Explaining the Commitment of Family Planning Fieldworkers in Bangladesh

By Syed Saad Andaleeb

Fieldworkers are a crucial component of the family planning program in Bangladesh; yet, the factors influencing fieldworkers’ commitment—an important determinant of program effectiveness—have not previously been explored. Data from a 1993–1994 survey of 217 workers representing both government and nongovernmental organizations indicate that when fieldworkers have good relationships with coworkers and a high opinion of their supervisors’ expertise, their level of commitment to the goals of the program is likely to be relatively high. When workers believe that their peers are motivated more by employment benefits than by a desire to help clients, their commitment declines. Surprisingly, income has a significant inverse effect on workers’ level of commitment. Two client-related factors, being able to communicate effectively with clients and having good relationships with them, are also associated with increased levels of commitment.


Developing countries encounter many frustrations in their aspirations to modernize. Among these frustrations, explosive population growth rates have been a major cause for concern among development planners. In Bangladesh, for example, the population is expected to reach about 131 million by the turn of the century.1

In anticipation of the consequences, the government of Bangladesh has instituted many measures to curb the rapid rate of population growth. These measures have included recruiting fieldworkers at the grassroots level; establishing health complexes and family welfare centers; increasing information, education and motivation activities; enlisting the support of community groups; introducing population education into school curriculums; and initiating special programs in the labor and agricultural sectors. The government also has supported and encouraged the participation of nongovernmental organizations in its efforts to stem the country’s population growth.

Among these diverse and complementary efforts, the fieldworkers have played a central, and growing, role since 1965.2

For example, under the First Five-Year Plan (1973–1978), the government initiated a major effort to recruit fieldworkers to provide services and to inform, educate and motivate clients directly. The Second Five-Year Plan (1980–1985) built on the strategy of using fieldworkers, while adding the support of community groups to strengthen family planning program activities. With a target set in the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1990–1995) to achieve a contraceptive prevalence rate of 50%, the pace of fieldworker recruitment was further increased.

Thus, whereas there was one fieldworker for every 110,000 people in Bangladesh in 1976 by 1980, this ratio was one for every 20,000.3 By 1993, there was one supervisor (family planning inspector) in each union and one fieldworker (family welfare assistant) from the government program in each unit having a population of 4,000–5,000.4 The involvement of many nongovernmental organizations has increased the availability of fieldworkers to support the goals of the family planning program.

The fieldworkers are an important link between the program planners and the target population. Policymakers and administrators make decisions and assess their impact on the population with the fieldworkers’ help. The importance of the fieldworkers is also borne out by the positive effects that their interactions with clients have had on contraceptive use.5 Some studies have demonstrated that fieldworkers have had a more substantial impact on contraceptive use than have family welfare centers that offer services in fixed locations.5

It thus seems that the services of fieldworkers may be central to the success of the family planning program. Consequently, efforts are under way at the Directorate of Family Planning to improve the quality of services and the effectiveness of these workers. One key element in fieldworkers’ effectiveness may be their commitment to the program. If their commitment is lacking, other interventions and resources invested in the program are not likely to produce the desired results. This study attempts to identify the factors that influence fieldworkers’ commitment.

Conceptual Model

Commitment is defined as an enduring desire to maintain a valued relationship.7 With regard to employees’ perspectives on their jobs, it is characterized by three features: a strong belief in the organization’s goals and values, a willingness to exert considerable effort on behalf of the organization and a strong desire to maintain membership in the organization.8 Committed employees are the most effective in achieving organizational goals, because they dedicate more of their time, effort, talents and energy to the organization than do other employees.9

Committed employees also are more adaptable than others, demonstrate less turnover and tardiness,10 and derive greater satisfaction from their jobs.11 Consequently, just as commitment is vital for successful long-term relationships between business partners,12 it is also important to build long-term relationships within organizations, to engender among employees a feeling of belonging and attachment to the organization they work for.

Highly committed family planning fieldworkers are expected to exert great effort for the program13 and adopt a long-term orientation focused on helping to achieve the program’s objectives. Instil...
ing high levels of commitment among fieldworkers should, therefore, lead to optimal performance.\textsuperscript{14}

It is important, then, for population planners and administrators to understand what influences fieldworkers' commitment and how workers' commitment fits into population policy goals. The study described in this article attempts to gain this understanding through statistical modeling. Since empirical research on employee commitment in developing countries—particularly family planning field personnel's commitment—is lacking, the study uses as its starting point findings from the management and marketing literature in developed countries.

The study of employee commitment has been the subject of various fields of inquiry and gains substantially from a cross-disciplinary perspective. What ties these analyses together is their attempt to explain employee turnover or attachment. For example, psychologists focus on the thought processes involved in employees' decision to withdraw from an organization.\textsuperscript{15} Economists, on the other hand, explain an employee's decision to leave or stay with an organization in terms of the costs and benefits of the decision, including variables such as pay, opportunity for advancement and job hazards.\textsuperscript{16} Researchers in management and marketing have begun to address commitment because of its links to performance.\textsuperscript{17}

A number of variables identified in these studies are relevant to family planning fieldwork in Bangladesh; additional variables emerged from focus-group interviews with several fieldworkers in the initial phases of this study. The influence of these variables on fieldworkers' commitment is the focus of this analysis. These variables may be categorized as organizational and client-related.

**Organizational Factors**

Family planning fieldworkers often operate under weak management systems where work planning, supervision and performance-based rewards and control systems are lacking. These inadequacies place limits on the effective delivery of family planning services in Bangladesh. Promising pilot programs have foundered when extended to a wider scale, either because a manager could not be found or because of "system overload." In trying to meet several needs at once, these programs have developed complex initiatives that demand more than the fieldworkers can deliver.\textsuperscript{18}

Given the organizational and managerial constraints that fieldworkers face, several variables may be relevant to explaining their commitment to the program. One important area is supervisory involvement—specifically, supervisors' willingness to communicate with fieldworkers, be supportive of them and help them reduce their exposure to risks during fieldwork. When supervisory behavior helps integrate subordinates into an organization, workers may develop a positive identification with the organization and a degree of personal commitment.\textsuperscript{19} Reward behavior\textsuperscript{20} and supervisors' support\textsuperscript{21} also enhance commitment.

The extent of supervisory involvement varies substantially in Bangladesh. Supervisors enjoy a fairly high degree of authority over subordinates, and often demonstrate a traditional propensity to maintain social distance from them. This may translate to behavior that fieldworkers interpret as nonsupportive, and may create the impression that supervisors will not look out for fieldworkers, especially when their work exposes them to many real and perceived threats. Such a feeling is likely to attenuate workers' commitment. When supervisors are genuinely concerned about fieldworkers and are helpful in ways that enable fieldworkers to carry out their tasks effectively, workers can rely on their supervisors to look out for them. This can provide a feeling of confidence and increase fieldworkers' commitment to the program.

The perceived competence of the supervisor also may influence fieldworkers' commitment. Several researchers have indicated the importance of one person's knowledge or expertise in explaining another's confidence in that person.\textsuperscript{22} This sense of confidence can strengthen the commitment to collaborative efforts. Supervisors' expertise should foster fieldworkers' commitment to the program by reducing workers' job-related uncertainties and giving them confidence that goals will be achieved.

Peer relations, or work-group cohesion, also has a demonstrated effect on commitment and satisfaction.\textsuperscript{23} Work-group cohesion implies coworker support\textsuperscript{24} and is associated with employees' staying on the job.\textsuperscript{25} These findings suggest that when fieldworkers have good relations with their coworkers, their commitment should be high.

Job security has not been extensively researched in Western models of organizational attachment, and there is evidence of deficiencies in measuring this variable.\textsuperscript{26} However, results of one study indicate that the propensity to leave an organization is associated with job insecurity.\textsuperscript{27} Thus, when fieldworkers feel insecure in their jobs, they presumably will not be committed to the family planning program.

Peer influence, another factor that has not been well investigated, also may help explain fieldworkers' commitment. During in-depth interviews, fieldworkers spoke of having coworkers whose attachment to the program stemmed not from concern about serving clients, but from the financial gains they achieved as salaried employees. When peers' behavior reflects a lack of commitment to their job, this sentiment seems to spread to others in the group, with potentially adverse effects on the program.

Several studies have found a direct link between income and individuals' intentions to stay with the organization they work for.\textsuperscript{28} With higher levels of income, other income-earning opportunities become less attractive, strengthening one's desire to stay with the organization. It therefore seems reasonable to expect fieldworkers' commitment to be positively associated with their level of income.

**Client-Related Factors**

Another relatively unexplored area that may influence fieldworkers' commitment is client-related factors. For example, clients have varying attitudes toward family planning and the program workers; the fieldworkers are not always well regarded, and many clients question their role. Relationships with clients can be ridden with conflict and tension, making their interactions very difficult.\textsuperscript{29} When fieldworkers perceive that clients are unwilling to accept them, do not welcome them and feel uncomfortable in their presence, their commitment to the program can diminish.

Additionally, research in industrial marketing suggests that the strength of the relationship between buyers and sellers varies with the extent of their interaction and communication.\textsuperscript{30} In the family planning program, when effective communication is lacking between fieldworkers and their clients, the workers are likely to feel frustrated and to believe that clients will not understand their views. Thus, when communication with clients is poor, fieldworkers' commitment to the program is likely to suffer.

**Methods**

**Questionnaire Design**

A small pilot study was undertaken at the field level using focus-group interviews with several fieldworkers. The purpose of this exercise was to allow the workers to
Fieldworker Commitment in Bangladesh

Table 1. Sample of measurement items, survey of family planning fieldworkers, Bangladesh, 1993–1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>I strongly support the family planning program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication with clients</td>
<td>Clients discuss their family planning problems and concerns with me openly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Client relations</td>
<td>Most clients do not view the fieldworkers favorably.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor’s ability</td>
<td>My supervisor is a capable individual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor’s involvement</td>
<td>My supervisor looks out for my safety when I go for field visits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations with coworkers</td>
<td>I have good relations with my coworkers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job insecurity</td>
<td>In my present position there is no job security.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of peer commitment</td>
<td>Most fieldworkers know work in the family planning program for money; they are not interested in serving the clients.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Measures

Because established scales were not available in Bangla, the measures used are new. Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with a variety of statements regarding each organizational and client-related variable (see Table 1); ratings ranged from 1 (reflecting strong disagreement) to 5 (indicating strong agreement). Four of the variables—supervisor’s involvement, supervisor’s competence, communication with clients and relationship with clients—were represented by multiple items. Three—relations with coworkers, job insecurity and peer commitment—were measured by a single statement.* The question on income was open-ended.

The measures were assessed for face validity by experts in survey research, who reviewed them in conjunction with the author. After detailed discussions and appropriate modifications, additions and deletions, the set of items for measuring each construct (i.e., its domain) was established. Minor changes were made again after pretests. For classification purposes, demographic information was also collected.

Sampling and Data Collection

The investigator asked two nongovernmental organizations that employ family planning fieldworkers or train them for both government and nongovernmental programs to participate in the study, which was carried out in 1993–1994. Concerned Women for Family Planning, which commands a field staff of more than 180 female workers in several urban and rural areas of Bangladesh, was one of the participating organizations. Two urban and three rural areas were chosen randomly from the territory where this organization operates, and the questionnaire was administered to every fieldworker in the five clusters.

Fieldworkers’ cooperation was gained in the following way. Staff from the organization’s headquarters contacted supervisors in the selected locations and asked them to assemble the fieldworkers before they were assigned their daily routines. At this assembly, the supervisors introduced the investigators, who explained the purpose of the study. To assure respondents’ anonymity, the investigators asked the workers not to reveal their identity anywhere in the survey instrument; they also assured the workers that neither their immediate supervisors nor headquarters officials would have access to the completed questionnaires.

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each multiple-item construct was assessed for unidimensionality. This involved computing correlations between each item and the total score for the construct; items that did not correlate highly with the total scores were eliminated. The final set of item-total correlations that was selected had reasonably high coefficients,* all of which were significant at p<.001. Next, the items representing each construct were factor-analyzed. In each case, a single factor emerged that accounted for a substantial portion of the total variation. This supported the unidimensionality of the multiple-item constructs.

Coefficient alphas were computed to determine the internal consistency and reliability of each multiple-item construct (see Table 3). Three of the variables had alpha values exceeding .7, which is a recommended value.31 The other two had alpha values of at least .6; these values also indicate reasonable reliability, especially since validated scales were not available and many of the fieldworkers had never responded to rating scales in survey questionnaires.

A correlation matrix of the different constructs is also shown in Table 3. When the correlation between one scale and another is not as high as each scale’s coefficient alpha, the correlation matrix suggests discriminant validity.32 A review of Table 3 indicates that discrimination between the constructs was achieved.

### Results

Multiple regression analysis was performed to test the hypotheses. The overall model for commitment was significant and explained 44% of the variation in fieldworkers’ commitment. For this exploratory study, the model fit was exceptionally good. Results have several implications for program management. For example, the finding regarding the effect of supervisors’ competence suggests that programs ought to periodically review supervisors and provide training programs to enable them to effectively manage and direct the fieldworkers under their supervision. While the number of training institutions that have been established in Bangladesh to prepare and upgrade personnel in the development sector has been growing prolifically, these institutions have been consistently ineffective.33 Training programs must be devised and strengthened to develop the requisite competence among supervisors and to achieve program objectives.

Furthermore, since relationships with coworkers are significantly associated with fieldworkers’ commitment, programs should attempt to preserve conditions of harmony within field units and create a climate in which conflicts among fieldworkers are resolved quickly. Organizational conditions also should allow for greater interaction among workers, to foster a spirit of cooperation.

Given the strong and significant effect of perceived lack of peer commitment, early identification of individuals who communicate (in direct or indirect ways) their lack of commitment to the program is important. Early detection should lead to remedial action through individual sessions with supervisors and reduce spillover effects. In addition, specific training or motivational programs need to be developed (especially if the problem is acute) to periodically address and strengthen fieldworkers’ commitment. Innovative training programs tied to some reward structures should also be designed.

Surprisingly, supervisory involvement with the fieldworkers was not significantly related to their level of commitment. One explanation for this finding is

### Table 3. Correlations between predictor variables; and alpha coefficient, mean score and standard deviation (S.D.) for each variable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>Alpha</th>
<th>Mean score</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Commitment</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Client relations</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Communication with clients</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Supervisor’s ability</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Supervisor’s involvement</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Relations with coworkers</td>
<td>.64**</td>
<td>-5.05</td>
<td>-3.05</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Job insecurity</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Lack of peer commitment</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Income</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>5.70</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>-33**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at p<.05. **Significant at p<.01.

Notes: For all variables except income, scores ranged from 1 to 5; income is measured in taka (US $1 equals about Tk 0.40). na=not applicable, because these variables were measured by a single item.
that this variable may have a direct influence on an intervening factor. Another possibility is that the measures of supervisory involvement need to be reviewed. Although the measures used show high reliability values, they may be tapping the domain of a construct that is not related to commitment.

Job insecurity also was not related to commitment. This is perhaps because of the lack of alternate employment opportunities in the country; regardless of whether individuals feel secure or insecure in their jobs, they may want to maintain the relationship with the organization in which they are employed.

Contrary to expectations and to findings in Western models of commitment, the results of this study suggested that higher levels of income were inversely related to fieldworkers’ commitment. One can speculate that because income is typically low in this society, individuals with greater financial resources may attempt to make extra money by investing their earnings in other ventures. Such endeavors can divert their attention from their primary responsibilities. In turn, this can lower their commitment to the program. This speculation, however, requires further empirical support, and specific recommendations must await additional investigation.

This study is the first to examine whether and how relationships with clients influence the commitment of field personnel, and the results indicate that the exclusion of client-related factors can lead to a misspecified model. The importance of communication with clients cannot be overstated. Effective communication should facilitate other types of exchanges in the program (e.g., acceptance of contraceptive methods). Again, the need for proper training in communication is emphasized strongly. Role-playing methods should be very useful in identifying fieldworkers’ communication problems and strengthening their strategies for communicating with clients.

The results also suggest that fieldworkers must be able to build good relationships with clients. In their work environment, where attitudes toward the program have been slow to change, this task can be challenging; clearly, however, it cannot be ignored. Fieldworker training should emphasize relationship-building techniques, and recruitment efforts should include a variety of personality tests that can identify individuals who have good relationship-building capabilities. Such tests are used in industrial settings in developed countries, but tests used in Western contexts are not likely to be applicable to fieldworkers in Bangladesh. Therefore, similar tests should be developed and tested specifically for use in selecting fieldworkers in Bangladesh. Some researchers observe that selection criteria for fieldworkers should include the ability to withstand the pressures of fieldwork.34

At the same time, to help create better relations between clients and fieldworkers, publicity campaigns in the mass media could be created that portray fieldworkers as dedicated professionals and friends of the people, whose mission is to serve the family planning needs of the target population with beneficial consequences. For example, various media could run stories based on true experiences about fieldworkers helping families, with favorable economic effects. Such presentations could send a very positive message to the public. In turn, these strategies could gradually reduce the difficulties that many fieldworkers face in establishing relationships with clients.

Study Limitations
Although the study was exploratory, the model fit was satisfactory and the results were encouraging. However, the study had three important limitations, which need to be addressed in future research.

First, further work is essential to improve the reliability of the measures of several constructs. Additionally, single-item measures need to be replaced by reliable and valid multiple-item measures. Once established, these measures have potential value to other researchers and to local and international development agencies, which could use them to periodically track and monitor—and, when necessary, take steps to improve—fieldworkers’ level of commitment.

Second, the sampling strategy used in this study was dictated largely by available resources. Thus, the workers in the sample were from only two organizations. Enfants du Monde was especially chosen because it provided access to field personnel from the government program. Since the sample does not allow generalization to all fieldworkers employed in government and nongovernmental organizations, future studies should employ cluster or area sampling in which a larger set of organizations or geographic areas would serve as the sampling units and members of the sample would be drawn from these clusters using systematic or random sampling. Pursuing such a strategy would, however, require substantial resources.

The final limitation is that the factors considered in the regression analysis explained less than half of the variation in fieldworkers’ commitment; in other words, some factors appear to have been excluded from the model. Additional factors (e.g., participation in decision-making, reward structures and task factors) must be identified through further research and included in subsequent models.

In conclusion, since no other research has been conducted on the commitment of family planning field personnel in a developing country, this study must be seen as an initial contribution that should lead to further development of this literature. With additional research and greater insight, the family planning program in Bangladesh could train and develop a more committed field force, and thereby improve its ability to achieve its goals. Clearly, while the results of this analysis are encouraging, research on this important issue must be significantly strengthened.

References


Résumen
Les travailleurs sur le terrain constituent un élément crucial du programme de planification familial au Bangladesh, et leur niveau d’engagement à l’égard du programme est un déterminant important de son efficacité. Pourtant, on n’a pas étudié auparavant les facteurs influant sur l’engagement des travailleurs sur le terrain. Les données tirées d’une enquête auprès de travailleurs représentant des organisations gouvernementales aussi bien que non gouvernementales démontrent initialement que différents facteurs liés à l’organisation et au client ont des effets importants. Les résultats d’un modèle à régression multiple indiquent que lorsque les travailleurs sur le terrain entretiennent de bons rapports avec leurs collègues et respectent leurs objectifs du programme est susceptible d’être relativement élevé. Lorsque les travailleurs sont d’avis que leurs pairs sont motivés davantage par les avantages liés à l’emploi que par le désir d’aider les clients, leur engagement baisse. On note avec surprise que le revenu a un effet inverse important sur le niveau d’engagement des travailleurs. Deux facteurs liés au client, la capacité de communiquer efficacement avec les clients et le maintien de bons rapports avec eux, sont également liés à des niveaux élevés d’engagement.