP. |

| 4 | Philipp: You got asked by your friend Rina? |

| 5 | Int: Yes. |

| 6 | Philipp: Ok, great. So you have taught there for 9 months last year. How did you and your family benefit from your work as a literacy class teacher? |

| 7 | Int: It has benefited us. I have firstly learned many things from there. I gained extra knowledge and made good friendships with the villagers. Like as a aunt, type of woman. I got a salary from there and have spent it on my studies. |

| 8 | Philipp: So you could finance your study from the salary you got? |

| 9 | Int: Yes. |

| 10 | Philipp: Please share with me what development and the education of village people means, to you personally. |

| 11 | Int: Here there were many illiterate people. Now they can sign, they can read, write and also they can make phone calls. After this literacy class they are also able to count |

money. Like for those who do business. Also to read and write easily. The women who are housewives, who are taking care of children, they can take care of them easily.

12	Philipp: They can help the children who are at school, with their homework?
13	Int: Yes, this type of help.
14	Philipp: Ok. Why do you believe the education of people through such a project like the literacy class, is so important?
15	Int: Study or education is the most important part of life. It gives many types of help, like living, also for business, for working. Education is very important for life.
16	Philipp: Mhm. What is your dream for life and what needs to happen that it will become reality?
17	Int: I have to complete my studies first. Then I will search for a job and build myself strong. Then I can take care of my family. That is my future dream.
18	Philipp: Do you have any ideas of what kind of job you would like to do? What would that be?
19	Int: I have to complete my study first, and then I will think about this.
20	Philipp: But what kind of job? Teacher, selling, business?
21	Int: Being a teacher is my dream.
22	Philipp: Wow, great. So what is needed that your dream to become a teacher, becomes a reality?
23	Int: I have to complete my study or college. Then I will get a certificate. I also need my family's support, it will be helpful to achieve my dream.
24	Philipp: So in what way has the literacy class changed your family's possibilities for the future?
25	Int: When I get my salary, I spend it on my studies. It is also a big support for my family. They have no pressure to carry the costs of my studies. I have met many people, like R., brother Z., the HRDP team and I have made a very good relationship with them. This has been great for me and my family.
26	Philipp: Ok. So you could kind of self finance your study through being a teacher?
27	Int: Yes.
28	Philipp: Good. Before you said, that before your dream becomes reality, you need your family's support. Can you tell me, how do you get their support?
29	Int: If I get good results from college, with a good certificate. My family will be appreciated, then it's a big support for me. They will be happy with my certificate and results.
30	Philipp: Ok. From whom is your family appreciated? From other people? You said that when you get good results, your family will be appreciated. From whom?
31	Int: At first, my father and then my elder sister and brother.
32	Philipp: So others will actually appreciate, esteem, or honor your father, elder sister and brother, because you have good results?
33	Int: Yes.
34	Philipp: Ok. So because you get good results it will also increase their status? Could I say that?

35	Int: Yes.
36	Philipp: What would happen if your results were not so good? What would happen then?
37	Int: I have no chance for getting bad results.
38	Philipp: So you are under a lot of pressure?
39	Int: No actually, because I am studying very good. I will be well prepared.
40	Philipp: Ok, and if it wasn't you, but someone else getting bad results? What happens to the family?
41	Int: Some families want to do the job, and some families are not angry [afraid?] about bad results.
42	Philipp: And would they maybe then be ashamed?
43	Int: Some families are feeling a little bit ashamed.
44	Philipp: Thank you, I have learned a lot from what you say. What can you expect from a person who has many resources, or a higher social status, to achieve your dream?
45	Int: Nobody can help.
46	Philipp: Ok, mhm, can this person expect something from you? If you are not coming from a family who is rich?
47	Int: There are no expectations.
48	Philipp: Ok. How can you show good behaviour to influence people, so that they are friendly to you?
49	Int: I make a good friendship with them. Actually here there are many poor people who did not carry the tuition fees. Then I will give them free tuition.
50	Philipp: Mhm, ok. And in Bangladesh there is a tradition about giving and receiving gifts. What does it mean for you in your daily life?
51	Int: It is good for me, because if anyone, if there is anything you want, you have to spend your money and time. And it will be good for your future, or for your next day. Like, if you want a good study or higher education, then you have to spend some money, a big amount. So that's why it's very good.
52	Philipp: Ok. Are there situations when you have to give a gift, and it brings you into a problem? And what situations are those?
53	Int: Nothing has happened like this.
54	Philipp: Ok, but you said that it is very helpful to invest, to please people with gifts, so if you can't do that, what happens then?
55	Int: It's painful for poor families. If anyone from a rich or middle-class family, it's not painful for them.
56	Philipp: For them there is no pain? But for a poor family it's painful, if you are unable to share a gift?
57	Int: Yes.
58	Philipp: So, besides being in pain, would that also have other implications? Like you will not be able to gain what you need?

59	Int: If I gain for my life, then I have to first get the higher education. It is also hard work for me. I also have to support my family, that's the main reason. Some people or families do not receive family support, so they can't spend money on education.
60	Philipp: So you first have to support your family?
61	Int: Yes.
62	Philipp: And therefore you can't invest in the education.
63	Int: Yes.
64	Philipp: Ok, I understand. So how do you think that unequal societal structures, like people who are rich and people who are poor, affect the relationships in this village?
65	Int: Here are some rich families, and they are very good. They are making good friendships with poor families, no arguing, friendly. And some rich families don't talk to the poor families, so this type.
66	Philipp: So you have both. You have good examples and not such good examples of rich families? Some are helpful and some not…
67	Int: Yes, some rich families help poor families with food, financial support. And other rich families don't give this type of support to poor families.
68	Philipp: How do you experience the work with HRDP? Do you experience a division, or like one-mind?
69	Int: It's a friendly relationship.
70	Philipp: So my last question. If you were the director of HRDP, what would you do differently to be able to help the people of your village?
71	Int: At first I would search for who cannot come to school because of financial problems, who is very poor. I will take them and invite them to school. And then I will help the financial problems, with poor families, who have nothing. So that they can buy food for their families. So this type of family, I would help with finance.
72	Philipp: Ok so first education, and second, financial help.
73	Int: Yes.
74	Philipp: Ok good. Thank you very much, any questions?
75	Int: No, thank you.

PSP1

1	**Philipp = Interviewe; PSP1 (180318_0019) = Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: Since how long has your child been at this primary school?
3	Int: Since one year.
4	Philipp: But you have known HRDP longer, how long?
5	Int: Five years.
6	Philipp: How did you get to know HRDP?
7	Int: I got to know it through a previous teacher of HRDP.
8	Philipp: So how do you and your family benefit from the school?

9	Int: The HRDP school is very near to my house, and that is why it has benefited us because it takes very little time for me to take my child to school and back home again. It saves time. By this, it is of more benefit to me and my family.
10	Philipp: What makes this school special for you, besides that it is so near to your house? What is special for your child?
11	Int: I have noticed that my child is more attentive to education and she is always busy studying, when she gets home she is busy with school work. That's why I think she has benefited, and the quality of education at this school seems very good.
12	Philipp: Does this school help your child, to prepare her for the future?
13	Int: Yes, I think so.
14	Philipp: Ok, thank you. Can you share with me what social or family development means for you? Like HRDP provides a school for this village. What does it mean, not just for the child, but for you personally?
15	Int: It's very good.
16	Philipp: Why is it good?
17	Int: People are more benefited by HRDP in this area, because children are getting free instruments, like pencils and books, they are getting freely without cost, and that is why they benefit more.
18	Philipp: Why do you believe the empowerment (betterment and education) of people through such a project, is so important? Besides getting free books and pencils, is there another reason for the children that they attend the school?
19	Int: If the children get education from the school for three years, then they will do better in their future.
20	Philipp: Good. So what is your dream for life and what needs to happen that it will become a reality?
21	Int: Even if I wished, I can't do anything else. If I want to be a teacher, there will be a lot of struggles at home [house struggle]. So I can't do anything.
22	Philipp: But do you have a dream? Would you like to be a teacher?
23	Int: Yes. I want to be a teacher.
24	Philipp: And what do you think, is there a way to make it possible that you become a teacher, and how do you think that someone could make it possible?
25	Int: First I need permission from my husband, then I need permission from my neighbour.
26	Philipp: Can you explain this a little more, who is your neighbour? Is it your uncle?
27	Int: My family (in the bari). My husband has more priority than my neighbour.
28	Philipp: I'm learning, so that's why I asked again. Thank you for your openess to share. Now for your child, how has the primary school affected the life of your family? What is different since your child has been attending school?
29	Int: In this HRDP school, the class schedule is very timely, the time is respected, and in the state primary school the quality is not good.
30	Philipp: So, in what ways has the primary school changed the future possibilities of your child, your daughter?
31	Int: If my child gets a good education from primary school, it will be best for her.

32	Philipp: And what happens after that? Will she be able to continue with her schooling?
33	Int: Yes, she will continue.
34	Philipp: In what schools, do you have an idea?
35	Int: My child will study in Gaptali school, after completing primary school.
36	Philipp: So, the HRDP primary school will open up the possibilities for your child, for the future?
37	Int: Yes.
38	Philipp: So I'm interested, is there anything else needed, besides education, to live a good life? Are there any social values or rules necessary to live a good life together? Like friendliness, etc, in the neighborhood for example? Can you share some examples?
39	Int: Everybody is helpful-minded to one another.
40	Philipp: Anything else?
41	Int: No.
42	Philipp: Ok. You shared before that when you want to do something (like become a teacher), you need permission from you husband and neighbour. This shows respect. Is respect a virtue needed for living together? How would you call or describe that?
43	Int: Yes, for peace. Peaceful living.
44	Philipp: So HRDP helped you, provided a school so your daughter can go to school. Can you expect help from rich or influential people? And what do you need to do to receive their help?
45	Int: I don't think I need help from powerful people.
46	Philipp: But incase you do need help, what do you need to do to get their help? Or if someone you know needs help.
47	Int: If I need money, accidentally or immediately I need money, a powerful person can borrow me money.
48	Philipp: What do you need to do in turn, that they borrow you money?
49	Int: They will borrow me money because I respect them and they trust me to give the money back.
50	Philipp: In what way does the moral tradition of giving and receiving gifts, affect or look like in daily life?
51	Int: Obviously it is very good. If we can do it, it is very good.
52	Philipp: How does it work, how do you do it in your family, practically? If someone gives you a gift, do you have to give a gift back?
53	Int: If someone invited me, then I will invite them too. Like for a meal, for tea, or snacks.
54	Philipp: Before you talked about lending money, or people who are able to help you for anything, how does this relationship between people with a lot of power and you, affect your life?
55	Int: I benefit, because I talk to him and he talks to me. I'm happy to have the opportuntity to talk to him. I am talking to a powerful/influential person and that is why I am happy.
56	Philipp: You don't have a problem talking with people who have influence over you?

57	Int: I think I should have a problem, but I don't. I'm a busy person.
58	Philipp: Do they have an expectation of you, that you do something for them? Because they help you…
59	Int: Yes, they do have expectations.
60	Philipp: What kind of expectations?
61	Int: I did not use to (in the past) go to powerful people, because I did not think I needed help. But if I did go, I think I could get help.
62	Philipp: Ok, good. One more question: If you were the director of this project, HRDP, what would you do differently to help people in this village?
63	Int: If I were the director of HRDP, I would help the people who are more poor, I would give them money.
64	Philipp: So what is your wish for HRDP?
65	Int: I would focus on the education system, so that children could get more quality education.
66	Philipp: Ok, thank you. Anything else you want to say?
67	Int: No, thank you.

PSP2

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; PSP2 (180318_0020) = Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: So, for how long have you and/or your child been a part of this school?
3	Int: From the middle of last year, my child has been in this school.
4	Philipp: Ok. How did you find out about this school?
5	Int: This school is very close to my house. The school teacher is my cousin.
6	Philipp: So you have a relative/relatives in the school. So how do you think you and your child benefit from this school?
7	Int: I think I am benefiting from this school, because my child is getting more care from her teacher, and receiving more quality education from this school. But I think that the salary of the school teacher is very low.
8	Philipp: Ok. Why do you think the salary is so low?
9	Int: If I compare (this school) with other educational institutions, then I think she is getting a low salary from this school.
10	Philipp: Ok. But you said your child gets a good education, and good care. Is there anything else that makes this school special for you and your child?
11	Int: Yes, I think I get things better from this school.
12	Philipp: What exactly?
13	Int: I have noticed that every day, all these students come to their school, and all the students are so much attentive to education, to their class. And they are VERY attentive to education, to their class. In comparison to other schools. That is why I think I benefit from this school, and that this school is better than others.

14	Philipp: Good. So why do you believe that the empowerment of people, and children, through such a school, is so important?
15	Int: In school there is a true house of knowledge?). By that, society will be influenced by education. If a student gets a good education, then he/she also provides education among his/her society.
16	Philipp: Ok, multiplication.
17	Int: Yes, multiplication.
18	Philipp: You said that society will be influenced, besides multiplication, are there other things/ways you think that education influences society?
19	Int: I think that society is influenced by education.
20	Philipp: Mhm, good. What is your dream for life, your personal dream, and what needs to happen for it to become a reality?
21	Int: My future is my child, and my goal is to give him a good education. That is my goal. And I am also looking for a job, for myself.
22	Philipp: May I ask, what would you like to do/work as?
23	Int: Yes. I am registered as a teacher. And I am hoping I will get a job in the future.
24	Philipp: So what needs to happen for you to get a job? Are there people who need to do something so that you will get this job?
25	Int: It just depends on government. And if government wants, it can give us a job. Because we are registered.
26	Philipp: Mhm. So the government person has a lot of influence. Can you do something to get the attention of these government officials, so that you will get the job? And what can you do?
27	Int: It will just depend on merit. According to merit, they will give jobs.
28	Philipp: How can you increase the merits, or show those merits to them?
29	Int: Last year they told me that whoever has marks above 50 will get a job. But my marks are above 60, so I'll obviously get a job, so it will just depend on time.
30	Philipp: Is there a way to shorten the time? That someone could help you to get a job faster? If so, how?
31	Int: No, no one can help me. It just depends on government.
32	Philipp: So, the government has a lot of power, to decide which people to take?
33	Int: Yes, I think so.
34	Philipp: Sometimes people get a job faster. Do they do something special that they get a job faster?
35	Int: Yes, sometimes people get a job faster, because they are more powerful. And that is why they are getting a job.
36	Philipp: Ok. So, what would you need to do to get the attention of these powerful people? So that you could get the job?
37	Int: I am not an important person, and that is why I am not able to go to powerful persons.

38	Philipp: That makes me very sad, because you are a very friendly and well-educated person. So may I ask again, what can you do to receive help from powerful people? Is there any way, in your situation?
39	Int: No, I can't find a way for myself, to make a relationship and get help from powerful people.
40	Philipp: Yes. So I don't believe that you are unimportant. But I am curious, I wonder, why do other people think you are unimportant? Do you have any ideas?
41	Int: I think I am unimportant, because I have no power. My father was a leader, a muslim leader, and he was working as a muslim teacher, in a muslim school. He has died now and I have no power. That is why I think, **I** think, people are thinking that I am unimportant.
42	Philipp: Ok, a different question. In Bangladesh there is a moral tradition of giving and receiving gifts. How does this tradition influence your daily life?
43	Int: If poor people go to a powerful person, the powerful person gives them help.
44	Philipp: If they give a gift?
45	Int: No. If any poor person needs any help, and they go to a powerful person, then they can get help from the powerful person.
46	Philipp: Does then the poor person need to do something for the powerful person.
47	Int: No.
48	Philipp: Ok, so how do these relationships, between powerful and poor people, how does the situation affect the people in the village where you live? Are you close or are you far?
49	Int: Yes, there is a distance between these people.
50	Philipp: What does this distance look like?
51	Int: Poor people can't do everything that they wish. But powerful people can do everything they wish, because they have a lot of powers.
52	Philipp: Are there also similar situations, in this project? Like between HRDP as an organization and the village people?
53	Int: No. In this project, everybody is equal. Equal rights.
54	Philipp: Ok this is nice to hear. So my final question: if you were the director of this project and you had the power to make decisions, what would you do to be able to help the people here in the village?
55	Int: If I want to help, then I would have to receive something from the organisation.
56	Philipp: So to be able to help, you also need help from others?
57	Int: Yes.
58	Philipp: So what help would you need to fulfill this dream?
59	Int: I mean who's area? Among needy people, or among students of this HRDP school?
60	Philipp: Both, for the students and for the families of the students. In general…
61	Int: The people who are hungry, I just want to help them.
62	Philipp: Thank you very much. Any questions?

| 63 | Int: In the future, maybe I'll get the teaching job. But right now I am unemployed, so if there is any possibility for you to get me a job, I'm asking for a job. |
| 64 | Philipp: I don't know if I can help, but I will think about it. |

PSP3

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; PSP3 (180319_0022) = Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: Since how long are you part of this social development project of HRDP? Or how long has HRDP been in this village?
3	Int: Seven years. When I was a student, I was also a part of this. They gave me and our children, books and notebooks. It was seven years.
4	Philipp: How did you get involved seven years ago? Did they ask you or did you ask them, so that your child could go to school?
5	Int: They asked me, if I wanted to learn this book, and then I agreed.
6	Philipp: And this was seven years ago? With the literacy class?
7	Int: Yes.
8	Philipp: Ok so how did you or your family benefit from the literacy class, and now from your child being in the school?
9	Int: There are some benefits because now we can read and write. After completing the literacy class, I can sign my name, read books, and that's the benefit for us.
10	Philipp: What makes this project special for your family? When you think about the future?
11	Int: There are many benefits. Now we can count the money, and also sign papers, nobody can cheat us.
12	Philipp: Why do you believe that this development project is so important for this village? Does it change anything in the village, or in the people and their thinking?
13	Int: Yes. It makes us very happy, because the children didn't study before, and now they are studying the literacy class and primary school. It is very good for us, and it gives us a bright future.
14	Philipp: This is good to hear. What is your dream for life, and what needs to happen that this dream becomes reality?
15	Int: I want to make myself strong, and also my family background also strong. I want to do something for myself, and my family.
16	Philipp: Do you have an idea of what you want to do? What do you mean by 'strong'?
17	Int: My main dream is to do farming, so cows, hens. And also to work in the fields, this kind. If God helps.
18	Philipp: In what ways has this literacy class, and now the school for your child, changed the future for your family?
19	Int: After the literacy class, I can also teach the children, and the children also teach me when I make mistakes. It is very good for us.
20	Philipp: So you can help and teach each other?
21	Int: Yes.

22	Philipp: Good. I have another question, are there also other people in this village that you need, so that you will have a good future? And who is this, in the village?
23	Int: There is nobody like that. Those who are rich don't want other people growing up. [They say:] 'I am rich, so I'm always rich. The poor will always be poor.'
24	Philipp: Is there a possibility that some rich people are able to help you, and what do you need to do that they get your attention, that you need help?
25	Int: No, nobody, there is nobody.
26	Philipp: Could you do them a favour?
27	Int: No, nobody can.
28	Philipp: So in the village community, how can you have a good relationship with others? Are there some behaviours which need to be respected?
29	Int: I don't understand.
30	Philipp: Are there some virtues or behaviours, like for example, respect, or friendliness…is this important that you have a good, respectful relationship with each other? Can you give me some examples?
31	Int: It is possible.
32	Philipp: Do you have some ideas? What would you do?
33	Int: Firstly, don't argue with anyone. Only this.
34	Philipp: So don't argue, means you have to respect the other's meaning?
35	Int: No.
36	Philipp: So, another question. What do you need to do, that people with money or higher social status, will give you help?
37	Int: Nobody is here in this village. Nobody can help each other. Only you have to do something, and what can I do? I have to struggle. All villagers are poor.
38	Philipp: So if someone were to come here and say, I would like to help you, then what would you ask them?
39	Int: Nobody can.
40	Philipp: But IF someone came and said, "I would like to help you"?
41	Int: What kind of help would you want?
42	Int: If anyone asked me for development, I would take money. And I would make myself strong, or I could do something for this money.
43	Philipp: In Bangladesh you have a tradition of giving and receiving gifts. How does this work in your daily life, in your family and with your neighbours, and what does this mean?
44	Int: I have a little bank loan, they give us a loan. We make it, we use the money, to for example, buy a cow, and then we sell it for more, and then return the money with a bit of interest.
45	Philipp: And when someone gives you a gift, do you also give a gift back? And why?
46	Int: That's a problem, because sometimes we need some money urgently and we take a loan, a personal loan from others, and sometimes an owner shouts at us, and tells us to give back his money immediately.

47	Philipp: Do you have a village chief here? Someone who is overseeing the village?
48	Int: We have some leaders, like a chairman and members.
49	Philipp: So how can you make the chairman of this village happy? That he is friendly to you?
50	Int: He is very friendly with us.
51	Philipp: Do you need to do something to keep him friendly? And what do you do to keep him friendly?
52	Int: I have to apply first for something, then he decides if he will help me/us.
53	Philipp: Can you influence his decision about whether he will help you or not, and how?
54	Int: No.
55	Philipp: My last question. If you were the director of HRDP, would you do something different to help the people in the village? And what?
56	Int: At first I would strengthen the education, and then we can discuss the other villagers who are doings things badly. Doing bad things and making problems.
57	Philipp: So firstly you would make sure that everyone has education, and then you would make sure that everyone is living in harmony. What does living in harmony look like?
58	Int: There are some children who are not obeying their parents, are just taking drugs, not working. I would try to help them, get them to study at school.
59	Philipp: So learning to live together, and learning good behaviour.
60	Philipp: That's very good, I support you in this. I hope that everyone in this village will be educated and learn to live together in harmony. Thank you very much.

PSP4

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; PSP4 (180319_0024) = Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: So you said you have known HRDP for about eight years. How did you get involved last year, to attend the literacy class?
3	Int: I have been there since last year.
4	Philipp: Did they come to your house and ask you if you wanted to join the class, or did you have to do an admission?
5	Int: They came to my house.
6	Philipp: How do you and your family benefit from the literacy class and primary school?
7	Int: It is going very well with us, because now I can read and write. Also, reading the will.
8	Philipp: Like a contract?
9	Int: Yes. And being able to stamp papers. I can also teach my children.
10	Philipp: Why is it important that you can read contracts? Is there something else behind that?
11	Int: After I started the class, I am much better. I am feeling very clever. Nobody can cheat me.

12	Philipp: Did people cheat you before the literacy class? And why did they cheat you?
13	Int: Many people did this kind of cheating, with me. They told me to "do this", and said that it would be beneficial. But it was not, it was harmful. Now I can understand what is harmful and what is helpful.
14	Philipp: Mhm, ok. It is very sad that people cheat. Please share with me, what does, education, development, when people like HRDP help you in the village, what does it mean to you?
15	Int: HRDP gives us all things for free. And it's very easy and helpful for us. We don't have to buy anything, it's very helpful for us.
16	Philipp: What is your dream for life, and what needs to happen that it becomes reality?
17	Int: I have to plan that everyone, like my child, grows up with education. And when they are finished with their education, they can apply at a school or college, then they can do any type of job in the future.
18	Philipp: Ok. Since you have attended the literacy class, do you feel different than before, and what is different?
19	Int: I'm feeling much better. Because now I can do anything, reading and writing, and can also discuss with others.
20	Philipp: Mhm. So what kind of possibilities do you have now? Since you are able to write and read?
21	Int: Now my child has completed class five, and she is feeling very good.
22	Philipp: So you are going to primary school now, after completing class five?
23	Int: Yes [my child].
24	Philipp: So are there any behaviours or social virtues that need to be respected, to have a good life here?
25	Int: They received good behaviour from the social worker from here.
26	Philipp: Mhm. Can you tell me, what kind of behaviours?
27	Int: We received good behaviour, because my family has no boy. We four girls. That's why the social worker is meeting with us, and their behaviours are very good.
28	Philipp: Mhm. What does it mean for you as a family, what difference does it make, that there is no boy, but only girls?
29	Int: It's pretty difficult, because we are nine sisters. No brothers. It's difficult for us, and harmful. My father was the only man, going out to work. And there were all of us women staying at home.
30	Philipp: Why do you believe people look down on families who only have girls, or mostly girls? Why is this?
31	Int: The main problem is, no income, so no one can help the family. That's why they are feeling very down.
32	Philipp: Because the boys can go and attain a job, but the ladies can't?
33	Int: No the ladies can't, because the villagers won't accept this.
34	Philipp: But you are married, and happy?
35	Int: Yes, I am happy.

36	Philipp: So what do families, who are very poor and want to be helped, from people who have money or resources, what do they need to do to get help?
37	Int: Here there are no rich people or families, so we have no expectations from them.
38	Philipp: In case someone would come, who has resources and money, and said "I want to help you"? What kind of help would you ask for?
39	Int: If anyone would come and help me/us, I would first ask for farming help, and get some land for farming, for rice, potatoes.
40	Philipp: So property?
41	Int: Yes property. And make the future bright for the children.
42	Philipp: So you need a place where you can grow food for your family?
43	Int: Yes.
44	Philipp: So if a person comes and says, "I have some for you", do they ask for something in return, to give them a favour, so that they can help?
45	Int: No, I would have to take a loan from the bank.
46	Philipp: How can you get a bank loan? Is there something you need to do to get the bank loan, and what?
47	Int: The bank gives us the loan, for cows, goats, land…
48	Philipp: But do you need to give them a gift so that they are able to give you the loan, and what?
49	Int: It's a loan, and I have to pay it back with interest.
50	Philipp: So your need is actually a piece of land, and when you have land you will go to the bank and ask for a loan?
51	Int: The bank would first need to check the house, to see if I can repay the loan. So if I can't pay back the loan, they would be able to sell my house.
52	Philipp: They take it as a mortgage?
53	Int: Yes, as mortgage. If I have land, then the bank takes the land as mortgage. Then they will give us the loan. If I have no property, only a rented house, then it's not enough for the bank.
54	Philipp: So in Bangladesh, there is this tradition of giving and receiving gifts. How does this work in this village, when you get a gift, what do you need to do? Do you need to return something, and how do you do this?
55	Int: It's like a bank loan. We have to pay it back with interest.
56	Philipp: No I mean when someone gives you a gift for free. Do you have to give something in return, to keep them happy?
57	Int: So if anyone gave a gift to us, then we will try to improve ourselves by making a bright future for the children.
58	Philipp: But does this person expect you to give something back to them?
59	Int: So if someone gave us money as a gift, we could use all of this without returning any of it. It's for free.
60	Philipp: I assume you have a village chief. How is your relationship with the village chief, or with other people of influence?

61	Int: Nobody is here like that. Nobody with big status.
62	Philipp: Is there anyone from outside this village, who is controlling this area?
63	Int: There is a family, who has a very good condition/position. They control the village. If anyone is doing very bad, they will handle this and solve the problems.
64	Philipp: What do you need to do to keep them happy?
65	Int: Only just be friendly.
66	Philipp: Only be friendly and have a good relationship?
67	Int: Yes, have a good relationship. Nobody can help each other in this time, it's a very tough time. Nobody can help the villagers.
68	Philipp: Why do you think that nobody can help?
69	Int: I have no back up and no good background, and that's why nobody can help. If I have a good background, or some money, then all will be possible. Then I could be friends with someone who has a big status.
70	Philipp: So you mean that because you don't have a big status, no one can help you?
71	Int: Yeah.
72	Philipp: How could HRDP help you to lift your status?
73	Int: HRDP has helped us with education, books.
74	Philipp: But this is practical help. How can HRDP help you with your status? How can HRDP help you, not with pen or paper, but so that people from outside say "Oh, I want to help you".
75	Int: HRDP can only help with education. Not other types of help.
76	Philipp: Ok. So you say that education is very important for you. If you were the director of HRDP, what would you do differently to be able to help the people of this village?
77	Int: My main and first plan would be to help other villagers with money. And make them a workplace, give them a job. And also for my family.
78	Philipp: So you believe that money is the most important and immediate need, to help the people here?
79	Int: Yes.
80	Philipp: Besides money, is there something else?
81	Int: A cow.
82	Philipp: Other things?
83	Int: If anyone gave any type of help, to poor families and poor people, then it would be very helpful for them.
84	Philipp: This is a personal question, would you be able to learn a trade, like learning to tailor, so that you can make clothes and sell them?
85	Int: I completed the tailoring class, I learned to sew and I have a sewing machine.
86	Philipp: Ah! So do you actually make clothes and sell them?
87	Int: I make clothes for myself, not for sale.
88	Philipp: Thank you very much.

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; PSP5 (180320_0026) = Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: How did it happen that HRDP came to your village to offer a literacy class and primary school? Do you have an idea why they came to this place?
3	Int: Only for good thinking [purpose].
4	Philipp: Did you ask them to come? Did the village chief ask them to come, or did they come because they want to help you?
5	Int: They asked me.
6	Philipp: They asked you if they could come?
7	Int: Yes.
8	Philipp: Ok, so how do you and your family, and child, benefit from the school?
9	Int: It is good for us, because it is free, always free. They give all the books and pencils for free. It's very good.
10	Philipp: And what makes it special for your children, that they are able to go to school? What benefits do they have for the future?
11	Int: I am seeing that it is very good for my family and also for my children.
12	Philipp: Why is it good?
13	Int: The main reason is that it's always free. It's a good quality school.
14	Philipp: What does it mean when people, like HRDP, come to your village, to help you with education? Why do you believe it is important that children get education?
15	Int: They come to us with good relationships and give us a bright future.
16	Philipp: What does a bright future mean for you?
17	Int: There is a primary school here that is not good, it's not in a good condition, not good types of handling. But this literacy class is very good, because everything is well controlled. The HRDP school is much better quality compared to the other primary school.
18	Philipp: So you are very happy with the quality of the HRDP primary school and literacy class?
19	Int: Yes.
20	Philipp: That's good to hear. So what is your personal dream for life and what needs to happen that it becomes reality?
21	Int: My first dream is that my children grow up with education and they get a bright future. If they complete their studies, they can get a job anywhere and carry a bright future.
22	Philipp: Mhm. And yourself? For you and your wife, do you have a personal dream, besides for your children?
23	Int: I have no personal dream, because I only want to make my children's future bright.
24	Philipp: So what help do you need, that the future of your children will be bright?
25	Int: I need money to make them a bright future. Because money can fix a bright future, everything can happen with money.
26	Philipp: How can you make money here in this village, or where you live?

27	Int: The only way is with land.
28	Philipp: With land, and do you have land?
29	Int: No, I have no land.
30	Philipp: You said that your father has land?
31	Int: Yes, he does.
32	Philipp: How can you get land here?
33	Int: Only if I buy it.
34	Philipp: And if you have money to buy land, is there something else needed? Because usually the land owners have a lot of power and control, how can you approach someone with power and control, so that he will help you?
35	Int: It's very simple and easy, because if he wants to sell the land. If someone has the money, then he can buy the land easily.
36	Philipp: So, if he has the money?
37	Int: Yes, if he has money.
38	Philipp: But are there also some behaviours required? That someone who has land and power, gives you the favour, and wants to do the deal with you. Do you have to show some special behaviours?
39	Int: Yes, obviously you have to show them good behaviour.
40	Philipp: What behaviour? How?
41	Int: Like friendly relations.
42	Philipp: Is there something else besides being friendly? Like honoring them or doing something for them? What behaviour?
43	Int: I only need to make a good and friendly relationship with them, and then it is possible.
44	Philipp: Is it necessary to please the person, or to make them happy?
45	Int: If they agree to sell the land, then only a friendly relationship and good behaviour is needed.
46	Philipp: Ok. But besides that, besides buying land. What do people in your local community, or society, who have power or a higher status, expect from poor people?
47	Int: Here is a good relationship with high status families and poor families.
48	Philipp: That's good to hear, how do you maintain and keep the relationship good? What do you need to do that it stays good?
49	Int: Only for good relationship, and good behaviour. As in, "Hi how you doing? Yeah I'm fine". This type of relationship.
50	Philipp: How is your relationship as a parent, with HRDP? Compared to a a child going to the school? How is your relationship with HRDP, do you feel like an equal, or do they have a higher status?
51	Int: It's a friendly relationship.
52	Philipp: Good to hear. So if you were the director of HRDP, what would you do differently to be able to help the people here in the village, to empower them?

53	Int: At first I have to make the education strong, and also give the villagers good ideas for the future, making their futures bright and strong. These types of ideas I would give them.
54	Philipp: Do you have any examples or concrete ideas of how you would make the future bright for the people in your village?
55	Int: I have only one idea. To make the education strong, making the future bright and strong.
56	Philipp: Did you go to school when you were little?
57	Int: Yes.
58	Philipp: What schools, primary school, high school?
59	Int: Primary school and I completed high school.
60	Philipp: And I understand you want to see that everyone has the same opportunities that you have…
61	Int: Yeah.
62	Philipp: Ok, good. Do you have any questions for me?
63	Int: I have no questions, just expecations. If they continue the classes for free at HRDP, it will be very good for the villagers. And it will be strong.
64	Philipp: What do you mean by 'continue'?
65	Int: It will be good if the school continues for an unlimited time [indefinitely].
66	Philipp: In case the parents do have to pay a small fee for the school, would it be possible to create some business in this village so that the expenses can be paid?
67	Int: I have no practical ideas. My family is very poor. We don't have money to spend on business.
68	Philipp: Thank you very much.

PST1

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; PST1 (180318_0021) = Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: So you said, you have known HRDP for six years. How did you get involved to become a teacher?
3	Int: My brother's wife was a HRDP school teacher, and from her I know about HRDP. So I got involved in this way.
4	Philipp: How do you and your family benefit from the HRDP project?
5	Int: My salary is very low, but I am glad that I have the opportunity to provide education among my village children.
6	Philipp: So what makes this project special for you? What makes this school special for you and, also for the village people?
7	Int: I don't understand.
8	Philipp: What do you like about having this school in this village?
9	Int: I want my village children to be educated, I want that.

10	Philipp: Why do you want them to be educated?
11	Int: Because education is the key to success, and if the nation is educated then it will be prosperous, the nation will prosper.
12	Philipp: So the nation will prosper and the people will prosper…So why do you think it is important that people are able to prosper?
13	Int: I think it will be good for my village. My village will be benefited, my country will be benefited, people will be benefited…
14	Philipp: What kind of benefits?
15	Int: If people become educated, they will be civilised, they will stay far from abuse, drugs, they can do different kinds of work/jobs, different kinds of business. Obviously that is good.
16	Philipp: What is your personal dream for life, and what needs to happen that it will become reality?
17	Int: I don't have a very big dream. I just want to be a teacher, because I didn't have good opportunities before. I like this provision.
18	Philipp: Mhm, so how can you stay or continue as a teacher in the coming years, after the three primary school years?
19	Int: I'll pay attention to the rules of the school, so that more children come to my school. In this way.
20	Philipp: So that the school will continue?
21	Int: Yes.
22	Philipp: Ok. Now, how has this primary school and your work as a teacher, impacted the well-being of your family?
23	Int: I see a good impact, good influence from the school, because other children are influenced to see them (the school children) getting an education from the school. So the children who are not getting an education are influenced to start coming to the school.
24	Philipp: And your family, how has it influenced them? Because you have work here…
25	Int: There is a problem, because I am not able to give much time to my children.
26	Philipp: So who is looking after your children while you are at school?
27	Int: Their father.
28	Philipp: Does your husband have work at the other place?
29	Int: My husband is working in this area.
30	Philipp: And what kind of work is he able to do?
31	Int: He's doing business.
32	Philipp: Ok. So now obviously you don't have much time for your family, but you have work to do. Which helps you to make life, or a living. Are there some social virtues/values necessary to have a good life within your family and in the village community? And what are they?
33	Int: Everyone has good relationships with one another.
34	Philipp: Any other examples?

35	Int: My father's house is very near to my husband's house, so there is a good relationship between my husband's family and my father's family.
36	Philipp: Ok, so how can you have a good relationship with another family? What do you need to do to have a good relationship?
37	Int: Relationships just depend on behaviour. If I show good behaviour then I will have good relationships.
38	Philipp: What is good behaviour, and what does it look like?
39	Int: I should greet people, with a hand shake, when I meet them.
40	Philipp: So what about with people who are rich, or have a higher social status. How do you show good behaviour to them?
41	Int: I see two kinds of powerful people. One kind is good, and the other is not, not helpful minded.
42	Philipp: Can you give an example? What is good and what is not good?
43	Int: The good powerful person helps us in/with the biggest religious festival. The Eid festival. And if I need any help in my treatment time, I can get help from a good powerful person.
44	Philipp: And a bad powerful person?
45	Int: The people who are more powerful, and are not good, they are spending money on their own luxuries. But they are not helping poor people who are more needy.
46	Philipp: So what does the good powerful person expect from you, so that he can help you?
47	Int: I have no idea.
48	Philipp: Do you need to show appreciation, or friendliness?
49	Int: Yes I should behave well.
50	Philipp: What do people in your family, or in local community, or HRDP, in higher power, expect from you?
51	Int: Now that I am involved with the HRDP school, and my student's parents expect from me that I provide good education to their children.
52	Philipp: Does the village chief expect something from you because you are a teacher?
53	Int: The chief of my village also expects that I provide good education, he wants to make sure that every child gets a good education from the school. Because this is the base time. The base of education (foundation). So that is why they are focusing on the base time, because all children should have a good base.
54	Philipp: Basic education. Primary education.
55	Int: Yes, basic education, from this school.
56	Philipp: So obviously there are people in the village, and in other places, who have more power and others who have less power. How does it affect their working together and their personal relationships? If someone has a lot of power and the other has less?
57	Int: We are living in this village harmoniously, in harmony, poor and rich people. And people who are more rich, they are living in the city areas.
58	Philipp: Have you had some experience with people who are rich, which treated you badly?

59	Int: I don't spend [more] time with other people or rich people.
60	Philipp: Mhm, but do you think this happens? That rich people treat village people badly, and if so, why?
61	Int: No, I don't know and I have no experience about that.
62	Philipp: Have you had any experience, in HRDP between the leadership and the village people, and the difference in status?
63	Int: I worked in a (sunrilam?) 22:56 like that old education, and I worked there a short time.
64	Philipp: Here? You work here only a short time?
65	Int: Yes, here. A short time.
66	Philipp: So what was your experience until now, working together in HRDP?
67	Int: I have gathered knowledge from HRDP, about how to teach children. I have learned that from this school. So this is my experience.
68	Philipp: And you are very happy for that?
69	Int: Yes, I am very happy. I have learned to teach children from HRDP.
70	Philipp: So if you were the director of HRDP, what would you do different, to be able to help people in the village?
71	Int: I would try my best to give good education among the children, and I would also focus on employing people, I would focus on trying that everyone would get work in the village.
72	Philipp: Ok, and if you had the power to oversee all the education, not just in your village, what would be your ideas?
73	Int: At first I'd observe, find out what areas are suffering from more problems. And then I would make a decision to try and solve those problems.
74	Philipp: How would you observe? Would you involve other people, how would you do that?
75	Int: I would go, with my own body, and meet the local persons/people, and try to find out the problems.
76	Philipp: Good, thank you. So when you observe the problem, together with the local people, what would be your next step?
77	Int: According to the rules and regulations of the project, I'll take necessary steps to solve those problems.
78	Philipp: This sounds very interesting, I would be interested in working with you. I think you are a good teacher, and have a great love for the people. Thank you.

PST2

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; PST2 (180319_25) = Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: You said you have known HRDP since four years, how did you become involved as a teacher?
3	Int: After getting to know HRDP, I became a literacy class teacher.
4	Philipp: How did you become a literacy class teacher?

5   Int: Here is a guy, named Rana, and Rana involved me with HRDP and this type of job.

6   Philipp: And he asked you if you want to become a teacher?

7   Int: Yeah, they asked me first. "Do you want to teach the literacy class?", and I agreed.

8   Philipp: Did you have to apply, did you have to write some papers/exams? Admission?

9   Int: Yes.

10   Philipp: So how do you and your family benefit from the project of HRDP, that they provide school and literacy class, and that you can now be a teacher? How do you benefit?

11   Int: When I teach the literacy class, I get a salary. It's a benefit for my family, and for my children because they are also learning here.

12   Philipp: So what makes the project special for you?

13   Int: If the villagers' children are growing up with education, then my name will be bright. I will become very famous.

14   Philipp: So when you become famous, what doors will open up to you for the future?

15   Int: Everybody can respect me, and think about me, if any type of teaching job, opens up at another school or college, then it will be good.

16   Philipp: Why do you believe the help and education of people, in this village, through such a project, is so important?

17   Int: Everyone is getting help from this project, because the books and pencils are free. We need this type of project, it is very helpful.

18   Philipp: What is your personal dream for life, and what needs to happen that this dream becomes reality?

19   Int: I had a dream when I was little, that I would become a teacher and teach all the village children. And they would grow up with education, and do all kinds of jobs, like business. And it's very helpful for me, I would get very famous.

20   Philipp: So I see that your dream has already started to become a reality…

21   Int: Yes.

22   Philipp: Good. Since you are now a teacher, in the literacy class and primary school, how has your job impacted your well-being? What has it changed in your economic situation?

23   Int: This type of job, and the salary I get, is very helpful for my family. I am very happy with it.

24   Philipp: Besides for your salary, are there some other effects, or results, for your life?

25   Int: I have become very happy since having the job and salary.

26   Philipp: In what way has your job now changed your family's future possibilities?

27   Int: If I do a better job, it will be very helpful for my family.

28   Philipp: How would it be helpful? How would it help your family? Do you have some examples?

29   Int: If I get a bigger job, or bigger salary, then we will take some land for more farming. So this type of help, will help my family. The main plan is land.

30	Philipp: So finances will help you for the future. Are there other…what about social behaviours? What behaviours are needed, need to be respected, in order to have a good life? And what are they?
31	Int: Only to be friendly and make good relationships with others.
32	Philipp: How can you make good relationships with others?
33	Int: Like saying, "Hi, hello". This type of talking to each other, then we can make a good friendship.
34	Philipp: How can you make friendships with people who have power or money, and have a socially higher position than people in the village?
35	Int: To have good behaviour.
36	Philipp: What do you mean by 'good behaviour'? Can you give me an example?
37	Int: If I help them, then it is like good behaviour. It can be any kind of help, not just financial help, but any little help. If anyone is in a very tough position and needs help, I can help them, stand up with them. This makes a good friendship.
38	Philipp: Why do you believe that it is necessary to help some rich or influential people, before they give help to you?
39	Int: I am an educated person, so if I don't give them any help, it's nothing. So it will be a good friendship with them, but they will also be a help to me. Like any type of discussion, or information, so that's why we can make a good friendship with them. And help each other.
40	Philipp: What does your help look like? Is it friendliness, or honor? Is it doing some practical work?
41	Int: The main point is I am an educated person. They can come to me for learning, they can bring their children to me. That's the first reason they come to me.
42	Philipp: As a tutor?
43	Int: Yes.
44	Philipp: Ok, now I understand. In Bangladesh, there is a strong tradition of giving and receiving gifts. So someone gives you something for free, and you will give something back to honour their friendliness. How does it influence your daily life, and how does it work in the village?
45	Int: It is very helpful, and also harmful. What is helpful, is to receive some money when doing business or other things. If it is beneficial, it is helpful. If I experience loss in business, then it is harmful, then I have to return the money with interest.
46	Philipp: So if you get a loan for business, you have to return the money with interest. So there is an expectation, for you to give more back than you receive? Can I say that?
47	Int: Yes.
48	Philipp: So how do relationships between people who have a lot of power, and people who are poor and without much power, affect the relationships here in the village?
49	Int: There is not a good relationship, because rich people don't meet or talk to poor people. They maintain their status.
50	Philipp: Why do you think they don't talk with poor people?
51	Int: They keep the distance, because they have money and power, and they don't want to make a friendship with the poor people. If anyone makes a friendship, they become equal.

52	Philipp: They would become equal?
53	Int: Yes. So that's why they can't have a good relationship with poor people.
54	Philipp: So they want to stay unequal?
55	Int: Yes.
56	Philipp: They want to be separated from the poor people, and why? Is it because of shame, or what?
57	Int: It's for power, not shame.
58	Philipp: Because they want to stay powerful?
59	Int: Yes.
60	Philipp: Have you experienced something like that in HRDP? Like between HRDP and the village people? Like this unequal structure?
61	Int: It's a friendship relationship.
62	Philipp: That's good. Do poor people in the village have expectations of the rich people? And what expectations do you have?
63	Int: Only for working. That they provide or improve themselves.
64	Philipp: So your expectation of the rich is that they give you work?
65	Int: Yes.
66	Philipp: Ok. What are your expectations of HRDP?
67	Int: I expect from HRDP a very good and friendly relationship. They are doing a very good job, and that they will keep doing it.
68	Philipp: Very nice to hear. I'm not part of HRDP, but they gave me the opportunity to get to know you and it's always encouraging to hear such positive words.
69	Last question. If you were the director of HRDP, what would you do differently to be able to empower and help the people?
70	Int: At first, my first dream is to teach ALL of the villagers. Because when they are educated they can do any type of job. And also, those working in home, as a house wife or grandmother, this type of woman, to teach them tailoring. So they can make clothes and sell them. That's the main dream.
71	Philipp: These are great dreams and ideas that you have. I hope they become reality. Do you have any questions?
72	Int: If the project could give books, and pencils, as gifts to children. It would make us happy.

PST3

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; PST3 (180320_0029)= Interviewee (Int)**
2	Philipp: Ok so you are the primary school teacher of HRDP here in this village. How were you able to become the teacher of this school?
3	Int: There is a messenger, you heard about Rana, you know? who came here.
4	Philipp: Yes.

5	Int: He came here first, and also told them who has completed the S.S.C., as in A-level? Secondary school certificate, S.S.C. So I agreed with him, and also I searched for people who completed the S.S.C. With them we went to HRDP, and we did a short training, for 12 days. Everything was carried, paid for, by HRDP. Food, transport. We did training there.
6	Philipp: Ok.
7	Int: After the training, we were five people. When we completed the training, we came here and rented a room, a class. And had 30 children for this class. And everything was given to us, books, pencils, and it was free. Then we started the primary school.
8	Philipp: In January or February?
9	Int: January.
10	Philipp: Thank you, that was a very helpful answer. So now since January, you are a teacher. How do you and your family benefit from the work you do as a teacher?
11	Int: My husband is a farmer, so when I got this job I got a salary. It benefited my family, and I can spend the money in my family. It's very helpful. I'm also having a good time with the children. Every day I go to school at 8:30am, and I have a very good time.
12	Philipp: So what makes this project so special for you?
13	Int: It's very special for me, because here it's always free. But in other schools, you have to pay fees, and buy books and pencils. It's very costly, and nobody can carry these costs. That's why it is very helpful and special for me.
14	Philipp: Why do you believe the education of people through such a project, is so important?
15	Int: It's all free, and is very helpful for the poor families. The salary I get is also a benefit for my family. After I finish classes, I can also work at home, helping my family members.
16	Philipp: I would also like to know about the education in general. You have 30 children in your class, why do you believe that it is so important that they can do 3 years of primary school? Why is it so important for the village?
17	Int: We help the children, because nobody can spend their time with children. They are busy at work, on the fields. We are helping the children with learning, getting an education. And many people don't send their children to other schools. So that's why it is very important.
18	Philipp: Because they get at least the possibility to get trained?
19	Int: Yes.
20	Philipp: So can you share with me your dream for life? Do you have any dreams or hopes for the future? And what needs to happen that this becomes reality?
21	Int: I have no main [big] dreams, but I have little dreams. After I have completed 3 years of the class, then HRDP will give me a once time opportunity to teach them.
22	Philipp: To continue?
23	Int: Continue, yes. Then it will be very helpful. That is my dream.
24	Philipp: Ok, so how do you think the school, the primary school, affects the lives of the people in the village? How does it help to lift the life of the village and it's people? How does it help the people live a good life?

25	Int: Here is a little benefit. Class one to five in the primary school, all students get government help. They get after 3 months, 400 Taka per head. One person gets 400 Taka after 3 months. Everyone gets this in the government schools.
26	Philipp: And here?
27	Int: In the literacy class? No in the primary school. How does the primary school help the children in this village? For having a good life in the future…
28	Int: Yes, financial help is a type of help they get.
29	Philipp: But what do they learn in the primary school?
30	Int: The village, and this primary school [from the state] has only one way to help the future. This type of help I already mentioned, the 400 Taka.
31	Philipp: Does HRDP give the money to the students?
32	Int: No, it's only the village primary school.
33	Philipp: Ok, so are you a teacher at HRDP or the state primary school?
34	Int: I am teaching at HRDP but I know about the state primary school.
35	Philipp: Ok, thank you. So, to be able to help, or to be helped by people who have money, resources, and status, what kind of behaviours do you need to respect and live out?
36	Int: If we need any help from rich families, we need to make a good friendship with them. We need to display good behaviour.
37	Philipp: How can you make a good friendship with them?
38	Int: Through good behaviour, like "Hey how are you doing, how is your family?". This type of behaviour.
39	Philipp: Pleasing them?
40	Int: Yes.
41	Philipp: Are there other things you can offer to them, to receive help and please them, besides having good behaviour?
42	Int: We can talk to them about education. I can also offer them that they send their children to the primary school, telling them it's free. Through this type of discussion, we can make a good friendship.
43	Philipp: So you would also receive children from rich families into your primary school?
44	Int: No rich families send their families to HRDP.
45	Philipp: Maybe you didn't understand the question. How can you please rich people, besides being friendly to them? Do you need to do some work for them, or other things?
46	Int: When the rich family calls me for help, like a family helper, then I help them. This type of work helps to make a good relationship with them.
47	Philipp: In Bangladesh you have a tradition of giving and receiving gifts. How does this work in daily life?
48	Int: It works well.
49	Philipp: But how do you do this? When do you have to give someone a gift? What do you do when you receive a gift, and have to give something back?

50	Int: If I take something, or get help, it's very good for me and I don't have to return this type of help.
51	Philipp: Are there situations when you have to return something?
52	Int: Actually no.
53	Philipp: Ok. So how do unequal social structures affect the relationships in this village? Between people who are rich and people who are poor? What is the relationship like with each other?
54	Int: There are good relationships, but the rich people don't help the poor people.
55	Philipp: Why don't they help the poor families.
56	Int: These people, rich families, don't want the poor families to do well.
57	Philipp: Do you have any idea why they don't want the poor families to do well?
58	Int: We need some way to increase their problem, or getting well. We need the change. At the moment this sentence doesn't make sense (24:17).
59	Philipp: Who needs that?
60	Int: The poor people, because nobody can help them.
61	Philipp: Ok. But my question was, why do you think rich people do not want poor people to have a good life?
62	Int: Because the rich families don't want the poor people going too high.
63	Philipp: What would happen if the poor people do well?
64	Int: It would be good, because they don't argue with them.
65	Philipp: That's not the question. The rich people don't want the poor people to do well: So what would happen IF the poor people do well? What would happen to the rich people, would they lose something? Or, why don't they want the poor people to do well?
66	Int: The rich families will destroy the relationship with the poor families, because they don't want to be equal.
67	Philipp: They don't want equality?
68	Int: Yes. So that's why they will break up the relationship with poor families.
69	Philipp: I understand, but do you have an idea why they don't want equality? What is their problem, that they don't want this?
70	Int: The rich families can lose their power.
71	Philipp: I am very sad to hear that, but I am very glad that you shared it. Because it is not right, that a small number of people have a lot of power, and that many other people have no power. It is not right.
72	Ok, so my last question. If you were the director of the project, what would you do differently to actually help and be able to empower the people of this village? To come out of poverty…
73	Int: I first have to do the education side, that is make it strong, for the poor families who did not got education. I would provide this school. There are many older people who can't right their names, I would help them learn this. And also to read books and write. I would make a very good education and teach them through HRDP.

74	Philipp: So you would continue to help the people so that everyone has an education. The children AND the older people…
75	Int: Yes.
76	Philipp: Good, that's a good and important goal. Thank you very much, this was very helpful. I hope your dreams become a reality. Any questions?
77	Int: I want to continue teaching this class, after 2 years, after 3 years…
78	Philipp: I can't help, but I can pray and hope that your dream comes true. I also wish that everyone gets education. It's great that you can help. Thank you.

Transcriptions of Focus-Group Discussions:

FGB

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; FGB (180321_0030) = Interviewees (Int)**
2	Philipp: I will ask a question and then you will have time to discuss it together as a group. And then you have some time, and when I say 'stop', one person from each group will give a summary, and then the translator will translate. Each person needs a chance to speak and participate, and please respect each other's opinions.
3	Q #1: What are the biggest needs in your village, so that you and your families can have a bright future? Like what should happen, so that you can have a bright future? If each group could please give 3-5 points please…
4	Int **(A.Q.1):** Firstly, a job. Then a sewing machine. Also a bright future for our children. Girls need a job. Need a bright future for the children.
5	Philipp: Ok next group. So the 3 or 4 most important needs/points…
6	Int: Becoming a teacher
7	I will give you the next question (#2).: What would be different in your lives and in your village, if these needs were met, or if these things became a reality? So like, if all your children had the possibility to get an education, what can they do as a result of that?
8	Int **(A.Q.1):** We need a job, to be able to give our children a bright future, to send them to school. That's the main thing.
9	Philipp: Ok so education and jobs.
10	Int **(A.Q.2):** We had no way to get the job or education, but now they get education through the literacy class and we are improving their children's futures.
11	Philipp: So what is different now?
12	Int: Now we and our children can get educated through the literacy class.
13	Here we are various types of educated people, as in a little bit and a higher educated person. We can get further education if we are literate.
14	We expect that if anyone gets a job, they can make the job. There are various types of qualities of jobs. Literate and educated people, these type of people can expect to get a job.
15	Philipp: They will be able to attain a job, when they have the possibility to read and write and get educated?

16	Int: Yes. If we have any job, this kind of level of job, we can make a bright future for our children.
17	PHillipp: The next group's answers to question 2?
18	Int: We have [get] much money for the job.
19	Philipp: Ok, you will have more money. If you have more money you can get the job?
20	Int: Yes. If anyone gets a job, they can make a bright future. Her family has no male person in the family. They can't get educated because they have money problems.
21	Philipp: They can't get education because there is no male person in the household?
22	Int: Some families have no males, only females. Therfore they have no money.
23	Only literate and educated persons can expect a good quality job.
24	Philipp: Ok. So anyone will have the possibility to get a job.
25	Int: Yes.
26	Philipp: Ok, another question (#3): What is the reason for the current situation? Why has everyone here not yet had an education? The question here refers to the first question…which refers to the needs. Now you need to discuss why these needs have not been met.
27	Int **(A.Q.3):** The main problem is some families don't have fathers or brothers to get jobs and earn money. Another problem is, families are too big.
28	Philipp: Ok, good thank you. Next group?
29	Int: The first reason is the parents. They don't send their children to school. Money problems are also a reason for this. The community don't agree with the children [that they would be educated]. The community also goes with the parents' decision.
30	Philipp: So the community would like the children to go to school, but the parents not?
31	Int: Parents don't send the children to school, and the community also appreciates the parents.
32	Philipp: They appreciate the parents. So they are under pressure?
33	Int: Yes. If anyone or the government carries the education fees, or everything, then it will be possible to make a bright future.
34	Philipp: Ok the next question (#4) is about you and the possibilities that you actually have. So, what skills and resources do you already have, that you could contribute to give a bright future to your family?
35	So the answers to question 4?
36	Int **(A.Q.4)**: We need support, from government or/and from social workers. Someone who trains us in handmade things, handycrafts. If we can get this type of training, we can improve ourselves.
37	Philipp: Is there already someone here who can help?
38	Int: There is nobody here.
39	Philipp: But answer the question: Are there already some skills in your group?
40	Int: No.
41	Philipp: Does anyone have a sewing machine?

42	Int: No. We want training, to improve ourselves.
43	Philipp: Thank you, next group.
44	Int: We could buy a sewing machine as there is some money. Actually some people have a sewing machine but they are not trained to use it.
45	Philipp: Ok, question #5. What additional help would you need from people outside this village? But what help do you need that your dreams become reality, from OUTSIDE the village? And who are these people who could help you?
46	Int **(A.Q.5):** Here is a community [organisation] NGO, named the Grameen Bank. We can get a loan from there [them], and make our future bright and strong.
47	Here is another NGO called TMSS. They can help in this way too.
48	Philipp: Ok one more question please. What do you need to do for these NGOs so that they help you? So answers to question #6…
49	Int **(A.Q.6)**: We have to discuss our ideas with the NGOs, and bring them a plan. Show them our planning.
50	Philipp: Who has to show a plan, the village people?
51	Int: Yes, we as village people who want to increase our future
52	Philipp: Ok, we are finished. I want to encourage you to make a plan and go to them and ask for help. Because you are nice people, you have lots of skills and you have a big dream for the future. It will be nice if this dream becomes a reality. For you, your children and for your grandchildren.
53	Int: [The question was raised:] How can we show [present] them our plan?
54	Philipp: Sit together, discuss and make a plan.
55	Maybe leaders from HRDP can help you, like brother R.. You have to make the plan, but they can help you with ideas and with putting it together.
56	[Q#7 was left out because the mothers had to leave to go back to their families]

FGS

1	**Philipp = Interviewer; FCS - staff (180321_0031) = Interviewees (Int)**
2	Philipp: Thank you for participating in this group work. I will ask you some questions now and start with the first one. When you get the question, discuss together and come up with 3-5 points that represent the whole group.
3	Question #1: What do you think are the biggest needs, problems or the biggest issues in the villages of the Gabtali area?
4	Int **(A.Q.1)**: First problem noted is the dowry problem.
5	Philipp: Ok. Explain. I am not from Bangladesh, what does 'dowry' mean?
6	Int: When marrying, the girl's family has to give lots of types of wealth, like money, furniture, gold. These types of ornaments. To the man's family. And it puts a lot of pressure on the girl's family.
7	Philipp: Ok, other points?
8	Int: Early marriage. They do not wait to become adults, but get married [as minors] to each other. And when they get children, it also creates a problem.

9	Philipp: And why is this a problem?
10	Int: Literacy.
11	Philipp: Ok, so they have no chance to go to school. Because they get married too early.
12	Int: Yes, their parents are illiterate people so they have no extra knowledge.
13	Poverty. No jobs.
14	Superstition. That's the main problem in Bangladesh, and also the village area.
15	Philipp: Ok, next group…
16	Int: Unemployment. No possibility to get work, poverty.
17	Superstition.
18	Not active.
19	Philipp: When people are not active. So laziness?
20	Int: No, not much knowledge. Unconscious. There are many [social] gaps between juniors and seniors. This makes gaps.
21	Philipp: In the family?
22	Int: Outside, in society.
23	Philipp: Ok, what do you mean by 'gap'? Between people with lots of influence and people with none?
24	Int: No, only who are different in age. (Generation gaps).
25	The main problem is being jobless, having no job.
26	Philipp: Ok, thank you. So now the second question refers to your answers. So keep in mind what you just wrote down. The question(#2) is: what would be different in the lives of the people in the Gabtali area, if those needs/problems are no more? If they are no more a problem…So one example, you said unemployment. So if there is no unemployment anymore, what would the implications be for the family? Maybe, children would not have to work on the farm anymore, but they could go to school…
27	Int **(A.Q.2)**: It [problems] would be solved after we get jobs. No stealing, no more robberies. Children would get educated. And families get peace. It will make an ideal family and society.
28	Philipp: If they would get jobs?
29	Int: Yes. If they have no poverty, it will be going good, the problems would be solved.
30	Philipp: What has that got to do with property?
31	Int: No, poverty.
32	Philipp: Ok, so if poverty would be solved, then the child labor would be no more. Children go to school, and don't have to work on the street.
33	Int: The education level would be increased. Everybody will be conscious, and get peace in return - in the family and in society.
34	If there is no superstition, then it would stop early marriage. If there is no gap between seniors and juniors, then there will be very good behaviours because they can also make a good friendship.
35	Philipp: Equality, people would be on the same level…

36	Int: Yes. No comparing.
37	People will be encouraged by work, jobs.
38	Philipp: Next group? Any other points?
39	Int: If anyone could vanish the dowry problem, then there will be peace in the family.
40	If the villagers don't marry too early, and destroyed and vanished these [dowry] rules, then it will be very peaceful for the families and community.
41	If the literacy problem is solved, it will be very easy for the family and they will be conscious towards each other.
42	If unemployment is solved, it will be great for the family and give the children a bright future.
43	If everyone gets educated, then they don't follow superstitions. This will be good for them.
44	Philipp: Both groups and their answers complement each other. My third question (#3) is going in the similar direction, so some answers you have already given. Now I would like to know, why do you think the needs of the first question, are not yet solved? What are the cultural reasons? Why is there still dowry, for example?
45	Int **(A.Q.3)**: Here are no strong leaders.
46	Philipp: You need leadership?
47	Int: Yes. Here, there is no strong leadership.
48	Education problem.
49	Have no good relationships.
50	Philipp: Who has no good relationships?
51	Int: The villagers, and in this community.
52	Philipp: Among the community, there are no good relationships…
53	Int: Yes.
54	The main problem is the money problem. We have no plan, no strong skills, no capabilities.
55	Philipp: Ok, next group…
56	Int: There are no strong leaders here who can lead us. There is education here, but not good education.
57	Philipp: The quality of the education is low?
58	Int: Yes, low. There are no good relationships within the community. We have discussion problems.
59	Philipp: So you don't agree?
60	Int: Yes. And money problems.
61	Philipp: Thank you. These answers are very helpful. Now, the fourth question (#4) is going in a different direction. I would like to know from you, what personal skills and resources do you have in this Gabtali area that you work in? So not what people DON'T have, but what they HAVE. So things people have that could improve the life of the people here, make life better…There is an additional question to this: How could you

find out about this? Maybe you already know, but if you don't know. How could you find out about what skills already exist in this village and area?

62	Int **(A.Q.4)**: Here is a big factory, the rope factory. Own business. Some own also vehicles. Computer training center. The own business means, there are cow farm, chicken farm, and tailoring.
63	Philipp: Ok.
64	Int: Tailoring. Some can grow fish in the ponds. Farming. A brick factory. They can buy vehicle and rent it.
65	Philipp: Please say that again…
66	Int: They can send it for rent. They can rent it out. There is also a rice mill. A coaching center or better said an education center. There is also a nursery.
67	Philipp: Does HRDP have a primary school here? How many?
68	Int: There are five schools from HRDP.
69	Philipp: And how many literacy classes?
70	Int: Five.
71	Philipp: See, you have many things here and you are teachers, and you also have skills. Teaching skills. That's very important. Don't forget yourself, because you make a big difference in this area. So we discussed now what you already have. The fifth question (#5): what additional help would be needed from the outside, to achieve the goals mentioned in the first question? Who are these other people who could help you? Organisations, or people…
72	Int **(A.Q.5)**: We can get some loans from some of the NGOs here, like TMSS, Usha, BRAC, and Grameen Bank. And we can make our own business. The government gives free relief, like medicine, books and pencils. The government also gives money to the seniors, like as a pension.
73	Philipp: Ok. Next group.
74	Int: Going to NGOs. Government gives relief twice a year, also pension. They also give scholarships to children in the primary school after 3 months. During/after floods, the government gives some relief. Free treatment in the government hospitals. Also books and pencils from the government.
75	Philipp: Ok, the answers you just gave about the NGOs…how can you bring your request, your need, to the attention of those NGOs, government, or also private people who have money? How can you bring your request? And, what do they expect from you? (#6)
76	Int **(A.Q.6)**: We have to first become a member in the NGO first. And give them a national ID card, and photocopies. Needs one person who nominates me.
77	Philipp: Nominees, she has to nominate?
78	Int: Yes, we have to make some nominees. Also we have to deposit our land papers.
79	Philipp: As a mortgage, in case something goes wrong? It belongs then to the NGO?
80	Int: Yes. They only expect interest on the loan. If we get a loan, they expect interest in return.
81	Philipp: Good, next answers?
82	Int: We have to first to get to know someone in the NGO. Or send someone who knows someone in the NGO.

83	Philipp: You have to make contact, and make relationship?
84	Int: Yes. Make relationship with known persons in the NGO. Also national ID card, Xerox copies, also passport sized photos. Sometimes the NGO people visit their house, either their own or rented house. They want the money back with interest.
85	Philipp: This is interesting. The last question we will do together.
86	Question no. 7 [#7]: Do your family members and village people, expect you to help them more since you are working as teachers and supervisors at HRDP? And how do you handle this pressure? Or actually, better said, what do they expect from you because you have a job?
87	Int **(A.Q.7)**: At first my mother called me, and asked for money. That's my mother's expectation. Other family members (younger sister, nephew), also say "I need this, I want this", these type of expectations. So because I have a job and am earning money, they expect these things from me. And the community members and villagers, expect money when the road is damaged and needs repairs. Sometimes neighbours expect money for their daughter's marriage. This type of help. Some expect money so that they can complete their education, because I have an education and have a good job. That's my own personal experience.
88	Philipp: Ok.
89	Int: When we get our salary, all is spent on our children and family members. Others expect we have good relationships and trough extra education/tuition for free.
90	Philipp: So as in free tutoring. Others expect you to do extra tutoring for free because you already get a salary?
91	Int: Yes.
92	Philipp: Ok. Anyone else?
93	Int: The same conditions as brother R. said…
94	When we leave the office, the gateman also expects money for treatments or other problems…
95	Philipp: Why is this? Why do people want the things that you have, for themselves? What's the reason for this?
96	Int: For extra income, and it will help their families. In his family there is only one person with an income source. So that's why more money is needed. Many people, villagers understand that HRDP is a foreigner company, or foreign project, so people assume that those who work there are earning more money, higher salaries. So that's why people expect them to give more.
97	Philipp: Do you agree what he said?
98	Int: Yes [all staff members/teachers answer with a loud "Yes"]
99	Philipp: Do you have any questions?
100	Int: We did an interview for you, so what's the benefit for us?
101	Philipp: First of all, I have to evaluate and analyse all the interviews. Then I will compare my findings with the studies I have done about Bangladesh and it's culture. My main subject is about what we talked about, about how people expect to be helped. On one side, there are people with many things, on the other side, people with very little. And why people with much, share or don't share with those who don't have and need it. It's like patronage. I also look at the issues surrounding people with high positions, and high status, and why they don't share their status. So these two things: the expectations and

the difference in status. And how these issues affect development projects. I think there are some affects, implications, issues with this. But I wanted to find out from you. And when I find results, I will share it (without revealing your names) with HRDP and other NGOs. And to maybe give them ideas, about how we can help NGOs and people in the village, so they can have a bright future. Because the goal is that we want to see you empowered, strengthened, we want to see that everyone has an education and has a positive future. And so any obstacles, any problems that could hinder you from getting a bright future, we want to take these away. So I hope I find some recipe, some ideas…so in the end, it will help you. Do you understand? It maybe sounds complicated, but I have to do it for the university…